

Robert Ousterhout

A NEW 'NEW JERUSALEM' FOR JERUSALEM

In his biography of Constantine, Eusebius called the church of the Holy Sepulchre “the New Jerusalem, facing the far-famed Jerusalem of olden time”¹. He thus contrasted the glorious new imperial building at the site of the Tomb of Christ with the ruins of the Jewish Temple on the opposite side of the city (fig. 1). The exact nature of Constantine’s “New Jerusalem” is far from clear, although its basic components are known. The fourth-century complex isolated the most significant holy sites — Calvary and the Tomb — and established the basic architectural features to glorify them. The vast complex of buildings consisted of an atrium, a five-aisled basilica with its apse oriented to the west, a porticoed courtyard with the rock of Calvary in the southeast corner, and, finally, the great Rotunda of the Anastasis (Resurrection), housing the Tomb of Christ². Following damage and repair in the seventh and tenth centuries, the church complex was destroyed in 1009 and subsequently rebuilt with the financial support of the Byzantine

¹ *Eusebius. Vita Constantini* 3.25 / Trans. J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (3rd ed., Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 2002), 144.

² The standard monograph remains *Vincent H. and Abel F.-M. Jérusalem nouvelle*. Paris, 1914, vol. 2. The history of the building is summarized in *Ousterhout R. Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre* // *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48 (1989), 66–78; *Corbo V. C. Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme*. Jerusalem, 1981, 3 vols., is indispensable and has superseded all previous publications on the subject, but without providing a full analysis of its architectural remains. A less satisfactory account, with imaginative reconstruction drawings is provided by *Couasnon C. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* // *The Schweich Lectures* 1972. London, 1974. More recently, see *Taylor J. and Gibson S. Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre*. London, 1994, for important observations on the site of the Constantinian building, although their essays at reconstruction are less useful. *Biddle M. The Tomb of Christ*. Sutton, 1999, offers important observations on the building’s history while focusing on the present condition of the tomb aedicula. In general, more attention has been given to the perplexing early history of the site than to the standing remains.

emperors, apparently completed by Constantine IX Monomachos ca. 1048³. Although the Rotunda and the porticoed courtyard remained much the same, neither the basilica nor the atrium was reconstructed; the Anastasis Rotunda was provided with an open, conical vault and an apse on its eastern façade. The courtyard became the focal point of the complex, enveloped by numerous annexed chapels organized on several levels.

After the conquest of Jerusalem at the completion of the First Crusade in 1099, the complex was given a more unified appearance, in accordance with Western European standards, incorporating elements associated with Western European pilgrimage architecture⁴. The Cloister of the Canons was built to the east of the Byzantine complex, on the site of the Constantinian basilica, with the subterranean chapel of St. Helena — an expansion of the Byzantine crypt of the Invention of the Cross — built into the foundations⁵. The Tomb aedicule was remodeled, but the Anastasis Rotunda was left in its eleventh-century form. A domed transept and a Romanesque pilgrimage choir replaced the courtyard and its subsidiary chapels. The chapel of Calvary was expanded, but contained within the eastern portions of the south transept. The choir was dedicated in (but not completed) in 1149 to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the conquest of Jerusalem⁶. The monumental entry on the south façade is flanked by a belfry and the so-called Chapel of the Franks, which provided access to Calvary. Despite subsequent damage and repair, this is more-or-less the form in which the building is preserved today.

After the seventh century, however, the glory of the church was outshone by the Dome of the Rock, which was visually more prominent and aesthetically more pleasing than the complex and contradictory building into which the Holy Sepulchre evolved. Certainly the basic planning concepts evident in the three different phases of the Holy Sepulchre stand in stark opposition to each other. Yet, as each phase incorporated large elements of its predecessor, the inherent contradictions in planning principles became permanent elements of design. The final form is a directionally ambivalent

³ *Ousterhout*, *Rebuilding the Temple*; *Biddle*, *Tomb of Christ*, 77–81, has questioned the attribution of the Byzantine reconstruction with Constantine Monomachos, preferring his predecessor Michael IV (1034–1041). The association with Constantine Monomachos was recorded after ca. 1165 by William of Tyre, based on local tradition, although the reconstruction may have been begun several decades earlier.

⁴ *Ousterhout R.* *Architecture as Relic and the Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy Sepulchre* // *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62 (2003), 4–23. A thorough recent analysis of the chronology is presented by *Folda J.* *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge and New York, 1995), 175–245, with important observations on the chronology of construction.

⁵ *Folda*, *Art of the Crusaders*, 57–60, and 517, n. 3; and fig. 5 for plan of the cloister (reproduced from Enlart).

⁶ *Ibid*, esp. 178.

pilgrimage church, with a rotunda in the place of the nave, enveloped by an asymmetrical array of subsidiary spaces and outbuildings. Moreover, while the Dome of the Rock remained splendid in its isolation on the former Temple platform, the Holy Sepulchre was hemmed in on all sides by the dense urban fabric of the medieval city (fig. 1).

The centuries of Ottoman control in Jerusalem were marked by repeated misfortunes, compounded by squabbles among the Christian communities that inhabited the Holy Sepulchre. By the nineteenth century, the building was in a perilous state: the belfry had been damaged and partially demolished in the eighteenth century; a fire ravaged the building in 1808, after which it had been poorly restored. Moreover, the disagreements between the Christian communities led to internal subdivisions and turf warfare, resulting in the enforcement of the so-called “status quo” in 1862 by the Ottomans authorities, which severely limited future interventions in the building⁷. The most famous relic of the status quo is the ladder in the upper window of the south façade, which cannot be moved. In addition, there continue to be contested areas within the building that cannot be cleaned, because cleaning implies ownership. In short, the Holy Sepulchre had become an ugly and difficult building, and it was legally obliged to remain that way.

More significantly, modern Christian tastes did not respond to the historic building as their medieval predecessors had done. What seems to have occurred is a growing disparity between the inherent sanctity of the site and what its architecture represented. During the Middle Ages, the Tomb of Christ had been glorified and authorized by the church building that enshrined it. The architectural features were regarded as part and parcel of the ritual experience at the holy site. The building was understood as a combination of reliquary containing the holy sites, a contact relic whose sanctity came by proximity and association, and an authentic relic in its own right, associated with Constantine and the Crusaders. In the minds of the faithful, the building and the site merged⁸.

By the nineteenth century, all that had changed. Europeans had become attuned to the stylistic developments of historical architecture by means of new scientific studies and through various revival movements, and they were familiar with ideas of stylistic purity and aesthetic unity promulgated by restoration architects like Viollet-le-Duc. Visitors consequently complained about the appearance of the Holy Sepulchre, which had become a pastiche of poorly restored historical components replete with jarring disjunctions and

⁷ For the legislation concerning the building, see *Rock A. OFM. The Status Quo in the Holy Places*. Jerusalem, 1989; for a brief survey of its present state, see *Freeman-Grenville G. S. P. The Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*. Jerusalem, 1994.

⁸ See my comments, “Architecture as Relic,” *passim*.

representing a mixture of styles. "Both the architecture and the internal decorations are much inferior to those of the original edifice", wrote Michael Russell in 1831. "The meanness of every thing about the architecture of the central dome, and of the whole rotunda which surrounds the Sepulchre itself, can only be exceeded by the wretched taste of its painted decorations"⁹.

Even worse, visitors, particularly anti-Catholic British, questioned the authenticity of the site. "The place seemed to me like a shabby theatre," wrote W.M. Thackeray in 1844¹⁰. In 1886 General Gordon popularized an alternative site for Christ's Resurrection, the so-called "Garden Tomb" which subsequently became the focus of Protestant devotion. Although its authenticity has been consistently discounted by historians, in the words of Father Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, it "conforms to the expectations of simple piety"¹¹. Incidentally, the theme park "The Holy Land Experience" in Orlando, Florida, chose to represent the Tomb of Christ with a replica of the Garden Tomb¹².

Not only had the Holy Sepulchre degenerated unto an ugly and unappreciated building, it was coming apart at the seams. The earthquake of 1927 brought matters to a climax, and government of the British Mandate found it necessary to intervene¹³. William Harvey was brought in as a consultant to prepare a structural report. He emphasized that the weight of the vaulting was causing the outward rotation of the exterior walls, exacerbated by the thin-walled construction, poor mortar, repeated earthquakes, and the deterioration of the masonry from the fire of 1808¹⁴. The British authorities subsequently installed a metal buttress to brace the south façade. The unilateral actions by the British found almost no response within the Christian communities occupying the church, and no further interventions occurred for the next twenty years. The Catholics seem to have been the only group to take the matter seriously. Under their auspices, Luigi Marangoni, the *proto* of S Marco in Venice, prepared a second structural report, following on that of Harvey, which emphasized the fractures that pervaded the historic masonry¹⁵.

⁹ Russell M. *Palestine or the Holy Land*. Edinburgh, 1837, 92.

¹⁰ Thackeray W. M. *Notes from a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo in 1844*. London, 1946, ch. 13.

¹¹ Murphy-O'Connor J., *OP*. *The Holy Land*. Oxford, 1980, pp. 146–148.

¹² Wharton A. *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks*. Chicago, 2006, 189–232.

¹³ The developments of this period are nicely narrated by Murphy-O'Connor J., *OP*. *Restoration and Discovery: Bringing to Light the Original Holy Sepulchre Church // Patterns of the Past, Prospects for the Future: The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land* / Eds. T. Hummer, K. Hintlian, and U. Carmesund. London, 1999, 69–84.

¹⁴ Harvey W. *Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem. Structural Survey Final Report*. Oxford 1935, 12.

¹⁵ Marangoni L. *La chiesa del Santo Sepolcro in Gerusalemme: problemi della sua conservazione*. Jerusalem, 1937.

What happened after Marangoni's report was published in 1937 remains unclear. In 1940, Gustavo Testa, Titular Archbishop of Amasea (and later Cardinal), Apostolic Delegate in Palestine, and Regent of the Latin Patriarchate, invited Antonio Barluzzi to investigate the possibility of constructing a grand new Christian monument to replace the gloomy, decaying old church.

Barluzzi was a logical choice for the task, for he had considerable experience with holy sites: he had already built new churches on Mount Tabor, Ein Kerem, Gethsemane, the Mount of the Beatitudes, and the monastery of the Flagellation. In 1937, he had remodeled the chapel of Calvary within the church of the Holy Sepulchre, using Aswan granite and introducing new mosaics, following what he saw at the "severe style" of the Crusaders¹⁶. For the new design of the Holy Sepulchre complex, he asked to collaborate with Marangoni. Their project was delayed by the outbreak of World War II, however, and it was published only in 1949, to coincide with the 800th anniversary of the dedication of the crusader church (figs. 2–5)¹⁷. Their project had four major aims:

- To give the site of the church complex greater prominence, so that it could compete visually with the Dome of the Rock, by opening up a great plaza around it and making the "new Temple" more visually prominent, recalling the Constantinian building.
- To respect the sentiments and rights of the competing Christian communities (Latin, Greek, and Armenian) by providing them spacious churches of their own, grouped around a central sanctuary.
- To provide additional worship spaces for the other "dissident communities" (the Coptic, Abyssinian, Anglican, and Syrian churches).
- To respect the Holy Sites by isolating and monumentalizing them.

To regularize the complex, the new program would have destroyed most of the surviving, historic construction and leveled a huge area around it. A large section of the Old City was to be bulldozed, creating an open plaza of some 7 hectares, connected by a broad boulevard to the Jaffa Gate. Of the Holy Sepulchre, only the underground chapel of St. Helena was to be left in place — although I have no idea why, and all other construction was to be entirely replaced, with the "relics" of the old building displayed in a lapidarium-like manner within the porticoes of the new, central courtyard (fig. 4). Calvary, the Anastasis Rotunda, and the Tomb aedicule were to be built anew. The three major congregations — Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox, and Armenians — were to be housed in grand Romano-Romanesque basili-

¹⁶ Madden Daniel M. *Monuments to Glory: The Story of Antonio Barluzzi Architect of the Holy Land*. New York, 1964.

¹⁷ Marangoni L. and Barluzzi A. *La nuova basilica // Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: Splendori, miserie, speranze*. Bergamo, 1949, 133–145, pls. I–XXIX.

cas converging on the central courtyard, with smaller facilities for the other Christian congregations (fig. 2). The proposed complex measured approximately 155 by 200 meters overall, framed by belfries rising close to 100 meters tall.

The project appears to the contemporary scholar as a bizarre Orientalist/Antiquarian fantasy, detailed with Fascist-like façade arcading, minaret-like belfries, and mosque-like domes. The design was prepared with great sincerity, however: Barluzzi and Marangoni published their proposal together with a history of the Holy Sepulchre by the distinguished scholar Father Vincent and a description of the state of the present building by the similarly distinguished Father Baldi. Moreover, the book appeared with the *imprimatur* of the Roman Catholic Church, issued by Archbishop Gustavo Testa, who had proposed the project to begin with. The proposal seems to have been taken very seriously, at least within certain circles of the Roman Catholic Church. It goes without saying that the audacious character of the buildings proposed, combined with the suggestion of wide-scale bulldozing in the historic center of old Jerusalem, effectively guaranteed that it would never be constructed.

At the Holy Sepulchre and elsewhere, Barluzzi's architectural work was based on what he interpreted as the religious concept of site, and the necessity to "shape the art so that it expresses the feeling called for by that Mystery" that occurred at the site. This approach contrasts with what he saw in the historical buildings of Palestine. As his mentor, Father Diotallevi, who became Custos in 1914, expressed it, "Neither the Byzantines of the fourth century, nor the Crusaders who came after them, seemed to concern themselves too much with the architectural forms of the shrines they put up. They more or less followed what was in fashion at the time and let it go at that"¹⁸. As his design for the rebuilding of the church of the Flagellation deviated from archaeological accuracy, Barluzzi commented, "Don't we owe God also the tribute of beauty as well as that of goodness?"¹⁹ Incidentally, toward the end of his life, Barluzzi became a mentor for the young archaeologist Virgilio Corbo, and one wonders how much he influenced Corbo's subsequent expectations of the holy sites he excavated.

How should we situate this strange "New Jerusalem" within its historical context? Clearly, the attitudes toward sacred history it represents contrast dramatically to those reflected in the medieval reconstructions of the Holy Sepulchre, and to those that ultimately guided the restoration of the complex in the 1960s–70s. First, we might attempt to place it in the context of the medieval tradition of copies of the Holy Sepulchre. At the twelfth-century S

¹⁸ Madden, *Monuments to Glory*, 81–83.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 130–131.

Stefano in Bologna, for example, the church was interpreted in the regional idiom, with both dedications and relics replicated from the prototype in order to transfer its spiritual validity to a new location²⁰. Patriarch's Nikon's New Jerusalem at Istra, begun in 1656, falls into this tradition as well. Translated into a picturesque Russian vernacular, in the words of Shakespeare, it "out-Herods Herod" — that is, it appears considerably more spectacular than its prototype. At the same time it is almost scientifically accurate in following the plan of the Jerusalem building, as had become available in both publications and models. Indeed, Patriarch Nikon was criticized in his day for following the prototype too closely²¹.

We might view the New Jerusalem at Istra as a transition to a more "modern" approach, based on detailed analysis of texts and remains. For example, in the 19th century, Gustav Schinkel proposed a monumental rebuilding of the actual Holy Sepulchre church, which would have included leveling large areas around the site, and leaving the tomb exposed and in the open²². We might even see the tradition of fanciful idealized reconstruction drawings — like Schinkel's proposal, which was based largely on textual descriptions — as representative of the new approach to the old site. New attitudes toward architecture and monumentality had become as important as the respect for the history and historic fabric of the monument and its site.

The Italian-Catholic background of the architects Barluzzi and Marangoni might also explain several peculiar features of the proposal, as they were both firmly grounded in the tradition of the Italian Renaissance. The isolation and monumentality of their complex might be compared to ideal city views of the Renaissance, which were often representations of Jerusalem, centered on the Temple²³. These views, of course, had much to do with the Dome of the Rock in its monumental isolation on the Temple Mount. Moreover, the audacity of the proposal — to raze a sacred edifice and to re-

²⁰ Ousterhout R. The Church of Santo Stefano: A 'Jerusalem' in Bologna // *Gesta*, 20 (1981), 311–21; *idem*, *Flexible Geography and Transportable Topography // The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*. Jerusalem, 1998, 393–404 (published as *Jewish Art* 23–24 [1997–1998]).

²¹ Milner-Gulland R. Symbolic Landscapes in Muscovite Russia // *Structure and Tradition in Muscovite Society*, Slavica Helsingiensia 14 (1994), 96–104; Ousterhout R. Building the New Jerusalem // *Jerozolima w kulturze europejskiej* / Eds. P. Paszkiewicz & T. Zadroznego. Warsaw, 1997, 143–154.

²² Kühn M. Schinkels Darstellung der konstantinischen Grabeskirche in Jerusalem // *Klassizismus Epoche und Probleme. Festschrift für Erik Forssman zum 70. Geburtstag* / Eeds. J. Meyer zur Kapellen and G. Oberreuter-Kronabel. Hildesheim, 1987, 209–47; Schütz C. Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Design for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Prussian Involvement in Jerusalem During the Nineteenth Century // *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem*, 492–503.

²³ Ousterhout, *Flexible Geography*, *passim*.

build it in the new style — finds a precedent in the papal rebuilding of the basilica of St. Peter's in the 16th century. The Renaissance architectural ideal, in fact, informs many of Barluzzi's Holy Land church designs, such as his unrealized project for Nazareth.

Marangoni and Barluzzi seem to have been in Venice when they prepared their proposal — at least they were there working on it when the war broke out in 1940. The theatricality of the Venetian scene may have impacted their design as well, as may have Venetian artists Carpaccio and Gentile Bellini, who had created exoticized images of Jerusalem and Alexandria²⁴. The spiral minarets of mosques in Cairo (and possibly Samarra) find their way into these views and may account for the bizarre belfries in the proposal. It is noteworthy that in his work at the Flagellation church, Barluzzi had experienced difficulties — both bureaucratic and otherwise — in constructing a belfry that could compete with the minarets of the city. In the Holy Sepulchre project, the towers rise over twice as tall as any existing tower in the city.

There was also a tradition of exotic views of Jerusalem from late Middle Ages. In several manuscripts illuminations, Jerusalem appears as a city of attenuated towers and exotic domes. In these, the dome of the Holy Sepulchre occasionally is distinguished by an external staircase — a feature that finds its way into the proposal²⁵. One might also note reconstructions of the Tower of Babel, as that by Athanasius Kircher of 1679, however symbolically inappropriate it might be²⁶.

Looking into history for precedents only tells part of the story, for the project of Barluzzi and Marangoni was inherently Modernist in both its attitudes and much of its appearance. The arcading of the exterior follows the standard of Italian Fascist Classicism, as appeared in buildings such as EUR 42 of 1938. When the style was exported to the Italian colonies, as in North Africa and or the Greek islands, we often find a sort of stripped-down Classicism mixed with local or oriental elements, as for example at the church of St. Nicholas on the island of Kos, built by the Italian architect R. Petracco in 1937–39²⁷. It is also worth noting in comparison, Le Corbusier's unrealized plan for Paris (1945), in which he proposed to bulldoze and regularize a

²⁴ For illustrations, see *Howard D. Venice and the East*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, *passim*.

²⁵ As in the Hours of René of Anjou or the pilgrimage account of Giovanni Capodilista; see *Alexander J. J. G. 'Jerusalem the Golden': Image and Myth in the Middle Ages in Western Europe // The Real and Ideal Jerusalem*, 255–264, figs. 4, 6.

²⁶ *Kircher A. Turris Babel*. Amsterdam, 1679; *Wegener U. Die Faszination der Masslosen: Der Turmbau zu Babel von Pieter Bruegel bis Athanasius Kircher*. Hildesheim, 1995.

²⁷ *Colonas V. Italian Architecture in the Dodecanese Islands, 1912–1943*. Athens, 2002, for numerous examples of "Provincial Modernism."

huge area of the Right Bank²⁸. For the Modernists, the historical city was no longer adequate for contemporary needs — and this seems have been Barluzzi and Marangoni's attitude toward the historical Jerusalem as well.

The proposal of Barluzzi and Marangoni was never accepted. When the competing Christian communities finally came together in 1955 to develop a plan for the Holy Sepulchre, it was prompted by “the sheer terror of being in the building when it collapsed”²⁹. Indeed, we might also credit the audacity of the Barluzzi-Marangoni plan for shaking the respective parties into an awareness of the problem at hand. After four intense years of negotiation, they decided to maintain the existing building as it had evolved through its complex history, conserving and stabilizing as much as possible of the historic fabric, while introducing no new construction. Stones that were no longer load-bearing were to be replaced with replicas. All other masonry was to be left in place, even if broken and discolored. Thus, the present Holy Sepulchre appears as an odd mixture of pristine but bland replication and the unsightly original elements³⁰.

The concern for the visual replication of the original forms is no doubt important here, because for the contemporary visitor, seeing is believing. But the fate of the original masonry is also noteworthy in terms of what it represents about changing attitudes. Barluzzi and Marangoni had proposed to preserve elements of the original in a sort of lapidarium. The stones were to be presented as antiquities or museum artifacts, not as relics — that is, they were to be taken out of their original context of devotion. In fact, that is exactly the fate of the old stones today. Those removed in the process of repairs during the 1960s and '70s have been virtually forgotten. Fragments of carved capitals and column shafts now lie unobtrusively at the entrance to the Greek Patriarchate, in the courtyard of the Museum of the Flagellation, and the in the landscaped terraces of the Church of All Nations. They have been demoted to garden ornaments.

During the Middle Ages, both the fabric of the building and the sacred topography it enclosed were regarded as relics. I am reminded how, at the twelfth-century reconstruction of the Abbey Church at St.-Denis, the patron Abbot Suger stated explicitly that his intention was to “respect the very stones, sacred as they are, as if they were relics”³¹. The medieval Holy Sepulchre was treated similarly. Accordingly, I suspect that the “relics of the

²⁸ Blake P. *The Master Builders*. New York, 1976, 76.

²⁹ Murphy-O'Connor, *Restoration and Discovery*, 71.

³⁰ See my comments, *Ousterhout R. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre (in Bologna, Italy) // Biblical Archaeology Review* 26/6 (2000), 20–35.

³¹ Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures / Ed. & trans. E. Panofsky. Princeton, 1946, 100–101.

Holy Sepulchre" noted in many medieval European inventories could have been fragments of *either* the Tomb of Christ or the church building itself³².

Changing attitudes appear within the church as well. Rather than expose the masonry that testifies to the historicity of the site, several of the communities insist upon covering original surfaces with new mural decoration. Following along the lines of the "status quo," the discourse is more about control and possession than about history or sacred topography. Constantine, after all, had come from Rome to claim the site, and to mark it with his imperial presence. In fact, all interventions must have had symbolic implications, relating them to the ideological concerns of the founders or possessors. The Byzantine reconstruction, for example, with its annexed chapels, distinctive brick and stone masonry, and mosaic decoration, added a stamp of Byzantine imperial authority, as Constantine IX saw himself as the ecumenical patron of the Church and the successor to Constantine the Great³³. Similarly, the crusaders' project placed the building into the context of Romanesque European pilgrimage architecture³⁴. In a similar manner, the audacious proposal of Barluzzi and Marangoni proclaimed dramatically the Roman Catholic possession of the site in a style and with a bravura associated with the Italian Fascist revival of Empire.

History allows us some perspective on the follies of the past. The Modernist movement of the twentieth century is replete with grand gestures — as diverse as the Communist system of government or the Pruitt-Igoe Housing Project. Many of these have disappeared as spectacularly as they appeared. By way of conclusion, I would like to compare Barluzzi and Marangoni's project to another unbuilt Modernist project for Jerusalem. Between 1974–88, the noted Israeli architect Moshe Safdie developed a master plan for the Western Wall area³⁵. Recently accessible following the taking of the Old City in 1967, a makeshift arrangement allowed access to the exposed Hero-

³² This question, as well as the catalogue of Holy Sepulchre relics, deserve a separate study. For a relic of the Holy Sepulchre at Notre-Dame of Paris, see *Bautier G. L'Envoi de la relique de la Vraie Croix à Notre-Dame de Paris en 1120 // Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes*, 129 (1971), 387–97; *Folda, Art of the Crusaders*, 83; for a relic at Neuvy-St.-Sépulcre, see *Viollet-le-Duc E. E. Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française*. Paris, 1859, VIII, 288; and *Hubert J. Le Saint-Sépulcre de Neuvy et les pèlerinages de Terre-Sainte au XIe siècle // Bulletin Monumental* 90–91 (1931–1932), 98, who refer to the 1257 gift by Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux to Neuvy of fragments of Christ's Tomb and drops of the Precious Blood. At Borgo Sansepolcro, relics of stones from the Holy Sepulchre led to the founding of the town; see *Lavin M. A. Piero della Francesca's Baptism of Christ*. New Haven, 1981, 23–24, with further references.

³³ *Ousterhout, Rebuilding the Temple*, 78.

³⁴ *Folda, Art of the Crusaders*, 535, n. 30.

³⁵ Moshe Safdie: buildings and projects, 1967–1992 / Ed. Irena Žantovská Murray. Montreal, 1996, 16; see also the website: <http://www.msafdie.com/#>.

dian masonry of the Temple platform, which had become a focal point for Jewish worship. In many ways, the terraced plaza Safdie proposed was an elegant and practical solution to the movement of people through a difficult space, separating religious and secular visitors. The proposal was summarily rejected by the religious authorities, however, not on practical grounds but for eschatological reasons. Worship at the Western Wall was to be temporary, in expectation of the rebuilding of the Temple that would herald the End of Days. To give the Western Wall the appearance of permanence was to reject prophesy.

The same sort of criticism had been leveled against Patriarch Nikon in his project at Istra. For, from a theological perspective, the New Jerusalem was not to be built by man — not Constantine nor the Crusaders, not Patriarch Nikon nor developers in Florida; not Barluzzi and Marangoni nor Moshe Safdie; it was not to be constructed on this earth. In the final analysis, for the faithful — and for the architectural historian — the remnants of the old Jerusalem speaks more eloquently about the promise of the coming of the New Jerusalem than any new “New Jerusalem” ever could.

Роберт Остерхут
Pennsylvania University

НОВЫЙ «НОВЫЙ ИЕРУСАЛИМ» ДЛЯ ИЕРУСАЛИМА

В жизнеописании Константина Евсевий называет церковь Гроба Господня «новым Иерусалимом, взирающим на прежде прославленный Иерусалим древних времен». Таким образом, он подчеркивает контраст между славным новым имперским строением на месте Могилы Христа и руинами Храма в противоположной части города. Гроб Господень подвергался неоднократным повреждениям и пережил две глобальные реконструкции в XI и XII вв., причем большое внимание уделялось тогда сохранению остатков старейшего здания. Однако после VII в. церковь оказалась в тени Купола Скалы, выстроенного на платформе древнего Храма, — визуально он был более заметен и эстетически соответствовал вкусам эпохи больше, чем сложное и внутренне противоречивое строение, в которое превратилась церковь Гроба Господня, окруженная плотным кольцом жилой застройки средневекового города.

К середине XX в. храм Гроба Господня находился в опасном состоянии: колокольня была повреждена и частично разрушена в XVIII в.; огонь причинил серьезный ущерб зданию в XIX в., после чего оно было довольно плохо восстановлено. Более того, многочисленные распри и конфликты между христианскими общинами привели к внутреннему

разделению и непрерывному соперничеству, итог которому был подведен установлением «статус кво» при Оттоманах, которые строго ограничили вмешательство в здание. Храм Гроба Господня превратился в уродливое и трудное для восприятия строение и юридическими мерами был принужден таким и оставаться.

В данной работе я исследую идею реконструкции Гроба Господня, официально представленную и опубликованную в 1949 г., к 800-летию посвящения церкви крестоносцами. Проект итальянских архитекторов Луиджи Марангони и Антонио Барлуцци преследовал четыре главные цели:

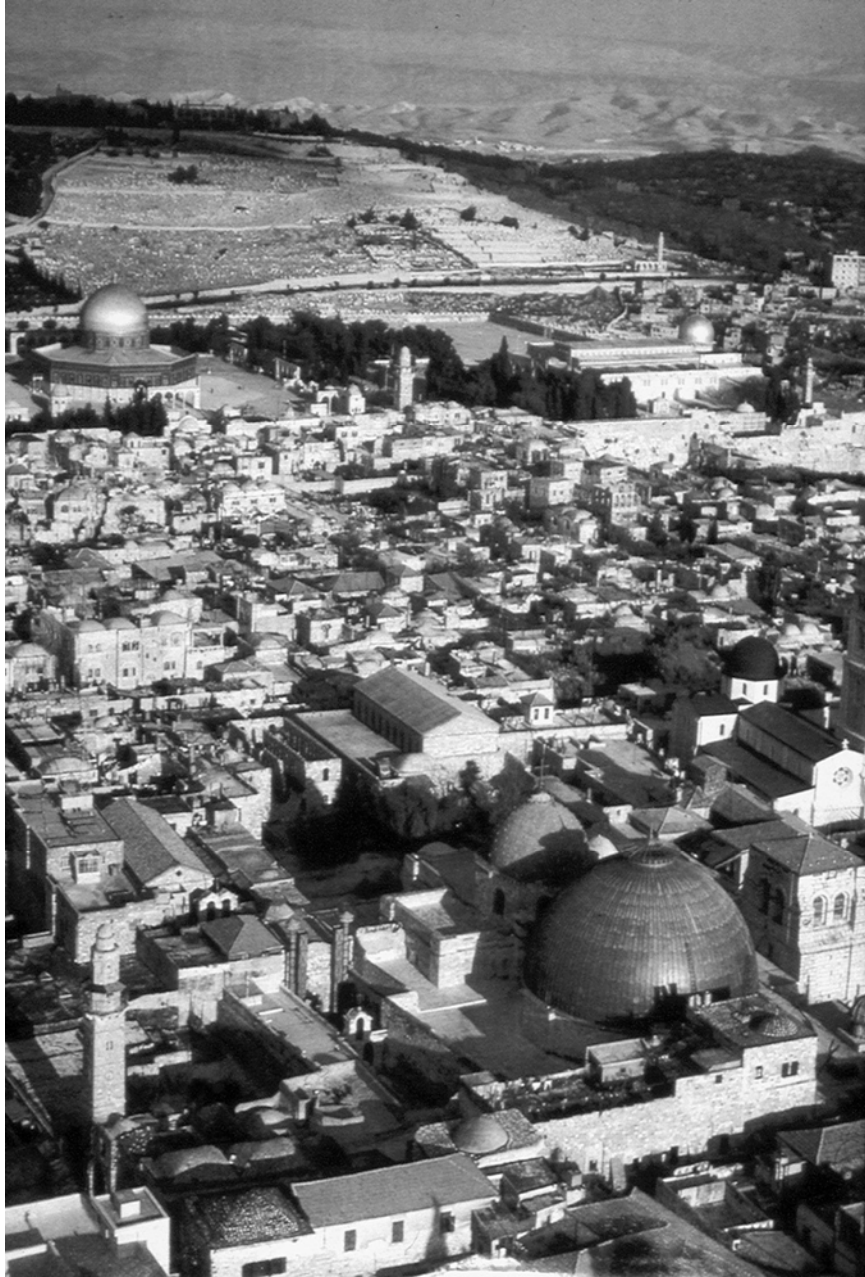
- Обеспечить церковному комплексу большее величие, чтобы он визуально мог соперничать с Куполом Скалы, а для этого его должна была окружать широкая площадь, а сам он должен был превратиться в «новый Храм», визуально более эффектный, напоминающий постройку эпохи Константина Великого.
- Проявлять уважение к чувствам и правам соперничающих христианских общин (латинской, греческой, армянской), предоставив им собственные просторные церкви, сгруппированные вокруг центрального святилища.
- Создать дополнительное молитвенное пространство для «раскольнических общин» (коптской, абиссинской, англиканской, сирийской).
- Выразить почтение Святым Местам, изолировав их и придав им монументальность.

Чтобы придать комплексу регулярность, новая программа предполагала разрушение большей части сохранившейся исторической постройки и выравнивание территории вокруг нее. Также предлагалось демонстрировать «реликвии» старого здания в виде лапидария, окруженного портиком нового центрального двора. Кальварий и Ротонду Возрождения должны были построить заново.

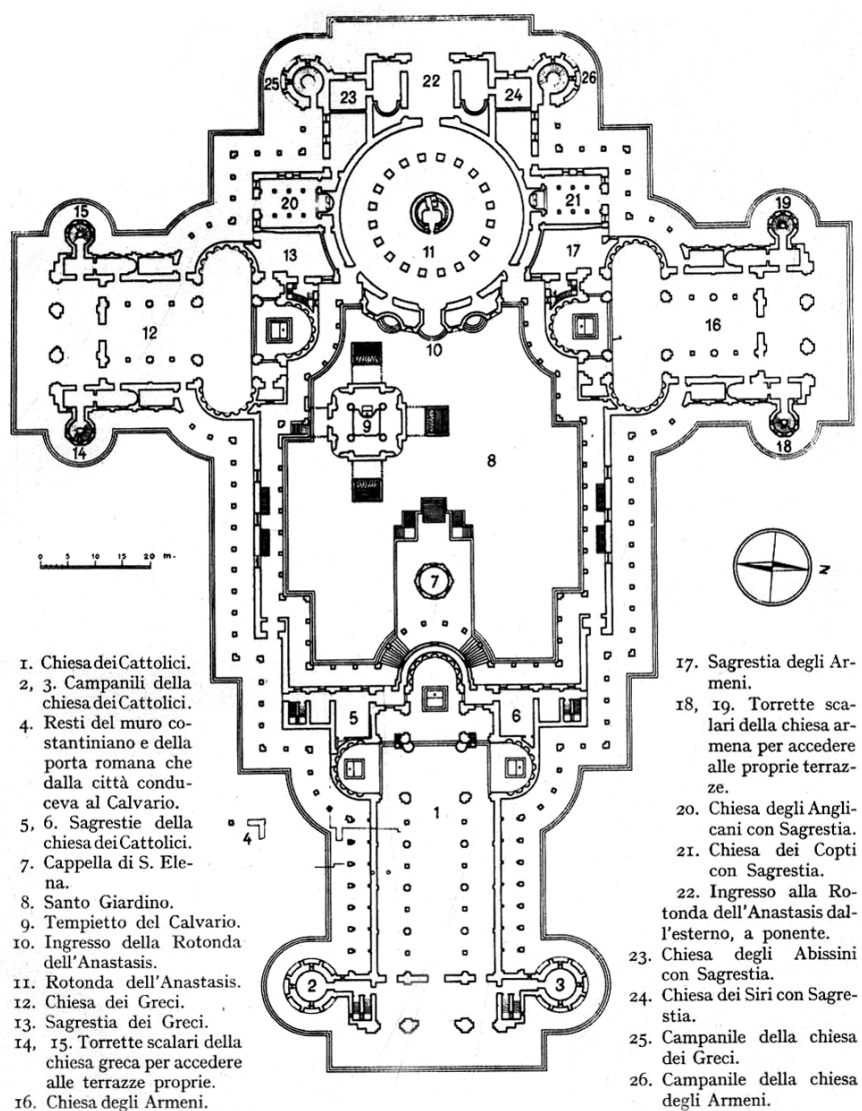
Предложенный комплекс представляется современным ученым эксцентричной ориентально-антикварной фантазией, включающей аркадный фасад европейского стиля, колокольни, похожие на минареты, и купола как у мечети. Однако дизайн разрабатывался самым серьезным образом: Барлуцци уже выстроил к тому времени церкви на Фаворской горе и в Гефсимании; Марангони был *proto* собора Св. Марка в Венеции. Их проект был опубликован с приложением истории храма Гроба Господня, составленной признанным исследователем П. Х. Л. Винсентом, а также с описанием состояния современного здания, сделанным не менее солидным мэтром П. Д. Бальди. Более того, книга вышла в свет при благословении римско-католической церкви и лично Густаво Теста,

титularного архиепископа Амасейского, апостольского посланника в Палестине и регента латинского патриархата.

В данной работе я пытаюсь рассмотреть этот странный «Новый Иерусалим» в историческом контексте. Для этого я сопоставляю установки в отношении священной истории, которые он отражает, с теми, что видны в средневековых реконструкциях храма Гроба Господня, а также с теми, что, в конце концов, нашли выражение в реставрации комплекса, осуществленной в 1960–1970-х гг.



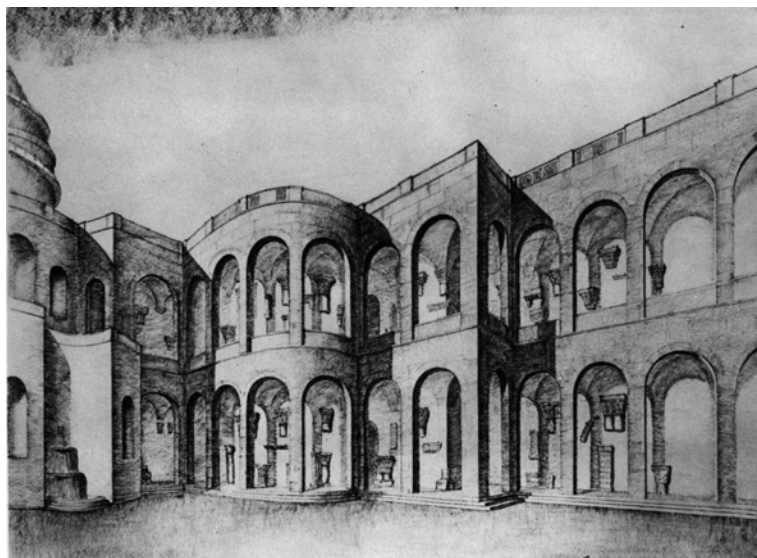
1. Aerial view of Jerusalem, looking east, with the Holy Sepulchre in the foreground and the Dome of the Rock, built on or near the site of the Temple, in the background (courtesy Time Magazine)



2. Proposal by Barluzzi and Marangoni for a new complex at the site of the Holy Sepulchre, plan (from *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: Splendori miserie, speranze*, pl. III)



3. Proposal by Barluzzi and Marangoni for a new complex at the site of the Holy Sepulchre, view looking southeast (from *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: Slendori miserie, speranze*, pl. IV)



4. Proposal by Barluzzi and Marangoni for a new complex at the site of the Holy Sepulchre, view in the courtyard looking northeast, with the “museum” in the galleries (from *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: Slendori miserie, speranze*, pl. XII)



5. Proposal by Barluzzi and Marangoni for a new complex at the site of the Holy Sepulchre, view of model, looking southeast, with the Chapel of Helena lower left, Calvary at center, and the Anastasis Rotunda upper right (from *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: Slendori miserie, speranze*, pl. XI)