"In the Syrian Taste": Crusader churches in the Latin East as architectural expressions of orthodoxy
"Ao sabor sírio": as igrejas dos cruzados no Oriente latino como expressões da arquitetura ortodoxa

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Abstract: This paper explores how the architectural expression of orthodoxy in the Eastern churches was transferred to Europe before the Crusades and then reinforced through the Crusaders' adoption of the triple-apsed east end "in the Syrian Taste"[2] in the Holy Land. Previously, I have shown how it can be deduced from the archaeological remains of churches from the 4th-6th C that early church architecture was influenced by the theological ideas of the period[3]. It is proposed that the Eastern orthodox approach to church architecture as adopted by the Crusaders paralleled the evolution of medieval theology in Europe and can be seen as its legitimate expression.

Resumo: Este artigo explora o modo como a expressão arquitetônica da ortodoxia nas igrejas orientais foi transferida para a Europa antes das Cruzadas e, em seguida, reforçada através da adoção dos cruzados da abside tripla "de gosto sírio" na Terra Santa. Anteriormente, eu mostrei como isto pôde ser deduzido dos restos arqueológicos de igrejas dos séculos IV-VI e como a arquitetura da igreja primitiva foi influenciada pelas idéias teológicas do período. Proponho que a abordagem do Oriente ortodoxo para a arquitetura da igreja foi adotada pelos cruzados paralelamente à evolução da teologia medieval na Europa, e pode ser visto como uma expressão legítima.

Palavras-chave: Igrejas cruzadas – Ortodoxia – Oriente latino.

Keywords: Crusader churches – Orthodoxy – Latin East.

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[2] Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and some other Countries*, 2 vols. (London, 1743-45), II: 82, pl. IX.
[3] Susan Balderstone, *Early Church Architectural Forms: a theologically contextual typology of the Eastern churches of the 4th-6th centuries* (Melbourne: Australian Institute of Archaeology, 2007).

I. <u>Introduction</u>

Pope Urban II hoped the Crusade that he instigated in 1095 would be an instrument for promoting unity between Rome and the Eastern Orthodox churches. His legate Adhemar recognized Symeon II as the lawful head of the Jerusalem Church, in full communion with the western church. The other main groups of eastern Christians, the Armenians, Jacobites and Maronites, were regarded as schismatics by the Latins and were granted virtual religious autonomy. The Latin clergy's position under Adhemar's settlement was analogous to that of Latin clergy in Jerusalem who served the needs of western pilgrims before the first crusade. Once Adhemar was dead, the crusader leaders suggested that the pope himself should occupy the throne of S. Peter at Antioch: they believed it improper that an Orthodox bishop should exercise spiritual authority over Catholics and appointed a Latin patriarch of Jerusalem.[4]

The Crusaders found the shrine churches of the Holy Land either destroyed during the reign of Caliph al-Hakim (996-1021) or decayed due to long neglect. In Jerusalem, they undertook a major rebuilding campaign aimed at restoring the places associated with Christ's life and teaching. In other places they built new churches to replace earlier chapels at pilgrimage sites.

Writing in 1743, Richard Pococke noted that the medieval cathedral in Tyre was "built of hewn stone, both within and without, in the Syrian taste, with three naves, each of them ending in a semi-circle" (see figure 5/26).[5] Tyre cathedral was not unusual – it seems that most of the churches built in the Latin East during the Crusader building program of the late 11th-13th centuries took this form. Of fifty-one church plans included in Denys Pringle's three volume study of the Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, thirty-six have a nave and two aisles each terminating in a semi-circular apse. Presumably Pococke's use of the term "Syrian taste" reflected an 18th Century view that the Holy Land was part of Syria, because the most common east end form in Syria, not including the area of Palestine termed the Holy Land, is

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[4] Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London: Variorum, 1980), 4, 6-7, 9, 14,18-19.

[5] Denys Pringle, The Crusader Cathedral of Tyre, Levant 33, (2001), 165-188 quoting Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and some other Countries*, 2 vols (London, 1743-45), II: 82, pl. IX.

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actually a single apse to the nave with rectangular chambers either side terminating the aisles.[6]

The triple-apsed form of Greek Orthodox churches was well-established in Palestine and Cyprus from well before the crusades. I have previously shown that there was a revival of the 4th Century triple-apsed sanctuary under Justinian in the 6th Century, and that this can probably be related to a contemporary revival of emphasis on the Trinity as a key element of Orthodox belief (see figures 5/1 – 5/8).[7]

This form of sanctuary would have been evident to the crusaders in Constantinople during the fourth crusade, when many of them visited the great churches there.[8] Of eighteen plans given in Thomas Mathews' photographic survey of the Byzantine churches of Istanbul, ten have triple-apsed sanctuaries of the projecting type, eight of which date from the period of the Comnenian dynasty (11th & 12th C). Six of the eighteen are centralized churches, three of these are re-used hexagonal classical buildings, and the others are archaeological remains of an octagonal Justinian church, a probable former baptistery and a probable former martyrium. The remaining two of the eighteen are the archaeological remains of single-apsed churches of the early Byzantine period.[9] It seems clear that under the Comnenii and earlier, there was a conscious use of the triple-apsed sanctuary (see figures 5/10, 5/14, 5/17, 5/18, 5/19, 5/20.)

In the West also, before the Crusades, the east end often took the triple-apsed form during the 9th-11th Centuries. Examples in the mid-9th C include the priory church at Deas[10] before it became S. Philbert de Grandlieu, S.Pierre-le-Vif at Sens[11] and S.Liudger at Werden.[12] Later examples are the second church

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[6] Howard Crosby Butler, *Early Churches in Syria, Fourth to Seventh Cen*turies: Edited and completed by E. Baldwin Smith 1929 (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert – Publisher, 1969), 189.

[7] Balderstone 2007: 43-44.

[8] Joinville & Villehardouin translated with an introduction by M. R. B Shaw, *Chronicles of the Crusades* (New York: Dorset Press, 1963), 76.

[9] Thomas F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey,* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976).

[10] Kenneth John Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800 to 1200* (Penguin Books, 1973), 27.

[11] John Crook, T*he Architectural setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300-c. 1200* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 155-6, Fig. 65.

[12] Crook 2000: 102, Fig. 31.

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at Cluny (955)[13] and the Abbey of Bernay (1040)[14], possibly deriving from the east end of S. Ambrogio in Milan (940)[15] (see figures 5/12, 5/13, 5/15, 5/16, 5/25). The account by Leo of Ostia of Desiderius church at Monte Cassino begun in 1066 describes it as having three apses.[16] Lanfranc's Abbaye aux Hommes at Caen (c.1068) took this form[17] as did his subsequent rebuilding of Christ Church at Canterbury (1070).[18] Others followed, including at Durham (1093)[19], Lincoln[20] and S. Albans Abbey (1077) (see figures 5/42, 5/38).[21] The arrangement of the triple-apsed east end of Peterborough Cathedral (begun 1117) before the addition of the 12th Century retro-choir was similar to that of Christ Church, as was the east end of the early 12th C Ely Cathedral before the additions of the 13th & 14th Centuries and also Bishop Walkelin's cathedral at Winchester.[22]

Bernard Hamilton has described Greek influences on Western Monasticism (900-1100)[23], in particular the Greek monasteries established in Rome during the 8th and 9th Centuries, their ongoing contacts with the Christian East, and the subsequent influx to Apulia and the north of Greek monks fleeing the Saracen invasion of Calabria. Presumably these were responsible for the transfer of the Eastern Orthodox triple-apsed sanctuary type to Europe, to Deas, Sens and Werden, and possibly many other places yet to be discovered. Even the 'T' plan of the first phase of the Hersfeld abbey church (831-850) had three apses along the eastern face. Does the medieval triple-apsed east end represent an ongoing tradition of allusion to the Trinity?

Gunter Bandmann, and Richard Krautheimer before him have discussed how a particular architectural form might be received across a great distance of

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[13] Kenneth John Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800 to 1200* (Penguin Books, 1959), 82- 83, Figure 26.

[14] Sir Banister Fletcher, Seventeenth Edition revised by R.A. Cordingley, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (University of London: The Athlone Press, 1961), 344.

[15] Conant 1959: 242, Figure 59.

[16] Leo of Ostia, The Chronicle of Monte Cassino in Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, *A Documentary History of Art*, Vol. I The Middle Ages and the Renaissance (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957), 9-12.

[17] Sir Banister Fletcher 1961: 342 D.

[18] Crook 2000: 208.

[19] Crook 2000: 195, Fig. 71; Geoffrey Webb, *Architecture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1956), 37, Figure 23.

[20] Webb 1956: 32, Figure 19.

[21] Webb 1956: 28, Figure 15.

[22] Crook 2000: 194.

[23] Bernard Hamilton with P.A. McNulty, *Orientale lumen et magistra latinitas*: Greek Influences on Western Monasticism (900-1100) in *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades*, (900-1100), (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979), Section V, 182-3.

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time and space because it has a specific meaning attached.[24] Bandmann was interested in the cruciform plan in this respect, but the same could equally apply to the three apse configuration. His view was that such attached meaning would prompt the selection of specific possible forms from those already known and available to the *Bauherr* or commissioning patron.[25] I have previously proposed, on the basis of analysis of a large survey of church types across the East Mediterranean that within the context of the theological debates of the 4th – 6th centuries, the commissioning bishop or patron selected the particular forms for the churches they built according to the position they took in the debates.[26] Thus in the 4th C the Arians were associated with the centralized, domed form while the Nicene orthodox were associated with the triple-apsed form.

At the end of the 4th C and in the 5th C the cross form was associated with a more Origenist orthodoxy as expressed by Gregory of Nyssa. Also in the 5th C another form of orthodoxy as understood by the Egyptians under Bishop Shenute was associated with the tri-conch sanctuary – the Trinity expressed as 'one in three', a triangular arrangement following Athanasius, as against Epiphanius' 'three in one' – three apses in a linear arrangement. This linear form of triple-apsed sanctuary recurred later in the fifth century following the re-affirmation of Nicene orthodoxy at the Council of Chalcedon of 451 in association with orthodox figures such as S. Simeon Stylites, in contrast with centrally planned and domed churches associated with those who later became known as Monophysite such as the emperor Zeno.

Under Justinian in the 6th C the three apsed forms recurred again, associated with neo-Chalcedonian orthodoxy. Justinian returned to the concept of the consubstantial Trinity as the only possible basis for ecclesiastical unity. His aim was to bring the Chalcedonians to a position acceptable to their opponents and thereby unite all in the orthodox faith. He stated that "The Holy Church of God proclaims One in Three and Three in One". His formula was expressed architecturally most notably in the great church of S. Sophia in Constantinople. Here is combined the Monophysite symbolism of the dome with the triconch of Bishop Shenute.
Most writers on S. Sophia emphasize the soaring architectural space, and the advanced understanding of structural dynamics and geometry that this

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[24] Gunter Bandmann, *Early Medieval Architecture as Bearer of Meaning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 55; Richard Krautheimer, Introduction to an "Iconography of medieval Architecture", in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York University Press, 1969), 115 -150.
[25] Bandmann 2005, 39, 55.
[26] Balderstone 2007.

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demonstrates. But the *ekphraesis* written by Paul the Silentiary on the occasion of its second consecration c. 563 after repairs following damage due to an earthquake, refers to the tri-conch east end:

> To the east there open the triple spaces of circles cut in half, and above, upon the upright collar of the walls, springs up the fourth part of a sphere: even so, above his triple-crested head and back does a peacock raise his many-eyed feathers. Men of the craft in their technical language call these crowing parts conches…[27]

And the forms were certainly easily perceived.

Lanfranc, Abbot of Bec, then Caen, and then archbishop at Canterbury was originally from Pavia in north Italy. He was a theological conservative – his teachings were based on SS Ambrose and Augustine. In the context of the above, it is not surprising that the churches he built at Caen and Canterbury in the late 11th C had triple-apsed east ends. An ongoing orthodox tradition of allusion to the Trinity in this way could have been known to him. The form itself was evident in the pilgrimage church of S. Ambrogio in Milan and was adopted for the second church at Cluny. Margaret Gibson noted that Lanfranc, unlike his successor at Bec and later Canterbury, Anselm, was austerely orthodox and not enamored of miracles and music.[28]

II. Number symbolism and its application to church design

Christians have been interested in number symbolism since Nicomachus of Gerasa wrote his *Introduction to Arithmetic* c 100 AD and a theology of numbers. In this Nicomachus echoes antecedents in the ancient world and biblical apocalyptic literature.[29] His work was relied on heavily by Isidore of Seville for his *Book of numbers which occur in the Holy Scriptures* c 600 AD[30], and may also have informed the 4th Century bishop Epiphanios, to whom is attributed 'On the Mysteries of Numbers', c 390 a manuscript included in Jaques-Paul Migne's *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*.[31] Epiphanios also meditated on numbers in *On Weights and Measures*, which he wrote at imperial

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[27] Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453 Sources and Documents* (Toronto University Press, 1997), 81 [352].

[28] Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 28-29.

[29] Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996).

[30] John Wilkinson, *From Synagogue to Church: The Traditional Design* (London: Routledge & Curzon, 2002), 195-7.

[31] Wilkinson 2002: 115, n 3.

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request to explain the terms used in the Bible. His treatise was translated into Syriac and widely used in the east.[32]

The works of Nicomachus and Isidore were studied by medieval scholars in the west, among them Hugo of S. Victor and his circle, although Hopper noted that the medieval Christian attitude to number was derived from Augustine and his successors.[33] Butler concluded that the sequence of documented numerology and numerological exegesis "must have made some knowledge of number symbolism the possession of every educated Christian in those centuries, well up to the close of the Renaissance".[34]

The way in which number symbolism was applied to early church planning is evident in both a prescriptive document and descriptive literature. The fifth century canon, *Testamentum Domini* specifies "three entries (doors to the church) in type of the Trinity".[35] In theory they should be of equal size to conform to the equality of the three persons but that is not apparently required and the central entrance is always wider than the side entrances, as is the central apse of a triple-apsed church. The *Testamentum Domini* is a Syrian document.[36]

The fact that it does not specify a triple-apsed east end reinforces the point made above – that this form of east end is not common in Syria. Epiphanios' basilica at Salamis, where he was buried in 403 AD and to which many pilgrims later came, had a triple-apsed sanctuary and appears to have been the prototype for many similar basilicas in Cyprus. It is possible the triple-apsed form derives ultimately from Epiphanios, whose preoccupation with numbers has been described above. A few examples in Jerusalem predate the Salamis church, but Epiphanios had a wide influence in Palestine at least from the time of his appointment as Metropolitan Bishop of Salamis in 367 AD, through his frequent travels, letters and writings.

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[32] James Elmer Dean (ed.), *Epiphanius of Salamis, Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version with a foreword* by Martin Sprengling, (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1935). Online edition transcribed by Roger Pearse, Ipswich, UK, 2005.
[33] Vincent Foster Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers Inc., 1969), 90.
[34] Christopher Butler, *Number Symbolism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), 30. He refers to the Arithmological tradition from Nicomachus of Gerasa (c. AD. 100) through the encyclopaedists, Martianus Capella (fl. 410-29), in his *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (especially Book VII), Isidore's Liber Numerorum, and Rabanus, De Numero.
[35] Wilkinson 2002: 192 quoting the Syriac version translated by J. Cooper and A.J. Maclean, *The Testament of the Lord* (Edinburgh, 1902).
[36] Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy* (London: SPCK, 1992), 95-6.

The application of number symbolism is also evident in the Syriac *ekphraseis* written in praise of the 6th C cathedral of S. Sophia at Edessa (no longer extant) quoted in part below[37]:

> On every side it has the same façade: the form of the three of them is one, just as the form of the holy Trinity is one.
> One light shows fourth also in its sanctuary by three open windows,
> And announces to us the mystery of the Trinity, of the Father, and the Son and the holy Spirit.
> Five doors open into [the church] like the five virgins.
> Portrayed by the ten columns that support the Cherubim of its altar
> Are the ten apostles, those who fled at the time our Savior was crucified.

While Paul the Silentiary did not evoke the Trinity in his description of the three apses at S. Sophia, he did give grand recognition to their number. And a much later semi-legendary account records that the master-builder was instructed by an angel appearing to him in the form of Justinian to make the central apse "with three lights, by means of three arches, in the Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost".[38]

The fact that number symbolism was used in this Syriac poem on the church at Edessa, but not in the contemporary Greek *ekphraesis* by Paul the Silentiary is worth noting. According to James Dean[39] the remaining known extant version of Epiphanios' Treatise on Weights and Measures is in Syriac and dates from the mid 7th C, although the Greek original was written towards the end of the 4th C. Its date of first availability in Syriac is not known. Only fragments of a Greek version now remain extant. The church at Edessa was built by a Chalcedonian bishop in a Monophysite environment.[40] Perhaps it was necessary to stress the Trinitarian connotations of the church in view of its imperial funding. The poem does not indicate that the church at Edessa had three apses, although the three open windows could have been one in each apse. The description in the poem indicates that the church could have taken a domed tetraconch form.[41] This would have been similar to the

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[37] Kathleen E. McVey, The Domed Church as Microcosm: Literary Roots of an Architectural Symbol, in Paul Corby Finney (ed) *Art, Archaeology and Architecture of Early Christianity Volume XVIII* (New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc.1993), 183-214.

[38] Mango 1997: 98.

[39] Dean 1935.

[40] McVey 1993: 118.

[41] Andrew Palmer, The inauguration anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa: a new edition and translation with historical and architectural notes and a comparison with a contemporary Constantinopolitan kontakion, in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 12* (1988) 47-82, see Appendix 2 with Lyn Rodley, 166 Figure 2.

Monophysite SS. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople, in which case the east end would have a triconch form as in S. Sophia Constantinople.

In the 9th C John of Ozdun described the ceremony of laying the foundations of a church in a series of numbered actions.[42] At no. 20, he records that "The digging takes place three times" and provides several numerical allegories for that and the number of stones. Medieval scholars such as Hugh of St. Victor (1096-1142) used numerical allegory in his *Heavenly Ladder,* designed to help the soul in its search for God.

By the 12th C number symbolism was being read into S. Sophia, Constantinople by Michael the Deacon, who described as symbolic the triple entry to the great church (for the holy places are accessible to those who have been taught that there is one God in the Trinity).[43]

III. Medieval Theology and the Trinity

Discussions of the early period of western medieval theology usually focus on the writings of well-known churchmen of the time, particularly Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) and Peter Abelard. It has been suggested that despite the introduction of the ideas of Aristotle the level of theological debate at that time was not high, since the argument of conservative scholars such as Bernard tended to use analogies with the historical debates of the 4th and 5th centuries[44]. However, the argument covered the same ground as it did then – and was essentially reduced to one between those who had unquestioning faith and those who wished to be convinced by logic – as it did then also. As in those earlier centuries, much of the debate revolved around an understanding of the Holy Trinity.[45]

Abelard's application of logic to the Holy Trinity resulted in him being accused of heresy in 1121. In 1140, Bernard was appointed to lead the party investigating the accusations at the Council of Sens. Earlier writers on the Trinity had been on safer ground, deriving fairly directly from Augustine's *de Trinite*, including Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109), a former student of Lanfranc of Bec[46], who preceded Anselm at Canterbury. From the early 13th

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[42] Wilkinson 2002: 203.

[43] Cyril Mango and John Parker, *A Twelth Century Description of St. Sophia*, DOP 14 (1960): 233-45.

[44] Heinrich Fichtenau, translated by Denise A. Kaiser, *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages 1000-1200* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 284-85.

[45] David Luscombe, *Medieval Thought*, (Oxford University Press, 1997), 51-56.

[46] G. R Evans, *Fifty Medieval Thinkers* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 67-71.

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Century, scholars including Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure distinguished between the methods of philosophy and theology. Aquinas believed that philosophy could neither prove nor disprove articles of faith such as the Trinity. But by the late 13th Century, Ramon Lull aimed to convince Muslims of the truth of the Christian faith with irrefutable arguments, reviving a rationalist approach to 'proving' the Trinity.[47]

Bernard Hamilton suggested that the average level of education among the Latin bishops of Syria was not very high. He suggested that although some educated clergy accompanied the first crusade like Arnulf of Chocques, and some came to settle in the east in the years that followed, there were never enough at any one time to bring about a flourishing of Latin learning there. He argued that it was possible that native Franks would develop intellectual interests, but less likely that westerners with such interests would come to Syria.[48] His view was that the piety of the Latin bishops was practical rather than devotional, as was common in the West at the time of the first crusade, and not given to speculative thought. But "by the time of the third crusade the bishops of Syria appeared to belong to an older order of society by comparison with their brethren in Western Europe".[49]

Nevertheless, the longtime Latin patriarch of Antioch, Aimery of Limoges (1140-93) was interested in Orthodox history and theology, and the way in which the people understood their faith.[50] He corresponded with the Pisan theologian Hugh Etherianus, author of a treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit – the addition of the *filioque* to the Creed (who proceedeth from the Father and the Son), written against the views of the Orthodox. The inclusion of the *filioque* by Catholics was the most significant point of controversy between Latin and Orthodox theology.

A sign of opposition to doctrinal outsiders on the part of the Orthodox was the anti-heretical dossier the *Dogmatic Panoply*, commissioned from the monk Euthymios Zigabenos by the Comnenian emperor Alexios I. This was aimed at Jews, Muslims, the dualist Christian sects of the Bogomils and Paulicians, and the Monophysites, both Syrians and Armenians. But also attacked were

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[47] Daniel, Norman, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe* (London: Longman and Librairie du Liban, 1975), 310-2.

[48] Hamilton 1980: 134.

[49] Hamilton 1980: 136.

[50] Bernard Hamilton, *Aimery of Limoges, Patriarch of Antioch in Crusaders, Cathars and the Holy Places VIII* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999), 282-3.

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the errors of the Latins, including their use of unleavened bread, the *filioque* addition to the Creed, and the primacy of the pope.[51]

The Latins in the Holy Land during the 12th Century were apparently prepared to ignore such controversy. As Hamilton pointed out, bishops seem to have taken a tolerant view of the differences in formulation of Trinitarian doctrine. The consensus in the Latin Church at the time of the first crusade was that unity was more important than uniformity.[52] Faith in the doctrine of the Nicene Creed was the spearhead of belief in both east and west. The enemies of this faith apart from Islam and Judaism were dualist beliefs deriving from Gnosticism. In the east, the Bogomils and Paulicians were considered heretical and in the west, the Cathars eventually became the focus of Pope Innocent II's Albigensian crusade of 1209-1255. It appears no coincidence therefore, that the Eastern style of three-apsed sanctuary was adopted for the Latin churches, as had also been the usual form of east end in Norman France and England at the time of the first crusade, the end of the 11th Century.

IV. <u>Crusaders in the Holy Land</u>

The Crusades were essentially aimed at retrieving and protecting the holy places connected with the birth and life of Christ, in the face of resurgent Islam. The first crusade of 1095 under Godfrey de Bouillon succeeded in taking Jerusalem in 1099 and establishing the counties of Tripoli and Edessa, the principality of Antioch and the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The second crusade was led by King Louis VII 1147-49 but failed to take Damascus. This failure eventually led to defeat at Hattin and the recovery of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187. The third crusade (1189-92) resulted in the occupation of Byzantine Cyprus by Richard I of England (the Lion Heart) and achieved a truce with Saladin, Sultan of Egypt and Syria. Cyprus had been a Byzantine province; politically and culturally part of the Byzantine world, while geographically close to the Latin East. After the fall of Jerusalem, and the Frankish occupation of Cyprus, the Lusignan kings of Cyprus were also regarded as kings of Jerusalem and there were close institutional and economic links between the mainland Latin churches and those of Cyprus.[53] The Orthodox Church in Cyprus was subjected to the Latin Catholics and a feudal system of government was imposed.

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[51] Paul Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 367-368.
[52] Hamilton 1980: 164-165.
[53] Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195-1312* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), ix.

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In 1204 the fourth crusade was recruited to attack Egypt, but instead sacked Constantinople, seat of the by then much reduced Byzantine empire, consolidating the problems with Orthodoxy already begun in Cyprus thirteen years earlier. The fifth crusade (1218-21) was followed by the Crusade of Frederick II (1228-9), the Crusade of Theobald of Champagne (1239-40), the Crusade of Richard of Cornwall (1240-1), the Crusade of Louis IX of France (1248-54), and finally the Crusade of Edward of England (1271-2). None succeeded in recapturing Jerusalem, although Frederick obtained a truce and temporary concession of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth that lasted until 1244. With the fall of Acre to the Mamluks in 1291 followed by the loss of the island of Ruad, the last Latin outpost in Syria in 1302, the crusaders retreated fully to the Kingdom of Cyprus. Cyprus continued to be ruled by the Lusignan dynasty until 1489 when it was taken over by the Venetians, and finally fell to the Ottomans in 1571.

In addition to churches, the crusaders built castles throughout the Latin states in Syria and on the island of Cyprus, from which they defended the lands they had conquered. All included a chapel, usually rectangular in plan with a single apse or semi-circular end, such as the chapel of Qalaat Marqab in the county of Tripoli.[54] Parish churches built within the walls of the surrounding town or at other strategic settlements by the Latins however, usually followed the triple-apsed form as in the parish church of S. Mary at al-Bira.[55]

Figure 1

West entrance and interior of Hospitaller Chapel at Marqab Castle, Syria.
Photographs by Susan Balderstone, 1978.

The detail of the triple-apsed east end varies in that some, such as the church of the Resurrection at Abu Gosh had all three apses inscribed in a straight east

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[54] Ross Burns, *Monuments of Syria* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd. 1992), 179-181.
[55] Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 1998 & 2007), I: 161-165.

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wall[56], whereas in others the central apse extended to the east in a rectangular projection. Examples of the latter are the former Church of Our Lady at Tartus[57], and the church of the Saviour at Mount Tabor.[58] In a third variation, the three semi-circular apses of the cathedral at Tyre all projected from the east wall[59], as did those of the cathedrals at Caesarea and Beirut. This last form is likely to have derived from existing Greek Orthodox churches such as the Greek church of S. George at Tiberias, which was taken over by the Latin church and granted to the Abbey of S. Mary by Bishop Bernard of Nazareth in 1109[60] (see figures 5/22, 5/23, 5/24, 5/26).

Figure 2

Church of Our Lady Tartus from south and West. Photographs by Susan Balderstone, 1978.

A notable exception to the triple-apsed form was the parish church at 'Athlit, which had a square nave with seven-sided choir /sanctuary. But this church was built at least a century later than the others, during the crusade of King (Saint) Louis IX of France (1248-56). King Louis contributed to the fortifications of the Templar Pilgrims Castle at 'Athlit, which had been built originally by Walter of Avesnes 1217-18. The king's party included builders and craftsmen as he intended to recapture Jerusalem and repair and restore the holy shrines. His workmen were most likely responsible for the unusual, twelve-sided chapel that replaced an earlier rectangular chapel within the walls of the castle.[61]

Some had accompanied the king from Paris, where he had financed the construction of one of the most famous architectural shrines of the then Christian world – la Sainte Chapelle. The chapel was built to house precious

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[56] Pringle 1993, I: 7-17.
[57] Burns 1992: 224-227.
[58] Pringle 1998, II: 63-85.
[59] Pringle 2001: 178, Figure 11.
[60] Pringle 1998, II: 356-357.
[61] Pringle 1993, I: 69-70.

relics of Christ's martyrdom including the crown of thorns and part of the cross, and was completed shortly before King Louis left on his crusade. The parish church at 'Athlit adopts a similar, seven-sided choir/sanctuary form (see figures 5/29, 5/30).

By the time Louis IX undertook his crusade the Latin states were reduced to a coastal strip including the principalities of Antioch – Tripoli and the kingdom of Acre together with the kingdom of Cyprus. King Louis travelled to Cyprus in 1248 some 44 years after the crusader conquest of Constantinople during which many knights and soldiers visited churches containing holy relics of the saints and martyrs. Considerable looting took place at that time, and Villehardouin recorded that there were "many men of all ranks, who kept things back without ever being found out".[62] It may have been then that the relic of S. Euphemia known to have been kept at 'Athlit by the Knights Templar was acquired. The centralized plan of the chapel at 'Athlit may have been chosen to resemble the hexagonal church of S. Euphemia in Constantinople, from which the relic had been removed.

V. The development of church design in Europe and Cyprus

In Europe by the end of the 11th Century, and all through the 12th Century while the Crusaders were building triple-apsed churches in the East, the design of the east end of the church, including choir and sanctuary took quite a different form (see figure 5/32). This change from a triple-apsed east end to the apse and ambulatory *chevet* was due largely to the increased importance of holy relics to the economic life of the Church, requiring adaptation of their architectural space to accommodate chapels for the saints and large numbers of pilgrims in a spiritually uplifting environment, often lit by large areas of stained glass. The thirteenth century in Europe saw this develop into the soaring Gothic style of cathedral building, coinciding with the period of great philosophical exploration by theologians including Bonaventure, Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas.

The apse and ambulatory became characteristic of Normandy, the Ile-de-France and Brittany, even before the famous choir of S. Denys was built by Abbot Suger in 1140-34. Kenneth Conant proposed the theory that this form began to evolve in the 9th Century at S. Philibert de Grandlieu due to the functional requirements of the pilgrimage cult that developed there.[63] The arrangement was further developed in the crypt of S. Germain at Auxere,

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[62] Joinville & Villehardouin, 93-95.
[63] Conant 1959: 26-9.

which he believed directly influenced the 10th Century east end ambulatory and transept plan at S. Martin of Tours. John Crook has investigated the theory further.[64] The concept of locating the holy relic behind, under or within the altar with access provided to pilgrims was well-demonstrated in the Byzantine East, but the French medieval development of an elongated, apsed choir surrounded by a vaulted ambulatory with radiating chapels was something new.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was remodeled along these lines by the Crusaders in the middle of the 12th Century and the 11th C arrangements in the courtyard east of the Anastasis were replaced with a domed nave, apse and ambulatory off which radiated three chapels/apses (see Figures 5/43, 5/44). The single, vaulted nave/choir arrived with King Louis IX and his accompanying builders and artisans at 'Athlit in Syria and the ambulatory of continuous vaulted chapels with Thierry of Paris at S. Sophia, Nicosia in Cyprus. The crusaders had been pushed out of the Holy Land before the new style could be widely applied there.

Figure 3

Interior of former S. Sophia Cathedral Nicosia

Former S. Catherine Church, Nicosia

Latin churches in Nicosia converted to mosques by the Ottomans.
Photographs by Susan Balderstone 2006.

King Louis and his party stayed several months near Larnaca, in Cyprus. Construction of the cathedral of S. Sophia in Nicosia was begun in 1209 by the Latin archbishop Thierry beginning at the east end with the ambulatory and transept in the style of the Ile de France, Thierry's birthplace (see figure 5/33).[65] By 1230, construction had reached the upper part of the choir and Enlart proposed that the arrival of King Louis and his artisans enabled work

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[64] Crook 2000.
[65] Coureas, 1997: 54.

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to begin on the aisles and the lower part of the nave, although as Coldstream pointed out, the decorative style is not that of La Sainte Chapelle. S. Sophia is unique in Cyprus. Of 34 churches in Enlart's survey of Gothic architecture on Cyprus, ten are of the triple-apsed sanctuary type, and ten are vaulted halls with a five-sided choir/sanctuary of the 'Athlit parish church type.[66] The latter all date from the 14th Century.

Figure 4

Former Latin Church of SS. Peter & Paul   Ruined church of S. George of the Greeks
Former Latin and Greek churches in Famagusta. Photographs by Susan
Balderstone 2006.

In Cyprus the style, although used at S. Sophia in Nicosia was rejected for the great new Latin cathedral constructed from 1300-1311 at Famagusta, which reverted to the triple-apsed east end, while at the same time employing large windows and flying buttresses (see figure 5/34). Several other 14th Century churches in Famagusta did likewise, Latin as well as Greek including S.S Peter and Paul, S. George of the Greeks (see figures 5/35, 5/36), and the Nestorian Church, as well as the Franciscan Church in Paphos and S. Mammas at S. Sozomenos. It seems that this reversion to the so-called Syrian style was due to the fact that this was the Orthodox form of east end, to which the Cypriots were accustomed.

As Coureas concluded[67], by the late 13th Century there was a trend to absenteeism by the Latin prelates, as more and more saw Cyprus as a backwater. Absorption of Catholics by the Orthodox faith was increasing with intermarriage between Latins and Greeks from the early 14th Century. As an institution, the Latin Church neither attracted the Orthodox population to its

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[66] Camille Enlart, edited and translated by D. Hunt with an introduction by Nicola Coldstream, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus* (London: Trigraph in association with the A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1987, originally published 1899), 82-130. Four of the triple-apsed churches are in fact late Byzantine, not Romanesque as categorized by Enlart.
[67] Coureas, 1997: 319-321.

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ranks nor induced the Orthodox bishops to accept papal jurisdiction in their hearts. It seems, from the evidence above that the Latins also failed to convince the Cypriots to abandon their traditional architectural expression.

But the reversion to the triple-apsed east end for Catholic churches occurred also in the West, for instance at S. Stephen, Vienna in 1304[68] and Sandkirche, Breslau c.1340[69] (see figures 5/40, 5/41).

Seen in the context of the revival of interest in the Trinitarian 'proofs' of the Christian faith, generated by writers such as Ramon Lull, this reversion can perhaps be understood in another way. Was it in fact due to theological concerns? David Luscombe noted that from 1277, the condemnations of Aristotelianism in Paris and by the Archbishop of Canterbury marked a watershed in the history of medieval thought.[70] They resulted in a turning away from Aristotelian natural philosophy as a means of supporting Christian belief, and paved the way back to a more faith-based argument as expressed by Lull. Lull was very influential[71], and made several missions to the East, including to Cyprus c. 1300 where he attempted unsuccessfully to interest King Henry de Lusignan II of Cyprus in an Eastern Campaign which would convert Muslims and repress the anti-Nicene churches of the East.[72]

While in Cyprus, he also "held disputations with Orthodox theologians".[73] Remarkably, these coincided with the reversion to the triple-apsed east end for the cathedral at Famagusta, which was begun that year or soon after. One can only speculate as to whether there was any connection between these events. However it is apparent that the early fourteenth century reversion to a more fundamentalist approach to theology was paralleled chronologically by a revival of the triple-apsed east end.

In this sense one can say, that while the Crusades failed to achieve Pope Urban's aim of uniting Rome and the Orthodox Church, they reinforced an orthodox approach in both East and West to the architectural expression of medieval theology.

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[68] Paul Frankl, *Gothic Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1962), 165, Figure 49.
[69] Frankl 1962: 157, Figure 43.
[70] Luscombe 1997: 117-121.
[71] Luscombe 1997: 121.
[72] Daniel 1975: 310; Mark D. Johnston, *The spiritual logic of Ramon Llull* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).
[73] Johnston 1987: 13.
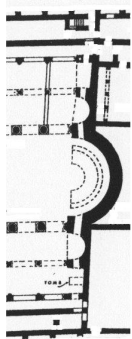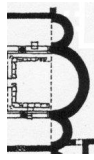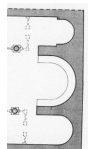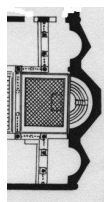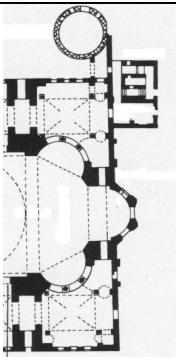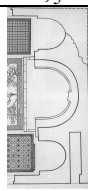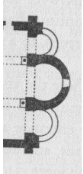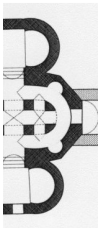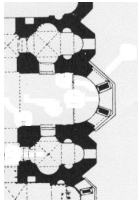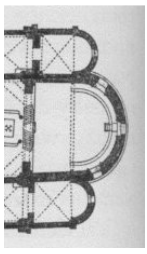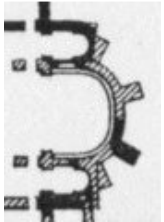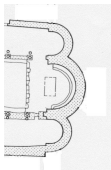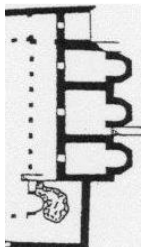
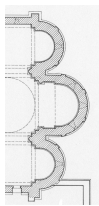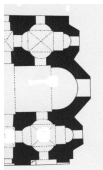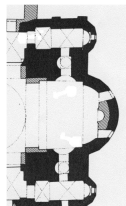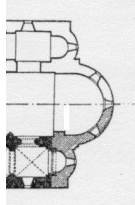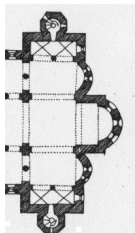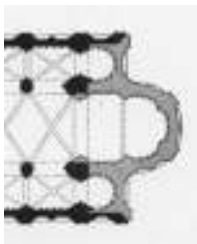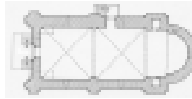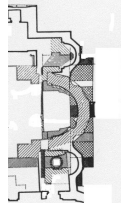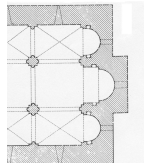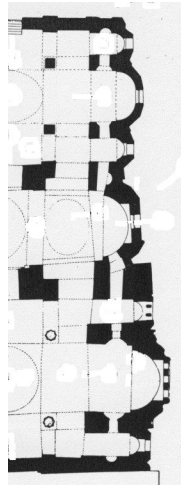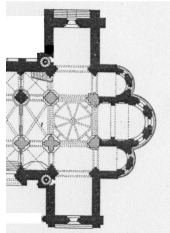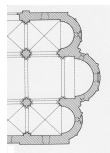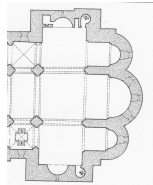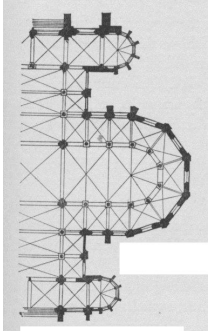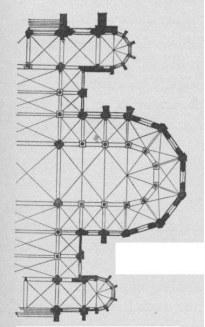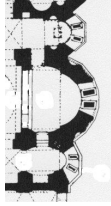**Figure 5 East end triple-apse tradition timeline: 4th-14th C**
Plans 1-46: Digital composite by Susan Balderstone
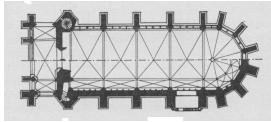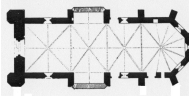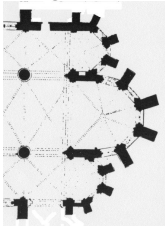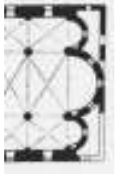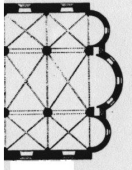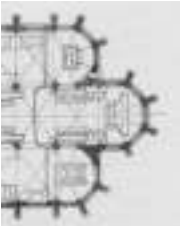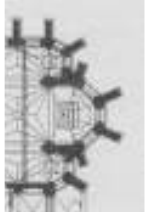
Date	Theologian	Palestine, Syria	Cyprus	Constantinople, Trabzon	Europe
4thC	Epiphanios	**1** Church of the Agony Gethsemane	**2** S. Epiphanios Basilica, Salamis		
5th C	S. Simeon	**3** S. Simeon Stylites	**4** Ayia Trias		
6th C	Justinian I	**5** Procopius Church, Jerash	**6** Basilica A, Peyia	**7** S. Sophia	
7thC		**8** Asaiah, Jerash			
8th C	Charlemagne /Odo of Metz				

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Date	Theologian	Palestine, Syria	Cyprus	Constantinople, Trabzon	Europe
9th C			9 S. Lazarus, Larnaca	10 Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii (former church)	11 Germigny-des-Pres 806 12 S. Liudger, Werden c. 850 13 S. Pierre-le-Vif, Sens
10thC			46 SS. Barnabas & Hilarion, Peristerona	14 Theotokos of Lips 907	15 S. Ambrogio, Milan 940 16 Cluny II 955

Date	Theologian	Palestine, Syria	Cyprus	Constantinople, Trabzon	Europe
11thC		**23** S. George Tiberias		**17** Christ the All-Seeing ante 1087	**25** Bernay abbey church 1017-1040
		43 Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem ante 1047			**47** S. Michael, Hildesheim 1001-1033
	Lanfranc of Bec	**39** S. Mary of the Mount of Olives	**37** S.Chrysostom Koutsovendis 1090	**18** Gul Camii (former church) 1000-1150	**42** Abbaye aux Hommes, Caen c.1068
		45 S. Mary Latin, Jerusalem ante 1099			**38** Durham Cathedral 1093
1091 Crusaders in Jerusalem					

Date	Theologian	Palestine, Syria	Cyprus	Constantinople, Trabzon	Europe
12th C Jerusalem lost to Saladin 1187 1192 Richard I in Cyprus	Bernard of Clairvaux Peter Abelard Aimery of Limoges Abbe Suger	**28** S. Porphyrius Gaza c.1160 **22** Al Bira parish church **24** Beirut Cathedral **26** Tyre Cathedral **44** Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem c. 1149-1170		**19** Christ of the Chora c.1120 **20** Christ the All-Ruler, The Theotokos & S. Michael 1118-1136	**27** S. Vicente Avila 1109 **32** Laon Cathedral 1155

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Date	Theologian	Palestine, Syria	Cyprus	Constantinople, Trabzon	Europe
13th C	Albertus Magnus Aquinas Bonaventure Stephen Langton				
1248-54 Louis IX of France in the Holy Land Comnenii Court at Trabzon 1204-1461		**30** 'Athlit parish church.1250	**33** S.Sophia Nicosia 1209-54	**21** S. John the forerunner of Lips **48** S. Sophia, Trabzon **49** S. Eugenios, Trabzon	**29** La Sainte Chapelle Paris1246-8

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Date	Theologian	Palestine, Syria	Cyprus	Constantinople, Trabzon	Europe
14th C 1302 Fall of Ruad	Ramon Lull		**31** S. Mary of Carmel Famagusta **34** S. Nicholas Famagusta 1309 **35** SS. Peter & Paul Famagusta **36** S. George of the Greeks Famagusta		**40** S. Stephen Vienna 1304 **41** Sandkirche, Breslau c.1340

Sources of plans in digital composite above:

1   after Fr. Bellarmino Bagatti, The Church from the Gentiles in Palestine, English translation by Fr. Eugene Hoade (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1971), 205. fig. 72

2, 4, 37   after A.H.S. Megaw, Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial? Dumbarton Oaks Papers 28, (1974), fig. A, fig. D, 84.

3   after Howard Crosby Butler, Early churches in Syria, fourth to Seventh Centuries: edited and completed by E. Baldwin Smith (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert-Publisher, 1929), 99, ill. 100.

5   after J. W. Crowfoot, The Christian Churches, in Carl H Kraeling (ed) Gerasa, city of the Decapolis: an account embodying the record of a joint excavation conducted by Yale University, and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1928 – 1930, and Yale University and the American Schools of Oriental Research, 1930-1931, 1933-1934, *(*New Haven, Connecticut: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1938),175-184, Plan XLIII by A.G. Buchanan and C. S. Fisher.

6   after Athanasios Papageorghiou, L'Architecture Paleochretienne de Chypre, XXXII Corso Di Cultura Sull'arte Ravennate E Bizantina, Seminario Internazionale di stuid sy 'Cipro e il Medierraneo orientale' (Ravenna: Edizioni Del Girasole,1985), 315 fig. 5.

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