

PÉTER PÁZMÁNY CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF THEOLOGY

THESES OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

**THE 4TH CENTURY JERUSALEM LITURGY BASED ON THE
*ITINERARIUM OF EGERIA***

Dissertatio ad Doctoratum

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Part I. Brief summary of the research task

The aim of my doctoral thesis was to conduct a scientific examination of Egeria's *Itinerarium* from the perspective of church history and liturgical history, attempt to determine the sources of the liturgy described by Egeria, as well as to present the impact of the Jerusalem liturgy on the development of Christian liturgy, based on liturgical history sources.

If we want to briefly define the liturgical-historical significance of the *Itinerarium*, we must use the expression “undeservedly undervalued”. Within the framework of my thesis, I have processed all the available Travelogues of the Holy Land and translated them into Hungarian (which, for reasons of length, I do not publish in this Thesis, but attach in the Appendix). Knowing all the Travelogues, a comparison can already be made: Egeria is incomparably more detailed and precise, than any other survived written source.

Some *Itinerariums* describes Jerusalem and its liturgy in two or three sentences, Egeria reports on that in several dozen pages of (concise) Latin text. In almost every *Itinerarium*, it has been suggested that the writer had not actually visited the Holy Land, but had only compiled his work from the accounts of others or from *Itinerarium* used in the Roman Empire, which gave distances between places. Egeria was never accused of this; her work is fresh, detailed, and spiritually experienced.

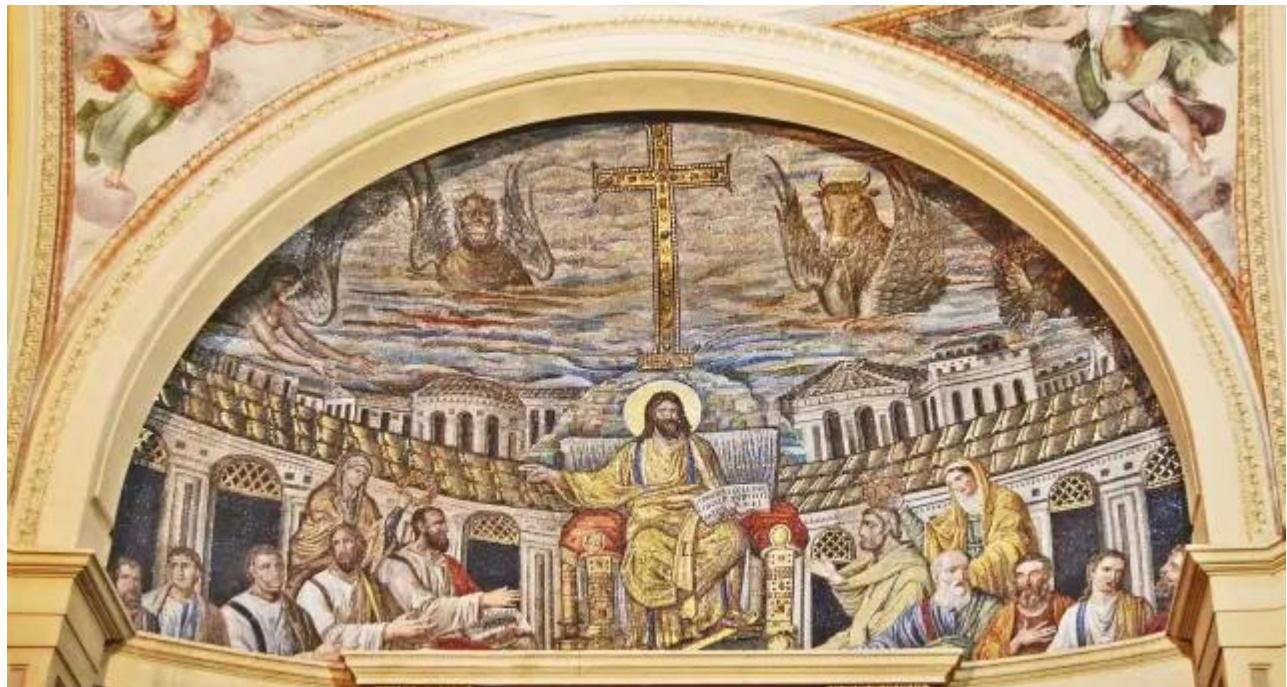
Egeria presents a living liturgy actively supported by the Christian community of Jerusalem and the large number of pilgrims. The descriptions of other pilgrims focus on buildings and sacred objects, and they do not concern themselves with the Christian community of Jerusalem and its liturgy. The liturgy described by Egeria may have been born in the 330s, and was ended by the Arab invasion of 633. The pilgrim from Bordeaux could not have seen it in 333, because at the time of his journey only the reservoirs under the Martyrion were being built.

Arculf could not have observed it during his journey in the 680s, by which time the Martyrion had already been taken by the Muslims and converted into a mosque with a capacity of three thousand men. It is of unique importance that the *Itinerarium* was written during the short existence of the Jerusalem liturgy. The most probable date of Egeria's journey is between 383-385, and according to linguists, she recorded, or let to record her travel experiences in 386, after her return to Constantinople.

The *Itinerarium* is divided into two parts, clearly distinguishable in both subject and style:

- The first part gives a classic travelogue of her pilgrimage from Mount Sinai to Mesopotamia. During this time, Egeria travels thousands of kilometres (presumably) on a mule, climbing mountains thousands of meters high to encounter the Christian tradition found everywhere. During her travels, she meets bishops, abbots, monks, and Roman military officers, all of whom welcome the distinguished Roman lady. Egeria communicates openly, bravely, and amicably with everyone.
- In the second part, she tries to describe the Jerusalem liturgy in the most accurate and detailed way. It can be assumed, that the addressees of the letter themselves requested the description, to which she responds with his long letter. She expresses himself in simple Latin phrases, does not want to make mistakes, and dares to speak about sacred things only with the greatest respect. Her attitude also changes, she becomes more distant from the events, and she no

longer has direct contact with church figures. I assume that in Jerusalem she was placed in a company of ladies appropriate to her rank, and she watched the ceremonies from the „gallery of the matrons”.



II. A Scientific methods used in the research

The first step in deciphering the *Itinerarium* is to learn about the contemporary topography of Jerusalem, and Gerhard Kroll's work „*In the Footsteps of Jesus*”, published in Hungarian, provided me with an excellent starting point. Kroll uses archaeological excavations to prove that all the “*holy places*”, what about Egeria speaks, were located outside the city walls and, with the exception of the Temple of Zion, all were caves. These could have been used by Christians even when they were banned from Jerusalem.

This topographical approach led to the deciphering of the origin of the Jerusalem liturgy. Egeria describes three “*holy places*” in total, which are exactly the same as the locations indicated by the travelogues of all other authors. At each location, a different type of liturgy was performed, and these ceremonies were connected by a procession of Stational Liturgy. The “*holy places*” are listed as follows: the Holy Sepulchre Complex (Anastasis and Martyrion), the Mount of Olives (the Eleona with the Imbomon), and Zion, „the mother of all churches”. Based on the research of several church historians, each locations can be linked to an early Christian groups. The individual groups not only practiced different liturgies of Judeo-Christian, early Christian, or Roman, but their ceremonies were at different stages of liturgical development.

The definition of the liturgical movements in the Holy Sepulchre Complex can only be done with the precise floor plan of the building, and I will attempt to clarify the floor plan in this thesis. It was established that although the Liturgy of the Word is held in the Martyrion and the location of the

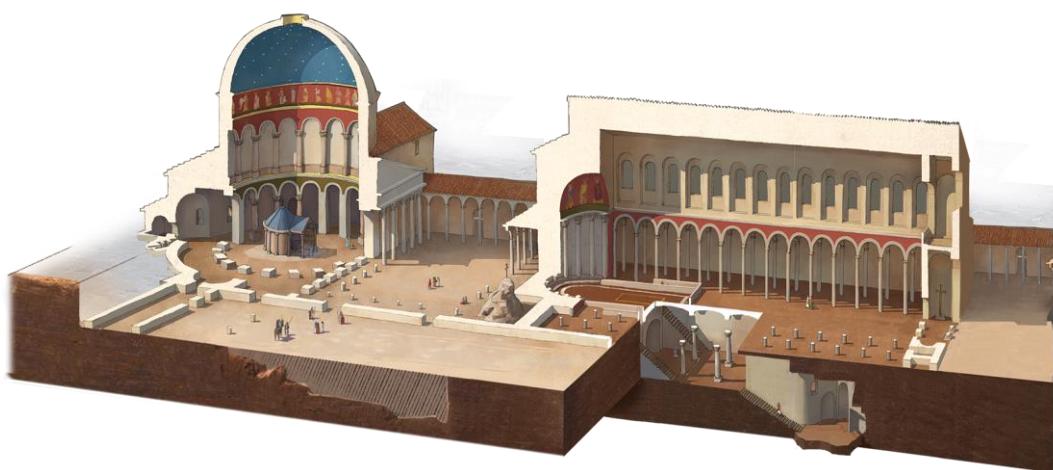
Eucharistic Liturgy is the Anastasis, the ceremony is considered liturgically as a single common Holy Mass. The processions between the parts of the building are in the liturgical places of the Small Entrance and the Great Entrance of the Byzantine liturgy, which suggests the Jerusalem origin of these liturgical elements.

The working method of my Thesis strictly avoids “presumptions”, starting exclusively from the text of the *Itinerarium* and translations of contemporary descriptions. Stational Liturgy of the Jerusalem is extremely complex, it is difficult to memorize. Instead of lengthy descriptions, the festive processions were depicted in time diagrams in my Thesis, and then the system of the liturgy became clear: the Holy Liturgy became separable from the Liturgy of the Hours, the festive vigils and the episcopal teachings. In parallel, it became possible to discover the origin of the ritual parts: „monastic” or „cathedral” origin (conducted in the main church of Constantinople) or a remnant of local early Christian liturgies.

We need to answer the question of why Egeria's *Itinerarium* was for a long time “indecipherable” to researchers and why it was not treated according to its importance. At the time of its discovery, the *Via Dolorosa* was considered the real site of the Passion, although this pilgrimage route was only established in the Christian quarter of the city during the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem. This obviously contradicted the route of the Passion described by Egeria. On the other hand, it could also have stemmed from the fact that Egeria's terminology is weak: she names the same ceremony in different ways, or skips over important parts of the ceremony and simply leaves them out of her description. To clarify Egeria's terminology, I conducted an analysis of the Pilgrim Liturgy described in the first part of the *Itinerarium*, where the terminology was not complicated by the special structure of the Holy Sepulchre Complex.

This dissertation yielded many scientific results, but it remained indebted in some topics. The liturgical historians' method for determining liturgical families is of two types: based on anaphoras, or based on the system of scriptural texts, read during the service. Unfortunately, Egeria was unable to help liturgists here. The text of the anaphora is not heard from the tomb of Anastasis when the bishop recites it, so she could not report on it. Egeria's linguistic limitations, Egeria's knowledge of Greek was not sufficient to understand the more complex Greek expressions. Egeria writes only: the Psalms, the Prayers, and the Antiphons sounded out were always appropriate to the occasion.

III. Summary of the scientific results of the doctoral thesis



The scientific results of my Thesis are contained in the *Complementum* chapter: a comparison with early Christian sources; an examination of common features with the pilgrimage festivals of the Jewish Sanctuary; assumptions regarding the “*Post Crucem*” relic chapel; an analysis of the fasting practice in Jerusalem; an assumption about the Jerusalem roots of the Christian Passion a contribution to the debate surrounding the Temple of Zion, and general insights into the Jerusalem liturgy. I have also compiled a short material on the lives of the three holy bishops Macarius, Maximus, and Cyril and their role in the establishment of the Jerusalem liturgy.

I did not include in my Thesis, but I attached as an Appendix my own Hungarian translations of the *Itinerarium*-s, my own translation of the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea and Saint Cyril of Jerusalem concerning the Holy Sepulchre, as well as the authentic description and drawings of Arculf translated into Hungarian with my own commentaries, and I dealt with the tradition of the see of Saint James, the first bishop of Jerusalem.

1.) THESIS

Egeria's *Itinerarium peregrinatio* was difficult for 19th-century church historians to interpret because the route of the liturgical movements described by Egeria could not be identified either within the Holy Sepulchre complex or in the rebuilt Jerusalem. Her description contradicted the concept that Christ walked the Via Dolorosa, which was a generally accepted theory in the 19th century.

All the basilicas built by Constantine the Great were built over a Christian “*locus sanctus*”. These Christian memorial sites were originally caves (except for the Temple of Zion) and were located outside the walls of the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina. Even during the years of oppression, Christians were able to visit their pilgrimage sites outside the city and hold their nightly rituals in the caves without any problems.

Egeria's description is conclusive evidence that among the „*holy places*” visited by Jesus which were recognized and held as “*locus sanctus*” in the 380s AD. An important principle of the Jerusalem rite is that events whose location is unknown or forgotten are not “enacted” as in a Passion play, but only the relevant passage from the Gospel is read during the ceremony.

Holy places mentioned in Egeria's *Itinerarium peregrinatio*:

-Anastasis: witness to the Resurrection, originally a cave; Constantine the Great built a huge domed mausoleum over the burial site (this is the current Church of the Holy Sepulchre). Next to it stood the huge Martyrion, the place of liturgies and theological symposiums.

-Basilica of Eleona on the Mount of Olives, under which lies the “Cave of Teaching”. Here the Lord taught the apostles, Jesus stayed here most of the time in Jerusalem according to the Gospels. A few meters from it was the Imbomon, from where he ascended to heaven.

-Sion, the meeting place of Christians, “the mother of all churches”, where the Holy Spirit descended on the apostles.

-Bethlehem, above the Cave of the Nativity we can still admire the basilica built by Constantine the Great.

As a result of my work, I have clearly defined the path of liturgical movements performed during weekdays, Sundays and feasts within the Holy Sepulchre complex, and I have identified the route of the Station Liturgies around Jerusalem. I have established that at Egeria the term “*ante Crucem*” meant the open colonnaded courtyard in front of the rock of Golgotha, and the term “*post Crucem*” meant the reliquary chapel housing the most valuable relics of Christianity.

2.) THESIS

Christian groups operated secretly in the locations listed above even before the victory of Christianity. Even today, there is a fierce debate among church historians about the extent to which these groups were messianic Jews, Jewish-Christians, according to some researchers essayists from Qumran, or Latin rite from Rome? After the victory of Christianity, Bishop Macarius, supported by the emperor, follows the liturgy of the Great Church of Constantinople.

I examined the types of ceremonies performed at these locations, based on Egeria's description, and found that they engaged in distinctly different liturgical activities:

- In the Holy Sepulchre complex built by Constantine the Great, a unified liturgy was performed, which was already accepted everywhere in the Christian World at that time;
- The place where the monastic prayer hours were held was the Anastasis;
- The place where the liturgy of the Word was held was the Martyrion, which was capable of accommodating 5,000 believers;
- The Eucharistic sacrifice was presented by the bishop of Jerusalem in the cave of the Holy Sepulchre;
- Long, several-hour vigils were held on the Mount of Olives, during which the people sat down and sang antiphons, psalms, supplications, and prayers;
- On the day of Pentecost, the entire Jerusalem clergy, together with the faithful, march in a spectacular festive procession to the Church of Zion. After the usual liturgy has been celebrated in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, a liturgy and Eucharistic sacrifice are repeatedly performed in the Church of Zion, which attests to the recognition of the antiquity of Zion, that the roots of the Jerusalem church go back to the Church of the Apostle James;
- In the Church of Zion, the bishop teaches on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent;
- In the eight days after Easter, the bishop teaches neophytes in the Cave of Teaching;
- Egeria mentions (unfortunately, the description of the ceremonies held in Bethlehem is missing from the manuscript) that monks arrive from Bethlehem on the day of Epiphany, which can be interpreted as meaning that the liturgy of the time linked the birth of the Lord to the city of Bethlehem.

3.) THESIS

The liturgy of Jerusalem, the “*Holy City*”, is also the liturgy of the surrounding monasteries. We must distinguish between the “monastic” and the “cathedral” traditions, concepts introduced by Anton Baumstark and later applied by Robert Taft in his study of Byzantine liturgy, divided into two groups:

- everyday rituals, communal and private, in which monks are obliged to participate;
- festive rituals, with a large number of participants, for the entire community of believers, which are always led by the bishop.

The Jerusalem liturgy is characterized by the fact that the ceremony is based on the continuous participation of the monks, they know all the details of the complex liturgy, they know the hymns, antiphons, psalms by heart. They are also present at the “great church” ceremonies, not only at the prayer hours, they follow the entire liturgy. In Jerusalem, the great church and monastic rite were not strictly separated, monks and desert hermits also lived in the city, and all of them actively participated in the ceremonies of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, therefore Mateos J. proposes a threefold division, distinguishing the following: the great church, the urban-monastic and the Egyptian monastic influence.

In Jerusalem Egeria most likely observed the hours of prayer according to the oldest typicon of Saint Pachomius. The monastic tradition of Jerusalem described by Egeria was later relied on by the monk Saint Sabbas, who founded the Great Sabbas Lavra near Jerusalem. According to Manuel Nin, the typicon of Saint Sabbas reflects the monastic tradition of Jerusalem, strongly monastic, for example in the case of the night vigils. The Jerusalem tradition is continued by the monastery of Studion in Constantinople, whose typicon was called *akoimetoī* "never sleeping" because the liturgy was performed 24 hours a day. Later, this order of rituals was continued by the monks who settled on the Athos peninsula.

4.) THESIS

I assume that the shaping of the Jerusalem liturgy is linked to the names of three holy bishops:

- Bishop MACARIUS (312–333) is the discoverer of the Holy Sepulchre and the shaper of the theological concept of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre complex. We can assume with great certainty that, since he was the confidant of the emperor, he is responsible for the introduction of the “cathedral” tradition into the liturgy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
- MAXIMUS (333–348) was a very popular bishop in Jerusalem, it can be assumed that he expanded the liturgy with local elements that were preserved by certain groups of Jerusalemites, such as the vigil on the Mount of Olives, the Saturday of Lazarus or the Palm Sunday procession through the city.
- By the time of CYRIL's (350–386) death, the system of the Jerusalem liturgy had become established and fixed. During his episcopate, the community of the Zion church was recognized as Christian, the sanctity of the place was confirmed as the place of assembly of the apostles, and he was able to include the Zion church in the Jerusalem Stations liturgy.

The five Mystagogical Catechesis of Cyril of Jerusalem is one of the oldest and most revered documents of our Catholic Church. Egeria's description mentions twice in her *Itinerarium* where the bishop of Jerusalem teaches the neophytes. She reports that before baptism, the bishop's speech in the

Anastasis was received with such loud joy that "*their shouts of joy were heard throughout the whole city.*" During the bright week of Easter, in the cave "*where the Lord taught,*" the Bishop of Jerusalem holds a catechesis, which, in addition to the newly baptized, can be listened to by "*all who wish to learn.*"

5.) THESIS

The pilgrim Egeria reports on a fully developed ritual order, known by the faithful, supported by active participation and experienced with deep emotional attachment. In the present work I wish to prove my hypothesis that the roots of the "*stationary liturgy*" practised in several places in the Christian world in later centuries are to be found in Jerusalem. It is clear from Egeria's Travel Diary that the Stationary Liturgy is also new to her, and we can observe that she pays special attention to the detailed description of the processions as an event that moves the celebrating community in space. She tries to reproduce the temporal and spatial course of the stationary liturgy with the greatest possible accuracy.

Some liturgists also classify the movements within the Holy Sepulchre Complex (Anastasis – Martyrion – ante Crucem – post Crucem) as part of the Stationary Liturgies, for example Daniel Galadza. Others identify the procession from the Anastasis to the Liturgy of the Word to the Martyrion with the Small Entrance of the Byzantine liturgy, and then the procession from the Martyrion with the "chosen precious gifts" to the Anastasis with the Great Entrance (for example István Ivancsó, the Hungarian translator of the book). The division of the ceremony between the two churches is known from several sources, for example from the Typicon of the Anastasis of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as from the Sabbatian monastic rule. According to Sabbatian practice, the Liturgy of the Word was celebrated in separate churches in different languages, after which all the monks gathered to receive the Eucharist.

The Mount of Olives plays a crucial role in the liturgy of Jerusalem. Vigils before major feasts were held there, where the Gospel describes Jesus as "going, as was his custom, to the Mount of Olives" (Mark 14:32-42, Luke 22:39-46). The pilgrim reports long vigils lasting several hours, even all night. The origin of this tradition is most likely that during the years of oppression, Christians could only pray secretly in front of the Holy Sepulchre or Golgotha, but they could gather and sing all night in the Cave of the Doctrine, 3 km from the city.

6.) THESIS

Egeria's Travel Diary clearly testifies that in the 380's in Jerusalem it was confessed without a doubt: the church of Zion was the place where the risen Lord appeared to his disciples, called Thomas to account, and where the Holy Spirit descended on the apostolic congregation. I have established that the liturgy performed in Zion always showed a penitential character: for example, the church was opened only on fasting days, Wednesdays and Fridays, and during the ceremonies the bishop gave a sermon calling for penance. This is also indicated by the fact that if one of the saints' feasts fell on Wednesdays or Fridays, the liturgy was not held in penitential Zion, but in the festive Anastasis.

There is still a fierce debate in the literature about what Zion really was: the "*mother of all temples*", i.e. the temple of James, the brother of the Lord, or Jewish-Christian synagogue, Jesus

Christ was certainly honored here, as some researchers assume, the synagogue of the Essenes (Qumran) district of the city? But Jesus Christ was honored here! According to several authors, only after the Council of Constantinople in 381 determined that the Holy Spirit descended on the apostles here, that first version became generally accepted. In contrast, Egeria's description testifies that around 380 the Jerusalem tradition considered it the temple of James, the brother of the Lord. The Jerusalem tradition is supported by the liturgically elaborated solemn ceremony on the morning of Pentecost.

The solution of that question, in my opinion, is provided by the source according to which Porphyrius, Bishop of Gaza, who was of Jewish origin, wanted to lead the Jewish-Christians back to Orthodox Byzantine Christianity. According to Esbroeck, on September 15 in 394, this rapprochement process was completed by John II, Bishop of Jerusalem, who blessed the Jewish-Christian altar and praised Porphyrius in his homily. We can assume that the believers of the Temple of Zion had to be given special "cathedral instruction" because, according to some researchers, they showed an Essene (Qumran) theological deviation, and the bishop personally tried to lead them back to Orthodoxy.

I consider the mention of the "*Pillar of the Flagellation*" as an important indication of the originality of the Church of Zion. Jesus Christ was honored here! Similar to the pilgrims of Bordeaux (330), Egeria also mentions (385), as does Arculf (680), that this column fragment stood in the middle of the Church of Zion. Egeria describes that in the Holy Week liturgy in Jerusalem at the time of the Flagellation (around 6 a.m. on Good Friday), the entire congregation, with the bishops and clergy, marching from the Holy Sepulchre complex to the Church of Zion to pay their respects before the Pillar of the Flagellation.

7.) THESIS

Egeria describes the three great eight-day feasts, the feasts of Epiphany, Easter and Enkaina, as attracting large numbers of pilgrims "*from Mesopotamia and Syria, Egypt or Thebes. The bishops who were present in Jerusalem on these days numbered more than forty or fifty, and with them came a great number of their clergy*". On that feasts the Liturgy of the Word in Jerusalem in the Martyrion took place, probably between 7 and 11 AM. This time is longer than what Egeria was accustomed to in the West, not because it contained other liturgical elements, than the Latin practice, but because the homilies lasted much longer: Egeria notes that "*of the priests, those who wish, may preach*". After them the bishop delivered a homily, which testifies to the authority of the Bishop of Jerusalem, supported by tradition, because this gave him the opportunity to correct the theological errors of the theologians who spoke before.

On the first three days of the eight-day feasts a 3-4-hour Liturgy of the Word was held daily, which meant that the participating theologians listened to theological arguments for about 10 hours during an eight-day feast. If they wished, any participating bishop or ordained priest could present his theological position. The venue of the Liturgy of the Word was the enormous Martyrion built by Constantine the Great, which could accommodate up to 5,000 believers. We can call these series of lectures, which were widely attended by both clergy and believers, theological "symposium". Bishop Cyril rejected the classical Arianism, but supported semi-Arian ideas. Based on our patristic studies we can assume that these symposiums were also very likely having a semi-Arian orientation. Their

influence was probably greater than we have previously considered, contributing to the development of a unified Eastern theology.

8.) THESIS

I have examined the common features between the Eight-day Feasts of the Holy Sepulchre and the pilgrimage festivals of the Jewish Sanctuary. I have observed that the Christian ceremonies follow the structure of the Jewish pilgrimage festivals – of course with a completely different theological content:

- the three major groups of festivals with the Eight-day Feasts are preserved
- the 40-day penitential fast, which is to be observed once a year, is moved by Christians to the period before Christ's death on the Cross
- the system of the 40th (or 50th) day after-feasts is maintained.

The reason for the common features between the great festivals of the two religions is to be found in human nature. The life of the Judeans, who lived predominantly from agriculture, was determined by sowing and harvesting, and the birth and slaughter of animals. A successful year, a good harvest, and the abundance of animals ensured survival for all social groups. Just as the daily ritual of Jerusalem fits into the work schedule of the city, so the Eight-day Feasts correspond to the life schedule of the surrounding population.

The Jerusalem liturgy of the Easter and Pentecost periods dates back to the earliest, the Judeo-Christian period. James, the brother of the Lord, was the first bishop of Jerusalem to observe Jewish customs on the Sabbath and at the same time to lead the Christian “breaking of bread” on Sunday morning. The Holy Saturday liturgy does not prescribe any ceremony in Jerusalem after the early Saturday morning liturgy. In the first centuries, Jewish-Christians participated in the services of the Jewish Sanctuary on Saturday. Jewish influence is also evident in the fact, that the weekly vigils of Lent were held from Friday to Saturday dawn, in contrast to the Latin and modern practice, which makes it from Saturday to Sunday.

9.) THESIS

Although, ordinate to Robert Taft, the surviving church manuscripts of the liturgy of the Holy City are so damaged that it is impossible to reconstruct the liturgical acts on their basis, despite the opinion of the authority on liturgical history, I was confident from the beginning that the accurate and thorough description of the pilgrim Egeria would provide a final result, that refuted this. I began my work with a thorough examination of the *Itinerarium peregrinatio* in the excellent Hungarian translation by István Ivancsó, and later I checked my findings in the original Latin text. During my research, I found that the ritual parts that did not fit into the regular “cathedral” liturgy revealed that there was in some way a local tradition (not even one) that had survived in Jerusalem. According to my assumption, the Jerusalem liturgy arose in the middle of the 4th century by unify these local traditions.

There are "illogical" steps in the liturgy of Pentecost in Jerusalem: the Descent of the Holy Spirit is celebrated on the same day, but before the Ascension of Christ. The celebration of the Descent

of the Holy Spirit takes place in the morning hours in the Zion Church, while the Ascension is celebrated in the afternoon on the Mount of Olives. This certainly suggests that the morning liturgy of Pentecost, celebrating the Descent of the Holy Spirit, was a local tradition of the Zion Church, while the afternoon ceremony of Pentecost, celebrating the Ascension of the Lord into heaven on the Mount of Olives, could have been a tradition of another Christian community.

10.) THESIS

In summary, we can say that the 4th century Jerusalem Liturgy combined the liturgical traditions of various local Judeo-Christian groups, the Syriac-speaking local or Greek-speaking immigrant population, and the Christian practice of Latin-speaking groups who arrived with the imperial army. The all-night vigil on the Mount of Olives recalls the most ancient Christian gatherings of the 1st-2nd centuries. The Jerusalem liturgy included not only the liturgy of Christian congregations of different languages and origins, but also elements of the liturgy of *missa* at different stages of development. According to several researchers, the worship on Mount Zion, which was conducted according to the Essene (Qumran) tradition, may have differed from the official Constantinople liturgy, and the frequent visits of the bishop encouraged the return of the “heretics” to the Catholic Church. The liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre Complex corresponded in every way to the Christian ceremony performed in Constantinople, in the imperial city, which was generally practised in the Church all over.

According to Baldovin, one of the most difficult tasks for a modern liturgical historian is to establish, what certain ceremonies meant to those who participated in them. This is precisely why the surviving pilgrim accounts are infinitely valuable, helping to bring dead texts to life. We can be especially grateful to Egeria, because she describes the reactions of the faithful with great sensitivity. Examining the Latin text, I found that the faithful participated in church ceremonies much more passionately, than they do today, feeling the deep pain of Christ's death, the anger at the betrayal, the ultimate despair, but celebrating the impending resurrection with self-forgetful jubilation.

11.) THESIS

Having processed the large amount of information found in the Travel Diary of Egeria, we can summarize the characteristics of the Jerusalem liturgy as follows:

- The order of the daily ceremonies rested on the monks and nuns. Their participation in the Liturgy was considered as duty of their state. They knew and led the singing of psalms, antiphons, and hymns appropriate to the occasion. Lay people could join them at any time, everyone as much as he could, as their state of life and health allowed. With this we have arrived at the first principle of the Jerusalem religious practice, which left participation to the personal conscience of the believer; the extent of church attendance or fasting was not determined for the believers.
- Another important principle of the Jerusalem Rite is, that events whose location is unknown or forgotten, are simply read from the Gospel. The 4th-century Jerusalem liturgy is faithful to tradition; in places where no tradition has survived, the liturgy does not reconstruct it.

- The third important principle of the Jerusalem Rite is that on any great feast day, no ordinary daily ritual is omitted – I am thinking of the morning and evening services and the prayer hours – except in cases where the two events coincide in time.

Egeria's greatest merit is, that she describes a rite that was briefly used, developed after the 330s, but forgotten after the Muslim conquest in 633. The origin of this rites, which go back to the most ancient layers, is unquestionable. According to Manuel Nin, the Jerusalem liturgy belonged to the Antiochian branch of the Eastern rite. The Byzantine liturgy, which Egeria observed and described in her *Itinerarium*, was in its archaic period, similar to the rites described in the Didache and the *Traditio Apostolica*. Anton Baumstark assumes that the Christian liturgy moved from initial diversity towards unification, with different church texts, local formulas and different rites merging into a ritual unity that was used uniformly throughout the Mediterranean. Egeria also brilliantly justifies this statement when she notes on several occasions: *fiunt omnia secundum consuetudinem*, meaning "everything happens according to custom" (i.e. the liturgy known to Egeria).

The Jerusalem liturgy is similar to the liturgy of the great saints of the East, Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Basil the Great, used in the imperial city of Constantinople. Later, the Jerusalem liturgy demonstrably influenced the Armenian and Georgian liturgies.

Benedict Luykx sees evidence that the Constantinople Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία, the typicon of the Great Temple, was based on the service performed at the Anastasis in Jerusalem, which included the Divine Liturgy, the morning and evening services. According to him, the priestly and responsorial prayers performed during Easter and Lent also derived from the Jerusalem practice.



IV. List of my publications on the topic of my doctoral dissertation:

2019	<i>A IV. századi jeruzsálemi liturgia</i> (SzAGHF diploma munka)
2020	<i>Az Ószövetségi Szentírás szerepe a IV. századi zarándok liturgiában Egeria Útikönyve alapján Függelék: Ki volt a titokzatos zarándoknő?</i> (Munkálatok, SzAGHF 2020, 137-155.)
2021	<i>Javaslat a IV. századi jeruzsálemi liturgia heortológiai szerkezetének feltárására</i> (SzAGHF licencia záródolgozat)
2021	<i>An attempt to reconstruct the Church of the Holy Sepulchre built by Constantine the Great, taking into account the liturgical movements described in the Travel Diary of Egeria</i> (az IDK21 Interdiszciplináris Doktorandusz Konferencián 2021. november 13.)
2022	<i>IV. századi jeruzsálemi liturgia</i> (Elhangzott a XXV. „Tavaszi Szél” Konferencián Pécsen 2022. május 8.)
2022	<i>"Dominae, lumen meum...", avagy kiknek írta Egeria Útinaplóját a szentföldi utazásáról?</i> (2022. június 25. előadás a Magyar Patrisztikai Társaság XXI. Országos Konferenciáján)
2022	<i>Ima és munka egyensúlya a keresztény Jeruzsálemben Egeria IV. századi Útinaplója alapján</i> (2022. november 16. előadás Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola Tudomány Napi Konferenciáján "Tudomány: Út a világ megismeréséhez")
2022	<i>Sion, minden templomok anyja</i> (2022. november 25. előadás az Interdiszciplináris Doktorandusz konferencián, Pécs)
2023	<i>A stációs liturgiák kezdetei</i> (2023. december 9.-án előadás a XV. Nemzetközi Doktorandusz és Posztdoktori konferencia, Nyíregyháza)
2024	<i>The mysteries of "ante crucem" and "post crucem" in Egeria's Travel Diary</i> Az "ante crucem" és "post crucem" rejtélye Egeria Útinaplójában (megjelenés alatt)
2024	<i>The "penitent" Zion, how the conversion activity of the Gaza bishop Porphyrius among the Judeo-Christians is reflected in Egeria's Travel Diary</i> A "bűnbánó" Sion, hogyan tükrözödik Egeria Útinaplójában Porphyrius gázai püspök téritő tevékenysége a zsidó-keresztények között (megjelenés alatt)
2025	<i>Vigil on the Mount of Olives, an ancient Jerusalem tradition based the origin of Stationary Liturgies</i> Virrasztás az Olajfák hegyén, egy ősi jeruzsálemi hagyomány amely a stációs liturgiák keletkezését megalapozta (kidolgozás alatt)