Studi di storia 11

e-ISSN 2610-9107
ISSN 2610-9883

The Body, the Liturgy and the City

Shaping and Transforming Public Urban Spaces in Medieval Christianity

Renata Salvarani

Edizioni
Ca'Foscari

The Body, the Liturgy and the City

Studi di storia

Serie coordinata da
Laura Cerasi
Mario Infelise
Anna Rapetti

11

Edizioni
Ca'Foscari

Studi di storia

Coordinatori
Laura Cerasi (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)
Mario Infelise (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)
Anna Rapetti (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)

Comitato scientifico
Claus Arnold (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität in Mainz, Deutschland)
Marina Caffiero (Sapienza Università di Roma, Italia)
Giovanni Filoramo (Università degli Studi di Torino, Italia)
Marco Fincardi (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)
Stefano Gasparri (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)
Mario Infelise (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)
Vincenzo Lavenia (Università di Bologna, Italia)
Simon Levis Sullam (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)
Adelisa Malena (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)
Alberto Masoero (Università degli Studi di Torino, Italia)
Rolf Petri (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)
Giorgio Politi (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)
Silvio Pons (Università degli Studi di Roma «Tor Vergata», Italia)
Antonella Salomoni (Università della Calabria, Cosenza, Italia)
Enzo Traverso (Cornell University, Ithaca, USA)
Giovanni Vian (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italia)
Chris Wickham (University of Oxford, UK)

Direzione e redazione
Università Ca' Foscari Venezia
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici
Palazzo Malcanton Marcorà, Dorsoduro 3484/D
30123 Venezia
studistoria@unive.it

e-ISSN 2610-9107
ISSN 2610-9883

URL http://edizionicafoscari.unive.it/it/edizioni/collane/studi-di-storia/

The Body, the Liturgy and the City
Shaping and Transforming Public Urban Spaces in Medieval Christianity (Eighth-Fourteenth Centuries)

Renata Salvarani

Venezia
Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing
2019

The Body, the Liturgy and the City. Shaping and Transforming Public Urban Spaces in Medieval Christianity (Eighth-Fourteenth Centuries)
Renata Salvarani

© 2019 Renata Salvarani per il testo | for the text
© 2019 Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing per la presente edizione | for the present edition

Quest'opera è distribuita con Licenza Creative Commons Attribuzione 4.0 Internazionale
This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

OPEN ACCESS

Qualunque parte di questa pubblicazione può essere riprodotta, memorizzata in un sistema di recupero dati o trasmessa in qualsiasi forma o con qualsiasi mezzo, elettronico o meccanico, senza autorizzazione, a condizione che se ne citi la fonte.

Any part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means without permission provided that the source is fully credited.

Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing
Università Ca' Foscari Venezia
Dorsoduro 3246, 30123 Venezia
http://edizionicafoscari.unive.it | ecf@unive.it

1a edizione novembre 2019 | 1st edition November 2019
ISBN 978-88-6969-364-9 [ebook]
ISBN 978-88-6969-365-6 [print]

This book has been funded by European University of Rome – Department of Human Sciences in the research project "Christian liturgies and building of the symbolic space in the medieval Mediterranean" (2019).

The Body, the Liturgy and the City. Shaping and Transforming Public Urban Spaces in Medieval Christianity (Eighth-Fourteenth Centuries) / Renata Salvarani — 1. ed. — Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing, 2019. — 106 p.; 23 cm. — (Studi storia; 11). — ISBN 978-88-6969-365-6.

URL http://edizionicafoscari.unive.it/it/edizioni/libri/978-88-6969-365-6/
DOI http://doi.org/10.30687/978-88-6969-364-9

The Body, the Liturgy and the City
Shaping and Transforming Public Urban Spaces in Medieval Christianity (Eighth-Fourteenth Centuries)

Renata Salvarani

Abstract

The body and the space are the fulcrums of dynamic relationships creating cultures, identities, societies. In the game of interactions between individuals, groups and space religions play a crucial role. During a ritual performance takes place a true genesis of a sacred space, not a simply symbolic featuring, but the birth of the environment for deep experiences involving both groups and whole cities. This work analyzes the theme from a historical point of view, with a focus on Christianity and particularly on medieval Latin liturgies. Indeed, for Christian theology the body has a primary value: related with the dogma of the Incarnation, the chair is itself the place of the manifestation of the sacred; the sacraments make the presence of God real in the material; individuals and community are involved in the ritual participation. Christian liturgy makes present, generated and gives with life a new body. Together it generates a space. This space is in the city, interacts with the entire urban society, inside the eschatological dialectic between earthly and heavenly city. The heart centuries of the Middle Age (between 9th and 12th specifically) has been a great liturgical laboratory, in a period of violent political and social changes. The book introduces some case studies of medieval memorial liturgies, processions and stational celebrations: their codifying highlights the interactions between the rite and the city and the capacity of the Christian community to integrate different religious groups in the same general ritual context. Resilience and ability to transfer the changes of the society in the liturgy and in a symbolic space are also evident. The cases are referred to Jerusalem and Rome, two cities that, thanks to their liturgical heritage, became emblems for the whole Christianity and models to be imitated everywhere in the Christian oicumene.

Keywords Medieval liturgies. Religious performances. Pilgrimage. Devotional pathways. Jerusalem. Rome.

The Body, the Liturgy and the City
Shaping and Transforming Public Urban Spaces in Medieval Christianity (Eighth-Fourteenth Centuries)

Renata Salvarani

Acknowledgments

Translation	Bobbie Latter
Translation supervision	Maria Rita Pierotti
Editing cooperation	Paolo Calandruccio

Author's Profile

Renata Salvarani is full professor of History of the Christianity at the European University of Rome. Her research's activities are focused on two main areas: first on the relationships between religions and space, in particular on medieval Christian liturgies in the context of the Religious studies, and secondly on the history of Jerusalem as symbolic and real space shared by different religious groups. She is member of IAHR - International Association for the History of Religions, member of Consulta Universitaria per la Storia del Cristianesimo and member of Poenitentiaria Apostolica Vaticana Scientific Committee. Author of monographs and studies on the Holy Sepulchre, Lalibela and the history of pilgrimages, she specializes in coordinating project for cultural heritage's valorization. Among her relevant works: *Verso Gerusalemme. Crociati, santuari, pellegrini*, Bergamo, 2000 (with Michele Piccirillo and Franco Cardini); *Il Santo Sepolcro a Gerusalemme. Riti, testi e racconti tra Costantino e l'età delle crociate*, Città del Vaticano, 2012; *La fortuna del Santo Sepolcro nel Medioevo. Spazio, liturgia, architettura*, Milano, 2008; *Liturgie e culture tra l'età di Gregorio Magno e il pontificato di Leone III*, Città del Vaticano, 2011; "Idea e realtà del Santo Sepolcro in due disegni alla Osterreichische Nationalbliothek di Vienna" (in Montesano, *"Come l'orco della fiaba"*, Firenze, 2010 257-69); *Storia locale e valorizzazione del territorio. Dalla ricerca ai progetti*. Milano, 2018; *Tecnologie digitali e catalogazione del patrimonio culturale Metodologie, buone prassi e casi di studio per la valorizzazione del territorio*, Milano, 2013; *Territorio e identità locali. Elementi di metodologia per la catalogazione e la mappatura delle risorse culturali*, Reggio Emilia, 2008.
www.renatasalvarani.it

To Sara and Roberto
who accompany my paths

The Body, the Liturgy and the City
Shaping and Transforming Public Urban Spaces in Medieval Christianity (Eighth-Fourteenth Centuries)

Renata Salvarani

Table of Contents

1 Introduction 13
A Historical Approach to Sacralised Space: Methodological Perspectives

2 At the Fulcrum of the World 27
Jerusalem Space Translated in Latin Liturgies of the Holy Week (Ninth-Thirteenth Centuries)

3 Preserving and Changing to Survive 41
Resilience and Adaptation in Jerusalem Christian Liturgies (Eleventh-Thirteenth Centuries)

4 Mimesis, Mental Images, Places and Institutional Models 59

5 Devotional Pathways and Urban Space Shaping 73
Martyrial Memories, Relics and Icons in Rome in the Middle Ages

Abbreviations and Bibliography 91

1 Introduction
A Historical Approach to Sacralised Space: Methodological Perspectives

Summary 1.1 Keywords. – 1.2 Interactions. – 1.3. – A Glimpse on Today's Situation: Co–existence, Creation and Re-Creation of Meaning. – 1.4 Religious Studies. – 1.5 Christian Liturgical Heritage. – 1.6 *Exempla et Imitationes*: Images of Jerusalem and Rome. – 1.7 The Role of the Liturgical Christian Heritage in Today's Cities. – 1.8 A Contribute to the Debate.

Body, rite and city are interacting elements in order to create a syntax of meaning into a community. They generate a living symbolic space that mirrors and influences mental images, behaviours of individuals and groups, ideas and models.

At the same time, they are also the points of a debate that, during the last fifty years, have interwoven different lines of analysis now composed in a problematic way in the context of Religious Studies, about a general re-consideration of sacral and religious features of society.

1.1 Keywords

These lines of study, based on differentiated methodological approaches, need some specific interpretative frameworks, suitable to interact at epistemological and hermeneutic level thanks to instrumental definitions and key concepts deeply linked with the anthropological dimension.

1.1.1 Body

The body, considered a hub of cultural signification, is the fulcrum of any discourse about space and spatial interactions.

A living body performing an action and the objects that surround it immediately receive a new layer of significations. The same happens to other bodies involved in the act (or merely present to the act): a vortex forms around the perceived body; my world is no longer present only to me but it becomes shared and co-participated; something new is being created; the other body is no longer a fragment of the world but rather the place of a certain elaboration and of a certain 'view' of the world.

This concept of embodiment is borrowed from the teaching of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and of Pierre Bourdieu, elaborated and discussed over the past fifty years around the interpretative frameworks of cultural identity, religious group and urban landscape.[1] As place of experience and conscience, the body is both a constitutively open space, and as a border permeable to pain, pulses, sensations, stimuli. It is the boundary limit of the self and a contact area, an interpenetration with the outside world and with others. At the same time it is presence, force, organic consistency. In the act of staying, just existing, it marks, fixes, determines. His movement, when it is perceived and acted as a gesture, has a creative power: it gives life to reality, displays, performs and, what's more, makes it present.

The body, thanks to its gestures, makes the rite possible. The celebration of the rite is the place where the body gives meaning to the world: interacting with some other bodies generates a dynamic living being which is able to transform reality.[2]

1.1.2 Liturgy

In the context of Christianity, these elements are not only relevant, but specifically featured.

1 Methodological points of reference: Merleau-Ponty, *Sens et non-sens*; Merleau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de la perception*. About the teaching of Pierre Bourdieu and its continuity: Dubois, Durand, Winkin, *Le symbolique et le social*. Further methodological and epistemological remarks in: Frank, *Chair et corps*; Le Breton, *Anthropologie du corps et modernité*; Le Breton, *Corps et société*; Le Breton, *Il sapore del mondo*; Henry, *Incarnazione*.

2 In the context of the researches of Julien Ries, see in particular: *Symbole, mythe et rite: constants du sacré* and *La coscienza religiosa*. On this basis, further theoretical elaborations are examined in: Terrin, *Il rito*. See also: Panikkar, *La religione, il mondo e il corpo*.

Both the Christian theology, founded on the dogma of the Incarnation, and various ecclesiologies identifying the community of believers with the same mystical Body of Christ, define the relationships between body, rite and society as a strong bond, as an interdependence making sacred the individual lives of the *fideles* involved in the liturgy.

Even if these topics are the very object of the history of liturgy, in the last decades they have spread dramatically in the domain of the Medieval Studies, with consequent interdisciplinary implications. Indeed the Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages provide an extraordinary number of cases highlighting the interpenetrations between rituality and society, together with the capacity of Christian liturgies to adapt and renew and to revitalize different cultures and people.

Liturgy is memory and re-enactment of the events of Salvation in time and space. Thanks to gestures, words and silences repeated in an unchanged sequence, it brings facts considered foundational to life, marking events of the history of a community, featuring its characters.

Perceived thanks to the senses and the intellect, it communicates the divine into the sensitive dimension of the experience. This service offered to the *populus fidelium*, transmits contents interacting with the recipients, who become themselves protagonists of the celebrations.[3]

The faithfuls gather in the space, in places dedicated to worshipping, conceived, projected and used for the liturgy.[4] In fact, the ceremony of consecration introduces the presence of God in the space of the men with a precise ritual marking the divine descent on earth: a small segment of the world is transformed in an exceptional space, appointed with supernatural powers.[5]

At that point the identification is complete: "The material church where people gather to pray God signifies the Church built in heaven with living stones".[6] Accordingly, the architectural space is structured to communicate and to underline the contents of the liturgies. Space is created by gestures and is structured mirroring the movements of the bodies.[7]

The sequences of acts and movements are repeated over time: repetition itself structures and consolidates a liturgy in use, in relation with a community of recipients. This process is played in a space and

3 Löw, s.v. "Liturgia".

4 An early study is: Gamber, *Domus ecclesiae*. About general perspectives: Bonaccorso, *Il rito e l'altro*; Hart, Guthrie, *Faithful Performances*.

5 Bacci, *Lo spazio dell'anima*, 5.

6 Davril, Thibodeau, *Guillemi Duranti*, I: 13.

7 See the cases examinated in Ganz, *Mobile Eyes*, see in particular: Schweinfurth, "Creating Sacred Space as Cosmic Liturgy in Late Antiquity: Two Case Studies from Ravenna", 61-89; Bacci, "Remarks on the Visual Experience of Holy Sites in the Middle Ages", 175-97; Fenlon, "Space, Motion, and Image: Ritual Acts in Early Modern Venice", 273-92.

contributes to his sacralisation:[8] a place becomes sacred by virtue of the event remembered and reliving there. The architectural buildings are consequential results of these passages.[9]

The same happens in the larger space where a place is inserted, be it an urban space, a territory or the whole Christian *oicumene*.

From a historical point of view, the building of the urban space can be considered a depository of symbologies enacted by continuously performed liturgies into a community.[10]

1.1.3 City

A definition of space borrowed from Henri Lefebvre and from the critical epistemological debate originated around his key works[11]focuses on the human being, who perceives the world and gives sense and meaning to things. By doing so he builds an interpretative narrative interspersed with topological interrelations, distances, hierarchies between places.[12]

Nevertheless, if we want to interpret the complex symbolic acting of the communities in the space, the points of reference remain some intuitive theories of Maurice Halbwachs. Particularly, the idea of 'work of memory' as dialectic and continuous process of building of meaning is a basic methodological key, still useful if we want to find innovative elements clarifying the origins of our contemporary urban landscapes.

Actually, if we want to go beyond definitions based on functions, the city is defined as a symbolical space, as a domain where signs, buildings, stones, architectures receive meaning that refers to something else, into a cultural code.

---

8 See various methodological approaches in the essays collected in: Gittos, Hamilton, *Understanding Medieval Liturgy*.

9 The studies have been developed starting from some paradigmatic works. See as examples the proceedings of the congress *Lo spazio del sacro: luoghi e spostamenti* promoted by Stanford University and Studio Teologico Fiorentino during the seventh centenary of the edification of the Duomo of Florence: Verdon, *The Space of the Sacred*. See also Safran, *Heaven on Earth*, in particular Ousterhout, *The Holy Space*, 81-120. A systematic analysis is in Kopp, *Der liturgische Raum in der westlichen Tradition*. See also: Yates, *Liturgical Space*; Hamilton, *Defining the Holy*; Gittos, *Sacred space in Anglo-Saxon England*.

10 In this perspective, an analysis of late antique and byzantine spaces is in: Bogdanovic, *Perceptions of the Body and Sacred Space*.

11 For a general updating about the complex terrain of Lefebvrian writings regarding cities, urbanization and the production of space, see: *The Routledge Handbook of Henri Lefebvre*. For a synthesis, see also: Kipfer, Saberi, Wieditz, *Henri Lefebvre; Memory, Narrative and Histories*.

12 These concepts are developed in Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris*.

Urban space can also be characterized as sacred space: some specific elements make the sacred present, evoke, recall and remember the hierophanies. They contribute to generate forms of meaning in the daily life of residents and of those known as 'foreigners', visitors, outsiders.[13]

In Christian environment, manifestation of the sacred, processes of sacralisation of the space and memory are linked by very specific connections.

The collective frameworks of memory interact with the same history of Salvation. The history of Salvation lives and makes itself present in the liturgy. Thus, the liturgical space is not only the place of a hierophany, but it becomes a way of seeing the world, a set of attitudes and beliefs, expectations and norms.

The Christian worship is itself a practice of memory, a way of remembering, a complex system of gestures, words and images interacting with the life of believers.

This system displays and performs itself in the space and the space becomes an active part of the whole.

The way of these mutual interactions in time is the very object of the history of liturgies and of the History of Christianity, in general.

The Christian tradition indeed originated extraordinary forms of spatialization.

The Halbwachs interpretation of historical and social building process of the Via Dolorosa and of the Christian memory of Jerusalem opened some lines of analysis,[14] but religious dynamics appear richer and more complex.

In the case of Christian liturgies and devotions, we are not only faced with a simple narrative, but also with true genesis, with a vivification connecting the theological level with the cultural one, with social relevant concerns.

The *ipsissima loca* of Jerusalem and the devotional pathways connecting them are the active protagonists of an extraordinary series of processes of duplication and of *imitatio* relating architectural buildings, city landscapes, construction techniques, liturgical objects, drawings and representations to one another. Mental images are directly involved, created and re-created.

The processes become more and more complex when we consider different identity groups interacting in the same space: the work of memory and the mental images overlap and interact in different

13 About the use of interdisciplinary approaches, see: Wagoner, "Collective Remembering as a Process of Social Representation".

14 See the groundbreaking works: Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*; Halbwachs, *La Memoria collettiva*; Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte*.

and various ways. At this point we need different innovative interpretative frameworks.

Religious groups structure and legitimate their identity all around the manifestation of the sacred; liturgies make their presence continue. Sites made sacred by ritual performances become both elements of identification and gathering places.

But this is not all: they are recognized as elements of memory, linking them to the history of the communities they belong to.

The exclusive use as well as the memorial connection with foundational events or with eminent people bond groups and places together.[15] The spaces themselves are transformed: they can be limited, closed, used as elements of separation, discrimination, exclusion or seclusion.

Symbolical concerns can become prevailing: their image can be distinguished and separated from their physical and material dimensions becoming an icon, an emblem of a religious group.[16]

The resilience of minority groups shows also with the defence of rites, memories and mental images. When they can safeguard and continue some liturgies, they greatly improve the chance to defend themselves. The use of limited symbolic spaces can foster a subsequent adaptation and integration in a changed social situation.

The cities, as living bodies engaged in continuous transformations, hold more religious places corresponding to constellations of groups living together day by day building new forms of common existence. A final asset of coexistence can be also the result of a puzzle of different spaces, variously used on the basis of hierarchies and balance of power between social groups.[17]

1.2 Interactions

Three terms, body, liturgy and city mutually interact, giving life to a cultural syntax based on the experience, specifically on the religious one.

The genesis of a sacred symbolic space is dynamic, open to changes and overlapping meanings. Its centuries-long development is rooted into liturgical actions and devotional paths, both centred around the body, considered as performing subject able to create meanings

15 Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem*.

16 As example of analysis based on the same approach to the city history, see: Menjot, Clark, *Subaltern City*.

17 About this kind of frame work applied to the city of Rome: Kaizer, Leone, Thomas, Witcher, *Cities and Gods*. Significant in this regard, from the methodological point of view, are the studies on the medieval city collected in Aguiar Andrade, Tente, *Espaços e poderes na Europa urbana medieval*.

and to build a sense, a complete interpretation of the existence. It is also an actor of change and, at the same time, a subject open to transformations and to be transformed, even at a neuro-perceptual level.

In a historical perspective of study, the main aim is the analysis of the liturgies focusing on three general critical concerns: identity dialectic processes between difference and common belongings; innovative forms of social and cultural integration; changes of individual perceptions during the experience of the sacred.

1.3 A Glimpse on Today's Situation: Coexistence, Creation and Re-Creation of Meaning

Contemporary global cities are both places of coexistence and spaces of creation and re-creation of meaning.

The great migrations and the emergence of multicultural society unfold their effects in creative, open and problematic ways: generating deep changes, originating identity and religious conflicts, or composing new processes of integration. This latter kind of transformations involves directly also sacred and sacralised spaces, rites and gestures, considered as chances to build, to deconstruct and re-build meanings. Acts of semantization and re-semantization impact on shared memories, open identities, forms of identity and cultural belongings including their differences, but composing them in a common higher belonging.[18]

Similar processes are evident also in the past. Socio-political changes originated stratified meanings, with religious implications, concentrated around spaces, signs and architectures.

Migrations, overlapping and replacement of different populations are associated with new establishing of symbolic codes: places and sacred sites have polarized identity changes and transformations.

1.4 Religious Studies

The relationships between religious groups and the space are at the core of the contemporary Religious Studies.

Key concepts as locating and re-locating, as well as placement, replacement and displacement are used to interpret complex phenomena related to migrations, coexistence of different communities, use and re-use of symbolic places, semantization and re-semantization of urban landmarks.[19]

18 Some hypothesis are described in: Bernardi, Giaccardi, *Comunità in atto*.

19 An overview on the contemporary debate: Kovàcs, Cox, *New Trends and Recurring Issues in the Study of Religion*; Moser, Feldman, *Locating the Sacred*. About gener-

Body and space are the centre of relationships which define culture, identity and society.

In this game of relationships amongst men, groups and space religions play a dynamic role: during a rite a space is truly created, not merely characterized as a symbolic context. Liturgical processes generate new places that can become an environment of deep individual experience, as well as active elements into the groups and into the city.

In the last two decades, the international studies on the sacred dimension in Late Antiquity and Middle Ages have focused on the idea of performance-experience regarding two main aspects. The first is the relationship between the public(both the worshippers and the outsiders looking at them or interacting with them) and the forms of representation (whether cultural, ritual and dramatic or architectural, plastic and figurative). In this case, the result is a performative interpretation of the links between the person and images, spaces, architectural elements, urban environment, devotional paths.

The second aspect is the dramatic dimension of liturgies, ritual practices, devotional expressions as prayer, meditation, preaching.

They are both connected with rituals and devotions developed in and around specific sacred spaces and along pilgrimage paths.[20]

Starting from these observations studies have so far outlined the primary role of the concepts of experience and participation, not merely regarding the liturgies, but also in a general connection with the whole dimension of the sacred, embodied in the daily life of individual believers, groups and societies.

The connections between religious experience and identity have been examined in the same methodological perspective, pointing out the processes of communicating and transforming cultural and religious identities.

Anthropological issues are emerging, if we assume that religious experiences are founded on cross cultural and cross traditional elements, such as sensitive perceptions, violence, power relationships, symbolic natural elements, gender identities and relationships, gestures and body language, eating habits, funerary attitudes.

Therefore the study of the space's implications appears more and more relevant, becoming a reading key for a religious and cultural discourse lived through (and thanks to) the experience.

al epistemic issues: Elliott, *Reinventing Religious Studies*; Thurfjell, Jackson, *Religion on the Borders*; Droogers, van Harkshamp, *Methods for the Study of Religions Change*.

20 Some key studies: Fabietti, *Materia sacra*; Freedberg, *The Power of the Images*; Howe, *The Variety of Sensorial Experience*; Bernardi, *Agenda aurea*; Aronson-Lehavi, *Street Scenes*; Bino, *Dal trionfo al pianto*; Bino, *Il dramma e l'immagine*; Boquet, Nagy, *Sensible Moyen Âge*; Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*; Carruthers, *Machina memorialis*.

1.5 Christian Liturgical Heritage

Christian liturgical heritage has a cross-reference value. It emerges as a mine of habits, gestures, texts performed in various ways in different societies, that they have oriented and transformed.

On the one hand, believers bring into the liturgies their sensibility, their culture, their demands and needs, inducing changes and adapting the celebrations.

On the other hand, rites themselves impress precise leanings in the community, thanks to their repetitive character and to their close connection with scriptural and theological foundation of the Christian creed. Performed liturgies act both on conscious levels of religious traditions, and on deeper anthropological aspects of transmitting models (behaviour, gender, power and relational models).

This study displays a historical reading about interactions between body, liturgy and city with a focus on Christian context, particularly on medieval Latin liturgies.

In Christianity, due to the dogma of the Incarnation, the body itself is the place of the manifestation of sacred; the sacraments make the presence of the Divine tangible and alive inside the matter; the participation in the celebrations involves individuals and communities in a general process of sanctification and sacralisation. Christian liturgy generates anew living body. Together a new space is created.

This is in the city and interacts with the whole urban society, in a theological eschatological perspective of dialectic between earthly city and heavenly one.

The Middle Ages have been a great time of liturgical creativity. Specifically, the period between ninth and twelfth centuries have been a sort of liturgical laboratory: complex semantic codes integrated together texts and gestures proclaimed and acted during the celebrations. These interactions and overlapping allowed exchanges between the religious and ritual codified heritage and the true life of believers, during violent and tumultuous changing times.

The same *Christianitas latina*, even if it defined its linguistic and ritual features marking the differences between the Eastern Churches and between many other previous liturgical traditions, nevertheless has included in its re-elaboration many different elements coming from various urban, monastic or local liturgical traditions which all recognised the Pope's authority and therefore accepted by Rome. The result is a rich and various heritage, even if uniformed with repeated periodical reformations and actions of linguistic adaptation.

The Roman Latin Church has been compared to Greek and Eastern liturgies more than once.

A first occasion of confrontation has been offered by communities and monks and faithful Greeks who took shelter in Rome and South-

ern Italy during iconoclastic conflicts and during political clashes originated inside the imperial court.

But the Levant was the most relevant and challenging milieu of exchange and contamination: the institutional laboratory of Latin Reigns and the settlement of Latin ecclesiastical hierarchies marked differences and contrasts with byzantine and eastern ritual praxis. At the same time, the long age of pilgrimages together with the fragile coexistence of different Christian communities in Jerusalem and in many other cities fostered not only mutual knowledge but also ecumenism: in everyday life devotions, gestures, sanctuaries, major feasts were shared and co-participated.

This way, the disputes between different liturgical traditions have interwoven with doctrinal controversies, political fights, social transformations, migrations, sieges, battles and famines, in a dense network of events and cultural assets.

Liturgical texts mirror the real life of communities and groups, becoming themselves historical sources. The same vicissitudes of codes, *scriptoria* and libraries light the evenemential context, as well as new buildings and re-used architectures suggest performative and devotional praxis.

Evangeliars, evangelistaries, omiliaries, rituals and other liturgical normative texts describe an extraordinary richness of historical motives, elements and connections.

For this reason, their contents and the data emerging from the texts need to be matched with sources of some other typology, such as chronicles, papal documents, reports, diplomatic accounts, crusade's narratives.

Liturgies actually performed in specific real situations emerge by crossing and filtering the information.

There, the whole society participating in the rite reveals many multiple aspects, going well beyond the religious level.

Between these concerns, the deep connection linking the celebrations with the physical urban space emerges.

Mostly processional and stational liturgies created a strong dialectic between inside and outside, between buildings and squares, streets, elevated positions, perspectives, burial sites, sanctuaries *extra muros*.

The action itself of going, of walking, makes the movement of the entire Christian community along the path of conversion real. At the same time, it allows to include, to stay close, to walk together with "others", into a whole society that moves and changes.

Places are sacralised and re-sacralised by repeated passages; meanings and significance are confirmed and obliterated step by step, thanks to gestures and *stationes*, where the Word of God is proclaimed.

Images and relics are used as mobile tools able to evoke the presence of the sacred in the context of this general dialectic enacted into the urban space.

All the elements contribute to build a meaning and to create a *narratio per res et per loca* shared by participants and understood also by outsiders.

1.6 *Exempla et Imitationes*: Images of Jerusalem and Rome

In this narrative, aspiring to be universal, Jerusalem and Rome have a peculiar role, from the point of view of both historiography and specific historiographical lines setting.

Memorial places and places of the history of Salvation become space references for the whole Christian community spread all over the world.

The history of the Promise of God to the Jewish people, as well as the Incarnation, the life of Jesus, his death and resurrection are connected with specific geographical sites.

Starting from Eusebius and Hieronymus, the Christian thought has investigated those places both on the basis of toponyms quoted in the Biblical texts and of direct knowledge *in situ*.

Thus the *ipsissima loca* entered in Christian heritage: as theatre and leading actors of the Salvation's events they became part of the liturgies, together with the proclamation of the Word.

According to a similar process, also the spaces of Rome became elements of preaching, of calendars and celebrations dedicated to Saints in the whole *oicumene*, thanks to the sites that preserve the burials of Peter and Paul and the relics of the martyrs.[21]

Along the centuries the two cities have established themselves as *exempla*, models to be imitated all around the world thanks to substitute copies that became pilgrimage sites, in a process of multiplying and propagating the symbolic image of Holy Places.

The same topological and topo-mimetic genesis regards the whole Christendom and can be considered a general phenomenon outlining some relevant aspects of the religious dimension, considered *latu sensu*.

Meanwhile Rome and Jerusalem, real cities, have been deeply transformed: their physical spaces have been modified and adapted to new social and political situations.

Both were open cities, where different groups of people lived together; both have been besieged, invaded, exposed to massive migrations.

The liturgies performed by their Christian communities were influenced and shaped according to the events; rites were adapted to

21 In the path of the historiography on Christian Rome, see Romano, *Liturgy and Society in Early Medieval Rome*; Reynolds, "The Liturgy of Rome in the Eleventh Century". See *infra*, ch. 4.

include minority groups or to celebrate relationships of power; liturgical traditions generated new devotional forms thanks also to strangers and pilgrims contributions. Tragedies, massacres, *diasporae* have been overcome and absorbed into new multiple identities thanks to the work of memory.

In other words, we are witnessing the origin of moving liturgical models that, in turn, have been variously imitated in the *oicumene*. The historical analysis of these changes and mutual influences sheds light on the transformations of Christianity itself together with several aspects of its enculturation in different contexts.

Resilience and change become the main keys to interpret historical events, cultural and religious processes and phenomena.

1.7 The Role of the Liturgical Christian Heritage in Today's Cities

The Liturgical Christian heritage, if considered as a dynamic and historical complexity of images and performative events, even today offers insights and points of reflection on many issues: the process of integration between religious ethnical and linguistic differences, the circulation of models of social cohesion. Examples of reconciliation after wars and massacres, forms of work of memory inside minority groups, strategies of identity preservation can also be provided.

Ritual traditional motives could be read as chances for social cohesion and cultural re-generation, or, vice versa, as potential of conflicts and glaring divisions in global contemporary metropolis.

1.8 A Contribute to the Debate

Along these critical and methodological lines, this book introduces some case studies of codified medieval memorial processional and stational liturgies, rites that show both how rite and city can interact and how Christian communities can integrate different groups enacting the celebrations.

The ability to translate the changes (even dramatic) of the society into the liturgy and, from there, into a renewed vision of the city and of the life is highlighted as well.

The interactions between body, sacrament, performance, image are relevant: during the rites, sacred images, relics and devotional objects become semantic fulcrums moving inside the urban fabric, where they contribute to general processes of symbolization.

The case studies refer mostly to Jerusalem and Rome, even if the same phenomena are going on in several contexts of Christendom, in Europe, Near East and Africa.

The analysis of such themes, starting from the case studies built on historical documents, takes on a value also with regards to the complexity of the modern global cities, where religious aspects and identity processes can be reason for social cohesion and cultural renewal and or vice versa may cause conflict and laceration risks.

The work is structured in a methodological introduction and four chapters.

The first one highlights how the space of Jerusalem is translated in the living space of each community by way of the celebrations of the Holy Week, becoming ideal and memorial heritage of the whole Christianity. The deep changes affecting the city during the first Islamic domination, the Crusaders Reign and the following new Muslim conquest have been incorporated and absorbed by liturgical processes based on the imitation and duplication of memorial spaces.

The second chapter resumes a description of liturgies enacted in Jerusalem between ninth and thirteenth centuries and shows their adaptation to deep transformations lived by the variously composed local Christian community. Different groups found innovative ways to live and celebrate in the same space, keeping alive their specific languages, traditions, and rituals, sharing some common worships and processions during the Holy Week and some great feasts.

The third chapter is dedicated to the architectural mimesis of the Holy Sepulchre and of the physical spaces of Jerusalem into Christian urban contexts, in western Latin world, Russia, Ethiopia, India.

The last one examines some elements of semantization and re-semantization in the urban space of Rome from the Early Middle Ages to the beginning of Modern Age. Thanks to the major processional liturgies performed using sacred images, the tragic caesurae and rips experienced by the population would find a "stitching", a composition in a higher unit embodied in common rites, parades, ceremonies where every identity or social group has its own role.

Even the Jews, the *infideles* of Europe, were assigned a symbolic position recalling the forms of theirs social discrimination and subordination.

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

Summary 2.1 Places in Jerusalem Visited by Pilgrims and Evoked by Latin Liturgies. – 2.2 Analysis of Liturgical Sources in Three Principal Periods. – 2.3 Popular Devotions and Hagiographic Narratives. – 2.4 Liturgies and Liturgical Drama. – 2.5 Some Conclusions.

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)*.

DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-364-9/002

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 nostro rum, 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, intrant ecclesiam cantando *Ingrediente 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, *Hebdomanda 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 Alcuinus 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 divinorum 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 Opbrakel, 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 MCCCIIII 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 prepositural 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 fom the Luke's Gospel was recited: "Factum est cum appropinquaret Iesus usque Betphage".

Three orations, a *praefatio* and another *oratio* preceded the aspersion 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: Expedit 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 Mattew'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 cividalense* (cod. LXXVII, ff. 34*v* 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. XXV*r*). 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. XXV*r*). 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 rubriacae are extraordinarily detailed.

During the Mass of *Praesanctificati* 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 Chris 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. LXXXXIV 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, Vinea mea, 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 revolvet nobis ab hostio lapidem, quem tegere sanctum cernimus Sepulcrum?, quousque veniat ad sepulchrum. Quibus puer respondens dicat: Quem queritis o tremulae mulieres, in hoc tumulo 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 lilturgical 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. XLI*v*.

30 The rite is described at ff LXXVII*r*-LXXIX*v*.

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*.

3 Preserving and Changing to Survive
Resilience and Adaptation in Jerusalem Christian Liturgies (Eleventh-Thirteenth Centuries)

Summary 3.1 Continuity and Breaking Points.– 3.2 A Liturgical Text Mirroring the Life of Jerusalem's Church.– 3.3 Latin Elements of Discontinuity and Agiopolite Survivals.– 3.4 Last Written Memories.– 3.5 Indirect Liturgical Sources.– 3.6 The Main Popular Ceremony: Clergy, Pilgrims, Local Community.– 3.7 Durable Features: *Processiones et Stationes*.– 3.8 Latin Survivals and Elements of Deep Continuity.

A liturgy[1] 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.

DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-364-9/003

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 Eutychius, 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 an 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* (wich 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 Basilius, 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 Enststehungsgeschichte 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 Hagya 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 authors[9] 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 Ortodox Church in the Bizantine 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 al 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 metropolite 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 lectionnaries 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 Assisis, 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 Salvadò, *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 churches 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 standed 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 an 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 archibishops, 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 hat 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 manubus 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 congregate hec videns, ingentem clamorem ad sydera 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 lightening 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 tex notes that 'omnes congregationes ecclesiarum veniunt ad Sepulcrum 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'Oltramare*:

> 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.

4 Mimesis, Mental Images, Places and Institutional Models

Summary 4.1 Buildings and Architectural Models. – 4.2 Jerusalem Centrality. – 4.3 Symbolic Representations. – 4.4 Outlines and Plans. – 4.5 Representation Types and Architectonic Drawings.

The phenomenon of imitation and duplication of the Holy Sepulchre highlights the mechanisms and processes that lead to create mental images that actively participate in the religious and cultural dialectics characterizing a society.

This can be detected, under different forms, in the whole Christian *oicumene*, from Latin Europe to the Orthodox world and the Eastern churches, to Africa and India. It intersects the pilgrimage nets, and all the relationships with Jerusalem, which is considered both an earthly city affected by wars, struggles and human miseries and a heavenly city projected towards an eschatological dimension.

The *exemplum*, the place and the architecture guarding the empty grave of Christ generated several copies: reproductions, models, illustrations, objects.

The way those 'copies' have been imagined, realized and shared out is typical of the way the believers image systems and the cultural systems are built. In fact, it involves the formation processes of identity, belonging and sense of belonging.

The Body is the centre of the genesis process of the *imitationes*: the dead body of Jesus, the body of the believer who goes and visit the Holy Sepulchre (or a copy of it), the body used as a measure, the body of the celebrant and that of the believers which, during the liturgy, join the original and the doublings in a whole by enlivening their lives in a sacral, symbolic and metaphysical perspective.

DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-364-9/004

Reproductions, on their turn, found the planning and re-planning of the urban space.

The architectural *imitationes* of the Holy Sepulchre are linked to the memory of the Passion and Resurrection, but this identification did not exclude wider operations of sacralisation of urban spaces as well as creation of topomimesis systems which not only interested a single building, but several devotional centres scattered on the built areas. Previous *martyria* and places intended for venerating the relics have been enclosed inside them, in a thread of meanings and symbolic allusions truck down by performing processional rites connected to the Holy Week. Special customs typical of local communities, as well as special devotions and values associated to the Christianisation origin could insert exactly into the liturgies and paraliturgies taking place in the *imitationes* of the Holy Sepulchre; that origin was brought back to the more general perspective of the universal Church, which has Jerusalem as its ideal and space centre. In fact, the churches "ad veram similitudinem aedificatae" were an integral part of the ecclesiastical, social and space context where they stand in and which they were an expression of. Depending on the cases, they took up martyr functions or they held different relationships with *martyria* and previous churches, in the context of a whole genesis procedure of rites and space connections.

Buildings are planned taking into account the liturgies and purposes they are intended for, by discovering patterns and prototypes which become stable and circulate, by imitation, just in connection with their correspondence with the community needs.

4.1 Buildings and Architectural Models

The imitations act inside space sacralisation procedures that also take place by multiplication, duplication and reproduction of dedications, entitling ceremonies as well as consecrated buildings, connected amongst each other just thanks to processional ceremonies and, more in general, thanks to the execution of common liturgies. At their centre, the relationship between local Churches and the universal Church takes place, thanks to connections of filiation, spiritual and hierarchical belonging, dependence, distribution of models, workforce and styles. In this context, even the formal duplication of patterns or planning, structural and architectonic elements participates in confirming and highlighting the belonging to specific pathways of faith, devotion, institutional subordination and communions.

In fact, the mechanism of architectonic *imitatio* has been shaping out like an identity assertion as well as a mean for enhancing the meaning expressed during the liturgies. For example, the bond with the Roman Church is also made visible thanks to the reproduction

of *more romano constructi* models, which referred to the planning and architectural patterns of the great Early Christian basilicas.[1]

In the Greek world a quite similar route was created as far as the Thessaloniki Agyos Demetrios niche is concerned: it had a central diagram and was destined to be used as a building model.[2]

4.2 Jerusalem Centrality

This is true, with an even greater emphasis, for the confirmation of a relationship with the centre, with Jerusalem, mother of all Churches. The tie of spiritual dependence showed up thanks to the shape of the spaces, but mainly thanks to the execution of the same rites or liturgies (and paraliturgies) really based on common patterns and contents.[3]

During the processions, in the gesture memory the reproductions of ceremonies from the Church of Jerusalem have developed with different types and echoes.

Just to make an example, in Milan the *officiatura* (*way of celebrating*) developed in the Middle Age in connection with the architectural configuration of the double archbishop church, Santa Maria Maggiore and Santa Tecla, with a double baptistery. On Sundays, at the end of the morning and evening hymns, a procession took place from the winter church (or the summery one) to the baptistery, after the model of the Jerusalem liturgy, which ended at the Holy Sepulchre niche, source of deliverance just like the Christian admission sacrament water.[4] In the Milan documents, the antiphonal processional hymns are referred to with the titles *De ecclesia in baptisterium* and *De baptisterio in aliud*.[5]

These forms of ritual, liturgical and paraliturgical communion appear to be weak and generic, a little bit more than echoes of ancient habits still used or imitated, in relation to the bond created between a Christian community and the Church of Jerusalem during the celebration of the Holy Week and, more in general, during the celebration of the Eucharist. The duplication of the *ipsissima loca* was just put in relation with the Resurrection and Passion rites. Not only are they the

1 Peroni, "*Ordo et mensura* nell'architettura altomedievale".

2 Brenk, *Architettura e immagini del sacro nella tarda antichità*, 143-8.

3 About Jerusalem as a liturgical and spatial model, see: Salvadò, "Commemorating the Rotunda in the Round"; Parenti, "Da Gerusalemme a Costantinopoli", 99-120. See also Bärsch, "Jerusalem im Spiegel der abendländischen Liturgie des Mittelalters".

4 Alzati, "Il salmo e l'incenso", in particular 53-5; Alzati, *Ambrosianum Mysterium*, 113-29.

5 This is the case, at example, of the Sundays between Easter and Pentecost in the *Manuale ambrosianum* (no. 8), *Manuale Ambrosianum ex codice saec. XI olim in usum canonicae Vallis Travaliae*, Milano 1905, I: 213, 215, 227-8, 238-40, 244-5, 272, 274. For a more complete analysis, see: Carmassi, "Processioni a Milano nel Medioevo".

core of the Christian liturgy, and therefore their contents are shared among all the Churches, but also they originate from and historically rest on the celebrations of the Apostles community; those celebrations have been continuously kept alive within the Church of the holy city during the first centuries and they gradually differentiate as far as the different confessions and Churches went on separating.[6]

The Holy Sepulchre is a place of gathering, confrontation and compenetration of different liturgies in a centuries-old coexistence of rites of distinguished communities, which share the same spaces all day and all year long. There, the Jerosolimitan Church of the origins elaborated its habits and *ordines*, which Churches of different ethnic and confessional groups have adopted. In time, they have assimilated and changed them in their churches giving them back under different forms to their celebrants present in the Holy Sepulchre. Therefore, the big basilica has been carrying out its role of cornerstone for the liturgical elaboration, especially for the rite of the Holy Week, by transferring ritual and liturgical habits, but also receiving some by the different local and 'national' Churches. Inside it, the believers coming from different communities have come closer and curiously known each other, though remaining distinct and linked to their relevant priests. While formal celebrations have been more and more diverging, devotions and paraliturgies have come to create a combination of gestures, behaviours and perceptions that are mostly shared. This 'popular' component, too, has taken part in the large flow of topics, suggestion and devotions, which pilgrims have activated all over the Christian *oicumene*. On the contrary, its uncoded and strongly emotional characteristic has facilitated exchanges and loans. In different ways it is also in connection with the genesis of the architectural imitations as well as with the liturgical habits developed within them, by shaping up to be like a difficult weaving place for a yarn of common habits that has remained under track in relation to the differences among the Churches, but that during the centuries has broaden to the whole *oicumene*.

How are the architectural *imitationes* of the Holy Sepulchre and its parts brought to life? In relation to the pilgrimage experience, so common in the Middle Age *societas christiana*, evoking, getting relics and do some building appear as steps of a sole devotional process. Believers left for the *iter* (*journey*) upon mandate of the community they belonged to, with the priest's, bishop's or abbot's blessing. After arriving at the Holy Places and dissolving their vote, they would go back to their community almost always bringing a material sign of their experience, thus extending to others the contact they had had with the places and objects sanctified by the physical presence

6 About the general theme, see: Gy, *La liturgie dans l'histoire*.

of Christ. The act of duplicating the signs and spaces of the Holy Land appears to be a further step and satisfies the desire of extending the experience, sharing and conveying it, even though indirectly.

Which reasons grounded the choice of building new Sepulchres? Celebrating and emphasizing the journey, communicating its meaning and substituting the places with more easily reachable space elements are the three main reasons that appear – and differently overlap – in the single situations. Russian hegumen Daniil Palomnik tells that he had the privilege of easily enter the niche and perceive its shape and dimensions; but he does not specify if his detailed report about the things he saw, was also aimed at buildings plans, or if, on the contrary, inserting data in his diary was only a sort of evidence of the truthfulness of his information.[7]

In other cases, the will of duplicating the Jerosolimitan model is explicitly attested. This can be found at Paderborn, heart of Westphalia, a seat of an imperial palace and linked to the Saxon dynasty, where a geometrical duplication of the Jerosolimitan model was started in the contest of a wide building action. The building results of that action can be insufficiently verified, as the apsis perimeter of the church built 'ad veram similitudinem' is the only thing remained. Archbishop Meinwerk (1009-1036) at the end of his long pastoral action and being at the high point of a difficult building activity commissioned it. He started to build the Carolingian cathedral, at which he had the Saint Barthelemy Chapel built by *graeci operari* (*Greek workers*).[8]

However, the account of the *Vita Meinwerci*[9] attests that the reproduction of the Holy Sepulchre is not due to a generic exchange of topics and models caused by the presence of workforce coming from the south of Italy or the Mediterranean area, but to a real mission organized by the priest in order to reveal the dimensions of Christ's grave. A very important person was put in charge of this project: Abbot Wino from Helmarshausen, a monastic centre especially active in implementing the imperial reform of the Church, the seat of a *scriptorium* and an artistic *officina* (*workshop*). Based on the data he collected, the church of the Holy Virgin and the Saints Peter and Andrew

7 "Die Pilgerfahrt des russischen"; Garzaniti, *Itinerario in Terrasanta*, 164.

8 Tenchoff, *Vita Meinwerci Episcopi Patherbrunnensis*, ch. 155; Wemhoff, "Die Bartolomäuskapelle", 7-13.

9 The dedication has been celebrated on 25 May 1036 in the presence of the bishops Bardo of Mainz and Erimann of Köln. The building is evidently connected with the Gregorian Reformation and this context is confirmed by the decision of Meinwerk to settle a community of regular canons: "Reverso autem Winone abbate de Ierosolimis et mensuras eiusdem ecclesie et sepulchri sancti reliquias deferente cepit episcopus ad similitudinem eius ecclesiam in honore sancte Dei genitricis et perpetue virginis Mariae ac beatorum apostolo rum Petri et Andree extra Patherbrunnensem civitatem in orientali parte construere; in qua canonicos Deo servientes congregavit, quibus victum et vestitum de bonis propriis ministravit"; Tenchoff, *Vita Meinwerci Episcopi Patherbrunnensis*, ch. 217.

was built. The building was not preserved and in its place there is the Busdorfkirche nowadays, that was built in the thirteenth century.[10]

It probably consisted of a round central core with four rectangular aisles. The groundwork of this building was constructed, but its execution stopped after Meinwerk death and it was only completed in 1070, by erecting the octagonal central core. People living in that period considered that result as a complete and topomimetic *imitatio* as the dimensions of the model had been reproduced according to the intent. However, the final building pattern is not actually that of Jerusalem, but a copy of the Mauritius-Rotunde of Constance, a better known example and nearer to the designers and workforce who were working at Paderborn.[11]

It is important to say that Meinwerk's church has given life to an indirect copy of the Jerusalem original church of Saint John the Baptist at Kruchenberg, built in 1126 on the mound dominating the area where the Helmarshausen monastery was. Originally, it was composed of a cylindrical central core with four square aisles, one of which had an apsis imitating the small apsis opened along the perimeter of the Anastasis.[12]

Nowadays what remains of the building still dominates the area where it should have marked the sacralisation of the territory with reference to the *umbilicus mundi*. The Archbishop of Paderborn Henry II of Werl founded the church in 1126. Its dedication derived from a previous chapel. However, that building was expressly requested in order to substitute a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which the priest could not go on as he was too elderly. The Holy Sepulchre consisted in an underground square room, excavated under the floor: there was an arcosolium above a slab reproducing the one put inside the Sepulchre of Jerusalem.

Building on imitation is not an isolated technique, but it belongs to wider and more common trends typical of the Middle Age society. There exists a link between the will of building *ad veram similitudinem* and the common will of depicting Jerusalem as a whole and especially the Sepulchre. Since the first centuries of the Christian era, the painted or graphic reproduction of the city and its sanctuaries was already a way to multiply its vision and contact for all the *oicumene*.

Two main types of images can be found: the didactic, evocative and the symbolic ones (the amount of which is definitely higher) and other more precise ones, aesthetically less elaborated, connected to the pilgrimage reports and probably also destined to be used in building contexts.

10 Kosch, *Paderborns Mittelalterliche Kirchen*, 37-43.

11 Erdmann, Zettler, *Zur Archäologie des Konstanzer Münsterhügels*, 59-61.

12 Mietke, *Die Bautätigkeit Bishof Menwerks von Paderborn*, 180-7.

4.3 Symbolic Representations

The first ones are mostly realized on objects that have a strong symbolic value. The eulogies from Bobbio and Monza are among the oldest ones: they are small containers destined to contain the blessed oil that was sold to the pilgrims in the secondary rooms of the Holy Sepulchre. They showed the image of a niche, shaped as a *ciborium* containing Jesus' grave, dating back to the sixth-seventh century and referring to the Constantine building organization. Pope Gregory the Great gave the queen of the Longobards Theodelinda the series of sixteen ampoules that now are at the Museum of the Monza Cathedral. They show the image of the niche as it was before the Persians destroyed the set of buildings and bear the graphic description of the grave: a simple *arcosolium* grave just as it was when it had been taken away from the surrounding rock; Constantine wanted to create the block, probably with a square or polygonal basis, on which the Anastasis was built. Six images show the structure, some of them in a more stylized form, two of them in a more realistic way. A 'container' with a polygonal basis can be identified, with a dome supported by some columns and with a cross on its top, inside of which the real Grave can be seen: it is characterized by the presence of an arch and the closing stone. There are also the gates and the grills described in the coeval documents.[13]

Generally, the depicted types are inconsistent, different, composite; they probably register and integrate the architectural and figurative patterns and elements which were common and developed based on local models, more than following a direct connection with the Holy Land original.

The Holy Sepulchre is reproduced on a pyx made of ivory dating back to the sixth century; at present it is kept at the Cleveland Museum between the scene of the resurrection of Lazarus and that of the entrance of Jesus in Jerusalem; it evidently refers to the celebration of the 'Saturday of Lazarus' that opened the liturgies of the Holy Week in the Church of Jerusalem of the first centuries. The image is stylized: a small temple composed of a cupola on four columns lays on another small dome and three columns and with a cross on top. The first one can be identified with the Anastasis round building, the second one with the niche and the cross, probably the Golgotha one. This way, an amazing graphic synthesis was created of the three main devotional elements of the complex.

The Anastasis above the niche (but without the cross) also appears with the same pattern in a fifth century mosaic discovered at Lun-

13 A matching between the images of the Monza's eulogies and some written sources, see: Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme*, 73-4; see also the photos and in particular 81-6.

ca, in Tunisia, as well as in another one from the same period which is in the chapel of the Mother of God at Ras Siaga, on Mount Nebo.[14]

The niche, with the shape dating back to the Modestus organisation, is reproduced as a miniature in Anastasius' reliquary, a Byzantine jewellery piece realized at Antioch at the end of the tenth century and now kept at Aachen, in the Cathedral treasure.[15]

The small silver temple has a square plan and a cubic development. It has a small dome on its top ending with a cross and based on a tambour with a series of columns and small arches. The niche volume prolongs in a small semi-circular apsis. The same pattern has been reproduced, always in Aachen, on the gold altarpiece of the palatine chapel.[16] The niche with square planbut on three floors and a small round dome is depicted in the Sacramentary of Henry II: it was given to him by the emperor at Bamberg between 1007 and 1014 and today it is in Munich.[17] The background is composed of three parts: the two upper ones represent the superiority of the Christian world compared to the pagan one, which is depicted in the third lower one. The Crucifixion dominates the whole work. On the left, in the middle part, there is the Sepulchre shaped like a three-floors tower.

The tenth century ivory small label displaying the Resurrection, coming from the Carrand collection and kept at the National Museum of Bargello in Florence, shows a church with a big transept, sided by small towers and dominated by a central tower, inside which it is possible to see a wrapped sheet laying on the lower level. It has a small dome on its top ending with a cross.

The same type of tower is depicted in another small label at the Bargello, which dates back to the previous century, as well as in a fragment of diptych, always dating back to the ninth century, kept at the Treasure of the Milan Cathedral; the niche is identified with a round base structure, composed of a lower cylinder with a door, covered with a truncated cone on which a second smaller cylinder is inserted and has a conic cover on its top. This is a common pattern in the Byzantine psalteries, too.[18] The picture of the Anastasis round building that encloses a small temple is also present in the

14 Bonnery, Mentré, Hidrio, *Jérusalem, symboles et représentations dans l'Occident médiéval*, 172-6.

15 Legner, *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, 88-90. Brandt, Eggerbrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim*, 2: 153.

16 Brandt, Eggerbrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim*, 2: 187.

17 München, Bayerische Stadtsbibliothek, Clm 4452; Brandt, Eggerbrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim*, 2: 99-103, 183.

18 Bonnery, Mentré, Hidrio, *Jérusalem, symboles et représentations*, 183-6.

fragments of the Münster book coming from Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire.[19]

In the Otto artistic jewellery the niche has a round shape, thus copying a geometrical symbolic pattern that is over the real structure, firstly in the memory, and then in the representation, until it substitutes it. It is depicted like that, with a small dome on top, at the bottom right of the scene of the Resurrection in the Goldener Buchdeckel of the treasure in the Aachen cathedral.[20] The ivory work of the Metz Evangeliary, realized between the ninth and the tenth century, shows the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. The Holy Sepulchre complex is outlined in a round building with a conic cover on its top, and a lower aisle. In the background there are two towers having the same type of cover. Inside the round building you can see an empty Grave pointed at by the angel's finger.[21] It has a round plan and a tower-shaped structure with four floors, with a small dome on top; the empty Sepulchre is depicted on an ivory tablet of the twelfth century, which is nowadays in the Museum of Bargello in Florence.[22] In it, an Angel, sitting nearby, is pointing at a wrapped sheet. In the same way, the pattern with a lower square plan level is also popular and an upper cylindrical part with a cone or a dome on it. Just to mention a case, the Sepulchre is depicted on the front side of a portable altar dating back to the second half of the eleventh century, coming from Cologne and today kept at Darmstadt.[23]

The important thing was the symbolic and emblematic value of the represented elements; the form of the graphic representation was developed according to the places, commissions and workshops. Just to make an example of how those mechanisms have been developed, an incense burner showing the niche and dating back to the second or third decade of the twelfth century – today kept at the Diocesan Bressanone Museum – and two cross bronze feet of the same period, coming from Niedersachsen or Hildesheim and today in Berlin[24] and Cleveland,[25] belong to the same figurative context. They refer to the architectonic prototype of the memorial church, by recalling the Byzantine and Sicilian architecture and can be considered as free reproductions of the Holy Sepulchre in the phase if its maximum architectonic complexity, that of a Crusades building site.

19 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms Lat. 8318-b, f. 27*r*; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 596.

20 Brandt, Eggerbrecht, *Bernward von Hildesheim*, 2: 169.

21 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms Latin 9453.

22 Inv. Nr. 36C.

23 Hessisches Landesmuseum, Inv. Nr. Kg 54:221.

24 Berlino, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Inv. no. 97,4; Legner, *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, 336-7.

25 Cleveland, Museum of Art, inv. no. 26.555. Reuther, "Ein architektonisches Räucherstandgefäß".

Just the plurality of the shapes of the representations and the freedom they have been recovered and multiplied with, could have fostered the knowledge, the sense of proximity and belonging of the *exemplum* to the different Christian communities. The diffusion of images of the Holy Sepulchre, with a strong symbolic value and differently linked to a will of representing the Jerusalem exemplum in a realistic and rationalistic way, created a sort of perceptive substratum that made it possible to immediately recognize the *imitationes*. In addition, the graphic representations destined to serve as basis for the planning and realisation of the copies have probably been inserted and intersected.

Evocative images, on the one hand, and measure and types of planimetric and volumetric rationalisation on the other hand, in fact, had to integrate into systems of planning and two-dimensional reproduction of the architectonic volumes, which we cannot easily reconstruct, at least, until the end of the thirteenth century.

4.4 Outlines and Plans

The model *imago* has been transmitted thanks to several duplication means: little models, graphic representations, outlines. Their analysis in relation with the construction of the architectonic imitations presents some preliminary problems. First of all: what possibility did the pilgrims effectively have to measure and detect the structure of a sanctuary that was so crowded and where there were back to back ceremonies? Hegumen Daniele emphatically underlines that he had the possibility to stay inside the niche and go back there until he finished his measurements. However, this appears most like an exception, a privilege obtained thanks to the intervention of the king. Most pilgrims were likely to stay in the Anastasis area only the time necessary for the celebration, as there were big groups of believers. Therefore the space and geometrical data collected had to be limited, if not invalidated, so that they needed at least a considerable subsequent version.

Furthermore, what technical knowledge and what capacity of understanding spaces did single believers have? How were the data 'noted down'? Which configuration and measurements of the model did the pilgrims bring when they came back? Which dimensional parameters were adopted? Did they resort to a scale? The collocation itself of the achieved representations indicate that they were conceived in close relationship with the pilgrimage and its devotional aspects. They are not strictly technical descriptions, but information and data as well as topological data collections united in two dimensions, always in an illustrative perspective.[26]

26 Niehoff, "*Umbilicus mundi*".

The drawings enclosed to a manuscript of Arculf's pilgrimage report, referred to in the De lociis sanctis of Adamnanus from Hy, are an example of representations inserted into pilgrimage reports. Inside them, there are two codes of different time and origin, which are strongly connoted, in a symbolic sense: both of them are kept in Wien. They demonstrate how the graphic representations were aimed at the duplication of liturgies and spaces, based on the unit of measurement of the believer's body.[27]

The graphic reproductions were accompanied by the production of three-dimensional models more or less realistic, realized with the most different materials, included wax, of which only a small part is known to us. A testimony of that is the simulacrum of the Narbona niche, a real scale reproduction,[28] as well as some stone models of central plan churches created and used inside the Armenian architectonic elaboration. They date back between the seventh and the eleventh century and today are kept at the Armenian History Museum at Erevan.[29]

The well-known three-dimensional models made of ebony, ivory and mother-of-pearl, kept at the Museum of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum of Jerusalem, realized between the sixteenth and the seventeenth century with devotional and decorative aims, are nothing but refined epigones of a long tradition of middle elements between the original and its monumental copies scattered all over the world.

4.5 Representation Types and Architectonic Drawings

The plurality and complexity of the representation means and patterns of the Jerosolimitan model, in relation with the phenomenon of its architectural imitations, pone presents some technical and historical problems.

The central matter is the relationship between the different mental, graphic and planimetric patterns. In fact, a Holy Sepulchre model has been structured in such a way that, from the typological point of view, took the place of the other ones and ended up prevailing, in the collective perception, just thanks to the impact of the meanings which it refers to. If on the one hand, a tight continuity between the *exemplum* and its *imitationes* has taken place, on the other hand, it

27 A more detailed analysis of the drawings is in Salvarani, "Idea e realtà del Santo Sepolcro".

28 Bonnery, "L'édicule du Saint-Sépulcre de Narbonne"; Mérel-Brandenburg, "À propos du 'sépulcre' de Narbonne (Ve siècle)", 77-82.

29 Inv. nos. 2858, 2859, 1157, 56; Cuneo, "Les modèles en pierre de l'architecture arménienne".

has developed within wider nets of models and volume patterns exchange and space perception. An unknown German pilgrim who visited the Jerosolimitan complex before 1142, before the works on the cross layout of the complex ended, put in relationship the Anastasis round building and the palatine chapel of Aachen:

> There you can find the Sepulchre of That who was crucified for us; on it a church has been built with the same shape of that built in Aachen by Charles the Great and dedicated to Saint Mary; but there is an exception: the church of Jerusalem has only one tower and that tower, which is on the Holy Sepulchre, has an open top.[30]

Theodoric[31] also detects the same, immediate similarity.

In this case the relationship is explained by the circle and the central plan, widely used during the Constantine period and afterwards resumed differently. Nevertheless, this mechanism may have been used on other images and for other elements, too.

The interest fulcrum does not appear to be the geometrical pattern itself, but the perception that the believer might have of the building and the celebrations that took place in there. The centrality of the body, recipient and protagonist of the liturgies, influenced the mechanisms of graphic rendering of the detected model and successive re-elaboration. The third important aspect to our topic is just the use of the body as a unit of perception and measurement.

Just to quote two proofs, Petrus Diaconus wrote in his report: "In the centre of this church [Anastasis] there is the Lord's Sepulchre, round shaped and carved into the rock; its ceiling can be reached by a standing person".

And "In the northern part of the niche there is the Lord's Sepulchre engraved in the stone; it is seven feet long and is a little bit taller than three palms".[32]

Theodoric's description is more detailed: first, he noticed that the grave cell had two doors. "At both the doors there are very strict guardians who do not allow in fewer than six and more than twelve people at the same time. The narrow room cannot host more – we can read in the text. After the pilgrims have prayed, they must go out through the other door. Those who want to go in through the entrance of that cave, can only do this by crawling in; besides they find the desired treasure, that is the Sepulchre in which our Lord Jesus Christ rested for three days. It is marvellously adorned with white marble, gold and precious stones. On the front, it has three round

30 Anonymus Alemannus, "Questi sono i luoghi", 156-7.

31 Theodericus, "*De locis sanctis*", 322-3.

32 Petrus Diaconus, "*De locis sanctis*", 174-7.

holes, through which pilgrims kiss the stone where the Lord laid down. The sarcophagus is two and a half feet wide, a man cubit and one foot long". The last empiric notice: "The floor between the Sepulchre and the wall has a lot of space, where five men praying on their knees can remain, with their faces towards the Sepulchre".[33]

The relationship between direct perception, on the one hand, and the graphic measurements and rationalizations based on the human body, on the other hand, recalls the centrality of the liturgy, conceived and lived just like the expression and participation of the divine. The building was used, perceived and planned according to it. Specifically, this is true for the Jerosolimitan imitations that find their full reason in the Easter celebrations and those related to the finding of the Cross and other relics. Therefore, the stronger and more important circuit of exchanges and topics where they developed is just that of the types of liturgy. It is the unifying texture of the whole phenomenon, on which other elements of patterns, models, techniques and representations have been differently inserted.

33 Theodericus, "*De locis sanctis*", 320-1.

5 Devotional Pathways and Urban Space Shaping
Martyrial Memories, Relics and Icons in Rome in the Middle Ages

Summary 5.1 Itineraries and Narratives *Per Loca*. – 5.2 Spatial Definition of Roman Liturgies. – 5.3 Use of the Images. – 5.4 Conclusions.

The history of Rome between the Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages provides a broad and extremely varied range of devotional and liturgical situations, partly fixed and codified, partly opened to be re-enacted and modified by worshippers.

Some case studies especially point out that the building of devotional pathways, consolidated by use and become *consuetudo*, has been crucial in the context of general process of Christianization of the urban space. The same happened to the social and cultural actions legitimating *élites* and religious institutions.

The holy bodies, the remains of Peter and Paul *in primis*, but also the relics of the martyrs, have polarized a rich and complex liturgical creativity.

That is not all: we have to consider the bodies of the Popes, alive and active in leading celebrations. Made solemn and depersonalized by more and more magnificent sacred vestments and holy garments, they appear as key elements of the hierophanic moments that mark rites and processions.

Liturgies took their multi-layered character also thanks to processes of symbolization and semantic shifting that moved some ritu-

DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-364-9/005

al actions onto objects and mobile elements. These latter became, in this way, active poles building meanings and narratives. Not mere depictions or objective correlatives of the liturgical narrative, but true semantic fulcrums, they played a precise role, inter-relating celebrants, participants, proclaimed words, evoked memories.

The unique urban space of Rome, permeated by martyrial memories, papal celebrations and imperial emblems, is an *exemplum* for the whole Latin Christianity modelling symbolic processes and defining narrative frameworks.

The institutional and hierarchical role of the pontiff, the images of the city spread worldwide by pilgrims, strangers and travellers allowed this achievement.

In a historical perspective, the goal is the analysis of the processes of symbolical sedimentation based on documental, liturgical and architectural sources, but it is equally as important to investigate the sequence of *caesurae*, breakups, movements of sense and meaning, semantic overlapping and changes.

In the face of such a relevant amount of data about historical and archaeological case studies and about relevant and complex phenomena, we need to define specific interpretative tools and paradigms.

In particular, the late antique and medieval city can be explored as an urban movement network.

Indeed, the origin of memorial, devotional and ecclesiastical poles as well as their further transformations were not dictated by a true unique program.

The analysis of the sources reveal rather a network of added-on pathways during a long period, then fixed in several durable meanings.

In addition, the popes waded in on this plot, with specific plans and interventions. They tried to give consistency and unity to such varied devotions and to orient the celebrations towards specific ecclesiological programs, funded on the central role of Peter, prince of Apostles, and on the role of his successors with the whole Christian *oicumene*.

Willingness to celebrate martyrs, saints and popes, cults, places of worship, memories of the origins, foundational and re-foundational events have been added on and finally unified, into the heart of a very lively urban community, resilient in front of the ravages, opened to integrate different groups and ready to accept and assimilate the changes.

In fact, a system of tight links between different elements was originated: semantic cores, buildings, memorial places, burial sites, privileged tombs.

If we want to investigate from a historical point of view such a complexity, we have to resort to interdisciplinary methods, together with anthropological and historical-religious interpretative frameworks.

The great tradition of studies on Christian archaeology and epigraphy carried out on the urban area of Rome provides a solid basis for further analysis.[1]

Most of the researches consider individual issues and specific places (or archaeological complexes), but it is harder to define how the whole city worked.

How do the settlement dynamics and poles and Christian devotional places relate with one another? How was the holy sites network added on to the system of pagan sanctuaries and public imperial spaces? In which forms did the Roman ecclesiastical institutions relate with space? How did they develop their process of territorialisation? Did Christian marks of space follow syntax? Which subjects interacted? What kind of role was played by local communities, clergy and popes in the urban space, both on institutional and symbolic sides? How did pilgrims and travellers interact with the city in Late Antiquity and Middle Ages?

If we want to come up with some possible answers, we have to provide an effective interpretative framework based on methodological frames not only oriented to urban history but also to anthropological criteria and to paradigms proper of the Religious Studies context.[2]

Although Pompei and Ostia have been extensively investigated, the overall urban reality of Rome poses challenging questions and still misses an adequate synthesis.[3]

In general, the historiography, even recently, appears oriented to consider ancient built nucleus as 'islands', stand-alone parts, and spatial marks hardly linked with one another.

In such a scenario a few exceptions are some wide-ranging surveys, including the works of Syble de Blaauw, the methodological hypothesis of Michael Mulryan and the texts of Enrico Parlato related to liturgical issues.[4] These authors connected liturgical texts, imag-

1 Among the most recent general researches, see: Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital*; Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*; Fraschetti, *La conversione da Roma pagana a Roma cristiana*; Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City*.

2 See as reference studies: Rau, *Topographien des Sakralen*; Rau, Rüpke, Bernd, *History and Religion*; Rüpke, "Crafting complex place"; Meyer, Rau, Waldner, *SpaceTime of the Imperial*.

3 See as example: Stoeger, "Clubs and Lounges in Roman Ostia". See also: Laurence, "The Organization of Space in Pompei".

4 The Roman liturgical context and the relationships between liturgies and evergetism are the object of a relevant *corpus* of studies. We can consider some reference points: Geertman, *Il Liber Pontificalis*; Foletti, Gianandrea, *The Fifth Century in Rome*; Romano, *Liturgy and Society in Early Medieval Rome*; Reynolds, "The Liturgy of Rome in the Eleventh Century"; Chavasse, *La liturgie de la ville de Rome du 5me au 8me siècle*; de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*; Geertman, de Blaauw, *Hic fecit basilicam*; de Blaauw, "Gerusalemme a Roma e il culto delle croce". See in particular: Mulryan, "The Establishment of Urban Movement Networks"; Parlato, "La storia 'postuma' della processione dell'acheropita". See also: Foletti, Gianandrea, *The Fifth Century in Rome*. Consider in

es, architectonical space and urban space with dynamic links, considered as a *unicum* vivified and animated in a perspective of deep meaning, thanks to the bodies of believers and celebrants, to their gestures and their perceptions.

In fact, the concept of network is a wider methodological tool, an effective way to interpret the general assets of the Roman society while engaged in the creation of their own symbolic Christian environment.

This kind of networks connects different semantic and built poles, including not only functional links. They are not only related to pilgrims' routes, but also originated from gestures and performative events around memorial elements and then stratified over time by use.

The idea of devotional path, oriented to historical implications is a further interpretative element.

The concept of devotional paths, with its historical implications, appears as an interpretative tool aimed to analyse the genesis itself of urban fabric together with its semantization and re-semantization in different periods and situations.

5.1 Itineraries and Narratives *Per Loca*

Some lines of process of the Christianization of Rome's urban space can be exemplified by some case studies based on archaeological, architectural and documental sources.

The linear symbolic connection between devotional architectural buildings and cemetery areas as ties of a network emerges if we consider the origins of the symbolical Christian fabric along the Via Appia Ardeatina and the Via Aurelia.

In these two cases, some existing roads and walk paths have been marked by new cult sites and new buildings and have become devotional paths featured in a Christian perspective.

This change process had as protagonists and recipients at first the local believers and worshippers and secondly only the pilgrims, attracted by the presence of holy bodies and relics and later more and more polarized around the major basilicas, Saint Peter in Vatican *in primis*.

particular the essays: Foletti, "*Maranatha*", and de Blaauw, "Richard Krautheimer and the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore". The latter outlines trajectories of continuity in the historiographical tradition of the Christian archaeology in Rome.

5.1.1 The Complex of Via Appia and Via Ardeatina

The Appia, from the beginning just out of Porta Capena and from its passage close to the Circus Maximus, was not only the main road to southern east Italy, but was also established as highly frequented symbolical space since the Republican Age.

Roman *élites* used the road area as an element of self-legitimacy choosing to place there their tombs, *mausolea*, inscriptions, memorial marks of events and passages.

The imperial propaganda itself privileged its scenario for triumphal processions.

In the middle of the third century, when Aurelian walls were erected, the first part lost its cemetery function completely.

Some important thermal complexes were built instead and, between them, the most awesome were the Thermal Baths of Caracalla.

The part remaining out of the walls boosted a massive increase in tombs and burial places, both above and underground. Christian graves became numerous and relevant starting from the third century, when the followers of Jesus multiplied also between upper classes.

The waves of persecutions that succeeded until the beginning of the following century induced the community to bury the martyrs' into marked spaces attracting memories, devotions and further privileged tombs. These *memoriae* fostered the cult of witnesses of the new faith and the building of new devotional sites that were emphasized and monumentalized after 313.

Amongst them, Nereus and Achilleus were believed to be buried close to a branch of the Via Appia, the Via Ardeatina, in the area of the catacomb of Domitilla.

The position of the bodies was marked and celebrated with pope Damasus' captions (366-384), in the context of his larger and general action aimed to define a devotional and martyrial fabric superimposed on the urban Roman fabric.

In the same second half of the century, an ecclesiastical institution was created named *titulus fasciolae*, found along the Via Appia, in front of the Thermal Baths of Caracalla. This semantic fulcrum attracted various narratives, mixed and confused in further written versions, referred to Saint Peter and to the vision that he may have had there: Christ himself appeared to order him to go back to Rome to follow his example and to become a martyr.

Some bandages (*fasciolae*) the Apostle was wearing during that episode are variously referred to which fell in that prodigious circumstance.

The *titulus* was connected (may be also at an institutional level) to the basilica of Nereus and Achilleus. Some epigraphic inscriptions discovered in the cemetery of the catacomb of Domitilla tell of a cler-

ic and two *lectores de fasciola*.[5] Subsequently, the *titulus* was re-dedicated to the saints Nereus and Achilleus.

In a further later period, some of the relics of the two saints were located there, probably according to the general trend of moving the remains from suburban cemeteries to churches located next to inhabited areas originated between seventh and eighth centuries.

Based on this hypothetical reconstruction of a network of movements, in this case we witness the passage from an institutional connection between two Christian sites located along the same path to the creation of a devotional link featured as martyrial memory.

On the same Via Appia, some other elements can support the hypothesis of the origin of a devotional path focused on the figure of the martyr and bishop of Rome Sixtus II.

In the area of the underground cemetery of the catacombs of Saint Callixtus is the burial place of the popes of the third century, a site of crucial relevance for the Christians of the city, and beyond.

Pope Damasus embellished the crypt where the tombs are cut and marked with celebrative elements of the presence of the bodies of his predecessors, particularly of the martyr Sixtus.

At the beginning of the fifth century, another small Christian centre, the Basilica Crescentiana was created just outside the Thermal Baths of Caracalla, then still in use and were involved in deep changes of use.

According to archaeological evidences of these transformations, we can assume that some bathtubs became baptismal basins and that some enormous porches were used as shelters for poor people, pilgrims, travellers and refugees.

Around the sixth century, the Basilica Crescentiana was re-named and entitled to Sixtus II himself, becoming San Sisto Vecchio, with an evident connection between two devotional poles linked by the Via Appia thanks to countless passages and steps.

A unity in fact was established between these two points and the centres of assistance located along the Via Appia, according to the functional featuring of a busy street area until the High Middle Ages. This was the access point to the city from South and South West, a space of passage both for trade and for masses of people in need and for believers connected to memorial places of the origins of the Christian community who played a decisive role.

The building of another place of cult, just at the junction between Via Appia and the Via Ardeatina, is a part of the same genesis of meaning: the little church of *Domine quo vadis* (later Santa Maria *in Palmis*). This architecture is tied to the narrative of Saint Peter's resting place, who, initially determined to leave Rome, then turned

5 De Rossi, "Continuation des découvertes du cimetière de Domitille".

back after accepting Jesus Christ's orders, intimating to give witness of faith until death.

This marker was able to connect the two pathways around a unifying meaning, founded on the devotion for the body of the Apostle, whose presence legitimated the role and the authority of the pontiffs concerning the whole Christianity.

Thus, starting from the ninth century, the Via Appia will result dotted with memorial and martyrial sites linked in a unified form by devotional movements.

Nevertheless, we can assume that this pathway originated thanks to some intervention dating back to the beginning of the fourth century, variously mixed with the actions of the popes. On this first network may be based further spontaneous developments of devotional pathways.

5.1.2 Via Aurelia and Saint Peter's Tomb

Another case highlights how an existing route, a consular road, can unite devotional paths around Christian meanings gradually built: it relates to the Via Aurelia, the main north and north west access axis and therefore the more direct access to the Vatican Hill, where Saint Peters' martyr place and tomb can be identified. The most interesting area describing the processes we are examining is located at the junction of the Via Aurelia and another urban way, the Via Septimiana. Here, two buildings in particular are linked by martyr cults: the present Saint Callistus and Saint Mary in Trastevere, the first one connected to the martyr pope's memory and the other one to the memory of his successor as well as the promoter of his celebration, Pope Julius. In the Middle Ages the street connecting the two churches and the Basilica of Saint Peter was given the name of Via Sancta Peregrinorum. Along the Via Aurelia other links may be identified referring to the catacomb dedicated to the local martyr Calepodius, where previously Callistus' and Julius' tombs were located.[6]

Therefore, also due to Pope Julius' evergetism, a linear system of meanings kept on appearing, which developed as the Via Aurelia was used and later polarized around Saint Peter's basilica.

5.1.3 Laurentian Hagiographical Paths

The genesis of devotional pathways inspired from the memory of martyr Lawrence is different. The process that aggregated movements and meanings recalls, in some ways, the origin of the mimetic devo-

6 *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, 1: 56-7, 62-3, 82; ed. Raymon, 4-5, 7, 28-9.

tional pathways along the sites of Jerusalem connected with the memory of passion, death and resurrection of Jesus, later, during the Late Middle Ages, fixed in the Via Dolorosa.

The worship for Saint Lawrence, organized in the space of Rome in different phases, shows that a martyrial narrative, together with a liturgical memorial tradition, is able to unify in a sole building of meaning different places and different individual elements of the same hagiographical narrative.

In the seventh century, some architectures of cult have been erected and connected with one another to the story of the martyrdom of Deacon Lawrence: a memorial narrative has been at first spatialized and later followed on foot by devotees in a complete itinerary of meaning.

A text listing the sites was written in the sixth century,[7] to be later enriched with a series of elements coming from local traditions and specific topographic references.[8]

The building of churches and material structures appears as a subsequent spatial objectification of the memorial narrative, including, in its turn, urban reminiscences and traditional remembering.[9]

The topographical references include the site where Lawrence was held prisoner, that of the trial when he bore witness to Christ and, finally, the place where he was tortured to death.

All the elements were linked to the burial place, where his remains were venerated, in the basilica *extra muros*, a great palimpsest continuously overwritten by architectural and liturgical transformations, together with embellishing interventions.

The building of a Laurentine topography appears especially relevant because it contributes in a particular way to originate the imagined space of medieval Rome.

Indeed the steps regard also the area of the Fori, the large symbolic heart of the pagan city, that from the Constantine period onwards was not certainly abandoned but, on the contrary, was re-semantized in a Christian perspective to become a place and a station along the most popular and busy liturgical and devotional pathways.

The first focus of this *narratio per loca* is the church of San Lorenzo in Panisperna, on the Viminale hill. Some pilgrimages' texts indicated that inside there was the *graticula* where Lawrence was horribly tortured.

Not too far from here, at San Lorenzo in Fonte the jail where the young Christian was detained was celebrated. Entering in a sort of cell, we can see still today a spring miraculously created by the saint.

7 Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, 33.

8 *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. 2.519, 3.13-14.

9 The whole picture of the documental sources related to the lawrentian topography is in: Brandt, "San Lorenzo Outside the Walls".

In the area of the Fori another church was created, presumably active in seventh and eighth centuries, inside the Temple of Faustina and Antoninus: San Lorenzo in Miranda.

In this structure there was the place where he was sentenced, near the building of the actual seat of the Urban Prefect, deputed to impose the capital judgments.

The starting point of this pathway of imagination and mimesis on the footsteps of the martyr was, thus, in the Roman Forum, a memory loaded space deeply connected with the pagan city, something like a negative scenario that Christian new society could overcome just thanks to the sacrifice of Lawrence and his supreme witness. In other words, the martyrdom and its devotional memory became a mimetic and cathartic passage for the whole city.

From there, the devotional movement touched San Lorenzo in Fonte and later San Lorenzo in Panisperna.

A memorial and devotional itinerary could be completed by individual devotees in a relatively reduced space into the walls. The martyrial basilica outside the walls remained the liturgical fulcrum and could be linked to this memorial path with a further pilgrimage way.

These case studies result from processes of aggregation, partly spontaneous, partly inducted by popes or by private family evergetism.

The definition and codifying of liturgies is a more complex issue.

It comes as a connective fabric to unify urban processes based on devotions and it allows the ritual Roman heritage to become an *exemplum*, a reference model for the celebration enacted in the whole Christianity.

5.2 Spatial Definition of Roman Liturgies

Roman liturgies have proper features marking and facilitating the Christianization processes of the urban space: their most solemn celebrations are essentially processional and stational.

Structured in a sequence of movements establishing precise pathways into the city, they are repeated passages creating some itineraries almost unaltered for centuries.

The *stationes* are marks in the space/landmarks, where the memory of the event is fixed by the worshippers' stopovers, together with the celebrant's gestures and the Word proclaimed aloud. They evoke the presence of the sacred, originating a sort of hyerophany, a manifestation of the Divine that, right there, can enter the life of individuals and community.

Therefore streets, squares, fountains, open places, courtyards before basilicas, *sacella* play a particular role in the liturgical performance, interacting with the general meaning of the liturgical pathways, in a complex syntax given by the bodies of the participants.

The latter are active elements in the creation of the sacred liturgical space, but at the same time, they receive perceptions, narratives and memories from outside.

Year by year, according to the liturgical calendar, the repeated rites would continue to scan mental images and contents, impressing meanings upon the people's collective memory.

Even when celebrations finished, the living urban space would continue to echo the liturgical being: toponymy, architectures, sign impressed in stones and popular counts would perpetuate and expand the same embodied narrative, enriching it with countless particulars and rooting it in the local society life more and more.

In the case of Rome, the passage of pilgrims has further broadened the spread of these memorial narratives *per res et per loca*.

Their words, the diaries, the homilies held in their homeland, the creation of a wealth of information to be addressed to new travellers contributed both to define the sacred space of the city and to transmit its meanings outside.

In his turn, the pilgrim who received these narratives would search in the physical space of the city not only the relics of the Apostles, but also a whole complex of symbols and marks. Further semantic values have been added to the liturgical Roman space by the pontiffs, thanks to their leading role during the celebrations and to their eminent position in the processions for major celebrations. Papal gestures, positions and vestments would gradually increase in relevance, to become pre-eminent from the Renaissance onwards.

The function of relics and images will be emphasized in the urban ritual performances just related with the Pope's gestures. Starting from the eighth century, the body of the pontiff, the bodies of the participants and the holy remains of the martyrs would bond in a precise theological and symbolic dialogue ever more closely.

The same liturgical sources describe in detailed and explicit ways the relics, their entrance in the celebrations, the position in the corteges, together with the movements from a devotional site to another.

The images also, lived and perceived as projections of the bodies or as prodigious embodiment of the sacred, would get a proper role, taking on even greater significance.

Such a liturgical creativity found a form of codifying into the complex genesis of the *Ordines Romani*, in the context of a more general process of sedimentation and transformation of the ritual being in written texts. This went hand in hand with the institutional organization of the Roman Papal Curia.

The liturgies of the *Urbs* assumed a modelling function just thanks to the *Ordines Romani*, widespread in a binding manner in the Latin Christianity: sequences, gestures, times and symbols have been spread maintaining precise ideal and spatial references.

However, the Roman community lived changes, divisions, traumas due to events and social phenomena. The transformations were symbolically transferred in the space and there registered, orienting, in turn, the same general mutations as well as the adaptation to new situations.

This happened, for instance, in the eighth and ninth centuries, when a relevant number of relics was moved from suburban cemeteries to intra menial sites: the passages were made solemn as acts of re-foundation (both of the churches and of the whole community). The same is true for the Christian and papal re-semantization of the Roman Fori, between the eighth and tenth centuries;[10] as well as for the intersections between religious liturgies and public rituals connected with the *comune* (*administrative centre*) and with the *populus romanus* during the Low Middle Ages.

The so-called Avignon Captivity was a true caesura, which required a further re-introduction and transformation of celebrations and processional pathways.

Space and objects, be they relics or icons, have been the focus of these change processes.

The relics of martyrs and saints, themselves parts of holy bodies, were in dialogue with the bodies of celebrants and believers, into the same theological and memorial narratives.

Exposed to veneration and led in procession, they were semantic mobile poles, orienting in various ways the Christian sacralisation of the city. Their impact was relevant on the network of a plurality of devotional places, on the location of cult architectures, on the toponymy.

They entered on the symbolic level of the hierarchical relationships system between different ecclesiastical institutions; dealt with the body of the Pope, as central guide leading liturgical celebrations. They attracted the movements of the pilgrims, inspiring countless individual acts of devotions, even out of codified liturgical setting.

5.3 Use of the Images

The Roman Church, on formal and magisterial level, recognized the catechetical value of images, but some of them went far beyond and were considered almost as supernatural elements.

Considered as *acheropitae*, or miraculously arrived in the city, they were associated with specific anthropological concerns, which subsequently were joined with doctrinal and dogmatic items.

10 See Delogu, "The Popes and Their Town in the Time of Charlemagne". See also: Geertman, *Il Liber Pontificalis*, in particular Bauer, "Il rinnovamento di Roma sotto Adriano I alla luce del Liber Pontificalis", and Bellardini, Delogu, "Il Liber Pontificalis e altre fonti".

The same location into churches or cemeteries enriched the urban syntax of the sacred with further elements, adding passages, devotional pathways, prayers, feasts included in the local calendars.

Starting from the fourth century, their vicissitudes were interwoven with the creation of local powers, both lay and ecclesiastical, with forms of evergetism and patronage. Rarely involved in ransacks, destructions, buildings and re-buildings, they demonstrated a capacity of such powerful persistence that it could shape the structure itself of devotional paths and memorial, hagiographic and liturgical sequences.[11]

5.3.1 The Icon of the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran

The icon of the Holy Saviour of the Lateran, venerated as an acheropita, was the focus of some of these processes, which heavy significance is relevant enough to influence the semantic assets of the whole Urbs and the pathways of the *peregrinationes* to the major basilicas.

The phenomenon had two main features: a long-term duration and the overlapping of different liturgical uses.

We are faced with a unified nucleus composed by five elements: the space of the Sessorium Palace and of the Lateran, with their large external pertinencies; the architectures (the inside spaces where the Sancta Sanctorum was preserved together with the Lateran basilica); the liturgical station fixed there in different liturgical pathways; the icon itself; the object associated with the sacred image (both relics and liturgical objects).

This polysemous complex interacted with the elaboration of the Roman papal liturgies, with their set of words, gestures and symbols enacted in a precise time, separated from daytime activities, reserved to the hyerophany in the being of the celebration.

In general, from the first codified forms, they took on an emblematic value and a modelling function for the whole Latin Christianity, which would receive from Rome some elements, which were the most general and suitable to different spatial contexts.

In this case, on the contrary, the indissoluble bond unifying rites and spatial nucleus anchors the Roman liturgies to their original *milieu*.

For this reason, in the economy of our discourse, the analysis of the genesis of rites bound around the icon of the Holy Saviour is a challenging point.

In particular, two solemn processions had the Lateran complex and the icon as an active element. Both have been received into the *Ordines Romani* and are testified by a plurality of papal sources, chronicles and documents.

11 See the historical artistic analysis: Parlato, “Le icone in processione”.

The first is the anticipation of the *Resurrexit* celebration on Easter Sunday, the second is the Eve of the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, on fifteenth of August.

5.3.2 The Anticipation of the Rite of *Resurrexit* on Easter Sunday

In Rome, in the Middle Ages, the Easter Mass had a solemn prelude in the chapel of Saint Lawrence at Lateran (coinciding with the present sanctuary of the Holy Stairs).

The oratory, today still called Sancta Sanctorum, was considered one of the most sacred places in the city.

Inside, together with a precious relic of the Cross, was kept the acheropita of the Holy Saviour, whose first mention is in the Liber Pontificalis, in the biography of Stephen II (752-757) (the Pope carried it on his shoulders during a procession to ward off the danger posed by the military oppression of the Longobard king Astulf, in the first period of his pontificate). It represents the whole figure of the Saviour, life size dimension and sat on a throne, depicted on a fabric applied over a wooden table measuring 150 × 70 centimetres.

According to an ancient tradition that already Yeronymus referred to in the first centuries of Christianity, the announcement of the Resurrection of Christ was given in this site by the Pope, before he went to chant the Easter Mass at Santa Maria Maggiore, stational basilica at Easter.

This is testified in the *Ordo Romanus XI*,[12] in the *Liber politicus*,[13] a ceremonial dating to 1143-1144, and in the *Liber Censuum Romanae Ecclesiae*,[14] written around 1192 by Cencius Camerarius,the future Pope Onorius III.

This is the description included in the *Ordo Romanus XII*:

> On Easter Sunday morning, the Roman Pontiff, dressed in a white cope, with the Cardinal deacons wearing the *dalmatica* and the *mitra*, the suddeacons with a *tunicella* and the other inferior orders of clerics, and with his chaplains, he goes to the chapel of Saint Lawrence […]. Here, the Pope, completed the *oratio*, wears the vestments up to the *dalmatica* and then he goes to adore the Saviour. He opens the [cover of] the icon, kisses the feet of the Saviour saying for three times: Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro. Eve-

12 Mabillon, Germain, *Museum Italicum*, (PL 78) 1042.

13 Fabre, Duchesne, "*Benedicti beati Petri Canonici Liber Politicus*", 141-77, in particular 152.

14 Fabre, Duchesne, "*Gesta Pauperis Scolaris Albini*", 87-137, in particular 131; Mabillon, Germain, *Museum Italicum*, (PL 78) 1077.

> rybody answers: Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno. Alleluia. After kissing the Saviour, he moves to the throne and gives peace to the archdeacon, who after him kisses the foot of the image, saying to him: surrexit Dominus vere. He answers: Et apparuit Simoni. The second deacon, after kissing the feet of the Saviour, approaches to receive peace from the Pontiff and from the archdeacon and gets in line. The other Cardinals do the same […]. Meanwhile the schola chants: *Crucifixum in carne* and *Ego sum alpha et omega*. Fulfilled the rite of the peace, the Pontiff wears the white *pianeta*, the *pallium* and the solemn *mitra*.[15]

Subsequently the cortege goes in procession to Santa Maria Maggiore for the Pontifical Mass.

Such a liturgy, in its spatial displacement, had a long lasting life. Nevertheless, actually, it was because of its solemnity and its structure openly embodied in the urban space that was exposed to the deep changes of the pontifical siege.

Indeed, when the pope moved to Avignon, the celebration of the *Resurrexit* before the acheropita ceased and when the pontiff went back to Rome, the Pascal station was moved to Saint Peter's Basilica.

Only on the Easter Sunday of 2000 the *Resurrexit*, the ancient rite of the Pope's witness of faith in front of the icon of the Holy Saviour, started to be celebrated again.[16]

5.3.3 Procession of the Eve of the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin

The rites of the vigil of the Feast of Assumption of Mary has been more permanent.

They exemplify several aspects featuring the genesis of the symbolic Roman space, specifically showing how theological and devotional meanings can be polarized around an image. This nucleus of liturgical heritage lasted for an extraordinarily long time: at least from ninth century until 1566, when the procession was suppressed by pope Pius V, in the context of a general liturgical re-assessment.

Due to its long lifespan, the rite has been one of the most relevant and dynamic elements creating the fabric of sense of the whole city.

The procession performed in the night between fourteenth and fifteenth of August involved the urban Roman community as a whole and was marked by a sequence of gestures that made Christian theological and religious contents visible and, at the same time, placed

15 Schuster, *Liber Sacramentorum I*, 379.

16 Marini, "La nuova icona acheropita".

each individual and each group in his proper position in the society. Relationships, hierarchies, differences, *discrimina* became evident and were highlighted.

The acheropita of the Holy Saviour preserved into the Sancta Sanctorum was the real focus of the performative event.[17]

The icon was moved during the night from the Lateran firstly across the Forum and secondly, from there, to Santa Maria Maggiore.

Here, partly inside the basilica and partly outside, the worshippers stood until sunrise chanting and praying. Subsequently, the image was carried in the Sancta Sanctorum with another procession.

The path linked the cathedral of Rome, seat of the pontiff, with the main site dedicated to Saint Mary, Mother of God, to the Incarnation, crossing the pagan symbolic places of the city, which far from losing their meaning, were Christianized and included in a new urban semantization.

The origins of this rite date back to the seventh and eighth century, to the pontificates of Sergius I (687-701) and of Stephen II (752-757). The former instituted the feast of Saint Mary connected with processions going from the church of Saint Adrian to Santa Maria Maggiore. The latter probably carried the acheropita for the first time along the street praying for the assistance of the Virgin in a situation of extreme danger.

The complete performance of the procession is documented only in 847, in the first year of the pontificate of Leo IV. The *Liber pontificalis* testifies that, at the Eve of the Feast, the pope went with a long cortege following the icon from the Lateran to Santa Maria Maggiore touching the *Forum* and proceeding along the *Via Sacra*, stopping at Saint Adrian and later touching Santa Lucia in Selci.

However the ceremony must be much older and had already become customary in the local Roman use if the text notes 'ut mos est'.

Reading the *Ordo Romanus L*, written around the middle of the ninth century, we get a richer and more detailed description, which makes a reconstruction of the gestures and of the performance sequences possible.

The same is for the *Liber politicus* of Benedetto Canonico (about 1143).

The ceremony started at midnight outside the Basilica Lateranensis. Previously, the streets and the squares along the pathway had been ritually carefully cleaned.

17 About the history of the icon: Romano, "L'acheropita lateranense"; Andaloro, "L'acheropita in ombra del Laterano". About the architectural context of the icon: de Blaauw, "Il Patriarchio"; Cempanari, *Sancta Santorum lateranense*; Cempanari, Amodei, "Scala Santa e Sancta Sanctorum".

Torches and lanterns were hanged on the facades of palaces and houses.

At midnight, the icon of the Saviour was brought out of the Sancta Santorum and hoisted upon a sedan, preceded and followed by clerics holding torches.

This processional liturgy is based on the idea of the 'visit' of Christ *in effigie* to his Mother in the time of her *transitus*, the *Dormitio Virginis*. In this mystical time, Christ acts the Assumption of Mary's body and soul, the *animula* in the iconography of the period.

The face to face between the two icons – that of the Holy Saviour and that of the *Salus Populi Romani* preserved in the basilica – made the mystery visible.

The nocturnal rites were concluded with the celebration of the Mass and the sun rising at Santa Maria Maggiore, marking the fulfilment of the sacred mystery.

The *Dormitio Virginis* on a liturgical level took place and was completed.

Sunrise, the spread of the light corresponds to the Assumption: a new day began and the dogma was completely enacted.

It is relevant that the same theme were described in the apsidal mosaic of Jacopo Torriti (dating around 1296) according to a perfect union of theological contents, composition of gestures and images.

Some gestures, specifically demonstrate the reification of the icon.

During the procession, the painted wooden plate was honoured with acts of homage.

The Saviour's feet were washed and sprinkled with unguents and essences of basil, a reference to the sacredness and sovereignty of Christ the Saviour, assimilated to the byzantine *basileus*, whose body was the object of similar rituals.

The gesture was repeated many more times, during the stopovers of the icons along the pathway.

The icon, indeed, was a sort of embodiment and reification making the divine present amongst men. This nature is confirmed by the further transformations of the object itself.

The face of Christ, originally painted on wood, was covered with veils, depicted in turn with new pigments.

Innocent III ordered to close the whole wooden board with an embossed silver and golden plate, (opened on Christ's right knee to allow the ritual unction).

Only the upper part of the face and the feet remained visible.

The procession was transformed several times in the Late Middle Ages until its suppression: gradually were included city magistrates, corporations, representatives of different strangers' *nationes* and various religious groups composing the Roman society (religious orders, confraternities).

Also the city Hebrews had their own position, openly subordinated, in the general network of the urban celebrations, which became a true unifying fabric elaborating symbolic identities, forms of coexistence, differences and relationships.[18]

5.4 Conclusions

These case studies, based on documental and archaeological reconstructions, show how important and necessary is the definition of a complete methodology capable of highlighting and interpreting along continuity lines the phenomena of spazializing the cults together with the processes of legitimacy based on public celebrations regarding religious groups located in urban contexts.

In other words, the origin of the Christian space of Rome doesn't appear as a mere flowering of churches and places of assistance, but establishes itself as a living fabric of meanings and liturgical echoes: the sacred permeates daily life and shapes the whole urban society thanks to the centrality of the body and to the dogma of the Incarnation. Hypothetically, such an interpretative key can be applied also in other different contexts.

18 About the general argument: Caffiero, "Spazi urbani e scene rituali dell'ebraismo romano in età moderna"; Esposito, "Una minoranza nella *Descriptio Urbis*". See also: Champagne, Boustan, "Walking in the Shadows of the Past".

Abbreviations and Bibliography

Abbreviations

CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
EHR	English Historical Review
PL	Patrologia Latina (J.P. Migne)
PG	Patrologia Graeca (J.P. Migne)

Bibliography

Abate, Giuseppe. *Il primitivo breviario francescano (1224-1227)*. Roma: Editrice Miscellanea Francescana, 1960.

Abu-Munshar, Maher Y. *Islamic Jerusalem and its Christians. A History of Tolerance and Tensions*. London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007.

Adamnanus. "*De locis sanctis libri tres*". *Itineraria et alia geographica*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1965. CSEL 175.

Alcoy Pedros, Rosa; Allios, Dominique (éds). *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge. Commande, production et réception de l'oeuvre d'art. Mélanges offerts à Xavier Barral i Alte*. Paris: Editions A&J Picard, 2012.

Alzati, Cesare; Vaccaro, Luciano (a cura di). *Una città tra terra e cielo: Gerusalemme; le religioni, le chiese*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria editrice vaticana, 2014.

Alzati, Cesare. *Ambrosianum Mysterium*. *La chiesa di Milano e la sua tradizione liturgica*. Milano: NED, 2000.

Alzati, Cesare. "Il salmo e l'incenso. Antiche radici e nuovi sviluppi nell'officiatura ecclesiale". Mauri, Marco (a cura di), *La tunica variegata. Conversazioni sul rito ambrosiano*. Milano: NED, 1995, 47-76.

Andaloro, Maria; Romano, Serena (a cura di). *Arte e iconografia a Roma: dal Tardoantico alla fine del Medioevo*. Milano: Jaca Book, 2002.

Andaloro, Maria. "L'acheropita in ombra del Laterano". Morello, Wolff, *Il volto di Cristo*, 43-5.

Andrade, Amélia Aguiar; Tente, Catarina (eds). *Espaços e poderes na Europa urbana medieval*. Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2018.

Andrieu, Michel. "Le pontifical d'Apamée et autres textes liturgiques communiqués à dom Martène par Jean Deslions". *Revue Bénédictine*, 48, 1936, 321-48.

Andrieu, Michel. *Les Ordines romani du haut Moyen Age*. Louvain: Spicilegium Sacr. Lovaniense, 1931-1962.

Anonymus Alemannus. "Questi sono i luoghi che si trovano presso Gerusalemme degni di essere ricordati". De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII-XIII)*.

Aronson-Lehavi, Sharon. *Street Scenes: Late Medieval Acting and Performance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Arranz, Miguel. "Les grandes étapes de la liturgie Byzantine: Palestine, Byzance, Russie. Essai d'aperçus historique". *Liturgie de l'Église particulière et liturgie de l'Église universelle*. Roma: Edizioni liturgiche, 1976, 43-72.

Bacci, Michele. *Lo spazio dell'anima. Vita di una chiesa medievale*. Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2005.

Bacci, Michele. "Remarks on the Visual Experience of Holy Sites in the Middle Ages". Ganz, Stefan Neuner David, *Mobile Eyes*, 175-97.

Bagatti, Bellarmino (ed.). *Niccolò da Poggibonsi: Libro d'Oltramare.* Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1945.

Barreda, Noemi (ed.). *Spaces of Knowledge. Four Dimensions of Medieval Thought*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.

Bärsch, Jürgen. "Jerusalem im Spiegel der abendländischen Liturgie des Mittelalters. Anamnetisches Zitat – szenische Darstellung – visuell-haptische Inkorporation". Jaspert, Tebruck, *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung*, 347-60.

Bauer, Franz Alto. "Il rinnovamento di Roma sotto Adriano I alla luce del Liber Pontificalis. Immagine e realtà". Geertman, *Il Liber Pontificalis*, 189-204.

Baumstark, Carl Anton. "Denkmäler der Enststehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen ritus". *Oriens Christianus*, 3 s., I, 1927, 1-32.

Baumstark, Carl Anton. "Die Heiligtümer des byzantinischen Jerusalems nach einer ubersehenen Urkunden". *Oriens Christianus*, 5, 1905, 227-89.

Baumstark, Carl Anton. *Liturgie comparée. Principes et méthodes pour l'étude des liturgies chrétiennes*. Paris: Chevetogne, 1953.

Beda Venerabilis. "*Historia ecclesiastica*". Migne, Jacques Paul (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 95. Paris: Imprimerie catholique, 1851, coll. 021-029C.

Beda Venerabilis. "*Homiliae*, *Liber secundus homiliae item genuinae*, *Homilia IV infra octavas Paschae*". Migne, Jacques Paul (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 94. Paris: Imprimerie catholique, 1848, coll. 0149C-0154C.

Belgin-Henry, Ayse. "A Mobile Dialogue of an Immobile Saint: St. Symeon the Younger, Divine Liturgy, and the Architectural Setting". Bogdanovic, *Perceptions of the Body*, 149-65.

Bellardini, Donatella; Delogu, Paolo. "Liber Pontificalis e altre fonti: la topografia di Roma nell'VIII secolo". Geertman, Herman (a cura di), *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale 'Il Liber Pontificalis' e la Storia Materiale* (Roma 21-22 febbraio 2002). Roma: Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome, vol. 60/61, 2003, 205-224.

Bernardi, Carlo; Giaccardi, Chiara (a cura di). *Comunità in atto. Conflitti globali, interazioni locali, drammaturgie sociali*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2007.

Bernardi, Carlo. *Agenda aurea. Festa, teatro, evento*. Milano: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2012.

Bino, Carla. *Dal trionfo al pianto. La fondazione del teatro della misericordia nel Medioevo (V-XIII sec.)*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2008.

Bino, Carla. *Il dramma e l'immagine. Teorie cristiane della rappresentazione (II-XI sec.)*. Torino: Le Lettere, 2015.

de Blaauw, Syble (a cura di). *Arredi di culto e disposizioni liturgiche a Roma da Costantino a Sisto IV*. Assen: Istituto Olandese a Roma, 2001.

de Blaauw, Syble. *Cultus et decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale. Basilica Salvatoris Sanctae Mariae Sancti Petri*. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994.

de Blaauw, Syble. "Gerusalemme a Roma e il culto delle croce". Cassanelli, Roberto; Stolfi, Emilia (a cura di), *Gerusalemme a Roma. La Basilica di Santa Croce e le reliquie della Passione*. Milano: Jaca Book, 2012, 27-39.

de Blaauw, Syble. "Il Patriarchio, la basilica lateranense e la liturgia". *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Antiquité*, 1971, 161-72.

de Blaauw, Syble "Richard Krautheimer and the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore". Foletti, Gianandrea, *The Fifth Century in Rome*, 99-104.

de Blaauw, Syble. "Rom als Ziel der Pilger. Die Heiligtümer und ihre Besucher in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter". Stiegemann, Christoph, *Wunder Roms im Blick des Nordens von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. Petersberg: Katalog zur Ausstellung im Erzbischöflichen Diözesanmuseum; Paderborn: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2017, 112-21.

de Blaauw, Syble. "Urban Liturgy: The Conclusive Christianization of Rome". Foletti, Palaldino, *Ritualizing the City*, 15-28.

Bock, Nicolas; Kurmann, Peter; Romano, Serena; Spieser, Jean-Michel (éds). *Art, Cérémonial et Liturgie au Moyen Age*. Roma: Viella, 2002.

Bogdanovic, Jelena. *Perceptions of the Body and Sacred Space in Late Antiquity and Byzantium*. London: Routledge, 2018.

Bonaccorso, Giorgio. *Il rito e l'altro, La liturgia come tempo, linguaggio, azione*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2012.

Bonnery, André; Mentré, Mireille; Hidrio, Guyléne. *Jérusalem, symboles et représentations dans l'Occident médiéval*. Paris: Éditions Jacques Grancher, 1998.

Bonnery, André. "L'édicule du Saint-Sépulcre de Narbonne". *Cahiers de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa*, 22, 1991, 7-31.

Boquet, Damian; Nagy, Piroska (éds). *Sensible Moyen Âge. Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval*. Paris: Seuil, 2015.

Bordin, Giuseppe. *La Crux Vaticana o Croce di Giustino II: Museo Storico Artistico del Tesoro di San Pietro*. Città del Vaticano: Edizioni Capitolo Vaticano, 2009.

Boulton, Meg; Hawkes, Jane; Stoner, Heidi (eds). *Place and Space in the Medieval World*. London: Routledge, 2018.

Brandt, Hans Jürgen; Hengst, Karl (Hrsgg). *Die Busdorfkirche St. Petrus und Andreas in Paderborn 1036-1986*. Paderborn: Bonifatius, 1986.

Brandt, Michael; Eggerbrecht, Arne (Hrsgg). *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen = Katalog der Ausstellung*. Hildesheim: WBG, 1993.

Brandt, Olof. "San Lorenzo outside the Walls: The Complicated Relationship Between Structures and Written Sources". Foletti, Gianandrea, *The Fifth Century in Rome*, 105-19.

Brenk, Beat. *Architettura e immagini del sacro nella tarda antichità*. Spoleto: Fondazione CISAM, 2005.

Breydy, Michel. "Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien; ausgewählte Geschichten und Legenden kompiliert von Said ibn Batriq um 935 AD". *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*. 2 voll. Louvain: Peeters, 1985, 471-72.

Bullough, Donald Auberon. "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age". Bullough, Donald Auberon (ed.), *Carolingian renewal. Sources and Heritage*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991, 161-240.

Bullough, Donald Auberon. *Carolingian Renewal. Sources and Heritage*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991.

Bynum, Caroline. *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.

Caffiero, Marina. "Spazi urbani e scene rituali dell'ebraismo romano in età moderna". Caffiero, Marina; Esposito, Anna (a cura di), *Judei de Urbe: Roma e i suoi ebrei: una storia secolare = Atti del Convegno* (Roma, Archivio di Stato, 7-9 novembre 2005). Roma: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2011, 3-22.

Canard, Marius. "La destruction de l'église de la Resurrection par le calife Hakim et l'histoire de la descente du feu sacré". *Byzantion*, 35, 1965, 16-43.

Canetti, Luigi. *Impronte di Gloria. Effigie e ornamento nell'Europa cristiana*. Roma: Carrocci, 2012.

Carmassi, Patrizia. "Processioni a Milano nel Medioevo". Bock, Nicolas; Kurmann, Peter; Romano, Serena; Spieser, Jean-Michel (éds), *Art, Cérémonial et Liturgie au Moyen Age*. Roma: Viella, 2002, 397-414.

Carrero Santamaria, Eduardo. "The Creation and Use of Space in the Abbey of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, Burgos: Architecture, Liturgy, and Paraliturgy in a Female Cistercian Monastery". *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 6, 2014, 169-91.

Carruthers, Mary. *Machina memorialis*. *Meditazione, retorica e costruzione delle immagini (400-1200)*. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2006.

Castellet, Laura de. "The Sound Space: Thought, Music and Liturgy". Barreda, Noemi (ed.), *Spaces of Knowledge. Four Dimensions of Medieval Thought*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014, 35-47.

Cempanari, Mario; Amodei, Tito. *Scala Santa e Sancta Sanctorum: storia, arte, culto del santuario*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2013.

Cempanari, Mario. *Sancta Santorum lateranense: il santuario della scala santa dalle origini ai giorni nostri*. Roma: Città Nuova della P.A.M.O.M., 2003.

Champagne, Marie Thérèse; Boustan, Raanan S. "Walking in the Shadows of the Past: the Jewish Experience of Rome in the Twelfth Century". *Medieval Encounters. Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue*. Leiden: Brill, 1995, 464-94.

Chavasse André. *La Liturgie de la ville de Rome du 5me au 8me siècle: une liturgie conditionnée par l'organisation de la vie in urbe et extra muros*. Roma: Centro Studi S. Anselmo, 1993. Studia Anselmina/Analecta Liturgica 18.

Chavasse, André. *Le Sacramentaire Gelasien (Vaticanus Reginensis 316): sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VIIme* siècle. Tournai: Desclée & Cie, 1958.

Connolly, Daniel K. *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy*. Woodbridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Conybeare, Frederick Cornwallis (ed.). "Antiochus Strategos, Account of the Sack of Jerusalem in 614". *EHR*, 25, 1910, 502-17.

Corbo, Virgilio. *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme. Aspetti archeologici dalle origini al periodo crociato*. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1981.

Cresi, Domenico. "Manoscritti liturgici francescani a Gerusalemme". *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, 56, 1963, 466-74.

Cuneo, Paolo. "Les modèles en pierre de l'architecture arménienne". *REArm*, 6, 1969, 201-31.

Curran, John R. *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Davril, Anselme; Thibodeau, Thimoty. M. (ed.). *Guillemi Duranti*, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1995-2000.

Dawson, Graham (ed.). "Memory, Narrative and Histories: Critical Debates, New Trajectories". *Working Papers on Memory, Narrative and Histories*, 1, January 2012. Brighton: Centre for research on memory narratives and histories, 2012.

De Rossi, Giovanni B. "Continuation des découvertes du cimetière de Domitille". *Bullettin d'Archèologie Chrétienne*, II, 6, Paris, 1876.

De Rubeis, Bernardo Maria. *Dissertationes Duae: […] Altera: De vetustis liturgicis aliisque sacris ritibus, qui vigebant olim in aliquibus foroiuliensis Provinciae Ecclesiis*. Venezia: Jo. Battista Pasquali, 1754.

De Sandoli, Sabino. *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII-XIII)*, vol. 2, *Tempore regum Francorum (1100-1187)*. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1980.

De Santi, Antonio, "La Domenica delle Palme". *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 57, 1906, vol. II, 196 ss.

Delogu, Paolo. "The Popes and Their Town in the Time of Charlemagne". Moreland, John F.; Mitchell, John; Leal, Bea (eds), *Encounters, Excavations and Argosies Essays for Richard Hodges*. Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2017, 105-15.

"Die Pilgerfahrt des russischen Abst Daniel ins Heilige Land 1113-1115, aus dem Russischen übersetzt von A. Leskien". *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, 1884, 7, 24-5.

van Dijk, Stephen Joseph Peter; Walker, Joan Hazelden. *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the XIIIth Century*. Westminster: Newman Pres, 1959.

van Dijk, Stephen Joseph Peter. "Liturgy of the Franciscan Rules". *Franciscan Studies*, NS, 12, 1952, 241-62.

van Dijk, Stephen Joseph Peter. "Some Manuscripts of the Earliest Franciscan Liturgy". *Franciscan Studies*, NS, 14, 1954, 225-64.

van Dijk, Stephen Joseph Peter. "Some Manuscripts of the Earliest Franciscan Liturgy". *Franciscan Studies*, NS, 16, 1956, 60-101.

Dondi, Cristina. *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

Droogers, Andre; Harkshamp, Anton van (eds). *Methods for the Study of Religious Change: from Religious Study to Worldview Studies*. Sheffield: Equinox Publishing, 2014.

Dubois, Jacques; Durand, Pascal; Winkin, Yves (eds). *Le symbolique et le social. Actes du colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle* (11-19 juillet 2001). Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2004.

Elliott, Scott S. (ed.). *Reinventing Religious Studies: Key Wrintings in the History of a Discipline*. Durham: Acumen, 2013.

Erdmann, Wolfgang; Zettler, Alfons. *Zur Archäologie des Konstanzer Münsterhügels*. Sonderdruck aus den Schriften des Vereins fur Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung 95. Friedrichshafen: Selbstverlag des Vereins, 1977.

Esposito, Anna. "Una minoranza nella Descriptio Urbis: gli ebrei". *Archivi e cultura*, NS, 39, 2006, 99-109.

Eutichio. "Gli Annali". Pirone, Bartolomeo (a cura di). *Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae 1*. Cairo-Jerusalem: Franciscan Centre of Christian Oriental Studies, 1987.

Eutychius. *"Annales"*. Migne, Jacques Paul (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 111. Paris: Imprimerie catholique, 1863, coll. 889-1232.

Fabietti, Ugo. *Materia sacra. Corpi, oggetti, immagini, feticci nella pratica religiosa*. Milano: Raffaello Cortina, 2014.

Fabre, Paul; Duchesne Louis (éds), *Le Liber Censuum de l'Eglise romaine* II. Paris: Thorin; Fontemoing, 1905/1910, 141-77.

Fabre, Pierre; Duchesne, Louis. "*Benedicti beati Petri Canonici Liber Politicus*". Fabre, Pierre ; Duchesne, Luis (éds), *Le Liber Censuum de l'Eglise romaine* II. Paris: Thorin; Fontemoing, 1905/1910, 87-137.

Fabre, Pierre; Duchesne, Louis. "*Gesta Pauperis Scolaris Albini*". Fabre, Pierre; Duchesne, Luis (éds), *Le Liber Censuum de l'Eglise romaine* II. Paris: Thorin; Fontemoing, 1905/1910.

Falla Castelfranchi, Marina. "L'architettura della cappella del Sancta Sanctorum". Bock, Nicolas; Foletti, Ivan; Tomasi, Michele (eds). *Survivals, revivals, rinascenze: studi in onore di Serena Romano*. Roma: Viella, 2017, 73-82.

Fedalto Giorgio. "Vescovi franchi, veneziani ed orientali nell'Oriente latino. Confronti e statistiche". Maltézou, Schreiner, *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII-XV secolo)*, 395-417.

Fedalto, Giorgio. "La conquista latina della Città Santa. Chiese e fedi sotto il regime crociato". Alzati, Vaccaro, *Una città tra terra e cielo*, 305-28.

Felix, Wolfgang. *Byzanz und die Islamische Welt im früheren 11 Jahrundert*. Wien: VÖAW, 1981. Byzantina Vindobonensia 14.

Fenlon, Iain. "Space, Motion, and Image: Ritual Acts in Early Modern Venice". Ganz, *Mobile Eyes*, 273-92.

Ferrua, Antonio. *Epigrammata Damasiana*. Città del Vaticano: P. Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1942.

Folda, Jaroslaw. "Commemorating the Fall of Jerusalem: Remembering the First Crusade in Text, Liturgy, and Image". Paul, Yeager, *Remembering the Crusades*, 125-45.

Foletti, Ivan; Gianandrea, Manuela (eds). *The Fifth Century in Rome: Art, Liturgy, Patronage*. Roma: Viella, 2017.

Foletti, Ivan; Palaldino, Adrien (eds). *Ritualizing the City: Collective Performances as Aspects of Urban Construction from Constantine to Mao*. Roma: Viella, 2017.

Foletti, Ivan. "*Maranatha*: Space, Liturgy, and Image in the Basilica of Saints Cosmas and Damian on Roman Forum". Foletti, Gianandrea, *The Fifth Century in Rome*, 161-81.

Frank, Didier. *Chair et corps*. Paris: Les éditions de Minuit, 1993.

Fraschetti, Augusto. *La conversione da Roma pagana a Roma cristiana*. Roma: Laterza, 1999.

Freedberg, David. *The Power of Images*. *Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Frolow, Anatole. *La relique de la Vraie Croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte*. Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1961.

Frøyshov, Stig S. Ragnvalo. "The Resurrection Office of the First Millennium Jerusalem Liturgy and its Adoption by Close Peripheries. Part I: The Pre-Gospel Section". Hawkes-Teeples, Groen, Alexopoulos, *Studies on the Liturgies of the Christian East*, 31-57.

Frøyshov, Stig Simeon R. "The Georgian Witness to the Jerusalem Liturgy: New Sources and Studies". Hawkes-Teeples, Groen, Alexopoulos, *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship*, 227-68.

Galadza, Daniel. *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem*, Oxford 2018

Galadza, Daniel. "Sources for the Study of Liturgy in Post-Byzantine Jerusalem (638/1187 CE)". *Dumbarton Oaks papers*, 67, 2013, 75-94.

Gamber, Klaus. *Domus ecclesiae*. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1968.

Ganz, David (Hrsg.). *Mobile Eyes: peripatetisches Sehen in den Bildkulturen der Vormoderne*. Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2013.

Garitte, Gérard (ed., trad). *Strategius*: *Captivitas Hierosolymae*. Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1960. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 203.

Garzaniti, Marcello (a cura di). *Daniil Egumeno: Itinerario in Terra Santa*. Roma: città nuova editrice, 1991.

Gautier Dalché, Patrick. *L'espace géographique au Moyen Age*. Firenze: Sismel Edizioni, 2013.

Geertman, Herman; de Blaauw, Syble (eds). *Hic fecit basilicam: studi sul Liber pontificalis e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma da Silvestro a Silverio*. Leuven: Peeters, 2004.

Geertman, Herman (a cura di). *Il Liber Pontificalis e la Storia Materiale = Atti del Colloquio Internazionale* (Roma, 21-22 febbraio 2002). Roma: Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome, vol. 60/61, 2003.

Gem, Richard D.H. *Bede and Architectural History*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Jarrow lecture, 2015.

Gittos, Helen; Hamilton, Sarah M. (eds.). *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*. Farnham: Routledge, 2016.

Gittos, Helen. *Sacred Space in Anglo-Saxon England: Liturgy, Architecture and Place*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Goodich, Michael. "Liturgy and the Foundation of Cults in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries". Hen, *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem*, 145-58.

Grégoire, Réginald. "Benedetto di Aniane nella riforma monastica carolingia". *Studi medievali*, s. 3, 26, 1985, 573-610.

Gregorius Magnus. *Homiliae in Evangelia*. Edited by Raymond, Etaix. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.

Griffith-Jones Robin (ed.). *Tomb and Temple: Re-Imagining the Sacred Buildings of Jerusalem*. Woodbridge–Rochester (NY): Boydell Press, 2018.

Guidi, Ignazio (ed., tr.). "*Chronicon anonymum*". *Chronica minora I*, I. Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1903.

Gy, Pierre M. *La liturgie dans l'histoire*. Paris: Cerf, 1990.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *La Memoria collettiva*. A cura di Paolo Jedlowski. Milano: Unicopli, 1987.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte: étude de mémoire collective*. Paris: PUF, 1941.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1950.

Hamdani, Abbas. "Byzantine-Fatimid relations before the battle of Mantzikert". *Byzantine studies*, 1, 1974.

Hamilton, Bernard. "The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom". *Catholic Historical Review*, 80, 1994, 695-713.

Hamilton, Bernard. *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church*. London: Variorum Publications, 1980.

Hamilton, Sarah M. *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate Pub., 2005.

Hart, Trevor A.; Guthrie Steven, R. (eds). *Faithful Performances. Enacting Christian Tradition*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Hanssens, Johannes M (ed.). *Amalarii Episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, voll. 1-3. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948-1950.

Hawkes-Teeples, Steven; Groen, Basilius J.; Alexopoulos, Stefanos (eds.). *Studies on the Liturgies of the Christian East*. Selected Papers of the Third International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy (Volos, May 26-30, 2010). Leuven: Peeters, 2013.

Hawkes-Teeples, Steven; Groen, Basilius J.; Alexopoulos, Stefanos (eds.). *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship*. Selected papers of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy (SOL) (Rome, 17-21 September 2008). Leuven: Peeters, 2012.

Hen, Yosef (ed.). *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem. Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.

Henry, Michel. *Incarnazione. Una filosofia della carne*. Torino: SEI, 2001.

Hofmeister, Adolf (ed.). *Rudolf of Cambrai: Vita Lietberti episcopi Cameracensis auctore Rodulpho monacho Sancti Sepulchri Cameracensis*. MGH, Scriptores, 32. Leipzig, 1926 (1934).

Howe, David (ed.). *The Variety of Sensorial Experience. A Sourcebook in the Anthropology of the Sense*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Hussey, Joan Mervyn. *The Ortodox Church in the Bizantine Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Janeras Vilaró, Sebastià. "Les lectionnaries de l'ancienne liturgie de Jérusalem". *Collectanea christiana orientalia*, 2, 2005, 71-92.

Jaspert, Nikolas; Tebruck, Stefan (Hrsg.). *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.-13. Jahrhundert)*. Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2016.

Joël. Thomas. *Introduction aux méthodologies de l'imaginaire*. Paris: Ellipses Marketing, 1998.

John, Simon. *Godfrey of Bouillon: Duke of Lower Lotharingia, ruler of Latin Jerusalem, c. 1060-1100*. Milton Park: Routledge, 2018.

Kaizer, Ted; Leone, Anna; Thomas, Edmund; Witcher, Robert (eds). *Cities and Gods. Religious Space in Transition*. Leuven: Peeters, 2013.

Kedar, Benjamin (ed.). *The Horns of Hattin = Proceedings of the 2nd Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East* (Jerusalem and Haifa, 2-6 July 1987). Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992.

Kipfer, Stefan; Saberi, Parastou; Wieditz, Thorben. "Henri Lefebvre: Debates and controversies". *Progress in Human Geography*, 37(1), 2012, 115-34.

Kohler, Charles. "Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint Sépulchre de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)". *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 8, 1900-1901, 383-560.

Kopp, Stefan. *Der liturgische Raum in der westlichen Tradition*. Wien: LIT Verlag Münster, 2011.

Kosch, Clemens. *Paderborns Mittelalterliche Kirchen. Architektur und Liturgie um 1300*. Regensburg: Verlagsgruppe Schnell & Steiner, 2006.

Kovàcs, Abraham; Cox, James. L. (eds). *New Trends and Recurring Issues in the Study of Religion: Context and Overview*. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2014.

Kroesen, Justin E.A. *The Sepulchrum Domini Through the Ages. Its Form and Function*. Leuven; Paris; Sterling: Peeters, 2000.

Krönung, Bettina. "Al-Hakim und die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche". Pratsch, *Konflikt und Bewältigung*, 139-58.

Künnell, Bianca. "Productive Destruction: the Holy Sepulchre after 1009". Pratsch, *Konflikt und Bewältigung*, 35-56.

"La domenica delle Palme nella storia liturgica". *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 2(57), 1906, 159-77.

Laurence, Ray. "The Organization of Space in Pompei". Cornell, Tim J.; Lomas, Kathryn H. (eds). *Urban society in Roman Italy*. London: Routledge, 1995, 63-78.

Leary-Owhin, Michael E.; McCarthy, John P. *The Routledge Handbook of Henri Lefebvre, the City and Urban Society*. London: Routledge, 2019.

Le Breton, David. *Anthropologie du corps et modernité*. Paris: PUF, 2008.

Le Breton, David. *Corps et société. Essaie de sociologie et anthropologie du corps*. Paris: Librairie des Méridiens, 1985.

Le Breton, David. *Il sapore del mondo. Un'antropologia dei sensi*. Milano: Raffaello Cortina, 2007.

Legner, Anton (ed.). *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik = Katalog zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen Museums in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle*. Köln: Schnugten Museum, 1985.

Lev, Yaacov. "The Fatimids and Byzantium, 10th-12th Centuries". *Graeco Arabica*, 6, 1995, 190-208.

Liber Pontificalis : texte, introduction et commentaire. Édite par Louis Duchesne. Paris: Thorin, 1886-1957.

Liber Pontificalis. The Book of Pontiffs: the Ancient Biographies of Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715. Davis, Raymon (ed.). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000.

Limor, Ora; Stroumsa, Gedaliahu G. *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.

Linder, Ammon. *Raising Arms: Liturgy Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

Lipinsky, Angelo. "Crux Vaticana. Kaiser Justinus II. Kreuz. Seine ursprüngliche Bestimmung im Lichte der jüngsten Forschung". *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 63, 1968, 185-203.

Löw, Giuseppe. s.v. "Liturgia". *Enciclopedia cattolica*, vol. 7. Città del Vaticano: Sansoni, 1951.

Mabillon, Jean; Germain, Michel. *Museum Italicum seu collectio veterum scriptorum ex Bibliothecis Italicis*, vol. II. Lutetiae Parisiorum: Montalant, 1724.

Macler, Frédéric (tr., ed.). Sebēos, *Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebēos*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904.

Magistretti, Marco (ed.). *Manuale Ambrosianum ex codice saec. XI olim in usum canonicae Vallis Travaliae*. Milano, 1905.

Maltézou, Chryssa A.; Schreiner, Peter (eds). *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII-XV secolo) = Atti del Colloquio Internazionale Organizzato nel Centenario della Nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenertz O.P.* (Venezia, 1-2 dicembre 2000). Venezia: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 2002.

auf der Maur, Jansjörg. *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit. Herrenfeste in Woche und Jahr*. Regensburg: Pustet, 1983.

Mauri, Marco (a cura di). *La tunica variegata. Conversazioni sul rito ambrosiano*. Milano: NED, 1995.

Menjot, Denis; Clark, Peter, (eds). *Subaltern City? Alternative and Peripheral Urban Spaces in the Pre-Modern Period (13th-18th Centuries)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019.

Mérel-Brandenburg; Anne Bénédicte. "À propos du «sépulcre» de Narbonne (Ve siècle)". Alcoy Pedros, Allios, *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge*, 84-89.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *Phénoménologie de la perception*. Paris: Gallimard, 2006.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *Sens et non-sens*. Paris: Les Éditions Nagel, 1948.

Meyer, Holt; Rau, Susanne; Waldner, Katharina (eds). *SpaceTime of the Imperial*. Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter-Oldenbourg, 2017.

Mietke, Gabriele. *Die Bautätigkeit Bishof Meinwerks von Paderborn und die frühchristliche und byzantinische Arkitektur*. Paderborn-Munchen-Wien-Zurich: Paderborner theologische Studien, 21, 1991.

Montesano, Marina (a cura di). *«Come l'orco della fiaba». Studi in onore di Franco Cardini*, vol. 1, *Crociate, pellegrinaggi, Ordini religioso-militari*. Firenze: Sismel, 2010.

Moreland, John F.; Mitchell, John; Leal, Bea (eds). *Encounters, Excavations and Argosies Essays for Richard Hodges*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2017.

Morello, Giovanni; Wolff, Gerhard (a cura di). *Il volto di Cristo = Catalogo della mostra*. Milano: Electa, 2000.

Moser, Claudia; Feldman, Cecella (eds). *Locating the Sacred. Theoretical Approaches to the Emplacement of Religion*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014.

Mulryan, Michael. "The Establishment of Urban Movement Networks: Devotional Pathways in Late Antique and Early Medieval Rome". Duggan, Maria; McIntosh, Frances; Rohl, Darrell J. (eds), *TRAC 2011 = Proceedings of the Twenty First Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference of New Castle*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012, 123-34.

Naegle, Gisela. "Laisser des traces. Empreintes du pouvoir dans l'espace urbain du Saint Empire Romain à la fin du Moyen Âge". Andrade, Amélia Aguiar; Tente, Catarina (eds), *Espaços e poderes na Europa urbana medieval*. Lisboa: IEM Instituto de Estudos Medieval, 2018, 311-35.

Niehoff, Franz. "*Umbilicus mundi* – Der Nabel der Welt. Jerusalem und das Heilige Grab im Spiegel von Pilgerberichten und – karten, Kreuzzügen und Reliquiaren". Legner, *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, 53-77.

Nikiforova, Alexandra Ju. "The Oldest Greek Tropologion Sin.Gr. Mr 56+5: A New Witness to the Liturgy of Jerusalem from outside Jerusalem with First Edition of the Text". *Oriens christianus*, 98, 2015, 138-73.

O'Reilly, Jennifer L. "The Bible as Map, On Seeing God and Finding the Way: Pilgrimage and Exegesis in Adomnan and Bede". Boulton, Hawkes, Stoner, *Place and Space in the Medieval World*, 210-25.

Ousterhout, Robert G. "The Holy Space. Architecture and the Liturgy". Safran, Linda (ed.), *Heaven on Earth: Art and the Church in Byzantium*. University Park (PA): Penn State University Press, 1998, 81-120.

Panikkar, Raimon. *La religione, il mondo e il corpo*. Milano: Jaca Book, 2010.
Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Alexander. *Analekta Hierosolimitikes Stachiologias e sylloge anekdoton*, vol. 2. St. Petersurg: Kirsbaoum, 1894. Anast. reprint: Roma, 1972.
Papinutti, Ennio. *Il processionale di Cividale*. Gorizia: Ed. "Int Furlane", 1972.
Parenti, Stefano. "Da Gerusalemme a Costantinopoli passando per Stoudios e Mar Saba: una liturgia modello per l'Ortodossia". Vaccaro, Alzati, *Da Costantinopoli al Caucaso*, 99-120.
Parlato, Enrico. "La storia 'postuma' della processione dell'acheropita e gli affreschi seicenteschi della Confraternita del Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum". *Roma moderna e contemporanea*, 15(1-3), 2007, 327-55.
Parlato, Enrico. "Le icone in processione". Andaloro, Romano, *Arte e iconografia a Roma da Costantino a Cola di Rienzo*, 69-92.
Pascher, Joseph. *Das liturgische Jahr.* München: Hueber, 1963.
Paul, Nicholas; Yeager, Suzanne M. (eds.). *Remembering the Crusades. Myth, Image, and Identity.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.
Pellegrini, Luigi. "'Secundum consuetudinem Romane Curie'. Un'interessante testimonianza codicografica degli usi liturgici dei frati Minori tra i secoli XIII e XIV". Bertazzo, Luciano (a cura di), *Arbor ramosa: studi per Antonio Rigon da allievi, amici, colleghi*. Padova: Ass. Centro Studi Antoniani, 2011, 225-36.
Pentcheva, Bissera V. *The Sensual Icon. Space, Ritual and the Senses in Byzantium*. University Park (PA): Penn State University Press, 2010.
Peroni, Adriano. "*Ordo et mensura* nell'architettura altomedievale". *Uomo e spazio nell'Alto Medioevo = Atti del convegno* (Spoleto 4-8 aprile 2002), vol. 2. Spoleto: Centro Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2003, 1055-84.
Petrus Diaconus. "*De locis sanctis*". De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolimitana Crucesignatorum (saecc. XII-XIII)*, vol. 2, 171-206.
Pratsch, Thomas (Hrsg.). *Konflikt und Bewältigung: die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem im Jahre 1009*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011.
Rau, Susanne; Rüpke, Jörg; Otto, Bernd (eds). *History and Religion. Narrating a Religious Past*. Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2015. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 68.
Rau, Susanne. *Topographien des Sakralen. Religion und Raumordnung in der Vormoderne*. Hamburg-München: Dölling und Galitz Verlag, 2008.
Reynolds, Roger E. (ed.). *Studies on medieval liturgical and legal manuscripts from Spain and Italy*. London: Routledge, 2009.
Reynolds, Roger E. "The Liturgy of Rome in the Eleventh Century: Past Research and Future Opportunities". Reynolds, Roger E. (ed.), *Studies on Medieval Liturgical and Legal Manuscripts from Spain and Italy*. London: Routledge, 2009, 227-39.
Reuther, Hans. "Ein architektonisches Räucherstandgefäß in the Cleveland Museum of Art". *Kaleidoskop. Festschrift F. Baumgart*. Berlin: Mann, 1977, 24-36.
Ries, Julien. *La coscienza religiosa*. Milano: Jaca Book, 2014.
Ries, Julien. *Symbole, mythe et rite : constantes du sacré*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2012.
Romano, John F. *Liturgy and Society in Early Medieval Rome*. Farnham: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
Romano, Serena. "L'icone acheropoiete du Latran. Fonction d'une image absente". Bock, Nicolas; Kurmann, Peter; Romano, Serena; Spieser, Jean-Michel (éds), *Art, Cérémonial et Liturgie au Moyen Age*. Roma: Viella, 2002, 301-20.

Romano, Serena. "L'acheropita lateranense: storia e funzione". Morello, Wolff, *Il volto di Cristo*, 39-41.

Rose, Richard B. *Pluralism in a Medieval Colonial Society. The Frankish Impact on the Melkite Community During the First Crusaders Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1187)*. Berkeley: University Microfilms, 1981.

Rüpke, Jörg. "Crafting Complex Place: Religion, Antiquarianism, and Urban Development in Late Republican Rome". *Historia religionum*, 9, 2017, 109-17.

Saemundarson, Nicola. "Viaggio ai luoghi santi". De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saecc. XII-XIII)*, vol. 2, 207-24.

Safran, Linda (ed.). *Heaven on Earth: Art and the Church in Byzantium*. University Park (PA): Penn State University Press, 1998.

Salvadò, Sebastàn. "Commemorating the Rotunda in the Round: The Medieval Latin Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and its Performance in the West". Griffith-Jones, Robin (ed.), *Tomb and Temple. Re-Imagining the Sacred Buildings of Jerusalem*. Woodbridge (UK): Boydell Press, 2018, 413-28.

Salvadò, Sebastiàn. *The Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre and the Templar Rite: Edition and Analysis of the Jerusalem Ordinal (Rome, Bib. Vat., Barb. Lat. 659) with a Comparative Study of the Acre Breviary (Paris, Bib. Nat., Ms. Lat. 10478)* [PhD dissertation]. Stanford (CA): Stanford University, 2011.

Salvarani, Renata (a cura di). *Liturgie e culture tra l'età di Gregorio Magno e il pontificato di Leone III: aspetti rituali, ecclesiologici e istituzionali*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2012

Salvarani, Renata. "Idea e realtà del Santo Sepolcro in due disegni alla Österreichische Nationalbibliothek di Vienna". Montesano, *«Come l'orco della fiaba»*, 257-66.

Salvarani, Renata. *Il Santo Sepolcro a Gerusalemme. Riti, testi e racconti tra Costantino e l'età delle crociate*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2012.

Salzman, Michele R. *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy: Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 2002.

Schick, Robert. *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule. An Historical and Archaeological Study*. Priceton (NJ): Darwin Pr, 1995.

Schmidt, Herman A.P. *Hebdomada Sancta*, vol. 2, *Fontes historici, commentarius historicus*. Romae-Friburgi-Barcinone: Herder, 1957.

Schuster, Ildefonso. *Liber Sacramentorum I*. Casale Monferrato: ed. Marietti, 1963.

Schweinfurth, Sophie. "Creating Sacred Space as Cosmic Liturgy in Late Antiquity: Two Case Studies from Ravenna". Ganz, *Mobile Eyes*, 61-89.

Seemann, Klaus-Dieter (ed.); Palomnik, Daniil. *Choženie – Wallfahrtsbericht.* München: München Fink, 1970.

Sophronii. "*Anacreontica*, XVIII, *In venerandam Crucem*". *Patrologia Graeca*, 87, t. III. Parisiis: Imprimerie Catholique, 1865, coll. 3805-3812.

Stoeger, Hanna. "Clubs and Lounges in Roman Ostia. The Spatial Organization of a Boomtown Phenomenon (Space Syntax Applied to the Study of Second Century AD 'Guild Buildings' at a Roman Town Port)". Koch, Daniel (ed.), *Proceedings of the 7th International Space Syntax symposium*. Stockholm: KTH, 2009, 108: 1-12.

Tenchoff, Franz (ed.). *Vita Meinwerci Episcopi Patherbrunnensis*. MGH, *Scriptores*, 59 VII. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1921.

Terrin, Aldo Natale. *Il rito: antropologia e fenomenologia della ritualità*. Brescia: Morcelliana, 1999

Tessera, Miriam. *Orientalis ecclesia. Papato, Chiesa e regno latino di Gerusalemme (1099-1187)*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2010.

Theodericus. "*De locis sanctis*". De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII-XIII)*, vol. 2, 309-92.

Thibaut, Jean Baptiste. *Ordre des offices de la Semaine Sainte à Jérusalem du IV e au X e siècle*. Paris: Maison de la bonne presse, 1926.

Thurfjell, David; Jackson, Peter (eds). *Religion on the Borders: New Challenges in the Academic Study of Religion*. Stockholm: Södertörn University, 2009.

Tongeren, Louis Van. *Exaltation of the Cross. Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy*. Leuven: Peeters, 2000.

Uomo e spazio nell'Alto Medioevo = Atti del convegno (Spoleto 4-8 aprile 2002), vol. 2. Spoleto: Fondazione CISAM, 2003.

Vaccaro, Luigi; Alzati, Cesare (a cura di). *Da Costantinopoli al Caucaso. Imperi e popoli tra Cristianesimo e Islam*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2014.

Vauchez, André (éd.). *Lieux sacrés, lieux de culte, sanctuaires: approaches terminologiques, méthodologique, historiques et monographiques*. Roma: Ecole française de Rome, 2000.

Verdon, Timothy (ed.). *The Space of the Sacred: Place and Displacement. Lo Spazio Del Sacro: Luoghi E Spostamenti = Convegno internazionale organizzato dalla Stanford University e dallo Studio Teologico Fiorentino nell'ambito delle celebrazioni del VII centenario del Duomo di Firenze*. Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1997.

Verhelst, Stéphane. "Les processions du cycle annuel dans la liturgie de Jérusalem". *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, 11, 2014, 217-54.

Verhelst, Stéphane. "The Liturgy of Jerusalem in the Byzantine Period". Limor, Ora; Stroumsa, Gedaliahu G. (eds.), *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land. From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*. Turnhout: Brepols 2006, 421-62.

Vogel, Cyril. *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*. Washington D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1986.

Wagoner, Brady. "Collective remembering as a process of social representation". Sammut, Gordon; Andreouli, Eleni; Gaskell, George; Valsiner, Jaan (eds), *Cambridge Handbook of Social Representations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 143-62.

Wemhoff, Matthias. "Die Bartolomäuskapelle – eine Kapelle des Konigstums". *Die Bartolomäus Kapelle Paderborn*. Paderborn: Bonifatius GmbH, 1997.

Wharton, Annabel J. *Refiguring the Post Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Wheeler, Brannon M. "Imagining the Sasanian Capture of Jerusalem: the 'Prophecy and dream of Zerubbabel' and Antiochus Stratego's 'Capture of Jerusalem'". *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 57, 1991, 69-85.

Willis, Geofrey G. *A History of Early Roman Liturgy to the Death of Pope Gregory the Great*. London: Boydell Press, 1994.

Yates, Nigel. *Liturgical Space: Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe, 1500-2000*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Young, Karl. *The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre*, in *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*. Madison: University of Wisconsis Press, 1920, 83.

The body and the space are the fulcrums of dynamic relationships creating cultures, identities, societies. In the game of interactions between individuals, groups and space, religions play a crucial role. During a ritual performance takes place a true genesis of a sacred space. This work analyzes the theme from a historical point of view, with a focus on Christian medieval Latin liturgies. Indeed, for Christian theology, related with the dogma of the Incarnation, the chair is itself the place of the manifestation of the sacred. Liturgy makes present and gives with life a new body. Together it generates a space, that interacts with the entire urban society, inside the eschatological dialectic between earthly and heavenly city.

Renata Salvarani is full professor of History of the Christianity at the European University of Rome. She is member of IAHR, of Consulta Universitaria per la Storia del Cristianesimo and of Poenitentiaria Apostolica Vaticana Scientific Committee. Author of monographs and studies on Jerusalem and the history of pilgrimages, she specializes in coordinating project for cultural heritage's valorization.

Università
Ca'Foscari
Venezia