Replicated Jerusalem
- Architectural Copies of Holy Sepulchre in Medieval Europe -

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INTRODUCTION

In Constance(Konstanz), an episcopal city located at the western end of Lake Constance (Bodensee) in southern Germany bordering Switzerland, a small round building can be found at the center of S. Mauritius-Rotunda, bridged through the cloister with the Minster/Cathedral [Fig.1: floor plan]. The meaning of this aedicule is suggested firstly by the octagonal shape of it, secondly by the rotunda structure of the Chapter, thirdly by the equipped stone-figures acting scenes after the Crucifixion of Jesus including *Visitatio sepulchri* ("Visit to the tomb") [Fig.2: figures]. So, it is a very copy of the Holy Sepulchre (*dt*. Heiliges Grab) in Jerusalem.

In history of medieval Christian Europe, Jerusalem played a significant role in various ways. For popes, the city was ideologically and politically important, because it could legitimize the primacy of Roman church not only over the western half, but also over the eastern half of Christian world. For lay people, Jerusalem is in the first place the city of Jesus Christ, where he was crucified, resurrected and will return to. Jerusalem was also the place, to which a celestial Jerusalem will come down after the Last Judgement, and, based upon descriptions of *Book of Revelation or Apocalypse of Paul* (a New Testament apocrypha), it was regarded for every Christian city as an ideal city leading souls to a resurrection at the time of Last Judgement. A key to the celestial Jerusalem was the terrestrial Jerusalem, which popes and crusaders were eager to put under their control.

The resurrection was the very reason why Jerusalem, above all the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, built by Constantine I. from 327 to 335, for many medieval pilgrims a desired destination was. But to travel so far was beyond physical abilities or financial means of most.
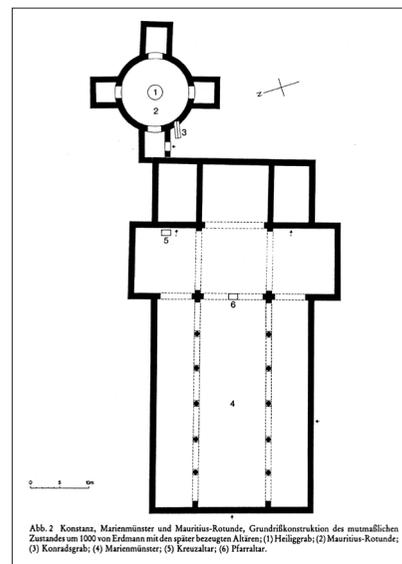

Abb. 2 Konstanz, Marienmünster und Mauritius-Rotunde, Grundrißkonstruktion des mutmaßlichen Zustandes um 1000 von Erdmann mit den später bezeugten Altären; (1) Heiliggrab; (2) Mauritius-Rotunde; (3) Konradsgrab; (4) Marienmünster; (5) Kreuzaltar; (6) Pfarraltar.

Fig.1: Plan of St. Mauritius-Rotunda (Konstanz)

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Political complications, too, prevented such journeys when the Muslims took over Jerusalem in 1187. To respond to this unfulfilled desire, numerous copies of the church were built throughout Europe from 4th century to 1600. One example is Santo Stefano in Bologna, an agglomeration of seven churches recreating shrines of Jerusalem. It was a replica of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (HS), or a part of it, especially the Anastasia-rotunda.

Studies on replicas of HS have been conducted as a local architectural study, which becomes a huge archive of research texts from 19th century, but didn't germinate any synthetic, comparative study.

In 1999, 900th anniversary for the conquest of Jerusalem by western Crusaders of 1099, many academic conferences were arranged in Israel

Fig.2: Visitatio Sepulchri

(Jerusalem), Spain (Huesca), Italy (Bari and Rho/Milano), Libanon (Beirut), which bore fruits in some following years. Colin Morris' work in 2005 is one of such results.

"Morris focuses on the significance of the Sepulchre as a vital influence in the making of Western Europe. The desire to bring the Holy Sepulchre to the West by providing copies or memorials strongly influenced architecture, sculpture and painting, and was central to the worship and liturgy of the Church." Morris put for the first time innumerable local rep. -HS studies on the scale of time, combining with conceptional history of Jerusalem in the West.

Because of its chronological arrangement, Morris' study lacks a structural point of view on this theme. In my presentation, some examples of these replicas will be introduced and it will be elucidated how this phenomenon happened and it will be taken into consideration how this complex of historical sites all over Europe should be categorized.

Chapter 1.

See Fig.3. This is a page of a 9th century manuscript from monastery Reichenau, which records an account of Gallican bishop Arculf, who visited around 680 the Holy Land and Jerusalem under Arab control. Arculf gave a detailed narrative of his travels to Adomnán, the abbot of the Iona, where he landed when he was shipwrecked on the way from Jerusalem to his home. Arculf's report (*De Locis Sanctis*) containing a visual plan of buildings on the Golgotha, the oldest in Europe, was widely circulated in medieval Europe, mainly because Bede mentions it in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*.

Based on the Arculf's report, six places can be recognized on the site: from west side, 1) **Holy**

Sepulchre (*sepulchrum domini*, Christ's tomb: HS)[1], 2) **Holy-Sepulchre-Aedicula** [Fig.5, HS-Aedicula], a small aedicule over the tomb of Christ, 3) **Anastasis- rotunda**, the round chapel surrounding the Holy Sepulcher-Aedicula, and in the middle (courtyard), 4) **Golgotha chapel**, a tiny chapel on the very place of the Crucifixion, 5) **Basilica Constantiana** (Martyrium)[2], the great basilica built by Constantin I[3], and in the east, 6) **Triportico**, an enclosed atrium, on the place where Constantin's mother Helena found three crosses including the True Cross of Christ (according to Eusebius of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini*).

As is seen in Fig. 3, three different parts belonged to the site around the Golgotha hill, including two important sacred places for Christianity, the place of Crucifixion on one hand, and burial/resurrection of Christ on the other hand. I'd like to call this site therefor "Golgotha-monument" in my presentation[4].

1 Arculph und Adamnan: Plan der Grabeskirche, Handschrift aus dem Kloster Reichenau im Bodensee, 9. Jahrhundert. Karlsruhe, Badische Landes-bibliothek, Ms. Aug. per. 129, fol. 10 r

Fig. 3: Plan of the Golgotha-monument in Jerusalem on a manuscript

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[1] Arcosolium, which consists of a sarcophagus and a niche over it.

[2] This basilica was visited by Egeria in the 380s.

[3] The church was consecrated on 13 September 335.

[4] This Gogotha-monument itself was a part of the project ordered by Constantin I and conducted by Helena that aimed to reorganize main sites of Christ's passion.

Chapter 2

Case 1: St. Michael Church in Fulda (820/22) [Fig.4]

   St. Michael's Church in Fulda was built 820/822 southwest of the abbey church by abbot Eigil of Fulda abbey (founded in 744) and under the conduct of Racholf, monk of Fulda, as architect. The round church on the Michael's mount was considered to serve as a burial chapel of monks. Bruno Candidus, disciple of Egil, gave a description of this church in his *Vita Aegili* (840):

   Pater namque monasterii dehinc sedulus addiscens communis vitae gaudia, cum consilio et fratrum consensu ecclesiam parvam aedificavit rotundam, ubi defuncta corpora fratrum sepulturae tradita requiescunt, quam cimiterium vocant, quod Graece dicitur κοιμητηριου, Latine vero domitorium interpretatur. Cuius etiam aedificii structura subtus terram, ubi pervium circuit antrum, ab una columna lapidea in medio posita, arcubus hinc et inde in eadem compaginatis, valenter exsurgit; supra vero octonis subrigitur columnis atque in summitate operis lapide concluditur uno.   [MGH, SS XV S. 230f.]

   And Bruno admired architectural projects of abbot Eigil by citing apostle Paul, who defined Christ as cornerstone, himself as architect, and Christians as building stones for churches. Bruno interpreted 8 pillars as 8 virtues, and keystone of the vault and the pillar of crypt as symbol of Christ. Rabanus Maurus wrote dedication verse for the consecration of the church on 15.1.822 as follows:

Fig. 4: St. Michael in Fulda

> Hoc altare deo dedicatum est maxime Christo/cujus hic tumulus nostra sepulcra juvat./ Pars montis Sinai Moysi et memoratio digna/ hic Christi domini est et genitale solum (In honorem S. Michaelis archangeli et Sancti Johannis evangelistae, sancti Abundi martyris et sancti Amandi confessoris etc.   [MGH Poetae Latinae II, S. 209.].

This dedication verse alludes to the fact that a part of rock of Mt.Sinai and soil of Bethlehem was brought for the construction of the church.

In the case of Fulda, the rotunda structure of Anastasis-rotunda was replicated as an architectural symbol, the meaning of which is paraphrased by attached/related texts such as *vita abbatis* or dedication verse.

Case 2: Santo Stefano Basilica in Bologna (5th century)

Santo Stefano Basilica was built by bishop Petronius of Bologna (431-51) with obvious intention as a replicated Jerusalem. Strictly, it is a complex of plural religious edifices, which has been built during several centuries, as follows [Fig.5]:

1. Church of Saint Stephen or of the Holy Crucifix (8th century) with Crypt
2. Church of the Holy Sepulchre (5th century)
3. Church of the Saints Vitale and Agricola (4th century, rebuilt in 12th century)
4. Courtyard of Pilate (Santo Giardino: 13th century)
5. Church of the Trinity or of the Martyrium (13th century)
6. Chapel of the Bandage (Cappella della Benda)

Of these churches, Church of the Holy Sepulcher is a replication of Anastasis-rotunda, built on a perimeter with a quasi-octagonal fundament [no.1], in the center of which a dodecagonal rotunda [no.2] is erected. Inside the rotunda are 12 columns of marble and brick, and at the center of circle of columns we find an aedicule as a Holy-Sepulchre-Aedicula that housed the relics of San Petronio (from 1141).

Attached document/story can be found in *Vita Petronii*, with a story of Petronius' visit in Jerusalem as a motivation of his architectural project of a replicated Jerusalem, which can go back however at least to 10th century[5]. Vita was composed for the first time between 1164-1180, after the miraculous finding of saint's body in 1141. The elevation of Petronius'relics caused probably extensive rebuilding of the church complex and writing Vita, maybe for his planned canonization.

HS-Aedicula of San Stefano has a entrance to inner Christ's tomb, a staircase giving access to the top of aedicule, Golgotha (now with a cross), and on its facade relief of scene from *Visitatio Sepulchri* (three Marias, angel on the tomb and sleeping Roman soldiers), so that in and around Santo Stefano-complex, people can conduct an Easter play by using these stages.

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[5] Morris 2005, p.236.

Santo Stefano was also called the Church of the Holy Cross, because a relic of the Holy Cross was kept in the central chapel. Here, if you see Fig.1 again, you will find the resemblance of plan between the Golgotha-monument and Santo Stefano-complex. While the former has Anastasis-rotunda (Christ's tomb), atrium (Golgotha heights), basilica Constantiana (three crosses), the latter has also the same rotunda-atrium-cross structure. From this viewpoint, we can describe this Bologna case as a type of plan-replication of Jerusalem.

Fig.5: Santo Stefano in Bologna

Moreover, Santo Stefano was triple pilgrimage targets: firstly relics of Saint Stefan, original saint of the site, secondly relics of Saint Petronius, local bishop-saint, and thirdly sacred place as a replicated Jerusalem.

Case 3: S. Mauritius-Chapel and its HS-aedicula in Konstanz Minster

Under the command of bishop Konrad of Konstanz (off. 934-75) was built St. Mauritius-rotunda (*Mauritiusrotunde*), to which I referred above in Introduction, after his second pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 940. This rotunda rose originally as freestanding building northeast of Minster. The chapel was dedicated to S. Mauritius, patron saint of Ottonian dynasty (Liudolfinger), therefor some scholars pointed out that its dedication and acquisition of relics[6] was politically a sign of fidelity to royal court.

Construction of churches or chapels, acquisition of new relics and addition/transition of patron saints can be connected with sacred topography[7] of a whole city. In Konstanz of 10th century, under the initiative of three bishops, Salomo III (bp.890-919), Konrad (934-75), Gebhard (979-95), a large-scale reform of urban sacred topography was carried out:

	(Konstanz)	(Rome)
Salomo III:	S. Maria Minster	- S. Maria Maggiore
Konrad:	S. Johann	- San Giovanni in Laterano
	S. Pauli	- San Paolo fuori le mura
	S. Lorenz	- San Lorenzo fuori le mura

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[6] Relics of St. Mauritius came over bishop Ulrich I. of Augsburg from monastery Reichenau to Konstanz.

[7] HAVERKAMP, Alfred, Heilige Städte im hohen Mittelalter, in: Mentalitäten im Mittelalter, hrsg. von F. Graus, Sigmaringen 1987, S. 119-156.

Gebhard: S. Gregor-Petri-Domus monastery -San Pietro Vaticano

Helmut Maurer indicated that this holy-topographical reform intended a duplication of Roman sacred topography [Fig.6][8]. These above listed Roman churches are so-called patriarch churches, which was densely bound with Papacy. Bishops of Konstanz, who visited several times during their bishopric in Rome, transported the Roman sacred topography to their city.

Konstanz was in this way reorganized as a replicated Roma (or a new Roma) in local context. But especially during Easter week, it became a replicated Jerusalem with Mauritius-Rotunda in its center stage. Peter Jetzler insisted that in Ottonian Konstanz an Easter play was performed in Mauritius-Rotunda with procession going around Minster[9]:

1. at Minster S.Maria: celebrate *Hora prima*

2. procession to Mauritius-Rotunda

3. at Mauritius-Rotunda: *Elevatio Hostiae*, *Visitatio Sepulchri* (Easter play)

4. procession back to Minster S.Maria

5. at Minster S.Maria: after reading *Surrexit* and singing *Te Deum*, *Laudes* begins.

In his *Vita Conradi*, Udalschalk wrote as follows:

Ex quibus in ea quae ad honorem beati Muricii fundatur sepulchrum Domini in similitudine illius Ierusolimitani factum mirabili aurificis opere per gyrum decoravit[10].

Before his death, bishop Konrad donated a part of his own estate to a clerics of St. Mauritius and afterwards he was in fact buried in front of the Rotunda. This is one of reason why Konrad
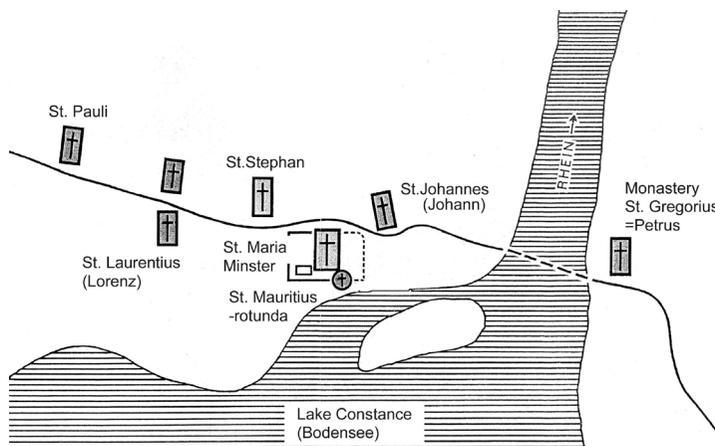

Fig.6: Holy topography of Konstanz

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[8] Maurer, H., Konstanz als ottonischer Bischofssitz. Zum Selbstverständnis geistlichen Fürstentums im 10. Jahrhundert. Göttingen 1973.

[9] Jezler, Peter, Gab es in Konstanz ein ottonisches Osterspiel? Die Mauritius-Rotunde und ihre kultische Funktion als Sepulchrum Domini, in: *Variorum munera florum*. Hg. von A. Reinle. Sigmaringen 1985, S. 91-128.

[10] Udalschalk, *Vita sancti Konradi*, p.432.

constructed a replicated Jerusalem and founded a benefice for it[11]. Behind building local Jerusalem, we can see another motivation of bishops to make sure the remedy of their own soul.

Chapter 3: Types of replicated HS in medieval Europe

As we have seen, replicated HS (Jerusalem) can be categorized into three types: Type A is a single Rotunda with 8 or 12 pillars with a centered altar like Fulda, St. Michael. In this type, the object of replication is Anastasis-rotunda. For example, the abbey church of the Holy Cross (Église Abbatiale de Sainte Croix) in Quimperlé (Finistère) [Fig.7] was built 1029 by St. Gunthiern as a donation from count of Cornouaille Alain Canhiart. Different from Fulda, the church itself was constructed as a Rotunda so that the shape of church is also circular in form. Other examples of this type are the Basilica of St. Stephen in the Round on the Celian Hill/Basilica di Santo Stefano Rotondo al Celio (built 468-480) [Fig.8], the Temple Church in London (1185) [Fig.9][12], the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (the Round Church) in Cambridge (1130) [Fig.10], the

Fig.7: Église Sainte Croix in Quimperlé

Fig.8: Basilica di Santo Stefano Rotondo

Church of Vera Cruz in Segovia (Spain,1208) [Fig.11], Saint-Jacques-le-Majeur Basilica in Neuvy-Saint-Sépulchre (France, 1049) [Fig.12].

Type B is like Konstanz and Santo Stefano in Bologna a Rotunda-church with HS-Aedicula in its center. Other examples of this type are Eichstätt (Germany, 1160) [Fig.13], Kobern (Germany, 1220) [Fig.14], Gernrode (Germany, 1190) [Fig.15]. This type of replication was more strongly associated with liturgical performances, like procession on Easter or Easter play.

The last one, type C, which is not many in number, is a crypt-HS. The most typical example is the abbey church St. Pelagius in Denkendorf (1225) [Fig.16]. The object of replication is the Holy Sepulchre itself, which is constructed as a grave pit with a sarcophagus in crypt under the church. This abbey was dedicated by Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre (Chorherren vom

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[11] Later the benefice went to the hand of canons of the Holy Sepulcher.

[12] This church served as Templar's headquarters, which was consecrated 1185 by Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem.

Fig.9: Temple Church in London

Fig.10: Church of Holy Sepulchre in Cambridge

Fig.11: Church of Vera Cruz in Segovia

Fig.12: Neuvy-Saint-Sépulchre

Fig.13: Eichstätt

Fig.14: Kobern

Fig.15: Gernrode

Fig.16: Denkendorf

Century	Area	Churches
9th	Germany	Fulda, St. Michaelskirche: 822
10th	Germany	Konstanz, St. Mauritiusrotunde: 950
11th	Germany	Paderborn, Bußdorfkirche: 1036
	France	Neuvy-Saint-Sépulchre: 1045
	Italy	Piacenza: 1055
	Belgium	Cambrai: 1064
	Spain	Palera: 1085
	Italy	Pavia, Santo Sepolcro: 1090
	Italy	Milano, Rozzone de Cortesella: 1100
	France	Villeneuve-d'Aveyron: 1094
	France	Sélestat [Schlettstadt], St. Fiedeskirche: 1094
	France	Grasse
	France	Quimperlé, Sainte-Croix de: 1088
	Germany	Reichenau, Mittelzell
12th	France	Reims, Saint-Thierry de: 1115
	England	Northampton, Holy Sepulchre: 1108-1115
	Germany	Augsburg, am Weinmarkt: 1128-1130
	Germany	Denkendorf, St. Pelagius: 1130
	Germany	Eichstätt, Schottenkloster: 1160
	Germany	Gernrode, Stiftskirche St. Cyriakus: 1100
	Germany	Magdeburg, Dom
	France	Peyrolles
	France	Graveron
	England	Cambridge, Holy Sepulcher: 1125-1130
	Italy	Pisa, Santo Sepolcro: 1138
	Italy	Bologna, Santo Stefano: originally 5th c.
	France	Parthenay
	England	London, Temple Church
	France	Roquelaure
	Italy	Brindisi
	Spain	Segovia, Vera Cruz: 1208
	Germany	Techow, Brandenburg: 1287
	Poland	Liegnitz, Heiliggrabkapelle: 13th c.
	Germany	Nürnberg, St. Laurentius
15th	Poland	Breslau/Wrocław, St. Elisabeth: 1410
	France	Limoges: 1421
	Belgium	Bruges: 1435
	Germany	Ulm, Heiliggrabkapelle am Münster: 1447
	Germany	Köln, St. Bartholomäus: 1464
	Italy	Firenze, Chapelle Ruccellai de S. Pancrayio: 1467
	Germany	Berlin, Jerusalemskirche: 1483
	Germany	Görlitz, Kreuzeskapelle: 1491-1504
	Germany	Koblenz, Heiligkreuzkapelle: 1495

Fig.17: List of HS

Heiligen Grab)[13], a Catholic religious order of canons regular of the Rule of Saint Augustine, which was founded in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and recognized in 1113 by Pope Paschal II. Abbey Denkendorf with Pelagius' church was originally founded by some Bertholdus around 1128 and he donated it 1142 the regular canons after his death. After 1130 Pope Honorius II. put the abbey under Papal protection and 1139 King Konrad III. under royal protection.

Because of limited time and space, every HS-replica cannot be referred to here, instead of which I will give a summarized list of it on the next page [Fig.17].

CONCLUSION

Replicated Holy Sepulchers are in local context, or in dimension, no prominent monument of the place. But if we put them in broader context of medieval Europe, or of medieval Christianity, we can recognize soon how wide-ranged, deep-rooted and densely networked they were as a socio-cultural phenomenon.

Motivation of building rep-HS in home derived from personal experiences, like a pilgrimage or crusading to Jerusalem, which was an enormously emotional event for a person, which could sharpen and elevate a hope for remedy of soul at the Last Judgement. Such an emotional unsettledness or eagerness was so amplified by more and more circulating images of Jerusalem and repeated performances of liturgy that Holy Sepulchers are built as a touchable Jerusalem and a clue to resurrection. Guidebooks for pilgrims such as St. Bertin's Collector (ca.1170-1180s) were written partly for people on pilgrimage to real Jerusalem, but partly for people who couldn't leave their home, by which they could conduct an imagined trip to the Holy Land. Rep. HS should be also understood as such a tool for imaginative and emotional pilgrimages of pious people of medieval Europe.

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