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REBUILDING ZION: THE HOLY PLACES OF JERUSALEM IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

by BERNARD HAMILTON

IT is unusual for a period of Christian renewal to begin with a massacre, yet that is what happened when the crusaders entered Jerusalem on 15 July 1099. Raymond of Aguilers, chaplain of the count of Toulouse, boasted that they rode through moslem corpses heaped up in the Haram al-Sharif with blood 'even to the horse bridles'.¹ This should not obscure the fact that the crusading movement was motivated partly by a growing devotion to the humanity of Christ in the western church in the late eleventh century,² or, as the author of the *Gesta Francorum* expressed it, a desire to 'follow in the footsteps of Christ, by whom they had been redeemed from the power of hell'.³ It was this sentiment which led the crusaders to seek to restore the shrine-churches of Jerusalem and in the eighty-eight years of their rule they filled the city with fine churches and monasteries closely resembling those which were being built in the west at the same time.

It should be emphasised that the crusaders were seldom concerned to rebuild existing churches in Frankish style: their primary interest was to restore churches which had been ruined by war and persecution in the centuries of moslem rule. The pilgrim Saewulf, who visited the east four years after the Latin conquest, reported that 'nothing has been left habitable by the Saracens, but everything has been devastated . . . in all . . . the holy places outside the walls . . . of Jerusalem'.⁴

The chief shrine was the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Constantine the Great had erected a complex of buildings there around three principal holy places and some knowledge of his work is essential in order to appreciate later developments. At the eastern end of the complex a large basilica was built over the crypt where Saint Helena had found the relic of the Cross; to the west of this was a courtyard, in the south-

¹ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, RHC O.c. 3p 300.

² R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London 1953) pp 245-9.

³ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed and transl R. Hill (London 1962) p 2.

⁴ *Saewulf's pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, transl W. R. Brownlow, PPTS 21, (1892) p 22.

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France and the Norman kingdom of Sicily.⁸⁰ Rebuilding Jerusalem as a Christian pilgrimage centre was, like the crusades themselves, a corporate western activity in which the French in particular played a central part.

Although there are no statistics, all the evidence suggests that there was a great increase in the annual number of pilgrimages to Jerusalem during the years of Latin rule. The pilgrims came from all parts of the Christian world, the east as well as the west. John of Würzburg was clearly astonished by the variety of peoples whom he found in Jerusalem in king Amalric's reign:

There are Greeks, Bulgarians, Latins, Germans, Hungarians, Scots, Navarrese, Bretons, English, Franks, Ruthenians, Bohemians, Georgians, Armenians, Jacobites, Syrians, Nestorians, Indians, Egyptians, Copts, Capheturici, Maronites and very many others . . .⁸¹

The devotion of the simple faithful is strongly conveyed by Theoderich who relates how they brought wooden crosses with them from their homelands which they placed on the rock of Calvary⁸² and how some of them piled up stones in the valley of Hinnom 'because they say that on the day of judgment they will take their seats upon them.'⁸³ The rebuilding of the shrines and their embellishment with vivid representations of scenes from the gospels must have intensified the religious experience of these pilgrims and they must have helped to diffuse that devotion to the humanity of Christ which became an increasingly important element in western popular piety in the twelfth century.

⁸⁰ Instances of this: to the Holy Sepulchre, de Rozière nos 16, 17, 20, 23, 166, 171, 172, pp 18-24, 29-32, 36-41, 296-300, 309-11; to Josaphat, Delaborde, nos 3, 21, 31, pp 24-6, 50-4, 72-8; to Latina, W. Holtzmann, 'Papst-Kaiser-und Normannen-urkunden aus Unteritalien. I. San Filippo-S. Maria Latina in Agira', *QFIAB* 35 (1955) nos 5, 7, 8, pp 65-6, 70-2; to Mount Sion, work cited in n 79 above; to *Templum Domini, A di Prologo, Le carte che si conservano nello Archivio del Capitolo Metropolitano della città di Trani dal secolo IX fino all'anno 1266* (Barletta 1877) no 60, pp 132-3; to the hospital of Saint John, *CGOH* 1, *passim*; to the knights templar, Marquis d'Albon, ed, *Cartulaire générale de l'Ordre du Temple, 1119?-1150*, 1 (Paris 1913). Saint Lazare does not seem to have had any possessions in the west, but the paucity of evidence makes it impossible to decide whether Saint Samuel's, Saint Anne's, Sainte Marie la Grande, or the convent of Bethany had any lands in the west or not.

⁸¹ John of Würzburg p 69. *Capheturici* may have been Ethiopians who are otherwise missing from the list.

⁸² Theoderich p 20.

⁸³ *Ibid* p 51.

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eastern corner of which stood the rock of Calvary; and at the west end of the courtyard was a rotunda, enclosing a shrine built over the grotto of the Lord's sepulchre. The caliph Hakim ordered the destruction of what was left of these buildings in 1009 and the shrine which the crusaders found was that built by the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX and consecrated in 1048.

A marble canopy with a silver-gilt dome was erected above the sepulchre. This stood at the centre of the rotunda, which was rebuilt on its former site with the addition of an apse at the east end which served as a sanctuary. The rotunda was richly decorated with mosaics, and had a pillared gallery and a timber dome which was open to the sky above the shrine.⁵ The former courtyard to the east was enclosed by two-storied buildings which adjoined the rotunda and the Calvary chapel was rebuilt in the south-eastern corner. The Constantinian basilica was not rebuilt and therefore the crypt-chapel of Saint Helena, which remained in use, was outside the new complex.⁶

Duke Godfrey appointed a chapter of non-resident, secular canons to serve the church,⁷ but in 1114 they were forced to adopt the rule of the Austin canons and live in community.⁸ A house was built for them round the ruins of Constantine's basilica, which became the new cloister-garth,⁹ and a palace for the Latin patriarch was erected to the north and west of the rotunda at about the same time.¹⁰ It was then resolved to rebuild the shrine to provide the canons with a choir and

⁵ [The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot] Daniel [in the Holy Land], transl C. W. Wilson, PPTS 6 (1888) pp 11-14 describes the rotunda as it was in 1107 before the rebuilding.

⁶ [C.] Couâsson, [The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem] (London 1974) pp 54-7.

⁷ W[illiam of] T[yre], *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, bk 9, cap 9 RHC Occ 1, pp 376-7; [Cartulaire de l'Eglise du St.-Sépulchre de Jérusalem, ed E.] de Rozière, [Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France], series 1, 5 (Paris 1849) nos 36, 37, pp 71-3.

⁸ The patriarch Gibelin on his deathbed in 1112 exhorted Baldwin I to undertake this reform, de Rozière no 42, pp 79-80. It was implemented in 1114 and the canons who would not accept it were expelled, *ibid* no 25, pp 44-7.

⁹ [A. W.] Clapham, [The Latin monastic buildings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem], *Antiquaries Journal* 1 (London 1921) pp 3-18. [C.] Enlart, [Les monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem: architecture religieuse et civile], 2 vols, 2 albums (Paris 1925-8) 2 pp 173-80 argues on stylistic grounds that the monastery is, for the most part, anterior to the Latin basilica.

¹⁰ Previously the patriarch's apartments had connected with the gallery of the rotunda and had presumably been on the second storey of the courtyard building, Daniel p 13. Arnulf is named in an inscription in the patriarch's palace, Enlart 2, p 137; Clapham p 18.

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the new church was finally consecrated on 15 July 1149, the fiftieth anniversary of the capture of the city.¹¹

The reconstruction was imaginative and incorporated all three shrines, the sepulchre, Calvary and Saint Helena's chapel, in a single building. The courtyard buildings were demolished and replaced by a romanesque church built in a style adapted to harmonise with that of the rotunda. It consisted of a central choir and two aisles with an apse which gave access to the canons' cloister and to the Saint Helena crypt-chapel. The Calvary chapel was rebuilt at the east end of the south aisle, but the rotunda was not altered, except that the eastern apse was demolished and a triumphal arch pierced through the wall so that the patriarch's throne behind the new high altar faced directly towards the canopy of the sepulchre.¹²

The church was lavishly decorated with frescoes¹³ and mosaics: the vault of the Calvary chapel, for example, was covered with mosaics of the prophets bearing scrolls with texts foretelling the passion.¹⁴ Work on the cathedral continued throughout the crusader period: a campanile was erected beside the great south door, probably in the 1160s,¹⁵ and the emperor Manuel I Comnenus gave mosaics to decorate the interior of the shrine of the sepulchre.¹⁶ Despite the damage caused by the fire of 1808 the present building is largely the work of the crusaders.

The most important of the ruined extra-mural shrines was that of mount Sion, allegedly built on the site of the house of Saint John the evangelist, and the scene, therefore, of the last supper, the descent of the Holy Spirit and the dormition of Our Lady. The crusaders at first repaired the Byzantine church and roofed it with timber.¹⁷ It was entrusted to the Austin canons¹⁸ who built an abbey nearby and rebuilt

¹¹ The guide-book known as *Fetellus*, compiled in c1130, speaks of the new church being built, *Fetellus* [(circa 1130 A.D.)], transl J. R. Macpherson, PPTS 19 (1892) p 2.

¹² Couâsson pp 57-62.

¹³ *Theoderich's description of the Holy Places* (circa 1172 A.D.), transl A. Stewart, PPTS 17 (1891) pp 12-13.

¹⁴ *Ibid* pp 19, 21.

¹⁵ The campanile was higher than it now is until 1719 when it was damaged by an earthquake. Enlart 2, pp 151-5.

¹⁶ John Phocas, monk of Patmos, who visited Jerusalem in 1185, talks of the gold mosaics of the Sepulchre, the gift of 'my lord and master, Manuel Comnenus, Porphyrogenitus'. [*The Pilgrimage of John Phocas to the Holy Land. (In the year 1185 A.D.)*], transl A. Stewart, PPTS 11 (1889) p 19.

¹⁷ Daniel p 36.

¹⁸ Alexander III stated that Duke Godfrey had placed Austin canons at Sion, [E.] Rey ['Chartes de l'Abbaye du Mont-Sion'], *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de France*, 5 series, 8 (Paris 1887) p 39. There is no evidence for their presence there

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the church, replacing the Byzantine columns with cruciform pillars to hold up the heavy stone vault.¹⁹ They also built a chapel in the courtyard in front of the church on the site of what they believed to be the *Lithostrotos* of the Roman pretorium, and the whole complex was fortified against enemy attack.²⁰

In the valley of Kidron the crusaders found a crypt-chapel containing the empty tomb of the Virgin on the supposed site of her assumption, which they called Our Lady of Josaphat.²¹ The Byzantine church which had served it was in ruins and the shrine was entrusted to Benedictine monks²² who launched a highly successful building appeal to the west.²³ They also enjoyed the patronage of the royal house of Jerusalem, two of whose queens were buried there.²⁴ The monks tried to make their shrine resemble that of the other empty tomb, the Lord's sepulchre, as closely as possible. An elaborate canopy was raised over the shrine,²⁵ the crypt was adorned with frescoes²⁶ and the imposing romanesque doorway and flight of broad steps which still give access to the shrine were constructed. Nearby was the abbey, which probably had its own chapel.

The monks also administered the garden of Gethsemani at the foot of the mount of olives. They built a small oratory over the cave where the apostles were said to have fallen asleep²⁷ and when they were richer replaced it with a larger church.²⁸ They also built a hospice for poor pilgrims and its chapel replaced a ruined Byzantine church on the

before 1112 when prior Arnald of Sion took part in the election of the patriarch Arnulf, de Rozière, no 11, pp 11-13.

¹⁹ Enlart 2, p 248.

²⁰ Theoderich pp 36, 41.

²¹ In 1107 the shrine was intact but the church which served it had been destroyed, Daniel pp 23-4.

²² Saewulf p 18.

²³ This is known in a Sicilian copy of 1106, C. A. Garufi, 'Il Tabulario di S. Maria di Valle Giosafat', *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale*, 5 (Catania 1908) pp 337-9.

²⁴ Morphia, wife of Baldwin II, [Ch.] Kohler, ['Chartes de l'Abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Vallée de Josaphat en Terre-Sainte (1108-1291)—Analyses et extraits'], *R{évue de l'JO[rient] L[atin]}*, 7 (Paris 1899), no 18, p 128; and her daughter, queen Melisende, WT bk 18, cap 32, *RHC Occ* 1, p 877. The location of the mortuary chapels is discussed by [H.] Vincent, [F. M.] Abel, [*Jérusalem. Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*], 2 vols in 4 parts (Paris 1912-26) 2, part 4, p 815.

²⁵ [*Description of the Holy Land by John of Würzburg [(A.D. 1160-1170)]*], transl C. W. Wilson, *PPTS* 14 (1890) p 51.

²⁶ Theoderich p 38.

²⁷ Saewulf p 18.

²⁸ Theoderich p 39.

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alleged site of the agony in the garden.²⁹ This chapel was also later rebuilt and in its final form was a three-aisled basilica some seventy feet long.³⁰ The entire complex of Josaphat was fortified.³¹

The ruined shrine of the ascension on top of the mount of olives was immediately repaired by the crusaders, who built a small tower there round a central altar.³² This also was given to the Austin canons³³ who built a priory there and reconstructed the shrine. This is how it appeared to the pilgrim Theoderich in about 1170: 'One ascends into the church by twenty great steps; in the midst . . . there stands a round structure, magnificently decorated with Parian marble and blue marble, with a lofty apex, in the midst whereof a holy altar is placed . . .'³⁴ The ruined Constantinian basilica of the Eleona which stood nearby was replaced by the crusader church of the *Pater Noster*, built before 1107.³⁵ This was rebuilt in grander style in 1152 as a burial place for two noble Danish pilgrims³⁶ and claimed to possess one of the world's most valuable documents, the autograph text of the Lord's prayer. This whole complex was fortified and a night-watch was kept there.³⁷

The crusaders converted the great moslem shrine, the Dome of the Rock, into a church and called it the *Templum Domini* in honour of the presentation of Christ in the temple. It was given to the Austin canons³⁸

²⁹ [H-F.] Delaborde. [*Chartes de la Terre Sainte provenant de l'Abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat*], *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 19 (Paris 1880) no 19, pp 47-49.

³⁰ Enlart 2, pp 233-6; G. Orfali, *Gethsemani* (Paris 1924). There is no necessary conflict between Theoderich p 40 who speaks of 'a new church . . . being built' and John of Würzburg p 27, who seems to have been there a few years earlier, and speaks merely of 'a new church'. John's phrase is not precise and cannot be construed to mean that the church was completed when he saw it, and work on it probably continued for several years.

³¹ Theoderich p 38.

³² In 1099 there was only a hermit there, Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana*, cap 113, *RHC Occ* 3, p 685. The shrine was rebuilt by 1103, Saewulf p 19.

³³ Their presence is first attested in 1112, C[artulaire] G[énérale de l']O[rdre des] H[ospitaliers de St-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)], ed J. Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris 1894-1906) no 25.

³⁴ Theoderich p 44.

³⁵ In 1103 it was a ruin, Saewulf p 19; by 1107 it had been rebuilt, Daniel p 24.

³⁶ Vincent, Abel, 2, part 1, pp 401-2; P. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des croisades* (Paris 1865) pp 226-9.

³⁷ Theoderich p 44.

³⁸ This foundation was attributed to duke Godfrey, WT bk 9, cap 9, *RHC Occ* 1, pp 376-7, but the earliest evidence for Austin canons there dates from 1112, *CGOH* no 25.

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who built an abbey on the north side of the temple platform.³⁹ They covered the sacred rock at the centre of the shrine with a marble casing in 1114 and used it as their choir⁴⁰ and erected an octagonal iron screen about it which the moslems have preserved to this day.⁴¹ They did not change much of the Omayyad decoration, but they added a mosaic frieze, inscribed with appropriate texts, to the upper register of the exterior walls, placed a gilded cross above the dome⁴² and painted texts and a fresco of the presentation inside the church.⁴³ This work took time to complete and the church was not consecrated until 1142.⁴⁴

The al-Aksar mosque at the southern end of the temple area was at first used as a palace by the Latin kings, but in 1119 Baldwin II gave part of it to the newly-founded group of knights templar.⁴⁵ Ten years later Honorius II licensed the templars as an international, sovereign order⁴⁶ and they subsequently took over the whole building, the kings moving to a new palace near the tower of David. The templars attracted large benefactions and part of their wealth was spent on extending and beautifying their headquarters. Theoderich, who visited them in about 1170, has this to say:

No man could send an arrow from one end of their building to the other, either lengthways or crossways, at one shot with a Balearic bow . . . Those who walk upon the roof of it find an abundance of gardens, courtyards, ante-chambers, vestibules and rain-water cisterns . . . on the western side the Templars have erected a new building . . . with a roof rising with a high pitch, unlike the flat roofs of that country . . . They have built a new cloister there in addition to the old one . . . Moreover, they are laying the foundations of a new church of wonderful size and workmanship . . . by the side of the great court.⁴⁷

Other minor shrines were set up in the temple area, among which was a crypt-chapel near the templars' garden where it was believed

³⁹ John of Würzburg p 16.

⁴⁰ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, bk 1, cap 26, 7, ed H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg 1913) pp 287-8; WT bk 8, cap 3, *RHC Occ 1*, pp 326-7.

⁴¹ Photograph in Enlart, album 1, pl 40, figs 132-3.

⁴² Theoderich pp 25-6.

⁴³ John of Würzburg p 18; Phocas p 20; *The Autobiography of Ousama*, transl G.R.Potter (London 1929) p 177.

⁴⁴ WT bk 15, cap 18, *RHC Occ 1*, p 687.

⁴⁵ *Ibid* bk 12, cap 7, p 520.

⁴⁶ Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis* cap 65 (Paris 1597) fol 116.

⁴⁷ Theoderich pp 31-2.

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that Our Lady had spent the night before her purification. This contained some unusual relics: 'the cradle of the Lord . . . stands at the east end . . . On the south side one sees a great basin . . . of stone . . . in which . . . he was bathed . . . and on the north side is the bed of Our Lady.'⁴⁸

To the north of the temple area was the supposed site of the birth-place of Our Lady, the house of Saint Joachim and Saint Anne. At the time of the Latin conquest it was served by a small convent, probably of eastern rite.⁴⁹ In 1104 Baldwin I's wife became a nun there and the house was more richly endowed.⁵⁰ Its prosperity was further increased when Baldwin II's daughter, Yveta, was professed there, by which time it had become a house of Benedictine nuns.⁵¹ The nuns rebuilt the church in a fine romanesque style and it is now the best preserved example of crusader architecture in the city. The new convent stood to the south of the church, while to the north of it the nuns had charge of the pool of Bethesda and its chapel.⁵²

Some fifty years before the crusaders captured the city Amalfitan merchants had founded the small monastery of Santa Maria Latina just south of the holy sepulchre, to serve the holy places and to administer an adjacent hospital for Latin pilgrims. A small convent of Saint Mary Magdalen was built nearby to look after women pilgrims.⁵³ After 1099 gifts poured into the hospital from grateful patients and their families⁵⁴ and in 1113 it was made independent of the abbot of Latina by Paschal II⁵⁵ and soon became the headquarters of a thriving international order, that of the knights hospitaller.⁵⁶ The small Byzantine hospital chapel of Saint John was not structurally altered⁵⁷ but the hospital was rebuilt and William of Tyre tells of the indignation of the patriarch Fulcher when in the 1150s the hospitallers began to construct

⁴⁸ *Ibid* pp 32-3. This shrine was established by 1130, Fetellus p 3.

⁴⁹ Saewulf p 17. There is only presumptive evidence that this house was at first of eastern rite. Queen Arda was Armenian and is therefore unlikely to have sought admission to a Latin house.

⁵⁰ WT bk 11, cap 1, *RHC Occ* 1, pp 451-2.

⁵¹ *Ibid* bk 15, cap 26, p 699. An inscription attests that the nuns owned part of the market of Jerusalem, Enlart 2, p 191.

⁵² Theoderich pp 43, 47.

⁵³ WT bk 18, cap 5, *RHC Occ* 1, pp 824-6.

⁵⁴ *CGOH* nos 1-29, which date from before 1113.

⁵⁵ The bull *Pie postulatio voluntatis*, *CGOH* no 30.

⁵⁶ For the history of the order, J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050-1310*, (London 1967).

⁵⁷ Vincent, Abel 2, part 2, pp 642-68.

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'at the very door of the holy resurrection buildings which were much more costly and lofty' than those of the cathedral.⁵⁸

The new infirmary, which was probably the finest and certainly the largest in Christendom, excited the admiration of visitors like John of Würzburg, who saw it in the 1160s:

When I was there I learned that the whole number of sick people amounted to two thousand, of whom sometimes in the course of one day and night more than fifty are carried out dead, while many other fresh ones keep arriving . . . This house supplies as many people outside it with victuals as it does those inside . . .⁵⁹

The one class of people who could not be nursed in the hospital of Saint John were lepers and a separate hospital of Saint Lazarus was built to care for them, probably in about 1140. It stood outside the north-west postern of the city and was administered and defended by a small and dedicated order of knights.⁶⁰

The abbey of Latina also prospered under crusader rule, although to a lesser extent than the hospital. To judge from drawings of its ruins, which were only demolished in 1905, it was either greatly enlarged or completely rebuilt in the twelfth century,⁶¹ and its abbot ranked second among those in the city.⁶² Nevertheless, it was not a shrine church and the community tried to gloss over this shortcoming by telling visitors how the blessed Virgin had fainted at the crucifixion and been carried to a cave on the site of their church, where she revived and tore out a handful of her hair in her grief, which they kept in a reliquary.⁶³ The community was also given charge of the ruined shrine of Saint Stephen, on the site of his martyrdom outside the north wall, which they rebuilt.⁶⁴

The convent of Saint Mary Magdalen also grew in importance. In the second half of the twelfth century it was ruled by a kinswoman of king Amalric's⁶⁵ and he gave the sisters permission to extend the con-

⁵⁸ WT bk 18, cap 3, *RHC Occ* 1, pp 820-1.

⁵⁹ John of Würzburg p 44.

⁶⁰ A de Marsy, 'Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'Ordre de St.-Lazare en Terre Sainte', *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, 2 vols (Paris 1884) 2, pp 121-57. The earliest document dates from Fulk's reign.

⁶¹ *Enlart*, album 2, pl 102.

⁶² [*Le Livre de*] *Jean d'Idelin*, cap 261, *RHC, Lois, Les Assises de Jérusalem*, 2 vols (Paris 1841-3) 1, p 415.

⁶³ Thenderich p 23.

⁶⁴ *Ibid* p 45. Saewulf p 21 reports that the Byzantine church was in ruins in 1103.

⁶⁵ Stephanie, daughter of Jocelyn I of Edessa, was abbess c1163-c1177, WT bk 19, cap 4, *RHC Occ* 1, pp 898-9; Kohler no 45, pp 153-4.

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vent buildings.⁶⁶ The house became known as Sainte Marie la Grande because of its size and its abbess took precedence over all others in the diocese.⁶⁷ Parts of this building have been incorporated in the modern Lutheran church.

Two other extra-mural shrines were directly under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Jerusalem.⁶⁸ One was Bethany where in the early twelfth century there was a crypt-tomb of Lazarus and a church of Mary Magdalen a short distance away.⁶⁹ From 1114 these shrines were administered by the canons of the holy sepulchre⁷⁰ but in 1138 queen Melisende persuaded them to exchange Bethany for lands at Thecua. She then founded a Benedictine convent at Bethany in order that her youngest sister, Yveta, a nun at Saint Anne's, might become an abbess.⁷¹ The convent was defended by walls and a large tower whose ruins may still be seen. It incorporated both shrines: the church of Saint Mary Magdalen was rebuilt and a new church of Saint Lazarus was built over his crypt, perhaps as a choir for the nuns.⁷² The community was also given the church of Saint John the evangelist and adjacent property in Jerusalem as a place of refuge in time of war.⁷³

The shrine of Saint Samuel, where a crypt-chapel marked the supposed place of the prophet's burial, was called Mountjoy by the Franks because pilgrims travelling from Jaffa had their first sight of Jerusalem at that point. At the request of Bernard of Clairvaux queen Melisende gave this shrine to the Praemonstratensian canons⁷⁴ who rebuilt the ruined Byzantine church above the shrine and founded an abbey adjoining it.⁷⁵ In 1180 a Spanish count founded

⁶⁶ CGOH 464.

⁶⁷ Jean d'Idelin cap 261, *RHC Lois* 1, p 415.

⁶⁸ *Ibid* pp 415-16.

⁶⁹ Saewulf p 22 records the shrine of Lazarus; Daniel p 22 mentions both shrines but does not name the second; Fetellus p 6 names the second as Saint Mary Magdalen.

⁷⁰ de Rozière no 25, pp 44-7.

⁷¹ WT bk 15, cap 26, bk 21, cap 2, *RHC Occ* 1, pp 699-700, 1006; de Rozière nos 33, 34, pp 60-8.

⁷² S. J. Saller *Excavations at Bethany (1949-1953)*, *Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* 12 (Jerusalem 1957).

⁷³ *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* cap 17, ed L. de Mas-Latrie (Paris 1871) p 206.

⁷⁴ S. Bernardi . . . *Claraevallensis Epistolae*, 253, 355, *PL* 182 (1879) cols 453-4, 557-8. The exact date of the foundation of this house is not known, but *L'Obituaire de l'Abbaye de Prémontré* ed R. Van Waeleghem (Louvain 1913) p 75 records the death of abbot Theoderic of Saint Samuel's in 1145.

⁷⁵ R. Savignac, F. M. Abel, 'Nebv Samouil', *Revue biblique internationale*, ns 9 (Paris 1912) pp 267-79.

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the military order of Mountjoy, with headquarters contiguous to the canons' house. They afforded protection to this isolated community.⁷⁶

The crusaders also built many lesser churches in and about Jerusalem. They did not have enough money to decorate all of them adequately and John of Würzburg complained that the church of Saint Peter's chains, which stood on the way to the Sion gate on the supposed site of the apostle's prison, was not 'decorated with ornaments in a manner worthy of so great a miracle.'⁷⁷ Many of these churches, some of which are still standing, were small and of no great architectural merit.⁷⁸ There were also many eastern rite churches in the city but they were not built by the Latins and do not come within the scope of this paper.

But all the great shrine churches were rebuilt on a scale commensurate with their dignity and were entrusted to monks, nuns and regular canons, who were responsible for the recitation of the day and night offices and the due observance of the cult. The cost of building, endowing and in many cases defending these shrines was considerable. The Latin kings and the Frankish baronage of Outremer gave generously to this work,⁷⁹ but almost all these foundations also received large endowments from the Christian west, specially from

⁷⁶ J. Delaville Le Roulx, 'L'Ordre de Montjoye', *ROL* 1 (1893) pp 42-57.

⁷⁷ John of Würzburg p 47.

⁷⁸ For example, Saint Thomas's near the tower of David, described in 1919 as 'a small church of no architectural character . . . which has been abandoned to ruin, apparently for centuries': G. Jeffery, *A brief description of the Holy Sepulchre Jerusalem and other Christian churches in the Holy City* (Cambridge 1919) p 148.

⁷⁹ The following examples must suffice: to the Holy Sepulchre, de Rozière nos 29, 53, 144, pp 54-5, 97-101, 262-8; to Josaphat, Delaborde nos 4, 6, 18, 28, pp 26-7, 29-32, 45-7, 63-7; to Latina, J. Richard, 'Le chartier de sainte-Marie-Latine et l'établissement de Raymond de Saint-Gilles à Mont Pèlerin', *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris 1951) pp 605-12; to Mount Sion, Rey pp 37-53; to *Templum Domini*, F. Chalandon, 'Un diplôme inédit d'Amaury I Roi de Jérusalem en faveur de l'Abbaye du Temple Notre-Seigneur', *ROL* 8, (1900-01) pp 311-17; to Mountjoy, H-E. Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel auf dem Freudenberge und sein Besitz nach einem unbekanntem diplom Königs Balduins V', *QFIAB* 44 (1964) pp 68-71. Almost all the documents in the cartulary of Saint Lazare (see note 60 above) relate to small gifts of land and money in the crusader states. The hospital of Saint John was so richly endowed both in east and west that it would be otiose to list examples, see *CGOH* I *passim*. WT bk 15, cap 26, *RHC Occ* 1, pp 699-700 gives details of the endowments of the convent of Bethany in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Little is known about the endowments of Saint Anne's, Sainte Marie la Grande, the abbey of the Mount of Olives or of the Syrian endowments of the templars in the twelfth century.