

VII

PAINTING AND SCULPTURE IN THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM 1099—1291

The recent growth of the available corpus of crusader art has stimulated renewed interest in the field. In view of the new material, mostly painting, and fresh studies, it is worth considering where we now stand. The nature of crusader art (and architecture) is clearly much more complex than was originally understood. The old theory of a colonial transfer of artists who worked in their native style, a thesis originally formulated from a study of the architecture and carried over to the sculpture, can no longer serve. No doubt this phenomenon existed in crusader art, but the totality of painting and sculpture known today demonstrates that it is only one aspect of a remarkably diverse artistic development under the patronage of western European and Levant-born crusaders.

Given the illustrated manuscripts, icons, frescoes, and mosaics that survive from the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, it is possible to identify two major phases in the first two hundred years of crusader art. The first dates from the conquest of Jerusalem on July 15, 1099, to its

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surrender on October 2, 1187, following the catastrophe at Hattin. The second encompasses the hundred years from July 12, 1191, to May 18, 1291, during which Acre was the *de facto* capital of the kingdom. In this century there was only limited access to the holy city, negotiated by Frederick II, from February 18, 1229, until August 23, 1244, when Jerusalem was overrun by the Khorezmian Turks.

The best-known monument from the earlier period, though certainly not the earliest work of painting, is "Queen Melisend's Psalter," to be dated probably between 1131 and 1143.¹ Several artists executed the miniatures of this codex and their work gives us a broad introduction to crusader painting in the first half of the twelfth century. Basilius, the artist of the twenty-four full-page introductory miniatures, paints in a strongly Byzantine tradition, visible especially in the Crucifixion (pl. XXXIXa). The austere style with its slender, attenuated forms, the specific iconography of the dead Christ with four nails, and the number and arrangement of the figures who surround him show that Byzantine models have been followed quite closely. Nonetheless, Basilius was surely a westerner who had carefully studied Byzantine art. On occasion his Latin background emerges, as in the miniature of the women at the sepulcher (pl. XXXIXb). Byzantine practice was to depict the scene with two women, based on St. Matthew's gospel, while the three Marys are drawn from St. Mark's narrative, which was the standard tradition in western Europe. Otherwise, with the exception of the handling of the gold ground as a neutral foil, the scene is done in the Byzantine manner; these telling details alone seem to reveal something of Basilius's native tradition.

A second artist, who did the eight initials for the Psalter, was Basilius's equal in ability but painted in a more sumptuous and exotic decorative technique. The overall effect of oriental splendor in the *Beatus* "B", derived from painting in black directly on a burnished gold ground, is blended with a western pictorial vocabulary such as the interlace, the mask head, the clambering figures in the vines, and David with his harp (pl. XXXIXc). These elements demonstrate a good knowledge of English art on the part of this painter, but the "Islamic" technique is most closely comparable to several manuscripts of the Monte Cassino school about 1100. It is thus likely that this artist was a south Italian transmitting northern European ideas

1. "Queen Melisend's Psalter," London, British Library, MS. Egerton 1139; see above, pp. 126-129.

from sources he had studied at the famous and venerable Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino.

A third artist, far less accomplished than either of the other two, executed a series of nine portraits to illustrate the prayers after the Psalter. He follows Byzantine models closely as with the Virgin and Child enthroned (pl. XXXIXd), an image based on the Virgin *Nikopoia* type. But his style is more linear and decorative than that of Basilius and his figures more wooden and doll-like. Lacking the knowledgeable ease of working from Byzantine sources demonstrated by the well-trained Basilius, this painter copies carefully but never succeeds in overcoming his strong roots in western Romanesque painting.

Melisend's codex epitomizes the melange of cultures which made up crusader Jerusalem and manifested themselves in the paintings found in products of the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher. The strength of the Byzantine influence is particularly notable, showing that aristocratic patronage at court sought to rival that at Constantinople even while the variety of western artistic backgrounds evident in the paintings points to the peculiarly crusader nature of the work.

Ecclesiastical commissions of the same period show similar characteristics. In a sacramentary, partially preserved now in Cambridge at the Fitzwilliam Museum, and a missal now in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, the illustrations for the preface to the canon of the liturgy show closely related compositions (pls. XLa and b respectively).² Their similarities derive from use of a common model, because in style their artists are clearly different, the Cambridge manuscript painter being related to the Paris codex painter in a manner somewhat parallel to Basilius and the painter of the saints' portraits in the Psalter. That is, the Cambridge artist is the more assured in working with Byzantine prototypes as seen in the elongated, strongly modeled figures with flowing draperies, whereas the Paris artist emphasizes stocky proportions and flat linear pattern including more copious interlace and animated scrollwork for the initial itself. This does not mean that the Cambridge painter, probably a south Italian, is equal in ability to Basilius. He is not, but his familiarity with Byzantine models is nearly comparable. The Paris painter on the other hand goes at his task with the same selfconscious diligence as the painter of the saints' portraits. In a historiated initial with the women at the sepulcher the Paris artist meticulously follows Byzan-

2. The sacramentary fragment, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. McClean 49; the missal, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. latin 12056; see above, pp. 129-130.

tine iconography while translating his figures into labored Romanesque hybrids (pl. XLIIc). He is obviously much more at home with the lively foliage, showing assured handling of English decorative ideas. Indeed, the sophistication of his ornament suggests that the codex was slightly later than the *Melisend Psalter*, a product of the same atelier.

The earliest icon attributable to Jerusalem at this period parallels these manuscript illustrations in some aspects. Overall, however, it is more strongly western in nature and was done later than the manuscripts, possibly shortly after the Second Crusade (pl. XLVa). The enthroned Christ blessing and holding an open book is characterized by flowing linear drapery typical of northern France under strong English influence in the first half of the twelfth century. On the other hand the facial type, though perhaps based on work from Shaftesbury abbey in Dorset, is convincingly Levantine, as is the rich color palette of the draperies. Moreover, this "Channel School" artist working in Jerusalem is aware of Byzantine painting, as the ornament on the front panel of the throne suggests. If, therefore, most of the manuscript painters were deeply immersed in Byzantine traditions, either from their south Italian background or through service in the Holy Sepulcher scriptorium, this icon painter seems by contrast to have been a rather more recent arrival in the holy city.

An artist from the Channel region of northern France is of course something we might readily expect, given the wealth of crusader manpower from this area. What is surprising is the relatively small French influence in the Holy Sepulcher atelier. Probably the presence of an English prior in the church of the Holy Sepulcher in the years before 1127 may help explain the strong English influence, though further study of this workshop may bring to light additional French examples.

It should be kept in mind that the scriptorium at the Holy Sepulcher was probably a product of the second quarter of the century. Moreover, despite the unique central significance of this church for Christianity, it appears that the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem was equally an early object of crusader patronage. Indeed, Bethlehem gives us the earliest documented painting, the widest range of crusader style in the twelfth century, and mosaic work of 1169, all under the roof of its unique church. This is not surprising given the importance of the site, especially since the church of the Nativity was the coronation church for crusader kings until 1131, when king Fulk and queen *Melisend* were the first rulers crowned in Jerusalem at the Holy Sepulcher.

The most extensive ensemble of crusader work in the church of the Nativity is on the twenty-eight columns of the nave and aisles where, for the most part, individual saints' portraits were painted (pl. XXXIb).³ One image, on column five in the south aisle, depicts the Virgin and Child, and a Latin painted inscription dates the work to May 15, 1130 (pl. XXXIIIb). Despite the imposing jeweled throne with a high back on which the Virgin sits, there is no strong Byzantine influence here. Instead the stiff linearity of the draperies and the tender relationship of a mother who gently holds her baby close to her cheek bespeak a western Romanesque painter, possibly from Italy.

No particular order for the execution of these works has as yet been proposed. The suggestion that they were done as *ex votos* patronized by pilgrims to the Holy Land seems likely. So far, however, precise western parallels have not been found for such a series of large icons on columns, and no search for stylistic comparisons has been undertaken. Nor has an explanation been offered for why the 1130 painting was done in the south aisle and not in the nave proper. No other dated inscription survives. What is clear is the wide variety of styles present in the series, suggesting itinerant artists who worked through most of the twelfth century and possibly longer.

On the north side of the church there are no painted images on the columns of the north aisle. But many of the more strongly Byzantine-influenced paintings appear on the north nave columns. On column 10, St. John the Evangelist (pl. XXXIIb), identified by Greek and Latin inscriptions, wears handsomely painted Comnenian-style draperies, strongly modeled and with extensive highlights. On column 4, St. George (pl. XXXIIa), again identified by both Greek and Latin inscriptions, is a virile youth with curly golden hair. He stands, wearing a long cloak and holding a spear and a shield. His thinly painted agitated linear draperies are, however, quite different from those of St. John.

On the south side St. Fusca, a third-century virgin martyr at Ravenna, appears on column 10 of the nave (pl. XXXIIId), and St. Margaret, a fourth-century martyr at Antioch in Pisidia, is on column 7 of

3. See above, pp. 120-123. For the column paintings see also the descriptive surveys by L. Dressaire, "Les Peintures exécutées au XII^e siècle sur les colonnes de la basilique de Bethléem," *Jérusalem*, XXVII (1932), 365-369; V. Juhasz, "Las Pinturas de los cruzados en la Basilica de Belén," *Tierra Santa*, XXV (1950), 313-318, 349-353; R. W. Hamilton, *The Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem* (reprint of 2nd rev. ed., Jerusalem, 1968), pp. 69-81; and S. de Sandoli, *Corpus inscriptionum cruce signatorum Terrae Sanctae* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 211-226. Though these paintings are generally referred to as frescoes, the medium seems to be some kind of oil-base paint applied directly onto the column.

the south aisle (pl. XXXIIIc). Both are identified by Greek and Latin inscriptions. They wear strongly outlined and modeled Romanesque drapery with geometric clarity in the angularity of the hems and "V" forms beneath the knees of their long undergarments. Yet another version of the western Romanesque style is seen in the St. Bartholomew on column 2 of the south aisle, identified by a Latin inscription only (pl. XXXIIIa). His compact draperies flow in linear rhythms over the body while a more painterly softness gives a suggestion of texture to the cloth.

Two other examples will assist in further demonstrating the range and quality of these styles. St. Leo, on column 6 of the south aisle, with a Latin inscription (pl. XXXIII d), is one of the few figures with the face well preserved. Leo, probably to be identified with pope Leo the Great (440-461), is depicted as a bishop, blessing in the western manner and holding a staff. The strong bearded head is composed in basically schematic designs of hair, ears, beard, nose, eyes, and miter with only the slightest suggestion of modeling for plastic effect. It is an excellent example of Romanesque painting and a worthy counterpart to the crusader mosaics in the church.⁴ By contrast, the kneeling pilgrim of St. James with the shell conspicuously displayed on his scrip (pl. XXXIII e) is much later than St. Leo. The long swinging curve of his cloak, the irregular waves in his hair, and the near-three-quarter pose of the figure all bespeak the awakening interests of Gothic painting.

In quality these artists are not all masters of the first rank. But given the large number who worked here, the level is consistently very high indeed. A surprising aspect is the fact that at present few of these paintings can be related directly to work elsewhere in the crusader states. One fortunate exception is the handsome figure of Elijah on the eighth column of the south side of the nave, identified in Greek and Latin (pl. XXXII c). The iconography of Elijah being fed in the wilderness by ravens (III Kings 17:1-7) is in this case an early representation, no doubt due to the important cult of Elijah in the Holy Land, of a theme later quite popular. But stylistically the draperies with the linear strip effect on the lower leg are paralleled in a separate crusader work done at the north end of the narthex of the church of the Nativity. There during the twelfth century a small cru-

4. Extant crusader and Byzantine material does not as yet enable us to propose precise dating for the column paintings. See for comparisons the frescoes from Gethsemane, the Damascus gate chapel, and the Choziba monastery in the Wādī al-Qilt cited above, chapter III B, note 9. See also the Byzantine heads tentatively dated as eleventh-century from the monastery of the Holy Cross, Jerusalem, published by H. Swarzenski, "Two Heads from Jerusalem," *Bulletin, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, LIV (1956), 34-38.

sader chapel was fashioned and decorated with a cycle of images including, on the main east wall, the so-called Deësis group.⁵

One must be cautious in studying the frescoes of this chapel because of the extensive restorations carried out in 1950. However, by comparing photographs of the chapel before restoration (pl. XXXVIa) with the Deësis as seen now (pl. XXXVIb), the basic iconography can be verified and the linear strap style of the draperies, now heavily overpainted, can be seen on the figure of Christ. It is unlikely that the same artist executed both Elijah and the Deësis. Nonetheless, given the extent of crusader decoration at Bethlehem, some kind of atelier must have been organized there to manage the painting and perhaps the training of artists, resulting in stylistic affinities of the sort mentioned. Unfortunately, no manuscripts with illustrations can as yet be attributed to Bethlehem to help fill in the overall picture of the development, but careful study of the extant frescoes (and mosaics) is urgently needed to clarify the sources of style and iconography, to explain why some styles appear more prominently than others, and to date the paintings.

The strong Byzantine character of the iconography of the Deësis in the chapel combined with western Romanesque style is a feature of crusader art already met in the Melisend Psalter. The other extant crusader work in the church of the Nativity was in mosaics in which the style and iconography are more purely Byzantine.

In the Grotto of the Nativity a mosaic depicting the birth of Christ (pl. XXXIa) is somewhat comparable in drapery style to the mosaics of the transepts. We know from an inscription in the main apse that in 1169 during the reigns of king Amalric and emperor Manuel Comnenus a certain Ephrem, who was a monk, a painter, and a mosaic worker, worked on these mosaics. It is likely that the same workshop, including the famous Basilius who worked on the angels of the nave, carried out the handsome—though damaged and blackened—work downstairs. Indeed, shortly thereafter a Greek pilgrim to Bethlehem, John Phocas, enthusiastically described in detail the Grotto mosaic, and his text, the first mention of such a mosaic, is worth quoting *in extenso*:

I leap for joy as I write, and am altogether in the spirit within that holy grotto. . . . The artist has painted with a skillful hand [ἐγγραψεν ὁ τεχνίτης] in that

5. Despite the recent origin of the term "Deësis" (see Chr. Walter, "Two Notes on the Deësis," *Revue des études byzantines*, XXVI [1968], 311 ff., and "Further Notes on the Deësis," *Revue des études byzantines*, XXVIII [1970], 161 ff.), it is a valuable part of the art-historical vocabulary; it is used here to refer to the figure of Christ flanked by the two interceding figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist.

grotto the mysteries which there took place. In the apse is figured the Virgin reclining upon her bed, with her left hand placed beneath her right elbow, and leaning her cheek upon her right hand as she looks at her infant, showing her innate modesty in her smiling expression and in the colour of her cheeks; for her colour is not changed, nor is she pale, like one who has recently borne a child, and that for the first time; for she who was thought worthy to bear a child who was more than man must also have been spared the pains of childbirth. Beyond her are the ox and the ass, the manger and the babe, and the company of shepherds in whose ears the voice of Heaven rang so that they left their flocks, allowing their sheep to pasture unwatched upon the grass beside the spring, giving their dog charge of them, while they raised their necks heavenwards, listening eagerly to the sound of the voice, standing in various attitudes, as each thought that he could stand most easily; their shepherds' crooks appear useless, but their eyes are fixed upon Heaven, and drawing their right hands backwards as if to hurl a dart, they eagerly strain their ears: yet they did not need to hear the voice a second time, since eyes are more trustworthy than ears; for an angel meeting them shows them the babe lying in the manger. The beasts do not turn round to behold this sight, but stupidly betake themselves, the one to the grass, and the other to the above-mentioned spring; but the dog, a creature that is savage with strangers, appears to be intently gazing upon the unwonted spectacle; while the Magi, leaping from their horses, bearing their gifts in their hands, and bending their knees, present them to the Virgin with awe.⁶

Phocas gives us eyes to see what is now partly lost. The very large Virgin in the center, in draperies highlighted by gold, has directly behind her the Child in a tomb-like manger into which peer the ox and the ass (now invisible). She is surrounded by fragments of Joseph and the wise men to the left, fragments of the angels along the upper center, and the washing of the Child to the lower right (parts of three figures are visible). Two shepherds, one young, one old, are to be seen at the upper right. In sum, every figure Phocas refers to except the dog and the ass are fragmentarily present. Beneath the whole scene appears part of the glorious verse from Luke 2:14, to which however Phocas makes no reference whatsoever, probably because it is in Latin.

Of the extensive crusader work in monumental painting that was to be seen in Jerusalem in the twelfth century almost nothing survives. Pilgrims mention paintings in St. Anne's, the Coenaculum and the chapel of the Dormition on Mt. Sion, the Tomb of the Virgin, and the Grotto of Gethsemane, of which little remains. But it was in the church of the Holy Sepulcher that the most extensive decoration was carried out, described partially by Theoderic about 1172.⁷ Of

6. "The Pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas in the Holy Land (in the Year 1185 A.D.)," tr. Aubrey Stewart, *PPTS*, V-3 (London, 1896), 32-33; see also above, p.120.

7. "Theoderich's Description of the Holy Places (circa 1172 A.D.)," tr. Stewart, *PPTS*, V-4 (London, 1896), 7-21; see also above, pp. 118-119.

that the only mosaic extant is the Christ of the Ascension in the vault of the Latin Calvary chapel (pl. XXX). This impressive work, like the Grotto Nativity now barely visible under a coat of soot and grime, represents the figure of Christ in a deep purple robe. He is seated, holding a book and with the right arm raised, probably originally in blessing, though the hand is now missing. The pose is somewhat unusual in that the book is held over the straightened-out leg, perhaps a Latin variation of a Byzantine model. The draperies with their complex curvilinear rhythms are unlike those in the mosaics of Bethlehem, although as in them the style, indeed the awesome concept of Christ overall, is basically Byzantine. But the probable presence at Bethlehem of crusader mosaicists trained in the Byzantine tradition seems also to have recurred here. Indeed, the appearance of strongly Byzantine-style mosaics with Latin inscriptions is found elsewhere in the Mediterranean region at this period, as at Monreale and in the Palatine chapel at Palermo in Sicily, as well as in Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

Close study of these crusader mosaics may eventually enable us to decide more surely whether the artists were crusaders or Greeks in the service of Latin patrons. As for the date of the Ascension mosaic, it was probably done before the consecration of the Holy Sepulcher in 1149 but after the earthquake of 1114.⁸ Patronage was intensified in the church of the Holy Sepulcher, especially in the second quarter of the twelfth century after it became, from 1131 on, the coronation site of the crusader kings.

Besides Bethlehem two other major crusader fresco projects executed in the Jerusalem region but outside the city survive fragmentarily. The earlier and more important is found in the crusader church at Abū-Ghosh. Now the property of the French government, the church seems originally to have belonged to the Hospitallers. No consensus has emerged on the date of the church or indeed its twelfth-

8. It has been suggested that this mosaic is Byzantine, done for another location in the Holy Sepulcher and moved to its present site by the crusaders. Pending investigation of the relevant technical matters, it is not yet possible to exclude this possibility, but the combination of the Byzantine style of the image, the variation in the pose of Christ, and the Latin inscription suggest crusader work.

The photograph published here, taken in 1973, when compared to J. Schweig's excellent flattened-out image of about 1934 (published in S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. III, pl. XI, and in W. Harvey, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Structural Survey, Final Report*, frontispiece), suggests how dirty the mosaic has become in the intervening period.

It is unfortunate that the fresco of the Ascension in the narthex chapel of the church of the Nativity is almost totally destroyed. Having been done after the Calvary chapel mosaic, it would have been a valuable comparative monument.

century name, which some say is St. Jeremiah.⁹ Probably erected in the 1140's, the church has the character of a fortress with remarkably heavy walls and a spring in the crypt. Inside, in the nave, was an extensive series of frescoes which the moisture from below has relentlessly flaked from the walls. It is hoped that the conservation work now (1975) in progress will stop the slow destruction of the frescoes remaining. All that survives is located in the eastern apses and the two adjoining bays of the nave and aisles. The three apses contain fragments of, on the north, the Deësis, in the center, the Anastasis, and on the south, Paradise seen as the Three Patriarchs with souls of the blessed in their laps. Other major fragments survive of the Crucifixion on the wall of the south aisle and the Dormition of the Virgin on the wall of the north aisle. The style and iconography are strongly Byzantine, but again the inscriptions are in Latin. The Deësis in the north apse is nearly invisible now, but we know what it looked like in 1907, thanks to the careful watercolors of M. le comte de Piellat (pl. XXXVb). The most significant aspect of the iconography revealed by this document is the enormous high-backed throne on which Christ is seated. This dissociates the Abū-Ghosh fresco from the Deësis in the Melisend Psalter and that in the Bethlehem narthex chapel and relates it to an older type which seems to have been revived by the crusaders here alone.

The fresco of the Three Patriarchs with the souls of the blessed is the best preserved of the three apses; though in poor condition indeed, the three main figures of Abraham (center), Isaac (left), and Jacob (right) can be dimly discerned in the photograph (pl. XXXIVa) with the aid of M. de Piellat's watercolor as a guide (pl. XXXIVb). Furthermore, one can see a soul being brought to Abraham at the left center, an angel to the right center, and a flower below a tree at the far right.

The iconography of the Three Patriarchs was common in Byzantine art but appears seldom in the west, apparently under Byzantine influence as in the sculpture at St. Trophime, Arles.¹⁰ Even in Byzantine art, however, it is rare to find it in an apsidal composition as

9. The sources are vague on the date of the crusader church at Abū-Ghosh, formerly known as Qaryat al-'Inab. If Abū-Ghosh is to be identified with Qiryat Ye'arim, then the church may be dated 1098-1137; see Clermont-Ganneau, *Archeological Researches in Palestine*, II (London, 1896), 60-63. Or if Abū-Ghosh is to be identified, as seems more likely, with the twelfth-century Emmaus, then it seems to be a church built under Hospitaller control in the 1140's. The name St. Jeremiah seems to be found in the sources only since the sixteenth century; see Enlart, *Les Monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem*, II (Paris, 1928), 315-319.

10. A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*; vol. IX, *Provence* (Boston, 1923), pl. 1370.

here. Indeed, the programmatic arrangement of the deaths of Jesus and Mary on the lower walls of the nave with scenes of Christ's Resurrection and the Second Coming focused high in the apses seems to be a crusader and not a Byzantine choice.

The fragments are mostly too small or too blurred by the seepage of water to be of much assistance in the study of style. However, some bits of drapery in the Dormition scene and the head of one of the blessed in the bosom of Jacob are clear and sharp. The head (pl. XXXVa) shows, quite in contrast to that of St. Leo in Bethlehem, an extraordinary three-dimensional plasticity and the beginnings of the "spectacled" eye convention that later becomes so characteristic of Acre painting (see, for example, pl. XLII). Characteristics of this kind strongly suggest that these frescoes were done late in the twelfth century, possibly after 1170 but certainly before 1187, when the crusaders lost control of this church.¹¹

The other remnant of crusader frescoes which partially survives is to be found in the little pilgrims' church at Bethphage, east of Jerusalem between the Mount of Olives and Bethany. Theoderic, who traveled to the Holy Land about 1172, tells us about the shrine he saw:

A mile from Jerusalem is Bethany, where stood the house of Simon the leper, and of Lazarus and his sisters Mary and Martha, where our Lord was frequently received as a guest. Bethany stands near the valley of Olives, in which the mount ends towards the east. So on Palm Sunday our dearest Lord Jesus Christ set out from Bethany, came to Bethphage, which place is half-way between Bethany and the Mount of Olives, and where now a fair chapel has been built in His honour, and sent two of His disciples to fetch the ass and her colt. He stood upon a great stone which may be seen in the chapel, and sitting upon the ass went over the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem, and was met by a great crowd as He descended the side of the mountain.¹²

Theoderic does not, however, mention the series of frescoes which were painted on the large, truncated, slightly tapering stone; possibly

11. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, III, 381, says that Greek artists working in Palestine for the emperor Manuel in 1170 may have also worked here. The possibility exists, but unless comparable painting from the monuments executed for Manuel comes to light or unequivocal written documentation is found, there is no way to verify the suggestion. Unfortunately, photographs of the fresco fragments found at the monastery of St. Euthymius (now al-Khān al-Aḥmar) have not been published, and nothing remains today *in situ* of the twelfth-century painting. See D. J. Chitty, "The Monastery of St. Euthymius," *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* (1932), pp. 188 ff., especially pp. 196-197. The published frescoes from the related cave monastery of St. Theoctistus, on the other hand, are not stylistically similar to those at Abū-Ghosh. See D. J. Chitty, "Two Monasteries in the Wilderness of Judaea," *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* (1928), pp. 134 ff., especially pp. 146 ff. and pl. V, fig. 7.

12. "Theoderich's Description . . .," *PPTS*, V-4, 34-35.

they had not yet been executed.¹³ The Franciscans also had restorations carried out on the extant fragments here in 1950 as in the Bethlehem chapel, but the overpainting is much less, and one can discern the original parts of the frescoes more readily. Of the scenes that survive, the Raising of Lazarus is perhaps the best example (pls. XXXVIIa, b, and c). The iconography is strongly Byzantine, with Lazarus standing and wrapped like a mummy as Christ, blessing in the Greek manner, calls him forth from the tomb which has been unsealed.

Again because of the restorations, the style must be dealt with cautiously. Nonetheless, the Romanesque tradition seems here to have been infused with a classicizing influence from Byzantine sources resulting in forms of strength and clarity that are reminiscent of the work at the Sigena chapter house. The Bethphage paintings are earlier and much more modest in quality than those at Sigena, to be sure. They appear to have been done shortly before 1187. It is especially notable that the Lazarus artist at Bethphage chose to follow a Byzantine model so faithfully, just as Basilius had done in the *Melisend Psalter*. There was, after all, a totally different version of the scene, possibly reflecting crusader buildings at Bethany, visible for all to see on the historiated lintel of the Holy Sepulcher (pl. IIa). It seems that his accomplished style had the effect of imposing iconographical conservatism. Finally, it is worth noting that the program of the frescoes on the rock is somewhat puzzling. If the stone marks the spot where Christ mounted the ass, it is curious that this scene does not appear in the cycle. Perhaps the explanation may be sought in some kind of sculpture for which the stone was a pedestal. Unfortunately no pilgrim mentions any such image, but the east side of the stone with the crowds waving palms includes no figure of Christ and the reason may have been his presence on top of the stone.

One final work from twelfth-century Jerusalem was originally published by Vincent and Abel in 1926.¹⁴ An altar was found in their excavations of the crusader oratory of St. Stephen outside the Damascus gate (pls. XXXVIIIa and b). This altar, for which they present a detailed drawing, at one time had fresco paintings depicting Christ enthroned and the Twelve Apostles standing on each side with scrolls or books. These frescoes have now disappeared completely, but underneath the painting there were incisions into the stone delineating the figures and the round-arched arcade.

13. See above, chapter III B, note 9.

14. Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, II, fasc. 4 (Paris, 1926), 769 ff., fig. 320, and pl. LXXX: 1.

Such altarpieces were, of course, very popular in the west during the twelfth century.¹⁵ But this frescoed stone altar with handsome classical-style moldings is unusual in the combination of a typically western program with local materials and a sculptural tradition that had survived in the Holy Land from early Christian times. It was fully painted, perhaps with metal medallions attached above the arcade in the cut circles in the stone. The altar must have been an impressive focus for the oratory of St. Stephen, done sometime before Jerusalem fell in 1187. With it as a model we can attempt to imagine the splendor of the altars in the larger crusader churches inside the city, altars of which nothing survives.

These examples of monumental crusader painting of the twelfth century in and around Jerusalem do not exhaust the extant remains in the Latin kingdom. But there can be no doubt they are the finest survivals in quantity and quality. Together with the manuscript illustrations and the icons, they present us with a varied picture of painting during the twelfth century in the Holy Land. Among the most notable characteristics of this work the predominance of ecclesiastical patronage stands out. While there was of course royal patronage as well, for books such as the Melisend Psalter, the church dominated the scene. It is of course possible that the column paintings at Bethlehem were commissioned by private patrons, but these may have been ecclesiastical donors as well. There is no way of knowing at present. Nonetheless, despite the dominant role of the church as patron, the art produced for it is characterized by its diversity. If there is a unifying trait characteristic of all the painting it is the strength of the Byzantine influence, notably stronger than in most parts of the west at the same period. Otherwise, stylistically we find a variety that is most obvious in the frescoes, less so in the mosaics, and least in the manuscripts. Of course the miniatures, so far as we now know, all emanated from a single scriptorium where there was a rather unified artistic approach. The monumental painting done by itinerant artists naturally tended to exhibit more local, individual characteristics. Finally, we can see that a variety of western traditions from both the north and the south of Europe are blended with the Byzantine. Remarkably, however, very little French influence can be discerned in the work. Less surprising is the absence of German characteristics or direct Islamic influence; it seems to have been too soon for either of these.

15. See, for example, the retable from Lisbjerg (1140) or the shrine of Santo Domingo from Silos (1140/50): Peter Lasko, *Ars sacra, 800-1200* (Harmondsworth, 1972), figs. 179 and 266 respectively.

The situation in crusader painting changes markedly in the thirteenth century. In the difficult years from 1229 to 1244 Jerusalem retained only a shadow of its former glory as the artistic center of the crusader states. Acre took over the position Jerusalem had formerly held, but painting started to flourish there only after 1250. No monumental painting equivalent to the work found in and around Jerusalem survives from the thirteenth century in the Latin kingdom. Indeed, the most important frescoes known from this period come from Constantinople during the Latin empire. In manuscripts and icons French influence emerges as the most potent western tradition, growing strongest in the last ten years before 1291.

After 1187 Jerusalem never fully regained its central importance in painting, but during the period of access negotiated by Frederick II one splendid work seems to have been done there, commissioned by the emperor for his third wife, Isabel of England, about 1235-1237. Despite the precedent of the Melisend Psalter, the Riccardiana psalter is illustrated in an entirely different way.¹⁶ Following German practice, the initials beginning major divisions of the psalter are decorated with scenes from the life of Christ. The *Beatus* initial is the most elaborate (pl. XLIa). Isaiah and Habakkuk foretell the Annunciation and Nativity respectively, with David between the two standing prophets. The artist composes the program so that as one's eye moves from left to right, one goes from Old Testament to New Testament image, from prophet and ancestor to the living reality of the advent of Jesus. This is painted with iconography strongly Byzantine once again (though distinct from that of the Melisend Psalter), but the style is Sicilian and the interplay between the letter B and the copious figural decoration is wholly western as well. Thus the blend of east and west in crusader art continues, but the components change somewhat from those found in the twelfth century.

Shortly after the Riccardiana psalter was executed Jerusalem was definitively lost to the Khorezmian Turks, in 1244, and the way was open for Acre to become the chief artistic center as it had been the political and military capital since 1191. The impetus for Acre's new role in the visual arts seems to have come from the visit of Louis IX to the Holy Land between 1250 and 1254.

The French king was instrumental in the establishment of a major new scriptorium in Acre. The Arsenal Bible, one of its earliest products, seems to have been commissioned for Louis himself and it set

16. The Riccardiana psalter, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS. 323; see also above, pp. 129-130.

the standard for later production.¹⁷ The manuscript contains Old Testament selections translated into Old French. It is decorated with large, mostly full-page frontispieces for each book like those for Judith and Job (pls. XLIIa and b).

Most of the miniatures have a strong Byzantine iconographic tradition behind them, but no such sources exist for the Judith or Job images. Indeed, for the latter the most important parallel is found in a giant German Bible at Erlangen done in the Salzburg School. And the artist also seems to have looked with interest at his surroundings in Acre, as the convincingly painted camels and men wearing turbans demonstrate. For the Judith frontispiece one finds sources in a variety of thirteenth-century French works including the Souvigny Bible and the *Bibles moralisées*, and even in some Catalan Bibles from Roda and Ripoll.¹⁸ Needless to say, the format of scenes in roundels is French, as is the strong use of Gothic pink and blue for the frames and interstices.

In style the artist is French, a Gothic painter working under Byzantine influence. Some aspects of his style would long mark the Acre scriptorium, especially the black-line drapery, the stocky proportions of his freely moving figures, and the "spectacled" eye convention with the line back toward the ear.

The most fascinating stylistic parallel with the work of this master, apparently a newcomer to Acre in 1250, is found not in the Latin kingdom but in the Latin empire. In Constantinople artistic patronage by the Latins has been known since Weitzmann argued that Byzantine manuscript painters continued working there after 1204.¹⁹ But in 1967 Dr. C. L. Striker, in his excavations at Kalenderhane Camii, discovered a chapel clearly painted by a crusader artist (pls. XLVIIIa and b).²⁰ The apsidal fresco fragments depict a large standing figure of St. Francis of Assisi flanked by ten scenes from his life, an adaptation of the standard thirteenth-century Italo-Byzantine icon retable. The painting must have been done sometime between

17. The Arsenal Bible, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. 5211; see also above, pp. 132-133.

18. H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), p. 57.

19. K. Weitzmann, "Constantinopolitan Book Illumination in the Period of the Latin Conquest," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, ser. 6, XXV (1944), 201 ff.

20. For the crusader chapel at Kalenderhane Camii see above, chapter VI A, note 3, and C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, "Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul: Fourth Preliminary Report," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXV (1971), 257-258. The author would like to express his gratitude to Dr. Striker for kindly interrupting work on the publication of the Kalenderhane Camii to arrange for the photographs used herein. Furthermore, he has graciously supplied information, incorporated in these remarks, soon to appear in the Fifth Preliminary Report.

1228, when Francis was canonized, and 1261, when the Latin empire fell. But so close is the style of the fresco painter to that of the Arsenal Bible master that it is not impossible that they worked together or may even have been the same person. The draperies are in some instances very close, as for example the striped garment of Judith compared to a fragmentary figure in the chapel frescoes (pl. XLVIIIb). Other draperies in the frescoes, such as the friars' habits (pl. XLVIIIa), are softer with more highlights and less sharply defined linearity than in the manuscript. Similarly, the eyes are less insistently outlined, but shaded, giving the face more plasticity. Until the frescoes are fully published the exact relationship between the two ensembles cannot be resolved. There can be little doubt, however, of the close ties in painting between Acre and Constantinople around 1250.

The closest parallel to the Arsenal Bible among other Acre manuscripts is the Perugia missal (pl. XLIb).²¹ One of the few extant ecclesiastical books in Latin executed in the Acre scriptorium, the missal was painted by two masters, the first Venetian and the second French. It was the French artist who did the Resurrection for the initial R. His style is obviously close to that in the Arsenal Bible. The Resurrection scenes show decided western iconographic characteristics with some Byzantine influence. Christ emerges from the tomb, after which the three Marys find only the angel. Though overall basically western in concept, the unusual nude Christ may be based on a Greek model instead of the normal clothed figure.

Like Jerusalem, Acre became a center for panel painting as well as manuscript illumination, but there is far more material extant in both from the latter school. Among the icons an equally wide range of western artistic backgrounds can be discerned in combination with Byzantine traditions as seen in the Acre manuscripts. An unusual panel with the Deësis and fourteen apostles is now in the collection at St. Catherine's monastery (pl. XLVb). Though clearly using a Byzantine model, the crusader painter added Mark and Luke to the Twelve and executed the work in a remarkably vigorous style. Formally there is no doubt that it belongs within the Acre school. While a certain German flavor suggests itself in the expressionistic heads, the activated masses of drapery seen here are also found in the Venetian artist of the Perugia missal. But the artist of this icon, like the second painter of the Perugia codex, is probably French, as his basic figure style demonstrates, also suggesting a date in the 1250's. This is

21. The Perugia missal, Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS. 6 (formerly 21); see also above, pp. 131-132.

a striking case of the richness of the artistic and cultural melange which is one of the unique features of crusader painting.

One of the most magnificent panels from Acre now at St. Catherine's is a large, double-faced icon depicting the Crucifixion on the front and the Anastasis on the back (pls. XLVIa and b). This master is surely an Italian working under Byzantine influence, as a comparison with work of Giunta Pisano will demonstrate. But the crusader characteristics also show that the work was done in Acre and not in the west. On the front we see the unusual gestures and poses of Mary and John as well as the massive beveled cross peculiar to crusader painting. The three-nail crucifixion, coming from northern Europe, again demonstrates the remarkable blend of ideas in the Latin kingdom. The Anastasis, unlike the Crucifixion, is rare in Italian art. But the Byzantine tradition is altered, with Eve as an old woman, reflecting Italian painting of the same period (1250-1275), with unByzantine stress on the large jeweled cross as a vehicle of deliverance, and with an extensive use of pink color, derived no doubt from Gothic painting.

It is indeed the French element which more and more asserted itself in Acre painting as the second half of the century wore on. In fact, in panel paintings there is striking evidence that parallels and corroborates what is found in the manuscripts. There is another icon at St. Catherine's (pl. XLVIIa) depicting Saints Theodore and George as mounted crusaders, with inscriptions in Greek. Kneeling below is a diminutive donor whom the inscription identifies as coming from Paris. Thus not only is this a painting done by a French artist under Byzantine influence, but it is a work commissioned by a pilgrim from the heart of France as well.

In the manuscripts the increased interest in Old French texts of history on the part of secular patrons in Acre stimulated the production of many codices of the *Histoire universelle*, the *Faits des romains*, and the *History of Outremer* translated and continued from the Latin of William of Tyre. In the closely related cycles of illustrations that decorate codices of the *Histoire universelle*, the images faithfully reflect the text in presenting the Trojan ancestry of French chivalry. Famous episodes of ancient history are depicted as part of the cultural world of thirteenth-century France. In the Brussels and London manuscripts the killing of Hector depicts a cowardly Achilles lancing the Trojan hero from behind as he leans down to take the helmet from the body of Patroclus (pls. XLIIIa and b).²²

22. The Brussels and London *Histoire universelle* codices, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS. 10175, and London, British Library, Add. MS. 15268; see also above, pp. 133-134.

The London codex is the more significant work of art, one of the finest manuscripts from the Acre school, probably executed in 1286 as a coronation present for king Henry II of Cyprus. In the frontispiece (pl. XLIV) the western Creation cycle is modified with bust-length images of the Creator looking like a Byzantine pantocrator. Its unusual border recalls manuscripts of the Koran in format, and the Arab musicians indicate the artist's interest in local Arab culture, another developing feature of the Acre school.

In view of the intensifying French influence in the Acre scriptorium from about 1275 to 1291, it is not surprising that some of the latest paintings were almost purely French in concept. There is in St. Catherine's monastery an icon of the *Maiestas Domini* painted about 1285 that demonstrates this for panel painting (pl. XLVIIb). It is not great art; the painter seems to be timidly attempting to work in unfamiliar materials. The style and iconography are basically French, however, and there are a number of manuscripts which can be attributed to Acre from this period that are also purely French Gothic in style.²³

In sum, painting at Acre in the thirteenth century was very different from that at Jerusalem and its surrounding area in the twelfth century, or even during the period from 1229 to 1244. Patronage was no longer centered on the clergy and the crown. Significant commissions came also from soldiers as well as from pilgrims. While religious icons continued to be executed in increasing numbers, interest in manuscripts turned to vernacular texts and secular illustrations, reflecting the taste in France after 1250. The rich blend of western traditions under Byzantine influence continued as well, but French concepts now increasingly dominated. Italy was strongly represented, and German ideas appeared as English ones disappeared. New was a stronger Islamic influence.

These examples of crusader painting indicate a development which differs significantly from that of crusader sculpture. There are, of course, special problems connected with the sculpture. Less of it survives, and much of what does is non-figural ornamental work. Much of the extant material is badly damaged. Moreover, the nearly constant presence of Byzantine influence seen in the painting is hardly to be expected in sculpture. After all, Byzantium, as a result of iconoclasm, never experienced a rebirth of monumental stone sculpture comparable to that in the west in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

23. See the forthcoming book by the present author, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at St. Jean d'Acre: 1275-1291* (Princeton, 1976).

Nonetheless, the crusaders' experience in painting can help us look with fresh eyes at their sculpture. Questions must be raised: What was distinctively crusader about the sculpture? Do the varied western artistic traditions visible in the painting also contribute to the sculpture? Is there any development in the sculpture comparable to that in the painting? What contribution, if any, did Byzantium make to crusader sculpture?

Jerusalem in the twelfth century was the major center for sculpture, as it was for painting. Within the holy city it was the church of the Holy Sepulcher on which extensive attention was focused during the first fifty years. The consecration of the church on July 15, 1149, completed the essential transformation from a Byzantine shrine to a greatly enlarged crusader church, incorporating the major holy sites commemorating the events surrounding the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. This is the church, much restored, that stands at present, but the pilgrim today entering the parvis in front of the main entrance façade on the south side (frontispiece) no longer sees the last significant surviving figural sculpture *in situ*.

The two lintels over the main doors (frontispiece, pls. IIa and b, IIIa and b) were removed in 1929 and deposited on indefinite loan in what is now the Rockefeller Museum. Tolerated for centuries by Moslems, the lintels were in danger of destruction from stone decay. The dense white crystalline limestone was losing its outer surface through blistering. To save the sculpture a binding medium was injected below the carved surface to prevent its loss. This treatment preserved the two works but has produced an ugly bloated muddy appearance (pls. IIIa and b), a condition which must be taken into account in any stylistic analysis.

The lintels were clearly done by different artists. The historiated one has been connected with southern France and Italy.²⁴ Most recently it has been compared to a Bethesda sarcophagus.²⁵ The vine scroll lintel has been related to southwestern France. They were probably carved at different times, as the molding configuration suggests (pls. IIa and b), but their dates are still unresolved. In content there is a growing consensus that they were meant to introduce the pilgrim to what was to be found inside the church.

In quality these lintels are the best figural sculpture extant from the Holy Sepulcher or the Hospitaller complex directly to the south.

24. For references see above, chapter III A, note 6.

25. A. Borg, "The Holy Sepulchre Lintel," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXV (1972), 389-390.

The only comparable work appears in a group of carvings from the Hospital area, now in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, such as the architectural fragment with an archer (pl. VIIa). But here the style is quite different – Deschamps called it Burgundian – intensely plastic with strongly linear draperies. The zodiac cycle on the north door porch of St. Mary Latin is badly damaged and hard to see (pl. IVa).²⁶ But the style seen there with elongated figures and ruffled draperies is quite different from the lintels or the Orthodox Patriarchate group (although like the iconography it is basically western). Yet another style is found in the modest corner console, said to have been found near St. Mary the Great, now in the Museum of the Convent of the Flagellation (pl. IVb). Once identified as the insignia of the Hospital or the Kiss of Judas, this modest sculpture seems only to represent two doll-like bearded men.²⁷ This group of figural sculptures from closely contiguous locations in the Holy Sepulcher-Hospital quarter, all dating from between 1125 and 1175, demonstrates that there was little interrelationship among the ateliers. Nonetheless, each artist was surely from Europe and most, if not all, were from France.

The situation with regard to non-figural sculpture is somewhat different. The extraordinarily rich ensemble of architectural sculpture on the south façade of the Holy Sepulcher (frontispiece), including cornices (pl. Ia), capitals, imposts, and tympana (pl. Ib), has recently been studied and found to reflect long-standing local tradition from Roman times.²⁸ The upper cornice may in fact be reused Roman sculpture,²⁹ but the capitals of the Calvary door, based on Justinianic models, are probably the work of local Christian sculptors working for the Latins. This problem of reuse as opposed to crusader imitation of earlier work is a thorny issue indeed. Are the handsome capitals found at St. Mary the Great (pl. VIa) twelfth-century or pre-crusader? On the one hand, the modern capitals carved for the church of the Redeemer and based on a medieval model show the practical possibility for copying, even today. On the other hand, the extremely

26. In view of the state of St. Mary Latin in the nineteenth century it is remarkable that any of the sculpture is left; see the photograph published by Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, vol. II, fasc. 4, fig. 396, and above, p. 86. For the iconography of the sculpture see the descriptions in de Vogüé, *Les Églises de Terre Sainte*, pp. 258 ff., and his engravings on pl. XVIII. Note that de Vogüé and Enlart confused St. Mary Latin (or Minor) with St. Mary the Great (or Major), reversing the identifications in their publications.

27. B. Bagatti, *Il Museo della Flagellazione in Gerusalemme* (SBF: Jerusalem, 1939), pp. 130-131, no. 223.

28. N. Kanaan, "Local Christian Art in Twelfth Century Jerusalem; part II, The Decorative Sculpture of the Façade of the Holy Sepulchre Church," *Israel Exploration Journal*, XXIII (1973), 221-229.

29. Ch. Couïasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* (London, 1974), p. 60.

large size of these capitals for a relatively small church suggests that they may indeed have been reused, though if so, it is remarkable that they are in such excellent condition.³⁰

The same problem exists all over crusader Palestine for different types of capitals. There are fine spiky acanthus capitals, of which excellent examples are found in the crusader chapel at Beth Gibelin (pl. XIVb), built about 1134, and in the later church at Ramla (pl. XVIb). Many of these Byzantine-style capitals are probably reused from earlier buildings. There are the thick, curved-leaf capitals based on Levantine Early Christian models as found in the crusader churches at Gaza, Ramla, and Sebastia (pls. XVIa and b, XVIIIa), all three probably dating from the third quarter of the twelfth century. There are also diminutive versions on the lantern of the Qubbat al-Mi'rāj, probably built originally as the crusader baptistry to the Temple (pl. Xa). Few of these capitals seem to be reused material.

Crusader use of older types of capitals is more often found in imitations or reinterpretations of pre-crusader models. There are, for example, many versions of the Corinthian capital. At the Tomb of the Virgin is a handsome, more plastic interpretation of the Byzantine spiky-leaf type (pl. Vb). The capital at St. James has lamb-like animals amidst articulated and thick curving leaves (pl. Vc). Sometime after 1167 at the church of the Resurrection in Nablus, the main portal shows increased plasticity of the leaves as well as a taller, slenderer drum shape for the capital (pl. XVIIb). But when the crusaders decorated the entries to the Grotto in the church of the Nativity about the same time, they reverted to a more conservative, leafy-style capital reminiscent of the façade of the Holy Sepulcher (pl. XIVa). On the pulpit of Burhān-ad-Dīn on the Temple platform there are crusader capitals in the southwest corner which reinterpret an earlier Byzantine round-bodied exemplar (pl. Xd). All these variations of Corinthian-type capitals continue the classical tradition in the Holy Land through the twelfth century, and many were probably the work of local Christians.

The distinctive western contributions in capital sculpture are to be found in other kinds of ornament. Some of this ornamentation is abstract, some has fauna and flora, some is a unique style of foliate decoration, and some, of course, is figural sculpture. Romanesque inclinations toward abstract ornament are well represented in the west and appear also in the Latin kingdom. The austere decoration of St. Anne's church (pl. XIIIa) converts even the eminently three-

30. The plan of St. Mary the Great is published by Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, vol. II, fasc. 4, p. 957.

dimensional Corinthian capital into a two-dimensional pattern and introduces a wide range of geometric form such as the pierced spiral volutes (pl. XIIIb). No other major crusader church received such charmingly simple ornament, but other crusader buildings have decoration clearly informed by the same love of abstract form. In the cloister of the Holy Sepulcher is one example (pl. Va). The church of St. Abraham in the Haram at Hebron (pl. XVa) has many clustered capitals in the main nave (pl. XVb) which translate foliate capitals into vigorous ornament.

Flora and fauna often appear together in capitals, as already seen in the example from the church of St. James. Sometimes the animals dominate the design, as do the griffins on capitals of the aedicule of the Ascension (pl. Vd) or the St. Peter Gallicante double capital, which also has scowling demons' heads (pl. VIb). The most interesting versions blend flora and fauna together. In the Aqṣā mosque, the upper double capital on twisted columns intertwines birds and plants to express the unity of nature in a characteristic Romanesque manner (pl. IXa). On the west side of the Qubbat al-Mi'rāj are paired capitals (pl. Xb). In the interior, to the left, there are the extraordinary fan-shaped leaves Enlart compared to a capital in the church of St. Julien at Donzy-le-Pré.³¹ To the right, partly destroyed, are fighting birds composed to suggest the dynamic vitality of nature to be seen in their sinuous vine-like poses as a parallel to the explosive design of the plants on the companion piece.

These examples of crusader sculpture on the Ḥaram ash-Sharīf bring us to the second major center in the city of Jerusalem. Most of the crusader work found on the Ḥaram is, except in the Qubbat al-Mi'rāj, not *in situ*, but on materials reused by the Aiyūbids, the Mamluks, or the Ottomans. The abundance and quality of the sculpture reflects the importance of the Temple area for the crusaders. After the conquest of Jerusalem, the royal residence was initially located in what is now the Aqṣā mosque. The Dome of the Rock was turned into a church, eventually dedicated in the 1140's as the *Templum Domini*, though canons had been installed in 1099. A monastery served by Augustinians was erected just to the north of the Temple platform. Meanwhile, the Templars carried out much construction at the south end of the Ḥaram. Given lodgings in a wing of the royal palace by Baldwin II, the Templars later took over the entire complex when the king moved to new quarters adjacent to the citadel. The knights enlarged the Aqṣā to the east and west, and building on

31. Enlart, *Les Monuments des croisés*, vol. I, pp. 123–124, and album I, pl. 24, fig. 75.

their convent church was going on in the 1170's. In addition, just outside the main entrance to the Ḥaram from Temple Street the crusader church of St. Gilles was erected.

After the return of the Ḥaram to Islam in 1187 some of these Christian buildings were dismantled. As a result today one finds extensive fragments of crusader sculpture in the Ḥaram. In particular there are concentrations in the Aqṣâ mosque (pls. VIIIa and b), in the Dome of the Rock, and in the entry area of the Bâb as-Silsilah (pl. IXb), along with scattered fragments elsewhere as in the *minbar* (pulpit) of Burhân-ad-Dîn (pl. Xd) and in the Bâb Ḥiṭṭah (pl. Xc). Some pieces have also made their way to various museums (pl. VIIb), and two extraordinary works were found in Latrun and later taken to Istanbul (pl. XIa). Unlike the sculpture from the Holy Sepulcher-Hospital complex ateliers, much of this sculpture with its beautiful "wet-leaf" foliage is quite unified in style. Yet despite its obvious high quality it has not been possible to trace any clear development in its form; nor can we be sure to which buildings it belonged or even when it was done.

The sculpture in the Bâb as-Silsilah, including the portion of the rose window in the *Sabîl* of Suleiman (drinking fountain; pl. IXb), does not belong to the main corpus of the "wet-leaf" sculpture (with two fragmentary exceptions). Fabre's old suggestion that these carvings may have belonged to the church of St. Gilles still seems the best.³² Indeed, foundations for a cruciform crusader building have now been found nearby, north of Wilson's arch. And the rose window in the *Sabîl* is an early type, with round arches, diminutive columns, and a carved floral design at the center.

As for the "wet-leaf" acanthus sculpture, the variety of surviving pieces has so far defied explanation. Strzygowski's proposal that some of the small-scale pieces were used for the sarcophagus of Baldwin V is a possibility.³³ Clearly most of the extant material was used for larger-scale architecture (pls. VIIIa, Xd, and XIa) or its decoration (pls. VIIb, VIIIb, Xc). For these the destroyed Templar buildings or the Augustinian monastery are possible sources.

In regard to dating, the lovely sinuous form of the "wet-leaf"

32. Fabre, "La Sculpture provençale en Palestine au XII^e siècle," *Echos d'Orient*, XXI (1922), 50.

33. J. Strzygowski, "Ruins of Tombs of the Latin Kings on the Haram in Jerusalem," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 499 ff.; see above, p. 91. It should be noted that Elzear Horn supposed the tomb he drew was that of Baldwin V because it was "so small" (*Ichonographiae monumentorum Terrae Sanctae (1724-1744)*, 2nd ed., tr. E. Hoade, SBF: Publications, No. 15 [Jerusalem, 1962], pp. 74-75 and fig. 10). Many of the fragments Strzygowski cites are too large and not appropriate for the "furniture" he refers to.

strongly suggests a date no earlier than the second half of the twelfth century, while the rigorous clarity of the patterning in the foliate ensembles bespeaks Romanesque tendencies (pls. VIIIb, Xc). Furthermore, the figure style of the heads found on the Istanbul capitals (pl. XIb) and on parts of the *dikkah* (podium) in the Aqşâ mosque also demonstrate Romanesque handling. The last word on these sculptures is, however, far from written, and a full-scale study is needed.³⁴

Little figural sculpture survives on the Ḥaram because of Moslem strictures against human images in holy places. However, on the al-Ghawānimah minaret in the northwest corner there survive three damaged crusader capitals which apparently belonged to the chapel of the Repose (pls. XIIa and b).³⁵ All three capitals depict angels ministering to Christ. The unusual iconography with the seated Christ seems to have been tailored by the crusaders to the specific requirements of this pilgrim shrine. The sole marble capital which has been battered least has been weathered most (pl. XIIb). The look of softness is due to the wind and rain, but the figure style is somewhat visible and clearly quite different from the sculpture done in the Holy Sepulcher-Hospitaller ateliers. The artist was surely French and he certainly worked after 1150, but nothing else by his hand is known as yet from the Holy Land.

Outside Jerusalem the extant figural sculpture presents the same story of itinerant western artists working on a single project in their own native style. From Acre little survives of the twelfth-century sculpture, but a holy-water basin decorated with heads has recently been attributed there, probably executed by a south Italian in the first quarter of the century (pl. XXIIIb).³⁶ At the cathedral of St. John the Baptist in Sebastia, a sculptor probably from Languedoc worked on historiated capitals for the main portal in the third quarter of the century. Now in Istanbul, these capitals depict scenes from St. John's life including the feast of Herod and Salome's dance (pls. XVIIIb and c). Typical of crusader carving, they are recut on capitals from an earlier building, and once again their iconography focuses on the holy site the capitals decorate, the burial place of St. John.

It is rare to find much figural sculpture in crusader castles. One important exception is at Belvoir where two handsome pieces were found by Israeli excavators.³⁷ The larger work includes a hovering

34. For links between the wet-leaf acanthus style in the Latin kingdom and in southern Italy see F. Jacobs, *Die Kathedrale S. Maria Icona Vetere in Foggia* (diss., Hamburg, 1968), pp. 102-128.

35. See above, pp. 91-92.

36. Barasch, *Crusader Figural Sculpture in the Holy Land*, pp. 13-65.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 187-207; see also above, pp. 85-86. A third piece is now on exhibit and will be published in the final report—a fine bearded head on an engaged capital.

angel on a slab beveled at the left side (pl. XIXa). Angels are common in crusader painting, but in sculpture only those on the al-Ghawānimah minaret and the Sebastia capitals and this one, totally unrelated, are known. Until the excavation at Belvoir is fully published it will not be possible to decide where in the chapel the slab was likely to have been placed. The other piece is a delightful head of a smiling boy attached to some kind of molding (pl. XIXb). Works with such a lighthearted spirit are unusual in the Latin kingdom. Both pieces were probably executed during the blossoming of Belvoir, 1175 to 1182. Stylistically they agree with such a date in terms of their mature Romanesque forms. However, they surely were done by separate artists. Despite the Hospitaller control of the castle no connection can be made with work done elsewhere for the order, nor is there any tie to the brilliant sculpture being carved about this time in Nazareth. Once again these seem to be isolated works by itinerant artists. Both artists probably came from southern Europe, but while the smiling boy master was possibly French, the angel sculptor may have been Italian.

Without doubt the most remarkable crusader figural sculpture extant was done in Nazareth.³⁸ Indeed there is little Romanesque carving that can match it in quality. Over a long period of time a number of sculptures in a closely related style have come to light (pls. XX, XXI, and XXII). All except one piece (pl. XXIIb) have an unquestioned Nazareth origin; all are cut from the same stone and appear to have been done in the same workshop. The paired bearded heads and five capitals (pls. XXa, XXIa and b) were the first objects found, in 1867³⁹ and 1908, respectively. More recently excavations by the Franciscans between 1955 and 1968 have brought to light another capital, a torso of St. Peter with unusual iconography (pl. XXb), and the lower torso and legs of another figure (pl. XXIIa), to list only the major pieces of which photographs have been published. In 1967 T. S. R. Boase connected the Chatsworth torso with the Nazareth group as well (pl. XXIIb).⁴⁰

Until a proper archaeological publication of all the new material is in hand it will not be possible to assess fully the significance of the Nazareth sculpture. Nonetheless, it is apparent that when the crusaders enlarged the church at the place they believed to be the site of the Annunciation, the sculpture prepared to decorate it was much

38. See above, pp. 103-105 and note 30.

39. Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine*; vol. I, *Galilee*, pp. 328-329.

40. T. S. R. Boase, *Castles and Churches of the Crusading Kingdom* (London, 1967), pp. 90, 91, 93, and see above, p. 105.

more extensive than previously suspected. It is not yet possible to date this project with any certainty, but archbishop Lietard (1158-1181) was probably the patron. If, as seems probable, all the extant sculpture belongs to the same ensemble, the crusader church may have had a program including life-sized figures of apostles (and prophets?) with historiated capitals above depicting their lives.

Despite the unique features of the Nazareth sculptures their typically crusader characteristics should not be overlooked. The style is decidedly western, brought from France. It has been connected with Plaimpied specifically,⁴¹ and more recently discussed as the product of a workshop staffed by French artists from several regions but with a Burgundian *chef d'atelier*.⁴² The sculptors appear to have centered their work in Nazareth. The only exception may be a small non-figural fragment of an interior edicule discovered on Mt. Tabor (pl. XXIIIa).⁴³ Apparently unfinished, this work is comparable in form and quality to the Nazareth material. Iconographically, the extraordinary cycles of the lives of the apostles on the capitals is well known. It cannot be surprising that the focus in these works is on apostles traditionally closely associated with the Levant.

The Nazareth group forms the culmination of crusader sculpture in the twelfth century. In 1187, not long after these works were finished, Saladin overran the Latin kingdom. Five of the capitals, apparently not yet in position on the church, were hidden away. Other sculptures survived with less care, and we await the complete report of their discovery.

Compared to the twelfth century, little crusader sculpture from the thirteenth century survives. This is partly because of the great destruction the thirteenth-century centers suffered, especially Acre, but also because the greater construction campaign had been undertaken in the period of the first Latin kingdom. Nevertheless, a clear distinction can be drawn between Romanesque and Gothic sculpture in the crusader states just as it can be distinguished in the architecture.

Taking the latter as an example first, in terms of church portals, it is well known that early in the twelfth century the crusaders used pointed arches derived from Arab sources. The entrance doors to the Holy Sepulcher, dedicated in 1149 (frontispiece), the main entry to the church in Gaza, done after 1150 (pl. XVIa), and the entrance

41. P. Deschamps, "Un Chapiteau roman du Berry, imité à Nazareth au XII^e siècle," *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et mémoires*, XXXII (1932), 119-126; see also above, p. 104.

42. Barasch, *Crusader Figural Sculpture*, pp. 73-114, 155-164.

43. Enlart, *Les Monuments des croisés*, vol. II, pp. 391-394, album II, pl. 150^{bis}, fig. 477.

portals to the church of the Resurrection in Nablus, built after 1167 (pl. XVIIa), all show this feature. But the architectural concept of these doors is still based on Romanesque principles stressing strength and stability. The pointed arches themselves are extremely broad, and their voussoir moldings emphasize the thickness and heaviness of the wall through which the doors are cut. Other decoration of the doors such as the godroons at the Holy Sepulcher and the columns on the popular fluted socles focus attention on the formidable three-dimensionality of the architecture. The Nablus door was an extremely handsome example of this desire to express plasticity (pls. XVIIa and b). The paired round moldings in the voussoirs above each capital grow smaller as one moves from the tympanum to the outer surface, culminating in relatively insubstantial leaf designs above the engaged polygonal pilaster. Thus as one enters the church, the archway visually expresses the transition from forms of nature to the monumental architecture of the church with its heavy wall.

There is a notable difference between these doors and the thirteenth-century portal of St. Andrew's church carried off as a trophy after the fall of Acre, later to be erected in Cairo as the entrance to the madrasah-mausoleum of sultan an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, where it is still to be seen (pl. XXVa). Here the arch is tall and slender, the elements that articulate it are thin, more linear, and the whole effect stresses a flatter, less three-dimensional entry. Furthermore, the decorative sculpture of the very small capitals (pl. XXVb) has changed strikingly from the acanthus types seen in the twelfth century. The foliage is lush and young with leaves that seem by their naturalistic quality to invite identification. Viollet-le-Duc in his *Dictionnaire d'architecture* long ago discussed how such naturalistic foliage was used in French Gothic sculpture. Here is the same phenomenon, with the leaves opened out as they were carved in France in the first half of the thirteenth century.

There are of course other examples of this Gothic foliage *in situ* in the crusader states. The cathedral of Notre Dame at Tortosa, surely the finest extant Gothic church on the mainland, also has rich flora in the capitals carved in the thirteenth-century phase of the building (pl. XXVIII). In Acre itself the east wall of the west hall of the *grand manoir* of the Hospitallers still stands, partly rebuilt, but with the original architectural sculpture intact (pl. XXVIa). Here shafts and clusters of capitals are visible amidst the housetop playground debris of dwellings that abut the present government hospital for the insane. One console (pl. XXVIb) in particular, in the center of the wall, though badly weathered, has vigorous foliage whose leaf designs bear some resemblance to those of St. Andrew's.

The Hospitaller complex in Acre has yielded other bits of sculpture which help to distinguish its various building phases from the mid-twelfth century into the thirteenth. *Fleurs-de-lys* found on consoles in the so-called refectory probably were carved in the second half of the twelfth century.⁴⁴ A handsome capital now in the Municipal Museum, almost surely from the Hospitaller church of St. John (now the Arab school just opposite the museum), was probably carved to decorate the interior after the crusaders retook Acre in 1191 (pl. XXVIc). Not as stylized as the *fleurs-de-lys* and yet not so three-dimensional as the St. Andrew's or the Hospitaller west hall foliage, their form is nonetheless convincingly naturalistic. Perhaps the closest comparison in concept is to be found in sculpture from the now mostly destroyed monastery of St. Brochardus in the Wādī as-Sīyāḥ just south of Mt. Carmel. Excavations there have shown that the church was built in two phases: an earlier Romanesque of the late twelfth century and a later Gothic of the mid-thirteenth.⁴⁵ One of the few sculptures recovered from the church (pl. XXIVe) shows a plant decorating some kind of polygonal piece that must have been executed for the enlarged Gothic church.

Much of the crusader figural sculpture from the thirteenth century is equally fragmentary. A handsome eagle surmounting a lion is found today in the Municipal Museum at Acre (pl. XXVIIa).⁴⁶ Despite the abstract character of the beveled forms, as in the lion's mane, it has been connected with the visit of Frederick II to Acre and the Holy Land in 1228-1229. Actually, however, this phase of crusader art is one of the least well understood and most in need of careful study. Other less well preserved sculpture from thirteenth-century Acre is also to be found in the Municipal Museum. A console with a forceful, beardless, but lined man's head with a fearsome expression is recognizably a Gothic work despite its severe weathering (pl. XXVIIb).

44. The *fleurs-de-lys* are published by Z. Goldmann, "The Hospice of the Knights of St. John in Akko," *Archaeology*, XIX (1966), 185, and "Le Couvent des hospitaliers à St. Jean d'Acre," *Bible et Terre Sainte*, no. 160 (1974), p. 11, fig. 5.

45. B. Bagatti, "Nota storico-archeologica sul monastero di S. Brocardo in seguito ai lavori praticati nel 1958," *Acta Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum*, III (1958), 278-288.

Other handsome foliate sculpture is known from the castle of the Teutonic Knights at Montfort, rebuilt after 1229, but few pieces can be found today. See B. Dean, "The Exploration of a Crusaders' Fortress (Montfort) in Palestine," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, XXII, part II (1927), especially p. 29. See also the handsome floral capitals in the northern and eastern gatehouses at Caesarea Maritima from the rebuilding of Louis IX in 1251: M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1970), p. 139.

46. M. Barasch, "An Unknown Work of Medieval Sculpture in Acre," *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, XXIV (Jerusalem, 1972), 72-105. See also Joshua Prawer, "A Crusader Tomb of 1290 from Acre and the Archbishops of Nazareth," *Israel Exploration Journal*, XXIV (1974), 241-251.

Many such consoles survive *in situ* from the twelfth century, as for example on the drum of the Holy Sepulcher (frontispiece) or the east end of the Beirut cathedral (pl. XXIXb). From the thirteenth century, however, the consoles of the great north tower in the Château Pèlerin are among the only surviving examples from the Latin kingdom (pl. XXIVa).⁴⁷ This castle was begun in the winter of 1217/1218 and when completed became the headquarters for the Knights Templar, impregnable until evacuation in 1291 after the fall of Acre. In the upper story of the north tower three consoles with human heads have somehow survived the weathering by intense winter wind and rain that has so severely pitted most of the stone remains there. The left-hand console with its fleshy face and long wavy hair is reminiscent of the one from Acre mentioned above (pl. XXIVb). The cluster of three heads in the central console is too damaged to be seen well (pl. XXIVc). But the right-hand console miraculously preserves a handsome bearded face which even today conveys some of the sensitivity of carving characteristic of the best French work in the high Gothic period (pl. XXIVd). These consoles give us a tantalizing glimpse of what crusader sculpture in the thirteenth century could be at its best.

In short, the monumental sculpture done in the Latin kingdom between 1099 and 1291 seems to be the product of a variety of artists: some local Christians, many from France, some from Italy, and possibly a few from Germany, whose influence has only vaguely been discerned in the now-scattered fragmentary material from Montfort. One may expect the identification of some Spanish contributions as well.

In non-figural sculpture a clear distinction can be seen in foliate capitals between those of Romanesque and Gothic style. During the twelfth century the influence of local tradition from Roman-Early Christian-Byzantine times plays a major role along with the styles of western Europe. One significant result is the uniquely crusader "wet-leaf" acanthus style, which blends concepts from both traditions. In the thirteenth century the artistic centers move from the more strongly traditional inland area to the coast, where itinerant western artists predominate. Interest shifts from the Corinthian acanthus to Gothic naturalistic foliage.

In figural sculpture western artists, mostly French, prevailed throughout the duration of the Latin kingdom. Jerusalem yields in the twelfth century a rich variety of styles. None however is of the outstanding quality found in Nazareth. Knowledge of thirteenth-

47. It should be noted that some figural sculpture in capitals was found *in situ* at Montfort but is now lost. See Dean, "The Exploration of a Crusaders' Fortress," p. 27, fig. 28.

century figural sculpture is still fragmentary, but curiously very little carving of any kind seems to date from after the 1250's.

No serious attempt can be made to relate crusader painting to the sculpture until all the key monuments are adequately studied. Production methods in the two media indicate nothing surprisingly different from what is known of ateliers in the west except the unusual importance of itinerant artists from widely scattered regions. Sculpture tended to be a highly differentiated local art, as did monumental painting, whereas there was greater unity in manuscript illumination and icons which, being easily portable, could be distributed from Jerusalem or Acre. It is worth noting, however, that the sculpture points to a major center for which as yet no painting is known, Nazareth. Oddly enough, our picture of thirteenth-century Acre seems entirely out of phase artistically, the extant sculpture dating mostly from before 1250, the painting mostly after 1250 with Louis IX as the pivotal figure. Future study should help determine whether this is purely the result of chance survivals or whether sculpture in fact preceded painting there, unlike Jerusalem. The Byzantine influence so strongly seen in the painting appears only occasionally in large-scale sculpture, as in capitals. But it is more important in the so-called minor arts like the ivory covers of Melisend's Psalter. It should be mentioned incidentally that a few other such diminutive works have been found, like the handsome Bethlehem candlesticks with their niello inscriptions to curse would-be thieves (pl. XLIX).⁴⁸ Other portable crusader sculptures in ivory, precious metals, or wood may yet be identified in western museums to help clarify crusader developments in this area as well.⁴⁹

Crusader art was not merely a colonial transplant of western ideas to the east. Taken as a whole, the crusader experience in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem between 1099 and 1291 was beginning to produce a fruitful blend of cultures, western, Byzantine, and Islamic among others, which yielded painting and sculpture unique in style and iconography, a distinctive chapter in the history of medieval art. The tragedy is that because of war and destruction much of crusader art is lost. The works of those who lived by the sword have been destroyed by it.

48. See above, p. 139.

49. Heribert Meurer has recently argued that several reliquaries now in western Europe originated in crusader Jerusalem. See his "Kreuzreliquiare aus Jerusalem," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, XIII (1976), 7-17. See also W. Fleischhauer, "Das romanische Kreuzreliquiar von Denkendorf," *Festschrift für Georg Scheja* (Sigmaringen, 1975), pp. 64-68. My thanks to Dr. H. E. Mayer for drawing my attention to these articles.