ANCIENT CITIES AND TEMPLES

JERUSALEM

JERUSALEM IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, FROM A MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATED FOR PHILIP THE GOOD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY

In 1455 Philip the Good ordered Jean Miélot, canon of Lille, to translate the *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, by the Dominican monk, Burchard du Mont-Sion (1283). The beautiful writing of the manuscript was embellished by even more beautiful miniatures, for a prince who, amid the luxury of his court, dreamed of chivalry and crusades in an age when medieval Christendom was rapidly decaying.

Against a stylized and conventional background, the artist has set details which show authentic knowledge; one might even think that he had been to the Holy Land himself. At the foot, by the edge of the sea, stands a ruined stronghold, with a great tower. Perhaps this is Athlit, the 'Pilgrims Castle' that the Templars abandoned in 1291. The first town, bristling with minarets, may well be Ramleh; the one on the left is certainly Bethlehem, with its great basilica. Jerusalem is viewed from the west; the Dome of the Rock still retains its octagonal shape, although the bulbous dome is imaginary; to the right stands Al-Aqsa, shown as a church. On the left the Holy Sepulchre displays its large, open-topped dome, and its outer enclosure. In the foreground the 'Tower of David' can be seen complete with its four corner towers. The Dome of the Ascension dominates the Mount of Olives, up which winds a zigzag road. One might even, with a varying degree of certainty, be able to identify also St. James, St. Anne, Latin-Saint-Mary and the Hospital. The thirteenth-century artist who illustrated *The History of William of Tyre* set greater store by symbolism than exactitude; his colleague who worked for the Duke of Burgundy (was he Flemish perhaps?) endeavoured to depict with a certain degree of realism the itinerary described by pilgrims.

for caption see previous page

JERUSALEM

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I

THE SITE

'The mountains are round about Jerusalem' (Ps. CXXV. 2). 'Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together: whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord.' (Ps. CXXII. 3)

THE Psalmist gave an exact description of the Holy City: a high place, amid mountains.

Whether he comes from the West, by Jaffa, or from the East, passing through Jericho, the pilgrim must climb up to it. Above him the mountains of Judaea raise their crests, rising precipitously above Beersheba to a height of 2,000–3,000 feet, from Samaria to the Plain of Esdraelon. They are not very high, but a compact range, which can only be penetrated through narrow valleys, easy to defend, a small but certain refuge, where the tribes of Israel were able to preserve their vocation and their characteristics during a thousand years. It was not destined to be the centre of a great empire nor to bear great cities. The natural resources of the site were small and bore no relation to the historical importance which was to be its destiny.

The same may be said of the city which was from time to time the political centre of the country, but was always its spiritual centre. Except in Samaria, at Shechem, the modern Nablus, the Palestinian mountains offered no space for the expansion of a large town. But their heights were easy to defend and a water supply was accessible, two conditions that were regarded in antiquity as essential to any urban settlement. If, in addition, a site was found, as in this case, where a town could be built that would be at the intersection of two trade-routes—the road from north to south, following the heights, and another, from east to west, that led from the Mediterranean towards the desert, by two opposite valleys—it could be developed and take claim to historical importance. Such sites were those of Hebron, Bethlehem, Gibeon and Bethel, or, farther to the north, Shechem and Samaria. They became the capitals of the surrounding countryside.

Was Jerusalem, then, particularly favoured among all the

neighbouring cities? In her case the geographical factors were not favourable for a metropolis, as they were for Cairo, or for Damascus. It was not they that decided the matter in favour of Jerusalem.

Nevertheless, the surrounding countryside is striking. The plateau gradually dwindles to a narrow plain where valleys run down in four directions: two towards the west, one towards Lifta—the road of the Crusaders—the fourth from the little plain Al Buqeia where the railway line from Jaffa ends. The modern city has expanded in this direction during less than the past hundred years. The ancient city of Jerusalem does not face towards the west, but towards the desert, towards the deep clefts of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, only 18 miles distant as the crow flies, but 4,000 feet below. This is the prospect to be seen from its towers on a clear spring or autumn evening, stretching towards the Mountains of Moab whose violet-coloured contours bar the horizon. From Mount Nebo where Moses died, the city's highest towers can be glimpsed, and, at night, her twinkling lights. The rivers flowing to the east were forced into their narrow beds by the adjacent deep declivity of the Dead Sea. In our time their courses have dried up, after having carved out the two gorges of the Kidron (Wadi En-Nar) and of Gehenna (Wadi Er-Rababy) which enclose the city on the eastern and southern sides. It is held between these two deep valleys as by the arms of pincers. Beyond them tower the mountainous crests of the west, and, on the east, the Mount of Olives, which rises to 2,650 feet: seen from this point Jerusalem appears to lie in an arena, as described by the Psalmist. But the traveller arriving from the Kidron sees before him a high promontory, towering above the two valleys, a natural strong-point, protected on all sides by entrenchments, except in the north, where a narrow strip of land links it up with the plateau. With these natural ramparts it is a splendid fortress.

If the enormous masses of debris, the ruins of buildings which have accumulated during centuries, were cleared away, so that the skeleton of the land became fully visible, the natural advantages of the site could be appreciated even more fully. If the soil of our own cities is exhausted, how much more is this the case in the cities of the East, which again and again were destroyed or burnt down, and where all public highway and sanitary services were unknown until recent times. In Jerusalem it is necessary in more than one spot to dig down to a depth of 30–60 feet before striking virgin soil. The Kidron gorge, which at first sight appears to be of such great depth, is in many places almost completely choked up, and the central

valley, which divides the old city into two halves, the Tyropoeon of antiquity, can no longer be discerned. Nevertheless it is necessary to become familiar with it in order to understand the town's construction. Starting from the Gate of Damascus, to the north, it traverses the entire city, ending at the Kidron a little beyond the Pool of Siloam. It divides the hilly site into two distinct halves; one, a narrow promontory, on the east, Ophel, and the other consisting of the higher, longer hill on the west. The existing Old City is built on these two hills. We call it the 'Old City'. But is it in fact the ancient, primitive city? Here such terms have not the same meaning as in the West. To a European the Biblical accounts of it appear to be the oldest, almost the first in his historical memories. But on this spot they merely fit into an already long historical sequence. David was a late-comer and this land was already civilized when Abraham passed through it. Let us not too hastily search for the places and the events made familiar to us by the Bible, for this soil has known so many upheavals. Frequently, the actual placing of any given site cannot be made with certainty. For archaeologists Jerusalem remains an inexhaustible source of research and hypothesis. But past history is often buried below the surface of the sorrowful or painful realities of the present.

Let us, therefore, begin by concentrating on what remains: the two hills, the little valley between them, the two deep gorges that isolate them. The streams, too, remain. Below the City, in the valley of the Kidron, the women still carry their water pitchers to Ain-Oumm-ad-Daraj, the 'Fountain of the Steps', a clear although intermittent stream that issues from a grotto, the Biblical Fountain of Gihon. A little lower down, below the junction of the Kidron and Gehenna is Bir Ayoub, 'Job's Well'. During the heavy winter rains the surface water rises to ground level, the bubbling spring brings joy to the inhabitants of the quarter. This is the ancient fountain of Ain-Rogel where Adonijah, the son of David, rallied his supporters, whilst Solomon was consecrated at Gihon which is hidden from view at this spot by an angle of the valley. It was this source that drew the first inhabitants to settle here. The climate has not changed; there is abundant rain from November until March, especially in December and January. Then all the cisterns and the pools, many of which date from long before our time, are filled to overflowing. Life returns to the soil, the grass grows green, and when, at the end of February the rains cease, 'the flowers appear on the earth', those flowers made immortal by the 'Song of Songs'—the white almond blossom, observed by Jeremiah, the first of all,

followed by the red anemone, the drop of Adonis's blood according to heathen myth, perhaps the lily of the fields arrayed in all her glory like Solomon, which Jesus loved. But later on, from May until October, there will be utter drought, exacerbated by the *khamsin*, the wind from the east, which shrivels all Nature. Then the water will become a mere precious trickle. To have water, during times of drought or siege, was always the first preoccupation of the Palestinians. Jerusalem was born beside the spring of Gihon.

The significance of the site has been much debated. It is certain, however, that Jerusalem faced the east, towards the desert whence came the invading Israelites; she faces neither the coast-line nor the heathen Mediterranean. It is true that several times in the course of her history she fortified herself against all outside influences, in a spirit of fierce conservatism. Yet the sea is not far distant, a mere 37 miles away. Each summer the refreshing westerly sea-breeze cools the atmosphere. The scene, with its olive trees, its vines and its fig-trees, is purely Mediterranean. This city is not withdrawn from the world. The prophet saw flowing towards her the wealth of Tarshish brought by sailing-ships as well as the spices of Araby carried on the backs of dromedaries. Jesus repeated his claim: 'A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid' (Matt. v. 14).

II

Hebrew Jerusalem

ORIGINS

Our knowledge of Jerusalem, and especially of its origins, has become very much more precise and more thorough, in particular during the past century. This is due to the advances made in philological and archaeological research, and especially to the discoveries made in Egypt and Mesopotamia. In antiquity there were scientists such as Origen and Saint Jerome who were not devoid of critical sense; but their sources of information were restricted. Subsequent information came to us through the accounts of the pilgrims—the Pilgrim of Bordeaux and Etheria during the fourth century; Arculf at the beginning of the Arab occupation—whose information was limited to the state of the city they actually saw. This is even more true of the Arab chroniclers or of the contemporaries of the over-credulous Crusaders.

The first travellers' tales in which our own historical point of view begins to appear date only from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as that of the Dutchman, Reland (1709). But genuine archaeological and historical research, as we understand the term today, was first directed towards the Holy Land by the American pastor, Edward Robinson, from 1838. From then onwards the movement gathered momentum. De Saulcy began excavations in Jerusalem itself, although his methods were still only tentative. Charles Clermont-Ganneau, the French Consul in Jerusalem, an observer of genius, exposed the forgers and increased genuine discovery. Later, research was organized on methodical lines. This was the achievement of the British, of the *Palestine Exploration Fund* (1865) and the engineers and cartographers who drew up the *Survey of Western Palestine*. Warren, Bliss, Dickie, Conder, Crowfoot, explored the foundations of the ancient city of David. Similar work was also done by the Germans, Schick, Guthe, Dalman. Their work did not lack difficulties, in a city where the displacement of one stone could start interminable palavers on the subject of immemorial rights, in the midst of a population that was

inclined to be hostile, and where the diplomatic international rivalries of European nations were not solely prompted by such disinterested intentions as those of archaeological research. There were adventurous episodes in plenty, such as Parker's expedition in 1909–11, which discovered subterranean Jerusalem as much from sporting as from archaeological motives. R. Weill made diggings in the Royal City on several occasions. The French Dominicans, who had founded their Biblical School in 1890, did not possess the necessary funds for digging. But Father Vincent remained in the city for sixty years, measuring, drawing, observing everything that could be learned when a new sewer was built or foundations for buildings were dug.

The heyday of research came between the two world wars, from 1919 to 1939. It was then that the Americans founded their *American Schools of Oriental Research* at Baghdad and at Jerusalem. This immense enterprise did not solve all the problems; one could hardly ask for so much. It is impossible to dig up the soil of a city in full activity, and that of Jerusalem, which has so often been destroyed, is sometimes deceptive. Yet these hundred years of effort, during which curiosity was reinforced by a great deal of patience and of love, have incomparably enriched our knowledge of its history.

Our horizon has become vastly extended. In particular, we now know that Man had settled here since the very earliest days. He made use of the red *silex* that is found in abundance in the chalky soil. As early as 1877, Father Germer-Durand found hand-axes in the plain Al Buqeia to the south-west of the city; in 1933 systematic diggings revealed an entire settlement dating from the Acheuleo-levalloisian. Who were these men? Until now no discoveries have uncovered human remains similar to those found in the caves of Galilee or Mount Carmel. We only know that these ancient inhabitants enjoyed a damper climate than that of today, and, for their hunting, a varied and abundant fauna, sometimes African in type. History as we understand it, however, did not begin until the arrival of the Semites. They are thought to have invaded the land in two great waves, towards 3000 and 2000 B.C. Did they overwhelm the aborigines? It appears that either with them or between their migrations there also arrived other immigrants, for the ancient texts contain names that are not Semitic, but more probably Horites. Even the Bible, in the account of Abraham's passing through, speaks of Hittites; but we do not know if these were the actual Hittites so-called, or subjects of the great empire to the north.

What is certain is the basically Semitic character of the population that the Israelites found living there on their own arrival, and whose language they adopted.

* * *

In those times the leading Oriental power was Egypt. Under the High-Empire, before 2000 B.C., and under the Middle-Empire, which lasted until 1700 B.C., Egypt had not yet dreamed of the final conquest of Syria, but only desired to guarantee her own security against nomadic and pillaging neighbours. At the most, the Egyptians would establish a few guard-posts on the Lebanese coast, or undertake a short expedition. When the minor princelings, who were more or less obedient vassals, made trouble, a curious magical procedure was employed. Vases or small figurines, representing the individual to be punished, were broken. It was a form of entombment known as 'execration'. A fragment of this kind found in 1926, which may date from between 2000 and 1900 B.C., bears the name of a town which has been interpreted as 'Urusalim'. The same name reappears, towards 1350 B.C., in one of the documents discovered in 1887 at Tel el-Amarna in Middle Egypt. This is a tablet from the diplomatic archives of Amenophis IV, who was in correspondence with the Palestine kinglets. One of them, Abdi-Hipa, king of Urusalim, announces to the Pharaoh the disaffection of his district (letter 290). The name of the king is not Semitic, but it is clear that already, about 1400, and even nearly 1900 years before Christ, the city bore its present name. These discoveries must be collated with the Biblical accounts. After his victory in Syria over an Eastern coalition, Abraham entered Palestine, coming up from the River Jordan (Gen. xiv). He met the king of Salem, Melchizedek, priest of the God Elyon the 'All-Highest', who came to salute him after his victory. This meeting took place, possibly, in the nineteenth century B.C. Where was this Salem? Tradition claims it as Jerusalem, and not without reason. The Semitic root SLM signifies prosperity; it is the *Salam* used in the Arab greeting, 'peace be with you', and the *Shalom* of the Jews. Perhaps in this context it was the name of a benevolent deity, patron of the city; Urusalim of antiquity, Jerusalem to us, may have been 'founded by Salem'. The identification of Salem with Jerusalem is indicated by the name of the king; at the time of the Israelite conquest, under Joshua, the city's ruler was called Adoni-Zedek. No doubt the two names, Melchizedek, *Zedek is my king*, and Adoni-Zedek, *Zedek is my lord*, both refer to the same divinity, venerated here, whose name perhaps appears once again in that of the priest,

Zadok, whose family will be charged by Solomon with the highest religious office. In Israelite tradition the 'All-Highest' of the priest-king refers to its own god, the only god, besides whom there can be no other. Jerusalem included another of its most sacred traditions. It was on Mount Moriah that Abraham, obeying the Lord's command, prepared to sacrifice his only son, on the hill of the Temple itself. The text of Genesis does not exactly identify the spot. But the three days' march which Abraham undertook, from Beersheba to the place of sacrifice, seems to confirm this theory. In this manner, Jerusalem, capital of a small state, a still pagan city, became associated long before its conquest with the most ancient traditions of the people of Israel—with Shechem, Bethel, Hebron, and Beersheba, it became one of the most important stages in the migrations of the patriarchs, and a part of their religious history.

* * *

How can we reconstruct for ourselves the picture of the Canaan township? Thanks to the information obtained from excavations, we can form an idea of these little towns during the middle of the second millenium. Iron has not yet been discovered. But the bronze, pottery, and precious metal industries are already well developed. Alphabetic writing will shortly come into use. Built on a height, in the vicinity of a water supply, the cities are strongly fortified, surrounded by thick walls; gateways with two or three panels are built to allow for the entry, when necessary, of chariots of war. Within the city, the temple and the house—palace seems too grandiose a term—of the local ruler are surrounded by smaller houses built of stone and bricks. The whole overlooks a small rural territory, no larger than a canton. Its independence is merely relative. Egypt was reborn under a great national dynasty, the XVIIIth, towards 1550 B.C. The Pharaohs, in particular Thutmôsis III, the greatest of them, extended their expeditions into Asia. Their Empire stretched as far as the Euphrates. The subject territories were not under direct administration; the central authorities merely exercised a form of protectorate over the local kinglets whom a few well-placed garrisons sufficed to keep quiet. This, during nearly two centuries, was the so-called 'Egyptian peace' of the New Empire. This form of domination was weakened at the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. by the religious revolution of Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton). Ignoring foreign affairs, this particular reformer spent all his energies, in spite of considerable opposition, in promoting the sole cult of his solar god, Aton. The ensuing crisis weakened Egypt's hold over her Asian colonies. 'I fall seven

times at the feet of my Lord,' Abdi-Hipa wrote to the Pharaoh; 'a city of the land of Jerusalem, Beit-Lahmi, a city of the king's, has passed over to the people of Keilah . . . Let my king heed Abdi-Hipa his servant, and send him archers to reconquer the royal territory for the king! . . .' Perhaps there was at that time an Egyptian garrison in Jerusalem. But the foreign power was weakening. In spite of the temporary improvement under the XIXth dynasty, under Rameses II, Egypt was finally to lose the overlordship of Syria. When the Israelites arrived they found a mosaic of small independent principalities, which were not linked together and which, in consequence of their inability to unite to repel the invasion of the nomadic tribes, were to fall to them, one by one.

THE CITY OF KINGS AND PROPHETS

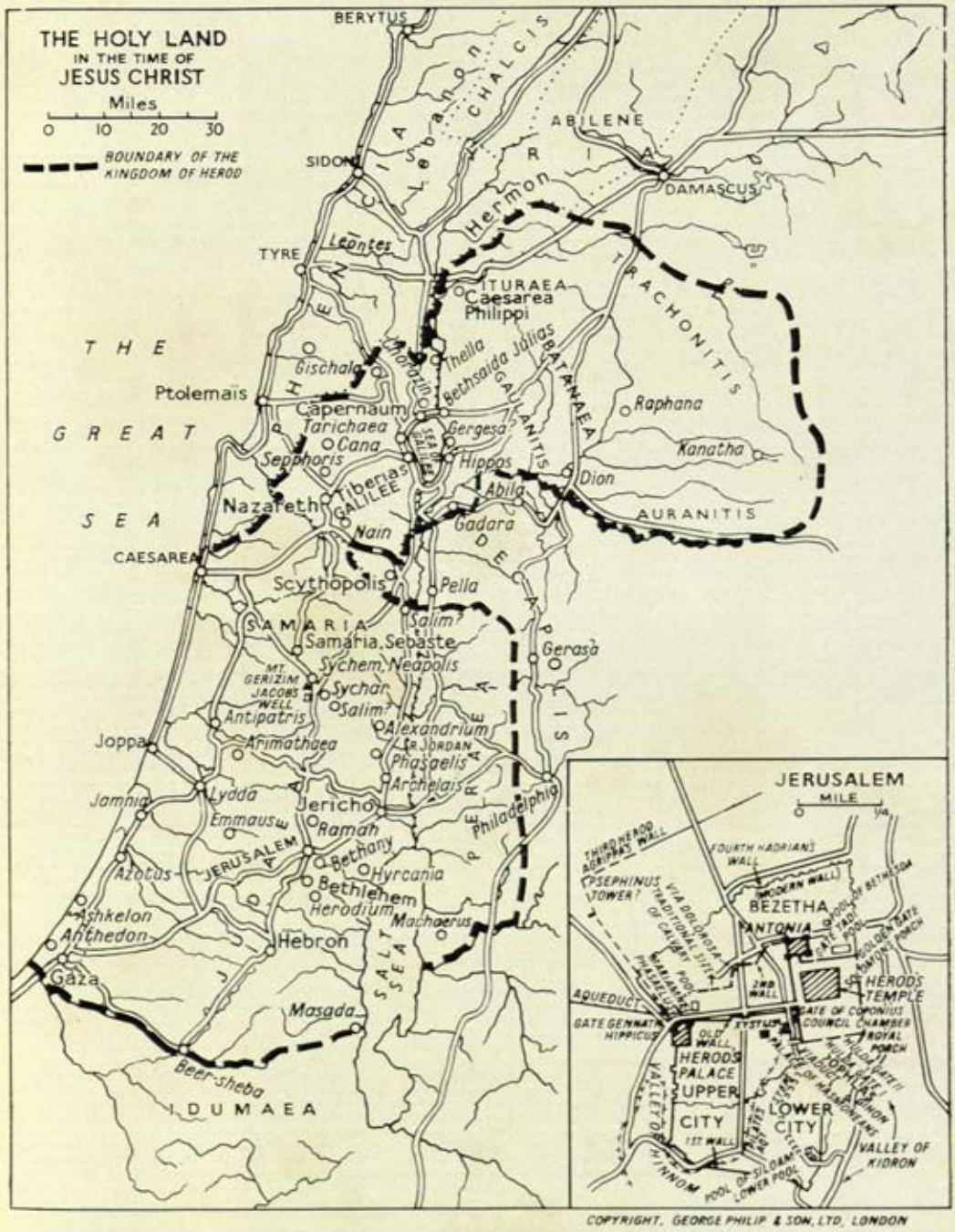
Strangely enough, Jerusalem, destined to become the capital of Israel and its holy city, was one of the last to be conquered by the Israelites; had it been taken sooner it might no doubt not have had the same fate. When did the nomadic tribes, united by the tradition of the Patriarchs, leave Egypt? Opinions differ on this point. The most probable theory places this event in the thirteenth century B.C., under Merenptah, son of Rameses II, whose stele, now in the Cairo Museum, is the first record in which Israel is mentioned. During their sojourn in the desert the twelve tribes laid the foundations of their spiritual heritage: the recognition of their one and only god, Yahweh, and the first bases of their common law, the Mosaic law. When they arrived in Canaan, the Promised Land, they were clearly handicapped by a lack of technical knowledge, for they were nomads who, now, for the first time, were coming into touch with cities on a much higher level of civilization, containing settled craftsmen, experienced metallurgists, and competent agriculturalists. Nevertheless, this small people had a clear sense of its own vocation, in consequence of which, in spite of temptations and failures, it never completely adopted, along with their other customs, the polytheism of the populations it conquered. Alone among all the peoples of antiquity, the Israelites remained themselves, even in defeat and deportation.

* * *

The Bible describes the conquest in a shortened version, as the result of the common and swift action of the tribes united under

one sole chief, Joshua. But on closer examination the picture is revealed as a more complex one. The entry into the Promised Land, after the crossing of the River Jordan, may have taken place around a little before 1200 B.C. But the final resistance was not overcome even two hundred years later, at the end of the eleventh century B.C. One must visualize the nomadic tribes infiltrating between the sparsely spread cities of Canaan, often by varying routes. Advances were frequently followed by painful retreats, by defeats as described in the Book of Judges. Occasionally, as at Gibeon, conquest by direct assault, followed by the sacking of the city, was replaced by a treaty under which the Canaanite population was permitted to remain in a subordinate state. Settlement was slow, and the resistance of the larger cities lasted for a long time. Nevertheless, during this period of dispersal a link subsisted between the tribes. This was the sacred Ark carried before them during their march through the desert, and to which their victories were ascribed. It had been set up at Shiloh, a place surrounded by mountains, near to Bethel, in Ephraim, and became the centre of religious ceremonies.

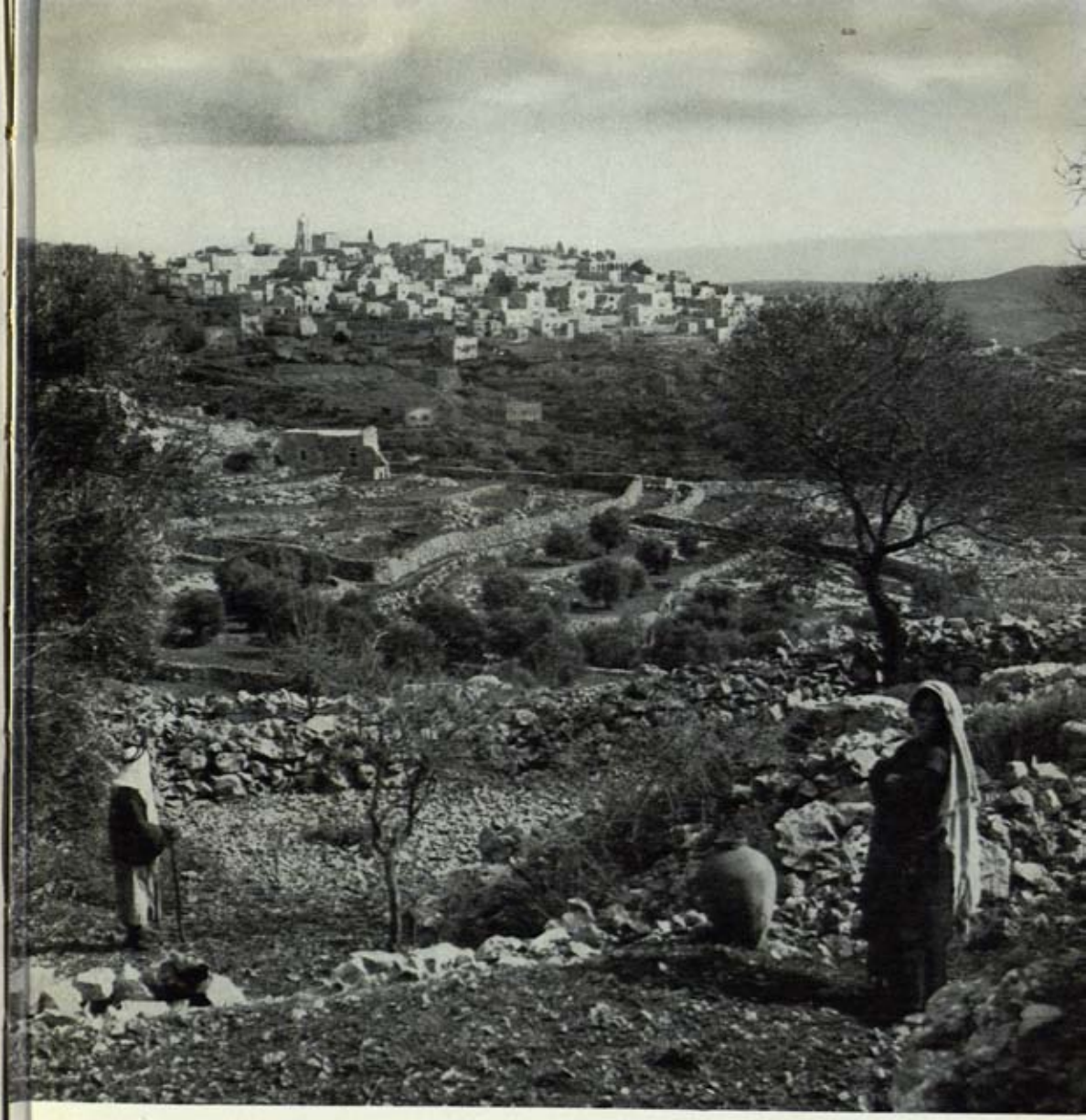
Suddenly, just when the conquest appeared to have been achieved, a new danger arose. Whilst the Israelites had been climbing up from the desert, from the east, another people, coming from the sea, had landed on the coast. Migrants, probably from Asia Minor, the 'People from the Sea' had attempted to disembark in the Nile Delta, at the beginning of the twelfth century B.C. They were repulsed by Rameses III, but a certain number of them succeeded in landing on the coast of Canaan, which in due course was to take their name and become the land of the Philistines, or Palestine. They spoke an Indo-European language and were closely related to the Greeks, having nothing in common with the Semites amongst whom they settled. They founded five cities, Ashdod, Ekron, Gath, Ascalon, and Gaza. They were disciplined and bore weapons of iron and made rapid progress towards the interior. As soon as they reached the mountains, the tribe of Dan, which had established itself on the lower slopes, was forced to retreat towards the north. Soon, the very heart of the Israelite settlements was attacked. Shiloh was taken, the sanctuary was burnt and the Ark was carried away into captivity in the Philistine cities. Enemy garrisons occupied strong-points on the plain. The Canaanite settlements, protected by the mountains, now became the allies of the invaders. In face of this extreme danger, Israel had only one hope of salvation—a strong monarchy which would unite together all the dis-



[1] The Holy Land in the time of Christ.
Inset: Jerusalem and its surroundings.

(From *New Scripture Atlas* published by George Philip & Son, Ltd.)

[2] The Mountain of Judaea, western side. Ain Karim, on the coast some six miles south-west of Jerusalem, is, by tradition, the birthplace of Saint John the Baptist. The mountain here is green and fertile. In the background is the summit of Nebi-Samwil (Saint-Samuel), the Montjoie of the Crusades, formerly the high place of Gabaon, where Solomon received the gift of Wisdom.

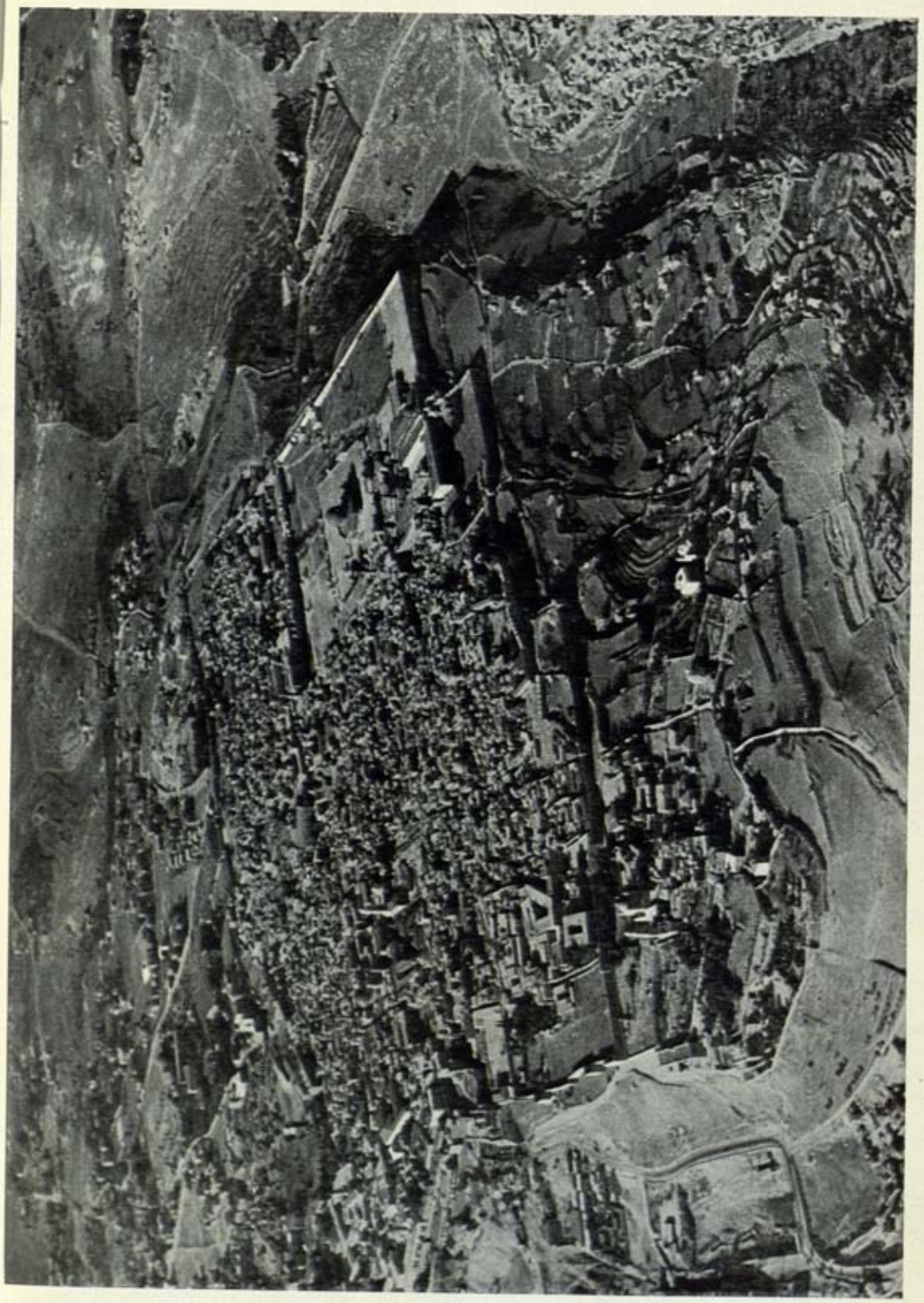


[5] The Mountain of Judaea, eastern slope. Like Jerusalem, Bethlehem overlooks the valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, the mountains of Moab (in the background). Two miles away from the houses the gardens give way to the poor pastureland of the 'Desert of Judah'.

[4] Bethphagy, on the eastern slopes of the Mount of Olives. It was from here that Jesus set out on his processional entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. From this point the view extends over the whole of the desert of Judah to the valley of the Jordan, only 18 miles distant as the crow flies, but nearly 4,000 feet lower.

[5] Silwan, the village of Siloam, lies on the left bank of the Kidron, dominated by the 'Mount of Offence' on which Solomon was alleged to have founded idol-worship. The cliff contains many tombs, some of which, like the monolithic tomb (left, bottom), known as 'the tomb of the daughter of Pharaoh', are extremely ancient. During the Christian period several of these tombs were occupied by hermits.

[6] Aerial photograph of the old city of Jerusalem, 1949. The shadows of the setting sun fall on the Kidron (right). The Tyropeon, which divides the two hills, can only be seen distinctly on the bank of the Ophel, below the Haram. Left, the bend of Gehenna. The extension of the new city can be seen beyond Bezethda, to the north. Left, the dome of the Holy Sepulchre, close to the tall white tower of the Lutheran church (Erlöserkirche). The present city includes four quarters: the Christian, to the north-west (left, top), the Moslem (east-north-east, to the right), the Armenian, to the south-west (left-hand corner), and the Jewish quarter, south (centre of photograph). This latter quarter was destroyed during the Arab-Jewish war of 1948.



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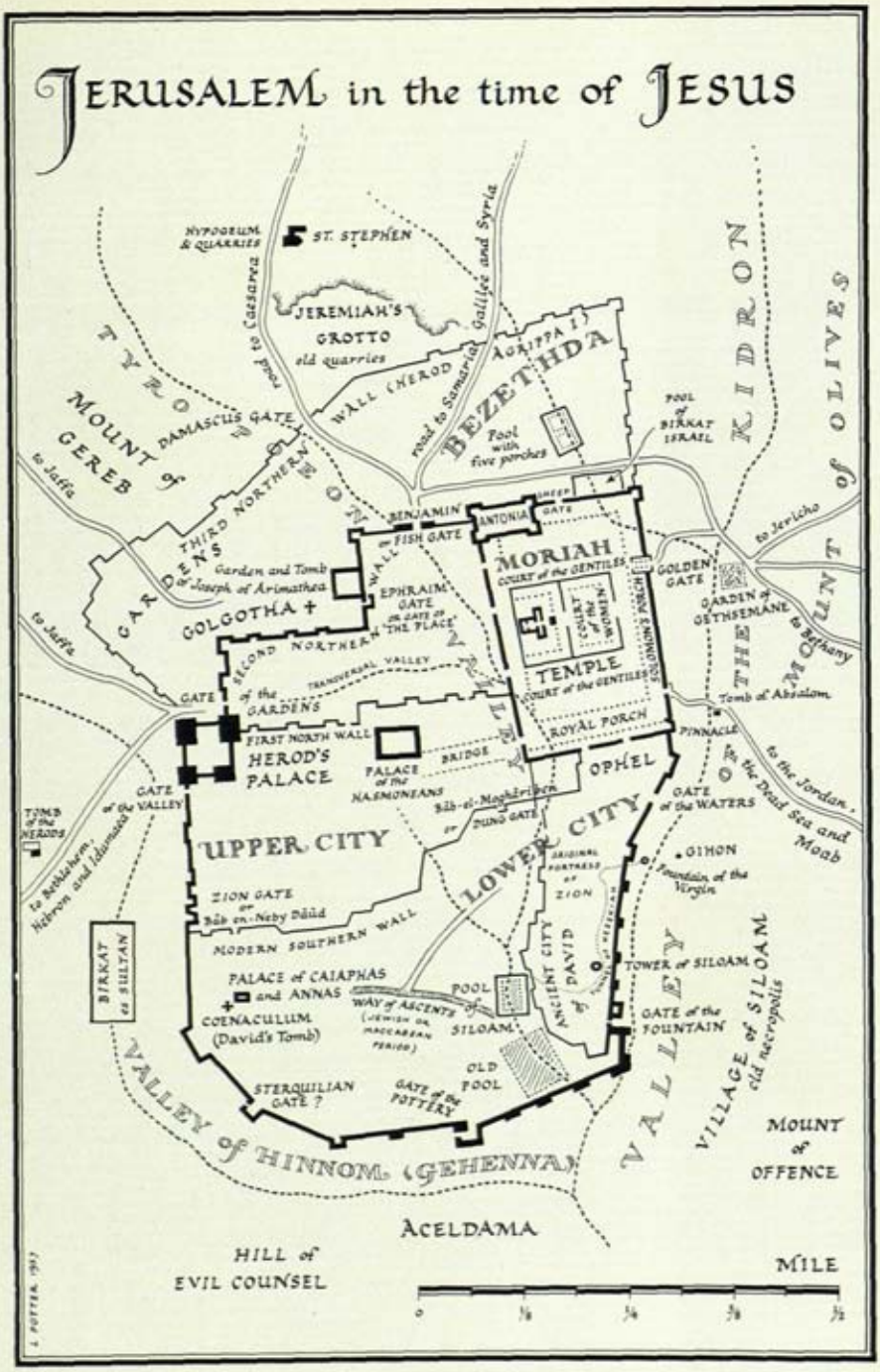
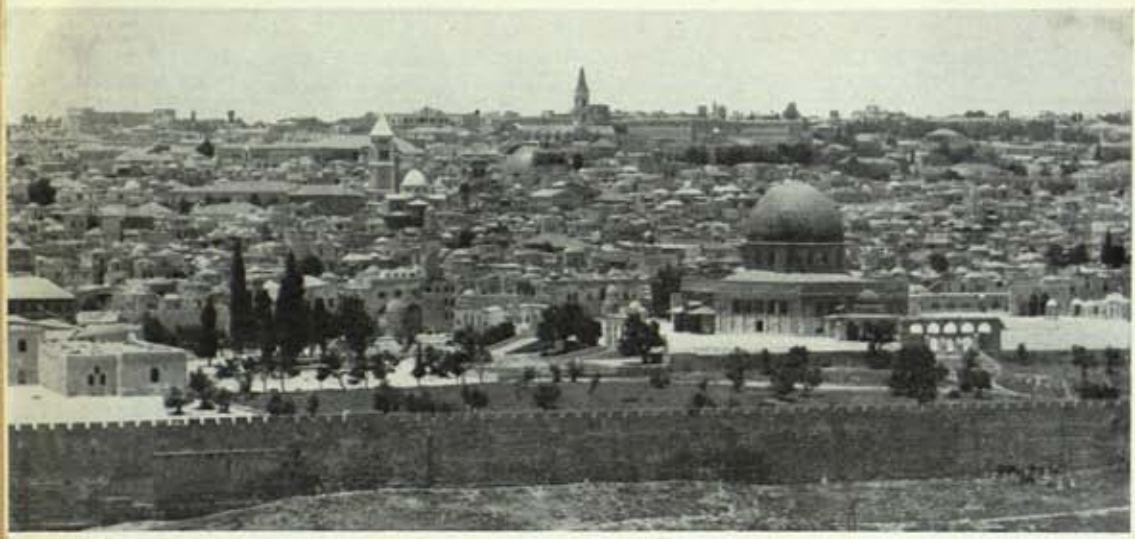


[7] This map shows the developments in the growth of the city; at first the City of David, confined to the south-eastern hill, which later extended as far as the enclosure of the Temple, then, during the Royal period to the north-west, as far as the first wall. In Jesus' day the northern limit extended as far as the second wall and a little later to the third ramparts. The plan of the old city as it exists today is more or less the same as during the Moslem period, after the shortening of the southern wall.

[8] View of Jerusalem from Mount Scopus, an extension of the Mount of Olives, to the north-east. This shows the steep banks of the Kidron, below the Haram. The crests of the mountains of Judaea, rising towards Bethlehem and Hebron, can be seen in the background.

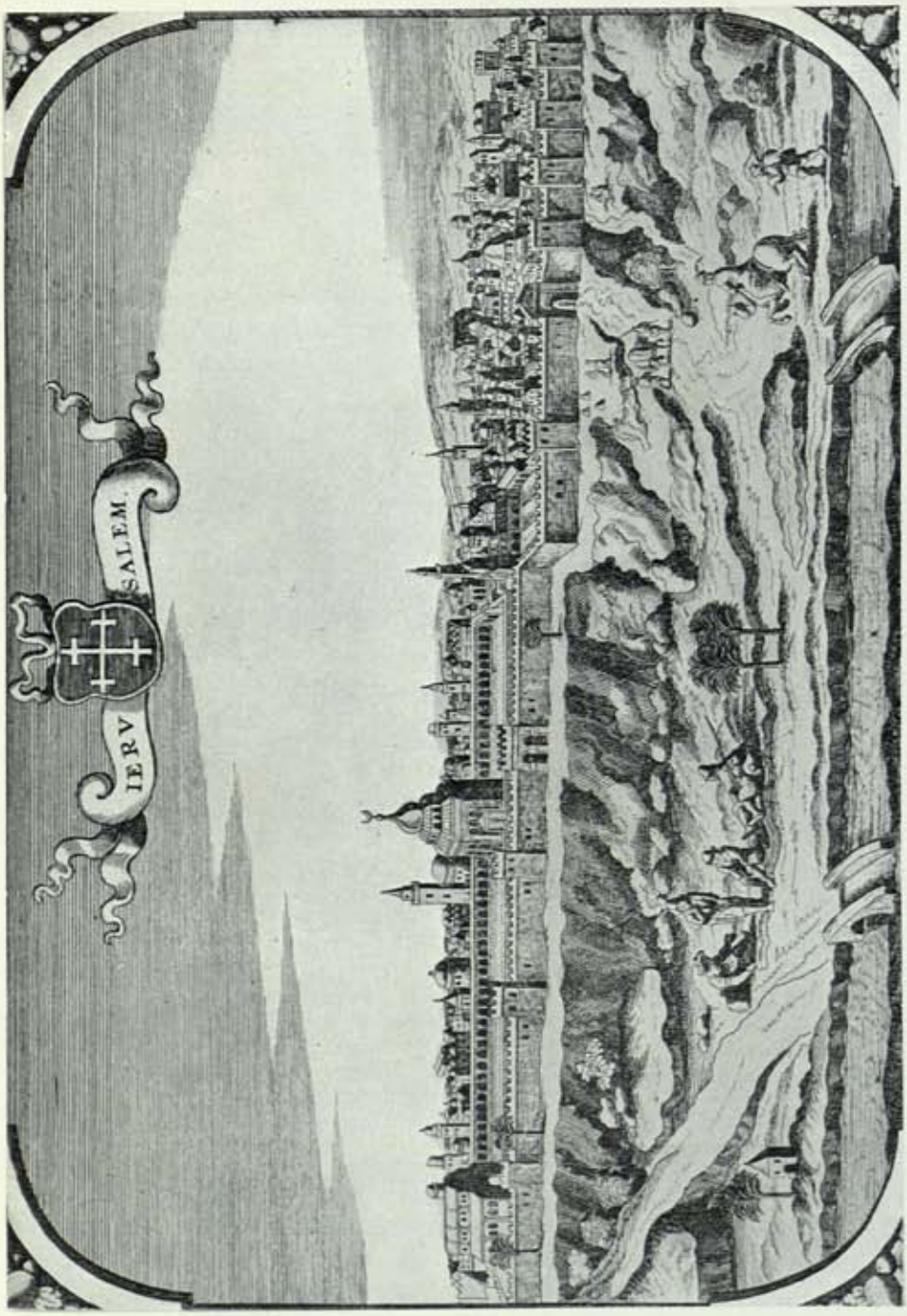


[10] The Haram-as-Sharif and Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives. In foreground, left, the Mosque of Al-Aqsa; right, the Dome of the Rock with the small Dome of the Chain in front of it. In the middle distance, left, the tower of the Erlöserkirche with the Dome of the Holy Sepulchre; background, the tower of the Custodie de la Terre Sainte and the large hospice of Notre-Dame-de-France.

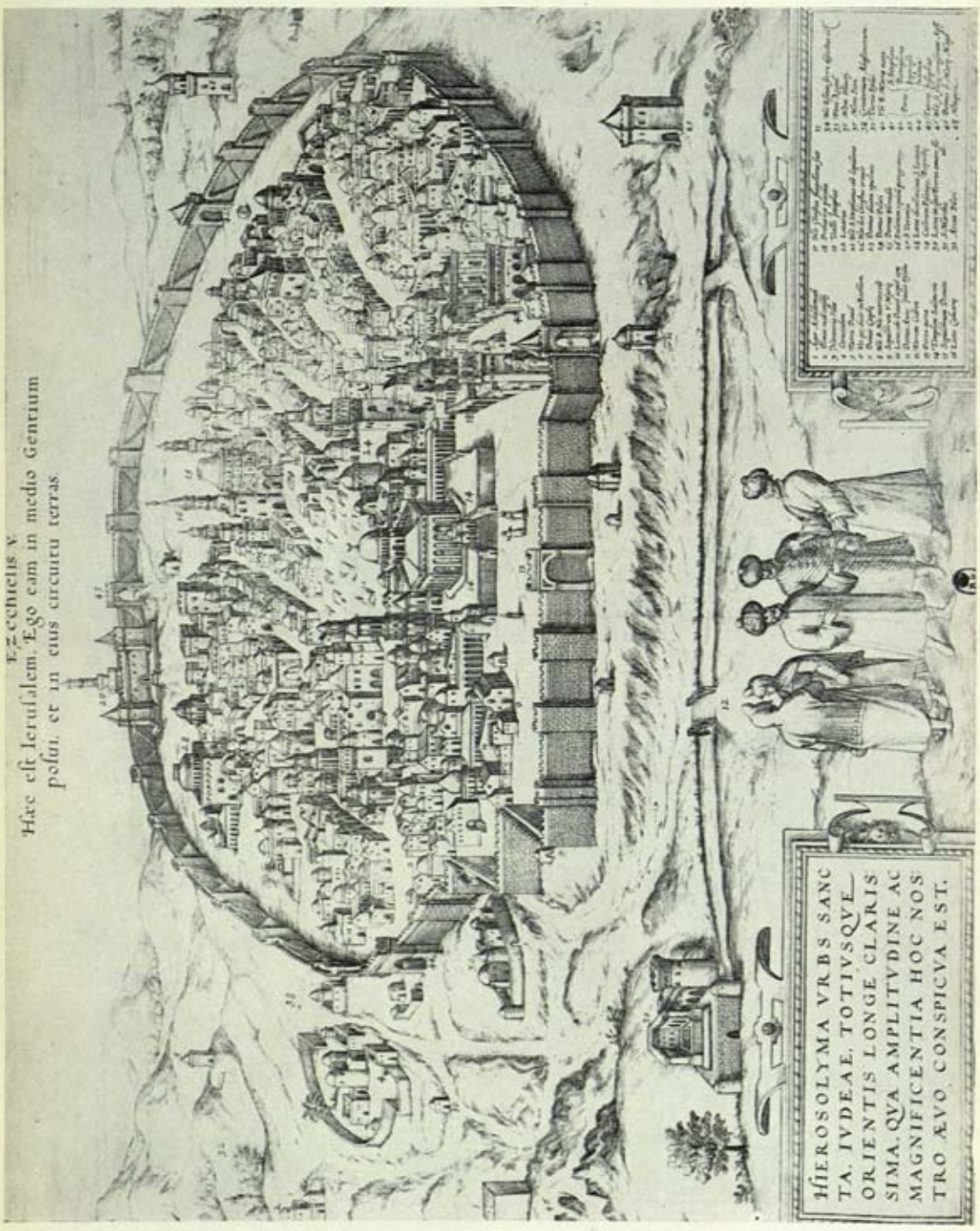
[9] THE PORTALS OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE. The tympanums have lost their incrustations or mosaics. At least the lintels (today removed) retained fine sculpting, that on the right, a powerful frieze of foliage, on the left, a series of scenes in bas-relief; from left to right the resurrection of Lazarus in Bethany; Martha, Mary, and the friends of Lazarus beg Jesus to resuscitate him; Jesus sends Peter and John to prepare the Passover; the lamb is prepared in a small room; at Bethphagy Jesus takes the donkey feeding her colt; the triumphal entrance on Palm Sunday; the Supper. Camille Enlart has attributed these sculptures of the middle of the twelfth century to the school of Toulouse. Although the Frankish kingdom was an 'international' one and its first kings were natives of the county of Boulogne and the Ardennes the most important influence on the art of the Crusades was that of Provence; this influence is easily explained by the fact that the maritime traffic which supplied this distant colony with its needs was based on Italo-Provencal ports. To these influences the Holy Sepulchre owes its pointed arches, although Romanesque in style; its decorations, similar to those of antiquity, and its sculptures, of which little remains to us. Nevertheless, its paintings and mosaics certainly owed a great deal to Byzantium, which, under the Comnenus dynasty, retained the intellectual and artistic leadership of the Mediterranean world. In the twelfth century Jerusalem was a cross-roads where many civilizations met, a meeting-place with a life of great vitality that inspired and fertilized the thought of the West. The most venerable of its monuments still retains a pale ray of this activity. Shared as it is by five communities—the Latin Catholic, the Greek Orthodox, the Armenian, Coptic, and Ethiopian, with a Moslem guardian, its restoration in former times required the agreement of the Sultan and the two protecting Powers—the Czar for the Orthodox, the sovereign of France for the Latins. At present diplomatic circumstances make all repair impossible, and today the building chiefly bears witness to the divisions among the Christians and the rivalries and indifference of the nations, it is the reflection of the Passion of Christ rather than of His Resurrection.

[11] View from the southern tip of the Mount of Olives, close to the large Jewish cemetery. This is the panorama seen by the traveller arriving from Jericho.

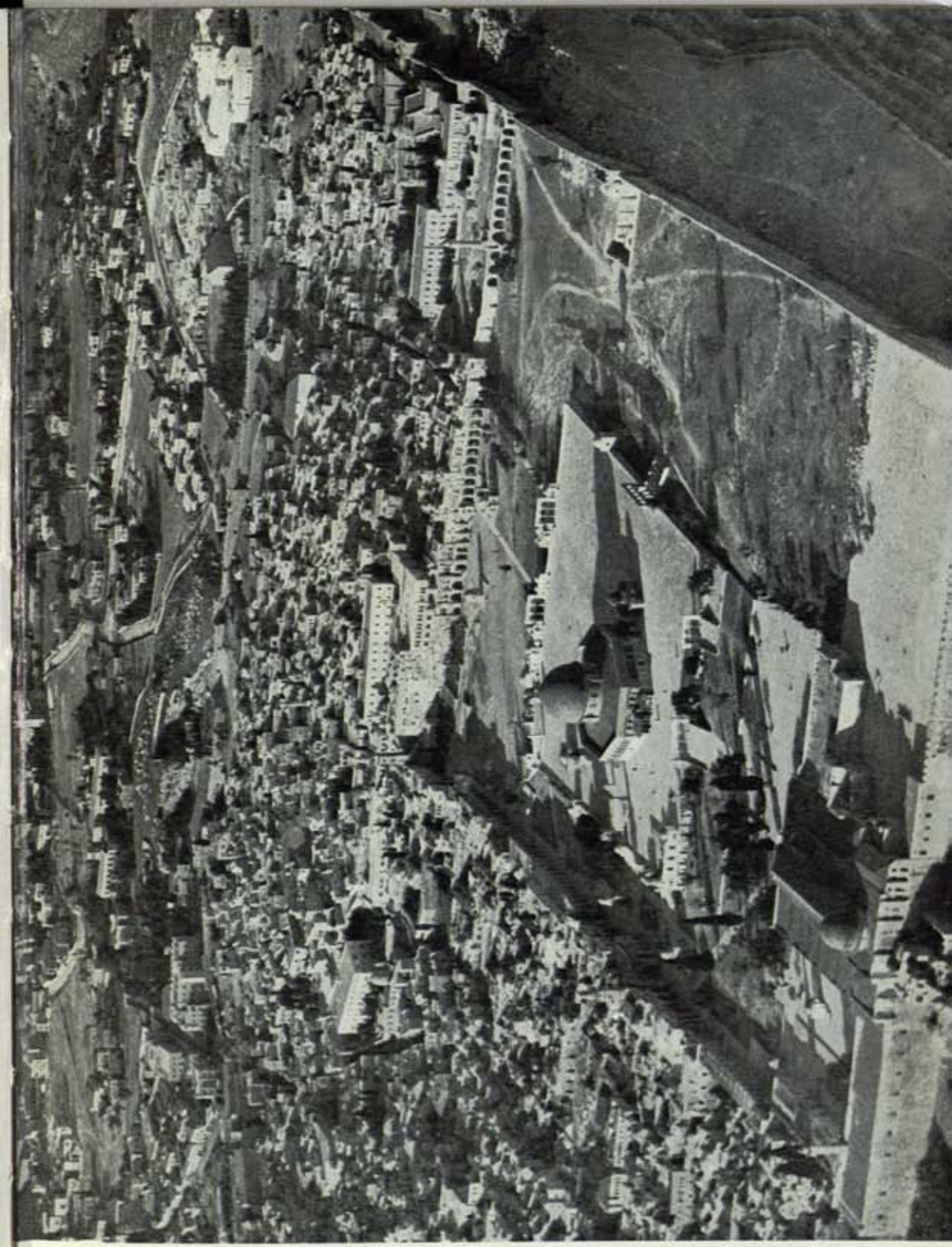
[12] Jerusalem from the tower of the Russian convent on the Mount of Olives. Foreground, left, the Carmel of the Pater; right, the Mosque of the Ascension (the polygonic enclosure is based on the plan of the former Church of the Imbomon). In the middle distance, the Kidron, the Haram, the old city. In the background, the new city with the King David Hotel and the tower of the Y.M.C.A. in the centre.



[15] The city from the east, after a Franciscan engraving of the seventeenth century. This shows the Haram, with the Mosque of Al-Aqsa, and the Dome of the Rock, partly obscuring the view of the Holy Sepulchre. The Kidron is shown as a flowing river.



[14] Turkish Jerusalem in the seventeenth century. In addition to certain imaginative features (the Kidron filled with water and the circular ramparts), the artist has included certain interesting details, such as the former open dome of the Holy Sepulchre and also refers to former traditions now discarded, such as the beheading of Saint John the Baptist, supposed to have been carried out in Jerusalem, in Herod's Palace!



[15] Aerial photograph of the Haram. To the south, the Mosque of Al-Aqsa; in the south-west corner, left, the Hall of Arms of the Templars. Centre, the Dome of the Rock and the small Dome of the Chain. East (right), overlooking the Kidron, the 'Golden Gate', now walled-up. North, the quarter of Bezethda. Outside the walls, right, the new building of the Palestine Museum.

[16] The walls from the north. Foreground, ancient quarries and a Moslem cemetery. Background, against a thundery sky (which occurs only in winter), the Mount of Olives, the tower of the Russian convent, the Mosque of the Ascension, and the Carmel of the Pater.

persed tribes. Yet this was not easy of attainment. The First Book of Samuel describes the difficulties encountered: the ancient tribal rivalries, and, even more recalcitrant, the sacerdotal tradition according to which sovereignty over Israel belonged to Yahweh alone. Nevertheless, Saul was able to achieve a first co-ordination of forces and the war with the Philistines was renewed with ardour. This could have led to the pre-eminence of the tribe of Benjamin—the king's own—if both he and his guards had not been massacred at the fatal battle of the Heights of Gilboa, around 1010 B.C.

This was the decisive moment in the history of Israel. For reasons that remain somewhat mysterious, the headless family of Saul seems also to have been rejected by the sacerdotal caste. But a new power arose in the south—David was to unite the people through the double prestige of his military victories and his consecration by the clergy.

Thanks to the ancient documents on which the editors of the Books of Samuel and of Kings based their accounts, few figures in ancient history have remained as vivid as King David. We are able to follow the gradual ascent to power of this small chieftain from Bethlehem. Supported by the sectarianism of Judah, the tribe to which he belonged, he was a formidable competitor to Saul. He had military prestige on his side. Certain particularly daring exploits had won him the devoted loyalty of a corps of volunteers. He was handsome and his intelligence was realistic; he was a very clever diplomat, whose avoidance of all unnecessary violence won him sympathizers, and finally, like Abd-el-Kader among the nomads, he was a poet who knew how to arouse the imagination and touch the heart. Above all, the Bible praises his religious inspiration. Wholly devoted to the national God, he was to identify the sacred Ark with his personal fortunes and in consequence became far more than merely a successful monarch of genius—the very incarnation of the soul of a people.

'David pour le Seigneur plein d'un amour fidèle,
Me paraît des grands rois le plus parfait modèle,'

sang Racine. The memory of David, the devotion to his race, were to incarnate for ever the temporal and religious aspirations of Israel.

At first, however, David reigned only over Judah, at Hebron. He was merely master over a minority of the people, although it was a solid minority. As the result of a series of events, either cleverly induced or adroitly utilized, he rid himself of his principal adversaries and gained the adherence of the tribes of the north, under their military leader, Abner. From then onwards David was able to devote himself to the most urgent task, the freeing of the

people from the domination of the Philistines and, as well, the destruction of the last pockets of Canaanite resistance which had survived the Israelite conquest. Here, the chronology of events is not entirely clear. It appears that the Philistines endeavoured to prevent the union of the northern and southern tribes by bringing to bear all their efforts against the hinge joining them. The fortress of Jerusalem was their principal strong-point in this effort. On two occasions David avoided a direct trial of forces such as had brought about the death of Saul, attacked them by surprise and, taking advantage of their confusion, pursued them as far as the plain. Although they continued to maintain their hold on the coast, from that time onwards they occupied only a subordinate position, and the high lands were no longer to be troubled by their raids. One of these encounters seems to have taken place quite close to Jerusalem itself, in the valley of Rephaim, along which, today, one can take the train up to the new city. David next decided to capture the city itself, which was still holding out. The Bible calls it the town of the Jebusites. This name seems to indicate the population, a heathen one, rather than the settlement itself, which in the future would still be known as Jerusalem; the Book of Judges states that the Israelites avoided it.

Behind their solid walls, the Jebusites awaited the attack without fear. They said to David: 'Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither. Nevertheless David took the strong hold of Zion: the same is the city of David. And David said on that day: "Whosoever getteth up to the gutter, and smiteth the Jebusites, and the lame and the blind, that are hated of David's soul, he shall be chief and captain" ' (2 Sam. v. 6–8). The Book of Chronicles elucidates the lack of clarity in this text: 'Joab the son of Zeruiah went first up.' (1 Chron. ii. 6.) This short account is important from several points of view. It seems to indicate that the capture of the city was due to a stratagem; David did not attempt a frontal attack on too powerful a fortress such as this, but sought out its weak point. A canal system, a Canaanite *sinnor*, led to a source of water in the interior of the city. David made a promise in order to persuade one of his men to volunteer to go up it; Joab, his nephew, and future commander-in-chief of his army, was the first to perform this exploit, to surprise the defenders, and to make success secure. There are many other examples of such an exploit in history. But the extreme interest of this account is that it gives us a definite landmark on the siting of Jebusite Jerusalem and of the early city. There is a source of water close by the present

city: the spring of Oumm-ad-Daraj. Several canals run from the grotto where it rises. One of them leads directly to a well, to which one can descend from above by a staircase under the rock. This hydraulic installation has been drilled into the eastern hill, immediately below the esplanade of the Temple. It is here, on Mount Ophel, and not to the west, that one must seek for the early city. The *sinnor* of which there are many other examples in Palestine, at Gezer, Gibeon, Megiddo, is the very one up which Joab climbed. This identification, which formerly was the subject of bitter controversy, is now no longer disputed. The early city was entirely built on the thin promontory of rock enclosed between the Kidron and the Tyropoeon. It occupied only a few hectares, not more than four in all, and there were probably between two and three thousand inhabitants. But its small size bore no relation to its importance.

The account of its capture refers to the 'fortress of Zion'. No doubt the little city was overtopped by a fortified formation which the king did capture and this was Zion. (The name probably means 'citadel'.) Later, during the Roman period, at the time of the Crusades, the western hill of the city was given this name; but at that date its history was unknown. According to classical custom, of which the Bible contains other examples, a captured town was given the name of its conqueror. This was now David's own city.

For this reason Jerusalem was not included in the division of the conquered land among the tribes. According to its situation, as described in the Book of Joshua, it was surrounded by the territories of Benjamin, the frontier of which was in the south, near Gehenna. But Benjamin had not captured the city; nor had Judah. It became the king's personal property, outside the ancient framework of tribal custom. David immediately seized upon the advantages the situation offered. At Hebron he was too far away from the tribes of the north, and too dependent on his own clan, that of Judah. But from here, whilst remaining in contact with his people, he was in a sufficiently central position to reign over the whole of Israel without provoking tribal rivalries. Jerusalem could become the heart of the country. Even better, if she were to become its soul. The Ark of the Covenant had been given up by the Philistines, who went in religious fear of it, and had remained half-way, in the mountains, at Kiriath-Yearim, today known as Abu-Gosh. Israel no longer possessed a religious centre. David decided to bring the Ark to Jerusalem, and so make it that centre. The fear it inspired did not permit the Ark to be brought immediately into the city; it remained

for a period of three months in the house of Obed-Edom of Gath, no doubt outside the ramparts. Finally it was brought into the city. David's role in the matter was as much that of priest as of king; he himself offered the sacrifice, and dressed in sacerdotal garb performed a ritual dance. 'And David danced before the Lord with all his might; and David was girded with a linen ephod. So David and all the house of Israel brought up the ark of the Lord with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet' (2 Sam. vi. 14–15). This religious celebration, in which the king took the part described, caused a final rupture between David and his wife, Michal, daughter of Saul. In mentioning this small incident, the narrator wished to emphasize the great difference between the first two kings of Israel; David's success was not merely military and political. It was above all a religious matter. His spiritual prestige, the support of the priesthood, were the guarantees of his dynasty, of which all the subsequent kings, his successors, did not, inevitably, possess his genius. This was how Jerusalem became the political and religious capital of the new kingdom, towards 1000 B.C.

It appears that the indigenous population remained, and was absorbed. The prophets were not to forget this composite original character of Jerusalem; in the days of her faithlessness they were to remind her of it in harsh terms. 'Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite' (Ezek. xvi. 3). David took care to introduce loyal elements into the city. He settled his family there, and established there also his bodyguards, the Cherethites and the Pelethites, foreigners, whose sole allegiance was to the king's person. In all times sovereigns have surrounded themselves by such 'Swiss' guards, who remained faithful during times of insurrection.

It was also necessary to increase the city's importance, to give it monuments such as adorn all capitals. There was on the spot stone in plenty, but there was a lack of suitable timber and of precious metals. Above all, there were no qualified workmen or architects available. During the two hundred years that had elapsed since they had emerged from the desert, the Israelites had learnt to forge iron. In spite of their preference for pastoral life—David prided himself on having been a shepherd boy—they had accustomed themselves to agricultural toil and to a sedentary life. But their skills went no further. As the result of his military successes, David was now the neighbour of the Phoenician kingdom of Tyre, and these two Semitic peoples had a common bond in their hatred of the Philistines. The Phoenicians owned rich forests of cedar; they

traded in precious wares, and their artists possessed an ancient tradition of technical skill. The marvels which were later to glorify Solomon were their creations; and although there was one worker in bronze in Israel, Hiram, the Bible underlines the fact that he was born of a Jewish mother and a Tyrian father. It was thanks to this assistance from the Phoenicians that David was able to build himself a 'house of cedar'. But although it was a royal residence in the eyes of primitive nomadic peoples it was by no means a sumptuous palace.

There was better to be done. A temple must be built to the glory of Yahweh, God of Israel, who had led his peoples to victory over their neighbours. David gave the matter much thought. The task required time and resources. The wars and the revolts that occurred during the latter years of his reign no doubt impeded the carrying out of this project. But according to the Book of Chronicles David had begun to make the necessary preparations. It tells how the king, as the result of a vision, bought the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, which overlooked the city, built an altar upon it and offered up sacrifices there. It also lists the materials that were collected towards the building that was contemplated: precious metals, wood, stones. In his old age the king, in accordance with a prophecy made by Nathan, confided the completion of the task he had begun to his son.

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The splendours of Jerusalem were not, then, the work of David. But he had dreamed of them. The end of his life was spent wholly in the city that he had spiritually re-created, for he was prevented by old age from taking any further part in military expeditions. It was from his palace that he glimpsed Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah; it was there that he gave the order for his execution that is the one great blot on his epic story. It was from there that he fled from Absalom, the son who revolted against him at Hebron. He fled via the Kidron and, weeping, took the road of the Mount of Olives, leaving the Ark behind in the city. This detail reveals most clearly how definitely David had chosen Jerusalem to be the heart of Israel. He returned in due course, victorious, but heavy-hearted. And here was born his favourite son, Solomon—'the Peaceful'—whose name is not perhaps unrelated to that of the city, and who was destined to carry on his work. He was consecrated at the fountain of Gihon while his brother and adversary, Adonias, was endeavouring to have himself proclaimed king at Aïn Rogel. It was at Jerusalem that David died and where he wished to be buried.

His grave was still venerated a thousand years later; Saint Peter knew it. It is of little matter that the so-called 'Tomb of David' visited by pilgrims today bears no relation whatever to archaeological fact and that we must now despair of ever finding, on Mount Ophel, the genuine tomb. The memory of David remains inseparable from Jerusalem; without him it would merely have remained a strong-point among many others. Jerusalem's spiritual mission was the creation of David.

To David therefore must be given the credit for having planned the great works which Solomon was to carry out. A lengthy period of peace, from 970 to 930 B.C. roughly, was to permit the king to devote all the resources of his young kingdom to the embellishment of his capital. Everything was in his favour. His authority was barely challenged, even by the inevitable palace intrigues at the time of his accession, or by the resistance of the tribes to the increasing centralization of the administration during the course of his reign. Peace was allied to prosperity; commerce was well organized, thanks to the Phoenician alliance. Israel exported its agricultural produce, sold horses, bought in the north, to the Egyptians, and imported via the Red Sea exotic timber and precious metals. Since the victories of David the Aramaeans and the Philistines had not yet embarked on further ventures. Egypt was friendly towards Israel; the Pharaoh even gave one of his daughters to Solomon.

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The great architectural undertakings in Jerusalem included three separate projects. These were the Temple, the royal palace, and the city's fortifications. But these creations were by no means Solomon's only architectural achievements; other towns were also to benefit from them. The foundations of the Temple were laid during the fourth year of Solomon's reign; the work continued during seven years and five months, from 959 to 952 B.C., according to a chronological account which appears to be reliable. Israel furnished the labour; the Phoenicians took over the direction of the construction and provided all the works of art. One might assume that they were also responsible for the actual design of the building, but for this assumption there is no available standard of comparison. In any case, the actual Temple itself was only one element of the whole. For the Semites, a sacred place consists not only of a building but first of all of an enclosed space; as, for instance, the Court of the Ka'aba, in Mecca. Solomon therefore prepared the land that David had acquired from Araunah. No doubt he levelled it to some ex-

tent, and enclosed it within walls of which certain traces may still remain in the Haram today. And finally he built the Temple itself, the House of Yahweh. This was an oblong building, facing east and west, its doorway designed to receive the rays of the rising sun. Its dimensions were small: 60 cubits in length by 20 in width, approximately 100 feet by 30 feet. It consisted of three sections—the Porch (*ulam*), a hall, the 'Holy' (*hekhal*), and the 'Holy of Holies' (*debir*).

This triple division had its exact counterpart in the Egyptian temples. One can surmise that the plan was directly borrowed from Egypt, but the Phoenicians had no doubt used it for a long time, and transmitted it to Israel. A number of small rooms, either vestries or lodgings for the priests, surrounded the building. Two separate columns of bronze, Yakin and Boaz, stood in front of the porch. Their names, which might have meant 'let it be firm', and 'with strength', might refer to a prayer of the king's. Or were they an allusion to the promises of Yahweh? In the Semitic Orient they were by no means an isolated instance. The square hall entitled 'holy' was used for the services; it was here that the priests burnt the daily incense and propitiatory offerings of bread. It was furnished with liturgical objects—the altar for the incense, the table for the bread, and candelabra. Light filtered through its latticed windows. But in the very heart of the Temple was the *debir*, the 'Holy of Holies'. Strictly cubical in form, and in consequence lower than the porch or the *hekhal*, one might assume, according to the vision of Isaiah, that its floor-level had been raised in order that its ceiling should be level with that of the *hekhal*. The *debir* contained no windows, its folding doors of wood remained closed; only the high priest entered it once a year, on the Day of Atonement. It contained nothing except the Ark of the Covenant, above which were two cherubim which in the Jewish belief were the guardians of the throne of Yahweh. The Ark contained the Tables of the Law, engraven on stone by Moses. It was not flanked by any sacred statues such as filled all the other temples of antiquity. The God of Israel tolerated no graven images. His transcendence was such that he could not be confined in any given space: 'Behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded' (1 Kings viii. 27). Nevertheless, the Israelites did believe that their god dwelt more or less in the Holy of Holies, if only through his 'glory', that nebulous term by which the Bible refers to the mysterious presence of an invisible god.

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Where was the Holy of Holies? At the centre of the present enclosure, the Haram-as-Sherif, the 'noble sanctuary', there is below the Dome of the Rock a large boulder, which has certainly been venerated ever since the earliest times in this holy place. It was possibly there that David built his altar, in front of the door of the Temple, the altar of sacrifice on which the blood offerings were made. In that case, the Temple would have stood to the west of the Rock. But it is possible—and other temples, such as that of Amman in Jordan, confirm this hypothesis—that the Holy of Holies was supported by the Rock, in which case the site of the Temple would have been to the east. In any case, it must certainly have stood somewhere in the centre of the present forecourt. Its proportions were carefully worked out, and seem to have been founded on a knowledge of geometry based on the equilateral triangle. The materials, the fine cut of the stones, the woods—cedar and cypress—used in its construction as well as in its decoration, seem to have impressed themselves on contemporary minds. The decorations—the panellings, dadoes and ceilings of cedar-wood carved into flower-garlands, colocynths, and the figures of cherubim, as well as their coverings of gold-leaf, aroused their admiration and impressed their imaginations.

This could be all the more the case because the Temple remained a place of mystery, to which, with the exception of the porch, the public was not admitted; the *hekhal* was only entered by the priests, the *debir* by the High Priest alone. It had not been designed as a place for prayer; prayers were said outside, on the forecourt. We can reconstruct the scene from the first chapter of the Gospel of Saint Luke. The Temple was in fact a divine residence and strictly an object of veneration. The blood sacrifices were never performed inside it but in the outer sanctuary, where an altar of bronze had been built. The numerous objects found within the building were for use in the ritual. There was the 'Sea of Brass', a basin 16 feet in diameter, supported by twelve bronze oxen, which contained the water for ablutions, as well as mobile basins on wheels, which could be used similarly; the table for the bread offerings and the golden altar for the offering of incense; and, finally, the necessary instruments for the sacrifices. The seven-branched candelabra, illuminated by day and by night, did not appear until the time of the Second Temple, after the Exile. The building, the proportions of which seem very modest to us—and compared to the enormous edifices of Babylon and of Egypt they undoubtedly were so—must have left an unforgettable impression

on the mind. It lasted for nearly 400 years, until 587 B.C. It gradually became the sole centre of the religion of Israel and was closely linked with the most important advances of the nation. It was there that Isaiah became aware of the transcendence of God, and when Jeremiah foretold its destruction nothing could have caused him deeper grief than this prophecy.

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The Temple immortalized the name of Solomon. The king, whilst serving his God splendidly, did not overlook himself. The connection between the house that he built for himself and the Temple was such a close one that the latter could be called, without exaggeration, 'a chapel of the palace'. The buildings as described in the Book of Kings consisted of four groups. The 'House of the Forest of Lebanon', 180 feet in length and 50 feet in height, had forty-five columns hewn from the trunks of cedars and placed in three rows. This was a vast reception hall. A smaller vestibule adjoined it. Next to this was the 'Throne Room' where the royal seat, made of ivory, rose above a series of six steps, each one flanked by two lions. And finally there was the Palace itself, of which a part enclosed the king's harem, no doubt amply spacious, since according to the Bible it contained seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines. Thus did a king display his grandeur.

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The dedication of the Temple was the occasion for splendid festivals. Sacrifices were offered during eight days. The onlookers, deeply impressed, 'blessed the king, and went unto their tents joyful and glad of heart for all the goodness that the Lord had done for David his servant, and for Israel his people' (1 Kings viii. 66).

Solomon, however, did not concern himself solely with these peaceful activities. The Bible informs us that he fortified the 'Millo'. This mysterious name probably refers to a fortress erected on the north-west, in order to protect the city on the only side that was completely exposed to attack, and, possibly also, to fill in a depression between Ophel and the Temple forecourt. By this time the city had probably spread out beyond the narrow confines of the ancient Jebusite walls, stretching towards the north, along the Temple forecourt, and towards the west, beyond the valley of the Tyropoeon. These extensions, which certainly existed during the royal era, were no doubt begun during Solomon's reign, when the expansion of commerce was bringing to Jerusalem many merchants—Syrians, Egyptians, and even Arabs from Sheba, accom-

panying their queen. It is difficult to reinvest wealth in a society that has as yet no currency, and precious metals were then used as a reserve of riches. The golden shields which adorned the walls of Solomon's palace, the objects of value that were accumulated in the Temple, were not merely placed there as a display of magnificence. They—and the same is true of the gold and ivory statues of their gods erected by the Athenians—were in some sort the equivalent of our modern banks; they formed a reserve that could be called upon in days of disaster and defeat. We might here end our description of Solomon's reign, with a picture of sumptuous wealth. But the Bible itself introduces a discordant note. It contrasts the intrepid faith of the age of conquest with the care-free enjoyment of peace and plenty. This attitude was inevitable. Israel had always consisted of small groups of invaders amidst a huge pagan world. As the result of David's conquests, the Israelites had come into contact with new neighbours: Aramaeans who worshipped Hadad, Phoenicians who venerated Adonis and performed orgiastic ceremonies in the high places, Ammonites who brought their god Melek, or Moloch, to Gehenna, with the child-sacrifices that were offered to him. As the result of Jerusalem's prosperity, strange peoples flocked there, bringing along with them the temptations of their gods and their cults. Solomon's vast harem must have increased these seductions. The queens who had come from diverse foreign countries established sanctuaries for their own gods near the town. The same king who had built the temple of Yahweh, the only God, the jealous God, exposed his people to all the temptations of polytheism. A hill on the range of the Mount of Olives, above Siloam, retains in its name, Mount of Offence, the memory of these idolatrous practices. Excavations that were undertaken too hurriedly have made it impossible to confirm this traditional allegation which already draws attention, however, to the two-faced character of Jerusalem, the 'holy city' above all others, yet also the 'faithless', the 'harlot', in whose subsequent destruction the prophets were to see the just penalty for her errors.

These two factors, the happiness of the repentant people and the punishment of the faithless, form the warp and woof of the history of Israel as the Bible tells it. This history was conceived in terms of theology. Jerusalem, a small and weak city. was seen by the prophets and those who have recorded their views for us, as the centre of the universe. The destiny of this city was to be unique, for it was nevertheless to survive, in spite of the moral and material superiority of its great conquerors.

At the very beginning of the history of the royal city the misfortune of division occurred. Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, tried to suppress by harsh measures the claims of the tribes of the north, who, borne down by heavy impositions, tasks and taxes, were incensed by the favouritism shown to Judah. The kingdom was divided into two halves. The northern part of Palestine was consolidated into a political entity of which Samaria was soon to become the capital. With the exception of a few short periods, from this time onwards Jerusalem would dominate only a small kingdom, encircled by the mountains of Judaea. It was to lose the commercial leadership which Solomon had endeavoured to confer upon it. Samaria, its rival in the north, was to outstrip it in riches. Judah's military weakness was to cause it to become the easy prey of invaders. Jerusalem's sole chance of survival lay in its religious prestige, thanks to the Temple, and in its loyalty to one dynasty alone, that of David. Thus it escaped the incessant internal troubles of Samaria, where revolutions and assassinations were almost the common rule. Less than five years after the schism, in 927 B.C., Shishak I, founder of the XXIInd Dynasty, undertook a campaign against Palestine. It appears that he intended principally to attack the kingdom of the north. But, as he passed near Jerusalem, he secured rich booty—the treasures that Solomon had accumulated in the Temple and in his palace.

But this humiliation did not prevent the growth of the town and its sanctuary. In the ninth century, Jehosophat enlarged it by building a new square on the eastern side. Those who worked in the Temple, priests, levites, singers, formed a community of great moral cohesion, uniting their pious adherence to Yahweh and their allegiance to the dynasty of David. When Queen Athalia brought the Phoenician cult of Baal from the northern kingdom, laying waste the Temple, the intransigence of the priests remained undiminished. It was this which, after the extermination of the family of Ahaziah, saved the dynasty with the boy king Joash and reinstated in Jerusalem devotion to Yahweh. Joash restored the Temple and set up there the first known collecting-box, to receive the offerings necessary for its upkeep. The Temple was virtually the centre of the city's life. It remained so, in spite of yet another pillage when, in about 790, Joash of Israel, conqueror of Amaziah of Judah, tore down part of the city walls and carried off the riches of the Palace and of the Temple.

The weakness of the kingdom did not, however, hold up the growth of Jerusalem. The western hill was occupied during the

royal era, and, to protect it, a wall was built to the north and west. Further light will be shed on its importance by the terrible events of the eighth and seventh centuries.

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In the eighth century B.C. Jerusalem more or less suddenly renounced its former isolation and to its own misfortune entered into the sphere of world history. Since the days of Tiglath-Pilezer III, Assyria had been rapidly extending her empire. She had conquered the Aramaean kingdom of Syria; Damascus fell in 732. A campaign undertaken at the request of Ahaz, king of Judah, harassed by the kingdom of the north, brought about the invasion of Israel, and Sargon destroyed Samaria in 722 B.C. Israelite independence appeared to be threatened without hope of rescue. Yet two men did not despair: Isaiah, a notable of Jerusalem, did not cease to trust in the divine promises and the faithfulness of Yahweh to those who would worship him alone. Since he had had, in 740 or thereabouts, the vision which had determined his vocation, he had ceaselessly preached the necessity for repentance. The disasters he prophesied did not prevent a faithful 'remnant' from keeping up the continuity of God's chosen people: 'He that remaineth in Jerusalem shall be called holy, even every one that is written among the living in Jerusalem' (Isa. iv. 3).

He found a king, Hezekiah, to listen to him. No doubt his politics were often swayed by human prudence, but disaster made him heedful of the voice of the prophet. He attempted the suppression of all the 'high places' where the old Canaanite cults were still practised, and undertook the first systematic centralization of the faith, a gathering of the priests in Jerusalem. However, these spiritual reforms did not cause him to neglect the defence of his capital. In preparation for an attack, he reinforced the walls which had been dismantled at the time of Amaziah, and paid particular attention to his water supply, of essential importance in time of siege. Inside its walls Jerusalem only contained rain-water cisterns. The waters of the spring of Gihon emerged outside them, in the Kidron. Solomon had used them to irrigate the 'Gardens of the King', in the valley. Uzziah, or Ahaz, one of his successors, had built a new system of canals, partly subterranean, which followed the border-line of the hill, and emerged in a basin at the edge of the Tyropoeon. It was by the side of this stream that Isaiah prophesied to Ahaz the coming of Immanuel. Hezekiah had an even better plan, which was to divert the spring waters through the mountainside, as far as the Tyropoeon within the walls of the city,

so that in the future no enemy would be able to cut off its water supply. In view of the available engineering resources at that time this was a daring scheme, which, however, was put into operation by means of two crews, tunnelling towards one another from the opposite ends. In spite of the lack of accuracy in the plans, they managed finally to make contact by means of sound, and to join up with one another. A contemporaneous account of this undertaking in Phoenician characters was discovered in 1880 on an inner wall of the tunnel. The waters still run through this astounding subterranean canal system for about 2,000 feet below the rocks, from the spring of Gihon to the fountain of Siloam, the 'overflow channel'.

Now the capital was fortified, morally and materially, against the frontal attack launched by Sennacherib, king of Assyria, in 701 B.C. The Book of Kings gives a vivid account of the threats made by his ambassador and the replies to them of Hezekiah. The land was devastated and Hezekiah was obliged to pay heavy tribute, but his capital was spared; the Assyrians were forced to retreat, probably by an epidemic. Isaiah, who had prophesied victory, triumphed. After this unexpected deliverance, however, during the reigns of Manasseh and of Amon, Jerusalem once again fell under the sway of heathen polytheism. In Gehenna, one king even went so far as to sacrifice his own son to Moloch. New cults from Assyria, which was becoming more and more powerful, were taken over, side by side with the ancient worship of Baal and Astarte. On his return from Damascus, where he had gone to pay homage to Tiglath-Pilezer, Ahaz had introduced an Assyrian altar into the Temple. Now there was also imported into it the astral worship of 'The Army of Heaven'. Jeremiah and Ezekiel have described for us the triumphs of these pagan cults, side by side with the worship of Yahweh. 'There stood before the idols seventy men of the ancients of the house of Israel . . . with every man his censer in his hand. At the door which was towards the north, and behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz' (Ezek. viii. 10–14). The ascendancy of Assyria lasted for a century. Yet this great empire collapsed even more swiftly than it arose. In 612 B.C., shaken by the Scythian invasions, Nineveh fell to the assaults of the Medes and the new king of Babylon, Nabopolazzar. This was the supreme opportunity for a religious and nationalistic revival in Israel. To it the young king Josiah devoted all his strength. Following the ordinances laid down in Deuteronomy, which had then been recently discovered, he purified the Temple and endeavoured to centralize in it the

whole of Israel's religious life, as was the ideal of the prophets. But it was no more than a passing gleam. Josiah having been killed at Megiddo in a battle with the Egyptian army, the Jerusalem of the kings was soon to fall also. Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehioachin and Zedekiah succeeded one another rapidly. From 598 B.C. Jerusalem in revolt was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolazzar; the king was deported to Babylon together with the city's social and intellectual *élite*. In spite of the sorrowful warnings of Jeremiah, persecuted by his fellow citizens, a new revolt, led by Zedekiah, broke out less than ten years later and once more brought back the Babylonian army. The siege began towards January 1, 588 B.C. It lasted for eighteen months. An Egyptian counter-attack forced the besiegers to lessen their grip for a short time, but in June and July, 587 B.C., a breach was made to the north, and the assault was begun. After the usual looting, the Temple and the Royal Palace were put to the flames. The Book of Kings is highly laconic on the subject: 'Nebuzaradan burnt the Temple of Yahweh and the royal palace and all the houses of Jerusalem. The Chaldean troops serving the commander of the guard demolished the walls that encircled Jerusalem.' One must look in the Books of the Prophets and in the Psalms for the echoes of this collapse, which was as much moral as military: 'Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger' (Lam. i. 12). 'Mine eyes do fail with tears . . . for the destruction of the daughter of my people' (Lam. ii. 11).

THE FORTRESS OF THE LAW

'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, o God, thou will not despise. Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem' (Ps. li. 17–18). The Lamentation of 586 is followed by the cries of penitence of 537, which bring the hope of revival. The reactions of the Jewish people provide an almost unique historical instance. Deported to Babylon, they were not absorbed by their environment. They found strength in their traditions, wrote them down, and on the day when a new and more merciful power, the Persian Empire of Cyrus and Darius, restored them to their homeland, they began their new lives with a heightened consciousness of

their vocation. A part of the religious, historical, and juridical traditions of Israel had been set down a long time previously. Many of these texts originated in Jerusalem itself, drawn up by the priests of the Temple. After the Babylonian exile, these various elements were regrouped to form the core of the sacred book, the Bible. The whole life of the new nation was to be based on Hebrew law. The scribe Ezra was only the first of a long line of teachers who instructed the people to live according to this religious law, piously and down to the smallest detail; its stamp upon them was indelible and remained deeply embedded in them at all times and under all climes.

But how much more deeply than anywhere else, in Jerusalem! For now their first aim was to return to their holy city, to turn it into a fortress which would guarantee its independence, the perfect city, from which the light of truth would shine over all the peoples, thus realizing the vision of the prophet: 'And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising' (Isa. lx. 3). 'He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him' (Ps. cxxvi. 6).

Needless to say, the restoration did not proceed without difficulties. Their nearby enemies—the Samaritans, the Ammonites and the Edomites—spied upon them; they could bring pressure to bear on the Government, which was well disposed, but far away, at Susa and Persepolis. The rebuilding of the Temple, which was begun in 537, immediately on their return, was not finished until 515 B.C., thanks to Zerubbabel, the prophets Haggai and Zachariah. This new Temple was a modest one. Old men who had known the building of Solomon wept when they beheld it on their return; tears not only of joy but of sadness, when they contemplated its miserable condition. No author has left a description of it. But we do know that the religious ceremonies were immediately revived and that it gradually attained a new splendour that, towards 200 B.C., was recollected with emotion by Jesus ben Sira, Ecclesiasticus. No longer was the Temple defiled by the introduction of pagan rites; there was now nothing to unhallow the exclusive adoration of that one and only God, whose name, now, was regarded as too holy even to be uttered. The Holy of Holies remained empty—since the Ark had disappeared; the symbol of the absolute transcendence of Yahweh.

But it was not enough to restore the sanctity of Jerusalem; it was also necessary to rebuild and to repopulate it. Those who were now the leaders were determined that it should remain exclusively

Jewish; foreign women were banished, the genealogies of the priesthood were ruthlessly examined, the strictest respect for the Sabbath was imposed.

Decisive efforts were made towards the middle of the fifth century. Ezra regrouped the Jewish community round the Law, which became the foundation of their whole life. This exclusiveness held no dangers for the foreigner. But the project of rebuilding the walls and of restoring to the city its relative independence was to encounter enormous difficulties, which would be met with ingenuity and patience. Nehemiah, who had become a high official in the Persian bureaucracy, obtained for himself a mission to his native land. He arrived there in great secrecy, and organized the work hurriedly but methodically, for there was a risk that the enemy on the spot would prevent what had been permitted by the far-off Persian Government. 'Half of my servants wrought in the work, and the other half of them held both the spears, the shields, and the bows, and the habergeons; and the rulers were behind all the house of Judah. For the builders, every one had his sword girded by his side, and so builded. And he that sounded the trumpet was by me' (Neh. iv. 16–18). 'So the wall was finished . . . in fifty and two days. And it came to pass, that when all our enemies heard thereof . . . they were much cast down in their own eyes' (Neh. vi. 15–16). More extraordinary even than this success was the manner in which the obstacles had been overcome. The available building materials were poor, consisting mainly of the remnants of the ancient walls and rubble of ruined edifices that had not been cleared away, and which were now used again. It was a hasty improvisation, far removed from the magnificence of Solomon's works. Yet the second Temple was to know better fortune than the first one; it stood for five hundred years, and when it was destroyed by Herod it was rebuilt once again even more splendidly. The town rebuilt after the Exile was also to keep its character for a long time. To tell the truth, we know little about it. But the description of his nocturnal inspection of the ramparts left by Nehemiah, helps us to estimate its probable size. To the east, the walls ran parallel to the Kidron. They encircled Mount Ophel and traversed the Tyropoeon below Siloam, then climbed up the western hill, of which they already enclosed a large section, possibly as far as the present gate of Jaffa. Thence they continued towards the east, and were linked up, probably in the direction of Bab-el-Silsileh, with the enclosure of the Temple, which also formed a part of the defence system.

Jerusalem was already spreading up to the table-land; the old

[17] Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives. The Kidron has been filled in with rubbish, and is now shallower than in ancient times. The new church of Gethsemane is modelled on the plan of the fourth century basilica. As at that period there are still many convents here; on the slope the Russian convent of Saint Magdalen; above it, another Russian convent with a high tower, and (next to the former site of the Eleona) the Carmel of the Pater.

[18]

[19] Mount Ophel, the hill of Zion and site of the original city, between the Kidron, right, and the Tyropoeon, left (barely visible), below the western hill. The wall was removed to the north, during the Moslem period. The esplanade of the Temple, the Haram, overlooks the hill. Right, the village of Silwan (Siloam).

[18] Tombs in the valley of the Kidron. This site is known as the 'Valley of Jehoshaphat' in memory of a king of Judaea who was buried here. Left, the large Jewish cemetery; centre, the so-called Tomb of Absalom; right, the south-eastern corner of the Haram, the 'pinnacle of the Temple'.

[20] The valley of the Gehenna, where it joins the Kidron. According to tradition, this is the site of Aceldama, the 'field of blood' bought with the thirty deniers paid to Judas, the price of his betrayal of Jesus.

[21] Ancient fortifications on Ophel. Two different styles can be discerned, left. The Jebusite and Israelite wall was restored under the Monarchy, after the Exile, by the Maccabaeans. Archaeological differentiation is here very difficult.

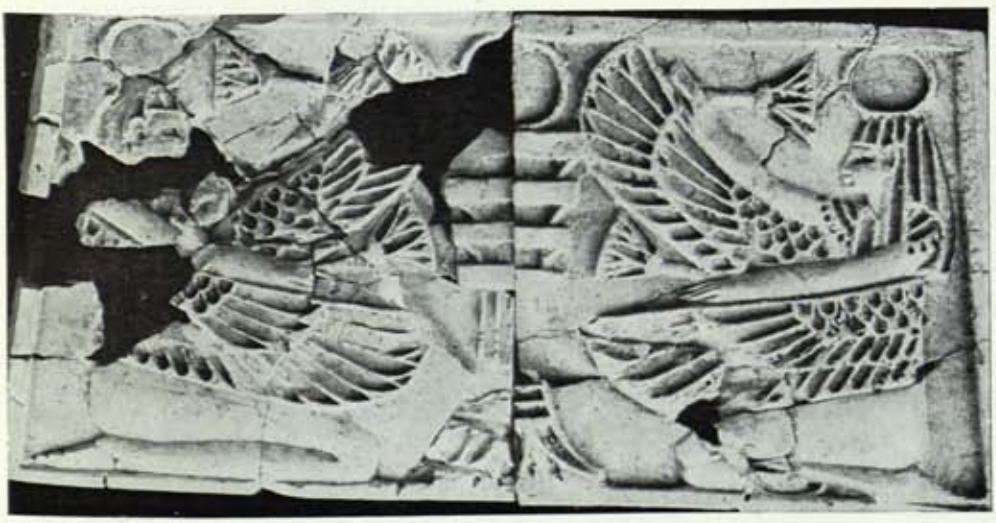
[22] This corner of an early wall to the north-east of the Ophel may date from the period of Solomon.

[23] The canal of Hezekiah, drilled about 710 B.C., conducts the waters from the Fountain of the Virgin into the Pool of Siloam. Its construction bears traces of the indecision of the workers, especially at the meeting-point of the two gangs of navvies, working towards one another.

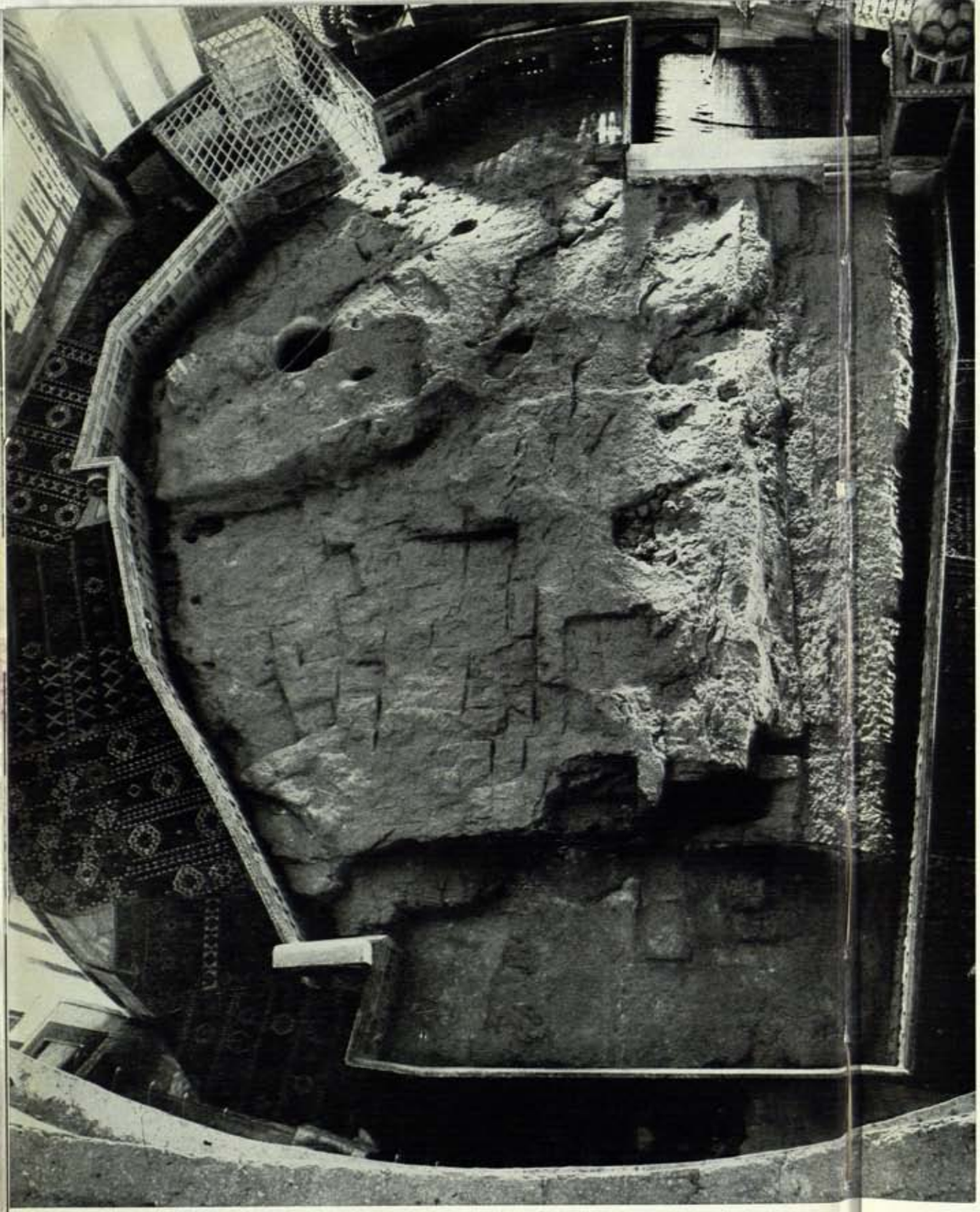
[24] These tombs, hollowed out of the rock of the Ophel, revealed by excavations, are very probably Royal tombs of the Israelite Monarchy (tenth to seventh centuries B.C.).

[25] The pool of Siloam is fed by the Canal of Hezekiah, from the overflow of the Fountain of the Virgin. The ruins of the ancient church commemorate the prophecy of Isaiah to Achaz as well as the Gospel episode of the healing of the blind man.

[26] One of the ivories found in the Samaria excavations (1931–35) dating from the ninth to eighth centuries before Christ. It is a 'Keroub', a winged lion with a human head, whose style combines the oriental tradition with Egyptian influences. These ivory plaques were used as furniture decoration, particularly on beds. The prophets condemned this luxury: 'that lie upon beds of ivory', 'and the houses of ivory shall perish'. (Amos vi. 4 and iii. 15.) It is finds such as these that enable us to visualize the richness of the royal era.



[27] These Samarian ivories clearly show Egyptian influence. (Ninth to eighth centuries B.C.) This might be direct or Egypto-Phoenician, as Phoenician art was for a long time under Egyptian influences (the sarcophagi of Byblos also show this). It is probable that Israelite art was directly under Egyptian influence in the reign of Solomon, who had married a daughter of the Pharaoh. These figures may be similar to those of the cherubim surrounding the Ark in the Holy of Holies of the Temple.



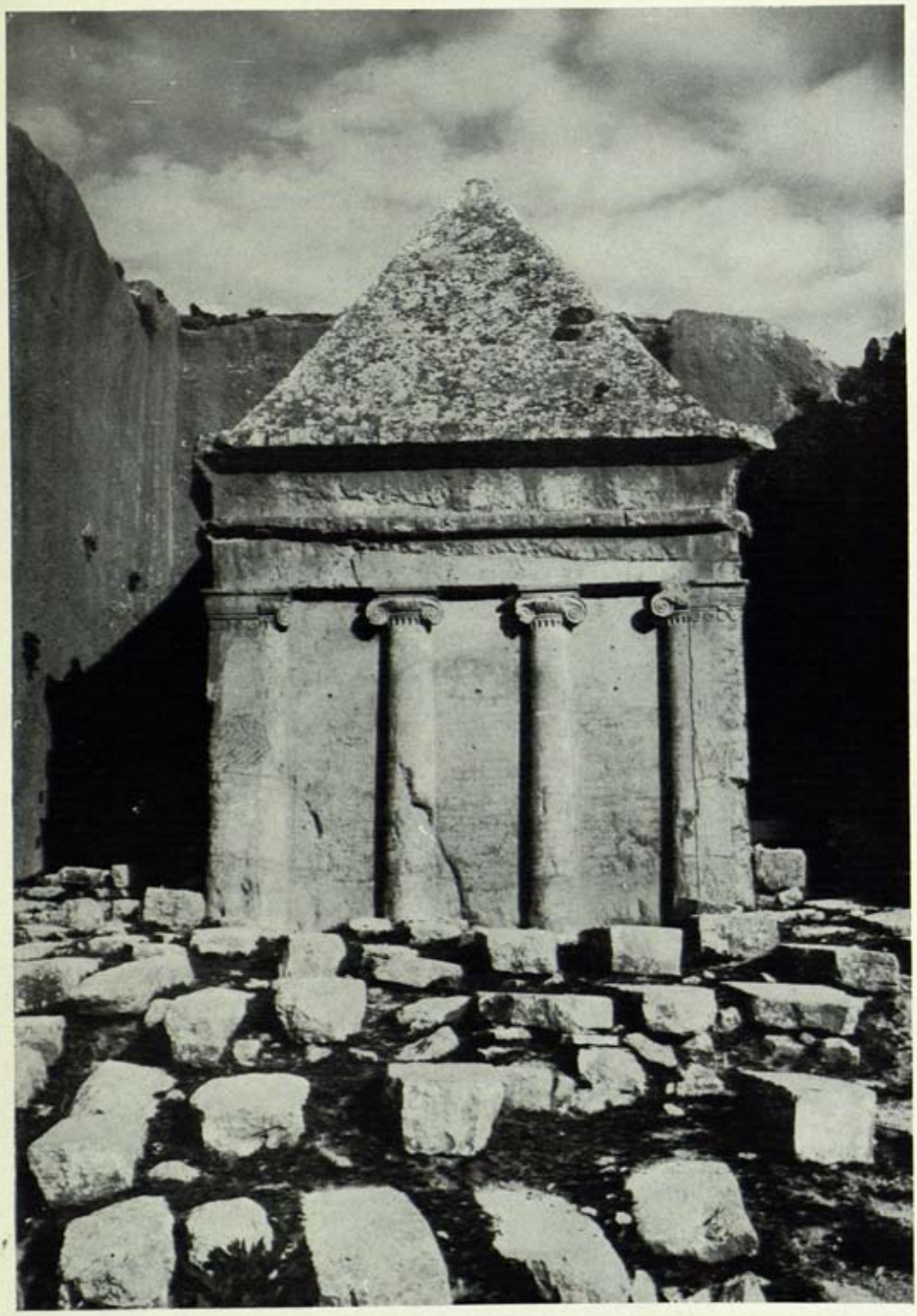
[28] Left: Seal (stone) from Tell-ed-Duweir (Lakish) dating from the period of the Monarchy: 'Under the authority of Ahimelek.' Above the inscription, four-winged scarab in Egyptian style. These scarab seals played an important part in the commercial and every-day life of the ancient East, and are an Egyptian invention. Phoenician lettering. Right: Seal of Jazaniah (onyx). Inscribed, 'Jazaniah, servant of the King'. This is a seal of an official of the Royal period, engraved in Phoenician characters. It was used to stamp documents, jars, etc. It was found at Tell-en-Nasbeh, the ancient Mispa, nine miles north of Jerusalem.

[29] THE ROCK. In the ancient Temple, either the Holy of Holies or the Altar of Sacrifices stood on the sacred rock. It is enshrined by the Dome of Abd-al-Malik. In the days of the Templars it was rehewn to serve as the base of an altar. It is therefore difficult to explain and to date the irregularities, cavities, steps, notches and gashes visible in the photograph, which was taken from the drum of the Dome.

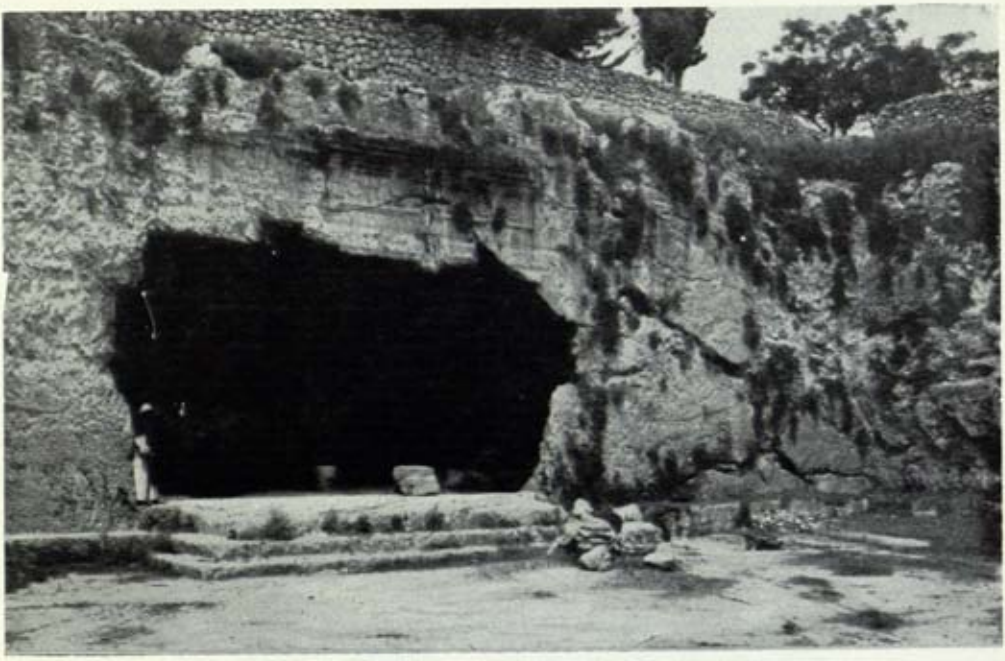
[30] The Haram-as-Sherif and the Dome of the Rock. General view of the esplanade, taken from the north-west. As in the case of the former Temple a flight of steps leads up to the Dome, which ends in a series of arcades, the *Maouazines* (scales). According to legend, the scales of Good and Evil were to hang from the eastern arcades on the Day of Judgement. The northern end of the esplanade was hewn from the rock. Background, the Mosque Al-Aqsa.

[31] Interior of the 'Tomb of the Judges'. These tombs are of the 'Kokkim' or 'oven' type, so-called on account of their resemblance to a baker's oven. One sepulchre contained several generations of a family. The pious Israelite hoped for a happy life, followed by burial 'in the tomb of his fathers'.

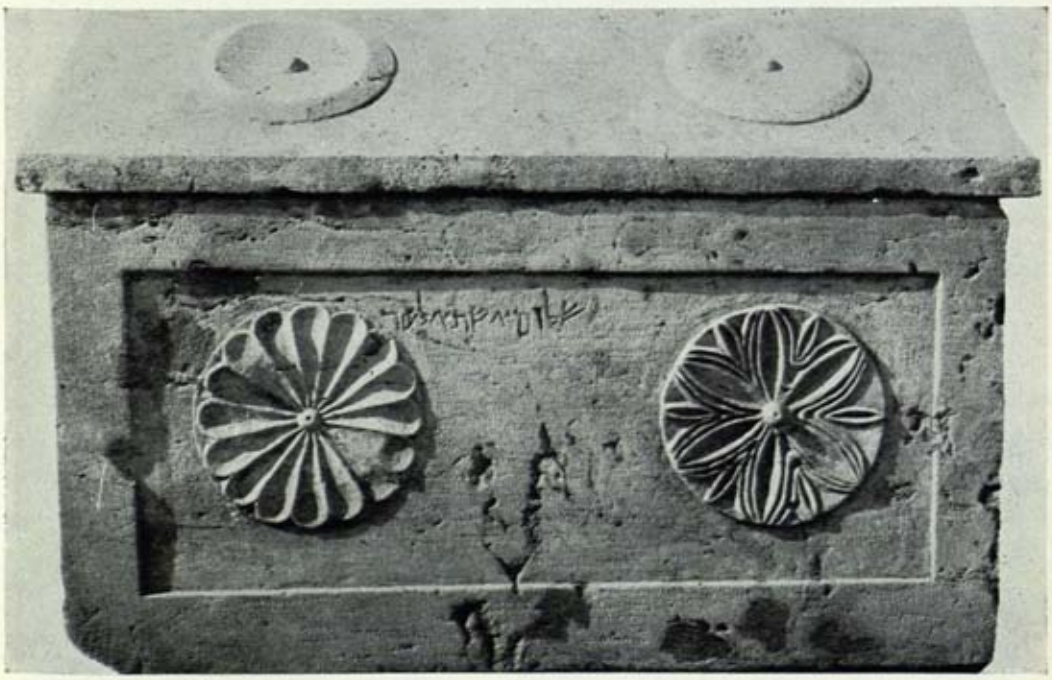
[32] Tomb of the Judges. This name has been given to a funeral monument belonging to the Greek period, hewn in the rock to the north-west of Jerusalem. The entrance to the vaults is surmounted by an elegant Greek pediment. The forecourt with its stone benches was used for the traditional funerary banquets held throughout antiquity and even today, in the East.



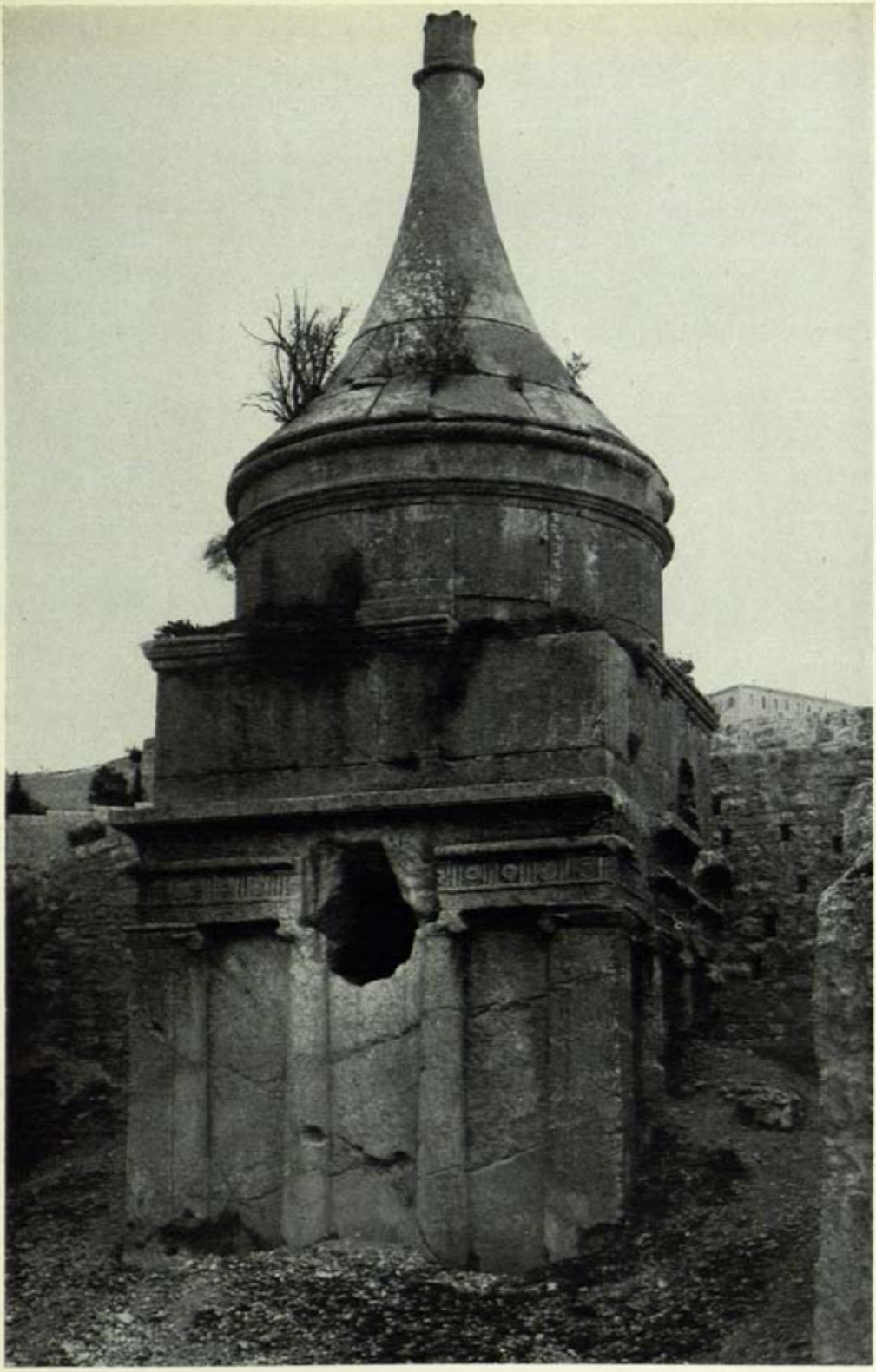
[53] So-called tomb of Zachariah in the valley of the Kidron. This is not a true tomb but a *nephesh* (soul), a commemorative monument placed above a sepulchre, in this case that of the priestly family of the Bene Hezir, whose names are inscribed on it. This pyramid dating perhaps from the third century B.C. is hewn from the rock and is in Greek-Egyptian style, as shown by the cornices and the pediment.



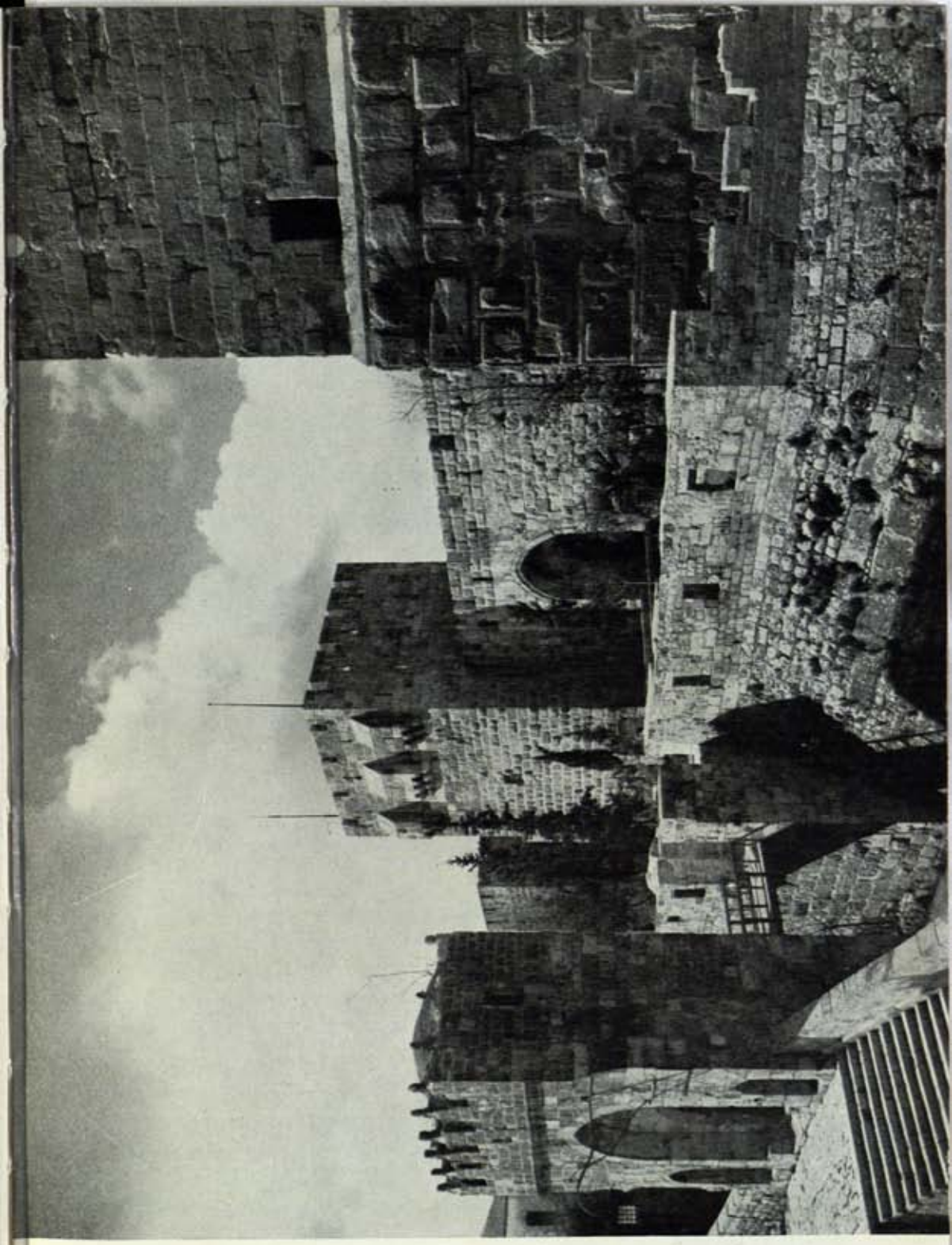
[54] The tomb of Kings, north of Jerusalem, is the sepulchre of the Royal family of Adiabena, in Mesopotamia, who were converted to Judaism in the first century A.D. In the nineteenth century M. de Saulcy made the first excavations in Jerusalem here, but misdated the monument by 650 years! He transported the sarcophagus of Queen Helen to the Louvre. Behind the forecourt seen here, there is a vast series of chambers hollowed out of the rock.



[55] A Jewish ossuary, of the early Christian era. The bodies were placed in the sepulchral chambers. After decomposition the bones were reassembled in stone ossuaries, with floral or geometrical decorations. The Hebrew inscription gives the name of the deceased—'Salome, wife of Eleazar'.



[36] So-called tomb of Absalom, in the Kidron. This is also a *nephesh* of the Greek period, with Ionic columns, hewn from the rock, and with a curious monolithic spire. The façade has been damaged by stones thrown by passers-by, antagonistic to Absalom, allegedly buried here.



[37] The 'Tower of David'. This is the citadel which was originally Herod's Palace; later a castle of the Frankish kings; then became the barracks of the garrison; formerly Turkish, today Arabic property. Unfortunately the site has only been very slightly excavated. On the right, thick slabs grooved in the characteristic Herodian style, which may have served as foundations for the Phasael tower. It is possible that Christ appeared before Pilate here.

[58] Foundations of the Tower of Psephinah. Under the building of the Brethren of the Christian Schools, to the north-west of Jerusalem, excavations revealed important remains of fortifications dating from the Herodian period. These stone slabs are split like those of the tower of Phasael. This method of stone-cutting was admired and imitated by the Crusaders and was copied in Italian cities in the Middle Ages. The size and strength of these Herodian buildings exemplify the king's ambition and love of magnificence. They were also part of a political plan to consolidate an unpopular dynasty by vast undertakings and the arousing of national pride, and to turn Jerusalem into a strong military base. In fact these strong-points were only of service to the insurgents of A.D. 70 but they imposed on the Romans one of the most difficult sieges in their history. Today the discovery of these foundations of the ancient walls furnishes the most positive evidence of the growth of the city at different periods.

[59] Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, wearing the Greek diadem. This fine portrait reveals the personality of the Macedonian king, a spiritual son of Athens whose efforts to impose by force the Greek system on the Jewish people caused a national uprising.

royal city of David was now no more than one section of it. Another extension, which has left its stamp on the present city, also dates from this period of the return from Exile—the burial-grounds. At all times, the dead were buried outside cities, and their tombs, when it is possible to date them, are a certain proof of the limit of human habitations at any given period. The kings, however, were buried on Mount Ophel itself, in sepulchres hewn in the rocks, of which Monsieur Weill has found a certain number; only Jehoram, Joash, Ahaz, Uzziah the leper, Manasseh and Amon were buried outside the city, possibly on religious grounds. The remains of the poorer members of the population were disposed of in simple trenches close to the walls, the rich in hewn tombs which were sometimes closed by a rolled stone, often surmounted by a memorial pyramid. One region was preferred to all others, the Kidron, below the Temple, and the slopes of the Mount of Olives. In one of his prophecies Zachariah had stated that the Last Judgement would take place on this hill: 'And his feet shall stand in that day upon the mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east' (Zach. xiv. 4). It was regarded as desirable to be buried as close as possible to this spot in view of the final Resurrection. This belief in the Resurrection, which began at that time, explains the enormous cemetery that is still to be seen opposite the city. The tradition of Zachariah was to pass from Judaism to Islam, which also placed the Last Judgement at Jerusalem, on the Mount of Olives. After the reconstruction of the Temple and the rebuilding of the ramparts, there is little further information to be obtained on Jerusalem under the Persian Empire (537–332 B.C.). We can deduce from the Bible that important literary works were produced during this period, but we have very little definite information about this time, during which there were no great prophets, but which was devoted to wisdom and the study of the Law. Jerusalem enjoyed the happiness of a period that had no history. When she emerged once more into the light of world affairs, it was to face further suffering and renewed struggles.

Until then, Jerusalem had been almost entirely under the sway of the East, whence she derived her population, the influence of Egypt, the successive dominations of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires; and the elements of civilization brought to her by the Phoenicians were oriental. But at the end of the fourth century B.C. the situation was suddenly to be reversed. During the following thousand years, until the Arab conquest, Jerusalem was to come under the influence of the Mediterranean world, under European

domination. In 334 B.C. Alexander set out on the conquest of the Persian Empire. In the summer of 332 B.C., after the Granicus and Issus, he advanced down the Syrian coast, captured Tyre and Gaza, and entered Egypt. The tradition according to which he passed through Jerusalem is an invention, for he avoided the mountains. Yet, without suffering a new invasion, the city now entered into the Hellenistic world. Although it was not involved in the struggles amongst Alexander's generals, it finally became a part of the Greco-Egyptian realm of the Ptolemies. This was entirely to Jerusalem's advantage. The Jews were well treated and were granted special privileges in the new Alexandria; they continued to spread out, as in former times, and settled in the Eastern Mediterranean. There they learned to speak Greek and soon the Bible had to be translated into this language for their benefit. The conservative-minded teachers of Jerusalem remained reticent in the face of these innovations. But a hard trial awaited them.

In 198 B.C. Antiochus III defeated the Egyptians by the sources of the Jordan, at Paneas. Palestine became part of the Greek kingdom of Syria. Outwardly the change appeared to be merely one of sovereignty, for the Ptolemies of Egypt were no less Macedonians than the Seleucids of Antioch. But the latter did not share the broadmindedness of the kings of Egypt: they dreamed of uniting the whole of Asia under a Greek civilization. This was not merely a case of building beautiful cities with straight streets, adorned by porticos, ornamental arches, and huge monuments, nor of Greek becoming its international language. Hellenism was a way of life; under it, Man became the measure of all things. His aim was to develop harmoniously both body and soul, avoiding extremes, and to exclude from his mind those mysteries that could not be interpreted rationally by the philosophers. To tell the truth, a part of this design was to succeed. Hellenistic art was to reshape Asia; Greek did not supplant Aramaic as the popular tongue, but did become the common language of letters and commerce; the lure of this magnificent and intellectual civilization was strong. But ancient Israel rejected with all its strength those gods that were mere symbols of human desires, very often of the least noble kind, that world in which there was no place for revelation. 'The world is greater than thou dreamest, Athena,' Renan was to sigh, on the Acropolis. Israel, so poor in worldly goods, and so backward technically, was to introduce Greece to a dimension of which until then she had been unaware.

* * *

In 175 B.C. Antiochus IV, Epiphanus, 'God made manifest', became king and took advantage of the complicity of certain elements among the high priesthood to impose his power. A gymnasium was built in Jerusalem, Greek customs were introduced, and the Temple was pillaged. Resistance very soon led to brutal persecution; Hellenism was to triumph by force of arms. In 167 B.C. a Syrian garrison was installed in Jerusalem; a fortress, the Akra, was built in order to subdue the city, no doubt at the western end of the Tyropoeon, facing the Temple. On December 15 the heathen cult was introduced with the death penalty for those who dared to oppose it, and the 'abomination of desolation', the statue of Olympian Zeus, was placed in the Temple, where the worship of Yahweh was abolished. The city lay prostrate under the terror. But Antiochus lay under a great illusion; he might have conquered the city, but he had not touched the Jewish soul. In the Judean hill country, at Modin, a resistance movement was formed around the priest Mattathias and his sons, Eleazar, Jonathan, and Simon, and the most famous of them all, Judas, known as the Maccabaean. The triumphs of the Maccabaean guerillas were due partly to the decadence of the Seleucid kingdom and partly to a clever exploitation of diplomatic rivalries, but more particularly to their own patience and to the intensity of the nationalistic and religious emotions of the people. In 141 B.C., after twenty-five years of struggle, Jerusalem was once again almost completely free.

On December 25, 164 B.C., the recaptured Temple was purified and returned to the faith. In 160, however, Judas was killed and the city was recaptured. His brother Jonathan took up the battle and tried to storm the Akra, but he in turn was killed, by treachery. Simon fortified Jerusalem and besieged the Syrian garrison, this time from within the city. Starved out and without hope of relief, the Akra finally capitulated in 141 B.C. Simon was recognized by the Seleucids, who were now powerless, as the high priest, strategist, and ethnarch of the Jews. Coins were minted bearing his image. His son, John Hyrcanus (134–104), bore the same titles and was, to all purposes, an independent king, the head of a new Jewish dynasty, that of the Hasmoneans.

A Jewish dynasty in Jerusalem made it possible to carry out vengeance for past wrongs on the surrounding enemies, on the Edomites and the Samaritans. Yet the soul of Jerusalem was not at rest. This merely independent status, in Palestine, was not the realization of the universal empire which had been predicted by the prophets; and it was the coming of this prophecy that was now

impatiently awaited. But after victory their national unity fell to pieces. Very soon the people lost confidence in the Hasmonean dynasty, which retained the high priesthood but with no claim to it. John Hyrcanus and after him his son, Aristobulus I—the first who actually took the royal title—wielded their powers in a political rather than a priestly manner. Was God's purpose merely to establish the rule of a selfish and hard-hearted little monarchy? The priesthood fought to retain its influence; it formed a true caste, closed and conservative, known as the Sadducees. Another more ardent and ascetic sect, known as the Pharisees, desired to bring to its conclusion the great work begun on the return from the Exile, to bring back the entire people under the strict rule of the Law. These Pharisees were the true heirs to the great religious revival of 160 B.C. The people hearkened to them. Finally—and our ignorance makes it inevitable that we should refer here in simple terms to a singularly complex matter—others decided to await the coming of the Messianic era in the solitude of the desert, where Israel would recapture the simple life of the days of Exodus. These were the Essenes, who formed a monastic community at Qumran, on the shore of the Dead Sea. Seldom had triumphant Jerusalem known such deep divisions. For Judaism was itself seeking in vain, now, to establish its unity amidst a welter of conflicting hopes.

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The Hasmoneans were compelled to steer their way amidst these various sects. They succeeded only in making each of them dissatisfied in turn. Aristobulus I and Alexander Jannaeus, installed probably in the Akra, which they had converted into their royal residence, leaned towards the Sadducees. The queen, Alexandra Salome (76–67 B.C.), made a right-about turn and governed through the Pharisees, who gained a majority in the assembly of the Elders, the Sanhedrin, which met near the Temple. Their teachers expounded and administered the law there. In 63 B.C. we find two heirs of the dynasty at war, Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus. The powerful governor of Idumaea, to the south of Palestine, supported the latter. At this moment Pompey appeared.

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The Roman legions had been on the march for a long time. The battles of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids had given them their opportunity; underground support for the Jewish revolt was part of the Senate's plan. Once Asia was split into factions, devoid of strength and power, it was an easy matter to pluck the ripe fruit. After having dealt the final blow to Mithridates in Asia Minor

and pacified Armenia, Pompey captured Syria from the Seleucids almost on the run. In 63 B.C. he was encamped at Damascus; the rival Judeans themselves came there to ask for his intervention. Then Aristobulus slipped away and attempted to resist. Piso attacked Jerusalem from the north and occupied it without trouble; alone the Temple held out for another three months. It, too, fell in the autumn of 63 B.C. In Rome, Cicero was Consul. Pompey then arrived to inspect his new conquest. He entered the Temple, violated the Holy of Holies, and to his stupefaction found, said Tacitus, 'not a single image of god, but an empty place and a deserted sanctuary'. Jerusalem was conquered, but remained inexplicable.

THE 'END OF DAYS'

But if Rome could not understand Jerusalem any more than Antiochus IV, the Romans had a different political technique. They knew how to rule without seeming to do so, and to govern by intermediaries. The taxes were heavy, but the administration was effective. Placed under the Propraetor of Syria, Scaurus, Judaea retained its autonomy. But the inefficiency of the last Hasmoneans enabled the Idumaean Antipater to attain the most effective influence. He cleverly went over to Caesar during the civil war, and was about to triumph when his protector was assassinated, in 44 B.C.; he himself died of poison in 43 B.C. Yet this foreigner—he was an Idumaean, not a Jew—had built enduringly. He left his two sons well established, masters of a large part of the country. They were Herod and Phasael, who, in 41 B.C., became 'tetrarchs of Judaea'.

* * *

The figure of Herod dominates Jerusalem. Yet the city of David and Solomon had never been 'his' city. With its intransigent hatred of the foreigner it refused to acknowledge him. Yet it was obliged to bend down to his power, to accept his munificence with embarrassed gratitude, and to suffer the ascendancy of his imperious genius. History has conferred the title 'the great' on this odious individual. And he did earn it, by the loftiness of his ambitions, the power with which he served them, and the unscrupulous clear-headedness of his policies. Yet the one small detail among all his activities by which he is remembered by millions—the massacre of

the newly-born infants of a small canton on the orders of an old, superstitious and unquiet king—characterizes him perfectly.

From his beginnings, he backed the winning side on every occasion. In 42 B.C. he was for Antony. When the Parthians invaded Palestine they were hailed as liberators by the Jews; Herod, however, remained faithful to the Romans and was forced into exile. As a result, the Senate made him king in 40 B.C. He returned in 38, after the Romans had driven the Parthians away, and Antony gave him two legions. In order to legalize his position, he married Mariamna, who was a descendant of the Hasmoneans, and in 37 he took Jerusalem. His only rival, the Hasmonean Antigone, was executed. The only mistake he made was to remain faithful to Antony. But in 30, after the battle of Actium, Octavius forgave him. He reigned unchallenged over Palestine for the remainder of his life, with the support of Rome, and died in 4 B.C. But if he was unchallenged he thought himself always threatened, and to forestall any possible plots against him he had his mother-in-law, his favourite wife, Mariamna, and three of his sons executed. Two Pharisees were burnt to death and forty others were executed, for having taken down the eagle which he had had installed above the Temple, and which to them was an offence against the law which forbade all images. In order that there should be weeping at his own interment, he planned executions to take place at the moment of his death. The massacre of the infants of Bethlehem was only one drop amidst this sea of blood. Like many of his contemporaries, like Caesar and Augustus, he was both superstitious and highly sceptical of all religion. When away from Jerusalem, he lived like a Greek king. In the town itself, he had scant respect for the feelings of the Jews; he built a theatre, an amphitheatre and a hippodrome, probably on the western hills. He took care to ensure that his possessions were well fortified. He controlled the capital by means of two powerful fortresses: the Antonia and the Royal Palace. The Hasmoneans had already had one fortress, the tower of Baris. One of Herod's first tasks was to erect a stronghold near its site. A massive square was erected, provided with four strong towers, one at each corner, of which the south-eastern one was the tallest. Under the heavy paving slabs of the vast interior court were two inexhaustible water cisterns. It could be entered from the street, through a double archway; and staircases led from it into the court of the Temple. The fortress was called Antonia, in honour of the Roman general. It contained luxurious apartments and also housed the garrison, which, from this point, could completely control the

Temple. Extensive excavations, intrepidly undertaken by the Dames de Sion beneath their college, have revealed the pavement of the court and the magnificent stones on which the Roman soldiers engraved the games with which they whiled away their leisure. The cisterns are intact and still receive the winter rains. Considerable remains still exist of the rocky escarpment which bordered the fort on the northern side, as well as the bases of columns. There also were found stone bullets which were thrown up by the machines used in the siege of 70 B.C. Nowhere else in Jerusalem does one come so close to this epoch in its history. The other extremity of the town, on the western heights, was equally well guarded by the Palace. This building was begun in the fifteenth year of Herod's reign, in 24 B.C., and it carried three great towers that the king named Hippicus, after a friend, Phasael, after his brother, and Mariamna, in memory of his wife. Important sections of their foundations can still be seen in the 'Tower of David', the present-day citadel, and in the adjacent School of the Brethren. Here one can trace the typical Herodian method of construction—great stone slabs carefully joined together, with grooved edges that were designed to facilitate their adjustment and break up the monotony of the walls. The gardens of the king were laid out behind the Palace, towards the south. Still farther in that direction he had built his family tomb, the 'Tomb of the Herods'.

All this was the work of a ruler who looked to his own security and glory. Herod did even more. He attempted to conciliate his Jewish subjects by a sumptuous reconstruction of the Temple. He prudently made his plans known to the people first, and won their approval of them. The destruction of the old Temple was to take place simultaneously with the erection of the new one. But as the priestly caste alone had the right to enter the Holy of Holies, one thousand of them were taught the building trade. Eighteen thousand labourers worked with them. In 20–19 B.C. the preparations were completed and the construction was begun. It was to continue long after the end of Herod's reign; in the days of Jesus and the Apostles it was still going on, and was not finished until the year A.D. 64, six years before the final collapse. The New Testament (John ii. 20), alludes to the period in question. The old courtyard was enlarged first of all. At the northern end, towards the hillock of Bethezda, it was necessary to drill through the rocks right down to the foundations of the Antonia. At the southern end, however, the land fell away steeply. In some places the difference in level was as much as 150 feet. The court was built on huge foundations,

of which certain parts can still be seen. The enormous slabs of the 'Wailing Wall', placed together without cement, give an idea of this colossal undertaking, which aroused the astonishment of the Apostles: 'Master, see what manner of stones and what buildings are here!' (Mark xiii. 2). The result was a vast enclosure of 2,575 feet by 985 feet, to which eight gates gave access, divided into two concentric courts: an exterior one, surrounded by columns, 'the Court of the Gentiles', to which heathens were admitted, and an interior court for the Jews. Two of the inscriptions forbidding access to this to Gentiles have been discovered. This again was divided into three parts—women were admitted to the first one, on the eastern side; men only to the second, on the west. From both it was possible to witness the religious services. Finally, a third court, in front of the Temple, was reserved to the priests and levites. The Temple itself stood on a raised terrace; fourteen steps led up to it. It followed the design of Solomon's Temple, but on a colossal scale. The portal was 65 feet in height, the terraced roof was 165 feet in height, the 'Sanctuary' 65 feet in length, separated from the Holy of Holies by a curtain. The decorations were as luxurious as the architecture was sumptuous. A vine of gold, symbol of Israel, surmounted the gateway and golden needles were strewn over the roof to prevent the birds from sullying it!

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The historian Flavius Josephus has described these marvels. Yet they did not endure even for a hundred years. Herod's grandeur was as fragile as his power, which had been upheld by the Romans in the face of nationalistic opposition. He was succeeded by his son, Archaelaus, Tetrarch of Judaea, who reigned for a mere ten years. In the year A.D. 6 he was deposed by the Romans and his country became a Roman province. Herod's other two sons, Philip and Antipas, had better fortune in Batanaea and in Galilee. His grandson, Agrippa I, was able to restore the Herodian kingdom from A.D. 41 to 44, thanks to his friendship wth Caligula. His son, Agrippa II, reigned over Galilee until the end of the century. But from A.D. 6 to 41 and from A.D. 44 to 66 Judaea, including Jerusalem, was governed by a Roman procurator. Certain of these officials, such as Porcius Festus (A.D. 61–62) were men of distinction. But others were merely concerned during their terms of government to acquire wealth by every possible means. Among them were Antonius Felix, the brother of Pallas, the freedman of Claudius, or the wretched Albinus and Florus, against whom revolts broke out. However, they did at least encourage those works at which the

Romans excelled, and improved the city's water supply by a system of underground canals 25 miles long; this can still be seen at the point where it is intersected by the Bethlehem road.

But their administrative improvements have not preserved their fame and the same would have applied to the fifth of them, Pontius Pilate (A.D. 26–36), procurator under Tiberius. He has been described for us—apart from the Evangelists—by Josephus and Philo, as obstinate, venal, and tyrannical, torn between his fear of the Emperor on the one hand, and his contempt for his subordinates on the other. On two occasions he clumsily provoked their anger: when he introduced into Jerusalem military standards bearing the Emperor's effigy, which aroused such violent opposition that he was forced to bow to it; and when, in order to pay for the construction of the southern aqueduct, he drew on the revenues of the Temple. He also ordered the executions of the Jews whilst they were offering sacrifices. As the result of a final blunder, the brutal repression of a gathering of the Samaritans, an inquiry was opened by the Romans. Vitellius, the legate of Syria, ordered him to Rome, to state his case. No doubt the death of Tiberius, during these proceedings, spared him the worst, and at this point we lose trace of him. It was not, apparently, due to ignorance that on several occasions he wounded the feelings of the Jews, but to indifference and contempt for them. This portrait of Pilate was in due course handed down to us by the Evangelists in their descriptions of the trial of Jesus, which made him famous.

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Holy Week changed the course of the history of Jerusalem for ever. Yet the events did not at the time make a very deep impression on its population. Hundreds of people were crucified along the roads and outside the gates of the city. We have records of several would-be messiahs who at that date attempted to rally the Jewish people around them. Even Jesus's life was not lived in Jerusalem, except to a very slight extent. A tradition dating from the second century, recorded for us in the apocryphal Gospel of James, places his family and the birth of Mary, his mother, there. She married a humble descendant of David, a hard-working artisan from far-away Galilee. The Jewish settlements there were of recent origin. The people were simple, hard-working, pious, faithful to Judaism, but uneducated and unversed in the casuistries of the learned teachers of Jerusalem, who despised them: 'Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?' (John i. 46). Saint Paul, on the contrary, was a typical graduate of the schools of Jerusalem. It was

there that he acquired his taste for subtle and learned argument, to which he had been introduced by Gamaliel. Jesus's imagination owed nothing to scholasticism. In his mind both the Biblical traditions and the new teachings were coloured by his simple environment. He was born towards the year 6 B.C. in Bethlehem, under Herod, after a census of which we know nothing, and he passed the next thirty years of his life in Galilee, in obscurity. Saint Luke only mentions one episode of his childhood, when he was twelve years old, connected with Jerusalem. For two and a half years, roughly, the seat of his ministry was in Galilee, on the northern and north-western slopes of the Lake of Tiberias. Jesus went up to Jerusalem for the celebrations, but did not remain there. The city of the prophets was, however, his life-long goal: 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!' (Matt. xxiii. 37). A prophet is consecrated and dies in Jerusalem. The entire aim of the ministry appears in this light as an ascent towards the city, towards the Passion, the final crown of Messianic redemption and suffering.

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During the last days of his life, Jesus did not live in Jerusalem itself. During the daytime he preached beneath the portico of the Temple. At eventide, he left the city by the eastern gate, crossed the Kidron, and, passing by the Mount of Olives, arrived at Bethany, where his friends awaited him. As regards the chronological and topographical details of the Passion, many points remain obscure. Many of the traditions concerning it are recent and unreliable; those dating from the Middle Ages are unworthy of credibility. Those dating from the fourth and fifth centuries, however, do have a certain value. True, the early Christians did not share our own preoccupations with the problem, and the topography of the city was subject to violent upheavals. But problems are more likely to be complicated than simplified, if the possibility of the handing-down of personal memories is to be altogether rejected. There is no doubt of the fact that Gethsemane was in the Kidron, on the first slopes of the Mount of Olives. Jesus went down there with his Apostles after the Last Supper, when he had celebrated the Sacrament. According to tradition the guest-chamber was in a house on the western hill, near the Palace of the High Priest Caiaphas and of Annas, his father-in-law. On his way from the guest-chamber to the Kidron, Jesus would therefore have crossed a part of the Old

City, which today has become a suburb, with gardens. The staircase discovered by the Fathers of the Assumption, close to St. Peter-in-Gallicante was actually at that time a street, through which Jesus may well have passed. After his appearance before the High Priest and the Sanhedrin, followed the judgement of Pilate at the Praetorium, his condemnation, and the first tortures. Where was the site of this Praetorium? One tradition, which finally spread in the thirteenth century, and which determined the present Stations of the Cross from that time onwards, stated that the road to Calvary began near the Temple and the Antonia. But according to another tradition it started at the western end, near the Gate of Jaffa. The only literary sources of classical times extant to mention the Praetorium, describe the Procurator—in one case, Pontius Pilate himself—as holding his tribunal in Herod's Palace. On the other hand, it is certain that the courtyard of the Antonia discovered under the convent of the Dames de Sion corresponds exactly to the description of the Lithostrotos, the so-called 'Pavement'. The discussion continues. After having crossed a part of the city, Jesus was crucified in front of the Gate of Ephraim, outside the walls, and after his death his body was placed in a new sepulchre or tomb, close by. For this there has been only one tradition, and the other sites suggested, apart from the Holy Sepulchre, as being those of the tomb and of Calvary, are purely imaginative. But was the Holy Sepulchre, which nowadays lies within the city, actually outside the walls in Jesus's time? Only archaeology can answer this question, and the information it furnishes, of which all the relevant details can be found in Father Vincent's work, is not always clear. All one can say is that it contains as much of certainty as traditions combined with historical research can provide.

Jesus was executed on the Friday before a Passover—perhaps in April of the year A.D. 30. His brief mission and the slight influence it had exercised appeared to be obliterated. The Sadducees, having for once the support of the Pharisees, whom he had treated so roughly, had eliminated an embarrassing prophet. But then the unexpected happened. After a short period of discouragement, the disciples of this crucified preacher reassembled, and their movement even began to grow. The faith of the very small group of witnesses of the Resurrection spread; it began to include Pharisees and priests, and, with no intention of seceding from Judaism, the Christian community organized itself along the lines of the various different synagogues then in existence. Jews who returned to Jerusalem from various foreign parts would unite into small groups for worship;

there was, for instance, the 'Synagogue of the Freedmen', no doubt former slaves sold by Pompey, and liberated by Caesar. The 'Inscription of Theodotus' which was rediscovered on Mount Ophel may possibly be its articles of association. It is probable that the Christian community did not differ, in outward form, from these other small groups that, like it, had their charitable organizations and hierarchy. But its preaching soon brought it into conflict with the Jewish authorities. The Apostles were arrested on two occasions, and when the deacon, Stephen, launched an attack against the two most sacred pillars of Judaism—the Temple and the Law—persecution swiftly followed. It was organized by King Agrippa I, who was eager to placate public opinion and who himself was a sincere observer of the Jewish law. The first result was the dispersal of the Christians, and the spreading out of their missions into Palestine, Syria, and Cyprus. It also had the effect of shifting the centre of the new 'church' from Jerusalem to Antioch. From here Paul, a Greek Jew, who was a former Pharisee who had become suddenly converted after being present at the execution of Stephen, departed to carry the 'Good News', the Gospel of Jesus, 'Messiah' and 'Lord', to the whole of the pagan world. From then onwards, twenty years after the death of Christ, the fate of Christianity was practically settled. The Jerusalem community, under the direction of James, a relative of the Lord, retained the appearance of a Jewish sect, fervent, but restricted and without daring, but which, nevertheless, remained an object of hatred. On the death of the Procurator Festus, during an interim in Roman rule (A.D. 62), the High Priest Annas caused James to be executed. At the time of the revolt of 66, the Christians of Jerusalem, as the result of a revelation, departed to Pella, on the other side of the Jordan. Under the direction of leaders taken from among the family of Jesus, Simeon and his successors, these Judaeo-Christians led a narrow existence, retaining a certain number of Jewish practices which were contrary to their faith and they vanished quietly from history during the third century.

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The Spirit was blowing elsewhere. It resided with Peter, who was the first to accept Gentiles into the Church, at Caesarea; and with Paul, on the borders of the Mediterranean. The Assembly which took place in Jerusalem around the year A.D. 49 definitely turned the Christians away from obedience to Jewish law, and marks their rupture with Judaism. The Sanhedrin, which violently attacked Saint Paul on his return from his third voyage, was clear-

sighted. It would no doubt have caused his disappearance had it not been for the intervention of the Roman authorities. Jerusalem rejected the disciples as she had rejected the Master. The light of the new religion was to stream out from pagan soil, from Antioch and from Rome. There soon followed—in A.D. 70—the sacking of the city and the destruction of the Temple prophesied by Christ, which, for the Christians, was the signal for a definite change. Jerusalem, their birthplace, was no longer their city, for 'thou knowest not the time of thy visitation' (Luke xix. 41), and, turning away from the vanished Temple, they no longer worshipped the Father 'in the mountain' (John iv. 20), but everywhere, 'unto the uttermost part of the earth' (Acts i. 8). The Palestinian 'Kingdom of God' had become a spiritual kingdom that knew no national loyalties.

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The birth of Christianity and the fall of Jerusalem are so closely linked from a spiritual point of view that we can hardly distinguish between the two events. But contemporary witnesses were unable to take such a long-sighted view. To them, Christianity was only one small incident in world-wide affairs, and the drama appeared to centre entirely around Judaea and Rome. It was a hundred years since the Jewish homeland had been incorporated into the vast system from which Augustus created the 'Roman Empire'. Palestine appeared to have been pacified and its administration was now directly linked to the central authority by the procurators. Both Sadducees and Pharisees appeared to have accepted this occupation. But the majority of the Jewish people detested the Roman conquerors; their messianic hopes led them always to await the day of the approaching liberation of Israel, the day of reprisals and of universal conquest. Their restrained expectation expressed itself freely in apocalyptic anticipations, in a world of visions and of mysterious signs and portents. Whether or not Rome was a benevolent despotism, she was also a second Babylon, pagan, chained to the earth, inaccessible to proselytism, whereas other Eastern potentates, such as Helen of Adiabene in Mesopotamia and her two sons, became converted to Judaism and built their tombs in Jerusalem, seeming thereby to fulfil the prophecy of the Book of Isaiah: 'The Gentiles shall come to thy light.' But if Judaism rejected Rome with all its usual intransigence, Rome was unable to understand the Jewish soul. Pompey had been the first to become aware of its mysteriousness. Caesar had adopted a carefully conciliatory policy, and had exempted the Jews from compulsory military service. The

later emperors, recalling the fate of the Seleucids, did not force the imperial cult on Judaea, so long as sacrifices were made in the Temple for them. But this prudence did not last. The crazy command of a Caligula, a madman who ordered his statue to be placed within the Temple, the clumsiness of a Pontius Pilate, were constantly raising the hackles of these sensitive and suspicious people. Rome simply could not understand this refusal to accept a system which had been universally adopted. All other peoples worshipped the Genius of the Emperor and the goddess, Rome, alongside their own gods; they were all in favour of the unification of the whole world under the 'immense majesty of the Roman peace'. The obstinacy of the Jews seemed to the Romans the sinister fanaticism of a pack of madmen.

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The Romans brutally repressed the rebellions incited by the various 'messiahs'—Theudas, James, and Simon. But the desert was close, where it was possible for small groups to survive in isolation, safe from capture. The Zealots—the 'Sicarii'—the dagger-men, who refused to accept any political compromise, such as the Pharisees had agreed to, had been in existence since the beginning of the century, under Augustus, when Quirinius, the legate of Syria, had ordered a census. Towards A.D. 50 they began to organize on a larger scale and to spread around the countryside. Under Albinus (A.D. 62–64) they became sufficiently daring to carry out raids into Jerusalem itself, in the heart of the city. The authorities, however, turned a blind eye to these events. Gessius Florus (A.D. 64–66) encouraged the pagans of Caesarea to challenge the Jews, who were obliged to vacate the town. He imposed a tax on the Temple treasury, allegedly in the name of the Emperor, but in fact to his own benefit. When the Zealots demonstrated in protest against it he retaliated by sacking a certain number of dwellings in Jerusalem and by ordering nearly 3,600 men, women and children to be crucified or beaten. He then prepared an official welcome for two cohorts that moved into the city from Caesarea. The soldiers had been ordered not to respond to the demonstrations by the crowd. At the first popular manifestation, the troops turned on them. Then, as today, the streets of Jerusalem were narrow. A certain number of the demonstrators fled and managed to gain entrance to the Temple. They were successful in cutting it off from the Antonia. The insurrection had begun.

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We are fortunate in possessing a record of these events by an

eye-witness, Flavius Josephus, author of 'The War of the Jews'. This cultured Pharisee, who had gone over from the revolutionary side to the Romans, and who wrote his account during his periods of luxurious leisure in Rome, was not reluctant to lie when it came to matters which might have caused him a certain personal embarrassment, or when he wished to enhance his own importance. His story is by no means free from a certain amount of imaginative embroidery. Yet in no other record since the regal period in Jerusalem's history do we come so close to the life of the city. At the time of the rising of A.D. 66, Jerusalem was no longer the town that Christ had known. The town had spread out beyond the two north-western walls, the old wall of the kings, and the wall through which Jesus had passed, carrying his cross. To both of these, now closely surrounded by buildings, a third had been added, begun on a grand scale by King Agrippa, soon after A.D. 40, and which at more than one point corresponded to the present northern wall, between the Gate of Jaffa and the Tower of Storks, opposite the Palestine Museum. The city that the Romans were to occupy was larger than the Old City of which we still can trace the remains today.

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The insurrection began with the revolt of a minority, the Zealots. The Pharisees and Sadducees hesitated to break with Rome. King Agrippa II arrived in Jerusalem in an endeavour to pacify the mob. He came in conciliatory mood, with his sister, Berenice, who was loved so passionately by Titus. He provided the moderate faction with troops, to defend the city's heights. But the Zealots strengthened their positions, occupied the fortress of Masada, by the Dead Sea; in Jerusalem they burnt the palaces of Agrippa and of the High Priest. Although the last Roman troops had been promised a free exit when they withdrew, they were massacred. In the pagan cities the Greeks and the Jews were murdering one another. Even then, however, the revolt had merely been sparked off. But Cestius Gallus, Legate of Syria, promptly intervened with badly organized troops. His attack on Jerusalem developed too slowly, so that the besieged were allowed enough time to organize their defences. In his retreat Gallus was harried by the guerillas and lost all his war material. Thereupon, in October, A.D. 66, the insurrection flared up over the whole of Palestine.

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The Jewish people lacked cadres and were compelled to build up an organization immediately. Joseph ben Gorion and the High Priest Ananias took over the administration of Jerusalem; Josephus,

the historian, was put in charge of Galilee, which he fortified. A wholly Jewish coinage was struck; on the coins were inscribed 'Jerusalem the Holy', and 'Liberation of Zion'. Yet there was no real unity. In Galilee, Josephus, leader of the moderates, was opposed by John of Giscala, who, after the fall of the province, fled to Jerusalem. In Judaea, under the leadership of Simon Bar-Giora, all the extremists united in opposition to the central government. As in all insurrections, the 'softer' elements were soon thrown out. Actual power passed over to the Zealots, who governed by terror, and in the name of God and the Law committed every kind of excess. The Jewish war took on a unique aspect of cruelty and of horror.

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Rome appointed an experienced and successful general to put down the insurrection, a Sabine peasant called Titus Flavius Vespasian. He was no courtier, and fell asleep whenever Nero read poetry aloud. But he impressed the military leadership by his authoritarian discipline, his powers of judgement, and his patience. His most able lieutenant was his own son, Titus, who was both brave and humane. Vespasian quietly assembled his legions—the Vth Macedonian, the Xth Fretensian, and the XVth Apollinarian, brought by Titus from Egypt, together with certain auxiliary troops. Then he descended from Antioch and invaded Galilee. The fortresses fell one by one; at Jotapata, Josephus surrendered. He was welcomed by his conquerors and passed over to them, predicting that his two victors would shortly accede to the Empire (June, A.D. 67).

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In Jerusalem, meanwhile, the Zealots had run amok. John of Giscala had become their leader after his escape from Galilee. In order to strengthen their cause they had called to their aid the savage Idumanaeans from the south. They then set about the systematic massacre of their adversaries: 'Blood flowed from every corner of the Temple walls, and when day began to break, eight thousand five hundred corpses were counted on that spot.'

But Vespasian was in no hurry. In A.D. 68, in order to isolate Jerusalem, he occupied first the coastal plain and later the valley of the Jordan. As he advanced, the Essene monks in their desert monastery carried the manuscripts from their library into hiding, storing them in the surrounding caves. After nearly two thousand years one section of these was accidentally rediscovered. Vespasian was about to launch an attack against the mountain strongholds

[40] THE WAILING WALL. Jews of the traditional type mourn their lost sanctuary in front of the massive foundations of the enclosure of Herod's Temple. After their exclusion by Hadrian from the new city of Aelia, certain Jews were occasionally permitted to visit the deserted Rock. But after the Moslems had built the Dome above it, they had, for many centuries, access only to this famous spot. They carved *graffiti* on the stones. One can understand the astonishment of the Apostles (Mark xiii: 1) at the sight of these enormous blocks, held together without cement. The width of the slits was carefully calculated to take into account the optical illusion owing to which the rows seen from a distance appeared to be narrower than at a closer view. These Herodian constructions presuppose enormous resources and an exceptional attention to detail.

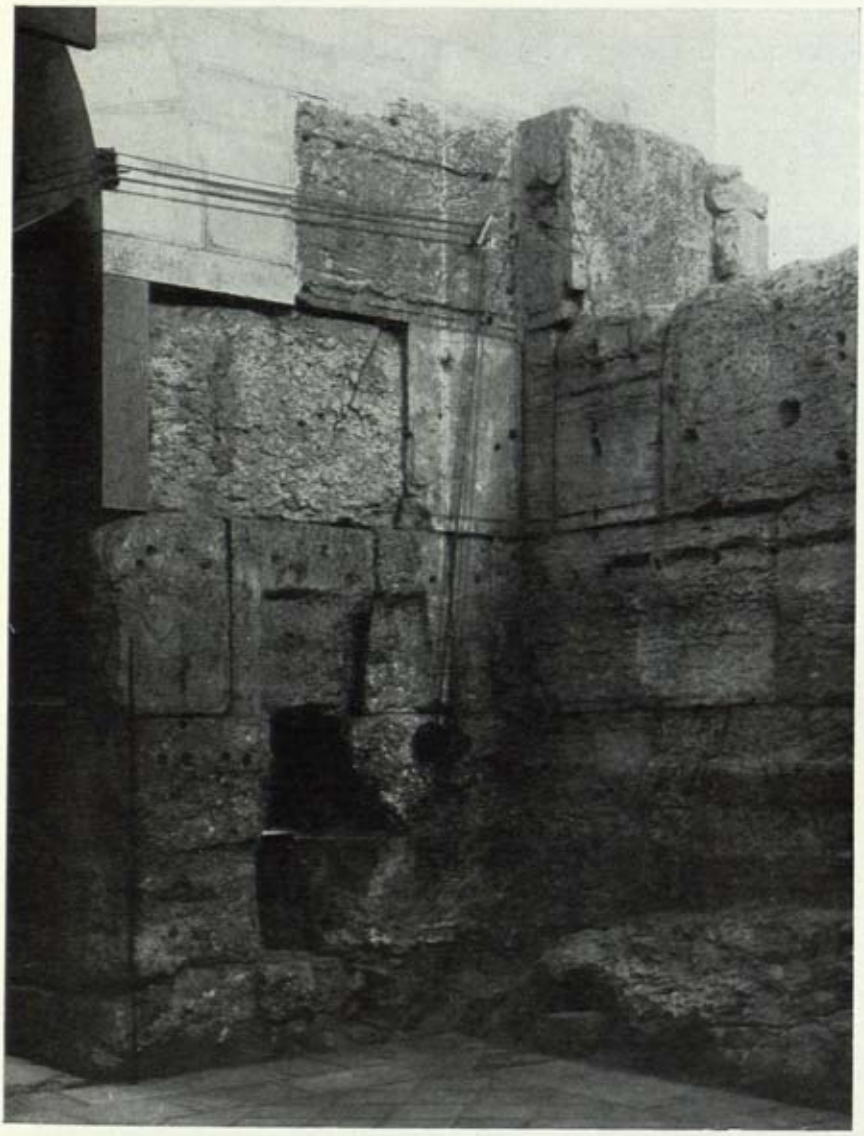
[41] Fragment of a Greek inscription which forbade Gentiles to enter through the Jewish Portico. 'Let no stranger penetrate beyond the barrier and the peribola that enclose the sanctuary. Whoever may be caught attempting to do so will have only himself to blame if his death should ensue in consequence.'

[42] Tetradrachma (shekel) of the second revolt, struck in the name of Simon (bar Kokhba). It represents the façade of the Temple; behind it a cupboard with two scrolls of the Law; above, the star of the leader of the insurrection.

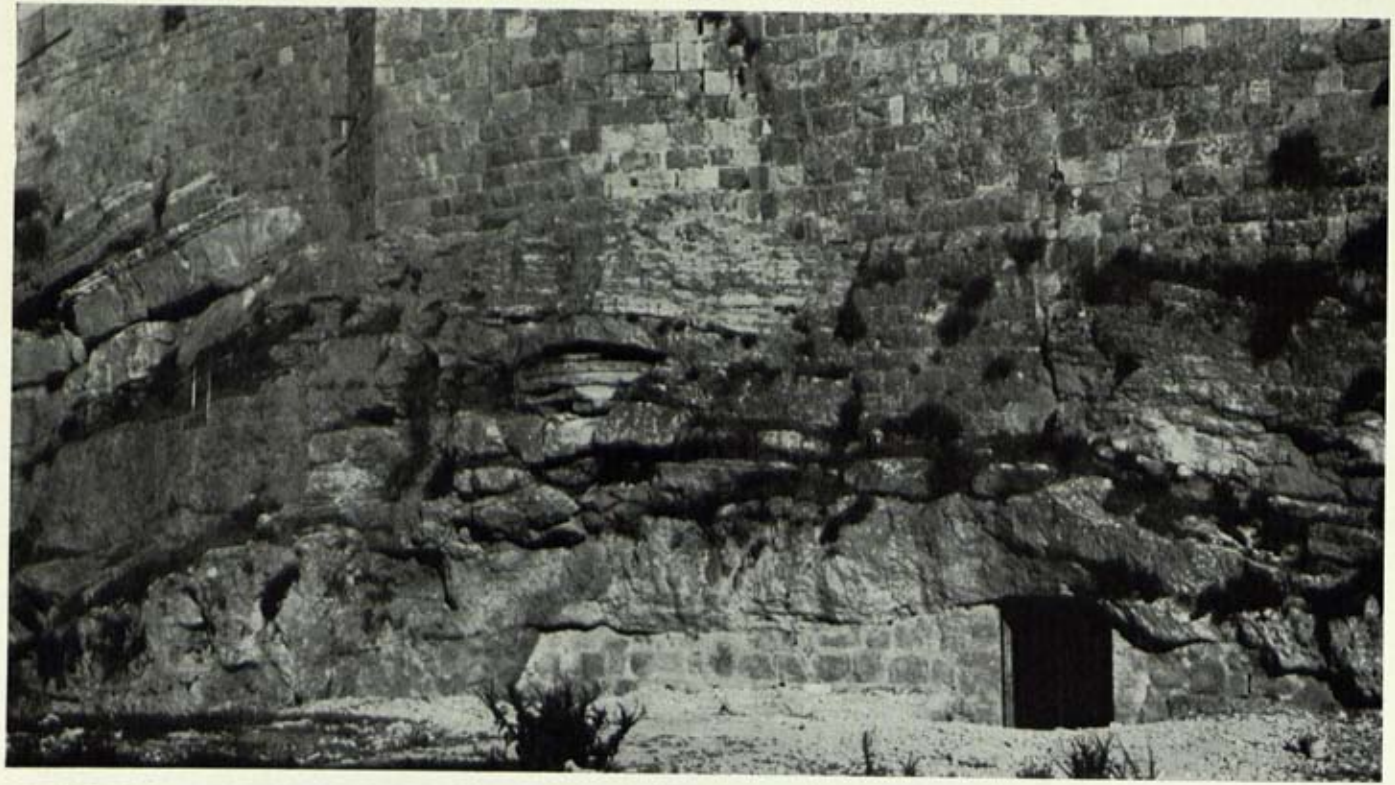
[43] The Golden Gate, the sole eastern gate of the Haram, kept permanently closed. After the assault of 1099, the Crusaders buried their dead below this wall; later a Moslem cemetery replaced the Christian tombs. The golden-coloured wall of the Haram is here seen in imposing outline.

[44] THE GATE OF 'GARDENS'. The top of the arch of the former 'Gate of Gardens' to the west, in the second wall of the city. Owing to the constant raising of the level of Jerusalem, archaeologists have been obliged to dig below ground to find traces of the old city, now buried.

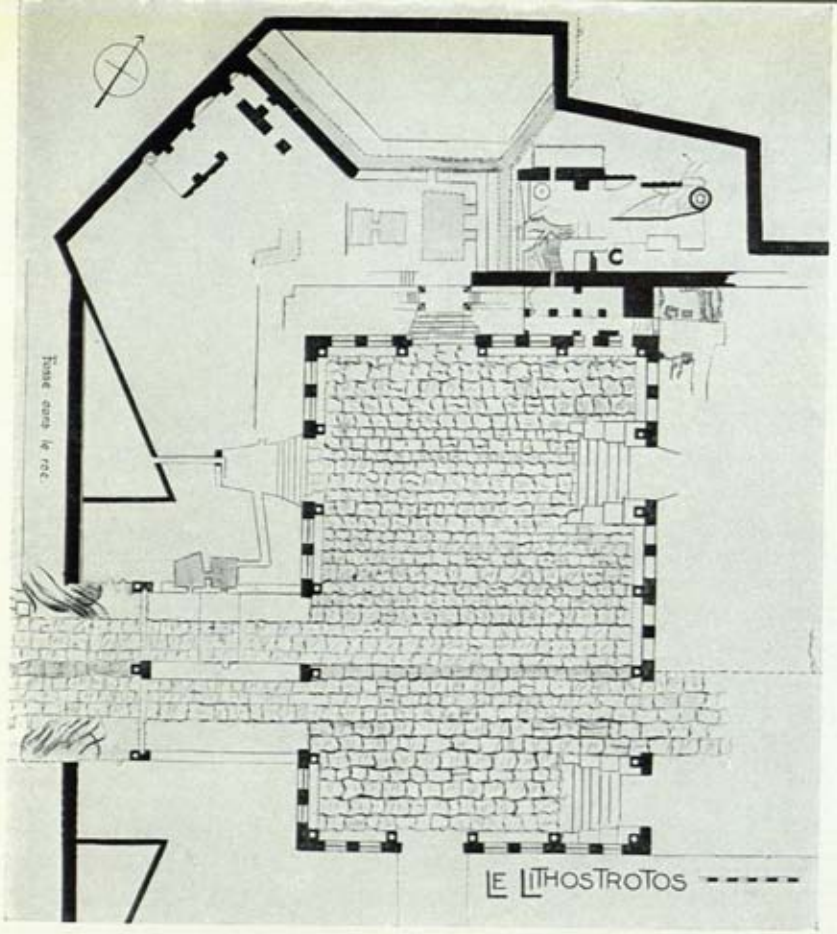
[45] BORDJ-AL-LAQLAQ- THE TOWER OF STORKS, at the north-east angle of the ramparts. The enclosure rebuilt by Soleiman the Magnificent made use of earlier materials and plans; the partly filled in moat and the rocky counter-escarpment are plainly visible. It was on this side of the city that the first Crusaders entered after the assault of 1099.



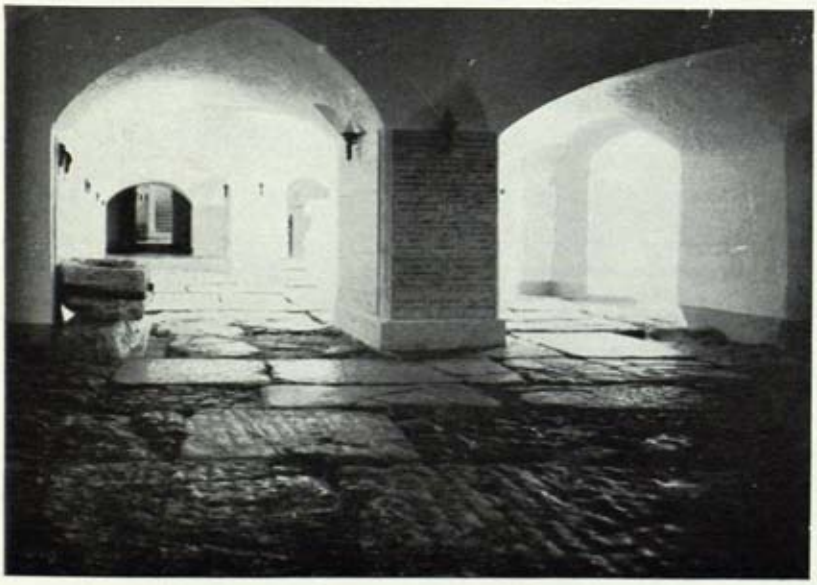
[46] The corner-stones of an old wall in the basement of the Russian Hospice Alexandre, near the Holy Sepulchre. This was the entrance to the Forum of Aelia, built no doubt on the foundations of an earlier wall, towards the gate of Ephraim: it bears witness to the existence of the 'second wall' which surrounded the city in the time of Christ.



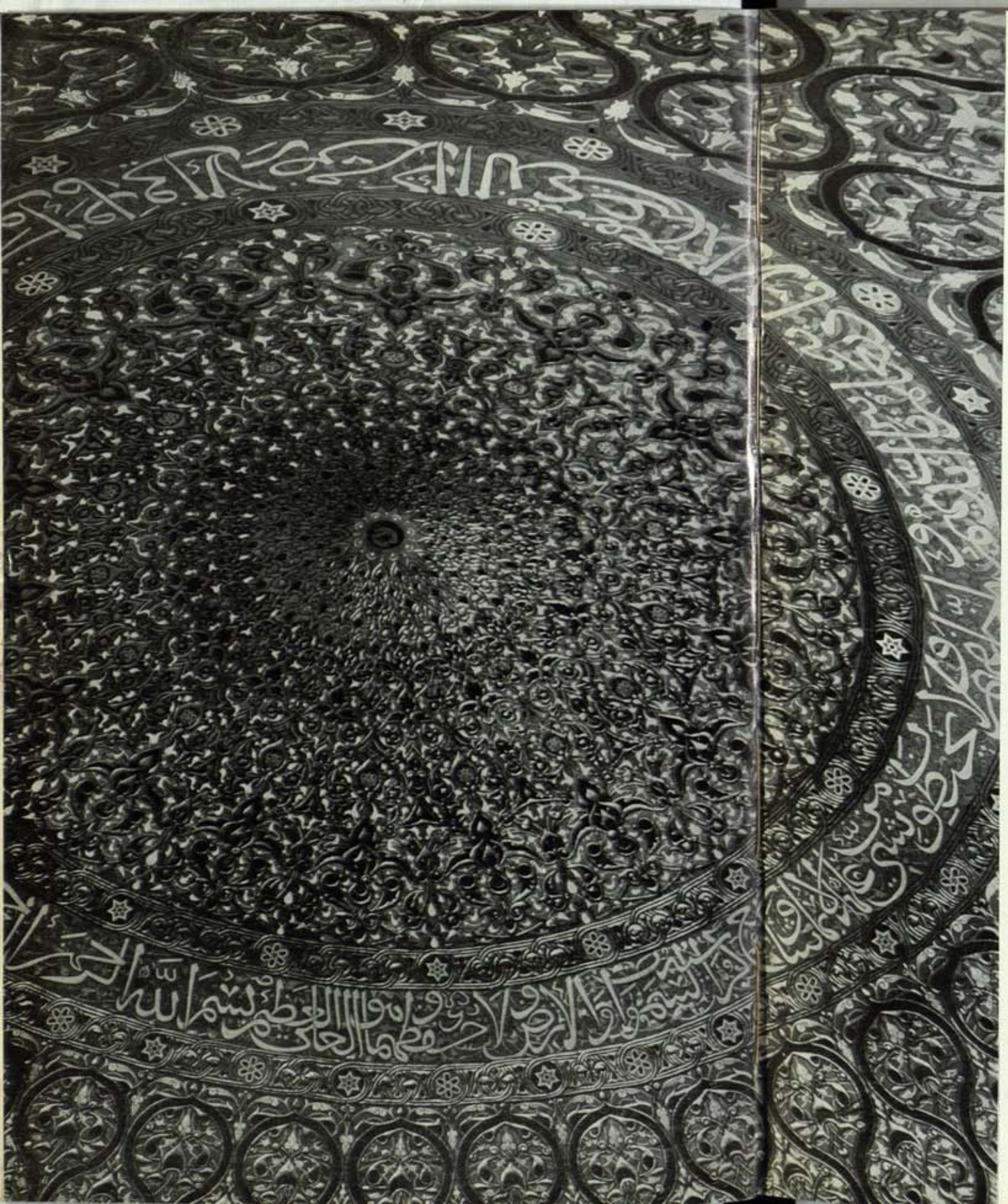
[47] ENTRANCE TO THE 'ROYAL CAVES'. In the whole of the northern sector of the city the rock, the so-called 'malaky' or 'royal embankment' is riddled with ancient quarries. Here the wall dating from the Turkish period is based on a much earlier one, probably dating from the Roman period.



[48] Plan of the Court of the Antonia, showing the entrance, on the western side, under a double arcade. The pavement was surrounded by an arcade borne on columns.

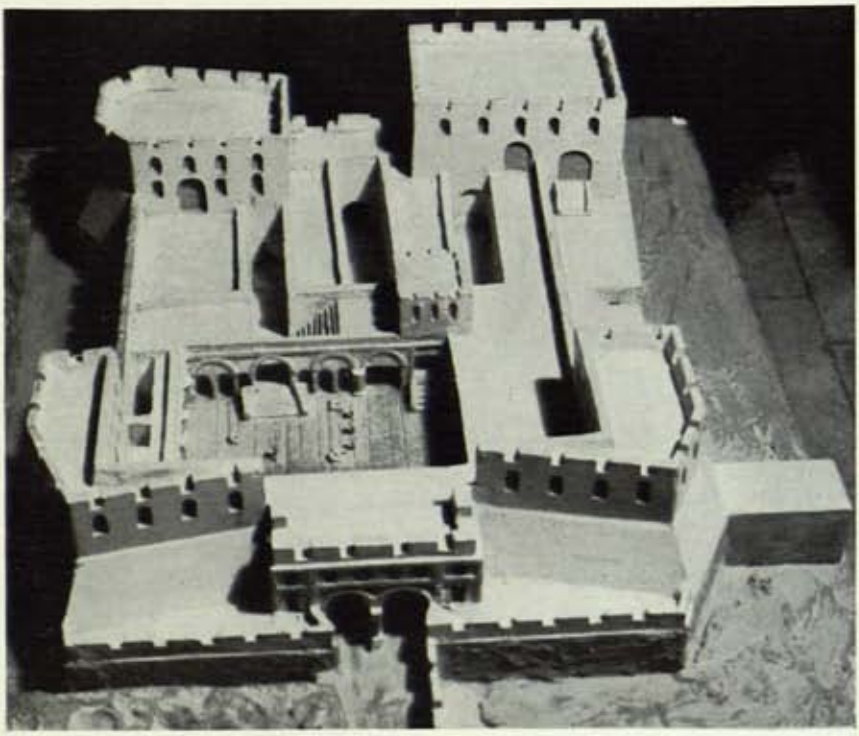


[49] THE LITHOSTROTOS—the pavement of the Court of the Antonia, or 'Lithostrotos'. These huge paving-stones are typically Herodian. The roadway leading to it was grooved to prevent the horses from slipping. Saint Paul, when a prisoner, must certainly have stepped on these stones and it is possible that certain stages in the Passion of Jesus—the Judgement of Pilate, the Flagellation, the Crowning with the Crown of Thorns—also took place here.

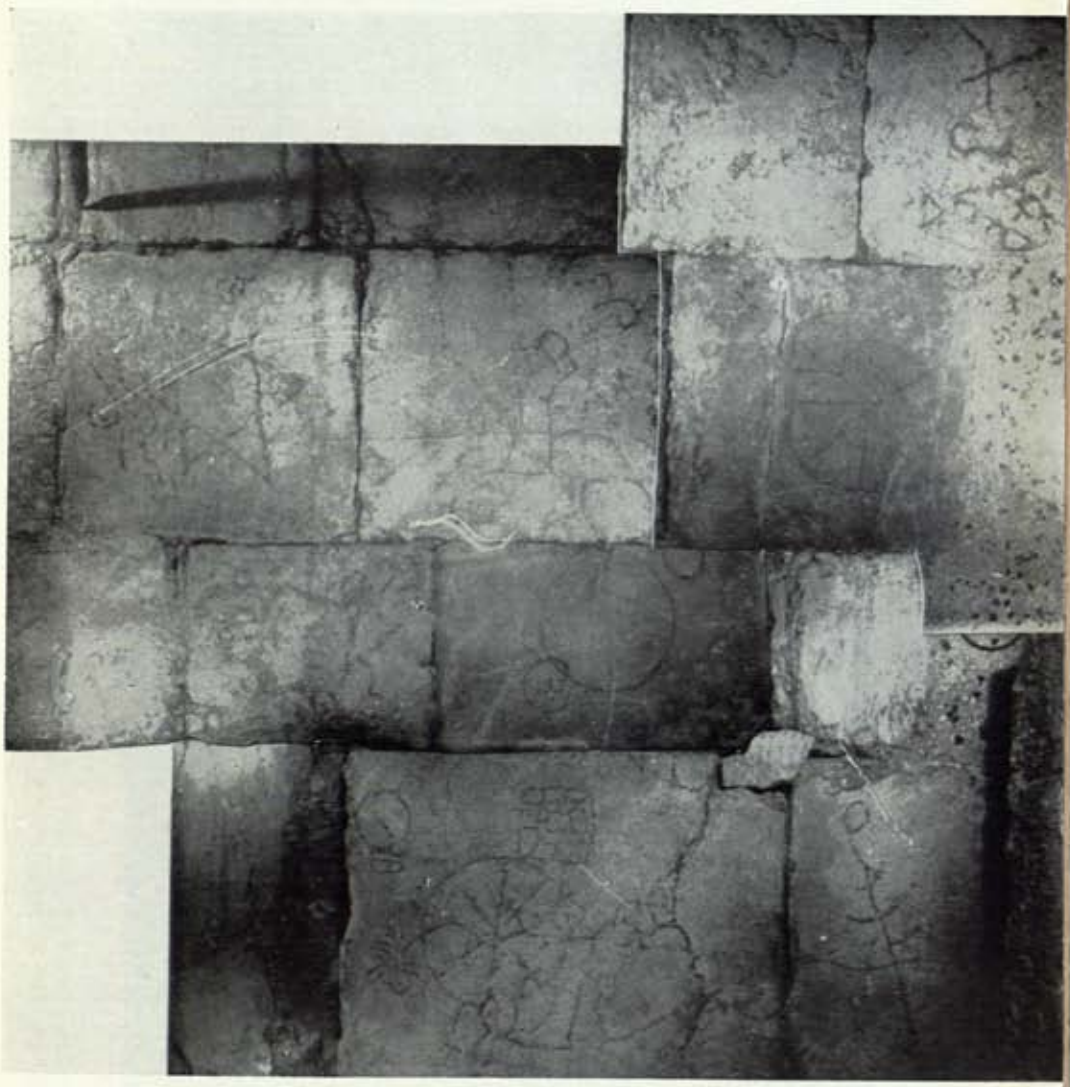


[50] The dome of the Dome of the Rock is the most recent part of the edifice. It collapsed at the beginning of the eleventh century. It was reconstructed at that time and has been restored several times since then, notably by Saladin. The luxurious decorations in moulded and painted wood form a contrast with the early mosaics, which are still in the Hellenistic style.

[51] The Lithostrotos is criss-crossed with gutters which gather the rain-water and conduct it into the double cistern, situated underneath.



[52] RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ANTONIA. This fortress, the work of Herod, called the Antonia in honour of Mark Antony, ruler of the Orient, overlooked the enclosure of the Temple and the north-east of Jerusalem by means of its four towers. The discovery of the Lithostrotos made it possible to reconstruct the plan of the courtyard. Various other of its features, such as the bases of the walls, the rocky escarpment, have also been identified in this quarter. The fortress was garrisoned by a cohort (about 500 men) of 'auxiliary troops'. There was no legion in Jerusalem before A.D. 70.



[55] Between their tours of duty the soldiers stationed in the Antonia engraved various games on the paving-stones. Below, the 'King's Game', played with dice, followed the markings up to the pointed crown on the left, which represented the winning-post.

[54] The Cisterns of the Antonia, hewn from the rock and protected by uncemented arches, still stand from the time of Herod and are still filled by the rainfall on the northern slopes of Jerusalem, seeping through the cracks in the soil below the Bezethda quarter.

[55] THE STEPS OF THE KIDRON. A street in ancient Jerusalem, to the south of the present city, laid bare by the excavations carried out by the Assumptionists at Saint-Peter-in-Gallicante. It dates from our own era and leads from the western hill towards the Kidron: Jesus' itinerary from the Coenaculum to Gethsemane may have led this way.

[56] Chapel of the Invention of the Holy Cross. This is a rocky cavity, a former cistern, to which access is gained from the chapel of Saint Helena. The accounts of the discovery of the true Cross (which do not all tally with one another) place this close to Calvary. The relic was cut into numerous pieces of which the largest were divided between Rome, Constantinople and Jerusalem; that of the Holy City, lost by the Crusaders at the battle of Hattin, in 1187, was never found again.

[57] 'Half-Shekel of Israel', 'Year 2'. A silver coin dating from the second year of the uprising (67). The only image is that of a cup; in accordance with Jewish tradition the revolutionary government forbade all representational figures on its coinage.

[58] The Garden of Gethsemane. Olive trees live a very long time. These could be one thousand years old. The trees of Jesus' time may have been perpetuated by shoots.

[59] THE ROCK OF CALVARY. Through gaps in the decorations of the Chapel of Calvary it is possible to see portions of the original rock which is still in place. Golgotha (Skull) or Calvary was a small lump of rock a few feet high, but noticeable in the topography of Jerusalem. Inhabitants of the present city still refer to this spot as 'Ras' (the head). At the time of Christ the ramparts could not have been far away. It was possibly the general place of execution. During the Constantine period it was rehewn as part of the constructional plan and was incorporated into the church during the constructions carried out by the Crusaders. Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre are sixty-five feet distant from one another.

when his interest was diverted into political channels by the death of Nero and the ensuing rivalries for the succession. It was not until A.D. 69 that Jerusalem was isolated by the fall of Bethel in the north and of Hebron to the south. But the political crisis in the Roman Empire had not yet been settled; Galba and Otho disappeared one after the other. On July 1 the Egyptian legions proclaimed Vespasian Emperor. He left Beirut for Alexandria, taking with him Josephus, who now adopted the prefix Flavius. He organized the campaign against Vitellius, his rival, and arrived in Rome, leaving the command of his troops to Titus.

The Emperor Titus is remembered as a liberal and virtuous prince. Yet the young Titus was ambitious and sometimes cruel. His tactics in the Jewish war, however, although forceful and firm, were throughout humane. He did his best to suppress atrocities and the greatest Jewish disaster, the burning of the Temple, was carried out against his orders. By the time he took over the command, the internal situation in Jerusalem had become completely chaotic. John of Giscala held the forecourt of the Temple and was fighting Simon Bar-Giora, who in the meantime had entered the higher part of the city, to the west, with his bands of looters; the priest Eleazar occupied the Temple itself. Each faction fought against and sought to weaken the others, and to crown all, these various parties all of whom were at that moment being besieged, burned up one another's stores, reserves of wheat, and provisions! At Easter, A.D. 70, John of Giscala became master of the Temple by a ruse. Nevertheless—and this astounded the Romans—during the height of the siege, under the rain of catapults and in spite of general starvation, the daily sacrifice in the Temple never ceased to be offered.

Towards April 1, A.D. 70, the Legions were converging on Jerusalem, driving before them the crowds of pilgrims going up for the Passover celebrations, who would only increase the number of useless mouths to feed. Like Nebuchadnezzar, like the armies of Pompey, Titus arrived from the north. He was nearly killed in a skirmish on the outskirts, but the Jews were unable to prevent his investment of the city. As there was a shortage of wood, the Romans felled every tree in the district including, no doubt, the olives among which Jesus had spent his night of agony. Then they brought their war-machines into play and the daily bombardment began. A breach was opened to the north at the beginning of May, and Titus became master of the Bethezda quarter, to the north-east. A part of the wall was immediately torn down. Continuing

their advance, the Romans captured the second wall ten days later. The Jews had now lost the whole of the northern part of the city, but still held the Antonia, the Temple, and the western quarter. The strength of these fortifications induced Titus to change his tactics, and to starve out the defenders. In a few days the legionaries had built entrenchments fortified by bastions—as Caesar had done at Alesia—which effectively blocked all egress and all revictualling. 'The days will come,' Jesus had predicted, 'when thine enemies will build entrenchments against thee. . . .' There now occurred the horrible scenes described by Josephus; 'men were hung up by the most sensitive parts of their bodies; pointed sticks were driven into their flesh, and they were subjected to other indescribable tortures merely in order to force them to confess where they might have hidden a morsel of bread or a handful of flour'. As had been the case in 587 B.C., cannibalism reappeared: 'A mother slew her son, his flesh was cooked, of which she ate a part and hid the rest. Those infidels who lived only by rapine, on smelling the odours of this abominable meat, broke into this woman's house and threatened her with death unless she immediately revealed to them what she had prepared to eat. . . . The Romans soon heard of this . . . and it increased the hatred that most of them already felt for the Jews.' Certain fugitives had succeeded in carrying away their gold by swallowing it and the Arab auxiliaries of the Roman Army disembowelled two thousand Jewish deserters in one night in search of it. In spite of Titus's own moderation his troops were also becoming maddened. He therefore decided to speed up the operation. After an initial setback, the Antonia was taken by assault at the end of June, and immediately razed to the ground. Now the Temple itself was fully exposed to attack and on the seventeenth day of the month of Tammuz—during the first fortnight of July—the daily sacrifice which had continued uninterruptedly during centuries, ceased for the first time. It was never to be revived.

The porticos were soon captured. The final assault on the Temple was fixed for August 6. In his order, Titus stated that the edifice was to be spared. But in the battle, as the soldiers hurled at the defenders everything they were able to lay hands on, a lighted torch flew through a window and set fire to the sanctuary. It was in vain that Titus himself dashed through the flames; he was able to save only a part of the furnishings, which featured in his Triumph. The destruction was complete. At the beginning of September the last resistance in the west was overcome. Titus spared the three towers of Herod's time, the Hippicus, the Phasael,

and the Mariamna, in order to use them as barracks for the Xth Legion, which was left in occupation. He then returned to Rome, where, in A.D. 71, he celebrated his Triumph with his father, Vespasian. The spoils of the Temple were borne in procession through Rome, together with the captive Jewish leaders, John of Giscala and Simon Bar-Giora, and were represented on the triumphal arch that was erected by the Senate in honour of the victors. On a coin, 'Conquered Judaea' was represented as weeping at the foot of a palm-tree. Rome rejoiced at the end of a cruel campaign.

* * *

The Temple was destroyed, Jerusalem was in ruins, the Jews had been sold into slavery by hundreds of thousands, and yet the Jewish soul was neither conquered nor subdued. Dispersed throughout the Orient, the Jews feverishly awaited their day of retribution. Nevertheless, as they did immediately after the Exile, they consolidated their tradition, and drew up an official Hebrew text of the Bible that would bind together the Israelites, now strewn all over the world. It appeared as if their expectations were soon to be realized. In A.D. 116, Trajan overcame the Parthians and conquered Mesopotamia, but the Jewish communities rose in rebellion throughout the east, from Cyrene to Ctesiphon. The Romans repressed them brutally. The massacres carried out by Lucius Quietus practically annihilated the entire Jewish population in certain parts of Mesopotamia. In Jerusalem, however, all was calm. Hadrian, who succeeded Trajan in A.D. 117, refrained from pursuing the policy of conquest of his predecessor. It was his view that the Empire would gain in stability if its frontiers were restricted and it were able to enjoy a period of prolonged peace. Hadrian himself was a man of outstanding ability; an able administrator, an artist, and an observer interested in all new trends. He spent many years visiting his dominions, in which he built fine and symmetrical cities based on the Hellenistic tradition. He passed through Syria in 130 and 131. Jerusalem was still in ruins. Hadrian decided to rebuild it as a new city, Colonia Aelia Capitolina, a pagan city in which a temple of Jupiter was to replace the ancient sanctuary of Yahweh. Hadrian was a typical Roman, a profound admirer of the Greeks, and with no respect for the Orient. This decision of his was a hard blow to the Jews, who had expected that this liberal-minded Emperor would rebuild their homeland.

Jewish opinion was to be further exasperated by another measure. Roman law had for a long time endeavoured to combat the practice of corporal mutilation, which in the Orient was widespread.

Circumcision was repugnant to the Greco-Roman mind, and now it was forbidden. The decree was not aimed at the Jews in particular, since other peoples were also involved, but in their opinion it was their own nation that was principally concerned. Hadrian, unperturbed, left Syria in A.D. 132 and went on to Greece.

The revolt, which had been simmering for a long time, now broke out: it was both sudden and brutal. The Jews had learned the lesson of A.D. 70. Now they were no longer divided into rival parties, but united under one sole leader, Simon Bar-Kochba, the 'Son of the Star', a messianic version, no doubt, of his real name, Bar-Koseba, 'Seed of the Coriander'. After his defeat this was distorted into 'Bar-Kozeba', meaning 'Son of Derision'. He came of the line of the teachers of the Law, of whom the most famous, Rabbi Akiba, recognized him as the messiah. He created a united command, and coins were struck in his name, 'Simon, Prince of Israel'. His authority was autocratic. By an extraordinary chance, in 1952, an autographed letter of his was discovered in the cave of Murabba'at, in the Judaean desert, which shows him to have been merciless towards his lieutenants and lukewarm partisans. The insurgents avoided all frontal combat and direct encounter, fortified their positions in the desert, using caves and ravines as hide-outs, and converted the whole country into a chain of lairs in which each small strong-point had to be destroyed in turn. In consequence, the war, which Hadrian, now grown old, personally supervised, was an exhausting one. The Romans were astonished to find that Jerusalem eluded them.

In due course, Tineius Rufus, legate of Syria, and Julius Severus, who came over especially from Britain for the purpose, began by taking control of the roads, and recaptured Jerusalem itself in A.D. 133. Displaying great technical skill, they patiently and not without difficulty, captured village by village, cave by cave. Not until 135 was Bar-Kochba, isolated in his last fortress, Bethar (known today as Bettir), taken and killed. The insurrection had drawn on the last strength of the people and exhausted the country. This time the Romans were pitiless. Jewish slaves were sold on all the markets of the Orient at the same price as a horse. The country was ruined. And it was the end, this time, of Jerusalem. On one of the gates of the new city which now arose figured the impure beast, the wild boar, emblem of the Xth Legion. All Jews were forbidden to enter it on penalty of death and from A.D. 135 they have been denied access to the site of their former Temple; they were allowed only as far as the remains of a part of the Herodian walls, to weep at the

'Wailing Wall'. One hundred years earlier Jesus had already wept over the city, from the heights of the Mount of Olives. Has the world known a greater tragedy than the history of Israel and her beloved city?

'The Lord was as an enemy: he hath swallowed up Israel, he hath swallowed up all our palaces: he hath destroyed his strongholds, and hath increased in the daughter of Judah mourning and lamentations' (Lam. 2, 5).

III

CHRISTIAN JERUSALEM

COLONIA AELIA CAPITOLINA

Christians seek in Jerusalem for Jesus and his traces. Yet the term Christian Jerusalem could certainly not be applied to the city in the first century A.D. The town as a whole had refused to accept Christ. When, in A.D. 70, the Christians stood apart from the disastrous Jewish nationalist uprising, the break was complete. The years A.D. 70 and 132 were the years of the final struggles of the capital of Israel. Beaten by Rome, she was now to be transformed into a Roman colony. It was in the wake of the Legions that Christianity was to return. Christian Jerusalem was not the successor to the Jewish city. She was a converted pagan city.

In founding this city, in giving it his name, Hadrian (*Publius Aelius Hadrianus*) had a clear and definite end in view, which was to decapitate a race which had proved itself to be unassimilable, which was for ever on the point of revolt. Until then, in spite of a few occasional mistakes in policy, Rome had shown towards Jewish nationalism a liberal attitude such as was unique in the whole Empire, yet the result of it had been two revolts in the space of sixty years. From now onwards, therefore, Judaea would share the fate of all other conquered territories. A Roman colony, set up in the heart of it, would produce in it an entirely new spirit. Everything was done to emphasize the complete rupture with the past. Tineius Rufus, Governor of Judaea, ploughed up the site of the Temple, and, according to ancient Roman custom, he also mapped out with the plough the circumference of the new city, of which the name was to recall the founder Emperor, and where Rome's supreme divinity was to be worshipped in place of Yahweh on the very spot where he was formerly adored. Aelia, moreover, was to be only a secondary town. Caesarea was the provincial capital, and as the ecclesiastical organization followed the lines of the administrative divisions very closely, it was also to become the Christian metropolis. As the new Jerusalem did not enjoy the rights of *civitas*

romana, nor even the *jus italicum*, it remained a merely third-rate town. And during two centuries material collapse was to make it impossible for it to play a role of any importance.

After the defeat of Bar-Kochba, and its reconquest, the town must have been a mass of ruins. The huge foundations of its walls and buildings could not be torn up, but they could be left in a state of abandon. The first centre of the new activity was the camp of the Xth Legion, 'The Straits' (i.e. coming from the region of the Bosphorus), on the western side, in the lee of the old fortifications of Herod's palace. No doubt it resembled all the other Roman camps, which consisted of a vast square intersected by two main roads at right angles to one another. Repopulation began slowly, probably consisting at first of traders, who are invariably attracted like flies by the presence of a large group of soldiery. They no longer, however, found themselves in the Jerusalem of tradition, for the Graeco-Roman city designed by Hadrian was beginning to arise. It was presumably laid out in the form of a parallelogram, like the present old city; the primitive quarters on the southern side had been abandoned. A large arterial road, the *Cardo maximus*, ran from north to south. Lined with colonnades, it was very similar to the Tariq Bab-al-'Amoud of today, where remains of columns still exist, one of which is visible from the seventh station of the Way of the Cross. A transversal street, the *Decumanus maximus*, ran from west to east (from the Jaffa Gate of today as far as Bab-al-Silsileh). Where these roads crossed there were taller columns. The layout of Aelia remains clearly discernible in the Jerusalem of today. As in all Roman towns there was a Forum, more or less on the site of the Holy Sepulchre; the entrance arch to it still exists in part in the Russian Convent (Hospice Alexandre). A triple sanctuary lay at its western end, consisting of the temples of Jupiter Capitolinus, of Juno, and, apparently, of Venus-Aphrodite, beneath which the tomb of Christ was in due course discovered. The Temple enclosure, the Quadra, remained, but the two statues of Hadrian and of Antony were erected in its centre, where Saint Jerome was to see them still in the fourth century. The sacred rock, however, remained deserted. As was the custom Aelia was also provided with a theatre, a circus, at the southern end, and baths, in the Tyropoeon and at Siloam. The city was not apparently enclosed within walls, but was provided with purely decorative monumental gates, of which we can see a contemporary example at Jerash, in Jordan. A fragment of one of these gates still exists in Jerusalem, the Arch of *Ecce Homo*. The northern gate was on the site of the

present Gate of Damascus. A tall column was placed in front of it, bearing dedications to Hadrian and Antony. Considerable remains of these constructions were still in existence in the sixth century, when a mosaic artist from Madaba, in Jordan, produced the famous mosaic representation of the city, the discovery of which, in 1884, so very greatly increased our knowledge of the geographical history of Palestine. The remains, at Jerash and at Palmyra, of the ancient Hellenistic cities, may also assist us in our endeavours to reconstruct the picture of pagan Jerusalem.

One may well ask whether this town, which was erected as a challenge to Judaism, was not also meant to offset Christianity at one and the same time. Hadrian was tolerant of the Christians and endeavoured to treat them with that impartial sense of justice which was one of the noblest characteristics of the Antonines. But he was aware of the troubles that had arisen in the course of their controversies with the Jews, and of the necessity for caution in dealing with them. In the fourth century, the Holy Places ousted the pagan cult, the Grotto of Bethlehem replaced that of Adonis and the emplacement of the Holy Sepulchre required the destruction of the Temple of Venus. Was something of the kind foreseen when these pagan temples were erected? One may at least surmise that this was the case.

By Hadrian's decree all Jews and all Christians of Jewish origin were forbidden access to Aelia. But this did not in the least apply to Christians of Gentile birth. It was during this period that the pagan philosopher, Justinus, born at Nablus, was converted, and became a Christian apologist. It is possible that there was already, even before A.D. 135, a Christian community of foreign birth in Jerusalem. An account of its organization, at a very early date, is given by the historian Eusebius, who wrote that 'there were no longer any Jews left within the walls of Jerusalem; every one of the former inhabitants had departed, and the only people in the city were foreigners. . . . The Church also was entirely composed of Gentiles. After those of the circumcision, its first bishop was Mark.' At the end of the second century Narcissus was already more than a mere name. At the time of the 'Easter dissension' he was in council with the bishops of Palestine. There was a cleavage of opinion between the authorities in Asia Minor who celebrated Easter according to the Jewish custom on a definite day of the month (14th Nisan), but a variable day of the week, and the majority of the churches which, like the Romans, always celebrated the occasion on a Sunday. Narcissus supported the point of

view of Pope Victor. His church obviously observed none of the Jewish traditions. Nor was the liturgy sung in the language of the country, that form of Aramaic known as Christo-Palestinian, or Palestinian-Syriac, but in Greek. In the fourth century also Saint Cyril of Jerusalem used the Greek language in his famous catechisms drawn up for the instruction of converts.

Where was the meeting-place of this Christian community? It appears that it was first established, and founded its first church, on the western hill, now erroneously known as 'Mount Zion'; possibly the memory had lingered there of the spot on which the apostles had been in the habit of meeting, and of their first assembly. This church which was far removed from the centre of the Empire was to know some happy years before the beginning of the great persecutions of the third century. In 212, Bishop Alexander Flavian founded a library in the city, of which Saint Jerome has left us an account. He had journeyed from his native Cappadocia in order to visit the city of Christ, but the Christians, who felt the need of an enlightened spiritual director, obliged him to share their existence and to become their bishop. This date is not only significant in relation to the intellectual life of Christian Aelia; it also gives us a precise timing for the beginning of the pilgrimages. A new form of piety had arisen—the desire to visit the Holy Places. Yet in order to worship there, it was necessary to re-live the life of Christ, according to the Gospels. It is noteworthy that Origen, the greatest thinker of the day, resigned his chair at Alexandria in order to search the whole of Palestine for the original texts and traditions. He collected Greek manuscripts and possibly Hebrew ones as well, discovered near Jericho, searched through the library at Caesarea, and endeavoured to follow in Christ's actual footsteps, to identify the place of his baptism and the site of Emmaus. He came to 'find the vestiges of Jesus, of his disciples and prophets'. Alexander and Origen were both pilgrims. But a genuine native, Julius Africanus, who in spite of his name had been born in Jerusalem, undertook to make parallel researches into Christian, Jewish, and pagan history. His 'Chronography', begun in 215, is an enormous work of erudition, which attempted to place the origins of Christianity on a precise basis. It was through these men that Jerusalem became linked with the earliest researches in Christian historiography. Their works were not lost and in the following century Eusebius of Caesarea discovered some of the most valuable sources of his 'Ecclesiastical History' in the library of Alexander Flavian. Their efforts also assisted the spreading of Christianity. In

order to learn about this new religion, both the Syrian Empresses of the Severus dynasty, and the Emperor Philip the Arab, turned to Origen. But this first golden age of Christian Jerusalem was to be a very short one. Soon, the Christians had quite other preoccupations than those of patient research in the peaceful atmosphere of libraries. In 250, Decius decreed that all his subjects should perform an official act of pagan ritual. Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, was summoned on two occasions to Caesarea, and broken by the tortures inflicted on him, this old prelate died in prison.

Whilst the internal peace of the Empire was being disturbed by persecution, a series of hard blows were inflicted on it from without. At the end of the third century, Jerusalem only just escaped another invasion. Valerian was defeated and became the prisoner of Sapor, a king of the new dynasty of the Sassanids, which had replaced the Parthians in Iran. The eastern provinces of Rome were saved by one of her allies, the Palmyran chief, Odeinath, but the revolt of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, led to a new crisis. The conflict was localized in Northern Syria, and at last Aurelian re-established Rome's authority in the east. But the conflict had threatened to end in ruin. Under Diocletian, Rome now established a new system, dividing up the territories that were too difficult to administer from the centre between a number of emperors. And once again the attempt was made to eliminate finally that Christian religion whose devotees refused to accept the Roman cult and by so doing destroyed the very keystones of Rome's religious power. From 303 to 311, under Diocletian and Maximinus, persecution spread throughout the whole of the east. In the west, under Constance Chlorus and his son, Constantine, all was peaceful, but Palestine was a land of martyrs.

THE CENTURY OF CONSTANTINE AND HELENA

In order to describe a century, historians are fond of finding a date that differs from its numerical appellation; they will say, for instance, that the nineteenth century ended in 1914. On this basis one may claim that the fourth century began in 313. Rarely in history has there been a more complete or more decisive change. After his defeat of Maximinus in the east, Licinius ordered his soldiery to render thanks to the '*Summus Deus*' (the All-Highest),

and immediately after his victory came to an understanding with Constantine in order to ensure a period of religious peace. He was still to show himself antagonistic to Christianity from time to time, but he was defeated and killed in 324. Thenceforward the new religion met with no more serious obstacles and rapidly passed from being passively tolerated to enjoying official status. At the end of the century, Christianity itself became the persecutor of the last pagan resistance, and destroyed the last organized centre of Judaism, together with its patriarchs. This triumph of Christianity was essentially a religious one, although the fact may have been obscured by political manoeuvrings. Jerusalem was in consequence of it to experience, now, an extraordinary efflorescence, of liturgy, of monastic life, of pilgrimages, and of sacred art.

The habit of visiting the scenes of the Gospel stories was no new one. From these 'peregrinations' comes our word 'pilgrimages'. 'It would be a long task', wrote Saint Jerome, 'to try to enumerate chronologically, from the day of the Ascension of our Lord until our own time, the bishops, martyrs, and doctors of the Church who came to Jerusalem, believing themselves to be deficient in religion, in science, and to possess only an imperfect standard of virtue until they had worshipped Christ on the very spot whence the Gospel first shone from the gibbet.' As has been the case at all periods, including our own, true piety was often allied to other promptings, such as mere curiosity, or a love of adventure. As early as 295, Saint Antony, the great hermit, attacked this love of travelling for its own sake, and Saint Gregory of Nyssa warned his Cappadocians of the serious dangers both to body and soul inherent in these journeys, which were often worse than useless. Nevertheless the habit of pilgrimage—which, however, never had the same importance as in Islamic practice—has always remained an important feature of Christian devotion. Rome's misfortunes during the invasions resulted in turning away the floods of pilgrims who arrived in ever-increasing number in Jerusalem. We owe to these travellers of old several accounts of their voyages which are of incomparable value. In 333, when the great churches were being built, the 'Pilgrim of Bordeaux' made notes of his itineraries, and of the distances he had travelled. Many echoes have come down to us of other famous pilgrims: Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, in 355–358; Saint Gregory of Nazianzen in 370; Rufus of Aquilia in 373; Saint Jerome, in 385; and, at the end of the century, Etheria, who appears to have come from Spain, has left us details of the liturgical ceremonies she attended. This great line continues in the Merovingian

period with Arculf, and the innumerable visitors during the Middle Ages. Jerusalem inspired an entire literature, down to the works of Chateaubriand and of Lamartine, and imparted to each of its authors something of her own glory.

The interest taken in Jerusalem by Constantine and his desire to show favour to the Christians, revealed themselves as soon as the defeat and death of Licinius made him master of the whole of the east. In 325, he renewed Hadrian's decree, forbidding the Jews to enter the city. When, in the course of that year, he presided at the Council of Nicea, which condemned Arius and his supporters, he met Macarius, bishop of Aelia. The latter desired to wrest from the metropolitan of Caesarea the primacy of Palestine; the Council refused to grant his request. Nevertheless he obtained from the emperor all the assistance for which he asked in order to rediscover the Holy Places and to assure their preservation. At the time of Macarius the bishopric of Jerusalem became a see of the first rank. This ascetic but very active scholar played an important part in the struggle against Arianism. Whilst the western empire was falling in decadence and was soon to be threatened by the invasions, the eastern part was at peace and becoming the principal seat of theological speculation. Such a sign of vitality may be unfortunate when the internal divisions degenerate into civil war. And, in fact, the Roman world was tending to separate into two distinct halves, differing more and more widely from one another—the Latin and the Greek. Byzantine history effectively begins before the fall of the western empire, in 472. It was actually born at the time of the solemn inauguration of Constantinople, in 330. And in this eastern world where the political and juridical traditions of Rome, Greek culture, and the Christian faith were to unite, Jerusalem played an ever more important part.

Macarius drew the attention of the entire world to Jerusalem when an overwhelming event occurred there: the discovery of the tomb of Christ. Armed with Constantine's authority, he undertook excavations beneath the Forum of Aelia and the temple of Aphrodite: 'The Emperor ordered that this place should be cleansed. . . . Immediately the order was received', Eusebius of Caesarea narrates triumphantly, 'these edifices which had been erected by fraud were thrown to the ground from their full height and the seats of false gods were deprived and purged of their statues and their genii. . . . The basic soil was uncovered at last, and in the bowels of the earth, the venerable and truly holy witness to the resurrection of the Saviour was revealed against all hope, and the discovery

of the cavern, the new Holy of Holies, was a striking confirmation of the Saviour's return to life.' This site was at that time inside the city. If this was not the traditional site of the tomb, would it not have been more obviously indicated to search for it outside the walls, since the topography of Jerusalem prior to A.D. 70 was by this time wholly forgotten? It is not at all unlikely, however, that a memory of the place in question had been handed down to successive generations of Christians, for Macarius does not seem to have hesitated for a moment in his identification of the sepulchre, whereas in his search for the Cross he was unable to rely on any fixed tradition. Constantine immediately provided the necessary means for the construction of a sanctuary. 'It is your task to ensure that everything is done in order that this edifice shall be not only the most beautiful in the world, but that all the details of its decoration will outdo in magnificence the splendours of the greatest cities. . . . Our piety has commanded us to have put at your disposal the necessary artists, workmen, and in general all means that in your wisdom you will consider necessary to this end. I wish you to send me yourself the designs for the columns and the kinds of marble that you consider the most precious and the most suitable.'

Matters had gone thus far when it was learned that the emperor's mother, Helena, had arrived in Jerusalem in person. This was an astounding departure. For it was the first time on record that a high Roman official, baptized into the Christian faith, was taking a personal concern in the life of the Church. Helena was born in Bithynie, the daughter of an innkeeper, and had known many adventures before she attained the height of her glory at the age of 65, when she became a Christian. In Jerusalem she could render many acts of thankfulness to that God who had blessed her as well as her son; she could also ask for forgiveness and make amends for many sins. Constantine had recently caused both his bastard son, Crispus, and his own wife, Fausta, to be put to death. The psychology of this period is one of considerable complexity—brutality and mystical aspirations existed at one and the same time, side by side. Helena's arrival aroused the enthusiasm of the population. Macarius went in procession to receive her. Her sojourn in Jerusalem left a deep imprint on the city, for if the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been planned prior to her pilgrimage, it appears that the two basilicas, the one on the Mount of Olives and the other at Bethlehem, were built by her. She did not long survive this triumphal journey and died shortly after her return to Constantinople, in 327 or 328.

But the necessary impetus had been given. In 333, the anonymous writer known as 'The Pilgrim of Bordeaux' was to see these basilicas in course of erection, and the traditional accounts of the Holy Places continued to increase. In his life of Constantine, Eusebius, who lived during this period, never refers to any other event than the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre. The chroniclers of the latter part of the fourth century, and those of the fifth century, attributed the discovery of Golgotha to Helena, as well as that of the three crosses, in an ancient cistern in a cave in the rocks, amongst which a miracle—either the healing of a sick person or the resurrection of a dead one—made it possible to identify the true cross of Jesus. Towards 390, Saint John Chrysostom, was well aware of this discovery. It was alleged to have been confirmed, in 351, by the apparition in the Heavens of a luminous Cross. At the beginning of the fifth century 'The Title', the indictment drawn up at the dictation of Pilate, was exposed for the veneration of the faithful. The Cross is alleged to have been divided into two halves, one of which remained in Jerusalem, whilst the other was taken to Constantinople. It was told how Constantine had had one of the nails melted down in order to be inserted into his charger's bit, and another, to be placed in the visor of his helmet; the third was said, later on, to have been incorporated into the iron crown of the kings of Lombardy! Later legends were to make a great many more claims along these lines.

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Constantine's 'Holy Sepulchre' was not a church, but consisted of a whole group of buildings. The architects Zenobius and Eustathius had built a vast rotunda, resting on columns which was to be known as the Anastasis, the 'Resurrection'. The present rotunda has preserved both the plan and considerable remains of it. The rocks surrounding the tomb were carved out in order to separate it from them. A small chapel was erected above it. A vast basilica, with five naves and an apse, the Martyry, extending far beyond the chancel of the present church, was built on the eastern side, separated from the Anastasis by a court, and in front of it there was a wide *atrium* or forecourt, giving on to the street. The actual Calvary remained isolated, apart from these buildings. Above it was placed a great cross of precious metal, ornamented by precious stones; this, also, had been re-hewn out of the surrounding rocks, but, thanks be to God, a projection of the original rock was allowed to remain. Eusebius has described for us the striking impression made by the decorations of the two churches: 'The interior surface

of the building was hidden beneath panels of polychrome marble. . . . The ceiling was ornamented by sculptured panels let into it which resembled a huge sea, the surge of which spread above the whole basilica, and in which the brilliant golden decorations spread a thousand sparks over the temple.' These buildings, together with the Anastasis, once again restored Jerusalem's status as a religious centre to an extent that she had not known since the destruction of the Temple. Crowds flocked there to worship; the Greeks referred to the building by its first title of 'Resurrection'; the Latins, under the influence of their more pessimistic meditations on the Passion, were later on to call it the 'Holy Sepulchre'. On September 13, 335, the edifice was solemnly dedicated in the presence of three hundred bishops grouped around the emperor's delegate.

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But Constantine's and Helena's architectural plans were not confined to one single monument. They included a sumptuous basilica at Bethlehem and another on the Mount of Olives. 'The Empress,' Eusebius tells us, 'consecrated two temples to the God whom she had worshipped, one over the grotto of the Nativity, and the other on the Mount of the Ascension.' The latter was known as the Eleona (the Church of the Olive Trees), on the spot where today stands the Carmel of the Pater; this was the third of the 'sacred grottos', after Bethlehem and the Sepulchre, on the spot where the Saviour was alleged to have taught his disciples.

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This great series of constructions was not brought to a halt by the death of Constantine, in 337. Nevertheless, as the political quarrels of the day became further envenomed by religious conflicts, Jerusalem was not at peace. During nearly the whole of the following century, the Arians and the Orthodox were to oppose and compete with one another for the favours of the successive emperors. Macarius's successor, Maximus, who had lost an eye during the period of Diocletian's persecutions, was deprived of his bishopric by the Arians. His successor, Saint Cyril, was in spite of his conciliatory attitude attacked in his turn by the metropolitan of Caesarea, and was accused of having sold one of the golden ornaments belonging to his church. He was in consequence exiled by the emperor, Constantius. And then, in 361, the unexpected happened. This was a sudden pagan revival under the new emperor, Julian, a mystical neo-platonist, who had been repelled by the quarrels of the Christians. Being opposed to the policies of his predecessor, he permitted

Cyril to return to Jerusalem. But it was by no means his intention to show favour to the Christians by allowing freedom of worship; he also encouraged the heathens to restore several temples, and authorized the Jews, as well, to rebuild their Temple. Its courtyard had been left in ruins and the Christians had used the ancient Herodian slabs for their own constructions. The Jews, who had for so long been forbidden to return to their city, hailed Julian's decree of 362 with joy, and instantly began their reconstruction and the preparations for the foundations. Did a miracle really occur, as was claimed, to put an end to these sudden changes? Julian's death during the following year, in battle against the Persians, wiped out this brief retrograde interval, and the Christian community under Cyril was filled with renewed hopes. He himself was to be exiled once again, but he died in his see in 386.

New churches arose during this period. The Imbomon, the 'Ascension', was built at the summit of the Mount of Olives, above the Eleona. It was a huge rotunda, and although now in ruins, its outline is still discernible. 'Holy Zion', the seat of the bishopric, was built on the western hill, on the supposed site of the Last Supper. Here the pilgrims were shown the column of the Flagellation, the Crown of Thorns, the Holy Lance, and the Chalice of the Apostles, and later, in the seventh century, the site of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary; another church, at Gethsemane in the Kidron, was built in remembrance of the Agony of Jesus; the rock by which he prayed stood in the centre of the chancel. These fine buildings contained mosaic pavements and marble columns. It is only possible today to find mere traces of them in the ground and occasional fragments of mosaic. In order to visualize the splendours of the basilicas of the fourth and fifth centuries it is necessary to visit Rome, or Ravenna; in the east, only Bethlehem still contains a vast church, but this is not the one built at the time of Constantine; Justinian rebuilt it in the sixth century. Was Jerusalem meant to teach us humility? The splendours of Constantine have vanished along with those of Solomon and of Herod; they endured for less than three hundred years.

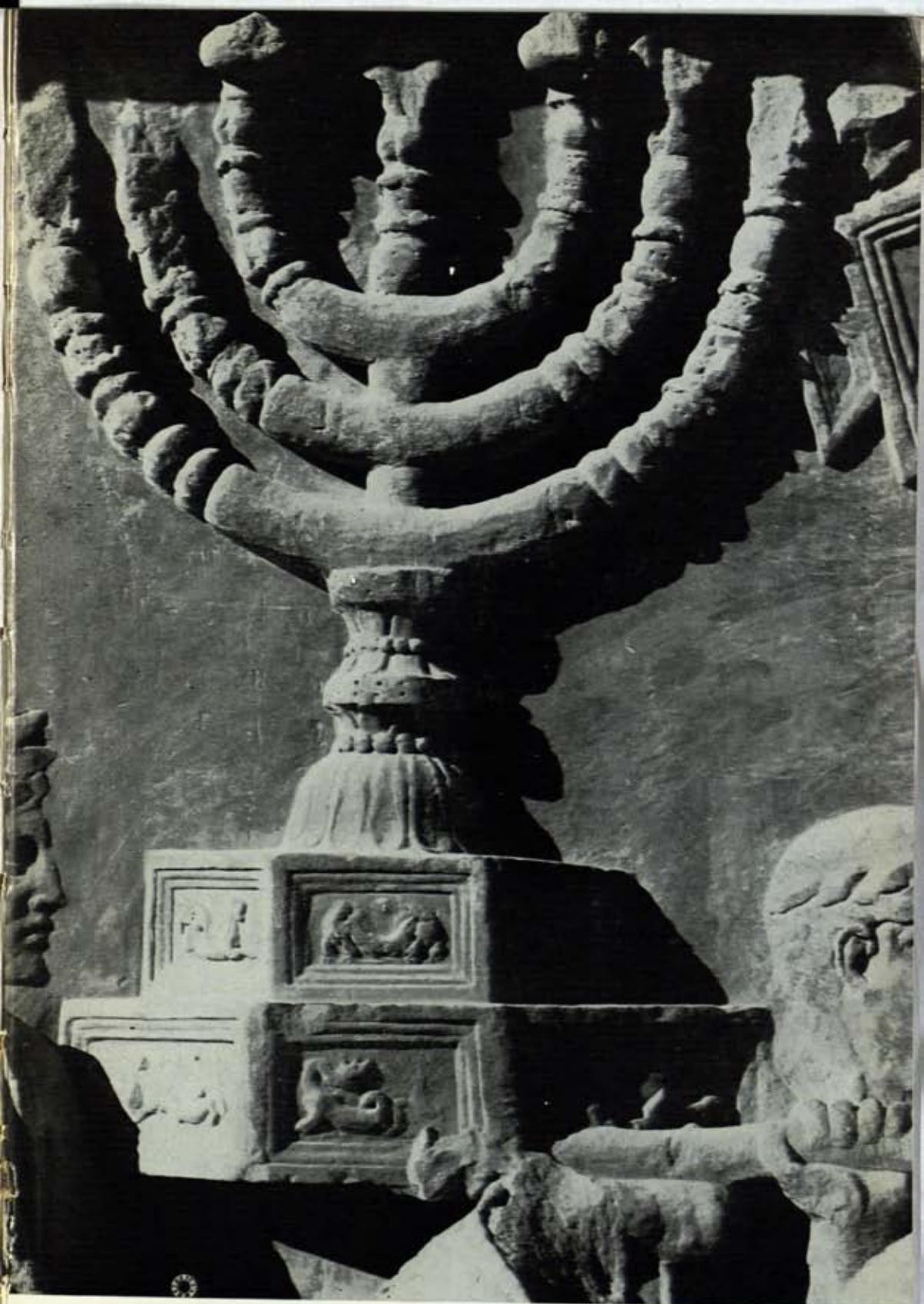
Nevertheless their glories served as a frame for a brilliant period during which Jerusalem enjoyed an active religious life. It was a unique period for the development of monasticism and the drawing-up of the liturgy. It should be regarded as a developmental stage rather than one of initiation. The origins of spiritual movements are rarely known with complete clarity and that of monastic life is no exception to this rule. There had been ascetics in

[60] Remains of the 'Bath of the Probaticum' (the Sheep) in the Bezethda quarter. The name was taken from a 'Gate of the Sheep' close by. A description of the 'five porticoes' of the bath in the Fourth Gospel (John v. 2), which had been queried, was substantiated by the evidence brought to light by excavations. It was surrounded by four colonnades; the fifth divided it into two basins. An ancient funereal inscription referring to a deacon of the 'church of the Probaticum' established the site of the building beyond all doubt.

[61] Hollowed out of the rock, the rich tombs of the Jewish period were often closed by a millstone, set in a groove. Its weight was a guarantee against attacks by tomb robbers. The specimens that have been preserved —at Jerusalem itself (Tomb of the Kings, Tomb of the Herods) or at Abu-Gosh (shown here)—make it possible to imagine the new sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathaea, where the body of Jesus was laid at rest, and the women's visit on Easter morning, as narrated in the Gospels.

[62] SO-CALLED TOMB OF JOSEPH OF ARIMATHAEA, at the Holy Sepulchre. This is merely assumed. The interesting fact is the existence of an ancient sepulchre within the church precincts. The general rule was that cemeteries were invariably sited outside the city walls; the existence of this tomb seems to confirm the siting of the Holy Sepulchre outside the walls at the beginning of the first century, although it was later included within the city's perimeter.

[63] THE ROMAN AQUEDUCT. The waters of the hills were brought to Jerusalem from a considerable distance by means of this earthenware pipeline, which was walled-up below ground. This work was carried out under the Procurators; in particular, no doubt, Pontius Pilate. Certain sections of it were repaired in the second century by the Xth Legion, whose stamp has been found on the pipeline at several points.



[64] The seven-branched candlestick carried in the triumphal procession of Titus. Bas-relief from the Arch of Titus in Rome. At the burning of the Herodian temple Titus was able to save some of the instruments of the liturgy, which were carried in his triumph. All have vanished from Jerusalem, but Rome still preserves the memory of his victory.

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[66] First-century Christian tombs and ossuaries at the *Dominus Flevit*. In 1953, the repair of a wall on the slopes of the Mount of Olives in the Franciscan territory of *Dominus Flevit* led to the discovery of a Christian section of the great Jewish cemetery overlooking the valley of Jehoshaphat. These ossuaries appear to date from the end of the first century. The letters XB—*Christos Basileus*—similar to the chrism of Constantine, indicate their Christian origin. They also bear certain names made familiar to us by the Gospels, such as Simor bar Jona and Martha.

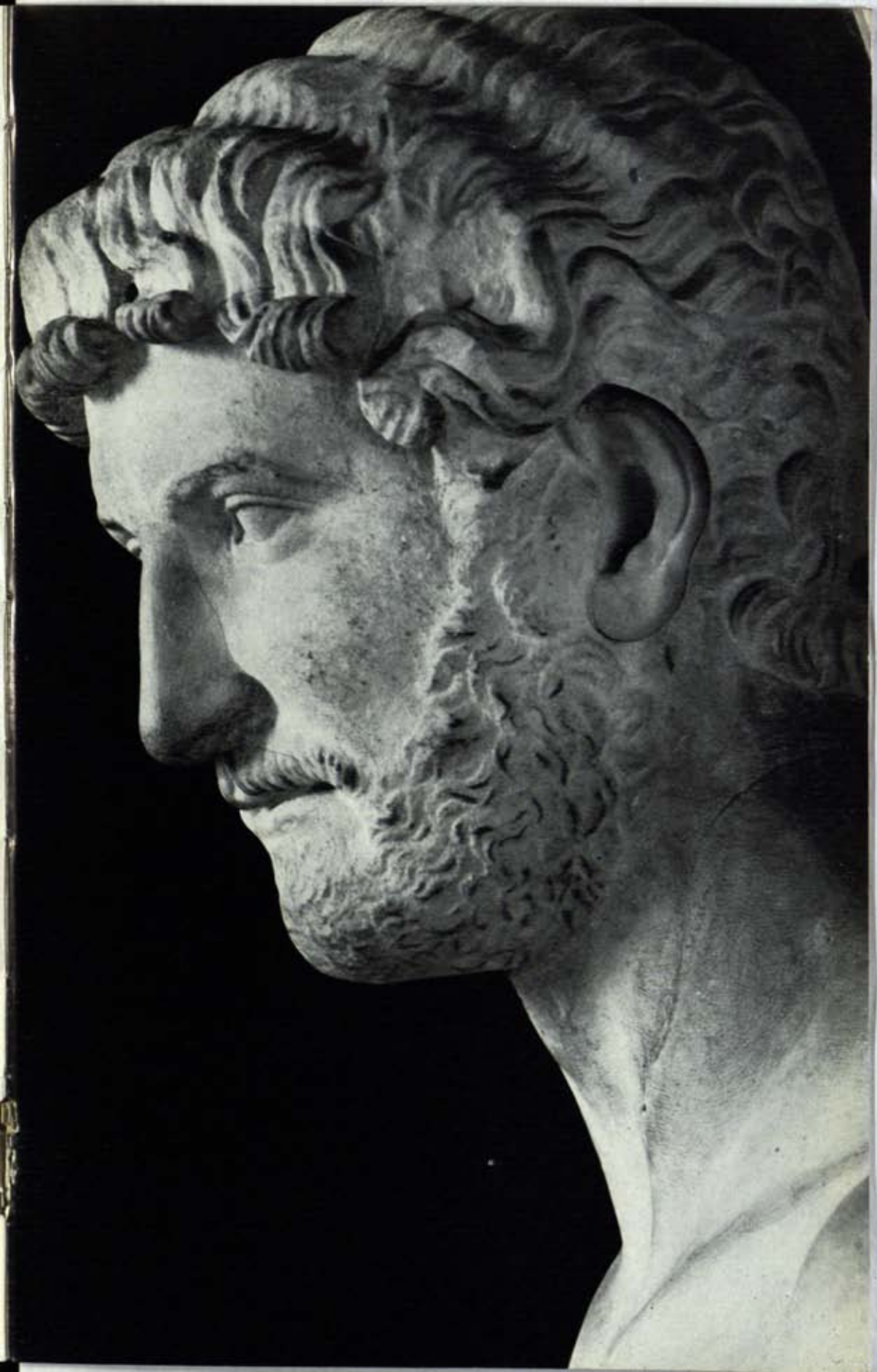
[67] JUDAEA CAPTA S(ENATUS) C(ONSULTO). Coin commemorating the victory of Vespasian and Titus. A victorious centurion, holding a commander's baton, stands with one foot on a helmet. At the foot of a palm tree Judaea weeps for her defeat.

[65] TITUS. Titus (Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus) the victor of Judaea, 'Delight of the Human Race'. He was only thirty when he became supreme commander in the decisive battle against the Jewish rebels, as the result of Vespasian's accession as Emperor. His early career was undistinguished, like that of many young Romans, but his courage in battle combined with his humanism earned him great popularity which was increased during his brief reign. He felt no personal hostility towards the Jews—he had wanted to marry Berenice, a Jewess—and tried in vain to prevent the atrocities during the siege of Jerusalem, but his moderation was not rewarded by the gratitude of the people he had vanquished. Rome was unable to understand the religious intransigence which swept the whole of Judaea into revolt against her.

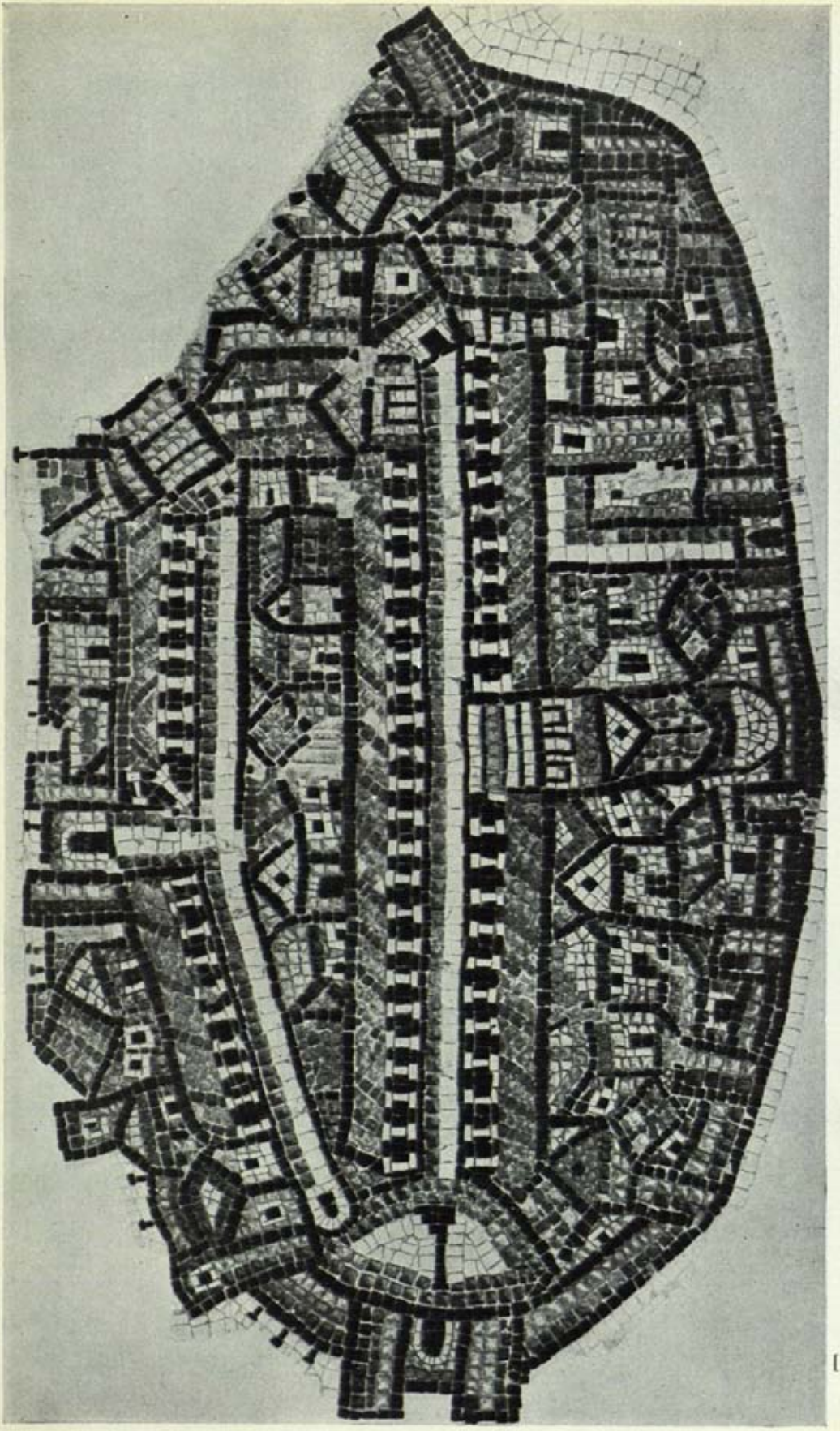
[68] Mosaic pavement near the Gate of Damascus. From the fourth to the sixth centuries mosaic art in Palestine produced real masterpieces. They combined classical decoration with very realistic detail. This is here exemplified by the vine which gracefully encircles birds of different kinds. The perpetuation of Hellenistic themes in Moslem art can be seen by comparing the vase represented here with the mosaics on the dome of Al-Aqsa.

[69] Jupiter Capitolinus on a coin of Hadrian's, on which can be read COL(ONIA) AEL(IA). This was the symbol of the new, entirely pagan city, the foundation of which was intended to abolish the most precious memories of Judaism.

[70] The Emperor Hadrian, Publius Aelius Hadrianus (117–138), is one of the most outstanding figures in Roman history. Born in Spain of an old Roman family, he combined great administrative ability and real military competence with the dilettantism of an artist in love with Greek culture, works of urbanization, and travel. He put an end to the conquests of Trajan and introduced an entirely new, peaceful policy; the violent revolt of Bar-Kokhba was a sore trial to him in his old age. His response to it was to raze what was left of Jerusalem and to found a Greek city on its ruins, in the hope of replacing the Messianic restlessness of Jerusalem by the humanism of the Greek tradition.



[71] Façade of the Holy Sepulchre. It faces south and is at the end of the transept, whereas the principal entrance to the church of Constantine's day was on the eastern side behind the present choir. Left, the baptistery, containing important antique remains; right, the Chapel of the Franks, which in the Middle Ages gave access to the Calvary, immediately behind it, which the Crusaders included in their rebuilding of the church. The edifice, mutilated, transformed, and stripped of its decorations, is today almost in ruins, and gives but a feeble impression of its former splendour.



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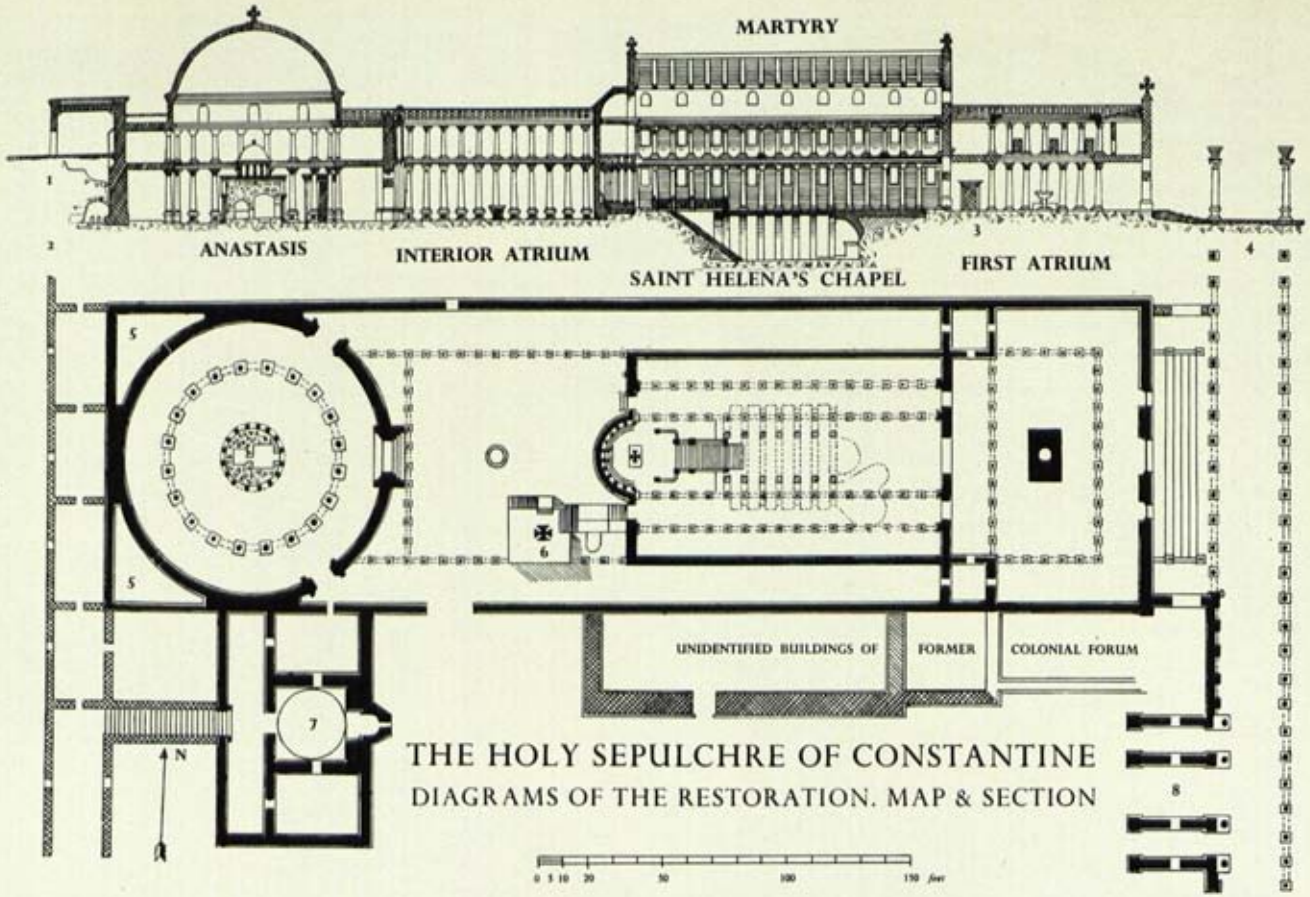
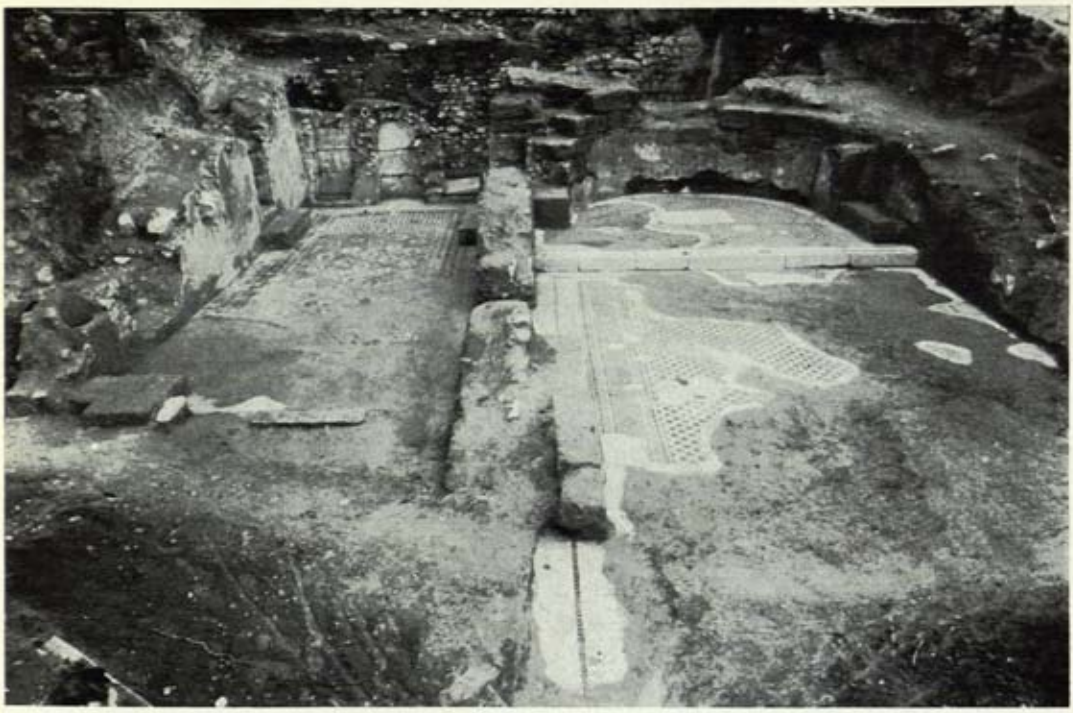
[73] HELENA AUGUSTA, gold piece bearing the effigy of the Empress Helena. This is a striking profile of the mother of Constantine, whose voyage, in 326, together with the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, officially consecrate Christian Jerusalem.

[72] JERUSALEM ACCORDING TO THE MAP OF MADABA. In 1897 a large map of Palestine was discovered on the pavement of an old church in Madaba. This mosaic appears to be contemporaneous with the reign of Justinian (sixth century). Its representation of Jerusalem is particularly interesting. Numerous monuments can be identified. They include, left, the Gate of Damascus and the isolated column still known by its Arabic name (Bab-al-'Amoud); continuing from there the *cardo maximus* of Aelia with its columns; centre (reverse the plan), the church of the Martyrium and the dome of the Anastasis; a little below, the gate of the Tower of David; right, the church of Holy Zion (the Coenaculum); immediately above it the church of Peter's-Repentance and a little to the left of this Saint-Mary-the-New; the street of the Tyropoeon with a single colonnade above which, centre, is the eastern gate of the city and, a little to the left, the church of the Probaticum. More than thirty buildings are here identifiable.

1. Western Road
2. Ancient Hypogeum
3. Exedra
4. Propylæa and Eastern Road
5. Outbuildings
6. Calvary
7. Baptistry
8. Ancient Arch of the Forum of Ælia

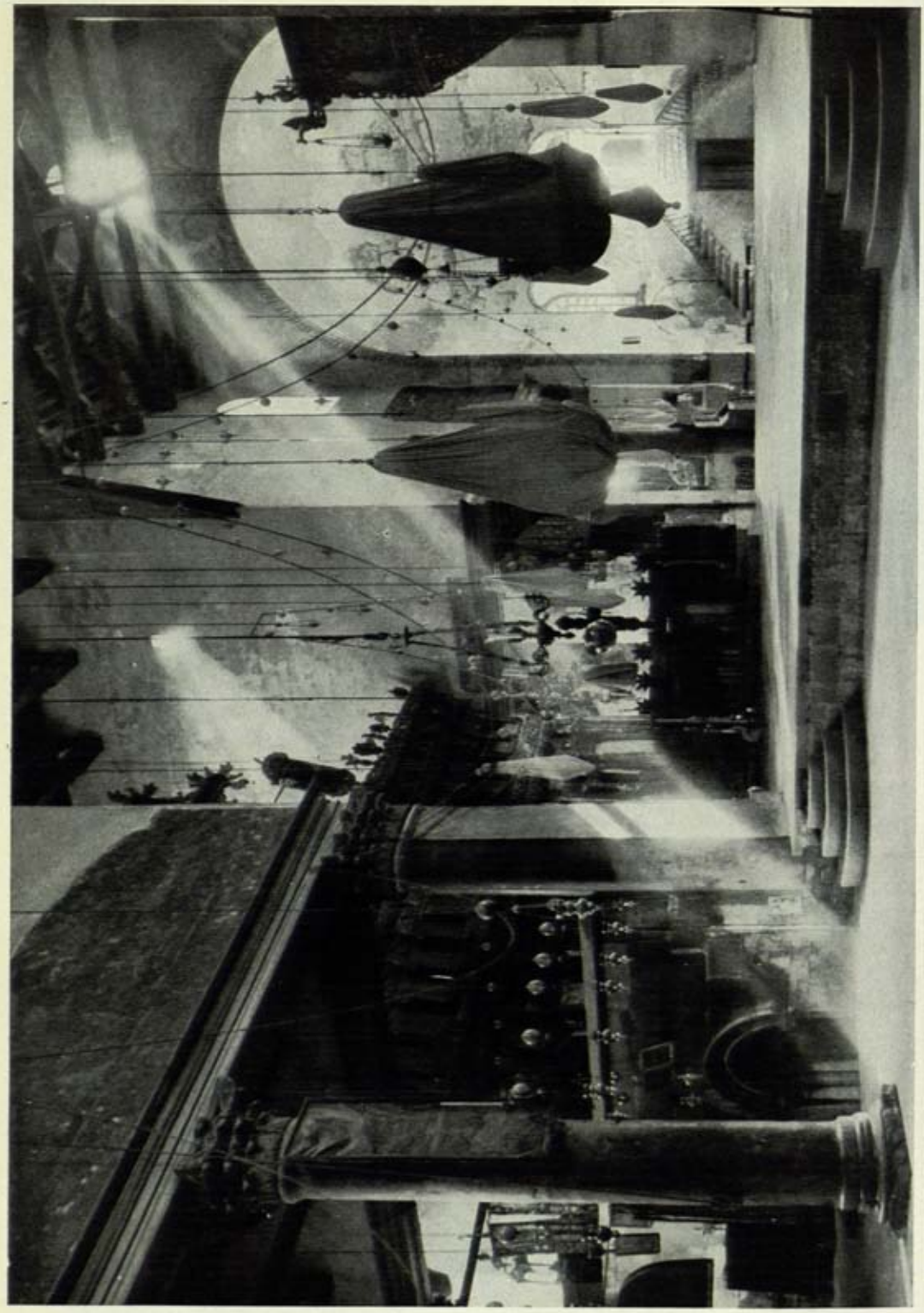


[74] Elevation and plan of the Holy Sepulchre, at the time of Constantine. This shows the circular Anastasis, the church of the Martyry, the two atriums. Only parts of the Anastasis and the Baptistry still exist in the present building. The rest was destroyed by the Persian assaults and during the reconstruction undertaken at the time of the Crusades.

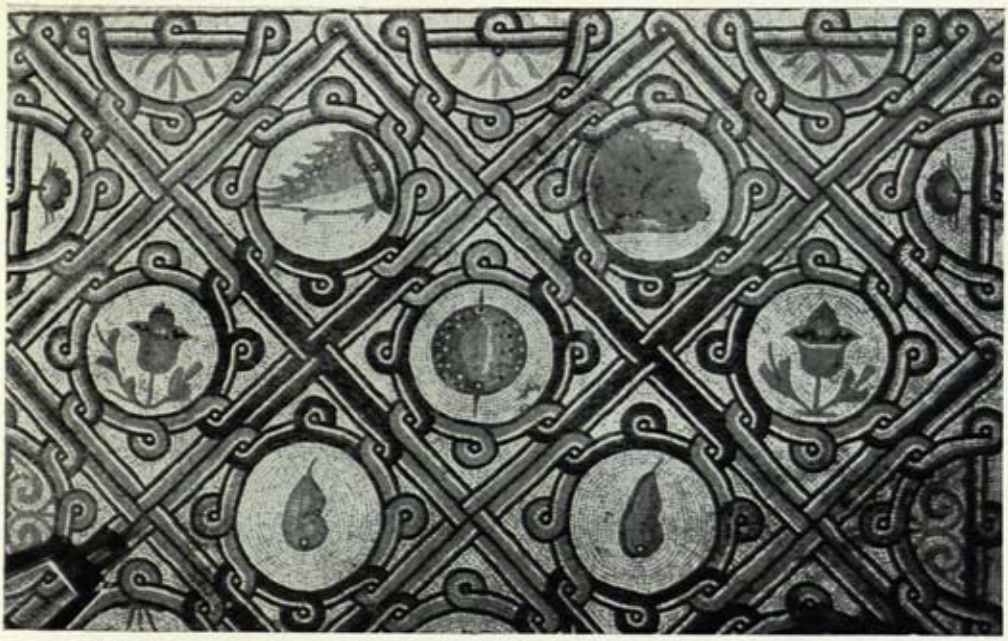


[75] Monastery church of *Dominus Flevit*. In 1954, after the Franciscan excavators had uncovered part of the old Christian cemetery, they brought to light the remains of a monastic church of the Byzantine period on the slopes of the Mount of Olives. This was one of the many oratories with which the hillside was covered, and which were systematically destroyed by the Persians in 614.

[76] INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL OF SAINT HELENA. Situated below the Holy Sepulchre, and similar to a crypt, its architectural styles are oddly composite: parts of ancient columns narrower than their capitals of Byzantine origin (two of which are 'vase-shaped'); vaulting probably reconstructed during the Crusades. During the Middle Ages innumerable pilgrims left records of their visits to this chapel in the form of little crosses carved into the entrance walls.



[77] The church of the Nativity in Bethlehem is the only building that enables us to recapture the splendour of the early Christian edifices in the Holy Land. Even this is no longer the church of Saint Helena. Justinian rebuilt it in the sixth century when he laid down its present plan containing three apses. (This is the one in the south transept.) The mosaic remains and the entrance to the stairway leading down to the Grotto are of the period of the Crusades. At the end of the choir is a Greek iconostasis. The Corinthian columns are in the beautiful golden stone of the country.



[78] Mosaic in the church of *Dominus Flevit*. The oratory discovered in 1954 contained a fine mosaic pavement. Part of this covering is shown here, entirely classical and profane in inspiration, with culinary subjects: fruit (pomegranate, pear), a slice of fish. This use of subjects taken from everyday life is common in church decoration, as much in Rome as in the East.

[79] Mosaic inscription in the *Dominus Flevit* discovered in 1954. 'Simeon, friend of Christ, has decorated this holy oratory for our master, the Christ, making this offering for the remission of his sins and for the repose of his brethren, George the higoumenos (e.g. abbot of the monastery) and Domitius, friend of Christ.' An example of the pious enthusiasm which, from the fourth to the sixth centuries, moved many individuals to increase the monastic foundations and to endow the churches with gifts, all of which contributed to the splendour of Byzantine Jerusalem.

[80] THE CRYPT OF THE ELEONA. The Crypt of the Eleona during the excavations that have revealed it. Ancient writers ranked it as the third of the 'holy grottos' together with that of Bethlehem and the Holy Sepulchre; it was beneath the choir of the large church constructed to the order of Saint Helena. The memory of the teaching of the Apostles by the Father was venerated here. The Eleona appears to have been the earliest sanctuary devoted to the Ascension, before the Imbomon which was built a little later on the summit of the Mount of Olives. It was in the churches of the fourth century that the liturgy was laid down: many anniversaries that were first celebrated in Jerusalem were later kept in other cities of Christendom.

[81] The Rock of the Agony elaborately segregated from the choir in the ancient church of Gethsemane. Recent reconstruction has prominently re-exhibited this venerable witness to the traditions of the fourth century.

Palestine at all times since the very earliest times. In the days of the prophets the Rechabites had returned to desert life and abstained from taking wine. At Qumran, on the borders of the Dead Sea, and in their secondary settlements of which we now know little (there was even one at the very gates of Jerusalem) the Essenes lived a strict and austere communal life. Christian ascetic hermitages appeared in the third century in Egypt. In the fourth, individual hermits were succeeded by organized communities, living under a rule. These experiments very quickly spread to the whole of the East and later the West. The hermits were the first to appear in Palestine; Hilarion established himself near the Egyptian border, in the coastal plain near Gaza. The hermits increased rapidly in numbers, especially in the desert of Judah, between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, where there were caves in plenty. Gradually they were joined by others and formed communities, 'lauras', the monastic life of which (as at Coziba or at Mar Saba) has lasted right down to our own times. But in addition to these, there were genuinely coenobitic foundations, which from their beginnings were based on a deliberate attempt at communal life. Melanie, a Roman widow, travelled to the East, as did many of her contemporaries, in order to receive religious instruction from the monks. She visited the Egyptian communities and assisted them during the struggles of the Arian crisis. She established herself at Jerusalem in 373, where the priest Rufinus helped her to found a nunnery and an asylum or hospice for pilgrims on the Mount of Olives. The holy mountain was gradually being covered over with convents and churches, of which, soon, there were no less than twenty-five! The Franciscans have recently rediscovered the ruins of one of them in their enclosure of *Dominus Flevit*. This tradition has been revived in our day. During the Byzantine centuries numerous foundations arose within the city itself, often of national character, the convents of the Iberians, of the Caucasians, the Georgians, the Armenians. As the result of the convergence of all these orders, based on far-distant national communities, Jerusalem has become a cross-roads for all manner of rites and liturgies. The city's attraction grew powerful; and when, during the reign of Theodosius (379), Christianity was definitely united with the Empire, as the result of the religious peace made at the Council of Constantinople (381), the masses almost gaily flocked to it from East and West.

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Let us follow the itinerary of one of these pilgrims, whose account of it, discovered in 1884, has left us a vivid record of those

years. She was called Etheria, and was a great lady who came probably from Spain, from Galicia. She was a sincere and pious Christian, but also a shrewd observer. The Jerusalem she discovered was a city of many contrasts. According to his changes of mood, Saint Jerome alternately praised and condemned it. 'The people here compete with one another in this display of humility. The lowest of all ranks is as the highest. There is no ostentation in dress; no one attempts to court admiration. One dresses as one wishes, without either blame or praise. . . . No one here is torn to pieces by spiteful rivals, as is the case elsewhere. No luxury, no voluptuousness. . . . ' Yet he also said: 'Do you imagine that your faith is any the less for the fact that you have not seen Jerusalem. . . . Were it not that the places that witnessed the mystery of the Cross and the Resurrection happen to be in the centre of an overcrowded city, where there are also a *curia*, a garrison, prostitutes, actors, buffoons, as in all other cities, every hermit would doubtless be justified in desiring to settle down in it. . . . This city is so packed with all manner of people and so overcrowded with men and women of every kind that one is obliged here to endure many sights that one could more or less avoid elsewhere.' Saint Gregory of Nyssa echoes Saint Jerome: 'If there were in the Holy Places of Jerusalem a higher degree of grace than elsewhere, those who live there would sin less often. Yet there is no impurity that they do not commit. . . .' Etheria, fortunately, was not discouraged by these warnings. She travelled throughout the East and described all she saw. In Jerusalem she made notes on the religious ceremonies she faithfully attended. As in Rome, 'Stations' were observed and the principal feast-days were celebrated in special churches; the Epiphany in Bethlehem, the Presentation at the Anastasis. The Saturday ceremonies of the second week in Lent took place at Bethany, in commemoration of the Raising of Lazarus. On Palm Sunday, after Mass at the Anastasis, there was a procession to the Imbomon which returned to Jerusalem, bearing palms, at five o'clock in the evening. On Holy Thursday the first meeting took place on Calvary and after a night of prayer at Gethsemane, the pilgrims returned at dawn. After the adoration of the Cross, at eight o'clock on Good Friday, prophecies were read until noon. The afternoon service took place, obviously, at the Sepulchre. The Easter vigil commenced at the Martyry, where the converts were baptized, and ended at the Anastasis with a second Mass. The offices continued for a very long time during the night, but the services remained very dramatic. The reactions of the crowds

would no doubt astonish us, nowadays: 'At Gethsemane the passage was read describing the arrest of the Lord. When this passage was read out, the wailings and cries of all the people, who were reduced to tears, were so loud that their lamentations could have been heard as far as the city.' Etheria was impressed by the beauty of the illuminations at the office of the Lucernary at four o'clock: 'The crowds gather at the Anastasis, where all the torches and candles are lit, giving an extraordinary effect of light. This light does not penetrate from without, but streams from the interior of the grotto, where a lamp burns day and night, behind the chancels.' Everything was done to ensure that the offices could be followed: 'Although the bishop knows Syriac, he invariably speaks in Greek, but whilst he does so, there is always a priest in attendance to translate into Syriac. . . . As for those among the attendance who are of Latin origin, and who know neither Greek nor Syriac, they also are provided with explanations in order that they shall not be bored. But what is most agreeable and really marvellous here is that the hymns, the anthems, the readings, and even the prayers said by the bishop, all express the thoughts appropriate and adapted to the feast that is being celebrated and the place in which it is being celebrated.' This was in fact the golden age of the liturgy: a whole people composed of monks, nuns, and widows lived for no other interest. They were trained for the purpose by asceticism: the 'apotactites', ascetics of a particularly austere rule, ate only once a day during Lent and sometimes throughout the whole year. Etheria noted all these customs, many of which differed from her own, with keen interest. The warning given by Saint Gregory of Nyssa, who disapproved of pilgrimages, should not mislead us on this point. Jerusalem was at that period the core of a religious worship which streamed out over the entire Christian world.

THE GIFTS OF EUDOCIA AND JUSTINIAN

In 386 the monk John became bishop of the city. Everything, at that time, appeared to be clear. The Fathers of the Church had found a very simple theological theory to explain the situation. According to this, Judaism, having rejected Christ, had been deprived of its Temple and of its city; the derelict forecourt remained as witness to its infidelity. Christianity was heir to the Biblical promises. The Roman Empire, now converted and

united with the Church, resembled the Kingdom of God on earth, of which the emperor was the protector, charged with defending and maintaining the true Faith. This conception was to mould the destinies of the Byzantine Empire during the following thousand years, and, to use a modern term, to lead to an extremely close association of throne and altar. But in 410 Rome fell to the Visigoths under Alaric, and the West came under the domination of barbarians who professed the Arian faith. The Eastern Empire now became the sole defender of the Church and the Romans flocked to Palestine, a Christian land at peace. The Holy Land, the ancient kingdom of Israel which was now that of Christ, quite naturally became the refuge of the exiles and the hope of the oppressed. To Jerusalem came aristocrats fleeing from the barbarians, dethroned sovereigns, and heretics seeking the protection of a bishop, a whole new although displaced society. In 395 the East itself was very nearly overrun by the Huns, who could have infiltrated without resistance into so many cities without ramparts. But the invaders turned westwards, and in the middle of the fifth century were to meet the combined resistance of the moral authority of Saint Leo backed by the army of Aetius. Jerusalem breathed anew; her monks and bishops returned to their theological arguments, the frequently poisonous fruit of a leisure the West was not to enjoy for long. Disputes were joined over Origen, over the somewhat stoical moral system of Pelagius, a priest from Britain who had arrived there to uphold his views after his defeats in Africa before Saint Augustine. Saint Jerome, who was living in Bethlehem, close to the basilica, threw himself into these controversies with gusto. He did not spare John of Jerusalem, and the passionate tirades of this Latin doctor of divinity left a bad impression on the Eastern theologians.

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The spiritual patrimony of Jerusalem continued, nevertheless, to be enriched. After the peace of 313, the Christians had concentrated on the essentials—on collecting the actual memories of the life of Christ. Gradually, however, their interests spread to Holy Places that were not directly linked to the Gospels (such as the place of the Dormition of the Virgin); and at this period they were concerned with the sites of apostolic history, the places where the apostle Saint James, and Saint Stephen, had been martyred. Discoveries succeeded one another. In 415, as the result of a revelation, the bodies of the martyred Stephen, of Gamaliel, the teacher of Saint Paul, and of Nicodemus, were discovered at Caphargamala,

15 miles to the north-west of Jerusalem. The body of the prophet Zechariah, and the relics of the prophets Micah and Habakkuk, were discovered at the same period. The piety and the interest of the pilgrims led to an almost indefinite extension of the places of worship. When one travels through Palestine nowadays, even off the beaten track, the principal traditional highways, one is astonished by the number of churches built during the Byzantine period; their ruins, today, are merely indicated by a few fragments of mosaic, or small cubes of stone. But at that time there was hardly one important event either of the Old or of the New Testament to which the passer-by's attention was not drawn, either by the presence of a church or at the least a chapel: the halting-places of Abraham or of Jacob on their nomadic wanderings; the sites of the miracles performed by Christ, occasionally even the places connected with a simple parable; as well as the tombs of the persecuted martyrs. All these monuments testified at one and the same time to the peace and prosperity of Palestine in those days, to the powerful protection of the Emperors, and the generosity of their donors.

Jerusalem benefited from all of these. It still remained subordinated to Caesarea, the metropolis of the 'first' Palestine (the country included two other districts), but its bishops continued to acquire ever greater importance. John, a moderate, endeavoured to play the part of a conciliator in the theological disputations, but Juvenal, who became the director of this church in 428, endeavoured with all his might to place it in the front rank. He was the next most important figure, after Saint Cyril of Alexandria, at the Council of Ephesus, in 431, and took advantage of the absence of the bishop of Caesarea and of the humiliation of the Antioch group, its position severely jeopardized by the condemnation of Nestorius, to put forward his own claims: 'In the consideration of this holy, great and oecumenical council, it was requisite that John, the most reverend bishop of Antioch, should hasten to refute the mistakes imputed to him . . . and to show obedience to the apostolic throne of the holy church of God in Jerusalem, all the more as it is in accordance with good order and apostolic tradition that the see of Antioch should be reprieved and judged by it.' In these words Juvenal insisted on the title of patriarch, which would place his church on the same level as those of Antioch and Alexandria, if not of Rome. He was to succeed in this twenty years later, by subtle methods which were more to his advantage than to his honour. The Cyrillian theology of which he was an adherent found a badly

inspired defender in the monk Eutyches, who abolished the distinction between the two natures of Christ in his desire to defend his divinity. In 451, he was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, and his supporters were obliged to justify themselves; Juvenal was not backward in coming to the bar to make honourable amends, and this humiliation gained him a substantial advantage. The bishopric of Jerusalem received patriarchial preferment, with the rank of metropolis over the three Palestines; Caesarea was immediately next in rank, but subordinate to it, together with the two other metropoli, those of Scythopolis (Beisan), and Petra, including altogether seventy bishops! Thus Jerusalem re-acquired the preponderance it had lost for nearly four hundred years. But whilst it gained this administrative victory, its see lost a part of its spiritual influence. The great spiritual directors, towards the end of the fifth century and during the sixth, to whom fell the tasks of resolving difficult problems or acting as peacemakers, were to be the great abbots of the monasteries rather than the bishops. Euthymius and Sabas were to be remembered with greater respect than Juvenal.

For the time being the increase in piety and in the importance of the liturgy were not affected by the religious struggles, which later were so greatly to weaken Eastern Christianity. Jerusalem continued to benefit from the generosity of great donors. In 421, Theodosius II, the Eastern Emperor, was married in Constantinople to a convert, Athenais, the daughter of an Athenian professor of rhetoric. She chose Eudocia as her baptismal name. She was a distinguished, cultured woman. After having lost one of her daughters in 431, she made a vow to visit Jerusalem after the marriage of her remaining daughter. She carried out this vow in 438. She was received ceremoniously on her passage through Antioch, and on her arrival at Jerusalem by Melanie, the Roman granddaughter of the foundress of the monastery on the Mount of Olives. She distributed alms in the city, and presented the Calvary with a golden cross that she had brought with her. The Empress remained in Jerusalem for only a few months, but retained a radiant memory of the Holy City. She returned home with numerous relics, and from afar continued to take an interest in the construction of a whole series of new churches: Saint-Sophia of the Praetorium, Saint-Peter-of-the-Palace-of-Caiaphas (the church of the Renunciation, not to be confused with Saint-Peter-of-the-Cockcrow, '*in gallicantu*', built later), Saint John the Baptist, and the church of Siloam, near the pool of the canal of Hezekiah. Fortunately one of these sanctuaries has sur-

vived as a crypt, Saint John the Baptist, which later became the cradle of the Hospitalite Order; a trifoliate building unknown to tourists, but which is a moving sight in this city which has been so often destroyed and rebuilt!

Eight years later Eudocia returned, sorrowfully. At Court she had suffered from the opposition of her sisters-in-law, who had succeeded in eliminating her from all influence; her husband, inspired by jealousy, had had her confidant, Paulinus, killed on mere suspicion. Eudocia, worn out by all these conflicts, fled from Constantinople in 441 or 442. Theodosius sent one of his principal officers, Saturninus, after her and on his orders her two counsellors, the priest Severus and the deacon John, were excuted, whereupon the Empress, infuriated, herself struck down their murderer. Nevertheless the separation between Theodosius and Eudocia was arranged on amicable terms; she retained her rank of Empress and also her revenues. Exiled to Palestine, she in fact ruled over it during the next twenty years, until 460. Although her interventions in religious matters were occasionally unfortunate, she showed the greatest generosity towards the city. The sum of her endowments amounted to 20,480 pounds in minted gold! But she did not limit her activities to religious affairs and to charity. Since Hadrian's time Jerusalem had remained an open city, which, so long as the Jews remained a threat to the Empire, had been a necessity. But this might become a danger were an enemy to arrive from without, as when it was threatened by the Persians in the third century and the Huns in the fourth. In 413, Theodosius II had begun to restore the walls; the completion of this work was the achievement of Eudocia. Certain remnants of it still remain, although they are not always easily discernible; but it is generally agreed that the Golden Gate, at the eastern enclosure of the Temple, which had been built to recall the Beautiful Gate, where a lame man was healed by Saint Peter and Saint John, was built by her. Eudocia also constructed an episcopal palace near the Anastasis, and a large hostel for the pilgrims, who often slept in the churches, as was the case in the cathedrals of the Middle Ages. 'The blessed Eudocia', wrote a contemporary, 'constructed for Christ a great number of churches, and so many monasteries and hospices for the poor and the aged that I cannot enumerate them all.' Monastic churches at Saint-Euthymius in the Judaean desert, at Saint Stephen's, near Jericho, were built by her and she also fortified the monastery of Mar Saba by the addition of a tower. But her own favourite foundation, where she wished to be buried, was near the gates of the city on the Northern

Road, the Martyry of Saint Stephen. Her granddaughter Eudocia, after escaping from the vandal court of Carthage, was also to die in Jerusalem and the tombs of these two queens remained in Saint Stephen's until the time of the Persian invasion.

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Eudocia's intervention in the religious struggles was less fortunate. After the Council of Chalcedon had condemned the Monophysitism of Eutyches she sided with the Monophysites. This episode was already typical of Byzantine history, when political opposition was inextricably grafted on to religious divergencies, receiving from them an element of passionate fervour, and bestowing on them material assistance, sometimes even of a military character. On this occasion the result was the massacre in Jerusalem of the supporters of Juvenal, who remained true to the Council of Chalcedon, and the conferment at the Holy Sepulchre of the bishopric on the monk Theodosius. The monks in general followed Eudocia, with the exception of Saint Euthymus, who received the proscribed patriarch in his desert monastery. The matter was finally settled by force of arms, in a battle that took place near Nablus. Embittered, Eudocia sought the advice of Saint Simon Stylites, the hermit of Northern Syria, who sent her to Euthymus, whom she thereupon sought out in the desert, meeting him in a tower that she had built for the purpose. 'The words of Euthymus became for the Empress the very word of God. In her haste to obey him she returned immediately to the Holy City, submitted herself to the Archbishop and made communion with the catholic Church. Her example brought back into the catholic communion a considerable number of laymen and of monks.' Three years later Eudocia died in peace. This educated woman, an heiress to Greek culture, enjoyed all forms of mental activity; this good and generous Christian Empress loved Jerusalem with an unequalled passion, and her personality remains a unique and romantic one. Yet in this story the beginnings of decadence are unfortunately to be perceived. Eastern Christianity had reached the height of its development and was thenceforward to become disrupted and enfeebled by religious quarrels. The Monophysite schism, which began at Chalcedon, was to spread throughout whole provinces, through Egypt and Upper Mesopotamia, in opposition to the central power, and the old latent nationalistic rivalries became entwined with religious sectarianism. From this time onward the many different communities—Nestorian, Jacobian, Armenian, Coptic—began to split up, and the weakened Empire was in consequence to fall, when the time was

ripe, to the Persian and Arab invaders. At the Holy Sepulchre Christian unity still provides a sorry spectacle, nowadays, as five different communities share and even from time to time quarrel over the Holy Places, under the contemptuous surveillance of a Moslem guardian; during the services they more often attempt to drown the rival voices than to raise their own in dignified praise of God. The beginnings of this sad spectacle date from the fifth and sixth centuries, and is a striking proof of the deep dissensions by which the Church has been torn during the course of its history.

The Governors of Byzantium were responsible on more than one occasion for these dissensions. But it would be highly unjust to regard them from the impassioned and brutal point of view of the Crusaders. During a thousand years, Byzantium stood almost alone, throughout the East, against the attacks of the unbelievers and the infidels—barbarians, Persians, Arabs or Turks; she held the banner of Christ aloft, and very bravely. Her generosity towards Jerusalem was both great and constant. The Monophysite crisis had shaken up the whole of the East, but nevertheless Christian expansion continued. At the end of the fifth century it had spread to the Arab tribes that regularly moved up towards the north, through Jordan or the Negeb, in the south of Palestine. The missionaries also followed the caravan routes. One tribe, the Ghassanids, who had become converted, stood guard, on behalf of Byzantium, over the southern frontier of the Empire. And Byzantium had never appeared to be more powerful than at this period. Far from falling to pieces, like the Western Empire, after 400, it acquired a new national consciousness, preserved the juridical inheritance of Rome, restored Hellenic civilization, all in the service of Christianity; Greek gradually supplanted Latin as the official language. When, in the sixth century, the Germanic invasions had exhausted themselves, Byzantium even conceived the grandiose project of restoring the unity of the Mediterranean world under its own sovereignty. In politics as well as in religion, Constantinople was to become a new Rome. At one moment (from 527 to 565) it did, in fact, appear as if Justinian were to be able to realize this dual ambition.

This authoritarian monarch, whose activities were both febrile and muddled, had the very highest conception of the part he was chosen to fulfil: he was the elect of God, the champion of religion. It was his task to repress all heterodoxy within, and to subdue all miscreants without, to the glory of God and the greater good of the Church: 'God has predestined the Emperor to govern the world as the eye is implanted in the body to direct it; between himself and

God there is no intermediary.' That was the definition of his role stated by the theologian Leontius of Byzantium: 'It is just', declared Justinian himself, 'to deprive of their earthly goods those who do not worship the true God.' Fortunately the Empress Theodora, who sympathized with the Monophysites, succeeded on more than one occasion in modifying the rigid application of these ideas.

In Palestine, Justinian's reign opened with a sudden revolt by the Samaritans, who were persecuted on religious grounds and taxed crushingly. A pitiless military repression did not solve the difficulties. The religious authorities intervened to inform the Emperor of the true state of affairs, which the terrorized civil authorities dared not do. Peter, patriarch of Jerusalem, made a tour of investigation, and Saint Saba, the venerable abbot of the monastery of the Kidron, travelled to Constantinople, where he dared to request that the taxes on his province should be lightened. Justinian offered him gifts for his monasteries. 'They do not require them,' replied Saba, 'for they enjoy the patrimony of Him who, in the desert, fed His ungrateful and rebellious people with celestial bread. What we desire is the lightening of the taxes on the first and second districts of Palestine, which have been ruined by the Samaritans; the re-establishment of the churches which were burned down, the building of a hospital for sick pilgrims in Jerusalem, the completion of the church of the Virgin, begun by Bishop Elia, and finally, the construction of a fortress in the centre of the monasteries founded by me, to protect them from the Arabs. . . .' He received all that he demanded, and Justinian did not cease to favour Jerusalem, for he liked to build. Constantinople, Ravenna, Bethlehem continue to bear witness to his munificence; the Holy City was less fortunate.

The hospital was the first of the buildings asked for by Saint Saba to be built; it contained two hundred beds and enjoyed an annual revenue of 1,850 gold pieces. Then, under the direction of the patriarch Peter, the architect Theodosius began work on a great church dedicated to 'Saint Mary, mother of God, and ever virgin', Saint-Mary-the-New, the building of which continued from 531 until 543. It was stationed on a high point of the western hill, but there was not space enough, and, as of old in the case of Herod's enclosure of the Temple, it was necessary in this case also to dig enormous foundations. Facing west and east, the church was approached by sumptuous colonnades, and framed, on either side, by porticoes. Nothing of all this remains today. It is even difficult to

determine the exact emplacement of this basilica; it has been thought that certain foundations between the Caenaculum and the Tyropoeon Valley may have belonged to it.

On the day of the dedication of the new church (November 20, 543) Jerusalem was at the height of its splendour. A Council had been held there in 536. Pilgrims gathered there from all over the world: Licinius, Bishop of Tours; Cerycus, one of Belisarius's generals; monks from Asia Minor, and even a son of a King of Scotland, Berthold, arrived, as well as bishops from Britain. Pope Gregory the Great sent a Benedictine to found a hospital. Jerusalem's architectural panoply was now complete; there were more churches than there would ever be again. On the Mount of Olives stood the Eleona, the Church of the Ascension, and all its monastic oratories; the foundations of the two Melanies, of Eudocia, and of many others. In the valley below were the sanctuaries of Gethsemane, of the Agony (in the grotto which had been given this name), and of the Tomb of the Virgin. On the western hill, now known as Mount Zion, were the church of the Last Supper, the church of the House of Caiaphas, the two churches of Saint Peter—the Renunciation and the Repentance—known as Saint Peter in Gallicante (and a third one, farther north, Saint Peter in Chains); lower down stood the Church of the Fountain of Siloam. The monastic foundations had increased also, in the quarter of the 'Tower of David' (the ancient palace of Herod): the monastery of the Iberians founded by Nabarnougios, son of the King of Georgia; the oratory of Bassa, which had become the chapel of Saint Menas, in the Armenian enclosure; Saint James Intercisus, in honour of a Mesopotamian martyr. (The Armenian foundation which commemorated the martyrdom of the apostle James the Great, was of a later date.) The devotion to the Way of the Cross had not yet originated, but the processions from Gethsemane to the Anastasis passed by various sanctuaries which already commemorated certain stages of the Passion, such as the church of Saint-Sophia, on the alleged site of the house of Pilate. But the most highly venerated monuments in this northern quarter were the church of the Probaticum, built near the centre of the former baths, and Saint Mary, on the site of the birth of the Virgin, which was later known as Saint Anne's. Saint John the Baptist's church was in the middle of the town, and Saint Stephen's to the north, outside the walls. Finally, Saint Mary the New, founded by Justinian, and the group of buildings of the Holy Sepulchre, erected by Constantine, eclipsed all the rest by their splendour. Each sanctuary had its own tradi-

tions, and in all of them numerous relics were venerated. Hardly a single Biblical memory was neglected; the pilgrims visited the tombs of David and Isaiah, below Siloam. In the Kidron Valley they were shown the tomb of the apostle Saint James, as well as many others. This list is far from being an exhaustive one, but further enumeration would be tedious. On the mosaic map of Madaba alone, which dates from this period, it has been possible to identify thirty-five known monuments, although the mosaicist had little space and somewhat limited means of representation at his disposal! For at this time Jerusalem's commercial, spiritual and architectural wealth surpassed all she had ever known in her past history. So much splendour, however, aroused not only admiration and piety, but also evoked much envy and hatred.

THE CATASTROPHE OF 614

Persia had possessed a national dynasty ever since 227, when the Sassanid, Ardaschir, had dethroned the last Parthian king. Zoroastrianism had become the official religion, and the king was supported by its clergy, the Magi. Since the days of Constantine, Christianity had become to some extent identified with the rule of Rome; imperial rivalry was reinforced by religious antagonism, and the persecutions of the Christians that broke out from time to time served the interests of the Persian State. The Sassanid kings had repudiated the vassalage that Rome had on several occasions imposed on the Parthians. They claimed to be the descendants and heirs of the great Achemenidian kings, of the line of Darius and Xerxes, and on this basis claimed also supreme power over the entire Eastern world, at the very moment when Justinian, in his reconquest of Africa and Italy, had directed the main body of the Byzantine armies towards the West. The Byzantine Empire was to be brought to the brink of disaster by two great kings—Chosroes I Anoushirvan, 'The Great Soul' (531–579), and Chosroes II Parviz, 'The Victorious' (590–628). The struggle commenced in 602, with the revolution by which Phocas gained control of the Empire, and which divided the Byzantine forces into two rival camps. In 606, Chosroes invaded Mesopotamia; in 607 he ravaged Syria and Palestine, and without pausing to occupy them, marched straight on through Asia Minor until, in 609, he struck camp at Chalcedony, opposite to Constantinople. Disaster was averted by

the intervention of the Byzantine Governor of Africa, whose son, Heraclius seized imperial power in 610. This soldier was robust, tireless, generous, and humane, and fought with all the ardour of his faith. He may be called 'the first Crusader'. But the situation had already become too dangerous to allow of an immediate improvement, and there were to be several further reverses before it was finally remedied, twenty years later. In 612, the Persians occupied Cappadocia and Armenia; in 613, they beat the Greeks near Antioch; Romizanis, known as 'Scharbaraz' (the 'Wild Boar Royal'), entered Damascus, Aleppo, and Antioch. As he advanced he received the support of all those who were against the Byzantine administration; Jews and Samaritans acted as guides to his army. The frontier Arabs took advantage of the general state of anarchy, and massacred forty monks at Mar Saba. The country had been bereft of troops, and the Persian advance seemed irresistible. It appeared as if Jerusalem would be unable to offer any opposition. Counting on a surrender, the Persians made peaceful overtures to the patriarch Zachariah, the city's sole authority. But when one party broke off these overtures, Zachariah was obliged to call for assistance on the little garrison at Jericho. The Persians then organized a regular siege, lighting great fires close to the walls, and bringing their battering-rams against them. The panic-stricken garrison of Jericho retired. On May 20, 614, a breach was opened and a wild hunt spread through the city, to which the inhabitants of the surrounding neighbourhood, especially the monks, had flocked for protection; the people crowded into whatever hiding-places were available, into churches, caves, drains, and aqueducts. The soldiers, helped by the Jews, launched into massacre, rape, and pillage in every direction. Finally, on the instructions of the Magi, the churches were set alight. Contemporary accounts of the numbers of the dead—the most moderate estimate put the figure at 33,877—and an inventory of the edifices which were destroyed have come down to us. The monk Sophronius, of Damascus, recorded the disaster in a pathetic ode. All the monasteries were burned, the most beautiful churches lay in ruins—the Anastasis, the Martyrium, Saint Mary the New, Saint Stephen, the basilicas on the Mount of Olives: the accumulated splendours of three hundred years disappeared at one blow. Those of the survivors who could be put to some use, such as artisans, or important personages capable of being ransomed, were taken prisoner. As in 586 B.C., a long column of captives set forth from Jerusalem, including the patriarch Zachariah; the great relic, the Cross, was taken away also.

Meanwhile the Jews, left in Jerusalem, completed the destruction of the churches.

During the following eighteen years, until 629, the Persians remained masters of the country. Modeste, higoumene, or abbot, of the monastery of Saint Theodosius (Deir Dosi today), did not, however, despair of the future. With the financial support of John the Almoner, patriarch of Alexandria, he undertook what restorations were immediately possible, for in several cases walls and columns had not been completely destroyed in the flames. The rotunda of the Ascension was repaired, and, especially, the Holy Sepulchre; the Anastasis was provided with a new dome and the restoration of the basilica itself was completed before 630. The decorations, however, were never again restored to their former beauty. After 633, restoration continued under Sophronius, but many of the buildings were re-erected on a more modest scale. The Eleona, Saint Sophia, Saint Stephen, were not rebuilt. The new Jerusalem could not be compared to the city as it was before 614.

Nor did Heraclius lose courage. Bypassing the Persian army which remained in Asia Minor, not even to be deflected from his course when his capital, Constantinople, was besieged in 626, he pushed forward towards Armenia, in order to attack Mesopotamia. He placed his faith in the patriarch Sergius and in the Virgin, Mother of God, worshipped in the church of the Blachernae. His boldness was rewarded. Chosroes was forced to relax his grip in order to defend his own capital. In 627 Heraclius was encamped before Ctesiphon. When, in March of 628, he heard of the death of Chosroes, who had been overthrown by his son, Siroes, he invaded Persia. It appeared to be as difficult to conclude a treaty of peace as it had been to carry on the war. But finally, in 629, Heraclius obtained the restitution of his provinces, the release of the prisoners, and of the relic of the Cross. His announcement was triumphant: 'The proud foe who, in vainglory and contempt, insulted Our Lord Jesus Christ, the true God, and his mother, our blessed sovereign, Mary, mother of God and ever virgin, the infidel, has suffered a resounding fall.' On March 23, 630, Heraclius brought back the holy relic to Jerusalem in triumph. On arrival at the Golden Gate he left his insignia there, and carried the Cross on foot to the Holy Sepulchre. The Church of Rome solemnly commemorates this event on September 14.

Heraclius deserved to enjoy his triumph in peace. But, on his death, in 641, the eastern provinces of his Empire were once again

to be lost. The effort had been too great. The two powers, Persia and Byzantium, had exhausted themselves in their long conflict, and were both incapable of further resistance to a younger power. In spite of the efforts of Modestus, 614 had, in fact, sounded the knell of Christian Jerusalem, and had broken for ever the hope of a united Christendom dreamed of by Constantine and Justinian.

IV

Moslem Jerusalem

THE CONQUEST

In 622, a prophet rejected by his people left his native city of Mecca, in the Hedjaz, for Yathrib, which was to become 'the city of the Prophet', Medinat-an-nabi, Medini. This event marked the Hegira or emigration, the beginning of the Moslem era. The prophet died in 632. Ten years later, Syria and Egypt were conquered by the Arabs; the whole of Iran fell in 651, and at the end of the century the invaders reached Constantinople and Spain. No such lightning conquest had been known since the days of Alexander, and the annexation of the Persian Empire by Greece. Yet this was to be no passing triumph. Thirteen centuries later the greater part of the territory conquered in the seventh century remained completely faithful to the religion of Islam. The history of Jerusalem entered into a new phase. After having been the capital of Israel for a thousand years it had become, if not the seat of Christianity, certainly its most venerated treasure. Now a great new religion was to attach it most closely to its own faith. The Moslems changed even the city's name; it became 'Al Quds', Holiness.

This veneration was not a sequel to the Conquest. Even before the Moslem community came into existence, the mind of its founder had been preoccupied with Jerusalem. Both in Mecca and Medina he had personally known many Jews and had held arguments with them which had become progressively more and more embittered. But even when he broke with them he did not for this reason reject their religious traditions. He merely accused the Jews of having falsified the text of their Bible, and of having misinterpreted the revelation of the only God made to Abraham, of which he himself claimed to be the true prophet. Mohammed claimed his teaching to be in the direct tradition of the Old Testament, and the names of Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Jonas, David, Solomon and Job fill the pages of the Koran. Jewish influence was obvious in the choice of the direction in which prayers were said: the Kibla. In the choice of this direction Mohammed at

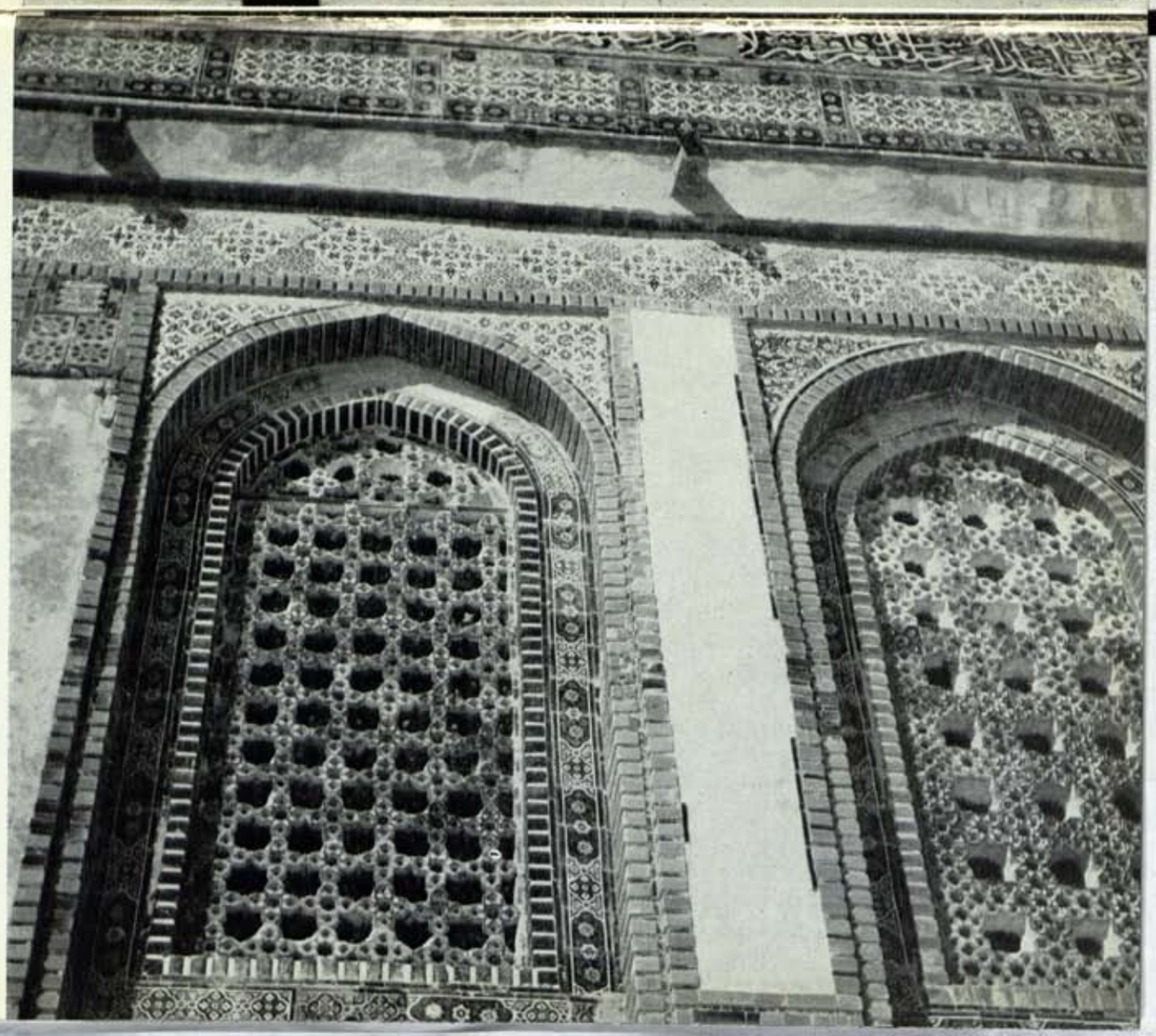
[82] INTERIOR OF THE GOLDEN GATE. This gate of the Haram took its name from an ancient entrance to the courts of the Temple of Herod. The domes and the cushions above the capitals are of the Byzantine period. It was probably built by Eudocia, and incorporated previous materials and bases. During the Byzantine centuries there was intensive architectural activity in Jerusalem. Hellenistic art, imbued with Oriental influences, continued to develop freely here. As in the case of the basket-like capitals which, it was claimed, reproduced a style dating from the time of Solomon, it occasionally made use of very ancient motives. Moslem art was to inherit these techniques.

[85] MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN THE CHURCH OF GETHSEMANE. Excavations have brought to light important remains of the fourth century church; the decorators of the modern building have had the good taste to reproduce the ancient design and to frame the early portions. These mosaic pavements, which were commonly used in Palestine until the Arab period, consisted of small stones of various different colours, cut, and flattened by means of a millstone. This art was of Greek origin but took root in Palestine where large local workshops practised it from the fourth to the ninth centuries.

[84] SOUTHWARD VIEW OF THE HARAM AND THE TOWN CENTRE. This view was taken from the Moslem college which overlooks the Haram from the north-west, on the site of the former Antonia. The valley of the Tyropoeon which divides the eastern and the western hills can be seen; it was, however, much more noticeable in ancient times when it had not yet been partly filled in with layers of rubble.

[85] The Dome of the Rock, southern aspect. The basin, which is fed by the waters of the Fountains of Solomon, twelve miles from Jerusalem, is used for their ablutions by the Moslems before praying in the Mosque of Al-Aqsa. The arcade surrounding the Dome rests on antique columns which were re-employed for this purpose.

[86] Windows in the Dome of the Rock. The structure and interior decoration of the building are antique. The exterior decorations, no doubt damaged by the weather, were restored under Soleiman the Magnificent in the sixteenth century. The building was decorated with Persian tiles in tones of luminous blue, not unworthy of this masterpiece.



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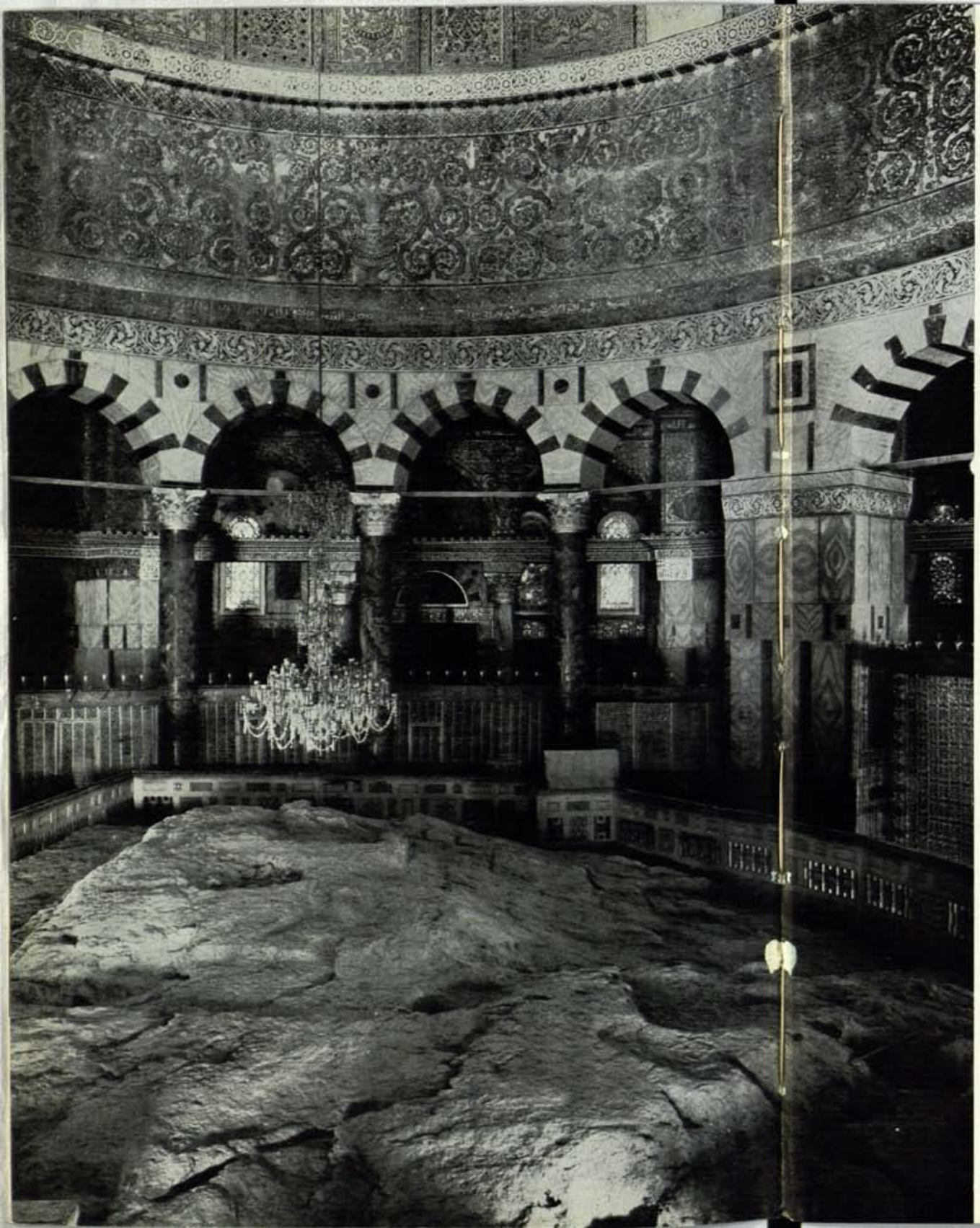
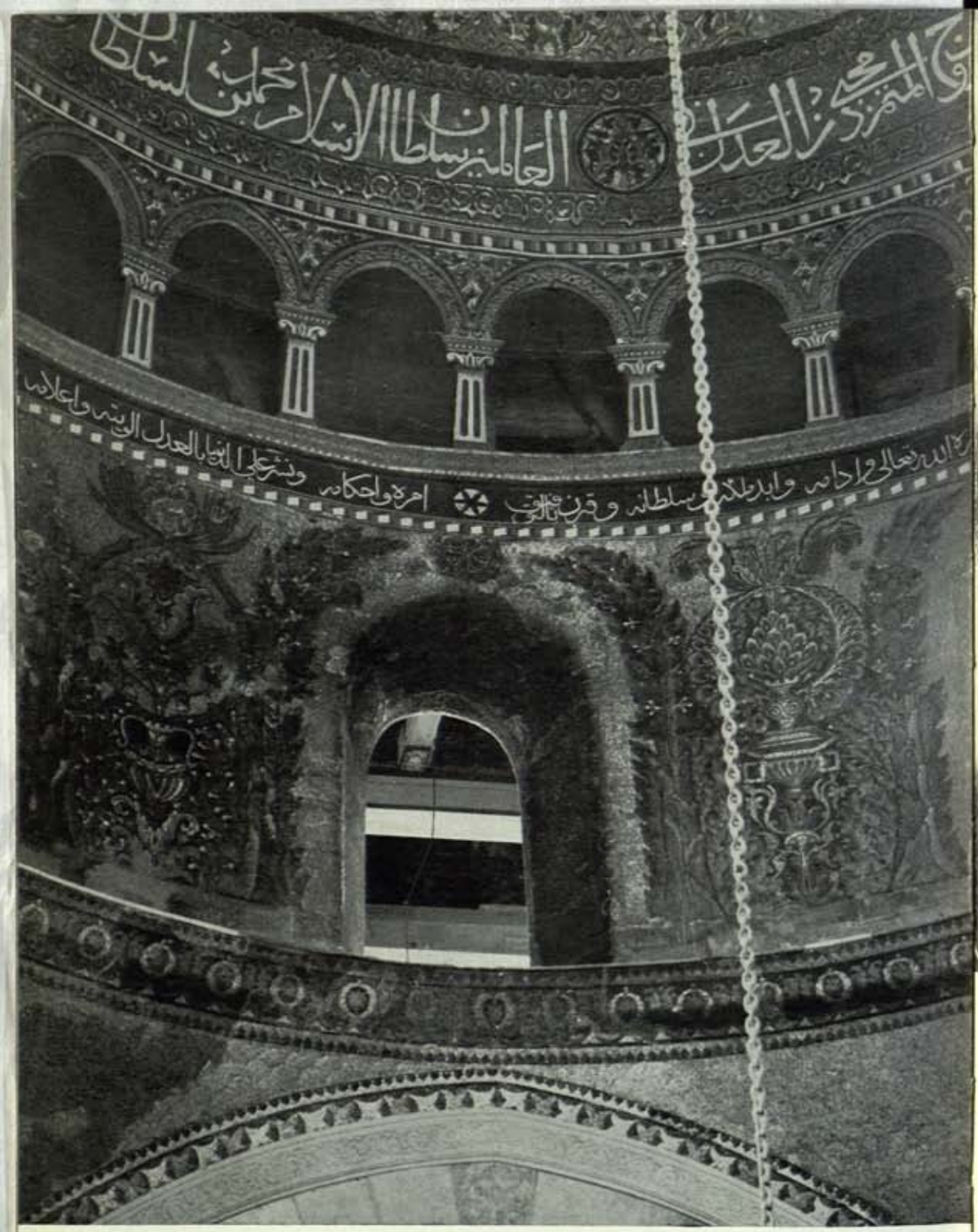
[88] Façade of the Mosque of Al-Aqsa. Built against the southern wall of the Haram, the façade of the mosque faces north, towards the Dome of the Rock; here Islam has taken over the Latin style and elsewhere also there are many signs of its occupation by the Templars. This side of the esplanade, with a few lawns and trees, retains a number of Islamic traditions.

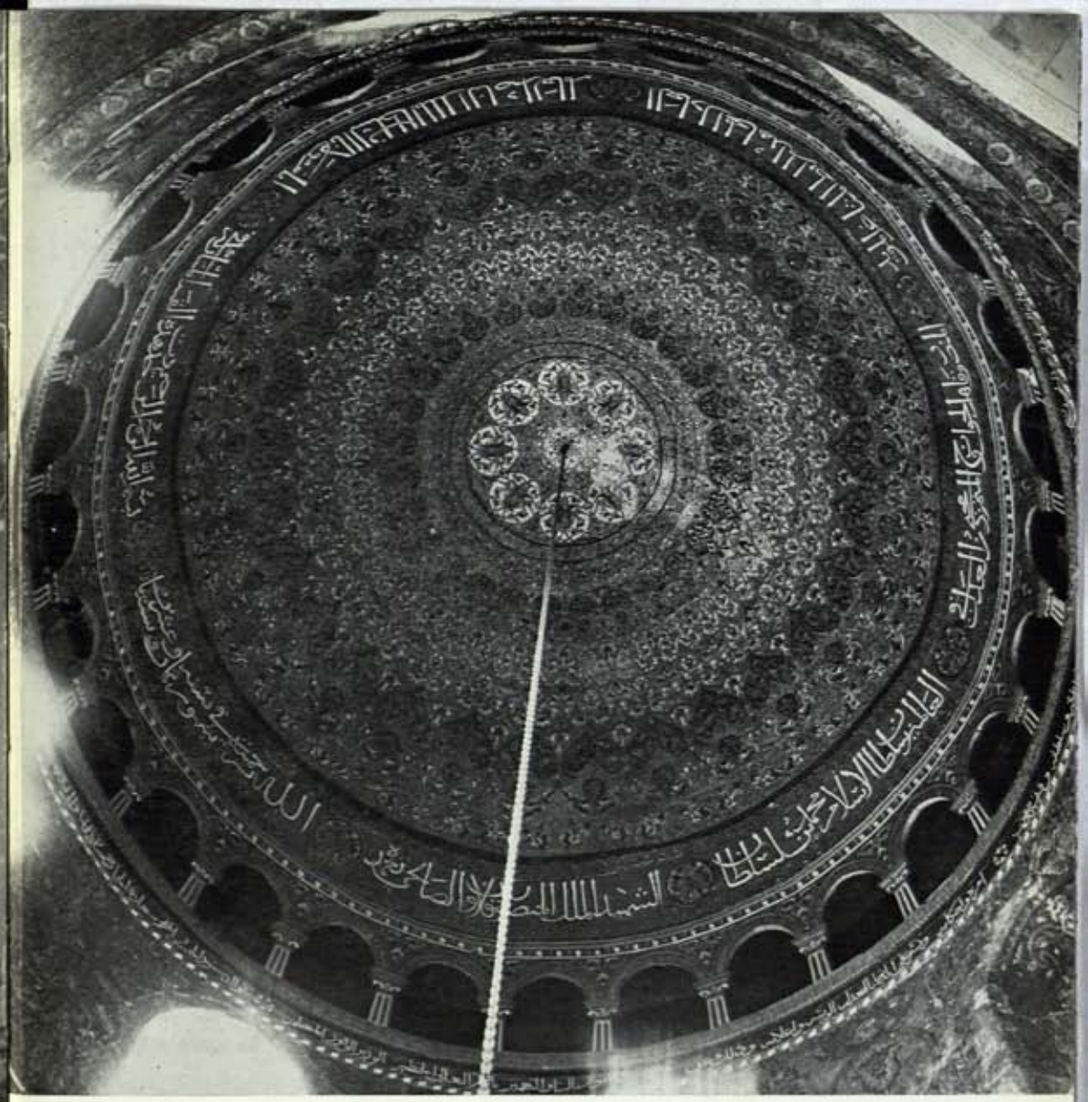
[87] Interior of Al-Aqsa. The colonnade is of quite recent reconstruction, with columns of Carrara marble. But the dome, of which the supports are visible, still retains the sumptuous mosaics dating from Saladin's restoration. The antique columns used in the work carried out by Al-Walid, in the eighth century, can be seen in the background, left. After the Kaaba at Mecca, and the Mosque of Medina, this is the most holy sanctuary of Islam. Back, right, behind a rostrum of the Frankish period is the *minbar* (pulpit) consecrated in Aleppo by Nur-ed-Din, and brought here by Saladin after his reconquest of Jerusalem.



[89] Interior of the Dome of the Rock. The rock itself is enclosed in a sumptuously decorated shrine. One can clearly see the double side-aisles, the antique columns which have been used again here, and in the intermediary colonnade the architrave of sculptured wood bearing the arches, as at Saint-Sophia in Constantinople. The seventh century mosaics, representing floral subjects (vases and scrolls) are still in place over the corner-stones between the arches and at the base of the barrel of the dome. Several of the windows date from the sixteenth century. The wrought-iron railings were placed here by the Templars.

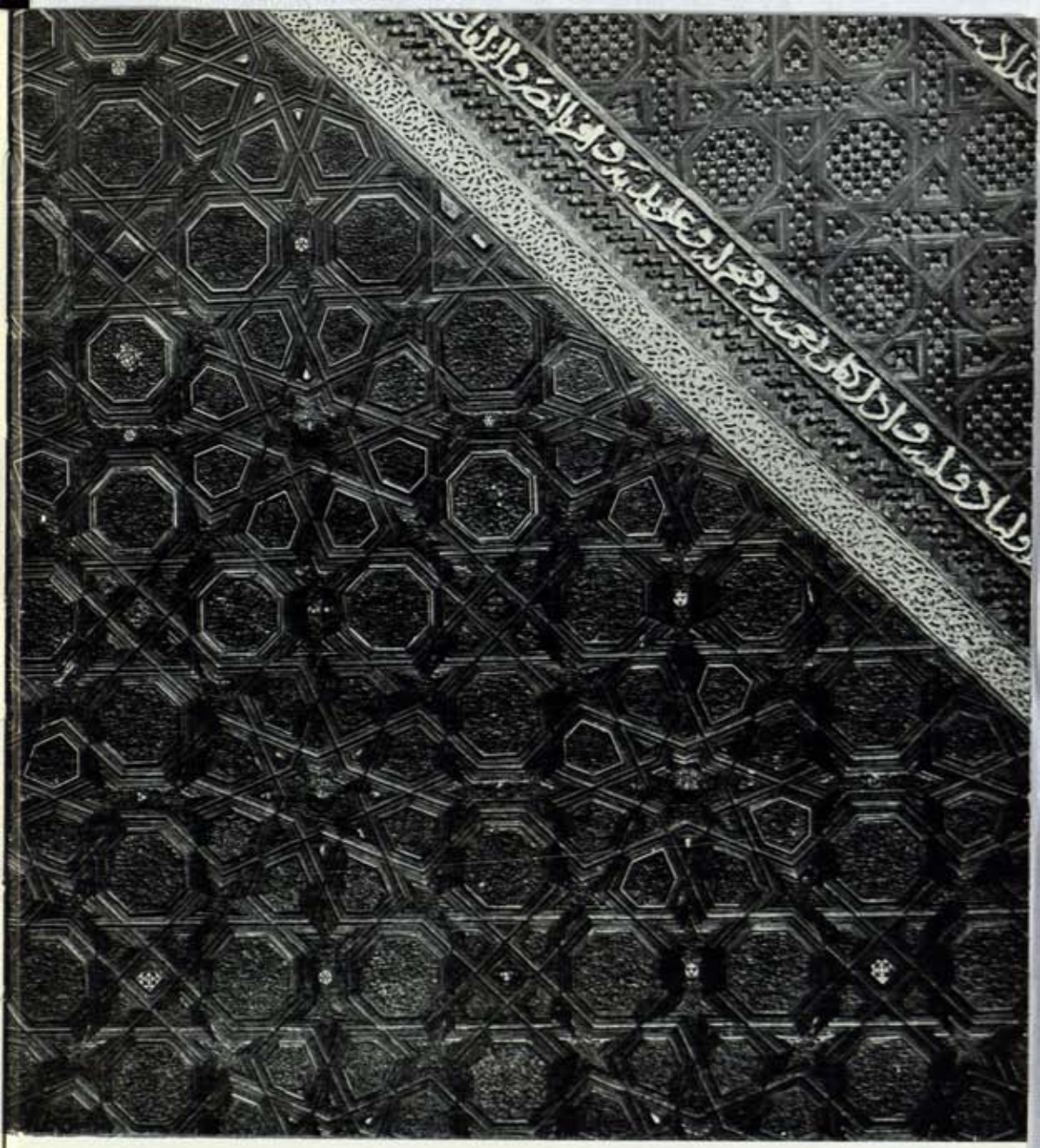


[90] After having restored the mosque, previously despoiled by the Templars, to Islam, Saladin repaired the Dome of Al-Aqsa. The mosaics decorating the barrel are attributed to him, but more probably he merely repaired them. They show the persistence of Hellenistic influence in the Moslem art of the East which was strongly influenced by Byzantine art.



[91] The Dome of Al-Aqsa, restored by Saladin in the twelfth century, and again in the fourteenth century and in recent times, is the most brilliantly decorated part of the Mosque. As in the Dome of the Rock, the ornate decoration in wood contrasts with the more sober beauty of the barrel.

[92] THE MINBAR OF NUR-ED-DIN. View from the stairway. Islamic pulpits are all of one pattern, with a narrow stairway; the only differences between them are of a decorative kind. That of Nur-ed-Din, although built in Aleppo, is a masterpiece of Damascene technique, the 'damascening' consisting of fine incrustations set into the sculpted wood or mouldings (or in the case of weapons, metal chasing). Owing to the fact that the representation of human or animal forms was forbidden to them, the Moslem artists developed consummate skill in geometrical decoration.

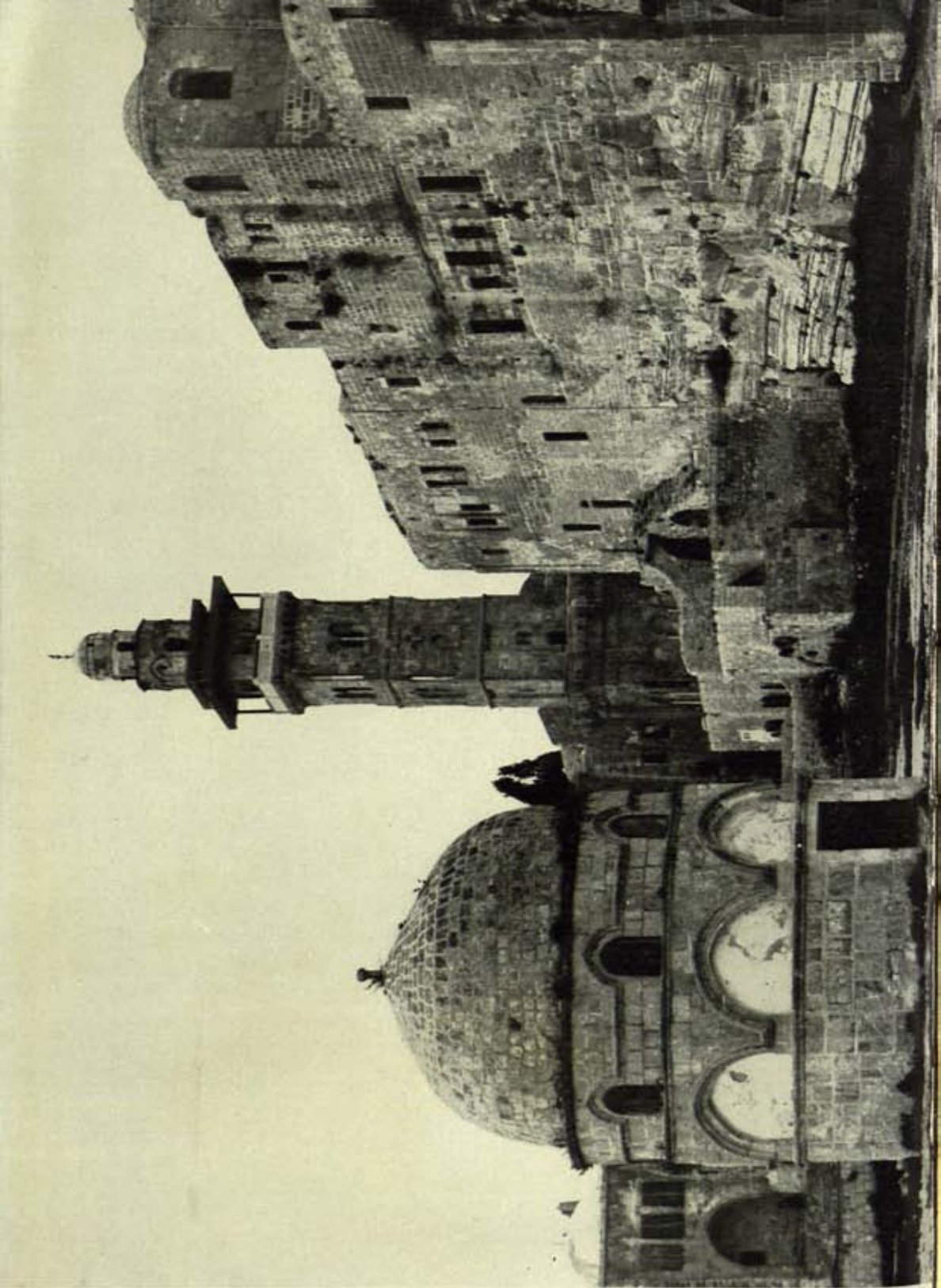


[95] Detail from the *minbar* of Nur-ed-Din in the Mosque of Al-Aqsa. Sculpted in Aleppo between 1169 and 1174, this is a very fine example of the Damascene work of the twelfth century, with incrustations of ivory and mother-of-pearl.

[94]

[95] Bab al-Asbat (the gate of the tribes) or Saint Mary's Gate, the only gate that still remains open today, on the eastern side of the city. On the wall are the two lions, face to face, which were the emblem of the Sultan Beibars, the great adversary of the Crusades, and conqueror of the Krak of the Knights (1260–1277).

[94] The north-western corner of the Haram, overlooked by an elegant minaret. The esplanade is surrounded by Moslem colleges (*medersas*) the facades of which, often in polychrome, contrast with the austere bareness of the soil. In the background can be seen the modern dome of the Dames de Sion, whose establishment covers a part of the foundations of the Antonia. The stairway on which Saint Paul stood to address the excited crowd (Acts xxi.) stood on this side.



[96] Northern wall of the Haram and Koursy Aisa. The Moslem college which today overlooks the north-western corner of the Haram occupies part of the site of the Antonia, which previously directly guarded the enclosure: its rocky foundations can be seen here. The little dome of Koursy Aisa, the 'seat of Jesus', is no doubt a monument dating from the Crusades which was retained by Saladin, and which now has its place in the traditions of the Haram.

first copied the Jewish custom, and like the Jews, prayed towards Jerusalem (which, for an inhabitant of Medina, was towards the north). After breaking off his relations with them he prayed towards Mecca, which then became the holy place above all others. This was not due to a rebuttal of the former tradition, but to a more complete revelation: 'The fool may ask: why did Mohammed change the place towards which to direct the prayers: Reply: East and West belong equally to the Lord, he leads those whom he has chosen in the straight path' (Koran, Sura II, 136); 'We have changed the direction of your prayers in order to distinguish those who follow the appointed of God from those who have rejoined the infidels. This change is only disagreeable to those on whom the divine light does not shine. The Lord will not neglect to recompense your faith. He is clement and merciful' (Sura II, 138). The intention of linking the Islamic revelation with previous revelations is everywhere obvious: 'Who but a madman would reject the religion of Abraham? We have chosen him in this world and in the next he will be among the just' (Sura II, 124); 'The Jews and the Christians say: Embrace our faith if you would be saved. Reply to them: We follow the faith of Abraham, who refused to burn incense to idols and worshipped only one God.' Islam, the submission to the will of God, claimed to be a return to the purest traditions of Judaism.

The attitude of Mohammed to the Christians was somewhat more complex. They were not, as the Jews had been, his direct adversaries. He had only known certain heterodox sects and the Koran gives a strangely twisted account of their traditions. The Trinity was regarded by it as a highly scandalous notion: 'According to the Christians, God had a son. Away with such blasphemy!' But, like the Jews, they had a sacred book and an authentic tradition: 'We gave the Pentateuch to Moses, and he was succeeded by the disciples of the Lord. On Jesus, son of Mary, we conferred the power to perform miracles. We fortified him with the spirit of sanctity' (Sura II, 81). But, like the Jews, the Christians also falsified their book, by suppressing in it the predictions of the coming of the prophet; they had their share of truth, but their claims to possess the whole truth were erroneous. 'The Jews and the Christians flatter themselves in thinking that they alone will be allowed to enter Paradise. Thus they desire. Tell them: Give us proofs of your sincerity' (Sura II, 105). The prophet, therefore, will go further than Christianity, to which, however, he will allow its place in divine revelation: Jesus is the last but one in the line of the

prophets, and the Gospel account of his birth is a true one; Mohammedan tradition will permit him to preside over the Last Judgement on the Mount of Olives, and the Koran gives an exceptional status to Mary, the most saintly of all women: 'How should I have a son, she asked, when no mortal has touched me and I am not a woman?' (Sura XIX, 20).

* * *

As we see, therefore, Islam had accepted, even before its expansion, a certain important part of Jewish and Christian tradition, and there was therefore no obstacle to, but, on the contrary, every ground for its claim to the holy places of both religions that had preceded it; to replace them without attacking them. This to some extent explains Islam's toleration both of Jews and Christians, a very different attitude from that of the heathens; it also explains the attraction for Islam of Jerusalem, the city of Abraham, David, and Solomon, of the prophets, of Zachariah, father of John the Baptist, of Mary and Jesus. And the city finally became dear to the Moslems as the result of a very early interpretation of one Sura of the Koran. Sura XVII, 'The Nocturnal Journey' or 'The Sons of Israel', begins thus: 'Praise be unto him, who transported his servant by night from the sacred Mosque to the father Mosque, the circuit of which we have blessed, that we might show him some of our signs; for God is he who heareth and seeth' (The Koran, Sale's transl., p. 271). This describes the ascension of Mohammed into the seventh heaven, to which he was led by an archangel, and where he received his supreme illumination by the contemplation of the Face of God. It is probable that the first reference to the 'far-away Mosque' was to the proximity of God, and that the prophet fell into trance whilst at prayer in Mecca. But in a very short time, possibly at the end of the seventh century, this was interpreted as referring, not to the celestial Jerusalem but to the actual enclosure of the Temple, to which Mohammed was supposed to have been wafted by his mystic steed, al-Buraq ('Lightning'); and to have climbed up to God by way of a ladder placed on the sacred rock. These early accounts were indefinitely amplified by later traditions. But Islam continued to remain faithful to this fundamental belief that a prophet could only be consecrated in Jerusalem and that its own prophet received his supreme illumination there. Mohammed's religious experience in this case was of capital importance, for it was to determine the whole trend of future events. What, otherwise, would have been the case? There would no doubt have been an Arabic expansion, which, having begun centuries previously,

would have quickened in pace. This people, highly procreative, but hemmed into a desert peninsula, would have been unable to resist the attraction of the civilized cities of the Mediterranean coastline, but they would have arrived there as the Franks arrived in the Roman world, or the Bulgarians, in the orbit of Byzantium, no doubt as the founders of an empire, but ready to take over from the vanquished their entire civilization—of thought, of speech, and possibly even of language. They would never have imposed their own stamp on so many diverse peoples, for centuries. They would have followed the same fate as the Nabataeans, whose kingdom of Petra was incorporated into the Roman Empire, or that of their cousins, the Ghassanid and Lakhmid tribes, who had become converted to Christianity and had more or less settled down in the south of Jordan and Iraq, and who were the first adversaries of their relatives from the south.

* * *

At the time when Heraclius was triumphing over the Persians, Mohammed returned to Mecca (630), purged the sanctuary of the Kaaba of its idols, and simultaneously united the inhabitants of the Hedjaz, both in politics and in religion. A first tentative expansionist movement brought the army of the believers, the Moslems, to Jordan, and into contact with the Ghassanids, who were keeping guard there for Byzantium. Theodorus, 'vicar of the diocese of the East' (or governor of Syria), ambushed the small army at Motah, in the land of Moab, where the hero Jaafar at-Tayar and many others were slain in 629. After the death of the prophet on June 8, 632, expansion recommenced under his successors, the first four caliphs: Abu Bakr, his father-in-law (632–634), and especially under Omar (634–644), Othman and Ali. It was they who continued the 'holy war' (djihad) which Mohammed laid down as one of the six fundamental duties of the Moslems, the others being the profession of the faith, prayer, fasting, charity, and pilgrimage. This time they met with extraordinary and uninterrupted success. How can this be explained? For the Byzantine armies had just given proof of their valour in the Persian campaign; Heraclius, indefatigable, was still head of the Empire. Nevertheless, Byzantium was physically and financially exhausted by its long struggles; the Emperor was far away; the frontiers were defended by foreign contingents which often defected at the critical moment. And finally, a heavily-armed infantry, equipped, like the Roman legions, for hand-to-hand fighting, was matched against mobile cavalry, swift in surprise and in retreat, homogeneous and impelled by irresistible

religious enthusiasm. As in 612, the hatred of the oppressed, of the persecuted heterodoxy, was ranged against Byzantium; Semitic peoples, who had not changed racially in spite of a thousand years under Greek culture, received the invaders as brethren. The humanism and political ability of the early caliphs and their governors did the rest.

* * *

The beginning of the conquest, in 632, made almost a clean sweep. The pillaging troops advanced almost in open order. In 634, a garrison was installed south of the Dead Sea. Sergius, governor of Caesarea, disposed of a mere 5,000 men and was obliged to retreat towards Gaza. He was surprised near this town, killed, and his soldiery was disbanded. The Arabs pillaged the coastal plain of Palestine. Byzantium sent forth an army commanded by Theodore, the Emperor's own brother. The Arabs were reinforced, and Khalid ben al-Walid beat the Byzantines to the south-west of Jerusalem, at Ajnadain (or Jennabatain). Theodore fled to Jerusalem and from there to Syria. The invaders could have immediately taken the mountain cities, but they were used to the open plains and had no knowledge of siege warfare, which they disliked. They contented themselves by spreading over the countryside, and at Christmas, 634, Sophronius, now patriarch of Jerusalem, was unable to proceed to Bethlehem: 'Shut in behind the gates of this city . . . we are publicly celebrating this occasion, but not without sadness.'

The decisive operations took place on the other side of the Jordan, where the Arabs had at their disposal a magnificent open road, the Roman road from Damascus to the Red Sea. Under the command of Abu Obeydah, they based themselves on the valley of the Yarmuk, at the eastern end of the lake of Tiberias. The 30,000 men of the army of Theodore Sacellarius arrayed against them did not form an homogeneous army. The Armenians revolted, the Christian Arabs went over to the enemy, and this time the Byzantine defeat (August 20, 636) was decisive. The whole of Syria fell within two years. 'Farewell, Syria!' cried the Emperor.

* * *

During these operations Jerusalem enjoyed a respite. The patriarch Sophronius remained in sole authority behind its walls. Constantinople abandoned the city, from which Heraclius had removed the relic of the Cross in 633. The patriarch retained vivid memories of 614, and he had also noted the humane treatment of his native city, Damascus, by the Arabs, when it had capitulated in 636. He therefore decided to treat with them. Fortunately, he found an

understanding negotiator. The Caliph Omar had been roused to indignation by the early pillaging that had accompanied the Arab conquest, and by the sudden and dangerous riches acquired by his troops. He therefore took steps to bring his brethren back to their earlier austerity. A wise politician, an administrator rather than a warrior, he had decided to build on an enduring foundation. He arrived on camel-back in Palestine, by the valley of the Jordan, and was dressed with the greatest simplicity; 'in rags', said the Arab historians. In February 638, the year 17 of the Hegira, he arrived on the Mount of Olives where his army was encamped. It was there that the old, cultured prelate Sophronius came to meet this little black man (Omar was the son of a negress), dressed like a son of the desert, and the peace conditions he obtained from him surpassed all his hopes. 'In the Name of Allah, the compassionate and merciful. This is the proclamation of Omar son of Khattab to the inhabitants of Bait al-Maqdis (the holy House). Verily, you are assured of the complete security of your lives, your goods, and your churches, which will not be inhabited nor destroyed by the Moslems, unless you all rise up in a body.' Then Amru, the future conqueror of Egypt, sacrificed a kid. The Christians were allowed freedom of worship and given permission to settle in Byzantine territory. The taxes that had hitherto been paid to the Byzantine treasury were now paid to the Arabs, who also took possession of the property of the emigrants and of the unoccupied parts of the city. It was the most humane treatment ever vouchsafed to Jerusalem by a conqueror. In 1099 the Crusades were to provide a sad contrast to Omar.

The gates were opened and the army marched in. Sophronius conducted Omar over the city. According to the accounts that have come down to us, the patriarch first took him to visit the Holy Sepulchre. It was the hour of prayer, but Omar refused to pray within the church and retired towards the east, to the entrance steps. 'Dost thou know why,' he asked the patriarch, 'I did not pray inside the church?' 'No,' answered Sophronius. 'Well, if I had prayed inside the church thou wouldst have lost it; the believers would have taken it from thee, saying, "Omar prayed here".' The Moslems did, in fact, retain a part of the atrium of the basilica (the Mosque of al-Omariyeh), but the Christians kept the church.

The Caliph was particularly anxious to visit the enclosure of the Temple, rendered holy by Abraham, David, Solomon, and Mohammed. It was known by the Moslems as the Haram-as-Sharif, 'the noble sanctuary', or the Mosque al-Aqsa, 'the faraway sanctuary'

(from Mecca). This latter name came to be associated with the edifice which was built at its southern end. At first the entire enclosure was called the Mosque, the place of prayer, for a mosque is actually more of an enclosure than a building. Sophronius, who suspected that the Calpih was planning to build a place of worship there, or to return it to the Jews, tried various subterfuges. He showed him in turn the Anastasis and the Church of the Coenaculum. At last Omar succeeded in being taken to the real emplacement of the Temple, but it was so choked with rubbish and by filth thrown there by the Christians that Omar and his suite had to crawl through the doorway on their knees. But at last he found himself on the spot where the prophet had had his vision. He initiated the cleansing of it by picking up a handful of soil and throwing it into the valley below, his gesture being imitated by all those accompanying him. He then went to pray at the southern end of the enclosure, turning, to do so, towards Mecca. This marked the definitive taking-over of the Hebrew temple by the Moslems. Sophronius was profoundly shaken: 'Verily, this is the abomination of desolation predicted by the prophet Daniel, now on high!' He died during the following year. A renegade Jew, Kaab Abu Ishak, is alleged to have pointed out the sacred rock to the Caliph, the cleansing of which was immediately begun. However, the edifice built on it today, the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat as-Sakhra), although commonly known as the 'Mosque of Omar' has in fact no connexion with the Caliph. If Omar did build a mosque there it was a very unpretentious building; at that period even the mosque at Medina was only constructed from the trunks of palms! Omar disapproved of luxury: 'Let no house,' he said, 'contain more than three rooms.' Thirty years later the Gallic bishop Arculf stated: 'On the famous spot where once stood the temple in all its splendour, close to the eastern wall of the city, the Saracens worship at a square house of prayer, roughly built of vertical boards and of large beams erected above the ruins.'

The daily life of the city and of trade was not disturbed by the conquest. Byzantine officials carried on the administration, under Arab supervision; thus, Sergius, the father of Saint John of Damascus, would be appointed treasurer of Damascus. The pilgrimages continued also. Only the patriarchate remained vacant after the death of Sophronius (639), until 706. Moslem control increased only gradually.

THE TRADITIONS OF ISLAM

From this time onwards Jerusalem had two aspects. The Jewish city did not count. The Jews had a quarter to themselves, synagogues, and continued to lament at the Wailing Wall. As at the time of Saladin, Islam often treated them with benevolence, but they no longer possessed any great sanctuary. The life of Christian Jerusalem continued as before, but gradually on a more and more restricted scale. The Moslems gave the city different names; they sometimes called it Iliya (a corruption of Aelia, to which they gave a fantastic etymology, based on one or another Biblical character), sometimes in poetry Al Balat (the palace), but more frequently Beit al-Maqdis, and especially, Al-Quds, Sanctity. Administratively, the city's status remained a subordinate one. In the past the Romans, mistrustful of the Hebrew city, had subordinated it to the metropolis of Caesarea, and for the same reasons the Arabs now built a new and purely Moslem town in the coastal plain, Ramleh, to control the whole of Palestine. Jerusalem, however, retained its spiritual pre-eminence. The origins of its sanctity were explained by a pilgrim of the beginning of the fourteenth century, Burhan ad-Din ibn al-Firkah-al-Fazari, of Damascus, in his guide-book, 'The book of the souls that arise to visit the holy walls of Jerusalem.' According to him, the prophet himself had ordered his wife Maimunah, to travel there for the purpose of prayer. He himself had gone there on his nocturnal journey, when he had halted for prayer in the holy cities on his way: Medina, Madian, and Bethlehem. But the sanctity of Jerusalem derived from a much earlier date, from David and the building of the Temple by Solomon. This king had requested three favours of God, of which two had been granted—a kingdom which none would inherit after him, for Israel had fallen into division after his death; and wisdom without equal. But God had refused the certainty of forgiveness to those who visited his Temple, for no man could be certain of his own salvation. Nevertheless the highest value was to be placed on pilgrimage, and the importance in this connexion of Jerusalem would be made especially clear on the Day of Judgement, which would take place there.

'Verily,' said Al Muqaddasi, a tenth century citizen of Jerusalem, 'Mecca and Medina have claims to superiority on account of the

Ka'aba and the Prophet, but in fact, on the Day of Judgement these two cities will come to Jerusalem and the perfections of all three will be united together.' This comparison between the three cities was a favourite theme of the compilers of traditions; often, their respective values as places of prayer were reckoned as 10 for Jerusalem, 20 for Medina, and 30 for Mecca, but certain commentators, like Anas ibn-Malik, put them all three on an equal level. They unfailingly write in enthusiastic terms. 'He,' said Makhul, 'who makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem on horseback, will enter Paradise well conducted, and will visit all the prophets in Paradise, and will be envied by them for his closeness to God. And ten thousand angels will guard all groups of travellers to Jerusalem. . . . He who puts on the ihram (the white vestment) for a pious voyage to Jerusalem at the time of Ramadan, will gain as much as if he had shared ten campaigns with the apostle of Allah.' And, in fact, Elijah and Saint George went on pilgrimage to the city every year, at the time of Ramadan. To die in the city was to attain the best place from which to await the Resurrection. 'He who dies in Jerusalem is as if he had died in Heaven; he who dies nearby is as if he had died in the city itself. . . . Whoever remains for one year in Jerusalem, in spite of the weariness and the discomfort of so doing, will be provided for by Allah. He will eat abundantly, and, if Allah the All-Highest wills it, will enter into Paradise. . . . He who fasts for one day in Jerusalem will be immune from fire.' It is easily understood that the city became, at least for pilgrims from the east, a customary halting-place on the pilgrimage to Mecca. The pilgrims praised its size, its beauty, its situation on the hills. They were impressed—and, as many of them came from the desert this is not surprising—by the fertility of its environs, rich in cereals and in fruit. Muqaddasi was inexhaustible in praise of his city. Nevertheless—this was round about the year 1000—he admitted its faults. Water was short, the baths were dirty and expensive; inn prices were also extremely high; the gates were guarded, justice was badly administered, and the schools badly attended. Especially, 'everywhere the Christians and the Jews ruled the roost'. But every city of pilgrimage had its disadvantages. The contact with the infidels was not in itself too embarrassing, for Omar, in his wisdom, which his successors did not, unfortunately, always follow, had clearly separated the holy places of Islam from those of Christianity; the itineraries of the pilgrims of either religion did not cross. The Moslems venerated in particular the forecourt (which we will in future refer to as the Haram, the name it has retained), together

with the Rock, the Mosque Al-Aqsa, and numerous other sanctuaries, in addition to the Mount of Olives and the springs.

The help given to Omar in finding the Rock by a converted Jew is significant. After a lapse of six centuries Islam had revived the essential Jewish traditions. Due to its Semitic origin, Islam, like the Israelites of bygone days, regarded a holy site, an enclosure, as a holy place, a very different conception from that of the Christians, which attached itself especially to individuals (bodies of the martyrs, relics), and to sacramental signs. The dispute over images, which caused a painful division in eighth-century Byzantium, clearly illustrates the differences between the two mentalities: on the one hand the Semitic, which sought God beyond the physical world, and to which the Incarnation appeared a most shocking idea, and on the other, the christianized Greco-Latin point of view, which based its prayers on visible realities. The adversaries of all images had indirectly come under the influence of Islam. To the Moslem the whole of the Haram as such represented the holy place, although certain portions of it were regarded as especially venerable. As Burhan states, each pilgrim was free to choose his own itinerary and to pray where he wished. Nevertheless it became obvious at an early date that a shelter for common prayer and for preaching would be required, and an edifice was therefore built on the forecourt, the Mosque of Al-Aqsa, 'the faraway'. The provisional building of Omar's day did not however suffice. Sixty years later a mosque of stone was built at the southern end of the Haram by the Ommayad Caliph Al-Walid. He no doubt used the remains of the church of Justinian, Saint Mary, which had not been rebuilt. The ruins of Jerusalem were constantly to provide all the succeeding generations with new building materials—pagan temples and Herodian buildings used again by the Christians; pillars from the churches used by the Moslems. We can see the final result of this in the present ramparts, where there are slabs of all periods, an Herodian stone cheek by jowl with a fragment of Roman inscription, an Arab text, and fragments from the period of the Crusades, with their characteristic cut. In 985, Muqaddasi was the first to give us a description of Al-Aqsa. At the end of the tenth century it had already been rebuilt several times. In 746 it had been shaken by an earthquake and another shock in 780 led to alterations in its structure. It had previously been built in the shape of a long hall with columns, which was then shortened and also enlarged. However, even this fine building, with two hundred and eighty columns, and a cupola and mosaics that were much admired, was greatly out-

classed by the Mosque of Cordoba, which contained eight hundred and fifty pillars. An enclosure on the southern side was reserved for high dignitaries. All around the the edifice stood coffers belonging to the various cities of Syria and Iraq, in which they placed their gifts. Behind the *minbar* (the pulpit) was an inscription which was a talisman against serpent bites. The building was alleged to be of an immense age. It was said to have been begun by Shem, forty years after the foundation of the Ka'aba in Mecca, or by Abraham. Certain Christian mementoes, no doubt inherited from the Byzantine tradition, were preserved within it. The *mihrab*, on the eastern side (the niche towards which the faithful turned to pray), was venerated as having been that of Zachariah, the father of Saint John the Baptist, who was erroneously identified also with the prophet of the same name and with the high priest put to death by King Joas. Nor was Mary, mother of Jesus, who had been received in the Temple, forgotten, for various memories concerning her were preserved in the Haram: 'In Jerusalem, Allah revealed to Mary more than to all other women. . . . In Jerusalem, he announced to Mary the good news of the coming of Jesus' (Burhan ad-Din). The building was once again to be greatly altered during the Crusades and to be partly rebuilt in our own time, but the Byzantine columns at the southern end remind the visitor of the seventh and eighth centuries, when they were brought there.

Although the Mosque of Al-Aqsa is the mostly highly venerated by the Moslems in Jerusalem, it is not as famous as the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat as-Sakrah), that is incorrectly known as the Mosque of Omar. As we have seen, Islam was not mistaken in connecting with this rock the great events of the Old Testament, David's sacrifice and Solomon's Temple. The authentic venerability of this rock was to be adorned by many imaginative legends. It was the kiblah of Moses, towards which he had prayed, the place of the nocturnal Ascension of the Prophet, which, as he rose, had risen with him. He had replaced it with his hand, but the rock had remained detached from the ground, and below it was a grotto, whence rose the sources of the four rivers of Paradise—Sihon, Gihon, the Euphrates and the Nile. Once it had been twelve miles in height and its shadow had lain over Jericho and above it had been a ruby which had illuminated the night sky; on the Day of Judgement it would be turned into white coral and would become the throne of God! The grotto beneath it was the 'grotto of souls', where the dead met to worship God. In spite of all these reasons for its veneration and the cleansing of it by Omar, the Rock did

not immediately come into favour and when it did so, it was in consequence of political events. The fifth Ommayad Calpih, Abd al-Malik, who resided in Damascus, had been deprived of the holy cities of Arabia by a rival, Abdallah ibn-Zobeir. Fearing the religious prestige his adversary would gain by this stroke, he attempted to divert the Mecca pilgrimage to Jerusalem. No doubt he also wished to give the Moslems a monument of their own in which they could take pride, in order that they should not be tempted to defect by the beauty of the churches.

For these reasons the building of a cupola was begun during 687–691 by Abul-Miqdam Ridja and the citizen of Jerusalem, Yazid-ibn-Sallam, the Caliph's freedman. This is more or less the same edifice that still exists today. It was said that for a period of seven years the Egyptian revenues were devoted to this purpose. The building was erected on a square base, to which six staircases gave access. In shape it is octagonal. The interior includes a double aisle and middle octagon supported by eight pillars and sixteen columns; the dome 65 feet in width, rests on four pillars and twelve circular columns. The proportions were exact, the pillars being exactly one-third of the height of the dome and the effect is one of perfect harmony. The exterior decoration, of blue Persian tiles, and the stained-glass windows, are of a later date, belonging to the sixteenth century, and the dome, shattered by an earthquake in 1016, was replaced by a later one. But the decoration of the arches, and the admirable mosaics around the galleries, definitely date from the time of Abd al-Malik, although in an inscription of about 820, the Calpih Al Mamun substituted his own name for the founder's. The conception of this masterpiece of Moslem art is completely hellenistic. The cathedral of Bosra, in Hauran, built in 513, follows the same plan, and it also derives from the Constantine rotundas, from the Anastasis and the Ascension. The wooden tie-beams supporting the arches are similar to those which were already used in the construction of Saint Sophia, in Constantinople. The many-varied scroll patterns of the mosaics are of purely classical inspiration; similar examples can be seen in Constantinople, Ravenna, and Rome. There is, however, no reason to assume that the artists who built and decorated the dome were Greeks; no doubt they were Syrians, but very much under Greek influence. Abd al-Malik did, in fact, call in Greek craftsmen to construct the great mosque at Damascus. In any case, in following the antique tradition which was still very much alive in the East, the Arabs created in this building an incomparable work of art, the most beautiful monument in

Jerusalem and one of the most beautiful in the whole of the East. Paradoxically, it is in this building that one can best imagine the lost splendours of Christian Jerusalem. Nor did Islam fail to lavish the very best on this precious monument. The first dome was covered with gold, the remainder of the treasure collected for the construction, which had been melted down. It was covered with skins in winter, to protect it. Special funds were reserved for the upkeep of the luminary and for the incense which was burned there. Tradition records that three hundred workmen were employed on the upkeep of the edifice; some of these were Jews, employed as sweepers, others Christians, in charge of the carpets. All of them were exempt from the payment of taxes.

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In all times, Moslem generosity, like that of the Christians, contributed largely to the upkeep of their holy places. Contributions were collected by the *waqfs*, analogous to the pious donations made by Christians in the Middle Ages. But the Moslem tradition was of longer continuity. A *waqf* established in the twelfth century by Abu Madyan of Tlemcen, consisting of the revenue from landed property and a building in Jerusalem, still exists for the assistance of pilgrims from the Maghreb.

* * *

Contemporary tourists still admire the elegant Kubbat as Silsileh, the dome of the Chain, adjacent to the Rock, which was also built by Abd al-Malik, in order to house the treasury of the Mosque. The legend was that David had received a chain of silver from the Archangel Gabriel, which he used to hang up there before delivering his judgements. A bell was attached to it, and the litigants would pull the chain, whereupon the bell would ring in favour of those whose cause was the just one. Another tradition tells a different story: 'In order to discriminate between right and wrong, Solomon, son of David, hung up a chain between heaven and earth, in such wise that he who was in the right could reach up to it, but he who was wrongful could not do so. Now it happened that a Jew, to whom one hundred dinars had been given, denied having taken them. The matter was put to decision by the chain. Then, the Jew, who had melted down the hundred dinars and secreted them in his walking-stick, gave this stick to the rightful owner of the money, at the same time swearing that he had returned his hundred dinars to him. The plaintiff, however, swore that he had not received them. From that day onwards, the chain was wont to levitate. It is said

that the chain was in place of the said dome. But God knows better.'

These two domes do not by any means exhaust the riches of the Haram; it contains many more small buildings, of a later date than these two first ones. They can easily be dated by their broken arches, in the style of the Crusades, as belonging to the period of Saladin and his successors, the Ayyubids. But they are in fact connected with a much earlier tradition. Quite close to the Rock one can find the 'Dome of the Prophet' (known today as the 'Ascension' in memory of the nocturnal voyage), and the 'Station of Gabriel', where the angel guarded the charger, Buraq, during the vision. (This episode has also been linked with other sites.) Included within the enclosure are also the Oratory of Zachariah, the Dome of Solomon (where the king is said to have battled with Satan), the site of the prayers of Elijah (Al Khidr), and the place where Mohammed prayed beside the prophets of the Old Testament. Here, the memories of Islam are joined with those of Israel and are also associated with Christian traditions, localized in the south-eastern corner, by the mihrab of Zachariah, at the Mosque of Al-Aqsa. On this spot is the Mihrab of Mary, the site of the Annunciation (for the Koran does not mention Nazareth); and the cradle of Jesus, a stone basin placed against the wall, at the foot of a staircase: 'Jesus lay here during his childhood, and spoke here with the people.' It is here that the Moslem pilgrims come to worship the Christian prophet.

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The traditions connected with the springs are rather more unexpected. But in the East, and especially in Jerusalem, water is so precious that it would naturally be a source of dreams, even of veneration; we have only to remember the importance attached in the Gospel of Saint John to the pools of Siloam and of Bethesda! Siloam was regarded, by the Moslems as one of the springs of Paradise, sister fountain of that of Zem-Zem, in Mecca. The spring of Rogel was associated with the story of Job, and the many cisterns of the Haram, fed by long aqueducts, also had their stories. The most touching of these is the story of the cistern Bir-al-Warakal, later called that of 'The Leaf', below the Mosque of al-Aqsa. The Prophet had predicted that one of the faithful would go to Paradise during his terrestrial life, and would return thence with a leaf. At the time of Omar, Shuraik ibn-Habashah went to inspect a well, and was lost there. He found himself in a wonderful garden, from which he plucked a leaf. When he returned, the truth of his story

was proved by the leaf he brought back with him, which did not wither. But no one ever again was able to find the way to the mysterious garden.

Whether one takes them seriously or merely as charming stories, these traditions are ingrained in the Moslem soul. It is because of them that Jerusalem has become as dear to the Moslems as it was to the Jews and the Christians. The eastern wall of the Haram, and its walled gates, the Kidron and the Mount of Olives, are the actual framework of Islamic eschatology, and there the history of the world was to be concluded, for 'on the day of Resurrection, Paradise will be brought as a bride to the Holy City, and the Ka'aba will come thither with it; all men will cry: "Hail to the pilgrims!" . . . and the Black Stone will be carried in nuptial procession to the Holy City' (Ibn Abd-Rabbih).

THE HUMILIATION OF THE CHRISTIANS

Historians re-create for us the fate of empires, but travellers bear more vivid witness to the life of a city. It is to them that we owe the fact that we can visualize the living Jerusalem at the time of the Arab period. Their number includes the Moslem pilgrim, Yakubi; the Persian, Nasir-i-Khusrau in the eleventh century; Ibn Jubair, of Valencia, at the time of the Crusades, and many others, as well as increasing numbers of Christians, from East and West, such as Saint Willibald (724–726), an Englishman; Bernard –the monk, from France, and Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria. From the beginning of the Crusades, the travellers' tales increase in number.

The generous tolerance of Omar continued under the first Arab dynasty, that of the Ommayad Caliphs of Damascus, who were the descendants of Moawiya, governor of Syria (661–750). This was in any case politically necessary, since the Moslems were at that time a minority in a Christian community and needed the assistance of the Christians in running their administration and their administrative offices. In consequence they were anxious to avoid unpleasant incidents. But gradually Islam grew stronger and proselytism increased; relapses into Christian worship became punishable by death. The Christian communiy hardened its attitude in face of the danger of apostasy. The government failed to suppress the Bedouin bands that ravaged the monasteries and burned the

convent of Mar Saba in 796. Meanwhile, the dynasty changed. The Ommayads were defeated in 750 and were succeeded by a new dynasty, that of the Abbassids, who were the authentic descendants of the Prophet. The centre of the Arabian Empire shifted towards the East; Baghdad succeeded Damascus as its capital. Byzantium, bitterly divided at this period by the iconoclastic dispute, no longer constituted a danger for Islam. This political situation provided a new turning-point in the history of Jerusalem.

* * *

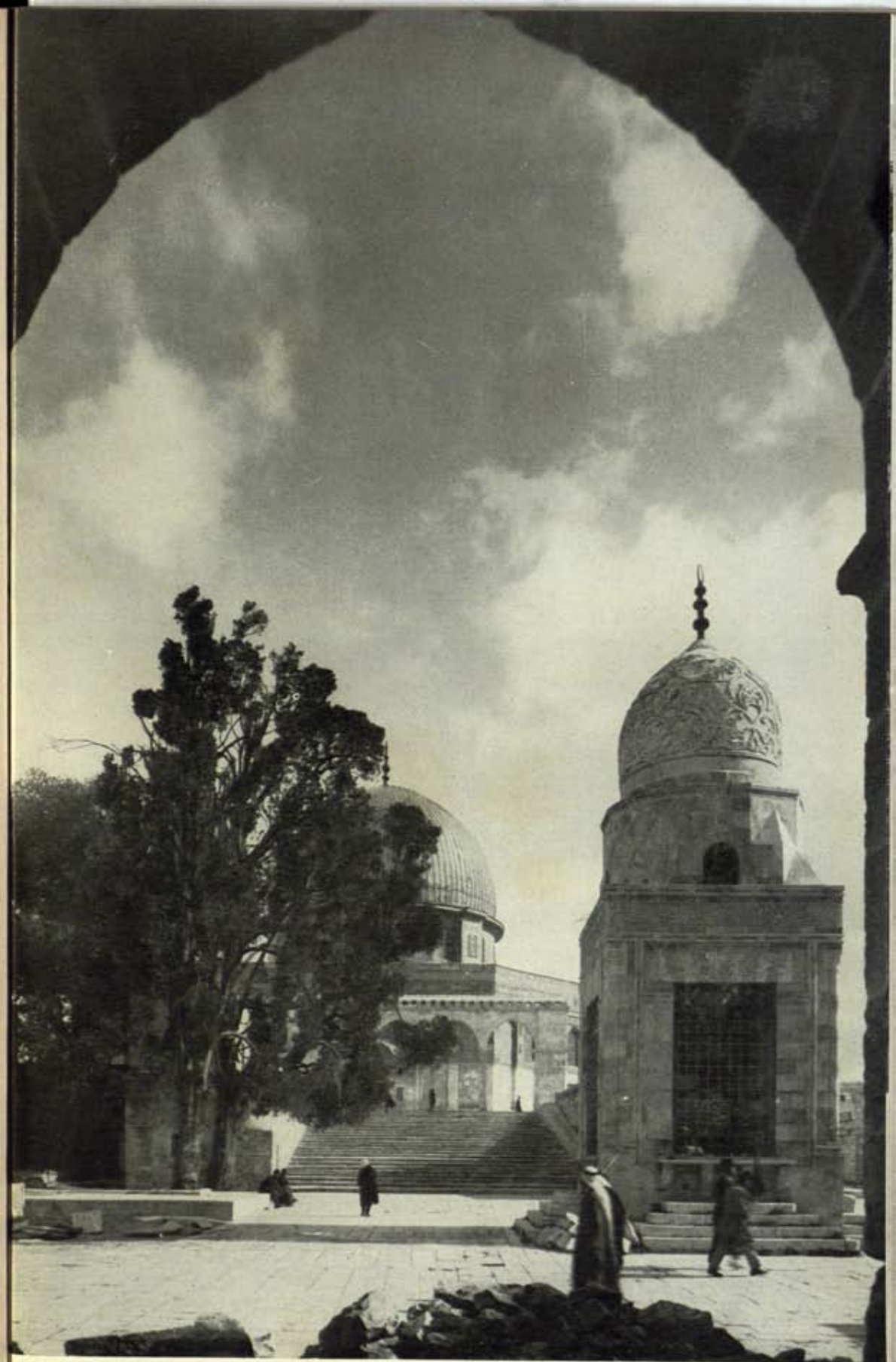
A new power had arisen in the West. The Occident, which, during the previous four hundred years had been split up and turned over to the Barbarians, was at last reunited. Pope Stephen II had appealed to Pepin, chief of the Franks, to save him from the Lombards, and had consecrated him as king. Charlemagne was to achieve even more. He established the final unity of the Papacy and the Frankish monarchy by his acceptance of the creation of the new Papal State and, at Christmas in the year 800, he re-established the Western Empire in Rome. Opposing the claims of the Byzantines in Italy, he naturally looked for allies against them in the East and supplanted them wherever they were failing to maintain their power. The Caliph of Baghdad was not at all opposed to the struggle between him and the Caliphate of Cordoba. At this moment the Eastern Christians appealed to him for assistance, and gave him adequate cause for intervention. Thereupon Charlemagne resuscitated the political policy of Pepin the Short, who had exchanged embassies with the Caliph Al-Mansour; in 797 he sent two of his Counts, Lantfried and Sigismond, to the Court of Haroun-ar-Raschid. With them also went a mission charged with obtaining relics from the patriarch of Jerusalem. In token of his gratitude for these relics, Charlemagne sent back the priest, Zachariah, with alms for the Holy City. On November 30, 800, one month before the Imperial coronation, in Rome, Zachariah, accompanied by two monks, returned, bringing the king, on behalf of the patriarch, George, 'in sign of blessing, the keys of the Sepulchre of the Lord and of Calvary, and also the keys of the city and of the Mount, together with the standard'. This act of homage was made to Charlemagne by the patriarch with the complete approval of the powers in Baghdad, and in 807 an embassy from the Caliph arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle. Whether Charlemagne's intervention was actuated by political or by religious motives it is clear that in his view the two were one and the same. And it had lasting results, in leading to the establishment of Latin foundations in Jerusalem.

Later poets were to invent an alleged expedition by Charlemagne to the Holy Land; a whole stained-glass window of the ambulatory of Chartres Cathedral depicts this legend. At least the Crusaders were not mistaken in attributing to these events the faraway origins of their own enterprise.

* * *

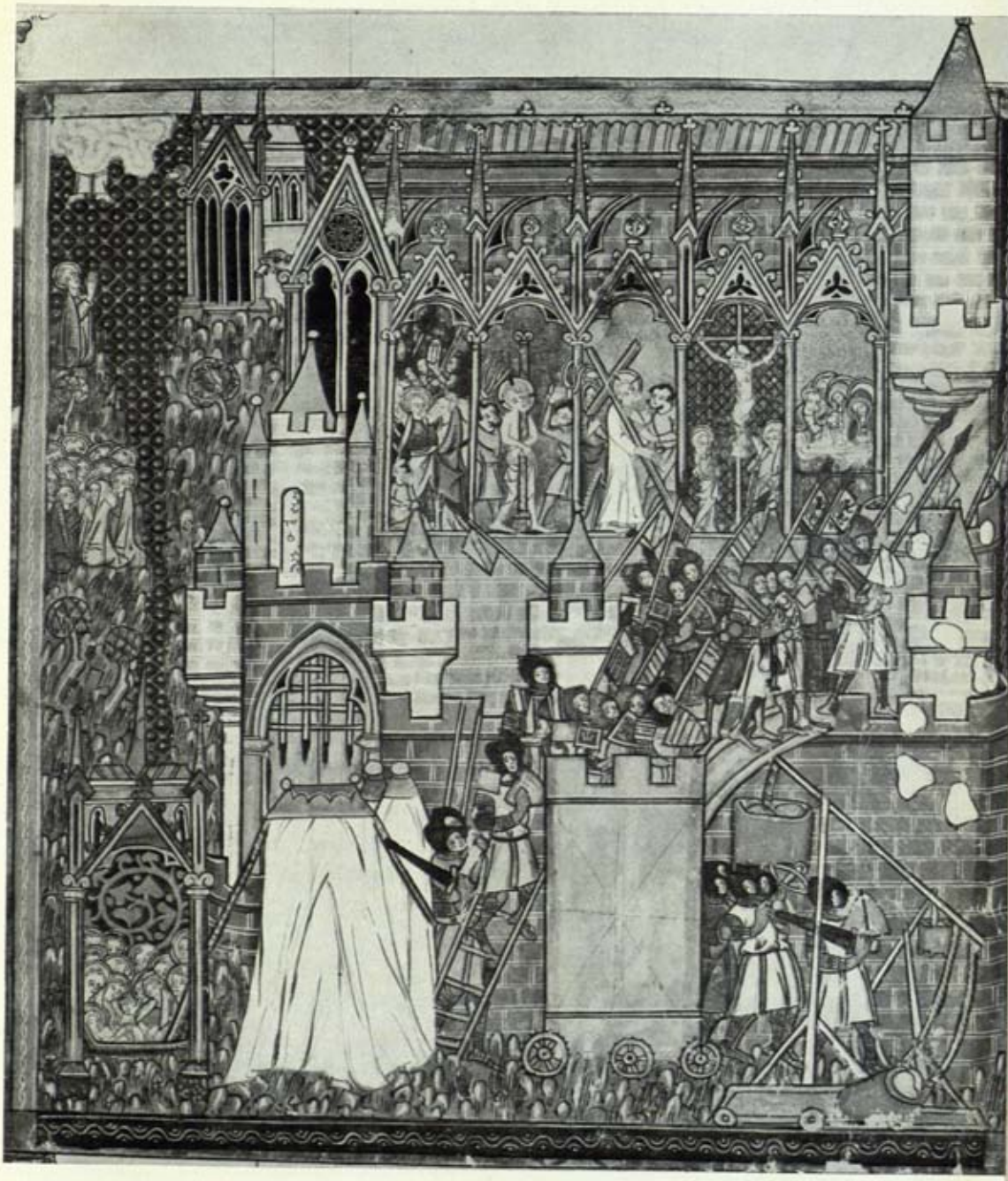
Thanks to Charlemagne's diplomatic intervention, several Latin churches were built—an abbey on the Mount of Olives and a church on the Aceldama. The 'latin' enclosure to the south of the Holy Sepulchre included a church, Saint Mary's, a library, and a market. Certain lands furnished their revenues. Finally, towards 810, a number of generous gifts enabled the patriarch Thomas to restore the dome of the Anastasis. 'Charlemagne', records the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 'sent large sums to Palestine for the building of many monasteries.' The most important result of this protectorate was the regular transmission of funds for these purposes. They enabled the buildings to be kept in repair, and, for the Christians, they also provided security in times of trouble. When, in 841, a band of roving Arabs descended on Jerusalem for the purpose of pillage, they provided the sole means of rescue. 'Abu Harb', Michael the Syrian recorded, 'the bandit chief, broke into the mosques and the churches, and after having pillaged them was about to set fire to the church of the Resurrection and many others. The patriarch sent him much gold.' In 869, the patriarch Theodosius recorded the peace that had been obtained: 'The Saracens show us much goodwill. They permit us to build our churches and to retain our customs without infringement.'

But during the middle of the ninth century the Carolingian unity began to dissolve and led to a state of anarchy in the feudal world. Once again Jerusalem was isolated. Towards 935, a Mosque (al Omariyeh), was built in the atrium of the Holy Sepulchre and in 967 Moslems and Jews set fire to the Anastasis and burned the patriarch, John. Who, then, would come to the help of the Christians? For a short time it was hoped that Byzantium would do so. Since 867 it had begun rapidly to recover its strength under the great Macedonian dynasty. The Bulgarian menace from the north had been removed. As there was no further danger from this quarter it became possible, in 920, to undertake the reconquest of Asia Minor, and from there to send troops into Mesopotamia. Nicephorus Phocas recaptured Antioch in 969. And the war began to take on the fervour of a crusade. In 975, John Zimisces took Homs, Damascus and Beirut: 'The sword of the Christians mowed

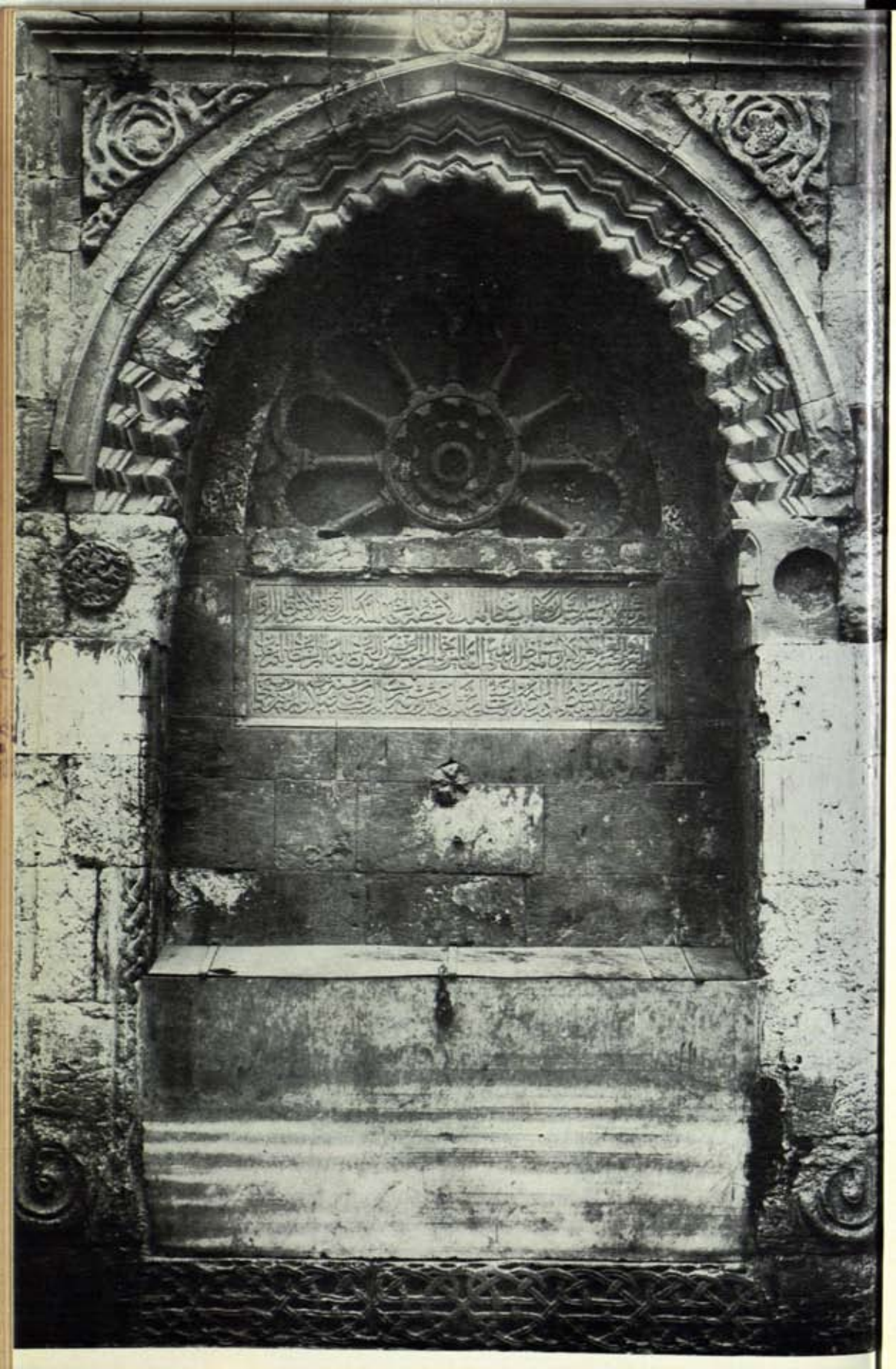


[98] Pulpit of Judge Burhan-ed-Din, dating from 1325. It was formerly used for prayer on high feast days and for rogations for rain. This graceful open-air *minbar* contains numerous fragments from former monuments, both Byzantine (capitals flanking the staircase gate) and Frankish (small columns supporting the pulpit itself).

[97] The Sebil of Qait Bay is an elegant fountain in Mameluke style, dating from 1482.

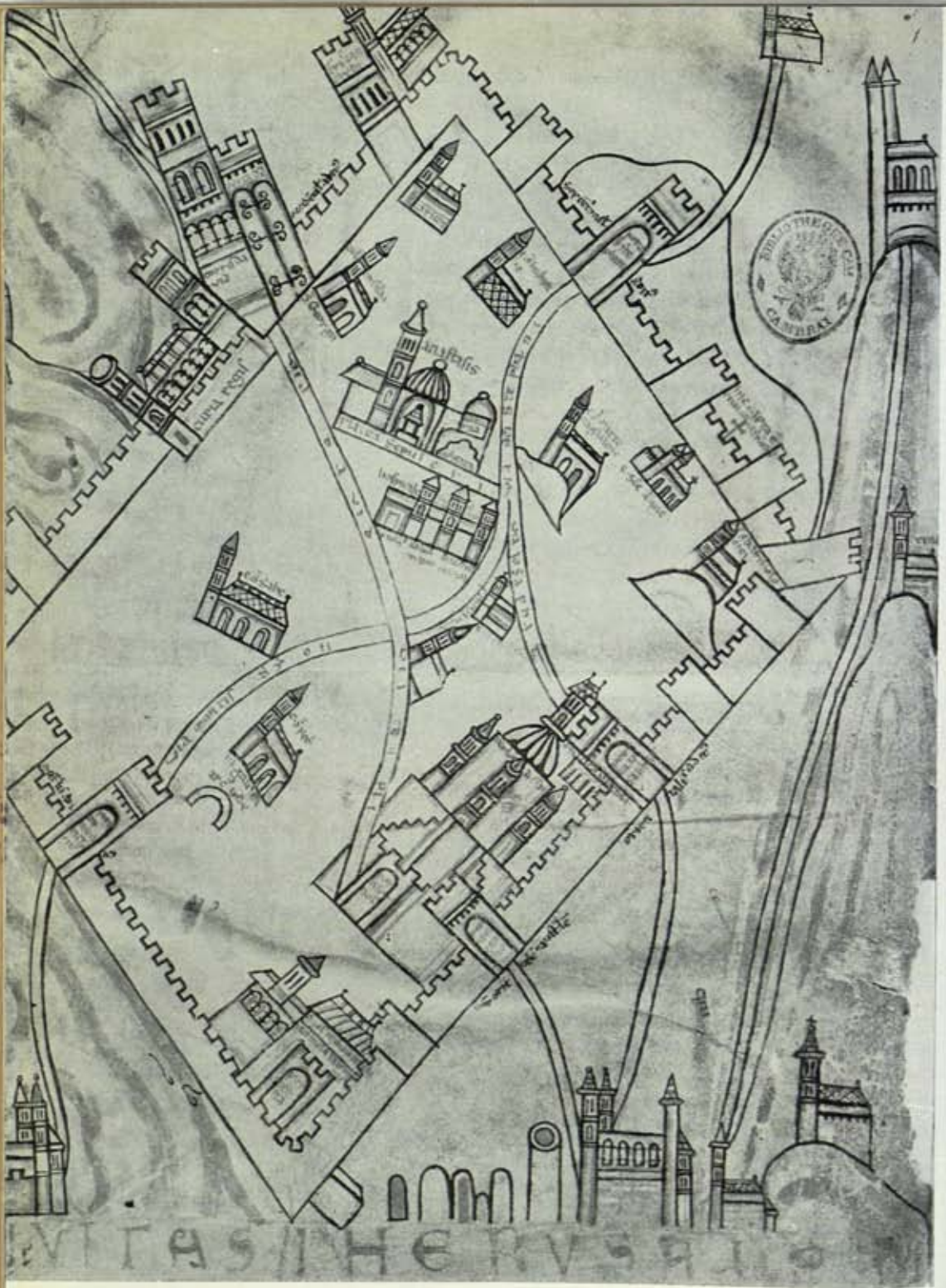


[99] The capture of Jerusalem, miniature from a manuscript of the *History* by William of Tyre (late thirteenth century). The artist has depicted the city in a mystical and symbolical manner. Right, bottom, the Crusaders, armed with a ballistic chariot and a tower on wheels, mount the walls. Above, a church, in which are shown five episodes from the Passion. Left, outside the city, the Ascension and the Dormition of the Virgin.



[101] INTERIOR OF THE AEDICULE IN THE HOLY SEPULCHRE. Nothing remains of Christ's tomb except the rocky foundation. Saint Helena had had it re-cut and detached from the rock-face out of which it had been hollowed. The khalif Hakem had it razed to the ground. An altar and slabs of marble today cover over what remains of Christendom's most venerated shrine.

[100] Fountain of Soleiman at Bab-as-Silsileh. This elegant monument shows traces of re-employment of earlier material: the Romanesque rose-window derives from a building of the Crusades. The inscription in honour of Soleiman the Magnificent is dated 4 January 1537.



[102] Above: *the Plan of Cambrai*, a plan of Latin Jerusalem, dating from about 1150. Several details can be recognized: the streets of Saint-Stephen, Jehoshaphat, David, of the Temple and Holy Zion; the Tower of David and the royal mansion; the Temple, right; the churches of Mar Saba, Saint-Abraham, Saint-Magdalen, Saint-Anne, Saint-Bartholomew, Saint-Peter-in-Chains; the Hospital with the two Saint-Mary's; the Holy Sepulchre with the Anastasis.

[103] The Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre at the end of the seventeenth century, after *Le Voyage au Levant* by Le Bruyn. The Greek restoration of 1809 greatly altered the interior, by encasing the columns in pilasters, making the gallery heavier, and reconstructing the aedicule over the Sepulchre. The ancient dome with the wide opening to the skies dating from the restoration by Constantine Monomachus can be seen here.

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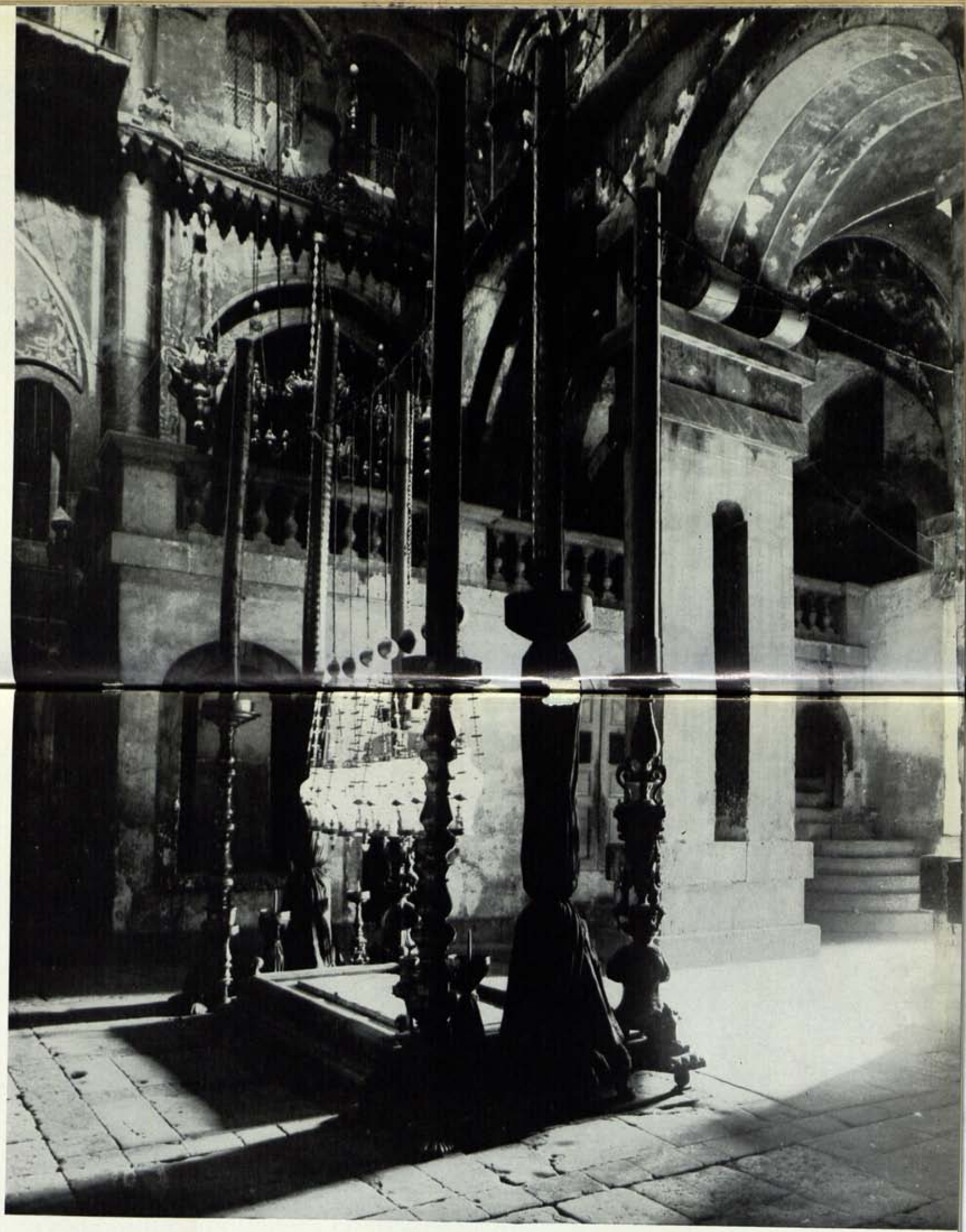
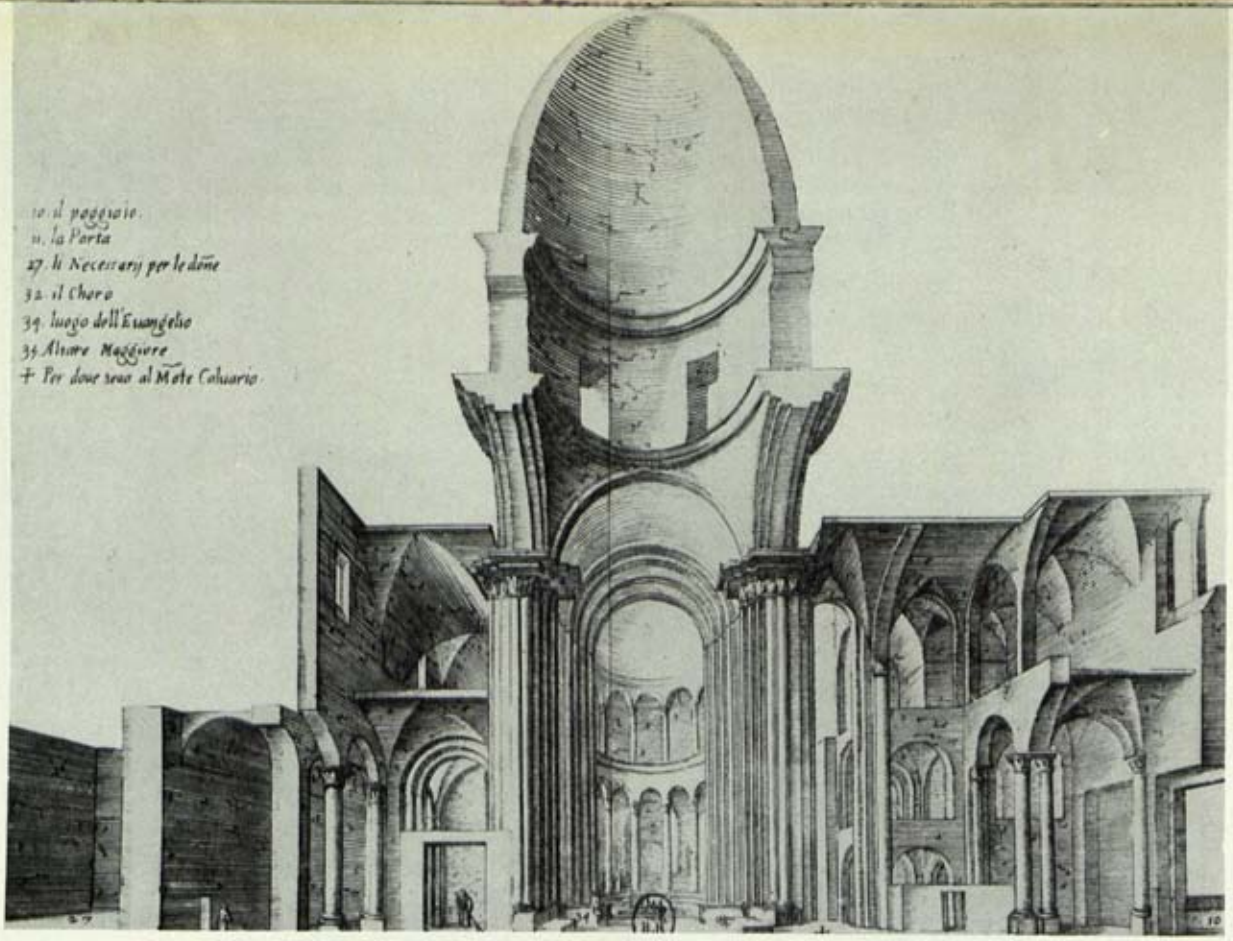
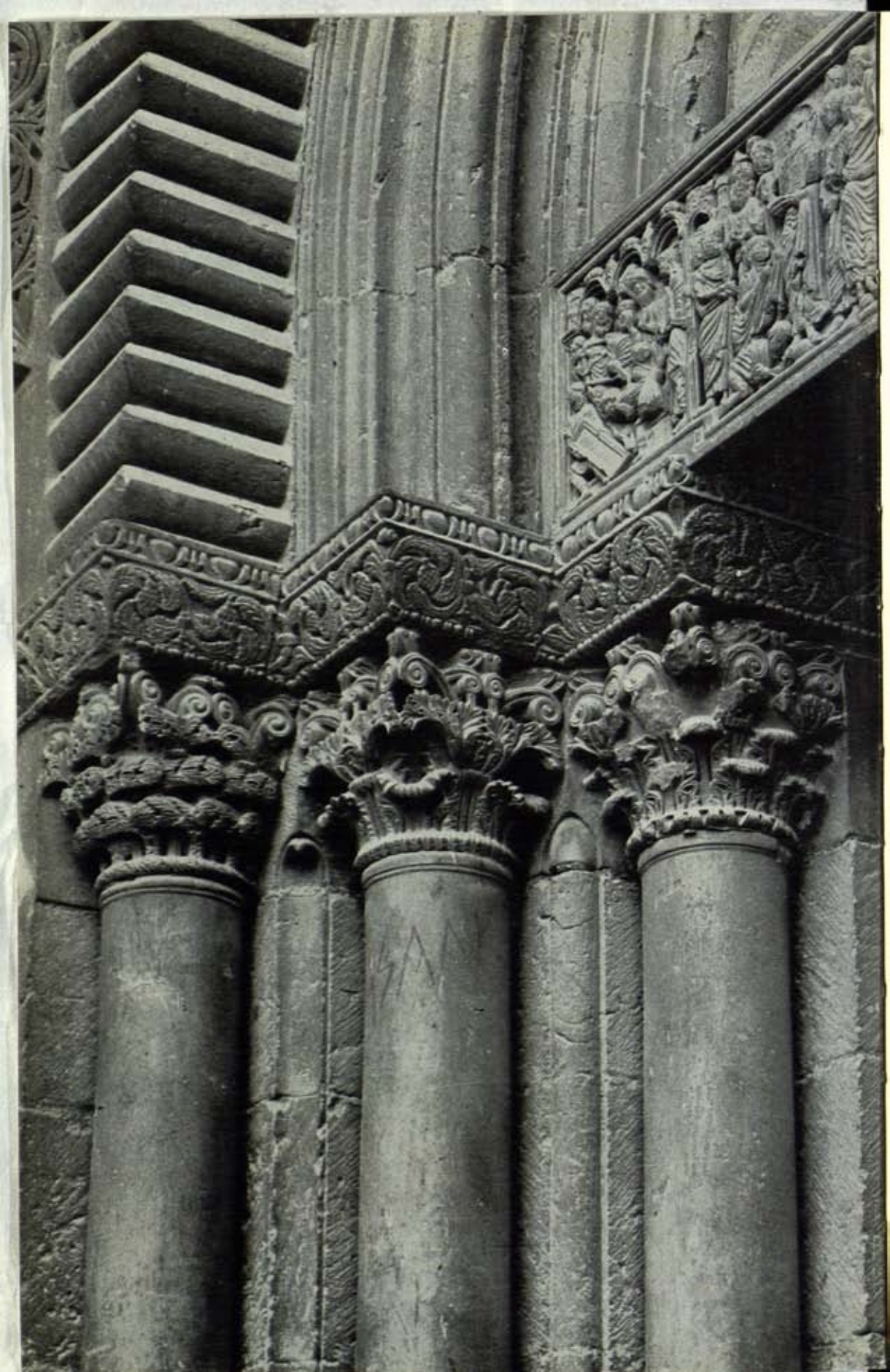


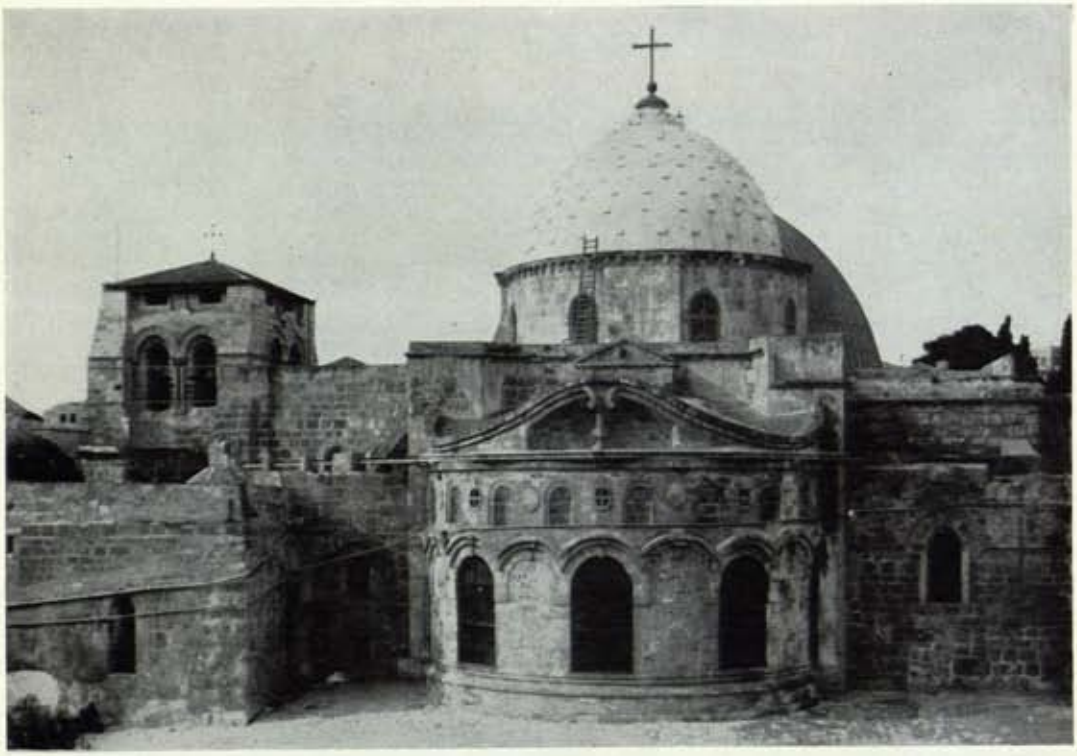
[104] South Transept of the Holy Sepulchre and the Stone of Unction. The light enters through the main door, on the south side. Background, the Chapel of Calvary and one of the stairways leading to it. The gallery is an example of the severe and vigorous architectures of the Crusades, previously softened by paintings and mosaics. This transept is roofed by large ogival vaulted arches. The Stone of Unction in the foreground commemorates the embalming of Jesus' body before the entombment.



[105] Seventeenth-century drawing, showing a cross-section of the Holy Sepulchre from the entrance to the choir. The Romanesque choir with its dome had not yet been closed by the Greeks, who, in 1809, isolated it from the transept. Right, the Chapel of Calvary.

[106] The bell-tower and two domes of the Holy Sepulchre. The twelfth-century tower is today incomplete. The large dome has an ugly covering of zinc painted black and dates from the restorations of 1809. It is above the former, transformed, Anastasis. The rest of the building, on the right, consists of the transept with the principal façade, the dome dating from the Crusades, and the choir, and was the work of the Franks, finished in 1149.





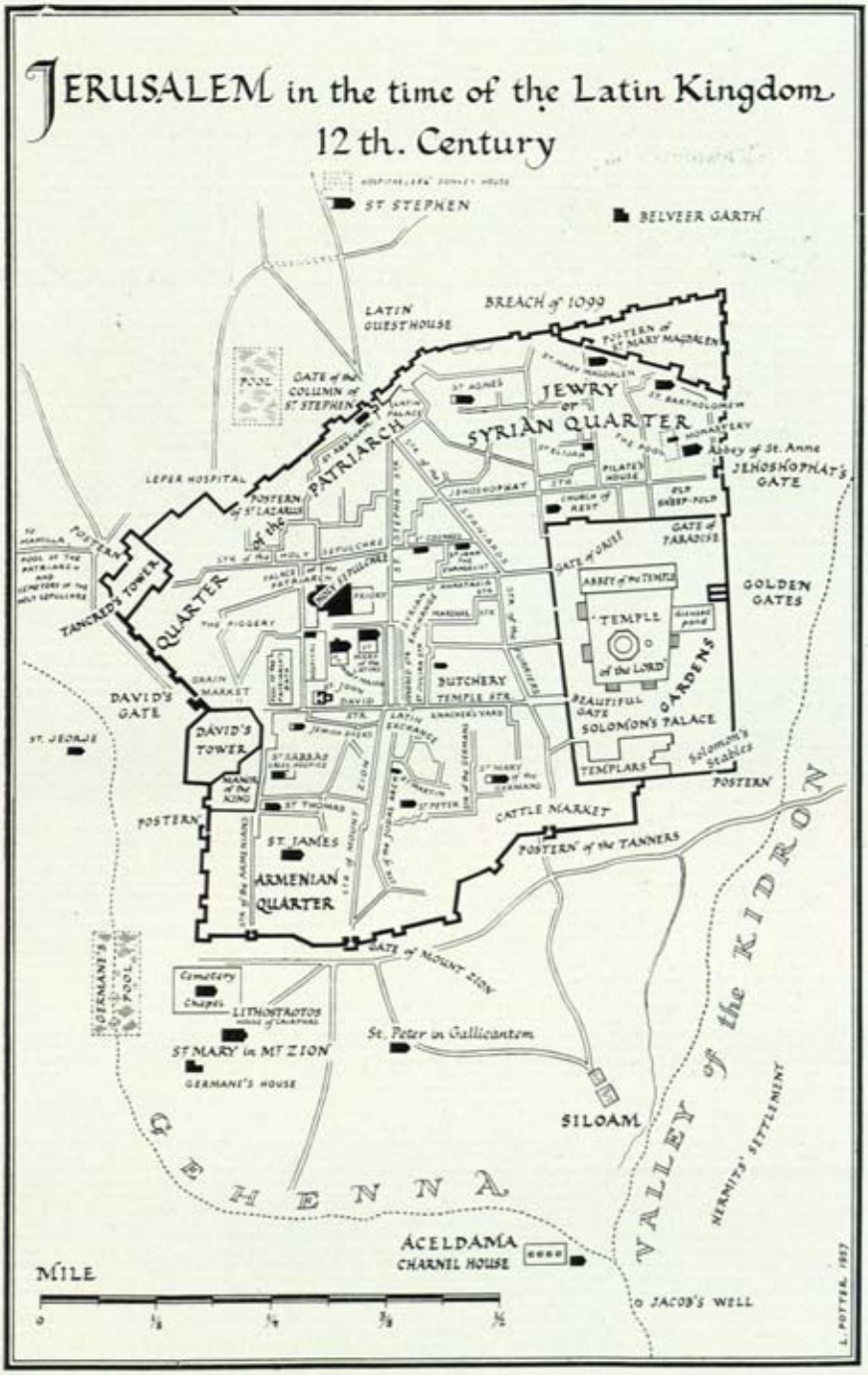
[108] The apse of the Holy Sepulchre. Its Baroque appearance dates from the Greek restoration in 1809. The small dome with the cross partly conceals that of the rotunda. The Romanesque belfry (left) does not reach to its original height: a storey was lost in the eighteenth century.

[107] Small columns on the portal of the Holy Sepulchre. The stones show the oblique stria between the flutings characteristic of stone-cutters of the period of the Crusades. For a long time the capitals were thought to be of antique origin; they are, however, merely examples of a renaissance; the twelfth century had rediscovered classical style and endeavoured to imitate it. There is no contradiction between the styles of the capitals, the frieze, and the bas-reliefs, which are purely Romanesque.

[109] Doorway to the Chapel of the Franks. The graceful little chapel in the north-western corner of the square of the Holy Sepulchre was built in the twelfth century and joined to the church by an ornamental Romanesque doorway, of which the tympanum is decorated by a frieze representing leafage and a vine. The capitals are trepanned, by a method taken over from Byzantium: but the ensemble is definitely Romanesque. The chapel was originally a vestibule to the Calvary, the entrance to which was on the square.

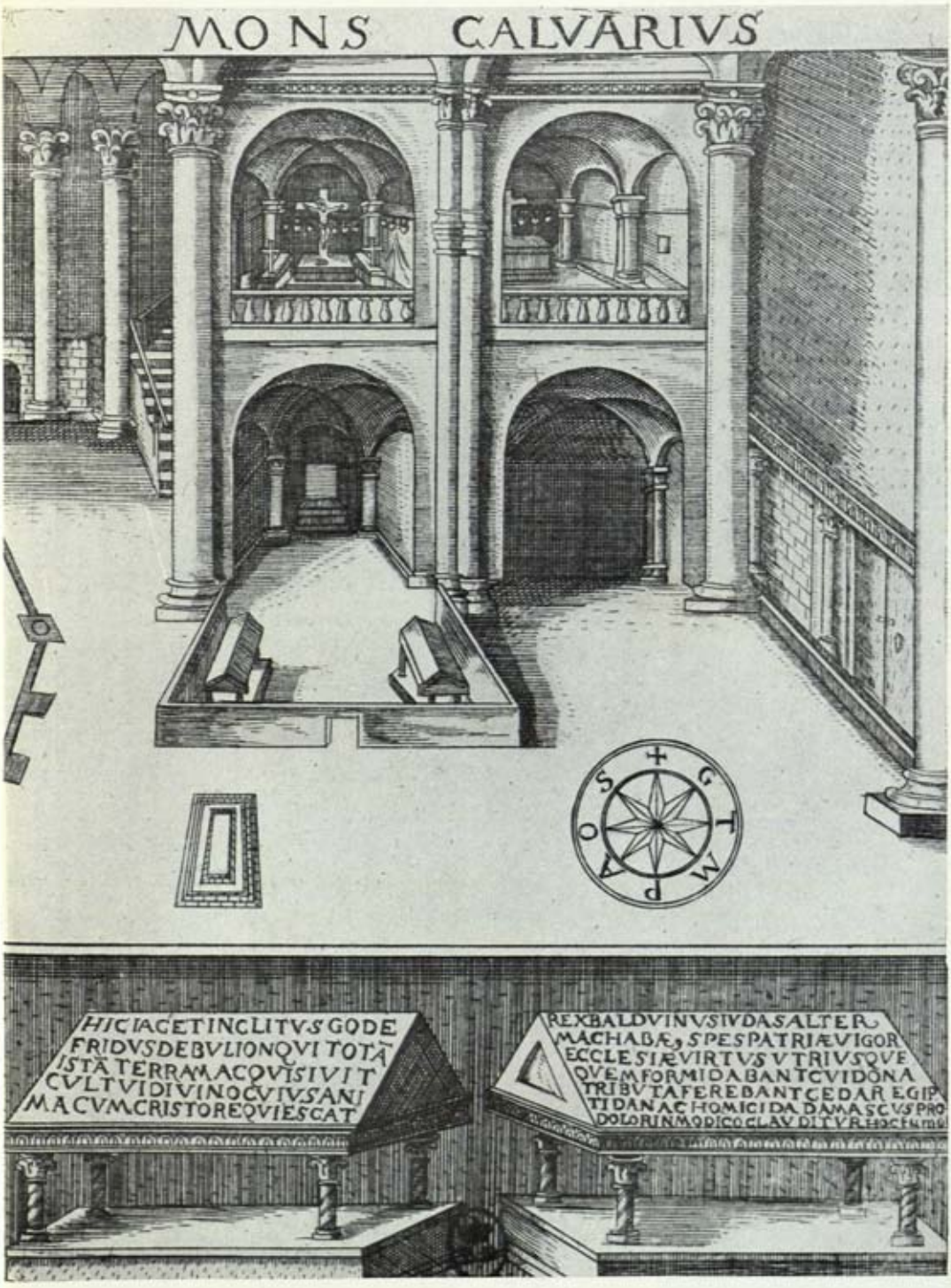
[110] The dome of the Holy Sepulchre is no longer that built by Saint Helena, nor the one of Constantine Monomachus. It was rebuilt in 1809–1810. The ancient dome was wider open at the top, like that of the Pantheon in Rome.

[111] After the construction of the Anastasis by Saint Helena, the Sepulchre of Christ was enclosed in a small edifice or *ciborium*. After the destruction of the tomb by Hakem, the Crusaders rebuilt it. The actual edifice, built by the Greeks after the fire of 1808, consists of two chambers, but it only shelters the rocky base of the ancient tomb. The various communities hold their services here at fixed times.



[112] The Crusaders captured a city that in general resembled the present one, only the old quarters on the southern side having remained since then outside the walls. The Armenian quarter has barely changed since then. The city of today retains many features of this one: plan of the streets, suks, even sometimes houses; but many churches have disappeared.

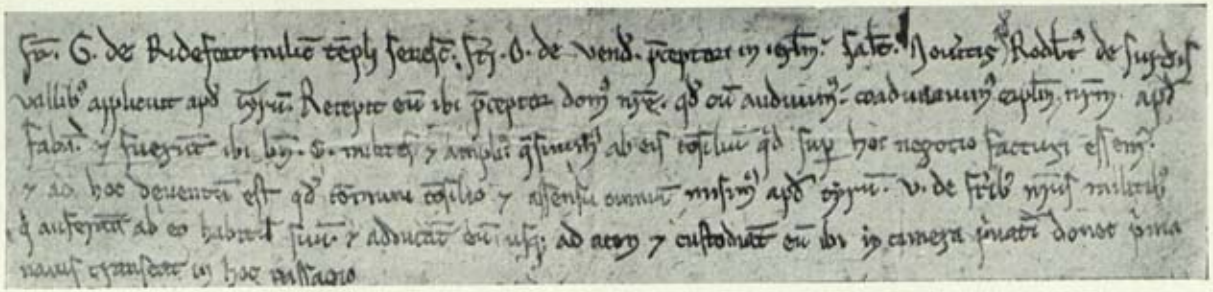
[115] Chapel on the right side of the Calvary. The Chapel of Calvary is divided into two naves, with arris-vaulting. A mosaic pavement and a Christ on the vaulting are all that remains of the medieval decoration. The altar of the right-hand chapel is a work of the Renaissance, a gift from the Medicis. The rest of the decorations are modern.



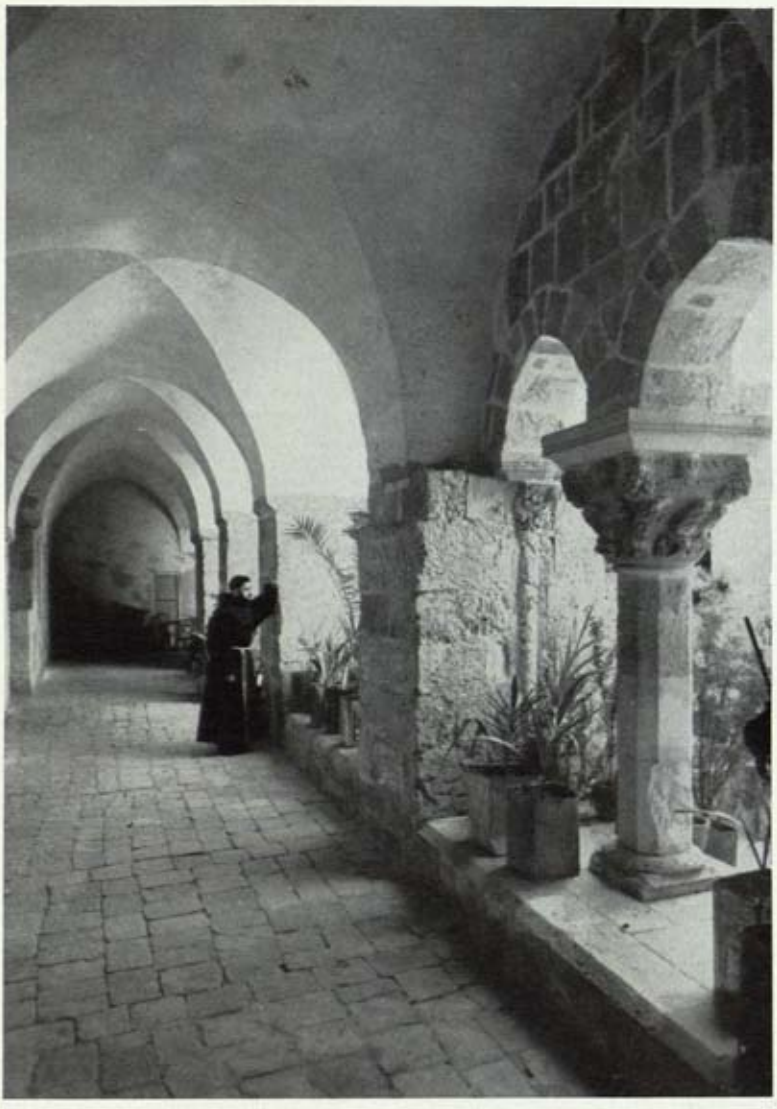
[114] Before the Greeks removed them during the restorations of 1809–1810, Chateaubriand had seen the tombs of the two brothers, Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I, in the chapel under the Calvary. They were very simple monuments with funeral inscriptions carried on four little columns.

[115] SEAL OF THE HOSPITAL. Whilst the Templars were from the outset a military order, the Hospitalers only became so by force of circumstances. Their seal represents their vocation to prayer and aid; left, a kneeling brother; right, a sick man hospitalized, below the church of St.-John-the-Baptist. This is the seal of the grand master William of Villaret (1300–1307).

[116] THE SEAL OF THE TEMPLE. Seal of the Knights of Christ. On the face, the 'Temple', the Dome of the Rock surmounted by the Cross. The reverse side shows two knights mounted on one horse, emblem of the Templars: their horses were the pride of the lay nobility, but the soldier-monks enlisted in the defence of the Holy Land were allowed to own no personal property.



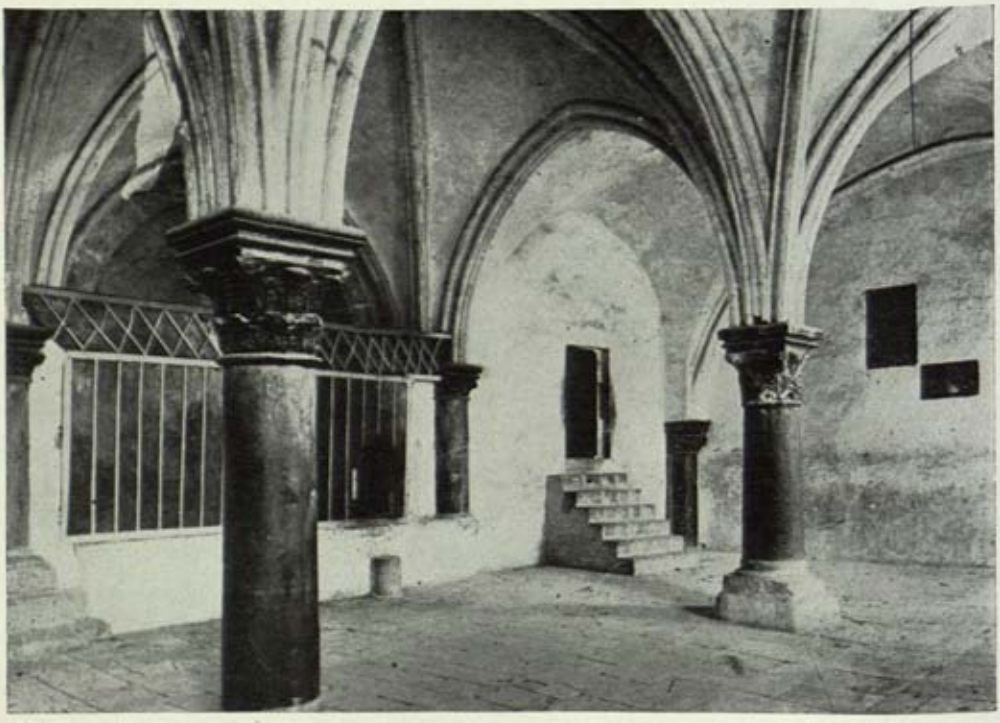
[117] During repairs carried out at Al-Aqsa in 1926, a Latin letter was discovered in a pillar. It was the order of expulsion of a Templar, signed by Gerard of Ridefort, at that time seneschal (1180–1184) and later Grand Master of the Temple, who was taken prisoner at Hattin and who died during the siege of Acre (1189): 'Brother Gerard of Ridefort, seneschal of the militia of the Temple, to Brother Euddus of Vendome, preceptor at Jerusalem, greetings. You know that Robert of Sourdeval landed at Tyre. The preceptor of our house in that city received him, having learned which, we called a meeting of our chapter at La Feve (Affuleh), attended by more than one hundred knights. We asked their advice as to our action to be taken in this case and it was finally decided by common opinion and general agreement to send five of our Brother knights to Tyre, to remove his habit, conduct him to Acre and to place him in solitary confinement in a cell until the first ship of the season should have made the crossing.'



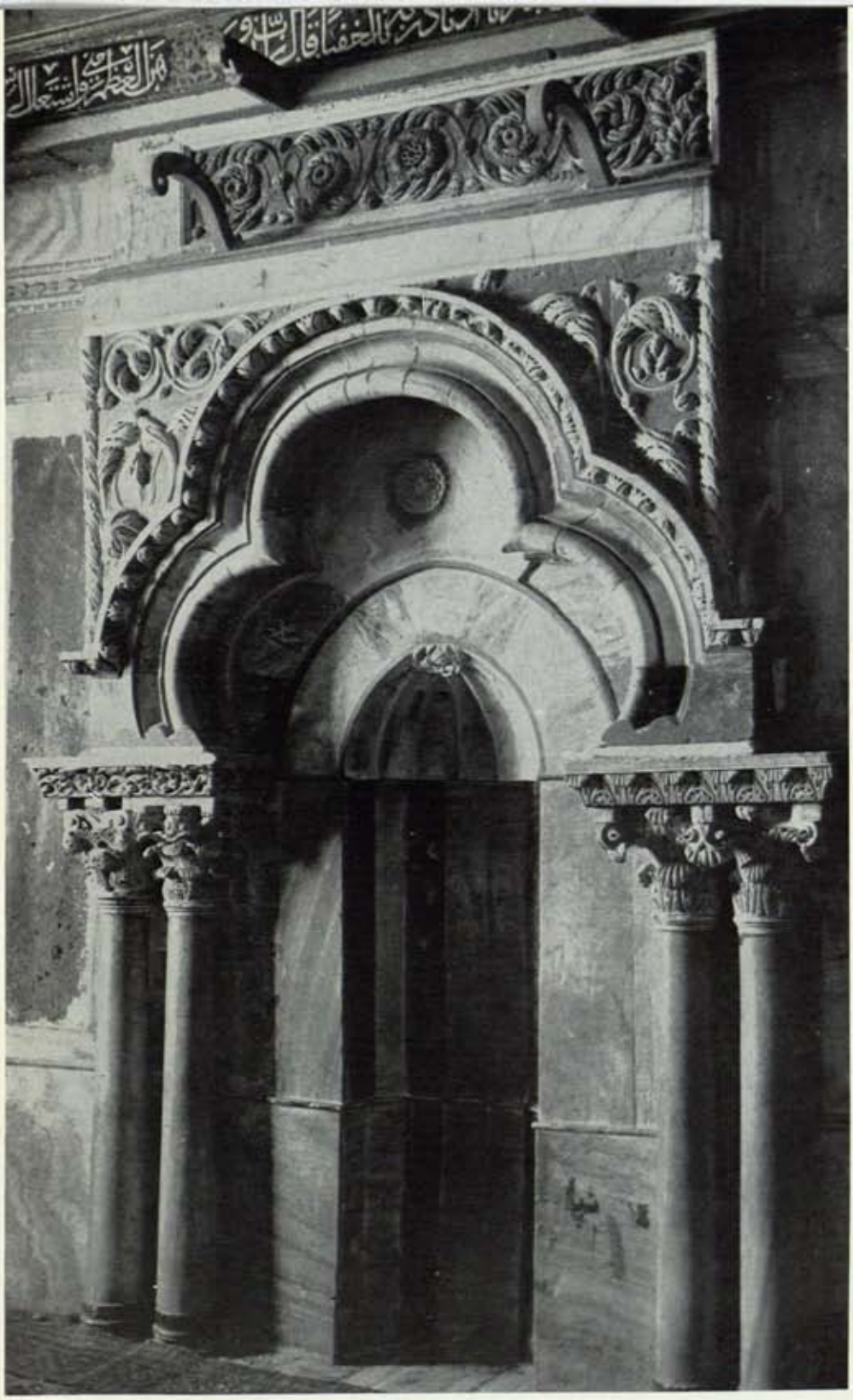
[118] Cloister of Latin-Saint-Mary (today forming part of the Lutheran church of the Redeemer, the Erlöserkirche). This cloister has been reconstructed on several occasions, from the Carolingian to the Arab periods, including that of the Crusades. The capital seen here is attributed by Father Vincent to the original building (seventh to eighth century); of Byzantine style, it may have been incorporated in the reconstruction dating from the Crusades.

[120] This twelfth-century mosaic, from the vaulting of the chapel of Calvary, is all that remains of the interior decoration of the Holy Sepulchre at the time of the Crusades. It is an Ascension of Christ in Byzantine style, probably the work of a Greek artist.

[119] The different decorative styles of the Calvary chapels emphasize the use of the same church by communities practising different rites. The altar of the Crucifixion belongs to the Greek Orthodox; portions of the rock-wall can be seen through gaps in the marble covering it.



[121] This beautiful hall with arris-vaulting is the work of the Templars. It is traditionally known as the 'armoury'. It became a wing reserved to women in the Mosque of Al-Aqsa.
[122] The hall of the Coenaculum as rebuilt by the Franciscans in the fourteenth century, with the upper parts of antique columns and fine ogival vaulted ceiling. A tradition based on a misconceived passage in the Acts of the Apostles (ii. 29) claimed that the tomb of David had been on this spot. As a result, this place, holy to Christians, also became a place of worship to Jews and Moslems, which gave rise to bitter and sometimes bloody quarrels.



[125] *Mihrab* in the eastern part of Al-Aqsa. The three-cusped or trilobite arch might indicate a Moslem monument, but the capitals, the details of the frieze, are in the style of the Frankish period. This might be a construction of the Templars, possibly a door, re-employed subsequently for a new purpose.

[124] Al-Yakubiya, Saint-James-Intercisus, a small church in the Armenian quarter built in honour of a Mesopotamian martyr. The well-designed apse dates from the period of the Crusades.

[125] The stone of Bethphagy. The Crusaders in their eagerness for souvenirs and relics, venerated the stone used by Jesus at Bethphagy to mount the she-ass, prior to his processional entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. Twelfth-century paintings on this stone cube illustrate the Palm Sunday tradition.

[126] The simple façade of Saint-Anne is soberly harmonious. The tympanum above the porch frames Saladin's inscription, ordering the church to be used as a shaafite college. It never became a mosque. After the Crimean war, the Sultan presented it to France. The pointed arch is not in the Gothic style; in the Frankish period it was commonly used in the Holy Land, as in other Romanesque schools of architecture in Europe, notably in Burgundy.

[127] FAÇADE OF THE TOMB OF THE VIRGIN. The ancient crypt is the only remaining part of the Abbey of Our-Lady-of-Jehoshaphat, founded by Godfrey of Bouillon, and destroyed by Saladin. Its portal is without doubt the most typically Western monument in Jerusalem, with a double pointed or broken archway.

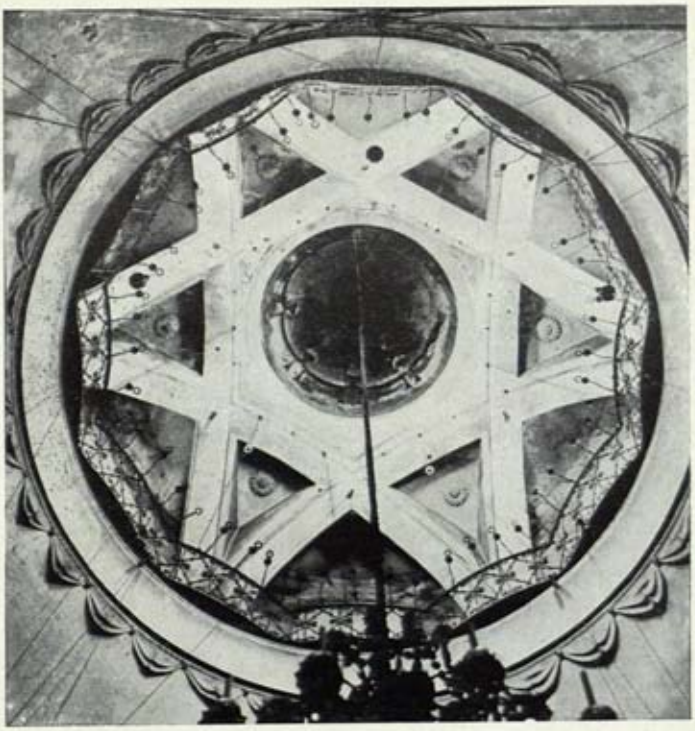
[128] INTERIOR OF SAINT-ANNE. Traditions dating from the second century placed the birthplace of the Virgin Mary at Jerusalem. The site of the house of Joachim and Anne, in the Bethezda quarter, near the Baths of the Probaticum, was held in honour and a church was built on it dedicated to the Virgin, Saint - Mary - of - the - Probaticum or the Ancient. Later the name of Saint-Anne was substituted for it. The venerable grottoes became the crypt of the present church, which, although its paintings and decorations were lost, still remains the most beautiful church of the Crusades in the Holy Land, owing to the purity of its architecture.

[129] A long stairway leads to the crypt of the Tomb of the Virgin, below the rock. In the twelfth century the Benedictine abbey of Our-Lady-of-Jehoshaphat was built above it. In the background, right, is the Sepulchre, hollowed out of the rock, which, according to a tradition dating from the fifth century, was stated to be the tomb of the Virgin Mary.

[130] In Saint-James-the-Major, the Armenian patriarchal church, the architectural features of the twelfth century, dating from the Crusades, have been overlaid by ornate decorations dating from the eighteenth century. The Gregorian-Armenian altar in the background stands on a raised platform.

[151] DOME OF THE ASCENSION. The Crusaders built this graceful edifice, covered in marble, in the centre of an octagonal courtyard, over the site of the ancient Imbomon, as the bases of the walls clearly show. The Moslems rebuilt the dome, that covers the Rock from which, according to tradition, the Ascension took place, and which was originally open to the skies. It stands almost on the summit of the Mount of Olives, whence there is a magnificent view of Jerusalem.

[132] Interior of the Dome of Saint-James-the-Major, the Armenian patriarchal church. The church itself contains many features in the style of the Crusades (twelfth to thirteenth centuries), but the dome, with its star-shaped ribbing, is in the characteristic Armeno-Georgian style. Since the Byzantine period, the Armenian community has been one of the best organized Eastern foundations in Jerusalem and took an active part in the life of the city during the Frankish monarchy.



[133] THE COENACULUM. The little Franciscan convent of the Coenaculum. The Franciscans were enabled to settle in the Holy Land in the fourteenth century, thanks to the intervention on their behalf of King Robert of Naples. Since then they have taken over the care or 'Custody' of the Holy Places.

[134] TARIQ-ES-SARAIA. This is the present 'Way of the Cross', medieval in aspect. Background, right, the chapel of the fifth Station (Simon of Cyrene helps Jesus to carry the Cross). The street leads up to the sixth Station (Saint Veronica) and the seventh Station (the second fall during the Carrying of the Cross).

down the enemy like a scythe.' The Byzantine army entered Nazareth, advanced as far as the Lake of Tiberias, invested Caesarea, and was now in sight of Jerusalem. But the Emperor died suddenly on January 10, 976, without having had time to bring this prodigious campaign to a conclusion. The Moslems had had a rude shock. Jerusalem was badly defended and the Caliph of Cairo therefore decided to shorten the line of the ramparts. Until then the southern end was still based on the plan of antiquity, enclosing Mount Ophel and Siloam. In 985 it was shortened more or less to the line existing today, excluding the southern end, the primitive site of Jerusalem, which was gradually abandoned.

Although Jerusalem was still a Moslem city, it had come under a new government. During the disintegration of the Abbassid Empire, certain autonomous principalities had been created. In 878, Ibn Tulun, who had become independent of the central authority, in Egypt, conquered Palestine. But power passed to a new dynasty, that of the Fatimids, who came from Maghreb, and who in 969 laid the foundations of the 'Victorious', Al-Qahira, or Cairo. These Shiite heretics had established a rival Caliphate to that of Baghdad. Under their authority, Jerusalem was to experience a sinister era. The disaster of 967 had scarcely been made good when, in 996, a strange personality succeeded to the Caliphate—Al Hakem bi-Amr Illah, an impassioned Shiite. His government undertook a series of badly conceived measures, some of them merely tentative, others of a brutal character. He disappeared mysteriously in 1021, and nothing more is known of his fate. He was subsequently deified and adored by the Druzes, in complete opposition to Islamic orthodoxy. Until then the Moslem governments had respected the churches. A contemptuous pun had been made on the name of the Holy Sepulchre, which was called Al Qumameh (the ordure) in place of Al Qiyàmah (the Resurrection), but it had not been attacked. The fire of 967 was the work of a band of fanatics. But in 1008, Hakem forbade the procession of the Palms and in 1009 he ordered the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre, on the pretext of a subterfuge carried out by the Greeks, who, during the Paschal night, claimed as a miracle a sacred fire which had in fact been made artificially. 'He wrote', says Yahya, the historian of Antioch, 'to Baruch, who was at Ramleh, and ordered him to destroy the church of the Resurrection, to the very roots, and to pull up its illustrious foundations. . . . They took possession of the church and its dependencies and pulled it down completely, except for the parts which proved too difficult to demolish. They destroyed

Golgotha, and the church of Saint Constantine and everything that stood within the precincts of the church, and caused the disappearance of the sacred relics. Ibn Abi Daher persisted in the destruction of the Holy Tomb, even to the last trace, and he did, in fact, cut out a large part of it, which was taken away.' The patriarch Nicephorus was unable to restrain this fanatical attack; the tomb of Christ had disappeared and nothing was left of it but the rocky foundation. In 1034 an earthquake achieved its final ruin. After the accession of Constantine Monomachus (1032), the edifice was restored by agreement, with funds supplied by Byzantium. The Anastasis was rebuilt and decorated with mosaics, the site of the Calvary was enclosed within a small building, but the large basilica, the Martyrium, was not rebuilt (1048). During the next forty years Jerusalem enjoyed a period of relative peace, during which the pilgrimages were resumed.

Their character had changed since the Carolingian period. They included an increasing number of laymen and of important personages. The pilgrims were inspired by piety but also by penitence for their sins; some came to Jerusalem to be forgiven for setting fire to an abbey, or for having pillaged church property; others for having repudiated their wives. The faith of these Westerners, most of them still half barbarians, was strong. They included Black Fulke, Count of Anjou, who made the pilgrimage four times, subsequently repeating his deeds of violence, and the most famous of them all, Robert the Devil, Duke of Normandy, and father of William the Conqueror, who died on his way home. They took considerable risks on their journeys; at sea there was the danger of pirates, and the land route, through Germany, Hungary, the Byzantine Empire, or the south of Italy and Greece, was long and hard. For these reasons they often travelled in armed companies. On his return home the pilgrim enjoyed great prestige. The work accomplished by Charlemagne in preparation for his arrival in the Holy Land had been destroyed by the persecutions of Hakem. But fortunately, from 1063 onwards, it was taken up again, by merchants of Amalfi, the small city to the south of Naples, the first Italian Republic to be found on the road to the East. They were permitted to instal themselves near the Holy Sepulchre. There they built a Benedictine abbey which revived the name of Latin Saint Mary, a monastic church, Saint Magdalen, and a hospice dedicated to Saint John the Almoner, the patriarch of Alexandria who had supported Modestus, after 614; the chapel built on the remains of the ancient church of Saint John the Baptist soon revived its name.

This institution, directed by a Provençal, Gerard, was to receive the wounded at the time of the Crusades. He was joined by many others who together founded the Order of the Hospitalers, which Raymond of Puy transformed into a military order in 1113. Thus the Latins returned once again to the East, at the very moment (1054) when, alas, they were finally divided from the Greeks by schism.

But the peaceful period of the 1050's was not to endure. A new menace now appeared; a warrior people, the Turkish Seljaks, were to take over in the East the political leadership of Islam, which the enfeebled Abbasids and the heretical Fatimids could no longer retain. They made rapid progress under Toghrilbeg, Alp Arslan, Malikshah. The Byzantine Emperor was utterly defeated at Mantzikiert in Armenia in 1071 and in 1078 the Moslems were again encamped at Nicea, opposite Constantinople. Jerusalem fell to the Turks in 1077. It was no longer, now, to be a case of the liberal rule of the Ommayads nor even of the sudden whims of the Fatimids. Power had passed to a hard race of men, barbarians whose rule was cold and cruel. The pilgrims, including a monk, Peter the Hermit, returned to the West bringing terrifying accounts of it. But the Latin community was no longer the anarchic feudal world of the tenth century. The Papacy had been re-formed for forty years and under Gregory VII (1073–1085) it was sufficiently powerful to impose its moral authority on the reigning kings. In Spain, the war against the Almoravides had been launched by the Order of Cluny. And Alexis Comnenus, the young Emperor of Byzantium, turned towards the Papacy in his own need.

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
(1099–1291)

No other story has been so inspiring to Western minds as this. During two centuries, the Latin world was obsessed by Jerusalem and passionately devoted to the great chiefs who fought on her behalf—Godfrey of Bouillon, Tancred, Raymund of Saint Giles, Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus and Richard Lion Heart, John of Brienne, and Saint Louis. Novels of chivalry were still popular in the sixteenth century, and if Don Quixote was the final embodiment of a great vision, this dream was still to be the inspiration of the victorious ardour of Saint Ignatius and Francis Xavier.

Urban II, a Cluniac monk who became Pope in 1088, was the inspirer of this great adventure. It was he who, at the Council of Clermont on November the 27th, 1095, aroused the whole of Christendom with his plan for the reconquest of the holy places. It was Adhemar of Monteil, bishop of le Puy and the Papal Legate, who organized the co-ordination of the diverse expeditions as far as Antioch, for an enterprise on such a scale was bound to attract the worst as well as the best elements. They included both the selflessness of Godfrey, the muddled ambitions of Raymund of Saint Giles, the very mildly religious realism of Bohemund. Yet the dark side of the picture—the massacre of the Rhineland Jews, the extraordinary cruelty occasionally evinced by the leaders, the commercial-mindedness of the merchants of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice—cannot blot out the sacred aspect of the Crusades. They proved of very great commercial profit to the West; they enabled a large number of starving younger sons to acquire great riches, and they also served the political ends of the sovereigns. Nevertheless, in spite of the various self-interests which they fostered, their goal was Jerusalem, a pretty poor one in proportion to all the efforts that were made to reach it, and hardly worth the expenditure, had it been merely a matter of controlling the import of spices, or of short-term politics.

* * *

Having beaten the Turks at Dorylaeum (July, 1097), and taken Antioch after a year's siege (June, 1098), and having left Baldwin of Boulogne behind at Edessa and Bohemund in Antioch, the Crusaders passed through Ramleh and Qubeiba to Lifta, where, on June the 7th, 1099, they had their first sight of Jerusalem. 'Whereupon they raised their hands to heaven, and after having unshod themselves they all bent and kissed the soil. Whosoever beheld this sight, however hard of heart, could not fail to be moved by it' (William of Tyr). Tancred and Baldwin of Bourg did not arrive from the north-west but from the south, after having occupied Bethlehem in answer to an appeal for help from the local Christians. Jerusalem was no longer in the hands of the Turks. Taking advantage of the troubled state of the whole of the East, in consequence of the Crusade, the Fatimids of Egypt had reoccupied the city in 1098 and had strongly fortified it. The Frankish army occupied the same positions as Titus in the year 70. Robert of Normandy occupied the first sector, in the north-east, as far as the gate of Damascus; with Robert of Flanders to his right; Godfrey of Bouillon and Tancred guarded the western sector, opposite the Jaffa gate.

Finally, Raymond of Toulouse was installed on the western hill, facing south, where there had at first been no outposts. After an unsuccessful assault on June the 13th, another attack was launched with new materials of war on July the 15th, 1099, beginning at midday, and was successful. In spite of the warning given by Tancred, who was anxious to take some prisoners, the Crusaders lost all control over their forces during the ensuing afternoon and evening and the assault ended in a general massacre, which Islam was never to forget. The Jews were shut into the synagogue, which was set on fire. Nevertheless, on the evening of the 15th the leaders went to the Holy Sepulchre: 'They donned fresh clothes in place of those which were blood-stained, and walked barefooted, sighing and weeping, through the Holy Place of the city where Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world had trodden corporeally and they gently kissed the spots on which his feet had stood.'

The conquered territories were very quickly organized. Baldwin I, brother of Godfrey (1100–18), established a powerful monarchy, which controlled also certain parts of Transjordania; Baldwin II (1118–31) enlarged the kingdom to its farthest boundaries. But the Moslem counter-offensive, directed from Aleppo by Imad-ad-Din Zengi, really began under Fulke I (1131–44). In 1144 the fall of Edessa led to the Second Crusade, raised up by Saint Bernard, but which failed miserably after having been unable to capture Damascus (1148). Baldwin III (1144–62), captured Ascalon, but although his brother, Amery I (1162–73), made an attempt to wrest Egypt from the decadent Fatimids, this did not impede the progress of Nur-ad-Din, the son of Zengi, who was now master of Damascus, and who dedicated a *minbar* to the recapture of Jerusalem. When Salah-ad-Din-Yusuf, who is known to us as Saladin, succeeded in uniting Syria and Egypt under one authority, the days of the Kingdom were numbered in spite of the heroism of Baldwin IV, the leper king. In 1187 Guy of Lusignan, an incompetent soldier, led the army of the Christians into the disaster of the Horns of Hattin, above the Lake of Tiberias. In the Third Crusade the Franks recaptured the coast of Palestine, but at the decisive moment Richard Lion Heart hesitated to march on Jerusalem and the city remained in Moslem hands. The German Emperor, Frederick II, the excommunicated Crusader, succeeded in regaining the town for the Christians by diplomatic means (1229), but it was now an open city, without defences, and fell to the first attack (1244). After this, the unlucky Crusade of Saint Loius (1249) could only postpone the inevitable end. Beibars, the Sultan of Egypt, inflicted some rude

blows on the Franks, who finally lost their last stronghold, Saint John of Acre, in 1291. The history of the Latin principalities in the East appears to have been a merely ephemeral one; nevertheless it was of very great importance.It had a profound influence on the Western mind. It is only necessary to pay a cursory visit to Palestine to discover the extraordinary number of buildings erected there during the Crusades. A large part of the old city of Jerusalem still remains today exactly as they left it.

After the massacre of 1099 and the re-colonization which followed upon it, the population of Jerusalem, which had once again become a Christian city, became a highly mixed one, in which Latins and those of Eastern descent, belonging to many diverse sects, were closely interbred, including a high proportion of Armenians. The status of the Moslems was completely reversed; from having been the masters they now became servants, and sometimes slaves. They were deprived of all their edifices; the mosques were converted into churches. This intransigent behaviour was throughout characteristic of the newly arrived Crusaders and was adopted by one expedition after another. Hostility was consequently very soon created between Crusaders and settlers, especially if the latter had been born in the country and were so-called 'colts', or 'natives'. For they were familiar with the East, they bore its stamp upon them, and they were willing to fraternize even with the Moslems. The contrast between the two mentalities was strikingly demonstrated in the law suit against the Templars, which remains in so many ways incomprehensible. In his 'Memoirs', Usama ibn-Munqidh, of Shaizar in Syria, tells a characteristic anecdote on this subject: 'When I visited Jerusalem (in 1140, under King Fulke), I went into the Mosque Al-Aqsa, which was controlled by the Templars, my friends. Next door to it was a small mosque which the Franks had converted into a church. The Templars assigned this little mosque to me in which to say my prayers. One day I had gone into it, to glorify Allah. I was deep in prayer when one of the Franks pounced on me, turned me towards the east and said: "That is how one prays!" A troop of Templars in their turn rushed upon him, seized him, and expelled him. They then apologized to me, saying: "He is a stranger who has only arrived in the last few days from the land of the Franks; he has never seen anyone before who did not turn towards the east to pray!" ' So, gradually, coexistence became the custom. It did not, however, lead to a state of steady equilibrium and the Moslems never resigned themselves to the loss of their sanctuaries.

The victorious Franks naturally concentrated their main efforts on the Holy Sepulchre. In spite of the restoration undertaken in 1048, the building was in such condition that reconstruction was essential. The new church was consecrated on July 15, 1149, the fiftieth anniversary of the conquest. The Anastasis, the circular church rebuilt by Constantine Monomachus, was not altered, but the small edifice containing the Sepulchre, or what remained of it, was rebuilt; the whole group was richly decorated with mosaics definitely in the Byzantine tradition and the work of Greek artists (this also applies to the mosaics of Bethlehem, dating from the same period). Elsewhere the unknown architect showed a certain degree of originality. He built a chancel and a vast transept in the romanesque style of the period, and also included the new invention of crossed arches (or ogives) which had first been tried out on a grand scale at Saint Denis a few years previously. But especially—and this was his principal innovation—he incorporated the Calvary in his edifice, building a two-storeyed chapel in which to contain it. Godfrey of Bouillon and his first three successors were buried here. Chateaubriand was still able to read their epitaphs but these tombs disappeared at the time of the rough and ready alterations made by the Greeks in 1809–10. The inscriptions read: 'Here lies the illustrious duke Godfrey of Bouillon, who conquered the whole of this country for the Christian religion. May his soul reign with Christ. Amen.' 'King Baldwin, the second Judas Maccabaeus, hope of his country, vigour of the church, strength of both, to whom Kedar and Egypt, Dan and the murderous Damascus brought in trembling their gifts and their tributes, O sorrow, lies in this narrow tomb.' The entrance to the monument was no longer on the eastern but on the southern side, for which a beautiful romanesque façade was built, decorated with sculptures. We can still see all this today, but in such a sorry state that it is impossible to imagine the beauty of this church as it was when newly decorated.

The three principal buildings of the city are grouped under the seal of the Latin kings. Next to the Holy Sepulchre is the palace, or Tower of David, and the Temple. Baldwin I had lived in the Haram. When Baldwin II gave it to the Order of the Templars which had been founded in 1118 by Hugh of Payens, he himself lived in the citadel. His neighbours there were the Armenian faithful for whom the king provided generously; it was at that time that they built their patriarchal church of Saint James the Great.

The Brethren of Saint John's Hospital were already established

near the Holy Sepulchre. The Order did not lose its original character but became primarily military. When their old establishment became too small, the knights enlarged it to form the present Muristan. They had for neighbours the Benedictines of Saint Mary the Latin (which has been rebuilt whilst preserving fragments dating from the twelfth century and has since become the Lutheran church of the Redeemer), and the monks of the former Saint Magdalen, now known as Saint Mary the Great. Further along, three main streets, one of which was built by Queen Melisande in 1152, enclose the *souks*; their position has not altered nor, no doubt, their appearance. Here and there one can find in them inscriptions dating from this period. The street called '*Malcuisinat*' ('Evil-smelling') was that of the butchers and the hairdressers. The north-eastern part of the city which is today a Moslem quarter was at that time inhabited by Christian Syrians. It contained the churches of Saint Agnes, Saint Elia, and Saint Margaret. But the most important monument on this side is the church of Saint Anne, next to the ancient Baths of the Probaticum. It was the centre of a small religious community which in 1104 acquired considerable prestige when it was joined by the Armenian Queen Arda, the wife of Baldwin I, who had repudiated her without any great scruples. The monastery was heavily endowed and two more churches were built, one on the site of the ancient baths and the other above the grotto where, according to tradition, Mary was born; a superb building, finished, probably, before 1135. Saint Anne has lost its ornamentation, but the purity of its lines is still sufficient evidence of its beauty. It is certainly the best example in Jerusalem of the city of the Crusades. Its romanesque style has been frequently compared to that of Provence, and it is built on a similar plan, with a similar use of broken arches. Nevertheless, it is not an example of a mere transplanting of style. Many of the details of the romanesque architecture of Jersualem and of the East in general—such as the consoles and the cornices—clearly show evidence of native workmanship. The result is a very severe art-form, French in its general appearance but Eastern in certain of its derivations, and which survived the conquest. Why should one be surprised not to find here the counterparts of the monumental basilicas of Cluny or of Vézélay? Let us not overlook the short period of time at the disposal of the Franks of Syria. The Normans, who liberated Sicily from Moslem domination between 1060 and 1091, did not begin work on their large buildings until sixty years later; the biggest of them, Mon-

reale, dates from the end of the twelfth century! The Kingdom of Jerusalem lacked another hundred years of security in which to equal the achievement of the East, but even so, its architectural and artistic activity remains astounding.

It is not confined to the centre of the city alone. All, or nearly all, the places of Byzantine worship were rebuilt or redecorated. In the Kidron, the church of the Holy Saviour replaced the basilica of Gethsemane; the tomb of the Virgin was preserved in the Benedictine abbey of Our Lady of Jehosophat, founded by Godfrey of Bouillon. Saladin razed it to the ground, but the crypt, in which were buried Queen Melisande and Constance, Princess of Antioch, still survives. The graceful dome of the Ascension, which Islam respected and retained, was erected in the centre of the ruins of the ancient Imbomon, at the summit of the Mount of Olives. And finally, in the north of the city were built a new church, Saint Stephen, and the leper settlement of Saint Lazarus. All these sanctuaries were maintained by religious orders and supported by gifts bestowed on them by princes and pilgrims. Melisande founded an abbey in Bethany which was ruled by her sister, Yvette, the youngest daughter of Baldwin II.

Up to this point the Crusaders had done no more than restore the ancient Christian traditions, and the monuments destroyed by the Persians and the Moslems. They were bolder with regard to the Temple. The Islamic monuments aroused their admiration, and either because they were uncritical or lacked imagination, they called the Dome the 'Temple of Solomon', or 'Temple of the Lord'. It had been given into the charge of the canons of Saint Augustine, who had sufficient good taste to make no alterations in it, nor to interfere with the Arabic inscriptions. Instead, they surrounded the Rock with fine wrought-iron railings, which have still survived, placed a cross on top of the Dome, and made an altar on the Rock, which was rehewn for the purpose. They soon had to cover it, however, with marble slabs, in order to prevent the pilgrims from taking away fragments of it, in their desire to bear away some relic. The circular churches built by the Templars in Europe in imitation of the Qubbat-as-Sakra prove how greatly it was admired. Lastly, the Knights Templar took possession of the Mosque of Al-Aqsa in 1124. They were soldier-monks; Saint Bernard revised their rule which had been inspired by the Cistercian rule. The offices remained as before, but the fasts were reduced in number, as they had always to remain on a war footing. They provided the king with the regular army that he required. But their *esprit de corps* gradually

turned into a form of collective selfishness. They played the part of international bankers in the organization of the pilgrimages and were therefore often detested, which led to their ruin when the fall of Acre deprived them of any further claims to existence. They were powerfully organized. The eastern aisle of the Mosque was converted into a chapel (one can recognize at a glance the Frankish origin of its rose-window). They constructed a vast building on the western side, which they used as a school of arms. There was found here, hidden in a pillar, a letter of excommunication against a knight who had deserted, from the future Grand Master Gerard of Ridefort, who was killed at Acre. The huge halls below the Al-Aqsa, no doubt of Byzantine origin, which are known as the 'Stables of Solomon', served as stables for their cavalry, which included more than two thousand chargers. As we saw in the case of Usama, the occupation of the Haram did not prevent certain Moslems from coming to make their devotions at Al-Aqsa, yet it was nevertheless a long time before their pilgrimages were resumed. By the time this occurred, after Saladin had had the *minbar* consecrated by Nur-ad-Din brought back as an act of thanksgiving for his victory, many souvenirs had been lost and sites had disappeared. In this respect the Latin Kingdom made a deep gap in the Moslem traditions of Jerusalem, whereas it contributed very greatly to the fixing of its Christian heritage.

The success of the first Crusade provoked a movement of immense enthusiasm in the whole of the West; Jerusalem had set its imagination aflame, and exalted its piety. More and more pilgrims arrived, all of whom wished to see, to learn, and to take back souvenirs, as a consequence of which many churches in Europe were enriched by gifts of very dubious relics. As a result of their ardent expectations new discoveries were made—the invention of the Holy Lance, at Antioch, at the moment when the morale of the Crusaders was at its lowest ebb, and the recognition, by Baldwin I in 1101, of the cup of the Last Supper, a hexagonal vase found among the booty taken at Caesarea! The cycle of legends of the Grail, with their knightly mysticism which revives the spirit of the Templars, was inspired by this incident. The love of marvels was typical of this period. For the twelfth century combines two features that are difficult to reconcile with one another—a great desire for concrete detail in all matters of piety on the one hand, and on the other a total absence of any critical sense. In ancient times Christianity had sought out and venerated the Holy Places, but, impregnated with a theological outlook it had not been mainly pre-

occupied by the concrete details of the life of Jesus. The pilgrimage of Etheria was essentially liturgical in character; she was deeply attached to all ceremonies, hymns, and preaching. But the pilgrims of the Crusades barely mention those; their itineraries have the exactitude and the dryness of a Baedeker, even when, like that of Philip Mousket, they are in verse:

'Now list and I will tell you
Of the holy places and describe them
. . . On the left hand from there
Is the place where he was taken
Before Pilate and near to there
Is the Prison, as I tell
Where God was put into a cell
When he was of men rejected . . .'

The pilgrims followed certain fixed itineraries, an elementary security measure in a country where even in times of peace they might be raided by roving bands of Bedouins. The Templars received them at the Castle of the Pilgrims (Athlit), and thence led them up through the valley of Bet Horon as far as Mountjoy (Nebi Samwil), from which point they had their first view of the Holy City. In order that the pilgrims should not be disappointed, their way was strewn with as many Biblical and evangelical mementoes as possible. On arrival in Jerusalem they enjoyed both security and leisure, but here, also, itineraries were organized for them. Occasionally the routes chosen by the rival Orders, such as the Templars and the Hospitalers, varied, and led to disparate localities. But after the Third Crusade, when Saladin permitted the revival of the pilgrimages to the city which he now governed, these rivalries had no further point and the itineraries were simplified. This was the beginning of the situation that has remained until our own time, with definite traditions handed down by the Franciscans since the fourteenth century. Those who were unable to go overseas nevertheless wished to acquire the indulgences earned by pilgrimage, so, for their benefit, those labyrinths laid down in black stone were introduced into the cathedrals, such as may still be seen at Chartres and at Amiens. There they followed a shortened version of the Way of the Cross on their knees. And gradually a devotion to it grew up. Saint Francis went on the fifth Crusade to the Holy Land; this kind of concrete and tender piety was very much in his character. It was to have enormous spiritual and artistic repercussions.

There was a *Via Dolorosa* that started from the West. The monks

of Saint Mary the Great pointed out the meeting-place of Jesus and his Mother; Mary's suffering during the Crucifixion was venerated at Saint Mary Latin. But the Eastern tradition prevailed. The Praetorium was situated close to the Temple, as well as the houses of Annas and of Caiaphas. Here also was the Monastery of the Rest commemorating the night of the judgement of Jesus. The carrying of the Cross began at the Probaticum. It was said that a piece of wood which had been brought there for the construction of the Temple, and which had been rejected for this purpose, served as the Cross. The arch of *Ecce Homo* was identified during the thirteenth century, and the chapel of Saint Mary of Pamoyson stood close to it. A little farther on was the meeting-place with Simon of Cyrene. The story of Veronica's veil, which had already come into being in the seventh century, gradually took on its more precise character. The events on Calvary were always placed within the interior of the Holy Sepulchre itself. The 'Holy Circuit' was finally laid down towards 1350. This was also the period when, in the West, it became popularized by the 'Mysteries', those religious dramas so far removed from the liturgy, but so close to the form of devotion taught by the Franciscans. Jerusalem has probably never occupied a more important part in the spiritual life of Christianity than at that time.

* * *

On July the 4th, 1187, Saladin annihilated the Frankist army at Hattin. King Guy of Lusignan was taken prisoner. The Templars and Hospitalers, the steadfast enemies of Islam, were beheaded. On September the 20th, Jerusalem was once again besieged. There was every reason to fear a general massacre, in revenge for that of 1099. Balian of Ghibilin, who was in charge of the defence, however, gave Saladin pause when he threatened to destroy the Dome of the Rock, devastate the town, and make a final desperate sortie. A ransom was agreed upon and the city capitulated on October the 2nd. In spite of those who endeavoured to incite him to do so, Saladin nobly refused to follow the precedent set by the Caliph Hakem. 'Why,' he asked, 'ruin and destroy the city, when the goal of their worship is the emplacement of the Cross and the Sepulchre, and not the buildings erected there? Even if they were razed to the ground, the various Christian communities would still come rushing to them! Let us imitate the Caliph Omar, who, when he entered Jerusalem during the first years of Islam, preserved these buildings.' But the ceremonies which followed emphasized clearly and in no uncertain manner the return to Islam of its sacred edi-

fices. The Cross above the Dome of the Rock was struck down. 'When the Cross fell, the whole crowd, Franks as well as Moslems, gave a great cry. The Moslems cried "Allah is great!"; the Franks gave a cry of anguish. The clamour was so great that the earth was as if shaken by it.' The Rock was cleansed with rose-water. The brief reconquest by Frederick II, the high but unrealized hopes aroused by Saint Louis, did not change the situation: Jerusalem had now returned to Islam.

Did, then, the history of Jerusalem cease in 1291? By no means, and the story of its life down to our own day is a very full one, from the successive dominations of the Mamelukes of Egypt and the Turks, to the British Mandate. There was even no lack of architectural transformations. In the fourteenth century the Franciscans built the beautiful Gothic hall of the Coenaculum; in the sixteenth, Suleiman the Magnificent gave the city its present ramparts; and the nineteenth saw the foundation of the European institutions of commerce, learning and teaching. Yet the fall of Acre was indeed the end of the ancient order. The West ever after renounced the dream of a Jerusalem united in faith and in politics; Europe resigned itself to leaving the East under Moslem domination; Islam accepted the principle of certain Christian rights and permitted the continuation of the pilgrimages, from which, incidentally, it reaps a substantial profit. In the fourteenth century, Robert of Anjou, King of Naples, obtained a guarantee for the Franciscans of certain permanent settlements in the Holy Land, with a centre, the Custodia. The Moslems had their sanctuaries and the Christians theirs. Each community insisted on its rights and occasionally fought for them to the death, with alternating success and failure dependent on the constant political changes. This equilibrium, attained after six centuries of patient and sometimes painful efforts, was regarded as so necessary that the last conqueror of Jerusalem, Lord Allenby, when he made his entry into the Holy City on foot, in 1917, simply replied to those who brought him the keys of the Holy Sepulchre: '*Status quo*', a somewhat prosaic ending to the tragic history of this unique city. But Jerusalem is in no danger of becoming a calm and forgotten backwater. The passions she has aroused are too deep, and beyond the logic of economics, geography and history; she belongs to the world of faith:

> 'Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and be glad with her, all ye that love her: rejoice for joy with her, all ye that mourn for her . . . I will extend peace to her like a river, and the glory of the Gentiles like a flowing stream' (Isa. lxvi. 10–12).

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