
2 At the Fulcrum of the World Jerusalem Space Translated in Latin Liturgies of the Holy Week (Ninth-Thirteenth Centuries)

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Religious rites perform two important roles:¹ certain central values and traditions are communicated to both participants and spectators in symbolic form; they categorise the ways in which the structure of society and the collective view of the world are perceived, re-enacted, or recreated.

The same goes for the view and the idea of Jerusalem, place of foundation and collective memory, and part of the identity of every Christians worldwide.

In other words, the same liturgy is the foundation for the Christian identity of Jerusalem everywhere, inside the Christian *oicumene*.

1 This chapter elaborates and updates some ideas presented in the paper “At the fulcrum of the World: Jerusalem Space Translated in Latin Liturgies of the Holy Week (IX-XIII Centuries)” delivered during the conference *Memory and Identity in the Middle Ages: The Construction of a Cultural Memory of the Holy Land in the 4th-16th Centuries* held at the University of Amsterdam on 26-27 May 2016 in the context of the research project *Cultural Memory and Identity in the Late Middle Ages: the Franciscans of Mount Zion in Jerusalem and the Representation of the Holy Land (1333-1516)*.

Indeed, Christian local Jerusalem's liturgy has for centuries not only been a model for the liturgies of the different churches, but for every Christian liturgy; and celebrations are based on memorial evangelical text and – consequently – refer to Jerusalem and Israel's Land.

The Holy City lives in the celebrations and in the act of performing the rites. Across the centuries Christian believers developed a feeling about Jerusalem as the *fulcrum* of the Christendom and as an ideal “property”. The memory of Jerusalem gives forms to liturgies and liturgies create a Christian Jerusalem in the memory and imagery of worshippers (including the pilgrims, who, on travelling *Outremer* found what they wanted to see and what they already had known in their homeland's churches).

The second aspect is the topic of this chapter, focused on Latin Roman Liturgies, particularly on the *Hebdomada Sancta*.

Christian rites of Paschal *Triduum* and Holy Week are memorial liturgies based on a specific space and focused on some exact places in Jerusalem and its surroundings.

Toponymic and geographic contexts are not only evoked by *lectiones*, together with the events of the Jesus's life, but also by performing liturgies (by gestures, celebrants positions, movements, processions): the space of Jerusalem is re-created according to a structured topology, involving the priests and the whole *populus fidelium* in a total mimesis.

This building process of a liturgical Jerusalem's space emerges both in Latin liturgical text and in indirect liturgical sources (such as chronicles, pilgrims' texts, omeliaries and hagiographic texts).

2.1 Places in Jerusalem Visited by Pilgrims and Evoked by Latin Liturgies

The rites of the church of Jerusalem have echoes in pilgrimage texts widely spread throughout Western Europe.

Bede describes the cult attributed to the Holy Cross at Golgotha on Good Friday (*Pascha Crucis*).²

Adamnanus, in his *De Locis Sanctis*, reports some descriptions of the places inside the Holy Sepulchre, connected to the liturgies performed in Jerusalem.³

² Beda Venerabilis, “*Historia ecclesiastica*”, PL, vol. 95, coll. 0256C-0257C; Beda Venerabilis, “*Homiliae*”, PL, vol. 94, coll. 0153B-0154A. About general items see: O’Reilly, “The Bible as Map”. See also: Gem, *Bede and Architectural History*.

³ Adamnanus, “*De locis sanctis libri tres*”, in particular see 190-1.

But this is not the only thing. Western Christendom doesn't only visualize Jerusalem as a living liturgical model: the physical and geographical space of the city is itself an important part of the liturgies performed in each Latin church.

The whole urban context (with walls and gates, the Mount of Olives, the Temple Mount, the house of Caiphas, the palace of the roman governor) is evoked and brought into the present.

Meanwhile, Golgotha and the Sepulchre emerge as topic symbolic points.

Thus, when a pilgrimage's text refers to Jerusalem, a Latin medieval reader thought about both Christians worshipping in the city and about an ideal town marked by the presence of Jesus and by the events of the Salvation history. This Jerusalem lives as real and memorial *continuum* in the liturgies performed day by day and year by year in every churches.

The liturgies of the *Hebdomada Maior* - the holy week - display this evidence.

Because of their theological relevance and popular emphasis, here are considered the spatial implication of: the processions of Palm Sunday (and others stational celebrations); the rites of Good Friday (at Sepulchre); the Sacred fire's ceremony and its echoes (during vigil of Easter); the Easter Sunday rites (and - mostly - the *Quem queritis* dramatic lectures).

2.2 Analysis of Liturgical Sources in Three Principal Periods

The bond between the memorial space of Jerusalem and Latin liturgies - as actually performed - modified its shape in three different phases: the early times of the roman church and papal curia until the liturgical reformation inspired by pope Gregor the Great; the carolingian period (from the end of the eighth century), when the Latin liturgies went through a general reform inspired by the gradual adoption of the *Pontificale Romanum* adapted to monastic and cathedral liturgical exigencies; the spread of the *Missale Romanum* from thirteenth century, connected to changes in the attitudes towards theology and devotion.

2.2.1 Roman Rites of the Holy Week Up to the eighth Century in the City of Rome and in the Papal Curia

Before the *Pontificale Romanum Germanicum* was codified (mid tenth century) and spread throughout the whole of Latin Christendom, roman papal liturgy was characterized by: the central role of the pope, often overlapping the figure of Jesus himself during the *lectiones*, or

identified with Him; a specific sacred topography of the city of Rome, centring on the major basilicas and their own devotions (dating back to pope Callixtus and Damasus and remarked by Gregory the Great).⁴

A *statio* to the basilica of Santa Croce in Jerusalem was on the Fourth Sunday of Lent, *Dominica in Vicesima*, or Mid Lent, (before pope Gregory the first, this was the day of the second of three baptismal scrutinies according to *Gelasianum*) and another is on Good Friday.

But, it is remarkable that, according to the *Homilies* of Gregory the Great, that provide evidence of the papal lectures during Lent, *Hebdomanda Maior* and *Octava Paschalis*, only on Easter Day the *lectio* of Mark XVI, 1-7 suggested a total mimesis of the account of the Resurrection and of the space of the Sepulchre, found empty by the women who rushed there in order to honour the body of Jesus.⁵

In addition, the Palms procession was an innovation from Jerusalem which did not come in till after Gregory the Great: in *Hadrianum* the Sunday before Easter is called *Die Dominico in Palmas ad Sanctum Iohannem in Lateranis*, in Alcuin's Lectionary it is titled *Dominica in Indulgentia ad Lateranis*.⁶

In the *Sacramentarium Gellonense* (a *Gelasian* one dating to 780 and resonating gallican liturgical uses), the text relating to the blessing of olive and palm branches explicitly refers to a mimesis of Jerusalem and of the event recalled to the memory. These are the words:

Domine Iesu Christe, qui ante mundi principium cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto regna set regni tui non erit finis, qui pro mundi salute in plenitudine temporum veniens, sicut per legem et profetas erat promissus, veniente te in Hierusalem ad diem festum, turbae multae occurrerunt tibi gaudentes, acceperuntque ramos palmarum clamantes: hosanna filio David; ideo et nos supplici obsecratione deposcimus maiestatem tuam; ut, qui pro nostra venisti redemptione, solve nos a vinculis peccatorum nostrorum, morbos omnes expelle, infirmitates cura, aerum temperiem praesta, serenitatem temporum cum remissione peccatorum nobis omnibus dona, hos quoque ramos et flores palmarum, quos populus tuus per manus servitutis nostrae accepturus est hodie, tua benedictione santifica ut, quicumque ex eis acceperint, tua in omnibus repleantur gratia, et salutis consequantur medellam.⁷

⁴ For a general approach, see: Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy*.

⁵ Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Evangelia*: "Homilia XXI habita ad populum in Basilica Sanctae Mariae Virginis die sancto Paschae".

⁶ Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy*, 100.

⁷ Schmidt, *Hebdomada Sancta*, 382.

This open expression is not present in other roman liturgical texts of the same period and prior. The ceremony took place at the Lateran.⁸

The *Pontificale Romanum Germanicum* gives evidence of a dramatic development of the rite keeping some popular elements (three centuries later than in mozarabic and gallican contexts).

An *Ordo* dating to 1140 states that in the morning the branches were blessed in the church of Saint Sylvester (in the same complex of papal palaces at Lateran), then brought before the pope in the basilica Leoniana. Later:

Indutis omnibus ordinis palatii, pontifex expendit palmas. Postea exit inde cum processione, primicerius cum schola cantando Pueri Ebreorum et alias antiphonas, usque ante ostium ecclesiae Salvatoris, ibique super gradus posito subsellio pontifex sedet. Primicerius cum scola incipit Gloria, laus et honor. Prior basilicarius ad calusum hostium cum subdiaconis stans respondet et cantat versus Cui puerile decus. Ad omnes duos versus respondet scola et dicit Gloria, laus et honor. Quibus finitis, aperto ostio, intrans ecclesiam cantando *Ingremente Domino*.⁹

Regarding the liturgies of Good Friday, in the roman context there is no evidence of a rite of the *Adoratio Crucis* before the seventh century. Before this period a communion's rite was performed.

In the *Ordo Romanus XXIII*, dating to about 750, a detailed description of the *Adoratio Crucis* appears for the first time. Consequently we can assume that this rite was introduced in Rome during a pontificate led by an eastern pope: the *sirus* John V (685-686), or Sergius the first (687-701), or the Greek John VI (701-705), or John VII (705-707), or Zacharias (741-752).¹⁰

According to *Ordo Romanus XXIV* (about 754) after an *oratio*, the Cross was placed in front of the altar, led by two acolytis. First the pope adored and kissed the Cross, then the clergy and the *fideles* did the same, while the chorus intoned the antiphona "Ecce lignum crucis". After the adoration, the Cross was taken back to its previous position and the communion rite started.¹¹

A procession from the Lateran to the basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme is stated.

⁸ See the reconstruction in "La domenica delle Palme nella storia liturgica".

⁹ Schmidt, *Hebdomada Sancta*, 703.

¹⁰ Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut Moyen Age*, 2: 504-5; Chavass, *Le Sacramentaire Gelasien*, 350-64; Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix*, 164; Pascher, *Das liturgische Jahr*, 445-6; auf der Maur, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit*, 187; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 116 note 170. See also: Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross*.

¹¹ Schmidt, *Hebdomada Sancta*, 792.

Another *Adoratio Crucis* was performed in the Vatican Basilica, related to the *stauroteca* called *Crux Vaticana* or *Crux Iustini imperatoris*, dating to the mid sixth century.¹²

A last remark on this period. The Old Gelasian has the feast of the Invention of the Cross on 3 may and the Exaltation of the Cross on September 14th. These are late comers into the roman tradition, and derived from Jerusalem or from the Gallican tradition. The early roman rite, up until after the pontificate of Gregory the Great had no feast of the Holy Cross. During Gregory the first's times the Chronography list observes Saint Cyprian on September 14th. In the late Middle Ages this saint was moved to 16th.

2.2.2 Monastic Liturgies and Circulation of Roman Liturgies During the Carolingian Reform

What happened to Holy Week rites when the Carolingian court tried to make uniform Latin liturgies and to spread their forms?

In the context of a general reform, roman liturgy incorporated ritual uses of gallican one and proper monastic rites, which had generated in different monasteries throughout the whole of Europe.

In spite of this endeavor, the varied, complex and scrappy liturgical heritage of the High Middle Ages maintained its varicoloured character, keeping Jerusalem as the ideal *fulcrum*.

Elements of memory and mimesis of the events of the Gospels and of the holy city's space entered in the roman rite by local churches (cathedrals or monasteries) derived from Jerusalem's proper traditions (thanks to pilgrims or mutual previous contacts).

In Amalarius synthesis (particularly in his *Officium hebdomadae paschalis*) this liturgical diversity aimed, above all, to commemorate the life of Christ, to provide the Christian faithful with moral instruction, and to recall Old Testament precursors of Christian rites.¹³

In this perspective the memorial and eschatological presence of Jerusalem is continuous.

The same is for Alcuin and Benedetto di Aniane's work.¹⁴

¹² Bordin, *La Crux Vaticana o Croce di Giustino II*; Lipinsky, *Crux Vaticana*.

¹³ *Amalarii Episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*.

¹⁴ Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy*, 100. See also: Bullough, *Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven*; Grégoire, "Benedetto di Aniane nella riforma monastica carolingia".

2.2.3 Spread and Circulation of the *Missale Romanum* (from Thirteenth Century)

The circulation of the *Missale Romanum* coincided with a theological consciousness emphasizing the central importance of the Eucharist and Eucharistic celebration as Christ's sacrifice, associated with the Passion and Death of Jesus.

Some transformations, connected with devotional aspect, occurred in the rites of the *Paschal Triduum*. Some architectural elements and some *ornamenta ecclesiae* reflected these changes.

Of great importance is the configuration of the altar as the Holy Sepulchre during the Good Friday rites.¹⁵

In his *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* Durandus wrote that the altar "represents the Tomb because the body of Christ is laid in it in a sacred ceremony and is consecrated".¹⁶

Several *ordinalia* of Besançon, Le Mans, Sens and Tours contain the same phrases.

Some examples of altars transformed as Holy Sepulchre are in Porlock, Luccombe and Milverton.¹⁷

The most common type of Holy Sepulchre was a temporary structure, set up in the interior of the church specially for the liturgies of holy week and Easter. It remained standing after Low Sunday. Usually it consisted of a wooden frame, probably modeled on a bier or catafalque, over which a decorated cloth was hung. On this cloth, known as the pall, there were sometimes depictions of the suffering, death and resurrection of Christ. In front of it there were burning oil lamps or tapers.

Some were replaced with permanent sculptures, others were destroyed during the Reformation or Counter Reformation.

Usually the Easter Sepulchre was given a place near the altar, as is described in the Rites of Durham: "The adoration of the cross being ended, two monks carried the Cross to the Sepulchre with great reverence; which was set up that morning [i.e. Good Friday] on the north side of the quire night unto the High Altar before the service time".

Sometimes it was set up in one of the side chapels, as the appellation "Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre" in some churches implies.

These situations in which the Sepulchre is not connected with the main altar brought about a complex development of movements and processions between different symbolic places inside the church. The general symbology of the liturgy came out enriched.

In several German towns (including Wurzburg and Trier) the Holy Sepulchre was placed in the crypt.

¹⁵ See the analysis: Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini Through the Ages*.

¹⁶ Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini Through the Ages*.

¹⁷ Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini Through the Ages*, 56-7 and picture.

According to an *ordo* from Trier, the Easter ritual “takes place when they [the priest and the deacon] arrived in the crypt, in front of the Holy Sepulchre”.¹⁸ The graves of martyrs were to be found in the crypt and it was here that the relics were preserved and venerated. The presence of the Sepulchre of the risen Christ in this kingdom of the dead conveyed an even more powerful message.

2.3 Popular Devotions and Hagiographic Narratives

Not only liturgical celebrations made the memorial and identity bond with Jerusalem visible for the believers. Popular devotions and hagiographical accounts too introduced into the western Christianity a consciousness of the holy city as a proper fulcrum, as a spring from which to get salvation.

The memory of the rites of Jerusalem is so strong and so emotional that its echoes pervade the miracles themselves.

In a prodigious dimension there is no more distance between Europe and the Holy Sepulchre: the *ipsissimum locum* becomes present and real. This is evident mostly for the Sacred Fire ceremony of the Paschal veil, celebrated in Jerusalem and often described with great power in the pilgrimage texts.

Words, gestures, prayers, hymns of the liturgies of Jerusalem, reported by pilgrims, copied and re-copied, cited in the homilies, nourished devotions during the time of the crusades and further, generating a network of memories and echoes extended to the whole of Latin Christendom.

We can find a poetic example, enriched with ideas, in the “Life of saint Lietbertus of Cambrai”, who never managed to get to Jerusalem, but re-created in a prodigious manner the lighting of the Sacred Fire.¹⁹

Born about in 1010 in Oprekel, he was at first archdeacon and then provost at Cambrai, then bishop, from 1051 to his death, in 1076. For a long time he desired to live a full *imitatio Christi* in the Holy Land. He embarked in 1054, got to Laodicea, but never arrived in Jerusalem because of many obstacles due to muslim’s hostility and war situations.

On returning to his seat, in 1064, he founded the abbey of Saint-Sépulchre *extra muros civitatis*, an *imitatio* of the *ipsissimum locum*, a substitute object of devotion.

The dedication of the church, according to the hagiographic count of his life, was marked by a prodigious performance of the Sacred Fire’s rite: a light sparkled in the dark over the building roof and remained alight the whole night, until the starting of the celebration.

¹⁸ Young, *The dramatic associations of the Easter Sepulchre*.

¹⁹ Hofmeister, *Rudolf of Cambrai*, 838-68, in particular 862-68.

More than two centuries later, another significant example is among the miracles attributed to bishop Thomas of Hereford (d. 1282): one, which reportedly occurred in 1287, is closely connected to Lent and Paschal liturgies. We can find a superimposition between the English local events and the rites performed in Jerusalem, translated in the popular devotional memory.

According to the texts of Thomas's canonization trial, a woman possessed by the devil, named Edith, aged about twenty, wife of Robert, an iron merchant and citizen of Hereford, had been brought to Thomas's temporary Tomb and was cured.²⁰

Her husband reported that at the beginning of Lent his wife had begun to suffer the traditional symptoms of demonic possessions. She had eaten and drunk a bit and when they were in bed, at night, she began gesticulating and speaking blasphemously against their neighbors. The next day, since her condition continued, the man had her bound with strips of cloth, while two women neighbors guarded her.

Robert measured his wife and had two candles made out of a quarter of a pound of wax, one for the Holy Cross at Wistanton and the other for the Holy Cross of Hereford (this devotional practice was common in England in these times). The woman was taken to the church of Hereford in order to incubate there (as a means of effecting a cure) for five or six days.

The miracle would have happened the Friday just preceding Palm Sunday, about a week before the scheduled transfer of Thomas's relics, which were to be moved to the chapel of Saint Catherine on Maundy Thursday, in the course of an extensive renovation carried out at Hereford cathedral.

A considerable number of people, male and female, are named in the text who either witnessed the miracle, or immediately heard about it. Just after sunrise and right after prime the chaplain was celebrating mass at the so called altar of the Holy Cross, beside Thomas's temporary tomb. In the course of celebration all the candles and all the lamps suddenly lit up and then were immediately extinguished, although there had been no sign of a breeze. At the same time everyone heard an unusual sound of rushing water.

The only light came from the candle brought as an *ex voto* by the husband and friends of Edith. The woman just then lay prostrated before the altar. Miraculously the candle lit up with a "celestial fire" in three points: at the top, bottom and middle. When this candle suddenly became to burn, all the other lights in the church were rekindled. At the same time, Edith came free of her bonds and stood up.

²⁰ The episode is described in Goodich, *Liturgy and the Foundation of Cults in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, in particularly 145-50.

After the mass had ended, Edith remained in the church until nones. She and the priest recounted the miracle, the church bells were rung, people and clergy joined in procession reciting the *Te Deum*.

Though the woman died two months later, this exorcism was considered a demonstration of the taumaturgical power of Thomas.

The whole rite of the “liberation” is important for our focus in order to evidence the connection between the daily devotional life of western believers and liturgical images of Jerusalem and its liturgies: in this case, the rite is inserted during the Lent liturgy’s sequence of ceremonies, according to a precise symbology related to the Holy City.

2.4 Liturgies and Liturgical Drama

A late text, the *Processionale* of Cividale, dating to the mid of fifteenth century is a complex evidence of liturgical uses and popular devotions of the patriarchate of Aquileia, in north eastern Italy, a sort of summa of stratified traditions, most of them are related with Jerusalem’s memory.²¹ The interest of this book is due to the presence of recitative texts referred to liturgical dramas, precisely inserted in the sequence of the liturgy’s performance.²²

Unlike in Rome and other cities, in Cividale all processions left and went back to the main Church, the *chiesa collegiata di Santa Maria Maggiore*. In the central part of the church was the altar of the Holy Cross.

Nine places of *statio* are mentioned (a *statio* is a place where the procession stops and where prayers and worship are carried out).

The most complete topo mimesis of Jerusalem was performed on Palms Sunday.

In the other towns the bishop, the clergy and *populus fidelium* met in a minor church and then moved to the cathedral. In Cividale they

²¹ The processionale of Cividale has come down to us in two manuscripts: the codices CI and CII in the Archaeological Museum of Cividale. The text is edited in: Papinutti, *Il processionale di Cividale*. The analytical description of the code CI is at pp. 38-41. The terminus ad quem is the 1448 (dating based on the saints invoked in the litanies, included Bernardinus, canonized in 1450).

²² The Palace of the Patriarchs of Cividale has been the theatre of several sacred performances: “Anno Domini MCCCIII facta fuit per clerum sive per Capitulum Civitatense, representatio: sive factae sunt representationes infrascripte: imprimis de creatione primo rum parentum, deinde de Annciatione Beate Mariae Virginis, de Partu et aliis multis; et de Passione et Resurrectione, Ascensione et Adventu Christi ad iudicii. Et praedicta facta fuerunt solemniter in Curia Domini Patriarchae in festo Pentecostes cum aliis subsequentibus; praesente Rev. D. Ottobono Patriarcha Aquileiensi, D. Jacobo q.d. Ottonelli de Civitate, Episcopo Concordiensi, et aliis multis nobili bus de civitatibus et castris Foroiulii” (De Rubeis, *Dissertationes Duae*).

met first in the main church, then moved to the prepositional church of Santo Stefano, where the olive and palm branches were blessed. Then, the procession went back to Santa Maria Maggiore, through the suburbs and the main streets of the small city.²³

In the small church of Santo Stefano the chorus sang the tractus “Saepe expugnaverunt”. Later on the lectio from the Luke’s Gospel was recited: “Factum est cum appropinquaret Iesus usque Betphage”.

Three orations, a *praefatio* and another *oratio* preceded the asperision and the blessing of the branches, while the chorus executed the antiphonae “Pueri Hebraeorum tollentes ramos” and “Turba multa”.

After an *oratio*, the *responsorium* “Collegerunt pontifices” was executed in a theatrical form.

The *rubrica* prescribes: “Caiphas dicat hunc versum coram populo: Expediit nobis ut unis moriatur”.

Afterwards, the procession moved to the suburbs, chanting the responsoria “Cum appropinquaret” and “Cum audisset populus”.

When the procession arrived at the gate of Saint Peter, it stopped and the deacon started to say out loud the st Matthew’s Gospel: “Cum appropinquaret Iesus Ierosolimam...”.

From the top of the tower close to the gate, the children of the city sang the hymn: “Gloria, laus et honor”. The children sang from above and the chorus responded from the street below.

When the hymn was concluded, the antiphona ‘Fulgentibus ramis’ was chanted “Sternendo ramos olivarum in via”.²⁴

23 While the procession walked into the Church of Saint Stephen, the worshippers intoned the chant Circumdederunt me [the text is not included in ms CI, but is mentioned only in ms CII, with the rubrica “Ut supra in missale”], De Rubeis, *Dissertationes Duae*, 96. The benediction of palm branches quickly followed, as described in *ordo civilidense* (cod. LXXVII, ff. 34v et ss.).

24 This ceremony is not better described in the *processionals*. According to the *Processionale Aquileiense* the children threw flowers at the Patriarch’s feet: “Finitis versi bus, proiciant pueri flores ante pedes pontifici set prosternentes se ante pontificem, cantent antiphonam Fulgentibus palmis” (*Processionale Aquileiense*, f. XXVr). According to the same processional, straight after was intoned the passage of the Gospel *Cum appropinquaret*. “Post haec, Pontifex ascendat in locum eminentiorem ut possit a populo audiri et faciat sermonem. Quo finito, incipiant chorari hymnum Magno salutis gaudio” (*Processionale Aquileiense*, f. XXVr). According to the *Agenda diocesis sanctae Ecclesiae Aquilegiensis* (re-printed in Venice in 1575) the Adoratio Crucis was inserted at this point of the liturgical performance. The cross was laying on carpets on the pavement. The *fideles* were all around intoning the antiphonies *Cum audisset* and *Turba multa*. Thus everybody knelt before the cross and the choir chanted *Occurrunt turbae* and *Fulgentibus ramis*. The main celebrant then raised up the cross, intoning *O crux ave, spes unica*. Children first adored the cross: they brought palm branches and laid before the sacred wood, bowing down. The choir sang the antiphony *Pueri... portantes*. Some other boys stretched out their mantles on the ground and adored, while the choir chanted *Pueri... vestimenta*. Finally the main celebrant came to adore. While he was prostrating, a minister was approaching him to beat him with branches repeating three times: “Percutiam pastorem...”. Then the celebrant took the cross in his hands and carried it into the church with a procession (De Rubeis, *Dissertationes*, 316 ff.; De Santi, *La Domenica delle Palme*).

Subsequently, the procession triumphantly entered the city, singing the responsorium “Ingrediente Domino” and then the hymn “Magno salutis gaudio”.

After its entrance into the major church with the responsorium “Ingressus Pilatus”, a solemn Mass was celebrated.

For Good Friday, the liturgy of the *Adoratio Crucis* and its procession is described on four pages in the *Processionale*. The rubricae are extraordinarily detailed.

During the Mass of *Praesantificati* the Passio was chanted.²⁵ After that finished, the sacra representatio of *Planctus Mariae* at Sepulchre: “Postea fit Planctus ad Crucifixum, prout patet in cantuariis: et hoc si placet”²⁶ was performed.

After the solemn oration, the ministers and cantors entered the sacristy. Afterwards they exited from the sacristy chanting in a low voice “Popule meus” in a very slow procession, in which the Cross, covered with a draped cloth, was carried.²⁷ Arriving at the presbyterium, the celebrant priest proclaimed: “Ecce lignum crucis”, repeating the announcement three times.

During the *adoratio Crucis* the psalm “Beati immacolati in via” was chanted. After the Mass, the “Corpus Domini portatur ad Sepulchrum”, adorned with lamps and flowers.

On Holy Saturday two processions are mentioned: one for the blessing of the new Fire and one for the blessing of the baptismal font (the priest and the deacons turned nine times around the baptistery).²⁸

25 The *Passio* also was intoned together with dramatic gestures. At the words *Non scindamus eam* two deacons, suddenly, almost secretly, took away the cloth from the altar to mean that Jesus Christ died naked on the cross. At the words *Tradidit spiritum*, all the participants prostrate on the ground, *quasi in extasi stantes*, prayed for some times, with humility and deep compassion for the death of the Lord. The lecture resumed a little later: the people stand up to listen to the celebrant.

26 The text and the melody of the *Planctus Mariae* are in *Processionale* MS CI ff. LXXXIV ff.

27 The procession went on very slowly. The main celebrant walked carrying on a large covered cross, followed by more ministers. During a rest, two priests on their knees before the ministers intoned with ordinary tone the verses *Agios o Theos*. The choir repeated in Latin. The leader celebrant, carrying the cross, restarted and proceeded at a slow pace, chanting in a low voice the antiphony *Quia eduxi te*. The verses were repeated both in Greek and in Latin. Later the main celebrant intoned the verse: *Quid ultra*.

28 The outward procession was totally silent; during the return the chant *Inventor rutili* was intoned after the benediction of the fire. The benediction of the paschal cereum followed, together with the *Exultet*, five *lectiones* and the *tractus: Attende caelum, Vineam meam, Sicut cervus*.

The second procession started after the *lectiones*, from the Church to the baptistery of Saint John. The hymn *Rex Sanctorum* was chanted in responsorial form. The clergy displayed on two parallel wings around the baptistery. The priests, the ministers, the *crucifer*, the *accolitus* carrying the *cereum*, two subdeacons carrying the holy oils and the cantors turn nine times around the baptismal font. Then the main celebrant blessed the baptismal water. The ceremony of the baptism followed. At that time

The baptismal ceremony preceded the solemn Mass on Easter Sunday, before the matutinus chant, a priest brought back the holy species from the Sepulchre to the tabernacle and the Cross from the Sepulchre to the main altar: “Et sic processionaliter intrent chorum”. Later, “totus chorus exeat de choro cum processione et stet in corpore ecclesia, dispositis choris sicut moris est”.²⁹

At this point another dramatic representation is inserted:

Finito responsorio et facto silentio, veniant de Sacrario duo chorarii cum duo bus turiboli cantantes: Quis revolvat nobis ab hostio lapidem, quem tegere sanctum cernimus Sepulchrum?, quousque veniat ad sepulchrum. Quibus puer respondens dicat: Quem queritis o tremulae mulieres, in hoc tumultu clorante? Et illi: Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum querimus. Respondet puer: Non est hic quem quesiti. Se cito euntes, nuntiate discipulis eius et Petro quia surrexit Iesus. Revertentes vero a monumento cantent: Ad Monumentum venimus gementes, angelum Domini sedentem vidimus ed dicentem: Quia surrexit Iesus. Cernitis o socii: ecce linteamina et sudarium, et Corpus non est in sepulchrum inventum.

The celebration restarted:

Hoc facto, vadat pontifex ad Sepulchrum et turificet illum et reverytatur ad clerum, quem procedat puer qui cantabat, baiulans crucem. Et cum venerit in medium, tenes syndonem, dicat excels voce: Surrexit Dominus de Sepulchro, dans pacem utrique Choro.

From this simple dramatized *responsorium* included in the liturgical sequence of the Easter morning originated the wonderful representation of the “Visitatio sepulchri” included in the *Processionale* of Cividale.³⁰

After the recitation, the chant of *sexta*, a short procession to the cloister and inside the church (with the responsorium “Sedit Angelus”), the solemn Mass was finally celebrated.

all the church-bells of the city were ringing out. The procession went back to the main church intoning the litanies. The solemn Mass followed.

29 The rite is described in the *Processionale Aquileiense* f. XLIV.

30 The rite is described at ff LXXVIIr-LXXIXv.

2.5 Some Conclusions

The liturgical memory makes Jerusalem daily present to the whole of Christianity, as an original pattern and as the hearth of Christianity itself: the city belongs to Christian believers and believers belong to the city.

These elements contribute to build the Christian identity and to make a connection between its implications and an exact geographical and urban space.

The human body is the fulcrum of this process. Both the body of the believers and worshippers involved in the rites and the bodies of the saints, whose relics are venerated, create a metaphysical and meta-temporal space shared by the whole Christian *oicumene*.