

## ABSTRACT

From the Temple to the Sepulchre: The Jerusalem Ordinal as Exemplary Liturgy

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In the city of Jerusalem God dwelled among his people, his presence symbolically enshrined in the Ark of the Covenant within the Temple; there too the incarnate God lived among his people, suffered, died, and rose again. As early as the fourth century, Christians held Jerusalem to be an object of pilgrimage, a place set aside for commemoration and worship of Jesus' earthly ministry. The Frankish and Eastern Christians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries recovered the Holy Land from Islamic occupation and established the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem to facilitate Christian piety and pilgrimage to the holy sites of the Levant. A new liturgy, preserved in the Jerusalem Ordinal, was composed to celebrate the significance of Jerusalem's Church of the Holy Sepulchre which houses the sites of Christ's crucifixion and burial. The text, art, and architecture of the Holy Land, particularly those of the Holy Sepulchre, reflect a deep conviction that liturgy is a communal act glorifying to God and fitting for the human person and that a space decorated with beautiful art and architecture is best fitted to the end of liturgy; they also testify to a belief that liturgy is an appropriate mode of worship for embodied persons, that beauty is both intrinsically doxological and at the same time restores the senses' rightful orientation towards God. These elements in the Jerusalem liturgy are exemplars for Christian liturgical practice outside of their historical moment and I will argue that they ought to inform contemporary liturgical practice and worship, particularly in the Catholic Church.

APPROVED BY DIRECTOR OF HONORS THESIS

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EXEMPLARY LITURGY

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## DEDICATION

*to the Catholic and Orthodox faithful to traditional liturgy in the twenty-first century*

## CHAPTER ONE

### The City of David

#### *Jerusalem Before Christ*

It is impossible to understand and appreciate the significance of the medieval Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its liturgy without some understanding of ancient Jerusalem whose central role in the history of Judaism and Christianity contributed to their development and importance. The history of the Davidic city testifies to Jerusalem's importance both for secular history and the history of religion; for believers it also testifies to the great spiritual importance of the sacred city. Central moments in the history of the city—from David's kingship and the reception of the ark of the covenant into the city to Jesus' passion and death—highlight the historical, religious, and spiritual significance of the Levant and thereby provide a foundation for discussion of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Jerusalem liturgy. The evolution of liturgical practice and symbolism during these episodes will ground this thesis' more particular discussion of the Jerusalem Ordinal in Chapter Three.

Around 1000 B.C. an ordinary Canaanite city, settled by a tribe of Jebusites, nestled on the southern edge of the Judean mountains and the eastern edge of the Kidron valley between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea. At that time, David, the king of the Jews, conquered the unassuming city and made it the capital of his kingdom. This moment is both the catalyst and first episode of the long history of the city of Jerusalem

wherein it became a center of history, culture, and religion, and the spiritual nexus of the three great Abrahamic religions—Judaism, Islam, and Christianity.

The texts of the Hebrew Bible describe many of the moments through which Jerusalem acquired increasing significance to Judaism, and its early significance in ancient Judaism was only to increase when the city became the locus of Christ's sacrificial ministry. Christians of course knew the events described in the Hebrew Bible almost exclusively through the translations of the Septuagint and, in the West, the Latin Vulgate.<sup>1</sup> In Genesis God promises to Abraham, the father of the Jewish faith, that his descendants would inherit the land of Israel:

In illo die pepigit Dominus foedus cum Abram, dicens: Semini tuo dabo terram hanc a fluvio Aegypti usque ad fluvium magnum Euphraten.<sup>2</sup>

On that day, the Lord composed a treaty with Abram, saying: I will give to your seed this land from the river of Egypt all the way to the great river Euphrates.<sup>3</sup>

After this promise, the Jewish people's journey to the Promised Land, fraught with dangers and tests of faith, constitutes a central narrative conflict of the Old Testament. As the narrative develops, the establishment of a Jewish city at Jerusalem wherein God dwells among his people, becomes the greatly anticipated end of the Jewish people's wanderings. After Moses at last led the Jews into the Land of Canaan, King David

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<sup>1</sup> Although there is rigorous debate over the value of biblical texts as reliable historical sources, these ancient texts are central to the formation of Judaism and Christianity and are the appropriate source to understand Jerusalem and its liturgy in the context of Judeo-Christian history. Consequently, this thesis will draw heavily on scriptural passages to explicate both the historical development of Jerusalem and the Jerusalem liturgy as well as their religious and spiritual significance.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis 15:18.

<sup>3</sup> All translations of the Vulgate are mine unless otherwise noted.

overthrew the Canaanite tribe of the Jebusites and established the illustrious city of David in Jerusalem:

Et abiit rex et omnes viri qui erant cum eo in Jerusalem...habitavit autem David in arce, et vocavit eam Civitatem David...Et ingrediebatur proficiens atque succrescens, et Dominus Deus exercituum erat cum eo.

And the king and all the men that were with him went to Jerusalem...and David dwelled in the citadel and called it the city of David...And he, accomplishing things and flourishing, entered the city, and the Lord God of armies was with him.<sup>4</sup>

From its Davidic founding Jerusalem is both a political power, therefore historically significant, and a sacred place in which the “Lord God of hosts” dwells, therefore religiously and spiritually significant.<sup>5</sup> The Judeo-Christian tradition adopts a deep conviction that there is this *physical place* that is set apart for God’s people and sanctified by God’s favor and dwelling within it. For Jews and Christians, Jerusalem is not the Holy City merely symbolically or by convention—it is the Holy City because God appointed it the seat of the Davidic kingdom of Jerusalem and the physical place of his dwelling with the Jewish people.

The belief that God dwells in Jerusalem among his chosen people lent the city this special significance and power in the Jewish spiritual landscape and shaped the mode of worship in Jerusalem. The forms of worship buildings, the art displayed within them, and the prayers offered reflect this vivid sense of the spiritual power of the place, the closeness to God that permeates the city. Because Jerusalem is the divinely appointed

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<sup>4</sup> 2 Samuel 5:6, 9-10.

<sup>5</sup> “Three important cornerstones illustrating the form of the Israelite religion during the reigns of David and Solomon remain. Firstly, Zion was regarded as the dwelling-place of Yahweh.” Laato, Antii, *Understanding the Spiritual Meaning of Jerusalem in Three Abrahamic Religions*, 2019, 8.

locus for contact between the Jewish nation and its God, its worship is truly liturgical, that is, a public corporate work of worship.<sup>6</sup> The presence of God and the liturgical Jewish cult that responds to it are the heart of Jerusalem's significance to salvation history.

Subsequent events recorded in the Old Testament reinforce and augment the holiness of that particular place for the Jewish people. After God established Jerusalem as his holy city, 2 Samuel describes David's reception of the ark of the covenant into Jerusalem. Because the ark is the great symbol of God's relationship and indwelling with his people, his ensconcing of it in this city of Jerusalem reinforces God's special presence there. Samuel also offers an account of one of the earliest Jewish liturgies in Jerusalem—a liturgy that joyously celebrates David bringing the ark of the covenant, symbolic of God's presence, into Jerusalem:

Abiit ergo David, et adduxit arcam Dei de domo Obededom in civitatem David cum gaudio... Et David saltabat totis viribus ante Dominum...Et David et omnis domus Israel ducebant arcam testamenti Domini in iubilo et in clangore buccinae...Et introduxerunt arcam Domini, et imposuerunt eam in loco suo in medio tabernaculi quod tetenderat ei David; et obtulit David holocausta et pacifica coram Domino. Cumque complessset offerens holocausta et pacifica, benedixit populo in nomine Domini exercituum, et partitus est universae multitudini Israel, tam viro quam mulieri, singulis collyridam panis unam et assaturam bubulae carnis unam et similam frixam oleo. Et abiit omnis populus unusquisque in domum suam.<sup>7</sup>

Therefore, David went, and he led the ark of God from the home of Obededom into the city of David with Joy...And David danced with his whole strength before the Lord... Both David and all the men of Israel led the ark of the testament of the Lord in jubilee and in clamor the horn...And they lead in the ark of the Lord and the set it in its own place in the middle of the tabernacle which David had pitched for him; and David offered holocausts and peace offerings in

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<sup>6</sup> “So communal religion becomes more prevalent, culminating once again in the Ecclesiastical cult that emerges with the establishment of the Davidic state centred in Jerusalem” Garth Gilmour. “The archaeology of cult in the Ancient Near East: Methodology and practice,” *Old Testament Essays*, Vol.6 (2000.) 290.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Samuel 6:12, 14-15, 17-19.

the presence of the Lord. And when he had finished offering holocausts and peace offerings, he blessed the people in the name of the Lord of the armies, and it was distributed to the whole multitude of Israel, to the man just as much as the woman, to each one a roll of bread and a meat of beef flesh and one roasted in oil. And every person, each one, left to his own house.

When David and the Israelites bought the ark into Jerusalem and celebrated its advent there, they celebrated God's presence in and blessing on the holy city. When David "danced with his whole strength before the Lord" before the ark of the covenant, he honored the physical object, the ark of the covenant, that represents the presence of God. Therefore, this ushering into Jerusalem of God's indwelling presence, represented by the ark, is a biblical passage and historic moment central to seeing Jerusalem as a city unique in holiness and elevated by God's presence and blessing.

Solomon's construction of the First Temple in Jerusalem around 960 BC again reinforces the spiritual significance of Jerusalem—it provides a more permanent structure to house the ark, the symbol of God's presence—and it provides a first example of the sort of architecture appropriate for a place of worship in Jerusalem. It is, therefore, an early source for understanding the purpose and character of religious buildings for Judeo-Christian liturgy and worship. 2 Chronicles and 1 Kings are the primary sources that describe the construction of the First Temple and the liturgies offered there.

In 1 Kings, Solomon articulates his plan for constructing the First Temple in Jerusalem: "For this reason I intend to build a temple in the name of my Lord God, just as the Lord said to David my father: Your son whom I will give to you upon your throne, he himself will build a home to my name" (*Quamobrem cogito aedificare templum nomini Domini Dei mei, sicut locutus est Dominus David patri meo, dicens: Filius tuus quem*

*dabo pro te super solium tuum, ipse aedificabit domum nomini meo).*<sup>8</sup> Solomon’s explanation for the construction of the Temple is significant because he ascribes the initiative in the project to God; that God himself ordered the Temple to be erected in Jerusalem demonstrates once again that he chose this city to be the place of his dwelling among the Jewish people and that temples are the setting for worship that God desires.

While the biblical account of the Temple construction adds to the significance of Jerusalem as the locus of God’s relationship with his people, it also offers an early example of the type of architecture that was considered most fitting for the public worship of God. I Kings describes Solomon acquiring the requisite materials to build the Temple, materials that are impressive, decorative, and opulent. The remainder of chapter 5 is dedicated to a description of Solomon specially picking thirty thousand men (*elegitque rex Salomon...triginta milia virorum*) to carry back special cedar trees from Lebanon (*cedros de Libano*) and “great stones, costly stones” (*lapides grandes, lapides pretiosos*) from mountain quarries for the Temple structure.<sup>9</sup> After recording the great lengths to which Solomon went in pursuit of the most magnificent and beautiful materials, the following chapter describes the grand construction of the Temple—the colonnade, the great walls and floors and windows. At the center of his great Temple Solomon constructs the oraculum, the holy of holies, gilt and sacred.

Oraculum autem in medio domus in interior parte fecerat, ut poneret ibi arcam foederis Domini...Et operuit illud atque vestivit auro purissimo...et affixit laminis clavis aureis. Nihilque erat in templo quod non auro tegeretur, sed et totum altare oraculi texit auro.

Moreover, in the middle of the temple, in the innermost part he made the oraculum, so that he would place there the ark of the covenant of the Lord...and he covered it and he clothed it with the purest gold...and he attached it to the

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<sup>8</sup> I Kings 5:5.

<sup>9</sup> I Kings 5:6, 7.

plates with golden nails. And there was nothing in the temple that was not covered in gold, for he even covered the whole altar of the oraculum with gold.<sup>10</sup>

This *oraculum* is the symbol and center of the Temple's spiritual and religious significance and the focal point of the spiritual import of Jerusalem; it is the sign and place of God's dwelling among his people in the Holy Land and it is the occasion of this great promise:

Et factus est sermo Domini ad Solomonem, dicens: Domus haec quam aedificas, si ambulaveris in praeceptis meis, et iudicia mea feceris, et custodieris omnia mandata mea, gradiens per ea, firmabo sermonem meum tibi, quem locutus sum ad David patrem tuum; et habitabo in medio filiorum Israel, et non derelinquam populum meum Israel.

And this speech of the Lord was made to Solomon, saying: the Lord for whom you make this, if you walk in my precepts, and you do my judgments, and you guard each of my commands, walking among them, I will make firm my word to you, which I spoke to your father David; and I will dwell in the middle of the sons of Israel, and I will not forsake my people of Israel.<sup>11</sup>

God responds to the Jews' construction of the Temple and their right action with a new promise to reciprocate by dwelling among them. The ark enclosed in the oraculum of this magnificent temple is a fitting place to house the indwelling presence of God in the sacred city of Jerusalem.

Such a Temple magnificently erected to represent God's presence among the Jewish people cannot be complete without corporate Jewish worship. Such worship is the epitome of liturgy—the work of the people for the glory of God. The Jewish liturgy at the Temple in Jerusalem has abiding importance for later Christian liturgy both in its historical impact and its spiritual significance. S. J. Andrews summarily concurs that the ark understood as a representation of God's presence is the foundation for corporate

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<sup>10</sup> I Kings 6:19-22.

<sup>11</sup> 1 Kings 6:11-13.

Jewish worship in Jerusalem, and he identifies several key aspects of liturgical ritual that arise from that conviction:

The basis of Jewish worship from the time of Moses was the Presence of Jehovah in the sanctuary, first in the tabernacle, and afterwards in the temple of Solomon...Now would He dwell among them. "Let them make me a sanctuary that I may dwell among them." There was from this time a dwelling of Jehovah—a permanent, local manifestation of Himself—among His people. In the nature of the case, there could be but one dwelling-place, one sanctuary; and the worship that was offered to Him there was national, as distinguished from individual or family or tribal worship. Immediately after the people had entered into covenant with Him at Sinai, He gave directions that a tabernacle be built, and appointed certain rites of worship to be regularly performed in it. It was the worship of the whole people, and now first inaugurated at Sinai by solemn acts. It was offered to Jehovah dwelling among them, and could be offered only where He was, and by those whom He appointed. Centralization of worship, a national priesthood, and a divinely prescribed ritual, were the necessary effects of His presence in the sanctuary, and all had their origin at Sinai.<sup>12</sup>

Of especial importance are these three effects of the belief in God's presence at the Temple that Andrews enumerates—the consolidation and centralization of worship, the establishment of a national priesthood, and the adoption of a ritual prescribed by God.

In the sixth century BC Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Solomon's Temple during his siege of Jerusalem, but the Second Temple was reconstructed quickly afterwards on the same site.<sup>13</sup> The Second Temple did not contribute anything novel to the significance Jerusalem acquired in the construction of the First Temple and, since the ark of the covenant is absent, it even lacks some of the importance of the First.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Andrews, S. J. "The Worship of the Tabernacle Compared with That of the Second Temple," 61.

<sup>13</sup> "There is no doubt that Herod's Temple stood on the site of Solomon's Temple...when the second Temple was built in 520 B.C., there were still some who had seen the Temple of Solomon in its glory." Payton, Lewis Bayles, "Jerusalem in Bible Times," 7.

<sup>14</sup> Andrews, S. J., "The Worship of the Tabernacle Compared with That of the Second Temple," 63, 65-66.

### *Jesus' Jerusalem*

Whereas the events of the Old Testament are most central for developing the importance of Jerusalem in Judaism, the ministry, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, the Incarnate God, are the most central for establishing the importance of Jerusalem in Christianity. Before the Incarnation, Jerusalem was the locus of God's relationship with the Jewish people; the ark of the covenant housed within Solomon's Temple represented his indwelling presence there. For Christians the Holy Land is the place in which divinity and humanity were united and through which God destroyed death and restored access to salvation to his people. Jerusalem, as the site of the climactic final episodes of Christ's life, especially his last supper, passion, death, and resurrection, was the birthplace of Christianity.

During his ministry Jesus performed various Judaic ritual actions; by his participation in the Jewish rituals of the Old Law, he transformed them into signs and sacraments of the New Covenant and ultimately into Christian liturgy. Among these, the connection between the Judaic ritual and the establishment of a Christian sacrament is perhaps most clear in Jesus' baptism in the Jordan river at Al-Maghtas. Bockmuehl identifies baptism as "Christianity's sole surviving Jewish purity ritual".<sup>15</sup> The Mishnah, an early written collection of oral Jewish teachings, proscribes the Mikwa'ot ritual, a bath for people afflicted by leprosy or other illnesses. The Mishnah specifies the requirements

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<sup>15</sup> Bockmuehl, Markus, "The Baptism of Jesus as 'super-Sacrament' of Redemption," *Theology (Norwich)* 115.2.2012, 84.

for the rite—the water ought to be flowing if possible and must be of sufficient volume to fully immerse the sufferer.<sup>16</sup> Bockmuehl argues that “although generally ignored by much of Christian tradition” the continuity between the Judaic Mikwa’ot ritual and the Christian sacrament of baptism “is contextually clear in the Synoptics and explicit in the Fourth Gospel. John the Baptist was of priestly descent on both sides of his family, and immersion a key ritual practice that had assumed great religious importance in Temple piety at Jerusalem.”<sup>17</sup> Jesus’ baptism was not the first ritual baptism, rather it was the first sacramental baptism through which he elevated the ritual acts of washing to become a sacramental liturgy.

Similarly, Jesus’ Last Supper must be understood as a Jewish seder and Haggadah ritual practice, which he transformed and shared with his disciples as the enduring sign of his sacrifice and redemption. Although the particular seder practices of Judaism before the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 AD are difficult to identify, scholarly consensus finds evidence in Philo, the New Testament, and other texts that there was indeed some ritual remembrance of the Israelites hasty last meal before they fled from Egypt.<sup>18</sup> Consequently, most Christian traditions hold that the Passover meal celebrated by Christ and his apostles in Jerusalem just before his passion and death employed pre-existing rituals to establish a new and more powerful rite—a spiritually efficacious sacrament. For the Christian tradition at large, this particular celebration of the Passover

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<sup>16</sup> Singer and Lauterbach, “MIKWA’OT (‘Baths’; Called Mikwot by the Geonim, in the ‘Aruk,’ and in the Mishnah, Ed. Lowe),” In *Jewish Encyclopedia*. 8.587-588.

<sup>17</sup> Bockmuehl, Markus, “The Baptism of Jesus as ‘super-Sacrament’ of Redemption,” *Theology (Norwich)* 115.2.2012. 84.

<sup>18</sup> Marcus, Joel, “Passover and Last Supper Revisited,” *New Testament Studies*. V.59. No.3.2013. 303-324.

meal by Jesus and his apostles constitutes the Institution of the Eucharist. Each of the synoptic gospels provides an account of this most central liturgical moment:

Coenantibus autem eis, accepit Jesum panem, et benedixit, ac fregit, deditque discipulis suis, et ait: Accipite et comedite; hoc est corpus meum. Et accipiens calicem, gratias egit, et dedit illis, dicens: Bibite ex hoc omnes. Hi est enim sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.<sup>19</sup>

Moreover, while they were dining, Jesus took up the bread, and he blessed it, and broke it, and he gave it to his disciples, and he said: receive and eat; this is my body. And taking up the chalice, he gave thanks, and he gave it to them, saying: Drink from this all of you. This is my blood of the new testament, which will be poured out in the remission of sins.

Jesus takes the ritual elements—the bread, the wine, the gestures, and the words—of the seder meal and by offering them in the context of the gospel endows them with sacramental power. Whereas the Jewish rituals of the seder meal comprised signs of the Old Covenant, the body and blood that Christ offers at his Last Supper comprise the New.

On the following day, Jesus suffers and dies in Jerusalem to restore to humanity their access to salvation. The events of Jesus' passion and death are the very heart of Christianity, and each occur in Jerusalem, this city pregnant with spiritual significance acquired through Jewish history. These events begin after the Last Supper when Jesus went out to the garden of Gethsemane at the base of the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem to pray. Though Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, finds Jesus innocent, he releases him to be tortured and executed by crucifixion: “carrying his cross, he went out to that place which is called the place of the skull, but in Hebrew Golgotha, where they crucified him” (*Et baiulans sibi crucem, exivit in eum qui dicitur Calvariae locum, hebraice autem*

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<sup>19</sup> Matthew 26:26-28.

*Golgotha, ubi crucifixerunt eum).*<sup>20</sup> In the ninth hour of that Friday, Jesus died on the cross in Jerusalem.

After Jesus' death, on the Jewish feast of Pentecost, Jerusalem is again the particular place where God comes to dwell with his people. Acts of the Apostles records the coming of the Holy Spirit to Jerusalem: "and when the days of Pentecost were completed, they were all together in the same place...and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit" (*Et cum complerentur dies Pentecostes, erant omnes pariter in eodem loco...et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu sancto*).<sup>21</sup> Previously, God had dwelled among his people in the *oraculum* of the Temple. Now, the Holy Spirit comes to Jerusalem, not to be enshrined in the Temple separated from the faithful with a veil; rather he comes to Jerusalem to dwell within the hearts of the faithful themselves.

#### *St. Paul and the Council of Jerusalem*

After the end of Jesus' earthly ministry, Jerusalem became an important setting for the Way, that is the cult of the followers of Jesus. The 1<sup>st</sup> century Christians in Jerusalem were the object of Saul's persecution until his remarkable conversion outside of Damascus. Luke offers an account of this persecution in Acts 9 describing how Paul goes to the high priest to identify early followers of the Way:

Saulus autem adhuc spirans minarum et caedis in discipulos Domini, accessit ad principem sacerdotum...ut si quos invenisset hujus viae viros ac mulieres, vinctos perduceret in Jerusalem.<sup>22</sup>

Moreover Saul, up to this point breathing out threats and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, he approached to the leader of the priests...so that if he

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<sup>20</sup> John 18:17-18.

<sup>21</sup> Act of the Apostles 2:1, 4.

<sup>22</sup> Acts 9:1-2.

discovered any of those men and women of the Way, he might lead them bound into Jerusalem.

Saul is so opposed to the early Christians that he uses their letters to other church communities to identify them for capture. He ended his pursuit of Christians abruptly when God spoke to him outside of Damascus asking, “Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?” (*Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris?*).<sup>23</sup> Saul with his contrite response to God’s call, converted and became the celebrated St. Paul the Apostle: “Trembling and astounded, he said, ‘Lord, what do you want me to do?’” (*Et tremens ac stupens, dixit: Domine, quid me vis facere?*)<sup>24</sup> Luke reports that after this conversion Paul “was also with them going in and out of Jerusalem, and faithfully doing work in the name of the Lord” (*Et erat cum illis intrans et exiens in Jerusalem, et fiducialiter agens in nomine Domini*).<sup>25</sup> These passages demonstrate the activity of first century Christians in Jerusalem; by rendering Jerusalem the continued setting of significant events in Christianity such as the conversion of this great saint, they also establish Jerusalem’s continued importance in the life of the Christian church.

Not long after this episode, Paul and the apostles assemble in Jerusalem with fellow followers of the Way to discuss the role of circumcision in the Christian church: “And the apostles and the elders came together to consider about this issue” (*Conveneruntque apostoli et seniors videre de verbo hoc*).<sup>26</sup> It seems significant and fitting that the first council of the Christian church took place in Jerusalem, but the

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<sup>23</sup> Acts 9:4.

<sup>24</sup> Acts 9:6.

<sup>25</sup> Acts 9:28. After converting, Paul went first to Arabia and then Damascus. Three years passed before he returned to Jerusalem. Galatians 1:17-18.

<sup>26</sup> Acts 15:12.

content of that first council is also particularly poignant as it wrestles with the relationship of Jewish ritual tradition and the Christian church. James articulates the assembly's opinion that "I judge that those who have converted to God from the Gentiles should not be disturbed, but to write to them that they should abstain from defilements of images, from fornication, strangled things, and blood." (*ego iudico non inquietari eos, qui ex gentibus convertuntur ad Deum, sed scribere ad eos ut abstineant se a contaminationibus simulacrorum, et fornicatione, et suffocatis, et sanguine.*)<sup>27</sup> Jesus' command to "going out, therefore, teach all peoples, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit" (*Euntes ergo, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti*) which espoused a missionary ethos, his resurrection which made salvation available to all people, and Pentecost during which the Holy Spirit came to dwell in the hearts of many people, each broadened the faith to include Gentile peoples and each of these in some ways expands the realm of the sacred beyond Jerusalem, the heart of the Jewish faith.<sup>28</sup> However, the fact that Jerusalem is the place for this sifting through and sorting out of Judaism's relationship to Christianity simultaneously broadens the scope of faith beyond Jerusalem and Judaism and reaffirms the special importance of Jerusalem.

### *Constantine, His Conversion, and the Construction of the Holy Sepulchre*

The Christian idea of the Holy Land did not emerge suddenly and full-grown from the potent mixture of Jewish tradition, the life of Christ, and the evangelical efforts

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<sup>27</sup> Acts 15: 19-20.

<sup>28</sup> Matthew 28:19.

of the early Christians. The Roman emperor Constantine contributed immensely to forming the Christian idea of the Holy Land, to establishing particular sites within the Holy Land as objects of pilgrimage, and to constructing sacred Christian architecture in those places. Nor was Constantine the only figure who shaped the Christian map of the Holy Land:

When Constantine became a Christian, there was no "holy land"; however, over the succeeding 130 years Christians marked and identified many of their holy places in Palestine. The mapmakers in this transformation were emperors, bishops, monastics, holy women, and pilgrims who claimed the holy places for Christianity, constructing the land as topographically Christian and mediating this view of their world through their pilgrim paths, buildings, liturgies, and texts.<sup>29</sup>

Constantine initiated the project of identifying locations of biblical events significant to Christianity, honoring them with sacred architecture, and venerating them through pilgrimage and liturgy; successors to Constantine such as the pilgrim Egeria participate in this project of venerating the holy places of the Levant.<sup>30</sup> Smith describes the resulting view of the land as a sort of "spiritual cartography" of the Levant.<sup>31</sup>

Constantine, or course, was not always Christian and it was not till 313 AD and the Edict of Milan that the Roman Empire legalized Christianity at all. Consequently, "while Constantine may have known something of this history of Roman conflict against Jerusalem and the defeat of the Jews, he is unlikely c. 300 to have had much, if any, inkling of the religious significance of the city of Jerusalem for the Judaeo-Christian tradition."<sup>32</sup> In 324 AD Constantine defeated emperor Licinius in the Battle of

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<sup>29</sup> Smith, Julie Ann. 2007, "'My Lord's Native Land': Mapping the Christian Holy Land", 1.

<sup>30</sup> Smith, "My Lord's Native Land," 3.

<sup>31</sup> Smith, "My Lord's Native Land," 2.

<sup>32</sup> Hunt, "Constantine and Jerusalem," 407.

Adrianople and in the following year he summoned the church to the council of Nicaea which Bishops Macarius of Jerusalem and Eusebius of Caesarea both attended; these two bishops went on to be central figures in the establishing of the Christian holy sites.

The Roman emperor's role in the establishing of the topography of the Christian holy land was critical, providing the initiative to design and construct architecture to venerate those holy places, establishing pilgrimages and pilgrim liturgies, and even addressing theological issues that beset the church during his rule. Indeed, the politics of the divided empire had an immense effect on the theology of the time. For example, emperor Licinius had tolerated Arian churches in his portion of the Roman Empire; Licinius' defeat which gave Constantine hegemony over the entire empire was a *sine qua non* of the convocation of the council of Nicaea and its dogmatic statements about the divinity of Jesus.<sup>33</sup> Constantine's victory which allowed the council of Nicaea to be called and gave Constantine such authority over it, has had an enduring and profound effect on Christianity. Church polity and doctrine developed within the political structure of the late Roman Empire. The history of the Church is inseparable from political history. The Christian heritage—including its liturgy, theology, and pilgrim practices—is part of both histories. It is possible and important to acknowledge the profound impact of the political and cultural situation on the religious sphere while maintaining the legitimacy of theology and defending against any historical determinism.

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<sup>33</sup> “Who came to Constantine’s council? Some of the earliest witnesses call the council “ecumenical,” but the term means no more than ‘Roman—imperial’... Who presided at Nicaea? The emperor, of course... The council’s real business was to reach unanimous consensus on the christological views of Arius.” Grant, Robert M, “Religion and Politics at the Council at Nicaea,” 5-6.

With respect to the establishment of the holy sites, Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Life of Constantine* offers an account of their discovery and earliest architecture.

Particularly he writes of the discovery and uncovering of the place of Jesus' tomb which in the Roman city Aelia Capitolina had been covered by Hadrian's Temple of Venus:

Possessed therefore by the divine Spirit he [Constantine] did not negligently allow that place...to remain smothered by all sorts of filthy rubbish through the machination of enemies consigned to oblivion and ignorance...but calling upon God to be his collaborator, he ordered it to be cleared...under divine inspiration once more the Emperor gave instructions that the site should be excavated to a great depth and the pavement should be carried away with the rubble...as stage by stage the underground site was exposed, at last against all expectation the revered and all-hallowed Testimony (*martyrion*) of the Saviour's resurrection was itself revealed, and the cave, the holy of holies, took on the appearance of a representation of the Saviour's return to life.<sup>34</sup>

According to Eusebius, the discovery of Jesus' tomb was a cooperative effort between the Holy Spirit and the Roman emperor. Previously the Roman Empire had aggressively persecuted Christians, but Constantine, having received a sign from "the Christ of God...deemed it right to honour the God who had appeared with all due rites...he finally set about extinguishing the menacing flames of tyranny."<sup>35</sup> The development of the Christian topography of the Holy Land and its veneration under the political power of the Roman empire was only possible with the empire's sanction.

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<sup>34</sup> Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 133.

<sup>35</sup> Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 81-82.

This moment of the uncovering of the tomb, poignant in its parallel to Christ's resurrection from the same tomb, is central to the solidifying of the Christian Holy Land broadly and comprises the advent of the particular site on which the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre will be constructed and on which this thesis will primarily focus. Eusebius records a letter from Emperor Constantine to Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem that mandates the construction of the "beautiful buildings...a basilica superior to those in all other places" because "it is right that the world's most miraculous place should be worthily embellished".<sup>36</sup> We learn from Eusebius that there was no delay between Macarius' reception of the letter and the initial construction of the various buildings sacred to the sites of the death and resurrection of Jesus. He writes of the magnificence and beauty of Macarius' building:

As the principal item, he first of all decked out the sacred cave. It was a tomb full of agelong memory, comprising the trophies of the great Saviour's defeat of death, a tomb of divine presence...the Emperor's munificence decorated with superb columns and full ornamentation, brightening the solemn cave with all kinds of artwork...This then was the shrine which the Emperor raised as a manifest testimony of the Saviour's resurrection, embellishing the whole with rich imperial decorations. He adorned it with untold beauties in unnumerable dedications of gold and silver and precious stones set in various materials.<sup>37</sup>

Just as Solomon decorated and gilded the Temple of the ark of the covenant, so does Constantine for this temple of the new covenant. The similarity between Eusebius' account of the lavishness afforded the Sepulchre and the account in Kings of the construction of the Temple is remarkable and demonstrates a continuity between the liturgical attitude of Judaism and of early Christianity. This account can be understood to apply to the three-fold project initiated under Constantine on the holy site: the excavation

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<sup>36</sup> Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 134-135.

<sup>37</sup> Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 135-136.

of the tomb of Christ, the construction of a Basilica, and the construction of the Rotunda over the tomb itself. While the Basilica of Constantine in Jerusalem was completed more quickly (during the lifetime of both Constantine himself and Eusebius), the Rotunda is not documented to have been completed until the later account of Egeria (c 380s AD).

The Judaic history recorded in the Old Testament testifies that Jerusalem is sacred because of God's dwelling there among his people which is physically represented by the ark of the covenant. Solomon's Temple provides precedent for sacred architecture and a particular kind of jubilant and magnificent communal worship that honors a place set aside by and for God's dwelling. Then God lived and died among his people in Jerusalem through the Incarnation. Jesus' life and death in the Holy Land add to the sacredness of that city, as do the central events in the life of the Christian church that occur in Jerusalem. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century Constantine combined the Judeo-Christian significance of Jerusalem with the imperial power and munificence of the Roman Empire. Through Constantine, Christianity establishes the idea of the Holy Land as a sacred topography with locations at which Christians can recollect and honor particular events in the life of Christ and the early church. Therefore, religiously Jerusalem demands liturgical worship and historically it becomes a thriving center of it.

## CHAPTER TWO

### What is Liturgy?

#### *Liturgy's Role in Salvation History*

The Judeo-Christian tradition embraces a narrative of God's providential plan for man's salvation that elevates the role of liturgy—that is, public, communal, ceremonial worship. This attitude is rooted in the biblical narrative which provides both precedent for liturgical practice and a rich theological explanation for the importance of liturgy. Liturgy is suited to man's body-soul nature, and it fulfills his fundamental end, to worship God in community; the ritual practice of liturgy helps practitioners to combat actual sin, and in the sacrament of baptism, it frees them from hereditary sin. Liturgical worship had a key role in the Old Testament and in the New Testament its power and importance are magnified in the sacraments.

While liturgy is central to both Judaism and Christianity, the city of Jerusalem has particular liturgical significance to both. After David brought the ark of the covenant there, Jerusalem and the Temple became the center of Jewish liturgy. Likewise, Jesus' death and resurrection initiated a Christian liturgical tradition in that holiest of cities.

The narrative of Genesis introduces a Christian anthropology and cosmology in which liturgy, as a communal act of ritual worship, is essential for holy living and the sanctification of God's people. In the beginning God shaped and filled and enlightened the void of the earth, crafted creatures to fill it, and crowned his creation with man, male and female, stamped in a particular way with his very own divine image. Unlike the other creatures, man is given an immortal soul bonded in an inextricable unity with his body.

Man is both flesh and spirit. After this final creative act, Genesis reports “And God saw everything which he had made, and they were very good” (*Viditque Deus cuncta quae fecerat; et erant valde bona*).<sup>38</sup> The biblical conviction that man, body and soul, is essentially good and modeled after God’s own image informs the liturgical theology of both Judaism and Christianity.

Genesis also teaches that the purpose of humanity is worship and companionship with God. The human persons to whom God gifted the fruits of his creation and whom he charged with dominion over the earth were made to enjoy the goodness of God’s creation experienced through the senses—seeing the light and the darkness, tasting the fruits in the garden, and hearing the voice of God, their companion in the paradisial garden he created. God created man primarily to bring greater glory to himself and as an outpouring of his love and joy. The contemporary Catholic Church explicitly holds this view: Scripture and Tradition never cease to teach and celebrate this fundamental truth: ““The world was made for the glory of God’...The glory of God consists in the realization of this manifestation and communication of his goodness, for which the world was created.”<sup>39</sup> Man, made in the image of God and gifted reason and spirit, has a privileged role in manifesting and communication the goodness of God: “He alone is called to share, by knowledge and love, in God's own life. It was for this end that he was created, and this is the fundamental reason for his dignity...[he] was created to serve and love God and to

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<sup>38</sup> Genesis 1:31.

<sup>39</sup> *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 293-294.

offer all creation back to him".<sup>40</sup> Liturgy incorporates man's reason and spirit alongside his body to engage in this most lovely telos, that of worshiping and sharing in God's life.

Adam and Eve's disobedience in the garden should not be seen as some legalistic transgression against an arbitrary rule. Rather, by defying their creator, they violated their own nature as creatures designed to glorify their creator and live in joyful relationship with him. The repercussions of sin are not as much punishments imposed wrathfully by God from without as they are penalties incurred by man himself; when man sins, he simultaneously divorces himself from his God and alienates himself from his own nature, becoming crippled physically and spiritually. By this sin, the unquiet in our souls is born of which St. Augustine writes, "You stir us so that we delight to praise you because you made us for yourself and our heart is restless until it rests in you" (*Tu excitas ut laudare te delectet quia fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te*).<sup>41</sup> Although the disquiet of our hearts cannot be entirely dispersed during earthly life, through the communal worship of liturgy we can begin to restore our original relationship with God; through liturgy we may begin to quiet our hearts and rest in him. The Old Testament is replete with stories of men disobeying God and thereby forfeiting the fullness of their relationship with God. Though God punishes these errant creatures, he also consoles them and offers them methods of reconciliation suited to embodied persons. These methods employ outward signs of the spiritual life of man and his relationship to God and therefore accommodate man's sensual aspect alongside his spiritual one. For example, God floods the earth in response to the prevailing perversity

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<sup>40</sup> *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 356, 358.

<sup>41</sup> Augustine, *Confessiones*, 1.1.

of mankind, but he offers the rainbow as a sign of their reconciliation and his covenant.

Nodes elucidates Augustine's exegesis of the rainbow story: "Thus Augustine calls attention to the rainbow as an example of physical mediation between heaven and earth, God and man."<sup>42</sup> Outward signs of spiritual healing therefore have biblical precedent and fit with biblical anthropology.

In the Old Testament, God does not only extend great external signs to his people, he also proscribes external signs for people to perform. The book of Leviticus includes God's instruction to Moses for right ritual for the Israelites, and prescribes the right sorts of offerings, the right way to do offer them, and the right persons to do so. These rules for the appropriate rituals are followed by rules for a life holy and distinct from other people:

Iuxta consuetudinem terrae Aegypti, in qua habitastis non facietis, et iuxta morem regionis Chanaan, ad quam ego introducturus sum vos, non agetis, nec in legitimis eorum ambulabatis in eis. Ego Dominus Deus vester. custodite leges meas atque iudicia, quae faciens homo vivet in eis. <sup>43</sup>

You will not do as the custom of the land of Egypt, in which you have lived, and you will not do business as the custom of the region of Canaan, to which I will lead you, nor will you walk among them in their laws. I am the Lord your God. Preserve my laws and judgements, doing which a man will live among them.

These external signs both denote and cultivate an interior disposition toward holiness. The behaviors of holy living—both the ceremonies and the —sanctify the people of Israel for God. And these practices must be performed and maintained by the whole community, the whole Israelite people. Leviticus provides a firm biblical precedent for the importance of ritual and communal worship for a people, exiled from the garden, and yet striving for holiness.

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<sup>42</sup> Nodes, "Noah's Rainbow in Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis," 243.

<sup>43</sup> Leviticus 18:3-5.

Although there is a great deal of continuity between Christian and Judaic law and ritual, nevertheless early Christians had to define their relationship with Jewish tradition. Jaroslav Pelikan writes “the earliest Christians were Jews, and in their new faith they found a continuity with the old...they recognized that something new had come—not something brand-new, but something restored and fulfilled” but he acknowledges at the same moment that there was disagreement about what precisely this restoration and fulfillment entailed.<sup>44</sup>

The idea that Christianity fulfills Jewish tradition is present in the gospels themselves. For example, Matthew writes that Jesus said “Do not think that I have come to dissolve the law or the prophets: I have not come to dissolve, but to fulfill” (*Nolite putare quoniam veni solvere legem aut prophetas: non veni solvere, sed adimplere*).<sup>45</sup> If the law and the prophets are not dissolved, they must have some continued role in Christianity, but the meaning and role of “fulfilled” laws and prophets is not immediately clear. Pelikan describes the gradual process whereby early Christians adjusted their relationship with the practices of Judaism and the Old Testament as “stratification.” What conformed to a kind of natural ethics in the mosaic Law was retained, but many specific ritual practices were abandoned.<sup>46</sup> However just as the formulation of Christian doctrine in the developing Christian church was dialectic, ongoing, and nuanced, so was the relationship between Judaism and Christianity; stratification is one way to understand some early Christian theologians’ approach, but it is neither definitive nor normative.

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<sup>44</sup> Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)*, 13.

<sup>45</sup> Matthew 5:17.

<sup>46</sup> Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition*, 16.

On an even more fundamental level and with a focus on disposition rather than outward practice alone, Christian theology must be seen as developing a different understanding of human nature and its relationship to sin and grace than Jewish theology held. For example, Christians have emphasized the effects of sin, especially the original sin, as profoundly more debilitating. Judaism did formulate the idea of man's inclination to evil (*yetzer hara*) yet it did not embrace a concept of original sin in the Augustinian sense and consequently did not maintain the same implications for how man achieves salvation. Pelikan describes Judaism as holding "a Pelagian doctrine of nature but an Augustinian doctrine of grace."<sup>47</sup> Pelagianism holds that because God is the author of human nature, he is fundamentally good and emphasizes man's free will and capacity to pursue God; whereas Augustine emphasizes our fallenness, our need for grace, and the source of that grace in the Sacraments.<sup>48</sup> For Augustine, the Christian participates in his own salvation primarily by "presenting himself for the administration of the sacrament and for the dispensation of its grace".<sup>49</sup> For Augustine, the church is the source of grace and "if perfection was attainable for anyone in this life, it would come through that grace which was mediated by the church and its sacraments...it was God...who did the baptizing, ordaining, and dispensing of sacramental grace."<sup>50</sup>

For a Christian who believes in original sin the rules and rituals in Leviticus offer a way for fallen humanity to worship God and practice holy living with their bodies and their souls despite the crippling effects of original sin. Liturgy is the center of these

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<sup>47</sup> Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition*, 22.

<sup>48</sup> Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition*, 313-314.

<sup>49</sup> Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition*, 313.

<sup>50</sup> Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition*, 312.

redemptive and embodied practices. Liturgy, “λειτουργία”, is a compound from the Greek words “ἔργον” which means a “deed, action...that which is wrought or made, work” and “λαός” which means “the people” or even “the people assembled”. In the classical world, a “λειτουργία” was a work performed by a prominent citizen on behalf of the people.<sup>51</sup> In a religious context, liturgy is the work of a priest on behalf of his congregation; this public work includes the words, art, architecture, and music with which the church body worships together. Liturgy is not a superfluous addition to each man’s private and internal spiritual relationship with God but rather the primary activity by which he fulfills the purpose for which he was created, glorifying God in his body and in his soul alongside the corporate church.

However, the rituals and rules of right living and right worship that are proscribed in Leviticus are not sufficient for salvation. Their privileged role in salvation history is not to save the Jewish people but rather to provide a pattern for Jewish worship that would help them maintain their relationship with God and prepare them for the coming of the savior. From the Christian perspective, the Levitical law was a part of the Old Covenant, a time of patient and long-suffering preparation for the next stage of God’s plan for human salvation.

Man’s sin produced what St. Athanasius named in his apologetic work, *On the Incarnation*, the “divine dilemma”; God had promised death as a punishment for man’s sin but his benevolence towards creation moved him to a great act of mercy and sacrifice in the Incarnation.

It was unworthy of the goodness of God that creatures made by Him should be brought to nothing through the deceit wrought upon man by the devil; and it was

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<sup>51</sup> Garnett, “Liturgy, Greece and Rome,” in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, 2012.

supremely unfitting that the work of God in mankind should disappear, either through their own negligence or through the deceit of evil spirits...Men had turned from the contemplation of God above, and were looking for Him in the opposite direction, down among created things and things of sense. The Saviour of us all, the Word of God, in His great love took to Himself a body and moved as Man among men, meeting their senses so to speak, half way. He became Himself an object for the senses, so that those who were seeking God in sensible things might apprehend the Father through the works which He, the Word of God, did in the body.<sup>52</sup>

Athanasius points out the dark irony that the things of sense which ought to lead man to God instead are dragging him down and away from God. If humanity is indeed made *in imago Dei* and for contemplation and communion with Him, then it is tragic and incongruous with his nature that his goodness be snuffed out. To prevent this great horror, Jesus became a man, an object of the senses, so that men, through the same senses that distract from God, could instead turn towards God.

The rituals of the Old Law merely curbed the downward orientation of the senses until Jesus, by taking on a body, made the sensual world once again profoundly point to the divine. Although the rituals of the Old Law are prayerful, sacrificial, and formative to those who practice them in a right spirit, they cannot undo the effects of sin. Nothing short of the Incarnation can resolve this “divine dilemma”. Through the Incarnation, the ritual practices of the Old Testament are given a new life and efficacy in the Sacraments which once again turn man’s sense perceptions towards God instead of towards mere created things. Luke writes, “this is that which was spoken through the prophet Joel: And it will happen, in the last days, the Lord said, I will pour out of my Spirit over all flesh” (*hoc est quod dictum est per prophetam Joel: Et erit in novissimis diebus, dicit Dominus,*

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<sup>52</sup> Athanasius, *On the Incarnation* 6, 15.

*effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem).*<sup>53</sup> Perhaps this is most vividly evident in the Sacrament of the Eucharist in which the bread becomes the body of Christ and the sensual act of eating becomes an act of union with Jesus.

The Incarnation and the coming of the Holy Spirit changed the game, so to speak, of ritual and liturgy. Liturgy is not merely made up of outward signs that try to correct the downward orientation of the senses as it was for the Jews in the Old Covenant. In the New Covenant, in place of mere ritual, Christians practice sacraments that are *spiritually efficacious*. They are outward signs of an inward grace, rendered more powerful than those of the Old Testament by Christ's redeeming sacrifice of his own incarnate body.

The earliest Christians were committed to the spiritual efficaciousness of sacraments. For example, St. Justin martyr writes in the second century an account of the celebration of the Eucharist. "And this food is called among us Eukaristia [the Eucharist], ... For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh."<sup>54</sup> For Justin and the early Christians whose view he represents, the Eucharist is no "common" food, but rather the incarnate body of Christ; nor is consumption of the Eucharist available to anyone but only to those who have been baptized and forgiven of their sins. Unlike the Judaic rituals which only curbed the inclination to sin, these early Christians considered baptism to actually be "for the remission of sins, and unto regeneration" and the Eucharist to be "flesh and blood for our

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<sup>53</sup> Acts 2:16-17.

<sup>54</sup> Justin Martyr, Chap LXVI.

salvation".<sup>55</sup> This 2<sup>nd</sup> century view of the Eucharist is remarkably similar to the teaching of the Catholic Church today promulgated in the Catechism which writes that,

The Eucharist is "the source and summit of the Christian life". The other sacraments, and indeed all ecclesiastical ministries and works of the apostolate, are bound up with the Eucharist and are oriented toward it. For in the blessed Eucharist is contained the whole spiritual good of the Church, namely Christ himself, our Pasch. The Eucharist is the efficacious sign and sublime cause of that communion in the divine life and that unity of the People of God by which the Church is kept in being. It is the culmination both of God's action sanctifying the world in Christ and of the worship men offer to Christ and through him to the Father in the Holy Spirit. Finally, by the Eucharistic celebration we already unite ourselves with the heavenly liturgy and anticipate eternal life, when God will be all in all. In brief, the Eucharist is the sum and summary of our faith: "Our way of thinking is attuned to the Eucharist, and the Eucharist in turn confirms our way of thinking."<sup>56</sup> (1324-7)

This explanation of the Eucharist is in keeping with the understanding of salvation history defended above that considers Jesus' Incarnation to be the climax of salvation history and to imbue rituals with a new and sacramental power. The Eucharist as the Body of Jesus reorients our senses and our bodies to higher things by using them as tools for us to participate in heavenly liturgy.

The Eucharist is both the source of grace in the Christian life and the height of earthly worship and communion with God. Because the Mass can be celebrated anywhere, Christianity broadens sacred liturgical spaces from the single Temple in Jerusalem to the churches everywhere in which the sacraments are celebrated. Yet, Christian worship maintains a particular reverence for Jerusalem, its holy sites, and especially the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for the Eucharistic sacrament.

In the earthly liturgy we share in a foretaste of that heavenly liturgy which is celebrated in the Holy City of Jerusalem toward which we journey as pilgrims, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God, Minister of the sanctuary and of

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<sup>55</sup> Justin Martyr, Chap LXVI.

<sup>56</sup> *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1324-7.

the true tabernacle. With all the warriors of the heavenly army we sing a hymn of glory to the Lord; venerating the memory of the saints, we hope for some part and fellowship with them; we eagerly await the Savior, our Lord Jesus Christ, until he, our life, shall appear and we too will appear with him in glory.<sup>57</sup>

The particular importance of Jerusalem does not disappear even though we can be intimately united with Jesus in the Eucharist anywhere in the world. Jerusalem has deep importance for Christian life as a sign of the heavenly kingdom of Jerusalem and as the site of all so many events central to salvation history has an elevated role in Christian life.

### *Sacred Places and Pilgrimage*

In *Leisure the Basis of Culture*, Pieper argues that, like leisure, temples and festivals are entirely separate from the world of use; they are set aside for worship, literally made sacred. Pieper here is primarily interested in sacred time and the festival but he gives at the same time an apology for the temple space:

Divine worship means the same thing where time is concerned, as the temple where space is concerned. ‘Temple’ means (as may be seen from the original sense of the word): marked off from the remainder of the land which is used either for agriculture or habitation. And this plot of land is transferred to the estate of the gods, it is neither lived on, nor cultivated. And similarly in divine worship a certain definite space of *time* is set aside from working hours...And like the space allotted to the temple, is not *used*.<sup>58</sup>

For Pieper authentic worship is only possible in these set-aside places and times, free from the domination of the practical workaday world and the realm of use. This uselessness manifests in the beauty of temple spaces—the gilded keys to the oraculum of Solomon’s temple were not more useful than any less lovely or less precious metal, but

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<sup>57</sup> *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1090.

<sup>58</sup> Pieper, *Leisure the Basis of Culture*, 67.

they were more exquisite. They indicate the divinity for which the temple space was set aside to honor. Christian liturgical worship takes places in these set aside, sacred times and places.

The idea of sacred space is clear and central to pilgrimage. In pilgrimage, a particular place is set aside in which a particular moment is remembered and reverenced. Though Christianity has expanded the place of worship from the Jewish Temple in Israel to all nations and all places where “two or three are gathered in my name” (*Ubi enim sunt duo vel tres congregate in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum*), nevertheless it maintains that some places are rightful objects of pilgrimage.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, by the time of Augustine, pilgrimage was so central to Christianity that it became for him an image of the Christian life itself.

Augustine’s dominant image for the human life is *peregrinatio*, which signifies at once a journey to the homeland (a “pilgrimage”) and the condition of exile from the homeland. For Augustine, all human beings are, in the earthly life, exiles from their true homeland—heaven. Only some become pilgrims who seek a way back to that heavenly homeland, a return mediated by the incarnate Christ. The return journey involves formation, both moral and aesthetic, in loving rightly.<sup>60</sup>

Augustine’s pilgrim vision of the Christian life shares much with the embodied, sacramental, and ecclesial model of liturgy defended in the first section of this chapter.

The picture of the church as a community of wayfarers (*peregrini*)—the pilgrim city (*ciuitas peregrina*)—indicates the close relationship between belonging to the church and becoming a pilgrim. The sacraments of the church and the fellowship of believers are integral to how people are formed in holy love for God and neighbor and built up into the body of Christ... formation happens through attraction to the church, its members, and its practices. Ecclesial formation involves specific, embodied, ritual sacraments. The sacraments are signs whose aesthetic representation and enactment both signify and effect the believer’s formation. The earthly ecclesial community performs practices of worship and

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<sup>59</sup> Matthew 18:20.

<sup>60</sup> Stewart-Kroeker, "Introduction" in *Pilgrimage as Moral and Aesthetic Formation in Augustine's Thought*.

sacrifice, visible and invisible: Eucharist, baptism, preaching, reading of Scripture, singing, prayer, confession, the disposition of the broken and penitent heart. The moral and aesthetic formation that happens in these communal practices involves the social structures of admiration, imitation, and leadership amongst the members themselves under the guardianship of Christ and the shared sacramental celebration of baptism and Eucharist.<sup>61</sup>

Augustine's liturgical, ecclesial vision of the church as a body of pilgrims is a readily applicable explanation and defense of literal pilgrimage as well. If the significant role of pilgrimage to Christian life is granted, then Jerusalem, the site of so many critical events of Christian history, must be a proper object of pilgrimage.

By the fourth century, there is a thriving tradition of Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The earliest account of pilgrimage to the Christian Holy Land is Melito of Sardis around 180 AD, followed by Origen in about 235 among several others.<sup>62</sup> However, the first account of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem under Constantine's legalization of Christianity comes in 333 AD from the Bordeaux Pilgrim; though it lacks the narrative and detail of later accounts, his *Itinerarium Burgidalense* is important as a first "witness" to Jerusalem's reconstruction as a Christian city under Constantine.<sup>63</sup> Then the pilgrim Egeria provided a spectacular account of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its liturgy around the early 380s AD.<sup>64</sup>

Pilgrimage then coheres with the sacramental, embodied, and corporate liturgical piety defended above, it is a practiced frequently and reverently observed by Christians as

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<sup>61</sup> Stewart-Kroeker, "The Body of Christ: Church as the Site of Formation" in *Pilgrimage as Moral and Aesthetic Formation in Augustine's Thought*.

<sup>62</sup> Wilkinson, "Introduction," In *Egeria's Travel's*, 4.

<sup>63</sup> Smith, "Revisiting the Anonymous 'Pilgrim' from Bordeaux," 95.

<sup>64</sup> Wilkinson, "Introduction" in *Egeria's Travel's*, 4.

early as the fourth century, and Jerusalem as the location for several central events of Christian history is a most fitting object of pilgrimage.

## CHAPTER THREE

The Jerusalem Ordinal: A Reformed Liturgy for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre  
(Rome, Bib. Vat., Barb. Lat. 659)

### *Circumstances of the Crusader Liturgy*

Like Emperor Constantine in the fourth century, succeeding Christian rulers of the Holy Land had a renewed desire to fill Jerusalem's holy sites with architecture and art that would honor the biblical events in the places they occurred and splendidly furnish sacred spaces for Christian pilgrims to worship.<sup>65</sup> The Frankish Christians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, after they recovered Jerusalem from the Seljuk Turks in 1099, initiated one of these restorations and rededications of the holy spaces of Jerusalem. They considered themselves to participate in and continue the project begun by Constantine; indeed, just as Eusebius compared the uncovering of Jesus' tomb to Jesus' resurrection itself, so did the Crusader Christians consider their recovery of Jerusalem a sign or image of the resurrection itself.<sup>66</sup> Several scholars emphasize the purpose of Western Christian

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<sup>65</sup> Salvado, "The Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre", 1. "Three major phases of construction from the Middle Ages, the first, initiated by Constantine the Great in the 4th century... in the 7th and 10th centuries, the complex was destroyed ... in 1009. It was subsequently reconstructed by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus between 1042 (?) and 1048... following the successful completion of the First Crusade in 1099, the courtyard and its chapels were replaced ...dedicated in 1149, the Crusaders' church ...is substantially preserved today." Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre," 67-68.

<sup>66</sup> "As stage by stage the underground site was exposed, at last against all expectation the revered and all-hallowed Testimony (*martyrion*) of the Saviour's resurrection was itself revealed, and the cave, the holy of holies, took on the appearance of a representation of the Saviour's return to life." Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 133. "The joyous rebirth of a Latin church in Jerusalem pervades their feelings. The event is hailed as a completely new turn and a chance at a new beginning. The event of the liberation of Jerusalem was interpreted through the liturgical texts the office of the Resurrection of Christ underscores. The birth of a new life full of joy and purpose. It is

art and architecture in the Levant, as to celebrate biblical sites and to provide places for pilgrims to worship at those sites.<sup>67</sup> Most of this sacred infrastructure was designed and constructed to complement the liturgy that clergy and pilgrims celebrated among those holy places. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is central to these efforts. From the beginning of the organized church in Jerusalem under Antioch in the fourth century, the church of the Resurrection, as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was first known, had its own distinct liturgy, the Liturgy of Saint James. This liturgy was later displaced by the liturgies of Saint Basil and Saint Chrysostom when Jerusalem came under the authority of Constantinople with the fall of Antioch. The Crusader iteration of the church was accompanied by a new liturgy, described in the Jerusalem Ordinal, which drew on the precedent of previous liturgies in the Sepulchre but was also crafted to celebrate the city's recovery from Islamic rule and to honor the church of Christ's resurrection in a novel and extraordinary way.<sup>68</sup> The ordinal is a liturgical book that contains the texts for a particular church providing readings, prayers, and chants for each day of the church's liturgical year, a list of the feasts the church celebrates, and prescriptions for any rituals or celebrations particular to that church.<sup>69</sup> Because the Jerusalem Ordinal was crafted deliberately to record the liturgy particular to the Crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre it is reasonable to consider it to reflect the liturgical priorities of the church in the Latin East during the Jerusalem kingdom period (1099-1187).

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no coincidence either that the newly forged liturgical manuscript crowning the rededication ceremonies in 1149 should be infused with this same spirit of rebirth.” Salvado, “Liturgy of Holy Sepulchre,” 35.

<sup>67</sup> Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land: 1098-1187*, 478.

<sup>68</sup> Shagrir, “Liturgy and Devotion in the Crusader States,” 360.

<sup>69</sup> Lebigue, "Liturgical Documents: French Ordinals," 2009, 2-3.

In order to understand the significance of the Jerusalem Ordinal, it is necessary first to understand the historical circumstances, particularly the nature of the schism between the Western and Byzantine churches in 1054 and the events of the first crusade that culminated in the recapture of Jerusalem from Islamic rule in 1099. Indeed, these two events are causally related. Despite the formal rift between the two, the east and the west, to a large extent, continued to consider themselves to be members of the same religion.

When Emperor Alexius I requested Pope Urban II's military support against the Turks on March 17, 1095,

Alexios deliberately played upon the Westerner's religious feelings by stressing the shared Christian faith [*Christiana professio*] of Byzantine and Latin Christians and emphasizing that in the East the Holy Church was under grave threat from the expansion of the 'pagans' at the expense of the Byzantine Empire. Jerusalem the holy city of Christianity, and its occupation by the 'heathens' also formed a central part of Alexios's rhetoric.<sup>70</sup>

Alexius' emphasis on Christianity as held in common by both the East and West demonstrates their continued sense of religious unity, despite their separation. Indeed, while Alexius hoped to use their common Christianity to gain the support of the papacy, Pope Urban wanted to use this as an opportunity to demonstrate his goodwill toward the eastern church by supporting them against the Muslims.<sup>71</sup> Pope Urban continued to hope that by helping Emperor Alexius, he might heal relations with the east and even initiate reunification.<sup>72</sup> The Pope intended to return to the Eastern church all territories regained from the Seljuk Turks in the conflict and did not intend to expand his own territory; this

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<sup>70</sup> Neocleous, *Heretics, Schismatics or Catholics: Latin Attitudes to the Greeks in the Long Twelfth Century*, 11.

<sup>71</sup> Salvado, "Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre," 14.

<sup>72</sup> Neocleous, *Heretics, Schismatics or Catholics*, 11. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: the Secular Church*.

commitment to restoration to eastern Christendom and not to expansion of western Christendom underscores Urban's hope of reconciliation with the east under papal jurisdiction. Urban served Christians and "no distinction was made between Western and Eastern Christians, between Latins and Greeks...indeed, the idea that the Westerners were the Greeks' Christian brothers and sisters and therefore had to rally to their and the Eastern Church's aid is embedded in contemporary source material."<sup>73</sup>

However, successive events in 1098 radically changed this dynamic.<sup>74</sup> The Latin crusaders successfully recaptured the city of Antioch and requested that Alexius occupy the city; shortly after, the papal legate Adhemar, sent to enforce the agreements made between Urban and Alexius, abruptly died leaving a power vacuum among the Latin Crusaders. Alexius, concerned about Islamic backlash, declined to take control of Antioch. The Latin Crusaders, left leaderless in the newly regained city, understood Alexius' refusal to retake control of Antioch as a consignment of the city to the Crusaders. At this time, what had been a cooperative effort between the East and the West to regain the holy places for Christian worship, became a western effort to bring the holy places under Rome and the papacy.

These events, which are the origin of western hegemony in the holy places of the Levant, are also the precipitating circumstances of the first crusader liturgies; the circumstances of these first liturgies then are haphazard, chaotic, and abrupt, the product of wartime and a church divided.<sup>75</sup> It seems that the Western Crusaders did not intend to

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<sup>73</sup> Neocleous, *Heretics, Schismatics or Catholics*, 16.

<sup>74</sup> Salvado, "Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre," 15; Neocleous, *Heretics, Schismatics or Catholics*, 19.

<sup>75</sup> "The erratic ebb and flow of the territories gained and the constant shuffling of patriarchs through the myriad intrigues befalling the patriarchy has influenced some

create new Western liturgies to celebrate in the recaptured holy sites, but rather to participate in the pre-existing Greek liturgy practiced in Jerusalem.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, the only liturgical manuscripts were “either carried by private chaplains to serve the immediate needs of their patrons or those that higher clergy perchance decided to take with them” and because Urban did not anticipate the liturgical needs of Western clergy abandoned in the East without Byzantine clergy, “the resulting liturgy forged in the East was born out of a necessity to address the immediate needs of the situation....characterized more by the Crusaders’ desire to address administrative matters than purely religious ones.”<sup>77</sup>

In the summer of 1099, after the Crusader victory in Jerusalem, Western clergy solidified the rift from the East by promoting the French Arnulf of Chocques to the position of patriarch of Jerusalem without consulting either the Byzantine patriarch Symeon or the Pope. Arnulf promptly expelled Orthodox Christians from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and determined that only Latin clergy would celebrate only Latin liturgies at the Sepulchre: “Through this act of independence from the Eastern patriarch and without the Pope’s explicit consent, the Latin Church of Jerusalem was established. This series of unforeseen events lead to the creation of a new Western liturgical rite for the East”.<sup>78</sup> The expulsion of the Eastern clergy and the exclusion of their liturgies may

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scholarship to characterize the formation of the Latin East’s liturgy in a similar vein.” Salvado, “Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre,” 20.

<sup>76</sup> “Had the crusaders followed Pope Urban II’s initial vision of a unified Christianity in the Middle East, which envisaged the Orthodox hierarchy under the leadership of the pope of Rome, Latin-praying Christians would presumably have fallen under the jurisdiction of the local Greek-praying bishop, who would have been numbered among the ‘second class’ of citizens.” Galadza, “Greek Liturgy in Crusader Jerusalem,” 425. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: the Secular Church*.

<sup>77</sup> Salvado, “Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre,” 16.

<sup>78</sup> Salvado, “Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre,” 17-18.

be understood as clear attempt to have made Latin liturgy the “religious orthodoxy” of Jerusalem.<sup>79</sup> Though the circumstances that precipitated the Latin liturgies of Jerusalem were precarious, turbulent, and unanticipated, the liturgy itself was a cherished element of Christian culture during the time of the first Crusade:

Period documents tacitly highlight the significance accorded to liturgy by the clergy. This central place accorded to the celebration of liturgy is definitively substantiated in the events surrounding the creation of the ordinal and the re-consecration of the Holy Sepulchre in 1149. What these findings demonstrate is the acute awareness the Patriarchs and clergy of the Holy Sepulchre had of the power of liturgy. The liturgical texts stood at the axis of how the Frankish church defined itself and its role in the Latin East.<sup>80</sup>

This emphasis on the liturgy is evident from the very beginning of the Crusader occupation of Jerusalem. After their conquest of Jerusalem, the Crusaders held seven days of celebration culminating with Godfrey of Bouillon’s (the new ruler of Jerusalem) endowment for the maintenance of twenty canons at the Sepulchre; this first octave of celebrations initiated constant liturgical celebration in the Sepulchre.<sup>81</sup>

Before proceeding it is necessary to distinguish what is meant by the Roman Church in this paper. The Byzantine Orthodox church, though situated in the Eastern Roman Empire and Constantinople, was at this time distinct from the Roman church, situated in the Western Roman Empire and Rome. The Eastern Roman Emperor appointed the patriarch of Constantinople and was intimately involved with the liturgical proceedings of his church, whereas the Roman church was governed by the Pope, the

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<sup>79</sup> Salvado, “Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre,” 21.

<sup>80</sup> Salvado, “Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre,” 18.

<sup>81</sup> Salvado, “Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre,” 20-21.

bishop of Rome.<sup>82</sup> Despite the fraught political situation in the Holy Land and the religious conflict between the Roman and Orthodox churches, the Crusaders continued to honor the practice of liturgy as the central activity and primary purpose of their presence in the Levant. Their steady emphasis on the central role of liturgy during this time reflects the theological convictions of Christianity defended in chapter two.

In her book on the Crusader liturgies, Gaposchkin analyzes the account of Raymond Aguilers, a French priest and crusader, describing the crusaders' liturgical celebrations in Jerusalem after its 1099 recapture in his work *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*.

Upon securing the city, the crusaders proceeded to the Holy Sepulcher—the liberation of which was the very object of the crusade—to offer thanksgiving to God. There, according to Raymond of Aguilers, at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, where Christ had been buried and whence he had risen, the Franks performed—mid-July—the Easter Office, the Office of Resurrection... The celebration of the Easter liturgy—the liturgy that commemorated at once Christ's victory over death and the salvation of mankind—did not put too fine a point on it. Just as the Resurrection had signaled a new phase in salvation history, so thus did the taking of Holy City. This was a new phase in the history of the Church, associated with the providential triumph of Christ's resurrection, commemorated at the Holy Sepulcher, which had been the very goal of the Crusade. The fifteenth of July was to be a “new day” and was to be commemorated for centuries to come.<sup>83</sup>

Gaposchkin's account centers the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as the focal point of the Crusades and the Christian life itself. Though it had been the Church of the Anastasis since its Constantinian founding, the preeminence the Crusaders afford that image serves

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<sup>82</sup> Skedros, “‘You Cannot Have a Church Without an Empire’: Political Orthodoxy in Byzantium” in *Christianity, Democracy, and the Shadow of Constantine*, 221.

<sup>83</sup> Gaposchkin, “Celebrating the Capture of Jerusalem in the Holy City” in *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of a Crusade Ideology*.

to reemphasize the liberated church's dedication to the Resurrection. Easter is the summit of the Christian liturgical year, the most solemn celebration, the “feast of feasts”, in which Christians celebrate Christ’s procuring access to salvation through the resurrection. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the Easter place (hence, the appropriateness of celebrating Easter there even during June) and its recovery from the Muslims echoes the resurrection itself.<sup>84</sup> That the first Christian liturgy celebrated in Jerusalem’s Church of the Holy Sepulchre, originally consecrated and continuously known in the East as the Church of the Anastasis (Resurrection), since the 7<sup>th</sup> century was an Easter Mass then seems exceedingly fitting.

### *Crusader Liturgy*

The liturgical tradition inaugurated by the Mass of the Lord’s Resurrection on July 15, 1099 was a Latin liturgy.<sup>85</sup> The rift between the Western and Orthodox churches, having been firmed up by Alexius’ refusal to occupy Antioch, the Western capture of Jerusalem, and the autonomous promotion of French Arnulf of Chocques to patriarch of Jerusalem, was reinforced by the imposition of Latin liturgies in the Levant.<sup>86</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>84</sup> Shagrir, “Liturgy and Devotion in the Crusader States,” 360.

<sup>85</sup> “The Mass performed on July 15, 1099 when Jerusalem was captured is the first celebration of a liturgical tradition spanning until the loss of Acre in 1291” Salvado, “Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre,” 21.

<sup>86</sup> “The first thing the crusaders did upon assuming control of the city was to celebrate the Easter liturgy in the Holy Sepulchre... From this pivotal moment on...the liturgy that evolved through adherence to tradition but also through ingenuity and innovation continued to reflect the ideals and preoccupations of the Latin settlers in the East. Following the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and to a certain extent the other Latin principalities, the Frankish authorities sought to install the Latin rite in the churches and chapels that covered the ancient territories.” Shagrir, “Liturgy and Devotion in the Crusader States.”

the contents and tone of the Latin liturgy are central to understanding the religious preoccupations of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century Christians in Jerusalem.

Shagrir, concurring with the testimony of the *temporale* of MS 659, argues that “the Latin liturgy from the West (mostly from France) was not simply imported and recycled, but, arguably and over time, curated to its new place, celebrants and audience”.<sup>87</sup> In the word “curate” she captures rather well the idea that liturgists in Jerusalem were deliberately designing a liturgy with a particular program that suits the Church of the Resurrection. An important aspect of this deliberation is a “consciousness of their own continuity and novelty”.<sup>88</sup> She details four aspects of what she understands the program of the liturgy to be: “Gradually the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre was shaped to express ideas of triumph, thanksgiving and liberation of the Holy City, as well as a central devotional theme of Christ’s Resurrection that resonated throughout much of the yearly cycle in an unprecedented way”.<sup>89</sup> The Church’s liturgical program responds to the location as the place of Christ’s resurrection but also to later events in Jerusalem’s history.<sup>90</sup> For example, Eusebius describes Constantine’s removal of the Roman temple constructed over the Sepulchre site also in terms of the triumph of Christendom over

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<sup>87</sup> Shagrir, “Liturgy and Devotion in the Crusader States,” 363. “Much of the church’s liturgical ritual was influenced by the liturgical year, that is, the pattern of seasons and feasts celebrated over the course of a year. There were two cycles of liturgical time: the *temporal* cycle, including specific penitential or festal seasons as well as major feast days, usually connected with the commemoration of events in the life of Christ; and the *sanctoral* cycle, composed of the feasts and commemorations of universal and local saints.” Pierce, “Medieval Christian Liturgy.”

<sup>88</sup> Shagrir, “Liturgy and Devotion in the Crusader States,” 364

<sup>89</sup> Shagrir, “Liturgy and Devotion in the Crusader States,” 363-364

<sup>90</sup> “This historical consciousness is coupled with an awareness of contemporary realities, expressed through the accommodation of pilgrims and ideas of pilgrimage into the liturgical celebrations.” Shagrir, 364.

pagan forces; the Constantinian basilica structure expresses this imperial and triumphant tone. The Crusader church's program celebrates Christ's victory over death, the triumph over Roman Christianity over heathenism, and the Crusader victory against the Islamic occupiers.

Initiated by the first liturgical octave after Urban's recovery of Jerusalem, the celebration of Mass was central to Western spirituality in the Levant.<sup>91</sup> Despite the tumultuous circumstances of the crusader liturgy, there is evidence that even in the first few years of the twelfth century the liturgy was not so crude as the situation suggests, rather the liturgy was modified to suit the space of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre within those first few years.

The records in the cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre from the first few years of the twelfth century substantiate the idea that the liturgy of that time accommodated both the configuration of the church and the increasing pilgrim presence.<sup>92</sup> The cartulary distinguishes the existence of two separate altars—one for high feasts celebrated by the patriarch and a second for ordinary liturgical celebrations.<sup>93</sup> The separation of two altars and the designation of particular ceremonies for each already exhibits a striking nuance.

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<sup>91</sup> "From the inception of the Holy Sepulchre's chapter on August 1st, 1099 until their normalization into Augustinian canons fifteen years later in 1114, the most rudimentary daily liturgical activity was the celebration of Mass." Salvado "Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre," 22.

<sup>92</sup> "Those who created cartularies did so with the purpose of creating a history of their church that was both coherent and complete. Cartularies were intended as part of the broader history of an ecclesiastical community. The documents in the archives were voices from a church's past... the *Gesta* of his predecessors." Bouchard, Constance Brittain in *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors: Memory and Forgetting in France, 500-1200*, 22.

<sup>93</sup> Salvado, "Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre," 22.

These ceremonies were not only allocated to specific celebrants and altars, but also to particular times of year; they included rituals that incorporated other churches in the Holy Land commemorating other biblical events. These celebrations rely on a deep conviction of the importance of the particular places of the Holy Land for Christian life, that is the importance of pilgrimage: “The presence of two altars and the celebrations of processions from an early date demonstrate the attention both towards creating a liturgy tailored to the sacred topography of Jerusalem and at the same time suited for the participation of the pilgrims. These solemn celebrations in the Holy sites were what the crusaders themselves demanded, and were what the massive influx of pilgrims to the East expected”.<sup>94</sup> This attention and devotion to the topography of the Holy Land supports an emphasis on the places and events particular to the Holy Land most especially Jerusalem and the Sepulchre. However, such a heavy emphasis on the various churches in Jerusalem as stations and the nuance of liturgical practice was not novel in the twelfth century. Egeria’s fourth century account of the celebrations in the Sepulchre demonstrate a pre-existing liturgical complexity with a vivid sense of the importance of the sacred spaces in the Levant.

Before the liturgical reform that produced MS 659, the Latin liturgy of Jerusalem was relatively firmly established by 1114 under the church’s adoption of Augustine’s rule. Arnulf describes the catalyst for adopting St. Augustine’s rule in a biting critique of clerical corruption:

Novos quippe incolas dominici oblitos precepti, de die in diem plus et plus corrupit; qui minores nichili reputans, ad clerum etiam transcendit, et suis prestigiis agitans, sibi mancipavit; quem enim decebat ut devotior Deo existeret et bonum de se exemplum minoribus preberet, proh dolor! Voluptati carnis magis

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<sup>94</sup> Salvado, “Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre,” 23.

inservivit et honorem suum modis incredibilibus polluere non dubitavit. Et pius Dominus, qui sepulture sue locum oculo misericordie benigne respicit, nostris temporibus illorum nequicias sua severitate correxit... ego Arnulfus, omnium Jherosolitanorum humillimus a rege, clero et populo in pastorem electus et patriarchali honore sublimatus, anime mee periculum metuens eorumque animabus mederi cupiens, criminibus eorum diutius consentire nolui, quos correctione paterna ut vitam suam corrigerent multociens ammonui. Monebam enim ut communiter viventes vitam apostolicam sequerentur, et [pro] regula beati Augustini vita eorum canonice regeretur, ut Domino Ihesu Christo eorum devotius placeret servicium et nos cum eis in eterna gloria recipirememus premium.<sup>95</sup>

But day by day, more and more [the devil] corrupted the new inhabitants, who had forgotten the Lord's teachings. He, regarding the men of low rank hardly to be of significance, climbed to the clergy, stirring them with his deceptions, and he made even them his servants, the very ones who should have stood out as the more devoted to God and offer an example to those of the lower station. O the shame! [The clergy] cared more for the delight of the flesh and have not hesitated to pollute his honor with their incredible behavior. And the pious Lord, who with compassionate eye has kindly regard for the place of his own burial, has set right their evils in our time with his strictness...I, Arnulf, the most humble of all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, having been elected pastor by the king, clergy and people and having been raised to the distinction of patriarch, fearing the danger of my soul, desiring to offer a remedy for the souls of those men, I refuse to consent any longer to the crimes of those whom I have admonished many times with paternal correction to set right their life. For I kept on advising that those living in community should follow the apostolic life and their life be ruled canonically by the rules of blessed Augustine, so that their service might more zealously please the Lord Jesus Christ and that we might obtain the reward with them in eternal glory.

According to Arnulf, the trickery of the devil has penetrated even to the clergy, shaming and polluting their office. For Arnulf, Augustine's rules for communal clerical life offer a remedy for sensuality; adoption of a vigorous and daily practice of celebrating the liturgy will correct the clergy's crooked path by instilling mindfulness of the lord, devotion, and discipline in clergy. The practice of liturgical ritual is not merely an external and empty practice in medieval theology, rather its practice is transformative to the worshiper; for Arnulf, the Augustinian reform which "institutes the rigorousness and proper devotional

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<sup>95</sup> Bresc-Bautier, Cartulaire, doc. 20, 75-76.

decorum for practicing the liturgy” and “the constant celebration of the divine words effects a physical change in the clergy”.<sup>96</sup> The adoption of Augustine’s rule which emphasized monastic life and devotion to the Liturgy of the Hours was in part the cause of the renovations that resulted in the 1149 crusader church.<sup>97</sup> The greater presence of monastic regimen in the worship at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre changed both the layout of the church and the liturgical practices for the clergy and the laity alike.

From 1099 and Godfrey’s endowment for the canons of the Holy Sepulchre until 1149, the clergy of the Sepulchre likely followed the Aachen clerical rule which entailed performance of Mass and the Divine Office at the Sepulchre but did not require them to live communally and did allow them to keep private property.<sup>98</sup> Arnulf’s adoption of Augustinian rule in 1149 required that the clergy cede their private property to live in community where both their liturgical and personal time would be ordered by the rule. The clergy would eat together while listening to readings, participate more rigorously in the Divine Office, and increase the time and attention devoted to the bible and early church writings.<sup>99</sup> The Augustinian liturgical reform was followed by that represented in the text of MS 659 which Salvado argues, based on a comparison between an inscription in the

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<sup>96</sup> Salvado, “Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre,” 26.

<sup>97</sup> “The crusader remodelling of the eleventh-century church was completed in 1149, having been begun perhaps as early as the 1130s.<sup>48</sup> However, renovations had already been necessary as early as 1114, when the Latin canons of the Holy Sepulchre were organised into a regular community following the Rule of Augustine, a process that required the building of a cloister and conventional buildings.” Jotischky, “Greek Orthodox Monasteries in the Holy Land and Their Liturgies in the Period of the Crusaders” in the *Journal of Medieval History*, 449-450.

<sup>98</sup> Salvado, “The Augustinian Reform, the Panormia Glosses, and Reading the Bible in the Medieval Latin Liturgy of Jerusalem,” 29.

<sup>99</sup> Salvado, “The Augustinian Reform,” 29.

Calvary chapel and the text newly written offices for the occasion, coincides with the rededication of the Sepulchre in 1149 after its renovations were completed. Alongside these, Salvado points to several features of liturgy, architecture, and other texts that strongly suggest 1149 as the liturgy's date.

Considered in aggregate, the ordinal's opening statement, evidence of Fulcher's involvement with the July 15 celebrations, his inscriptions in the liturgy and architecture, and the many instances where changes in the liturgy are signaled out, all point towards one specific moment in time when the contents of MS 659 were created. There was no other more significant liturgical celebration in the Latin East than the rededication of the Holy Sepulchre in 1149. The evidence discussed provides a strong argument for the contents of MS 659 being created as part of these celebrations.<sup>100</sup>

The Barberini Ordinal, with 139 folios, is the earliest extant and most complete liturgical text for the Sepulchre. The canons of the Holy Sepulchre produced this text for the Templar Knights of Jerusalem to perform the processions, Mass, and the Divine Office.<sup>101</sup> An index at the beginning of the text details the contents of the manuscript which proves to follow the regular organization: "its first pages contain a calendar, then computational information, rubrics for special liturgies of the sick and dead, Biblical readings for the year, temporale, sanctorale, common offices and a gradual."<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Salvado, "Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre," 34.

<sup>101</sup> Salvado. "Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre," 46, 80.

<sup>102</sup> Salvado. "Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre," 66.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Art and Architecture of the Holy Sepulchre

#### *Early Christian Architecture and the Development of the Basilica*

Despite sporadic and serious violence levied against it during the first few centuries, the Christian church enjoyed enough peace and success to begin constructing sacred buildings and art as early as the second century.<sup>103</sup> Popular narrative has perhaps exaggerated the frequency and degree of persecution against early Christians in the Roman Empire.<sup>104</sup> A brief outline of the early developments of Christian art and architecture is necessary to develop the significance of the Constantinian Church of the Holy Sepulchre, its architecture, and art after the legalization of Christianity in the Roman Empire and eventually that of the Crusader modifications to the Church.

The testimony of the New Testament, particularly Acts, alongside other early Christian writings and archeology have led scholars to emphasize the private architectural setting of the corporate worship of the early church. The divorce between Judaism and

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<sup>103</sup> “It is obvious...that the Church enjoyed long periods of peace when it was free to assemble without subterfuge and also, as its numbers increased, to build churches and to erect chapels and monuments in its cemeteries. Under these circumstances it is only to be expected that evidence of Christian architecture before Constantine should be forthcoming and indeed the edicts which brought these conflicts to an end all expressly command the restoration of church buildings to the Christians,” Davies, 13-14.

<sup>104</sup> “The popular idea that during the first three centuries Christianity was under such continuous persecution that its adherents were driven to worship in secrecy in the catacombs and other hiding places does not conform with the facts. Christianity was at first a *religio illicita*, a religion unrecognized by the law, and its professors were liable at any time to be haled before the magistrates. Their position was therefore admittedly precarious but, apart from isolated outbreaks of mob violence and a limited number of authorized persecutions, they were left to practice their beliefs without interference,” Davies, 12-13.

Christianity was neither abrupt nor clear.<sup>105</sup> Christians of the very early church continued to preach and pray in Jewish synagogues, which often served very small and very local communities.<sup>106</sup> The illicit status of the Christian religion and its local, synagogal roots seems to have shaped the structure of early church worship around private Christian homes. Filson, a representative of this school of thought, describes the evolution from synagogue to private home:

Whenever the synagogue was closed to Christian propaganda - and this seems to have occurred early in the development of Paul's work in the cities he visited - the house church dominated the situation. Only rarely could a public assembly hall be obtained (Acts 19:9). With the exception of such limited use as could be made of the market place and other public areas of the city, the regular setting for both Christian meetings and evangelistic preaching was found in the homes of believers.... for worship and teaching.<sup>107</sup>

Filson provides archeological evidence for this view, citing, among others, the structures discovered at Dura-Europos which seem to be a private home reconfigured in the second or third century to provide space for a Christian chapel. The author considers the site to be a sort of “transitional” structure between the unaltered Roman home and “the

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<sup>105</sup> “The question of the continuity of Christianity with Judaism. After A.D. 70 that conflict marked the relations between Christian and Jewish thought everywhere. The extent and the scope of the continuity produced controversy between Peter and Paul, and this controversy went on troubling the church,” Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, 13.

<sup>106</sup> “Wherever the Apostles preached, they did so first in the Synagogues. No doubt in all these places it was the Jewish nucleus, however small, which formed the starting-point and centre of the first Christian communities... It is quite true to say that there was never a Jewish community anywhere without its Synagogue. Only ten Jews were needed to establish one and to organize the cult. It was therefore quite easy to start such an assembly as soon as there was a community, however small. The humblest township could have one.” Guillet, J., “From Synagogue to Early Christian Assembly,” 23-24, 26.

<sup>107</sup> Filson, “The Significance of the Early House Churches,” 106, 107.

independent church edifice”, a structure that already exhibits the features of a basilica, namely the large nave with two aisles on the sides.<sup>108</sup>

Although the early church did likely gather to pray in small communities and private homes, Sessa argues that the term *domus ecclesiae*, commonly seen as evidence of early worship in private houses, appears mainly after the establishment of church buildings. The overuse and misappropriation of the term *domus ecclesiae* has misrepresented the architectural setting of early Christian worship and the origin of the Christian church building; indeed, no use of the term *domus ecclesia* has been documented before Eusebius employed it after the Edict of Milan. Therefore, the term cannot be equated to the setting for Christian worship while it was suppressed and relegated to private homes. She argues instead that the term did not refer to a *domus* in any specific architectural sense, but rather a theological one reflecting the emphasis on the home and family in the early church: “I suggest that he [Eusebius] chose the phrase οἶκος τῆς ἐκκλησίας in the light of the household's ecclesiological significance in Christian thought, not because the term reflected the church's architectural characteristics as a renovated house.”<sup>109</sup> While her careful distinction is significant, it does not render obsolete the significance of the structure of a Roman home to early Christian architecture. Even if early Christians did not use that term, nor did they necessarily modify their homes for worship, nevertheless they certainly used them as sites for worship to some extent;<sup>110</sup> therefore, there is reason to consider the typical Roman villa's atrium, a large

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<sup>108</sup> Filson, “The Significance of Early House Churches,” 108-109.

<sup>109</sup> Sessa, Kristina, “‘Domus Ecclesiae’: Rethinking a Category of ‘Ante-Pacem’ Christian Space” in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 92.

<sup>110</sup> Pecklers, Keith F. *Liturgy: The Illustrated History*, 28-29.

open-air courtyard surrounded by the rooms of the home, to have some formative relationship to the *atrium* at the center of the later basilica structure.<sup>111</sup>



Figure 1: Exemplary Roman atrium. Pompeii: House of Sallust: Int.: Atrium. 2nd . B.C.

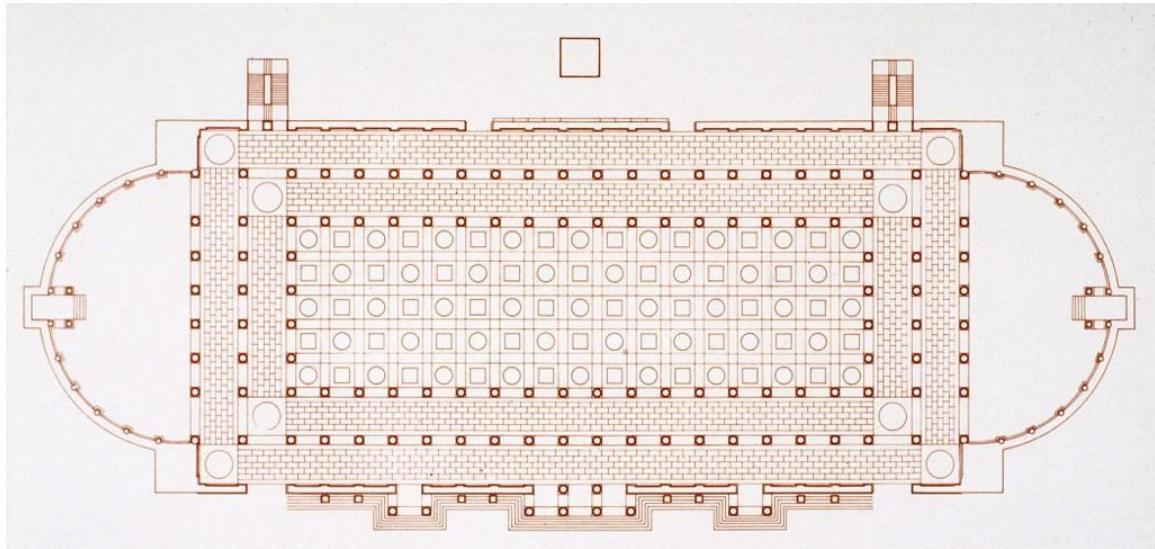
The basilica, as a form of ancient architecture, was not exclusively or even originally religious in nature, rather it was often civic, political, or even imperial.<sup>112</sup> By the second and third centuries, the features and general purpose of the basilica were firmly established, though various—a long central hall—the nave (or possibly two),

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<sup>111</sup> For a discussion of a typical Roman atrium-home cf. Dwyer, “The Unified Plan of the House of the Faun”.

<sup>112</sup> “The Roman temple was not adopted as a model by the early Christians for their places of worship because, like the Greek temple, it was designed to house only cult images, not congregations. Christian worship required a great deal of interior space to accommodate the congregation,” Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 27-28.

perhaps ending in an apse, a semi-circular recess replacing one of the short ends of the nave's rectangle, with entrances on either the long (later transepts) or short side of the structure, all designed to serve a large public gathering.<sup>113</sup>



*Figure 2: Secular Roman basilica. Rome. Basilica Ulpia. Ground Plan. 113 A.D.*

Krautheimer identifies the transition from the third to the fourth century as having ushered in a new iteration of the basilica both in form and purpose. At this time, “the presence of the emperor, in effigy or in flesh, had become increasingly the predominant element in any basilica. Under the impact of the emperor cult, the borderlines between religious and secular, civic, judiciary, and throne basilicas had been obliterated; and any basilica was, or carried the connotations of, a sanctuary of the god on earth.”<sup>114</sup> The form

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<sup>113</sup> Pre-Constantinian basilicas include basilica at Ulpia, at Pompeii, and the Basilica of Maxentius at Rome which although completed by Constantine was begun before him.

<sup>114</sup> Krautheimer, “The Constantinian Basilica,” 124.

of the basilica, too, underwent substantial revisions, modified to include only a single nave, barrel and groin vaults, a narthex on one end and an apse on the other emphasizing the longitudinal format; the tone of the basilica became increasingly specific to the emperor and sacred.<sup>115</sup>

Although perhaps Sessa overstated the influence of persecution and the private Roman home on early Christian architecture, it is also true that under Constantine and his legalization of Christianity, religious architecture underwent a marked change, acquiring a particularly imperial flavor. Under his rule and sponsorship “building was a tool aimed at impressing on the Empire and its neighbors the power and splendor of the Christian God and His Church. Churches must be numerous, capable of holding large crowds, impressive through size, and lavishly appointed.”<sup>116</sup> “Constantine was raising the Church from obscurity and persecution to the highest rank within his scheme of the Empire and of the universe; hence its buildings must fall into the sphere of public, and, where possible, monumental architecture.”<sup>117</sup> Constantine repurposed the basilica structure, using its contemporary connotations of sacredness and imperiality, to glorify, not the emperor, but Christ the King. The imperial program of the basilica structure is evident in the association between the bishop’s *cathedra*, or chair, which positioned in the basilica’s apse replaced the civil authorities’ seat at the secular basilica; Constantine made the

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<sup>115</sup> Krautheimer, “The Constantinian Basilica,” 126.

<sup>116</sup> Krautheimer, “The Constantinian Basilica,” 126.

<sup>117</sup> Krautheimer, “The Constantinian Basilica,” 127

identification of the two even more clear when he delegated certain civil cases to the bishops presiding over the basilicas from their *cathedra*.<sup>118</sup>

The public and imperial quality of the basilica structure during the time in which the Sepulchre was constructed is evident in the other basilicas which Constantine sponsored. During the early 4<sup>th</sup> century he also oversaw the construction of Aula Palatina, a basilica that complemented his palace in Trier, Germany as a facility for the emperor to receive audiences for various judicial and public purposes.<sup>119</sup> The structure at Trier followed the classic plan of the Roman basilica: a nave terminated in an apse, a semicircular recess, at the end, both sections covered by a flat but recessed roof.<sup>120</sup> Constantine completed a second basilica, the Basilica of Maxentius, (though its construction was begun by Maxentius and not by Constantine) though this time for religious use, in Rome in 312.<sup>121</sup> Maxentius had the classic central nave with two aisles on either side, delineated by a row of columns, the outer of which were interrupted by transepts extending outwards perpendicular to the nave.<sup>122</sup> In the context of contemporary basilica projects sponsored by Constantine such as those at Trier and even that in Rome, the program of a Christian church that appropriates the structure of the secular basilica emphasized the kingship, the royal power of either Christ or his emissary, the bishop.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Shepherd, “Liturgical Expressions of the Constantinian Triumph,” in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 70-71.

<sup>119</sup> Krautheimer, “The Constantinian Basilica,” 117-118.

<sup>120</sup> Krautheimer, “The Constantinian Basilica.”

<sup>121</sup> Krautheimer, “The Constantinian Basilica.”

<sup>122</sup> Krautheimer, “The Constantinian Basilica.”

<sup>123</sup> Krautheimer, “The Constantinian Basilica.”

The architectural rhetoric of the Roman basilica by the 4<sup>th</sup> century is undeniably imperial in tone.

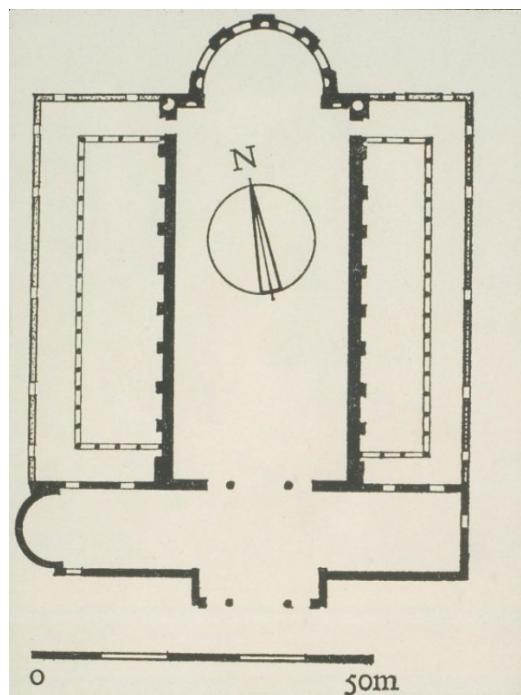


Figure 3. Trier: Aula Palatina Plan. c. 310 A.D.

The word basilica, and most likely the architectural structure to which it referred, have an older origin than Constantinian Rome; linguistically they correspond to a term from late Classical or Hellenistic architecture, for example the Stoa Basileios in Athens.<sup>124</sup> This etymology however is belayed by the striking architectural difference between Roman and Greek basilicas. Though there are other available theories that identify the classical Greek roots of the Roman basilica and define the relationship between the Hellenistic and Roman structures, they have yet to be proven. However, the reliably demonstrated and

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<sup>124</sup> Perkins, J. B. Ward, "Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica," in the *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 70.

significant first appearance of the term “in architectural Latin in the early second century B.C. [is] as the name given to a type of large public hall, of which the Basilic Porcia built by Cato in 184 B.C. on the south side of the Roman Forum, is the first recorded example.”<sup>125</sup>

### *The Historicity of the Holy Sepulchre Site*

Having established the architectural and artistic background of the Sepulchre, that is the origin of the basilica architectural form and the significance of mosaics and icons, it remains to turn to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre itself, beginning with the site uncovered by Constantine in 326 or 327 AD. Charles Couasnon points to archaeological, historical, and traditional elements of Jerusalem that demonstrate its special importance. A significant portion of his project is identifying a few details of the biblical account of the crucifixion provided by the four gospels that identify the most likely location and appearance for the sites of the crucifixion and the burial of Christ. The place of the skull or Golgotha was located beside a garden and proximate to the site of the tomb of Jesus, a tomb made of stone and not yet used, which in turn was quite close to the city of the Jerusalem; it was also in a place frequented by passersby, evidenced by John, Matthew, and Mark’s note that many read the mocking sign Pilate left on the cross labeling him the King of the Jews.<sup>126</sup> Couasnon gleans from these details that “it is clear that the gibbet was located outside the town, and probably, near one of the gates”.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Perkins, “Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica,” in the *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 71.

<sup>126</sup> John 19:41-42 19:20 Matthew 27:39 Mark 15:29.

<sup>127</sup> Couasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, 6.

Not only do the gospels establish details about the location of the crucifixion, but they also reveal that the early Christian community knew where Jesus was buried. In Mark, Joseph of Arimathea placed the body of Christ in the tomb and Jesus' mother and Mary Magdalene, "beheld where he was laid".<sup>128</sup> The following morning other holy women go to this tomb location, thereby demonstrating that at least these individuals knew the site of Christ's burial.

During the first century AD, Jerusalem grew significantly and thereby engulfed these sites which would have been at the time of Jesus' death just outside the city limits. Between this time and the 4<sup>th</sup> century, Jerusalem underwent dramatic events and changes which render it impossible to identify the proper locations with absolute certainty. However, Couasnon argues that if it is demonstrable that "the ancient tradition [of the location of these sites] had been kept alive and binding in the Christian Community of Jerusalem" that the sites can be identified with at least great confidence. He argues that the location on which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is built is historically and architecturally possible, given that it would have been outside the city before 41 AD. Further, if a living memory of the location was not maintained among the early Christians in Jerusalem, they would likely have chosen another more favorable location. Instead, the tradition of the early Christians, guarded by the bishops of Jerusalem from St James to Macarius affirmed that the tomb of Christ was located under the place where a Roman temple was constructed under Hadrian during his establishment of Aelia Capitolina, a

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<sup>128</sup> Mark 15: 47.

Roman city in Jerusalem. Hence, the current site of the crucifixion and burial of Jesus, honored since the time of Constantine, is likely to be the true site.

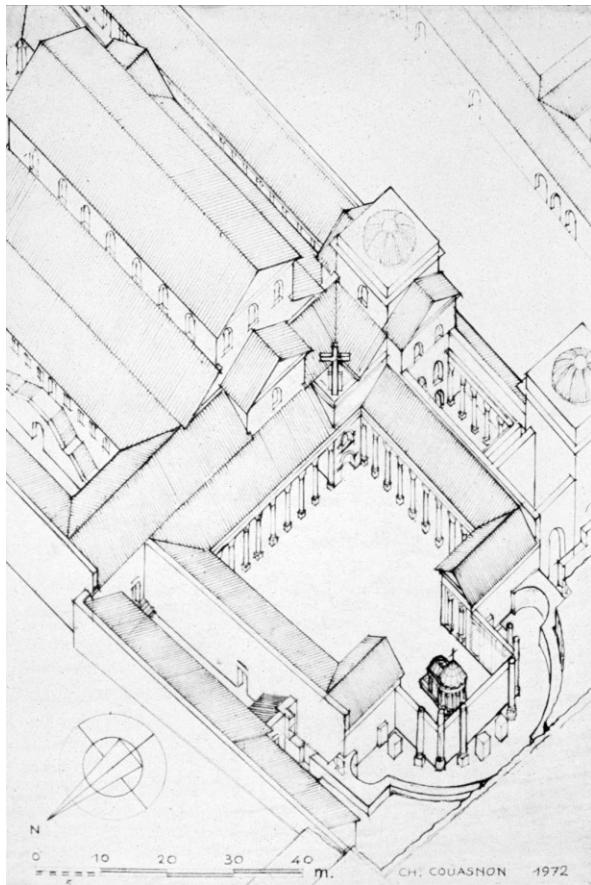
### *The Constantinian Church of the Holy Sepulchre as Basilica*

The Constantinian Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as a basilica must then be considered with those three central contexts proposed in the section on Roman basilicas: the private Roman home's atrium as the setting of the earliest Christian worship, the secular basilica structure as a facility for large public gatherings, and the particular imperial and sacred program of the basilica at the time of Constantine. Too, the meaning of the architecture must be determined in light of Constantine's program of using monumental architecture to elevate the Church and Christ the King.

Constantine articulates just such a program and ideal in his letter to Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem concerning the construction of the basilica in the Holy Land. Constantine writes that it ought to be "not only a basilica superior to those in all other places, but the other arrangements also, may be such that all the excellences of every city are surpassed by this foundation...it is right that the world's most miraculous place should be worthily embellished...the vault of the basilica...it might also be decorated with gold".<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*.



*Figure 4. Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Plan-Constantinian Complex, Prior to Rotunda Construction. (Coüasnon). Fourth Century.*

After relating Constantine's plan for the church, Eusebius then offers an ekphrastic account of the resulting Constantinian basilica's orientation, structure, and features. His account, supplemented by several others, details a fairly comprehensive picture of the Constantinian structure, though the architectural evidence to substantiate the picture is missing. The east side held a large atrium opening to the street with three large doors facing the rising sun; directly beside the atrium, the Roman style basilica which was surrounded by two vertical levels of gilt columns, contained five aisles, and situated the apse on its western edge. The basilica adjoined to the courtyard containing the Rock of Calvary and surrounded by a peristyle; the courtyard's eastern edge led to the

Rotunda of the Anastasis inside of which was the aedicula that honored Jesus' tomb. The Constantinian Sepulchre complex also included a variety of other structures including a residence for the patriarch.<sup>130</sup>

### *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre Before the Crusades*

On May 4, 614 the Persian army, having conquered Jerusalem, vandalized the Constantinian complex at the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>131</sup> Though the structure itself remained mostly intact, much of its decorations were burned and the restored church of the later seventh century retains little of the Constantinian décor.<sup>132</sup> Despite intermittent tumult, including a disastrous earthquake in 810 that left the Constantinian building roofless, pilgrims continued to visit the Holy Land during that time. However, the conflict between Muslims and Christians in the Holy Land began to escalate, especially during the tenth century. Medieval sources attest that during this time Muslim aggressors levied violence against Christian people in the city, with particular aggression towards church sites that seemed particularly wealthy such as the Sepulchre.<sup>133</sup> This aggression seemed to peak in 937 when a mob assaulted a Christian procession on Palm Sunday and then burned

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<sup>130</sup> Ousterhout, Robert, "Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre," in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 68-69.

<sup>131</sup> Couasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, 17.

<sup>132</sup> Couasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, 17.

<sup>133</sup> Pruitt, "The Fatimid Holy City: Rebuilding Jerusalem in the Eleventh Century," in *Re-Assessing the Global Turn in Medieval Art History*, 40.

several areas of the Sepulchre; after attacking the procession and the church, the mob executed Jerusalem's Christian patriarch.<sup>134</sup>

On October 18, 1009, the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah oversaw the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre leaving behind only what was too difficult to destroy such as the external walls and the Rotunda.<sup>135</sup> The final restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre before that of the first Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem followed this caliph's destruction and was performed under Constantine Monomachus in the 1040s.

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<sup>134</sup> Pruitt, "The Fatimid Holy City: Rebuilding Jerusalem in the Eleventh Century," in *Re-Assessing the Global Turn in Medieval Art History*, 40.

<sup>135</sup> Couasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, 19-20.

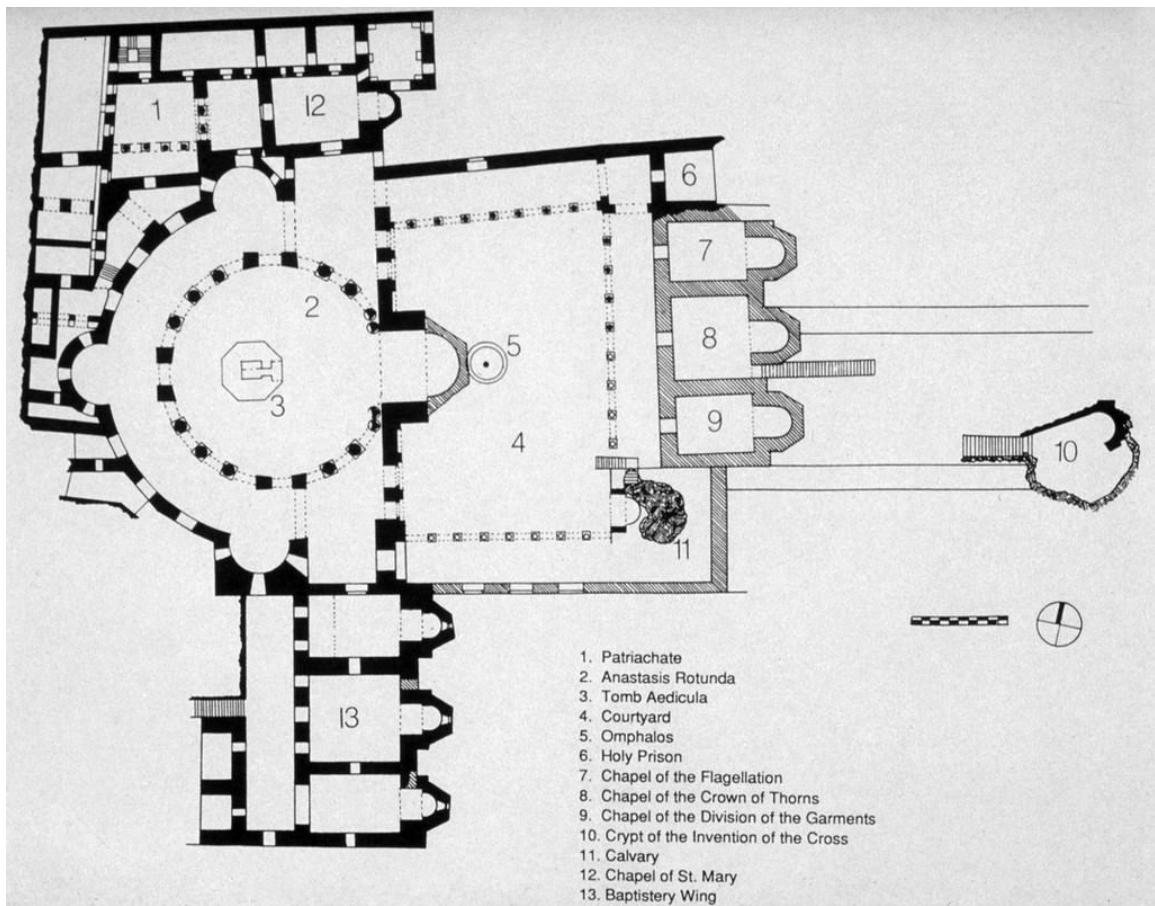
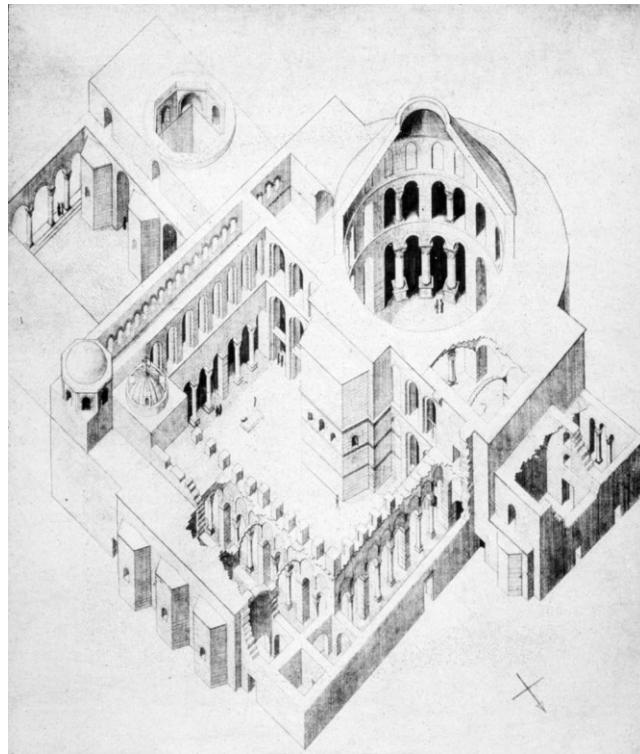


Figure 5. Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Plan of Complex after 1048. (Ousterhout after Corbo).



*Figure 6. Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Anastasis Rotunda, as Rebuilt by Constantine Monomachos. Reconstruction by Coüasnon, 1972. c. 1048.*

The eleventh century Byzantine Church of the Holy Sepulchre omitted the fourth century basilica but maintained the rotunda in a similar form; liturgies were moved from the former basilica space into the rotunda the orientation of which was reversed to face the east.<sup>136</sup> The clerestory was decorated with mosaics and illuminated by an oculus at the summit of the rotunda; this portion of Monomachus' church was later incorporated into the Crusader church.<sup>137</sup> Monomachus' church kept the ground plan of Constantine's courtyard adding within it memorials of other events from Jesus' passion. The eastern

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<sup>136</sup> Ousterhout, "Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre," 70.

<sup>137</sup> Ousterhout, "Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre," 71.

edge of the courtyard held the remains of the grand fourth century basilica and a variety of eleventh century chapels.<sup>138</sup>

### *The Crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre*

The Crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre, completed and rededicated on July 15, 1149, was constructed primarily by way of addition to Constantine Monomachus' church, filling the courtyard and covering over the space of Calvary and it is this iteration of the Sepulchre that, despite a severe fire, exists in Jerusalem today.<sup>139</sup> From 1143 to 1162 King Baldwin III and his mother Queen Melisende ruled the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Construction for the rededication of the Crusader church took place under their rule, between about 1140 and 1149, though documentation about the project, despite its enormity and complexity, is strangely lacking meriting only a brief mention from William of Tyre, the great twelfth century historian.<sup>140</sup> The most significant novel architectural elements of the Crusader Sepulchre were “the eastern apse and choir with its ambulatory and radiating chapels, the domed crossing and two transepts, and the south transept façade and portals.”<sup>141</sup> This iteration was also marked by a new western sculptural element on the southern transept’s façade and mosaics both inside and outside.

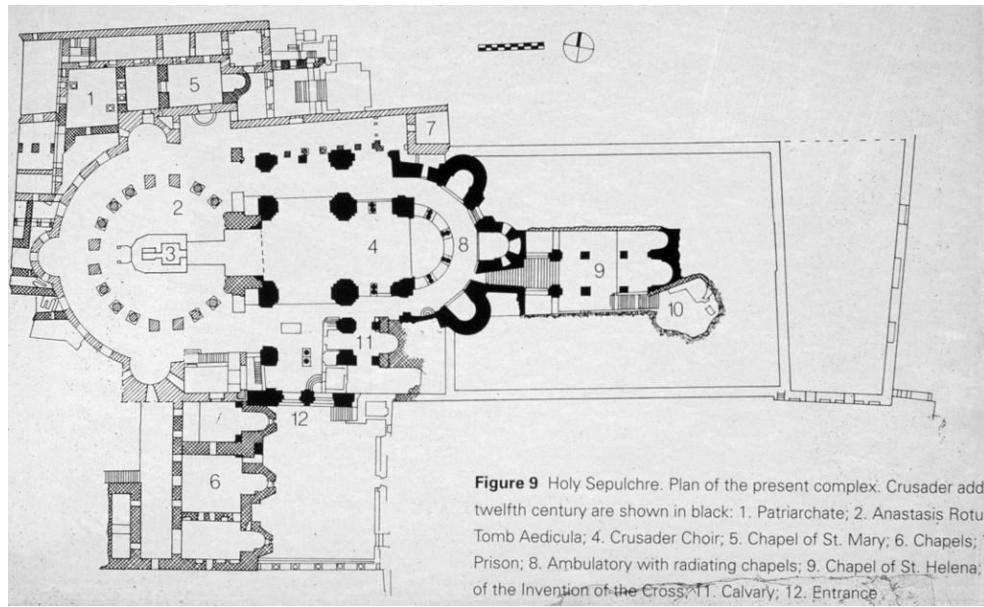
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<sup>138</sup> Ousterhout, “Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre,” 72.

<sup>139</sup> Couasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, 20.

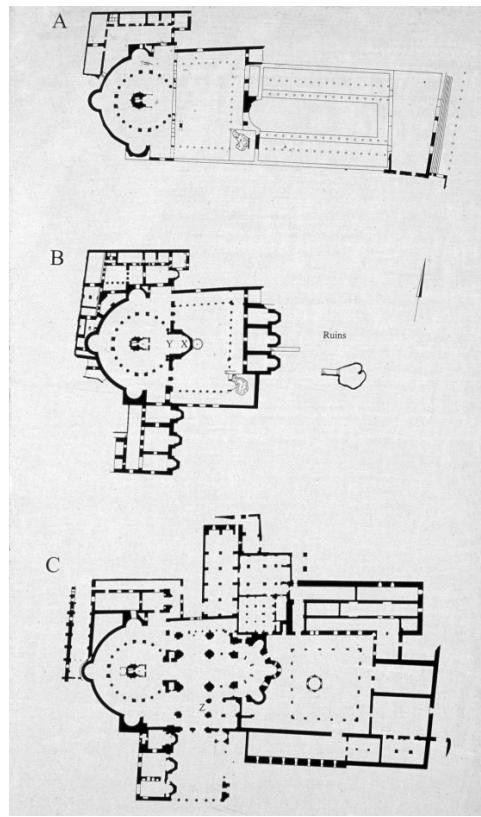
<sup>140</sup> Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, 178.

<sup>141</sup> Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, 179.



**Figure 9** Holy Sepulchre. Plan of the present complex. Crusader additions of the twelfth century are shown in black: 1. Patriarchate; 2. Anastasis Rotunda; 3. Tomb Aedicula; 4. Crusader Choir; 5. Chapel of St. Mary; 6. Chapels; 7. Prison; 8. Ambulatory with radiating chapels; 9. Chapel of St. Helena; 10. Chapel of the Invention of the Cross; 11. Calvary; 12. Entrance.

**Figure 7. Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Plan. (Present State, 2003) Jerusalem. Eleventh-Twelfth Century.**



**Figure 8. Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Plans-A=335, B=1040, C=c.1167-69. Jerusalem. (Drawing by S. Ashley, 1990s). 335-1169.**

The Crusader Church's art and architecture in some areas, including the choir, south transept, and Calvary Chapel, were continuous with the Byzantine program but the northern transept, constructed by a second set of sculptors, the Prison of Christ, and other areas followed a slightly modified plan and demonstrate a more western aesthetic.<sup>142</sup> The presence of the dome instead of a tower demonstrates an attentiveness to the Byzantine origin and seems also to be an attempt to fit the surrounding Jerusalem architecture.<sup>143</sup> The southern transept's intricately decorated façade is the Crusader element that is most western and most distinct from the Byzantine elements of the church.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Folda, *The Art of the Crusades in the Holy Land*, 212.

<sup>143</sup> Folda, *The Art of the Crusades in the Holy Land*, 213.

<sup>144</sup> Folda, *The Art of the Crusades in the Holy Land*, 214.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Epilogue: An Appeal to Recover the Liturgical Vision of the Jerusalem Ordinal

#### *A Brief History of Twentieth and Twenty-First Century Catholic Liturgical Reform*

While the Church of the Holy Sepulchre took its final form in the Crusader Church of the twelfth century, the liturgy of the Christian pilgrims who worshipped there continued to change. The Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century prompted the Catholic Church to call the council of Trent to resolve significant theological, biblical, and liturgical concerns that the Reformation highlighted. The council of Trent published an edition of the Mass in 1570 after the council of Trent (the Tridentine or Latin Mass) that was in unbroken use in a fairly consistent form through the 1960s. In 1962, Pope Saint John XXIII published the final edition of this Mass which text continues to be used today for the celebration of the traditional Latin Mass. During the Second Vatican Council Vatican II, a council called by Pope Saint John XXIII in 1962 and continued till 1965 under Pope Saint Paul VI, the Catholic Church, out of a concern for liturgical reverence and full participation of the congregation in liturgy, published a document called *Sacrosanctum Concilium* or *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*.<sup>145</sup>

Following *Sacrosanctum Concilium*'s publication, Pope Saint Paul VI published a missal in 1970 that became known as the Novus Ordo or Ordinary Form of the Mass (as opposed to the Extraordinary Form or the usus antiquior). He intended to produce a Mass

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<sup>145</sup> Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium: Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, Promulgated by Pope Paul VI, December 4, 1963.

that followed the principles of reform espoused in *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. However, many Catholics remained attached to the Tridentine form of the Mass and in 1971 Pope Saint Paul the VI granted the “Agatha Christie Indult” permitting Catholics in England and Wales to continue celebrating the Mass to which they were greatly attached as part of their religious, cultural, and artistic heritage. The indult was so named because Agatha Christie, among other non-Catholics invested in the continued use of the Tridentine liturgy, signed the petition advocating for its continued practice. In 1984 Pope Saint John Paul II issued a broader indult, *Quattor abhinc annos* which, because of a continued desire for the older liturgical tradition, permitted Catholics to celebrate the 1962 missal as long as they acknowledged the legitimacy of the Novus Ordo Mass and with few exceptions celebrated the Tridentine Mass outside of parish churches.

Despite that indult, Catholics devoted to traditional forms of the Mass continued to pursue and defend the practice of the Latin Mass in such a way that brought tension into the Church. Archbishop Lefebvre who had advocated for a conservative liturgical attitude during Vatican II founded the Society of Saint Paul X (SSPX) in 1970 to promote a conservative liturgical attitude. Tensions between Lefebvre’s society and the Vatican peaked in 1988 when he consecrated four bishops against the express direction of Pope Saint John Paul II and was subsequently excommunicated. On July 2, 1988, Pope Saint John Paul II published a letter *Ecclesia Dei* in response to this situation. In it, he expresses a concern for the unity of the church, obedience to Peter’s successor, and an authentic understanding of church tradition. Although he rejects Lefebvre’s disobedience and misunderstanding of tradition, he expresses sympathy for those who love and admire the Tridentine Mass. He writes of the church’s high estimation of beauty in diversity:

It is necessary that all the Pastors and the other faithful have a new awareness, not only of the lawfulness but also of the richness for the Church of a diversity of charisms, traditions of spirituality and apostolate, which also constitutes the beauty of unity in variety: of that blended ‘harmony’ which the earthly Church raises up to Heaven under the impulse of the Holy Spirit.<sup>146</sup>

Pope Saint John Paul II does not maintain that a homogeneity of liturgy is necessary for the church’s unity. Instead, both the usus antiquior and novus ordo may be practiced by the church’s faithful, each reflecting a particular part of the church’s life and complementing the other. He writes, “to all those Catholic faithful who feel attached to some previous liturgical and disciplinary forms of the Latin tradition I wish to manifest my will to facilitate their ecclesial communion by means of the necessary measures to guarantee respect for their rightful aspirations.”<sup>147</sup> On July 7, 2007, Pope Benedict XVI continued the legislation that Pope Saint John Paul II began by replacing the conditions established in *Quattor abhinc annos* and *Ecclesia Dei* for the practice of the 1962 Mass with the document *Summorum Pontificum* which allows even more generously for the celebration of the Tridentine Mass.

More recently, on July 16, 2021, Pope Francis published *Traditionis Custodes* which, in the interest of ecclesial unity, elevates the Novus Ordo to the exclusion of the Tridentine Mass. The response among traditional Catholics and among non-Catholics who still admire and treasure the Church’s Latin Mass was indignant, scathing, and far from demonstrative of ecclesial unity. Rod Dreher identified Pope Francis’ motu proprio as the sort of act that so alienated him with the magisterium of the Catholic Church that

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<sup>146</sup> John Paul II, *Ecclesia Dei*, 1988.

<sup>147</sup> John Paul II, *Ecclesia Dei*, 1988.

he converted to Orthodoxy.<sup>148</sup> Steve Skojek pointed out the irony between the motu proprio's title *Traditionis Custodes* and its content and critiqued the pope for claiming "to be motivated in his decision by a desire for 'unity' within the Church — the word is mentioned 32 times in his accompanying letter" but instead causing "an even deeper division into the heart of the Church."<sup>149</sup> Alan Jacobs wrote in a blog post that "Francis is not at the moment completely forbidding the Latin Mass, but only because he finds slow asphyxiation more convenient than summary execution...It is sad and strange to me that Francis can be so warm in his sympathy for thos who openly reject his Church and its teachings, but so icy-cold, so corrosively skeptical, towards some of that Church's most faithful sons and daughters."<sup>150</sup> The popular theology podcast Pints with Aquinas published an episode titled "Why we LOVE the Latin Mass w/Jacob Imam".<sup>151</sup> First Things published a piece from the theologian George Weigel's first detailing his preference for the Novus Ordo Mass but then affirming that he thinks "that the recent apostolic letter *Traditionis Custodes*... was theologically incoherent, pastorally divisive, unnecessary, cruel—and a sorry example of the liberal bullying that has become all too familiar in Rome recently".<sup>152</sup> These are a representative sample of the response from theologians, Catholic figures, and conservative thinkers from an enormous pool of

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<sup>148</sup> Dreher, Rod, 2021, "Et Tu, Francisce," in *The American Conservative*, July.

<sup>149</sup> Skojek, Steve, 2021, "Crippled Religion Strikes Again--And Summorum Pontificum Gets the Axe," *One Peter Five*, July.

<sup>150</sup> Jacobs, Alan, 2021, "Assymmetrical Charity," *Snakes and Ladders: More Lighting of Candles, Less Cursing the Darkness* (blog), July 16, 2021.

<sup>151</sup> Fradd, Matt. n.d. "7 Reasons We LOVE the Latin Mass W/Jacob Imam," Pints with Aquinas.

<sup>152</sup> Weigel, George, 2021, "Liberal Authoritarianism and the Traditional Latin Mass," *First Things*, July.

articles, blog posts, podcasts, and news articles protesting and debating the merits of Francis' decision. Because of the exuberant and indignant response to Francis' letter, Arthur Roche of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments published *Responsa ad Dubia* on November 18, 2021, which was subsequently endorsed by Pope Francis and clarified the contents and purpose of the former letter. In it, he writes that "The Motu Proprio *Traditionis custodes* intends to re-establish in the whole Church of the Roman Rite a single and identical prayer expressing its unity".<sup>153</sup>

### *Liturgical Unity*

Though the primary end of Vatican II's liturgical reform expressed by Paul in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was the "full and active participation of all the people", Pope Francis has recentered the discussion of liturgical reform around unity.<sup>154</sup> On the liturgical view espoused in this paper, that liturgy is a public, corporate work of worship, a λειτυργία, ecclesial unity is of paramount importance to the life of the church and the celebration of liturgy. However, there are two caveats I suggest are important amendments to Francis' view: first, unity does not necessarily entail homogeneity, and second, unity is a central liturgical concern but not the only liturgical concern.

Concerning the first caveat, as John Paul II expressed in *Ecclesia Dei*, the unified beauty of the church is composed of a variety of devotions and traditions whose

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<sup>153</sup> Roche, Arthur, *Responsa ad Dubia*. December 4, 2021. Nb. "motu proprio" means "by his own initiative."

<sup>154</sup> Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium: Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, Promulgated by Pope Paul VI*, December 4, 1963.

complementarity comprise a harmonious beauty. This appreciation for variety and diversity within Catholicism is expressed in many places in Catholic tradition. St. Therese of Lisieux writes in her autobiography *Story of a Soul* about the spiritual garden that is the faithful:

Every flower created by Him is beautiful, that the brilliance of the rose and the whiteness of the lily do not lessen the perfume of the violet or the sweet simplicity of the daisy. I understood that if all the lowly flowers wished to be roses, nature would lose its springtide beauty, and the fields would no longer be enamelled with lovely hues. And so it is in the world of souls, Our Lord's living garden. He has been pleased to create great Saints who may be compared to the lily and the rose, but He has also created lesser ones, who must be content to be daisies or simple violets flowering at His feet, and whose mission it is to gladden His Divine Eyes when He deigns to look down on them. And the more gladly they do His Will the greater is their perfection.<sup>155</sup>

St. Therese compares the variety of the faithful and their role in salvation with the variety of flowers, each individual flower lending beauty to the whole garden through its contrast and complement to the other flowers. In the same way, the variety of rites and liturgies within Catholicism does not detract but rather comprises the unified and harmonious beauty of the whole of Christian liturgical tradition.

In contrast, the language of *Responsa ad dubia* and *Traditionis Custodes* calls for an “identical prayer” for the church to promote “ecclesial communion”.<sup>156</sup> If unity between the faithful of the church can only be achieved by an identical liturgical prayer, by ceding the Latin rite we at the same time cede unity with all the saints and faithful who participated in the Mass before 1962. This would seem to be a grave loss. Further,

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<sup>155</sup> Therese Martin of Lisieux, 2005, *The Story of a Soul (L'Histoire d'une Ame)*: *The Autobiography of St. Therese of Lisieux*, translated by Thomas Taylor. Burns, Oates, and Washbourne.

<sup>156</sup> Roche, Arthur, *Responsa ad Dubia*, December 4, 2021; Francis. *An Apostolic Letter Issued "Motu Proprio"*, *Traditionis Custodes*, July 16<sup>th</sup>, 2021.

Pope Francis emphasizes the use of vernacular language in the liturgy, and the relationship of the plethora of vernacular languages to an identical prayer seems far from obvious.

In contrast to the sort of unity Francis advocates, this thesis has demonstrated that the unity of Catholic liturgy is indeed comprised by a variety of liturgical rites and texts. The research about the Jerusalem Ordinal explicated in this thesis testifies to the Catholic practice of crafting liturgical rites for particular places, occasions, and feasts. To suppress the Pope Saint John XXIII's Mass is to suppress and conceal a huge and momentous liturgical tradition. Indeed, even considering the Latin Mass only in its 1962 form is strangely monolithic given the variety of Catholic Latin rites. Indeed, even if the ordinary expression of *lex orandi* of the Roman Rite is consolidated in Pope Saint Paul VI's Mass, the Catechism of the Catholic Church says "the mystery celebrated in the liturgy is one, but the forms of its celebration are diverse.<sup>157</sup> In a passage about liturgical diversity that echoes the tone and message of the above passage from St. Therese, the Catechism reads:

The mystery of Christ is so unfathomably rich that it cannot be exhausted by its expression in any single liturgical tradition. The history of the blossoming and development of these rites witnesses to a remarkable complementarity. When the Churches lived their respective liturgical traditions in the communion of the faith and the sacraments of the faith, they enriched one another and grew in fidelity to Tradition and the common mission of the whole Church...diverse liturgical traditions...characterized by the culture...The Church is catholic, capable of integrating into her unity, while purifying them, all the authentic riches of cultures.<sup>158</sup>

The Catechism lists seven rites whose legitimacy it recognizes and honors: the Latin (which includes both the Latin Mass and the novus ordo celebrated in the vernacular

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<sup>157</sup> *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1200.

<sup>158</sup> *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1201-1202.

language), Byzantine, Alexandrian/Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, Maronite, and Chaldean.<sup>159</sup> Not only does the Catechism articulate the role of diverse liturgical rites in the unity of the catholic church but also professes that the church “holds all lawfully recognized rites to be of equal right and dignity, and that she wishes to preserve them in the future and to foster them in every way”.<sup>160</sup> In contrast to this attitude, Pope Francis’ document clearly aims to minimize, even extinguish, the practice of the extraordinary expression of the Latin rite. Several portions of both *Traditionis Custodes* and the *Responsa ad dubia* demonstrate this aim. *Traditiones Custodes* decrees that the diocesan bishop, if he wishes to provide for the 1962 Mass, is supposed “to designate one or more locations where the faithful adherents of these groups may gather for the eucharistic celebration (not however in the parochial churches and without the erection of new personal parishes)” and that he must “take care not to authorize the establishment of new groups.”<sup>161</sup> The prohibiting of new groups from practicing the Latin Mass, the exiling of the Latin Mass to non-parochial churches, and the proscribing of new churches for the Latin Mass all demonstrate a serious curtailing of Latin Mass practice and seem to clearly reflect a desire to slowly extinguish all practice of the Latin Mass. This interpretation is furthered by the language of the *Responsa ad Dubia* which talks about the motu proprio as reflecting “the direction in which we wish to move”, that is a progressive attitude incompatible with the conservative attitude towards diverse liturgy espoused in the Catechism.<sup>162</sup> Roche asserts that Francis wants “to remind them [those faithful to older

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<sup>159</sup> Catholic Church, *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1203.

<sup>160</sup> Catholic Church, *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1203.

<sup>161</sup> *Traditionis Custodes*, 2021. Art. 3.

<sup>162</sup> Roche, Arthur, *Responsa ad Dubia*, December 4, 2021.

liturgical forms] that this is a concession to provide for their good (in view of the common use of the one *lex orandi* of the Roman Rite) and not an opportunity to promote the previous rite”.<sup>163</sup> Roche then alludes to an address in which Francis describes his liturgical reform as “irreversible” and identifies him as pointing “us [pastors] to the only direction”.<sup>164</sup> There is no semblance in Francis’ letters of the vision of the diversity of tradition held by the Catholic Church as a cherished aspect of ecclesial harmony and unity.

### *Sacrifice and Beauty*

Homogeneity of prayer is not a requisite to ecclesial unity, understood as a harmony of the church’s rich and various tradition. However, ecclesial unity is not the only constitutive element of liturgy. Liturgy praises God and therefore must be reverent, beautiful, and suited to the divine; liturgy must be comprised of external and sensible signs that reorient our senses to God; liturgy must take seriously our embodiment, employing external ritual acts to form the interior life. The liturgy of the Mass must bear all these elements and fit the Eucharistic sacrifice.

Though perhaps it furthers a sort of quasi-unity for the church, the Novus Ordo liturgy does not reflect these liturgical priorities as fully as did the Extraordinary Rite. For example, the Novus Ordo’s removal of the “Suscipe” prayer, which offers the Eucharistic sacrifice to the Holy Trinity for the honor of God, indicates the Usus Antiquior’s deemphasis on the Mass as a work of worship.<sup>165</sup> The Novus Ordo almost

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<sup>163</sup> Roche, *Responda ad Dubia*, December 4, 2021.

<sup>164</sup> Roche, *Responda ad Dubia*, December 4, 2021.

<sup>165</sup> “Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus ob memoriam passionis, resurrectionis, et ascensionis Iesu Christi Domini nostri: et in honorem beatae

entirely replaces the sacrificial element of the Mass with repetitive allusions to unity and community that are underscored by extra-rubrical practices such as holding hands during the recitation of the Our Father.<sup>166</sup> While the unity of the people of the church may be promoted by gatherings outside of the celebration of the Mass, during youth group meetings or family potlucks, the Mass ought to be devoted to the sacrifice of the Eucharist.

Indeed, the central act of the Mass is the priest, *in persona Christi*, sacrificing the body of Christ for the propitiation of our sins. The Novus Ordo demotes the priest from his central role and at the same time removes the sacrificial character of the Mass that the priest's central role demonstrates. The idea of the Jesus' priestly sacrifice during the Mass is replaced by the idea of a communal meal of the people facilitated by the priest.<sup>167</sup>

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Mariae semper Virginis, et beati Joannis Baptistae, et sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et istorum, et omnium Sanctorum: ut illis proficiat ad honorem, nobis autem ad salute: et illi pro nobis intercedere dignentur in caelis, quorum memoriam agimus in terries. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.” “Extraordinary Form of the Latin Mass,” 2021.

<http://www.extraordinaryform.org/ExtraordinaryFormTextLandscape.pdf>.

<sup>166</sup> “Christ is, indeed, present, but only spiritually, and the mystery of the Church is expressed, but only through an assembly that declares and calls upon such a presence. This is repeated at every turn (Nos. 74-152): in the obsessive reiteration of the community aspect of the Mass; in the distinction without precedent between “Missa cum populo” and “Missa sine populo” (Nos. 203-231); in the definition of the “*oratio universalis seu fidelium*” (No. 45), where once more the priestly function of the people (*populus sui sacerdotii minus exercens*) is underlined.” A Group of Roman Theologians, 1970, “A Short Critical Study of the Novus Ordo Missae,” <https://servi.org/a-short-critical-study-of-the-novus-ordo-missae-by-a-group-of-roman-theologians/>.

<sup>167</sup> “The position of the priest is minimized, changed and misrepresented—first in his relation to the people, to whom he stands merely as *president* or *brother*, rather than as consecrated minister, celebrating the Mass *in persona Christi*; secondly in his relation to the Church as a “quidam de populo... The disappearance or optional use of numerous vestments (in certain cases alb and stole are all that are required) obscure the original likeness to Christ: the priest is no longer endowed with all His virtues; he is merely an officer, barely distinguished from the mass by a few signs[18] (“a little more of a man than the others” to quote the unconsciously humorous phrase of a modern

This is reflected in the priest's orientation not towards God to whom he offers propitiation on our behalf, but towards the congregation for whom and by whom the Mass seems to be primarily celebrated and in laicizing of the priest's distinctive attire. The loss of the Mass' sacrificial character is complemented by ritual practice that demonstrates a deemphasis on the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the heart and substance of the Mass, demonstrated for example by the removal of communion rails and Eucharistic reception in the hand. Such a deemphasis seems to correlate with a decreasing conviction among Catholics about the Real Presence in the Eucharist and a growing ignorance of the doctrine of Transubstantiation.<sup>168</sup> In contrast to the community building work of the Novus Ordo liturgy, the proper work of the people that constitutes λειτουργία is fundamentally praise. Jewish theology and tradition, which is the origin and foundation of Christianity, held praise to be the primary end of liturgy and of religion:

The concept of praising and blessing the divine crystallizes the very essence of the Second Temple liturgy, and it may hence also be seen as one of the central pillars of the Jewish religion. The praise of God was actually perceived as so elemental to everyday life that in the Second century BCE it was explicitly formulated as an obligation of the elect towards God that had been in place from the moment of creation.<sup>169</sup>

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preacher).<sup>[19]</sup> Once again, as in the opposition of the table and altar, what God has united is sundered: the unique Priesthood of His Word.”

<sup>168</sup> “Nearly seven-in-ten Catholics (69%) say they personally believe that during Catholic Mass, the bread and wine used in Communion ‘are *symbols* of the body and blood of Jesus Christ.’ Just one-third of U.S. Catholics (31%) say they believe that ‘during Catholic Mass, the bread and wine actually become the body and blood of Jesus.’” Smith, Gregory, 2019, “Just One-Third of U.S. Catholics Agree with Their Church That Eucharist Is Body, Blood of Christ,” *Pew Research Center*.

<sup>169</sup> Pajunen, “The Praise of God and His Name as the Core of the Second Temple Liturgy,” 486.

Liturgy is not merely about those praying and their formation but about what is rightfully owed to their creator—worship and praise. Worship and communion with God is the final end of human life; in liturgy, men prefigure and participate in the beatitude of God’s presence. This view arises from the text of Genesis from which this thesis has extrapolated its understanding of liturgy:

The tradition probably began with exegetical activity that took the scriptural basis available for such an interpretation in Genesis 1,1-2, 3 and combined it with the central aspect of the liturgical practice of the Second Temple period, the praise of God...transformed from a purely earthly praise into a liturgy carried out by the elect together with the angels.<sup>170</sup>

The scriptural basis for liturgy as worship in Judaism is shared by Christianity and implies that liturgy is not merely an earthly activity for human benefit. Rather it is authentically spiritual, a bridge between God and man, heaven and earth, in which perhaps even the angels participate.

If liturgy is about worship of God, then it requires a deep and genuine reverence. For the medieval, liturgical beauty reflected the appropriate reverence due to God. The medieval understanding, held by philosophers from Augustine to Duns Scotus and Aquinas was that beauty was wound up intimately with the good and true and that all three sprung from God himself. Umberto Eco writes that the medieval derived this idea from the story of Genesis which testifies to the essential goodness of God’s creation and the Book of Wisdom which describes the world as being ordered according to weight, number, and measure. This idea is in continuity with the classical idea of *kalokagathia* but takes on a distinct Christian tone in medieval philosophy.<sup>171</sup> Eco argues that

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<sup>170</sup> Pajunen, “The Praise of God and His Name as the Core of the Second Temple Liturgy”, 486.

<sup>171</sup> Eco, “Transcendental Beauty” in *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*.

Augustine's definition of physical beauty as "a harmony" of a body's "parts with a certain pleasing color" which develops from the pre-Socratic notion of *congruentia* is significant for medieval aesthetics.<sup>172</sup> Boethius too appreciates the beauty of proportion both in music and in the cosmos. Medieval philosophers such as these even considered the planets themselves to be ordered by a musical proportion, *musica mundane*, a belief which led them to look for and appreciate other ordered elements of nature such as the seasons, whose harmony and order lent them beauty.<sup>173</sup> For the medieval, God created the cosmos out of chaos and beauty is that which reflects this lovely natural order. Such a view is deeply rooted in the Judeo-Christian texts, tradition, and theology and must not be discarded lightly. If liturgy strives to honor God, then it must also be beautiful and carefully wrought. Careless, ugly, or haphazard prayers cannot express the requisite reverence for God, nor do they reflect the character of a God who ordered the world, filled it with beauty, and considered it good. Fundamentally, both beauty and liturgy are doxological.

Though undoubtedly the leaders of Vatican II did not set out to produce ugly or irreverent liturgy, the use of the Novus Ordo Mass coincides with a vulgarizing of churches and their liturgies. Though it is an ambitious and more difficult project to enumerate the aspects of the Novus Ordo Mass that bring about ugliness in church art, architecture, and liturgy, the difference between the Novus Ordo and the Usus Antiquior is abundantly clear. I offer two images from the Latin Mass parish near my home followed by an image of the Novus Ordo parish near my home.

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<sup>172</sup> Eco, "The Aesthetics of proportion" in *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*.

<sup>173</sup> Eco, "The Aesthetics of Proportion" in *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*.



Figure 9. Rorate Mass at Mater Dei, Irving 2019.



Figure 10. May Crowning, Mater Dei Parish. 2020.



Figure 11. Holy Family of Nazareth Church. Irving. 2017.

Liturgy must not only be beautiful, but it must also take seriously human embodiment and fallenness. As mentioned before, Athanasius describes the downward turning of man's senses after the fall and the remedy that Christ's Incarnation presents by making God himself an object of our senses, restoring them to the apprehension of the divine:

Men had turned from the contemplation of God above, and were looking for Him in the opposite direction, down among created things and things of sense. The Saviour of us all, the Word of God, in His great love took to Himself a body and moved as Man among men, meeting their senses so to speak, half way. He became Himself an object for the senses, so that those who were seeking God in sensible things might apprehend the Father through the works which He, the Word of God, did in the body.<sup>174</sup>

Liturgy must also strive to reorient our senses upwards, returning our attention to God. It does so by a careful and artful incorporation of symbolism, beauty, and didactic art. However, if liturgy's symbols are from a lexicon alien to its practitioners it will become

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<sup>174</sup> Athanasius, *On the Incarnation*, 6, 15.

incomprehensible and lose its power to reorient the worshiper's senses to God. Therefore, the monolithic "identical" prayer that Pope Francis proposes will inevitably fail to help those whose lexicon of words and symbols differs.<sup>175</sup>

The Church must consider the formative effects of ritual practice on interior life. Prayers like the Divine Office, prayed regularly instill order in those praying, habituate them to piety. Because we are embodied souls, the activities we do with our bodies in time and space affect the life of our souls. Praying ordered, beautiful, and reverent prayers will do much to make our souls ordered, beautiful, and reverent.

Though Pope Francis is right to point to the liturgical importance of unity, he has done so at the expense of these other liturgical concerns of praise, beauty, the correction of our senses' orientation, and the external formation of interior disposition. The Latin language itself, though good and lovely and worthy of study and use, is not what renders the Latin rite an excellent Catholic liturgy. Rather the rite expresses a vision of liturgy that reflects these convictions—that liturgy must turn our senses to contemplation of God through beauty and didactic symbolism, that through physical gestures it forms our interior disposition, that it must be worshipful and reflect the order and beauty of the Creator, that it must be reverent and an expression of worship and love for our God. Both the Novus Ordo Mass and other non-Latin liturgies do sometimes richly reflect these priorities. Yet the medieval vision of the created world, theology, and liturgy that the Latin rite uniquely reflects are the source of a great deposit of Christian wisdom and

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<sup>175</sup> Of course, there are immutable and essential parts of sacramental liturgy that must not be tailored to a particular lexicon. These are not however the entirety of the liturgy, and the changeable parts of the liturgy are those that Francis wants to make fixed by the exclusion of other forms such as the Latin rite.

tradition. The extinction of the Latin rite would be a great evil and a serious loss to Christendom.

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