

Symbolic Meaning in Crusader Architecture

The Twelfth-Century Dome of the Holy Sepulcher Church in Jerusalem

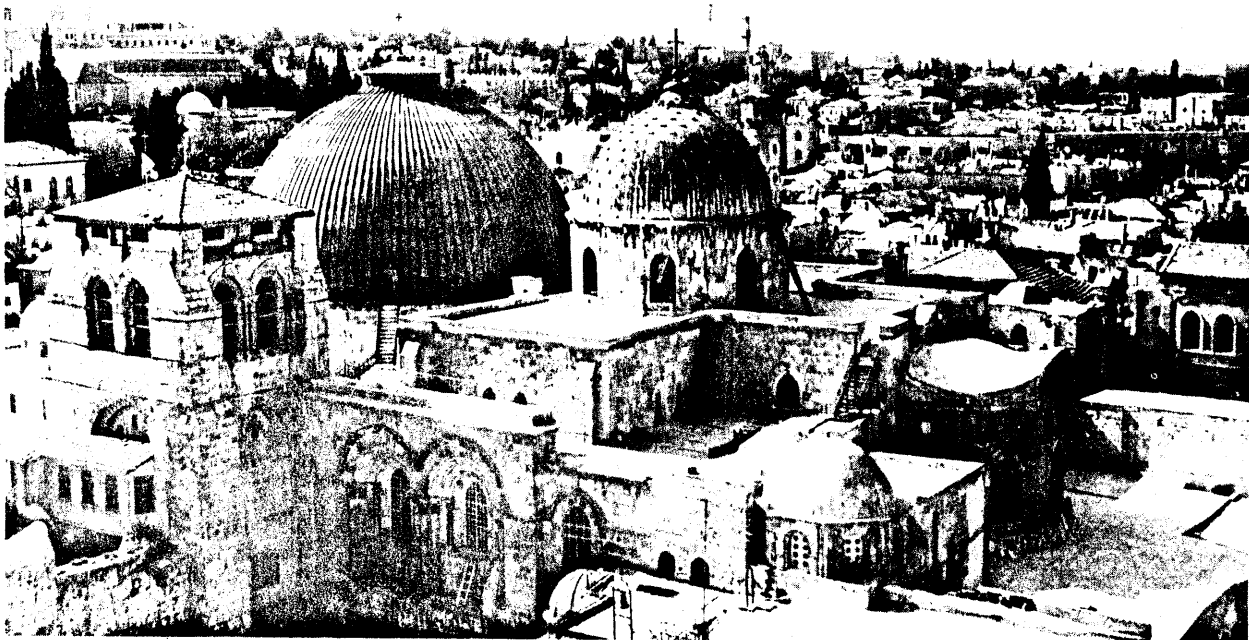
by Nurith KENAN-KEDAR

Students of crusader architecture, from Camille Enlart and Paul Deschamps to present-day scholars, have focused their studies on stylistic problems and on the formal character of ecclesiastical architecture in the Holy Land, with particular emphasis on its Western models and sources of inspiration¹. However, the iconography or the symbolic meaning of crusader architecture has not yet been explored at all, despite the fact that such issues have become prominent in the study of medieval architecture in general. Indeed, studies dealing with the meaning of Western edifices which are strictly contemporary with crusader architecture, like Otto von Simson's *The Gothic Cathedral* or Erwin Panofsky's *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, have been recognized as major contributions to the study of medieval thought

and architecture². The purpose of the present study is to investigate the symbolic meaning of a prominent example of crusader architecture, namely the dome which crowns the new crusader Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (fig. 1).

The Church of the Holy Sepulcher which the crusaders encountered upon their conquest of Jerusalem on July 15, 1099, was a largely reconstructed building. The dome of the Constantinian Rotunda, demolished in 1009 on the orders of the caliph al-Hākim, was rebuilt between 1030 and 1048 thanks to Byzantine intervention at the Fāṭimid court³. The groundplan of the Rotunda was retained, but an upper gallery and a large eastern apse were added to it. The fourth-century rectangular courtyard, which stood between the destroyed

1. *The two domes of the church seen from the southeast (present-day view).*



Constantinian basilica and the Rotunda, was altered by the erection of three chapels on the eastern side. The Omphalos, marking the center of the world, was situated east of the Rotunda's large eastern apse⁴.

The construction of the new crusader church started in about 1114, and the new edifice was consecrated on July 15, 1149, the fiftieth anniversary of the crusader conquest⁵. Taking into account the existing structures of the Rotunda and the courtyard on the one hand, and adhering to the patterns of French Romanesque churches on the other, the planners of the crusader church had to cope with the problem of joining their church to the Rotunda, which was now oriented, by virtue of its large apse, toward the east. They decided to tear down the large eastern apse and to join the Rotunda directly to the new church which was to be erected within the framework of the eleventh-century courtyard.

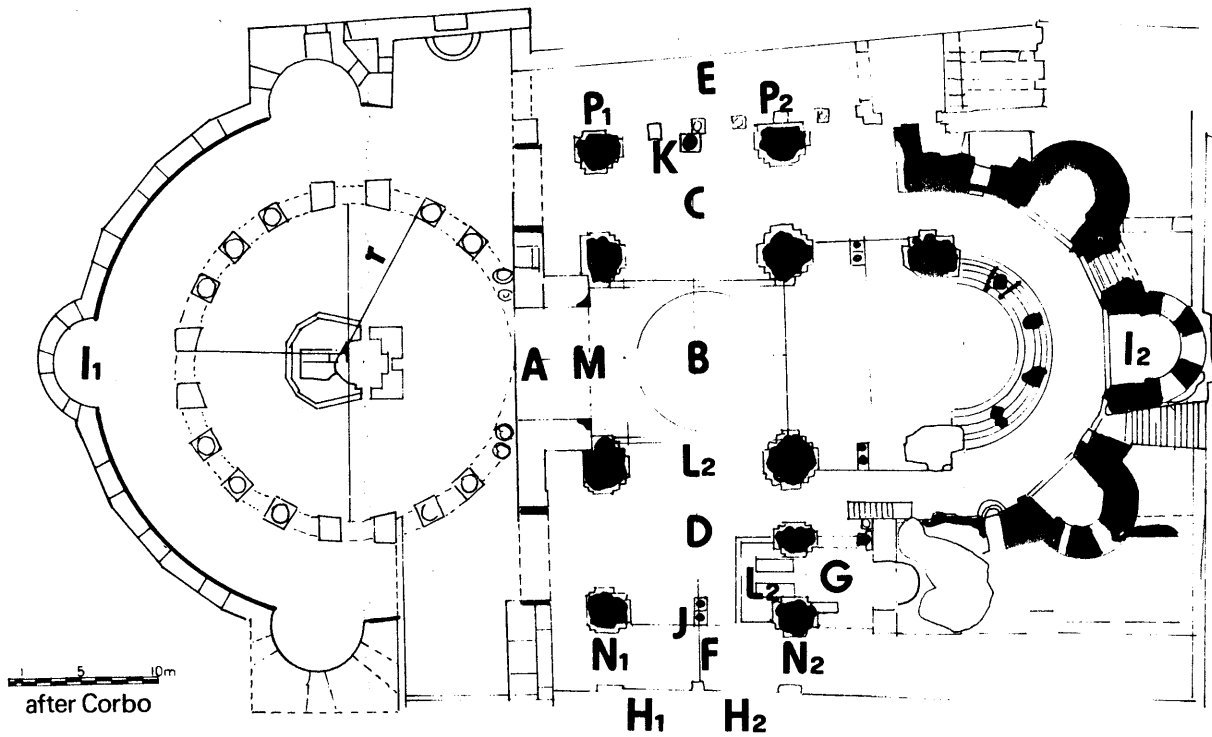
The groundplan of the new church, read from west to east, represents the partial ground-plan of a twelfth-century French Romanesque church, and not necessarily of a great pilgrimage church (fig. 2 and 3)⁶. Lacking a nave and aisles, the sanctuary was attached directly to the Rotunda by a great triumphal arch (see A on Plan, fig. 2) which opened into the crossing (B). Elevated on four combined pillars carrying slightly pointed arches and crowned with a dome, the crossing formed the center of a transept with northern (C) and southern (D) protruding arms. The northern arm was created by incorporating a Constantinian structure (E), while the southern was formed by the addition of an entrance bay (F). Calvary became an eastern upper chapel (G) adjoining the southern transept and the double-portal façade (H₁-H₂ and fig. 4) was located at that arm's southern extremity. On the upper level, the Franks added a gallery which linked the eleventh-century upper floor of the Rotunda with Calvary and continued on the southern side of the new choir, all more or less on the same level. There was also a gallery on the northern arm of the transept, but the two galleries did not link.

The mathematical middle of the longitudinal axis of the entire complex, which runs between the two extreme chapels of the Rotunda and of the new church (I₁, I₂), is situated under the western supporting arch (M) of the crossing. In other words, the crusader church is equal in its length to the Rotunda. This is hardly accidental, as the urban layout of the time allowed for a much larger edifice. A highly significant though

hitherto unnoticed fact is that the module employed by the crusader architect was that of the radius of the inner circle of the Rotunda (r), amounting to 10.40 metres. The diameter of the crusader dome equals one module: in other words, this diameter amounts to one half of the diameter of the Rotunda's dome. Moreover, the module was used seven times for the length of the entire complex and four times for its width; the recourse to these numbers was certainly intentional. The distance between the great triumphal arch (A), the western supporting arch (M) of the crossing, and the crossing's center (B), is half a module at a time⁷.

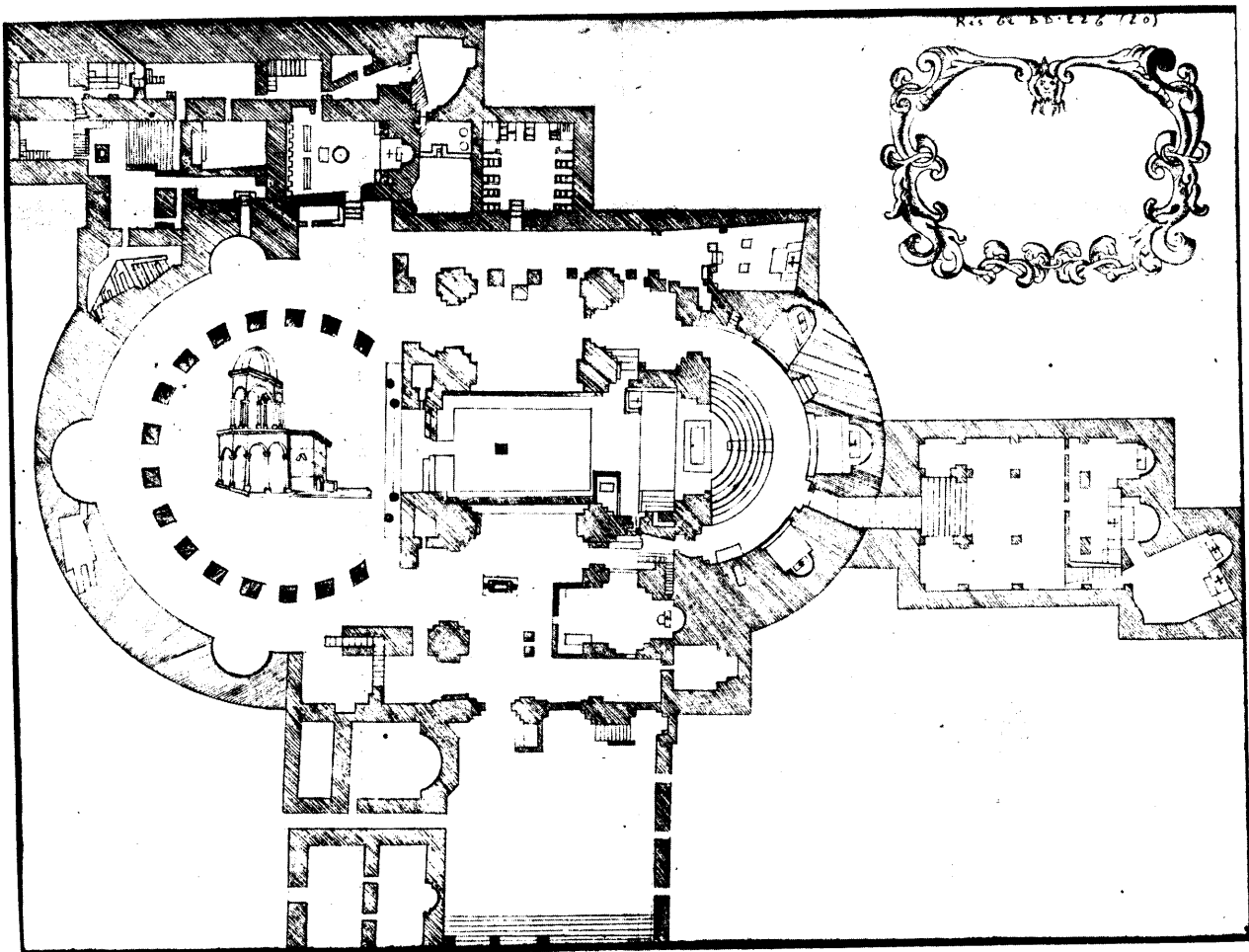
While the mathematical middle is located under the western supporting arch, the visual center of the entire complex is the dome-crowned crossing itself. Standing in the crossing, the faithful could see the two sanctuaries, old and new. The crossing's centrality was emphasized by the location of the façade with its double portals (H₁-H₂) on the transversal axis (E-F) running through the crossing. Each portal, located on either side of the axis, is half a module wide; in other words, the width between the portals' outer columns is one module. The employment of this dictating module was underlined by locating the gallery-supporting twin columns (J) between the two combined pillars (N₁, N₂) in the south, and by placing an additional column (K) between the two combined pillars (P₁, P₂) in the north. The distance between pillar and intermediate column is half a module in each case. Entering the church from the south, the believer confronted first the dome-crowned crossing, and only then would proceed in either of the two directions. Thus the new complex, comprising of the Rotunda and the crusader church, should be read from the center to both sides rather than from west to east.

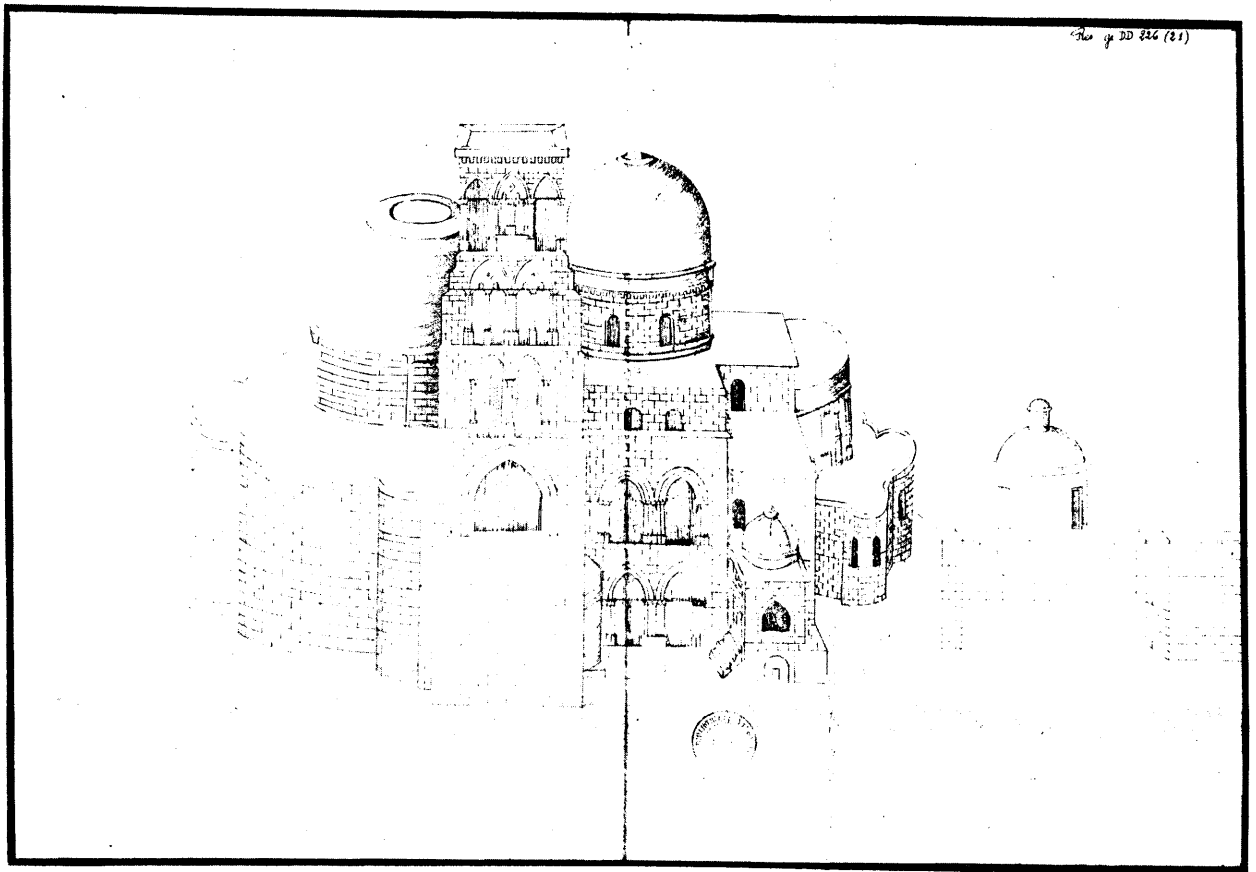
The Omphalos, which had previously been in the courtyard of the eleventh-century church⁸, was designated now, according to John of Würzburg – a pilgrim who visited Jerusalem about 1165 – by little circles engraved in the middle of the new crusader choir of the canons. John explains that this spot was considered the middle of the earth. He further relates that at the same spot Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalen after his resurrection, and Joseph obtained the body of Jesus from Pilate⁹. Theoderic, a German who made his pilgrimage in 1172, says that "about the middle of the choir there is a concave and small though venerable altar, in the pavement of which a little encircled cross is impressed". Similarly to John of Würzburg he re-



2. Groundplan of the Crusader Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

3. Plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, ca. 1686, prepared by the crew of Gravier d'Ortières, Captain of the ship Jason, who visited the eastern Mediterranean under the orders of Louis XIV (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Rés. Ge. DD 226 (20)).





4. Elevation of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, ca. 1686, prepared by the same (Paris, Bibl. nat. Rés. Ge. DD 226 (21)).

lates that at this spot Joseph and Nicodemus laid the body of Jesus after its deposition from the cross, but he does not mention the Omphalos, or Compass, at all¹⁰. However, the charters granted to the canons by Patriarch Amalric in 1169, by Pope Alexander III in 1170, and by Pope Lucius III in 1182, explicitly situate the Compass *in medio chori vestri*, and three anonymous writers of the late twelfth century present the middle of the canons' choir as the world's midpoint¹¹. Thus no less than eight twelfth-century sources refer to the *medium*, or *mi liu*, of the choir of the canons. We may assume that this 'middle' is merely a visual indication which places the Omphalos at the center of the dome-crowned crossing (B) rather than at the mathematical center (M) half a module to its east.

The crossing – as well as the bay and the apse to its east – was also the place where liturgy and royal ceremony were performed. Indeed, as the new crusader church was conceived without longitudinal nave and aisles – though with upper-level galleries – traditional concern with the provision of space for the as-

sembly of the faithful appears to have been secondary. This may have resulted from the fact that the church consisted of stations in the pilgrim's itinerary (e.g., Calvary, the Prison of Christ), with the Rotunda being a sanctuary in its own right¹².

In an architectural complex of this articulation the choice of a second, smaller dome for the crossing rather than of any other vaulting system, as well as the choice of double portals, must have been intentional. The symbolism of the dome, the arch, and the portals (fig. 4) in medieval architecture has been explored time and again¹³. The dome represents the dome of heaven; the arch and the portals symbolize triumph terrestrial and celestial. The selection of these particular elements for the new crusader church will be now examined within the framework of contemporary architectural concepts in the West, as well as of the reality of twelfth-century Jerusalem.

The role of the Holy Sepulcher in medieval thought, liturgy, liturgical drama and representational arts cannot be overestimated. Its image assumed sundry forms, concrete and symbolic.

In Western architecture, the Rotunda of the Anastasis constituted an influential prototype which was frequently copied between the fifth and the seventeenth century¹⁴. Moreover, whether forming part of a biblical scene or serving as a symbol, the Rotunda was also commonly depicted, from early Christian times onward, on ivories and glass as well as in monumental painting and sculpture. Therefore one may assume that at least some of the crusaders who arrived in Jerusalem in 1099 had a preconception of the building's appearance.

On the other hand, it is common knowledge that the Christian sanctuary was traditionally perceived, mystically and liturgically, as an image of the Heavenly Jerusalem described in Revelation 22 and prefigured by the Temple of Solomon. This Temple, erected through divine inspiration, was conceived as an ideal model for a church, since its perfect proportions reflected cosmic harmony¹⁵. Indeed, Suger of St. Denis, who consecrated his abbey church just seven years before the consecration of the crusader Church of the Holy Sepulcher, writes: "I used to compare the least to the greatest: Solomon's riches could not have sufficed for his Temple any more than did ours for this work, had not the same Author of the same work abundantly supplied His attendants. The identity of the author and the work provides a sufficiency for the worker¹⁶." In numerous consecration rites a new church was presented as the Temple of Solomon¹⁷, and in several Romanesque churches there were inscriptions like that of the Abbaye des Moreaux which reads: UT FUIT INTRO-ITUS TEMPLI SCI SALOMONIS, SIC EST ISTIUS IN MEDIO BOVIS ATQUE LEONIS¹⁸. These allegorical images, widely known and used in Western Europe by the closing years of the eleventh century, became a concrete reality for the crusaders when they stood confronted with the two magnificent, dome-crowned edifices of the Temple Mount, the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of al-Aqsa.

These edifices were excluded from the Christian 'holy geography' from the Byzantine period onward¹⁹. In crusader Jerusalem, however, they played a major role from the beginning. The Dome of the Rock was identified as the Templum Domini and, immediately after the conquest of Jerusalem, it was converted into the Church of the Templum Domini. The crusaders regarded it either as the ancient biblical Temple or as commemorating the site of the Temple in which events from the life of Jesus, such as the circumcision, the presentation in the Temple,

and the expulsion of the merchants, had occurred²⁰. They believed that the edifice was erected by one of the Christian emperors, Helena, Justinian or Heraclius. The possibility that it was built by the Muslims was also considered²¹. The al-Aqsa Mosque was identified by the crusaders as the Templum Salomonis or Palatium Salomonis²². It was used as the palace of the early crusader rulers, who regarded the Kings of Judea as their predecessors in the *Regnum David*. The Palace of Solomon served as the center of government for the first two decades of the realm until Baldwin II moved the palace to the citadel in 1119 and gave parts of it to the new Military Order of the Templars²³.

With the consolidation of crusader rule, the Templum Domini became ever more important. The earliest chroniclers of the First Crusade, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* and Raymond of Aguilers, write that after the conquest the Franks came in great numbers to pray in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. But Fulcher of Chartres, who wrote somewhat later in Jerusalem, reports that after the conquest the Franks went "ad sepulcrum Domini et Templum eius gloriosum": that is, for Fulcher the Templum Domini has become a secondary goal of the crusaders²⁴. Moreover, Achard d'Arrouaise, prior of the Templum Domini, mentions it even before the Holy Sepulchre Church, expressing his thanks to God who liberated "templum suum cum sepulcro" during his lifetime²⁵. Similarly, the Jerusalem-born William of Tyre, reconstructing the Clermont Address by Urban II, makes the pope exclaim that, under the Saracens, the Templum Domini was turned into an abode of demons and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was polluted by Gentile filth²⁶.

From the earliest days of the Crusader Kingdom, Jerusalem was centered around the two rival foci of the Holy Sepulcher Church and the Temple Mount. The rivalry antedated the arrival of the crusaders. The Jerusalem-born Muslim author al-Muqaddasi, writing in the late tenth century, relates that the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, "noting the greatness of the dome of the [Holy Sepulcher] and its magnificence, was moved lest it should dazzle the minds of the Muslims, and hence erected above the Rock, the dome which now is seen there" and that during the building of the Mosque of al-Aqsa the Muslims "had for a rival and as a comparison the great Church [of the Holy Sepulcher] belonging to the Christians at Jerusalem, and they built this to be even more magnificent than the

other²⁷." Heribert Busse and Sylvia Schein have shown that during the crusader period this rivalry was expressed in the transfer of holy traditions from the Holy Sepulcher to the Templum Domini. While in previous times such traditions were moved from the Temple Mount to the Holy Sepulcher, now efforts were made to bring them back to the Templum Domini, in order to establish it as a holy place second in importance only to the Holy Sepulcher²⁸. It is noteworthy that the major crusader building campaigns at the two sanctuaries were completed within the same decade: the renovated Templum Domini was consecrated on April 9, 1141²⁹, the crusader church of the Holy Sepulcher on July 15, 1149.

These two foci were linked by the specific liturgy of crusader Jerusalem. The celebration of the great events of the liturgical year started at the Holy Sepulcher Church and ended at the churches commemorating them. The ceremonies of the presentation in the Temple and the purification of the Virgin both started at the Holy Sepulcher Church and ended in the Templum Domini. The Palm Sunday procession, for which the True Cross was taken out of the treasury of the Holy Sepulcher Church, started in Bethany, entered the Temple Mount through the Golden Gate, and continued to the Templum Domini and its surroundings³⁰. The procession celebrating the crusader conquest of the city on July 15, 1099 and the consecration of the crusader Holy Sepulcher fifty years later, started in that church, passed through various stations to the Templum Domini and terminated near the north-eastern wall where a cross marked the penetration into the city by the knights of Godfrey of Bouillon³¹.

According to the *Assises* of Jean d'Ibelin, the coronation ceremony followed a similar itinerary. Riding from the royal palace to the Holy Sepulcher Church, the king was received before its portals by the patriarch of Jerusalem and numerous clergy. The coronation itself took place in the choir of the canons in front of the altar³², that is, in the crossing under the dome, or under one of the dome's eastern supporting arches, or immediately to its east.

It is pertinent to examine here the mosaic decoration of the area in question. The accounts of John of Würzburg and Theoderic concur with regard to location and subject-matter. John describes a mosaic which depicts Christ rising from the dead, bursting the gates of Hell, and drawing Adam thereof. This mosaic is situated in the choir, above the major altar dedicated to

the Anastasis. Theoderic writes that Christ is depicted on the choir's ceiling, holding a cross in his left hand and Adam in his right. Looking upward imperially, with his right foot still on earth and his left raised in a gigantic step, he is entering Heaven, while his mother, John the Baptist, and all the Apostles stand around³³. Thus, both pilgrims describe a mosaic depicting the Anastasis, an obvious theme for the Church of the Resurrection. This theme, originating in Byzantium but frequently presented also in the West³⁴, was associated with imperial iconography. The mosaic described by the two pilgrims may be compared with the mosaic of the Anastasis in the Nea Moni in Chios and the two scenes of the Pala d'oro in Venice. It always represents the triumph of Christ³⁵.

The mosaic, situated according to Theoderic *in celatura* ("on the ceiling"), may have been located either in the dome or in the vault over the bay preceding the apse, or in the apse conch³⁶. In any case, the coronated king was seated either under the image of Christ Triumphant or with the depiction serving him as a backdrop. Moreover, he was very close to the spot which, as John of Würzburg puts it, was considered the center of the world according to "the verse: *Operatus est salutem in medio terrae* (Psalms 73: 12)³⁷. Thus the site of the coronation made the parallelism between Christ and king amply evident. As Ernst Kantorowitz has stated about the Western coronation ceremony, "the new government was linked [by it] with the divine government and with that of Christ, the true governor of the world. During the ceremony of the consecration... the images of King and Christ had been brought together as nearly as possible³⁸."

After the Coronation Mass, the procession left the Holy Sepulcher Church for the Templum Domini, where the king placed his crown "on the altar where Our Lord was presented to Saint Simeon". The analogy between Christ and king is emphasized again. The coronation was concluded at the Palatium Salomonis, where a banquet was served³⁹. These three stations – Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Templum Domini, Palatium Salomonis – recall the three stations of the festival coronation in the West: church, cathedral and palace, with a banquet taking place at the latter⁴⁰. It is noteworthy, however, that in Jerusalem the Templum Domini assumes the role of the cathedral and the banquet is served in the Palatium Salomonis, not in the actual royal palace near the city's citadel.

The royal house was connected by manifold ties to the Holy Sepulcher Church. The anniversary of the death of Godfrey of Bouillon, regarded *advocatus sancti Sepulcri* in his lifetime, was solemnly celebrated in the church⁴¹. Godfrey and all the kings of the First Crusading Kingdom were buried under Golgotha (L₁) or at the southern entrance (L₂) to the crossing⁴², and, from 1131 onwards, all coronations took place within the church. The wording of the charter of 1114 which inaugurated the *renovatio* of the chapter of the Holy Sepulcher, strongly suggests that King Baldwin I was the moving force behind it⁴³. It is often assumed that work at the new crusader church started some time after this re-organization⁴⁴. Much of the building must have taken place in the days of King Baldwin II (1118-31), who also transferred the royal residence to the citadel. According to the Old French translation of William of Tyre's *Historia* and Jean d'Ibelin's *Assises*, Baldwin II was ordained a canon of the Holy Sepulcher Church on his deathbed⁴⁵. His grandson Baldwin III, under whom the new church was consecrated, was equally a canon of the Sepulcher⁴⁶. Thus at least two of the rulers in whose days the church was under construction, were members of its chapter.

To sum up: The crusaders, accustomed to regard Solomon's temple as an ideal, literary prototype of a church, were confronted in Jerusalem with an earthly *Templum Domini*, built upon the site of Solomon's temple, as well as with Solomon's palace which was sometimes called *Templum Salomonis*. At the same time, they encountered the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, an age-old model for many churches in the West. The crusaders established manifold ties between the Temple and the Sepulcher, and their kings were prominently linked to both, as well as to the Palace of Solomon.

It is plausible to assume that this complex situation led to the choice of a dome for the definite vaulting of the new crusader Church of the Holy Sepulcher and to the erection of the double portals, both charged with symbolic meanings. According to this hypothesis, the new crusader dome related to three pre-existing domed monuments of the city: the *Templum Domini* and the *Palatium Salomonis* which represented the temple and the palace of the biblical kingdom and fulfilled at the same time contemporary needs of church and palace; and the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher church which, from Constantinian times onwards, symbolized the New Jerusalem as well as Christ's resurrection, and prefigured

Heavenly JeruSalem⁴⁷. Thus the planners of the new, smaller dome over the crusader church had two immediate models, the dome of the Rotunda of the Anastasis, and the architectural panorama of the Temple Mount dominated by a greater and a lesser dome, with the diameter of the greater almost twice as large as the smaller⁴⁸. One may advance the hypothesis that the planners conceived a dome which was to relate to the Rotunda in the same way as the lesser dome of the *Palatium Salomonis* related to the greater dome of the *Templum Domini*. Thus, the new crusader dome may be considered as expressing the idea of a royal church or, metaphorically, the idea of the new palace of the crusader kings near the new temple – the Holy Sepulcher – with its greater dome.

However, while we may assume that the domed panorama of the Temple Mount inspired the crusader program of the Holy Sepulcher complex, there can be no doubt that the crusader architect used the measurements of the Rotunda's dome as the dictating module for the new edifice, with the diameter of the new dome equalling one half of the old.

As I have suggested elsewhere, the double portals of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher were modeled on the double portals of the Golden Gate which gives access to the Temple Mount from the east⁴⁹. Apparently Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem through the Golden Gate was perceived as a prefiguration of the crusader conquest of the city, with each event symbolized by a double-portal edifice. The acclamation of a crusader king in front of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher probably evoked the image of Christ's advent, on Palm Sunday, through the original double portal.

Thus there emerges a two-stage dialogue between the Temple Mount and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher: in the Umayyad period, the dome of the Rotunda served as the model for the Dome of the Rock; in the twelfth century, the domes on the Temple Mount inspired the disposition of the new crusader church. The architectural complex of the Holy Sepulcher Church in its entirety, with its two domes and double portal, was to be the new urban counterpart of the Temple Mount as well as the symbol of the New Kingdom.

1. C. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile*, 2 vols. and 2 albums of plates (Paris, 1925-1928); P. Deschamps, « La sculpture française en Palestine et en Syrie à l'époque des croisades », *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et mémoires*, XXXI (Paris, 1930), 91-118. The most recent discussions are by T. S. R. Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria, A: Architecture and Sculpture", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, IV (Madison, 1977), 69-116; J. Folda, "Painting and Sculpture in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1291", *ibid.*, 251-280. The most recent works on the Holy Sepulcher Church are Ch. Couasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, The Schweich Lectures, 1972 (London, 1974) and V. C. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme. Aspetti archeologici dalle origini al periodo crociato*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem, 1982).
2. E. Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (Latrobe, 1951; repr. New York, 1957); O. von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral. Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (New York, 1956). See also R. Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography' of Medieval Architecture", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), 1-33, reprinted in *idem, Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (London and New York, 1969), 115-150; A. Grabar, « Le témoignage d'une hymne syriaque sur l'architecture de la cathédrale d'Édesse au VI^e siècle et sur la symbolique de l'édifice chrétien », *Cahiers archéologiques*, 2 (1947), 29-67; G. Bandmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger* (Berlin, 1951); and, most recently, A. W. Epstein, "The Date and Significance of the Cathedral of Canosa in Apulia, South Italy", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 37 (1983), 79-90; K. E. McVey, "The Domed Church as Microcosm: Literary Roots of an Architectural Symbol", *ibid.*, 91-121.
3. Corbo, *Santo Sepolcro*, I, 139-166; II, Plates 4, 5. For the date see Couasnon, *Church*, 54.
4. Corbo, *loc. cit.*
5. H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, II, fasc. 4 (Paris, 1926), 268-274; B. Hamilton, "Rebuilding Zion: The Holy Places of Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century", *Studies in Church History*, 14 (1977), 106. But see the reservation, with regard to 1114, of H. E. Mayer and M. L. Favreau, "Das Diplom Balduins I. für Genua und Genuas Goldene Inschrift in der Grabeskirche", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 55/56 (1976), 31, reprinted in H. E. Mayer, *Kreuzzüge und lateinischer Osten* (London, 1983), V, 31.
6. The characterization of the church and its elements remains controversial. For instance, while K. J. Conant (*Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800 to 1200* [Baltimore, 1959], 208) considers the transept "half-Provençal - half-Poitevin", and the dome "of Levantine form", T. S. R. Boase ("Ecclesiastical Art.", 77-78) believes that "the obvious prototype of the crusading work would be a Cluniac pilgrimage church of southern France" and that the construction of the dome "is Aquitanian rather than Byzantine". A detailed comparative study remains a desideratum.
7. A detailed, technical discussion of the module and its manifold applications in the crusader Church of the Holy Sepulcher and elsewhere will be presented in a forthcoming publication co-authored with Dr. Doron Chen of Jerusalem, to whom I would like to thank for having checked and commented upon the measurements appearing in the present article.
8. Corbo, *Santo Sepolcro*, II, 201-207 and Plate 5. I would like to thank Professor Dan Barag for having drawn my attention to this problem.
9. John of Würzburg, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, in *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII. IX. XII. et XV.*, ed. T. Tobler (Leipzig, 1874), 145-146.
10. Theodericus, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, ed. M.-L. and W. Bulst (Heidelberg, 1976), 16.
11. *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 15 (Paris, 1984), Nos. 150, 151, pp. 294, 298; *Codice diplomatico Barlettano*, ed. S. Santeramo, I (Barletta, 1924), No. 6, p. 22; Innominatus VII, Innominatus VIII, and *La Citez de Iherusalem*, in *Descriptiones*, ed. Tobler, 101, 194, 204.
12. John of Würzburg, 141-145; Theodericus, 12-15.
13. On the dome see A. Grabar, *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1934-1946; repr. London, 1972); K. Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven", *Art Bulletin*, 27 (1945), 1-27; E. Baldwin Smith, *The Dome of Heaven* (Princeton, 1950). On the portals see E. H. Kantorowitz, "The King's Advent and the Enigmatic Panel in the Doors of Santa Sabina", *Art Bulletin*, 26 (1944), 207-231; E. Baldwin Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1956); L. Seidel, *Songs of Glory. The Romanesque Façades of Aquitaine* (Chicago, 1981), 17-35.
14. R. Fagé, "L'église de Saint Léonard et la chapelle du Sépulchre", *Bulletin monumental*, 77 (1913), 41 ff.; 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/2 (Urbana, 1921); Krautheimer, "Introduction" (*supra*, note 2), 1-24.
15. J. Sauer, *Die Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes* (Freiburg, 1924), 109; von Simson, *Gothic Cathedral* (*Supra*, note 2), 37-38.
16. Abbot Suger, *On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, ed. and trans. E. Panofsky (2nd ed., Princeton, 1979), 90-91.
17. Von Simson, *Gothic Cathedral*, xv, 37-38.
18. R. Favreau-J. Michaud, *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale*, I (Paris, 1977), 8.
19. J. Prawer, "Jerusalem in the Christian and Jewish Perspectives of the Early Middle Ages", in *Gli Ebrei nell'alto medioevo, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, XXVI (Spoleto, 1980), 739-812.
20. John of Würzburg, 119-129; Theodericus, 22-23.
21. P. Lehmann, "Die mittellateinischen Dichtungen der Prioren des Tempels von Jerusalem Acardus und Gaufridus", in *Corona Querneae. Festgabe Karl Strecker, Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Schr. VI (Leipzig, 1941), 329, lines 779-787. Cf. H. Busse, "Vom Felsendom zum Templum Domini", in *Das Heilige Land im Mittelalter. Begegnungsraum zwischen Orient und Okzident*, ed. W. Fischer and J. Schneider (Neustadt, 1982), 24-25.
22. John of Würzburg, 129-130; Theodericus, 26.
23. J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), 110-111.
24. Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, I/29, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), 305. (In note 3, Hagenmeyer points out that Fulcher's sources - the *Gesta Francorum* and Raymond of Aguilers - mention only the Church of the Holy Sepulcher).
25. Lehmann, "Dichtungen" (*Supra*, note 21), 329, line 791.

26. William of Tyre, *Historia*, I, 15, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, I (Paris, 1844), 40-41.
27. G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems. A Description of the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500* (London, 1890), 98, 118. For a recent study see D. Chen, "The Design of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (1980), 41-50.
28. Busse, "Vom Felsendom" (*Supra*, note 21), 19-31; S. Schein, "Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre: The Changing Traditions of the Temple Mount in the Later Middle Ages", *Traditio* (in press).
29. William of Tyre, *Historia* XV, 18, p. 687; cf. the discussion by B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church* (London, 1980), 370-72.
30. Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, 176-181; H. E. Mayer, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Forschung über Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21 (1967), 158-164.
31. Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, 176-177.
32. *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, VII, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Lois*, I, 29-31.
33. John of Würzburg, 145-146; Theodericus, 16. For a full-scale discussion of this mosaic see A. Borg, "The Lost Apse Mosaic of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem", in *The Vanishing Past. Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology presented to Christopher Hohler*, ed. A. Borg and A. Martindale, (Oxford, 1981), 7-12.
34. A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936; repr. London, 1971), 245-249.
35. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the iconographical development of the Descent into Limbo, and its two ways of representation, (a) the harrowing of Hell, (b) the breaking of the gates of Hell and the liberation of Adam. The choice of this subject for the crusader church will be discussed in a further study.
36. The mosaic and panel painting program of the Holy Sepulcher Church at the time of the crusades may be elucidated by a comparative study of the written sources. At present, the mosaics of the Rotunda are often confused with those of the new crusader church. Cf. Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art" (*supra*, note 1), 118-119; Folda, "Painting" (*supra*, note 1), 258-259. Incidentally, it is far from clear whether the mosaic which Quaresmius claims to have seen in the "hemisphere" described by Eusebius, was – as Borg takes for granted (*art. cit.*, p. 8) – the crusader mosaic described by John of Würzburg and Theoderic.
37. John of Würzburg, 146. Same account and verse in Saewulf, *Peregrinatio ad Hierosolimam*, in D. Baldi, *Enchiridion locorum sanctorum* (Jerusalem, 1935), 834.
38. E. H. Kantorowitz, *Laudes Regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*, University of California Publications in History, XXXIII (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946), 81. Cf. H. Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, trans. P. Munz (Toronto, 1978), 54-55. See also Mayer, "Pontifikale von Tyrus" (*Supra*, note 30), 187-88.
39. *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, VII, 31.
40. Kantorowitz, *Laudes Regiae*, 96.
41. John of Würzburg, 153-154. See J. Riley-Smith, "The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 52 (1979), 83-86, to which might be added that William of Tyre describes King Amalric as "locorum venerabilium dominicae passionis et resurrectionis defensor et advocatus": *Historia*, XX, 22, 982.
42. Theodericus, 18-19.
43. "Ego Arnulfus, Dei gratia patriarcha Jherosolimitanus... notifico privilegium quod anno Incarnationis dominice M^oC^oXIII^o... de renovatione ecclesie Sancti Sepulcri ipsius regis consilio a nobis est institutum et confirmatum", *Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem* (*supra*, note 11), No. 20, p. 75. (Emphasis added).
44. See note 5 above.
45. William of Tyre, *Historia*, XIII.28, 602; this is one of the instances in which the Old French translator adds original information. Cf. Mayer, "Pontifikale von Tyrus", 185. The same information appears also in the *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, CCLXXIII, 429: "et à la mort se rendi chanoine dou Sepulchre".
46. On Baldwin III as canon of the Sepulcher see Mayer, "Pontifikale von Tyrus", 185-186.
47. Already a follower of Godfrey of Bouillon is said to have regarded the Church of the Holy Sepulcher as a prefiguration of Heaven: Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, IV (Paris, 1879), 481-82. See also L. H. Stookey, "The Gothic Cathedral as the Heavenly Jerusalem: Liturgical and Theological Sources", *Gesta*, 8 (1969), 35-41.
48. The diameter of the Dome of the Rock is 20.385 metres; that of the wooden dome of the al-Aqsa mosque – 10.80. See D. Chen, "The Design of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (1980), 43; R. W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque* (London, 1949), 9 and plates I, LXXVII. On the dome of the Aqsa mosque see also K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture. Umayyads, A.D. 622-750*, 1.2 (2nd ed., Oxford, 1969), 375-378.
49. N. Kanaan, "Local Christian Art in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem", *Israel Exploration Journal*, 23, (1973), 221-222.