INTRODUCTION

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THIS BOOK PROPOSES TO EXPLORE THE CHANGING contexts for the perceptions of the architecture of the Christian Holy Land. The most important body of evidence for these perceptions is found in the books that described the pilgrimage; such books mediated between the pilgrimage in Jerusalem and its re-creation elsewhere, and created fundamental links between the two realms of experience. The earliest pilgrimage books suggest that Christians actively sought to trace out the vestiges of Christ's body – such as imprints of his face and hands on the Column of the Flagellation (Fig. 1) or his footprints on the Mount of Olives (Fig. 2) – perceived as inscriptions drawn by Christ as testaments to his dual divine and human nature. The description of the related architectural enclosures inscribing the imprints of Christ's otherwise absent form, first constructed during the lives of Helena and her son Constantine, became a fundamental part of the larger process of tracing and memorialization enacted by pilgrims in the Holy Land and re-enacted in a monastic context within manuscripts. The combined perception of the significance of the architecture associated with the body of Christ and the desire to experience the pilgrimage without making the journey – particularly as made more difficult following the Islamic conquests in the region – precipitated the first physical re-creations of the architecture of the Holy Land. The analysis of these various re-creations of the Holy Land will aim to elucidate the nature of representation, broadly defined to incorporate textual description, pictorial

Fig. 1 Column of the Flagellation, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (Photo: author)

representation, and architectural re-creation, and primarily understood as a making present again – a re-presentation – of something absent: the bodies of
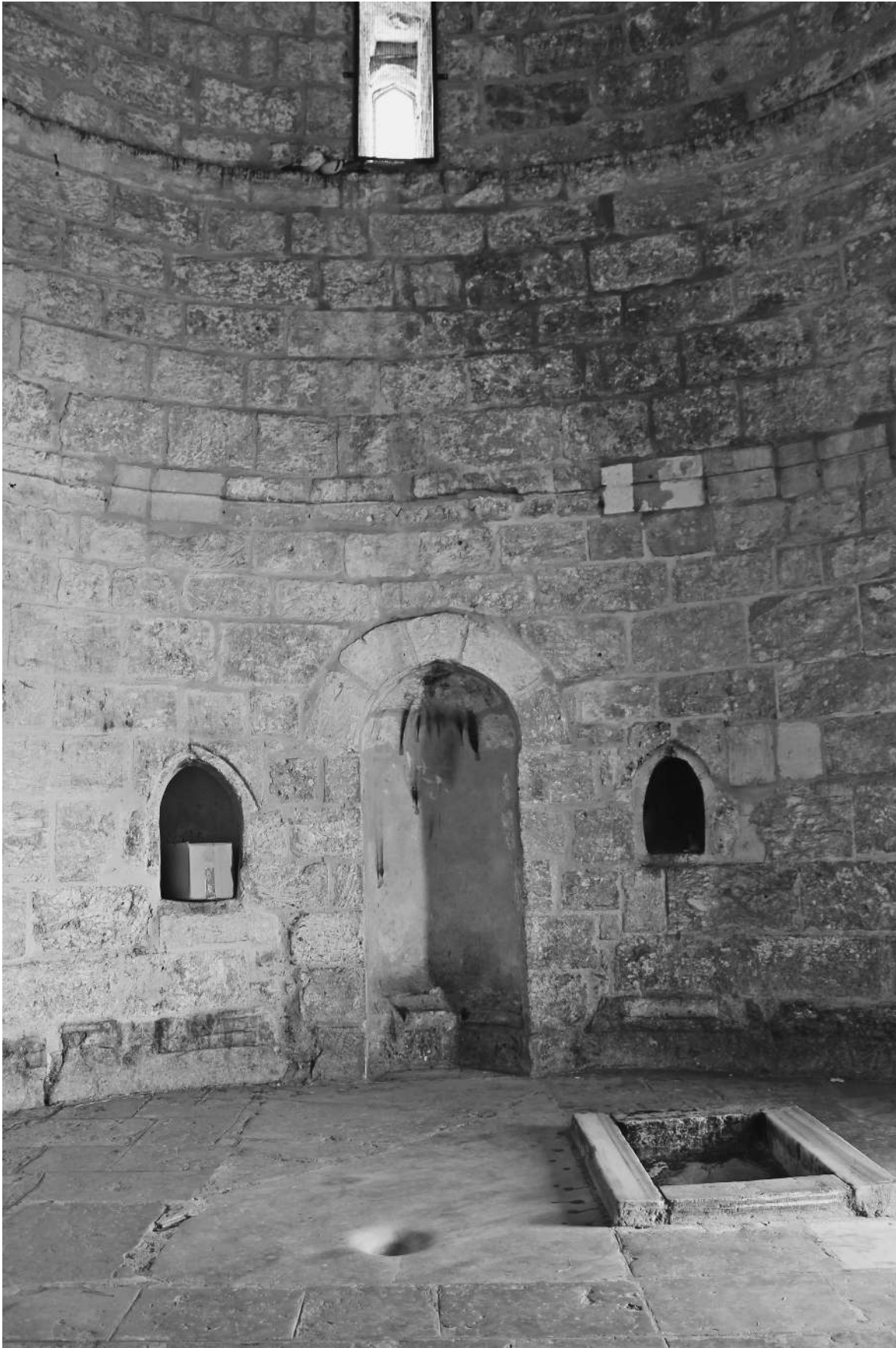
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Fig. 2 Church of the Ascension, Jerusalem, twelfth century (Photo: author)

Christ and Mary. The Tomb in Jerusalem temporarily enclosing Christ's body before the Resurrection (Fig. 3), the cave where he had been born in Bethlehem and adored by the Magi, and the house of Mary where the Angel Gabriel had announced the birth of Jesus, could all be re-created and their auratic presence expanded, as they were throughout Christendom.

The architectural materials inscribing the sites of Christ's corporeal presence, although not present during his life, came to be an essential part of experiencing the traces of his earthly presence. Architectural forms had a primary representational function in abstractly manifesting Christ's absent body, both within the Holy Land and beyond. In Europe, the pilgrimage churches were re-created in the form of new buildings that were doubly representational: by first standing in for the absent original, inaccessible because of the distance of the Holy Land, and then also standing in place of a building that was itself primarily an inscription of bodily absence. The implication of a double absence nonetheless made the representation more essential to the experience, and this significance was amplified by other deeply felt absences: the vestiges of numerous pilgrims who had made the pilgrimage in order to transmit their experiences in a collective memorialization of the journey. The auratic force of the buildings also derived from the centuries of accumulated inscription, description, and transmission: it was not just that Christ's body was implicated in the presence of the buildings, but that the architectural forms also retained the memory of the countless Christian pilgrims who had come and touched the buildings, whose primary vestiges were simple graffiti inscribed into the stones of the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 4) and the written accounts that memorialized the process of interior inscription in tangible form.

Previous Literature

There is a vast body of literature on the architecture of the Holy Land, from analyses of pilgrimage accounts through archaeological surveys of the modern period.[1] My interest is not in the patrons who first initiated the buildings or the motivations for their initial construction – these are topics well explored elsewhere – but instead in the perception of the buildings. From the perspective of historians of pilgrimage literature, the changes in attitudes towards the representation of the architecture of the Holy Land have not been a primary interest. Textual accounts, in particular, have been taken as the primary evidence for the state of the buildings over the centuries. The question of why the accounts varied, how the variations might indicate changing perceptions of the architecture over the centuries – especially in contrast to the idea of the overall city of Jerusalem – and in what ways these textual descriptions related to pictorial and architectural representations, has remained unasked.[2]

Within the history of European art and architecture, there has been a long-standing disconnect between the architecture of the Holy Land as experienced by pilgrims and the buildings in Europe that were intended to re-create the distant originals. While it has been understood that pilgrims played an active role in inspiring the construction of many of the re-creations of buildings like the Holy Sepulcher in Europe, the related role of the book culture of pilgrimage accounts – and the corresponding oral culture – in bridging the physical distance to Jerusalem and the conceptual distance from the body of Christ has been largely overlooked. Richard Krautheimer's often-cited discussion of the "iconography of medieval architecture" is exemplary in this regard.[3] He considered the lack of resemblance between the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and its European "copies" as resulting from a pervasive medieval disregard for visible appearances. Krautheimer characterized the medieval attitude towards all architectural forms as a collective imprecision and inattentiveness to accuracy.[4] An exploration of the pilgrimage literature instead suggests that such physical re-creations were primarily created and perceived in the context of an oral and textual culture of pilgrims recounting or imagining their experiences for an audience who would for the most part never see Jerusalem with their own eyes.

And yet the following exploration of how the architecture of the Christian Holy Land was re-created in Europe is in fact an expansion of Krautheimer's original observations. For it was

Fig. 3 Anastasis Rotunda, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem, founded fourth century (Photo: author)
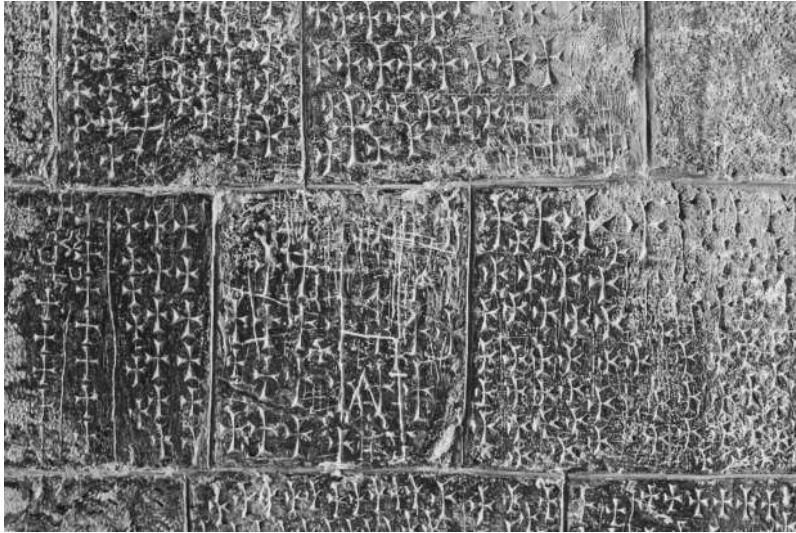
Fig. 4 Graffiti, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (Photo: author)

Krautheimer who first observed that the symbolic meaning – or content, as he called it – of many significant European churches depended upon their perceived relationship to a distant building in Jerusalem. This observation opened up a new kind of medieval architectural history, in which forms might be correlated with meanings. The fact that Krautheimer's article of 1942 still continues to be cited with remarkable frequency is in itself a testament to the foundational nature of his argument for the field of European architectural history. This study is not conceived as a repudiation of his iconography, but an elaboration. For instance, Krautheimer characterized the relation between the copies of the Holy Sepulcher in Europe and the prototype in Jerusalem in terms of the "disintegration … into single elements, the selective transfer of these parts, and their reshuffling in the copy."[5] While insightful, this observation leaves open the question of how and why such a disintegration occurred. By taking into account the distance in both space and time, the role of pilgrimage, and the mediating roles of memory, verbal description, and pictorial representation, we might be able to reconfigure our understanding of the relationship between the buildings in the Holy Land and their re-creations in Europe.[6]

Krautheimer had turned to the question of how the architecture associated with Christ's Tomb in Jerusalem was re-created in Europe in order to lay the groundwork for the study of symbolic content in all of medieval architecture, proposing that the Holy Sepulcher functioned as an architectural model in the same way as any building in medieval Europe. I would instead suggest that the architecture associated with the absent bodies of Christ and Mary was special, and the example of the Anastasis Rotunda, or Holy Land architecture in general, should not be extrapolated to form a general theory of architectural symbolism in medieval Christianity.[7] A primary aim of this study is to trace the evolution of the special status of the architecture of the Holy Land from late antiquity through the early modern period. Krautheimer also framed his discussion in negative terms, that is, in terms of what was lacking in medieval architectural representation in contrast to the precision and fidelity of Renaissance and modern modes of imitation. Rather than viewing the European re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher and related buildings associated with the bodies of Christ and Mary in terms of what is lacking, or absent, in contrast to the originals, their forms and meanings will be resituated in the context of a pervasive interest in the symbolic presence of Christ and Mary. The ultimate subject of representation was not the material buildings in the Holy Land, but the bodies they had once enclosed.

In the decades since Krautheimer's article was first published, his concept of architectural iconography has most often been reduced to the notion of "copying."[8] In an effort to link together the various

European re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher into a chain of replicas, these buildings have become decontextualized from their individual historical contexts. There is a particularly notable habit of citing a handful of the copies of the Holy Sepulcher from various periods and locations, in a way that implies their fundamental equivalence, despite varying circumstances of creation and changing historical contexts.[9] By doing so, it is also implied that the exact number of buildings and their contexts need not – or cannot – be specified. In other words, the notion of inexactitude has been extended to how the entire class of buildings has been treated in modern scholarship. It is primarily this use of Krautheimer's iconography that I see as problematic, and which I hope to challenge by re-evaluating the fundamental aspects of not just how and why, but also where and when buildings were made in the image of the Holy Sepulcher.

What, ultimately, was the origin of Krautheimer's assertion that the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was the most frequently copied building in medieval Europe, or even that it was copied at all? In the ninth and tenth centuries in the region of modern-day Germany, churches were for the first time explicitly dedicated to Christ's Tomb and said by contemporaries to have been constructed in the "likeness" of Christ's Sepulcher.[10] Such dedications continued to proliferate throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Rather than examine the historical context for these buildings – asking questions such as why the first dedications emerged in the context of Benedictine monastic foundations, or why the buildings subsequently proliferated in the period of crusades, or wane with the loss of the crusader states – Krautheimer implied the limitless nature of his argument. The most notable way was by suggesting that any centralized baptistery constructed in Christianity, beginning with the fourth-century Lateran Baptistery, could potentially be viewed as a copy of the Holy Sepulcher, despite the fact that no baptistery was ever recorded as being dedicated to Christ's Sepulcher.[11] The certainty of an intent to copy the Holy Sepulcher was teleologically projected back to the first period of Christianity as an imperial religion, and in this way architectural copies of the Holy Sepulcher became a defining ahistorical feature of all medieval Christian architecture.[12] Krautheimer's iconography has nonetheless been understood as a significant example of contextualism.[13] However, I would emphasize that Krautheimer primarily considered the macro-context for the creation of churches copying the Holy Sepulcher, namely the Christian Middle Ages. The buildings' specific material and institutional contexts, and the related physical evidence for their symbolic significance, largely remains to be investigated.

AIMS AND DIVISION OF MATERIALS

A primary aim of this study is to think about how connections to Jerusalem and its sacred architecture were materialized in the book culture of pilgrimage, and at the same time to use the evidence of these books to establish the changing perceptions of the buildings in relation to historical and political contexts. I would propose that we consider that the creators of such books were not passively recording the existence of symbolic forms, but instead actively bringing them into being as part of a larger signifying process. I would likewise propose that we look to the pilgrimage books as more than just documents testifying to the state of the buildings, but also as significant creations in themselves, whose features can contribute to our understanding of this special set of buildings and how they were given symbolic meaning. In doing so, I have found that fundamental questions have never been posed, most importantly: when and why did description of architectural forms become an essential idea of the imagined pilgrimage to the Holy Land? And, how did this relate to the re-creation of the pilgrimage in real space, through architectural construction?

It is in the *De Locis Sanctis* (On the Holy Places) of Adamnanus de Iona, more commonly known as Adomnán of Iona, composed around the end of the seventh century, that we find the first surviving description of the forms of the buildings of the Holy Land – created, significantly, by a monk who had never seen Jerusalem with his own eyes.[14] Adomnán wrote the book sometime during his period as abbot

of the remote island monastery of Iona off of the coast of modern-day Scotland, from 679 to 704.[15] His book exemplifies the role of monastic libraries in the pre-crusades engagement with the Holy Land. His knowledge of the topographic and architectural features of Palestine depended upon a combination of previous books and oral accounts made by those who had completed the pilgrimage, as well as his own careful reading of Scripture and exegetical treatises, particularly Augustine's.[16] Adomnán apparently also produced the first pictorial illustrations of the buildings, although they only survive in manuscripts produced in the Carolingian period. His book was intended to serve as the basis of an imagined pilgrimage; through the exegesis of architectural forms, the sanctified quality of the Christian Holy Land – in contrast to the reality of Islamic possession – could be experienced in any monastic context. At the same time, the forms of the buildings that he inscribed on the manuscript page gave to the buildings for the first time an independent symbolic existence, unbound from the sacred topography that first gave them meaning. The buildings, in other words, took on a new kind of abstract existence across a community of monastic readers. Adomnán brought the buildings to life for an audience who would never physically go to Jerusalem. I found that the most significant re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher that incorporated not only the round form of the Anastasis Rotunda but also some kind of re-creation of the Tomb of Christ, like the ninth-century chapel at Fulda (Fig. 5), were monastic foundations whose abbey libraries had copies of Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis.* These foundations, beginning with Fulda, formed a network of Anglo-Saxon missionary and scholarly activities that first defined the collective Christian identity of Western Europe.

In general, the role of pilgrimage accounts in ascribing symbolic significance to the architectural forms of the Holy Land has never been fully

Fig. 5   Chapel of St. Michael, Fulda, *c.* 820 (Photo: author)

explored. One of my primary arguments is that in the first centuries of pilgrimage to the Holy Land the architecture associated with the bodies of Christ and Mary acquired a special symbolic status because it was implicitly tied to the culture of textual exegesis. The topography of the Holy Land was closely linked to the study and interpretation of the Gospel accounts; the related buildings became implicated in the process of interpreting the vestiges of Christ's life. Adomnán's idea of describing the forms of the Holy Land buildings – both verbally and pictorially – originated in a search for inscriptions of Christ's forms embedded in the earth and stones of the Holy Land. He suggested a dynamic relationship between the forms of the buildings and the inscriptions that they enclose, most explicitly on the Mount of Olives, where the church's open vault was ascribed to the earth's refusal to accept any covering over Christ's footprints within (Plate 2). Like the form of the True Cross, or the true portrait of Christ, whose symbolic significance was also being interpreted in the same period, buildings like the Church of the Ascension provided a metaphor for the Incarnational joining of divine form and earthly material. The earliest European buildings re-creating Christ's Sepulcher similarly did not offer a totalizing revelation, but instead alluded to the salient symbolic forms as a way of foreshadowing both the return of Christ to the Mount of Olives at the end of time and the Christian repossession of Jerusalem.

Part I, "The Symbolization of Holy Land Architecture," focuses on the role of monastic writer-pilgrims, who produced and read the first manuscripts describing and illustrating the architectural forms associated with Christ's life in the Holy Land. It was in the context of Benedictine monastic foundations – in close physical and temporal relation to the creation of the illustrated books on the architecture of the Holy Land – that the first physical re-creations of churches dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher were created. The fundamental inspiration for the symbolization of the architecture associated with Christ's life – I argue – was the idea of pilgrims tracing out the sites of past bodily presence, whether in person or simulated on the parchment surface of a manuscript. Architectural forms traced the contours of places where the bodies of Christ and Mary had been. Buildings gave shape to the spaces inscribing

sites of past bodily presence and implied a totality to the otherwise fragmentary imprints of Christ's body. In this respect, it was the forms of buildings that first emerged as meaningful, generative entities. Unlike other contact relics relating to Christ, the Apostles, or saints, the transfer of the sanctity of buildings like the Anastasis Rotunda was not accomplished through physical movement of materials, but instead through a re-inscription of significant forms, both in the context of the book culture of pilgrimage accounts and through architectural construction.

Part II, "Triumphal Restoration and Re-creation in the Crusades," explores how the Christian takeover of the Holy Land affected the perception of its architecture, from the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 until the fall of Acre in 1291, when the last of the crusaders were expelled from the Holy Land. Krautheimer's iconography took the Holy Sepulcher as a stable entity throughout the entire Middle Ages, and yet there were radical material changes, from the destruction of the building in 1009 to its reconstruction in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The caesura between Parts I and II is intended to register this significant break between the two periods. I view the destruction of the church and the crusader conquest ninety years later as a violent rupture, which ended a centuries-long tradition of primarily imagining the architecture of the Holy Land in the context of monastic libraries and biblical exegesis. The restoration of the Holy Sepulcher initiated a new celebration of the church in Jerusalem as a symbol of the crusader triumph over Islam.

Part II explores the ways in which the crusaders and pilgrims who flooded into the Holy Land in the period of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1187) celebrated the total city of Jerusalem as the material embodiment of the heavenly city promised in Revelation. This celebration of the living materials and rituals of its churches stands in stark contrast to the pre-crusades period, in which pilgrims had focused on the essential forms of key churches, as a series of symbols extracted from a city that otherwise had limited relevance for the Christian pilgrim. The expansion of existing pilgrimage churches and newly acquired ones, taken from their previous Muslim custodians, focused on a reorientation towards a vision of the restoration of the Temple of Jerusalem and its Gate, through which Christ would return at the end of time (Fig. 6). In Europe, the churches dedicated

Fig. 6 Temple Mount from the Mount of Olives (Photo: author)

to the Holy Sepulcher constructed in response to the crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 should be viewed as emerging from a new context. These churches were often inspired by returning crusaders and pilgrims who had been to the Holy Sepulcher; for them, the architecture of the Holy Land stood for Christianity's triumph over Islam and the heavenly Jerusalem made real.

During the period of the crusades, re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher, like the production of new pilgrimage accounts, became a more pervasive phe-nomenon. In contrast to the pre-crusades period, some of the re-creations of the Holy Sepulcher were made within the context of a larger topo-graphic imitation of the Holy Land, in a way that paralleled new kinds of pictorial representations of the total city of Jerusalem. In Pisa, the re-creation of the Anastasis Rotunda embodied in the form of

that city's Baptistery (Fig. 7) was augmented by the renaming of the city's main entrance as the Golden Gate and the reported transportation of massive amounts of earth from the site of the Crucifixion to the city's cemetery. In both Mantua and Bologna (Fig. 8), buildings constructed in the image of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem were part of more elab-orate re-creations of other buildings and sites of the Holy Land.

The break between Parts II and III is also intended to indicate a fundamental historical change, which impacted the perceptions of the architecture of the Holy Land, in this case relating to the loss of Jerusalem and the formation of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land in 1342. For Krautheimer, the medieval practice of copying the Holy Sepulcher came to an end with the advent of precision in Renaissance architectural representation

Fig. 7 Baptistery, Pisa, founded 1153
(Photo: author)

Fig. 8 Holy Sepulcher, Bologna, twelfth century
(Photo: author)

with no mention of the role of the Franciscans. Part III therefore supplies a missing chapter in this history. Franciscan friars were the primary actors in the cultivation of a broader dedication to the material

relics of the life of Christ in the Holy Land, in which architecture played a primary role.[17] Rather than ascribing a new interest in describing precise forms, measures, spatial arrangements, and material make-up of the buildings and their settings to an incipient Renaissance movement inspired by ancient Roman notions of mimetic representation, I view this new attitude towards Holy Land architecture in light of Franciscan theology and affective piety, and particularly the imperative to imagine being in the Holy Land as an active participant in the lives of Christ and Mary.

Part III, "The Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land," explores how the Franciscans shaped the perceptions of the architecture of the Holy Land in the post-crusade period. The Franciscans promoted a vernacular culture related to modes of piety centering on the use of images in the vicarious experience of the pilgrimage, in a broad popularization of a form of contemplative devotion that asked for the active engagement of the imagination to experience the Holy Land as the setting for the life of Jesus. Franciscans promoted a perception of the collective vitality of the materials relics of Christ's life – conceived more insistently as incorporating the architecture associated with his and Mary's bodily presence – defined in contrast to the opposing destructive tendency of Muslims. Franciscans renewed the book culture of pilgrimage manuscripts, so that the imagined pilgrimage could be experienced as a bodily communion with the sanctified matter of the Holy Land, consecrated by