



# The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Text and Archaeology

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Justin L. Kelley



# **The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Text and Archaeology**

A survey and analysis of past excavations  
and recent archaeological research with a  
collection of principal historical sources

Justin L. Kelley



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# Abbreviations

## Reference Works

- BAGD Bauer, Walter, William Arndt, Felix Wilbur Gingrich, Frederick W. Danker. *A Greek English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- BDB Brown, Francis, S.R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1906. Repr., Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003.
- Jastrow Jastrow, Marcus. *A Dictionary of the Talmudim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. London: Luzac and Co.; New York: G.P. Puttman's Sons, 1903.
- NEAEHL Stern, Ephraim, ed. *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. 5 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta, 1993 and 2008.

## Collections of Ancient Texts

- CSCO *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*. 646 vols. Paris: Carolus Poussielgue; Leuven: Peeters, 1903–.
- CSEL *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*. 99 vols. Vindobonae: F. Tempsky; Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1866–.
- CSHB Niebuhr, Barthold G., ed. *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*. 50 Vols. Bonn: Impensis ed. Weberi, 1828–1897.
- LCL Henderson, J. (ed). *Loeb Classical Library*. 532 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1911–2016.
- NPNF Schaff, Philip and Henry Wace, eds. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*. 14 vols. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994. Repr. New York: Christian Literature Publishing, 1890.
- PG Migne, Jacques-P., ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca*. 161 vols. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1857–1886.
- PL Migne, Jacques-P., ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*. 221 vols. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1844–1855.
- PO *Patrologia orientalis*. 49 Vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot; Belgium: Brepols, 1904–2004.
- PPTS *Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*. 13 vols. London: PPTS, 1896–1897.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Note that the volumes are divided into sections demarcated by letters of the Greek alphabet; for the sake of convenience these have been changed in this volume to Latin characters.

## Ancient Sources

An.	Tacitus, Zonaras. <i>Annales</i> (Annals).
Anacr.	Sophronius. <i>Anacreontica</i> .
Ant.	Josephus. <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> ( <i>Antiquitates judaicae</i> ).
b. 'Erub	Babylonian Talmud 'Erubin.
b. Mo'ed Qat	Babylonian Talmud Mo'ed Qatan.
Catech.	Cyril of Jerusalem. <i>Catecheses</i> ( <i>Catechetical Lectures</i> ).
Chron.	Sulpicius Severus. <i>Chronicon libri duo</i> ( <i>Chronicle in Two Books</i> ) or <i>Historia Sacra</i> ( <i>Sacred History</i> ).
Chron. Aquit. Franc.	Adémar of Chebannes. <i>Chronicon Aquitanicum et Francicum</i> ( <i>Chronicle of Aquitaine and France</i> ).
Chron. Pasch.	<i>Chronicon Paschale</i> ( <i>Paschal Chronicle</i> ).
Comm. in Is.	Jerome. <i>Commentaria in Isaiam prophetam</i> ( <i>Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah</i> ).
Comm. in Matt.	Jerome, Origen. <i>Commentaria in Evangelium Matthaei</i> ( <i>Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew</i> ).
De invent.	Alexander Monachus. <i>De inventione sanctae crucis</i> ( <i>The Finding of the Holy Cross</i> ).
Epist.	Jerome, Paulinus of Nola. <i>Epistulae</i> ( <i>Letters</i> ).
Epist. Const.	Cyril of Jerusalem. <i>Epistola ad Constantium imperatorum</i> ( <i>Letter to the Emperor Constantine</i> ).
Fab. heret.	Theodoret, <i>De fabulis hareticorum</i> ( <i>Of Heretical Fables</i> ).
fragm.	fragment.
Haer.	Irenaeus. <i>Adversus haereses</i> ( <i>Against Heresies</i> ).
Hist.	Rodulfus Glaber. <i>Historiarum libri quinque ab anno incarnationis DCCCC usque ad annum MXLIV</i> ( <i>History in Five Books from A.D. 900 to 1044</i> ).
Hist. eccl.	Eusebius, Rufinus, Theodoret, Socrates, Sozomen. <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> ( <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> ).
Hist. eccl. gent. angl.	Bede. <i>Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum</i> ( <i>Ecclesiastical History of the English People</i> ).
Hist. Nov.	Zosimus. <i>Historia Nova</i> ( <i>New History</i> ).
Hist. rom.	Cassius Dio. <i>Historia romana</i> ( <i>Roman History</i> ).
Itin.	Bordeaux Pilgrim, Egeria. <i>Itinerarium</i> ( <i>Itinerary</i> ).
Loc. sanct.	Adomnan. <i>De locis sanctis</i> ( <i>Concerning Sacred Places</i> ).
m. B. Bat.	Mishnah Baba Batra.
m. Bekhoroth	Mishnah Bekhoroth.
m. 'Erub	Mishnah 'Erubin.
m. Mo'ed Qat	Mishnah Mo'ed Qatan.

- m. Naz.* Mishnah Nazir.
- m. Ohol.* Mishnah Oholoth.
- m. Toh* Mishnah Tohorot.
- Nuhzat* Muhammad al-Idrisi. *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq Fi'khtirāq al-Afaq*, (Book of Pleasant Journeys into Far Away Lands).
- Ob. Theod.* Ambrose of Milan. *De obitu Theodosii oratio* (Oration on the Death of Theodosius).
- Onom.* Eusebius. *Onomasticon*.
- Quaest. 107.* Photius. *Epistulae ad Amphilochia, quaestio CVII* (Letters to Amphilochius, Question 107).
- Relatio* Saewulf, *Relatio de peregrinatione Saewulf ad Hierosolymam et terram sanctam* (Pilgrimage of Saewulf to Jerusalem and the Holy Land).
- Theo.* Eusebius. *Theophania* (On Divine Manifestation).
- Vir. ill.* Jerome. *De viris illustribus* (On Illustrious Men).
- Vit. Const.* Eusebius. *Vita Constantini* (Life of Constantine).
- Vit. Will.* Hugeberc. *Vita Willibaldi episcopi Eischstetensis* (Life of Willibald Bishop of Eichstätt).
- War* Josephus. *Jewish War* (Bellum judaicum).
- Zhytiye* Abbot Daniel. *Zhytiye I khodinnya Danyla, Ruskoyi zemli ihumena* (Life and Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel).

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## Preface

This study of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre began initially as a short section of a research paper on the various locations in Jerusalem purported to be the burial place of Jesus of Nazareth following his crucifixion in the early part of the 1st century AD. This paper was submitted for the partial fulfillment of a course on the history of Palestine in the Persian through the Early Roman periods in my first year of graduate studies at Jerusalem University College (JUC, or the Institute of Holy Land Studies). One year later, during my second year at JUC, I found myself studying the Church of the Holy Sepulchre again as the subject of a term paper for a survey course on the archaeology of Jerusalem. My goal for this paper was to acquire a better personal understanding of the complicated early history and archaeology of the church. In the end, the paper became an engrossing study of the literary, historical, and archaeological data pertaining to the early history of the church, of which there is a vast and scattered corpus. This volume has at its core this earlier paper, and represents, to some degree, a reexamination of earlier research with numerous expansions and updates.

Architect, archaeologist, and priest, Charles Coüasnon, brought his 1972 lecture series at the British Academy on the history and archaeology of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to a close with these words:

‘The Holy Sepulchre is, for those who love it, like a book in which many pages of the history of Jerusalem are written. Certain passages are transcribed *en clair*, in plain language; for example, everything said by the Rotunda is easy to read; other pages are almost obliterated, but one can still divine their meaning. One can see, for example, the size of Constantine’s nave in that of St. Helena’s crypt, as also the plan of the Basilica in that of the cloister, since its southern wall is the wall of the Canons’ Refectory, while its northern wall is that of the dormitory. Because ancient foundations have been reused right up to our own time, all this is still outlined in the area...But what the Holy Sepulchre can still most movingly tell us, is of the fervour of all Christian peoples for the Tomb of their Saviour. This fervour shines before our eyes, and becomes evident when one discovers, overlapping one into the other, all these monuments which have been raised by men to the glory of the Resurrected One’ (Coüasnon 1974: 61–62).

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is an immensely complicated and fascinating place. In the words of one scholar (Murphy-O’Connor 2008: 49), the church, with its complex history and the cultural diversity of the warring religious communities living within its walls, ‘epitomizes the human condition.’ Like the city of Jerusalem, in which it is situated, the church can continually offer something new and interesting to inspire the *meditatio divina* of the pilgrim and cleric, or fill volumes of detailed academic texts and journals. I am fully confident that for anyone who would care to work at unraveling the intricate history of the shrine to Jesus’ death and resurrection, regardless of their religious persuasion on these matters, there awaits a very intriguing study of history, text, tradition, architecture, archaeology, and, not least of all, faith. I count myself privileged to have had an opportunity to study such an important site and spend so much time on this journey. I,

therefore, humbly submit this volume in the hope that it will contribute, if only a little, to the knowledge of those who would endeavor to learn more about the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

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Next, I would like to acknowledge my instructors in Israel, as well as the personnel of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre who assisted me in this project. First, Dr. Amihai Mazar and Dr. Nava Panitz-Cohen of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem deserve my thanks for teaching my wife and I the basics of archaeology in the field. I would like to thank my archaeology professors at Jerusalem University College (JUC), Dr. Gabriel Barkay and Dr. Yigal Levin, for their instruction in the classroom and in the field, and for their corrections and insightful comments to the term papers that would eventually make up the main material of this monograph. Professor Barkay also assisted me in gaining access to the Chapel of St. Vartan in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by providing me a contact within the Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate, and allowing me to use his name to gain favor with the custodians of the chapel. To my other professors at JUC, Dr. Paul H. Wright and the late Dr. Anson F. Rainey, thank you for your friendship and many insights into the historical geography of Palestine. Thanks also to Dr. Petra Heldt, secretary of the Ecumenical Theological Research Fraternity in Israel and lecturer at JUC, for a guided tour of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which allowed me to see areas of the complex that I would not have had access to otherwise. With that, I must also acknowledge Fr. Samil of the Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate, who gave me permission to enter the Chapel of St. Vartan, and Fr. Makerdich, who graciously accompanied me into the chapel, and was very patient while I explored and photographed the excavation areas.

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make use of selected plans and photographs from Virgilio C. Corbo's wonderful excavation report on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Many thanks to Felicity Cobbing, the Executive Secretary and Curator at the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, for kindly allowing me to reproduce selected images from Dr. Shimon Gibson and Dr. Joan E. Taylor's excellent 1994 publication on the Holy Sepulchre, and for putting me in touch with the authors, who also generously consented to my use of the images from their work. Professor Gibson's and Professor Taylor's monograph was a significant source of inspiration for this project, and a resource that I returned to often as I attempted to sort through the complex historical data for my own survey of the material. I would also like to thank Mr. Panagiotis Agrafiotis of the National Technical University of Athens for his prompt and helpful response to my inquiry regarding the use of images from an article published on the study of the Edicule of the Holy Sepulchre in collaboration with Kuriakos Lampropoulos, Andreas Georgopoulos, and Antonia Moropoulou. Many thanks also to Mr. Tom Powers for allowing me to use his photographs from the excavations at the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer. To these and the other scholars whose work I have cited throughout this study, many thanks for your time, effort, and attention to detail—your work is an inspiration.

To anyone else I might have neglected to mention here, I am very grateful.

## **Bibliography**

- Coüasnon, C. 1974. *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1972). J.-P.B and C. Ross (trans). London: Oxford University Press.
- Murphy-O'Connor, J. 2008. *The Holy Land: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*. 5th ed. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.



# Introduction

**Every age has left its testimony written in stone...**

Charles Coüasnon, O.P.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem is one of the most historically packed structures on the face of the earth. Encased within its walls are the remains of a small piece of ancient Jerusalem, which, according to Christian tradition, was the site that witnessed the crucifixion, burial, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. For nearly 1700 years its doors have been thronged by believers seeking these holy sites. In addition to attracting many Christian pilgrims, the abundant historical data within the building has been the subject of ongoing scholarly research since the mid-19th century. In 1960, archaeologists found themselves with the rare opportunity of being able to excavate within the edifice, and a number of important discoveries were made that shed much light on the history of both the church and the site on which it was built. More recent work has been done, but many questions remain due in part to the limitation of excavating within a living structure, but also to the difficulty of making sense of the historical sources and scattered archaeological data that is available.

Much has been written on the archaeology and history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre since the mid-19th century (see Chapter 2 for additional discussion). Some of the most important works on the subject were produced following the archaeological investigation in the church in the mid-20th century. These include the studies of Charles Coüasnon (1972), Virgilio C. Corbo (1981–1982), Shimon Gibson and Joan E. Taylor (1994), and Martin Biddle (1999). Since that time several shorter works have appeared, mostly as articles and chapters in scholarly journals and monographs, in which the authors both summarized the earlier material, and presented new interpretations of the data (see for example Patrich 1993 and 2016).

With such a large corpus of material written on the subject, one might wonder why another work surveying the archaeology and history of the church is necessary. Indeed, this is a fair question. In response, I would put forth two answers. First, archaeological research in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre has continued since the restoration of the church was completed in the 1980s, and much of this data has yet to be treated in an updated monograph. This research has largely been non-destructive, carried out with ground penetrating radar, and digital scans, rather than with pick and trowel. The most significant of these projects was the restoration of the Edicule in early 2017, which revealed the rock-cut Tomb of Jesus for the first time in centuries (Agrafiotis *et al.* 2017; Moropoulou *et al.* 2015). Throughout this study, I have attempted to ‘unpack’ the historical and archaeological data yet again, in order to subject the work of previous scholars to a fresh analysis where applicable, while also addressing recent research that has taken place within the past two decades. All this has been done with the goal of setting the context for the presentation of an annotated ‘reader’ of primary sources pertinent to the history of the church. It is this literary piece that makes up my second reason for the necessity of a new study. While researching the church during my time as a graduate student, one of the

things that I noticed was that I was unable to locate a compilation of primary sources on the church that included: 1) texts spanning the entirety of the church's history from the events of the 1st century AD through the final phases of restoration in 1810, and 2) texts in their original languages with an English translation. Inspired by the compilations of texts on the church in Louis-H. Vincent and Félix-M. Abel's compilation of texts on the church in their 1914 work, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, and James Earl Phillips's unpublished 1977 doctoral dissertation, I began to create my own collection of primary sources, which now makes up the bulk of this book.

The methodology employed in this study is rather simple. Following some preliminary remarks, I will: 1) present a brief history of Jerusalem from 30/33 AD through 1830, the period encompassing the major phases of the development of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 2) discuss the history of research up to the present, 3) review the archaeological excavations that have been carried out in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its vicinity, 4) discuss the history and archaeology of the church in chronological order from the Iron Age II through the final major phase of restoration in 1810; and 5) provide the reader with an annotated compilation of primary sources relevant to the study of the church's history ranging in date from the 1st century AD to 1831.

This book is divided into two parts. The first part (Chapters 1–4) briefly covers the history and archaeology of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The study of the church involves many different disciplines, which will be touched on in the following pages. The study is partly based in linguistics and textual criticism as there are many different literary sources in various languages, not to mention the languages of the scholars who have supplied us with the results of their research. The study is partly one of geography, geology, and topography, as one has to understand the terrain on which the church is built to understand why a tomb would have been there in the first place. Not least of these is that the study is one that requires critical engagement with the historical data supplied by the literary sources and the material remains exposed by the spade of the archaeologist. In order to probe these various aspects of the history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, it is necessary to begin with a brief look at the history of Jerusalem, for it is on this history that the entire study rests. This, therefore, will be the subject of the first chapter. Since the structure under analysis in this study was built to commemorate the death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, according to the accounts preserved in the canonical Gospels, it seems appropriate that this snapshot of Jerusalem's history should begin with these events (earlier periods relevant to the discussion will be addressed in later chapters).

In Chapter 2, we transition to a different historical discussion—the history of research done on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The church has been the subject of much scholarly work since the mid-19th century, essentially beginning in 1849. In this chapter, we touch on the key studies that have appeared on the history and archaeology of the church dating from 1849 to 2017.

Chapter 3 focuses the attention of the reader on two of the key archaeological sites pertinent to the study of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—the church itself and the Muristan complex. Here we survey the excavations done within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre



led by representatives from the three major ecclesiastical communities of the church, and carried out between the years of 1960 and 1981. Then we discuss the excavations carried out to the south of the church in the Muristan complex from 1961–1967, 1970–1971, 1972–1974, and 2010–2011. Finally, we deal with the excavations carried out within the Chapel of St. Vartan in the church itself from 1975 to 1981. These excavations provide the primary archaeological data upon which the rest of the discussion of the history of the church rests.

In the fourth chapter, we look at the history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is rich and quite complex. The church's history has been treated extensively in other volumes, especially where the early history of the church is concerned. Given the nature of the subject matter, and the scholarly work that has already been done, much of what is included here on the historical background of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is not new, though I do discuss recent research done within the past two decades, much of which has not been treated in a scholarly publication on the church itself. The goal of this chapter is to set the archaeological and literary context for the presentation of relevant ancient literature pertaining to the church in the following chapters.

In the second part of the book (Chapters 5–8), we turn to the compilation of ancient and modern primary sources relevant to the history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The texts are presented in their original languages (with a few exceptions) with English translation and historical notes. Chapter 5 includes historical and contextual notes on the texts and their authors. The texts included in Chapters 6 and 7 are presented in chronological order relevant to the historical periods of the church's development. In Chapter 8, the primary sources expound on the legendary accounts of the discovery of the 'true cross' of Christ by Constantine's mother Helena Augusta, and the burial of the first man at the Rock of Golgotha, both of which are pertinent to the establishment of the church and its various chapels.

### **Preliminary Remarks**

Prior to looking at the history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, a few preliminary remarks are necessary in regard to the terminology used in this paper. The edifice currently known as the 'Church of the Holy Sepulchre' employs this name because of the reconstruction and modification of the church in the 12th century AD by the Crusaders, because of this it is no surprise that this is the name employed today by the Catholics and Protestants. As Shimon Gibson and Joan E. Taylor (1994: 1) point out, the Constantinian monument of the 4th century AD was not a single 'church,' strictly speaking, but rather a complex encompassing three churches: the Anastasis ('resurrection') built around the Tomb of Jesus, the church building proper (*marturion* or Martyrium) to the east of the Anastasis, and the Church of Golgotha.<sup>1</sup> In the 4th century AD, it seems that the church complex was referred to as the 'Church of the Holy Cross' (*ekklēsia tou hagiou staurou*),<sup>2</sup> as

<sup>1</sup> There is some debate as to whether the Church of Golgotha was a part of the 4th century church or was added to the repertoire of churches in the 7th century.

<sup>2</sup> This is the name given to the church in the *Chronicon Paschale* 278.29 (ca. 627 AD) (CSHB 35: 531; see Chapter 5, no. 4.7).

well as the 'Church of the Resurrection' (*ekklēsia tou anastaseōs*).<sup>3</sup> It was the Crusaders who altered the architectural details of the 11th century monument in an effort to make it into a unified whole, which then came to be designated as the 'Church of the Holy Sepulchre' (*Ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri*).<sup>4</sup> In this volume, as in most studies on the subject, the whole edifice will be referred to as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, or simply 'the church,' even when referring to the Constantinian edifice.

Further, it should also be noted that there are terminological complexities with the titles *Anastasis* and *Martyrium* (see Coüasnon 1974: 37–38). In modern academic nomenclature the structure around the Tomb of Jesus, the Anastasis, is called the Rotunda, a word of Latin origin (from *rotundus*) denoting the spherical nature of the building.<sup>5</sup> This term will be employed in this study. The church proper that Constantine built to the east of the tomb, is typically referred to as the Basilica (*basilikē* 'royal structure' from *basileus* 'king'), referring to the large rectangular structures employed by the Roman government for various functions and adapted for churches and synagogues in the Byzantine period (325–640 AD) (Parker 1999: 151). Since the term 'Martyrium' carries with it various interpretive possibilities,<sup>6</sup> this structure of the Constantinian church will be referred to here, predominantly, as 'the Basilica.'

In regard to the term 'Golgotha,' it should be noted that a distinction will be made in this study between the site of Golgotha and the Rock of Golgotha. When referring to the former, the 'Golgotha' or 'site of Golgotha' will be employed as a toponym for the general location of the Roman execution site on the Northwestern Hill of Jerusalem, dating to the 1st century AD. The 'Rock of Golgotha,' on the other hand, refers to the limestone monolith enshrined in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The reason for this distinction will be made apparent in due course.

Finally, the reader should note that throughout the body of the discussions on the archaeology and history of the church in the first part of this monograph, I will refer to the primary sources in Chapters 6 through 8. The texts themselves are numbered sequentially with an initial number designating the chapter in which it appears. Thus, a reference to 'Text 6.1,' should direct the reader to the first text in Chapter 6. References to the passages throughout Part I of this work appear in bold. The primary sources and their numerical order can be seen at a glance in the catalog located at the beginning of Part II.

<sup>3</sup> The church was called 'the Resurrection' by many Byzantine writers, and it is this title that was adopted by Christian and Muslim Arab historians from the 10th century onward (see Chapter 6). Robinson and Smith (1856: 377, n. 1) noted that local Jerusalemites of the 19th century still called the church by its Arabic title *Kanisah al-Qiyamah*, 'Church of the Resurrection.' This title is still used by Eastern Christians to this day.

<sup>4</sup> The use of the term 'sepulcher' (*sepulchrum [Domini]*) to designate the Tomb of Jesus was in common use by the 12th century AD (Wilkinson 1981: 180, n. 5).

<sup>5</sup> This term was also employed by Adomnán, who notes: *Illi rotundae ecclesiae supra saepius memoratae, quae et Anastasis* (*De Loc. Sanct.* 1.4).

<sup>6</sup> Coüasnon (1974: 37) notes that Latinists tend to interpret the term in light of the suffering a martyr endures, which has therefore led to the identification of the Church of Golgotha with the Martyrium (Egeria, *Itin.* 48.1); some see the term in light of its original Greek meaning of 'witness.' In the pilgrimage account of Adomnán (*De Loc. Sanct.* 1.6.1), the term Martyrium is used to denote the Basilica. Egeria uses the term to denote both the Basilica (*Itin.* 27.3) and the Church of Golgotha (*Itin.* 48.1). Eusebius uses the term to denote the Constantinian edifice as a whole (*Vit Const.* 3.40).

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**PART I**  
**THE HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF**  
**THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE**

## Archaeological Periodization of Palestine: Iron Age II – Ottoman Period

Iron Age II	1000–586 BC
Babylonian Perios	586–539
Persian Period	539–332
Early Hellenistic Period	332–167
Late Hellenistic Period (Hasmonean Dynasty, 140–116 BC)	167–37
Early Roman Period (Herodian Period, 37 BC–70 AD)	37 BC–132 AD
Late Roman Period	132–324
Byzantine Period	324–638
Early Islamic Period (Umayyad and Abbasid)	638–1099
Crusader and Ayyubid Periods	1099–1291
Late Islamic Period (Fatimid and Mameluke)	1291–1516
Ottoman Period	1516–1917



# The History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: A structural, archaeological and textual timeline<sup>1</sup>

## ***Iron Age II (1000–586 BC)***

9th–8th centuries	The area of the Northwestern Hill of Jerusalem is used as a quarry for <i>meleke</i> and <i>mizzi hilu</i> limestone.
7th–6th centuries	The area is intermittently settled and some tombs occupy the site.
5th century on	The area is cultivated and used at intervals for quarrying; people continue to use the area as a cemetery.

## ***Hellenistic Period (332–63 BC)***

161–141	Jerusalem is fortified by the Hasmoneans with the First Wall, encompassing the Eastern and Southwestern Hills.
141–40 (?)	Jerusalem's fortification is supplemented with the Second Wall, which extends northward but excludes the Northwestern Hill and the ancient quarry.

## ***Early Roman Period (63 BC–132 AD)***

63–40 (?)	The quarry on the Northwestern Hill becomes an execution site.
40–4 BC	Herod 'The Great' commences major construction projects in Jerusalem, greatly embellishing the city's architecture.
30 – 33 AD	Jesus of Nazareth is executed at the hands of the Roman prefect Pontius Pilate on the Northwestern Hill of Jerusalem, and hastily buried outside of Jerusalem's walls in the vicinity of the ancient quarry.
30/33–40 (?)	Tombs in the vicinity of the ancient quarry are emptied in preparation for the enclosure of the Northwestern Hill within the city's walls.
40	Herod Agrippa I begins construction of the Third Wall, intended to fortify Jerusalem's growing northern sector; the ancient quarry is set to be enclosed within the city's walls.
44	Herod Agrippa I dies; the Third Wall remains incomplete.
66	A revolt against the Roman hegemony breaks out among the Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem.
70	Jerusalem is destroyed by the Roman army led by Titus following the First Jewish Revolt; the Temple Mount and most of the city lies in ruins.

<sup>1</sup> This timeline is based in part on that of Gibson and Taylor 1994: xix. The other primary sources for the basic chronological data are Couâsnon 1974; Corbo 1981–1982; Patrich 1993; Biddle 1999; and Bahat 2011. An early, but extensive, and very helpful timeline can be found in Jeffery 1919: 223–227.

- 70–100 (?) The canonical Gospel accounts of Jesus' life and teachings are written/compiled.
- 132 The Second Jewish Revolt against the Roman hegemony breaks out, led by Simon bar Kosiba.

***Late Roman Period (132–324 AD)***

- 130–134 The Roman emperor Hadrian, via Judean legate Quintus Tineius Rufus, establishes Jerusalem as a Roman colony named *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*.
- 130s (?) Someone draws a ship on a polished stone and includes the inscription: DOMINE IVIMUS, 'Lord, we went ...' (The stone would, at some unknown juncture, be embedded into one of the foundation walls supporting Hadrian's, and later Constantine's, construction projects on the site of the ancient quarry.)
- 135/6 The Second Jewish Revolt is suppressed.  
Hadrian constructs a Roman forum over much of the Northwestern Hill of Jerusalem; the ancient quarry/execution site in which Jesus was buried is covered by the podium of the Hadrianic temple dedicated to Venus-Aphrodite (or perhaps Tyche).
- 138 Additional shrines to Tyche added to the Forum by Antonius Pius, Hadrian's successor.
- 160s (?) A certain Christian writer notes that Jesus was executed in the middle of the city of Jerusalem.

***Byzantine Period (324–638 AD)***

- 324 Constantine I 'The Great' takes full control of the Roman Empire, relocates the imperial residence to Byzantium, and makes Christianity the official religion of the Empire.
- 325 Constantine convokes the Council of Nicaea to establish the tenets of Christian doctrine.  
The bishop of the now predominantly Gentile church in Jerusalem, Macarius, endeavors to uncover the burial cave of Jesus under the forum built by Hadrian.  
Church historian Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, witnesses (?) and describes the unearthing of a rock-cut tomb perceived to be the one in which Jesus was interred.  
Eusebius notes that Golgotha is located in Aelia Capitolina north of Mount Zion.
- 326 Constantine commissions the erection of a basilica-style church to be built around the newly uncovered tomb and nearby outcrop of rock perceived to be the hill of Golgotha.

- The burial cave is separated from the surrounding limestone hillside, decorated, and embellished, forming the Edicule.
- 333 A pilgrim from Bordigala (modern Bordeaux) visits Jerusalem and describes Constantine's basilica.
- 335 The church proper is completed, though the Rotunda remains under construction.
- Constantine's 'Church of the Holy Cross' is dedication on 17 September.
- 348 Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, mentions some details about the church, but makes no mention of the Rotunda, implying that it was not built at this time.
- 348–384 The Rotunda is completed.
- 360s Jerome notes that Golgotha is located 'in Aelia on the north side of Mount Zion.'
- 384 The pilgrim Egeria visits Jerusalem and writes about the services held in the Rotunda or *Anastasis*.
- 614 The Persian army, led by Khosrau II Parvez, takes Jerusalem on 4 May, and Constantine's basilica is damaged by fire, as are other sanctuaries.
- 614–628 Repairs commence on the Holy Sepulchre under Modestus, Bishop of Jerusalem.
- 628 Byzantine Empire begins to crumble.
- 633–636 Caliph Umar of Persia and his army overwhelm and defeat the Byzantine army.

### ***The Early Islamic Period (638–1099 AD)***

- 638 Jerusalem surrenders to Umar, who guarantees the protection of the people and holy sites, provided the city's inhabitants do not revolt.
- 661 The Umayyad dynasty is established in Jerusalem with the appointment of Syrian governor Mu'awiyya as Caliph in Jerusalem.
- 679–682 Arculf, a bishop from Gaul, visits Constantine's church and describes it in his account, recorded ca. 686 AD
- 750 Palestine comes under the rule of the Abbasid dynasty.
- early 800s An earthquake causes some damage to the church.
- 943 The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is mentioned for the first time in Islamic historical sources.
- 966 Local rioters set fire to the doors and woodwork of the church destroying the roof of the Rotunda and Basilica.

- 1009 The Egyptian Caliph (Abu ‘Ali Mansur Tariqu) al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah orders the destruction of the church, which effectively marks the end of the Constantinian monument.
- The Rotunda and the rock-cut Tomb of Jesus are partially destroyed by agents of Caliph al-Hakim.
- 1012–1015 Modest repairs commence under Emir Al-Mufarrjj ibn al-Djarrah of Ramla, who ruled Palestine at the time.
- 1034 An earthquake causes further damage in Jerusalem.
- 1037–1038 A second phase of modest repairs begin under Byzantine emperor Romanos III and continue under Michael IV, the Paphlagonian, following a treaty with Fatimid Caliph al-Mustansir.
- 1048 Under Constantine IX Monomachos repairs to the church were completed—the Rotunda was rebuilt and a church was formed around it.
- 1072 The Seljuk Turks replace the rule of the Egyptian Fatimids in Palestine.

***The Crusader Period (1099–1187 AD)***

- 1099 The European Crusaders occupy Jerusalem on 15 July.
- 1099–1106 The Crusaders begin work on reshaping the church.
- 1149 (– late 1160s?) The Crusaders complete their restoration of the church (traditionally on 15 July); the Crusader ‘Church of the Holy Sepulchre’ survives, with some modern alterations, to this day.

***The Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods (1187–1517 AD)***

- 1187 The European Crusaders are expelled from Jerusalem by Salah ad-Din (Yusuf ibn Ayyub) who establishes the rule of the Ayyubid Dynasty.
- 1250 The Mamluk Dynasty under Sultan Baybars is established after the fall of the Ayyubids to the Mongols.

***The Ottoman Period (1517–1917 AD)***

- 1512–1520 Palestine comes under the rule of the Ottoman Empire under Selim I.
- 1555 The decaying Edicule is demolished and rebuilt by Boniface of Ragusa, revealing for the first time in centuries, the remains of the rock-cut tomb.
- 1728 The Medieval Edicule built by Boniface is repaired.
- 1808 The church is badly damaged by a fire that broke out in the Armenian Chapel; the Medieval Edicule is partially destroyed due to the collapse of the dome of the Rotunda.
- 1809–1810 Repairs commence under the Greek architect Nikolaos (Kalfas Hadji) Komnenos.
- The Edicule is rebuilt, providing it with its present appearance.

- 1849            The first modern critical study of the church done by G. Williams and Robert Willis.
- 1868            The dome of the Rotunda is rebuilt.
- 1914            Père Louis-H. Vincent and F.M. Abel produce and publish their influential study of the history and archaeology of the site on which the church was built.

***Modern Period (Since 1917)***

***(Period of the British Mandate of Palestine, 1917–1948)***

- 1927            An earthquake threatens the superstructure of the church and the building is strapped and scaffolded by the Public Works Department of the Mandatory Government of Palestine.
- 1934            A fire causes further damage to the structure.
- 1935            British conservationist William Harvey examines the church for all points of structural weakness.
- 1947            A cradle of steel girders is placed around the Edicule to support the marble cladding, which was threatened in the earthquake twenty years prior.
- 1948            Shelling during the 1948 Israeli war damages the external part of the Rotunda.

***(Divided Jerusalem, 1948–1967)***

- 1949            A fire in the upper gallery of the Rotunda partly destroys the lead roof of the dome.
- 1954            Dominican priest and architect Père Charles Couäsnon becomes involved in the restoration of the church.
- 1959            The Greek, Latin, and Armenian communities of the church launch a major restoration project that includes archaeological examination.
- 1960–1969      Franciscan priest Padre Virgilio C. Corbo supervises the archaeological excavations throughout various locations of the church belonging to the Latin Community.
- 1966            The Armenian Patriarchate carries out minor explorations on the southern side of the Rotunda and also east of the Chapel of St. Helena.

***(United Jerusalem, 1967–)***

- 1970            The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate initiates excavations in the area of the Katholikon led by architect Anastasios Economopoulos.  
  
The Armenian Church initiates excavations in the Chapel of St. Helena/St. Krikor.
- 1971            The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem becomes involved in the supervision of the Armenian excavations.

- 1972 Père Couâsnon presents his research on the church to the British Academy; his work is published in 1974.
- 1975 The Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem becomes involved in the supervision of the Armenian excavations.
- 1975–1976 Armenian excavations are supervised by Israeli archaeologist Magen Broshi.
- 1977 The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate initiates excavations on the eastern side of the Rock of Golgotha under the direction of Anastasios Economopoulos, Christos Katsimbini, and F. Díez Fernandez.
- 1977–1980 Armenian excavations in the Chapel of St. Helena/St. Krikor continue.
- 1979 Rebuilding of the dome of the Rotunda commences and is completed in 1980.
- 1981 The excavation in the newly named Chapel of St. Vartan is supplemented by the research of Israeli archaeologist Gabriel Barkay.
- 1981–1982 Padre Corbo publishes the primary reports on the excavations within the church.
- 1988 Excavations are carried out in the northwest extremity of the church under the direction of Father Alberto Prodromo.  
  
The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate authorizes the removal of the stone slabs covering the summit of the Rock of Golgotha, a project carried out by architect Th. Mitropoulos.
- 1989–1992 Archaeological and photogrammetric surveying of the Edicule takes place, led, in part, by Martin Biddle; the primary report is published in 1999.
- 1993–1999 Photogrammetric survey of the entire church complex conducted by the National Technical University of Athens (NTUA).
- 1997 Inauguration of the newly decorated dome of the Rotunda takes place.
- 1998 Plans are made for further repairs.
- 2007–2009 Three-dimensional survey of the entire church complex conducted by the University of Florence, Italy.
- 2011 Architectural survey of the Katholikon and Bell Tower conducted by the National Technical University of Athens (NTUA).
- 2015–2016 Photogrammetric survey of the Edicule using ground penetrating radar reveals the remnants of the rock-cut tomb.
- 2016 Official restoration of the Edicule is proposed.  
  
Restoration of the Edicule is carried out by Antonia Moropoulou of the National Technical University of Athens (NTUA) in association with Fredrik Hiebert of the National Geographic Society.  
  
Researchers are given a 60-hour window to study the rock-cut tomb after the marble cladding of the Edicule is removed for repair.



- 2017            The Edicule is reopened to the public and the NTUA advises that the foundation of the shrine is in imminent danger of ‘catastrophic’ collapse due to subterranean instability caused by water damage and past archaeological excavation.

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# Chapter 1

## A Brief History of Jerusalem from 30/33 AD to 1830 with Emphasis on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

### Early Roman and Herodian Jerusalem, 1st Century AD

Jesus of Nazareth was executed at some point between 30 and 33 AD outside of Jerusalem at place locally known as Golgotha.<sup>1</sup> The city of Jerusalem that Jesus knew had two main fortifications, what the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus called the First and Second Walls (*War* 5.142–146) (Fig. 1.1:1).<sup>2</sup> The First Wall, built c. 141 BC under the Hasmonean rulers (1 Macc 4:60), encompassed Jerusalem's Eastern and Western Hill. The Second Wall supplemented the city's line of defense by encompassing a small section north of the First Wall, running from the Gennath Gate in the First Wall, probably located c. 250 meters east of the present-day Citadel at Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem's Old City, to the Antonia Fortress on the northwest corner of Temple Mount. Josephus, noting only the wall's coverage, gives no indication of who built it. Scholars have speculated that the builder of the Second Wall may have been Herod the Great (r. 40–4 BC), who began a number of major building projects around 40 BC in the city, not least of these being the strengthening of the city's fortifications (Schein 1981: 25–26; see also Lux 1972: 200 and Kenyon 1974: 234–235).<sup>3</sup>

Josephus writes that during the reign of Herod Agrippa (c. 41–44 AD) a third wall was added to the city of Jerusalem (*War* 5.147–148) at the behest of the king. Agrippa wanted to add a defensive line to the city, which had grown northwards. The wall therefore extended from Herod's Hippicus tower (now part of the present-day Citadel complex at Jaffa Gate) in a northwesterly direction, turned eastward at a tower called Psephinus, and continued to the Kidron Valley. Josephus also points out that the wall was not completed by Agrippa,<sup>4</sup> but rather by the Jewish freedom fighters of the First Revolt in 66 AD (*War* 5.155). These were the boundaries of the city of Jerusalem in the last decades before it was conquered and destroyed by the Romans in 70 AD (Fig. 1.1:2).

Archaeological excavations have revealed many segments of the First Wall (Avigad and Geva 1993), none of the Second Wall (Schein 1981; see also Wightman 1993:181–184), and according to the predominant view among scholars, portions of the Third Wall.<sup>5</sup> It is no

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<sup>1</sup> For selected texts pertaining to the typical location of Roman execution sites see Appendix 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix 1 for relevant texts in Josephus's works.

<sup>3</sup> Josephus (*War* 5. 161–175) notes that Herod upgraded the First Wall with three towers on the Western Hill. He also points to Herod's growing paranoia, which may have led him to add more fortifications to the city (*Ant.* 15. 291–292).

<sup>4</sup> Josephus, interestingly, lists three reasons for the end of the construction of the wall in Agrippa's time: 1) Agrippa ceased construction after only laying the walls foundations out of fear that the emperor, Claudius, would think that Agrippa had designs of revolting against Rome (*War* 5:152); 2) Claudius 'earnestly charged' Agrippa to stop building the walls and 'Agrippa thought it best not to disobey' (*Ant.* 19:327); and 3) Agrippa's death stopped construction before he had raised the walls to their intended height (*War* 2.218).

<sup>5</sup> A wall constructed of Herodian ashlar was originally (accidentally) discovered 400 meters north of the Old City

surprise that the lines of the Second and Third Walls have been hotly debated topics, not only because they are archaeologically enigmatic (Shanks 1987), but also because they represent Jerusalem in the time of Jesus and shortly after his crucifixion. The understanding of the location of the walls, therefore, has great bearing on the authenticity (or lack thereof) of the traditional sites of Golgotha and the Tomb of Jesus within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>6</sup>

Archaeological and topographical analysis of the Northwestern Hill and its southern fringes, when combined with a critical study of the literary sources, i.e. the Gospel accounts and Josephus' writings, demonstrate fairly clearly that Jesus was crucified and buried just outside the Second Wall. This area was then encompassed by Agrippa's Third Wall. This demonstrates that the authenticity of the sites enveloped in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 'if it cannot be proved remains possible, and even probable' (Coüasnon 1974: 8.).

Within twenty years of the start of the construction of the Third Wall, Jerusalem was in the throes of a rebellion against the Romans, which broke out in 66 AD and which culminated in the destruction of the city.<sup>7</sup> The Roman army, led by Titus, the son of the emperor Vespasian, breached the walls of the city (from the Third Wall inward). They then put up a siege-wall around the city and continued their attack. The Roman army entered the Temple and burned it; they captured the Lower City on the eastern hill. The defenders of the Upper City, on the Western Hill, held out for about a month until they too were defeated by the Romans and the Upper City fell into Roman hands. By decree of Titus the city was leveled<sup>8</sup>

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of Jerusalem by explorer and biblical scholar Edward M. Robinson in 1838 (Robinson and Smith 1856: 314–316). Excavations were carried out by Eleazar L. Sukenik and L.A. Mayer between the years 1925–1927 (Sukenik and Mayer 1930; Avi-Yonah 1968). The excavations were revisited during Kathleen Kenyon's campaign in Jerusalem from 1961–1967 headed by Emmett W. Hamrick and James Basil Hennessy (Hamrick 1966). Between 1972 and 1974 Sara Ben-Arieh and Ehud Netzer conducted excavations along a portion of the wall (Ben-Arieh and Netzer 1974; Ben-Arieh 1976). Secondly, the publications of Père Louis-H. Vincent are of importance especially for Vincent's excellent drawings and diagrams (Vincent 1925; 1928a; 1928b; 1947; Vincent and Steve 1954: 114–174, Pls. 32–39). See also the recent discussion in Wightman 1993: 159–181.

<sup>6</sup> The religious passion surrounding these archaeological finds was such that a renowned scholar and undisputed master of the archaeology of Jerusalem like Père Vincent (who believed the Third Wall to be located under the Turkish northern wall of the Old City), could be reduced to such harsh and unwarranted criticism of those who supported the identification of the Third wall with the archaeological remains 400 meters north of Jerusalem. For Vincent, the assertion that the Third Wall was north of the Old City meant that the Second Wall was located under the present northern city wall, and subsequently that the holy sites in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which Vincent believed in very much, were always enclosed in the walls and were, therefore, not authentic. His masterly reports of the remains north of Jerusalem were therefore laced with eloquent but hostile comments denigrating the excavators and supporters of the northern 'Third Wall' as '*vehéments promoteurs*' of a '*théorie décevante*' and '*théories aventureuses*,' '*trouvailles tapageusement*' (Vincent 1925: 588; 1947: 90, 92, n. 2, 112; Vincent and Steve 1954: 146, 152, n. 2, pp. 153, 166). The remains north of the city were in Vincent's view a '*rempart fantôme*' (1928: 80; Vincent and Steve 1954: 152), a '*rempart mouvant*' (Vincent and Steve 1954: 146, 147), or simply non-existent (1925: 589). With the archaeological work of Avigad (1983: 65–72; Geva and Avigad 2000: 232–234, 199–240) from 1969–1982, these views are unfounded today. These older issues are summarized in Simons 1952: 458–503; see also Avi-Yonah 1968: 98–101.

<sup>7</sup> War 2.278–486; 5.1–38, 52–66, 71–235, 248–361, 420–572; 6.1–95, 112–287, 316–317, 353–434. Also see the discussion in Notley 2007b: 383–395.

<sup>8</sup> The archaeological remains of this destruction were found in abundance in the excavations of Avigad (1983: 64–204) in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City.



Figure 1.1. General layout of the city of Jerusalem through its phases of development. The lighter gray fortification line is the 16th century Turkish wall that also makes up the present wall of the Old City. 1) Jerusalem in the 1st century AD before the construction of the Third Wall in 41-44, 2) Jerusalem in the 1st century AD after the partial construction of the Third Wall, 3) Jerusalem/Aelia Capitolina between 135 and 325 AD, 4) Jerusalem between the 4th and 11th centuries, 5) Jerusalem in the 11th through 13th centuries (the city was unwalled between the 13th and early 16th centuries), 6) Jerusalem in the Ottoman period with 16th century fortification (source: J. Kelley).

and its inhabitants left under the charge of the Tenth Roman Legion, who were stationed somewhere on Jerusalem's Western Hill, probably in the southern section (the present-day Armenian Quarter), but some have speculated that it was to the north where the site of Golgotha was located.<sup>9</sup> The Tenth Legion remained in the area until they were reassigned to Aila (Eilat) during the reign of Diocletian (284-305 AD) (Eusebius, *Onom.* 6.20).

During the harrowing days of fighting between the Romans and the Jews, many of Jerusalem's inhabitants fled, among them disciples of Jesus, according to the 4th century writings of Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3.5.3), bishop of Caesarea, who notes:

'The people of the church in Jerusalem were commanded by an oracle given by revelation before the war to those in the city who were worthy of it to depart and dwell in one of the cities of Perea which they called to Pella [in Transjordan]. To it those who believed on Christ migrated from Jerusalem, that when holy men had altogether deserted the royal capital of the Jews and the whole land of Judaea, the judgment of God might at last overtake them for all their crimes against the Christ and his Apostles, and all that generation of the wicked be utterly blotted out from among men' (LCL 153: 199-201).

Nevertheless, one can also infer from Eusebius that a community of believers still existed in Jerusalem. According to the historian (*Hist. eccl.* 4.6.4; cf. also 5.12.1; **6.12**), after the destruction of the city, 'the church, too, in it [Jerusalem] was composed of Gentiles, and after the Jewish bishops the first who was appointed to minister to those there was Marcus' (LCL 153: 312-313).

### Late Roman Jerusalem, 2nd and 3rd Centuries AD

In c. 130 AD, a new Roman colony was founded in the place of Jerusalem by the emperor Hadrian.<sup>10</sup> This colony was named *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*, after the emperor (whose full name was Publicus Aelius Hadrianus) and the Capitoline Hill (*Collis Capitolinus*) in Rome

<sup>9</sup> The location of the army is a matter of some debate. Josephus points out that the emperor (Vespasian) preserved 'the portion of the wall enclosing the city [of Jerusalem] on the west: the latter as an encampment for the garrison that was to remain...As the local garrison Caesar decided to leave the tenth legion...' (*War* 7.1-2, 5 [Thackeray 1961: 505]). This is typically interpreted to mean a section of the First Wall on the southwestern hill. Indeed, many clay roof tiles and fragments of clay pipes stamped with the seal of the *Legio X Fretensis*, the Tenth Roman Legion (appearing as: LEG.X.F, LEG.X.FRE, LEXFR, or simply LXF), have been found in the excavations at the Citadel near present day Jaffa Gate, which may confirm this interpretation (see Johns 1950; Amiran and Eitan 1970; Geva 2000; Sivan and Solar 2000; cf. also Avigad 1983: 206-207, Fig. 255). There are alternative views, however, most notably that of Hillel Geva (1984; cf. also id., 2000: 163-164) who suggests that the lack of solid archaeological data from the southwestern hill may indicate that the Tenth Legion had only a temporary camp there. Doron Bar (1993; 1998) has challenged the generally accepted view by suggesting a different interpretation of Josephus' 'wall as enclosed the city on the west side.' He believes this to refer to a section of the Third Wall on the Northwestern Hill, which would have needed defending due to its (well-known) vulnerability. Thus the location of the Tenth Roman Legion, was, in Bar's view, on the Northwestern Hill.

<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to note that the 'Romanization' of Jerusalem seems to have actually begun following the destruction of the city by Titus in 70 AD based on the discovery of some Latin inscriptions in proximity to the Temple Mount perhaps implying the construction of triumphal arches in the area, if not on the Temple Mount itself (see Reich and Billig 2000; 2003; and most recently Grüll 2006). Indeed one could argue that this process really began with Herod's building projects in 40 BC (cf. Wilkinson 1975: 129-136).

where the 'Capitoline Triad' of deities—Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva—was worshipped (Fig. 1.1:3). The founding of Aelia Capitolina took place alongside developing tensions between the Romans and the Jews that would lead to the second major attempt of the Jewish people to shake off Roman rule. The events surrounding the Second Jewish Revolt are problematic because, in this case, a historian the likes of Josephus was absent. Instead we must rely upon the 3rd century Roman historian Lucius Cassius Dio and the 4th century bishop of Caesarea, Eusebius. Dio (*Hist. rom.* 69.12–15.1; 6.11) claims that the foundation of Aelia came before the revolt and subsequently caused it, whereas Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 4.6.4) claims the opposite—that Aelia was founded once Jerusalem's ancient inhabitants had been completely wiped out. Archaeological evidence seems to point more toward the accuracy of Dio's perspective.<sup>11</sup> Following the end of the revolt certain restrictions were put on the Jews, one of which included their banishment from Aelia (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.6.3).<sup>12</sup> Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 4.6.4) suggests that at this point the Jerusalem church became predominantly Gentile.

Hadrian, via the governor (or *legate*) of Judea, Quintus Tineius Rufus, rebuilt Jerusalem, primarily its northern sectors (today's Christian and Muslim Quarters in the Old City) according to the grid-like pattern of a Greco-Roman city (Fig. 1.1:3). The city had a triple-arched triumphal gateway where Damascus Gate now stands that acted as its northern entrance. From this gate, the main north-south artery, the *Cardo Maximus*, stretched south to the line of the Transversal Valley, present-day David Street. A secondary *cardo* branched off the circus at the northern triumphal gateway and made its way south. These north-south arteries met the main east-west street called the *Decumanus*. The colony had a public forum in the northeast section, north of the Temple Mount. It is not clear whether or not the colony was walled early on, it seems unlikely that it was. Hadrian also built shrines to the deities of Rome on the Temple Mount, according to Cassius Dio (*Hist. Rom.* 69.12.1) and the Northwestern Hill, covering the tomb of Jesus, according to Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* 3.26.1–

<sup>11</sup> It seems likely that the proposed Roman colonization of Jerusalem, or at least the initiation of it, took place prior to the Second Jewish Revolt. The change seems to have been in line with the other restoration projects in Palestine enacted by Hadrian following his tour through the province in 130 AD (Dio, *Hist. Rom.* 69.11.1). A number of roads were built as well as various construction projects done in the emperor's honor such as the Hadrianum at Caesarea, some shrines at Tiberias, and the renaming of Sepphoris to Diocaesarea. Smallwood (1981: 433–434) suggests that initially the founding of the city was for the benefit of the Jewish inhabitants but the typical Roman cultic implements such as a temple to Jupiter on the site of the temple of the god of Israel would not have been tolerated. Rising tension then led to the revolt and the subsequent restriction on the Jews after the Romans' persistence in putting down the rebellion. One particular piece of numismatic evidence for a founding of Aelia in c. 130 AD is the 'founder-type' coin, the coin depicting Hadrian (or a priest?) on the obverse and on the reverse oxen pulling a plow, symbolizing the designation of the boundaries of a new colony. The coin includes the inscription: COL[ONIA] AEL[IA] KAPIT[OLINA] and in exergue: COND[ITA] 'The foundation of Colonia Aelia Capitolina' (see Meshorer 1989: 21, 71 nos. 2 and 2a). Meshorer (1967: 92–93) points out that the Bar Kochba revolt coins, hoarded and buried during the war, included these 'founder' coins (see also Eshel 1997 and Eshel and Zissu 1999).

<sup>12</sup> Hadrian also decreed that circumcision (*mutilare genitalia*) was no longer allowed (*Hist. Aug.* 14.2). This is cited by the author(s) of the *Historia Augusta* as being the cause of the rebellion, however, Smallwood (1981: 429–431) notes that this may have stemmed, at least initially, from a universal ban on a practice that was viewed as detrimental to the human body. It may be that it then became part of the punishment of Jews following the rebellion.

7; 6.15).<sup>13</sup> The city remained in this form until the 4th century AD when Aelia/Jerusalem became a Christian city and began to expand with the construction of churches, and the emigration of many pilgrims to the city to see the sites associated with the life and times of Jesus.

### Byzantine Jerusalem, 4th Century AD

Flavius Constantinus Valerius Augustus, better known as Constantine I, became emperor of Rome in 306 AD. Constantine became a Christian in 312 on his march to Rome after seeing a vision of a shining cross inscribed in Greek with the words 'Conquer by This' (*en toutō nika*) during prayer and then a subsequent dream of the 'Christ of God' telling him to use the cross with the inscription as a safeguard against his enemies in battle (Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 28-29; see also Odahl 2004: 98–99).<sup>14</sup> He had a golden standard of the cross made, called the *labarum*, which bore the Greek letters *pi* and *rho*, the first letters of the title 'Christ' (XP) (Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 30–31). He used this standard in battle against his enemies including his rivals to the throne Maxentius and Licinius. Following the defeat of Licinius in 324 AD and his execution the following year, Constantine possessed full control over the Roman Empire (Odahl 2004: 162–181).

Around 324 AD, Constantine became involved in the dispute between the bishops of the western Latin Church and the eastern Greek Church over the precise relationship of Jesus to God (Odahl 2004: 188–201). Constantine seems to have played an administrative role in the Council of Nicea in Antioch (Barnes 1998), which concluded in 325 AD, after the authorities of the church formed the Nicene Creed declaring God and Jesus to be of the same substance. Around this time, a number of events important to this study began to transpire, though their actual course is far from clear.

Among the bishops who had convened for the council was Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem. He probably took the opportunity of holding council with the emperor to petition him for official backing as he endeavored to excavate the tomb of Jesus, still enclosed under the public structures built by Hadrian.<sup>15</sup> Constantine authorized the excavation, which of necessity, included the demolition of the Hadrianic temple. According to Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* 3.28), a rock-cut tomb was unearthed as well as a rocky monolith (not mentioned by Eusebius), which was, in time, identified with biblical Golgotha, perhaps during the 6th century AD (Taylor 1998: 183–184). The emperor immediately authorized the construction of a church over the site to commemorate the death and resurrection of Jesus. The complex was dedicated in 335 AD (*Chron. Pasch.* 278.29; 6.37). Constantine also set himself to funding the construction of other churches in Palestine to commemorate the events of the life of Jesus.

<sup>13</sup> Compare Jerome, *Epist.* 58.3.

<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note that just two years prior to his Christian vision, Constantine had seen a vision of Apollo following the defeat of Maximin, father of his rival Maxentius, which led him to believe that he had a special connection to Apollo (or perhaps Sol or Sol Invictus, the 'Unconquerable Sun') (see Lenski 2006: 66–68).

<sup>15</sup> Sozomen seems to confirm this (*Hist. eccl.* 2.1; written c. 439–450 AD); see also Biddle 1999: 65; Coüasnon 1974: 12–13.



Jerusalem, during the days of Constantine and throughout the Byzantine period (c. 325–640 AD), maintained the physical layout of Aelia Capitolina (Fig. 1.1:4), which is reflected in the current layout of the Old City of Jerusalem. The following two centuries after the construction of Constantine's Basilica were marked by extensive pilgrimages to Jerusalem to visit the Holy Tomb in its new and magnificent shrine. This, in turn, marked a period of rapid, though short-lived, growth of the city of Jerusalem, which has been verified archaeologically (Avi-Yonah 1958; see also Armstrong 1967 and Wilken 1988).<sup>16</sup> Byzantine Jerusalem had become the center of Christianity, because within its bounds lay what were believed to be the holiest sites of the Christian faith—the rock upon which Jesus died and the tomb from which he was resurrected—and over them, the magnificent 'temple,' as Eusebius called it,<sup>17</sup> built at the behest of the first Christian emperor.

### Islamic and Crusader Jerusalem, 7th–16th Centuries AD

Jerusalem was conquered by Islamic caliph, Omar ibn el-Khattab in 638, marking the beginning of the early Islamic Period of Palestine's history. Islamic rule of Palestine continued until 1099, at which time it was interrupted by the First Crusade and the establishment of the short-lived Frankish kingdom centered in Jerusalem. Islamic rule resumed in 1187, with the fall of the Crusader kingdom, and continued until 1917 when the city was captured by British forces.<sup>18</sup> The Islamic and Crusader periods of Jerusalem's history are known to us from extensive archaeological data as well as textual sources, especially from the Crusader period when the city again became a major center for Christian pilgrimage.<sup>19</sup> While there are a handful of Muslim historians and chroniclers who discuss Jerusalem throughout the Islamic period (see Le Strange 1890: 1–13), the most prominent works are those of Muhammad ibn Ahmad Shams al-Din al-Mukaddasi, a native of Jerusalem who wrote in the late 10th century AD, and that of the Persian traveler Nasir-i-Khosrau, who wrote an account of his journey to Jerusalem in the mid-11th century (Le Strange 1890: 5–6).

During the two early periods of Islamic rule, Jerusalem was presided over by the rulers of nine caliphates beginning with the capture of the city, as noted above, by Omar, the second ruler of the Rashidun Caliphate. Omar made only a small imprint on the city by establishing a small square mosque on the revered Temple Mount (*al-Haram as-Sharif*, the 'Noble Sanctuary,' in Arabic), south of the outcrop of sacred bedrock over which the Dome of the Rock would eventually be built. The Umayyad Caliphate took control of the Near East in the 660s AD. The founder of the dynasty, Mu'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan, was appointed caliph in Jerusalem in 661, and made an effort to restore and embellish the architecture of Jerusalem, despite the fact that the caliphate was centralized in

<sup>16</sup> This economic prosperity and subsequent physical growth of Jerusalem during the 5th century through the ninth were archaeologically attested in the excavations north of Damascus gate carried out by Vassilios Tzaferis between 1990 and 1992 (Tzaferis *et al.* 2000).

<sup>17</sup> See for example *Vit. Const.* 3.40.

<sup>18</sup> The most updated and accessible synthesis of scholarly data on the history and geography of Jerusalem from the Early Bronze Age to the present is Bahat 2011, which has been an immense help in unravelling the complicated history of Jerusalem in the Islamic period.

<sup>19</sup> See Le Strange (1849) for the ancient Islamic sources on key sites and events in Jerusalem.

Damascus. Jerusalem's earliest significant Islamic remains date to the Umayyad period (Magness 1991). The Umayyad rulers improved Jerusalem's roads, fortifications,<sup>20</sup> and water system. They also built a series of palaces to the south of the Temple Mount. In 691, Caliph Abd el-Malik ibn Marwan, built the *Qubbat as-Sakhrah*, the Dome of the Rock, on the Temple Mount, which was complemented by the Aqsa Mosque in 705 (Fig. 1.1:4). The Aqsa was an expansion of Omar's prayer house by al-Malik's son and successor, Caliph al-Walid.

Islamic rule of Palestine in the 8th century was somewhat chaotic. The Abbasid rulers, who came to power in 750, moved their capital to Baghdad, and, subsequently, paid less attention to Jerusalem. The Abbasid period of Islamic history was a tumultuous one throughout the Islamic world. It was marked, in large part, by widespread uprisings among Muslims and non-Muslims, due to local dissatisfaction with the particular brand of Islam practiced by the caliphate and the oppressive treatment of non-Muslims (see Lewis 1993: 107–124). Oppression of non-Muslims led Christian authorities in Jerusalem to send a delegation to Charles I 'The Great,' the Frankish king turned Roman emperor (also called Charlemagne), to seek assistance with their plight. Charles intervened by petitioning Caliph Harun al-Rashid to provide relief to the disparaged inhabitants of Jerusalem. Charles then funded the construction of several structures in the ancient city, which are described by the 9th century monk Bernard the Wise in his *Itinerary* (Ch. 10) and 12th century chronicler William of Tyre in his *History* (1.10) (Bahat 1993: 60–65; 2011: 94–95; Gibson 2016: 48–84).<sup>21</sup> Following Charles I's death in 814, economic difficulties arose in Jerusalem due to famine and increasing confrontations between Christians and Muslims. Egypt's rulers were able to annex Palestine in 868 from the Abbasids, putting Jerusalem in the hands of the Tulunids, the Ikhshidids, and the Fatimids in the 10th through 11th centuries AD. In the early 11th century, the difficult relations between Muslims and non-Muslims reached its peak when Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim b'Amr Allah ordered all Jewish and Christian places of worship to be demolished. Constantine's grand church enshrining the Holy Sepulchre was one among many structures destroyed in 1009 AD, as reported by Yahya ibn Sa'id (*An.* 491–492; 6.46).

In 1020, Caliph Hakim allowed Jerusalem's Jewish and Christian inhabitants to rebuild their demolished places of worship. In 1048, during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX 'Monomachus,' Christian authorities, with Constantine's financial support, rebuilt the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, though on a much smaller scale than

<sup>20</sup> Magness (1991) argues that the fortification system established by the Umayyad caliphs in Jerusalem is often overshadowed by the impressive palatial structures excavated southwest of the Temple Mount (Ben Dov 1985: 293–321), but that ceramic evidence can be used to date Jerusalem's walls at this time to the reign of Caliph Hisham in the 8th century AD.

<sup>21</sup> Bahat (2011: 95) suggests that the Church of St. John the Baptist, located in the southwestern corner of the Muristan complex, might also be attributed to Charles I. Renewed excavations in the lower level of the Church of St. John the Baptist by Humbert (2011; 2016) indicate that the foundation of the building was laid in the Late Roman period, sometime in the 4th century AD. The building likely had a secular purpose, but was converted into a church in the 5th century and underwent restoration in the 7th century. Subsequent remains demonstrate that the building went out of use as a sacred site and became the basement of the current church, which was built in the 11th/12th century AD, at which time the church became associated with John the Baptist (Humbert 2011: 24–28).

the original structure. The dwindling Jewish community, on the other hand, was unable to fund the reconstruction of their synagogues (Bahat 2011: 97). With the reconstruction of their holiest site, Christians settled the area around the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, today's Christian Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem, while the Jews continued to live in the area north of the Temple Mount, today's Muslim Quarter.<sup>22</sup> For a few decades the inhabitants of Jerusalem lived in relative peace, but in 1071, the Seljuk Turks invaded the city, capturing it from the Fatimids. The Fatimids re-captured Jerusalem in 1098, but lost it to the Frankish Crusaders a year later.

In 1099, the soldiers of the First Crusade took control of the city of Jerusalem and realized their goal of reclaiming the city for Christendom. The Crusaders laid siege to Jerusalem in mid-June, 1099, and conducted their final assault on the city on July 15. The author of the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* (*The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*) notes that the soldiers entered the city 'so that we might worship the Saviour at the Holy Sepulchre' and that the fighting was such that 'our men waded in blood up to their ankles' (Krey 1921: 256). The Crusaders believed the Dome of the Rock to be the biblical Temple of the Lord (*Templum Domini*) and they designated the Aqsa Mosque the Temple of Solomon (*Templum Solomonis*), as the headquarters of the Order of the Knights Templars. Following the capture of the city, and the slaughter of most of its non-Christian inhabitants, the Crusaders set to work on numerous building projects, including a significant renovation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the marketplace to the south of the church, which they supplemented with various churches and medical facilities (Gibson 2016: 48–57; Re'em *et al.* 2011; Berkovich and Re'em 2016). In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Crusader engineers followed the basic plan of the church already established during the 11th century repairs, but united the various parts of the church under one roof, embellished its ornamentation, and added the campanile to the forecourt. The Crusaders established Jerusalem as the capital of their Palestinian kingdom and made the city their own, to the extent that the present-day historical core of Jerusalem is 'in many ways a reflection of the Crusader city' (Bahat 2011: 100) (Fig. 1.1:5).

The Crusader kingdom of Palestine came to an end in 1187 after the Crusaders suffered a crushing blow during the famous Battle of Hattin at the hands of Ayyubid sultan, an-Nasir Salah ad-Din Yusuf ibn-Ayyub, better known to history as Saladin. Sultan Saladin captured Jerusalem the same year, and worked at turning the Christianized city back into a place reflective of Islamic culture. Between 1229 and 1244, the Crusaders briefly regained control of Jerusalem due to an agreement between Ayyubid Sultan Malik al-

<sup>22</sup> Bahat (1996: 53) notes that the physical distinction in the city of different groups by ethnicity or religion was already in place in the early Islamic period. Between the 7th and 10th centuries AD, archaeological and textual evidence indicates the presence of a Jewish sector in the southeast of the city, a Christian sector in the northwest, the area of the Holy Sepulchre, a Karaite sector on or near the present-day City of David on the Eastern Hill of Jerusalem, and a Muristan sector south of the Christian quarter that housed Christian pilgrims in the 8th century. Documents from the Cairo Geniza archive indicate that Jews were already living in the southeastern section of the city, in approximately the same area as the modern Jewish Quarter, by the time of the Rashidun Caliphate's conquest of Palestine under Omar. The Jews moved north of the Temple Mount after the modification of the city's fortification line in the early 11th century left their sector outside the city walls (Bahat 1996: 44, 53–65).

Kamil and Frederick II of Germany, but made no significant impact on the city during this short period (Bahat 2011: 119). Crusader Jerusalem fell to the Khwarazmians, a Persian dynasty of Turkish origins, in 1244, effectively reestablishing Muslim control of the city (Waterson 2010: 161–163). In 1250 Ayyubid control of Palestine came to a close with the fall of the Ayyubid Caliphate to the Egyptian Mamluk Sultanate.

In the 13th century, Jerusalem became a center of Islamic scholarship, but nevertheless remained a place of little consequence to the Mamluk Sultanate (Bahat 2011: 124–125). As a result, economic conditions worsened, as did tension between Muslims and Christians. In general, the overall physical appearance of Jerusalem did not change at this time, despite periods of extensive building by the Mamluks. The sultanate focused largely on the renovation of extant structures, and on the construction of *madrasas*, institutions for the study of Islamic theology and religious law.

### **Ottoman Jerusalem and the Transition to the Modern Period, 16th–19th Century AD**

After nearly three hundred years of Mamluk rule, Palestine became a part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire with the fall of the Mamluks to Sultan Selim I in 1516. Ottoman rule marked a distinct period in the history of Palestine, and Jerusalem specifically. Not only was Ottoman rule one of the longest periods of Islamic control of Palestine, lasting 400 years, but it also ushered Jerusalem into the modern period, which was made possible largely because of Ottoman connections to Western Europe (St. Laurent and Riedlmayer 1993: 80–83). The Ottoman sultans undertook several building projects in Jerusalem, most of them in an effort to restore, beautify, and modernize the city. Between 1535 and 1538, Selim I's successor, Suleiman I 'The Magnificent,' reconstructed the city's fortification line, which had been demolished in 1219, during the Ayyubid period (Bahat 2011: 118). Suleiman's walls, with some modifications, make up the current walls of the Old City of Jerusalem. Suleiman also established new marketplaces, and made several renovations to existing structures to beautify and improve the city. Suleiman's successors continued to engage in structural improvements in the city, especially on the Dome of the Rock. It has been suggested that this constant attention to important Islamic structures had to do with the equally persistent efforts by the local Christian community to repair and modify the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (St. Laurent and Riedlmayer 1993: 79–81).

During the final years of the Ottoman Empire, in the 19th century, the economic situation of Jerusalem improved significantly, especially due to increased revenue from Christian tourists seeking the sacred sites within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (St. Laurent and Riedlmayer 1993: 81). Improved conditions were also due in large part to the conquest of Palestine by the Egyptians under Muhammad Ali Pasha al-Mas'ud ibn Agha in 1831 of the Khedivate of Egypt. Muhammad Ali Pasha ruled in a manner consistent with European powers, setting up a city council in Jerusalem, removing policies that discriminated between Muslims and non-Muslims, and allowing Jews and Christians to rebuild their houses of prayer (Bahat 2011: 138). In the 1830s and in the years following, Jerusalem expanded outside the walls of the ancient city to the north and east, and the building projects undertaken by the city's local Jews, Christians, and Muslims, ultimately shaped the 'Old City' into what it is to this day (Fig. 1.1:6).

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## Chapter 2

# The Church of the Holy Sepulchre: A history of research

### Early Surveys and Studies

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Fig. 2.1) has long attracted many pilgrims, but it has only been within the past two centuries that the church has garnered critical scholarly attention. In 1849 George Williams (1849: 2–294) devoted a portion of his second volume of topographical and historical discussions on Jerusalem to the study of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>1</sup> This was accompanied by the architectural study of the church by Robert Willis (1849).<sup>2</sup> In 1860 Melchior De Vogüé (1860: 118–232) published his work on the churches of Palestine and devoted a significant portion to the study of the church, which featured a detailed plan and numerous drawings and observations. In 1865, Charles Wilson of the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) prepared a detailed plan of the church for the *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem* publication.<sup>3</sup> Wilson also recorded further studies of the church in *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre* which was published after his death (Wilson 1906). Between the years 1885 and 1898 the German archaeologist and Jerusalem correspondent for the PEF, Conrad Schick (1885; 1887; 1888a; 1888b; 1889a; 1889b; 1898), recorded his archaeological observations on various facets of the church as he had opportunity to explore, excavate, and/or observe excavations. Several years later, American scholars George Jeffery (1859; 1910; 1919) and Henry T.F. Duckworth (1922) published detailed texts on the structural history of the church. In 1914 Père Louis-H. Vincent and Felix-M. Abel (1914) of the École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem, published their study of the history and archaeology of the church, a work that would become essential reading for anyone venturing to produce a subsequent study of the edifice. However, Vincent and Abel's study, as well as works produced on the church within the following four decades, were limited by the fact that no archaeological excavations had taken place within the premises of the church, a circumstance which would change in the 1960s.

### Archaeological Investigation

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was severely damaged by a fire that broke out in 1808 (see the account in Willis 1849: 154–157; 7.31–32), an earthquake in 1927 and, again, by a fire in 1934. The church was assessed for all points of structural weakness by British conservationist William Harvey in 1934 and a detailed report was published (Harvey 1935).

<sup>1</sup> Robinson and Smith (1856: 372–377, 407–418) were among the first to devote scholarly attention to the church in 1838, discussing the literary sources associated with its origins and the authenticity of the site. Based on their topographical analysis of the Northwestern Hill of Jerusalem and their subsequent placement of the Second Wall, they concluded that the tomb within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre could not be that of Jesus. The discovery of the tomb by Macarius was, in the views of Robinson and Smith (1856: 418), the work of 'pious fraud,' created to bolster Jerusalem's status in the 4th century.

<sup>2</sup> Willis' work was included in the second edition of Williams' book, but it is also an independent publication.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to the oversized plan of the church, see Wilson's discussion on pp. 48–55 and also Pl. XX.



In 1959, the three main Christian communities within the church—the Greek Orthodox, the Catholic Franciscans, and the Armenian Orthodox—agreed to initiate a large-scale restoration of the structure, which was to include some archaeological investigation.<sup>4</sup> The research was done over a period of 21 years, from 1960 to 1981, by the individual communities in their respective areas of the building. Additional minor projects between 1981 and 1988 were also carried out. It is unfortunate to note that much of the early excavation was done without supervision by a qualified archaeologist, which resulted in much of the work not meeting modern archaeological standards, especially when it came to the recording of data, control of stratigraphic observation, and publication of the excavations (Chapman 1986: 5–26; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 2–3). Nevertheless, the excavations revealed significant information on the history of the site upon which the church is located, and also the church itself.

Following the first decade of investigation within the church, a wealth of data was left that needed to be collated. This work was undertaken first in 1974 by Dominican architect, Père Charles Coüasnon, who had been involved in the restoration project since its inception (Coüasnon 1974; Ross 1976). Coüasnon (1974) presented his interpretation of the finds as they pertained to the original 4th century edifice. The primary text in which the archaeological data was collated was published by Franciscan archaeologist, Virgilio C. Corbo (1981–1982; see also Corbo 1965), who supervised the excavations in the Roman Catholic areas of the church. Following the studies of Coüasnon and Corbo, a number of authors have published works in which they have raised questions and presented new interpretations of the data (see for example Fernandez 1984; Broshi and Barkay 1985; Bahat 1986; Freeman-Grenville 1987; Corbo 1984; 1988; Taylor 1998; Biddle 1999; Patrich 2016). The last major study to shed new light on the archaeological remains of the church, was published in 1994 by Shimon Gibson of the University of North Carolina and Joan E. Taylor of King's College London. Gibson and Taylor produced what was initially intended to be a reexamination of the Armenian excavation of the Chapel of St. Helena, and which turned out to be a well-written, detailed study of the material pertaining to the early history of the church.

Gibson and Taylor (1994: 3) suggested that an analysis of types and qualities of masonry within their sequence of construction coupled with a select number of stratigraphic probes in certain locations beneath the church floor could help elucidate the archaeological history of the site. While renewed excavations would be beneficial, archaeological investigation, is by nature destructive, and is, therefore, nearly impossible to conduct in a living structure. Fortunately, technological innovations within the past three decades now allow for non-destructive investigation of ancient structures using technology such as ground penetrating radar, photogrammetry, and terrestrial laser scanning to produce computer-generated three-dimensional models that can be put to many uses (Moropoulou *et al.* 2012: 1). Ground penetrating radar (GPR) allows researchers to discern underlying layers of structures that cannot be physically excavated. Since the late 1980s, researchers have been applying non-destructive techniques (NDTs) to the study of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with particular focus given to the Edicule, the structure that houses the Tomb of Jesus.

<sup>4</sup> The complex background to the initiation of the repairs is discussed in detail in Cohen 2008.

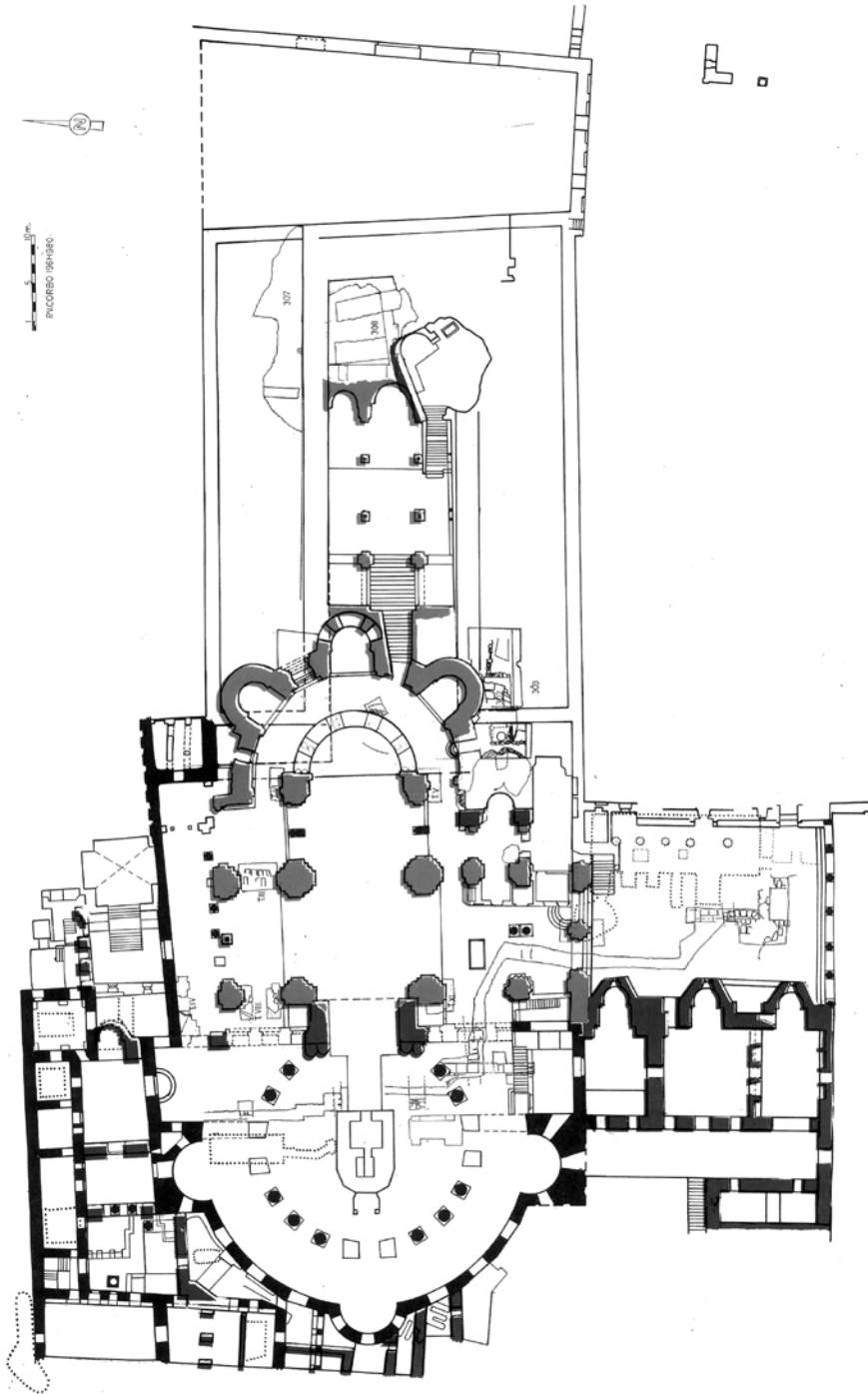


Figure 2.1. Plan of the present form of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre highlighting the extant archaeological remains (shaded areas; black = 4th century, dark gray = 11th century, light gray = 12th century) and reconstruction of the Constantinian edifice (unshaded outline on the right) (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 1, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem).

### Digital Surveys of the Church Complex

In 1989 and 1990, Martin Biddle, an archaeologist of Oxford University specializing in the Medieval period, in association with Michael A.R. Cooper, the director of the Engineering Surveying Research Centre at City University, London, introduced non-destructive research techniques to the archaeology of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Biddle and Cooper returned to supplement their work in 1992 (Biddle 1991; 1994; Biddle, Cooper, and Robson 1992). The purpose of the research, carried out under the auspices of the Gresham College at Oxford, was to study the Edicule in detail to understand the archaeological layers within the 19th century structure, and to provide detailed data for future researchers.<sup>5</sup> Biddle and Cooper set out to survey the Edicule using traditional methods of architectural archaeology—detailed descriptions with drawings and photographs—as well as photogrammetric survey.<sup>6</sup> The latter process allows the researcher to create very detailed and precise computer generated three-dimensional images of an object using stereophotographic images. Biddle and his team were allowed to work in the church via the permission of the Holy Sepulchre's authorities on the understanding that nothing would be disturbed. Biddle (1999) published a final report of his work on the Edicule, which included detailed discussion on the history and archaeology of the church as a whole, in 1999. A year later, Biddle (2000), in association with the Israel Antiquities Authority also published a richly illustrated popular history of the church. Biddle and Cooper's studies clearly demonstrated that the decrepit, 200-year old, Edicule was long overdue for renovation, and set the foundation for two more decades of non-destructive research in the church, and the long-awaited restoration of the Edicule in 2016–17.

Over the course of a sixteen-year period, between the years 1993 and 2009, two monumental efforts were made to document the church geometrically, allowing researchers to produce digital drawings of the complex and computer-generated three-dimensional models. The first project was carried out between 1993 and 1999 by Andreas Georgopoulos and Dionysios Balodimos of the Laboratories of General Geodesy and Photogrammetry of the National Technical University of Athens (NTUA) in cooperation with George Lavvas of the University of Athens (Balodimos, Lavvas, and Georgopoulos 2003; Lavvas 2009). Working one month per year for seven years, Georgopoulos, Balodimos, and Lavvas surveyed the church with digital theodolites and carried out photogrammetric documentation using special cameras. The data was collated off-site, which allowed architects to design 35 extremely accurate digital drawings of the church complex, covering approximately 40,000 square meters of area, at a scale of 1:50 (Balodimos, Lavvas, and Georgopoulos 2003: 3–4).

<sup>5</sup> Biddle, Cooper, and their team labored under the impression that the rebuilding of the Edicule was imminent (Biddle 1999: 9–10, 137; see also Freeman-Grenville 1987). Ultimately, it would be nineteen years before restoration would take place.

<sup>6</sup> Biddle's work began with the suggestion by G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville (1987) that the Edicule be studied in detail before any renovation work commences on it (Biddle 1999: 10). Some groundwork for the project was already done by John Wilkinson (1972), who studied the development of the Edicule in some detail, though without the use of the kind of technology employed by Biddle.

In 2007, at the request of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, the Franciscan community, and the Armenian Patriarchate, researchers led by Grazia Tucci and Valentina Bonora (2011) from the University Centre for Cultural Heritage (CABeC) of the University of Florence, Italy, conducted a three-dimensional survey of the church complex with the goal of assessing the seismic vulnerability of the structure. The CABeC team employed laser scanners that produce three-dimensional digital imagery of scanned surfaces. Once the data was collated, researchers were able to work from the three-dimensional models to study the structure, its foundation, and the potential damage the complex might sustain in a seismic event (Tucci and Bonora 2011: 4–5).

In 2011, researchers from the NTUA were invited to return to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate to document the state of conservation of the structure, and to map the materials used to repair the structure over time (Moropoulou *et al.* 2012). The team, led by chemical engineer Antonia Moropoulou, conducted visual and physical investigations of the Katholikon, the Rotunda, and the campanile, to determine the location of areas of instability in the various types of masonry. They then employed fiber optics microscopy, infrared thermography, ultrasonic technique, and ground penetrating radar to further study the conservation materials used in the church. The researchers found that over the years, the areas under examination had been repaired with various types of masonry, steel reinforcement, and concrete. Understanding these types of materials allowed the NTUA's team to calculate, among other things, the seismic vulnerability of the structure and the load-bearing capacity of the masonry, as well as to determine directions for future conservation work (Moropoulou *et al.* 2012: 2–12; Labropoulos and Moropoulou 2013).

In May, 2015, and January, 2016, researchers from the NTUA returned to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to conduct geometric documentation of the Edicule using ground penetrating radar (Agrafiotis *et al.* 2017; Moropoulou *et al.* 2017). This work was carried out in cooperation with the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, the Franciscan Community, and the Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate, who would also partner with the NTUA to restore the Edicule's superstructure beginning in March of 2016. With the use of GPR technology, the NTUA's team created a three-dimensional model of the internal structure of the Edicule, and revealed, for the first time in recent history, the remains of the rock-cut tomb housed within the shrine (Fig. 4.9–11) (Agrafiotis *et al.* 2017: Figs. 3, 4, 9, 10; Moropoulou *et al.* 2017: Fig. 9.6).

Following the renewed investigation of the Edicule, the most recent project to take place within the walls of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was the rebuilding of the superstructure over the rock-cut Tomb of Jesus. This task project was supervised by Antonia Moropoulou of the NTUA, and was completed in cooperation with the major Christian communities in charge of the church, as well as the National Geographic Society (Romey 2016a). Following the dismantling of the Edicule's marble cladding, researchers were given a short window of 60 hours to examine the partially exposed rock-cut tomb during the restoration process (Romney 2016b). The conservation team rebuilt the Edicule using the original 19th century marble panels. The project was completed in the Spring of 2017. At the present time, no report on the restoration has been published.

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## Chapter 3

# Archaeological Investigation Inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its Vicinity

Excavations were carried out both within the church and in its vicinity between 1960 and 1988. In this chapter, the excavations within the church proper will be summarized. Given the abundance of data associated with the primary excavations, the majority of the details will be dealt with in the next chapter. However, following a summary of the excavations proper, it will be important to focus in some detail on two key excavations before proceeding to a synthesis. The reader's attention will therefore be drawn first to the excavations carried out to the south of the church in the Muristan complex; and then to the excavations carried out in the Chapel of St. Vartan within the church. Each of these excavations provide a necessary introduction, a 'window,' so to speak, into the history of the Northwestern Hill of Jerusalem and the evolution of the site that would eventually become the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

### The Restoration of the Church and Excavations Between the Years 1960 and 1988

Restoration of the church began in 1961 under a team of architects known as the 'Joint Technical Bureau' (*Uffici Tecnici delle tre Comunità*), which had representatives from each of the three major communities that control the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, the Roman Catholic Franciscan community, and the Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate.<sup>1</sup> Between 1960 and 1969, Franciscan archaeologist Virgilio C. Corbo supervised excavations in selected areas of the church on behalf of the Franciscan Custodia di Terra Santa. These areas included the northern vestibule of the Rotunda and the gallery above it (Fig. 3.1:15); the Chapel of the Apparition of the Virgin to the north of the Rotunda (Fig. 3.1:16) and in all the rooms of the Franciscan monastery adjacent to it on the north and east; the northern gallery over the Pillars of the Virgin (Fig. 3.1:5); and in the Chapel of the Invention (or Finding) of the Cross (Fig. 3.1:30) to the southeast of the Chapel of St. Helena (Fig. 3.1:29) (Corbo 1981–1982: 22–23).

In 1969–1970, the Greek Orthodox Church conducted excavations in the area of the Katholikon (Fig. 3.1:3) under the supervision of architect Anastasios Economopoulos. They also restored the eastern side of the Rock of Golgotha in the Canon's Refectory (Fig. 3.1:28), a project headed by Christos Katsimbini with archaeological investigation carried out by Florentino Díez Fernandez (Katsimbini 1977: 197–208; this article [pp. 205–207] includes a summary of the excavation written by Fernandez [see also Fernandez 1984: 34–36]).

In 1964 the Armenian Patriarchate carried out excavations beneath the flagstone floor of the Chapel of St. Helena (Fig. 3.1:29). From 1966 to 1967 they carried out additional exploration of the south side of the Rotunda (Fig. 3.1:15). Finally, in 1970 they penetrated

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<sup>1</sup> See Corbo 1981–1982: 21–25 and note his chronological table of excavations on p. 21; see also Patrich 1993 and 2016 for concise and accessible summaries of the excavations.



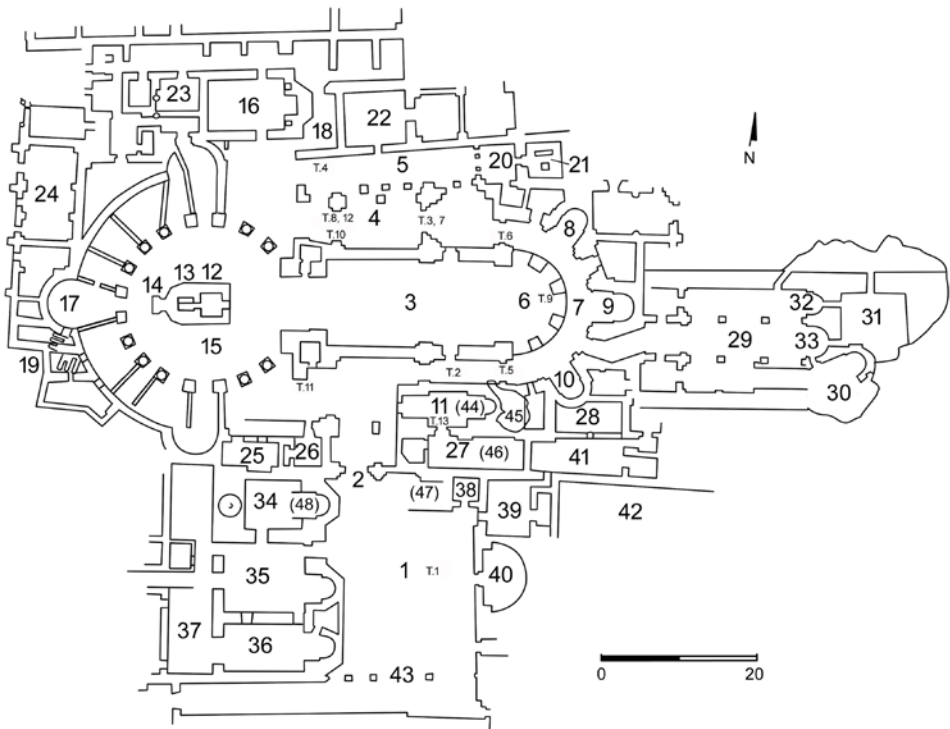


Figure 3.1. Plan of the present-day Church of the Holy Sepulchre complex: 1) the parvis (courtyard), 2) main entrance, 3) Greek Katholikon, 4) north transept, 5) Byzantine gallery, 6) apse of the Katholikon, 7) ambulatory, 8) Chapel of Longinus, 9) Chapel of the Parting of the Raiment, 10) Chapel of the Crown of Thorns, 11) Chapel of Adam, 12) Chapel of the Angel, 13) Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, 14) Coptic Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, 15) Rotunda, 16) Chapel of the Apparition, 17) Syrian Chapel, 18) Latin sacristy, 19) Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, 20) Chapel of Bonds, 21) Prison of Christ, 22) courtyard, 23) Latin refectory, 24) Crusader patriarchate, 25) Armenian sacristy, 26) Coptic room, 27) Greek sacristy, 28) Greek refectory, 29) Chapel of St. Helena (Armenian Chapel of St. Krikor), 30) Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, 31) Chapel of St. Vartan, 32) apse dedicated to St. Dismas, 33) apse dedicated to St. Helena, 34) Chapel of Forty Martyrs, 35) Chapel of St. John, 36) Chapel of St. James the Less, 37) Chapel of St. Thecla, 38) Chapel of St. Mary of Egypt, 39) Chapel of St. Michael, 40) Chapel of St. James, 41) Chapel of the Angels, 42) Crusader refectory, 43) ruins of the Crusader arcade, 44) Greek Calvary, 45) Rock of Golgotha, 46) Latin Calvary, 47) Chapel of the Franks, 48) Crusader Campanile. Excavation trenches are marked with a 'T.' (source: J. Kelley, based on the plan by Harvey 1935: Fig. 1).

through the apses of the Chapel of St. Helena (or St. Krikor [Gregory] to the Armenian Church) (Fig. 3.1:32–33). In 1971 the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem supervised this work (Bennett 1974). Excavations continued from 1972 to 1975 without archaeological supervision, until the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, the academic institute of the Custodia, stepped in (Fernandez 1984; also Corbo 1984). Shortly thereafter, Armenian Bishop (then Archimandrite) Guregh Kapikian asked Israeli archaeologist Magen Broshi to supervise the proceedings, which he did from November 1975 to February 1976 (Broshi and Barkay 1985: 108–110). Excavations continued from 1977–1980 with some help from the Franciscan school (Fernandez 1984: 33). Various measurements and recordings were carried out by Gabriel Barkay from November 1977 through March 1981 (Broshi and Barkay

1985: 113, n. 20). Plans of this excavation were drawn by Shimon Gibson (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 9, 11; Figs. 3, 6–10, 14).

Additional archaeological data was acquired from the 1961 excavation of twelve trenches<sup>2</sup> in various locations around the central edifice (Fig. 3.1), the ancient western courtyard, which were not for archaeological examination *per se*, but rather to assess the stability of the Crusader period foundations (Corbo 1981–1982: 83–92, 219, 225–226, Pls. 1, 23–24, 52–54, Photos 1–5, 11–13, 18–21). These trenches, in addition to facilitating the laying of a drainage line across the north-south axis of the Rotunda and in the south courtyard, inadvertently yielded numerous important architectural remains (Corbo 1981–1982: 83–92).

Following the major restoration project of 1960 to 1981, minor projects continued throughout the church. In 1988 the Catholic community carried out excavations behind the northwest corner of the Franciscan monastery, under the direction of Father Alberto Prodromo. Also at this time the Greek Orthodox community worked to remove the stone blocks from the summit of the Rock of Golgotha (Fig. 3.1:45), allowing the summit to be seen for the first time since the repairs in the church in 1810. This work was supervised by the Greek architect Theo Mitropoulos (these excavations are briefly described in Corbo 1988: 415–419, Pls. 59–61, 64–66).

### **Excavations South of the Church in the Muristan Complex During the Years 1961–1967 and 1970–1971, 1972–1974, and 2010–2011**

During the twenty-eight year period in which the excavations were going on inside the church, two notable excavations took place just to the south in the Muristan Square (Fig. 3.2:3), an area whose modern tissue began to form over the Byzantine remains in the Early Islamic period (c. 640–1100 AD) (Murphy-O'Connor 2008: 63–65).

In 1961 archaeologists from the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem had recently completed the excavation of Jericho led by Dame Kathleen M. Kenyon when they decided to take on the ‘challenge of the problems of Jerusalem,’ that is to say, numerous early excavations done with no stratigraphic control or analysis (Kenyon 1974: 35, also pp. 36–54). Kenyon therefore took on many archaeological projects within and around the Old City. One of her excavations, Area C, was located in the Muristan complex. The purpose of the excavation was to bring clarity to the question of the authenticity of the holy sites within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The British School obtained permission to excavate on the property of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (the modern remnant of the Crusader Order of the Hospitalers of St. John). The authorities of the Order were enthusiastic about the possibility of finding the remains of the 12th century Crusader hospital (of which the foundations were discovered) (Kenyon 1974: 225–235; see also Kenyon 1963: 14–17; 1967: 146–147, 151–154; Prag 2016).

<sup>2</sup> Thirteen trenches were planned, but Trench 10 was not executed (Corbo 1981–1982: 90). The location of Trench 10 is shown on Fig. 3.1.

The excavation took the team past c. 2.4 meters of modern fill prior to reaching intact medieval remains (from the Early Islamic period)—Umayyad houses and the foundations of the Hospital of St. John. Below this level was Byzantine fill which continued for another 2.5 meters. Situated under the Byzantine fill was a deep ancient fill consisting of three layers: (1) 1 meter mixed with pottery from the Late Roman period;<sup>3</sup> (2) 8 meters consisting of a mix of Early Roman and late Iron Age II pottery; and (3) 2.5 meters with only late Iron Age II pottery above bedrock (Kenyon 1974: Fig. 37, Pl. 96). The bedrock, some 15 meters below the modern surface, showed unmistakable evidence of quarrying activity (Kenyon 1974: Pl. 98).

Based on the archaeological record before her, Kenyon (1974: 230–231) came to several important conclusions. First, she noted that the quarrying must date to the 7th century BC due to the Iron II fill above it. The fill material above the quarry, i.e. the mix of pottery from the Iron II and 1st century AD, topped by a fill of 2nd century pottery, was a deposit from the time of the 2nd century AD, when Jerusalem was changed into Aelia Capitolina by Hadrian. Second, since there were no occupational layers present, Kenyon posited that this area was uninhabited in the known periods. Finally, based on the remains of the ancient quarry, Kenyon felt confident that the area of the Muristan and the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were outside the city walls in the Early Roman period. The sites of traditional Golgotha and the Tomb of Jesus were, in Kenyon's thinking, vindicated as being possible locations for the events that they commemorate (Kenyon 1974: 227, 234).

In 1970–1971 another excavation took place in the Muristan complex led by Ute Lux of the German Evangelical Institute for Archaeology in the Holy Land at Jerusalem (Lux 1972). This opportunity for excavation, like the excavations in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, presented itself as a result of restoration efforts in the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer (Fig. 3.2:2). Part of the driving force behind this excavation was a desire on the part of the Lutheran Church to confirm whether or not the ancient Second Wall of Jerusalem ran under the property of the Redeemer Church, an idea originally postulated by Louis-Hughes Vincent based on the discovery of a wall in the area by Conrad Schick in 1893 prior to the church's construction (Vincent and Steve 1954: 90–113, Fig. 36, Pls. 1, 24a–b; Schick 1894: 146).<sup>4</sup> Excavations were carried out under the church, beneath the apse (Lux 1972: Plans 4–6).

The wall found by Schick and used in Vincent's reconstruction was found very early on in the excavation, and it was clear that the wall was not old enough to be Jerusalem's Second Wall (Lux 1972: 192). It was later identified by Karel Vriezen in renewed excavations, which took place from 1972 to 1974, as a late Roman or Byzantine terrace wall (Vriezen

<sup>3</sup> Though Kenyon notes (1974: 229, 230) that at the time of writing the pottery had not yet been analyzed and she admits that she was not able to identify the sherds with certainty, but rather by logic since they followed the clear 1st century ware. The pottery was reevaluated by Prag (2016: 98).

<sup>4</sup> No doubt the authorities of the Church of the Redeemer were interested in this excavation because the church itself was built with its cornerstone upon the supposed Second Wall of Vincent. The official German report on the construction of the church (von Mirbach 1899: 182) is cited by Vincent and Steve (1954: 103) who quote the text pertaining to the supposed Second Wall in French: *'l'intérêt considérable qu'il y avait en ce fait que l'autel de l'église rajunie se trouvât situé juste sur le rempart de la cite contemporaine du Christ.'* See also Schein 1981: 22 who cites the text).

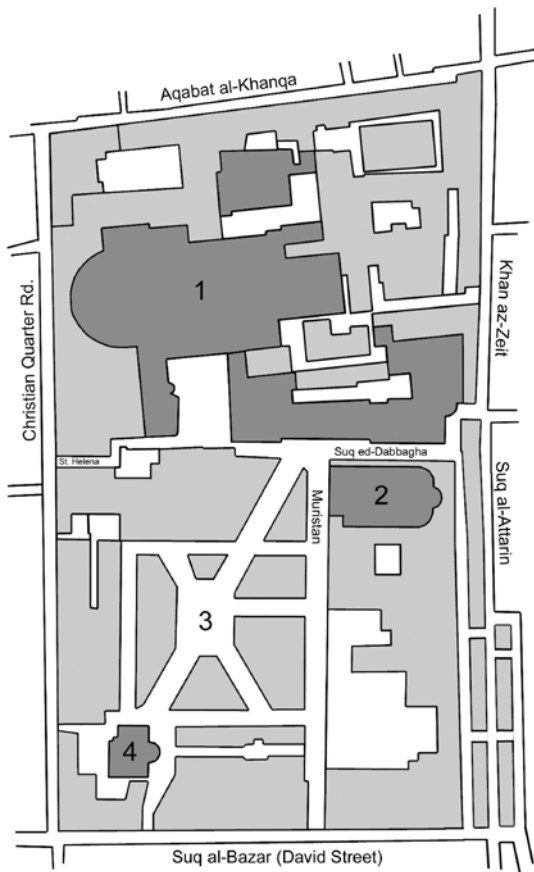


Figure 3.2. The Holy Sepulchre complex and surrounding structures: 1) the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 2) the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, 3) the Muristan complex, 4) the Church of St. John Prodromos (source: J. Kelley, based on Salmon 2006).

42; Fig. 1b). In these areas, Humbert found a massive fill layer with pottery of the Herodian period, dating between the first centuries BC and AD (especially in sounding A8), with some late Iron Age pottery above the bedrock (in soundings B-C9 and F, G, and H). The bedrock in these areas shows further evidence of the ancient quarrying activity common to the Christian Quarter (Humbert 2011: 38, 42).

1978; 1994: 14–15). After clearing the wall, Lux excavated a shaft, some 8 meters deep until reaching bedrock, making the depth of the bedrock from the modern surface about 15 meters, as it was in Kenyon's Area C just to the southwest.<sup>5</sup> Between the Late Roman/Byzantine remains and bedrock Lux, like Kenyon found a fill composed of pottery from the 7th century BC as well as traces from the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods (Lux 1972: Figs. 3–7).<sup>6</sup> The bedrock excavated here also showed signs of quarrying activity dating to the late Iron II (Fig. 3.3).

In 2010, Père Jean-Baptiste Humbert of the École Biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem conducted an excavation in the basement of St. John Prodromos (also called the Church of St. John the Baptist), which is located in the southwestern corner of the Muristan complex (Fig. 3.2:4). The excavation was carried out prior to restoration efforts in order to better understand the church's foundations (Humbert 2011: 24; 2016).

Humbert excavated eleven probes throughout the foundation of the church (A–L), five of which extended to bedrock (Humbert 2011: 32, 36, 38,

<sup>5</sup> Records provided by the Prussian government pertaining to the building of the church by Paul Groth, confirmed the depth of the fill, as Groth had excavated to bedrock to lay the foundations for the church (Schein 1981: 23–24).

<sup>6</sup> The pottery Iron Age II and Early Roman pottery found in the later excavations by Vriezen was published in Vriezen 1994: 97–125, Figs. IV:1–7; 137–169, Figs. VI:1–10. Lux and Vriezen's excavations were reassessed and summarized in Vieweger 2016.



*Figure 3.3. Bedrock at the bottom of Ute Lux's archaeological probe in the Church of the Redeemer (source: T. Powers).*

### The Excavations in the Chapel of St. Vartan Between the Years 1975 and 1981: A Window to the History of the Church

The archaeological study that took place in the Chapel of St. Vartan (Fig. 3.1:31) was one of the most important and well-documented projects to take place during the restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Excavations in this confined space revealed remains from almost all periods of the church's history that contribute significantly to our understanding of the historical background of the church (Broshi and Barkay 1985; see also the detailed reexamination in Gibson and Taylor 1994: 7–24). Because the concentrated remains span a period of approximately 2,000 years, from the Iron Age II through the 12th century AD, they also contribute to the archaeological record of Jerusalem.

Excavations began in 1970 in the Chapel of St. Helena/Krikor (Figs. 3.1:29; 3.4) when the Armenian Patriarchate became interested in excavating behind the apse of Helena to see if there was open space behind the wall, or only bedrock.<sup>7</sup> This Chapel of St. Helena/Krikor is located in the easternmost part of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and is accessible via a staircase branching off of the main ambulatory (Fig. 3.1:7, 29). The chapel has within it two apses on its east side, the northern one, dedicated to the penitent thief, St. Dismas, and the larger southern one, dedicated to Constantine's mother Helena (Fig. 3.1:32–33). Upon breaching the wall at the point of a built recess behind the apse of St. Helena, the excavators almost immediately came upon an ancient wall (later designated Wall 1; Fig. 3.4:1). Breaching the wall by removing two of its stones, the excavators removed the fill to the north and east of this wall,<sup>8</sup> creating the primary space of the excavation area (which initially was 4.40 x 3.00 meters wide x 2.75 meters high) in which the rest of the excavations would occur (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 8). In the process, the southern face of Wall 4 and the western face of Wall 6 were found (Fig. 3.4:4, 6). This initial work was supervised only by the Armenian Patriarchate under Bishop Kapikian. In October 1971, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem was asked to observe the excavation of a trench in the eastern end of the excavation area, which revealed the eastern face of Wall 2 (Fig. 3.4:2). A probe (Fig. 3.4:8) in the northern end of this trench revealed bedrock c. 4.5 meters below the ground level of the excavation area and c. 9.47 meters below the surface of the paving stones of the ambulatory of the Rotunda.<sup>9</sup> Archibald Walls and Svend Helms, of the British School, conducted an architectural survey, and examined the finds as the fill of the trench was removed (Bennett 1974: 307; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 9). In November of 1971 on the eastern end of Wall 1, on its northern face, a drawing of a ship was found on a smooth stone (Figs. 3.4:1; 3.7–9). The British School's work at this point centered mainly on this find, which was drawn and photographed.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Vincent (Vincent and Abel 1914: 131, 133, Figs. 84–85) had suggested that the chapel was cut into and abutted bedrock (Vincent notes on Fig. 84 the *'ligne probable du rocher'*).

<sup>8</sup> The penetration of Wall 1 during the initial excavations was probably Coüasnon's (1974: 41) 'test borings.'

<sup>9</sup> This is based on Vincent's height of 753.52 meters above sea level (ASL) taken within the Rotunda immediately east of the Edicule (Vincent and Abel 1914: Pl. XIII:II). This figure is employed here as it was the height adopted by Corbo (1981–1982) for his work on the church, which he began at a 0.0 meter datum; cf. also the note in Gibson and Taylor 1994: 89, n. 27. The height given for the bedrock surface in the excavation area in the Chapel of St. Vartan, by Gibson in his original plans of the site (now in Broshi and Barkay 1985: 120 [though without the heights listed]; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 10, Fig. 6) is 743.73 meters ASL.

<sup>10</sup> This was initially analyzed by S.C. Humphreys and published with the permission of the Armenian Church authorities (Humphreys 1974).



excavation area had increased to 9.8 x 10.3 meters with a depth of 13 meters from the start of the original work (Broshi and Barkay 1985: 110). Shimon Gibson produced a final plan of the site in 1976 (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 9).

In the years following 1976, the Armenians continued excavating (with some help from Fernandez), breaching Wall 4 in a northerly direction. Between 1977 and 1980, Wall 7 was discovered at the western extremity of a space behind Wall 4 (Figs. 3.4:7; 3.7). The plan of this northern area was produced in 1978 by Gibson (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 10). Barkay was present at five intervals between November 1979 and March 1981 to examine the pottery, which had been kept on-site, as well as to take photographs and additional measurements and recordings (Broshi and Barkay 1985: 113, n. 20).<sup>11</sup>

In 1980, the excavation area was designated as a chapel dedicated to St. Vartan and the Armenian Martyrs (Fig. 3.1:31). With that, the final work done on the area was the cutting of a tunnel that would connect the site with the northern apse of St. Dismas in the Chapel of St. Helena/Krikor. The excavation area was outfitted with an altar and a floor over Walls 2 and 3 with a trapdoor leading to the excavation area below. The ancient walls were restored and reinforced with concrete (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 11).

### ***Iron Age Remains***

The site that would later become the Chapel of St. Vartan, was an artificial cave created by ancient quarrying (see Broshi and Barkay 1985: 110–111, 116). The walls and floors, where bedrock was found, show clear evidence of the removal of large limestone ashlar of *mizzi meleke* (Figs. 3.5–6).<sup>12</sup> The 3.10-meter-thick rock ceiling of the cave, consisting of harder *mizzi hilu* limestone ‘crust,’ had not been quarried (on the stone types, see the discussion below) (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 16; Broshi and Barkay 1985: 110–111). This hollow is part of a larger cave made up of the Chapel of St. Vartan and the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross (Fig. 3.1:30–31).<sup>13</sup>

This artificial cave at its largest is c. 25 meters in length and between 6.5 and 13 meters in height (Broshi and Barkay 1985: 117).<sup>14</sup> The bedrock of the quarry floor was covered with a blackish colored earth, which was overlaid with a beaten-earth floor made up of *terra rossa* soil, ash, and stone chips left over from quarrying activity (Broshi and Barkay 1985: 111; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 16–17). Below the beaten earth floor, the fill consisted of pottery

<sup>11</sup> Much of this pottery is still in the excavation area, tucked away in a corner north of the Chapel of St. Vartan.

<sup>12</sup> The dimensions of the blocks are provided by Broshi and Barkay 1985: 116 (also see Pl. 15A): .51 x 1.2 m; .50 x 1.2 m; .70 x 1.84 m; and .76 x 1.96 m. There are also traces of ashlar more than 2 meters long.

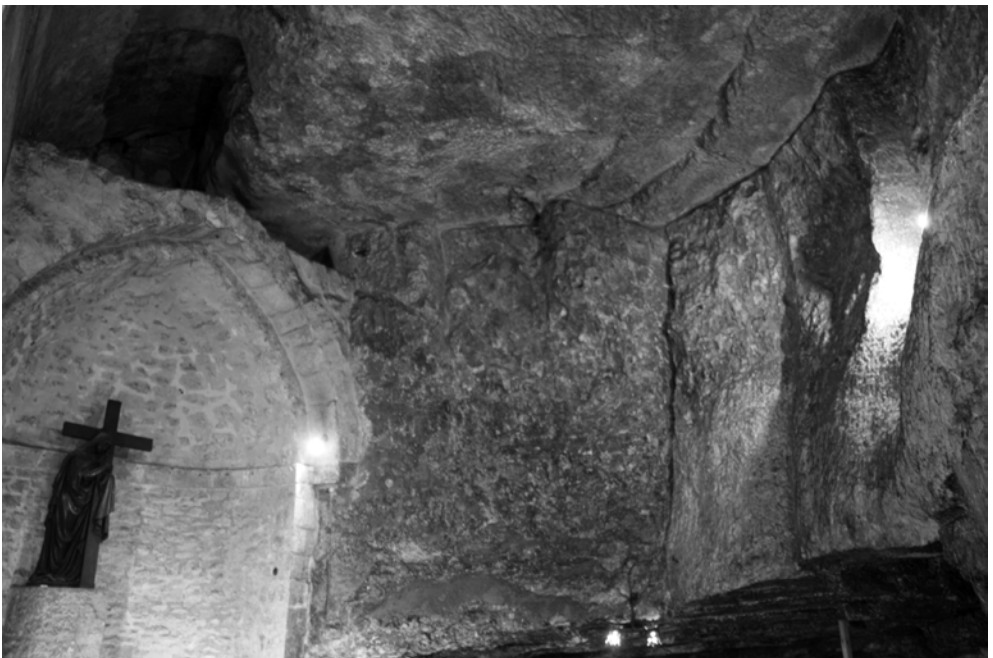
<sup>13</sup> Gibson and Taylor’s (1994: 11) description of the quarrying here is significant: ‘From the Chapel of St. Helena, the bedrock surface drops down towards the east to the lowest part of the quarry in this area, which is located beneath the present Chapel of St. Vartan at a level with the elevations 743.70 to 743.73. The eastern part of the quarry in this area is located above a ledge with an elevation of 744.95. The configuration of the bedrock surface in the extreme eastern part is unknown because the space is now blocked by wall 6. The northern limit of this part of the quarry is above a ledge, under wall 4, with an elevation of 744.00. The southern part below wall 1 and within the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, is located above a ledge with elevations ranging from 744.92 to 746.40.’

<sup>14</sup> Gibson and Taylor (1994: 11, Fig. 36) give a slightly different estimate, placing the total depth of the quarry at 10.90 meters ‘from the top of the overhanging rock ceiling to the lowest part of the quarry floor.’





*Figure 3.5. The ceiling and northern wall (looking northwest) of the artificial cave outside the Chapel of St. Vartan. Clear traces of quarrying are evident on the upper portion of the wall and the floor (source: J. Kelley).*



*Figure 3.6. The ceiling and southern wall (looking northeast) of the artificial cave in the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross (source: J. Kelley).*

from the Iron Age II (late 8th–early 6th centuries BC in this case),<sup>15</sup> which led Broshi to date the floor to the 7th century BC, probably indicative of settlement over portions of the quarry in this area, north of the Muristan, where Kenyon and Lux found no occupational layers (Broshi and Barkay 1985: 110–112; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 16–17).<sup>16</sup> In the view of Broshi and Barkay (1985: 118–119; see also Barkay 1985–1986; Broshi 2000; cf. also Avigad 1983: 46–60) this may be indicative of the extramural areas of late Iron II Jerusalem known archaeologically and perhaps reflected in the Bible (Jer 31:37–39; Zeph 1:10–11).<sup>17</sup> The quarry bears similarity to the subterranean quarries employed in the Iron II to the north of the Old City of Jerusalem now known as ‘Zedekiah’s Cave’ (or ‘Solomon’s Quarries’), located just east of Damascus Gate, and ‘Jeremiah’s Grotto,’ just to the northwest of the Old City (Broshi and Barkay 1985: 118; on Zedekiah’s Cave see Barkay 1986b; on Jeremiah’s Grotto see Schick 1902; see also Gibson and Taylor 1994: 53–55, Fig. 37).

### *Late Roman and Later Remains*

Seven walls were found in the confines of the Chapel of St. Vartan (Fig. 3.4:1–7), which represent the three phases of construction at the site of the ancient quarry.<sup>18</sup> Walls 1, 2, 3, and 7 are the earliest walls, dating to the 2nd century construction projects of the Roman emperor Hadrian. Walls 2, 3, and 7, which are oriented on a north-south axis, are built of local fieldstones with some Herodian ashlar in secondary use (distinct due to the chiseled margin and protruding boss). The secondary employment of these older ashlar, which are probably from the buildings or defensive lines of Herodian Jerusalem (dating to 40 BC–70 AD), indicates a date later than 70 AD (Broshi and Barkay 1985: 123). The walls were cut by the foundation trench of the later east-west oriented Wall 4.

Wall 1 runs from east to west, from bedrock in the east (where it then forms a corner with an extension that heads south) to the underside of the stairs leading down to the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross (Fig. 3.8). This wall is very interesting, since it was built out of fieldstones of various sizes as well as earlier ashlar in secondary use, but also includes some architectural fragments in secondary use (such as column drums, a fragment of an architrave,

<sup>15</sup> Note also that radiocarbon analysis on the ash in the floor yielded a mid-9th century date (1053 ± 210).

<sup>16</sup> Broshi and Barkay’s assessment is based in part on the knowledge that the ancients used ash in the creation of domestic and public flooring because of its resistance to water (Rainey 1974: 79–81). Corbo (1981–1982: 112–113) and Fernandez (1984: 33) believed that the fill containing the Iron Age pottery was a later deposit necessary to backfill the areas between Walls 2 and 3, and does not represent an occupational layer, conclusions based in part on those of Kenyon and Lux in their Muristan excavations. Broshi and Barkay (1985: 122–123) note, however that Wall 2 was built into the fills just 0.4 meters above bedrock, thus destroying the eastern extension of the Iron II floor. The views of Corbo and Fernandez do not coincide either, except on the point that the fills represented later activity. The former held that the quarry remained in use until the 1st century BC and then became a cultivated area (as indicated by the presence of the *terra rossa* soil) and the latter did not accept that the quarry was in use in the Iron II but rather the Early Roman period, based on his assertion that there was pottery from this period mixed into the soil over the bedrock (which Gibson and Taylor [1994: 17] note that there is no evidence for, positing that any Roman pottery found by Fernandez was probably intrusive).

<sup>17</sup> Jeremiah 31:39 references a place called Gareb Hill (*givat gareb*), which may have been located on the Northwestern Hill of Jerusalem. Zephaniah 1:10–11 features two locations in Jerusalem: the *mishneh*, a ‘Second Quarter’ of the city (v. 10), and the *makhtesh* ‘bowl’ or ‘mortar,’ referring to some depression in the area, presumably to the west of the city (v. 11).

<sup>18</sup> For a detailed discussion on the walls see Broshi and Barkay 1985: 119–125; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 17–24.



Figure 3.7. Late Roman Period wall in the Chapel of St. Vartan (Wall 7) looking northeast (source: J. Kelley).

and a chip-carved stone with a rosette on it, probably from an Early Roman period ceiling), as well as a ballista ball (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 17, Fig. 12). That the wall has numerous older pieces incorporated into it is indicative of its post-70 AD origin. Built into the second course of this wall at the east end is a smooth-faced ashlar that has upon its southern face a drawing of a Roman merchant ship. Broshi and Barkay (1985: 124) note that these smooth-faced, almost polished, ashlar likely come from the buildings of Early Roman Jerusalem. The dating of the drawing of the ship, however, is a complex matter that will be discussed below.

In addition to the fact that the foundation trench of Wall 4 cut through Walls 2, 3, and 7, the earlier walls are dated to the 2nd century AD based on the fills. In the western balk section of the site it was evident that a layer of reddish soil and packed stones was covering the north face of Wall 1 and extending over the top of Wall 2. A later fill over this one, dating to Constantinian building activity, extended to the southern face of Wall 4 covering the earlier walls. Walls 1, 2, 3, and 7 were probably part of a grid of retaining vaults that supported the fills used to block up the topographical irregularities of the area to create a flat platform on which to build, a phenomenon well known in ancient Roman structures (the most famous of which is Jerusalem's Herodian Temple Mount<sup>19</sup>) (Broshi and Barkay 1985: 124; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 19).

<sup>19</sup> Ehud Netzer (2006: 275–276, 291–292; cf. Chancey and Porter 2001: 167–174 and Holum 2004: 184–191) notes that *caesarea*, characterized by a small temple at the center of a large square platform surrounded by colonnades and a basilica on the fourth colonnade, were widespread in the Roman world. They typically functioned within the cult of the emperor. Jerusalem's Temple Mount was built employing such a plan, but was massive in scale.



Figure 3.8. Wall 1, looking southeast. The drawing of the 'Jerusalem Ship,' now in a picture frame, can be seen on the east corner of the wall (source: J. Kelley).

Walls 4 and 6 are from the foundation of the Constantinian Basilica. In the building's current form, Wall 4 is the eastern continuation of the northern wall of the Chapel of St. Helena. In the 4th century AD, however, it made up the inner northern stylobate of Constantine's Basilica (Figs. 3.9).<sup>20</sup> Wall 4 is built on a rubble foundation (over bedrock) within a trench that, as noted above, cuts through the earlier walls 2, 3, and 7. From the foundation, the wall is preserved to a height of 7 meters with thirteen courses of stone. The wall, at its lowest preserved segment is 2.82 meters in width and encases a core of rubble fill. The wall itself is built of large Herodian ashlar with chiseled margins in secondary use, smooth-faced stones like the one the Jerusalem Ship was drawn on, and five column drums. It seems likely that the smooth-faced stones were taken from the Hadrianic foundations and reused, as were the ashlar and columns. This is the best-preserved portion of the Constantinian Basilica, leading to the assumption that this subterranean part of the Basilica was never exposed (Broshi and Barkay 1985: 121). Wall 6, which runs north to south, is on the eastern end of the excavation area. This wall, which is bonded to Wall 4, though somewhat irregularly (Broshi and Barkay 1985: Pl. 15B),<sup>21</sup> is preserved to a height of 6.40 meters, with eleven

<sup>20</sup> Coüasnon (1974: 41–42) is right in his assumption that the alignment of the Basilica can be reconstructed on the basis of Wall 4 in the St. Vartan excavation. Though he is probably incorrect to note that 'certain indications make one think that certain parts of the northern wall [Wall 4], which goes down to bedrock beneath the rubble, are of the time of Hadrian.' See Broshi and Barkay 1985: 119, 121; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 21.

<sup>21</sup> Broshi and Barkay (1985: 122) note that this irregularity may indicate that Wall 6 was built prior to Wall 4, though still within the same time period. Gibson and Taylor (1994: 21) point out that the reasons for this irregularity are unknown, but may be 'structural.'

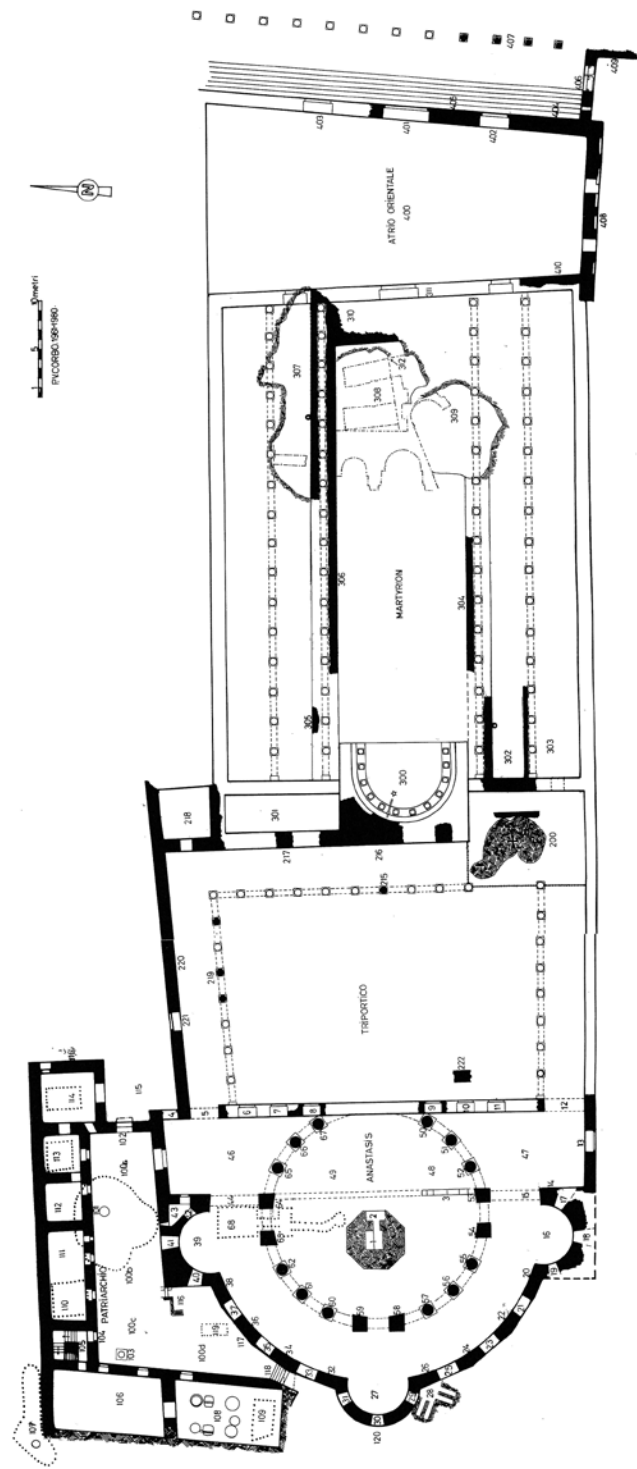


Figure 3.9. Plan of the Constantinian church (source: Gibson and Taylor 1994; Fig. 45).

courses of stone and was likely c. 6 meters thick. This wall was probably built to support the rock-cut ceiling of the quarried hollow that, in Constantine's time, had to support the upper part of the Basilica (Broshi and Barkay 1985: 122). Note that the backfills along the Constantinian foundation trenches of Walls 4 and 6 contained pottery dating to the 2nd century AD, as well as roof tiles, some of which were stamped with the mark of the Tenth Roman Legion 'Fretensis' (LEG.X.FR). As was noted above, the Tenth Roman Legion was stationed somewhere on the Northwestern Hill of Jerusalem in the second and part of the 3rd century AD (Broshi and Barkay 1985: Pl. 16C–D).<sup>22</sup> A stone-carved drainpipe was also found running along the northern face of Wall 4. This was similar to the one found in the excavations east of the Rock of Golgotha by the Greek Orthodox church running along the southern face of the Constantinian stylobate wall (Corbo's Wall N) (Katsimbinis 1977: 204, Fig. 11; Corbo 1981–1982: 112, Pl. 40).

Wall 5, which has its foundation in the rubble core of Wall 3, appears to be the latest wall, dating either to the 11th century restoration of the church after its destruction in 1009, or to the Crusader alterations executed between 1099 and the 1160s AD. Broshi and Barkay (1985: 124) attribute the wall to the eastern foundation of the Chapel of St. Helena even though they note that the alignment of the wall does not match the eastern wall of the chapel. Because of this lack of alignment Gibson and Taylor (1994: 23) were inclined to disagree, suggesting that it cannot be the eastern foundation wall for the Crusader chapel, and propose that Wall 5 may be related to the 11th century construction of the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, excavated by Corbo (1965: 330–331; 1981–1982: 21, 168–74, Pl. 57; Photos 106–111). Wall 5 was probably built to retain the fills of the Constantinian construction when the area of the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross was cleared during the 11th century reconstruction.<sup>23</sup> Part of the later Crusader modifications of the area included the creation of the Chapel of St. Helena with its two eastern apses and a new north-south wall that replaced Wall 5 (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 23).

<sup>22</sup> Similar fill is mentioned by Corbo (1981–1982: 112): *'Tutte le volte che ci è stato possibile visitare lo sterro abbiamo notato sempre che la riempitura omogenea fu fatta in un solo tempo, dopo la costruzione del muro constantiniano e che non vi erano strati di occupazione. Nella riempitura fu trovata molta ceramica romana ed anche tardo romana insieme a moltissimi frammenti di tegoli su alcuni dei quali compare lo stampo della Decima Legio Fretensis'* (see Corbo 1981–1982: Photo 203, 2)

<sup>23</sup> Prior to this reconstruction the Constantinian Basilica had been built over the area of these two subterranean chapels, which were simply filled in at the time, as has already been noted. Once the Basilica was destroyed in 1009 AD the southern portion of the ancient quarry was cleared to form the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross while the northern portion was walled up with Wall 5 to keep the fills in place. In Corbo's view (1965: 330–337; 1981–1982: 168–174, Pl. 57; Photo 108), prior to these events, the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross was a cistern *'in epoca romana'* (1981–1982: Pl. 57). This conclusion is based on the three openings in the vaulted ceiling of the chapel, which are still visible. Gibson and Taylor (1994: 23) disagree with this interpretation, but nevertheless, do not address the openings in the ceiling. It may be that this subterranean chamber, which consists now of the chapels of St. Helena and the Finding of the True Cross served as a cistern prior to the destruction of the Basilica. Indeed, the space that would eventually become the Chapel of St. Helena in the Crusader period was, in the 11th century, simply a leveled bedrock surface, which explains why the excavations under the floor of the Chapel of St. Helena revealed bedrock just 15–30 centimeters below the floor (bedrock is still visible in sections of the north and south walls) (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 8).

### *The 'Jerusalem Ship'*

Much has been written about the drawing of the ship on Wall 1 since its discovery in 1971 by the Armenian Patriarchate (Figs. 3.10, 11). The literature on the subject focuses on the date of the drawing and the inscription, but also on the controversy surrounding the inscription. In fact, Gibson and Taylor's work on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1994 began with a desire on the part of Professor Taylor to bring some clarity to the subject (Gibson and Taylor 1994: xi–xii). While this is not the place to deal with the many details of the discussion, which are treated thoroughly elsewhere (see especially Gibson and Taylor 1994: 25–48 and Broshi and Barkay 1985: 125–128), it is important to briefly note the history of research and significance of the find.

The drawing depicts a Roman merchant vessel of the 1st–2nd centuries AD, a type called a *navis oneraria*, 'ship of burden' (Casson 1971: 169, 175, Figs. 151, 156; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 35).<sup>24</sup> The face of the stone upon which the drawing was executed is oriented east-west and one looks south to look at the drawing (cf. Fig. 3.12). The stone's face is 82.5 x 46.5 centimeters with the drawing of the ship being 65 x 31 centimeters. The ship is depicted in black ink with its bow to the left and stern to the right. Its mast is lying down towards the stern, and above the mast is the furled mainsail drawn in reddish ink (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 41). Below the drawing, is a Latin inscription with the following text: DO MINEIVIMVS, which is probably to be read as DOMINE IVIMVS, *domine ivimus* 'Lord, we went (or have come).'

The drawing was initially published by Crystal-M. Bennett of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in 1974, which included an analysis by S.C. Humphreys (Bennett 1974: 307–309; Humphreys 1974: 309–310). Humphreys' interpretation of the inscription, based on photographs taken in 1971 and drawings made by Helms at the site during excavations, were that the inscription should read ISIS MIRIONIMVS, *Isis Mirionimus*, 'Isis of Ten Thousand Names,' a phonetic rendering of the Greek name of a known ship of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (Humphreys 1974: 309–310, Fig. 1). Humphreys' drawing of the ship did not depict the furled mainsail, apparently because she was not able to see it either in person or in the photographs. In 1975, once the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum became involved in the excavations, the stone's face bearing the ship was cleaned by E. Testa, which cleared up the inscription and clarified several points in the drawing. New photographs were taken in 1975. In an article published in 1980, Helms (1980: 109) insinuated that Testa had altered the image and inscription during cleaning.<sup>25</sup> However, infrared photos taken by Chief Inspector M. Kornblum of the Criminal Identification Bureau of the Israel Police on 12 Jan 1977 showed that the drawing had not been tampered with.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Casson (1971: 169, 175, Figs. 151, 156) discusses three types of the *navis oneraria*, noting of the third type that it 'shows distinctly heavier and less rounded lines than the other two, and the stempost is capped with a massive block-shaped adornment.' A look at Casson's plates shows clearly that the Jerusalem Ship fits this third type of vessel.

<sup>25</sup> Helms (1980: 109) notes: 'The 'new' evidence [i.e. the portions of the drawing visible after the cleaning] leads me to suspicions regarding not only the ship and its fate after we left it in 1972, but also the reading and dating of the inscription on palaeographical grounds.'

<sup>26</sup> All of the key photographs and drawings of the ship and its inscription appear in Gibson and Taylor 1994: 25–48.



Figure 3.10. Photograph of the 'Jerusalem Ship' as it appears at the present. The photograph is taken looking south so that the ship is oriented with its bow (front) to the east and its stern (rear) to the west (source: J. Kelley).



Figure 3.11. Drawing of the 'Jerusalem Ship' and inscription. Gray lines indicate sections of the drawing that were executed in red ink. The principal parts of the ship include: 1) foresail (artemon) mast; 2) lower wale; 3) upper wale; 4) goose-head ornament (cheniscus); 5) lowered or broken (?) mainmast; 6) the foresail (artemon); 7) iron blade (ferro) ornament; 8) port rudder; 9) starboard rudder; 10) furled mainsail; 11) looms of steering oars (source: J. Kelley; see also Broschi 1977: 42; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 34–42, Figs. 27–30).



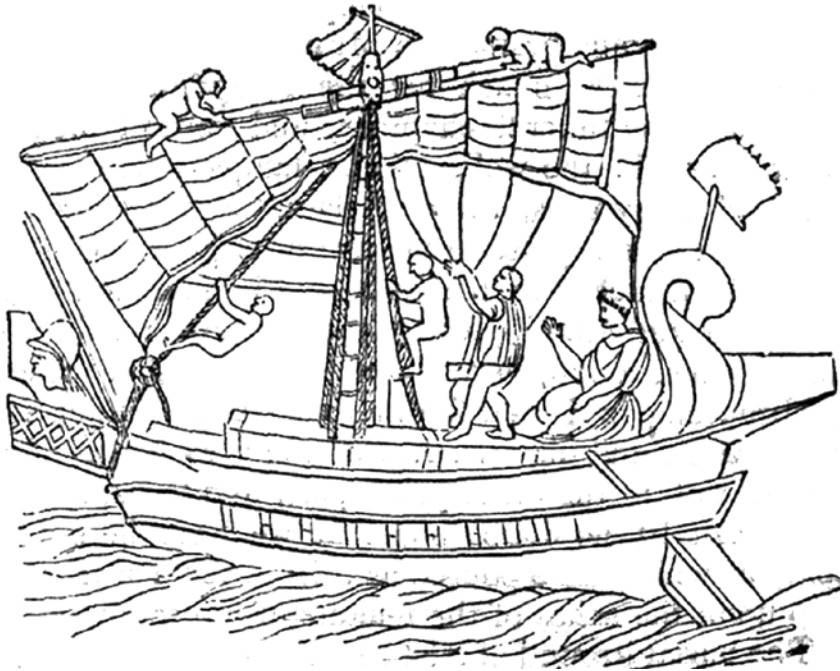


Figure 3.12. Drawing of a ship relief on the Naevoleia Tyche tomb monument in Pompeii. The relief dates to c. 79 AD and is a good parallel to the 'Jerusalem Ship' (source: Clarke 1836: 269; see also Casson 1971: Fig. 151; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 42).

It was suggested to Broshi by Père Pierre Benoit of the École Biblique that the words of the inscription, *domine ivimus*, may reflect the initial words of the Latin version of Psalm 121:1: *in domum Domini ibimus* 'Let us go to the house of the Lord' (Broshi and Barkay 1985: 125, n. 50).<sup>27</sup> Similar wording appears in the Latin translation of John 6:69: *Domine ad quem ibimus?* 'Lord, to whom shall we go?' Between this interpretation of the inscription, the use of Latin, and the type of vessel drawn, it appeared that a western Christian pilgrim had left his mark near the sacred site sometime between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD. The stone's placement in Wall 1 indicated for Broshi that the drawing was probably executed during the building of the Constantinian church—sometime after the site was converted from a pagan edifice (c. 325 AD) and before this particular area was backfilled to create the floor of the Basilica, which was completed by 335 AD (Broshi 1977a: 42–44; Broshi 1993: 118–122; Broshi and Barkay 1985: 128; see also Patrich 1993: 110–112). He notes, however, that the ship's features are not sufficient to date the drawing any closer than the 'first centuries AD' (Broshi 1977b: 352).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> There are of course variations between the inscription and the Latin text of Jerome's Vulgate, namely the change in voice to vocative in the inscription, i.e. *Domine*, and the substitution of *v* for *b*. This latter exchange is known in Christian inscriptions and in vulgar Latin inscriptions in general according to Prof. V. Väänänen of the Historical-Philological Institute of the University of Helsinki who examined the inscription and communicated his analysis to Broshi in a letter on 8 Jan 1977 (see Broshi and Barkay 1985: 125, n. 51).

<sup>28</sup> Broshi's (1977b: 352) exact words were: 'No feature in the ship so far as I know, can be dated any closer than the first centuries AD.' Gibson and Taylor (1994: 42) misquote Broshi here, which is problematic for their point:

*Table 1. Archaeological research relevant to the study of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre\**

<b>Excavations and Surveys Carried Out Within the Church</b>		
<b>Year</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Work Done and Summary</b>
1960	Franciscan Monastery	Exploration and excavation of the ground floor and garden (Area 115) of the ancient Patriarchate (modern Franciscan monastery).
1961	Courtyard, entrance, north and south ambulatories, Armenian Shrine	Thirteen surveys (via trenches) done for verification of the stability of the Crusader foundations, which make up the modern foundations of the building.
1963	Chapel of Mary (or the Apparition of the Virgin)	Excavations in the Chapel of Mary revealing remains from the eleventh century C.E., the time of the first major restoration of the church.
1963–1964	Rotunda, Katholikon, Franciscan monastery	Excavation of channels between the ancient Patriarchate (modern Franciscan monastery) to the north and the large square opposite the ancient basilica (modern Rotunda and Katholikon) to the south, discovery of the Hadrianic subterranean chamber 68.
1964	Chapel of St. Helena/Krikor	Excavations under the flagstones of the floor of the chapel revealing bedrock.
1965	Chapel of the Invention of the Cross	Excavations in the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, revealing remains from the eleventh century C.E.
1965	Modern Entrance Court or Southern Atrium	Partial excavation in the entrance court, revealing Constantinian paving stones.
1966–1967	Armenian Shrine/Rotunda	Excavation in the southern zone of the transept of the Rotunda, revealing the southernmost limit of the Constantinian transept of the Rotunda.
1968	Chapel of Mary Magdalene	Excavations in the northern zone of the transept of the Rotunda (the current Chapel of Mary Magdalene).
1969	Rotunda Gallery	Excavations in the gallery of the Rotunda and above the Pillars (or Arches) of the Virgin (in the northern ambulatory).
1969–1970	Katholikon	Excavation in the eastern zone of the ancient Triportico (the modern Katholikon) revealing the apse of the Constantinian Basilica.

\* The dates in this table are adapted from those provided by Corbo (1981–1982: 21). Note also that the data in the ‘Publication(s)’ column is not meant to be exhaustive but rather to provide the reader with the key primary and secondary literature on the excavations (works deemed primary are in *italics*). Additional sources can be found in the bibliography.

<b>Church Community</b>	<b>Supervisor(s)</b>	<b>Publication(s)</b>
Latin (Franciscan) Community	Virgilio C. Corbo	<i>Corbo 1981-1982: 119-129, 131-137, 227-228, Pls. 3:Patriarchio; 59-66, Photos 44-48, 59-65, 122-130; Corbo 1969: 122-125; Corbo 1988: 412; Coüasnon 1974: 23-26, Pls. XIIIa-b, XIV.</i>
Franciscan (Catholic), Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate	Joint Technical Bureau (the <i>Uffici Tecnici delle tre Comunità</i> )	<i>Corbo 1981-1982: 58-59, 83-92, 219, 225-226, Pls. 1, 23-24, 52-55; 67, Photos 1-21; Corbo 1964: 325-338.</i>
Latin (Franciscan) Community	Virgilio C. Corbo	<i>Corbo 1981-1981: 175-179, Pls. 3:100; 59-63, Photos 63, 65, 158-160; Corbo 1964: 312-325.</i>
Latin (Franciscan) Community, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate	Virgilio C. Corbo and Athanasios Katsimbini	<i>Corbo 1981-1982: 63-67, Pls. 18-19, Photos 49-52; Corbo 1964: 293-311; Corbo 1969: 117-122.</i>
Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate	Armenian Patriarchate	<i>Corbo 1981-1982: 208-209; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 8, Figs. 4-5.</i>
Latin (Franciscan) Community	Virgilio C. Corbo	<i>Corbo 1981-1982: 21, 168-174, Pls. 3:309-312; 57, Photos 106-117; Corbo 1965: 330-331; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 23-24.</i>
Latin (Franciscan) Community, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate	Joint Technical Bureau (the <i>Uffici Tecnici delle tre Comunità</i> )	<i>Corbo 1981-1982: 84-85, Pl. 55, Photos 6-10.</i>
Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate	Armenian Patriarchate	<i>Corbo 1981-1982: 59, Pls. 3:47; 16-17.</i>
Latin (Franciscan) Community	Virgilio C. Corbo	<i>Corbo 1981-1982: 56-58, Pls. 3:43, 46, 8-16, Photos 30-40; Corbo 1969: 66-89.</i>
Latin (Franciscan) Community	Virgilio C. Corbo	<i>Corbo 1981-1982: 154-159, Pls. 5; 22; 27-30, Photos 131-135; 1969: 91-103; Corbo 1969: 91-103; Coüasnon 1974: Pl. XXVIIIb.</i>
Greek Orthodox Patriarchate	Anastasios Economopoulos	<i>Corbo 1981-1982: 107-109, 201-204, Pls. 6-7, 10, 31-33, 40-42, Photos 87-101; Coüasnon 1974: 37-44, Pl. XXa-b.</i>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Work Done and Summary</i>
1969–1970	Canon's Refectory, Rock of Golgotha	Restoration of the Canon's Refectory, which entailed excavations on the east side of the Rock of Golgotha.
1974	Rotunda	Excavation of trenches 48 and 49 south of the Edicule in the Rotunda revealing the Constantinian stylobate 3.
1970; 1971; 1972–1975; 1975; 1976–1980; 1979–1981	Chapel of St. Vartan	Extended excavation behind the apse of the Chapel of St. Helena/Krikor underneath the ancient Basilica. Discovery of architectural remains from all periods relevant to the history of the church.
1960–1980	Rotunda/Edicule	Archaeological studies and observations on the ancient Anastasis (Rotunda).
1988	Franciscan Monastery	Excavation behind the northwest corner of the Franciscan monastery, revealing further traces of Iron Age II quarrying in the exposed bedrock.
1988	Chapel of Golgotha	Removal of blocking stones over the summit of the Rock of Golgotha and examination of the surface of the rock.
1989, 1990, 1992	Rotunda/Edicule	Archaeological architectural survey of the current Edicule using photogrammetry including the external marble structure, the Chapel of the Angel, and the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre.
1993–1999	Church Complex	Photogrammetric survey and documentation of the entire church complex.
2007–2009	Church Complex	Three-dimensional survey done by terrestrial laser scan of the entire church complex aimed at determining the state of conservation of the structure.
2011	Katholikon, Bell Tower	Architectural investigation using ground penetrating radar and other non-destructive investigative techniques to assess the stability of the church structure.
2015–2016	Rotunda/Edicule	Photogrammetric documentation of the Edicule using ground penetrating radar to better understand the internal structure of the shrine in light of pending restoration.
2016–2017	Rotunda/Edicule	Restoration and conservation of the Edicule.

<b>Church Community</b>	<b>Supervisor(s)</b>	<b>Publication(s)</b>
Greek Orthodox Patriarchate	Christos Katsimbini (with archaeological work undertaken by F. Díez Fernandez) and Manolis Chatzidakis	<i>Katsimbini 1977 (with archaeological observations by F. Díez Fernandez on pp. 205–207); Corbo 1981–1982: 95–101 (see also 203–204), Pls. 3:200; 40–45, Photos 91–101; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 56–60, 79–80, Figs. 42, 46; Coüasnon 1974: 38–40.</i>
Latin (Franciscan) Community	Charles Coüasnon	<i>Corbo 1981–1982: 61–64, Pls. 3:48–49; 19:3, Photos 53–54.</i>
Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate	Armenian Patriarchate; Archibald Walls and Svend Helms; Armenian Patriarchate (with help from F. Díez Fernandez; Studium Biblicum Franciscanum; Magen Broshi; Armenian Patriarchate (with help from F. Díez Fernandez); additional analysis provided by Gabriel Barkay	<i>Broshi and Barkay 1985; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 7–48; Corbo 1981–1982: 111–113, Pls. 3:307–308; 57, Photos 102–105; Bennet 1974; Humphreys 1974; Broshi 1977a; Broshi 1977b; Helms 1980; Broshi 1993; Broshi 2000.</i>
Latin (Franciscan) Community	Virgilio C. Corbo and Charles Coüasnon	<i>Corbo 1981–1982: 51–79, Pls. 3:Anastasis; 11–12; 20–21, Photos 41–43; Coüasnon 1974: 21–36, Pls. XIIIa–b; XVIa–b; XVIII–XIX.</i>
Latin (Franciscan) Community	Alberto Prodromo	<i>Corbo 1988: 414–419.</i>
Greek Orthodox Patriarchate	Th. Mitropoulos	<i>Corbo 1988: 414–419 (cf. Corbo 1981–1982: 203–204, Pls. 40–41).</i>
Work was done with the permission of the primary church communities	Martin Biddle and Michael A.R. Cooper	<i>Biddle 1999; Biddle 1991; Biddle 1994; Biddle 2000: 23–71; Biddle, Cooper, Robson 1992.</i>
Greek Orthodox Patriarchate	Andreas Georgopoulos and George Lavvas of the NTUA.	<i>Lavvas 2009; Balodimos, Lavvas, Georgopoulos 2003.</i>
Greek Orthodox Patriarchate	University of Florence led by Grazia Tucci and Valentina Bonora.	<i>Tucci and Bonora 2011.</i>
Greek Orthodox Patriarchate	NTUA led by Antonia Moropoulou	<i>Moropoulou, Bakolas, Spyarakos, Mouzakis, Karoglou, Labropoulos, Delegou, Diamandidou, and Katsiotis 2012.</i>
Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Latin (Franciscan) Community, Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate	NTUA led by Antonia Moropoulou	<i>Agrafiotis, Lampropoulos, Georgopoulos, and Moropoulou 2017.</i>
Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Latin (Franciscan) Community, Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate	NTUA led by Antonia Moropoulou	No report was published at the time this volume was completed.

Excavations and Surveys Carried Out Within the Vicinity of the Church Complex Proper		
Year	Location	Work Done and Summary
1961–1967	The property of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in the Muristan complex	Excavation to bedrock with discovery of Iron Age II quarrying activity with later fills above it.
1970–1971, 1972–1974	The Lutheran Church of the Redeemer in the Muristan Complex	Analysis of proposed “Second Wall” under the church and excavation to bedrock with the discovery of Iron Age II quarrying activity with later fills above it.
1960–1980	The Russian Hospice and Zalatio Sweets on Khan ez-Zeit Street	Survey of the remains of the eastern atrium of the Constantinian Basilica.
1997	The Coptic Patriarchate	Archaeological probes in the subterranean areas north of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, between the church proper and the mosque of el-Hanqa es-Sallahiya and Hanqa St.
2010–2012	The Lutheran Church of the Redeemer in the Muristan Complex	New analysis of the earlier excavations by the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut and German Protestant Institute of Archaeology for the purpose of opening the excavation areas to the public.
2010–2011	Church of St. John the Baptist in the Muristan Complex	Archaeological probe to bedrock in the crypt of the church.

Numerous other interpretations of the date of the drawing and the inscription have been put forth.<sup>29</sup> Gibson and Taylor (1994: 42) date the drawing and inscription to the 1st or 2nd century AD based on the archaeological context of the stone and the drawing of the ship. They note, however, that it is problematic to assume anything beyond this, which is a fair assessment. There is no clear allusion to Psalm 121:1 or John 6:69 in the words *domine ivimus*. Moreover, the term *domine*, ‘lord’ does not necessitate a Christian interpretation. The archaeological context is also enigmatic—the drawing is located in a wall that was part of the foundation of both Hadrian’s structure of the 2nd century AD, and Constantine’s Basilica, areas that were backfilled to support the structures above. This is an unlikely place for a detailed drawing and inscription. None of this rules out the possibility that the drawing and inscription were put on the stone by a Christian pilgrim, but it raises the point that the facts are enigmatic enough that such an interpretation must not simply be assumed, but rather employed with caution. On the other hand, Joseph Patrich (2016: 159, n. 11) presents a sound objection to a secular interpretation of the inscription, by simply asking, ‘Who but a Christian would have been attracted to this particular site?’

<sup>29</sup> According to Broshi (1977, p. 352) ‘no feature in the ship ... can be dated any closer than the 1st century A.D.’ However, he also believes that the drawing was executed by a Christian pilgrim at the time of the construction of the Constantinian basilica, circa 330.’

<sup>29</sup> Corbo (1981–1982: 113) believes the drawing and inscription date to the 4th century AD, but believes that the stone was placed in Wall 1 during the 11th or early 12th century. Fernandez (1984: 33) believes it to date to the time of Herod Agrippa (c. 40–44 AD). Helms (1980: 120) proposed that the drawing was made by a pagan sailor in the 2nd century. Testa (1976: 221) dates the drawing to the late third or early 4th century on the basis of the Latin in the inscription. See Gibson and Taylor (1994: 42) for discussion.

Church Community	Supervisor	Publication(s)
–	Kathleen M. Kenyon	Kenyon 1974: 225–235; Kenyon 1964: 14–17; Kenyon 1967: 146–147, 151–154.
–	Ute Lux, Karel Vriezen	Lux 1972; Vriezen 1978; Vriezen 1994.
Latin (Franciscan) Community	Virgilio C. Corbo and Charles Coüasnon	Corbo 1981–1982: 115–117, Pl. 3:400–409, Photos 118–121; Coüasnon 1974: 44–46, Pl. XXIIa.
Coptic Patriarchate	Israel Antiquities Authority led by Jon Seligman and Gideon Avni	Seligman and Avni 2000.
–	Dieter Vieweger	Vieweger 2016.
Greek Orthodox Patriarchate	Jean-Baptiste Humbert	Humbert 2011; Humbert 2016.

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## Chapter 4

# The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Archaeological and Literary Annals of Jerusalem

During the period of the British Mandate of Palestine, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was damaged by an earthquake that took place in 1927. During the restoration, it was decided that the church's instability warranted additional investigation. The British government selected conservationist William Harvey to survey the structure and report his findings. In the introduction to Harvey's report (1935: vii), E.T. Richmond, then director of the Department of Antiquities for the Government of Palestine, wrote of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre:

'The Church we see to-day is the latest successor to a line that goes back for sixteen centuries. It was sixteen centuries ago that it first became possible for Christian to give adequate architectural expression to their natural veneration for these sites...and to their conviction that it was proper and necessary that monuments in their honour should here be erected. That conviction has remained firmly rooted in the minds of Christians for more than fifty generations; so firmly, that it has always succeeded in remanifesting itself, in some form, even after the worst disasters...though it has never been possible entirely to thwart the act of giving some sort of practical architectural expression to the desire generated by that conviction, the splendour or poverty of the expression has varied, of course, with the changing political and economic conditions of the different ages.'

Harvey's description of the church adequately summarizes the history of the complex that we refer to today as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the name given to it by the Crusaders. The structure was first established in the 4th century AD, in a rock quarry that was ancient by Jesus' lifetime. Constantine's Basilica, memorializing the execution site and burial place of Jesus, was destroyed in the eleventh century and rebuilt in a much smaller form by Byzantine authorities. The church was restored to a grand state again in the twelfth century under the Frankish Crusaders, but fell into disrepair during the following five centuries. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the church suffered considerable damage by accidental fires and natural calamities, which led to the collective effort of the Holy Sepulchre's major Christian communities to restore the sacred site, a process that has been ongoing at various times since 1959 to the present day. As has already been noted, the major restoration projects have been, for the most part, accompanied by archaeological investigation, which has yielded an enormous amount of historical data. The archaeological record will be reviewed below.

## The Late Iron Age II Through the Early Roman Period (c. 700s BC–135 AD)

### *The Ancient Quarry and Golgotha*

In the Iron Age II, the Northwestern Hill of Jerusalem, where the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the present-day Christian Quarter are located, was partially taken up (to the east and south) by a large stone quarry. The northwestern vicinity of Jerusalem is largely composed of Cenomanian and Turonian layers of limestone. It is from the Turonian deposits that people have long derived the best quality stone for cutting building blocks, or ashlar, stone that is both durable and relatively easy to dress (Avnimelech 1966: 28–31; Shiloh and Horowitz 1975: 42, 47). The stone from the Turonian deposits is known locally in Palestinian Arabic as *mizzi meleke* ‘royal stone’ and *mizzi hilu* ‘sweet stone.’ For the same reasons that this stone was practical to build with, people typically used these areas to excavate burial caves.<sup>1</sup>

Based on the exploration done in the late 19th century in the vicinity of the church by Schick, the excavations within the church, and the excavations to the south, in the area of the Muristan by Lux and Kenyon, it is possible to tentatively reconstruct the shape and extent of the ancient quarry (Fig. 4.1).<sup>2</sup> The quarry descended in a southerly direction into the upper western part of the Transversal Valley. It extended over a total area of c. 200 meters from north to south and c. 150 meters from east to west (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 51; cf. also Schein 1981: 24). The exact shape of the oldest quarry cannot be determined as it was likely in use at intervals until the site was covered with the Constantinian edifice in the 4th century AD. There are, however, portions of the quarry that can be discerned (Figs. 4.1–4.2). As pointed out above, in the excavations within the Chapel of St. Vartan, it is evident that the quarrying done here formed a subterranean hollow that is still partially visible in the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross and the Chapel of St. Vartan. About 50 meters to the southeast of the Chapel of St. Helena, underneath the Russian (Alexandrovsky) property of the church, or the ‘Russian Hospice,’ Schick (Schick 1889a; 1889b: 110; key plan Section A) discovered a large cave cut into the bedrock (Fig. 4.1:24).<sup>3</sup> The cave is 10.80 meters in height from the rock ceiling to the bedrock floor (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 53). In addition to this, an overhanging scarp with traces of quarrying was discovered by Corbo in the northwestern extremity of the Franciscan monastery (the ancient ‘Patriarchion,’ in Corbo’s publication) to the northwest of the church, though the data here is incomplete because Corbo was not able to excavate the fills (Corbo 1988: 419, Figs. 6–9; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 53; on the Patriarchion see Corbo 1981–1982: 119–137). Gibson and Taylor (1994: 53) suggest that the quarry was likely opened on the western end of the Transversal

<sup>1</sup> Senonian rock, known locally as *ka’kila*, found to the east of Jerusalem, was also often used for burial caves. On the types of rock and their use in the construction of burial caves see the discussion in Kloner and Zissu 2007: 12–15.

<sup>2</sup> Such a plan was first executed by Corbo (1981–1982: Pl. 67). A revised plan was drawn by Shimon Gibson that attempted to leave out the details of Corbo’s plan that were deemed too ‘theoretical’ (Gibson and Taylor 1994: Fig. 36). Corbo’s plan, while inaccurate at points (namely the reconstruction of the Tomb of Jesus and its relation to the Joseph and Nicodemus tomb to the southwest) remains a good reference tool and is included here as Figure 4.2.

<sup>3</sup> The cave is just under the convergence of Suq el-Attarin (south), Suq Khan el-Zeit (north), and Aqabat es-Saraya (east). See the updated plans, based on those of Schick, in Gibson and Taylor 1994: Figs. 38–40.

Valley and was then extended to the northwest (Fig. 4.3). The quarry floor rises c. 18 meters from south to north, and c. 15 meters from east to west.

It is possible that this quarry was in use as early as the ninth–eighth centuries BC, given that the fills above it contained sherds from the 7th century BC (Kenyon 1974: 228, Fig. 37; Pls. 96 and 98; 1967: 146–147, 151–154.). While Kenyon and Lux believed they had found no occupational layers above the bedrock in their excavations, Broshi's beaten earth floor that was cut by the Hadrianic walls, seems to indicate settlement over at least some area of the earliest quarry. Despite Corbo's (1981–1982: 113) disagreement with Broshi's conclusions, a strong argument has been put forth for the northern and western growth of Jerusalem during the late Iron II (Barkay 1985–1986; Broshi and Barkay 1985: 118–119). This is based on the relatively large amount of Iron II pottery collected from the Northwestern Hill<sup>4</sup> and the numerous tombs on the outskirts of the hill to the west<sup>5</sup> (tombs typically tended to delineate the boundaries of Jerusalem especially from the Iron Age II through the Early Roman period<sup>6</sup>). It seems that the quarry was abandoned, at least partially, and the area was settled with scattered suburbs in the 7th century BC. It is evident that the quarry itself was used for tombs in the late Iron II as one tomb dating to the eighth–sixth centuries BC was found underneath the Coptic monastery of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Fig. 4.1:20) (Schick 1885; 1887: 154–155).

Though there is no proof for this, one could logically assume that the quarry was used in the Hellenistic period to furnish ashlar for the construction of buildings and defensive structures during the Maccabean period such as the First Wall mentioned by Josephus (*War* 5.142–145). The ashlar for Josephus' Second Wall (*War* 5: 146) could have also been drawn from this quarry, which would have had been doubly efficient, providing building materials for the wall, while at the same time creating a moat to make the wall more difficult to breach.<sup>7</sup> Topographically, this makes sense given the lack of natural defenses for the Northwestern Hill of the city. Josephus makes no mention of the quarry to the west of the Second Wall, but he does note that the Roman breach of this wall in 70 AD was from the north rather than the west, perhaps due to the difficulty of filling the quarry (*War* 5.317–318; see also Schein 1981: 25).<sup>8</sup>

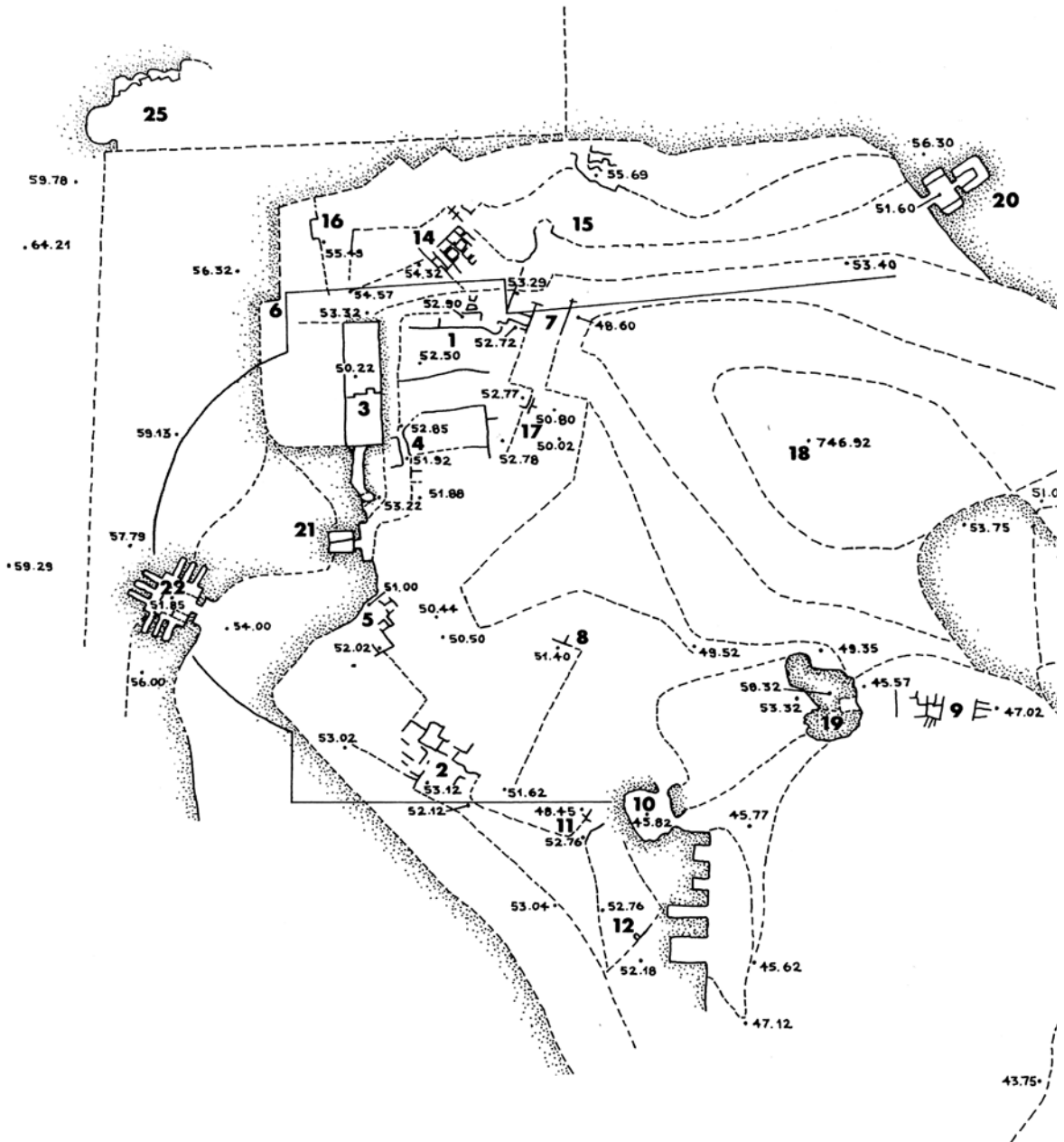
<sup>4</sup> Iron Age pottery has turned up in the vicinity of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and a large quantity within it in the Chapel of St. Vartan (Broshi and Barkay 1985: 111–112, 114–117, Fig. 3; Pls. 16A–B, p. 116; Broshi 2000). Pottery dating to the Iron Age two also appeared on the Northwestern Hill in the area of Damascus Gate (Hamilton 1940: 9–11, 44) and just south of the Austrian Hospice (Clermont-Ganneau 1899: 78–84) (see Barkay 1985–1986).

<sup>5</sup> On the Iron Age tombs from this period that reflect the growth of the city to the west see Broshi, Barkay, and Gibson 1983; Barkay and Kloner, 1986; Barkay 2000; Kloner and Davis 2000; Reich 2000; Barkay, Kloner, and Mazar 2000; Broshi and Gibson 2000; cf. also Barkay 1986a. For additional discussion and a good (though slightly outdated) summary see Avigad and Geva 1993, 2: 712–716.

<sup>6</sup> This was due to the injunctions in the Torah (Lev 22:4; Num 5:2; 19:13) concerning the ritual defilement caused by proximity to the dead, from which the later Mishnaic precept developed, which stated that cemeteries (specifically corpses [*nebalot*], graves [*qebaret*], and tanneries [*burseqi*]) had to be 50 cubits (c. 25 m) outside of town (*m. B. Bat.* 2:9).

<sup>7</sup> Josephus (*War* 5.149; [Thackeray 1979: 245]) notes that a similar moat was created between the Antonia fortress and the city, Bezetha, 'dug on purpose to sever the foundations of Antonia from the hill and so to render them at once less easy of access and more elevated, the depth of the trench material increasing the height of the towers.' The Roman attack subsequently involved the construction of siege-ramps to bridge this gap (*War* 5.467–471).

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix 1 for relevant passages from Josephus on the three ancient walls of Jerusalem.



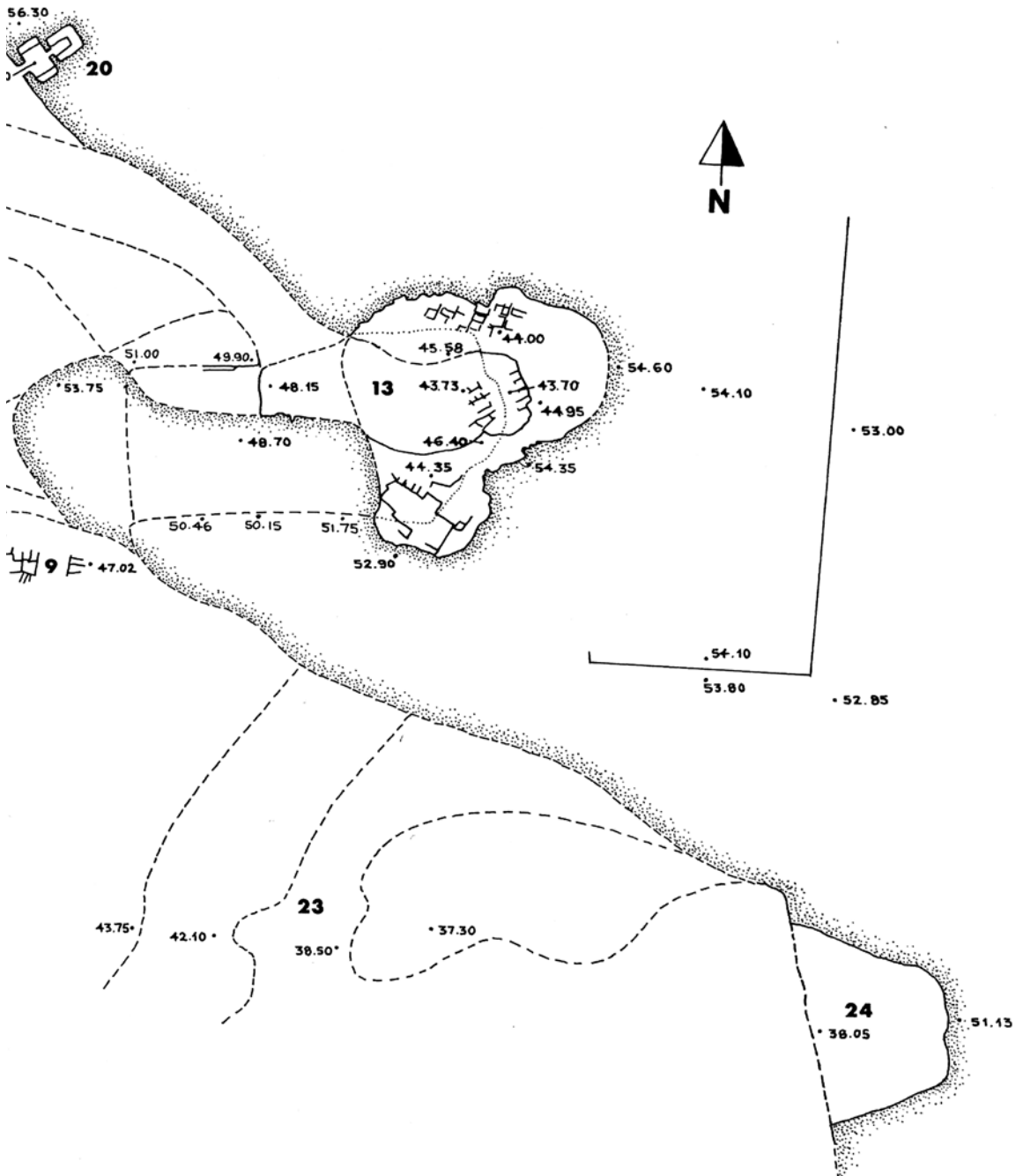


Figure 4.1. (pages 68–69) Reconstruction of the ancient quarry by Gibson and Taylor showing caves and rock-cut tombs in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the immediate vicinity: 1) quarrying below the northern transept 46 (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 10, Photos 31, 34, 37); 2) quarrying with separation channels and disengaged blocks, below the southern transept 47 (Corbo 1981–1982: Pls. 16–17); 3) rock cuttings in the floor of the underground chamber 68/favissa (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 18, Photo 51); 4) quarrying near Pilaster 64 of Rotunda, south-east of underground chamber 68 (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 19:1); 5) quarrying for squared blocks between the Edicule and Column 52 of the Rotunda (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 19:2–3, Photos 53–55); 6) quarried corner of Area 116 north of the Rotunda (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 21:2); 7) quarrying for squared blocks in Trench IV northeast of the Rotunda (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 23, Photos 11–13; for Iron Age pottery above the quarry see Photo 24, items 1–6); 8) quarrying in Trench XI southeast of the Rotunda (Corbo 1981–1982: 24:3); 9) quarrying for squared blocks east of the Rock of Golgotha (Katsimbini 1977: 209; Corbo 1981–1982: Pls. 40, 41, 43, 44, Photo 97); 10) rock-cut cave below the façade of the church (Coüasnon 1974: 39; Corbo 1981–1982: Pls. 46, 52, 54, Photo 4); 11) quarrying below the east side of the church façade (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 47); 12) rock-cuttings below the southern courtyard (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 55); 13) quarrying in the chapel of St. Vartan and the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 57–58, Photos 104, 109; Broshi and Barkay 1985: Fig. 2; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 7–24, Figs. 6–10); 14) quarrying with partly-detached blocks in the eastern part of Area 100a (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 61:2, Photo 62); 15) quarrying in Areas 115 and 160 (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 62:2, Photo 48); 16) quarrying in Area 101 (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 63:1a–b); 17) quarrying for square blocks in Trench VIII (Corbo 1981–1982: Photo 19); 18) bedrock surface at elevation 746.92 in Trench VI on the east side of the main church (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 67); 19) the Rock of Golgotha (Coüasnon 1974: 39; Katsimbini 1977: 209; Corbo 1981–1982: Pls. 40, 41, 43, 44; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 56–60, Fig. 41); 20) rock-cut Iron Age tomb below the Coptic monastery (Schick 1885: 170–173; 1887: 154–155; Vincent and Abel 1914: Pl. xii; Broshi and Barkay 1985: 117; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 56); 21) the Tomb of Jesus (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 61–63; Biddle 1999: 109–119); 22) reconstructed (‘Joseph and Nicodemus’) tomb southwest of the Edicule (Clermont-Ganneau 1884: 319–331; Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 67; Gibson 1994: 63); 23) quarrying below the vaulted cisterns of St. Abraham (Schick 1889b: 112, section AB; Vincent and Abel 1914: Pl. xii); 24) large cave below the Russian property southeast of the church (Schick 1889a: 67–68; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 53, Figs. 38–40); 25) quarrying behind the Patriarchion (Corbo 1988: Figs. 6–9) (source: Gibson and Taylor 1994: 52–53, Fig. 36).

In the Early Roman Period, as in the Iron Age, the defunct quarry continued to be used as a burial ground. The tomb traditionally ascribed to Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus in the Syrian Chapel of the church, accessed from the entrance on the west of the Rotunda, is clearly a Jewish tomb from the 1st century AD (Figs. 4.1:22; 4.2:28). This tomb was originally explored and described in detail by Charles Clermont-Ganneau (1884) in the late nineteenth century (see also Vincent and Abel 1914: 192–193). The tomb traditionally attributed to Jesus (Figs 4.1:21; 4.2:1–2), enshrined since 325 AD, would most certainly have been a typical rock-cut Jewish tomb of the 1st century AD, though it appears to have been significantly altered when the original Edicule was built (see discussion below).

In addition to being used as a cemetery, Jerusalem’s northwestern quarry, evidently, was put to secondary use by the Roman government as an execution site, known locally as Golgotha (Matt 27:33; Mark 15:22; John 19:17; cf. Luke 23:33), which is the Greek transliteration (seemingly with a misspelling) of the Aramaic *golgoltha* ‘the skull.’<sup>9</sup> Much speculation has gone into the reason for the name and whether or not the physical appearance of the site

<sup>9</sup> See Jastrow 221c; cf. the Hebrew *gulgoleth* (2 Kgs 9:35; 1 Chr 10:10; cf. also Exod 16:16; Num 1:22; see BDB 166b). Gibson and Taylor (1994: 56) note that the misspelling in Greek may have to do with a colloquialism of the term wherein people pronounced the word without the second *lamed*, which is what was then recorded by the Evangelists (cf. also Taylor 1998: 182, n. 3; pp. 183–186).



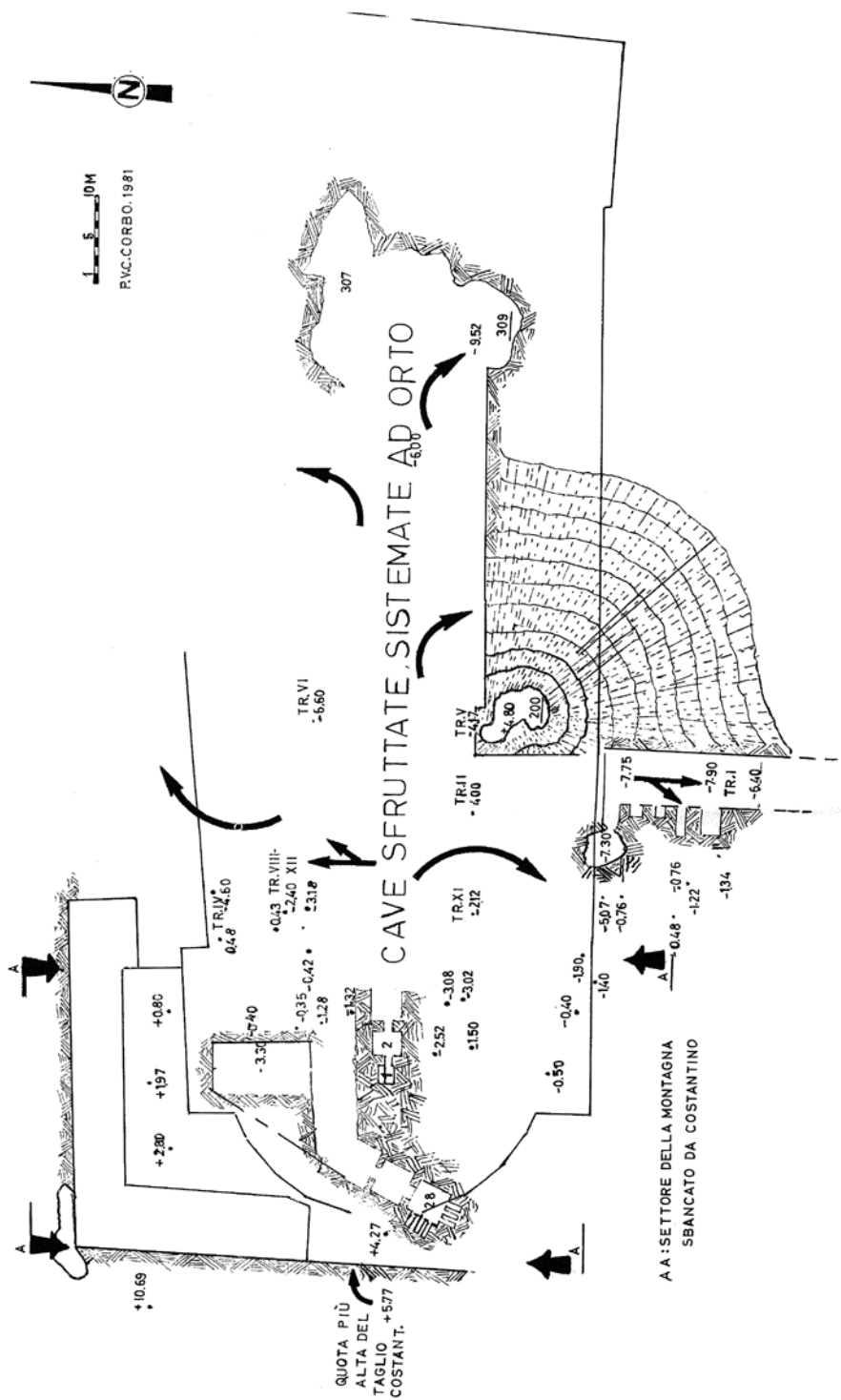


Figure 4.2. Reconstruction of the known areas of the ancient quarry based on the excavations and soundings carried out in the church in the 1960s-80s: 1) the Holy Sepulchre, 2) Chapel of the Angel, 28) rock-cut tomb, traditionally ascribed to Joseph of Arimathea, 200) the Rock of Golgotha, 307) the excavation area in the Chapel of St. Vartan, 309) the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross (source: Corbo 1981-1982: Pl. 67, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem).

had any bearing on the 1st century toponym 'the Skull.'<sup>10</sup> The Gospel accounts provide no indication that the site was named for its physical appearance, calling it simply a 'place' (*topos*), specifically the *Kraniou Topos*, the 'Place of the Skull,' in Aramaic *meqom-golgotha*, indicating that the toponym was inspired by the events that took place there over the physical appearance of the site.<sup>11</sup> Given the typical location of Roman execution sites discussed in the ancient sources<sup>12</sup> (see Appendix 1), Golgotha would have been located in an area that facilitated public visibility of those suffering capital punishment for their crimes. In Jerusalem, the best place for such a site would have been the southernmost section of the old quarry nearest to the east-west road into Jerusalem at the junction between the First and Second Walls of the city at the Gennath Gate,<sup>13</sup> as described by Josephus (War 5.146–147).<sup>14</sup> This location would have been c. 160–180 meters south of traditional Golgotha, the limestone monolith enshrined within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Fig. 4.3:3, 8).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The idea that the site of Jesus' execution must have had the appearance of a skull informed the 19th century religious musings of General Charles George Gordon (1884: 1–3) who believed that the rock scarp north of Jerusalem's Damascus Gate contained what looked like skeletal facial features (see also Barkay 1986a). The now well known 'Skull Hill' sits just east of the British-owned 'Garden Tomb' compound.

<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, it is interesting to note that in Mishnaic Hebrew (*m. Toh. 6:6 = b. 'Erub. 22b*) *bet-gilgol* refers to a 'a field full of hills and depressions' (Jastrow 244b), which would indeed have characterized the look of the old quarry.

<sup>12</sup> Note that a place designated for executions in Rome was the Campus Esquilinus, see for example Tacitus, *Annal.* 2.32. In reference to the executions of a group of magicians (*dividuntur*), the historian notes that one of them was executed outside the Esquiline Gate (*extra portam Esquilinam*). The Gospel writers note that the location of the crucifixion was 'near the city' so that people could read the sign that Pilate had placed above Jesus' head (John 19:20). People stood by, watching the crucifixion (Luke 23:35) and stopped as they 'passed by' (Matt 27:39; Mark 15:29); the crowds that had gathered left in anguish (Luke 68:48). Jesus' acquaintances and the women who had followed him from Galilee watched from a distance (Matt 27:55; Mark 15:40; Luke 23:49). See the discussion in Taylor 1998.

<sup>13</sup> On the archaeological remains of the Gennath Gate see Avigad 1983: 65–72; Geva and Avigad 2000: 199–240, esp. 232–234; see also Avigad and Geva 1993, 2: 724–729.

<sup>14</sup> It is significant that the location of Golgotha would be outside the gate called *Gennath* by Josephus because the term is a Greek rendering of the Aramaic *gantha*, 'garden.' In the Gospel of John (19:41–42), the author notes: 'Now there was a garden in the place where he was crucified, and in the garden there was a new tomb in which no one had ever been laid' (NRSV). Corbo (1981–1982: 29; see also Broshi and Barkay 1985: 111–112) believed that the presence of *terra rossa* soil (reddish, fertile soil of the Jerusalem area formed by the breakdown of hard limestone) in some of the fills over the bedrock indicated that in Jesus' time, areas of the quarry had been converted to *terreno coltivabile* 'cultivable ground,' which was 'probably used for the culture of [grape]vines, figs, carob, and olive trees.' However, no botanical remains have been found to confirm such an assertion (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 61). Nevertheless, it may be that the northern gate of the First Wall was designated as the Gennath Gate, because the way beyond it led to a cultivated area.

<sup>15</sup> Gibson and Taylor (1994: 56–61) discuss traditional Golgotha at some length, noting that the Golgotha monolith was probably an unhewn section of the quarry, left in place in antiquity because of the poor quality of the stone, as evidenced by a deep cleft on the eastern side of the monolith, and significant cracks on the southern and western sides of the rock (see also Katsimbinis 1977: 206–208, Fig. 19, Plan A). The monolith is located some 90 meters west of the presumed line of the Second Wall and rises c. 13.5 meters from the bedrock floor (Fig. 4.23) (Katsimbinis 1977: Plans A–C, Fig. 3; Corbo 1981–1982: Pls. 40–41; Gibson and Taylor 1994: Fig. 41; Vincent and Abel 1914: Pl. XIII:II). The summit of the rock, in its current form, measures 1.7 meters from east to west and 3.7 meters from north to south (Fig. 4.22), an area much too small to hold the crucifixion of Jesus as described in the Bible, which has Jesus being placed between two other individuals (Matt 27:38; Mark 15:27; Luke 23:32–33). It is highly probable that in the 1st century AD, the monolith now traditionally known as the Rock of Golgotha/Calvary, was, as Gibson and Taylor (1994: 60) note, simply a geological feature of the quarry (cf. Fig. 4.3:3).

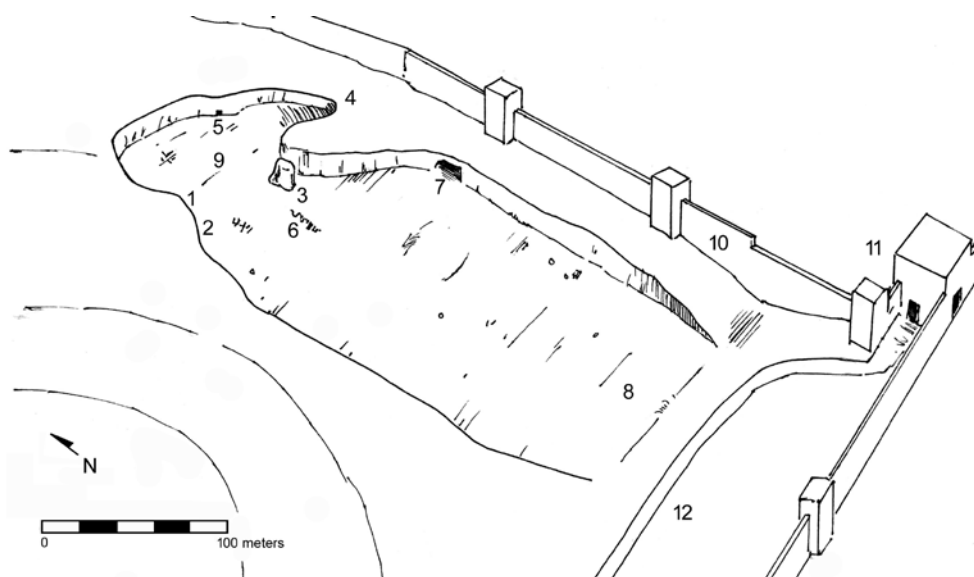


Figure 4.3. Sketch showing how Golgotha might have looked in the 1st century AD based on the reconstruction of the ancient quarry by Gibson and Taylor (1994: Fig. 36): 1) the Tomb of Jesus (cf. Fig. 4.1:21); 2) the Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea (cf. Fig. 4.1:22); 3) unquarried monolith/later traditional Rock of Golgotha (cf. Fig. 4.2:19); 4) quarried cave/later Chapels of the Invention of the Cross and St. Vartan (cf. Fig. 4.1:13); 5) rock-cut Iron Age tomb (cf. Fig. 4.1:20); 6) rock-cut cut cave and quarry-splinters (cf. Fig. 4.1:10, 11); 7) large cave; 8) execution site in close proximity to the road; 9) cultivated area in the vicinity of the tombs; 10) the Second Wall of Jerusalem; 11) Gennath Gate complex of the First Wall; 12) east-west road into Jerusalem at the junction of the First and Second Walls (source: J. Kelley; cf. Taylor 1998: Fig. 3 and Schein 1981: 25).

### ***The ‘Tomb of Jesus’ and Other 1st Century Burial Caves***

The tomb traditionally thought to be the one in which Jesus was buried was, at one time, a typical 1st century Jewish burial cave. This is difficult, if not impossible, to discern today as the tomb is enclosed underneath the marble cladding of the Edicule in the midst of the church. Nevertheless, in the 1st century AD, it was one of at least two tombs located within the grounds of the ancient quarry, carved into the face of a rock scarp on a north-south axis.<sup>16</sup>

The tomb mentioned in the Gospel accounts (and its presumed physical counterpart in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as the Joseph and Nicodemus tomb) is part of a larger archaeological context that includes more than 1,000 such tombs found in the vicinity of Jerusalem (Kloner and Zissu 2007: 11–12, 151–470; also 2003: 1–11, 71–309).<sup>17</sup> These tombs, distinct from those of the Iron Age, became popular in Judah, and especially

<sup>16</sup> See the reconstruction of Gustaf Dalman (1921: between pp. 272 and 273).

<sup>17</sup> There are more than 900 tombs in the geographic area designated as the Jerusalem necropolis and more than 100 other known burial caves located in a more distant strip, within a radius of 3.5 to 5 kilometers from the city. There are approximately 100 such tombs in Jericho (Hachlili and Killebrew 1999: 4, 5–59).



Figure 4.4. An ossuary from 1st century Jerusalem, now on display in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (source: J. Kelley).

in Jerusalem from c. 40 BC through 70 AD, the final days of the Second Temple period.<sup>18</sup> These 1st century Jewish, Jerusalemite tombs commonly employed burial niches, or loculi (often referred to by Hebrew speakers as *kokhim*<sup>19</sup>), which were hewn perpendicular to the cave walls (Kloner and Zissu 2007: 61–81). The use of these kinds of tombs coincided with a mortuary practice known as *ossilegium*, a kind of secondary burial in which the bones of the deceased were collected from the loculi once the flesh had decomposed (about a year after the primary interment<sup>20</sup>), and were placed in a small limestone bone repository known as an ossuary (Fig. 4.4).<sup>21</sup> A typical rock-cut tomb of this period consisted of one or more square or rectangular rooms (connected by tunnels) with three to four loculi on each

<sup>18</sup> The 1st century BC/AD rock-cut tomb appears to have filtered into Jewish practice via Hellenistic mortuary practices. As early as the 3rd century BC such rock-cut burials with loculi are seen in Hellenistic Alexandria in Egypt. Some scholars (cf. Hachlili and Killebrew 1983: 110–112) have argued that the origin of this kind of tomb might ultimately be Phoenician.

<sup>19</sup> See *b. Mo'ed Qat.* 8b (translation in Lazarus 1938, 4: 42): 'What are *kukin* and what are 'burial places'? Said Rab Judah, *kukin* are recesses made by excavation and 'burial places' are structures made by building' (cf. *m. Mo'ed Qat.* 1:6).

<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that the size of the typical loculus might indicate that the loculi were *per se* designed for primary burial and not temporary interment, though the latter is often what they were used for (Hachlili and Killebrew 1983: 110; cf. Kloner and Zissu 2007: 62–63).

<sup>21</sup> A helpful discussion of the practice of interment in ossuaries is found in Rahmani 1982a; 1982b; 2000; see also Rahmani 1981. A broad look at the practice of secondary burials can be found in Meyers 1970; see also Kloner and Zissu 2007: 103–135.

wall, usually with the exception of the entrance wall (McCane 1992: 43–44; Kloner and Zissu 2007: 39). It may have also had a ‘standing pit’—a rectangular depression in the center of the cave—which then produced a U-shaped series of rock benches on three sides of the chamber, except the entrance wall, allowing people to stand in the tomb (Figs. 4.5; 4.8) (see Smith 1967: 87–88 and also McCane 1992: 43–44; Kloner and Zissu 2007: 39, 87–92).<sup>22</sup> The average tomb of this sort had a low entrance that was sealed with a square blocking stone, that acted as a kind of plug, sealing the tomb like a cork would a bottle (Figs. 4.5; 4.8; see below for further discussion).<sup>23</sup>

The Gospel accounts provide a number of details regarding the tomb of Jesus (6.1–2, 4, 6–7). According to John there was a garden where Jesus was crucified, as noted above, and near the execution site, within the garden, there was a ‘new tomb’ (19:41). Both Luke (23:52) and John (19:41) note that the ‘new’ state of the tomb had to do with the fact that no one had ever been placed in it prior. Since these tombs typically served a family for a number of generations, a new tomb might not have loculi carved into it immediately, but rather added later as burials in the cave increased (Kloner 1999: 24). One could have had a simple tomb with a U-shaped burial bench and standing pit. Matthew (27:60), Mark (15:46), and Luke (23:53) note that the tomb was ‘hewn in the rock.’ Matthew (27:60–61) is the only author to mention that the tomb belonged to Joseph of Arimathea.

Matthew (27:60) and Mark (15:46) report that Joseph rolled a stone (a ‘great stone’ [*lithon megan*] in Matthew) in front of the tomb after interring Jesus, and before he departed. When some of the women returned to the tomb on the first day of the week to properly inter Jesus’ body (Matt 27:61; Mark 15:47; Luke 23:55–56), we are told that they found the tomb empty and, according to Matthew (28:2), the divine being who had rolled back the stone from the entry to the tomb was sitting on it. Much discussion has gone into the issue of the kind of stone that was used to seal Jesus’ tomb. The text gives the impression that the stone was a round object capable of being rolled from side to side. However, as noted above, the most common seal for a tomb was the rough-hewn square blocking stone. In fact, out of the more than 900 1st century tombs that have been found in close proximity to the ancient core of Jerusalem, only four have included the round type of blocking stone.<sup>24</sup> The other 98 percent had a rough-hewn, square blocking stone. So then, what are we to make of the Gospel accounts in which Joseph, and later, the divine being, ‘rolled’ the blocking stone?

The issue at hand has two aspects involved: first the archaeological data, which indicates that the disc-shaped stone, was extremely rare among tombs at this time (though it did become more popular in the 4th century [Kloner 1999: 27–28]). Second there are the

<sup>22</sup> There are exceptions to this layout where a tomb chamber will include burial benches on all four sides of the room and a square standing pit in the middle (see for example Kloner and Zissu 2007: Fig. 45).

<sup>23</sup> A thorough treatment of the features of 1st century AD Jewish burials mentioned in this paper can be found in Kloner and Zissu 2003: 15–47; see also Kloner 1980: IV–XIX, 209–244; McCane 1992: 49–92; Hachlili and Killebrew 1983; 1999:166–175.

<sup>24</sup> These are the Tomb of Queen Helena of Adiabene (or the ‘Tomb of the Kings’) to the north of Jerusalem (Vincent and Steve 1954: 346–362), the traditional family tomb of Herod on the watershed ridge west of Jerusalem (Vincent and Steve 1954: 342–346), a tomb adjacent to traditional Herod’s Family tomb (Kloner 1985a), and one of the tombs of the Kidron Valley to the east of Jerusalem (Suknik 1932: 124–125, Pl. 14A). See also Kloner 1999 and Rahmani 1982a.

literary sources—the Gospels which mention a stone that is ‘rolled’ (*kuliō*) and the Mishnah (in *m. Ohol.* 2:4; cf. *m. ’Erub.* 1:7; *m. Naz.* 7:3; *m. Ohol.* 15:9) which calls the blocking stone of a grave a *golel*, from the Semitic root *GLL* meaning ‘to roll’ (BDB 164b; Jastrow 249d–250a). This coupled with the archaeological data, would suggest that the term *golel* had become a technical term for the common square blocking stone by the 1st century AD.<sup>25</sup> Of course the stone did, to some degree, still have to be rolled, or trundled, to the tomb entrance to be set in place (Kloner and Zissu 2003: 23–26, no. 15).

In Mark (16:5) the women find a young man sitting in the tomb ‘on the right side,’ on the burial bench where, presumably, Jesus’ body had been. This passage indicates that there was sufficient room for someone to sit where the body was placed. What feature of the tomb is being referred to here? The more elite, and therefore less common, 1st century tombs employed, in addition to loculi (or sometimes without loculi), an arched recess or *arcosolium* (‘arched sill’ or ‘shelf’) on which a body could be laid (Fig. 4.6). While an *arcosolium* would provide a place for Jesus’ body to have been laid, and also perhaps for a person to sit,<sup>26</sup> it seems more likely that the more common features are being referred to here, i.e. the right side of the U-shaped series of three burial slabs.

In Luke (24:12; cf. John 20:5) when Peter arrives at the tomb to see the miraculous occurrence for himself he has to stoop down to look inside. This was due to the entrance of these tombs being relatively low (c. 1 meter in height or less) on the more common burial caves—elite tombs often had larger entrances and decorated facades. One had to enter the more common tomb by proceeding, perhaps down a few steps into a rock-cut forecourt, and then by stooping or crouching to enter the tomb proper.

Given the data in the Gospel accounts and the well-known archaeological evidence, it is possible to reconstruct the tomb of Jesus (Fig. 4.8). It seems that the tomb would have likely been a simple, square or slightly rectangular burial cave, c. 2.80 meters in length and width, with three burial benches around the carved rectangular standing pit. The tomb would have been entered from the eastern face of the quarried scarp probably through a small forecourt (cf. Cyril, *Catech.* 14.9; 6.26). The tomb may or may not have had loculi carved into the walls, but it almost certainly would have been sealed with a square blocking stone.<sup>27</sup>

Presuming that the tomb enshrined within the Edicule of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the actual tomb described in the Gospels, the question remains, in the light of the above analysis of the tomb in the biblical texts, if one can reconstruct any of the details of the tomb within the Edicule. There have been numerous reconstructions over the years of what the tomb might have looked like originally, which typically depict the tomb as a one

<sup>25</sup> This may come from an earlier practice of using boulders or some stone capable of rolling to close off a tomb, which then eventually came to be applied to the carved square plugs of the 1st century.

<sup>26</sup> Kloner (1999: 29) does not think that a person would be able to sit in an *arcosolium* or *quadrosolium* because of the distance between the shelf and the carved ceiling (typically about 0.60 meters), but it would be possible for someone to sit on the edge of the burial shelf of one, though not comfortably, as they would have to be leaning forward. Kloner and Zissu (2007: 82) note that the known *arcosolia* range in height from 0.62 meters to 1.07 meters.

<sup>27</sup> An example of such a tomb can be found at Givat ha-Mivtar, see the illustration in Kloner and Zissu 2003: 288, il. 304.

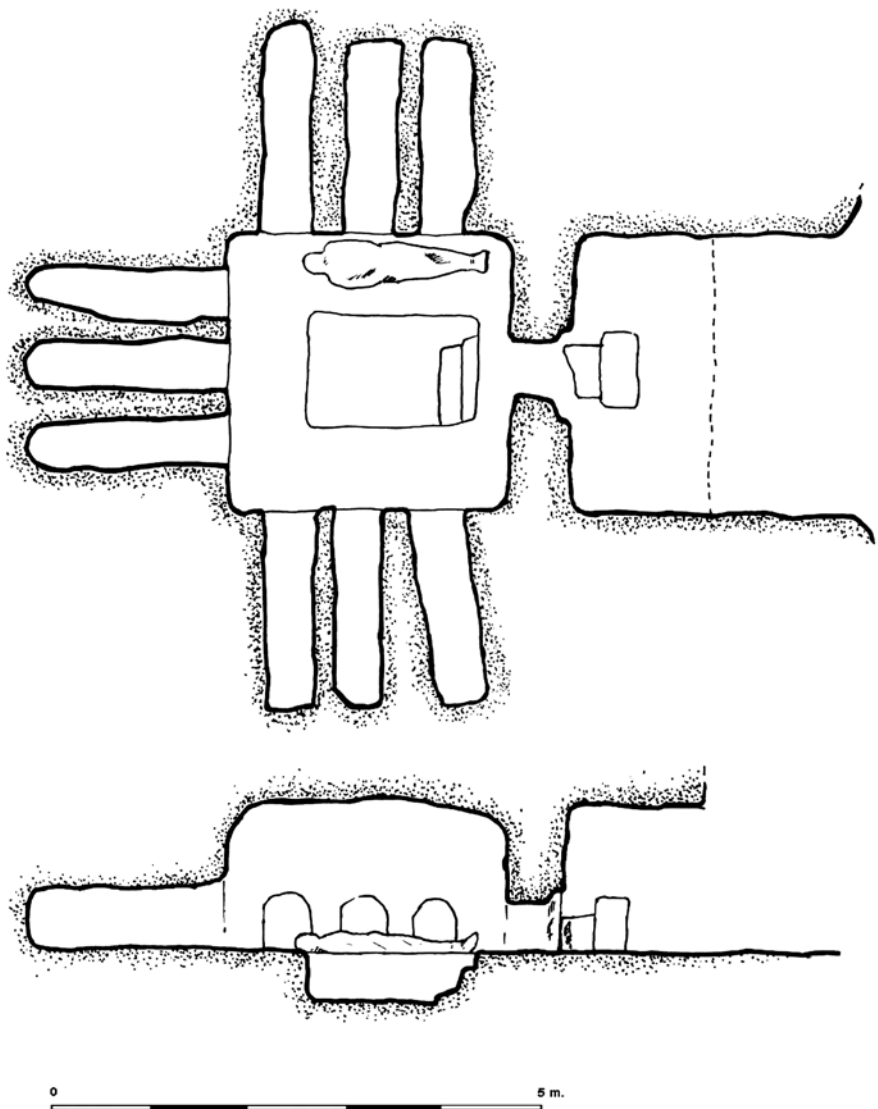


Figure 4.5. Typical burial cave of the 1st century AD (source: J. Kelley).

or two chambered cave with an *arcosolium* to the right (for example see Figs. 4.1:21; 4.7).<sup>28</sup> This reconstruction is based on the somewhat enigmatic testimony of Adomnán (*De Loc. Sanct.* 1.2.10–11; 6.38), who recorded the account of Arculf, a bishop from Gaul, who visited Jerusalem in 679–682 AD, and Photius (*Quaest.* 107 1.4; 6.43) the bishop of Constantinople in 858–867 and 878–886 AD. Since these two descriptions of the tomb were written before the destruction of the church and demolition of the tomb that took place in 1009 AD, it is

<sup>28</sup> Vincent produced his reconstruction of the tomb early on (Vincent and Abel 1914: 96, Fig. 53) and was followed to some degree by Corbo (1981–1982: Pl. 67) and Gibson and Taylor 1994: 62; see also Fig. 36.





generally accepted that the pilgrims described the tomb as it was enshrined in the original, Constantinian Edicule.

Adomnán distinguished the burial shelf (*sepulchrum*) from the tomb chamber (*monumentum*), and noted that the burial shelf, 'is the shape of a cave, with the entrance on the side, directly facing the southern portion of the monument, and with a low, man-made vault rising above (*culemque humile desuper eminens fabrefactum*)' (*De Loc. Sanct.* 1.2.11) (Meehan 1948: 44–49). The burial shelf, Arculf notes, was about seven feet (2.13 meters) long, in the northern portion of the tomb chamber, and large enough for one man lying on his back (*De Loc. Sanct.* 1.2.10). Photius, writing in Greek, describes the burial shelf as being carved away to form a 'parallelepipedal recess' (*parallēlepipedō schēmati tupoumenē*) long enough to fit a man laid upon it (*Quaest.* 107 1.4) (Vincent and Abel 1914: 237). The ancient technical term 'parallelepiped' essentially denotes a rectangular solid (Biddle 1999: 111–112).<sup>29</sup> The question is how to apply these snippets of data from Adomnán and Photius to the tomb. Gibson and Taylor (1994: 62) interpret Adomnán's burial shelf 'in the shape of a cave' with a low carved vault above it as indicative of an *arcosolium*, and Photius's parallelepiped as a rectangular recess, i.e. an *arcosolium*, or perhaps a *quadrosolium* ('four-sided shelf'); they note, in fact, that these descriptions confirm the presence of an *arcosolium*. Biddle (1999: 111–112) suggests that the ancient authors are referring not to the ceiling of the burial recess, but the ceiling of the tomb chamber proper. Biddle also points out, perhaps rightly so, that if the burial shelf had had an arched ceiling it would have been mentioned by the ancient authors. At any rate, the accounts of Adomnán and Photius are susceptible enough to multiple interpretations that they should be employed only with caution. Fortunately, scholars have one extant visual representation of the original Edicule that also shows the tomb chamber; this is the marble sculpture from Narbonne, Italy, called accordingly the 'Narbonne model', which probably dates to the 5th century AD, before the 11th century destruction of the Edicule (Fig. 4.7). While there are numerous representations of the exterior of the original Edicule executed in various media, the Narbonne model is the only artistic work contemporary to the original Edicule that allows one to see the tomb chamber inside. The Narbonne model depicts the Edicule with an opening in the back from which the artist carved the interior and which allows the tomb chamber to be seen. The burial bench is depicted with a flat roof that forms part of the ceiling of the chamber as a whole, showing no evidence of a recessed niche, *arcosolium*, or *quadrosolium* (Wilkinson 1981: 91–97; Figs. 12, 13; Pl. 10 A–B; also see Biddle 1999: 21–22, 110–111; Figs. 16, 76).

The most important information for the reconstruction of the original rock-cut tomb remains with the archaeological record of the Early Roman period Jerusalemite tombs between the years 40 and 70 AD. A one-chambered tomb with a burial bench on only one side would be rare, if not unique, among the large collection of tombs from this period (Biddle 1999: 117; Kloner 1999: 29). Moreover, *arcosolia* and/or *quadrosolia* were less common features in the standard rock-cut tombs, especially those with only one primary burial chamber (Kloner 1999: 28–29; Geva and Avigad 1993: 749). Finally, the only extant

<sup>29</sup> Biddle (1999: 112) notes that the term was first recorded in Euclid's *Elementa* (Book 11, Proposition 28). The parallelepiped denotes a solid contained by three pairs of parallel planes, whose six faces are therefore parallelograms, with the opposite faces being parallel and equal.

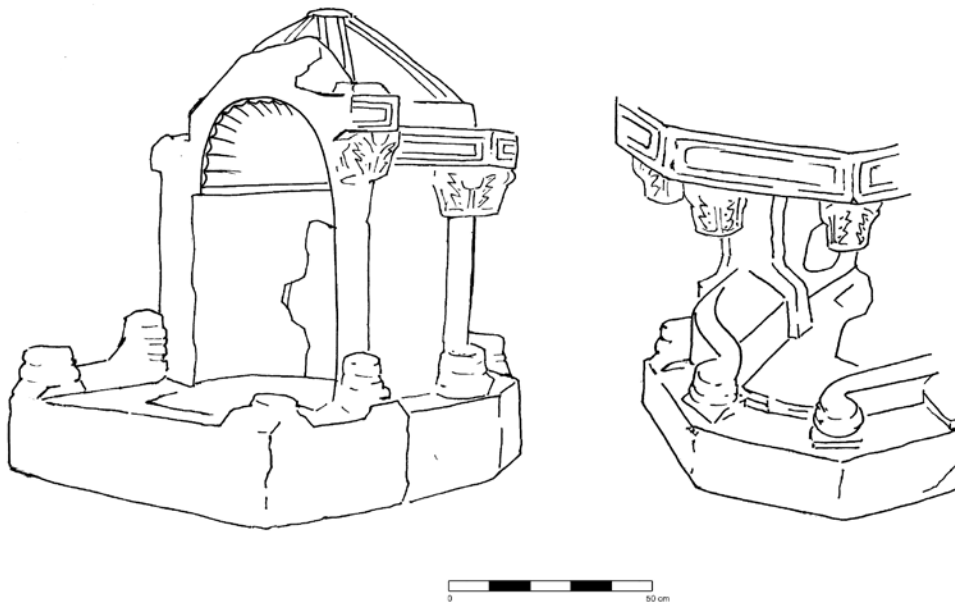


Figure 4.7. Drawing of the Narbonne model of Constantine's Edicule. This sculpture probably dates to the 5th century AD and is one of the best representations of the original Edicule (source: J. Kelley; see also Wilkinson 1981: 250 and Biddle 1999: Figs. 16 and 76).

tomb from this period in the vicinity of the Tomb of Jesus is the Joseph and Nicodemus tomb c. 15 meters to the east of the Edicule. By its visible features, i.e. five loculi (two on the west wall and three on the south), two burial benches (west and south), and a standing pit, it is evident that this is a standard burial cave typical to the 1st century AD (Figs. 4.1:22; 4.2:28).<sup>30</sup>

In terms of the height of the interior of the tomb we must again rely on Adomnán (*Loc. Sanct.* 1.2.6–8) and Photius (*Quaest.* 107 1.3). Adomnán notes that the height of the tomb was 1.5 feet above the head of a 'tall person' (lit. 'not of short stature' *non brevis staturae*),<sup>31</sup> which Gibson and Taylor (1994: 62) note is probably an overestimation. Photius, similarly, points out that a person could stand upright in the tomb chamber. This would make the tomb, from the floor (of the standing pit?) to the ceiling, approximately 1.82 meters in height.

It is important to note also that the tomb within the Edicule was probably once blocked with a square stone, which corresponds to the archaeological record. Here Adomnán and Hugeburc provide us with a few details. Adomnán says that the stone that once sealed the

<sup>30</sup> The original shape of the tomb was obscured when the wall of the ambulatory was built, but it probably once had three pairs of three loculi and a full U-shaped set of benches (Fig. 4.1:22). There may be additional features of this tomb but they are somewhat conjectural (Clermont-Ganneau 1884) and today are very difficult to see through the modern grate placed over the standing pit.

<sup>31</sup> The expression 'not of short stature' could also be taken to mean average height.

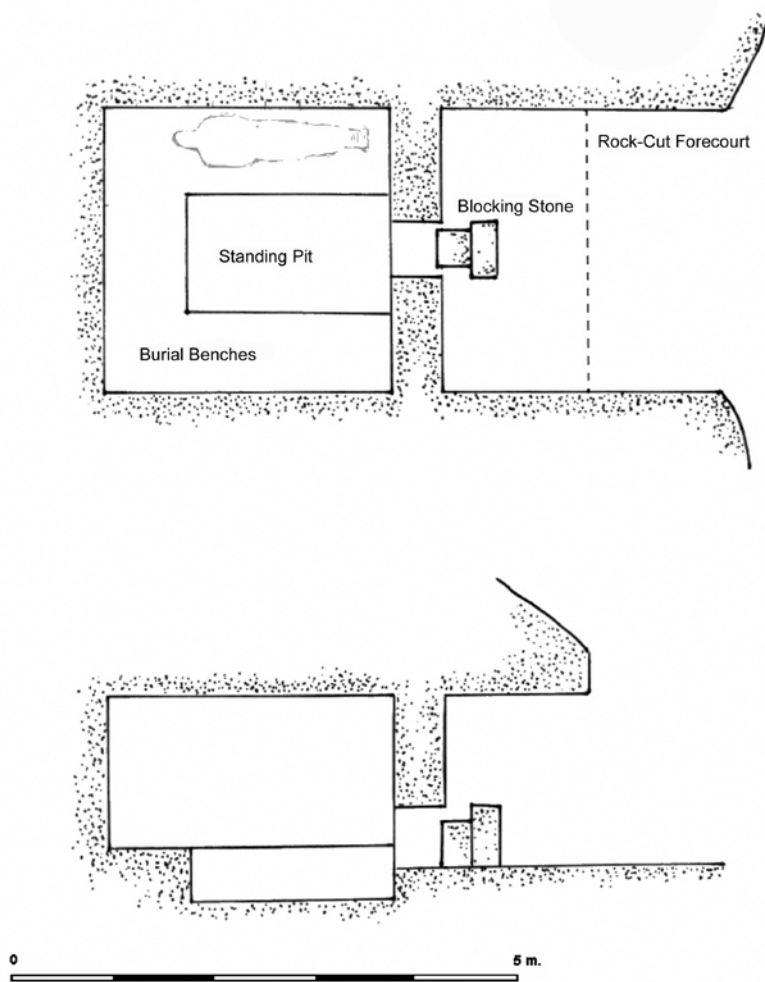


Figure 4.8. Reconstruction of the rock-cut tomb of Jesus (source: J. Kelley).

tomb was present in the church, though it was broken into two pieces. The first and smaller piece 'shaped and squared up into an altar (*ferramentis dolata quadratum altare*)' was set up in the small forecourt of the Edicule outside the entrance to the tomb proper. The other piece 'also cut into shape (*aeque circumdolata*) ... forms a square altar which stands covered with linen' in the east of the Rotunda (*De Loc. Sanct.* 1.3.1; Wilkinson 1977: 96). In Hugeburc's *Vita Willibald*, in which she recorded the account of Willibald, bishop of Eichstätt, who visited the church in 724 AD, she notes that 'in front of the tomb door, lies a large square stone, like the original stone which the angel rolled away from the tomb door' (*Vit. Will.* 18; Wilkinson 1977: 129; 6.40). The texts, like those cited above, are somewhat enigmatic, but it could be that the general shape of the stone thought to be the tomb's *golēl* was square. On the other hand, it is not clear to what extent the square shape that the pilgrims saw came from 4th century dressing of the stone following its discovery.

In 1009 AD, the Constantinian edifice was almost completely destroyed by the engineers of the Egyptian Caliph al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah, which effectively marked the end of the 4th century monument. Caliph al-Hakim mandated that the rock-cut tomb of Jesus be destroyed, a job which was taken up by al-Husayn ibn-Zahir al-Wazzan beginning on 18 October. The engineers took picks and hammers to the tomb, nearly obliterating it, but they were not able to complete the job. The Christian historian Yahya ibn Sa'id of Antioch, chronicled these events in his *Annales* (6.46). He notes that the caliph's men only destroyed what they could 'with the exception of what was impossible to destroy and difficult to snatch away' (PO 18: 490–491).<sup>32</sup> Thus Coüasnon (1974: 19–20, 23–27.) was able to demonstrate that the western portion of the Rotunda was left standing up to a height of 11 meters.

When the medieval Edicule, dating to 1555 (with some repair work done in 1728), was dismantled following the damage done to the church by the fire in 1808, the remains of the rock-cut tomb were observed and recorded by a Greek monk named Maximos Simaios (1897: 113, 117–118; 7.33). Simaios (1897: 113) writes: 'On October 17, according the calendar of the Greeks, on Sunday, the second hour of the day, the southern, eastern, and western walls of the Edicule that were ruined in antiquity or by the fire, were pulled down.' Simaios described the remains of the tomb as consisting of two sections, one on the north and one on the south, with the northern section retaining a portion of the burial bench. The tomb chamber appeared as a cave in a monolith made up of *mizzi meleki* but the Chapel of the Angel (the constructed forecourt of the tomb in the Edicule, called by Simaios the 'Chapel of the Holy Stone' because it was here that a piece of the tomb's blocking stone was kept), was a masonry structure throughout (Simaios 1897: 113). That no forecourt of the tomb was present in the Edicule, is to be expected, as Cyril of Jerusalem, noted in 340–350 AD, that the forecourt was cut away by Constantine's engineers in order to prepare the tomb for the Edicule (*Catech.* 14.9; 6.26). Simaios (1897: 117) noted that the remains of the rock-cut tomb were 3 cubits (*pēchus*) (1.57 m) long, 1.5 cubits (.78 m) wide and 4 cubits (2.09 m) high. The northern and southern walls of the tomb were preserved (lit. 'were only carved,' *esti monon laxeutos*), but the eastern and western walls and the roof were built work (*eisi ktista*) (Simaios 1897: 117). The floor of the Chapel of the Angel and of the tomb chamber was hewn in the living rock (Simaios 1897: 117). Biddle (1999: 115) suspects that Simaios' measurements may not be accurate, but that they likely indicated that the preserved rock-cut walls—north, south, or both, it is not clear which—probably stood to a height above Simaios' head. The built sections of the tomb were probably constructed in the wake of the demolition by the workers of Caliph al-Hakim (see Biddle 1999: 115 for detailed discussion).

Simaios (1897: 118) also discusses the uncovering of the burial bench (see Biddle 1999: 115–116 for additional summary of the findings). Simaios described the scene as follows:

<sup>32</sup> See also the accounts of Adémar of Chebannes (*Chron.* 3.47; dating to 1028/29 AD) who noted: *lapidem monumenti cum nullatenus possent comminuere, ignem copiosum superadiciunt, sed quasi adamans immobilis mansit et solidus* 'when they were unable by any means to reduce the tomb to rubble, they also tried a great fire, but it remained like adamant, immovable and intact' (cited in Biddle 1999: 72, see also notes 108–110); and Rodulfus Glabar (*Hist.* 4.19; dating to 1027 AD), who recorded the account of Ulric, bishop of Orléans, and noted that the al-Hakim's agents 'used iron hammers to try to break up the hollow structure of the tomb (*concauum cepulchri tumulum ferri tuditibus quassare temptantes*), but failed (*minime valuerunt*)' (cited in Biddle 1999: 72, see also note 111).

‘On November 19...he [Komnenos] opened a section of the Holy Sepulchre, from the west side, and there was an indescribable fragrance. The whole [of the rock-cut burial bench] rose up to the marble [slab]. The southern face of the burial bench had two marble slabs covering it, one over the other; the horizontal bench face itself was covered by two marble slabs; the west and east face of the bench were covered by walls; and the northern face of the bench was part of the natural rock that made up the sacred cave.’

Simaïos notes that there were two layers of marble cladding on the burial bench. Biddle (1999: 16) comments that the underlying marble layer may be the medieval cladding and that ‘there seems no reason to suppose it was not again left in position by Komnenos. If so, it is probably still there.’

Recent research carried out on the Edicule by a team from the National Technical University of Athens (NTUA), confirms two points from Simaïos’s account. First, when workers removed the top layer of marble cladding from the burial bench of the tomb chamber, they found an underlying marble panel inscribed with a cross that was placed directly over the limestone bedrock (Romney 2016). Ground penetrating radar scans show that a significant amount of older masonry is still extant in the current Edicule (Fig. 4.9). Second, and more importantly, scans of the Edicule with ground penetrating radar allowed researchers to generate a digital model of the internal structure of the edifice, to ‘see’ beneath the marble cladding and discern the remains of the rock-cut tomb (Fig. 4.10). It is evident that the northern and southern sections of the rock-cut tomb, as described by Simaïos, are indeed still there, embedded in the masonry of the Edicule (Figs. 4.9, 10, 11) (Agrafiotis *et al.* 2017: 4; Moropoulou *et al.* 2017).

The rock-cut remains discovered by the NTUA are located approximately 1 meter inside the northwestern and southwestern walls of the Edicule. The northern wall stands c. 1.2 meters high x 2.3 meters long x 0.5 meters wide, and includes a portion of what appears to be the burial bench that extends approximately 1 meter from the lower half of the upright portion, giving the wall an L-shape when viewed in section. The southern wall is c. 1.5 meters high x 2 meters long x 0.9 meters wide (at the thickest point), and stands about 1 meter from the burial bench of the northern wall. These measurements differ from those of Simaïos, who described the northern and southern walls as generally measuring 2.09 meters high x 1.57 meters long x 0.78 meters wide. The reason for the differences in measurement between what Simaïos saw and what the NTUA reconstructed is unclear at this time. More information will perhaps come to light when the NTUA publishes a report on the restoration of the Edicule.

The digital reconstruction of the rock-cut Tomb of Jesus by the NTUA (Agrafiotis *et al.* 2017) raises significant questions about the original shape of the tomb chamber and the alterations that have taken place over the centuries. Aside from the differences in size between Simaïos’s account and the 2017 digital reconstruction, the remains do not appear to match the shape of a typical first century burial chamber. The current shape of the encased walls would indicate a small chamber with one burial shelf, perhaps an *arcosolium*, on the north side rather than the more common chamber with a standing pit surrounded by three burial benches in a U-shape (Figs. 4.5–8). As has already been noted, the tomb

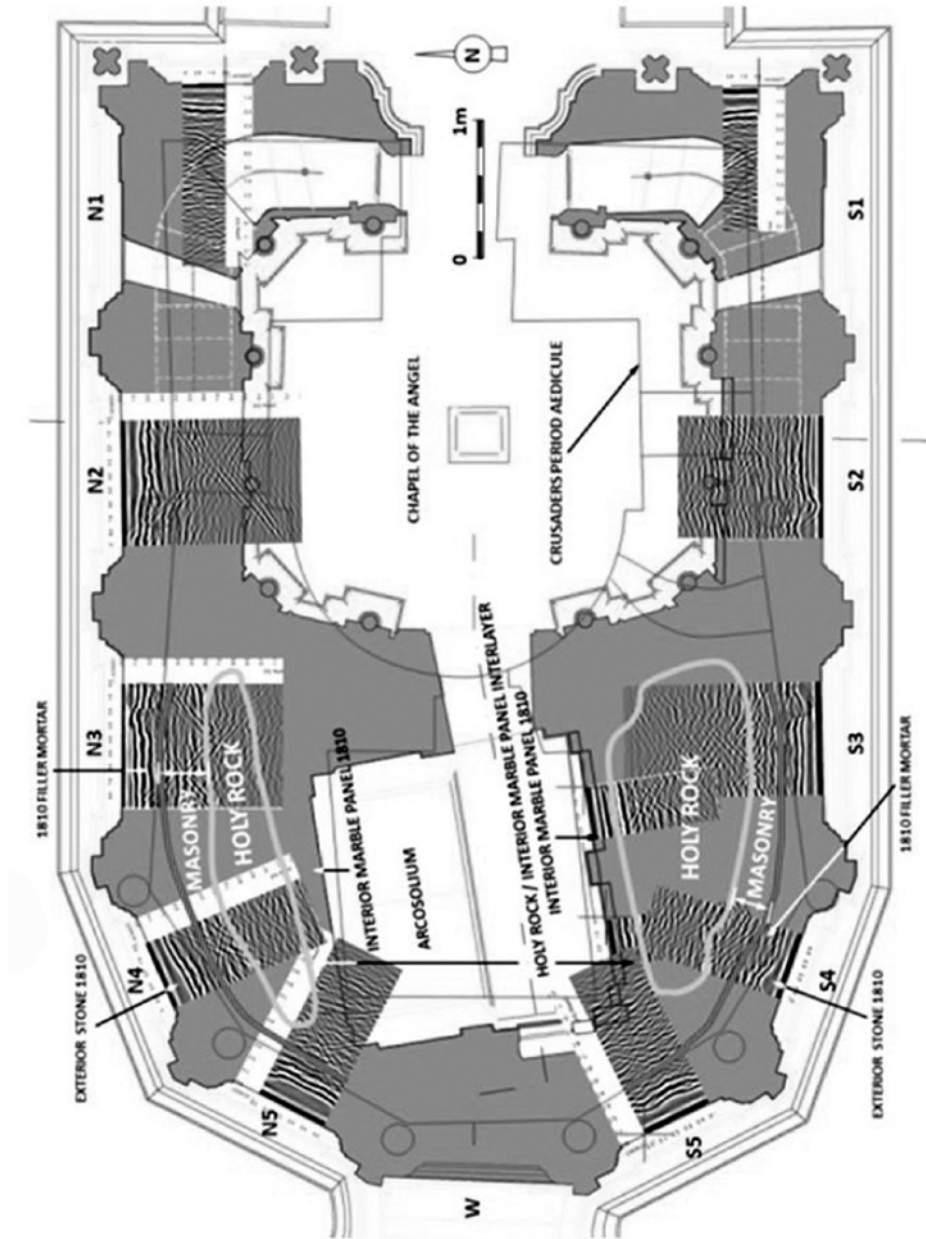


Figure 4.9. Digital plan of the Edicule based on scans taken with ground penetrating radar by the National Technical University of Athens. The Crusader period Edicule is also indicated on the plan as a superimposed outline (source: Agraftotis et al. 2017: Fig. 3; cf. Moropoulou et al. 2017: Fig. 9.3).

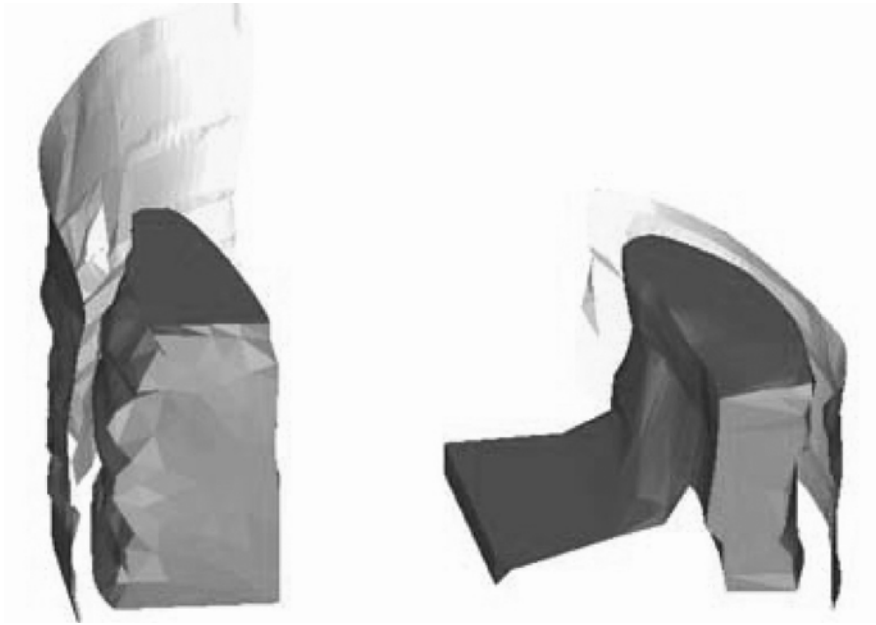


Figure 4.10. The remains of the rock-cut tomb as they appeared in the digital reconstruction of the Edicule by the National Technical University of Athens (source: Agrafiotis et al. 2017: Fig. 9).

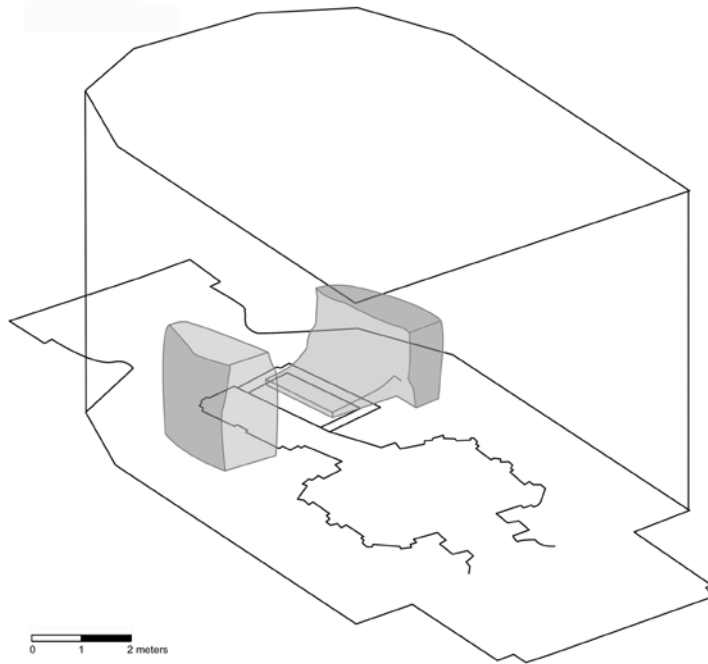


Figure 4.11. Sketch of the findings of the NTUA and their placement within the Edicule (source: J. Kelley; see also Agrafiotis et al. 2017: Fig. 10).

chamber may have been altered at some point in antiquity to emphasize the northern burial bench, the place where Jesus' body was placed according to the biblical authors (Mark 16:5). Future research should, therefore, include a study of the chisel marks on the rock-cut tomb to determine if the first century burial cave was altered at a later period prior to the demolition of the tomb in the eleventh century.

To summarize this discussion of the Tomb of Jesus, we have noted that the sepulcher, as described in the Gospel accounts fits well within the confines of the archaeological record pertaining to Jewish rock-cut tombs in the 1st century AD. The biblical Tomb of Jesus could have been a typical tomb chamber, with or without loculi, that had three burial benches in a U-shape, and that was blocked with a square blocking stone. If the tomb within the Edicule in the church is the same as, or similar to, the tomb described in the Gospels, we can, based in part on the literary sources reconstruct the tomb as such. The structural study of the Edicule conducted by the NTUA has demonstrated that the walls of the present Edicule encase two sections of rock that appear to make up a chamber with a burial shelf on the north side. This shape does not correspond to the typical tomb chamber of the first century AD, which may indicate that the original tomb was altered in antiquity.

There are numerous other tombs in the area of the old quarry in which the two 1st century tombs now located within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were situated. To the north of the Tomb of Jesus there is an underground chamber (Corbo's Chamber 68), thought by Corbo (1981–1982: 66, Pls. 3, 18 Photos 49–51; also Gibson and Taylor 1994: 63) to be one of the *favissae* of the Hadrianic temple, which may have originally marked the entrance to a burial cave. On the western wall of the Constantinian cistern underneath the present atrium of the church, about 8 meters below the present ground level, is a cave that may be another entrance to a burial cave.<sup>33</sup> Clermont-Ganneau (1899: 248–253) notes in passing that 'tombs have been discovered with ossuaries' 250 meters west of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>34</sup> In addition to this, Josephus mentions the existence of the tombs of the Hellenistic Jewish high priest John Hyrcanus, and Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus, as being located in the north of the city, the former on Northwestern Hill.<sup>35</sup>

The Third Wall, as noted above, was built sometime between 41 and 44 AD, during the reign of Herod Agrippa. At this time the old quarry was brought inside the city walls. This is an interesting occurrence because of the Halakhic injunctions against the dead being in close proximity to the living (see above, n. 6). One can probably assume then that the enclosure of a burial ground within the city walls meant that the tombs in the area enclosed by the Third Wall were emptied of their contents (or at least should have been) (Corbo 1981–1982:

<sup>33</sup> Using Vincent's heights, this would be c. 745.52, approximately the same level as the bedrock reached in the Chapel of St. Vartan. See Corbo 1981–1982: Pls. 53–54, Photos 1–2, 5; Gibson and Taylor 1994: Figs. 36.10, 45.10.

<sup>34</sup> It is not clear what tombs Clermont-Ganneau is referring to here, but the only known tombs meeting the criteria of c. 250 meters west of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and that were investigated by 1899 were the ones examined by Warren and Conder (1884: 419–420; cf. Kloner and Zissu 2007: 285) and the so-called 'Herod's Family Tomb,' examined first by Schick (1892: 115–120; cf. Kloner and Zissu 2007: 356–357).

<sup>35</sup> John's tomb was located somewhere northwest of present-day Jaffa Gate based on *War* 5.259, 304, 356 (it is mentioned again in 6.169, but there are no clues as to its location here). The tomb of Alexander was located to the north of the city near the Antonia fortress (*War* 5.304), presumably because he was, according to Josephus, the first to place a fortification to the north of the Temple Mount (*War* 7.171). For a brief discussion see Amit 2009: 88.



66, Pls. 3, 18 Photos 49–51; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 63). One can probably also assume that by this time, a tomb within the quarry, and perhaps, a spot in the discontinued execution site, were known to be associated with Jesus by the early Jerusalemite Christian community, though there is no mention of this in the literary sources.<sup>36</sup>

### The Late Roman Period (c. 135–325 AD)

With the establishment of the *Colonia Aelia Capitolina* between 130 and 135 AD in place of the city of Jerusalem, a number of public works took place to transform the city from its former state into a proper Roman *civitas*. This involved the construction of large paved roads in grid-like arrangements on clear north–south and east–west axes, public market places or *fora*, and various shrines and temples to the Roman gods in the northern quarters of the ancient city. At the site of the quarry on the Northwest Hill of Jerusalem, not much is known about Hadrian's building activity apart from meager archaeological remains—mostly of subterranean support structures for superstructures that are no longer extant—and some data from the literary sources, which, while they appear to be confused in some ways, all agree that Hadrian altered the site upon which Jesus was crucified and buried.

The Roman historian Cassius Dio reported in his *Historia Romana* (69.12.1), written around 229 AD, that in the ruins of Jerusalem 'on the site of the temple of the god [of Israel] he [Hadrian] raised a new temple to Jupiter' (LCL 176: 446–447; **6.11**). In the anonymous *Chronicon Paschale*, written in c. 627 (though perhaps based on earlier sources<sup>37</sup>), the author writes that Hadrian founded two public forums (or baths) (*duo dēmosia*), a theater (*theatron*), a *Tricameratum* (*trikamaron*), a *Tetranymphum* (*tetranumphon*), a *Dodecapylum* (*dōdekapulon*), and the *Quadra* (*kodran*) (CSHB 35: 474; **6.22, 37**).

In regard to the construction projects on the Northwestern Hill, the closest contemporary source to the events is Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* or *Life of Constantine*, written c. 337 AD, after the death of the emperor (**6.15, 23**). Though Eusebius presents the historian with some details of the events preceding the construction of the Constantinian edifice, his work should be used carefully and with two things in mind: 1) though the text is the closest contemporary source, it was, nevertheless, written some two hundred years after the founding of Aelia Capitolina, and ten to twelve years after the demolition of Hadrian's monuments; 2) the text is not concerned about the actions of Hadrian *per se*, but rather the act of profanation on the part of a 'pagan' emperor, who dared to cover up the Tomb of Jesus, which was then 'miraculously' recovered again during the reign of the Christian emperor, Constantine, who 'had the ability to abolish these daring impieties' since he

<sup>36</sup> Based on Acts 21:15–25, Coüasnon (1974: 7) speculates that the traditions associated with the sites in the old quarry must have been strong by at least 58 AD, since this was the time that Luke (in Coüasnon's view one and the same with the Gospel writer), Paul, and their companions visited with the Christian community in Jerusalem. Luke then drew on his own visit to the tomb when he wrote his Gospel. While there are many text-critical problems with this assertion, it is certainly logical to assume that the traditions surrounding the tomb were developed early on.

<sup>37</sup> Wilson (1906: 178, no. 24) dates the text to 119 AD.

‘enjoyed the favor of the King of kings’ (*Vit. Const.* 26.5).<sup>38</sup> The zealous undertones come through clearly in Eusebius’ eloquent language:

‘For it had been in time past the endeavor of impious men (or rather let me say of the whole race of evil spirits through their means), to consign to the darkness of oblivion that divine monument of immortality ... This sacred cave, then, certain impious and godless persons had thought to remove entirely from the eyes of men ... Accordingly they brought a quantity of earth from a distance with much labor, and covered the entire spot; then having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the holy cave beneath this massive mound. Then, as though their purpose had been effectually accomplished, they prepared on this foundation a truly dreadful sepulcher of souls, by building a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols to the impure spirit whom they call Venus (*Aphroditēs*), and offering detestable oblations therein on profane and accursed altars’ (*Vit. Const.* 3.26.1-7 [PG 20: 1085–1088; translation in NPNF 1: 527]).

Further information comes from Jerome (6.17, 29), who wrote some 60 years after Eusebius (in the 390s AD). Jerome writes:

‘From the time of Hadrian to the reign of Constantine—a period of about one hundred and eighty years—the spot which had witnessed the resurrection (i.e. the tomb) was occupied by a figure of Jupiter; while on the rock where the cross had stood, a marble statue of Venus was set up by the heathen and became an object of worship. The original persecutors, indeed, supposed that by polluting our holy places they would deprive us of our faith in the passion and in the resurrection’ (*Epist.* 58.3 [PL 22: 581; translation in NPNF 6: 264–265]).

There was evidently some confusion of the facts by the time Jerome wrote, as to what was built where. By way of a brief evaluation, it is important to note that Dio’s assertion that Hadrian installed a Temple of Jupiter, i.e. of the Capitoline Triad (Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva), on the former Temple Mount that held Herod’s Temple, is the earliest record of this event, and even it is about a hundred years removed. The Bordeaux Pilgrim (*Itin.* 591; 6.14, 25), whose journal dates from c. 333 AD, says that in his/her time there were two statues of Hadrian ‘where stood the temple that Solomon built’ (Wilkinson 1981: 156–157).<sup>39</sup> Again Jerome, who, as noted above, said that a figure of Jupiter stood over the Christian holy sites on the Northwestern Hill, says later (c. 398 AD) that near the Holy of Holies of the former Jewish Temple there stood an equestrian statue of Hadrian (*Comm. in Matt.* 24.15;

<sup>38</sup> There is, of course, no way to know what Hadrian’s motives were in covering the old quarry that contained within it the Tomb of Jesus. I tend to agree with Coüasnon (1974: 13) who notes: ‘The construction of Aelia Capitolina engulfed the Tomb. Why? I do not believe that one can read into this fact any anti-Christian gesture of the Roman administration. It was, rather by chance, or even through an act of Providence, that the Tomb came, thereby, to be conserved. The topography of the ground sufficed to justify the earthworks which were carried out for the building of the forum and its annexes.’

<sup>39</sup> It appears that Origen also mentioned two statues of Hadrian on the Temple Mount—it is cited in Gibson and Taylor 1994: 70 as being *Commentaria in Matthaei* 24:15, however, the collection of Origen’s writings that includes the *Commentaria* (PG 13, cols. 829–1800) does not include this section. Scheck (2008: 272, n. 81) notes that this is found in Origen, *fragm.* 469. Wilkinson (1981: 157, n. 4; cf. Gibson and Taylor 1994: 70) suggests that one of the statues may have been a statue of Hadrian’s successor Antoninus Pius.

6.18), and still later (c. 410 AD), he wrote that at the former site of the Temple, 'there is a statue of Hadrian, and an idol of Jupiter situated there' (*Comm. in Is.* 2.9) (PL 24: 49; 6.19).<sup>40</sup> Gibson and Taylor suggest that the Capitoline Temple would probably have been located to the north of the former Temple Mount, maybe in the area of the Antonia Fortress where the present-day Umariyya School is located. This would still place the Capitoline Temple in the sacred space of the former Jewish Temple, thus making sense of Dio's report, but would also allow for the other areas of the Temple Mount to include statues devoted to Hadrian (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 70).

### *The Hadrianic Walls within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre*

There is in fact little archaeological evidence to verify what the Hadrianic administration actually built on the Northwestern Hill. The excavations carried out during the years 1960 and 1981 in the church, and those conducted by Kenyon and Lux between the years 1967 and 1974, demonstrated that the quarry was filled in and that walls were built onto the bedrock (Kenyon 1974: 26; Lux 1972: 109; Vriezen 1977; Schein 1981: 23). The walls were intended to consolidate and support the paved podium onto which the public forum with its *temenos* and temple(s) could be built (this material is summarized in Gibson and Taylor 1994: 65–69, Fig. 43; see also Corbo 1981–1982: 33–37, 221). These walls within the church are located on the eastern side of the Rock of Golgotha (Figs. 4.12:16–17); the wall below the choir of the Katholikon (Fig. 4.12:13); five walls located immediately southeast of the Edicule (Fig. 4.12:9–12, 19) (cf. Coüasnon 1974: 24); six walls northeast of the Edicule (Fig. 4.12:3–5, 7–8); and the four walls in the Chapel of St. Vartan (Fig. 4.12:20) (see Broshi and Barkay 1985: 119–125; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 17–19). The walls seem to form a rectangular grid over which the 46.50 x 38.75 meter paved platform would have been built. Presumably it would have had on its east the *Cardo Maximus* and to its south the east-west *Decumanus* (Fig. 4.12:21). Corbo (1981–1982: Pl. 68) attempted to reconstruct the *temenos* and temple based on these internal walls, which is problematic given its speculative nature, but it does provide a needed visual of an otherwise non-existent subject (Fig. 4.15).<sup>41</sup> The height of the paved surface of the podium was likely 3–5 meters above the level of the bedrock quarry in the area of the Constantinian Rotunda. This would ensure the coverage of the bedrock scarp into which the tombs were carved.<sup>42</sup> The underground chamber (Chamber 68; Fig. 4.13) in the area of the Rotunda, probably marked the western side of the podium (Fig. 4.12:6).

The Rock of Golgotha seems to have been enclosed by its own platform (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 65–67). The excavation of Trench V (Fig. 4.1:T.5) revealed a segment of the north wall of the platform (Fig. 4.12:14). A fragment of the east wall was uncovered in the excavations

<sup>40</sup> On the dates of the *Commentaria* see NPNF 6: 24–25.

<sup>41</sup> Gibson and Taylor (1994: 65) do not believe that the remains of the internal consolidation grid can be used to reconstruct the *temenos* and temple.

<sup>42</sup> Gibson and Taylor (1994: 65) estimate the highest point of the scarp of the quarry on the western side, into which the Joseph and Nicodemus tomb and the Tomb of Jesus were carved, to be c. 757 meters ASL (based on Vincent's [Vincent and Abel 1914: Pl. XIII:II] height of 753.52 taken on the paving of the raised level immediately east of the Edicule). Given what we can tell about the interior of the Tomb of Jesus, which would have been about 2 meters from floor to ceiling (see above discussion) Gibson added a maximum of 3.48 meters for the top of the scarp into which the tomb was carved (see also Coüasnon 1974: 12).

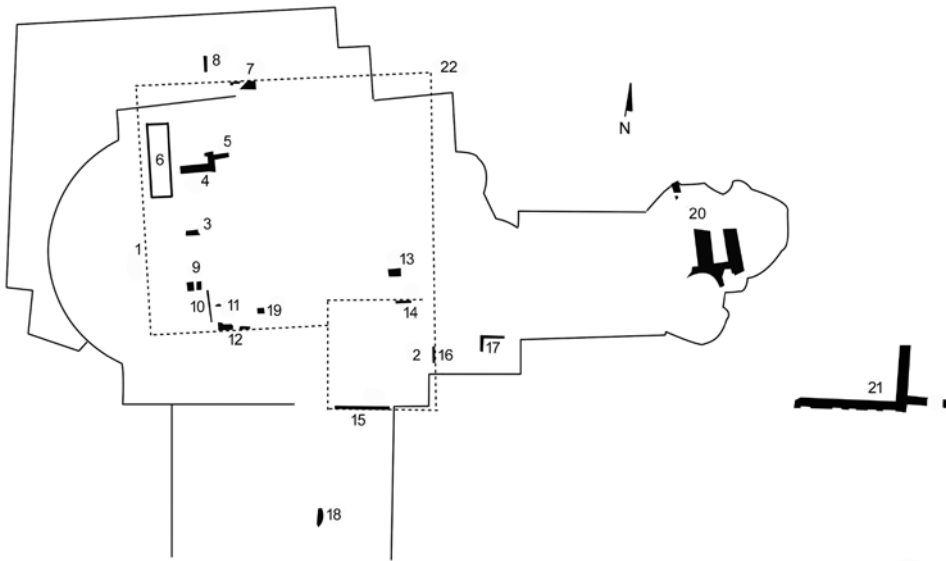


Figure 4.12. Late Roman architectural remains in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: 1) the Holy Sepulchre, 2) the Rock of Golgotha, 3) wall foundation northeast of the Edicule (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 19.1); 4) wall G-G in northern transept 46 (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 10, Photos 30, 31, 34); 5) wall foundation northeast of the Edicule (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 10, Photos 30, 31, 34); 6) underground chamber 68 (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 18; Photos 49–51); 7) Wall C (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 62, Photos 42:2, 45:1); 8) wall foundation (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 61: 2A); 9) Wall C southeast of the Edicule (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 19:2–3, Photo 53); 10) wall foundation southeast of the Edicule (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 16); 11) Wall M7 southeast of the Edicule (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 16); 12) Wall M1 southeast of the Edicule (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 16); 13) Wall E below the choir of the Katholikon (Corbo 1981–1982: Photos 88–90; Fernandez 1984: Fig. 48.8); 14) wall foundation (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 24:1, Photos 14:3, 15, 17:5); 15) wall built of ashlar (Corbo 1981–1982: Pls. 53–54, Photos 1–2, 5); 16) retaining wall behind the Rock of Golgotha (Corbo 1981–1982: Pls. 40–41, 43–44; Photos 91: GH, M; 97: f, g); 17) walls east of Golgotha (Katsimbini 1977: 209, Pls. A–C; Corbo 1981–1982: Pls. 40–41); 18) Wall M4 (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 55, Photo 7:3); 19) wall foundation southeast of the Edicule (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 24:3); 20) walls in the Chapel of St. Vartan (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 57; Gibson and Taylor 1994: Fig. 9); 21) southern walls of the Byzantine entrance (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 3:404, 406, 408; Pl. 67:404, 406, 408); 22) possible perimeter of the Hadrianic temple as reconstructed by Gibson and Taylor (1994: Fig. 43) (source: J. Kelley, based on the plan and descriptions by Gibson and Taylor 1994: Fig. 43).

east of the Rock of Golgotha by Katsimbini and Fernandez (Fig. 4.12:16). The southern wall is preserved within a large cistern dating to the Constantinian edifice, and that is now under the southern atrium of the church (Fig. 4.12:15).<sup>43</sup>

There are a series of walls outside the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the east of the complex that are generally thought to be a part of the entry of Constantine's Basilica (Fig. 4.12:22). These are located within the Russian Hospice of the present-day Holy

<sup>43</sup> This stretch of the wall is well preserved to a height of 6.45 meters and consists of 13 courses built in the header-stretcher technique; the ashlar have chiseled margins and low bosses. The quality of the wall may indicate that this wall was intended to be seen by those approaching the Hadrianic temple (Corbo 1981–1982: 24–35, Pls. 53–54, Photos 1–2, 5; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 67). Corbo (1981–1982: 34–35) notes that the ashlar are Herodian and were reused by Hadrian on the temple site. The walls were reused in the Constantinian edifice.



Figure 4.13. Chamber 68 from the excavations in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (source: Corbo 1981–1982: Photo 51, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem).

Sepulchre complex and within the pastry shop Zalatimo Sweets located on Khan el-Zeit street.<sup>44</sup> The walls making up the southeastern corner of the Byzantine structure (Fig. 4.16:23), the east-west section of which has an external pilaster arrangement similar to Herod's Temple Mount podium, may have also been part of the Hadrianic structure (see Bahat 1986: 33–34; 1990: 66; Corbo 1981–1982: 227, Pls. 3, 68:401–408). The walls are built of ashlar dating to the Early Roman Period in secondary use, which makes it difficult to date them with any certainty to Hadrian's temple complex, because, as Gibson and Taylor (1994: 67) point out, other areas of the church dating to the 4th century are built with earlier ashlar. Consequently, Gibson and Taylor (1994: Fig. 43) do not add these walls to their plan of Late Roman remains, however, they have been included here in Figure. 4.12.

<sup>44</sup> These walls have been studied in detail by a number of scholars (Clermont-Ganneau 1899: 89–94; Vincent and Abel 1914: 40–88, Pls. III–X; Coüasnon 1974: 45, Pl. XXIIa; Corbo 1981–1982: Pls. 3, 68, Areas 401–408, p. 227, no. IV; Bahat 1986: 34) and are attributed to various periods—Herodian, Hadrianic, or Constantinian. Gibson and Taylor (1994: 67) note that the date remains uncertain regarding these walls.

### *The Temple of Venus-Aphrodite*

There are two tools at the disposal of the historian for the reconstruction of the building atop the paved platform erected by Hadrian: 1) the literary sources, i.e. Eusebius and Jerome, and 2) the numismatic record of coins minted in Aelia from the time of Hadrian and his successors. From the texts, one can only conclude that there was a temple devoted to a deity (or deities) built there, which Eusebius, the earliest source, says included statues ('dead idols,' *nekrōn eidolon*) of Venus-Aphrodite, the Greco-Roman goddess of fertility, love, and beauty. Though, as noted above, Jerome later said that the temple included an image of Jupiter (*simulacrum Iovis*) and a marble Venus (*marmore Veneris*). Based on this latter passage, some have argued that the Capitoline Temple was located on the Northwestern Hill, but this is a problematic assertion, due to the nature of Jerome's text.<sup>45</sup>

In the numismatic data, there is no evidence for a temple of Venus-Aphrodite during the reign of Hadrian, though the Capitoline Temple with its Triad of deities is depicted.<sup>46</sup> There are, however, various depictions of Tyche, the goddess of fortune and luck (Roman Fortuna), on the Aelia Capitolina coins minted during the reigns of the emperors following Hadrian, beginning with Antoninus Pius (c. 138–161 AD), up to 251 AD (Fig. 4.14).<sup>47</sup> The public cult of Tyche developed in the 4th century BC and by the Roman period the goddess was very popular, having become associated with the luck and fortune of individuals and their cities (Martin 1999: 877). Many of the Tyche coins from Aelia depict the goddess standing with her characteristic cornucopia within the archway of a pillared temple (Fig. 4.14). The popularity of the goddess in the city is evident in that forty percent of all the coin types known from Aelia belong to the Tyche-type (Kadman 1956: 36). So then, how should the reference to Venus-Aphrodite in Eusebius and Jerome be explained? One could assume the genuineness of Eusebius' (and perhaps Jerome's) claim that a temple to Venus occupied

<sup>45</sup> Murphy-O'Connor (1994) believes a case can be made from Jerome's text, however, Gibson and Taylor (1994: 68–69) interpret Jerome's problematic assertions more as a poetical polemic than an account of reality. That Jerome claims that both the Tomb of Jesus and the Rock of Golgotha were defiled (*polluissent*) by their persecutors, i.e. Hadrian and the Roman government, who wanted to put an end to Christian faith in the cross and the resurrection, seems to indicate that Gibson and Taylor are correct in their view. Note that Corbo (1981–1982: esp. p. 36) refers to the forum of Hadrian built over the Northwestern Hill as the 'Capitolium' throughout his work.

<sup>46</sup> The coin (Meshorer 1989: 71, no. 1 with discussion on p. 22 and 70) depicts the Capitoline Triad—Jupiter in a seated position flanked by Minerva on his right and Juno on his left—on the reverse of the coin (the obverse is a bust of Hadrian). The deities are within the center of the façade of the *distyle* temple. The inscription on the exergue reads: COL[ONIA] AEL[IA] KAP[ITOLINA]. Sir Charles Wilson in his 1906 publication (69–71, Pl. VI.3) includes a drawing of a coin that he attributes to Hadrian, which has the typical depiction of Tyche known from later Aelia coins except that it includes the word in exergue: COND[ITA] 'foundation' in addition to CO[LONIA] A[ELIA]CAP[ITOLINA], which led Wilson to conclude that this was Hadrianic and should be connected with the founder coin, noted above. This coin does not appear in Meshorer, but the depiction is the same as the obverse of Meshorer's coin no. 11 (1989: 73), that of Antoninus Pius.

<sup>47</sup> Following Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius (161–180 AD), Septemius Severus (193–211 AD), Julia Domna (211–217 AD?), Diadumenian (217–218 AD), Elagabalus (218–222 AD), Alexander Severus (222–235 AD), and Trajan Decius (249–251 AD) and his sons Herennius Etruscus (250–251 AD) and Hostilian (251 AD). Following 251 AD coins were no longer minted in Aelia. For discussion see Meshorer 1989: 24–25, 31–32, 38–39, 46–47, 51–52, 54; and in the Catalogue (pp. 69–117) see item nos. 10, 11, 21, 47, 47a, 52, 52a, 53, 55, 66, 66a–b, 68, 69, 72, 78, 79, 82, 86, 102, 102a–b, 103, 109, 122, 122a–b, 123, 123a, 124, 125, 125a–b, 129, 129a–e, 130, 131, 137, 145, 146, 148, 148a–b, 149, 150, 152, 152a, 153, 153a–b, 155, 158, 159, 160, 162, 165, 166, 172, 173, 176, 179, 179a; cf. also Corbo 1981–1982: Photo 208.



Figure 4.14. Drawing of the reverse sides of two Aelia Capitolina coins dating to the reign of Antoninus Pius, the successor of Hadrian. The coins depict Tyche in her temple—the left coin with a hexastylus façade and the right with a tetrastylus. The inscriptions in the exergue read: CO[LO]NIAE[LI]A[CAPITOLINA] (left coin) and CAC[OLONIA]A[ELIA]C[APITOLINA] (source: J. Kelley, after Meshorer 1989: 73, nos. 11, 20).

the site<sup>48</sup> and that the Venus-Aphrodite shrine simply was not depicted on the coins in favor of the Tyche Temple. Alternatively, there are two, more plausible, resolutions to the issue: 1) Tyche was seen as the personification of the benevolent good fortune bestowed by Venus-Aphrodite (Martin 1999: 877);<sup>49</sup> and/or 2) Venus-Aphrodite was substituted for Tyche by Eusebius in his panegyric to 'heighten the supposed defilement of the site' by Hadrian, which would in turn make Constantine's actions all the more important (Biddle 1999: 57, n. 14). Of course, this latter point would only be true if Tyche was less offensive to Christian sensibilities than Venus-Aphrodite, and it may be that this was indeed the case.<sup>50</sup>

The physical appearance of the Hadrianic temple is unknown,<sup>51</sup> but if the numismatic evidence pertaining to the Tyche temple is taken into account, then it seems that within

<sup>48</sup> This is the approach taken by Gibson and Taylor (1994: 68–71). Though it is curious that Gibson and Taylor (1994: 69) note: 'Venus was the most popular of the city's deities, accounting for 40% of known coins types,' and cite Kadman (1956: 36) who clearly says that forty percent of Aelia's coin types were Tyche-types.

<sup>49</sup> This kind of conflation of deities and their attributes in the ancient world was not uncommon.

<sup>50</sup> Martin (1999: 878) points out that the personal name, Tychicus (*Tuchikos*), and its variants, was a popular name even among Christians (cf. for example Acts 20:4, 7–12; Eph 6:21; Col 4:7–8; 2 Tim 4:12; Titus 3:12) and that, 'Although theophoric names ideally indicated some alliance with the deities from whom they were taken and something of their 'power and honor,' the uses of the name, Tychicus, in the Christian context are in the popular sense of wishing good fortune' (on this point see also Biddle 1999: 56–57). It seems, though, that the crux of the issue would be that the venerated tomb was covered up, not so much the shrine to the deity built over it. In other words, if the problem was the encasement of the holy site, one wonders what difference it would make if the shrine built on top of the podium was to a 'tolerable' deity or not?

<sup>51</sup> Coüasnon (1974: 12–13) suggested that the temple was located over the tomb of Jesus with a civic basilica to the east built over the site of Golgotha. Geva (1984: 250, Fig. 3) also reconstructs the site with a civic basilica. Phillips (1977: 21–22, Figs. 18–20) reconstructed a rectangular temple to the east of the *temenos*, with its entrance facing south. The Rock of Golgotha, located to the west of the temple proper, protruded from the *temenos* high enough to have been venerated as a 'phallic symbol of the gods' (Phillips 1977: 21). Helms (Helms 1980: 119, 122, Fig. 6) includes various other structures in the complex in addition to the temple, i.e. an *Iseum*, a *pergatorium*, and a *megarum*. Corbo's (1981–1982: 36, no. 1; Pl. 68) plan of the temple is of a tripartite structure with a statue of Venus-Aphrodite on the top of the Rock of Golgotha (Fig. 4.15). Dan Bahat (1986: 38, 40) envisioned a round

the city there was a temple of the goddess with a four-columned façade (*tetrastylus in antis*), and/or one with a six-columned façade (*hexastylus in antis*), with an arched recess through which the image(s)<sup>52</sup> of the deity was visible and over which was a triangular pediment (Fig. 4.14).<sup>53</sup> This probably warrants a rectangular *peripteros* temple surrounded on all sides with columns,<sup>54</sup> but the application of the Tyche temple on the Aelia coins to the Hadrianic structure on the Northwestern Hill is hypothetical only.<sup>55</sup> It should be noted too, that the discovery of a limestone altar fragment to the east of the Rock of Golgotha might indicate that some cultic activity was carried out in this area as well (Fernandez 1984: 34–35, Fig. 55; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 67, Fig. 44).

## The Constantinian Edifice and Its Principal Parts in the 4th century AD

### *The Recovery of the Holy Sites*

There are three issues that are important to note before addressing the archaeological data pertaining to the Byzantine church complex itself. First is the question of how the church authorities in the early 4th century AD knew where to look for the tomb in which Jesus was buried. After all, the death and burial of Jesus had taken place nearly three hundred years prior to Macarius' request that Constantine allow him to unearth the tomb. Second is the question of what was found underneath the podium of Hadrian's temple on the Northwestern Hill. Finally, one has to deal with the question of the confidence on the part of the ancient writers that the newly discovered tomb was the actual tomb of Jesus. Archaeology, unfortunately, can help very little in working toward the solutions to these questions; one has to rely on the historical sources, namely the works of Eusebius and Cyril of Jerusalem.

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temple surrounded by columns, which inspired Constantine to build the Anastasis in a similar form. Coüasnon (1974:35–36) on the other hand suggests the rather convincing theory that the Rotunda was based on the typical royal mausoleum that was popular at this time, which generally consisted of a rotunda attached to a basilica (cf. for example the Mausoleum of Constantia [Constantine's daughter] and Basilica of St. Agnes in Rome or the Mausoleum of Empress Helena [Constantine's mother] and the Basilica of SS. Peter and Marcellinus). Coüasnon (1974: 36) notes therefore: 'One can well believe that, in Constantine's thoughts, the Rotunda was the triumphal mausoleum erected to the memory of the Risen One, the founder of the Church.' On the other hand, an earlier structure employing almost the exact same shape used as the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre is Herod's palace/fortress, the Herodium, in the Judean Wilderness (cf. Corbo 1967). It seems that further work should be done on this architectural motif to see where it originated in Rome and what its predominant uses were prior to being employed by Constantine on the edifice in Jerusalem and the mausoleums in Rome. In a later plan, Bahat (2011: 72) also designed the temple in rectangular form. See Gibson and Taylor (1994: 68–69) for a summary of the various scholarly reconstructions.

<sup>52</sup> As already noted, Eusebius' account (*Vit. Const.* 3.26) includes plural nouns when referring to the 'idols' (*eidōlōn*) and 'altars' (*bōmōn*) present in the temple.

<sup>53</sup> See Meshorer 1989: 73, nos. 11, 18–20 (the coins cited here are from Antoninus Pius, but there are many others through the reign of Elagabalus, i.e. 218–222 AD).

<sup>54</sup> Though Kadman (1956) includes a drawing by Julius Jotham Rothschild (between pp. 16 and 17) reconstructing the city of Aelia Capitolina. The temple on the Northwestern Hill has a round colonnaded body, a domed roof, and an attached porch with a triangular pediment over a *tetrastyle* façade.

<sup>55</sup> Corbo (1981–1982: Photo 208) makes the connection between the *hexastyle* temple on the Antoninus Pius coin (cf. Meshorer 1989: 73, no. 11) and the structure on the Northwestern Hill (his 'Capitolium') noting: '*L'interesse di questa moneta è di darci una rappresentazione del portico esastilo del Capitolium gerosolimitano, che riproduceva la schema del Capitolium di Roma, il quale pure aveva sei colonne, sulla facciata.*'



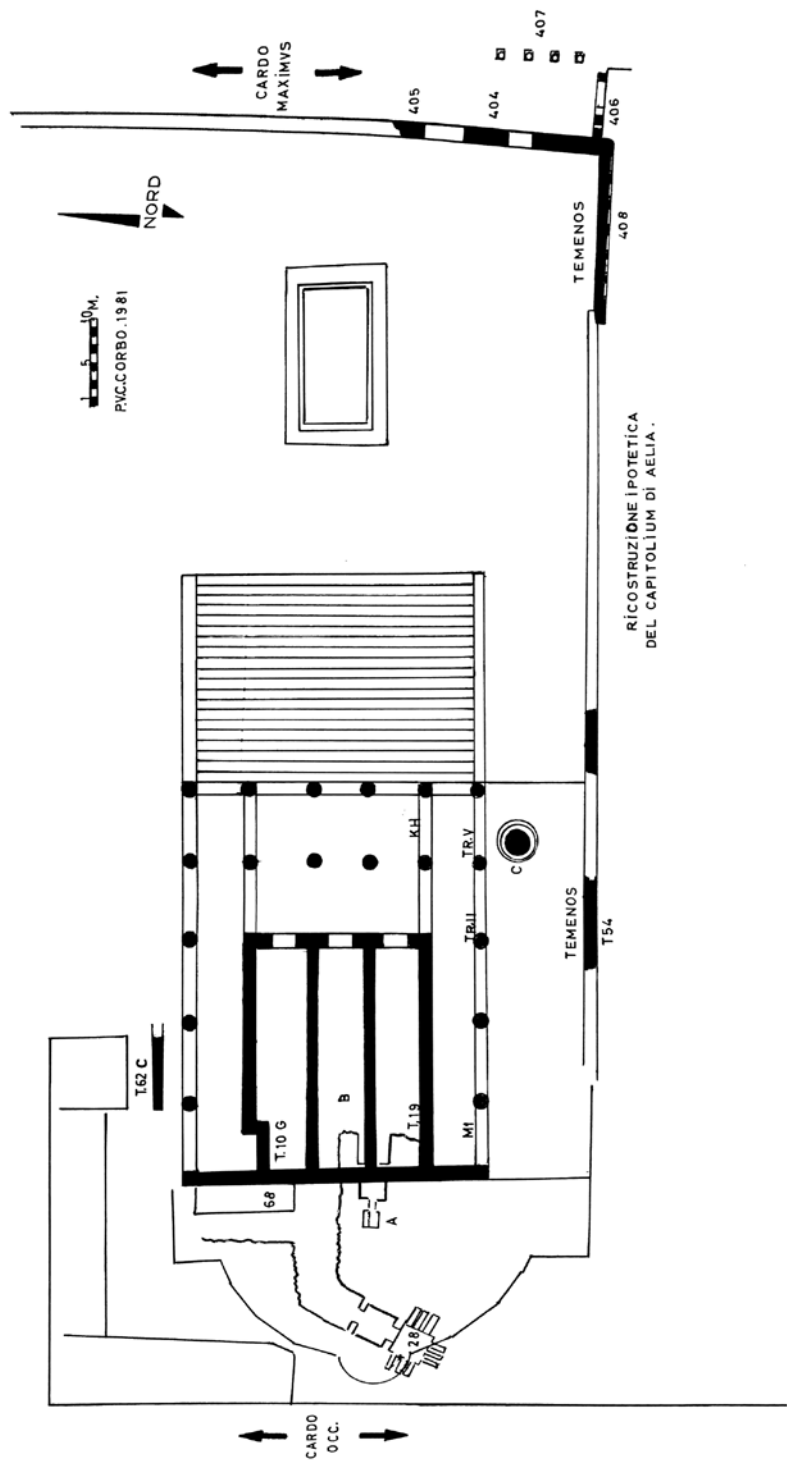


Figure 4.15. Plan of the Hadrianic Temple built over the site of the old quarry (source: Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 68, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem).

Regarding the first issue, there can be little doubt that the location of the tomb in which Jesus was laid was never completely forgotten. Certainly the site was known among the earliest Christians, as the Gospel accounts, written around the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 AD or within thirty years thereafter, would seem to indicate.<sup>56</sup> After the city was resettled by the Hadrianic administration in the early 2nd century AD, the Christian community in Aelia, under Bishop Marcus,<sup>57</sup> no doubt carried on the tradition associated with the Northwestern Hill despite the fact that the tomb was buried underneath Hadrian's western forum. In c. 160–190 AD a certain Christian, writer, thought to be Melito, Bishop of Sardis, composed a sermon on the Christian appropriation of the Jewish Passover entitled *Peri Pascha*, 'Our Passover' (6.8).<sup>58</sup> A portion of the text is devoted to the 'strange injustice' of 'Israel'—the 'murder' of Jesus in which Melito notes that Jesus was killed 'in the middle of Jerusalem (*en mesō Ierousalēm*)' (72.505–507).<sup>59</sup> In a later section Melito writes that Jesus was killed 'in the middle of the street'<sup>60</sup> (*epi mesēs plateias*) and in the middle of the city (*en mesō poleōs*)' and 'at the middle of the day for all to see' (94.693–706).<sup>61</sup> In the mid to late 2nd century AD, the Jerusalem that Melito knew was the newly formed Aelia Capitolina in which the location of the execution site and burial of Jesus were within the boundaries of the city, and, removed from sight.<sup>62</sup> If one interprets Melito's assertion that Jesus was killed 'in the middle of Jerusalem [i.e. Aelia Capitolina],' as an indication of the location of the execution site,<sup>63</sup> then one might suggest that the location of the crucifixion, and by extension the tomb, were still known after the alterations to the city in the 130s AD. Further, while Eusebius does not mention Golgotha in his accounts pertaining to the events on the Northwestern Hill, he does refer to it in the *Onomasticon* (74.19–21; 6.9), which was composed sometime between 290 and 325 AD:

<sup>56</sup> Other early Christian texts that seem to preserve early traditions concerning the location of the crucifixion, and by extension burial, of Jesus are Hebrews 13:12 and perhaps Revelation 11:7–8 (6.1–6.7). It is important to point out that it is not clear what early Christians thought of the tomb and crucifixion site. The only extant, and undisputed, Christian literature from the days before 70 AD are the writings of Paul (Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon). The earliest account of the resurrection of Jesus, found in this corpus (1 Cor 15; dating to c. 54 AD [see Betz and Mitchell 1992: 1140]), does not mention the empty tomb, and in fact reflects the idea that resurrection was a spiritual (*pneumatikos*) rather than a physical (*psuchikos*) occurrence (v. 44). Taylor (1993: 136) therefore may be right to note that the empty tomb was generally unimportant to Christian theology prior to the 2nd century AD. While this is probably true, it seems unlikely that the spot would have been forgotten altogether.

<sup>57</sup> See Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.6.4

<sup>58</sup> It is not clear if Melito of Sardis actually wrote the document or if it was attributed to him. See the recent study of this text in Cohick 2000: 11–87.

<sup>59</sup> See Appendix 2, no. 1.7.

<sup>60</sup> See Taylor 1998: 188–191 and also Fig. 4 for a literal interpretation of Melito's statement that Jesus was crucified 'in the middle of the street,' in Taylor's view, the east-west *Decumanus*.

<sup>61</sup> See Appendix 2, no. 1.7. Biddle (1999: 60–63) includes a good textual discussion on the use of the word *plateias* in this passage (cf. also Harvey 1966).

<sup>62</sup> Whether or not this Melito had actually seen Aelia/Jerusalem is a matter of some debate. Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 4.26.13–14) reproduces a letter from Melito to a certain Onesimus in which Melito says, 'Accordingly, when I came to the east and reached the place where these things were preached and done, and learnt accurately the books of the Old Testament, I set down the facts and sent them to you' (translation in LCL 153: 392–393).

<sup>63</sup> An alternative view is that Melito intended the statement about Jesus' execution in the middle of the city to further implicate 'Israel' in the death of Jesus, since the 'murder' took place blatantly in their midst (see the discussion in Cohick 2000: 35–37).

‘Golgotha. Place of the Skull, where the Christ was crucified, which is indeed pointed out in Aelia right beside the northern parts of Mount Zion’ (Taylor 1998: 191).<sup>64</sup>

By the Byzantine period, at the latest, the location of Mount Zion had changed from the Eastern Hill of Jerusalem to the Western Hill (cf. its present location on the Southwestern Hill), thus Eusebius’ could say that the crucifixion site, and by extension the tomb, was north of this area, i.e. the Northwestern Hill (see Pixner 1990, especially the sidebar: ‘Jerusalem from the Air’ (p. 18–19); Murphy-O’Connor 2008: 115.). This further demonstrates the preservation of the memory of the location of the places associated with Jesus’ death and burial. One can, therefore, say with some certainty that the Northwestern Hill, in the collective memory of the Jerusalem Christian community, marked the location of Golgotha and the Tomb of Jesus.

After Constantine authorized the demolition of the Roman temple on the Northwestern Hill in order to find the tomb thought by Bishop Macarius to be the one in which Jesus was interred, the excavation began, and to the astonishment of all involved,<sup>65</sup> a rock-cut tomb was revealed. Eusebius provides an account of the excavation, though it is very brief. He writes:

‘He [Constantine] gave further orders that the materials of what was thus destroyed [i.e. the *temenos* of Hadrian’s Forum and temple complex], both stone and timber, should be removed and thrown as far from the spot as possible; and this command was also speedily executed. The emperor, however, was not satisfied with having proceeded thus far; once more, fired with holy ardor, he directed that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth, and the soil which had been polluted by the foul impurities of demon worship transported to a far distant place. But as soon as the original surface of the ground, beneath the covering of earth, appeared, immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hallowed monument of our Savior’s resurrection was discovered. Then indeed did this most holy cave present a faithful similitude of his return to life, in that, after lying buried in darkness, it again emerged to light’ (*Vit. Const.* 3.27–28; translation in NPNF 1: 527–528).

Eusebius provides no details of what was uncovered save the rock-cut cave (*antron*). On the other hand, Cyril of Jerusalem, bishop twice removed from Macarius, who was a boy of about ten years at the time the tomb was unearthed, wrote in a series of lectures, *Catecheses*,<sup>66</sup> given in the 340s AD that at the front of the entrance to the rock-cut tomb there was a forecourt, a ‘cave of the rock...that had been hewn out of the rock itself, as is wont to be done here in front of the sepulchers’ (14.9) (Gifford 1893: 266–267). The stone that had closed the tomb was still lying in front of the entrance and was there ‘to this

<sup>64</sup> Note also Jerome’s later translation (*Lib. Loc.* 75.20–21): *Golgotha locus Calvariae, in quo saluator pro salute omnium crucifixus est. et usque hodie ostenditur in Aelia ad septentrionalem plagam montis Sion.*

<sup>65</sup> A further issue that has puzzled scholars is why Eusebius notes that the tomb was uncovered ‘contrary to all expectation.’ On this point Biddle (1999: 65) suggests that the expression should simply be taken at face value as ‘the tomb had not been seen for nearly two hundred years and Makarios and Eusebius can have had little reason to suppose that it would really have survived and be found.’ Though Taylor (1993: 136) notes the obvious alternative, which is that Eusebius may have doubted the tomb was there.

<sup>66</sup> See Appendix 2, no. 1.12.

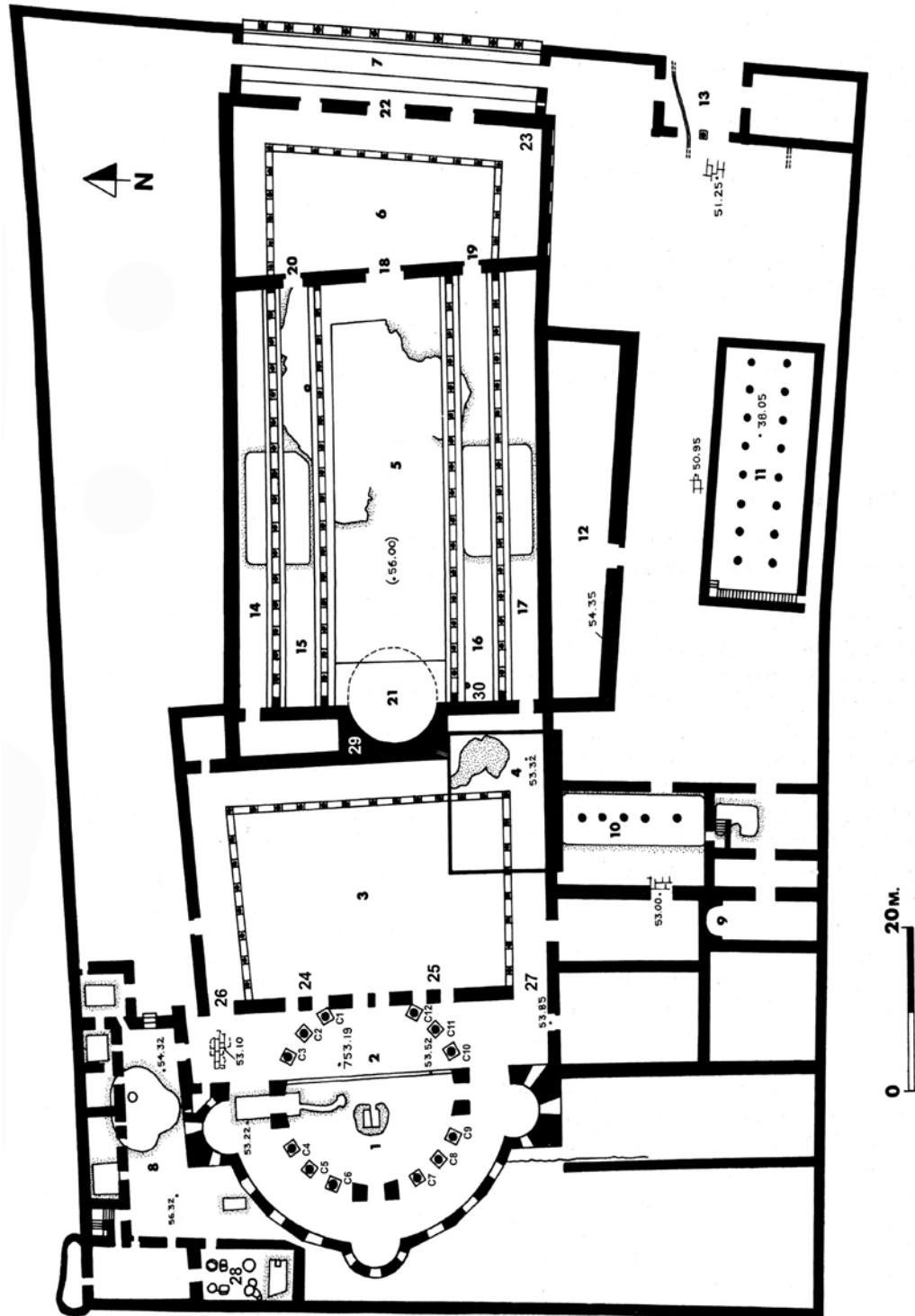


Figure 4.16. Plan of the Constantinian church: 1) Tomb of Jesus/Edicule; 2) the Rotunda (Anastasis); 3) western open-air courtyard; 4) Rock of Golgotha; 5) Basilica (martyrium); 6) open-air courtyard; 7) entrance to the complex (propylaea); 8) series of rooms opening into an internal courtyard; 9) the Baptistery complex; 10) cistern; 11) large cistern; 12) Crusader period wall with possible Byzantine foundation; 13) small guardroom; 14) northern interior portico; 15) northern secondary portico; 16) southern secondary portico; 17) southern interior portico; 18) central entry; 19) southern entry; 20) northern entry; 21) apse of the Basilica; 22) the gates of the courtyard; 23) early walls possibly reused from the Hadrianic complex (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 3:404–405, 408); 24) northern tripartite entry to Rotunda; 25) southern tripartite entry to Rotunda; 26) northern entrance to Rotunda; 27) southern entrance to Rotunda; 28) oil press installation; 29) remains of the Byzantine apse; 30) remains of the Basilica foundation (source: Gibson and Taylor 1994: Fig. 45; nos. 23–30 and C1–12 added by J. Kelley).

day,’ memorialized in the Constantinian shrine (10.19; 13.39; 14.22). Finally, he notes that ‘signs and remnants’ (*sumbola kai ta leipsana*) of the cultivated area around the tomb remain despite the adornments that embellished the Constantinian Edicule (14.5). It is not clear what Cyril was referring to here. Biddle suggests that Cyril had distinguished patches of ‘clean soil’ near the tomb (perhaps *terra rossa*?) from the retaining fill removed from the Hadrianic podium (Biddle 1999: 66). Gibson and Taylor (1994: 61) suggest that Cyril was referring to the remnants of a garden planted in conjunction with the Hadrianic temple, such as an Adonis grove.

How was it that Eusebius was able to assert with such confidence that the actual tomb in which Jesus had been laid had been found? Was it simply that the first tomb that the diggers came to was assumed to be the one,<sup>67</sup> or was there something about the tomb that indicated its authenticity? Biddle (1999: 66, 68) suggests that there may have been a cut or painted graffito within the tomb dating to the time near or before 70 AD, that identified it. Taylor (1998: 193–196), on the other hand, notes the excavators may have looked for a tomb that conformed in some way to the Gospel accounts, i.e. an empty, or ‘new’ tomb with a burial bench on the right side. Biddle’s suggestion that the tomb was marked somehow seems reasonable, as it would not have been unusual to be sure. Unfortunately, the demolition of much of the tomb in 1009 AD may have removed traces of any possible epigraphic data. At any rate, scholars will have to wait for the publication of photographs and documentation of the recent restoration of the Edicule in 2016/17.

According to Eusebius, following the discovery of the tomb, construction began immediately on the church that was to commemorate the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus. The process of the work is described in some detail by the historian (*Vit. Const.* 3.34–40). In a letter from Constantine to Bishop Macarius, included in Eusebius’s text, the emperor expresses his desire to build the church saying, ‘I have no greater care than how I may best adorn with a splendid structure that sacred spot, which, under Divine direction, I have disencumbered as it were of the heavy weight of foul idol worship’ (*Vit. Const.* 3.30; NPNF 1: 528). Constantine, therefore, instructed Macarius to make the provisions necessary for the construction of the Basilica ‘that the details of the building may be of such a kind that the fairest structures in any city of the empire may be excelled by this’ (*Vit. Const.* 3.31; NPNF 1: 528). Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* 3.33) then reports:

‘Accordingly, on the very spot which witnessed the Savior’s sufferings, a new Jerusalem was constructed, over against the one so celebrated of old ... the emperor now began to rear a monument to the Savior’s victory over death, with rich and lavish magnificence’ (NPNF 1: 529)

<sup>67</sup> This was the view of Taylor (1993: 140), who later revised her opinion (Taylor 1998: 180, 193–203) in light of Biddle’s (1994) research noting that at least it is possible that the early church retained the memory of the site of Jesus’ burial.

### *The Constantinian Church Complex*

The Constantinian edifice was oriented on an east-west axis with its entry on the eastern side, flanked by the *Cardo Maximus*, the main north-south street of Aelia. Visitors to the church entered on the east side through the structure's monumental gateway (*propylaea*) near the street (Fig. 4.16:7, 22). They would then pass through a small, open-air portico (Fig. 4.16:6) and into the nave of the heart of the church, the Basilica or *martyrium* (Fig. 4.16:5) from which they would descend into another open-air portico (called a 'Triportico' by Corbo) (Fig. 4.16:3) in which was located the Rock of Golgotha (Fig. 4.16:4), and to the west of which were doors that led into the Rotunda (the *Anastasis* or 'Resurrection') (Fig. 4.16:2, 24–27). The pilgrim would then be facing the shrine (*aedicule*) housing the Tomb of Jesus (Fig. 4.16:1). Gibson and Taylor (1994: 74) suggest that the church complex measured c. 1.4 hectares and was surrounded by an enclosure wall.<sup>68</sup>

The Byzantine church is depicted on the mosaic Madaba Map located in the Church of St. George in Madaba, Jordan (see Avi-Yonah 1954: 54–55, Fig. 12: I, IV; 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13; cf. Fig. 13; Pl.7; cf. also Donner and Cüppers 1977: Figs. VII–IX, XII, XIIIa–b). The Church of St. George and the mosaic date to the mid-6th century AD, probably c. 560–565, and depicts the city of Jerusalem at this time (Avi-Yonah 1954: 16–18). The map shows the church complex with the entry, the Basilica, and a golden dome that has been variously interpreted as the Rotunda or the dome over the apse of the Basilica (Fig. 4.17:3; Fig. 4.18:1).<sup>69</sup> The church spans the area from the *Cardo Maximus* to the western wall of the city and the complex terminates in the south at the *Decumanus* (Figs. 4.17; 4.18:2:7–8). To the south of the church complex proper the map seems to depict the remnant of the Hadrianic forum reemployed in Constantine's complex (Fig. 4.18:6). This would be located in the area of the present-day Muristan. Also in this southern area, just west of the forum, is the building identified as the Baptistery of the church (Fig. 4.18:2). In the northwest corner of the church there is a monastery (Fig. 4.18:3).<sup>70</sup> Northeast of the church are two buildings, which may post-date the original Constantinian church. These are the Palace of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the clergy house attached to it (Fig. 4.18:4–5).<sup>71</sup>

Following the Madaba map and the archaeological data gleaned over the years, a number of reconstructions of the 4th century church have been put forth (see the above discussion on the history of research). The most important among these are those of Vincent and Abel (1914: 154–180; Pls. XIII, XXXIII), whose work became the foundation for later archaeological research; Coüasnon (1974: 21–50; Pls. VIII, XV, XXI), the first reconstruction to include the archaeological data; Corbo (1981–1982: 51–137; Pl. 3; Fig. 3.9 in this study),

<sup>68</sup> That the church was surrounded by an enclosure wall is assumed to some degree based on the notation in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 10.4.37–38 that the Constantinian church complex at Tyre was enclosed with a fortification (see Gibson and Taylor 1994: 74). The enclosure might also be evident on the mosaic in the apse of the 4th century Church of Santo Pudenziana in Rome, depicting the risen Christ with the Rock of Golgotha behind him and directly to his right (the viewer's left) the buildings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

<sup>69</sup> Avi-Yonah (1954: 16) believes the dome represented to be the dome of the Rotunda, but Gibson and Taylor (1994: 74) suggest, based on the lack of evidence for a dome over the Rotunda at this time, that it may be the dome over the apse of the Basilica, which is mentioned by Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* 3.38).

<sup>70</sup> This is identified by Avi-Yonah (1954: 55) as the Spoudei Monastery.

<sup>71</sup> These buildings were probably built in the 5th century by Empress Aelia Eudocia Augusta (Avi-Yonah 1954: 55).

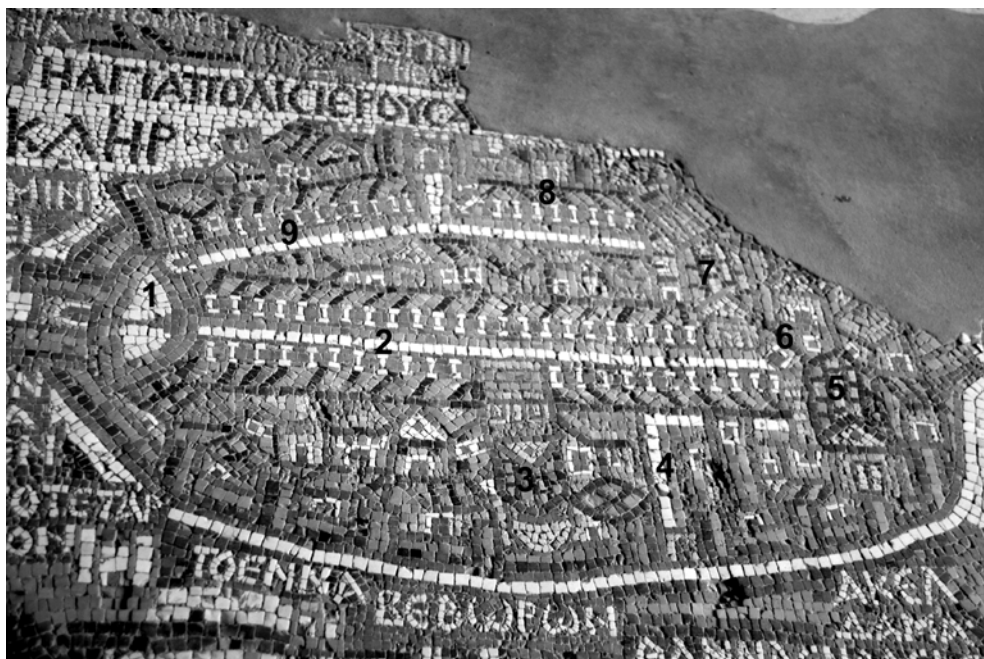


Figure 4.17. The Madaba mosaic map depicting Palestine in the mid-sixth century AD Jerusalem (shown here) is at the center of the map and is shown larger than the other cities. The inscription to the upper left (northeast) of the city (not shown) reads *Hagia Polis Ierousa[lēm]* 'The Holy City of Jerusalem.' 1) The round colonnaded plaza or circus with the northern gate (present Damascus Gate) of the city to the left, note the column in the center, which probably held the statue of a pre-Constantinian emperor and in the Byzantine period a cross; 2) the north-south *Cardo Maximus*; 3) the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (cf. Fig. 19); 4) the east-west *Decumanus*; 5) the 'Mother of All Churches,' Jerusalem's largest ancient basilica; 6) the southern gate (present Zion Gate) of the city; 7) the 'New Church of the Theotokos' (commonly called the 'Nea') built by Emperor Justinian in the 540s C.E.; 8) the Temple esplanade, probably the *Quadra* of the *Chronicon Paschale* (224.9–12); 9) the secondary *cardo* (source: M. Kelley; on these items and further details see Avi-Yonah 1954: 50–60, Fig. 12:I, II, IV; A–B; 1, 2, 3, 18, 32; cf. Fig. 13; Pl. 7).

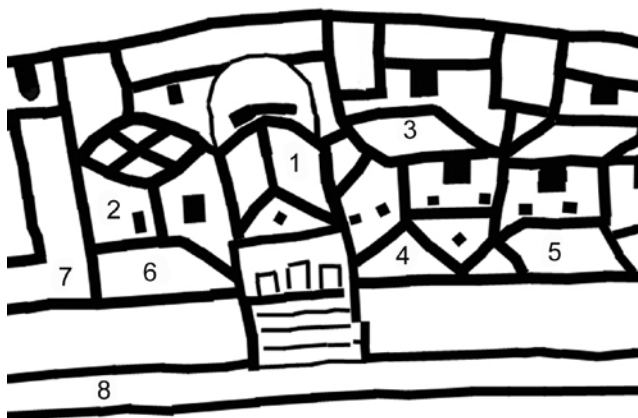


Figure 4.18. The Byzantine Church of the Holy Sepulchre as it appears in the fifth-century Madaba Map: 1) Constantine's Basilica; 2) the Baptistry complex; 3) Monastery of the Spoudaei; 4) Palace of the Patriarch; 5) Clergy House connected with the Patriarch's palace (?); 6) remnant of the second-century Forum of Hadrian; 7) the east-west *Decumanus*; 8) the north-south *Cardo Maximus* (drawing by J. Kelley; descriptions in Avi-Yonah 1954: 54–55, Fig. 12:I, IV; 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13; cf. Fig. 13; Pl. 7).

whose plan remains the standard one to this day; and most recently, Gibson and Taylor (1994: 74–83, Fig. 45; Fig. 4.16 in this study).<sup>72</sup>

### *The Edicule*

According to Eusebius the emperor ‘adorned the sacred cave itself’ (*Vit. Const.* 3.33; cf. 3.34), making the cave ‘radiant with all kinds of adornment’ (*Vit. Const.* 3.34). Elsewhere Eusebius indicates that Constantine’s workers disengaged the burial cave from the surrounding bedrock to the west leaving a kind of monolith, ‘a rock standing out erect and alone in a level land’ (*Theo.* 3.61; Lee 1843: 199; **6.10, 13**).<sup>73</sup> The cave was adorned with columns and masonry, forming the Edicule, which has been in the church in various forms ever since (Wilkinson 1981; Biddle 1999: 53–108). There are numerous depictions of the Edicule that were made prior to the destruction of the shrine in 1009 AD, and from these it is possible to reconstruct the original Constantinian form (Figs. 4.16–17).<sup>74</sup> Though some of the features in the depictions of the Edicule vary there are a few consistent motifs (Figs. 22–23) (Wilkinson 1972: 92–93, Figs. 9–11; 1981: 247). It seems fairly clear, therefore, that the original Edicule consisted of a round structure with nine to eleven columns at intervals, built directly around the rock-cut tomb (Sophronius, *Anacr.* 20.19–22; Photius, *Quaest.* 107 2.1–2). It had a conical roof topped with a cross (Photius, *Quaest.* 107 2.2; Hugelerc, *Vit. Will.* 8), over the tomb-chamber itself, which was attached on the eastern side to a porch supported by four columns; from the front, this gave the façade the appearance of a two-pillared (*distylos in antis*) design. The triangular pediment of the façade of the porch was carved into an arch, which allowed one who approached the Edicule to see the radial design above the apse-like niche, or conch, in which the entrance to the tomb chamber was located.<sup>75</sup> There was also latticework on the north and south sides of the porch, the eastern

<sup>72</sup> Additional reconstructions of the 4th century church up can be found in Coüasnon (1974: Fig. 1, 3).

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Cyril, *Catech.* 14.9. In a recent drawing by Theo Mitropoulos of the Technical Office of the Holy Sepulchre (in Moropoulou *et al.* 2017: Fig. 9.1a), the architect suggests that the masons who freed the Tomb of Jesus from the surrounding hillside may have carved the monolith itself into an octagonal shape.

<sup>74</sup> The original Edicule can be seen on a carving on the right side of an ivory casket dating to c. 440 AD (Biddle 1999: 22, no. 1); the Narbonne sculpture mentioned above; a painted wooden lid of a casket of pilgrimage relics dating from the late sixth/early 7th century AD (Biddle 1999: 22, no. 3, Fig. 17); embossed pewter pilgrim-flasks (*ampullae*) dating to the late sixth/early 7th century AD (Fig. 4.19); a pewter medallion dating to the late sixth/early 7th century AD (Biddle 1999: 24, no. 5, Fig. 19); cast glass pilgrim-flasks from the late sixth/early 7th century AD (Biddle 1999: 24, no. 6); impressed pottery pilgrim-flasks dating to the late sixth/early 7th century AD (Corbo 1988: 419–422; Figs. 4, 5; Biddle 1999: 24, no. 7, Fig. 20); a wide variety of pendants, eulogia tokens, seals (see for example Fig. 4.20); a number of gold rings depicting the Edicule atop the bezel dating between the sixth and eighth centuries AD (one was found in the excavations of Benjamin Mazar at the Southern portion of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem; see Meshorer 1986; Eisenstadt 1987; Bahat 1990: 77; Biddle 1999: 24, no. 8, Fig. 21); three mosaics from Jordan, Syria, and Ravenna, respectively, depict the Edicule and date to the fifth/sixth century AD (Biddle 1999: 24, no. 9, p. 26, Figs. 22–23); a marble plaque from a Syrian church’s chancel barrier dating to the sixth to 7th century AD (Biddle 1999: 26, no. 10, Fig. 24); a series of drawings from Adomnán’s *De Locis Sanctis* (Fig. 6.3) dating to the mid to late 7th century AD, as well as other manuscripts (all of Adomnán’s plans are reproduced with discussion in Wilkinson 1977: 195–197, Pls. 5–6; cf. also Biddle 1999: 26, nos. 11–12, Fig. 25; cf. also CSEL 39: 231); and cast representations on bronze censers (Biddle 1999: 26, no. 13, Fig. 26). For additional discussion see Wilkinson 1972: 91–95, Figs. 9–13; Pl XA-B; Véganzones 1990: esp. 575–577; cf. also Osterhout’s (2000) discussion on the 5th century AD Church of Santo Stefano in Bologna, Italy, which was built to replicate the Constantinian edifice in Jerusalem including a Rotunda, an Edicule, a courtyard, and Chapel of Golgotha.

<sup>75</sup> The porch with its columns, the pediment and the radial of the conch can be seen clearly in the impressed





Figure 4.19. Two pewter pilgrim flasks in the Treasury of the Monza Cathedral and Bobbio Abbey in Milan, Italy. These flasks were made in the late sixth/early 7th century AD, probably in Palestine. They feature the façade of the Constantinian Edicule (source: Corbo 1981–1982: Photos 81 and 85, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem; see also Wilkinson 1981: 247; Grabar 1958; Coïiasnon 1974: Pl. VI; Corbo 1981–1982: 73–75, Photos 82–84; Biddle 1999: 22, no. 4, Fig. 18).



Figure 4.20. A eulogia token from the fourth century AD with an image of the Constantinian Edicule on the front. The piece is now on display at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (source: M. Kelley).

side having, apparently, two lattice gates (a *cancellus* or 'screen') admitting entry into the porch and then the tomb.<sup>76</sup> As the height of the tomb-chamber floor was slightly higher than the pavement of the courtyard in which the Edicule was located, it is likely that three steps led up to the porch.<sup>77</sup>

### *The Rotunda (Anastasis) and Its Western Courtyards*

The church was dedicated in 335 AD, two years prior to the death of Constantine. Interestingly, neither Eusebius, in the *Vita Constantini*, dating to c. 337 AD, nor Cyril, writing around 348 AD, mention the Rotunda. This seems to be confirmed in the account of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who visited the site in 333 AD, and noted only that Constantine had built a basilica (*Itin.* 593–594). This rather significant point led Coüasnon (1974: 14–17, Pls. VII, XVII) and Gibson and Taylor (1994: 1, 77) to suggest that the complex was actually constructed in two stages: 1) the decoration of the Edicule, which was the focal point of the complex, and the construction of the Basilica; and 2) the construction of the Rotunda over the Edicule. Construction must have begun on the whole structure, but the Basilica was completed a few years prior to the Rotunda due the more complicated work involved (Coüasnon 1974: 14–17). This left the Edicule in an extension of the open-air courtyard, or Triportico, for a time prior to the completion of the Rotunda (Coüasnon 1974: Pl. VII).<sup>78</sup> It is not until c. 384 AD that we have written record of the presence of the completed Rotunda in the journal of the pilgrim Egeria (*Itin.* 24–49; 6.28). It may be then that the Rotunda was completed under the auspices of Constantine's son, Constantius II (c. 337–361 AD).<sup>79</sup> Gibson and Taylor (1994: 77) suggest further that Constantine never intended to enclose the area with the Rotunda, based on the use of the Hadrianic *favissa* (Chamber 68), located just north of the Edicule, to drain rainwater in the Constantinian open-air courtyard.<sup>80</sup> This, however,

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pilgrim-flasks housed at the Monza and Bobbio Cathedral (Grabar 1958; Coüasnon 1974: Pl. VI; Corbo 1981–1982: 73–75, Photos 81–86; Biddle 1999: 22, no. 4, Fig. 18) as well as the Narbonne model (Wilkinson 1972: 91–97; 1981: Note D, pp. 242–252; Biddle 1999: 22, 207, Figs. 16, 76). For further discussion see Corbo 1981–1982: 71–75; Biddle 1999: 69; and Gibson and Taylor 1994: 77.

<sup>76</sup> Egeria (*Itin.* 24.4–5) refers to this as 'the screen (*cancellus*)' through which she could see the lamp lit within the tomb-chamber.

<sup>77</sup> Regarding the height of the pavement and the floor of the tomb, Corbo (1981–1982: Pl. 10:E) notes that the remains of an older pavement in the northern transept of the church were at a height of 753.10 ASL, the floor of the tomb is 753.30. The current level of the floor in the Rotunda is 753.52. The floor has obviously been built up some over the years, explaining why the visitor now steps down into the Edicule as opposed to stepping up, as one had to do in the original Constantinian edifice.

<sup>78</sup> It seems from Cyril's account of his visit to the tomb, that bedrock was exposed within the courtyard in various places near the tomb (*Catech.* 14.5, discussed above).

<sup>79</sup> Corbo (1981–1982: 51, 227) believed otherwise, noting: '*Dopo un esame di tutte le strutture murarie dell'Anastasis siamo arrivati alla conclusione che un solo programma di costruzione è stato realizzato e questo in un solo tempo. Alla luce di questa analisi architettonica ed archeologica, il testo di Eusebio appare una ottima conferma alla paternità costantiniana dell'Anastasis.*' Bahat (1986: 34–36) agrees with Corbo, though on clearer grounds, pointing out that the Rotunda's construction should be attributed to Constantine who saw and was inspired by the Hadrianic temple situated on the site, which Bahat reconstructs as a round *peristyle* temple (see above). However, *contra* Bahat, it is not clear that the Hadrianic temple was round. And, despite Corbo's assertion that the text of Eusebius '*appare una ottima conferma a alla paternità costantiniana dell'Anastasis,*' the fact that Eusebius does not mention the Rotunda is significant, as is the fact that Egeria's account does clearly include the round structure.

<sup>80</sup> There is a tunnel carved into the bedrock starting in the south that leads to the chamber that was clearly imposed on the earlier chamber (see Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 68, Photo 52; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 77; Fig. 45).

is circumstantial, and one may validly suggest that the Rotunda was part of the original plan, but was finished under Constantius II (Coüasnon 1974: 15). Constantine may very well have been behind the construction of both the main parts of the church—Basilica and Rotunda—but, based on the fact that the Rotunda is missing from the earliest literary sources, it seems that the Rotunda was not completed before 337 AD. Beyond this there is little more that can be said.

The interior of the present-day Rotunda is surrounded by ten columns and three pairs of pilasters, though the structure originally contained twelve columns,<sup>81</sup> as noted in Adomnán's account (*De Loc. Sanct.* 1.2.4).<sup>82</sup> It is generally agreed upon that the two present-day columns, Columns 2 and 3 (Fig. 4.16:C2–3), that one encounters just upon entering the Rotunda from the present-day northern ambulatory, were once one complete column measuring about 7.15 meters in height that was sawn in two (the marks of which were visible to the excavators prior to the restoration<sup>83</sup>) at some point in the early history of the church (Coüasnon 1974: Pl. XI; Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 3:65, 66).<sup>84</sup> In Coüasnon's (1974: 31) view the height of the Constantinian Rotunda was reflected in the height of the original column made by combining Columns 2 and 3, which, when combined with the height of the plinth (1.7 meters)<sup>85</sup> and the capital (1.12 meters)<sup>86</sup> would have created a distance between the floor and the architrave measuring some 10.05 meters. In addition to this, the 4th century masonry of the western ambulatory of the church, the great semi-circular conch with its three apses, is preserved on its external side up to a height of 11 meters, having survived the destruction of the church in 1009 AD. Coüasnon (1974: 31) makes the case that the entablature, which was destroyed in 1009, was just above this preserved masonry. When the Rotunda was restored in the 11th century it was built half the size of its original height

<sup>81</sup> There are two numbering systems in use in the literature to designate the 12 columns of the Byzantine church. Coüasnon (1974: Pl. XI) numbers them 1–12 while Corbo (1981–1982: Pl. 3) numbers the columns and pilasters by their archaeological loci, as 50–67. For the sake of convenience here, the columns will be referred to by Coüasnon's system, and cross-referenced with Corbo's loci where necessary.

<sup>82</sup> Columns 1 (north) and 12 (south) of the Constantinian church (Fig. 4.16:C1, 12) where there are currently double-columns, once supported columns parallel to the other 4th century columns in the Rotunda. The change to the double-columns occurred, according to Coüasnon (1974: 28–29) in the 11th century restorations of the church. This was evident in the excavations under the double-columns, 1 and 12, which revealed foundation stones from the 4th century AD, whose load bearing surface had been altered. There were originally four groups of three columns supporting the Rotunda.

<sup>83</sup> Coüasnon 1974: 31. Upon visual and physical inspection of present-day Column 2, I was not able to see the saw marks, but the columns have been restored considerably since the excavations (see for example Coüasnon 1974: Pl. XVIII).

<sup>84</sup> Coüasnon (1974:31, Pl. XIX) demonstrates this by listing the dimensions of the columns, these are also listed in Corbo (1981–1982: 70; Pl. 21): Column 2 (the lower part of the original column)—diam. at the base of the plinth, 1.17 meters; diam. above, 1.12 meters; diam. at the top, 1.11 meters; height, 3.54 meters. Column 3 (upper part of the original column)—diam. at the base, 1.1 meters; diam. above 1.03 meters; diam. at the upper band, 1.09 meters; height, 3.60 meters. Moreover, when the columns were freed of their masonry supports during the restoration of the church it was evident that Column 2 had a fillet astragal with two projections at the top, while the top of Column 3 had no molding on its neck below the capital, but did have a plain plinth carved at its base.

<sup>85</sup> The plinth of Column 3, which appears to date to the 4th century AD was discovered during excavations (Coüasnon 1974: 28–29).

<sup>86</sup> The height of the original capital, which is no longer extant, was determined by Coüasnon (1974: 31) based on the original capitals of the columns in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem which stand as high as the columns' diameter at the top.

and the columns were reduced. Since Columns 2 and 3 were the only ones to survive the fire of 1808, it is assumed that they were original to the edifice. Corbo (1981–1982: 69–71, 224; Pl. 21) on the other hand, while in agreement that Columns 2 and 3 were originally one, interprets the historical circumstances differently from Coüasnon. Because a height of 7.15 meters is unusual among the columns of other churches of this period, Corbo believes that the builders of the original Rotunda employed six columns from the façade of the Hadrianic temple of the 2nd century AD, cut them in half, and used them to make up the twelve columns of the Rotunda. In Corbo's view the original Rotunda would have had an upper gallery, probably similar to what exists today. Coüasnon's Rotunda with much larger columns would not have included an upper gallery (Coüasnon 1974: 32). Gibson and Taylor (1994: 77), seemingly in agreement with Corbo, note 'it is likely that the Anastasis was not especially high or imposing.'<sup>87</sup> What can be said for certain is that the Rotunda was originally built with twelve supporting columns and three pairs of pilasters, though the height of the Rotunda and the original columns remains in question.<sup>88</sup>

It seems that the Rotunda was completed after the church proper, which consisted of the Basilica and the open air pillared courtyard in which the Rock of Golgotha was located to the south, just to the west of the Basilica, and the Edicule to the west. With the completion of the Rotunda, a wall oriented north-south was added with six doorways (Fig. 4.16:24–25), which combined with the two entries (Fig. 4.16:26–27) on the northern and southern sides of this wall make up the eight doors described in Adomnán's account (*De Loc. Sanct.* 1.2.5) (see the discussion in Coüasnon 1974: 32–35, Fig. 5).

In the series of rooms to the northwest of the Rotunda, the ancient Patriarchion, currently the monastery of the Franciscans, there were storerooms, cisterns and two olive press installations (Fig. 4.16:28; see also Corbo 1981–1982: 125–126, 131–137, 227; Photos 124–126; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 77, Fig. 45.8). The olive presses would have been used to produce sacred oil for visiting pilgrims, and also for the more mundane tasks of lighting lamps around the complex (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 77).

### ***The 'Triportico' and the Basilica***

After Constantine decorated the tomb, creating the Edicule, Eusebius says that he decorated the western open-air courtyard, located directly to the east of the Edicule by 'laying bright stone upon the ground' and surrounding it with 'long porticoes on three sides,' (*Vit. Const.* 3.35) (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 73). Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* 3.36–38) then describes the Basilica as a very large structure with two rows of double-porticoes (i.e. one in the north and one on the south) with an upper and lower section, forming a broad central nave. Between the row of double-porticoes on the north and south side was another portico with a row of ornate columns, which resulted in four side aisles, two on the north and two on the south. On the east of the structure were the three entranceways and to the west was the apse

<sup>87</sup> Gibson and Taylor do not discuss the issue of the columns and their height.

<sup>88</sup> Both Coüasnon (1974: 29; Pl. XI) and Corbo (1981–1982: 69, 224; Pl. 18) agree that the pilasters were part of the original arrangement of the Rotunda. Corbo (1981–1982: 224) notes that the interaction between Pilasters 63 and 64 (on the north; Coüasnon's Pilasters M) with the Hadrianic underground chamber (Chamber 68 or the *favissa*) shows that they are to be dated to the Constantinian construction.

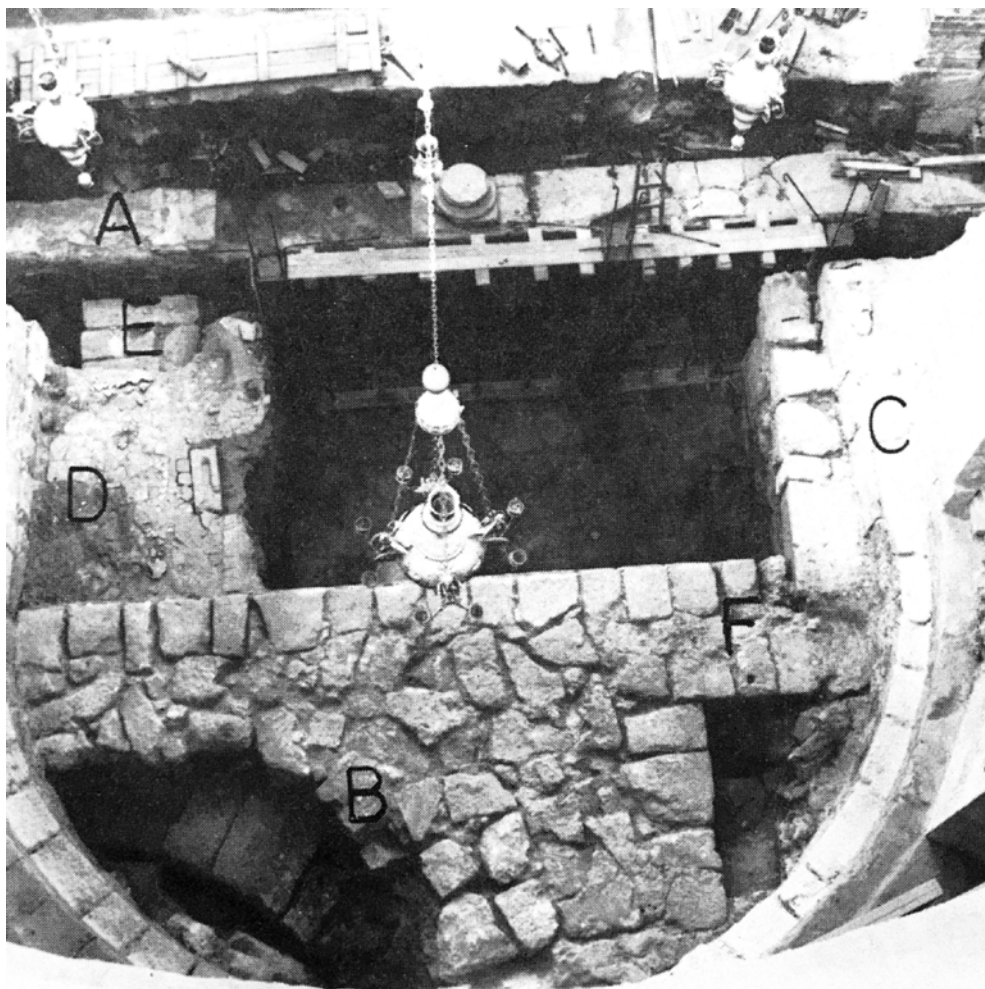


Figure 4.21. Excavations in the Katholikon of the of the present-day church that revealed remains of the Constantinian Triportico and Basilica: A) eastern stylobate of the Constantinian Triportico, B) apse of the Basilica, C) apse of the 12th century Chorus Dominorum, D) remains of the 11th century pavement of the Triportico, E) east-west wall dating to the Late Roman Period (source: Corbo 1981–1982: Photo 88, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem).

(Fig. 4.21) above which was a dome (*hēmisphairion*), which ‘extended to the highest part of the royal house. Twelve columns crowned it ... These were adorned at the tops with great bowls made of silver, which the emperor himself provided’ (*Vit. Const.* 3.38) (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 73).

The Basilica of the 4th century AD can be reconstructed with a good deal of accuracy due to the many extant architectural features. The structure was 58.5 meters long and 40.5 meters wide. Older plans of the church, prior to the excavations showed the axis of the entire edifice as continuous from the westernmost apse in the Rotunda to the stairs of the

entrance on the east (Coüasnon 1974: 2). The excavations, especially those that took place in the Chapel of St. Vartan demonstrated that the axis of the Basilica was slightly south of the axis of the Rotunda; this was based on the discovery of Wall 4 in the excavation area. Wall 4, as noted above, is the foundation wall of the stylobate of the Basilica that supported the northern double-portico. The axis of the Basilica is, therefore, in line with the Crusader period Chapel of St. Helena. This is essentially the key to the reconstruction of the Basilica because the width of the central nave would match the current Crusader chapel, which measures 13.3 meters.<sup>89</sup>

Other architectural features of the Basilica have been unearthed that aid in its reconstruction. The foundation of the apse of the Basilica was discovered in 1971 by Economopoulos underneath the Katholikon (Fig. 4.16:29) (Coüasnon 1974: 41, Pl. XXb; Corbo 1981–1982: 104–107, Photos 87–88; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 74–76). Katsimbini and Fernandez (Katsimbini 1977: 209, Pl. C) located the western extension of the southern stylobate walls just to the east of the Rock of Golgotha in the Canons' Refectory, which included a portion of the north-south face of the Basilica (Fig. 4.16:30; 4.19: M; 4.20: M) and two c. 10 meter segments of the east-west stylobate walls (Figs. 4.13:30; 4.19: N, L; 4.20: L) (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 76, 81–83, Figs. 41:5–7, 43:14; cf. also Coüasnon 1974: 42 and Corbo 1981–1982: 97–99, 101). It seems that another section of the southern inner stylobate was found by the Coptic church during excavations in 1835<sup>90</sup> as well as underneath the Chapel of the Ethiopians (Spyridon 1938: 124–125; Coüasnon 1974: 42). The eastern wall of the Basilica consisted of four wall segments and three doorways spaced equally apart, the largest being the central opening (Fig. 4.16:18–20). These doors corresponded to the three doorways permitting entrance to the complex. The central door allowed visitors to pass into the central nave, while the northern and southern entrances allowed passage to the innermost side aisles. The eastern wall with its doorways was angled slightly to the northwest, due to the need to align it with the western wall of the Basilica, and indeed, the central doorway was aligned with the apse of the Basilica (Coüasnon 1974: 45). A portion of this wall was found attached to the earlier section (Fig. 4.16:23), dated to the 2nd century by Corbo (1981–1982: 116), that was reused as the southern wall of the eastern atrium.

The Basilica was built over a podium set upon a rubble fill like the 2nd century *temenos* built by Hadrian. The topographical irregularities of the old quarry would not have sufficed to build the church on. This explains the large staircase depicted on the Madaba Map (Figs. 4.13, 15:1), which people would have had to ascend to enter the church. It is evident from the excavations carried out by Katsimbini and Fernandez (1977: Pl. C; see also Gibson and Taylor 1994: Fig. 41.5) that the floor level of the Basilica was almost as high as the top of the

<sup>89</sup> This is discussed in some detail in Coüasnon 1974: 41–44; see also Corbo 1981–1982: 111–113. The measurements cited here are those of Gibson and Taylor (1994: 76). Coüasnon (1974: 41) has a 20-centimeter difference of 13.5 meters.

<sup>90</sup> This notation comes from the journal of a Coptic monk Neophytos who noted that while the Copts were 'digging over the Cave of the Invention of the Holy Cross, ... found the remains of the walls of a big church, built of large stones dressed in a regal fashion. Underneath the altar they came upon a large cistern, half cut into the rock and half built of stone' (Spyridon 1938: 124–125). This cistern probably corresponds to that in Schick's (1885: Pl. VII) plan of the church (see also the discussion in Gibson and Taylor 1994: 76). This wall seems to correspond to Corbo's Wall 304 (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 3), though a correlation with the events of 1835 is not made by Corbo.

Rock of Golgotha (Fig. 4.23). If one was standing in the Basilica facing the Rock of Golgotha, one would have seen the rock protrusion of about 1.5 meters. The level of the Basilica floor must have been some 2.5 meters above the bedrock floor at the level of the Edicule (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 76).<sup>91</sup>

As a side note, it should be pointed out that on older plans of the Basilica, such as that of Vincent and Abel (1914: Pl. XXXIII; see also Duckworth 1922: 124–127), the Chapel of St. Helena and the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross are seen as being a part of the 4th century complex. It was noted above on the discussion of the excavations in the Chapel of St. Vartan, that the clearance of this area probably did not happen in antiquity until the destruction of the Basilica in 1009 AD. After this time, the area was cleared and the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross was established in a cave cut into the rock by Iron Age quarrying. Later this spot was turned into the Chapel of St. Helena in the 12th century during the Crusader modifications of the church. From the 2nd–4th centuries AD, this area was under the paved podiums of Hadrian, and then of Constantine (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 4; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 23, 76; cf. also Coüasnon 1974: 41, Pl. VIII:11).

### *The Atrium and Propylaea*

Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* 3.39) describes the construction of the easternmost pillared courtyard into which people would enter after having gone up the stairs from the colonnaded *Cardo Maximus*, and through one of the three entrances of the complex (Fig. 4.16:22). The entrance courtyard was trapezoid in shape due to the angle of the inner entrance wall to the northwest, and the alignment of the façade with the *Cardo Maximus*, which dictated a slight angle to the northeast. Two of the entrances to the complex were found and studied in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—the large central doorway located in the back of the pastry shop Zalatimo Sweets and the southern doorway in the Russian Hospice (Clermont-Ganneau 1899: 89–94; Vincent and Abel 1914: 40–88, Pls. III–X; Coüasnon 1974: 44–46, Pl. XXIIa; Corbo 1981–1982: 226; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 74).<sup>92</sup>

### *The Baptistery*

The Madaba Map depicts a series of buildings to the southwest of the Basilica, which are thought to make up the Baptistery (Fig. 4.18:2) (Avi-Yonah 1954: 54, Fig. 12:9; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 77–78).<sup>93</sup> It has been suggested, without gaining much acceptance, that these

<sup>91</sup> This height is determined by fact that the foundation walls of the Basilica known mainly from the excavations in the Chapel of St. Vartan, and on the eastern side of the Rock of Golgotha, stood some 10–13 meters above the ancient quarry floor.

<sup>92</sup> Note that Gibson and Taylor (1994: 76–77) suggest that Wall 6 within the Chapel of St. Vartan was probably the foundation wall of the Basilica's façade, as both the section within the Russian Hospice and Wall 6 seem to correspond (see also Corbo 1981–1982: 111).

<sup>93</sup> Corbo (1981–1982: 132–134, 227–228; Pl. 3, 21:1; 1988: 412) on the other hand had in mind a different area, noting that Area 116 in the northeastern section of the rooms on the northwest side of the Rotunda was likely the spot for baptismal liturgy. This is based in part on the presence of a Greek inscription in the area which includes the words in uncials: *phōnē k[urio]u tōn u datōn* 'The voice of the Lord over the waters' (Ps 29:3); and a baptismal font that had been in the area for several centuries (now on display in the Museum of the Flagellation in the Old City of Jerusalem).

buildings were originally a part of a tripartite bath-house from the 2nd century Hadrianic public forum (Coüasnon 1974: 48; Avi-Yonah 1954: 54), a view, which Gibson and Taylor (1994: 78) point out, has little archaeological support. The Bordeaux Pilgrim describes the presence of two cisterns 'at the side (*ad latus*)' of the Basilica from which water is drawn, and a place for baptism (*et balneum a tergo*) (*Itin.* 594; Wilkinson 1981: 158). In the itinerary of Egeria, she says that following baptism, converts were led immediately into the Rotunda (*Itin.* 47.2). It is likely, given the data from the Madaba Map, the literary sources, and the presence of two cisterns to the south of the church (Fig. 3.8:10–11), that this is the location of the Baptistery.

### *The Chapel of Golgotha*

Adomnán includes in his account that a large church (*pergrandis ecclesia*) was built over the monolith thought to be Golgotha. Enclosed within this space was a large silver cross fixed into the rock, where it was thought that the wooden cross upon which Jesus was crucified once stood (*De Loc. Sanct.* 1.5.1–2). Archaeologically, it is clear that the area around the Rock of Golgotha was first developed as a church during the minor repairs and modifications

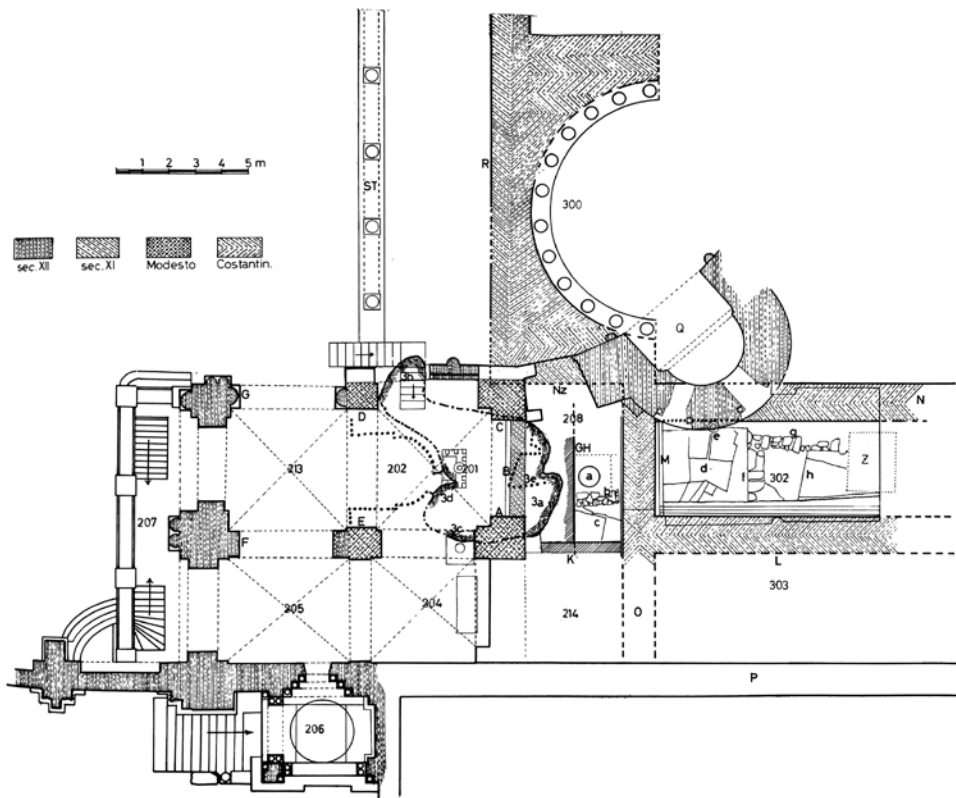


Figure 4.22. Ground plan of the Chapel of Golgotha and the excavations of Katsimbini east of the Rock of Golgotha (source: Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 40, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem; cf. Katsimbini 1977: Pls. A–B).



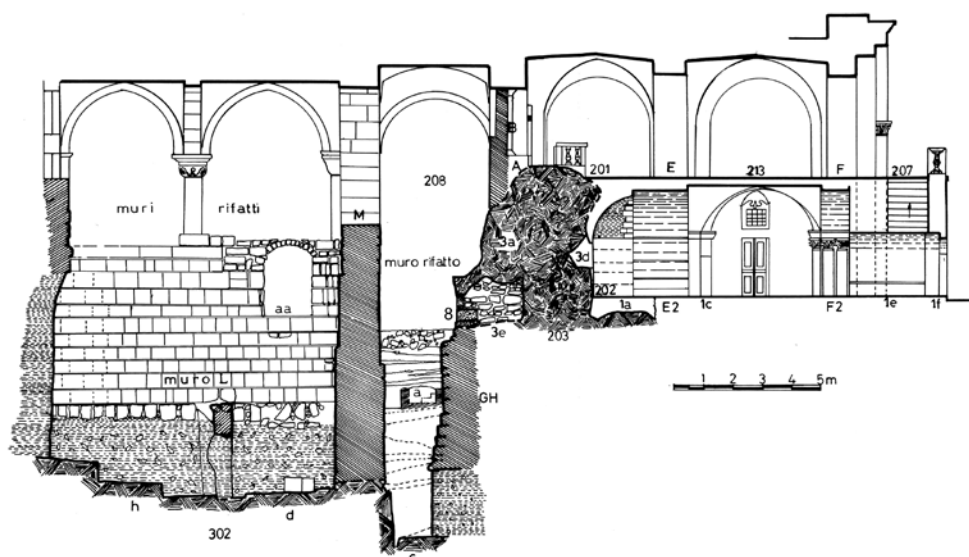


Figure 4.23. Section of the excavations behind the Rock of Golgotha (looking south) (source Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 41, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem; cf. also Katsimbini 1977: Pl. C).

done in the 7th century AD under Bishop Modestus of Jerusalem (Corbo 1981–1982: 92–101, esp. pp. 98–100, Pl. 40, 45, Photos 91–101; cf. also Coüasnon 1974: 50; Katsimbini 1977; Bagatti and Testa 1978: 33–40; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 80). The rock was situated partially within a ciborium supported by four pilasters (Fig. 4.22: A, C, D, E), which were discovered in the excavations. The present-day arches of the Church of Golgotha were likely a part of that ancient structure and demonstrate the height, about 4 meters, to which the arched cover would have stood (Corbo 1981–1982: 98–100).<sup>94</sup> The ciborium, standing some 9–10 meters above the floor of the Triportico, would have been an impressive sight for someone standing on this lower level. The Church of Golgotha was expanded westward in the 12th century during the Crusader modifications (cf. Fig. 4.22: F, G), bringing the chapel to its present form (Corbo 1981–1982: 203–204; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 83).

The fissure on the eastern side of the Rock of Golgotha, discovered in the 1977 excavations of Katsimbini and Fernandez is mentioned for the first time in an interesting observation in Adomnán's account (*De Loc. Sanct.* 1.5.2):

‘There is a cave in this Church [of Golgotha], cut into the rock below the place of the Lord's Cross, where there is an altar on which the Sacrifice is offered for the souls of certain privileged men. Their bodies are laid in the court in front of the door of this Church of Golgotha (*Golgothanae ecclesiae*) until the Holy Mysteries for the Dead are completed’ (Wilkinson 1977: 97).

<sup>94</sup> There is no archaeological support for Coüasnon's (1974: 50–53) reconstruction of a 4th century Church of Golgotha (see Gibson and Taylor 1994: 78–83).

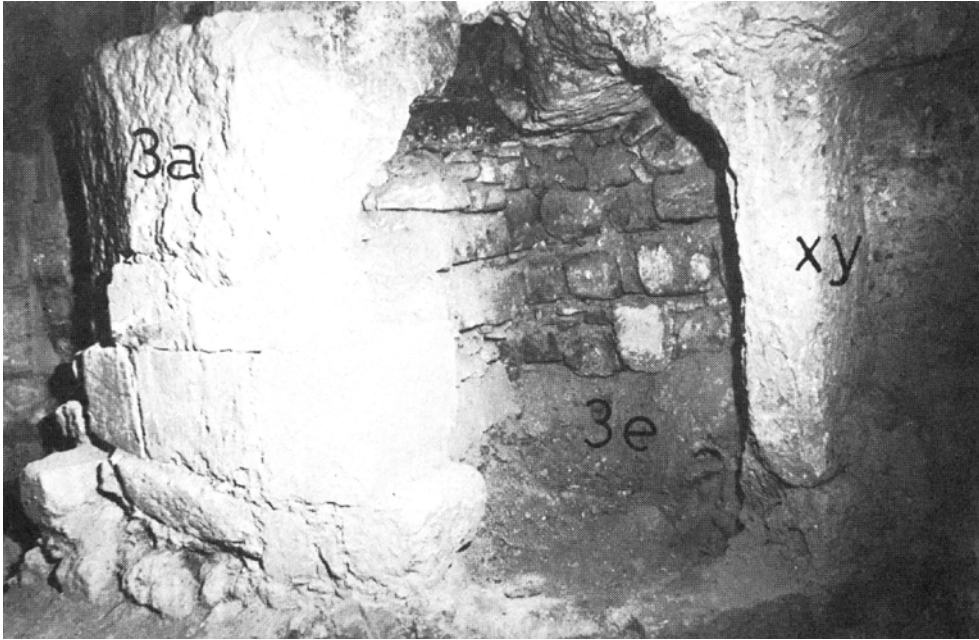


Figure 4.24. Small cave cut in the eastern flank of the Rock of Golgotha (source: Corbo 1981–1982: Photo 93, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem).

This is the first mention in the historical literature of this feature of the rock. The space behind the rock, created by the western wall of the Basilica (Figs. 4.19–20) was only 2.5–3 meters broad and 6–7 meters long, and the fissure in the rock is c. 2 meters high x 1.5 meters wide (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 83). This data indicates that probably only one person conducted the sacrifice for the dead here. Though it does not aid in reconstructing the Church of Golgotha proper, the important thing to note here is that by at least the 7th century AD, there was a supplementary room to the east of Church of Golgotha that led behind the monolith.

All of this seems to have come as a result of the repairs and modifications done to the church following the damage the church sustained in 614 AD, during the Persian invasion. Prior to this, the excavations of Katsimbini, Fernandez, and others, demonstrated that the fissure in the east side of the Rock of Golgotha was blocked up, most likely in the 2nd century with a (retaining?) wall extending almost to bedrock (Fig. 4.23:GH) (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 82–83, Fig. 41:3)<sup>95</sup> and partially removed in the 4th century, at which time a new wall (Wall 8) was added (Fig. 4.23:8) (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 82–83, Fig. 41:8; Corbo 1981–1982: 99, Pls. 45, Photos 93, 94).<sup>96</sup> During the restoration of the church in the 7th

<sup>95</sup> Corbo (1981–1982: 101) believes Wall G-H (Corbo 1981–1982: Pls. 40–41, Photos 91, 92) to be Constantinian based on his view that it is parallel to Wall 5 (Corbo 1981–1982: Photos 91, 92, 95, 96, 98, 99), which is clearly Constantinian. Gibson and Taylor (1994: 82) date Wall 3 on the basis of its masonry which consists of ‘finely-finished stones and dry construction.’

<sup>96</sup> Gibson and Taylor’s (1994: Fig. 41:8) Wall 8 is not distinguished in the plans of Katsimbini (1977: Plan C) or Corbo (1981–1982: Pl. 41).

century AD, Wall 8 was breached by those engaged in restoring the church, perhaps to see what was behind it, and the fissure in the rock was revealed again.<sup>97</sup> This time it was left open, enlarged, and made into a holy site, apparently due to the growing speculation about the burial of biblical Adam at Golgotha (Fig. 4.24) (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 57, 59, 83; see Origen's *Comm. in Matt.* 126, **8.10**).<sup>98</sup> This series of events resulted in the 'cave' which the bishop Arculf saw and reported to Adomnán. The 'Chapel of Adam' was transferred to its current location on the western side of the Rock of Golgotha, probably during the repairs of 1809–1810 when the 12th century burials of the Crusader rulers Godfrey de Bouillon and Baldwin I were removed by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate (Murphy-O'Connor 2008: 55–56.).

### The Destruction of the Constantinian Edifice in the 11th century AD

In 614 AD, Jerusalem was taken by the Persian army under the Sassanid king Khosrau II *Parvez* ('the ever victorious') and numerous churches were set ablaze including Constantine's edifice, which caused some damage, but mainly only the destruction of the lead roof of the Rotunda (Coüasnon 1974: 15–16). Some repairs were conducted by the Abbot of St. Theodosius, Modestus, which, as noted several times above, resulted in minor modifications to the church. Twenty-four years after the sacking of the city by Khosrau, Jerusalem surrendered to Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab. Umar, however, took the city peaceably, granting protection to its inhabitants, in return for their loyalty.<sup>99</sup> The church went undamaged at this time, though in 810, an earthquake damaged the superstructure, and in 966, the church was damaged during local riots. It should be noted too, that it was in the 10th century that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was first mentioned in Islamic historiography, in the work of al-Mas'udi in 943 AD (Le Strange 1890: 202). The church was referred to by al-Mas'udi and later Muslim historians, as *Kanisah al-Qumamah*, or *Kumamah*, a play on the Arabic *al-Qiyamah*, 'resurrection,' which can be translated as 'Church of the Sweepings' (*qamamah*) or 'Church of the Dunghill' (*kamamah*) a reference to the fact that it was built over an area of refuse used as an execution site (Le Strange 1890: 202; **7.1, 13, 15, 21**).

In the early 11th century, in 1009, with tensions high between Muslims and non-Muslims, the Fatimid caliph, al-Hakim mandated the demolition of Jewish and Christian places of worship (**6.46**). This was one of the first dramatic expressions of anti-Christian sentiment on the part of the Islamic authorities of Palestine, who had, up to that point, been fairly tolerant of Jews and Christians. At the behest of the caliph, Constantine's monument to the death and resurrection of Jesus was, for all practical purposes, completely destroyed. Much

<sup>97</sup> Corbo (1988: 417–418; cf. also Fernandez 1984: 34) suggested recently that the cave was used in the 2nd century in the cult of the goddess, worshipped at the site. Gibson and Taylor (1994: 71, 83) argue that this is unlikely due to the archaeological data which indicates that the fissure in the rock was covered in the 2nd century and not revealed fully until the 7th century AD. This is the view taken in the present study.

<sup>98</sup> Adam's burial under Golgotha is based on the Christian appropriation of the Jewish tradition of the first man's burial at Mt. Moriah (typically associated with the Temple Mount, cf. 2 Chr 3:1), and loosely on the writings of Paul (e.g. Rom 5:14–15; 1 Cor 15:22, 45).

<sup>99</sup> In fact, the Patriarch of Alexandria, Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq; c. 877–940 AD) includes an account in his *Annals* (PG 111: 1099) in which Umar prays in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as the guest of Bishop Sophronius of Jerusalem, who had surrendered the city to him.

of the upper and eastern portions of the Rotunda were torn down, though the western ambulatory was left standing up to a height of 11 meters. The Edicule, as noted above, was nearly wiped out completely, except for portions of the north and south walls of the rock-cut tomb itself (Fig. 4.10–11) (Biddle 1999: 114–116; Agraphiotis *et al.* 2017; Moropoulou *et al.* 2017: 248–249, Fig. 9.1). Nevertheless, as the above analysis has shown, much of the substructure of the Basilica was left intact allowing scholars to understand and reconstruct its original layout.

### The Reconstruction of the Church in the 11th century, 1012–1048 AD

A much smaller edifice than Constantine I's great church was established in the 11th century (Fig. 4.25). The restoration is traditionally understood to have been completed under the auspices of Constantine IX 'Monomachus' (1042–1055 AD). Caliph al-Hakim, for unknown reasons, allowed Jews and Christians to rebuild their houses of worship in 1020, only a few years after he had ordered their destruction. It would appear that repairs on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre began locally at this time, as evidenced by the content of the pilgrimage accounts made between 1012 and 1035 (Biddle 1999: 76). Official restoration under the auspices of the Roman empire seems to have begun under Romanos III (1028–1034 AD), and was completed by Michael IV, the Paphlagonian (1034–1041 AD).<sup>100</sup> Persian pilgrim Nasir-i-Khosrau, who recorded his observations on the Holy Sepulchre in 1047, seemingly saw the church in a state of complete repair (*Diary* 59–61; 7.1). It might, therefore, be more accurate to say that repairs in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were finalized under Constantine IX, the successor of Michael IV.

The changes made to the overall layout of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the 11th century are important for understanding the later changes made by the Crusaders, and, subsequently, the present form of the church (Corbo 1981–1982: 145–181, 229–231, Pls. 4–5). It remains unclear what the two phases of reconstruction entailed. Biddle (1999: 80) speculates that the first phase may have included much of the repairs while the second phase included embellishment and decoration, or, that the imperial work involved some of the more technical repairs such as reroofing the Rotunda. It is clear, however, that repairs involved the reconstruction of the Rotunda and the Edicule, as well as the modification of the Triportico to accommodate several new chapels and a new entrance (Coüasnon 1974: 54–57; Corbo 1981–1982: 139–181, 229–231).

<sup>100</sup> John Skylitzes, in his 11th century *Chronicle*, notes that Romanos III petitioned Caliph al-Zahir for permission to rebuild the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and that the work was begun under Romanos III and completed by Michael IV after Romanos's death in 1034. Yahya ibn-Sa'id's account of Caliph al-Zahir's treaty with Romanos III seems to agree with Skylitzes's account. The attribution of the restoration to Constantine IX is due to the work of 12th century historian William of Tyre, which according to Biddle (1999: 79), may be due to the fact that William, writing over a century after the restoration of the church, was given a date that he knew fell into the reign of Constantine IX, and consequently assumed that Constantine was responsible for the work. Biddle (1999: 79), therefore, maintains that the earlier sources are to be relied upon. In addition to this, Ousterhout (1989) discerned two styles of construction in the 11th century remains of the church, which he attributed to two distinct, but contemporary, teams of engineers. It may be that the distinct styles are due to two phases of construction—one local, between 1012 and 1023, and one imperial, between c. 1037 and c. 1040 (Biddle 1999: 79).

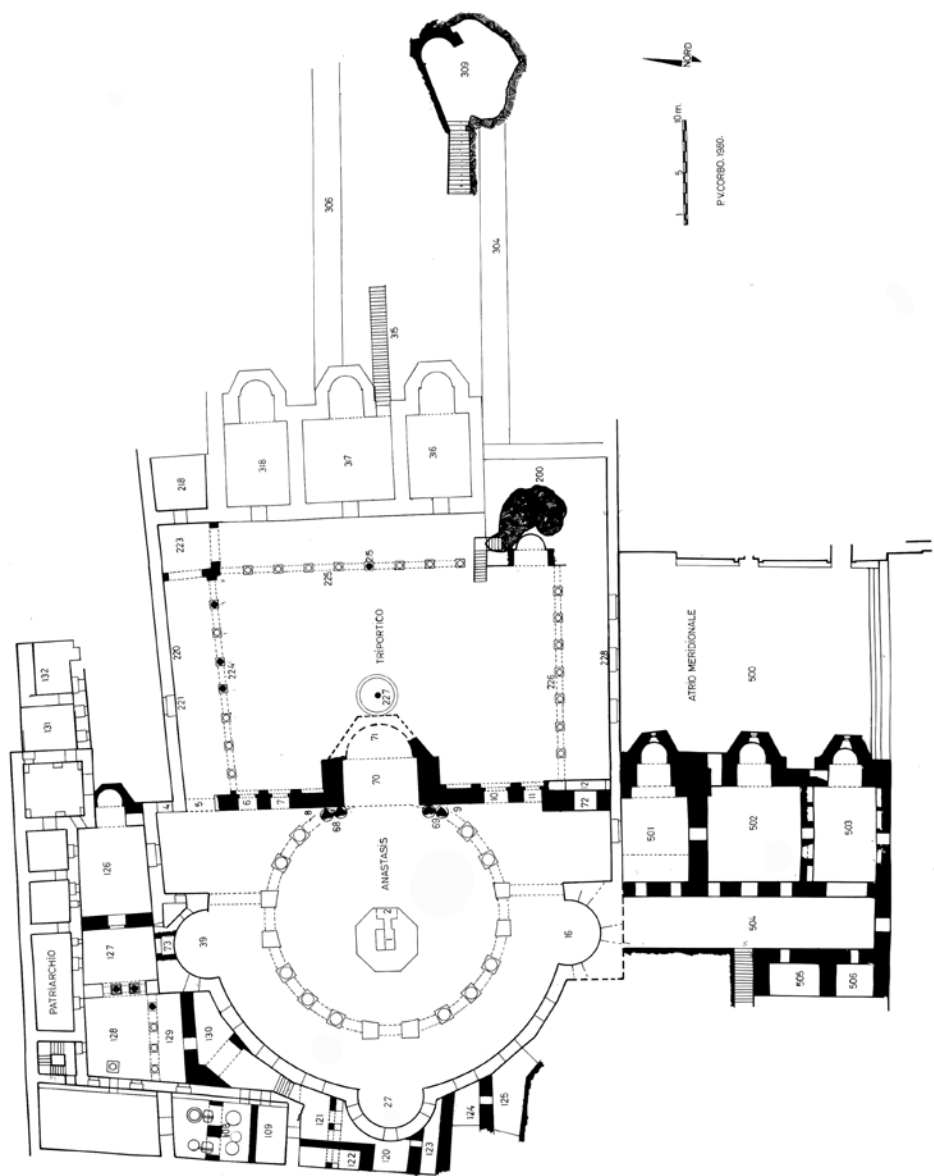


Figure 4.25. Plan of the 11th century church following the repairs of 1020–1048 (source: Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 4, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem).

The reconstruction of the church dictated the shape that the structure would take in the 11th century under the rule of the Crusaders, and consequently, its present form. With the reconstruction of the eastern section of the Rotunda, a new apse was added giving the Anastasis the appearance of a church instead of a Roman mausoleum (Coüasnon 1974: Pl. XXV). A chapel devoted to Mary was added to structures north of the Rotunda (Fig. 4.25:126). The Basilica was evidently damaged to the point that it was not worth reconstructing, but with the destruction of the Basilica, the church lost its main entrance. The 11th century engineers established a new entrance along the southern wall of the Triportico (Fig. 4.25:228) along with a courtyard (or *parvis*) bordered by three chapels on the western side, the area of the Constantinian Baptistery (Fig. 4.25:500–503). The eastern wall of the Triportico was remodeled into a series of three chapels (Fig. 4.25:316–318), that today are covered by Crusader masonry, and are, therefore, known to us only from the historical sources (Patrich 2016: 156–157). The function of the three chapels was likely the commemoration of Jesus' imprisonment and sufferings before being taken to the cross, which were remodeled by the Crusaders to fit the rounded ambulatory (Corbo 1981–1982: 165).<sup>101</sup> The southeastern extremities of the ancient quarry, once filled with rubble and earth to sustain the pavement of the *temenos* of Hadrian, and then the Basilica of Constantine, was cleared to create the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross (Fig. 4.25:309; see Ch. 8 for further discussion). The interior of the holy tomb chamber was, for the first time, covered in marble cladding to conceal the damage done by the agents of al-Hakim, a feature that remains to this day (Biddle 1999: 85–86).

### The Restoration of the Church in the Period of the Crusaders, 1099–1187 AD

When the Crusaders finally captured Jerusalem in mid-July of 1099, their first priority was to worship in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Crusaders entered the Holy Sepulchre of Byzantine tradition. It was made up, mainly, of the original Rotunda, and the Triportico with the modifications of Romanos III, Michael IV, and, possibly, Constantine IX. The Crusaders undertook the task of bringing all the key components of the church under one roof, thus creating a unified church, the *Ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri*, focused on the holy tomb itself (Fig. 4.27). Presumably, the Crusaders wanted to transform the Church of the Holy Sepulchre back into a grand edifice, a project made possible in part by the fact that the city of Jerusalem, and Christendom's holiest site, were now back under Christian control.

The Crusaders began work on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the early 12th century, following the general plan established during the repairs of the 11th century (Fig. 4.26) (Corbo 1981–1982: 193–209, 233–235). Crusader engineers beautified the façade of the church's entryway with ornate lintels, stonework, and windows (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 48). The five-story Campanile (Fig. 4.26:540) that abuts the building on the northwest corner of the *parvis* was added after the façade was completed (Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 51). The Crusaders removed the 11th century apse from the Rotunda to allow entrance from the Rotunda into

<sup>101</sup> The author of the *Qualiter sita est civitas Ierusalem*, writing around 1090, notes that 'On the left of Mount Calvary is a prison; and near the prison on the left side is the pillar to which the Lord was bound' (PPTS 3e: 12–13; 7.2). The same thing is indicated by Saewulf (*Relatio*; 7.3) and the Russian abbot Daniel (*Zhytye* XII–XIII; 7.4). Daniel also adds that the Altar of Abraham, commemorating Abraham's test of faith by the deity (Gen 22:1–18), was located in this area of the church.

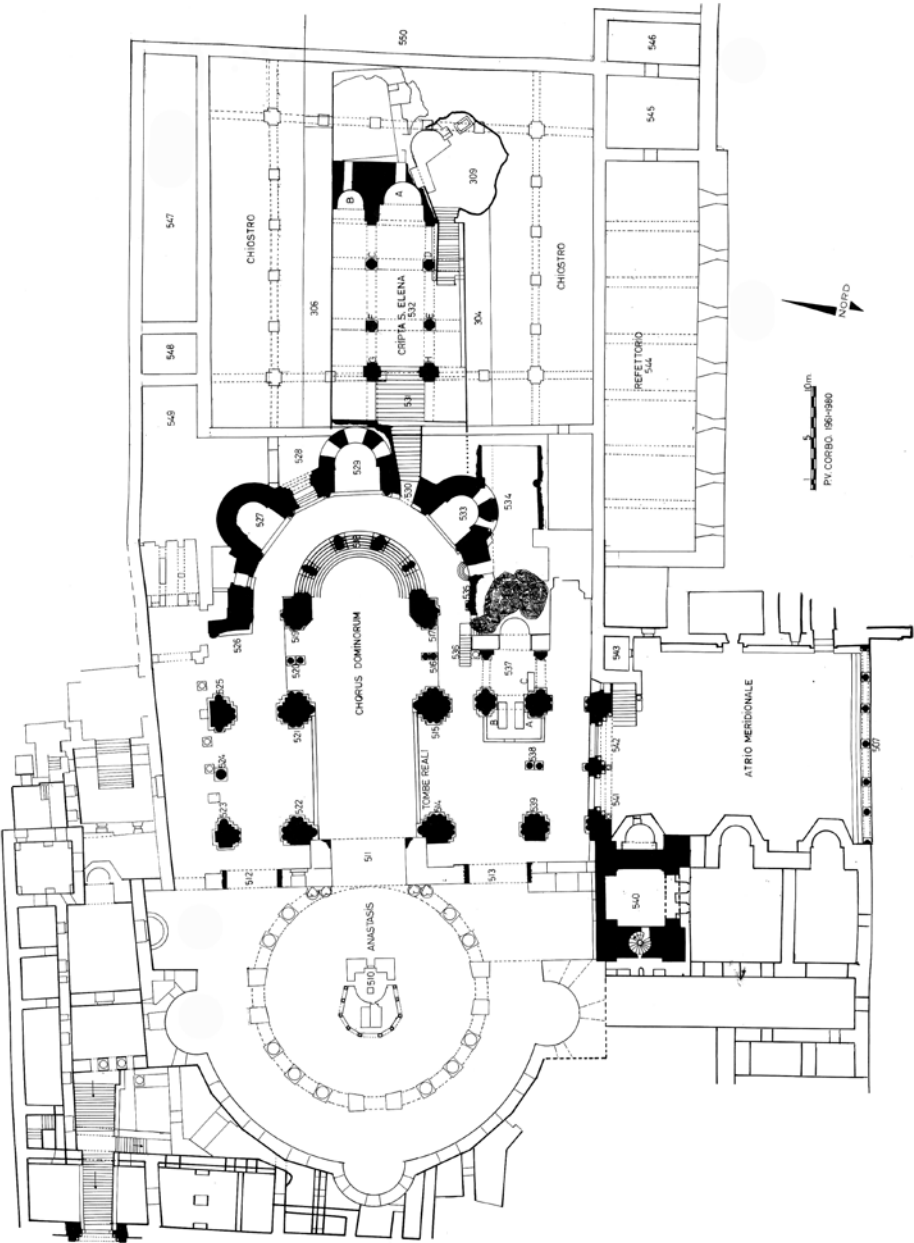


Figure 4.26. Plan of the Crusader church (source: Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 6, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem).

the Chorus Dominorum, the choir of the church (Fig. 4.26:511). The semicircular eastern wall of the choir became the new apse (Fig. 4.26:518). The choir was bordered on the outside by an ambulatory from which one could access three small, semicircular chapels (Fig. 4.26:527, 529, 533), and the subterranean Church of St. Helena in which the northern foundation wall of the Constantinian Martyrium was put to secondary use (Fig. 4.26:532). The choir was roofed by a dome supported by a two-story vaulted structure, the pillars of which created northern and southern transepts with the piers of the choir (Fig. 4.26:514–515, 538–539, 521–525). The Rock of Golgotha was incorporated into the church proper with the establishment of a two-story chapel made up of the Chapel of Adam on the ground level and Calvary above (Figs. 4.22; 27:537, 543). In the area of Constantine's Basilica, the Crusaders built the monastery of the Canons, living quarters for the Augustinian Priory of the Holy Sepulchre (Fig. 4.26:544–550). Below this complex was the Chapel of St. Helena.

It is evident that the the Crusaders adorned the inside of the Tomb of Jesus with mosaics, but beyond this, it is difficult to say with any certainty what restoration, if any, took place at this time. It has long been thought, at least since the work of Vincent and Abel (1914: 263, n. 2), that the Crusaders rebuilt the Edicule and its cupola, a project supposedly undertaken by a Bolognese architect named Renghiero Renghieri in 1119. Biddle (1999: 89–91) argues, convincingly, that there is little evidence to show that a Crusader rebuild of the Edicule took place, and attributes the misconception to an oversight in Vincent and Abel's use of Giovanni Mariti's 1790 historical text on Jerusalem.<sup>102</sup>

Two dates have been put forth for the completion of the Crusader renovations in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The generally accepted date of completion is 1149 AD, the fiftieth anniversary of the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem. This date is based on the dedicatory inscription (7.12; Fig. 7:1) placed on the west side of the Chapel of Golgotha, which commemorates the construction of 'the house built around and above this sacred place,' a place, 'holy, sanctified by the blood of Christ.' Biddle (1999: 93–95), following the work of De Vogüé (1860: 218), contends that the inscription should be understood as referring specifically to the Chapel of Golgotha, and not to the dedication of the renovated church in general, and that a more accurate *terminus ante quem* is sometime in the 1160s. Biddle bases his theory on 1) the fact that historian Muhammad al-Idrisi's (*Nuhzat* 6; 7.13) description of the church, written in 1154, seems inconsistent with the Crusader form of

<sup>102</sup> Vincent and Abel (1914: 263) note: 'Il est à présumer toutefois qu'on avait dès lors rendu au tombeau sa couronne de colonnettes et sa couverture de marbre qui parurent dans la suite assez défraîchis pour que le chapitre ait jugé à propos de les remplacer en 1119 par des éléments analogues mieux ouvragés.' This is based on Mariti (1790: 142), who says, 'Tali ornamenti di marmo furono lavorati nel 1119 da Renghiera Renghieri scultore Bolognese e restaurata fu poi quest Cappella nel 1555 da Fra Bonifazio da Ragusa.' Mariti refers in a footnote here to the work of Cherubino Ghirardacci (1596: 63) who notes only that a certain Rengherio inscribed the words *Praepotens Genuensium praesidium* 'above the altar of the Holy Sepulchre in marble' (see also Biddle 1999: 90–91). Just before this, Ghirardacci references Pope Callistus II, saying: 'Fu tosto dalli Cardinali, che seguito l'haueuano, eletto Pontefice Calisto secondo.' The date of 1119 appears in the left margin of Ghirardacci's text at the point between the reference to Callistus and Rengherio, which Biddle (1999: 90) believes refers to the election of Pope Callistus II (who was elected in 1119), not to the anecdote about Rengherio. He also notes that Vincent and Abel evidently overlooked this reference to Ghirardacci. Corbo (1981–1982: 198, 234 see also Photos 185–188) perpetuated this misconception noting, 'Di questa testimonianza ne abbiamo parlato già per il restauro del secolo XI, ma vale la pena anche la ripetiamo ancora una volta qui, per poter fare poi un paragone con l'Edicola rifatta completamente dai Crociati nel 1119 per opera dello scultore Bolognese Renghiera Renghieri.'



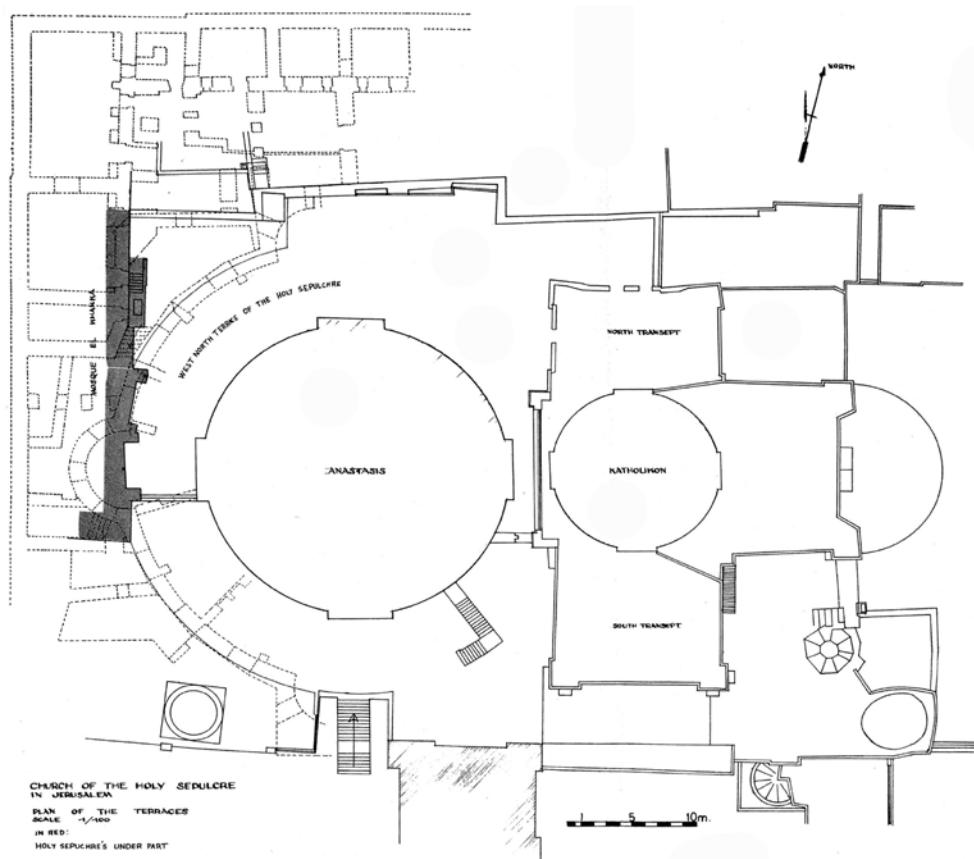


Figure 4.27. The domes and terraces of the present-day Church of the Holy Sepulchre highlight the form of the church established by the Crusaders (source: Corbo 1981–1982: Pl. 56, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem).

the church, perhaps indicating incomplete renovations,<sup>103</sup> and 2) the fact that the Rotunda of the church, with its conical dome, added by the Crusaders, appears on coinage minted in Jerusalem in the 1160s, during the reign of Amalric I. The traditional date of 1149 is still accepted by many competent scholars and archaeologists (see for example Patrich 2016: 157).

### The Rebuilding and Restoration of the Edicule in 1555, 1810, and 2017

Alterations to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre during the reign of the Crusaders marked the last significant changes to the church's plan. The *Ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri*, as it stands today in Jerusalem's Old City, has changed very little since the 1160s. With the exception of

<sup>103</sup> Muhammad al-Idrisi notes that the church of the Franks, located to the east of the Rotunda is large and that the chapel commemorating the incarceration of Jesus was located to the east of the large church. This description, seems to indicate that the Crusader Chorus Dominorum and ambulatory were not yet built in 1154.

a few modifications added largely to meet modern safety standards,<sup>104</sup> the most significant changes in the church since the 12th century have been focused on the Edicule (Biddle 1999; Agrafiotis 2017).

The Edicule was damaged in 1244 by a force of Persian Khwarazmian horsemen, who invaded Jerusalem following the brief period in which the Crusaders held Jerusalem for a second time. Robert, the Patriarch of the Jerusalem church at the time, sent a letter to the authorities of the churches of England and France in 1244 describing the damage (Matthew Paris 1877: 340; Giles 1852: 524–525; 7.22). Robert noted that the Khwarazmians pulled off sections of the marble cladding of the superstructure (*tabulatum marmoreum, quod circumieirea erat positum, funditus evertentes*) and removed some of the sculptured columns from the front of the Edicule to the tomb of Muhammad. They also desecrated the tombs of the Crusader kings and ‘scattered their bones in all directions’ (Giles 1852: 525). Aside from some minor restoration, the Edicule remained in this state of disrepair for a little over 300 years.

In 1555, Boniface of Ragusa, a Franciscan of the Order of Custodians of the Holy Land, moved to rebuild the dilapidated Edicule (Biddle 1999: 100). Boniface notes, ‘It was therefore necessary to take the structure down to the ground so that the rebuilt fabric should rise stronger and last longer’ (Biddle 1999: 101; 7.30). The reconstruction of the Edicule was the first time that the rock-cut tomb of the Holy Sepulchre had been revealed in centuries. Boniface’s Edicule underwent minimal restoration in 1728 by the Franciscans, who repaired some of the marble slabs on the interior of the tomb chamber (Biddle 1999: 103).<sup>105</sup>

In 1808, a major fire broke out in the Armenian chapel, the entrance of which is located on the southwestern section of the Rotunda.<sup>106</sup> The fire spread quickly to the Rotunda, the Katholikon, and the chapels at the Rock of Golgotha. The subterranean structures of the church were, for the most part, the only structures to remain undamaged. The dome covering the Rotunda collapsed and fell on the Edicule, crushing the cupola and the columns around the structure (Willis 1849: 154–157; 7.31, 32). The reconstruction of the church and the Edicule were undertaken by the Greek architect Nikolaos Komnenos, who completed the work in 1810 (see above).

In the years following 1927, when the Edicule was damaged by an earthquake, the structure was strapped together with steel girders by the Public Works Department of the British Mandate of Palestine to keep it from falling apart (Biddle 1999: 107–108). The Edicule remained in this state until 2016 when conservationists, led by Antonia Moropoulou of the National Technical University of Athens, dismantled and rebuilt the superstructure over the Tomb of Jesus using the layout and marble cladding from the repairs of Komnenos.

<sup>104</sup> An example of such modifications would be the concrete retaining walls added to the northern and southern sides of the *Chorus Dominorum*, today called the Katholikon, in the 1970s to replace older masonry walls of 1809 (Moropoulou *et al.* 2012: 4).

<sup>105</sup> The work was witnessed and described by Father Elzear Horn, who also produced several drawings of the church (Golubovich 1902 and Bagatti 1962).

<sup>106</sup> The walls of this chapel remain blackened to this day.

The team from the NTUA re-grouted the Edicule and secured its pieces with titanium rods (Romey 2017). In a report published by the National Geographic Society in March, 2017, following the completion of the Edicule's restoration, Moropoulou noted that the structure's foundation is unstable to the extent that it might collapse in the near future (Romey 2017). In the opinion of the engineers and conservationists of the NTUA, the 'unconsolidated rubble' of earlier remains upon which the Edicule and the Rotunda rest is deteriorating due to water-damage, which, when combined with the various archaeological trenches left over from the 1960s and 'other unexplained tunnels and voids,' will likely lead to a catastrophe (Romey 2017). This issue will no doubt drive continuing investigation in the church for the purposes of conservation and archaeological research.

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**PART II**  
**HISTORICAL SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF**  
**THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE**



## Chapter 5

# Contextual Notes on the Historical Sources

### The Gospels and Later New Testament Material

The texts of the canonical gospels generally range in date from the mid-60s through c. 100 AD. There are debates about which Gospel was written first, but there is little doubt that the Gospel According to John was the last. The material dates to the turbulent days just prior to, and just after, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 AD. The written texts, then, appeared within a range of 30 to 70 years after the events surrounding Jesus' death. The Gospel narratives represent the unification of numerous and varied stories concerning the events of the final years of Jesus' life, which were committed to writing and then redacted. Because the texts are unique to certain writers and their communities, they are as much reflective of these individuals' concerns and circumstances, as they are of telling the story of Jesus of Nazareth, believed by the writers to be the promised Jewish Messiah. The gospels are, strictly speaking, anonymous texts, however, the traditional names Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, date as early as the 4th century AD (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.24:5–7; 3.39).

The general chronological outline followed by most scholars is that the Gospel According to Mark was written first, and was followed by the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, whose writers expanded upon Mark's text, supplementing it with their own material (the so-called 'M' and 'L' sources). These three texts, which bear a striking similarity to one another in content, were followed by a much different and later document, the Gospel According to John, written at the close of the 1st century AD. The standard framework was challenged in the recent past by Robert L. Lindsey (1973: 9–84), David Flusser (1997: 221–250), Anson F. Rainey (personal communication), and R. Steven Notley (2007: 352–354) who argue convincingly for the priority of the Gospel of Luke, based on certain historical and geographical hints contained within the texts (see esp. Notley 2007: 352–354). According to this framework, Luke was written first, and was followed by Mark, who radically altered the Lukan material. Matthew then was based largely on Mark's alterations. John's gospel followed at the close of the 1st century AD

### *The Gospel According to Mark*

The date of Mark is a matter of speculation, though most modern scholars generally accept Markan priority. This is based mostly on the nature of the Markan content (Achtmeier 1992: 543) and secondarily on the mention of Mark by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.1.1), who wrote c. 160–180 AD, as having been written after the death of the Apostle Peter in Rome (assumed to have taken place in the mid-late 60s AD [Guelich 1992: 514]).<sup>1</sup> The most accepted date for

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<sup>1</sup> The writings of Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, also suggest the association of the author 'Mark' with the Apostle Peter. Papias, whose works are no longer extant, wrote sometime between 60 and 130 AD. The work of Papias is well known due to fragments of his work preserved in the writings of Irenaeus (*Haer.* 5.33:3–4) and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39:3–4). The use of Papias for understanding the chronology of Matthew and Mark, while intriguing,

Mark is sometime between 66 and 75 AD (Marcus 2000: 37–39). Paul J. Achtemeier (1992: 543) holds to the more standard date of c. 70 AD. As noted above, other scholars (Mann 1986: 72–77; cf. Flusser 1997: 221–250) believe Mark to be a conflation and reduced version of the texts of Matthew and Luke written by an author who saw a need to revise the traditions in light of the changing religio-political circumstances prior to the outbreak of the first Jewish revolt in 66 AD.

### ***The Gospel According to Matthew***

Following the widely accepted chronology, it is generally assumed that the author of Matthew made use of Mark and a theoretical source document called *Quelle* (German for ‘source,’ and commonly referred to as ‘Q’) which necessitates a date following 70 AD, and according to John P. Meier (1992), perhaps sometime between 80 and 90 AD.

### ***The Gospel According to Luke***

Luke may have been written sometime between 80 and 85 AD, though possibly earlier (Johnson 1992, 4:404 and Fitzmeyer 1981: 53–57). This dating of course is based on the generally held assumption that Luke’s text follows Mark’s. Based on the chronological framework imposed by the theory of Lukan priority, the date of the text would be somewhere prior to 75 AD.

### ***The Gospel According to John***

The Gospel According to John has been placed anywhere from c. 75 to 110 AD, though the data strongly points to a date between 90 and 100 AD (Brown 1966: lxxxvi and Kysar 1992: 918–919). The Christological content of the gospel has often been cited as a factor which favors a late date, but this not necessarily clear. A more viable indicator of the late date may have been the expulsion of the Johanine community from regular Jewish life, which is reflective, perhaps of the early stages of the separation between Jews who did not believe in Jesus as Messiah and those of the early Christian community (Kysar 1992: 918–919). While the date of the inception of the text is debated, it is evident that the *terminus ante quem* for the writing and redaction of the text must have been the early 2nd century AD, as the Rylands Papyrus 425 (P<sup>52</sup>) found in Egypt, and dating to c. 125–150 AD, contains John 18:31–33, 37–38 (Kysar 1992: 918).

### ***The Epistle to the Hebrews***

The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse, or Revelation, of John are two of three texts in the New Testament (the third being the Epistle of James) that seem to have been written by people who were believers in Jesus as Messiah, but who, unlike Paul, saw no need to separate belief in Jesus from the practices of mainstream 1st century Judaism. It is generally thought that a safe date for the composition of the Epistle to the Hebrews is between 60 and 90 AD. A possible *terminus ante quem* based on the virtual citation of the

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is problematic, because the purpose of Papias’s references to the gospel texts are not clearly understood (see the discussion in Schoedel 1992).

book in 1 Clement (cf. 9:3–4; 10:29; 19:2; 17:1; 36:1–5) is c. 95 AD. Many conjectures have been made in an attempt to narrow down the date of the text, but generally these have not met with much acceptance (Attridge 1992: 97). That there is no mention of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple has led some scholars to conclude that the book was written prior 70 AD ‘sometime after the death of Jesus and before the destruction of the temple’ (Buchanan 1972: 263). However, as Attridge (1992: 97) points out, the physical Temple in Jerusalem was not the concern of the author of the text, and so provides no solid chronological anchor.

### *The Apocalypse of John*

The content of the Apocalypse suggests a very general post-70 AD date. The only external witness to the appearance of the work is the statement in Irenaeus’ *Against Heresies* (5.30.3). Here the author notes that John had his apocalyptic vision at the end of the reign of the emperor Domitian, who reigned from 81–96 AD. The best date that can be postulated, therefore, is c. 95–96 AD (Collins 1992: 700–701).

### *The Gospel According to Peter*

The Gospel According to Peter is the earliest extant noncanonical gospel. The text, written in Greek, is divided into sections, and consists of a passion narrative, an epiphany, an empty tomb narrative, and possibly an account of the Resurrection. The manuscript was discovered in 1884 by French archaeologist Urbain Bouriant in the grave of a monk in Akhmim, Egypt. The manuscript is written on nine small papyrus codex leaves (P. Cairo 10759) dating to the 8th or 9th centuries AD. A fragmentary addition to the text was discovered in 1972 in Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2949.<sup>2</sup> While the content of the gospel is presented as being written by Simon Peter (14:3; also 7:2), the original authorship and date of the text are unknown. It is generally accepted that the gospel was written around 150 AD (James 1924: 90; Miller 1994: 399). Aune (2003: 352; cf. Miller 1994: 401) suggests that it may have been written as early as 70 AD, but certainly no later than 190. Importantly, a ‘gospel of Peter’ is mentioned by Origen (*Comm. in Matt.* 10.17), Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3.3.2; 4.12), and Theodoret (*Fab. haret.* 2.2), all of whom regard the text in question as heretical. Given the importance of the text it is not surprising that a great deal of scholarly work has been done on it, predominantly on the relationship of this gospel to the canonical sources. The general consensus has been that the text is largely dependent on the canonical gospels. Recently, however, this stance has been reevaluated, which has resulted in the suggestion that this fragmentary gospel may preserve the earliest Passion and Resurrection narratives (Crossan 2008; Miller 1994: 399–401).

### *Melito of Sardis and the Peri Pascha*

The *Peri Pascha* ‘Our Passover’ is a homily written in Greek that dates, based on its content and style to the second or early 3rd century AD. The attribution of the work to Melito, Bishop of Sardis in the 250s AD, stems from a notation in Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History* (4.26:5–11). Eusebius mentions Melito the Bishop of Sardis (an ancient city in what is now

<sup>2</sup> Additional supplements possibly include P. Oxy. 4009 and P. Oxy 1224.

western Turkey), who, among other accomplishments, wrote two paschal homilies. He later says that Melito was a eunuch and that he passed away in Sardis (*Hist. eccl.* 5.24:5). This is essentially all that is known of Melito of Sardis (MacErlean 1913; Racle 2003). Lynn H. Cohick (2000: 11–87) has recently shown that the attribution of this particular *Peri Pascha* homily to Melito of Sardis following Eusebius is problematic (see also Biddle 1999: 58–64). The work appears rather to have been written by an anonymous Christian writer who was ‘motivated not only by a concern to explain Christianity as ‘new,’ yet continuing from the ‘old’ (‘Israel’), but also by a strong desire to condemn ‘Israel’ as unworthy to be called God’s people’ due primarily to the rejection and ‘murder’ of Jesus by ‘Israel’ (Cohick 2000: 152).

### Origen

Only the broad strokes of the life and work of the Ante-Nicene Church Father Origen are known. Most of what is known about him comes from the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius. Origen was born c. 185 AD in Alexandria Egypt to a wealthy Christian family. When he was nineteen years old his estate was confiscated and his father martyred during the reign of Septimus Severus (193–211 AD). Following this he continued his education due to the patronage of a wealthy Christian woman, and eventually became a well-respected philosopher and teacher of Christian doctrine. Around 233, Origen settled in Caesarea on Palestine’s northern coast where he wrote most of his extant works, which consist mostly of commentaries and treatises on numerous biblical books. Origen died in 253 AD in Tyre, after having been imprisoned and tortured during the Decian persecution of 251. Many of Origen’s works are now lost, with extant works surviving only in fragments and in Latin translations of Origen’s original Greek (Trigg 1992: 42–44).

### Cassius Dio

Cassius Dio Cocceianus was perhaps a relative of the famous orator Dio Chrysostom (or Dio Cocceianus), from whom he took the names Dio and Cocceianus. He was the son of one Cassius Aproniasus, a Roman senator, who also served as governor of Cilicia and of Dalmatia. The date of Cassius Dio’s birth is unknown, but must have been sometime between 155 and 164 AD, based on the date that he was able to join the senate (about 25 years of age). Dio was active in government by his mid-twenties and it was at this time that his literary career began. He soon resolved to write a history of the Roman Empire. He began work on the *Romaikē Historia*, the *Roman History*, a project which took him some twenty-two years to complete, from c. 200–222 AD. The work covered a period of approximately one thousand years beginning with the legendary account of the founding of the Roman line to c. 229 AD (LCL 32: vii–xii).

### Eusebius

Eusebius was a Christian historian, theologian, and biblical scholar who lived and worked in the late third/early 4th century AD. Eusebius was born c. 260 AD, probably in Caesarea, and lived during the time of the ‘Great Peace of the Church’ when Christianity could be freely practiced, which lasted until 303 AD (when the Great Persecution under Diocletian took place). During this time Eusebius was a close friend of one Pamphilus, a native of Phoenicia who was educated in Alexandria, and had settled in Caesarea where he had a

large library in which Eusebius worked (LCL 153: ix–x). In 313, Eusebius became the Bishop of Caesarea following the days of tribulation under the Roman government. He held this position until his death in 339 AD. Eusebius is known for his prolific writing, most of which is extant today (for additional discussion and bibliography see Chesnut 1992).

Eusebius is best known as the ‘Father of Church History’ because of his *Historia ecclesiastica*, or *Ecclesiastical History*, which he wrote and edited over a period of fifteen years, from c. 311–326 AD (see Chesnut 1992: 675; LCL 153: xix–xxi). The work was technically completed by 315 AD, but was edited over the next eleven years as various events transpired. The text covers a period of 300 years and deals with the history of the church from its inception to the reign of Constantine I. Eusebius also penned a work of immense importance for the study of biblical geography—his *Peri tōn Topikōn Onomastōn tōn en Theia Graphē*, *On the Names of Places in Holy Scripture*, more commonly referred to as the *Onomasticon* (or *Topicon* ‘Places’), which focuses on biblical place names and their locations in the Roman Empire. The date of the composition of the *Onomasticon* is unknown, and little scholarly consensus on the matter exists. A *terminus a quo* is present in the completed version of the work since Eusebius refers to himself as ‘Eusebius of Pamphilus, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine.’ The fact that Eusebius does not mention any Constantinian architecture in the work puts its completion sometime before 325 AD (Taylor 2003: 3–4). Eusebius is also well known for his biography of Constantine, the *Life of Constantine*, which celebrates the Christianization of the Roman empire, and chronicles, to some degree, the life and works of the emperor, especially as they relate to the furtherance of the Christian Church. The *Life of Constantine* was written between 337 and 339 AD, between the death of Constantine and the death of Eusebius himself. Probably one of the last works of Eusebius was the *Theophania*, a treatise on the appearance of Christ in the world as the *Logos*. The text was never completed and is now only extant in a Syriac translation written c. 411 AD (Lee 1843: xiv).

### The ‘Bordeaux Pilgrim’

The *Itinerary from Bordigala to Jerusalem* was written by an unknown Christian pilgrim who made a journey from Bordigala, modern Bordeaux, in the southeast of France, to Palestine in order to visit the holy places. The journey took place in c. 333 AD, and is therefore the earliest extant pilgrimage itinerary (PPTS 1b: v). The Bordeaux Pilgrim visited Palestine in the early days of its transition to a Christian ‘Holy Land’ under Byzantine rule, and two years prior to the formal inauguration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 335 AD (Wilkin 1988: 216–217, 233).

### Cyril of Jerusalem

Little is known of Cyril’s life save that he served as the Bishop of Jerusalem in the mid-4th century AD and was a known theologian. The date of his birth is conjectural based on clues within his writings. He notes that he saw the uncovering of the Tomb of Jesus when Bishop Macarius was overseeing the demolition of the Hadrianic temple, which took place around 326 AD. Scholars suspect that he must have been a boy at this time, perhaps ten years of age, which would put his birth at c. 315 AD. Cyril became a deacon in Jerusalem under Macarius in c. 334/335 AD, who died shortly thereafter. Cyril was later appointed

bishop by Bishop Maximos around 350/351 AD, a troubled position from which he was deposed twice, but which he held until his death in 368. Cyril's most well-known work was his *Catacheses*, or *Catechetical Lectures*, of which there are twenty-three. These lectures were written between 341 and 348 AD when Cyril was given charge over instructing those being prepared for baptism (NPNF 7: 9–26; Baldwin 1991).

## Jerome

Eusebius Hieronymus Sophronius, also known as Hierom, or Jerome, was born in Stridon (Strido Dalmatiae) in the Roman Province of Dalmatia c. 347 AD. From the age of twelve until he was twenty, Jerome lived in Rome where he studied grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics under some of the most well-known teachers of the time. Jerome became a skilled scholar, mastering his own language, Latin, and the basics of Greek. While Jerome had been raised as a Christian, he did not pursue Christian studies in any depth until c. 367, after a personal conversion experience. He moved to Aquileia in northeastern Italy where he studied theology for seven years. In 374 he moved to the desert of Chalcis east of Antioch to live as a hermit. During this time Jerome began to learn Hebrew and Aramaic, the languages of the Hebrew Bible. Jerome eventually moved to Constantinople and by 382 was back in Rome where he began work on the Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible, which is of immense significance because it was not based on the Greek Septuagint, but the original languages of the biblical text. In 385, Jerome was expelled from Rome due to a controversy over his satirical writings. He then visited the holy places of Palestine and settled in Bethlehem, where he began a monastery and lived the rest of his life until his death in c. 419/420 AD. During his time in Bethlehem, Jerome wrote prolifically and focused on biblical translation and commentary. The Hebrew section of what would become the Latin Vulgate was completed by 406. Translations of the Greek New Testament were also completed. The *Commentary on Matthew*, which is featured here, was written in 398 AD at the request of Jerome's friend, Eusebius of Cremona (Scheck 2008: 5–16).

## Egeria

Egeria (or Aetheria)<sup>3</sup> was a Christian pilgrim who traveled, probably from Aquitaine (in Gaul, which encompassed much of modern France) or Galicia (in Spain), to Palestine to visit the holy places sometime between 381 and 384 AD. Egeria recorded her journey in Latin, in a text known by many titles, but most commonly as *Itinerarium* or *Itinerary* (sometimes referred to in English resources as *Travels*; see Wilkinson 1981: 7). Of special note in Egeria's journal is her visit to Jerusalem in which she details her visit to the 'Great Church' (*ecclesia maiore*). Herein she notes many details, both architectural and liturgical, which are helpful in understanding of the layout of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the late 4th century AD.

## Gelasius

Gelasius was the nephew of Cyril, the Bishop of Jerusalem. Gelasius was elected to be Bishop of Caesarea in c. 367 AD. Jerome notes (*Vir. ill.* 130) that Gelasius wrote well but

<sup>3</sup> See the discussion on the name of the pilgrim in Wilkinson 1981: 235–236.



never published. Nevertheless, his works were likely in circulation because a number of authors cite him. Gelasius of Caesarea died sometime close to, but before, 395 AD (Drijvers 1992: 96). It has long been recognized that a relationship exists between the church histories of Gelasius and Tyrannius Rufinus (see below), though Baldwin (1991: 826) notes that this relationship is unclear. In the 9th century AD, Byzantine patriarch Photius I (see below), in his *Bibliotheca* (Codex 89), notes of Gelasius that he wrote a continuation of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* at the request of Cyril (on this point see Drijvers 1992: 97 and Winkelmann 1966b: 348–356). Photius also refuted the allegation that Gelasius simply translated the *Ecclesiastical History* of Rufinus from Latin to Greek, by noting that since Gelasius was older than Rufinus, Gelasius's *History* must have come first. Drijvers (1992: 96–97), based on the work of Winkelmann (1966a), notes that Books X and XI of Rufinus' *History* are actually a Latin translation of Gelasius' Greek text. It seems then, if Drijvers is correct, that Gelasius wrote his history of the church around 390 AD. It was then translated and reused sometime after this by Rufinus. Interestingly, the ecclesiastical history of Gelasius includes what appears to be the earliest legend of the discovery of the True Cross by Helena the mother of Constantine (see Drijvers 1992: 95–118). Drijvers (2003) maintains that the legend originated in Jerusalem, and more specifically, with Cyril.

### Epiphanius

Epiphanius was the bishop of Salamis (called Constantia for a short time in the mid-4th century AD), in Cyprus from 367 AD until his death in 403. He was born near Eleutheropolis in Judea c. 315 AD and received a classical education while living as a monk in Egypt. He returned to Palestine in the 330s AD, and founded a monastery near Eleutheropolis that he governed for thirty years prior to being selected by the bishops of Cyprus to the See of Salamis. Epiphanius spurned classical education, despite having received one himself, and deliberately employed a common (*Koiné*) Greek contemporary to the period in his writings. Epiphanius wrote a number of works, the most important of which are his *Anykyrotos*, written in 374 AD, and dealing with the Trinity; the *Panarion*, a tract against heresies written c. 374–376, and *De mensuris et ponderibus*, a 'biblical dictionary' or manual on the study of the Bible, written in 392 AD (Baldwin and Talbot 1991; Canivet 2003).

### Rufinus

Tyrannius Rufinus was born in 344/345 AD at Concordia, in northern Italy. Little is known about his upbringing, save that he was acquainted early on with Jerome and was interested in sacred literature. Many details of his adult life are known, much of which will not be treated here (for a full discussion see Fremantle 1994: 715–723). Rufinus became a monk after his baptism at the age of 28, around the year 372/373, a state in which he lived for most of life. He was a known theologian and historian and lived at various times in Egypt, Palestine, and Rome until his death in 410. While his literary career spanned much of his adult life and encompassed a number of works, he is best known for his translations of patristic material from Greek to Latin. One of the projects undertaken toward the end of his life, about 401 AD, was a translation and continuation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (Baldwin 1991). Rufinus's work evidently drew heavily upon the church history of Gelasius (see above), which is now lost and exists only in fragments preserved within Rufinus's work.

### Sulpicius Severus

Sulpicius Severus, also known as Sulpicius of Primuliacum, was born in 363 AD to a distinguished Aquitanian and was educated in Gaul, studying, presumably in Bordigala (modern Bordeaux). Severus became a lawyer and married into a wealthy family. Following the early death of his wife, Severus retired to a monastic life first in Eluso, near Toulouse, and then to a place called Primuliacum, the location of which is unknown. Severus was a historian and hagiographer known most for his biography of Martin of Tours or *Vita Martiniana* and the *Chronica*, otherwise known as *Historia sacra*. The *Chronica*, composed of two books written in c. 403 AD, is preserved in a single manuscript, and presents an abridgement of sacred history from the Creation to the author's own time. Sulpicius Severus died in 420 (Peebles 2003).

### Theodoret

Theodoret, whose given name, indicates his dedication to God, was born in Antioch in 303 AD. He received a classical education and eventually joined a monastery near Apameia in Syria. In 423 he became the bishop of Cyrrhus and was frequently embroiled in theological controversies, notably against Nestorianism. He was deposed once from his position as bishop, but was reinstated, and remained in the position at Cyrrhus until his death in c. 466 AD. The writings of Theodoret of Cyrrhus are predominantly apologetic in nature, but he wrote two historical works, the *Historia religiosa* and the *Historia ecclesiastica*, written between 444 and 450 AD. The ecclesiastical history of Theodoret covers the periods from 323–428, and unlike the histories of his contemporaries, excludes the Nestorian controversy (Baldwin 1991).

### Socrates Scholasticus

Socrates was born in Constantinople, presumably around 379 AD. The date of his birth is conjectural based on clues in his writing, namely that he studied under the grammarians Helladius and Ammonius, who were Egyptian priests of Jupiter and Pithecius, respectively, in Alexandria. They fled Alexandria around 389 AD, and settled in Constantinople. Scholars suspect that Socrates would have made contact with them about the age of ten, putting his birth sometime around 379. Little is known about Socrates's life, save that he worked for a time as an advocate and that he was interested in history. His love of history combined with his Christian faith led to his primary literary undertaking, a seven volume continuation of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, which brought the history to the seventeenth consulate of Theodosius the Younger, c. 439 AD (NPNF 2a: vii–xvii; Baldwin 1991). The *terminus ante quem* for the work must have been around 439, which puts its inception somewhere in the 430s AD.

### Sozomen

Salaminius Hermias Sozomen was born sometime in the late 4th century AD, perhaps between 370 and 380, in Bethulia, near Gaza, to a wealthy Palestinian family (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.15). While little is known of his education, it almost certainly took place in a monastic setting, though it is not clear that Sozomen actually became a monk. He trained in Berytus

(modern Beirut in Lebanon) to be an advocate and began practicing law after settling in Constantinople around 406 AD. During this time he undertook the project of continuing the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. This project seems to have been started around 443 AD. Sozomen died in c. 450.

Sozomen's nine volume church history, written in Greek, is heavily dependent on the work of Socrates of Constantinople, especially in its organization. Sozomen's intention, like that of Socrates, was to update the history from the events of 325 to the consulate of Theodosius the Younger, c. 439, but the work falls just short of that with its abrupt ending at the events of 425 and the accession of the Emperor Valentinian III. While this history is essentially the same as that of Socrates, the work of Sozomen is distinctly colored with eloquent discourse and a sense of familiarity with the local culture and geography of Palestine (NPNF 2b: 191–218; Baldwin 1991).

### Alexander 'Monachus'

Alexander the Monk lived sometime between the mid-6th and 9th centuries AD. Nothing is known about the man himself, though some have sought to connect Alexander with a monk, possibly from Cyprus, who wrote an *enkomion* (or a eulogy) of the apostle Barnabas after the discovery of the apostle's relic in c. 488. This, however, is unclear. The treatise *De inventione sanctae crucis*, or *The Finding of the Holy Cross*, is known from a Latin manuscript as well as a Georgian translation dating to the 9th/10th centuries AD (Kazhdan 1991a). The discussion on the finding of the True Cross is unique in Alexander's text on two counts: first, because the entire treatise deals with the cosmic nature and predominance of the Cross as a symbol of Christianity; and second, because the author supplements the original legend of Helena's discovery of the True Cross by noting that it was the Jewish high priests who first deliberately buried the tomb of Jesus and the hill of Golgotha not long after Jesus rose from the dead, in order to 'cast these proofs of salvation into oblivion' (*De invent.* 5.1). He (*De invent.* 5.1) notes that, 'This was the most wicked plan of the Jews,' an expression in keeping with the growing anti-Semitic sentiment of the Byzantine period (Bowman 1991; Bowman and Cutler 1991).

### Theodosius

Little to nothing is known of the author Theodosius, though a few conjectures have been made, such as that of Gildemeister (1882: 22–23), who speculated that Theodosius hailed from North Africa. The date of his pilgrimage to Palestine can be fixed to c. 530 AD based, among other things, on the fact that Gregory of Tours (see below) clearly makes use of Theodosius's tract in his writings (PPTS 3e: 4–5).

### Antoninus 'Martyr'

Little is known about Antoninus (the) Martyr save that he was a native of Placentia (modern Piacenza in northern Italy). According to Wilson (PPTS 2d: iii) 'he was probably a priest, and appears to have ignorant and superstitious.' It is also unclear whether or not he was entitled to be called 'martyr.' His traveling companions, John, husband of Thecla,

and Lord Paterius, are also unknown. The pilgrimage account of Antoninus is unique for the amount of ground that was covered by the writer on his journey; Antoninus visited Palestine, Sinai, Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia. The date of the pilgrimage is placed either before the Persian conquest of 614 AD, or during the years 628–636 since it is clear that Antoninus visited a Jerusalem that was under Christian rule.

### Gregory of Tours

Georgius Florentius Gregorius, bishop of Tours, in what was then Merovingian France, was born Clermont-Ferrand c. 540 AD. Gregory came from a line of church officials on both his mother and father's sides. Gregory was educated by his grand-uncle, who would become Bishop Nicetius, his uncle, Bishop Gallus, and the latter's archdeacon, St. Avitus, who became bishop of Clermont. Gregory was appointed to the bishopric of Tours in 573 AD. Gregory was intimately acquainted with the kings of Tours during his time as bishop and acted as an advisor to them until his death in 593/594 AD. Gregory was also a prolific writer with a 'gift of lively narrative in late Latin' (McCormick 1991), who produced a number of works. Two of the most important works were his *Historiarum libri X* or *History in Ten Books*, also known as *Historia Francorum* or *History of the Frankish People*; and the *Libri VIII miraculorum*, or *Miracles in Eight Books*, which records various stories reported by travelers. The *Historiarum*, of primary concern here, reports events from the Creation to 511 AD. It was written over a long period with Books 1–4 being completed by 575, Books 5–6, between 580–584, and Books 7–10 in 584–591. Books 1–6 were revised and an epilogue was added in 591 (McCormick 1991; Beck 2003).

### Sophronius

Sophronius was born in c. 560 AD in Damascus. As an adult he worked as a teacher of rhetoric. In 580 he became a monk at the Monastery of St. Theodosius, located near Bethlehem. He moved to the Sinai and eventually Alexandria. He then returned to St. Theodosius and shortly thereafter, moved again to North Africa. He returned to Palestine and took the position of Patriarch in Jerusalem in c. 633/634 AD (Wilkinson 1977: 7; Papadakis 1991). In terms of his literary works, Sophronius is best known for his *Anacreontica* (poems written in Anacreontic meter). He is also known for negotiating the surrender of the city of Jerusalem to Caliph Umar I in 638 AD.<sup>4</sup> The *Anacreontica* were written at an unknown point, but as some of them reflect a longing for Jerusalem and the holy places of Palestine (especially nos. 19 and 20), it may be that they were written during Sophronius's many travels. Wilkinson (1977: 7) assigns a very cautious date of c. 614 AD for their composition, but also notes that they may have been written during the last years of the patriarch's life.

### *Chronicon Paschale*

The *Paschal Chronicle* has been referred to by many titles, but was originally called *Epitomē Chronōn tōn apo Adam tou Prōtoplastou Anthrōpou eōs k etous tēs Basileiou* 'Summary (or Epitome) of the Ages of Adam the First Man to the 20th Year of the Reign of the Most August Heraclius, and the 19th Consulat (18th Regnal Year) of His Son Constantine, the

<sup>4</sup> These events are chronicled in the *Annales* of Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq) Patriarch of Alexandria. The text can be found in PG 111: 1099–1100.

Third Indiction.’ The text was written in Greek, probably in Constantinople, by an unknown author who seems to have been a contemporary of Emperor Heraclius, who reigned from c. 610–641 AD. It is a chronicle of the events of the world since the creation of Adam up to the year 629 AD set to a Christian chronology based on the paschal cycle, which led the first editor of the text, DuCange, to use the conventional title employed here (Baldwin 1991). The text is preserved in the Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1941, which dates to the 10th century AD (Van der Essen 1913; McGuire 2003: 461).

### Adomnan

Adomnan (also Adamnan<sup>5</sup>), a man of Irish descent, was the ninth abbot of Iona (at the Monastery of St. Columba), a small island off the western coast of Scotland, from the years 679–704 AD. Adomnan was born c. 624 in south Donegal (in northeastern Ireland). He was trained scholastically in his homeland. He joined the Columban community and eventually became abbot. He is known for chronicling, in Latin, the travels of Arculf, which is of interest here, and also the *Vita Columbae*, the *Life of St. Columba*. Little is known of Arculf himself. The historian Bede (c. 673–735 AD), in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum* (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, completed c. 731 [LCL 254: xx–xxi]) refers to Arculf as *Galliarum episcopus*, ‘Bishop of Gaul’ (*Hist. eccl. gent. angl.* 5.15). It may be that his see was located in Burgundy (a region encompassing parts of modern France and Switzerland) (Meehan 1958: 1–9). Bede (*Hist. eccl. gent. angl.* 5.15) points out that Arculf was traveling home by sea when his ship was wrecked against the western coast of Britain. After various travels he met Adomnan, to whom he recounted his pilgrimage in Palestine, which probably took place between the years 680 and 683 AD (Meehan 1958: 9–10). Adomnan committed Arculf’s account to writing and presented the account to King Aldfrith of Northumbria around 686, and as Bede notes, ‘and by his [Aldfrith’s] liberality it was handed on to inferior persons to read’ (LCL 248: 285).

### ‘The Venerable’ Bede

Bede, called ‘The Venerable,’ was an English Benedictine monk, polymath, historian, and theologian. He was born near Wearmouth in Northumberland in northern England c. 672 AD. Bede was entrusted to the dual monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, which had houses in Wearmouth and Jarrow, where he lived until his death in c. 735 AD. He was ordained deacon at the age of 19 and priest by the age of 30. Bede ‘was a monk radiant with holy joy in teaching and learning,’ (Donahue 2003: 196), which is attested by his numerous written works on grammar, metrics, chronology, history, and hagiography, in addition to biblical commentaries, poetical works, and many letters. Bede wrote primarily in Latin and is, perhaps, best known for his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, which was completed by 731 AD (Tkacz and McCormick 1991; Donahue 2003). Bede’s account of the holy places, *De locis sanctis*, was written based on the works of others (as Bede put it, ‘I, Bede, following the guidance of later as well as of older writers, examining what the chart of the masters tells’ [CSEL 39: 301; PPTS 3b: 65]). The account of Arculf, written down by Adomnan, was one of the main sources employed by Bede in the writing of his *De locis sanctis*.

<sup>5</sup> Wilkinson (1977: 9, n. 79) notes that this spelling is probably incorrect and prefers the name Adomnan.

### Hugeberc

Hugeberc (also Hygeburg) was an Anglo-Saxon nun at the Abbey of Heidenheim in Germany. In c. 780 she wrote what she called the *Hodoeporicon* of St. Willibald, which is also known as *Vita Willibaldi episcopi Eischstetensis, Life of Willibald Bishop of Eichstätt*, though the work is less of a biography and more of an account of his journey to Rome, which included a trip to Palestine. The title of the work indicates the primary content, as the term *hodoeporicon* means 'relation of a voyage' (Noble and Head 1995: 141). Willibald was born in Hampshire in 700 AD. When he was in his early 20s, Willibald, his brother Wynnebald, and their father set out on a journey to Rome. In 723, Willibald and several companions traveled throughout the Near East until 727, at which time Willibald spent two years in Constantinople, and went to Monte Cassino in 729 where he lived for ten years. In 739 he was sent by Pope Gregory III to Germany, where he eventually became the Bishop of Eichstätt in Bavaria. He served in this role until his death in 787 (Wilkinson 1977: 11, 206–208; Noble and Head, eds. 1995: 141–142).

### Theophanes

Theophanes, called 'The Confessor of Sigrane,' was born in Constantinople in 760 AD to a high-ranking soldier of the Roman army. He became a provincial governor (a *strator*) under Emperor Leo IV, during which time he married Megalo, the daughter of a patrician, who was a friend of the emperor. He and his wife eventually took to a monastic life and founded the monastery of Megas Agros on the mountain of Sigrane in the Caucasus Mountains. He was later exiled to Samothrace by Leo V due to his refusal to join the Iconoclastic movement. He died in Samothrace in 817 AD. As a historian Theophanes wrote the *Chronographia*, a history of world events, which covers the years 285–813 AD (Kazhdan 1991d). Theophanes composed the *Chronographia* between the years 810 and 814. The work was written in Greek, and remains a primary source for the history of the seventh and eighth centuries AD. The text was translated into Latin by Anastasius, the papal librarian, in the 870s (Charanis 2003).

### Bernard 'Monachus,' 'The Wise'

Bernard was a French monk who, along with his two companions—Theudemundus of the monastery of Blessed Vincent of Beneventum (in Benevento, Italy) and Stephen, who is described only as 'a Spaniard,' journeyed to Egypt and Palestine in 870 AD. Tobler (1874: 393) notes that some have speculated that perhaps Bernard came from the Abbey of Mont Saint-Michel in northern France, but this is not clear. Bernard is designated as *Bernardus Sapiens*, Bernard 'The Wise,' in the text of his pilgrimage account (Wright 1968: xvi).

### Photius

Photius I was the Patriarch of Constantinople in the troubled days of the developing schism between Eastern and Western Christianity. He was born in Constantinople in c. 815 AD and became a well-known scholar and statesman. He was appointed to the position of patriarch in c. 857 AD, and was deposed ten years later. Following his deposition, Photius was exiled

to a monastery at Stenos on the Bosphorus Strait. He used part of this time, from the years 867–878 AD to write his *Amphilochia*, which consisted of 300 questions and responses dealing with exegetical and doctrinal subjects addressed to his friend Amphilochius, Archbishop of Cyzicus. Photius was recalled to the position of patriarch in 877, which he held until c. 886 when he retired to monastic life. He died shortly thereafter in 893 (Fortescue 1913; Wilkinson 1977: 13; Kazhdan 1991b; Dvornik 2003).

### ***Commemoratorium de casis Dei vel monasteriis***

The *Commemoratorium* was a report written to Charles I ‘The Great’ (or Charlemagne) of the Carolingian Empire regarding the status of the churches and monasteries in Palestine. The report was the result of an expedition to assess the financial status of the Christian institutions in Palestine to which Charlemagne could then donate funds (Tobler and Molinier 1879: xliii–xliv). The text dates to the first decade of the 9th century AD, probably to c. 808.

### **Leo VI ‘The Wise’**

Leo VI was the Byzantine emperor from the years 886–912 AD. He was born in 866, presumably in Constantinople, and died in 912. He was called ‘The Wise’ and ‘The Philosopher’ because he was an educated man and prolific writer. Leo had a relatively troubled reign and ended his career embroiled in a controversy with the Church over the fact that he had three wives, a sin for which he was posthumously pardoned (Kazhdan and Cutler 1991).

### **Eutychius (Sa’id ibn Batriq) of Alexandria**

Eutychius was the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria from 933/935 AD until his death in 940. He was born Sa’id ibn Batriq in al-Fustat (now part of Old Cairo) in 877 and was educated as a physician. He is best known for his work *Nazm al-Jawhar*, *String of Pearls* (see Toomer 1996: 67), known in Latin as *Annales*. This work was a chronicle of sacred and secular events written in Arabic, but following the style of Byzantine chronologists. The *Nazm al-Jawhar* covered events from the Creation to the year 938 AD. The work is significant for its accounts of the years after the rise of Islam and the coordination of the reigns of the Islamic caliphs and the Eastern patriarchs with the reigns of the emperors and patriarchs of the Byzantine Empire. The history was continued to the year 1027 by Eutychius’s relative Yahya ibn Sa’id of Antioch (Griffith 1991; Malouf 2003).

### **Yahya ibn Sa’id**

Yahya ibn Sa’id (al-Antaki), also known as Yahya of Antioch, was a Melkite Christian physician and historian who lived and worked in the 11th century AD. He was born in Egypt, but spent much of his adult life in Antioch due to the outbreaks of violence against Christians on the part of the Fatimid rulers under Caliph Al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah. Yahya was a relative (though the nature of the relationship is not clear) of Eutychius (Sa’id ibn Batriq), Patriarch of Alexandria, and is best known for continuing the *Annales* of Eutychius, and bringing it down to the year 1034 AD. Yahya’s history represents one of the few

contemporary sources for Byzantine history of the period. Yahya also wrote a number of apologetic treatises defending Christianity. He died around 1066 AD (Conrad 1991).

### **Nasir-i-Khusrau**

Nasir-i-Khusrau was a Persian traveler, who visited Jerusalem in 1047 AD on his way to Mecca for the *hajj*, the sacred pilgrimage made by devout Muslims to the home of the Prophet Muhammad. Nasir was born in 1003 in the area of Balkh, in what is today northern Afghanistan. He spent much of his life in India and lived for some time in the court of the sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (Le Strange 1890: 6). Nasir-i-Khusrau's journal of his visit to Palestine is written in Persian and is preserved in two manuscripts in the British Museum (Ad. 18418 and Or. 1991) used by Le Strange (1890), as well as in Schefer's (1881) publication of the account.

### ***Qualiter sita est civitas Ierusalem***

This text, of unknown authorship and date, was first published by Tobler and Molinier (1879: 347–349) from manuscript *Bibliothecae Armamentarii Parisini*, no. 1161 (fol. 102), saec. XII. Tobler and Molinier (1879: 345) date the text *ante I belum sacrum* 'before the First Crusade,' and tentatively give it a date of 'ante 1096.' In the English translation, only one note is given by Bernard (PPTS 3e: 12, n. 1), who cautiously dates the text to c. 1090 AD: 'The date of this tract is uncertain; but it is probably older than the First Crusade.'

### **Anonymous Pilgrims**

The anonymous pilgrimage accounts all came before the fall of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and, as Stewart (PPTS 6a) notes it in his preface to the translations, 'though they may not yield many new facts, yet the study of them enables us to form a clearer notion of the state of the Holy Land under the Frankish kings.'

### **Saewulf**

Saewulf was an English pilgrim and, likely, a merchant, who visited Palestine in 1102–1103 AD. He wrote an account of the journey in Latin that 'combines reality, Christian tradition, and scraps of ancient lore' (Kazhdan 1991c).

### **Abbot Daniel (Daniil Igoumen)**

Daniil was the abbot of a monastery, presumably in Russia. He is sometimes identified with Daniil, bishop of Jur'ev. He wrote an account of his journey from Constantinople to Palestine, which is normally dated 1106–1108 AD, though it seems that it could have taken place any time between 1104–1109. Daniel stayed in Palestine for sixteen months and was guided by a monk from the monastery of St. Sabas. At one point during this trip, Daniel traveled with King Baldwin I of Jerusalem on a trip to Galilee, demonstrating that the relations between Christians of eastern and western traditions could be cordial (Franklin 1991). This is in marked contrast to the pilgrimage account of Basil Posniakov (see below), who viewed the Latins as heretics.



***De situ urbis Jerusalem et de locis sanctis intra ipsum urbem sive circumjacentibus* or *Fetellus***

This text, whose author is unknown, was first published by Count Melchior de Vogüé (1860) from a manuscript found in the National Library of Paris (Imperial Library No. 5129) at the end of the Chronicle of Robert the Monk. The text appears to have been written between the years 1151 and 1157 AD, based on the mention of various known officials. Macpherson (PPTS 5a: vi) notes, however, that the majority of the content of the treatise points to an earlier date—c. 1130—with the names of later rulers being added anachronistically by a redactor. The manuscript was edited by a certain Fetellus (also Fretellus), who served as archbishop of Antioch in the early 13th century AD.

**Peter the Deacon**

Peter the Deacon was a 12th century monk and librarian at the Abbey of Monte Cassino, located approximately 81 miles (130 km) south of Rome. He composed a work on the holy places based on the pilgrimage accounts of other writers, and in 1137 AD added a prologue dedicating the work to the Abbot Guibald. The content of the book, it seems clear, was based largely on the work of Bede and the pilgrimage account of Egeria. According to Wilkinson (1981: 179–180) it appears that Bede's work provided the framework for Peter's book, with some of its content being copied over directly; Egeria's account was more heavily abbreviated and modified due to its personal language. Other later sources seem to have also been employed.

**John of Würzburg**

Little is known about this particular Johannes, except that he was a priest in the church at Würzburg in northern Bavaria, Germany. On the manuscript used by Tobler, which was (presumably) located at Tegernsee, Bavaria, there is a note written in a different hand than the rest of the text saying: '*Iste liber attinet cenobio sancti Quirini in Tegernsee. In quo continetur: Terre sancta et praecipue civitatis Jerusalem descriptio a domino Johanne episcopo herbipolensi;*' 'This book belongs to the monastery of St. Quirinius at Tegernsee. It contains a description of the Holy Land, and especially of the city of Jerusalem by the Lord John, Bishop of Würzburg' (Tobler 1874: 415; PPTS 5b: ix). John's pilgrimage to Palestine seems to have taken place between 1160 and 1170 AD, and was prior to the restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to judge by the language of the account (Tobler 1874: 416–417; PPTS 5b: x).

**Crusader Dedicatory Inscription at Calvary**

The Frankish soldiers of the First Crusade managed to capture Jerusalem in 1099 AD in a well-known battle where it is said that they slaughtered so many of Jerusalem's inhabitants that they waded in blood up to their ankles as they moved about the city. The crown jewel of Crusader Jerusalem was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which the Crusaders renovated extensively to give a new appearance to the celebrated structure. The traditional date for the completion of the church's renovations under the Crusaders is 1149, on the fiftieth anniversary of the capture of the city. This date is based on

an inscription that once existed on the Chapel of Calvary, which commemorated the construction of 'the house built around and above this sacred place' 1149 years 'from the birth of the Lord' (Biddle 1999: 94). Archaeological and literary evidence suggests that the completion of the Crusader works actually took place in the 1160s. The inscription, therefore, probably refers only to the construction of the chapel over the Rock of Golgotha (de Vogüé 1860: 217; Biddle 1999: 93).

### **Muhammad al-Idrisi**

Twelfth century geographer Muhammad al-Idrisi, often referred to simply as Idrisi, is one of the best known Arab geographers in the West because of his geographical work produced for Roger II, king of Sicily, in 1154. Idrisi was born at Ceuta, a Spanish town on the northern coast of Africa, to Spanish-Arab parents. Based on his written works, it is evident that Idrisi traveled extensively. Idrisi's geography, commonly known by its western name *Tabula Rogeriana*, the *Book of Roger*, and called in Arabic *Nuzhat al-mushtaq fi'khtiraq al-afaq*, 'the book of pleasant journeys into faraway lands,' includes descriptions of many locations in the known world. His description of Palestine during the Crusader occupation is well-written and particularly helpful for students of the history of Jerusalem (Le Strange 1890: 7).

### **Theodoric**

Aside from his name, little is known for certain about Theodoric (PPTS 5d: iii). It is possible that he is mentioned in the dedicatory epistle of the pilgrimage account of John of Würzburg, although there is no proof of this. Based on this hypothetical connection with John of Würzburg, it is possible to conjecture that he served as the Bishop of Würzburg for the year of 1223 AD. If this was the case, then one can assume that he was a German and perhaps also a Rhine-lander, based on his reference to a church in Aix la Chapelle (Aachen in German), which is located in westernmost central Germany. The date of the pilgrimage can be fixed to c. 1172 AD based on clues in the text of Theodoric's account, which indicate that Jerusalem was ruled by the Crusaders (putting the pilgrimage prior to their expulsion in 1187). Theodoric also mentions the tombs of the Crusader kings within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, from which it can be gathered that Amalric I (r. 1162–1173 AD) was king in Jerusalem at the time (the final tomb mentioned by Theodoric was that of Baldwin III [r. 1143–1163 AD], who was succeeded by Amalric I) (PPTS 5d: iii–ix).

### **Ali of Herat**

Ali ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi, more commonly known as Ali of Herat, was a native of Persia but spent much of his life in Aleppo in Syria. He wrote a small work in 1173 on pilgrimage sites called *Kitab al-ishara ila ma'refat al-ziyara*, *The Places of Pilgrimage*. The Arabic text of Ali's pilgrimage was not published at the time Le Strange translated it for the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1890. It would seem that it has not been published to this day. Le Strange (1890: 8) notes that the manuscript is located in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University.

### **Johannes Phocas**

What little is known about Johannes Phocas is found in the preface supplementing the author's pilgrimage account. The preface was written by Leo Allatius (1586–1669), a learned Greek scholar and theologian, who was the Scriptor, and later custodian, of the Vatican Library (Grey 1913). Allatius notes that while he was in Chios (one of the Greek islands) he came upon the manuscript of Phocas's pilgrimage account. He does not mention what language the original manuscript was written in, but does note that he translated the manuscript, presumably to Greek. Allatius gives certain details that he was able to procure about Johannes, i.e. that he was a Cretan by birth, his father's name was Matthew, and he took up a monastic life on the Island of Patmos, where he spent the rest of his life. Johannes served in the army under the Emperor Emmanuel I Comnenos Porphyrogenitus (r. 1143–1180), whom he mentions in the pilgrimage account as having funded the gilding of a portion of the burial bench within the Holy Sepulchre. Allatius cites a marginal note in the codex written by the son of Johannes: 'An account written by John the Priest, the most holy Phocas, who practices religion in the Island of Patmos, how he saw the holy places in the years 1185. At the beginning of the book was written 'I the son of Phocas of Crete write this, by name [...]' (the preface of Allatius is translated in PPTS 5c: iii–iv).

### **Jacques de Vitry**

Jacques de Vitry was born in Vitry-sur-Seine, near Paris, c. 1170 AD. He studied in Paris and became a parish priest of Argenteuil (another commune in Paris) in 1210. Upon visiting Oignies in northern France, he decided to become a monk and afterwards became a canon regular. In 1216 he was elected as Bishop of Acre on the northern coast of Palestine where he remained until 1228, at which time he became the bishop of Tusculum (presumably Frascati in central Italy). He also served as Cardinal Bishop of Jerusalem, the papal legate in France and Germany, and finally Patriarch of Jerusalem. Jacques de Vitry died in Rome in 1240. Jacques de Vitry was a noted historian, preacher, and hagiographer. He is best known for his *Historia orientalis et occidentalis*, *History of the East and West*, written around 1210 AD, and which details: 1) conditions in the East, which included a history of Jerusalem; and 2) the monastic and quasi-monastic movements of Belgium and Italy (PPTS 11b: iii–iv; McDonnell 2003).

### ***La Citez de Jherusalem***

This anonymous tract was written after the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, and the expulsion of the Crusaders in 1187 AD. Conder (PPTS 6b: iii) dates it to around 1220. It is known from numerous manuscripts (see De Vogüé 1860: 433–434), though the latest one is the most complete. It is this version that is followed here.

### **Yakut al-Hamawi**

Yakut ibn-Abdullah al-Rumi al-Hamawi was an Arab geographer and scholar known for producing an encyclopedic work on the geography of the Near East entitled *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, 'Alphabetical (or Dictionary) of Geography' (Le Strange 1890: 8–9). Yakut was a Greek

by birth and was sold into slavery at a young age. He was brought up in Baghdad where he received his education while living in the house of his master. Yakut traveled extensively as an adult throughout the Near East and eventually settled in Aleppo, where he died in 1229. Yakut's travels afforded the scholar the opportunity of gleaning information from many places that would eventually find their way into his *Geographical Lexicon*, which was completed by 1225. The work was published by the German Oriental Society in six volumes in 1866 (Wüstenfeld 1866). Among the many places included in Yakut's lexicon, Jerusalem is featured as the home to Islam's third holiest site and the location of the 'great church,' the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

### **Robert, Patriarch of Jerusalem**

Robert of Nantes was the twentieth Latin patriarch of Jerusalem between the years 1240 and 1254 AD. Robert was a native of Nantes, France where he was the bishop of the church there from 1236 to 1240 (Chow 2017). Robert was instrumental in soliciting help from the rulers of the West when the Khwarazmians attacked Jerusalem and united with the Egyptian Fatimid caliphate to retake Palestine from the Franks (Hamilton 2016: 262–267). Robert's letter, in which he describes the damage done to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Khwarazmians, was delivered to ecclesiastical authorities in England and France (Paris 1877: 340; Giles 1852: 524–525). His call for help was answered in the form of a seventh Crusade led by Louis IX of France.

### **Burchard of Sion**

Burchard (whose name appears variously in the Latin manuscripts as Borcardus, Brocardus, Borghardus, and Burgardus) de Monte Sion, was a German native of either Strasburg or Magdeburg, and lived in the 13th century AD. He became a Dominican monk and moved to the Near East in 1232. Burchard visited Egypt, Syria, Armenia, and settled in Palestine where he lived for some ten years (possibly from 1275–1285) at the monastery on Mount Zion in Jerusalem. He eventually returned to Europe prior to his death, the date of which is unknown. His pilgrimage is dated to c. 1283 on the basis of the events that he mentions in the text, which indicate that he must have written after 1260, 1263, 1268, and 1271, but before 1291 and 1285. Burchard's pilgrimage account has been plagiarized many times, including by Marino Sanuto (see below), a tribute to its excellence (PPTS 12a: iii–vi; Laurent 1864: 1–5).

### **Nikephorus Kallistus Xanthopoulos**

Nikephorus Kallistus of Constantinople was the final Greek hagiographer to attempt to expand upon the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. Nikephorus was born in 1256 AD, and was trained in the tradition of the rhetorical style of Byzantine historiography. He spent his younger years teaching rhetoric and theology and, later in life, became a monk at the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. It was here, using the basilica's library, that Nikephorus composed his ecclesiastical history (PG 145: cols. 549–550; 'Nicephorus' 2012). Nikephorus's *Historia ecclesiastica* was written around 1320 AD, but only brings Eusebius's history down to the year 610, as far as scholars can tell from the extant portion of the work (Anastos

and Jeffreys 2003: 797). It is generally thought that the earlier parts of the work, those dependent on the earlier material of Eusebius, Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius, contribute little to the earlier material, but that the later material is particularly valuable ('Nicephorus' 1911).

### **Marino Sanuto**

Marino Sanuto (or Sanudo), surnamed Torsello, was born into a noble Venetian family in c. 1260 AD, and was, possibly, the son of Venetian ambassador Marco Sanuto, though this is not clear. He was a statesman and geographer, who is best known for his attempts to revive the crusading spirit and movement, which by this time was beginning to fade. It was in light of this passion for a new Crusade that Sanuto wrote his great, three-part work *Liber secretorum fidellium crucis*, *Book of Secrets for Crusaders*, which is also known as *History of Jerusalem*, the *Book on the Expedition to the Holy Land*, and *Opus on the Holy Land*. The initial work (Book 1) was completed between the years 1306 and 1307, and supplemented in 1312 (Book 2) and 1321 (Book 3). The section on Palestine relevant to this study is included in Book 3. The books were presented to both Pope Clement V and Pope John XXII, together with a map of the world, a map of Palestine, a chart of the Mediterranean, Black Sea and west European coasts, and plans of Jerusalem, Acre, and Antioch. He also offered a copy to the king of France, all in the hope that a new Crusade would ensue. Sanuto died in 1338 (PPTS 12b: v–viii; Beazley 1911: 196–197).

### **Ludolph von Suchem**

The only thing known about Ludolphus de Suchem is that he was a parish priest in Suchem, in the diocese of Paderborn. This data is gathered from his pilgrimage account. It is unclear where Suchem (perhaps Sudheim?) is and/or what town it refers to. Ludolph visited Palestine between the years 1336 and 1341 AD, and published his pilgrimage account around 1350. It is evident that Ludolph copied many of descriptions of holy sites from one Wilhelm von Boldinsel, a Dominican monk. Ludolph's account is generally held to be one of the best from this period (Deycks 1851: xix–xxii; PPTS 12c: iii–viii).

### **Guidebook to Palestine**

The text entitled here, *Guidebook to Palestine*, is based on a pilgrimage account by Philippus Brusserius Savonensis, but contains more data than was presented in the work of Philippus. It has been dated by Bernard (PPTS 6c: v) to sometime around 1350 AD. The Latin manuscript, which resides in the archives of the library of Trinity College, Dublin, dates to the 14th/early 15th century. Bernard (PPTS 6c: vi) notes that the colophon at the end of the work reads: *Expliciunt peregrinationes totius terre sancta s. m. p. de m.* 'Explanation of many wanderings in the Holy Land,' with the meaning of the final letters being unclear. The text was dubbed, presumably by Bernard (though he does not explicitly say so), 'Guidebook' because of its similarity to modern guidebooks in that 'the authors did not scruple to borrow liberally from the works of their predecessors' (PPTS 6c: vi).

### John Poloner

Little is known of Johannes Poloner. Tobler (1874: 497–498) suspected that he was a German based on certain language used, though this is not clear. The date of his pilgrimage is mentioned by Poloner as being between the years 1421 and 1422 AD. Poloner's account is unique in that he was one of the first pilgrims to provide a map of Palestine (which is no longer extant but has been reconstructed by Tobler [1874]). It would seem that Poloner's account, as it exists today, is incomplete, as it lacks a description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Tobler 1874: 497–522; PPTS 6d: iii–v).

### Felix Fabri

Felix Faber (called 'Fabri' in the Latin text of his pilgrimage account) was a German writer, born in c. 1441 AD, in Zurich, to a well-known family. He studied under the Dominicans at Basle and Ulm, Germany, where he spent the greater part of his life. He was a theologian and head preacher at Ulm during 1477–1478 and became provincial of the German province in 1486. He is well known for his publication of the account of his trip to Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt, undertaken between the years 1483–1484. He published two accounts of his travels, a concise one in German, and a very long and descriptive secondary account written in Latin, from which it is evident that Fabri was a distinguished and learned scholar. Fabri completed a number of other written works before his death in 1502, some of which are still unpublished (McMahon 1913).

### Basil Posniakov

Basil Posniakov was a Russian merchant and diplomat who participated in, and eventually led, a delegation under the auspices of Russian tsar Ivan IV Vasilyevich (r. 1533–1584) to Egypt in response to a request by Joachim, Patriarch of Alexandria, for financial assistance for the Monastery of St. Catherine's at Sinai. Basil Posniakov and his company also visited Jerusalem during their journey, which took place between 1558 and 1561 AD (Khitrowo 1889: 285).

### Boniface of Ragusa

Boniface of Ragusa was a Franciscan Custodian of the Holy Land between 1551 and 1560, and again between 1562 and 1565 (Tavernor 1998: 229, n. 138). Boniface was instructed by Pope Julius III, in collaboration with Charles V, the Roman emperor, and his son Philip of Spain, to undertake the restoration of the Edicule in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (da Treviso 1875: 279). Boniface issued a letter describing his work in the church in 1570 and made a few additional comments in his *Liber di perenni cultu*, published in 1573 (Biddle 1999: 101).

### Letters Describing the Great Fire of 1808

The fire that damaged the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1809 was reported by the diverse communities that claim ownership of the church (Willis 1849: 154–155). The Holy Sepulchre's ecclesiastical communities were concerned mostly with their respective sections of the structure in their letters and reports, and therefore, no comprehensive

account of the disaster exists. The letters included in this study were written close to the time of the incident with the goal of soliciting financial support for repairs. The first letter was written and published by the Franciscan Community. The author provides a description of the church (not included here) and a brief report on the fire (Turner 1820: 597–600; Willis 1849: 155). The second letter, originally written in Greek and circulated in 1809 by Kallinikos IV, Patriarch of Constantinople, describes the path of the fire in some detail and gives the Greek Orthodox account of the events (Jeffrey 1919: 41; Duckworth 1922: 295, n. 2). Robert Willis (1849: 155), a professor at Cambridge University in the 19th century, reported on the incident using the Franciscan letter, a Russian translation of Kallinikos's report, and an additional source written by an Italian priest (not included here), who witnessed the fire, but whose account is focused on Latin areas that did not sustain damage (de Géramb 1839: 125–144).

### **Maximos Simaios**

Little is written about the man, Maximos Simaios, who chronicled the repair work on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre following the fire of 1808. He was a Greek monk and technical supervisor of the restoration project in the church (Küchler 2014: 312). The work was carried out by Nikolaos Komnenos between 1809 and 1810. Komnenos was a native of Mitylene and was respected as an architect and restorer of ancient structures (Biddle 1999: 103–105).

### **Anonymous English Pilgrim**

Nothing is known about the English pilgrims who made up the party that traveled from Egypt to Palestine in 1831. It would seem that the venture was undertaken on behalf of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. The pilgrimage took place just prior to the first scientific investigation of the antiquities of Palestine by the American scholar Edward Robinson (in 1838) and the founding of the London-based Palestine Exploration Fund (in 1865).

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## Chapter 6

# **Selected Excerpts from the Historical Sources: Golgotha and the Tomb of Jesus to the destruction of the Constantinian Basilica (30/33–1009 AD)**

### **A History of Research and Preliminary Remarks**

There are a handful of important collections of texts pertinent to the study of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the site on which it was built. Sir Charles W. Wilson (1906: 159–198) of the Palestine Exploration Fund includes numerous excerpts from the historical sources in his study of Golgotha relating to: the origin of the toponym ‘Golgotha,’ the history of Jerusalem from 33–326 AD, the unearthing of the rock-cut tomb, and the discovery of the ‘True Cross.’ These excerpts are in English translation only. A very good bi-lingual compilation of excerpts from the principal historical sources, as one might expect, is that of Vincent and Abel (1914: 206–217, 233–247, 257–259, 287–290). Vincent and Abel present four sections of excerpts in the original languages with French translation (Latin and French texts are left untranslated) relevant to: 1) the period of the construction of the Constantinian monument to 614 AD, 2) the period from 614 to the destruction of the Constantinian church in 1009 AD, 3) the period of the restoration of the church by Constantine IX Monomachos in 1048 AD, and 4) the reshaping of the church by the Crusaders, 1099–1106 AD. Corbo (1981–1982: 41–50, 141–143, 185–191) includes a small selection of long excerpts in the first volume of his excavation report, presented in the original languages with Italian translations (Latin and French texts are left untranslated). The periods and events covered are: the construction of the Constantinian church, the restoration of the church under Constantine IX, and the reshaping of the church by the Crusaders. The most recent, and most thorough, bi-lingual compilation of ancient sources with English translations can be found in the unpublished doctoral dissertation of James E. Phillips (1977: 79–142). Phillips’s list of texts covers the years 30/33–1558 AD. Phillips also includes extensive bibliographical data not included in any previous compilation.

The following presentation of excerpts from the principal ancient texts, is, like the older compilations, not meant to be exhaustive. For an exhaustive bibliography of ancient accounts of pilgrimage to Palestine between the years 333 and 1878 AD see Röhricht (1890). For additional ancient accounts, not included in Röhricht’s publication, which were originally written in English see Hoade (1970). Additional helpful data can be found in Potthast’s (1896) bibliographic encyclopedia of historical works pertaining to the Medieval period.

The 86 excerpts included here are divided between three chapters for ease of reference. The first section of texts, the present chapter, includes passages dating from the 1st through the 11th century AD, covering the periods before the construction of the Byzantine Church of the Holy Sepulchre to its destruction. The second collection of texts, in Chapter 7, covers the periods of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre’s reconstruction in the 11th century and

its many modifications in the years following, up to the mid-19th century. The last set of texts, in Chapter 8, includes passages dealing with the Christian legends of the discovery of the 'true cross' by Constantine's mother Helena and the burial of Adam, the first human being of the biblical account, at Golgotha.

All of the passages in this and subsequent chapters are presented, with a few exceptions, in their original languages with an English translation. For the translations, I have relied, whenever possible, on published works, but have provided several of my own translations when necessary. Three passages—7.15, 25, and 32—are presented in English translation only. The Arabic original of Text 7.15, the pilgrimage account of Ali of Herat, is located at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Le Strange (1890: 8), whose translation I have used for this publication, noted that the manuscript is numbered 'E.D. Clarkii 17, clv., Uri.' This is certainly a reference to the Bodleian's Edward Daniel Clarke collection, however, Ms. E.D. Clarke 17 is not the Arabic text in question, but rather a 15th century Latin dictionary. Text 7.25, an anonymous pilgrimage account from the 14th century AD, comes from a Latin manuscript housed in the collection of Trinity College, Dublin. The manuscript was listed as 426.2 in T.K. Abbott's (1900: 66) catalogue of the college's manuscripts, and today is numbered TCD Ms. 426/2. The staff of the Manuscripts and Archives Research Library successfully located the document in the archives at my request, but, unfortunately, upon reviewing the text, they were unable to locate the section on Jerusalem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. These discrepancies can only be resolved by consulting these texts in person, and this is something that I have not been able to do. Finally, I have not been able to locate a copy of Text 7.32, the 1809 report on the events of the 19th century fire that damaged the Holy Sepulchre, in its original Greek or Russian translation. Willis (1849: 155) writes that the document was unpublished as of 1849, but he does not discuss where, or from whom, he acquired the text.

## GOLGOTHA AND THE ROCK-CUT TOMB PRIOR TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF CONSTANTINE'S CHURCH

### The Gospel According to Mark (c. 66/69–75 AD)

15:20–22

καὶ ὅτε ἐνέπαιξαν αὐτῷ, ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὴν πορφύραν καὶ ἐνέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐξάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἵνα σταυρώσωσιν αὐτόν. Καὶ ἀγγαρεύουσιν παράγοντά τινα Σίμωνα Κυρηναῖον ἐρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, τὸν πατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ῥούφου, ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ. καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Γολγοθᾶν τόπον, ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευόμενον Κρανίου Τόπος.

After mocking him, they stripped him of the purple cloak and put his own clothes on him. Then they led him out to crucify him. They compelled a passer-by, who was coming in from the country, to carry his cross; it was Simon of Cyrene, the father of Alexander and Rufus. Then they brought Jesus to the place called Golgotha (which means the place of a skull).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All biblical quotations are taken from the New Revised Standard Version unless otherwise noted.

15:43-47

ἐλθὼν Ἰωσήφ [ὁ] ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας εὐσχήμων βουλευτής, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τολμήσας εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον καὶ ᾔτησατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἐθαύμασεν εἰ ἤδη τέθνηκεν καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν κεντυρίωνα ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ πάλαι ἀπέθανεν· καὶ γνοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κεντυρίωνος ἐδωρήσατο τὸ πτώμα τῷ Ἰωσήφ.

καὶ ἀγοράσας σινδόνα καθελὼν αὐτὸν ἐνείλησεν τῇ σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν μνημείῳ ὃ ἦν λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας καὶ προσεκύλισεν λίθον ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ μνημείου. ἡ δὲ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰωσήτος ἐθεώρουν ποῦ τέθεται.

Joseph of Arimathea, a respected member of the council, who was also himself waiting expectantly for the kingdom of God, went boldly to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. Then Pilate wondered if he were already dead; and summoning the centurion, he asked him whether he had been dead for some time. When he learned from the centurion that he was dead, he granted the body to Joseph. Then Joseph bought a linen cloth, and taking down the body, wrapped it in the linen cloth, and laid it in a tomb that had been hewn out of the rock. He then rolled a stone against the door of the tomb. Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Jesus saw where the body was laid.

16:1-5

Καὶ διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ [τοῦ] Ἰακώβου καὶ Σαλώμη ἠγόρασαν ἀρώματα ἵνα ἐλθοῦσαι ἀλείψωσιν αὐτόν. καὶ λίαν πρῶτὴ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου. καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἑαυτάς, Τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου; καὶ ἀναβλέψασαι θεωροῦσιν ὅτι ἀποκεκύλισται ὁ λίθος· ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα. καὶ εἰσελθοῦσαι εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον εἶδον νεανίσκον καθήμενον ἐν τοῖς δεξιotois περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λευκὴν, καὶ ἐξεθαμβήθησαν.

When the sabbath was over, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome bought spices, so that they might go and anoint him. And very early on the first day of the week, when the sun had risen, they went to the tomb. They had been saying to one another, 'Who will roll away the stone for us from the entrance to the tomb?' When they looked up, they saw that the stone, which was very large, had already been rolled back. As they entered the tomb, they saw a young man, dressed in a white robe, sitting on the right side; and they were alarmed.

### The Gospel According to Luke (c. pre-75 or 80-85 AD)

23:33

καὶ ὅτε ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Κρανίον, ἐκεῖ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς κακούργους, ὃν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν ὃν δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν.

When they came to the place that is called The Skull, they crucified Jesus there with the criminals, one on his right and one on his left.

23:50-56

Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰωσήφ βουλευτῆς ὑπάρχων [καὶ] ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος - οὗτος οὐκ ἦν συγκατατεθειμένος τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν - ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας πόλεως τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃς προσεδέχετο τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗτος προσελθὼν τῷ Πιλάτῳ ᾗτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ καθελὼν ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτὸ σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ οὗ οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς οὐπω κείμενος. καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευῆς καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν. Κατακολυθῆσασαι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες, αἵτινες ἦσαν συνεληλυθυῖαι ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας αὐτῷ, ἐθεάσαντο τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ ὥς ἐτέθη τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ὑποστρέψασαι δὲ ἡτοίμασαν ἀρώματα καὶ μύρα. Καὶ τὸ μὲν σάββατον ἡσύχασαν κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

Now there was a good and righteous man named Joseph, who, though a member of the council, had not agreed to their plan and action. He came from the Jewish town of Arimathea, and he was waiting expectantly for the kingdom of God. This man went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. Then he took it down, wrapped it in a linen cloth, and laid it in a rock-hewn tomb where no one had ever been laid. It was the day of Preparation, and the sabbath was beginning. The women who had come with him from Galilee followed, and they saw the tomb and how his body was laid. Then they returned, and prepared spices and ointments.

24:1-3, 12

τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ὄρθρου βαθέως ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἦλθον φέρουσαι ἃ ἡτοίμασαν ἀρώματα. εὑρον δὲ τὸν λίθον ἀποκεκλισμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου, εἰσελθοῦσαι δὲ οὐχ εὑρον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ... Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἀναστὰς ἔδραμεν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ παρακύψας βλέπει τὰ ὀθόνια μόνα, καὶ ἀπήλθεν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν θαυμάζων τὸ γεγονός.

But on the first day of the week, at early dawn, they came to the tomb, taking the spices that they had prepared. They found the stone rolled away from the tomb, but when when went in, they did not find the body [of the Lord Jesus]<sup>2</sup>...But Peter got up and ran to the tomb; stooping and looking in, he saw the linen cloths by themselves; then he went home, amazed at what had happened.

### The Epistle to the Hebrews (c. 60–90 AD)

13:12

διὸ καὶ Ἰησοῦς, ἵνα ἁγιάσῃ διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος τὸν λαόν, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἔπαθεν.

Therefore Jesus also suffered outside the city gate in order to sanctify the people by his own blood.

<sup>2</sup> The words 'of the Lord Jesus' are included in the text of the Nestle-Aland Greek New Testament, but are not supported by all the manuscripts, and were, therefore, excluded by the translators of the NRSV.

### The Gospel According to Matthew (c. 80–90 AD)

27:31–34

καὶ ὅτε ἐνέπαιξαν αὐτῷ, ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ ἐνέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σταυρώσαι. Ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ εὗρον ἄνθρωπον Κυρηναῖον ὀνόματι Σίμωνα, τοῦτον ἠγγάρευσαν ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐλθόντες εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Γολγοθᾶ, ὃ ἐστὶν Κρανίου Τόπος λεγόμενος, ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ πιεῖν οἶνον μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον· καὶ γευσάμενος οὐκ ἠθέλησεν πιεῖν.

After mocking him, they stripped him of the robe and put his own clothes on him. Then they led him away to crucify him. As they went out, they came upon a man from Cyrene named Simon; they compelled this man to carry his cross. And when they came to a place called Golgotha (which means Place of a Skull), they offered him wine to drink, mixed with gall; but when he had tasted it, he would not drink it.

27:57–60

Οψίας δὲ γενομένης ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος πλούσιος ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, τοῦνομα Ἰωσήφ, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαθητεύθη τῷ Ἰησοῦ· οὗτος προσελθὼν τῷ Πιλάτῳ ᾗτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. τότε ὁ Πιλάτος ἐκέλευσεν ἀποδοθῆναι. καὶ λαβὼν τὸ σῶμα ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτὸ [ἐν] σινδόνι καθαρῇ καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ καινῷ αὐτοῦ μνημείῳ ὃ ἐλατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ καὶ προσκυλίσας λίθον μέγαν τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπήλθεν. ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ Μαριὰμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία καθήμεναι ἀπέναντι τοῦ τάφου.

When it was evening, there came a rich man from Arimathea, named Joseph, who was also a disciple of Jesus. He went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus; then Pilate ordered it to be given to him. So Joseph took the body and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn in the rock. He then rolled a great stone to the door of the tomb and went away.

28:1–2

Ὅψις δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων ἦλθεν Μαριὰμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία θεωρῆσαι τὸν τάφον. καὶ ἰδοὺ σεισμός ἐγένετο μέγας· ἄγγελος γὰρ κυρίου καταβὰς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ προσελθὼν ἀπεκύλισεν τὸν λίθον καὶ ἐκάθητο ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ.

After the sabbath, as the first day of the week was dawning, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary went to see the tomb. And suddenly there was a great earthquake; for the angel of the Lord, descending from heaven, came and rolled back the stone and sat on it.

### The Apocalypse of John or Revelation (c. 95–96 AD)

11:7–8

καὶ ὅταν τελέσωσιν τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτῶν, τὸ θηρίον τὸ ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς ἄβυσσου ποιήσει μετ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτούς καὶ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ πῶμα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς



πλατείας τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης, ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος, ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη.

When they have finished their testimony, the beast that comes up from the bottomless pit will make war on them and conquer them and kill them, and their dead bodies will lie in the street<sup>3</sup> of the great city that is prophetically called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord was crucified.

### The Gospel According to John (c. 90–100 AD)

19:16–20

τότε οὖν παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἵνα σταυρωθῇ. Παρέλαβον οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ βαστάζων ἑαυτῷ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον Κρανίου Τόπον, ὃ λέγεται Ἑβραϊστὶ Γολγοθα, ὅπου αὐτὸν ἐσταύρωσαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους δύο ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, μέσον δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν. ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ· ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένοι, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τίτλον πολλοὶ ἀνέγνωσαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς· καὶ ἦν γεγραμμένοι Ἑβραϊστί, Ῥωμαϊστί, Ἑλληνιστί.

Then he handed him over to them to be crucified. So they took Jesus; and carrying the cross by himself, he went out to what is called The Place of the Skull, which in Hebrew is called Golgotha. There they crucified him, and with two others, one on either side, with Jesus between them. Pilate also had an inscription written and put on the cross. It read, 'Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews.' Many of the Jews read this inscription, because the place where he was crucified was near the city; and it was written in Hebrew, in Latin, and in Greek.

19:38–41

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἠρώτησεν τὸν Πιλάτον Ἰωσήφ [ὁ] ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, ὡς μαθητῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κεκρυμμένος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἐπέτρεψε τὸν Πιλάτος. ἦλθεν οὖν καὶ ἦρεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ. ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ Νικόδημος, ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς τὸ πρῶτον, φέρων μίγμα σμύρνης καὶ ἀλόης ὡς λίτρας ἑκατόν. ἔλαβον οὖν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὸ ὀθονίοις μετὰ τῶν ἀρωμάτων, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη κήπος, καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μνημεῖον καὶνὸν ἐν ᾧ οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἦν τεθειμένος· ἐκεῖ οὖν διὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μνημεῖον, ἔθηκαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

<sup>3</sup> Biddle (1999: 64) raises the question of whether or not the mention of the 'street of the city' by the author of the Apocalypse was intended to give an indication of the location of Golgotha. The answer, of course, is unclear. This passage may simply be a reference to the common denominator between Jesus' death and these 'witnesses'—their death in Jerusalem, the Great City. Regardless, it is important to note that the verse may have influenced the author of the *Peri Pascha* (see below), who uses a similar expression in what seems to be an intentional topographic reference.

After these things, Joseph of Arimathea, who was a disciple of Jesus, though a secret one because of his fear of the Jews, asked Pilate to let him take away the body of Jesus. Pilate gave him permission; so he came and removed his body. Nicodemus, who had at first come to Jesus by night, also came, bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, weighing about a hundred pounds. They took the body of Jesus and wrapped it with the spices in linen cloths, according to the burial custom of the Jews. Now there was a garden in the place where he was crucified, and in the garden there was a new tomb in which no one had ever been laid.

20:1-5, 11-12

Τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ ἔρχεται πρῶτ' σκοτίας ἔτι οὔσης εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ βλέπει τὸν λίθον ἡρμένον ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου. τρέχει οὖν καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς Σίμωνα Πέτρον καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον μαθητὴν ὃν ἐφίλει ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Ἦραν τὸν κύριον ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου καὶ οὐκ οἶδामεν ποῦ ἔθηκαν αὐτόν. Ἐξῆλθεν οὖν ὁ Πέτρος καὶ ὁ ἄλλος μαθητὴς καὶ ἦρχοντο εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον. ἔτρεχον δὲ οἱ δύο ὁμοῦ· καὶ ὁ ἄλλος μαθητὴς προέδραμεν τάχιον τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ ἦλθεν πρῶτος εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον, καὶ παρακύψας βλέπει κείμενα τὰ ὀθόνια, οὐ μέντοι εἰσῆλθεν ... Μαρία δὲ εἰστήκει πρὸς τῷ μνημείῳ ἔξω κλαίουσα. ὥς οὖν ἔκλαιεν, παρέκυψεν εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ θεωρεῖ δύο ἀγγέλους ἐν λευκοῖς καθεζομένους, ἓνα πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ ἓνα πρὸς τοῖς ποσίν, ὅπου ἔκειτο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

Early on the first day of the week, while it was still dark, Mary Magdalene came to the tomb and saw that the stone had been removed from the tomb. So she ran and went to Simon Peter and the other disciple, the one whom Jesus loved, and said to them, 'They have taken the Lord out of the tomb, and we do not know where they have laid him.' Then Peter and the other disciple set out and went toward the tomb. The two were running together, but the other disciple outran Peter and reached the tomb first. He bent down to look in and saw the linen wrappings lying there, but he did not go in...

But Mary stood weeping outside the tomb. As she wept, she bent over to look into the tomb; and she saw two angels in white, sitting where the body of Jesus had been lying, one at the head and the other at the feet.

### The Gospel According to Peter (c. [70-]150 AD?)

6:2-4<sup>4</sup>

τότε ἥλιος ἔλαμψε καὶ εὐρέθη ὥρα ἐνάτη. ἐχάρησαν δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ δεδώκασιν τῷ Ἰωσήφ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἵνα αὐτὸ θάψῃ, ἐπειδὴ θεασάμενος ἦν ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἐποίησεν. λαβὼν δὲ τὸν κύριον ἔλουσε καὶ εἴλησε σινδόνι καὶ εἰσῆγαγεν εἰς ἴδιον τάφον καλούμενον Κῆπον Ἰωσήφ.

Then the sun came out and it was found to be the ninth hour. Now the Judeans rejoiced and gave his body to Joseph so that he might bury it, since [Joseph] had observed how much

<sup>4</sup> The chapters and versification system for this text are based on those of Miller (1994: 402-407).

good he had done. [Joseph] took the Lord, washed [his body] and wound a linen [shroud] around him, and brought him to his own tomb, called 'Joseph's Garden.'

8:4-6

ὁ δὲ Πειλάτος παραδédωκεν αὐτοῖς Πετώνιον τὸν κεντυρίωνα μετὰ στρατιωτῶν φυλάσσειν τὸν τάφον. καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἦλθον πρεσβύτεροι καὶ γραμματεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα, καὶ κυλίσαντες λίθον μέγαν κατὰ τοῦ κεντυρίωνος καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοῦ πάντες οἱ ὄντες ἐκεῖ ἔθηκαν ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ μνήματος, καὶ ἐπέχρισαν ἑπτὰ σφραγίδας, καὶ σκηνὴν ἐκεῖ πῆξαντες ἐφύλαξαν.

So Pilate gave them the centurion Petronius with soldiers to guard the tomb. And elders and scholars when with them to the tomb. And all who were there [with] the centurion and the soldiers helped roll a large stone against the entrance to the tomb. And they put seven seals on it. Then they pitched a tent there and kept watch.

9:2-4

Τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ ἣ ἐπέφωσκεν ἡ κυριακή, φυλασσόντων τῶν ἀνὰ δύο δύο κατὰ φρουράν, μεγάλη φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ εἶδον ἀνοιχθέντας τοὺς οὐρανούς καὶ δύο ἄνδρας κατελθόντας ἐκεῖθεν, πολὺ φέγγος ἔχοντας, καὶ ἐγγίσαντας τῷ τάφῳ. ὁ δὲ λίθος ἐκεῖνος ὁ βεβλημένος ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κυλισθεὶς ἐπεχώρησε παρὰ μέρος, καὶ ὁ τάφος ἠνοιγῆ καὶ ἀμρότεροι οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐισῆλθον.

But during the night before the Lord's day dawned, while the soldiers were on guard, two by two during each watch, a loud noise came from the sky, and they saw the skies open up and two men come down from there in a burst of light and approach the tomb. The stone that had been pushed against the entrance began to roll by itself and moved away to one side; then the tomb opened up and both young men went inside.

12:1-5

Ὁρθρου δὲ τῆς κυριακῆς Μαριάμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ...λαβοῦσα μεθ' ἑαυτῆς τὰς φίλας ἦλθε ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ὅπου ἦν τεθεῖς, καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἴδωσιν αὐτὰς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ ἔλεγον Εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἐσταυρώθη ἐδυνήθημεν κλαῦσαι καὶ κοιρασθαι, καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος αὐτοῦ ποιήσωμεν ταῦτα. τίς δὲ ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν τεθέντα ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου, ἵνα εἰσελθοῦσαι παρακαθεσθῶμεν αὐτῷ καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα; μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ λίθος, καὶ φοβούμεθα μὴ τις ἡμᾶς ἴδῃ. καὶ εἰ μὴ δυνάμεθα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας βάλωμεν ἃ φέρομεν εἰς μνημοσύνην αὐτοῦ...

Early on the Lord's day, Mary of Magdala...took her friends with her and went to the tomb where he [Jesus] had been laid. And they were afraid that the Judeans might see them and were saying, 'Although on the day he was crucified we could not weep and beat our breasts, we should now perform these rites at his tomb. But who will roll away the stone for us, the one placed at the entrance of the tomb, so that we may enter and sit beside him and do what ought to be done?' (remember it was a huge stone.) 'We fear that someone might see

us. And if we are unable [to roll the stone away] we should at least, place at the entrance the memorial what we brought for him...

13:1-2

καὶ ἀπελθοῦσαι εὗρον τὸν τάφον ἡνεωγμένον· καὶ προσελθοῦσαι παρέκυσαν ἐκεῖ, καὶ ὁρῶσιν ἐκεῖ τινα νεανίσκον καθεζόμενον μέσῳ τοῦ τάφου, ὠραῖον καὶ περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λαμπροτάτην, ὅστις ἔφη αὐταῖς Τί ἤλθατε; τίνα ζητεῖτε; μὴ τὸν σταρωθέντα ἐκείνον; ἀνέστη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ πιστεύετε, παρακύψατε καὶ ἴδατε τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ἔκειτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀνέστη γὰρ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖ ὅθεν ἀπεστάλη.

And they went and found the tomb open. They went up to it, stooped down, and saw a young man sitting there [in] the middle of the tomb...He said to them, 'Why have you come? Who are you looking for? Surely not the one who was crucified? He has risen and gone. If you don't believe it, stoop down and take a look at the place where he lay, for he is not there. He is risen and has gone back to the place he was sent from.'<sup>5</sup>

#### 6.8. *Peri Pascha*, 'Our Passover' (c. 160–170 AD)

§ 72, lines 505–5076

Οὗτος πεφόνεuitαι·  
καὶ ποῦ πεφόνεuitαι; ἐν μέσῳ Ἱερουσαλήμ.  
“ὕπὸ τίνων; ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.”<sup>7</sup>

It is he that has been murdered.  
And where has he been murdered? In the middle of Jerusalem.  
By whom? By Israel.

§ 94, lines 693–706

ἰακούσατε πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἔθινῶν καὶ ἴδετε·  
καινὸς φόνος γέγονεν ἐν μέσῳ Ἱερουσαλήμ,  
ἐν πόλει νομικῇ,  
ἐν πόλει ἐβραϊκῇ,  
ἐν πόλει προφητικῇ,  
ἐν πόλει δικαίᾳ νομιζομένη,  
καὶ τίς πεφόνεuitαι; τίς δὲ ὁ φονεύς;  
εἰπεῖν αἰδοῦμαι καὶ λέγειν ἀναγκάζομαι.  
εἰ μὲν γὰρ νύκτωρ γεγόνει ὁ φόμος,  
ἦ' ἐπ' ἐρημίας ἦν ἐσφαγμένος,  
σιγᾶν εὐχρηστον ἦν.

<sup>5</sup> Greek text in Swete 1893: 11–12, 14–17, 21–23; English translation in Miller 1994: 404–406.

<sup>6</sup> Adapted from Hall 1979: 38–39, 52–53.

<sup>7</sup> The bracketed portion is omitted by the Greek witnesses and restored by conjecture based on other fragments (Hall 1979: xlvii).

νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ μέσης πλατείας καὶ ἐν μέσῳ πόλεως<sup>8</sup>  
 μέσης ἡμέρας πάντων ὁρώντων  
 γέγονεν δικαίου ἄδικος φόνος.

Listen, all you families of the nations, and see!  
 An unprecedented murder has occurred in the middle of Jerusalem,  
     in the city of the law,  
     in the city of the Hebrews,  
     in the city of the prophets,  
     in the city accounted just.  
 And who has been murdered? Who is the murderer?  
 I am ashamed to say and I am obliged to tell.  
 For if the murder had occurred at night,  
     or if he had been slain in a desert place,  
     one might have had recourse to silence.  
 But now, in the middle of the street and in the middle of the city,  
     at the middle of the day for all to see,  
     has occurred a just man's unjust murder.

**Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, *Onomasticon* (c. 290–325 AD)**

74.19–21

Γολγοθά. ‘χρανίου τόπος’, ἔνθα ὁ Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη. ὃς καὶ δείκνυται ἐν Αἰλίᾳ πρὸς τοῖς βορείοις τοῦ Σιών ὄρους.<sup>9</sup>

Golgotha. Place of the Skull, where the Christ was crucified, which is indeed pointed out in Ailia right beside the northern parts of Mount Zion.<sup>10</sup>

**Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, *Theophania*, ‘Divine Manifestation’ (c. 324 AD)**

3.61 (Fig. 6.1)

τὸ δὲ μνήμα σπήλαιον ἦν ἄρτι κατὰ πέτρας λελαξευμένον, οὕπῳ σώματος ἑτέρου πεπειραμένοι· ἔδε γὰρ μόνῳ παραδόξῳ νεκρῷ· θαυμαστὴ δὲ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἡ πέτρα ἐν ἀπλωμένῳ χώρῳ μόνη ὀρθίῳ ἀεσταμένη καὶ μόνον ἔν ἄντρον εἶσω ἐν αὐτῇ περιέχουσα.<sup>11</sup>

The tomb was a cave lately excavated in the rock which had not yet received any dead body; and it was proper that its one loculus should have been at the disposition of Him alone who had died in an extraordinary manner. It is wonderful to see the rock which is

<sup>8</sup> Papyrus Bodmer XIII (third or early fourth century CE): *civitatīs*. Mississippi Coptic Codex I (the Crosby Codex) (sixth century CE), cited in Latin; Syriac fragment in Brit. Lib. Syr. Add. 12154, cited in Latin: *in medio civitatīs* (Hall 1979: xlv–xlvi).

<sup>9</sup> Klostermann 1966: 74–75.

<sup>10</sup> Taylor 1998: 191; cf. also Freeman-Grenville, Chapman, and Taylor 2003: 3.

<sup>11</sup> PG 24: col. 620.

in an isolated place and enclosed within only one cave, because if there had been more it would have obscured the miracle of Him who had overcome death.<sup>12</sup>

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Figure 6.1. Syriac text of Theophania 3.61 (source: Lee 1842: 96).

Translation of the Syriac text:

The grave itself was a cave that had been recently hewn out; a cave that had now been cut out in a rock, and which had experienced (the reception of) no other body. For it was necessary that it, which was itself a wonder, should have the care of that Corpse only. For it is astonishing to see even this rock, standing out erect and alone, in a level land, and having only one cavern within it; lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame Death should have been obscured.<sup>13</sup>

#### THE FORMATION OF HADRIAN'S JERUSALEM—COLONIA AELIA CAPITOLINA—AND THE BUILDING PROJECTS ON THE NORTHWESTERN HILL OF THE CITY

##### Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana*, 'Roman History' (c. 229 AD?)

66.7.2—*The Fate of the Jews Following the First Revolt and the Destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD.*

Οὕτω μὲν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρα, ἥη μάλιστα ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαῖοι σέβουσιν, ἐξώλετο. καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου δίδραχμον ἐτάχθη τοὺς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθνη περιστέλλοντοας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ διὰ καὶ ἔτος ἀποφέρειν.

Thus was Jerusalem destroyed [by Titus and the Roman army] on the very day of Saturn, the day which even now the Jews reverence most. From that time forth it was ordered that the Jews who continued to observe their ancestral customs should pay an annual tribute of two denarii to Jupiter Capitolinus.

<sup>12</sup> Bagatti 1971: 59; cf. Lee's (1843: 199) translation of *Theoph.* 3.61.

<sup>13</sup> English translation in Lee 1843: 199.

69.12.1-2—*The Beginning of the Second Jewish Revolt*

ἔς δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς κατασκαφείσης οἰκίσαντος, ἦν καὶ Αἰλίαν Καπιτωλίαν ὠνόμασε, καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον ναὸν τῷ Διὶ ἕτερον ἀντεγείραντος πόλεμος οὔτε μικρὸς οὔτ' ὀλιγοχρόνιος ἐκινήθη. Ἰουδαῖοι γὰρ δεινὸν τι ποιούμενοι το ἀλλοφύλους τινὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν σφῶν οἰκισθῆναι δαὶ τὸ ἱερὰ ἀλλότρια ἐν αὐτῇ ἰδρυθῆναι...

At Jerusalem he [Hadrian] founded a city in place of the one which had been razed to the ground, naming it Aelia Capitolina, and on the site of the temple of the god he raised a new temple to Jupiter. This brought on a war of no slight importance nor of brief duration, for the Jews deemed it intolerable that foreign races should be settled in their city and foreign religious rites planted there.<sup>14</sup>

**Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 'Ecclesiastical History' (c. 311-315 AD)**

## 4.6.4

οὕτω δὴ τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἐρημίαν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθρους ταντελὴ τε φθορὰν τῶν τάλαι οἰκητόρων ἐλθοῦσης ἐξ ἀλλοφύλου τε γένους συνοικισθείσης, ἡ μετέπειτα συστάσα Ῥωμαϊκὴ τόλῃς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀμείψασα, εἰς τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ τιμὴν Αἰλία προσαγορεύεται. καὶ δὴ τῆς αὐτόθι ἐκκλησίας ἐξ ἐθνῶν συγκροτηθείσης, πρῶτος μετὰ τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς ἐπισκόπους τὴν τῶν ἐκείσε λειτουργίαν ἐγχειρίζεται Μάρκος.

Thus when the city came to be bereft of the nation of the Jews, and its ancient inhabitants had completely perished, it was colonized by foreigners, and the Roman city which afterwards arose changed its name, and in honour of the reigning emperor Aelius Hadrian was called Aelia. The church, too, in it was composed of Gentiles, and after the Jewish bishops the first who was appointed to minister those there was Marcus.<sup>15</sup>

## 5.12.1

Ἐπὶ τοῦτων τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος ὁ παρὰ πολλοῖς εἰς ἔτι νῦν βεβοημένος Νάρκισσος ἐγνωρίζετο, πεντεκαιδεκάτην ἄγων διαδοχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν πολιορκίας, ἐξ οὐδὴ πρῶτον τὴν αὐτόθι ἐκκλησίαν ἐξ ἐθνῶν συστήναι μετὰ τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς καθηγῆσασθαι τε αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐπίσκοπον Μάρκον ἐδηλώσαμεν·

In their [Clement, Pantaenus,<sup>16</sup> and their followers] time there flourished Narcissus, bishop of the church at Jerusalem, who is still widely famous. He held the succession in the fifteenth place after the siege of the Jews under Hadrian, and we have stated already that from that time the church in that city was composed of Gentiles, in succession to the Jewish Christians, and that the first of the Gentile bishops was Marcus.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> LCL 32: 446-447.

<sup>15</sup> LCL 153: 312-313. On the date of the text see Lake's introduction (LCL 153: xvii-xx).

<sup>16</sup> Eusebius discusses the second century church father Clement of Alexandria and another scholar, Pantaenus, before discussing the bishops in Jerusalem (see *Hist. eccl.* 5.10-11).

<sup>17</sup> LCL 153: 464-466.





***Itinerarium Burdigalense or Itinerary of the Bordeaux Pilgrim (c. 333 AD)***

591

*Et in aide ipsa, ubi templum fuit, quod Salomon aedificavit ... Sunt ibi et statuae duae Hadriani.*<sup>19</sup>

And in the sanctuary itself, where the Temple stood which Solomon built ... two statues of Hadrian stand there.<sup>20</sup>

**Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini*, 'Life of Constantine' (c. 337 AD)*****3.25–26—How the Tomb of Jesus was Covered by Hadrian in the 130s AD***

(25) Τούτων δ' ὧδ' ἔχόντων, μνήμα ἄλλο τι μέγιστον ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλαιστινῶν ἔθνους ὁ θεοφιλῆς εἰργάζετο. τί δ' ἦν τοῦτο; τὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως μακαριστότατον τόπον ἐδόκει δεῖν αὐτῷ προφανῆ καὶ σεπτὸν ἀποφῆναι τοῖς πᾶσιν. αὐτίκα δ' οὖν οἶκον εὐκτῆριον συστήσασθαι διεκελεύετο, οὐκ ἄθεοι τοῦτο ἐν διανοίᾳ βαλὼν ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος.

(26) Ἄνδρες μὲν γὰρ ποτε δυσσεβεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνων διὰ τούτων γένος, σπουδῇ ἔθεντο σκότῳ καὶ λήθῃ παραδοῦναι τὸ θεσπέσιον ἐκεῖνο τῆς ἀθανασίας μνήμα, παρ' ᾧ φῶς ἐξαστράπτων ὁ καταβάς οὐρανόθεν ἄγγελος ἀπεκύλισε τὸν λίθον τῶν τὰς διανοίας λελιθωμένων καὶ τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν ἔθ' ὑπάρχειν ὑπειληφόντων, τὰς γυναικάς εὐαγγελιζόμενος τὸν τ' εἰς ἀπιστίας λίθον τῆς αὐτῶν διανοίας ἐπὶ δόξῃ τῆς τοῦ ζητουμένου ζωῆς ἀφαιρούμενος. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ σωτήριον ἄντρον ἄθεοί τινες καὶ δυσσεβεῖς ἀφανὲς ἐξ ἀνθρωπῶν ποιήσασθαι διανεινόντο ἄφρονι λογισμῷ τὴν εἰσενεγκάμενοι μόχθον, γῆν ἑξωθέν ποθεν εἰσφορήσαντες τὸν πάντα καλύπτουσι τόπον, κᾶπειτ' εἰς ὕψος αἰωρήσαντες λίθῳ τε καταστρώσαντες κάτω που τὸ θεῖον ἄντρον ὑπὸ πολλῷ τῷ χώματι κατακρύπτουσιν. εἴθ' ὥς οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς λειπομένου, τῆς γῆς ὑπερθε δεινὸν ὥς ἀληθῶς ταφῶνα ψυκῶν ἐπισκευάζουσι νεκρῶν εἰδώλων, σκότιον Ἀφροδίτης ἀκολάστῳ δαίμονι μυχὸν οἰκοδομῶντες, κᾶπειτα μυσσάρας ἐνταυθοῖ θυσίας ἐπὶ βεβήλων καὶ ἐναγῶν βωμῶν ἐπισπένδοντες· ταύτῃ γὰρ μόνος καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως τὸ στουδασθὲν εἰς ἔργον ἄξειν ἐνόμιζον, εἰ διὰ τοιούτων ἐναγῶν μυσσημάτων τὸ σωτήριον ἄντρον κατακρύψειαν. οὐ γὰρ οἱοί τε ἦσαν συνιέναι οἱ δαίμονες, ὥς οὐκ εἶχεν φύσιν τὸν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου βραβεῖα ἀναδησάμενον κρύφιον κατακιπεῖν τὸ κατόρθωμα, οὐδε τὴν σύμπασαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένην λαθεῖν λάμπων ὑπὲρ γῆς γενόμενος ὁ ἥλιος καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐν οὐρανῷ διηπεύων δρόμον· τοῦτου γὰρ κρειττόνως ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' οὐ σώματα ἢ σωτήριος καταναγάζουσα δυνάμεις τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ φωτὸς μαρμαρυγῶν τὸν σύμπαντα κατεπλήρου κόσμον. πλὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀθέων καὶ δυσσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας μηχανήματα μακροῖς παρετείετο χρόνοις, οὐδεῖς τε τῶν πώποτε, οὐκ ἡγουμένων, οὐ στρατηγῶν, οὐκ αὐτῶν βασιλέων, ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῶν τετολμημένων εὐρηται ἐπιτήδειος ἢ μόνος εἰς ὃ τῷ παμβασιλεῖ θεῷ φίλος. πνεύματι γοῦν κάτοχος θεῖῳ χώρον αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸν δεδηλωμένον πάσαις οὐ καθαρᾷς ὕλαις ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλαῖς κατακεκρύφθαι λήθῃ τε καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ παραδεδομένον οὐ παριδῶν, οὐδὲ τῇ τῶν αἰτίων παραχωρήσας κακίᾳ, θεὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ συνεργὸν ἐπικαλεσάμενος καθαίρεσθαι

<sup>19</sup> Tobler 1870: 4.<sup>20</sup> Wilkinson 1981: 156–157.

προσάττει, αὐτὴν δὴ μάλιστα τὴν ὑπο τῶν ἐχθρῶν μεμιασμένην ἀπολαῦσαι δεῖν οἰόμενος τῆς τοῦ παναγάρχου δι' αὐτοῦ μεγαλουργίας. ἅμα δὲ προστάγματι τὰ τῆς ἀπάτης μηχανήματα εἰς ἔδαφος ἄνωθεν ἀφ' ὕψηλῳ κατερρίπτετο, ἐλευτό τε καὶ καθηρεῖτο αὐτοῖς ξοάνοις καὶ δαίμοσι τὰ τῆς πλάνης οἰκοδομήματα.<sup>21</sup>

(25) After these things, the pious emperor addressed himself to another work truly worthy of record, in the province of Palestine. What then was this work? He judged it incumbent on him to render the blessed locality of our Saviour's resurrection an object of attraction and veneration to all. He issued immediate injunctions, therefore, for the erection in that spot of a house of prayer: and this he did, not on the mere natural impulse of his own mind, but being moved in spirit by the Savior himself.

(26) For it had been in time past the endeavor of impious men (or rather let me say of the whole race of evil spirits through their means), to consign to the darkness of oblivion that divine monument of immortality to which the radiant angel had descended from heaven, and rolled away the stone for those who still had stony hearts, and who supposed that the living One still lay among the dead; and had declared glad tidings to the women also, and removed their stony-hearted unbelief by the conviction that he whom they sought was alive. This sacred cave, then, certain impious and godless persons had thought to remove entirely from the eyes of men, supposing in their folly that thus they should be able effectually to obscure the truth. Accordingly they brought a quantity of earth from a distance with much labor, and covered the entire spot; then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the holy cave beneath this massive mound. Then, as thought their purpose had been effectually accomplished, they prepare on this foundation a truly dreadful sepulcher of souls, by building a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols to the impure spirit whom they call Venus, and offering detestable oblations therein on profane and accursed altars. For they supposed that their object could not otherwise be fully attained, than by thus burying the sacred cave beneath these foul pollutions. Unhappy men! They were unable to comprehend how impossible it was that their attempt should remain unknown to him who had been crowned with victory over death, any more than the blazing sun, when he rises above the earth, and holds his wonted course through the midst of heaven, it unseen by the whole race of mankind. Indeed, his saving power, shining with still greater brightness, and illumining, not the bodies but the souls of men, was already filling the world with the effulgence of its own light. Nevertheless, these devices of impious and wicked men against the truth had prevailed for a long time, nor had any one of the governors, or military commanders, or even of the emperors themselves ever yet appeared, with the ability to abolish these daring impieties, save only that one who enjoyed the favor of the King of kings. And now, acting as he did under the guidance of the divine Spirit, he could not consent to see the sacred spot of which we have spoken, thus buried, through the devices of the adversaries, under every kind of impurity, and abandoned to forgetfulness and neglect; nor would he yield to the malice of those who had contracted this guilt, but calling on the divine aid, gave orders that the place should be thoroughly purified, thinking that the parts which had been most polluted by the enemy ought to receive special tokens, through his means, of the greatness of divine favor. As soon, then,

<sup>21</sup> PG 20: cols. 1085–1088; cf. also Schneider 2007: 342–347.

as his commands were issued, these engines of deceit were cast down from their proud eminence to the very ground, and the dwelling-places of error, with the statues and the evil spirits which they represented, were overthrown and utterly destroyed.<sup>22</sup>

**Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, *De mensuris et ponderibus*, ‘On Weights and Measures’ (c. 392 AD)**

Διέρχεται οὖν τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν, ὑπερβαίνει τὴν Κοίλιν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην, καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνην, τὴν καὶ Ἰουδαίαν καλουμένην, μετὰ ἔτη μζ’ τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐρημώσεως. Καὶ ἀνεισιν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν περίπυστον πόλιν καὶ ὀνομαστήν, ἣν κατέστρεψε Τίτος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παῖς τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας. Καὶ εἶρε τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ἡδαφισμένην, καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Θεοῦ καταπεπατημένοι, παρεκτὸς ὀλίγων οἰκημάτων καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας, μικρᾶς οὔσης, ἔνθα ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ μαθηταί, ὅτε ὁ Σωτὴρ ἀνελήφθη ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐλαιῶνος, ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶν. Ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὠκοδόμητο, τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ μέρει Σιών, ἥτις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρημώσεως παρελήφθη, καὶ μέρη οἰκήσεων περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σιών, καὶ ἑπτὰ συναγωγαί, αἱ ἐν τῇ Σιών μόναι ἐστήκεσαν, ὥς καλύβαι, ἐξ ὧν μία περιελήφθη, ἕως χρόνου Μαξιμιανῶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥς σκηνὴ ἐν ἀμπελῶνι, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον. Διανοεῖται οὖν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς τὴν πόλιν κτίσαι, οὐ μὴν τὸ ἱερόν. Καὶ λαβὼν τὸν Ἀκύλαν τοῦτον τὸν προειρημένον ἐρμηνευτὴν, Ἑλληνα ὄντα, καὶ αὐτοῦ πενθερίδην, ἀπὸ Σινώπης δὲ τῆς Πόντου ὁρμώμενον, καθίστησιν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ σε ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν τῆς πόλεως κτισμάτων, ἐπιτεθεικῶς τῇ πόλει τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ὀνόματος τὸν χρηματισμόν. Ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὠνόμαστο Αἴλιος Ἀδριανός, οὕτως καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠνόμασεν Αἰλίαν.<sup>23</sup>

XIV

He [Hadrian] came to the city of Antioch, crossed Caelo Syria and Phoenicia, and came into the country of Palestine, which is also called Judaea, in the forty-seventh year since the ruin of Jerusalem. He arrived at the most famous and noble city of Jerusalem, which was laid waste by Titus, the son of Vespasian, in the second year of his reign. He found the whole city razed to the ground, and the Temple of the Lord trodden under foot, there being only a few houses standing, and the Church of God, a small building, on the place where the disciples on their return from the Mount of Olives, after the Savior's Ascension, assembled in the upper chamber. This was built in the part of Sion which had escaped destruction, together with some buildings round about Sion, and seven synagogues that stood alone in Sion like cottages, one of which remained standing down to the time of Bishop Maximus and the Emperor Constantine, 'like a lodge in a garden of cucumbers,' in the words of Scripture. Now, Hadrian meditated the restoration of the city, but not of the Temple. He appointed the aforesaid Aquila to superintend the works connected with the building of the city. He gave the city his own name and the use of the imperial title; for as he was named Aelius Hadrianus, he named the city Aelia.

<sup>22</sup> NPNF 1: 526–527.

<sup>23</sup> PG 43: cols. 259–261.

## XV

‘Ο τοῖνον Ἀκύλας διάγων ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ ὁρῶν τοὺς μαθητὰς τῶν μαθητῶν ἀποστόλων ἀνθοῦντας τῇ πίστει, καὶ σημεία μεγάλα ἐργαζομένους ἰάσεων καὶ ἄλλων θαυμάτων· Ἦσαν γὰρ ὑποστρέψαντες ἀπὸ Πέλλης τῆς πόλεως εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ διδάσκοντες. Ἦνίκα γὰρ ἔμελλεν ἡ πόλις ἀλίσκεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, προεχρηματίσθησαν ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου πάντες οἱ μαθηταὶ μεταστῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, μελλούσης ἄρδην ἀπόλλυσθαι. Οἵτινες καὶ μετανάσκει γενόμενοι ὤκησαν ἐν Πέλλῃ τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ πόλει, πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ἥτις ἐκ Δεκαπόλεως λέγεται εἶναι. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐπαναστρέψαντες, ὡς ἔφην, σημεία μεγάλα ἐπετέλουν.<sup>24</sup>

Now Aquila dwelt at Jerusalem, and beheld the disciples of those who had been taught by the apostles, full of faith and working great miracles both in healing and otherwise. By this time, indeed, they had returned to Jerusalem from Pella, and were teaching there; for, when the city was about to be taken by the Romans, all the disciples were warned by an angel to depart from the city, as it was about to be utterly destroyed. They therefore left their home and sojourned in the aforesaid city of Pella beyond Jordan, which is reckoned one of the cities of Decapolis. After the destruction of Jerusalem, they came back, as I have already told, and wrought mighty works.<sup>25</sup>

### Jerome, *Epistulae*, ‘Epistles’ (c. 390s AD)

#### Letter 58.3

*Ab Adriani temporibus usque ad imperium Constantini per annos circiter centum octoginta in loco resurrectionis simulacrum Iovis, in cruces rupe statua ex marmore Veneris a gentilibus posita colebatur: existimantibus persecutionis auctoribus, quod tollerent nobis fidem resurrectionis et cruces, si loca sancta per idola polluisent.*<sup>26</sup>

From the time of Hadrian to the reign of Constantine—a period of about one hundred and eighty years—the spot which had witnessed the resurrection was occupied by a figure of Jupiter; while on the rock where the cross had stood, a marble statue of Venus was set up by the heathen and became an object of worship. The original persecutors, indeed, supposed that by polluting our holy places they would deprive us of our faith in the passion and in the resurrection.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> PG 43: col. 262.

<sup>25</sup> Wilson 1906: 173–174.

<sup>26</sup> PL 22: col. 581.

<sup>27</sup> NPNF 6: 120.



shines in the Church of His Resurrection, and the banner of the Cross also gleams from the Mount of Olives, the miserable people mourn over the ruins of their Temples...<sup>33</sup>

### Sulpicius Severus, *Historia Sacra*, 'Sacred History' (c. 403 AD)

2.30

*Fertur Titus adhibito consilio prius deliberasse, an templum tanti operas everteret; etanim nonnullis videbatur, aedem sacratam, ultra omnia mortalia iliustrem, non debere deleri; quae servata modestiae Romanae testimonium, diruta perennem crudelitatis notam praeberet. At contra alii, et Titus ipse, evertendum templum in primis censebant, quo plenius Judaeorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur, quippe has religions, licet contrarias sibi, iisdem tamen aucioribus profecias; Christianos ex Judaeis exstittisse; radice sublata stirpem facile perituram.*<sup>34</sup>

Titus is said, after calling a council, to have first deliberated whether he should destroy the Temple, a structure of such extraordinary work. For it seemed good to some that a sacred edifice, distinguished above all human achievements, ought not to be destroyed, inasmuch as, if preserved, it would furnish an evidence of Roman moderation, but, if destroyed, would serve for a perpetual proof of Roman cruelty. But on the opposite side, others, and Titus himself, thought that the Temple out specially to be overthrown, in order that the religion of the Jews and of the Christians might more thoroughly be subverted; for that these religions, although contrary to each other, had nevertheless proceeded from the same authors; that the Christians had sprung up from among the Jews; and that, if the root were extirpated, the offshoot would speedily perish.<sup>35</sup>

2.31

*Qua tempestate Hadrianus fidem loci injuria peremturum, ... et in templa ac loco Dominicae passionis daemonum simulacra constituit; et (quia Christiani ex Judaeis potissimum putabantur : namque tum Hierosolymae non nisi ex circumcisione habebat Ecclesia Sacerdotem) militum cohortem custodias in perpetuum agitare jussit, quae Judaeos omnes Hierosolymae aditu arceret...ita tum primum Marcus ex gentibus, apud Hierosolymam episcopus fuit.*

At this time Hadrian, thinking that he would destroy the Christian faith by inflicting an injury upon the place, set up the images of demons, both in the Temple and in the place where the Lord suffered. And because the Christians were thought principally to consist of Jews (for the Church at Jerusalem did not then have a priest except of the circumcision), he ordered a cohort of soldiers to keep constant guard, in order to prevent all Jews from approaching to Jerusalem...Mark from among the Gentiles was then, first of all, bishop at Jerusalem.

<sup>33</sup> Wilson 1906: 175.

<sup>34</sup> PL 20: cols.146-147.

<sup>35</sup> NPNF 11: 111-112

## 6.22. *Chronicon Paschale*, ‘Paschal Chronicle’ (c. 627 AD), author unknown

224.9–12, 16–17

καὶ καθελὼν τὸν ναὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔκτισε τὰ δύο δημόσια καὶ τὸ θέατρον καὶ τὸ τρικάμαρον καὶ τὸ τετράνυμφον καὶ τὸ δωδεκάπυλον τὸ πρὶν ὀνομαζόμενον ἀναβαθμοὶ καὶ τὴν κόδραν, καὶ ἐμέρισεν τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἑπτὰ ἄμφοδα, καὶ ἔστησεν ἀνθρώπους ἰδίους ἀμφοδάρχας, καὶ ἐκάστῳ ἀμφοδάρχει ἀπένειμεν ἄμφοδον· καὶ ἕως τῆς σήμερον εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἀμφοδάρχου ὄνομα ἕκαστος ἄμφοδον χρηματίζει. καὶ ἐπέθηκε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει, Αἰλίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας, ἐπειδὴ Αἰλῖος Ἀδριανὸς ἐλέγετο.<sup>36</sup>

After the Jerusalem Temple had been destroyed, he [Hadrian] founded two public forums, a theater, a *Tricameron*, a *Tetranymphon*, and a *Dodekapylon* (the one previously known as the Ascent [?]), and the *Quadra*, and he divided the city into seven quarters, and set the people under local rulers, with each local ruler in the midst of the quarter; and to this day, by the authority of the local ruler, each quarter is preserved. And he gave the city a name, Aelia, his name, because he was called Aelius Hadrianus.<sup>37</sup>

## THE DISCOVERY OF THE ROCK-CUT TOMB, THE CONSTRUCTION OF CONSTANTINE’S CHURCH, AND DESCRIPTIONS OF THE STRUCTURE AND ENSHRINED HOLY SITES

### Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini*, ‘Life of Constantine’ (c. 337 AD)

3.27—*Excavation of the Tomb*

οὐ μὴν δ’ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ τῆς σπουδῆς ἴστατο, ἀλλὰ πάλιν βασιλεὺς αἵρεσθαι καὶ πορρωτάτῳ τῆς χώρας ἀπορρίπτεσθαι τῶν καθαιρουμένων τὴν ἐν λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις ὕλην προστάττει. ἔργον δὲ καὶ τῷδε παρηκολούθει τῷ λόγῳ. ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τοῦτο μόνον προελθεῖν ἀπῆρκει, πάλιν δ’ ἐπιθειάσας βασιλεὺς τοῦδαφος αὐτοῦ, πολὺ τοῦ χώρου βάθος ἀνορύξαντας, αὐτῷ χοῖ πόρῳ που καὶ ἐξωτάτῳ λύθροις ἅτε δαιμονικοῖς ἐρρυπωμένον ἐκφορεῖσθαι παρακελεύεται.<sup>38</sup>

Nor did the emperor’s zeal stop here; but he gave further orders that the materials of what was thus destroyed, both stone and timber, should be removed and thrown as far from the spot as possible; and this command was also speedily executed. The emperor, however, was not satisfied with having proceeded thus far; once more, fired with holy ardor, he directed that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth, and the soil which had been polluted by the foul impurities of demon worship transported to a far distant place.

3.28 – *The Tomb is Revealed*

Παραχρῆμα δ’ ἐπετελεῖτο καὶ τοῦτο. ὥς δ’ ἕτερον ἀνθ’ ἑτέρου στοιχείῳ ὁ κατὰ βάθους τῆς γῆς ἀνεφάνη χώρος, αὐτὸ δὴ λοιπὸν τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ πανάγιον τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως μαρτύριον παρ’ ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν ἀνεφαίνετο, καὶ τό τε ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων ἄντρον τὴν ὁμοίαν τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος

<sup>36</sup> CSHB 35: 474; see also PG 92: cols. 613–615.

<sup>37</sup> Author’s translation; cf. Wilson 1906: 178, no. 24.

<sup>38</sup> For *Vit. Const.* 3.27, 28, 30 see PG 20: cols. 1087–1090 and NPNF 1: 527–528 for translation.

ἀναβιώσεως ἀπελάμβανεν εἰκόνα. διὸ μετὰ τὴν ἐν σκότῳ κατὰδυσιν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸ φῶς προῆει καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ θέαν ἀφικνουμένοις ἐναργῆ παρῆχεν ὁρᾶν τῶν αὐτόθι πεπραγμένων θαυμάτων τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἔργοις ἀπάσης γεγωνοτέρους φωνῆς τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀνάστασιν μαρτυρόμενον.

This was also accomplished without delay. But as soon as the original surface of the ground, beneath the covering of earth, appeared, immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hallowed monument of our Savior's resurrection was discovered. Then indeed did this most holy cave present a faithful similitude of his return to life, in that, after lying buried in darkness, it again emerged to light, and afforded all who came to witness the sight, and clear and visible proof of the wonders of which that spot had once been on the scene, a testimony to the resurrection of the Savior clearer than any voice could give.

### 3.30—Portion of a Letter from Constantine to Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem

Νικητῆς Κωνσταντίνις Μέγιστος Σεβαστὸς Μακαρίῳ

Τοσαύτη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἡ χάρις, ὡς μηδεμίαν λόγων χορηγίαν τοῦ παρόντος θαύματος ἀξίαν εἶναι δοκεῖν· τὸ γὰρ γινώρισμα τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου ἐκείνου πάθους ὑπὸ τῇ τῇ πάλαι κρυπτόμενον τοσαύταις ἐτῶν περιόδοις λαθεῖν, ἄχρις οὗ διὰ τῆς τοῦ κοινου πάντων ἐχθροῦ ἀναιρέσεως ἐλευθερωθεῖσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ θεράπουσιν ἀναλάμπειν ἔμελλε, πᾶσαν ἔκπληξιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπερβαίνει ... Ὅπερ δ' οὖν πᾶσιν εἶναι νομίζω φανερόν, ἐκεῖ νο μάλιστα πεπεῖσθαι βούλομαι, ὡς ἄρα πάντων μοι μᾶλλον μέλει, ὅπως τὸν ἱερόν ἐκεῖνον τόπον, ὃν Θεοῦ προστάγματι, αἰσχίστης εἰδώλου προσθήκης ὥσπερ τινὸς ἐτικειμένου βάρους, ἐκούφισα, ἅγιον μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Θεοῦ κρίσει γεγενημένον, ἁγιώτερον δ' ἀποφανθέντα, ἀφ' οὗ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους πίστιν εἰς φῶς προήγαγεν, οἰκοδομημάτων κάλλει κοσμήσωμεν.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Macarius.

Such is our Saviour's grace that no power of language seems adequate to describe the wondrous circumstance to which I am about to refer. For, that monument of his most holy Passion, so long ago buried beneath the ground, should have remained unknown for so long a series of years, until its reappearance to his servants now set free through the removal of him who was the common enemy of all, is a which truly surpasses all admiration ... I desire, therefore, especially, that you should be persuaded of that which I suppose is evident to all beside, namely, that I have no greater care than how I may adorn with a splendid structure that sacred spot, which, under Divine direction, I have disencumbered as it were of the heavy weight of foul idol worship; a spot which has been accounted holy from the beginning in God's judgment, but which now appears holier still, since it brought to light a clear assurance of our Savior's passion.

### 3.33–40—The Construction of the Church and Its Description According to Eusebius<sup>39</sup>

(33) Ταῦτα μὲν ἔγραφε βασιλεύς. Ἄμα δὲ λόγῳ, δι' ἔργων ἐχώρει τὰ πράγματα· καὶ δὴ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον ἡ νέα κατεσκευάζετο Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ

<sup>39</sup> PG 20: cols. 1093–1099. The translation of *Vit. Const.* 3.34–39 is adapted from Gibson and Taylor 1994: 73–74 as it is the best translation suited for the study of the church; see also NPNF 1: 529–530.



πάλαι βοωμένη, ἡ μετὰ τὴν κυριοκτόνον μαιφονίαν ἐρημίας ἐπ' ἔσχατα περιτραπέισα, δίχην ἔτισε δυσσεβῶν οἰκητόρων. Ταύτη δ' οὖν ἄντικρυς βασιλεὺς τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου σωτήριον νίκην, πλουσίαις καὶ δασιλέσιν ἀύψου φιλοτιμίαις, τάχα που ταύτην οὖσαν τὴν διὰ προφητικῶν θεσπισμάτων κεκηρυγμένην καινὴν καὶ νέαν Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἥς περὶ μακροὶ λόγοι, μυρία δι' ἐνθέου Πνεύματος θεσπίζοντες ἀνυμνοῦσι. Καὶ δὴ τοῦ παντὸς ὥσπερ τινὰ κεφαλὴν, πρῶτον ἀπάντων τὸ ἱερὸν ἄντρον ἐκόσμι, μνημα ἐκεῖνο θεσπέσιον, παρ' ᾧ φῶς ἐξαστράπτων ποτὲ ἄγγελος, τὴν διὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐνδεικνυμένην παλιγγενεσίαν τοῖς πᾶσιν εὐηγγελίζετο.

(33) Accordingly, on the very spot which witnessed the Savior's sufferings, a new Jerusalem was constructed, over against the one so celebrated of old, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the last extremity of desolation, the effect of Divine judgement on its impious people. It was opposite this city that the emperor now began to rear a monument to the Savior's victory over death, with rich and lavish magnificence. And it may be that this was that second and new Jerusalem spoken of in the predictions of the prophets,<sup>40</sup> concerning which such abundant testimony is given in the divinely inspired records. First of all, then, he adorned the sacred cave itself, as the chief part of the whole work, and the hallowed monument at which the angel radiant with light had once declared to all that regeneration which was first manifested in the Savior's person.

### The Edicule

(34) Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν πρῶτον, ὥσανεὶ τοῦ παντὸς κεφαλὴν, ἑξαιρέτοις κίοσι, κόσμῳ τε πλείστῳ κατεποίκιλεν ἡ βασιλέως φιλοτιμία, παντοίοις καλλωπίσμασι καταφαιδρύνουσα.

(34) So, first, the royal generosity made the cave radiant with all kinds of adornment, as if this was the chief part of the whole. He<sup>41</sup> embellished the holy cave with choice columns and with profuse decoration.

### The Courtyard

(35) Διέβαινε δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ παμμεγέθῃ χώρον, εἰς καθαρὸν αἶθριον ἀναπεπταμένον· ὃν δὴ λίθος λαμπρὸς κατεστρωμένος ἐπ' ἐδάφους ἐκόσμι, μακροῖς περιδρόμοις στοῶν ἐκ τριπλεύρου περιεχόμενον.

(35) He passed on next to an enormous space, into a clear, open-air, outspread area. He then adorned this by laying bright stone upon the ground, and surrounded it with long porticoes on three sides.

<sup>40</sup> Eusebius may be referring to Revelation 21:2 here.

<sup>41</sup> Gibson and Taylor (1994: 73) point out that in the Greek text, it is Constantine's 'royal generosity' that accomplishes the construction and not the emperor *per se*, but 'he' is added in the translation for clarification.

## The Basilica

(36) Τῷ γὰρ καταντικρὺν πλευρῷ τοῦ ἄντρου, ὃ δὴ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἑώρα, ὁ βασιλείος συνήπτο νεῶς, ἔργον ἐξαίσιον, εἰς ὕψος ἄπειρον ἠρμένον, μήχους τε καὶ πλάτους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εὐρυνόμενον· οὐδὲν τὰ μὲν εἰσω τῆς οἰκοδομίας, ὕλης μαρμάρου ποικίλης διεκάλυπτον πλακώσεις, ἡ δ' ἐκτὸς τῶν τοίχων ὄψις, ἔστω λίθῳ ταῖς πρὸς ἕκαστον ἀρμογαῖς συνημμένῳ λαμπρυνομένη, ὑπερφυῖς τι χρῆμα κάλλους τῆς ἐκ μαρμάρου προσάψεως οὐδὲν ἀποδέον, παρείχεν. Ἄνω δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ὀρόφοις, τὰ μὲν ἐκτὸς δωματα μολύβδου περιέφραττειν ὕλη, ὄμβρων ἀσφαλὲς ἔρυμα χειμερίων· τὰ δὲ τῆς εἰσω στέγης γλυφαῖς φατνωμάτων ἀπηρτισμένα, καὶ ὥσπερ τι μέγα πέλαγος καθ' ὅλου τοῦ βασιλείου οἴκου συνεχέσι ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλας συμπλοκαῖς ἀνευρυνόμενα, κρυσθῷ τε διαυγέϊ δι' ὅλου κεκαλυμμένα, φωτὸς οἶα μαρμαρυγαῖς τὸν πάντα νεῶν ἐξαστράπτειν ἐποίει.

(37) Ἀμφὶ δ' ἐκάτερα τα πλευρὰ διττῶν στοῶν, ἀναγείων τε καὶ καταγείων δίδυμοι παραστάδες, τῷ μήκει τοῦ νεῶ συνεξετείνοντο, χρυσῷ καὶ αὐταὶ τοὺς ὀρόφους πεποικιλμέναι· ὧν αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ οἴκου, κίοσι παμμεγέθεσιν ἐπηρείδοντο, αἱ δ' εἰσω τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπὸ πεσσοῖς ἀνηγείροντο, πολλὴν τὸν ἐξωθεν περιβεβλημένοις κόσμον. Πύλαι δὲ τρεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον εὖ διακείμεναι, τὰ πλήθη τῶν εἰσω φερομένων ὑπεδέχοντο.

(38) Τοῦτων δ' ἀντικρὺν, τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ παντὸς ἡμισφαιρίου ἦν, ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ βασιλείου ἐκτεταμένον· ὃ δὴ δυοκαίδεκα κίονες ἐστεφάνουν, τοῖς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀποστόλοις ἰσαριθμοί, κρατῆρσι μεγίστοις ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένοις τάς κορυφὰς κοσμοῦμενοι· οὓς δὴ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἀνάθημα κάλλιστον ἐποιεῖτο τῷ αὐτοῦ Θέῳ.

(36) The royal house<sup>42</sup> was attached to the side opposite the cave, which looked toward the rising sun. It was an extraordinary work, built extremely high and to the maximum in length and breadth. The inner surfaces of the building were covered with slabs of variously colored marble. The appearance of the walls outside was bright with polished stone, with each one fitting together exactly (something of marvelous beauty in no way inferior to the appearance of marble). Above, on the roofs, he protected the exterior structures with lead; a sure protection against winter rains. The inside surfaces of the ceiling were completed with carved panels and, like some great sea, they extended over the entire royal house by continuous interweavings with one another. It was overlaid throughout with radiant gold, of such a kind that made the whole temple glitter with sparkles of light.

(37) Around both sides were two rows of double porticoes, an upper and a lower one, which ran the length of the temple. These had roofs embellished with gold. The porticoes by the interior face<sup>43</sup> of the building were supported by columns of enormous size, while those porticoes inside the porticoes before the walls were held up by pillars with much decoration around the outside. Three gates facing the rising sun were well placed to admit the crowds coming in.

<sup>42</sup> Gibson and Taylor (1994: 73–74) translate *basileios* here as 'royal temple,' which is somewhat confusing because later, they render the same term as 'royal house.' Because Eusebius does employ the word 'temple' (*neōs*) to refer to the church in chapters 39 and 40, I have rendered *basileios* as 'royal house.'

<sup>43</sup> Eusebius simply uses *prosōpon* 'face' here. Gibson and Taylor (1994: 73–74) insert 'interior' for clarification.

(38) Opposite these doors was the main part of all this: a dome,<sup>44</sup> which has been extended to the highest part of the royal house. Twelve columns crowned it, equal in number to the Savior's apostles. These were adorned at the tops with great bowls made of silver, which the Emperor himself provided (or donated<sup>45</sup>) as a splendid offering to his God.

### The Entryway

(39) Ἐνθεν δὲ προϊόντων ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ νεῶς κειμένας εἰσόδους, αἴθριον διελάμβανεν. Ἦσαν δὲ ἐνταυθοῖ παρ' ἑκάτερα, καὶ αὐτὴ πρώτη, στοαὶ τ' ἐπὶ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αἱ αὐλαιοὶ πύλαι· μεθ' ἧς ἐπὶ αὐτῆς μέσης πλατείας ἀγορᾶς, τὰ τοῦ παντὸς προπύλαια φιλοκάλως ἡσκημένα, τοῖς τὴν ἐκτὸς πορείαν ποιουμένοις καταπληκτικὴν παρέϊκον τὴν τῶν ἔνδον ὀρωμένην θέαν.

(39) Then, moving on to the entrances that lie in front of the temple, he enclosed another open area. Here beside each entrance, there were arcades. There was first a court, and next to this porticoes,<sup>46</sup> and against all of this the gates of the courtyard. Then, right in the middle of the market's colonnaded street, was the beautifully adorned main entrance. The clearly visible view of the interior caused astonishment to those walking past outside.

### Summary

(40) Τόνδε μὲν οὖν τὸν νεῶν, σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐναργὲς αἴστη μαρτύριον βασιλεὺς, πλουσίᾳ καὶ βασιλικῇ κατασκευῇ τὸν σύμπαντα καταφαιδρύνας· ἐκόσμη δ' αὐτὸν ἀδιηγῆτοις κάλλεσι πλείστον ὅσων ἀναθημάτων, κρυσσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν ἐν διαλλαττούσαις ὕλαις· ὧν τὴν κατὰ μέρος ἐπισκευὴν φιλοτέχνως εἰργασμένην, μεγέθει τε καὶ πλήθει καὶ ποικιλίαις, οἱ σχολὴ νῦν ἐπεξίεναι τῷ λόγῳ.

(40) This temple, then, the emperor erected as a conspicuous monument of the Savior's resurrection, and embellished it throughout on an imperial scale of magnificence. He further enriched it with numberless offerings of inexpressible beauty and various materials—gold, silver, and precious stones, the skillful and elaborate arrangement of which, in regard to their magnitude, number, and variety, we have not leisure at present to describe particularly.

**Eusebius, *Oratio Eusebii de laudibus Constantini in ejus tricennialibus habita*, 'Oration of Eusebius, In Praise of the Emperor Constantine Pronounced on the Thirtieth Anniversary of His Reign' (c. 335 AD)**

### Chapter 9

Τὰ δὲ μὲν οὖν ὧδε συνεστελεῖτο· τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλαιστινῶν ἔθνους, τῆς Ἑβραίων βασιλικῆς εστίας ἐν μέσῳ, κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον, οἶκον εὐκτήριον παμμεγέθη, νεῶν

<sup>44</sup> It is not clear what the *hēmisphaïrion* is, as Schneider (2007: 356, n. 221) notes, 'Was genau gemeint ist, bleibt unklar und ist in der Forschung umstritten.' Coüasnon (1974: 44) believes this to be the semi-circular apse of the basilica. Gibson and Taylor (1994: 74) interpret it as this to be a dome in the roof situated over the apse.

<sup>45</sup> This is based on a later manuscript which has *edōreito* (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 74).

<sup>46</sup> A later manuscript has instead *exedrai* (Gibson and Taylor 1994: 74).

τε ἅγιον τῷ σωτηριῷ σημείῳ πλουσίως καὶ δαψιλέσι κατεκόσμηι φιλοτιμiais, μνήμᾳ τε μνήμης αἰωνίου γέμον, αὐτὰ τε τοῦ μεγάλου Σωτῆρος τὰ κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου τρόπαια, λόγου ταντὸς κρείττοσιν ἐτίμα καλλωπίσμασι.<sup>47</sup>

Again in the province of Palestine, in that city which was once the seat of Hebrew sovereignty, on the very site of the Lord's sepulcher, he has raised a church of noble dimensions, and adorned a temple sacred to the salutary Cross with rich and lavish magnificence, honoring that everlasting monument, and the trophies of the Savior's victory over the power of death, with a splendor which no language can describe.<sup>48</sup>

### ***Itinerarium Burdigalense or Itinerary of the Bordeaux Pilgrim (c. 333 AD)***

593–594

*Inde ut eas foras murum de Sion, eunti ad portam neapolitanam ad partem dexteram, deorsum in valle sunt parietes, ubi domus fuit sive praetorium Pontii Pilati: ubi Dominus auditus est, antequam pateretur. A sinistra autem parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidis missum est crypta, ubi corpus ejus positum fuit, et tertio die surrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini imperatoris basilica facta est, id est, dominicum mirae pulchritudinis, habens ad latus exceptoria, unde aqua levatur, et balneum a tergo, ubi infants lavantur.*<sup>49</sup>

As you leave there and pass through the wall of Sion towards the Gate of Neapolis, down in the valley on your right you have some walls where Pontius Pilate had his house, the Praetorium where the Lord's case was heard before he suffered. On your left is the hillock Golgotha where the Lord was crucified and about a stone's throw from it the vault where they laid his body, and he rose again on the third day. By order of the Emperor Constantine there has now been built there a 'basilica'—I mean a 'place for the Lord'—which has beside it cisterns of remarkable beauty, and beside them a bath where children are baptized.<sup>50</sup>

### ***Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, Catecheses or Catechetical Lectures (c. 340–350 AD)***

Lecture 10.19

Πολλὰι τυγχάνουσιν ἀληθεῖς, ἀγαπητοῖ περὶ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίαι...ὁ Γολγοθᾶς ὁ ἅγιος οὗτος ὁ ὑπερανέστηκώς, ματυρεῖ φαινόμενος· τὸ μνημα τῆς ἀγιότητος ματυρεῖ, καὶ λίθος ὁ μέχρι σήμερον κείμενος·

Many, my beloved, are the true testimonies concerning Christ...Golgotha, the holy hill standing above us here, bears witness to our sight: the Holy Spulchre bears witness, and the stone which lies there to this day.

<sup>47</sup> PG 20: cols. 1369.

<sup>48</sup> NPNF 1: 594.

<sup>49</sup> Tobler 1870: 5.

<sup>50</sup> Wilkinson 1981: 158.

*Lecture 13.39*

Ελέγξει σε ... ὁ Γολγοθᾶς οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ ὑπερανεστὼς, καὶ μέχρι σήμερον φαινόμενος, καὶ δεικνύων μέχρινυν, ὅπως διὰ Χριστὸν αἱ πέτραι τότε ἐρράγησαν· τὸ μνήμα τὸ πλησίον, ὅπου ἐτέθη· καὶ ὁ ἐπιτεθεὶς τῇ θύρᾳ λίθος, ὁ μέχρι σήμερον παρὰ τῷ μνημείῳ χείμενος.

This holy Golgotha, which stands high above us, and shows itself to this day and displays even yet how because of Christ the rocks were then risen; the sepulcher nigh at hand where he was laid; and the stone which was laid on the door, which lies to this day by the tomb;

*Lecture 14.5*

κῆπος γὰρ ἦν ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα νῦν βασιλικαῖς δωρεαῖς ἐφαιδρύνθη, ἀλλὰ κῆπος ἦν πρότερον, καὶ τὰ σύμβολα τούτου μένει καὶ τὰ λείψανα.

For it was in a garden where He was crucified. For though it has now been most highly adorned with royal gifts, yet formerly it was a garden, and the signs and the remnants of this remain.

*Lecture 14.9*

Ἐν σκέπῃ τῆς πέτρας. Σκέπῃν τῆς πέτρας εἶπε τὴν τότε πρὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ σωτηρίου μνήματος οὖσαν σκέπῃν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πέτρας, καθὼς σύνθηες ἐνταῦθα γίνεσθαι πρὸ τῶν μνημάτων, λελαξευμένην. Νῦν γὰρ οὐ φαίνεται, ἐπεὶ τότε ἐξεκολάφη τὸ προσκέπασμα διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν εὐκοσμίαν. Πρὸ γὰρ τῆς βασιλικῆς φιλοτιμίας τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ μνήματος, σκέπη ἦν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς πέτρας. Ἀλλὰ ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ πέτρα, ἡ ἔχουσα τὴν σκέπῃν; ἄρα περὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς πόλεως κεῖται, ἢ περὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα; καὶ πότερον ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τείχεσιν ἐστὶν, ἢ τοῖς ὕστερον γενομένοις προτειχίσμασι;

A cave of the rock He called the cave which was erewhile before the door of the Savior's sepulcher, and had been hewn out of the rock itself, as is wont to be done here in front of the sepulchers. For now it is not to be seen, since the outer cave was cut away at that time for the sake of the present adornment. For before the decoration of the sepulcher by the royal munificence, there was a cave in the front of the rock. But where is the rock that had in it the cave? Does it lie near the middle of the city, or near the walls and the outskirts? And whether is it within the ancient walls, or within the outer walls which were built afterwards?

*Lecture 14.22*

Πολλοὶ μάρτυρές εἰσιν τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀναστάσεως...Πέτρα τοῦ μνήματος ἡ ὑποδεξαμένη, καὶ ὁ λίθος ἀντικαταστήσεται εἰς πρόσωπον Ἰουδαίων· αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶδε τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πότε ἀποκυλισθεὶς, αὐτὸς μαρτυρεῖ τῇ ἀναστάσει, μέχρι σήμερον κείμενος.

Many are the witnesses of the Savior's resurrection...the rock of the sepulcher which received him; the stone also shall rise up against the face of the Jews, for it saw the Lord; even the stone which was then rolled away, itself bears witness to the Resurrection, lying there to this day.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> The Greek texts for the five passages cited here can be found in PG 33: cols. 685, 688, 820, 829, 833, 853; for the English see NPNF 7: 62, 92–93, 95–96, 100.

**Jerome, *Liber locorum* (translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon*; c. 363 AD)**

75.20–21

*Golgotha locus Caluariae, in quo saluator pro salute omnium crucifixus est. et usque hodie ostenditur in Aelia ad septentrionalem plagam montis Sion.*<sup>52</sup>

Golgotha. The place of Calvary, in which the Saviour was crucified for the salvation of all. Even today it is pointed out in Aelia north of Mount Sion.<sup>53</sup>

**Egeria, *Itinerarium* or *Pilgrimage to the Holy Places* (c. 385 AD)**

24.1–4, 7–10

1) *Nam singulis diebus, ante pullorum cantum, aperiuntur omnia hostia Anastasis, et descendunt omnes monazantes et parthenae, ut hic dicunt; et non solum hii, sed et laici, oraeterea viri aut mulieres, qui tamen volunt maturius vigilare...*

2) *Iam autem ubi ceperit lucescere, tunc incipient matutinos ymnos dicere. Ecce et supervenit episcopus cum clero, et statim ingreditur into spelunca, et de into cancellos primum dicet orationem pro omnibus...Et post hoc, exeunte episcopo de intro cancellos...*

3) *Item hora sexta denuo descendunt omnes similiter ad Anastasim, et dicuntur psalmi et antiphonae, donec commonetur eopsopus : similiter descendet, et non sedet, sed statim intrat intra canvellos intra Anastasim, id est intra speluncam ubi et mature : et inde similiter primum facit orationem : sic benedicet fideles, et sic exiens de intro cancellos...*

4) *Ita ergo et hora nona fit, sicuti et ad sexta. Hora autem decima (quod appellant hic licinicon, nam nos dicimus lucernare), similiter se omnis multitudo colliget ad Anastasim, incenduntur omnes candelae et cerei, et fit lumen infinitum. Lumen autem de foris non affertur, sed de spelunca interiori eicitur, ubi noctu ac die semper lucerna lucet, id est de intro cancellos..*

7) *Et post modum de Anastasi usque ad Crucem cum ymnis ducitur, episcopus simul et omnis populus vadet...Et post hoc denuo tam ipiscopus quam omnis turba vadet denuo post Crucem : et ibi denuo similiter fit, sicuti et ante Crucem...Candelae autem vitreae ingentes ubique plurimae pendent, et cereofala plurima sunt, tam ante Anastasim, quam etiam ante Crucem, sed et post Crucem...*

8) *Septim autem die, id est dominica die, ante pullorum cantum colliget se omnis multitudo, quaecumque esse potest in eo loco, ac si per pashca in basilica, quae est loco iuxta Anastasim, foras tamen, ubi luminaria pro hoc ipsud pendent*

<sup>52</sup> Klosterman 1966: 74–75.

<sup>53</sup> Translated in Biddle 1999: 64.

9) *Mox autem primus pullus cantaverit, statim descendet episcopus, et intrat intro speluncam ad Anastasim. Aperiantur hostia omnia, et intrat omnis multitudo ad Anastasim: ubi iam luminaria infinita lucent...*

10) *Dictis ergo his tribus psalmis, et factis orationibus tribus, ecce etiam thiamataria inferuntur into spelunca Anastasis, ut tota basilica Anastasis repleatur odoribus. Et tunc ibi stat episcopus into cancellos, prendet evangelium, et accedet ad hostium, et leget resurrectionem Domini episcopus opse.*

1) All the doors of the Anastasis are opened before cock-crow each day, and the ‘*monazontes* and *parthenae*’, as they call them here, come in, and also some lay men and women, at least those who are willing to wake at such an early hour.

2) As soon as dawn comes, they start the Morning Hymns, and the bishop with his clergy comes and joins them. He goes straight into the cave, and inside the screen he first says the Prayer for All...then he comes outside the screen...

3) Again at midday everyone comes into the Anastasis and says psalms and antiphons until a message is sent to the bishop. Again he enters, and without taking his seat, goes straight inside the screen in the Anastasis (which is to say into the cave where he went in the early morning), and again, after a prayer, he blesses the faithful and comes outside the screen...

4) At three o'clock they do once more that they did at midday, but at four o'clock they have *Lychnicon*, as they call it, or in our language, *Lucernare*. All the people congregate once more in the Anastasis, and the lamps and candles are all lit, which makes it very bright. The fire is brought not from outside, but from the cave—inside the screen—where a lamp is always burning night and day.

7) Then, singing hymns, they take the bishop from the Anastasis to the Cross, and everyone goes with him...Then again the bishop and all the people go Behind the Cross, and do there what they did Before the Cross...Great glass lanterns are burning everywhere, and there are many candles in front of the Anastasis, and also Before and Behind the Cross.

8) But on the seventh day, the Lord's Day, there gather in the courtyard before cock-crow all the people, as many as can get in...The courtyard is the ‘*basilica*’ beside the Anastasis, that is to say, out of doors, and lamps have been hung there for them.

9) Soon the first cock crows, and at that the bishop enters, and goes into the cave in the Anastasis. The doors are all opened, and all the people come into the Anastasis, which is already ablaze with lamps.

10) After these three psalms and prayers they take censers into the cave of the Anastasis, so that the whole Anastasis basilica is filled with the smell. Then the bishop, standing inside the screen, takes the Gospel book and goes to the door, where he himself reads the account of the Lord's resurrection.

25.1, 6, 8–11

1) *Cum luce autem, quia dominica dies est, et proceditur in ecclesia maior, quam fecit Constantinus; quae ecclesia in Golgotha est post Crucem...*

6) *Et cum toto anno semper dominica die in ecclesia maiore procedatur, id est quae in Golgotha est (id est post Crucem), quam fecit Constantinus; una tantum die dominica, id est quinquagesimarum per pentecosten...*

8) *At ubi autem resumpserit se populus hora incipiente secunda, colligent se omnes in ecclesia maiore, quae est in Golgotha. Qui autem ornatus sit illa die ecclesiae vel Anastasis, aut Crucis, aut in Bethleem, superfluum fuit scribi. Ubi extra aurum et gemmas aut sirico, nichil aliud vides...*

9) *Nam quid dicam de ornatu fabricae ipsius, quam Constantinus sub praesentia matris suae, in quantum vires regni sui habuit, honoravit auro, musivo et marmore pretioso tam ecclesiam maiorem, quam Anastasim, vel ad Crucem, vel cetera loca sancta in Ierusalima?*

10) *fit ergo prima die missa in ecclesia maiore, quae est in Golgotha...et inde postmodum cum missa ecclesiae facta fuerit, hitur cum ymnis ad Anastasim, iuxta consuetudinem...*

11) *Alia denuo die similiter in opsa ecclesia proceditur in Golgotha hoc idem et tertia die : per triduo ergo omnis laetitia in ecclesia, quam fecit Constantinus, celebratur usque ad sextam. Quarta die in Eleona, id est in ecclesia, quae est in monte oliveti, pulchra satis, similiter omnia ita ornantur, et ita celebrantur ibi. Quinta die in Lazariu, quod est ab Ierusalima forsitan ad mille quingentos passus. Sexta die in Syon. Septima die in Anastase. Octava die ad Crucem.*

1) At daybreak the people assemble in the Great Church built by Constantine on Golgotha Behind the Cross...And when the dismissal has taken place in the church—in the way which is usual everywhere—the monasontes lead the bishop with singing to the Anastasis. While they are singing and the bishop approaches, all the doors of the Anastasis basilica are opened, and the people (not the catechumens, only the faithful) all go in.

6) Every Sunday in the year except one they [all the people] assemble in the Great Church which Constantine built on Golgotha Behind the Cross; the exception is Pentecost...

8) Just after seven in the morning [during the celebration of Epiphany], when the people have rested, they all assemble in the Great Church on Golgotha. And on this day in this church, and at the Anastasis and the Cross and Bethlehem, the decorations really are too marvelous for words. All you can see is gold and jewels and silk...

9) They [the decorations and candles] are beyond description, and so is the magnificent building itself. It was built by Constantine, and under the supervision of his mother it was decorated with gold, mosaic, and precious marble, as much as his empire could provide, and this not only at the Great Church, but at the Anastasis and the Cross, and the other (10) Jerusalem holy places as well.



10) On the first day they have the service in the Great Church on Golgotha...Then, after their dismissal in the church, they go with singing to the Anastasis in the usual way...

11) On the second day they assemble in the church on Golgotha, and also on the third, and their rejoicing lasts until noon in Constantine's church on all those three days. On the fourth day they decorate everything and celebrate in the same way on the Eleona (the very beautiful church on the Mount of Olives), on the fifth at the Lazarium, about a mile and half from Jerusalem, on the sixth on Sion, and on the seventh at the Anastasis, and on the eighth At the Cross.

27.3

*Postmodum mane, sicut et semper dominica die, proceditur, et aguntur, quae dominicis diebus consuetudo est agi, in ecclesia maiore, quae appellatur Martyrio, quae est in Golgotha post Crucem.*

In the morning [during the eight weeks of the Easter season] they assemble (as they do every Sunday) in the Great Church called the Martyrium on Golgotha Behind the Cross... After the dismissal in this church they go singing...to the Anastasis...

30.1-2

*1) Alia ergo die, id est dominica, qua intratur in septimana paschale, quam hic appellant septimana maior, celebratis de pulorum cantu eis, quae consuetudinem sunt in Anastase vel ad Crucem, usque ad mane agitur. Die ergo dominica mane proceditur iuxta consuetudinem in ecclesia maiore, quae appellatur Martyrium. (2) Propterea autem Martyrium appellatur, quia in Golgotha est, id est post Crucem, ubi Dominus passus est, et ideo Martyrio. Cum ergo celebrata fuerint omnia iuxta consuetudinem in ecclesia maiore, et antequam fiat missa, mittet vocem archidiaconus, et dicit primum: iuxta septimana omne, id est de die crastino, hora nona, omnes ad Martyrium conveniamus, id est in ecclesia maiore.*

1) On this Sunday [the beginning of the Easter week] they do everything as usual at the Anastasis and the Cross from cock-crow to daybreak, and then as usual assemble in the Great Church known as the Martyrium because it is on Golgotha behind the Cross, (2) where the Lord was put to death. When the service in the Great Church has taken place in the usual way, before the dismissal, the archdeacon makes this announcement: 'During this week, starting tomorrow, let us meet at three in the afternoon at the Martyrium' (that is, in the Great Church).

37.1, 3-5

*1) Post hoc ergo missa facta de Cruce, id est antequam sol procedat, statim unusquisque animosi vadent in Syon orare ad columnam illam, ad quem flagellatus est Dominus. Inde reversi sedent modice in domibus suis, et statim toti parati sunt. Et sic ponitur cathedra episcopo in Golgotha post Crucem, quae stat nunc; residet episcopus in cathedra : ponitur ante eum mensa sublinteata : stant in giro mensa diacones; et affertur locus argenteus deauratus, in quo est lignum sanctum crucis; aperitur, et profertur; ponitur in mensa tam lignum crucis, quam titulus.*

3) *Ac sic ergo omnis poulus transit, unus et unus, toti acclinantes se, primum de fronte sic de oculus tangents crucem et titulum : et sic osculantes crucem pertanseunt manum autem nemo mitti ad tangendum. Aut ubi autem osculati fuerint crucem, pertansierint, stat diaconus, tenet anulum Salomonis, et cornu illud, de quo reges unguebantur...*

4) *At ubi autem sexta hora se fecerit, sic itur ante Crucem, sive pluvial sive aestus sit; quia ipse locus subdivanus est, it est quasi atrium valde grande et pulchrum satis, quod est inter Cruce et Anastase : ibi ergo omnis polulus se colleget, ita ut nec aperiri possit. (5) Episcopo autem cathedra ponitur ante Cruce : et de sexta usque ad nona aliud nichil fit nisi leguntur lections sic...*

1) Before the sun is up, the dismissal takes place At the Cross, and those with the energy then go to Sion to pray at the column at which the Lord was scourged, before going on home for a short rest. But it is not long before everyone is assembled for the next service. The bishop's chair is placed on Golgotha Behind the Cross (the cross there now), and he takes his seat. A table is placed before him with a cloth on it, the deacons stand round, and there is brought to him a gold and silver box containing the holy Wood of the Cross. It is opened, and the Wood of the Cross and the Title are taken out and placed on the table.

3) Thus all the people go past one by one. They stoop down, touch the holy Wood first with their forehead and then with their eyes, and then kiss it, but no one puts out his hand to touch it. Then they go on to a deacon who stands holding the Ring of Solomon, and the Horn with which kings were anointed.

4) At midday they go Before the Cross—whether it is rain or fine, for the place is out of doors—into the very spacious and beautiful courtyard between the Cross and the Anastasis, and there is not even room to open a door, the place is so crammed with people. (5) They place the bishop's chair Before the Cross, and the whole time between midday and three o'clock is taken up with readings.

#### 38.1-2

1) *Sabbato autem alia die iuxta consuetudinem fit ad tertia : item fit ad sexta : ad nonam autem iam non fit sabbato, sed parantur vigiliae pashcales in ecclesia maiore, id est in Martyrium...hoc solum hic amplius fit, quod infants, cum baptidiati fuerint et vestiti quemadmodum extient de fonte, simul cum (2) episcopo primum ad Anastase ducuntur. Intrat episcopus intro cancellos Anastasis : dicitur unus hymnus; et sic facit orationem episcopos pro eis...*

1) The following day is the Saturday, and they have normal services at nine o'clock and midday. But at three they stop keeping Saturday because they are preparing for the paschal vigil in the Great Church, the Martyrium...As soon as the 'infants' have been baptized and clothed, and left the font, they are led with the bishop straight to the Anastasis. (2) The bishop goes inside the screen and after one hymn says a prayer for them.

#### 46.5

*Cum autem iam transierint septem septimanae, superat illa una septimana pashcalis, quam hic appellant septimana maior. Iam tunc venit episcopus mane in ecclesia maiore ad Martyrium, retro in absida post altarium ponitur cathedra episcopo, et ibi unus et unus vadet...et reddet symbolum epsicopo.*

So when seven weeks have gone by, and only the week of Easter remains, the one which people here call the Great Week, the bishop comes early into the Great Church, the Martyrium. His chair is placed at the back of the apse, behind the altar, and one by one the candidates [i.e. the Catechumens] go up to the bishop...and repeat the Creed to him.

48.1-2

*Item dies enceniarum appellantur, quando sancta ecclesia, quae in Golgotha est, quam Martyrium vocant, consecrata est Deo : sed et sancta ecclesia, quae est ad Anastase, id est in eo loco, ubi Dominus resurrexit post passionem, ea die et ipsa consecrata est Deo. Harum ergo ecclesiarum sactarum encenia cum summo honore celebrantur : (2) quoniam crux Domini inventa est ipsa die. Et ideo propter hoc ita ordinatum est, ut quando primum sanctae ecclesiae suprascriptae consecrabantur, ea dies esset, qua crux Domini fuerat inventa, ut simul omni laetitia eadem dies celebraretur.*

1) The date when the Church on Golgotha (called the Martyrium) was consecrated to God is called Encaenia, on the same day the holy church of the Anastasis was also consecrated, the place where the Lord rose again after his passion. The Encaenia of these holy churches is a feast of special magnificence, since it is on the (2) very date when the cross of the Lord was discovered. So they arranged that this day should be observed with all possible joy by making the original dedication of these holy churches coincide with the very day when the cross had been found.<sup>54</sup>

### **Jerome, *Epistulae*, 'Epistles' (c. 390s AD)**

Letter 108

*Prostrataque ante Crucem quasi pendentem Dominum cerneret, adorabat. Ingressa sepulcrum resurrectionis, esculabatur lapidem, quem ab ostio monumenti amoverat angelus.*<sup>55</sup>

Before the Cross she [Paula] threw herself down in adoration as though she beheld the Lord hanging upon it: and when she entered the tomb which was the scene of the Resurrection she kissed the stone which the angel had rolled away from the door of the sepulcher.<sup>56</sup>

### **Jerome, *Commentaria en Joelem prophetam*, 'Commentary on the Prophet Joel' (c. 391-406 AD)**

2.18

*...inter vestibulum et altare, hoc est, inter crucis et resurrectionis locum sacerdotibus et populis Dominum deprecantibus...*<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Wilkinson 1981: 123-130, 132, 136-139, 144-147; see also PPTS 1c: 109-116, 120, 124-127, 133, 135.

<sup>55</sup> PL 22: cols. 883-884.

<sup>56</sup> NPNF 6: 199.

<sup>57</sup> PL 25: col. 970.

Between the vestibule and the altar, that is, between the Cross and the Place of the Resurrection, the priest and the people entreat God.<sup>58</sup>

**Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, *Epitome de locis aliquibus sanctis* ‘Summary of Certain Holy Places’ (c. 440 AD)**

*IV. Primum de locis sanctis.*

*Pro conditione platearum divertendum est ad basilicam, que martyrium appellatur, a Constantino magno cultu exstructa. Dehinc coherentia ab occasu visuntur Golgotha atque anastasis; sed anastasis in loco est resurrectionis, Golgotha vero, medius inter anastasim ac martyrium, locus est dominice passionis: in quo etiam rupes apparet, que quondam ipsam, affixo Domini corpore, crucem pertulit. Atque hec tamen extra montem Sion posita cernuntur, quo se ad aquilonem deficiens loci tumor porrigit.*<sup>59</sup>

*IV. First, about the Holy Places.*

In consequence of the direction of the streets, one must visit the basilica, which is called the ‘Martyrium,’ built by Constantine with great splendour. Adjacent to this, upon the west side, are to be seen Golgotha and the ‘Anastasis.’ Now, the ‘Anastasis’ is at the place of the Resurrection, and Golgotha, which is between the the ‘Anastasis’ and the ‘Martyrium,’ is the place of the Lord’s Passion, wherein may be seen the very rock which once supported the cross itself on which the Lord’s body hung. These things are to be seen beyond Mount Sion, where there is a slight swell in the ground which slopes away towards the north.<sup>60</sup>

***Brevarius de Hierosolyma*, ‘Short Description of Jerusalem’ (c. 530 AD), author unknown**

In medio civitatis est basilica Constantini. In introitu basilice ipsius ad sinistram partem est cubiculum, ubi crux Domini posita est. Et inde intranti in ecclesiam sancti Constantini magna ab occidente est absida, ubi invente sunt tres cruces. Est ibi desuper altare de argento & auro puro, & novem columnne, que sustinent illud altare. Et ipsa absida in circuitu duodecim columnne marmoree, omnino incredibile super ipsas columnas hydrie argenteae duodecim. Et est in medio civitatis basilica illa, ubi est lancea, unde percussus est Dominus, & de ipsa facta est crux, & lucet in nocte, sicut sol in virtute diei.

Et inde intras in Golgotha. Est ibi atrium grande, ubi crucifixus est Dominus. In circuitu, in ipso monte, sunt cancelli argentei, & ipso monte genus silicis admoratur. Habet ostium argenteum, ubi fuit crux Domini exposita, de auro & gemmis ornate tota, cello desuper patente; auro & argento multum ornate cancelli; ubi est ille difcus, ubi caput sancti Iohannis portatum fuit; ubi est illud cornu, quo David unctus est Salomon, & ille annulus ibidem, unde Salomon sigillavit sermons, & est de electro; ubi plasmatus Adam, ubi obtulit Abraham Isaac, filium suum, in sacrificium in ipso loco, ubi crucifixus est Dominus Iesus Christus.

<sup>58</sup> Author’s translation.

<sup>59</sup> Tobler and Molinier 1879: 52.

<sup>60</sup> PPTS 2a: 8–9.

*Inde ad occidentem intras sanctam resurrectionem, ubi est sepulchrum Domini, ubi ante ipsum est ille lapis, genus filicis. Supra ipsum est ecclesia in rotundo posita. Super ipso sepulcro transvolatile argenteum & aureum & in circuitu omne de auro.*

*Ante ipsum sepulcrum est altare, ubi Zacharias sanctus occisus est, ubi arescit sanguis eius.*

*Deinde ad sacrarium de basilica sancti Constantini, ubi est cubiculum, ubi est ille calamus & illa spongia, & ille calix, quem benedixit Dominus & dedit discipulis suis bibere, & ait: Hoc est corpus meum & sanguis meus.<sup>61</sup>*

In the midst of the city is the basilica of Constantine. At the entrance to the basilica, and on the left hand, is a chamber wherein the Cross of our Lord is kept. Beyond this, as one enters the church of the Holy Constantine, there is a large apse on the western side, wherein the three crosses were found. There is a there a raised altar made of pure silver and gold, and nine columns which support that altar. The apse itself [has] twelve marble columns round about it, and [what is] altogether incredible, [there are] twelve urns of silver on the tops of these columns. And in the midst of the city stands that basilica in which the spear with which our Lord was pierced, and of it a cross has been made, and it shines in the night as does the sun in the heat of the day.

And from hence you enter into Golgotha. There is here a large hall, on the place where our Lord was crucified. Round about it, on the hill itself, are railings of silver, and on the hill itself a kind of flint-stone is deserving of notice. It has a silver door at which the Cross of our Lord is displayed, all covered with ornaments of gold and jewels, with the open sky above it; there are railings much adorned with gold and silver, and here also is the charger wherein the head of St. John was carried; and here is the horn with which David and Solomon were anointed; and in this place, too, is the ring with which Solomon, sealed his writings, which ring is of amber. Here Adam was formed out of clay; here Abraham offered his own son Isaac in the very place where our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified.

Beyond this, to the west, you enter the [church of the] Holy Resurrection, wherein is the sepulcher of our Lord, before which is the [well-known] stone, a kind of flint-stone. Above it is a church built in a round form. Above the sepulcher itself is a cornice of gold and silver, and it is of gold all round.

Before the sepulcher is an altar at the place where the holy Zacharias was slain, and where his dried blood may still be seen.

Next comes the sanctuary of the basilica of the Holy Constantine, where there is a chamber in which is the reed, and the sponge, and the cup which the Lord blessed and gave to his disciples to drink, saying: 'This is my body and my blood.'<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Tobler and Molinier 1879: 57–58.

<sup>62</sup> PPTS 2a: 13–15.

**Theodosius, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ‘Travels in Jerusalem’ or *De situ terrae sanctae*, ‘Of the Location of the Holy Land’ (c. 530 AD)**

§§ 41–43

*In civitate Hierusalem ad sepulcrum Domini ibi est Calvariae locus, ubi Abraham obtulit filium suum holocaustum, et quia mons petreus est, in ipso monte, hoc est ad pedem montis ipsius, cecit Abraham altare. super altare eminet mons, ad quem montem per grados scalatur. ibi Dominus crucifixus est. De sepulcro Domini usque in Calvariae locum sunt passus numero XV. sub uno tecto est. De Calvariae loco usque in Golgotham passus XV, ubi crux Domni inventa est. De Golgotha usque in sanctam Sion passi numero CC, quae est mater omnium ecclesiarum, quam Sion dominus noster Christus cum apostolis fundavit.*<sup>63</sup>

In the city of Jerusalem at the Lord’s Sepulcher is the place of Calvary, where Abraham offered up his son for a burnt-offering; and because the mountain is rocky, Abraham made the altar in the mountain itself, i.e., at its foot. Above the altar the mountain towers and the ascent of the mountain is made by steps. There the Lord was crucified. From the Lord’s Sepulcher to the place of Calvary it is 15 paces; it is all under one roof. From the place of Calvary it is 15 paces to Golgotha, where the cross of the Lord was found. From Golgotha it is 200 paces to holy Sion, the mother of all churches; which Sion our Lord Christ founded with his apostles.<sup>64</sup>

**Antoninus Martyr, *Locorum Sanctorum*, ‘Of the Holy Places’ (c. 570 AD)**

XVIII—MONUMENTUM DOMINI

*Osculantes proni in terram, ingressi funus in sanctam civitatem, in qua perreximus ad monumentum Domini, adorantes ipsum. Monumentum, in quo corpus Domini Iesu Christi positum fuit, in naturale excisum est petra. Lucerna erea, quae illo tempore ad caput ipsius posita fuit, ibi ardet die cotuque: ex qua benedictionem accepimus, & recomposuimus eam. In quod monumentum de foris mittitur terra, & ingredients exinde benedictionem tollunt. Lapis, unde clausum fuit monumentum, ante os monumenti est: color vero petre, quae excisa est de petra Golgotha (dignosci non potest); nam ipsa petra ornate est ex auro & gemmis. Postmodum de ipsa petra factum est altare in loco, ubi crucifixus est Dominus Iesus. Petra vero monumenti veluti molaris est infinite ornate: virgis ferries pendent brachialia, dextrocheria, murene, monilia, annuli capitulares, cingula gyrata, balthei & corone imperatorum ex auro & gemmi, & ornamenta plurima de imperatricibus. Monumentum sic quasi in modum mete est coopertum ex argento & sub soles aureos ante monumentum altare positum.*

XVIII—The Tomb of Our Lord

Bowed to the earth and kissing the ground, we entered the holy city; through which we proceeded with prayer to the tomb of our Lord. The tomb itself, in which the Body of the Lord Jesus Christ was laid, is cut out of the natural rock. A brazen lamp, which was then placed at his head, burns there day and night; from which lamp we received a blessing and replaced

<sup>63</sup> Gildemeister 1882: 19–20.

<sup>64</sup> PPTS 2b: 10.

it. Into the tomb earth is carried from without, and those who enter it bear way a blessing with them from it when they depart. The stone by which the tomb was closed lies in front of the tomb. The natural color of the rock, which was hewn out of the rock of Golgotha, cannot now be discerned, because the stone itself is adorned with gold and precious stones. The stone of the tomb is as large as a millstone; its ornaments are unnumerable. From iron rods hand armlets, bracelets, chains, necklaces, coronets, waistbands, sword-belts, and crowns of the emperors made of gold and precious stones, and a great number of ornaments given by empresses. The whole tomb, which has the appearance of the winning-post on the race course, is covered with silver; an altar is placed in front of the tomb, under some golden suns.

#### XIX—GOLGOTHA

*A monumento usque ad Golgotha sunt gressus octoginta. Ab una parte ascenditur per gradus, ubi Dominus noster ascendi ad crucifigendum. In loco, ubi crucifixus fuit, paret cruor sanguinis in ipsa petra. In latere petre est altare Abrahe, ubi ibat offerre Isaac. Ibi & Melchisedec obtulit sacrificium, quando Abraham revertebatur cum Victoria a cede Amelech. Tunc ibidem dedit ei Abraham omnem decimationem in hostias. Iuxta altare est crepatura, ubi ponis aurem & audies flumina aquarum, & si iactas malum, pomum aut aliquid, quod nature potest, & vadis ad Siloam fontem, & ibi suscipies. Inter Siloam & Golgotham credo esse millarium. Hierosolyma aquam vivam non habet preter Siloam fontem.*

#### XIX—Golgotha

From the tomb to Golgotha is eighty paces. On one side it is reached by steps, up which our Lord ascended to be crucified. In the place where he was crucified, drops of blood appear upon the rock itself. At one side is the altar of Abraham, whither he went to offer up Isaac; there also Melchisedec offered sacrifice. Beside the altar is an aperture where, if you place your ear, you will hear the rushing of waters; and if you thrown into it an apple, fruit, or anything else that will swim, and then go to the fountain of Siloam, you will find it again there. The distance between Siloam and Golgotha I believe to be a mile. Jerusalem has no spring-water except the fountain of Siloam.

#### XX. BASILICA CONSTANTINI, CUBICULUM CUM CRUCE

*De Golgotha usque ad locum, ubi inventa erat crux, sunt gressus quinquaginta. In basilica Constantini coherente circa monumentum vel Golgotha, in atrio ipsius basilice, est cubiculum, ubi lignum sancta cruces positum est, quod adoravimus & osculati fumus; nam & titulum, qui super caput Iesu positus erat, & in quo scriptum est: 'Iesus Nazarenus, rex Iudeorum,' vidi & in manu mea tenui & osculatus sum. Quod lignum cruces de nuce est. Procedente sancta cruce ad adorandum de cubiculo suo & veniente in atrium, ubi adoratur, eadem hora stella apparet in cello & venit super locum, ubi crux residet. Et dum odoratur crux, stat supra eam stella, & offertur oleum ad benedicendum ampullis mediis; hora vero, qua tetigerit lignum cruces has ampullas, mox ebullit oleum foras, & nisi citius claudantur, totum resunditur foras. Revertente cruce in locum suum, stella pariter revertitur, & post reclusam crucem ultra non apparet stella. Etiam ibi est spongia & canna, de quibus legitur in Evangelio, de qua spongia aquam bibimus. Ibi est & calix onychinus, quem benedixit in cena Dominus, & alie multe virtutes: species beate Marie in superiori loco & zona ipsius & ligamentum, quo utebatur in capite. Ibi sunt & septem cathedre marmoree seniorum.*

XX.—*The Basilica of Constantine; the Chamber of the Cross*

From Gologotha to the place where the cross was discovered is fifty paces. In the Basilica of Constantine, which adjoins the tomb and Gologotha, in the atrium of the church itself, is a chamber where the wood of the holy cross is placed, which we adored and kissed; for I also saw, and held in my hand and kissed, the title which was placed over the head of Jesus, upon which is written, 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews.' This wood of the cross was of nut. When the holy cross is brought forth from its chamber into the atrium of the church to be adored, at that same hour a star appears in heaven and comes above the place where the cross is placed. While the cross is being worshipped, the star stands above it, and oil is brought to it to be blessed in moderate-sized flasks. At the time, however, when the wood of the cross touches these flasks, the oil boils up out of them, and unless they are quickly closed, it all pours out. When the cross is brought back to its place, the star likewise retires; and afterwards, when the cross is shut up, the star appears no more. There also is the sponge and the reed, of which mention is made in the gospel, and we drank water from the sponge. There is also the cup of onyx, which our Lord blessed at the last supper, and many other relics. Above is the painting of the Blessed Mary and her girdle, and the wrapper which she wore upon her head. There, too, are seven marble seats of the elders.<sup>65</sup>

**Sophronius, Bishop of Jerusalem, *Anacreontica* (c. 580–633/4 AD)**20.19—*The Edicule*

Ἐπαναξίου δὲ τῷμου  
Κίονας κύκλω τε κόγχας  
Ἀκροκρινοχρυσομόρφους  
Φιλέων, ἄγαν χορεύσω.

And as I venerate that worthy Tomb,  
surrounded by its conches  
and columns surmounted by golden lilies,  
I shall be overcome with joy.

20.23—*The Courtyard*

Ἐπὶ τρίστοον παρέλθω  
Ὀλομαργαρογυρόχρουν  
Περικαλλέως γ' ἔπαυλον  
Κρανίου τόπον προσέρπειν.

Let me pass on to the *Tristoon*,  
all covered with pearls and gold,  
and go on into the lovely building  
of the Place of a Skull.

<sup>65</sup> Latin in Tobler and Molinier 1879: 101–103; English in PPTS 2d: 15–17.



20.29—*The Rock of Golgotha*

Ζάθεον μεσόμφαλόν τε  
 Πέτραν ἑκταθεὶς φιλήσω  
 Ὅθι τὸ ξύλον πεπήγει  
 Τὸ λύσαν ξύλου κατάραν.

And prostrate I will venerate  
 the Navel-point of the earth, that divine Rock  
 in which was fixed the wood  
 which undid the curse of the tree.

20.43, 47—*The Reliquarium*

Κατὰ παμφαῆς δὲ βῆμα  
 Γεγανυμένος πορευθῶ,  
 Ξύλον ὃν τὸ θεῖον εὔρειν  
 Ἐλένη μέδουσα κεδινή  
 Μετὰ καρδίας δὲ πλήρους  
 Κατανύξεως ἀνέλθω  
 Ὑπερώϊον θεοῦμαι  
 Κάλαμον, σπόγγον τε, λόγχην.

And let me go rejoicing  
 to the splendid sanctuary, the place  
 where the noble Empress Helena  
 found the divine Wood;  
 and go up, my heart overcome with awe,  
 and see the Upper Room,  
 the Rood, the Sponge, and the Lance.

20.51—*The Basilica*

Νεαρὸν ο' ἔπειτα κάλλος  
 Βασιλικὴν εἶ κατείδω,  
 Μοναχῶν ὅπου χορεία  
 Νυχίους τελοῦσιν ὕμνους.

Then may I gaze down  
 upon the fresh beauty of the Basilica  
 where choirs of monks  
 sing nightly songs of worship.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Greek text in PG 87c: cols. 3817, 3820, 3821; English translation in Wilkinson 1977: 91.

***Chronicon Paschale*, ‘Paschal Chronicle’ (c. 627 AD), author unknown***278.29—The Dedication of the Church of the Holy Cross*

Τούτοις τοῖς ὑπάτοις γέγονε τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Ἀγίου Σταυροῦ τῆς οἰκοδομηθείσης ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου ἐπὶ Μακαρίου ἐπισκόπου, μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ. Ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο ἡ Σταυροφάνεια.<sup>67</sup>

334 (AD).<sup>68</sup> This is the occurrence of the dedication of the Church of the Holy Cross, which was built by Constantine at the time of Bishop Macarius (of Jerusalem), in the month of September. This is the origin of the [celebration of ?]<sup>69</sup> the Appearance of the Cross.<sup>70</sup>

**Adomnan, *De Locis Sanctis*, ‘Concerning the Holy Land,’ or *Pilgrimage of Arculfus* (c. 683–686 AD)***II. DE ECCLESIA ROTUNDA FORMULAE SUPER SEPULCHRUM DOMINI AEDIFICATA (ET DE IPSIUS SEPULCHRI FIGURA ET EIUS TEGURIOLI)*

3) Quae utique ualde grandis ecclesia tota lapidea mira rotunditate ex omni parte conlocata, a funamentis in tribus consurgens parietibus, inter unum quemque parietem et alterum latum habens spatium uiae, tria quoque altaria in tribus locis parietis medii artifice fabricates.

4) Hanc rotundam et summam ecclesiam supra memorata habentem altaria, unum ad meridiem respiciens, alterum ad aquilonem, tertium ad occasum uersus, duodecim mirae magnitudinis sustentant columnae. 5) Haec bis quaternales portas habet, hoc est [.iiii.] introitus, per tris e regione interiectis uiarum spatiis stabilitos parietes, ex quibus .iiii. [exitus] ad ultimum spectant, qui et caecias dicitur uentus, ali uero .iiii. ad eorum respiciunt.<sup>71</sup>

6) In medio spatio huius interioris rotundae domus rotundum inest in una eademque petra excisum tegorium, in quo possunt ter terni homines stantes orare, et a uertice alicuius non brevis staturae stantis hominis usque ad illius domunculae camaram pes et semipes mensura in altum extenditur.

7) Huius tegorioli introitus ad orientem respicit; quod totum extrinsecus electo tegitur marmore; cuius exterius summum culmen auro ornatum auream non paruam sustentat crucem. In huius tegorii aquilonea parte sepulchrum Domini in eadem petra interius excisum habetur. 8) Sed eiusdem tegorii pauimentum humilior est loco sepulcri. Nam a altitudinis palmorum haberi denoscitur. Sic mihi Arculfus, qui sepe sepulchrum Domini frequentabat, indubitanter emensus pronuntiauit.

<sup>67</sup> CSHB 35: 531; PG 92: 713.

<sup>68</sup> Listed in the Latin translation in PG 92: col. 714.

<sup>69</sup> This is based on the Latin translation in PG 92: col. 714, which supplements the Greek text with the word *festum*. On this celebration see the late fifth century account of Theodosius in *De situ terre sancta* (Itin. 5.31): ‘The Finding of the Holy Cross, the day when it was found by Helena the mother of Constantine, is the fourteenth of September. Services are held in Jerusalem at my Lord’s Tomb, and the Cross itself is displayed for seven days’ (Wilkinson 1977: 71; cf. also p. 5).

<sup>70</sup> Author’s translation.

<sup>71</sup> Meehan 1958: 43–45.

9) *Hoc in loco proprietas siue discrepantia nominum notanda intermonumentum et sepulchrum. Nam illud saepe supra memoratum rotundum tegurium alio nomine euangelistae monumentum uocant, ad cuius hostium aduolutum et ab eius hostio reuolutum lapidem resurgente Domino pronuntiant.*

10) *Sepulchrum uero proprie dicitur ille locus in tegorio, hoc est in aquilonali parte monumenti, in quo Dominicum corpus linteaminibus inuolutum conditum quieuit; cuius longitudinem Arculfus in septem pedum mensura mensus est manu. 11) Quod uidelicet sepulchrum non, ut quidam falso opinantur, duplex et quondam de ipsa maceriolam petra habens excisam duo crura et femora duo intercedentem et separantem, sed totum simplex a uertice usque ad plantas lectum unius hominis capacem super dorsum iacentis prebens, in modum speloncae introitum a latere habens ad australem monumenti partem e regione respicientem culemque humile desuper eminens fabrefactum. 12) In quo utique sepulchro duodenae lampades iuxta numerum duodecim sanctorum apostolorum semper die ac nocte ardentes lucent, ex quibus quattuor in imo illius lectuli sepulchralis loco inferius positae aliae uero bis quaternales super marginem eius superius conlocatae ad latus dexterum oleo nutriente praefulgent.*

13) *Sed et hoc etiam notandum esse uidetur, quod mausoleum Saluatoris, hoc est saepe supra memoratum tegurium, speleum siue spelunca recte uocitari posit, de quo uidelicet Domino Iesu Christo in ea suppto propheta uaticinatur dicens: Hic habitabit in excelsa spelunca petrae fortissinae, et Paulo post de ipsius Domini resurrectione ad apostolos laetificandos subinfertur: Regem cum Gloria uidebitis.*

14) *Supradictae igitur rotundae ecclesiae formulam cum rotundo teguriolo in medio eius collocato, in cuius aquilonali parte dominicum habetur sepulchrum, subiecta declarat pictura nec non et trium aliarum figuras ecclesiarum, de quibus inferius intimabitur. 15) Has itaque quaternarium figuras ecclesiarum iuxta exemplar, quod mihi, ut superius dictum est, sanctus Arculfus in paginula figurauit cerata, depinximus, non quod posit earum silitudo formari in pictura, sed ut dominicum monumentum, licet tali uili figuratione, in medietate rotundae ecclesiae constitutum mostretur aut quae huic propior ecclesia uel quae minus posita declaretur.*

*1.2—Concerning a Church of Round Shape that is Built Over the Lord's Sepulchre (and Concerning the Shape of the Sepulchre Itself and of Its Domed Structure)*

(3) Well, this extremely large church, all of stone, and shaped to wondrous roundness on every side, rises up from its foundations in three walls. Between each two walls there is a broad passage, and three altars too are in three skillfully constructed places of the centre wall.

(4) Twelve stone columns of wondrous magnitude support this round and lofty church, where are the towers mentioned, one looking south, the second north, the third towards the west. (5) There are two fourfold portals ([four] entrances that is), which cut across the three solid walls facing one another with passageways in between. Four of these [exits] face the Vulturinus wind (which is also called *Caecias*): the other four face *Eurus*.

(6) Centrally placed in the interior of this round building [the Rotunda] is a round domed structure [the decorated tomb chamber], carved out of one and the same rock, in which it is possible for thrice three men to pray standing, and from the top of a fairly tall man's head, when standing, to the roof of the domed structure there is a space measuring a foot and a half.

(7) The entrance of this domed structure faces east. Outside, it is completely covered with choice marble, and its summit, adorned on the outside with gold, supports a fairly large golden cross. (8) The sepulchre of the Lord is in the northern part of the domed structure, carved out of the same rock, but the floor of the domed covering is lower than the place of the sepulchre. For from its floor to the side-edge of the sepulchre one can perceive a space of about three hands' height. Arculf, who used often to visit the sepulchre of the Lord, and made the measurement, told me this definitely.

(9) At this juncture, one should note the propriety, or rather the discrepancy of nomenclature, as between *monumentum* and *sepulchrum*. That round domed structure that has been often mentioned above, the evangelists call by another name, *monumentum*, to the door of which they state that the stone was rolled and rolled away from its door when the Lord arose.

(10) The *sepulchrum* properly so called is the place inside the domed structure, in the northern portion of the *monumentum*<sup>72</sup> that is, in which was laid the body of the Lord, wrapped in linen cloths. (11) The length of this, as Arculf measured it with his own hand, made seven feet. The *sepulchrum* then is not, as some people wrongly think, a double structure, with a kind of border cut out of the rock itself to separate and divide the two legs and the two thighs: it is undivided from head to foot, providing a pallet large enough for one man lying on his back. It is the shape of a cave, with the entrance on the side, directly facing the southern portion of the *monumentum*, and with a low, man-made vault rising above. (12) Now in this *sepulchrum*, according to the number of the twelve holy apostles, twelve burning lamps shine always day and night. Four of them are placed low down at the bottom of the sepulchral bed: the other eight are placed higher up above the margin towards the right-hand side. They are fed with oil and shine brightly.

(13) It seems noteworthily moreover that the mausoleum of the Savior, the domed structure that has often been mentioned above, might correctly be called a cavern or cave; and doubtless the prophet prophesies concerning the burial of the Lord Jesus Christ in it when he says, 'he shall dwell in a high cave of the strongest rock,' and shortly afterwards (concerning the resurrection of the same Lord), in order to make the apostles rejoice, he adds, 'you shall see the king with glory.'

(14) This drawing appended (see Fig. 6.3) indicates that shape of the round church mentioned above, with the round domed structure placed in the center of it, in the northern portion of which is the Lord's sepulcher. It exhibits also plans of three other churches, of which there will be an account below. We have drawn these plans of the four churches after the model which (as already stated) the holy Arculf sketched for me on a wax surface. Not that it is possible to exhibit their likeness in a drawing, but in order that the *monumentum* of the Lord might be shown, a placed as it is in the middle of the round church, albeit in a rough sketch, or that it might be made clear which church is situated near or far away from it.

<sup>72</sup> Adomnán (1.2.9–10) distinguishes between the burial bench (*sepulchrum*) and the tomb chamber proper (*monumentum*). The Rotunda is simply referred to as the 'round church' (*rotundae ecclesiae*; CSEL 39: 232–233) (see the discussion in Meehan 1958: 44–45).



## III. DE ILLO LAPIDE, QUI AD HOSTIUM MONUMENTI EIUS ADVOLUTUS EST

1) *Sed inter haec de illo supra memorato lapide qui ad hostium monumenti Dominici post ipsius Domini sepultionem crucifixi multis trudentibus uiris aduolutus est breuiter intimandum esse uidetur; quem Arculfus intercisum et in duas diuisum partes refert, cuius pars minor ferramentis dolata quadratum altare in rotunda supra descripta ecclesia ante hostium sepe illius memorati tegorii, hoc est Dominici monumenti, stans constitutum cernitur, maior uero illius lapidis pars aequae circumdolata in orientali eiusdem ecclesiae loco quadrangulum aliud altare sub lintheaminibus stabilitum exstat.*

2) *De illius ergo petrae coloribus, in qua illud saepe dictum tegurium dolatorum ferramentis interius cauatum dominicumque sepulchrum in aquilonali loco ipsius habens de una eademque petra excisum, qua et monumentum, hoc est ipsum tegurium, Arculfus a me interrogatus dixit: 3) Illud Dominici monumenti tegorium nullo intrinsecus ornatu tectem usque hodie per totam eius cauaturam ferramentorum ostendit uestigia, quibus dolatores siue excissores in eodem usu opere. Color uero illius eiusdem petrae monumenti et sepulchri non unus sed duo permixti uidentur, ruber utique et albus, unde et bicolor eadem ostenditur petra. Sed de his ista sufficiant.*

## 1.3—Concerning the Stone which was Rolled to the Door of the Monumentum

(1) At this juncture a brief account seems desirable for the stone, which was rolled to the door of the Lord's monument with the assistance of many men, after his crucifixion and burial. According to Arculf it is split and divided into two parts. The smaller portion, dressed by tools and set up as a square altar, can be seen standing in the round church mentioned above: the larger portion of the stone, similarly dressed on all sides, forms another quadrangular altar covered by linens in the eastern part of the same church.

(2) Then, concerning the coloring of the rock, in which is the domed structure often mentioned, hollowed out inside by chisels of the dressers, and containing in its northern portion the Lord's *sepulchrum* (which is cut out of the very same rock as the *monumentum*, that is the domed structure itself), Arculf when questioned by me said: (3) That domed structure [the tomb chamber] which constitutes the Lord's monument is devoid of ornament on the inside, and up to this day shows the traces of the tools which the dressers or cutters used in their work. However, the colour of the rock (which is one and the same for monument and sepulcher) is not one. Two colours seem to be mixed, red that is, and white, and as a result the same rock presents a two-coloured aspect.

## IIII. DE ILLA ECCLESIA SANCTAE MARIAE VIRGINIS QUAE ROTUNDAE COHERET ECCLESIAE

*Ceterum de sanctorum structurae locorum pauca addenda sunt aliqua. Illi rotundae ecclesiae supra saepius memoratae, quae et Anastasis, hoc est resurrectio, uocatur, quae in loco dominicae resurrectionis fabricata est, a dextera cohaeret parte sanctae Mariae matris Domini quadrangulata ecclesia.*

## 1.4—Concerning a Church of the Holy Virgin Mary which Adjoins the Round Church

Some few remarks, however, should be added concerning the buildings of the holy places. On the right-hand side adjoining the round church often mentioned above,

which is also called Anastasis (that is, resurrection), and which is built in the place of the Lord's resurrection, there is a quadrangular church of the holy Mary, mother of the Lord.

V. DE ILLA ECCLESIA QUAE IN CALUARIAE LOCO CONSTRUCTA EST

(1) *Alia uero pergrandis ecclesia orientem uersus in illo fabricata est loco, qui hebraice Golgotha uocitatur, cuius in superioribus grandis quaedam aerea cum lampadibus rota in funibus pendet, infra quam magna argentea crux infixata statuta est eodem in loco, ubi quondam lignea crux, in qua passus est humani generis Saluator, infixata stetit.*

(2) *In eadem uero ecclesia quaedam in petra habetur excisa selunca infra locum dominicae cruces, ubi super altare pro quorundam honoratorum animabus sacrificium offeratur, quorum corpora interim in platea iacentia pnuntur ante ianuam eiusdem Gologthanae ecclesia, usquequo finiantur illa pro ipsis defunctis sacrosancta mysteria.*

1.5—Concerning the Church which is Built in the Place of Calvary

(1) Towards the east, in the place that is called in Hebrew Golgotha, another very large church has been erected. In the upper regions of this a great round bronze chandelier with lamps is suspended by ropes and underneath it is placed a large cross of silver, erected in the selfsame place where once the wooden cross stood embedded, on which suffered the Savior of the human race.

(2) Now in this church, beneath the place of the Lord's cross, there is a grotto cut out of the rock where sacrifice is offered on an altar for the souls of certain privileged persons. Meanwhile their remains are laid out in the court before the door of this church of Golgotha, until such time as the holy mysteries for the deceased are completed.

VI. DE BASILICA QUAM CONSTANTINUS VICINAM SUPRA DICTAE ECCLESIAE IN EODEM FABRICAUIT LOCO UBI CRUX DOMINI RUINIS SUPERATA POST MULTA TEMPORA REFOSSA INVENTA EST TERRA

(1) *Huic ecclesia in loco Caluariae quadrangulata fabricatae structura lapidea illa uicina orientali in parte cohaeret basilica magno cultu a rege Constantino constructa, quae et Martyrium appellatur, in eo, ut fertur fabricatum loco, ubi crux Domini cum aliis latronum binis crucibus sub terra abscondita post ducentorum triginta trium cyclos annorum ipso Domino donante reperta est. (2) Inter has itaque duales ecclesias ille famosus occurrit locus, in quo Abraham patriarcha altare conposuit super illud inponens lignorum struem, et ut Isaac suum immolaret filium, euaginatam arripuit gladium, ubi nunc mensa habetur lignea non parua, super quam pauperum eleemosynae a populo offeruntur.*

(3) *Sed et hoc himi diligentius interroganti sanctus addidit Arculfus inquiring: Inter Anastasim, hoc est illam saepe supra memoratam rotundam ecclesiam, et basilicam Constantini quaedam patet plateola usque ad ecclesiam Golgothanam, in qua uidelicet plateola die et nocte semper lampades ardent.*

*1.6—Concerning a Basilica which Constantine Erected Near the Church Mentioned Above, In the Place Where the Cross of the Lord was Found Buried Under Debris, When After a Long Lapse of Time the Ground Was Dug Up*

(1) On the eastern side, adjoining this church in the place of Calvary (which is built of stone in quadrangular shape) there is the neighboring basilica, constructed with great elegance by King Constantine. It is called the *Martyrium*, and is said to be built in the spot where, after the lapse of two hundred and thirty-three years, by the favor of the Lord himself the cross of the Lord, with the crosses of the two thieves, was found hidden beneath the earth.

(2) Then, between these two churches, comes the celebrated place where the patriarch Abraham set up an altar, placing upon it a heap of brushwood, and seized the unsheathed sword that he might sacrifice his son Isaac. There is a fairly large wooden table there now on which alms are offered by the people for the poor.

(3) In answer to my careful inquiry the holy Arculf added the following item, saying: Between Anastasis (that is the round church often mentioned above) and the basilica of Constantine, there is an open court which stretches as far as the church of Golgotha, and in this court night and day there are always lamps burning.

*VII. DE ALIA EXEDRA INTER ECCLESIAM CALUARIAE ET CONSTANTINI BASILICAM SITA, IN QUA CALIX DOMINI ET SPONGIA IN EO RECONDITA HABETUR, DE QUA IN LIGNO PENDENS ACETUM SUXERAT ET VINUM*

(1) *Inter illam quoque Golgothanam basilicam et Martyrium quaedam inest exedra, in qua est calix Domini, quem a se benedictum propria manu in cena pridie quam pateretur ipse conuiuia apostolis tradidit conuiuantibus, qui quingentus calix sextarii Gallici mensuram habens duasque ansulas in se ex utraque parte coninens compositas.* (2) *In quo utique calice illa inest spongia, quam ex eo plenam hyssopo circumponentes Dominum crucifigentes obtulerunt ori eius.* (3) *De hoc eodem calice, ut fertur, Dominus post resurrectionem cum apostolis conuiuans bibit, quem sanctus Arculfus uidit et per illius scrinioli, ubi reconditus habetur, operculi foramen pertusi manu tetigit propria osculatus. Quem uidelicet calicem uniuersus ciuitatis populus cum ingenti euneratione frequentat.*

*1.7—Concerning a Chapel in which is Kept the Chalice of the Lord, Containing the Sponge from which He Sipped Vinegar While Hanging On the Cross*

(1) Also, between the basilica of Golgotha and the *Martyrium*, there is a chapel in which is the chalice of the Lord, which he himself blessed with his own hand and gave to the apostles when reclining with them at supper the day before he suffered. The chalice is silver, has the measure of a Gaulish pint, and has two handles fashioned on either side. (2) It contains the sponge which was soaked in vinegar, placed on hyssop by those who crucified the Lord, and put to his lips. (3) After the resurrection the Lord drank from this same chalice, according to the story, when supping with the apostles. The holy Arculf saw it, and through an opening of the perforated lid of the reliquary where it reposes, he touched it with his own hand which he had kissed. All the people of the city flock to it with great veneration.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Latin text and English translation in Meehan 1958: 44–49.



### The Venerable Bede, *De locis sanctis*, ‘Concerning the Holy Places’ (c. 702–703 AD?)

II. DE ECCLESIA CONSTANTINIANA & GOLGOTHANA, DE ECCLESIA RESURRECTIONIS & DE SEPULCRO DOMINI, DE LAPIDE AD OSTIUM MONUMENTI ADVOLUTO, DE ECCLESIA SANCTE MARIE, DE CALICE DOMINI & DE SPONGIA, DE ALTARE ABRAHAM, DE LANCEA MILITIS

*Ingressis ergo a septentrionali parte urbem primum de locis sanctis pro conditione platearum divertendum est ad ecclesiam Constantinianum, que martyrium appellatur. Hanc Constantinus imperator, eo quod ibi crux Domini ab Helena matre reperta fit, magnifice & regio cultu construxit. Dehinc ab occasu Golgothana videtur ecclesia, in qua etiam rupes apparet illa, que quondam ipsam, affixo Domini corpore, crucem pertulit, argenteam modo pergrandem sustinens crucem, pendente magna desuper erea rota cum lampadibus. Infra ipsum vero locum Dominice cruces excisa in petra crypta est, in qua super altare pro defunctis honoratis sacrificium solet offerri, positus interim in platea corporibus Huius quoque ad occasum ecclesie ἀναστάσεως, hoc est resurrectionis Dominice, rotunda ecclesia, tribus cincta parietibus, duodecim columnis sustentatur, inter parietes singulos latum habens spatium vie, que tria altaria in tribus locis parietis medij continet, hoc est, australi, aquilonali & occidentali. Hec bis quaternas portas, id est introitus per tres e regione parietes habet, e quibus quatuor ad vulturnum & quatuor ad eorum spectant. Huius in medio monumentum Domini rotundum in petra excisum est, cuius culmen intrinsecus stans homo manu contingere potest, ab oriente habens introitum, cui lapis ille magnus appositus est: quod intrinsecus serramentorum vestigial usque in prefens oftendit. Nam extrinsecus usque ad culminis summitatem totum marmore tectum est; summum vero culmen, auro ornatum, auream gestat crucem magnam. In huius ergo monumenti aquilonali parte Sepulcrum Domini in eadem petra exisum, longitudinis septem pedum, trium mensura palmorum pavimento altius eminet, introitum habens a latere meridiano: ubi die noctuque duodecim lampades ardent, quatuor infra sepulcrum, octo supra in margine dextro. Lapis, qui ad ostium monumenti positus erat, nunc fissus est, cuius pars minor quadratum altare ante ostium nihilominus eiusdem monumenti stat, maior vero in orientali eiusdem ecclesie loco quadrangulum aliud altare sub lintheaminibus exstat. Color autem eiusdem monumenti & sepulcri albo & rubicundo permixtus videtur.*

*A dextra autem parte huic ecclesie coheret beate Dei Genitricis ecclesia quadrangular. In platea, que Martyrium & Golgotha continuat, exedra est, in qua calix Domini, in scrinio reconditus, per operculi foramen tangi folet & osculari. Qui argenteus calix, duas hinc & inde habens ansulas, sextarij gallici mensuram capit: in quo est illa spongia, Dominici potus ministra. In loco autem illo, quo Abraham altare ad immolandum filium construxit, mensa est lignea non parva, in quam pauperum eleemosyne solent a populo deferri. Lancea militis inferta habetur in cruce lignea in porticu Martyrij, cuius hastile in duas intercisum partes a tota veneratur civitate.*

*Singula, que dixi, ut manifestius agnosceres, etiam pre oculis depingere curavi.*<sup>74</sup>

*II. The Church of Constantine and of Golgotha, The Church of the Resurrection and the Sepulcher of the Lord, The Stone that was Rolled to the Mouth of the Tomb, The Church of St. Mary, the Cup of the Lord and the Sponge, the Altar or Abraham, the Soldier's Spear*

<sup>74</sup> Tobler and Molinier 1879: 216–217.

Such then, as have entered the city from the north to survey the holy places must first, in accordance with the arrangements of the streets, turn to the Church of Constantine, which is called the Martyrium. This was built in a magnificent and royal manner by the Emperor Constantine, because on that spot the Cross of our Lord was found by Helena, his mother. To the west of this is seen the Church of Golgotha, in which also the rock appears which once bore the very Cross to which the body of the Lord was nailed, now bearing a silver cross of great size, above which hangs a great circular chandelier of brass with lamps. Below the site of the Cross of the Lord is a crypt cut out in the rock, in which sacrifice is wont to be offered upon an altar for honored dead persons, whose bodies meanwhile are placed in the court. To the west of this church again, is the round church of the *Anastasis*, that is, of the Resurrection of the Lord, surrounded with three walls, supported on twelve columns, having a broad pathway left between each wall and the next, containing three altars in three spaces in the middle wall, that is, to the south, the north, and the west. It has twice four gates, that is entrances, running in a straight line through the three walls, four of them looking to the north-east, and four to the south-east. In the middle of this is the Tomb of the Lord, cut out in the rock, of round form, of such height that a man standing within it can touch the top with his hand, with an entrance on the east at which that great stone was placed; the interior still shows the marks of the iron tools. On the outside it is completely covered with marble up to the highest point, which is adorned with gold, bears a golden cross of large size. In the northern part of this Tomb is the Sepulcher of the Lord, cut out in the same rock, seven feet in length, raised three palms (handbreadths) above the pavement, having an entrance on the southern side: twelve lamps burn here day and night, four below the Sepulcher, eight above on the right side. The stone which was placed at the mouth of the Tomb has been broken in two, the smaller part standing as a square altar before the mouth of the Tomb, while the larger part stands in the eastern side of the church under the linen cloths, also forming a four-sided altar. The color of the Tomb and of the Sepulcher is white mixed with red.

The four-sided Church of the Mother of God also adjoins this church on its right side. In the court which joins the Martyrium and Golgotha is a recess, in which the Cup of the Lord is kept in a shrine, and may be touched and kissed through an opening in the cover. It is a silver cup, with a handle on each side, holding a French quart, in it is the Sponge, which afforded drink to the Lord. Also on the spot where Abraham built an altar to sacrifice his son, is a wooden table of some size, on which the alms of the poor are laid by the people. The soldier's spear is inserted in a wooden cross in the portico of the Martyrium, its shaft having been broken in two; it is held in reverence by the whole city.

I have caused each of these I have spoken of to be depicted in a drawing, so that you may more clearly realize the description.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> PPTS 3b: 68–70.

**Hugeberc, Vita Willibaldi, 'Life of Willibald' (c. 780 AD)**

*From Chapter 18 (97.17–18)*

*Illud sepulchrum fuerat in petra excisum, et illa petra stat super terram, et est quadrans in imo<sup>76</sup> et in summo subtilis. Et stat nunc in summitate illius sepulchri crux, et ibi supra nunc aedificata est mirabilis domus, et in orientali plaga in illa petra sepulchri est ostium factum, per quod intrant homines in sepulchrum orare. Et ibi est intus lectus, ubi corpus Domini jacebat. Et ibi stant in lecto quindecim craterae aureae cum oleo ardentes die noctuque. Ille lectus, in quo corpus Domini jacebat, stat in latere aquilonis intus in petra sepulchri, et homini est in dextra manu, quando intrat in sepulchrum orare. Et ibi ante januam sepulchri jacet ille lapis magnus quadrans in similitudine prioris lapidis, quem angelus revolvit ab ostio monumenti.<sup>77</sup>*

That sepulcher was cut out in the rock, and that rock stands above ground, and it is square at the bottom and tapers up towards the top. And there stands now on the summit of that sepulcher a cross, and there has now been constructed over it a wonderful house, and on the eastern side of that rock of the sepulcher a door has been made, through which men enter into the sepulcher to pray. And there is a bed inside, on which the body of the Lord was laid. And there stand in the bed fifteen golden bowls, with oil burning day and night. That ben in which the body of our Lord was laid is situated on the north side within the rock of the sepulcher, and is on the right side to a man when he goes into the sepulcher to pray. And there in front of the door of the sepulcher lies that great stone, squared after the likeness of the former stone which the angel rolled back from the door of the sepulcher.<sup>78</sup>

***Commemoratorium de casis Dei vel monasteriis, 'Notes on the Houses of God or Monasteries' (c. 808 AD)***

*Ille ecclesia de sepulchro Domini in gyro dexteris CVII, illa alcuba LIIII. A sancto sepulchro usque ad sanctum calvarium dexteris XXVIII, a sancto calvario usque ubi sancta crux inventa fuit, dexteris XVIII; inter sanctum sepulchrum et sanctum calvarium et sanctum Constantinum, illorum tectum in integrum habet in longo dexteris XCVI, in adverso XXX.<sup>79</sup>*

The Church of the Sepulcher of the Lord is 107 *dexteri* around its circumference, the *alcuba*(?) 54 [*dexteri*]. From the holy Sepulcher all the way to holy Calvary, 28 *dexteri*, from holy Calvary all the way to where the holy Cross was discovered, 19 *dexteri*; between the holy Sepulcher and holy Calvary and the holy (place) of Constantine, the roof on the whole is, in length 96 *dexteri*, in width 30 *dexteri*.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> There is some debate as to the meaning of this prepositional phrase. Some have taken this to mean that the shape of the lower portion of the Constantinian Edicule was square (Grabar 1946: i, 272–274), but according to Biddle (1999:71) it is probably referring to the interior of the tomb chamber rather than the exterior of the Edicule (cf. also Willis 1849: 176, n. 1).

<sup>77</sup> Tobler 1874: 30.

<sup>78</sup> PPTS 3c: 19–20.

<sup>79</sup> Tobler and Molinier 1879: 304–305.

<sup>80</sup> Author's translation.

**Bernard Monachus 'The Wise,' *Itinerarium* (c. 870 AD)***Chapter 11*

*Intra hanc civitatem, exceptis aliis ecclesiis, quatuor eminent ecclesiae mutuis sibimet parietibus cohaerentes: una videlicet ad orientem, quae habet montem Calvariae et locum, in quo reperta fuit crux Domini, et vocatur basilica Constantini, alia ad meridiem, tertia ad occidentem, in cujus medio est sepulchrum Domini, habens IX columnas in circuitu sui, inter quas consistent parietes ex optimis lapidibus: ex quibus IX columnas in circuitu sui, inter quas consistent parietes ex optimis lapidibus: ex quibus IX columnis IV sunt ante faciem ipsius monumenti, quae cum suis parietibus claudunt lapidem coram sepulchro positum, quem angelus revolvit et super quem sedit post peractam Domini resurrectionem. De hoc sepulchro non est necesse plura scribere, cum dicat Beda in historia anglorum sua sufficientia, quae et nos possumus referre...Inter praedictas igitur IIII ecclesias est paradisus sine tecto, cujus parietes auro radiant; pavementum vero lapide sternitur pretiosissimo, habens in medio sui confinium IIII catenarum, quae veniunt a praedictis IIII ecclesiis: in quo dicitur medius esse mundus.<sup>81</sup>*

Within this city [Jerusalem], four churches, not to speak of others, are notable, joined to each other by partition walls which they have in common. There is one church to the east, which contains Mount Calvary and the place where the Lord's cross was found; it is called Constantine's Basilica. There is another to the south, and a third to the west, in the midst of which is the Lord's Sepulcher, with nine pillars round it, the partition walls between which are of the very best stones. Of these nine pillars, four are in front of the tomb itself, which with their joining walls shut off the stone placed in front of the sepulcher which the angel rolled away and upon which he sat after the Resurrection of the Lord was accomplished. Of this sepulcher it is not necessary to write more, since Bede describes it sufficiently in his history...Between the above four churches there is an unroofed court, the walls of which blaze with gold; the pavement is made of the most precious stone. In its midst there is a space marked out by four chains coming from the above four churches; and here it is said is the center of the world.<sup>82</sup>

**Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Epistulae ad Amphilochia, quaestio CVII*, 'Letters to Amphilochus, Question 107'<sup>83</sup> (between c. 886 and 895 AD)**

## 1.3-5

3) 'Ἄλλ' ἢ γε πηγὴ τῆς ἡμῶν ἀθανασίας, ὁ τάφος, ἔστι μὲν λίθος αὐτοφύης, γλυφαὶ δὲ τὸν λίθον τάφον ποιοῦσι· γλύφεται δὲ ὁ λίθος ἐξ ἀνατολῆς πρὸς δυσὶν τὰς γλυφὰς διαυλωνίζων. Καὶ ἡλικίαν μὲν ἀνδρὸς εἰς ὕψος δέχεται τὸ γεγλυμμένον, πρὸς εὖρος δὲ πάλιν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ μόνῳ διόδον ὑπέχει. Τὸ δὲ μήκος τριῶν ἐστὶν ἢ τεσσάρων ὑποδοξή. 4. "Ἐσώθην δὲ τοῦ γεγλυμμένου λίθου ἄλλης τις ὥσπερ ἀνέσπασται ταῖς γλυφαῖς πέτρα παραλληλεπίπεδῳ σχήματι τυπούμενη καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν ἐπιτιθεμένην δέξασθαι δυναμένη, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἄρχαντον ἐκεῖνο καὶ δεσποτικὸν σῶμα, ὁ πιστὸς ἐκεῖνος Ἰωσήφ λέγεται τεθεικέναι. 5. "Ἐστὶ δὲ

<sup>81</sup> Tobler 1874: 92-93.<sup>82</sup> PPTS 3e: 7.<sup>83</sup> Often the text is referred to as 'Question 107 to Amphilochius.'

εἴτε εἰσοδόν τις ἐθέλει καλεῖν ,τὸ. πρὸς τὸν τάφον, εἴτε στόμα τοῦ τάφου, ὅθεν ἀπήρξατο λαξεύειν ὁ τεχνίτης, πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἀνεστομωμένον, καὶ συμβαίνει τοῖς ἐκείθεν προσιοῦσιν ἐπὶ δύσιν τὴν προσκύνησιν ποιεῖσθαι.

3) In fact this Tomb, the source of our immortality, though it is natural rock, has been formed into a tomb by masons. The rock has been hollowed out from east to west, forming a narrow chamber. The space thus cut away is high enough to take a man standing upright, wide enough only for one man to pass along, but long enough to take three or four standing there. 4) Inside the rock chamber more rock has been removed to form a rectangular recess long enough to take a man lying at full length, and on this the faithful Joseph is said to have laid the sinless body of the Lord. 5) What one might call the entrance or mouth of the tomb, where the workman began to cut in, has its opening facing east, so that it is on the west of any one who approaches to venerate.

#### 2.1-2

1) "Α δὲ τὸν τάφον φιλοτιμία μᾶλλον δὲ φιλοθείᾳ τῶν ἐπιγεγονότων διαλαμβάνει, κίονές εἰσιν ἀνδρομήκεις ἐπὶ πρηπίδων ἐστηριγμένοι ἐξ ἀριστερῶν καὶ δεξιῶν ἴσοι τῷ πλήθει – πέντε γὰρ βόρειοι τοῖς νοτίοις ἀντανίστανται – οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀλλήλων μορφήν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἐξελλάσσοντες· ὧν ἐπὶ μὲν δύσει τοῖς ἄκροις τῶν εἰρημένων κατὰ παράλληλον θέσιν μεσολαβεῖ κίων, πρὸς ἀνατολὰς δὲ τοῖς ἄκροις οὐδὲν παρεμβέβληται, ἀλλ' ἔστι ,τὸ. τῷ στόματι τοῦ τάφου συνανεωγμένον. 2. Ἐπὶ κεῖται δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἔνδεκα κίουσιν οἶον τινα γεισώματα τετράπλευρον σῆμα ποιοῦντα, δι' ὧν ἀλλήλοις τὴν συνάφειαν σφύουσιν οἱ στύλοι, οἷς ἀπ' αὐτῶν φυόμεναι τῶν γεισωμάτων – τοῦ τε πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον καὶ τοῦ πρὸς δυσμὰς τετραμμένον, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βορείου τε καὶ ὅσα πρὸς νότον ἀποινεύει – ἐπανίστανται τινες ψαλίδες ὀροφὴν οἷα μελετώσαι τῷ τάφῳ· ἀλλ' ὁ τεχνίτης ἐκείθεν ὥσπερ ἀνασπᾶσας τὸ βοῦλημα τῶν ἀψίδων καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀρόφου κυκλικὸν περιθέμενος σχῆμα, ἐκεῖθεν εἰς καπνοδόκης μίμημα συνέσφιγγέ τε καὶ ἀπεμήκυνε τὴν ὀροφὴν, κώνου μᾶλλον κορυφῇ ἐπιπταμένη ἢ ὀροφῇ συμμετρῶ συναποπερατώσας τὰς ψαλίδας. "Α μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ τέως παρὰ τῶν ἀκριβῶς τὸν μακάριον ἐκείνον τόπον μελέτην βίου ποιησαμένων ἀνεμαθομεν, ταυτὰ ἔστιν.

1) Now about the additions made for the sake of decoration – or rather, of piety. The tomb has columns the height of a man which are set on bases. On the left and on the right there is an equal number, five on the north matching those on the south, with not the least difference in their shape or size. Between these corresponding rows at the western end there is a column, but at the east there is nothing, so as to leave an opening in front of the mouth of the Tomb. 2) On top of these columns rests a rectangular arrangement of cornices which joins the columns, and to the top of these cornices (those on the east and west as well as those on the north and south) are attached the elements forming the roof of the tomb. But the maker avoided vaulting, and made a circular feature instead of an ordinary roof, joining the beams to form a kind of chimney. It was a tall roof, so that the upper end of the roof elements were more like the apex of a cone than a symmetrical roof. What we are now describing we learned from those who have taken the trouble to reside in that blessed place.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Greek text cited in Vincent and Abel 1914: 237, from Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, *Histoire de l'Église de Jérusalem*, p. 339. The versification follows that of Vincent and Abel. English translation in Wilkinson 1977: 146.

### Anonymous Pilgrim I (early part of the eleventh century AD)

Ad portam neapolitanam est praetorium Pilati, ubi Christus a principibus acerdotum judicatus fuit. Inde non procul est Golgotha vel Calvariae locus, ubi Christus, filius Dei, crucifixus fuit, et primus Adam sepultus ibi fuit, et Abraham ibi Deo sacrificavit. Inde quasi magni(o) lapidis jactu versus occidentem est locus, ubi Joseph ab Arimathia Domini Jesu corpus sanctum sepelivit. Ibi est ecclesia a Constantino rege speciose fabricata. A monte Calvariae sunt XIII pedes ad medium mundi contra occidentem; a sinistra parte est carcer, ubi Christus carceratus fuisse narratur. In dextra parte sepulchri prope est monasterium latinum in honorem sanctae Mariae virginis, ubi ejusdem domus fuit. In eodem monasterio est altare, ubi Maria, mater Domini, stabat, et cum ea soror ejus Maria Clephe et Maria Magdalena flentes dolentesque, quia in cruce Dominum videntes.<sup>85</sup>

Near the Gate of Napolis is Pilate's judgment hall, where Christ was judged by the chief priests. Not far from thence is Golgotha, or the place of Calvary, where Christ the Son of God was crucified, where the first man was buried, and where Abraham offered sacrifice to God. About a stone's throw from thence toward the west is the place where Joseph of Arimathaea buried the sacred body of the Lord Jesus. There is a church beautifully built by the Emperor Constantine. From Mount Calvary it is thirteen feet toward the west to the middle of the world; on the left hand is the prison wherein Christ is said to have been shut up. On the right (left) hand of the sepulcher, and hard by it, there is a Latin monastery dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, built on the place where her house once stood. In this same monastery there is an altar on the place where Mary the Lord's mother stood, and Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen with her, weeping and grieving because they saw the Lord upon the cross.<sup>86</sup>

### THE DAMAGE AND RESTORATION OF THE CONSTANTINIAN CHURCH DURING THE PERSIAN RULE OF JERUSALEM

**Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq) of Alexandria, *Nazm al-Jauhar* 'Ordered Pearls,' known in Latin as *Eutychii Annales* 'History of Eutychius' (early 10th century AD)**

*On the Damage Done to Jerusalem Churches by Khozrau II Parvez and the Persian Army in 614 AD*

فوجه بقائد من قواده يقال له حرقزيه الى بيت المقدس ليخرجه ووجه بقائد آخر الى مصر والاشكندرية في طلب الروم وقتلهم. وخرج كسرى بنفسه الى القسطنطينية فحاصرها اربع عشرة سنة فاما حروزية فصار الى الشام فاخرجه ونهب اهله وصار الى بيت المقدس فاجتمع اليه اليهود من طبرية وجبل الجليل والناصرية وما حوله وجاؤوا الى بيت المقدس فكانوا يعينون الفرس على خراب الكنائس وقتل النصارى. فلما صار الى بيت المقدس اول ما نزل خرب كنيسة الجسمانية وكنيسة اينة وهما خراب هذا الوقت. وخرب كنيسة قسطنطين والاكرايون والمقنرة وضرب المقنرة والاكرايون بالنار وخرب اكثر المدينة وقتلوا اليهود مع الفرس من النصارى ما لا تحصى كثرتهم وهم القليل الذين بنيت المقدس في الموضع الذي يقال له ماملا. وانصرفوا القوس بعد ما احرقوا واخربوا وقيلوا وسبوا زخريا بطريك بيت المقدس وجماعة معه واخذوا عود الصليب الذي كانت هيلانة الملكة خلفته في الموضع. وكان قطعة من خشبة الصليب وحمل مع السبي الى ارض فارس...

<sup>85</sup> Tobler 1865: 113–114.

<sup>86</sup> PPTS 6a: 1–2.

So he [Khozrau, here Chosroes] sent one of his generals named Chorawazaihus to Jerusalem to lay it waste...When he [Khozrau] set out from thence on his way to Jerusalem he was joined by all the Jews who were at Tiberias, the mountains of Galilee, Nazareth, and the parts round about. All these Jews went to Jerusalem and helped the Persians to destroy the churches and murther the Christians. Now when he came to Jerusalem, first of all he destroyed the church of Gethsemane, and also the church of Helena, both of which remain in ruins to this day. He also destroyed the churches of Constantine, that of Golgotha, and of the Holy Sepulchre; he set Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre on fire, and destroyed the greater part of the city as well, while the Persians and Jews together slew innumerable Christians...After the Persians had burned, wasted, and slain, they went away, leading captive Zacharias, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, together with many others. Moreover, they took away the wood of the cross which the Empress Helena had left there (it was a part of the upright beam), which, together with the captives, was taken away into Persia.

*On the Restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by Modestus*

ولما خربوا الفرس الكنائس بيت المقدس واحرقوها بالنار وانصرفوا كان في دير الدواكس وهو دير مار ثاودوسيوس راهب يقال له مودستس كان رئيس الدير. فلما انصرفوا الفرس نزل الى الرملة وطبرية وصور ودمشق يسئل النصارى ان يعطونه ويعينونه حتى يبني الكنائس بنيت المقدس التي اخرجها الفرس فاعطوه وجمع اموالا كثيرة ورجع الى بيت المقدس فبنى كنيسة القيامة والمقبرة والاكرانيون ومار قسطنطين وهو هذا البناء القائم اليوم.

But after the Persians had laid waste the churches of Jerusalem, and after setting fire to them had gone to their homes, a monk in the monastery of Duwakesus (which is the same as the monastery of Theodorus), by name Modestus, and the abbot of the same, after their departure set out on a journey to Ramla, Tiberias, Tyre, and Damascus, and begged the Christians to give something to help him rebuild the churches of Jerusalem which the Persians had destroyed. They all contributed, and gathered a great sum of money, which with on his return to Jerusalem he built the churches of the Resurrection, of the Holy Sepulchre, of Calvary, and of St. Constantine, the building which stands to this day.

*On the Taking of Jerusalem by Umar in 638 AD*

وفتح له باب المدينة فدخل عمر المدينة واصحابه فجلس في صحن القيامة. فلما حضرته الصلاة قال لصفرونيوس البطريرك. اريد اصلي. فقال له النطرك: يا امير المؤمنين صلى موضعك. فقال له عمر: ليس اصلي هاهنا. فاخرجه البطريرك الى كنيسة قسطنطين وطرح له حصيرا في وسط الكنيسة. فقال له عمر: لا ولا هاهنا اصلي ايضا. فخرج عمر الى الدرجة التي على باب كنيسة مار قسطنطين مما يلي الشرق. فصلى وحده على الدرجة ثم جلس وقال صفرونيوس البطريرك: تدري يا بطرك لم لا اصلي داخل الكنيسة. قال له: يا بطرك المؤمنين لا اعلم بذلك. فقال له عمر: لو صليت داخل الكنيسة كانت تتلف منك وتخرج من يدك وكانوا المسلمين ياخذوها منك نعتي ويقولون معا هاهنا صلى عمر.

So the city gate was opened to Omar, and he sat down in the sanctuary of the Church of the Resurrection. When the time for prayer was come, Omar said to the Patriarch Sophronius: 'I would pray.' The patriarch answered: 'O Commander of the Faithful, pray where you are.' Omar replied: 'I will not pray here.' So the patriarch led him out to Constantine's Church, and laid down a carpet for him in the midst of the church; but Omar said: 'Neither will I

pray here.' So he went out to the steps which are at the door of St. Constantine's Church, at the east end, and prayed alone upon the steps. He then sat down and said to the Patriarch Sophonius: 'Patriarch, dost thou know wherefore I would not pray within the church?' He replied: 'I know not, O Commander of the Faithful.' Omar said to him: 'Had I prayed within the church you would have lost it, and it would have passed out of your hands, for after I had gone away the Mohammedans would have taken it from you, for already they were about to say, 'Here Omar prayed.'<sup>87</sup>

#### DESTRUCTION OF THE CONSTANTINIAN CHURCH IN 1009 AD

##### Yahya ibn Sa'id, *Annales*, 'History' (c. 1030s AD)

491-492

وسجل إلى الشام أيضا إلى ياروخ إلى الرملة بدم كنيسة القيامة [القيامة]<sup>88</sup> المقدسة وإزالة أعلاما وتقوى قلع أثرها المكرمة فأبذ ياروخ يوسف ابنه والحين بن ظاهر الوزان وأبذ معه أبا الغوارس العنيف واحتاطوا على ما فيا من الآلات وأبذلت بأسرها إلى القرار إلا ما تعذر هدمه واستصعب قلعه وهدم الاقربايون وكبيشة ماري قسطنطين وساطنر ما اشتمل عليه حدورها واستقصى إزالة الآثار المقدسة وحد ابن ابي ظاهر فح قلع المقبرة [المقدسة]<sup>89</sup> ومحو أثرها فنقر أكثرها وقلعه وكان فح الجوار منا دير البساء يعرف بدير السرى قدم أيضا وكان ابتداء بقضا يوم الثلاثاء لخمس خلثن من صفر سبسة أربع مائة وتركت اليد على سائر املاكا ثائقا وقبض على جميع آلات وصياغتا...

He [Caliph al-Hakim] also wrote in Syria to Yaroukh, governor of Ramlah, [that] he has to demolish the Church of the Resurrection, to remove its (Christian) emblems, to extract the traces and memories. Yaroukh then sent his son Yusouf and al-Housein ibn Thahir al-Wazzan in the company of Abu al-Fawaris-ad-Dhaif, who seized all the furniture that was there, and after that, [the church itself] was pulled down to its foundations with the exception of what was impossible to destroy and too difficult to snatch away. Then the *Qranion* (Golgotha), the church of St. Constantine, and all other structures contained in their walls were destroyed, and sacred (holy relics) were completely wiped out. Ibn Abu-Zhahir, endeavored to remove the [Holy] Sepulchre and to make every trace of it disappear, he broke and demolished most of it. There was in the neighborhood (of the Holy Sepulchre) a monastery of nuns, known as the Monastery of as-Sari, which was also demolished. The ruin was begun on 18 October 1009.<sup>90</sup> All areas and pious bequests were seized, and all the vases and sacred objects and items of silverware.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Arabic text in CSCO 3.6: 216-217; 3.7: 17 (see also Vincent and Abel 1914: 242-244); English translation in PPTS 11a: 36-38, 65-66.

<sup>88</sup> Various manuscripts substitute *al-Qiyamah* 'resurrection' for *al-Qumamah* (see PO 18: 491, n. 15).

<sup>89</sup> One manuscript adds *al-muqadasat* 'holy' (see PO 18: 492, n. 16).

<sup>90</sup> On the date here see Biddle 1999: 72, n. 108.

<sup>91</sup> Author's translation based on the Arabic text and French translation in PO 18: 491-492.



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## Chapter 7

# Selected Excerpts from the Historical Sources: The reconstruction of the Church to its final major restoration (1048–1831 AD)

### DESCRIPTIONS OF THE HOLY SITES IN THE CHURCH FOLLOWING ITS RESTORATION IN THE 11TH CENTURY AD

Nasir-i-Khusrau, *Safer Nameh*, 'Diary of a Journey Through Syria and Palestine' (c. 1047 AD)

*Les chrétiens possèdent à Jérusalem une grande église qui porte le nom de Bi'at el Qoumamèh et ils ont pour elle la plus grande vénération... Plus tard, Hakim donna l'ordre de piller, de démolir et de raser cette église. Elle resta en ruines pendant quelque temps; puis l'empereur envoya des ambassadeurs porteurs de riches cadeaux qui firent acte de soumission, sollicitèrent la paix et supplièrent jusqu'à ce que la permission de reconstruire l'église leur eut été accordée.*

*Cette église est un vaste monument qui peut contenir huit mille personnes. Elle est magnifiquement ornée de marbres de diverses couleurs, de sculptures et de peintures. Les murs sont, à l'intérieur, couverts de brocart et de peintures. On a prodigué l'or dans la décoration de cette église.*

*On y voit en plusieurs endroits des peintures représentant Jésus monté sur un âne; on remarque également les portraits des prophètes Abraham, Ismaël, Isaac et ceux de Jacob et de ses enfants, que la paix de Dieu repose sur eux!*<sup>1</sup>

59–61

In the Holy City (of Jerusalem), the Christians possess a church which they call *Bai'at al-Kumamah* (which is the Church of the Resurrection), and they hold it in great veneration ... Hakim at one time ordered the church to be given over to plunder, which was so done, and it was laid in ruins. Some time it remained thus; but afterwards the Caesar of Byzantium sent ambassadors with presents and promises of service, and concluded a treaty in which he stipulated for permission to defray the expenses of rebuilding the church, and this was ultimately accomplished.

At the present day the church is a most spacious building, and is capable of containing eight thousand persons. The edifice is built, with the utmost skill, of coloured marbles, with ornamentation and sculptures. Inside, the church is everywhere adorned with Byzantine brocade, worked in gold with pictures. And they have portrayed Jesus—peace be upon Him!—who at times is shown riding upon an ass. There are also pictures representing

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<sup>1</sup> French translation of the Persian text by Schefer (1881: 106–108); the Persian text can be found at the end of Schefer.

other of the Prophets, as, for instance, Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob with his sons—peace be upon them all!<sup>2</sup>

***Qualiter sita est civitas Ierusalem, ‘How the City of Jerusalem is Situated’ (c. 1090 AD?), author unknown***

*Templum vero Sancti Sepulchri est rotundum & super Santum Sepulchrum in summitate templi forame rotundum. In medio vero templi est Sepulchrum Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Similiter rotundum de foris, intus autem quadratum invenitur. In introitu vero est porta australis; in occidentali vero parte alia, & ad meridiem porta alia. Per australem vero portam intrant homines, & per aliam portam Sepulchri, que sola est, intratur intus, & per portam meridianam exeunt supra iam dicti homines. In orientali parte est medius mundus. Inde non longe ad orientem est mons Calvarie, in quo Dominus crucifixus est; sub quo monte est Golgotha. A quo monte est longe Sepulchrum quantum porest homo iacere petram pugnalem. Ad sinistram montis Calvarie est carcer, & prope carerem ad sinistram partem columpna, in qua est ligatus. Contra meridiem a Sancto Sepulchro Sancta Maria Latina. A monte vero Calvarie est locus ad orientem ubi sancta Helena invenit crucem Domini.<sup>3</sup>*

The temple of the Holy Sepulcher is round, and above the Holy Sepulcher in the roof of the temple there is a round dome. In the middle of the temple is the Sepulcher of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is quite round outside, but within it is square. The entrance gate is at the south; but there is another gate on the west side, and yet another facing southward. That is, men enter by the south gate, and also by another gate of the Sepulcher, which is single; but they go out by the southward gate. On the east side is the center of the world. Not far eastward is Mount Calvary, where the Lord was crucified; under which is Golgotha. From this mount the sepulcher is distant a stone's throw. On the left of Mount Calvary is a prison; and near the prison on the left side is the pillar to which the Lord was bound. Northward from the Holy Sepulchre is the Latin church of St. Mary. Eastward from Mount Calvary is the place where S. Helena found the Cross of the Lord.<sup>4</sup>

***Saewulf, Relatio de peregrinatione Saewulf ad Hierosolymam et terram sanctam, ‘Pilgrimage of Saewulf to Jerusalem and the Holy Land’ (c. 1100–1105 AD)***

*Primum eundum est ad ecclesiam sancti sepulchri que Martyrium uocatur, non solum pro conditione platearum, sed quia celebrior est omnibus aliis ecclesiis : et hoc digne et juste, quia omnia que a sanctis prophetis in toto munco de saluatore nostro ihesu Christo errant predicta uel prescripta, ibi sunt omnia ueraciter consummata. Ipsam ecclesiam, inuenta cruce dominica, construxit Maximus archiepiscopus, fauente imperatore Constantino matreque sua Helena, regie atque magnifice. In medio autem istius ecclesie est dominicum sepulchrum muro fortissimo circumcinctum, et opertum ne dum pluit pluuias cadere possit super sanctum sepulchrum, quia ecclesia desuper patet discooperta. Ista ecclesia sita est in decliuo montis syon, sicut ciuitas. Sed postquam romani principes Titus et Uespasianus in ultione domini totam ciuitatem Iertim funditus destruxissent, ut prophetatio dominica impleretur, quam, dum appropinquaret dominus iertim, uidens ciuitatem, flens super illam dixit: ‘Quia si cognouisses, et tu, quia uenient dies in te, et circumdabunt te inimici tui uallo, et*

<sup>2</sup> Le Strange 1893: 59–60. Page numbers 59–61 are listed in Le Strange's translation.

<sup>3</sup> Tobler and Molinier 1879: 347–348.

<sup>4</sup> PPTS 3e: 12–13.

*coangustabunt te undique, et ad terram prosternent te et filios tuos qui in te sunt, et non relinquent in te lapidem super lapidem,' etc. Nos scimus quod extra portam passus est dominus. Sed Adrianus imperator, qui Helias, uocabatur, reedificauit ciuitatem iertm et templum dotnini, et adauxit ciuitatem usque ad turrem Dauid, que prius multum remota erat a ciuitate, sicut quislibet a monte Oliueti uidere potest ubi ultimi occidentales muri ciuitatis prius fuerunt et quantum postea adaucta est. Imperator uero uocauit ciuitatem nomine suo Helyam, quod domus dei interpretatur. Quidam autem dicunt ciuitatem fuisse a Justiniano imperatore restauratam, et templum domini similiter sicut est adhuc; sed illud dicunt secundum opinionem et non secundum ueritatem. Assirii enim, quorum patres coloni erant illius patrie a prima persecutione, dicunt ciuitatem septies esse captam et destructam post domini passionem, simul cum omnibus ecclesiis, sed non omnino precipitam.*

*In atrio Ecclesie dominici sepulchri loca uisuntur sanctissima, scilicet career ubi dominus noster ihesus christus post traditionem incarcerationis fuit, testantibus assiriis. Deinde paulo superius locus apparet ubi sancta crux cum aliis crucibus inuenta est, ubi postea in honore regine Helene magna constructa fuit Ecclesia, sed postmodum a paganis funditus est detrusa; inferius uero non longe a carcere columpna marmorea conspicitur ad quam ihesus christus dominus noster in pretorio ligatus flagris affligebatur durissimis. Iuxta est locus ubi dominus noster a militibus exuebatur ab indumentis. Deinde est locus ubi induebatur ueste purpurea a militibus et coronabatur spinea corona, et diuiserunt uestimenta sua sortem mittentes. Postea ascenditur in montem caluarium, ubi Abraham patriarcha, facto altari, prius filium suum iubente deo sibi immolare uoluit; ibidem postea filius dei, quem ipse prefigurauit, pro redemptione mundi deo patri immolatus est hostia: scopulus autem eiusdem montis passionis dominice testis, iuxta fossam in qua dominica crux fuit affixa multum scissus, quia sine scissura necem fabricatoris sufferre nequiuisset, sicut in passione legitur: 'et petre scisse sunt.' Subtus est locus qui Golgotha uocatur, ubi Adam a torrente dominici cruoris super eum delapso dicitur esse a mortuis resuscitatus, sicut in domini passione legitur: 'et multa corpora sanctorum qui dormierant surrexerunt': sed in sententiis beati Augustini legitur eum sepultum fuisse in Hebron, ubi etiam postmodum tres patriarche sepulti sunt cum uxoribus suis...Iuxta locum caluarie Ecclesia sancte Marie, in loco ubi corpus dominicum, auulsum a cruce, antequam sepeliretur fuit aromatizatum, et lintheo siue sudario inuolutum.*

*Ad caput autem ecclesie sancti Sepulchri, in muro forinsecus, non longe a loco Caluarie, est locus qui compas uocatur, ubi ipse dominus noster ihesus christus medium mundi propria manu esse signauit atque mensurauit, psalmista testante: 'Deus autem rex noster ante secula operatus est salutem in medio terre': sed quidam in illo loco dominum ihesum christum dicunt apparuisse primo Marie Magdalene, dum ipsa flendo eum quesiiuit, et putauit eum hortolanum fuisse, sicut euangelista narrat. Ista oratoria sanctissima continentur in atrio dominici sepulchri ad orientalem plagam. In lateribus uero ipsius Ecclesie due capelle sibi adherent preclarissime hinc inde, sancte Marie scilicet sanctique Iohannis in honore, sicut ipsi participes dominice passionis sibi in lateribus constiterunt hinc inde. In muro autem occidentali ipsius capelle sancte Marie conspicitur imago ipsius dei Genetricis perpicta exterius...Ex altera uero parte sancti iohannis ecclesie est monasterium sancte Trinitatis pulcherrimum, in quo est locus baptisterii, cui adheret capella sancti iacobi apostoli, quiprimam cathedram pontificalem ierosolimis optinuit: ita composite et ordinate omnes, ut quilibet in ultima stans ecclesia omnes quinque ecclesias perspicere potest clarissime, per ostium ad ostium.*

*Extra portam Ecclesie sancti sepulchri ad meridiem est ecclesia sancte-Marie, que Latina uocatur eo quod latine ibi domino a monachis semper ministrabatur; et assirii dicunt ipsam beatam dei*

*Genitricem in crucifixione filii sui domini nostri stare in eodem loco ubi altare est eiusdem Ecclesie. Cui Ecclesie alia adheret Ecclesia sancte Marie que uocatur parua, ubi monache conuersantur, sibi filioque suo seruientes deuotissime. iuxta quam est hospitale ubi monasterium habetur preclarum in honore sancti Iohannis Baptiste dedicatum.*<sup>5</sup>

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is called the 'Martyrium,' is the first spot to be visited, not only because of the direction of the streets, but because it is more celebrated than all the other churches. And fittingly and justly so, for all things which were foretold by the holy prophets all over the world concerning our Savior Jesus Christ were there all truly accomplished. The church itself, when our Lord's cross was found, was built by Maximus the Archbishop, by the aid of the Emperor Constantine and his mother Helena, royally and magnificently. In the middle of that church is our Lord's sepulcher, surrounded by a very strong wall and covered over, lest, when it rains, the rain should fall upon the holy sepulcher; for the church above it lies open without a roof. This church is situated on the declivity of Mount Zion, as was the city itself, after that the Roman princes, Titus and Vespasian, had, by the vengeance of the Lord, destroyed from the foundations the whole city of Jerusalem; that our Lord's prophecy might be fulfilled, which he uttered, when, as our Lord was drawing nigh to the city of Jerusalem, He saw the city, and wept over it, saying, 'If though hadst known, even though, for the days shall come upon thee, and thine enemies shall compass thee with a trench, and hem thee in on every side, and shall lay thee flat to the ground, and thy children who are in thee, and shall not leave in thee a stone upon a stone,' etc. We know that our Lord suffered without the gate. But the Emperor Adrian, who was called Helias, rebuilt the city Jerusalem and the Temple of the Lord, and extended the city as far as the Tower of David, which formerly had been some distance from the city; as anyone can see from the Mount of Olives, where the extreme west walls of the city formerly were, and how much the city was afterwards extended. The emperor called the city by his own name, Aelia, which means the House of God. Some, however, say that the city was restored by the Emperor Justinian, and the Temple of the Lord, just as it is now; but they say this according to their own private opinion, and not according to the truth. For the Assyrians, whose fathers were the settlers in that country from the first persecution, say that after our Lord's Passion the city was seven times captured and destroyed, together with all the churches, but not wholly leveled to the ground.

In the atrium of the Church of our Lord's Sepulcher some most holy places are visited. First, the prison where our Lord Jesus Christ, after his betrayal, was confined, as Assyrians bear witness. Next, a little higher, is seen the place where the Holy Cross was found, together with other crosses; and where afterwards a great church was built in honor of Queen Helena, but was subsequently entirely destroyed by the pagans. Lower down, and not far from the prison a marble column is seen, to which Jesus Christ our Lord was bound in the pretorium, and beaten with most cruel scourges. Close by is the place where our Lord was stripped of his garments by the soldiers. Then there is the place where he was clothed with a purple robe by the soldiers, and crowned with the crown of thorns, and they parted his garments, casting lots. Afterwards you go up to Mount Calvary, where formerly the patriarch Abraham built an altar, and at the command of God was ready to sacrifice to him

<sup>5</sup> PPTS 4b: 37-40.

his own son. In the same place, afterwards, the Son of God, whom [Isaac] prefigured, was sacrificed to God the Father as the victim for the redemption of the world. The rock of that same mountain is a witness of our Lord's Passion, being rent greatly close to the hole in which the Cross of our Lord was fixed, because it could not bear without rending the slaying of its Creator, as we read in the Passion: 'And the rocks were rent.' Underneath is the place which is called Golgotha, where Adam is said to have been raised from the dead by the stream of our Lord's blood falling upon him, as we read in our Lord's Passion: 'And many bodies of the saints that slept arose.' But in the 'Sentences of Augustine,' we read that he [Adam] was buried in Hebron, where afterwards the three patriarchs were buried with their wives...Hard by the place Calvary is the Church of Holy Mary, in the place where our Lord's body, taken from the cross, was anointed before it was buried, with the sweet spices, and wrapped in the linen cloth, or winding-sheet.

At the head of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in the wall outside, not far from the place of Calvary, is a spot which is called Compas, where the same our Lord Jesus Christ himself, with his own hand, assigned and marked out the middle of the world, as the Psalmist testifies: 'But God, our King before the ages, wrought salvation in the midst of the earth.' In that place also some say that our Lord Jesus Christ appeared first to Mary Magdalene, when she was seeking him weeping, and thought he was the gardener, as the Evangelist relates. Those most sacred oratories are contained in the atrium of our Lord's Sepulcher at the eastern side. But at the sides of the church itself two most celebrated chapels cluster, on on either side, namely, in honor of Holy Mary and St. John, as they were themselves partakers of our Lord's Passion, and stood at his side, one on the right and one on the left. On the west wall of the same chapel of Holy Mary is to be seen a picture of the same Mother of God, painted on the outside, which marvelously consoled Mary of Egypt long ago...On the other side of the Chapel of St. John is the most beautiful monastery of the Holy Trinity, wherein is a baptistery, to which is attached a chapel of St. James the Apostle, who was granted the first episcopal chair of Jerusalem. All these places are so arranged and ordered that anyone standing at the very end of the church can clearly see all five churches from door to door.

Outside the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre towards the south is the Church of Sancta Maria, which is called the Latin Church because there the service is always offered to the Lord in Latin; and the Assyrians say that the same Blessed Mother of God, at the crucifixion of her Son our Lord, stood in the very spot where the altar of that church is. To this church is attached another church of Sancta Maria, which is called Parva, where some nuns frequent who serve her and her Son most devoutly. And near to it is the hospital where is the celebrated monastery dedicated to the honor of St. John the Baptist.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> PPTS 4b: 9-14.

Abbot Daniel (Daniil Igoumen), *Zhytyie i khodinnya Danyla, Ruskoyi zemli ihumena*, 'Life and Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel'; also called *Pelerinage de Daniel*, 'Pilgrimage of Daniel' (c. 1104–1106 AD)<sup>7</sup>

## О ЦЕРКВИ ВЪСКРЕСЕНЬЯ ГОСПОДНЯ

Есть церкви Вскресения Господня всяка образом: кругло создана, столповъ имат 12 обьлых, а 6 зданыхъ; мощена же есть дъсками мраморяными красно; двери же имат шестеры; а на полатех столпов имат 16. А над полатями под верхом исписани суть пророци святии мусиею, яко живи стоятъ. А над олтарем написан есть Христос мусиею. Въ олатри же велицѣм написано есть Адамово воздвижение мусиею; горѣ верху написано есть мусиею възнесение Господне, обаполы олтаря на обою столпу написано есть мусиею Благовѣщение. Врѣхъ же церковный не до конца сведенъ каменемъ, но тако сперенъ есть древом тесаным, яко польстичнымъ образом; и тако есть безъ верха, не покрыта ничимже. Под тым самым врѣхом непокрытым Гробъ Господень.

Есть же сие Гробъ Господень: яко печерка мала у камени сѣчена, дерци имущи малы, яко можеть человекъ влѣсти на колѣну поклонься. Възвыше же есть мала, всямокачна 4 лакоть и в длину и в ширину. И яко влѣзуче в пещерку ту дверцами малыми, и на деснѣй руцѣ есть яко лавица засѣчена въ томже камени пещернѣмъ, и на той лавицѣ лежало тѣло Господа нашего Исуса Христа. Есть нынѣ лавица та святая покрыта дъсками мраморяными. Суть на странѣ продѣлана оконца 3 круга, и тѣми оконци видиться святой тѣ камень, и тудѣ цѣлуютъ вси христьяне. Висит же в Гробѣ Господни 5 кандил великих с маслом, и горят беспрестани кандила свята день и ночь. Лавица же та святаа, идѣже лежало тѣло Христово, есть в длину 4 лакот, а в ширину 2 лаки, а възвыше полулаки. И пред дверми пещерными предлежитъ камень, треи стопѣ вдале от дверецъ тѣх пещерных: на том камени аггелъ, сѣдя, явися женамъ и благовѣсти има възкресение Христово.

Есть пещерка та святаа одѣлана около красным мрамором, яко имѣнъ, и столпци около мрамором красным стоят числом 12. Верху же над пещеркою сдѣланъ яко теремецъ красенъ на столпѣх, верху круголь и сребреными чешюями позлащенными покован; и на врѣхъ того теремца стоит Христос, сдѣланъ сребром яко в мужа болѣе, и то суть фрязи сдѣлали, и нынѣ есть под самым врѣхом тѣмъ непокрытымъ. Суть двери 3-и у теремца того учинени хитро, яко и решето крестыци; и тѣми дверми влзят люде къ Гробу Господню. Да то есть Гробъ Господень был пещерка та, якоже то сказах: испытах добрѣ от сущих ту издавна и вѣдущих поистиннѣ вся та святаа мѣста.

Есть же церковь та Вскресение образомъ круга, всямокачна: и в длѣ и въ преки иматъ же сажень 30. Суть же в ней полати пространны, и тамо горѣ живет патриархъ. И есть же отъ дверей Гробных до стены великого олтаря сажень 12. Ту есть внѣ стѣны за олтаремъ Пупъ земли, и создана над нимъ комарка, и горѣ написан Христос мусию, и глаголетъ грамота: «Се пядию моею измѣрих небо и землю».

<sup>7</sup> The Russian texts of the pilgrimages of Abbot Daniel and Basil Posniakov were accessed (15 September 2012) from the Online Publication of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House), an organization which strives to preserve the cultural heritage of Russia.



## О МѢСТѢ СРЕДИ ЗЕМЛЯ, ИДѢЖѢ РАСПЯТЬСЯ ХРИСТОС

А отъ Пупа земнаго до Распятія Господня и до Края есть сажень 12. Есть же Распятіе Господне къ востоку лицъ, есть же на камени, высоко было, яко стружия выше. Камень же тый был круголь, яко горка мала. А посреди камени того, на самом врѣху, высѣчена есть скважня лакти воглубле, а вширь мний пяди кругъ; и ту был въдружень крестъ Господень. Исподи же под тѣмъ каменемъ лежить прѣвозданаго Адама глава. И в распятіе Господне, егда на крестъ Господъ нашъ Иисус Христосъ предасть духъ свой, и тогда раздрася церковная катапетазма, и камене распадется; тогда же и тѣ камень просѣдется над главою Адамлею, и тою разсѣлиною сниде кровь и вода изъ ребрь Владыченъ на главу Адамову и омы вся грѣхы рода человѣча. И есть разсѣлина та на камени томъ и до днешняго дне. Знати есть на деснѣй странѣ Распятія Господня знамение то честное.

## О МѢСТѢ ЛОБНѢМ

Есть Распятіе Господне и камен-етъ святойъ озданъ стѣною все. Горѣ над распятіемъ создана комара хитро, исписана мусіею дивно. И отъ востока лицъ на стѣнѣ написано есть мусіею — Христосъ на крестѣ распятъ — хитро и дивно, прямъ яко живъ, и вболѣ и възвыше, якоже былъ тогда. А полудне лицъ написано есть снятіе такоже дивно. Двери же иматъ двои. Възлѣсти же есть горѣ по степенемъ: до дверей 7 степеней, а въ двери вшедъ 7 степеней. Помощено же есть мраморными дѣсками красными.

Споди же под Распятіемъ, идѣже есть глава, такоже призвано есть яко церквица мала, и красно исписана есть мусіею и помощена есть краснымъ мраморомъ. Да то зовется Крайниевое мѣсто, еже есть Лобное мѣсто. А горѣ, идѣже есть Распятіе,— то зоветъ Голгофа. А отъ Распятія Господня до Снятія есть сажень 5. И ту есть у Распятія Господня близъ мѣсто къ полунощію лицъ, идѣже раздѣлиша ризы его. И ту другое мѣсто, идеже възложиша вѣнецъ трновъ на главу Господню и в багряницу поруганія облекоша.

## О ЖЕРТВЕНИЦѢ АВРАМОВѢ

И ту есть близъ жрътвенникъ Авраамовъ, идеже положи жрътву Богови Авраамъ и закла овенъ въ Исаака мѣсто. На то же бо мѣсто възведенъ бысть Исаакъ, идеже Христосъ възведенъ бысть на жрътву и закланъ бысть насъ ради грѣшныхъ. А оттолѣ есть близъ мѣсто, яко двою сажень далее, идеже заушенъ бысть Христосъ Богъ нашъ. А оттолѣ есть далѣе 10 сажень святая Темница, идеже всажень бысть Христосъ, и ту посидѣлъ мало, дондеже приспѣють иудѣи и поставятъ крестъ, да распнуть и. И та святая мѣста вся под однимъ покровомъ суть, по ряду вся къ полунощію лицъ. А отъ Темницы Христовы до мѣста, идеже святая Елена налѣзла честный крестъ, гвоздья, и вѣнецъ, и копие, и губу, и трость, есть сажень 20 и 5. Есть же Гробъ Господень, и Распятіе, и та святая мѣста вся на долнѣмъ мѣстѣ суть; и есть вгоріе отъ запада лицъ надъ Гробомъ и надъ Распятіемъ.

И ту есть мѣсто на пригории; на то мѣсто притече скоро святая Богородица. Тщаше бо ся, текущи вслѣдъ Христа, и глаголаше, в болѣзни сердца своего слезящи: «Камо идиши, чадо мое? Что ради течение се скорое твориши? Еда другій бракъ в Кана

Галилеи, да тамо тщишися, сыну и Боже мой? Не молча отъиди мене, рожшаа тя, дажь ми слово, рабъ своей». И пришедше на мѣсто то святаа Богородица, и узрѣ с горы тоя сына своего распинаема на крестѣ, и видѣвши, ужасеся, и согнуса, и сѣде, печалию и рыданиемъ одръжима бѣаше. И zde събысться пророчество Симеоне, яко прежь рече святѣй Богородици: «И се лежит на встание и на падение многимъ въ Израили, и тебѣ же самой оружие душу проидет, егда же узриши сына своего закалаема». Ту же стояху мнози на мѣстѣ томъ, друзи и знаниа его, издалеча зряще. Мария Магдалыни и Мария Ияковля и Саломии,— идѣже стояху вси, иже от Галилея пришедше и съ Ианном и съ матерію Исусовою. Стояху же вси знаемии друзи Исусови, зряще издалеча, якоже пророкъ глаголетъ о томъ: «Друзи же мои и ближники моя издалеча мене сташа». И то мѣсто есть подаль от Распятія Христова, яко полутораства сажень есть на западъ лицъ мѣсто то от Распятія Христова. Имя мѣсту тому Спудий, иже ся протолкуеть Тѣшание Богородично. И есть на мѣстѣ томъ нынѣ манастирь, церкви Святаа Богородица клѣтски верхъ въсперень.<sup>8</sup>

#### *X. THE CHURCH OF THE RESURRECTION OF THE LORD*

The Church of the Resurrection is of circular form; it contains twelve monolithic columns and six pillars, and is paved with very beautiful marble slabs. There are six entrances, and galleries with sixteen columns. Under the ceiling, above the galleries, the holy prophets are represented in mosaic as if they were alive; the altar is surmounted by a figure of Christ in mosaic. At the high altar there is an 'Exaltation of Adam' in mosaic; and the mosaic of the arch above represents the Ascension of our Lord. There is an 'Annunciation' in mosaic on the pillars on either side of the altar. The dome of the church is not closed by a stone vault, but is formed of a framework of wooden beams so that the church is open at the top. The Holy Sepulchre is beneath this open dome.

Here is the description of the Holy Sepulchre: it is a small cave hewn in the rock, having an entrance so low that a man can scarcely get through by going on bended knees; its height is inconsiderable, and its dimensions, equal in length and breadth, do not amount to more than 4 cubits. When one has entered the grotto by the little entrance, one sees on the right hand a sort of bench, cut in the rock of the cavern, upon which the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was laid; it is now covered by marble slabs. This sacred rock, which all Christians kiss, can be seen through three small round openings on one side. There are five large oil-lamps burning night and day suspended in the Sepulchre of our Lord. The holy bench upon which the body of Christ rested is 4 cubits in length, 2 in width, and 1 in height. Three feet in front of the entrance to the cavern there is the stone upon which the angel sat who appeared to the women and announced to them the resurrection of Christ. The holy grotto is cased externally with beautiful marble, like a raised platform (ambo), and is surrounded by twelve columns of similar marble. It is surmounted by a beautiful turret resting on pillars, and terminating in a cupola, covered with silver-gilt plates, which bears on its summit a figure of Christ in silver, above the ordinary height; this was made by the Franks. This turret, which is exactly under the open dome, has three doors skilfully executed in trellis-work; it is by these doors that one enters the Holy Sepulchre. It is this

<sup>8</sup> Abbot Daniel 2006–2011.

grotto, then, which served as the Lord's Sepulchre; and I have described it according to the testimony of the oldest inhabitants, who thoroughly know the holy places.

The Church of the Resurrection is round in form and measures 30 *sagènes*<sup>9</sup> each way. It contains spacious apartments in the upper part, in which the Patriarch lives. They count 12 *sagènes* from the entrance of the tomb to the wall of the high altar. Behind the altar, outside the wall, is the 'Navel of the earth,' which is covered by a small building on (the vault of) which Christ is represented in mosaic, with this inscription: 'The sole of My foot serves as a measure for the heaven and for the earth.'

#### XI. THE PLACE AT THE CENTRE OF THE EARTH WHERE CHRIST WAS CRUCIFIED

It is 12 *sagènes* from the 'Navel of the earth' to the place of the crucifixion of our Lord and to the end. The place of crucifixion is towards the east, upon a rounded rock, like a little hill, higher than a lance. On the summit of it, in the middle, a socket-hole is excavated, one cubit deep, and less than a foot in circumference; it is here that the cross of our Lord was erected.

Beneath this rock lies the skull of the first man, Adam. At the time of our Lord's crucifixion, when He gave up the ghost on the cross, the veil of the Temple rent, and the rock craved asunder, and the rock above Adam's skull opened, and the blood and water which flowed from Christ's side ran down through the fissure upon the skull, thus washing away the sins of men. The fissure exists to this day, and this holy token is to be seen to the right of the place of crucifixion.

#### XII. THE PLACE OF CALVARY

This holy rock and the place of crucifixion are enclosed by a wall, and they are covered by a building ornamented with marvellous mosaics. On the eastern wall there is a wonderful life-like representation of the crucified Christ, but larger and higher than nature; and on the south side an equally marvellous representation of the Descent from the Cross. There are two doors; one mounts seven steps to the doors, and as many after. The floor is paved with beautiful marble. Beneath the place of crucifixion, where the skull lies, there is a small chapel, beautifully decorated with mosaic, and paved with fine marble, which is called 'Calvary,' signifying the place of the skull. The upper part, the place of the crucifixion, is called 'Golgotha.' The distance between the 'Crucifixion' and the place of the descent from the cross is 5 *sagènes*. In the neighbourhood of the place of the crucifixion, on the north side, is the place where the garments of our Lord were parted; and close to it there is the spot where they placed the crown of thorns on His head, and laid on Him, in mockery, the garment of purple.

<sup>9</sup> The old Russian *sagene* is equal to 2.13 meters.

## XIII. THE ALTAR OF ABRAHAM

Close to this place is Abraham's altar, upon which he offered his sacrifice to God, and slew a ram instead of Isaac. At this same place, to which Isaac was led, Christ was brought as a sacrifice and crucified for the salvation of us sinners. The place where Christ our God was struck on the face is about 24 *sagènes* from this spot; and 35 *sagènes* thence is the holy prison where Christ was interned, and where He remained for a time, whilst the Jews prepared and erected the cross upon which He was crucified. All these holy places are under the same roof, side by side, and on the northern side.

It is 25 *sagènes* from Christ's prison to the places where St. Helena found the holy Cross, the lance, the sponge, the reed, the nails, and the crown of thorns. The Holy Sepulchre, the place of crucifixion, and all the holy places lie in a fold (hollow) of the ground, which rises, on the west side, higher than the Holy Sepulchre and place of crucifixion. Not far off, upon an elevation, is the spot at which the Holy Virgin arrived in haste following Christ, and, weeping, addressed to Him these words in the distress of her heart: 'Where goest Thou, my son? why dost Thou hasten Thy steps? Art Thou pressed to arrive at another wedding like that at Cana of Galilee, O my son and my God? Go not away silent from me, who gave Thee birth; speak a word to Thy servant.' When, however, the holy mother arrived at that place, and saw from the height that her son was being crucified, she was seized with terror, and sank down on the ground, overcome by grief and sobs. Thus was the prophecy of Simeon fulfilled; he had formerly predicted to the Holy Virgin, 'This child is appointed for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and a sword shall pierce thy own soul when thou shalt see thy son sacrificed.'

And many friends and acquaintances of Jesus stood at this place, looking on from afar, amongst them being Mary Magdalene, Mary, mother of James and Salome, as well as all those who had come from Galilee with John and the mother of Jesus. All the friends and kinsmen of Jesus were thus looking on from afar as the prophets had foretold: 'My friends and kinsmen stood afar off from Me.'

This spot is about 150 *sagènes* westward from the place of crucifixion, and is called 'Spudi,' which is translated 'The zeal of the holy Virgin.' On this place there is now a convent consecrated to the holy Virgin; its church has a timber roof.<sup>10</sup>

**Anonymous Pilgrim II (12th century AD)***Chapter II*

*Inde itur in sanctam civitatem...Inde itur in ecclesiam sancti sepulchri, primo ad locum Calvariae, ubi passus est Christus, ubi etiam tamquam voti compotes, adorato crucifixo, cruces scilicet tres quasi reconsignant. Inde itur in Golgotha, ubi scissâ petrâ Domini sanguis fluxit. Inde itur ad altare, quod suffultum creditur parte illius columnae, ad quam ligatus et verberatus est Christus. Ibi in provimo descensu est locus, ubi sancta crux inventa est crypta, desuper prominente petra. Medium altare in honore sanctae Helenae, sinistrum in honore sancti Quiriaci, qui et Judas fuit et crucem ostendit,*

<sup>10</sup> English translation in PPTS 4c: 12–17; French translation of the text in Khitrowo 1889: 12–17 (see also Corbo 1981–1982: 141–143).

*et, viso resuscitati mortui miraculo, ad fidem converses, factus est episcopus Jerusalem. In medio chori canonicorum est locus valde reverendus, eo quod Christus de cruce sublatus ibi, antequam ad sepulchrum ferretur, depositus est. Ibi lumen nunquam exstinguitur. Majus altare est in honore sanctae Mariae. Deinde visitatur sanctum sepulchrum. Habet altare meridionali (latere septentrionali) ecclesiam satis ornatam in honore sanctae crucis, ubi sancta crux servatur, juxta quam est etiam alia Surianorum ecclesia, in qua ipsi quoque sanctam crucem servant. Quasi in fine ecclesiae, in meridiano (septentrionali) latere est locus, qui carcer dicitur, ubi Christus tenebatur in custodia, dum patibulum crucis praeparabatur in monte. Sub V columnis ecclesiae XL Martyres sepulti sunt, qui per hoc nescuntur, quod eorum sollemnitas celebratur VIII id. Martii. Juxta locum Calvariae est locus ostii obclusi, in quo Hieronymus Adam dicit sepultum fuisse...Juxta ecclesiam majorem sunt III ecclesiolae altare (latere) meridionali sibi contingents, quarum proxima est in honore sanctae trinitatis, ultima, quae et plateam respicit, in honore Jacobi Majoris, et dicitur, quod Dominus in loco altaris medii sederit, et beatus Johannes a dextris, Jacobus a sinistris, quando mater eorum petiit, ut sederent in regno suo, unus a dextris et alter a sinistris. Dicitur et sanctus Johannes stetisse in loco altaris sui, quando Christus commendavit sibi matrem. Ipsa quoque sanctissima virgo in loco, ubi nunc majus altare majoris ecclesiae est, stetit, videns passionem filii sui. Extra majorem ecclesiam ad latus Calvariae est capellula in honore Mariae Magdalenae, ubi steterunt III Mariae tempore passionis.<sup>11</sup>*

Thence one goes into the Holy City...Thence one goes into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and first to the place of Calvary, where Christ suffered, where pilgrims, after they have worshipped him crucified, cast down their crosses on the earth again in token that they have accomplished their vow. From hence one goes to Golgotha, where the Lord's blood flowed down and the rock was rent. Thence one goes to an altar which is believed to rest upon a piece of the column to which Christ was bound and scourged. There, down a descent close by, is the place where the holy cross was found, which is in a crypt beneath an overhanging rock. The altar in the middle is dedicated to St. Helena, and that on the left to St. Quiriacus, whose name was also Judas, who showed the cross to the dead man, and on seeing the miracle of his being brought to life again, was converted and was made Bishop of Jerusalem. In the midst of the canons' choir there is a place which deserves especial reference, for that Christ, after he was taken down from the cross, was laid there before being borne to the sepulchre. Here a light is always kept burning. The high altar is dedicated to St. Mary. After this one goes to the holy sepulchre. This has an altar on the south (north side), and a fair church dedicated to the Holy Cross, wherein the holy cross is kept. Near this is another church, which belongs to the Syrians, wherein they also keep a holy cross. Almost at the end of the church, on the south (north) side, is the place which is called 'the Prison,' where Christ was shut up while the gallows or cross was being made ready on the mount. Beneath the five columns of the church are buried the Forty Martyrs, whom we know by their feast being held on the 8th of March. Near the place of Calvary there is a place the door into which is closed. In it Jerome says that Adam was buried...There are three little chapels adjoining the church on the south side, whereof that which is nearest to the church is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and the furthest one, which looks into the street, is dedicated to St. James the Great...Without the great church, by the side of Calvary, there is a little chapel dedicated to Mary Magdalen, on the place where the three Marys stood at the time of the Passion.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Tobler 1865: 119-121.

<sup>12</sup> PPTS 6: 5-7.

**Anonymous Pilgrim III (12th century AD)***Chapter IV*

*...Jerusalem, civitatem sanctam...et ibi est sepulchrum Christi. Ibi est ecclesia magna et rotunda, habens tria ostia pulcherrima de lapidibus marmoreis, in qua ecclesia est nunc locus Calvariae, lapis magnus et altus ad staturam hominis: in quo lapide est foramen unum, quod dicitur esse in medio terrae, in quod foramen posita fuit crux Domini. Et parum longe a loco Calvariae sepultus fuit Christus, et lapis, qui positus fuit ad ostium monumenti, est magnus et rubicundus. Et ultra sepulchrum Domini ardet frequenter lampas mirabiliter ornate, quae singulis annis in parascebe, hora nona, per se exstinguitur et in die paschae, hora resurrectionis Christi a mortuis, iterum per se incenditur. Quam lampadem dicitur Martha ad honorem sancti sepulchri constituisse et Lazarus, frater ejus.<sup>13</sup>*

...Jerusalem, the holy city...there is Christ's sepulcher. There is a great round church, having three exceeding beauteous doors of marble, and in this church is now the Place of Calvary, a great rock as tall as a man. In this rock there is a hole, which is said to be in the middle of the earth, and in this hole the Lord's cross was set. Christ was buried close to Calvary, and the stone which was put at the mout of his tomb is a great red one. Above the Lord's sepulcher brightly burns a lamp, wondrously adorned...The lamp is said to have been placed here in honor of the Holy Sepulchre by Martha and her brother Lazarus.<sup>14</sup>

**Anonymous Pilgrim IV (12th century AD)***Chapter II*

*In Jerusalem est sanctum sepulchrum dominicum...Et ibi sunt XV passus, ubi Dominus ascendit locum Calvariae...Item ibi est locus, ubi crucifixus est, et crux fixa est in lapidem. Item est locus, ubi depositus est Dominus de cruce. Item ibi est locus, ubi Dominus involutus est in sindonem, et positus est in sepulchrum sanctissimum. Item ibi est locus, ubi Dominus apparuit primo Mariae Magdalenae post resurrectionem. Item ibi est locus, ubi Helena sancta inventi crucem sanctam Domini. Item ibi est locus, ubi crux Domini posita fuit super mortuum, et revixit.<sup>15</sup>*

In Jerusalem is the holy sepulcher of the Lord...And there are fifteen steps up which the Lord went to the place of Calvary...Also there is the place where he was crucified, and where the cross was fixed in the rock. Also there is the place where the Lord was laid after he was taken down from the cross. Also there is the place the Lord was rapped in fine linen and laid in the most holy sepulcher. Also there is the place where the Lord first appeared to Mary Magdalen after his resurrection. Also there is the place where St. Helena found the Lord's holy cross. Also there is the place where the Lord's cross was laid upon a dead man and he came to life again.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Tobler 1865: 130–131.

<sup>14</sup> PPTS 6:15–16.

<sup>15</sup> Tobler 1865: 134–135.

<sup>16</sup> PPTS 6: 18.

**Anonymous Pilgrim VII (12th century AD)**

*In Jerusalem est sepulchrum Domini. Ad introitum portarum sepulchri, extra portam, est ecclesia Calvariae, ubi sancta maria fuit et sanctus Johannes stabat, quando Dominus dixit: 'Mulier, ecce filius tuus; ...fili, ecce mater tua.' Extra portam a sinistra parte est altare sancti Johannis Baptistae. Intra portam rursum ad dextram est mons Calvariae, ubi crucifixus erat Dominus; subtus est Golgotha, ubi sanguis Domini cecidit ad petram. Et ibi fuit caput Adam, Abraham sacrificium fecit. Ex alio latere ad pedes montis Calvariae est locus et columna, ubi Dominus fuit flagellatus, et prope, contra orientem (orientem), per descensus XLIII graduum est locus, ubi sancta crux a sancta Helena fuit inventa. In ecclesia est sepulchrum Domini, et ibi juxta, contra orientem, in medio chori, est medius mundi, ubi Dominus fuit positus, quando Nochodemus deposuit eum de cruce. A sinistro latere est carcer Domini, et ibi prope est locus, ubi sancta crux adoratur.<sup>17</sup>*

In Jerusalem is the Lord's sepulcher. At the entrance to the doors of the (Church of the) Sepulchre, without the door, is the Church of Calvary, where the blessed Mary was and where St. John was standing when the Lord said, 'Woman, behold thy son...Son, behold thy mother.' Without the door, again to the right, is Mount Calvary, where the Lord was crucified. Below is Golgotha, where the Lord's blood fell upon the rock. There was Adam's head, and there Abraham offered his sacrifice. On the other side, at the foot of Mount Calvary, is the place and the column where the Lord was scourged, and near it, toward the east, down forty-three steps, is the place where St. Helena found the holy cross. In the church is the Lord's sepulcher, and there, near to it, on the east side thereof, in the midst of the choir, is the middle of the world, where the Lord was laid when Nicodemus took him down from the cross. On the left-hand side is the Lord's prison, and close by is the place where the holy cross is worshipped.<sup>18</sup>

***De situ urbis Jerusalem et de locis sanctis intra ipsum urbem sive circumjacentibus, 'On the City of Jerusalem and the Holy Places within the City or Surrounding'; also known as Fetellus (c. 1130 AD?), author unknown***

*Sepulchrum vero Domini est infra civitatem, paululum ad sinistram nobis euntibus ad Templum. Ecclesia Sepulcri rotunda est satis pulchre fabricata, et habet quatuor portas que aperiuntur contra solis ortum. Sepulchrum vero Domini est in medio ejus satis bene munitum, et decenter ordinatum. Deforis etiam a parte orientali est Calvarie locus, ubi fuit Dominus crucifixus, et ibi ascenditur per sedecim gradus, et ibi est magna rupis, ubi crux Christi fuit erecta. Subterius est Golgota, ubi sanguis Christi per medium petre deorsum stillavit, et ibi est altare in honore S. Dei genitricis. Deforis quo contra ortum solis est locus ubi beata Helena Sanctam Crucem invenit, et ibi edificatur magna ecclesia. Ex alia parte contra horam sextam est hospitium pauperum et infirmorum, et ecclesia S. Johannis Baptiste.<sup>19</sup>*

The Sepulchre of the Lord is below the city, a little to our left as we go to the Temple [of Solomon]. The Church of the Sepulchre is round, of considerable beauty of construction, and it has four gates which are opened over against the sun-rising. The Sepulchre of the

<sup>17</sup> Tobler 1874: 100–101.

<sup>18</sup> PPTS 6: 70.

<sup>19</sup> De Vogüé 1860: 412.

Lord is in the middle of it, sufficiently well protected and decently adorned. On the outside of it, on the east, is the site of Calvary, where the Lord was crucified, and there one ascends by sixteen steps, and there is a great rock where the Cross of Christ was erected. Lower is Golgotha, where the blood of Christ trickled down through the middle of the rock, and where there is an altar in honor of the sainted mother of God. Outside of this, over against the sun-rising, is the place where the blessed Helena found the Holy Cross, and there a large church is building [i.e. the Choir or Katholicon]. On the other side over against the sixth hour (i.e. to the south) is a hospital for poor and infirm persons, and the Church of St. John Baptist.<sup>20</sup>

**Peter the Deacon, *Liber de locis sanctis*, 'Book On the Holy Places' (c. 1137 AD)**

*Sepulcrum uero Domini, de quo supra retulimus, est fabricatum in medio templi, templum uero in media ciuitate contra aquilonem non longe a porta David. Post resurrectionem autem est ortus, in qua sancta Maria cum domino locuta est. Foris ecclesiam retro est medietas orbis...*

*In Golgotha autem est pars ligni salutiferae crucis, in qua confixus est dominus, et titulum, quod est repositum in locello argenteo. Est illic et cornu, unde ungebantur reges, et annulum Salomonis.*

*Non longe autem a medietate muni est carcer; ibi uero est alligatio, ibi prope et flagellatio ibique prope et spinis coronatio, ibi prope est dispolatio et uestimenti diuisio. In Caluaria artem, ubi crucifixus est Dominus, est mons scissus, et in ipso monte Caluariae ascenditur per gradus decem et septem, et ibi pendent lampades nouem cum singulis nappies argenteis. Subtus uero est Golgotha, ubi cecidit sanguis Christi super petram scissam.<sup>21</sup>*

1) The Sepulchre of the Lord, of which we have spoken above, has been constructed in the middle of a temple, and the temple is in the city center towards the north, not far from David's Gate. Behind the Resurrection is a garden in which holy Mary spoke with the Lord. Behind the church and outside is the Center of the World...

2) And on Golgotha is part of the Wood of the Saving Cross to which the Lord was fastened, and the Title, which is placed in a silver box. Also in that place is the Horn with which the kings were anointed, and the Ring of Solomon. Not far from the Center of the World is the Prison; and there is his binding and scourging, and near there is the robbing and division of his garments.

On Calvary, where the Lord was crucified, the mountain is cleft, and one goes up on to this Mount Calvary by seventeen steps, and nine lamps hang there, each with a silver cloth. Below is Golgotha, where Christ's blood fell on the cleft stone.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> PPTS 5a: 2–3.

<sup>21</sup> CSEL 39: 107.

<sup>22</sup> Wilkinson 1981: 180–181.



**John of Würzburg, *Descriptio terrae sanctae*, 'Description of the Holy Land' (c. 1160–1170 AD)**

X. LOCUS CALVARIAE, CARCER DOMINI, SEPULCHRUM ADAM; SCISSURA ET FORAMEN PETRAE, ALTARE DOMINICAE PASSIONIS ET AD SANCTUM SANGUINEM

*Erat tunc temporis juxta situm antiquae civitatis locus calvariae extra civitatem qui addictus erat capitali sentential damnatis...Idem vero locus, qui et hebraice Golgotha, erat in veteri rupe...Interim dum in eadem rupe per affixionem crux adaptaretur, Dominus noster in quodam loco, qui tunc campestris erat, vinctus quasi in carcere servabatur, qui locus nunc modum capellae repraesentat et adhuc carcer Domini appellatur, et est, recte in opposita parte Calvariae, in sinistra absida ecclesiae. Alii tamen aliter de eodem sentient loco, sicut praesens audiui...*

*Locus quidem Calvariae est ad dextram in introitu majoris ecclesiae, in cujus superiori parte scissura ejusdem petrae celebris cum magna solemnitate veneratur et adhuc hodie advenientibus manifeste ostenditur. Eadem pars superior optimo musivo poere pulchre depicta; continetur passio Christi et ejus sepultura cum prophetarum testimonio gestae rei hincinde consono.*

*Nota, quod in eodem loco, sive crux fuerit infixi in rotundo foramina, quod adhuc patens ostenditur et in quod oblations immittantur fidelium, sive in parte ea, ubi hastile cujusdam rotundi lapidis erectum ostenditur, ut quidam asserunt, et ut plus, quod ad situs positionem et ad sanguinis ex dextro latere ad rimam petrae emissionem...*

*Juxta eundem locum in superiori parte ad dextram est altare situm, in honore dominicae passionis consecratum, et totus locus ille denominatur ab eadem passione. Inferior vero pars ejusdem Calvariae subtus continet altare, et vocatur ad sanctum sanguinem, quia eo usque per rimam petrae sanguis Domini dicitur fluxisse, qui locus hodi retro idem altare designatus est per quamdam concavitatem ejusdem petrae, ubi dependet ampulla cum continua illuminatione. Extra introitu Calvariae (versus leguntur):*

*Hic locus insignis Calvaria sanctus habetur  
pro duce, pro pretio, pro cruce, pro lavacro.  
Nempe Jesu cruor et titulus, sacra corporis unda  
nos salvat, redimit, protegit atque lavat.*

10. THE PLACE OF CALVARY—THE PRISON OF OUR LORD—THE SEPULCHRE OF ADAM—THE REND AND HOLE IN THE ROCK—THE ALTAR OF THE LORD'S PASSION, AND OF HIS HOLY BLOOD

There was at that time over against the site of the old city a place called Calvary, outside the city, which was set apart for those who were condemned to death...This place, which in Hebrew is called Golgotha was an ancient rock...Meanwhile, while the rock was being prepared to receive the cross, our Lord was kept bound as it were in prison in a certain place which there was in the fields, which place is now formed into a chapel, and is to this day called 'The Prison of the Lord,' and is exactly opposite to Calvary, in the left-hand apse of the church. Others, however, have other opinions about this place, as I heard on the spot...

The place of Calvary is on the right hand as you enter the larger church, and in the upper part of it the famous rent of the rock is adored with much ceremony, and is plainly shown to all comers to this day. This same part is beautifully ornamented with the finest mosaics, which represent the Passion of Christ and his burial, with various passages from the prophets bearing testimony to that event.

Observe that in this same place, whether the cross was fixed in the round hole which to this day is shown open, and into which the offerings of the faithful are cast, or in the place where an upright shaft of round stone is shown, as some declare that it was, and which moreover appears to be more in accordance with the form of the ground and the flowing of blood from his right side into the rent in the rock...

Close to this place in the upper part towards the right hand there is placed an altar, dedicated in honor of our Lord's Passion, and the whole of that place receives its name from the same Passion. The lower part of this same Calvary contains an altar, and is called the Chapel of the Holy Blood, because the blood of the Lord is said to have flowed so far through the rent in the rock, to a place which at the present day is marked at the back of the aforesaid altar by a kind of depression in the rock, where hangs a lamp with an ever-burning flame. On the outside at the entrance to Calvary, are the following verses:

'Our Lord was hither brought, betrayed, was crucified and washed,  
Wherefore this famous Calvary is holy ground for aye;  
The blood which Jesus shed upon this hill will save,  
Redeem us, and protect us, and will wash our sins away.'

#### XI. CHORUS DOMINORUM, MEDITULLIUM TERRAE, EMMAUS, LAVATIO PEDUM IN SION

*In medio choro dominorum, non longe a loco Calvariae, est quidam locus elevatione tabularum de marmore et reticulorum ferreorum concatenatione in modum altaris designatus, infra quas tabulas in pavimento, orbiculus quibusdam factis, meditullium terrae dicunt designatum, juxta illud: Operatus est salutem in medio terrae. In eodem quoque loco post resurrectionem dicitur Dominus apparuisse beatae Mariae Magdalenae, et idem locus habetur in magna veneratione, lampade etiam intus dependente. In eodem quoque loco quidam asserunt, quod Joseph corpus Jesu a Pilato impetravit...*

#### 11. THE CHOIR OF THE CANONS—THE CENTER OF THE EARTH—EMMAUS—THE WASHING OF THE FEET ON SION

In the midst of the choir of the Canons, not far from Calvary, is a spot which is formed into the apse of an altar by raised slabs of marble supported by an open ironwork lattice, beneath which slabs are certain small circles on the pavement, which they say mark the center of the earth, according to the text, 'His salvation hath he wrought in the midst of the earth.' In this same place also it is said that the Lord appeared to the blessed Mary Magdalene after his resurrection, and the place is greatly venerated, having a lamp hanging within it. In the same place some declare that Joseph obtained the body of Jesus from the cross...

XII. MONUMENTUM AD SEPULCHRUM DOMINI, ALTARE AD S. SEPULCHRUM, EPIGRAMMATA, ECCLESIA NOVA, CHORUS DOMINORUM, ALTARE RESURRECTIONIS, PROCESSIO

*Dispositio monumenti, in quo continetur sepulchrum Domini, fere rotundam habet formam, intus musivo opere decoratam. Pate tab oriente per introitum parvi ostioli, ante quod habet protectum fere quadratum cum duabus januis. Per unam intromittuntur ingressuri monumentum ad sepulchrum, per alteram emittuntur egressuri. In eo quoque protecto resident custodies sepulchri. Et terium ostiolum habet versus chorum. Eidem monumento ab occidente, videlicet ad caput sepulchri, forinsecus appositum est altare cum quadam quadrata supraedificatione, cujus parietes tres de reticules ferramenti pulchre composites sunt, et covatur illud altare ad sanctum sepulchrum. Idem monumentum satis amplum habet super se quasi ciborium rotundum et superius de argento coopertum, in altum elevatum versus foramen illud amplum in majori illo aedificio superius patulum: quod aedificium circulariter cum forma rotunda, circa monumentum satis amplum, in extremo habet continuum parietem diversis imaginibus sanctorum large depictum et ornatum pluribusque lampadibus illuminatum. In strictiori ambitu ejusdem majoris aedificii octo columnae marmoreae rotundae et totidem bases quadratae, totidem tabulis quadratis marmoreis forinsecus ornatae et circumquaque erectae sustinent molem superiorem sub tecto, quod, ut diximus, patulum est in medio.*

*Sequuntur aliqui versus, qui in locis diversis leguntur.*

*In superliminari ecclesiae sancti sepulchri:*

*Quid, mulier, ploras? en jam quem quaeris, adoras.*

*Me dignum recoil, jam vivum tangere noli.*

*In superliminari introitus interioris ad sepulchrum Domini:*

*Christo sugenti locus et custos monumenti*

*angelus et vestis fuit, estque redemptio testis.*

*Intus ad depositionem Domini:*

*A caris caro cara Dei lacrimata levatur*

*a cruce; pro miseris rex pius haec patitur.*

*Intus prope ad Domini sepulturam:*

*Conditur in tumulo conditus aromate Christus,*

*tollitur ad superos meriti moderamine justus.*

*Gaudet homo, trepidant manes, gemit omnis abyssus.*

*Et excessus Adae Crhisto veniente remissus.*

*Item ibidem, sed per medium:*

*Sub tumulo lapidis dum sic Christus tumulatur,*

*ejus ad exquias homini coelum reseratur.*

*Diximus, quod columnae circulariter cum praedicto numero sint appositae; sed modo versus orientem mutata est earum dispositio et numerus propter adjectionem novae ecclesiae, ad quam inde est transitus. Et continet illud novum et de novo additum aedificium satis amplum chorum dominorum et satis longum sanctuarium, continens majus altare in honorem anastaseos...Extra hoc altaris sanctuarium et intra claustrum ambitum continetur satis latum spatium circumquaque tam per hoc novum, quam per antiquum praefati monumenti aedificium processioni idoneum...*

12. THE MONUMENT AT THE SEPULCHER OF OUR LORD—THE ALTAR AT THE HOLY SEPULCHER—  
THE INSCRIPTIONS—THE NEW CHURCH—THE CHOIR OF THE CANONS—THE CHURCH OF THE  
RESURRECTION—THE PROCESSION

The monument which contains the Holy Sepulcher of our Lord is almost round in form, and is decorated on the inside with mosaic work. It is entered from the east through a little door, in front of which is an ante-chamber of almost square shape, with two doors. Through one of these, persons entering the monument are admitted to the Sepulcher, and through the other those who are leaving it pass out. In the ante-chamber also the guardians of the Sepulcher dwell. It also has a third little door, which opens toward the choir. Outside this same monument, that is to say at the head of the Sepulcher, there is an altar with a kind of canopy built over it, whose three walls are beautifully formed of iron lattice work, and this altar is called the altar of the Holy Sepulcher. The monument has above it a cup-like dome, the upper surface of which is covered with silver, and which rises high in the air towards the wide space open to the sky, which is made in the larger building above it, which building being of a round form, on a circular ground plan, with a wide space all round the monument (of the Holy Sepulcher), has at its end a continuous wall adorned with painted figures of various saints on a large scale and lighted by numerous lamps. In the narrower circuit of this larger building eight round columns of marble, and the same number of square bases, adorned outside with the same number of marble slabs, and placed all round (the central point), sustain an entablature under the roof, which we have said is open in the middle.

Below are various verses which are to be seen in different places. On the lintel of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre:

‘Woman, wherefore weep’st thou, kneeling unto Him thou seekest dead?  
Touch Me not, behold Me living, worthy to be worshipped.’  
On the lintel of the inner entrance to the Sepulchre of our Lord:  
‘The place and guardian testify Christ’s resurrection;  
Also the linen clothes, the angel, and redemption.’  
Within, at the place where the Lord was laid:  
‘By friends God’s flesh was from the cross with tears ta’en down;  
He bore these pains for us who now doth wear the crown.’  
Within, close to the Sepulchre of the Lord:

‘With spice anointed, in this tomb Christ lies,  
By merit now the just to heaven may rise;  
Man’s glad, the ghosts are stirred, all hell doth groan,  
For Eve’s sin Christ’s coming doth atone.’  
Also in the same place, but in the middle:

‘Here Christ was laid within this sepulchre of rock,  
His burial heaven’s gate to mortals doth unlock.’

We have said that the aforesaid number of columns are arranged in a circle; but now on the eastern side their number and arrangement are altered, because of the new church which has been built on to them, the entrance into which is at that point. This new and newly-added building contains a spacious choir of the Canons, and a spacious sanctuary, which contains a high altar dedicated in honour of the *Anastasis*, that is, of the Holy Resurrection, as is shown by a picture in mosaic work placed above it...Outside the sanctuary of this altar and within the circuit of the cloister is contained a space sufficiently wide in all directions, both through this new church and also through the old building round about the aforementioned monument, to be suitable for a procession...

XIII. CLAUSTRUM DOMINORUM, CRYPTA CUM ALTARE S. HELENAE, CONSECRATIO ECCLESIAE S. SEPULCHRI, QUATUOR ALTARIA, CHORUS DOMINORUM, DISSENSIO ALEMANNORUM ET FRANCORUM

*In capite etiam ejusdem ecclesiae novae versus orientem, juxta claustrum dominorum, est locus in profundo, in modum cryptae, cum magna satis serentiate, in quo regina Helena crucem Domini dicitur reperisse, in cujus Helenae honorem ibidem continetur altare consecratum: quae regina majorem ejusdem ligni sacra partem secum detulit Constantinopolim; reliqua vero pars Hiersolymis relicta diligenter et reverenter servatur in quodam loco, in altera parte ecclesiae, ex opposito loco Calvariae.*

13. THE CANONS' CLOISTER—THE CRYPT WITH THE ALTAR OF ST. HELENA—THE CONSECRATION OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE—THE FOUR ALTARS—THE CANONS' CHOIR—THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE GERMANS AND THE FRANKS

At the head of this same new church towards the east, close to the Canons' cloister, is a place sunk deep, like a crypt in great retirement, wherein the Empress Helena is said to have found the Lord's cross. This place also contains an altar consecrated in honor of the said Helena, which empress took away with her to Constantinople the greater part of that sacred wood; but the remainder, which was left at Jerusalem, is carefully and reverently preserved in a certain place, in another part of the church, opposite Calvary.<sup>23</sup>

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE HOLY SITES IN THE CHURCH FOLLOWING THE RESTORATION AND RESHAPING OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES

### Dedicatory Inscription on the West Face of Calvary (1149 AD)

*Est locus iste sacer, sacratus sanguine Christi,  
Per nostrum sacrare sacro nichil addimus isti.  
Sed domus huic sacro circum superedificata  
Est quinta decima Quintilis luce sacrata  
Cum reliquis patribus a Fulcherio patriarcha,  
Cuius tunc quartus Patriarchatus annus;  
Septem septies capta et semel unus ab urbe,*

<sup>23</sup> Latin text in Tobler 1874: 141–152; English translation in PPTS 5b: 30–39.

..... SPNMSARA  
 .....) DIM° S.... SED DOM<sup>I</sup>AC  
 SAR CIRCVM SVPER.....  
 ALVICH<sup>I</sup>ERICO PAT<sup>I</sup>ARCHA  
 CVI° TNE QV<sup>I</sup>T° PAT<sup>I</sup>AR-  
 CH<sup>I</sup>AS ..... SEMEL VN°  
 AB VRBE QVAE SIMILIS  
 ERANT  
 PVR (.....  
 EXORT DN<sup>I</sup>N<sup>I</sup>V MER<sup>I</sup>AN-  
 TVR SIMVL ANN.....  
 .....VINDE-  
 CES....IVDICES.....

Figure 7.1. Dedicatory inscription as recorded by Francesco Quaresmius in 1639 (source: Quaresmius 1639: 483).

*Quae similis puri fulgebat stamine auri,  
Ex ortu Domini numerabantur simul anni  
Undecies centum et quadraginta novemque  
...iudices...*<sup>24</sup>

This place is holy, sanctified by the blood of Christ,  
By our consecration we add nothing to its holiness.  
But the house built around and above this sacred place  
Was consecrated on the fifteenth day of July,  
With other fathers present, by Fulcher the patriarch,  
Who was then in the fourth year of his patriarchate,  
The fiftieth year since the capture of the City,  
Which then shone like pure gold.  
From the birth of the Lord there were numbered  
Eleven hundred and forty and nine years.  
...iudices...<sup>25</sup>

**Muhammad al-Idrisi, *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq Fi'khtirāq al-Afaq*, 'Book of Pleasant Journeys into Far Away Lands' or *Tabula rogeriana* (c. 1154 AD)**

*Wenn man durch das westliche, das Mihrab-Thor, eintritt, geht man gegen Osten durch die Nebenstrasse einer Hauptstrasse zu der grossen Kirche, die die Auferstehungskirche und bei den Muslimen kumama heist; das ist die, u der von allen Ländern der rum, die im Osten und Western der Erde sind, gewallfahrtet wird. Man betritt sie durch ein Thor an der Westseite und findet sich innerhalb einer Kuppel, die die ganze Kirche umfasst und zu den Weltewundern gehört; die Kirche ist tiefer als dies Thor und man kann zu ihr nicht von dieser Seite hinabsteigen. Sie hat an der Nordseite ein Thor, durch das man zu dem untern Theile der Kirche auf dreissig Stufen hinabsteigt, das Thor St. Maria genannt, und hinabgestiegen trifft man das hochheilige Grab. Es hat zwei Thüren und über sich eine gewölbte Kuppel von solider Bauart, fester Fügung und eleganter Verzierung. Von diesen beiden Thüren ist die eine nördlich, dem St. Mariathor gegenüber, die andere südliche heist die der Kreuzigung und an dieser ist der Glockenthurm der Kirche. Ihr gegenüber ist eine sehr grosse Kirche, in welcher die römischen Franken Messe halten. Im Osten dieser Kirche, etwas wenig nach Süden hin, ist das Gefängniss, in dem der Herr Christus gefangen war, und die Kreuzigungsstelle. –Die grosse Kuppel ist rund, gegen den Himmel geöffnet; rings um sie sind die Propheten der Herr Christus, seine Mutter Maria und Johannes der Täufer abgebildet. Über dem heiligen Grabe sind von den am Orte aufgehängten Lampen speciell drei goldene.*<sup>26</sup>

When you enter [Jerusalem] by the Jaffa Gate, called Bab al-Mihrab, which, as aforesaid, is the western gate, you go eastwards through a street that leads to the great church known as the *Kanisah al-Qiyamah* ('Church of the Resurrection'), which the Muslims call *Kumamah*

<sup>24</sup> The text was recorded by Francesco Quaresmius (1639: 483) and reconstructed by Melchior de Vogüé (1860: 217) and later by Biddle (1999: 93).

<sup>25</sup> English translation in Biddle (1999: 94).

<sup>26</sup> German translation of the Arabic original from Gildemeister (1885: 124). The fragmentary Arabic manuscript is viewable online at the website of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000547t/f1.image.r=.langEN>).

(the 'Dunghill'). This is a church to which pilgrimage is made from all parts of the Greek Empire, both from the eastern lands and the western. You enter [the church] by a gate at the west end, and the interior thereof occupies the centre space under a dome, which covers the whole of the church. This is one of the wonders of the world. The church itself lies lower than this gate, and you cannot descend thereto from this side. Another gate opens on the north side, and through this you may descend to the lower part of the church by thirty steps. This gate is called Bab Santa Maria.

When you have descended into the interior of the church you come on the most venerated Holy Sepulchre. It has two gates, and above it is a vaulted dome of very solid construction, beautifully built, and splendidly ornamented. Of these two gates, one is towards the north, facing the Gate Santa Maria, and the other is toward the south, facing which is the *Bab as-Salubiyya* ('Gate of the Crucifixion'). Above this last gate is the bell-tower of the church. Over against this, one the east, is a great and venerable church, where the Franks of *Rum* have their worship and services. To the east of this blessed church, but bearing somewhat to the south, is the prison in which the Lord Messiah was incarcerated; also the place of the Crucifixion. Now, as the great dome, it is of a vast size, and open to the sky. Inside the dome, and all round it, are painted pictures of the Prophets, and of the Lord Messiah, and of the Lady Maryam, his mother, and of John the Baptists. Over the Holy Sepulchre lamps are suspended, and above the Place in particular are three lamps of gold.<sup>27</sup>

### Theodoric, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, 'Notebook on the Holy Land' (c. 1172 AD)

#### *V. Ecclesia dominici sepulchri: primim capella ejusdem*

Restat ergo, ut de locis sanctis, propter quae ipsa civitas sancta vocatur, disseramus. Unde a sancto sanctorum vel a sepulchro dominico duximus incipiendum. Ecclesia dominici sepulchri mirifico fulgens opere ab Helena regina constat esse fundata, cujus exterior murus quasi per circuli circumferentiam traductus ipsam ecclesiam facit esse rotundam. Locus autem dominici sepulchri vicem centri in opsa ecclesia obtinet, cujus dispositio aedis est opus super ipsum sepulchrum erectum et marmoreo tabulatu decenter ornatum. Non itegram circuli habet circumferentiam, sed ex ipso circulo versus orientem duo parvi parietes procedentes et tertium recipients tria in se continent ostiola, tres in latitudine, septem in altitudine pedes habentia, quorum unum ab aquiline, secundum ab oriente, tertium a meridi patet. Ab aquilonali intratur, a meridiano exitur, orientale custodum sepulchri usibus cavat. Inter haec tria ostiola et quartum, quo ad ipsum sepulchrum intratur, altare quidem parvum, sed reverendum habetur, ubi cirpus dominicum, antequam sepulturae daretur, positum fuisse a Joseph et Nicodemo narratur. Denique super os ipsius speluncae, quod retro ipsum altare situm est, ab eisdem per picturam musivi operas corpus Domini sepulturae mandatur, adstante domina nostra, ejus matre, et tribus Mariis bene ex evangelio notis cum aromatum vasculis, supersedente etiam angelo ipsi sepulchro et lapidem revolvente atque dicente: Ecco locum, ubi posuerunt eum. Inter opsum quoque foramen et ipsum sepulchrum linea per hemicyclum in longum porrigitur hos continens versus:

<sup>27</sup> English translation adapted from Le Strange 1890: 206–207, which was based on Gildemeister 1885: 124.



*Christo surgenti  
locus et custos monumenti.  
Angelus et vestis  
fuit estque redemptio testis.*

*Haec omnia musivo opere pretiosissimo sunt depicta, quo opere tota illa domuncula est decorata. Utraeque vero januae acerrimos habent custodies, qui non minus quam sex, nec plus quam duodecim simul intomittunt; nec enim plures loci capit angustia. Per aliam, postquam adoraverint, januam exire compelluntur. Ipsum autem os speluncae nonnisi rependo cruribus quislibet valet intrare, quod pertransiens optabilem thesaurum invenit, sepulchrum videlicet, in quo benignissimus Dominus noster Jesus Christus triduo requievit, pario marmore, auro et lapidibus pretiosis mirifice decoratum. Tria in latere rotundahabet foramina, per quae ipsi lapidi, in quo Dominus jacuit, optata peregrini porriguntur oscula, duos et semis pedes in latitudine, cubitum virilem et pedem habens in longitudine. Planities vero inter ipsum sepulchrum et murum posita tantum obtinet spatii, ut quinque homines versis ad sepulchrum capitibus locum habeant geniculatim orandi. Extrinsecus igitur circa ipsum opus decem columnae sunt dispositae, quae sibi impositos gestantes arcus cancellatum efficient circillum, cui limbus suppositus est, hanc aureis litteris insculptam continens scripturam: Christus resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur. Mors illi ultra non dominabitur, quo denique vivit, vivit Deo. Caeterum ad caput ipsius, quod ad occidentem versum fuit, altare ferries parietibus et januis atque seris cucumseptum continetur canvellis cypressinis varia pictura decorates et tecto ejusdem generis similiter decorato ipsis parietibus incumbente. Tectum ipsius operas ex tabulis cupreis deauratis consistit, in medio foramina rotundo existente, circa quod columnellae in circuitu constitutae et arculos impositos gestantes superpositum tectum simile ciborio continent. Super tectum quoque ipsum crux deaurata et super crucem columba continetur similiter deaurata. Inter duas autem columnellas superius ab arcubus, in singulis suis arcubus, singulae lampades dependent in circuitu. Similiter quoque inter inferiors columnas per circuitum binae lampades dependent. Circa opsos vero arcus inferiors ipsi versus in unoquoque arcu descripti sunt, quod nequaquam propter colorum in quibusdam abolitionem legere potuimus; no stamen sex in tribus arcubus tantum ad planum valuimus comprehendere:*

*Venit in hunc loculum, qui condidit antea saeculum,  
Ejus adis tumulum, cito fac, ut sis mihi templum,  
Cernere gratum  
quem cupit agnum  
concio partum,  
Ephrata natum,  
Golgotha passum,  
petra sepultum,  
hic protoplastum  
vexit ad astrum,  
daemonis astum  
vicit, et ipsum  
surgere lassum  
dans, ait: Assum.*

*Circa ferreum vero parietem ad caput, ut diximus, constitutum, cui cancelli superpositi sunt, linea per circuitum porrigitur hoc continens versus:*

*Mors hic deletur  
et nobis vita medetur.  
Hostia grata datur,  
cadis hostis, culpa lavatur.  
Coelum laetatur,  
flent tartari, lex renovatur.  
Ista docent, Christe,  
quia sanctus sit locus iste.*

##### *5. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre; First, the Chapel Thereof*

It only remains, then, that we should tell of the holy places, on account of which the city itself is called holy. We have though, therefore, that it would be right to begin with the Holy of Holies; that is, from the sepulcher of our Lord. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, of marvelous workmanship, is known to have been founded by the Empress Helena; and its outer wall being carried as it were, round the circumference of a circle, makes the church itself round. The place of our Lord's sepulcher occupies the central point in the church, and its form is that of a chapel built above the sepulcher itself, and beautifully ornamented with a casing of marble. It is not in the form of a complete circle, but two low walls proceed from the circumference towards the east, and meet a third wall. These walls contain three doors, 3 feet wide and 7 feet high, one of which opens on the north, another on the east, and another on the south side. The entrance is by the northern door and the exit by the southern door. The eastern door is set apart for the use of the guardians of the sepulcher.

Between these three small doors and the fourth door—that by which one goes into the sepulcher itself—is an altar which, though small, is of great sanctity, whereon our Lord's body is said to have been laid by Joseph and Nicodemus before it was placed in the sepulcher. Moreover, above the actual mouth of the sepulcher, which stands behind the altar, these same men are shown in a picture of mosaic-work placing our Lord's body in the tomb, with our Lady, his mother, standing by, and the three Maries, whom we know well from the Gospel, with pots of perfumes, and with the angel also sitting above the sepulcher, and rolling away the stone, saying, 'Behold the place where they have laid him.' Between the opening and the sepulcher itself a line is drawn in a semicircular form, which contains these verses:

'The place and guardian testify Christ's resurrection,  
Also the linen cloth, the angel, and Redemption.'

All these things are portayed in most precious mosaic-work, with which work the whole of this little chapel is adorned. Each of these doors has very strict porters, who will not allow fewer than six, or more than twelve, people to enter at one time; for, indeed the place is so narrow that it will not hold more. After they have worshipped they are obliged to go out by another door. No one can enter the mouth of the sepulcher itself except by

crawling upon his knees, and having crossed it, he finds that most-wished-for treasure—I mean the sepulcher wherein our most gracious Lord Jesus Christ lay for three days—which is wondrously adorned with white marble, gold and precious stone. In the side it has three holes, through which the pilgrims give their long-wished-for kisses to the very stone whereon their Lord lay, which measures 2.5 feet in width, and the length of a man’s arm from the elbow and one foot also. The floor between the sepulcher itself and the wall is large enough to allow five men to pray on their knees with their heads turned towards the sepulcher. Round about this building outside are ranged ten pillars, which with the arches which they support, make a circular enclosure, beneath which is a base, having this text of Scripture caved upon it in letters of gold: ‘Christ having risen from the dead dieth nor more. Death hath no more dominion over him: for in that he liveth, he liveth unto God.’ At his head, which was turned towards the west, there is an altar surrounded by partition walls, doors, and locks of iron, with lattice-work of cypress-wood decorated with various paintings, and with a roof of the same kind and similarly decorated, resting upon the walls. The roof of the work itself is formed of slabs of gilt copper, with a round opening in the middle, round which stand small pillars in a circle, carrying small arches above them, which support a cup-shaped roof. Above the roof itself is a gilded cross, and above the cross is a dove, likewise gilded. Between every two columns throughout the circle, from each arch hangs a lamp. In like manner also, two lamps hang between each of the lower columns all round the circle. Round the lower arches, on every arch, verses are written, which upon some of them we were not able to read because of the fading of the colors. We were only able to read six plainly, which were written on three of the arches:

‘Within this tomb was laid  
 He who the world hath made:  
 Ye who his tomb do see  
 Haste ye to be  
 A temple meet for me.  
 Lamb of God blest!  
 Patriarchs old,  
 Longed, ere their rest,  
 Him to behold.  
 Brought forth at Ephrata,  
 Suffered at Golgotha.  
 He from his rocky bed,  
 Adam our father led,  
 Bore him on high;  
 Conquered the devil’s arts.  
     And saith to sinking hearts,  
     “Rise, it is I!” ’

Also round the iron enclosure which, as we have said before, is placed at the head of the sepulcher, above which is the lattice-work, there runs a scroll containing these verses:

‘Twas here the victory o’er Death was won  
 And life for us begun;

To God the pleasing sacrifice was given,  
 The victim fell;  
 Our sins are all forgiven;  
 There is joy in heaven,  
 And grief in hell;  
 Ends the Old Testament,  
 God hath a New one sent:  
 We learn from this, O Christ, who here has bled,  
 That holy is the ground whereon we tread.'

#### VI. *Ecclesia ipsa sive rotunda*

*Caeterum pavimenta ipsius ecclesiae pario et vario marmore speciosissime sunt constrata. Ipsa vero ecclesia quadratis columnis VIII, quae vocantur pilaria, et XVI rotundis columnis de uno lapide existentibus inferius sustentatur, superius vero, quum inferius et superius sicut ecclesia Aquisgrani testudinata est, octo similiter pilariis et XVI columnis fulcitur. Cymatium inferius, quod per totam ecclesiam circulariter traductum est, graecis litteris descriptum est per totum Spatium vero muri, quod medio atque superno cymatio interjacet, musivo opere incomparabili specie prae fulget, ubi in fronte chori vel supra arcum santuarii, eodem quidem opere, sed antiquo, gratissimo vultu puer Jesus refulgens umbilico tenus cernitur esse depictus, ad sinistram vero ipsius manum mater sua, ad dextram autem Gabriel archangelus illam notam depromens salutationem: Ave, Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui. Haec salutatio tam latinae, quam graece circa ipsum Dominum Christum descripta est. Ulterius quoque ad dextram partem XII apostoli per ordinem eodem opere sunt depicti, habentes singuli eulogias Christi mysteriis competentes in manibus suis. In medio autem eorum Constantinus imperator pro eo, quod una cum matre Helena ipsius ecclesiae fundator exstitit, in fenestra muro non profunde imposita regali munificentia trabeatus consistit. Post apostolos quoque sanctus Michael archangelus mirifice decoratus effulget. Sequitur ad sinistram ordo XIII prophetarum, qui omnes ad ipsum speciosum puerum versas habentes facies et prophetias olim ab ipso eis inspiratas manibus praeferentes venerabiliter locuti sunt. In quorum medio e regione sui filii sancta Helena regina magnifice decorata consistit. Ipsi deinde muro tectum pumbeum cypressinis laqueariis sustentatum incumbit, habens grande et rotundum in supreme foramen, per quod immissum superne lumen totam ecclesiam perlustrat; nec aliam aliquam fenestram habet.*

#### 6. *The Church or Rotunda Itself*

Now, the pavement of this church is most beautifully laid with Parian and various coloured marble. The church itself is supported below by eight square pillars, which are called piers, and sixteen monolithic columns; but above since it is vaulted both above and below, like the church at Aix-la-Chapelle, it is supported in the same fashion on eight piers and sixteen pillars. The lower string-course, which runs round the whole church, is covered with inscriptions in Greek letters. The surface of the wall which lies between the middle and the upper string-courses glows with mosaic-work of incomparable beauty. There, in front of the choir, that is, above the arch of the sanctuary, may be seen the boy Jesus wrought in the same mosaic, but of ancient workmanship, depicted in glowing

colors as far as the navel, with a most beauteous face; on his left hand his mother, and on his right the Archangel Gabriel pronouncing the well-known salutation, 'Hail, Mary, full of grace; the Lord is with thee, blessed among women, and blessed the fruit of thy womb.' This salutation is written both in Latin and in Greek round the Lord Christ himself. Further on, on the right-hand side, the twelve apostles are depicted in a row in the same mosaic, each of them holding in his hands praises of Christ in words alluding to the holy mysteries. In the midst of them, in a recess slightly sunken into the wall, sits in royal splendor, wearing the tribeca, the Emperor Constantine, because he, together with his mother Helena, was the founder of the church. Also, beyond the apostles, the blessed Michael the archangel glitters in a wondrous array. On the left follows a row of thirteen prophets, all of whom have their faces turned towards the beauteous boy, and reverently address him, holding in their hands the prophecies with which he inspired them of old. In the midst of them, opposite to her son, sits the blessed Empress Helena, magnificently arrayed. Upon the wall itself rests a leaden roof supported by rafters of cypress-wood, having a large round opening in the midst, through which the light comes from above and lights the whole church, for it has no other window whatever.

#### VII. *Chorus dominorum*

*Praeterea sanctuarium vel sancta sanctorum, a Francis postea opere mirifico constructum, hujus ecclesiae corpori adjunctum est, qui etiam divinas in ea laudes die ac nocte delectissime celebrant, scilicet canonicis horis prope cursum virginis Mariae: praemia tenentes, quorum stipendiis media pars oblationum dominici sepulchri deputata est, altera medietas patriarchae usibus attributa est. Principale altare nomini et honor Domini salvatoris articulatam est, retro quod patriarchalis sedes sita est, supra quam icona dominae nostrae permaxima et reverendissima, simul et icona beati Johannis Baptistae, nec non et tertia icona paranymphe sui sancti Gabrielis ab arcibus santuarii dependent. In ipsa autem sanctuarii coelatura ipse Dominus noster Jesus Christus, in sinistra crucem ferens, dextra Adam tenens, coelum imperialiter intuens, giganteo passu sinistro pede levato, dextro adhuc in terra posito, coelos penetrat, circumstantibus his: sua scilicet matre et beato baptista Johanne et omnibus apostolis. Sub cujus pedibus linea de muro ad murum per ipsum hemicyclum porrecta hanc continet scripturam:*

*Crucifixum in carne laudate  
et sepultum propter nos glorificate resurgentemque a morte adorate.*

*Dehinc in linea superiore per idem hemicyclum ducta haec continetur scriptura: Ascendens Christus in altum captivam duxit carnem, dedit dona hominibus. Circa medium vero ipsius chori altare cavum et parvum, sed reverendum habetur, in cujus pavimento cruciola in rotundo circulo est impressa, hoc significans, quod Josephus et Nicodemus corpus dominicum de cruce depositum ibi deposuerunt ad lavandum. Ante ostium vero ipsius chori altare non mediocre habetur, quod ad Surianorum tantummodo spectat officium. Denique, peractis a Latinis quotidie divinis officiis, Suriani vel ibidem ante chorum sive in aliqua ecclesiae abside divinos decantare solent hymnos, qui etiam plura in ipsa ecclesia habent altariola nullorumque nisi suis usibus apta vel concessa. Hae sunt professions sive sectae, quae in ecclesia hierosolymitana divina peragunt officia, scilicet Latini, Suriani, Armenii, Graeci, Jacobini, Nubiani. Hi omnes tam in conversatione, quam in divinis officiis suas quisque habent differentias. Jacobini in suis festis Habraeorum more tubis utuntur.*

### 7. *The Choir of the Canons*

Moreover, there adjoins this church a sanctuary, or holy of holies, of marvelous workmanship, which was subsequently built by the Franks, who likewise most sweetly sing praises therein both by day and by night; that is to say, at the canonical hours, according to the course of the Virgin Mary. They hold prebends, and half the offerings of the holy sepulcher are assigned to them for income, while the other half is appropriated for the use of the patriarch. The high altar is dedicated to the name and in honor of our Lord and Savior, and behind it is placed the patriarch's seat, above which hangs from the arch of the sanctuary a very great and adorable picture of our lady, a picture of St. John the Baptist, and also a third picture of the holy Gabriel, her bridesman. In the ceiling of the sanctuary itself is represented our Lord Jesus Christ holding his cross in his left hand, bearing Adam in his right, looking royally up towards heaven, with his left foot raised in a gigantic stride, his right still resting on the earth as he enters heaven, while the following stand around—that is to say, his mother, St. John the Baptist, and all the apostles. Under his feet a scroll, reaching across the arch from one wall to the other, contains this inscription:

‘Praise him crucified in the flesh,  
Glorify him buried for us,  
Adore him risen from death.’

Beyond this, on a higher scroll drawn across the same arch, is the passage of Scripture, ‘Christ ascending on high hath led the flesh captive, and hath given gifts to men.’ About the middle of the choir there is a small open altar of great sanctity, on the flooring whereof is marked a cross inscribed in a circle, which signifies that on this spot Joseph and Nicodemus laid our Lord's body in order to wash it after they had taken it down from the cross. Before the door of the choir is an altar of no small size, which however, is only used by the Syrians in their services. When the daily Latin services are over, the Syrians are wont to sing their hymns either there outside the choir, or in one of the apses of the church; indeed, they have several small altars in the church, arranged and devoted to their own peculiar use. These are the religious sects which celebrate the divine service in the church at Jerusalem: the Latins, Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, Jacobites, and Nubians [Copts]. All these differ from one another both in language and in their manner of conducting divine service. The Jacobites use trumpets on their feast days, after the fashion of the Jews.

*IX. Cappella b. Mariae et s. crucis, carcer Domici, altare s. Nicolai, porta claustralis.*

*Ab occidentale fere enim parte in exitu ecclesiae ipsius, quo per gradus amplius quam XXX ad plateam ab ecclesia ascenditur, ante ipsum exitum capella in honore beatae Mariae habetur, cui praesunt Armenii. Item ad sinistram ecclesiae a septentrionale parte capells in honore sanctae crucis existit, ubi etiam ipsius venerabilis ligni magna portio auro et argento inclusa tenetur, quae sub Surianorum custodia consistit. Rursus ab eadem parte juxta ipsam capellam versus orientem summe venerabilis habetur capella, in qua altare reverendum honori sanctae crucis articulatum et ejusdem beati ligni maxima pars auro, argento et lapidibus pretiosis, ita ut videri apte queat, inclusa summa cum reverential in locello speciosissimo observatur, quod etiam salutare signum adversus paganos in bello, cum necessitas exigit, gestare solent christiani. Have etiam capella*

*musivo opere mirabiliter est decorata. Hanc autem crucem Heraclius, romanus imperator, Cosdre, regi Persarum, bello cum eo gesto ereptam christianis restituit. Juxta ipsam quoque capellam versus orientem ad obscuram quamdam capellam per XX fere gradus intratur, ubi altare itidem venerandum existit, sub cujus pavimento cruciola cernitur impressa. In quo loco Dominus noster Jesus Christus reclusus fuisse perhibetur, quando de judicio Pilati ad locum passionis diutius expectavit, donec ei et facies velaretur et in Calvaria crux constitueretur, ut in ea posset appendi. Item post ipsam capellam altare in honore sancti Nicolai existit. Dehinc porta claustralis, qua in claustrum intratur canonicorum, quod circa sanctuarium est constitutum. Post claustralis autem ambitus circuitiorem ex alia parte ecclesiam intrantibus occurrit imago crucifixi supra ipsam claustralem portam ita depicta, ut cunctis intuentibus magnam inferat compunctionem, circa quam isti versus descripti sunt:*

*Aspice, qui transis, qui tu mihi causa doloris.  
Pro te passus ita, pro me tu noxia vita.*

*9. The Chapels of St. Mary and of the Holy Cross—The Lord's Prison—The Altar of St. Nicholas—The Door Leading into the Cloister*

Upon the west side of the church, near the door, from which one mounts more than thirty steps from the church up to the street, in front of the door itself there is a chapel dedicated to St. Mary, which belongs to the Armenians. Also, on the left-hand side of the church, towards the north, there is a chapel dedicated to the holy cross, wherein is also a great part of the venerable wood itself, contained in a case of gold and silver; and this chapel is in the hands of the Syrians. Again on the same side, opposite this chapel, towards the east, is a chapel of peculiar sanctity, wherein is a most holy altar dedicated to the holy cross, and a large piece of the same blessed wood covered with gold, silver, and jewels, is kept in a most beauteous case, so that it can be easily seen. When necessity requires it, the Christians are wont to carry this holy symbol against the pagans in battle. This chapel is also wondrously decorated with mosaics. Heraclius, the Roman emperor, rescued this cross from Cosdre (i.e. Khosrau II), the king of the Persians, during the war which he waged with him, and restored it to the Christians. Near this chapel, on the eastern side of it, one enters a dark chapel by about twenty steps, wherein is a most holy altar, under the pavement whereof may be seen the mark of a cross. In this place our Lord Jesus is said to have been imprisoned while he was waiting for Pilate's decision at the place of his passion for a long time, until his face was veiled and the cross erected on Calvary that he might be hung thereon. Also, behind this chapel, there is an altar dedicated to St. Nicholas. Beyond this gate of the cloister through which one goes into the canons cloister, which stands round about the sanctuary. After one has made the circuit of the cloisters, and is re-entering the church from the other side of this door, one notices a figure of Christ on the painted above the door of the cloisters so vividly as to strike all beholders with great remorse. Round it these verses are inscribed:

'You that this way do go,  
'Twas you that caused my woe;  
I suffered this for you,  
For my sake vice eschew.'

*X. Capella b. Helenae, specus, ubi crux inventa fuit*

*Dehinc versus orientem XXX et amplius gradus ad venerabilem beatæ Helenæ reginæ capellam extra ipsam ecclesiam sitam descenditur, ubi in ejus honore altare venerandum habetur. Hinc iterum ad dextram partem per XV vel paulo plus gradus in subterraneum specum descenditur, ubi in dextro specus ipsius angulo cavum altare et sub eo crux pavimento impressa cernitur, in quo loco ipsa regina crucem dominicam reperisse narratur: ubi altare in honore sancti Jacobi habetur. Ipsa quoque capella nullam habet aliam fenestram nisi magnum superne foramen.*

*10. The Chapel of St. Helena—The Grotto wherein the Cross was Found*

To the eastward of this one goes down thirty steps and more to the venerable Chapel of St. Helena the Empress, which is situated outside the church itself, where there is a holy altar dedicated to her. Hence again, on the right hand, one descends fifteen or rather more steps into a subterranean cave, where, on the right hand corner of the cave, one may see an open altar, and beneath it a cross cut on the pavement, at which spot the empress is said to have discovered the cross of our Lord. There is an altar there dedicated to St. James. This chapel has no other window than the great opening in its roof.

*XI. Capella flagellationis, sepulchral ducis Dodefridi et regum Hierosolymorum, capella sub turri campanaria, capella Johannis Baptistæ atque alia contigua*

*Ex alia nihilominus parte ecclesiæ vel in dextro retro chorum altare decorum existit, in quo pars magna columnæ, circa quam Dominus ligatus et flagellatus est, consistit. Exinde ad meridiem ante ipsius ecclesiæ januam quinque sepulchra videntur, quorum unum pretioso opere factum de pario marmore et choro contiguum fratris est Regis Hierosolymorum nomine Baldweini, secundum Regis Baldewini, fratris ducis Godefridi, super quod tale scriptum est epitaphium:*

*Hic est Balduwinus alter Judas Machabæus,  
spes patriæ, decus ecclesiæ, citius utriusque.  
Quem formidabant, cui dona, tributa ferebant  
Cedar et Aegyptus, Dan ac homicida Damascus.  
Proh dolor in modico clauditur hoc tumulo.*

*Deinde tertium sepulchrum fratris est ipsius, ducis Godefridi, qui ipsam civitatem Hierosolymam, a Saracenis invasam et Turcis, gladio et sapientia recuperavit et christianis restituit, patriarcham a paganis ejectum in sede sua relocavit, clerum in ipsa ecclesia instituit, stipendia ei, ut Deo militare valeret, ordinavit. Quartum sepulchrum patris est istius Regis seu Emalcrici; quitum patris abatissæ sancti Lazari.*

*Iterum fere ad meridiem janua paret, per quam in capellam intratur sub turri campanaria constitutam, et ex illa in aliam capellam reverential plena, honori beati Johannis Baptistæ adscriptam transitur, in qua etiam baptisterium exstat. Et ex ipsa rursus in tertiam capellam perveniunt. De prima autem gradibus XL vel plus ascenditur ad plateam.*



11. *The Chapel of the Flagellation—The Tomb of Duke Godfrey and of the Kings of Jerusalem—The Chapel Under the Campanile—The Chapel of John the Baptist, and its Vicinity*

In another part of the church—that is to say, on the right hand, at the back of the choir—there is a fair altar, wherein stands part of the column round which our Lord was tied and scourged. Beyond this, on the south, before the door of the church, may be seen five tombs, whereof the one nearest to the door, which is of white marble and costly workmanship, is that of the brother of the King of Jerusalem, named Baldwin; and the second one is that of King Baldwin, the brother of Duke Godfrey, whereon is the following inscription:

‘Here Baldwin lies, a second Judas Maccabee,  
His country’s hope, the Church’s pride and strength was he;  
Cedar and Egypt, Dan and Damascus insolent,  
Dreaded his might, and gifts and tribute humbly sent.  
Ah, well-a-day! he lies ‘neath this poor monument.’

The third tomb, beyond this, is that of his brother, Duke Godfrey himself, who by his sword and his wisdom recovered the city of Jerusalem, which had been invaded by the Saracens and Turks, and restored it to the Christians, replaced on his throne the patriarch who had been driven out by the infidels, established a body of clergy in the church, and settled endowments upon them, that they might be strong to fight in God’s cause. The fourth tomb is that of the father of the reigning king, Amalric; the fifth is that of the father of the Abbess of St. Lazarus.

Also on the south there is a door, through which one enters the chapel under the Campanile; and from it one passes into another chapel of great sanctity, dedicated to John the Baptist, wherein also is found a font; and from thence one goes again into a third chapel. From the first chapel one ascends to the street by forty steps or more.

XII. *Mons Calvaria, vestibulum foris ante Golgatham, capella crucifixionis, capella Golgatha, januae ecclesiae*

*Restat nunc de monte Calvaria dicere, qui sicut oculus in capite, ita ipsa in illa resplendet ecclesia, unde per filii Dei mortem et sanguinis effusionem lux et vita nobis proveniet aeterna. Ante ipsius ecclesiae introitum sive januam solido aere indutam, quae etiam duplex esse dignoscitur, gradibus fere XV ad quoddam parvum, sed cancellatum et picturis decoratum ascenditur consistorium, cujus desuper adstantes custodies et januas observantes, quantos colunt peregrinos intrare, permittunt, ne forte ex magna compressione, quae saepius ibi solet accidere, oppressio aliqua sive periculum mortis eveniat. De illo quoque vestibulo per aliud ostium tribus ascenditur gradibus in capellam veneratione et reverential cunctis sub sole locis supereminentem, quae quatuor fornicibus grandi robore praeditis erecta subsistit, cujus pavimenta omnigeno marmore egregie constrata, testudo vero sive coelatura ipsius prophetis, David scilicet, Salomone, Isaia et quibusdam aliis, scripta passioni Christi consonantia munu gestantibus, musivo opere in ea depictis nobilissime est adornata, ita ut illi operi nullum sub coelo posset aequari, si tantum clare posset videri. Nam propter circumstantes fabricas locus idem aliquantulum obscuratur. Locus autem, ubi crux ipsa stetit, in qua salvator mortem*

*pertulit, versus orientem alto gradu elatus, pario et nobilissimo marmore ex sinistra parte constratus, foramen rotundum et adeo latum, quod caput fere posset intrudi, ostenditur, in quo crux ipsa defixa fuisse dignoscitur: in quod peregrini caput et faciem ob ipsius crucifixi amorem et reverentiam solent imprimere. Ad dextram vero ipse mons Calvaria, altius verticem attollens, pavimento longam, latam et valde profundam rimam ex scissura, quam in morte Christi sustinuit, demonstrat. Insuper anterieus horribili foramina hiscens, sanguinem, qui de latere pendentis in cruce Christi cucurrerit, usque ad terram se emisisse testatur. In cujus summiatate peregrini cruces, quas de terries suis secum illo adduxerint, solent deponere, quarum magnam ibi copiam vidimus, quas omnes custodies Calvariae in sabbato ignibus solent exurere. Altare venerandum in ea habetur, et in parasceve omne diei illius officium a patriarcha et clero ibidem percelebratur. In sinistra altaris parte, in muro ipsius, crucifixi imago mirae pulchritudinis est depicta, adstante ad dextram Longino cum lancea latus pungente, a sinistra Stephanon cum spongia et arundine acetum offerente, adstante etiam ad sinistram matre, ad dextram Johanne, per circuitum vero ipsius duo grandes porriguntur. Lineae litteris graecis per totum descriptae. Ad dextram quoque ipsius altaris jam mortuum Christum Nicodemus et Josephu de cruce deponunt, ubi etiam hoc est descriptum: Descensio Domini nostri Jesu Christi de cruce. Hince per XV gradus in ecclesiam descenditur et ad capellam, quae Golgatha vocatur, reverendam quidem, sed obscuram pervenitur, retro quam fenestra profunda exstat, quae finem scissurae, quae Calvariâ illo descenderat intuentibus demonstrat. In quo loco sanguis Christi, qui per scissuram illuc cucurrerat, restitisse perhibetur. Praeterea super arcum ipsam Golgatham concludentem vel in latere Calvariae versus occidentem constituto tabula quaedam in pariete depicta perspicitur, in qua hi versus aureis litteris descripti esse videntur:*

*Est locus iste sacer, sacratus sanguine Christi.  
Per sotrum sacrare sacro nihil addimus isti.  
Se domus huic sacro circumsuperaedificata  
est quinta decima quintilis luce sacrata  
cum reliquis patribus a Fulcherio patriarcha.*

*Ante fores ecclesia inter duas januas Dominus Christus reverendo habitu quasi jam a morte resurgens consistit, ad cujus pedes Maria Magdalena prostrata, non tamen ipsos pedes tangens, jacet, cui Dominus chirographum porrigit hos versus continens:*

*Quid, mulier, ploras?  
Jamjam quem quaeris, adoras.  
Me dignum recoil,  
quem jam vivum tu modo tangere noli.*

## *12. Mount Calvary—The Outside Vestibule Before Golgotha—The Chapel of the Crucifixion—The Chapel of Golgotha—The Door of the Church*

It remains now to speak of Mount Calvary, which shines in the Church as doth the eye in the head; from whence, by the death and blood-shedding of the Son of God, light and eternal life shall be poured forth for us. Before the entrance or door of the church, which is covered with solid bronze and is of a double form, one mounts by about fifteen steps to a small chamber, which is railed in and adorned with paintings. Here, at the top of the stairs, stand guardians watching at the gate, who only allow as many pilgrims as they

choose to enter, lest by excessive pressure, as often happens there, crushing or danger to life should take place. From that vestibule one ascends by three steps, through another door, into a chapel pre-eminent in sanctity and holiness beyond all other places under the sun, which chapel is formed by four arches of great strength. Its pavement is beautifully composed of various kinds of marble, and its vault or ceiling is most nobly decorated with the prophets—that is to say, David, Solomon, Isaiah, and some others—bearing in their hands texts referring to Christ's Passion, wrought thereon in mosaic so beautifully that no work under heaven could be compared with it, if only it could be clearly seen; for this place is somewhat darkened by the buildings which stand round about it. The place in which the cross stood on which the Savior suffered death is on the eastern side, raised on a high step covered on the left-hand side with the finest Parian marble, and displays a round hole almost wide enough to take in a man's head, in which it is known that the cross itself was fixed; into which hole pilgrims, out of the love and respect which they bear to him that was crucified, are wont to plunge their head and face. On the right hand the Mount Calvary itself, rising up higher, displays a long, wide, and very deep rift in the pavement, where the rock was rent asunder when Christ died. Yawning above and in front with a frightful cleft, it proves that the blood which flowed from Christ's side as he hung upon the cross found its way quite down to the earth. On top of this rock it is customary for pilgrims to place the crosses which they have carried with them from their own countries; and we saw a great quantity of them there, all of which the guardians of Calvary are wont to burn in the fire on Easter Even. In that chapel there is an altar of much sanctity, and on Good Friday the whole service for the day is celebrated at it by the patriarch and all the clergy. On the wall on the left side of the altar there is a most beautiful painting of our Lord upon the cross, with Longinus standing on his right hand piercing his side with his spear; on his left Stephaton offering him vinegar with the sponge and reed; with his mother also standing on his left hand, and St. John on his right; while two great scrolls, covered throughout with Greek inscriptions, are carried all round this work.

On the right hand also of the same altar, a picture shows Nicodemus and Joseph taking down the dead Christ from the cross; where also is the inscription, 'The Descent of our Lord Jesus Christ from the Cross.' From thence one descends fifteen steps into the church, and comes to the chapel which is called Golgotha, of great sanctity, but very dark; at the back of which is a deep recess, which enables the beholders to see the end of the cleft in the rock which came down from Calvary. In that place it is said that the blood of Christ stood, after it had run down thither through the cleft. Moreover, above the arch which forms the boundary of Golgotha, or, in other words, upon the west side of Calvary, there is a picture painted upon the wall in which these verses may be seen in golden letters:

'This place was hallowed by Christ's blood before,  
Our consecration cannot make it more;  
Howbeit, the buildings round this stone, in date  
Were on July the fifteenth consecrate,  
By Fulcher, patriarch in solemn state.'

Outside the gate of the church, in the space between the two doors, stands the Lord Christ in a saintly garment, as though just risen from the dead; while Mary Magdalene lies prostrate

at his feet, but not touching them. The Lord holds out towards her a scroll containing these verses:

‘Woman, wherefore weep’st thou, kneeling unto him thou seekest dead?  
Touch me not, behold me living, worthy to be worshipped.’

*XIII. Capella trium Mariarum, capella Armeniorum, alia capella parvula, platea et forum rerum venalium, ecclesia et hospitale Johannis B, ecclesia b. Mariae Majoris, ecclesia s. Mariae latina.*

*Exeuntibus ecclesiam versus meridiem occurrit quasi quoddam praetorium quadrangulum, quadratis lapidibus constructum, ad cujus sinistram partem juxta Golgotha exterius capella trium Mariarum in honore habetur, quam Latini tenent. Ulterius quoque ad meridiem alia capella exstat, cui praesunt Armenii. Inde ulterius parvula quaedam existit capella. In exitu vero ejusdem planitie ad sinistram platea testudinata occurrit rebus referta venalibus. A fronte ecclesiae ipsum forum venalium rerum se repraesentat. In qua fronte sex columnae superius arcuatae consistent, ubi ex templo versus meridiem ecclesia et hospitale beati Johannis Baptistae offertur.*

*13. The Chapel of the Three Maries—The Chapel of the Armenians—Another Little Chapel—The Street and Market—The Church and the Hospital of St. John the Baptist—The Church of St. Mary the Great—The Church of St. Mary the Great—The Church of St. Mary the Latin*

As one goes out of the church towards the south, one finds a sort of square courtyard paved with squared stone, on the left side of which, near Golgotha, on the outside, there is a chapel dedicated to the three Maries, which belongs to the Latins. Further on towards the south there is another chapel, which is in the hands of the Armenians. Further on there is another little chapel. As one comes out of this open space, on the left there is a vaulted street full of goods for sale. Opposite to the church is the market-place. Here, in front of the church, stand six columns, with arches above them; and here, on the south side of the church, stands the Church and Hospital of St. John the Baptist...<sup>28</sup>

**Ali of Herat, *Kitab al-Isharat ila Ma'rifat al-Ziyarat*, ‘Guide to Pilgrimage Places’ (c. 1173 AD)**

The Church of the *Qumamah* is one of the most wonderful buildings in the world. In it is the tomb which Christians call *al-Qiyamah*, and this because they believe that the Resurrection of the Messiah took place here. But the truth is that the place is called *al-Qumamah* because it was of old a dung-heap, and lay outside the city, being the place where they cut off the hands of malefactors and crucified thieves, as, too, is mentioned in the Evangel—but Allah alone knows the truth. The Christians have in this place the rock which they say was split, and from beneath with Adam rose up—because it stood under the place of the Crucifixion, as they relate. They have also here the Garden of Joseph, surnamed *as-Siddik*, which is much visited by pilgrims. In this church takes place the descent of the Fire. Now, verily, I myself did sojourn to Jerusalem for some season during the days of the Franks, in order to understand their ways and the manner of the sciences.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Latin text in Tobler 1865: 10–20, 23–35 (see also Corbo 1981–1982: 185–191); English translation in PPTS 5d: 7–21.

<sup>29</sup> Translation adapted from Le Strange 1890: 207–208. I have corrected Le Strange’s transliteration of the church’s titles from *Kumamah* and *Kayamah* to *Qumamah* and *Qiyamah* to more accurately reflect the Arabic (see also Text 7.21 below).

**Johannes Phocas, *De locis Antiochiam inter & Hierosolymam, nec non Syriae, Phaeniciae & Palestinae*, 'On the Locations Between Antioch and Jerusalem, and also Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine' (c. 1185 AD)**

Τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν ὥσεί βέλους βολὴν διελθὼν εὐρήσεις τὸν περιφανῆ ναὸν τοῦ Κυριακοῦ τάφου, οὗ τὸ σχῆμα ἔχει, καθὼς παρὰ διαφόρων ἰστίρηται. τὸ δὲ εἰς τάφον χρηματίσαν σπήλαιον τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος ἐστὶ διπλοῦν, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐνὶ ἐπίκειται ὁ ἀποκυλιαθεὶς λίθος, λευκοῖς μαρμάρους περιφρουρούμενος, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ μέρει τὸ περὶ τὸ ἀρκτῶν ὁ λίθος λελάξευται τοῦ ἰσοπέδου πάτου ὁ περανέχων ὥσεί πῆχυν ἕνα, ἐν ᾧ νεκρὸς καὶ γυμνὸς ὁ τῆς ζωῆς ἀνετέθη δοτῆρ, ὃς ἐκ χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ ἐνδεδυμένος ὁράται ἐκ πόθου καὶ πίστεως τοῦ ἡμοῦ δεσπότη καὶ βασιλέως Μανουὴλ τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου καὶ Κομνηνοῦ. καὶ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ τόπος ὁ τοῦ Κρανίου καὶ ἡ λαξευθεῖσα τῷ Σταυρῷ βάσις, καὶ τὸ ῥήγμα τῆς διαρραγείσης πέτρας ἐν τῷ τῷ τοῦ Σταυροῦ πάθει. καὶ τοῦ ῥήγματιος κάτωθεν ὑπόκοιλος ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ κρανίον, καὶ οἱ ῥύεντες ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ κρουνοὶ ἅματος. ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὁ ἐπάνω τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ ἐστὶ τετρακάμαρος, θολωτὸς. καὶ πλησίον τοῦ τοιοῦτου ναοῦ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ γαιὸς ναὸς μέγας, ἐν ᾧ εὐρύηται ὁ τίμιος καὶ ζωοπιτὸς Σταυρὸς τοῦ δεσπότη Χριστοῦ.<sup>30</sup>

Passing about an arrow-shot along the street, you will find the celebrated Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the appearance of which is as it has been described by many writers. The grotto which serves as a sepulchre for the Lord's Body is double, and in the one part of it lies the stone which was rolled away (from the mouth of the sepulchre), protected by a casing of white marble; and in the other part on the north side, is a hewn rock, rising about one cubit above the pavement, whereon was laid the naked corpse of the Giver of Life, which is now to be seen ornamented round about with a pure gold, through the love and faith of my lord and master, Manuel Comnenus, Porphyrogenitus. Near it is the site of Golgotha, wherein is the Place of a Skull, and the socket wrought in the stone for the Cross, and the rent of the stone that was rent at the time of the Passion of the Cross. Beneath the rent is a hollow place in the rock, in which is Adam's skull, and the stains of the blood of our Lord which were shed over it. The church built over Golgotha is formed of four arches and a dome; and near this church is a vast subterranean church, wherein was discovered the venerable and life-giving Cross of Christ our Lord.<sup>31</sup>

**Anonymous Pilgrim VIII (c. 1185 AD)**

*Deinde veniens ad sanctum sepulchrum, quod est in medio civitatis Jerusalem. In introitu ecclesiae sancti sepulchri, in dextra parte, est locus, ubi Dominus noster commendavit beatam virginem sancto Johanni. Et ibi intra ecclesiam invenies Golgotha; superius est mons Calvariae, ubi Dominus noster fuit crucifixus. Postea inde venies ad locum, ubi inventa fuit sancta crux. Deinde in medio chori canonicorum, ibi est locus, ubi Dominus noster positus est, quando de cruce deportatus fuit, involutus in sudore (sindone), et dicitur iste locus medium mundi. Et de illo loco fuit portatus ad sanctum sepulchrum, et in introitu sancti sepulchri est locus, super quem sedebat angelus, quando Dominus noster erat in sepulchro.<sup>32</sup>*

<sup>30</sup> Author's transcription from the minuscule text in Nihus 1653: 21–22.

<sup>31</sup> PPTS 5c: 19–20.

<sup>32</sup> Tobler 1874: 193–194.

After this you will come to the city of Jerusalem, and there...you will come to the holy sepulcher, which is in the midst of the city of Jerusalem. At the entrance to the Church of the holy sepulcher, on the right-hand side, is the place where our Lord commended the Blessed Virgin to the care of St. John. There within the church you will find Golgotha; above it is Mount Calvary, where our Lord was crucified. Afterwards you will go from thence to the place where the holy cross was found. Then, in the canons' choir, there is the place where our Lord was laid after he was taken down from the cross and wrapped in linen. From this place he was borne to the holy sepulcher, and at the entrance to the holy sepulcher is the place where the angel sat while our Lord was in the sepulcher.<sup>33</sup>

### Anonymous Pilgrim V (Late 12th/Early 13th Century AD)

#### Chapter II

*Tunc intratur ad sepulcrum Domini vbi est circulus quem Dominus dixit esse in medio mundi. In dextra chori est mons Caluarie, passus est Dominus in cruce. Subtus est Golgotha, vbi sanguis Domini saxum perforauit et cecidit super caput Adam. Ante Golgotha sunt sepulti reges Jerusalem. Retro tumbam magni altaris est columna, vbi Dominus fuit flagellatus et ligatus. Iuxta ibi per descensum XL graduum est locus, vbi beata Helena inuenit s. crucem. Ad dextram chori est carcer Domini et chatena. Ad introitum S. Sepulcri per descensum XL graduum est capella Grecorum, vbi est imago beate Marie virginis...Iuxta illam vera crux, que inuenta fuit XXI. die intrante Maio. et carpitur uia ad sacrum carcerem.*<sup>34</sup>

Thence one enters the Lord's sepulcher, where there is a circle which the Lord said was in the middle of the world. On the right hand of the choir is Mount Calvary, where the Lord suffered on the cross. Beneath is Golgotha, where the Lord's blood rent the rock and fell upon Adam's head. Before Golgotha the Kings of Jerusalem are buried. Behind the (tomb of the) high altar is the pillar to which the Lord was bound and scourged. Hard by, down as stair of forty steps, is the place where St. Helena found the holy cross. On the right hand of the choir is the Lord's prison and chain. At the entrance to the holy sepulcher, down a stair of forty steps, is the chapel of the Greeks, wherein is the image of the blessed Virgin Mary... Near it is the holy cross, which was found on the 21st day of May; from thence one takes one's way to the Chapel of the Holy Prison.<sup>35</sup>

### Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 'History of Jerusalem' (c. 1210 AD)

#### LXI

*Deo aute ampliavit ciuitate, quod locus Dominici sepulchri infra muroru ambitu inclusit, in quo loco postea Christiani ob reuerentiam Dominici sepulcher artificolo opere, deceit schemate, forma rotuda, vno tantu foramina superius aperta Dominicare resurrectionis, ecclesia gloriosam construxerunt, que inter sancta & venerabilia loca no immerito obtinet principatu.*<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> PPTS 6a: 75–76.

<sup>34</sup> Neumann 1866: 223–228.

<sup>35</sup> PPTS 6: 22–23.

<sup>36</sup> Moschus 1597: 102.

He [Hadrian] so greatly enlarged the city [Jerusalem] that he enclosed the place of the Lord's sepulcher within the circuit of the walls. Upon this place the Christians afterwards, out of reverence for the Lord's sepulcher, built the glorious Church of the Lord's Resurrection, of cunning workmanship, in a becoming form, round in shape, with an opening above; which church justly takes precedence of all other holy and venerable places.<sup>37</sup>

***La Citez de Jherusalem, 'The City of Jerusalem' (c. 1220 AD?)***

*A mein destre, de la droiture de l'Ospital, estoit la maistre porte du Sepulchre. Devant cele porte du Sepulchre avoit une moult bele place pavée de marbre. A mein senestre de cele porte du Sepulchre avoit un moustier que l'on apelle S. Jaque des Jacobins. A mein destre, tenant de cele porte du Sepulchre, avoit un degrees par où on montoit en mont de Calvaire. Là sus, en som le mont, avoit une moult bele chapele, et si avoit un autre huis en cele chapele, pa où on entroit au moustier du Sepulchre, et y avaloit on par uns autres degrez qui là estolent. Tout ainsi comme on entroit au moustier du Sepulchre, dessouz le mont de Calvaire, si estoit Golgotas; a mein destre estoit li clochiers du Sepulchre, et si aboit une chapele qu'en apeloit seinte Trinité. Cele chapels si est mout grans, car on y espousoit toutes les fames de la cité, et là estoient li fons où on baptizoit tous les enfans de la cité. Cele chapele si estoit tenant au moustier du Sepulchre, si comme il y a une porte dont on entroit au moustier; à l'endroiture de cele porte est li Monumens. En cel endroit, là où li Monumens est, estoit li moustiers tous roons, et si estoit ouvers par desure, sans nulle couverture. Et dedans cel Monument estoit la pierre dou Sepulchre, et li Monumens estoit tout couvers à voute. Au chief de cel Monument, par dehors, avoit un autel que l'on apeloit le Cheves; là chantoit on chascun jour messe au point du jour. Il avoit moult bele place tout entour le Monument et toute pavée, par où l'on aloit à procession tout entoru le Monument. Après, vers orient, estoit li cueurs du moustiers, là où li chanoines chantoient; si estoit lons. Entre le cueur là où li chanoine estoient et le Monument, aboit un autel là où li Griefu chantoient, mais il aboit une closture entre; et si avoit un huis par là où en aloit de l'un à l'autre. Emmilieu du cueur as chanoines avoit letrin de marbre que on apeloit le Compas... A main destre du maistre autel de ce cueur estoit mons de Calvaire... Au chevez dou cueur avoit une porte, par là où li chanoine entroient en leur officines; et à mein destre, entre cele porte et mont de Calvaire avoit un mout parfont fossé, où en avaloit à degrez. Là avoit une chapele que on apeloit sainte Helaine. Là trouva sainte Helaine la crois et les clous et le martel et la courone. En cele fosse, au tens que Jhesus Crist fu en terre, getoit on les crois là où li larrons avoient été crucifies, quand on les despendoit, et les members qu'on leur coupoit pour leur meffais au mont de Calvaire; et pour ce apeloit on ce mont mont de Calvaire, quo on y faisoit les justices, si comme les lois apportoient, et que on eschavoit là les malfaiteurs des members que on leur jugeit a pardre. Tout ainsi que li chanoine isoient dou cueur, à mein senestre estoit leur dortoirs, et à mein destre leur refrotoirs et tenoit au mont de Calvaire. Entre ces officines estoit leurs cloisters et leur préaus. En mi lieu de cel prael aboit une grant ouverture, dont on veoit en la chapele S. Helaine qui dessous estoit, car autrement n'i veoit on goute.*<sup>38</sup>

To the right of the Hospital is the Master Gate of the Sepulchre. In front of this door of the Sepulchre is a very beautiful open space paved with marble. On the left hand of the Sepulchre is a church, called after St. James of the Jacobins. On the right hand, close to the Gate of the Sepulchre, there are steps by which one ascends Mount Calvary. On the top of

<sup>37</sup> PPTS 11b: 39.

<sup>38</sup> De Vogüé 1860: 438–439.

the mount is a most beautiful chapel. And there is another door in this chapel, by which one enters and descends into the Church of the Sepulchre, by other steps which are there, just as one goes into the church.

On the right hand, below Mount Calvary, is Golgotha. On the left hand is the bell-tower of the Sepulchre, and a chapel which was called Holy Trinity. This chapel is very large, being the place where all the women of the city were married. And there is the font where they baptized all the children of the city. And this chapel is close to the Sepulchre, so that there was a door by which there is an entrance into the church.

On the right of this door is the Tomb. At this place where the Tomb is, the church is quite round, and it is open from above without any covering; and within the Monument is the Stone of the Sepulchre. And the Monument is vaulted over. At the head of this Monument, just as at the head of an altar, outside, is an altar that they call the Chancel. There they daily chant mass at daybreak. There is a very beautiful place all around the Tomb, completely paved so that they can walk in procession round the Tomb. Beyond, towards the east, is the Choir of the Sepulchre, where the canons chant; it is long. Between the Choir where the canons are and the Monument there is an altar where the Greeks chant. And there is an enclosed place between the two, and there is a door by which one goes from one to the other. In the midst of the Choir of the canons there is a block of marble, called the 'Compass.'

On the right hand of the high altar of this Choir is Mount Calvary...

At the head of the Choir there is a door by which the canons entered into their places; on the right hand between this door and Mount Calvary there is a very deep fosse, into which one descends by steps. Here there is a chapel called St. Helena, where St. Helena found the cross, the nails, the hammer, and the crown. Into the foss, at the time when Jesus Christ was on earth, they threw the crosses when the thieves had been crucified, and the limbs upon which they had cut off for their misdeeds. Whereupon they call this hill Mount Calvary, because here they carried out sentences and what the law ordered, and they cast upon this mountain the limbs which the malefactors were condemned to lose by law. When the canons came out from the Sepulchre, on the left hand was their dormitory; on the right the refectory, which is close to Mount Calvary. Between these two offices is their Cloister and their walking-ground. And in the midst of this court there is a large opening, from which one could see into the chamber of Helena below, otherwise one would see nothing there.<sup>39</sup>

**Yakut al-Hamawi, *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, 'The Alphabetical (or Dictionary) of Geography' (c. 1225 AD)**

The *Qumamah* is the great church of the Christians at Jerusalem. It is beyond description for beauty, and for its great riches and wonderful architecture. It stands in the middle of the city, and a wall surrounds it. There is here the tomb which Christians call *al-Qiyamah*, because of their believe that the resurrection of the Messiah took place here. In point of

<sup>39</sup> PPTS 6b: 7–10.



٢٠. قُمَامَةُ بالصم اعظم كنيسة للتصاري بالبيت المقدس وصفها لا ينضب حُسْنًا  
 وكثرة مال وتنميق مارة وهي في وسط البلد والسور يحيط بها ولم فيها  
 مقبرة يسمونها القيامة لاعتقادهم ان المسيح قامت قيامته فيها والصحيح  
 ان اسمها قامة لانها كانت مزبلة اهل البلد وكان في ظاهر المدينة يُقَطَّع بها  
 ايدي المفسدين ويُصَلَّب بها اللصوص فلما صُلب المسيح في هذا الموضع  
 عظموه كما ترى وهذا مذكور في الانجيل وفيه صخرة يزعمون انها انشقت  
 وقام آدم من تحتها والصلبوت فوقها سوى ولم فيها بستان يوسف الصديق  
 عم يزورونه ولم في موضع منها قنديل يزعمون ان النور ينزل من السماء في  
 ه يوم معلوم فيشعله وحدثني من لازمه وكان من اصحاب السلطان الذي لا

Figure 7.2. Arabic text of Yakut al-Hamawi's description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (source: Wüstenfeld 1869: 173–174).

fact, however, the name is *Qumamah*, not *Qiyamah*, for the place was the dunghill of the inhabitants of the city, and stood anciently without the town, and where they crucified thieves. But after the Messiah had been crucified on this spot, it came to be venerated as you now see. This is all related in the Evangel. There is here a rock which they say was split and Adam rose from it, for the Crucifixion took place on the summit of the same. The Christians have also in this spot the Garden of Joseph, the Truthful—peace be upon him!—and visitation is made thereto. In part [of the church] is a lamp, on which they say fire descends from heaven on a certain day and kindles the wick.<sup>40</sup>

#### Letter of Robert, Patriarch of the Jerusalem Church, to the Church of England and France (1244 AD)

*Tandem praenominati perfidissimi Israelitanam civitatem intrantes, quasi populo destitutam, Chstianos, qui ibi remanserant seque infra ecclesiam Sepulchri Dominici receptarunt, ante ipsum sepulchrum evisceraverunt crudeliter universos. Et decapitantes sacerdotes, qui in altaribus celebrabant...Insuper cum dolore decimus et eum suspiriis intimamus, quod in sepulchrum resurrectionis Dominicae manus sacrilegas extendentes, illud multipliciter deturparunt, tabulatum marmoreum, quod circumcirca erat positum, funditus evertentes, et montem Calvariae, ubi Christus extitit crucifixus, et totam ecclesiam, ultra quam dici valeat, in omni turpitudine, quantum in se fuerat, faedaverunt. Coumnas vero sculptas, quae ante sepulchrum Domini errant ad decorum posita, sustulerunt; illas in Christianorum contumeliam ad sepulchrum sceleratissimi Machometi,*

<sup>40</sup> Translation adapted from Le Strange 1890: 208–209. Arabic text in Wüstenfeld 1866–1873.

*in signum victoriae, transmitentes. Et violates sepulchris feliciū regum, in eadem ecclesia collectis, eorum ossa in Christianorum injuriam disperserunt.*<sup>41</sup>

These aforesaid perfidious wretches [the Khwarazmians] then entered the city of the Israelites, now almost destitute of people, and there disemboweled all the Christians who had remained there, before the very sepulchre of our Lord, into the church of which they had fled for refuge, and even decapitated the priests who were performing mass at the altars...Besides this, we inform you of it with sorrow and grief, they laid their sacrilegious hands on the sepulcher of our Lord's Resurrection, and defiled it in manifold ways; they entirely tore up the marble tablet which was placed round it, and polluted with every kind of insult in their power the mount of Calvary, where Christ was crucified, and the whole city, beyond what I am able to express. The sculptured pillars which were placed as an ornament before the Lord's sepulcher, they took away, and in contempt of the Christians, they sent them to the tomb of that most wicked wretch Muhammad, as a sign of victory; and as a further insult to Christianity, they violated the tombs of the happy kings, which were placed in the same church, and scattered their bones in all directions.<sup>42</sup>

#### **Burchard of Sion, *Descriptio terrae sanctae*, 'Description of the Holy Land' (c. 1280 AD)**

*Nota ergo, quod loca multa sancta sunt in ciuitate ad deuotionem excitancia, tot, quod dies non sufficit ad peragendum singula. Ecclesia tamen sancti sepulcri tenet inter omnia principatum.*

*Ecclesia ista rotunda est, et habet per diametrum inter columnas LXXIII pedes, preter agsides, que habent per circuitum a muro exteriori ecclesie XXX pedes. Super sepulcrum Domini, quod est in medio ecclesie, est apertura rotunda, ita ut tota crypta sepulcri sit sub diuo.*

*Golgatana autem ecclesia adheret isti, et est oblonga, loco chori ecclesie sancti sepulcri adiuncta, sed parum demissior. Sunt tamen ambe sub uno tecto.*

*Spelunca, in qua est sepulcrum Domini, habet in longitudine VIII pedes, in latitudine similiter VIII, exterius undique tecta marmore, sed interius est repes nuda, sicut fuit in tempore sepulture. Ostium ad hanc speluncam intra tab oriente, demissum ualde et paruum.*

*Tumba uero sancti sepulcri est ad dextram intrantis iuxta parietem ad septentrionem, de marmore grisei coloris, alta a superficie pauimenti tribus palmis, longa pedibus VIII, sicut est interius ipsa crypta siue spelunca, et ex omni parte clausa; nec lumen potest haberi intrinsecus ab extrinseco, quia fenestra non est, mittens lumen intus. Sed pedent IX lampades super sepulcrum Domini, ministrantes lumen intus. Alia eciam spelunca est ante speluncam istam, eiusdem longitudinis et latitudinis et dispositionis intra et extra. Et uidentur ise due extra esistenti esse una, sed cum intraueris, uidebis casa b inuicem per medium separatas. Intratur autem primo ista et demum alia, in qua est sepulcrum. In istam exteriorem intrauerunt mulieres, quando dicebant: 'Quis reuoluet novis lapidem?' et cetera. Et iste lapis erat aduolutus ostio spelunce interioris, et iacet hodie magna pars eius ante ostium spelunce interioris, cui feurat aduolutus, in medio istius. Alia uero pars eius translata est in montem Sion pro lapide supponendo altari. Quem eciam ibidem uidi.*

<sup>41</sup> Paris 1877: 340.

<sup>42</sup> Giles 1852: 524–525.

*Mons calvarie, in quo Dominus crucifixus est, distat a loco sepulcri per CXX pedes. Et ascenditur ad locum, ubi crux infixā fuit rupi, per XVIII pedes a superficie pavementi ecclesie. Scissio petre eiusdem, in qua crux fuit fixa, tante capacitates est, ut caput meum. Et descendit longitudo eius de loco crucifixionis usque ad pavementum inferius per XVIII pedes, et color sanguinis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi apparet hodie in ipsa scissione petre. Et scissio ipsa erat sub manu eius sinistra. Altare etiam edificatum est iuxta cum locum manus sinister, ualde decorum, de marmore...*

*Pavimentum huius capelle stratum est de marmore totum, et parietes sunt tecti marmore et opere musiuo decorati de auro purissimo.*

*De caluaria contra orientem 24 pedibus est altare quoddam, sub quo est pars columpne, ad quam Dominus fuit flagellatus, illuc translata de domo Pilati, et sub lapide altaris est tecta, ita ut a fidelibus possit tangi, uideri et osculari. Est autem de lapide porfiritico subnigro, habens maculas rubeas naturaliter, quas credit uulgus tinctures esse sanguinis Christi.*

*Alia pars columpne dicitur translata esse Constantinopolim.*

*De altari columpne huius contra orientem ad X pedes descenditur per gradus XLVIII ad locum, ubi ab Helena fuit crux inuenta.*

*Et est ibi capella et due altaria longe infra terram.*

*Iste locus, in quo fuit crux defossa, uidetur mihi fuisse unum de fossatis ciuitatis, in quod cruces depositis corporibus misse fuerunt et desuper sordes ciuitatis comportate, donec per Helenam loco mundato crux est inuenta. Prope enim ciuitatem erat locus passionis et ortus in loco illo.*

*Locus euro, in quo stetit beata uirgo cum mulieribus aliis iuxta crucem, non fuit sub ipso brachio crucis ad aquilonem, sed ante faciem filii fere ad occidentem. Monstratur enim locus stationis eius contra faciem filii pendens in cruce sub monte et rupe, in qua crux fuit fixa. Et ueneranter habetur a fidelibus. Quem etiam locum sepe uidi...*

*Multa altaria sunt in ecclesia ista et decenter ornata.*

*Ante ostium occidentale huius ecclesie foris est locus, ubi Maria Egyptiaca orans ante imaginem beate uirginis...*<sup>43</sup>

Note now that there are many holy places in the city which stir men to devotion, so many that one day does not suffice for visiting them all. However, among these the Church of the Holy Sepulchre holds the first place.

This church is round, and measures in diameter between the columns seventy-three feet, without counting the apses, which measure thirty feet round from the wall of the church. Above the Lord's sepulchre, which is in the middle of the church, there is a round opening, so that the whole of the crypt of the sepulchre stands in the open air.

<sup>43</sup> Laurent 1864: 70–72.

Adjoining this is the Church of Golgotha. It is oblong, and joins the choir of the Church of the Lord's Sepulcher, but is somewhat lower. But both of them are under one roof.

The cave wherein is the Lord's sepulcher is eight feet long, and likewise eight feet wide. It is entirely cased with marble on the outside, but within it is bare rock, even as it was at the time of his burial. The doorway into the cave enters from the east, and is very low and small.

On the right hand as one enters is the tomb of the holy sepulcher, against the north wall. It is of gray-colored marble, and is three palms above the surface of the pavement, and eight feet long, even as is the crypt or cave itself within, and is closed on every side. No light from without can be had inside, because there is no window to bring light into it; but nine lamps hang above the Lord's sepulcher, which give light within. There is also another cave outside of this cave, of the same length and width and arrangements both without and within. From without these two caves seem to be one, but when you enter you will see that they are divided in the middle one from the other. First one enters the one, and then the other wherein is the sepulcher. It was the first one which the women entered when they said, 'Who will roll away the stone for us?' This stone was rolled up against the doorway into the inner cave, and at this day a great part of it lies before the door of the inner cave, against which it was rolled, in the midst thereof. The other part has been translated to Mount Sion, to support the altar there. This piece also I saw at that place.

Mount Calvary, whereon the Lord was crucified, is seventy feet distant from the place of the sepulcher. One goes up eighteen feet above the paved floor of the church, to the place where the cross was fixed in the rock. The rent in this same rock wherein the cross was fixed is as large as my head, and extends lengthways eighteen feet, from the place of the crucifixion down even to the pavement below. Even to this day the color of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ may be seen in the rent in the rock. This rent was beneath his left hand. Near this place where his left hand was a very beautiful marble altar has been built...

This chapel is entirely paved with marble, and its walls are covered with marble and adorned with mosaic work of the purest gold.

Twenty-four feet to the east of Calvary there is an altar beneath which is part of the pillar whereat the Lord was scourged, which has been brought thither from the house of Pilate. It is covered in by the stone of the altar, yet in such sort that it can be touched, seen, and kissed by the faithful. It is a piece of dark porphyritic stone, with natural red spots, which the vulgar believe to be stains of Christ's blood.

Another part of this pillar is said to have been translated to Constantinople.

Ten feet east of the altar of this column, one goes down forty-eight steps to the place where Helena found the cross.

Here there is a chapel and two altars far beneath the earth.

The place wherein the cross was dug up seems to me to have been one of the ditches of the city, into which the crosses were cast after the bodies were case after the bodies were taken

down from them, and all the refuse of the city heaped upon them, until Helena cleansed the place and found the cross; for the place of the Passion was near the city, and there was a garden in the place.

Now the place where the Blessed Virgin stood near the cross with the other women was not beneath the arm of the cross on the north side, but before her son's face on the west side, or nearly. The place where she stood before her son's face as he hung upon the cross is shown at the foot of the mount and rock wherein the cross was fixed, and is venerated by the faithful. I have often seen this place...

There are many well-decorated altars in this church.

Before the west door of this church, outside, is the place where Mary of Egypt prayed before the Blessed Virgin's image...<sup>44</sup>

**Marino Sanuto, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super terrae sanctae recuperatione et conservatione*, 'The Book of Secrets for the Faithful of the Cross for the Recovery and Preservation of the Holy Land' (c. 1321 AD)**

[Note: Sanuto evidently employed Burchard's pilgrimage account in his discussion of the Holy Sepulchre, and in some instances reused it verbatim. The excerpts presented are those points where Sanuto differs from or supplements Burchard's account.]

*Cum sacratissima illa loca visitaueris, ad quod integra dies vix succidere poterit, per portam Beniamin, siue Sancti Stephani intrandum est: deinde, primo ingrediaris Ecclesiam Sancti Sepulchri, quae inter cuncta mundi sanctuaria obtinet principatum...Prius enim quam Christiani ibi haberent dominium, vbi CHRISTVS crucifixus est, & vbi crux inuenta est, aedificata est Ecclesia instar capellae: sed postquam fideles loca illa possederunt, apparuit eis locus paruus & artus: & ideo aedificauerunt notium opus, sumptuosum, pulchrum & firmum, intrase sanctuaria comprehendens. Hostium Sepulchri demissum est valde & paruum...Est autem iuxta cellam Sepulchri, columna quaedam in qua est imago beati Pantaleonis...Mons Caluaria, in quo Dominus crucifixus est, distat a loco Sepulchri per CVIII pedes: & ascenditur ad locum vbi crux posita est per XXIX pedes, a superficie pauimenti Ecclesiae. Scissio Petra eiusdem in qua crux fixa fuit, tantae est capacitates, vt caput hominis recipiat: & descendit longitudo eius, de loco fixationis Crucis, vsque ad pavementum Ecclesiae, per XXIX pedes...De Caluaria contra Orientem ad decem pedes, est altare quoddam, sub quo est pars columae ad quam Dominus fuit flagellatus...Est & alius locus in sinistra patte Ecclesiae vbi est columna parua & subtilis, ad quam dicit IESVM ligatu & flaggelatu fuisse. De altari huius columnae contra Oriente ad XII pedes descenditur per gradus XLVIII ad locum vbi ab Helena Crux inuenta est...Ibi prope ostenditur locus vbi Ioseph ab Arimathia, & Nicodemus lauerunt Iesum quando deposuerunt eum de cruce: quem aiunt Dominum IESVM ostendendo dixisse, ibi esse medium mundi: & est in medio chori; & a sinistro latere chori, est carcer Christi. Et prope locum illum, est locus vbi Dominus noster a mortuis resurgens apparuit Magdalenae...In quo loco factum est altare, pro illius appationis memoria, ante cellam Sepulchri. Deinde proceditur ad pertam Occidentalem vbi conuersa est Maria Aegyptiaca...<sup>45</sup>*

<sup>44</sup> PPTS 12a: 75–78.

<sup>45</sup> Bongars 1611: 253–254.

When you visit these most holy places, for which an entire day is scarce sufficient, you should enter through the gate of Benjamin, that is, St. Stephen's Gate. Then, first of all you should visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is the chief of all the sanctuaries in the world...Before the Christians bore rule in those parts, a church of the size of a chapel was built on the place where Christ was crucified, and where the cross was found; but when the faithful gained possession of those parts, they thought this place small and cramped; wherefore they built a new, costly, beautiful, and solid work, which includes all the holy places within itself. The door of the sepulcher is very low and small...Near the cell of the holy sepulcher there is a pillar bearing the effigy of St. Pataleon...Mount Calvary, whereon the Lord was crucified, stands one hundred and eight feet above the pavement of the church to the place where the cross was set up. The rent in the rock wherein the cross was fixed is of such a size that it can taken in a man's head, and it runs down lengthwise from the place where the cross was placed, even to the pavement of the church, nineteen feet...Ten feet away from Calvary, on the north side, there is an altar beneath which is the pillar at which the Lord was scourged...There is likewise another place on the left-hand side of the church, where there is a small slender pillar to which they say Jesus was bound and scourged. Twelve feet east of the altar before this column one goes down forty-eight stairs to the place where Helena found the cross...Near it [the place where the Blessed Virgin stood near the cross] is shown the place where Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus washed Jesus after they had taken him down from the cross. They say that the Lord Jesus pointed to this place, and declared that it was the middle of the world; it is in the midst of the choir. On the left-hand side of the choir is Christ's prison. Near this is the place where our Lord, when he was risen from the dead, met Mary Magdalen...in this place an altar has been set up, in memory of this apparition, over against the cell of the sepulcher. From hence one goes to the west gate, where St. Mary of Egypt was converted...<sup>46</sup>

***Explicuiunt peregrinationes totius terre sancta, 'Explanation of Many Wanderings in the Holy Land,' or Guidebook to Palestine (c. 1350 AD)***

First, when you have entered the church, you shall find a black marble stone upon which Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus washed the body of Christ, and sprinkled it with spices, when they took it down from the cross...Thence you shall come to Mount Calvary, where Jesus was crucified, where the blood issuing from his side penetrated through that dense and hard rock, and left the colour of blood there to this day...For the blood sank in under Mount Calvary, in that part which is called Golgotha, where was found the head of Adam the first man...Thence you shall come to the glorious sepulchre of the Lord, which up to the time of the Emperor Aelius Hadrian was without the gate. This emperor enlarged the city so much that he enclosed the place of the Lord's sepulcher within the circuit of the walls, in which place afterwards the Christians, for the reverence they had to the Lord's sepulcher, built the glorious church of the Lord's Resurrection within the city, with elaborate workmanship, of suitable shape, and round in form, with one window opened in the roof. This not undeservedly holds the chief place among the holy and memorable sites. In this place the precious body of the Lord was honorably buried with spices, and here he rested until the third day; but on the third day he rose again as he had said...Thence you shall come to the place where our

<sup>46</sup> PPTS 12b: 38–41.

Lord rising from the dead appeared first to Mary Magdalene when she thought that he was the gardener...in which place is a holy altar in honor of that appearance, which is before the door of the chapel of the blessed Virgin...Thence you shall enter the chapel of blessed Mary, and there you shall find a portion, four feet long, of the pillar to which Jesus was bound, and where he was scourged; it is placed as it were in the partition wall on the right-hand side as you go into the chapel...Also in the same chapel is the place in front of the altar where a certain dead man was revived by virtue of the holy cross immediately after its glorious discovery in the presence of Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine...There is also the place near the altar where the holy cross stood for a long time, and was most devoutly adored by faithful Christians...Thence you shall come to the place where Christ was for us imprisoned, bound, beaten; there is now a small chapel there...Thence when you have gone out of the door of that chapel in front of a certain altar, you shall find a certain stone to which Jesus was chained while his cross was being erected...Thence you shall go to the place where the soldiers cast lots for the garments of Christ...Thence you shall go to a place where you descend to a certain chapel built at a depth of twenty-eight steps; there are buried the bodies of Mary the mother of James, and Mary Salome, under a certain altar...Near the altar on the south side is a stone chair on which St. Helena sat when she caused search to be made for the holy cross of the Lord...Also there is a certain window in the wall at the north side, through which it is said are heard the shrieks of the souls in purgatory...Also in the same chapel are four stone pillars, which, it is said, sweat water night and day on account of Christ's passion. Thence you shall descend twelve steps to another yet lower chapel, in which was found in a very deep place the holy cross. The place is still visible where the cross of the Lord lay...Thence you shall go up to the first gate by which you entered, and on the left side you shall find a marble pillar under a certain altar, near which it is said that Jesus was crowned with the crown of thorns before he was placed upon the cross...Thence you come to Golgotha, which is called The Pavement, where Pilate sat before the tribunal when he led Jesus outside the city...Golgotha is a place under Mount Calvary, as it were concave; and there the blood is visible as above related. Thence you come to the doors, and in the midst of the choir is the place called the Center of the World, where our Lord Jesus Christ laid his finger, saying, 'This is the center of the world.'...Thence you come to a pillar near the chamber of the holy sepulcher, above which is painted the image of St. Pantaleon...Thence you come to the gate by which blessed Mary of Egypt was not able to enter...And that gate is placed on the north side of the holy sepulcher in a secret place, and there is the chapel of the aforesaid St. Mary of Egypt...Thence you shall go out of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and on the left hand you shall find a little chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, under Mount Calvary, where she stood gazing upon her son hanging on the cross. And there the Nubians minister...Thence you shall come to the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, joined on to the chapel of blessed Mary, where our Savior commended the Virgin Mother to him, who was a virgin. And there the Jacobites minister...Thence you come to a chapel hard by, built in honor of St. John the Baptist...Then you shall have opposite you a chapel built in honor of St. Mary Magdalene, where along with the other women she wept and bewailed the Lord as he hung on the cross. And there the circumcised Christians minister...Thence you come to a rock in front of the gates of the church, upon which our Lord rested when he came bearing his cross to Mount Calvary...All the aforesaid most holy places are within or hard by the sacred and holy church of the Passion and Sepulcher of the Lord.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> PPTS 6c: 5-10.

**Ludolph von Suchem, *Descriptio terrae sanctae*, 'Description of the Holy Land' (c. 1350 AD)**

*Item in Ierusalem sunt quam plurimae schismaticorum et haeticorum ecclesiae et capellae et quam plurima alia loca et oratoria gratiosa. Ceterum supra monetm Calvariae et sepulcrum Christi magna et pulchra ecclesia est constructa ex marmore, opere mosaico, picturis et aliis ornamentis nobiliter decorata, et habet turres ante et supra chorum et est desuper aperta, quo est sepulcrum Christi subtus. Haec ecclesia cathedrali ecclesiae monasteriensi in Wespalia intus est multum similes et specialiter in choro. In hac ecclesia prope chorum versus meridiem est mons Calvariae, in quo crucifixus est Iesus. Ad hunc montem intra ecclesiam nunc per aliquot gradus ascenditur, et extra ecclesiam per aliquot dradus etiam quondam ad eum ascendeabatur, sed ipsa ianua ab extra nunc est obstructa. Hic mons est rupis durissimae, et sub monte est capella Nubanorum rupe et petra excissa. Supra montem Calvariae etiam est capella, ad quam ab intra ascenditur, ut dixi, et in loco quo crucifixus erat Iesus, est forament, quo crux erat imposita, et scissurae rupis et petrae tempore passionis Christi factae adhuc patent evidenter. In eadem capella sepultri sunt etiam illi gloriosissimi principes Godefridus dux de Bolium et Baldewinus seus frater primi reges Ierusalem christiani, qui terram santam cum maximis laboribus acquisiverunt et potenter recuperaverunt et christianitati quam plurima bona fecerunt...Prope montem Calvariae, ubi nunc est armarium, est locus, ubi mater cum discipulis et aliae mulieres steterunt...Ante ianuam chori versus meridiem est lapis niger et locus, super quem posuerunt corpus Iesu, dum de cruce receptum illud linteo involverunt. Ante chorum versus occidentem parva stat duplex capella, quae quasi tres ianuas habet et in ea tria altaria stetisse videntur. De hac priori capella intratur in aliam capellam, in qua est sepulcrum Christi, per ianuam tam parvam et demissam, arcuatam semicirculariter, factam ita, quod per ipsam intrare oportet in curvato dorso. Haec capella in modum semicirculi est testudinata, nullam habens fenestram, et in ea est sepulcrum Christi. Longitudo huius capellae et sepulcri sunt circa novem palmae, latitudo capellae circa septem palmae, et altitudo capellae circa duodecim palmae. Sepulcrum Christi est in integro lapidae excisum, sed ne a peregrines maculetur vel depotetur, est aliis lapidibus marmoreis albis circumpositum, et lapis, quo ante in latere est circumpositum, est tribus foraminibus perforatus, et per illa foramina verum sepulcrum et verus lapis deosculatur, et ille lapis, quo sepulcrum est circumpositum, est vero sepulcro tam subtiliter coniunctus, quod ignorantibus unus lapis esse videtur...Ceterum de lampadibus et luminaribus, quae dicuntur esse circa sacrum sepulcrum, dico quod omnino nil lampadum, vel luminarium est circa sepulcrum; sed degunt in ecclesia sancti sepulcri Georgiani antiqui habentes claven ad capellam sancti sepulcri, quibus per parvam fenestram, quae est in ianua ecclesiae meridionali, a peregrines victus, eleomosynae, luminaria et oleum ad lampades, ad illuminandum circa sanctum sepulcrum, ministrantur, et deficiente hoc penitus absque aliquibus illuminationibus manet...Item in eadem ecclesia ante chorum modicum versus meridiem est locus, ubi steterunt tres Mariae...Item in eadem ecclesia stat pars columnae, qua flagellatus et ligatus erat Iesus; reliqua vero pars est Constantinopoli.*

*Item in eadem ecclesia descenditur bene per LX gradus ad locum, ubi tres cruces inventae fuerunt, et in inferiori loco et capella stat cathedra Iacobi minoris, in qua ipse episcopus Ierusalem residebat. Etiam in hac ecclesia stant columnae, quae tempore passionis Christi in domo Pilati steterunt, ab illo tempore usque nunc continue aquam sudantes. Item in hac ecclesia est locus, ubi mortuus super crucem Christi positus fuit resuscitatus. Item in hac ecclesia est locus, quo Iesus Mariae Magdalenae in speci hortulani apparuit. Haec omnia loca sancta in hac continentur ecclesia inclusa, et ipsa ecclesia, ut palatium, ad commoda diversa peregrinorum et inclusorum est praeparata. Nam*



*peregrini advenientes ab una diei hora prima usque ad eandem horam diei crastinae in ecclesia includuntur, et omnia ad libitum possunt perlustrare.*<sup>48</sup>

In Jerusalem, moreover, there are many other churches of schismatics and heretics, and very many other holy places and gracious oratories. Above the Mount Calvary and Christ's sepulcher a great and fair church has been built, nobly decorated with marble, mosaic work, paintings, and other ornaments. It has towers in front of the choir and above the same, and it is open above the place of Christ's sepulcher. The inside of this church is very much like the cathedral of Munster in Westphalia, especially in the choir. In this church, near the choir, on the south side, is Mount Calvary, where Jesus was crucified. One ascends this mount at the present day by some stairs within the church, and once one used also to ascend thither by some stairs outside the church, but this door has now been blocked up on the outside. This mount is formed of exceeding hard rock, and beneath the mount is the chapel of the Nubians, cut out of the solid rock. On the top of Mount Calvary also there is a chapel, to which one ascends from within the church, and in the place where Jesus was crucified there is the hole in which the cross was placed, and the rending of the solid rock which came to pass at the time of Christ's Passion may still be plainly seen. Also in the same chapel are buried those right glorious princes, Godfrey, Duke of Bouillon, and Baldwin, his brother, the first Christian Kings of Jerusalem, who won the Holy Land with exceeding great toil...near Mount Calvary, where now there is a cupboard, is the place where his mother and the disciples and the other women stood...In front of the door of the choir, on the south side, there is a black stone, which is the place whereon they laid Jesus' body when they took him down from the cross and wrapped him in linen cloths. In from of the choir, on the west side, stands a small double chapel which has as it were three doors, and wherein three altars seem to have stood. From this first chapel one goes into another chapel, wherein is Christ's sepulcher, through a low and small doorway, arched semicircularly, and made so that one must enter it with a bent back. This chapel is semicircularly vaulted; it has no window, and in it is Christ's sepulcher. The length of this chapel and sepulcher is about nine palms, the width of the chapel about seven palms, and the height of the chapel about twelve palms. Christ's sepulcher is cut out of the solid rock, but lest it should be defiled or carried away by pilgrims, it is covered with other stones of white marble. The stone which covers it on the front side has three holes pieced through it, and through those holes one can kiss the true sepulcher and the true stone thereof. This stone wherewith the sepulcher is cased is so cunningly joined on to the sepulcher, that to the ignorant it seems to be all one stone...Now, as for the lamps and candlesticks which are said to be round about the holy sepulcher, I declare that there is no lamp or candlestick whatever round about the sepulcher; but there dwell in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher ancient Georgians who have the key of the chapel of the holy sepulcher, and food, alms, candles, and oil for lamps to burn round about the holy sepulcher are given them by pilgrims through a little window in the south door of the church, and if this should fail it remains without any light whatsoever...In this church also, in front of the choir, a little way to the southward, there is the place where the three Maries stood...Also in this same church stands one part of the pillar to which Jesus was bound and scourged; the other part is in Constantinople.

<sup>48</sup> Deycks 1851: 78–81.

In this church also one goes down forty steps to the place where the three crosses were found, and in this lower part, in the chapel stands the episcopal chair of James the Less, wherein he used to sit as Bishop of Jerusalem. In this church also stand the pillars which at the time Christ's passion stood in Pilate's house, which pillars from that time to this present have never ceased to sweat forth water. Furthermore, in this church there is the place where the dead man was laid upon Christ's cross, and was raised up to life. In this church also there is the place where Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalen in the likeness of a gardener. All of these holy places are enclosed within this church, and the church is like a palace prepared for the various needs of pilgrims and of those who are locked up therein; for pilgrims who visit it are locked up therein from the first hour of one day till the same hour of the following day, and can inspect everything to their hearts' content.<sup>49</sup>

### John Poloner, *Descriptio terrae sanctae*, 'Description of the Holy Land' (c. 1421 AD)

*Ordo peregrinationis civitatis Jerusalem et aliorum locorum ibidem*

*Foris templum sepulchri sancti in planitie circuitus sunt quatuor capellae. Prima a sinistris, cum egreditur, est capella beatae virginis et sancti Johannis Evangelistae; nam ibidem steterunt hora crucifixionis. Secunda proxime est huic in angulo constructa in honore omnium angelorum. Tertia in eodem latere est sancti Johannis Baptistae. Quarta capella a latere dextro, cum egreditur de templo, juxta turrim campanilis est Mariae Magdalene. Primam capellam habent indiani, secundam jacobitae, tertiam georgitae, quartam occupant graeci. In medio harum quatuor capellarum in pavimento, a gradu Calvariae undecim passibus, est locus signatus lapide, quo Dominus Jesus, ductus a domo Pilati, quievit cum cruce, cohorte circumstante. Juxta plateam ante templum est carcer malefactorum, cujus ostium respicit januam temple 22 passuum.*<sup>50</sup>

In the churchyard, outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, there are four chapels. The first on the left hand, as one comes out, is the chapel of the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, for this is where they stood at the time of the crucifixion. The second is that nearest to this one, built in the corner, and dedicated to All Angels. The third on the same side is that of St. John the Baptist. The fourth chapel on the right-hand side as one comes out of the church, near the belfry tower, is that of St. Mary Magdalen. The first chapel belongs to the Indians, the second to the Jacobites, the third to the Georgians, and the fourth to the Greeks. Midway between these four chapels, eleven paces from the ascent to Calvary, there is a place marked in the pavement where the Lord Jesus, when he was brought from the house of Pilate, rested with his cross, while the guard stood round about him. Near the open space before the church is the prison for evil-doers, whose door looks towards the door of the church, at a distance of twenty-two paces.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> PPTS 12c: 103–106.

<sup>50</sup> Tobler 1874: 228–229.

<sup>51</sup> PPTS 6d: 4.

**Fratris Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, 'Wanderings in the Holy Land, Arabia, and Egypt, Pilgrimage' (c. 1484 AD)**

§§ 110B–119A

SEQUITUR PROCESSIO PER LOCA SANCTA ECCLESIAE SANCTI SEPULCHRI: ET PRIMO AD CAPELLAM B. VIRGINIS, ET EJUSDEM CAPELLAE ET LOCORUM EJUS DESCRIPTIO

*Cum ergo cuncti in suo ordine staret cum luminibus accensis...et cum cantu illo processimus in capellam gloriosae Virginis Mariae ad altare in facie capellae...*

DE LOCO, IN QUO REPOSITA EST COLUMNAE PARS, AD QUAM JESUS FLAGELLATUS FUIT

*Deinde cum cantu signato ad latus dextrum processimus. Ibi in muro est quoddam reservaculum sive fenestra non perspicua, in quo reservaculo stat pars magna de pretiosissima columna, ad Dominum Jesus in domo Pilati fuit nudus ligatus, et durissime flagris et virgis fuit castigatus...Olim fuit haec columna sacra integra translata a domo Pilati ad montem Syon...Post descriptionem autem ecclesiae antiquae Syon, ut dixi...alia fuit ad illum locum delata. Tertia est Romae ad sanctam Praxedem. Wuarta in Lugduno ad Sanctum Hircanum Justum, et in aliis mundi partibus reperiuntur etiam in ecclesiis partes de ea. Porro pars illa, quae hic in hoc loco est, habet unum palmum et tres transverses digitos in spisso, et est alta quatuor palmis, et est porphyrei coloris, masculis sanguineis respersa...*

DE LOCO, IN QUO SANCTA CRUX SERVABATUR POST EJUS INVENTIONEM ANTE AJUS AMISSIONEM

*In hoc loco divertimus ad oppositam capellae partem, et ibi etiam in muro reservaculum est, in quo per CC. annos fuit pars pretiosissimae crucis recondite, gemmis, auro, et argento stipata per illustrissimam Helnam ejus inventricem, quae eam integram cum invenisset, secari eam fecit, unam partem huc responens, et alteram Constantinopolim transferens...Hunc locum, quamvis vacuum, honoravimus...Verum ut eo venerabilior locus esset, habent in eo crucem reconditam, in qua parva particular de vera cruce Christi est infixa...*

DE LOCO, IN QUO SANCTA CRUX FUIT PROBATA PER MORTUI SUSCITATIONEM

*Expediti in illo loco cum alio cantu processimus ad medium capellae, et ibi est locus, in quem transpositae fuerunt tres cruces inventae, ut probaretur, quae crux esset Christi crux...Capella haec est Latinorum, et nulla natio quidquam in ea juris habet, nisi Latini, et custodies sancti sepulchri loco Latinorum in ea officiant, et retro capellam habent habitacula, in quibus coquunt, comedunt, dormiunt, et necessarium opus perficiunt, Fratres minores communiter tres fratres in eo loco habent degere...*

DE LOCO, IN QUO APPARUIT DOMINUS MARIAE MAGDALENAE IN FORMA HORTULANI

*Post capellae illius visitationem exivimus cum processione ad ecclesiam, descendentes per quatuor gradus, et statim sub dradibus in locum venimus, ubi in pavimento erant duo circuli, quinque passibus ab invicem distantes, de politio et vario marmore formati...Hic dicitur esse locus, in quo Dominus Jesus apparuit Mariae Magdalenae in forma hortulani, et in loco unius circuli stetit Dominus, et Maria in loco alterius...*

DE LOCO CARCERIS, QUI ERAT JUXTA SCOPULUM CALVARIAE, IN QUO CHRISTUS POST  
EDUCATIONEM FUIT INCLUSUS

*Hoc loco derelicto consequenter cum cantu et processione transivimus, et quandam obscuram capellam ingressi sumus, quae erat in petra excisa, et nullum habuit fenestram, sed unum in ea stetit altare et duo ostiola. Haec capella tempore passionis Christi fuit carcer, sive inclusorium juxta montem Calvariae, ad hoc ordinatum, ut rei educti ad mortem in eo includerentur, quousque tormentorum instrumenta pararentur...*

DE LOCO, UBI MILITES MISERUNT SORTES SUPER VESTIMENTA CHRISTI, ET EA DIVISERUNT SIBI

*Transivimus consequenter a carcere Christi ad aliam capellam cum tribus obstructis fenestris, et ibi est locus, ubi jam Domino Jesu cruci affixo stabant sui crucifixo, mittentes sortes, quid quis tolleret de vestibus Jesu...*

SEDES, IN QUAO DOMINUS JESUS SEDIT IN SUA CORONATIONE POENOSA

*Egressis nobis de ista capella ad ulteriora processimus...et in unam capellam aliam venimus obscuram, cujus unica fenestra obturata lapidibus fuit, et altare in ea pulchrum et integrum, sed sine pallis etc. Sub ipso altari stat unus rotundus lapis, ac si fuisset pars unius columnae sectae in partes. Hic lapis tempore passionis Christi stetit in domo Pilati, ante stabulum mularum, pro sede; erat enim ita dispositus, quo fuit pro sessione aptus. Volentes ergo Dominum spinea corona coronare, volverunt lapidem a suo loco praetorium, et Dominum Jesum desuper sedere fecerunt, eumque sedentem super hunc lapidem coronaverunt spinis...*

DE CAPELLA S. HELENAE, INVENTRICIS S. CRUCIS

*Capella ista dimissa progressi sumus gyrantes ecclesiam ab intra cum cantu de S. Helena, siguato in processionali, et ad unum ostium magnum venimus in muro ecclesiae, ac si per hoc ostium esset exitus de ecclesia extra. Per hoc ostium intrantes in tenebras, qua stamen luminibus nostris repulimus, statim pedibus apprehendimus gradus lapideos, per quos descendimus per XXX passus vel gradus usque in quandam capellam, quae dicebatur capella S. Helenae, quae subterranea est... Haec capella est satis magna, alias parietes non habens, nisi petras, in quibus est incisa, sicut et ipsi gradus de superiori ecclesia inter parietes petrarum descendunt, a superiori vero est tenstudinata, et per ipsam testudinem lumen incidens habet, ipsa autem testudo fulcitur VI columnis marmoreis, quae, ut dicitur, tempore passionis Christi sustentabant praetorium, in quo judicatus fuit Dominus. Et per sanctam Helenam fuerunt inde buc translatae. Hae columnae sunt politae et nigrae, et semper sudant, et guttatim destillant de eis aqua...Quod vulgus stupet, tenens pro miraculo, quod tamen naturaliter madentes et sudantes...In eadem capella est una lapidea concha in muro, juxta altare pro aqua benedicta imponenda, quae jam semper est vacua et sine aqua benedicta...Iuxta utrumque latus graduum sunt cavernae magnae et altae, petris incisae, quae fuerunt capellae consecratae olim cum altaribus et penitus sunt absque lumine...Duo altaria habet haec capella, et juxta majus altare ad latus dextrum est una cathedra saxes et juxta cathedram fenestra per petram, per quam est respectus in foveam inferius, in qua sancta crux fuit inventa...Hanc capellam nonnulli nominant ecclesiam S. Jacobi...*

## DE SPELUNCA, IN QUA SANCTA CRUX FUIT INVENTA A S. HELENA

*De hac capella ulterius descendimus per XVI gradus, qui ad latus dextrum sunt...et in aliam capellam venimus penitus tenebrosam, et lumine coeli carentem, lampadibus tamen multis illustratam. In imo illius capellae est fovea sub rupe superpendente, XXII pedes habens longitudinis, in qua sancta imperatrix Helena pretiosissimum thesaurum invenit, qui quitra CCC annes ibi latuit. Reperit enim ibi cruces, tres, clavos, spineam coronam, tabulam, tituli cruci superpositam, ferrum lanceae, quo Christi cor fuit transfixum calamus cum spongia et omnia instrumenta, quibus usi fuerant in crucifixione Christi et duorum latronum, quae omnia cum crucifibus, tamquam immunda, in locum projecerant...Horribilis est locus ille et profundus in rupibus...Est euim retro locum inventionis sanctae crucis concavitas profunda in rupe...*

## DE SANCTISSIMO MONTE CALVARIAE, IN QUO DOMINUS JESUS CRUCIFIXUS PEPENDIT

*Consummatis omnibus, quae agenda erant in specu sacro, mox de loco ascendimus et per ostium templi reingressi sumus...Et cum illo cantu usque ad ascensum sanctissimi montis Calvariae venimus; in quem XVIII gradibus lapideis ascendimus ab inferiori ecclesia sursum et superius, in unam lucidam, pulchram, marmore polito et vario ornatam capellam venimus, in qua ultae pendebant lampades ardentes et tria ibi altaria stabant decorata picturis de opere musaico, et erat capella de opere arcuarie facta, in medio columna marmoreal sustentante aedificium. Sub arcu testudinis depicti erant David et Salomon. David quidem cum illo versu: qui edebat panes meos magnific. Salomon autem cum illo: sapientiae aedificavit sibi domum; et signa immolationis Isaac. Haec capella est super montem Calvariae aedificata...Cum omnes in eam venissemus, et iam ad aculum nobis ostenderetur petra illa mirabilis, rupes desiderabilis, scopulus amabilis, lapis landabilis, saxum venerabile cum spectabili foramine, in quo sanctissima crux cum Crucifixo fuerat infixum...Finita autem oratione unus post alium ad petram sanctam, quae prominebat supra fundamentum, accessit, et ad foramen crucis se quilibet juxta loci dispositionem traxit...Brachium, etiam manus in opsum foramen misimus usque ad suum fundum...Porro in latere sinistro foraminis est in opsa petra grandis scissura, a summo usque deorsum, quae in Christi expiratione facta creditur. Ad illam scissuram...capita nostra ei imponentes magis et corpus, quantum fieri potuit. Insuper ab utroque latere sancti foraminis sunt alia duo foramina, in fixi fuerunt cum Iesus, Dysme et Gesme: sed illa foramina videri non possunt, quia super ea stant columnae, non altae, in quarum capitibus sunt ferrei clavi, ad quos cerei et candelae affiguntur...In pariete retro petram sanctam est pictura nova, valde pretiosa, Crucifixi, beatae Virginis, et S. Johannis Evangelistae...*

## DESCRIPTIO MONTIS CALVARIAE, ET EJUS DISPOSITIO

*Locus Calvariae totius templi spatium designat. Rupis Calvariae tantum sustentat crucem...*

## DO LOCO, UBI CHRISTUS CRUCIFIXUS FUIT, ET IN QUO ADAE TESTA REPERTA FUIT, ET DE SCISSURA PETRAE

*...proceSSIONe descendimus per gradus iterum ad ecclesiae pavementum, et ingressi sumus capellam, quae est sub capella montis Calvariae, de qua consurgit scopulus crucis Christi, sursum usque in superiorem capellam se tollens...et locus crucifixionis hic fuisse necesse est, quamvis de*

*hoc nulla habeatur scriptura aut certitudo...Nam locus, in quo beata Virgo et Johannes sub cruce steterunt, prope hunc locum est, quamvis extra templum ingressum habeat...*

*...processimus contra altare, quod ad rupem Calvariae est sedificatum, in cuius dextro latere vidimus in rupe scissuram, quae a summo descendit usque in terram. In eodem loco mortuus est et sepultus Adam, primus parens noster, ut multi dicunt...Caput vero Adae repertum est post multa tempora in monte Calvariae...In hac capella sunt sepulti reges latini, qui virtute magna et maximis laboribus terram sanctam in manus Christianorum reduxerunt et subdiderunt...Sunt autem reges ibi sepulti, scilicet: rex Gotfridus de Bullion primus, dux Lotharingiae...Rex Balduinus II., et III. rex Balduinus. IV. Fullo. V. Balduinus. VI. Almaricus. VII. Balduinus. VIII. Balduinus. IX. Guido...Capella praefata sub monte Calvariae est Christianorum de Nubia, qui ibi official sua celebrant...*

#### DE LOCO ILLO, UBI CORPUS CHRISTI INUNCTUM FUT ET LINTEAMINE VEL SINDONE INVOLUTUM

*Exeuntes autem a capella illa de pede montis Calvariae processimus ad IX passus...et venimus ad locum, in quo in ecclesiae pavimento jacet niger lapis, quibusdam rubeis maculis respersus, bene politus, qui dicitur ibi fuisse tempore passionis Christi juxta sepulchrum Joseph ab Arimathia...Cum ergo Joseph et Nicodemus cum suis adiutoribus corpus Christi de cruce solvissent, portaverunt ipsum huc, et nudum super hunc lapidem sanctum posuerunt, ibique unguentis foventes vulnera linimentis et in sindone munda involventes...Super hunc locum est chorda extensa de uno pariete ad alterum, in qua pendent multae lampades ardentes...*

#### DE LOCO, UBI DICITUR ESSE CENTRALE MEDIUM TOTIUS MUNDI

*Cum omnia loca sancta ante dominici sepulchri ingressum prius visitassemus, declinavimus cum processione a via, per quam portatum fuit Domini Jesu corpus in sepulchrum, gyrantes sepulchrum sanctum, et golgathanam ecclesiam, quae est choris totius templi, ingressi sumus; ibi cum ad medium venissemus chori, circumstetimus lapidem quondam, qui est rotundus, a caeteris lapideis tabulis elevatus, in cujus medio est rotundum foramen, in quo homo posset pugnare, h.e. manum complicaturum, immittere. Lapidem hunc dicunt jacere in centrali medio totius mundi...Dicunt etiam veteres historiae, quod ante templi hujus aedificationem fuit in hoc loco a philosophis erecta columna alta marmorea, quae in aequinoctio aestivali umbram non faciebat meridie, sole directe super eam stante...*

#### DE LOCO, UBI SANCTAE MULIERES VIDERUNT REVOLUTUM LAPIDEM A MONUMENTO

*Recedentibus nobis ab hoc loco de golgathana ecclesia, per ostium, per quod intravimus, reexivimus in ecclesiam sancti sepulchri, et in locum venimus, in quo tres Mariae venientes, ut ungerent Jesum, viderunt revolutum lapidem a monumento, de quo fuerant per viam multum solliciti...*

#### DE INGRESSU PEREGRINORUM IN SANCTISSIMUM DOMINI JESU SEPULCHRUM

*Itaque cum laetitia ingressi sumus unus post alium in dulcissimum Domini Jesu sepulchrum, et loculum sanctissimum devotionissime deosculati sumus, et indulgentias plenissimae...*

## §§ 110B-119A

*HERE FOLLOWETH THE PROCESSION ROUND THE HOLY PLACES IN THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, AND FIRST THE PROCESSION TO THE CHAPEL OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN, AND THE DESCRIPTION OF THE SAME CHAPEL OF THE HOLY PLACES THEREIN*

So when we were all standing in order with out lights burning...we came in procession to the chapel of the glorious Virgin Mary, to the altar in front of the chapel...

*THE PLACE WHEREIN IS KEPT PART OF THE PILLAR AT WHICH JESUS WAS SCOURGED*

Thence, singing the appointed hymn, we went forward towards the right hand. Here is a sort of recess, or blind window in the wall, in which recess stands a large part of that most precious pillar to which the Lord Jesus was bound naked in the house of Pilate, and was cruelly scourged with whips and rods...In old times this pillar was brought from the house of Pilate to the Mount Sion...But after the destruction of the old church of Sion... one part was brought hither. A third piece is in the church of St. Praxede at Rome. A fourth is at Lyons in the church of St. Hyrcanus the Just, and the other pieces of it beside these are to be found in churches in other parts of the world also. The piece which stands in this place is one palm and the thickness of three fingers in width, and four palms in height, and is of a purple color, sprinkled with red spots...

*THE PLACE WHEREIN THE HOLY CROSS WAS KEPT AFTER ITS INVENTION, BEFORE ITS LOSS*

In this place we turned to the opposite part of the chapel, and there also is a recess in the wall, in which a piece of the most blessed cross was kept for two hundred years. It was thickly studded with gold, silver, and jewels by the most illustrious Helena, who found it, and who as she found it entire, caused it to be cut in two, and left one piece here, while she translated the other to Constantinople...We did honor to this place, albeit it was empty...Indeed, that the place may be the more worthy of respect, they have set up a cross therein, which cross has a small fragment of the true cross of Christ inserted into it...

*THE PLACE WHERE THE HOLY CROSS WAS PROVED TO BE THE TRUE ONE BY RAISING A DEAD MAN TO LIFE*

When we had finished our service in that place we set out, singing another hymn, to the middle of the chapel, where is the place whither the three crosses were brought after their invention, that it might be proved which cross was the cross of Christ... Here is a chapel of the Latins, and no nation has any right therein save only the Latins, and the guardians of the holy sepulcher, who represent the Latins, perform service therein. Behind this chapel they have chambers wherein they cook, eat, sleep, and do their needs. The Minorite Brethren generally have three brethren dwelling in that place...

*THE PLACE WHERE OUR LORD APPEARED TO MARY MAGDALEN IN THE FORM OF A GARDENER*

After our visit to this chapel we went out of it in procession to the church, down four steps, and at the foot of the steps we straightway came to a place where there were two circles in the pavement, five paces distant one from the other, made of polished and variegated marble...this is said to be the place where the Lord Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalen in the form of a gardener. The Lord stood in the place where one of the circles is, and Mary where the other circle is...

*THE PLACE OF THE PRISON WHICH WAS NEAR TO THE ROCK OF CALVARY, WHEREIN CHRIST WAS CONFINED AFTER HE LEFT THE JUDGMENT-HALL*

Leaving this place, we went on our way singing in procession, and entered a darksome chapel hewn out of the rock which has no windows, but contains one altar within it, and has two small doors. This chapel in the time of Christ was a prison or lock-up near the Mount Calvary, built to the intent that condemned criminals appointed to die might be locked up therein while the instruments of their torture were being made ready...

*THE PLACE WHERE THE SOLDIERS CAST LOTS FOR THE GARMENTS OF CHRIST, AND DIVIDED THEM AMONGST THEM*

Continuing our course, we passed on from the prison of Christ to another chapel with three blocked-up windows, where, after the Lord Jesus was fastened to the cross, his crucifiers stood and cast lots for what each one should take of the garments of Jesus...

*THE SEAT WHEREON THE LORD JESUS SAT DURING HIS DESPITEOUS CORONATION*

When we came out of that chapel we went forward to the places beyond...and we came to another dark chapel, whose only window was blocked up with stones, and wherein was a fair altar, unbroken, but without hangings, etc. Beneath this altar stands a round stone, which seems to have been a section cut out of a column. This stone at the time of Christ's passion stood in the house of Pilate, in front of the stable for mules, as a seat, for it was so arranged to be convenient for sitting on. So when they wished to crown the Lord with a crown of thorns, they rolled this stone from its place in the praetorium, made the Lord Jesus sit thereon, and crowned him with thorns while he sat upon this stone...

*OF THE CHAPEL OF ST. HELENA, THE DISCOVERER OF THE HOLY CROSS*

When we had left that chapel we went on our way, circling round the church on the inside, chanting the hymn of St. Helena, as it was appointed in the processional, and we came to a great door in the wall of the church, as though through this door there was a passage to the outside of the church. Through this door we passed into darkness which we dispelled with our lights, and straightway we felt under our feet stone steps down which we went by thirty steps or stairs into a chapel which is called the chapel of St. Helena, and which is underground...The chapel is of good size, its only walls being the rock out of which it is hewn, and in like manner the steps from the church above lead down between



walls of rock. Above it is vaulted, and gets it light through the vaulted roof, which vault is supported by six marble columns. It is said that at the time of Christ's passion these columns supported the judgment-hall wherein the Lord was judged, and that they were brought hither by St. Helena. These columns are black and polished, and continually sweat; water drips from them drop by drop...The common people look on this with astonishment, as a miracle, yet it comes to pass by the operation of nature...In this same chapel there is a stone shell built into the wall, near the altar, which is meant to contain holy water, but which is always empty and devoid of holy water...On either side of the stairs are large and lofty caverns hewn out of the rock, which once were consecrated chapels with altars. They are altogether without light...This chapel contains two altars, and near the greater of the two, on its right-hand side, there is a stone chair, and near the chair is a window cut through the rock, through which one can see into the pit wherein the holy cross was found...Some call this the chapel of St. James...

#### THE CAVE WHEREIN THE HOLY CROSS WAS FOUND BY ST. HELENA

From this chapel we again descended by sixteen steps, which are on the right-hand side... and we came into another chapel which is entirely dark and deprived of daylight, but is lighted by many lamps. At the foot of that chapel there is a pit twenty-two feet in length overhung by the rock, in which pit the sainted Empress Helena found that most precious treasure, which had lain hidden therein for more than three hundred years. There she found the three crosses, the nails, the crown of thorns, the place on which the title placed over the cross was written, the iron head of the lance, with which the heart of Christ was pieced, the reed with the sponge, and all the instruments which were made use of in the crucifixion of Christ and of the two thieves, all of which they had thrown into this place together with the crosses, regarding them as unclean...this place is terrible and is sunk deep among the rocks...Behind the place of the invention of the holy cross there is a deep hole in the rock...

#### THE MOST HOLY MOUNT CALVARY, WHEREON THE LORD JESUS HUNG UPON THE CROSS

After we had finished all that was to be done in the holy cave we presently came up again and re-entered the church through the door. As we resumed our procession...we came to the way up to the most holy Mount Calvary, up which we went by eighteen stone steps from the church below it. Above we entered a light, beautiful chapel, adorned with polished and variegated marble, and wherein there hung many lighted lamps. In it stood three altars, adorned with paintings done in mosaic work. This chapel is built of vaulted work, supported by a marble column in the midst of the building. On the under side of the vault are paintings of David and Solomon, David with the text: *Qui edebat panes meos magnific*, etc. ['Who ate my bread magnificently'], and Solomon with the text: *Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum* ['Wisdom has built her house']<sup>52</sup>, and a picture of the sacrifice of Isaac. This chapel is built above the Mount Calvary....now before our eyes was displayed that wondrous stone, that disreable rock, with its admirable socket-hole wherein the most holy cross bearing the Crucified One was inserted...we went one after another to the holy rock, which projects

<sup>52</sup> Author's translations.

above the floor, and each one as best he could crawled to the socket-hole...we put our arms and our hands into the hole down to the very bottom...On the left-hand side of the socket-hole is a great rent in the rock, from the top to the bottom, which is believed to have been made at Christ's death. We went up to this rent...putting our heads into it and as much of our bodies as we could. Moreover on either side of the holy socket there are two other sockets, in which the crosses of the two thieves, Dysmas and Gesmas, who were crucified together with Jesus, were placed; but these sockets cannot be seen, because upon them stand low pillars, upon whose heads there are iron spikes, upon which wax candles and lights are stuck, so that these pillars are as it were candlesticks...On the wall behind the holy rock is a new picture, very precious, of the Crucified One, the blessed Virgin, and St. John the Evangelist...

#### *THE DESCRIPTION OF MOUNT CALVARY AND OF ITS ARRANGEMENT*

The place Calvary means the entire site of the church. The rock of Calvary supports the cross alone...

#### *THE PLACE WHERE CHRIST WAS NAILED TO THE CROSS, AND WHERE ADAM'S HEAD WAS FOUND, AND THE RENDING OF THE ROCK*

...we descended again in procession to the floor of the church, and entered a chapel which is underneath the chapel of Mount Calvary, and from which rises the rock of the cross of Christ, which rock rises up even into the chapel above...this must needs have been the place of nailing to the cross, albeit on this matter there is no text of Scripture or certain proof...The place where the blessed Virgin and John stood at the foot of the cross is near this place, although the entrance to it is outside the church...

...we went on our way towards an altar which is built against the rock of Calvary, on the right-hand side of which we saw the rent in the rock, which reaches from the top of it quite down to the earth. In this same place, Adam our first parent, according to many authorities, died and was buried...The head of Adam was found a long time afterwards on Mount Calvary...In this chapel are buried the Latin kings, who with great valour and exceeding great toil brought back the Holy Land into the hands of the Christian and conquered it... The Kings who are buried here are the following: First, King Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine...Second, King Baldwin (I). Third, King Baldwin (II). Fourth, Fulke. Fifth, Baldwin (III). Sixth, Almaric. Seventh, Baldwin (IV). Eighth, Baldwin (V). Ninth, Guy...The aforesaid chapel beneath Mount Calvary belongs to the Nubian Christians, who conduct their services therein...

#### *THE PLACE WHERE CHRIST'S BODY WAS ANOINTED AND WRAPPED IN LINEN CLOTHS*

When we were come out of that chapel we walked some nine steps further in procession... and came to the place where there lies on the floor of the church a black stone, sprinkled with some red spots, and well polished, which stone is said to have been there at the time of Christ's passion, hard by the sepulcher of Joseph of Arimathea...So when Joseph and Nicodemus and those who helped them had loosed Christ's body from the cross, they bore him hither, laid him naked upon this holy stone, where they anointed his wounds with

unguents, and wrapped him in linen cloths...Above this place there is a cord stretched from one wall to the other, from which hang many lighted lamps...

*THE PLACE WHERE THE CENTRAL POINT OF THE WHOLE WORLD IS SAID TO BE*

When we had visited all the holy places before we entered the Lord's sepulchre we marched in procession, swerving aside from the path by which the body of the Lord Jesus was carried to the sepulchre, and entered the church of Golgotha, which is the choir of the entire building. Here, when we were come to the middle of the choir, we halted round about a stone which is round, and raised above the other stones of the pavement, in the midst whereof is a round hole, into which a man could put his fist, that is to say his clenched hand. They say that this stone lies in the central point of the whole world... Ancient histories also tell us that before the building of this temple a tall marble pillar was set up in the place by philosophers, which pillar at the summer equinox threw no shadow at mid-day, as the sun stood directly over it...

*THE PLACE WHERE THE HOLY WOMEN SAW THE STONE ROLLED AWAY FROM THE SEPULCHRE*

When we departed from this place, and from the church of Golgotha, we passed out again by the door through which we came into, into the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and came to the place where the three Maries, when they came to anoint Jesus, saw rolled away from the mouth of the sepulchre that stone about which they had been anxious on their way...

*OF THE ENTRY OF PILGRIMS TO THE SEPULCHRE OF THE HOLY LORD JESUS*

So we joyously went in, one after another, into the most precious sepulchre of the Lord Jesus, kissed the most holy bier, and received entire and plenary indulgences for all sins.

§§ 121A-123A

*DE LOCO, IN QUO MARIA VIRGO ET JOHANNES EVANGELISTA STABANT SUB CRUCE JESU, QUANDO EOS SIBI INVICEM COMMENDAVIT*

*Primo ergo de ostio ecclesiae declinavimus ad dextrum, et ibi ad murum templi est adscensus per gradus lapideos ad montem Calvariae, et olim supra gradus erat ostium, per quod introibant ad scopulum Calvariae, quod ostium jam est per Sarracenos obstructum. Sub istis autem gradibus est ostium, per quod est introitus in unam capellam, quae est intra septa ecclesiae sancti sepulchri, ab intus tamen nest muro circumdata, quod nemo ab intra eam ingredi potest, quia Sarraceni etiam ejus interius ostium obtuxerunt, Et in ista capella est locus, in quo beatissima Virgo Maria et sanctus Johannes Evangelista steterunt sub cruce...Hunc locum Indiani habent, et official sua in eo peragunt...*

*DE CAPELLA SANCTORUM ANGELORUM, ET QUARE SIT IBI?*

*...in aliam capellam transivimus, quae consecrata est in honorem sanctorum Angelorum. Hanc Jacobitae inofficiant...Et responsum accepimus, quod propter effectualena illius ecclesiae custodiam, quam angeli habent, sit haec capella aedificata...*

## DE CAPELLA S. JOHANNIS BAPTISTAE

*Ab ista capella transivimus consequenter ad aliam, in honorem S. Johannis Baptistae consecratam, quam inhabitant Georgici...Insuper ideo ibi capellam Baptista habet, ut ipsi templo Sarraceni magis parcant, quia magno honore venerantur Christi Baptistam.*

## DE CAPELLA S. MARIAE MAGDALENAE IN ATRIO TEMPLI

*Uterius procedentes in aliam capellam S. Mariae Magdalenae venimus in sinistro latere, juxta turrin campanarum. Fuit autem olim ecclesia magna, cum annexo monasterio monialium, sed iam major pars eat destructa. Hanc capellam Graeci in Officiis provident...*

## LOCUS, IN QUO VOLEBAT ABRAHAM OFFERRE FILIUM SUUM ISAAC

*Quatuor capellae praefatae stant per circuitum plateae vel atrii templi sancti sepulchri, et de atrio sine ascensu vel descensu est introitus in eas, quibus visitatis, ut dictum est, retraximus nos ad dextrum latus atrii, et ibi per unum ostium ingressi per obscurum transitum ivimus in veteribus structures ita, quod penitus nil videre poteramus...In ista caligine processimus per aliquot passus, et venimus ad gradus lapideos, per quod sursum ascendimus, et aliquos cellulas ibi reperimus et camerulas, in quibus quidam miseri Christiani orientales habitant, ad quas pulsavimus, et non nisi unam servulum et nigram vetulam ibi invenimus, quae, ut nos vidit, reseravit capellam, propter quam ascenderamus. Est enim capella pulchra, vario et polito marmore strata, super montem Calvariae sita, ad latus crucis rupis, extra tamen ecclesiae septa. Haec capella dicitur in eo loco constructa, in quo Abraham ex praecepto Domini volebat immolare filium suum Isaac...Iuxta hanc capellam ab extra stat una vetusta arbor olivarum, quam dicunt plantatam in eo loco, ubi aries haerebat cornibus inter vepres, quem obtulit Abraham pro filio...*

## LOCUS, UBI OCCURRIT MELCHISEDECH ABRAHAE CUM PANE ET VINO

*Inde egressi in unam aliam capellam aequae pulchram inducti sumus, quae in loco illo est erecta, in quo Melchisedech sacerdos Dei summi et primus rex Jerusalem Abrahae occurrit, eumque benedixit... Ab illa capella transivimus ad murum chori ecclesiae, supra ad dextram gyrantes, et louge lateque per civitatem respicere poteramus...*

## ATRIUM ANTE ECCLESIAM SANCTI SEPULCHRI HAEC LOCA HABET, ET IN EO SUNT, QUAE SEQUUNTUR

*His visis descendimus per gradus, per quos ascenderamus in templi atrium, et prope ostium monstratus fuit nobis lapis quidam in pavimento, cui erant impressa vestigial duorum pedum hominia...*

## §§ 121A–123A

## THE PLACE WHERE THE VIRGIN MARY AND JOHN THE EVANGELIST STOOD BY THE FOOT OF THE CROSS OF JESUS, WHEN HE COMMENDED THEM TO THE CARE OF ONE ANOTHER

First then on leaving the door of the church we turned to the right, where against the wall of the church there is a stair of stone steps leading up to Mount Calvary. At the

top of these steps there was once a door through one could pass to the rock of Clavary, but this door has now been built up by the Saracens. Under these steps there is a door through which one enters a chapel which is within the walls of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but which is surrounded by a wall on the side, so that one one can enter the church through it, because the Saracens have built up its inner door also. In this chapel is the place where the most blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist stood beneath the cross, at the foot of the rock of Calvary...This place belongs to the Indians, who conduct their services there...

*THE CHAPEL OF THE HOLY ANGELS, AND WHEREFORE IT SHOULD BE THERE*

...We passed into another chapel, which is dedicated to the holy angels. This chapel is served by the Jacobites...this chapel was built because of the effectual protection which the angels extend to this church...

*THE CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST*

From this chapel we passed on to another one, which is dedicated to John the Baptist, and which belongs to the Georgians...the Baptist has a chapel there, in order that the Sarcens themselves may be more inclined to spare the church, because they hold the Baptizer of Christ in great honor.

*THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN IN THE COURTYARD OF THE CHURCH*

As we went further on we came upon another chapel, which is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, on the left-hand side (of the court), close to the bell-tower. This was once a large church with a convent of nuns attached to it, but at the present day the greater part of it has been destroyed. Service is performed in this chapel by the Greeks...

*THE PLACE WHERE ABRAHAM WAS ABOUT TO OFFER HIS SON ISAAC AS A SACRIFICE*

The four chapels aforesaid stand round the courtyard or parvise of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and one can enter them from the court without any ascent or descent. After we had visited them, as has been said, we turned back to the right-hand side of the court, and there passed through a door into a dark passage through some old buildings in which we could see nothing whatever...We went forward a few paces through this darkness, and came to some stone steps, up which we went and found some tiny cells and chambers in which some wretched Eastern Christians dwell. We knocked at the doors of these, and found only one person there...who...unlocked the chapel to see which we had come up thither. It is indeed a beautiful chapel, floored with polished and variegated marble, and is situated upon Mount Calvary, on that side of the rock where the cross stood, but without the walls of the church. This chapel is said...to be built upon the spot where Abraham, following the command of the Lord, was about to sacrifice his son Isaac...Near this chapel, on the outside of it, there stands an ancient olive-tree, which is said to be planted on the place where the ram was caught by his horns in the thicket, which ram...Abraham sacrificed in the place of his son...

## THE PLACE WHERE MELCHISEDECH MET ABRAHAM WITH THE BREAD AND THE WINE

When we came out from thence we were led into another chapel of equal beauty, which is built on the place where Melchisedech, the priest of the Most High God and first King of Jerusalem, met Abraham and blessed him...From that church we passed on to the wall of the choir of the church, circling round towards the right hand and upwards, and so we were able to look over the city far and wide...

## THE COURTYARD IN FRONT OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE HATH IN IT THESE PLACES AFORESAID, AND IN IT ARE ALSO THE FOLLOWING

After we had seen that we came down by the same steps which we had gone up, into the courtyard of the church, and near the door we were shone a stone in the pavement, upon which were imprinted the marks of two human feet...

§§ 126B-127B

## QUOMODO SANCTUM SEPULCHRUM ILLO TEMPORE SIT ET QUALE?

*Describit ergo praefatus vir, Johannes Tucher, dominicum sepulchrum et monumentum sic. Monumentum Domini ab exterior apparet primo aspectu quasi quaedam turris bassa, non alta, per circuitum duodecim angulos habens, et ad quemlibet angulum stat columna lapidea sexangularis, unius palmi spissa, et illae columnae sustentant parvam testudinem, quae est supra monumentum, a qua testudine exit quaedam circumferentia per circuitam, quae columnas excedit ad mensuram dimidii pedis. Habet autem rotunditas totius domunculae cum columnis XII cubitis magnos, mensurando ab extra per gyrum totum monumentum, se dab intus mensurando habet IX palmos paullo minus in longitudine, et totidem in latitudine. Et a pavimento usque ad summum concavi testudinis habet viri et dimidii altitudinem. Sepulchrum autem sine tumba monumenti, quae est in dextra parte domunculae albo et polito marmore vestita tabula marmoreal operta, super quam potest celebrari Missa, habet in latitudine IIII palmos et III digitos, a terra vero sursum manu mensurando tres palmos et quatuor digitos. Ostiolum autem speluncae, per quod ingressus patet, habet in altitudine IIII palmos et dimidium, et III digitos. Murus autem ostioli sive foramen petrae sive domunculae a terra sursum cum testudine habet duos cubitos cum dimidio magnos. Supra convexum testudinis est aedificatum tabernaculum in sex angulos in altum, sicut turris, cum duplicatis columnis sex, habentes in altitudine II cubitos, qui sustentant culmen tabernaculi, quod habet in altitudine unum cubitum. A supreme vero culmen illius tabernaculi mensurando per aerem sursum usque ad aperturam tecti, quod supra monumentum patet, per quam lux in templum intrat, sunt forte VI cubiti, et illa apertura est rotunda, et adea lata, sicut tota domuncula monumenti, ita quod, si ipsa domuncula mobilis esset, et sursum traheretur, per ipsam aperturam posset extrahi. Ex quo patet, quod monumentum Domini stat sub dio, ita quod pluit et ningit per praedictam aperturam super eum. Porro ipsum tabernaculum subtili schemate est fabrefactum de polito marmore, et intus et extra cum columnis et culmine fuit deauratum, sicut hodie patet, quod a fundamento templi usque ad summum culminis tabernaculi monumenti sunt in altitudine V et dimidium cubiti, a fundamento vero usque ad apertruum tecti sunt XII cubiti, aut paullo plus. Porro, ante introitum monumenti est atrium quoddam, habens in latitudine tres cubitos, minus uno palmo. Ostium primum domunculae est in medio, habens in altitudine I cubitum magnum, et III palmas cum dimidio. Capella ante speluncam tumuli, quae*

*est spelunca prima, habet in latitudine unum et dimidium cubiti, et in longitudine totidem, et in quolibet latere unam parvam fenestram quadratam. In eadem spelunca anterior tribus palmis ab ostiolo speluncae interioris est supra fundamentum elevatus lapis quadratus, qui habet per quadrum II palmos et dimidium, super quem dicitur angelus sedisse post Domini resurrectionem, qui lapis est pars illius magnis lapidis ad ostium monumenti revoluti, de quo lapide patuit supra.*

*Ecce, illa est dominic monumenti descriptio, prout hodi stat...quod fecit magnificus et ingenuus vir, Dominus Bernhardus de Braitenbach...Hoc dominicum monumentum in medio ecclesiae resurrectionis dominicae stat, sicut in die parasceves in ecclesia parochiali civitatis ulmensis sepulchrum ponitur. Sed ecclesia sancti monumenti est rotunda, et supra operta, ut patebit. Tria quodammodo habet ostia sanctum sepulchrum. Primum est in atriolo, mihi spelunca prima, quod atriolum habet murum, non altiore, nisi quod homo intus existens potest super ventrem jacere in muro, et per ecclesiam circumspicere. Unde aliquoties super ipsum murum sedi, et merces negotiatorum in pavimento inferius perspexi. Veram introitus in atriolum non est prope ostium, quia super caput ingredientis nihil est, cum careat superiori limine. Sed inter duos muros se respicientes est ingressus, qui, si essent altiores, et limen superponeretur, ostium fieret. Secundum ostium est de atriolo in primam speluncam monumenti. Et hoc ostium janua latini fraters minores; ante paucos annos Georgici eos habebant. Tertium ostium est de illa capella, vel prima spelunca, in secundam speluncam, in qua est dominicum sepulchrum. Haec spelunca nullam habet fenestram, nec lumen in ea est, nisi quo dab lampadibus XIX in ea ardentibus habet, quae pendent super sarcophagum Domini, et quia spelunca angusta est, causatur ab igne lampadum fumus et foetor, qui valde turbat intrantes et moram in ea facientes. Ardent etiam mulae candelae super sepulchrum, quas ponunt peregrini pro devotione eorum. Unde ex fumo lampadum et candelarum denigrata est superficies interior ex toto, quae tamen vestita est candido et polito marmore per totum scilicet pavimentum parietis et arcus. Et tantum de illo.*

§§ 126B–127B

#### HOW THE HOLY SEPULCHRE STANDS AT THE PRESENT DAY, AND WHAT IT IS LIKE

[Note at this point that Felix Fabri includes a section from the pilgrimage account of the German pilgrim Johannes Tucher, who evidently visited Jerusalem in 1479. Fabri found Tucher's description of the Edicule and Tomb of Jesus to be accurate and worth including in his own work. Fabri translated Tucher's German account into Latin]

Now the aforesaid man, Johannes Tucher, describes the Lord's monument and sepulchre as follows: 'The Lord's monument appears from the outside to be like a low tower, not a lofty one, having twelve angles on its outside, at each of which angles stands a hexagonal stone column, one palm in thickness. These columns support a small vault which is above the monument, from which vault there projects a kind of cornice all round, which projects about half a foot beyond the columns. The whole round building, with its columns, measures twelve great cubits, measuring on the outside round about the whole monument, but measuring within it has rather less than nine palms in length, and the same in breadth. From the pavement to the top of the hollow vault is of the height of a man and a half. The sepulchre or tomb within the monument is on the right-hand side of the little chamber, covered with a slab of polished white marble, on which Mass can be celebrated, and it is four palms and three fingers wide; and measuring upwards from the pavement by hand, it

is three palms and four fingers high. The door of the cave, through which one enters it, is four palms and a half and three fingers in height. The wall or hole through the rock at the door is three palms in thickness. The height of the whole monument or chamber, above the ground, together with the vault, is two great cubits and a half. Above the convex vault is built up a hexagonal tabernacle like a tower, with six pairs of columns of two cubits in height, upon which rests the roof of the tabernacle, one cubit in height. The distance from the roof of this tabernacle upwards, measuring through the air straight up to the opening in the roof of the church, which opens above the monument, and through which the church is lighted, is about six cubits. This opening is round, and as wide as the whole building of the monument, so that if the monument were movable, and were hoisted upwards it could pass out through that opening. Hence it clearly appears that the Lord's monument stands in the open air, and is rained and snowed upon through the aforesaid opening. The tabernacle itself is artificially constructed of polished marble, and was once gilded within and without, columns and roof alike, as may be seen at this day. From the foundation of the this chapel up to the topmost pinnacle of the roof of the tabernacle above the main building it measures five cubits and a half, while the distance up from the foundation to the opening in the roof of the church will be twelve cubits, or a little more. Moreover, as you go into the monument there is a kind of vestibule, which is six cubits wide all save one palm. The first door into the small chapel (of the sepulchre) is in the midst of this, and is in height one great cubit and three palms and half. The chapel before the cave of the tomb, that is to say, the outer cave, has one cubit and a half in width, the same in length, and a small square window on each side. In this same outer cave, three palms from the front door of the inner cave, is a square stone raised upon a base, measuring two palms and a half square, upon which stone the angel is said to have sat after the Lord's resurrection.'

This stone is a part of the great stone which was rolled to the door of the monument...

[Fabri then presents a description of the Edicule and Tomb of Jesus, presumably word-for-word, of a certain Lord Bernard von Braitenbach, Dean of the Metropolitan Church of Mainz, who accompanied him on his second visit to Palestine.]

Lo now, here is a description of the Lord's monument as it stands at this day...written by that noble and clever man the Lord Bernard von Braitenbach:

This monument of the Lord stands in the midst of the church of the Lord's resurrection, just as the sepulchre is placed in the parish church of Ulm on Good Friday. But the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is round, and open above, as the reader will understand.

The holy sepulchre has, in a manner of speaking, three entrances. The first is in the little court, which I call the first cave, which little court has a wall, so low that a man standing within it can lean his stomach upon it and look round the church...Indeed the entrance to this little court is not nearly a door, for there is nothing above the head of him who enters it, inasmuch as it lacks the lintel; but the entrance lies between two walls facing one another, and if these walls were higher, and lintel were put across, there would be a door. The second door is that which leads from the little court into the first face in the monument itself. This door is closed by a gate and fastened with locks (the keys of this door



are now in the possession of the Latin Minorite brethren; but a few years ago the Georgians had them). The third door is that which leads from the chapel, or first cave, into the second cave, wherein is the Lord's sepulchre. This cave has no window, nor is there any light in it save what comes from nineteen lamps which burn in it, which lamps hang above the Lord's sepulchre; and inasmuch as the cave is small, the fire of the lamps makes a smoke and stench, which greatly troubles those who enter the place and remain therein. Besides the lamps there are many lighted candles burning upon the sepulchre; which are placed there by pilgrims out of piety. Thus, by the smoke of the lamps and candles together the whole inside surface has been completely blackened, albeit it is cased with white and polished marble throughout, both the pavement, the walls, and the vault. And so much for this.

§§ 131B–132B

FORMA ECCLESIAE SANCTI SEPULCHRI, IN QUA JAM STAT, ET EJUS MODERNA DESCRIPTIO HIC HABETUR

*Ecclesia dominici sepulchri, quails nunc sit, videre restat. Pro quo notandum, quod ecclesia illa est trinomina, quia est duplex, et quaelibet habet suum nomen, et totum etiam habet suam nomen.*

*Ecclesia, in quo monumentum Domini stat, dicitur ecclesia sancti sepulchri; ecclesia, ubi est medium mundi, juxta rupem Calvariae, dicitur ecclesia golgathana; ambae dicitae ecclesiae simul dicuntur Anastasis, i.e. ecclesia resurrectionis Domini. Est autem in veritate non nisi una ecclesia, et navis, continens sanctum sepulchrum, dicitur ecclesia sancti sepulchri. Et chorus illius ecclesiae dicitur ecclesia golgathana, quae est in loco Golgatha. Est autem ecclesia grandis et pretiosa, et si nihil esset, uisi navis ecclesiae, in quo dominicum sepulchrum stat, faceret per se magnam ecclesiam secluso choro. Nam ecclesia illa, secluso choro, rotunda est, magnis columnis marmoreis per circuitum fulcita, habet autem per diametrum de columna ad columnam LXXIII pedes, et a tergo columnarum usque ad murum templi pedes XXX. Et illud spatium per gyrum se extendit, et transitum facit inter columnas et parietem templi sive murum cingentem templum. Hic transitus supra est testudinatus, quae testudo ab una parte dependet super columnas praedictas, ab alia innititur parieti templi sive muro circulari. Super illam autem testudinem olim erat circularis transitus communis, et altaria, et juxta portam templi est ascensus per lapideum gradum ad superiora. Nunc vero sunt superius habitacula et chori, per intermedios muros divisi, in quibus Christiani de aliis ritibus sua officiali peragunt. De columna vero ad columnam ducti sunt arcus, super quos ulterius murus in altum consurgit usque ad tectum, in quo sunt fenestrae, per quas de testudine circulari est respectus in ecclesiam, et super sepulchrum Domini. Porro, suprema pars illius rotundae ecclesiae non habet lapideam testudinem, sed ligneam de trabibus cedriiis fabrefactam, ita tamen, quod in loco culminis traves a muro ascendentes inclinati contra se invicem convenient in circulo magno, et aperturam rotundam faciunt, per quam lumen per totum templum spargitur, et directe sub ipsa apertura stat monumentum domini expositum coeli impressionibus...Ipsae autem traves et asseres ab exteriori parte versus coelum sunt plumbo tecti, interius vero sunt depicti coloribus, parietes vero sub tecto et sub arcus sunt de opere musaico, depicti cum figures novi testamenti, sed propter vetustatem perit illa pretiosissima figura, nec est qui decidentia renovet. Per circuitum ilius ecclesiae rotundae sunt multae capellae, ut patuit in processione. In ejus medio est monumentum dominicum. Ad orientem ejus est chorus magnus et pulcher, ad quem directe respicit ostium sancti sepulchri, et stat ostium contra ostium. In medio chori est rotunditas magna et alta, sursum eaminate et testudinata supra*

*locum, ubi est mundi medium, in cujus summitate ad extra est ascensus, ubi videtur in experiential ibi esse mundi medium...Chorum illum Graeci tenent, et juxta altero est sedes patriarchalis marmoreal, in qua antiquissimis litteris latinis est scriptum: Crucifixum in carne laudate, et sepultum propter nos glorificate, resurgentemque a mortuis adorate...In hac ecclesia sunt supra et infra, extra et intra, multae capellae prophanatae, in quibus olim ardebant lampades, et fulgebant auro altaria diruta, et fenestrae obstructae et lapidibus obturatae. Major enim pars fenestrarum obstructa est lapidibus, et omnia ostia obturata sunt demto uno, cujus claves Sarraceni habent, per quod est ingressus. Ad occidentalem partem ascenditur per gradus ad quoddam ostium fortiter clausum, per quod Maria aegyptiaca conabatur ingredi...Propter fenestrarum et ostiorum obturationem est ecclesia tenebrosa, sed pavementum totius ecclesiae est aequale, et de polito marmore, ita, quod etiam in tenebris ambulans non effendit. In una parte ecclesiae extra murum est cisterna magna, optimas habens aquas, pro custodibus templi. Et ab alia parte est etiam exitus in quandam curiam non tecto operam, et altis muris circumdatam, in qua sunt loca honesta ad opus naturae agendum. Haec ecclesia habet annexam turrim altam, de albo lapide marmoris erectam, in qua olim pendebant campanae, quarum ligna et traves adhuc videntur superius, in quibus pependunt. Sed perdita Hiersolyma campanas omnes dejecerunt...Limen super ecclesiae ostium est de candidissimo marmore, et ab extra est sculptum imaginibus de ingressu Domini super asinam in Jerusalem; et de illo, quomodo ementes et venentes ejecti de templo; et de resurrectione Lazari. Veruntamen imagines sunt violenter destructae, et mutilatae membris...Columnae marmoreae pretiosissimae stant in atrio templi, sustentantes limen, et porticum ornantes.*

#### §§ 131B–132B

#### THE FORM IN WHICH THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE NOW STANDS, AND ITS DESCRIPTION IN MODERN TIMES, IS GIVEN HERE

There remains for us to see what the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is like at the present day. Herein it must be noted that this church has three names, because it is a double church, and each part has its own name, and the whole also has its own name.

The church in which the Lord's monument stands is called the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the church in which is the center of the world, near Calvary, is called the Church of Golgotha. Both these churches together are called the Church of the Anastasis, or Resurrection of the Lord. It is, in truth, only one church, whereof the nave, which contains the holy sepulchre, is called the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The choir of this same church is called the Church of Golgotha, because it stands on the place called Golgotha. The church is a great and costly one, and were there nothing more than the nave in which the Lord's sepulchre stands, not counting the choir, yet this by itself would make a large church. This church, not counting the choir, is round, supported throughout its entire circuit by marble columns; its diameter between the columns is seventy-three feet, and from the rear of the columns to the wall of the church is thirty feet. This space extends all round, and forms a passage between the columns and the outer wall of the church. This passage is vaulted over, and its vaults rest upon one side upon the aforesaid columns, on the other on the circular outer wall. Above this vault there once was a public circular passage, and altars, and close to the door of the church there is a stone staircase leading up to these galleries. At the present day there are various chambers and choirs, divided one from another by walls, in which Christians of other rites

perform their worship. Arches extend from one column to another, above which a wall rises up to the roof. In this wall are windows, through which one can look into the church from the circular gallery above the vault, and can look down upon the Lord's sepulchre. The highest part of this round church has not a stone roof, but a wooden one made of beams of cedar, so arranged that, instead of meeting in a pinnacle, the beams which rise from the wall opposite to one another meet in a great circle, and form a round opening, through which light is spread throughout the whole church, and immediately beneath which opening, exposed to the weather, stands the Lord's monument...The planks and beams are covered with lead on their outer side, that side, I mean, which looks towards the sky, but on their under side they are painted in divers colours. The walls under the roof and under the arches are adorned with pictures from the New Testament in mosaic work, but these most precious figures are dropping to pieces with age, and there is no one to restore the fallen parts. Round about this round church there are many chapels, as was shown in the account of the procession. In the midst of it is the Lord's sepulchre. On its eastern side is a large and beautiful choir, into which the door of the holy sepulchre looks directly, as they stand door to door. In the midst of the choir there is a large and lofty dome vaulted above the place where lies the centre of the earth, and there is a way up to the top of this dome on the outside, where one can see by experiment that this is the centre of the world...This choir belongs to the Greeks, and beside the altar is the marble patriarchal throne, on which is written in very ancient Latin letters: *Crucifixum in carne laudate, et sepultum propter nos glorificate, resurgentemque a mortuis adorete* ['Crucified in the flesh, Praise!; and buried for us, Glorify!; raised from the dead, Worship!'<sup>53</sup>]...In this church there are many chapels both above and below, within and without, now desecrated, but in which once lamps used to burn, and whose altars were once bright with gold and their windows with glass; but now there are no lamps, the altars are destroyed, the windows closed and blocked up with stones. The greater part of the windows are blocked up with stones, and all the doors are blocked up save one, whose keys are kept by the Saracens, by which door one enters the church. On the western side steps lead up to a firmly closed door, by which St. Mary of Egypt once endeavoured to gain admittance...In consequence of this blocking up of the windows and doors the church is dark, but the pavement of the whole church is level, and of polished marble, so that even when walking in the dark one does not stumble. In one part of the church, outside the wall, there is a large cistern, containing excellent water for the use of the guardians of the church. In another place also there is a way out of the church into an uncovered court, surrounded by lofty walls, in which are decent places for men to do their needs. This church has connected with it a lofty tower built of white marble stone, wherein once hung bells, and the beams and woodwork to support them may still be seen in the upper part where they used to hang. But when Jerusalem was lost the bells were all cast down... The lintel above the door of the church is of the whitest marble, and on the outer side is sculptured with figures representing our Lord's entry into Jerusalem riding upon an ass, his casting out the buyers and selling from the temple, and his raising of Lazarus; but the figures have been broken by violence and their limbs mutilated... In the courtyard of the church stand columns of most costly marble, which support an entablature, and adorn the cloister.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Author's translation.

<sup>54</sup> Latin text in Hassler 1843: 285–311, 315–320, 328–330, 342–344; English translation adapted from PPTS 8: 347–380, 387–393, 404–407, 423–427.

**Basil Pozniakov, *Khodinnya na Vostok Gostya Vasiliya Poznyakova s Tovarishchi* 'Journey to the Orient by Vasilya Poznyakova and His Companions'; also called *Le Pèlerinage du Marchand Basile Posniakov*, 'The Pilgrimage of the Merchant Basil Posniakov' (c. 1558–1561 AD)**

Град убо Иерусалимъ стоитъ на востокъ на Сионѣ горѣ, кругомъ его 3 версты. Внутри града стоитъ великая церковь, гдѣ Гробъ Господень, — Воскресение Христово, — каменная, в длину 120 сажень, а поперег пятьдѣсять сажень. А Гробъ Господень от мрамора белого. Длина Гроба Господня пядей, а поперег пять пядей. А стоитъ Гробъ Господень среди великия церкви, не покрытъ верхъ церкви, — разбитъ от поганых турковъ. А над самимъ Гробомъ Господнимъ стоитъ малая церковь каменная, надвое перѣделана, а круг тое малые церкви и внутрь обито цками мраморными узорчатыми. А Гроб Господень стоитъ в той церкви направо к стѣны примурован, а покрытъ цкою мраморною. А тотъ гроб сотворила царица Елена. А под темъ Гробомъ Гробъ, гдѣ Господь нашъ Иисусъ Христосъ положенъ бысть со Иосифомъ и с Никодимомъ; из него же воста и намъ дарова животъ вечный. И к тому Гробу не входимо никому, и входъ под землею закладенъ камѣнемъ. А пред враты святого Гроба в придѣле лежитъ камень, что ангель отвалилъ от дверей Гроба, и над нимъ стоитъ 4 кандила; и того камня немного оставлено, а то розобранъ на мощи. А внутрь над самимъ святымъ гробомъ горитъ 43 кандила, день и ночь. А в те кандила масло наливаетъ казначей гроба Господня, имя ему Галеил; а даютъ ему на масло христьянѣ православные, ото иных стран присалаютъ. А около малые церкви Гроба Господня 6 кандиль. А над враты церковными едино. А прѣд малою церковью Гроба Господня стоитъ престолъ болгарский и над нимъ кандило горитъ день и ночь. А за тем престоломъ стоитъ церковь греческая, покрыта, длина тое церкви 10 сажень, поперег 5 сажень; а посреди тое церкви путь всей земли покровень камнемъ. А в левую страну тое церкви стоит темница, где седел Господь нашъ Иисусъ Христосъ от пребеззаконныхъ иудей, нашего ради спасения. И тамо горять 4 кандила день и ночь. А позади греческия церкви ископано в землю лесница глыбока, 30 ступеней. И тамо стоитъ церковь царь Костянтин и мати его Елѣна, и тамо горять 3 кандила. И позади тое церкви еще ископано в землю лѣствицу 7 ступеней. Тамо обрете царица Елена крестъ Христовъ. Над темъ мѣстомъ 7 кандиль крестьянскихъ, да едино латынское кандило. И в томъ месте ветръ великъ ходит. А позади греческой церкви олтари придѣль, а в немъ стоитъ столпъ от мрамора белого, за него же привязанъ былъ Господь нашъ Иисусъ Христосъ от прѣбеззаконныхъ иудей нашего ради спасения. А того столпа другая часть во Цареградѣ в церквѣ Успения пречистой Богородицы. А третья часть его в Римѣ в великой церкви святого апостола Петра.

А одесную страну грѣцеския церкви гора святая Гольгофа, гдѣ роспяша пребеззаконнии иудѣи Господа Бога нашего Иисуса Христа; и егда приидеть единъ от воинъ и копиемъ ребра ему прободетъ, и абие изыде кровь и вода. И укануша кровь на гору на Гольгофу, и ту розсядеса гора каменная от крове той, истече кровь Господа Бога нашего Иисуса Христа на Одамову главу; в той бо горѣ Гольгофе глава Адамова сокровенна, и нынѣ то место зоветца Лобное. И на той святой горѣ стоятъ 30 кандиль, а горять день и ночь бѣзпрестанно. И повелениемъ благовернаго и христолубиваго царя государя и великого князя Ивана Васильевича всеа Руси поставили есми кандило неугасимое

и приказали то каньдило беречи и наливать масломъ игумѣну иверскому да казначею Галеилу. А гору ту святую Гольгофу дерьжат Иверская земля, православные христианѣ, вера греческая, а языкъ у нихъ свой. А служить на святой Гольгофе иверской игумень со крестяны, а престоль на святой Гольгофѣ Роспятие Господа Бога нашего Исуса Христа. А восходъ на святую гору Гольгофу лесница 13 ступеней. А сошед с лесницы налеве под горою стоитъ церковь невелика, а в ней гробъ Мельхиседековъ. И в той церкви видеть разселину от верха святые Гольгофы, что от кровѣ Господа нашего Исуса Христа разсидеся, и то знать и до сего дни. А где на святой Гольгофе крестъ стояль, и ту гора пробита с полсажени, и то место серебромъ обложено. А где укунула кровѣ Господа нашего Исуса Христа на гору, и ту розселина с полсажѣни широка, а глубины никто же можетъ ведати, и то место серебромъ обложено. А противъ дверей церковныхъ, кабы сажень шесть, снятие со креста Господа нашего Исуса Христа; на томъ мѣсте положи его и обви плащеницею. И то место покрыто цкою мраморною, и тут горять 8 каньдил, день и ночь, от всякихъ веръ. И с того камня положиша тело Иисусово во гроб, иже бѣ изсеченъ ис камня.

А церковь великая и престоль греческой и основание царя Костяньтина и матери его Елѣны, огорожена кругомъ на 4 стены, а столповъ в ней 300 от мрамора, а дерьжат церковь великую патриархъ со крестяны Германъ, и престоль старой. Гдѣ патриархъ служить, и тут еретики не входятъ. А по обѣ стороны великие церкви стоят престоли еретически, дѣланы к стенам. А ерѣтики суть называютца крестьянѣ: латыни, хабѣжь, ковти, арѣмени, несториянѣ, ариянѣ, яковити, тетрадити, маруни и протчая их проклятая ересь. А престоловъ еретическихъ 8. А в великие церквы двои врата, едины замурованы погаными турки, а другие отворяютца, и тѣ запечатаны стоятъ от турковъ. И у тѣхъ вратъ стоитъ 8 столповъ мраморныхъ, 5 белыхъ, а 3 аспидныхъ темнозелены; у тѣхъ вратъ приделано в церковной стенѣ место высоко и позлащено. Ту царица Елѣна жидов судила.<sup>55</sup>

*III. OF THE HOLY CITY OF JERUSALEM, where lived our Lord Jesus Christ, and His Apostles & Saints disciples & his Mother, venerated our Lady the Virgin Mary, and the number of places in the Holy City of Jerusalem, Sanctified by the presence of God, and in the surroundings, we ourselves, who are sinners, we saw them with certainty and write to you who believe in Our Lord Jesus Christ.*

The holy city of Jerusalem, sanctified by the presence of God, is situated at the east of the Mount Sion. It is three *verts*<sup>56</sup> in circumference and is triangular (in shape) and [built] in stone. In the inside of the city rises the great Church of the Resurrection of Christ or the [Church of the] Holy Sepulchre. The church is made of stone and is a hundred and twenty *sagénes* long by fifty wide; the holy sepulcher is in white marble, nine feet long and five wide; it rises in the middle of the great church that does not have vaulting, as it has been ruined by the accursed Turks. The holy Sepulcher itself is covered with a small stone church, which is divided in two and covered inside and outside, with marble slabs decorated with drawings. The sepulcher (or burial bench) is on the ground to the right, against the wall, and is covered with a marble slab. It was the Empress Helena who built this burial (?) in the tomb, in which Joseph and Nicodemus deposited our Lord Jesus Christ, and

<sup>55</sup> Poznyakov 2006–2011.

<sup>56</sup> The old Russian *verst* is equivalent to 3,500 feet or 1.06 kilometers.

from where he rose and gave us eternal life. Nobody can enter into the underground tomb whose entrance is closed by stones. In the chapel at the entrance of the Holy Sepulcher, lies the stone that the angel of the Lord rolled from the door of the tomb, with four lamps burning above; we chipped this stone to make relics, but it still remained large in size. Forty-three lamps burn day and night above the Holy Sepulcher. The treasurer of the Holy Sepulcher, called Galel, pours oil in the lamps; the Orthodox Christians give him [money] for oil, and we send [money] from other countries. Six lamps are placed around the small church of the Holy Sepulcher, then also one is suspended above the door of the church and another even higher.

In front of the small church of the Holy Sepulcher is a Bulgarian altar, above which hangs a lamp that burns day and night; this exceeds the altar, penetrating into the Greek Church (i.e. the *Katholikon*), which is ten *sagènes* in length and five in width and is covered with a roof. In the midst of this church lies the Navel of the Earth, covered with a stone. To the left of this church, three steps below the ground, is situated the Prison, where our Lord Jesus Christ was locked for our salvation, by the ungodly Jews. Four lamps give light [in the Prison] day and night. Behind the Greek Church a deep staircase of thirty steps is hollowed in the ground and leads to the stone church of the Emperor Constantine and his mother Helena; (here) three lamps burn. At the bottom of this church another stone staircase is hollowed in the ground, which is where the Empress Helena discovered the cross of Christ as well as those of the two thieves. Six Christian lamps and one Latin are suspended above the place where the winds are very strong. Behind the altar of the Greek Church is situated a chapel containing the column of white marble, where our Lord Jesus Christ was bound for our salvation by very ungodly Jews. Part of this column is in Constantinople with the Patriarch; [a part is] in the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; and a third part is in Rome, in the Church of the First Apostle and the Apostle Peter (i.e. the Basilica of Saint Peter in the Vatican).

To the right of the Greek Church rises the holy Mount of Calvary, where the very ungodly Jews crucified our Lord Jesus Christ. One of the soldiers came and he pierced his side with a spear, there came soon blood and water, and the blood flowed onto the rock of Calvary; and the stone split because of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ that watered the skull of Adam, buried under the Mount of Calvary, where the very ungodly Jews crucified our Lord Jesus Christ; and this place has been called Calvary to this day. Thirty lamps burn continually day and night on the holy mountain. It was there that, by order of the pious and very Christian ruler, Tsar and Grand Duke of all Russia, Ivan Vasilyevich, we hung on his behalf an inextinguishable lamp...A stone staircase of thirteen steps leads to Holy Calvary. At the foot of the stairs on the left, under the mountain of Holy Calvary is a small church containing the tomb of Melchisedec. It is in this church that one sees the split [in the rock] produced from the summit of Holy Calvary, holy by the blood of our Lord. The place of Holy Calvary where they planted the cross on which our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified, is a half-*sagéne* deep and is lined with silver. The slot in which the blood of our Lord fell is a half- *sagéne* in width, but no one can measure the depth; this place is also lined with silver. In front of the entrance of the church, at about six *sagènes*, is the place where Joseph laid our Lord Jesus Christ, after he was taken down from the cross, and wrapped him in the shroud. This place is covered with a marble slab, and eight lamps, belonging to

different faiths, burn. This is the stone where the body of the Savior was deposited, in the grave hollowed in the rock.

The great church, and the Greek altar brought up by the pious Emperor Constantine and by his mother Helena, is enclosed is between four walls and contains three hundred marble columns...On both sides of the great church, the altars of the heretics are backed by the wall. These heretics, who call themselves Christians, are the Latins, the Abyssinians, the Copts, the Armenians, the Arians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Tetrodytes, Maronites, and other accursed heresies. The altars of the heretics are eight in number. The great church has two entrances: one that was walled up by the sacrilegious Turks; and the other, which is opened, is blocked by them. Eight marble columns, five white and three of dark green slate, support the door, near which a high seat, lined with mosaics and gilded, which leans against the wall of the church, where it is the thought that the Empress Helena judged the Jews.<sup>57</sup>

### **Boniface of Ragusa, Letter Describing the Restoration of the Edicule (c. 1570 AD)**

*Cum igitur ea structura solo aequanda necessario videretur, ut, quae instauranda denuo moles erat firmior surgeret diuturniorque permaneret, ea dirnta, sanctissimi Domini Sepulcrum in petra excisum nostris sese oculis aperte videndum obtulit: in quo Angeli duo depicti superpositi cernebantur quorum alter script dicebat: Surrexit non est hic, alter vero Sepulcrum digito notans: ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum. Quorum imagines ubi primum vim aëris senserunt, magna ex parte dissolutae sunt. Cum vero lamina una alabastri ex iis, quibus Sepulcrum operiebatur et quas Helena sancta ibi locaverat, ut super iis sacrosanctum Missae mysterium celebraretur, necessitate urgente commovenda esset, apparuit nobis apertus locus ille ineffabilis, in quo triduo Filius hominis requievit...Erat locus sacrosancto Domini Jesu cruore, unguento illo, quo ad sepulturam unctus fuerat, permixto, tamquam fulgentibus solis radiis undequaque lucens, quem piis gemitibus et spiritali quadam animi Laetitia et lacrymis excipients...In medio sacrosancti loci lignum reperimus collacatum, ac sudario pretioso involutum; quod cum in manu reverenter suscepissemus deosculatiquie fuisset, ubi primum illud aëri expositum est, inter manus nostras sudarium in nihilum abiit nonnullis aureis filiis ex illo solum manentibus. Erant pretioso illi lingo inscriptions quaedam adjunctae, sed ita vetustate corrosae et antiquatae, ut ulla omnino integra ex illis verbis sentential colligi posset, quamvis ad caput cuiusdam membranae verba Latinis litteris maiusculis legebantur Helena Magni.<sup>58</sup>*

It was therefore necessary to take the structure down to the ground so that the rebuilt fabric should rise stronger and last longer. The demolition brought forth clearly before our eyes the tomb of the Lord that had been cut out of the rock, in which images of two angels could be seen, one carrying an inscription that said 'He is risen! He is not here!' while the other, pointing to the Tomb, proclaimed 'Here is the place where they laid him.' The images of these angels, immediately upon coming in contact with the air, vanished almost completely. When, out of urgent necessity, we had to remove one of the alabaster slabs which covered the tomb, placed there by St. Helena in order that the holy mystery of the Mass could be celebrated at that spot, there appeared before us that ineffable site

<sup>57</sup> Author's translation from the French in Khitrowo 1889: 309–314.

<sup>58</sup> Da Treviso 1875: 279–280.

where for three days the Son of Man had rested...The site, which had been soaked with a mixture of the sacred blood of Lord Jesus and the ointment with which he had been anointed for burial, and where light as brilliant as the sun glowed in all directions, was revealed to us and venerated together with those present, with spiritual joy and tears...At the center of the Holy Place we found a piece of wood that had been placed there, wrapped in a precious cloth. No sooner had we taken this reverently in our hands and affectionately kissed it, than with its first exposure to the air the cloth vanished from our hands, leaving behind only a few of its gold threads. On that precious piece of wood there were several inscriptions, but they had deteriorated so much with age that not a single complete phrase could be made out, although at the beginning of one, the following words in Latin capital letters could be read: HELENA MAGNI.<sup>59</sup>

#### REPORTS ON THE CONFLAGRATION OF 1808 AND SUBSEQUENT RESTORATIONS AND PILGRIMAGES

##### ***Breve Notizia dell' Incendio accaduto Nel Tempio del SS Sepolchro di N.S.G.C. il giorno 12 Ottobre, 1808 ('Brief News of the Fire that Took Place in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre of N.S.G.C. on 12 October, 1808')***

*Succinta relazione del fuoco.*

*Il fuoco principiò nella Chiesa degli Armeni; incendiata questa, si comunicò alla gran cupola, da cui passò al Coro dei Greci, indi alle abitazioni di questi, ed al Santo monte*

*Calvario ove rovinò i belli marmi di questo Santuario, e quelli della Capella della Madonna. Dal sopradetto coro si dilatò pure alla galleria dei Cattolici, e ridusse in cenere le Quattro stanze unitamente all' altare dedicato a S. Didaco ed alle stanze sopradette, e si bruciò tutta la robba destinata all' alloggio dei pellegrini, egualmente che li tapetti, e le lampadi d'argento, e d'altri metalli con li bellissimi aredi del Santo Sepolcro.*

*S'abbruciarono pure le case dei Turchi poste sopra le stanze dei Cattolici che precipitarono, e caddero sopra delle nostre stanze. Dopo cinque ore di fuoco violento cadde la gran cupola, e rovinò cadendo la piccola cupola sovrapposta al Santo Sepolcro, si ridussero in pezzi le belle colonne di porfiro che la sostenevano come pure le colonne, e marmi posti al di fuori del Santo Sepolcro. Questo sacro monumento restò per più ore in mezzo di una fornace di fuoco ardentissimo esposto ad un grado di calore, che spezzò i marmi i più duri, infocò il ferro, e fuse li altri metalli. Ognuno tenea per sicuro che si fosse rovinata anche la stanza del Santo Sepolcro; ma finito il fuoco ritrovossi fredda ed intatta la porta del Santo Sepolcro, ch'è di legno, nè l'interno del Sepolcro soffrì la minima machia. Ciò riguardarono i Turchi per un gran miracolo, e noi pure non ne dobbiamo dubitare, poichè considerando la grande quantità del fuoco, e di piombo bollente che lo copriva, ed attaccato ad un legno per tante ore senza abbruciarlo, è cosa troppo chiara esser l'opra di una forza sovrannaturale che lo diffendeva. In fine tutto il resto di questa superba fabbrica s'è ridotta in un mucchio di cenere e sassi, e qualche mura che restarono in piedi vanno di giorno in giorno crollando potendosi contare sopra di poche o nessuna, per la loro sicurezza.<sup>60</sup>*

<sup>59</sup> Author's translation adapted in part from Biddle 1999: 101.

<sup>60</sup> Turner 1820: 598–600; see also the discussion in Willis 1849: 155.



### Brief Report of the Fire.

The Fire began in the Church of the Armenians; burning this, it communicated to the great dome, from which it passed to the Choir of the Greeks, and then to their dwelling places upon Calvary, and to the Holy Mount Calvary where it ruined the beautiful marbles of this sanctuary, and those of the Chapel of Our Lady. From the above-mentioned choir, it also moved to the Gallery of the Latins, and reduced to ashes to the four rooms together with the altar dedicated to St. Didacus, and the other rooms where it burned all the furniture destined for the accommodation of the pilgrims, and the carpets, lamps of silver and of other metals, and the beautiful ornaments of the Holy Sepulcher.

Even the houses of the Turks, which were over the rooms of the Latins, were ablaze and collapsed upon our rooms. After five hours of violent fire, the great dome [of the Rotunda] fell, and it ruined the small dome [of the Edicule] over the Holy Sepulcher, and the beautiful columns of porphyry supporting it, as well as the columns and marbles outside the Holy Sepulcher. This sacred monument stayed for hours in the midst of a burning fiery furnace, exposed to a degree of heat, which broke the hardest marbles, made the iron red-hot, and fused it with other metals. Everyone felt for sure that the Chapel of the Holy Sepulcher was also ruined, but the fire ended and cooled. The door of the Holy Sepulcher, which is of wood, was intact, and the interior of the Sepulcher suffered the slightest damage. This concerned the Turks, for it was a great miracle, and we do not have to doubt it, considering the great amount of fire and boiling lead that covered it, and was in contact with the wood for so many hours without damaging it. It is clear that a supernatural force was behind it. In the end, all the rest of this superb structure was reduced to a pile of ash and stones, and some of the walls that remained standing are collapsing day by day, and few or none can be counted on for their stability.<sup>61</sup>

### Russian Letter Reporting the Greek Orthodox Account of the 1808 Conflagration

On the 30th day of September, 1808, on Wednesday, at 8 o'clock in the evening, suddenly and unexpectedly an extensive conflagration took place within the temple of the holy life-giving Sepulchre, and consumed the whole of that wonderful, royal, and holy building, as well as the lofty cupola,<sup>62</sup> which was covered with lead, and the small Chapel which was built over the Holy Sepulchre itself: the upper galleries of the Catechumens, which went round it, under the large cupola, as well on our side as on that of the Franks and Armenians, are entirely destroyed; for the beautiful marble pillars, on which these galleries were supported, were calcined and burnt. Both treasures (the great and the small), and all the cells, the holy icons, the Cross erected on holy Golgotha, the holy Table and Altar of Sacrifice, and the seats of the Patriarchs in the heavenly place, were consumed. When the marble columns on which the arches rested were reduced to ashes, the arches themselves also which were above the Altar<sup>63</sup> were destroyed. The Ikonostasis of the Cathedral (the *Katholikon*), and all the side altars, together with all the images, and the two thrones of the

<sup>61</sup> Author's translation based in part on the work of Willis (1849: 155), who quotes much of the letter in his own description of the conflagration.

<sup>62</sup> 'Cupola' here refers to the dome over the Rotunda (Willis 1849: 155, n. 4).

<sup>63</sup> The 'alter' refers to the apse of the church (Willis 1849: 156, n. 1).

Patriarch and Bishop, where were in the centre of the Cathedral, became the prey of the flames. Owing to the excessive heat, the lamps and the chandeliers with branches, and the rest of the utensils of the church, were melted like wax. In like manner, the whole of the splendid vestry, the gifts of so many pious monarchs, which were kept within the Temple, disappeared. The holy gates also were burnt, and the cupola,<sup>64</sup> which was above the Cathedral, rent in twain.

The only parts that were uninjured were the subterranean Chapel of the Discovery of the Cross, the aisle which surrounds the Church, the holy Chapel of the Sepulchre and its door.<sup>65</sup> All the rest, as we have already stated, was burnt and disappeared.<sup>66</sup>

**Maximos Simaios, *Report on the Restoration of the Edicule of the Holy Sepulchre* (1809)**

113, 117, 118

Τῇ ιζ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀκτωβρίου, τῇ Κυριακῇ, ὥρα β' τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐκρημνίσθη ὁ νότιος τοῖχος, ὃ τε ἀνατολικὸς καὶ ὁ δυτικὸς τοῦ πανιέρου Κουβουκλίου, ὡς ἐκ τε τῆς ἀρχαιότητος, ἐκ τε τοῦ πυρὸς σεσαθρωμένοι, καὶ ἐφάνη τὸ πανάγιον ἄντρον μονόλιθος, σπήλαιον· τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἁγίου Λίθου ὅλον οἰκοδομητὸν ἐκ λίθων, καὶ ἤρξατο καὶ ἡ οἰκοδομὴ ἔξωθεν ἐκ θεμελίου, τοῖχος νέος... Ἐφάνη λοιπὸν ὅλον τὸ Ἅγιον Ἄντρον σπήλαιον, λίθος μέλεκι, ἥτοι βασιλικός, οὐδὲ τὸ μήκος πῆχεις τρεῖς, τὸ πλάτος πῆχυς εἰς καὶ ἥμιους, τὸ ὕψος πῆχεις τέσσαρες· κατὰ τὰ ἑκάτερα μέρη, ἥτοι νότια καὶ βόρεια, ἐστὶ μόνον λαξευτός· κατὰ γὰρ τὰ ἀνατολικά καὶ δυτικά καὶ τὴν ἐπάνω στέγην εἰσὶ κτιστά· τὸ δὲ ἔδαφος ὅλον τό τε τοῦ Ἁγίου Λίθου, τό τε τοῦ Θεοδέγμονος Ἄντρον, ἐστὶ λίθος ῥιζιμαῖος, οὐκ οἰκοδομητός, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ κάτω μέρος σκαπτός, ἀλλ' ὅλον τὸ ἐπίπεδον τοῦτο μία αὐτοφυῆς πέτρα...

Τῇ ιθ' τοῦ νοεμβρίου τολμήσας ὁ κάλφας, παρακαλεσθεὶς πρότερον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ῥοιξε μέρος τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου κατὰ δυσμὰς καὶ εὐρέθη ὅλος εὐωδία ἄρρητος, ὅλος ἀνιστάμενος μέχρις αὐτοῦ τοῦ μαρμάρου, ἔχων φραγμὸν κατὰ μὲν τὸ νότιον δύο μάρμαρα καὶ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ δύο μάρμαρα, τὸ ἐν ἑτάνω τοῦ ἄλλου, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ δυτικόν· τὸ δὲ βόρειον ὅλον αὐτοφυῆς λίθος ἦτο τὸ παναγιώτατον σπήλαιον· τὸ δὲ μέσον τοῦ σπηλαίου ἀνοικτόν, καταναλωθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν κανδηλίων καὶ κηρίων, ἀναπτομένων τοσοῦτους χρόνους· ὅθεν ἤδη καὶ κτίζεται ἐπάνω τοῦ Θεοδέγμονος Τάφου καμάρα... ἔστι δὲ τῷ χρώματι ὁ Ζωηφόρος Τάφος ἀργυρόχρυσος, ἀπαλός.<sup>67</sup>

On the 17th of October (according to the calendar of the Greeks) on Sunday, the second hour of the day, the walls of the most sacred Edicule were taken down on the south, east and west, which either from antiquity or the fire had been ruined. The most holy Antro appeared of a single stone, a cave, but the Chapel of the Holy Stone (the Chapel of the Angel) appeared to have been constructed completely of stones. And the outer walls of the

<sup>64</sup> 'Cupola' here refers to the central dome over the Katholikon (Willis 1849: 156, n. 2).

<sup>65</sup> Willis (1849: 156, n. 5) points out that because the letter only includes areas of the church that the Greek Patriarchate was interested in, other structures that went undamaged, such as the Latin Chapel of the Apparition, were not mentioned.

<sup>66</sup> The text is drawn from a translated excerpt of a Russian letter given in Willis 1849: 155–156.

<sup>67</sup> Simaios 1897: 113–118.

building were reconstructed on the foundations... The entirety of the Holy Antro was made visible, a cave of *meleki*, or royal, stone. Its length was three cubits, the width was a cubit and a half, and the height was four cubits. The southern and northern parts are carved rock, but the eastern and western sides, and the ceiling above, are masonry. All the floor of the Chapel of the Holy Stone, and the divine Antro is of the same living rock, including the lower part, the whole surface is of natural rock.

On November 19...he [Komnenos] opened a section of the Holy Sepulchre, from the west side, and there was an indescribable fragrance. The whole [of the rock-cut burial bench] rose up to the marble [slab]. The southern face of the burial bench had two marble slabs covering it, one over the other; the horizontal bench face itself was covered by two marble slabs; the west and east face of the bench were covered by walls; and the northern face of the bench was part of the natural rock that made up the sacred cave. The central part of the Antro is open and deteriorated from the smoke of the many lamps and candles that have lit the space for so many years. Now the vaulting is built over the divine tomb... the color of the Living Tomb is (now) a light silver-gold.<sup>68</sup>

**Anonymous English Pilgrim on behalf of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, *Three Weeks in Palestine and Lebanon* (c. 1831)**

Immediately upon entering, on the left hand, is a recess, in which were seated ten or twelve Turks smoking and drinking coffee: these were the receivers of the toll, which forms a considerable item in the revenues of Jerusalem...Reaching the cloisters, we found the Franciscans marching in procession round the Church...We joined their ranks, and, having completed the circuit, halted, when one of the monks stepped forward and preached in Spanish. As soon as the discourse was concluded, the procession again moved on...and mounted by a flight of stairs to the Chapel of the Crucifixion...This chapel had three altars, over which were three figures upon crosses, as large as life, representing our Saviour and the two thieves...

The first object of our inspection was the Holy Sepulchre itself, which is a small oblong, quadrilateral building of white marble, crowned with a tiny cupola standing upon pillars, and divided into three compartments. The entrance is a pointed doorway, supported by slender spiral columns on each side, to which there is an ascent of two or three daubs intended to represent our Saviour's resurrection. The first compartment is an antechamber of a size to contain six or eight persons. Here the worshippers put their shoes from off their feet, ere they enter upon the holy ground within, where, occupying half of the second compartment of the building, is the 'place where the Lord lay.' The third compartment is a small chapel appropriated to the Copts, which is entered from behind, and has no internal communication with the others.

What is shown as the Holy Sepulchre is a tomb raised about two feet from the ground, and covered with a single slab of white marble, now broken into two parts, which as our guide informed us, was purposely done to prevent the Turks laying sacrilegious hands upon it,

<sup>68</sup> Author's translation.

and carrying it off, as they had designed, to the Mosque of Omar. Suspended over it, and constantly burning, are a number of handsome lamps of massive silver, the gifts of the monarchs and mighty men of the earth. The cell which contains it is not large enough to admit of more than four people entering at once...

We ascended once more to the scene of the Crucifixion by a flight of eighteen very steep steps. The floor of this chapel is handsomely paved with various colored marbles; the roof is supported by four white marble pillars dividing it into two portions, respectively belonging to the Greeks and Latins. The hole in which the Cross is said to have been fixed is set round with silver, to which the pilgrims pay devout adoration, imprinting kisses upon it, and prostrating themselves before it. Behind, at no great distance, is shown the rock that was rent when our Saviour gave up the ghost, which is certainly a singular fissure, the genuine work of nature, and not made by the hand of man...

When we had sufficiently viewed and reviewed, mused and debated upon the sacred spots, the Neapolitan friar invited us to a place of refreshment kept by the monks within the church, and treated us to coffee and sweetmeats.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Anonymous 1835: 28-30, 63-65, 72.

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## Chapter 8

# Selected Excerpts from the Historical Sources: Legendary accounts of the founding of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

The history, and subsequently, the archaeology of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre intersected often with Christian lore. The edifice itself was built to commemorate the death and resurrection of Jesus as they appear in the Gospel accounts. The fissure in the back of the Rock of Golgotha became a sacred space probably because of the development of the story about Adam being buried at the place where Jesus died. Another such account is the finding of the 'true cross,' upon which Jesus died, a legend that developed over a period of a thousand years and inspired the construction of two of the chapels within the church complex. It is worth mentioning here and examining briefly.<sup>1</sup>

In the mid-4th century AD, Cyril, the bishop of Jerusalem, mentioned that a piece of the 'true cross' was present in the Constantinian church. He said that the 'holy wood of the cross' was 'seen among us to this day' and 'from this place now almost filling the whole world, by means of those who in faith take portions of it' (*Catech.* 10.19; cf. 4.10; NPNF 7: 212). Cyril parallels this with a mention of the 'Holy Tomb' and the 'holy hill of Golgotha,' so there is no question that the wood of the cross would have been located in the Basilica.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, in Cyril, no mention of the discovery of the wood, only the assumption that people knew it was there. The Bordeaux Pilgrim did not mention the wood of the cross nor did Eusebius, but this may have been because he was skeptical about it (Drake 1985; Gibson and Taylor 1994: 83–85). Cyril also noted that the wood of the cross was found during the reign of Constantine (*Ad. Const.* 3).<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Eusebius says that there was wood (*xulos*) among the rubble at the demolition site of the Hadrianic temple (*Vit. Const.* 3.27). Perhaps someone 'discovered' the wood of the cross among this material. Regardless of where the wood came from or what Eusebius thought about it, Constantine himself probably believed in its authenticity, especially given his propensity toward mystical experiences and his conversion experience, in which the cross of Christ played a central role (noted above in Chapter 2; see also Gibson and Taylor 1994: 84 and Drake 1985). In fact, the idea has been put forth that the

<sup>1</sup> See Gibson and Taylor (1994: 83–85) for further discussion.

<sup>2</sup> Gibson and Taylor (1994: 79) speculate that the Reliquarium of the Constantinian church would have been located in the Basilica in the southwestern corner, east of the 7th century Church of Golgotha. Indeed, the drawing of the church made by Arculf for Adomnán (Fig. 6.3) shows a small rectangle to the right (east) of the Church of Golgotha with the inscription in Latin, *exedra cu calice dm* (short for: *exedra cum calice Domini*) 'hall with the cup of the Lord' (Wilkinson 1977: Pl. 5: aY, aP, aZ, aK; CSEL 39: 231; Biddle 1999: Fig. 25). This also seems to be indicated in the poem of Sophronius (*Anacr.* 20.35–50; 6.35), in which the author envisions the church in order from the Rotunda to the Basilica. Following the Rock of Golgotha, he reflects on the relics—the wood of the Cross, the Reed, Sponge, and Lance (cf. also Egeria, *Itin.* 37.1–2; Adomnán, *De Loc. Sanct.* 1.6–8).

<sup>3</sup> PG 33: 1168–1169. It is not clear that this text was written by Cyril, but it is possible.

cross was the primary reason for Constantine's interest in the site and the reason that the church was built, the tomb being secondary in importance (Taylor 1993: 137–142). This would also explain the possible original name of the edifice—the 'Church of the Holy Cross.'

An interesting event that ran parallel to the construction of the church was the visit of Constantine's mother Flavia Julia Helena to Palestine in 327 AD. The occasion of this pilgrimage is wrapped up in the strange account of the deaths of Constantine's wife Fausta and his son Crispus late in the year 325 at the emperor's own hand.<sup>4</sup> It is generally accepted by historians that, perhaps under the strain of these difficult events, Helena came to Palestine, arriving at Caesarea, and was, presumably, received and guided by Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* 3.41–47; see also Odahl 2004: 211–212). She was probably a witness to the early stages of the construction of Constantine's church in Jerusalem, and she authorized the establishment of a number of monuments in Palestine commemorating the life of Jesus (*Vit. Const.* 3.41–43; Odahl 2004: 217–220). A late 4th century legend, stemming from the now non-extant work of Gelasius, Bishop of Caesarea (nephew of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem), written c. 390 AD, has it that while in Jerusalem, Helena discovered the 'true cross' and subsequently authorized the building of a church (*templum mirificum*) to commemorate the discovery (Drijvers and Drijvers 1997: 12–14; Drijvers 1992).<sup>5</sup> The legend appears again in Christian writings of the late 4th century and then again in a handful of 5th century sources.<sup>6</sup>

The legend of the discovery of the 'true cross' probably has its historical core in the discovery of a certain piece of wood during the construction of the church in the early 4th century that, for some reason, was decided to be the 'true cross.' However, the story of Helena's connection with this event is almost certainly unfounded, and as one scholar suggests, may have even been developed to strengthen the ties between Jerusalem and the Empire, while lessening the ties to the church in Caesarea (Drijvers 1992: 131–132).<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, this legend has bearing on the archaeology and history

<sup>4</sup> Lenski (2006: 79) notes that it may have had to do with a sexual relationship between Fausta and Crispus and the emperor's vehement battle against adultery in the land (which may explain the gruesome nature of Fausta's execution, who Constantine ordered to be roasted to death in an extremely hot bath chamber). This is, at least the account found in the reports of the late fifth/early 6th century secular historian Zosimus (*Hist. Nov.* 2) and the 12th century historian and theologian Zonaras (*An.* 13.1–5). This was also the time that the emperor had first publicly refused to perform the sacrifice to Jupiter on Rome's capital hill, an action that was met with a cooling of relations between the current senate and the people of Rome (Zosimus, *Hist. Nov.* 2).

<sup>5</sup> Gelasius' account is preserved in Rufinus, *Hist. eccl.* 10.7–8.

<sup>6</sup> The 4th century sources are Ambrose of Milan, *De Ob. Theod.* 40–49; Paulinus of Nola, *Epist.* 31.4–5; Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* 2.33–34. From the 5th century see Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 1.17; Socrates of Constantinople, *Hist. eccl.* 1.17; Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 2.1–2 (Drijvers and Drijvers 1997: 13, n. 8; Drijvers 1992: 79–80); and the so-called Judas Kyriakos legend (Drijvers and Drijvers 1997). The legend appears in its full-blown form by c. 1260 in the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine (Meinhardt 2003).

<sup>7</sup> That Helena was actually involved in the discovery of the wood of the 'true cross' is unlikely because the sequences in the legend do not seem to fit the logical chronology of the actual events. It is not clear that Helena was in Jerusalem when the tomb was unearthed by Macarius (though some historians hold that the events were synonymous, e.g. Lenski [2006: 79–80]), though she was there by 327 AD, during which time the Constantinian monument was being built. The earliest record of the excavation of the tomb, that of Eusebius, does not mention Helena being involved in any way with the project (nor does Cyril), but rather, that she arrived and visited the



Figure 8.1. Traditional location of the discovery of the 'true cross' in the southeastern corner of the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross (source: Corbo 1981–1982: Photo 111, courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem).

of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and on Jerusalem itself. Jerusalem flourished during the Byzantine period due to the growing appeal of pilgrimage to the city's holy sites among Christians. By the 11th century, the Helena legend was strong enough that the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross was created in the wake of the destruction of the Constantinian Basilica in 1009 AD (Fig. 8.1). Later the area above the cave was expanded by the Crusaders in the 12th century in order to create the Chapel of St. Helena, memorializing Helena's association with the 'true cross.' These features of the church remain to this day.

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holy sites and authorized the construction of the Church of the Nativity and the Eleona Church on the Mount of Olives (Vit. Const. 3.43).



# ACCOUNTS OF THE FOUNDING OF CONSTANTINE'S CHURCH BASED ON THE LEGEND OF HELENA AUGUSTA'S 'FINDING OF THE TRUE CROSS'

**Gelasius, Bishop of Caesarea, *On the Finding of the True Cross* (c. 390 AD) preserved in Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 'Church History' (c. 401 AD)**

*Per idem tempus Helena Constantini mater, foemina incomparabilis fide et religione animi, ac magnificentia singulari cujus jure Constantinus et esset filius et crederetur, divinis admonita visionibus, Jerosolymam petit, atque ibi locum in quo sacrosanctum corpus Christi patibulo affixum pependerit, ab incolis perquirat. Qui idcirco ad inventiendum difficilis erat, quo dab antiques persecutoribus simulacrum in eo Veneris fuerat fefixum, ut si quis Christianorum in loco illo Christum adorare voluisset, Venerem videretur adorare. Et ob hoc infrequens et pene oblivioni datus fuerat locus. Se cum (ut supra diximus) religiosa foemina proerasset ad locum celesti sibi indicio designatum, cuncta ex eo prophana et polluta detubans, in altum purgatis rudibus, tres confuso ordine reperit cruces. Sed obturbabat reperti muneris laetitiam uniuscujusque cruces indiscreta proprietas. Aderat quidem et titulus ille, qui Graecis, et Latinis, atque Hebraicis litteris a Pilato fuerat conscriptus; sed nec ipse satis evidenter dominici prodebat signa patibuli. Hinc jam humanae ambiguitatis incertum, divinum flagitat testimonium. Accidit in eadem urbe primariam quandam loci illius foeminam gravi aegritudine confectam, seminecem jacere. Macarius per idem tempus Ecclesiae illius Episcopus erat. Is ubi cunctantem reginam atque omnes pariter qui aderant, videt: Adferte (inquit) huc totas, quae repertae sunt cruces, et quae sit quae portaverit Dominum, nunc nobis adaperiet Deus. Et ingressus cum regina pariter et populis ad eam, quae decumbebat, defixis genibus hujusmodi ad Deum precem profudit: Tu, Domine, qui per unigenitum Filium tuum salutem generi humano per passionem cruces conferre dignatus es, et nunc in novissimis temporibus adspirasti in corde ancillae tuae perquirere lignum beatum, in quo salus nostra pendit, ostende evidenter ex his tribus, quae crux fuerit ad dominicam gloriam, vel quae extiterit ad servile supplicium, ut haec mulier, quae semiviva decumbit, statim ut lignum salutare contigerit, a mortis januis revocetur ad vitam. Et cum haec dixisset, adhibuit primo unam ex tribus, et nihil profecit. Adhibuit secundam, et ne sic quidem aliquid aetum est. Ut vero admovit tertiam, repente adaperitis oculis mulier consurrexit, et stabilitate virium recepta, alacrior multo, quam cum sana fuerat, tota domo discurrere et magnificare Dei potentiam caepit. Sic evidenti indicio Regina voti copos effecta, templum mirificum in eo loco in quo crucem repperat, regia ambitione construxit. Clavos quoque, quibus corpus Dominicum fuerat affixum, portat ad filium. Ex quibus ille frenos composuit, quibus uteretur ad bellum: et ex aliis galeam nihilominus belli usibus aptam fertur armasse. Ligni vero ipsius salutaris partem detulit filio, partem vero thecis argenteis conditam dereliquit in loco quae etiam nunc ad memoriam sollicita veneratione servatur. Reliquit etiam hoc indicium religiosi animi Regina venerabilis... Et haec quidem Jerosolymis gesta.<sup>8</sup>*

10.7-8

At about the same time, Helena, the mother of Constantine, a woman of outstanding faith and deep piety, and also of exceptional munificence, whose offspring indeed one would expect to be such a man as Constantine, was advised by divinely-sent visions to go to Jerusalem. There she was to make an enquiry among the inhabitants to find out the

<sup>8</sup> PL 21: cols. 475-477.

place where the sacred body of Christ had hung on the Cross. This spot was difficult to find, because the persecutors of old had set up a statue of Venus over it, so that if any Christian wanted to worship Christ in that place, he seemed to be worshipping Venus. For this reason, the place was not much frequented and had all but been forgotten. But when, as we related above, the pious lady hastened to the spot pointed out to her by a heavenly sign, she tore down all that was profane and polluted there. Deep beneath the rubble she found three crosses lying in disorder. But the joy of finding this treasure was marred by the difficulty of distinguishing to whom each cross belonged. The board<sup>9</sup> was there, it is true, on which Pilate had placed an inscription written in Greek, Latin and Hebrew characters. But not even this provided sufficient evidence to identify the Lord's Cross. In such an ambiguous case uncertainty requires divine proof. It happened that in that same city, a certain prominent lady of that place lay mortally ill with a serious disease. Macarius was at that time bishop of the Church there. When he saw the doubts of the queen and all present, he said: 'Bring all three crosses which have been found and God will now reveal to us which is the cross which bore Christ.' Then, together with the queen and the others, he approached the sick woman, went down on his knees and poured out the following prayer: 'Oh Lord, you saw fit through the Passion on the Cross of your Only-begotten Son to grant salvation to the human race, and now in our own time you have inspired your handmaid to search everywhere for the blessed wood on which our Savior hung; now give us a clear sign which of these crosses was made to glorify our Lord and which were made to execute slaves. Let this woman, now lying ill unto death, be recalled to life from death's door as soon as the wood of salvation touches her.' His prayer finished, he first brought one of the three crosses near, but nothing happened; then he brought the second near—still no reaction. But when he brought the third cross near, the woman suddenly opened her eyes and got up, all her strength restored. She ran through the house more quickly than when she had been well, and began to praise the power of the Lord. When the queen saw that her wish had been answered by such a clear sign, she built a marvelous church of royal magnificence over the place where she had discovered the Cross. The nails, too, which had attached the Lord's body to the Cross, she had sent to her son. From some of these he had a horse's bridle made, for use in battle, while he used the others to add strength to a helmet, equally with a view to using it in battle. Part of the redeeming wood she sent to her son, but she also left part of it there preserved in silver chests. This part is commemorated by regular veneration to this very day ... This, then, is the true story of what happened in Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup>

### Theodoret, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 'Ecclesiastical History' (c. 420 AD?)

#### 1.15

Προσθήσω δὲ ὅμως τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὰ περὶ τὸν σωτήριον αὐτῷ τάφον καταρρωμένα. Μαθὼν γὰρ ὡς οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες, καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων θεραπείαν βεβακχευμένοι, τὸν μὲν Δεσποτικὸν κατέχωσαν τάφον, λήθη παραδοῦναι φιλονεικοῦντες τῆς σωτηρίας τὴν μνήμην. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ νεῶν τῆς ἀκολάστου δαίμονος ἐδομήσαντο, ταῖς παρθενικαῖς ὠδὶ

<sup>9</sup> The so-called *Titulus Crucis*, exists today and is housed in the Basilica of 'Santa Croce in Gerusalemme,' Rome, Italy. Recent radiocarbon analysis on the wood shows that it probably dates to the late 10th/early 11th century AD (cf. the radiocarbon results of 1020 ± 30 BP achieved by Bella and Azzi 2002).

<sup>10</sup> Drijvers 1992: 79–80.

σιν ἐπιτωθάζοντες· καταλυθῆναι μὲν προσέταξε τὸ μυσαρὸν οἰκοδόμημα· τὸν δὲ χοῦν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐναγέσι μολυνθέντα θυσίαις ἐκφορηθῆναι, καὶ πόρρω του ριφῆναι τοῦ ἄστεος· εἴτα νεῶν οἰκοδομηθῆναι μέγιστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον.

I will however, add his [Constantine's] noble acts with regard to the Sepulchre of our Savior. For having learned that the idolaters, in their frantic rage, had heaped earth over the Lord's tomb, eager thus to destroy all remembrance of his salvation, and had built over it a temple to the goddess of unbridled lust, in mockery of the Virgin's birth, the emperor ordered the foul shrine to be demolished, and the soil polluted with abominable sacrifices to be carried away and thrown out far from the city, and a new temple of great size and beauty to be erected on the site.

### 1.17

Τούτους τοῖς γράμμασιν οὐκ ἄλλος τις διηκόνησεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡ μήτηρ, ἡ καλλίπαις ἐκείνη, καὶ παρὰ πάντων ἁδομένη τῶν εὐσεβῶν, ἡ τὸν μέγαν τοῦτον φωστῆρα τεκοῦσα καὶ τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας αὐτῷ προσεγεκοῦσα τροφήν, αὕτη τῶν τῆς ὁδοπορίας πόνων ἀνασχομένη, καὶ τοῦ γήρωος οὐ λογισαμένη τὰ πάθη· πρὸ γὰρ ὀλίγου τῆς τελευτῆς τὴν ἀποδημίαν ταύτην ἐστείλατο, ὁδοηκοντοῦτις δὲ τοῦ βίου τὸ τέρμα κατεῖληφεν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ χωρίον εἶδεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας τὰ πάθη δεξάμενον, εὐθὺς μὲν τὸν μυσαρὸν ἐκεῖνον νεῶν καταλυθῆναι καὶ τὸν χοῦν ἐκφορηθῆναι προσέταξε. Δήλου δὲ τοῦ κεκρυμμένου τάφου γεγεννημένου, ὥφθησαν τρεῖς παρὰ τὸ μνήμα τὸ δεσποτικὸν κατακεχωσμένοι σταυροί. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν εἰς ἐκ τούτων ὁ τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν καὶ Σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐτύχανεν ὦν, οἱ δ' ἕτεροι τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ προσηλωθέντων ληστῶν, ἀναμφισβητήτως ἐπίστευον ἅπαντες· ἠγνόουν δὲ ὅμως τὸν τῷ δεσποτικῷ πελάσαντα σῶματι, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τὴν λιβάδα δεξάμενον. Ἀλλ' ὁ σοφώτατος ἐκεῖνος καὶ θεῖος ὄντως Μακάριος ὁ τῆς πόλεως πρόεδρος τοιῷ δε πόρῳ τὴν ἀπορίαν διέλυσε. Γυναικὶ γὰρ περιφανεῖ, νόσῳ τὴν κατεχομένη μακρᾷ, ἕκαστον τῶν σταυρῶν ἐκείνων μετὰ προσευχῆς σπουδαίας προσεεγκῶν, ἔγνω τοῦ μυστηρίου τὴν δύναμιν. Παραυτίκα γὰρ οὗτος τῷ γυναικί πελάσας τὴν χαλεπὴν ἐκείνην ἐξήλασε νόσον, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀπέφηνεν ὑγιᾶ. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡ μήτηρ μαθοῦσα τὸ ποθοῦμενον, τῶν ἡλῶν τὰ μὲν εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐνέβαλε κράνος, τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς κεφαλῆς προμηθουμένη, ἵνα τὰ τῶν πολέμιων ἀπολρούηται βέλη· τὰ δὲ τῷ τοῦ ἵππου ἀνέμιξε χαλινῷ, καὶ ἀσφάλειαν μηχανωμένη τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ παλαιᾷ προφητείᾳ πέρας ἐπιτιθεῖσα. Πόρρωθεν γὰρ Ζαχαρίας ὁ προφήτης βοᾷ, Καὶ ἔσται τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ χαλινῷ τοῦ ἵππου ἅγιον τῷ Κυρίῳ παντοκράτορι. Τοῦ δὲ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τοῦ σταυροῦ μοῖραν μὲν τινα τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀπένευμε, τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ θήκη ἐξ ὕλης ἀργυρίου ποιησαμένη τῷ τῆς πόλεως δέδωκεν ἐπισκόπῳ, φυλάττειν παρεγγυήσασα ταῖς ἔπειτα γενεαῖς τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας μνημόσυνα. Πάντοθεν δὲ δὴ παντοδαπὴν ὕλην τοῖς τεχνίταις ἀγείραςα, τοὺς μεγίστους ἐκείνους καὶ λαμπροτάτους νεῶς ἐδομήσατο. Τὸ δὲ τούτων κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος ἐκφράσαι περιττὸν ἄγαν ὑπέειλφα, πάντων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τῶν φιλοθέων ἐκεῖσε θεόντων καὶ θεωμένων τῶν ἔργων τὴν πολυτέλειαν.

The bearer of these letters [from Constantine to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem] was no less illustrious a personage than the mother of the emperor, even she who was glorious in her offspring, whose piety was celebrated by all; she who brought forth that great luminary and nurtured him in piety. She did not shrink from the fatigue of the journey on account of her extreme old age, but undertook it a little before her death, which occurred in her eightieth year.

When the empress beheld the place where the Savior suffered, she immediately ordered the idolatrous temple, which had been there erected, to be destroyed, and the very earth on which it stood to be removed. When the tomb, which had been so long concealed, was discovered, three crosses were seen bried near the Lord's sepulcher. All held it as certain that one of these crosses was that of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that the other two were those of the thieves who were crucified with Him. Yet they could not discern to which of the three the Body of the Lord had been brought nigh, and which had received the outpouring of his precious Blood. But the wise and holy Macarius, the president of the city, resolved this question in the following manner. He caused a lady of rank, who had been long suffering from disease, to be touched by each of the crosses, with earnest prayer, and thus discerned the virtue residing in that of the Savior. For the instant this cross was brought near the lady, it expelled the sore disease, and made her whole.

The mother of the emperor, on learning the accomplishment of her desire, gave orders that a portion of the nails shuld be inserted in the royal helmet, in order that the head of her son might be preserved from the darts of his enemies. The other portion of the nails she ordered to be formed into the bridle of his horse, not only to ensure the safety of the emperor, but also to fulfil an ancient prophecy long before Zechariah, the prophet, had predicted that 'There shall be upon the bridles of the horses Holiness unto the Lord Almighty.'

She had part of the cross of our Savior conveyed to the palace. The rest was enclosed in a covering of silver, and committed to the care of the bishop of the city, whom she exhorted to preserve it carefully, in order that it might be transmitted uninjured into posterity. She then sent everywhere for workmens and for materials, and caused the most spacious and most magnificent churches to be erected. It is unnecessary to describe their beauty and grandeur; for all the pious, if I may so speak, hasten thither and behold the magnificence of the buildings.<sup>11</sup>

### Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 'Ecclesiastical History' (c. 430s AD)

#### 1.17

Ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως μήτηρ Ἑλένη, ἥς ἐπονόματι τὴν ποτὲ κώμην Δρεπάνην πόλιν ποιήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἑλενούπολιν ἐπωνόμασε, δι' ὁνείρων χρηματισθεῖσα εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα παρεγένετο· καὶ τὴν ποτὲ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἔρημον ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον κατὰ τὸν προφήτην εὗρουσά, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μνήμα ἔνθα ταφείς ἀνέστη, σπουδαίως ἐζήτει· καὶ δυσχερῶς μὲν, σὺν Θεῷ δὲ εὗρίσκει. Τίς δὲ ἡ αἰτία τῆς δυσχερείας, διὰ βραχέων ἐρώ. ὅτι οἱ μὲν τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ φρονοῦντες μετὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ πάθους ἐτίμων τὸ μνήμα. οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, χῶσαντες τὸν τόπον, Ἀφροδίτης κατ' αὐτοῦ ναὸν κατασκευάσαντες ἐπέστησαν ἄγαλμα, μὴ ποιοῦντες μνήμην τοῦ τόπου. Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν πάλαι προὔχῳρει. τῇ δὲ μητρὶ τοῦ βασιλέως φανερόν τοῦτο ἐγένετο. καθελούσα οὖν τὸ ξόανον, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκχώσασα καὶ καθαρὸν ἐργασαμένη, τρεῖς εὗρίσκει σταυροὺς ἐν τῷ μνήματι· ἓνα μὲν τὸν μακαριστὸν, ἐν ᾧ Χριστὸς ἐξετανύσθη· τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους, ἐν οἷς οἱ συσταυρωθέντες δύο λησταὶ τεθνήκεσαν. Σὺν

<sup>11</sup> Greek text in PG 82: cols. 956–961; English translation in NPNF 3: 54–55.

αὐτοῖς δὲ εὗρητο καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πιλάτου σάνις, ἐν ἣ βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν σταυρωθέντα Χριστὸν προσγράφων, ἐν διαφόροις γράμμασι ἐκήρυττεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀμφίβολος ἦν ὁ σταυρὸς ὁ ζητούμενος, οὐκ ἡ τυχοῦσα λύπη κατεῖχε τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μητέρα. οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ παύει τὰ τῆς λύπης ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Μακάριος· λύει δὲ πίστει τὸ ἀμφίβολον· σημεῖον γὰρ ἦν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐλάμβανε. τὸ δὲ σημεῖον ἦν τοιοῦτον· γυνὴ τις τῶν ἐγχωρίων, νόσῳ χρονίᾳ ληφθεῖσα, πρὸς αὐτῷ λοιπὸν τῷ θανάτῳ ἐγένετο. Προσάγεσθαι οὖν τῇ ἀποθνησκούσῃ τῶν σταυρῶν ἕκαστον ὁ ἐπίσκοπος παρεσκεύασε, πιστεύσας ἀναρρωσθῆναι τὴν γυναῖκα ἀψαμένην τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ· καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος οὐχ ἥμαρτε· προσενεχθέντων γὰρ τῶν μὴ κυρίων δύο σταυρῶν, ἔμεινε οὐδὲν ἥττον ἡ γυνὴ ἀποθνησκουσα. εὐθὺς ἀνερρώσθη, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσιν ἦν. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν τρόπον τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον ἠῦρηται. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως μήτηρ οἶκον μὲν εὐκτῆριον ἐν τῷ τοῦ μνήματος τόπῳ πολυτελῆ κατασκεύασεν, Ἱερουσαλήμ τε νέαν ἐπωνόμασεν, ἀντιπρόσωπον τῇ παλαιᾷ ἐκείνῃ καὶ καταλελειμμένη ποιήσασα. Τοῦ δὲ σταυροῦ μέρος μὲν τι θήκη ἀργυρᾷ περικλείσασα, μνημόσυνον τοῖς ἱστορεῖν βουλομένοις αὐτόθι κατέλιπε· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μέρος ἀποστέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὅπερ δεξάμενος, καὶ πιστεύσας τελείως σωθήσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἔνθα ἂν ἐκεῖνο φυλάττεται, τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντι κατέρυψεν, ὅς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Κωνσταντίνου πόλει, ἐν τῇ ἐπιλεγομένῃ ἀγορᾷ Κωνσταντίνου, ἐπὶ τοῦ πορφυροῦ καὶ μεγάλου κίονος ἵδρυται. Τοῦτο μὲν ἀκοῇ γράψας ἔχω· πάντες δὲ σχεδὸν οἱ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, ἀληθὲς εἶναι φασί. καὶ τοὺς ἥλους δὲ οἱ ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐνεπάγησαν, ὁ Κωνσταντίνος λαβὼν, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τούτους ἡ μήτηρ ἐν τῷ μνήματι εὐροῦσα ἀπέστειλεν, χαλινούς τε καὶ περικεφαλαίαν ποιήσας, ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐκέχρητο. Ἐχορήγει μὲν οὖν πάσας τὰς ὕλας ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. ἐγράφε δὲ καὶ Μακαρίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἐπισπεύδειν τὰς οἰκοδομάς. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως μήτηρ, ποιήσασα τὴν νέαν Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ τῆς Βηθλεὲμ, ἔνθα ἡ κατὰ σάρκα γέννησις τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐτέραν ἐκκλησίαν οὐκ ἦντω κατασκεύαζεν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς ἀναλήψεως. Οὕτω δὲ εἶχεν εὐλαβῶς περὶ ταῦτα, ὥς καὶ συνεύχεσθαι ἐν τῷ τῶν γυναικῶν τάγματι· καὶ τὰς παρθένους τὰς ἀναγεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κανόνι, ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν προτρεπομένη, δι' ἑαυτῆς λειτουργοῦσα, τὰ ὅσα ταῖς τραπέζαις προσέφερε. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ τοῖς πένησιν· εὐσεβῶς τε διανύσασα τὴν ζωὴν, ἐτελεύτησε περὶ ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἔτος· καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν νέαν Ῥώμην διακομισθὲν, ἐν τοῖς βασιλικαῖς μνήμασιν ἀπετέθη.<sup>12</sup>

Helena, the emperor's mother..., being divinely directed by dreams went to Jerusalem. Finding that which was once Jerusalem, desolate 'as a Preserve for autumnal fruits,' according to the prophet, she sought carefully the sepulcher of Christ, from which he arose after his burial; and after much difficulty, by God's help she discovered it. What the cause of the difficulty was I will explain in a few words. Those who embraced the Christian faith, after the period of his passion, greatly venerated this tomb; but those who hated Christianity, having covered the spot with a mound of earth, erected on it a temple to Venus, and set up her image there, not caring for the memory of the place. This succeeded for a long time; and it became known to the emperor's mother. Accordingly she having caused the statue to be thrown down, the earth to be removed, and the ground entirely cleared, found three crosses in the sepulcher: one of these was that blessed cross on which Christ had hung, the other two were those on which the two thieves that were crucified with him had died. With these was also found the

<sup>12</sup> PG 67: cols. 117–121.

tablet of Pilate, on which he had inscribed in various characters, that the Christ who was crucified was king of the Jews. Since, however, it was doubtful which was the cross they were in search of, the emperor's mother was not a little distressed; but from this trouble the bishop of Jerusalem, Macarius, shortly relieved her. And he solved the doubt by faith, for he sought a sign from God and obtained it. The sign was this: a certain woman of the neighborhood, who had been long afflicted with disease, was now just at the point of death; the bishop therefore arranged it so that each of the crosses should be brought to the dying woman, believing that she would be healed on touching the precious cross. Nor was he disappointed in his expectation, for the two crosses having been applied which were not the Lord's the woman still continued in a dying state; but when the third, which was the true cross, touched her, she was immediately healed, and recovered her former strength. In this manner then was the genuine cross discovered. The emperor's mother erected over the place of the sepulcher a magnificent church, and named it *New Jerusalem*, having built it facing that old and deserted city. There she left a portion of the cross, enclosed in a silver case, as a memorial to those who might wish to see it: the other part she sent to the emperor, who being persuaded that the city would be perfectly secure where that relic should be preserved, privately enclosed it in his own statue, which stands on a large column of porphyry in the forum called Constantine's at Constantinople.

I have written this report indeed; but almost all the inhabitants of Constantinople affirm that it is true. Moreover the nails with which Christ's hands were fastened to the cross (for his mother having found these also in the sepulcher had sent them) Constantine took and had made into bridle-bits and a helmet, which he used in his military expeditions. The emperor supplied all materials for the construction of the churches, and wrote to Macarius the bishop to expedite these edifices.<sup>13</sup>

### Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 'Ecclesiastical History' (c. 439–450 AD)

#### 2.1

Τα μὲν δὴ κατὰ Νίκαιαν μέχρι τούτου τέλος ἔσχε· καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἕκαστος οἴκαδε ἐπανῆλθε. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔχαιρεν ὑπερφυῶς, συμφωνοῦσαν ὁρῶν περὶ τὸ δόγμα τὴν καθόλου ἐκκλησίαν· χαριστήριά τε ἀνατιθεὶς τῷ Θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμονοίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ παίδων καὶ τῆς βασιλείας, ᾤθη δεῖν οἶκον εὐκτῆριον τῷ Θεῷ κατασκευάσαι ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ἀμφὶ τὸν καλούμενον Κρανίου τόπον. Περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, καὶ Ἑλένη ἡ αὐτοῦ μήτηρ ἦκεν εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα, εὐχασθαί τε, καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἱεροὺς ἱστορῆσαι τόπους. Εὐλαβῶς δὲ περὶ τὸ δόγμα τῶν Χριστιανῶν διακειμένη, περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῖ το τοῦ σεβασμίου σταυροῦ τὸ ξύλον ἐξευρεῖν. Ἦν δὲ οὐτε τούτου, οὔτε τοῦ θεοσπείου τάφου ἡ εὕρεσις ῥαδία. Οἱ γὰρ πάλαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διώξαντες Ἕλληνες, ἔτι φύεσθαι ἀρχομένην τὴν θρησκείαν πάση μηχανῇ σπουδάσαντες ἐκτεμεῖν, ὑπὸ πολλῷ χῶματι τὸν τῆδε τόπον κατέκρυψαν, καὶ εἰς ὕψος ἔγειραν βαθύτερον ὑπάρχοντα, ὡς καὶ νῦν φαίνεται. Περιλαβόντες δὲ περίεξ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως χώρον καὶ τοῦ Κρανίου, διεκόσμησαν, καὶ λίθῳ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν κατέστρωσαν· καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸν κατεσκεύασαν, καὶ ζῴδιον ἰδρύσαντο· ὥστε τοὺς αὐτόθι τὸν Χριστὸν προσκυνοῦντας, δόξαι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην σέβειν·

<sup>13</sup> NPNF 2: 21–22.

καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ εἰς λήθην ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἀληθῆ αἰτίαν τοῦ περὶ τὸν τόπον σεβάσματος, μήτε τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀδεῶς εἰς τοῦτο φοιτᾶν, ἢ ἑτέροις καταμηνύειν τολμῶντων, καὶ τούναντίον πιστουμένου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος. Ἐγένετό γε μὴν δηλὸς ὁ τόπος, καὶ ἐφωράθη ἡ σπουδασθεῖσα περὶ αὐτὸν πλάνη· ὡς μὲν τινὲς λέγουσιν, ἀνδρὸς Ἑβραίου τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν ἔω οἰκούντων, ἐκ πατρῴας γραφῆς καταμηνύσαντος· ὡς δὲ ἀληθέστερον ἐννοεῖν ἐστὶ, τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιδείξαντος διὰ σημείων καὶ ὄνειράτων. Οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι τὰ θεῖα δεῖσθαι τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώπων μνηύσεως, ἡνίκα αὖν δηλὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Θεῷ δοκῇ γενέσθαι. Τηνικαῦτα οὖν κατὰ πρόσταξιν τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ τῇδε χώρου καθαρθέντος εἰς βάθος, ἐν μέρει τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐφάνη ἄντρον. Ἐτέρωθι δὲ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον τρεῖς εὐρέθησαν σταυροί· καὶ χωρὶς ἄλλο ξύλον ἐν τάξει λευκώματος ῥήμασι καὶ γράμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς, Ἑλληνικοῖς τε καὶ Ῥωμαϊκοῖς, ταῦτα δηλοῦν, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ὡς ἡ ἱερὰ βίβλος τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἱστορεῖ, οὕτω συνέβη προγραφῆναι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Πιλάτου τοῦτο προστάξαντος, τοῦ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτροπεύοντος. Ἐργώδης δὲ ἔτι ἐτύγγανεν ἡ τοῦ θείου σταυροῦ διάκρισις, εἰ καὶ εὐρέθη, διερρηκτότος αὐτοῦ τοῦ γράμματος, καὶ διερριμμένου· ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν τριῶν σταυρῶν χύδην διεσπαρμένων, ὡς γε εἰκὸς, ἐν τῇ καθαιρέσει τῶν σταυρωθέντων σωμάτων συγχυθείσης τῆς τάξεως. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ στρατιῶται νεκρὸν ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ εὐρήκασι, καθελόντες αὐτὸν, πρῶτον ἀπέδοντο εἰς ταφὴν, κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ληστῶν ταχύναντες τὸν θάνατον, τὰ σκέλη κατέαξαν, καὶ τὰ ξύλα ὅπη ἔτυξεν, ἄλλο ἄλλῃ ἔρριψαν. Τί γὰρ καὶ ἐπιμελὲς αὐτοῖς, ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ τάξει ταῦτα ἔξιν, ἐκάστου φθάσαι τὴν ἐσπέραν σπυδάζοντος, καὶ ἀνδρῶν βίᾳ τετελευτηκότων περὶ σταυροὺς ἐδιατρίβειν οὐκ ἀγαθὸν ἡγουμένου. Ταύτη οὖν ἀδήλου τυγχάνοντος ἔτι τοῦ θείου ξύλου, καὶ θειστέρας ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον δεομένου μνηύσεως, τοιόνδε τι συνέβη. Γυνὴ τις ἦν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τῶν ἐπισήμων, χαλεπωτάτῳ καὶ ἀνιάτῳ νόσῳ κάμνουσα. Πρὸς ταύτην κειμένην ἦλθε Μακάριος ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος, παραλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτόν. Εὐξάμενός τε πρότερον, καὶ σύμβολον τάξας τοῖς ὁρώσιν, ἐκέλευον εἶναι τὸν θεῖον σταυρὸν, ὃς ἐπιτεθεὶς ἀπαλλάξει τῆς νόσου τὴν γυναῖκα, φέρων ἕκαστον αὐτῇ τῶν ξύλων προσήγαγεν. Ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν δύο ἐπιτεθέντων, οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ λῆρος καὶ γέλως ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὸ γινόμενον, θανάτου ἐν θύραις ὄντος τοῦ γυναιίου. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τρίτον ξύλον ὁμοίως προσήνεγκεν, ἐξαπίνης ἀνέβλεψε, καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀθροίσασα, παραχρήμα τῆς στρωμνῆς ὑγιῆς ἀπεπήδησε. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ νεκρὸν τῷ ἴσῳ τρόπῳ ἀναβιώσαι. Τοῦ δὲ εὐρεθέντος θεοσπεσίου ξύλου, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐν ἀργυρᾷ θήκῃ μένου ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις φυλάττεται. Μέρος δὲ ἡ βασιλὶς πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν παῖδα διεκόμισεν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἡλούς οἱς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ διαπεπερόνητο. Ἐκ τούτων δὲ ἱστοροῦσι, περικεφαλαίαν τὸν βασιλέα κατασκευάσαι, καὶ χαλινὸν ἵππου, κατὰ τὴν Ζαχαρίου προφητείαν· ᾧ δὴ προεῖρηται, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ, ἔσται τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν χαλινὸν τοῦ ἵππου ἅγιον τῷ Κυρίῳ παντοκράτορι. Ὡδε γὰρ αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ὁ προφήτης φησί. Ταῦτα πάλαι μὲν ἔγνωστο καὶ προεῖρητο τοῖς ἱεροῖς προφήταις· εἰς ὕστερον δὲ διὰ θαυμασίῳν ἐβεβαιούτο τῶν ἔργων, ὅτε ἐν καιρῷ δοκοῦν εἶναι τῷ Θεῷ κατεφαίνετο. Καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὕτω τοσοῦτον, ὅπου γε καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνωμολόγηται Σιβύλλης εἶναι τοῦτο, Ὡ ξύλον μακαριστὸν, ἐφ' οὗ Θεὸς ἐξετανύσθη. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ σπουδάζων τις ἐναντίος εἶναι, οὐκ ἂν ἀρνηθεῖ. Προϋσῆμαινεν οὖν τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον, καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ σέβας. Τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν ὡς παρειλήφαμεν ἱστόρηται, ἀνδρῶν τε ἀκριβῶς ἐπισταμένων ἀκούσασιν, εἰς οὓς ἐκ διαδοχῆς πατέρων εἰς παῖδας τὸ μανθάνειν παρεγένετο, καὶ ὅσοι γε αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα συγγράψαντες, ὡς δυνάμεως εἶχον, τοῖς ἔπειτα καταλελοίπασιν.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> PG 67: cols. 929–933.

When the business at Nicaea had been transacted as above related, the priests returned home. The emperor rejoiced exceedingly at the restoration of unity of opinion in the Catholic Church, and desirous of expressing in behalf of himself, his children, and the empire, the gratitude towards God which the unanimity of the bishops inspired, he directed that a house of prayer should be erected to God at Jerusalem near the place called Calvary. At the same time his mother Helena repaired to the city for the purpose of offering up prayer, and of visiting the sacred places. Her zeal for Christianity made her anxious to find the wood which had formed the adorable cross. But it was no easy matter to discover either this relic or the Lord's sepulcher; for the Pagans, who in former times had persecuted the Church, and who, at the first promulgation of Christianity, had had recourse to every artifice to exterminate it, had concealed that spot under much heaped up earth, and elevated what before was quite depressed, as it looks now, and the more effectually to conceal them, had enclosed the entire place of the resurrection and Mount Calvary within a wall, and had, moreover, ornamented the whole locality, and paved it with stone. They also erected a temple to Aphrodite, and set up a little image, so that those who repaired thither to worship Christ would appear to bow the knee to Aphrodite, and that thus the true cause of offering worship in that place would, in course of time, be forgotten; and that as Christians would not dare fearlessly to frequent the place or to point it out to others, the temple and statue would come to be regarded as exclusively appertaining to the Pagans. At length, however, the place was discovered, and the fraud about it so zealously maintained was detected; some say that the facts were first disclosed by a Hebrew who dwelt in the East, and who derived his information from some documents which had come to him by paternal inheritance; but it seems more accordant with truth to suppose that God revealed the fact by means of signs and dreams; for I do not think that human information is requisite when God thinks it best to make manifest the same. When by command of the emperor the place was excavated deeply, the cave whence our Lord arose from the dead was discovered; and at no great distance, three crosses were found and another separate piece of wood, on which were inscribed in white letters in Hebrew, in Greek, and in Latin, the following words: 'Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews.' These words, as the sacred book of the gospels relates, were placed by command of Pilate, governor of Judæa, over the head of Christ. There yet, however, remained a difficulty in distinguishing the Divine cross from the others; for the inscription had been wrenched from it and thrown aside, and the cross itself had been cast aside with the others, without any distinction, when the bodies of the crucified were taken down. For according to history, the soldiers found Jesus dead upon the cross, and they took him down, and gave him up to be buried; while, in order to accelerate the death of the two thieves, who were crucified on either hand, they broke their legs, and then took down the crosses, and flung them out of the way. It was no concern of theirs to deposit the crosses in their first order; for it was growing late, and as the men were dead, they did not think it worth while to remain to attend to the crosses. A more Divine information than could be furnished by man was therefore necessary in order to distinguish the Divine cross from the others, and this revelation was given in the following manner: There was a certain lady of rank in Jerusalem who was afflicted with a most grievous and incurable disease; Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, accompanied by the mother of the emperor and her attendants, repaired to her bedside. After engaging in prayer, Macarius signified by signs to the spectators that the Divine cross would be the one which, on being brought in contact with the invalid, should remove the disease. He approached her in turn with each of the crosses; but when two of the crosses were laid on her, it seemed but folly and mockery



to her for she was at the gates of death. When, however, the third cross was in like manner brought to her, she suddenly opened her eyes, regained her strength, and immediately sprang from her bed, well. It is said that a dead person was, in the same way, restored to life. The venerated wood having been thus identified, the greater portion of it was deposited in a silver case, in which it is still preserved in Jerusalem: but the empress sent part of it to her son Constantine, together with the nails by which the body of Christ had been fastened. Of these, it is related, the emperor had a head-piece and bit made for his horse, according to the prophecy of Zechariah, who referred to this period when he said, 'that which shall be upon the bit of the horse shall be holy to the Lord Almighty.' These things, indeed, were formerly known to the sacred prophets, and predicted by them, and at length, when it seemed to God that they should be manifested, were confirmed by wonderful works. Nor does this appear so marvelous when it is remembered that, even among the Pagans, it was confessed that the Sibyl had predicted that thus it should be,—'Oh most blessed tree, on which our Lord was hung.' Our most zealous adversaries cannot deny the truth of this fact, and it is hence evident that a pre-manifestation was made of the wood of the cross, and of the adoration it received. The above incidents we have related precisely as they were delivered to us by men of great accuracy, by whom the information was derived by succession from father to son; and others have recorded the same events in writing for the benefit of posterity.<sup>15</sup>

**Gregory of Tours, *Historia ecclesiastica francorum*, 'Ecclesiastical History of the Franks' (c. 575–594 AD)**

1.34

*Hic Constantinus anno vicesimo imperii sui, Crispum filium veneno, Faustam conjugem calente balneo interfesit, scilicet quod proditores regni ejus esse voluissent. Hujus tempore venerabile crucis Dominicae lignum per studium Helenae matris ejus repertum est, prodente Juda Hebraeo, qui post baptismum Quiriacus est vocitatus.*<sup>16</sup>

This Constantine, in the twentieth year of his reign, put his son Crispus to death by poison and his wife Fausta by a hot bath, because they had conspired against him. At this time the venerable wood of our Lord's Cross was discovered by the researches of his mother Helena, having been pointed out to her by the Jew Juda, who after his baptism was called Quiriacus.<sup>17</sup>

**Alexander Monachus, *De inventione sanctae crucis*, 'On the Finding of the True Cross' (c. 6th century AD?)**

5.1

Τοῦ δὲ Κυρίου ἀναληφθέντος καὶ θαυμάτων μεγίστων ἐπιτελουμένων ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων, πάλιν διεπρίοντο ἐν ἑαυτοῖς οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, λέγοντες· Τί ποιήσομεν; ὅτι μὲν γὰρ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα μέγала ἐπιτελοῦνται διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ

<sup>15</sup> NPNF 2: 258–259.

<sup>16</sup> PL 71: col. 179.

<sup>17</sup> Wilson 1906: 195.

Ἰησοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν, πᾶσι φανερόν, καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀρνήσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλεόν διανεμηθῇ εἰς τὰς μετέπειτα γενεάς, δεῦτε κρύψωμεν τὸν τόπον τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ. Ἐὰν γὰρ ἴδωσιν οἱ λαοὶ κενὸν τὸν τάφον, πάντες πιστεύουσιν εἰς αὐτόν. Τότε ἐκέλευσαν χωσθῆναι τὸν τάφον καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦ Κρανίου, ἐν ᾧ ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ἀγιώτατος σταυρός, τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας σημεῖα λήθῃ παραδοῦναι φιλοεικοῦντες. Καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ κακίστη συμβουλή τῶν παρανόμων Ἰουδαίων. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς πάντα συνεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι, σαφῶς οἰκονομῶν τὰ μέλλοντα. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔμελλεν ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθῆναι καὶ πυρὶ παραδοθῆναι, συνέχωρησεν ὁ Θεὸς κρυβῆναι πρὸς ὀλίγον τὸ ζωοποιὸν ξύλον καὶ τὴν ἔνδοξον ἀνάστασιν, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἔθνων πυρὶ οἱ τόποι παραδοθῶσιν· ἥδει γὰρ ἐν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ μετὰ δόξης πολλῆς ἀναδειχθῆσθαι μέλλοντα.

Now, after the Lord had ascended into heaven, and exceeding great miracles were wrought in his name by the holy apostles, the high priests were again filled with rage, saying: 'What shall we do with these men? For that indeed signs and wonders have been wrought by the disciples of Jesus in his name is manifest to all, and we cannot deny it. But that it spread not to future generations, come, let us hide the place of his sepulcher. For if the people see the sepulcher empty, they will all believe on him.' Then they ordered the sepulcher and the place of the skull, in which the Holy Cross had stood, to be covered over, endeavoring to cast these proofs of salvation into oblivion. This was the most wicked plan of the Jews. Howbeit, God suffered all this to be done by them, while in the meanwhile he wisely ordained that which should come to pass; for seeing that the city was soon to be laid waste and burned with fire, God permitted the life-giving wood (of the Cross) and the site of the glorious Resurrection to be hidden for a little while, lest during such great disorder these places should be found by either Jew or Gentile: this glory was in due time to be revealed.

## 5.2

Ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Αἰλίαν συστάσα ἁγία Ἐκκλησία ἐξ ἔθνων τυγχάνουσα, πρῶτον καθιστᾷ ἐπίσκοπον ἐξ ἔθνων Μάρκου ἄνδρα κατὰ πάντα ἀγιώτατον. Μαθόντες δὲ ἐκ παραδόσεως οἱ πιστοὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἁγίου Γολγοθᾶ κεχωσμένον ἔτι καὶ ἀφανῆ τυγχάνοντα, ἐρχόμενοι καθ' ἡμέραν σεβασμῶς προσεκύουν· ὅπερ θεωροῦντες οἱ εἰδωλολάτραι, τοῦ διαβόλου ὑποβάλλοντος αὐτοῖς, ᾠκοδόμησαν ἐκεῖσε ναὸν τῷ ἀγάλματι τῆς ἀκαθάρτου δαίμονος Ἀφροδίτης. Κωλυθέν δὲ τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πλῆθος τῆς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ προόδου, ἄγνωστοι τοῖς πολλοῖς λοιπὸν οἱ ἅγιοι τόποι ἐγίνοντο.

Meanwhile the holy church established at Aelia, being of the Gentiles, appointed the first Gentile Bishop, one Marcus...But the faithful, when from the tradition of the elders they had learned the place of the holy Golgotha, which was then forgotten (or, 'had now become uncertain') and covered over, went thither daily and religiously worshipped it. Now when the idolaters beheld this, at the instigation of the devil, they built there a temple dedicated to the statue of the most impure goddess, Aphrodite, and as the great body of the Christians were thus forbidden to approach the place, the position of the Holy Places began at last to be unknown to many.

## 5.3

Παρεκελεύσατο δὲ τῷ τῆς Αἰλίας ἐπισκόπῳ Μακαρίῳ παρόντι ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ, καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δογμάτων ὑπερμαζοῦντι, ἀναζητῆσαι τὸν ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν, καὶ τὸ

θεόληπτον μνήμα, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους τόπους...ἦν δὲ ἔννεακαιδέκατος τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἑνιαυτός, ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ κατὰ Νίκαιαν σύνοδος. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα Ἑλένην τὴν ἀξιέπαινον καὶ θεοφιλή εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ γραμμάτων καὶ χρημάτων ἀφθονίας πρὸς τὸν Μακάριον Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐπὶ ἀναζητήσει τοῦ ζωοποιῦ ξύλου, καὶ οἰκοδομῇ τῶν ἁγίων τόπων, αὐτῆς αἰτησαμένης τῆς βασιλίδος, φασκούς ὅπτασιαν θείαν ἑωρακέναι, κελεύουσιν αὐτῇ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καταλαβεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους τόπους εἰς φῶς ἀγαγεῖν χωσθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνόμων, καὶ ἀφανείς γενομένους, ἐτὶ τοσούτους χρόνους. Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ ἐπισκόπος ἀπήντησε τῇ βασιλίδι. Εὐθὺς δὲ παρεκελεύσατο τοῖς ἐπισκόποις τὴν ζήτησιν τοῦ ποθουμένου ξύλου ποιήσασθαι. Ἀπορούντων δὲ πάντων περὶ τοῦ τόπου, καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλως ἐξ ὑποψίας διηγουμένων, ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος πάντας παρεκάλει ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, καὶ σπουδαιότερον εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ τούτου τῷ Θεῷ προσφέρειν.

Τούτου δὲ γενομένου εὐθὺς ἐδείχθη θεόθεν ὁ τόπος τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἴδρυτο τῆς ἀκαθάρτου δαίμονος ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα. Τότε ἡ βασίλισσα τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐθεντίᾳ χρωμένη, συναγαγοῦσα πλῆθος πολλῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ ἐργατῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ βάρων ἀνατραπῆναι τὸν τῆς δαίμονος ναὸν. καὶ τούτου γενομένου ἀνεφάνη τὸ θεῖον μνήμα, καὶ ὁ τοπος τοῦ Κρανίου, καὶ μὴ μήκοθεν τρεῖς σταυροὶ κεχωσμένοι·

He [Constantine] likewise charged Macarius, Bishop of Aelia, who was present at the Council [of Nicaea] and defended the Apostolic dogmas, to use all diligence in searching for the life-giving Cross, the Lord's Sepulcher, and all the holy places...It was in the nineteenth year of his reign that the Council of Nicaea was held. After this the Emperor sent his mother Helena, a woman in all respects most worthy of praise, with letters and great sum of money, to Macarius, Bishop of Aelia, in order that she might together with him, search for the Holy Cross, and adorn the Holy Places with buildings. This he did at the express request of the Empress herself, who, it is said, had a divine vision, wherein she was ordered to go to Jerusalem and bring to light the Holy Places which had been buried by wicked men, and for so long a time removed from human sight. The Bishop, when he heard that the Empress was coming, went out to meet her, accompanied by his suffragan bishops. She straightway bade them all apply themselves entirely to the task of the discovery of the much-desired wood of the Cross. When all were at a loss what to do in this matter, and each suggested some different thing, acting on mere conjecture, Macarius bade them all be a quiet mind, and offer heartfelt prayers to God.

When this was done, the place was miraculously revealed to the Bishop, being that wherein the figure of the most unclean goddess stood. Hereupon the Empress, making use of her imperial authority, ordered the temple of this demon to be torn up from its very foundations by a great number of workmen. As soon as this was done, there appeared the Lord's Sepulcher and the Place of the skull, and not from from thence the three crosses buried in the earth.

#### 5.4

Καὶ θεσπίσασα ἐκκλησίαν γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ ζωοποιῷ μνήματι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Γολγοθᾶ, καὶ ἐν τῇ Βηθλεὲμ...καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν Ἑλαιῶν...

He [Constantine] ordered a Church to be built in the place of the life-giving sepulcher and another in the holy Golgotha, and in Bethlehem...and on the Mount of Olives...<sup>18</sup>

**Theophanes ‘The Confessor,’ *Chronographia*, ‘Chronicle’ (c. 810–815 AD)**

§ 18

Μακαρίῳ παρόντι ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπανιόντι ἐρευνῆσαι τὸν τόπον τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστάσεως, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κρανίου Γολγοθᾶ, καὶ τὸ ζωοποιὸν ξύλον.

The Emperor ordered Macarius, the Bishop of Jerusalem, who was present at the Council (of Nicaea), that on his return he should search out the place of the holy Resurrection, and Golgotha, the Place of the Skull, and the life-giving wood (of the Cross).

§ 21

Τότε δὲ καὶ ἐκκλησίας ἐκέλευσε κτισθῆναι ἐν τε τῷ ἁγίῳ μνήματι καὶ ἐν τῷ Κρανίῳ, καὶ ἐπ’ ὀνόματι τοῦ ἑαυτῆς υἱοῦ, ἔθα εὐρέθη τὸ ζωοποιὸν ξύλον...

At that time also she [the Empress Helena] also ordered churches to be built at the Holy Spulcher, and at the Skull, and another one named after her son, on the spot where the life-giving Cross was found.<sup>19</sup>

**Leo VI ‘The Wise,’ *Epistola ad Omarum saracenorum regem*, ‘Letter to Omar, the King of the Saracens’ (c. late 9th century AD?)**

*Cumque reverteretur, matrem suam Helenam cum exercitu usquequo Jerusalem veniret direxit, ut quid de cruce Christi factum esset, a Judaeis perquireret. Multis autem cruciatis, virum illum qui de tribu ejus fuerat cui res premium notificabatur, inquiri praecepi. Illum autem, rei veritatem aperire nolentem, in puteo sine potu et victu recludit. Cumque se moriturum cognovisset, ei locum estendit; et dum foderent, fumes incensi de fovea exivit, tres cruces, post ccc annos ex quo Christus venerat, ostendens.*<sup>20</sup>

And when he [Constantine] was returning, he guided his mother Helena with his army to Jerusalem, that he might enquire of the Jews what had become of the Cross. After many of them had been put to the torture, he ordered a man of the tribe to which the matter was first made known to be questioned. As he was unwilling to tell the whole truth about the matter, he shut him up in a pit without food or drink. When the man felt that he was about to die, he showed him the place. While they were digging, the smoke of incense came out of the trench, showing the three crosses, after three hundred years from the coming of Christ.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Greek text in PG 87c: cols. 4037, 4045, 4061, 4064; English translation in Wilson 1906: 189–191.

<sup>19</sup> Greek texts in PG 108: cols. 104, 112; English translation in Wilson 1906: 191.

<sup>20</sup> PG 107: col. 322.

<sup>21</sup> Wilson 1906: 191.

**Nikephorus Kallistus Xanthopoulos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ‘Ecclesiastical History’  
(c. 1320 AD)**

8.30

Ἡ δὲ βασιλὶς Ἑλένη, πολυτελῆ τὸν οἶκον ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀναστάσεως μνήματι καὶ τοῦ Κρανίου δειμαμένη, ὡς μηδενὸς λείπεσθαι τῶν, ὅσα εἰς κάλλος ἦκει καὶ μέγεθος, ἵνα ἡ Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ὠνόμασεν, ἀντίτυπον τῇ παλαιᾷ ἐκείνῃ καὶ καταλελυμένῃ σκηνῇ.<sup>22</sup>

Now the Empress Helena, when she had built her costly church on the site of the Resurrection, and of the Skull, in such fashion as to be second to none either in size or beauty, gave the church the Name of New Jerusalem, as being the antitype of the old and destroyed Tabernacle.<sup>23</sup>

**CHRISTIAN LEGENDS ASSOCIATED WITH THE ROCK OF GOLGOTHA**

**Origen, *Commentaria in Evangelium Matthaei*, ‘Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew’  
(c. 212–216 AD)**

§ 126—*On the Burial of Adam at Golgotha (Latin copy of non-extant Greek original)*

*Locus autem Calvariae dicitur non qualemunque dispensationem habere, ut illie qui pro hominibus moriturus fuerat, moreretur. Venit enim ad me traditio quaedam talis, quod corpus Adae primi hominis ibi sepultum est ubi crucifixus est Christus, ut sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic in Christo omnes vivificentur: ut in loco illo qui dicitur Calvariae locus, id est locus capitis, caput humani generis resurrectionem inveniat cum populo universo per resurrectionem Domini Salvatoris, qui ibi passus est, et resurrexit.*<sup>24</sup>

The Place of a Skull is said to have no slight claim to have been the place where he who died for men should have died. I have received a tradition to the effect that the body of Adam, the first man, was buried upon the spot where Christ was crucified, that, as in Adam all die, so in Christ all should be made alive: that in the place which is called the Place of a Skull, that is, the *place of a head*, the head of the human race rose again in the resurrection of Our Lord and Savior, who suffered there.<sup>25</sup>

Greek addition in the *Catena* of the Latin text

Περὶ τοῦ Κρανίου τόπου ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὅτι Ἑβραῖοι παραδι δόασιν, ὅτι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἐκεῖ τέθαιπται ἵνα ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀδάμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσι, πάλιν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιηθῶσι.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> PG 146: col. 112.

<sup>23</sup> Wilson 1906: 191–192.

<sup>24</sup> PG 13: col. 1777.

<sup>25</sup> Wilson 1906: 159, no. 1.

<sup>26</sup> PG 13: col. 1777.

With regard to the Place of a Skull, a Hebrew tradition has come down to us that Adam's body is buried there, to the end that as in Adam all die, even so in Christ all shall be made a live again.<sup>27</sup>

### Jerome, *Epistulae*, 'Letters' (c. 390s AD)

*Letter 46—Paula and Eustochium to Marcella*

*In hac urbe, imo in hoc tunc loco, et habitasse dicitur, et mortuus esse Adam. Unde et locus in quo crucifixus est Dominus noster, Calvaria appellatur, scilicet quod ibi sic antiqui hominis calvaria condita, ut secundus Adam, id est sanguis Christi de cruce stillans, primi Adam et jacentis protoplasti peccata dilueret : et tunc sermo ille Apostoli completerur: 'Excitare qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et illuminabit te Christus.'*<sup>28</sup>

Tradition has it that in this city [Jerusalem], nay, more, on this very spot, Adam lived and died. The place where our Lord was crucified is called Calvary, because the skull of the primitive man was buried there. So it came to pass that the second Adam, that is the blood of Christ, as it dropped from the cross, washed away the sins of the buried protoplast, the first Adam, and thus the words of the apostle were fulfilled: 'Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.'<sup>29</sup>

### Jerome, *Commentariorum in Epistolam ad Ephesios*, 'Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians' (c. 388 AD)

*5.14—Jerome Refutes the Legend of Adam's Burial at Golgotha*

*Scio me audisse quemdam de hoc loco in Ecclesia disputantem, qui in theatrale miraculum, numquam ante visam formam populo exhibuit, ut placeret, Testimonium hoc, inquires: ad Adam dicitur in loco Calvariae sepultum, ubi crucifixus est Dominus. Qui Calvariae idcirco appellatus est, quod ibi antiqui hominis esset conditum caput : illo ergo tempore quo crucifixus Dominus, super ejus pendebat sepulcrum, haec prophetia completa est dicens: Surge, Adam, qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis.'*<sup>30</sup>

I remember to have heard someone discoursing in church upon this passage, and he tried to please the people by telling them of a stage miracle, a matter never heard of before, saying, 'This testimony applies to Adam who was buried in the place Calvary, where the Lord was crucified. This place was called Calvary, because the head of the ancient man was buried there; when, therefore, at the time when the Lord was crucified, he hung over his sepulchre [lit. at that time, therefore, when the Lord on his Cross was hanging over his (Adam's) sepulcher], this prophecy was fulfilled which saith, 'Arise, Adam, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead.'<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Author's translation.

<sup>28</sup> PL 22: col. 485.

<sup>29</sup> NPNF 6: 61.

<sup>30</sup> PL 26: col. 526.

<sup>31</sup> Wilson 1906: 162–163.

**Jerome, *Commentaria in Evangelium Matthaei*, 'Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew' (c. 390s AD)**

27.33

*Audivi quemdam exposuisse Calvariae locum, in quo sepultus est Adam, et ideo sic appellatum esse, quia ibi antiqui hominis sit conditum caput, et hoc esse quod Apostolus dicat: Surge qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et illuminabit te Christus. Favorabilis interpretatio et mulceris aurem populi, nec tamen vera. Extra urbem enim et foras portam, loca sunt in quibus truncantur capita damnatorum, et Calvariae, id est, decollatorum sumpserse nomen. Propterea autem ibi crucifixus est Dominus, ut ubi prius erat area damnatorum, ibi erigerentur vexilla martyrii. Et quomodo pro nobis maledictum crucis factus est, et flagellatus est, et crucifixus : sic pro omnium salute quasi noxius inter noxios crucifigeretur. Sin autem quispiam contendere voluerit, ideo ibi Dominum crucifixus, ut sanguis ipsius super Adae tumulum distillaret, interrogemus eum, quare et alii latrones in eodem loco crucifixi sint? Ex quo apparet Calvariam non sepulcrum primi hominis, sed locum significare decollatorum, ut ubi abundavit peccatum, superabundaret gratia (Rom. v). Adam vero sepultum juxta Hebron et Arbee.<sup>32</sup>*

I have heard that someone has explained that 'place of the skull' is the place where Adam is buried and that the reason it is so named is because the head of that ancient man is laid there. They relate this to what the apostle says: 'Awake, you who sleep, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall enlighten you.' This interpretation is attractive and soothing to the ear of the people, but it is not true. For outside the city and outside the gate there are places in which the heads of the condemned are cut off. This is where they took the name 'of the skull'; that is, it refers to the skulls of the decapitated. But the reason the Lord was crucified there was so that where there was once a site of the condemned, there the banner of martyrdom would be raised; and just as he was made a malediction for us on the cross and was scourged and crucified, so he is crucified as if a guilty man among the guilty for the salvation of all. But if anyone should wish to contend that the reason the Lord was crucified there was so that his blood might trickle down on Adam's tomb, we shall ask him why other thieves were also crucified in the same place. From which it appears that Calvary signifies not the tomb of the first man, but the 'place of the decapitated.' Thus where sin abounded, grace would super-abound. But in the book of Joshua the son of Nave we read that Adam was buried near Hebron and Arba.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> PL 26: col. 209.

<sup>33</sup> Scheck 2008: 315–316.

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# Catalogue of the Historical Sources

No.	Date (AD)	Author	Title	Original Language	Sources
6.1	66/69–75	Unknown	<i>The Gospel According to Mark</i>	Greek	New Testament
6.2	pre-75 or 80–85	Unknown	<i>The Gospel According to Luke</i>	Greek	New Testament
6.3	60–90	Unknown	<i>The Epistle to the Hebrews</i>	Greek	New Testament
6.4	80–90	Unknown	<i>The Gospel According to Matthew</i>	Greek	New Testament
6.5	95–96	Unknown	<i>The Apocalypse of John</i>	Greek	New Testament
6.6	90–100	Unknown	<i>The Gospel According to John</i>	Greek	New Testament
6.7	(70–)150 (?)	Unknown	<i>The Gospel According to Peter</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with English translation in Swete 1893; complete Greek text with discussion and photographs of the manuscript in Gehardt 1893; English translations found in James 1924 and Miller 1994.
6.8	160–170	Melito of Sardis	<i>Peri Pascha</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with English translation in Hall 1979.
8.1, 8.13	212–216	Origen	<i>Commentaria in Evangelium Matthaei</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with Latin translation in PG 13; English translation of selected passages in Wilson 1906.
6.11	229 (?)	Cassius Dio	<i>Historia Romana</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with English translation of Books 61–70 in LCL 176.
6.9	293	Eusebius	<i>Onomasticon</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text in Klostermann 1966; complete Greek text with English translation in Freeman-Grenville, Chapman, and Taylor 2003.
6.12	311–315	Eusebius	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text and English translation of Books 1–5 in LCL 153.
6.10, 6.13	324	Eusebius	<i>Theophania or Peri theophaneias</i>	Greek, Syriac	Syriac text in Lee 1842; English translation of the Syriac in Lee 1843; Greek supplement to the Syriac text with Latin translation in PG 24b; English translation of selected passages in Bagatti 1971.

6.14, 6.25	333	Unknown	<i>Itinerarium Burdigalense</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Wesseling 1735 and Tobler 1870; English translation in Wilkinson 1981 and PPTS 1b.
6.24	335	Eusebius	<i>Oratio Eusebii de laudibus Constantinii</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with Latin translation in PG 20; English translation in NPNF 1.
6.15, 6.23	337	Eusebius	<i>Vita Constantini</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with Latin translation in PG 20; annotated Greek text with German translation in Schneider 2007; Greek text with Latin translation of passages relevant to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Corbo 1981–1982; complete English translation in NPNF 1; English translation of selected passages in Gibson and Taylor 1994.
6.26	340–350	Cyril	<i>Catecheses</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with Latin translation in PG 33; English translation in NPNF 7.
6.27	363	Jerome	<i>Liber locorum</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Klosterman 1966.
6.28	385	Egeria	<i>Itinerarium</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in PPTS 1c; English translation in Wilkinson 1977 and 1981.
8.12	388	Jerome	<i>Commentaria in epistolam ad Ephesios</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in PL 26; English translation of selected passages in Wilson 1906.
8.1	390	Gelasius	<i>On the Finding of the True Cross</i>	Latin	Gelasius's account is found in the Latin <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> of Rufinus; the complete Latin text is in PL 21; English translation of selected passages in Drijvers 1992.
6.17, 6.29, 8.11	390s	Jerome	<i>Epistulae</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in PL 22; English translation in NPNF 6.
6.20	391–406	Jerome	<i>Commentaria in Sophoniam prophetam</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in PL 25; English translation in of selected passages in Wilson 1906.
6.30	391–406	Jerome	<i>Commentaria in Joelam prophetam</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in PL 25.

6.16	392	Epiphanius	<i>De mensuris et ponderibus</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with Latin translation in PG 43; English translation of selected passages in Wilson 1906.
6.18, 10.4	398	Jerome	<i>Commentaria in Evangelium Matthaei</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in PL 26; English translation in Scheck 2008.
8.1	401	Rufinus	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in PL 21; English translation of selected passages with discussion in Drijvers 1992.
6.21	403	Sulpicius Severus	<i>Historia sacra</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in PL 20; English translation in NPNF 11.
6.19	410	Jerome	<i>Commentaria in Isaiam prophetam</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in PL 24.
8.2	420s	Theodoret	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with Latin translation in PG 82; English translation in NPNF 3.
8.3	430s	Socrates Scholasticus	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with Latin translation in PG 67; English translation in NPNF 2a.
8.4	439–450	Sozomen	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with Latin translation in PG 67; English translation in NPNF 2b.
6.31	440	Eucherius	<i>De locis aliquibus sanctis</i>		Complete Latin text in Tobler and Molinier 1879; English translation in PPTS 2a.
8.6	6th century (?)	Alexander Monachus	<i>De inventione sanctae crucis</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with Latin translation in PG 87; English translation of selected passages in Wilson 1906.
6.32	530	Unknown	<i>Breviarus de Hierosolyma</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Tobler and Molinier 1879; English translation in PPTS 2a.
6.33	530	Theodosius	<i>Itinera Hierosolymitana</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Gildemeister 1882; English translation in PPTS 2b.
6.34	570	Antoninus Martyr	<i>Locorum Sanctorum</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Tobler and Molinier 1879; English translation in PPTS 2d.
8.5	575–594	Gregory of Tours	<i>Historia ecclesiastica francorum</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in PL 71; English translation of selected passages in Wilson 1906.

6.35	580-633/4	Sophronius	<i>Anacreontica</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with Latin translation in PG 87; English translation in Wilkinson 1977.
6.22, 6.37	627	Unknown	<i>Chronicon Paschale</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with Latin translation in CSHB 16-17 (based on the order of volumes at the University of Chicago Library) and PG 92.
6.38	683-686	Adomnan	<i>De locis sanctis</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in CSEL 39; Latin text of passages relevant to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Corbo 1981-1982; complete Latin text and English translation in Meehan 1958; English translation in Wilkinson 1977.
6.39	702-703	Bede	<i>De locis sanctis</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Tobler and Molinier 1879; English translation in PPTS 3b.
6.40	780	Hugeburc	<i>Vita Willibaldi</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Tobler 1874; English translation in PPTS 3c; Latin text with English translation of selected passages in Biddle 1999; English translation of selected passages in Wilkinson 1977 and Wright 1968.
6.41	808	Unknown	<i>Commemoratorium de casis Dei vel monasteriis</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Tobler and Molinier 1879.
8.7	810-815	Theophanes	<i>Chronographia</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with Latin translation in PG 108; English translation of selected passages in Wilson 1906.
6.42	870	Bernard Monachus	<i>Itinerarium</i>		Complete Latin text in Tobler 1874; English translation in PPTS 3e.
6.43	886-895	Photius	<i>Epistulae ad Amphilochia, Quaestio CVII</i>	Greek	Greek text of selected passages with French translation in Vincent and Abel 1914; English translation of selected passages in Wilkinson 1977.
8.8	late 9th century	Leo VI	<i>Epistola ad Omarum saracenorum regem</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in PG 107; English translation of selected passages in Wilson 1906.

6.45	early 10th century	Eutychius (Sa'id ibn Batriq)	<i>Nazm al-jauhar</i>	Arabic	Complete Arabic text in CSCO 3.6–7; selected Arabic excerpts with French translation in Vincent and Abel 1914; complete Latin translation in PG 111; English translation of selected excerpts in PPTS 11a.
6.46	1030s	Yahya ibn Sa'id	<i>Annales</i>	Arabic	Complete Arabic text with French translation in PO 18; Arabic text and French translation of selected passages in Vincent and Abel 1914.
7.1	1047	Nasir-i-Khusrau	<i>Diary of the Journey through Palestine</i>	Persian	Complete Persian text with French translation in Schefer 1881; English translation of selected passages in Le Strange 1893.
7.2	1090 (?)	Unknown	<i>Qualiter sita est civitas Ierusalem</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Tobler and Molinier 1879; English translation in PPTS 3e.
6.44	early 11th century	Unknown	<i>Anonymous Pilgrim I</i>	Latin	Complete Latin texts in Tobler 1865; English translations in PPTS 6a.
7.5	12th century	Unknown	<i>Anonymous Pilgrim II</i>	Latin	Complete Latin texts in Tobler 1865; English translations in PPTS 6a.
7.6	12th century	Unknown	<i>Anonymous Pilgrim III</i>	Latin	Complete Latin texts in Tobler 1865; English translations in PPTS 6a.
7.7	12th century	Unknown	<i>Anonymous Pilgrim IV</i>	Latin	Complete Latin texts in Tobler 1865; English translations in PPTS 6a.
7.8	12th century	Unknown	<i>Anonymous Pilgrim VII</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Tobler 1874; English translation in PPTS 6a.
7.3	1100–1105	Saewulf	<i>Relatio de peregrinatione Saewulf ad Hierosolymam et terram sanctam</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text with English translation in PPTS 4b.
7.4	1104–1106	Abbot Daniel	<i>Zhytye I Khondinnya Danyla Ruskoyi, zemli ihumena</i>	Russian	French translation of the complete Russian text in Khitrowo 1889; French translation of passages relevant to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Corbo 1981–1982; complete Russian text in Daniel 2006–2011; English translation in PPTS 4c.

6.9	1130	Unknown	<i>De situ urbis Jerusalem et de locis sanctis intra ipsum urbem sive circumjacentibus</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in De Vogüé 1860; English translation in PPTS 5a.
7.10	1137	Peter the Deacon	<i>Liber de locis sanctis</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in CSEL 39; English translation in Wilkinson 1981.
7.11	1160–1170	John of Würzburg	<i>Descriptio terrae sanctae</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Tobler 1874; English translation in PPTS 5b.
7.12	1149	Unknown	<i>Crusader Dedicatory Inscription</i>	Latin	Copy of the Latin inscription as it appeared in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Quaresmius 1639; reconstruction of the inscription in De Vogüé 1860 with modifications and English translation in Biddle 1999.
7.13	1154	Muhammad al-Idrisi	<i>Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi'khtiraq al-Afaq</i>	Arabic	The fragmentary Arabic text is available online on the website of the Bibliothèque nationale de France ( <a href="http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000547t/f21.image.r=langEN">http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000547t/f21.image.r=langEN</a> ); Gildemeister (1885) provides German translations of passages on Jerusalem; English translation of selected passages in Le Strange 1893.
7.14	1172	Theodoric	<i>Libellus de locis sanctis</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Tobler 1865; Latin texts relevant to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Corbo 1981–1982; complete English translation in PPTS 5d.
7.15	1173	Ali of Herat	<i>Kitab al-Isharat ila Ma'rifat al-Ziyarat</i>	Arabic	Arabic text in an unpublished manuscript from the Bodleian Library, Oxford; English translation of selected passages in Le Strange 1893.
7.16	1185	Johannes Phocas	<i>De locis Antiochiam inter &amp; Hierosolymam, nec non Syria, Phoeniciae &amp; Palaestinae</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with Latin translation in Nihus 1653; English translation in PPTS 5c.
7.17	1185	Unknown	<i>Anonymous Pilgrim VIII</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Tobler 1874; English translation in PPTS 6a.

7.18	late 12th/early 13th century	Unknown	<i>Anonymous Pilgrim V</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text with German translation in Neumann 1896; English translation in PPTS 6a.
7.19	1210	Jacques de Vitry	<i>Historia Hierosolymitana</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Moschus 1597; English translation of a portion of the text in PPTS 11b.
7.20	1220	Unknown	<i>La Citez de Iherusalem</i>	Latin	Complete French text in De Vogüé 1860; English translation in PPTS 6b.
7.21	1225	Yakut al-Hamawi	<i>Mu'jam al-Buldan</i>	Arabic	Complete Arabic text in Wüstenfeld 1866–1873; English translation of selected passages in Le Strange 1893.
7.22	1244	Robert, Patriarch of Jerusalem	<i>Letter Describing the State of the Church and Jerusalem</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text of the letter in Paris 1877; English translation in Giles 1852.
7.23	1280	Burchard of Sion	<i>Descriptio terrae sanctae</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Laurent 1864; English translation in PPTS 12a.
8.9	1320	Nikephorus Kallistus	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	Greek	Complete Greek text with Latin translation of Book XVIII in PG 146; English translation of selected passages in Wilson 1906.
7.24	1321	Marino Sanuto	<i>Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super terrae sanctae</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Bongars 1611; English translation of Part XIV of Book III in PPTS 12b.
7.25	1350	Unknown	<i>Explicunt peregrinationes totius terrae sanctae</i>	Latin	Unpublished manuscript from the library of Trinity College, Dublin; English translation in PPTS 6c.
7.26	1350	Ludolph von Suchem	<i>Descriptio terrae sanctae</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Deycks 1851; English translation in PPTS 12c.
7.27	1421	John Poloner	<i>Descriptio terrae sanctae</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in Tobler 1874; English translation in PPTS 6d.
7.28	1484	Felix Fabri	<i>Evagatorium in terrae sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem</i>	Latin	Latin text relevant to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Hassler 1843; English translation in PPTS 8.
7.29	1558–1561	Basil Posniakov	<i>Khodimnya na Vostok Gostya Vasiliya Poznyakova s Tovarishchi</i>	Russian	French translation of the Russian text in Khitrowo 1889; complete Russian text in Posniakov 2006–2011.

7.30	1570	Boniface of Ragusa	<i>Letter Describing the Restoration of the Edicule</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text in da Treviso 1875; English translation of selected passages with discussion in Biddle 1999.
7.31	1808	Unknown	<i>Breve Notizia dell' Incendio accaduto Nel Tempio del SS Sepolchro di N.S.G.C. il giorno 12 Ottobre, 1808</i>	Latin	Complete Latin text of the letter in Turner 1820.
7.32	1808	Unknown	<i>Russian Letter Describing the Conflagration of 1808</i>	Russian	Excerpt of an English translation of the Russian letter in Willis 1849.
7.33	1809	Maximos Simaios	<i>Report on the Restoration of the Edicule of the Holy Sepulchre</i>	Greek	Greek text in Simaios 1897.
7.34	1831	Anonymous English Pilgrim	<i>Three Weeks in Palestine and Lebanon</i>	English	This anonymous English pilgrimage account was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1835.



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## Abbreviations

### ***Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium (CSCO)***

- CSCO 3.6–3.7      Cheikho, L. ed. 1906. *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini, Annales.* Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Arabici, Series 3, Book 6. Paris: Carolus Poussielgue.
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### ***Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum (CSEL)***

- CSEL 39            Geyer, Paul, ed. 1898. *Itinera Hierosolymitana.* Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum. 39. Vindobonae: F. Tempsky.

### ***Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae (CSHB)***

- CSHB 16–17      Dindorf, Ludwig August, ed. 1832. *Chronicon Paschale.* 2 vols. Corpus scriptorum Historiae byzantinae 16–17. Bonn: Impensis ed. Weberi.

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- LCL 32 Cary, E., trans. 1914. *Dio's Roman History, Vol. 1* (Loeb Classical Library 32). London: William Heinemann; New York: Macmillan.
- LCL 153 Lake, K. trans. 1992. *Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 1* (Loeb Classical Library 153). Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1926. Repr.
- LCL 176 Cary, E. trans. 1925. *Dio's Roman History, Vol. VIII* (Loeb Classical Library 176). London: William Heinemann; New York: Macmillan.
- LCL 248 King, J.E. (trans). 1930. *Bede: Ecclesiastical History, Volume II: Books 4-5, Lives of the Abbots. Letter to Egbert*, (Loeb Classical Library 248). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
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**Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series (NPNF)**

- NPNF 1 Richardson, E.C. 1994. The Life of Constantine by Eusebius, Together with the Oration of Constantine to the Assembly of the Saints, and the Oration of Eusebius in Praise of Constantine, in P. Schaff and H. Wace (eds) *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 1: Eusebius: Church History, Life of Constantine the Great, and Oration in Praise of Constantine: 404-610* (A Select Library of the Christian Church). Peabody: Hendrickson. Repr. New York: Christian Literature Publishing, 1890.
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## Appendix 1

# Supplementary Historical Sources for the Study of Jerusalem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

### THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM, 161 BC TO 44 AD

#### Flavius Josephus, *Bellum judaicum*, 'Jewish War' (c. 75 AD)

5.136, 142–161

(136) Τρισὶ δ' ὠξυρωμένη τείχεσιν ἡ πόλις καθὰ μὴ ταῖς ἀβάτοις φάραγγι κεκύκλωτο, ταύτη γὰρ εἷς ἦν περίβολος, αὐτὴ μὲν ὑπὲρ δύο λόφων ἀντιπρόσωπος ἔκτιστο μέση φάραγγι διηρημένων, εἰς ἣν ἐπάλληλοι κατέληγον αἱ οἰκίαι.

(136) The city was fortified by three walls, except where it was enclosed by impassable ravines a single rampart there sufficing. It was built, in portions facing each other, on two hills separated by a central valley, in which the tiers of houses ended.

#### *The First Wall*

(142) Τῶν δὲ τριῶν τειχῶν τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον διὰ τε τὰς φάραγγας καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων λόφον, ἐφ' οὗ ,143. κατεσκεύαστο, δυσάλωτον ἦν· πρὸς δὲ τῷ πλεονεκτήματι τοῦ τόπου καὶ καρτερώς ἐδεδόμητο, Δαυίδου τε καὶ Σολομώνος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν μεταξὺ τούτων βασιλέων φιλοτιμηθέντων περὶ τὸ ἔργον. ,144. ἀρχόμενον δὲ κατὰ βορρᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰππικοῦ καλουμένου πύργου καὶ διατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν ξυστόν, ἔπειτα τῇ βουλῇ συνάπτον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέριον τοῦ ,145. ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἀπηρτίζετο. κατὰ θάτερα δὲ πρὸς δύσιν, ἀπὸ ταύτου μὲν ἀρχόμενον, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βηθσῶ καλουμένου χώρου κατατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑσσηνῶν πύλην, ἁῖπειτα πρὸς νότον ὑπὲρ τὴν Σιλωὰν ἐπιστρέφον πηγὴν, ἔνθεν τε πάλιν ἐκκλῖνον πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομώνος κολυμβήθραν καὶ διήκον μέχρι χώρου τινός, ὃν καλοῦσιν Ὀφλᾶν, τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν στοᾷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ,146. συνῆπτε.

(142) Of the three walls, the most ancient, owing to the surrounding ravines and the hill above them on which it was reared, was well-nigh (143) impregnable. But, besides the advantage of its position, it was also strongly built, David and Solomon and their successors on the throne having taken pride in the work. (144) Beginning on the north at the tower called Hippius, it extended to the Xystus (the gymnasium), and then joining the council-chamber terminated at the western portico of the (145) temple. Beginning at the same point in the other direction, westward, it descended past the place called Bethso to the gate of the Essenes, then turned southwards above the fountain of Siloam; thence it again inclined to the east towards Solomon's pool, and after passing a spot which they call Ophlas, finally joined the eastern portico of the temple.

*The Second Wall*

(146) τὸ δεύτερον τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ πύλης εἶχεν, ἣν Φεινᾶθ ἐκάλουν τοῦ πρώτου τείχους οὖσαν, κυκλοῦμενον δὲ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα (147) μόνον ἀνῆει μέχρι τὴν Ἀντωνίος.

(146) The second wall started from the gate in the first which they called Gennath, and, enclosing (147) only the northern district of the town, went up as far as the Antonia.<sup>1</sup>

*The Third Wall*

(147 cont.) τῷ τρίτῳ δ' ἀρχὴ ἦν ὁ Ἰππικὸς πύργος, ὅθεν μέχρι τοῦ βορείου κλίματος κατατείνον ἐπὶ τὸν Ψήφινον πύργον ἔπειτα καθήκον ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων, Ἀδιαβηνῇ βασιλῆς ἦν αὕτη Ἰζάτου βασιλέως θυγάτηρ, καὶ διὰ σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν μηχανόμενον ἐκάμπτετο μὲν γωνιαίῳ πύργῳ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Γναφέως πτοσαγορευόμενον μνημα, τῷ δ' ἀρχαίῳ περιβόλῳ συνάπτον εἰς τὴν Κεδρώνα (148) καλουμένην φάραγα κατέληγεν. τοῦτο τῇ προσκτισθείσῃ πόλει περιέθηκεν Ἀγρίππας, ἥπερ ἦν πᾶσα γυμνὴ· πλήθει γὰρ ὑπερχεομένη κατὰ (149) μικρὸν ἐξεῖρπε τῶν περιβόλων. καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ προσάρκτια πρὸς τῷ λόφῳ συμπολίζοντες ἐπ' οὐκ ὀλίγον προήλθον καὶ τέταρτον περιουκῆθαι λόφον, ὃς καλεῖται Βεζεθὰ, κείμενος μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἀποτεμνόμενος δ' ὀρύγματι βαθεῖ· (150) διεταφρεύθη γὰρ ἐπιτηδές, ὡς μὴ τῷ λόφῳ συνάπτοντες οἱ θεμέλιοι τῆς Ἀντωνίας εὐπρόσιτοί τε (151) εἶεν καὶ ἦττον ὑψηλοί· διὸ δὴ καὶ πλείστον ὕψος τοῖς πύργοις προσεδίδου τὸ βάθος τῆς τάφρου. ἐκλήθης δ' ἐπιχωρίως βεζεθὰ τὸ ἐόκτιστον μέρος, ὃ μεθερμηνεύμενον Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ καινὴ λέγεται (152) ἀν πόλις. δεομένων οὖν τῶν ταύτῃ σκέπης ὁ πατήρ τοῦ νῦν βασιλέως καὶ ὁμώνυμος Ἀγρίππας ἄρχεται μὲν οὐ προεῖπομεν τείχους, δείσας δὲ Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα, μὴ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ πραγμάτων ὑπονοήσῃ καὶ στάσεως, παύεται θεμελίου μόνον βαλόμενος. (153) καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀν ἦν ἀλώσιμος ἡ πόλις, εἰ προύκοπτε τὸ τεῖχος ὡς ἤρξατο· λίθοις μὲν γὰρ εἰκοσάπηχσι τὸ μήκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος δεκαπήχσι συνηρμόζετο, μήθ' ὑπορυγῇ ναι σιδηρῷ ῥόδις μήθ' ὑπ' ὀργάνοις (154) διασεισθῆναι δυνάμενον, δέκα δὲ πήχεις αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπλατύνετο, καὶ τὸ ὕψος πλεῖον μὲν ἀν, ὡς εἰκός, ἔσχε μὴ διακωλυθείσης τῆς τοῦ καταρξαμένου (155) φιλοτιμίας. αὐθις δὲ καίτοι μετὰ σθουδῆς ἐγειρόμενον ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων εἰς εἴκοσι πήχεις ἀνέστη, καὶ διπήχεις μὲν τὰς ἐπάλλξεις, τριπήχεις δὲ τοὺς προμαχώνας εἶχεν, ὡς τὸ πᾶν ὕψος εἰς εἰκοσιπέντε πήχεις ἀνατετάσθαι.

(156) Τοῦ δὲ τείχους ὑπερεῖχον οἱ πύργοι πήχεις εἴκοσι μὲν εἰς εὖρος, εἴκοσι δὲ εἰς ὕψος, τετράγωνοι τε καὶ πλήρεις ὥσπερ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ὄντες· ἡ γεμ ἦν ἀρμονία καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν λίθων οὐδὲν (157) ἀπέδει ναοῦ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀστὸν ὕψος τῶν πύργων, ὅπερ ἦν εἰκοσάπηχυ, πολυτελεῖς ἦσαν οἰκοί, καὶ καθ' ὑπερθεῖν ὑπερῶα, δεξαμεναὶ τε πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑετῶν ὑποδοχάς, ἑλικές τε καὶ πλατεῖαι καθ' (158) ἑκάστον ἀνοδοί. τοιούτους μὲν οὖν πύργους τὸ τρίτον τεῖχος εἶχεν ἐνεῖηκοντα, τὰ μεταπύργια δὲ τούτων ἀνὰ πήχεις διακοσίους· τὸ δ' αὖ μέσον εἰς τέσσαρας καὶ δέκα πύργους, τὸ δ' ἀρχαῖον (159) εἰς ἐξήκοντα μεμέριστο. τῆς πόλεως δ' ὁ πᾶς κύκλος σταίδων ἦν τριακοντατριῶν. θαυμασίου δ' ὄντος ὅλου τοῦ τρίτου τείχους θαυμασιώτερος ἀνείχε κατὰ γωνίαν βορείος τε καὶ πρὸς δύσιν ὁ Ψήφινος πύργος, καθ' ὃν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο Τίτος. (160) ἐπὶ γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα πήχεις ὑψηλὸς ὡν Ἀραβίαν τε ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου παρῆεν ἀφορᾶν καὶ μέχρι θαλάττης τὰ τῆς Ἑβραίων κληρουχίας ἔσχατα (161) ὀκτάγωνος δ' ἦν.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also 5.303, 342; Ant. 14.476.

The third began at the tower Hippicus, whence it stretched northwards to the tower Psephinus, and then descending opposite the monuments of Helena (queen of Adiabene and daughter of king Izates), and proceeding past the royal caverns it bent round a corner tower over against the so-called Fuller's tomb and joining the ancient rampart terminated at the valley called Kedron. (148) This wall was built by Agrippa to enclose the later additions to the city, which were quite unprotected; for the town, overflowing with inhabitants, had gradually crept beyond the (149) ramparts. Indeed, the population, uniting to the hill the district north of the temple, had encroached so far that even a fourth hill was surrounded with houses. This hill, which is called Bezetha, lay opposite Antonia, but was cut off from it by a deep fosse, (150) dug on purpose to sever the foundations of Antonia from the (151) hill and so to render them at once less easy of access and more elevated, the depth of the trench materially increasing the height of the owners. The recently built quarter was called in the vernacular Bezetha, which might be translated into Greek as New (152) Town. Seeing then the residents of the district in need of defense, Agrippa, the father and namesake of the present king, began the above-mentioned wall; but, fearing that Claudius Caesar might suspect from the vast scale of the structure that he had designs of revolution and revolt, he desisted after merely laying the foundations. (153) Indeed the city would have been impregnable, had the wall been continued as it began; for it was constructed of stones twenty cubits long and ten broad, so closely joined that they could scarcely have been undermined with tools of iron or (154) shaken by engines. The wall itself was ten cubits broad, and it would doubtless have attained a greater height than it did, had not the ambition of its founder (155) been frustrated. Subsequently, although hurriedly erected by the Jews, it rose to a height of twenty cubits, besides having battlements of two cubits and bulwarks of three cubits high, bringing the total altitude up to twenty-five cubits.

(156) Above the wall, however, rose towers, twenty cubits broad and twenty high, square and solid as the wall itself, and in the joining and beauty of the stones in no wise inferior to a temple. Over this (157) solid masonry, twenty cubits in altitude, were magnificent apartments, and above these, upper chambers and cisterns to receive the rain-water, each tower having broad (158) spiral staircases. Of such towers the third wall had ninety, disposed at intervals of two hundred cubits; the line of the middle wall was broadened by fourteen towers, that of the old wall (159) by sixty. The whole circumference of the city was thirty-three furlongs. But wonderful as was the third wall throughout, still more so was the tower Psephinus, which rose at its north-west angle and opposite to which Titus encamped. (160) For, being seventy cubits high, it afforded from sunrise a prospect embracing both Arabia and the utmost limits of Hebrew territory as far as the sea; (161) it was of octagonal form.<sup>2</sup>

### Additional Information on the Third Wall in Josephus

*(Jewish War) 2.218–219*

(218) Ταξέως δ', ὥς α' ἐκ τοσαύτης ἀρχῆς, πλοῦτος Ἀγρίππα συνέρρει, καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν αὐτὸς οὐκ εἰς ' ἐκ τοσαύτης ἀρχῆς, πλοῦτος Ἀγρίππα συνέρρει, καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν αὐτὸς

<sup>2</sup> Greek text and English translation in Thackeray 1979: 238–239, 242–249.

οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν κατεχρήσατο· τηλικούτον γὰρ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις περιβαλεῖν ἤρξατο τείχος, ἥλικον αὖν τελεσθῆν ἀνήνυτον Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησεν (219) τὴν πολιορκίαν. ἀλλ' ἔφθη πρὶν υψῶσαι τὸ ἔργον τελευτήσας ἐν Καισαρείᾳ, Βεβασιλευκῶς μὲν ἔτη τρία, πρότερον δὲ τῶν τετραρχιῶν τρισὶν ἐτέροις ἔτεσιν ἀφηγησάμενος.

(218) From so extensive a realm wealth soon flowed in to Agrippa, nor was he long in expending his riches. For he began to surround Jerusalem with a wall on such a scale as, had it been completed, would have rendered ineffectual all the efforts of the Romans in the (219) subsequent siege. But before the work had reached the projected height, he died at Caesarea, after a reign of three years, to which must be added his previous three years' tenure of his tetrarchies.<sup>3</sup>

### *Antiquitates judaicae*, 'Antiquities of the Jews' (c. 93 AD)

19.326–327

(326) Τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη τὰ πρὸ τὴν καινὴν εὐόντα πόλιν δημοσίαις ὠχύρου δαπάναις, τῇ μὲν εὐρύνων εἰς πλάτος τῇ δὲ εἰς ὕψος ἐξαίρων, καὶ ἐξεργάσατο ταῦτα πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης κρείττονα βίας, εἰ μὴ Μάρσος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι διὰ γραμμάτων ἐδήλωσε τὸ πραττόμενον. (327) καὶ νεωτερισμὸν τινα Κλαύδιος ὑποπτεύσας ἐπέστειλεν Ἀγρίππᾳ μετὰ σπουδῆς παύσασθαι τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐξοικοδομήσεως· ὁ δ' ἀπειθεῖν οὐκ ἔκρινεν.

(326) Agrippa fortified the walls of Jerusalem on the side of the New City at the public expense, increasing both their breadth and height, and he would have made them too strong for any human force had not Marsus, the governor of Syria, reported by letter to Claudius Caesar what was being done. (327) Claudius, suspecting that a revolution was on foot, earnestly charged Agrippa in a letter to desist from the building of the walls; and Agrippa thought it best not to disobey.<sup>4</sup>

### SELECTED SOURCES ON THE PRACTICE OF CRUCIFIXION IN 1ST CENTURY ROME

#### Flavius Josephus, *Bellum judaicum*, 'Jewish War' (c. 75 AD)

5.449–451

(449) μαστιγούμενοι δὴ καὶ προβασανιζόμενοι τοῦ θανάτου πᾶσαν αἰκίαν ἀνεσταυροῦντο (450) τοῦ τείχους ἀντικρὺ. Τίτῳ μὲν οὖν κόκτρὸν τὸ πάθος κατεφαίνετο, πεντακοσίων ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ πλείονων ἀλισκομένων...τό γε μὴν πλέον οὐκ ἐκώλυεν τάχ' αὖν ἐνδοῦναι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐλπίσας αὐτοὺς ὥς, εἰ μὴ παραδοῖεν, (452) ὅμοια πεισόμενους... καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος χώρα τ' ἐνέλειπε τοῖς σταυροῖς καὶ σταυροὶ τοῖς σώμασιν.

They [Jewish prisoners of war] were accordingly scourged and subjected to torture of every description, before being killed, and then crucified opposite the walls [of Jerusalem]. Titus

<sup>3</sup> Greek text and English translation in Thackeray 1967: 408–409.

<sup>4</sup> Greek text and English translation in Feldman 1965: 366–369.

indeed commiserated their fate, five hundred or sometimes more being captured daily... but his main reason for not stopping the crucifixions was the hope that the spectacle might induce the Jews to surrender, for fear that continued resistance would involve them in a similar fate...and so great was their number, that space could not be found for the crosses nor crosses for the bodies.<sup>5</sup>

### Quintilian, *Declamationes Maiore*, 'Major Declamations' (c. 90s AD?)

*Quoties noxios cruci figimus, celeberrimae eliguntur viae, ubi plurimi intueri, plurimi commoveri hoc metu possint : omnis enim paeon, non tam ad delictum pertinet, quam ad exemplum.*<sup>6</sup>

Whenever we crucify the guilty, the most crowded roads are chosen, where the most people can see and be moved by this fear. For penalties relate not so much to retribution as to their exemplary effect.<sup>7</sup>

### Tacitus, *Annales*, 'Annals' (c. 116–117 AD)

II.32

*Facta et de mathematicis magisque Italia pellendis senatus consulta; quorum e numero L. Pituanus saepe deiectus est, in P. Marcium consules extra portam Esquilinam, cum Classicum canere iussissent, more prisco advertere.*

Other resolutions of the senate ordered the expulsion of the astrologers and magic-mongers from Italy. One of their number, Lucius Pituanus, was flung from the Rock; another—Publius Marcius—was executed by the consuls outside the Esquiline Gate according to ancient usage and at the sound of a trumpet.<sup>8</sup>

XV.60

*Proxiam necem Plautii Laterani consulis designati Nero adiungit, adeo propere, ut non complecti liberos, non illud breve mortis arbitrium permetteret. Raptus in locum servilibus poenis sepositum manu Statii tribuni trucidatur, plenus constantis silentii nec tribuno obiciens eandem conscientiam.*

The next killing, that of the consul designate Plautius Lateranus, was added by Nero to the list with such speed that he allowed him neither to embrace his children nor the usual moment's respite in which to choose his death. Dragged to the place reserved for the execution of slaves [the *Sessorium*, in the Campus Esquilinus], he was slaughtered by the hand of the tribune Statius, resolutely silent and disdaining to reproach the tribune with his complicity in the same affair.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Greek text and English translation in Thackeray 1967: 340–341.

<sup>6</sup> Dussault 1824: 133.

<sup>7</sup> O'Collins 1992: 1208.

<sup>8</sup> Latin text and English translation in Jackson 1956a: 428–431.

<sup>9</sup> Latin text and English translation in Jackson 1956b: 311.

**Appian, *Bellum civile*, 'Civil Wars' (c. 160s AD)**

1.120

καὶ τὸν Σπαρτάκου νέκυν οὐκ εὗρεθῆναι. πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλῆθος ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόν· ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Κράσσοις ἀνέβαινεν. οἱ δὲ διελόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τέσσαρα μέρη ἀπεμάχοντο, μέχρι πάντες ἀπώλοντο πλὴν ἑξακισχιλίων, οἱ ληφθέντες ἐκρεμάσθησαν ἀνὰ ὄλην τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Καπύης ὁδόν.

The body of Spartacus was not found. A large number of his men fled from the battle-field to the mountains and Crassus followed them thither. They divided themselves in four parts, and continued to fight until they all perished except 6000, who were captured and crucified along the whole road from Capua to Rome.<sup>10</sup>

**Historical Notes*****Josephus***

Flavius Josephus, better known simply as 'Josephus,' was born Yoseph ben Matityahu in 37 AD. Josephus' mother was a descendent of the Hasmonean royal family who had ruled Palestine in the Hellenistic period from Jerusalem a century prior. Josephus' father Matityahu, or Matthias in Greek, was a descendent of the line of Jewish high priests from the time of the Hasmonean rule. Josephus was raised and educated as a Pharisee in Jerusalem. By age 29 Josephus was entrusted with an important commission in the Galilee during the days of the brewing war between the Jews and the Roman government. Josephus ended up commanding the Jewish military forces of the Galilee until his capture at the siege of Yotapata in 67 AD, which took place under Vespasian, who would become emperor two years later. Josephus became a Roman citizen and was quartered in the home of the emperor where he devoted much of his time to writing. His earliest works were the Jewish War (*Bellum Judaicarum*), written sometime between 75 and 79/80 AD, five to ten years after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD, and the Jewish Antiquities (*Antiquitates Judaicae*), which appeared in 93/94 AD. Josephus's later works included his autobiography *Life* (*Vita*), and his defense of Judaism, *Against Apion* (*Contra Apionem*). The date of the death of Josephus is unknown, but it may have been around 100 AD. Josephus's writings were preserved in antiquity by Christians due to in part to their historical value, but also because Josephus makes specific mention of John the Baptist (*Ant.* 18.116–119), Jesus of Nazareth (*Ant.* 18.63–64), and James the brother of Jesus (*Ant.* 18.200) (Thackeray 1966: vii–xii; Feldman 1992: 981–982).

***Quintilian***

Marcus Fabius Quintilianus was born c. 35 AD at Calagurris in the Roman province of Hispania. Quintilian was educated in Rome by well-known grammarians and rhetoricians, which is not surprising considering that his father was a known rhetorician in Rome.

<sup>10</sup> Greek text and English translation in White 1972: 222–225.

Quintilian returned to his homeland to teach rhetoric, but returned to Rome in 68 AD to teach, and was the first rhetorician to set up a genuine public school that received salary from the State. He had among his students, Pliny the Younger. He married late in life and died a high-ranking official sometime before 100 AD. The only two works that were certainly published by Quintilian are the *Institutes of Oratory* (*Institutio Oratoria*), a somewhat technical treatise on rhetoric, and *On the Causes of the Decadence of Roman Oratory* (*De causis corruptae eloquentiae*). Other works, however, exist such as lectures circulated against Quintilian's will by his students as well as other spurious works, which include the *Declamations* (Butler 1953: vii–ix).

### **Tacitus**

Not much is known about the life of the historian Cornelius Tacitus. He was probably born around 55–56 AD. Tacitus was born into a wealthy family, which is attested by his good rhetorical education, full political career, and early marriage. It is certain that in 78 AD Tacitus married, and that by 88 he was a *praetor* and a member of the college of the *XV viri*. He obtained consulship in 97/98, and between 113–116 (or 111–112) he governed the province of Asia as proconsul. He seems also to have held some of the offices of the *vigintivirate* under the emperor Vespasian (r. 69–79 AD) and held a quaestorship between 79 and 81. Tacitus is known most for his historical works—the *Histories* (*Historiarum*) and *Annals* (*Annales*)—though he penned three minor works as well (*Dialogues de oratoribus*, the *Agricola*, and *Germania*). He wrote his *Histories* first, which covered the years 69 to 96 AD. He then worked on the *Annals*, which covered the years from 14 to 68 AD. The historical works were composed over a period of about thirteen years, with the *Histories* being written around 104–109 and the *Annals* between 116 and 117 AD (Moore 1956: vii–xiii; Jackson 1956a: 227–239).

### **Appian**

The historian Appian or Appianus was a native of Alexandria, Egypt. He was born around the year 95 AD, and died around 165. All that is known about him comes primarily from his own writings. He says of himself that he reached a high station in his own country, that he became an advocate in the court of the emperors at Rome, and that he became a procurator. Appian's *Roman History* (*Historia Romana*), which includes as its final five books the *Bellum Civile*, was written during the reign of Emperor Antoninus Pius (138–161 AD) (McGing 1912: vii–xii).

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