

III

ECCLESIASTICAL ART IN THE CRUSADER STATES IN PALESTINE AND SYRIA

A. Architecture and Sculpture

The rediscovery of the monuments of the crusaders has something of the romance of their creation. Some of them had never lacked notice. The main shrines were continually described by pilgrims, and the piety of the west was ever eager for news of them. Beginning with the Bordeaux pilgrim who left a record of his visit in

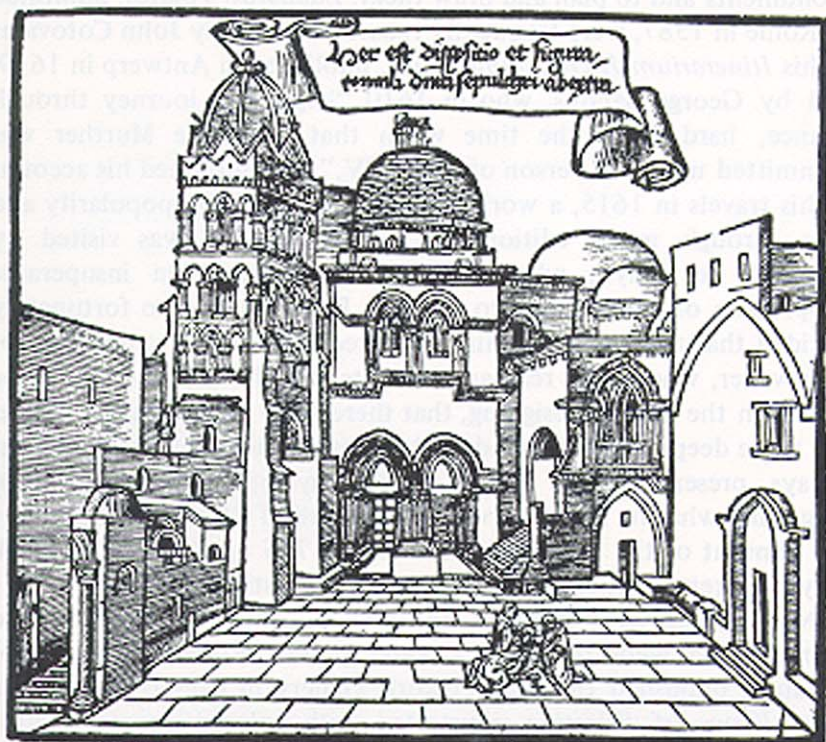
Contemporary accounts of the buildings and cities are found mainly in the narratives of pilgrims, too numerous to list in detail here; for them see J. C. M. Laurent, ed., *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor: Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Odoricus de Foro Julii, Wilbrandus de Oldenborg* . . . (Leipzig, 1864), T. Tobler, ed., *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII., IX., XII., et XV.* (Leipzig, 1874), and R. Röhricht, ed., *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae: Chronologisches Verzeichniss der auf die Geographie des Heiligen Landes bezüglichen Literatur von 333 bis 1878, und Versuch einer Cartographie* (Berlin, 1890). A useful compendium can be found in D. Baldi, ed., *Enchiridion locorum sanctorum* (Jerusalem, 1935), and references will generally be given to that work. Translations of many of the pilgrims' narratives have been published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society and by the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem (1941 onward). G. Zuallardo (Johann Zvallart), *Il Devotissimo viaggio di Gierusalemme: Fatto, et descritto in sei libri* (Rome, 1587), B. Amico, *Trattato delle piante et imagini de i sacri edificii di Terra Santa* (Rome, 1609; Florence, 1620), tr. as *Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land* by T. Bellorini and E. Hoade, with a preface and notes by B. Bagatti (SBF, no. 10; Jerusalem, 1953), and Eugène Roger, *La Terre Sainte, ou Description topographique très-particulière des saints lieux, et de la terre de promesse* . . . (Paris, 1646: particularly valuable for Nazareth) begin a more scientific approach. F. Quaresmi, *Historica, theologica et moralis Terrae Sanctae elucidatio* . . . (2 vols., Antwerp, 1625) was edited by P. Cypriano de Tarvisio (2 vols., Venice, 1880-1882); E. Horn (d. 1744), *Ichnographiae locorum et monumentorum veterum Terrae Sanctae*, ed. by H. Golubovich (Rome, 1902), has appeared in a new edition with parallel Latin and English text ed. by E. Hoade and B. Bagatti (SBF, no. 15; Jerusalem, 1962). George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun An: Dom: 1610: Foure Bookes, Containing a Description of the Turkish Empire, of Ægypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remote Parts of Italy, and Ilands Adjoining* was published in London in 1615 and went through many editions. C. Le Bruyn's account of his travels was translated into English by W. J. London as *A Voyage to the Levant: or, Travels in the Principal Parts of Asia Minor, the Islands of Scio, Rhodes, Cyprus, &c., with an Account of the Most*

333, there was a constant succession of testimony to the condition of the holy places in Jerusalem. The writers, however, were preoccupied with edification. They repeat endlessly the local legends, the confirmation of the Gospel narrative that was to be experienced by visiting the actual scene. Ecclesiastical ceremonies might be recounted, but architecture was described only as large and splendid, and it was the abiding sanctity of the spot rather than any sense of history that attracted. It is only incidentally that we are informed about schemes of decoration or the layout of buildings, and the castles or other secular edifices pass almost unnoticed.

Considerable Cities of Egypt, Syria and the Holy Land, Enrich'd with above Two Hundred Copperplates, Wherein are Represented the Most Noted Cities, Countries, Towns, and Other Remarkable Things, All Drawn to the Life (London, 1702). See also Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697; Also a Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai and Back Again*, tr. R. Clayton (London, 1810), and R. Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries* (2 vols., London, 1743-1745). In the nineteenth century illustrated volumes on the Holy Land became popular, and the engravings, though generally romanticized, sometimes provide details of buildings no longer extant or much altered: see as examples J. Carne, *Syria, the Holy Land, Asia Minor, & c. Illustrated, in a Series of Views Drawn from Nature . . . with Descriptions of Plates* (3 vols., London, Paris, and America, 1836-1838); A. and L. de Laborde, *Voyage de la Syrie* (Paris, 1837); W. H. Bartlett, *Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem* (London, 1844); and David Roberts, *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Egypt, & Nubia . . .*, with historical descriptions by . . . George Croly (6 vols., London, 1855-1856). George Williams, *The Holy City: Historical, Topographical, and Antiquarian Notices of Jerusalem* (2nd ed., with additions, including an architectural history of the church of the Holy Sepulcher by Robert Willis; 2 vols., London, 1849) is still of value.

Modern archaeological research on the subject opens with C. J. M. de Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1860). See also A. Salzmann, *Jérusalem: Étude et reproduction photographique des monuments de la ville sainte depuis l'époque judaïque jusqu'à nos jours* (2 vols., Paris, 1856); E. Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored, being a Description of the Ancient and Modern City*, with numerous illustrations, consisting of views, ground plans, and sections, tr. T. G. Bonney (2 vols., London, 1864); V. Guérin, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine, accompagnée de cartes détaillées; I. Judée* (3 vols., Paris, 1868), II. *Samarie* (2 vols., 1874), III. *Galilée* (2 vols., 1880); C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrography and Archaeology*, ed. with additions by E. H. Palmer (3 vols., London, 1881-1883); C. R. Conder, *The Survey of Eastern Palestine . . .*; I. *The 'Adwân Country* (London, 1889); C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the Years 1873-1874*, with numerous illustrations from drawings . . . by A. Lecomte de Noüy, tr. A. Stewart and J. Macfarlane (2 vols., London, 1896-1899); M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie* (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, vols. XXXVII-XXXVIII; 2 vols., text and plates, Cairo, 1913-1915); L. H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire; II. Jérusalem nouvelle* (Paris, 1914-1926); P. Deschamps, "La Sculpture française en Palestine et en Syrie à l'époque des croisades," *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et mémoires*, XXXI (1930), 91-118; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Haut Commissariat de la République française en Syrie et au Liban, Service des antiquités, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vol. IV; Paris, 1927); R. Dussaud, P. Deschamps, and H. Seyrig, *La Syrie antique et médiévale, illustrée* (*idem*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vol. XVII; Paris, 1931); S. Langè, *Architettura delle crociate in Palestina* (Como, 1956); M. Join-Lambert, *Jerusalem*, tr. C. Haldane (London and New York, 1958); E. A.

In the late fifteenth century the "skilled painter" Erhard Reuwich of Utrecht sketched the façade of the church of the Holy Sepulcher with some accuracy (fig. 1),¹ but it is not until the late sixteenth



1. Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem, south façade. Erhard Reuwich, 1486

Moore, *The Ancient Churches of Old Jerusalem: The Evidence of the Pilgrims* (London and Beirut, 1961); P. Deschamps, *Terre Sainte romane* (La Nuit des Temps, 21; [La Pierre-qui-Vire, Yonne], 1964); T. S. R. Boase, *Castles and Churches of the Crusading Kingdom* (London, 1967); C. N. Johns, *Palestine of the Crusades: A Map of the Country . . . with Historical Introduction and Gazetteer* (Survey of Palestine, 3rd ed., Jaffa, 1946); J. Prawer and M. Benvenisti, "Palestine under the Crusaders" (map with commentary and bibliography), *Atlas of Israel* (Jerusalem and Amsterdam, 1970), section IX: "History," ed. M. Avi-Yonah, no. 10. There is much useful information in the various guidebooks, particularly B. Meistermann, *Guide de Terre Sainte* (rev. ed., Paris, 1923); P. Jaquet, *L'État des Alaouites, terre d'art, de souvenirs, et de mystère: Guide* (Beirut, 1929) and *Antioche* (Antioch, 1931); and Stewart Perowne, *The Pilgrim's Companion in Jerusalem and Bethlehem* (London, 1964). C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile* (Haut Commissariat . . . Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vols. VII-VIII; 2 vols. and 2 albums of plates, Paris, 1925-1928) is the most comprehensive work on the subject. M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1970; New York, 1972) has much information about minor crusading buildings. M. Barasch, *Crusader Figurative Sculpture in the Holy Land: Twelfth Century Examples from Acre, Nazareth and Belvoir Castle* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1971) deals with recent discoveries and a reassessment of the five Nazareth capitals found in 1908.

1. See *Bernhard von Breydenbach and his Journey to the Holy Land, 1483-1484: A Bibliography*, compiled by H. W. Davies (London, 1911), plates 30-33.

century with Giovanni Zuallardo, and the seventeenth with Bernardino Amico, Eugène Roger, and Francesco Quaresmi, that there is any attempt to investigate the origins and style of the monuments and to plan and draw them. Zuallardo's plates, published in Rome in 1587, were frequently reused, notably by John Cotovicus in his *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, published in Antwerp in 1619, and by George Sandys, who in 1610 "began my journey through France, hard upon the time when that execrable Murther was committed upon the person of Henry IV," and published his account of his travels in 1615, a work that was to enjoy great popularity and pass through many editions. In 1681 Palestine was visited by Corneille le Bruyn, who perceived in himself "an insuperable Propension of Travelling into Foreign Parts," and who fortunately decided that there was "nothing more requisite and advantageous for a Traveller, who would reap any benefits from his Travels, than to be skilled in the Art of Designing, that thereby he might imprint Things the more deeply into his Mind, and represent them before his Eyes as always present, which is the surest way of keeping him from forgetting what he has observed." The work of Elzear Horn, prior of the convent of the Holy Sepulcher from 1725 to his death in 1744, may be taken as concluding this period of investigations.

New forms of patronage and new skills in watercolor and reproduction were to reach a wider public. Robert Bowyer, for instance, published from the Historic Gallery in Pall-Mall in 1804 a folio *Views of Palestine*, illustrated with colored aquatints after drawings by Luigi Mayer, made for Sir Robert Ainslie, Lord Elgin's predecessor as ambassador to the Sublime Porte. Mayer was the forerunner of a long series of travelers, some of them, such as David Roberts, artists of merit, who were anxious to leave a record of places and customs seen, and of biblical and classical antiquity. Medieval remains as such, however, were regarded as of little interest, though hilltop castles fitted well with the current romanticism; there was no serious attempt to estimate the crusaders' architectural achievement until the book *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, by the Marquis de Vogüé, appeared in 1860, to be followed by that of Baron Rey on the castles in 1871. Initiated by French savants, this study has remained primarily indebted to them. Guérin, Clermont-Ganneau, Van Berchem, Dussaud, and the indefatigable and immensely learned Dominicans Father Vincent and Father Abel are the leading names, though England in *The Survey of Palestine* added some useful and systematic work, continued under the mandate by the Department of Antiquities in Palestine. The

crowning achievement, however, was the publication from 1925 to 1928 of Camille Enlart's *Les Monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile*.

Twenty-five years earlier Enlart had written of the buildings of Cyprus; now he brought to Palestine and Syria a rich and unequaled maturity of information. His trained and observant eyes took in every detail of architectural plan or sculptured ornament, and his memory could find unfailingly some parallel in western Europe. In a work of this scale, much of it pioneer investigation, there were inevitably some inconsistencies, some facts which later research has modified; but to anyone familiar with Enlart's book its exhaustiveness and its profound scholarship must always remain matter for astonishment and admiration. Facts since discovered may have supplemented his statements; they have not invalidated them. If his main thesis, that the crusaders brought with them French types and French methods, is at times too strongly stated, the evidence against it is always implicit in his own examination of the particular buildings. Any treatment of this subject must largely be a recapitulation of his conclusions.

The problems raised are sufficiently complicated. Of the major crusading churches, only the church of the Holy Sepulcher, that of St. Anne in Jerusalem, and the cathedrals of Tortosa and Jubail remain in any way intact. Those of Hebron, Gaza, Ramla, Beirut, and Tripoli have been converted into mosques, whitewashed and mutilated; Sebastia is a beautiful skeleton of unroofed walls and piers; the churches of Acre, the great cathedral of Tyre, the splendors of Antioch, the magnificent Cluniac church on Mount Tabor, the cathedral of Caesarea exist for us only as ground plans, reconstructed on partial indications, or as mere references in contemporary accounts. Figure carving, where it existed, was destroyed with fervor by the Moslem iconoclasts. "The voracity of time," to borrow Maundrell's phrase, "assisted by the hands of the Turks, has left nothing but a few foundations remaining."

The general type of building can, however, be determined with some degree of probability. With the exception of the church of the Holy Sepulcher, crusading churches were on the whole small in scale. The cathedral of Tyre and the church of the Annunciation at Nazareth, two of their largest achievements, measured, as nearly as can now be ascertained, 244 by 82 feet and 244 by 98 feet respectively. Most of the churches were considerably smaller two-aisled buildings, ending in triple apses, often embedded in a rectangular chevet; the nave was covered with a barrel vault, the

aisles with groined vaulting; projecting transepts were, with the exception of the cathedral of Tyre and the church of Jacob's Well, not employed. The chapels of the castles and the lesser churches of towns were generally aisleless, composed of a nave ending in a semicircular apse; certain shrines were covered by small cupolas raised on arches, a design particularly associated with the Temple area; the Templars' castle at Château Pèlerin ('Atlit) had a polygonal chapel, modeled possibly upon the Dome of the Rock.

Of the organization of all this considerable building activity we unfortunately know but little. No chronicler nor cartulary gives any details of workmen employed or funds expended. Here and there a name occurs among the masons' marks: "Jordanis me fecit," formerly on the tower of the Holy Sepulcher, suggests a man baptized in the Jordan, but gives no clue as to his nationality; the name Ode occurs several times on the church of Jacob's Well; that of Ogier on the apse at Nazareth. We can only infer from the buildings themselves and the probability of events that western master masons presided over local workmen who themselves had a long tradition of mason's craft behind them; and that among the pilgrims were some sculptors of outstanding ability.

The earliest extant example of a crusading church may well be the small building of St. Paul at Tarsus, with a square-ended choir and a nave and aisles divided by columns alternating with square pillars supporting a wooden roof. The capitals are roughly blocked out in cubes and the whole is a crude piece of work, reminiscent of some early Romanesque churches in France rather than of any local style. Apart from this outlying example it is difficult to trace any clear chronology in crusading building. The type of capital employed gives some suggestion of sequence, but the main forms of building alter little between the Frankish conquest and the victory of Saladin. The slightly pointed arch, found even at Tarsus, seems to have been consistently adopted. In Arab work it was already a recognized feature, and the crusaders appear to have used it readily.

The church of the Holy Sepulcher was the goal of crusading endeavor and the most elaborate product of their building enterprise.² The claim of the site to authenticity rests on the contempo-

2. The literature on the church of the Holy Sepulcher would require a large bibliography to itself. There are said to be eighty-eight accounts dealing with it before 1808; extracts from the most important can be found in Baldi, *Enchiridion*, pp. 784-896. Of recent works the most authoritative are de Vogüé, *Églises de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 118-232; Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, II, 89-300; A. W. Clapham, "The Latin Monastic Buildings of the Church

rary account written by Eusebius of Caesarea of the rediscovery of the tomb under Constantine. This assumes the existence of a continuous Christian tradition as to the burial place of Christ, a tradition that had survived the rebuilding of Jerusalem under Hadrian, when a temple to Venus had been erected in the area of Golgotha. In the Constantinian excavations, a cave sepulcher was discovered, and identified as Christ's tomb. The rock around it was cut away, so that it became free-standing, and an edicule was built over it; to the west it was framed in a hemicycle of walls, with a central apse and an apse closing each end of the half circle; to the east a basilica church was erected, known as the Martyrium. Between the church and the edicule of the tomb, the summit of Calvary was left clear, though the gap between its lower slopes and the opposite hillside was partially filled in to support the platform above.

Constantine's buildings were, however, largely destroyed by the Persians in 614, and were rebuilt by the patriarch Modestus (d. 634). In 966 the doors and roofs were burnt in a riot, and in 1009 a more complete demolition was carried out on the orders of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākīm. In 1048 restoration was once more undertaken, largely financed by emperor Constantine IX Monomachus, and within the ruins of the hemicycle a domed rotunda was constructed, supported on a circle of eighteen pillars, with the edicule of the tomb as its central feature. On the east the main altar was in a polygonal apse, projecting on the western face from a straight wall with four doorways, stretches of wall that still survive with their upper

of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem," *The Antiquaries Journal*, I (1921), 3-18; and W. Harvey, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Structural Survey, Final Report* (London, 1935). See also T. Tobler, *Golgotha, seine Kirchen und Kloster: Nach Quellen und Anschau* (St. Gall and Berne, 1851); K. Schmaltz, *Mater ecclesiarum: Die Grabeskirche in Jerusalem* (Strassburg, 1918); N. C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy, with Special Reference to the Liturgic Drama* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, VII, no. 2; [Urbana], 1921); George E. Jeffery, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, ser. 3, XVII (1910), 709-729, 750-763, and 803-828; H. T. F. Duckworth, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre* (London, 1922); C. W. Wilson, *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, ed. C. M. Watson (London, 1906); L. H. Vincent, D. Baldi, L. Marangoni, and A. Barluzzi, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: Splendori, miserie, speranze* (Bergamo, 1949); A. Parrot, *Golgotha et Saint-Sépulcre* (Cahiers d'archéologie biblique, no. 6; Neufchâtel and Paris, 1955); K. J. Conant, "The Original Buildings at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem," *Speculum*, XXXI (1956), 1-48; and, in *Revue biblique*, LXIX (1962), 100-107, a report by L. Collas, Ch. Couâsson, and D. Voskertchian on the results of recent excavations undertaken with a view to restoring the church. I am much indebted to Mr. Collas for his help and advice in Jerusalem in the spring of 1963. Finally, see the Schweich lectures for 1972: Ch. Couâsson, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* (London, 1974), especially, pp. 54-62 [J. F.].

windows visible above later rebuilding. Immediately to the south, aligned on the façade of the rotunda, were three chapels, of St. John, of the Holy Trinity, and of St. James. No attempt was made to restore the Martyrium.

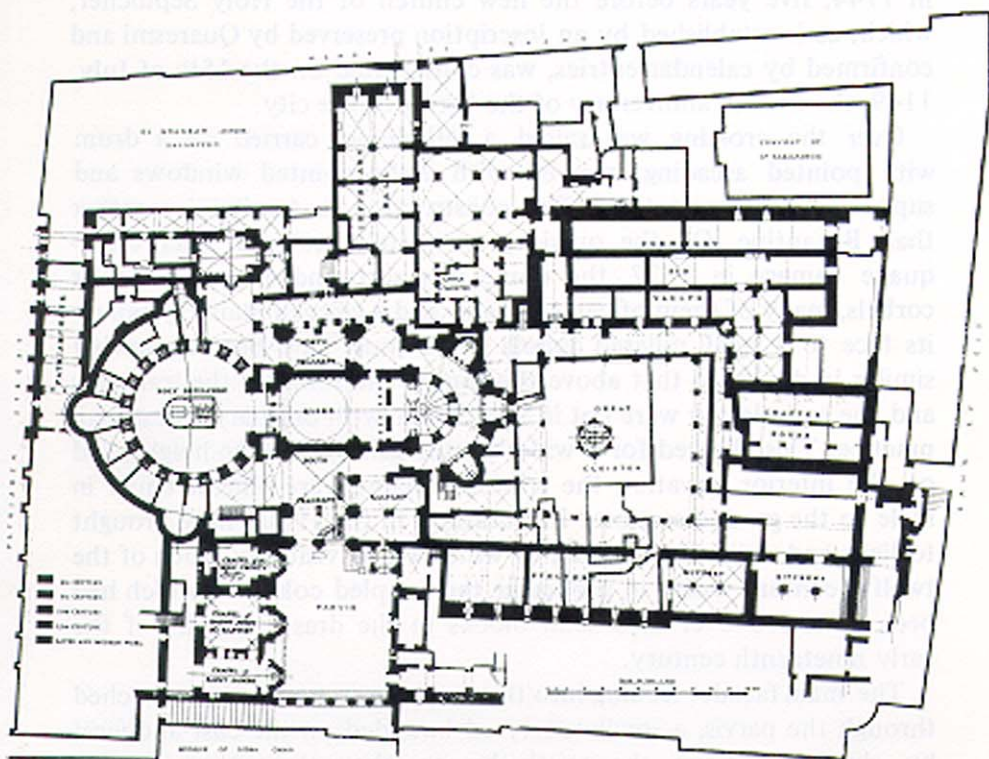
The rock surface on which traditionally Christ's body had lain was destroyed under al-Ḥākim, and the greater part was cut away and leveled. Enough remained, however—or was replaced—for the Greeks to hide the slab at the crusaders' approach, fearing the Latin Christians and their rapacity for relics. It was soon found and enclosed in marble, to which in 1170 Manuel Comnenus added a covering of gold. Parts of it seem to have been left visible and to have been pared away rapidly by the devout thefts of pilgrims.³ Abbot Daniel in 1106 describes the tomb as a grotto in the rock, the outside of which was covered with marble like an ambo, surrounded by ten columns and surmounted by a cupola on which stood a figure of Christ in silver, more than life-size and the work of the Franks.⁴ The whole scheme suggests a western Romanesque design. The cupola was again a feature of the restoration of the tomb after its pillage by the Khorezmian Turks in 1244. Earlier, by the time of Theoderic's account (about 1172), the silver figure had been replaced by a golden cross, possibly part of the enrichment made at the expense of Manuel Comnenus. There is nothing that can be taken as an accurate drawing of the edicule until those of Zuallardo (1585) and Bernardo Amico (1609), and they show it as it was restored in 1555. Unfortunately Zuallardo depicts the arcade with round arches, Amico with pointed. The latter is the more careful draftsman, and it is probable enough that the twelfth-century shrine showed the Palestinian partiality for the pointed arch. In the Franciscan convent of the Holy Sepulcher there is an early Gothic fragment of the capital of a small twin column, found in the rubble of nineteenth-century rebuilding, which almost certainly comes from the cupola of the edicule. The present ornate edicule was erected after the fire of 1808.

The scheme evolved by the crusaders was a spacious and ambitious one, to include, as William of Tyre puts it, the whole in one building (fig. 2). The eastern apse of the rotunda was removed, and a triumphal arch led to a crossing, covered by a dome and followed by

3. This remained a regular practice; see Brother James of Verona, "Liber peregrinationis," ed. R. Röhrich, in *ROL*, III (1895), 186.

4. The relevant passages from pilgrims' accounts can be found in Baldi, *Enchiridion*, pp. 784-896.

a rectangular vaulted compartment and semi-dome forming the choir and the presbytery. From the apsidal ambulatory opened three radiating chapels; to the southeast a flight of stairs led up to the chapel of Calvary, another flight led downwards to the chapel of St. Helena, probably the crypt of the Constantinian basilica; the south



2. Plan of the church and priory of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem

transept ended in a double doorway which formed the main entrance. In the northern transept the plan was complicated by the retention of the old Byzantine courtyard colonnade, forming a second row of pillars slightly off the main crusading axis, which was governed by the eastern orientation of the high altar—a point on which the crusaders laid great emphasis, whereas the Constantinian basilica had its altar in a western apse, oriented toward the sepulcher. The obvious prototype of the crusading work would be a Cluniac pilgrimage church of southern France, but for the nature of the vaulting. This is ogival in form with finely molded ribs, a style little used elsewhere in the crusading kingdom. The stones are laid horizontally in the French fashion and their rough finish suggests

that originally the vaults were plastered. From various accounts of the splendor of the interior decoration, they were almost certainly painted. The type of vault is therefore similar to that which Suger was introducing at St. Denis, almost contemporaneously with the building in Jerusalem; the abbey church of St. Denis was consecrated in 1144, five years before the new church of the Holy Sepulcher, which, as is established by an inscription preserved by Quaresmi and confirmed by calendar entries, was consecrated on the 15th of July, 1149, the fiftieth anniversary of the taking of the city.

Over the crossing was raised a tall dome, carried on a drum with pointed arcading, pierced with eight pointed windows and supported on pendentives. The construction is Aquitanian rather than Byzantine. On the outside, completely restored after earthquake damage in 1927, the dome was surrounded by a band of corbels, many of them of carved heads, and a circular stairway ran up its face to a small pillared cupola which must have been somewhat similar in design to that above the tomb. The roofs of the transepts and the ambulatory were flat in accordance with ordinary Palestinian practice. This allowed for a wide tribune gallery of even height, and on the interior elevation the tribune openings are almost equal in scale to the ground sections. Restorations in the 1960's have brought to light and, with the opening of windows, to visibility much of the twelfth-century work, in particular the coupled columns, which had been plastered over into solid blocks in the drastic repairs of the early nineteenth century.

The main façade, leading into the southern transept, is approached through the parvis, a small courtyard bounded on the east and west by chapels and on the south by an eleventh-century pillared colonnade, of which now only one pillar survives. The façade itself, except for the slightly pointed arches, reveals, no longer disfigured by supporting scaffolding, a Romanesque plan of severe grandeur, which though it has no exact parallels would not seem out of place in southern France (frontispiece). The design is based on a division into two approximately equal spaces, defined by great carved cornices. In the lower story are two arched doorways, in the upper similar arches enclose two windows, and the hoodmolds of these arches continue as stringcourses across the façade, enclosing on either side smaller windows, the western one now being blocked by the bell tower. Right-angled bends in the central cornice repeat the trace of the stringcourses. Beneath this structure and the paved parvis were the filled-in quarries of the slopes of Golgotha and the Constantinian

arched supports. The central pilaster of the doorways rests on a rock projecting from the hillside, but undercut beneath. This lower face was smoothed down, presumably by the crusaders, so as to be built up by masonry supports, but these, whether by inadvertence or from a lack of supervision, were never supplied till the discovery in 1962 of the precarious basis on which the whole structure rested.

The balance of the scheme of the façade was destroyed by the crusaders themselves, when on the west side they raised a four-storied bell tower, crowned with a cupola. The tower, now much truncated, was clearly a later addition, cutting across the cornices, and as al-Idrīsī in 1154 refers to a tower there seems no reason to doubt that as early as this, possibly even before the consecration, the first design had been modified. The colonnettes of the windows have early Gothic capitals, flat leaves curving over at the tips, quite distinct from any of the ornaments found elsewhere in the church. The façade can never have been wholly symmetrical, for on the eastern side a stair leads up to the portico of the chapel of Calvary, with below it the chapel of St. Mary of Egypt. The rocky mound of Golgotha had, before the crusades, been squared and hollowed out into an architectural feature of superimposed chapels, and it was in the upper chapel, representing the original summit, that was shown the cavity where the cross had been erected, and the fissure where the earth had opened. Beyond the bell tower, forming the west flank of the parvis, were the Byzantine baptistry, part of the rebuilding of the mid-eleventh century, and the chapel of St. James the Less. Opposite, the eastern side was formed by the chapels of St. Michael and of St. James and the convent of St. Abraham, commemorating the site of the proposed sacrifice of Isaac.

Around the main buildings were grouped on the north the prison of Christ and the chapel of the Relic of the Holy Cross. At the northwest corner was the palace of the patriarch, as well as various monastic buildings, some of them now embodied in the mosque founded by Saladin in 1187. The fragment of an inscription on an interior doorway of the mosque refers to a foundation by the patriarch Arnulf, who was responsible in 1114 for reorganizing the chapter of the cathedral and enforcing the Augustinian rule of communal life. As entrance to these quarters the crusaders opened a doorway from Patriarch Street, which still exists with its godroon decoration, though partially built over by shops. From this door a great stairway led downward to the triple-arched portico, which survived, and still survives, from the eleventh-century rebuilding. On

the east was the great cloister, built by the crusaders; the northwest bay retains its vaulting, and the western wall has the springers of the vault supported on the characteristic shafts fixed with a right-angle bend into the wall, so much used by the crusaders and one of the least happy of their inventions, particularly here where it is combined with some surprisingly eccentric capitals (pl. Va). The arcades had an ovoid decoration, such as is worked out on a more lavish scale on the cornices of the façade. In the center of the cloister rose the dome of the subterranean chapel of St. Helena, a mainly Byzantine building with magnificent Byzantine pillars and capitals, the approach to which is by a stairway from the ambulatory.

The sculpture of the south façade is a notable example of the Franco-Byzantine style. The crusaders were close to sources they had before known only remotely, and it is still difficult to separate their work from that which is more ancient. In particular it is difficult to tell a crusading acanthus capital from a Byzantine one. The former, particularly in work of the mid-twelfth century, tends to have a deeper indentation between the volutes, but, cut from the same building stone, worked in all probability with the assistance of Syrian masons in whom an old tradition was still strong, it is hard to draw clear distinctions. Nor is the facing of the stone necessarily a guide, for when the crusaders took Byzantine capitals and friezes, joins often needed repairing, and their own tool work was superimposed on older cutting. The most impressive feature of the façade is the two cornices, which are on a massive scale, composed of large blocks, deeply undercut. Their design is highly Hellenistic, recalling those friezes of which Baalbek, never held by the crusaders, has the supreme examples, but which were also to be found in other ruins, such as at Tyre. It consists of an inner ovoid pattern with a rope molding, a central feature of stiff acanthus, leading to coffered compartments with inset petaled flowers, and, above, a rich acanthus border (pl. Ia). Enlart has argued that these carvings must be reemployed work from an earlier building, but the exactness with which the corners are fitted and the absence of any patchwork and adjustments in so elaborate a scheme make this hardly credible.

The stringcourses over the windows and doorway arches are also highly decorated. The upper course is a rich and flowing acanthus theme, springing from an elaborately carved pine cone in the central spandrel. The stringcourse above the doorways is much more stylized; a flat, spiky acanthus forms regular circular coils in a manner strongly reminiscent of Coptic carving and quite different in

inspiration from either the cornice or the upper stringcourse, though excellently done in its own way. Yet another style is found in the marble impost to the door arch; where palm leaves and bunches of dates, treated with some observation, coil under a molding of egg and dart pattern. This impost continues, as does the stringcourse, until the junction of the façade with the portico to the chapel of Calvary. Here the same motif of foliate curves takes on yet new forms, and there is a rich design where birds inhabit the scroll, more western in feeling than the other friezes. The tympanum of the doorway through to Calvary provides the climax to these variations; the whole space is filled with intricate vine patterns, carved with great freedom and forming one of the most elaborate pieces of medieval foliage decoration that has come down to us, worthy of its subject, the True Vine, on the supreme position of the threshold of Golgotha (pl. Ib).

Below the stringcourses the windows and doorways of the façade have voussairs formed of godroons, or rows of deeply beveled stones. This was a style popular in the Near East. An early example of it can be found in the Bāb al-Futūḥ at Cairo, the great gateway built in 1087 under Syrian influence. Contemporaneously with the Holy Sepulcher, godroons were being used on the Martorana Tower begun in 1143 in Palermo, another center of Arab influences. They were to become the most characteristic feature of crusading decoration, though one seldom copied in the west.

The capitals of the main portal and the chapel of Calvary, both on the exterior and interior, are strongly Byzantine in feeling and have their nearest parallels in the almost contemporary examples in St. Mark's at Venice. They are composed of acanthus leaves, sometimes curling around the capital instead of rising upwards, sometimes windswept, a Byzantine mode of which there were certainly local examples. Within, the great capitals of the ambulatory of the choir are in some cases reemployed from earlier buildings, sometimes crusading work; here and there on imposts and friezes patterns recur from the decoration of the façade. In the north transept there is a crowned and winged man, probably Solomon, seated under a canopy, which conforms to a familiar French type and is clearly twelfth-century work. On another capital of the same transept, grotesque figures grasp the acanthus fronds, so closely imitated from the antique, so completely different from the Solomon that it may be reemployed material. These are not the only pieces of figure sculpture that survive, for the two lintels of the main doorway, which long remained *in situ*, are now preserved in the Rockefeller

Museum in Jerusalem (pl. II). The tympana above them seem to have been decorated in mosaic and that on the right still bears traces of a patterned inlay; Fra Nicholas of Poggibonsi, writing of their state in 1345, describes a representation in mosaic of the Virgin with the Child in her arms, by then much damaged.

The whole iconography of the doorway is a puzzling business. The left-hand lintel has a series of scenes from Passion Week, the subjects and arrangement of which caused some confusion to pilgrims. The first scene is that of the raising of Lazarus, followed illogically by the appeal of Martha and Mary to Christ (which Louis de Rochechouart described in 1461 as Mary Magdalen kissing Christ's feet, admitting that apart from the Entry into Jerusalem he could not identify any other subjects). Next Christ in an upper chamber dispatches Peter and John for the ass, while below two men are engaged in some activity with sheep. An alternative interpretation was given by Felix Fabri (1480) of Christ driving the money-changers from the Temple; this is repeated by Zuallardo and is therefore probably one that had been adopted by the Franciscan guardians; the group, however, is linked with the bringing of the ass and the Palm Sunday entry. The panel ends with the Last Supper; this should normally have led on to the Betrayal, Crucifixion, and Entombment, and Fra Nicholas, who describes the existing carving in detail, adds the Kiss of Judas, for which there is no place on the present lintel slab. Zuallardo indicates in his small drawing a continuous row of figure subjects.

Instead of any such scenes, the right-hand or eastern lintel has a series of coiling tendrils in which naked men and winged monsters intertwine in the style of the Toulousan school. Doubtless with some allegorical meaning, it is yet a somewhat pagan piece with which to greet the pilgrim at the climax of his journey. The molding of the western slab exactly fitted the impost of the capitals at either end, whereas this scroll slab (made up of three pieces of marble, one of which has Arab carving on its reverse) was more roughly adjusted and the molding does not continue round the ends. On this score it might be considered a later insertion, though in execution both pieces must date from the twelfth century. De Thevenot in 1656 describes the doorway as "having over it many Bas-Reliefs, representing the several sacred Histories." John Madox, a careful observer, describes in 1825 "a small bas relief, representing the triumphal entry of Our Saviour into Jerusalem; on the right of this is the subject of the Supper, and at the other end, the Tomb or Resurrection." By this last he must mean the Raising of Lazarus, and as he is so specific it seems probable that by this date there were no other scriptural scenes. Possibly the Crucifixion scenes were at some time destroyed by

Moslem fanatics, and replaced by this less-provocative theme already existing in some other position.⁵ In the center of the left-hand panel, the figure of Christ is missing from the Entry into Jerusalem, and there is here a gap in the relief. Strangely enough, a broken fragment of Christ on the ass was found by the archaeologist Clermont-Ganneau in 1873 built into the wall of an Arab house. He thought it to be the missing piece, but comparison of a cast (the fragment itself is now in the Louvre) with the gap shows that it could never have been part of the lintel and must be the remains of some other similar frieze.⁶

The weathered condition of the lintel figure sculpture, and the treatment it received in the 1930's for conservation purposes (pl. III) make it hard to assess its quality; the figures are treated with some attempt at naturalism and facial expression, but it is all somewhat clumsy and uncertain. The Clermont-Ganneau fragment is less worn and considerably finer work; it is genuinely Romanesque in treat-

5. "Journal de voyage de Louis de Rochechouart, évêque de Saintes," ed. C. Couderc, in *ROL*, I (1893), 241; *The Travels of Monsieur de Thévenot into the Levant, . . . I. Turkey; II. Persia; III. The East Indies* (London, 1687), p. 191; J. Madox, *Excursions in the Holy Land, Egypt, Nubia, Syria, etc.* (2 vols., London, 1834), I, 213.

6. E. T. Richmond, "Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Note on a Recent Discovery," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, I (1931), 2; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, I, 112-115; E. Henschel-Simon, "Note on a Romanesque Relief from Jerusalem," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, XII (1946), 75-76, and pl. XXIV; M. Aubert, *Description raisonnée des sculptures du moyen âge, de la Renaissance, et des temps modernes*; I. *Moyen âge* (Paris, 1950), 83.

The south transept façade is the subject of a recent study which stresses the local artistic tradition in its sculptural decoration and draws a parallel between the Golden Gate to the city of Jerusalem and this entrance to the church, to help explain its design and meaning; see Nurith Kenaan, "Local Christian Art in Twelfth Century Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal*, XXIII (1973), 167-175, 221-229. [J. F.]

Of the two lintels carved for the main doors, it is the historiated one which has received most of the attention. Arthur Kingsley Porter, among others, studied it in the 1920's, before any conservation work had been done, and concluded that the style was comparable to Condrieu, in the Rhône valley; see his "Condrieu, Jerusalem and St. Gilles," *Art in America*, XIII (1924-1925), 117-129. More recently Alan Borg has questioned the traditional views of Camille Enlart (*Monuments des croisés*, II, 165-171), Paul Deschamps ("Sculpture française en Palestine," *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et mémoires*, XXXI, 92-93), and others, who linked the lintel stylistically to Provence with a date shortly before 1149. Borg suggests Tuscan formal and iconographic connections and proposes that the sculpture was done between 1149 and 1187; see his "Observations on the Historiated Lintel of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII (1969), 25-40. Although Borg was working only from photographs, his article points up the need for a thorough restudy of all aspects of the historiated lintel. N. Kenaan will attempt to reinterpret the iconography in a forthcoming number of the *Israel Exploration Journal*. [J. F.]

The other lintel, with its boldly naked men and fearsome beasts amidst the vine scrolls, is discussed by L. Y. Rahmani, "The Eastern Lintel of the Holy Sepulchre," *Israel Exploration Journal*, XXVI (1976), 120-129. A satisfactory understanding of the program of the south façade can be achieved only through such serious studies of these lintels, along with the other elements. [J. F.]

ment, with the familiar circular folds on knees and shoulders, and has been drilled with holes along the borders of the drapery, where presumably colored paste was inserted. It has recently been suggested that it links up with a group of sculpture, now mainly in the museum of the Greek patriarchate, which is said to have come from the site of the buildings south of the parvis constituting the headquarters of the Knights Hospitaller. Today of all this complex there remain only the church of St. Mary Latin, transformed into the German Romanesque building of the Erlöserkirche, and the much rebuilt church of St. John the Baptist.⁷ In the early years of this century the Greek church authorities, the owners of this area, cleared it to build the present banal and somewhat shoddy market, but unfortunately no competent archaeologists were able to make an examination of the site during its reconstruction. Something was in fact learnt, but the evidence was not accurately observed and even the exact provenance of the carved fragments is uncertain.

On the south side of the parvis stood the actual Hospital, stretching southwards to the church of the Baptist, which latter still retains its original Byzantine trefoil form of a choir and two transepts, all three ending in a semicircular apse, with a dome over the crossing. East of the Hospital were the church of St. Mary the Great and the conventual buildings of the Benedictine nuns, who supplied much of the nursing and general work of the Hospital. This name of "the Great" came into use only in the second half of the twelfth century and probably refers to some rebuilding. The design was a characteristic one, with a nave and aisles ending in three apses, but its exact characteristics are largely conjectural. The bell tower, converted into a minaret, was still standing in the nineteenth century, and some magnificent acanthus capitals from the site are preserved in the convent of St. Abraham (pl. VIa), the museum of the Greek patriarchate, and the Rockefeller Museum.

The patriarchal church of St. Mary Latin, of which parts, including an arcade of the cloister, still exist in its German reconstruction, had the main door on the north (pl. IVa), a cupola over the crossing, a nave of three bays, and the usual apsidal chevet. In the reconstructed doorway there are a cornice with carved metopes, an elaborate

7. Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, II, 642-668, 953-965, and pl. LXXXVII. See, for accounts before the rebuilding, Salzmann, *Jérusalem*, I, 68; Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, I, 130-134; Enlart, *Monuments des croisés*, atlas, II, plates 102 and 103; de Vogüé, *Églises*, pp. 255-262, plates XVI-XVIII. There has been much confusion over the sites of St. Mary the Great and St. Mary Latin, a confusion which is unfortunately reflected in Enlart's account. The current excavations under the Church of the Redeemer by Dr. Ute Lux of the German Archaeological School will no doubt shed new light on St. Mary Latin [J. F.].

stringcourse with signs of the zodiac over the archway, and some fragments of a tympanum which must once have been composed of a central figure with groups on either side. The fragments in the patriarchal museum seem to come from similar voussoirs or cornices, notably an archer with his dog, carved in very high relief, an admirable piece in which the archer's head seems a reminiscence of some Syrian model (pl. VIIa), and, also from a voussoir, in marble not in the local stone, a headless figure, whose pose and finely treated drapery have suggested the Virgin Annunciate but which from traces of the fringe of a beard below the broken neck must clearly be a prophet. Two sadly mutilated capitals, where the angel's message to Zacharias, the Visitation, the figure of the Baptist, and his execution can be distinguished, set out the story of the patron saint of the Hospital. They must have been work of high merit. Fragmentary as this evidence is, it is enough to establish that working on these buildings was a band of skilled sculptors, with considerable range and variety of style.

The Jerusalem masons' yard must have been a reservoir from which workmen were drawn for undertakings elsewhere. During excavations in 1962 at the castle of Belvoir, at a part of the site thought to be the chapel, a slab was found with a carved angel (pl. XIXa) holding a book, slightly battered but with the folds of the garment, the feathers of one wing, and much of the head still crisply cut and little weathered. The slab has a beveled edge that suggests the frame of some central feature, which would most probably have been a Christ in Majesty. The angel with the book is the normal emblem of St. Matthew, though here placed on the right instead of the more usual position on the left—that is, on Christ's right hand. The order of the evangelist symbols could, however, vary, and at St. Sernin, at Toulouse, and at Angoulême St. Matthew is placed as at Belvoir. Stylistically the closely pleated robe, looped at the waist, and the large head are not unlike the treatment of some of the figures on the lintel of the Holy Sepulcher, allowing for the fact that the latter are much more worn and blurred. Belvoir was sold to the Hospitallers in 1168, during the lavish mastership of Gilbert of Assailly, and it would be likely enough that they should send out masons from their Jerusalem undertakings. Certainly in scale and accomplishment the Belvoir tympanum must have been a splendid piece.⁸ Also from Belvoir, and now in the Israel Museum at

8. I am very grateful to Dr. J. Praver for information about and a photograph of this relief, which is now in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. The beveled edge is on the upper part of the left side. For the Belvoir relief see Barasch, *Crusader Figurative Sculpture*, pp. 189-207 [J. F.].

Jerusalem, is a striking carved head, life-size, of a young man (pl. XIXb). Despite its battered condition, this smiling face still has considerable charm and is certainly the work of a skilled carver.

Constantly visible from roof-top or alley stairway throughout the city, the Dome of the Rock, the Byzantine octagonal temple built by the Umayyads in the early days of the conquest, serene and complete, is, or was before recent restorations which have replaced the dome and much of the tile work, one of the loveliest buildings in the world (volume I, p. 79). It stands over the rock of Jacob's Dream and David's Threshing Floor, where the souls of the righteous of Islam shall assemble on the last day, sacred alike to Christian, Jew, and Moslem. To the crusaders, undisturbed by any historical sense of architectural styles, it was *Templum Domini*, the most characteristic and outstanding feature of the holy city. "A quocumque sit constructum/Templum sanctum Domini/Fuit, est, et erit/Usque ad extrema seculi." So wrote Achard, prior of the Temple, in a Latin poem dedicated to king Baldwin (probably Baldwin II) and appealing for help in securing the release of some property wrongfully detained, in order to hasten the rededication of the building.⁹ That event does not seem to have taken place until 1142, though William of Tyre, our only authority for it, does not date it exactly. By that time control of the Temple area had largely passed from the hands of the Augustinian canons, to whom it was originally given, to those of the Knights Templar. Meanwhile, however, a cloister and monastic buildings were built on the enclosed platform of the Haram. Inside the Dome the naked rock was covered with a marble facing to make a choir and a position for the high altar. The decoration—whether in painting, carving, or metal work—seems to have been of the highest order. On the open spaces of the platform small shrines were built with open arches and cupolas, modeled on the eighth-century Dome of the Chain. These, now with the arcades filled in, still exist; in particular the edicules of the Ascension of Mohammed (possibly the crusading baptistry) and of the so-called Throne of Jesus.

At the south end of the enclosure stood the Aqṣā mosque. To the crusaders it was the palace of Solomon, and it was used as the palace

9. De Vogüé. "Achard d'Arrouaise: Poème sur le 'Templum Domini'," *Archives de l'Orient latin*, I (1881), 562-579; A. C. Clark, "Achard d'Arrouaise, Poème sur le Temple de Salomon: Fragment inédit," *ROL*, XII (1909-1911), 263-274. For the crusading buildings of the Temple area see de Vogüé, *Églises*, pp. 266-291, and *Le Temple de Jérusalem: Monographie du Haram-ech-Chérif, suivie d'un essai sur la topographie de la ville-sainte* (Paris, 1864); Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, II, 969-973; and Robert W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque: A Record of Architectural Gleanings from the Repairs of 1938-1942* (London, 1949).

of the kings of Jerusalem, who, after the creation of the order of the Temple in 1118, first gave part of the building to the order and eventually the whole site, moving the royal palace to the Tower of David. Until the restoration of 1938-1942 there was still much crusader work in the eastern aisles of the mosque and the long vaulted rooms adjoining them. The Templars' design for a new and larger church does not seem to have been completed. John of Würzburg saw the foundations, and Theoderic some years later (1172) still describes it as unfinished. Most popular of all in the pilgrims' accounts are the stables of the Templars in the Herodian vaults at the southeast corner of the enceinte. Otherwise there is little that can be securely known about the appearance or lay-out of crusading times. The upper part of the façade, though closely influenced by western style and likely enough the work of Christian builders, is dated by an Arabic inscription to 1227, and the rich details of Romanesque carving which are frequent both on the façade and within are all reused pieces which may have come from anywhere in the Temple area, an area which Saladin in 1187 purged with particular thoroughness. It is in these fragments that something of the crusading splendor, to which so many travelers testify, still survives.

Foliage and geometric ornament were less obnoxious to, in fact were admired and copied by, the Moslems. They therefore provide more generous data for an estimate of crusading carving than the mutilated remnants of figure sculpture. The stiff pointed acanthus of the Holy Sepulcher recurs in the cloisters of the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem and at the church of the Tomb of the Virgin, where an impost frieze of upturned leaves on the façade and a capital from the tomb shrine are notably fine examples (pl. Vb). More elaborate, but still employing the flat, spiky leaf, are some capitals at the Bâb as-Silsilah, the main entrance to the Temple area. Here much shifting of material and rebuilding has taken place, and it cannot be certain whether the capitals are in their original position, though some undamaged animals and a seated human figure in the upper range suggest that they have long been out of reach. Their abaci show a great freedom and inventiveness, one having a particularly charming pattern of rosettes. The same type is also to be found on the façade of the Aqşâ mosque. Outside Jerusalem, it recurs in the great portico of the church of the Resurrection at Nablus (pl. XVII), which was begun in 1167 and may be taken as showing the final development in Palestine of this particular decorative form. Most unhappily, the doorway, which had already been moved by the Moslems and inse-

curely reërected, fell in the earthquake of 1927, and now nothing remains. The capitals had the typical flat acanthus, with strongly marked veining, but the leaves instead of being pointed bend over in broad, crotchet-like curves; the continuous impost relief was freer and almost naturalistic in its treatment and included human heads, birds, and beasts and a symbolic lamb between a mermaid and a lion, a little scene which unaccountably had escaped mutilation.

The most splendid use of the ever-popular acanthus was that by the masons working in the Temple area. It is a deeply cut leaf, rounded and full with all the flatness gone, bending backward at the tip or twisting into a circular terminal where the fronds separate into an almost swastika-like pattern. It is employed on capitals where the volutes are formed by the backward-bending tips and where the same leaves decorate the abacus, and also very largely on voussoirs or friezes where it forms a continuous curving design, interspersed with pine cones or rosettes, and sometimes including birds, beasts, or human figures in its interlaces. The work is curiously distinctive and recognizable, and of the highest quality. It has many near parallels in the Romanesque art of southern France and southern Italy, but it has the uniqueness of a mature and independent workshop. Acanthus leaves coil with a similar rhythm on the frieze below the triforium of Langres cathedral; they swell and burgeon with the same fullness on the capitals of San Clemente a Casauria at Torre de' Passeri or in the cloisters of Fossanova or Monreale; with a flatter, less articulated leaf, but with the same combination of rosettes and pine cones, they decorate magnificently the lintel of the north doorway at Bourges. Germer-Durand, Abel Fabre, and Enlart have all noted and discussed these carvings, and suggested western correspondences with them.¹⁰ They remain, however, a style of their own.

Examples are numerous enough, but nearly all are fragmentary and detached from their original position. One important exception, visible today, is the doorway to the cave of the Dome of the Rock, where a pointed arch is supported on pillars with the typical acanthus work on the capitals and abaci; the upper part of the tympanum has been filled with an Arabic scroll, but the lower part has a design of two curling acanthus sprays with a central erect branch ending in a small cone. It fits the space, and the whole doorway, except for the Arabic insertion and the heavy gilt with

10. A. Fabre, "La Sculpture provençale en Palestine au XII^e siècle," *Échos d'Orient*, XXI (1922), 45-51; J. Germer-Durand, "La Sculpture franque en Palestine," *Conférences de St.-Etienne* (École pratique d'études bibliques, 1910/11; Paris, 1911), pp. 233-257; Enlart, *Monuments*, I, 115-118.

which it was covered, may well stand just as the crusaders left it, built into their great iron grill, an example of the crowning achievement of their carvers in the closing years before Saladin restored the Temple area to Islam. Particularly significant in this respect are the carvings of the small edicule on the northwest corner of the Ḥaram platform. Here there are two Arab bulbous capitals, surmounted by abaci showing the familiar acanthus sprays; on one of them only two sides are fully carved, the remaining two being blocked out, without finished cutting; it is clearly an example of incompleting crusader material being used by the Arabs, and the presumption is that it was being worked close to the place of its use. It is, however, in the Aqṣâ mosque that the richest collection of the style can be found. Here the great *dikkah* or reading platform, approximately 12 feet by 6 in extent, is made up of crusading columns, capitals, and friezes ingeniously fitted together (pl. VIIIa). The frieze appears at first sight a continuous whole, but is in fact composed of several fragments, closely similar in style and exactly matching in dimensions, but with sufficient variations in the acanthus pattern to show that originally they belonged to independent schemes. Throughout the mosque such patchwork recurs, in most cases less skillfully fitted than on the *dikkah*. A splendid panel framed in knotted columns seems to be the side of some tomb catafalque (pl. VIIIb).

Outside, but still in the Temple area, the pulpit of Burhân-ad-Dîn (pl. Xd) uses columns and arcading which may once have formed a small shrine. In one of the capitals a mermaid is exquisitely cut, but is now decapitated, as are all the other figures, man or beast, in these reused fragments. The same style reappears in arcading at the Bâb Ḥiṭṭah (pl. Xc) and on the fountain outside the Bâb an-Nâẓir. Two examples require more particular mention. These are in the Dome of the Rock, one formerly inside the metal grill which surrounded the rock, one in the cave underneath it. The grill has been removed in recent restorations, but the sculptures remain. They are in the form of small altar tables supported on colonnettes, but have been somewhat altered from their original form.¹¹ The first, which had been cut to fit the angle of the grill, is a flat slab supported on two niches

11. J. Strzygowski, "Ruins of Tombs of the Latin Kings on the Haram in Jerusalem," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 499-508; Horn, *Ichnographiae* (ed. 1962), p. 74. Compare William H. Paine Hatch, *Greek and Syrian Miniatures in Jerusalem* (Mediaeval Academy of America, Publications, no. 6; Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pl. XXIV, for the use of knotted columns in miniatures, and J. Baltrušaitis, *Études sur l'art médiévale en Géorgie et en Arménie* (Paris, 1929), pl. X, for an Armenian example.

with a band of highly ornamented sculpture between the niches and the table. The niches are divided and framed by three sets of knotted columns, of which the third pair is mutilated. There are figures of birds in the curling acanthus of the top panel and possibly there were other figures also, as there are gaps in the design where pieces have been broken off. The second piece is a single niche supported on knotted columns with acanthus leaves, while in the spandrels there are two whorls of acanthus leaves, in their way as remarkable as any of these carvings. Strzygowski has pointed out that these niches correspond very closely to the design of the tomb of Baldwin V as drawn by Elzear Horn in the first half of the eighteenth century, a tomb destroyed, or at least dismembered, by the Greeks in 1809. In this sketch it is impossible to gauge the exact quality of the foliage, but it has the true sweeping pattern, and the knotted columns are strikingly similar to our actual pieces. This somewhat clumsy device was a not uncommon Byzantine formula, though usually limited to two loops, and the exuberant interlaces of the crusading examples suggest Armenian influence, where in a flatter style, relief rather than free-standing, the interlaced patterns of these tomb slabs can be paralleled. Thicker intertwined columns, with a curious capital of interlacing birds, frame a mihrāb in the Aqṣā mosque (pl. IXa). Similar columns form an outdoor mihrāb in the Temple area, and there are smaller examples built into the Bāb as-Silsilah. A nineteenth-century photograph shows three such columns still supporting the blocked arches of an arcade on the east side of the Temple platform; since then there has been considerable rebuilding, but originally an open arcade supported on twisted columns must have been one of the Temple's most distinguishing features.

Baldwin V's tomb was in the church of the Holy Sepulcher, but might well have been commissioned from the Temple workshop, for the child king's obsequies were the occasion of the coup when Guy of Lusignan seized the throne with the aid of Gerard of Ridefort, the master of the Templars. This elaborate monument may therefore in its style have been a token of Templar influence. A fragment of knotted columns recently found at the Holy Sepulcher in the rubble of nineteenth-century rebuilding almost certainly comes from it. Outside the Temple area there are few examples of the style. At Latrun (Le Toron des Chevaliers), a Templar holding, six capitals, linked in triplets, brilliant examples of the Temple acanthus, were found by the monks in a peasant's hut. These capitals were carried off by the Germans in 1917 and are now in the archaeological

museum of Istanbul (pl. XI).¹² Extremely well preserved, they have carved among the acanthus foliage some human heads, a dog licking its paw, and two birds with outspread wings. There are some fragments in the Franciscan museum of the Flagellation, one a fine piece of a frieze where a lion pursues a deer (pl. VIIb), said to come from the site of St. Mary the Great; another piece of acanthus carving seems to be the same that Clermont-Ganneau saw and sketched at a house in Bethany in 1872.¹³ There are further pieces from the former museum of Notre Dame de France and in the Greek patriarchate, and the corner piece of a frieze including two birds and a seated figure has found its way to a private collection in Norway.¹⁴

From all these data one or two facts can be summarized. This Palestinian acanthus style is associated with the Temple area and therefore must precede 1187; the two unfinished abaci suggest that the tradition was in full force at the time of its recapture by Saladin. The theory sometimes put forward that it dates from the time of Frederick II's truce, when there was no Christian reoccupation of the Temple, is an impossible one. The fragments are much too numerous and clearly come from cloisters or some elaborate series of arcading, and the ease with which the *dikkah* has been constructed from various different but allied pieces suggests that there must have been a rich supply of such material. We have here a type of Romanesque foliage carving which has connections with contemporary work, as also a direct Byzantine-Coptic descent, but which reached an unsurpassed mastery in the Templars' workshop and preceded similar classicizing motifs as used in southern Italy.

On the northwest corner of the Temple platform were the ruins of Herod's palace, the Antonia. Here the crusaders built a chapel, the chapel of Repose, thought to be the site of Christ's prison on the first night of his captivity. A minaret rises above this chapel and reset in its gallery are three capitals (pl. XII), sadly mutilated and now even

12. Deschamps, "Sculpture française en Palestine," *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et mémoires*, XXXI, 110-113. In the upper story of the ruins of the castle at Latrun there is the base of a wall respond which may be the doorway of the castle chapel and would correspond in scale with the capitals. This part of the ruins is known by the villagers as al-Kanisah, "the church." (Information from Mr. C. N. Johns.)

13. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, II, 52; B. Bagatti, *Il Museo della Flagellazione in Gerusalemme: Note illustrative* (SBF; Jerusalem, 1939), p. 133. Similar fragments were found in recent excavations at Bethany: see S. J. Saller, *Excavations at Bethany, 1949-1953* (SBF, no. 12; Jerusalem, 1957), p. 122, plates 81 and 82.

14. Reproduced by Enlart, *Monuments des croisés*, pl. 20: in the collection of Dr. Harry Fett at Christinelund, Bryn, Oslo, with provenance from the Ustinov collection made in Syria. The piece in the former museum of Notre Dame is now lost [J. F.].

more decayed than when the Dominican fathers Vincent and Abel had them drawn in 1922. Built into the back wall of a cupboard in the entrance to the chapel is a battered fragment that may be the remains of a fourth capital. The iconographical theme of the carvings seems to be Christ ministered to by angels: the Dominicans suggest that they refer to the first night of his captivity, but the damage is too great for any certainty as to their subject. The figures are long and slender, posed with much feeling and ingenuity, and enough can be seen to prove their quality. Unfortunately on the narrow minaret platform they are hard to photograph. Their interpretation is all the more difficult because of the varying traditions as to the site of Pilate's Praetorium.¹⁵ In the twelfth century it was still generally placed on Mount Sion, and it was here that a group of chapels around the great church of Our Lady celebrated the incidents of Christ's trial. The column of the Flagellation was treasured here, possibly that fragment which was eventually taken to Rome, and here the crusading pilgrim came to submit himself to scourging "after the example of our Lord."¹⁶ But already the Greeks argued for another site, and there was uncertainty and dispute.

Whereas history and legend were constantly confused and there was no sense of the style of a building, topographical accuracy was much discussed, not without a shrewd eye to possible economic advantages if the point were proved. The Templars no doubt were anxious to attach these associations to their area, as they were also trying to secure recognition for their "Pool of Bethesda." In the account of the city of Jerusalem included in many of the manuscripts of the continuators of William of Tyre the sites are given as now generally accepted, and this, which appears to have been written before 1187, may mark the change of the tradition. The thirteenth century, when the sanctuaries of Mount Sion had been destroyed, firmly accepted the cult, destined to such enduring popularity, of the Via Dolorosa; the chapels along its route, now mainly rebuilt, of the Ecce Homo, the Flagellation, and the Virgin's Swoon seem to have been largely thirteenth-century work, or where, as in the case of the chapel of the Flagellation, there was earlier

15. Clermont-Ganneau identified one subject, unconvincingly, as the Presentation in the Temple: *Archaeological Researches*, I, 144-152; cf. Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, II, 587-595. J. Folda is preparing a new study of these capitals, with photographic documentation.

16. Baldi, *Enchiridion*, p. 750. There is a large body of controversial literature: see *Enchiridion*, p. 783, for bibliography, and L. H. Vincent, "L'Antonia et le Prétoire," *Revue biblique*, XLII (1933), 83-113.



1. The Near East

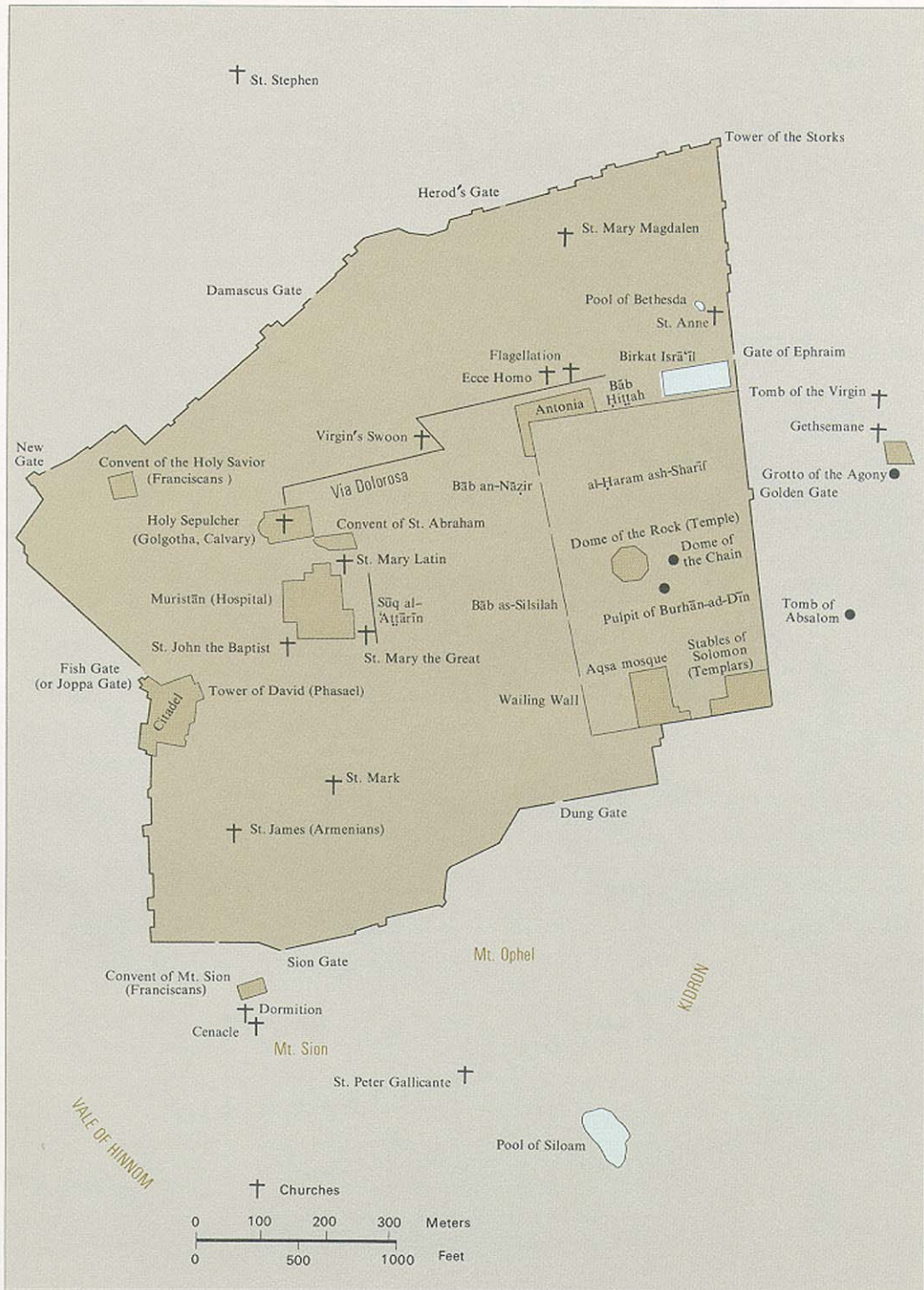


2. Western Europe



3. Central Europe

Cartographic Laboratory UW-Madison



4. Medieval Jerusalem



5. Palestine

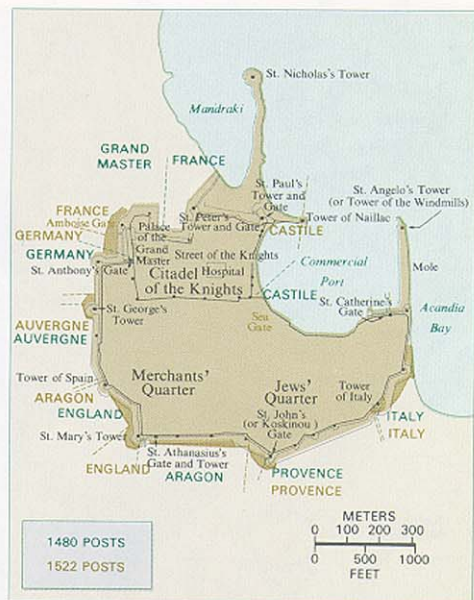


6. Northern Syria



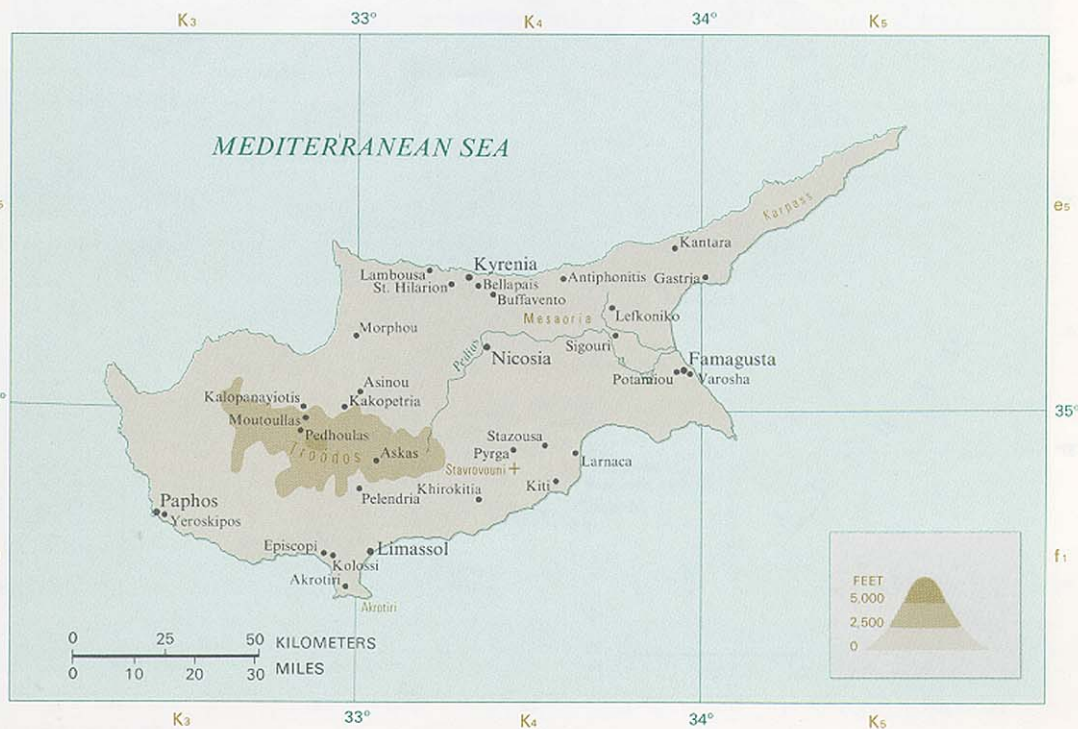
7. The Island of Rhodes

Cartographic Laboratory UW-Madison



8. The City of Rhodes

Cartographic Laboratory UW-Madison



9. Cyprus

Cartographic Laboratory UW-Madison



10. Frankish Greece

Romanesque work, it was only in the thirteenth century that it received its present designation.

The best preserved of all crusading churches is that of St. Anne (pl. XIII).¹⁷ In the northeast corner of the walls of Jerusalem were the traditional sites of the Pool of Bethesda and the house of Joachim and Anna. In the sixth century a basilica was built over the crypt that represented the original dwelling. Saewulf in 1102 calls it the church of St. Anne, whereas its earlier name seems to have been that of St. Mary. William of Tyre writes that there were only three or four poor nuns there until Baldwin I in 1113 repudiated his wife Arda and placed her in this convent, increasing its patrimony and possessions. It remained in royal favor and it was there that Yvette, sister of Melisend, made her profession in 1130. The convent owned lands in the valley they called Jehoshaphat and a market in the town. Several arches in the Sūq al-‘Aṭṭārīn still bear the inscription *Sca. Anna*. When in 1144 Melisend founded for her sister the new convent of St. Lazarus at Bethany, the repute of St. Anne may have somewhat lessened, but much of the work, in which two stages are clearly marked, had already been undertaken, and the sacred nature of the site, which throughout all the Arab and Turkish domination remained one of the most popular places of pilgrimage, was sufficient to secure its prosperity without any special royal patronage.

Handed over to the French in 1856, following the Franco-Turkish alliance of the Crimean War, the church of St. Anne was restored with remarkable skill and tact by the architect Mauss; fortunately, though it had been used alternately as a shelter for camels or as a mere refuse heap, the walls and the greater part of the vaults were still standing, so that it was a genuine task of repair, not a speculative reconstruction. It consists of a nave and two aisles ending in semicircular apses; on the outside the central apse is an irregular three-sided projection; the aisle apses are embedded in the end wall; over the crossing rises a cupola on pendentives, supported by four equal arches, and resembling in general plan that built by the crusaders in the church of the Holy Sepulcher. This dome, a nineteenth-century restoration, was damaged in the capture of Jerusalem by the Israelis in 1967, as was also the western façade, fortunately not too seriously. The aisles are covered with groined

17. N. van der Vliet, "*Sainte Marie: où est elle née*" et la piscine probatique (Paris, 1938); cf. *Revue biblique*, LXIX (1962), 107-109, for a report by J. M. Rousée on recent excavations.

vaults made of small and rather rough-cut stones; the vaulting of the nave is also groined but of more carefully cut masonry, reinforced with cross-arches. In parts of the outer walls a change in masonry reveals that the church was built on some earlier foundations.

Inside and out the decoration is severely plain, though one or two capitals, such as that carved with two sandals and a scroll, emblems probably of pilgrimage, are unusual in type. Slight variations in detail suggest that the westernmost of the three bays was a later extension, and this is borne out by a cross-wall found in excavation. The façade has a central doorway, separated by a straight cornice from a middle window, above which is the most elaborate piece of decoration on the building, a window with two side colonnettes and voussoirs of godroons, surrounded by a palmette frieze. This exactly corresponds to the work of the masons' yard of the Holy Sepulcher, and the whole scheme of the facade is a derivative from its greater neighbor. St. Anne's church must have been completed contemporaneously or very shortly afterward, in the mid-twelfth century. All the arches throughout are pointed. The length is 120 feet, by 66 feet wide. Beneath the church lay the crypt, the birthplace of the Virgin; and close by was the Pool of Bethesda, much encumbered by ruins, but with some of its Byzantine colonnades still standing, which the crusaders sought to identify with the five porches mentioned by St. John. Respect for the site did not prevent them, with their curious lack of archaeological feeling, from reusing some of the stones in building St. Anne's, but they built also a single-naved church, the apse of which can still be traced over one basin of the Pool. Then a curious controversy arose. The Templars claimed that the true Bethesda was the open pond bordering the Temple area, the Birkat Isrā'īl, now a piece of waste land filled up by deposits, but which from the fourteenth century till the excavations on the other site at the end of the nineteenth was generally regarded as the scene of the miracle.

St. Anne's with its severe simplicity, relieved as faint traces show and as travelers report by wall paintings, may be taken as the type of aisled crusading church in Jerusalem. The churches of St. Mary Magdalen and of Gethsemane must have been somewhat similar in conception. The numerous chapels of the Via Dolorosa were more modest buildings of a nave only. The Armenian church of St. James has a cupola over the crossing, built in the Arab manner on six ribs, and the aisles of equal heights with the nave, but the masonry and the apses, masked in a rectangular chevet, are close to crusading work, while the south door has the godroons and general workman-

ship of the Holy Sepulcher masons. The Armenians, who seem to have built it as their cathedral, used crusading models and probably employed some of the same workmen. A remarkable acanthus capital with dog-like creatures still survives, undamaged by any Moslem occupation of the building (pl. Vc). Several smaller churches can still be traced: St. Agnes and St. Elias, now respectively the mosques of al-Maulawīyah and of Dair al-‘Adas; St. Mark’s, now the church of the Syrian patriarch. Outside the Damascus gate, built in the ruins of an earlier basilica, was the chapel of St. Stephen. It belonged to the monks of St. Mary Latin and adjoined the stables of the Hospitallers.¹⁸

Without the walls were two main groups of ecclesiastical buildings, those on Mount Sion and those on the Mount of Olives. The former consisted of a large church enclosing a group of shrines, the room of the Last Supper and of Pentecost, and the Chamber of the Dormition; close by were the house of Caiaphas and one of the sites claimed for the Judgment Seat of Pilate; below on the slopes of the hill was the Byzantine church of St. Peter Gallicante. Confused with and at times overlaid by these Christian recollections were the traditions of David’s city and the tombs of the Psalmist and of Solomon. It was on Mount Sion that Raymond of Toulouse placed his siege engines to attack the city, amid the remains of a basilica that had originally been built in the Constantinian period, but which in its exposed position had frequently been destroyed and was then in ruins. Larger even than that at Bethlehem, it seems to have been similar in type, with a nave and four aisles ending in a single apse, but in this case without transepts. The southeast corner enclosed a two-storied chapel, the Coenaculum.

The crusaders installed here a convent of Augustinian canons, and by 1142 the church was sufficiently restored for it to be the scene of a general church council for the kingdom. Its exact form is largely conjectural, but the Franks appear to have adapted the ruins to their usual design, reducing the four aisles to two, and making a triple-apsed chevet. On the left of the entry was the shrine of the

18. For the smaller churches in Jerusalem see Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, II, 945-973, and Moore, *The Ancient Churches of Old Jerusalem*, *passim*. Two other crusader churches have recently been located in the old city: St. Mary of the Germans (see A. Ovadiah, "A Crusader Church in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem," *Eretz Israel: I. Dunayevsky Memorial Volume*, XI [1973], 208-212, in Hebrew, with an English summary on p. 29*) and a church possibly to be identified as St. Julian’s (to be published by M. Burgoyne in a forthcoming number of *Revue biblique*). These discoveries indicate the urgent need for a rigorous archaeological survey of medieval Jerusalem and a carefully drawn map of the sites to supersede those of Vincent and Abel, Moore, and Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 50. [J. F.]

Dormition, an edicule surmounted by a cupola and lined with mosaics of the death of the Virgin; at the end of the north aisle was the chapel of St. Stephen. As stated already, in the southeastern corner were the Upper Chamber of the Last Supper (the Coenaculum) with, adjoining, the chapel of Pentecost, and below, the Galilee (so-called in a Latin inscription, the initial use of the term), the scene of the washing of the feet, the appearance of the risen Christ, and the incredulity of St. Thomas. With the removal of the outer aisle this corner building must have projected from the main line, and part of its southern wall appears in fact to be classical masonry. Exact measurement and investigation of it has always been difficult, revered as it is by the Moslems as the tomb of David, and there has been considerable controversy as to the date of the building as it now exists. In 1342, after a series of purchases of neighboring pieces of land, the Franciscans obtained possession of it through the aid of their devoted patrons, Robert the Wise of Naples and his wife Sancia. They built a cloister and conventual rooms adjoining it, some walls of which still remain. Undoubtedly they must have carried out repairs on the Coenaculum as well, but it is clear from the account of James of Verona that the rooms were standing in 1335 complete with their vaults.¹⁹ The Upper Room, while containing some reused Romanesque capitals, has naturalistic foliage impost decoration and a ribbed vault which must come from a period when the Gothic style was fully developed. In 1523, after the Turkish conquest, the Franciscans were driven out and the building became and remained a mosque, till from 1949 to 1967 it was on the edge of the no-man's-land between Israel and Jordan.

The group of churches which commemorated the Gospel incidents connected with the Mount of Olives were dominated by the influence of the wealthy abbey of St. Mary of Jehoshaphat, which lay in the valley of Kidron at the foot of the hill.²⁰ The particular charges of the abbey, a Benedictine foundation under Cluniac influence, were the church of the Tomb of the Virgin, the grotto of the Agony, and the church of Gethsemane. The shrine of the Virgin's tomb, stripped of its cupola and arcading, still exists in the cruciform

19. Baldi, *Enchiridion*, p. 641.

20. C. N. Johns, "The Abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, VIII (1939), 117-136; G. Orfali, *Gethsémani, ou notice sur l'église de l'Agonie ou de la Prière, d'après les fouilles récentes accomplies par la Custodie franciscaine de Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1924); L. H. Vincent, "L'Éléona, sanctuaire primitif de l'Ascension," *Revue biblique*, LXIV (1957), 48-71; V. Corbo, *Ricerche archeologiche al Monte degli Ulivi* (SBF, no. 16; Jerusalem, 1965), pp. 97 ff.

crypt, which is reached by a staircase of forty-eight steps, covered with a groined vault and built in well-cut stone; the doorway to it is in the ruins of an imposing Romanesque façade, which has been sadly degraded by alterations and has lost proportion through the rising of the ground level in this narrow valley, but the details of its carving are of fine quality and the stairway when lit by apertures now blocked must have been a striking work, well worthy of the admiration which pilgrims bestowed on it. The evidence as to an upper church, over the crypt, is somewhat conflicting, but the chance driving of a new municipal sewer brought to light considerable remains of the monastic buildings, paving stones, mosaic floors, and pieces of wall frescoed in floral patterns, and the impressive base of a large pier with engaged columns. Much patronized by the royal house, the monastery received in particular gifts from queen Melisend, who was buried there in 1161 in a recess of the great stairway. It is probably to her munificence that the building of it was due.

The twelfth-century church of Gethsemane has also been excavated (1920). Built on the site of a former basilica but correcting its faulty orientation, it was a typical crusader church of the usual three-apse form. Details of its mosaic floor and pier bases show that it was closely related to the monastic buildings of St. Mary of Jehoshaphat.

Olivet was crowned by the two churches of the Teaching of Christ (known as the Eleona) and the Ascension. The former was—with the churches of the Resurrection and the Nativity—the third of the great Constantinian basilicas, and seems originally to have been associated with the Ascension, an event which Eusebius places close to the grotto of Christ's prayers and teaching, so that the basilica too enclosed a sacred cave. The highest point of the Mount, where stands the edicule of the Ascension, was, however, even by the end of the fourth century, attracting its own particular cult, strengthened during the fifth century by the "invention" of the stone bearing the imprint of Christ's foot. The basilica of the Eleona was completely destroyed by the Persians in 614, and replaced only by small shrines of the Paternoster and Credo, commemorating Christ's teaching. In 1152 two pious Danish pilgrims were buried there, leaving bequests which enabled a larger church to be constructed, of which nothing now stands and little can be known in detail.

The shrine of the Ascension crowned the hill, and the present edicule is largely twelfth-century work, though probably restored by the Arabs after Saladin's victory. It is the central shrine of a circular

Byzantine church, which in the twelfth century was replaced by an octagon, standing in a fortified enclosure, rendered necessary by its exposed position. As with the church of the Sepulcher, the cupola of the shrine was open at the center, leaving free the path of Ascension from the sacred rock, marked with Christ's footprints, to the sky above. The arcaded gallery round this rock is the basis of the present domed building. Its capitals, well preserved, are the final development of the type used by the masons of the façade of the Holy Sepulcher. The windswept leaves are here slender, deeply undercut but with a new naturalism. On one an owl, strikingly rendered, spreads its wings; on another, more conventionally, are two confronting griffons (pl. Vd). Tendrils interlace with all the ingenuity of the fully developed Romanesque style.

The small township of Bethany was associated with the house of Mary and Martha, and the tomb of Lazarus, which was shown in a grotto. Here also was located, on Gospel authority, the house of Simon the leper, the scene of the anointing of Christ with the ointment of spikenard. From the fourth century there was a church on the site, with the tomb of Lazarus in a courtyard opening off it. Later this church was extended eastward, and was largely rebuilt by the crusaders, who seem to have added a chapel over the tomb, probably at the time (1144) that Melisend founded there her richly endowed convent, over which her sister Yvette presided. Since 1953 a new Franciscan church has been built, but only after excavation had been carefully carried out. The foundations of the two apses have been left visible, and some of the old material incorporated. Carved fragments found show that there was figure sculpture of some distinction, and capitals and friezes which recall both the mason's work of the Tomb of the Virgin and the coiling acanthus of the Temple. There were probably several building stages, and different masons' yards employed.²¹

Outside Jerusalem, the episcopal towns as organized by the crusaders varied considerably in the importance of their buildings. The suffragans of the patriarch of Jerusalem were the bishops of Bethlehem, Hebron, Lydda, Ramla, and Gaza. Of these Bethlehem had a place apart, both through its unique religious associations and because of the scale of its surviving buildings. The great basilica as the crusaders found it—and as, in its main structure, it exists today—was the work of Justinian, much of it on Constantinian

21. Saller, *Excavations at Bethany, 1949-1953*, pp. 117 ff.

foundations (pl. XXXIb).²² In 1109 Baldwin I obtained a papal grant raising it to the status of a cathedral. A community of Augustinian canons was installed. Some alterations were made to the church, particularly to the choir and the entrances to the cave, a star with gilded rays was fixed above the roof, and an elaborate scheme of redecoration was undertaken in the opening years of the reign of Amalric (1163-1174). A bell tower was built, the base of which still stands. But the main work undertaken by the Franks was the monastery, much of which is still incorporated in later buildings, and the cloister, restored in 1948-1951, where the capitals have variants of the flat acanthus leaf, interspersed with human figures and beasts, all much defaced. The roof, unusual in Palestine, was constructed of wooden beams rising to a point, without a ceiling and covered with lead. By a remarkable display of diplomatic ingenuity on the part of the Franciscan custodians, it was completely restored in 1479, with the aid of two shiploads of worked wood and lead sent by Edward IV of England.

Hebron also had earlier buildings and a particular cult.²³ Here was the cave of Machpelah, the traditional tomb of Abraham. Early travelers, such as Saewulf and the abbot Daniel, describe the site as an open paved court, surrounded by a well-built wall with small cupolas over the tombs of Abraham and his family. The massive enceinte with its huge masonry is a Herodian construction; the domed buildings above the tombs are probably Umayyad, and the church, set in the rectangle of the outer walls, was a Byzantine building of the sixth century. The present mosque occupies almost half of the enclosure, and is oriented to the southeast (pl. XV). Its construction is largely that of a crusading church, based on Byzantine foundations but adapted to carry groined vaults by the insertion of four central pillars, possibly enclosing Byzantine columns, and half pillars on the façade and side walls. Much of the Byzantine façade was retained, and it is possible that a crusading cloister was erected in the forecourt.

22. W. Harvey et al., *The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem* (London, 1910); L. H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Bethléem: Le Sanctuaire de la Nativité* (Paris, 1914); L. H. Vincent, "Bethléem: Le Sanctuaire de la Nativité d'après les fouilles récentes," *Revue biblique*, XLVI (1936), 116-121; R. W. Hamilton, *The Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem: A Guide* (2nd ed., Jerusalem, 1947, repr. 1968); B. Bagatti, *Gli Antichi edifici sacri de Betlemme: In seguito agli scavi e restauri praticati dalla Custodia di Terra Santa (1948-1951)* (SBF, no. 9; Jerusalem, 1952).

23. L. H. Vincent and E. J. H. Mackay, with F. M. Abel, *Hébron: Le Haram el-Khalil, sépulture des patriarches* (2 vols., text and album of plates; Paris, 1923).

The cathedrals of the united bishoprics of Lydda and Ramla and of that of Gaza follow a common pattern. Of the three, Ramla, now a mosque but on the whole well preserved, seems the earliest (pl. XVib). The type is that with nave and two aisles ending in three apses, set in a rectangular chevet. The capitals at Ramla are of the early Gothic type, those at Lydda somewhat similar but more developed. Lydda was destroyed in the wars of Saladin, and a hundred years later Baybars used some of the material to build a bridge nearby, a bridge which is still in use. Only the central and northern apses survive, embodied in a church built in 1874 by the Greek Orthodox. The workmanship is outstandingly good and the crusading church, as befitted the shrine of St. George, must have been a notable building.

The cathedral at Gaza was hit by a shell in the English artillery bombardment of 1916, when it was being used as a munitions store. The minaret, built on the eastern apses, fell, destroying part of the nave. The church has been restored, and the western doorway (pl. XVIa), with graceful crocket capitals, survives. Inside, the pointed arcade is supported on piers with attached semicolumns, reused Byzantine work; above there is a clerestory, and a second order of similar pillars standing on the cornice of the piers. It is a heavy and ungainly elevation, very unlike the elegant simplicity of the doorway, and seems to originate in the variety of size of columns available. The inner columns of the arcade have Corinthian capitals, and similar ones were used in the Greek Orthodox church of St. Porphyria, which also survived the bombardment of the town. Baldwin III fortified Gaza in 1149, and it is probably then that work on the cathedral was begun. Another casualty of the 1914-1918 war was the church at Ibelin (Yabnâ), where now a ruined doorway with some godroon vousoirs still in position is almost all that remains of the crusading church. Here too, as at Lydda, material from the church was used under Baybars to build a bridge, constructed under the supervision of Khalîl ibn-Shavar, the emir of Ramla who plotted the attempted assassination of Edward (I) of England.²⁴

Four archbishoprics depended on the Jerusalem patriarchate—Petra, Caesarea, Nazareth, and Tyre. Of the southern archbishopric of Petra little is known. The main center of the "Terre outre le Jourdain" was the town of Kerak, the Petra Deserti of William of Tyre, and here in 1908 Meistermann saw a ruined church, the

24. Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, 267-268, and III, 248-251; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, II, 98-118, 167-184, 381-389; M. S. Briggs, "The Architecture of Saladin and the Influence of the Crusades (A.D. 1171-1250)," *Burlington Magazine*, XXXVIII (1921), 18.

doorway of which was still standing; there now remain only some column bases of a normal twelfth-century pattern.²⁵ This was probably the cathedral church of the diocese. No other crusading churches in this area are known with any certainty. James of Vitry tells us that the Greek bishop on Mount Sinai, who was also abbot of the monastery, was a suffragan of the archbishop of Petra, but this form of intercommunion was probably of the slightest nature. Some Franks visited Sinai and had their own chapel there, called St. Catherine of the Franks. Armorial carvings and names cut in the walls attest to their presence.²⁶

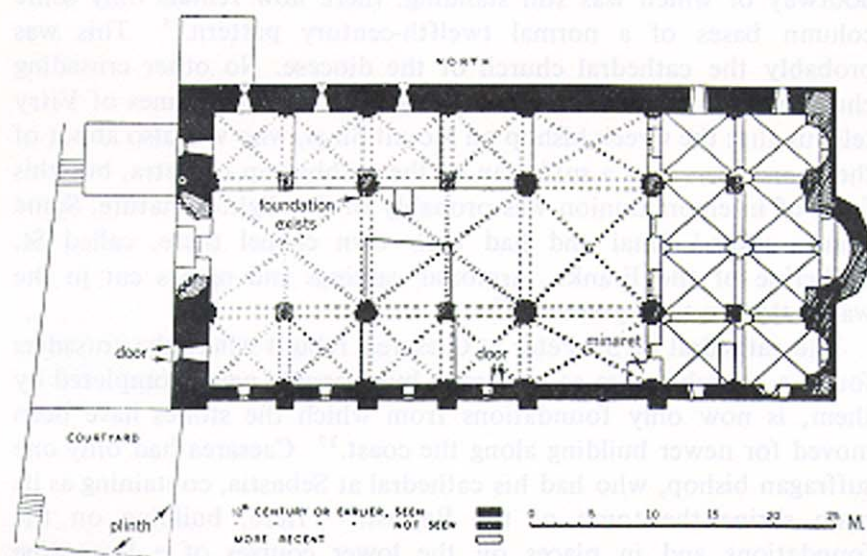
The cathedral of St. Peter at Caesarea, rebuilt where the crusaders found a church in use as a mosque but possibly never completed by them, is now only foundations from which the stones have been moved for newer building along the coast.²⁷ Caesarea had only one suffragan bishop, who had his cathedral at Sebastia, containing as its main shrine the tomb of the Baptist.²⁸ Here, building on the foundations and in places on the lower courses of a Byzantine church, the crusaders raised one of their noblest buildings, of which sufficient still stands to show the excellence of its workmanship. The church was about 150 feet long by 75 broad. It had the normal plan of nave, two aisles, and triple apse, with the central apse projecting and, as recent excavations suggest, polygonal on the exterior (fig. 3). The vaults were supported on alternate composite piers and twin pillars, and appear from the disposition of the shafts to have been carried on ribs, a rare practice in the kingdom. The masonry was laid without cement, and the capitals were early Gothic acanthus of a severe but splendid simplicity (pl. XVIIIa). The whole style suggests a date in the second half of the century. The museum of Istanbul has four capitals (pls. XVIIIb and c) taken from this church in 1897 (and probably originally intended to decorate its west portal); on one of them is a dancer with musicians, another depicts Herod's feast, and on a third volute heads emerge from late Romanesque foliage. Stylistically they resemble two capitals of unknown prove-

25. P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des croisés en Terre Sainte; II. La Défense du royaume de Jérusalem: Étude historique, géographique et monumentale* (Haut Commissariat de la République française en Syrie et au Liban, Service des antiquités, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vol. XXXIV, 2 parts, text and album: Paris, 1939), p. 97; B. Meistermann, *Guide du Nil au Jourdain par le Sinai et Pétra sur les traces d'Israël* (Paris, 1909), p. 256.

26. Jacques de Vitry, *The History of Jerusalem: A.D. 1180*, tr. A. Stewart (PPTS, vol. XI; London, 1896), p. 34; L. Eckenstein, *A History of Sinai* (London, 1921), p. 147; H. Skrobucha, *Sinai*, tr. G. Hunt (London and New York, 1966).

27. *Revue biblique*, LXIX (1962), 412-413 (report by A. Negev on recent excavations).

28. R. W. Hamilton, *Guide to Samaria-Sebaste* (Jerusalem, 1944).



3. Plan of the cathedral of Sebastia

nance (found in Damascus), on each of which there is a mounted warrior, sometimes identified as Constantine.²⁹ They may well have come from the Sebastia area. In 1187 Saladin captured that town and it remained in Moslem hands. Burchard of Mount Sion in 1283 describes how the cathedral had become a mosque. He, as Theoderic a hundred years before him, wondered at the great Herodian ruins that crowned and still crown the hill, and moralized over so great a city come to such wretchedness.

Next only to Jerusalem and Bethlehem in sacred association, Nazareth was made an archbishopric by the Franks. As early as 1107 the abbot Daniel states that the crusaders had found the town devastated but had rebuilt the church with the greatest care. "A great and high church with three altars," he calls it, which suggests the normal triple-apsidal plan. There was, Daniel adds, a very rich Latin bishop, who gave him friendly welcome. Rich the see of Nazareth certainly was; the church of St. Mary of Barletta in Apulia was held

29. G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines des musées impériaux ottomans*, II (Constantinople, 1914), 585-592; Deschamps, "Sculpture française en Palestine," *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et mémoires*, XXXI, 109-110; D. A. Walsh, "Crusader Sculpture from the Holy Land in Istanbul," *Gesta*, VIII (1969), 20-29. One of the Damascus capitals is now in the Louvre; the other is a well-head in the al-Ĥanābilah mosque in the aṣ-Ṣālihiyah suburb of Damascus; the miḥrāb in the mosque has two Gothic capitals, one of which has two disfigured heads; E. Herzfeld, "Damascus: Studies in Architecture—IV," *Arts Islamica*, XIII-XIV (1948), 120; J. Sauvaget, *Les Monuments historiques de Damas* (Beirut, 1932), p. 95.

from it and administered by a vicar who controlled its numerous other European holdings. Its archbishops, such as Achard, who died in Constantinople in 1158 while negotiating the marriage of Baldwin III, and his successor Lietard, whom William of Tyre describes as having held the diocese for twenty-three years, were men who played a considerable part in the affairs of the kingdom.

It is this Lietard, prior before he became archbishop, who must have undertaken the extension of the cathedral in the second half of the century. It was a large building, 244 feet long by 98 broad, consisting of a nave and two aisles.³⁰ The side apses were encased in a rectangular outer wall from which the central apse, also rectangular on the exterior, projected some distance. Of the twelve piers of the nave, eight were square, four polygonal; the surviving capital of a small column, probably from a composite pier, is a finely carved acanthus with a grinning mask between the volutes. The crypt, the traditional house of Joseph and scene of the Annunciation, was below the two eastern bays of the north aisle and was faced with marble slabs and decorated with paintings. Some fragments of carving, including an elaborate chevron pattern on a voussoir stone, show the normal Romanesque motifs, but in 1908 a much more important find was made, that of five capitals buried in a pit and apparently hidden away without ever having been put in position, presumably at the loss of the town in 1187 while work on the cathedral was still in progress. The capitals are incompletely worked; the backgrounds are still rough and clearly it was intended to recess them further to a smooth finish, but the figures are elaborately wrought. Well might such treasures, doomed as they would have been to destruction at Moslem hands, have been hurriedly buried in the hope of a speedy Christian return. Four of the capitals are octagonal with two faces uncarved; the fifth is quadrilateral carved on three sides, and its semicircular base must have fitted a column, presumably the trumeau of the doorway for which they were designed.

30. P. Viaud, *Nazareth et ses deux églises de l'Annonciation et de Saint-Joseph*, . . . (Paris, 1910); Guérin, *Description . . . de la Palestine*, II, part 2, pp. 188-196; C. Kopp, "Beiträge zur Geschichte Nazareths," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XIX (1939-1940), 82-119; P. Egidì, "I Capitelli romanici di Nazaret," *Dedalo*, Anno I (1920), 761-776 (with good photographs); Deschamps, "Sculpture française en Palestine," *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et mémoires*, XXXI; *French Sculpture of the Romanesque Period, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Florence and Paris, 1930), pp. 95-99; and "Un Chapiteau roman du Berry, imité à Nazareth au XII^e siècle," *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et mémoires*, XXXII (1932), 119-126, pl. XI; B. Bagatti, "Ritrovamenti nella Nazaret evangelica," *Studii biblici franciscani Liber annuus*, V (1954-1955), 5-44; *Illustrated London News*, CCXXIX (1956), 1074; E. Testa, "Nuove scoperte a Nazaret," *La Terra Santa*, XLII (1966), 308-312; Barasch, *Crusader Figural Sculpture*, pp. 73-177.

Cut in a local yellow stone, which allows of much delicacy of carving, completely sharp and unweathered, the capitals are among the finest examples of the whole of Romanesque art (pl. XXI). Deschamps has suggested, very convincingly, that their characteristic features—the feathered devils, drilled ornament, and long-nosed faces—correspond with a capital of the Temptation of Christ in the church of Plaimpied near Bourges. A memorial relief from the same church is by the same hand, commemorating a canon, Sulpice, who can be traced in documents between 1120 and 1136, and the date 1142, carved roughly on the slab by a later hand, may well be that of his death. So close is the stylistic correspondence between these Plaimpied and Nazareth works, that they might well be by the same hand. It is tempting to think that their carver joined the Second Crusade in 1147, came with it to Palestine, and continued his trade there. Not, however, without learning from this transition. Some of the heads have the ascetic, pointed features of the Christ at Plaimpied; others are fuller-faced, broad-browed, with the staring eyes and elaborately curled hair of the Greco-Roman busts familiar at Palmyra. Whoever he may have been, the Nazareth master absorbed some Syrian Hellenistic influences into his western style. The capitals seem to depict scenes from the lives of St. Peter, St. Thomas, St. James, St. Matthew, and St. Bartholomew. The St. Peter's healing of Tabitha at Jaffa and the execution of St. James at Jerusalem are Palestinian subjects. The other three apostles are the missionaries of India, which Gervase of Tilbury divides into *India superior* (St. Bartholomew), *India inferior* (St. Thomas), and *India meridiana* (St. Matthew).³¹ Already men were looking to distant lands with which before long new contacts were to be made.

In the course of the excavations various other fragments similar in kind were discovered, one of which appears to belong to a large-scale figure seated in a mandorla. In the Greek patriarchate's museum in Jerusalem there are two heads of prophets, dug up at Nazareth in 1867, which could well be work of the same masons' yard.³² Carved in one block, approximately life-size, they are designed for column figures in the angle of a doorway or shrine and have the remote gravity of the sculptures of Chartres (pl. XXa). Then in 1955 it was decided to demolish the seventeenth-century church and build across the line of the crusading cathedral. In the course of excavations that

31. "Otia Imperialia," in G. W. von Leibnitz, ed., *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicensium . . .*, I (Hanover, 1707), 911.

32. Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine*, I, 328.

followed a sixth, but unfortunately much battered, capital came to light, showing yet another struggle between an apostle and devils, here again a scene from one of the apocryphal acts. Even more interesting was the lower half of a life-size figure carved in almost full relief, of which the drapery has the same folds, circles, and drill-marks as that of the capitals (pl. XXIIa). It forms a close link with a very similar torso, now widely separated from it. In the duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth there is the headless figure of a prophet, where the round whorls and patterned neckband recall the Nazareth workshop, though by a coarser hand than that of the master himself (pl. XXIIb). When it came to the collection its provenance was said to be "the mountainous country between the coasts of Tyre and Sidon and the river Jordan."³³ The torso now stands 41 inches high; that recently found at Nazareth, cut off at the waist line, measures 33 inches. It is likely that they came from the same workshop; certainly they belong to a common stylistic tradition. Until the results of the recent excavations are completely published there can only be hints and guesses at what the full achievement included. Tiberias, the only suffragan see of Nazareth, has no remains of its cathedral, probably built on the site where the mosque al-Bahr now stands.

The metropolitan see of Syria was placed at Tyre; from it depended the suffragan sees of Acre, Sidon, Beirut, Jubail, Tripoli, and Tortosa, though the last three were constantly claimed by the patriarch of Antioch and with the union of Tripoli and Antioch in the thirteenth century passed under the control of the northern patriarchate. They all remain, however, curiously united by the course of history, differing much in circumstances from their Palestinian neighbors. They lacked the vivid biblical associations of the sites of the Holy Land proper, and their places of pilgrimage, such as the shrine at Tortosa, which claimed to be the first church dedicated to the Virgin, were less immediately compelling. Stretching along the seacoast, they remained in crusading hands throughout the thirteenth century and therefore show in their buildings the development of the Gothic style. Not that they have escaped ravages. Acre's churches are mainly a memory. At Sidon all trace of the cathedral is lost under the buildings of the Great Mosque; a thirteenth-century building, on a rock overlooking the beach, recalls the site of the hospital but has been much altered; for the rest there

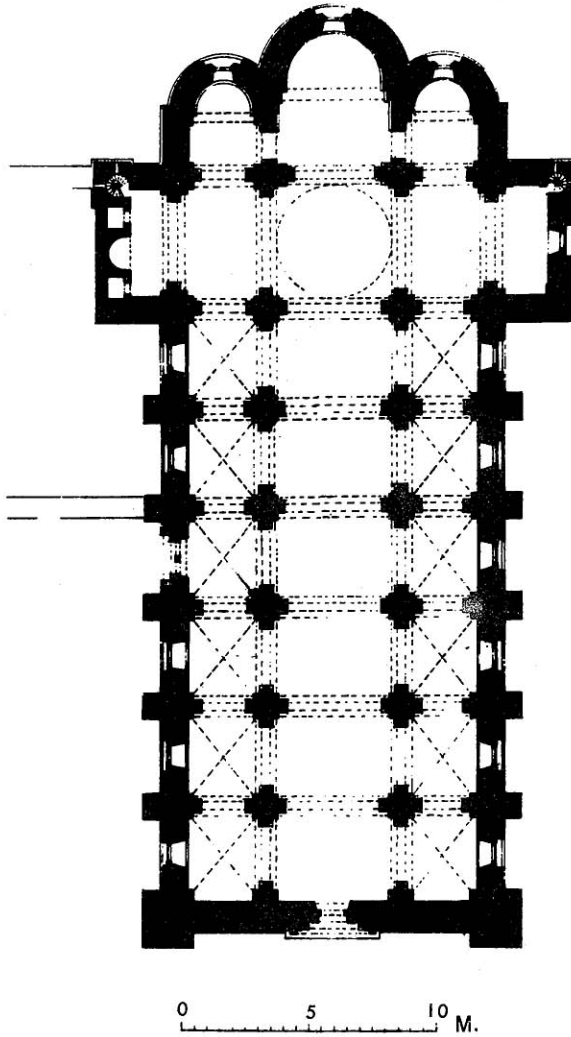
33. *The Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts* (1847), p. 339, and information in the manuscript catalogue at Chatsworth.

are only a few fragments of tombstones inscribed in thirteenth-century Gothic script.

The cathedral of Tyre, St. Mary of the Sepulcher of Our Lady of Tyre, was a rebuilding of the cathedral consecrated by Eusebius of Caesarea, the burial place of Origen, which the crusaders found still standing when they occupied the town. The exact date of the crusading work is not known, and today only some foundations and reërected granite columns mark its site. The ruins of its three apses long stood and are known in photographs, but now they have shared the fate of the whole building, and most of the stones, finely cut masonry set without mortar, have been carried off for other work. Probably damaged in the earthquake of 1170, its restoration may have been aided by the gifts given by emperor Manuel Comnenus to its great archbishop, the historian William. When Barbarossa's bones were buried there in 1190, it must have been one of the most magnificent churches of the Latin settlements. Controversy has been considerable as to its exact plan. The excavations of Professor Sepp in 1874, in search of the tomb of Frederick I, were enthusiastic but ill equipped for accurate observation. The fragments of carving are insufficient to establish a clear style of ornament, but certain points are established. About 244 feet long by 82 feet broad, it ended in three semicircular apses, but with the feature, unusual for the crusaders, of transepts projecting some 15 feet, the northern of which ended in a small apse, with a room on either side set in the thickness of the wall, a scheme that suggests Byzantine or Armenian models (fig. 4). The four great granite pillars, admired for their size by Burchard and other travelers, may have stood at the crossing; there were smaller columns of the same stone, all of which must have come from ancient Tyre.³⁴

The cathedral of St. John the Baptist at Beirut is more fully preserved. Converted into a mosque, the whole building still stands, and its apses, round on the exterior with applied columns as buttresses running up to an elaborate series of carved metopes, constructed out of a golden-yellow stone with thin layers of mortar, are as good a piece of Romanesque architecture as any in Syria (pl. XXIXb). Inside, the junctions of the apses and the nave clearly mark

34. Enlart, *Monuments*, II, 352-375; J. N. Sepp, *Meerfahrt nach Tyrus zur Ausgrabung der Kathedrale mit Barbarossa's Grab* (Leipzig, 1879); F. W. Deichmann, "Die Ausgrabungsfunde der Kathedrale von Tyrus," *Berliner Museen*, LVI-3 (1935), 48-55; Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine*, I, 72-74. The long-awaited book on medieval Tyre by Maurice Chehab will no doubt shed much light on the crusader churches there. In the meantime recent excavations have unearthed a small church tentatively identified as St. Thomas of Canterbury; see P. M. Bikai, "A New Crusader Church in Tyre," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, XXIV (1971), 83-90 [J. F.].



4. Plan of the cathedral of Tyre. After R. Jusserand

two different stages of the work. The long episcopate of Baldwin of Boulogne, 1112-1147, is the probable first period of construction, but the building seems to have been completed before Saladin's conquest, and the thirteenth century added little to it. The cathedral had as its shrine the tomb of the Baptist, a claim that must have been disputed with Sebastia but which is still accepted by its present Moslem owners.

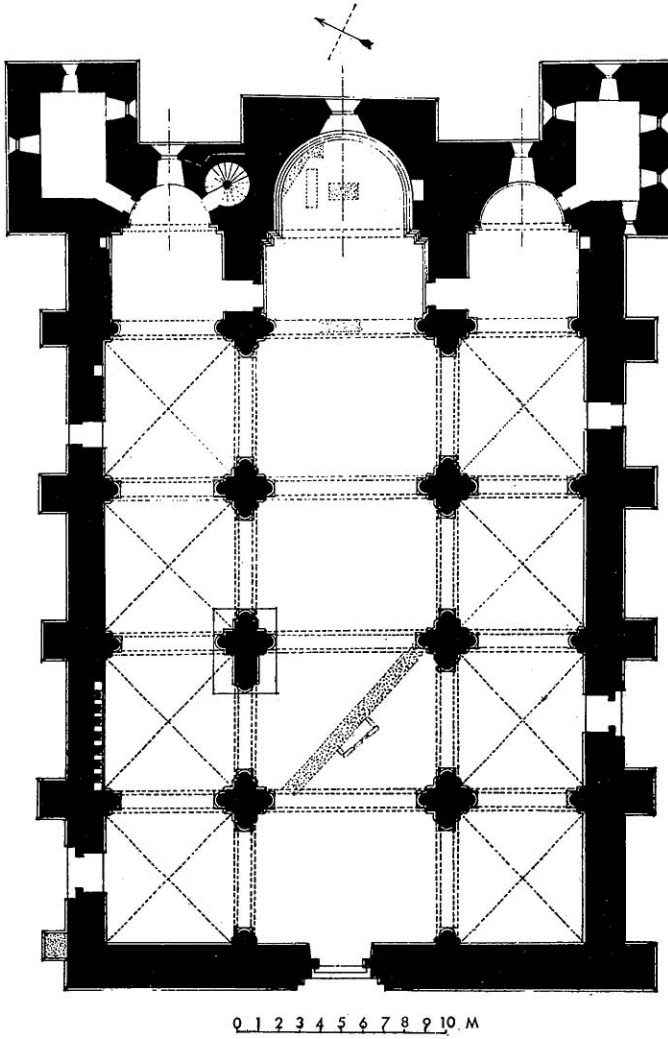
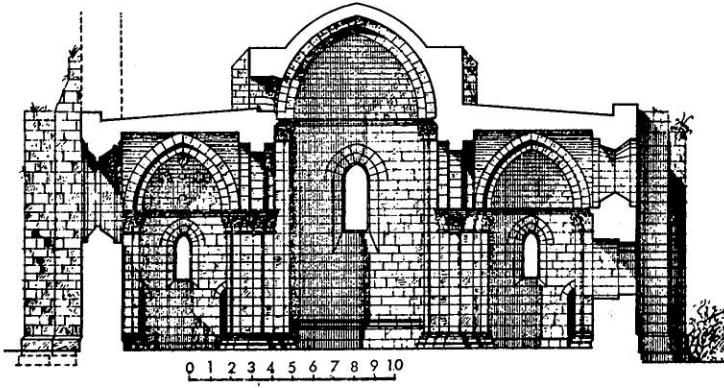
The little cathedral of Jubail (Gibelet), a less distinguished building, has a charming, open-arched baptistry on its north exterior wall, decorated with chevrons, rosettes, dog-tooth, and godroons and crowned with a carved cornice.

Of the many churches of Tripoli, most have perished completely. In the Great Mosque, the north doorway, the capitals of the door to the ablution room, the west doorway, and the tower of the minaret are remnants of the cathedral of St. Mary of the Tower, the carving hidden and blunted under thick green and red paint. They are, however, remnants of considerable interest. The north door, with a Romanesque scroll of ovoids set in interlaces and a rope pattern archivolt, must come from the first building, which is known to have been much damaged in the great earthquake of 1170. The west doorway has a pointed arch, columns with early Gothic capitals, and vousoirs decorated with chevron patterns. It should date from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The great rectangular tower projects from the main building south of the west porch, a position similar to the bell tower on the main façade of the Holy Sepulcher; but here it is built without buttresses and its twin and triple window openings are less deeply recessed, recalling the towers of Italy rather than France.³⁵ A bathhouse, the Ḥammām 'Izz-ad-Dīn, has a doorway with two shells, the inscription "Sanctus Jacobus," and a lamb between two rosettes.

One of the most beautiful of all crusading churches is the cathedral of Our Lady of Tortosa (pl. XXVIII).³⁶ An ancient tradition held that St. Peter had dedicated here the first church in honor of the Virgin, and an ingenious arrangement of one of the pillars of the nave may have as its reason the preservation of the original chapel. Its early history is undocumented, but there were clearly two building stages. Halfway down the nave, the stone changes, and the ornament of the capitals alters from flat-leaf acanthus to a more luxuriant naturalism (pl. XXIXa). Beside one capital the mason has carved a jackal, a lively rendering of a familiar beast. On the façade a central west door (much restored) is surmounted by two windows, with a third smaller window above; a large window opens on either side and the whole is flanked with two square towers. Projecting towers were built as far as the roof level at the east end. The side walls were strengthened by flat buttresses, but there were no buttresses on the façade (fig. 5). It was a fortress church, similar to St. Victor of Marseilles, but distinguished by the quality of its detail. The probability is that the apses and two eastern bays were completed before Saladin took the town in 1188, when the cathedral is known

35. Enlart, *Monuments*, II, 430-440; van Berchem, *Voyages*, I, 11-30.

36. The account by Enlart, *Monuments*, II, 395-426, is the most detailed survey yet made. See also M. Pillet, "Notre-Dame de Tortose," *Syria*, X (1929), 40-51. The church is now used as a museum.



5. Plan of the cathedral of Tortosa. After C. Enlart

to have been damaged. In the thirteenth century, however, the pilgrimage revived and enjoyed considerable popularity. There was sufficient wealth to complete the building. Then in 1265, with the Mamluk menace growing closer and closer, the demolition of the church was discussed in order to narrow the defenses of the town. Instead, its fortifications seemed to have been strengthened and it was probably then that the apsidal towers were begun.

The monastic orders, apart from the Augustinian canons, who were installed at the Holy Sepulcher, the Temple, Mount Sion, the site of the Ascension, and Hebron, played no great part in the settlement. The countryside was too precarious for isolated communities, and the rise of the military orders diverted enthusiasm into other channels. St. Mary of Jehoshaphat and the convent at Mount Tabor were Benedictine houses using the Cluniac rule, though not in dependence on the archabbot. The Cistercians had two small houses, Belmont near Tripoli and St. Sergi near Jubail, the Premonstratensians two also, Montjoie at Nabī Samwīl, the hill from which the pilgrims first saw Jerusalem, and St. Habakkuk at Ramatha (Kafr Jinnis) near Lydda. In the towns, monastic houses were much more numerous, and in the thirteenth century those of the friars were added to them; the Franciscans from their first mission onward played a considerable part in the affairs of the Holy Land.

Of the monastic churches outside Jerusalem, that of the Savior at Tabor was the most splendid.³⁷ Founded by Tancred, it was pillaged in 1113 and the monks were massacred. The restored monastery in 1130 accepted the Cluniac rule, and it is probably from that date that the fine Romanesque church was undertaken, inside a strong line of defensive walls. In 1187 it was destroyed by Saladin, but returned to Christian hands under Frederick II, who placed a group of Hungarian monks there. The church was restored, only to be destroyed once more by Baybars in 1265. Travelers long continued to describe the great apse as still standing, with its mosaic of the Transfiguration preserved. Excavated by the Franciscans in the last years of the nineteenth century, the ground plan has been reconstructed but contains some puzzling features. The main body of the church had the normal nave and two aisles, without transepts and with the apses set in a rectangular chevet, but the façade appears to have been composed of two towers with apsidal chapels in their bases, built at a lower level than the main church, to which a stairway

37. B. Meistermann, *Le Mont Thabor: Notices historiques et descriptives* (Paris, 1900); Enlart, *Monuments*, II, 380-395.

ascended between the towers. Fragments of figure sculpture, some of excellent quality, suggest that the west door was elaborately ornamented. Enlart suggests as a parallel the church of Graville Sainte Honorine in Normandy. There are gaps in our information, but it is clear that it was an ambitious and finely worked out scheme. Possibly the thirteenth-century reconstruction, to which some Gothic capitals seem to belong, dealt only with the main church, leaving the tower chapels, which almost certainly were dedicated to Moses and Elias, more or less detached.

The Cistercian abbey of Belmont³⁸ was very different. Its situation on a steep hilltop southwest of Tripoli was as inaccessible as the strictest solitaries could have wished, though, contrary to the practice of the order, it stood for protection's sake on the summit, not in the valley. Founded in 1157, destroyed in 1169, and later reoccupied till the final fall of the kingdom, it then passed into the hands of the Orthodox church and remains in monastic occupation to this day. So remote was it that the Moslems did not trouble to destroy it. In the course of centuries much has been rebuilt and adapted to other purposes. The chapter-house is now a chapel, and the main entrance has been driven through the refectory, but there is enough to show that it was well constructed in faced stone, and that it adhered rigorously to the order's standard of simplicity. The few pieces of carving, capitals and consoles, indicate that if the main work is twelfth-century there were repairs and additions in the thirteenth.

In addition to its cathedrals and monastic houses, crusading Palestine was rich in lesser churches. These are too numerous to receive individual mention, and many are still uncertainly identified, blocks of solid masonry absorbed into the confused erections of some squalid village. A few, however, deserve notice, either for the merit of their remains or for the interest of their associations. The church of the Resurrection at Nablus, the Neapolis of crusading chronicles, built between 1167 and 1187, has already been mentioned. A mile outside the town, the crusaders rebuilt a Byzantine church over the Well of Jacob.³⁹ Destroyed during Saladin's conquest, possibly before it was completed, it long remained a ruin. A new church, built by the Orthodox patriarchate, was in course of construction when war broke out in 1914, and it too remains an unfinished shell. The general plan had however been

38. Enlart, *Monuments*, II, 45-63. See now C. Asmar, "L'Abbaye de Belmont . . .," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, XXV (1972, publ. 1975), 1-69 [J. F.].

39. P. Séjourné, "Nouvelles découvertes au puits de la Samaritaine," *Revue biblique*, IV (1895), 619-622; Enlart, *Monuments*, II, 289-292.

noted, and it is clear that it resembled in its use of alternate columns and pillars the cathedral of Sebastia, its nearest neighbor, but with the unusual feature of projecting transepts. The chevet was more normal; the main apse was pentagonal on the exterior, the apses of the aisles set in the east wall. At Saffūriyah, some five miles from Nazareth, the church of St. Anne and St. Joachim still has its eastern end standing. It was a vaulted church of five bays, ending in three apses set in a square chevet. The northern apse was enlarged into a rectangular chapel, possibly about 1253 at the time of Louis IX's crusade, when the church was temporarily restored to Christian hands.⁴⁰

Guarding the entry to the hills on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem was the castle of Latrun. The origin of this name seems to come from a corruption, through the Arabic, of the crusading term "Le Toron," for a hill castle. In the sixteenth century a derivation from *latro* was invented, and it was held to be the tomb of the penitent thief, Dysmas; but this was not known to the crusaders of the kingdom, who seem to have called it "Turo Militum" after the Templars to whom it belonged. In the twelfth century the religious associations were with Modin, the burial place of the Maccabees, and with Emmaus, for which the site of 'Amwās, at the foot of the hill, was sometimes claimed and which was the name of one of the battles of Judas Maccabaeus as well as the scene of the supper after the Resurrection. At 'Amwās, within the ruins of a basilica dating from the third century and rebuilt in the sixth, the crusaders constructed a church of a single nave, using the main apse of the old basilica and filling in the colonnade between nave and aisles. Little remains, but it seems to have been a simple and severe building, probably fortified on the exterior.

Meanwhile a rival site for both Modin and Emmaus was being claimed by the Hospitallers in their territories at Qaryat al-'Inab, now called Abū-Ghosh after a celebrated nineteenth-century brigand. Here was a fountain which was said to be the place of Christ's supper with the two disciples, while the castle of Belmont nearby was the birthplace of the Maccabees, and here the Hospitallers, using the foundations of the old Roman water tank, built a church with its three apses all set in a thick outer wall. The typical bent-arm consoles, so much employed in Jerusalem, figure conspicuously. The Umayyad

40. Viaud, *Nazareth*, pp. 179-184. For an account of Saffūriyah in the early nineteenth century see E. D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa; part II: Greece, Egypt and the Holy Land* (London, 1812), p. 407.

caravanserai adjoining seems to have remained in use during the crusading period with but little alteration. This locality, more conveniently situated in relation to Jerusalem, seems to have gained the day in the twelfth century, and 'Amwās to have taken the martyrdom of the mother of the Maccabees and her children as its particular act of sanctification. By the sixteenth century Abū-Ghosh in its turn had yielded its association with Emmaus to al-Qubaibah, the "Petite Mahomerie" of the crusaders, and had become instead the birthplace of Jeremiah and the scene of David's victory over Goliath.⁴¹ At 'Ain Karim, nearer Jerusalem, a small Byzantine church built over a cave was enlarged by the crusaders in honor of the Visitation and the birthplace of the Baptist.⁴²

The year 1187 is a sharply dividing line in the development of crusading art. Much that had been achieved perished in Saladin's purging of the holy places, holy both to Islam and to Christianity. Never again did Jerusalem become a main center; some work may have been done there in the period following Frederick II's treaty of 1229, but it cannot be surely identified, and with the Khorezmian sack of 1244 Jerusalem passed out of any crusading control. In the church of the Holy Sepulcher and some other shrines later ages left their mark; baroque paintings and decorations were sent from Europe; then an age of tawdriness set in that still tastelessly distracts the mind from the most profound emotions that any site can evoke. The Romanesque art of Syria was displaced, disfigured, and forgotten.

Along the coast at Château Pèlerin, Acre, or Tortosa, across the sea on Cyprus, or at inland strongholds such as Krak des Chevaliers, the Gothic style gained some footing. Acre was the capital and center of this second phase. Up to its capture by Saladin and its long siege from August 1189 to July 1191, as the first port of the kingdom it already had a position of some importance and large hostleries for pilgrims. After its capture by Richard Coeur-de-Lion it became the crusading capital and one of the greatest markets of the Levant. It was also a city of refugees, with a population considerably larger

41. L. H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Emmaüs: Sa Basilique et son histoire* (Paris, 1932); R. de Vaux and A. M. Steve, *Fouilles à Qaryet el-'Enab (Abū Gôsh), Palestine* (École biblique et archéologique française, Études archéologiques; Paris, 1950).

42. B. Bagatti, *I Monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei Dintorni: Risultato degli scavi e sopralluoghi negli anni 1873, 1887-90, 1900-2, 1940-44* (SBF, no. 4; Jerusalem, 1947) and *Il Santuario della Visitazione ad 'Ain Karim (Montana Judaeae): Esplorazione archeologica e ripristino* (SBF, no. 5; Jerusalem, 1948).

than that of crusading Jerusalem. The patriarchate was transferred there; the monks of St. Mary of Jehoshaphat built a new church and monastery to replace that which they had lost; the displaced communities found themselves new abodes, and the coming of the two orders of friars, Franciscan and Dominican, gave a new impetus to religious foundations; some forty churches demonstrated the number of Acre's varied orders rather than the actual spiritual needs of the population. The narrow streets still follow much of their ancient pattern, and with Israeli excavations more and more of the medieval town is coming to light. The so-called crypt, originally a hall at ground level, has since 1954 been cleared of the rubble that filled it, and is revealed as a noble pillared room with early pointed arches and ribbed vaulting. It was probably the refectory of the Hospitallers,⁴³ and further clearings have opened up a whole complex of rooms and passages.

Even before the city was lost, the church of the monks of St. Mary of Jehoshaphat was falling into disrepair and had become a dumping place for refuse; there was no money to repair it, and papal permission was obtained in 1289 to sell it to the Hospitallers. Part of the payment was a golden chalice, a portable object which there might be some hope of saving in those desperate days.⁴⁴ Here and there an inscription or a battered piece of sculpture recalls the crusading past. The local museum has a holy-water basin with carved heads that suggest south Italian influence (pl. XXIIIb). A fragment of an incised tomb slab shows a kneeling figure at the feet of a prelate, or so the vestments suggest, but the upper portion is missing, and of the French inscription there remains only the date July 1290, hardly a year before the final loss of the town. Given the popularity of incised memorials in Cyprus, it is of particular interest to have this fur-

43. Z. Goldmann, "The Hospice of the Knights of St. John in Akko," *Archaeology*, XIX (1966), 182-189. For the streets and fortifications of Acre see Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 78-113. The most useful of the older publications are E. G. Rey, "Étude sur la topographie de la ville d'Acre," *Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, XXXIX (1878), 115-145, and XLIX (1888), 1-18; N. Makhoul and C. N. Johns, *Guide to Acre* (Jerusalem, 1946); and J. Prawer, "The Historical Maps of Acre" (in Hebrew), *Eretz Israel*, II (1953), 175-184. In 1962 a survey of the city was published by the supervising architect, A. Kesten, *Acre, the Old City: Survey and Planning* (Office of the Prime Minister, Department for Landscaping and the Preservation of Historic Sites [Tel Aviv, 1962]), some plans from which are used in Benvenisti's book; this survey was a valuable first step in assessing the extant remains of the medieval city, despite the heavy destruction of 1291. A serious and sustained project to investigate crusader Acre, in the manner of the survey of Mamluk monuments in Jerusalem currently in progress by the British School of Archaeology, would not only be of interest for the crusader port, but would shed light on other crusader cities as well. [J. F.]

44. *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, III (Paris, 1899), no. 4044, p. 538.

ther example from the crusading mainland, for incised figures, as opposed to inscriptions, are known from crusading Palestine only in a broken slab with a head, sensitively cut, and part of an inscription with the name Hugo.⁴⁵

At Montfort, in the hills beyond Acre, some carved capitals, one with a man crawling through foliage, some fine bosses, and a corbel head have been discovered in the ruins of the castle of the Teutonic Knights. In 1748, when the Franciscan Ladislaus Mayer visited Acre, he saw and drew the considerable remains of the Templars' house and chapel, with a graceful oriel window; when he returned four years later it had been leveled to the ground.⁴⁶

The most complete and distinguished relic from Acre is the doorway of the church of St. Andrew, which was transported on camel back and embodied in the madrasah of an-Nāṣir Muhammad in Cairo (pl. XXV). St. Andrew's was the largest church of the town, and something can be learned of it from the engravings made of it by le Bruyn in 1681 and by d'Orcières five years later.⁴⁷ A nave and aisles of five bays, almost certainly with ribbed vaulting, ended in three apses. The flat roofs of the aisles were arched with flying buttresses supporting the vault of the nave, but there were no outer buttresses. Instead, an arcaded gallery seems to have run the whole length of the church, a continuation of the porch which preceded the façade. The windows were narrow, sharply pointed lancets; the Cairo doorway shows that the decoration was of a simple but refined Gothic foliage style. The recession of its columns blends harmoniously with the shallow arches of the neighboring mausoleum of Kalavun. This remnant of crusading Acre stands today in one of the finest of medieval streets, and holds it own;⁴⁸ here and there in the

45. I am indebted to Dr. J. Prawer for information about and a photograph of the Acre fragment; see E. Sivan, "Palestine during the Crusades (1099-1291)," in *A History of the Holy Land*, ed. M. Avi-Yonah (Jerusalem, 1969), p. 236. For other memorials see C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Album d'antiquités orientales: Recueil de monuments inédits ou peu connus: Art-archéologie-épigraphie* (Paris, 1897), pl. XLVII, and Sabino de Sandoli, *Corpus inscriptionum cruce signatorum Terrae Sanctae (1099-1291)* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 258-259, 281, 314-316. For other sculpture at Acre see Barasch, *Crusader Figural Sculptures*, pp. 13-65, and "An Unknown Work of Medieval Sculpture in Acre," *Scripta hierosolymitana*, XXIV (1972), 72-105.

46. *Reisebeschreibung nach Jerusalem*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS. 2967, fol. 56. See also Giovanni Mariti, *Viaggi per l'isola di Cipro e per la Sorìa e Palestina fatti . . . dall'anno MDCCCLX al MDCCCLXVIII*, II (Lucca, 1769), 72.

47. Enlart, *Monuments*, II, 2-35; atlas, I, plates 51 and 52 (reproducing both the le Bruyn and the d'Orcières drawings of St. Andrew): Makhoully and Johns, *Guide to Acre*. For Montfort see Bashford Dean, "The Exploration of a Crusaders' Fortress (Montfort) in Palestine," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, XXII, part II (1927).

48. K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II (Oxford, 1959), 234-235.

magnificent mosques of Cairo, other fragments of crusading work can still be found. Baybars shipped wood and stone from destroyed Jaffa for the mosque he was building, and in the fourteenth century the masons of the madrasah of sultan al-Ḥasan used some twelfth-century crusading foliage capitals for the mihrāb, and on a small stone pillar by the entrance can still be seen Romanesque interlaces and three carvings of buildings, one of which seems to be the Temple, the other two possibly Bethlehem and the Holy Sepulcher.

No mention has as yet been made of Antioch. A patriarchate that at times raised pretensions of rivalry with Jerusalem, an independent principality in an ancient city of fine buildings, it had two centuries of Frankish rule and its wealth and luxury were something of a legend to the dispossessed feudatories of the south. Its own expansion eastward had, it is true, been short-lived, but the thirteenth century saw it gradually extending its power over the remnant of the county of Tripoli. Jealously eyed by Byzantium, it was of all crusading states the one most closely in touch with its civilization. Of its churches, hardly the site of one is now known.⁴⁹ The Latin cathedral was dedicated to St. Peter and was certainly a Byzantine church, though possibly the crusaders added to it; it is known that the earthquake of 1170 caused much damage, which may well have led to rebuilding. It contained a tomb of Barbarossa, where his flesh was buried; the bones were carried farther south to Tyre. Near it was the round church of St. Mary, one of the few sites known. St. Mary Latin was presumably a Frankish church, and the monastery of St. Paul, at the easternmost point of the walls, had many Frankish additions. Nothing now remains of the "good and strong city, hardly second to Rome itself in sanctity," which Wilbrand of Oldenburg described in 1211.⁵⁰ Earthquake, fire, pillage, and quarrying have done their work. A small and undistinguished modern Turkish town clings to the river banks; only the foundations of the walls can still be seen stretching to the summit of Mount Silpius, forming a circuit seven miles in length.

49. C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Institut français de Damas; Bibliothèque orientale, vol. I; Paris, 1940), pp. 129-132.

50. Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 171.

B. Mosaic, Painting, and Minor Arts

In the decoration of the crusading churches mosaic and painting played a great part. The former was probably the work of local craftsmen, and in the fragments that remain it is the Byzantine style that predominates. Both Latin and Greek inscriptions were used, Latin the more commonly, at least in those texts handed down to us, but this may reflect the interests and language of the pilgrim writers rather than any exact proportion.

Nāṣir-i-Khusrau, writing between 1035 and 1042, when the Byzantine restorations, culminating in that of Constantine IX Monomachus, were already in hand, describes the church of the Holy Sepulcher as ornamented with sculptures and paintings and much use of gold.¹ Abbot Daniel in 1106-1107 states that in the rotunda there were lifelike mosaics of the prophets in the arches above the tribunes, Christ in mosaic above the altar, an Exaltation of Adam on the high altar with the Ascension in the vault above, and the Annunciation on the arch of the sanctuary. Theoderic (about 1172) refers to this last mosaic but qualifies it as ancient, and completes Daniel's list with the figures of the apostles, Constantine, and St. Helena. Fra Nicholas of Poggibonsi (1345) still talks of these mosaics, and they continue to be mentioned until the account by Quaresmi in 1625, by which time they were already much obliterated. They probably dated from the mid-eleventh century. The mosaics in the twelfth-century choir had by Quaresmi's time mainly perished, which is all the more to be regretted as they must have been crusading work.

Theoderic describes them as they were when newly completed. In the apse was a great mosaic which he calls the Ascension: Christ was shown with his left foot raised, his right still resting on the ground, a typical Byzantine posture for the Anastasis; in his right hand he held a cross, his left was stretched out to Adam (possibly a version of the exaltation of Adam seen by Daniel on the original high altar,

1. Baldi, *Enchiridion*, pp. 832-896, contains the relevant extracts from travelers' descriptions. De Vogüé, *Églises*, pp. 188-194, discusses the mosaics of the church of the Holy Sepulcher in detail.

moved when the crusading choir was built); it is roughly reproduced on the seals of the patriarchs Fulcher (1147-1157) and Amalric (1157-1180).² Below, so Theoderic states, stood the Virgin, St. John the Baptist, and all the apostles; above was inscribed the text "Ascendens Christus in altum captivam duxit carnem, dedit dona hominibus." From the arch of the apse hung three paintings (*icona*, probably painted panels) of the Virgin, St. John the Baptist, and the archangel Gabriel. Further information comes from Nicholas of Poggibonsi, who describes the tribune, presumably the choir screen, as "figurata d'opera musaica" with scenes of Pentecost at the top and St. Peter, Solomon and the Church, Samson, Job, and David and the Synagogue below—a curious and somewhat puzzling iconographical list, but one that must refer to the replacement of the Old Law by the New and therefore had its appropriateness here in Judea.

The two chapels of Calvary were also decorated with mosaic. De Vogüé, using the account of Quaresmi and the inscriptions given by him, has worked out that the series was comprised of prototypes and scenes of the Passion linked by a Latin verse commentary; it included the Last Supper, Abraham and Isaac, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, the Entombment, and the Ascension, paralleled by Elijah's sojourn in the desert and his fiery chariot. On the pillars and soffits of the arches were figures of prophets and of St. Helena and emperor Heraclius. Of all these works only a fragment remains, the figure of Christ from the Ascension (pl. XXX). It has a frontal position, the left hand holding a book which is rested on the knee, the right hand raised, probably in blessing, but the damage here is too extensive for the design to be followed. The face is finely drawn and has something of the mysterious gravity of Cefalù or Daphne; the drapery is treated with great freedom, but stylistically could as well be Byzantine work of the mid-eleventh century as crusader-Byzantine work of the mid-twelfth. The chapel is, however, twelfth-century work, and the inscription is in Latin.

Such elaborate use of mosaic was by no means restricted to the church of the Holy Sepulcher, nor to Jerusalem, for there were notable mosaics at Nazareth and Mount Tabor, though these may have been made by artists from the capital. It seems certain that there was a considerable workshop, probably Graeco-Syrian, avail-

2. Chandon de Briailles, "Sur Deux bulles de l'Orient latin," *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud par ses amis et ses élèves*, I (Haut Commissariat de la République française en Syrie et au Liban, Service des antiquités, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vol. XXX; Paris, 1939), 139-150.

able under crusading patronage for this type of decoration. In the Dome of the Rock and the dome of the Aqṣā mosque the crusaders found eighth- and eleventh-century floral mosaics of the finest quality. These were, and fortunately still are, partially preserved. The anonymous pilgrim published by De Vogüé states that when the crusaders occupied the Temple there was nothing depicted there either Christian (of the law) or Greek. William of Tyre took enough interest in them to try to decipher the Arabic inscriptions.³ To these splendid gracious works, the fine flower of the Umayyad style, the crusaders added a series of their own mosaics (or paintings, for the texts here are not specific) with scenes of the events of scripture specially connected with the site, and placed Latin texts "in great characters" around the dome.⁴ The figure of the Virgin surrounded by angels in the apse of the church of the Tomb of the Virgin was also probably in mosaic.

Outside Jerusalem, the most ambitious scheme of mosaic decoration was that undertaken at Bethlehem.⁵ Here we have, for the crusaders' work, some unusually definite information. An inscription, of which the Latin version, now only fragmentarily extant, is given by various travelers, still exists in its Greek form stating that "the present work was finished by the hand of Ephrem the monk, painter and mosaic worker, in the reign of the great emperor Manuel Porphyrogenitus Comnenus and in the time of the great king of Jerusalem, our lord Amalric, and of the most holy bishop of holy Bethlehem, the lord Ralph, in the year 6677, second indiction" (1169). Amalric in 1169 married Manuel's niece Maria, and there were at the time vague discussions as to a possible reunion of the churches. Bishop Ralph, "English by birth, a very handsome man, most acceptable to the king and queen—and indeed, to all of the court" (so William of Tyre tells us),⁶ was also chancellor and was

3. William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* . . . , I, 2 (*RHC, Occ.*, I, 13) and VIII, 3 (*ibid.*, I, 325).

4. John of Würzburg, "Descriptio Terrae Sanctae," in Baldi, *Enchiridion*, pp. 567-570.

5. For the mosaics and paintings at Bethlehem see Baldi, *Enchiridion*, pp. 100-207; R. W. Hamilton, "Note on a Mosaic Inscription in the Church of the Nativity," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, VI (1938), 210-211; H. Stern, "Les Représentations des conciles dans l'église de la Nativité à Bethléem," *Byzantion*, XI (1936), 101-152, and XIII (1938), 415-459; W. Harvey, W. R. Lethaby, O. M. Dalton, H. A. A. Cruso, and A. C. Headlam, *The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem* (London, 1910); Vincent and Abel, *Bethléem*; Hamilton, *The Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem*; and B. Bagatti, *Gli Antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme*.

6. William of Tyre, XVI, 17 (*RHC, Occ.*, I, 733).

certainly, from his office, involved in the negotiations, which the mosaics commemorate. It is by no means clear how far the work of Ephrem extended; the fragment of the inscription, which Quaresmi copied complete, is in the apse of the choir, but the pictorial mosaics there have all perished, though Quaresmi in 1625 could still decipher the subjects: the Virgin and Child between David and Abraham on the arch in the apse; the Annunciation above; on the north wall Pentecost; on the south the burial of the Virgin and the Presentation. The north transept held Christ's appearance to St. Thomas and the Ascension, the south the Adoration of the Magi, Christ and the Samaritan woman, the Transfiguration, the Entry into Jerusalem, and the Betrayal. Of these the Incredulity of St. Thomas and the Entry into Jerusalem are fairly complete; of the Ascension there remains the standing row of the Virgin and Apostles; of the Transfiguration only a crouching apostle. In all cases the mosaics had Latin inscriptions and above them were prophets and apostles. Even in Quaresmi's time many were totally destroyed, among them presumably some representation of the Crucifixion. Despite the Latin inscriptions the treatment is essentially Byzantine and the work must have been largely by Greek artists.

The mosaic decoration extended to the nave and the crypt. John Phocas, a Cretan monk who visited Bethlehem in 1177 and who assigns not only the decoration of the church but its actual building to emperor Manuel, gives a vivid description of the mosaic of the Nativity in the apse of the Grotto. It is much damaged, but enough remains to confirm that the design was the familiar Byzantine rendering of the Nativity (pl. XXXIa). Phocas describes in detail the shepherds, the dogs, and the sheep, and adds the Magi, who cannot now be distinguished, but who frequently figure in the Byzantine type known in eleventh-century manuscripts and in the Cypriote wall paintings.⁷ The inscription, however, of which the words "Pax hominibus" remain, was in Latin.

In the nave there is another series of mosaics. On the south wall are represented the seven ecumenical councils, on the north wall are the six provincial councils of Carthage, Laodicea, Gangra, Sardica, Antioch, and Ancyra. The ecumenical councils are represented by two arcades, each enclosing an altar with above it an inscription in Greek (with the exception of the seventh council which is in Latin); the provincial councils, all labeled in Greek, have more elaborate architectural settings and enclose only one altar. On both walls the

7. Baldi, *Enchiridion*, pp. 143 ff.

councils are divided by panels of elaborate decorative work based on vases of acanthus foliage. There are now only fragmentary remains, but Quaresmi has left a detailed account and copied the inscriptions. The researches of Dr. H. Stern have established that this program and the accompanying inscriptions are based on a Greek synodicon of the late seventh or early eighth century, a profession of faith which in the Bethlehem inscriptions has been modified to bring out the condemnation of heresies that still survived among the Christian sects of Syria. Stylistically the designs of the provincial councils have much in common with the Umayyad decorations of Damascus and the Dome of the Rock. It is tempting to think, though there is no record of such work at Bethlehem, that they represent an eighth-century scheme, and that the south wall was reworked by the crusaders in order to include the Council of Nicaea, whose Latin text proclaims its origin and includes anathemas by name against the Greek iconoclast emperors. This would explain the more meager decoration, and also the selection of themes so unknown in western Europe, but possibly related to the dealings of bishop Ralph with Byzantium.

Under the councils there were friezes of the ancestors of Christ (according to St. Matthew on the south and St. Luke on the north), of which seven heads survive, with Latin inscriptions. These figures connected the transept scenes of the life of Christ with the great Tree of Jesse with which the crusaders filled the west wall; it is described in detail by Quaresmi, and served as a link between the doctrinal Greek designs and the more narrative Latin scheme. Of the Tree nothing now exists. Above the councils, between the clerestory windows, the crusaders placed a procession of angels, of which six survive, figures of great elegance and distinction, advancing with outstretched hands towards the choir and the actual place of the Nativity, their curved postures echoed in the flow of their drapery. Under one of them appears in Latin script the name *Basilius Pictor*.

The columns of the nave have another form of decoration, paintings, clearly by different hands, in some thick medium, possibly mixed with oil (pls. XXXII and XXXIII). Set above eye level, they have escaped mutilation, but have flaked and faded considerably. They were cleaned and photographed in 1946. The subjects can be identified from names given in Latin, or in some instances in Latin and Greek, beside the figures. Beginning at the west, the paintings on the north aisle columns are as follows: St. Macarius, St. Anthony Abbot, St. Euthymius, St. George, St. Leonard, St. Cosmas, St. Damian, St. Cataldus, the Virgin and Child, St. John the Evangelist, and a

much damaged scene of several figures shown by Greek inscriptions to be Mary the mother of James, Salome, Mary Magdalen, and the Virgin Mary; the other half of the painting is completely obliterated. The columns of the south aisle have St. Theodosius, St. Sabas, St. Stephen, St. Canute, St. Olaf, St. Vincent, St. John the Baptist, Elijah, St. Humphrey, St. Fusca, and St. Margaret of Antioch. On the colonnade between the two southern aisles are St. James, St. Bartholomew, St. Blaise and the Virgin and Child on the same column, St. Leo (the best preserved of all the paintings) and St. Anne also on one column, St. Margaret, and a second Virgin and Child. The list suggests no iconographical system but rather a series of votive paintings. In three cases donors in fact kneel below the saints (St. Olaf, St. James, and the Virgin on the fifth column of the south aisle). This also might explain certain groupings. Thus three hermit saints, Macarius, Anthony, and Euthymius, come in succession; the two Scandinavian saints are on adjacent pillars and have their names in Latin only.

It is by no means clear that all the paintings are of one date, and there are certainly stylistic differences between them. On one pillar, the Virgin and Child of the south aisle, there is a Latin inscription, an invocation for mercy, referring to the donors kneeling below, with the date May 15, 1130.⁸ This dissociates the frescoes from the decorative schemes of 1169. They are not the work of skilled artists such as those entrusted with the mosaics. The inscribed Virgin and Child belongs to a group in the south aisle which are somewhat stiffer in drawing than the bulk of the paintings, particularly than the neighboring figures in the same aisle of St. Fusca (a Venetian saint) and St. Margaret. The prophet Elijah, fed by ravens (with text in Latin but name in both Greek and Latin), is the finest figure, thoroughly Romanesque in feeling. St. Olaf, St. Canute, and St. George have a certain lightness of pose and their feet and hands are smaller than those in most of the paintings. The colors are mostly dark reds, purples, and brown on a cobalt blue background. The donors kneeling at the feet of some of the figures have the pointed cloaks and close-fitting tunics of the mid-twelfth century. Some of them carry pilgrims' scrips at their belts. Such paintings, with their mixed origins, reflect the cosmopolitan nature of the crusading state.

Unfortunately, though chroniclers refer to painted decorations in other churches, few now survive; some fast-fading fragments appear on the walls of the church at Abū-Ghosh (pls. XXXIV and XXXV),

8. For this inscription see Bagatti, *Betlemme*, p. 102, and S. de Sandoli, *Corpus inscriptionum*, pp. 224-225.

for which conservation work is desperately needed; some frescoes on the life of the Baptist occur in the crypt of the church of the Invention of the Head of St. John the Baptist at Sebastia. In the small church of St. Phocas at Amyūn figures like those on the Bethlehem columns are painted on the piers, but this, though possibly a twelfth-century church, was dedicated to a Greek saint, and its paintings, with their Greek inscriptions, are entirely Byzantine. In 1965, in excavations outside the Damascus gate, a small crusading chapel was found, with fragments of wall painting still visible: a much damaged head with a halo, and a piece of drapery showing the long pointed folds of the Bethlehem figures.⁹

9. For Abū-Ghosh see Ch. Diehl, "Les Fresques de l'église d'Abou-Gosch," *Comptes-rendues de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (Paris, 1924), pp. 89-96; Enlart, *Monuments des croisés*, II, 315-325 and plates 137-139 bis; and R. de Vaux and A. M. Steve, *Fouilles à Qaryet el-'Enab, Abū Gōsh, Palestine* (Paris, 1950), pp. 92-104. For the church of the Invention of the Head of St. John the Baptist see J. W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Bosra and Samaria-Sebaste* (British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem, Supplementary Paper 4; London, 1937), pp. 24-39, frontispiece and plates 16b and 16c, and Hamilton, *Guide to Samaria-Sebaste*, pp. 56-59 and figures 23 and 25. For St. (Mar) Phocas at Amyūn see Enlart, *Monuments des croisés*, II, 35-37, pl. 58, and M. Tallon, "Peintures byzantines au Liban: Inventaire," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, XXXVIII (=Mélanges offerts au père René Mouterde, II; 1962), 290. For the church of St. Abraham just outside the present-day Damascus gate (but just inside the crusader gate) see Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History* (London, 1967), pp. 160 (pl. XIX), 162-163, 195-196, and pl. 78, and J. B. Hennessy, "Preliminary Report on Excavation at the Damascus Gate, Jerusalem," *Levant*, II (1970), 24-27 and plates XXIIa, XXIIb, and XXIIIa. [J. F.]

To this group of extant frescoes some other important ones should be added. There is at Bethphage a large rectangular rock (roughly 49 inches square and 47 inches high), discovered in 1876, with fresco fragments on all five main surfaces. The stele seems to have been established by the crusaders in the 12th century to commemorate the Gospel accounts of Bethphage, especially Matthew 21:1-8, and to mark the spot where Jesus mounted the ass. Two of the scenes depict the events of Matthew 21:6 and 8, and a third shows the raising of Lazarus in Bethany, just down the hill. Though restored in 1950, some of the original 12th-century painting is still to be seen. On the basis of the painted inscriptions it has been suggested that the frescoes date to the second half of the 12th century, which would correspond to the extant pilgrim accounts of John of Würzburg (1165) and Theoderic (1172). See Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, "La Pierre de Bethphagé," *Revue archéologique*, n.s., XXXIV (1877), 366-388; B. Bagatti, "Le Pitture medievali della pietra di Betfage," *Liber annuus*, I (1950-1951), 228-246; and S. de Sandoli, *Corpus inscriptionum*, pp. 185-188. [J. F.]

At Bethlehem, on the north side of Justinian's narthex, the crusaders built a small chapel on the ground level under the northwest tower of the church of the Nativity. Some of the frescoes are extant, including a Deësis group on the east wall, an *etimasia* in the vault immediately above, a group consisting of the Virgin and Child with Joseph and another figure on the eastern intrados of the northern (the present entrance) arm of the chapel, and fragments suggesting that an Ascension once appeared in the main central vault. There are also a number of standing saints including St. John Climachus. These paintings, which have been heavily restored, may possibly date originally from the second half of the twelfth century. See Bagatti, *Gli Antichi edifici sacri de Betlemme*, p. 70, fig. 20, and pp. 74-79, and pl. 59. [J. F.]

In mosaic and wall painting Byzantine influence predominates. Illumination drew its inspiration from more varied sources.¹⁰ Byzantine examples set the standard, but the local Syrian schools practised the art, and in the course of the twelfth century the Jacobites formed a style which was a provincial derivation from Byzantium, but which kept a certain harsh intensity from the older Syrian tradition of the Rabula and Rossano Gospels and incorporated also some Islamic details. Similarly in Islam a school of miniaturists, apparently centering on Aleppo, a town at this time fertile in all the arts, showed marked reflections of Byzantine types.¹¹ In Cilicia, the refugee kingdom of Armenia brought with it a tradition of illumination which in the twelfth century, under the patronage of the great archbishop Nersēs of Lampron, reached high standards of execution, endowing Byzantinism with a fresh inventiveness of brilliantly colored interlaced arabesques in the rectangular headings of the canon tables, feathery, irregular initials, and marginal

In the vicinity of Tripoli there is, besides St. Phocas at Amyūn, the grotto dedicated to St. Marina just above the little village of Qalamūn. Typical of the many Byzantine cave chapels with paintings in Lebanon, which are currently being studied by Erica C. Dodd of the American University of Beirut, this shrine is unusual in having a second set of frescoes painted over the first. Though badly damaged, scenes of the life of St. Marina, a Maronite virgin born in Qalamūn, are still visible with painted Latin inscriptions in 13th-century crusader style superimposed on an earlier St. Demetrius. See Ch. L. Brossé, "Les Peintures de la Grotte de Marina près Tripoli [sic]," *Syria*, VII (1926), 30-45, and Tallon, "Peintures byzantines au Liban," *loc. cit.* [J. F.]

The study of fresco painting has been one of the most neglected areas in the spectrum of crusader art. Heretofore, the puzzling Byzantine style and iconography of most of these works, as well as their fragmentary condition, seemed to frustrate an understanding of their crusader characteristics. Now, however, with the researches of Hugo Buchthal and Kurt Weitzmann on crusader manuscript illumination and icons respectively, the way lies open for a fuller explanation of these monumental paintings, even as physically they grow dimmer on the walls. Indeed, other Byzantinizing frescoes can profitably be discussed in this context, such as the angel with the halo of Christ found in the excavations at Gethsemane, or Joachim with the angel in the monastery of Saints John and George at Choziba. The former, though originally published as 4th-century, has often been suggested to be a 12th-century crusader work; see G. Orfali, *Gethsemani* (Paris, 1924), p. 13 and pl. IX; Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, II, 1007 and pl. LXXXVIII, 2; Enlart, *Monuments des croisés*, II, 468-469; and B. Bagatti, "Tempera dell' antica basilica di Getsemani," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, XV (1938), 153-159. For Choziba see A. M. Schneider, "Das Kloster der Theotokos zu Choziba im Wadi el Kelt," *Römische Quartalschrift*, XXXVIII (1931), 311-312 and pl. VI, fig. 3. [J. F.]

10. On questions of crusading illumination see H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, with liturgical and palaeographical chapters by F. Wormald (Oxford, 1957). I am most grateful to Dr. Buchthal for much advice and information that he kindly gave me before his book had actually appeared. All the manuscripts discussed here are treated there in detail, and the illuminations reproduced in full. There are also for each manuscript exhaustive bibliographies, which are not repeated here.

11. H. Buchthal and O. Kurz, *A Hand List of Illuminated Oriental Manuscripts* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. XII; London, 1942); H. Buchthal, "The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites in its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Art," *Syria*, XX (1939), 136-150, and

sketches.¹² To the south, Coptic manuscripts painted in Damietta about 1180 break away from the normal Coptic styles and show affinities with the Islamic group. The great Coptic Gospel Book in Oxford (Bodley MS. Hunt 17) painted in 1173 has a splendor and dignity of its own.

In this complex, the crusading states, or at least the scriptorium of the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, have their own particular place. A psalter in the British Library (MS. Egerton 1139) had long been recognised as coming from Jerusalem and had been given the name "Queen Melisend's Psalter." The fragment of a sacramentary in the Fitzwilliam Museum and a missal in the Bibliothèque nationale had been recognized as having crusading associations, but it was not till the researches of Dr. Hugo Buchthal, begun after 1945 and carried through with immense industry and detective skill to the publication in 1957 of his definitive work, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, that the full extent and significance of the surviving material became apparent.

The Melisend Psalter was purchased by the British Library in 1845 from the collection of Dr. Comarmond of Lyons, who stated that he had obtained it from the Grande Chartreuse of Grenoble. The Carthusians had no close links with Palestine, and this provenance suggests nothing as to the manuscript's earlier migrations. The calendar, however, contains three entries which place it firmly in the crusading kingdom: the obits of Baldwin II, "rex Ierusalem," and of his wife Morfia, "Ierusalem regina," and the statement on July 15 "eodem die capta est Ierusalem." Baldwin II died in 1131; his Armenian wife Morfia predeceased him. There is no obit for Baldwin's son-in-law and successor, Fulk, who died in 1143, and it has therefore been argued that the book must be placed between these two dates. The Psalter is shown by some of the prayers to have been written for a woman, and Melisend's sister Yvette could be considered a possible alternative owner, but there is no mention in the calendar, prayers, or litany of Lazarus, to whom the abbey over which Yvette presided was dedicated. It is true that in the calendar the commemoration on July 15 is only that of the capture of the city, whereas after 1149 it was usual, as we shall see, to commemorate also the dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulcher, which

¹² "Hellenistic Miniatures" in Early Islamic Manuscripts," *Ars Islamica*, VII (1940), 125-133.

12. There is a considerable literature on Armenian illumination. See, for a general summary, S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire: A Brief Study of Armenian Art and Civilization* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), where a bibliography is given; A. Sakisian, "Thèmes et motifs d'enluminure et de décoration arméniennes et musulmanes," *Ars Islamica*, VI (1939), 66-87; L. A. Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures*, with preface by S. Der Nersessian, tr. I. J. Underwood (London, 1961 [1962]); and L. Azarian, *Cilician Miniature Painting of the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries* [in Armenian] (Erevan, 1964).

took place on the fiftieth anniversary of the taking of Jerusalem. The probabilities therefore point to a date in the second quarter of the twelfth century.

The book begins with twenty-four full-page miniatures (pl. XXXIXa). The predominant colors are blue, vermilion, and magenta against a gold background. The figures are elongated, with long slender necks, the features strongly marked with a tendency to prolong the eyebrows into a continuous line. They are by a hand of considerable distinction and the placing of the scenes within the decorative borders of the frame shows a real sense of the space at the disposal of the artist. The final scene, Christ enthroned, is signed in Latin "Basilius me fecit," the same name as is found on the Bethlehem angel mosaics. Iconographically and stylistically these miniatures are in the Byzantine tradition. The Nativity approximates to the formula already noted in the mosaic of the crypt at Bethlehem; in the Presentation, where Simeon, not the Virgin, holds the Child, Anna carries a scroll inscribed in Greek; the Baptism has a small river god and Christ largely submerged in conventionally stylized water; the Temptation seems to suggest the Haram with its edicules; the Crucifixion shows the Virgin and John on one side, Longinus and the sponge-bearer on the other; with the angel at the tomb (pl. XXXIXb) there are three women (reflecting western influence); the Incredulity of St. Thomas has a setting and grouping very similar to that of the Bethlehem mosaic, and there is the same correspondence between the Psalter scenes of the Transfiguration and Ascension and the mosaic fragments; in the Pentecost scene, below the apostles in the open doorway, Chosmos is depicted as a crowned and robed figure surrounded by five others more scantily clad, a variant of the formula for the peoples of the world to whom the gift of tongues will make the Gospel accessible.

The whole doctrinal significance of the series of scenes from the life of Christ is thus stated in the fully developed system worked out in earlier Byzantine books. Parallels are to be found in some Syrian manuscripts, where the "Melisend" scenes, or some of them, are very closely followed.¹³ In a Syriac lectionary in the Bibliothéque

13. H. Omont, "Peintures d'un évangélaire syriaque du XII^e au XIII^e siècle," *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et mémoires*, XIX (1911), 201-210 (unfortunately the plates give little idea of the merits of the original); William H. Paine Hatch, *Greek and Syrian Miniatures in Jerusalem* (Mediaeval Academy of America, Publications, no. 6; Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. 122-129 and plates LXV-LXXI; J. Reil, "Der Bildschmuck des Evangeliars von 1221 im syrischen Kloster zu Jerusalem," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XXXIV (1911), 138-146; J. Leroy, "Le Manuscrit syriaque 356 de la Bibliothéque

nationale (Syriac 355), in which only eight of the twenty-four narrative illustrations listed at the beginning survive, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Washing of the Feet, and the Ascension follow the Melisend type. The faces are strongly characterized, and the apostles in the Washing of the Feet have an individuality bordering on caricature. Much damaged, in places mutilated, these paintings remain evidence of a very individual artistic personality, known to us by name, as the manuscript is inscribed as painted by Joseph of Malatia (Melitene), and made under bishop Mar Joannes, who can be dated to 1193-1220. In another manuscript, Codex 28 of the Syrian convent of St. Mark in Jerusalem, dated 1222 and written by a scribe named Bacchus in the convent of the Mother of God at Edessa, there are parallelisms in the eight scenes represented (though there are two Marys, not three, at the empty tomb, and in the Pentecost the Chosmos group is replaced by a closed door) and the type of borders in which they are framed. It is to be noted that Morfia came from Melitene, as did Ignatius, the Jacobite patriarch in Jerusalem protected by Melisend, and that Baldwin II had been count of Edessa. These Syriac works are both later than the Jerusalem Psalter, but they show the close interconnection between the art of the western foundations and that of the local churches. After the fall of Edessa Melisend settled some of the Syrian Christian refugees in Jerusalem, continuing a policy begun by Baldwin I. The development of crusading ecclesiastical art must be seen against this background of the dominant Catholic church presiding over a community of Armenian and Syrian Christians, whose art was based on Byzantine models but who handled their examples with the freedom of their own ancient traditions.¹⁴

The full-page miniatures do not exhaust the interest of the Melisend Psalter. The eight initials of the Psalms (pl. XXXIXc) present some admirable examples of decorative work in an unusual technique of black on gold, a practice more common in Arab than in western art. Some of the designs however are curiously western, interlacing foliage among which centaurs hunt wild beasts, in the manner of the right-hand lintel of the Holy Sepulcher; others, such as one

nationale: Sa Date et son lieu de composition," *Syria*, XXIV (1944-1945), 194-205; and W. H. Paine Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Monumenta palaeographica vetera, ser. 2; Boston, 1946), pp. 132-144.

14. For the population of Jerusalem see J. Praver, "The Settlement of the Latins in Jerusalem," *Speculum*, XXVII (1952), 490-503. An account of the Edessa refugees is written as a colophon in a lectionary still in use in the Syrian convent of St. Mark in Jerusalem; a translation is published by P. Gabriel, "A Voice from Crusading Jerusalem," *Lines of Communication*, V, no. 1 (Jerusalem, 1929), 12-16.

where a winged griffon is set in interlocked squares, recall more eastern types, though the east in forms common to Romanesque art. The prayers for the various offices are accompanied by small half-page figures of saints, Byzantine in type, but with their names and scrolls inscribed in Latin (pl. XXXIXd). The green band along the foot of the paintings, which in the larger ones is used as standing ground, is here decorated with a formal pattern. The Psalter throughout is written in a very fine minuscule, which is certainly the product of a skilled western hand.

The most puzzling and curious feature of all is the calendar. Its very full list of saints, with no day left vacant, shows no particular emphasis on names associated with Jerusalem. Apart from the apostles and major feasts, St. Martin of Tours alone is given gold lettering. But the most marked characteristics are English, so marked that there must have been some English prototype for it or strong English influences on its compilation. Some explanation is needed for the inclusion of saints such as Eormenilda of Ely, Chad, Winwaloc, Cuthman, Erkenwald, Botolph, Augustine of Canterbury, Alphege, Alban, Etheldreda, Hedda, Cuthbert (with the translation on September 4 of St. Cuthbert and St. Birinus), Aidan, Willibrod, Wilfred, and the three martyr kings, Oswald, Edmund, and Edward. Strangest of all is the entry on July 18 of the translation of St. Edburga, a local Winchester feast. It is tempting to find the reason in the dominating position held at the court of Jerusalem by Ralph the Englishman, the chancellor and favorite of Melisend and Baldwin III, who later as bishop of Bethlehem employed a Basilius, the same name as is signed on a page of the Psalter, to design the mosaics in the church of the Nativity. The English names do not, however, reappear in the litany, which liturgically is quite unrelated to the calendar. Whatever the solution, the Psalter remains a great achievement, wonderfully preserved in its original carved ivory covers; its pages, which were perused by some great lady in Jerusalem at the height of its prosperity, are examples of the many-sided culture so rapidly evolved in the crusading states.

The "Melisend" calendar is all the more striking because the chief scriptorium of Jerusalem, probably that of the church of the Holy Sepulcher, used a special calendar, including the feasts of St. Augustine (appropriate to a community of Augustinian canons), a group of bishops of Jerusalem, and several local feasts such as that of St. Cleophas, disciple of the Lord; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, patriarchs; and St. Lazarus "whom the Lord raised." This calendar is known to us in several examples: a sacramentary, part of which is in the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome (D.7.3), part in the Fitzwilliam

Museum, Cambridge (McClellan 49); a missal in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (MS. Lat. 12056); a psalter in Florence (Riccardiana 323); and a sacramentary in the British Library (Egerton 2902). Of these the first two on July 15 commemorate only the capture of the city, the second two add the dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulcher. All four use a minuscule script and small decorative initials which are related to the hand of the Melisend Psalter, though in the Egerton sacramentary the script is degenerating into a larger, looser form. The Angelica-Fitzwilliam sacramentary and the Paris missal have very similar illuminations, a fine half-page of Christ between angels, and an elaborate P with a winged angel and knots of interlaces (pl. XLa). The Paris missal also has some historiated initials (pl. XLb; see also pl. XLlc) and is the finer, more developed work. The interlocked squares found in the Melisend Psalter appear in one of the initials. In the Angelica calendar there is an obit, "Warmundus patriarcha"; this is Gormond, who died in 1128, and it is therefore natural to assume that the sacramentary was completed fairly soon after that date. The only other obit is that of "Azo" on February 19, possibly the canon of the Holy Sepulcher of that name who witnessed a charter of the Sepulcher in 1129.

The Riccardiana psalter is a more elaborate work. It contains a sequence of illustrations which, with some omissions, is similar to that of the Melisend Psalter but treated as small rectangular panels in the text, with the exception of the opening Beatus initial, which occupies a full page: David is transferred to the bar of the letter, and the two loops are filled with the Annunciation and the Nativity, the latter based on the normal Byzantine iconography. Above and below David in the bar stand Isaiah and Habakkuk, whose scrolls contain Latin texts, which are translated from the Septuagint, not taken from the Vulgate (pl. XLIa). Byzantine influences are therefore not lacking, but the treatment of the draperies and the rich coloring of dark blues, greens, and purples have a parallel in the splendid Virgin and Child in the missal from Messina now in the national library in Madrid (Cod. 52) and probably executed for archbishop Richard Palmer (1182-1195).¹⁵ The psalter opens with a table of solar cycles

15. H. Buchthal, "A School of Miniature Painting in Norman Sicily," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzman, with S. Der Nersessian (Princeton, 1955), pp. 312-339; A. Daneu-Lattanzi, *Lineamenti di storia della miniatura in Sicilia* (Storia della miniatura: studi e documenti, 2; Florence, 1966). Dr. H. Bober, in an important review of Buchthal (*The Art Bulletin*, XLIII [1961], 65-68), suggests that the Riccardiana psalter may have been Sicilian in origin, copying a Palestinian calendar and litany, but it seems more likely that it was illustrated in Palestine by an artist familiar with Sicilian work. The Palestinian evidence is much stronger than the Sicilian stylistic affinities.

of twenty-eight years beginning in 1100 and ending in 1212; this suggests strongly that the book was written in the fifth cycle, that is between 1212 and 1240, a date borne out by a table for the computation of Easter which begins with 1230. This would place it in the period of Frederick II's reoccupation of Jerusalem, and Dr. Buchthal has suggested, on the grounds of various English associations in the calendar, that it was produced as a wedding gift in 1235 for Frederick's third wife, Isabel of England. The prayers seem designed for a Benedictine convent of nuns, with special devotion to St. Anne, which fits less well with Jerusalem, where the convent of St. Anne was at this time in Moslem hands, but which could be explained as copied from some earlier psalter. There is also a special prayer "pro comite," who could well be count John of Brienne, ex-king of Jerusalem, who died in 1237.

The British Library sacramentary (Egerton 2902) is a less ambitious book. Its one full-page scene, the Crucifixion, with the body of Christ curved outwards from the cross, is clearly in a later style than that of the Melisend Psalter and is somewhat flat in treatment. Its initials are debased versions of those of the earlier manuscripts. Its calendar, containing the usual Jerusalem festivals, has also the feast of St. Thomas à Becket, so it is later than 1172. It can, however, be more precisely dated by comparison with another British Library manuscript, a pontifical written, as is established by a colophon, for a bishop of Valania after 1214.¹⁶ Valania was by then combined with Apamea, which was in the hands of the

The field of Sicilian manuscript illumination in the period of the crusades, also pioneered by Hugo Buchthal and now furthered by Signora Lattanzi, is still controversial and needs more study. While many scholars now accept the Riccardiana psalter as crusader, the important bible in San Daniele del Friuli with its strongly Byzantine-influenced decoration is thought by Buchthal to be Sicilian, though others have attributed it to Jerusalem. See S. Bettini, "La Bibbia 'bizantina' della Guarneriana di San Daniele . . .," in *La Miniatura in Friuli*, ed. and with catalogue entries by G. C. Menis and G. Bergamini (Udine, 1972), pp. 179-185 and entry no. 6, p. 60. [J. F.]

The lack of consensus in the study of 12th- and 13th-century manuscripts exhibiting a blend of western and Byzantine styles and iconography is not unique to the field of Sicilian miniature painting, although at the moment this certainly presents the most difficult problems. Venetian illumination in this period, also characterized by strong Byzantine influence, has led some to attribute crusader manuscripts there. In particular, the Perugia missal (capitular library MS. 6; see below) has lately been argued to be purely Venetian in style as opposed to Buchthal's characteristic crusader formal melange at Acre; see A. Caleca, *Miniatura in Umbria*; I. *La Biblioteca di Perugia* (Raccolta pisani di saggi e studi, 27; Florence, 1969), pp. 11, 79-82, 169-171, and 301-303. This attempt must however be rejected in favor of the crusader attribution. The Perugia missal remains one of the most important examples of the rich blending of French and Venetian traditions among extant Acre codices. [J. F.]

16. F. Wormald, "The Pontifical of Apamea," *Het Nederlands kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*,

“infidel,” and there are several references to Apamea in the prayers. Script and initials connect this book closely with the Egerton sacramentary, and it is clearly under the influence of the earlier Jerusalem scriptorium. As the Egerton manuscript contains prayers for the defense, not the recapture, of Jerusalem it should probably be assigned to a date after 1229.

Such are the known illuminated manuscripts which can be associated by their calendars, prayers, or close approximation of style with the crusading scriptorium of Jerusalem. There is, however, a further problem in various manuscripts of Latin psalters or gospels, where the illustration, in contrast with the language, is definitely Byzantine in character. Several examples of this combination date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and it seems reasonable to connect them with the Latin occupation of the Levant. An early example is a Gospel of St. John (Paris, B.N., Latin 9396) with a frontispiece of a seated evangelist, and one elaborate initial I which in its decorative detail recalls that of the earlier crusading work. The evangelist portrait, in a border similar to those found in the “Melisend” work, is a conventional Byzantine piece, but a tendency to circular treatment of the drapery suggests that it might be a copy by a western hand. The Latin Gospels (Paris, B.N., Latin 276) is a much finer work: its seated evangelists in horizontal half-page frames are Byzantine paintings of considerable quality. Among its decorated initials is one where a head is framed in a letter Q of which the tail is formed by a peacock; this frame also is found in one of the Jerusalem group (Paris, B.N., Latin 12056), and the treatment of the head suggests a relationship between the two works, though one found only in the single instance of this Q initial. The Byzantine work is close in style to that of a Latin Gospels in the Vatican (Lat. 5974) which must come from the same scriptorium.

With the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and the recapture of Acre in 1191, the latter city became in the following century the hub of crusading activities and the main ecclesiastical center. A missal in the capitular library at Perugia (MS. 6; see pl. XL1b) has in its calendar on July 12 the entry “Dedicatio ecclesie Acconensis.” It was on July 12, 1191, that the city surrendered to Richard Coeur-de-Lion and Philip Augustus, and the date therefore commemorates this event; the “ecclesia” must be the cathedral of Acre, Holy Cross, somewhat

V (1954), 271-275. By the close of the century the archbishopric of Apamea was in Moslem hands, and the Latin archbishop resided mainly at Latakia. See J. Richard, “Note sur l’archdiocèse d’Apamée et les conquêtes de Raymond de Saint-Gilles en Syrie du nord,” *Syria*, XXV (1946-1948), 103-108.

ironically named as the True Cross had not been regained, owing to Richard's massacre of his prisoners. The one full-page illustration is a Crucifixion, Byzantine or Venetian-Byzantine in type but with some occidental features, in particular the use of three nails instead of four, a practice that is found in Germany, France, and England in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. On a half-page is a T (for *Te igitur*), which resembles those of the Paris missal and Fitzwilliam sacramentary, but in much more naturalistic terms, and by the same hand as the Crucifixion. The four historiated initials are less accomplished work, and could easily be by a western painter, but some of the details, in particular the treatment of the faces with heavily accentuated eyes, copy the mannerisms of the Crucifixion and *Te igitur* master.

With the Perugia missal we come to the end, with one exception, of documentary evidence in the form of calendars, prayers, or colophons. The remaining manuscripts to be considered have stylistic reasons only for assignment to the crusading kingdom. Dr. Buchthal's arguments are very persuasive, but it must be borne in mind that they are hypotheses, unsupported by any contemporary references. The Perugian rounded heads and facial types are found again in two manuscripts that have a similar conflation of Byzantine and western characteristics, a volume in the capitular library at Padua (MS. 12) containing the psalms, Daniel, the minor prophets, and the Maccabees, and the great manuscript of a selection of books from the Old Testament known as the Arsenal Bible (Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS. 5211). The Paduan manuscript has a series of historiated initials, the work of a single master, and stylistically close to the Perugian missal. Iconographically it follows French examples and would be conveniently placed in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Though French in inspiration, some of the initials show familiarity with Byzantine types and techniques. The round heads and prominent eyes of the Perugia missal are everywhere in evidence.

They recur as markedly in a far finer book, the Arsenal Bible (pl. XLII). The text is an abbreviated version in Old French of twenty books of the Old Testament made in the first half of the thirteenth century and soon abandoned in favor of the complete translation made for Louis IX. Each book has a frontispiece, generally full-page, and, with three exceptions, containing several scenes in ornamental settings, recalling the patterns found in the *Bible moralisée* and in some English psalters. The artist had, however, some close knowledge of the east. Balaam and Job's comforters wear correctly wound turbans, and Job's camels are realistically observed, not the strange monsters that often figure in western renderings. There are, too, heraldic

details of some significance. The Maccabees carry on their shields an eagle spread, a lion rampant, and three crescents; the lion and the crescents reappear in the arms of Joshua. Similar arms (lion and eagle) appear in an illustrated manuscript of Villehardouin's *La Conquête de Constantinople*, which is now in the Bodleian Library (MS. Laud Misc. 587). It seems clear that these emblems were associated with the thirteenth-century crusading movements. Heraldry was not as yet an exact science: the lion was used by Baldwin of Flanders and also by the Lusignans; the three crescents appear on the seal of Odo of Ham, another of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade. Three pages of the Arsenal Bible have, instead of several scenes, single illustrations, showing Solomon inspired by wisdom and dictating. These have various Byzantine prototypes, and here the derived image rivals its forerunners. The artist must have seen fine Byzantine works, and have been in touch with contemporary Byzantine artistic movements. The stylistic kinship with the Perugian and Paduan manuscripts makes Acre a likely place of origin, and its accomplishment suggests as a likely period the crusade of Louis IX.

The same stylistic features are found in three secular manuscripts, all of them containing the *Histoire universelle*, a medley of stories from the Old Testament and from Assyrian, Greek, and Roman legends and history, compiled in the first half of the thirteenth century. The earliest known manuscript is in Dijon (MS. 562), and has a set of small illustrations, of no great distinction, but of great interest as an early experiment in illustrating classical scenes. Though some French prototype may lie behind them, these scenes, particularly those from the Old Testament, are undoubtedly influenced by Byzantine examples. The Acre type of head is, perhaps, less strongly marked here, but it once more is very apparent in the second copy of the *Histoire* (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS. 10175; see pl. XLIIIa), which follows the same cycle of illustration and must be based on the Dijon manuscript. Here, too, we once more have some documentary evidence. The Brussels manuscript has a signature, "cest livre escrist Bernart dacre" (Bernard of Acre wrote this book), and some entries showing that in the fifteenth century it belonged to the Lusignan family in Cyprus. It is thirteenth-century work, presumably written in Acre, and must at some time, before or at the loss of the city, have been brought with other rescued treasures to Cyprus.

The Brussels manuscript is artistically no great matter. Far otherwise is it with the splendid *Histoire* that is now in the British Library (MS. Add. 15268). It is a folio volume; the illustrations extend over half a page, and, while following the Dijon-Brussels

cycle, reinterpret the scenes with vigor, skill, and imagination. The full-page frontispiece, scenes of the Creation set in roundels (pl. XLIV; see also pl. XLIIIb), has on its borders hunting scenes and a group of Arab musicians playing their instruments that recall similar representations in some twelfth-century Arabic manuscripts of the Baghdad school, associated with Mosul under Badr-ad-Din Lu'lu', a period when figure representation was much used in metal work and other media.¹⁷ Byzantine influences in drapery and mountain settings are also evident. As in the Arsenal Bible, the Acre type of head is markedly present. Certainly these two noble works have much in common, and each must have been made for some patron of high standing. In the *Histoire* prominence is given to the battles of the Amazons, and it is tempting to associate this book with the great festivities in Acre for the coronation of Henry II in 1286, when the knights dressed as women and reënacted the battle of "the Queen of Feminie" among other scenes from the tale of Troy.¹⁸

Equally vigorous handling of similar themes is found in a volume of the translation of William of Tyre (Paris, B.N., fr. 9084), where the first five illustrations seem to come from the Acre workshop. The battling knights in the capture of Antioch are well worthy of their distinguished predecessors. The manuscript was completed by western artists, and may have been taken to France on the fall of Acre. Two other manuscripts of the translation (Paris, B.N., fr. 2628 and Lyons MS. 828) suggest an Acre provenance by their similarities respectively with the Dijon and Brussels *Histoires*. They are undistinguished works, but of much historical interest. The kings of Jerusalem can be seen kneeling before the patriarch at their coronation, a ritual quite different from that of France; queen Melisend in a wide, shady hat rides side-saddle out hunting with king Fulk, while a black dog, the same as the one that accompanies the hunters in the Dijon scene of Oedipus, pursues the fatal hare that tripped up Fulk's horse; the nobles play at chess; mourning women tear their hair and beat their breasts at the death of kings; the Augustinian canons attend the ceremonies in long, wide-sleeved surplices. In the Paris manuscript, which breaks off in 1265, the script changes in the concluding passages, and the last initial,

17. D. S. Rice, "The Aghānī Miniatures and Religious Painting in Islam," *Burlington Magazine*, XCV (1953), 128-136; T. W. Arnold, in *The Legacy of Islam*, ed. T. W. Arnold and A. Guillaume (Oxford, 1931), p. 118. A splendid example of a Mosul engraved bowl in the Louvre has the traditional name of "Baptistère de Saint Louis"; see G. Migeon, *Les Arts musulmans* (Bibliothèque de l'histoire de l'art; Paris, 1926), pl. XLIX. For the Baghdad School see H. Buchthal, "Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, V (1942), 19 ff.

18. See G. F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, II (Cambridge, 1948), 181.

Louis IX attacking Damietta, is by a more advanced artist, a bridge with the contemporary western styles.

Another manuscript of William's history (Vatican MS. Pal. Lat. 1963), the only extant copy from the Levant of the French translation without any continuations, has a particular interest in that its illustrations show a special knowledge of events in Antioch. The painter, a western artist familiar with some eastern models, has less skill than the best practitioners of the Acre school, and there is a more provincial touch about his work, but all probably points to the volume being the product of some Antiochene scriptorium, and a rare instance of the arts in that city, whose famed splendor has left so little trace.¹⁹

In addition to wall paintings, mosaics, and illuminations, there were also paintings on panels. In 1958 and 1960 a joint expedition of the universities of Michigan, Princeton, and Alexandria photographed the vast collection of icons, more than two thousand, that has been preserved in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, a sacred spot protected by Arabs and Turks alike, and relatively inaccessible to the collecting activities of more recent times. The results are now being published, and Professor Weitzmann has described a group of icons which he claims convincingly as products of the crusading school (pls. XLV-XLVII).²⁰ The earliest of these panels shows a Christ enthroned, with the drapery forming large oval folds, with little relation to the limbs beneath, a typical Romanesque convention: the fingers of the right hand give the western blessing, with both the third and fourth fingers bent towards the thumb. The initials of Christ are given in Greek, but the open book bears no inscrip-

19. J. Folda, "A Crusader Manuscript from Antioch," *Rendiconti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, ser. 3, XLII (1969-1970), 283-298. Professor Folda's forthcoming book, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at St. Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291*, which he has kindly allowed me to read in typescript, contains much additional information about the illustration of William of Tyre's history. [It was published at Princeton in 1976.]

20. K. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," *The Art Bulletin*, XLV (1963), 179-203, and "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XX (1966), 49-83. On earlier contacts between Sinai and the west see E. A. Lowe, "An Unknown Latin Psalter on Mount Sinai," *Scriptorium*, IX (1955), 177-199, and "Two Other Unknown Latin Liturgical Fragments on Mount Sinai," *Scriptorium*, XIX (1965), 3-29. Additional studies on the Sinai icons include three more by Weitzmann, "An Encaustic Icon with the Prophet Elijah at Mount Sinai," *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michałowski* (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 713-723, "Four Icons on Mount Sinai: New Aspects in Crusader Art," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, XXI (1972), 279-293, and "Three Painted Crosses at Sinai," *Kunsthistorische Forschungen: Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (Salzburg, 1972), pp. 23-35. In contrast to the hundreds of crusader icons at St. Catherine's, there are only a few related miniatures; see Weitzmann, *Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai* (Collegeville, Minn., 1973), pp. 24-27. [J. F.]

tion, possibly, Weitzmann suggests, because the artist was unfamiliar with the Greek inscription of some Byzantine model. There is no close parallel to this work in other crusading products; the Bethlehem paintings are too damaged for any secure comparison, but it is not out of keeping with the figure sculpture on the lintel of the Holy Sepulcher. Another icon has a double row of standing saints, using the western blessing, and strongly reminiscent of the Bethlehem figures in the patterning of their garments. The central position in the top row is assigned to St. James the Greater, from whom the Jerusalem patriarchate claimed its succession, and among the others are two western saints, St. Martin of Tours, who figures prominently in the Melisend calendar, and St. Leonard, who is represented at Bethlehem. Other of the Bethlehem saints also occur in these crusader icons: St. Sabas, St. Humphrey, and St. Marina, who had a chapel in the church at Sinai.

Other icons are related to the Acre school. Here once more the Perugian missal is the key piece. In its full-page illumination of the Crucifixion, both Mary and John have curiously individual gestures, she pressing her thumb against her lip, he his little finger against the side of his nose. These gestures recur in a group of icons, in some of which the lettering is in Latin. Not all by the same hand, they all follow a close iconographical pattern. Stylistically they suggest an Italian origin, and while Byzantine elements are not lacking, the feet of Christ are fixed with one nail in the northern fashion. Even more striking are the facial resemblances in some of the icons. In the scene of Christ and the doctors, where the whole treatment in its feeling for family sentiment is entirely western, the face of Christ follows the same morphological pattern as that of the reading boy in the page from the Arsenal Bible of wisdom inspiring Solomon. In a painting where Venetian influence seems evident, the artist has shown two of the Magi as clearly marked racial types; one is undoubtedly a Mongol, the other, with a black pointed beard, seems to be a Frank. Weitzmann has intriguingly suggested that this work may date from the Christian hopes of Mongol assistance in the mid-thirteenth century.²¹

There are still many gaps in the argument. Sinai and in particular the saint, Catherine, whose relics were its greatest treasure, enjoyed much medieval repute. Early in the eleventh century the abbey of Holy Trinity at Rouen claimed to possess some fragments of the saint brought by a visiting monk. Some pilgrims penetrated to the monastery in the crusading period, and it was vaguely considered to

21. See volume III of this work, chapter XV.

be "in the land of the lord of Kerak."²² But it was a perilous business. Thietmar, whose place of origin is uncertain, has left a vivid account of his journey in 1217 to the mountain, "desiring with the greatest desire to see the body of St. Catherine, sweating with sacred oil." "Many are the perils of these desert places, frequented by lions, of whom I saw many recent traces, and harmful reptiles and serpents. When it rains, the water collected on the mountains fills the desert with such a flood that none can avoid the danger of it. The heat, also, with its excess destroys the travelers, water is scarce, Arabs and beduins lay ambushes. In summer no one can cross this desert. There are few birds in it."²³ It is clear that the journey had indeed many dangers and was not often undertaken. It seems in fact to have been more often accomplished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, after the final loss of the crusading states. How and when the crusading icons were brought there remains unknown.

Meanwhile in Cilician Armenia the art of illumination, with a long tradition behind it, still prospered. Byzantine influences were strongly felt, but in this highly eclectic art western motifs were also absorbed, and in the arts, as in their territorial position, the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia was a link between Constantinople and the crusading states. In few places were costly manuscripts more prized. The colophons, which are frequent, carry injunctions such as "In times of wars and invasions carry the books to the cities and bury them." Դորոս Roslin, working at Hromgla under the patronage of the catholicus Constantine I (1221-?1288), was a man of great talent, whose figures have a genuine solidity of form and expressiveness of feature, while his decorative panels have to the full the Armenian brilliance of invention and subtlety of coloring.²⁴ In the colophon that he wrote to a fine Gospels dedicated to Heṭoum II, now in the library of St. James, Jerusalem, he states that it was completed in 1268, "at this time great Antioch was captured by the wicked king of Egypt, and many were killed and became his prisoners, and a cause of anguish to the holy and famous temples, houses of God, which are in it; the wonderful elegance of the beauty of those which were destroyed by fire is beyond the power of words."²⁵

22. *Chronique d'Ernouf*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Société de l'histoire de France; Paris, 1871), p. 68.

23. J. C. M. Laurent, ed., *Mag. Thietmari peregrinatio* (Hamburg, 1857), pp. 20, 37-51.

24. Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures*, pp. 112-138. See also *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts, A. Chester Beatty Library*, with an introduction by S. Der Nersessian (2 vols., Dublin, 1958), I, xxiv-xxix; S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés de la Bibliothèque des Pères Mekhitharistes de Venise* (Paris, 1936-1937), pp. 50-86.

25. *Catalogue of Twenty-Three Important Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, Sotheby & Co. (14 March 1967). The manuscripts were withdrawn before the sale.

The Moslem conquerors of 1187 were amazed at the splendor and luxury that they found in Jerusalem; "the infidel," wrote Ibn-Khallikān,²⁶ "had rebuilt it with columns and plaques of marble . . . with fair fountains where the water never ceased to flow—one saw dwellings as agreeable as gardens and brilliant with the whiteness of marble; the columns with their foliage seemed like trees." But what impressed him above all else was the iron work, which "took every form as though the rebel metal had become as malleable as gold." When the Moslems tore up the marble pavement with which the crusaders had faced the Rock, pulled down the golden cross from the pinnacle of the dome, and destroyed the figured mosaics and paintings, they left the great iron grille, made in eight parts, which stood in its original place until the restorations of the 1960's. It is one of the greatest surviving pieces of medieval metal work. Over a network of spirals linked by rings and forming varying patterns is a crown of fleurs-de-lys on the central spike of each of which candles could be fixed; when the whole screen was thus illuminated, with the light flickering on the mosaics of the dome and reflected from the marble floor, the scene must have been a very splendid one. In France, at Conques, St. Aventin (Haute Garonne), and Coustouges (Pyrénées Orientales) there are grilles, ending in candle points as in the Temple; the treasury of Henry III in Winchester cathedral has a fine piece of linked iron work, which must be of approximately the same date; but nowhere is the work more expert or better designed.²⁷ Little is certainly known of the glazing of windows in crusading churches; some fragments of glass have been found in the chapel of the castle of Montfort, and there is in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem a window panel reconstructed from glass found at Château Pèlerin.

Of works in ivory, a medium in which Byzantine workers were so expert, only one survives whose crusading provenance is at all certain, the splendid book cover of the Melisend Psalter. On one side in six circles connected by interlaces is told the life of David: in the spaces between is a psychomachia, following a traditional western iconography; on the opposite side, carved by a somewhat heavier hand but similarly arranged, are the works of mercy, with fighting beasts and birds in between. At the top of the panel is a falcon, labeled Herodius, its common bestiary title. It has been argued that the bird (also known as fulica) is a rebus for Fulk, but while such a puzzle would have been in twelfth-century taste, this can only be

26. Ibn-Khallikān (quoting from Saladin's official account of the taking of Jerusalem) in *RHC, Or.*, III, 421. For the minor arts in general see Enlart, *Monuments*, I, 172-202.

27. For a fragment of crusader ironwork in the mausoleum of Kalavun at Cairo see K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II (Oxford, 1959), 191.

regarded as an ingenious hypothesis. The carving was certainly done under western influence and, particularly on the David plaque, is of high quality.²⁸

An interesting group of objects was found in excavations at Bethlehem in 1869. They include some Limoges work, two silver candlesticks (pl. XLIX) and two brass bowls engraved with scenes from the life of St. Thomas.²⁹ All these are now preserved in the Franciscan museum of the Flagellation in Jerusalem. The two bowls, which can be closely paralleled by one in the Louvre and one in the British Museum dealing with the same subject, are twelfth-century work; the other pieces are thirteenth-century. They may very probably have been brought or sent to Bethlehem by Godfrey de' Prefetti, bishop from 1244 to 1253, who attempted to restore the equipment and amenities of the church after the disastrous rule of his predecessor, John Romano. Both candlesticks are inscribed "Maledicatur qui me aufert de loco Sce. Nativitatis Bethleem." A further find at Bethlehem in 1906 was of an even more curious nature: thirteen small bells arranged as a peal, and one larger bell with an elaborate dragon mount; the bells are probably thirteenth-century. With them were found some organ pipes, so they had all probably been buried when Mehmed II after 1452 enforced the prohibition against Christian use of bells.

The treasury of the Armenian church of St. James has the head of a pastoral staff in Limoges work; the treasury of the Greek patriarch, a crystal reliquary, possibly of local work, containing a relic of the English saint, Oswald.³⁰ There was a street of goldsmiths in Jerusalem, and Arab jewelers worked at their traditional craft for Christian overlords. The list of the treasure and vestments of the cathedral church of St. Peter at Antioch, drawn up in 1209, contained forty-six items.³¹ The treasures with which the patriarch Heraclius escaped from Jerusalem must have been even costlier and more numerous.

28. Ch. Cahier and A. Martin, *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature sur le moyen âge*; I. Ivoires, miniatures, émaux (Paris, 1874), pp. 1-14; O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum* (London, 1909), pp. 22-26; A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, II (Berlin, 1934), 79; and Fr. Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1966), no. 90.

29. O. M. Dalton, "On Two Medieval Bronze Bowls in the British Museum," *Archaeologia*, LXXII (1922), 133-160; Enlart, *Monuments des croisés*, I, 181-196; and S. de Sandoli, *Corpus inscriptionum*, pp. 227-232.

30. Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, II, 667.

31. E. G. Rey, *Les Colonies franques de Syrie au XII^{me} et XIII^{me} siècles* (Paris and Geneva, 1883), pp. 228-234. For Syrian crusader glass see D. B. Harden, Hugh Tait, et al., *Masterpieces of Glass* (Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1968), no. 205, pp. 151-152 [J. F.].