

# Virtual Reconstructions in Bernardino Amico's *Treatise on the Plans and Images of the Sacred Buildings of the Holy Land*

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This essay explores the role of Bernardino Amico and the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land in cultivating perceptions of the Catholic pilgrimage buildings as worthy of preservation, especially by employing techniques of representation in printed books that engaged with the potential restoration of the real buildings in the Holy Land. The essay discusses the particular example of the printed book created by Bernardino Amico that was published in two editions of 1610 and 1620, with perspectival renderings of the exteriors and interiors of the Christian pilgrimage churches in Palestine and Egypt, along with maps of ancient and modern Jerusalem. Centuries before the emergence of cyber archaeology, Bernardino Amico explored the potential for virtual reconstruction in the realm of printing to demonstrate the value of buildings as symbols of a shared history and faith. In contrast to perspectival representations of ancient Roman monuments in printed books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Amico's sequential perspectival views facilitate an imagined pilgrimage inside the spaces of complex material buildings, in order to maximize the affective force of the virtual reconstructions. His emphasis on mensural precision and eyewitness accuracy is combined with modifications of the representations in line with the Franciscan understanding of the buildings' histories and related desires for future restoration; in this way, his treatise also exemplifies the potential for virtual reconstructions of historical buildings to blur the boundaries between the empirically observed present, the imagined past, and a desired future.

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## Keywords:

Bernardino Amico, Architecture, Reconstruction, Pilgrimage, Printed Books, Jerusalem, Holy Land, Digital Heritage, Architectural Representation

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Virtual reconstructions of architecture within an emerging field of cyber archaeology have been widely heralded as innovations made possible by digital technologies. New abilities to model the viewer's embodied movement within a three-dimensional space and related attempts to simulate both physical and intellectual engagement with a virtual architectural environment have in

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particular been presented as unprecedented innovations [Frischer 2011; Favro 2006]. To be sure, the first phase of the digital revolution in architecture entailed the remediation of representational technologies grounded in one-point perspective renderings that illusionistically transformed a two-dimensional field into a three-dimensional one [Carpo 2011; Carpo and Lemerle 2013]. Some proponents of cyber archaeology have suggested that effects of embodied experience of architecture constitute a break with previous architectural representations, conceived in relation to the disembodied gaze within a Cartesian space [Flynn 2010]. In this essay, I will explore some of the historical, pre-digital precedents for representations of the sequential, embodied experience of architecture in three-dimensional space, especially in order to consider in what ways the current experiences of architecture in the context of both virtual heritage and cyber archaeology relate to mediatized pilgrimages in the book culture of the early modern period.

The example of representations of Christian pilgrimage churches of the Holy Land will be considered, to explore how virtual reconstructions in the context of early illustrated books could become a means of cultivating perceptions of historical architecture as worthy of preservation. The primary example to be explored is Bernardino Amico's *Treatise on the Plans and Images of the Sacred Buildings of the Holy Land* (*Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa*), published in Rome in 1610 with engravings by Antonio Tempesti [Amico 1610] and in an expanded second edition in Florence in 1620 with engravings by Jacques Callot [Amico 1620]. For both editions, the engravings were based upon the Franciscan author's own representations of the churches, "drawn in Jerusalem," as indicated on the title pages of both editions. The methodology underlying this analysis of Amico's book entails a close reading of the printed illustrations and accompanying text, especially in relation to the historical situation of the real buildings in the Holy Land, in order to contextualize the virtual experience of the Holy Land churches created by the book's author.

## 2. BERNARDINO AMICO'S "HERITAGE CRUSADE"

In the preface to both editions, Amico presents his book to readers with the aim of inspiring a crusade that would theoretically result in the Christian repossession of the Holy Land and related restoration of buildings associated with the lives of Jesus and Mary. Seen in this broader historical context, Bernardino Amico's particular contribution to the emerging idea of the power of virtual architectural reconstructions can provide a new historical basis for understanding the role of cyber archaeology in longstanding and more recent "heritage crusades." Amico's treatise is also a testament to the enduring paradigm of pilgrimage as an affirmation of the value of architecture when perceived as a symbol of shared faith, history, and territorial belonging [Lowenthal 1998]. Far from being objective or disinterested reconstructions of the buildings in the Holy Land, the representations of the Holy Land churches created by Bernardino Amico blurred distinctions between the imagined past, the empirically observed present, and the desired future. From this perspective, these early episodes in using illustrated printed books to create a shared experience of the restored architecture of the Christian Holy Land raise larger questions about the potentially manipulative or misleading uses of eyewitness realism and the related ambiguity of temporal experience in architectural reconstructions – questions that have been raised in discussions of today's virtual experience of architecture in a digital context [Dyson 2001; Sanders 2000].

The second half of the sixteenth century witnessed an emerging interest in the investigation of the relationship between Biblical history and the architecture of Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. This has been characterized as a proto-archaeological movement [Piccirillo 1999]. The leaders of this movement were the Franciscan friars who were committed to protecting the buildings associated with the Christian Holy Land, that is, the territory understood to have been sanctified by the life of Jesus Christ. The Franciscans had been charged by the pope with this special task in 1342, with the formation of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land. Bernardino Amico, a native of Gallipoli, had spent five continuous years in the region, studying the architecture of the Holy Land, when he took the drawings that he made on site to Rome with the intention of publishing them in a book. We learn all of this from the preface of the first edition of the book, where he refers to his intent of delineating “true” portraits of the holy places (*i veri, e reali ritratti di quei santissimi luoghi*) [Amico 1610].

Amico was likely also involved in the physical restoration of churches in Bethlehem and Jerusalem; he more certainly undertook a restoration project of the Church of Matariyya outside of Cairo. An account of his brief restoration activities in Egypt on behalf of the Franciscan Custody was added to the expanded second edition of his book, published in Florence in 1620. Amico is also believed to have initiated the Franciscan practice of creating small inlaid wooden models of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, that complemented his aim of making the sacred buildings available to Christians throughout Europe in the context of his illustrated book [Piccirillo 2007]. The models survive today in various collections, including one of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in the British Museum (Fig. 1). Such models open up to reveal the interior spaces of pilgrimage. Amico’s coordinated renderings of the exteriors and interiors of churches like that in Bethlehem are the virtual counterparts to such three-dimensional models. In the text of his treatise, Amico characterizes his drawings of the Holy Land churches as detailed enough for any reader to create new models or full-scale recreations of the sacred buildings. At least one architectural project was directly inspired by Amico’s book, that is, a recreation of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher outside of Moscow, initiated by Patriarch Nikon in 1657 [Lidov 2009]. A number of smaller-scale chapels recreating the Tomb of Christ were constructed throughout Europe in the seventeenth century, some of which could have been directly inspired by Amico’s book [Moore 2017].

In the preface to the first edition of his treatise, Bernardino Amico dedicates his work to King Philip III of Spain (r. 1598-1621), whom he exhorts to initiate a new crusade to both secure Christian access to the holy sites and protect the Franciscan Custody. The second edition was dedicated to Cosimo II, Grand Duke of Tuscany (r. 1590-1621), with a similar aim in mind. In the dedication of the first edition, Amico expresses a hope that his drawings would be “pyres of spiritual fires to enflame minds to the contemplation of the mysteries wrought by the savior of the world” [Amico 1610]. Amico – like previous Christian writers – suggests that the bodies of the Holy Land churches constitute relics standing for the absent bodies of Christ and Mary, and – this view is more particular to the Franciscans – that the related territory of the Holy Land had been purchased for Christians by the death of Christ. The drawings were ultimately intended to inspire a crusade that would result in the repossession of the entire territory of the Christian Holy Land.



Figure 1. Model of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl, before 1753 (date of bequest). British Museum (OA.10338). Creative Commons License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

### 3. VIRTUAL EFFECTS

Amico's preface clearly expresses his belief in the potential power of architectural representation to inspire devotion to the pilgrimage churches of the Holy Land. This notion of power is also at the root of the concept of virtuality, as the *virtus* or force to render certain effects [Summers 2003]. Although there was not an exact early modern equivalent for the terms "virtual" or "virtuality," there are significant suggestions of an emerging understanding of the power of coordinated interior and exterior perspectival renderings to create effects of seeing or even entering into a material building in the context of the sequential illustrations within an illustrated book [Zorach 2007]. We find the allusions to the related idea of the force of architectural renderings in the text accompanying the first building presented by Bernardino Amico in his treatise: the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.

After his description of the parts and mensural system of the groundplan (Fig. 2), Amico directs his reader to regard the perspectival view of the church (Fig. 3) as a physical entity emerging from the page. By doing so, Amico establishes the conceptual relation between a two-dimensional rendering and an imagined encounter with a three-dimensional model. Perhaps most remarkably, he even instructs the reader to close one eye and fix the open one on the center point of the illustration, then to rotate the book from side to side, in order to maximize the effect of a material building emerging from the page:

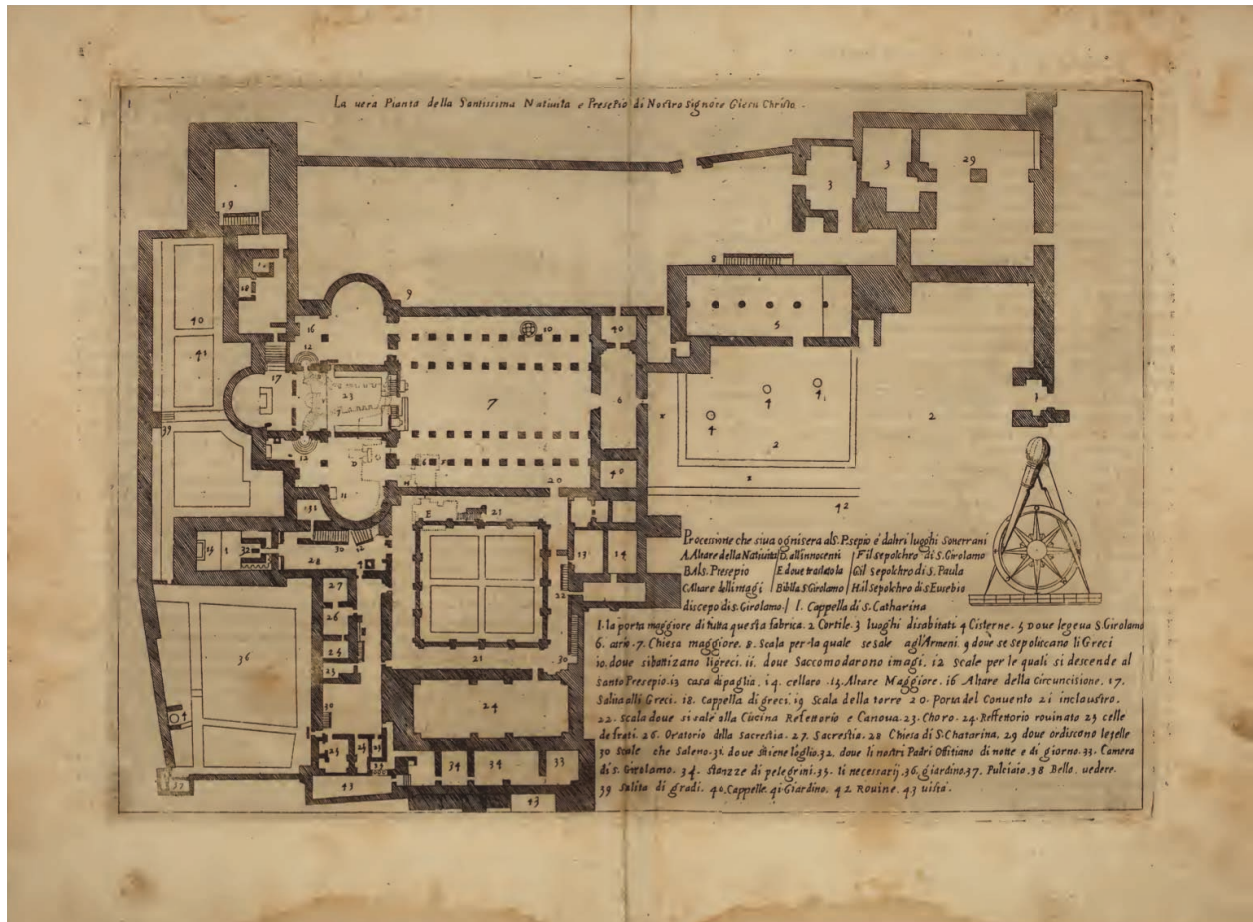


Figure 2. Bernardino Amico, *Plan of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem*, from “*Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa*” (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

“The second design, that follows, is the entire body of the previous plan, rendered in perspective, in order to see it well, and distinctly it is necessary to fix its point, or center with its proportional distance, that is shown by the line placed above the same drawing, avoiding however, that one does not, as some do, fix the page in one’s hands bringing together one’s eye with that of the line, looking at it obliquely; but one must put the drawing in the hands, and closing an eye, with the other regard the point with the same distance, as the line is long, letting [the drawing] stand in majesty, or in

frontispiece [in frontespizio], as one might say...and keeping the eye on the straight line, and then turning it without moving the head, one will see it all in relief, as if it were a material construction [come fosse fabbricato di materia]" [Amico 1620, 7].

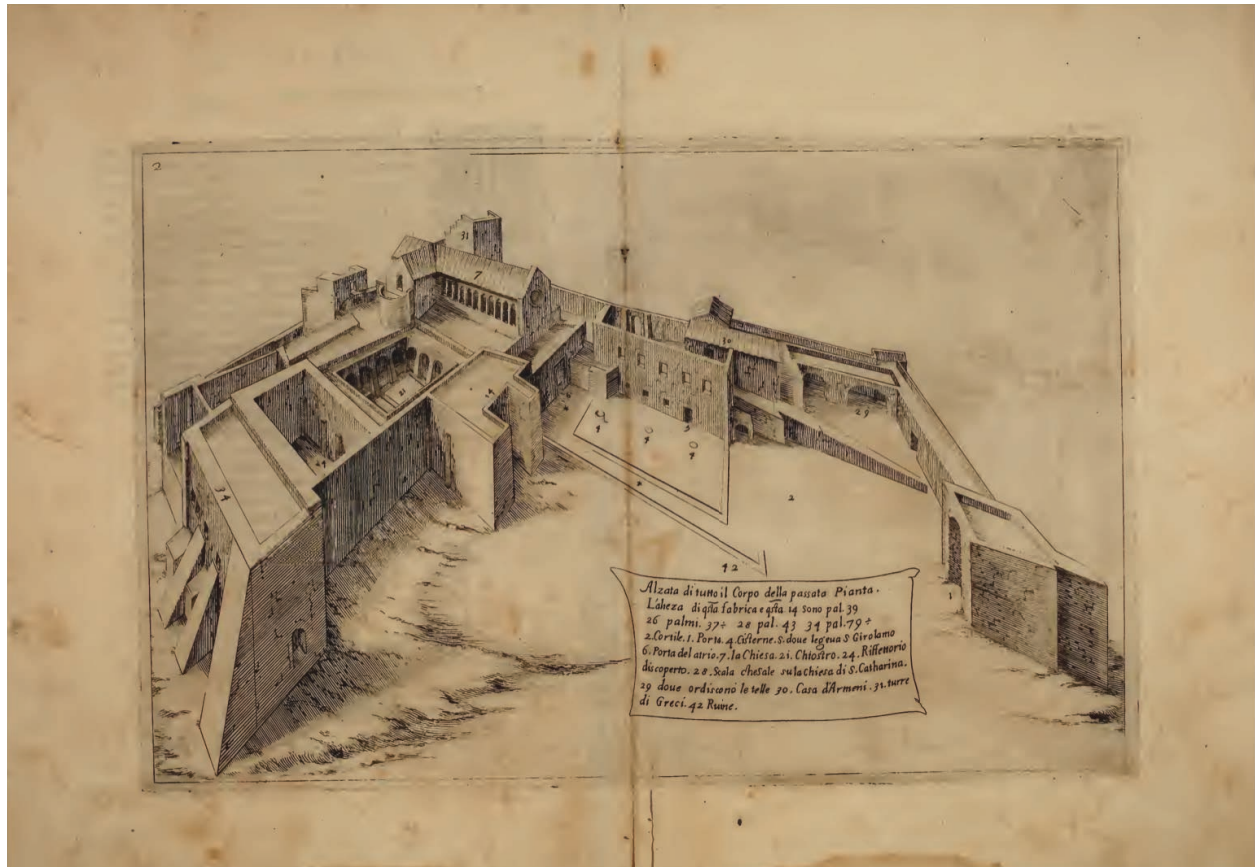


Figure 3. Bernardino Amico, *Elevation of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem*, from "Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa" (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

The illustrations following the exterior view of the entire church are followed by a series of interior renderings that allow the reader to imagine opening up the building, to enact a pilgrimage through the various spaces associated with the Nativity of Jesus (Fig. 4). The subterranean chapels include the location of the manger where the Magi had adored the newborn Jesus. In the identification of the spaces in the accompanying text, which enumerates the measurements of architectural elements with precision, Amico also explains that he included these views of the interior of the chapels because "things united have a greater force" (perche le cose unite tengono piu forza) [Amico, 1620]. The forza – force (in Latin: virtus), or virtual effect – as characterized by Amico derives from the totality of the imagined experience generated by a coordinated sequence of representations of the church.

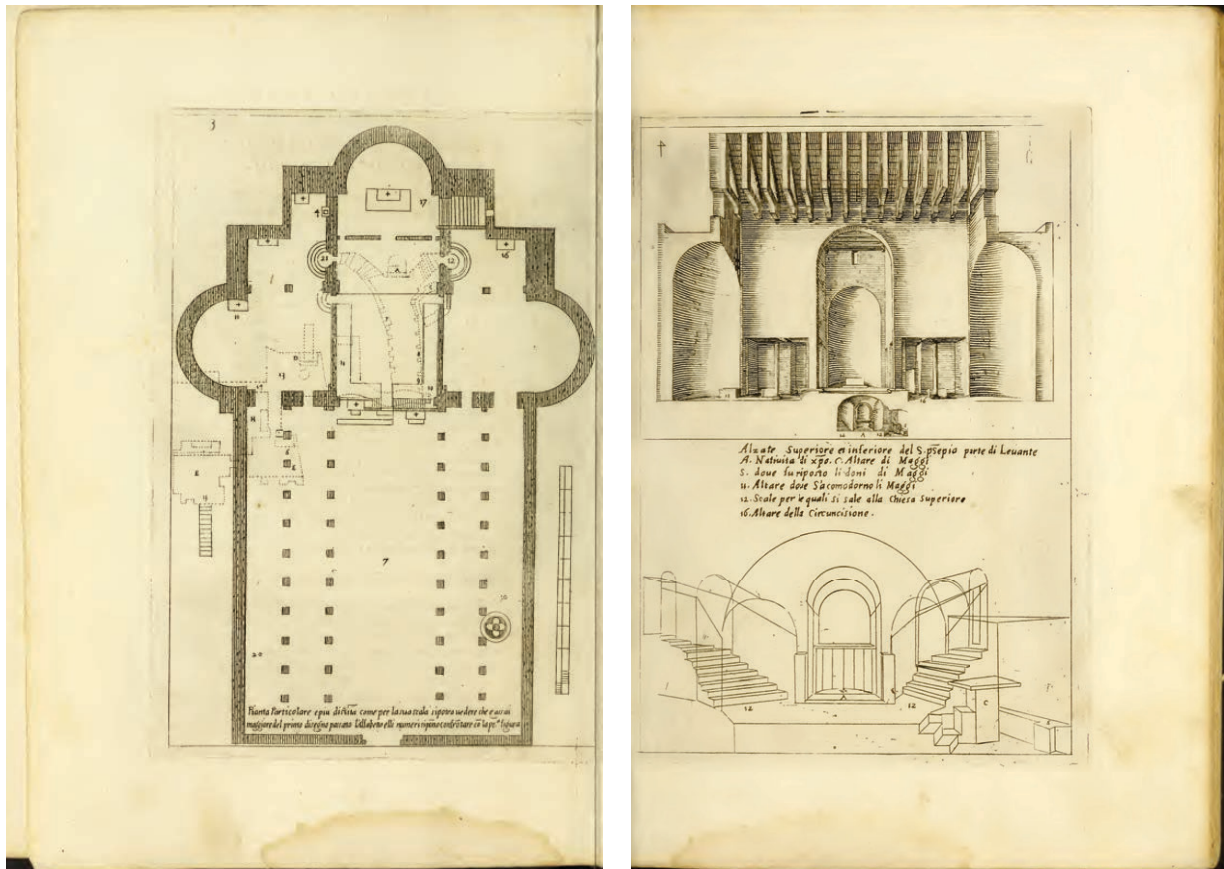


Figure 4. Bernardino Amico, *Detailed Plan of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and Elevations of the Upper and Lower Chapels of the Nativity*, from *Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa* (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

#### 4. THE PRECEDENT OF SERLIO'S BOOK ON ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

Amico seems to have been an amateur architect and apparently learned the techniques of one-point perspective by studying published books on the subject, particularly Sebastiano Serlio's treatise on perspective published in Paris in 1545 [Serlio 1545]. Amico certainly also drew from Serlio's widely influential book on the antiquities of Rome [Serlio, 1540; Waters 2020]. The Franciscans who translated Amico's treatise in the middle of the twentieth century alluded to Amico's own copy of Serlio's book on the Roman antiquities being still in the library of the Franciscans in Jerusalem [Amico 1953; Serlio and Davis 2011]. Serlio's book undoubtedly provided a model for a sequence of representations proceeding from the groundplan to exterior then interior views of a single building. Serlio's presentation of the Pantheon in Rome, for example, consisted of a scaled groundplan, views of an elevation of the exterior and cross-section of the interior on opposite pages (Fig. 5), and then a sequence of detailed analyses of structural and ornamental elements in orthographic projection.

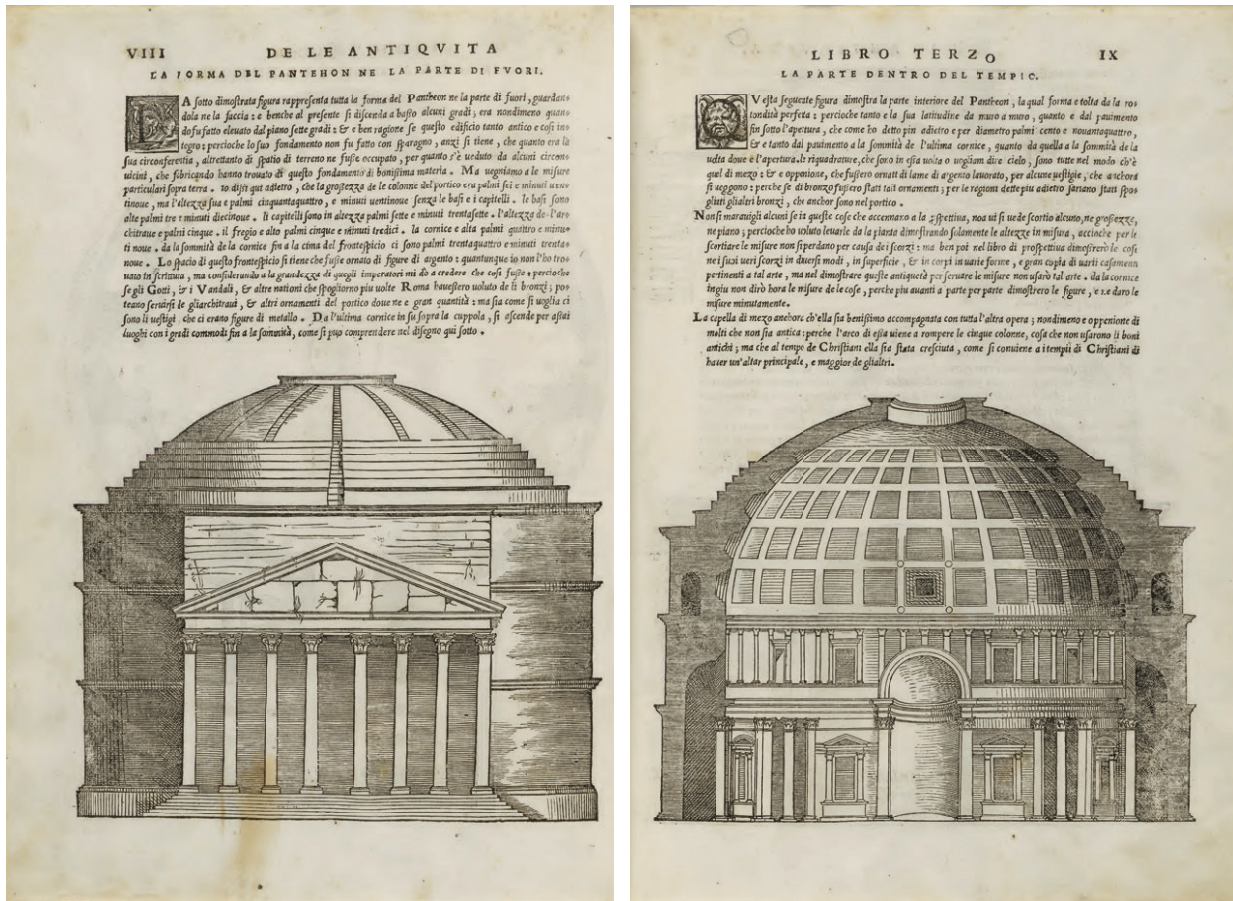


Figure 5. Sebastiano Serlio, Pantheon, from "Il terzo libro nel qual si figurano, e descrivono, le antiquita di Roma" (Venice, 1540). Columbia University Libraries (Internet Archive).

In contrast to Serlio's analytical dissection of the Pantheon, Amico's coordinated views of the pilgrimage churches maintain the primary metaphor of a pilgrimage through a series of interior spaces identified with Biblical events, identified in an alphabetical key. Amico's groundplan of the complex of the Church of the Nativity (Fig. 2) is followed by a rendering of the exterior that emphasizes an oblique perspectival view of the entire building seemingly projecting from the page, as discussed above (Fig. 3). Next, a two-page comparison of a detailed groundplan of the Constantinian basilica of the Church of the Nativity on the left-hand side incorporates a rendering of the key subterranean elements below the altar area (Fig. 4); the right-hand page then follows the logical sequence of entering into the altar area of the church, presented in a perspective view as if standing inside the basilica, followed below by a wire drawing that models the three-dimensional forms of the stairways leading to the chapel underneath the church. Another sequence of drawings (Fig. 6) depicts the interior of the Constantinian basilica in perspective together with a view of the Chapel of the Nativity, now presented as if standing within the space.

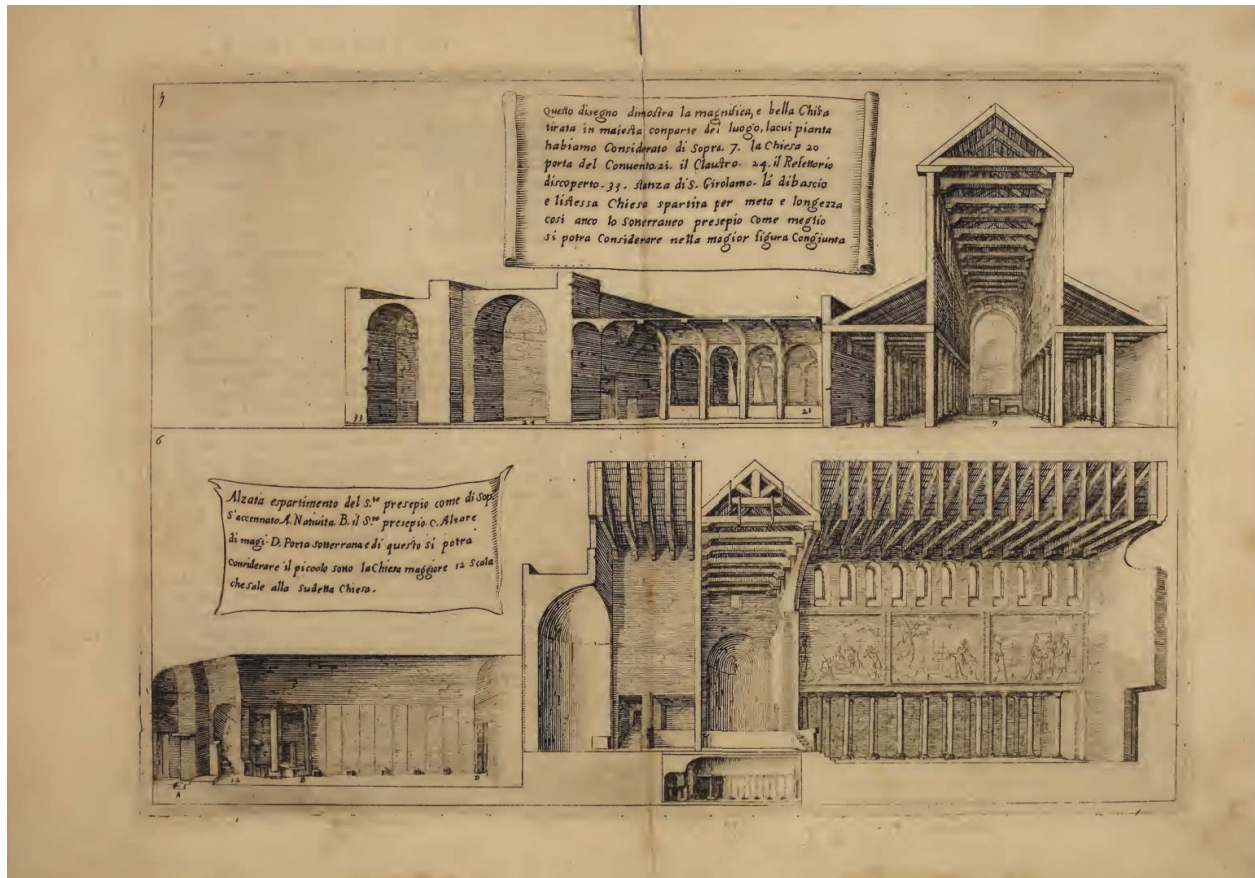


Figure 6. Bernardino Amico, *Interior of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem*, from *Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa* (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

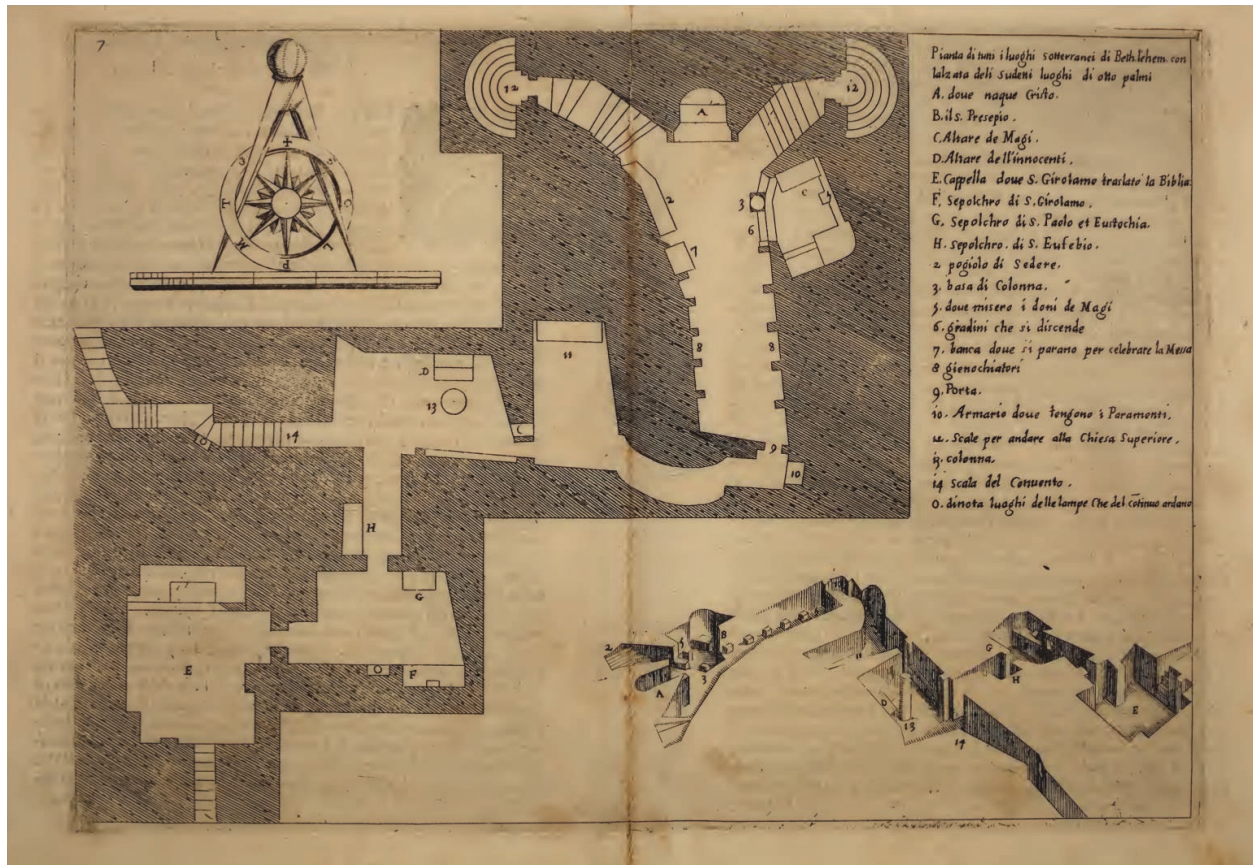


Figure 7. Bernardino Amico, *Plan of the Subterranean Parts of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem together with an Elevation of those Places*, from *Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa* (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

The viewer, in this way, is more explicitly invited to imagine entering into the complex spaces of the church, passing through the nave as represented in the groundplan, proceeding to the altar area, then descending into the subterranean Chapel of the Nativity, in order to encounter the space where Jesus had been born. Additional drawings (Fig. 7) delineate the subterranean passages from the Chapel of the Nativity to other chapels, including those dedicated to St. Jerome and the Magi, with the final drawings returning to the space of the Cave of the Nativity (Fig. 8). The object of representation, for Amico (unlike Serlio), is not the material building standing as an exemplar of Roman architectural principles and techniques, but instead the spatial matrix for the spiritual experience of the pilgrim who enters into a building to connect with the Biblical past.



Figure 8. Bernardino Amico, *Effigy of St. Jerome and Plan and Elevation of the Chapel of the Nativity in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem*, from *Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa* (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

Bernardino Amico's treatise is didactic on multiple levels. In addition to his exhortations about the appropriate emotional response of the faithful to the Biblical events marked by the pilgrimage churches in the preface, he instructs his reader about how to use his drawings; this begins with the first indication of how to perceive the exterior of the Church of the Nativity as a material model emerging from the page to the more detailed indications of the historical significance of locations inside the church. These instructions set the parameters for the reader's interaction with the subsequent buildings presented in his treatise. The Church of the Tomb of the Virgin Mary is exceptional in that it is entirely subterranean (Figs. 9-11). The perspectival views of that church expand upon the wire drawings used for the subterranean parts of the Church of the Nativity, in order to render the complex spatial relationship of the stairs and underground church enshrining the Tomb of Mary. The two-page wire drawing of the entirety of the Church of the Tomb of Mary (Fig. 11) is especially remarkable in presenting a totalizing perspectival view of a building as if seen from outside and above – a view that is impossible in the actual city of Jerusalem.

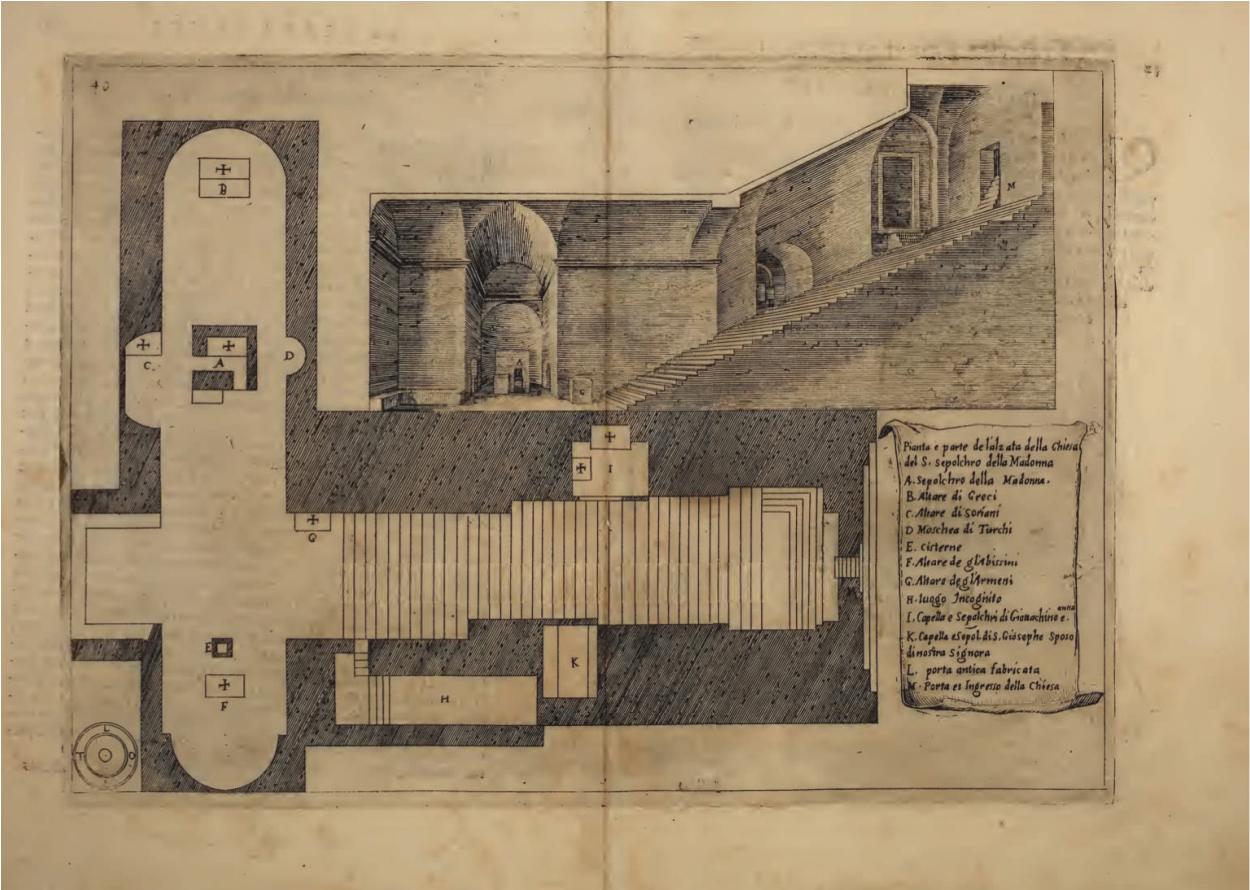


Figure 9. Bernardino Amico, Plan and Part of the Elevation of the Church of the Tomb of Mary in Jerusalem, from "Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa" (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

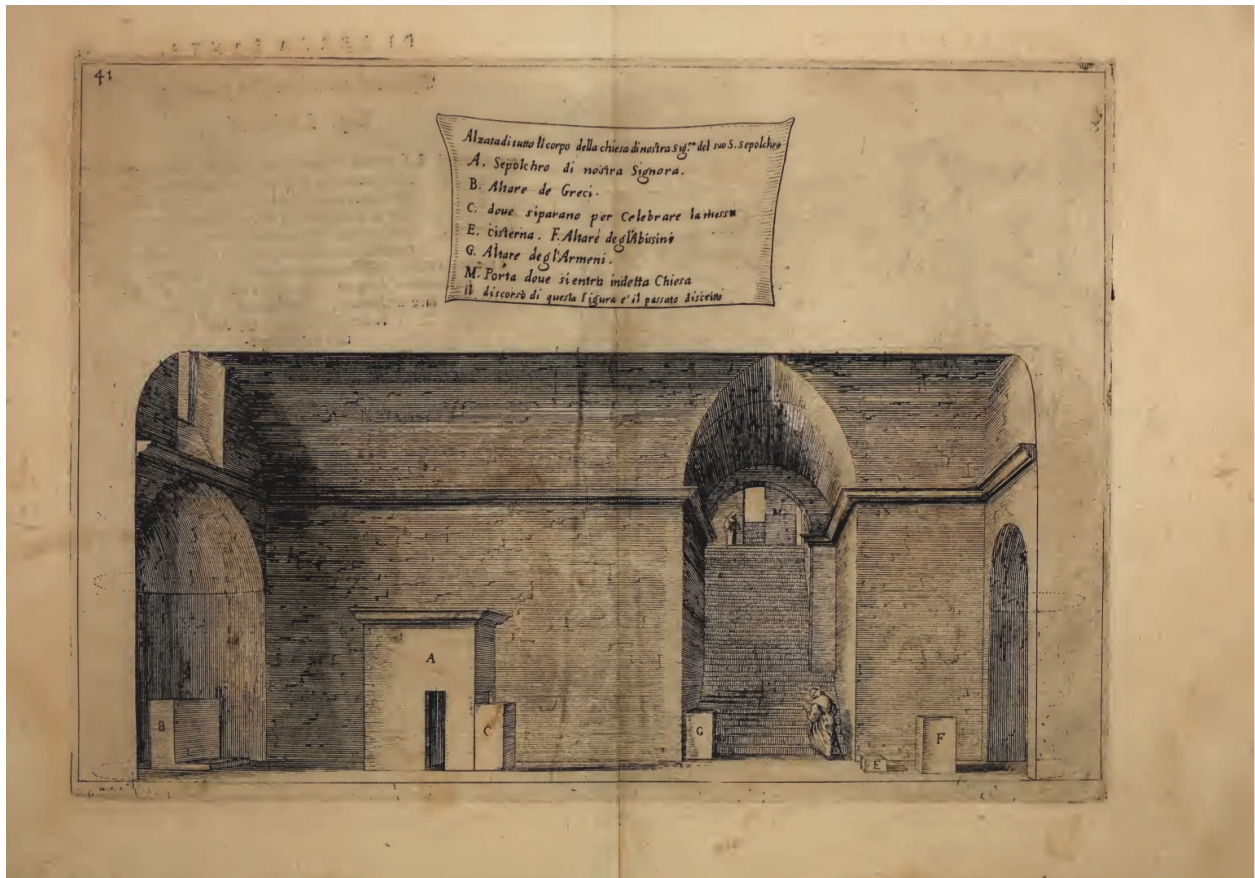


Figure 10. Bernardino Amico, Elevation of the Church of the Tomb of Mary in Jerusalem, from "Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa" (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

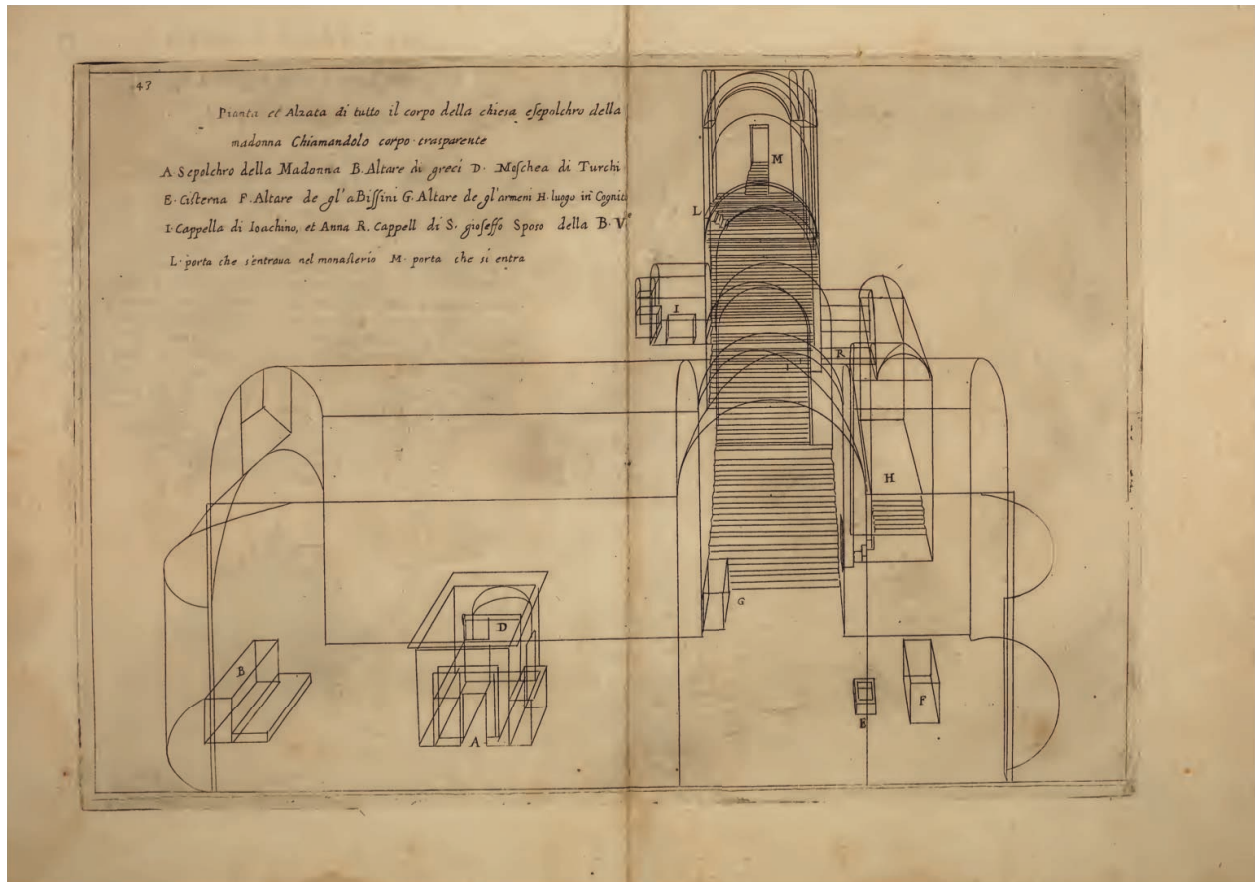


Figure 11. Bernardino Amico, *Plan and Elevation of the Church of the Tomb of Mary in Jerusalem*, from *Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa* (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

Such wire drawings of entire architectural structures do not have precedents in representations of ancient Roman buildings, but instead seem to expand upon the more abstract demonstrations of techniques of perspectival representation, for example in Serlio's own book on perspective [Serlio 1545] (Fig. 12). Remarkably, Amico is able to coordinate such abstract wire drawings with highly modulated perspectival views that incorporate textural details of surfaces, in a way that maximizes the full range of architectural rendering made possible by copper-plate engraving. This too stands in contrast to the precedent of Serlio's book on Roman antiquities [Serlio 1540], whose woodcut illustrations lacked the fineness and detail of the engravings in Amico's book.

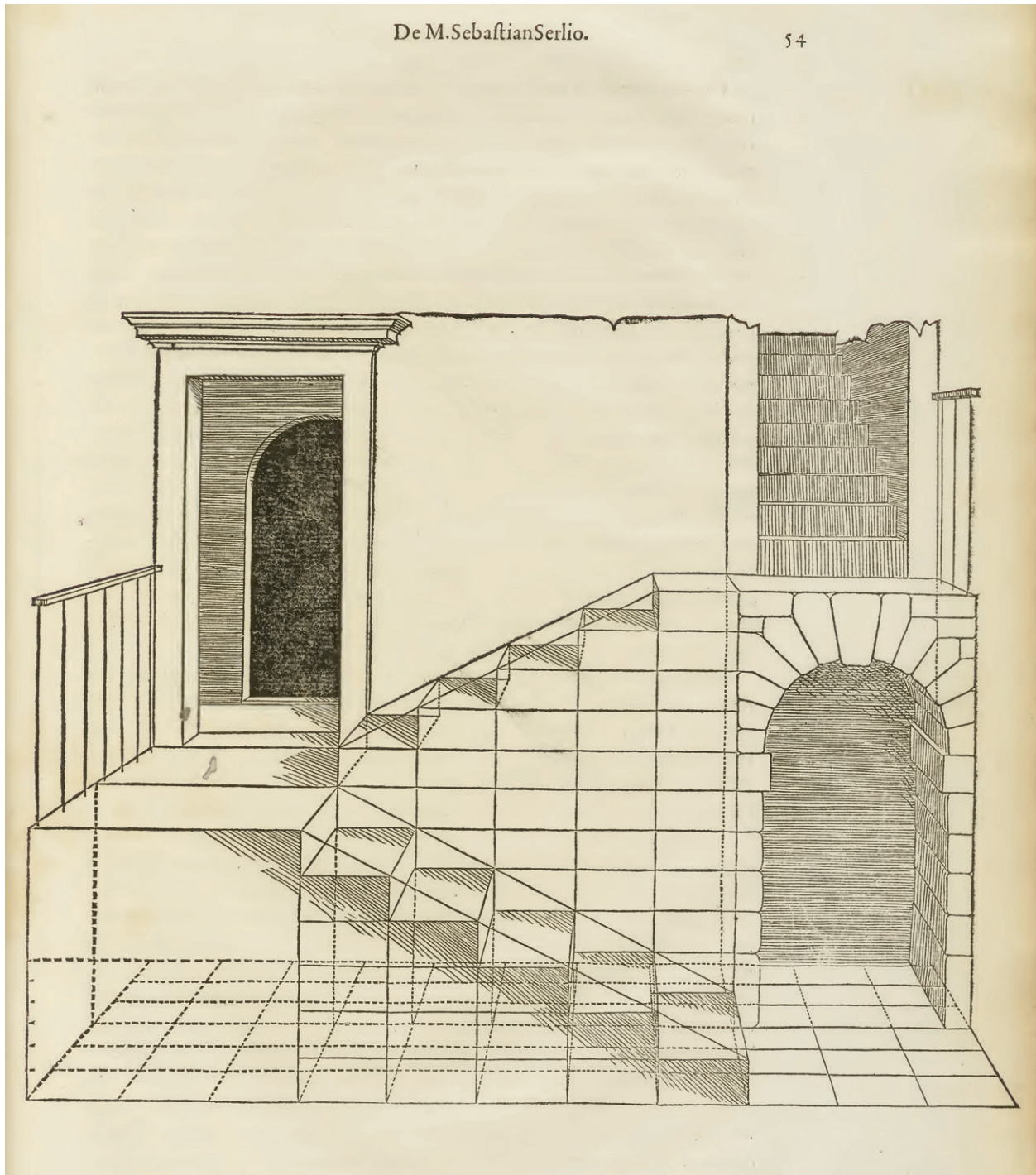


Figure 12. Sebastiano Serlio, *Stairs and Doors in Perspective*, from *"Il Primo Libro d'Architettura"*, Di Sebastiano Serlio, Bolognese =: *Le Premier Liure D'architecture De Sebastian Serlio, Bolognois* (Paris: 1545). Columbia University Library (Internet Archive).

Amico's focus on the perceptual engagement of a pilgrim with an architectural environment drew not just on the precedents of Serlio's treatises, but also a long tradition of illustrated pilgrimage books dedicated to the Holy Land in both print and manuscript. These included the Flemish Jean Zuallart's *Il Devotissimo Viaggio* (The Most Holy Voyage) published in Rome in 1587 [Zuallart 1587] – cited by Amico – and the many editions of the Franciscan Niccolò da Poggibonsi's *Libro d'Oltramare* (Book of Overseas), published throughout the sixteenth century as the anonymous *Viaggio da Venezia al Sancto Sepolchro* (Voyage from Venice to the Holy Sepulcher) [Moore 2013]. Zuallart's book especially provided a model for the use of an alphabetical key in each illustration, identifying the significance of different parts of buildings, as well as for the use of copperplate engraving [Russo 2011].

Amico in fact made direct reference to the precedents of both Sebastiano Serlio's book on Roman antiquities [Serlio 1540] and Jean Zuallart's pilgrimage account [Zuallart 1587] in his description of the so-called Tombs of the Kings, located to the north of Jerusalem. In this particular context, Serlio makes clear that he regards his book as containing drawings of superior accuracy and historical veracity, in contrast to both precedents. Serlio had included what he called "the Tomb of the Kings of Jerusalem" immediately after "the Pyramid of Cheops at Cairo" [Serlio 1545; Serlio and Davis 2011] (Fig. 13).

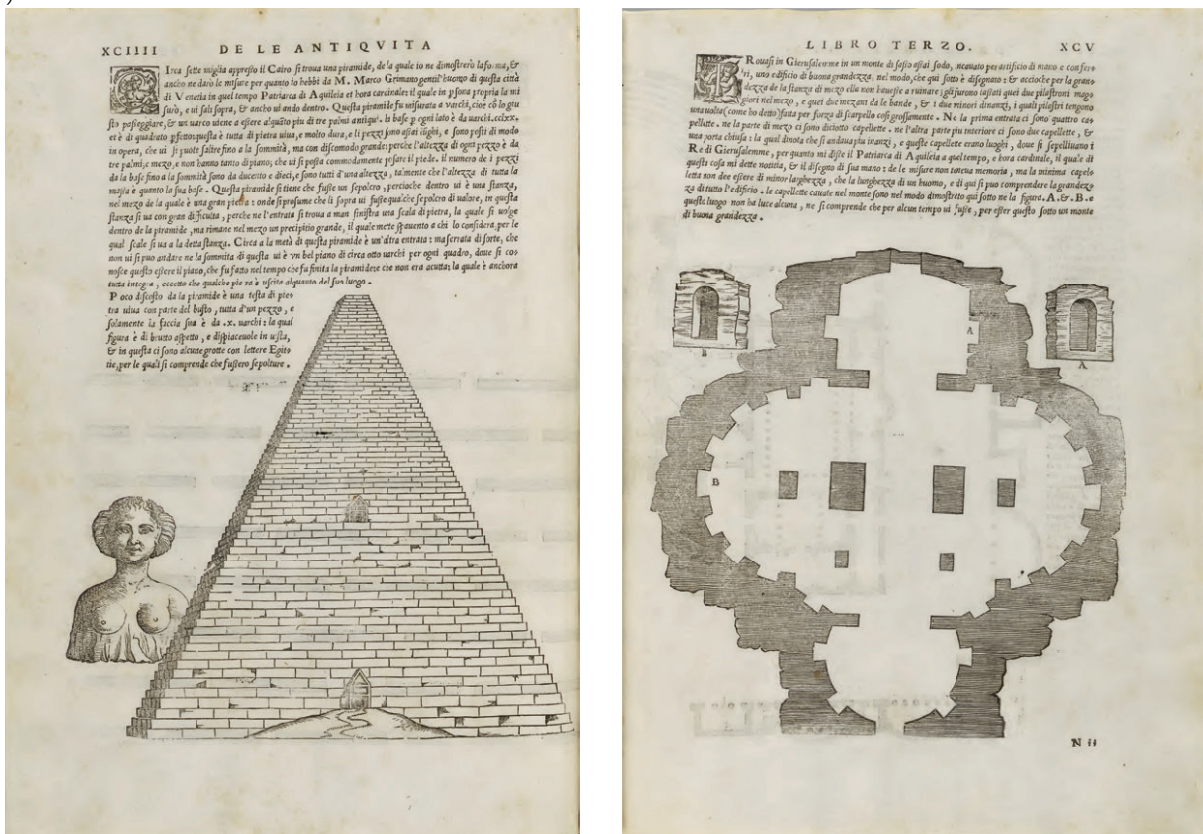


Figure 13. Sebastiano Serlio, the Tomb of Cheops at Cairo and the Tomb of the Kings of Jerusalem, from "Il terzo libro nel qual si figurano, e descrivono, le antiquita di Roma" (Venice, 1540). Columbia University Libraries (Internet Archive).

In the text of the second edition of his own treatise, Amico directly challenges Serlio, who had admitted that his drawings of the antiquities in Jerusalem and Cairo were not based upon eyewitness analysis (in contrast to his studies of the Roman antiquities), but instead upon descriptions made by the Patriarch of Aquileia, Marco Grimani. Amico accuses Serlio, and Zuallart in his wake, of having created confusion by inaccurately describing chambers inside a mountain; in contrast, Amico describes his own eyewitness analysis of a building containing several tombs (Figs. 14-15) just north of Jerusalem.

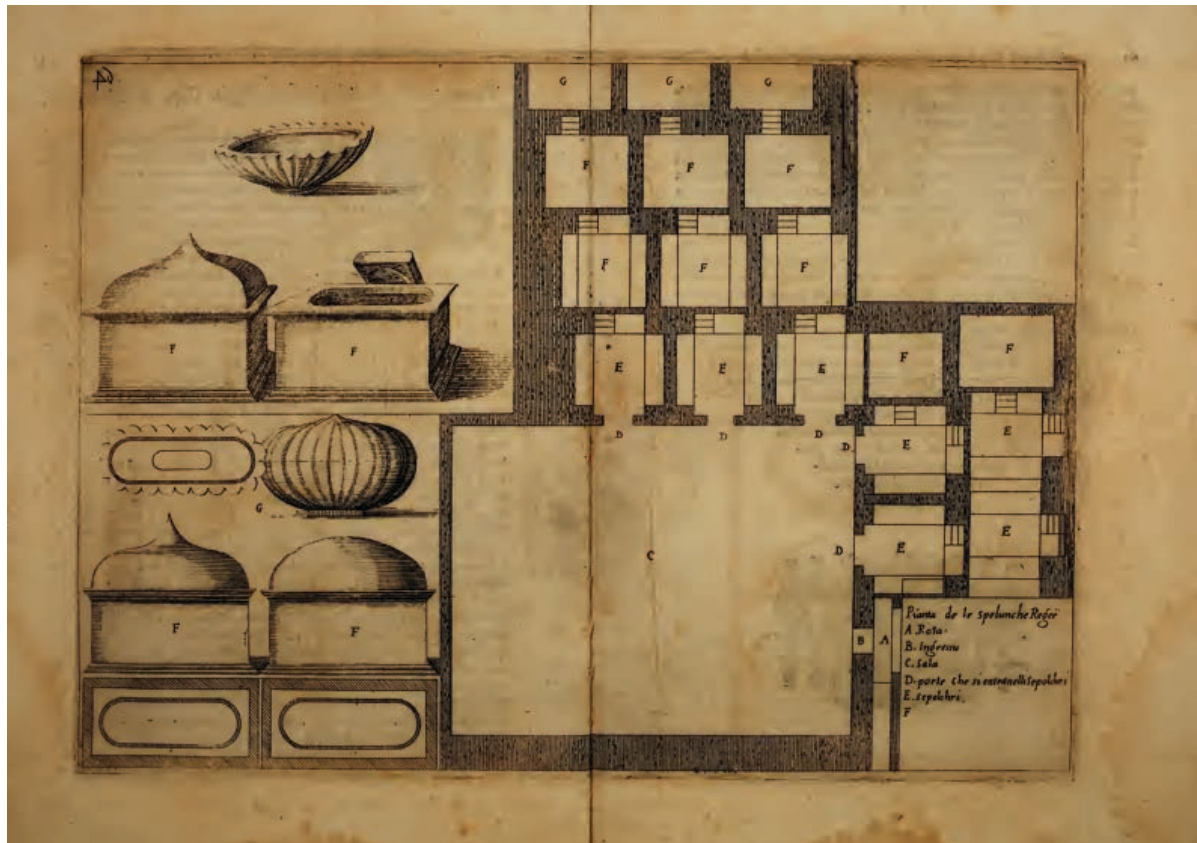


Figure 14. Bernardino Amico, Plan of the Royal Cave-Tombs, from "Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa" (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

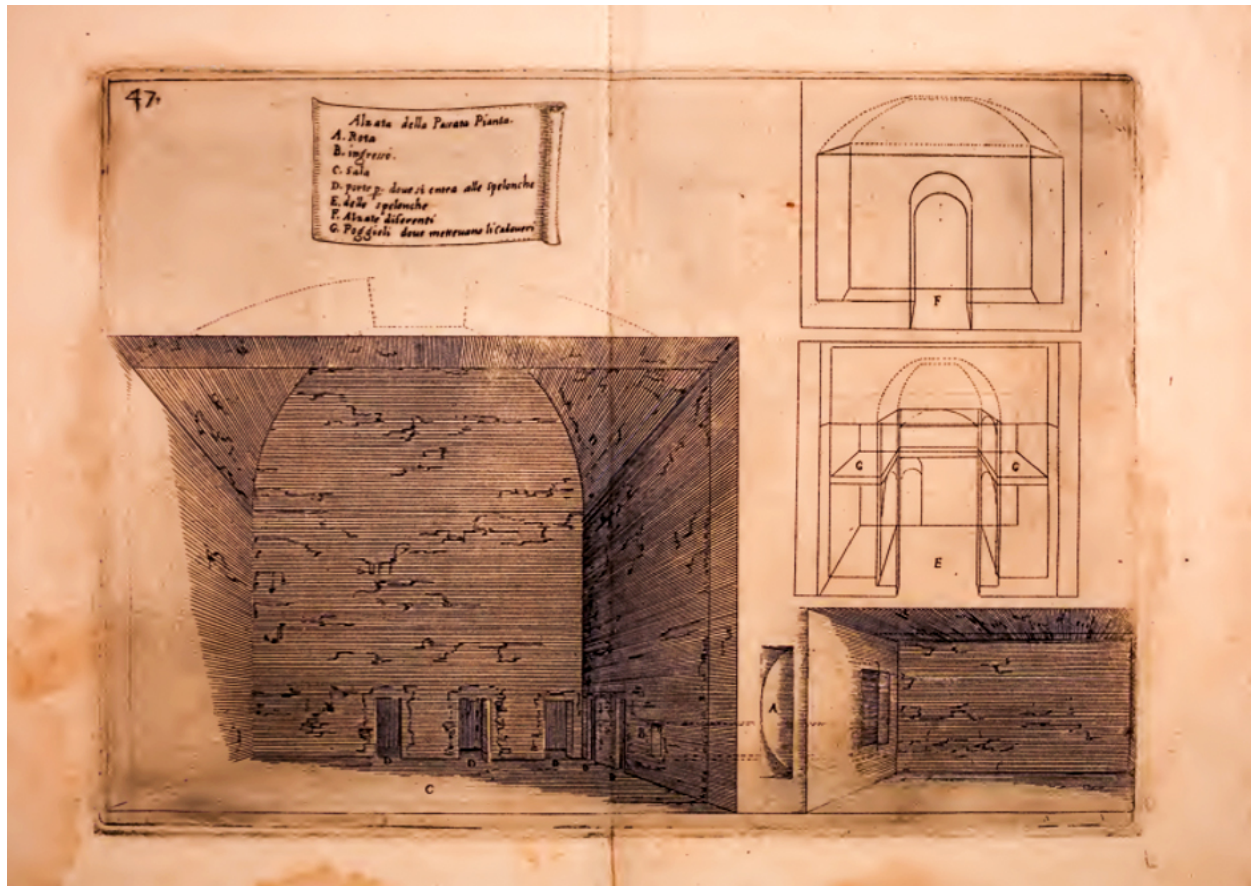


Figure 15. Bernardino Amico, *Elevation of the Royal Cave-Tombs*, from *“Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa”* (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

It is most likely that Amico and Serlio were each describing different sites outside of Jerusalem. There remain numerous tomb structures, some rock-cut, all around Jerusalem that have been variously identified with the burial sites of the Israelite kings, although precise identification has remained controversial [Rahmani 1981; Rahmani 1982; Zorn 2006]. Given that he locates the Tombs just north of the walls of Jerusalem, it is possible that Amico is describing the particular site identified as the cave complexes at the Monastery of St. Etienne (Figs. 16-17) [Barkay and Koner 1986]. Indeed, Amico's elevation (Fig. 15) specifically accords with the axonometric projection of the architecture of Cave Complex 2, although Amico's drawings of the site have apparently remained unknown to modern Biblical archaeologists (Fig. 17) [Galor and Bloedhorn 2015; Lufrani 2019].

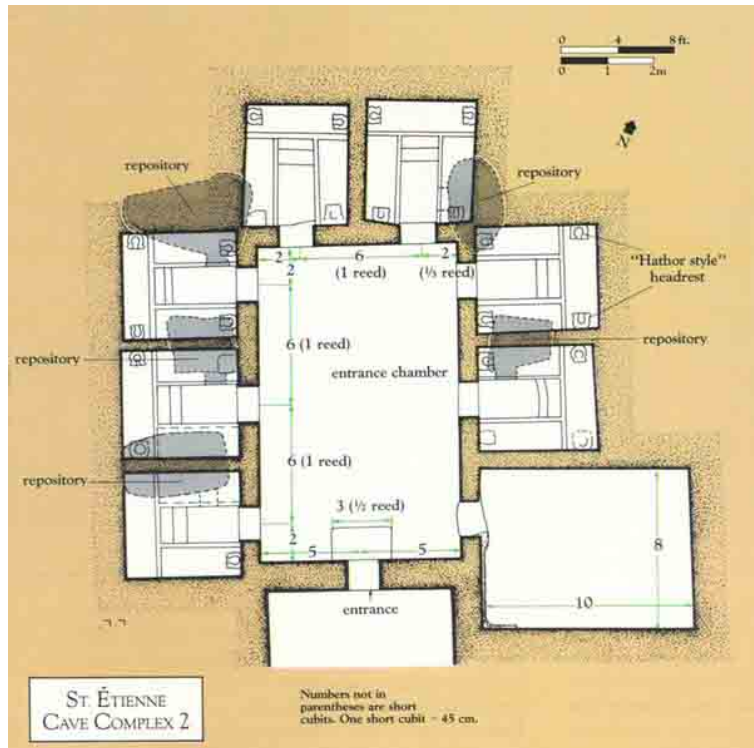


Figure 16. Ronny Reich, Cave Complex 2 at St. Etienne Monastery in Jerusalem, from G. Barkay and A. Koner. *Jerusalem Tombs from the "Days of the First Temple."* *Biblical Archaeology Review*. 12.2 (1986).

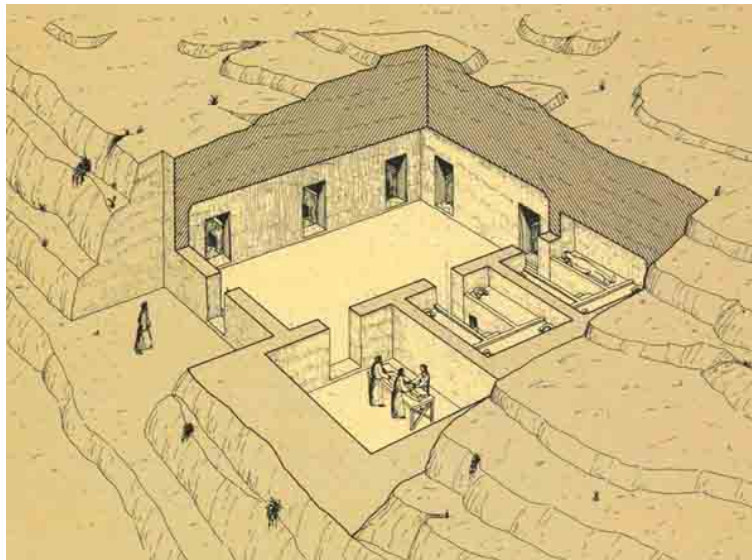


Figure 17. Leen Ritmeyer, Cave Complex 2 at St. Etienne Monastery in Jerusalem, from G. Barkay and A. Koner. *Jerusalem Tombs from the "Days of the First Temple."* *Biblical Archaeology Review*. 12.2 (1986).

## 5. IMAGINED RESTORATION

Amico asserts that the building containing the Tombs of the Israelite Kings constitutes one of the oldest buildings in the world; yet, his drawings delineate the model of a completely intact building without any signs of ruination. With this particularly ancient building, the reader suspects that his drawings are offering a model of an ideally restored state. The potential for architectural drawings to not only offer a virtual experience of a distant building of historical importance, but also to offer a complete restoration that differs from reality, is most directly suggested by his view of the Chapel at Matariyya outside of Cairo (Fig. 18).



Figure 18. Bernardino Amico, Chapel at Matariyya outside of Cairo, from "Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa" (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

This building was not illustrated in the first edition of the book, but added to the second. The holy place located outside of Cairo incorporated a miraculous pool of water and balsam tree, associated with the chrism of Baptism at least since the time of the Crusades [Milwright 2003]. Amico's own account of the restoration of the related chapel, which he began in 1597, included allusion to resistance of Ottoman authorities, suggesting that the project was never completed as he intended. It is most likely that Amico's drawing more resembles his intentions for restoration than the real

state of the chapel at Matariyya. By envisioning intact buildings in Egypt and throughout the Holy Land, Amico's drawings denied the reality of material degradation and challenges to restoration. Together, his drawings fulfilled the desire expressed in his preface of the material restoration and uncontested possession of the sacred buildings.

The churches of the Holy Land as they are presented in Amico's book inhabit an ambivalent space, that is at once defined by realistic effects of architectural forms carefully measured and rendered on site – as he details in the accompanying text – but at other moments by imagined restoration, that departs from the reality of the sites. The presentation of his drawings also makes it impossible to distinguish reality from imagined restoration, as with the Chapel at Matariyya and the Tombs of the Israelite Kings. His modeling of the Way of the Cross in Jerusalem (Figs. 19-22) even more complexly merged reality with both fictive history and desired restoration.



Figure 19. Bernardino Amico, *The Palace of Pilate and the First Part of the Way of the Cross*, from *Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa* (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

Amico presents the Via Dolorosa, or Sorrowful Way, in a sequence of four perspectival views that allow the reader to imagine progressing from the eastern side of the city to the west, where Jesus was believed (by Catholics) to have been crucified and entombed. The first view (Fig. 19) incorporates

the Scala Santa or Holy Stair, an architectural relic located in Rome since the time of Constantine and Helena, and the Column of the Flagellation in the Church of Santa Prassede also in Rome, there since the thirteenth century. In the medieval period, it was claimed that the staircase in the papal palace of the Lateran had been transported from Jerusalem by Helena and that these steps were the very ones that Jesus had climbed before being judged by Pontius Pilate.

The column of the Flagellation in Rome was also said to have been brought from the Palace of Pontius Pilate in Jerusalem. Since the earliest periods of Christian pilgrimage, the column was perceived as a significant relic of Christ's sufferings in the Passion, being marked with not just his blood but also the imprints of his hands, made when he was bound and whipped before Pilate. There were and still are multiple fragmentary columns, including two in Jerusalem, that various Christian groups presented as the true Column of the Flagellation [Moore 2017].



Figure 20. Bernardino Amico, *The Second Part of the Way of the Cross*, from *"Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifi di Terra Santa"* (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

By incorporating the Roman Column of the Flagellation along with the Scala Santa in his view of the Way of the Cross in Jerusalem, Amico created a context for legitimizing claims regarding the "real" status and origins of the architectural relics in Rome. The view of the Palace of Pilate is followed by

the portion of the Way of the Cross with the Ecce Homo arch and where Christ encountered the women and Veronica (Fig. 21). For the latter, a real Mamluk-era building in Jerusalem with no historical relationship to Christian pilgrimage buildings was reimagined as the home of the legendary Veronica [Brown 2020]. This fictional house of Veronica, identified with a real building in Jerusalem since at the fourteenth century, provided a concrete origin point for the Roman relic, said to have the imprint of Christ's face created when he fell under the weight of the Cross and Veronica wiped blood from his face with her veil [Blaauw 2014; Murphy-O'Connor 2012, 112-13].



Figure 21. Bernardino Amico, *The Third Part of the Way of the Cross*, from *Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa* (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

The fourth part of the Way of the Cross (Fig. 22) is depicted as suddenly emerging into the mountainous landscape outside the walls of the ancient city. Until this point, the Way of the Cross was presented primarily in terms of the real architecture of the modern city; the sudden switch to the ancient city reflects the interest in connecting the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher to the events of the Crucifixion and Entombment on Mount Calvary, before the construction of the related Constantinian church. Amico's invention of the landscape of Mount Calvary with the three crosses (but no human figures) was nonetheless seamlessly merged with the descriptive language of realism and eyewitness observation employed for the preceding sections of the Way of the Cross.



Figure 22. Bernardino Amico, *The Fourth Part of the Way of the Cross*, from *Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa* (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

By doing so, Amico's representation of the Way of the Cross silently invalidated the Protestant objections to the historical authenticity of the traditional identification of the location of the Crucifixion of Christ on Mount Calvary; since the beginning of the Reformation, Protestants had asserted that the site enshrined by the Church of the Holy Sepulcher could not have been the true location of the Crucifixion, since it was within the walls of the city of Jerusalem.

Amico's view of Mount Calvary is explicitly presented as directly outside the walls of the city and is immediately followed by the elevation of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 23), thus confirming – from the Catholic perspective – the authenticity of that church.



Figure 23. Bernardino Amico, *Elevation of the Exterior of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher*, from *Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa* (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

## 6. MAPPING ANCIENT AND MODERN JERUSALEM

Although Amico asks his readers to perceive his renderings in terms of real material buildings, his departure from observed reality in the Holy Land, particularly in his rendering of the Way of the Cross, created another level of potential effect of his drawings. At times, his architectural drawings are presented as faithful, meticulously measured models of the churches as they exist. At other times, there are suggestions that the drawings restore a lost historical state, but this restorative vision is merged with features of the contemporary city, in a way that blurs distinctions between the real and imagined. By merging the imagined, historical past with the observable present, he allowed his viewers to see buildings in an expanded temporal dimension. The effect, or force, of the drawings depended upon the special abilities of architecture to evoke various aspects of the past and present of a single site.

In various ways, Amico's treatise suggests that the modeling and experiencing of the pilgrimage churches, because of their deep associations with history of sites, implicated not just the

representation of space, but also time. This becomes most explicit in the renderings of the entire city of Jerusalem, presented in paired views of the modern and ancient city (Figs. 24-25). The juxtaposition of the present and past states of Jerusalem allows architecture to register temporal difference in terms of architectural and urban formations. The view of the modern city was primarily based upon the earlier work of the Franciscan Antonio de Angelis, as Bernardino Amico himself tells us in the text of his treatise. Fra Antonio's map had been published in Rome in 1578; Amico reports that he was denied access to various sites within the city; without this access, he was unable to create a comparably totalizing view of the modern Jerusalem. This story implies that the reader is to understand the larger significance of the map of modern Jerusalem in terms of antagonism between the Ottoman authorities and the Franciscans.



Figure 24. Bernardino Amico, *The City of Jerusalem*, from "Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa" (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

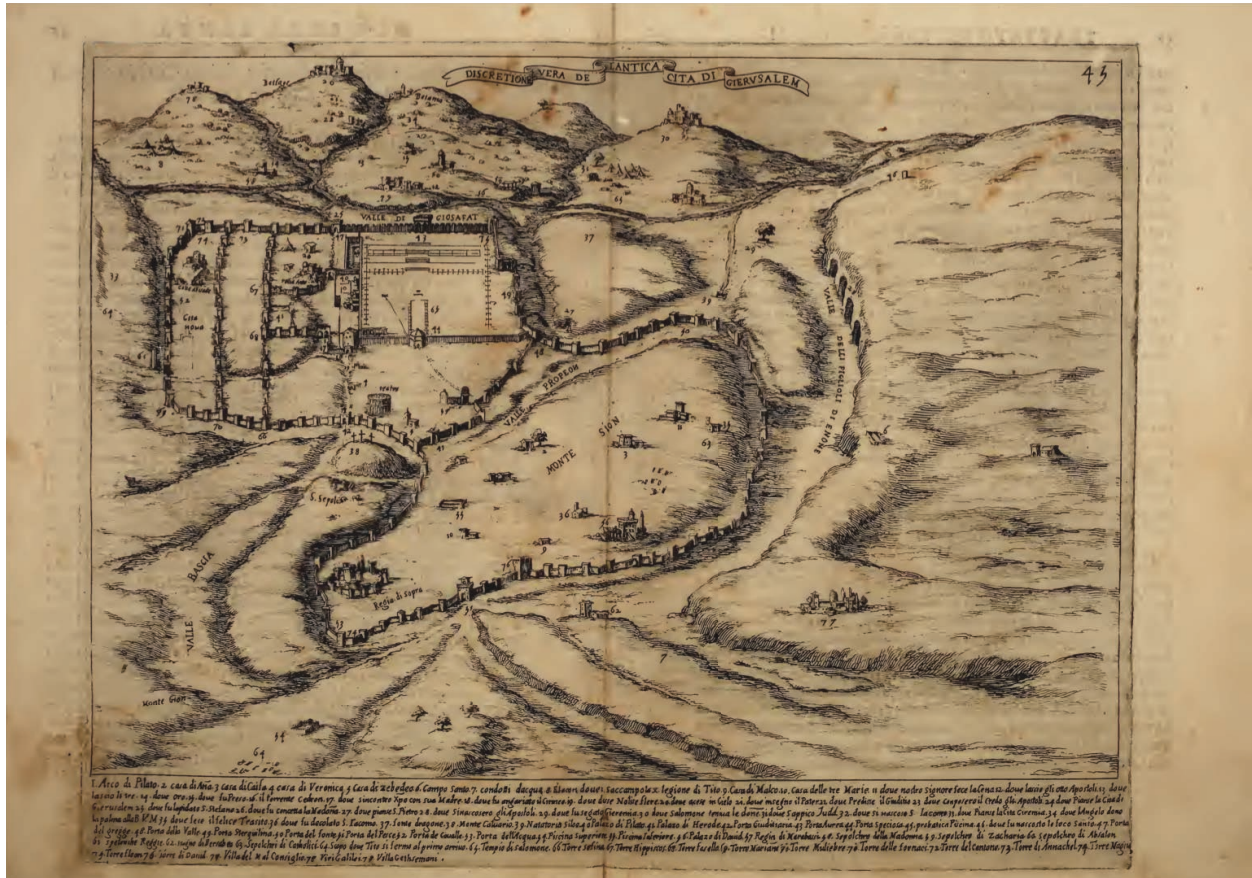


Figure 25. Bernardino Amico, True Description of the Ancient City of Jerusalem, from "Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa" (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

The map of modern Jerusalem is followed by that of ancient Jerusalem. Amico carefully represented the site of Calvary outside the walls of the ancient city and situated the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in the same location in the modern city, thus reiterating the Catholic conviction regarding the authenticity of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher [Corbo 1981; Morris 2005]. Modelling the modern city in relation to the ancient city also provided a way to make a more general Christian claim upon the sacred territory of Jerusalem. More particularly, by choosing to model Jerusalem at the moment when the Temple of Solomon existed, Amico engaged with questions regarding the authenticity, or territorial belonging, of Islamic architecture in Jerusalem. The juxtaposition of the modern city with a historical vision of the Jewish Temple also implied a desired restoration of that Temple, that would entail the Islamic building's destruction. The site of the Dome of the Rock was associated with both the destruction and restoration of the Jewish Temple, both within history and in the future. For Muslims, Christians, and Jews, the former location of the Temple was also the site of the apocalyptic Temple.

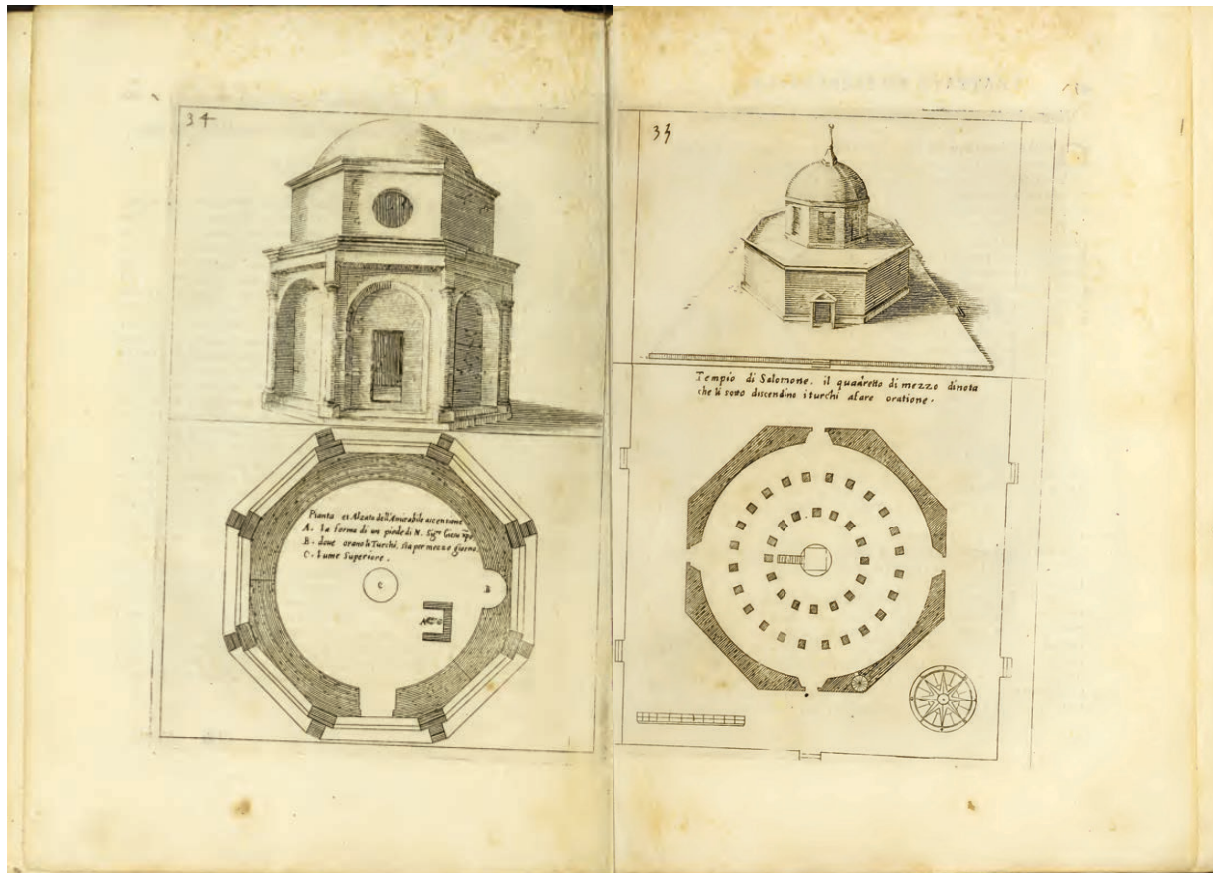


Figure 26. Bernardino Amico, *Church of the Ascension and the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem*, from "Trattato delle piante & immagini de sacri edifizii di Terra Santa" (Florence, 1620). Engraving by Jacques Callot. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library (Internet Archive).

In the more detailed rendering of the Dome of the Rock (Fig. 26) constructed on the platform of the destroyed Jewish Temple c. 691/2, Amico made explicit his opinion that this modern Islamic building had – in his view – no authentic relationship to its sacred site. Although it is called the Temple of Solomon, he states, the building had wrongfully “usurped” this name, just as it had usurped the site. Amico also represented the Temple of Solomon (i.e., Dome of the Rock) opposite the Church of the Ascension on similar scales and in paired elevations and groundplans. Although located on two different mountains in the city – the Mount of Olives and Mount Moriah – in the virtual space of the book the reader perceives these buildings in direct opposition. The accompanying text expands upon Amico’s characterization of the antagonistic relationship of the two buildings, which the reader is to understand as standing for larger conflicts between the Ottoman authorities and Franciscan Custody, and Islam and Christianity more generally. The Church of the Ascension, we are told – and see in the accompanying groundplan – contains just one of the footprints of Jesus commemorating his Ascension into heaven; the other footprint has been stolen by the Ottomans and placed in the Dome of the Rock. This story, recounted in other contexts since the middle of the sixteenth century,

was undoubtedly a fabrication of unknown origin. Although not explicitly stated in Amico's book, the story again implies that the Islamic building known as the Dome of the Rock is inauthentic, not only in its use of the name Temple of Solomon but also in its claims to house a sacred footprint, associated by Muslims with the ascension of Muhammad into heaven [Moore 2017].

## 7. CONCLUSION

In the contemporary period, the focus of scholarly attention on virtual reconstruction of buildings perceived as symbols of a religious community, especially when associated with historical origins, renew questions about how the representation of architecture can become the basis of a global community's claims of exclusive inheritance of a real territory. Calls for a comprehensive global virtual heritage seldom acknowledge how architecture can become the basis of claims upon territories of cyberspace. A deeper understanding of the pre-digital history of heritage movements, and particularly the role of certain religious ideologies, will likely problematize assumptions that global virtual heritage constitutes a quintessentially post-religious Enlightenment enterprise. Perhaps further exploration of the historical, pre-digital precedents for global virtual heritage might ultimately help us to better understand the historical landscape of cyberspace itself, and the particular role of architecture – real and imagined – in extending paradigms of experience and value from the past into the future.

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