Joseph Patrich

Arculf's Church of St. Mary and the *Spoudaeion* in the Complex of the Holy Sepulchre between the Arab and the Crusader Conquests. Location and Liturgy

Broadly speaking, up to the Crusaders, the architectural history of the complex of the Holy Sepulchre can be divided into three chapters[1]: The Early Byzantine – from its inauguration by Constantine the Great (335) to the Persian conquest of 614 (**fig. 1**); the post-Byzantine/Early Arab – from Modestus (630) to al-Ḥakim (1009); and from the restoration of Constantine Monomachus (1048)[2] to the inauguration of the Crusaders church on July 15th, 1149, fifty years after their conquest of the city (1099)[3] (**fig. 2**). The political changes and the ensuing architectural modifications in each period affected also the rites conducted in this complex. The basilica of Constantine the Great – the *Martyrion* – was never restored following the destruction caused by al-Ḥakim[4].

A Southern Church of St. Mary

A quadrangular church named St. Mary the Lord's Mother (*sancta Maria mater Domini / genitrix*), located next to and to the right of the round church of the Resurrection/Anastasis, is mentioned in the narrative of the Gaulish bishop Arculf – *De Locis Sanctis* – in Latin, about his visit to Jerusalem and other

Holy Places in ca. 685, some 40 years after the Muslim conquest[5]. According to the plain text, the itinerary was dictated by Arculf to Adamnan, abbot of the Irish Iona monastery located on an island off the west coast of Scotland[6]. The church is also depicted on a diagram drawn by Arculf on a wax tablet[7] to the southeast of the round church of the Resurrection and to the south of Golgotha (**fig. 3**). This location falls on the southern part of the present-day *Parvis*[8]. Such a church did not exist there prior to the Arab conquest. It is not mentioned neither by Sophronius, in his *Anacreontica* – poems expressing his affection to the holy places, written between the Persian and the Muslim conquests, nor earlier by the Placentia pilgrim (570)[9] or by any other source. It seems that it came into being only under the Muslim regime. As a church does not exist today in that location, did it really exist? And if so, why was it built there? Whom did it serve? When did it disappear and under what circumstances?

According to the *Georgian Calendar*, compiled in the tenth century by the Georgian monk Ioane-Zosime and published by Garitte and the *Georgian Lectionary* published by Tarchnišvili (according to several manuscripts, the oldest of which being Lathal, tenth century), the dedication feast of the

1 This study was spurred while listening to a lecture by Daniel Galadza on Palm Sunday Liturgy according to the *Typikon of the Anastasis*, held in the Jerusalem Institute for Advanced Studies in June 2016. I am grateful to him for introducing me to various studies on this important source. While inspecting less known structures in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre and other building associated with the present study, I have learnt a lot from Father Isidoros, the Guardian of the Holy Cross, who have also guided me in a visit to St. Abraham monastery and from Father Aristobulus, the Choir Conductor of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, for his advises. I am also deeply indebted to His Beatitude Theophilos III, Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem and to Bishop Aristarchos, the Secretery General of the Patriarchate, for their assistance and warm willingness throughout. The results of the present study were presented by me in front of Both in a lecture given at the Patriarchate on August 16th 2018. I am also deeply indebted to Leah Di Segni, who read the paper, for her useful comments. – For a detailed description of the complex, its architectural history and the excavations conducted therein, see Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 89-300; Coüasnon, Church; Corbo, Santo Sepolcro; Pringle, Churches 6-72 and a more recent brief review by Patrich, Overview.

2 On this restoration and the events that preceded it, see Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 218-259; Ousterhout, Rebuilding; Pringle, Churches 9-12; Galadza, Byzantinization 117-123. According to Biddle, Tomb 77-81 the works were carried out in two phases. First in the years 1012-1023, and then in the years 1037/1038-1040, under the aegis of the Byzantine emperor Michael IV Paphlagon (1037-1041), with the permission of the Muslim rulers of Cairo, rather than by his successor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055), which is the prevailing opinion.

3 The exact date of the completion of Crusaders' transept and its roofing is ambiguous. See Pringle, Churches 19-22.

4 Canard, Destruction.

5 IIII. *DE ECLESIA SANCTAE MARIAE VIRGINIS QVAE ROTUNDA COERET ECLESIAE. … Illi rotunda ecclesiae.… a dextera coheret parte sanctae Mariae matris Domini quadrangulata ecclesia* (Adamnani De Locis Sanctis, ed. Bieler 190; trans. Wilkinson 97).

6 Some scholars had cast doubt if Adamnan ever met Arculf, and even if Arculf existed. According O'Loughlin, Exegetical; O'Loughlin, Perceptions; O'Loughlin, Liturgical, the composition is an exegetical exposition. He even argues that Adamnan probably never even met Arculf. Earlier, Chatillon, Arculf argued that »Adomnan's knowledge of the East derives entirely from literary sources« and that a veritable »florilegium of sources« made its way, via a couple of intermediaries and a felicitous shipwreck, from Constantinople to Iona. See also Woods, Adomnan. This approach was poignantly criticized by Aist, Rev. O'Loughlin, concluding that »the idea that Arculf is a literary fiction should be laid to rest once and for all«. According to Aist, *De Locis Sanctis* is »a seventh-century text that records the eyewitness account of a certain Arculf«. Likewise, Hoyland/Waidler, Adomnán's had indicated that *De Locis Sanctis* does seem to contain genuine information about the 7th c. Near East.

7 Several versions are extant, derived from various manuscripts (marked a for Adamnan; b for Bede – an early 8th c. author that derives much from Adamnan, reproducing also the diagrams), see Wilkinson, Pilgrims 193. The diagram presented here as **figure 3** is aY – cod. Vindobonensis 458, f. 4v (Wilkinson, Pilgrims pl. 5).

8 On the names of the chapels and structures standing at present on this side of the Parvis, see Cust, Status Quo. See also Pringle, Churches 29 chapels no. 283, 2-4.
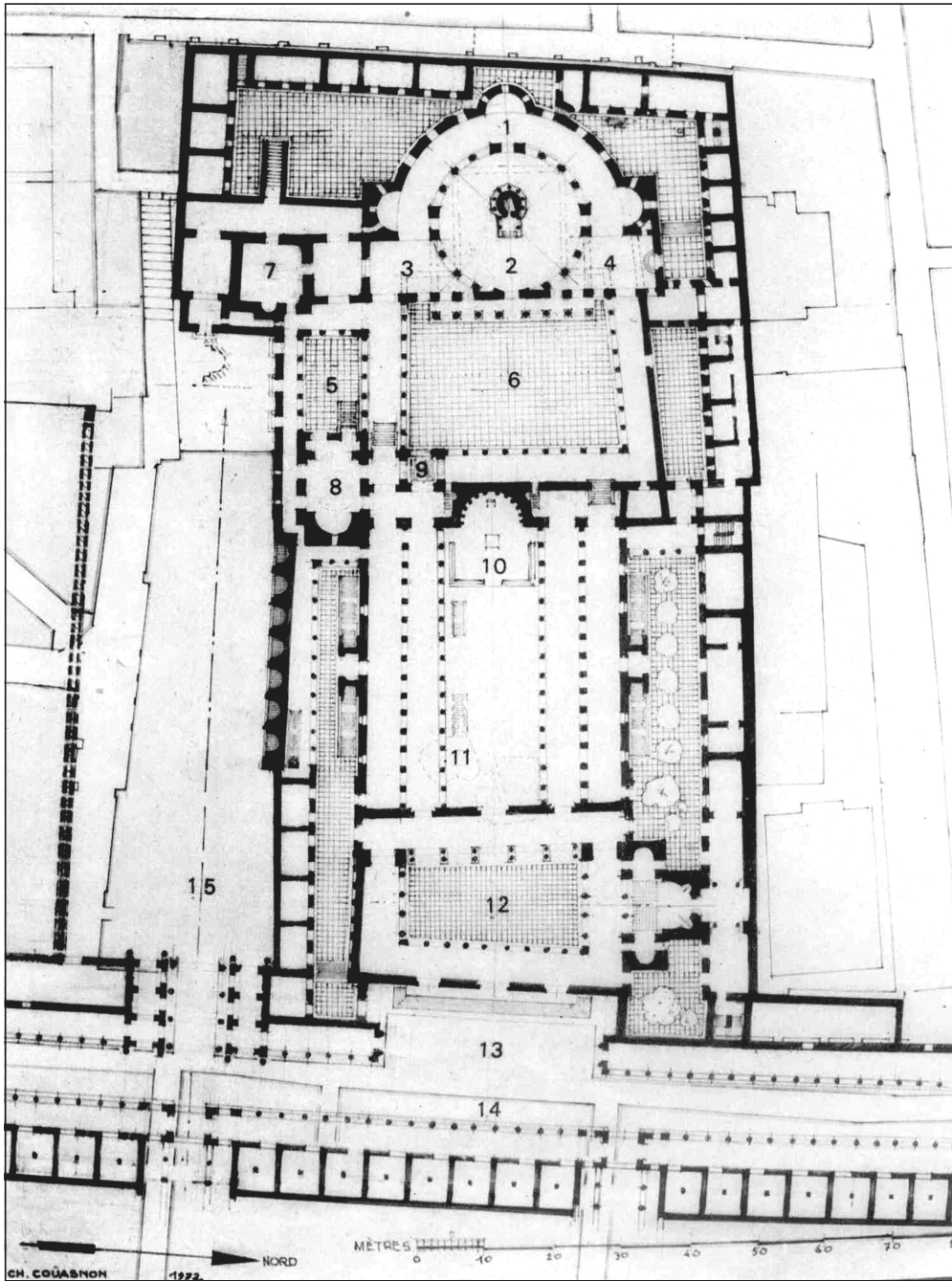
9 See Appendix.

Fig. 1 The Constantinian complex of the Holy Sepulchre. **1** Ambulatory. – **2** Holy Sepulchre. – **6** Courtyard of the Anastasis/*triportico*. – **7** Baptistery. – **8** Restored »Golgotha Church« of Coüasnon/St. Michael chapel of the Ethiopians. – **9** Mount Calvary with a cross on top and the Golgotha Chapel below. – **10** Bema of the Basilica of Constantine (*Martyrion*). – **12** Eastern atrium of the Basilica. – **13** Eastern Entrance to the complex from the Cardo Maximus of the city. The *Patriarcheion* occupied the wing to the north of the Anastasis. – (From Coüasnon, Church pl. 8).

church of the *Theotokos* (*Deiparae ecclesia*), located in the *Spoudaeon*, in an upper level of the complex of the Anastasis,

was on August 11[th10]. Another *Deiparae ecclesia*, associated with an edifice founded by a priest named Jordanes[11] was

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10 Georgian Calendar, ed. Garitte 83-84: *Mensis Augustus … 11. In Spudaeon monasterio in Sancta Anastasi supra, in Deiparae ecclesia, dedicatio …* (See also Garitte 31, 299); Georgian Lectionary, ed. Tarchnišvili 26: *1140. Mense Augusto XI. In Spodion (= Spudaea) [P 267 ᵛ ᵇ] supra Anastasin sanctam, in Dei Genitricis ecclesia, dedicatio Dei Genetricis. Totum Encaeniorum*[1], with the following *var. lec.*: 1140.[1] *In spodion …. Dedicationis] In Spodion monasterio in Dei genitricis ecclesia dedicatio.* – According to these sources the *Spudaeon* church, dedicated to Mary *Theotokos* was above the Anastasis (Verhelst, Lieux de station 52-53). This may refer to its location in the 5th-7th c., before the Arab conquest, since few decades thereafter Arculf's diagram indicates that a church of St. Mary *Theotokos* was located to the southeast of the Anastasis. And indeed, although the Lathal manuscript is of the 10th c., the text represents the liturgy in Jerusalem before the Persian occupation in 614, as was already

suggested by Renoux. I owe this comment to Tinatin Chronz, with references to Brakmann/Chronz, Osternacht. Both of them share this opinion about the date. According to Frøyshov, Georgian Witness 230 n. 18, the Georgian Lectionary in its most common redaction is basically a 6th c. document. According to Galadza, Sources 76, it is reflecting liturgical practice from the 5th to the 8th c.

11 Verhelst, Lieux de station 54, differentiate between St. Mary of October 5th and the edifice of Jordanes. He maintains that it was one more chapel in the monastery of the *Spoudaioi*, and that its location is marked by the three niches on the western external face of the drum of the dome of the Anastasis (see below note 46). According to Garitte priest Jordanes and his foundation are not otherwise known; he casts doubt on a proposal by Goussen (mentioned in Abel, Rec. Goussen 615 no. 22), that this was the archimandrite Jordanes, a correspondent of John of Damscus (8th c.).

Fig. 2 The complex of the Holy Sepulchre after the restoration of Constantine Monomachus (1048). – (From Coüasnon, Church pl. 9).
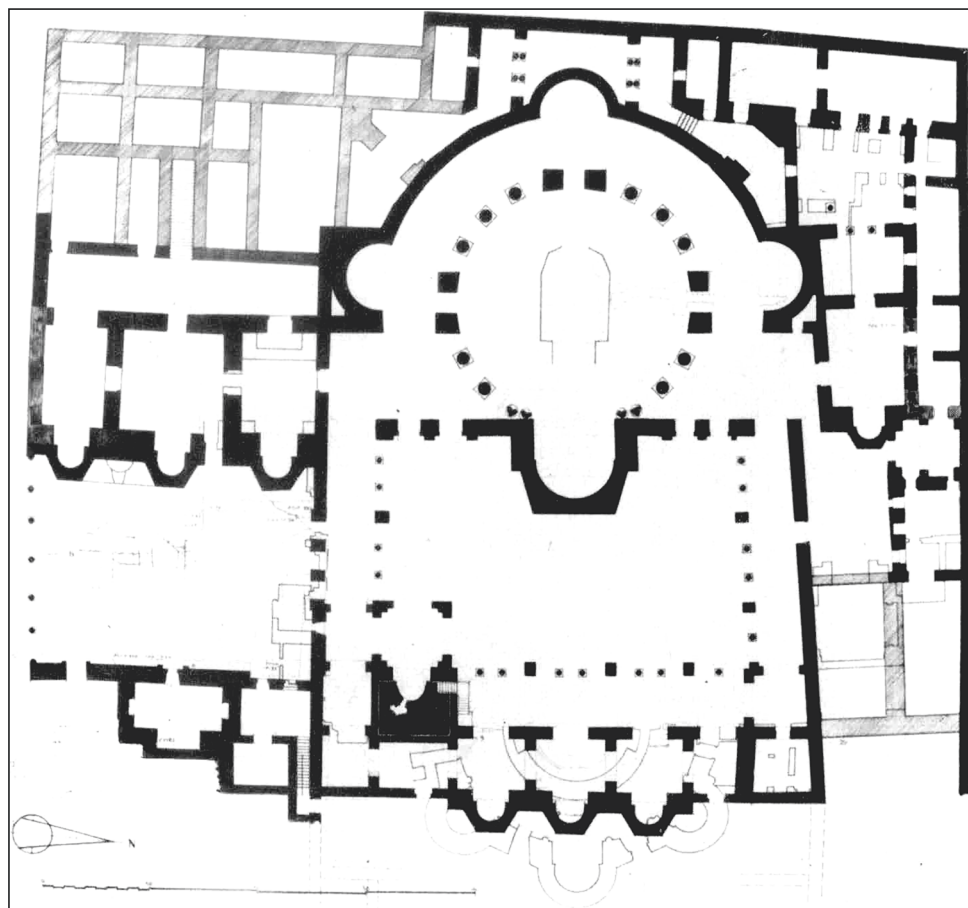
dedicated on October 5th[12]. It was near the chapel of St. Michael[13]. It is clear that it is not the same as St. Mary of August 11th, located above the Anastasis. The *Georgian Lectionary* refers to rites of the fifth to early seventh or eighth century. True, a church of St. Mary is not recorded in any pilgrim's account in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre before the Muslim conquest, not even in the list of victims of the Persian conquest of 614. But the Monastery of the Anastasis, where 212 victims were killed, is recorded there[14]. So, *Deiparae ecclesiae* above the Anastasis, dedicated on August 11, could have already

existed in that complex already before the Arab conquest. This St. Mary is certainly not that of Arculf.[15] I suggest that St. Mary of October 5th is St. Mary of Arculf.

A church named after Mary Mother of the Lord – *Theotokos*, associated with the Holy Sepulchre complex, is mentioned in another, different literary source: the mid-tenth century Greek MS Hagios Stauros 43, known as the *Typikon of the Anastasis*, published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1894. It is a liturgical compendium from Jerusalem for the services of the Holy Week, Easter, and the Bright Week[16], containing

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12 Georgian Calendar, ed. Garitte 95, 350: *In Iordanis presbyteri aedificio (in) Lachernan, apud Sanctum Michael, in Deiparae ecclesia, dedicatio …*; Georgian Lectionary, ed. Tarchnišvili 42: *1275. Mense Octobri V. In Iordani presbyteri aedificio, in Lachernia (= Blachernia ?) iuxta Michaelem sanctum* [1], *in Dei Genetricis ecclesia, dedicatio* [2]*, with the following *var. lec.*: 1275[1]: *In Lachernia … sanctum*] *In Michaele sancto.* [2]*: dedicatio* om. Only one of the manuscripts consulted by Tarchnišvili, the youngest – Cod. Paris. iber. 3 (11th c.), has mentioned *Lachernan*. The oldest one (Lathal – 10th c.) doesn't have this word at all, but only the Theotokos. In another manuscript of the lectionary of Jerusalem (Ms. Sinai NF iber. 58 [10th c.], ed. M. Kavtaria in Verhelst, Lectionnaire), we read on October 5th (feast) of the Theotokos *Rakelnas* and Verhelst translates it as Blachernes. (I owe these observations to Tinatin Chronz, with whom I have consulted. I am very grateful to her). For the dates of the liturgy reflected by the lectionary see note 10. – Garitte comments that it was suggested that the word *Lachernan* corresponds to Blachernes, which appears in the same passage of the *Georgian Calendar*, farther down, in the form *enblašernos*. He refers to Goussen's proposal that Blachernes – the name of the famous Constantinopolitan church – was given to St. Mary of our concern on account of both sharing the same relic of the Virgin – her girdle. See also Milik, Notes 360 n. 5. But the sacristy where this relic of the Virgin was kept up to the Arab conquest was not here. See Appendix, *infra*.

13 A dedication ceremony and memorial and deposition services in the chapel of the Archangel Michael are mentioned in the *Georgian Calendar* and *Georgian Lectionary* on June 22, with no association with St. Mary: *In Michaelis archangeli ecclesia, dedicatio et memoria …* (ed. Garitte 73-74, 257; ed. Tarchnišvili 17, 1048). – According to Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 283, a chapel of St. Michael is known near the northeast corner of the Parvis since the 14th c., when according to some sources it was owned by Georgians, but being mentioned in the *Georgian Calendar* and *Georgian Lectionary*, its origin must have been much earlier. This St. Michael, previously of the Copts is used today by the Ethiopians. According to them (*ibid.*), the present Greek Orthodox chapel of St. Mary the Egyptian was in the 14th c. an Ethiopian chapel dedicated to St Mary of Golgotha. Verhelst, Lieux de station 53-54, locates St. Michael of October 5th and June 22nd in the southern gallery of the Anastasis, at the site of the present Armenian chapel of St. John the Almsgiver. See also Vailhé, Répertoire 36-37 no. 82. For a metochion of Mar Saba of the 12th c. and on, owned by Serbian monks in later centuries and located not far of the Tower of David, see Patrich, Sabaite Heritage, index. A present Greek Orthodox monastery by that name is located in St. Francis Street in the Christian quarter. Its two churches are dedicated to St. Nicholas and St. John Chrisostomos, not to St. Michael.

14 Milik, Topographie.

15 Milik, Notes 359-360, conceived that the St. Mary of Arculf is the same as that of Abbot Daniel (see below), but this is a mistake. I am indebted to Leah Di Segni for reference to both important studies of Milik.
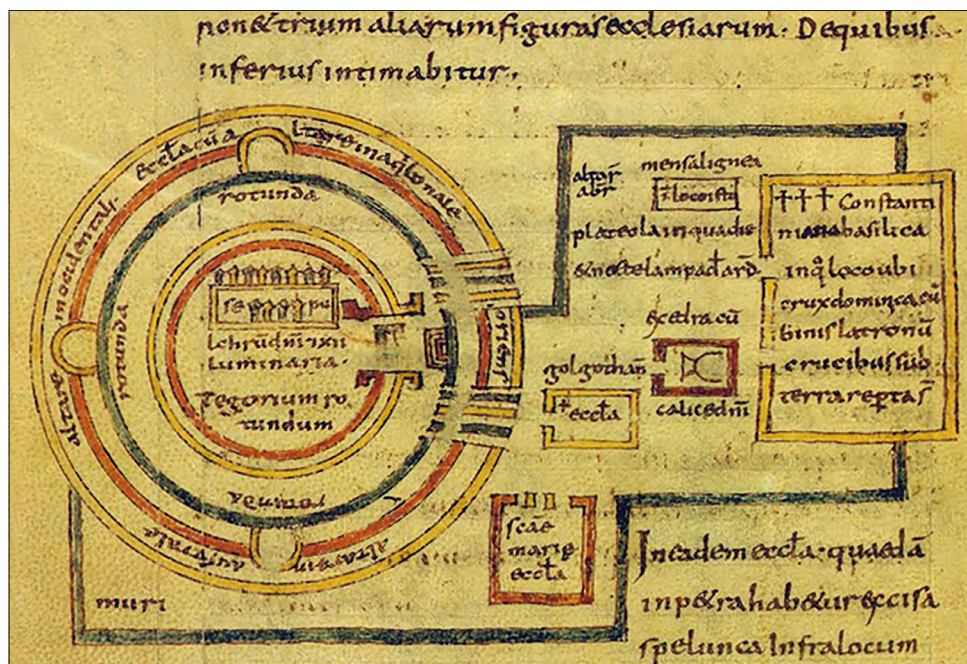
16 Galadza, Sources 75.

Fig. 3 Diagram of the complex of the Holy Sepulchre by Arculf, ca. 685. The church of St. Mary is marked to the southeast of the circular Anastasis (Adamnan, De Locis Sanctis, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 458, f. 4v, 9th c.). – (From https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rotunda,_Adomanan_de_locis_santis.jpg [Public domain]).

a complete order of the stationary service for the Holy Week. Stations addressed in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre include the Holy *Martyrion* and its eastern *Propylaeum*, the Holy Anastasis and its eastern gate known as the Gate of the *Myrrhophorai*, the Golgotha and the Cross itself, the Cross atrium (called Holy Garden), the *omphalos*, and the Holy Prison. The *Catechumena* and the Baptistery (*photisterion*) are mentioned there as well.

The manuscript is dated to 1122 according to its colophon. Papadopoulos-Kerameus opined that the liturgy presented in the *Typikon* was actually held under the Crusaders. However, Dmitrievskii criticized this opinion, saying that it could never been applied in 1122. The rite described therein cannot postdate the disappearance of the *Martyrion* of Constantine following the destruction caused by al-Ḥakim. According to Galadza, »the manuscript should be considered a record rather than a historical artifact preserved for posterity«[17]. In this he is, adopting the view of scholars such as Bertonière[18] and Janeras[19]. In any case, as was indicated already by Dmitrievskii, the *Typikon* cannot reflect actual twelfth century liturgy, but rather a tenth century or earlier rite.

Spoudaioi are mentioned in the *Typikon* with relations to several rites[20], and a church of the *Theotokos* is mentioned with association to the morning service of Palm Sunday in the *Martyrion* of Constantine, after a Vigil there. When the patriarch arrives, the *Spoudaioi* withdrew, ascending to their church of the *Theotokos*, in their monastery, reading psalmodies and celebrating all the rite there according to their custom (καθώς ἐστιν ὁ τύπος αὐτῶν). This suggests an immediate connectivity between the *Martyrion* and the *Spudaeon*.

Who were the *Spoudaioi* of the Holy Sepulchre and where was their monastery and the *Theotokos* church located?

The *Spoudaioi* of the Holy Sepulchre were monks devoted to serve in the liturgy of this church[21]. There were also *Spoudaioi* / *tagma* of the Kathisma, the New Church of Mary and the Monastery of Bessarion on Mt. Sion, officiating in their liturgical services[22]. The *Spoudaioi* of the Holy Sepulchre are first mentioned in the fifth century, living in scattered cells around the Tower of David[23]. In ca. 500 Patriarch Elias assembled them to live in common in a monastery near his *Patriarcheion*[24]. This seems to be the Monastery of the Anastasis, where 212 victims found their death in the Persian conquest[25]. A regular

17 Galadza, Sources 90; for reference to Dmitrievskii see n. 137 there.
18 Bertonière, Development 13-14.
19 Janeras, Vendredi-Saint 40; Janeras, Vendredi.
20 In Good Friday they held the canons of the hours at the site of the Crucifixion, and in the evening they recited vespers on the rear side of the Tomb and then moved, in procession, to Calvary, St. Constantine and the Prison of Christ up to the Gate of the Unguent-bearing Women (*Myrrhophorae*) – the gate of the Anastasis.
21 Petrides, Monastère suggested to see the origin of the *Spoudaioi* in the *monazontes* of Egeria and the *tagma* of *monazontes* of Cyril of Jerusalem. They should be differentiated from the *Spoudaioi* or *philoponoi* of Constantinople, Cyprus, Beyrouth, Antioch, Alexandria and other sites in Egypt, who were devoted lay Christians, not monks. See Petrides, Spoudaei; Vailhé, Philopones; Leclercq, Confréries; Wipszycka, Confreries. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, the editor of the *Typikon of the Anastasis*, was wrong in assuming that the *Spoudaioi*

were Frankish monks of Amalfi belonging to the Benedictine Order and that their monastery was founded by Charlemagne, identifying it with Santa Maria Latina mentioned in 870 by Bernard the Wise. Petrides had already indicated long ago (1901), that he was wrong in his assumptions about the *Spoudaioi*. They were rather Greek speaking Palestinian monks, not Benedictine.
22 Patrich, Sabas 5 and 148 n. 37; Di Segni, Cyril 144 n. 29.
23 Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Theodosii 236,10.
24 Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Sabae 116,5.
25 Milik, Topographie 157 no. 9 pl. 1; he locates it in the period that preceded the Arab conquest, to the west-northwest of the Anastasis. But he erred in associating to it the post conquest church of St. Mary and the annexed chapel of St. Michael. Verhelst, Lieux de station 52-53, with map on p. 69, likewise locates the *Spoudaieion* and its church of St. Mary (no. 53 on his map), to the north west of the Anastasis, on the site of the present Greek Orthodox Patriarchate.

nocturnal service by choirs of monks (i. e. the *Spoudaioi*) in the basilica, is mentioned by Sophronius[26]. Two monks, Theodore and Basil, occupying adjacent cells in the *Spoudaeion* of the Anastasis are mentioned in the *Vita* of Stephanus Sabaites (second half of the eighth century). In 811 the Patriarch of Jerusalem Thomas settled three Sabaite monks, Michael, whom he elected to serve as his *syncellus*, and his two disciples, brothers, in the monastery of the *Spoudaioi* near the Anastasis[27]. Then we have the evidence of the mid-tenth century *Typikon of the Anastasis*[28].

According to the *Commemoratorium de casis Dei vel monasteriis* – a report on churches and monasteries in the Holy Land, ordered by Charlemagne and compiled in 808, the staff of the Holy Sepulchre included 41 monks[29].

Bernard the Wise, who visited Jerusalem in ca. 870, two centuries after Arculf, mentions four churches in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre with walls adjoining each other and an open garden in between. Chains extend from each church to the center of the garden, interpreted as the navel of the world. The church on the east is the basilica of Constantine, on the west – the Tomb of the Lord; the one on the south is not named, and likewise the fourth. The entire description seems to be quite schematic. He places Mt. Calvary (and the place where the Cross of the lord was found), in the basilica of Constantine – a clear mistake; none of them could be his southern church. Being a Latin pilgrim he was staying in the hospice built by Charlemagne, located in the Forum of the city[30]. Adjacent to the hospice he mentions a church in honour of Saint Mary with a splendid library donated also by Charlemagne. This church and hospice are mentioned later by several other Western pilgrims. Being located in the present day Muristan – extending over the former Forum of the city, it stood outside the complex of the Holy Sepulchre. Hence, it should not be confused with Arculf's St. Mary, located within[31].

In the years 1102-1103, only few years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, the English pilgrim Saewulf visited the city. The complex he speaks about is still that of Constantine Monomachus, not that of the Crusaders[32]. He mentions near Mount Calvary »the Church of St. Mary, in the place where the Lord's body was taken down from the Cross«[33]; ointments were put on him there, and he was wrapped in his shroud. The general location fits that given by Arculf more than three centuries earlier. His narrative indicates that Arculf's St. Mary commemorated at that time Christ's unction, and since Mount Calvary was elevated, Golgotha being located below, it seems that St. Mary Church was likewise elevated.

It seems that Arculf's St. Mary ceased to function only later in the Crusader period, and the location of the unction was transferred elsewhere. We may get a more specific date from *De situ urbis Jerusalem*, dated before 1114, where an altar in honour of St. Mary is mentioned *near* Mount Calvary and Golgotha[34], while in a *Work on Geography* cited by Wilkinson dated to the years 1128-1137, still before the inauguration of the Crusaders church, such a chapel is not mentioned[35]. This may serve as a *terminus ante quem*[36]. According to a later guide, dated to 1170, after the inauguration of the Crusaders Church, the Stone of Anointment was located in the middle of the Choir of the Canons in the Catholicon and the great altar there was dedicated to Saint Mary, marking the place where she stood, lamenting on her son[37]. The change was the result of the Crusaders' building project.

A Northern Chapel of St. Mary (fig. 4)

Saewulf (1102-1103) mentions, in addition, chapels on either side of the Holy Sepulchre not known before. Hence they seem to be the work of Constantine Monomachus. One, dedicated to St. Mary (it is not said under what title), is understood to be on the north; the other, dedicated to St. John, was on the south. On its other side, namely – to the south, he mentions a monastery of the Trinity, in which the baptistery is located, and beyond it the chapel of St. James[38]. The Chapel of St. Mary on the north was built in the eleventh century on the site of a former courtyard of the Patriarchate[39]. Hence, it seems that thereafter, and in Saewulf's time, there were two sanctuaries dedicated to St. Mary, one near Calvary, the second to the north of the Sepulchre. He adds that on the western wall of the northern chapel, outside, hang an icon of the Mother of God in front of which Mary the Egyp-

26 Sophronius, Anacreontica 20,51-54 (125 Gigante; trans. Wilkinson 91).
27 Petrides, Monastère 226.
28 On the *Spoudaioi* and their liturgical office in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre (in »L'Agrypnie dominicale, Les Heures du Grand Vendredi and Les Vêpres du Grand Vendredi soir, dans la nuit entre Vendredi-Saint et Grand Samedi«), see also Frøyshov, Horologe 333-341, who refers also to Flusin, Anastase 32.
29 Commemoratium 200-201, lines 4-5 (McCormick); they are not listed as *Spoudaioi*; just as monks, but in this case this seems to mean the same).
30 A wall separated the complex of the Holy Sepulchre from the city Forum. The wall was tentatively drawn on Gibson/Taylor, Beneath fig. 45. A section of it was actually uncovered in the excavations underneath the German Church of the Redeemer, see Vieweger, Re-appraisal.
31 Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894 erred in identifying these Latin institutions with the Greek Orthodox monastery of Abraham and a hall of the Abyssinians, located on the eastern side of the present *Parvis*. See Petrides, Monastère 225.
32 Saewulf's narratives much derives from Beda, De Locis Sanctis (702-703), that preceded the work of Constantine Monomachus. See Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgrimage 6-7.

33 Saewulf 12 (trans. Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan 103).
34 De situ urbis Jerusalem 03 (trans. Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan 177).
35 Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgrimage 201.
36 Instead we read there that below the place of Calvary (meaning the elevated Mount Calvary), »to the right as one enters the church, is a chapel where they say that the three Maries wept for him while he was suffering on the Cross. Not far from that Joseph buried Jesus« (Descriptio 162; trans. Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan 201).
37 Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgrimage 238: Second Guide.
38 The three chapels on the south of the Anastasis are mentioned also by the *Second Guide*, noted above, dated to 1170. One in honour of the Trinity, another, on the side of the Forum, in honor of St. James. Between the Sepulchre and the Place of Passion, namely – Mount Calvary, is a place where Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene (John 20). See Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgrimage 239. A chapel dedicated to Mary of Egypt is known today in the northeast corner of the *Parvis*.
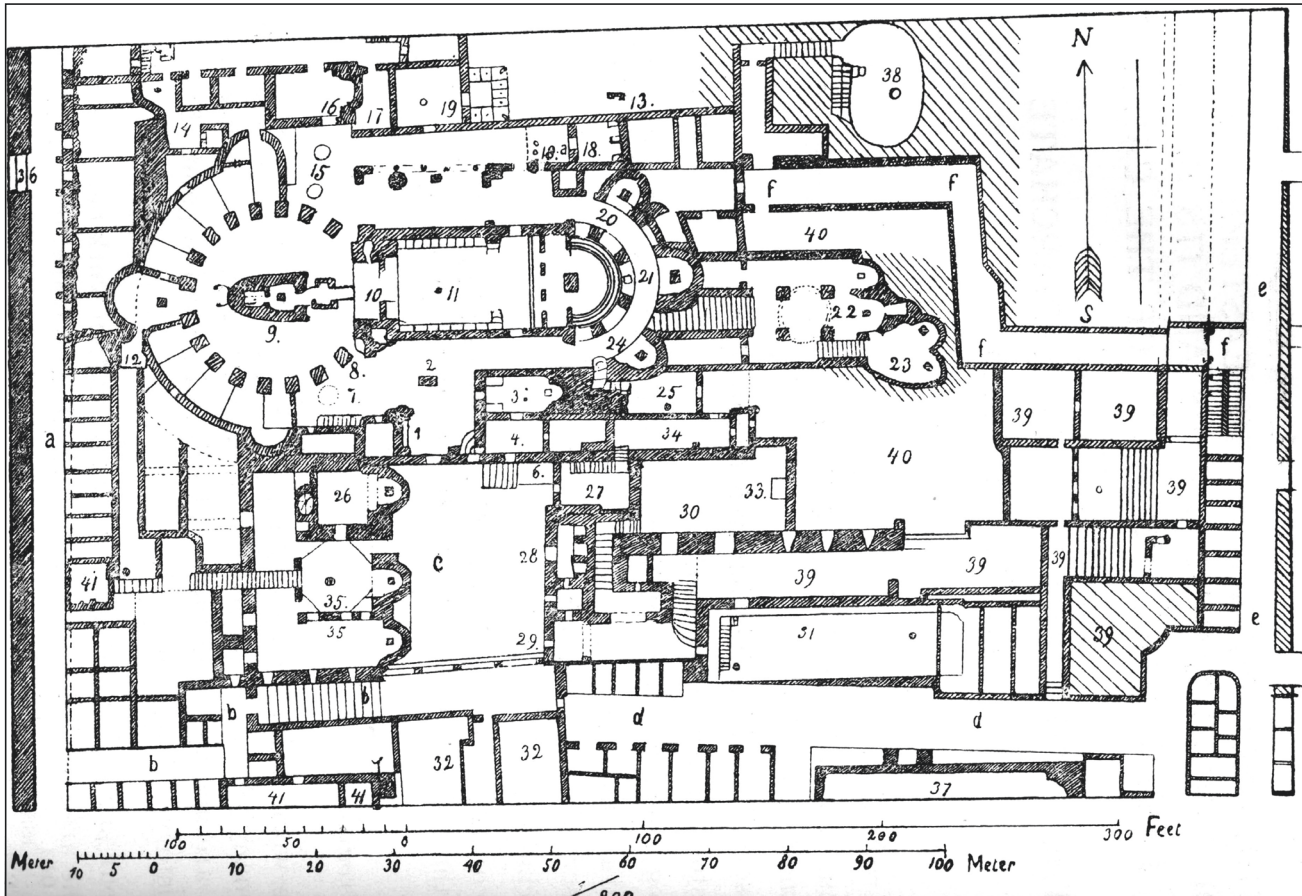39 Pringle, Churches 40-42 no. 283.1.

Fig. 4 The complex of the Holy Sepulchre today. – **1** Southern Entrance to the Crusaders church. – **2** Stone of Unction. – **9** Holy Sepulchre. – **11** Katholikon, built by the Crusaders. – **16** St. Mary of the Latins. – **26** Chapel of the Forty Martyrs of the Greeks. – **25** Former Refectory of the Greeks. – **27** Archangel Michael of the Ethiopians. – **30** »Georgian Hall« of Abraham Monastery and the Church of Apostles above. – **31** Huge Water Cistern underneath St. Abraham. – **34** Four Creatures Chapel of the Ethiopians. – **35** Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen (Old Baptistery) and the Chapel of St. James to its south. – (From Katsimbinis, Hill of Calvary 198 fig. a).

tian repented. In earlier times this notable icon was hanging above the *Martyrion*'s gate, on the east, but this huge basilica ceased to exist after al-Ḥakim (see Appendix).

The northern St. Mary chapel is mentioned later by Mu-hammad al-Idrisi, an Arab Muslim geographer writing in Sicily in 1154 on the basis of travelers' reports addressing the church of the Crusaders. According to his narrative, the church of the Holy Sepulchre had three gates – on the south, north and west. The northern gate was called after St. Mary [leading to her chapel]. One could descend to the lower part of the church by 30 steps. At present the Khanqah al-Salahi-yyah Mosque extends to the north of the Holy Sepulchre. It is not known if indeed a northern gate to the Holy Sepulchre existed there, but it seems reasonable. The southern gate is called by al-Idrisi the Gate of Crucifixion[40]. The west gate per-mits access only to the upper parts of the Anastasis; descend-ing from the western side down, to the church, is impossible,

so he says. But in 1107, this was the gate through which the Crusader king Baldwin and his retinue, including the Russian abbot Daniel, accessed the Anastasis for the ceremony of the Holy Fire[41]. The western gate, blocked today, can be seen on Christians Street, framed by typical Crusader moldings. Vincent and Abel refer to this western gate as St. Mary Gate. According to their reconstruction, 40 stairs led down to the court of St. Mary chapel of the Franciscans[42].

A Western Church of St. Mary

The Russian Abbot Daniel who visited Jerusalem in 1107, mentions at a distance of about 150 *sagene* (= ca. 320 m; 1 *sagene* = ca. 2,13 m), to the west of the site of the crucifixion, and above the Anastasis, a hill on which Mary, the Mother of the Lord, was standing with many of Christ's friends and ac-

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40 Muhammad al-Idrisi, Description of Jerusalem. English trans. Le Strange, Pales-tine 206-207; Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgrimage 223.

41 *Varia lectionis*: eastern/rear gate (see Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgri-mage 168). But at this time the church did not have a gate on the east, hence the version »eastern« should be discarded.

42 Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 114 fig. 64; 136 fig. 89 and pl. 21. – The chapel is known at present as the Chapel of the Apparition, where Christ first appeared to his mother Mary after the resurrection according to the apocryphal »Gos-pel of Gamiliel« and »Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle« (www.holysepulchre.custodia.org/default.asp?id=4116 [8.05.2019]).

quaintances, talking to her son Christ when he was led to the Cross[43]. The name of the place is *Spudii*, which is translated as the zeal (*spoude*) of the Mother of God, »and there is now a monastery at that place and a very fine tall square church built in honor of the Holy Mother of God«. No explicit association with the monks *Spoudaioi* of the Holy Sepulchre, but the reference seems to be to their monastery. The location is to the west and at some distance from the Holy Sepulchre, rather than being a part of its complex, as is suggested by the *Typikon*, the *Georgian Calendar and Lectionary* and earlier by Arculf. It seems that after the Crusaders took hold of the church, the *Spoudaioi* lost to the Latin Canons their former role as guardians of the Holy Sepulchre and had to move to a remote monastery. St. Mary in *Spudii*, located at some distance to the west of Golgotha, and in a higher elevation, cannot be neither Arculf's St. Mary, nor *Deiparae ecclesia* of the *Georgian Calendar* and *Lectionary*, or the *Theotokos* church of the *Typikon of the Anastasis*.

The Location of Arculf's St. Mary and the Pre-Crusaders *Spoudaeion*

Vincent and Abel were of the opinion that Arculf's St. Mary should be located between the present Stone of Anointment and the place where the women stood, to the west of Golgotha[44], but this does not befit the location given in Arculf's diagram. Alternatively, they mark Arculf's St. Mary near the northeast corner of the *Parvis*[45]. They rightly distinguished between Arculf's St. Mary and *Theotokos* of the *Spoudaioi* of Abbot Daniel, suggesting that the latter one should be identified with the »Chapel of the Patriarch«, that until 1867 was attached to the drum of the dome of the Anastasis, on the west[46]. This eleventh century chapel was later part of the Crusaders Palace of the Patriarch, that according to Mujir ad-Din and other literary sources was confiscated by Ṣalaḥ ad-Din, and given to the Sufis order who establish there a hospice (*khanqeh*). This is the present Khanqah al-Salahi-yyah Mosque, occupying the northwest zone of the Holy Sepulchre complex[47]. In any case, the *Spoudaieion* (with its church) should be conceived as a different complex than the

Patriarcheion. As was indicated above (note 25), Verhelst, following Milik, opined that the *Spoudaieion* and its church of St. Mary, were located on the site of the present Greek Orthodox Patriarchate.

Petrides adopted the proposal of A. de Norov, the editor of the *Itinerary* of the Russian abbot Daniel, who suggested to identify St. Mary in *Spudii* with the present *Megala Panagia* nunnery, located indeed to the west and on higher ground than the Holy Sepulchre (and to the south of the present Greek Orthodox monastery of St. Constantine). The foundation of this monastery is associated in the local tradition, for some unclear reason, with the Latin matron and nun Melania the Younger[48]. Her cell and tomb is shown in the church, though according to her *Vita* she founded in the mid fifth century two monasteries on Mount of Olives, one for monks the second for nuns[49]. But the location of this St. Mary of the early twelfth century, cannot fit that of seventh century Arculf's. Saewulf's narrative, like Arculf's, suggests that a church dedicated to St. Mary near Mount Calvary did exist. According to Arculf it was located on the south of Mt. Calvary; according to Saewulf, it was on its level, rather than on the ground level. Can a more precise location be proposed?

Coüasnon placed to the south of the Rock of Crucifixion, his »behind the Cross« (*post crucem*) Golgotha church[50], with a small atrium in front[51], Two services described by Egeria were held in this church in the Great Week: (35,2 – hymn, prayer and offering by the bishop; 37,1-3 – the Veneration of the Cross) on Thursday and Friday, respectively[52]. The chamber in which the worshipers venerated the Wood of the Cross had two doors (37,3). Wilkinson rejected Coüasnon's proposal, saying that such chapel was located to the east of the Rock, not to its south[53]. I should add that being »behind« the Cross indicates that it was on the galleries level, on the western end the first southern gallery of the Basilica of Constantine, since the Cross was located on top of Mt. Calvary, rather than on ground floor. I maintain that Coüasnon's chapel, occupying the site of the Abyssinian chapel of Archangel Michael, should be identified with St. Michael of the *Georgian Calendar* and *Georgian Lectionary* (October 5th) – a chapel annexed to St. Mary, that was located above, in an upper story.

43 There was also another tradition: According to Peter the Deacon (1137), Mary spoke with the Lord while standing behind the Resurrection, in the Garden, not far from his Prison, Peter the Deacon C 1 (94 Weber; trans. Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan 212). According to Saewulf 13 (trans. Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan 103-104), the Latins and the Assyrians placed this episode in the site of the altar of St. Maria Latina.

44 Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 224 and 219 fig. 119 F.

45 Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 219 fig. 119 F¹.

46 Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 224 with 114 fig. 64 A³ and 116 fig. 66 C. – The eastern wall of this chapel, holding three niches, was dismantled by architect Mauss in 1867, and restored in the Franciscan property of St. Anne, where it can be seen at present.

47 Mauss, Note; Pringle, Churches 125-129 no. 300. – Epiphanius – a Jerusalemite monk of the 8th c., who wrote a guidebook for pilgrims to the Holy Land, probably before 787, mentions the *Patriarcheion* in proximity to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and below it a church without a throne, »which was to have been given a throne by the synod at the time of the Saracen invasion« (trans. Wilkinson 117). It is reasonable to assume that the Crusaders Palace

of the Patriarch took the place of the earlier *Patriarcheion*. The identity of the underlying church is ambiguous.

48 This seems to be the reason why Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 287 name it Panagia Melana.

49 J. Raba, the Hebrew translator of the *Itinerary* of the Russian abbot Daniel, opined that it stood on the site of the present Lutheran church, confusing between it and St. Maria Latina. This Lutheran church is not to the west of the Anastasis and the Golgotha, and not on a higher elevation.

50 Coüasnon, Church 50-53 pl. 8-9 no. 8.

51 According to Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 142 a previous eastern portico of the *parvis* was integrated in the façade of the Monastery of Abraham, the Armenian chapel of St. James and St. Michael chapel of the Copts/Abyssinians.

52 Egeria 35,2 (278-281 Maraval; trans. Wilkinson 134-135); 37,1 (284-285 Maraval; trans. Wilkinson 136-137); Verhelst, Liturgie 279-280.

53 Wilkinson, Pilgrims 177. – For the archaeological finds behind and to the east of the Golgotha rock, see Katsimbinis, Hill of Calvary. They do not include remains of any early Christian chapel.

As for the *Typikon*'s monastery of the *Spoudaioi*, Papado-poulos-Kerameus pointed on the site of the Greek Orthodox monastery of Abraham, adding that another part of it is occupied by Abyssinian monks[54]. Interestingly, the monastery of Abraham serves at present the *Neotes* of the Holy Sepulchre, the Greek Orthodox monks serving in the church[55], holding the *agrypnia* rite there every night. They are the sucessors of the *Spoudioi* of pre-crusaders times. But not all of them live there. Some dwell in cells in the uppermost gallery of the rotunda[56]. Their refectory was in a hall to the east of Mt. Calvary[57]. Its floor was dismantled during the archaeological excavations at that site during the 1970's[58]. Today it serves as a store for official dress and vessels used in the service; a kind of *diakonikon*. St. Abraham monastery is a post-Crusaders structure, leaning against the refectory of the Latin canons. According to local memory, the monastery served in the past pilgrims and orphans[59]. In the fourteenth century, under Ottoman rule, Georgians were permitted to move in. The »Georgian Hall«, with an impressive ceiling of heavy wooden beams, serving now as the library of the monastery, is attributed to this period[60]. The church located above, under restoration at present, is dedicated to the Apostles. The memory of the possible association of this monastery with the pre-Crusaders *Spoudaieion* was forgotten. The St. Mary church discussed here might have been located above the St. Michael chapel, on the approximate location of the Georgian Hall, the western window of which overlooks St. Michael.

Summary

The architectural history of the *Spoudaeion* can be divided into three chapters, in accord with that of the entire complex of the Holy Sepulchre. In the Early Byzantine period, from ca. 500 the *Spoudaeion* was adjacent to the *Patriarcheion*. According to the *Georgian Calendar* and *Georgian Lectionary* pertaining to August 11th, a chapel of St. Mary formed a component of it. The Crusaders Palace of the Patriarch, that most probably replaced the earlier Byzantine *Patriarcheion*, extended to the northwest of the Holy Sepulchre[61]. St. Mary Church to the south of Golgotha, where Arculf is placing it, did not come yet into being. Following the damage caused to the entire complex of the Anastasis, including its monastery, by the Persians and the successive Arab conquest, in order to better secure the complex, the *Spoudaeion* was shifted to a more central location, nearer to Golgotha and St. Constantine, to their south. This is where Arculf places St. Mary Mother of the Lord. The translation of the *Spoudaion* with the monastic church of St. Mary to this location, should be attributed to Modestus. According to Saewulf the church commemorates the site of Unction. The *Typikon of the Anastasis* indicates that this was indeed the church of the *Spoudaeion*, and that it was located at a higher elevation, not at ground floor. From there the *Spoudaioi* could easily reach Mt. Calvary and the *Martyrion* via its galleries. The rites in this church associated with the *Spoudaioi* described in the *Typikon of the Anastasis* are related to the church in this new location.

Under the Crusaders the Latin Patriarch occupied the former Greek *Patriarcheion*. From the narrative of the Russian Abbot Daniel (1107) we can conclude that under the Latin domination the *Spoudaioi* – the brotherhood of the local Palestinian church – lost their former status and had to move c. 300 m to the west. Their church of St. Mary moved likewise to their new location. The Latin canons took their role as the guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, and took hold of the Greek *Spoudaeion* and their church. In due course a special monastery was constructed for these Augustinian canons over the ruined *Martyrion*.

Following Papadopoulos-Kerameus, it is suggested here that the Greek Orthodox Monastery of Abraham marks the location of the pre-Crusaders monastery of the *Spoudaioi*. As was indicated above, the *Georgian Calendar* and *Georgian Lectionary*[62] associates a church dedicated to St. Mary with St. Michael. A chapel dedicated to the Archangel Michael,

54 Petrides, Monastère 225.
55 I have learnt this and other facts from the monks Aristoboulos, the director of the Choir of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, and Isidoros, the present Guardian of the Holy Cross and abbot of these *Neotes*, with whom I have consulted also about other aspects related the present study. I am indebted to both.
56 According to Cust, Status Quo 30, the topmost Gallery of the Rotunda on the south is under Orthodox control, while the northern section is within the precinct of the *Khankeh* mosque. One should also bear in mind that not all the monks serving in the Jerusalem Patriarchate are *Neotes*.
57 Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 99-101 fig. 54-56.
58 Katsimbinis, Hill of Calvary.
59 Two refectories, other than the one mentioned above, can be seen there. The first to the north of the big water cistern; the second, longer and narrower than the first, in a lower level. A broad staircase leads down from the upper one. A second broad staircase leads up near the southwest end of the lower refectory. Both, decorated with deteriorating frescos depicting saints, serve at present as storage spaces.
60 Still during the early 1970's the library of St. Abraham monastery was located in the octagonal structure of red bricks, now dismantled, attributed to the building phase of Constantine Monomachus. See Katsimbinis, Hill of Calvary; Ousterhout, Rebuilding.

61 Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 274; Corbo, Santo Sepolcro pl. 3; Pringle, Churches 39 plan 2, p. 49 plan 7 and 125-129 no. 300. – For a plan of the Mediaeval structures surrounding the complex of the Holy Sepulchre see also Clapham, Buildings. Concerning the *Patriarcheion* in the 8th c., see also *supra* n. 47. The Russian Abbot Daniel, describing the circular Church of Resurrection, mentions in its upper part spacious rooms in which lives (*var. lec.*: lived) the Patriarch. See Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 258; Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgrimage 128. According to the *Typikon of the Anastasis* V,2, in the celebration of the Pascha, when all clergy assembled to the Patriarchate, they all had to descend, indicating that the *Patriarcheion* was located indeed on a higher elevation. For a French translation of this passage of the *Typikon* see Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 241. – On a brief history of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in later periods see Papadopoulos, Topographikon. Until 1845, as long as the Jerusalem patriarch was staying in Istanbul, the residence of his deputy was located above and to the west of the three chapels delineating the *parvis* on the west. His audience hall – the *epitropikon*, serves today as the salon of the clergy praying in St. Constantine church. Their refectory serves at present for storing various ecclesiastical furniture that went out of use, being replaced by new ones.
62 Feasts related to June 22nd and October 5th. See Milik, Notes 360, and note 13 above.

accessed from the NE corner of the *Parvis*, exists today in the lower level of the Ethiopian quarters[63]. A staircase ascends from there east, to the chapel of »The likeness of the Four Living Creatures« (Ezek. 1,5). Ch. Coüasnon deemed to reconstruct on the site of St. Michael of the Ethiopians his Golgotha chapel, labeled by him »*post crucem*«. But it should rather mark St. Michael of the *Georgian Calendar* and *Lectionary*. Above and to the east of this Ethiopian chapel is located the »Georgian Hall« of St. Abraham Monastery, having a window that looks down to this chapel. This is a mediaeval hall above which is located the Greek Orthodox church of the Apostles, sacred also to the Georgians. It may mark the general location of St. Mary of Arculf (and Saewulf), the *Theotokos* church of the *Anastasis Typikon*, and *Deiparae ecclesia* of the *Georgian Calendar* and *Lectionary* pertaining to October 5th. As is indicated in the last two sources, the church is located on an upper level.

Appendix: The Whereabout of St. Mary Icon and Relics

The *Life of St. Mary of Egypt* – a fifth-early sixth century anachoress –, attributed to Sophronius, mentions an icon of the *Theotokos* hanging above the main eastern entrance to the church[64], that had a porch in front – the western portico of the atrium – rather than in a closed sacristy.

The Placentia pilgrim mentions an icon of St. Mary on a raised place, her girdle and head band (*species beatae Mariae in superiori loco, et zona ipsius et ligamentum, quo utebatur in capite*). He also mentions seven marble thrones (*cathedrae*) of the elders (*seniorum*), that stood there – namely, in the basilica of Constantine[65]. The icon and the other relics of St. Mary are mentioned following his description of the Wood of the Cross and the miracles performed by it in the ceremony of the Veneration of the Cross. The Wood of the Cross was kept at that time, together with other relics – the sponge, the reed, and the onyx cup – in a small room (*cubiculum*) in the courtyard (*atrium*) of the basilica. According to the *Breviarius*

(early sixth century), this chamber (*cubiculus*), was on the left, as one enters the basilica[66]. According to Sophronius (early seventh century), the reed, the sponge and the lance were venerated in an Upper Room[67]. The courtyard in which the miracles occurred, was located to the east of the basilica[68]. The context of the Placentia pilgrim's description may suggest that St. Mary's icon was kept nearby, in an upper sacristy, but neither a chapel nor a *cubiculum* are mentioned by him. His »raised place«, where the icon stood, should rather be interpreted in accord with the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt*. In any case, St. Mary of Arculf / Adamnan was located on the other side of St. Constantine; it came into being later and did not exist in the time of the Placentia pilgrim[69]. Neither St. Mary's icon nor the other relics of her are associated by Arculf / Adamnan with this church.

In a later period, after the Arab conquest, the miraculous icon of the *Theotokos* is mentioned by the eighth century monk Epiphanius[70], but in another location: According to him, the Lance, Sponge, Reed (and other relics), were located in a sacristy above the door of St. Constantine, between the prison and the site of Crucifixion[71]. Epiphanius is referring here to a western door of the basilica, open to the Holy Garden, not to the *atrium* addressed by the Placentia pilgrim. Hence, under Muslim regime the sacristy of these relics was shifted to an inner location – a more secure place, overlooking the inner courtyard – the tri-portico, rather than overlooking the eastern one, as before[72].

As for the miraculous icon of the *Theotokos* as addressed by Epiphanius, it was located on the left side of St. Constantine. Here, again, the reference must be to the rear, western façade of the basilica, rather to its eastern one. Namely, the miraculous icon was also shifted, being placed above the western door of the basilica, open to the Holy Garden.

As was indicated above, Saewulf also mentions a chapel of St. Mary on the north of the *triportico*. Outside, on its western wall, an icon of St. Mary was painted, in front of which Mary the Egyptian repented, but this cannot be the earlier icon, which was transferred to Constantinople under emperor Leo VI (886-911)[73].

63 Cust, Status Quo 30. Abel, Rec. Kekelidze 459 no. 22 suggested to identify St. Michael of October 5th with the Greek convent of St. Michael, located near the Latin convent of the Saviour. In his other recension article (Abel, Rec. Goussen 615 no. 22), concerning St. Michael church of June 22nd, he mentioned Goussen's proposal that the monastery of archimandrite Jordanes – a correspondent of John of Damascus (8th c.), was near the *leprosarium* of St. Michael near David's Gate. According to Vincent / Abel, Jerusalem 924, interpreting buildings depicted on the Madaba Map, a church by the name of St. Michael should be located near Bab a-Naḍir gate of Ḥaram al Sharif, the former name of which was Bab Mikail (according to Clermont-Ganneau, Researches 127-128). See also note 13 above.

64 Sophronius, Vita 25 (3713B Migne). Though a literary construct (see Kazhdan, Mary of Egypt), the architectural reality pertaining to the complex of the Holy Sepulchre should not be questioned.

65 Antonini Placentini, Itinerarium 20 (139 Geyer); *Recensio Altera* 20 (164 Geyer).

66 Breviarius Forma a, 1 (109 Weber; trans. Wilkinson 59; early 6th c.).

67 Sophronius, Anacreontica 20,47-50 (125 Gigante; trans. Wilkinson 91). – A place where the Wood of the Cross was venerated is also mentioned by Sophronius, Anacreontica 20,35-38 (124 Gigante; trans. Wilkinson 91). Its exact location or shape are not specified.

68 In the time of Egeria, the wood of the cross was venerated in the *post crucem* Golgotha chapel, as was indicated above.

69 *Pace* Milik, Notes 359-360.

70 Epiphanius II 9-11; Milik, Notes 360; according to Milik, later on, under emperor Leo VI (886-911), the icon was transferred to the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

71 Epiphanius I 14-II 1. The Wood of the Cross, taken by Heraclius to Constantinople, is not mentioned.

72 The southern part of the eastern courtyard – the atrium of the basilica – was confiscated by the Muslims, and a mosque was installed there in the 9th or 10th c., before the time of Eutychius of Alexandria (Annales 118-120). See Aist, Topography 93-94.

73 I have consulted with and was assisted by many scholars concerning various aspects of this paper, mainly the proper understanding of the entries in the Georgian Calendar and Lectionary. Special thanks are due to Tinatin Chronz. I am grateful also to Daniel Galadza, Stig Frøyshov, Zaza Skhirtladze, Yana Tchekhanovets and Leah Di Segni, for their time and useful advises.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Arculfs Marienkirche und das Spoudaion im Komplex des Heiligen Grabes zwischen der Eroberung durch die Araber und die Kreuzritter. Ort und Liturgie

Eine Maria, Mutter des Herrn, geweihte Kirche wird von dem fränkischen Bischof Arculf erwähnt, der Jerusalem um 685 besuchte. Dieser Bau ist auch auf einer von ihm gezeichneten Wachstafel südöstlich der Anastasis-Rotunde und südlich von Golgotha zu sehen. Eine solche Kirche gab es vor der arabischen Eroberung nicht. Eine Kirche mit diesem Namen wird auch im georgischen Kalender und Lektionar des 10. Jahrhunderts und im Typikon der Anastasiskirche aus der Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts erwähnt, was darauf hinweist, dass dies die Kirche des Klosters der Spoudaioi war. Saewulfs Beschreibung (1102/1103) legt ebenfalls nahe, dass diese Kirche keine Erfindung von Arculf war. Diese und andere literarische Quellen werden erörtert, um die mögliche Lage von Arculfs Marienkirche und des vorkreuzfahrerzeitlichen Spoudaieion zu ermitteln.

Arculf's Church of St. Mary and the *Spoudaeion* in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre between the Arab and the Crusader Conquests. Location and Liturgy

A church named St. Mary Mother of the Lord is mentioned by the Gaulish bishop Arculf, who visited Jerusalem in ca. 685. The church is also depicted to the southeast of the round church of the Resurrection and to the south of Golgotha on a diagram drawn by him on a wax tablet. Such a church did not exist there prior to the Arab conquest. A church by this name is also mentioned in the tenth century *Georgian Calendar* and *Georgian Lectionary* and in the mid-tenth century *Typikon of the Anastasis* that indicate that this was the church of the monastery of the *Spoudaioi*. Saewulf's description (1102/1103) likewise suggests that this church was not a fiction of Arculf. These and other literary sources are discussed in order to trace the possible location of Arculf's St. Mary and of the pre-Crusaders *Spoudaieion*.

L'église Sainte-Marie d'Arculfe et le Spoudaion dans le complexe du Saint-Sépulcre entre la conquête arabe et les croisés. Lieu et liturgie

Une église consacrée à Marie, la mère du Seigneur, est mentionnée par l'évêque franc Arculfe, qui visita Jérusalem vers 685. Ce bâtiment est également visible au sud-est de la rotonde de l'Anastasis et au sud du Golgotha sur un dessin qu'il a réalisé sur une tablette de cire. Il n'existait pas d'église comme celle-là avant la conquête arabe. Une église de ce nom est mentionnée dans le *Calendrier géorgien* et le *Lectionnaire géorgien* du 10ᵉ siècle, ainsi que dans le *Typikon de l'Anastasis* du milieu du 10ᵉ siècle qui indiquent qu'il s'agissait de l'église du monastère des *Spoudaioi*. La description de Saewulf (1102/1103) suggère également que cette église n'était pas une fiction d'Arculfe. On discute cette source et d'autres sources littéraires afin de déterminer la localisation vraisemblable de l'église Sainte-Marie d'Arculfe et le *Spoudaion* antérieur aux croisés.

Traduction: Y. Gautier