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Motifs of the Rotunda in Scenes of the Deposition of Saints into the Tomb on Ruthenian icons¹

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Architectural motifs appearing in the background of lateral panels of icons of Ruthenian origin depicting the life of a saint constitute an intriguing iconographic element and one that has yet to be studied. Occasional comments to date have pointed out the fantasy-like forms, sometimes suggesting ties with Orthodox Church architecture. One of these motifs occurs as a rule in the background of panels illustrating the burial of a saint (Figs. 1–2). The lower part of the foreground in these panels is occupied by a coffin lying horizontally with the body of the saint inside it and the raised lid held by one of the figures shown standing at the foot of the coffin. Standing by the head of the deceased is the bishop with an open book in his hand. The background in the case of this representation is almost invariably a stone building of obviously sacred nature: it is virtually always tripartite with the central part consisting of a two-level rotunda, roofed and topped with a small domed tower with a cross on top. On the right side, as seen by the viewer, there is a slender tower that is somewhat higher than the rotunda, and on the other side there is a kind of annex which is lower and has a small window instead of an entrance, the roof being a quarter-circle as a rule. The big doorways leading to both the rotunda and the tower are characteristic, as is a series of small windows pierced high under the cornice of the rotunda, between the roofs of the two levels and under the dome. The windows of the tower are similarly positioned in two or three zones.

¹ This is an abbreviated and revised version of an article published in Polish: 'Motyw świątyni w tłach Złożenia Świętego do Grobu w ikonach diecezji przemyskiej', in: *Polska-Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, vol. V, ed. S. Stępień, Przemysł 2000, pp. 191–208.

This building type is frequent in icons of the Life of St. Nicholas (Fig. 2) and St. Paraskeva from the 15th and 16th centuries. The scheme is present in icons of St. Paraskeva from Novy Jar, now in the collection of the National Museum in Lvov (LMUM), some of unknown provenance in the National Museum in Warsaw (MNW), from Uście Gorlickie in the Historical Museum in Sanok (MHS), another one of unknown provenance held in the National Museum in Cracow (inv. no. 57); also on icon of St. Nicholas from Żohatyń held by the Folk Architecture Museum in Sanok (MBLS), icons from Gorlice (LMUM),² from an unknown locality (MHS, inv. no. 987), one of unknown provenance in the National Museum in Cracow (inv. no. 192), as well as a 15th-century icon of Cosmas and Damian originating from Tylicz.³ The last two icons and the icon from the National Museum in Warsaw are further connected by a likeness of the way in which the towers with their fantastically flat roofs have been depicted.

An interesting modification occurs in the 15th-century icons of St. Paraskeva from Żohatyń and St. Basil from Łosie. Here, the motif of the rotunda fills the entire field. On the icon of St. Basil the rotunda is shown twice: in the scene of the baptism and in the scene of anointing the body of the deceased in the grave. The scene of the burial itself has a rectangular temple with a tower on the left in the background. The church has two windows, a crested roof with a small tower on top, resembling a bell-cote.

On the icons of St. Paraskeva from Novy Jar and the icon of St. Nicholas from the National Museum in Przemyśl (NMP) the domed side annex, as well as the tower, are concealed behind the rotunda which extends forward. The pointed-arch entrance on the first of these icons is distinctive. A similar case is presented by the icon showing the Life of St. Demetrios, thought to come from Przemyśl and dated to the late 16th century; in which the motif of rotunda appears in the scene of the saint's burial, and it is depicted in a way that reveals part of the tower standing next to it.⁴

Yet another variant occurs in the 16th century. The temple on the icons of St. Nicholas from the village locality of Príkra, the icon of St. Nicholas from the village of Dubová (both in Slovak collections), and on the icon of St. Paraskeva from Krempana, as well as that of St. Nicholas from Sokołowa Wola, has the form of a tripartite building in which the central part is

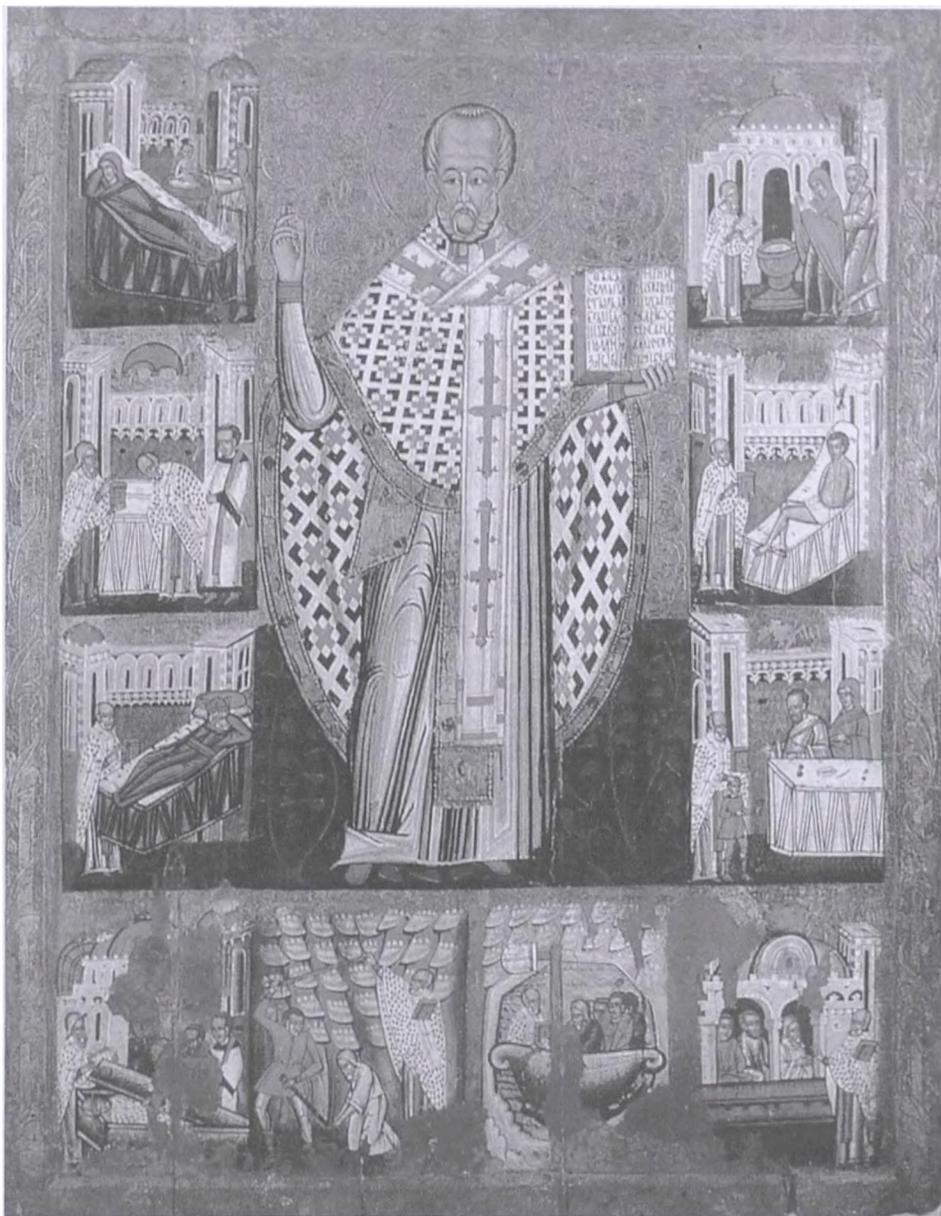
² V. I. Svencic'ka, V. P. Otkovych, *Ukrajins'ke narodne malarstvo XIII-XX stolit', Svit ochyma narodnyh myttsiv. Al'bom*, Kyjiv 1991, item 11.

³ H. Lohvyn, L. Milaeva, V. Svencic'ka, *Ukrajins'kyj serednovichnyj zhyvopis*, Kyjiv 1976, item 35.

⁴ V. I. Svencic'ka, V. P. Otkovych, *op. cit.*, item 43.



1. Deposition of Saint Paraskeva into the tomb – fragment of the icon, St. Paraskeva with scenes of her life, 15th c.; Poland, National Museum in Cracow, inv. no. 57.



2. St. Nicholas with scenes of his life, 2nd half of the 16th c.; Slovakia, Sarisske Muzeum in Bardejov, inv. no. 952.

flanked by two very similar towers, which are about half the width of the central section. These forms find parallels in the model of a church held in the hands of St. Prohor on a wall painting in the Church of All Saints at Părhăuți in Moldavia (1522, the sanctuary and naos were painted in 1522, the pronaos in 1531–1537)⁵ or in the church in the background of the icon of the Exaltation of the Cross in the museum in Drohobyč (2nd half of the 16th c.). This form of the temple was frequently repeated in later iconography, for example, in the background of a 17th-century icon of St. Barbara and in an icon by Marek Domažarski Šostakovyč illustrating the translation of the relics of St. Nicholas to Bari (LMUM) from 1730.

Thus, despite differences, the forms of the temple appearing on icons from the territories of Lesser Poland and Eastern Galicia once incorporated in the historical Orthodox diocese of Przemyśl have many features in common. One of these is the emphasis placed on the central part, drawn as a circular form with attached towers or a tower and an annex that resembles an apse. The shape of the central part leaves little doubt that a rotunda was intended, and that is exactly the form of the temple in the background of the burial of St. Nicholas depicted in an icon in the Sarisske muzeum in Bardejov (Fig. 2). Despite damage to the representation, the motif of arcades above the windows of the upper floor and of a big crowning dome is obvious. The same form of temple, but much more clearly depicted, was repeated in the scene of the baptism of St. Nicholas, which occupies a panel diagonally across from the representation of the burial.

On icons created in later years the appearance of the temple is not as uniform. In the icon of St. Paraskeva Piatnica from the early 17th-century, once part of the Piatnitsky iconostasis in Lvov, the temple in the background of the panel illustrating the prayer over the grave of the dead saint is much more modern in character – rectangular in plan and with a high tower. The building that rises above the roof of the nave may be the last echo of a rotunda reduced to no more than a bell-cote, but of proportions that are clearly too big for the size of the temple. The panel with the prayer to the dead saint brings some modifications of the rendering. The temple is shown with scrolled fillets connecting the upper facade to the lower and wider

⁵ V. Drăguț, *Pictura murală din Moldova sec. XV–XVI*, București 1982, p. 55; V. Păcurariu (*Istoria Bisericii ortodoxe Române*, București 1992, pp. 570, 599–600) held the church to be the joint foundation of Trotușan and his wife Anna and gave the date for the creation of the paintings as 1539–1540. The church was a triconch in plan with a tower over the naos equalling in height the length of the body of the temple. The church belonged to the same type as the churches of St. Elijah from Sfintu Ilie, that in Suceava (1488), Voroneț (1488) and Milișauti (1487).

floor, thus reflecting a baroque appearance that links it with the Lvov churches of the day.

The forms of the temple described above are not the same as the ones encountered in the painting of neighbouring Orthodox states, such as Moldavia or Central Ruthenia. For example, the temple shown in a miniature illustrating the deposition of St. Boris in his grave from the *Novgorod Codex* of Sylvester, dating from the second half of the 14th-century, represents a variant without a round ambulatory where the higher central part is covered with a dome supported on the three arcades. In Moldavian variants, the central part is clearly extended forward with regard to the two rectangular annexes, each covered with a gable roof and each topped with two crosses. Buildings of this kind can be observed in the background of scenes of the burial of St. John from Suceava and of St. Euphemia, depicted in Vornet wall paintings of 1547.⁶ In the first case the arrangement of the roof tiles suggests a four-sided roof and consequently a rectangular structure. The form of a rotunda joined to a rectangular temple also occurs on the lid of a 15th-century silver sarcophagus of St. John of Suceava.⁷

Parallels to the form of the rotunda in the background of the scenes here discussed can occasionally be found in modern icons of the Last Judgment. A similar temple with a tower, the bells of which announce the Last Judgment, is present in a 16th-century icon from Bahnovate in Ukraine and a 17th-century icon from Slovakian territory, the village of Nové Sedlice to be precise. But a similar rotunda is to be found primarily in representations of the Entry into Jerusalem and the Exaltation of the Cross (Fig. 4).⁸ In each case, the architectural landscape in the background can be identified as a view of Jerusalem, not only because of the subject of the scene, but also due to the conventional appearance of a town encircled by walls, in which tiered buildings surround a great rotunda with a higher and narrower central part covered with a conical roof, and a big doorway. This form, repeated more or less distinctly, occurs in scenes of the Entry into Jerusalem in murals, as well as in icon painting from the whole of Eastern Christendom, and naturally in all kinds of scenes connected with Jerusalem.

⁶ M. A. Musicescu, S. Ulea, *Vornet*, Bucarest 1969, ill. 39; *Vornet. Fresken aus dem 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Bukarest 1959, ill. 27.

⁷ V. Florea, *Istoria Artei Românești*, Chișinău 1991, p. 219.

⁸ A. Gronek, 'Elementy historyczno-legendarne i liturgiczne na przedstawieniach Podwyższenia Krzyża Świętego w malarstwie Kościoła Wschodniego', in: *Chrześcijańskie święta i święci w życiu duchowym Ukraińców na przełomie tysiącleci*, ed. W. Mokry, Kraków 2001, pp. 200–201.

One example is a Cretan icon illustrating Christ with the Good Samaritan, dated to the second half of the 15th century. Cypriot icons, such as the one from the church of Chrysaliniotissa in Nicosia, can be cited as examples, as can also Serbian icons – that of Master Longinus of 1578 – and icons from Ruthenia.⁹ The motif of a rotunda with an adjoining rectangular annex covered with a separate roof, which is close to some of the elements on the icons here discussed, can also be observed in the Entry into Jerusalem painted on the walls of a Moldavian church in Vorneţ.¹⁰

A rotunda that towers over the town in scenes of the Entry into Jerusalem is interpreted traditionally as the *Anastasis* temple. It is how G. Millet understood this motif,¹¹ followed in this by M. A. Ilin.¹² According to D. H. Weiss, the interpretation is supported by the bell-tower motif behind the dome of the Sepulchre in a miniature included in *The Riccardiana Psalter*, dated to 1229–1244 and containing topographical illustrations of Jerusalem from the time of the Crusades.¹³

* * *

The repeatedly appearing motif of a rotunda and tower, observed in these icons, thus appears to be identifiable with the temple of the Holy Sepulchre, commonly referred to as the *Anastasis*. The tower, which is not present in the oldest surviving iconographical sources of the Constantinian temple, was known since the Crusades at least, when it was marked on contemporary maps of Jerusalem. Such an arrangement with the tower next to the rotunda can be seen on a map from around 1140–1170 (Fig. 3).¹⁴ The temple layout was presented in section and explanations were added. It consisted of a rectangular annex adjoining a tall tower, a domed rotunda standing behind it and concealing a structure resembling a ciborium and

⁹ V. I. Svencic'ka, V. P. Otkovych, *op. cit.*, item 15.

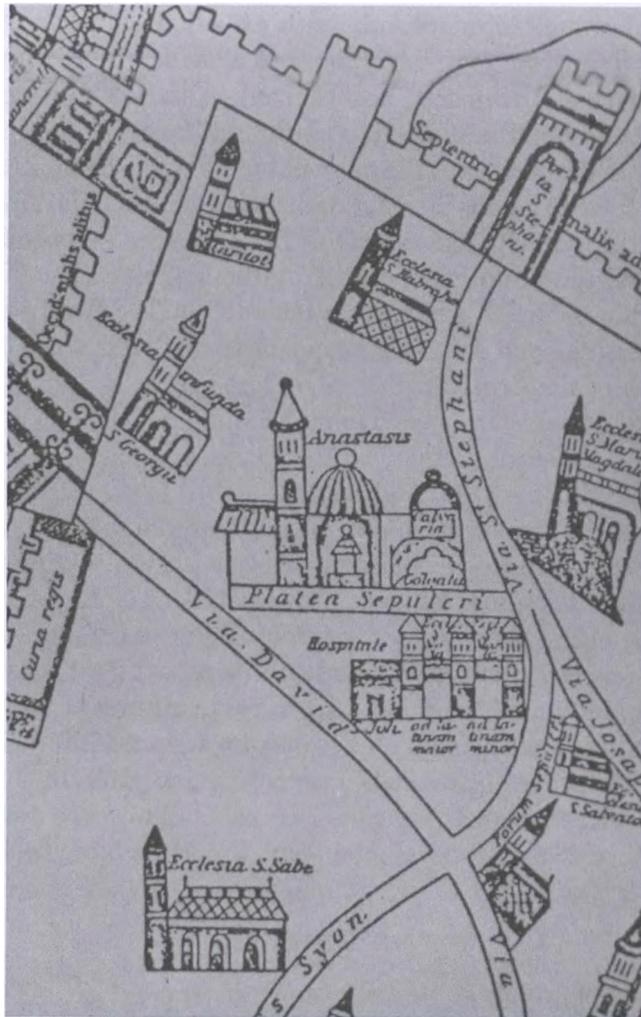
¹⁰ Vorneţ. *Fresken...*, ill. 12.

¹¹ G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris 1916, pp. 272–274.

¹² M. A. Ilin, 'Izobrazhenie ierusalimskogo hrana na ikone "Vhod v Ierusalim" Blagoveschenskogo sobora (K voprosu o hudozhestvennykh vzaimootnosheniiah Feofana Greka i Andreeia Rubleva)', *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, XVII (1960), pp. 105–113.

¹³ D. H. Weiss, 'Hec est Domini firmiter edificata: The Image of the Temple in Crusader Art', *Jewish Art (The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*, ed. B. Kühnel), XXIII/XXIV (1997–1998), p. 214.

¹⁴ S. Kobielus, *Niebiańska Jerozolima. Od sacrum miejsca do sacrum modelu*, Warszawa 1989, ill. 13.



3. Map of Jerusalem – detail, ca. 1140–1170, Cambrai, Ms. 437.

an annex, also domed, described as ‘Calvaria’ and covering the Rock of Golgotha. The spatial view of the temple of the Holy Sepulchre with the characteristic tower rising above the dome of the tomb in a miniature illustrating the *Horae of René of Anjou* is a close parallel in terms of the iconography. The somewhat false idea of the topography in this illustration, with the Dome of the Rock shown standing next to it, is presumably due to the fact that René, who is believed to be the author of the manuscript, never actually visited Jerusalem.¹⁵ Just how different was the pilgrim’s view of Jerusalem is convincingly illustrated by a view of the town painted by Jan van Scorel, who visited Jerusalem in 1519–1520.¹⁶ His vision, incorporated in the Lochorst Triptych, served as a prototype for Herman Beerntz’s woodcut of 1538.

Considerations of parallels for icon motifs focus attention on non-spatial depictions of models of the Tomb, shown in the same kind of profile view as on icons. Views of this kind are common in the 15th-century *peregrinatio*s, for example, in a miniature by Giovanni Capodilista, who painted what he had seen during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1458.¹⁷ Another such view of Jerusalem is to be found in Bernhard von Breydenbach’s *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* from 1486.¹⁸ The architectural motifs of the icons analyzed here betray several similarities to this particular way of viewing the Holy Sepulchre. Since the maps of Jerusalem in the 15th century were occasionally printed, the similarities would suggest that Orthodox Church painters of the period already had knowledge of prints produced in the West. Breydenbach’s guide, illustrated by Erhard Reuwich of Leiden, was published in Latin and German in Mainz. Hartmann Schedel’s so-called *Chronicle of the World*, also known as the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, which was similar in content and illustrations, came out shortly thereafter, in 1493.¹⁹

The interpretation of the icon motifs as the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre is further supported by another Western example. This is the very well preserved 12th-century rotunda of St. Procopius in Strzelno, particularly its model held in the hands of the donor, Piotr Wszeborzyc (?), shown in a tympanum found in the church (Fig. 5). The rotunda was once dedicated

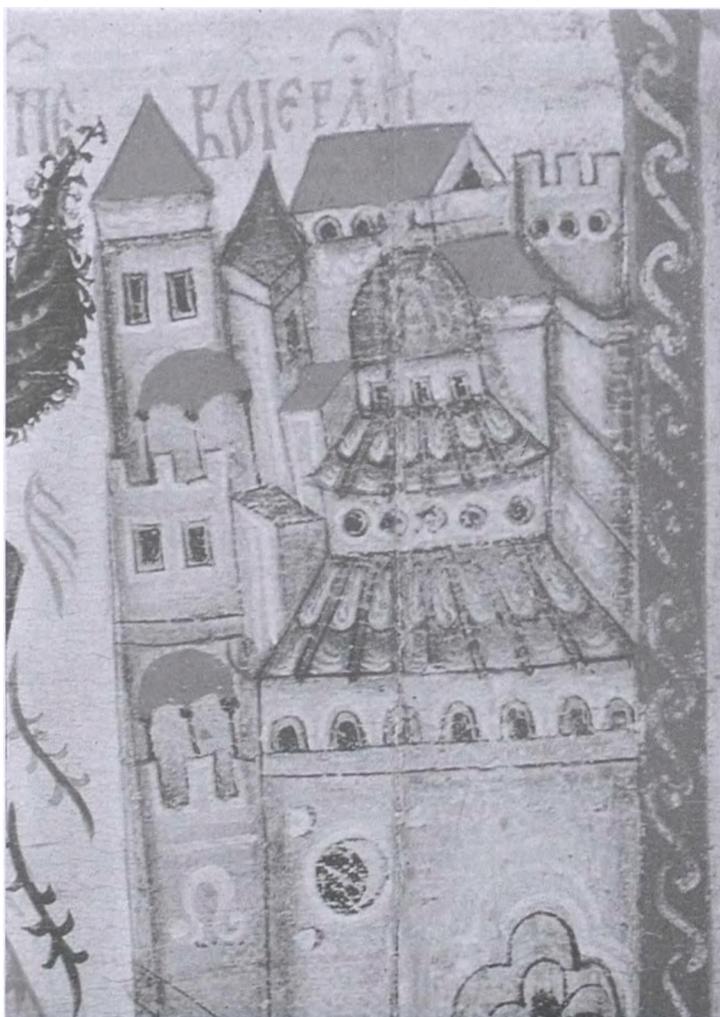
¹⁵ J. J. G. Aleksander, “‘Jerusalem the Golden’: Image and myth in the Middle Ages in Western Europe”, *Jewish Art*, XXIII/XXIV (1997–1998), p. 258, fig. 4.

¹⁶ L. Silver, ‘Mapped and marginalized: Early printed images of Jerusalem’, *Jewish Art*, XXIII/XXIV (1997–1998), fig. 6.

¹⁷ J. J. G. Aleksander, *op. cit.*, p. 258, fig. 6.

¹⁸ L. Silver, *op. cit.*, fig. 2.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 317–318.



4. Jerusalem – detail of the icon: Exaltation of the Holy Cross, end of the 15th c.; Ukraine, Lviv, National Museum, inv. no. 36612.

probably to the Holy Cross. The round structure had a rectangular presbytery added on the east and a rectangular tower on the west, thus emphasizing the long axis. The nave or interior of the rotunda was covered with an octagonal cloister dome with two apses of unidentified function added on the north side.

Similar temples of the Holy Sepulchre erected throughout the period of the Crusades have survived all over Western Europe, from Spain (Torres del Rio, 12th c.; Laon, Templar Church, c. 1160) to England (Cambridge c. 1130). The rotunda at Strzelno may have been modeled directly on the church in Říp in the Czech lands. Late Romanesque examples, that is, from the first half of the 13th century, of rotundas in Poland include the churches in Stronie Śląskie and in Cieszyn.

As indicated by its dedication and by its form, the Strzelno temple was unequivocally commemorative with respect to the Holy Sepulchre. The model of the temple shown in profile emphasizes the presence of a tower, a rotunda and a rectangular annex; the tower is not immediately next to the rotunda, as is the case on some icons, but is connected with it by a lower wall. This has been pointed out by T. Mroczo: '[...] the central space has a rectangular presbytery attached on the east and on the west a "neck" leads to a cylindrical tower. This kind of layout accentuates the long axis of the plan'.²⁰ Strikingly, the examples on icons present a 'reversed' view of the temple layout as compared to known iconographic sources, with the exception of the Strzelno model. The tower in these representations is pushed against the rotunda on the right side.

* * *

It remains to explain why the motif of the funerary temple of the Lord's Resurrection was used in the background of scenes of the deposition of a number of different saints. According to a reconstruction of the temple architecture on the Mount of the Olives, at least two structures took on the form of a rotunda. The first of these is the so-called *Inbomon*, commemorating Christ's Ascension.²¹ Since it was erected on a slope, its massive walls had to be buttressed on the outside. The other structure is known as the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, that is, *Anastasis*, and its fame in the

²⁰ T. Mroczo, *Polska sztuka przedromańska i romańska*, Warszawa 1978, pp. 92, 117.

²¹ B. Filarska, *Początki architektury chrześcijańskiej*, Lublin 1983, pp. 162–163, figs. 263–264.



5. Tympanum of the Church of St. Procop; end of the 12th c.; Poland, Strzelno.

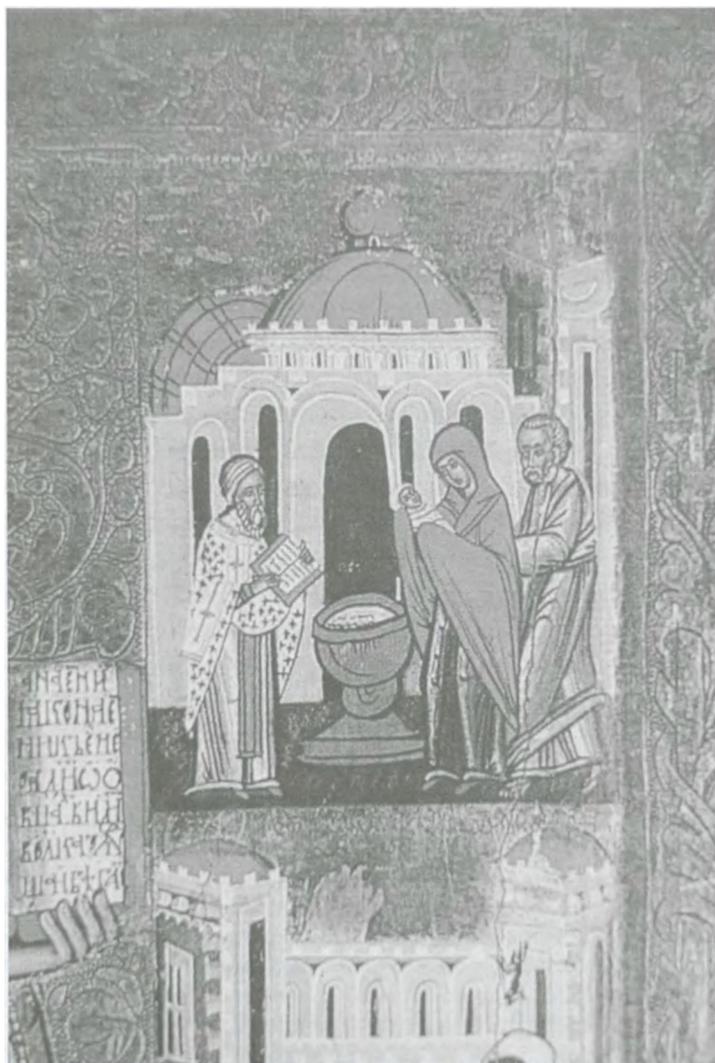
Christian world was incomparably greater. As Barbara Filarska pointed out, the memorial of the Tomb situated inside the rotunda was surrounded by a columnar passageway with 12 columns in four groups, three each between pairs of pillars situated according to the geographical directions. The upper floor has been reconstructed in a variety of ways, due to a lack of sources. Filarska based her opinion on a drawing by Arculf and believed that the upper floor in the central part was formed by yet another arcaded gallery, crowned by a conical structure with a central oculus.²² One more colonnaded arcade was to be found in front of the rotunda, opening onto the neighbouring courtyard of the Golgotha. This multiplying of porticos created a visual effect of openwork, and the functionally important multiplicity of passages mentioned by Egeria the Pilgrim.²³

As a memorial of the Holy Sepulchre, the *Anastasis* rotunda was clearly among the best known temples in the Holy Land.²⁴ W. E. Kleinbauer has suggested that the Jerusalem rotunda was erected between 339/340 and

²² *Ibidem*, fig. 266 – with a central oculus. According to Gerke's reconstruction (B. Filarska, *op. cit.*, pl. IX.2), the upper floor of the central part had only small windows in the wall that passed smoothly into the curve of the pointed dome.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 164.

²⁴ For a current view regarding the appearance of this temple and its perception in Early Christian art, see W. E. Kleinbauer, 'The Anastasis Rotunda and Christian Architectural Invention', *Jewish Art*, XXIII/XXIV (1997–1998), pp. 140–146.



6. Baptism of Saint Nicholas – detail of the icon, St. Nicholas with scenes of life; 2nd half of the 16th c.; Slovakia, Bardejov, Sarisske Muzeum, inv. no. 95.

348/350 and could have been modeled directly on the Antioch rotunda, the so-called Golden Octagon (327–341), which had been built on the plan of a polygon with a dome above the raised central part.²⁵ Practically from the start the *Anastasis* rotunda was treated as a model of a building on a central plan, equally popular as the basilica in Constantinian times. Imitations appeared shortly after the prototype had been built and continued despite the destruction of the original in AD 1009. Once it had been reconstructed by Emperor Constantine Monomachos sometime before the middle of the 11th century, it could continue to inspire pilgrims, and the Crusaders undoubtedly helped to spread its fame.

Interest has grown recently in the idea of the Holy Sepulchre being imitated in various forms of Christian art throughout history. Two large volumes devoted to this topic, published in commemoration of three millennia of Jerusalem's existence celebrated in 1996, is testimony enough. They collect a considerable number of studies by scholars not only from different countries, but also of different creeds.²⁶ Published somewhat earlier were the proceedings of a conference organized in 1991 by the Center for the Culture of Eastern Christianity in Moscow, devoted to Ruthenian references to the buildings of the Holy Land.²⁷ The next conference in 2000 was devoted to Christian relics.²⁸ Polish replicas of the Holy Sepulchre have been discussed by E. Lemper, J. Samek, and A. Grzybowski.²⁹

²⁵ B. Filarska, *op. cit.*, pl. IX.1; W. E. Kleinbauer, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

²⁶ *Jewish Art*, XXIII/XXIV (1997–1998), *passim*; *Jerozolima w kulturze europejskiej*, ed. P. Paszkiewicz and T. Zadrozny, Warszawa 1997.

²⁷ *Ierusalim v russoj kulture*, ed. A. Batalov, A. Lidov, Moskva 1994.

²⁸ *Relikvii v iskusstve i kulture vostochnohristianskogo mira*, ed. A. M. Lidov, Moskva 2000. Cf.: A. Batalov, 'Grob Gospoden v sakralnom prostranstve russkogo hrama XVI–XVII vekov' in: *Relikvii...*, pp. 72–74; *idem*, 'Arhitekturnyj obraz kak relikvi. O drevnerusskih kamennyh ikonkah z izobrazheniem Groba Gospodnia', in: *Relikvii...*, pp. 78–80; M. Evangelatou: "Consequently, the image of the Sepulchre [...] was frequent on the decoration of the 6th–7th-century pilgrim flasks from Jerusalem (ampulae), and appears also on other works of art predating the damage of the monument in 1009" – *eadem*, 'The Holy Sepulchre and iconophile Arguments on Relics in the 9th-century Byzantine Psalters', in: *Relikvii...*, pp. 38–40.

²⁹ E. H. Lemper, 'Kaplica Świętego Krzyża i Święty Grób w Görlitz, przyczynek do symboliki architektury i ikonologii późnego średniowiecza', *Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej*, III (1965), pp. 118 ff.; J. Samek, 'Kruchta zachodnia kościoła mariackiego w Krakowie (geneza kompozycji formalnej)', *Zeszyty Naukowe UJ. Prace z Historii Sztuki*, VIII (1970), pp. 222 ff.; J. Z. Łoziński, *Grobowe kaplice kopułowe w Polsce 1520–1620*, Warszawa 1973, pp. 48–56; A. Grzybowski, 'Kościół w Gosławicach. Zagadnienie genezy', *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, XVI (1971). Cf.: *idem*, 'Kościoły w Gosławicach i Miszewie jako pośrednie "kopie" Anastasis', in: *Jerozolima w kulturze...*, pp. 155–165. Cf. also: A. M. Witkowska, 'Kompozycja przestrzenna Kalwarii Zebrzydowskiej', *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, XX (1975), fol. 2;

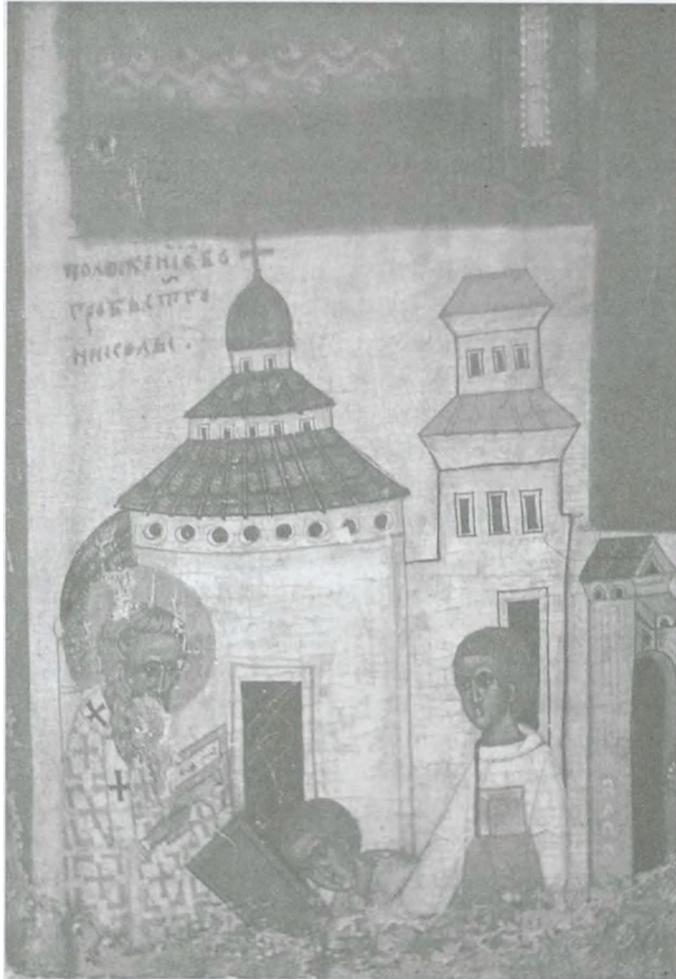
R. Krautheimer's somewhat forgotten article of 1942 turns out to be of the utmost importance for research on this issue. The author included a number of innovative observations, proving, for instance, that the faithful in the Middle Ages considered as of the greatest importance the principle of similarity, or to put it in other words, the identity of the ideas in the model and its copy.³⁰ A formal identity was of lesser, if any importance, as was the issue of similarity of proportions, details, and dimensions, which constitute our modern measure of similarity. A general similarity of form was important, the round plan in particular, which was understood as ideal both in the case of the *Anastasis* rotunda and in the case of its copies.

The surrounding arcades, like the gallery, were not always repeated in the copies, because what counted for believers was the general shape and its meaning. It was important for the copy to have a rounded outline. The circle was for St. Augustine, as for Horatius, a symbol of virtue. The tomb, the circular shape of the whole, and the unusual structure of the vault were obviously the most characteristic and hence sufficient to distinguish the *Anastasis* from other structures. A better-made copy merely added a few visual elements to the abstract features, that is, the dedication. Krautheimer observed that plans, like the one made by Arculf, were copied throughout the Middle Ages and were of considerable importance, and it is a known fact that the builders of reproductions of the holy places used them.

Krautheimer also provided arguments in favour of an ideological connection between the baptistery and the Holy Sepulchre, which while commonly accepted today, needed to be proved and documented in view of the earlier conviction that baptisteries derived from ancient models. The oldest surviving baptisteries preserve in essence the features of Roman baths, but the later examples, just like copies of the rotunda, are distinctive in

cadem, 'Jeruzolimska droga pojmiania i droga krzyżowa kanwą kompozycyjną europejskich fundacji kalwaryjnych', in: *Jeruzolima w kulturze...*, pp. 243–254; J. J. Kopec, 'Kalwarie i cykle drogi krzyżowej w kulturze oraz ich związki z topografią Jeruzolimy', in: *Jeruzolima w kulturze...*, pp. 225–254.

³⁰ R. Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*, New York–London 1969, pp. 115–150. See also R. Ousterhout, 'Loca Sancta and the Architectural Response to Pilgrimage', in: *The Blessing of Pilgrimage*, ed. R. Ousterhout, Chicago 1990, pp. 108–124. Just recently R. Ousterhout reprinted Krautheimer's thesis with a bibliography: *idem*, 'Sepulchre church', in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Art* 28, New York 1996, reprint 1998, pp. 427–429. See also: J. Wilkinson, 'The Tomb of Christ. An Outline of Its Structural History', *Levant. Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*, IV (1972), pp. 83–97; A. J. Wharton, 'The Baptistery of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the Politics of Sacred Landscape', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers (Homo Byzantinus. Papers in Honour of Alexander Kazhdan)*, ed. A. Cutler, S. Franklin, XCVI (1992), pp. 313–325.



7. Deposition of Saint Nicholas into the tomb – detail of the icon, Saint Nicholas with scenes of his life; 15th c.; Poland, National Museum in Cracow, inv. no. 192.



8. Deposition of Saint Paraskeva with scenes of her life; 15th c.; Poland, National Museum in Warsaw, no. 73147.

their circular plan, surrounding arcade and a domed central part. To judge by the examples quoted by Krautheimer, the repeated features of the Holy Sepulchre include primarily a central plan, alternately presenting a round or polygonal (usually octagonal) layout, an arcade added to the central part which was separately roofed or vaulted. This was the case of the churches of St. Michael in Fulda (9th century), the rotunda in the famous complex of St. Stefano in Bologna and in Pisa (12th century). It is significant that the series of round churches in Denmark is supposed to be the result of King Sigurd's pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1107–1111). There are four round churches with apsidal extensions on Bornholm, dated between 1050 and 1300.³¹

An octagonal plan was traced in the form of the building depicted on the margin of a Byzantine codex from the Monastery of the Pantokrator on Athos, believed to be one of the oldest source images of the Jerusalem building³² and it is to this motif with three porticoes that the temple from the 14th-century Novgorod miniature refers most closely, and to which the motif on the 16th-century Serbian icon by Master Longinus preserves a distinct resemblance.³³

According to the teachings of the Church Fathers in the early Christian period, baptisteries erected to resemble the *Anastasis* emphasized that baptism, like Christ's death on the Cross, meant being born to a new life. This idea is present in the writings of St. Augustine, Hilary of Poitiers, and Leo the Great. St. Ambrose, in turn, is thought to be the author of the famous epigram-commentary of 386 from the Milan baptistery, explaining the symbolism of the number 8: 'The building is in the shape of an octagon/ eight symbolizes the Day of Resurrection/ on this day Christ will bring the dead out of the tombs/ baptism is an image of death and resurrection/ you have to prepare for baptism by improving your life/ one should approach with joy, because sinners will become as white as snow/ no one will be delivered without baptism/ it is a holy rite'.

Baptism is a symbol of the future resurrection of Man, as well as the resurrection of the Lord, it is a promise of being born again in eternity and

³¹ K. J. Connant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800–1200*, Harmondsworth 1959 (revised ed. 1978), p. 433.

³² *Pantokratoros Cod.* 61, fol. 160^r – P. Huber, *Athos. Leben. Glaube. Kunst*, Zürich 1969, ill. 78; K. Józefowiczówna, 'Kultura artystyczna na przełomie antyku i wczesnego średniowiecza', in: *Italia*, ed. E. Tabaczyńska, Wrocław 1980, pp. 391 ff.; cf.: A. Grzybkowski, 'Kościóły...', p. 164.

³³ D. Milošević, *Art in Mediaeval Serbia from the 12th to the 17th Century*, Beograd 1980, ill. 48.

to eternal life, as in Paul's Letter to Romans: '6:3 Or do you not know that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? 6:4 We were buried therefore with him through baptism to death, that just as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life'. Baptism and resurrection, hence a symbolic death and burial, were clearly interconnected in the minds of the Christians.³⁴ It is the best explanation as to why the motif of the round temple was repeated in the background of the two scenes in the panels of the icons illustrating the lives of the saints, such as the icon in Sarisske muzeum in Bardejov in Slovakia already mentioned (Figs. 2 and 6). The positioning of the scenes on a diagonal line illustrates two acts: one is baptism or being born into a Christian life, the other is the act of burial, preceded by the translation of the sacred body in a temple which appears to be the same as in the act of christening. In the most general sense, the temple motif is a sign of the Church to which the life of a saint is dedicated, and it serves the purpose of generating the same connotations that accompanied the act of baptism in the Early Christian baptisteries connected with necropolises and catacombs.

The erection of tombs on a circular plan resembling the *Anastasis* in the burial places of holy martyrs of the Church had a more unequivocal meaning. These martyria, which took on the form of ciboria in the iconography, constituted an emphatic illustration of a holy life.

* * *

Reviews by various authors of imitations of Christ's Sepulchre in the different arts, including architecture, painting, prints and the crafts, have often omitted the occurrence of this type of copy in icons. The interpretation suggested here for the meaning of the temple in the background of scenes of the saint's burial is not as unequivocal as in other cases and hence it is important to refer to the known facts about the presence of confirmed copies of the rotunda in the immediate neighborhood of the discussed icons.

³⁴ P.-A. Février, 'Baptistères, martyrs et reliques', in: *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet*, publisher O. Feld, U. Peschlow, vol. II, Bonn 1986, pp. 1-9; P.-A. Février, 'Baptistères, martyrs et reliques', *Rivista di Archeologia Christiana*, LXII/1-2 (1986), pp. 109-138; M. Walczak, "Alter Christus". *Studia nad obrazowaniem świętości w sztuce średniowiecznej na przykładzie św. Tomasza Becketa*, Kraków 2001, p. 152, cf. 218.

It is known that the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, a special order taking care of the Holy Sepulchre, were introduced to Polish territory at a relatively early date, in 1162, brought there by Jaksa of Miechowo, who had taken part in the expedition to Palestine.³⁵ Jaksa was the donor of a copy of the Holy Sepulchre in his birthplace. The first topographical descriptions of the Holy Sepulchre by Polish pilgrims come from not earlier than the 16th century. These include guidebooks and diaries of the Bernardine brother Anselm (1507), Jan Tarnowski, the later hetman, who made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1518, Jan Goryński (c. 1560), Jan Krzysztof Radziwiłł known as *Sierotka* (in 1582–1584); the only report to be published in the 16th century was that of the first of the above listed pilgrims.³⁶ It is also known that Hieronim Strzała, a courtier of the Cracow voivode Mikołaj Zebrzydowski returned from a pilgrimage in 1599, bringing with him two models of Jerusalem chapels.³⁷

The popularity of the so-called Calvaries, which are planned architectural complexes imitating the layout of the holy places in Jerusalem, may have grown from this seed. Calvaries were built in Poland throughout the 17th century. What is noteworthy is that these *sacri monti* were adapted to an existing landscape which somehow resembled the configuration of land in Jerusalem. The model of the path of Christ's Passion created at Kalwaria Zebrzydowska was repeated in other foundations of the type, like Kalwaria Wejherowska or Kalwaria Paławska.³⁸

Much earlier reports come from the territory of Old Russia, including one of the earliest, which is the report of the *igumen* Danil of 1106, surviving in more than a hundred copies. It appears that the spiritual conception of Jerusalem was not embodied in the architecture of the East as much as in that of the West, although images of the Holy Sepulchre were quite common in the visual arts and a considerable collection of relics of the Sepulchre was gathered in the Orthodox church of Holy Wisdom in Novgorod, including an architectural model, which appeared in 1212.³⁹ Copies of the

³⁵ M. Affek, 'Długie a chwalebne dzieje zakonu Bożogrobców w Ziemi Świętej i w Europie', in: *Jerozolima w kulturze...*, p. 173.

³⁶ J. J. Kopeć, 'Kalwarie i cykle drogi krzyżowej w kulturze oraz ich związki z topografią Jerozolimy', in: *Jerozolima w kulturze...*, p. 227.

³⁷ S. Kobiela, *Niebiańska Jerozolima...*, p. 76.

³⁸ Z. Bania, 'Tak zwany wpływ Andrychomiusza na XVII-wieczne Kalwarie Polskie', in: *Jerozolima w kulturze...*, p. 258.

³⁹ W. Boberski, 'Jerozolima w architekturze rosyjskiej czasów nowożytnych', in: *Jerozolima w kulturze...*, s. 297. Cf.: J. Folda, 'Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre through the Eyes of Crusader Pilgrims', *Jewish Art*, XXIII/XXIV (1997–1998), pp. 158–164.

Holy Sepulchre have been preserved in examples of the minor arts from Northern and Middle Russia of the 12th through 15th century; these are stone plaques on which the dominating element is a central domed structure, which occasionally is even described as Jerusalem.⁴⁰ The subject in the case of these plaques is usually the women coming to Christ's empty tomb with incense, where they are greeted by an angel. The spiritual references were expressed in toponymy, and Constantinople, and even Moscow later, were both designated as the New Rome and the New Jerusalem,⁴¹ taking on a more specific expression as in the case of the Moscow church of the Resurrection of 1532, which had been drawn onto a plan of Moscow of 1600.⁴² The view of the church is virtually identical with the appearance of this same temple in the above mentioned view of Bernhard von Breydenbach included in the *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* of 1486.⁴³

The impression of there being fewer copies of the Holy Sepulchre in art from the East is probably due to insufficient study of this context in the artworks of Eastern Christianity,⁴⁴ which have been analyzed in the past few decades mainly in terms of formal and stylistic aspects. The oldest copies of the Holy Sepulchre are after all the 7th-century temples of Armenia; of these the relatively most important rotunda in Zwartnoc served as a martyrium for St. Gregory the Enlightener.⁴⁵ From the same time come the surviving Armenian descriptions of the Holy Land, including the Holy Sepulchre, which were also copied in Syria and North Mesopotamia. In the opinion of A. Kazarian, past analyses of the numerous formal elements shared by these temples – they were mostly arcaded tetraconchs – failed to observe that their ideological model was the Jerusalem building.⁴⁶ One such analysis is the article by V. Aleksandrovyč, who believed the rotundas occurring on Ruthenian icons of St. Nicholas to be a copy of a specific rotunda existing in Przemyśl in medieval times.⁴⁷ The obvious question is

⁴⁰ A. V. Ryndina, 'Osobennosti slozheni ikonografii v drevnerusskoj melkoj plastike', in: *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Hudozhestvenna kultura Novgoroda*, Moskva 1968, pp. 223–236.

⁴¹ H. Paprocki, 'Jerzolima w myśli teologicznej prawosławia', in: *Jerzolima w kulturze...*, p. 289.

⁴² W. Boberski, *Jerzolima w architekturze rosyjskiej...*, ill. 5 and 7.

⁴³ L. Silver, *Mapped and marginalized...*, fig. 2.

⁴⁴ *Jerusalim v ruskoj kulturne...*, p. 5.

⁴⁵ A. Kazarian, 'Rotonda Voskresenia i ikonografia rannesrednevekovyh hramov Armenii', in: *Vostochnohristianskij hram. Liturgia i iskusstvo*, ed. A. M. Lidov, Sankt Petersburg 1994, pp. 107 ff.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 109.

⁴⁷ V. Aleksandrovyč, 'Najdavnišha peremishlska zhitijna ikona sviatoho Mykolaia ta ii repliki XV–XVI stolit, *Kovčeh*, III (2001), p. 181.

whether the rotundas on the icons of St. Paraskeva and St. Basil should also be considered as a basis for the reconstruction of the appearance of an unpreserved historical structure in Przemyśl?⁴⁸ From which of the rotundas were the buildings depicted in the panels of icons originating from North Russia copied?⁴⁹ Was it also the Przemyśl rotunda?

The importance of the central plan as the ideal one was clearly manifested by interpretations of the temple of Solomon in this shape,⁵⁰ even though the Old Testament sources refer to it as a quadrilateral form, rather like the Roman basilica.⁵¹ It is difficult to be sure what impact on this interpretation of its shape was exerted by the existence on its site of the Dome of the Rock, built by Moslems in the 8th century. What is characteristic is the admiration, confirmed in pilgrim reports, for the *Templum Domini* rising in the centre of a big court, an admiration not tempered in any way by knowledge of who had actually raised it.⁵² Charlemagne made use of the central model, which had until now been believed to be based on the palatial complex on the Lateran, with the Lateran baptistery serving as a model for the palace chapel. A recent opinion has it that the ruler, wishing to liken the palatial complex at Aix-la-Chapelle to Jerusalem, based his chapel on a model of the Temple of the Rock, which was then already conceived of as *Templum Salomonis*.⁵³ During the Crusades, about the middle of the 12th century, the *Templum Domini* became next to the Holy Sepulchre and the Tower of David, the key architectural symbol of Jerusalem.⁵⁴ Thus, the circular plan and even the shape of the rotunda were repeated in the Temple on the Mount and medieval pilgrims preferred to see a round building, not the octagonal one of reality.

⁴⁸ Such an interpretation is paralleled by the identification of the rotunda of St. Elijah from Halicz in 15th-century icons; *ibidem*, p. 166.

⁴⁹ Cf.: Life of St. Nicholas, icon, 150 x 112 cm, 1551–1552, Novgorod school, Moscow, Central'nyj muzej drevnerusskoj kul'tury i iskusstva imeni Andreia Rubleva. Cf.: *Ikony Tveri, Novgoroda, Pskova XV–XVI vv.*, ed. L. M. Evseeva, V. M. Sorokatyj, Moskva 2000, item 40; Panels from the icons depicting the Life of St. John the Evangelist, 130 x 104 cm, early 16th century, Dionizy's circle, Vologda, Vologodskij kraevedcheskij muzej, in: *Drevnerusskaja Zhivopis'*, ed. T. Teplova, Leningrad 1969, ills. 34–35.

⁵⁰ S. Kobielus, *Bramy niebiańskiej Jerozolimy...*, fig. 10.

⁵¹ L. Kantor Kazovsky, 'Piranesi and Villalpando: The Concept of the Temple in European Architectural Theory', *Jewish Art*, XXIII/XXIV (1997–1998), fig. 4.

⁵² Examples provided by D. H. Weiss, 'Hec est Domini firmiter edificata...', pp. 210 ff.

⁵³ D. H. Weiss, 'Hec est Domini firmiter edificata...', p. 216; G. Kühnel, 'Aachen, Byzanz und die frühislamische Architektur im Heiligen Land', *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte. Festschrift für Horst Hallenleben zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. B. Borkopp, B. Schellewald, L. Theis, Amsterdam 1995, pp. 39–57.

⁵⁴ D. H. Weiss, 'Hec est Domini firmiter edificata...', p. 213.

A special manifestation of the form developed in the backgrounds of the masterworks of Italian and Netherlandish artists of the Renaissance. The round temple, the Vitruvian model of a perfect building, inspired the Renaissance masters of painting, as well as architecture (e.g. the *Tempietto* of St. Pietro in Montorio, erected by Donato Bramante in Rome after 1511) bringing focus to bear on a space that was ordered according to the ancient principles of harmony and symmetry. For example, in the works of Jacopo Bellini, one can speak of a veritable synthesis of the forms of the *Anastasis* and *Templum Salomonis*.⁵⁵ During the Renaissance, a circular plan seemed the most appropriate foundation for an ideal city, something that was also promoted in Vitruvius' treatise,⁵⁶ as could be confirmed by the form of surviving ancient temples, the Pantheon, for instance. Furthermore, praise for the nobility of the Pantheon design, combined with recommendations to build *ad instar templi Salomonis*, became the guiding principles for many architects of the Modern Age. Hence, the ideology of the Jerusalem temple spearheaded the building of a number of 17th- and 18th-century churches in the Old Polish Commonwealth, frequently based on models provided in treatises, such as that written by Villalpanda. J. Kowalczyk has listed numerous examples of baroque churches in Poland that put into life the principle of referring to the temple of Solomon as the archetype of a Christian church, combining two concepts: the circular and the longitudinal.⁵⁷ The presbyteries of these churches and the chapels added on in line with the extended axis were designed on one hand to generate associations with the idea of the Holy of Holies (presbytery of the Jesuit church in Warsaw from 1609–1626, the Carmelites church in Lvov from 1632), and on the other, they referred to the idea of the *Anastasis* (Holy Cross chapel of 1645–1658 attached to the Dominican church in Lublin, Norbertan church in Hebdowo from 1692–1727).⁵⁸

The buildings of Jerusalem, along with the motif of a round temple in the centre, were depicted in yet another very important theological formula of Heavenly Jerusalem, the iconography of which differed occasionally in

⁵⁵ J. F. Moffit, 'Anastasis Templum: "subject or non-subject" in an architectural Representation by Jacopo Bellini', *Paragone*, 391 (1982), pp. 3–24.

⁵⁶ S. Sabar, 'Messianic Aspirations and Renaissance Urban Ideals: The Image of Jerusalem in the Venice Haggadah, 1609', *Jewish Art*, XXIII/XXIV (1997–1998), figs. 10 and 11.

⁵⁷ J. Kowalczyk, 'Elementy świątyni Salomona w kościołach nowożytnych w Polsce', in: *Jerozolima w kulturze...*, p. 395.

⁵⁸ T. Zadrozny, 'Dei Templum est, Dei structura est, Dei aedificatio est, czyli o niektórych aspektach recepcji idei świątyni Jerozolimskiej w nowożytnej architekturze sakralnej', in: *Jerozolima w kulturze...*, figs. 9–11.

the fantastic quality of the various architectural forms that referred to the mystical nature of this idea.⁵⁹ Hence the surviving objects big and small: “Sions”, silver “Jerusalems” or architectural models, of which two, dated to the 11th and 12th centuries, are connected, whether by manufacturing or purpose, with Novgorod and two 15th century ones from Moscow.⁶⁰ A. Lidov was of the opinion that in the times of Constantine, the temple raised in the historic place of the Lord’s Crucifixion and Resurrection was already being interpreted in a mystical sense as a visualization of the Heavenly Jerusalem. He interpreted a miniature from the 9th-century *Chludov’s Codex* in this way, observing in it the typical, recognizable features of the funerary complex standing over the Holy Sepulchre: the basilica, rotunda and tower. Byzantine iconography established after the iconoclastic period, in which a connection was made between the two-tiered rotunda and the basilica, was in Lidov’s opinion not so much an indicator of a historic site as a conventional image of the ideal temple-city. What was of significance was not archaeological precision but the embodiment of an idea.⁶¹

Ultimately the round arcaded temple with a domed central part became a sign of the saved, as prophesied by David (*Ps* 92:2) and illustrated by an appropriate miniature in the 14th-century *Tomič Psalter*,⁶² receiving their reward, an idea presumably confirmed by the presence of this motif in the background of the 17th and 18th-century Ukrainian icons of the saints Teodozios and Atanasios of Pechera and of Cosmas and Damian. Perhaps the same meaning is imbued by the rotunda and tower seen in the background of an icon of St. Paraskeva of Turnovo painted by Georgij, from the Orthodox church in Pętna (Nowy Sącz area) of the second half of the 17th century (MHS 926). A. Labuda followed the same principle in interpreting the motif of a temple in one of the fields of the Gniezno Doors, demonstrating that St. Adalbert was shown praying before a round building, a rotunda that resembled a martyrrium or the *Anastasis*, deprived of any doors which imbued it with a symbolic significance.⁶³

⁵⁹ S. Kobielus, *Bramy niebiańskiej Jerozolimy...*, figs. 9–11. An extensive list of references for this issue is to be found in A. Lidov, ‘Heavenly Jerusalem: The Byzantine Approach’, *Jewish Art*, XXIII/XXIV (1997–1998), pp. 341–353.

⁶⁰ I. A. Sterlingova, ‘Jerusalimy kak liturgicheskie sosudy v drevnej Rusi’, in: *Ierusalim v russkoj...*, ills. 1–4; A. V. Ryndina, ‘Drevnerusskie palomicheskie relikvii. Obraz Nebesnogo Ierusalima v kamennyh ikonah XIII–XV vv.’, in: *Ierusalim v russkoj...*, passim, ills. 1, 2, 7, 10.

⁶¹ A. Lidov, ‘Heavenly Jerusalem: The Byzantine Approach...’, p. 345.

⁶² *Muz. 2752*, fol. 163 (Moskva, Gosud. Ist. Muz.) – M. V. Chepkina, *Bolgarskaia miniatura XIV veka. Issledovanie Psaltyri Tomicha*, Moskva 1963, pl. XIV.

⁶³ A. S. Labuda, ‘Architekturdarstellung und Bilderzählung in den Reliefs der Gnesener

In summary, the amalgamation of the motifs of *Sepulchrum Domini* and burial of saint could have been understood as a manifestation of the fulfillment of the leading requirement in the life of a saint, which was dedicated to following in the footsteps of Christ. The principle of *Imitatio Christi* would thus acquire a real dimension, since a saint would have been entombed like Christ in order to be reborn to a new life. Simultaneously, it could be shown that there is no room for chance in icon painting, and if the motifs appearing in the representations have lost their readable meaning, it is only because the visual tradition had in some way been disturbed or broken in human perception. But even a progressive transformation toward the grotesque or the fantastic is not tantamount to a complete obliteration of the initial characteristics.⁶⁴ Evidence of this is provided by examples of later Ukrainian icons with a considerably transformed but still recognizable iconography, such as a 17th-century icon of St. Nicholas from the locality of Czarna in the Nowy Sącz district (MNS) and another one from Kotań (Museum in Jasło). The motif of the rotunda is always present in the iconography of Jerusalem as one of the most recognizable elements, e.g. the icon of the Crucifixion from the locality Melnichne (LMUM). Naturally, the trend toward realism resulted in attempts at characterizing the architecture in more specific forms, thus introducing features betraying the current style of the epoch. An example of this is the icon of the Translation of the relics of St. Nicholas to Bari from the village of Dobra in 1682 (MHS 942).

Translated by Iwona Zych; revised by Nicholas Smith

Domtūr', in: *Iconographica. Mélanges offerts à Piotr Skubiszewski*, eds. G. Bianciotto, R. Favreau, Poitiers 1999, p. 149.

⁶⁴ See the Life of St. Nicholas, icon – R. Biskupski, *Ikony w zbiorach polskich*, Warszawa 1991, ill. 103.