

Crux mihi certa salus. The Cult and the
Veneration of the Cross in Early Medieval
Europe

LOUIS VAN TONGEREN
(Tilburg University, Netherlands)



RESUMEN: El culto de la cruz nació en Jerusalén en el siglo IV. Su origen en Oriente, así como su expansión y desarrollo en Occidente a partir del siglo VIII, están ligados a la presencia de reliquias de la cruz. Ahora bien, para obtener una reliquia de la cruz fue preciso ante todo encontrarla. Por ello, el culto de la cruz no es comprensible sin su hallazgo, al que remiten las dos fiestas dedicadas a la misma, el 3 de mayo y el 14 de septiembre. La celebración litúrgica de los días en los que la cruz es el objeto principal del culto muestra una fuerte conexión, topográfica y temporal, con el contexto histórico. En Jerusalén, el recuerdo de la cruz está vinculado al lugar en el que murió y fue enterrado Jesús, y donde fue encontrada la cruz, y se fijó en el día en el que murió Jesús, el Viernes Santo. A causa de la expansión de las reliquias se perdió la conexión topográfica con el lugar histórico, aunque se mantuvo la

ABSTRACT: The cult of the Cross came into being in Jerusalem in the fourth century. The origin of the cult of the Cross in the East as well as its spread and development in the West from the eighth century onwards are related to the presence of a relic of the Cross. But in order to have a relic of the Cross, it had to be found first. For this reason the cult of the Cross is inconceivable without the finding of the Cross in which the feasts of the Cross on 3 Mai and 14 September originate. The liturgical celebration of the days on which the Cross is the main theme, shows a strong topographical and temporal connection of the cult of the Cross to the historical setting. In Jerusalem the remembrance of the Cross was located on the site on which Jesus died and was buried and where the Cross was found, and it took place on the day on which Jesus died, Good Friday. Because of the spread of the relic the topographical connection

relación con el mismo materializado en la misma reliquia. Por el contrario, se conservó la referencia temporal al contexto histórico, ya que no hubo cambios en las fechas en las que se conmemoró la cruz. A lo largo del tiempo, el culto a la cruz el Viernes Santo se convirtió en un rito público cada vez más desarrollado, a la vez que desaparecía el rito original de la fiesta del 14 de septiembre, a lo largo de un proceso de creciente abstracción: la exaltación de la cruz se convirtió en una metáfora de la glorificación y exaltación del Señor, muerto en la cruz.

PALABRAS CLAVE: fiestas de la cruz, Viernes Santo, Invención de la Cruz (3 de mayo), Exaltación de la Cruz (14 de septiembre), liturgia medieval, Jerusalén, Roma, liturgia franca, liturgia hispánica.

to the historical place was abandoned. But the reference to the historical place became materialised in the relic. The temporal reference to the historical context was preserved because the dates on which the Cross was commemorated were not changed. In the course of time on Good Friday the cult of the Cross developed to a more and more elaborated public ritual, while the original ritual on the feast of 14 September disappeared and had become abstract; the exaltation of the Cross became a metaphor for the glorification and exaltation of the Lord, who died on the Cross.

KEYWORDS: Feasts of the Cross, Good Friday, Finding of the Cross (3 Mai), Exaltation of the Cross (14 September), Medieval liturgy, Jerusalem, Rome, Frankish liturgy, Spanish liturgy.

1. INTRODUCTION

The cult and the veneration of the Cross have, during the course of the Middle Ages, assumed many shapes and forms and a colourful identity. Many forms of expression and customs have been preserved. Crosses richly decorated with precious stones and sometimes with a piece of wood that is considered to be a relic of the original Cross, are cherished and admired in churches, treasuries and museums. Many people cross themselves before and after a meal or at the beginning or end of a prayer and footballers make the sign of the Cross before the game or after scoring a goal. Lots of people wear a Cross on a necklace. Parents make the sign of a Cross on their child's forehead before it goes to sleep at night. Crosses are displayed on church steeples and many houses are also decorated with one or more crucifixes. Music history includes a wealth of Cross hymns and theological reflection even has its own Cross theology. Crosses are carried in processions, mark a grave or the place where someone died and are erected at the roadside or in the open field in some regions. The liturgy also includes special festivals of the Cross. In short: the image of the Cross is again and again reflected in iconography, literature, architecture, piety, theology, the liturgy and rituals in so many ways. In the Middle Ages the image of the Cross and the way it was treated was built on the basis of the earliest initiatives that arose in Christian

antiquity. Constantine the Great and his mother Helena were not only responsible for giving Christianity a decisive boost to its development, spread, influence and prestige, their efforts also strengthened the value of the symbol of the Cross, which resulted in it becoming the most important symbol of Christianity.

The numerous representations of the Cross can be studied from just as many angles of approach. The perspective applied when doing so partly depends on the source material on which the study is based. The Cross can be studied as a material object, but emphasis can also be placed on the function and meaning of the Cross in piety, on the position and significance of the Cross in the liturgy or on reflection on the Cross in theology. These angles of approach cannot be strictly separated. This is because in piety and the liturgy for example, the Cross is also important as an object and, moreover, piety and the liturgy overlap one another a great deal. Besides this, one does not theologize merely on the basis of abstract concepts; rituals and practices within the liturgy and piety also demand theological reflection.

2. DEMARCATION AND SETUP

As much as the various angles of approach overlap one another, henceforth emphasis will be laid on the liturgy, namely, on the ritual development of the cult of the Cross. Although the Cross is an important object

in rituals, the study of this object in all its diversity is not most important in this article. I shall not present an art-historical account on procession Crosses, altar Crosses, triumph Crosses, crucifixes or pictures of the Cross. Despite the great number and diversity of artistically designed Crosses and despite the extensive religious imagery surrounding the Cross, its iconography will be omitted, however much the majority of these artistic images of the Cross should also be situated in a liturgical context. It is this liturgical setting that I concentrate on. In doing so I focus on the ritual structure of the remembrance celebration of the Cross as this takes place annually on a number of days throughout the year. Though Crosses and Cross relics are significant objects, however, I approach them as being ritual objects in particular. In order to be able to understand this liturgical structure we have descriptions of rituals at our disposal as well as collections of texts that were read, prayed and sung during celebrations of the liturgy. Although the content of these texts shed significant light on the interpretation and meaning attached to the Cross, a detailed presentation and analysis of the text material must be omitted.¹ In my study of the ritual of the cult of the Cross I concentrate on the West and pay attention to its spread and growth during the period of the early Middle Ages.

Although the West signifies a very considerable part of the then-inhabited and known world and the early Middle Ages covers the period of a number of centuries, this at the same time indicates a geographical and temporal demarcation. But because the cradle of the cult of the Cross lies in Jerusalem, we cannot ignore the East entirely; for this reason I shall briefly focus on the East first. Moreover, there are several reasons why I restrict myself to the early Middle Ages. It is in this period that the cult of the Cross developed and spread in the West. Moreover, during this period the meaning of the

Cross displays coherence with regard to content that distinguishes itself emphatically from the perception of the Cross that was to become more significant round the turn of the millennium and that was to develop strongly from the twelfth century onwards, in particular.² At the time, a realistic image of the suffering of Christ was to dominate the perception of the Cross in stead of the image of Christ as the vivid and victorious King standing on the Cross in the early Middle Ages. And from a liturgical-historical viewpoint, too, the early Middle Ages can be distinguished from the developments the liturgy was to undergo in the second millennium.³ During the spread of Christianity in the West various liturgical families arose alongside one another. Besides two types of liturgy in the city of Rome, local or indigenous traditions can be distinguished in North Africa (Carthago, Hippo), Spain, Gaul, Ireland, Northern Italy (Aquilaia, Milan) and Southern Italy (Benevento). Although these traditions share much in common, diverse theological, ecclesiastical and political spheres of influence, as well as the character of the various local populations, all played their part in the shaping of each of these peculiar and distinct rites. They demonstrate unity in diversity. Through time these traditions lost their independence and were surpassed by Roman ones. Under leadership of the Carolingians and later of the Ottonians, uniformity was brought to the multiform liturgical practice whereby the local Roman tradition of the papal liturgy served as the norm and example. The indigenous Hispanic tradition of the Iberian peninsula and South Gaul (Septimania), also designated as Visigothic or Mozarabic liturgy, was for a long time able to avoid the Roman sphere of influence, but was prohibited by Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085).

² See for example J. Pelikan: *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)* (= The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine 3), Chicago / London, 1978, pp. 106-157; U. Köpf: 'Kreuz IV. Mittelalter', in G. Müller (Hrsg.): *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 19, Berlin / New York, 1990, pp. 732-761, esp. pp. 752-756.

³ See for an overview of the genesis of the liturgy in the West on the basis of the significant liturgical sources C. Vogel: *Medieval Liturgy. An Introduction to the Sources* (Revised and Translated by W. Storey & N. Rasmussen), Washington, 1986; H. Wegman: *Liturgie in der Geschichte des Christentums*, Regensburg, 1994, pp. 98-243; E. Palazzo: *Le Moyen Age. Des origines au XIIIe siècle. Histoire des livres liturgiques*, Paris, 1993.

¹ See for an analysis of the liturgical text material L. van Tongeren: *Exaltation of the Cross. Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy* (= Liturgia condenda 11), Leuven/Paris/Sterling, 2000; idem: "La vénération de la croix. Le vendredi saint dans la liturgie hispanique", in *Questions liturgiques. Studies in liturgy*, 80 (1999), pp. 106-131.

This process of standardization took place in the early Middle Ages. It is then that the rough outlines of the Western liturgy gained shape.

As has already been mentioned, my angle of approach is a liturgical one. This means that I take my information from descriptions and evidence in the liturgical books. Before I describe the development of the cult of the Cross in the West on the basis of these liturgical books, I first concentrate on Jerusalem, where the cult of the Cross came into being (3). It appears that the origin of the cult of the Cross is related to the presence of a relic of the Cross. On a few days of the year this relic has become the most important object of a ritual, in addition to which the liturgy has been extended with a remembrance of the Cross. In places outside Jerusalem where the cult of the Cross was also adopted, there was a relic of the Cross too. Therefore, there is a relationship between the spread of the relic and the spread of the cult of the Cross (4). Of the days on which the Cross was the main theme, first the two feasts of the Cross on 3 May and 14 September will be discussed (5); in doing so emphasis will be on the introduction of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in Rome and the adoption of this feast in the Frankish realm. Following this the veneration of the Cross on Good Friday in the city of Rome and the Frankish and Spanish liturgy, respectively, will be described (6). I will conclude with a few closing remarks (7).

3. THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF THE CROSS IN JERUSALEM

It was the relic of the Cross around which the veneration of the Cross and the public cult of the Cross originated. Their roots lie in Jerusalem where there had been a relic of the Cross since St. Helena (around 248-around 328), the mother of Emperor Constantine the Great (272/273-337), found the true Cross there probably round 325, on which Jesus had died.⁴ Accord-

ing to tradition, which is based primarily on legends, a divine sign led to Helena being able to point to the place where three Crosses were found, as well as the inscription (Title) and the nails with which Jesus was nailed to the Cross. The Cross of Jesus was identified by having a sick person come into contact with the three Crosses. The Cross that the sick person touched before being cured was then the true Cross. Helena sent part of the Cross to her son Constantine and another part remained in Jerusalem. This relic of the Cross was worshipped annually on two days of the year; Good Friday and 14 September.

3.1. GOOD FRIDAY

In the journal kept by the Spanish pilgrim Egeria of her travels to the Holy Land round 380-385, she describes the liturgy in Jerusalem in detail.⁵ It appears that the information from the gospels was closely adhered to. The remembrance of the last days of Jesus' life especially is celebrated at the historical place and time mentioned. Easter is no longer a single celebration of suffering, death and resurrection, but is spread out over a number of days. From Thursday evening up till Sunday, pilgrims follow the Passion in accordance with chronological and topographical evidence and travel from one historical spot of the last days of Jesus' life to the other. The celebration of Easter has been made historized and been dramatised.⁶ On Good Friday, too, people travel to various locations in and outside the city. Here bible passages are read that are related to that particular place and people pray and sing

with an extensive list of literature Van Tongeren: *Exaltation of the Cross* pp. 17-39; S. Janeras: *Le Vendredi-Saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine. Structure et histoire de ses offices* (= Studia Anselmiana 99; *Analecta liturgica* 12), Roma, 1988, pp. 279-305; H. Klein: *Byzanz, der Westen und das 'wahre' Kreuz. Die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland*, Wiesbaden, 2004, pp. 19-31; A.-M. Plum: *Adoratio Crucis in Ritus und Gesang. Die Verehrung des Kreuzes in liturgischer Feier und in zehn exemplarischen Passionsliedern* (*Pietas liturgica* 17), Tübingen/Basel, 2006, pp. 15-51.

⁵ J. Wilkinson: *Egeria's travels to the Holy Land*, 2nd ed., Jerusalem/Warmminster, 1981.

⁶ M. Klöckener: "Die 'Feier vom Leiden und Sterben Jesu Christi' am Karfreitag", in *Liturgisches Jahrbuch*, 41 (1991), pp. 210-251, esp. pp. 212-220.

⁴ See for a more detailed study of the veneration of the Cross in the East

and in their weeping and lamenting they share in what happened to Jesus. Fundamentally, this celebration of Good Friday is one continuous service of the Word, in which the suffering and death of Jesus is remembered, preached and set in the present. However, Egeria has the ongoing service with readings from the scriptures in the afternoon and evening and continuing with a vigil into early Saturday morning, preceded by a veneration of the Cross in the morning between the second and the sixth hours (8.00-12.00). She describes this in detail.⁷ In the small chapel that is situated between Golgotha and the Martyrium basilica, the bishop took place on his throne. A table was put before him. Surrounded by deacons, the wood of the Cross is taken out of a silver box that is lined with gold and laid on the table together with the Title. One by one the faithful pass this table to venerate the Cross. Approaching the table, people bow, then touch the Cross and the Title first with their forehead and then with their eyes and finally they kiss the Cross. Following this veneration of the Cross, they approach the deacon who holds out the ring of Salomon and the horn with which the kings were anointed, for veneration. After this, they then leave the chapel through a different door than the one through which they entered. Because a part of the relic was once stolen by someone who bit a piece off, deacons remain watchful.

This description of Egeria's is the oldest evidence of the veneration of the relic of the Cross. Because there had been a relic in Jerusalem for a number of decades, a ritual could be added to the celebration on Good Friday, which was restricted to a service of the Word. The presence of a relic made such a ritual, which for

that matter appears to have been executed in silence, possible. In comparison with the other meetings she describes, which have a strong collective character, Egeria gives the impression that this is more of a private practice in piety than a communal celebration of the liturgy.⁸ Nothing is said about reading, praying or singing collectively and different relics are presented that again are also worshipped individually. However, one can ask oneself whether the distinction between the liturgy and piety—if indeed this distinction can and may be made—is applicable in this case. The role of the bishop, who encourages the faithful to take part and who himself is prominently present, indicates a liturgical meeting rather than an act of individual devotion. The Cross is indeed individually worshipped by each person, but this is obvious anyway as the relic is touched and kissed. Moreover, the ritual takes place in a small space that is not suitable for a collective meeting involving a crowd. The topographical link of Golgotha as the historical place of the Cross and the crucifixion was more important than the space required for the staging of a large collective ritual.

3.2. EXALTATION OF THE CROSS

The other day on which the Cross was venerated is connected to the annual feast of Dedication of the large basilica which soon arose on the site where the Cross was found.⁹ This Martyrium basilica was consecrated in 335, and would in a few years grow into a large complex together with the Church of the Resurrection (Anastasis rotunda). In the account of her journey Egeria explains that the celebration of the feast of the Dedication of the two churches is performed very solemnly, because the Cross of the Lord was found on the very day of their dedications.¹⁰ According to the oldest stratum of the Armenian Lectionary, the feast of the Dedication was celebrated for eight days, beginning on 13 September. On the second day (14 September), people gathered in the

⁷ Egeria: *Itinerarium*, 36,5-37,3 (Wilkinson: *Egeria's travels*, pp. 136-137). Cf. also L. van Tongeren: "A sign of resurrection on Good Friday. The role of the people in the Good Friday liturgy until c. 1000 A.D. and the meaning of the Cross", in C. Caspers and M. Schneiders: *Omnes circumstantes. Contributions towards a history of the role of the people in the liturgy*, Kampen, 1990, pp. 101-119, esp. pp. 104-107. In the Armenian Lectionary, too, that conveys the liturgy in Jerusalem in the first half of the fifth century, the veneration of the Cross on the morning of Good Friday is mentioned, though not at the exact same location as Egeria: *Armenian Lectionary*, 43 (A. Renoux: *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121. 2. Édition comparée du texte et de deux autres manuscrits* (= *Patrologia orientalis* 36,2), Turnhout, 1971, pp. 280-281; cf. Plum: *Adoratio Crucis*, pp. 28-30.

⁸ According to Plum: *Adoratio Crucis*, p. 20.

⁹ Van Tongeren: *Exaltation of the Cross*, pp. 17-35.

¹⁰ Egeria: *Itinerarium*, 48,1-2 (Wilkinson: *Egeria's travels*, p. 146).

Martyrium and “the venerable, life-giving [and] Holy Cross was displayed before the whole congregation”.¹¹ The reason for this display of the Cross during the celebration of Dedication was the discovery of the true Cross, according to archdeacon Theodosius in the report of his pilgrimage to Palestine circa 530.¹² As a reference to the display the term “Exaltation” (*hupsosis*) was first used in the sixth century by the monk Alexander of Cyprus (527-565).¹³ Thus by the end of the fourth century we find the conviction that the discovery of the Cross was related to the feast of Dedication and from the beginning of the fifth century this feast of Dedication is accompanied by a display of the Cross. The finding of the Cross is in this way related to the Dedication and provides the motifs for a display or an exaltation of the Cross on the day of the feast of Dedication. In other words: because of the finding of the Cross, it is displayed during the feasts of Dedication. This display of the Cross forms the precursor and the oldest core of what was to develop into the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. This means that the finding of the Cross is the foundation for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. When, in the course of time, the feast of Dedication of both churches was celebrated together on 13 September, the feast of Dedication and the display or exaltation of the Cross were separated; since then the finding of the Cross was celebrated together with the display or exaltation of the Cross on 14 September, the day after the feast of Dedication.

In its origins, the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross shows a certain analogy with the cult of martyrs and their veneration. The tomb of the martyr was the concrete place of remembrance, which was provided with a *memoria*, a monument that particularly after the time of Constantine developed into a grand basilica at many tombs. At these graves people annually celebrated the day on which the martyrs died as their *dies natalis*.

Similarly, the Martyrium basilica in Jerusalem may be considered the *memoria crucis* and the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross the annual memorial celebration of the Finding of the Cross.¹⁴

The oldest information on a public cult of the Cross thus leads us back to the liturgy in Jerusalem. Here, in the late fourth century, there was a custom involving the veneration of the Cross on Good Friday. Shortly after, at the beginning of the fifth century, the Cross is lifted up to enable the people to venerate it. It is quite possible that the rituals mentioned were already popular earlier in time, however, there is no evidence of this. Both rituals are dependent on the finding of the Cross; this is explicitly the case with regard to the ritual on 14 September, and implicitly in relation to 14 September as well as Good Friday: on both days the rituals suppose a relic of the Cross and this is only be available if it has been found beforehand. For this reason it is not inconceivable that the rituals were established sooner; not at the end but in the first half of the fourth century when there was already a relic of the Cross present.

4. SPREAD OF THE RELIC OF THE CROSS

This brief outline shows that the origin of the cult of the Cross in Jerusalem is connected to at least four factors: the finding of the Cross, attributed to St. Helena; the place where Jesus was crucified and the Cross was unearthed, Jerusalem and especially Golgotha; the erection and inauguration of a large church; and the day on which the crucifixion took place, Good Friday. The development of the cult of the Cross was dependent on these topographical and temporally determined historical events and on the presence of the relic of the Cross. When the Cross was found, however, it became an object of veneration not only in Jerusalem, but also rapidly spread in the way of relics.¹⁵ Already before Ege-

¹¹ *Armenian Lectionary*, 67-68 (Renoux: *Le codex arménien*, pp. 360-363).

¹² Theodosius: *De situ terrae*, 31 (P. Geyer: *Theodosii de situ terrae sanctae*, in *Itineraria et alia geographica* (= *Corpus christianorum*. Series latina 175), Turnhout, 1965, p. 124.

¹³ Alexander Monachus: *De venerandae ac vivificae cruces inventione* (J.-P. Migne: *Patrologia graeca* 87/3, p. 4072).

¹⁴ Cf. Hj. Auf der Maur: “Feste und Gedenktage der Heiligen”, in Ph. Harnoncourt and Hj. Auf der Maur: *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit 2/1* (= *Gottesdienst der Kirche*. *Hanbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft 6/1*), Regensburg, 1994, p. 97.

¹⁵ See for an inventory and for chronologically ordered overviews of the

ria mentions the veneration of the Cross in Jerusalem in her travel journal, round 350 Cyril of Jerusalem writes that parts of the Cross were to be found all over the world.¹⁶ A decade later, the Emperor Julian the Apostate (361-363) reproved the Christians for worshipping wood of the Cross.¹⁷ Gregory of Nyssa relates that in 379, after the death of his sister Macrina, in his presence a woman friend of hers found a necklace with an iron Cross as well as an iron ring around her neck, in which “a piece of the wood of life was concealed”.¹⁸ And according to John Chrysostom, wearing a relic of the Cross around the neck seems to have been quite common at the end of the fourth century, both for men and women.¹⁹ These few examples show that the spread of the relics of the Cross also brought with it devotion to the Cross. The healing significance of the crucifixion of Jesus gave fragments of the Cross apotropaic and protective power. But it was not only individual devotion to the Cross that increased together with the spread of the number of relics. The public ritual of the exhibit and veneration of the relic of the Cross on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross also spread to places outside Jerusalem; the ritual was in any case one that was familiar in Syria and Constantinople during the sixth century.²⁰

In the West, too, people rather quickly came into possession of relics of the Cross. It is possible that within several decades after the discovery of the Cross in Jerusalem, a relic was brought to Rome.²¹ In the time of Constantine the Great or of his son Constantius II (337-361), a richly embellished relic of the Cross is said to have been given to the *basilica Hierusalem* or *basilica Helena*, which would later be named *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*

and *basilica Sanctae Crucis*.²² In the fifth century Pope Leo the Great (440-461) received a fragment of the Cross from Bishop Juvenalis of Jerusalem and the Popes Hilarus (461-468) and Symmachus (489-514) placed relics of the Cross in the Lateran basilica and in St. Peter's, respectively. The distribution of relics of the Cross was not limited, however, just to Rome. As early as 402 Paulinus of Nola received a relic of the Cross, and in turn he sent a part of this relic to his friend Sulpicius Severus at Primuliacum in Aquitania.²³ In the sixth century the number of relics of the Cross in and outside Rome increased and they are also reported to have been in Vienna, Ravenna, Tours and Poitiers.²⁴ Despite the number of relics of the Cross that were distributed in the West from the fourth to the sixth centuries, it would appear that the presence of a relic alone did not provide sufficient reason to establish a liturgical ritual for the veneration of this precious relic, or to adopt one from the East. This did not happen until the seventh century.²⁵

The distribution of the Cross relics resulted, it is true, in the relic still signifying Jerusalem and Golgotha as the place of the crucifixion, but it had been disconnected from its historic-topographical setting.²⁶ The connection to the historic-temporal setting was preserved in the liturgy: Good Friday and 14 September remained the oldest days on which the Cross was venerated. The spread of the Cross relics also meant that they came into the possession of individuals, thus encouraging a more private piety. This was stimulated even more when oil

spread of relics of the Cross A. Frolow: *La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (= Archives de l'orient chrétien 7), Paris, 1961.

¹⁶ Cyril of Jerusalem: *Catechesis*, 4,10; 10,19; 13,4 (Migne: *Patrologia graeca* 33, p. 469; pp. 685-688; p. 776).

¹⁷ Cyril of Alexandria: *Contra Julianum*, 6 (Migne: *Patrologia graeca* 76, p. 796).

¹⁸ Gregory of Nyssa: *Vita Macrinae*, 30 (P. Maraval: *Grégoire de Nyse. Vie de sainte Macrine* [= Sources chrétiennes 178], Paris, 1971, p. 242).

¹⁹ John Chrysostom: *Contra Iudaeos et Gentiles quod Christus sit Deus*, 10 (Migne: *Patrologia graeca* 48, pp. 826-827).

²⁰ See Van Tongeren: *Exaltation of the Cross*, pp. 36-39.

²¹ Van Tongeren: *Exaltation of the Cross*, pp. 55-56.

²² See also S. de Blaauw: “Jerusalem in Rome and the Cult of the Cross”, in R. Colella, M. Gill, L. Jenkins and P. Lamers (Hrsg.): *Pratum Romanum. Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, 1997, pp. 55-73.

²³ Paulinus of Nola: *Epistula*, 31,1-2; 32,11 (G. de Hartel: *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Epistulae* (= Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum latinorum 29), Prag/Wien/Leipzig, 1894, pp. 268-269; p. 287).

²⁴ See Frolow: *La relique de la vraie croix*, pp. 177-181. In the first decades of the ninth century especially a “flood of the Cross relics” were to spread across the Frankish realm, according to W. Wilhelmy: “Die Entstehung von *De laudibus* im Spannungsfeld von Bilderstreit und Glaubenswahrheit”, in H.-J. Kotzur (Hrsg.): *Rabanus Maurus. Auf den Spuren eines karolingischen Gelehrten*, Mainz, 2006, pp. 23-32; here pp. 29-32; quote on p. 30.

²⁵ According to Klein: *Byzanz*, p. 77 Cross relics were not directly used during rituals because originally, they were not available as to be used freely but were locked up in altars.

²⁶ The Roman church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme functioned in the centuries after its foundation in the fourth century as a *memoria* of the Cross and the place where the Cross had stood; in this way it represented Jerusalem and Golgotha. Cf. De Blaauw: “Jerusalem in Rome”.

became available that had been consecrated or sanctified by being brought into contact with the true Cross in Jerusalem.²⁷ This oil was brought back by pilgrims and preserved in flasks or ampullae, generally decorated, of which those at Monza and Bobbio are the best known.²⁸ The power of attraction of the relic, which provided protection against evil and disaster, went beyond the boundaries of the liturgy. The effectiveness of the relic had come within easy reach and was no longer restricted to the historical place and time.

From the beginning the cult of the Cross and Cross devotion were closely connected to the relic. The cult of the Cross would not have come into existence in the fourth century in Jerusalem, would it not have been for Cross relics. And as the relics became accessible through the finding of the Cross, the cult of the Cross is inconceivable without the finding of the Cross. However, on the other hand this does not mean to say that a liturgical ritual automatically came into being when a relic was possessed. A relic of the Cross was also essential for the adoption of the cult of the Cross in the West. The oldest feasts on which the Cross ritual developed in the fourth or fifth century in Jerusalem were also connected to the presence of a relic when they were adopted in the West. This concerns the celebration of the Exaltation of the Cross and Good Friday. Conversely, the same also applied to the West. Being in possession of a Cross relic alone was not reason enough to introduce a Cross ritual or a Cross feast.

5. THE CROSS FEASTS

5.1. THE OLDEST LAYER OF THE FEAST OF THE EXALTATION OF THE CROSS IN ROME

Although there were Cross relics in Rome and other places in the West from the fourth, fifth century, the

first record of a Cross ritual in Rome dates from the first half of the seventh century. In a collection of prayer texts for the various feast days of the year, the so-called Sacramentary of Padua, a prayer has been included for 14 September with the title: “ad crucem salutandum in sancto petro”. This heading suggests a ritual in honour of the Cross in St. Peter’s and this suggestion is strengthened and confirmed by the oration itself: “Deus qui unigeniti tui domini nostri iesu christi praetioso sanguine humanum genus redemere dignatus es, concede propitius ut *qui ad adorandam uiuificam crucem adueniunt* a peccatorum suorum nexibus liberentur. Per dominum”²⁹ (“God, Who has deigned to redeem the human race through the precious blood of your Only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, grant in your mercy to *those who are come to venerate this life-giving Cross*, that they may be freed from the shackles of their sins”). We have seen that on 14 September in Jerusalem, on the occasion of the consecration of the church, the Cross was displayed and lifted up in veneration. However, on 14 September the feast of the bishops Cornelius and Cyprian was celebrated in Rome, so the veneration of the Cross was added to this existing feast. It can be concluded from the reconstruction of old collections of prayer texts and their forerunners that the veneration of the Cross and this prayer from the Sacramentary of Padua received a place in the liturgy at St. Peter’s during the reign of Pope Honorarius I (625-638), round 630.³⁰ The oldest lectionaries confirm that in the second quarter of the seventh century in Rome, a Cross feast was introduced on 14 September that could be celebrated instead of the feast of Cornelius and Cyprian.³¹ During this period the feast was still developing. It was not celebrated in all the churches in the city, was not part of the calendar, nor did it have a complete order of service with its own prayers, readings and chants.

²⁹ Sacramentary of Padua no. 665 (J. Deshusses: *Le sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d’après les plus anciens manuscrits. Édition comparative 1. Le sacramentaire, le supplément d’Aniane* (= Spicilegium Friburgense 16), Fribourg, 1971, p. 659).

³⁰ Van Tongeren: *Exaltation of the Cross*, pp. 50-55.

³¹ Van Tongeren: *Exaltation of the Cross*, pp. 62-66.

²⁷ See Frolow: *La relique de la vraie croix*, pp. 174-176.

²⁸ See H. Leclercq: “Ampoules (à eulogies)”, in F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq: *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 1/2, Paris, 1907, pp. 1.722-1.747.

In the following decades this veneration ritual was developed into a fully fledged feast with a complete service of Mass for the benefit of the papal liturgy as well as the liturgy in the titular churches of Rome. In the prayer books (sacramentaries) that were put together for the papal liturgy, the above mentioned prayer from the Sacramentary of Padua was adopted for 14 September, but two other prayers were also included that refer to a veneration of the Cross; it is prayed “that we, who rejoice in the veneration of the same Holy Cross...”, and “that we, as we have been permitted to venerate it [the Cross]...”.³² There is also an indirect liturgical source that indicates that, at the end of the seventh century, a Cross ritual also takes place in St. John’s of Lateran. In the *Liber pontificalis* the biographer of Pope Sergius (687-701) writes that in the basilica of the Redeemer a relic of the Cross is venerated and worshipped with a kiss on the day that is referred to as *dies Exaltationis sanctae Crucis*, which as a “technical term” refers to the already established name for what by now had become a familiar feast.³³ Therefore, following on from liturgical practices in Jerusalem, in the seventh century a veneration of the Cross was introduced in Rome, to be held on 14 September. This soon developed into an independent feast called the Exaltation of the Cross.³⁴

The only thing known about the arrangement and

³² Sacramentary of Trent no. 728: *Deus qui unigeniti filii tui pretioso sanguine vivifice crucis vixillum sanctificare voluisti : concede, quaesumus, nos qui eiusdem sanctae crucis gaudemus honore, tua quoque ubique protectione gaudere. Per eundem.* (F. dell’Oro: “Sacramentarium Tridentinum” [Trento, Museo Provinciale d’Arte, M.N. 1590], in *Monumenta liturgica ecclesiae Tridentinae saculo XIII antiquiora*. 2A. *Fontes liturgici. Libri sacramentorum* [= Collana di Monografie edita dalle Società per gli Studi Tridentini 38, 2/1], Trento, 1985, pp. 3-416; here pp. 241-242); Sacramentarium Hadrianum no. 691: *Iesu Christi domini nostri corpore saginati per quem crucis est sanctificatus uexillum quaesumus domine deus noster ut sicut adorare meruimus, ita perennitatis eius gloriae salutaris potiamur effectum.* Per. (Deshusses: *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, 271). The prayer from the Sacramentary of Padua no. 665 is also part of the form for the Exaltation of the Cross in the Sacramentary of Trent (no. 731) and the Sacramentarium Hadrianum (no. 690).

³³ L. Duchesne: *Le liber pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire* 1, Paris, 1955, p. 374.

³⁴ For quite some time the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross was celebrated on the same day as the feast of Cornelius and Cyprian. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the celebration of the *dies natalis* of Cornelius and Cyprian was changed to 16 September. See P. Jounel: *Le renouveau du culte des Saints dans la liturgie romaine* (= Bibliotheca “Ephemerides liturgicae”, Subsidia 36), Roma, 1986, p. 185; Auf der Maur: “Feste und Gedenktage”, p. 314.

proceedings of the Cross ritual is that the Cross is venerated with a kiss. This indicates that the ritual has fewer similarities with the veneration of the Cross in the East at the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross than on Good Friday. On 14 September the ritual that takes place there consists of a multiple lifting of the Cross in veneration, whilst according to Egeria, at the end of the fourth century in Jerusalem, the Cross is venerated with a kiss on Good Friday.³⁵

The origin of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in the West can be dated around 630, but is there an explanation for the introduction of the feast at that time?³⁶ An important factor which may have been of decisive influence is the return of the relic of the Cross in Jerusalem, taken by the Persians in their conquest of Jerusalem in 614, and recaptured in 631 by the Emperor Heraclius. A number of years later the Jerusalem relic was moved to Constantinople for fear of a new Persian raid.³⁷ The triumphal return to Jerusalem of the relic that had been plundered and the entry of this relic several years later into Constantinople took place during the reign of Pope Honorius I, and could have been the concrete impetus for publicly venerating the relics of the Cross present in Rome. The return of the relic due to the efforts of Heraclius and the possible introduction of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in the time of Honorius would seem to be more than a chance coincidence. A reasonable case can be made for the connection between the two events in the context of the rivalry between Rome and Constantinople, which manifested itself more emphatically during the sixth and seventh century.³⁸ The tense relationship could have contributed to people in Rome wanting to imitate this feast of the rival metropolis, when it received an extra impetus there because the Byzantine Emperor brought the stolen relic of the Cross back to Jerusalem and several years later brought the once again threatened relic to Constantinople.

³⁵ See above § 3.

³⁶ See Van Tongeren: *Exaltation of the Cross*, pp. 57-59.

³⁷ Frolow: *La relique de la vraie croix*, p. 193.

³⁸ See Wegman: *Liturgie in der Geschichte*, p. 102, pp. 104-106, pp. 108-109; and particularly pp. 172-173 and pp. 249-250.

5.2. SPREAD OF THE FEAST OF THE EXALTATION OF THE CROSS THROUGH THE FRANKISH LITURGY

When Roman liturgical books were adopted in the Frankish realm during the course of the eighth century, the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross also made its appearance there. The feast was unknown outside Rome. Other indigenous traditions such as the Gallian and Spanish were not familiar with the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. During the early Middle Ages it spread from Rome throughout the West via the Frankish liturgical books. When they adopted the feast, the Franks did not simply copy one of the existing Roman forms, but a selection from the Roman material that was at hand, moreover, it was sometimes slightly adapted and edited and elements from indigenous traditions were incorporated.³⁹ Whether or not the ritual of the veneration of the Cross was also adopted is hard to determine, but there are a few indications that make this plausible. The prayer from the Sacramentary of Padua that supposes a veneration of the Cross and that forms the oldest layer of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in the West has, as a matter of fact been adopted in the Frankish books. The heading of this prayer that refers explicitly to a veneration of the Cross (*ad salutandam crucem*) has also been preserved. In one source, the Sacramentary of Fulda, this heading has even come to denote the title of the feast, instead of Exaltation of the Cross.⁴⁰

When in the eighth century the Roman liturgy was adopted in the Frankish books, it also underwent changes; parts were adapted and elements added. Halfway through the tenth century this Roman-Frankish liturgy, which had been widely spread by the Carolingians, was subjected to a re-editing in Mainz. Under the authority of the Ottonian's the liturgy was again revised and supplemented with Germanic

customs. This resulted in the so-called *Romano-Germanic Pontifical* (RGP).⁴¹ What in the meantime had evolved to become the Roman-Frankish-Germanic liturgy in this book was to influence the further development and spread of the liturgy in the West. Here only a very short passage is devoted to the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in which a reference is made in only two sentences to the old custom when it is mentioned that in the Lateran palace the holy Cross and the sandals of the Lord are venerated.⁴² Possibly, in this reference an element has been preserved from the oldest layer of the feast that consisted of a veneration of the Cross with accompanying prayer after the celebration of the feast of Cornelius and Cyprian, as the Sacramentary of Padua indicates with regard to St. Peter's, or it resumes the practices that existed round 700, during the reign of Pope Sergius in the Lateran.⁴³ The increase in the number of relics must have been the reason why, besides the Cross, the alleged sandals of Jesus also became a cult object at the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.

5.3. TWO CROSS FEASTS

When the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross was introduced in Rome in 630 a different Cross feast was already celebrated on 3 May, that of the Finding of the Cross.⁴⁴ This feast was already widely spread and was also part of various indigenous traditions.⁴⁵ As far as

³⁹ See for example the Frankish Sacramentary of Gellone nos. 1448-1451 (A. Dumas: *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis. Textus* [= Corpus christianorum. Series latina 159], Turnhout, 1981, pp. 189-190).

⁴⁰ G. Richter and A. Schönfelder: *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X* (*Cod. theol. 231 der K. Universitätsbibliothek zu Göttingen*) (= Henry Bradshaw Society 101), Fulda, 1912/London, 1977, pp. 148-149 (no. 1296-1305).

⁴¹ C. Vogel and R. Elze: *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième siècle* 1-3 (= Studi e testi 226, 227, 269), Città del Vaticano, 1963; 1972.

⁴² RGP 99, 460: In ipsa die salutant in palatio Lateranensi sanctam crucem et sandalia domini (Vogel and Elze: *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique* 2, p. 140).

⁴³ See § 5.1.

⁴⁴ For the origin of the feast of the Finding of the Cross in the West and the relation between the two feasts of the Cross, see M. Andrieu: *Les ordines romani du Haut Moyen Âge*, 2 (= Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 23), Louvain, 1948, pp. 504-505; A. Chavasse: *Le sacramentaire gélisien (Vaticanus Reginensis 316). Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VII^e siècle* (= Bibliothèque de Théologie, série 4,1), Tournai, 1958, pp. 350-364; Frolow: *La relique de la vraie croix*, p. 164; J. Pascher: *Das liturgische Jahr*, München, 1963, pp. 445-446; Hj. Auf der Maur: *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit* 1. *Herrenfeste in Woche und Jahr* (= Gottesdienst der Kirche 5), Regensburg, 1983, p. 187; Vogel: *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 116, note 170.

⁴⁵ Visigothic law dating from the sixth and seventh centuries prescribed

structure is concerned, the feast of the Finding of the Cross is simpler because it has no special Cross rite. The motives for the origins of the feast of the Finding of the Cross are similar to the arguments that underlie the origin of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. The discovery of the Cross by St. Helena is also claimed as the foundation for this feast, because according to a legend that has existed since the beginning of the sixth century, the Cross was found on 3 May, circa 309, during the reign of Pope Eusebius.⁴⁶ Moreover, according to one of the versions of the legend of the finding of the Cross, Helena herself had ordered that this event be commemorated every year on 3 May.⁴⁷

The two Cross feasts are also closely related with regard to content. During both feasts the same themes, motives and qualifications of the Cross are expressed. The fact that different texts are even a part of both feasts indicates their close relationship. Both feasts are therefore quite similar. Viewed historically, both are connected to the finding of the Cross by St. Helena and the content of the texts of both feasts expresses the salutary significance of the Cross. In the case of there being a difference, then this has especially to do with the ritual of the veneration of the Cross that was only a part of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross and with the recapture of the Cross relic by Heraclius, which may have been the deciding factor for the introduction of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in Rome and later in the West. The two historical events, the finding and the recapture of the Cross, however, made no mark on either feast. True, on both days these are referred to—for that matter, in the (late) Frankish texts of the office in particular—but they do not dominate the feasts. As far as content is concerned one can speak not so much of a difference in both feasts, but rather of a difference between traditions, between the Roman

text material on the one hand and the Spanish and Gallican on the other. When the Frankish liturgical books were put together in the eighth and ninth centuries, these traditions were somewhat intermingled. It is true the Roman text material was dominant, but the Frankish liturgy not only paid tribute to Rome; it also contains intrinsic elements that originate from indigenous Spanish and Gallican traditions.⁴⁸ For example, subjects such as the descent into hell, the shattering of the underworld and the Second Coming at the Last Judgement, which are absent in the Roman texts for the Cross feasts, are included in the Frankish texts and are also a part of the Spanish and Gallican text material. The Frankish liturgy of the Cross feasts also shows traces of anti-Arian and anti-adoptianistic motives. These are not present in the Roman liturgy and have probably been taken from indigenous traditions.

6. GOOD FRIDAY

After the first description of a ritual of the veneration of the Cross on Good Friday in Jerusalem round 380,⁴⁹ written by Egeria, it was to be about three hundred years before the sources were to mention such a ritual in the West. Here it is first mentioned with regard to the liturgy in the city of Rome and on the Iberian Peninsula. The early Medieval celebration of Good Friday has developed independently in these two liturgical traditions.⁵⁰ The Good Friday liturgy that later became dominant in the western church and up till today is still included in liturgical books, dates back to the indigenous liturgy of the city of Rome. I will concentrate on this Roman tradition first and then on its evolution and spread outside Rome. I will then conclude with an

the Invention of the Cross as one of the principal feasts of the year. See K. Zeumer: *Leges visigothorum* (= Monumenta germaniae historica, Lex 1), reprint, Hannover, 1973, p. 434; A. King: *Liturgies of the primatial sees*, London/New York/Toronto, 1957, p. 571.

⁴⁶ Duchesne: *Le liber pontificalis* 1, p. 167.

⁴⁷ See S. Borgehammar: *How the Holy Cross was Found. From Event to Medieval Legend* (= Bibliotheca theologiae practicae 47), Stockholm, 1991, p. 271; cf. also Chavasse: *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, pp. 361-364.

⁴⁸ See for an elaboration of this thesis and an analysis of the text material from various traditions, Van Tongeren: *Exaltation of the Cross*.

⁴⁹ See above § 3.

⁵⁰ See G. Römer: "Die Liturgie des Karfreitags", in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 77, 1955, pp. 39-93, here pp. 71-72; I. Dalmais: "L'adoration de la croix", in *La Maison-Dieu*, no. 45, 1956, pp. 76-86, here p. 77; H. Schmidt: *Hebdomada sancta*, 2, Roma, 1957, p. 791; idem: "Goede Vrijdag", in L. Brinkhoff et al. (eds.): *Liturgisch woordenboek*, Roermond, 1958-1968, 1, pp. 885-897, esp. pp. 888-889.

explanation of the Spanish tradition. Of the various components of which the liturgy of Good Friday is built up, I concentrate mainly on the veneration of the Cross.

6.1. ROME

In Rome up till approximately the end of the seventh century, the liturgy of Good Friday was made up only of a liturgy of the Word with the scriptural readings, ending with a series of solemn orations, the prayer of the faithful. Round the turn of the seventh into the eighth century, two elements were added: a veneration of the Cross and a communion rite. However, this means that at that time there were two liturgical practices with two types of celebrations occurring simultaneously, one of which is related to the papal stational liturgy and the other to the presbyteral liturgy in the titular churches of the city.

The papal liturgy, as described in *Ordo romanus* 23 from the end of the seventh century or the first half of the eighth century,⁵¹ begins on the eighth hour (at 2 pm) with an elaborate procession from Saint John Lateran to the Church S. Croce in Hierusalem, whilst singing Psalm 119 (*Beati immaculati*), probably with the antiphon *Ecce lignum crucis* (Behold the wood of the Cross on which hung the salvation of the world).⁵² During the procession the relic of the Cross, which was apparently kept in the Lateran, is carried in a very remarkable way. The archdeacon holds the left hand of the Pope, who himself carries a censer in his right hand; another deacon walks behind the Pope holding the gold reliquary set with precious stones in which a relic of the Cross wood is kept on the Pope's shoulders. The arrangement of this procession indicates an Eastern influence and is a reminder of the

Way of the Cross of Jesus, whereby the Pope, with the Cross on his shoulders, indicates Jesus and the deacon Simon of Cyrene, who comes to his aid.⁵³ The Pope and his retinue complete this journey barefooted. Going barefooted is an ancient, but not specifically Christian custom that expresses sorrow, self-abasement and respect as well as penance. In this case it seems to underline the aspect of penance as occurred during penitential processions in Rome, during which the people went barefoot.⁵⁴ Having entered the Jerusalem Church, the box containing the relic is placed on the altar, after which it is opened by the Pope. Then he prostrates before the altar and thus before the Cross, and prays and is then the first person to venerate the Cross with a kiss, followed by the rest of the clergy in hierarchical order. To give the people the opportunity to venerate the relic of the Cross, it is moved first *super arcellam ad rugas*. This movable fence or *ruga* expresses the demarcation between the nave and the sanctuary or *presbytery*, which is not accessible to the people. After the men have venerated the Cross first, the relic is moved again to another place where the women are allowed to venerate the Cross. In the meantime the liturgy of the Word started immediately after the veneration of the Cross by the Pope. At the end of the service the people are given the opportunity to communicate. The Pope and the deacons explicitly do not take part. The fact that the veneration of the Cross by the people coincides with the liturgy of the Word could indicate that this is the remains of an old practice, whereby the veneration of the Cross was a type of private piety that in the meantime had become part of a more elaborate liturgy.⁵⁵ This could be confirmed by the absence of hymns and prayers, which indicates that veneration as a public ritual had not yet developed.

Therefore, it is quite possible that there is an even older practice preceding OR 23 which dates from around 700.

⁵¹ OR 23, 9-22 (Andrieu: *Les Ordines Romani* 3, pp. 270-272). According to *ibidem* p. 266 this *ordo* dates from the first half of the eighth century; Chavasse: *Le sacramentaire gélasien* p. 96, however, dates this *ordo* just before the end of the seventh century.

⁵² According to P. Regan: "Veneration of the Cross", in *Worship*, 52, 1978, pp. 2-13, here p. 4. See in connection with this antiphon *ibidem* p. 6, and Van Tongeren: "A sign of resurrection", p. 110.

⁵³ See Klöckener: "Die 'Feier vom Leiden und Sterben Jesu Christi'", p. 221; A. Baumstark: *Liturgie comparée. Principes et méthodes pour l'étude historique des liturgies chrétiennes*, 3rd ed., Chevetogne, 1953, pp. 158-159; Janeras: *Le Vendredi-Saint*, pp. 287-288.

⁵⁴ According to Plum: *Adoratio Crucis*, p. 94.

⁵⁵ According to Plum: *Adoratio Crucis*, p. 95.

In that case this first description of the papal liturgy with the Cross ritual on Good Friday is probably a modified version of an older ritual that took place in the basilica Hierusalem.⁵⁶ The oldest Roman evidence for the station calendars in Rome, dating back to the fifth century, already mentions this basilica as the location for the papal liturgy on Good Friday. Moreover, already in the fourth century there was a famous Cross relic present in the basilica Hierusalem. Perhaps it disappeared during the repeated sacking of Rome after 400. Despite this the S. Croce ad Hierusalem remained the station of Good Friday and in the absence of its own relic, the Cross relic was carried in a procession from the papal chapel Sancta Sanctorum in the Lateran, as described in OR 23. It is generally accepted that the veneration of the Cross in Rome on Good Friday was introduced under Eastern influence as a result of ecclesiastical-political developments in the second half of the seventh century.⁵⁷ This would correspond with the information in OR 23. But if the hypothesis that a Cross relic was already venerated on Good Friday in the fourth or fifth centuries is correct, then an Eastern influence is not possible.

At the end, OR 23 points out the opportunity for the faithful to communicate on Good Friday, which for that matter the Pope and his followers do not do. There are two choices. At the end of the celebration one may communicate in the S. Croce in bread or one can go to one of the other (titular) churches in the city to communicate in both kinds.⁵⁸

In these titular churches the liturgy, which was meant for the faithful of the city, was celebrated in a somewhat different way; it was not led by the pope but by a priest. This presbyteral liturgy, as described in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary and dating from just before the end of the seventh century,⁵⁹ starts on

the ninth hour (at 3 pm) and does not include a procession. Thus the celebration coincided with the papal liturgy that started an hour earlier with a procession. The Cross is placed on the altar without any ceremony before the liturgy begins. Then there is a liturgy of the Word, which is comprised of prayers, scriptural readings, responses and the solemn orations, followed by the veneration of the Cross. Thus both do not occur at the same time as with the papal liturgy. Moreover, the veneration of the Cross and the communion rite are combined. After the liturgy of the Word, the consecrated bread and wine are placed on the altar and the Cross is venerated and kissed by the priest alone before the altar. Then preparations are made for Communion, after which everyone present venerates the Cross and communicates.

As was the case with the papal liturgy according to OR 23 the veneration of the Cross had not yet been developed ritually. However, the ritual is an integral part of the celebration and takes place in phases: first by the priest and then by the people. It is said of the priest that he venerates the Cross by kissing it. The way in which the faithful venerate the Cross is not described, but this probably occurred in the same manner. Whether or not the object of the veneration, referred to as *sancta crux*, is a relic, cannot be ascertained. But if the model as described in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary was used in more churches than one, this does not speak for itself because not all churches had a Cross relic at their disposal. Moreover, the papal liturgy and the celebrations in the other churches act more as complimentary ones; the superiority of the papal liturgy has to do with the Cross relic. To the people the most important act is the (individual) veneration of the Cross relic.⁶⁰ That is why they go to the S. Croce to venerate the relic—and also perhaps to see the procession with the relic—and then to their own church to celebrate the liturgy of Good Friday and to receive Holy Communion.

Several decades later, according to *Ordo romanus* 24 dating from about the middle of the eighth century, these parallels no longer coincide but are clearly sepa-

⁵⁶ According to De Blaauw: "Jerusalem in Rome", pp. 71-72.

⁵⁷ See for example Auf der Maur: *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit*, pp. 109-110; Klöckener: "Die 'Feier vom Leiden und Sterben Jesu Christi'", p. 224; Plum: *Adoratio Crucis*, p. 97.

⁵⁸ According to Chavasse: *Le sacramentaire gélasiens*, p. 90.

⁵⁹ Old Gelasian Sacramentary nos. 395-418 (L. Mohlberg: *Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli* (= *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta. Fontes* 4), Roma, 1960, pp. 64-67). Dating of this ritual according to Chavasse: *Le sacramentaire gélasiens*, p. 96.

⁶⁰ Klöckener: "Die 'Feier vom Leiden und Sterben Jesu Christi'", p. 225.

rated.⁶¹ There are two services. The liturgy of the Word, in which every priest, the people and the Pope or his representative participate, is moved to the third hour (9 am) and takes place in one of the churches in the city. Then in the evening, during vespers, the veneration of the Cross and the Communion rite take place in the separate titular churches. But again, the liturgy of the Word was held first. When this was finished the Cross was held by two acolytes at some distance from the altar and it was venerated in hierarchical order by the clergy and the people. Furthermore, the veneration of the Cross was now accompanied by a hymn for the first time: Psalm 119 and the antiphon “*Ecce lignum crucis in quo salus mundi pependit*”, which was mentioned earlier in OR 23 with regard to the procession of the papal liturgy. OR 24 shows that the liturgy of Good Friday was rearranged over a short period of time and that the veneration of the Cross evolved. The papal liturgy in the morning is no longer accompanied by a procession with the relic and is comprised of a service of the Word only, without the veneration of the Cross. The veneration of the Cross that takes place in separate churches in the evening is an independent element and now has a more obvious ritual framework. The veneration of the Cross no longer takes place at the same time as the service of the Word as in OR 23, but has been separated from it and is also no longer combined with the communion rite as is the case in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary. The liturgy of Good Friday was to continue to develop on the basis of the initial structure as laid down in OR 24 halfway through the eighth century. This structure could be recognised right through to the twentieth century.

6.2. FRANKISH LITURGY

Rome spread this model throughout the Frankish realm and the veneration of the Cross on Good Friday was also introduced there. Initially, the structure of OR 24 was adopted: the liturgy of the Word in the morning

at the third hour, which is repeated in the afternoon (*ad vesperum*) and then followed by the veneration of the Cross, after which the communion rite takes place.⁶² Later, in the second half of the ninth and tenth centuries we can see that in other places, too, there was no longer a distinction between a celebration in the morning and one in the afternoon. Both have been amalgamated into one continuous celebration on the ninth hour (3 pm). The structure is the same as that of the Old Gelasian Sacramentary: after the liturgy of the Word the priest or the bishop first venerates the Cross at the altar and communicates, following which a more extensive Cross and Communion rite takes place for the people. With regard to the veneration of the Cross, the ritual arrangement has been extended and more hymns and prayers have been added. This type of liturgy can be found in the *Ordines romani* 31, 32 en 33.⁶³ Because it is impossible to describe all of them and the differences between them often relate to details, I allow myself to be guided, for an account of the Cross ritual, by OR 31 from the second half of the ninth century. After the veneration of the Cross and the communion by the bishop, a more extensive Cross and Communion rite takes place for the people. In OR 31 there is a veiled Cross which is placed behind the altar. From here two acolytes carry it to the front of the altar in three stages. In the meantime the *Trishagion* is sung: at every standstill two cantors bow before the Cross and sing in Greek *Hagios ho Theos*, after which the choir responds with *Sanctus Deus* in Latin. After the third time the bishop unveils the Cross and sings the *Ecce lignum crucis* in a high voice (*excelsa voce*). Then the Cross is lifted up by the cantors and brought to a different place where it is venerated and the whole clergy sing the antiphon *Ecce lignum crucis*. When the Cross becomes visible everyone falls down, stands up again and venerates the Cross by kissing it whilst at the same time Psalm 119 is

⁶² This concerns OR 27, 35-50; OR 28, 29-48; OR 29, 28-43 (Andrieu: *Les Ordines Romani* 3, pp. 355-358; pp. 397-401; pp. 442-443). In OR 29 the two services have been joined into one service that starts on the eighth hour.

⁶³ OR 31, 34-52; OR 32, 6-15; OR 33, 4-8 (Andrieu: *Les Ordines Romani* 3, pp. 496-499; pp. 518-520; pp. 531-532). OR 33 only mentions a veneration of the Cross by priests and deacons, followed by the Lord's Prayer. Neither the people nor communion are mentioned.

⁶¹ OR 24, 22-39 (Andrieu: *Les Ordines Romani* 3, pp. 291-294).

sung, again with the same antiphon. Then everybody communicates, during which the hymn *Pange lingua* is sung with the antiphon *Crux fidelis*.

What attracts attention is that the ritual of the veneration of the Cross is more elaborated and that the dramatics increase. The ritual has become more staged and unfolds in a succession of acts that are accompanied by hymns that have been added. The Cross is veiled and is presented in phases with, as the highlight, the removal of the veil, which is accentuated by the singing of the antiphon *Ecce lignum*. There is no univocal interpretation of the origin and meaning of the dramatising ritual of the *develatio* or *nudatio crucis* that arose in the ninth century.⁶⁴ A link is made with the Lenten veil or the hunger cloth that is hung before the altar at the beginning of Lent to hide it from view. But this custom was, as far as is known, not in use until the tenth century onwards and appears to symbolise penance. The unveiling of the veiled Cross on Good Friday is explained as being a reference to the tearing of the temple curtain at the time of Jesus' death (Matt. 27: 51), and as the portrayal of the crucifixion: the divine glory of Jesus is revealed in His death on the Cross.

In the scenic arrangement of the veneration of the Cross the *Trishagion*, sung three times, is a new element. It is a bilingual antiphon (Greek and Latin), in which a threefold thanksgiving is followed by a supplication: "hagios ho theos, hagios ischurros, hagios athanathos, eleison himas; sanctus deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus immortalis, miserere nobis". The *Trishagion* originates from the East and was probably adopted in the Frankish liturgy via the Gallican (and not the Roman) liturgy. It is mentioned for the first time as part of the veneration of the Cross on Good Friday in OR 31 and in the antiphonals of Corbie and Senlis, which also date from the second half of the ninth century.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ See Plum: *Adoratio Crucis*, pp. 108-109; Auf der Maur: *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit*, p. 150; K. Schüppel: *Silberne und goldene monumentale Kreuzfixe. Ein Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Liturgie- und Kulturgeschichte*, Weimar, 2005, pp. 267-271.

⁶⁵ R.-J. Hesbert: *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, Bruxelles, 1935, p. 97. With regard to the *Trishagion* and its origin in the East, see A. Baumstark: "Der Orient und die Gesänge der Adoratio crucis", in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 2, 1922, pp. 1-17, here pp. 2-3; H. Engberding: "Zum form-

Besides this *Trishagion* in OR 31, we also encounter the Cross hymn *Pange lingua* from Venantius Fortunatus for the first time, dating 569.⁶⁶

The sources from the Roman and Frankish liturgies that have been studied up till now show that in the Middle Ages the veneration of the Cross on Good Friday did not develop along a smooth line, whereby the chronologically subsequent stages organically overlap one another. Different traditions and sources have been drawn from and several customs existed alongside one another that gradually blended and merged. This, for that matter, does not only apply to the veneration of the Cross on Good Friday but also to the development of the liturgy as a whole. An end point of early medieval development is the *Romano-Germanic Pontifical* that was compiled halfway through the tenth century in Mainz. The broad outlines of the Latin liturgy were determined with the publication of this book. Because this Pontifical forms the hinge point that concludes the early Middle Ages and marks the transition into the second half of the Middle Ages as it were, I end with a discussion on the veneration of the Cross on Good Friday as it gained shape in this source halfway through the tenth century.

The liturgy of Good Friday in the *Romano-Germanic Pontifical* corresponds to the Roman model in OR 24 and has a similar structure.⁶⁷ There is a liturgy of the Word in the morning in one of the churches in the city, though not on the third hour as in OR 24, but on the fifth hour (11 am), which is repeated in the afternoon on the ninth hour in different churches of the city.

geschichtlichen Verständnis des *hagios ho theos...*", in *ibidem*, 10, 1930, pp. 168-174; J. Quasten: "Oriental Influence in the Gallican Liturgy", in *Traditio*, 1, 1943, pp. 55-78, here pp. 57-61; E. Wellesz: *Eastern elements in western chant. Studies in the early history of ecclesiastical music* (= *Monumenta musicae byzantinae*. Subs. 2,1), Oxford, 1947, pp. 11-18; J. Viret: "Une importation orientale dans la liturgie latine. Les chants de l'adoration de la croix", in *Sénéfiance*, no. 11, 1982, pp. 341-355; Plum: *Adoratio Crucis*, pp. 216-238.

⁶⁶ See Van Tongeren: *Exaltation of the Cross*, p. 229; pp. 236-243. In some *ordines* a number of other chants are mentioned for the veneration of the Cross. OR 27 mentions in one manuscript also *Dum fabricator*; according to OR 32 the antiphon *Ecce lignum* is accompanied by Psalm 67; and OR 33 mentions the antiphons *Crucem tuam adoramus*, *Ecce crucem domini* and *O crux benedicta*.

⁶⁷ RGP 99, 304-335 (Vogel and Elze: *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique* 2, pp. 86-93).

Following on from this, the veneration of the Cross and the communion rite take place *ad vesperum*. The composition of the service shows a structure in which both these rites are clearly distinguished, and in which the participation of the clergy and the people is fully integrated. First both groups venerate the Cross, after which they both communicate.

In comparison with the sources that have been discussed so far, the ritual effect of the veneration of the Cross corresponds to the simplicity of the older Ordinaries. The dramaturgical elements especially that are a part of OR 31 are missing; for example, there is no threefold moving of the Cross and the *develatio* of the veiled Cross is also not mentioned. Evidently, these were relatively new customs that were not yet commonly widespread. The *Romano-Germanic Pontifical* also emphatically mentions that the clergy and the assistants do not go barefoot because it is considered to be unfitting to enter the altar barefoot. However, besides the ritual simplicity, textual additions have also been made: the number of hymns has increased and the veneration of the Cross is accompanied by a threefold prayer. The *Trishagion*, which is sung in OR 31 during the threefold moving of the Cross, is also included in the Pontifical, from which for that matter, this threefold moving is omitted. In the Pontifical it is sung ‘to the glory of the Cross’ at the beginning of the Cross ritual when the Cross is put before the altar in preparation. Thus it functions as a salutation to the Cross. However, it has been lengthened with three verses, the so-called major *Improperia*.⁶⁸ During the veneration of the Cross, not only is the antiphon *Ecce lignum* with Psalm 119 sung, as was already the case in OR 24, but also the antiphon *Crucem tuam adoramus* with Psalm 67, the antiphon *Dum fabricator* and *Vadis propitiatur* with the verse *Venite et videte*. The veneration of the Cross is concluded with the hymn

Pange lingua and *Crux fidelis* that were introduced for the communion rite in OR 31.

The influence and adoption of the Roman liturgy caused the veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, which was unfamiliar to the Gallican liturgy, not only to spread quickly through the Frankish realm, but also to be elaborated in a musical and ritual respect. Following in the footsteps of Gian Rupa, the result is characterised by Anne-Madelaine Plum as being a meticulous composition with by no means coincidental elements, but with an internally and externally balanced dramaturgy. The veneration of the Cross links different themes, but also spiritual attitudes: divine and human, theophany and suffering, humble tribute through the *Trishagion* and loving devotion through the kissing of the Cross. The old Roman veneration of the Cross was a simple and modest ritual that desired only inner participation, but the new elements gave it the character of a liturgical play or performance.⁶⁹

6.3. SPANISH LITURGY

The veneration of the Cross on Good Friday spread from Rome, via the Frankish liturgy throughout the West. The indigenous liturgy on the Iberian peninsula and in Septimania (Southern Gallia) designated as Visigothic, Mozarabic or Hispanic liturgy,⁷⁰ also included a veneration of the Cross on Good Friday in the Middle Ages. This was probably taken from Jerusalem (via Constantinople) and developed independently of Rome. It had no influence on the Western liturgy. The ritual course of the Spanish veneration of the Cross shows some similarities with the Roman and the later Western Cross rite; however, as far as text is concerned there are considerable differences.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Plum: *Adoratio Crucis*, p. 110.

⁷⁰ See with regard to the Spanish liturgy, for example A. King: *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees*, London, 1957, pp. 457-631; J. Pinell: “Mozarabische liturgie”, in Brinkhoff: *Liturgisch woordenboek*, 2, pp. 1796-1825; J. Pinell: “Liturgia Hispánica”, in Q. Aldea, T. Marin and J. Vives (eds.): *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, 2, Madrid, 1972, pp. 1.303-1.320.

⁷¹ See for a more detailed description and an analysis of the liturgical texts L. van Tongeren: “La vénération de la croix. Le vendredi saint dans

⁶⁸ These are already mentioned in the antiphonal of Senlis dating from the ninth century; see Hesbert: *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, p. 97. The title of the three verses reads: *Popule meus; Quia eduxi; Quid ultra*. Besides this a different version has arisen, the so-called minor *Improperia*, which consists of nine verses with the antithetical structure *Ego te - et tu*. Later these were to be combined. See Auf der Maur: *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit*, p. 111.

When studying the oldest layers of the Spanish liturgy we must rely on sources of which the manuscripts date from the tenth and eleventh centuries especially. The contents of these books, however, go for the greater part back to the sixth and seventh centuries, the period in which the Spanish church, through which a considerable amount of text material was produced, flourished. It is even quite possible that these sources include texts dating back to the fourth or third centuries. In addition the oldest text material for Good Friday has been passed down through sources that have been preserved in a version of a later date. The most important of these are the Antiphony of León (AntL) with the hymns for Mass and the cathedral office for Sundays and feast days,⁷² and the Liber ordinum (LO), comparable with the Roman Ritual and Pontifical and in which text material for the celebration of the sacraments and for the Holy Week has been included as well as some votive masses.⁷³ Besides these the Breviarium Gothicum (BrevGot) must also be mentioned that, it is true was published much later in 1502, but that in general is a faithful representation of the old Spanish office.⁷⁴ These sources show that the liturgy on Good Friday was made up of three celebrations: matins, the terce and the none.⁷⁵

Under chairmanship of St. Isidore, bishop of Seville, the fourth Council of Toledo (633) decreed that the mystery of the Cross (*mysterium crucis*) should be celebrated and preached on Good Friday and that a

rite of reconciliation should be held with a view to the celebration of the resurrection at Easter, enabling the people to communicate free of sin.⁷⁶ One could deduce from this Council text that the celebration of Good Friday had to be focussed on the Cross and on reconciliation. The expression *mysterium crucis* appears, however, not to refer specifically to the Cross, but to be a contemporary technical term for the so-called *indulgentia* rite, the celebration of penance and reconciliation that takes place during the none.⁷⁷ This *indulgentia* rite is typical of the Spanish Good Friday liturgy and is probably dependant on Coptic traditions.⁷⁸ According to this interpretation the Council of Toledo therefore only urged the celebration of reconciliation. Yet the oldest data show that not only the *indulgentia*, but the Cross too, played an important role on Good Friday, especially during the terce, which is wholly dominated by the veneration of the Cross. But during the none, too, the Cross plays a significant role: the Cross is the subject in several texts of the *indulgentia* rite and the introductory rubric of the none explicitly concerns the Cross. In short, whether or not it was in accordance with the wishes of the Council of Toledo, the Cross and the celebration of reconciliation form the core of the Spanish Good Friday liturgy. Matins acts somewhat as a prelude with these two themes and their mutual relationship, that is, in the Breviarium Gothicum (BrevGot 604-607). The morning celebration is a remembrance of Jesus' suffering and death and proceeds to a confession of sins and guilt and a prayer for mercy, forgiveness and salvation. Of the various motives mentioned here, the Cross is one. The Cross and reconciliation form the two centres of attention of Good Friday, that in the terce and the none, respectively, have each received their own ritual elaboration but that at the

la liturgie hispanique", in *Questions liturgiques. Studies in liturgy*, 80, 1999, pp. 106-131.

⁷² I use the abbreviation AntL for references, with the page concerned in the edition by L. Brou and J. Vives: *Antifonario visigótico mozárabe de la catedral de León* (= Monumenta Hispaniae sacra. Serie liturgica V,1), Barcelona/Madrid, 1959.

⁷³ As far as references are concerned I use the abbreviation LO followed by the numbering of the separate texts as in the edition by J. Janini: *Liber Ordinum Episcopalis* (Cod. Silos, Arch. Monástico, 4) (= Studia Silensia 15), Silos, 1991. See also L. Férotin: *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle* (= Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica 5), Paris, 1904.

⁷⁴ According to J. Pinell: "Gothicum, Breviarium", in Brinkhoff: *Liturgisch woordenboek* 1, p. 908. For references I use the abbreviation BrevGot followed by the column concerned in the edition in J.-P. Migne: *Patrologia latina* 86.

⁷⁵ See in connection with the celebration of Good Friday in the Spanish tradition J. Pinell: "Il Venerdì Santo nelle antiche liturgie ispaniche", in: *Dimensiò drammatiche della liturgia medioevale*, Città di Castello, 1977, pp. 127-138.

⁷⁶ Canon 7: "Ideo oportet eodem die mysterium crucis quod ipse dominus cunctis nuntiandum voluit, praedicari, atque indulgentiam criminum clara voce omnem populum postulare: ut poenitentiae compunctione mundati, venerabilem diem dominicae resurrectionis, remissis iniquitatibus suscipere mereamur; corporisque ejus, et sanguinis sacramentum mundi a peccatis sumamus", in J. Mansi: *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 10, Paris/Leipzig, 1901, p. 620.

⁷⁷ According to J. Drumbl: 'Die Improperien in der Lateinischen Liturgie', in *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 15, 1973, pp. 68-100, here pp. 95-96.

⁷⁸ Janeras: *Le Vendredi-Saint*, p. 300.

same time are mutually involved as themes in all three hours of prayer. The celebration of the Cross lies in the framework of reconciliation and conversely, the celebration of reconciliation is embedded in the remembrance of the salvation of the crucifixion.

The ritual of the veneration of the Cross during the terce can be described as follows.⁷⁹ On the third hour the wood of the Holy Cross is placed on a dish on the altar in the cathedral. After the gospel,⁸⁰ the deacon lifts up the dish with the wood of the Cross and takes it to the Church of the Cross whilst three antiphons are sung. Having arrived at the Church of the Cross, the Cross is venerated with a kiss by the bishop, priest, clergy and all the faithful. After this everyone sits down and continues to sing. Then the Cross is put away safely in the treasury. The *Liber Ordinum* makes subtle distinctions in a number of parts in this description. Not only is the wood of the Holy Cross mentioned (“*lignum sanctae crucis*”), but the precious relic of the Cross is also mentioned: a golden Cross which holds relics (“*crux aurea cum reliquiis clausa*”). And according to the *Liber Ordinum*, after the terce there is again a procession in the opposite direction, although not everyone takes part in this. The clergy take the Cross from the Church of the Cross back to the treasury of the cathedral, all the while singing the psalms. Besides the three antiphons that are also mentioned in the Antiphonary of León in relation to the procession, the *Liber Ordinum* also provides a number of other texts that are sung and prayed during the veneration of the Cross. These include the verse “*Ecce lignum gloriosum*”, a three-line stanza *Crux fidelis* (that is equal to stanza 8 of the hymn of the Cross *Pange lingua* by Venantius Fortunatus), an *abecedarium* or strophe-acrostic of 23 strophes under

⁷⁹ AntL 271-272 ; LO 386-395.

⁸⁰ The description “after the gospel”, that is absent in the *Liber Ordinum*, could indicate that the gospel is read in the cathedral first and that this is followed by a procession to the Church of the Cross; this would then concern an adverb of time. It could also refer to the evangelist that was possibly carried in front of the Cross during the procession; this would then concern an adverb of place. During the high Middle Ages an evangelist was often carried in processions, especially on Palm Sunday, as the representative of Christ; see H. Gräf: *Palmenweihe und Palmprozession in der lateinischen Liturgie* (= Veröffentlichungen des Missionspriesterseminars St. Augustin, Siegburg 5), Kaldenkirchen, 1959, p. 116; pp. 124-126.

the title “*Uersus de Ligno Domini*” and a prayer that is said in silence.⁸¹

Apart from the contents of these texts, the brief descriptions in the rubrics are evidence that the Cross plays a central role during the terce. The whole celebration in fact, consists of a veneration of the Cross, preceded and followed by a procession with the relic of the Cross. It is said about the veneration of the Cross itself that this is accompanied by various hymns and that it has the structure of the kissing of the relic. Moreover, the prayer shows that the ritual is accompanied by prostration; thus people lie on the ground in front of the Cross.⁸² What we also notice is that two locations are mentioned. The terce is celebrated in the Church of the Holy Cross, but there is a prelude in the cathedral of the city where the relic of the Cross is kept. First there is a small ritual round the Cross relic, after which a procession takes place with the Cross relic that moves from the cathedral to the Church of the Cross. Here the veneration of the Cross takes place after which the relic is taken back to the cathedral, again in a procession. This appears to be a stationary liturgy like the one in Jerusalem, Constantinople and Rome,⁸³ thus the veneration of the Cross is somewhat similar to the papal liturgy on Good Friday in Rome, as described in *Ordo romanus* 23, but then at a different time: here during the terce and in Rome on the eighth hour.⁸⁴

The fact that the Cross relic had to be brought back at the end of the terce was for the practical reason that the relic was needed for the beginning of the none. Because its being moved to a different church is not

⁸¹ It is possible that the verse *Ecce lignum* was originally the refrain of the *abecedarium* and that *Crux fidelis* was added later as an alternative response (According to J. Pothier: “Hymne du rit mozarabe pour l’Adoration de la Croix”, in *Revue du chant grégorien*, 5, 1896/1897, pp. 120 and 122), or that *Crux fidelis* was the original response (according to Baumstark: “Der Orient”, p. 8). One manuscript also mentions the hymn *Crux benedicta nitet* by Venantius Fortunatus; see Janini: *Liber Ordinum* Episcopal, pp. 350-351; Férotin: *Le Liber Ordinum*, pp. 195-196, and for a discussion on the content of this hymn Van Tongeren: *Exaltation of the Cross*, pp. 246-248.

⁸² LO 394: *Exaudi me prostratum coram adorandam sanctam gloriosissimam tuam Crucem.*

⁸³ See J. Baldovin: *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stationary Liturgy* (= *Orientalia christiana analecta* 228), Roma, 1987.

⁸⁴ See above § 6.1.

mentioned, it can be assumed that the none was celebrated in the cathedral where the relic was brought to. The none begins with a procession to the altar, during which a deacon carries the relic on a dish. He is preceded by the precious gold Cross with the relic and by the evangelistary without its covering and followed by the bishop. As soon as the dish with the Cross relic is placed on the altar, the bishop, the priests and the deacons climb the presbytery barefoot and the bishop commences with the *Popule meus*.⁸⁵ After the Cross relic(s) have been presented so prominently at the beginning of the none, they are not mentioned again during the course of the none. Also not at the end as with the terce, to indicate how and where it should be put away and kept. Whilst during the none the *indulgentia* rite is the central point, the introductory rubric emphatically refers to the Cross, in this way connecting the preceding terce that focuses predominantly on the Cross with the none, in which the rite of reconciliation is the central point. The opening ritual indicates the context in which the celebration of the *indulgentia* during the none should be interpreted. The celebration of the none is put in the light of the Cross because of its prominent position. The Cross provides the perspective through which reconciliation and the forgiveness of sins are possible.

7. CONCLUSION

The presence of a Cross relic was vital for the development and spread of the cult and the veneration of the Cross. Without Cross relics, a Cross cult would not even have developed in the fourth century in Jerusalem. The rise and spread of the cult of the Cross in the West was also connected to the presence of Cross relics. But in order to have a relic of the Cross, it had to be found first. For this reason the cult of the Cross is inconceivable without the finding of the Cross.

Round 400 the cult of the Cross in Jerusalem was topographically and temporally connected to the his-

torical setting. The remembrance of the Cross was localised in the basilica that was built on the ground on which Jesus died and was buried and where the Cross was found. It also took place on the day that, according to tradition, was connected to the finding of the Cross or to the celebration of the consecration of the basilica (3 May and 14 September) and with the day on which Jesus died on the Cross (Good Friday). The Cross rituals that developed on Good Friday and on 14 September had a relic as object from the beginning: the true Cross was displayed, beheld and worshipped. The spread of the relic led to the spread of the cult of the Cross, which resulted in the abandoning of the topographical connection to the historical place. Outside Jerusalem, too, the Cross retained its power of expression; the reference to the historical place became materialised in the relic. In a temporal respect, the connection with the historical context was preserved because the dates of the celebrations in which the Cross was remembered were not changed. The remembrance of the Cross took place on two days in the form of a ritual. When, in the course of time, the veneration of the Cross on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross disappeared, the public cult of the Cross only took place during the annual celebration of Good Friday.

Initially, the cult of the Cross was expressly connected to the relic as an object of veneration, both in the East and the West. This can no longer always be assumed because sources are not always explicit in this respect. Moreover, not every church was in the possession of a relic, as Amalarius of Metz (775-850) wrote round 840. Although some prefer to venerate a relic of the Cross it is, however, in his opinion not necessary to have a relic in order to venerate the Cross.⁸⁶

One stable factor in the long history of the cult of the Cross is that the ritual way the Cross was treated was and continued to be a clearly physical occasion.

⁸⁵ Amalarius of Metz: *Liber officialis* 1, 14, 10: "Fuerunt quidam qui volebant dicere se velle eandem crucem venerari in qua Dominus crucifixus est. Utinam in omnibus ecclesiis haberetur! Prae ceteris merito veneretur. Quamvis omnis ecclesia non eam possit habere, tamen non deest eis virtus sanctae crucis, in eis crucibus quae ad similitudinem dominicae crucis factae sunt" (I. Hanssens: *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia* 2 [= Studi e testi 139], Città del Vaticano, 1949, p. 102).

⁸⁶ AntL 272 ; LO 395.

The Cross was approached on bare feet and people lay on the ground (prostrated) in front of the Cross. It was not only displayed so that people could see it, but was also touched and venerated with a kiss.

The veneration of the Cross developed from being a form of individual piety to a more and more elaborated public ritual that was added to with dramaturgical elements under Frankish and Germanic influence. This at least applies to Good Friday, but not to the cult of the Cross on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. The ritual that forms the oldest layer of the feast and from which the feast gets its name, disappeared in the course of time. On the basis of an analysis of the liturgical text material of the feast, it can be concluded that the original ritual on the feast of 14 September has become abstract and theologized. The name is a synecdoche for the—historically based—celebration of remembrance of the Cross. As far as content is concerned, the exaltation of the Cross is a metaphor for the glorification and exaltation of the Lord, who died on the Cross.⁸⁷

The cult of the Cross, Cross feasts and the veneration of the Cross are structures of the remembrance of the Cross. However, this remembrance is not restricted to the memory of the historical events that took place on the Cross, as Egeria suggests in her description of the liturgy on Good Friday. In a historicizing celebration emphasis lies on the remembrance of Jesus' passion and death, in such a strong way that people experience this again, as it were, and give free play to their emotions by groaning, lamenting and weeping very loudly. The liturgical texts—the analysis of which is not included in this article—do not lay emphasis on the remembrance of the passion and death, but on what Jesus

brought about by his passion and death: salvation and redemption. Jesus conquered death, the devil and the underworld when He died on the Cross. This is why the Cross is a sign of victory and why it is associated with so many meanings: soteriological, apotropaic and eschatological. This corresponds to the image that dominates the early medieval iconography of the Cross.⁸⁸ Christ is portrayed standing on the Cross as the conqueror, the living, the king who reigns from the Cross. The crucifixion scene was depicted only rarely. Following the early Middle Ages a different image prevailed: that of Christ hanging on the Cross as a suffering, bleeding and humiliated person, crowned with thorns. In the early Middle Ages the Cross was the tool of the victory and not yet the instrument of passion it would become later in the Middle Ages.⁸⁹

The Cross, a central point in cult and ritual, symbolises Jesus' act of redemption. This is why it is venerated. It is venerated because this is where redemption came about: *Ecce lignum crucis in quo salus mundi pependit*. And because the Cross participates in the reality to which it is a reference, namely Christ's redeeming death, Christ and the Cross can be identified with one another. The Cross is a reference to the crucified. Therefore, the veneration of the Cross concerns Christ and conversely, Christ's acts of salvation are transferred to the Cross. This is why the Cross is a salutary sign that in itself is able to act as a mediator in salvation. This powerful meaning of the Cross was put concisely into words at the beginning of the fifth or sixth century by the African poet Calbulus, in what is probably the oldest preserved poetic text regarding the Cross: *crux mihi certa salus*.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ See Van Tongeren: *Exaltation of the Cross*; idem: "Vom Kreuzritus zur Kreuzestheologie. Die Entstehungsgeschichte des festes der Kreuzerhöhung und seine erste Ausbreitung im Westen", in *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 112, 1998, pp. 216-245.

⁸⁸ See for example K. Niehr: "Kreuz, Kruzifix. F. Ikonographie, II Abendland", in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5, München, 2002, pp. 1495-1496; Köpf: 'Kreuz', 751-756; E. Delaruelle: "Le crucifix dans la piété populaire et dans l'art, du VI^e au XI^e siècle", in idem: *La piété populaire au Moyen Âge*, Torino, 1975, pp. 27-42.

⁸⁹ See Schüppel: *Silberne und goldene monumentale Kruzifixe*, p. 272.

⁹⁰ Migne: *Patrologia Latina*, Supplement 3, pp. 1428-1429; cfr. J. Szövérfy: *Hymns of the Holy Cross. An annotated edition with introduction* (= Medieval classics. Texts and Studies 7), Brookline-Leyden, 1976, pp. 5-7.