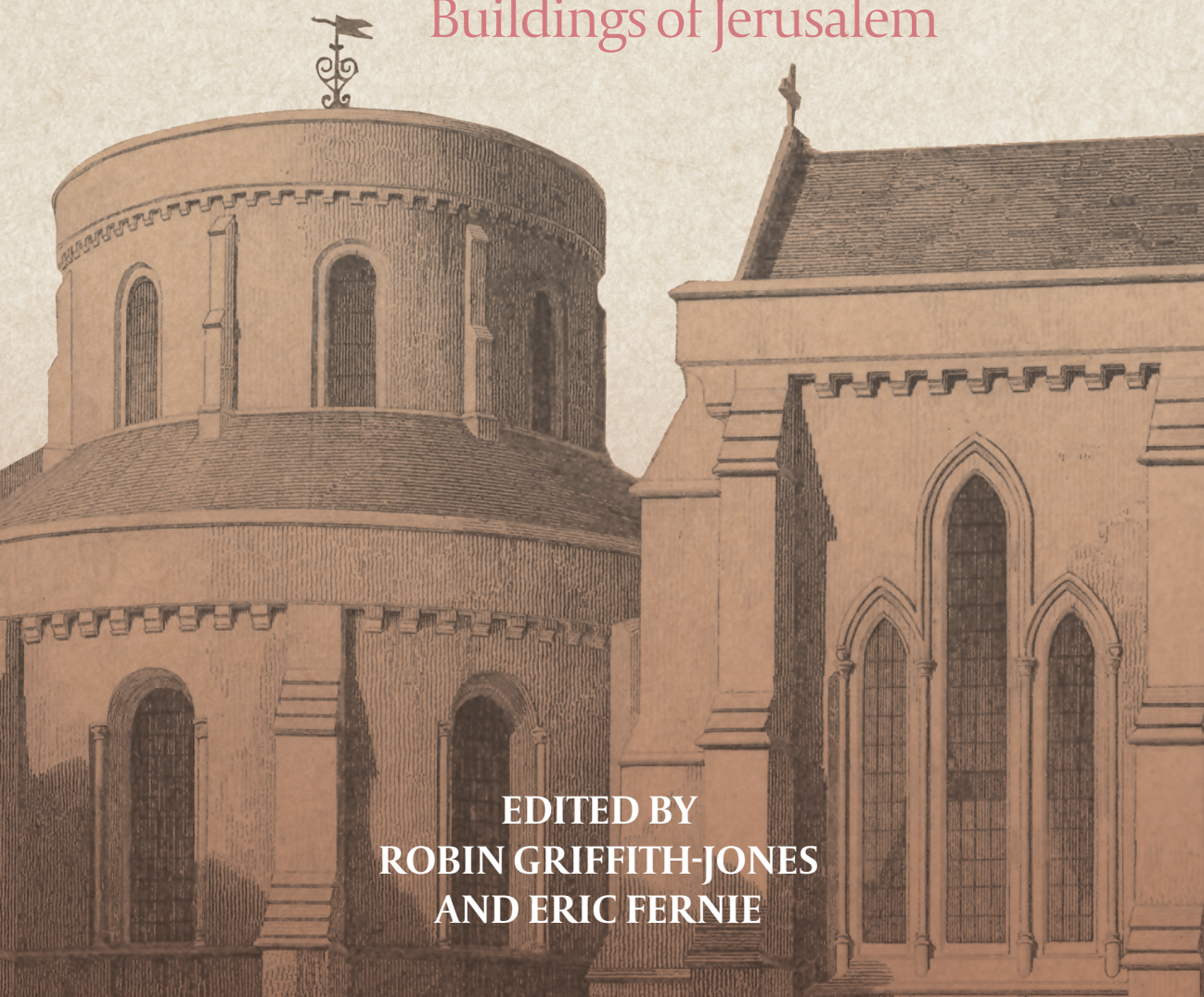


Tomb & Temple

Re-imagining the Sacred
Buildings of Jerusalem



EDITED BY
ROBIN GRIFFITH-JONES
AND ERIC FERNIE

TOMB AND TEMPLE

BOYDELL STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL ART AND ARCHITECTURE

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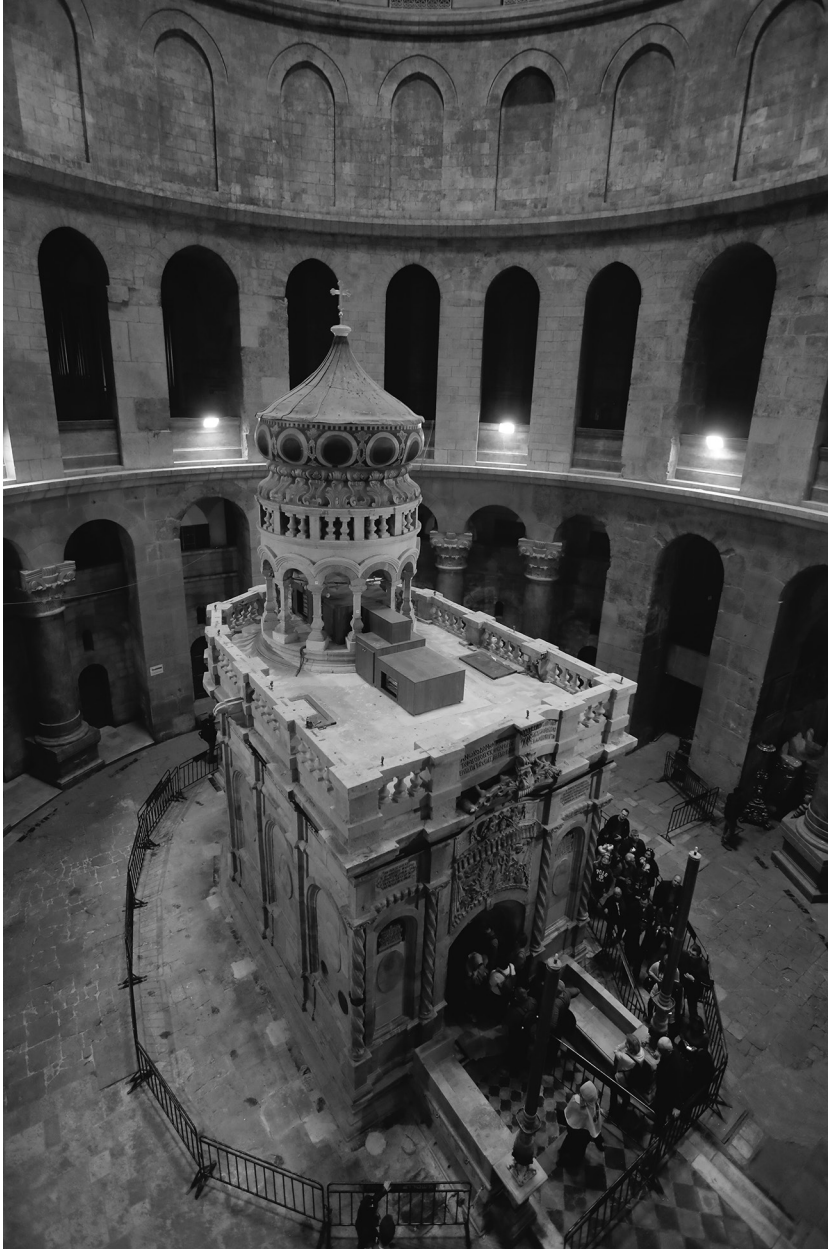
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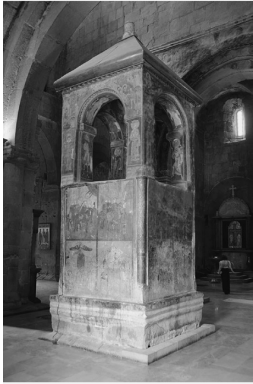


THE ROTUNDA OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, JERUSALEM. THE ROTUNDA'S COLUMNS MAY HAVE BEEN FROM HADRIAN'S BUILDINGS, CUT DOWN AND REUSED IN CONSTANTINE'S (61 BELOW). ITS OUTER WALLS WITHSTOOD THE DESTRUCTION OF 1009 (78 BELOW) TO A HEIGHT OF 8 M.; THE ROOF, COLUMNS AND PIERS WERE BROUGHT DOWN. THE CENTRAL AEDICULE OVER THE EMPTY TOMB IS SEEN AS REBUILT IN 1809-10 AND AS RESTORED, AFTER EARTHQUAKE DAMAGE OF 1927, IN 2016-17. SEE BIDDLE, *TOMB*, 72-3, 103-8.



TOMB AND TEMPLE

RE-IMAGINING THE SACRED BUILDINGS OF JERUSALEM



Edited by Robin Griffith-Jones and Eric Fernie

THE BOYDELL PRESS

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PREFACE

Editors gladly and gratefully acknowledge many debts. Above all we are grateful to our contributors for their papers and for their patience during the book's gestation. Further thanks quickly follow. Caroline Palmer and her colleagues at Boydell have taken all their characteristic care to make the book as handsome as its subject deserves; the J. C. Baker Trust and Lord Judge of Draycote have provided generous financial support. At the Temple in London Liz Clarke, Cath D'Alton, James Lloyd, Katrina Marchant and above all Catherine de Satgé have in various ways lightened our load.

The book is particularly timely. The aedicule in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem was damaged in the earthquake of 1927; in 1947 a steel frame was built round it to prevent its collapse. In March 2017, after several months' work of restoration, the aedicule was re-opened to pilgrims and visitors. The steel frame has been removed and the stone has been cleaned; what had seemed for decades to be a sad symptom of scarce resources and of division is now, once more, a fitting centrepiece to the rotunda. We add our own congratulations to all those who made possible the repair.

The rotunda of the Temple Church in London, modelled on the Holy Sepulchre, was in use by 1162. In 2010 Robin Griffith-Jones of the Temple Church and David Park of The Courtauld Institute of Art edited *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art*, published by Boydell. We are delighted to commit into our readers' hands this sequel, produced with Boydell in a second happy collaboration between our two institutions, close neighbours in central London.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	<i>Art Bulletin</i>
AV	Authorised Version
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BAS	Biblical Archaeology Society
Biddle, <i>Tomb</i>	M. Biddle, <i>The Tomb of Christ</i> , Stroud, 1999
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
Bordeaux Pilgrim	J. Wilkinson, 'Bordeaux Pilgrim', in <i>Egeria's Travels</i> , Liverpool, 1999, 22–34 (extracts in translation from <i>Itinerarium Burdigalense</i> , eds P. Geyer and O. Cuntz, CCSL 175, Turnhout 1965, 1–26).
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i>
CCR	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , 47 vols organised by reign, London, 1892–1963
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i>
Coüasnon, <i>Sepulchre</i>	Ch. Coüasnon, <i>The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem</i> , trans. J.-B. B. and C. Ross [The Schweich Lectures 1972], London, 1974
Corbo, <i>Sepolcro</i>	V. Corbo, <i>Il Santo Sepolcro: Aspetti archeologici dalle Origini al Periodo crociato</i> , 3 vols, Jerusalem, 1982
CPR	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , 73 vols organised by reign, London, 1891–1986
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
DE	Eusebius, <i>De Demonstratione Evangelii</i>
DLS	Adomnán, <i>De Locis Sanctis</i>

DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EAe	<i>Encyclopaedia Aethiopica</i> , 5 vols, Wiesbaden, 2003–14: vol. 1, ed. S. Uhlig, 2003; vol. 2, ed. S. Uhlig, 2005; vol. 3, ed. S. Uhlig, 2007; vol. 4, eds S. Uhlig and A. Bausi, 2010; vol. 5, eds S. Uhlig and A. Bausi, 2014
EEA	<i>English Episcopal Acta</i> , ed. D. Smith, Oxford (for the British Academy), 1980–
Egeria	J. Wilkinson, <i>Egeria's Travels</i> , Liverpool, 1999, 22–34 (extracts in translation from <i>Itinerarium Burdigalense</i> , eds P. Geyer and O. Cuntz, CCSL 175, Turnhout 1965, 107–64).
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EI	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , eds H. A. R. Gibb et al., Leiden, 1960–2008
Ep.	<i>Epistulae</i>
Folda, <i>Art of the Crusaders</i>	J. Folda, <i>The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187</i> , Cambridge, 1995
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller</i>
HE	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
Hom.	<i>Homiliae</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JRIBA	<i>Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects</i>
JSQ	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
JWCI	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
Krautheimer, 'Introduction'	R. Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture"', <i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> 5 (1942), 1–33; repr. R. Krautheimer, <i>Studies</i> , 115–50, including a newly written Postscript
Krautheimer, <i>Studies</i>	R. Krautheimer, <i>Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art</i> , London, 1971
Kühnel, <i>Real and Ideal Jerusalem</i>	B. Kühnel (ed.), <i>The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday</i> , <i>Journal of Jewish Art</i> (23/24), Jerusalem, 1997–98

Kühnel, <i>Visual Constructs</i>	B. Kühnel, G. Noga-Banai and H. Vorholt (eds), <i>Visual Constructs of Jerusalem</i> , Turnhout, 2014
LC	Eusebius, <i>De Laude Constantini</i> , 1–10
Lees, <i>Records of the Templars</i>	B. A. Lees (ed.), <i>Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185 with Illustrative Charters and Documents</i> , London, 1935
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
Morris, <i>Sepulchre</i>	C. Morris, <i>The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West from the Beginning to 1600</i> , Oxford, 2005
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
PA	<i>Palatine Anthology</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
Pringle, <i>Churches</i>	D. Pringle, <i>The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem</i> , 4 vols, Cambridge, 1993–2009
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RCHME	<i>Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England</i>
SC	Eusebius, <i>De Sepulchro Christi</i> , comprising <i>De Laude Constantini</i> 11–18
Serm.	<i>Sermones</i>
Temple Church	R. Griffith-Jones and D. Park (eds), <i>The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art</i> , Woodbridge, 2010
VC	Eusebius, <i>Vita Constantini</i>
Vincent and Abel, <i>Jérusalem</i>	L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, <i>Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire</i> , 2: <i>Jérusalem nouvelle</i> , 4 fascs + album, Paris, 1914–26
Wilkinson, <i>Jerusalem Pilgrimage</i>	J. Wilkinson (ed.), <i>Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185</i> , Hakluyt Society, series 2, CLXVII, London, 1988
Wilkinson, <i>Pilgrims</i>	J. Wilkinson, <i>Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades</i> , new edn, Oxford, 2002

EDITORS' NOTE

Many of the footnotes are bibliographically rich; in each chapter we direct readers – with, we hope, useful but not wearying frequency – back to that chapter's first reference to its primary and secondary sources. Our contributors vary in their preferred spellings of persons' and places' names and in the indication of vowel-values; we have let the variety stand.

INTRODUCTION

I will sing you hymns of love while I am groaning with groans too deep for words [Rom. 8.26] during my pilgrimage, and remembering Jerusalem, towards which my heart is raised high, Jerusalem, my country, Jerusalem, my mother [Gal. 4.26]. And I shall remember you, her Ruler, her Father, her Guardian and her Spouse ... I shall not turn aside until I come to that abode of peace, Jerusalem my mother.

– Augustine, *Confessions* 12.16.23

The keeper let me enter the tomb alone. ... Bowing down before the holy tomb and kissing with love and tears the holy place where the most pure body of our Lord Jesus Christ lay, I measured the tomb in length and breadth and height, for when people are present it is quite impossible to measure it. ... I gave the keeper of the key a small present and my poor blessing. And he, seeing my love for the Lord's tomb, pushed back for me the slab which is at the head of the holy tomb of the Lord and broke off a small piece of the blessed rock as a relic and forbade me under oath to say anything of this in Jerusalem.

– Daniel the Abbot, in Jerusalem at Easter, c. 1106¹

Jerusalem has informed the Christian imagination from the time of Jesus himself: as the setting of events within human history which transcended and redirected all history; as the 'New Jerusalem', the final and longed-for home of the faithful, currently hidden in heaven and due at the last times to be realised on earth; as the representation in buildings of the living, human stones built by God into the present Church, herself already informed and animated by the spirit, the down-payment and seal of the

¹ Trans. W. F. Ryan in Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185*, 166, 170–1. Daniel has left the fullest account of the miracle and ceremony of the Holy Fire; his own lamp, left unlit in the tomb on Good Friday on behalf of the whole Russian land, was still burning on his return on Tuesday/Wednesday.

New Creation; and therefore as the centre, symbol and goal of God's action in the individual soul and throughout creation. Our first series of colour plates (I–X) introduces the two buildings in Jerusalem to which we will revert throughout the following pages: the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and the Dome of the Rock.

Much of this book is focused on architectural representations of the Holy Sepulchre, built on the supposed site of Jesus' tomb. In a preparatory chapter, Robin Griffith-Jones surveys a number of certain and likely evocations, widely diverse in medium and scale, of the Sepulchre.² Griffith-Jones, attending to some of the smallest and most elaborate mementos, asks if the sensibilities apparently deployed on such containers of stones and oil informed as well the experience of the entire buildings with which, in the main body of the book, we will be chiefly concerned. We then turn to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, from Constantine in the early fourth century through to the crusaders in the twelfth. Griffith-Jones surveys the early literary and archaeological evidence.³ Denys Pringle outlines the building programmes undertaken in the Sepulchre between the capture of Jerusalem and the works' completion in the 1160s.⁴ Jaroslav Folda broadens our horizons: he shows the influences at work on the Sepulchre's south transept façade, and in particular its connection to Santiago de Compostela and the pilgrim churches of southern Europe.⁵

Robert Hillenbrand ensures that we do some justice to the Dome of the Rock, built on the Noble Sanctuary/Temple Mount, in the centuries before its appropriation by the crusaders.⁶ He describes a deepening Muslim veneration for the city and in particular for the Dome over several centuries following its completion in 691 to 692. To conclude, Hillenbrand, writing from a personal experience of the Dome now rare for non-Muslims, evokes the rich sensory impact that the Dome would once have made. The rest of this book will be focused on Christian Jerusalem. We turn back in several chapters to the influence of the buildings on the Temple Mount. For the 'Temple', Eric Fernie finds the significance of supposedly 'Solomonic' spiral columns, before the fifteenth century, not in the Temple but in St Peter's.⁷ David Ekserdjian takes us back to the Dome of the Rock and to the influence of its lovely symmetry on Renaissance depictions of the Temple.⁸

² Robin Griffith-Jones, 'Public, Private and Political Devotion: Re-presenting the Sepulchre', 17–50 below.

³ Robin Griffith-Jones, 'The Building of the Holy Sepulchre', 53–75 below.

⁴ Denys Pringle, 'The Crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre', 76–94 below.

⁵ Jaroslav Folda, 'The Crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Design, Depiction and the Pilgrim Church of Compostela', 95–119 below.

⁶ R. Hillenbrand, 'Medieval Muslim Veneration of the Dome of the Rock', 125–45 below.

⁷ E. Fernie, 'Spiral Columns and the Temple of Solomon', 159–63 below.

⁸ D. Ekserdjian, 'Raphael's Marriage of the Virgin and the Temple at Jerusalem in the Italian Renaissance Imagination', 164–80 below.

Historians describe in ever closer detail the devices by which Christians of the Western and Eastern Churches, far from Jerusalem, have realised in their own churches and lives the city's manifold sanctity. These were, at their simplest, decisions over the design of new churches and of cities, decisions made by the patrons and engineered by their architects or master-builders. Also at issue, however, has been the putative experience of a wide range of believers: those who travelled to Jerusalem – and in some cases, as serial pilgrims, to other holy places – and brought back both memories and mementos; those in secular and religious life who reflected on Jerusalem with the help of travellers' reports or of devotional manuals; and those who worshipped in the many churches whose dedication, history, design, furnishings, relics or liturgies were intended to evoke quite specifically this terrestrial Jerusalem. The rest of this book is largely about such commissions as these, in Western Europe, Byzantium, Russia and the Caucasus, and Ethiopia. In a foundational article to which our contributors will make repeated reference, Richard Krautheimer drew attention to the churches that were intended – as we can see from their dedication and their description by chroniclers – to evoke the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁹ Most startling to modern eyes is the mismatch, in most such churches, between their dedications or descriptions that recall the Sepulchre and their designs that in any evident sense do not. As will become clear, we may seek an explanation for this oddity (i) in the general medieval understanding of a copy or representation;¹⁰ (ii) in the particular character of Jerusalem's buildings and of their heavenly analogues; or (iii) in the liturgical, civic or political agenda of the copies' patrons. Most elusive of these three avenues is the second. Here the copy would not, at root, be a copy of the earthly prototype in Jerusalem, but – in Augustinian terms – of the heavenly reality (*res*) which Jerusalem's prototype had (as a *signum*) shared in, instantiated, prefigured or revealed. The copy would not so much represent as *re-present* – make present in the new setting – the *res* behind and within that prototype. Robert Ousterhout has in the past explored, from various angles, the character of such putative copying; and in his chapter here he distinguishes, in debts and allusions to the Temple, between (i) narrowly symbolic and (ii) rich, polyvalent metaphorical reference.¹¹ We will be asking throughout, who noticed and who cared about such debts and allusions, and then further (with an eye on the buildings' patrons, paymasters and architects) who noticed who noticed, and who cared who cared.

Antony Eastmond refines the familiar notion that the centralised

⁹ Krautheimer, 'Introduction'.

¹⁰ We will not be exploring the terms *figura*, *similitudo*, *typus* in detail; but we do not assume that they are interchangeable.

¹¹ R. Ousterhout, 'The Temple as Symbol, the Temple as Metaphor: Contrasting Eastern and Western Reimaginings', 146–58 below.

churches throughout the Caucasus were linked with the Holy Sepulchre. He asks us to pay greater attention to the buildings' liturgical and other functional needs, and he looks to the inspiration – chiefly liturgical rather than martyrial – which the Caucasus drew in its basilicas from the Church on Mount Sion. The replication of Jerusalem in Mtskheta (Georgia) developed over centuries. In Armenia the links are rather with Jerusalem as a spiritual ideal than as a real city, matching an apparent preference for imagining Jerusalem and its sanctity rather than encountering it directly.¹²

One part of our interest – as historians, anthropologists or theologians – will be in the buildings' particular capacity, when they were built, to represent or to realise not just the Jerusalem of this world but also the Jerusalem of the next. A pilgrimage to Jerusalem distilled into a single voyage the course of two journeys: the journey of an individual's Christian life towards death and the final home after death; and the course of all history towards its consummation, envisioned at Rev. 20–21, in the creation of a new heaven and new earth, the descent of the New Jerusalem and the end of death in this home of God and urban Eden that will both recover and transcend the condition of pre-lapsarian paradise. It was a journey from geographical and spiritual peripheries to the navel of the old creation and, in Christ, of the new; and so to the origin and term of the whole world and of the individual soul. The city of God was the aim and destination of spiritual life, quite independent of any local or distant buildings; the buildings, their settings and the journeys needed to reach them were the visible counterpart to long-established traditions of interior space, travel, danger and destination. To be devoted to the city of God and to the journey there was already to be its citizen. For Augustine himself, the significance that once lay in the earthly Jerusalem and its Temple has now passed:

The city of the saints is above, although here below it begets citizens, in whom it lives as a foreigner [*peregrinatur*] till the time of its reign arrives, when it shall gather together everyone when they rise in their bodies, when the promised kingdom shall be given to them, where they shall reign with their prince, the king of the ages, without any end of time. A certain shadow and prophetic image of this city did indeed serve on earth to signify it rather than to make it present, at the time when it needed to be represented; and this shadow was even called the holy city itself, by merit of the image and its significance, not of the actual and expressed truth as it is going to be.¹³

¹² A. Eastmond, 'Jeruselems in the Caucasus?', 211–32 below.

¹³ The second paragraph: *umbra sane quaedam civitatis huius et imago prophetica ei significandae potius quam praesentandae servivit in terris, quo eam tempore demonstrari oportebat, et dicta est etiam ipsa civitas sancta merito significantis imaginis, non expressae, sicut futura est, veritatis*, Aug., Civ. Dei 15.1–2. At 17.3 Augustine distinguished three kinds of such biblical prophecies: some relate to the earthly Jerusalem, some to the heavenly,

This age and the next were, in some measure, porous. Patrons and artists would rather welcome to the present world a still-embattled New Jerusalem than none at all. The *Westwerk* at Corvey, massive and set square like the New Jerusalem, with three arches on each of its four walls (Rev. 21.12–21), needed protection; an inscription prays, ‘This city [*civitas*]: surround it yourself, O Lord; and may your angels guard its walls.’ A manuscript could show the New Jerusalem ‘and on its walls’, as an inscription confirms, ‘a guard of angels’.¹⁴

Dedication services revelled in the evocation of the New Jerusalem. Antiphons from a tenth-century *Ordo* play on the history and promises of the past, the present liturgy and its prefiguration of the final salvation to come: ‘Salvation will go out from Mount Sion, for protection will be upon this city and it will be saved for the sake of its servant David ... Walk on, holy ones of God, enter into the city of the Lord, to your destined place, which has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world [Matt. 25.3].’¹⁵

Thus far, this all remains too narrowly devotional. We need as well the buildings’ wider political, economic and architectural contexts. Robin Milner-Gulland here sets Russia’s New Jerusalems into their dynastic settings.¹⁶ David Phillipson addresses the links and ease of travel between Ethiopia and Jerusalem during the centuries of Lalibela’s construction;¹⁷ and Emmanuel Fritsch finds the sources of Ethiopia’s round churches (i) in Dongola (in the Nubian kingdom of Makuria) several centuries before these round churches began to appear, then to be reinforced in (ii) the vernacular architecture of the rotundas’ own time.¹⁸ Griffith-Jones and Ousterhout summarise the dynastic rivalries behind Justinian’s boast over H. Sophia, ‘I have defeated you, Solomon’;¹⁹ and Griffith-Jones returns to address the cultures which informed the Arculf/Adomnán drawings of the Sepulchre, Charlemagne’s chapel at Aachen and Theodulf’s oratory at

some to both. He thought those commentators very daring, who found in every prophecy of the earthly Jerusalem an allegory of the heavenly; but for as long as these thinkers retained the prophecies’ historical truth, he did not decry their effort to discover such allegorical significations.

¹⁴ Oxford, MS Bodl. 352 f. 13r, Y. Christe, ‘Et super muros eius angelorum custodia’, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 24 (1981), 173–9.

¹⁵ L. H. Stookey, ‘The Gothic Cathedral as the Heavenly Jerusalem: Liturgical and Theological Sources’, *Gesta* 8 (1969), 35–41.

¹⁶ R. Milner-Gulland, ‘Holy Russia and the “Jerusalem Idea”’, 233–54 below.

¹⁷ D. W. Phillipson, ‘Jerusalem and the Ethiopian Church: The Evidence of Roha (Lalibela)’, 255–66 below.

¹⁸ E. Fritsch, ‘The Origins and Meanings of the Ethiopian Circular Church: Fresh Explorations’, 267–93 below.

¹⁹ R. Griffith-Jones, ‘“I have defeated you, Solomon”’, 187–93 below; R. Ousterhout, ‘The Temple as Symbol, the Temple as Metaphor: Contrasting Eastern and Western Reimaginings’, 146–58 below.

Germigny-des-Prés.²⁰ Cecily Hennessy links the architecture of devotion to St James in Jerusalem and in Constantinople.²¹

In the book's final section we bring together architectural, social, political and devotional enquiries into Britain's round churches, and in particular into London's Temple Church. We hope thereby, in this one case, to approach a compendious overview. Eric Fernie analyses the supposed copies of the Sepulchre and the criteria that have been used to identify them.²² Alan Borg surveys judiciously the role of texts and of the military orders in the dissemination of the Sepulchre's form; he draws our attention once more to the Arculf/Adomnán drawings.²³ Catherine Hundley surveys the English round churches built during the crusaders' rule over Jerusalem; she provides a welcome gazetteer.²⁴ Michael Gervers takes up the theme, and asks what if anything was distinctive in these churches' local social and economic functions.²⁵ Nicole Hamonic then takes us onto a larger stage: twenty-one visitation indulgences issued in support of the Old and New Temple in London, c. 1145 to 1275, are recorded in BL Cotton MS Nero E VI; Hamonic gives them the attention that they have always deserved and never had.²⁶ Here we do at least some justice to the exchange of benefits – spiritual and economic – possible at such pilgrim-shrines: indulgences on the one hand, offerings on the other; the hope of an eternal reward among patrons for the provision of the church, and among pilgrims from the blessings they secured there. Sebastian Salvadó introduces us to liturgy and to a startling evocation of the Orders' likely processions within their European rotundas.²⁷ Griffith-Jones brings us back at the close to questions of devotion: he sounds some of the theological harmonies implicit in a Marian rotunda built in imitation of the circular Sepulchre by an Order headquartered in Jerusalem opposite the octagonal 'Temple of the Lord', the Dome of the Rock; and he asks who will have heard, in the shape of the Temple Church and its allusions, how rich a symphony of thought and feeling.²⁸

Thanks to our contributors we can map in outline a thousand years and three continents of architectural, devotional, cultural and political history, and we can survey at least some of the deep cultural shifts and divergences that have informed this landscape. Each of the contributors introduces the

²⁰ R. Griffith-Jones, 'Arculf's Circles, Aachen's Octagon, Germigny's Cube: Three Riddles from Northern Europe', 301–28 below.

²¹ C. Hennessy, 'Saint James the Just: Sacral Topography in Jerusalem and Constantinople', 194–210 below.

²² E. Fernie, 'Representations of the Holy Sepulchre', 329–38 below.

²³ A. Borg, 'The Military Orders and the Idea of the Holy Sepulchre', 339–51 below.

²⁴ C. E. Hundley, 'The English Round Church Movement', 352–75 below.

²⁵ M. Gervers, 'The Use and Meaning of the Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Round Churches of England', 376–86 below.

²⁶ N. Hamonic, 'Jerusalem in London: The New Temple Church', 387–412 below.

²⁷ S. Salvadó, 'Commemorating the Rotunda in the Round: The Medieval Latin Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and its Performance in the West', 413–28 below.

²⁸ R. Griffith-Jones, 'The Temple Church in the Crusades', 429–55 below.

historiographical background, as and if needed, to his or her own study; and so they cumulatively reveal the advances in understanding offered through the course of the volume.

FROM THE TABERNACLE OF THE WILDERNESS TO THE TEMPLES OF JERUSALEM

It may be helpful to sketch at the outset the succession of structures – real, envisioned and hoped for – which underlie much of this book.

When the people of Israel were in the desert, Moses built the tabernacle in accordance with God's commands in seven stages (Ex. 25.1–31.17), corresponding to the six days of creation and to the seventh, of God's rest.²⁹ Moses was ordered to build the tabernacle and its contents according to the design which was shown to him on the mountain (*paradeigma* LXX / *similitudo* Vg, Ex. 25.9; *tupos* / *exemplar*, 25.40; *eidos* / *exemplum*, 26.30; cf. 27.8); and the ark of the covenant was to be made 'from incorruptible wood' (*ek xulōn asēptōn*, LXX, acacia or incorruptible; *de lignis setthim*, Vg). The principal craftsman was Bezalel, filled with the spirit of God in wisdom, knowledge and skill (Ex. 31.1–11). Within the tabernacle were the mercy-seat and its two flanking cherubim: 'from there', God told Moses, 'I shall teach you and speak to you, that is, over the mercy-seat [*propitiatorium*] and in between the two cherubim who will be above the ark of the testimony – everything which I will command through you to the children of Israel' (Vg, Ex. 25.22). The tabernacle, therefore – and within it the incorruptible ark – were like no other artefacts on earth; and they established within scripture the existence of heavenly prototypes, plausibly read by later generations as Platonic forms in which their imperfect, perishable counterparts participate on earth.

The tabernacle's plan was the basis for the Temple's, in Jerusalem. The sanctuary of Solomon's Temple was an oblong block. A portico led into two rooms: the portico was 10 cubits deep and ran the whole 20 cubits' width of the outer hall and Holy of Holies; the outer hall was 40 cubits long, 20 wide and 25 high;³⁰ and beyond it stood the innermost Holy of Holies, a cube of 20 x 20 x 20 cubits (1 Kings 6.1–22; 2 Chron. 3.1–13). Both rooms were decorated with trees and fruits. It was a paradise. In the Holy of Holies stood the ark of the covenant. Behind the ark was a further pair of giant cherubim. Their wings were outstretched; the outer wing-tip of each cherub touched the wall, the inner wing-tip touched the other's (cf. Ex. 25.22; 1 Sam. 4.4; 2 Sam. 6.2; Psalms 80.1, 99.1). This Temple was destroyed in 587 BCE; the ark and the cherubim were not seen again.

²⁹ P. J. Kearney, 'Creation and Liturgy: The P Redaction of Exodus 25–40', *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 89 (1977), 375–87: God's seven speeches to Moses start, 'The Lord spoke to Moses' (Ex. 25.1; 30.11, 16, 22, 34; 31.11, 12).

³⁰ 30 cubits high, 2 Kings 6.2 Vg and LXX vl.

Ezekiel, in exile in Babylon after the Temple's destruction, dreamt of a Jerusalem with a new Temple. To see it he was carried to the top of a high mountain overlooking Israel (Ez. 40.2). The Temple's inner court was square, 100 x 100 cubits; the sanctuary's outer hall and Holy of Holies were, as in Solomon's destroyed Temple, 40 x 20 cubits and 20 x 20 cubits (Ez. 40.47, 41.2–4). Ezekiel saw the river of life, and on either side the trees of life bearing a crop of fruit in each month of the year (Ez. 47.12). It was to be set in a Jerusalem with twelve gates, three set in each of its four walls, and each named for one of Israel's tribes (Ez. 48.30–35).

The Temple in Jerusalem was rebuilt by the Jews, led by Zerubbabel, who returned from exile in Babylon in the sixth century BCE. The new building was consecrated in 515 BCE and then again, after desecration, in December 164 (1 Macc. 4). From 20/19 BCE, Herod the Great rebuilt the whole complex. He drastically expanded the Temple Mount, creating a vast esplanade for the outer court, the setting for the exchange of coinage and sale of sacrificially pure animals.³¹ Two flights of steps and a balustrade raised the enclosed area of the sanctuary twenty feet above the court's level; within the enclosure twelve further steps led up to the sanctuary. Construction continued until the early 60s CE.³² Josephus gives a full account of the Temple as it stood in the first century CE. Protecting the outer hall and the Holy of Holies from daylight and from human sight were two sets of overlapping veils.³³ One set was embroidered in blue, linen, scarlet and purple, representing for Josephus the elements of air, earth, fire and sea. So by its material the veil already signified the universe; and its embroidery showed the whole spectacle of heaven. In the sanctuary's outer hall the seven-branched lampstand signified, for Josephus, the seven planets; the twelve loaves, the months and zodiac; the altar of incense, the due offering of all created things to their maker. To pass beyond the veil was to pass through and beyond the created universe and the heavens themselves to God's domain above. The outer hall was entered by the priests on duty every day, morning and evening. The Holy of Holies was entered only on the Day of Atonement and by the High Priest alone. It was, as far as any such claim could be made for a single place in God's creation, the home of God on earth; and so it was the intersection of earth and heaven. Adam had been the gardener of Eden, and named all the creatures there (Gen. 2.15, 19–20). As God had once walked with Adam in Eden in the cool of the day, so the place of such encounter was once more an Eden; Jewish mystics ascended, for a glimpse

³¹ The line of the expansion can be seen in H. Shanks, *Jerusalem's Temple Mount*, New York, 2007, 117–18.

³² Chronology in E. Schurer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. edn), eds M. Black, G. Vermes et al., Edinburgh, 1973, I, 292–308. For a description and plans, E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BC – 66 CE*, London, 1992, 51–69, 306–14.

³³ Jos. BJ 5.5.4–5 [213–18]; *Ant.* 3.6.4 [132], 3.7.7 [183].

of God's glory, to paradise (2 Cor. 12.2–4).³⁴ At the time of Jesus, the Holy of Holies was empty. According to the gospel of Mark, the heavens had been torn open (*schizomenoi*) at Jesus' baptism; the veil of the Temple was torn (*eschisthē*) from top to bottom when Jesus died (Mark 1.10, 15.38). The heavens and the veil alike, adorned with sun, moon and stars, hid God's heaven and God's plans from human view; the veil was torn at the moment of God's ultimate self-disclosure on Golgotha.

The Letter to the Hebrews expounds the death of Christ as the entry of the new High Priest into the Holy of Holies, taking the blood not of a sacrificial bull and goat but of himself. This Holy of Holies was in heaven; the author, then, most directly evoked not the Temple in Jerusalem but Moses' tabernacle and its heavenly prototype. He describes the High Priest's annual entry into the Holy of Holies, already ordained for the tabernacle (Lev. 16); 'but Christ, having appeared as the High Priest of future benefits, through the fuller and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands – that is, not of this creation – and not through the blood of goats and bulls but through his own blood entered once for all into the eternal Holy Places, having found eternal redemption.' The earthly ministries have their role: 'it is necessary that with these the antitypes [*antitupa*, LXX, *exemplaria*, Vg] of heavenly things should be cleansed, but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these. For Jesus has not, in holy places made by hands, entered the antitypes of the true things but into heaven itself, so that he might now appear before the face of God on our behalf' (Hebr. 9.11–12, 24).

The Book of Revelation knows the unique standing of the ark: at the sounding of the seventh trumpet in Revelation, 'the sanctuary of God in heaven opened, and the ark of the covenant could be seen inside it' (Rev. 11.19). At the close of Revelation we return to Jerusalem and Eden together. The Temple as imagined by Ezekiel informed Revelation's closing vision, of a new heaven and new earth and a 'heavenly Jerusalem' that descends to earth as a bride adorned for her husband (Rev. 21.1–22.5). This Jerusalem is the tabernacle of God (Rev. 21.3); but there is no temple in it nor any sun or moon, for God and the Lamb are themselves its temple and its light (Rev. 21.22–3). It is a square, described as also 'equal in height' (Rev. 21.16); with twelve foundations and with twelve gates that bear the names of Israel's tribes; and with Ezekiel's river and fruitful trees.

The earliest panegyric of a church to survive is Eusebius' record of his own speech at the dedication of Paulinus' church at Tyre, c. 315. It combines biblical and Platonic thought with startling complexity. The many later treatments of the theme, more directly homiletic, relish an exuberant but conceptually simpler range of interpretive possibilities. Eusebius compares

³⁴ Within the large literature, C. R. A. Morray-Jones, 'The Temple Within', in A. D. DeConick (ed.), *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism*, Atlanta, 2006, 145–78; and the survey in P. R. Goeder, *Only the Third Heaven? 2 Corinthians 12.1–10 and Heavenly Ascent*, London, 2006.

Paulinus to Bezalel, Solomon and Zerubbabel. The speech then follows a single theme in four ways. First, the human race was sunk under devils, in tombs and graves; once redeemed, the individual soul becomes a Holy of Holies, seen only by the High Priest Christ and (it may be) by the High Priest Paulinus. Secondly, there was the church at Tyre. The land had been covered with rubbish, the haunt of wild beasts. But as Christ did what he saw his father doing, so Paulinus used Christ's actions as his patterns and archetypes; and as Bezalel was called to construct through symbols the sanctuary of heavenly types, so Paulinus, bearing the whole Christ, the Word, and Wisdom in his soul, had built Tyre's sanctuary according to the pattern of the greater sanctuary, visible according to the pattern of the invisible. Thirdly comes the still greater wonder: the restoration of souls, previously captured and slain by demons, buried and covered in rubbish; these souls are the archetypes, the rational prototypes and divine models of the building, a spiritual edifice restored by God. Eusebius finally brings building and souls together, placing the believers of different calibres in suitable roles around the Church and church, and locating the altar in the Holy of Holies that is the soul of Christ himself. So the Church is the sanctuary built throughout the world as the spiritual image on earth of the vaults that stand beyond the vaults of heaven.³⁵ Eusebius stands, unsurpassed, at the head of an enormous river of such interpretations, ever more varied in detail.

TEMPLE AND TOMB: JESUS AND HIS BURIAL

The Temple, as the tabernacle before it, was a microcosm of creation; and by the time of Jesus its daily prayers were conceived as upholding creation's order.³⁶ John's gospel is in turn the story of a new creation; and the links between the Temple and Jesus' tomb find here their first expression. Genesis had opened 'in the beginning' with creation by God's word (Gen. 1.1–3); so John's prologue, a prefatory hymn, introduces the Word who was 'in the beginning', who was with God and was God, and through whom all things came to be. God's first command had been for light (Gen. 1.3); in John's 'Word' was life, and the life was the light of humankind (John 1.4–5, 9). The Word makes its tabernacle with humankind (1.14). Jesus is presented throughout as the new Temple: he speaks of the sanctuary that is his body (2.21); he makes present in his own person the light and water of the Feast of Tabernacles (7.37–9; 8.12).³⁷

³⁵ Eus., *HE* 10.4.13–14, 22–5, 55, 68–9.

³⁶ C. T. R. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple*, London, 1996, 1–12.

³⁷ R. Griffith-Jones, *The Four Witnesses*, San Francisco, 2001, 337–41, with reference to Mishnah *Sukkah*. I have further explored John's Easter story and its role in the gospel in R. Griffith-Jones, 'Transformation by a Text: The Gospel of John', in F. Flannery (ed.), *Experientia I: Studies in Religious Experience in the Ancient World*, Atlanta, 2008, 105–24, and 'Apocalyptic Mystagogy: Rebirth-from-above in the Reception of John's Gospel', in

Jesus died at Passover, the season of creation. God had begun creation on Day One with light and darkness; at the end of Day Six, with the creation of the Human(s), God 'completed' his works (*sunetelesthēsan, sunetelesen*, Gen. 2.1, 2). At the trial of Jesus on the morning of Good Friday, once more Day Six, Pontius Pilate presented Jesus to the crowd: 'Look,' said Pilate, 'the Human!' (19.5). He spoke more correctly than he knew. As the afternoon of Day Six drew towards its end, Jesus said: 'It is completed [*tetelestai*],' and died (19.30). In John's gospel (and only in John's), Jesus was buried in a garden (19.41). On Day Seven, with creation complete, God had rested; Day Seven became the Sabbath, and on it the story of John's gospel pauses. On Day Eight, the day of perfection which is again Day One, 'very early, when it was still dark,' Mary Magdalene came to the tomb (John 20.1). When at last she looked in, she saw two men standing, one at each end of the stone on which Jesus had been laid. Echoed here are the cherubim that flanked God's throne; the tomb of Jesus is now the Holy of Holies, where he himself is at once sanctuary, priest and victim. When Mary turned and saw Jesus, she took him for the gardener; he called her by her name, and she recognised him.

Light of all kinds, in John's narrative, was rising on Day One. John was evoking an Eden, in a world reborn, where a new Adam – once more, supposedly, the gardener – and a new Eve were together again. At Jesus' burial the Temple's paradise became a tomb; through Jesus' presence the tomb became the Temple. John needed his audience to enquire what human figure could possibly belong – let alone, as a corpse – between the cherubim, the guardians in the Holy of Holies of the throne of God.³⁸ John's gospel demanded of its audience a sensibility alert to nuance and allusion, and a bold typological imagination; for the audience was clearly being invited through the story not just to recognise but to occupy for themselves that new creation. John's compositional devices show that he knew how drastic – and perhaps how difficult – would be the attainment of the insight to which he was leading his audience.

Gregory the Great, expounding John's Easter story at the end of the sixth century, considers the role played by these angels: the angel at the head represented the Word who was God, the angel at the feet the Word made flesh. But further: we can also see in the angels the two testaments: the Old at the head, the New at the feet; they form a proper pair, both announcing Jesus *pari sensu*. So they recall the cherubim in the Holy of Holies, facing with perfectly paired gaze each other and the mercy-seat

C. C. Rowland and C. H. Williams (eds), *John's Gospel and Intimations of Apocalyptic* [FS Ashton], London, 2013, 274–99. This remains a minority reading.

³⁸ Ezekiel had seen one 'in the likeness as the appearance of Adam' on the chariot-throne of God (Ez. 1.26). Ezekiel's vision gave rise by the second century BCE to a Jewish mystical tradition built around the contemplation of the chariot-throne and its dazzling occupant; the tradition was informing Christian mysticism, in *The Ascension of Isaiah*, by the late first century CE.

(*propitiatorium*) which is a figure of the incarnate Lord (*propitiation*, 1 John 2.2). These cherubim as the two testaments tell in harmony the mystery of Christ's dispensation: the Old, what was, when it was written, yet to be done; the New, what has now been achieved.³⁹

John's particular typology did not come to dominate the Church. The sanctuary and the tomb have continued, nonetheless, to be inseparably linked in the liturgy. In the East, the altar was associated by the fifth century with Christ's tomb. 'We may think of him on the altar,' wrote Theodore of Mopsuestia in a long account of the offerings brought out as Christ was led to his passion; they are placed on the altar 'as if henceforth in a kind of sepulchre, and as having already undergone the passion';⁴⁰ the linens represent the burial cloths, the fans keep anything from falling on the body, the ministers are around the altar as the angels flanked Jesus' tomb. Theodore's pupil Narsai pursued the theme: 'The altar is the symbol of the Lord's tomb without a doubt, and the bread and wine are the body of our Lord which was embalmed and buried.'⁴¹ The tradition (untainted by Narsai's heresies) has endured from John Climax of Mount Sinai until the present day.⁴² In the West, Hrabanus Maurus (c. 780–856) inherited the symbolism of the white, linen corporal (the cloth on which the chalice and host are placed) as the grave-clothes. The paten and chalice *quodammodo Dominici sepulcri typum habent*: the chalice as the grave, the paten as its cover; or the chalice as Christ's suffering and the paten as the cross; the elements' elevation as Christ's elevation on the cross; the bread's fragment, dropped in the wine, as the ongoing food of the risen Christ; the unconsumed bread on the altar as Christ's abandonment by his disciples and his burial.⁴³ From the ninth

³⁹ Gregory, *Hom.* 25 (PL 76.1191). Odo of Chartres (PL 133.714) and Bruno Astensis (PL 165.593) make the same point.

⁴⁰ Theodore, *Homily* 15.24–9 [at 26], trans. R. Tonneau and R. Devreesse, *Les homilies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste* (Studi e Testi 145), Vatican, 1949, 503–11 [at 505–7].

⁴¹ Narsai, *Homily* 17, trans. R. H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Commentaries of Narsai* (Texts and Studies 8.1), Cambridge, 1909, 4.

⁴² R. F. Taft, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom*, Rome, 1975, 37–41; A. St Clair, 'The Visit to the Tomb: Narrative and Liturgy on Three Early Christian Pyxides', *Gesta* 18 (1979), 127–35. Taft draws attention to Christ's death as prior, in this conception, to his being offered at the altar. On the blessing for a pyx in *Missale Francorum* (c. 700), J. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, Munich, 1932, 291: *hoc vasculum sanctificetur et corporis novum sepulchrum spiritus sancti gratia perficiatur*. On recollections of the Sepulchre in round pyxides with conical lids and in conical pyxes, *ibid.*, 291; among the pyxides showing the women approaching the Sepulchre, see for example the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 17.190.57a, b (sixth century), <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/17.190.57>. On the paten (of the mid twelfth century) from the tomb of Hubert Walter (d. 1205) that associates the tools of the eucharist with the elements of the passion, J. Munns, *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Norman England*, Woodbridge, 2016, 127: *ara crucis, tumulique calix, lapidisque patena / sindonis officium candida byssus habet* (attr. Hildebert of Lavardin, 1055–1133).

⁴³ Hrabanus, *De institutione clericorum* 1.33 (PL 107.323–5).

century onwards it became standard practice for one or three hosts to be entombed in an altar at its dedication.⁴⁴

In his *Liber officialis* III (issued in three editions, 821–35) Amalarius of Metz comprehensively described the ninth-century Mass as such an allegorical drama.⁴⁵ It calls for mention precisely because of its apparently widespread appeal; the condemnation of Amalarius in 853 confirms that Amalarius had ‘infected and corrupted almost all the churches in France and many in other regions ... the *simpliciores* are reputed to love them and read them assiduously’.⁴⁶ The altar is the sepulchre from which Christ is risen at the communion; death, burial and resurrection are all enacted. At *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* Christ ‘is sleeping with head inclined’ on the cross. Amalarius notes that in the Gallican service the chalice was placed to the right of the paten, to catch the holy blood. From then on until the end of the consecration at *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*, priest and deacon were enacting the burial of Christ. The chalice and paten, elevated and then wrapped in *sudarion* and *sindon*, were replaced on the altar as in the tomb. At this point the drama turned to joy. A subdeacon received the paten, signifying that it was the women who first heard the news of the resurrection. The communion itself represented the events of Easter Day: the commingling reunited body and blood and so re-created the miracle of the resurrection; in the *Pax Domini* the Lord’s salutation made happy the disciples’ hearts (John 20.19, 21); the fraction was a symbol of the risen Christ and of his living presence at the service.⁴⁷

Such a dramaturgical instinct is summed up by Honorius Augustodunensis (c. 1100):

Those who recited tragedies in theatres presented the actions of opponents by gestures before the people. In the same way our tragic author [the celebrant] represents by his gestures in the theatre of the church before the Christian people the struggle of Christ and teaches them the victory of his redemption.⁴⁸

Such was the daily, transcendental drama of the Mass, performed in the

⁴⁴ On hosts’ use in the consecration of churches as a form of relic, G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist*, Leiden, 1995, 19, 68–9, 186–97; cf. J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2 vols, Munich, 1924, I, 623–9. On the saints’ relics as *membra Christi* in altars and on the three hosts placed in the altar at churches’ dedication, see J. Gagé, ‘Membra Christi et la deposition des reliques sous l’autel’, *Revue Archéologique* 29 (1929), 137–53. Braun insisted that the Sepulchre is in the altar, but the altar is not the Sepulchre, Braun, *Altar*, I, 241.

⁴⁵ Amalarius, *Liber officialis* (*De ecclesiasticis officiis libri IV*), book III (*PL* 105.1101–64); J. M. Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, 3 vols, Vatican, 1948–50, II, 255–399, summarised and analysed by O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages*, Baltimore, 1965, 35–79.

⁴⁶ Hardison, *Christian Rite*, 38, quoting either Remigius or Deacon Florus (*PL* 121.1054).

⁴⁷ Hardison, *Christian Rite*, 69–76; *PL* 105.1144–56, Hanssens, *Amalarii Opera*, II, 350–72.

⁴⁸ Honorius, *Gemma Animae* (*PL* 172.570), trans. O. B. Hardison.

many thousand theatres of liturgy created by the altar; we have not even touched on the special but ubiquitous ceremonies of Holy Week and Easter, or on their widespread props and drama.⁴⁹ We concentrate for much of this book on representations of the Holy Sepulchre, as experienced all through the year. Throughout, we will ask what made these few programmatic – and often spectacular – architectural recollections of the Sepulchre how special and why in whose eyes and lives.

This book is a study in architectural history, not in the recovery of medieval sensibilities. But we will from time to time look beyond the analysis of form and function, to acknowledge the part played by these places and the devotion they inspired, focused or amplified in cultures which can now seem irrecoverably distant from our own.

An age becomes an age, all else beside,
 When sensuous poets in their pride invent
 Emblems for the soul's consent
 That speak the meanings men will never know
 But man-imagined images can show.

Archibald MacLeish, *Hypocrite Auteur*, 2

⁴⁹ Classically, K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1933, I, 239–539, on the visit to the Sepulchre and the Easter season's plays. J. E. A. Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini through the Ages*, Leuven, 1975, gives an account of the Easter liturgy, 147–73.

PART I

RE-PRESENTING JERUSALEM

PUBLIC, PRIVATE AND POLITICAL DEVOTION: RE-PRESENTING THE SEPULCHRE

ROBIN GRIFFITH-JONES

Most of this volume will be dedicated to architectural and political history, in the designs, sculptures and patronage of buildings. In this opening chapter we will give some context to the architectural studies that follow, in a reminder of other forms – some far less grand and costly than the buildings, and far more widespread – in which the Holy Sepulchre and its relics were made pervasively present throughout Europe. We will see the ambiguities that inform these other representations, between the Jerusalems of earth and heaven, of past, present and future, of interior and exterior space.

This is a book of artistic rather than social history. Our focus will be largely (but not exclusively) on high-status buildings and artefacts, on their use, and on the ways in which they are likely to have guided, enriched and enlivened the liturgies and devotions of those who encountered them. How accessible and how often were these buildings and artefacts to people of what classes or education – and how much that ‘public’ mattered to the patrons – are questions underlying every page of the present chapter; and we will occasionally, here and later in the book, have good reason to articulate and address them. But on the page we will for the most part ask what the artefacts seem designed to effect or to make possible in unspecified individuals present ‘on their own’ within, before or in contact with them. At the book’s end, in the Epilogue, we will detach ourselves from these envisioned individuals and re-immense them in the groups, crowds, processions and services in which priests and laity converged on Jerusalem, the earthbound version of the destination to which the elect were living out their lifelong pilgrimage.

The recovery – at the distance of many miles and centuries – of such sensibilities will never be more than tentative. Buildings, mosaics, reliquaries and oil-flasks do not speak for themselves. During the course of this chapter we will look at a handful of small objects, all linked more or less directly with the Holy Sepulchre and all seemingly designed to engage their users intensely; and we will ask if architectural recollections of the Sepulchre may have presupposed analogous sensibilities and offered analogous rewards. We ask the question, and do not assume the answer; our venture will be more cautious than its brisk presentation will suggest. In particular, we do not assume that responses in one age and place will have matched those in other, far distant contexts; our examples can at best be indicative for their own setting, and suggestive for others. To attempt just one deeper and narrower probe, we will ask in a later chapter, on the Temple Church in London, whether we can hope to trace in the church's design and contents any contribution or response to the developments, over the decades of its construction, in the devotional and political standing in England of the Holy Sepulchre.¹ Here, meanwhile, are the subjects of this present chapter. Specialists will know them all.

1. Krautheimer emphasised the debt that centrally planned baptisteries owed to the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre. The mosaics of the Orthodox baptistry in Ravenna (c. 420–50) encourage us to ask how the building was experienced, in particular by the candidates for baptism [Colour Pl. XIII]. The space was dominated by its vertical axis, from the baptismal font on earth to the depiction of Christ's baptism above. In the ascending bands of the walls' and ceiling's decoration, earthly gives way to heavenly until we reach the final, *celestial* scene of the *incarnate* Christ submitting to the Baptist. In all that follows we should be alert to the potential, in any centrally planned evocation of the Sepulchre, for such a disclosure of heaven and of earth so interfused. At the end of the present chapter we shall find this potential realised in other rotundas too.
2. The cross dominates the apse-mosaic of S. Pudenziana in Rome (made between 402 and 417). The terrestrial Jerusalem – including the Holy Sepulchre – lies beyond the scene of heaven's court within which the sanctuary of S. Pudenziana seems to be enclosed. The rest of Rome, including any lay worshipper, stands once more outside the boundary of the heavenly scene. The mosaic's priorities and the cohesion of its elements offer us an introductory map, richly ambiguous as we shall see, of salvation's whole topography [Colour Pl. XII].
3. Among the most famous stone-relics from the Sepulchre are (i)

¹ R. Griffith-Jones, 'The Temple Church in the Crusades', 429–55 below.

the stone in the painted relics-box in the Sancta Sanctorum, Rome, and (ii) the stone encased in a silver-gilt wooden box, once in the Pharos in Constantinople and now in the Louvre. They were to be seen or held close-up, as small parts standing for the whole. Both needed to be revealed. The relics-box held its wonders well hidden, until the box was opened; the stones could then (by those authorised) be touched [Colour Pls XIV, XV]. The Pharos stone was hidden behind a precious and numinous façade; to extract, see and touch the stone was to delve [Colour Pls XVI, XVII]. Both ensembles were seemingly designed to fire imaginative and devotional connections; such links will only have been made through the focused attention of a mind already attuned to their style and likelihood. It is natural to ask if analogous connections were made – and by whom – in the less intimate, more dominating contexts of the Sepulchre's architectural re-presentation.

4. Similarly small in scale, and far cheaper and more nearly mass-produced, were the ampullae made to hold oil from Jerusalem. They could be hung round the neck or held in the hand, their decoration repeatedly viewed or traced with the thumb, their presence, sanctity and power retained or passed on to others [Fig. 1.1].
5. Most austere of the Sepulchre's recollections are the measures of Christ's body and tomb. The lines and inscriptions on the cloister-wall at Bebenhausen will have been an insistent reminder to those who walked the cloister [Fig. 1.2]. It remains to be made clear how richly visual – if visual at all – were the meditations which the measures focused and encouraged. Bebenhausen suggests a style of meditation, hard to reconstruct now, on which the monastery could rely. We would gladly know if such a style of thought would have responded in the same way to those churches whose dimensions were related – as only a few people were likely to know – to the Sepulchre's inner or outer diameters.²
6. As one example of the Western churches, surviving and lost, whose medieval descriptions evoke the Holy Sepulchre, we bring to the fore Cambrai, and the work there of Bishop Lietbert in the 1050s and 1060s.
7. From the cloister's privacy to a proud political programme: in the baptistery the Pisans celebrated their ongoing role in the Holy Land [Figs 1.3–6]. This may have determined its uniquely full and accurate imitation of the Sepulchre. The baptistery reminds us not to divorce devotion from civic priorities.
8. We need to acknowledge as well those centrally planned buildings that encouraged imaginative and spiritual ascent without any

² E. Fernie, 'Representations of the Holy Sepulchre', 335 below.

apparent reference to the Sepulchre. We glance at Eriugena's poem *Aulae sidereae* for Ste-Marie at Compiègne (877); and at St-Bénigne (1018).

9. We turn finally to St Michael at Fulda (822), a centrally planned building whose significance was unclear even to a member of the monastery writing only twenty years after the church's completion. We will not want to claim more certainty for our own interpretations than an author could claim for his, who still had access to one of his church's founders.

RAVENNA'S ORTHODOX BAPTISTERY: BETWEEN EARTH AND HEAVEN, PRESENT AND FUTURE

If we once think of the Sepulchre's copies as designed to replicate its *effect*, far more is engaged in the copy than just the form of its shell. In Jerusalem's Sepulchre the pilgrim underwent the narrow descent into the central tomb, the confined space, the handful of people, the quietness; and then the return to the relentless bustle of the rotunda. The aedicule's drama is the drama of burial and rebirth. And in turn: every baptism, according to Paul, is baptism into the death of Christ; 'we have been buried together with him through baptism into death, so that just as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so might we walk in newness of life' (Rom. 6.4). The baptismal gift of the Holy Spirit is a seal, pledge and down-payment of the fullness of life that is yet to come (2 Cor. 1.21–2 and 5.5; Rom. 8.23). The baptised have even been raised already with Christ (Col. 3.1); 'if anyone is in Christ – a new creation' (2 Cor. 5.17). There was a place to look forward to, no less than a time. The hope of heaven, whose worship was already revealed to the seer (Rev. 4–5), was refined by the promised descent of the New Jerusalem to earth (Rev. 21); Paul spoke of 'our citizenship in heaven', from which we await the Lord's advent (Phil. 3.20). The font, then, is both the tomb in which the candidate is submerged and the womb of the neophyte's rebirth.³ The rhetoric is existential.

The baptisteries in Ravenna are octagonal and with a central or nearly central font. To be baptised in Ravenna was to be centrally buried, as Christ had been buried in the Sepulchre's centre, and to rise as he had to new life. But the baptisteries themselves offer an elevation that is conceived in clearer and closer detail. In the Orthodox baptistery (c. 420–50) the decoration of the successive zones rises from earthly to heavenly: from the lowest level, of marble prophets and scenes from Jesus' life; up to the zone in mosaic that evokes a liturgy awaiting its – earthly

³ On the convergence in later iconography of the aedicule and the Lateran baptistery, P. A. Underwood, 'The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels', *DOP* 5 (1950), 41–138.

or heavenly – celebrants with the crosses on thrones and the gospels on altars intercalated with paradisiac growth; up again to the apostles; and so finally up to the central roundel for the earthly scene, directly over the font, of Jesus' own baptism set against the gold of heaven [Colour Pl. XIII].⁴ Where would the neophytes properly imagine their place to be in this visionary recapitulation of heaven and earth and the relation of one to the other? They are at once at every point on the vertical axis around which the whole baptistery is built: on earth and recalling Jesus' baptism on earth, and so raised through the liturgy to the realm of the apostles and on upwards to the heavenly Jesus himself, where he is seen undergoing an *earthly* baptism echoed in their own. Here is their admission to the heaven beyond, represented in the heaven of the dome. The distinctions between earth and heaven, and between Jesus' past, their own present and heaven's eternity, are no longer clear at all. The baptistery incorporated the shape, dynamic and *numen* of the Holy Sepulchre; these were then channelled by the baptistery's decoration into a vertical axis which encouraged an ascent in and of the imagination. The baptistery's shape and the font's setting were the armature supporting every detail of the pictorial and liturgical theatre of baptism. This already encourages us to turn back to a richer reading of the Sepulchre (whose original ceiling decoration is unknown) and of its vertical axis: designed as it was to evoke and realise the progress into a new life for the worshipper who was committed to a presently spiritual and ultimately physical ascent.

S. PUDENZIANA, ROME

The apse-mosaic of S. Pudenziana in Rome confronts us majestically with the ambiguities of present and future, earthly and heavenly Jerusalems; and of the place within them both of the Holy Sepulchre and of the worshippers themselves [Colour Pl. XII].⁵ Here there is a greater detachment from

⁴ S. K. Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna*, New Haven, 1965: for the architecture and its significance, 46–56; for the decoration, 57–93. For the catechesis in Ravenna, A. J. Wharton, 'Ritual and Reconstructed Meaning: The Neonian Baptistery in Ravenna', *AB* 69 (1987), 358–75.

⁵ I deploy here B. Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium*, Freiburg, 1987, 66–72; F. W. Schlatter, 'The Text in the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana', *Vigiliae Christianae* 43 (1989), 155–65, and idem, 'Interpreting the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana', *Vigiliae Christianae* 46 (1992), 276–95; G. Hellemo, *Adventus Domini: Eschatological Thought in 4th Century Apses and Catecheses*, London, etc., 1989, 41–9; T. F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1999 [1993], 92–114; J.-M. Spieser, 'The Representation of Christ in the Apses of Early Christian Churches', *Gesta* 37 (1998), 63–73 [66]; W. Pullan, 'Jerusalem from Alpha to Omega in the Santa Pudenziana Mosaic', in Kühnel (ed.), *Real and Ideal Jerusalem*, 405–17; S. Heid, *Kreuz, Jerusalem, Kosmos: Aspekte frühchristlicher Stauologie*, Münster, 2001, 176–88; E. Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome: Time, Network and Repetition*, Cambridge, 2015, 96–7. M. C. Carile, *The Vision of the Palace of the Byzantine Emperors as a Heavenly Jerusalem*, Spoleto, 2012,

the Sepulchre and its power; the *realia* in the foreground outweigh their distant earthbound representatives. Of particular interest to us will be the imagined place of the worshippers in S. Pudenziana – both in the sanctuary and in the nave – in relation to the heavenly foreground, to the earthly Jerusalem beyond and, in between, to the vast transfigured cross.

The church was dedicated in the pontificate of Innocent I (402–17). Christ sits on a jewel-encrusted throne. He wears a gold *pallium* and tunic, the latter with pale blue stripes or *clavi*; his right hand is extended in a gesture of instruction or command. It is famously disputed whether Christ more nearly resembles – in his dress, throne and gesture – an emperor or a god, and whether he is primarily teaching, judging or more generically enthroned.⁶ Beneath him (still visible in 1599) was a dove with wings outstretched, facing downwards to a lamb on a hillock.⁷ Jesus was, we might surmise, flanked by the twelve apostles, of whom ten survive.⁸ Behind Peter and Paul, on either side of Jesus, are two women – representing the churches of the Jews and of the gentiles – who are, it seems, about to crown Peter and Paul. The women's place and posture, however, recall the winged victories who in imperial sculpture regularly flank and crown the emperor; Peter and Paul form an inner, framed triumvirate with Christ. Beyond the figures are the hill of Golgotha and a giant, bejewelled cross. To its left (as seen by the viewer) is the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre. The buildings to the right cannot be confidently identified: perhaps the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, with its apse to the left; or the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem; or, to restrict ourselves to the octagonal building immediately to the right of the cross, the circular Church of the Ascension in Jerusalem. The cross reaching into the sky recalls the

101–28, is valuable both for its full survey of the literature and for its own reading. The mosaic was trimmed and drastically restored in 1588; its base was trimmed in 1711. The most important records of its early appearance are two drawings: by Ciacconio, 1595, Vat. Lat. 5407 f. 156; and by Eclissi, 1630–44, now in the Royal Library at Windsor, Inv. No. 9058 [Colour Pl. XII b]. On *crux gemmata* mosaics and their relationship with Christ, Thunø, *Apse Mosaic*, 29–39, 58–60; and now R. M. Jensen, *The Cross: History, Art and Controversy*, Cambridge, Mass., 2017, 97–122. On the ambiguities of Christ's enthronement in the New Testament, M. Hengel, "Sit at my right hand!" The Enthronement of Christ at the Right Hand of God and Psalm 110.1, in *Studies in Early Christology*, Edinburgh, 1995, 119–226. Revelation's Christology is famously nuanced, and will where necessary defy grammar (1.4; 11.15; 6.17 and 22.3–4); R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, Edinburgh, 1993, 133–40.

⁶ The gathering of apostles round Jesus may have been closely mimicked by the liturgical gathering immediately beneath the mosaic in the apse: the bishop enthroned and flanked by his clergy, and before him the altar. S. Pudenziana, however, was not an episcopal church, and no sign of a *synthronon* was discovered in the excavations of the 1960s.

⁷ Krautheimer suspected that the lamb and dove were additions under Hadrian I (782–83).

⁸ Brenk emphasises the influence of the Lateran's Constantinian *fastigium* on the design: the congregation would have seen on the *fastigium*-screen the silver statues of Christ and the twelve apostles, B. Brenk, *The Apocalypse, the Image and the Icon*, Wiesbaden, 2010, 50–2.

parhelion in the shape of a cross, recorded by Cyril of Jerusalem, that shone over Jerusalem for several hours on 7 May 351.⁹ The cross at Calvary in the papacy of Innocent I is likely still to have been the silver and gilded reliquary seen by Egeria.¹⁰ Its adornment in the mosaic with jewels is all the more telling, if the giant *crux gemmata*, installed under the Emperor Theodosius II (401–50), was not yet in place. The mosaic's cross, spanning heaven and earth in splendour, is a symbol of triumph, not of death.

The whole scene is informed by biblical visions. The composition is horizontally divided by the colonnade. The porches surely represent the twelve gates of the New Jerusalem – two of them trimmed away, four hidden by the mosaic's figures – from Rev. 21.21.¹¹ The four beasts in the sky are the four living creatures around the throne of heaven from Rev. 4.6–7; the apostles recall the twenty-four elders around the figure on the throne at Rev. 4.4. The heavenly worship described in Rev. 4–5 was in turn indebted to the visions of the prophet Ezekiel (Ez. 1 and 10). Ezekiel, in exile after Jerusalem's destruction, saw on God's throne *similitudo quasi aspectus hominis*; he then recounted his visions of God's departure from the Temple before its destruction (Ez. 10) and of the future and ideal Temple (Ez. 40; it was never built). Jerome insisted in his commentary on Ezekiel, in circulation in Rome after 410, that the figure seen by Ezekiel on the throne (Ez. 1.26–8) was God the Father, not the Son. Similarly, in the heaven of Rev. 4–5, the figure seated on the throne is distinguished from the lamb, who is seen standing 'in the midst of the throne and of the four creatures and in the midst of the elders' (*in medio throni et quattuor animalium et in medio seniorum*, Rev. 5.6), and who comes forward to take the scroll from the one on the throne. The lamb is nonetheless given the worship (5.9–14) which has been given to God himself (4.9–11). At two climactic moments Christ actually shares God's throne: at the culmination of the letters to the seven churches (3.21); and when, following Christ's final triumph in Rev. 19, the New Jerusalem is home to 'the throne of God and of the lamb' (22.1, 3). At this culmination, the one on the throne reiterates the prefatory words both of the Lord God who was and is and is to come (1.8), and of the one who was dead and is alive and lives for ever (1.17): 'I am alpha and omega, the beginning and the end' (21.6). (We need not ask here how Revelation connected the order of the events described,

⁹ Cyril, *Ep. ad Constantium* 4 (PG 33.1170).

¹⁰ C. Milner, 'Lignum Vitae or Crux Gemmata? The Cross of Golgotha in the Early Byzantine Period', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 20 (1996), 77–99 [83–5]: the more famous *crux gemmata* was raised on Golgotha by the Emperor Theodosius II in 421 or 428/9; it was probably a reliquary of the true cross (cf. Breviarium B, 40–3).

¹¹ Carile has urged caution here: the similar arcades in the city-gate sarcophagi and in the nave mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo signify a more general heavenly setting; the curve in S. Pudenziana's arcade evoked the grandest such hemicycles in imperial Rome; S. Apollinare suggests as well that the buildings beyond the arcade are generically splendid – and as white as Rome's own marble – rather than depictions of Jerusalem.

of the disclosures made and of any deepening insight offered by the text's progression.)

The mosaic's topography is acutely Christological. It maps and reveals the relationship between, on the one hand, the enthroned God of Ez. 1 and Rev. 4; and on the other, (i) the lamb himself, placed below (Rev. 4–5); (ii) the lamb's historic triumph, behind the throne on Calvary; and (iii) the lamb's final triumph, in the gemmed, cosmic cross above. For this is the lamb – revealed in (i), (ii) and (iii) – who now sits on God's own throne at the centre of the mosaic.

The worship of Rev. 4–5 was almost certainly, by the time of the mosaic's creation, already read as revealing the present unity of worship in heaven and on earth. This, in two ways. First, with a parallel between heaven and earth: in the heaven of Rev. 4, the four living creatures sing the triple Sanctus, and the elders prostrate themselves, saying, 'You are worthy, our Lord and God, to receive honour and power'; in the Roman Eucharist, since the fifth century, the priest has offered such praise and the congregation has responded with the triple Sanctus. And secondly, through the antiphon of Rev. 5: the praise of thousands upon thousands of heavenly creatures is answered by 'everything that lives in heaven and on earth and under the earth', to which the four living creatures say 'Amen'.¹²

The viewer's engagement in the scene was not just liturgical. The scene raises the question, where does the viewer stand in relation to its enclosed and heavenly foreground and its earthly but distanced city-scape? The mosaic brought the land and figures depicted into the space, time and presence of the viewers. The viewers were, and most vividly within the context of the Mass, being given a vision of realities of which most were inaccessible to normal human gaze. Calvary's cross belongs on earth, but this vast, jewelled cross reaches to heaven and is flanked by the four creatures of heaven. Below them is the earthly Jerusalem in which the cross was set. But below and in front of that, and so more nearly in the world of S. Pudenziana itself and of the viewer, are the enclosure and occupants of the heavenly Jerusalem. Upon this church, still intact after 410, have converged the two Jerusalems – one destroyed and one envisioned – of Ezekiel, the Jerusalem of the fifth century, the heaven of Rev. 4–5 and the New Jerusalem of Rev. 21. And the whole composition is unified by the vertical, Christological axis that descends from heaven through the cross, the enthroned figure and the (now lost) lamb, down to the Eucharistic elements. That vertical axis is dramatically matched by

¹² Y. Christe, 'Traditions littéraires et iconographiques dans l'interprétation des images apocalyptiques', in *L'Apocalypse de Jean: traditions exégétiques et iconographiques, III^e– XIII^e siècles*, Geneva, 1979, 109–34, with a critique by J. Engemann, 73–107; Hellemo, *Adventus Domini* [n. 5 above], 281; C. Flanagan, 'The Apocalypse in the Medieval Liturgy', in R. K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (eds), *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca, 1992, 333–51; Thunø, *Apse Mosaic* [n. 5 above], 119–29.

the horizontal division created by the colonnade; together they inscribe a giant cross of their own onto the whole composition.

The mosaic is giving access to a vision; and the vision incorporates just such an accumulation of biblical elements as characterises the visions of Revelation. We should never assume that the uncertainties in our understanding reflect a multivalence intended by the artist or patron; but we might well wonder if the mosaic's patrons understood the rich, confusing conditions of a biblical vision and reproduced them.

Where then were the viewers imagined to be? If the colonnade's curvature signified a hemicycle, then the priests beneath – and perhaps the whole sanctuary – were by implication enclosed and embraced by the colonnade too. The priests joined the occupants of heaven in this grand space. Pullan sees in the hemicycle the home of the glorified Christ in a heavenly version of the Sepulchre's rotunda;¹³ within these walls, open to the sky, there is no temple, for the Lord and Christ are its temple (Rev. 21.22). The 'temples' and palaces of the earthly Jerusalem are beyond and behind this privileged arena; as the viewer's own city of Rome – and perhaps the basilica's own nave – are outside the enclave of heaven implied by the colonnade. But that heavenly city has descended (Rev. 21.2) by virtue of – and down the axis of – the cross, which stands on its hill within the terrestrial Jerusalem beyond the hemicycle's wall. The Holy Sepulchre nestles at the foot of the cross and hill which in Jerusalem stood within the complex of the Sepulchre. Here the Sepulchre is an indispensable but terrestrial suburb in the scene that unites heaven and earth, with Rome on the viewer's side and Jerusalem beyond. The mosaic illumined, with great subtlety, both (i) the identity of the one on God's throne and (ii) the roles and relative standing of the people and places most central to God's design.

BLESSINGS FROM THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

STONE-RELICS IN THE SANCTA SANCTORUM

At S. Pudenziana, Jerusalem and Rome, heaven and earth, past, present and eternity all converged in one grand liturgical setting. But Calvary and the tomb could be made present by far more modest tokens: stones and earth from the site.¹⁴ The Piacenza Pilgrim (c. 570) knew that 'earth

¹³ Pullan, 'Jerusalem from Alpha to Omega' [n. 5 above].

¹⁴ For the repertoire of such mementos, B. Bagatti, 'Eulogie Palestini', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 15 (1949), 126–66. For earth-relics, some vivid examples in K. M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages*, Turnhout, 2011, 107–18. Here is one among them. In the 1480s Felix Fabri spent a whole day by himself, gathering pebbles and thorn-twigs between Mount Sion and the Mount of Olives. He marked up the pebbles and wove the thorns into a crown, and brought them all in a basket back to Ulm. He wrote: 'By no means ... do pieces and bits of stone brought from that illustrious land deserve to be despised or cast away, but to be gathered up with great