The Iconography of the Temple in Northern Renaissance Art

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Biblical sources describe the Solomonic Temple (950 B.C.) as an oblong structure. The second Temple, constructed under Zerubabel (536 B.C.), although more modest, was based on the same essential pattern which became sacrosanct, as we can also learn from Ezekiel's vision of the Temple (Ezekiel, 40, 41). The Temple restored under Herod (ca. 20 BC), which was the most splendid of all, retained this sacred shape.¹

Although biblical and post-biblical sources concerning the Temple of Jerusalem were well known in Christianity throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the Temple of Jerusalem, as Krinsky points out, did not appear in its sacred oblong shape until the seventeenth century.²

From the very beginning, representations of the Temple in Christian art took on a symbolic shape. Northern Renaissance art features three different Temple types:

1. An oriental-type structure, usually based on a circular plan (occasionally polygonal), characterised by a cupola or bulbous domes, a double dome or a polygonal dome, sometimes with richly decorated columns, spiral or orientalised in style. (This circular, domed, construction may derive from the ciborium which designated the Temple (in 13th century western sources.)³

2. The Dome of the Rock outline, which may figure in documentary or semi-documentary descriptions, but also in symbolical contexts.

3. The Temple as a Gothic church.

Although the Temple of Jerusalem has been widely discussed by scholars,⁴ most of them seem to have been essentially concerned with its formal aspects and less with its symbolical meaning. Durrieu's essay (1924) is a pioneering work in this field. His approach is a descriptive one and he presents a kind of catalogue of Jean Fouquet's depictions of the Temple. Another aspect of his
study focuses on Flemish fifteenth century representations of the Temple, which are based on the Dome of the Rock pattern.

Krinsky’s article (1971) is an important review which surveys the Temple’s images and its transformations through the ages, from the early Middle Ages to the Renaissance in both Eastern and Western art. Although in some cases Krinsky alludes to the meaning of the Temple’s representations, his study is mostly devoted to its visual aspects.

Haussher (1968) focuses on the Solomonic Temple’s representations in some thirteenth century French Bibles Moralisées, in which the Byzantine ciborium is adopted for the Jewish Temple and contrasted with a Gothic construction which stands for the Church. Although Haussher contrasts the Templum Solomonis with the Ecclesia Christi, his study clings to the descriptive aspect and neglects the ideological background.

Walter Cahan’s study (1976) throws new light on the assimilation of the Solomonic Temple and the Church. He shows how sacred Solomonic elements, mainly the "Jachin" and "Boaz" columns, are incorporated into Romanesque Church architecture and merge the idea of the Temple with the Church; an idea to be developed later by Jean Fouquet.

Panofsky, in his study of iconographical issues in early Netherlandish painting suggests, albeit briefly, that the Temple of Jerusalem may symbolise Synagoga and / or Ecclesia, and also Synagoga as opposed to Ecclesia, depending on the architectonic type. It is this suggestion that provided the starting point for the following essay, in which the meanings of these different patterns will be examined. The preference for one of these forms or for the confrontation of the Temple as a Gothic church with the Temple as an Oriental-type structure, or as the Dome of the Rock, may be considered on a symbolic level. It will appear, I believe, that these different forms are analogous in meaning to the notion of the opposition between the Old Law and the New; i.e., Synagoga versus Ecclesia.

We find two principal attitudes towards the Temple in the theological sources. In some biblical commentaries, the Temple symbolises the Old Era, especially the ruined Temple which has been replaced by the Church - the New Temple. In a different approach, deriving especially from the Pauline literature and commentaries, Christ himself, as well as the Christian community of the faithful, is seen as the New or True Temple, which is interpreted as the Church (Ecclesia).

The idea of rebuilding the Church out of the ruined Temple is expressed in Jean Pucelle’s Calendar in the first volume of the Belleville Breviary (Paris, B.N. lat. 10483, vol. 1). In the bas-de-page of each of the Calendar folios, the
"concordance between the Old and the New Testament" is depicted, in the shape of a prophet handing a stone from the ruined Temple—Synagoga to an apostle. On the December page (fol 6v) the prophet Zecharia rips out a stone from the ruined Temple and hands it, wrapped in a piece of cloth like a sacred object, to Saint Matthew, to build the New Temple.8

The Church as heir to the Temple after the Destruction is an idea expressed by Saint Augustine. In the City of God Augustine says that the New Testament has rebuilt a House to God, more resplendent than the ancient Great Temple of King Solomon. This New House of God is made out of the finer and more precious material of the devout.9 Further on, Saint Augustine develops the concept of the Church as the New Temple or the Temple restored. When he interprets the prophecy of Aggenus (Aggenus 2, 10) he comes to the conclusion that: "since the restored Temple signifies the Church which Christ was to build, those words [of Aggenus: And I will give peace in that place] can mean only: "I will give peace in that place [the Church] which this place [the rebuilt Temple] forefigures."10

Bearing this in mind, let us look at a 15th century French illumination to the Cité de Dieu. In a manuscript from the Philip Hofer Collection (Cambridge, Mass. fol. 1v), an initial shows Saint Augustine holding the Two Cities. In his right hand is the Celestial City in the form of a fortified religious complex, while in his left he holds the earthly City of Jerusalem, as the ruined Temple.11 Another French manuscript of the City of God, (School of Tours, ca., Paris B.N. fr. 18, fol. 3v), again depicts the confrontation between the Temple as Synagoga and the Temple as the Church. The folio is divided into two parts; the lower shows the City of Sins (the Vices), while the upper is devoted to the Deity: the Trinity, the Enthroned Virgin and All the Saints. This group is flanked by two symbolical buildings. On the right is a Gothic church, facing a round, oriental-looking building on the left, topped with an "onion" dome - the Temple as Synagoga.

The Temple as a Gothic Church - Ecclesia as opposed to the Temple as an oriental-type structure
This antithetical meaning of the Temple is clearly expressed in Melchior Broederlam's shutters at the Dijon Museum (ca. 1400) in which the Temple symbolises both Church and Synagoga. In the Annunciation (fig. 1) the Temple of Jerusalem is a combination of two structures, distinctly different in architectural style. The Annunciate is seated in a transparent Gothic pavilion set against a massive domed oriental-looking structure. The Gothic loggia where the Annunciation is taking place is illuminated by a gold ground and filled

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with light, sharply contrasting with the overshadowed orientalizing structure.

Broederlam’s Virgin is depicted according to the Apocrypha weaving the new veil for the Temple, holding the true purple wool when the angel approaches. According to this source, she was sitting in a wing of the Temple at the moment of the Annunciation. The Annunciation is interpreted by Broederlam as the very beginning of the New Dispensation. He contrasts the New Light (lux nuova), with the darkness or blindness of Synagoga. This first moment of Redemption is illustrated by the clash between the two distinct architectural styles of the same construction - the Temple. Here, the Temple symbolises both the old and the new - it is Synagoga as well as Ecclesia.

This idea had already been expressed in a 13th century French Bible Moralisée (ca. 1250, London, British Library, Harley Ms. 1527, fol. 5v), in which the apocryphal text for the Annunciation is illustrated in the medallion to Luke 1:26-29. The Virgin is weaving the purple veil for the Holy of Holies. She is seated in a Gothic structure, while Joseph, who sometimes represents the Old Dispensation in 12th and 13th century art, is seen in a round structure surmounted by an octagonal dome; the Temple of Solomon as Synagoga is thus set against the New or the True Temple - Ecclesia.

Later, in 15th century northern art, this idea was expressed more explicitly by Conrad Witz, who placed the Annunciation in the central panel of a triptych, between the allegorical personifications of Ecclesia and Synagoga, on the respective wings.

The association between the personification of Synagoga and the Temple of Jerusalem, especially the ruined Temple, became significant particularly after Jerusalem was occupied by the Crusaders. It is not surprising therefore to find the personification of Synagoga depicted as losing her "crown", which takes the form of the templum Solominis, as in a Romanesque Crucifixion (12th century, the tympanum of the western facade of the church of St. Giles). Here Synagoga refers to the defeat of Judaism and the loss of the Temple in contrast to triumphant Ecclesia.

In some 13th century illuminated manuscripts, especially in commentaries to the Bible or Apocalypse, Synagoga is identified with the Temple of Jerusalem and opposed to Ecclesia enthroned in a Gothic church. In a 13th century Anglo-Norman Apocalypse the illuminator refers to this motif in the illustration of Conversion and Rejection, in the commentary to Rev. 5:1 (Gulbenkian Apocalypse, Lisbon, Museum Calouste Gulbenkian, Ms. L.A. 139, fol. 4). In this gloss, Berengaudus (12th century) refers to the Old and New Testaments in his interpretation of "inside" and "outside". Berengaudus' view is quite traditional, but the iconography of the illumination is unusual. The painter is
not content with the traditional contrast between the personifications of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, but depicts them as enclosed in a symbolical structure. A Gothic church is opposed to the Temple of Solomon - here a circular structure topped with a typical double dome.17

In a French 13th century *Bible Moralisée*, (Vienna, ONB cod. 2554, fol. 61), *Synagoga* is identified with the Temple in an interesting moralization. According to the commentary to Judges 11:1-2, Jephtah was expelled by the people because he was the son of a whore; he prefigures Christ who was chased out of the Temple by the *mauvez juis* (the bad Jews) who did not recognise him as God and were still attached to "their Synagogue". In the illustrated medallion beside the commentary, we see *Synagoga* enthroned in the Temple while Christ is driven out of it.

This antithesis between the Temple as *Synagoga* and the Temple as *Ecclesia*
or the beginning of the New Dispensation is echoed by Melchior Broederlam in the right wing of the Dijon altarpiece. In the Presentation in the Temple (fig. 1), as in the Annunciation, the Temple is a combination of two structures distinctly different in style. The Presentation occurs in an hexagonal Gothic construction, one of those baldaquins that were particularly favoured in Siennese Trecento painting. This beautiful invention is set against another edifice, a polyhedron building with a double dome, topped with a crescent - a clear symbol of heresy and idolatry.18

A similar idea is expressed by the Master of Rohan in his Presentation (Heures de Rohan Paris, B.N. lat. 9471, fol. 94v, ca. -1427). This particular composition is a "pseudo-triptych". In the centre is the Presentation, set in a church choir. The Child is placed on the altar of the Holy of Holies, while the Virgin kneels before him. Joseph and the saintly women are outside the Temple.19 On the "wings" one can recognise the Dome of the Rock-like shape which was to become the image-type for the Temple in 15th century northern painting. The "central panel" expresses the tenet of Pauline theology which interprets Christ as the Holy of Holies, the Temple itself.20 According to the Evangelists and their commentators, Christ embodies the Temple itself, while according to the Apostles and the Fathers of the Church, he symbolises the New Temple, the Church itself, which replaces the Destroyed Temple.22

In Robert Campin’s Betrothal of the Virgin (Madrid, Prado, ca. 1420; fig. 2), the idea of the New Temple in opposition to the Old is expressed by the juxtaposition of two different architectural styles in the same building - the Temple of Jerusalem where both the Miracle of the Rod and the Betrothal occur. While the Miracle of the Rod is set within a richly-decorated oriental-looking rotunda, the Betrothal of the Virgin takes place before a Gothic narthex of which no more than the doorway has been built. Since these two episodes are associated with the same place - the Temple of Jerusalem - we should consider the architectural differences between the two parts of the same building on a symbolical level, as in Broederlam. Panofsky points out that the contrast between the Old Dispensation and the New is expressed by the two sections of one and the same structure.24 The fact that the Gothic narthex is not finished symbolises the dawn of the New Era: the Betrothal is visually interpreted as the very beginning of the Redemption.25

The sculptural decorations and stained glass of the two structures illustrate an elaborate symbolic program,26 which appears to emphasise the opposition between the Jewish Temple as Synagoga and the New Temple as Ecclesia. The respective decoration of the rotunda and the narthex stresses the contrast between Synagoga and Ecclesia, following Saint Augustine’s distinction between
the pre-Christian and the New Christian eras.  

In the rotunda, the medallions of the stained glass windows illustrate the Fall of Man from the Creation of Eve to the Slaying of Abel. This plan demonstrates the state of sin and evil which characterises the Old Dispensation. The scenes on the capitals illustrate lesser known chapters from Genesis, as noted by Smith: the histories of Abraham and Lot (Gen. 13:7-11) and the Combat between the Four Kings and the Five Kings (Gen. 14) which also stress symbolically the opposition between Synagoga and Ecclesia.

The Fight between Lot’s servants and Abraham’s servants was interpreted in the commentary of a 13th century French Bible Moralisée as an analogy to the polemics between Jewish and Christian clerics, (Bible Moralisée, Oxford, Bodleian Ms. 270b, fol. 12v). Moreover, the Separation between Abraham and Lot and Lot’s Entry into Sodom symbolise the separation of the Jewish and the Christian communities. The illustrated medallions to the commentary in this Bible
Moralisée show **Ecclesia** blessed by God in contrast to **Synagoga**, accompanied by a Jew, being expelled from the House of God.

The Fight between the Kings was interpreted as the combat between the Vices and the Virtues (*ibid.* fol. 13). In the medallions this commentary is visualised as a combat between believers and unbelievers; as a conflict between **Ecclesia** and the Christian community and **Synagoga** and the Jews. The Triumph of Abraham over the Kings is compared to the triumph of **Ecclesia**, while the defeated Kings are compared to the defeated **Synagoga** and the Jews expelled from the Temple.30

While the rotunda decoration symbolises the state of sin of Judaism and the defeat of **Synagoga**, the sculptural program of the Gothic portal stresses, in contrast, the motif of triumphant **Ecclesia**. The iconographical program of the doorway opens with Samson Rending the Lion, symbolising Christ triumphing over the Devil and the Jews.31 The second tier illustrates episodes from King David's youth: Samuel anointing David, David overcoming Goliath and the Triumph of David. As Smith32 has remarked, Samuel's preference for David over his brothers was compared with the Lord's choice of Christ among the Jews. The other two episodes are traditionally related to Christ's triumph over vice and the Devil.

The sculptures of the third tier are related to a tragic moment in King David's life: Absalom caught in the Tree and the Death of Absalom. Although the Death of Absalom generally prefigures the Death of Christ, an interpretation adopted by Smith,33 this episode could also symbolise the defeat of the Jews. In some 13th and 14th century *Bibles Moralisées*, Absalom caught in the Tree was compared to the Jews trapped in the "wood of this world" by their errors and greed;34 Absalom pierced by Joab's three lances was compared with sinners transfixed by Pride, Greed and Lasciviousness, the Devil's lances. The Death of Absalom was compared to Judas' death and the defeat of the Jews.35 The illustrated medallions to the Death of Absalom sometimes show Jews being punished by hanging from trees, like Absalom and Judas.36 David's mourning for his son Absalom was compared to God weeping for his bad sons - the Jews who are condemned to Hell.37

The iconographical plan which emphasises the choice of Christ (David) by God, the Betrayal of the Jews (Absalom) and their punishment, reaches a climax with the sculptures of the last tier, which are devoted to Solomon: The Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon and the Temple of Solomon which now takes the shape of a Gothic structure. The Queen of Sheba is regarded by Smith as a prefiguration of **Ecclesia**.38 However, the Visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon may also be referred to the Heavenly Temple since in some
15th century versions of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* this episode is interpreted as a prefiguration of the Kingdom of Heaven.39

Solomon's Construction of the Temple was interpreted as Christ's triumphal establishment of the Church, as we can learn from some of the commentaries cited in *Bibles Moralisées*. In the famous example from the National Library of Vienna (Vienna, O.N.B. cod. 2554, fol 50v), we see Solomon praying to God in front of the Temple (here the Temple is depicted in the form of the traditional *ciborium*, topped with a golden dome). On the commentary medallion below, Christ praying to God is depicted in front of a Gothic structure: the Temple as the Church. The commentary says: "Solomon thanked God when he had completed the construction of the Temple. This signifies Christ thanking God, Father of Heaven, for helping him to complete the Holy Church."40 In a fourteenth century *Bible Moralisée*, Solomon's wisdom symbolises *Ecclesia*, while he himself prefigures Christ; Solomon as the builder of the Temple stands for Christ as founder of the New Dispensation, the establisher of the Church (Paris, B.N. fr. 167, fol. 81v).

Robert Campin's depiction of the Temple in the form of a Gothic structure on the portal decoration of a church, is not coincidental. In this particular context it clearly expresses the Triumph of the True and New Temple - the Church - over the Old Temple. This very moment symbolises the beginning of the New Era, or in other words, the beginning of the Redemption.

Jean Fouquet has a different approach to the problem. In the Betrothal of the Virgin (*Heures d’Etienne Chevalier*, Chantilly, Musée Condé, ca. 1453-1460),41 the scene takes place before the Temple portal. The construction is clearly identified by an inscription as the *Templum Solomonis*, as well as by the figure of Moses holding the Tablets of the Law. The building, however, does not take on the traditional oriental-looking form or that of the Dome of the Rock, but was modeled on the original Basilica of St. Peter in Rome. Two monumental spiraling columns flank the portal, clearly associated with the pillars placed by Solomon in front of his Temple, the famous "Jachin" and "Boaz".42 In Romanesque architecture knotted or twisted columns in front of a church doorway referred to the Temple, as W. Cahan has shown.43 In using them, Fouquet effectively expresses a concept very different from that found in Melchior Broederlam and Robert Campin.

There is no contradiction here between the Temple as *Synagoga* and the Temple as *Ecclesia*. Fouquet gives visual form to the Pauline interpretation of the Temple as the Church,44 which makes the latter the only legitimate heir of the former. The Church is thus embodied in the New Temple. The symbolical forms of the original Temple of Jerusalem are incorporated into the Basilica of
the Vatican, which for the Catholic world symbolises the Holy Church. In the Betrothal, as well as in other works by Fouquet, the traditional antithesis between the Temple as Synagoga and the Temple as Church is replaced by an assimilation of Temple and Church.\textsuperscript{45}

In Fouquet’s Antiquités Judaïques, the Construction of the Temple (Paris, B.N. lat. 247, fol 163\textsuperscript{r}) is depicted as if it were the building of a cathedral, and is interpreted in some biblical commentaries as the Establishment of the Church.\textsuperscript{46} In Pauline theology the Construction of the Temple is considered as a metaphor for the Construction of the Ideal Temple,\textsuperscript{47} or the Spiritual Temple (the Church, or the Heavenly Temple), of which Christ’s Body is the cornerstone.\textsuperscript{48}

The Destruction of the Temple was generally interpreted as the chastisement of the Jewish people who had refused to recognise Christ. The Church was destined, therefore, to supplant the ruined Temple.\textsuperscript{49} Fouquet’s illustration of this subject does not adhere to the traditional motif. The Destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar in the Antiquités Judaïques (\textit{ibid.} fol. 213\textsuperscript{v}), does not show the Temple as the traditional ruined Synagogue but as a Gothic cathedral. According to Deutsch,\textsuperscript{50} in giving the ruined Temple this form, Fouquet is referring to the metaphor of the Eternal Temple, the Celestial Temple. In the background of this illustration the prophet Jeremiah laments the Destruction. The Destruction of the Temple may also prefigure the Crucifixion. In a 13th century Bible Moralisée (Paris, B.N. lat. 1156, fol. 156\textsuperscript{v}), in the illustration to Lamentations 1:1-4, the ruined Temple is depicted as a Gothic church, while the Crucifixion is represented in the commentary medallion.

In another episode from Josephus Flavius, Herod’s Triumphal Entry into the Temple (\textit{Guerres des Juifs}, Paris, B.N. n.a. fr. 21013 fol. 1\textsuperscript{v}), Fouquet again transforms the Temple into a Gothic cathedral. The Holy of Holies is depicted as a high altar and the High Priest as a bishop. Herod himself is seen outside the Temple Enclosure, in front of the Pool of Purification which, as a sinner and a criminal, he cannot cross.\textsuperscript{51} The way to the Temple - the True Faith - is blocked, therefore, by the cruel and lawless king, who sullies the Pool of Purification. Deutsch remarks that the King and the Priest are deliberately represented as turning their backs to one another, to indicate their antagonism.\textsuperscript{52} In the Temple we again find the typical torsed columns for the Holy of Holies, but the Menorah, the Ark and the Cherubim which can be seen in the Entry of Pompey into the Temple (Paris, B.N. fr., 247, fol. 293\textsuperscript{v}) have been replaced by a triple Gothic niche which transforms the Temple into a Church.

In representing Herod outside the Temple Enclosure, Fouquet is referring to a traditional motif, formulated mainly in the commentary illustrations of French \textit{Bibles Moralisées}, from the 13th century onwards. In a moralization to
Genesis 4:3-5, in the *Heures de Rohan* (Paris, B.N. lat. 9471, fol. 15v), the text refers to Adam's preference for Abel over Cain, which signifies Christ who keeps the Christians with him while driving the Jews out of the "Holy Church". The Master of Rohan bestows a very original form on the "Holy Church". He materialises the metaphor of the Temple as Bethel - "the House of God". The Holy Church - "House of God" - is depicted as a structure that is at the same time a Gothic chapel and a "house".

The distinction between the faithful Christians "inside" God's house, and the Jews as unbelievers "outside" the Temple also figures in moralizations for Zechariah in the Temple (Luke 1:21-22).53 In the commentary medallion, the Temple is metaphorically depicted as a Gothic church, in which a Baptism is taking place. The new believers are clearly contrasted with the unbelievers, Jews (Pharisees) offering a sacrifice outside the Temple. The lack of faith of those *maistres de l'ancienne loy* is symbolised by their forbidden offering.

In the *Apocalypse du Duc de Savoie* (15th century, Escorial, E. Vitr. D. fol. 15v), in a commentary to Revelations 11:1-2, the Jews are seen outside the Temple.
According to the moralization they were to remain outside the Temple because they were ignorant of the True Faith.

The Temple in the form of the Dome of the Rock
Although the two edifices on Mount Moriah were known to the West before the Crusades, they are mentioned in pilgrims' writings only after the Crusader Conquest of Jerusalem (1091). At that time the Dome of the Rock was identified as Templum Domini, while the El Aqsa Mosque was called either Templum Solomonis, or Solomon's Palace.

With the conquest of Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock was identified as the 'House of God' (Bethel). It was converted into a church and became the symbol for the Holy Church.

On 12th century pilgrims' maps Templum Domini (The Dome of the Rock) is shown as a circular structure while Templum Solomonis figures as a basilica. Sometimes both monuments appear in basilica shape, always topped with a cross.

The conceptual representation of the Temple that characterises 12th century cartography was later replaced by a more documentary approach. On 15th and 16th century maps the Dome of the Rock no longer figures as Templum Domini. It is called Templum Solomonis and is adorned with a crescent topping a dome or incorporated in the dome itself as a sign of heresy.

Toward the middle of the 15th century, we find "realistic" or 'documentary' depictions of Jerusalem, mainly in two centres: (1) the Burgundian court, where the "realistic" attitude is related to the dream of a New Crusade cherished by Duke Philippe le Bon, who wished to purify the Holy City of heretics; and (2) the Court of King René le Bon, Duke of Anjou, King of Sicily, who was also titled “King of Jerusalem”.

In the Three Maries at the Tomb by Van Eyck (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans Van Beuningen, before 1426; fig. 3), a recognizable Dome of the Rock dominates the view of Jerusalem, which some scholars have considered to be based on direct experience. Although the outline of the shrine is identifiable, the city view itself is a miscellany of Lombard, Gothic and oriental elements.

The so-called "realistic" views of Jerusalem in the background of scenes related to Christ's Passion or Death are, of course, not intended to serve as authentic portraits of the Holy City. Rather, these views, especially when they are dominated by the Temple, have a symbolical meaning. In this particular context, the Dome of the Rock outline for the Temple would represent Synagoga, as related to the Jews' betrayal of God.

The Temple in the background of Christ's Passion sometimes confers another
Fig. 4: Hans Holbein, (a) *View of Nineveh*; (b) *Ezeleil’s Vision*; (c) *Isaiah’s Vision*, Historiarum Veteris Testamenti, Icones, Lyon, 1543.
meaning on the scene. At the very moment of Christ’s Death the curtain of the Ark of the Law was rent asunder and the world was darkened (Matthew 27:45-51; Luke 22:45 and Mark 15:38). This precise moment was interpreted as the end of the old Era, and as the Destruction of the Temple.

The Dome of the Rock image for the Temple, therefore, does not really differ in meaning from the oriental-type structure. When this image is placed in a religious context, it represents the negative aspects of the Temple as a symbol for the Old Law. This pejorative meaning is sometimes transposed to another city of evil. In a woodcut in Holbein’s illustrations to the Old Testament, Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones, Lyon, 1543, the Dome of the Rock dominates the View of Nineveh (fig. 4a). In the 11th century Roda Bible (Paris, B.N. lat., fol. 83v), the City of Jerusalem as a symbol of evil and sin was already being used for Nineveh.

Holbein does not use the Dome of the Rock image only to express negative meaning. It also dominates the View of Jerusalem in Ezekiel’s Vision (Icones, Ezech. 47; fig. 4b). As in the Van Eyck, this is a ‘pseudo-realistic’ view: a combination of local urban German and oriental elements. In the illustration for Isaiah’s Vision (Icones, fol. LV; Isaiah 6; fig. 4c), the Dome of the Rock-type
structure has what could be described as a "positive" meaning or "realistic" function. Holbein's interpretation of Isaiah's vision is original. He does not literally depict the Lord Enthroned, filling the Temple with his train. The images are separated. The Lord is Enthroned, surrounded by Cherubim and Seraphim, while the Temple interior, the Holy of Holies, is replaced by an exterior view in the form of the Dome of the Rock, which, as we have seen, is generally associated with a negative meaning.

The Temple depicted as the Dome of the Rock in Northern Renaissance art thus figures in two different contexts: (a) views of Jerusalem in "realistic" or "documentary" depictions, as we have seen in Provencal or Burgundian manuscripts; and (b) in a religious context, generally representing the ruined or the Old Temple. Like Synagoga, the Temple symbolises heresy, idolatry, sin and evil. It is so associated with negative meanings it is itself sometimes transferred to another image of evil. Rarely does it appear in a positive religious context, as in Holbein.

In Enguerard Quarton's Coronation of the Virgin, Villeneuve-les-Avignon, Musée de l'Hospice, 1453-1454 (fig. 5), the moral antithesis between the "Temple-Synagoga" and the Church is clearly stressed. The crucifix in the lower part of the picture is flanked by views of the two Holy Cities, Rome on the right and Jerusalem on the left. The cities are dominated by two emblematic structures: the Basilica of St. Peter symbolises Rome while the Dome of the Rock identifies Jerusalem.

The donor, Jean de Montagnac, an important figure in the local ecclesiastical establishment, had made a pilgrimage to Rome and to the Holy Land some years before commissioning this work (ca. 1450). According to the prix-fait signed between the donor and the painter (24 April, 1453), the "world" was to be depicted below the "heaven". The world here is represented by the two cities of Rome and Jerusalem. The text of the contract gives a very detailed description of Rome, to be placed on the west and dominated by the Basilica of Saint-Peter and other churches, but it refers only very briefly to Jerusalem, and this leaves ample room for the painter's own invention. In this particular view of Jerusalem Quarton did not intend merely to commemorate the donor's visit to the Holy City. The depiction has a deeper meaning in the painter's iconographical plan, symbolizing the Old Dispensation as opposed to the New.

It is no mere coincidence that the two cities Rome and Jerusalem assume the traditional places of Ecclesia and Synagoga on either side of the Crucifix. This symmetrical moral opposition is paralleled and echoed by Paradise and Hell, in the lower part of the painting. The association between Jerusalem or
Judaea and Synagoga and Damnation had long been an iconographical tradition. Synagoga and the Jews are damned for their unbelief or their betrayal of God. One of the earliest sources for this motif is a Crucifixion in the famous 12th century manuscript, the Liber Floridus by Lambert of St.-Omer (London, B.L. Add. Ms. 50003, fol. 34r). On Christ’s left is Synagoga; her crown is fallen and Christ is pushing her into Hell’s mouth (Leviathan) while bestowing blessings on Ecclesia. In 13th and 14th century Bibles Moralisées Jews frequently figure as damned and pushed into the mouth of Hell; very often, they are symbolically associated with Synagoga. In a 13th century Bible Moralisée (Oxford, Bodleian 207b, fol. 119v), the moralisation medallion for Samson’s Death, on the left side of the cross, shows a group of Jews fallen into Leviathan’s mouth. This group is contrasted with a group of clerics. The moralization text states that like the dying Samson who had condemned the Philistines together with himself, so Christ, when he died on the Cross, had condemned the Jews to destruction. In another contemporary French Bible Moralisée (Vienna, O.N.B. cod. 1179, fol. 132r), a group of Jews is led by a devil to hell below the Cross. A woman behind them is identified as Sinagoga Musi (Synagogue of Moses).

In 15th century sources, mainly in Living Cross images, Synagoga is associated with the Fall of Man (Eve) and damnation. She rides an ass, holding a goat (sometimes black). Below her we see the Bad Tree (Arbor Mala), symbolically associated with her. Eve, holding a skull, stands beside the Bad Tree. Beneath Synagoga and Eve, Hell gapes. Synagoga in the Living Cross is opposed in moral symmetry to Ecclesia riding the Evangelic Beast. Below her we see the Good Tree and the door of Paradise opening to the Just.

The red colour of the Temple in Quarton’s Coronation of the Virgin should also be considered on a symbolic level. Red, like yellow, was associated with evil and Satan, and demonstrates the association between the red Temple and the personification of Synagoga.

Synagoga sometimes wears a yellow dress in some medieval and late medieval dramas, as well as visual sources. Occasionally the yellow robe is replaced by a black one which symbolises Synagoga turning away from God and tempted by Satan. In a Passion played in Avignon in December 1385, Synagoga wore a black dress and held a red banner.

In a late 14th century manuscript, the famous Bible Moralisée from Philippe le Hardi’s Library (Paris, B.N. fr. 166), Synagoga is several times depicted in a brown robe, and her hair is reddish. This red hair is not accidental. It would have the same symbolical meaning as that associated with the dress or banner, which link Synagoga to the forces of evil, similar to Cain’s or Judas’ hair or that of the executioners and betrayers of Christ.
The red of the Temple may therefore be considered as another symbol of Synagoga. Moreover, on one of the bulb-shaped towers of the orientalised city walls, there is a little black devil, symbolizing the powers of evil around the city of Jerusalem - a city of evil.78

The Apocalyptic Visions of the Temple
The attitude toward the Temple of Jerusalem expressed in the Apocalypse of St. John, and especially in the commentaries, is ambivalent. On the one hand,
the Temple represents the Church - the Temple of the Celestial City - but on the other, the image of Solomon’s Temple is associated with Antichrist.

This duality is clearly expressed in a 15th century Netherlandish illuminated Apocalypse (Paris, B.N. néerl. 3, fol. 12r; fig. 6). The miniature illustrates two different episodes. The right upper corner refers to the moment when St. John was ordered to measure the Temple (Rev. 11:1-2). More space is devoted to the illustration of the commentary, which interprets the Beast as Antichrist.

In Rev. 11:1-2, we read that St. John was given the rod to measure the Temple itself and the High Altar; but he was not meant to measure the Enclosure. According to Berengaudus the Temple symbolises the Church, while the Enclosure, exterior to the Temple, symbolises the Jews who remain outside the Temple - as the Church - because of their want of belief. The illuminator of the Apocalypse du Duc de Savoie (Escurial Ms. E. Vitr. D. fol. 16v) depicts the Apocalyptic Temple as a Gothic church, while the Jews are outside, in the Enclosure. Following Berengaudus, they must remain outside the Temple because they are ignorant of the True Faith.79

The illuminator of the Paris Netherlandish Apocalypse gives another interpretation of the same verses. Here St. John is on the left receiving from the Lord the rod to measure the Temple.80 On the right, St. John is purifying the Temple by throwing out an impure Jew.81 In the lower part of the miniature, on the right, Antichrist sits enthroned in Solomon's Temple, giving money to those who believe in him. According to Adso,82 Antichrist will rebuild the ruined Solomonic Temple. Berengaudus says in his commentary that Antichrist will build the antetemplum to replace the Temple destroyed by the Romans.83 The "Anti-Temple" takes the form of a church; Antichrist pretends to be God’s Messiah; and his Temple is disguised as Bethel - the House of God. The Fall of Antichrist is followed by the Destruction of the Anti-Temple.

In some 14th century Anglo-Norman Apocalypses the illuminators manifest a different conception. There is an effort to give an oriental look to the Anti-Temple, in order to distinguish clearly between the Anti-Temple and the Celestial Temple.84

In illuminated Apocalypses the purified Celestial Temple thus becomes an allegorical image for the Church - the New and purified Temple. On the other hand, the unregenerate Temple is associated with Antichrist, the false Temple and evil.

Sometimes the purified Apocalyptic Temple may also take the form of the Dome of the Rock. In the background of the central panel of the Mystic Lamb of the Ghent Altarpiece by Hubert and Jan Van Eyck (ca. 1426-1432), is a view of the Celestial City. This view combines paradisiacal with Ecclesiastical
architectonic elements (with a few urban motifs added). It is dominated by a pseudo-Dome of the Rock (on the left), symbolizing the Celestial Temple.

In 1476, Nicolas Froment, an artist of Northern formation,85 painted the Burning Bush altarpiece (Aix-en-Provence, Cathedrale Saint-Sauveur) for King René le Bon (Duke of Anjou, King of Sicily and Jerusalem). The walled city of Jerusalem can be seen in the background of the central panel, on the right.86 This city view, as in Enguenard Quarton’s Coronation, is a combination of local urban elements and imaginary ones. It is dominated by the Temple - a domed polygonal structure, surrounded by walls; the enclosure is clearly visible in front.87

This view of Jerusalem would appear to have a deeper significance than simple flattery of the donor (a King of Jerusalem). Another interpretation appears more plausible. The Burning Bush is a prefiguration of the Immaculate Conception. As Mother of God, the Virgin was compared to the Temple - as Bethel - the House which encloses the Shekinah (Divine Presence). She is the Church herself, the Temple - Queen and Mother.88

The Celestial City and the Celestial Temple were interpreted as the Church itself - the New Spiritual Temple.89 The Celestial City was also associated with the Immaculate Conception, an association clearly expressed by Saint Bernard of Clairvaux90 in his 79th Sermon: the Spouse, Mother of the Lord - she herself is the Celestial City, Queen of Heaven and the Church of the Elected.

One of the most interesting views of Jerusalem is that painted by Jan van Scoreel two years after his return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem (central panel of the Lochorst altarpiece, Utrecht, Centraal Museum, ca. 1525-27). This view is considered to be one of the rare authentic views of the Holy City, based on studies in situ. Although the Entry to Jerusalem is generally considered as the beginning of Christ’s Passion, it seems that Jan van Scoreel did not intend to give a pejorative meaning for the City of Jerusalem and for the Temple. On the contrary, this enchanting view of the Holy City, magically illuminated, transforms the realistic view into an image of the Desired Heavenly Jerusalem.

Appendix: The Temple of Jerusalem - a prefiguration of the Blessed Virgin
The "Closed Gate" which figures in Ezekiel’s Vision of the Temple (Ezekiel, 44, 2) is interpreted according to the Speculum Humanae Salvationis (J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, Speculum humane Salvationis, text critiqué. Traduction inédite de Jean Miélot (1448). Les sources et l’influence iconographique principalement sur l’art alsacien de xve siècle, Leipzig, 1907, 2 vols; A. and J.L. Wilson, A Medieval Mirror, Speculum humanae salvationis, 1324-1450, New York, 1984) as a prefiguration of the
Immaculate Virgin. Her image is paralleled with the Temple of Solomon itself, which symbolises the Blessed Virgin (Tempelum Solomonis significan beatem mariam: "The Temple of Solomon signifies the Blessed Mary").

The Speculum’s anonymous author draws an imaginary Temple which fits into his metaphorical image of the Virgin. He insists on the three pinnacles which compose the Temple’s facade decoration. These pinnacles symbolise the Triple Crown of the Virgin: Crown of Virginity, Crown of Martyrs and Crown of the preachers, the saints and the church’s doctors; for she was also a preacher, an evangelist and an apostle according to the Speculum’s commentary (Munich, CLM, Ms., fol. 7).

In some other fifteenth century Speculum versions, this bizarre image is replaced by a more coherent one. In some French versions, the three pinnacles are transformed into "iii boys" (three columns) which may echo the traditional two sacred columns: "Jachin" and "Boaz", that flanked the Temple’s doorway, but still retain the metaphorical sense of the Virgin’s Triple Crown (Paris, B.N. Ms. Fr. 6275, fol. 6r, 1449; Paris, B.N., Rés. 1247, fol. VIII, 1449).

Moreover, the Temple, built with white marble and adorned with gold, also typifies the Virgin’s distinguished characteristics: her Chastity and her Charity, while the spiral staircase signifies, according to the Speculum’s commentary, the Virgin’s Divinity, through which the believer will be elevated to Heaven.

According to this text, not only the Temple itself typifies the Blessed Virgin and her Immaculate Conception. The sacred vessels inside it, the Ark of the Covenant, the Candelabrum (the Menorah) are also related to her metaphorical image. The Ark of the Covenant, which contains both the Ten Commandments and Aaron’s rod, elsewhere symbolises the Immaculate Conception, referring to the Virgin’s Womb filled by the Divinity, while the Candelabrum, resplendent with light, prefigures the Virgin’s Chastity (Saint-Omer, BM, Ms. 184, fol 9v; Paris, BN fr. 6275, fol. 12v). Sometimes the seven branches of the candelabrum are compared to the Seven Works of Misericorde which are also related to the Virgin (Lutz and Perdrizet, II, 130).

Jan Van Eyck’s Ypres Altarpiece (Warwick Castle, ca. 1441, finished after the artist’s death) shows some affinities with the Speculum tradition. The inner section of the wings contains some mariological metaphors related to the Immaculate Conception: the Burning Bush and the Golden Fleece on the left wing and the Closed Gate and Aaron’s Rod, on the right. This image is completed with an inscription that relates the Temple’s symbolic meaning to the Virgin’s Immaculate Conception: Conditoris tempelum sancti spiritus sacrium ("She is the Temple of the builder, the Sanctuary of the Holy Spirit" as Cited in Meiss, ‘Light as Form and Symbol in some fifteenth century paintings’, Art
The Virgin as the Temple or the Virgin in the Temple is also related to *Ecclesia*. In Herrard of Landsberg’s *Hortus Deliciarum* (1181), we read the following: 'The woman seated within the sacred edifice (the Temple) signifies the Church that is called the Virgin Mother' (Panofsky, p. 145). The Virgin Mary who sits inside the Temple assimilates the idea of the Virgin prefigured by the Temple and typifying the Church (cf. *Bible Moralisée*, ca. 1250, London, BL Harley Ms. 1527, fol. 5v and also Broederlam's *Annunciation*).

### NOTES

2. Only in the late 16th century does an archaeological approach emerge in the study and description of the Temple of Jerusalem, Krinsky, 1970, 2 and 19. However, the oblong pattern appears in graphic art only in the 17th century.
3. On the *ciborium* type for the Temple in Byzantine art cf. Krinsky, 1970, 9-10. This Eastern pattern was later adopted in some Italian Trecento representations of the Temple. In some thirteenth century French illuminated manuscripts, the *ciborium* is adopted as a symbolic representation for the Temple, cf. Hausscher, 1968.
5. Rosenau, 1979, ch. III: "Aspects of Realism", in a way follows Krinsky's method in pointing out the realistic aspects of depictions of the Temple in Renaissance art which are based on the Dome of the Rock pattern.
11. Panofsky, 1971, 1, 47, n. 4, 135, and text ill. 55. Panofsky suggests that this manuscript might have been made for the Duke Jean de Berry.
15. Blumenkranz, 1966, 66. *The Entry into Jerusalem* is represented on the lintel of the northern doorway of the same facade of Saint-Gilles Church, the view of Jerusalem
being dominated by the Temple which has exactly the same form as in Synagoga's crown (see idem, pls. 71-72).

16. In a 12th century ivory, the so-called Ivory of Bamberg, Synagoga is represented as an enthroned Queen, wearing a crown composed of towers (Jerusalem). She is seated before the Temple. (Ch. Cahier and A. Martin, "Cinq ivoires sculptés", Mélanges d’Archeologie et de Litterature, Paris, 1851, 2, 56.

17. Lewis, 1986, 546-548, pl. 3.

18. The Templum Solomonis is quite often associated in fifteenth century imagery with the Saracen crescent. This association seems to figure for the first time in the 9th century Journey Book of Bernard de Wise, a French monk who describes the temple as an Islamic mosque ('templum Salomonis, sinagogum sarracenorum'; cf. Krinsky, 1970, 4 and n. 15).

19. Joseph is identified with the Temple of Jerusalem as Synagoga in a 13th century French Bible Moralisée, London, B.L. Harley Ms. 1527, fol. 5v.

20. In the Testimonia of Saint Cyprian (ca. 210-258), Christ is compared to the New Temple. Pauline theology makes an analogy between the Temple and Christ's Body (Eph. IV:12, 16; Col. II:19). Cerfau 1948, 3 and 260-261 emphasises the idea that the Church itself is Christ's Body, which replaces the Old Temple. The Church is the New and Spiritual Temple.

21. Congar, 1958, 182-183, 311, 334; Christ purified the Temple three times, in his Presentation, in his Passion and Death, and by his Resurrection, when the destroyed Temple was rebuilt ibid, 169-70, 172.

22. In Roger Van der Weyden's Presentation (Columba Altarpiece, Munich, Alte Pinakothek) a different attitude is manifested. Here the Presentation takes place in a semi-central Romanesque construction. According to Panofsky 1970, 1, 135, this signifies a "Jewish ritual performed in the Jewish Temple".


24. ibid., 136.

25. C. Harbison "Realism and Symbol in Early Flemish Painting", Art Bulletin, 66, 1984, 594-95, believes that the new Gothic cathedral which is about to be built will replace the old construction. He mentions the contemporary custom of destroying older structures in order to make room for new ones.


27. Panofsky, 1970, 1, 136, n. 4; Although G. Smith 1972, 116, agrees with Panofsky that the distinction between the structures expresses the opposition between Christianity and Judaism, he believes that the Master of Flemalle had another metaphor in mind in joining the two buildings. Smith considers that the image expresses the idea of Christianity growing out of the Old Law without destroying it, and attempts to establish this view by showing how the decoration of the stained glass windows and capitals in the rotunda fits into this iconographical program. However, it seems that Smith was constrained by his theory that the scenes of the rotunda decoration are related to the Bible Moralisée.

28. The punishment of Cain was compared to the punishment of the Jews, expelled and cursed by God. In the 15th century Bible Moralisée in the Heures de Rohan (Paris,
B.N. lat. 9471, fol. 18), the moralisation says: "Ce que Dieu maudit Cayn senefie Jehsu Christ qui maudit les Juix et il vont a perdicion et les amennent les deables."


30. The omission of the Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek from this cycle is not surprising. This episode, which prefigures the Eucharist, does not fit into an iconographical program which points out the sinful character and the defeat of Synagoga.

31. Smith, 1972, 123. The Betrayal of Delilah was compared to the Betrayal of Judas; Samson's victory over his enemies was compared to Christ's triumph over the Jews.

32. idem, 123. and n. 49.
33. idem, 126-27.

34. *Bible Moralisée*, 13th century, Oxford, Bodleian Ms. 270b, fol. 158v.

38. Smith, 1972, 127. Smith does not give any references to this image.
39. In a French version of the *Speculum: Mirroir du Salut Humain* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. 403, Ch. XLIII, ca. 1465, cf. A. Wilson and J.L. Wilson, *A Mediaeval Mirror, Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 1324-1500, Berkely, 1984, 86, 3-29), the Kingdom of Heaven is depicted next to its prefiguration: Queen Sheba's visit to King Solomon. On a late 15th century Netherlandish blockbook version of the *Speculum*, the verse of the caption beneath the illustration to Ch. XLII refers to "Regum celorum erit retribucio beatorum" (The Kingdom of Heaven shall be reward of the blessed), which is prefigured by "Regina Saba rex Solomon" (idem, 204).

40. "Ce que Salomon rendu grace au dieu quand il perfit le temple segnefie Jhuscrist qui rendit grace a Pere de ciel de ce qu il ai perfeit Sainte eglise."
42. W. Cahan, 1974, 15; the famous twelve spiral columns of St. Peter at Rome were believed to be the columns of the original Temple brought to Rome from Jerusalem after the destruction of the Temple.
45. Fouquet approaches Jan van Eyck who replaced the traditional antithesis between Synagoga and Ecclesia by an assimilation of Synagoga and Ecclesia into one substance, expressing the idea of the Church growing out of the Synagogue (see Panofsky's discussion of the problem of the juxtaposition of Romanesque and Gothic in Jan van Eyck's works, Panofsky, 1970, 1, 134-40, 215 ff.).
46. E.g. a 13th century *Bible Moralisée*, Vienna, O.N.B. cod. 2554, fol. 50v, and a 14th century *Bible Moralisée*, Paris, B.N. fr. 167, fol. 81v, discussed on p. 6-7.
47. C. Schaefer, *Recherches sur l'iconologie et la stylistique de l'art de Jean Fouquet*, Lille, Service de Reproduction des Thèses, 1972, 1, 3, 284-88, remarks that in the French adaptation of Flavius the Temple of Jerusalem is called "l'eglise", (the Church). This transformation of the text reflects, Schaefer believes, certain political attitudes current in the French Court. It is thus not surprising that Fouquet depicts the Temple as an idealised Cathedral.


49. In 13th century theological sources and commentaries on the Bible and the Apocalypse, we find an intense interest in the linked themes of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jews' rejection of Christ. The destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple was considered as a punishment for the rejection of Christ and for his death. This issue is a part of a study carried out by the author on the theme of 'Vengeance' in some 13th-15th century Bible Moralisée.


51. Aristobolus was drowned in a pool near Jericho on Herod’s order. This version is mentioned by Josephus Flavius in the *Jewish Wars, Book 1, ch. 22*, as well as in the *Antiquities of the Jews, Book 15, Ch.3*. Later, as is shown in the different illustrations to Josephus, another version was established: the drowning of Aristobolus the High Priest in the Pool of Purification before the Temple, which appears in the foreground of Fouquet’s illumination.

52. Deutsch, 332-33.


54. According to legend the remains of the Temple were hidden under the Rock.

55. In the famous French maps of the Cambrai manuscript (Cambrai, B.M. Ms. 437, fol. 1, ca. 1150), the Dome of the Rock is identified as *Templum Domini*. In a contemporary Flemish map of Jerusalem (London, B.L. Ms. Add. 32343, fol. 15r, ca. 1150), the *Templum Dei* (the Dome of the Rock), figures as a round structure, while the *Templum Solomonis* (El Aqsa), takes the form of a basilica. (This round structure became a convention for the *Templum Domini*; it is repeated on other contemporary maps, in the version of Stuttgart, ca. 1150, or that of Brussels - ca. 1180.) The Dome of the Rock, topped with a cross, figures as *De Templum Christi* on a contemporary Templar seal. Sometimes both structures, *Templum Dei* and *Templum Solomonis* (or Solomon's palace) take the form of a basilica topped with a cross, as for instance in the "Icelandic Map of Jerusalem" (Copenhagen, Arnamagnacanske Institut, Ms. 736).


56. The Dome of the Rock outline appears here for the first time in the history of panel painting.

that this painting was executed after Jan van Eyck’s return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; Rosenau, 1979, 65, also believes this view to be a realistic one. Krinsky, 1970, 15, thinks that this panel is a post-Eyckian work (ca. 1455-1460 or even later), perhaps based on Burgundian manuscripts. This hypothesis, however, does not seem plausible. J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer and J. Giltaij, after careful laboratory research, have confirmed the attribution of this work to Hubert or Hubert and Jan van Eyck before 1426 ("Een nader onderzoek van 'De drie Maria's aan het H. Graf' - een schilderij uit de 'Groep Van Eyck' in Rotterdam", Oud Holland, 101, 1987, 254-76.

58. In fact, the view of Jerusalem painted by Van Eyck is not very different from that made by Jacquemart de Hesdin about forty years earlier for his Three Marys at the Tomb in the Très Belles Heures de Jean de Berry, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. 11060-11061, fol. 186v.


60. In the Limbourg Crucifixion, in Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, (Chantilly, Musée Condé, fol. 153’), the scene is a nocturne, illustrating the moment when the world was plunged into darkness. In the second medallion, on the right, the riven Temple curtain is depicted.

61. Christ’s sermon, when he left the Temple for the last time, and went to the Mount of Olives, accompanied by Peter, James, John and Andrew (Matthew 24:1; Luke 21:5 and Mark 13:1) was interpreted as his prophecy of the Destruction of the Temple (Congar, 1958, 168; A. Feuillet, "Le Discours de Jesus sur la ruine du Temple d’apres Marc XIII et Luc XXI", Revue Biblique, 55, 1948, 82-502 and 56, 1949, 61-92). The rending of the curtain symbolises the fulfillment of Christ’s prophecy (Congar, 1958, 172). On the other hand, the Holy of Holies was thus unveiled for the first time, signifying its opening to all believers, Gentiles and Jews, and all others, with Christ’s death (idem, 173-74).

62. Krinsky, 1970, 7; This motif recurs in a 15th century German woodcut illustration in Registrum ab imitas Mundi, Nuremberg, 1493, fol. XX.

63. C. Sterling, 1983, 46, 67. Sterling remarks (idem, 63) that Jean de Montagnac is wearing a grey-black mantle - a travelling dress - to allude to his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

64. idem, 201-02, "Document 8", # 12-16.

65. idem # 17: "Item, oultre la mer sera une partie de Jherusalem; premierment, le mont olivet ou sera la croix Nostre Seigneur, et au pié d'icelle ou aura ung priant chartreux, et ung poy loing sera la le monument Nostre Seigneur et une ange desus.' In fact, there is no description of Jerusalem but only of its surroundings, the Mount of Olives, Christ's tomb, and, further on (# 18), the Virgin's tomb ("monument") in the Valley of Josaphat. This view of Jerusalem is not very different from the
traditional views of the Holy City represented during the 15th and 16th centuries: a combination of local urban and pseudo-oriental elements. Sterling, 1983, 59 has identified some monuments of the town of Villeneuve-les-Avignon.

66. The Latin inscription states that Synagoga denies Christ, the Lord’s son; she does not believe in the prophets and turns away from God. Therefore she loses her crown, her banner is broken, and she falls into Hell (Blumenkranz, 1966, 107, 108).

67. On a 12th century silver paten (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 8924), a group of Jews are seen in front of the Doorway of Hell. They are clearly identified as Synagoga, inscribed on a scroll (idem, pl. 122).

68. In the Last Judgement of Amiens Cathedral, Synagoga is seen below the Balance scale held by St. Michael, exactly under the damned soul.

69. In 15th century Mystery Plays, Jews as well as Synagoga herself are destined for Hell and Damnation for their betrayal of God. In a 15th century Mystery Play, Ecclesia says: "Ceulex qui en la crois l'ont pendu / ce sont bien au diable rendu / --Par tous les bons d'enfer gecter" (in A. Jubinal, Mystère inédit du XVᵉ Siècle, Paris, 1937, 2, 258). This motif also occurs in a contemporary Passion Play, in which we read that for their betrayal the Jews should be thrown into the "Prison infernal", (idem, 406). "C'est la mort d'enfer cele est votre desctes--", Ecclesia says here to Synagoga, in a furious dialogue under the Cross.

70. Living Cross, a German woodcut, ca. 1460-1470, (in F. Guldam, Eva und Maria, Cologne, 1966, pl. 114); initial R. from a late 15th century German manuscript, with a Living Cross (Munich, Staatsbibliothek lat. 23041, fol. 181’); a Living Cross painting, 1588, Breslau (in G. Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, 2: The Passion of Jesus Christ, London, 1972, pl. 531).


72. Sometimes she holds a yellow flag decorated with a scorpion or a black skull. On the symbolic meaning of "bad yellow" cf. idem, 49-51.


75. Sometimes grey or brown replace black for Synagoga’s dress. In a 15th century Passion Play Synagoga is said to be clad in brown while Ecclesia is in vermilion: 'Ste Yglise est vermille et Synagogue brun' (Paris, B.N. fr. 7218, fol. 541v).

76. Paris, B.N. fr. 166. fols. 42, 424, 43 and 46'; In a Book of Periscopes of the Abbess Uta, (11th century, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, cod. lt. 13601), Synagoga’s hair is reddish, flame-like. In the Middle Ages, flame-shaped tresses were associated with evil (F. Garnier, Le Langage de l’Image au Moyen Age, Signification et Symbolique, Paris, 1982, 137-39). The Synagogue in Abbess Uta’s manuscript is clearly associated with death and with the Bad Tree (W. Seiferth, Synagogue and Church, 10).

Sterling, 1983, 62-3, explains this devil as a reference to the Muslims. In a French manuscript of Saint Augustin City of God (Philadelphia, Museum of Art, ca. 1610), the City is depicted as a contemporary town with angels hovering above. This image is juxtaposed to God in Glory. This Heavenly City is sharply contrasted to the City of Sins - Jerusalem, an oriental-type town dominated by the Temple in the form of the Dome of the Rock, with demons hovering above. On the right, Lucifer is falling into Hell's Mouth (in: Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Walter Art Gallery, an Exhibition held by the Baltimore Museum of Art, 1949, catalogue No. 82).

C. Gardet, De La Peinture du Moyen Age a Savoie, Annecy, 1969, 3, LIV. (According to Gardet the Apocalypse was illuminated by Jean Bapteur and Peronet Lamy between 1428-1435 and was later completed by Jean Colombe towards the end of the century.) This idea is also echoed in Friar Berthold of Regensburg’s sermon (active ca. 1240-1272). Berthold conceived the magnificent Temple of Solomon as Christendom, while the four courtyards surrounding the Temple symbolise Jews, heretics, heathens and and excommunicated who are not allowed to enter the Temple. (Cf. J. Cohen, The Friars and the Jews, The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism, Ithaca and London, 1982, 235.

In a 13th century French copy of Liber Floridus by Lambet of Saint-Omer (Paris B.N. fol. 38°), the angel gives the rod to St. John to measure the Temple. Here the Temple is depicted as a basilica decorated with crosses over the door and the spires. This structure is identified by an inscription as Templum Dominis.

This miniature contains a sequence of episodes related to the legend of Antichrist. On the left there is the Appearance and Adoration of the Beast - Antichrist; the Coronation of Antichrist as King of Judea; Antichrist enthroned in the Temple; he gives gifts to his disciples - the Jews; the Killing of the Witness; the Fall of Antichrist and the Destruction of the Temple.


According to Berengaudus, the Destruction of the Temple is punishment and vengeance for the Jews' betrayal of Christ.

In the famous Anglo-Norman Apocalypse from the library of Charles V, King of France (Paris B.N. fr. 403, fol 18°), Antichrist is enthroned in a Temple of pseudo-oriental construction characterised by an onion dome. (Pseudo-oriental architecture for the false Temple occurs in another contemporary Anglo-Norman Apocalypse, New York, Morgan Library, Ms. 524, fol. 7°.) The composition of the Charles V Apocalypse may have served as a model for the Netherlandish illuminator, since the Fall of Antichrist is followed by the Destruction of the Anti-Temple.


87. The river that separates the Temple enclosure and the City walls may have the same significance as in Jan van Eyck’s *Madonna with the Chancellor Rolin* (Paris, Louvre, ca. 1434-5), and Roger van der Weyden’s *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, c. 1434-35) - that is, the River of Celestial Jerusalem (see Panofsky, 1971, 1, 139, 163, 252-54).

88. Cf. Appendix.

89. The New Celestial temple was related to Christ’s Body, or to the Spouse - the Virgin and the Church; Cerfaux, 1948, 26).


**LIST OF REFERENCES**


