
3 Preserving and Changing to Survive

Resilience and Adaptation in Jerusalem Christian Liturgies (Eleventh-Thirteenth Centuries)

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A liturgy¹ is characterized not only by continuously repeated rites and fixed patterns, but also by vital and innovative elements which are generated inside the celebrating community.

Accordingly, history of liturgy – particularly of Christian liturgies – can be seen as constant match between events occurred in a society and rite and sacred mystery, between contemporary life and a metatemporal horizon. It is where the game between different temporal dimensions can be observed.

Jerusalem’s case acquires an emblematic significance as the ideal centre and the memorial heart of the whole Christian *oicumene*.

Christian agiopolite liturgy is essentially a memorial liturgy based on the divine mystery and on a strong connection between history,

1 This chapter elaborates the paper “Preserving and Changing to Survive: Jerusalem Christian Liturgies in Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries” delivered in the panel *Practices and Discourses: Innovation and Tradition* at the XXI International Association for the History of Religions World Congress held in Erfurt from 23 to 29 August 2015.

memory and mimesis of the Salvation's events in the exact places, the *ipsissima loca*, where those events happened, in a time out of history, which becomes characterized by a transcendental dimension, due to repeated ritual gestures and words.

Meanwhile, the history of the city has been marked by violent *caesurae*, deep changes, alternations of population, rulers and hierarchies.

Between sixth and thirteenth centuries, Christian community was violated, persecuted, overshadowed, and decreased, but it continued to exist, keeping its identity in a difficult context thanks to its persisting liturgies.

Christian worship maintained its force and continuity, even during persecutions, divisions and clashes, since it modified itself by absorbing community's changes and by creating an external *imago* of stability and fixity.

The *fulcrum* of Jerusalem's liturgies is the complex of the Holy Sepulchre, which was built close to the site of Golgota and all around the empty Tomb of Christ, during constantinian period, when the main Christian celebrations were elaborated and codified. In the following centuries, different *nationes* of Christians living in the city performed there their liturgies, keeping the bishop, than patriarch, as a point of reference, but maintaining their own different languages, worship and devotions. Monasteries and churches inside the walls and all around were connected with the area thank to processions and stational liturgies, mostly solemnized during the Holy Week.

In 614 Persians sacked and destroyed the complex, seizing the relic of the Holy Cross and taking the patriarch Zacharia hostage.²

After the Byzantine emperor reached an agreement with them, he was able to finance the reconstruction, but in a reduced size, on a smaller area. Liturgies were also modified.³

Thus a semantic continuity was not interrupted. The architectural ensemble changed shape and dimensions, but it remained structured around the three main centers which presided over the development of the celebrations. Namely: the Golgotha - related with the memory of the Crucifixion and Death of Jesus -, the Sepulchre [memorial place of the Resurrection] and - finally - the place for the assembly.

² Garitte, *Strategius*; Conybeare, "Antiochus Strategos". See also Wheeler, *Imagining the Sasanian Capture of Jerusalem*. The narration of Antiochus Strategos is echoed by Sebēos Macler, *Sebēos: Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebēos*, XXIV, 95, coll. 1082-1084), in the *Annales* of Euty chius, in the *Anacreontica* of Sofronius, coll. 3805-3812, in the *Chronicle of Khuzestan* (Guidi, "Chronicon anonymum", 11, 22-3). The events are cited also in the Koran (30, 2-4).

³ See Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule*, 45-6; Verhelst, *The Liturgy of Jerusalem in the Byzantine Period*. For a complete historical reconstruction see Salvarani, *Il Santo Sepolcro a Gerusalemme*, 142-52.

Particularly, the dramatic events that occurred in Jerusalem Church during the eleventh and twelfth centuries demonstrated that continuity and discontinuity can combine and alternate in order to ensure religious community's survival, even in deeply modified contexts.

3.1 Continuity and Breaking Points

A first dramatic caesura took place in 1009, when Fatimid caliph al-Hakim ordered the Holy Sepulchre's total destruction. Architectural space for worship disappeared, but some months later celebrations continued as in the past, allowing the following building reconstruction.⁴

Demolition lasted days and days, marking a deep break in the continuous life of the community. It was perceived as the end of an era, also because believers and pilgrims saw ruins and rubble for years.

The action symbolically made clear the intention – which had been evident in Jerusalem for a long time – to carry on the annihilation of Christian signs, and to implement a political plan based on imposition of the Sharia.

It is widely agreed that the constantinian basilica of Martyrium was totally demolished and the roof, the coverings the walls and structures of Anastasis and Tryporticum were all destroyed.

Only a part of Anastasis external walls, almost all the column bases and the pillar bases and Calvary rock remained standing, because they were covered and protected by deposits and ruins of upper structures. The whole area became impassable, and clearing rubble took a long time and an hard work.

This event and its archaeological implications are a focal point for our topic, since the disruption of the architectural space influenced the performance, the shape and the continuity of the liturgies.

The rise of the Fatimid, before in Egypt and then in Jerusalem, marked a deterioration in the quality of life for Christian communities, who were limited in their public worship and systematically discriminated.

Even if, after 1009, Christians managed to pray and to officiate inside memorial sanctuaries and in the Holy Sepulchre area, this hard situation led them to be reduced in number and to create a sense of weakness, precariousness, frustration.

⁴ Canard, "La destruction de l'église de la Resurrection". For the connections of the event with the Mediterranean context, see Pratsch, *Konflikt und Bewältigung*, in particular Krönung, "Al-Hakim und die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche"; Künnell, "Productive Destruction: the Holy Sepulchre after 1009".

After first celebrations could not take place; but then ruins and debris were removed and stacked. Thus the memorial space came up again, showing its former shape, with the major places: the Sepulchre, the base of *aedicula*, Calvary's rock.

Foundations, pillars and columns bases, and perimeter walls lines became also clear.

Reconstruction was really challenging: a huge effort was required by the local Church, to the Christian community, which was exiguous, limited by interdiction imposed by rulers, impoverished for *jizja* and other heavy taxes.

Three decades later, only Constantinople's court intervention and mediation made possible to start rebuilding the site in a structured way.

It may be assumed that in the meanwhile were not only individual memorial devotions were performed but also some kind of community liturgies, celebrated not more inside an architectural closed space, but open air, keeping Golgotha and Sepulchre as semantic points of reference, for the Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ.

It can be assumed that topological and processional memory of rites was maintained despite the ruins, before and during restoration works.

In this phase, liturgical performing could have lost some previous fixed features, opening towards subsequent transformations.⁵

Nevertheless, the physical and sensitive strength of the two main semantic poles - and places - didn't fail: afterwards Golgotha and Sepulchre will bipolarize liturgical development around the themes of Death and Resurrection of Jesus, at the expense of any other devotional elements properly *agiopolites* (at example, Saints celebrations or Saint Mary feasts).

Constantine Monomachus, thanks to a previous agreement signed by emperor Romanus III with al-Hakim's son, Ali az-Zahir, managed to get a pact with Fatimids in Cairo in order to send to Jerusalem equipment and skilled workers for the rebuilding of the site. Works started in 1042, opening a new era in the complex historical relationship between Constantinople and Jerusalem Christians: the Greek clergy increased its presence both at Anastasis and in the monasteries of the city and local patriarchs built close ties with the imperial court. Consequently, it can be supposed the creation of a sort of byzantine protectorate to defend the Holy Land and its Christians.

⁵ Hamdani, "Byzantine-Fatimid Relations Before the battle of Mantzikert", 173; Rose, *Pluralism in a Medieval Colonial Society*, 67-71; Felix, *Byzanz und die Islamische Welt im früheren 11 Jahrhundert*; Lev, "The Fatimids and Byzantium". About the structures and the restoration works, keep as point of reference: Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme*, 2: 145-6, tavv. 4, 5.

3.2 A Liturgical Text Mirroring the Life of Jerusalem's Church

A fundamental liturgical source is the so called *Typicon* of the Anastasis.⁶

This text is reported in the manuscript Hagios Stauros 43 of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem, written in 1122. It reports the agiopolites rites of the Holy Week and of the paschal octave, which are stratified from the ninth century.

The problematic dating of the liturgies reported by the text is based on two main elements: the presence among Holy Wednesday prayers of an idiomel composed by the patriarch Photius (815-891) and the presence of *stationes* at *Martyrium* (which at the time had been demolished).

By considering these elements it could be hypothesized that the first writing dates around 975.

Nevertheless the complexity of the text and the variety of stratified rites which are contained in, let the problem still open.

At the end of the text it is reported that manuscript had been copied from a more ancient example in 1122 by a Basilus, charged by Georgius, perhaps a senior priest.

The amanuensis inserted notes linking from a point of the text to another, in order to avoid double copying. This detail allows us to think that the manuscript was used as a study instrument and not as a liturgical book to read during celebrations.

The fact that sometimes the copyist uses the first plural person, we, may be because he was included in the clerical celebrating community.

The manuscript, all in Greek, acephalous, reported the list of lectures, the hymns, chants and prayers for Palm Sunday, days of Holy Week (with complete details of Holy Thursday, Easter vigil and Easter morning liturgies) and days of paschal *octava*, till the *orthros* of Saturday.

Notes about the performing rites, the role of the patriarch during each liturgy, the gestures and the movements of the celebrants and of the lay believers are reported as well.

These elements contributed to date back the manuscript's contents to an historical and liturgical context preceding the copying date.

The *Typicon* of the Anastasis copying – and perhaps also its composition – can be seen as the decision to preserve the memory of Greek liturgy, in a period when its full performance was impossible, because of crusaders rule.

⁶ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta Hierosolimitikes Stachiologias*, 78. See also: Baumstark, "Die Heiligtümer des byzantinischen Jerusalems", in particular 288-9; Baumstark, "Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen ritus", 18-20; Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 155; Thibaut, *Ordre des offices de la Semaine Sainte à Jérusalem*, 80-1.

We can conjecture that the text had been copied for Greek priest scholarship or for a subsequent political action claiming liturgical spaces inside the Holy Sepulchre area, in a future time more favorable for Greek Christians.

In other words, this *Typicon* preserves an orienting memory, a memory of reference, an exemplar pattern of liturgy not more performed *in situ*, but so precious to be recorded, looking forward a new Greek hegemony, as this aim has never been totally abandoned.

Further question is still open: of what period does the *Typicon* of the Anastasis quotes agiopolite liturgies? What part of Jerusalem Church's history is referred to?

The text reports about liturgical uses practiced during different periods, before and after al-Hakim destructions, before and after Latin conquest.

For example, it mentions the passage of Palm Sunday procession from Getsemani to Temple Mount, while this place became accessible for Christians only after 1099.

Thus, we can argue that more different layers of *consuetudines* are superimposed in the manuscript, following a three centuries tradition of changes and variations: handwritten draft dating to 1122 is only the final step of fixation.

Two transformations are mostly evident in the *Typicon* of the Anastasis: the increasing close ties with Constantinople and the Hagia Sophia cathedral liturgy and connections with the monastic liturgies, particularly with those of Mar Saba and Spoudaei monasteries.

This process of change is related both to a relationship of protection carried out by byzantine emperors and to the increasing role of monastic groups in the local Church, thinned and reduced in number of layman.⁷

Monastic daily liturgy was articulate by hours and fixed times.

This structure was transposed in Holy Sepulchre's cathedral liturgy gradually during the eleventh century. Mostly during the Holy Week and paschal *triduum* became evident a direct bond between fixed daily prayers and particular services of the day (celebrating the memory of Gospel's events following a mimesis *ad loca and ad horas* of the Passion of Jesus).

The *Typicon* of the Anastasis is structured as a monastic one – on a monastic basis – but its character is hybrid, monastic and cathedral, for some memorial elements.

The text outlines local Church's medieval disposition to find its own identity around Holy Places. Memorial rites, Gospel lectures displayed in the same places where events happened, processions, topological dynamics, semantic emphasis on Anastasis and Golgo-

⁷ Arranz, "Les grandes étapes de la liturgie Byzantine", 58.

tha became predominant, instead of properly agiopolite elements, dating back to the primitive community, that finally overshadowed or disappeared.

Ipsissima loca and memorial liturgies became Jerusalem Christians' strength, together with their external links and "political" lies, eminently with Greek world.

Meanwhile Christian communities identified themselves with the same worship, the only thing that allowed them to show their identity was the liturgy: - and - its changes allowed them to survive as a religious group during Islamic rule, keeping frequent external contacts.

Consequently, a sort of movement toward Greek culture and Greek world occurred in the rites.⁸

3.3 Latin Elements of Discontinuity and Agiopolite Survivals

From 1099 Latin and Frank conquerors introduced prominent elements of discontinuity in the city life and in Christian liturgy itself: regular canons of the Holy Sepulchre and Latin hierarchy acquired predominant roles and positions and brought their language, hymns and chants. Crusaders yard at Holy Sepulchre got a general rebuilding in the area.

What happened to the previous liturgical usages, to the commingling situations and to kaleidoscope of Christian groups installed all around the Anastasis after the winning crusaders' siege?

According to some authors⁹ local clergy had been allowed to maintain its function, on the condition that the Roman Church and the Roman hierarchy were acknowledged. Different rites could have their altars inside the Holy Sepulchre buildings, where different priests could officiate beside Latin celebrants.

Indeed, Holy Land Christianity during the eleventh and twelfth centuries didn't perceive the deep consequences of the schism and it is possible that a part of the Latin, Greek and Eastern clergy found a daily common *modus vivendi*.

Thus it was relatively easy to connect some local priests and abbots to the *sedes romana*, at least with a formal subordination.

According to Hussey, relations between crusaders and some eastern Churches were better than the "intolerant deal" these churches

⁸ For a complete analysis, see Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem*. See also: Galadza, "Sources for the Study of Liturgy in Post-Byzantine Jerusalem (638/1187 CE)", 75-94; Nikiforova, "The Oldest Greek Tropologion Sin.Gr. Mr 56+5"; Frøyshov, "The Resurrection Office of the First Millennium Jerusalem Liturgy".

⁹ See in particular Fedalto, "Vescovi franchi"; Fedalto, "La conquista latina della Città Santa".

had to suffer because of the Greek orthodox one.¹⁰ These communities were under Latin jurisdiction, but their rites and devotions remained unchanged. A formal submission wasn't required, since a hierarchy's implicit acknowledgment was considered enough.

Also the monasteries in the desert preserved their prerogatives, estates and dependences (included monastic cells and houses in Jerusalem).

Crusaders continued to deeply suspect only on Greek orthodox groups, because of political reasons.

Following this critical interpretation, we need to examine a polycentric network of relations, in a multiple scenario.

In other words, it is hard to assume that the Latin hierarchy imposed authoritarian one-sided decisions and specific rites. Actually it is more appropriate to think that there had been mediations and variable arrangements, instead of a general project of liturgical standardization.

We can properly understand what happened to the performing liturgies and rites if we consider not only liturgical texts, with their problematic tradition, but indirect sources too. The so called "perceived liturgies" (chronicles, documentary texts, letters, pilgrims accounts) report how celebrations were lived and reminded in Jerusalem during the crusader period.

A further issue. The Holy Sepulchre Latin liturgy included different actors, namely: regular canons community, established in the Holy Sepulchre in 1099 by Godfrey of Bouillon, patriarchs, pilgrims and the whole local Church.¹¹

But was this canonical and cathedral liturgy the unique Christian liturgy performed in crusaders' Jerusalem? It's very difficult to give an affirmative answer.

However, it seems reasonable to assume that a plural ensemble of persisting rites, mostly in monastic contexts, took place. Consequently, relationships between different groups celebrating different liturgies in different languages could have been very problematic.

Holy Sepulchre's liturgy was properly Latin, exactly Gaul Roman.

This should not come as a surprise, for many reasons. First of all, the community officiating in the area was Latin. Secondly, for decades, in the sermons as in the papal documents, the declared goal of crusades was the liturgical and devotional defence of the Holy Places. Thirdly, the bond between Rome and Jerusalem was both hierarchic and liturgical. Finally, canons settled inside the buildings sys-

¹⁰ Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, 174.

¹¹ Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*. For a general biography of Godfrey of Bouillon: John, *Godfrey of Bouillon*.

tem brought with them Latin liturgical books, containing liturgical traditions of their own cathedrals and homelands.

Nevertheless, the Holy Sepulchre Latin liturgy was openly performed in a perspective of continuity with Christian Jerusalem's original worship, even if it includes new elements, generated thanks to local reforms implemented during twelfth century.

The *incipit* of some liturgical books declare this double dimension of continuity and innovation.

Indeed, the surviving liturgical manuscripts are properly Latin, even if the texts include in a totally new perspective some Jerusalem's elements and references to the life of the local Church during the Crusades period (such as local feasts and celebrations, saints of Jerusalem and Holy Land).¹²

The most relevant code, the so-called Psalter of Melisende (British Library, Ms. Egerton 1139) has been composed around 1135. The calendar, in form of martyrology, includes the feast for the conquest of Jerusalem, on July 15. The litanies list only few local saints, but are followed by invocations for the patriarch.

The sacramentary divided in two parts, one at Biblioteca Angelica in Rome (Ms. 477) and the second at Cambridge at Fitzwilliam Museum (Ms. McClean 49), dating at the first half of twelfth century has a hybrid character as well.

The Ms. lat. 12056 conserved at Bibliothèque Nationale de France is a simplified copy, produced for a single personality, may be a component of the court or of the royal family.

The *Pontificale* of Apamea was used by bishop metropolitane of Apamea in Siria and is dated to 1214, when the Romans Latin settled and introduced their liturgical usages.¹³ The text is based on the *formularium* elaborated and introduced at Rome during the pontificate of Gregory VII, later inserted in the *Pontificale Romanum*, but some celebrations related to Jerusalem are pointed out (the rite of Holy Thursday, the *lectio* for the Parasceve, and the complex rite of the Holy Saturday).

¹² A general overview is in Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem*. See also: Frøyshov, "The Georgian Witness to the Jerusalem Liturgy"; Janeras Vilaró, "Les lectionnaires de l'ancienne liturgie de Jérusalem".

¹³ Andrieu, "Le pontifical d'Apamée"; Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem*, 206-11.

3.4 Last Written Memories

A small group of extraordinarily detailed manuscripts evidence the main features of the Christian community of Jerusalem: resilience and adaptation.

The most complete liturgical text is an *ordinale* dating to the Fifties of the twelfth century, surely before 1187, today at Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Ms. Barb.Lat. 659). It describes in detail the celebrations at the Holy Sepulchre during the first Reign of Jerusalem.¹⁴ The symbolical spaces of Jerusalem are also evoked.

The code of Barletta is considered a copy of this manuscript, or, at least, an element of the same manuscript tradition.¹⁵

The compilation dates to a period comprised between 1173 and 1228, the dates of canonization of Thomas Becket and Francis of Assisi, both included in the calendar. The code includes also a short chronicle of Holy Land from 1097 to 1202, that is considered the *terminus ante quem non*. The background of the manuscript is assumed to be Saint John of Acre, where a *scriptorium* was active and where moved the survivors of the Reign of Jerusalem after the conquest of the city by Saladin.

The contents outline a close connection between a Roman Latin structure of the liturgy and many elements and detail referred to Jerusalem and to the agiopolite devotional tradition. The description of gestures, processions, liturgical vestments are so elaborated and precise that we can speculate that this ritual has been handwritten to preserve the memory of the rites before performed into the Holy Sepulchre in order to reproduce the same liturgy somewhere else, in Acre or in the Western Europe.

Conservation, adaptation and forced innovation could be the very aims of this liturgical creation.

The code related to the Holy Sepulchre today at Musée Condé at Chantilly dates to the middle of fourteenth century.¹⁶ The text is a roman *breviarium* including usages and *consuetudines* dating back to previous periods. Probably it was used in a community inspired to Jerusalem but living in Latin West. It provides the *breviarium* of the Mess and of the Hours, together with a liturgical *directorium* and hymns, proses, antiphonies.

¹⁴ Salvadó, *The Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre and the Templar Rite*.

¹⁵ Barletta, Archivio della Chiesa del Santo Sepolcro, "Ordinarium gerosolimitanum"; Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem*, 77-9, in particular 78. The text is analyzed and partially transcribed in Kohler, "Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint Sépulchre de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)".

¹⁶ MS 50, Bibliothèque Musée Condé, Chantilly. The code is described in Kohler, "Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint Sépulchre de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)", 469-500.

3.5 Indirect Liturgical Sources

A certain degree of continuity with agiopolite liturgy was guaranteed by specific worship, especially during the Holy Week and the paschal *triduum*: processional liturgies performed across the whole city became the place for common worship of different and antagonist but coexisting Christian communities (Greeks, Armenians, *Siri*, Ethiopians, Coptic, monks, hermits).

This continuity is testified by some indirect liturgical sources.

Sacred fire ceremony, performed during Easter vigil, became a significant moment in Paschal *Triduum*, and every Christian church and groups participated to it.

Report of Daniil Palomnik, a pilgrim from the Rus of Kiev visiting Jerusalem between 1106 and 1108, contains many interesting elements for our topic.¹⁷

Liturgical celebrations performed during Holy Week are the *leit motiv* of the whole narration, since the Russian monk knowledge of Holy Land was based only on sacred lectures, he started from them in order to understand local worship.

Regarding his biography, we only know that he was an abbot, probably coming from southern Russia.

The text describes places and architectures following a devotional topography which had already been codified even for Russian pilgrims.

Prevalent attention is given to monasteries: Saint Theodosius, Saint Euthimius the Great, Saint Chariton, Saint John the Precursor, Calamon, Saint John Chrisostomos, Saint Michael, Georgian monastery of the Cross are quoted, as well as Mar Saba and its cell inside Jerusalem's wall (where Russian abbot was hosted during his staying).

Detailed description of the Sacred Fire ceremony has a devotional purpose, but dialectic between conservation and change, tradition and innovation clearly emerges from his pages.

On a fixed ritual and theological base are inserted some novelties due to the contemporary situation: regular canons settlement in the Holy Sepulchre, the king's [Baldovin] role and the building of Chorus Dominorum in the middle of the basilica.

Probably this building at the beginning of twelfth century hadn't been completed yet in its vault, but the structure was already defined: its plan could influence the worship, the celebrating clergy's positions and the believers movements. High altar was in the middle of the Chorus apse; above there was a mosaic with Harrowing of Hell, Jesus descending to hell uplifting Abraham to heaven.¹⁸

¹⁷ Italian edition in Garzaniti, *Daniil Egumeno*; German edition in Seemann, *Choženie = Wallfahrtsbericht Igumen Daniil*.

¹⁸ Garzaniti, *Daniil Egumeno*, 84.

The text outlines how performed liturgy reflects life and institutional organization of Jerusalem Church.¹⁹

Rite's preparation started on Holy Friday after vesper, when Sepulchre was cleansed and lamps were wiped. Inside them wicks and new pure oil were then positioned. All the lamps were put out, and the aedicule was sealed off. Starting from that moment, there are no lights in the whole city, nor in the churches, nor in the homes.

The following day, Holy Saturday, a large crowd gathered outside the basilica's entrance, huddling and flocking. Each one carried his own extinct lamp or candle and waited for the door to be opened.

Inside the basilica there were only priests, waiting for the king's arrival.

The central role of the king is a relevant innovation of the crusaders era, in comparison to the previous Jerusalem's Holy Week liturgies.

Baldovin's way from the royal palace, in the Citadel, to the Sepulchre shows the sovereign's relationships with ecclesiastical non Latin institutions and with local people.

King ordered to call the abbot of Mar Saba powerful monastery (detaining a cell in the city) and to ask him to come first in the procession.

We don't know if this decision was due to a form of reverence or if it was a *captatio benevolentiae* toward non-Latin Christians (the majority of the population in the city). It is also possible that he feared their violent reaction.

Russian pilgrim writes that royal cortege went to the Sepulchre's western access (at this time, crusaders reconstruction was not yet concluded and the southern access was not yet the only access).

However at first crowd didn't allow the king to get in. Later, only thanks to the armed garrison's intervention it was possible for him to enter, but only by eastern access, after turning around the buildings.

At the king's entrance, doors were opened from inside and people could access and stay in the whole internal space, included the Chorus.

Part of the crowd must remain outside. All the people chanted and cried invocations of mercy making the basilica and the whole city resonate and resound.

During the celebration the positions of the Latin clergy, the king, the Greek clergy, the monks, the eremites and nuns outlines contemporary presence and staying of every Christian elements non only inside the Sepulchre, but in the city and in its Church.

It may be assumed that the sovereign took upon a preeminent role, but non Latin communities kept their importance, accepting unwillingly to be subordinated by conquerors and preparing new claims.

¹⁹ Garzaniti, *Daniil Egumeno*, 158-9.

The text goes on with the story of the day, with an emotional crescendo marking the Paschal *Triduum* rites.²⁰

At *hora nona* of Holy Saturday, suddenly a small cloud appeared coming from east: it stood over the open dome of the Anastasis and a drizzle started falling, getting wet the Sepulchre. Then the Holy Fire shined inside and a terrific splendour went out.

3.6 The Main Popular Ceremony: Clergy, Pilgrims, Local Community

Subsequently, the sequence of Fire's distribution marks the king's role.

The bishop, with four deacons, opened aedicule's doors and entered inside keeping king's lamp. He took the flame from the Holy Fire and lightened the lamp. Later, out of the aedicule, the members of the cortege took the flame from the king's, and then they gave their flames to other people. One from others, everybody in the church lighted lamps and candles.

Crying *Kyrie eleison*, they exit from the basilica: with their flames and with joy they went home, finishing there the vesper chant. Only Latin priests remained in the Sepulchre, meaning that canons officiated their proper worship in the Chorus, while the other communities went to their own monasteries, churches or houses.²¹

At Easter sunset, everybody went back to the Sepulchre for subsequent liturgies.

The Barletta codex, a liturgical properly Latin source, describes the same ceremony and inspires an hypothesis: different Christian communities not only joined main liturgy at the Sepulchre, but they also kept their own different worships.²²

Regarding Holy Saturday, performing Sacred Fire's rite is reported in detail:

[...] *hora sexta patriarcha cum personis suis subfraganeis et ceteris clericis intrat ecclesiam, et ascendit revestiarium, ubi se preparat cum archiepiscopis,*

²⁰ Garzaniti, *Daniil Egumeno*, 160-4.

²¹ Garzaniti, *Daniil Egumeno*, 164.

²² Barletta, Archivio della Chiesa del Santo Sepolcro, 'Ordinarium gerosolimitano'; Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem*, 77-9, in particular 78. See before: Kohler, "Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint Sépulchre de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)".

episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus et ceteris ministris ad celebrandum in hac sanctissima nocte tam sanctum officium.²³

This passage illustrates a distinction between patriarch with his *curia*, on one side, and bishops and archbishops, on the other side. We can assume that this *vestitio* – and distinction – interested also non Latin clergy and hierarchies.

Subsequently *lectiones* were proclaimed.

Penitents who were newly admitted/re-admitted in the communion were introduced to the Calvary for a personal prayer, that had to be performed barefoot.

In the church, all around Anastasis everybody intoned the Kyrie and Miserere. A procession led the Cross turning around the aedicule for more times.

In the text, the next passage doesn't mention Latin patriarch, but – generically – a guide of the worship.

This element could testify not only that different Christian groups participated together to the liturgy, but also that there was a role for non Latin priest and bishops in this sequence of the rite. This is the passage:

Tandem dignior personarum lignum salutiferum in manibus tenens, venit cum suis ad hostium monumenti, et inclinato capite flectendo genua intus prospiciunt, ignem advenisse sperantes. Sed tanta aliquando spe frustrati cum gemitu et dolore et lacrimarum effusione recedunt. Et iterum sacrosanctum Domini sepulcrum sex vicibus aut septem orando et flendo circuire satagunt. Plebs autem universa ibi diversarum nationum congregata hec videns, ingentem clamorem ad sidera mittit et fletus accumulare non desistit, sepius vociferando *Kyrie*. Denique qui sanctam Crucem portat summa cum devocione et cordis compunctione cum suis monumentum ingreditur. Inventoque igne, quem divina clementia de celis mittere suis peccatoribus dignata est, cereum suum cum timore et tremore gaudenter accendit.²⁴

Only afterwards the text mentions the patriarch again, after the lightning of the Sacred Fire. He gives the flame to the king, *si presens fuerit*. This note refers to the political precarious situation in the Latin Kingdom.

Later, *Te Deum* and baptismal ceremony took place, both officiated by patriarch.

²³ Kohler, "Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint Sépulchre de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)", 420.

²⁴ Kohler, "Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint Sépulchre de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)", 421.

On Easter morning were performed the *matutinum* and *Quem queritis* rite, played by two groups of clerics in the role of Angel and women at Sepulchre.

Canons in the Chorus intonated Alleluja and Te Deum.

The *amanuensis* notes that worship was not more performed 'iuxta consuetudinem antiquorum', but partly behind Chorus altar and partly close to the Tomb entrance, 'propter multitudinem peregrinorum'.

Celebrations continued during the whole day. The author of the text notes that 'omnes congregationes ecclesiarum veniunt ad Sepulchrum et ceteri clerici cum processionibus suis',²⁵ outlining plural identities involved in a great choral worship.

In general terms, Jerusalem liturgy in Latin Kingdom remained a composite liturgy, performed aggregating different elements, originated during previous periods or/and in different Christian groups.

3.7 Durable Features: *Processiones et Stationes*

These elements are unified thank to its processional and stational character, which maintained along the centuries.

These features could be identified also in Latin liturgical texts, that were composed by selecting and copying sections from ancient different codex, according to conscious and willing choices.

We can assume that crusaders' period worships - even if clearly featured in Latin character - assimilated some of the elements that were the features, identity and history of the city, showing a continuity with the past.

In other words, we should consider regular canons liturgy in the Holy Sepulchre as a contribution inside in a continuous tradition, rather than as a cut.

This contribution would live during the following periods thanks to Latin offices performed by the Franciscan friars and - as a change item - will foster the Christian community's survival.²⁶

While Latin liturgies became prevalent, Christian non Latin liturgies had their parallel persistence (*antiqua et nova consuetudo*), allowing the whole cosmopolite population to take part in celebra-

²⁵ Kohler, "Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint Sépulchre de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)", 424.

²⁶ Pellegrini, "Secundum consuetudinem Romane Curie"; Abate, *Il primitivo breviario francescano (1224-1227)*; van Dijk, Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy*. See also: van Dijk, "Some Manuscripts of the Earliest Franciscan Liturgy"; van Dijk, "Liturgy of the Franciscan Rules"; see in particular Cresi, "Manoscritti liturgici francescani a Gerusalemme". About the processional feature of the liturgies in this perspective of continuity, see Verhelst, "Les processions du cycle annuel dans la liturgie de Jérusalem".

tions and ensuring Christian worship continuity, even after the fall of the crusader kingdom and after latin and “western” inhabitants’ banishment, in 1187.

According to Arab chronicles, after Salah al-Din victory at Horn of Hattin battle, the Muslim conquest of the Holy City caused a huge exodus, reducing inhabitants number from 1 hundred thousand to 15 thousand.²⁷

Latin people, chivalric and religious orders members, nobles and clergy were banished and they obtained a safe conduct to reach the coast and fortresses still controlled by crusaders.

Other Christians – so as Jews – were allowed to go back to the city and to stay in their houses, after some days of total violent pillage. New Arab Islamic population settled into the walls.

Right after Jerusalem’s surrender, sultan ordered the Holy Sepulchre to remain sealed, the entrance forbidden for everybody.

During this three days lockout, sultan and his court discussed what to do with the massive buildings and the surrounding area. Finally they abandoned any demolition plan, because they realized that Christians care about the Holy Places, the Calvary’s Rock and the site of the Tomb, not about the architecture in itself, and, as in the past, they could rebuild the structure.

3.8 Latin Survivals and Elements of Deep Continuity

The Holy Sepulchre was re-opened, but celebration permissions were given just by the sultan.

The Latin clergy remained excluded, the Latin pilgrims were forced to pay heavy access taxes. But what about other Churches and *nationes*? Inside the complex of buildings individual memorial places were distributed and assigned to different groups, creating a multiple and changeable system of privileges.

Greek orthodox and Syri (Jacobites) were allowed to live in their homes and to perform worships in accordance with their traditions. Byzantine emperor, Isaac Angel, asked Salah al-Din to let the Greek orthodox Church to control the holy places to and re-introduce Greek liturgy. When these requests were partially accorded, the imperial court obtained a kind of control and patronage on Jerusalem patriarch.

In a general context of a political strategy based on *divide et impera* principle, the sultan took the opportunity to foment and to foster divisions between Rome and Constantinople.

²⁷ See Kedar, *The Horns of Hattin*. A general analysis in Abu-Munshar, *Islamic Jerusalem and its Christians*.

Greek clergy got many advantages, while only Franciscan friars – later, only in thirteenth century – will obtain to stay in the city: only their community will re-introduce Latin rite in the Holy Sepulchre, in a newly transformed shape.

Franciscans ensured continuously Latin celebrations at Anastasis, Calvary and in some other spaces, so as they were soon identified as “the Latins”, *tout court*.

Niccolò da Poggibonsi, who arrived in Jerusalem in 1346, wrote in his *Libro d’Oltremare*:

Qui [nella basilica del Santo Sepolcro] uffiziano i Latini, cioè i Frati Minori, ch’è di noi, Christiani latini; perché in Ierusalem e in tutto Oltremare, cioè in Siria e in Israel e in Arabia ed in Egitto, non ci è altri religiosi, né preti né monaci, altro che Frati Minori e questi si chiamano Cristiani Latini.²⁸

The of Saint Francis of Assisi followers of Saint Francis of Assisi adopted the use of *Missale Romanum*, already codified and used on a large scale after the Fourth Lateran council.

The short liturgy of the daily Mass combined with some paraliturgies, such as the Via Crucis, allowed them to find a new way to stand and to officiate in the Holy Sepulchre.

Mimesis, memorial character of the local liturgy and the Latin worship were unified in a ductile system inserted in the general complex of different rites performed all around the Tomb and the Calvary and subsequently fixed in the so called *status quo* system, living to this day.

A new time, a liturgical innovation reinforced a tradition and fostered the Christian multiple community to persist.

28 Bagatti, *Niccolò da Poggibonsi*, 26.

