Jerusalem Art History Journal: An Undergraduate eJournal

Histoire de l’art à Jérusalem: cyberrevue étudiante de premier cycle

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This inaugural issue of the *Jerusalem Art History Journal: An Undergraduate eJournal/Histoire de l’art à Jérusalem : cyberrevue étudiante de premier cycle* derives from the City of Jerusalem: Ideas and Images course I teach in the Department of Art History at Concordia University in Montreal. The course considers different attachments to Jerusalem through visual perceptions and artistic representations at the religious, social, and political levels. Its focus is on the multifaceted narratives, allegiances, and ideas of the city’s history covering ancient times, the Roman and Byzantine periods, the Arab, Crusader, and Mamluk periods, and the years under Ottoman, British Mandate, Jordan/Israeli, and Israeli rule. Of central importance is the visual imagery of the real and imagined Jerusalem in the art and architecture created by different communities over thousands of years.

The best papers are included in this first issue. The students had a choice of two assignments. The first was to write an essay.
about the art, architecture, archaeological sites, or urban spaces of Jerusalem from a particular era. The second choice - since a good many of the students are artists in Concordia’s studio arts programs - was to create and write about a work of art, reflecting a visual response to this ancient city as a site of major world religions.

My hope is that the Jerusalem Art History Journal will become a student-run peer-reviewed journal, open to all universities, and devoted to the publication of high-quality undergraduate student research in word and image.

I would like to thank the following people who helped with this journal: Mark Clintberg, editor of the English essays; and Lucile Pages, editor of the French essays; Pata Macedo, designer and educator, who created the e-journal; Samantha Wexler, photographer of the student art works at the City of Jerusalem exhibition that took place in the VAV Gallery, Concordia University, May 2014.

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Éditorial

LOREN LERNER

Voici le premier numéro de la revue Jerusalem Art History Journal: An Undergraduate eJournal/Histoire de l’art à Jérusalem : cyberrevue étudiante de premier cycle. Axée sur le travail d’étudiants du 1\textsuperscript{er} cycle, cette publication numérique sur l’histoire de l’art hiérosolymitain émane du cours intitulé City of Jerusalem: Ideas and Images (« Jérusalem : idées et images) que j’enseigne au Département d’histoire de l’art de l’Université Concordia, à Montréal. Ce cours traite de différents attachements à Jérusalem à travers un éventail de perceptions visuelles et de représentations artistiques entretenues sur les plans religieux, social, et politique. On y explore, sous leurs multiples facettes, les récits, les allégeances, et les idées qui ont alimenté l’histoire de la ville sur tout l’horizon temporel – l’Antiquité, les époques romaine et byzantine, les périodes arabe et mamelouke, les croisades, la domination ottomane et le mandat britannique, ainsi que les années sous contrôle jordano-israélien, puis israélien.
Dès lors, l’imagerie tant réelle qu’imaginaire de Jérusalem générée par différentes communautés au fil des millénaires dans les arts et l’architecture y occupe une place centrale.

Ce premier numéro propose les meilleurs textes des étudiants participants. Ces derniers pouvaient choisir entre deux types de travaux universitaires : rédiger un essai sur l’art, l’architecture, un site archéologique, ou un espace urbain de Jérusalem en lien avec une période donnée ou – vu qu’un bon nombre sont des artistes inscrits aux programmes du Département d’arts plastiques de l’Université Concordia – créer une œuvre d’art reflétant une réponse visuelle à cette cité antique où s’entrecroisent les grandes religions du monde, et expliquer leur cheminement.

Je fonde l’espoir que la revue *Histoire de l’art à Jérusalem : cyberrevue étudiante de premier cycle* deviendra une publication étudiante à comité de lecture de grande qualité, qui se consacrera à la diffusion en mots et en images de travaux de recherche d’étudiants du 1er cycle, et à laquelle auront accès toutes les universités.

Je tiens à remercier les personnes ci-après pour leur précieuse contribution : Mark Clintberg et Lucile Pages, directeurs de la rédaction, responsables des corpus anglais et français, respectivement; Pata Macedo, graphiste, éducatrice,
conceptrice de la revue électronique; et Samantha Wexler, photographe des œuvres d’art des étudiants ayant participé à l’exposition sur Jérusalem à la galerie VAV de l’Université Concordia en mai 2014.

REMARQUE : La revue a été créée à des fins pédagogiques. La diligence nécessaire a été exercée pour identifier les titulaires des droits d’auteur des images qui y sont reproduites et obtenir leur autorisation préalable. Toutefois, si vous êtes le détenteur des droits d’auteur de l’une ou l’autre des images intégrées au texte, que l’on n’a pas communiqué avec vous et que vous vous opposez à la manière dont elles sont utilisées, veuillez contacter Loren Lerner à jerusalem.student.journal@gmail.com.
Visions and Realities

Visions et réalités
Design for an Ideal Starlight

–

ANNA CAMPBELL

Over the course of two weeks, I carried out the process of creating an artwork that I hoped would evoke the architectural spirit of the city of Jerusalem, in all its diverse histories. I titled it Design for an Ideal Starlight (Fig. 1), since the pseudo-religious building that I designed is one which may architecturally represent all three Abrahamic cultures that lay claim to Jerusalem.

Fig. 1. Anna Campbell, Design for an Ideal Starlight, 2013. Collage. Process photos.
I chose to fashion an art work in reply to this project for a central reason: aside from the fact that as an art history major I have few opportunities to present art projects for assignments, my preferred style of art practice seemed well suited to create a work that could speak about the visual history of Jerusalem. I prefer to work in collage, and this method allows me to layer and play with found paper and objects to create something new out of something old, which in many ways is how the landscape of any city is built up over the years and centuries, or in the case of Jerusalem: millennia. By scavenging pieces of magazines and construction paper of varying colours and shades, I felt very much that I was constructing a building in the same way that a three dimensional building would be built, by finding existing materials (stone, forged metal, and so forth) and then cutting them, welding them, and bending them, to fit my design.

Stylistically, the relationship between the history of urban environments and the layering technique of collage is most blatantly evident in how I layered my paper on the wooden panel that I used as a base, since the ground and sky alike are built by laying thin strips of coloured paper on top of each other. This composition further mimics the construction of the world itself, being made of layers of rock and mantle and earth - with the city sitting on top of it all. In this way, the brick work of the edifice in this artwork also speaks to the way cities are layered over time, and how – especially in Jerusalem – new buildings
merely sit on the remains of old ones, and every layer of earth has a story, a past.

In keeping with this theme, there are certain architectural elements of famous buildings in Jerusalem that I aimed specifically to emulate, to at once situate my imaginary building in an imaginary Jerusalem, but also to comment on how these buildings are built upon layers of the past. The three domes gilded in gold represented in *Design for an Ideal Starlight*, for instance, refer to the Dome of the Rock (691 CE) (Fig. 2), which is the Islamic monument that is built upon the place where, according to Islamic tradition, the prophet Mohammed ascended to heaven. But the Dome of the Rock holds significance not only for Muslims, but also for Jewish and Christian cultural histories. The three domes in my piece speak to the three faiths that greatly value this location on the Temple Mount.
My representation of the dome makes reference to another piece of architecture: the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Fig. 3), which also holds significance for all three Abrahamic faiths, and which was the model for the architectural design of the Dome of the Rock.¹ The main portal of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre also inspired my own representation of the portal, particularly in my use of Roman Corinthian capitals on my columns, but also with my own stylistic interpretations for the rest of the image.
Fig. 3. Main Entrance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
The third influence on my work was the Palace of Lady Tunshuq al-Muzaffariyya (ca. 14th century CE) (Fig. 4), dating from the Mamluk period of Jerusalem. The style of ashlar masonry used in Lady Tunshuq al-Muzaffariyya’s palace walls was what inspired my idea for the façade of the base of my building. The grey and red colour scheme is an homage to the white, red, and black colour scheme of brick used in many Islamic buildings.

Fig. 4. Palace of Lady Tunshuq al-Muzaffariyya.
I decided to use these three buildings as my main inspiration, because in my view they represent key components of Jerusalem’s architectural history. Lady Tunshuq’s palace, for example, is a domestic secular dwelling, and the Dome of the Rock and Church of the Holy Sepulchre are sacred buildings - but all three have religious and secular influence upon them. The Mamluk palace, for instance, is a domestic space, but as an Islamic building, it feels the influence of Islamic laws about representation: its designs are geometric, and when representational only nature is depicted. The Dome of the Rock conversely has secular influences: built under the Umayyad caliph, a political rule that collapsed Church and State, “certain philosophical trends were reflected in building this Dome, as in setting the geographical location over the Mi’raj (ascension to heaven) Rock. Further artistic trends were taken into account, namely the choice of the octagonal shape and the double central dome.” The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, needless to say, uses Roman-style columns typical of many medieval churches, but it also speaks to the Roman history of the city of Jerusalem, a time when columns held no specific religious connotation.

With all these architectural elements and histories in mind, I set upon making an artwork that would represent all these different traditions in a hybridized design for an imaginary edifice. It is titled Design for an Ideal Starlight because, of course, it cannot exist in reality, but merely as a virtual metaphor for all the
different components that went into the creation of the city of Jerusalem’s built environment.

NOTES


3 Ra’ef Najm, 725.

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The apocalypse has been a theme reproduced countless of time by many artists. Fears of the end of the world have recurred throughout centuries of human history, sparked by events such as religious wars and natural disasters. Three prominent world religions that preach the end of days and the coming of a new world order are Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The final
outcome remains the same in all three religions: the promise of a “new Jerusalem to replace the old.” The many versions of the end of time as expressed in these faiths all correspond to the destruction of the old Jerusalem, with the coming of the Messiah, also known to Christians as the second coming of Jesus. This destruction will bring on a new divine world order with the reign of the Messiah as God’s representative on earth. Many artists have depicted the end of time according to their beliefs - and as such, it is necessary to explore their representations based on the religious views of their cultures. Therefore, this essay will introduce Yitzhaq Hayutman’s holographic rebuilding of the Jewish temple titled *Let There Be Light* (Fig. 1, 2004), Michelangelo’s *The Last Judgement* (Fig. 2, 1536-41), and Mohammad Modabber’s *The Day of the Last Judgement* (Fig. 3, late nineteenth century) and their connection to the end of days through each religious context.
Jewish scriptures explain that the rebuilding and sanctification of the Jewish Temple, where the Dome of the Rock sits presently, will bring about peace and the arrival of the Messiah.² Hayutman’s project *Let There Be Light* responds to this idea; the
project involves a plan for the rebuilding of the Jewish temple on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (Fig. 1). The cybernetics artist was inspired by this prophecy in the development of his work of art. He constructed a plan out of a live web feed that would allow participants from all over the world to construct a model of the Temple’s sections out of a series of lights. This piece, which is a hologram, would be projected at the site of the Dome of the Rock, a sacred location familiar to all three religions. The base of the holographic temple sits over the dome’s golden surface, seemingly coming down from the heavens. The lights build up the structure in layers that make up the cube-like building. The long rectangular columns on the side of the holographic structure emphasize the stairs and doorway to the makeshift entrance of the temple. It is fitting to the Jewish religion that Hayutman created an entrance that cannot be entered since the rebuilding of the temple cannot be realized because “until the day of redemption, [individuals] are not even allowed to enter the area surrounding the Holy temple – that is the Mount.” Hayutman describes the project as “a virtual Temple Mount [that] could create [a] common ground for Jews and Arabs to interact in ways they otherwise never would.” Hayutman seems to be calling out to the Messiah and forcing the end of the old Jerusalem. He personally attempts to elicit peace in the world through the salvation of the Jewish nation. This piece took ten years to realize.
Hayutman provides a work of art that gives urgency to the end of days that, according to Richard Fenn, “[takes] on a new plausibility, [so that] people may prepare for a war to end all wars.”

Jewish doctrine emphasizes the importance of God’s rule on earth, the salvation of the Jews, and an era of serenity without the convictions of other religions. Hayutman’s project uses the modern technology of holography to portray an apocalyptic theory in order to transcend the ancient biblical prophecies, while adding his own contemporary twist. The schematic and crisp holographic image also exemplifies the ideas of biblical texts, which emphasize the purity of the Temple. An individual must be freed of any impurities through the mixture of “the [red] heifer’s cinder with water, and [by sprinkling] the mixture on him,” in order to enter the new Jewish temple. Hayutman’s project introduces an illusionary apocalypse that will settle the minds of the Jewish inhabitants in Jerusalem without the destruction of the Islamic Dome of the Rock, thus avoiding conflict that has been present in Jerusalem for many years.
Fig. 2. Michelangelo Buonarroti, *The Last Judgement*, 1536. Fresco. Rome. 
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a5/Michelangelo._Giudizio_Universale_02.jpg.
The Christian concept of the apocalypse centers on the Second Coming of Jesus; at this time, the Messiah, who is already chosen by God, will bring forth his army of angels to slay the anti-Christ and his demons. Michelangelo’s *The Last Judgement* (Fig. 2), found on the high altar of the Sistine Chapel in Rome, concentrates on the second resurrection described as “the Last Judgement and the vision of the New Jerusalem.” Christian doctrine accentuates the final judgement as taking place in Jerusalem, however, the destruction of the sinful and the descent of the holy kingdom onto the “new Jerusalem” is not portrayed in Michelangelo’s image. Nonetheless, this narrative is suggested by the desolate landscape on the lower part of the fresco. Michelangelo implies the importance of the damned with his portrayal of the landscape and his inclusion of the lost souls still bound to the earth. The landscape is covered in grayish decaying bodies. The bodies are twisted and discolored, and these qualities suggest that they have been ravaged by the revelations of the seven seals. The chaos and torture brought on by God’s wrath are communicated effectively through Michelangelo’s brushstrokes. According to Gershom Gorenberg, the Christian “scriptures requires the reestablishment of the Temple so that the Anti-Christ can desecrate it halfway through the Tribulation.” In Revelations, the Jews are given the option to renounce their sinful ways: “Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee.” The decaying bodies
twisting in fear are references to the Jews who have rejected Christ as the Messiah, and who are therefore prominent actors in the Christian apocalypse. This is where Jewish theological doctrine is crucially involved in the Christian view of the apocalypse. The centre of the lower part of the fresco depicts the green landscape opening up, and the viewer can make out the contours of a man’s backside, his arms raised to the fiery background of what may represent hell. Michelangelo may be attempting to recreate a passage from Revelations 2:10: “Behold, The devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation for ten days; be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.” This passage describes the trials by which Satan will test the faith of many Christians. This image represents the trials that the faithful must suffer to be welcomed into the kingdom of God, which will be restored on earth as the “New Jerusalem.” In The Last Judgement, the damned appear doomed to the trials of the apocalypse.

War, famine, pestilence, and death are all personified in Michelangelo’s fresco. The grey figure standing on left corner of the boat, arms raised in a swinging motion, appears prepared to fight off the accumulation of bodies attempting to climb onto the boat. His aggressive stance and muscular body imply a war against humanity. Death’s personification is on the left side of the fresco. His head seems to be covered with a translucent drape, indicative of burial rituals. Death’s body twists as the
woman urgently, but with futility, attempts to pull a dead man to safety. His foot is wrapped in a green vine coming out of the landscape, holding Death in place.

In the upper part of the fresco, Christ is floating through space surrounded by saints, angels, and the devout. His glory is emphasized by the circular halo of faces and figures around his body, and through the heavenly glow that emanates from behind him. His muscular and barely clothed body is representative of a higher power at the centre the apocalyptic structure of Michelangelo’s fresco. He raises his right hand over his head – seemingly in thought or prayer – while his left hand is pressed against his chest. He appears to be blessing the souls that surround him. He looks down onto the land, his face turning away from the damned. Michelangelo represents Jesus as a muscular and glowing warrior. The color of his flesh radiates with nearby light. Michelangelo portrays The Last Judgement according to the climax of the apocalypse when “all the kings of the earth gather Armageddon to be defeated by Jesus as warrior.”\textsuperscript{16} This final judgement will bring on the coming of the new heavenly Jerusalem, the reign of God and peace for a thousand years.
There is a third, Islamic apocalyptic doctrine. In the teachings of the prophet Muhammad the final hour calls for the preparation of the end of days and the judgement of all people, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. The apocalyptic discourse in the Quran follows the sequence of both Jewish and Christian theological discourse: it calls for the rebuilding of the Jewish temple. Although the Quran does not mention Jerusalem, it
emphasizes that “When (the people of the city) disputed of their case among themselves, they said: Build over them a building; their Lord knoweth best concerning them. Those who won their point said: We verily shall build a place of worship over them.”

The prophecy also includes the second coming of Jesus: “the prophet Isa, son of Marium – descends to earth on judgement.”

Modabber's *The Day of the Last Judgement* represents the figure of Jesus at the top of the canvas, descending a stairway, following two other prophets. All three prophets are shown with a white heavenly halo above their heads. The right side of the frame is dominated by images of a large golden space, separated into categories of the Holy people. Muhammad is present in the sky of angels, covered in black with a white hijab.

A crowned angel at the bottom of the frame holds the scales of justice. This is the final judgement of humanity in which “humans cross the bridge that separates the old world from that which is to come, their deeds are weighed in a vast pair of scales.”

The people awaiting judgement have a rope around their necks as if they were slaves. The rope is being held by a large, king-like figure on the left side of the frame. This figure towers over the tortured souls underneath him. Their heads poke out of the fiery depths of the cauldron they are trapped in. A large sea-serpent with its mouth wide open engulfs a crowd of lost souls. The redeemed, who cluster in white robes around the stairway, make their way to the landscape on the upper left side of the frame. One man falls into the angry depths of the hell depicted
on this side of the canvas. This demonstrates the Islamic theory of justice, by which “individuals [are] held responsible for those actions that propel them to paradise or hell.” In this artwork, hell is represented as a cave-like structure. The cave appears as if it is on fire. The fire and smoke depicted at the bottom of the canvas connect with the observation that “the guilty behold the Fire and know that they are about to fall therein, and they find no way of escape thence.”

There is a relationship between the golden city of the Islamic apocalypse, the narrative of the Christian apocalyptic myth of the heavenly city and the Jewish concept of the Messiah’s establishment of a new, glorious Jerusalem. *The Day of the Last Judgement* is the first representation discussed here that includes elements from all three doctrines: the second coming of Jesus, the prophets of Jewish tradition, and Muhammad’s coming. Islam is also the sole religion that includes all religious prophets in their doctrine of the apocalypse. However, in Islamic tradition, Christ returns as a man. As expressed by Martin Ballard, he is “no longer the son of God and subject to death like any other mortal, he takes his place in the end-time narrative as the penultimate prophet, before Muhammad’s arrival.” In *The Day of the Final Judgement* the frame of the image seems to be engulfed by the descent of the New Jerusalem as the representation of hell becomes overpowered by the heavenly figures and blank golden background.
The notion of the apocalypse has been long debated and discussed in many societies. For some, growing fears that the end of the world is near have been accentuated by religious discourse. The Jewish conception of the end of days concentrates on the primary element of the rebuilding of the Temple on the Temple Mount and the reinstatement of the Jews in Jerusalem by God and his Messiah, as demonstrated in Hayutman’s holographic reconstruction of the Jewish temple. The Christian portrayal of the end-of-days is best introduced by Michelangelo’s *The Last Judgement*. In his representation of the second coming, Christ is surrounded by saints and holy figures – but also by elements contributing to the earth’s destruction. The Christian signs of the apocalypse are all present in the desolate landscape. The earth is opened up and the lost souls bound for destruction all appear to be facing the plagues of God’s wrath. The final image discussed depicts the Islamic apocalypse. Modabber’s *The Day of the Last Judgement* depicts all the iconic prophets attending the judgement of the human race. The inclusion of Jesus, Moses and the Prophet Muhammad all descend from the heavenly plan. Modabber represents the installation of a new divine reign, as well as Hell on the lower left side of the canvas. Each portrayal of the end of days describes the religious views of one of three prominent religions in the world. Their representations adhere to each culture’s holy revelations and display elements that have long dwelled in the thoughts of many people. These artworks represent the end of the world as we know it.
NOTES


4 Gorenberg, 91.

5 Davis, “Apocalypse Now.”


7 Davis. “Apocalypse Now.”

8 Fenn, 110.


10 Gorenberg, 11.

12 Gorenberg, 34.
13 Gorenberg, 35.
15 Ibid.
16 Gorenberg, 42.
18 Ibid.
19 Ballard, 44.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid., 45.
22 Brown, 158.
23 Ballard, 44.

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Feutres sur papier aquarelle, 20 x 45 cm.
Le sujet principal me fascinant dans l’histoire de Jérusalem est la richesse des interactions entre les trois religions fondées autour de la ville sainte, soit le christianisme, le judaïsme, et l’islam. Principalement violentes, prenant la forme de luttes territoriales, ou encore de compromis atypiques, ces relations ont modelé la ville. La réalisation d’une œuvre d’art inspirée d’éléments artistiques ou architecturaux reflétant Jérusalem m’a donné l’opportunité d’explorer cette idée à travers mon médium de prédilection qu’est le dessin. J’exploiterai donc ici la notion de superposition de l’influence des trois religions sur
un monument architectural emblématique de la ville, le Dôme du rocher.

Le Dôme fut construit en 691 après J.-C. par Abd al-Malik. Les motivations principales de sa construction étaient d’imposer la puissance de l’Islam sur le site sacré, en revendiquant l’importance du rocher ainsi qu’en créant le « premier monument qui se voulut une création esthétique majeure de l’Islam. »1 Il faut noter que l’architecture est l’une des formes d’expression artistiques majeures dans l’art Islamique, les autres étant la calligraphie et la littérature. Cela est dû au fait que la religion islamique incite le peuple à adopter une forte attitude iconoclaste, afin d’éviter l’adoration d’objets d’art.² Le Dôme sert mon sujet par sa qualité esthétique et la richesse de son histoire, mais aussi par l’importante signification spirituelle de son emplacement. En effet, le rocher lui-même a une riche importance spirituelle pour les trois religions. Les éléments principaux illustrés dans l’œuvre font partie de plusieurs cultures jéralémites, ainsi que de plusieurs époques. On peut tout d’abord voir, à l’extrême gauche de l’image, la visite de l’ange Gabriel au prophète Mohammed, fondateur de la religion musulmane, lui livrant les préceptes du Qu’ran. On évoque aussi la construction du Dôme en 631, montrant un artisan à l’œuvre tandis qu’à l’extrême droite, on assiste simultanément à la scène du sacrifice du fils d’Abraham³ et à l’arrivée des anges de la fin du monde en arrière-plan. Il y a aussi une évocation de la naissance du conflit Israélo Palestinien représentée au centre
de l’œuvre, par les juifs sionistes ayant l’intention de détruire le Dôme, ainsi qu’un palestinien s’y opposant fermement. On aperçoit également un représentant du clergé tentant de remplacer l’emblème islamique sur le dessus de la coupole par une croix catholique afin d’évoquer la conversion du temple en église, en réalité le temple a été converti par les envahisseurs des croisades, et Saladin nettoyant le Dôme à l’eau de rose afin de le purifier et de le reconverter en mosquée. Quant aux débris de pierre entourant de dôme, ils sont présents afin de signifier qu’il a été construit sur le site du temple de Salomon. Le Dôme est un emblème spirituel participant à l’image sacrée de la ville, ce qui attire bon nombre de touristes et de fanatiques. On y aperçoit donc deux individus atteints du syndrome de Jérusalem à droite de l’image ainsi qu’un petit groupe de touristes au premier plan n’ayant plus accès au temple. Il y aurait pu y avoir une évocation aux croisades, au roi Salomon ainsi qu’aux colonialistes qui furent absolument fascinés par l’architecture du Dôme, mais j’ai dû sélectionner certains éléments afin de ne pas surcharger ma composition.

Au niveau esthétique, j’ai déterminé que le style caricatural minimaliste et évocateur de la bande dessinée servirait bien mon sujet et me permettrait de créer une juxtaposition d’anachronismes dynamique. Une autre inspiration au niveau de la composition est la peinture paysagiste traditionnelle, qui dépeint toujours le Dôme en lui donnant une grande importance dans la composition. Le dôme est donc ici l’élément focal, les
éléments évoluent autour de ce point d’intérêt. L’aspect naïf et minimaliste permet d’identifier rapidement chaque personnage et ajoute aux propos didactiques du projet. L’emploi du noir et blanc résulte d’un choix esthétique personnel, mais me sert aussi à détourner l’attention de ce bleu qui rend le Dôme si caractéristique, afin de me concentrer sur la richesse des textures de sa structure. Les sept anges de la fin du monde sont représentés avec un style graphique distinct, afin d’évoquer l’aspect abstrait de la nature de ce concept dans la conception humaine. Il y a tout de même une certaine maladresse au niveau de leur disposition qui me dérange énormément et je les aurais disposés autrement si j’avais eu le luxe de recommencer le projet. Il s’agit peut-être simplement du choix des couleurs qui alourdit cette partie de la composition laquelle est tout de même très dynamique.

J’ai délibérément laissé certaines zones de vide, afin, d’une part, de pouvoir évoquer la représentation photographique la plus récurrente du Dôme qui le montre comme étant situé dans un endroit désert, et d’autre part de rappeler la plasticité de l’objet d’art.

Une autre inspiration esthétique est celle du travail de F’murr, bédéiste et créateur du Génie des alpages, au niveau de pour la simplicité de ses dessins, et de l’aspect très expressif de ses personnages.
Cette démarche m’a appris beaucoup sur l’histoire du Dôme ainsi que sur l’importance de son site pour les différents peuples fondateurs de Jérusalem. Il illustre aussi l’attitude compétitive des leaders islamistes d’une certaine époque qui ont vraiment recherché à promouvoir et à valoriser leur religion, ce qui fonctionna et permit d’étendre la religion musulmane en Afrique du nord, mais aussi en Asie. J’ai également appris l’importance des institutions religieuses au niveau du patrimoine archéologique ainsi que du procédé de restauration minutieux du Dôme. Je propose donc une vision délurée, ludique, et didactique d’évènements marquant de l’histoire d’une des villes les plus convoitées pour sa valeur spirituelle.

NOTES

1 Oleg Grabar, La formation de l’art islamique (Paris: Flammarion, Champs, 2000).


5 “Dome of the Rock,” Wikipedia.


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First and foremost it is important to underline that my artwork is not a depiction of Jerusalem in a given time period, but rather a response to what I perceive as a mutual feeling of superiority and primacy of ownership of Jerusalem among three major groups: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, to the exclusion of one another. Each of the groups, despite their common origins and mythologies, sees itself as the only one that belongs in Israel and Jerusalem. I will focus on two time periods in Jerusalem’s history: the Crusader period and the second Palestinian Intifada,
using a range of artworks originating from these three religions. For this reason, this paper will discuss the back stories of each religion, as well as their art, and finally I will reveal and discuss my response.

CHRISTIANITY

I will begin with the Christian Crusaders of Europe. It is commonly understood that the Crusades were enacted as a response to Muslim occupation of Jerusalem. Indeed, from the point of view of Christians who participated, the rationale for the Crusades was that the Holy City needed to be liberated from the infidel non-believers. Along the way Christian knights massacred Jews and Muslims alike not only in Judea, but at home as well, not once, but on nine separate campaigns.

As discussed by Shmuel Shepkaru, “religious idealism” together with the calls to fight the “enemies of God” as the attackers’ rationale resulting from a popular distortion of Pope Urban’s call led to the attackers’ failure to distinguish between the Muslim and the Jewish “enemy.”¹ It is important to underscore that this mentality of primacy, subtle as it may be, often persists in the psyche of some Christians even into the modern day. While it is apparent that the allegedly “Christian” nations of today, such as the United States of America, and Central and Western Europe (barring perhaps the Eastern Orthodox nations), often side
with Judaic Israel on Judeo-Muslim affairs, it should be noted that Pope Jean-Paul II has publicly expressed the Church’s regret, shame, and sorrow for the events of the Fourth Crusade, notably the sacking of Constantinople and the massacre and displacement of countless orthodox Christians. A common perception then might be that while the senseless murder of countless Christians over a plot of land is a tragedy, the senseless murder of countless Jews and Muslims is business as usual. For some readers, it might seem that the alleged tragedy lies in that the mission of the Fourth Crusade was to actually make it to the Holy Land and slaughter Jews and Muslims - but such a conclusion should not be taken for granted.

Consider also the rising trend of Islamophobia among some western Christians, exemplified by the so-called war on terror. One may wonder why it is only the Muslim populations of the Middle East that provoke intervention from western countries. This tendency can be interpreted from a great deal of Christian art about the Crusades, usually depicting a glorified Christian army carrying out God’s will and purging the Holy City of infidels. I chose to focus on Massacre of the Jews by the People’s Crusade by Auguste Milgette (Fig. 1) as its subject is the unofficial Crusade, the one carried out by common folk who could not even wait to pass the Franco-German border before engaging in the titular activity. One can imagine the devastation and bloodshed caused by actual knights trained in combat.
JUDAISM

Many religions promote the idea that their adherents are a specially selected group, and Judaism equally enshrines the idea of supremacy over others. The Israelite are after all, “God’s chosen people.” One can imagine that from some perspectives this is what motivated and justified the annihilation of Jerusalem’s founders and original inhabitants, the Canaanites. As argued by Ruchama Marton,
Israelis have held on to their historical victim status long past its salient historical time. The state of Israel is the strongest military power in the Middle East and possesses nuclear capabilities. It occupies Palestine and controls the lives of Palestinians, as well as their natural resources and economy.²

While there are plenty of examples that have been argued to demonstrate the Judaic sentiments of primacy over others, affording Israelis certain “rights” which do not extend to others (the “rights” to a nuclear arsenal) I will focus instead on the second Palestinian Intifada – which was the second Palestinian uprising that took place in response to the use of lethal military force on Palestinian civilians who were enraged by Sharon’s appearance on the temple Mount – and some of the events leading up to it.

At its base, it can be argued that the prelude to the Second Intifada was the expulsion of Palestinians from their homes and the illegal annexation and occupation of their territories: the Golan Heights, Gaza Strip, West Bank - and most importantly, East Jerusalem. This was in defiance of the international agreements that granted the land to the Jews in the first place, stipulating a two-state system. Even before the Intifada arguments concerning who was indeed the sole proprietor of the Holy Land were apparent. One event that may have contributed to the Intifada was Ariel Sharon’s visit to the Dome on the
Rock; this visit could be construed as intended to assert Israeli sovereignty over the Temple Mount, and by extension illegally occupied East Jerusalem. There is also the matter of tossing the Oslo Process out the window and the deception at the Camp David Summit. The Oslo Process was a set of Accords signed in the 1990s based on the earlier Camp David Accords (1978), which intended to lead to a peace treaty between Palestine and Israel based on UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, with the ultimate goal of ensuring the Palestinians’ right to self-determination (a two-state solution). This was supposed to be the foundation of the peace talks, hence the massive point of contention between Barak and Arafat. According to some these events were less a negotiation and more a means to the end of a singular Zionist state and the continued domination and exile of the Palestinian population. The use of overwhelming force by the Israeli Defence Force and Israeli police forces did not help matters, nor did the eventual passing of legislation declaring East and West Jerusalem a single, indivisible city that is the capital of the Jewish state of Israel.
This sentiment of primacy and superiority can be seen in the image of the holographic temple project by Yitzhaq Hayutman (Fig. 2). In this work, the temple is projected above the Dome of the Rock, suggesting superiority as though it descends from heaven, thus suggesting the illegitimacy of Islam’s third most
holy site. Furthermore, the ultimate objective of the project is to usher in the Judaic day of reckoning, in which God presumably descends from the heavens and purges the land of non-believers - a group that includes many who are not of the Jewish faith but nonetheless come out of the Abrahamic tradition. The most cynical conclusion of such an endgame would be that apparently Yahuweh hates all of his children and aims to destroy them all in due time.

A second example of this tendency is evident in an image of graffiti on the Israeli side of the wall dividing Israel from the masses of Palestinian refugees displaced and driven from their homes (Fig. 3). If the wall itself is not a clear enough sign that it is felt that the Palestinians do not belong there, this particular section of wall depicts lush green fields and clear blue skies painted over it, as though to deny the mass human suffering and sordid living conditions on the other side. The rhetorical argument of these images seems to be that not only do the predominantly Muslim Palestinians belong out of Israel, they belong out of sight and mind as well. Combined with the abject refusal to allow the right of return, the message is clearer than the skies that are painted on that section of wall.

ISLAM

Lastly, we have the Muslims, who not only went on their own crusades of conversion by the sword – most notably those under the Umayyad Caliphate – but also conquered Jerusalem (a number of times), burnt down the original Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and built a mosque on the site of the Temple of Solomon. In the specific context of the Muslim Palestinian-Israelis this sentiment of superiority is difficult to place. Many people argue that a single-state arrangement is impossible, and while it was presented as being otherwise, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) has not made a claim for such - certainly not at Camp David. Yasser Arafat insisted on
negotiating from the Oslo Process as a starting point, whereas Defense Minister of Israel Ehud Barak insisted on working from a post-occupation and then status-quo as a base. According to some, however, the annexations of Palestinian territory were the result of Israel’s anti-Zionist neighbours’ constant attacks and denial of Israel’s right to exist. Many groups still retain this position, including Palestine’s current democratically elected Hamas government: two sources that demonstrate this point are Lawrence L. Whetten’s 1974 text *The Canal War: Four-Power Conflict in the Middle East* and James Thomas Farrell’s *It Has Come to Pass* (1958). It would seem that possibly the only thing both Sunni and Shi’a can agree on is the idea that the Jews do not belong in Israel. As a result, one may conclude that the Intifada and the events leading up to it were a vicious circle of each sect fueling the other’s sense of primacy.
That being said, Sliman Mansour’s painting *Jerusalem in the Heart* (Fig. 4) depicts a Palestinian woman on her knees coddling Jerusalem as a mother would care for her child. This Jerusalem however, depicts a visually Muslim Jerusalem with the Dome of the Rock in particular emphasis. Even if this image takes the political stance that East Jerusalem (where the Temple Mount is situated) is Palestinian territory, it is a part of the same dogma. It is difficult to argue that Jerusalem belongs to any one Semitic faith or sect.

**THE RESPONSE**

My painting, *Who’d win in a wrestling match.... (Lemmy or God)* (2013) (Fig. 5) is titled after an iconic scene from the cult movie *Airheads*. The apparent answer to this trick question is that Lemmy is God. The titular Lemmy is a reference to Lemmy Killmeister – of Motorhead, Hawkwind, and New Wave of British Heavy Metal pioneer fame - often referred to by his nickname, “God,” within heavy metaldom. Fans, interviewers, magazines, movies fellow musicians, even Rob “Metal God” Halford all refer to Lemmy simply as God.
This painting is a response to this mutual illusion of primacy, a way to show that no single group can make claims for primacy over another. Christianity branched out from Judaism, honouring the same prophets, embracing the same scripture and mythology and worshipping the same god, while adding its own prophet and mythology. In turn, Islam did the same, except taking off where Christianity left off, adding yet another prophet and more stories. All three prophets are said to convey the message of the same god. All three religions consider themselves God’s chosen ones, and all three consider adherents of the other two faiths to be heathens. This is an example of
the same story being told from three different vantage points in time. Have we forgotten that Jesus was a Jew? That Arabs are as much a Semitic people as the Hebrews? Clearly they cannot all be right, and they cannot all be wrong, and clearly if they all believe in primacy over the others, something is being lost - yet all three have spent the past two millennia fighting among themselves over the same plot of land, in the name of the same god, a god that is evidently not what any one religion believes it to be.

In terms of creative process, the original concept was to depict the six-armed Hindu godhead Vishnu depicted as the puppeteer, with his free arms used to high-five the Germanic/Norse godhead Odin and exchange money with the Egyptian goddess Bast and the Sumerian daemon-god Nergal. The intention is to present the idea that one god is entertaining his friends and taking bets on humanity with the other gods, all of whom are having a laugh at humanity’s expense. I developed a simpler depiction of Lemmy as god on the basis that the original was simply too much work that would have been impossible to complete within the allotted time span (and aesthetically, it would crowd the image entirely too much), in addition to not wanting to portray any one god or religion as more or less valid that the others. The solution was to depict Lemmy using iconography typically reserved for Hindu deities, thus offending everyone involved equally.
To compose the painting I first selected an appropriate image to serve as the basis for the backdrop. I chose a scene depicting the Temple Mount and Wailing Wall as it is an ideal depiction of Jerusalem as a multi-faith city. In a new layer above this scene, I drew my guides and outline over the backdrop, as well as charting out lines and outlines for Lemmy and the three prophets over a composite image of the four. Next, I removed the underlying layers and painted layer after layer of digital acrylic and oil paints using a drawing tablet and paint simulation program, finally removing the guides and outlines, leaving me with the final result.

This version is both less offensive, yet simultaneously so much more offensive anywhere outside of heavy metaldom. It is ultimately a piss-take of the “all roads lead to Rome” philosophy on religion; the belief does not matter so much as the journey, all paths lead to the same place in the end. In this version Lemmy’s free hands are used to, pardon the colloquialism, rock out the cosmic bass solo (in my head, the intro to the song *I don’t believe a word*) parodying the divine fanfare associated with the events the projection of the holographic temple is meant to set in motion. If all three worship the same god, and all three have their own version of the end of days, and all three believe this event will lead to the annihilation of the non-believers, would this event ultimately result in the annihilation of all three religions? How can Yahuweh be more valid and have
primacy over Yahuweh and Yahuweh? That being said, how can Judaism, Christianity, and Islam have primacy over each other?

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Three Religions, Three Sacred Sights

EDUARDO MAZZONNA

Throughout my studies and practices as an artist, I have produced a number of projects dealing with architecture. From my point of view, the best way to really understand a city or country is to study its architecture. For this reason, I decided I would make a work of art depicting buildings that are often considered to be Jerusalem’s most important and sacred sights, and as I am a Print Media major, I thought it would be best to communicate my knowledge using the form of a print. The city is shared by Christians, Muslims, and Jews, therefore the architecture is accordingly varied in style, structure, and use. The three main structures I decided to include in my work are the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Dome of the Rock, and the
Western Wall. In order to produce a successful piece of art, both aesthetically and conceptually, I had to figure out how and why these structures were built, what separated one from the other, and how they represent the religious beliefs of the cultures that use them. After an in-depth study, I realized that light, colour, shape, and decorative elements all seem to have played a huge role in the construction of these structures. To produce my work of art, I chose those components that are most significant to the structure and made them the central aspects of my print.

In my project, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is represented through many aspects simultaneously. A broad swath of Christian beliefs was incorporated in the construction of the church: the arched windows, the hole in the centre of the dome, the colourful mosaics, and figurative representations of holy figures are a few of the church’s symbolic characteristics. The abundant use of light in the space has symbolic value, but is also useful in revealing the dome and numerous mosaics. The church’s ability to use natural light to illuminate specific interior areas is what separates it most from the Dome of the Rock and the Western Wall - as will be discussed further. In her article, “Sacred Landscapes and the Phenomenon of Light,” Barbara Weightman states how and why the Christians used light: “richly coloured stained-glass windows dramatized the effect of incoming light, so that each heavenly beam was a divine lancet filled with the promise of solace and grace. Such inspiring light effected the transition of a secular structure into a sacred sphere:
figuratively it created heaven on earth.”¹ Once I had realized the importance of light in Christian architecture, I decided I would make it the centre of attention in my depiction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. I intended to create a beam from the sky that would protrude from the dome and shine onto the church’s colourful mosaics. Although this is the centre of attention in my depiction of the church, I have also included other dominant features such as the arched windows and the cross.

In my artwork, the Dome of the Rock is represented mostly through shapes, patterns, and colour. It is entirely covered and decorated, on the inside and out, with detailed patterns and geometric shapes. In comparison to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is decorated mostly in the inside, this Islamic building is decorated everywhere. According to Muslim belief, it is impossible to represent Allah in any figurative form, and so instead the space is ornamented with intricate patterns, geometric shapes, and elaborate mosaics.² The Dome of the Rock is also very rich in colour, unlike the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Western Wall which are muted in tone. Why is colour and shape so important to Muslims? It is described that:

the shrine conveys its own message through color and shape. In Islamic art, blue, the color of the sky, suggests infinity, while gold represents the color of the knowledge of God. The shape of the dome itself is a powerful symbol
of the soaring ascent to heaven, its circle representing the wholeness and balance essential to the Muslim faith.\(^3\)

Since colour, shape, and patterns are so dominant in this monument, I decided to draw the viewer’s eyes to an illuminated Dome of the Rock filled with decorative shapes and patterns. I also created a beam of light in this depiction to give an impression and feeling of ascent to heaven. Finally, I decided to fill in some of these shapes and patterns with gold and blue, to emphasize the importance of these colours to the Muslim faith.

The Western Wall is significantly known for its immense stones. The stones reveal a large amount of history of bloodshed and battle, but also of Jewish tradition.\(^4\) Although it is unknown where these stones were taken from, they are definitely from the region of Jerusalem. The colour of these stones is very significant to the city and to the Jewish faith. Meleke is the name given to the pale limestone that was used in the Western Wall. The so-called “Jerusalem stones” are a symbol of Jewish identity.\(^5\) In comparison to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock, the Western Wall’s symbolic meaning relies entirely on what it was constructed with. Although the stones are most significant to the Western Wall, it is important to remember that light is what makes them visible. Similarly to how light is essential to the Christian faith, the Jews also believe that they need light to illuminate sacred places. In reference to Judaism and other faiths, Barbara Weightman states that: “Natural light,
deftly manipulated, reveals, clarifies, and structures emanations of the divine in sacred places. At once awed and mystified by light and shadow, supplicants are inspired to commune with the holy.” As the immense stones at this site have such importance, I have decided to make them the centre of attention in my depiction of the Western Wall. I also made the wall the brightest element in the image in order to show the presence of light. To fix the viewer’s eyes onto the wall, I decided to exaggerate the size of the stones. I also included the pale yellow colour of the stones to show their belonging to the city of Jerusalem.

In conclusion, I realized that each of these sacred sites is different from one another but also very alike in some way, shape, or form. When we look at a building or structure, it is impossible to grasp everything merely from its visual aspects. In order to get an insightful understanding of the structure we are looking at, we must get to know the history that lies deep within its walls. Within the depictions I have created, my goal was to put on display not only architectural features of the structures but also the religious beliefs that influenced them. By doing this, I am giving the viewer the opportunity to associate visual aspects and religious beliefs simultaneously.
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3 Ibid.


6 Weightman, 63.

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Jérusalem, le cœur du monde

ÉLISE PETERS

Plusieurs endroits sacrés dans le monde sont visités, chaque année, par des millions de personnes en pèlerinage pour se rapprocher le plus possible de Dieu. On dit qu’il n’y a qu’une seule ville sacrée et c’est sur le territoire d’Israël. Jérusalem est une ville complexe. En effet, plus de cent trente kilomètres carrés accueillent quelques 750 000 habitants; une population ethnique diversifiée de musulmans, chrétiens et juifs. Cette ville contient un nombre exceptionnel de sites sacrés, sources de conflits depuis des années.\(^1\) Il est difficile de s’entendre sur des croyances, et la guerre et les conflits d’intérêts ne datent pas d’hier. Je m’intéresse donc à cet endroit en termes de localité. Cet endroit que l’on définit comme le centre du monde selon la bible. La création d’une toile : « Jérusalem, le cœur du monde » aura pour but d’illustrer cet attachement à la ville de
Jérusalem dans notre vie contemporaine, aux problèmes qui en dérivent, autant dans sa structure que dans l’idée spirituelle qui nous y rattache. Il est intéressant de voir, selon différents points de vue et religions en quoi cet endroit est si important, et je m’intéresserai donc à la localisation de ce centre cosmique.

Nous regardons tous le monde à partir de notre vision. Nous sommes notre propre centre et tout ce que nous voyons est situé par rapport à nous. Il est donc évident qu’un peuple en position dominante procède de la même façon. Ce centre du monde tant convoité représente pour la plupart un endroit d’invulnérabilité, un désir de s’assurer de la maîtrise d’un monde, et d’éviter la peur de vivre dans (un monde de) le chaos sans repère ou assurance d’avenir. « The Jerusalem that is above is free, which is our mother, and You have come to Mount Sion and the city of living God, the heavenly Jerusalem. »

Le centre du monde pour ces religions en guerre est perçu comme le pivot d’un ordre positif. Les discours bibliques sur le temple font du sanctuaire « la clé de voûte et la représentation symbolique d’un immense ordre du monde, qui affecte non seulement la géographie, mais aussi la vie sociale et les rapports entre les peuples. »

Les peuples anciens considèrent l’ordre du monde comme étant structuré autour d’un centre délimité par une clôture. Ce monde correspond à l’ordre idéal de la création. Pour les chrétiens, c’est l’alliance de Dieu avec l’humanité entière. « Ce système de pensée imprègne la vie entière et s’impose à tous les évidences. Il est intériorisé non seulement par des discours,
mais aussi par les pratiques rituelles, comme l’offrande des sacrifices ou le pèlerinage (...) par l’action rituelle, rejoindre le temps sacré et l’Origine; ainsi, les individus forment un seul peuple et retrouvent les énergies nécessaires à la vie. » L’œuvre que je vous présente illustre cette vision qui est propre à notre identité, incrustée en nous. Dans mon œuvre je veux souligner cette tension entre l’intérieur de la ville et l’extérieur.

Une artiste m’a beaucoup inspirée. Il s’agit de Nabil Anani avec sa toile: *Mother’s Embrace* (2013) (Fig. 1). Le connu, le rassurant, ce centre du monde qui assure la puissance. Par le biais de la forme humaine, je lie la cartographie de manière métaphorique pour illustrer une circulation typographiquement sanguine, une évolution dans le temps, l’agrandissement du territoire. Contrairement à la symbolique biblique, dans laquelle Jérusalem est un arbre cosmique placé au centre d’un jardin à l’aspect d’une oasis, un arbre qui représente la vie, j’utilise la forme anthropomorphique comme métaphore de ce lieu sacré, délimité par la surface même de notre corps, la peau. Les frontières du monde connues. Au-delà de nos frontières, c’est l’inconnu. Imager le temple de Jérusalem comme le cœur de notre corps, celui qui fait fonctionner l’ensemble de notre système et de nos croyances.
Fig. 1. Nabil Anani, *Mother’s Embrace*, 2013.
Photo: Nabil Anani.
« La tradition de Jérusalem centre du monde s’adosse à l’idéologue du temple, elle-même liée à des pratiques culturelles qui se perpétuent dans une large mesure depuis les origines d’Israël jusqu’au premier siècle de notre ère. Le temple incarne, en effet un ordre cosmique caractérisé par une structuration de l’espace, du temps et du rapport. »\(^5\) Les murs entourant la ville procurent un sentiment de sécurité au peuple qui y réside.

« The arched gate leading onto the main colonnaded north-south street is still visible below the Damascus Gates built by Suleiman the Magnificent in the mid-sixteenth century. This and other arched gates, such as the so-called Ecce Homo arch or the Via Dolorosa, fulfilled a propaganda rather than defensive function. »\(^6\)

Sur ma toile, nous pouvons voir un corps humain cartographié dans lequel des lignes abstraites entrent à quelques endroits, du nord au sud en passant par l’ouest et l’est. L’évolution du territoire et ses cartographies m’inspire autant pour les délimitations de la ville de Jérusalem, que les chemins et la vue aérienne. Depuis l’arrivée de l’industrialisation, apportant avec elle voitures et nouvelles technologies, le renouvellement du plan d’urbanisme de la vieille ville de Jérusalem est devenu essentiel afin de la rendre adéquate à la vie moderne. Mais il s’agit également de conserver son histoire antique, une histoire meurtrie par les guerres qui n’ont laissé derrières elles que des vestiges du passé. Plusieurs plans de villes ont été proposés comme celui émis par William Maclean en 1918. Son but était de faire un plan pour
préserver le caractère spécial de Jérusalem. Ensuite, le plan de Patrick Geddes proposait une expansion vers le nord. En 1919, Ashbee (Fig. 2) proposait lui, une division en huit zones et une extension des boulevards. Plusieurs autres plans suivirent dans le but d’unir cette ville. À ce jour, le dernier plan est toujours en attente d’approbation « En septembre 2004, la municipalité israélienne a publié un nouveau schéma directeur pour la ville de Jérusalem. Il traverse en 2005 la phase d’enquête publique, avant d’être voté en conseil municipal. Ce document revêt une valeur considérable : le précédent schéma directeur approuvé et toujours en vigueur date de 1959. » Les défis à réaliser sont les suivants : préserver l’héritage culturel, améliorer l’état des résidences, contrôler le tourisme de masse ainsi que les nouvelles constructions, évaluer les infrastructures, l’accès et le stationnement, respecter les zones piétonnières, protéger la végétation, le développement technologique et plusieurs autres.

C’est l’un de ces plans dont je me suis servie, et que j’ai transféré dans mon œuvre pour illustrer la fragilité de Jérusalem. Un livre de Guy Delisle (Fig. 3) m’a inspiré pour sa façon de représenter Jérusalem avec une imagerie puissante, et l’un de ses dessin à été utilisé dans ma toile, pour y représenter le centre du monde.
Fig. 3. Guy Delisle, *Chroniques de Jérusalem*, Editions Delcourt, 2011.
C’est au cœur de la dichotomie centre (de la terre) et périphérie que germent l’inégalité, la domination, et le pouvoir. La question du centre de la Terre est aussi celle de notre relation à la vérité. Il est vrai que l’inconnu et la différence font peur, mais elle est sans limite. Rester dans le confort et la routine devient monotone. Encore aujourd’hui il est question de guerre et de conflits. Nous souhaitons tous que ces tragédies cessent pour qu’un jour, une réconciliation ait enfin lieu et que la paix règne sur notre planète.

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4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Goodman, 14.

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Christian Hagia Polis Hierosolyma

Hagia Polis Hierosolyma : la ville sainte des chrétiens
The city of Jerusalem has an extremely rich and complex history. Due to the many conquests and crusades – for religious purposes or for the proliferation of territory – tales connected to this city have been told in many different ways. In this paper I will focus on literature and art, with special attention to illuminated manuscripts that are enhanced by miniature illustrations.
and decorative elements in the borders around the lettering.\(^1\) Illuminated manuscripts were used to illustrate important stories, mostly religious in nature, as well as important historical events such as the crusades. I will discuss the representation of these events in illuminated manuscripts. The context in which these objects were created and their purpose will be considered. I will then propose an original piece of work and compare it with traditional works from the medieval period.

My illustration is based on the murder of the sultan Turanshah by the Mamluks and the Giant Baibars mentioned in Simon Sebag Montefiore’s book *Jerusalem: The Biography*. Montefiore describes the event: “Baibars slashed the sultan who fled bleeding down to the Nile as the mamluks fired arrows into him. He stood wounded in the river [...] a mamluk waded in, cut off his head and sliced open his chest. His heart was cut out.”\(^2\) I chose this particular scene because it was particularly graphic and this event led to the end of the Saladin Dynasty which consequentially brought Jerusalem into a ten-year period of chaos.\(^3\)
I wanted to take a closer look at the impressive illuminated manuscripts and question their representation; I focused my observations on how the crusades in Jerusalem were portrayed. I found that the images depicting these battles and conquest were purposely glorified as they served to encourage more men to continue participating in the oncoming crusades. They also served to create what is called a collective memory, to maintain once again a positive community coming together as a nation. They do not necessarily alter reality, but simply present it in a selective way.

The Crusader Period in Jerusalem lasted for two centuries. The crusades were mainly motivated by religion in an attempt to claim the Holy Land. Pope Urban II put the First Crusade into motion, fueled by the persecution of Christians under the rule of
Al-Hakim. During his rule, Hakim had ordered the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where it is said Jesus was crucified and buried. The First Crusade was mandated to liberate the Holy Sepulchre and conquer Jerusalem; many more crusades followed.  

In *Remembering the Crusades*, Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager introduce crusader memory with a letter by Picard nobleman Anslem of Rebimont. This letter, recalling the fallen men who gloriously died for the victorious conquest, became an important memorial of the crusading experience and figured into the construction of a collective memory for these events. This collective memory recalls the extraordinary experiences that occurred during the crusades, focusing heavily on the fulfillment of a “divine plan of history.” This being said, it is easy to observe that the central driving force of these memories is to glorify and marvel at significant events that shaped medieval history and honour the “heroes” who participated. This is an important set of attitudes to consider when studying illuminated manuscripts describing the crusades.

My observations about the aesthetics of these illuminated manuscripts are based upon the first illustration of the texts of William Tyre’s *History of Outremer*. The crusade of Peter the Hermit is the first scene from Tyre’s texts that is illustrated (Fig. 1). Peter the Hermit was charged by Simeon, the patriarch...
of the Holy City at this time, to bring a letter to all the rulers of the land to urge them to find a way to remedy the conflicts. Jaroslav Folda, a medievalist and expert in manuscript illumination, states that it is “remarkable that this holy man and pilgrim – not the pope – is remembered as the first advocate for bringing aid to the Holy Land.” Folda explains that at the time of the fall of the Holy City, this was a choice that was made probably by artists longing for help to reclaim Jerusalem again. In reading about the illuminations representing this First Crusade, I realized that the events represented positively commemorate the important religious figures, the soldiers, and the battles that were fought. They were not done in a way to carefully depict the facts for future historians, but to remember the “miraculous success of this First Crusade.” The illustration of the soldiers of the First Crusade attacking Antioch (Fig. 2) is said to be the most glorious memory of these victorious crusaders that any Eastern or Western medieval artist ever made. Glory is represented before accuracy. Looking at these pieces of history today, we can question these images and maybe frown upon their inaccuracy to relate exact facts – although that was not their purpose. They were created to compose a sort of great eulogy.
Fig. 2. *Soldiers of the First Crusade attacking Antioch.*
Paris, Bibliotheque nationale de France, MS f. 9084, fol.53r, bk. 5.
Photograph courtesy of the Bibliotheque nationale de France, Paris.

Fig. 3. Step 1: Silverpoint drawing of outline for *The Representation of Turanshah’s Assassination.*
Crusaders and their families were filled with pride about being involved in this conquest – whether the participant came back victorious, or perished bravely in battle. Survivors brought back memorabilia from their journey to their families, and the men who were lost at war were praised. Often for generations, descendants of these crusaders would continue to fight – even though they had lost family to this ongoing battle. The narratives contained in the illuminated manuscripts contributed greatly to the continuation of crusades and the reinforcement of a collective memory.11 The brave acts were represented in a solemn way, avoiding graphic elements that would disturb or discourage any man from wanting to defend his beliefs and his territory. This way, what would be remembered is the great battle they fought as opposed to the great losses they suffered from, or even the losses they caused to the opposing parties.

This idealistic vision of the crusades shapes our view of Jerusalem still today, because this collective memory has survived all these centuries. I also think that the reason to keep this more positive look on these events was to hide or attempt to forget the horrible battles that happened during the crusades. I found it ironic that in Montefiore’s book Jerusalem: The Biography every gruesome detail was included, but in the documentary that he produced with the BBC, the visuals were not in accord with this harsh narrative. A decision was made to control the input of violent images in this documentary.
The illuminated manuscripts created for the crusades recall today’s advertisement campaigns for army enrolment, where the action is dramatic but mainly positive and not graphically violent. The emphasis is on helping the nation versus fighting against another nation and the great consequences that result from these acts. These manuscripts similarly are a form of propaganda promoting the protection the nation. Although I do not live in any of the countries that might have participated in any crusades, there are other forms of collective memory I feel compelled to protect.

I decided to produce my own manuscript illumination with different goals in mind. This being said I paid no attention to preserving any communal memory. From an outsider’s point of view, this manuscript might seem to be a depiction of a scene that the artist witnessed. I put the emphasis on the violence of the scene, which was not a difficult task since it is the true nature of the historic event I chose to depict. Comparing my work to the previous illuminations mentioned in the text (Fig. 1, Fig. 2), I wanted to created something much more vivid and true to history. In *Soldiers of the First Crusade attacking Antioch* (Fig. 2), the artist depicts an elaborate battle. While the weapons are visible they are not put into any compromising form, showing any real violence. I decided to showcase these weapons. The number of crusaders and opponents in the original image are fairly equal and I chose an event with an unfair ratio. Although I am assured that the images produced were from actual events,
I attempted to produce one that would represent an event exactly how it was recorded in text.

I based my work on the process explained in Robert G. Calkins’ *Stages of Execution: Procedures of Illumination as Revealed in an Unfinished Book of Hours*. As I wished to follow traditional methods used in this art form, I followed these precise steps. First, one completes a silverpoint drawing of the design - mainly of the detailed work in the borders (Fig. 4, Fig. 5). Due to lack of resources and budget, I unfortunately had to replace the silver with pencil. Next one adds gold dots, enhancing the detail-work (Fig. 6, Fig. 7). Then, the drawing is inked with heavy black lines (Fig. 8, Fig. 9). The next step is to paint the base colour for the decorative items (Fig. 10) and this is followed by the addition of different tonalities to complete the work (Fig. 11). After the decorative elements have been painted, the figures are drawn in (Fig. 12). The same process of layering colours is applied to complete the illumination¹² (Fig. 13, Fig. 14, Fig. 15). Although an illuminated manuscript usually involves text accompanied by illustrations, I decided to focus solely on the image. This caused a slight alteration from the usual execution of illuminations, since no text was inserted, although I remained the closest I could to the traditional process. For the paint I used Tempera Casein, which is milk-protein based. Casein was one the many binding media used to transform pigment into useable paint for manuscript illuminations.¹³
Fig. 4. Details of Silverpoint Drawing for
*The Representation of Turanshah’s Assassination.*

Fig. 5. Step Two: Addition of gold dots to
*The Representation of Turanshah’s Assassination.*
Fig. 6. Details of the addition of gold dots to *The Representation of Turanshah’s Assassination*.

Fig. 7. Step Three: Heavy black lines are made with ink to emphasize the frame and the lines of *The Representation of Turanshah’s Assassination*. 

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Fig. 8. Details of heavy black lines made with ink to emphasize the frame and the lines of *The Representation of Turanshah’s Assassination*.

Fig. 9. Step Four: Undercoat of colour is applied to the frame and detail work of *The Representation of Turanshah’s Assassination*. 
Fig. 10. Step Five: Shading and other tonalities added to base colours on *The Representation of Turanshah’s Assassination*.

Fig. 11. Step Six: Silverpoint drawing of marginal figures of *The Representation of Turanshah’s Assassination*. 
Fig. 12. Step Seven: Marginal figures of *The Representation of Turanshah’s Assassination* painted with base colours.

Fig. 13. Step Eight: Finalize *The Representation of Turanshah’s Assassination* with shading and addition of different tonalities.
Fig. 14. Details of finalized painting: *The Representation of Turanshah’s Assassination*.

Fig. 15. *The Representation of Turanshah’s Assassination*, finalized.
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3 Ibid., 283.

4 Loren Lerner, “Jerusalem and the Crusader Period (1095-1291),” presented at Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, October 7, 2013.


6 Paul and Yeager, 3.


8 Folda, 132.

9 Folda, 137.

10 Folda, 135.


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Immaculate Mary: A Reflection on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Tomb of the Virgin in the Kidron Valley, Jerusalem

ELSBETH COSSAR

I was inspired to create the artwork *Immaculate Mary* primarily because of the beauty of the reverence towards Mary’s Tomb in the city of Jerusalem, at the foot of the Mount of Olives; I was also greatly influenced by my own Catholic faith and finally
by the mild controversy that surrounds the death or possible dormition (falling asleep) of the Virgin. The Tomb of Mary is also fascinating in that it inspires respect and veneration of the Mother of Jesus from all of the monotheistic religions that are present in Jerusalem.¹

There has long been a discussion about the death of Virgin Mary, the Mother of Jesus Christ. Primarily it must be said that the Church (of both Eastern and Latin Catholics) teaches that Mary was immaculately conceived; this is a very relevant characteristic in understanding the Assumption. Every human being, on account of being human and being subject to the pains of original sin, is born sinful in nature. Through baptism and following the teachings of Christ there is hope for salvation and hope for humanity to someday reach the everlasting kingdom of heaven.

Mary, the mother of God, was designed and created by God to be completely and utterly human, and yet as part of God’s necessary plan to bring salvation to the world through the person of Jesus Christ, Mary was conceived without sin. The Church teaches that,

the essence of original sin consists in the deprivation of sanctifying grace, and its stain is a corrupt nature. Mary was preserved from these defects by God’s grace; from the first instant of her existence she was in the state of
sanctifying grace and was free from the corrupt nature original sin brings.²

She was literally *full of grace* (as it is said in the prayer dedicated to her), in the sense that no sinful or evil inclinations ever existed within her; she remained pure and immaculate all the days of her life on earth. She serves as the example of the “fully achieved salvation promised to all who die in faith.”³ There is little wonder then as to why the Catholic Church as well as Islam teaches a strong reverence for and veneration of Mary.

With the factor of Mary’s perfection in mind, we can begin to look at our understanding of her Holy Assumption. The catechism of the Catholic Church states that Mary, “when the course of her earthly life had finished, was taken up body and soul into heavenly glory, and exalted by the Lord as Queen over all things.”⁴ In this statement we see that it is not explicitly mentioned whether or not Mary literally died, which can be interpreted that it is not necessary to say whether she died or merely fell asleep in order for the doctrine of the Assumption to still be true. It is generally accepted in both the Eastern and Latin Catholic Church that Mary did indeed die, but “if Mary is immaculately conceived, then it would follow that she would not suffer the corruption in the grave, which is a consequence of sin.”⁵ All that remains of her on Earth is the shroud of the Blessed Virgin, which is in the Church of Gethsemane, also in Jerusalem.⁶
This is in accord with the legend of the Tomb of the Virgin Mary that is part of the Church of the Sepulchre of Saint Mary in Kidron Valley. According to the Eastern tradition of the Church it is said that Mary died, and was in the tomb for three days before being resurrected (brought back to life). She was then assumed, through the power of God and not through her own power, into heaven. The tomb was found empty and some legends claim that it was filled with flowers. The Latin tradition holds that while it is likely that Mary died, it was also possible that she just fell asleep and was then assumed into heaven; in this case she would have had no need for a tomb. Despite that, both traditions as well as the majority those who venerate Mary acknowledge that there are no bodily remains of the Virgin here on Earth.

In my artwork titled *Immaculate Mary* I attempted to incorporate all of these beliefs into a cohesive representation. In this scene – the moment of the Assumption – Mary is being brought into a golden, heavenly realm through the parting clouds. She is surrounded by a crown of twelve stars with the crescent moon at her feet. These symbols are taken from the Book of Revelation. They are typically used in scenes of the Assumption and general Marian imagery. It is also common for the moon to be used as a symbol of Mary - for if Christ is symbolized by the sun, then Mary is the moon which reflects the light of Christ. Below the line of clouds is the tomb in which she may or may not have been buried. The door of the tomb is
wide-open, leading down into a dark area of unknown answers. There are two iconic rooftops (the Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) to emphasize that the tomb depicted is the one in Jerusalem - as there was a controversy over the true location of the tomb, either Jerusalem or Ephesus. 

Surrounding the tomb in the dark landscape there are lilies, painted in white, gold, and green. These lilies are representative of Mary’s purity (white), her immaculateness (gold), and her eternal life in heaven (green).

I chose to draw inspiration for my artwork from a variety of paintings from history, namely *The Assumption of the Virgin* by Titian (1516-1518), *The Assumption of the Virgin* by Francesco Botticini (c. 1475-1476), and *The Death of the Virgin* by Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1606). There are key elements from each artwork that aided my inspiration and guided generally the process of creating my artwork. From Titian’s *Assumption* (Fig. 1) I emulated the typical conventions of Assumption paintings. Very often the figure of Mary is being drawn into the heavens amid dramatic clouds, intense heavenly light, and a myriad of heavenly hosts such as angels and cherubs. In my own work I chose to simplify the composition to the basic conventions. Mary is drawn into Heaven through the surging and swelling clouds as they part. There are no heavenly hosts but that same feeling of celebration and glorification is suggested in the brilliant colours of the clouds as they catch the divine light.
The second work that I looked to when developing my own ideas is Botticini’s *Assumption* scene (Fig. 2). This work is very structured in its layout and the heavenly figures surround the
Virgin, and God at whose feet she kneels, in a series of three registers. Below is Earth, with those she left behind, and a tomb full of lilies. This image, painted in the fifteenth century, uses the apocryphal legend associated with Mary’s death; the tomb was filled with lilies on the third day, when she was assumed into heaven. I emulated the colour scheme from this artwork: the blue skies becoming the golden heavenly realm as Mary is assumed. The lilies were also an inspiration for me. I have learned much about Mary’s purity and the lily is a symbol for that. The fact that she was resurrected and assumed is due to her purity and perfection; her body would not be made subject to decay or corruption. I filled the bottom of my artwork, the surrounding area around the tomb, with lilies in order to emphasize this purity and perfection.

The final artwork that inspired me is Caravaggio’s *Death of the Virgin* (Fig. 3). This work was controversial in the time that it was commissioned because the Virgin’s death or dormition has never been agreed upon by all Catholics. As I do not believe that it is necessary to choose one or the other I would like to discuss the *Death of the Virgin* as a way of seeing a different perspective. Caravaggio depicts the Virgin’s body as an aged woman who is already showing signs of skin discolouration and bloating as a result of her death. Caravaggio was well known for having depicted his figures – be they Biblical or secular – as plebeian, middle class figures - people who were not perfect or ideal but those who were possibly more easy for viewers to relate to. His decision to depict the Virgin’s body as aged and in decay is in keeping with this tendency. However, this depiction is in opposition to the teaching of the Church concerning the end of the Virgin’s life. As mentioned before, corruption in the grave is a consequence of sin, and Mary, having been conceived without sin, would be excluded from that.\(^8\) I chose to depict Mary in my artwork as having been saved from bodily corruption. I also chose to portray her with an ambiguous age as another symbol of her freedom from sin.

Finally, the artwork is expressively painted to create an emotional response in the viewer. The angles of the cloud-banks point directly to Mary, who points to Heaven. She exists only to bring us closer to Christ and salvation, and even in her last moments on earth she points the way to Christ, interceding for
us. The expressive clouds heighten the emotion of the viewer, and we can meditate on the Immaculate Virgin Mary who is the perfect example of humanity in the original, sinless state that God intended. The tomb at her feet is a reminder of the consequences of sin (which is death) and the open door is a symbol of our hope for eternal life in Christ.

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The Jerusalem Syndrome is a psychological phenomenon in which an unsuspecting person is victim to a very strange, idiosyncratic psychosis. What is most interesting about this state is its particularities. The Jerusalem Syndrome is similar to the Stendahl Syndrome, a psychosomatic delirium in response to an event or place of subjective importance, and it is named after the nineteenth century author Stendahl, who suffered the affliction during a visit to Florence in the nineteenth century. Jerusalem Syndrome, however is specific to visitors of the Holy City of Jerusalem. There are three different degrees of Jerusalem Syndrome. Type one refers to previously mentally unstable persons. Type two, the most neutral, is simply an
obsession with the culture and personal idiosyncrasy of the religion. Type three, he most intriguing and extreme form of the symptom is the subject of my photo essay. This third type is a state of being in which a person is completely overwhelmed by the religious history and energy in the Holy City. The result is momentary insanity, hallucinations, psychosis, and perhaps even schizophrenia. The individual encounters a powerful surge of a primitive need to turn into a pilgrim, a saint, deity.

Through readings and contemporary art research, we may better understand the core of this anomaly. Ziv Koren, an important figure in Israeli photojournalism has observed and photographically recorded this element of religious culture. Koren successfully taps into the intimate and illusionary factors of life in the Holy City. Several questions may arise when dissecting the Jerusalem Syndrome, including visual curiosity, and perhaps even the lack of discussion over the appropriation of culture or religion. Koren’s approach to capturing culture and politics of the Middle East is often as provoking as it is perverse. Images of poverty and conflict – some of the most compelling and relevant images – are those of victims of the Jerusalem syndrome (Fig. 1, Fig. 2).
Fig. 1. Ziv Koren, photo.
http://archive.wired.com/magazine/2012/02/ff_jerusalemsyndrome/all/.
If we analyze the historical canon of orthodox dress, we may draw some interesting conclusions concerning modern day appropriation and generalization of Jewish culture. Jewish people at the beginning of the twentieth century were inspired by Arab and Bedouin wear because they felt it better represented their dedication to their biblical origins. We can also observe the ideology behind the practice of the veiled bride. It posits the idea of a woman coming into maturity with maintained purity and cleanliness symbolized through the veil. Undoubtedly, the ideology behind how our clothing and behavior defines us is very present in religion.
For my creative piece, I hope to project the ideology of insanity versus religion. Inspired by artists like Koren, I have chosen to present a performative photo essay to give a different elaboration of an idea than would be possible with a research paper, and because I believe that when we introduce other media to a discussion it opens our senses to further benefit our understanding. For my project, I created an altar in my personal space and have transformed myself into the Mary Magdalene. I see the Mary Magdalene as a woman of several controversies and a victim of a history of judgement. Was she a prostitute or a harlot? Was she a supernatural fertile body? Mary is, above all, an icon.

Contemporary art as well as fashion frequently explore the appropriation of religious iconography. For one, crosses, which were once considered sacred, are now being utilized as accessories. Many popular culture personalities costume themselves in extremely suggestive biblical attire, opening up dialogue to provoke, and ultimately capture, an attentive audience. Is this disillusionment or appropriation? We may conclude it is neither a sacred performance nor an act of worship. Philosopher James O. Young, who is based at the University of Victoria, refers to this situation as the “aesthetic handicap thesis,” a term that is intended to challenge the idea of cultural appropriation from an aesthetic point of view.
Relics are an important cultural element related to my chosen subject matter, and so I have included some in my photo essay. A relic is defined as “a part of the body of a saint or a venerated person, or else another type of ancient religious object, carefully preserved for purposes of veneration or as a touchable or tangible memorial.” My process consisted of collecting different objects in my household – to be used as relics – some more intimate than others, in order to define myself as a sacred object: a divine being. I collected my hair, a face cloth, my perfume, and my cigarette butts in order to create a plethora of personal – albeit perverse – relics of my present self. However, in the context of my project it was important to present these objects formally, to suggest that they must be venerated to the degree that I have deified myself. I carefully arranged these objects in precious containers. Next, I found a long sheet in which to wrap myself - an act typically carried out by those who are afflicted with Jerusalem Syndrome. My head is covered, and my face exposed in a manner that recalls many depictions of Mary Magdalene in religious artworks. I also found it important to include in my artwork some references to the mannerisms of people who suffer from Jerusalem Syndrome. The unsettling presence of abnormal behavior and obsessive compulsion should vibrate within these images, symptoms of an inauthentic form of enlightenment.
Fig. 3. Sara Graorac, *Jerusalem Syndrome: A Photo Essay*, 2013.
Fig. 4. Sara Graorac, *Jerusalem Syndrome: A Photo Essay*, 2013.
Fig. 5. Sara Graorae, Jerusalem Syndrome: A Photo Essay, 2013.
Fig. 6. Sara Graorac, *Jerusalem Syndrome: A Photo Essay*, 2013.

Fig. 7. Sara Graorac, *Jerusalem Syndrome: A Photo Essay*, 2013.
Fig. 8. Sara Graorac, *Jerusalem Syndrome: A Photo Essay*, 2013.
Fig. 9. Sara Graorac, Jerusalem Syndrome: A Photo Essay, 2013.
Fig. 10. Sara Graorac, *Jerusalem Syndrome: A Photo Essay*, 2013.
Fig. 11. Sara Graorac, Jerusalem Syndrome: A Photo Essay, 2013.
I encourage my audience to question and consider that a goal sometimes associated with appropriation – authenticity – is never achieved, because the method itself can never be truly credible. In effect, appropriation of a culture by an agent who is an outsider will always result in error, as this person attempts to grasp something that is not theirs. If I am not a pilgrim, I cannot identify as one. If I am of a particular culture, I cannot pretend to know another as thoroughly as my own. Nonetheless, it is important to explore the role of Jerusalem Syndrome within these confines.

The very root of the syndrome is mental, and there are no warning signs. It can be similar to a prolonged high, where endorphins cause a person to attain a state beyond their usual experience. When analyzing something so transitory and inscrutable, we may consider looking inward. If we investigate the symptoms of a syndrome we will probably never experience, this allows us to reflect on our own spiritual position, and this is the aim of my photo essay. Can we be informally enlightened? In sum, it is fascinating to observe the phenomena that lie in the border between spiritual devotion and insanity.
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The history of Jerusalem is one of conquest. Many empires from various cultures have tried to conquer its territory and impose their views on the Holy Land for centuries and centuries. The Roman Empire had much impact on Jerusalem, some of which is still very much visible today. The Romans were pagan, not adhering to the monotheistic religions present in Judea, like Judaism and later, Christianity. Some Roman emperors wanted to implant their Hellenistic religion in the Holy Land. For example, Hadrian built a Temple dedicated to Venus allegedly
in the same location as Christ’s tomb in Jerusalem. For others, it was simply a matter of territory and conquest, which brought much destruction to Judea. The Romans continued the hostility and persecution of the Jews, the Assyrians, and the Babylonians. A big shift in Roman ideology came with emperor Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor of Rome (although he was only baptized near his death). This precipitated a new view towards monotheistic religions as well as towards Jerusalem, the Holy Land.

Through art and architecture from the Roman Empire, a dichotomy can be seen in the attitudes of different emperors towards the Holy Land. Titus had a very destructive approach to Jerusalem with his conquest of Judea, around 70 CE. This is not only reflected in the destruction that Jerusalem faced, but also in the art that was produced in Rome after the conquest. On the other hand, Constantine had a very constructive approach towards Jerusalem, as a great patron of Christianity, with his massive building program of Christian holy places in the fourth century CE.

In 66 CE Titus’s father, Vespasian, started the war in Judea. This war involved the suppression of the Jewish rebellion against the Roman Empire in the province of Judea and Galilee. Before 70 CE Titus was named one of Vespasian’s legionary commanders and his tasks were more diplomatic than military in nature. Between 66 CE and 70 CE, Titus was present for the siege of five
different cities in Galilee, such as Jotapata, Japha, Tarichaeae, Gamala, and Gischala. In 70 CE, Titus was sent by his father to finish the Judean war. Jerusalem was the final site of this Judean war. Flavius Josephus, a Jewish scholar and historian who served as an interpreter to the Roman troops, recorded the events of the war in Judea and Galilee. Thanks to him we know exactly what happened during the siege of Jerusalem. The siege of Jerusalem was particularly destructive: famine arose, the rebels refused to surrender, and many were killed and crucified. Crucifixion was the method used by the Romans to kill their prisoners.

According to Josephus, Titus wanted to preserve the city and Herod’s Temple as a possession of the empire due to its beauty. Herod’s Temple was a restoration of Solomon’s temple and was one of the wonders of the ancient world. For the Jews the Temple was considered the house of God. It was the location for the tablets and other sacred objects and treasures of the Jews. Daily sacrifices were practiced at the Temple in order to purify oneself from sin or simply give thanks to the Lord. The Holy of Holies was a cubic shaped room separated from the rest of the temple by an ornate veil. It once housed the Ark of the Covenant that contained the Ten Commandments. Herod’s Holy of Holies was covered in gold plates and was empty due to the loss of the Ark during the destruction of Solomon’s temple by the Babylonians. The Jewish rebels and the Romans fought against one another for the possession of Herod’s Temple,
and this was one of the causes of its destruction. Both the Romans and the rebels damaged the Temple. In the end, all of the buildings of the Temple complex were burnt to the ground; many were killed and burned alive in the process. Titus’s troops sacked and burned the entire city to the ground after the Temple’s destruction. Many survivors were sold as slaves and taken to Rome as prisoners with Titus. The Romans looted the city and the temple. They took in their possession treasures of the temple such as the gold menorah, precious stones, massive tables, bowls, platters, etc. The war in Judea and the siege of Jerusalem by Titus destroyed what was most sacred to the Jews: their Temple. All there is of the Temple, to this day, is the Wailing Wall – the western foundation wall of Herod’s Temple (Fig. 1). This large stone wall, located at the base of the Temple Mount, remains today the most sacred site for prayer and pilgrimage in Judaism.
After Titus’ death in 81 CE, the Arch of Titus was constructed.¹⁹ In ancient Roman art, triumphal arches were mostly honourary monuments that celebrated the victories and achievements of various emperors. The Arch of Titus is a single arch made of marble (Fig. 2).²⁰ It has four raised, engaged columns on each façade, two framing the archway and two others at each extremity. The capitals of the columns are Roman composite capitals, “an ornate combination of the Ionic volutes and the
Corinthian acanthus leaves.” The inscription at the front reads: “The Senate and the Roman people to the deified Titus Vespasian Augustus the son of the deified Vespasian.” The two facades have little decoration besides the columns, the inscription, and a few reliefs:

Victories are found in the spandrels of the arch while a small figure of Roma (east side) and the Genius Populi Romani (west side) decorate the volutes marking the capstone of the arch. On the lower entablature just above the columns there is a frieze at small scale and with widely spaced figures representing again the procession of the Jewish triumph.

Fig. 2. Arch of Titus, after 81 CE. Marble, 15.4 metres high. Rome, Italy. http://www.mrcheapflights.com/Rome/images/Titus-Arch-LARGE.JPG.
The main decoration of the arch is on the inside, where there are two relief panels commemorating Titus’ triumph in Jerusalem. These reliefs would have been painted with various pigments. There are currently collaborative studies being conducted by the Yeshiva University Center for Israel Studies and the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma in order to determine what original colors adorned the arch.\(^{29}\) One of them shows the procession of Roman soldiers with the spoils from Herod’s Temple, namely the menorah and other precious items (Fig. 3). The other panel situated inside the arch, depicts a triumphant Titus in his chariot, surrounded by members of his legion (Fig. 4). Both panels are high relief. Some figures are almost completely separate from the block, making them fragile, which is why many parts were lost over time.\(^{24}\) In Roman art, historical events were portrayed faithfully, with vividness and energy.\(^{25}\) This can be seen in both panels with the illusion of movement that is created by the various motions of each character. They are all marching forward, emerging from the background, moving into the centre foreground, and finally fading into a slanted arch (the characters are rendered in lower relief at each extremity). Movement is also accentuated by the deep carving and the shadow it would have casted in different light. The soldiers are depicted in postures of struggle as they carry these large objects from Jerusalem. In the panel showing Titus’ triumph, figures personifying different imperial virtues are present. Victory rides with Titus in his chariot, placing a wreath on his head.\(^{26}\) It is believed that the bare-chested figure
below them is the personification of Honour. Leading Titus’ horses is a female figure, the personification of Valour. These personifications make Titus’ panel more symbolic than the panel depicting the procession of soldiers. In viewing this arch, Romans would have engaged with Titus’ victory in Judea.

Fig. 3. Spoils of Jerusalem, after 81 CE. Marble, relief panel in the passageway of the Arch of Titus, 7 feet 10 in. high. Rome, Italy. http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/7d/Arch_of_Titus_Menorah.png.

The commemoration of the conquest of Judea is also visible in other Roman artifacts, such as their currency (Fig. 5, Fig. 6). These coins depict, on one side, the head of either Titus or his father, Vespasian. There are many interchangeable elements that can be present on the reverse side: a palm tree, a kneeling Jewish captive, a seated woman in an attitude of mourning, and a triumphant Roman soldier. The arch of Titus, as well as these coins commemorate and illustrate a very destructive event in the history of Jerusalem. It also portrays how the Romans viewed these events: as a conquest over a lesser people. The memory of these events is still preserved in today’s practice of Judaism. For example, the most important Jewish prayers focus on Jerusalem and the hope for the rebuilding of the Temple. Also, numerous holidays such as Passover and Yom Kippur are
marked by the words “L’shanah haba’ah b’Yerushalayim” (Next Year in Jerusalem).  

Almost three centuries later, Constantine the Great became the first Christian emperor of the Roman Empire. This brought about a pivotal change to the Empire in terms of ideology, art, and architecture. Instead of being a patron to the Roman gods, Constantine was a very important patron of Christian holy places. He took the initiative to build numerous churches in the empire, many of which were located on top of martyr burials. He also issued the Edict of Milan, prohibiting the prosecution of the monotheistic Christians. Constantine showed interest in the Holy Land, where Christ had been crucified, buried, and resurrected. The same emperor that built a “New Rome” in Constantinople desired to build a “New Jerusalem” and is responsible for building an important number of Christian holy places. Constantine demanded that the Temple to Venus, built by Hadrian at the exact location of Christ’s tomb, be demolished. He also sent his mother, Helena, to find the Cross and participate in the excavations at the site of the tomb. This location is where Constantine decided to build the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, still visible today in Jerusalem. It is a very important site in the Christian tradition.
The construction of the church began in the fourth century CE.\textsuperscript{36} Due to damage caused by war and conquest, the church needed much restoration and repair. Owing to the fact that it has been modified through time, and that not all the elements of the church are original, it is hard to know exactly what the original church looked like. It is difficult to do any excavations due to the fact that the church, as modified as it may be, is still standing in the exact same location as the original church. To help in better understanding what its original architectural elements and decorations may have been like, there are numerous visual
accounts such as those of Eusebius, a Roman historian. We also have visual representations in art from the fourth century, such as the apse mosaic at the basilica of Santa Pudenziana, in Rome (Fig. 7). Some historians believe that Constantine’s Church of the Holy Sepulchre is depicted in this mosaic, with the Golgotha rock and the Cross.\(^\text{37}\) There are even later sources, such as the Madaba mosaic map, in Jordan (Fig. 8). In the portion depicting Jerusalem, the building at the bottom, with three doorways, is a depiction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.\(^\text{38}\) These representations in ancient art, along with various visual accounts, have helped historians decipher what the original church would have looked like.

Fig. 8. Madaba Mosaic Map, sixth century CE. Church of Saint George, Jordan. 
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c7/Madaba_map.jpg.
The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is somewhat complex because it consists of an agglomeration of many different architectural structures: the rotunda, the basilica, courtyards, an atrium, a baptistery, monastic cells, and so on. The rotunda, known as Anastasis, is on the site of Christ’s tomb (Fig. 9). Although Constantine died before the rotunda was finished it was part of his original plans for the church. Christ’s Tomb is in an aedicule, a small shrine resembling a building, inside the rotunda. The rotunda is a round mausoleum; its interior is perfectly circular, whereas its exterior is polygonal. A columned porch of eight columns and a pediment formed the façade of the rotunda in the fourth century. The interior is surrounded by a semicircular deambulatory that gives access to three apses. The structure was supported by an alternation of Corinthian columns and pillars inside of the rotunda. There were two pillars situated at each cardinal point, the eastern pair being the entrance. A series of three columns was in between each pair of pillars, for a total of twelve columns and six pillars. The northern, southern, and western pillars supported lintels. Arches connected the remaining pillars and columns. There were also columns on the upper-floor of the rotunda, however little is known about whether there had been a gallery or not. A decorative frieze and cornice were situated above the ground level columns and pillars. There were windows on the ground floor situated on the deambulatory walls. The rotunda supported a domed roof with an oculus. A courtyard, surrounding the rotunda, helped provide light and ventilation (Fig. 9). Porticos with straight lintel doors
enclosed the courtyard.\textsuperscript{52} The rotunda was a monument to the glory and triumph of Christ and his resurrection.\textsuperscript{53}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig9.jpg}
\caption{Floor plan of the fourth century Holy Sepulchre.}
\url{http://www.rc.net/wcc/israel/holy-sepulchre-4th-century-floor-plan01.jpg}.
\end{figure}

Constantine’s basilica was destroyed by Hakim in the eleventh century. Hakim was a Fatimid caliph who ordered the conversion and prosecution of many Jews and Christians as well as the destruction of their monuments.\textsuperscript{54} Hakim ordered the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre due to his disapproval of the Christian practices.\textsuperscript{55} This makes it difficult to know exactly what the fourth century church looked like.\textsuperscript{56} One would enter the basilica from the street where there was a staircase leading to a propylaea.\textsuperscript{57} The propylaea had three doorways and its decoration was faithful to the beauty that was to be found in the interior of the basilica.\textsuperscript{58} The propylaea lead to a columned atrium, which in turn lead to the basilica.\textsuperscript{59} The basilica also
had three doorways on the eastern wall, and on the western wall was the apse. Twelve columns, for the twelve Apostles, encircled the apse. Constantine’s basilica had five naves. A colonnade was on each side of the central nave and behind the two colonnades were a row of pillars. These columns and pillars we both very decorated and supported upper galleries on each side. High placed windows provided light for the central nave. The most southern nave lead to the rock of the Cavalry in the Church of Golgotha, whereas the most northern nave lead to the rotunda. As for the interior decoration, Eusebius’s visual accounts greatly describe what the interior of the basilica would have looked like during the fourth century:

The interior surface of the building was hidden under slabs of multi-colored marble. [...] the inside of the roof was decorated with sculpted coffering, which, like some great ocean, covered the whole Basilica with its endless swell, while the brilliant gold with which it was covered, made the whole temple sparkle with a thousand reflections.

The exterior would have also been quite beautiful as it was covered with polished stones. Beauty was very important when it came to the architecture and decoration of a church or basilica. Firstly, it represented the wealth and power of the patron who was, in this case, the emperor Constantine the Great. Secondly, these buildings were considered the house of
God and his son Jesus Christ. These buildings had to represent the glory of God and Christ.

Constantine and his mother Helena made significant contributions to the beginnings of Christianity. They heightened the popularity of pilgrimages, especially with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where the most important sites of Christianity are brought together. Their mark on Jerusalem is still very present today, as they established Jerusalem’s sacred status for Christians. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, after much damage and reconstruction, is still standing today. Every year numerous Christian pilgrims visit this site. Constantine’s approach was very constructive to the Christian concept of Jerusalem and still shapes the way we see the city today.

In conclusion, the Roman Empire showed a great contrast in its attitudes towards Jerusalem throughout four centuries. With Titus’ conquest in Judea we can see the very destructive approach the Romans had towards the Holy Land. At the time, the Jewish nation represented a people that did not share the same values or pagan religious beliefs as the Romans. Judea became another land of conquest. The art produced after these events shows us the pride the Roman emperors took in their victories. These visual representations emphasized the triumph of Rome. We can only imagine the feelings Romans would experience upon admiring these works. They also provide, in some cases, accurate historical representations of these events. From 66 CE to
70 CE, Titus and his father’s legions destroyed Judea; Jerusalem suffered the most damage almost being completely razed to the ground. The consequences of this are still visible: where the most sacred place of Jews stood, the temple, only a wall remains. The Wailing Wall is a constant reminder to the Jews of the hostility and persecution from the Romans. On the other hand, Constantine the Great’s example shows the more constructive influences Roman emperors had on Jerusalem. Constantine and his mother, Helena, had a great impact on Christianity by excavating the holiest sites and building a place of worship over them. This new church, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in a sense became the new Temple. The church not only represented the power of its patron, Constantine, it also gave homage to the triumph of Christ. The Holy Land became an important place of interest for the newly Christian empire. Constantine is known for his great patronage of Christian churches and the efforts he made to stop the persecution of monotheistic Christians. His impact on Jerusalem can still be seen today, in the skyline of the city and in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Jerusalem forever will mark the contrasts in attitudes during the Roman Empire and impact on its status as a Holy City.
NOTES


2 Ibid., 127-130.

3 Ibid., 129.


5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.


8 Ibid., 27-28.

9 Ibid., 48.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.


13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.
18 Hamblin and Seely, *Solomon’s Temple*, 67-68.


23 Ibid.


27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.


31 Ibid., 41-42.


38 Ibid., 97.

39 Ibid., 15.


41 Ibid., 34-35.

42 Ibid., 26.

43 Ibid., 28-30.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., 32.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid., 26-27.
51 Ibid., 24.
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid., 35.
54 Loren Lerner, “Jerusalem and the Crusader Period,” Class lecture, Concordia University, Montreal, October 7, 2013.
55 Lerner, “Jerusalem and the Crusader Period.”
57 Ibid., 44-46.
58 Ibid., 44-46.
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid., 41-44.
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
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65 Ibid.
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67 Ibid., 43.
68 Ibid., 41-44.


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The narratives of Jesus’ birth and death are fairly well known to the vast majority of the western world. Even if one is not Christian these stories are familiar. During His lifetime Jesus amassed a large following of people in and around Jerusalem who were inspired by and excited about His unorthodox teachings and new ways of thinking about the issues facing the working class at that time. These issues included but were not limited to: the treatment of the poor; the behaviour of tax collectors and money changers; an elitist clergy and their dealing with the Roman government along with various others who were deemed unworthy by the general population. ¹ Jesus
invited these unpopular figures to His table, and was not shy about voicing His opinions on virtually everything.²

After Jesus’ death how did His followers carry His message? Where are the written records or visual documentation from the time right after His death to show that people were remembering His life and legacy, as well as following and promoting His teachings? Why are there no descriptions of what Jesus looked like when He was alive when it was technically possible to make lifelike representations like the ones of King Tut Ankh Amon, and Alexander the Great - both of whom lived centuries before Jesus? It seems that Jesus and His legacy were all but forgotten and shrouded in mystery for around two hundred years after His death. My aim for this paper is to try and explain these issues.

There are several reasons why Jesus was likely not represented in art right after His death and until almost the middle of the second century. One of these reasons – popular among scholars and people of faith – is that a lot of converts to Christianity were converting from Judaism. Under Jewish law at the time there was a longstanding fear surrounding idolatry, and so figurative representations were banned. There was also a prohibition stating that no images should be made of living individuals.³ So it would stand to reason that Jews who knew about and who had seen Jesus would be reluctant and even fearful of creating images or sculptures that were representations of someone that
was not only living but who claimed that He was the Son of God. Another reason for the lack of imagery is that during the rule of Marcus Aurelius (160-180 CE) newly converted Christians would have shunned any form of visual identifier as a matter of survival for fear of vicious persecution. It was not until Emperor Commodus came to power (180-192 CE) that early Christians experienced a more tolerant atmosphere, coupled with Constantine’s conversion and legalizing of Christianity in 314 CE when Christianity was no longer seen as a cult religion but rather a fully state-supported religion.

It was during the reign of Emperor Commodus that the church acquired some land on the Via Appia Antica and the Via Ostensis, which was outside of the city walls, because in Rome it was forbidden to bury the dead within the city limits. This land, which became a new cemetery, was designated as an underground burial site that contained a network of tunnels on four levels that branched out and were interconnected containing up to sixty different areas. Underground burial differed from the regular mausolea and cemeteries that were traditionally above ground or just below the surface because they allowed for niches that contained singular bodies called loculi as well as openings for larger rooms to contain multiple bodies called cubicula. These burial chambers are where the first representations of Jesus are found as well as more common images such as anchors, fish, pomegranates, and monograms, which predated the cross as the symbol for Christianity.
anchor was seen as a symbol of safety. The fish was originally used in pagan art as a decorative element but was appropriated by early Christians as a symbol, and it pertains to the miracle of the loaves and fishes that Jesus performed to feed the hungry people. Pomegranates are a symbol of resurrection and eternal life because of the many seeds that are contained within. The seeds can also represent the many Christians who go to church.

One of the earliest images of Jesus was to be found in the catacomb of Commodilla, which is on the Via Ostensis in Rome. This work predates the advent of images of saints such as Saint Peter - who later became a very important figure in Christianity (Fig. 1). This picture of Jesus, which dates back to the mid to late fourth century,\textsuperscript{11} shows Him in a frontal head and shoulders view with long, dark, wavy hair and a full, long beard.\textsuperscript{12} Jesus’ head is framed by a halo, a frequently employed sign of divinity in Christianity, and He is flanked by the letters representing the \textit{alpha} and the \textit{omega} - meaning that He is the beginning and the end, the salvation for mankind.\textsuperscript{13} Jesus is also surrounded by what appears to be tiles that are filled with petaled flowers, and heavy dark lines to delineate the different sections of the image, perhaps symbolizing a coffered ceiling. The work looks almost like a roughly done sketch rather than one that was lovingly and carefully created for devotional purposes. The lines that make up the Jesus figure’s robes are broken, and drawn over many times, and there is no real sense that there is a body in the robes because the contours and fold lines are very flat. This image is particularly special because it is one of the first to represent Jesus with a beard. Previous images like the one in the Pricilla catacombs and the catacomb of Callistus show Jesus as a youthful shepherd carrying a lamb and surrounded by lambs in the guise of “The Good Shepherd”\textsuperscript{14} (Fig 2). Shepherds signified the pagan ideal vision of the rustic way of life, as well as good farms and agriculture management. Thus, this symbol
was easily adapted to fit into Christian imagery of Jesus taking care of His flock that he is leading to eternal salvation and taking care of in life.\textsuperscript{15}


These youthful depictions of a beardless man were the first portrayals of Jesus. Such images harkened back to pre-Christian representations of youthful pagan gods, and also helped to express the immortality that came with the ascension to heaven followed by the resurrection three days after Jesus was crucified in Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{16} It was later, heading into the fourth century, that the image of a bearded older Jesus started to emerge. The
intent of adding a beard and aging the iconic Jesus figure was to show Jesus as haggard and full of suffering as He was just before crucifixion rather than to present him youthful, and in full veneration. This view of Jesus with long hair parted down the middle and a long beard became the customary image that the church would adopt as the ubiquitous depiction of Jesus.\textsuperscript{17}

Why are the visual portrayals of Jesus so diverse? Why are there no lasting descriptions of what He looked like on earth? Was it an oversight that no one thought to describe Him in their writings or passed down a more specific description by oral tradition? Sometimes Jesus is portrayed as an infant, sometimes as a youth and sometimes as a man, sometimes He has a beard and long light hair, and sometimes He has no beard and shorter dark hair. In some cases His eyes are full of pain and suffering, and other times they are full of joy and rapture. How can we account for the differences in all of these depictions? As one author E.M Catich suggests in his essay “The Image of Christ in Art” the answer is simple: there is no depiction or description of an earthly Jesus by divine intervention so that Jesus could appeal to all peoples, at any time throughout history; they had only to adapt His props and clothes to better assist people in their devotional needs so that they may better understand, better relate to and feel closer to God.\textsuperscript{18} Usually the image that the artist creates of Jesus is one of the highest man, such as the emperor, the philosopher, the king, or a particularly renowned warrior.\textsuperscript{19}
Fig. 3. Christ the Saviour (Pantokrator), Saint Catherine’s Monastery, Mount Sinai, encaustic, sixth century. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Spas_vsederzhitel_sinay.jpg.
In Byzantine art Jesus is depicted as the Pantokrator, or Lord Almighty, which is modeled after the representation of an emperor. We can see this clearly in *Christ the Saviour (Pantokrator)* (Fig. 3) from Saint Catherine’s Monastery at Mount Sinai dating back to the sixth century. Jesus clearly has a regal posture and dress, His robes are made of a rich black with what appears to be gold on the interior of the left side sleeve. His face has a serious expression, but not one of great pain or misery. His long dark hair is parted down the middle, and His beard is clipped close to his skin. He is holding up His right hand as if to give a blessing, and in His left hand is a richly gold-gilded and gemstone-encrusted book that has a cross on the cover with a frame of dark gems around it. Around Jesus’ head is the ever-present halo to depict his divinity, and one of his eyes seems to be looking in a slightly different direction than the other eye, which is facing forward. The medium used, encaustic, is very smooth and it seems like the artist was attempting to be realistic in the depiction of a human face and hair. The Jesus figure certainly does have a feeling about Him that is more regal, engaging and divine than the earlier depictions of Jesus from the catacombs. This is a sign of the era that the work was created in, as well as the influences and trends that the artist followed. In each subsequent epoch, one will find these types of changes and modifications to the Jesus figure as the surroundings, culture, and needs of the people change.
If depictions of Jesus in art are meant to be a symbol representing love, salvation, and the hope for eternal life in heaven, does it really matter what He may have looked like in His earthly form? Does it really matter that none of Jesus’ contemporaries described Him or painted a likeness of Him? Does the lack of accurate imagery and mystery make the Jesus story seem less credible? It seems that for followers of the Christian faith that it does not matter at all. They believe with all of their heart that the image they see in church is who Jesus really was in His earthly form. Jesus is more than just a man or deity. He is a religious figure and cultural icon that invokes a wide range of human and godly reactions.  

**NOTES**


2 Ibid.


5 Ibid., 30.
6 Ibid., 1.


11 Ibid.


13 Ibid.


15 Ibid.

17 Ibid.


19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Michael Welker, “Who is Christ for Us Today?” 146.

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Watercolour and ink on paper, 11x 15 in.
With this project I attempt to imagine one of the many untold stories of Crusaders and Pilgrims who would have lived in the twelfth century. I am interested in the style of manuscript illuminations in books like William of Tyre’s *Histoire d’Outremer*. I want to examine the types of stories these manuscripts tell, and imagine parts of the story that would not have been considered important enough to be included in a book.
My interest was piqued when I saw the manuscript illuminations during my studies, and these images reminded me of contemporary graphic novels and children’s books. I found the manuscript illuminations to be very minimal and symbolic. These depictions of the crusades as heroic journeys were not very accurate. Daniel Weiss writes in “Biblical History and Medieval Historiography: Rationalizing Strategies in Crusader Art,” that “European armies in Outremer endured far more defeats than victories as they struggled to maintain a tenuous grip on an ever diminishing kingdom.”

I also noticed that the characters commonly focused on in the stories were adult men. This led me to create a female Christian character who would have lived in the twelfth century and travelled to Jerusalem as a pilgrim. I imagined a girl who was about ten. I chose this story because instead of being an adult male she was a female child, about as far away as possible from the depictions normally shown of crusaders or pilgrims in manuscripts. I named her Esme, because it is an old French name meaning “beloved.” At times, certain cultures have avoided analyses of affectionate bonds between parent and child, and so by choosing this name I am giving her importance, raising her to significance even though in her own time historians or scholars would not have considered her important. I did not draw the full narrative of her life, but selected components of a story that could have existed in that time. I chose to depict moments
that humanize her story – like the image of her family falling asleep. In my third drawing I imagine that Esme has become ill, possibly due to starvation or contaminated water. I found these themes interesting because they are the little human moments that are not important to the dominant narrative of the time that the crusades were a very important and heroic endeavor.²

I drew my style partly from the manuscript illuminations I was studying. I wanted my drawings to seem reminiscent of illuminations to someone who is familiar with them. I envision my compositions as if I unwrapped the compositions in manuscripts. I gave them more space to tell their story as the story progressed. The first page (Fig. 1) has a composition that I tried to make very close to a manuscript illumination, and the second page (Fig. 2) has a more contemporary composition but still lots of information on it. On the last page, (Fig. 3) I let the images breathe, in a way that they do not in manuscript illuminations. This is largely due to page size restrictions in the manuscripts, where the illuminator attempts to fit all the text in around the image.
Fig. 1. Faith Wiley, page one of *Histoire d'Esme*, 2013.  
Watercolour and ink on paper, 11 x 15 in.

Fig. 2. Faith Wiley, page two of *Histoire d'Esme*, 2013.  
Watercolour and ink on paper, 11 x 15 in.
I gave minimal descriptions of the people’s clothing, and instead I made my images basic, and in this way similar to the manuscript illuminations. The miniature painters were careful in selecting which details from the story to include in their images. Faces, for instance, are carefully detailed, while clothes, the weather, and the conditions that they were travelling in are left out. I tried to follow the spirit of this visual economy with my drawings. The things that are pertinent to the story are illustrated clearly, while other things are left blank, for example the face of the other pilgrims, because they were not important characters in my small story.
In the *Gesta Francorum* ("The Deeds of the Franks"), a Latin chronicle of the First Crusade written ca. 1100-1101 it says that "the living Saracens dragged the dead before the exits of the gates and arranged them in heaps, as if they were houses." I took a cue from this quote, hence the pile of dead bodies by the gates. I imagined that Esme and her family would arrive at Jerusalem some time after it had been taken control of by Christians. I didn’t think I needed to make the scene any darker than it already was, which is why the pile of bodies is not as large as a house.

![Fig. 4. “Crusaders Infiltrate the Walls of Jerusalem,” from William of Tyre’s *Histoire d’Outremer*, 13th century.](http://blessed-gerard.org/images/crusaders.jpg)
One picture I drew inspiration from is “Crusaders Infiltrate the Walls of Jerusalem,” from William of Tyre’s *Histoire d’Outremer* (Fig. 4). This is a visually dense illustration, full of people, buildings, and war machines all cramped into a rectangular composition. The people are small, and it is hard to make out their individual characteristics. They are climbing walls of what looks like a castle at the bottom and a church on top. Large rocks have been shot into the air by a trebuchet and are visible along the right side of the image. In the top left corner the feet of Jesus are shown ascending off the page in a cloud.

I borrowed parts of this image for my first page. I wanted to draw an imaginary Jerusalem as the pilgrims would expect it to be. This image is obviously not a realistic depiction of Jerusalem, as the architecture looks Gothic. My first page was meant to be a depiction of how they imagined that their journey to Jerusalem would be, and what it would look like when they got there.

Another image I looked at was one of the People’s Crusade led by Peter the Hermit from a medieval illuminated manuscript (Fig. 5). There is a group of people walking on a road towards the city of Jerusalem. They are all dressed in white, and they are being attacked from behind by a group of soldiers wearing dark, stained clothing. The city is depicted with European-looking towers. I borrowed this idea of a group of people walking down the road together for my second page.
I based the design of part of my first page on a French Bible illustration of Jews being massacred (Fig. 6), but I took the composition of the frame drawn around the image and replaced it with the picture I drew of Esme and her family. I liked the use of gold and the way that Jesus was shown in the sky, agreeing with or justifying the actions of the people below. I wanted to give that feeling in my first image. I wanted it to seem as if Esme’s family felt blessed, so I also drew Jesus above them, smiling at them.
The images that artists include in illuminations seem to be chosen very carefully for their meaning. There is little extraneous information in the images, and this visual style correlates to the style of many of today’s graphic novels and cartoons.\(^4\) I extrapolated on this and made my drawings quite minimal, showing only important moments of the story of Esme that I imagined.\(^5\) I also focus on some banal moments such as the family sleeping, and the negative narrative of Esme becoming ill, two things that would not have been illustrated.
in traditional illuminated manuscripts. By focusing on a traditionally marginalized segment of the population (children and females in general), and portraying them using the same medium that is more often used to create images of men, I hope to imagine the untold stories of the marginalized and remind the viewer that the typical crusader and pilgrim illuminations are not exhaustive, and in fact fail to represent many of the people affected.

NOTES


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While the Church named Dominus Flevit is considered one of the most recent churches built on the Mount of Olives, the history that lies within its foundations relates as far back to the time when the Hebrews first conquered Jerusalem.¹ Not only does the site contain archaeological remains from the Jebusites of the Canaanite period, who were the earlier settlers of Jerusalem, but also relics that attest to Christianity. Even the remains of Saint Peter are said to have been buried at this site, which to this present day is a topic of controversy, as will be briefly
discussed. Dominus Flevit represents an attempt to reconcile religious celebration and artifacts of historical events that attest to biblical events. This paper will discuss the architecture of the church of Dominus Flevit and then emphasize the excavations that uncovered the various relics found at the site of Dominus Flevit and how they reveal the Judeo-Christian traditions that are linked through different historical periods and are continuously engrained in the current church.

The Church of Dominus Flevit is a Roman Catholic Church that was built in 1955 and designed by architect Antonio Barluzzi. The church is uniquely positioned on the western slope on the upper third of the Mount of Olives. Its apse faces to the West and overlooks the Temple Mount. It was built on the site of a former fifth century Byzantine church, dedicated to the prophetess St. Anna, of which some vestiges still remain. The date on a mosaic-floored wine tank found in the courtyard of the church confirms the presence of a Byzantine monastery. Although quite small, the church is still impressive; ancient mosaics and biblical bas reliefs adorn the sides of the dome ceiling. The name “Dominus Flevit,” meaning “the Lord wept,” commemorates the place where Jesus wept over the imminent destruction of Jerusalem. The church offers a spectacular panoramic view of the Old City through the large arch-shaped glass window located behind the altar (Fig. 1). The placement of the window and the picturesque view easily conjure up how Christ would
have viewed the city while weeping and making the prophecy regarding its destruction. Overlooking the current Dome of the Rock, Jesus would have seen the impressive Temple Mount, the grand Hasmonean palace, Herod’s Upper Palace, and the comparatively small houses and streets filled with the men, women, and children of Jerusalem that Jesus predicted would be annihilated. An image of a chalice and host are incorporated into the large window that gives a view of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre – rather than the Dome of the Rock – in order to reconcile present religious celebration with historical event. The chalice and host are still presently used in the practice of liturgy during the celebration of the Eucharist, and therefore act as the continuity from the past of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the present through their representation in a window constructed during modern times.
The church picture window presents an image of what Jesus would have seen, overlooking Mount Zion and what would have formerly been the Temple Mount. He saw the beauty and magnificence of Jerusalem and foresaw the destruction of the Temple, the killing of thousands of Jews and the burning of the city until Jerusalem became such a ruin that “no stone upon stone was left.” At the site of Dominus Flevit Jesus foresaw this and shed tears for the city that unabashedly rejected his guidance. This site of Jesus’ sorrow and compassion for Jerusalem has only been identified in the past hundred years.
Beneath the altar, there is a circular mosaic depicting a hen with her yellow chicks under her outspread wings, including the words: “Jesus as the mother bird!” (Fig. 2).


The hen is symbolic of Jesus’ love and compassion suggested through his words, “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, you who kill the prophets and stone those sent to you, how often I have longed to gather your children together, as a hen gathers her chicks under her wings, but you were not willing” (Luke 13:34).8
While the structure of the Church’s footprint is in the form of a Greek cross, the shape of Dominus Flevit is that of a teardrop which refers to the sorrow that Jesus felt for the city (Fig. 3). Moreover, small glass phials adorn each of the four corners of the dome to catch the symbolic tears of Jesus, as well as it did the tears of mourners in the first century A.D.
Some seventh-century mosaics of the former Byzantine monastery are imbedded into the floors and architecture of Dominus Flevit. The floor is decorated with circles, images of flowers, fruits, leaves, and fish (Fig. 4). A slab of tile on the floor mosaic has a Greek inscription of the follower Simon who “decorated this place of prayer and offered it to Christ our Lord for the forgiveness of his misdeeds and for the rest of his brother, the Abbott George and Domitius friend of Christ”\(^9\) (Fig. 5). The church of Dominus Flevit has retained the outline of the seventh-century Byzantine chapel as the ancient apse was
preserved. The altar and the chancel screen have been placed in the same orientation as in the former church. The inscription that proclaimed Simon to have decorated the former church does not mention the function of the monastery. This led to the diaconicon of the church being transformed into a funerary chapel following the death of the founder, and it now holds the mosaic floor containing the above inscription. However, there is no deliberate connection between the former monastery and the location where Jesus Christ wept.

The excavations made on the site of Dominus Flevit uncovered relics that date back to the Canaanite period and tombs from the Second Temple and Byzantine eras. The dedication of the former Byzantine Church to the prophetess Saint Anna also attests to the religious significance of the site for Christians.
During the 1950s, Franciscan Father Bellarmino Bagatti excavated the site of Dominus Flevit and with the help of Joseph Milik, uncovered multiple ossuaries as well as tombs dating back to as far as 1600 BC (Fig. 6). These discoveries led to the belief that this archeological site was in fact the site of an ancient Christian burial ground. Bagatti uncovered early Christian symbols, such as the Constantine monogram (Fig. 7) of the Christogram (from the Greek letters Chi and Rho) on the ossuaries from the first century CE. As Jews of the “Church
from the Circumcision” believed in Jesus in the first century CE until their disappearance in the sixth or seventh century, the archeologist believed that the ossuaries were from Judeo-Christian burials.¹⁴
The Christogram was often used in Antioch and Rome in the first century. This monogram was useful in designating the first non-Jewish Christians.\textsuperscript{15} The inscriptions found on the tombs mostly attest to the Christian conversions of pagans. Another important monogram found is the inscription of the Greek letters Iota, Chi, and Beta, which translates into “Jesus Christ the helper.” This inscription relates to the Christian apologist Saint Justin who called Jesus the Redeemer as his powers were so formidable that even his name would frighten the demons.\textsuperscript{16}

Further relations between the site of the present church and the historical events can be made. In the sixteenth century, a stone placed near the Franciscan property became the site for el-Mansuriyyeh, a mosque which saw Jesus’ prediction on the destruction of Jerusalem as the message of salvation.\textsuperscript{17} The years roughly match up to the biblical narrative of Jesus’ weeping. The destruction prophesied by Jesus, which was the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, happened around forty years after his death which was approximately around 30-33 AD. It was this first Jewish Revolt that provoked the Romans into attacking Jerusalem in 66 AD. The Temple was destroyed in 70 AD. Through the coins (shekels) found near Jewish tombs dating back to the first Jewish Revolt of 66-70 AD, it is possible to suggest a relationship between the site and the destruction of the first Temple of Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{18}
Father Bagatti also made the discovery of an ossuary that bore the inscriptions “Shimeon Bar Yonah” which translates into “Simon, Son of Jonah” (Fig. 8). This is the Hebrew name of Saint Peter the apostle. This inscription suggests that Simon Peter may have in fact been buried on the archeological site of Dominus Flevit, in Jerusalem. This discovery was shocking since Saint Peter was and still is believed by many to be buried in the underground of Saint Peter’s Basilica in Rome, a site which
bears its name because of the supposed burial ground of the apostle. There is no concrete evidence in Rome that proves the place of Peter’s burial. An inscription found in the grounds of the Basilica writes “Here lays Peter.” However, when Christ blessed Saint Peter to be the apostle to carry out his deed and to create the Church, he was named “Simon Bar Yonah” and not Peter, which further anchors his value in Jewish traditions, therefore making it more believable that he was buried in Jerusalem. This possible discovery of Saint Peter’s burial ground could mark this site as part of the Judeo-Christian necropolis, and therefore early followers of Christ as well as his family would have been buried there. Numerous tombs found were inscribed with the sign of the cross.\textsuperscript{19}

Excavators have also discovered two types of tombs at the site. The tombs of the Late Bronze period concord with the time when the civilization of Jerusalem was conquered by the Hebrews. The first type of tomb from the earlier necropolis period is characterized by Kokhim (oven-shaped) tombs from 185 BC. The tombs of the second type have arcsoliums that date back to the third and fourth centuries AD.\textsuperscript{20} The ossuaries related to the tombs were found to have many symbol signs adorning their surfaces. Signs such as crosses, tau, Constantinian monograms and forty-three inscriptions of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek origin were incised or traced with charcoal. There was a recurrence of names common in the New Testament such as Mary, Martha, Philo the Cyrene, Matthew, Joseph, and Jesus.\textsuperscript{21}
The inscriptions found on the ossuaries may be remnants of the first Christian families that lived in Jerusalem.

While the Christian historical events tie into the location of the current church, the inclusion of the vestiges of the former Byzantine church – as well as its apse – into the present architecture of Dominus Flevit further anchor the belief that Judeo-Christian, Byzantine, and Crusader sacred traditions are connected to the site. This belief is strengthened through the explanation of Judeo-Christian symbols that have been hung inside the church and a small museum close by which exhibits some of the ossuaries found on the archeological site of the church. All these connections allude to a continuous flow of Christian presence throughout the historical periods of the Byzantine and the Crusader and until the present time.²²

Signs of Christian piety are further revealed through the present open space of Dominus Flevit, which was the former monastic courtyard of the Byzantine church. During the seventh century and up until the arrival of the Crusader, the liturgical procession would commemorate on Holy Thursday night the prayer of Christ in agony.²³ The procession would pray for the pain of Christ while Christ himself was being arrested not far away in Gethsemane.²⁴ At the end of the eighth century, the monastery was abandoned.
The excavations done at the site of Dominus Flevit demonstrate how the relics found relate back to the first Christian families living in Jerusalem. The inscriptions on the tombs and the ossuaries refer to the names that appear in the Old Testament and in biblical history. Each layer of the excavation relates to a different time period in which Christian traditions were celebrated. The location of the church is the place where Jesus wept over the foreseeable end of Jerusalem. To further suggest this event in biblical narrative, a large picture window adorns the façade of the church in which a panoramic view of Jerusalem could be seen. The pilgrims coming into Dominus Flevit can place themselves in front of the window and observe Jerusalem as Christ viewed the Old City. Through the ancient mosaics, they can feel the compassion and protection that Jesus offered the Jews even as they were betraying him. The uncovered objects belonging to different eras all have the continuity of Christian piety.

However, the site is still subject to instabilities of historical knowledge. While there is concrete evidence pointing toward the burial ground of Saint Peter being in Jerusalem, still to this day, the Roman Catholic Church acknowledges – though perhaps secretly disbelieves – that the remains of Simon Peter lie in Rome. On November 24, 2013, at the start of Sunday service, Pope Francis unveiled the bones that were “identified in a way that we can consider convincing” to be of Saint Peter to the public for the first time.²⁵ The authenticity of the bones
remains disputed. This instability in the Catholic Church can be related to the instability of Jerusalem throughout its history. The constant destruction and rebuilding of this site as well as the constant renewal of what Jerusalem represents attest perhaps to the concerns and predictions substantiated by Jesus.

NOTES


14 Ibid.


16 Ibid.


19 Jean Gilman, “Jerusalem Burial Cave Reveals.”


21 Ibid.

22 Halevi, “Between Faith and Science,” 260. This source explains the continuity of Christianity through the different periods.


24 Ibid.


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Muslim Al Quds

al-Quds : la Jérusalem des musulmans
Al-Masjid al-Aqsa: The Underappreciated Third Holiest Islamic Site

ELLEN BELSHAW

When discussing the Temple Mount, known in Islam as Haram al-Sharif, the individual and collective points of view of all three Abrahamic religions are at play. When scholars write about the Haram al-Sharif, their primary concerns are usually the Dome of the Rock and the Golden Gate, interestingly placing the Masjid al-Aqsa as a lesser concern (Fig. 1). ‘Al-Aqsa’ refers to the “furthermost sanctuary to which Muhammed, according to legend, was transported on his famous ‘Night Journey’ known as the Isra.” Although this makes al-Aqsa one of the three holiest geographical religious sites in Islam (along with al-Masjid al-Haram, Mecca, and al-Masjid an-Nabawi, Medina),
it is rarely discussed in contemporary non-Islamic scholarship. Having been subjected to multiple earthquakes resulting in its destruction and reconstruction, the current standing structure is much newer than most other significant sites in the city, reducing its historic aura. In addition, the historical facts of the site are highly disputed and many answers lack evidence, causing it to be difficult to discuss or endorse the site one way or another. Al-Aqsa Mosque is also very modest in its exterior façade, eclipsed by the glorious decoration on the Dome of the Rock, which it faces. Shrouded in history and religious significance, the combination of the relatively recent construction of the existing structure, the contestation of its history, matched with its modest outer aesthetic present the Aqsa Mosque with an underrated position on the Haram al-Sharif in comparison to the other sites that share the Noble Sanctuary. Although the sacralization of the sites within the city of Jerusalem can only be alluded to in the present essay due to the complexity and obscure nature of the phenomenon, an analysis of the Masjid al-Aqsa from a structural, historical, and visual point of view is viable. From the time of the Prophet Muhammed, al-Aqsa Mosque within al-Haram al-Sharif has been a holy Muslim site that continues to influence and shape the current religious, political, and social tapestry of the city of Jerusalem.
Fig. 1. Isam Awwad, Aerial View of Al-Haram al-Sharif. Photograph, 1983. Al-Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem. Courtesy the Aga Khan Award for Architecture.

Fig. 2. Isam Awwad, Al-Aqsa Mosque. Photograph, 1983. Al-Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem. Courtesy the Aga Khan Award for Architecture.
Many of the important structures of the Abrahamic religions maintain their aura because of the age and history of the buildings, often having been erected on religious or historic sites, yet the revered al-Aqsa Mosque has been rebuilt and repaired countless times over the 1,300 years of its existence (Fig. 2). Although none of the current standing structures on the Haram al-Sharif are the ‘original’ structures (it is understood that the first and second Temples stood on the Mount previously), the Masjid al-Aqsa is by far the most recent. The Dome of the Rock (Fig. 3), built the same time the Umayyad Caliphs built
the second Aqsa Mosque, has remained quite similar since its establishment between 685 and 715 CE. Miraculously, the several earthquakes that damaged al-Aqsa Mosque, notably in the late 700s, 1015, 1033, and early 1920s left the Dome mostly unscathed (except for the collapse of the original dome in the eleventh century).\textsuperscript{3} In addition to the three major reconstructions of the mosque, there have also been several phases of restoration, as recently as the 1970s and onward.\textsuperscript{4}

The first Aqsa Mosque, constructed circa 636 CE by the Caliph ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab, used ruins of Herod’s Temple for its structure.\textsuperscript{5} This first version of the mosque could accommodate 3,000 worshipers, but was destroyed by earthquakes not long after its construction.\textsuperscript{6} The second Aqsa Mosque, rebuilt on the same site as the first, was started by the Umayyad Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik and completed by his son al-Wahid after his death.\textsuperscript{7} ‘Abd al-Malik’s intention was for the Dome of the Rock to be the focal point of al-Haram al-Sharif, with al-Aqsa Mosque aligned to it on the edge of the Temple Mount.\textsuperscript{8} Although the Caliphs did not intend to belittle the Aqsa Mosque by focusing on the Dome of the Rock, their planning choices for the Haram al-Sharif have rendered it easy for contemporary non-Islamic scholars to overlook this mosque. The current standing structure dates from the Mamluk rule of Jerusalem, at which time there were numerous repairs and additions to the structure of the mosque under the instruction of various Sultans between 1280 and 1350 CE.\textsuperscript{9} Following more earthquakes in the 1920s, further
restorations were conducted and al-Aqsa Mosque’s edifice was left in relative peace until 1969 when an Australian Christian fundamentalist, Michael Dennis Rohan, set fire to the interior of the mosque causing heavy structural and decorative damage (Fig. 4). Thought to be irreparable, the International Centre for the Conservation of Restoration of Monuments (I.C.C.R.O.M) embarked upon a reconstruction project on the interior of the mosque in 1979 that lasted four years. Using the trateggio technique (a painting method that allows for a differentiation of original and reconstructed areas through fine vertical lines), a team of scientists and artists worked to restore the areas damaged by the fire as well as uncover the ‘original’ paintings hidden under “sometimes as many as four of five” newer layers (Fig. 5). There is a clear disregard for the history of the layers added in the centuries following the initial construction of the mosque, whose restorations were necessary following the many earthquakes. The so-called original of the current structure of al-Aqsa Mosque is not even the original building to stand on the Haram al-Sharif, and the Temples that stood there before the mosque are still a matter of great concern to Jews. This constant desire to surface an original – especially in such a perpetually evolving structure – gives light to why the farthest mosque may have less legitimacy for outside scholars and visitors of al-Haram al-Sharif.
Fig. 4. Isam Awwad, Interior Fire Damage to the Interior Dome of al-Aqsa Mosque. Photograph, 1983. Al-Aqsa Mosque, Al-Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem. Courtesy the Aga Khan Award for Architecture.
Historical accuracy and documentation is another facet of the Aqsa Mosque that makes it a contested site and deters contemporary non-Islamic scholars from wanting to make any concrete statement about the place. Harvard Professor and Islamic scholar Oleg Grabar explained this response as follows:

[The historical approach’s] objective is to unravel the chronological sequence of constructions, functions, or associations that define and then modify a space. History always deals with concrete moments of time (the degree of concreteness depending on the precision of the
available information), but it also needs to concern itself with what preceded the moment, and it usually cannot help mentioning what will follow.¹³

When discussing a site so disputed as al-Haram al-Sharif, upon which important religious and historical events have taken place and other monuments have stood, each account differs greatly based on the point of view of the writer. Even dates of construction and their chronological sequences vary from source to source where no one is in agreement of the facts. The “concrete moments of time” to which Grabar refers in her essay are hard to come by in regards to the Aqsa Mosque. This is true of many religious sites throughout history, since scriptures lead people to believe in an event that may have occurred in actuality or have simply been fabricated without concrete evidence as a symbolic story of morality. This variety of certainty – based on faith rather than fact – has led writers to make claims throughout history, yet it is difficult for contemporary writers to differentiate where facts are presented, assumptions are made, or religious accounts are brought into play. For instance, in Ra’ef Najm’s essay in regards to Islamic architecture in Jerusalem he states, “[t]he Silsilah Dome is said to be a model for the Holy Dome of the Rock; but this is at variance with the facts, for the Silsilah Dome is hexagonal, the Dome of the Rock octagonal” (Fig. 6).¹⁴ Many claims made by scholars, archaeologists, and historians who have conducted research on these sites in the last two centuries have often been disputed by their successors.
Such is the case with K.A.C. Creswell and Robert W. Hamilton, two major contributors to the documentation of Islamic architecture in the twentieth century. Creswell wrote over seventy books and papers on various specificities of Muslim architecture over the span of fifty years.\textsuperscript{15} Hamilton, a draftsman and archaeologist, wrote an extensive account titled \textit{Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque} in 1949. In \textit{The Two Great Syrian Umayyad Mosques: Jerusalem and Damascus}, written in 1999, the authors Rafi Grafman and Myriam Rosen-Ayalon discredit
much of what both of these scholars have previously concluded as truth. “The pier-column-pier arrangement can be seen in al-Aqsa today, but the dating – however clear to Hamilton and Creswell – is surely quite problematic.”

Grafman and Rosen-Aylon continue to express their skepticism of Creswell and Hamilton’s findings - for example indicating “a point Creswell ignores” (in regards to the mosque of Damascus compared to a palace in Constantinople, known only from a mosaic depiction), and “[i]n any case, Hamilton seems to have placed far too much emphasis on the date of the pottery itself, and not enough on the fact that it was fill.”

The credibility of these two major contributors to Islamic architectural scholarship has been brought into question. It seems that the current popular mode of art historical analysis, rather than asserting historical truths, has become more of a discrediting of falsities and mere speculation of what could be true. The lack of reliable evidence from textual sources (as many sources contradict), especially in regards to al-Aqsa mosque as “one of the most frequently rebuilt works of Islamic architecture,” in addition to this trend in art historical analysis make it difficult for non-Islamic scholars to speculate any kind of conclusions in regards to the distinct history of the site.

Fig. 8. Unknown Photographer, Dome of the Rock. Photograph, April 9, 2011. Al-Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem. Reproduction under the terms of the GNU Free Documentation License.
From a more aesthetic point of view, the exterior of al-Aqsa Mosque is far less ornate and extravagant than the other monuments featured on al-Haram al-Sharif. The Dome of the Rock, the most lavishly decorated monument on the Haram, was originally made of marble and mosaic until the Sultan Sulayman al Qanuni replaced those tiles with “glazed earthenware superimposed by Qur’anic writings” (Fig. 7). The predominant colours of the exterior decoration are green, blue, and gold, with small touches of silver. The current dome, originally made of gilded copper sheets, is covered in gold, financed by an eight million dollar donation by King Hussein of Jordan in 1993. Alternately, al-Aqsa Mosque is made primarily of limestone with a lead dome - much more modest in aesthetic. The Dome of the Rock is also much taller on the Haram al-Sharif and has a vast yard that surrounds it, compared to the trees around the front entrance of al-Aqsa Mosque, giving the Dome an illusion of even more magnitude and masking al-Aqsa in the landscape (Fig. 8, Fig. 9). The differences between the two constructions’ exteriors are dramatic. The Dome of the Rock is a very bright, highly detailed, octagonal structure, while al-Aqsa Mosque is completely beige in its limestone exterior, the front of the mosque’s only decorations being stone carvings, particularly around the voussoirs of the arches. This extreme juxtaposition of aesthetic is an obvious reason why the Dome of the Rock is given more attention and has more value to people who do not follow an Islamic practice. In addition, the back of al-Aqsa Mosque sits on the edge of the Haram al-Sharif wall
and partially on the city wall, overlooking the remnants of the larger, Umayyad version of the mosque that stood before it (Fig. 10). This adjacent ruined scape disguises the current mosque - whose structure seems merely like the only wall still standing of the ruins below. In numerous photographs al-Aqsa Mosque is inconspicuous in the Jerusalem cityscape, while the Dome of the Rock is the focal point (Fig. 1). The binary uses of the elements of colour and space between the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque further separate them on an aesthetic scale to non-Islamic scholars and viewers.

Fig. 9. Isam Awwad, View of al-Aqsa Mosque Front Entrance. Photograph, 1983. Al-Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem. Courtesy the Aga Khan Award for Architecture.
Overall, as a site so intrinsically part of the Islamic faith, and immersed in historic and religious significance, for contemporary non-Islamic scholars al-Aqsa Mosque holds an underappreciated position in comparison to other elements of the Haram al-Sharif. The combination of its relatively recent architecture, the debates over the historic details pertaining to its chronology, and the modest exterior – compared to the Dome of the Rock – have all facilitated its downgraded contemporary status. Al-Aqsa is the site to which the Prophet Muhammed traveled from Mecca on the Isra, a moment that is
discussed in the Qur’an. At that point, there had stood a mere shack of a Masjid, but after the ascension of the Prophet the Caliph Umar ibn al-Kahttab erected the first “Blessed al-Aqsa Mosque.” The mosque is so austere that it was the first qibla, before it was decided that the ka’ba in Mecca should be the qibla. Al-Aqsa Mosque may soon find itself in a very different position for non-Islamic scholars, however, for political rather than art historical reasons. In early November 2013, “a draft Israeli law granting Jews the right to pray at the al-Aqsa Mosque esplanade” was brought to discussion in Israeli parliament.

The head of the Supreme Muslim Court, Sheikh Muhammed Hussein stated “I cannot imagine that Muslims around the world will remain idle as they see Jews desecrating their holy site. This issue transcends politics. It is greater than politics.” This tension further illustrates the importance of the site not only to Muslims, but as a current part of the social, political, and religious foundation of the city of Jerusalem, for which it has not received the recognition it deserves.

NOTES


4 Lazzarini and Schwartzbaum, 129.

5 Ibid.


7 Ibid.


10 Ibid.;


11 Lazzarini and Schwartzbaum, 129, 134.


16 Grafman and Rosen-Aylon, 8.

17 Ibid., 4, 8.


20 Ibid.

22 Aga Khan Award for Architecture, “Al-Aqsa Mosque Restoration.”

23 Najm, 723.

24 Ibid.


27 Amayreh, “Jews and Muslims to share al-Aqsa Mosque?”

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Lady Tunshuq’s Palace: A Lasting Legacy of Mamluk Modernization

– BRONWYN CARMICHAEL

Millions of people holding Judaic, Christian, or Islamic beliefs consider Jerusalem to be a holy city. There has therefore been a longstanding struggle between these religions for control of Jerusalem. Such constant tension between three of the world’s major religions has had a physical effect on the city’s urban and religious architecture. During the Mamluk period that occurred
from roughly the Middle Islamic II period of 1200-1400 CE and continued through the Late Islamic I period 1400-1600 CE, Jerusalem was under Muslim control, and for this reason the urban landscape began to reflect Muslim beliefs. The Mamluks had a specific impact on Jerusalem as it became a place of refuge and retirement for former amirs and a centre of Islamic learning. For this reason, urban palaces emerged within this period.

In this paper I will discuss the palace of Lady Tunshuq al-Muzaffariyya (d. 1398) who lived in Jerusalem from around 1391 until her death. Of Mongolian or Turkish origin, she was possibly the wife, or mistress, of a Kurdish nobleman. My focus will be on the architectural qualities of the palace which is located in what is now called the Muslim Quarter of Jerusalem. The large palace complex of Lady Tunshuq can be seen as a prime example of Mamluk architecture as its decorated facade shows recognizable Mamluk qualities such as the ablaq masonry of local limestone, muquarna stalactite domes, and the use of carved arabesques. With an emphasis on the three main portals to the palace I will concentrate on these key architectural features. My objective is to provide an overview of Mamluk architecture while also showing how architectural evidence can give us insight to Lady Tunshuq’s life and history. Throughout this paper I will refer to Lady Tunshuq’s palace as it would have been seen during the Mamluk period. I am aware
the palace has undergone transformations over time and was incorporated into the large complex known as the Flourishing Edifice, built and endowed by Khassaki Sultan in 1552.

MAMLUK MODERNIZATION

During Mamluk times the growing Muslim population had an influence on the architectural layout of the city. In order to understand the Mamluk’s architectural aims it is important to first note how the Mamluks came to Jerusalem and their history. The Mamluks were male children, often purchased from surrounding countries. These boys were trained in the art of war and, immersed in Islamic studies, they were raised to be good Muslims. They were raised as a group and were loyal to their masters - who became their families as they had no connection to their past lives. The Mamluks were based primarily in Cairo, and began to control Jerusalem in the thirteenth century. During this period the dominant religious force of Jerusalem shifted from Christian Crusader to Mamluk Muslim. As a result there were renovations of the mosques and the proliferation of Muslim religious buildings in the city. For example, the removal of the cross from the Dome of the Rock and its replacement with the Muslim crescent symbolized the religious transformation of this building from a Church back into a mosque. The Mamluk period marks a shift away from Jerusalem’s religious and political position, from a Christian holy city that was prominent during the Crusader period to one where the Islamic religion
was the central concern. Jerusalem became an important place of Muslim worship, and Islamic study in the numerous madrasas built during this period thereby securing Muslim centrality within its architecture.

The location of Lady Tunshuq’s palace within Jerusalem is significant. It is located on the elevated slope of a hill facing the Temple Mount and the Dome of the Rock. This positioning of religious practices through geographic location offers insight on Lady Tunshuq’s religious beliefs, as Adar Arnon discusses. He writes, “the residential quarters in a medieval Islamic city were a mosaic of territories inhabited by different populations distinguished by religion or sect, common stock or common place of origin.”

Arnon states that although there was a “protective and usually tolerant banner of Islam,” it was often safer to reside among your own kin, and for reasons of security people began to create community quarters. The location of Lady Tunshuq’s palace also reflects the pattern of migration during the Mamluk period and how various peoples began to settle in Jerusalem. Arnon explains that Muslims tended to settle in areas “adjoining the north and west sides of the Temple Mount (the other two sides lay outside the city) on which stood their two revered mosques, the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque.” Figure one shows Lady Tunshuq’s palace in relation to Dome of the Rock; a black circle marks the palace.
Located on the southern side of Aqabat al-Taqiya, Lady Tunshuq’s palace overwhelms the eye; it stretches the length of the block and soars high into the sky. As already noted, it features three main portals whose facades are all decorated in the Mamluk manner: *ablaq* masonry, geometric designs, and *muquarnas*. Each portal seems to have its own unique arabesque style and range in decorative qualities. Upon her death Lady Tunshuq’s mausoleum was built across the street; in this way she is forever residing near her palace.

**WEST PORTAL – USE OF WINDOWS**

I will first describe the portal with the least amount of decoration, the west portal, (Fig. 2) then I will consider the central portal, and finally the most elaborately decorated portal: the east portal. I will focus primarily on the exterior decoration of the portals due to their recognizable Mamluk qualities to provide a general overview of Mamluk architecture and its key features. These portals are also important as within the Mamluk culture “only the elite had the right to have grand portals.” As such these portals display Lady Tunshuq’s status within Jerusalem at this period.
Fig. 2. Exterior view of the palace; west portal, Lady Tunshuq’s palace.
© Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum,
Image courtesy of Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.
The west portal is the simplest of the three; it does however feature a key Islamic architectural feature that embodies the Islamic focus on creating architectural elements that combine both form and function. This window is unlike the modern Western convention of a glass-plated window. Rather, it is a protruding box shape that emerges from the stone wall and has a barred area to look out through. This style of window projects outwards from the wall and is enclosed with lattice screens. The decorative lattice screen is visible behind the prison-like bars to protect the window from damage. This feature is important to note because it not only serves the function of keeping the hot air outside, but also has another function of insuring privacy, and acts as a way to separate the private and public sphere in this formal manner. Spahic Omer expands on this concept of form serving function. He states that features such as “partly or fully screened windows, elevating windows above the eye level, bent entrances, double circulations inside houses, inward looking designs and certain decorative systems... must be seen as a solution that people have evolved over centuries for themselves.”

Also of significance is the placement of this window within an arched recess. This combination of arches, windows, and recessed entrances is seen in all three of the portals. These recesses and archways are probably also a way of expressing how “Islamic architecture promotes unity in diversity, that is, the unity of message and purpose, and the diversity of styles, methods” and this is why there is a harmony in all three portals.
This portal is also important because it has another recognizable Mamluk feature - that of the *klebo*. This can be described as interlacing stones, different in color, carved in various profiles and then laid in a puzzle-like fashion to fit together. In addition, surrounding the window and carved into the stone are inlaid geometric star patterns filled with glass and earthenware of red, black, and turquoise color. These intricate inlaid star designs show the skill and craftsmanship of the Mamluk workers. Looking at these star designs one is able to imagine the beauty and splendor of what these designs would have looked like at their peak. Sadly over time due to lack of conservation and restoration many of the star shapes are now missing and the color of inlaid stones lacks its original luster. Nevertheless, this portal still acts as a way of showing the importance of façade decoration in the Mamluk period, as well as showcasing Islamic architecture’s focus on combining of form and function.

**CENTRAL PORTAL – ABLAQ MASONRY**

The central portal (Fig. 3) located between the west and the east portal can be seen as a typical example of *ablaq* masonry technique. It also the displays the Mamluk use of Qur’an inscription within the decoration of their facades. This portal features a large archway of alternating black and white limestone in the *ablaq* patterning. This pattern with alternating colored limestone shows another “dominant characteristic of Mamluk architecture...the taste for colour.” Through the use of the local
coloured stone we can distinguish the “extensive and growing use of ablaq construction” within Mamluk architecture. This stone façade also exemplifies the Mamluk’s architectural skills and their desire for monumentality. As Stephen Humphreys explains, “stone, of course, suggests grandeur and permanence, not to mention the great resources of wealth and skill necessary in using it... the lofty stone facades of the Mamluk monuments may have had fortress-like connotations for contemporary onlookers.”

One is better able to understand the Mamluk use of stone when discussing Mamluk architecture as a whole. Both in religious and secular architecture, as in this palace, the emphasis was on creating “monuments which will dramatically impress themselves upon the sense of the beholder and force them to take notice of them.”

EASTERN PORTAL – MUQARNAS

The eastern portal (Fig. 4) is the most elaborately decorated façade. It features ablaq patterning, arabesque carving, as well as a key Mamluk feature: that of the muquarnas. This portal has a large recessed archway surrounded by ablaq masonry. Above the archway features are four tiers of muquarnas that appear as stalactites. Muquarnas, that is, graduated three-dimensional stalactites carved from stone, are often half-dome shapes above entrances. These muquarnas are considered “the most characteristic features of medieval Islamic architecture from Iran to Spain,” as well as “the dome in muqarnas (being) a truly Islamic creation without precedent in any civilization.” This portal can be seen as a possible example of how many Mamluk portals were based on Syrian examples in that these portals have “a deep rectangular niche, set into the wall of the façade and running most of its height, upon which was set an elaborate muqarnas zone of transition leading up to a semi-dome.”
As Jonathan Bloom discussed, “the technical mastery with which stalactite vaulting was used from the beginning suggests that the developed technique was imported wholesale from elsewhere.”¹⁴ This observation by Bloom links Mamluk architecture to their vast empire, which included Syria and Egypt. Unquestionably,
the use of this type of archway is an important element in Islamic architecture. Camilla and David Edwards, writing about the evolution of the shouldered arch, state how “the stalactite revetment in Egypt becomes the distinguishing characteristic of Mamluk portal architecture.” Within this context, muqarnas are seen as a distinctive Mamluk architectural feature. This portrayal is an example of “the powerful three-dimensional and sculptural effect that these stalactite systems create, enhancing the animation of the wall surface,” and how Mamluk architecture aimed to create monumental, decorative facades.

I will conclude by briefly highlighting certain other key architectural features within the Lady Tunshuq palace that demonstrate how this palace exemplifies Mamluk architectural aims. As mentioned before, throughout this building there is a focus on decorating the façade with the use of arabesques, muqarnas, ablaq masonry, and inlaid stonework. But this palace also shows other significant elements such as the use of iwans. These are domes supported by archways within the building and outside in the courtyard by cross-vaulted chambers. This building is therefore both inside and out a true example of Mamluk architecture. The first feature, iwans, also known as quabba, were “vaulted hall(s) open at one end or a raised portion of the floor in a vaulted hall.” These were built in the Mamluk period, often in royal palaces, as a place for hosting public audiences or as a throne room. Finally, the open courtyard is prominent in Mamluk architecture and “were
very much needed for light and air,” as well as offering a space for privacy. Lady Tunshuq’s palace has an open courtyard that acts a meeting space of various porticos.

It is important to emphasize, “a Mamluk building is very rarely perceived as a whole building... but rather as a small number of repetitive parts.” It is for these reasons that I have provided an in-depth analysis of the portals of Lady Tunshuq’s palace. Although the palace contains many other architectural features, which could be discussed in more detail, I have attempted to solely focus on the Mamluk’s attention to exterior decoration of the façade in order to give a brief overview of the key architectural aims during the Mamluk period. Jerusalem under Mamluk control underwent physical architectural changes in order to shape the city’s landscape into one that expressed Muslim beliefs. It was also during this period that urban architecture became monumental and decorative. Through the Mamluk buildings that remain such as Lady Tunshuq’s palace we can better understand Mamluk material culture and architectural developments. This paper has attempted to provide an overview of Lady Tunshuq’s palace while giving detail of specific aspects as a way of expressing the constant shifts that occur in Jerusalem both religiously but also within its built architecture.
NOTES


3 Ibid., 13.

4 Ibid., 14.


7 Ibid., 490


9 Ibid., 99.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., 97.


13 Humphreys, 98.

14 Jonathan Bloom, “The Introduction of Muqarnas into


16 Ibid., 90.


19 Walker, 204.

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The Dome of the Rock can be deconstructed into a geometrical pattern to serve as a base to build a replica. In my research I charted these patterns and created a block/mosaic version of the Dome of the Rock. The main sources of reference are photos of the site that I found on the Internet, most of which are of recent modifications. In contrast, all the floor plans available online are historical. The exterior of the dome has changed significantly, as is evident from the old black and white photos I consulted. The more current photos show a new exterior that does not match the floor plans found online.

The main factors which decided my process was whether each particular aspect of the structure was an odd number, or even number. I chose to build my design around odd numbers
because the top of the dome has a spire in the shape of a moon, and with an even-numbered dome the spire would not have been centered properly. After that I created a geometrical floor plan as a series of shapes interlocking to form the base for my work. I restarted this part of the process because some sections did not connect properly or were not the correct shape. At this point I was still using the old plans and measurements I found, but I disregarded these plans because they were contradicting the recent images of the dome. I then gave more attention to the various other images my research uncovered, and used those as my base to create a floor plan.

The scale of the work is such that each block equals one foot. With this set I measured all my images to create a rough estimate of the dimensions. Some dimensions were off by half a foot, and so I added dimension in some places and subtracted others to create a proper representation of the size and shape. I had to minimize the amount of detail I could use to create my version of the Dome of the Rock. If I did render the site using a one-to-one ratio it would have been easier to build but the work involved would have increased twelve fold. I decided to make it small because it is faster to build but the time spent calculating the dimensions and size increases. I created two main sets of plans: one horizontal, which includes the base; and one vertical, which shows the height of the site. The combination of the two created a three-dimensional map that I could use to build my model.
The end goal is for the model to be printed on a three-dimensional printer. However, the limitations on the equipment at the university and the cost determined that this might not be the best course of action. The machines at school cannot print in colour very well, and the colours have a tendency to mix together. One of the main characteristics of the Dome of the Rock is its mosaics, and if I cannot print an accurate representation of my work I would rather not do it. For this project I rendered still images of the construction I did. It was important for me to create a more accurate image of my work, and that is why I created two-dimensional images.

There are three artworks that can be compared to my work: the first is a Lego model of the Dome of the Rock, the second is a miniature model at a park in Istanbul, and the last is a guided tour of a three-dimensional model. All three feature re-imagined and simplified versions of the real dome.

The colour combinations of the Lego model are not proportional or accurate to the original site. The bottom part of the dome is mostly white marble - but the Lego version features more yellow. The middle of the dome is mostly blue, but the Lego version is predominantly yellow. The top section of the Lego construction has the correct geometric shapes, but the details are wrong. Most of the windows at the top are missing and are over simplified, but because it is made of Lego the overall shape is accurate and the amount of detail is appropriate for the size.
The miniature model at a park in Istanbul is a lot more accurate than the Lego model, but it still does not adequately represent the original site. This might be because the bottom marble part is too clean and does not have the imperfection and decays of the original. The middle section does not have the proper colours in the windows. They are all mostly yellow and do not have enough white or blue in them. The top section has the opposite problem, with too much blue and white. The colours are not distributed proportionally, and for the most part are painted on and seem flat. Another aspect not included in this copy are the side doors; in their place is plain marble. Instead of including wooden doors, the model maker just painted a section of the marble brown.

The three-dimensional tour of the Dome of the Rock is by far the most accurate representation of the site. In this tour, photos of all the different walls and surfaces are projected onto an accurate model of the dome. This use of photography leads to a more realistic depiction of the site than those offered by the other two methods of depictions.

My goal with this work was to create a simplified mosaic of the Dome of the Rock. All the walls were deconstructed into a simple pattern to recreate a model. I studied images of the exterior, interior, historic references, and the floor plans of the Dome of the Rock. With all these sources I was able to create a proper model.
Fig. 1 Ketan Patel, *My Rendition of the Dome of the Rock*, 2013.
Fig. 2. Drawings of Islamic buildings, n.d. Victoria and Albert Museum.  
http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/d/drawings_islamic_buildings;  
Fig. 4. Dome of the Rock: Interior Views and Details, n.d.
Fig. 5. Dome of the Rock, n.d. Brickshelf Gallery.
Islam forbids the depiction of figures in artwork, and instead relies on representation of key principles and Qu’ranic texts through calligraphy, arabesques or floral motifs, and precise geometric designs. Islamic artistic expression is founded on the principle of Mizan (balance, order) described in the Qu’ran. It is conceived as the basis of the very laws of creation in Islamic religion. It is through this approach that all Islamic arts such as design, decorative arts, calligraphy, architecture, music, poetry, and book arts are unified. Inspired by the abstract and geometric quality of Islamic tiles, I sought to construct tile designs that would showcase the steps involved in the creation of Islamic tile designs. The series includes fourteen tiles, which showcase a
progression of designs that grows increasingly more complex with every additional circle and line, culminating in one tile inspired by and created in honour of the Dome of the Rock, an Islamic shrine located on the Temple Mount of Old Jerusalem and which houses the foundation stone, which holds significance for all three major monotheistic religions in Jerusalem.

The use of geometry as method of measurement and composition becomes the unifying concept of abstract decorative art, which transcends the physical world rather than presenting a pictorial presentation of the world. At first glance these repetitive and intricate geometric designs seem to be constructed using complex methods and devices. With further research I found that very simple tools were used in the creation of these tiles, and so I was able to use these same tools in my own creation process. These include a compass, ruler, and pencil for the initial construction, while a black marker, and pencil crayons were used in the final design. The design begins with the drawing of circles, within which are drawn squares, triangles, hexagons, octagons, stars, and other regular polygons. The simplicity of this design structure intrigued me further. I wondered how could these designs seem so complex, yet be created by such simple tools. Islamic geometric art began before the decimal system was created, and thus they did not have a precise mathematical system of numbers to use in their calculations of radius, diameter, circumference, and line length. Instead Islam-
Artistic artists relied on lengths of rope to measure these. Even after the development of the decimal system this method remained unchanged.\textsuperscript{2}

Based on these ideas, my artwork consists of a series of fourteen tiles with hand drawn designs on white sketchbook paper measuring seven inches squared. Thirteen of the tiles in the set showcase the process of construction, on the basis of which the fourteenth tile was created. Together the tiles showcase the process of line construction from simple to increasingly more complex with every additional circle and line. The additional lines are emphasized by circled nodes through which these new lines are drawn. I call these first thirteen the “construction” tiles. The final tile (Fig. 1) is a result of the culmination of circles and bisecting constructing lines from the previous tiles. The lines that were used solely as a guide for other lines of construction in the final tile are no longer visible. What is left is a tile whose construction lines have been erased and whose interior polygons have been coloured in.
The floor plan of the Dome of the Rock (Fig. 2) was used as a guide and reference throughout the process; I deconstructed it with circles, bisections and polygons in order to create the appropriate construction lines for the final design. I recreated
the layout using colours from the mosque’s exterior tiles: bright blue, midnight blue, turquoise, yellow-orange, and grass green; white is used as an accent and as the colour to divide the blocks of colour within the tile.

Fig. 2. Floor plan of the Dome of the Rock. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dehio_10_Dome_of_the_Rock_Floor_plan-drilled.jpg
I was entranced by the colours, tilework, and Dome atop the mosque - a typical reaction to visiting the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. The artwork I created is particularly inspired by the layout and colour of the Dome of the Rock, and it incorporates the history embedded in the sacred rock located in the heart of the building. The gold dome and rock are inserted into the final tile as motifs in honour of the Dome of the Rock - evoking the yellow-orange brilliance of the sun glinting off the gold Dome. The rock in the center of the final tile represents as well as emphasizes the sacred history of this location and the importance of the rock to all three monotheistic religions present in Jerusalem: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam.

The purpose of non-figurative, abstract qualities in Islamic art is as an aid in the contemplation of religious ideas and texts. In creating these tiles I experienced what is called “being in the zone.” The highly repetitive nature and level of concentration I experienced while creating became a type of meditative experience. From my experience it would seem that the creation of an artwork produces a similar state of mind as meditating on holy religious texts.

The process of creation and tools involved in creating Islamic geometric designs is outlined very clearly by Eric Broug in his book *Islamic Geometric Designs* and Sara Grove MaCaulay in her article *Two Views of Islam: Ceramic Tile Design and*
Miniatures. These texts examine the construction process step by step, and inspired me to do the same. Issam El-Said breaks down the historical methods of construction and modern mathematical context of these designs and their creation in his book *Islamic Art and Architecture: The System of Geometric Design*.

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Urban Spaces and Constructed Identities

Espaces urbains et identités construites
Bridging the Divide: JR and Marco’s *Face2Face Project* and Israel-Palestine Separation Wall

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VERONICA DELLA FORESTA

Urban infrastructure operates as the ideal surface for street artists to make their mark, a public platform on which to assert their presence and articulate their message. Beyond the confines of the art institution monolith, street art has come to emblazonize a counterculture aesthetic, an unconventional idiom whose guerrilla spirit celebrates liberty, community, and nonconformity. Occupying the public arena, street art is necessarily informed by its location, a space endowed with its own scope of meaning. This consciousness of place often
draws artists to politically charged or contested spaces, and their inscriptions and designs function as forms of art activism - visual evidence of a social involvement and desire to inspire change. The Israeli-Palestinian Separation Wall is one of these spaces. Since the beginning of its construction in 2002,\(^1\) the wall dividing Israel and the West Bank has attracted significant attention, with artists taking to its façades in protest, deploying artistic means to convey sentiments of struggle, justice, and hope for peace. In spite of these artists’ efforts of “beautifying” the wall, it still stands as a tangible reminder of a divided people and land, concretizing the separation and solidifying the difference between the Israelis and the Palestinians. However, a collaborative photography project initiated in 2007 approached the wall from a different perspective, moving away from the provocative art that has come to occupy its surfaces, toward a more celebratory approach. JR and Marco’s *Face2Face Project* was a photographic venture that involved the participation of a number of Israelis and Palestinians whose large-scale portraits, taken by the artists, were pasted side by side along the border.\(^2\) In this way, the wall was not used as a tool for protest, but rather employed as a platform on which to celebrate a series of individual people. I will thus illustrate how, through portraiture, JR and Marco’s *Face2Face Project* reversed the wall’s mechanisms of power, seeking to bridge the divide by re-humanizing the image of the Palestinian and the Israeli on either side of the wall.
Construction of the barrier began in 2002 following a wave of suicide bombings in Israel by West Bank Palestinians. As a security measure, the Israeli government constructed a barrier along the entire northwest face of Israel, annexing the West Bank, as well as East Jerusalem, from Israel proper. While originally claimed to conform to the “Green Line” demarcations as negotiated in the 1949 Armistice Agreements between Israel and its neighbours, the actual structure deviates from the consented dividing line and snakes through West Bank land to integrate pockets of Jewish settlements into Israeli territory (Fig. 1). According to 2012 United Nations statistics of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the barrier’s total length, both constructed and projected, is approximately 708 kilometers, more than double the length of the Armistice Line. While the wall encircles Jewish neighbourhoods in a way that allows for the possibility of further expansion of Jewish settlements, its impact on Palestinian areas is less favourable: it encroaches on Palestinian urban spaces, bifurcates land and interrupts neighbourhoods. The construction of the wall has also reduced Palestinian access to essential resources, healthcare, agricultural land, employment, and even family members located on the “Israeli side.” The increasing settlement activity in the West Bank and the deviation from the Green Line negotiations are, as per the International Court of Justice, in violation of the Oslo Accords of 2005 and the aforementioned Armistice Agreement of 1949.
Fig. 1. United Nations, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, “Green Line” map, 2012.
A guarded checkpoint system was implemented in 2009, restricting movement through the wall and instituting regulations and limitations to tightly monitor the passage of people between the two sides. The wall’s initial function as a divisive line that separated two peoples took on the additional function of a watchtower, securing a constant panoptic surveillance of all barrier crossings. The presence of the checkpoint as a point of entry signals the morphing of the wall into a normalized border crossing, a model of the frontier that supervises access into a neighbouring land or separate state. These strategies continue in spite of Palestine not being an independent nation state and not having any self-determined borders. This simulation of an official border is further reinforced in the infrastructure of the checkpoints which changed from makeshift constructions of barbed wire and cement blocks to the current massive fortifications staffed by Israeli military which occupy the barrier zone. The regulations and monitoring that take place at the checkpoints work to deepen the separation between both peoples, not only geographically, but demographically as well. According to estimates in 2004, boundaries in the West Bank stand in the form of: approximately forty barriers, seven guarded control towers, and 607 blockades; and restrictions complicated by a system of permits required from every Palestinian looking to leave Occupied Territories or enter into Israel proper. Israeli identification card holders on the other hand – while forbidden under Israeli law from entering Gaza and Palestinian cities and towns – are exempt from the intense and extensive interrogation
at these checkpoint “entrances.” The condition of these permits, while granting Palestinians limited access to and mobility within Israel, ultimately identifies the Palestinian’s position as “alien,” as a non-citizen. The procedure at these checkpoints necessarily reinforces an irrefutable difference between the statuses of the areas as well as the people who the wall separates. Understood by the Israelis as a frontier, the wall adopts the function of a necessary safeguard against Palestinian terrorism, a reminder of the looming threat of the “other.” Conversely, perceived by the Palestinians as a segregation border, it becomes a testament to their alienation and a tangible symbol of their status as a stateless people. These varying conceptualizations of the wall attest to its dominant presence in the consciousness and lives of both Palestinians and Israelis. Yet these same conceptualizations also illustrate the power of the wall: as a geopolitical and biopolitical mechanism of control; as a spatial materialization of a segregated society; and as both a marker of territorial distinctions and a signifier of status, bolstering an “us” versus “them” mentality and ultimately calcifying the divide between Palestinians and Israelis. It is within this sociopolitical climate that JR and Marco’s *Face2Face Project* thrives, reversing the wall’s divisive strategies to foster a sense of community and personhood in the hopes of bridging the Israeli-Palestinian divide.
JR describes his approach to the project after conversing with Marco:

After a week, we had the exact same conclusion: these people look the same; they speak almost the same language, like twin brothers raised in different families. A religious covered woman has her twin sister on the other side. A farmer, a taxi driver, a teacher, has his twin brother in front of him. And he is endlessly fighting with him. It’s obvious, but they don’t see that. We must put them face to face.12

In 2007, street artists JR and Marco travelled to Israel to get a better understanding of the longstanding tension between Israelis and Palestinians of the West Bank. After spending a week walking the cities and meeting with locals they decided to launch a mass unauthorized photography project with the help of Palestinians and Israelis on either side of the Separation Wall – the *Face2Face Project*. Equipped with a 28mm lens, JR and Marco took to the city streets of Israel and the West Bank in search of individuals with a desire for change and reconciliation. The black-and-white photographs blanketing either side of the Separation Wall are the product of this interaction: juxtaposed monumental scale portraits of Israelis and Palestinians who have the same jobs, who do the same things (Fig. 2).13 The intent here is obvious: to demonstrate a kinship between both
people, as neighbours, individuals with a similar longing for peace and resolution. In this way, *Face2Face* sets itself apart from the plethora of art along the Israeli-Palestinian barrier by celebrating the individual - bringing people together and opening up a dialogue not only between the artist and the subject, but most importantly, the subject and the viewer.

Fig. 2. JR and Marco, *Face2Face, Sculptors*, 2006. Photograph. http://www.jr-art.net/projects/face-2-face.
From the onset of the project, a dialogical relationship is established between the artists and the people. The 28mm lens employed by JR and Marco to photograph their subjects required a physical intimacy, a distance of merely a few inches between the photographer and the individual being photographed (Fig. 3). This closeness suggests a certain comfort, a level of understanding and trust between both participants. The degree of intimacy engendered by the interaction necessary to the execution of the portrait also implies a recognition of the person, an acknowledgement of his or her existence and value. In photographing Israelis and Palestinians, JR and Marco were recognizing their equal worth as individuals with an equal right to be seen and heard. Within the photographic covenant their
status and sense of personhood is restored, whatever position they hold under the sovereign state – as citizens or non-citizens – is temporarily suspended. In other words, the photographic process deterritorializes the subject, relocating them beyond the confines of the political space into a neutral photographic space where no sovereign power exists and where no discrimination between bodies, whether Israeli or Palestinian, occurs. As per the photographs themselves, they differ in content from the usually violent or distressing images of Israeli-Palestinian relations as disseminated within the media. Photographs of conflict, desolation, and military occupation are typical representations of Israel and the West Bank. *Face2Face*’s monumental portraits of smiling and grimacing Israelis and Palestinians stand in stark opposition with the image of human misery that has come to typify the people of the area (Fig. 4). The focus rests instead on the person, more specifically his or her emotive face - the subjects’ identities are left completely hidden. What can be witnessed in these enormous portraits is the humanization of the Palestinians and the Israelis through the emphatic representation of the individual. There is no single, derogatory image of the Palestinian and the Israeli, no apparent difference between both people, but a series of ebullient faces. The results are not images of people recognizable as either Palestinians and Israelis, but as people, as individuals affirming their own living presence in public; their existence, exposed in monumental scale, becomes impossible to dismiss.
The juxtaposition of these portraits supports the project’s title: face-to-face, meaning in a position of openness and discussion. Placed side by side, these portraits stand in close proximity to one another, recalling the same degree of intimacy experienced between the subject and the portraitist during the photographic process. On account of their closeness, these portraits are necessarily in dialogue with one another, and must be seen and experienced together and in relation to each other. In other words, the proximity of the photographs prompts an inevitable interaction between both images, both people. Yet the unavoidable intimacy is not a forced intimacy,
but a welcomed one – the smiling faces have encouraging expressions, suggesting they have acted as willing participants in the dialogue. The physical closeness and necessary interaction of these photographs functions as a restaging of a similar closeness and interaction that occurs between Israelis and Palestinians on a day-to-day basis. In these portraits, however, the sense of difference that has come to define and divide Israelis and Palestinians is erased. There is no sign of an occupier or a settler; there is no sovereign or subaltern being; all pairs of portraits are presented as equal, yet of individual people. By showing these individuals in easy proximity, these portraits are not only communicating a desire for a peaceful coexistence, but are showcasing the very people who are living proof of that hope for reconciliation. These portraits, when seen along the wall, take on a new vibrancy that not only enhances the experiential interaction with the photographs, but ultimately subverts the divisive strategies of the border (Fig. 5).
The wall separating Israel and the West Bank consists of a concrete wall, barbed wire, manned watchtowers, cameras, and radars that can both see and sense when it is being touched. It is a panoptic device of authoritarian control that seeks to divide two peoples both physically and psychologically. As a space that Israelis and Palestinians are forced to encounter on a daily basis, the wall sustains its own intimacy – one of a hegemonic and dehumanizing nature whose touch operates not as an extension of empathy, but as a means to possess. The wall ultimately serves as a constant reminder of the threat of one against the other.\textsuperscript{15}
In this way, the presence of these large scale portraits along the wall implies a voluntary encounter with the barrier zone, not only in the act of pasting the photographs on the surface of the wall, but in how the photographs subsequently interact with the urban environment (Fig. 6, 7). While the very presence and monumentality of the photographs draw attention to the wall, it is the direct gaze of the portrait that confronts the viewer and forces a recognition of existence - of the personhood of both participants. The wall, as a zone of surveillance and monitoring which serves to separate the Israelis and the Palestinians, is used instead as a platform on which both peoples openly assert their presence to each other, affirming and thus reaching out to one another through the gaze. The panoptic regime of the wall is thus reversed in these portraits, as the intimacy of the subject’s gaze is one of warmth and understanding, a temporary interruption of the wall’s authoritarian gravitas. By pasting these giant portraits against a divisive structure, JR and Marco are emphasizing the value of the individual, the very thing that the construction of the wall and the conflict in general have obliterated. As such, the dialogical relationship that the portrait engenders with the viewer through the gaze subverts the wall’s mechanisms of negation in bridging the divide between both people. The presence of the photographs also prompted an interaction among the viewers. The ambiguous identity of the subjects stimulated conversation between JR and Marco, and the passersby who happened to witness the project and were curious about its inception and objectives. This reaction
elicited by the photograph testifies to its provocative potential, its ability to incite action within the viewer.\textsuperscript{17} The act instigated in this instance was that of dialogue, as having established a dialogical intimacy between the photograph and the viewer, the photographer and the viewer and finally, the viewers themselves. In this way, the viewer thus finds him or herself voluntarily approaching the wall to initiate contact. Once again, the wall’s divisive strategies are counteracted by the dialogical exchange that occurs through the photograph.

Fig. 6. JR and Marco, \textit{Face2Face}, March 2007.
Separation Wall, Israeli Side, Abu Dis Jerusalem.
http://www.jr-art.net/projects/face-2-face. Copyright JR.
Fig. 7. JR and Marco, *Face2Face*, March 2007. Separation Wall, Palestinian Side, Bethlehem. http://www.jr-art.net/projects/face-2-face. Copyright JR.
JR and Marco’s *Face2Face Project* was a means to involve the people of Israel and Palestine to actualize their wish for peace. In bringing individuals together to reclaim their urban environment and assert their existence, *Face2Face* sought to challenge the divisive and alienating mechanisms of the wall, establishing relationships of intimacy between people, whether artists or civilians, to ultimately bridge the divide between Israelis and Palestinians.

**NOTES**


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6 “The Humanitarian Impact of the Barrier July 2012.”
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Preserving the Zion Gate: The Role of Conservation in the Middle East

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ANNE-MARIE GUERIN

Edward Said’s concept of the “right to a remembered presence” upholds the idea of heritage as a potential source of comfort and agent of healing.¹ Heritage in Jerusalem and Israel, however, is notorious for its role in the legitimization of colonization and intensification of disaccord between cultural, religious, and ethnic groups.² The Zion Gate (Fig. 1) is one of
eight gates integrated into the most recently built defensive wall surrounding Old Jerusalem. Erected by Ottoman Sultan Suleiman I (the Magnificent) between 1538 and 1540, the gate is the southernmost entry into the Old City and leads into the Armenian and Jewish Quarters. Having survived over 400 years of Jerusalem’s history relatively unharmed, the gate was damaged by gunfire in the 1948 struggle for control of the Old City by Arab and Zionist military forces. As part of the Jerusalem City Wall Conservation Project initiated in 2007 by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), the gate underwent intensive structural analysis and conservation efforts in April 2009. Following discussion surrounding the pockmarks left on the external façade of the gate in the 1948 riots, it was decided by the IAA that these would be preserved as a testament to the event and to the soldiers who attempted and failed to take and hold the Old Jewish Quarter.
Fig. 1. Zion Gate. View of south façade. Jerusalem.

<http://o-library.artstor.org.mercury.concordia.ca/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CNaaSQwKSwoNzU8dSUURXorXX4ufFt6fA%3D%3D&userId=hTBFejc%3D&zoomparams=>.
Conservators claim objectivity towards the Zion Gate and, within the isolated context of heritage preservation, the treatment of the Zion Gate corresponds to the codes of ethics and scientific standards of conservators internationally. However, the subjective context of the Gate’s current role and presence in Jerusalem and particularly the discourse surrounding this role can potentially transform the result of the conservator’s decisions into an “othering” device serving political ideologies. In order to achieve the potential of heritage as healing agent, conservation professionals must consider the integrity and impact of heritage in situ – and within their current palpable discourse – rather than solely interpret the historical integrity of monuments and artifacts within the academic discourse of their field. The defensive purpose of Suleiman’s wall accounts for many of Zion Gate’s formal characteristics; its walls are thick, tall, and made of large bricks of limestone. The ramparts are lined with battlements and machicolations (Fig. 2), allowing the defenders of the city to remain protected while resisting an offensive. The opening of the gate is relatively narrow and the passage through the gate is L-shaped (Fig. 3, Fig. 4) reducing the possibility of rapid, large-scale, frontal attacks.
Fig. 2. Zion Gate. Detail of south façade. Jerusalem.
http://o-library.artstor.org.mercury.concordia.ca/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CNaaSqwKSwoNzU8dSUURXorXX4ufFhxcg%3D%3D&userId=hTBFejc%3D&zoomparams=.
The side of the gate facing the interior of the Old City (Fig. 4) opens onto the Armenian Quarter and is minimally decorated; the lintel sits on capitals carved with converging lines and supports a small decorative arch above which is set an Arabic inscription. The side of the gate facing the exterior of the Old City (Fig. 1) is also minimally decorated; a thick lintel rests on carved stone capitals of simple design atop jambs integrated into the masonry of the walls. This opening is framed by a larger pointed arch allowing for a tympanum, in which is carved another inscription in Arabic script. This script indicates that the gate was built in 1540 by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent.⁵ One will also notice that this side of the gate is heavily pockmarked
(Fig. 5), which disturbs the integrity of the design of the original gate (a glimpse of which is revealed by the interior façade of the gate).

Fig. 4. Zion Gate. View of north façade. Jerusalem.
http://o-library.artstor.org.mercury.concordia.ca/library/secure/ViewImages?id=8CNaaSQwKSw0NzU8dSUURXorXXkgfVB5ew%3D%3D&userId=hTBFejc%3D&zoomparams=.
These marks are the remnants of riots beginning in the spring of 1948 as a result of the instigation of the United Nation’s Resolution 181 (the 1947 Partition Plan for Palestine). Resolution 181 was the latest in a series of attempts by the UN to appease both the Jordanian Arab authority in Palestine, led by King Abdullah, and the increasingly powerful Zionist authority in Palestine led by David Ben-Gurion. Tensions in Palestine had been escalating since the 1856 Treaty of Paris, which encouraged Christian and Jewish settlement in Palestine and
intensified since the 1917 League of Nations Balfour Declaration which resulted in a 160% increase in Jewish settlement in the Holy Land. Following the 1936 Arab Revolts which were directly linked to the settlement of European Jews in Jerusalem and elsewhere, the British sent the Peel Commission in 1937 to determine how Palestine might be divided between these feuding factions. Resolution 181 proposed to create an Israeli sovereign state in the West, an Arab sovereign Palestine in the East, and to maintain Jerusalem as international territory. Originally, the priorities of Zionism as introduced by Theodor Herzl were to create a sovereign, modern state which did not depend on ideas or customs of the past. As such, Ben-Gurion supported the Resolution despite losing important holy sites in Jerusalem. However, King Abdullah and the Arab population of Jerusalem largely rejected the idea of internationalization and began their protests in the spring of 1948 by attacking the Jewish Quarter of the Old City and blockading Mount Scopus. Despite efforts to breach these blockades, evidence of which can still be seen in the pockmarked Zion Gate, the Old City was soon abandoned by the Zionist military forces, the Haganah, and their elite soldiers, the Palmach.

The attempt by Haganah forces to breach the blockade in 1948 is considered by the IAA to be the single most important event to have left its mark on the gate since its creation, further supporting the importance of the gate following 1967 as a “symbol of a unified Jerusalem.” As such, six months and
800,000 NIS ($235,000 CAD) went into conserving the gate’s dedicatory inscriptions, as much of its architectural integrity as possible, and the pockmarks left by the Haganah in 1948.\textsuperscript{15}

Article 7 of the 1964 Venice Charter of the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites claims: “A monument is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs.”\textsuperscript{16} Given the role of the Zion Gate in the history of Jerusalem since the mid-sixteenth century and particular since the 1950s, it is reasonable to claim that preserving the pockmarks is an adequate way of maintaining the historical and structural integrity of the gate. Moreover, the project is legitimately carried out by a publicly accountable authority, the IAA, thereby affirming the legality of the project.\textsuperscript{17} Nevertheless, the Venice Charter’s vague treatment of the idea of the “setting in which [heritage] occurs” however, allows for the gate to be re-contextualized openly by any ideological faction. The treatment of the Zion Gate neglects the need to contextualize heritage within the framework of the current condition and cultural needs of the people affected.\textsuperscript{18}

The people affected both by the presence of the gate in the city and by the events of 1948 includes both the Israeli and the Palestinian population of the city. If the “setting” of the Zion Gate is to be taken in broad context, one must consider the administration of heritage sites in the context of the current Palestinian/Israeli conflict in Israel and Occupied Palestinian
Territory (OPT). Following the 1967 Six Days War, Israel obtained complete control of Jerusalem, Golan Heights, the Sinai, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank thereby quadrupling in size. At this time, Israel claimed it intended to “…conserve and rehabilitate both Jewish and non-Jewish heritage.”\(^{20}\) Heritage preservation, particularly archaeology, has been used by the State of Israel to justify political claim to OPT territory, control access and interpretation of sites and artifacts, and legitimize colonial national interests.\(^{21}\)

After 1967, archaeological sites in Israel and OPTs were placed under control of two Israeli military Staff Officers for Antiquities (SOA) in charge of the West Bank (excluding Jerusalem), and the Gaza Strip.\(^{22}\) Within the SOA, Dr. Yitzhak Magen is the only person entitled to issue permits for excavation.\(^{23}\) The SOA has so far conducted 70% of West Bank excavations, 95% of which are supervised by Magen himself, and only 9 of 171 of which were supervised by academic institutions.\(^{24}\) Amendments made to Jordanian Law on Antiquities in 1968 further authorizes the SOA to arrest and confiscate material, land, and individuals as they see fit.\(^{25}\) This gives the SOA relatively unlimited power over heritage in Israel as well as OPTs. Israeli heritage organizations such as the SOAs and the IAA have been accused of the intentional destruction of sites such as the historic town centre of Nablus, destroyed in 2000 to build a separation wall.\(^{26}\) They are also held accountable for the neglect of non-Jewish artifacts and sites such as at Tell Qilla, 20km from Hebron, where
eyewitnesses report seeing four bulldozers remove unwanted layers of soil.\textsuperscript{27} Finally, oversight of Jordanian Law on Antiquities has reportedly resulted in the prevention of Palestinians to have access to, and use proper scientific technology to analyze and interpret their own heritage.\textsuperscript{28}

In OPTs, the only types of excavation allowed in occupied territories by international law (according to the UNESCO Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property, signed by the State of Israel in 1954) are “salvage excavations.”\textsuperscript{29} These are limited to circumstances where heritage is jeopardized by construction work.\textsuperscript{30} Archaeological surveys list over 12,000 archaeological sites in OPTs.\textsuperscript{31} The “salvage excavations” claimed by Israeli authorities are the result of colonial acts such as the settlement of military outposts, infrastructure, roads, and separation walls used as excuses to maintain territorial authority.\textsuperscript{32} Israeli archaeological activities in these territories resulted in the removal of artifacts by occupational authority, clandestinely or otherwise, by both military personnel and civilians. These activities jeopardize Palestinian heritage and leave it inaccessible to Palestinian researchers.

In response to claims such as these made at the 2003 Fifth Archaeological Conference at the Catholic University of America in Washington D.C., Dr. Uzi Dahari, Deputy Director of the Israel Antiquities Authority, published a letter stressing that “...transforming the science of archaeology into a platform for
political polemics is unacceptable.” In this letter, Dr. Dahari emphasizes that within the IAA and the Israeli scholarly community of archaeologists, “...there is no such thing as a separate Israeli and Palestinian archaeological cultural heritage.” Moreover, he stresses that, following 1967, Staff Officers appointed by the Civil Administration (SOAs) to survey sites in OPTs were in no way affiliated to the IAA but subordinate to the Israel Defence Forces whose goals were significantly different to those of the IAA. As well, Dr. Dahari asserts that the excavations mentioned above, at Nablus for example, are beneficial to the archaeological community as they uncovered the Hellenistic city on Mount Gerizim as well as the Roman, Byzantine, and early Islamic heritage of the Nablus (Neapolis) which represent significant breakthroughs in cultural history of both Israelis and Palestinians.

The IAA has indeed proven open to transparency in its archeological endeavours. “The West Bank and East Jerusalem Searchable Map,” a project orchestrated by the University of Southern California, represents a collaboration between Israeli and Palestinian archaeologists attempting to create a database documenting the currently broken up archaeological terrain of the southern Levant in an effort to unify and render transparent the archaeological activities of the region.

These researchers have claimed the IAA operates under an appropriate level of transparency when it comes to excavated
sites.\textsuperscript{38} The SOA (Staff Officer for Archaeology) in Judea and Samaria has only recently started opening its archives in direct response to the Israeli-Palestinian Archaeology Working Group’s influence.\textsuperscript{39} Within the context of a divided heritage organization (particularly with such differing goals), it becomes difficult to point fingers at potential perpetrators of crimes in the destruction of cultural heritage.

Subsequently, one cannot claim that the Israeli Authorities are the only party with a political agenda in this heritage conflict. Many archaeological sites of particular importance to Israeli (Jewish) heritage have been vandalized by Palestinians. An example of this is the partial destruction of a site near Abraham’s Well in Hebron’s Old City in March 2012. This site, containing Canaanite findings, was breached during the night by Arab workers and littered with piles of garbage subsequently lit on fire.\textsuperscript{40} Needless to say that the archaeological strata were significantly damaged, and much of the research done following this act of vandalism was rendered problematic. Moreover, the Islamic Waqf whose authority over the geographical area surrounding the Temple Mount has been maintained since 1967 has been known to turn a blind eye concerning the maintenance and construction of mosques in the area.\textsuperscript{41} Examples of this included damaging Jewish sites while replacing power lines, destroying areas of the eastern wall to make way for an enlarged “emergency gate” for the mosque at Solomon’s Stables, and so on.\textsuperscript{42}
It is evident that the role of heritage in cultural hegemony is taken to heart by both Palestinians and Israelis to the extent that heritage sites become conflict zones in themselves. As claimed by Beverley Butler, “perhaps the greatest battle Palestinians have waged as a people has been the right to a remembered presence, and with that presence, the right to possess and reclaim a collective historical reality [...]”\(^4\) That being said, it is not by neglecting modern history that a “right to a remembered presence” will be achieved for Palestinians in the case of the Zion Gate. It is problematic to claim that the conservators of the gate should have restored the gate in its entirety in the hope that the gate would be restored to its “original” Ottoman grandeur, or that the IAA is guilty of irresponsible practice concerning their decisions, considering the pockmarks do have important historical meaning. In fact, the conservators were able to restore much of the Ottoman character of the gate despite the damage it received in 1948. It is the discourse surrounding the treatment of the gate and the presentation of the finished work that plays an important role in solidifying public perceptions of the history and meaning of the Zion Gate.

This dialogue is manifested verbally through articles and descriptions of the process, as well as physically through ceremony and public involvement. The restored gate was received with a great amount of excitement in Jerusalem as evidenced by the celebrations of dedication occurring on site following its conservation.\(^4\) Private tourist sites claimed: “Zion
Gate celebrates 469 years in style” referring to a dedicatory celebration which was attended by the mayor Uri Lupoliansky and Palmach veterans. This celebration in itself claims the gate as a national Israeli symbol setting a tone clearly implying the exclusion of other cultural groups. Suddenly, the overarching features of the gate are the pockmarks of 1948, whereas the Ottoman character of the gate is largely diminished. Indeed, by making this event a national Israeli one, the gate successfully serves to position Palestinians as being the cause of the 1948 riots. The newspaper Arutz Sheva described the celebration as honored by “… the presence of the Mayor of Jerusalem (Uri Lupoliansky) and War of Independence warriors…” Furthermore, descriptions of the conservation process by the IAA makes clear the overarching importance of “national value” in the decision-making process despite the fact that 90% of the gate’s existence did not occur under Israeli “national” occupation. As explained by Avi Mashiah: When it came time to treat the damaged parts of the walls we were faced with a complicated dilemma: whether to commemorate the events that are of national value ... or to preserve the original architectural value of the walls by restoring the damaged condition to its previous state.

Moreover, the only mention of Palestinian involvement in the IAA description of the conservation procedure is in the words “… enemy territory.” As this is one of the few documents related to the conservation of the Zion Gate and available to the public,
it is the major authority on the conservation procedure. It is primarily through this dialogue that the conservation process becomes exclusively relevant to Israeli national interests.

Edward Said refers to the sacralization of monuments such as the Zion Gate as isolated responses to a particular collective memory which facilitates acts of disinheritance.\textsuperscript{49} Despite the admirable work that went into the conservation of the gate, the discourse surrounding the conservation process suggests that the Ottoman past of the gate was disherited in favor of the sacred national symbol that is the 1948 precursor to the War of Independence.

In a context where heritage is neglected, destroyed, or made inaccessible by both Israeli and Palestinian perpetrators, where Ottoman sites are transformed into Israeli victory parades, where Israeli heritage is destroyed in perceived “retribution,” where Palestinians are antagonized for a historical event taking place over half a century ago, the treatment of the Zion Gate takes on an entirely new meaning. Accordingly, the heritage professionals in charge are burdened with a certain responsibility to acknowledge this context. Subsequently, Deputy Director of the IAA Dr. Dahari’s assertion that heritage professionals should be encouraged to exercise a dispassionate and objective practice seems somewhat out of place. Indeed this attitude results in conservators and archaeologists dismissing presentation and heritage discourse as “out of their field.”\textsuperscript{50} It
is evidently simplistic to consider the historical and material integrity of the Zion Gate outside of the context of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Indeed, neglecting this context results in a discourse that antagonizes rather than unites the factions involved in the gate’s comprehensive heritage. By looking at archaeological projects and heritage preservation as being isolated, heritage professionals concede to the idea that heritage is independent of its contemporary setting. The sooner there is recognition of the inextricable link between the discourse of heritage in situ and the perception of self in society that it engenders, the closer we will be to a “heritage that heals” rather than a “heritage that ruptures.”

NOTES


2 Ibid., 251.


4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

7 Butler, “Palestinian Heritage ‘to the moment’,” 248.

8 Mayer, “Jerusalem in and out of Focus,” 228.

9 Ibid., 230.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., 231.

13 Ibid.

14 Mashiah, “The Jerusalem City Wall Conservation Project.”

15 Ibid.

http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

18 Butler, “Palestinian Heritage ‘to the moment’,” 238.


22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., 218.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid., 220.

26 Ibid., 234.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.


31 Ibid., 215.

32 Ibid.


34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.


38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

40 “Arab Damage to Israeli Archaeological Site Leads to No Arrests,” Algemeiner.com http://www.algemeiner.com/2012/03/21/arab-damage-to-israeli-archaeological-site-leads-to-noarrests/.

42 Ibid.

43 Butler, “Palestinian Heritage ‘to the moment’,” 237.


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50 Ibid.

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The first Armenian-Jewish connection can be traced back to the pre-Christian period. During the first century BCE, Armenian King Tigran the Great expanded the borders of Armenia, stretching it from the Caspian Sea all the way to the shores of the Mediterranean, by conquering parts of Cappadocia, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, Syria, and Palestine. During his reign,
he forced a significant number of Jews to settle in Armenia, increasing the Jewish population in Northern Mesopotamia.¹ It is widely known and accepted that since this first connection there has been an Armenian presence in Jerusalem, a city where people belonging to various cultural and religious backgrounds lived next to each other. As the Armenian population in the city grew significantly during the fourth and fifth centuries CE, the Armenian Quarter was already established, and became one of the four main principal sections of the Old City. Being Christian, the Armenians consider the Armenian Apostolic Church a national institution, for it is not possible to be part of the church without being part of the Armenian nation. This gives a unique feature to the Armenians, thus separating them from the other Christians, leading them to have their own Quarter in the city.² In 638 CE, following the Arab conquests, the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem had already reached a stature that was equal to that of the Greek Orthodox Church. The community had great freedom in exercising their national and religious customs and rituals up until the conquest of Jerusalem by the Ottoman Turks from the Mamluks.³ Thus, throughout the history of the city, Jerusalem’s Armenian community has witnessed the main historic events that took place in the region, and has made a positive contribution to the Holy City.

Among one of its greatest contributions to the city was occasioned by the introduction of photography. If one wishes to explore the lifestyle of Jerusalem during the late nineteenth and the early
twentieth centuries, it is useful to look at old photographic images dating from that time. In the Ottoman Empire, photography was considered something to be practiced by “unbelievers,” for creating images of humans was against Moslem belief. Thus, only certain minorities found within the Ottoman Empire practiced photography - mainly Christians. With the gradual expansion of European missionaries in Istanbul, and with the birth of the Armenian Literary Renaissance in 1840s, the Armenians were encouraged to take up many arts and crafts practices, as well as photography. The Armenian Abdullah brothers were the most widely recognized photographers in Istanbul, to the point where they became the official photographers of the Sultan’s palace, and they had no significant competition for this industry in the city. Thus, Armenians turned to Jerusalem in order to experiment with photography there, making them the pioneers of this profession in the region.

The first photography school was opened in the Sourp Hagop (Saint James) Monastery by Armenian Patriarch (and practitioner of photography) Yessai Garabedian in 1859. This establishment trained many Armenian photographers, who dominated the photography market in the Middle East up until the first half of the twentieth century. The object of this paper is to discuss three significant photographs taken by three different Armenian photographers in Jerusalem, Garabed Krikorian, and his sons Johannes Krikorian and Elia Kahvedjian. Each of these images has its own story, related to the history of the personal
lives of the photographers and also that of the city of Jerusalem. The first photograph to be discussed is the portrait of Mrs. Krikorian at the American Colony of Jerusalem (Fig. 1) taken by her husband. The role of the colony will be discussed in greater depth, as well as its contributions to the city of Jerusalem. This will be followed by the portrait of Najla Krikorian (Fig. 2), which explores an interesting story that happened to the Krikorian family relating to their profession of photography. The third photograph is by Armenian Genocide survivor Elia Kahvedjian, representing Jews praying in front of the Western Wall (Fig. 3). Through this last photograph, the paper aims to represent the situation of the Jews in this part of the world at a time when their existence was endangered in certain parts of Europe, thus analyzing the degree of importance of Jerusalem for the Jews. The paper will conclude by summarizing the Armenian photographers’ contribution to Jerusalem.
Garabed Krikorian was an Armenian resident of Jerusalem. After the opening of the photography institute by the Armenian Patriarch, Krikorian, with his brother, joined the school and stood out as one of the best students. During the 1870s, Garabed Krikorian opened his own photographic studio on Jaffa Road, where he starting taking pictures of pilgrims, tourists,
and prominent local figures. He devoted himself mainly to portraiture. He gained much recognition after becoming the official photographer of German Kaiser Wilhem II when the latter was on a visit of the Holy Land in 1878. His studio was the first of its kind in the region, making him an important figure, whom people from different parts of the Middle East came to in order to be photographed.

In the photograph we see Krikorian’s wife seated in a rocking chair, knitting. Her location is identified as the American Colony house of Jerusalem. The photograph is believed to have been taken around 1900-1920, the years preceding the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Those were also the years when the American Colony was the most active in Jerusalem. Established in the 1880s, members of the American Colony would engage in various educational, charitable, and commercial projects. They were mainly European and American missionaries and entrepreneurs who brought with them their experiences in various skills, such as trading, agriculture, and domestic crafts. The American Colony had its own agricultural fields, weaving rooms, woodworkers and blacksmiths, and animal raisers, making it a large fully self-sufficient community. It also functioned as a hostel for foreign (mainly European) visitors. After the First World War, the Colony created an orphanage for children whose families were ravaged during the war.
Many of the younger members of the Colony were photographers and had their own department, which was created in 1898. They produced prints, photograph albums, postcards, panoramic photos of Jerusalem, as well as lantern slides, which were sold via the Colony’s store. They provided help for visiting photographers. They performed various other tasks as well, such as producing “biblical” scenes of the Holy Land, which usually did not depict people, but rather only landscapes of Jerusalem and its surroundings; mosques, churches, village-homes, streets, and documentation of Jerusalem as a whole were their focus. The department also collaborated with local photographers, most notably with Garabed Krikorian and his main competitor at the time, Khalil Ra’ad. These two were usually hired by the American Colony to record important events and school graduation ceremonies. Other than that, they would sell images (especially in the form of postcards) created by the local photographers. One of the most common subjects of photography in the case of Krikorian was taking pictures of local residents who came to him dressed formally and photographed, either as a whole family, or as separate members of a family (one of the spouses, for example). The objective was for a family to show its high “bourgeois” social status and wealth through magnificently captured photographs. As this demonstrates, the relationship between Garabed Krikorian and the American Colony is significant. This can give us a reasonable explanation of why we have a photograph of Mrs. Krikorian weaving while
she is in the American Colony house. Since on the one hand there was the American Colony which arranged for volunteer work in many aspects of life, and on the other hand they were also collaborating with Garaged Krikorian and helping him in selling and distributing his photographs, it can be interpreted that his wife would have decided, in her turn, to lend a hand to the American Colony herself, by becoming a member of the weaving room. This was probably her way of expressing gratitude towards the American Colony, for the organization was providing great help and contributing a lot to the people of Jerusalem when the entire region was facing serious hardships due to ongoing political instability in the Ottoman Empire, followed by the First World War. Also since, as mentioned above, there was a tradition of being photographed in such a manner or in such a place which suggested high social status, it can be argued that Krikorian wanted to take a photo of his wife in the American Colony house in order to show that his family was in close contact with a foreign establishment that was highly respected throughout the region.

Following the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the British Mandate of Palestine, Jerusalem saw an era of growing urbanization, as well as technological advances, brought from Europe. At this time photography became much more significant as it was a sign of modernity in the region. A new urban class emerged within Palestinian society, which adopted a more European lifestyle, and started to perceive Bedouins and
other so-called peasants as people with exotic Oriental traits, to which they did not belong. Thus, such photos were produced from the studios, with models dressed as Bedouins and/or villagers in order to represent this unique oriental character that was now already understood as something not part of British Palestine. It also became a trend for these aristocratic families to be photographed dressed in such costumes. The studios such as Krikorian’s had a reserve of such traditional costumes in order to satisfy their customers’ demands.\footnote{7}

Fig. 2. Johannes Krikorian, Najla Krikorian as a Bedouin, 1921. Jerusalem. http://www.luminous-lint.com/imagevault/html_20001_20500/20155_std.jpg
The second photograph of this paper represents Najla Krikorian by Johannes Krikorian dressed as a Bedouin. This is one of the classic examples that demonstrates the demand for Oriental themed photographs. This image, however, has a unique story of its own. It is true that while Armenians brought photography to Jerusalem first, they were also the ones who trained Arabs as photographers. When Garabed Krikorian opened the first photography studio in the city, he trained the first Arab photographer, Khalil Ra‘ad. He was born in 1854 in the Lebanese village of Bhamdoun. His father, having converted to Protestantism, fled the village, for his compatriots were staunch Maronite Christians who considered his act a sin, and would not accept him as one of them. After his father was killed in 1860 due to sectarian conflict in Lebanon, Khalil Ra‘ad and his sister were taken to Jerusalem by his mother, where they finally settled. Eventually Ra‘ad grew up and became an apprentice in Krikorian’s studio. Later on, he opened his own studio right in front of his former apprentice. This led to heated competition between student and teacher. It reached the point where both family members would not talk to each other. In 1913, Garabed Krikorian’s son, Johannes – who returned to Jerusalem from Germany after having studied photography – put an end to the rivalry between the two families by marrying Najla, who was Khalil Ra‘ad’s niece. Najla was considered the “peace bride” between the two families. After the marriage, Johannes Krikorian, having taken over his father’s studio, started collaborating with Khalil Ra‘ad. His wife, represented in the photograph, is dressed as an Arab...
Bedouin, but at the same time bears an Armenian family name, creating a harmony between the two families.

The Krikorian family’s tradition of photography continued in Jerusalem. However they were not the only Armenian photographers. A more recent figure was a survivor of the Armenian Genocide. As a consequence of Turkish Pan-Turkic dreams and the timing of the First World War, the Ottoman Empire took advantage and – with carefully planned methods – managed to exterminate nearly one and a half million Armenians who were driven out of their ancestral homeland. The survivors of these atrocities found refuge in neighboring countries and cities.\(^9\) Jerusalem, in its part, was a haven for Elia Kahvedjian, who later became a prominent photographer. In his words, he and his family walked for months in the Syrian Desert. His mother gave him to a Kurdish family who was passing by in order to save his life. He was raised in this family, and then put on the street, until he was taken to an orphanage in Nazareth by the American Near East Relief Organization.\(^10\) There, by helping a teacher who was also a photographer, he learned that profession. Later on, he went to live in Jerusalem, where he opened a photography shop.\(^11\) His works dating from the late 1920s and the 1930s are well known. One of the most notable ones is the representation of Jews praying in front of the Western Wall. The image was taken in 1935, which was a period that represents the struggle of the very existence of the Jews in Palestine and in the world. In Europe, the 1930s saw the founding of an
Anti-Semitic political ideology, Nazism, under the rule of Adolf Hitler, signaling the endangerment of the Jewish existence in lands under Nazi control. This was the beginning of the preparation of another Armenian Genocide-like scenario, but this time the victims were the Jewish people. Concurrently, in the late 1920s riots took place in Jerusalem, where Arabs attacked Jewish property in order to claim the Western Wall as part of the Al-Aqsa Mosque. Thus, feelings of nationalism and religious expression were awakening in the hearts and minds of every Jew. The faith towards their religion increased, as well as their attachment to the Holy Land. Many of the Jewish people concluded that their only salvation was the return to the homeland of their ancestors, after being scattered around the world for centuries. This idea of repatriation to the “promised land” had started since the sixteenth century. However, the peak of Jewish influx into Palestine occurred in the 1930s. This group had to resist both anti-Semitic ideologies and anti-Jewish sentiments. Elia Kahvedjian’s photograph representing Jews praying at the Western Wall expresses all of these ideas and thoughts. Such a photograph speaks to the hearts of many Jews who survived the Holocaust. Being a Genocide survivor himself, Kahvedjian knew and felt what his Jewish friends were going through during the same period. It was a dark moment for everyone. Survivors of the Armenian Genocide still had not recovered from the Turkish criminal acts committed upon them. Jews were now about to face the same persecutions that the Armenians had faced.
These Armenian photographers, along with their works and productions, are an inseparable treasure of Jerusalem. Their production can be considered as important historical documents describing the lifestyle of Jerusalem during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The analysis of these three images from three different Armenian photographers revealed important knowledge. First of all, it shows the presence of an
important humanitarian organization, the American Colony of Jerusalem and its contribution to the expansion of photography in the region. Also considered in this analysis are how the various thoughts and approaches to modernity at the time of the British Mandate after the First World War were understood through the portraits of wealthy Europeanized Jerusalemites dressed as peasants and Bedouins. Finally, this discussion uncovered the rise of Jewish nationalism during the decade preceding the Second World War, a crucial time for the Jewish people. The role of the Armenian photographers of Jerusalem is undeniably one of the important contributions to the archival record of the history of Jerusalem.

The Armenian Quarter, although the smallest of the four districts, continues to be an important part of the Old City, through its unique Church, through the arts and crafts practiced by Armenian Jerusalemites, and through the heritage left behind by the Armenian pioneers of photography in the Middle East. Armenians of Jerusalem correlate the story of their ancestors with that of their Jewish compatriots: both nations were conquered and ruled by different foreign powers; both endured many difficulties when they were faced with certain death; and both of them witnessed a wide-scale state-organized Genocide. And yet, in the end, both nations survived and continue to exist up till this very day, side by side, by practicing their religions in a city that brings them next to each other.
NOTES


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Some view the practice of archaeology as neutral; it is often taken for granted that archaeologists respect scientific constraints involving neutrality. Yet in the critical study of history, one realizes that western history has largely privileged the white, male heterosexual, and that this construct serves the once conservative ideals of this demographic.

In contemporary archaeological sites such as Jerusalem, which seek to find the “truth” by using religious texts, we also find such biases in favor of the dominant culture. Today, those of Jewish descent conduct a large part of the excavations; their finds therefore often reflect their ideologies. My creative project for this course, entitled Yeshiva, addresses this cultural bias by introducing a queer context to an extremely hetero-normative context.

Yeshiva is composed of an interview segment with a twenty-three
year-old gay-identified man who grew up in the ultra-Orthodox Jewish community. Issues such as homosexuality, drug use, and sexual abuse are disclosed and transcribed on transparency sheets. My work aims to give visibility to these issues, which are often repressed or denied in the ultra-Orthodox community, in an effort to create an archaeological primary source for the future.

My role in this project is not as artist, but as director/curator. I deviated from my original intent of producing artworks based on the original text of this individual for several reasons, but largely due to the fact that my subject chose not to disclose his identity or be represented in the work. I thus chose to present the text only as art, heeding my subject’s own advice: that this is truly his story to tell.

My process involved a segmentation of multiple interview conversations, and my choice of medium. Though several other topics were discussed in the interview, I chose the segment of his first Yeshiva experience in Jerusalem, as it was the culminating point of his experiences in the city. The segment also presented the greatest variety of taboo topics considered, namely sexuality, drug use, and violence. My choice of medium, the transparency sheet, is a fortification of queer theory principles of (in)visibility. It also attempts to convey my own attempted invisibility in the project, leaving only the text and the subject’s voice as invisible.
I had great difficulty finding critical academic sources on the specific context involved by my work. Unfortunately, critical writings on specific ultra-orthodox Jewish “youth-at-risk” schools and so-called “reparative” therapy programs are extremely difficult. Many choose not to disclose their experiences in such programs, according to my subject, as they may potentially damage their families or community’s reputations. However, the possibility of a shift in sexuality has often been examined by the psychological community at large. Sigmund Freud’s work is often cited due to the prominence of his contributions to psychology; according to his works, absolute shifts in sexuality are highly unlikely and therapy often only ends up damaging a patient’s psyche.¹ A secular medical community generally accepts this view - yet organizations worldwide continue to capitalize on a false promise of heterosexual life for these individuals.

My subject’s choice of anonymity also acknowledges very important myths of queer lives having to do with the closet, and the process of disclosure. Although the act of disclosure is taken for granted as a normal process of gay and lesbian lives in dominant culture (read: white, secular cultures), the closet is actually a position of privilege. Many do not have the opportunity to properly disclose their sexuality due to their cultural background or baggage. What is most important is that the choice to disclose sexuality, or not to disclose, is where the
individual’s agency and empowerment comes from. This said, in *Yeshiva*, the subject’s decision to remain anonymous should be understood as an act of agency, since potential publication would continue to allow him to navigate between secular and religious spaces *and* present the experiences discussed in interview. Katie L. Acosta’s study of family dynamics of queer-identified Latinas supports this position, as in this example:

If Luz’s parents had asked her and her partner to sleep in separate rooms they would have been validating the non-platonic aspects of their relationship. By engaging in an avoidance strategy, Luz’s parents render her relationship invisible. In doing so, this same-sex couple is granted privileges that would be considered inappropriate in her family’s home in a heterosexual context. The flexibility of this in-between space helps Luz move forward in merging her family of choice with her family of origin.”

My artwork does not have any site-specific references in Jerusalem, but does cite the practice of archaeology in the city as I have mentioned earlier. The documentation of queer life will allow for a less heterosexist history, and is an important aspect in the understanding of the present, of tomorrow’s history. It is also foundational to include aspects of queer life outside of dominant perception.
To conclude, this project has changed my own point of view in my role as artist, curator/director, and academic student. With Yeshiva, my role is not in a creative process, but in contextualization. Should this work be displayed alongside other works on the city of Jerusalem, I hope to enable critical discourse on the place of queer identity in a religious context.

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Yeshiva Interview

Tell me about your background.

I grew up in an ultra-Orthodox Jewish family. The ultra-Orthodox are a sect that includes the Hasidic Jews, the ultraorthodox from Lithuania and Poland... it’s the continuation of European ghetto “Jewery”. I grew up with 7 brothers and 4 sisters, - I’m the 4th – my father is a grade 12 Talmud Studies homeroom teacher, my mom teaches kindergarten.

I’m gay and not religious at all.

What led you to attending Yeshiva in Jerusalem?

I had slowly been becoming less and less religious. It’s a tradition with ultra-Orthodox Jews to spend a year in Israel, right. It’s just this thing. My brothers did it and they went to this very ultra-Orthodox religious school where they studied to prepare for marriage. I had counted on going to Jerusalem for a year for my entire life. Because I was not religious, I needed to find the right school to get into in Jerusalem.

I got sent to this camp called Camp Extreme, a supposedly “therapeutic” camp. They brought us all around California and
Nevada and toured and did really expensive activities, charged our parents eight thousand dollars so they could try to convince us, kids who decided not to be religious, who were “at risk”, to be religious again.

In therapy they’d basically try to prove to you that you’re crazy and that you obviously have serious mental issues or that you’re seriously angry at the rabbis. That the problem wasn’t that their religion was ludicrous but that somehow, along the line, someone had hurt you, or a rabbi had molested you. That you were just angry, and that if they could work on your issues, make you normal again. They tried to therapy you into becoming religious.

Their constant refrain was “we don’t want you to become religious again, we just want you to be okay”. But at the end of the day, it was an abusive, horrible environment. They tried to make it look like a rehab, but it was basically a brainwashing facility to try to push kids who didn’t want to be religious back into the religion by dangling their families, and you know, how like (sarcastically) you’ll never be able to have a life and you’ll never be able to do or be anything without the Jewish people. It’s an abusive thing. I mean, they actually mean well, but it just ends up being this thing where they convince people that they’re mentally ill, that they’re drug addicts and that they’re fucked up people, when they’re just doing what teenagers do, which is experiment and rebel.
So basically from there I heard about this school, Kesher. I decided that I wanted to go to school there. I had gotten kicked out of high school in grade nine: my plan had always been to not go school there but to get my parents to pay for it and then to go party in Israel. I had heard a lot of crazy stories from my friends who’d been there.

So that’s what wound me up deciding to go to Kesher.

**Tell me about Yeshivas.**

The Yeshivas are rabbinical schools. Well not really – it’s like high school for Jewish or Hebrew studies or whatever. When I went to Yeshiva for high school in Montreal I would wake up at seven thirty for morning prayers, we would study until two in the afternoon, then we had secular studies until six. So just school all the time.

When I went to Kesher in Israel it was a sleep-in Yeshiva with a dormitory with a whole bunch of guys – of course, there’s only guys in Yeshiva. Yeshiva’s a men’s school. The one I went to, Kesher, had a lot of classes in Talmud and whatever but they weren’t a standard Yeshiva.

A standard Yeshiva is a huge room where this rabbi gives a class once a day, then after, all the students sit in pairs and study.
Talmud. What they did in Kesher was a bit different – the rabbis taught little groups and try to convince you that Judaism was “cool” and “hip”, that it’s not so bad, and it’s alright. They’d bring up all these conclusions and these stories about miracles and all these wonderful things to prove to you that God exists. I’d ask things like, “Why does a scientist see that the world is millions of years old and why do they believe it” and they’d be like “Maybe God created it that way, it just looks six million years old”. How do you know? What do you mean? How are you so sure? There’s no way you can know! There’s no way you know that God exists. And they’d say “There’s no way you know God doesn’t.” There’s a Jewish law that says that if one person is sure and one isn’t, the person who’s sure is the one who’s right.

So they’d basically teach you and try to make you feel good about your heritage, that you’re not such a bad person so they can eventually get you back in. The thing is I was really good at Talmud and I’d go to the classes knowing what they were talking about and disproved them. I’d just argue with them and argue with them and argue with them, and most of the time, I’d be right. I’d only be preaching doubt; I can argue anything with them as long as it pulls the chair from underneath their statements. I wasn’t even making any statements; I was just trying to disprove theirs. When you’re preaching doubt, you always win.
What were your fellow students like at Kesher?

There were two groups of students – the first years and the second years. About half the people stayed for the first year. The second year students were the ones who’d been brainwashed. After one year most people went home having absorbed the religion and went back to doing whatever the fuck they were doing before they went.

The second year students had had the brainwash set in. Most of them had just fallen for the trick of the rabbis seemingly loving you, giving you a family, feeling accepted and like a good person, giving them direction. They’d follow around the rabbis, begging for guidance. They were really sad. They’d never really fall into the “norm” of the ultra-Orthodox Judaism anymore. Once you’ve been not religious, you’re always tainted by that. You’ll never be able to marry a Jewish girl, people always look down on you, they’ll always remember it. Because it’s such a small community – there’s about 500,000 of them worldwide – they know everything about you. They know your mother and your sister. There’s no living it down.

These are people who just so badly wanted families, who wanted to be these, you know, good ultra-Orthodox Jews to make their parents proud. They didn’t realize that they would be fucked. It’s a really sad scene. It’s a bunch of religious people manipulating children of religious people into them staying religious despite
the fact that being religious had made every single one of them miserable enough to rebel against it at some point.

**What were the rabbis like at Kesher?**

They tried to get rabbis who would appeal to the youth somehow. There was this rabbi who ran the therapy – his name was ______. Now this guy was an abusive cunt. He would call people names, and curse you, like “You fucking bastard, what the fuck do you think you’re doing.” It was supposedly tough love, calling people out on their bullshit. Anyhow, I called ___ out on **his** bullshit, asked him “What gives you the right to insult people and call them names and act like a total prick”. No one else said anything about it. He got crazier and crazier as the year went on and then they fired him. Just nuts. He used to be Eric Clapton’s drummer for a little while. I can get pictures of it.

Anyways, I found out later he was going so crazy because his baby daughter had died and he was losing his religion. And now he’s not religious anymore. Yeah - the guy who’d been pushing us all to become religious again. It goes to show how weak their argument was.

This other rabbi, _____, still calls me up to ask me if I’m still religious. Like, no, why the fuck would I still be religious? You guys are horrible, you people are fucking crazy. The things they do and the
way they treat people is just not right – women, children, people who just aren’t religious. It’s one fat judgement city. It’s the most fucked up system ever. They try to make you believe that you’re crazy.

**What was a typical day at Kesher?**

They’d wake you up in the morning for morning prayers. I’d say maybe like, five percent of the students actually went down for morning prayers. Then at nine o’clock everyone would get up to have breakfast. Except maybe like, half the first-year students – me included - wouldn’t eat breakfast at school, they’d go to the little café and get drunk.

Don’t ask. People were drunk all the time. Then I’d go into classes and argue with a couple rabbis then go out and smoke hash. Then after classes all of the students would go downtown, where the American bars were, get super-duper wasted and fight with Israelis.

**Why do you think they did it?**

It’s just pent up aggression. They felt like horrible human beings. They’re there and they’re being told all the time that they’ll never be normal unless you do this or that, that God says this, that
you haven’t done was God says, to repent, to become a good person, that they’d make you not diseased or mentally retarded. *(sarcastically)* I mean, you obviously are because you’re not religious.

But seriously. All these guys would go there and get into these huge fights for an ego boost, they’d talk like gangsters and act like drunk hicks. Like crazy fighting and beating and all this violence.

I’d say most of them got that way from being molested when they were youth. It’s this horrible issue – kind of like the Catholic priesthood, except only two rabbis have ever been arrested. It just gets swept under the carpet. It’s all symptomatic about people not being told about sex, there’s no sex education. The kids just don’t know that it’s wrong. Well, they know that it’s wrong – but they don’t know enough about it, they don’t know that they’re even capable of saying no.

**Were there other drugs around?**

Mostly just hardcore drinking and fighting. There were some hard drugs, but not much – a bit of ketamine – but there’s not a lot of hard drugs in Israel because of the army. People would do acid because you can’t test for it. A group of us – we were three – would do heroin together whenever I was in Jerusalem after I’d left the Yeshiva.
For most of the people Jerusalem was a freedom thing. They had become not religious and their parents had panicked and sent them to this school, thinking it would cure them. It’s a pretty dumb idea. They took all these “at risk” youth, put them in the same building together. They finally had freedom, their parents weren’t there, they weren’t embarrassing people from their home communities when they did it, so they just went nuts with drinking and fighting.

That eventually drove me to leave the Yeshiva after about three weeks – how nuts the youth were from being told they were mentally retarded. So I just kind of skated off and hitchhiked around and went to psytrance parties and did a bunch of acid and had a wonderful time.

**What kind of treatment does a queer person get in a Yeshiva?**

The rabbis would tell you that they understood that you “have” this, but that God doesn’t give you a challenge that you can’t handle, that it’s still a horrible, evil thing to do. So here’s a rubber band. Whenever you see a guy and think bad thoughts, snap it on your wrist and eventually, the pain will make you stop thinking about guys like that.
If they caught you with another guy you’d be out like that. Boom. Gone.

There was always this weird sexual tension. I mean, I was gay, pretty openly except those people didn’t know. And although being gay was one of the worst things you could do, a lot of the guys there had had some sort of homoerotic experience from either being molested or because there’s no contact with women.

It was just really hard. Everyone was so terrified of their potential homosexual tendencies – especially the ones who’d engaged in it. They got so homophobic because they were scared of that in themselves. They’d always be like, “fucking faggot”. People would make jokes about it, the rabbis would make gay jokes all the time, there was just constant hating on gay people. It was considered fair game. They’re just gay, they’re just fucking faggots, they don’t count. Like we’re not people.

At the time I was there, there was this huge thing because, for the first time, pride marched through Jerusalem. There were about three hundred pride marchers and thousands of religious people protesting them and throwing rocks. Kids from my Yeshiva went to that protest and threw rocks and rioted against the march. I told one of them, “the same way that [the rabbis] oppress you, you’re oppressing gay people, and you think that’s okay?”
It’s insane. The way they treat gay people is one of the most oppressing, horrible things I’ve experienced in my whole life. It even hurts me now to talk about it.

Do you think that there’s any way to be a happy queer person in the Ultra-Orthodox community?

No. There’s no way. You can’t be happy and gay because it’s something God forbids. If you act on it, you’d be cut off from your God forever. If there was Jewish court, you’d be stoned. You could never be openly gay. Not in a million years. They wouldn’t talk to you, they wouldn’t let you into their synagogues.

I would never be willing to not be who I am anymore. I just love and it makes no difference who you love as long as you love. They claim to love their kids and their family but they only thing they love is their God. Their God gives them their answers so they don’t have to think. They don’t have to have any independent thought at all, they don’t have to make decisions. It’s all laid out for them. They go through life the way their parents and their grandparents before them did. For the ones that are happy, they’re happy, that’s great for them.
For myself I realized how shallow and fucked it was and I could never be happy there. If I had the option of living the rest of my life as an ultra-Orthodox Jew or dying, I would die.
Oil-based pen on Plexiglas, 15 x 20 in.
Oil-based pen on Plexiglas, 15 x 20 in. Details.
Cultural theorist Stuart Hall wrote that national cultures “construct identities by producing meanings about ‘the nation’ [...]”; these are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and images that are constructed of it.”¹ In the process of building a nation, then, there is plenty of room for manipulation; the cultural identity of a nation is not intrinsic but mostly constructed by humans. In the exercise of defining “the nation,” problems arise: modern nations are “cultural hybrids,”² within which values and ideas vary immensely. In certain cases this hybridity
is a major issue - for instance in Jerusalem, where archaeology plays an important role in cultural identity. In 1992 Albert Glock, an American archaeologist and defender of the rise of a Palestinian archaeology against European biblical archaeology, was killed in the West Bank by a gunman. At the time Glock had been expressing deep concerns about how the inhabitants of Jerusalem were alienated from their own past due to their absence on the archaeological scene. Although the European stranglehold on digs in the region has somewhat faded, archaeology in the Holy Land is still at the heart of many debates. Through investigations of the aims and consequences of archaeology in the city and display of the rationale and process of my creation project, it will be exposed in the following pages that my artwork, titled *Convergence* (2013), is a response to an important issue in contemporary Jerusalem, namely the nationalist approach that is characteristic of – yet not exclusive to – Israeli archaeology, which overlooks the layered past of Jerusalem, privileging one history of the city over another, and which creates contentious issues within the discipline and between the Israeli/Jewish and the Palestinian communities. The role of Palestinians in this sphere will also be addressed. It must be acknowledged, however, that although the main concern of this paper is Israeli archaeology, there has hardly been any neutral or purely scientific archaeology in Jerusalem at any time from any religious group.
Israeli archaeology in the Holy City is a vital element in the assessment of a Jewish nation and in advocacy for the Jewish settlement effort. There is a yearning amongst the Jews for physical evidence of an ancient Jewish nation in Jerusalem. There still is no incontestable evidence of Solomon’s Temple, nor of the Kingdom he and his father David are said to have reigned over. That being said, some recent digs – especially those of Israeli archaeologist Eilat Mazar – are highly controversial, but also provide the Jews with the hope that they will find irrefutable evidence of their cultural past. As Rabbi Schmuel Rabinovitch, from the Western Wall Heritage Foundation, which organizes and funds the digs in the area of the Wailing Wall, said, “archaeology in Jerusalem connects every Jew to his magnificent past.” To him, and to many others, the excavations in Jerusalem provide proof that the Holy City was the birthplace of an ancient Jewish nation. That is vital to the cohesion and livelihood of this nation. In effect, Israeli archaeology has been central in the attempt to revive the Old City the way it was in ancient times. For Nadia Abu El-Haj, “the Jerusalem excavations were part and parcel of the larger process of the physical, cultural political transformation of the space in post-1967 Jerusalem.” There is a desire in Jerusalem to create a newer version of the Old City, to bring past sovereignty into the present nation. As Israeli archaeologists Ofer Bar-Yosef and Amihai Mazar wrote, “there is an undeniable connection between the great expansion in Israeli archaeology and the
Consequently, archaeology is used to legitimize the settlement of the Jews in Jerusalem, and the control of Israel over the city.

Thus, it can be understood that Israeli archaeology in Jerusalem is deeply politically and religiously engaged. Funding for the excavations very seldom comes from the government, and archaeologists have to rely on private (engaged) donors. The City of David Foundation (or Elad), for instance, is an important private Israeli organization that controls the archaeological digs in Silwan, the neighborhood located on the site of the ancient City of David. Not only that, but the organization is known for buying houses in the neighborhood on behalf of Jewish families in support of the resettlement. As a Tel Aviv University archaeologist, Israel Finkelstein, stated, “such a sensitive and politically explosive place should be under state control.” On the other hand, the Israeli Antiquities Authority claims that although Elad can propose sites for excavation, the government can put a veto on those projects. One still wonders whether the archaeologist can really break free from the motivations of those who pay for their digs. More importantly, the aims of Israeli archaeology that were previously stated and the partiality in the founding of the projects result in a great selectivity towards the sites dug and the evidence produced. Considering that what the researchers are looking for is mostly documentation of earlier Jewish presence in the city, it is no surprise that they are almost solely interested in eras of predominant Jewish presence.
in Jerusalem, specifically the Iron Age, and the Persian, Hellenistic, and Early Roman periods until the destruction of the Second Temple.\textsuperscript{12} Those are periods when there was a real sovereign existence of the Jewish nation. In Glock’s view, for the Israelis, “thirteen centuries of Arab presence and cultural impress are peripheral.”\textsuperscript{13} Such an archaeological approach can only be incomplete. Moreover, the interpretation of the artifacts is often distorted to fit biblical writings. For instance, third-generation Israeli archaeologist Eilat Mazar, although she claims that she is not religiously engaged in her work, “is fond of saying that she digs with one hand while holding the Bible in the other.”\textsuperscript{14} She relies grandly on the biblical texts to identify and date her finds, pushing aside any caution in analyzing them. According to American scholar Max Miller, when artifactual data “is cited in support of the historicity of a biblical text or of the certainty of a particular historical position, this means nothing more than that the data in question can be interpreted to fit the particular text or position.”\textsuperscript{15} That being said, the fact that the archaeologists carefully read those texts that are closely related to the sites they dig in is perfectly understandable; the real issue consists in knowing to what extent they should rely on the biblical writings.

Under those circumstances, it is no wonder that archaeology in Jerusalem is a highly contentious field. The way the digs are carried out raises problematic issues within the archaeological sphere. In fact, the excavations are conducted without regard
for international standards. A good example of that is the controversial use of bulldozers in the excavations; they are “used in order to get down to ‘earlier’ [...] strata as quickly as possible”\textsuperscript{16}, states Nadia Abu El-Haj, who has participated in the digs on the site of Jezreel. This implies that whatever was lying in the layers closer to the surface were “rather summarily removed.”\textsuperscript{17} It can be understood that the objects that are deemed of historical importance are certain kind of objects - bigger finds that would corroborate the idea of a glorious past, the smaller finds being tossed away by the machines.\textsuperscript{18} Needless to say, many objects are lost in the process. The use of bulldozers is not exclusive to Israeli archaeology: in the 1990s, the Waqf used them to build a new mosque on the Temple Mount, a project that caused the loss of valuable archaeological remains that were dumped in the Kidron Valley, where archaeologists today are still trying to make sense of that chaotic jumble.\textsuperscript{19} Truth be told, archaeological excavations have also triggered many clashes between Israeli/Jews and Palestinians. These conflicts mostly have to do with the link between Israeli archaeology and Jewish resettlement. For instance, the opening of a new access to a tunnel along the Western wall of the Temple Mount in 1996 led Palestinians to worry that it meant the Jews were trying to induce a Jewish settlement in the Muslim quarter, and the violence that followed cost the lives of some eighty people.\textsuperscript{20}
MY ARTWORK: THE STRATA OF JERUSALEM’S MULTIETHNIC SINGLE HISTORY

I feel that the biggest issue in this complex use of archaeology to serve Israeli religious and political ideologies, and to fill a desperate need of evidence of Jewish national heritage, is the incomplete history that emerges from the finds. It is saddening to see how selective the current archaeological approach in Jerusalem is in what it deems of historical importance. From the nineteenth century on, from European excavations that aimed at finding objects and architecture of importance to the Christians, to today’s Israeli and Muslim projects, there is a fundamental error in the way archaeology has been handled so far. There has been a systematic denial of the fact that Jerusalem has been built in layers, and of the fact that each of these layers is of importance in the understanding of the past of the city. In my view, Jerusalem has a complex history that involves many distinct ethnic, religious, and political groups, but it has one history. It is easy to say this and very much harder to resolve, but the cleavage that archaeology – Palestinian and Israeli – draws between periods and aspects of the past of the city is artificial and can only generate more hatred and arguments. Thus, my goal in this project was to display the “histories” of Jerusalem as being so intertwined that they become one.

I decided to use three sheets of Plexiglas that I would layer to create an unusual representation of Jerusalem. I first drew maps
of the old city of Jerusalem and some of its major buildings in
different epochs, and grouped them so that I would have three
maps of Jerusalem: the first one being the First and Second
Temple periods and the Roman period, the second one from the
Byzantine rule to the crusader Kingdom, and the last one from
the Ayyubid rule to the present day. I drew these three maps
on a larger scale, carefully indicating where each building was
in the city, then searched for images of these buildings, which
I drew on pieces of paper that I glued to the map. I was then
ready to trace them onto the Plexiglas sheets to create a layered
illustration of the city. The end product is visually interesting to
me, as it invests the physical space with a feeling of the history
of Jerusalem. A subtle change in the viewer’s position can result
in an alteration of what they perceive the depicted historical
archaeology of Jerusalem to be. I believe this is important since
it provides the viewer with the notion that a shift in attitude
can shake the previous ideas and certainties. To me, another
noteworthy aspect of the artwork is the transparency of the
support, which contrasts with both the silent and complex
nature of the archaeological finds and the biased approaches to
archaeology. It is that transparency that allows the viewer to see
all of Jerusalem’s histories as one (and at once).

In this sense, the layered drawing I created is different from
other historical maps in the fact that it does not show Jerusalem
in a precise moment from a precise point of view. It is
interesting to take account of the artwork produced in relation with existing maps of Jerusalem, regarding them as depictions of different archaeologies of the city. To begin with, the Madaba map, a sixth-century Byzantine mosaic map, has Jerusalem as its centre (Fig. 1). The depiction of the Holy City is simple but revealing: along the main cardo, the horizontal street, with its colonnades, two main buildings can be identified: the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (with the dome-like roof in the centre of the old city) and the Nea Church. Although the fact that it is such an early map plays a role in its inaccuracy, it can still be said that the image was created with the goal of showing Christian presence and sovereignty in Jerusalem. The same goes for maps from the Kingdom of Jerusalem period, such as the one drawn by Matthew Paris in his Jerusalem pilgrimage travel guide in the thirteenth century (Fig. 2), which shows Jerusalem as a great Christian city. In contrast with these depictions of the city, the one I created, although it contains the elements that were present in the Byzantine period (I used the Madaba map depiction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to illustrate the Byzantine church on my work) or in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, it is not limited to it.

In essence, the art object I created is an uncommon map of Jerusalem, which has the particularity of considering the city as being made of many strata, as having been built layer upon layer for centuries; it shows these layers as part of a whole. It is a reaction to the consequences of archaeology in Jerusalem, which, from the time of the European researchers to the present day, has always failed to consider the multiethnic nature of the city’s history. Christians, Muslims, and Jews alike have tended to look for remains of “their” history, as though those histories were not entangled. As was mentioned, Israeli archaeology (in which this paper was mainly interested) is a vital device for the Jewish nation; it provides the Jews with evidences of their past that are culturally reinforcing and legitimize their resettlement in the contested city. Then again, the way the excavations are handled is biased, incomplete, and somewhat destructive, and brings about many vehement arguments within the discipline as well as between the Israelis and Palestinians. Thus, *Convergence* is a plea for a more global point of view on the history of Jerusalem, under which lies remnants of times past that are of major importance to any ethnic or religious group that imprinted footsteps on its soil.
NOTES


9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
20 Ibid., 66.

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Israeli and Palestinian Artists

Artistes israéliens et palestiniens
Étude comparative des œuvres photographiques de David Rubinger à deux moments de sa vie

ALISON BEAULIEU-SHERPING

De tous les artistes israéliens dont j’ai vu les œuvres, c’est celles de David Rubinger qui m’ont le plus impressionnées. Les quatre photographies suivantes seront analysées en groupe de deux: An Israeli woman learns to throw a grenade (1948) (Fig. 1) avec A Jordanian soldier hands a cup of tea to an Israeli paratrooper at the Green Line (1956) (Fig. 2) et The wind blew away the
sand covering the hand of this Egyptian soldier, a casualty of the Six Day War (1972) (Fig. 3) avec A settler and his son at Elon Moreh (1979) (Fig. 4). Dans ce texte, nous analyserons la vision plutôt idéaliste qu’avait le photographe aux débuts de la guerre de l’Indépendance, à travers les deux premières œuvres. Ensuite nous verrons ce qui a changé dans sa façon de voir la guerre pendant la guerre de Six Jours et observerons l’idéalisme se transformant en désillusion et en réflexion. Enfin, nous analyserons une récurrence dans les quatre œuvres de Rubinger : la main.

Fig. 1. David Rubinger, An Israeli woman learns to throw a grenade, 1948. http://girlsguidetozday.wordpress.com/category/weapon-of-the-week/.
La photographie, *An Israeli woman learns to throw a grenade*, prise en format paysage, illustre une femme qui s’apprête à mettre sa main gauche au sol, sa main droite s’apprêtant à lancer une grenade. Le sol sur lequel elle est à demi appuyée est sec. Un arbre dont seules quelques branches entrent dans le cadre apparaît dans la photo.

Fig. 2. David Rubinger, *A Jordanian soldier hands a cup of tea to an Israeli paratrooper at the Green Line*, 1956.
http://blog.redbubble.com/2012/03/inspirational-interview-david-rubinger-on-life-as-a-war-photographer/.
Ensuite, nous avons la photographie *A Jordanian soldier hands a cup of tea to an Israeli paratrooper at the Green Line* (1956). Cette photo illustre, en avant-plan, l’échange d’une tasse de thé entre deux personnes pendant la guerre, au-dessus d’un muret de pierres.

![Image](http://www.corbisimages.com/images/Corbis-UR001076.jpg?size=67&uid=8314099c-a1ef-4713-9e2d-b9948b370139)

*Fig. 3. David Rubinger, *The wind blew away the sand covering the hand of this Egyptian soldier, a casualty of the Six Day War, 1972.*

The wind blew away the sand covering the hand of this Egyptian soldier, a casualty of the Six Day War (1972). En arrière-plan, un casque de soldat est clairement visible. À l’avant-plan se trouve une main desséchée, mais qui est en bonne condition. Les ongles sont perceptibles et l’index est pointé vers le ciel.

Finalement A settler and his son at Elon Moreh (1979) est la seule photographie en couleur du lot, dans laquelle apparaît deux personnes, annoncées par le titre comme étant le père et son fils. Le décor est celui de la guerre : une tente, des gravats au sol et le drapeau israélien en arrière-plan.

Pour bien mettre en contexte les photographies, il est impératif de comprendre la guerre d’Indépendance d’Israël. Cette guerre est le résultat de la décision de l’ONU de diviser la Palestine. Plusieurs tensions existaient déjà entre les communautés juives et arabes. Cette dernière, non-contente de la décision de l’Organisation des nations unies avait comme but « to frustrate the UN partition resolution and prevent the establishment and consolidation of the Jewish state. »

Alors pour un homme comme Rubinger, participer à une guerre qui donnerait un pays aux siens était normal car il avait participé à la Seconde guerre mondiale et s’en était bien sorti puisqu’il avait rarement « hear gunfire, nor was [he] close to any military action, except during one episode. » C’est dans ces circonstances et cet état d’esprit que le photojournaliste s’est engagé dans la guerre d’Indépendance.

Les deux premières photographies rappellent le positivisme qui peut exister et qui peut surprendre en temps de guerre. Néanmoins, les deux photographies offrent des différences dans ce thème. La première œuvre, An Israeli woman learns
to throw a grenade, dépeint l’action même d’une personne lançant une grenade, ou du moins l’exercice de lancer l’objet. La détermination et la concentration qui se lisent sur le visage de la femme sont dues à ses sourcils froncés et sa mâchoire contractée. Le visage et le geste sont deux points principaux dans la photographie. Non seulement ils sont au centre de l’image, mais ils attirent aussi l’attention puisqu’il n’y a rien dans l’arrière-plan qui pourrait nous distraire : le sol est couvert de poussière et seules quelques blanches d’un arbre sont perceptibles. Comme les deux points d’intérêts sont à la même hauteur, ils deviennent le point d’intérêt de la photographie.

Fig. 5. J. Howard Miller. We Can Do It, Westinghouse, 1942. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:We_Can_Do_It!.jpg.
Cette photo ressemble beaucoup à une affiche de la propagande américaine utilisée pendant la seconde guerre mondiale. L’expression du visage de la femme de la photographie de Rubinger rappelle celle de l’affiche We Can Do it (Fig. 5). Si l’on avait utilisé l’œuvre du photojournaliste pour en faire un slogan de guerre, il ne manquerait que l’écriture au bas de la photo pour en faire une bonne affiche de propagande. Ce lien entre les deux œuvres confère certaines caractéristiques propagandistes à l’œuvre de Rubinger. Brett Silverstein explique que la propagande est une façon de promouvoir une pensée et une façon de manipuler les gens pour qu’ils soient en accord cette idée.\(^3\)

A Jordanian soldier hands a cup of tea to an Israeli paratrooper at the Green Line est un autre exemple de l'idéalisation de la guerre. En effet, les deux personnes prises en photo échangent une tasse de thé. C’est le point focal de l’œuvre pour plusieurs raisons. Premièrement, l’action est placée directement au centre de la photographie et deuxièmement le geste en soi attire l’attention. Néanmoins, il semble un peu irréal qu’en temps de guerre, deux personnes de camps différents (l’information est donnée dans le titre de la photo) aient l’un pour l’autre de la bonté. La division idéologique des deux figures est accentuée par un muret de pierre les séparant géographiquement. La photographie étant en noir et blanc, il est difficile de lire la couleur, mais le muret apparaît très pâle et est probablement blanc en réalité. Le symbolisme de cette couleur, reconnu par tous, est la paix,
l’innocence. Donner une tasse de thé à quelqu’un n’est pas sans rappeler l’hôte qui offre une tasse de thé ou de café en signe de bienvenue. David Rubinger décrit ce moment comme étant : « a very rare sight, and an encouraging one, at a time when it seemed easier for us to get to the moon than to cross the border into the Old City. »4 De cet instant, l’artiste capture sur pellicule l’esprit d’entraide et de paix qui anime les deux personnes.

Les deux photographies traduisent donc la vision idéalisée que possède Rubinger de la guerre. Ce sont les bons moments ou les moments sublimés qu’il décide de prendre en photos. Freud dans son texte Notre rapport à la mort exprime l’idée que les gens sont incapables d’envisager leur propre mort et ont beaucoup de difficulté à envisager celle des autres : « Personne au fond ne croit à sa propre mort ou, ce qui revient au même : dans l’inconscient chacun de nous est convaincu de son immortalité. »5 En choisissant de photographier un geste comme celui mentionné plus haut, Rubinger met de côté le danger pourtant réel de la guerre pour illustrer un moment de paix. Dans son idéalisation, il rejette le décès inévitable des personnes photographiées. L’artiste expérimente le sentiment d’immortalité comme Freud l’entend.

Si la première période des photographies choisies de Rubinger valorise plutôt un bilan positif de la guerre, la seconde partie est son opposé. Les moments de paix relative et de sublimation laissent place aux thèmes de la désolation et de la réflexion
sur l’héritage laissé par les Israéliens à leurs enfants. La photo prise après la guerre des Six Jours est un bon exemple de cette désillusion. Dans son essai intitulé La désillusion causée par la guerre, Freud discute des conséquences de la Première guerre mondiale et de ses répercussions sur les individus qui ont été témoins de cette guerre. La confrontation à cette dernière entraîne : « la désillusion [...] et la modification de notre attitude par rapport à la mort »⁶. C’est justement ce qui est visible dans le changement qui s’opère chez Rubinger. L’artiste, confronté à de nombreuses guerres, qui ont eu lieu dans son pays et dans d’autres, amorce une réflexion sur la guerre et ses conséquences. Tout ce qui reste de la guerre remportée par les Israéliens en Égypte n’est que gravats et corps desséchés. S’il n’en était pas des mots de l’artiste, nous serions quand même capables de nous référer aux conséquences d’une bataille grâce à la figure du casque de soldat dans l’arrière-plan, un indice de la réalité de la guerre. Néanmoins, nous pouvons nous référer à la guerre des Six Jours, non seulement parce-que la photographie en porte le nom, mais aussi parce que Rubinger, dans son livre Israel through my lens, décrit un endroit, dans le désert qui avait servi à enterrer les morts de la guerre des Six jours⁷. Cet événement est la conséquence de conflits israélo-arabes autour de l’eau. Les Israéliens ont attaqué l’Égypte et six jours plus tard en ressortaient victorieux. Malgré cette victoire, on sent que la vision de Rubinger a changée. Le sujet n’est plus vivant comme dans les photographies précédentes.
Dans la photographie *A settler and his son at Elon Moreh* (1979), la seule en couleur des quatre œuvres analysées, on voit un homme armé, en habit de combat. Il tient son enfant par la main. Celui-ci offre un certain contraste avec son père puisqu’il est en short et porte des sandales et de ce fait il aurait pu tout aussi bien se trouver dans une banlieue d’Angleterre. La kippa qu’il porte prouve son attachement à la religion juive. L’arrière-plan montre un sol où il n’y a que des gravats et de la terre, ainsi qu’une tente. Encore plus au loin dans la photographie, il y a l’étoile de David, au-dessus de laquelle est attaché le drapeau d’Israël.

Plusieurs éléments symboliques sont présents dans cette œuvre. L’étoile de David, en est un bon exemple puisqu’elle réfère à la religion juive, mais aussi à d’autres aspects moins connus pour une personne qui n’est pas familière aux traditions : « l’étoile à six branches, emblème du judaïsme, avec ses deux triangles inversés et enlacés symbolisera l’étreinte de l’esprit et de la matière, des principes actifs et passifs, le rythme de leur dynamisme, la loi de l’évolution et de l’involution. »

D’ailleurs Rubinger passe des principes passifs à des principes actifs. Ce dernier point est prouvé puisque les israéliens, sauf dans des cas particuliers, ont l’obligation de faire l’armée. Le père qui serre la main de son fils fait référence à la réflexion sur la transmission de la guerre par héritage.
Dans chaque illustration dont nous avons discuté précédemment, c’est la main qui est le point focal. Cette récurrence est observable dans beaucoup d’autres photographies de Rubinger. Plusieurs autres œuvres d’art ont pour sujet principal ou comme élément important la main. C’est le cas de la Création d’Adam (1508-151) de Michel-Ange. Dans cette toile Dieu a déjà créé Adam physiquement et il n’a qu’à lui insuffler son âme: « It is now well understood, in accord with a deep theological tradition descending from the Gospels, that the finger of Michelangelo’s Creator stands for the «spirit» of God. We speak of the scene represented by Michelangelo as the Creation of Adam, but in fact we should say more precisely that the fresco portrays the Creator Spiritus, who, having formed the body of man from the earth, as the Bible says, has not yet breathed the spirit or breathe of life into him.9 Dans le cas de Rubinger, tout comme dans celui de Michel-Ange, le point central de l’œuvre est la main et l’action qu’elle fait. (Probablement que dans le cas de la photographie) La main de The wind blew away the sand covering the hand of this Egyptian soldier, a casualty of the Six Day War, pourrait donc aussi être une allégorie de la main de Dieu qui est toute-puissante et qui choisit de laisser vivre ou de faire mourir des personnes en particulier. Cette référence à la religion est exprimée par Rubinger lui-même au sujet de la photographie de 1972. Le photojournaliste explique sa décision de prendre en photo cette main parce que parmi toutes les parties des corps qu’il aurait pu photographier, c’est un signe de Dieu qu’il a vu dans la main : « All I saw was a blackened hand
jutting out from the sand, in a pose like that of a medieval saint, with one finger pointing towards heaven in what resembled a cautionary gesture ».

En s’accordant au *Petit Larousse des symboles*, la signification la plus appropriée pour la première période des œuvres de Rubinger serait la main comme symbole de puissance, tandis que dans la seconde période, la main pourrait être un référent à la mélancolie, comme l’ont utilisé plusieurs autres artistes. La main, qui est une obsession chez le photojournaliste, reflète la puissance que celle-ci détient. En effet, elle peut tout autant détruire que construire. C’est la main qui tire sur la gâchette du fusil et qui prend des vies, mais c’est aussi la main qui offre un thé à une personne qui a soif et qui rassure l’enfant. Finalement, c’est par l’analyse de cet élément central que nous pouvons affirmer que plus Rubinger côtoyait la guerre, moins positive était son attitude en tant qu’artiste. Ainsi la seconde paire de photographies propose une rupture avec son idéalisme premier.

NOTES


6 *Idem*, 129-130.

7 David Rubinger, *Israel Through My Lens*, 135.


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“Home” is a word often associated with comfort, safety, and intimacy. It is also a synthetic structure of memories of everyday life, and it is because of this association that home has such strong associations. Since in the Middle East there is a long history of exile, this notion of home does not have this effect. Ilana Feldman, author of “Home as Refrain, Remembering and Living Displacement,” quotes a Palestinian woman who returned to her homeland, Haifa, after being exiled over 40 years. This woman explains: “An awry force in history has
changed the place, and my own sense of otherness has changed me...”¹ Since the 1948 Palestine war in which the State of Israel and Palestinian Arab forces collided, the majority of Palestinians were forced to leave their homes and became refugees, while others remained in the territories such as West Bank and Gaza with fears of encroaching violence toward their home, and of becoming internally displaced.² For exiles, home is not always an available or safe place, yet an undetectable domain where they used to spend everyday life, believing it would last permanently. Lebanon-born British artist Mona Hatoum experienced exile when the first Lebanon war occurred in 1982 while her family was paying a temporary visit to England. In a moment, her family lost their home and unwittingly became immigrants in England, unable to obtain a Lebanese passport. It was not the first time for her Palestine-born parents to experience exile since they fled from a bloody battlefield in 1948. This experience shaped Hatoum’s definition of home from an early period and is reflected in her works in abstract form. Hatoum creates a space where viewers experience a feeling of uncertainty, uneasiness and anxiety, often surrounded by two diametrically different types of objects. Through the history of Palestine-Israel conflicts, this essay will examine her three artworks, Present Tense (1996), Homebound (2000), and Misbah (2006-2007) with a focus on their materials and spatial contexts.
Hatoum’s work, *Present Tense* (1996) (Fig. 1) was made during her first residency at Anadiel Gallery, located in the Old City - the Arab side of Jerusalem. Among other works made during this residency, *Present Tense* is renowned for its direct representation of Hatoum’s political commentary on the Oslo
Accord, an international treaty that attempted unsuccessfully to settle the conflict between the Palestinians and Israel. In this work, Hatoum draws a map of the 1993 Oslo Accord on 2,200 bars of Nablus soap, made through a Palestinian traditional process. Those soaps, juxtaposed on the floor emit a pleasant scent that instantly stimulates visitor’s sense and brings a nostalgic feeling, particularly to the locals. Moreover, the repetitive use of the local product represents a sense of home for Palestinians by creating an intimate and familiar atmosphere. On the other hand, the pure olive oil soap, easily deformed by damage, water, or heat, suggests the vulnerability of home. These soaps also make the floor of the gallery so slippery that visitors need to pay careful attention in walking around the work as it suggests unstable access to home. Utilizing the traditional soap with the implication of these characteristics of home holds its significant meaning in Jerusalem, a city with an over two thousand year history of brutal destructions and deportations.

Hatoum places a thousand red glass beads on the Nablus soaps to delineate the map. Reflecting the light through the windows of the gallery, the red glass beads appear to be “little drops of glistening blood,” which leads to an implication of bloodshed by the civilian casualties during the Israeli-Palestine fight over the territories. The scattered lines of the beads embedded on the soft surface of the soaps suggest heterogeneity. Hatoum describes them as “amoeba-like and look[ing] like some kind of disease.” The disease that epidemically spread through every piece of the
soap has different possible meanings, regarding the successive ferocious violence around the time - ranging from attacks by the Israeli military force toward Palestinian olive groves and farms to the intervention of the U.S government in the Oslo conference in Madrid. In the conference the right for refugees to return to their homes was pushed aside in favour of other issues with the absence of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). This work suggests connections with these important events. Hatoum expressed frustration and surprise when she first saw the map at the gallery: “I saw that map and thought, what the hell is that and how could that be? Who’s that crazy person who drew this map?” Juxtaposing these two contradictory materials – the Nablus soap as a familiar object and the red glass beads as a threatening object – Hatoum inserts an “exilic narrativity” in the space. In the space, the imaginary narrative exposes the ugly physical state of Palestinian refugees as well as the feeling of void that exiles need to carry for good.

Hatoum’s use of space also underlines the exiles’ awareness of distance from home on a physical and psychological level. With red glass beads, Hatoum splits the entire map into two sections, one enclosed by the lines and the other with no interruption until the frame of the map. The enclosed section seems to show a territory where Palestine lost their administrative authority to Israel in the second negotiation of the Oslo Accord. For Palestinian residents of the areas, the West Bank and the Gaza
Strip, the loss of their lands meant not only a restriction of entry, but also a permanent disconnection from their home. The permanent loss of home did not leave them many choices: either being foreigners in other countries or living as refugees. As time did not wait for them to recover from their loss, they had to look for other place to continue their lives, knowing a new place would never be as the same as home. The section inside the lines of the map signifies the critical state of refugees, known as “absentees” who remained or were displaced within Israel during the war.\textsuperscript{15} Despite being in the same space as home, absentees cannot return to their home, and moreover they are deprived of the right of property itself.\textsuperscript{16} Feeling their home “both alluring near and devastatingly far,” they cannot fill a distance between themselves and home.\textsuperscript{17} The senses of expulsion and entrapment that Hatoum creates with these two spaces therefore reverse the notion of home as an accessible and safe place.
This theme continues in her later work, *Homebound* (2000) (Fig. 2) in more abstract form. Hatoum’s work, *Homebound* shows the artist’s challenge to visualize exiles’ condition and their notion of home. In this work, Hatoum uses familiar objects: kitchen utensils, chairs, table, and lamps - ordinary objects found in any household. However, viewers start feeling awkwardness from the juxtaposition of these objects. They are connected to each other with electric wire that generates an unearthly sound. Many of the objects are outfitted with light...
bulbs that radiate a strong, reddish light that some viewers may find unsettling. In reference to these objects, Hatoum states: “Working with kitchen utensils continues my involvement with the everyday object – the assisted readymade, turning into the uncanny, sometimes threatening object.” Although Hatoum has never referred to any specific historical event for this work, it is clear that the work reflects her political consciousness on the subject of the relationship between home and exile. The transformation of the everyday object to a threatening object implied by this artwork alludes to the encroaching danger and violence that Palestinian exiles experienced before being expelled from their home during the Palestine-Israel war. The chaotically displayed objects imply that their owner hurriedly left the space, predicting an approaching menace. Violence toward residents was later justified by Israeli military force as self-defense, but such claims are rhetorical at best. Bombs, missiles, bullets, and other forms of violence were aimed at residential areas, which caused a considerable number of civilian casualties. Homebound displays a set of objects to reproduce the exiles’ dreadful uneasiness even inside their home in a figurative yet terrifyingly real way.

Hatoum’s piece includes horizontal wires that surround the objects and extend to each wall of the gallery. The tightly stretched wires serve as stanchions that constrain viewers to the outside of the space, while the imaginary household is trapped inside of the
perimeter the wires describe. The wires divide the gallery space into two sections – inside and outside – much as the red glass beads split the land of the soap in Present Tense. The creation of two spaces in Homebound allows viewers to create their own narratives, while the spatial division in Present Tense is a direct reference to the Oslo Accord. However, Homebound still leaves a possibility of a link to the Palestine-Israel conflict; in the same year of its production, a summit meeting between Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian Chairman Yasser Arafat was held with the attendance of the United States President Bill Clinton at Camp David. Considering this historical context, the wire – a barrier between the inside space and the outside space – gives the same impression as the Apartheid Walls, the “security fence” that Israel build to protect their citizens from Palestinian suicidal bombers in 2000. The wall surrounded the old and new towns of Jerusalem, the northern and southern and central parts of Palestinian towns. Like the wires, the wall excluded the outside refugees and put them on a long journey to nowhere.

The barrier of wires implies not only a physical but also a psychological distance between civilians and their houses inside the restricted territory. Hatoum described her interest in the “physical or psychological disturbance to contradict (those) expectations” in an interview with Jo Glencross. A psychological disturbance is actually recorded in a civilian’s writing under the second Intifada. A eighteen year old girl
from Bethlehem documents how the enclosure of her town by military force affected their everyday life: “Bethlehem became like a cemetery, not even a cat was in the streets...I watched TV, brushed my teeth and went to bed hoping that tomorrow would be a better day, because I’m up to my head with these soldiers treating us like chickens.”

The failed negotiations at Camp David did not result in any resolution regarding the return of exiles and refugees, but rather worsened their living situation, allowing the construction of the barrier. Hatoum’s work abstractly yet vividly depicts how political tension affects the exiles’ physical and psychological state after being displaced from home and losing a hope of returning.

The intensity of political conflicts and the unchanging distance of home become more apparent in Hatoum’s more recent work *Misbah* (2006-2007) (Fig. 3). *Misbah*, an Arabic term for a lamp, was exhibited at Darat al Funun in Jordan. Hatoum included a rotating lantern in this work - one identical to Egyptian lanterns for Ramadan, the ninth month of the Muslim year for fasting and praying. As these Egyptian lanterns often attract children with their glowing light, Hatoum’s lantern recalls memories of childhood for many Muslim visitors. However, such a warm feeling is instantly contradicted by the inscribed patterns of armed soldiers on the lantern and their silhouettes on the walls of the space. The soldiers hold rifles in their hands and await the moment to pull the trigger. The patterns around the soldiers appear to be a bomb’s explosions or splashed blood from victims. Again, an ordinary object is transformed into a violent object by Hatoum’s hand, and by doing so she involves the viewer in a traumatic experience. This invokes an image of the Palestinian high school girl’s experience as mentioned in the explanation of *Homebound*. At the same time, it connotes the exile’s nostalgic memory of home after forcefully moved to a different country. Being away from their homeland, they see only the media’s terrifying images of their home disfigured by ongoing violence. Having an experience as exile, it is likely that in this work Hatoum intends to reflect her own experience of watching the devastating situation of the place she called home: Beirut. Since the attack by the Palestinian Liberation Organization towards Israel at the border in southern Lebanon, the
city became a chaotic battlefield. In 2008, the conflict between Israeli forces and the Hezbollah, a Muslim force, caused many civilian casualties. Hatoum’s hometown also became a target of bombings by Israeli forces since August 2, 2008. This historical incident clearly shows that Hatoum’s ambiguous notion of home is in part derived from her own experience.

As in Hatoum’s other works, *Present Tense* and *Homebound*, in *Mishbah* space plays a significant role in creating narrative. However, unlike these other works, *Mishbah* does not seem to have a barrier or border that splits the space into two. Viewers can easily enter the space without any interruption. However, once the lantern is lit, the silhouettes of the soldiers inscribed on the lantern surround the viewers and entraps them within the space. When visitors enter the space they are attracted to the light coming from the lantern and may experience a feeling of unease from the images it projects. Hatoum uses the space as a trap that lures outsiders with sweetness in order to catch them. In the context of the exile’s consciousness of home, home is a place full of their pleasant memories. In fact, many refugees and exiles of the Palestine-Israel conflicts express their strong desire to return home, and even refuse to be called “refugees” and instead used “returner” with a strong hope of returning. Moreover, many Palestinian refugees in Gaza attempted to return home, crossing the armistice line, and lost their lives as a result. Their resistance in the face of violence clarifies a strong relationship between exiles and home.
The entrapped space can also be interpreted as exiles’ psychological escape from the outside world. Enforced immigrants undergo several stages of response and action, from threat, to escape, and multiple travels to resettle themselves in a safe place.\textsuperscript{32} In the settlement at a new place after these exhausting stages, exiles have to confront cultural difference - as Hatoum did when she started her new life in England at the age of twenty-three. Hatoum, with Palestine-born parents, spoke Lebanese Arabic as her mother language and later acquired English and French out of a necessity to adapt herself to a new environment.\textsuperscript{33} For Hatoum, the house was the only space where she could speak her mother language although “the house” was merely a substitute for her real home in Lebanon. Instead of bringing intimacy, the substitute home entrapped her with a nostalgic feeling. The domestic sphere that exiles establish in a foreign land becomes a temporal escape from foreignness - but at the same time it continually reminds them of the distance to their original home.

\textit{Present Tense, Homebound}, and \textit{Misbah} show how Hatoum questions and redefines the notion of home. In the historical context of Palestine-Israel war, the transformation of domestic and everyday objects into violent and threatening objects underlines the physical and psychological state of refugees and exiles. Hatoum also manipulates spaces by dividing them with barriers and creating a state of entrapment and expulsion.
Involving viewers, Hatoum depicts these divided domains to evoke the experience of exile. This essay focused on Palestinian exiles and refugees, but the purpose of this investigation is not to provide a prejudiced view toward the Israeli side. The history of Palestinian exiles and refugees functions here only as background information to assist Hatoum’s broader idea of home, alienation, and freedom that are common subjects among all people who experienced displacement. In an interview with BBC radio, Hatoum herself refers to the interpretation of her geo-political artwork, “It could be related to a number of people who are exiled, who are displaced, who suffer a kind of cultural or political oppression of, of any kind.”

Today, when the notion of borders between countries becomes more ambiguous, her works lead viewers to different levels of interpretations about the nature of exile and home.

NOTES

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4 Verzotti, 23.

6 Feldman, 11.


8 Van Arsdale, 143.


10 Perkian.


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17 Feldman, 40.

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Symbols and Motifs: Depictions of the Heavenly Realm in Mordecai Ardon’s *At the Gates of Jerusalem*

VALERIE GAUTHIER

Nicknamed “the stargazer” as a child, Mordecai Ardon coincidently managed to evoke the celestial realm in many of his later paintings by capturing its expansive, other-worldliness.¹ Born in Poland, he eventually moved to Germany before the First World War and studied at the Bauhaus under the likes of Wassily Kandinsky, Lyonel Feininger, and Paul Klee.² In
1933, during the rise of the Nazi movement, Ardon was labeled a “degenerate” artist and consequently relocated to Israel. Jerusalem became indispensable to the thirty seven year old artist’s art production, as he went from painting portraits and still-lifes to depicting the mesmerizing Israeli landscape. Ardon went from a cosmopolitan city to a near-barren, monochrome land. The artist was inspired by the Mount of Olives, Jerusalem’s narrow streets, hills, and walls, and many other local sites. Ardon expressed his sentiments towards the Holy City succinctly: “shipwrecked, I landed in Jerusalem.” From this, we can interpret the land as Ardon’s rescuer, perhaps even his guardian spirit. This idea of the land as angelic or heavenly is a consistent theme in Ardon’s later works, in which he uses letters, ladders, spheres, celestial forms, and light, to add layers of meaning in his search to depict the sublime of Jerusalem. His triptych *At the Gates of Jerusalem* (1967) (Fig. 1) perfectly illustrates his method of intermixing symbols and abstract forms with narratives from religious Jewish history in order to portray Jerusalem’s palpable heavenly realm. In fact, Ardon’s artistic goal was to use his paintings as a means of reaching a higher power. His use of the triptych alone magnifies the importance of the work by recalling the religious altarpiece, and consequently, the divine. Ardon strived to find “a new idiom for Israeli art, a language based simultaneously on descriptive imagery, signs laden with meaning, and abstract shapes,” which *At the Gates of Jerusalem* perfectly embodies.
Evidently, the artist loved the land, and although his abstract aesthetic allows his work to stand on its own as self-contained art, Israel’s influence on his work is nonetheless visible.\(^\text{10}\)

Fig. 1. Mordecai Ardon, *At the Gates of Jerusalem*, oil on canvas, 1967.
Triptych (from right to left): *Rock*, *Ladders*, *Sign*.
Left: 194 x 130; centre: 194 x 265; right: 194 x 130 cm.

*At the Gates of Jerusalem* is comprised of three separate panels entitled *Sign*, *Ladder*, and *Rock*, respectively. Here, Ardon’s abstracted and symbolic motifs come together to address “the emotional and cosmic significance of the Six-Day-War” and its resulting “reconnection to Jerusalem’s Old City.”\(^\text{11}\) Before the war, eastern Jerusalem was controlled by Jordanians who prohibited Jewish entry into the city and to their religious sites.\(^\text{12}\) In fact, the Arabs’ growing hatred for the Jewish population
provoked the nations of Syria, Jordan, and Egypt to prepare a military strike against Israel, refusing the country’s “very right to exist” and hinting at a second Holocaust.\textsuperscript{13} Israel, however, refused to wait to be attacked and so struck the opposing forces as a pre-emptive measure, effectively winning the war after six days in June 1967.\textsuperscript{14} The victory significantly impacted life in Jerusalem; after the conflict, Israel’s prime minister declared that people of all faiths could hereby reside peacefully in the Holy City.\textsuperscript{15} For the first time since 1948, Muslims were allowed entrance to their mosques and Israeli Jews were finally able to “touch [Jerusalem’s] stones.”\textsuperscript{16} Life in the city was, for the time being, relatively peaceful, which influenced Ardon’s consequent art production. In the same year, the artist created \textit{At the Gates of Jerusalem} in celebration of the resulting “unification of Jerusalem,” which also happened to coincide with Israel’s twentieth anniversary.\textsuperscript{17} As such, the triptych celebrates different facets of religious Jewish history and results in various depictions of the divine realm, as illustrated by Ardon’s calculated addition of specific motifs and symbols. The flanking pieces of the work depict the creation of the universe according to Jewish and Kabbalistic belief, while the large central panel represents the unity of the world’s religions. The newfound hope for community amongst all residents of Jerusalem, as resulting from the war, has been signified by Ardon through \textit{Sign’s} use of letters, \textit{Ladder’s} symbolic representation of unity, and \textit{Rock’s} land-based narrative.
In the triptych’s left panel, *Sign*, Ardon uses letters and the Sefirot to represent Jewish mysticism’s heavenly realm and the world’s origin in his celebration of Jerusalem’s newly established religious freedom. The artist had regularly used Hebrew letters in his past works, stating that “[they] are magic forms” that have “something in them of magic, maybe something holy.”¹⁸ In fact, Ardon’s own fascination with letters and Jewish stories of origin led him to change his name from Brownstein to Ardon after one of Bezalel’s relatives, Bezalel being a Biblical figure known as the only man in possession of the secret combination of language that created Heaven and Earth.¹⁹ This idea of the alphabet as holy is evident in the Kabbalistic belief that the universe was created through the intermixing of letters and other affiliated characters, thereby indicating that the alphabet is older than the earth. As such, in the painting’s darkest area at the top left corner is a partially hidden symbol that is identified as *bet*, the second letter of the Hebrew alphabet.²⁰ *Bet* is an important character, given that it was chosen by God to be the first word used in the world’s creation.²¹ Therefore, the Bible begins with “Be’reshit,” literally translating to “in beginning.”²² Another significant letter is found in the painting, located at the top right corner of the off-centered block of Hebrew text: *alef*. This was the only letter that did not ask God to be used in the Creation and, as the result of its humility, was chosen to become the first letter of the alphabet.²³ The addition of these two specific characters demonstrates that Ardon was alluding to the story of the world’s foundation, as told by Kabbalah.
Further reiterating this reading of *Sign* as a depiction of the Creation and of the majestic, divine realm is its inclusion of the Sefirot, shown in the painting’s lower half. Comprised of ten circles connected with one another by thick black lines, this colourful multi-sphered object is identified as the Kabbalah Tree of Life, another symbol regularly used by the artist.\(^{24}\) The Sefirot are the ten digits connecting the infinite and physical realms, and are considered the ingredients that make up “creation, quality, and quantity.”\(^{25}\) Without these, the notion of plurality would not exist.\(^{26}\) The Sefirot and the Hebrew letters in *Sign* seem to float amongst a tattered, unidentifiable yellow and brown background, as if coming together in an atmospheric space. According to the letters of Abraham, the Sefirot and the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet formed the universe through their combined “thirty-two paths of wisdom” by intermixing with one another in every possible direction.\(^{27}\) The artist has hereby illustrated a minimalistic, abstract representation of the romantic thought that the world was created by language. In having depicted this specific Kabbalah belief, Ardon speaks of the importance of words and communication, thereby echoing his experience of the newfound acceptance amongst different religious persons in 1967 Jerusalem.

Ardon again celebrates the creation of the universe in *Rock*, the triptych’s rightmost painting. Here, however, he specifically relates the Creation to the landscape of Jerusalem through
the use of the city’s own symbol of foundation and its most sacred Jewish site. A long, golden rectangle imbued with more coloured spheres serves as the piece’s focal point. This vertical form is identified as the Foundation Stone, believed by many to currently reside on Jerusalem’s Temple Mount.\(^{28}\) According to the Zohar, the universe came into being after God hurled a rock, now known as the Foundation Stone, into the abyss.\(^{29}\) This idea of the world originating from a singular rock is especially representative of the Jewish population of Jerusalem’s beliefs, given that they consider the world’s stones sacred. For many, stones are believed to contain information thousands of years old, having witnessed history in silence and absorbed all of its secrets. As such, Ardon’s piece once again depicts a facet of Jewish religious history, although here he brings it back to contemporary, earthly Jerusalem, as seen through his illustration of a landscape.

Ardon has flanked the golden rectangle with earthy brown forms that, like the stone, are peppered with black specks that give the work a rough aesthetic, thereby offering the impression that the holy stone is embedded in terrestrial rock. Given the general belief that the Foundation Stone is located in Jerusalem, one is therefore led to conclude that *Rock* offers a simplistic rendering of the city’s scenery, perhaps specifically the Temple Mount. Notably missing, however, is the Dome of the Rock, whose walls have enclosed the stone for many centuries. Perhaps Ardon has chosen to depict the land as untouched by man so that
its sense of divinity is heightened. The artist has managed to capture the purity of the Jerusalem landscape via form, colour, and atmosphere rather than by any precise likeness.\textsuperscript{30} The painting has the semblance of a skyline, which is dotted with two small spheres that recall those in \textit{Sign} and, consequently, the celestial realm. While \textit{Sign} emanates the heavenly through its calculated symbols and its cosmic, abstract background, \textit{Rock} depicts the historical and mystical idea of the stone, which serves to represent earthly Jerusalem. Nonetheless, the city’s heavenly sphere is portrayed through the religious significance of the Foundation Stone and its embedded circular shapes encompassed in black. According to scholar Yigal Zalmonia, these coloured spots signify the “sparks of God’s glory,” which again relates the piece to the divine realm despite its land-based depiction.\textsuperscript{31} The rock’s golden colour itself is also believed to allude to the heavenly gates, which is a fitting analysis considering that the Foundation Stone is traditionally viewed as the crossing between Heaven and Earth.\textsuperscript{32}

As such, \textit{At the Gates of Jerusalem}’s outer panels both depict the world’s Creation, one being other-worldly and the other being earth-bound. These serve to bookend \textit{Ladder}, the central image that fully embraces this ideal communal atmosphere expected to thrive in postwar Jerusalem. \textit{Ladder} essentially acts as the triptych’s grand finale, its heaped coloured ladders recalling the explosions of fireworks. The contour of a hilly land is clearly visible in the lower painting, indicating that the objects are
indeed gathered in the sky. The painting’s colours are warmer than its cool-toned counterparts, presumably because it signifies the harmony temporarily experienced at the end of the Six Day War. The red and brown ladders are clumped together, forming a spherical shape, a design common to all three panels and that have previously been defined as evoking the glory of God. While other Israeli artistic works are understandably burdened by the tumultuous politics of religion in the nation, Ardon’s work nonetheless retains a sense of freedom that gives his spiritually influenced paintings an entrancing quality. For example, in *Ladder*, areas of light are cast onto the amassment, creating an expansive depth of field that recalls *Sign’s* cosmic dimension. As a result, his painting emanates a sort of melancholy - or, as Heinz Politzer puts it, “the melancholy of all humanity.”33

The ladder is another motif that was frequently used by Ardon in his later artistic career. He used them to symbolize a variety of meanings, most notably the “aspiration to attain [a] heavenly vision.”34 However, in the majority of his later works, including *At the Gates of Jerusalem*, Ardon’s use of the ladder serves to illustrate “communication with the divine,” once again reinforcing the original argument that the artist uses symbols in his attempt to reach and depict a higher power in his art.35 Occasionally, he uses the motif as a form of critique in more political works like *Sarah* (1946). Here, the ladder is fallen, thereby symbolizing the communication between Earth and the divine realm has been “cut-off” as a result of the slaughter of
the Holocaust.\textsuperscript{36} In \textit{At the Gates of Jerusalem}, however, the Six Day War has positively influenced \textit{Ladder}, in which the object serves to represent the unification of the world’s faiths.\textsuperscript{37} Upon closer inspection, one may notice that many of the ladders are in fact broken and being held together by thin ropes. According to Zalmonia, these are expected to be made whole at the End of Days, otherwise known as the “cosmic salvation,” which people of many religious faiths are convinced will eventually occur.\textsuperscript{38} The broken rungs may also symbolize the mended link between the heavenly (\textit{Sign}) and the earthly (\textit{Rock}) realms as a result of Jerusalem’s newfound unification, which metaphorically joined modern Israel “to the ancient sources of Judaism.”\textsuperscript{39} Here, the ladders undoubtedly join “matter and spirit, earth and sky,” which is precisely what Ardon strives to achieve through his art.\textsuperscript{40} 

The totality of the triptych thereby creates a non-linear narrative that effectively emanates the previously discussed palpable nature of the heavenly land, as derived from Ardon’s letters, Kabbalistic characters, spheres, colour, stories of Origin, and the repeated use of the ladder. Considering that \textit{Rock}’s golden Foundation Stone is over six feet tall, one can conclude that the artist was celebrating Jerusalem’s newly accepted freedom and reunification on a grand scale. The flanking depictions of Heaven and earth perfectly showcase Ardon’s love for the land and his fascination for Jewish mysticism. The central explosion of form serves as a perfect commemoration of the successful result
of the Six Day War and its relatively positive impact on 1967 Jerusalem. In *Sign*, Ardon uses letters of the Hebrew alphabet and the Sefirot to depict the divine dimension as identified by Kabbalists. *Rock* links the heavenly realm to Jerusalem through its rather abstract representation of the Foundation Stone, and *Ladder* combines both to portray the artist’s enthusiasm for Jerusalem’s idealistic hope for community amongst people of different religions. As such, *At the Gates of Jerusalem*’s seemingly abstract symbols and forms come together to create an image evoking the palpable divine energy of the land, as felt by the artist and his contemporaries. As Politzer states: “[Ardon’s] work... shows traits that could only have their origin in Palestine, even though the artist’s creative energy goes far beyond the boundaries of the country.”

NOTES


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6 Adam Barush, “Ardon Unadorned,” *Haaretz* (May 23, 2003),

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11 Zalmonia, A Century of Israeli Art, 200.


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21 Vishny, Mordecai Ardon, 60.

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Expressing Exile as a Shared Experience:
The Work of Steve Sabella

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STÉPHANIE HORNSTEIN

Exile is a difficult concept to pinpoint. Several problems arise in defining it. For one, the word “exile” refers to both a state (in exile) and a person in this state (an exile). Resulting from political upheavals on the global scale, exile is also a deeply personal experience of alienation. In his seminal essay on the subject, Edward Said describes exile as “the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted.”¹ This definition is a good starting point since it addresses the deeply personal nature of exile as well as its
physical and mental aspects. To understand exile simply as a state of bodily displacement is to negate the huge emotional response that is engendered by the loss of home. The work of Jerusalemite photographer Steve Sabella successfully expresses the multifaceted dimensions of exile is Jerusalem-born photographer Steve Sabella. Born eight years after Israel's annexation of his native city, Sabella grappled from a young age with questions of identity and alienation. Sabella's body of work, which stems from his personal experience as a Palestinian living in occupied Jerusalem, functions as an exploration of the mental and physical scars of exile. Despite the intimate, diary-like quality of his art, Sabella's pieces reveal that exile is a shared experience which has its own visual language, transcends manmade borders, and has the power to unite instead of divide people. This is most evident in three of his projects: Jerusalem in Exile: Tangible Memories (2006), In Exile (2008), and Cécile Elise Sabella (2008).

In 2002, Palestinian writer and artist Kamal Boullata declared Sabella to be an artist in exile despite the fact that the photographer was living in his native city at the time. This sparked an idea in the young artist that eventually led him to conclude that although he was not in physical exile, the city of Jerusalem itself was. In his opinion, the imposition of Jewish culture on every aspect of the city was robbing Jerusalem of its identity. Israelis were appropriating Arab landmarks, and Muslim culture was being repressed. Sabella viewed this
as the occupiers’ attempt to conquer the image of Jerusalem and to “colonize the imagination”⁶ of those who inhabited it. Controlling a people’s image can be just as threatening to their identity and culture as invading the very space they inhabit. In the case of Jerusalem, there was a dominant attempt on the part of Zionists to make non-Jews feel inferior. According to Sabella, the Israelis sought to crystallize in the global mind the fact that the “Arab image is a defeated one.”⁷ Alienated in his own city, Sabella recognized that he was undergoing what he describes as a form of mental exile: “I was somehow no longer living in Jerusalem.”⁸

This epiphanic moment was embodied in the conceptual project Jerusalem in Exile, which was also made into a short documentary film of the same title in 2008. The goal of this online endeavor, which Sabella carried out in collaboration with poet Najwan Darwish, was to deconstruct the cliché image of Jerusalem and to replace it with something more accurate. Believing that the real Jerusalem was being preserved in the minds of Palestinians across the globe, Sabella sent a call out to retrieve their mental images of the city in the aim to “photographically materialize” them.⁹ Several people participated by sending in anecdotes and memories - sharing their hopes and disappointments. Once submitted, the author’s country of residence was highlighted on the website’s world map emphasizing the global nature of the project. Texts were written in Arabic, English, German, and more, and their authors hailed from various countries.
and backgrounds. What emerged were diverse definitions of Jerusalem. Some participants romanticized the homeland while others expressed outrage and hurt. What united them was the experience of exile. Countering the isolation that exiles experience in their countries of residence, Jerusalem in Exile allowed Palestinians to realize that they were not alone in their predicament. More than highlighting the commonality of this exile, Sabella’s project enabled participants to reconstruct a new vision of Jerusalem, one that was truly their own. Sabella believes that the visual liberation of the city of Jerusalem necessitates “a journey into the minds of many people; where they will all unite to “rebuild” and “reconstruct” a different form of Jerusalem.” Thus, Jerusalem in Exile functioned as a form of group therapy, achieving healing through the collective expression of painful memories.

However, this project did little to soothe Sabella’s sense of alienation. In 2007, after realizing that his city of birth was no longer familiar to him, Sabella moved to London in an attempt to escape the Israelis’ mental dictatorship. In this new environment he felt even more disoriented. To express this sense of dislocation, Sabella began photographing the very element which he despised the most about his new home: London’s “lack of architectural harmony.” By piecing together pictures of apartment windows, Sabella created visual tapestries that evoke the fractured mental state of exile. And so, In Exile (Fig. 1, Fig. 2) came into being. The series is characterized by
a dizzying rhythmic pattern that parallels the disorientation experienced by exiles. Just as the exile has lost their centre, Sabella’s pieces possess no focal point to stabilize them. The work brings to mind a tormented, trapped individual who, while pacing their cage, obsessively looks out the window without ever experiencing a sense of freedom. The window itself is a potent symbol for vision and connotes both seeing and being seen.

In this way, this motif expresses the duality of how exiles view their residential space and how they are in turn viewed. But, as Sara Rossino notes, “a window is not a door.”13 Windows do not permit a dialogue with the outside, they only allow one to view it, and they are an extremely relevant image in the context of

exile - which is essentially the paradoxical condition of living in a city without belonging to it. To communicate this feeling, Sabella has chosen the everyday window, an architectural element which is instantly recognizable and familiar. Although these photographs are of a specific location, Sabella’s focus on the common window allows his images to reflect an “anonymous anywhere” into which anyone can insert themselves. Based on Sabella’s understanding of exile as a mental state independent from physical displacement, it follows that anyone who feels alienated by his or her surroundings is an exile. His images, which depict this estranged state of mind are thus instantly familiar to all those who find themselves in this situation. It is in this recognition that exile emerges as a shared experience.

Moreover, the In Exile artworks communicate through geometry - a conscious choice no doubt inspired yet again by Kamal Boullata. In the short film Meet Me Out of the Siege (2008), Boullata declares: “Geometry is the perfect language of exile.” Certainly this idea is reflected in Boullata’s work, which intertwines geometry and words, but what does this vague assertion mean? For one, a language is method of communication shared by people of the same community. Those who stand outside a language are cut off from that community. Exiles might not understand the language of their country of residence and their children may grow to forget their native tongue, but a visual language has the power to unite beyond speech. Furthermore, Boullata draws attention to the very roots of the word “geome-
try,” which literally means “measurement of land.”¹⁶ Land in all its forms – homeland, foreign land, promised land – and how it is perceived is so central to the struggle of the exile. So etymologically, geometry would appear to be an appropriate language of exile. Visually, geometric shapes are hermetic, closed by intersecting borders, and in this sense they recall both the country in which exiles are trapped and the country that they are locked out of. Geometric figures, in their solidity and strength, consist of the ideal building blocks for those who, as Said comments, constantly “feel [...] an urgent need to reconstitute their broken lives.”¹⁷ For Palestinians, geometric forms may recall the visual vocabulary of Muslim art replete with complex combinations of shapes and mathematical patterns. By deeming geometry the perfect language for exiles, Boullata seems to suggest that the experience of exile is so strong that all those who struggle with it are inextricably linked just as a community would be. And like a community, they need a language.

The *In Exile* artworks speak in this shared language. Indeed, the window motif that Sabella chooses to focus his lens on is an extremely strong geometric shape that is itself subdivided into smaller forms. Essentially, these works are made from the combination of squares and rectangles - two very authoritarian and monotonous shapes which constantly crop up in Western architecture. Westerners may not even consciously recognize these forms, but for others, this repetition could be jarring. Sabella has emphasized this by repeating these shapes ad nauseam so
that the viewer is completely overwhelmed by them. Yet Sabella distorts these forms’ perfect angles and rigid sides, subverting their sense of stability. Their compositional overlapping is anything but harmonious and follows no discernible pattern that the viewer can latch onto. The effect is quite different from the calculated arabesques and geometric designs found in Muslim art. Thus, using the exile’s language of geometry, Sabella articulates a malaise and an unhappiness that speaks directly to those experiencing the same predicament as him.

\textit{In Exile} rapidly transitioned into another project, \textit{Cécile Elise Sabella}, that same year. It too seeks to define the common language of exile (Fig. 3). Named after his daughter, this photographic series reveals the experience of exile as a common ground between father and child. This work is informed by a personal narrative that is vital to the understanding of the piece. In interviews, Sabella explains that he felt a deep sense of alienation towards his daughter due to the fact that Cécile spoke the language of her mother—Swiss German—which the artist himself did not understand. However, upon their move to London, Cécile developed an intense feeling of homesickness, which the artist discovered in a rare moment of intimacy. Sabella recounts:

I’m sitting at my desk one day, which was by the window, looking out of my horrible London apartment at the
depressing view. Cecile comes and stands next to me, looks out of the window, and says she wants to go home. I ask her where. She says to Jerusalem, ‘my country’.¹⁹

In this moment of recognition, Sabella realized that Cécile and he both understood the language of exile, and that this experience united them beyond a spoken language. A dialogue was now possible, where only silence had existed before.

Fig. 3. Steve Sabella, Cécile Elise Sabella, 2008. Lambda matt prints mounted on canvas, 60 x 100 cm.
To visually portray this new communication, Sabella photographed his daughter’s clothing from the inside and out creating diptychs with the resulting images (Figs. 3 and 4). Through this project the artist “wanted to convey a relationship, duality, confusion and alienation, but for sure a dialogue.” What we witness here is first and foremost the illustration of a conversation between two people who do not share the same verbal language, but who manage to communicate through the vocabulary of loss and alienation. Displayed in a perfect square format, these images reiterate Sabella’s concern with geometry. Not only do these pictures represent a dialogue on alienation, they are inscribed in the geometric language of exile. For Sabella, exile was always a mental issue, but he realized that
his daughter, in expressing the need for the space of Jerusalem, was experiencing a physical exile.\textsuperscript{21} This explains why in the pairs of images, the exterior shot of the garment symbolizes Cécile and her “outer” perception of exile whereas the inside shot represents her father’s mental struggle with the same problem.\textsuperscript{22} Their two contrasting approaches mirror the duality of exile as both a physical and mental condition.

When faced with these pieces, the viewer begins to notice the differences between the two sides: knitted stitches are reversed, colors pale, and patterns that are present on the outside do not appear on the inside. These dissimilarities seem to reflect two different voices expressing their individual reactions to the same situation. This non-verbal conversation can be difficult, though, and the deciphering is not always successful. Some elements, like the bright, flowery patterns visible on Cécile’s side of the cloth, are lost in translation. Perhaps Sabella’s mindset is too pessimistic to accept his daughter’s childish positivism. However, both perspectives are represented by one piece of cloth, binding the individuals together. This is more than just a father-daughter bond, it is the connection between two exiles. Because the work consists of magnified images, every tear of the fabric becomes significant. This is especially visible in Figure 3, where a small hole grabs the viewer’s attention. The threadbare qualities of Cécile’s clothes in a very explicit way visually materialize the traumas of exile. These scars may be patched up, but they will always be discernible. The fact that holes are
visible on both sides of the cloth indicates a shared pain. In the recognition of the other’s pain, Sabella’s sense of exile, may not be relieved - but at least there is an understanding. In this way, exile unites two individuals who were formally foreign to each other.

In conclusion, Sabella’s art shows exile to be a deeply alienating, disorientating, and painful experience. To fight isolation, Sabella reaches out to the global community of exiles by encouraging them to participate in group activities, expressing his mental state through geometry – a language which according to Boullata speaks directly to those who have lost their home – and recognizing another’s reaction to exile. Sabella seems to suggest that, although a return to the homeland may not be possible, it is in the recognition of exile as a shared experience that solace is achievable. Thanks to the Internet, communication is now possible between exiles in different countries. By banding together and fighting passivity, exiles may be in a position to create their own new identities, separate from the homeland, and to reclaim the dignity that was taken from them.

NOTES


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6 Ibid., 28.

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From the Depths of the Matrixial Sea: Reviving Loss and Memory in Contemporary Israeli Art

BRADEN SCOTT

Once the body in representation is returned to the body in production and linked – through interpretive desire – to the bodies of reception, history and sociality return.¹
—Amelia Jones

When Israeli cybernetics expert Yitzhaq Hayutman designed a holographic architectural structure that would hover above the
Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, he was not simply experimenting with an illustrious display of technological development (Fig. 1). Should his intention be carried out, Hayutman will opt for a globalised online community that will virtually develop the floating building. This apparition consisting of lights, a transparent cube, and a blimp will serve to recreate the ancient Jewish temple that currently exists as rubble in the foundation of the Old City in central Jerusalem. Recreating the Jewish temple over an Islamic holy site that is simultaneously sitting atop the historicised site of the Jewish temple mount, issues of temporality, sanctity, and rebuilding histories come to the fore in contemporary Israeli art production. This digitally rendered temple would supposedly summon the Messiah and engage the apocalypse, which is being delayed as a result of the presence of Islamic architecture on a site bound to ancient Judaic prophecy. This attempt to bring the past into the present in order to manipulate the events of the future is, however, simplistic - and led not into a fulfillment of Jewish prophecy, but instead, an affirmation of Jewish exile, trauma, and loss. On these issues, Israeli cinematic theorist Raz Yosef writes: “The difficulty in coping with the past, therefore, is not because of a lack of access to it, but rather because of its overwhelming and unmediated presence in the present.”\(^2\) Two contemporary Israeli artists, Bracha Ettinger and Ari Folman, engage meaningfully with the history of trauma and loss. Ettinger’s *Eurydice* series (1992-2007) and Folman’s film *Waltz with Bashir* (2008) offer cross-temporal affirmations of memory and matrixial
borderspaces in self/other identification - products that form in the overwhelming and continuous process of re-presenting trauma and loss in contemporary Israeli art.

In an aesthetic process of interpreting *Eurydice* and *Waltz with Bashir*, art historian Griselda Pollock contextualizes Ettinger’s use of the word “matrix” in relation to psychoanalytic theory, different from Freudian/Lacanian phallocentrism, that allows for the formation of co-humanity and shared affect. Pollock states: “Thus with regard to the other, the Matrix proposes that from the long prenatal/prematernal partnership that defines and produces human becoming, an unknown other was always a partner-in-difference and co-emergent.”

Philosopher Judith Butler simplifies the matrixial as something that “we guard against when we shore up the claims of identity, when we presume that to recognize each other is to know, to name, to distinguish according to the logic of identity.” Pollock and Butler apply Ettinger’s theory in their reading of the *Eurydice* series, which includes images created and given meaning as a result of their representation of someone (Eurydice) who is no longer here (Fig. 2). Although she is “already lost,” Butler affirms that the viewer’s gaze revives Eurydice, if but for a brief moment, serving not to reverse the binary aspect of her death, but to rupture the phallic understanding of living/non-living, material/conceptual, and lost/reclaimed. This brief moment allows the matrixial to be conceived – enlightening the viewer’s understanding of the reason and effect of the subject’s loss – creating not a subject/object paradigm, but an integrated fabric that considers the viewer and Eurydice as bodies sharing in affect.
Fig. 2. Bracha Ettinger, *Eurydice* n. 9, 1994-1996. Oil and paper mounted on canvas. https://www.flickr.com/photos/bracha-ettinger/48374501/.
In order to briefly explain the subject matter of Ettinger’s painting series I will turn to the ancient Roman poet Ovid, who writes of Orpheus the Thracian descending in the afterworld with the goal of reviving his lost lover, Eurydice. Upon finding her, taking her hand, and leading her away, Orpheus “heard the gods command”:

his eyes must not turn back until he’d passed
the valley of Avernus. Just once glance
at her, and all he had received would be lost—irretrievably.6

Orpheus heeded the command, until, upon nearing the entrance of the upper world, he became fearful that Eurydice might not cross through the worlds, and looked back at her “afraid that she might disappear again.”7 Julia Hell notes “We tend to focus on the drama of the second gaze, on the moment when Euridice is suspended between death and life.”8 Euridice n. 9 envisions the moment of the poem when, in an attempt to make alive once again a body that is lost to death, the attempt serves to reify the original loss:

His arms stretched out convulsively
to clasp and to be clasped in turn, but there
was nothing but the unresisting air.
And as she died again, Eurydice
did not reproach her husband. (How could she
have faulted him except to say that he
The images that Ettinger uses are not painted to give a singular vision of Eurydice’s appearance, but come instead from archival photographs – found in family collections and elsewhere – that relationally situate the artist within the work as a descendant of Jewish Holocaust survivors in the Second World War. Through this artistic strategy, Ettinger dives into the afterworld, crossing the river Styx in pursuit of the lost, and revives, if but for a moment, the memory of her familial heritage. Acknowledging that the revival is a heartwrenchingly impossible feat, the photographs of the Holocaust subjects disintegrate and are reabstracted within the Matrixial “abyss” that positions the living in relation with the dead.

Addressing her usage of the psychoanalytic concept of affect, Pollock differentiates the term from the specificity of binary emotions that fluctuate “in relation to good things and bad things.” She argues that affect archaically precedes human understanding of emotions and has subversively been lying within the interstitial spaces of psychoanalytic development as a complex psychological factor shaped by the unconscious. In turn, she addresses methodological principles within the academy by stating: “The affective turn challenges the dominance of structuralism and its ‘linguistic turn’ that was
associated with semiotics and deconstruction.”

Turning to the linguistic semiotician Julia Kristeva, whose work on abjection and psychoanalysis is categorised within the annals of structuralism, Pollock’s words regarding affect seem to be reinforced instead of countered:

...the purpose of the displacement is to thematicize the displaced item; the latter then gains the status not of a theme (in other words, that about which the speaker is talking) but of an emphasized rheme (that is, information pertaining to the theme) ... From this point of view also, the displaced element has been desyntacticized.

Kristeva uses the term rheme to refer to the affective unconscious trace, and by so doing she buttresses Pollock’s psychoanalytical theory of affect, reinforcing the presence of emotional understanding to be the theme. Both theorists embrace Ettinger’s idea of the matrix, in that formations of identity and self are extrapolated to include a filigree of connections affected by and given to others instead of incessantly replacing the dichotomous Freudian “lack.”

Kristeva’s notion of displacement signifies a position of understanding within a greater realm that creates the definitions and formulations for what constitutes the ability to be displaced, and this is useful in considering Ettinger’s practices. In Ettinger’s *Eurydice n. 27* (1998) (Fig. 3), the recognizable aspects of a
human face are no longer present as in n. 9, however, as part of the series, the painting is not void of human presence, but rather denotes a displaced affectation of humanity, trauma, and loss. Related to this subversive use of displacement within the matrixial realm, Hayutman’s digital temple becomes a holographic attestation to interstitial affect, conjuring not only a visual representation of a historical Jewish temple, but displacing a holy Islamic shrine. This process is dependant on a viewer’s understanding and affective positioning within Jerusalem’s history, which implicates them within the matrix: the “fabric” of co-relative interactions within shared histories.

On Ettinger’s practice, Montreal-based philosophers Erin Manning and Brian Massumi write:

Ettinger paints the field, but is also painted by it ... In this transformation, the artist herself is transformed. She is eye, hand, body, but she is also movement, tendency, thought, feeling. She moves-with the transformation, at pains to find an unspoken language – a language of traces, of vibrations and resonances – to articulate what cannot quite be seen, what remains, always, to some extent not only ineffable, but essentially imperceptible.¹⁴

As seen in the cases of Hayutman and Ettinger, displacement requires an understanding or memory of what is or has been displaced (lost, unseen). In Eurydice n. 45 (2002-2006) (Fig. 4), the bodily abstraction that was simply denoted under the red and purple smears of paint in no. 27 becomes present with multiple individuals. These photographed bodies become the connotation and key signifier of the work – enacting the body as an entity in Ettinger’s art that can be lost in no. 9, replaced in no. 27, and with attempts of memory recall, re-presented in no. 45.
Depictions of events from the Holocaust of the Second World War are part of the physical material for Ettinger’s Eurydice series, and because of this they can be compared to Folman’s film. He deploys similar matrixial methods of art making that revolve around trauma and loss in twentieth-century history of Judaism by depicting drawn representations of bodies in war. *Waltz with Bashir* animates the filmmaker as an Israeli soldier, who at nineteen years of age was a member of the militant
force that invaded Lebanon in 1982. Their goal was to rid (or displace) from Lebanon Yassar Arafat’s Palestinian Liberation Organisation, who, in the nearby Mediterranean country, was considered an imminent threat to the nation of Israel.

The film depicts the war only through scenes that Folman comes to re-remember. His memory of his involvement can only conjure a single image: the character Ari, waking in the Mediterranean sea, rises naked along with his friend Carmi and other young soldiers onto the beaches of Beirut, illuminated under a night sky by Israeli military flares (Fig. 5, 6). There, they clothe themselves and begin walking into the city streets. Raz Yosef assesses Folman’s film and character:

> The soldiers’ traumatic memories in *Waltz with Bashir* are “disremembered” memories; they are fragmented memories, constructed through forgetting and marked with traces of fantasy. Disremembering enables the soldiers to talk about and represent events that are too threatening to be experienced directly.15

Early in the film, Folman’s therapist relays a story that involves a psychological experiment: individuals were shown ten images of themselves, nine were real photographs, and one was cropped within a fabricated scene. Eighty percent of those who were asked to look at the photographs recognized themselves
in the false scenes, and twenty percent could not remember the action depicted. In a second round of questioning, the same twenty percent who doubted their memory then claimed that they remembered the events of that day. He then says, “Memory is dynamic, it is alive. If some details are missing, memory fills the holes with things that never happened.” Folman’s chosen dialogue reflects Pollock’s academic understanding of Ettinger’s matrix that can be engaged through the politics of memory:

It is about the specific ways that the aesthetic encounter created by art practice can open up a threshold between now and then, us and them to create a shared borderspace that acknowledges the gap between different beings, times and places ...  

Fig. 5. Ari Folman, Waltz with Bashir (still of memory sequence), 2008. Screenshot taken by the author.
Because the film is proposed as a search for Folman’s repressed memories of the war, the scene of the naked young men rising from their sleep in the sea is acknowledged as a fabrication of his memory. This shared borderspace that Pollock speaks of explains how – by replacing the memory of all of the traumatic events with a single fictitious scene – memory is not simply gathered from segregated elements that surrounded the original event, but confirmed as lost by means of the replacement images that repress the original event.
The differences between the works of Ettinger and Folman are equally important to discuss; the viewer present at the moment of the Holocaust photographs integrated within the *Eurydice* painting becomes perpetrator of the oppression in *Waltz with Bashir*. Folman’s self-depicted, animated body is represented as the perpetrator in a war that categorises him as a fighter for the Israeli nation. The cultural critic Slavoj Žižek reflects on the conversation between Folman and his friend/therapist in the film, and summarises the therapist’s sentiment as follows: “You are good person (sic). It’s true you made a mistake, but don’t ever forget: You are not a killer.” Folman is depicted as a victim of the war who has experienced memory displacement. Although he seems to consider his body as a microcosmic signifier of the overarching national body of Israel, his accountability as a Jewish perpetrator, in line with the Nazi soldiers that slaughtered European Jews, becomes blurred.

Butler speaks of the matrixial space that discounts the binary of the violator/victim paradigm that, since the Holocaust, has resonated with many Jewish people:

To say that all Jews hold a given view on Israel or are adequately represented by Israel or, conversely, that the acts of Israel, the state, adequately stand for the acts of all Jews, is to conflate Jews with Israel and, therefore, to recirculate an anti-Semitic reduction of Jewishness.
Butler argues that to be Jewish is not equated with the eternal position of the victim, an identity that has been simultaneously applied to Judaism as a result of histories of oppression. Ending the British Mandate and considering itself an independent nation in 1948, Israel claimed to be the state of Judaism, the land that surrounds the most holy of Jewish cities: Jerusalem. Persecution in World War II delivered the blow that not only displaced thousands of Jews from their European homes, but also – for some – created the desire to reform the land around Jerusalem as a nation-state for the Jewish people. Butler is not disregarding the historicised oppression of Jews or the destructions of Jerusalem, the Jewish temples, the exile of the Jewish people, and modern anti-Semitism that continues to exhume aspects of the Holocaust; she is making a claim that the idea of the state of Israel as the national body of Jews is, in and of itself, an anti-Semitic one.

Folman’s fictitious memory of military service – to a state that identifies itself as the nation of cross-temporal Judaism – acknowledges forms of trauma within the individualised bodies of the state’s citizens. Yosef considers *Waltz with Bashir* as a film that “exposes a deep rupture, or traumatic discontinuity, between the past and the present – between history and memory – and points to the decline of historical memory in Israel.”[19] It can be concluded then, that Bashir is an attestation to the melancholia of Israeli cultural production by incessantly bearing “witness to the crises of historical and national memory in Israel.”[20] Yosef
considers this to be a lingering longing for the representation of traumatic events inflicted on Jewish people. However, he views the contemporary melancholic diagnosis of Israel to be a perpetuation of Jewish loss. This serves to linguistically associate ‘Judaism’ with ‘Israel,’ and exists not only as a model of Butler’s notion of anti-Semitism, but also, in the words of art historian Christine Ross, enacts “an attachment to the lost other whose loss I cling to so as to keep that other close to me, in me.”

On the similar theme of psychoanalytic affect, Pollock writes: “I drown in melancholy; it is not a specific emotional response to a specific situation.”

Ross and Pollock expand on historical understandings of melancholia. While Ross considers the psychological term to be the catalyst that temporally drags and reaffirms the traumatic loss of the object in question, Pollock’s consideration of matrixial borderspaces acknowledges melancholy as an affective fold within a multidimensional realm of identity creation. The matrixial theory establishes that every individual shares an interstitial affective identity, whose witnessing, or ‘wit(h)nessing’ as Ettinger calls it, blurs the self/other dichotomy – enlarging the borderspaces with shared identities from both sides of traumatic experience (violator/victim) and loss.

In lieu of the emancipatory efforts of Folman’s self-depiction, *Waltz with Bashir* forges new identities for the spectator. Connected to this, the French philosopher Jacques Rancière posits:
The artistic ‘dissensual community’ has a dual body. It is a combination of means for producing an effect out of itself: creating a new community between human beings, a new political people. And it is the anticipated reality of that people.\textsuperscript{23}

His words coincide with Yosef’s conclusion on trauma and loss in Israeli cinema:

The detachments and displacements in time and space of the referential event, the masking of certain traumatic events by other events, and the mixing of fantasy and reality in the construction of traumatic memories in contemporary Israeli cinema make it possible for subjects who did not directly experience the trauma to nonetheless feel an empathic remembrance and a linkage with a past that was not theirs.\textsuperscript{24}

Rancière and Yosef reposition, or rather “displace” the notion that Israel exists as a perpetually innocent Jewish nation state. The history of oppression and of Judaism itself is evidently a melancholic aspect of contemporary Israeli cultural production, however, through Ettinger’s \textit{Eurydice} series and through Pollock’s and Butler’s interpretations of the affective matrixial borderspace, it is also a break from the phallic model of othering that establishes a sympathetic realm of spectatorship. Yitzhaq
Hayutman’s holographic model of an ancient Jewish temple, according to Butler’s consideration of Israel and Judaism would, through its attempt to re-affirm the loss of the temple mount in Jerusalem, be a creation that inadvertently deploys anti-Semitism. By means of Ettinger’s paintings and Folman’s film, matrixial methods in the realms of art history and cinematic spectatorship emulsify the approaches and understandings of trauma to recreate affective borderspaces – reforming psychoanalytical constructs of identity formation to become vividly complex – pulling away from the fictitious fragments of simplified dichotomous self/other formations that only serve to reify loss.

NOTES

1 Amelia Jones, “Postmodernism, Subjectivity, And Body Art: A Trajectory,” in Body Art/Performing the Subject (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 52.


5 Ibid., vi.


7 Ibid.

8 Julia Hell, “Modernity and the Holocaust, or, Listening to Eurydice,” Theory, Culture & Society 27, no. 6 (2010): 129.

9 Ovid, 327.

10 Pollock, 839.

11 On page 839 of “Aesthetic Wit(h)nessing in the Era of Trauma,” Pollock refers to the emotional response to dreams that may carry through the day, considering affect to be “the trace,” or matrixial underpinning of the engagement between unconscious dream and emotionally conscious awareness.

12 Pollock, 839.


14 Erin Manning and Brian Massumi, Thought in the Act: Passages in the Ecology of Experience (Minneapolos: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), page of official publication not confirmed at the time of writing this essay.
15 Yosef, 3.

16 Pollock, 838.


19 Yosef, 4.

20 Ibid., 5.


22 Pollock, 839.


24 Yosef, 14.
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