

CORPUS

JERUSALEM

Cr. *Ierusalem, Ierosolima, Iherusalem*; Ar. *al-Quds ash-Sharif*; Hebr. *Yerushalayim*

The city of Jerusalem was first in Frankish hands from 15 July 1099, when it fell to the army of the First Crusade, until 2 October 1187, when it was surrendered to Saladin. In February 1229, the emperor Frederick II negotiated the return of the city to the Franks with al-Malik al-Kāmil I, but it was not until May 1244 that Christian control of the Haram ash-Sharif (or Temple area) was re-established under the terms of a treaty made between the Templars and the Ayyubid rulers of Damascus, Hims and Karak. By the end of the same year, however, Frankish rule over Jerusalem ended with the invasion of the Khwarizmian Turks.

In the twelfth century, a succession of Latin patriarchs occupied the formerly Greek patriarchal see, claiming

authority over both Latin and local Orthodox Christians and numbering the Armenian and Jacobite metropolitans among their suffragans. The Orthodox, however, also maintained a succession of patriarchs in exile in Cyprus and Constantinople (see Table 1). Only one of these, Leontius II, actually visited Jerusalem during the period of Crusader occupation, in 1177–8, when he received a cool reception from the Latin establishment there. After Saladin's conquest, however, the Greek patriarchate was re-established in the city and the Greeks regained control of their churches. During the thirteenth century, although the Latin patriarch, Robert of Nantes, may have visited the city briefly in 1244, the Latin patriarch normally resided in Acre. (On the Latin and Orthodox churches in Jerusalem during the time of the Crusader kingdom, see Hamilton 1979; 1980; 1996; Kirstein 2002; Pahlitzsch 1993; 1999; 2001.)

During the twelfth century the Franks undertook an extensive building campaign to re-establish the principal shrine churches of the Holy City and redefine its sacred

Table 1 Greek Orthodox and Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem between 1099 and 1244

Greek Orthodox	Latin
Symeon II (after 1088/99–before 1106/17)	Arnulf of Chocques (elected 1099, not consecrated) Daimbert of Pisa (1099–1101) Evremar of Chocques (1102–8)
John VIII (1106/17–before 1116/17)	Gibelin of Arles (1108–12) Arnulf of Chocques (1112–18)
Sabas (1116/17–before 1122)	Warmund of Picquigny (1118–28)
Nicolas (before 1122–c.1156)	Stephen of Chartres (1128–30) William I (1130–45) Fulcher (1145–57)
John IX (before 1157–before 1161?)	Amalric of Neslé (1157–80)
Nicephorus II (before 1166–1176) Leontius II (1176–85)	Heraclius (1180–91)
Dositheus I (1185–9) Mark II (1189–?)	Aimery the Monk (1197–1202) Soffred, cardinal of S. Prassede (1203) Albert of Vercelli (1205–14) Ralph of Merencourt (1215–24) Gerold of Lausanne (1225–39)
Euthymius II (?–1230) Athanasius II (c.1231–44)	Robert of Nantes (1240–54)

Source: Information from Hamilton 1980: 373–4; Pahlitzsch 2001: 383

geography. Many of these buildings replaced or augmented structures that had existed in Byzantine times and had either fallen into decay through centuries of neglect or been deliberately destroyed, notably during the reign of Caliph al-Ḥākim (996–1021). Apart from the church of the Holy Sepulchre and its related chapels (**no. 283**), which had already been restored during the eleventh century, the churches rebuilt during the twelfth century included many associated with the life and Passion of Christ. To the Christian Franks, the Muslims' Dome of the Rock (Qubbat as-Sakhra) became the Lord's Temple (*Templum Domini*, **no. 367**), in which Jesus had been circumcised and presented by His parents, while the Mihrab Maryam, containing the crib of the infant Jesus, was reinterpreted as the dwelling of St Simeon, where Mary and the Child Jesus had stayed (**no. 339**). On the Mount of Olives, Constantine's *Eleona* church, associated with Christ's instruction of His disciples, was rebuilt in the 1150s as the church of the Lord's Prayer (**no. 298**), while the Golden Gate on the east side of the Temple, through which He entered the city on Palm Sunday, was also made into a church (**no. 293**). A chapel was built over the Sheep Pool, where Jesus cured the paralytic (**no. 366**). The room of the Last Supper occupied part of the great rebuilt church of St Mary of Mount Sion (**no. 336**). The place in Gethsemane where He prayed three times to the Father was enclosed within the church of the Saviour (**no. 357**), while the nearby cave in which He left three Apostles and was subsequently arrested was made into a chapel (**no. 292**). In the twelfth century there were two rival traditions regarding the route along which Jesus had passed from His place of trial and condemnation to the place of execution on Calvary. One tradition associated the Roman *Praetorium* and the houses of the priests Caiaphas and Annas with Mount Sion (**nos. 296, 336, 352, 358**); but the existence of another, which placed the *Praetorium* in the vicinity of the Antonia Fortress on the northern edge of the Temple precinct, led to the development of an alternative Way of the Cross beginning in the Street of Jehoshaphat, the present-day Via Dolorosa. According to this tradition, after His arrest in Gethsemane, Jesus was kept overnight in a prison, the chapel of the Repose (**no. 301**), located against the north wall of the Temple precinct. The house of Pilate, containing the chapel of the Flagellation (**no. 289**), lay on the north side of the street. The wood used for making the Cross was supposedly taken from the Sheep Pool at the eastern end of the street, where it had been discarded after the destruction of Solomon's Temple; this pool was identified either with the pools of Bethesda (**no. 366**) or, as the Templars seem to have preferred, with Birkat Isra'īl between the street and the Temple precinct. Until Saladin's conquest, this devotional way appears to have crossed the

Temple precinct itself, entering perhaps at Bab al-ʿAtim and exiting at Bab an-Nazir, which was known as the 'Sorrowful Gate'. It remains uncertain whether the small domed aedicule known variously as Qubbat Sulaiman (*q.v.*) or Kursi ʿIsa (the Throne of Jesus), which stands between these two gates, might have been connected with it. With the exclusion of Christians from the Haram, however, the devotional way must have followed a different course. It may have been in the thirteenth century that the chapel that is known today as that of the Condemnation (**no. 286**) and the church of St Mary of the Spasm (**no. 342**), where the Virgin Mary swooned at the sight of her Son on His way to execution, came to be associated with it. In the church of the Holy Sepulchre (**no. 283**) itself were to be found not only the place of Christ's Crucifixion on Calvary and that of His burial and Resurrection, but also an alternative miniaturized Way of the Cross set out under one roof. The site of Jesus' post-Resurrection reappearance to the Apostles on Mount Sion was shown in the church of St Mary of Mount Sion (**no. 336**), and the site of His later appearance on Mount Galilee was also marked by a church (**no. 299**). Finally, on the summit of the Mount of Olives, the church of the Ascension (**no. 284**) was also rebuilt.

Among the sites specifically associated with the devotion accorded by Christians to the Virgin Mary were: the church of St Anne (**no. 305**), where she was said to have been born and where her parents, St Joachim and St Anne, were buried; the Temple (**no. 367**), where she went for purification after the birth of Jesus; St Mary of the Spasm, where she swooned on seeing her Son on His way to Crucifixion (**no. 342**); St Mary Latin (**no. 334**), marking the place from which she observed the Crucifixion and rent her hair, although similar traditions were also associated with the nearby church of St Mary the Great (**no. 335**); St Mary of the Mount of Olives (**no. 341**), where an angel foretold her impending death; St Mary of Mount Sion (**no. 336**), where she fell asleep in the house of St John; and St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (**no. 337**), where the Apostles laid her to rest and from where she was borne up to heaven.

Churches and chapels associated with the Apostles and the beginnings of the Church included: the chapel of the Holy Spirit in the church of St Mary of Mount Sion (**no. 336**), where the Holy Spirit came down on the Apostles at Pentecost; St Peter of the Cock Crow (**no. 352**), where Peter denied knowing Christ; St Peter in Fetters (**no. 353**), where he was imprisoned, and the church of St Mary at the house of Mary Mark, to which he went after his miraculous release from prison (**no. 343**); St Stephen (**no. 359**), where the proto-martyr's remains were buried north of the city at the time of Empress Eudocia (AD 444), and the nearby chapel of St Paul (**no. 350**), marking the spot from

which Paul had watched his stoning; St James the Great, where the Apostle was decapitated and where his head was preserved (no. 318); and the chapels marking the place of martyrdom of St James the Less (no. 319), first bishop of Jerusalem, and his place of burial in the Kidron Valley (no. 320).

Among the Latin religious houses established in Jerusalem in the twelfth century, Augustinian canons served the churches of the Holy Sepulchre (no. 283), the Ascension (no. 284), St Mary of Mount Sion (no. 336) and the *Templum Domini* (no. 367). Benedictine monks served in St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat (no. 337) and its dependent church of St Saviour (no. 357), and in St Mary Latin (no. 334) and its dependent church of St Stephen (no. 359) and chapel at St Stephen's Gate (no. 338). Benedictine nuns meanwhile served in St Mary the Great (formerly St Mary Magdalene, no. 335), St Anne (no. 305) and St John the Evangelist (no. 324), which represented the city residence of the nuns of Bethany (Vol. I, nos. 59–60). Of the military orders, the Hospitallers took over the former Orthodox church of St John the Baptist (no. 322) and by the 1150s had probably built a new conventual church facing the south door of the Holy Sepulchre (no. 323). Their master also had charge of the church and hospital of St Mary of the Germans (no. 333) and the burial chapel of St Mary in Akeldama (no. 332). The conventual buildings of the Templars arranged within the structure of the Aqsa mosque included a conventual chapel (no. 368), and by the time of Saladin's conquest they had also built a large new church on the west side of the mosque (no. 369). The leper house of St Lazarus (no. 328) was established outside the walls to the north-west of the city during the 1130s; but the community did not achieve the status of a military order until the following century. During the period of Christian control of Jerusalem between 1229 and 1244, the Teutonic Order gained possession of St Mary of the Germans (no. 333), despite Hospitaller protestations. In the same period the Dominicans (no. 288) and Franciscans (no. 290) also had houses in the city. From the early fourteenth century onwards the latter were also able to establish a house adjacent to the Room of the Last Supper, or Cenacle (no. 336), on Mount Sion; they were finally evicted from it in 1551, but in 1558–9 acquired instead the Orthodox monastery of St John the Evangelist, rededicating the church to St Saviour (no. 325).

Other Latin churches and chapels served the immigrant western population, including St Longinus (no. 329), which may perhaps be identified as the Chapel Royal in the Citadel (no. 285), St Agnes (no. 303), St Giles (no. 317), St Julian (no. 327), St Martin (no. 331), St Pastor (no. 349) and St Stephen of Hungary, to which was attached a

hospice for Hungarians (no. 361). Outside the walls, the cemetery chapel of St Mamilla (no. 330) belonged to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre and that of St Mary in Akeldama (no. 332) to the Hospitallers. None of the Italian city republics, however, seems ever to have established a church in Jerusalem, and the supposed grant of a church to the commune of Marseilles by Baldwin III in September 1152 has been shown to be a thirteenth-century forgery (RRH, 70, no. 286; Mayer 1972b).

In the twelfth century, Orthodox clergy continued to serve in various chapels in and around the church of the Holy Sepulchre (no. 283). Other churches which are known or may be assumed to have been Orthodox include those of St Abraham (no. 302), St Anastasia (no. 304), St Anne (no. 306), possibly St Bartholomew (no. 307), St Basil (no. 308), St Catherine (no. 309), St Chariton (no. 310), St Cosmas (no. 311), St Demetrius (no. 312), St Elias (no. 313), St Euthymius (no. 314), St George (no. 315), St George in the Market (no. 316), St John the Evangelist (no. 325), St Mary Hodegetria (no. 340), St Mary of the Mount of Olives (no. 341), St Michael the Archangel (no. 345), St Nicolas (no. 347), St Onuphrius (no. 348), St Pelagia (no. 351), St Procopius (no. 354), St Thecla (no. 362), St Theodore (no. 363), and an unidentified church in the *Juiverie* Quarter (no. 297). The monastery of St Sabas in the Kidron Valley (Vol. II, nos. 216–17) maintained a church of the same name associated with a *metochion* in the city (no. 355), while the abbey of St Catherine of Mount Sinai (Vol. II, no. 150) maintained the hospital of St Moses (no. 346). Some other unattributed buildings were also quite possibly Orthodox (nos. 294–5, 370). With the departure of the Hospitallers after 1187, the church of St John the Baptist (no. 322) was also returned to Orthodox use. Although the Orthodox churches would have catered for Georgians, Serbs and Russians as well as Greeks and Arabs, a convent of Georgian nuns is specifically mentioned in 1120–1 (no. 291); and in the 1230s a Serbian monastery of St John the Evangelist (no. 326) was established on Mount Sion.

Among the non-Chalcedonian Christian communities, who also maintained chapels in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Armenians possessed the cathedral church of St James the Great (no. 318) and the churches of the Holy Archangels (no. 296), St Peter of the Cock Crow (no. 352) and St Sarkis (no. 356). By the end of the thirteenth century they had also acquired the chapel of St Saviour on Mount Sion (no. 358). Their church of St Theodore, or T'oros (no. 364), probably existed by the later thirteenth century and that of St Stephen (no. 360) by 1334, but it is uncertain whether either existed at the time of the Frankish kingdom. It seems likely, however, that the church of St Thomas (no. 365) was Armenian in the twelfth

century, even though it was later held by the Jacobites. In the twelfth century the church of St Mary Magdalene and Simon the Pharisee (**no. 344**) represented the cathedral of the Jacobites. They possibly also possessed the smaller church of St James the Persian (**no. 321**). In this period the Copts would normally have made use of the same churches as the Jacobites, though an unnamed church was specifically founded for them in 1092 (**no. 287**). Its twelfth-century successor was quite possibly the church of St Mary, associated with the house of Mary Mark (today the church of St Mark, **no. 343**), which the Jacobites acquired from them in the 1470s following their loss of St Mary Magdalene.

A number of other national communities are also recorded as having possessed churches or chapels in Jerusalem in the twelfth century, though it may perhaps be questioned whether the lists of them set out in the sources are to be taken quite literally. John of Würzburg (*c.*1165), for example, concludes his description of Jerusalem thus:

In describing in this way the venerable places in the Holy City of Jerusalem, beginning from the church of the Holy Sepulchre and going in a circle by way of David's Gate until we returned to where we started, I have omitted many chapels and lesser churches, which people of various nations and tongues (*add.* all of them true practising Christians) have there. For there are there Greeks, Latins, Germans, Hungarians (*var.* Bulgars), Scots, Navarese, Bretons, English (*add.* French), Ruthenians, Bohemians (*Boemi*), Georgians, Armenians, Syrians (*Suriani*), Jacobites, Syrians (*Syri*), Nestorians, Indians, Egyptians, Copts (*Cephti*), *Caphturici*, Maronites, and many others whom it would be long to list. (*CCCM*, cxxxix, 137–8; cf. *PPTS*, v, 69)

The descriptions of the city included in the chronicle of Ernoul and in the Rothelin continuation of William of Tyre's chronicle also list those non-uniatic communities who possessed houses and chapels as Syrians, Greeks (*Griffons*), Jacobites, Bohemians (*Boamins*, *Boavinz*), Nestorians and Armenians (Ernoul, xvii (ed. de Mas Latrie, 209–10; ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 52); *Cont. de Guillaume de Tyr* (Rothelin), ix (*RHC Occ*, II, 507; ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 162; cf. trans. Shirley, 22–3)).

The rebuilding of its churches, although a massive undertaking in itself, was only part of the construction activity pursued by the Franks in the Holy City during the twelfth century. Other works included: the repair and strengthening of the town walls damaged during the siege, particularly from 1178 onwards when a sum of money was set aside annually for the purpose (see **no. 338**); the enlargement of the Citadel, known as David's Tower (see **no. 285**), and the construction of a royal palace adjacent to it; the building of covered markets and shops, under royal and ecclesiastical patronage (see **no. 305**); the development of an enormous hospital complex by the Order of

St John in the Muristan area, south of the Holy Sepulchre (**nos. 322–3**); and the provision of an adequate water supply through the construction of cisterns, collection pools and aqueducts. Much of this building work is alluded to throughout this book in the discussion of individual churches and their endowments, but it would be to go beyond the parameters of this study to give it the same level of treatment as that accorded to churches. Further information on the buildings and urban infrastructure of Crusader Jerusalem, however, may be found in other publications (e.g. Vincent and Abel 1914: 945–73; Abel 1924a; Prawer 1952; 1975a; 1980: 85–101; 1985; Benvenisti 1970: 35–73; Pringle 1991; 1997: 53–6; Boas 2001).

No. 283 Church of the Holy Sepulchre or Resurrection, with Associated Chapels of St Mary (no. 283.1), St John the Evangelist (no. 283.2), the Holy Trinity (or St John the Baptist) (no. 283.3), St James (no. 283.4), St Helena (no. 283.5) and the Canons' Infirmary (no. 283.6) 1718.1317 (Map 2)

History

The Gospels tell us that Jesus was crucified outside the city walls at a place called Golgotha, meaning the 'place of the skull' (κρανίου τόπος, *Calvariae locus*: Matthew 27.33; cf. Mark 15.22; Luke 23.33; John 19.17). His body was subsequently laid in a new rock-cut tomb, which Joseph of Arimathea had prepared for himself and which John affirms was located in the same garden in which the Crucifixion had taken place (John 19.41–2; cf. Matthew 28.57–61; Mark 15.42–7; Luke 23.50–6). Between AD 41 and 69, the city walls were extended to enclose the area that Christians later identified as that in which the Crucifixion, burial and Resurrection of Christ had occurred. To judge by remarks made by Jerome, in AD 135, when Hadrian re-established the city as a Roman colony, *Ælia Capitolina*, the site of the Crucifixion came to be overlain by a temple of Venus, or Aphrodite (*Epist.*, LVIII (*PL*, xxii, 581)). According to Eusebius, the construction work involved covering the site of the tomb with a deep deposit of earth, which was then paved over obscuring all trace of it (*Vita Constantini*, III, 26 (*GSC*, VII, 95; *PG*, xx, 1085–8; trans. Cameron and Hall, 132); cf. *ELS*, 619–20; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 65–71). Thus the site remained for almost two centuries.

When Constantine made Christianity the official religion in the eastern part of the Roman Empire in 324, he instructed the provincial authorities to demolish the temple of Venus, to excavate the tomb of Christ and, taking

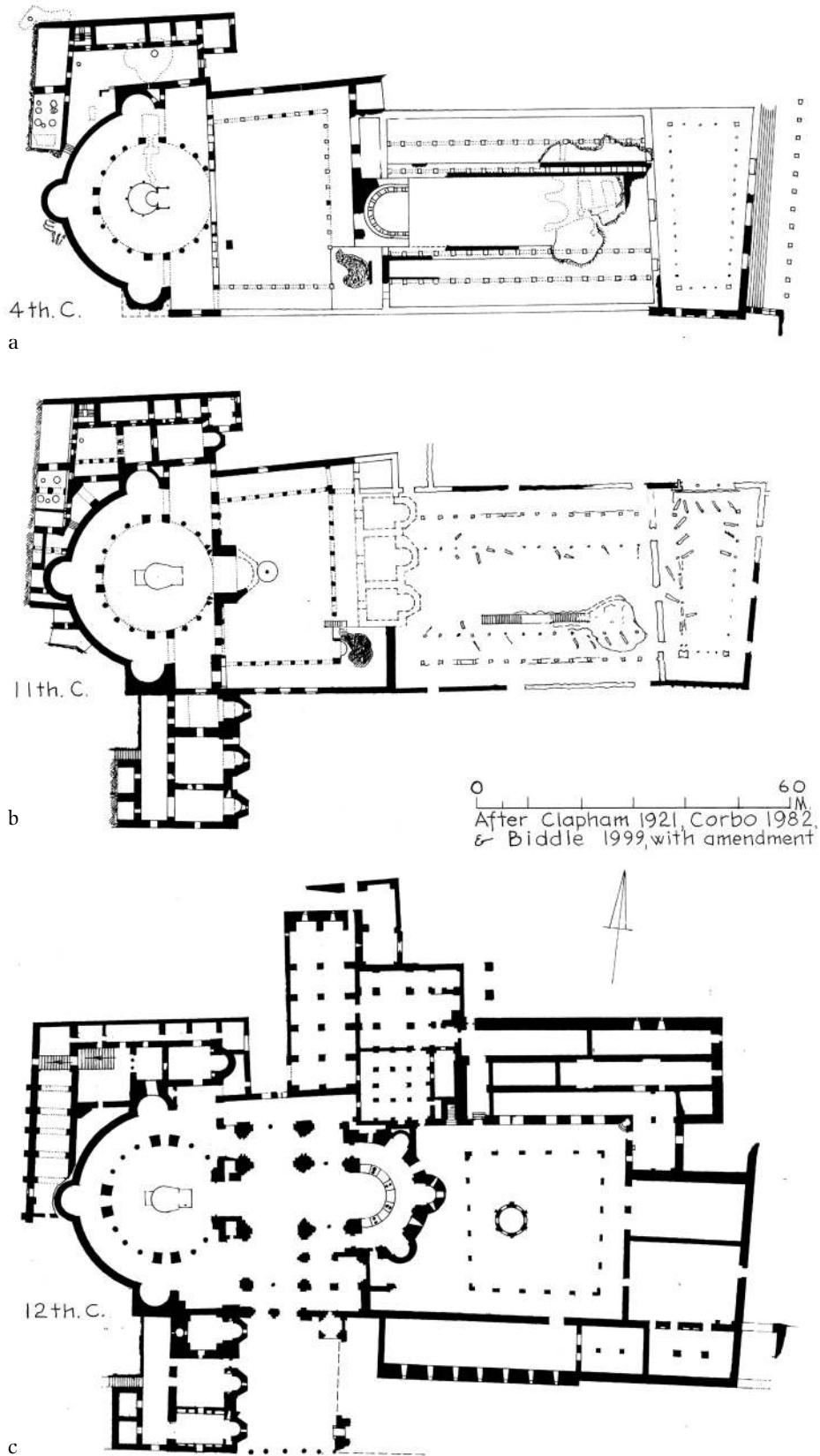
advice from Macarius, the bishop of Jerusalem, to construct a basilica that would outshine all others. The complex that took shape under the direction of the provincial governor, Dracillianus, is described by Eusebius. The cave was embellished with columns and other decorative features. To the east of it lay a paved court enclosed on three sides by porticoes. The basilica lay east of this. Its nave was flanked to either side by two aisles with galleries over them, all enclosed by gilded coffered ceilings, above which was a leaded timber roof. At the west end stood a semi-circular apse (ἡμισφαίριον) encircled by twelve columns capped with silver bowls, representing the Apostles (cf. *Breviarius A*, I (CCSL, CLXXV, 109)). The basilica had three doors facing east, before which lay an atrium enclosed by porticoes and east of that the main entrance and *propylaea* facing on to the colonnaded market street (*Vita Constantini*, III, 25–40 (GSC, VII, 94–101; PG, xx, 1085–110; ELS, 619–23; trans. Cameron and Hall, 132–7); cf. differing translations by Mango 1972: 11–14; Wilkinson 1981: 164–71; Corbo 1982: I, 41–7; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 73; and commentary in Cameron and Hall 1999: 281–91).

Neither Eusebius nor the pilgrim from Bordeaux who visited Jerusalem in 333 mentions any building over the cave or around Calvary, though the latter refers to a cistern and baptistery beside the basilica (CCSL, CLXXV, 17; trans. Wilkinson, 158). At the time of the dedication of the basilica on 13 September 335, the complex therefore appears to have been as Eusebius described it. By c. 348, however, the 'place of the Holy Resurrection' was itself also enclosed in a building (Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.*, XVIII, 33 (PG, XXXIII, 1056)). Egeria, describing the liturgies revolving around the complex c. 384, calls this structure the Anastasis or 'basilica of the Resurrection' (*basilica Anastasis*). Constantine's basilica she refers to as 'the Great Church known as the Martyrium because it is on Golgotha behind the Cross' and the court between them as 'the court before the Cross' (chs. XXIV–XLIX (CCSL, CLXXV, 67–90; trans. Wilkinson, 123–47); ELS, 627–34; cf. Wilkinson 1977: 175).

Archaeological research indicates that the area in which Constantine's church complex was built had been used as a quarry since the Iron Age and in the early first century AD was being used for burials. The tomb identified as that of Christ was one such, cut into an east-facing slope (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 51–63). Constantine's builders therefore isolated the tomb chamber and the rock immediately enclosing it and faced it in marble to form a free-standing aedicule with a columned porch, surrounded by a level paved area (Wilkinson 1972: 82–3, 91–7; Corbo 1982: I, 71–5; Biddle 1999: 20–8). The building that later enclosed this took the form of a rounded structure with a

central drum carried on twelve pink limestone columns, arranged in four sets of three interspersed with pairs of masonry piers; doubtless this supported a timber roof or dome (see fig. 1a). On the north, west and south the colonnade was surrounded by a curving ambulatory, with exedrae at the three cardinal points, while on the east it met tangentially with a straight wall, which formed the west side of the courtyard and contained the main entrance. It now appears that there was from the beginning a gallery over the ambulatory and that the bisected Corinthian column drums (originally 7.15 m high) that Ch. Coüasnon identified supporting the present gallery came from an earlier Roman building of the first to third century. The principal east door opened directly in front of the entrance to the tomb and was flanked by four smaller doors to each side, allowing free access between the rotunda and the porticoed court (Coüasnon 1974: 21–36, pls. XI–XX; Corbo 1982: I, 51–79, 223–5; II, pls. 3, 11, 21).

The rock of Golgotha, on which by Egeria's time a cross had been erected (ch. XXXVII, 1 (CCSL, CLXXV, 80; trans. Wilkinson, 136–7)), lay at the south-east corner of the court. It was represented by an irregular pillar of white red-veined limestone (*mizzi hīlu*), scarred by deep natural fractures, which stood some 4.8 m higher than the courtyard and appears to have been left by the quarriers because of its inferior quality (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 56–60). Immediately east of it lies the foundation of the west end of the southern aisles of Constantine's basilica. It is uncertain whether there was any direct communication here between Golgotha and the basilica, though the fact that the rock's upper surface would have been roughly level with the basilica's pavement suggests that to be quite likely. If so, those parts of the liturgy that Egeria describes as happening 'behind the Cross' may perhaps be best understood as having taken place in the south aisle with the congregation facing the cross on Golgotha, rather than in the main body of the Great Church or Martyrium (cf. Egeria, XXIV, 7; XXXV, 1–2; XXXVII, 1–8 (CCSL, CLXXV, 68–9, 78–9, 80–2; trans. Wilkinson, 124, 134–5, 136–8)). Otherwise the only direct means of communication between the courtyard and the basilica would have been at the west end of the northern aisles, on the north side of the apse. The overall size and shape of the basilica is known to us from excavation of the foundations of its apse below the choir of the present church, the survival of the foundations of its nave colonnade in the present chapel of St Helena, and the existence of elements of its eastern atrium and *propylaea* behind the present shops in Khan az-Zait Street (Coüasnon 1974: 37–53; Corbo 1982: I, 81–117, 225–7; II, pl. 3; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 73–83) (see fig. 1a).



1 Church of the Holy Sepulchre (no. 283): key plan showing the development of the complex in the fourth, eleventh and twelfth centuries.

One other significant event that is supposed to have occurred during the building of Constantine's basilica was the discovery of wood identified as having come from the Lord's Cross. This is mentioned in 347–8 by Cyril of Jerusalem, who also asserts that the find was made at the time of Constantine himself (*Cat.*, iv, 10; x, 19 (PG, xxxiii, 468–9, 685–8); *Epist. ad Constantium*, iii (PG, xxxiii, 1168); *ELS*, 624; Wilkinson 1981: 240, 332). Egeria relates that the wood was found on the date of the church's consecration and describes how in her day on Good Friday a piece of it, contained in a silver reliquary, was adored by the people on Golgotha (ch. xxxvii, 1–3; xlvi, 1–2 (CCSL, clxxv, 80–1, 89; trans. Wilkinson, 136–7, 146)). By the beginning of the fifth century the Cross's discovery had come to be firmly associated with Helena, even though she is not otherwise known to have been involved in the construction of the buildings around Golgotha (Wilkinson 1981: 240–1; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 83–5). The sixth-century *Breviarium* asserts that all three crosses had been found on the site of the basilica's apse and that the relic was kept in a room (*cubiculus*), apparently on the north side of the courtyard to the left of the west door into the basilica. The same room, which may in effect have been a first-floor sacristy (*sacrarium . . . ubi est cubiculum*), also contained the inscription, reed and sponge from the Crucifixion and the cup from the Last Supper, as well as an icon of the Virgin Mary and her girdle and headband (*Breviarium A*, i–iii (CCSL, clxxv, 109–10; trans. Wilkinson, 59–60); Piacenza Pilgrim (c.570), xx (CCSL, clxxv, 139, 164; trans. Wilkinson, 83); Sophronius, *Anac.*, xx, 47–54 (ed. Gigante, 123–5; trans. Wilkinson, 91)).

The essential form of the fourth-century complex remained unaltered for some three centuries (Eucherius (–449), vi (CCSL, clxxv, 237; trans. Wilkinson, 53); *Breviarium*, i–iii (CCSL, clxxv, 109–11; trans. Wilkinson, 59–60); Theodosius (–518), vii (CCSL, clxxv, 117–18; trans. Wilkinson, 65–6); Piacenza Pilgrim (c.570), xviii–xx (CCSL, clxxv, 138–9; trans. Wilkinson, 83); Sophronius, *Anac.*, xx, 1–54 (ed. Gigante, 123–5; trans. Wilkinson, 91); *ELS*, 634–9). On 4 May 614, however, the church was sacked by the Persians, the Anastasis and the structures around Golgotha were burnt, and the relic of the Cross was carried off to Persia along with the patriarch, Zacharias. The buildings were subsequently rebuilt or restored by Modestus, abbot of St Theodosius (Vol. II, no. 221) (later patriarch), with alms raised in Syria and gifts from the patriarch of Alexandria (Antiochus the Monk, *Ep. ad Eustathium* (PG, lxxxix, 1428); *Chron. Paschale* (PG, xcii, 988); Theophanes, a.6020 (de Boor, 328 n.26; trans. Mango and Scott, 459 n.3); Strategios, xi, 7; xiii, 6, 8, 15, 23, 26; xviii, 21; xxiii, 38; xxiv (trans. Garitte, 19, 22–4, 40, 52, 55); Eutychius (ed. Cheikho, i, 216; PG, cxl,

1084, 1089; trans. Pirone, 308, 325); *ELS*, 639 n.3; Pirone 1990: 61; Schick 1995: 328–9). The Cross itself was finally restored to the church by the emperor Heraclius on 21 March 631 (Strategios, xxiv (trans. Garitte, 54–5); cf. Coüasnon 1974: 17–18).

When Jerusalem fell to the Muslims under 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in 638, tradition relates that although Patriarch Sophronius invited the caliph to pray inside the basilica, 'Umar elected to pray instead on the steps outside, lest such a precedent should result in the church being made into a mosque. As a result, a mosque of 'Umar subsequently came to occupy the southern half of the eastern *atrium* and Muslims were forbidden to enter the church to pray (Eutychius (ed. Cheikho, ii, 17; PG, cxl, 1099–100; trans. Pirone, 335–6); *ELS*, 642 n.1; Clermont-Ganneau 1888: ii, 302–62; 1896: i, 100; Van Berchem 1922: 53–67, no. 26; Schick 1995: 329). Arculf's description of his visit c.679–88 suggests that the layout of the structures was much as it had been before the Persian sack. The main changes included the extension of the upper surface of the rock of Golgotha by the construction of a platform west of it. This was enclosed by a groin-vault carried on four masonry piers; below it was a small cave-like chapel, its apse abutting the west side of the rock, which was used for the funeral services of important people. It is possible, however, that the artificial extension of the rock platform had occurred earlier, for sixth-century sources already mention the steps by which one ascended to Golgotha (Theodosius, vii (CCSL, clxxv, 118; trans. Wilkinson, 65–6); Piacenza Pilgrim, xix (CCSL, clxxv, 138; trans. Wilkinson, 83)). Arculf also mentions and illustrates a church of St Mary on the south side of Golgotha and on the east side of the courtyard a chapel containing the cup and sponge and a wooden table for offerings placed where Abraham is supposed to have offered Isaac in sacrifice; in his drawing, however, the latter two have accidentally changed places (Adomnán, i, 2–10 (CCSL, clxxv, 186–94; trans. Wilkinson, 95–8, pls. 5–6); *ELS*, 642–5; Coüasnon 1974: 17–8, 29, 32–4, 38, 50; Wilkinson 1977: 175; Corbo 1982: i, 75, 79, 93–4, 98–101; ii, pls. 40–5; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 80–3, fig. 41).

Other seventh- and eighth-century sources describe the complex in similar terms. Epiphanius (639–89) refers to the chapel below Golgotha as the 'Tomb of Adam', while an Armenian guidebook (after 715–17) confirms the existence of galleries both in the basilica and in the Anastasis, which it states had 'twelve columns down below and twelve above in the upper chamber'. Indeed, it is likely that by this time the courtyard also had galleries over its porticoes communicating with those of the Anastasis, since Epiphanius refers to the chapel that contained the chalice, lance, sponge and reed as being above the door

into the basilica from the courtyard, while the Armenian guide places these relics in the gallery of the Anastasis itself (Epiphanius, I–II (trans. Wilkinson, 117); Armenian Guidebook, I–III (trans. Nahabedian, 200); Hugeburc, *Vita S. Willibaldi* (c.780), xviii (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 263–4; trans. Wilkinson, 129); *ELS*, 646, 648–9). The *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei* (c.808) confirms that the Holy Sepulchre, Calvary and the church of St Constantine were all under one continuous roof. At that time the church was served by a staff of more than a hundred and fifty people, including a *synkellos*, second only to the patriarch, twelve acolytes and seventeen servants attached to the patriarch, nine priests, fifteen deacons, six subdeacons, twenty-three canonical clergy, thirteen wardens, forty-one monks, two superiors, two accountants, two notaries, two cellarers, a treasurer, a cistern-keeper, nine porters, three hospitallers, and two priests serving the Holy Sepulchre, one in Calvary, two in the chapel of the Chalice and two in the chapel of the Cross and Headcloth. There were also seventeen Latin nuns serving at the Holy Sepulchre (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 301, 305; trans. Wilkinson, 137–8; *ELS*, 647).

In 813, during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn (813–33), an earthquake caused most of the roof of the Anastasis to fall down. Profiting by a temporary absence of Muslims from the city owing to a famine, the patriarch Thomas I (809–19) obtained funds to restore the roof from a wealthy Egyptian and sent to Cyprus for fifty trunks of cedar and pine with which to execute the work. As a result the dome was rebuilt with a double shell, covered in lead (Eutychius, *Annales* (PG, cxi, 1130–2; ed. Cheikho, II, 55–6; trans. Pirone, 401–2); Pirone 1990: 62–3; Gil 1984: 161–2; 1992: 459, 478–9). To Bernard the Monk, who visited c.870, the church was recognizably the one described by Bede, following Arculf (Bede, II, 1–3 (CCSL, CLXXV, 254–7)). He is the first westerner to describe the ceremony of the Holy Fire, presided over by Patriarch Theodosius (864–c.880); and he also mentions that the centre of the courtyard marked the centre of the world (ch. xi (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 314–15; trans. Wilkinson, 142–4); *ELS*, 647–8; cf. *Typicon*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 133; *ELS*, 649).

On Palm Sunday 937, rioting Muslims set fire to the south door of Constantine's basilica and burnt down half the porch, before proceeding to loot the chapel of Golgotha and the Anastasis, with great Christian loss of life (Eutychius, *Annales* (PG, cxi, 1155–6; ed. Cheikho, II, 78–9; trans. Pirone, 436); Georgian Lectionary, §266 (trans. Tarschnischvili, I, 40); Gil 1984: 160; 1992: 475–6; Pirone 1990: 62). Worse things were to follow three decades later. At Whitsun (28 May) 966, despite the support given him by Kāfūr, the Ikhshīdīd ruler of Egypt,

Patriarch John VII was forced to barricade himself in the church to resist exactions claimed from him by the local governor, Muḥammad ibn Isma'īl al-Ṣanaḡī. A Muslim and Jewish mob composed largely of the governor's relatives penetrated the church of St Constantine and set fire to the doors leading into the church of the Resurrection, the dome of which collapsed. They then entered it and plundered it. The next day the mob found the patriarch hiding in an oil-cistern and killed him. John VII's successor, Christodoulos II, subsequently restored the doors of the Anastasis, repaired the altar and started to rebuild the church; but he died prematurely in 968. Under Thomas II (969–78) the restoration continued under the direction of an Iraqi Jacobite, 'Alī ibn Suwār (Ibn al-Ḥammār), and the dome of the Anastasis was rebuilt. Work continued under Joseph II (979–83) and Orestes (984–1005), and was completed with the restoration of the church (? *جمال*) of St Constantine to its previous state by the *synkellos*, Ṣadaqa ibn Bishr, during the period from 1005 onwards when Arsenius, patriarch of Alexandria, had charge of Jerusalem (Yaḡyā ibn Sa'īd (PO, xc, 799–803); cf. Gil 1984: 160, 162; 1992: 325–60, 463, 479–80).

Barely was the restoration finished, however, when at Easter 1008 the caliph al-Ḥākim forbade Jerusalem Christians to perform the Palm Sunday procession from Bethany (Yaḡyā ibn Sa'īd (PO, xl, 803; cxiv, 487–8)). The following year he issued instructions to Yārūkh, governor of Ramla, to destroy the church of the Resurrection:

And so Yārūkh sent his son Yūsuf and al-Ḥusayn ibn Zāhir al-Wazzān, in company with Abu'l-Fawāris al-Ḍayf, who seized all the movable goods that were there. After that, [the church itself] was cast down as far as the foundations, except for what it was impossible to destroy or difficult to uproot and carry away. Then the Skull (Golgotha), Calvary, the church of St Constantine, and all the other buildings enclosed within their walls were destroyed, and the sacred remains (holy relics) were completely annihilated. Ibn Abu Zāhir attempted to remove the Holy Sepulchre and to cause all trace of it to disappear; he broke and demolished the major part of it. There was in the vicinity (of the Holy Sepulchre) a monastery of monks, known under the name of the monastery of al-Sari, which was also demolished. The ruination of the church of the Resurrection was begun on Tuesday 5 Safar 400 (28 September 1009). All the estates and pious foundations were seized, as well as all the sacred vessels and objects and items of gold and silverwork. (PO, cxiv, 491–2; cf. *ELS*, 652–3)

Muslim sources give the date of this destruction as 398 H (17 Sept. 1007 to 5 Sept. 1008), though William of Tyre evidently thought that it had occurred in 1010 (ch. I, 4; I, 6 (CCCM, LXIII, 109–10, 113; trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 65–6, 70); cf. Le Strange 1890: 204; Coüasnon 1974: 19–20; Gil 1992: 373–4; Biddle 1999: 72). Adhémar of Chabanais was informed of the events by

Ralph of Couhé, bishop of Périgueux, who returned to France from Jerusalem late in 1010. He reports that the destruction occurred on 29 September, and that when the Muslims were unable to reduce the rock of the tomb they resorted to the use of fire, albeit still to little effect (ch. III, 45–8 (ed. Chavanon, 169–71; *MGH SS*, IV, 136–7); Gil 1992: 378–9; Biddle 1999: 72, 149–50 nn.108–9, 150–1 n.10). Ralph Glaber probably obtained his information from Ulric, bishop of Orleans, who visited Jerusalem sometime between 1025 and 1028. He relates that the tomb was destroyed in 1009 but that the Muslims' attempts to break up the interior with iron hammers proved ineffectual. Five years later, however, al-Ḥākim's mother, Maryam (Mary), who was a Christian, restored it with the help of offerings which flowed in from all parts (ch. III (ed. France, 134–5; trans. Guizot, 107–11); Biddle 1999: 72, 74, 150 n.111).

According to the Malkite, Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd, the restoration began even before this. In 1011, a revolt of the Arabs in Palestine resulted in al-Mufarriḡ ibn al-Jarrāḡ of the Banū Jarrāḡ seizing Ramla. He encouraged the Christians to start rebuilding the church of the Resurrection, himself contributing towards the works until his death in August 1013. He also appointed one of them, Theophilus from Hibal in Wadi Musa, as patriarch (*PO*, CXIV, 504–5, 520; Gil 1992: 384–5; Biddle 1999: 74). Theophilus died in January 1020 and was replaced by Nicephorus (1020–36), a former joiner in al-Ḥākim's palace (Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd (*PO*, CCXII, 433, 437)). Because of Muslim opposition to Christians praying in the enclosure of the church of the Resurrection, he returned to Cairo and sought from al-Ḥākim a *sijill* granting protection to the Christian community and 'the cessation of all hostility against those of them who pray in the precincts of the church called the Resurrection (*al-Quyāma*) and of its court'. Al-Ḥākim also granted Christians the right to maintain the other churches and holy places inside and outside Jerusalem, including Lydda (Vol. II, **no. 137**) and Bethlehem (Vol. I, **no. 61**), and permission to restore them and their endowments (*awqāf*) (Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd (*PO*, CCXII, 437–8); cf. Vincent and Abel 1914: 246–7; Gil 1992: 463–4; Biddle 1999: 74–5).

Al-Ḥākim disappeared, assumed murdered, in February 1021 and was replaced by his son, al-Zāhir (Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd (*PO*, CCXII, 445–7)). In 1024, al-Sayyida Sitt al-Mulk, al-Ḥākim's sister and a Christian like her mother, sent Patriarch Nicephorus to Constantinople to begin negotiating a trading agreement with Basil II. The patriarch was also to inform the emperor about the restoration of the church of the Resurrection and other churches in Syria and Egypt and their endowments, and the protection now being afforded to the Christians by the caliph;

however, Sitt al-Mulk died soon afterwards and Nicephorus returned to Palestine the same year (Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd (*PO*, CCXII, 469–71); Gil 1992: 380–1). The report to Basil may perhaps, as Biddle suggests, have coincided with the completion of a significant stage in the rebuilding works (1999: 75); however, the principal purpose of the visit was diplomatic and its timing seems more likely to have been a result of the accession of the new caliph and the window of opportunity provided by the conclusion of Basil II's campaign in western Georgia and his return to Constantinople.

Adhémar of Chabanais was brought up to date with events in Palestine by pilgrims returning to Angoulême in 1027 and by the Greek monk Symeon whom they brought with them. He records that it was al-Ḥākim himself who ordered the church to be rebuilt: 'However, the church that they started to rebuild was not as splendid, either in beauty or in size, as the one before, which Helena the mother of Constantine had built at royal expense' (Adhémar, III, 47 (ed. Chavanon, 170; *MGH SS*, IV, 137); Landes 1995: 161–3; Biddle 1999: 75–6). The succession of pilgrims and donations to the Holy Sepulchre from the West from 1010 onwards suggest that the rebuilding proceeded quickly. It had evidently progressed sufficiently to allow the ceremony of the Holy Fire to take place in 1027 (Biddle 1999: 76–7).

Al-Maqrīzī dates the normalization of relations between the Fatimids and the Byzantines to 428 H/AD 1027 (Gil 1992: 380–1). Work on the church may possibly have continued under Caliph al-Zāhir (1021–36) (cf. Gil 1992: 480). Towards the end of al-Zāhir's reign, however, the patriarch Nicephorus (1020–36) appears to have sent an emissary, John Carianis, to appeal to Emperor Romanus III (1028–34) for assistance with the rebuilding. According to William of Tyre, writing more than a century later, that mission took place in 1048 and was made to Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–55) (ch. I, 6 (*CCCM*, LXIII, 112–14; trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 69–70)); however, Constantine was not Romanus's immediate successor, as William thought, and by 1048 Nicephorus would in any case have been dead. The negotiations between Romanus III and al-Zāhir, which William also mentions, are also recorded by John Skylitzes (ed. Thurn, 387–8) and by Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd (*PO*, CCXII, 533–4; Vincent and Abel 1914: 247). They were interrupted, however, by the emperor's death in 1034. A truce was finally concluded in 1037–8 between his successor, Michael IV (1034–41), and Caliph al-Mustanṣir (1036–94). Under its terms, which are also recorded by Ibn al-ʿAthīr and Bar Hebraeus (trans. Budge, I, 196), the emperor was permitted to rebuild the church of the Resurrection and to appoint the patriarch; the Christians were allowed to