



The Church of the Resurrection, or of the Holy Sepulchre (Continued)

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The Church of the Resurrection, or of the Holy Sepulchre

III. *The Buildings of the Emperor Constantine Monomachus, 1008–1130.*

THE rebuilding of the Church of the Resurrection and the adjoining buildings after their complete destruction by the mad khalif, Hâkim, was, according to the traditional account, scarcely less rapid, though much less complete, than that after the more partial demolition by Chosroes II. The story goes that, within a few months of their ruin, the mother of the khalif, a Christian bearing the name of Mary, who was the sister of the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Alexandria, obtained from him leave for the Christians to return to the city and to re-erect their churches, the chief authority for this statement being the chronicle of Raoul the Bald (Rodulphus Glaber). Other writers assign later dates for this permission to rebuild the churches, and we can scarcely hope to ascertain definitely what the course of events was; but, without attempting to fix the date exactly, we may simply accept the fact that, within a short time of the destruction, the work of restoration was begun, though only on a temporary footing. Negotiations for a permanent reconstruction were entered on by the emperor Romanus Argyrus (1028–1034), with the Khalif Adh Dhâhir, the son and successor of Hâkim (1020–1035), and they were finally arranged by their successors, Michael IV (the Paphlagonian), and the Khalif Al Mustansir in 1037. The work was spread over eleven years, the expense being chiefly borne by the Emperor Constantine Monomachus, and the buildings, so far as reconstructed during this period, were completed by the Patriarch Nicephorus in 1048. This, at least, is the most probable explanation of the conflicting narratives of different chroniclers. The only Moslem writer who refers to the matter is Mujîr ad Dîn, who says: ‘During the year 398 (1008) the Khalif Hâkim ordered the Kumâmah to be destroyed. The church, however, was allowed to be rebuilt during the reign of his son, Al Mustansir, by the king of Rûm.’¹

¹ Quoted by Le Strange, p. 204.

The narratives of various pilgrimages made during the eleventh century, before the time of the crusades, have come down to us in one form or other, and among the pilgrims we have such men as Fulk the Black (Count of Anjou), Raymond of Plaisance, Robert of Normandy, Abbot Richard of St. Vitou, Bishop Liethbert of Cambray, and the Archbishop of Mayence with an army of seven thousand pilgrims (among whom were the bishops of Utrecht, Bamberg, and Ratisbon).² But the only description of the holy sites that has come down to us during this period is that of Nâsir-i-Khusrau, a Persian, whose 'Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine,' made in 1047, has been translated from the Persian by Mr. Le Strange for the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society. He says :—

In the Holy City the Christians possess a church which they call Bai'at-al-Kumâmah, and they hold it in high veneration. Every year great multitudes of people from Rûm come hither to perform their visitation; and the emperor of Byzantium himself even comes here, but privily so that no one should recognise him. . . . At the present day the church is a most spacious building, and is capable of holding 8,000 persons. The edifice is built, with the utmost skill, of coloured marbles, with ornamentation and sculptures. Inside the church is everywhere adorned with Byzantine brocade, worked in gold with pictures. And they have portrayed Jesus—peace be upon Him!—who at times is shown riding upon an ass. There are also pictures representing others of the prophets, as, for instance, Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob with his sons—peace be unto them all! These pictures they have overlaid with a varnish of the oil of Sandaracha; and for the face of each portrait they have made a plate of thin glass, which is set thereon, and is perfectly transparent. This dispenses with the need of a curtain, and prevents any dust or dirt from settling on the painting, for the glass is cleaned daily by the servants (of the church). Besides this (Church of the Resurrection) there are many others (in Jerusalem), all very skilfully built; but to describe them all would lead into too great length. In the church (of the Resurrection) there is a picture divided into two parts, representing heaven and hell. One part shows the people of paradise in paradise, while the other shows the people of hell in hell, with all that therein is; and assuredly there is nowhere else in the world a picture such as this. There are seated in this church great numbers of priests and monks, who read the evangel and say prayers, for both by day and by night they are occupied after this manner.

Nâsir-i-Khusrau is thus no exception to the rule by which pilgrims give us much information which we could do without, but do not tell us what we should much rather have learned. His narrative may fortunately be completed from other two which, although written after the capture of the city by the crusaders, are still anterior to the chief changes made on the buildings by them,

² Besant and Palmer, pp. 146 ff.

which the tract of 'Fetellus' shows us were not commenced for some years, being in progress and only recently begun in 1130. We may thus extend this period to about that time, and we are fortunate in having such complete narratives as those of Sæwulf and the Abbot Daniel as our guides to the pre-crusading buildings. The account of these two writers is too long for direct quotation, and a more elaborate estimate of it than we can now attempt will be found in an appendix to the translation of the latter writer made by Sir Charles W. Wilson for the Pilgrims' Text Society.

Sæwulf's narrative was written immediately after the capture of Jerusalem in the year 1102. Speaking of 'the Church of the Holy Sepulchre' (the first time, so far as we remember, when the name occurs) or the Martyrium, he says that 'in the middle of this church is the Sepulchre of the Lord, surrounded by a very strong wall, and covered over, lest rain should fall upon the Holy Sepulchre, for the church above is open to the sky.' In the court of the church are the prison in which the Lord was confined—a little to the east, the place where the crosses were found, 'and where a large church was afterwards built in honour of Queen Helena, but which has since been utterly destroyed by the pagans,—to the west, the column of scourging, the place of stripping, and that where He was invested in the purple robe and where His garments were divided. Calvary is next mentioned, with the rock cracked near the spot where the cross was fixed; it is the site of Abraham's sacrifice; in the cave below, which he calls Golgotha, Adam was raised from the dead; close at hand is the church of St. Mary over the place of Uncction. Returning to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, he mentions for the first time the name of Compas given to the centre of the world, situated to the east of the church, not far from Calvary, this being also the spot where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene after the resurrection; he describes four side chapels attached to the Church, that of St. Mary on the north, and on the south, in succession, the chapel of St. John, the monastery of the Holy Trinity, and the chapel of St. James the Apostle, 'all so built and arranged that any one standing in the farthest church can clearly see all the five churches from door to door.' To the south of the church is the Church of St. Mary Latin, the altar of which is said 'by the Assyrians' to be on the spot where the Virgin stood during the crucifixion.

The Russian abbot, Daniel, as to whom we know practically nothing beyond his name and rank, visited the Holy Land during the years 1106 and 1107, spending the Easter of the latter year in Jerusalem. The account which he gives of the buildings with which we are concerned is a long one, and we must curtail it very largely, referring to the translation of his work (made by Sir Charles Wilson from a French translation by Madame Sophie de

Khitrowo) for further details. His description of the sepulchre itself, however, is sufficiently important to be quoted at length.

It is a small cave hewn out in the rock, having an entrance so low that a man can scarcely get through by going on bended knees; its height is inconsiderable, and its dimensions, equal in length and breadth, do not amount to more than four cubits. When one has entered the grotto by the little entrance, one sees on the right hand a sort of bench, cut in the rock of the cavern, upon which the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was laid; it is now covered by marble slabs. This sacred rock, which all Christians kiss, can be seen through three small round openings on one side. There are five large oil-lamps burning night and day suspended in the sepulchre of our Lord. The holy bench upon which the body of Christ rested is four cubits in length, two in width, and one and a half in height. Three feet in front of the entrance to the cavern there is the stone upon which the angel sat who appeared to the women and announced to them the resurrection of Christ. The holy grotto is cased externally with beautiful marble, like a raised platform (*ambo*), and is surrounded by twelve columns of similar marble. It is surmounted by a beautiful turret resting on pillars, and terminating in a cupola, covered with silver-gilt plates, which bears on its summit a figure of Christ in silver, above the ordinary height; this was made by the Franks. This turret, which is exactly under the open dome, has three doors skilfully executed in trellis-work; it is by these doors that one enters the holy sepulchre.

The Church of the Resurrection is said by Daniel to be round, 210 feet in diameter,³ paved with beautiful marble slabs, with twelve monolithic columns and six pillars. Its dome 'is formed of a framework of wooden beams, so that the church is open at the top,' the sepulchre being immediately under the open dome. It has six entrances and 'galleries with sixteen columns,' and various mosaics above the galleries are described; it has spacious apartments in the upper part, where the patriarch lives. The entrance of the tomb is 84 feet from the high altar (in the east of the church), behind which is the centre of the earth covered by a small building. From this point it is 84 feet to Calvary, a rounded rock with a socket-hole a cubit deep and scarcely a foot in circumference, rent at a point above that where Adam's skull lay. Calvary is enclosed by a wall, and covered by a building with various mosaics; but Calvary, he adds, is the name properly given to the cave below, the upper part being Golgotha. The place where the garments were parted, and that of the mocking, are close to Calvary on the north side. Abraham's altar is also close to this place, and mention is made of the prison, at a distance of 175 feet from which is the place where the cross was found, and of the spot from which the women viewed the crucifixion, called Spudi, a church of St. Mary with a timber roof standing on the spot. At a later stage

* The diameter is really 112 feet. On p. 420 it was by mistake stated to be 67 feet, which is the diameter within the row of columns, excluding the aisle.

the abbot describes at length the descent of the Holy Light on the Saturday before Easter (first mentioned by Bernard the Wise, 867 A.D.), and he mentions the fact that on going three days later to take away his lamp which had been lighted by the fire, he was allowed by the keeper to inspect the sepulchre itself very minutely, and so gratified that functionary by his generous gratuity that he 'pushed back the slab that covers the part of the sacred tomb on which Christ's head lay, and broke off a morsel of the sacred rock ; this he gave me as a blessed memorial, begging me at the same time not to say anything about it at Jerusalem.'

From the information afforded by these writers we are unable to follow in detail the growth of the reconstructed churches during the eleventh century, but we are left in no doubt as to the main facts that concern us. The energy of the builders was concentrated on the Church of the Resurrection, which was restored to practically its older form. The western semicircular wall, with its three apses, is necessarily unchanged, and it is continued as before, so as to form a round church, the eastern end being, however, finished by an apse entered by an arch of special size reaching into the triforium, and occupied by the high altar ; the entrances to the church are also necessarily, as before, at the sides of this apse. Within this bounding wall or colonnade, a circular range of columns and arches is formed on (probably) the old site of the inner wall of Arculfus, which supports the clerestory and triforium. The wooden roof of the church rises like a truncated cone, the centre being left open above the chapel of the sepulchre itself. Externally much has been done for the ornamentation of the tomb, a wall cased with marble, in which twelve columns and twelve arches have a part, protecting it, and bearing an upper domed pavilion on which a silver image of the Saviour stands immediately under the central opening of the roof ; this, however, is stated to be the work of the Crusaders, but we are at a loss to know whether it is the whole pavilion or the silver image that is alluded to. The interior of the tomb has been completely altered in appearance. Not improbably it had been considerably injured by the efforts of Hâkim's officers, and while formerly the loculus where the body lay was separately roofed over by the rock, which was cut out in a vaulted form at a lower level than the roof of the cave, one vaulted roof now extends over the whole inner surface. The bed of the loculus is covered with marble slabs pierced at three points (as is frequently mentioned), one of the slabs being movable. A further addition to this church has been made by the beginning of the twelfth century, and may have been carried out at the time of the restoration by Constantine Monomachus, in the four side chapels, one on the north, three on the south, the entrances to which are on a straight line with those to the church, their apses being probably on the

line with the apse of the church, while their western walls would join the wall of the church at the points where the external rock ceased. It is difficult for us to understand how these should have been built in preference to a church on Calvary, and the 'Fetellus' narrative of 1130 makes no reference to them; but the statement of Sæwulf is too clear to admit of question, and its date is undoubted. These side chapels are further still standing, and their architecture is that of the pre-crusading period.

The Church of the Resurrection was, however, the only one of the buildings that was effectively restored. Calvary appears to have been without any church on its site until the beginning of the crusading era, when a small chapel was erected on it. Across the area from it several sites were enclosed under one roof, while the centre of the whole space was covered, as the centre of the earth, with a small oratory. The site of the Basilica of Constantine was altogether uncovered, although it is generally supposed that the eastern end of the enclosure was occupied by the small church of the Invention of the Cross or of St. Helena. This, however, is contrary to the evidence afforded us; and although the architecture of that chapel seems to point us back to pre-crusading times, it is more probable that at a later period the ruins of this subterranean chapel should have been capable of restoration to their original position than that the direct statements of the writers of the period should be erroneous. What exact form the boundaries of the enclosure took, we do not know; but on the northern side there is still a cloister, which gives every indication of belonging to this period, while it does not form the same angle with the Church of the Resurrection as the adjoining crusading buildings do. It is composed of seven arches, now known as the Seven Arches of the Virgin, resting on columns which M. de Vogüé describes as an imitation of Corinthian and of Byzantine style. On the extreme south also, in line with the southern side of the chapel of St. James, a portico of seven columns seems to have been built, six of the bases being still visible, while in the south-east corner of the chapel the seventh is still standing complete with a portion of the arch which it supported. But beyond this we cannot safely make any conjecture, except in the recognition of certain buildings connected with the clerestory which, following out the previous custom, formed apartments for the use of the patriarch, their level being very much that of the adjoining street on the north.

We cannot define exactly the time when the crusading additions and extensions were commenced; probably smaller works had been carried out before the erection of the great choir which forms the chief feature of their work. But we may provisionally accept the year 1130 as forming the division between the two periods, as at that time we have the account of the holy places which goes under

the name of Fetellus, archdeacon of Antioch about 1200 A.D., but which was certainly written by an unknown author about the year mentioned. It forms the foundation of a large number of 'Guides to the Holy Places' in later times, and has passed under several different names. The account it gives is short, and one would almost have placed its information as previous to Sæwulf and Daniel. It says :—

The Church of the Sepulchre is round, of considerable beauty of construction, and it has four gates which are opened over against the sun-rising. The Sepulchre of the Lord is in the middle of it, sufficiently well protected and decently adorned. On the outside of it, on the east, is the site of Calvary, where the Lord was crucified, and there one ascends by sixteen steps, and there is a great rock where the Cross of Christ was erected. Lower is Golgota, where the blood of Christ trickled down through the middle of the rock, and where there is an altar in honour of the sainted mother of God. Outside of this, over against the sun-rising, is the place where the blessed Helena found the Holy Cross, and there a large church is building. On the other side over against the sixth hour (*i.e.* to the south) is a hospital for poor and infirm persons, and the church of St. John Baptist. And near at hand is St. Mary Latin. In the above-mentioned church of the blessed John is a stone water-pot in which the Lord made wine from water.

The natural tendency is certainly to place this account at the beginning of the twelfth century, but the historical incidents referred to in the work render this impossible, as for example the allusion to the Patriarch Warmund 'of blessed memory' in connexion with the siege of Tyre 1124, Warmund dying in 1128; and even if some other allusions could be regarded as insertions by a later hand, this and others of a similar character are conclusive against any date before 1130.

IV. *The Crusading Buildings, 1130–1808.*

As we now turn to the fourth period of our history, we cannot possibly hope to follow out in detail the story of the buildings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for the long period of nearly seven centuries. All we can aim at is to trace the changes introduced by the crusaders, and to note the chief events that have since affected the buildings, with their results.

The information that is afforded us as to the condition of the buildings in the middle half of the twelfth century, representing the changes introduced by the crusaders before their expulsion in 1187, is fortunately both detailed and varied. Besides various longer or shorter statements made by the historians of the period, among whom William of Tyre stands pre-eminent, we have four distinct treatises on the subject. The first is the 'Description of the Holy Land' by John of Würzburg, which must have been written between

the years 1160 and 1170, nothing more being known of its author ; the second is a 'Description of the Holy Land,' written very soon after, between 1171 and 1173, by Theoderich, who may perhaps be identified with one of that name who became bishop of Würzburg in 1223. These two follow very largely the Latin type of the guide of the period, the earliest form of which we have already met in the so called 'Fetellus.' After an interval of a few years we have a much shorter tract by Joannes Phocas, who served for a time in the army of the Emperor Manuel I (Comnenus) and afterwards became a monk, written about 1185. Two years later we have the first form of another type, the Norman French, in the 'Citez de Jherusalem,' dating immediately after the capture of the city of Saladin in 1187, the first of several similar works bearing on the position of the city in the beginning of the thirteenth century. From these four works we may deduce the outstanding facts.

First we may turn to the sepulchre itself, to which what is known as the Angel Chapel was now added, representing the original ante-chamber, which had been cut away in the course of the levelling of the area by Constantine ; the chamber was almost square, and, in addition to the low entrance from it into the tomb, it had a door in each of its three walls, that in the east being reserved for the use of the guardians of the sepulchre, while that on the north was the one by which pilgrims entered the chapel, leaving it, after entering the tomb, by the southern door. Within the chapel, by the time of Theoderich, was the Stone of Unction (which now stands opposite the door of the church) used as an altar ; when John Phocas wrote, it had been encased in white marble. The *loculus* was, as described by Theoderich, 'wondrously adorned with white marble, gold, and precious stones,' the three holes being still left to allow pilgrims to kiss the actual stone ; but Phocas speaks of it as 'ornamented round about with pure gold, through the love and faith of my lord and master, Manuel Comnenus Porphyrogenitus.' The interior of the vault and sides of the tomb is covered with marble, and the outside is richly ornamented with pillars and arches supporting an upper structure surmounted by a cross. John of Würzburg describes this structure as a cuplike dome, 'the upper surface of which is covered with silver, and which rises high in the air towards the wide space open to the sky, which is made in the larger building above it.' Theoderich gives a very complicated account, in which it is difficult at times to know what he is referring to ; he speaks of ten pillars ranged round the tomb, supporting arches, and goes on to describe an altar (which may be the representative of the present altar of the Copts standing to the west of the Chapel of the Sepulchre) 'at His head, which was turned towards the west,' the altar being 'surrounded by partition walls, doors, and locks of iron, with lattice-

work of cypress-wood decorated with various paintings, and with a roof of the same kind, and similarly decorated, resting upon the walls. . . . The roof of the work itself is formed of slabs of gilt copper, with a round opening in the middle, round which stand small pillars in a circle, carrying small arches above them, which support a cup-shaped roof. Above the roof itself is a gilded cross, and above the cross is a dove, likewise gilded.' In front of the sepulchre and the ante-chapel is the Altar of the Holy Sepulchre, under what is spoken of by John of Würzburg as 'a kind of square eanopy.' The Church of the Anastasis (if we may still retain the name) around the sepulchre is surrounded as formerly by a series of columns and piers supporting the clerestory and cutting off the aisle which runs round the ancient rock wall. At the points where this semicircular wall ends, the aisle stretches north and south to the side chapels which retain their former position. The first of the three chapels to the south now, however, formed the base of a great campanile of five stories, the three lower of which still exist. We do not know what was its exact form as it was originally built, as the descriptions of it are quite unsatisfactory and contradictory in their details. A drawing by Breydenbach (1483) represents the tower as surmounted by a leaden octagonal dome, but Professor Willis has shown that these drawings are not trustworthy; in 1586 a view by Zuallardo has no roof; the two upper stories were, however, still standing in 1678 according to a drawing by Le Bruyn.

The distinctive work of the crusaders, however, lay beyond the Church of the Resurrection and its side chapels, consisting in the erection of a great church over the larger part of the rest of the area, extending from the Anastasis eastwards beyond the rock of Calvary to the line of the depression in the rock which is now known as the Chapel of St. Helena, and in breadth covering the area from the old northern cloister to a line to the south of Calvary and contiguous to the northern wall of the campanile. The junction with the Anastasis was effected by cutting away the eastern apse with the small chancel leading to it, at the great arched entrance which was retained, this arch (now known as 'The Imperial') forming the junction between the rotunda and the choir of the great church. The most striking feature of the choir was its central lantern, standing (in Professor Willis's words) on four noble piers, the centres of which were distant forty feet from east to west, and forty-three from north to south, while their height from base to capital was fifty-two feet. The proportions and the form of the piers were strictly Romanesque. On these piers pointed arches were supported, on which the lantern was raised crowned with a cupola, the highest point of which was 114 feet above the pavement. The eastern arch of this tower opened on the presbytery of the church, which ended in a semicircular apse,

the altar occupying the centre of the diametral line. The whole length of the choir and presbytery was all but one hundred feet, the breadth forty. The northern and southern arches of the tower connected the choir with the transepts; the northern transept extended to the old northern cloisters, embracing two of the columns in its closing arches, while the southern filled up the space to the west of the Adam chapel. Around the whole church, thus completed, there stretched a great processional aisle, the western end of which was the aisle of the rotunda, the northern being the old cloister, the eastern surrounding the presbytery and having three large apses, while the Adam chapel forms part of the aisle around the southern transept. This aisle had three small chapels in its eastern end as a sort of apses, and between the eastern and the south-eastern of these was a staircase which led down to the Chapel of St. Helena, the passage being partly cut in the rock, and the floor of the chapel being nearly sixteen feet below that of the rotunda.

The Chapel of St. Helena (which is practically unchanged since the crusading times) in all probability represents in some of its details the old basilica of Constantine, as the depression of the rock must have been unaltered, and apparently the crusaders were able largely to avail themselves of ruined columns and arches which remained on the spot. On descending the steps we enter the chapel through a vestibule (or narthex) which occupies the western end, and we find that it is divided into three aisles, the central of which is crowned by a cupola, while the northern as well as the central ends in an apse. The southern aisle could not be similarly closed, as, at the point where its apse would lie, a staircase leads down eleven feet to the subterranean Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, an irregularly shaped pentagonal cutting in the rock about twenty feet across, evidently an old cistern. These two chapels remain to-day in practically the same condition as the crusaders assigned to them.

Turning now to the supposed site of the crucifixion on the rock of Calvary which rises up on the south-east side of the whole enclosure, to the east of the southern transept of the crusaders' church, we naturally find much labour expended on the erection of a new chapel on the summit of the rock and on the ornamentation of that chapel and the lower chapel of Adam or Golgotha. A staircase led up to Calvary from the processional aisle to the west of its southern apse, while another led from the outside of the southern transept, close to the present entrance to the whole buildings. Considerable variation has taken place in this part of the buildings, but this cannot be made intelligible without a plan, while even with a plan it is not easy to show the connexions, as the floor of Calvary is at an intermediate height between that of the church and the triforium. On Calvary was the Chapel of the Exaltation of the Cross as well as that

of the Crucifixion, where the three holes were shown in which the three crosses were fixed, the central being exactly above the fissure in the rock through which the blood of Christ flowed to the skull of Adam buried in the lower chapel. The Chapel of Melchizedek stood to the east of Calvary. At the entrance to the Adam chapel there were buried the first two Latin kings of Jerusalem, the tomb of Godfrey being against the north pier, and that of Baldwin I against the southern, while the other Christian kings were buried in the immediate neighbourhood. These tombs were largely injured in 1244 by the Kharizmian invaders, and some time later by the Greeks on account of their commemorating Latin kings, while after the fire in 1808 they were wholly destroyed from the same motive. It may be of interest to notice that the inscription on the tomb of Godfrey (a roof-shaped stone of fine porphyry on four twisted columns standing on a slab of marble) was not originally that which is usually quoted from Quaresmius, but according to 'Fetellus' was to this effect:—

Marvellous star, here lies Duke Godfrey,
 Egypt's terror, putter to flight of Arabs, scatterer of Persians;
 Though elected king, king he would not be entitled
 Nor crowned: but he was 'the slave of Christ.'
 His was the care to restore to Syon her rights,
 And as a Catholic to follow the sacred dogmas of right and equity;
 All schism to put away from around him, and to cherish right.
 Thus also with the saints could he deserve a diadem—
 The army's mirror, the people's strength, the clergy's anchor.

The erection of these buildings is commonly stated to have been begun in the year 1103, and finished in 1150. The account of the churches given by 'Fetellus' would suggest that the former date is too early, as it represents (in 1130) the Church of the Sepulchre as having four gates on the east, makes no mention of any buildings on Calvary, and merely states that on the site where Helena found the cross, 'a large church is building.' M. de Vogüé has arrived at the date of 15 July 1149 as that of the consecration of the church, his conclusion being founded on the restoration of an inscription upon Calvary in golden letters, part of which is given by John of Würzburg, and part by Quaresmius. The whole work cannot have been accomplished then, and from the 'Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre' he deduces the period from 1167 to 1169 as that within which the crusading works were actually finished. Yet the description of them given by Idrisi in 1154 shows that they were practically carried out at that time. Both he and 'Ali of Herat in 1173 speak of the church as one of the wonders of the world. Its future history till the beginning of the present century is for the most part a painful record of strife between different sections of the Christian church for the possession of special sites and on this

we shall not enter. On the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187, although some accounts speak of his pillaging the Church of the Sepulchre, there is no reason to believe that any damage was done to it; its escape, however, was but a narrow one, and according to some authorities ⁴ 'it was locked up and no Christian allowed to enter it.' This, however, is contrary to the tenor of the description in the 'Citez de Jherusalem,' which represents the various Latin services in the Anastasis and Calvary and the crusaders' choir, as going on uninterruptedly after the capture of the city. Yet at the close of the third crusade (1188-1192), when the English crusaders went up unarmed to Jerusalem, the bishop of Salisbury had granted to him as a special favour that two Latin priests should be permitted to serve at the Anastasis.⁵ Shortly after this, in 1211, Wilbrand of Oldenburg in his 'Itinerary' describes the buildings, noticing the white and polished marble covering of the loculus, with the three openings through which it might be kissed. In 1225 we have, in a different field, the great Geographical Lexicon of Yākūt, in which he speaks of the Kumāmāh as being 'beyond description for beauty and for its great riches and wonderful architecture,' and alludes to various details. Unimportant from our present point of view is the visit of Frederick II in 1229, when, having by his treaty with the Saracens received the whole of Jerusalem except the Sakhra, he entered the deserted Church of the Sepulchre and, taking the crown from the altar, put it on his own head, the last of the Christian kings of Jerusalem.⁶ But only a few years later, 1244, a very different host from Frederick's entered the Holy City, when it was captured by the ferocious Kharizmians. The record of their acts is written in a letter sent to Europe by the patriarch of Jerusalem, in which he tells of the marble pavement that encircled the Sepulchre of the Resurrection being torn up, of Calvary and the whole church being defiled beyond description, of the sculptured columns around the tomb being carried off to adorn the tomb of Mohammed, and of the tombs of the kings being violated and their bones scattered. How far the work of destruction was carried we scarcely know; Makrisi speaks of the church as being destroyed, but this at all events is a huge exaggeration. Nor are we acquainted with the history of its restoration for many years. A little light is thrown on the state of the buildings in 1336 by William of Baldensel in his 'Hodoeporicon ad Terram Sanctam,' where he describes the appearance of the sepulchre with some detail:—

In the middle of the church is a little hut (*parvula domuncula*), into which one has to enter with the head bent on account of the lowness of the door which is towards the east: but above it is vaulted in the form of a semi-

⁴ Besant, *Jerusalem*, p. 436.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 414.

⁶ See Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. iv., and Besant, pp. 506 ff.

circle, decorated with mosaic work, gold, and marbles, having no window but being lighted with candles and a lamp. On the right side of this hut is the place of the Lord's sepulture, touching the extremities of the above-named *casa* in length, *i.e.* from east to west, its length being nine average palms, while the breadth of the *monument* (*i.e.* the *loculus*) and also the remainder of the rest of the space of the hut, extends in breadth on both sides about six average palms; about twelve palms may be the height of the above-named hut. And it must be observed that the *monument* placed above that most holy place is not that in which the most sacred body of Christ was, when lifeless, laid originally; because, as the sacred saying attests, the *monument* of Christ was cut out in the living rock, in the same way as was customary in the *monuments* of the ancients, specially in these districts; while that is composed of several pieces of rock, newly put together with cement, less artificially and less closely than is decent. But, whatever may be the case with this, that place of the sepulchre of Christ cannot be moved in any way from its form, but remains and will remain for ever immovable.

About the same time as William of Baldensel is the Itinerarium of Symeon Symeonis who, as quoted by Professor Willis, refers to the marble covering with its three openings, and, as his date is 1322, we have here another instance of the extreme difficulty of piecing together the descriptions of different writers. We tread on somewhat firmer ground when we come to the time of Felix Fabri, 1483, whom Professor Willis does but justice to when he calls him an exceedingly minute and gossiping describer. His account of his first visit to the church as translated for the Pal. Pil. Text Soc., extends over one hundred pages, and although we could well have exchanged much that he tells us for a short exact statement as to other matters, we do get from him a good deal of important information. As to the sepulchre itself, one imagines that his information ought to be more exact than is common in ancient (or even in most modern) works, as he tells us that he had with him 'the account which a respectable man named Johannes Tucher, a citizen of Nuremburg, has written in the German tongue,' and that he compared his narrative and measurements with the actual objects described, while on a second pilgrimage he was accompanied by 'that noble and clever man, the Lord Bernard von Braitenbach, Dean of the Metropolitan Church of Mainz,' whose work has been already referred to and will call for further notice. We may quote as of special importance Felix Fabri's statement that he examined the sepulchre most closely with a lighted candle, to see if there was any part that was not covered with marble.

I found that on the outside the whole of it was cased in marble all the way round. When I entered the first door into the outer chapel, I found the walls on either side covered with marble, but I found that the wall before my face, that which divides the outer cave from the inner one, and in which is the door leading into the Lord's sepulchre, was bare; and on holding my light near it I saw a wall cut out of the rock, not made of

ashlar work, but all of one piece, with the marks of iron tools plainly to be seen upon it. In the upper part there seemed to have been a fracture, which had been mended with stones and cement. From this it appeared to me that the Lord's sepulchre had once been destroyed, but never completely rooted up; that what is now there is a restoration, and that it has stood for more than 200 years as it appears this day, save that it is now more carefully encased with marble, lest the pilgrims should pick off pieces from the walls for relics.

Previously, however, to the pilgrimage of Felix Fabri, about 1450, the Christians of Jerusalem and their churches had been once more persecuted and devastated in the reign of the Sultan, Al Malik adh Dhâhir Chakmak, when the new constructions in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were demolished.⁷ Much damage cannot have been done, else we had found traces of it in the narrative of our gossiping traveller, or in that of Breydenbach who has been mentioned already, and whose work, published in 1502, is the first that professes to give accurate drawings of the different buildings.

The conjecture may be hazarded that, partly as the result of successive acts of violence deliberately planned against the buildings, partly in consequence of the difficulty of making any repairs, during these three and a half centuries, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had by the middle of the sixteenth century fallen into great disrepair. And in 1555 we find that Father Bonifacius Stephanus, of Ragusa, the prefect of the Convent of St. Francis at Jerusalem, and guardian of the Holy Land, was instructed by Pope Julius III, at the instance and the expense of the Emperor Charles V and his son Philip, to restore the buildings, leave for this having been purchased from the Sultan after long negotiations. Boniface (in a letter which Quaresmius has copied from Gretser's *Apologia pro sancta Cruce*) speaks of the church as having nearly fallen, and he says that it seemed necessary to level the structure with the ground, 'in order that the mass which was to be restored should arise the more firmly and endure more permanently than that which was destroyed;' on this being done the sepulchre was laid bare, and a painting of two angels was seen upon it but speedily disappeared upon exposure. One of the marble slabs upon the loculus had to be removed, and he found that it had concealed a piece of wood wrapped up in a napkin, which he placed in the Chapel of the Apparition, where it was long preserved; the napkin fell to dust on its exposure. The question arises, what exactly it is that Boniface here speaks of as taken down, and we may best leave it unanswered; he may have rebuilt the whole of the erection over the tomb, or he may speak only of the Angel Chapel, as Professor Willis thinks; but, in either case, he must have restored it to its former position, as the description given by Breydenbach fifty years previously agrees, so far as one can judge, with that given by later

⁷ Williams, I., 442. Besant and Palmer, pp. 487, ff.

writers. The Angel Chapel, however, is now represented as almost semicircular, instead of being 'almost square' as John of Würzburg described it. The marble covering of the loculus appears to have been changed at this time, as we do not find any later reference to the three holes left in it.

Again in the beginning of the seventeenth century there was need for the repair and the improvement of the buildings, the work being undertaken by the Greek patriarch Sophronius V and being carried out by his successor, Theophanes. Yet in 1620 we read of fear being entertained that the whole would fall; and nearly half a century later, in 1664, the name of the Greek patriarch Nectarius is associated with the restoration of the churches. Further operations were called for in 1719, but from the time of Stephanus to the beginning of the present century we have no alterations of moment to record. Dissension among the sects reigned throughout and introduced certain changes; for example, either during this period or at an earlier date, the possibility of passing round the whole edifice from end to end in the triforium was put an end to, divisional walls being built to separate the portion of one sect from that of another. There must have been need for repair, but the accounts which have come to us from such writers as Father Bernardino Amico, who in 1620 published the only strictly architectural account of the buildings of the epoch ('Trattato delle Piante et Immagini de' Sacri Edifizi di Terra Sancta'), John Zuallardo, who to some extent anticipated him in 1587, De Bruyn, Quaresmius, whose 'Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ' (Antwerp, 1639) is a marvellous storehouse of information for the period, and such later writers as Shaw and Pococke and Clarke, show comparatively little change in even the details of the buildings.

In the year 1808 the history of a considerable portion of the buildings of the Church of the Sepulchre was closed by a great fire which began in the Armenian church in the triforium of the rotunda, from which it passed over a great part of the whole area. It is difficult to learn what exactly was destroyed by it, as the jealousy of the sects is very apparent in the accounts that were given. In the rotunda the effects were most apparent, the whole building being either burned or ruined by the falling cupola, with the exception of the sepulchre itself. In the crusaders' church the central cupola was split, but the aisle surrounding the choir was largely saved. The Chapel of St. Helena escaped uninjured, but the chapels of Calvary were destroyed or seriously injured. The side chapels at the western end were not touched.

V. *The Modern Buildings from 1808.*

The restoration of the buildings was entrusted to a Greek architect of Constantinople, Commenes, who, in spite of countless difficulties put in his way by renewed squabbling, completed his

work so quickly that the church was consecrated on 11 Sept. 1810. The way in which he did so calls down the strongest indignation of M. de Vogüé, in which the old feud of Greek and Frank plays a certain part. But we do not require to prolong our historical sketch by a description of these buildings, which will be more fitly looked for in the pages of a modern guide book. They follow out very much the same lines as those of the crusading erections. The only variations that we need mention are in connexion with the sepulchre itself. The Angel Chapel has been completely renewed, and is now square instead of semicircular, with only one entrance on the east instead of the three spoken of formerly. To the west of the sepulchre is the Chapel of the Copts, which may represent the altar spoken of at the head of the tomb, but is now of a much more permanent character. Otherwise the main buildings retain the same appearance practically as they did when the crusaders finished their work.

Reference ought perhaps to be made, before closing, to the theory asserted by the late Mr. James Fergusson, whose great architectural skill and knowledge are so unfortunately associated with the idea that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is a medieval fraud, and that the Sakhra (the Dome of the Rock) is the actual building of the Emperor Constantine. It is needless now to say one word to add to the overwhelming proof that not a single argument of weight can be adduced in his favour, and that every evidence that is available is opposed to him. The history of the Sakhra is better known now than when he wrote, and in the present day the assertion of his theory is inconceivable. But even when he wrote one can only say with M. de Vogüé that the only possible excuse for his theory would be that he had never seen the buildings which he professed to criticise.

The history of the buildings which, from the time of Constantine the Great, have in succession been erected on the traditional sites of the crucifixion, the sepulchre, and the invention of the cross, is thus practically a continuous one. Each century has afforded us some narrative of a pilgrim who not only visited the holy places, but also left on record a statement of what he saw. The pilgrim was not a critic; he went, as his tourist successors go still, not to investigate the actual facts of history or topography, but to see the sites that interested him, and with the further aim of devotion and of piety. And if one cannot study the records of the successive ages without a smile at the credulity of men who must have been among the best educated of their time, one recognises at the same time their real historical value, and one wonders not so much at partial difficulties attaching to them as at the comparative ease with which, within certain limits, one can deduce from them the history of the Church of the Resurrection for a period of more than sixteen hundred years.

J. R. MACPHERSON.