

PONTIFICAL INSIGNIA: THEIR ORIGIN AND USE

II

PONTIFICAL vestments and insignia, namely vestments and insignia used by bishops to enhance their dignity rather than their priestly ministry, are the mitre, the pallium, the gloves, the buskins and sandals, the tunic and the dalmatic worn under the chasuble, and the gremial veil; also the pectoral cross, the ring, the crozier, the *formale*, the *liber canonis* and the *bugia*, the silver ewer and basin, and the archiepiscopal cross.²⁹ The instruction of the Congregation of Rites of the 21st June 1968 has brought about several changes in the use of the above-men-

²⁹ Besides these vestments the Pope also uses the fanon, the subcinctorium, the papal cope, and the tiara.

The *fanon* is so described by Pope Innocent III in his *De mysterio Missae* (I, 53): 'Romanus pontifex post albam et cingulum assumit orale, quod circa caput involvit et replicat super humeros, legalis pontificis ordinem sequens, qui post lineam strictam et zonam induerunt ephod id est super-humerale'. Actually it is the *anagolaion* or amice which in the eighth century was put over the alb; only later, between the tenth and twelfth century, in imitation of the usage outside Rome, was the amice put on under the alb. It was only when the identification of the fanon with the amice was lost that the Pope began using the amice under the alb and the fanon over the alb — this was in the fifteenth century.

The term *fanon* is of late origin; according to Braun (*Catholic Encyclopaedia* vol. V, p. 785) it is derived from the late Latin *fano*, from *pannus πῆνος*, cloth, woven fabric. Of white silk since the late Middle Ages, it was ornamented with narrow gold or coloured stripes woven in the cloth since the thirteenth century; square in shape up to the fifteenth century it took its present shape in the sixteenth.

The *subcinctorium* is so described by Durand in his *Pontifical*: 'Habet similitudinem manipuli et dependet a cingulo in latere sinistro'. Originally it served to secure the stole to the girdle, and later on developed into the form of a maniple and became just an ornamental vestment. In the thirteenth century it was used by all bishops, and in some places also by priests; today it is worn only by the Pope on the girdle at a solemn pontifical mass. It seems to be of Gallican origin and must have spread over to Italy about the close of the first millennium (see notes 21 and 26).

The papal cope (*mantum papale*) is similar to the Roman cope but with a long train; the Pope uses it when assisting from the throne at a solemn ceremony and when he solemnly enters St. Peter's Basilica.

The tiara: cfr. note 62.

tioned vestments and insignia,^{29a} and it would be interesting to discuss these changes, taking into consideration the origin and development of the various vestments and insignia just mentioned. But before discussing each of the items mentioned above, one should also trace the development of the bishop's seat, which has always been held in veneration from the earliest centuries.

The bishop's seat

has now acquired its old designation of '*cathedra*': this term, which originally indicated the seat used by the bishop in his church, was later on transferred to the bishop's see,³⁰ and later still it designated the Episcopal church itself, the *principalis cathedra* being the bishop's church as opposed to the other churches; but it was only in the tenth century that the term 'cathedral' was used absolutely for the principal church of the diocese, and then only in the West.³¹

Early writers, it seems, used indiscriminately the terms 'throne' and 'cathedra' for the bishop's seat, although actually there was a distinction between the two terms: 'cathedra' was the more proper term to designate the bishop's chair, while 'throne' seems to have been later on considered a more appropriate term for the chair of an archbishop, patriarch, pope or sovereign prince.³² The term 'throne' was also used to

^{29a} The decree and the instruction do not mention at all the non-liturgical vestments of the various prelates, but a reform must be expected soon as the Apostolic Letter *Pontificalis Domus* of the 28th March 1968 mentions such a reform.

³⁰ The Dictionary of Christian Antiquities (London 1908) mentions several instances of such a meaning (s.v. *Cathedra* p. 320); one example must suffice: 'Licinio autem urbis Turonicae defuncto episcopo, Dinifius cathedram episcopalem ascendit' (Historia Francorum, III, 2).

³¹ 'Ecclesia mater' or 'ecclesia matrix' or 'principalis cathedra' were the titles given to the principal church of the diocese in the decrees of various local councils from the sixth century onwards, while 'tituli' or 'ecclesiae diocesanae' were the titles given to the parish churches (Cfr. Dictionary of Christian Antiquities s.v. *Cathedra* and *Cathedral* p. 320).

³² The Dictionary of Christian Antiquities (s.v. *Throne* p. 1960) gives the following example of this distinction from a collect used in the consecration of the Pope when already a bishop, before he is placed on the papal seat by the senior cardinal-bishop: 'Deus ... respice quaesumus propicius hunc famulum tuum N quem de humili *cathedra* violenter sublimatum in *thronum* eiusdem apostolorum principis sublimamus'.

indicate the seats of the presbyterium.³³

The bishop's seat was an object of veneration from the earliest centuries, and Tertullian remarks³⁴ that the chairs used by the Apostles are still venerated, while Eusebius mentions St. James' chair as an object of veneration in Jerusalem.³⁵

The bishop's chair was at the upper end of the apse, flanked by the seats of the presbyterial college;³⁶ from his seat the bishop presided over the liturgy³⁷ and from there he preached, unless he preferred using the ambo or using a chair near the chancel so as to be better heard by the faithful. In the seventh century, in Rome, the Pope's seat was certainly at the upper end of the apse, although a bishop, celebrating the liturgy instead of the Pope, would not occupy the Pope's seat, but would use another seat on the right hand side of the altar. This was the use in Gaul, and soon the right hand side of the altar came to be considered as the usual place for the bishop's seat.³⁸

³³ Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History speaks of the bishop's throne as the βῆμα καὶ θρόνον υψηλόν (VII, 30, 9), while in a letter of the emperor Constantine to Chrestus bishop of Syracuse, quoted by Eusebius in his history (X, 5, 23) priests are distinguished from bishops by the phrase ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου.

³⁴ *De praescriptione haereticorum* (36, 1): 'percurte ecclesias apostolicas apud quas ipsae adhuc cathedrae apostolorum suis locis praesident' — unless the phrase 'cathedrae apostolorum' should be understood not as literally referring to the chairs but to the apostolic succession of the bishops of the sees mentioned (Cfr. D.C.A. s.v. *cathedra* p. 320).

³⁵ Ecclesiastical history VII, 19 Τὸν γὰρ Ἰακώβον θρόνον ... εἰς δεῦρο πεφυλαγμένον οἱ τῆδε κατα διαδοχὴν περιέποντες ἀδελφοὶ σαφῶς τοῖς πασὶν ἐπιδείκνυνται οἷον περὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἄνδρας τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς ἕνεκεν οἷ τε πάλαι καὶ οἷ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἕοφζόν τε καὶ ἀποσφῶζουσι σέβας.

³⁶ Prudentius (*Peristephanon*. XII, 225-226) speaks thus of the bishop's seat: *Fronte sub adversa gradibus sublime tribunal tollitur, antistes praedicat unde deum. Fronte sub adversa* would be the upper end of the apse.

³⁷ 'Oportet itaque ut in congregatione Christianorum praepositi plebis eminentius sedeant, ut ipsa sedes distinguantur, et eorum officium satis appareat'. (S. Augustini Sermo XCI, 5).

³⁸ '... surgit pontifex ... et vadit de dextra parte altaris ad sedem suam et diaconi cum ipse hinc et inde, stantes et aspicientes contra orientem'. (*Ordo Romanus* IV, 18). The change was brought about, according to Andrieu (*Les Ordines Romani du Moyen Age*, vol. II, Louvain, 1948, pp. 144-146) by the fact that in countries using the Gallican liturgy, churches were orientated, i.e.

In the first centuries, it seems, the bishop's chair was none other than the curule chair covered with cloths and cushions:³⁹ in the *Vita S. Cypriani* we read that Cyprian's chair was a *sedile ligneum sectum* covered with a linen cloth. From works of art of the early Christian centuries we might perhaps conclude that the bishop's cathedra was a chair with arms and back, while sovereign princes had chairs without arms and with a low straight back — this type of chair might have developed from the Roman *bisellium*, a seat of honourable distinction which was a sort of wide stool without arms or back.⁴⁰

During all the Middle Ages up to the fourteenth century, the bishop's seat seems to have been a simple stool or chair covered with cushions and cloths, perhaps something similar to the foldstool:⁴¹ at least this is what one would conclude from the very limited number of miniatures in MSS representing bishops and popes.

churches were built in such a way that the people facing the altar would face the East; even the celebrant had to face the East and so he took his place at the altar not facing the people (as was the custom in Rome), but with his back to the people and facing the East; this was the position of the celebrant at the altar, with which Amalar (Cfr. *De Ecclesiasticis officiis*, III, 9) was accustomed — he knew of no other position of the celebrant at the altar. The change of position of the celebrant at the altar, brought about a change in the position of the celebrant's seat; if the seat was at the upper end of the apse the celebrant would have to go round the altar and pass through the ranks of the clergy to go to his seat — to avoid such complications the seat was placed at the right hand side of the altar as was the custom in Rome when the Pope was substituted by a bishop at the celebration of the Eucharist. The place behind the altar remained empty and it was therefore considered a very convenient place where to put the seven candlesticks after the gospel, so as not to be in the way during the offertory procession: '(post evangelium) revertit diaconus ad altare et ipsa cereostata ante eum et ponunt ea retro altare, seu et reliqua caereostata' (Ordo Romanus IV, 34).

The Ordo Romanus IV was compiled in the ninth century by a person whose intention was to introduce the Roman rite of the Mass into Gaul: he used the Ordo Romanus I, adopting it to the particular circumstances of his country.

³⁹ St. Augustine in his letter to Maximinus, a Donatist bishop (Ep. 23, 3) says: In futuro Christi iudicio nec absidæ gradatæ, nec *cathedrae velatæ* . . .; while Pacianus (Ep. 2, 3) speaks of a *linteata sedes* and Pontius the biographer of St. Cyprian refers to Cyprian's seat as a *sedile ligneum sectum* which had to be covered with a linen cloth. (Cfr. Righetti, *Storia Liturgica*, vol. I, Milan, 1950, p. 383-385).

⁴⁰ Cfr. Smith-Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, London 1908 s.v. *Throne* p. 1960.

⁴¹ Cfr. Salmon, *Les insignes du Pontife dans le rit romain*, chp. III, p. 69.

From the fourteenth century onwards various manuscripts testify to the existence of a curtain behind the bishop's chair; this curtain later on was extended over the seat and formed a baldacchino: miniatures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witness this development, which nevertheless is not universal, although it can be noticed in several places; in fact the pontifical of the period, up till the sixteenth century, still speaks of the foldstool as the bishop's seat, placed near the altar on the epistle side.⁴² In the seventeenth century the bishop's throne with the baldacchino is the rule, and its place is the end of the apse or the gospel side of the altar. The *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* of Clement VIII, published in 1600, expressly says: 'Forma sedis erit praealta et sublimis, sive ex ligno, sive ex marmore, aut alia materia fabricata in modum cathedrae et throni immobilis, quales in multis ecclesiis antiquis videmus; quae debet tegi et ornari aliquo panno serico concolori cum aliis paramentis, non tamen aureo, nisi episcopus esset cardinalis; et super eam umbraculum seu baldachinum eiusdem coloris appendi poterit, dummodo et super altari aliud simile vel etiam sumptuosius appendatur'.⁴³

⁴² The Roman Pontifical of 1485 expressly says that for Mass 'paratur faldistorium, id est episcopalis sedes', and Peter de Grassi in his *De caeremoniis cardinalium et episcoporum in eorum dioecesibus* (written in the first years of the fourteenth century) says: 'In hoc nostro iure passim, et communiter sedem praelati cuiusvis pontificaliter celebrantis, non quidem amplam et eminentem, sed pressiorem ac sacris celebrationibus dicatam, similem curruli illi, quae in antiquis numismatibus inspicitur: caeremonistae autem faldistorium appellant ... satis est quod per hanc qualemcumque dictionem sedes designatur pontificalis celebrationibus dicata, et haec semper locari debet ad cornu altaris sinistram, quod est Epistolae; ita ut ipse celebrans habeat ad dexteram suam altare ...' (quoted from Salmon, l.c. p. 70 n. 70) Peter de Grassi presupposes the existence of a throne for the Papal legate on the right hand side of the altar, when the legate is not celebrating Mass, but only assisting: this throne has two steps and adorned with carpets and curtains but no baldacchino. The Cardinal Archbishop of Bologna, according to de Grassi, had a right to such a throne, when not celebrating, but he usually occupied the first choir stall, i.e. the one nearest the altar, which for de Grassi was not consonant with the dignity of a cardinal archbishop! for him the cardinal archbishop ought to have a throne on the right side of the altar when the Cardinal legate was absent, or a throne on the epistle side of the legate were present. Peter de Grassi was the master of ceremonies of Bologna cathedral before becoming master of ceremonies of Popes Julius II and Leo X. (Salmon, l.c. chp. III, p. 70).

⁴³ Lib. h.c. 13, n. 3.

In Malta the bishop's seat in its present form dates from 1659 at the time of Bishop Fra Giovanni Balaguer Camarasa. On the 9th April 1659 the Cathedral

Malta's Cathedral and Con-Cathedral have two thrones which date from the inception of British rule in Malta;⁴⁴ this is something excep-

Chapter discussed the proposal: 'se pare conveniente che a spese della Cattedrale si facci il baldacchino per il Pontificale per Mons. Ill.mo nro vescovo. The Archdeacon, Don Faustino Xara, J.U.D. was in favour, 'perchè serve per paramento', but Don Antonino Testaferrata did not agree 'che si facci il baldacchino perchè non è stato mai in questa cattedrale e intende che la Chiesa non è obbligata farla perchè mutando la sedia il successore pretenderà la sua insegna o vero metter il drappo a suoi gusti e perciò non potendo pregiudicare la detta Chiesa ... (Regestum Delib. Capit. III, 41v, 42r).

⁴⁴On the 12th May 1808, the Archbishop of Malta, Mgr. Ferdinando Mattei accepted an arrangement proposed by Captain Ball, whereby, inter alia, a throne was reserved for the King of England in the principal churches of Malta:

'Disposizioni del governo di Sua Maestà Britannica, alle quali si attende l'adesione del Vescovo di Malta prima del suo possesso:

1. Nelle Chiese principali, nel luogo medesimo ove avevano per il passato il loro trono i Principi dell'isola, vi sia un trono nel fondo del quale siano ricamate in tutta cerimonia le armi britanniche.

2. Il Governatore ossia Regio Civile Commissionario pro tempore portandosi in chiesa abbia una sedia ed un apparato distinto nel lato destro, ed abbia tutti gli onori che gli convengono come rappresentante di Sua Maestà e fuori della chiesa gli si usino tutti quei riguardi che si usavano ai Principi ossia Gran-Mastri sotto l'antico governo.

... Aderisco agli articoli premessi, e vi presto il mio pieno consenso in tutto quello che dipende da me.

Oggi il 12 Maggio 1801

Fra Ferdinando Mattei
Vescovo di Malta.

The question of the Royal throne and the Governor's seat 'seems to have again arisen during the governorship of Sir Thomas Maitland who was puzzled with the whole affair as he was unaware of 'the etiquette on the subject'. The Grandmaster had his throne in St. John's on the right hand side of the altar within the sanctuary. In the early years of British rule it seems that the Civil Commissioner sometimes sat thereon and sometimes did not but eventually the Archbishop considered it his own and the Civil Commissioner 'never went there'.

The question of the Royal throne arose again when the bishop asked the Governor if he would attend the singing of a *Te Deum* as a thanksgiving for the cessation of the plague on the 29th January 1814. Maitland pointed out that he had no right to sit on the throne, but it had to be kept vacant 'as the emblem of His Majesty's Sovereignty in these islands and it had to remain exactly where the Grandmaster's throne had previously been with His Majesty's Arms displayed upon it'. Maitland, as governor, would sit on the right outside the sanctuary. The Archbishop concurred and erected his own throne on the left hand side of the altar, opposite to the Royal throne. (A.V. Laferla, *British Malta*, vol. 1, Malta 1945, pp. 69, 114-115).

tional as one of the thrones is the Royal throne, which, according to the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* ought not to be within the sanctuary. Two, or even more, thrones within the sanctuary are permitted by the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* in certain cases, but only for bishops, legates and Cardinals.⁴⁵

With the new rules quite a number of changes have been brought about with regard to the bishop's seat: it may no longer be called a throne, but it ought to have its original name of *cathedra* to better manifest the teaching office of the bishop. The baldacchino disappears together with the idea of a throne, as such an idea is more convenient to the power and dignity of an emperor and a prince than to the pastoral and teaching office of a bishop. The three fixed steps leading to the bishop's seat are no longer required; what is necessary now is that the bishop's seat should be so placed that the bishop is seen by all and that he is seen as really presiding over all the congregation. There should be only one bishop's seat in the sanctuary, as the seat is now no longer a sign of honour but only the seat of the 'president' of the Christian assembly, and therefore any bishop, even if he is not the diocesan bishop, while

⁴⁵ Lib. 1, chap. 13, 4: Si forte aliquis S.R.E. Cardinalis Legatus de latere, vel non legatus, rei divinae interesset, convenit ei sedes episcopalis ...; Episcopus vero si celebrat, in faldistorio in cornu Epistolae; si non celebret, et chorus sit in Presbyterio sub tribuna, sedebit in digniore parte chori.

5. Quod si Episcopus quoque osset S.R.E. Cardinalis, si legatus haberet sedem a latere Evangelii, sedebit quoque Episcopus Cardinalis non celebrans in eodem loco, et plano, et sedibus aequalibus prope Legatum.

6. Eodem quoque modo sedebunt, si plures adessent Cardinales, dummodo Episcopus Cardinalis sit omnium postremo; Celebrans vero in faldistorio.

7. Si vero Legatus esset in sede episcopali sub tribuna, sedebit Episcopus Cardinalis, et alii Cardinales, si adessent, prope Legatum, ... ipse aute simplex Episcopus sederet, vel ex opposito in sede humiliori; vel in digniori parte chori, aut in faldistorio ...

8. Quod si Episcopus sit Cardinalis, et intersit alius, vel plures Cardinales non Legati, poterunt omnes ab eadem parte Evangelii, ubi solet esse sedes Episcopalis, sedere in sedibus aequalis, vel in digniori parte chori quando est sub tribuna; dummodo Cardinalis Episcopus sit omnium postremus et Episcopalia munia remittet exercenda Cardinali praesenti, vel si plures sint, priori in ordine ...

9. Metropolitanus, absente Legato, vel alio Cardinali, habebit aliam sedem ex opposito in cornu Epistolae similiter ornatam, ut sedes episcopalis; alii vero Episcopi hospites sedebunt in digniori loco post Episcopum Diocesantum super omnes Canonicos.

presiding a liturgical service in the name and with the authority of the local bishop, is to occupy the bishop's seat; other bishops and prelates, even if higher in dignity than the celebrating bishop, are to occupy seats of honour in a convenient place, but these seats should clearly be distinguished from the bishop's seat and should in no way have the appearance of a bishop's cathedra:⁴⁶ therefore what the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* says about several thrones within the sanctuary must now be considered abrogated.

The bishop's vestments

The mitre

as a liturgical head-dress cannot have been in use before 1000 A.D.; any allusions to the use of a head-gear by Christian ministers before this date are extremely rare and of very doubtful character.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Instr. *Pontificales ritus* II, 10-13, AAS 70 (1968) p. 408-409.

⁴⁷ The following are some instances which have been considered by some as allusions to a head-dress worn by bishops:

i. Eusebius (His. Eccl. V, 24, 3) reproduces a letter sent by Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, to Pope Victor on the question of the date of Easter; in this letter Polycrates mentions the great bishops of Asia, among whom he lists the Apostle St. John: of him, Polycrates says: 'John too, who lay on the Lord's breast, who became a priest wearing the golden plate (ὄς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκῶς), a martyr and a teacher: he also sleeps at Ephesus'. The πέταλον was worn by the Jewish high-priest on his forehead – in the context quoted above, it must mean either that John wore a golden plate in the same manner as the Jewish high-priest, which is improbable, or else it must have a figurative meaning, i.e. John's office in the Christian church was as important as that of the high priest among the Jews.

ii. Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. X, 4, 2) in the beginning of his panegyric on the consecration of the great church of Tyre, addressing himself to Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, and the assembled clergy, begins his discourse, thus: 'Friends of God, priests clad in the holy tunic, wearing the heavenly crown of glory (τοῦ οὐράνιου τῆς δοξῆς ἀτέφανον), anointed with the unction of inspiration, and adorned with the priestly vesture of the Holy Ghost ...' The 'heavenly crown of glory' is very probably not the mitre – the rhetorical character of the whole discourse suggests that the words quoted must be taken in a figurative sense as referring to the spiritual characteristics of the new covenant in contrast to the externals of the old one.

iii. St. Gregory of Nazianzus (Orat. X, 4), addressing his father, the bishop of Nazianzus, says: 'You have anointed the chief high priest, clothed him with the tunic, put on his head the priest's cap (τοῦ κειδάρου i.e. one of the

The two most commonly found terms for ecclesiastical head-dress are *mitra* and *infula*. The Greek word $\mu\iota\tau\rho\alpha$ is connected with $\mu\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$, a thread, and meant either a girdle or a head-dress; as a head-dress it was a cap worn by women.⁴⁸

Totally different in its origin is the *infula*, the fillet which decked the heads of heathen priests and sacrificial victims.⁴⁹ In classical usage the word slowly drifted into meaning the ornaments and insignia of magistrates, or even the magistracy itself: in later ecclesiastical Latin we find it distinctively used for chasuble, apparently as being the principal official vestment.⁵⁰ The few references to *infulae* found in writers before the eleventh century can quite easily be shown not to refer to any liturgical head-dress at all.⁵¹

words found in the LXX to indicate the priest's head-dress), brought him to the altar of the spiritual burnt-offering, sacrificed the calf of consecration, consecrated his hands with the Spirit, and brought him into the Holy of Holies'. Although the passage might possibly refer to some kind of head-dress, the highly figurative nature of the whole passage suggests that even the word $\kappa\iota\delta\alpha\rho\iota\nu$ should be taken in a figurative sense. (Cfr. Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, s.v. *Mitre*, pp. 1214-1215).

⁴⁸ Isidore of Seville (Etymol. XIX, 31, 4) says of it: 'est pileum Phrygium caput protegens quale est ornamentum capitis devotarum. Sed pileum virorum est, mitrae vero feminarum'. It was also worn by Asiatics without distinction of sex and seems to have been specially characteristic of the Phrygians (Cfr. Dictionary of Christian Antiquities s.v. *Mitre* pag. 1213).

The mitre first appears in Christian usage as the distinctive head-dress of the only person who had no particular function in the Liturgy, i.e. the deaconess. References to its use by deaconesses in Africa are found towards the end of fourth century (v.g. S. Optatus, *Adversus Donatistas*, II, 19; VI, 4). We find mention of a *mitra religiosa* in the installation rite of an abbess in the Mozarabic *Liber Ordinum* (ed. M. Ferotin, *Monumenta Ecclesiae liturgica*, V, Paris 1904). The mitre of the abbess of Huelva which troubled canonists of the fourteenth century was probably a survival of this old Spanish custom. One should perhaps also mention that a modern derivative of the same head-dress is the 'Phrygian cap of Liberty' of the French revolution (Cfr. Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, London 1954).

⁴⁹ It is defined as 'fascia, in modum diadematis a quo vittae in utraque parte dependent, quae plerumque lata est, plerumque tortilis de albo et cocco'. There are several references in classical literature (v.g. *Aen*, II, 430; X, 538; *Georgics* III, 487; *Lucretius* I, 87; *Suetonius*, *Caligula*, 27) to sacrificing priests or sacrificial victims, whether men or beasts, wearing the *infula* (*Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, l.c.).

⁵⁰ *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s.v. *Mitre*, pag. 1215.

⁵¹ *Prudentius* (*Peristephanon* IV, 79) speaking of St. Vincent, the famous martyr

In the eleventh century the mitre was considered to be the distinctive head-dress of the pope. We read in the *Donatio Constantini* that Pope Sylvester had refused the crown from Constantine, who therefore presented him with a white Phrygian cap or conical mitre. The statement is evidently false, based as it is on an eighth-century forgery, but it proves at least that in the second part of the eighth century, namely at the time when the forgery was made, the Popes were using the Phrygian cap as their head-dress. At the beginning of the century, on the other hand, the Pope's head-dress was the *camelaucum*.⁵² But both the

of Saragossa, refers to Valerius, the bishop of that city, in the following terms:

Inde, Vincenti, tua palma nata est,
clerus hic tantum peperit triumphum,
hic sacerdotum domus infulata
Valeriorum;

In the term *infulata* some have seen a reference to the mitre; apart from the fact that the whole poem is written in metaphorical language, the word need not refer to any head-dress at all, but, poetically only to the official garb of the bishop.

A century later Pope Gelasius in a letter to the bishops of Lucania (Epist. 9, 9) speaks of a person as 'clericalibus infulis reprobabilem'. In a biography of St. Willibald, disciple of St. Boniface, written by a nun of Heidenheim, who lived at the time, we read that at his consecration as bishop, Willibald 'sacerdotalis infulae ditatus est honore'. In another biography of Burckhard, bishop of Wurzburg, another disciple of St. Boniface written before the tenth century, the bishop is spoken of as 'pontificali infula dignus' and the Pope as 'summi pontificatus infulae non incongruus'. All these instances may perhaps be understood as references to a head-dress but they could also be easily interpreted as just indicating episcopal dignity, and therefore they cannot be taken as compelling evidence of the use of the mitre before the tenth century (Cfr. Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, s.v. *Mitre* pp. 1215-1216).

⁵²The *camelaucum* (καμηλαύκιον) seems to have been a round cap with ear-flaps of fur or wool and sometimes adorned with gems; it sometimes became a helmet and was worn in battle. It was adopted both by royal personages and ecclesiastics chiefly in the East. (Cfr. Dictionary of Christian Antiquities s.v. *Camelaucium* p. 262).

Salmon, *Études sur les insignes du Pontife* (p. 27, note) quotes from the note, the Liber Pontificalis has on Pope Constantine (+715): '... egressus Tiberius imperator, filius Iustiniani Augusti, cum patriciis ... omnes letantes et diem festum agentes, pontifex et eius primates cum sellares imperiales, sellas et frenos inauratos simul et mappulos, ingressi sunt civitatem; apostolicus pontifex cum camelauco, ut solitus est Roma procedere, a palatio egressus in Placidias usque, ubi placitus erat, propeavit'.

camelaucum and the Phrygian cap were not used during liturgical services, and perhaps not even in church, but only in the open air, v.g. during a procession: we can therefore conclude that the mitre originally was not a pontifical vestment at all.

From Rome the mitre spread gradually over all Western Christendom. The first mention of an episcopal mitre is in the charter of Leo IX, who on Passion Sunday in 1049 placed the mitre on the head of his former archbishop Eberhard of Trier, giving him and his successors the right to use it 'more Romano in ecclesiasticis officiis'.⁵³ The same Pope granted the use of the mitre to the bishops of Mayence and Hamburg; in 1063 Pope Alexander II granted it to the bishop of Halberstadt, and in 1064 to the bishop of Mantua; in 1119 Pope Callixtus II granted its use to the bishop of Naumburg.⁵⁴ After this date the MSS do not speak of any more grants of the mitre to other bishops, but its use gradually spreads all over Western Europe not through any general decree of the Pope, of which there is no trace, but through imitation of the Pope and of the other prelates who had been granted the use of the mitre by the Pope:⁵⁵ various monuments of the period witness the spread of the use of the mitre all over Western Europe.⁵⁶

The decree granting the use of the mitre to Burchard, bishop of Halberstadt, for his special services to the Holy See, clearly shows that the concession of the mitre was not confined to bishops,⁵⁷ and was not a right deriving from the episcopal character.⁵⁸ In fact, we find the Pope,

⁵³ The Pope's words are: 'Romana mitra caput vestrum insignivimus, qua et vos et successores vestri in ecclesiasticis officiis Romano more semper utamini' (Ep. 3; ML 143, 595).

⁵⁴ Salmon, *Etude*, chp. II, par. 1, p. 41.

⁵⁵ Salmon, l.c.

⁵⁶ Salmon (l.c.) mentions the frescoes on the church of San Clemente in Rome depicting the life of St. Alexis and the translation of the relics of St. Clement; two *Exsultet* rolls of the 11th century one at the Cathedral in Bari, and the other at the Cathedral, Capua; miniatures in a sacramentary of the University library of Gottingen. Twelve century miniatures attesting the use of the mitre are much more numerous and it is virtually impossible to list them all.

⁵⁷ In the letter granting the privilege of the pallium and the mitre, (Ep. X, ML 146, 1287) Pope Alexander II says: 'Insuper mitras tibi a successoribus tuis ac canonicis excellentioribus, scilicet presbyteris et diaconis in missarum sollemnia ministraturis, subdiaconis in maiori ecclesia tua et suprascriptis festivitatibus portandas concedimus'.

⁵⁸ Salmon (l.c.) arrives at this conclusion from the existence of two forgeries

in 1051, granting the privilege of the mitre to the seven 'cardinals', namely the principal chaplains, of the cathedral of Besançon, when acting as celebrant, deacon or sub-deacon at Mass at the high altar on certain great feasts; in the next half century the privilege of the mitre was also granted to a number of Chapters, generally on the occasion of the grant of the mitre to their bishops, but sometimes even before.⁵⁹

The first grant of a mitre to an abbot was that given to abbot Elsin of the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury by Pope Alexander III in 1063; six years later the mitre was granted to the abbot of Ectemach, then to the abbots of Montecassino and Cluny in 1088, to the abbot of St. Lawrence in Aversa in 1092, to the abbot of Nonantula in 1103; the mitre was granted to all the abbots of the Cassinese congregation by Paul IV (1559-1565);⁶⁰ and finally in the seventeenth century the few remaining non-mitred abbots were granted the mitre *ex officio*.

Although from the eleventh century the mitre was granted not only to bishops but also to other ecclesiastics, within two centuries it became the inevitable part of the bishop's costume, so much so that, as we have said, bishops started using it without obtaining any papal grant, whilst abbots up till the seventeenth century, and conventual priors and other dignitaries continued obtaining the use of the mitre individually through a privileged grant from the Pope.⁶¹

From the time it was first used by the Pope as his particular head-dress to our times, the mitre has considerably changed its shape; in the twelfth century frescoes at San Clemente in Rome the pope wears a

trying to prove that the use of the mitre was granted to St. Ansgar by Pope Sergius II in 846 and to one of his successors by Pope Anastasius III between 911 and 913. The forgeries at least prove that at the time they were made, not all bishops used the mitre but it was a privilege granted to some bishops by the Pope and therefore not due to each single bishop on account of his episcopal character.

⁵⁹ Gregory Dix (*The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 406) says that the Bayeux Tapestry which very carefully portrays the pontificalia of the Archbishop of Canterbury Stigand, at King Harold's coronation, does not include the mitre, although it had already been granted to Abbot Elsin, of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, three years before in 1063.

⁶⁰ Cfr. J. Nabuco, *Ius Pontificalium*, Tournai, 1956, Lib. I, Tit. II, cap. IVB, pag. 82 note 2; and Salmon, *Etudes sur les insignes du Pontife* Chap. 2, § 11, pag. 54.

⁶¹ Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 406.

conical cap – the Phrygian cap – rising from a jewelled circlet.⁶² It was

⁶²We have here the first step towards the development of the Papal tiara: at the beginning of the eighth century the Pope used as head-dress known as the *camelaucum* (see note 52); sixty years later the author of the false donation of Constantine said that Pope St. Sylvester refused the imperial crown which Constantine wanted to give him, and so the Emperor placed on his head a 'frigium candido nitore' – a white Phrygian cap – and granted him and his successors the right to wear it in processions 'ad imitatione imperii nostri'. The first mention of a papal head-dress in the *Ordines Romani* is in Ordo XXXVI, 55 (Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani* vol. IV, p. 205) and it is called a *regnum*. In the Latin of the period *regnum* was a synonym of *corona*, i.e. the votive crowns offered to Roman sanctuaries by Popes and notable people: for example we read in the *Liber Pontificalis* that Leo III presented to the oratory of the Holy Cross in St. Peter's a 'regnum spanoclistum (ἐπανωκλιεῖστον closed on the upper part) ex auro purissimo cum cruce in medio, pendentem super ipsum altare'.

The *regnum* of Ordo XXXVI was conical in shape like a helmet: 'regnum, quod ad similitudinem cassidis ex albo fit indumento'. It must have been similar in shape to the *frigium* mentioned above.

The whole context of Ordo XXXVI shows that the putting on the *regnum* was no liturgical act or a coronation ceremony: in fact the *regnum* is put on the pope's head by the 'prior stabuli' i.e. the person taking care of the pope's horse! But by the twelfth century there is a change and now the *frigium* or *regnum* is considered a crown, and documents speak of a papal coronation. The first Pope spoken of as 'crowned' is Gregory VII, who on Christmas Day in 1075, after having celebrated Mass at St. Mary Major, returned to the Lateran, 'ad palatium coronatus et cum omni laude episcoporum atque cardinalium et procerorum'. The *Ordines* of this time list the festivities, up to eighteen in number, when the Pope rode 'coronatus' through Rome.

Twelfth century monuments often show the pope with a high stiff bonnet, conical in shape, white, and often interlaced with white and yellow (gold) fillets: the bonnet rose from what seems to be a circlet of gold, adorned with precious stones. This bonnet Pope Innocent III calls an *aurifrisium* (see note 65 below).

Up till the eleventh century and even up to the middle of the twelfth no distinction was made between the head-dress the Pope used during liturgical celebrations and when riding through Rome: originally it must have been the same head-dress (the *camelaucum* or *frigium* or *regnum*) which the Pope used when travelling and which later on he kept on after entering the church and starting the liturgical rites. But by this time the Pope had started granting the use of his head-dress to various bishops: the privilege was for the use of this head-dress (now also called a *mitra*) 'more Romano in ecclesiasticis officiis'. And therefore it was natural that documents towards the end of the twelfth century began distinguishing between the *mitra* and the *regnum* the former being reserved for use during liturgical services, the latter during the ride through Rome from the Lateran to the station Church for the liturgical celebration.

From now on the mitre and the *regnum* had a different development: the mitre

this head-dress which was first granted to Eberhard of Trier to use according to Roman custom during the liturgy;⁶³ it was made of linen⁶⁴ but a century later, at least for the bishop of Rome, it was made partly of gold cloth.⁶⁵ The shape also had changed: instead of being conical, it took a curved shape and grew into a round cap. Soon a depression appeared in the upper part of this cap, and an ornamental band passed from back to front across the depression, thus making more prominent the puffs in the upper end of the cap to the right and left sides of the head;

soon obtained more or less its present form, while the *regnum* slowly developed into the tiara. (Cfr. Andrieu, *Les Ordine Romani*, vol. IV. pp. 168-184).

Up till the time of Boniface VIII the tiara had only one crown; the second was added towards the thirteenth century. There is nevertheless a libellous publication by Benzo bishop of Alba dedicated to the emperor Henry IV in which it is stated that through the instigation of Hildebrand, Pope Nicholas II was crowned in 1069 in a Roman synod with a tiara having two crowns: 'legebatur autem in inferiori circulo 'corona regni de manu Dei', in altero vero sic: 'diadema imperii de manu Petri'. Many have considered this statement as a malevolent fabrication, but it seems improbable that Benzo was referring to something which developed two centuries later; probably Benzo is referring to an imperial crown, and therefore his statement has no reference to the development of the tiara (Andrieu, l.c. pag. 176).

The third crown was added to the papal tiara by one of the Avignon popes.

Innocent III in his sermon on Pope St. Sylvester (ML 217, 481-482) says: 'Romanus itaque pontifex in signum imperii utitur regno et in signum pontificii utitur mitra. Sic mitra semper utitur et ubique; regnum vero nec ubique nec semper, quia pontificalis auctoritas et prior est et dignior et diffusior quam imperialis'. Nevertheless the bishops of Benevento up till the end of the sixteenth century insisted on their right of using a tiara similar to that of the Pope, even though Pope Paul II (+1471) had objected to this right (Andrieu, l.c. pag. 183 n. 1).

⁶³ See note 53.

⁶⁴ Honorius of Autun (*Gemma animae*, L. 214; ML 172,609) in the twelfth century still seems to speak of a head-dress made of linen — 'mitra ex bysso facta' — (*Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s.v. *Mitra*, pag. 1216).

⁶⁵ The mitre at the time of Pope Innocent III (+1216) seems to have been made partly of gold (*Dictionary of Christian antiquities*, l.c.): in fact he calls it *aurifrisium* and considers it to be the equivalent of the imperial crown: 'pro diademate regio utitur aurifrisio circulare', he says of Pope St. Sylvester in a sermon on his feast day (*Sermo VII in festo D. Silvestri* ML 217, 481). The gold cloth or the gold embroidery seems to have been limited to the circlet from which rose a white conical cap, often plaited with intertwined white and yellow (or golden) fillets: at least this is what various monuments from the 12th century onwards seem to indicate (Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. IV, pag. 175).

these puffs soon developed into horns and this brought about a change in the manner of placing the mitre on the head; the horns no longer rose above the temples but above the forehead and the back of the head. By 1150 the mitre had obtained more or less its present shape, although two further changes developed later on: from the fifteenth century the sides of the mitre were no longer vertical but diagonal, and from the sixteenth century it was customary to curve more or less decidedly the diagonal sides of the horns; at the time the height of the mitre was gradually increased until, in the seventeenth century, it towered over the head of the bishop.⁶⁶

As early as the thirteenth century we find two types of mitres used, the simple mitre made of white linen, and the *mitra aurifrisiata* of silk and silk embroidery; a third type was soon to develop, the *pretiosa*, which was adorned with rich bands, pearls, precious stones, small ornamental discs of pretious metal and even painting.⁶⁷

The *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* gives detailed rules for the use of these three types of mitre, but the new rules have really simplified matters: only one type of mitre is to be used during a liturgical celebration, an ornamented mitre for feasts and a simple mitre for penitential days.⁶⁸

Lappets (*infulae*), it seems, were not originally added to the back of

⁶⁶ Cfr. G. Braun, *I paramenti sacri, loro uso, storia e simbolismo*, Italian edition, Turin 1914, chp. V, § 3, pag. 152-153.

⁶⁷ *Mitrae . . . triplex est species: una, quae pretiosa dicitur, quia gemmis et lapidibus pretiosis, vel laminis aureis, vel argenteis contexta esse solet; altera auriphrygiata sine gemmis, et sine laminis aureis, vel argenteis; sed vel aliquibus parvis margaritis composita, vel ex serico albo, auro intermisto, vel ex tela aurea simplici sine laminis, et margaritis; tertia, quae simplex vocatur, sine auro, ex simplici serico Damasceno, vel alio, aut etiam linea ex tela alba confecta, rubeis laciniis, seu frangiis, et vittis, pendentibus'* (*Caer. Episcop. Lib. I, cap. XVII, n. 1*). The simple mitre used by the Pope is of silver thread: probably such a mitre dates from the seventeenth century as previously the popes used a simple mitre of linen and later of silk cloth: most probably the use of the silver mitre was introduced to distinguish the pope from the bishops and the cardinals during a *cappella papale*, the pope using a silver mitre, cardinals a silk one and bishops a linen one (Cfr. Nabuco, *Ius Pontificalium*, Lib. II, pars. II tit. I, p. 175, n. 9).

⁶⁸ *In unaquaque actione liturgica, una tantum mitra Episcopus utatur, quae iuxta rationem celebrationis erit aut simplex aut ornata'* (*Pontificalis ritus*, III, 18, AAS 70 (1968) p. 416).

the mitre, but they may have developed from the ear-flaps of the *came-laucum*, which together with the Phrygian cap, seems to have been the predecessor of the mitre; nevertheless, whatever their origin, even the infulae were subjected to very costly ornamentation.

The mitre is the only liturgical vestment of purely papal origin, and the right to use it, whether by bishops, priests or deacons, and even lay men⁶⁹ depended originally on papal privilege, even more strictly than did the use of the pallium.

*The pallium*⁷⁰

originally was simply a 'scarf of office', worn by the emperor and the consuls, and granted to numerous other officials in the

⁶⁹ Nicholas II granted the use of the mitre, between 1059 and 1061, to the first king of Bohemia; this privilege was later on confirmed by popes Alexander II and Gregory VII. Pope Lucius I granted to King Roger I, the Norman king of Sicily, not only the use of the mitre but also that of the dalmatic, the sandals, the ring and the crozier; Innocent III in 1298 put the mitre on the head of Peter II king of Aragon and vested him with the dalmatic. The rite for the coronation of the emperor in the 13th century pontificals includes the imposition of the mitre before the crowning itself (Cfr. Salmon, *Etude sur les insignes du Pontife*, chp. 2 § 3, p. 64-65).

⁷⁰ The word *pallium* has a variety of uses in ecclesiastical Latin: St. Isidore defines the pallium as 'id quo ministrantium scapulae conteguntur, ut dum ministrant expediti discurrant' quoting Plautus; he derives the word pallium from *pellis*: 'Dictum autem pallium a pellibus, quia prius super indumenta pellicia veteres utebantur, quasi pellea sive a palla per derivationem' (Etymol. XIX, 24, 1). Isidore in the same chapter uses the word as a general term for garment and so he speaks of the *pallium purum forma rotunda* (§ 3), i.e. the *toga*, the *insigne pallium* or the *pallium bellicum* (§ 9) i.e. the *paludamentum*, the *pallium cum fimbriis longis* (§ 14) i.e. the *paenula*, the *pallium fimbriatum* (§ 14) i.e. the *lacerna*, and the *pallium puerile* (§ 16) for the *toga praetexta*.

The pallium also indicated the coarse outer garment of monks and of others who tried to imitate their austerities: of such persons pope Celestine I (+ 432) speaks as 'amicti pallio' (Ep. IV ad epise. Vien. et Narb., ML. 50, 432). When Fulgentius of Ruspe became bishop, his biographer (Vita c. 37; ML 65, 136) says of him that 'subtus casulam nigello vel lactineo pallio circumdatus incessit. Quando tempus aeris invitabat, solo pallio intra monasterium est coopertus. Scapulis vero nudis numquam a nobis visus est'. Some explain the passage as meaning that Fulgentius did not put aside his monastic garb when he became bishop, but continued to wear it under his *casula*; others hold that the pallium mentioned here is a wide scarf covering the neck and shoulders and worn under the tunic: S. Germanus of Paris (Ep. 2) in fact says: 'Pallium vero, quod circa

fourth century.⁷¹ Since the fifth century the Pope used a sort of 'scarf' known as a *pallium*, very similar to the *pallia* depicted on consular diptychs; up till the sixth century the Pope generally requested the emperor's permission to grant the *pallium*,⁷² and the fact is mentioned that

collum usque ad pectus venit, rationale vocabatur in veteri testamento ...' The *pallium* of Fulgentius of Ruspe could therefore have been what in the Middle Ages developed into the *Rationale* or *Superhumerales*, which then was very commonly used especially by bishops of Northern Europe, but which now is used by the Bishop of Eischstart in Germany (a privilege confirmed in 1745 by Benedict XV), by the Prince-Archbishop of Cracow in Poland (a right derived from ancient custom), by the bishop of Nancy and Toul in France (a privilege granted by Pius IX in 1865), by the Archbishop of Paderborn in Germany (a privilege granted in 1666 by Alexander VII) and by the Patriarch of Lisbon (a privilege granted in 1724 by Benedict XIII). Its origin is uncertain but it might have been due to a wish to imitate the ephod of the Jewish high priest and at the same time to serve as a substitute for the *pallium* for bishops who had no right to it. (Cfr. Nabuco, p. 190 n. 37; Righetti, *Storia Liturgica*, vol. I, Milano 1950, p. 530-531).

The *pallium* could have derived from philosophers' mantle, as the manner of putting it on was the same as putting on a mantle. John the Deacon in his life of St. Gregory (iv, 84) describes the manner in which Gregory put on his *pallium* thus: 'Pallio mediocri a dextro videlicet humero sub pectore per stomachum circulatim deducto, deinde sursum per sinistrum humerum post tergum deposito, cuius pars altera super eundem humerum propria rectitudine, non per medium corporis sed ex latere pendet'. At the time of this description the *pallium* already had the form of a scarf'.

⁷¹ According to Dix (*The Shape of the Liturgy*, pag. 401) the *pallium* and the stole derive from the 'scarf of office'. It was adopted by the clergy in different forms almost everywhere except at Rome during the latter part of the fourth century. In the East, used by all bishops from the fifth century onwards, it developed into the *omophoron*; in the West, worn by bishops, priests and deacons, in different ways, as a badge of office, it developed into the stole; worn by the Pope, and later on also by archbishops and certain privileged bishops through papal concession, it developed into the *pallium*.

There are also instances of the use of a *pallium* by Gallican bishops towards the end of the fourth century, but see note 74 below.

⁷² The *Liber Pontificalis* says that Pope St. Mark (+ 336) granted the *pallium* to the bishop of Ostia: 'hic constituit uti episcopus Ostiae, qui consecrat episcopus, palleum uteretur, et ab eodem episcopus urbis Romae consecraretur'. The authority of the *Liber Pontificalis* is very doubtful in this case and so we must consider as the earliest instance of the bestowal of the *pallium* the occasion when Pope Symmachus (+ 514) granted the *pallium* to Theodore archbishop and metropolitan of Laureacus in Pannonia (Ep. 12; ML 62, 72): in this case there is no mention of any imperial authority. On the other hand we have a letter

the bishop of Ravenna, Maurus, petitioned for the use of the pallium to the emperor himself.⁷³ During this period we find the pallium in use also in Gaul, Spain and Africa. In Gaul, at least it seems to have been simply a mark of archiepiscopal rank, which was to be specially worn at Mass.⁷⁴ After the sixth century the pallium took on a new meaning in ecclesiastical circles and was considered a relic, a sort of replica of St. Peter's mantle,⁷⁵ and its petition and acceptance implied the acknowledgement

written by Pope Vigilius in 543 A.D. to Auxonius, archbishop of Arles, informing him that he was deferring the grant of the pallium as he had not yet ascertained what was the pleasure of the emperor: the grant took place two years later when the imperial sanction had been given — 'pro gloriosissimi filii nostri regis Childeberti Christiani devotione mandatis' (Ep. 6, 7; ML 79, 26). Pope Symmachus also granted the pallium to Caesarius of Arles: Pope Symmachus, we read in the life of St. Caesarius (4, 20; ML 67, 1016) 'tanta meritorum eius dignitate permotus, non solum verissime cum metropolitanae honore suspexit sed et concesso specialiter pallii decoravit privilegio:' again here we have no mention of any imperial authority. Gregory the Great granted the pallium to John of Palermo, John of Syracuse, Donus of Messina, Constance of Milan, Leander of Seville, Maximus of Salona in Dalmatia, Siger of Autun, Virgilius of Arles and others: in the case of the bishop of Autun Gregory ascertained the imperial pleasure, but not in the case of Leander of Seville and of Augustine of Canterbury. (Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, s.v. Pallium, pag. 1548).

⁷³ This step was henceforward considered as an equivalent to a revolt against Papal Supremacy (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, pag. 385); though the fact that the emperor claimed the right to confer the pallium remains.

⁷⁴ It seems that one must distinguish between the *pallium Romanum* and the *pallium Gallicanum*: the bishops of Spain and Gaul had, apart from the Roman *pallium* which had been granted to some of them from the sixth century onwards, another *pallium* which they used as a sign of office and which seems to have had the same shape as the Roman pallium; even the bishops of Africa wore the pallium as a sign of office. This seems to be confirmed by a canon of the Council of Maçon (581) which forbade bishops to celebrate Mass without a pallium: 'ut episcopus sine pallio missas dicere non praesumat' (Corpus Christianorum, Turnhout, 1963, 148A, 224).

⁷⁵ St. Peter was supposed to have slept for one night under a mantle which thus became his own: strips were cut from this mantle and bestowed on bishops; when these strips were all used others were made similar to them, and so the pallium came to be regarded as a relic of St. Peter, a sort of replica of his mantle: so before being dispatched to their destination, *pallia* are deposited for a whole night in the sanctuary of the confessio, immediately above the tomb of the Apostle. By a very slight extension of ideas the pallium came to connote a kind of transmission of power, like that symbolised by the mantle of Elias, which passed on to his successor Eliseus. The pallium thus became the natural

of the supremacy of the Apostolic See.⁷⁶

The gloves (Chirotecae)

seem to have originated in Northern Europe – in the strict sense of the word they were unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans, but not to the Persians.⁷⁷ The first mention of gloves among the liturgical vestments is in an inventory of 831 of the Abbey of St. Riquier.⁷⁸

When first used as liturgical vestments, gloves were white in colour, but from the twelfth century onwards gloves of different colours were used, and, finally, their colour had to match that of the other liturgical vestments. With the present reform the bishop may not use the chirotecae, but if he decides to use them, he may always use gloves of a white colour.

The buskins and sandals (caligae et sandalia)

The buskins (*caligae*) were a kind of stockings, made of various material, serving for defence against the cold, and worn by soldiers and by monks if exposed to cold, or if infirm;⁷⁹ they were also used by bishops in outdoor dress in cold climates.⁸⁰ The earliest writer to men-

sign of a superior jurisdiction, of a species of participation in the *Pasce oves meas* of St. Peter. (Duchesne, p. 385-386). This symbolism more or less corresponds to the symbolism attributed to the *omophorion* by Isidore of Pelusium (Epist. I, 136: MG 77, 272), in the fifth century: the woollen material with which the *omophorion* is made suggests the lost sheep borne on the shoulders of the Good Shepherd; when the Gospel book is opened, Isidore continues, the bishop puts aside his *omophorion* as now the chief Shepherd himself is present.

⁷⁶ St. Boniface in 745 A.D. writing to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury declares his fidelity to the Pope and adds that 'metropolitanos pallia ab illa sede quarere' (Ep. 63; ML 89, 763).

⁷⁷ Xenophon, *Cyropoedia*, viii, 8. 17 '... ἄλλα καὶ περὶ ἄκραις ταῖς χερσὶ χειρῶν δασείας καὶ δακτυλήθρας ἔχουσιν.'

⁷⁸ Salmon, *Etudes sur les insignes du pontife*, chp. 2, § 1, p. 36.

⁷⁹ Cfr. v.g. John Cassian, *Instituta coenobiorum* (I, 9): 'Calciamenta vero velut interdicta evangelico praecepto recusantes, cum infirmitas corporis vel matutinus hiemis rigor seu meridiani aestus fervor exegerit, tantummodo gallicis suos muniunt pedes ...'

⁸⁰ Cfr. v.g. Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* (VI, 31): '... lassatis sociorum equis, solus pertendit episcopus, tanto timore perterritus, ut unam caligam de pede elapsam colligere non curaret: et sic usque ad civitatem veniens, se intra murorum Rhemensium septa conclusit'.

tion buskins among the sacred vestments of bishops and cardinals is Ivo Carnotensis (+ 1115).⁸¹

The sandals were originally secular ornaments worn outside the church as well as during liturgical celebrations. From the earliest years of the Roman republic, consuls and triumphing generals were distinguished by high-laced shoes of a particular form and a bright red colour, while patricians were distinguished from the plebeians by a particular form of black shoe. In the fourth century A.D., when all dress was formalised and regulated, the wearing of different forms of shoes by different ranks of officials was a matter for imperial edicts. The purple boots of the Byzantine emperors, like the purple chasuble embroidered with golden bees, was the most jealously guarded symbol of imperial power and if one used them he was considered as claiming the imperial throne. In adopting the *campagi* or sandals ecclesiastics were only following the customary policy of celebrating the Liturgy in the normal dress of important laymen of the time.

Fourth and fifth century mosaics clearly show that the *campagi* were used by clerics and laymen;⁸² a century later they are already a distinctive sign of episcopal office and were in use also outside Rome in Gaul, Spain and Britain.⁸³ Sandals, together with the dalmatic, were the first pontifical vestments, whose use was granted by the Pope to ecclesiastics who were not bishops: in fact Gregory the Great⁸⁴ forbids the Catania deacons the use of the *campagi*, as his predecessors had given the honour of the *campagi* only to the Messina deacons.

⁸¹ 'Antequam induuntur sandaliis vestiantur caligis byssinis vel lineis, usque ad genua protensis et ibi bene constrictis' (*Sermo de significationibus indumentorum sacerdotalium* apud Hittorp *De divinis officiis*, quoted from Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, s.v. Caligae; p. 258).

⁸² Salmon, *Etude* . . . p. 23 mentions the following instances: the mosaics of the chapel of Saints Victor and Satyrus in Sant' Ambrogio at Milan (end of the fourth century); the mosaics of the basilica of St. Cosmas and Damian at Rome, from the time of Pope Felix II (+ 530); the mosaics of San Vitale in Ravenna (middle of the sixth century); the mosaics of the basilica of San Lorenzo fuori le mura at Rome (end of the sixth century); the mosaics of the basilica of St. Agnes also at Rome (beginning of the seventh century); those of the oratory of St. Venantius in the Lateran Baptistery (eighth century). The sixth century mosaics of San Vitale and San Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna show that the bishop and his deacons and the emperor and his dignitaries used the same type of sandals.

⁸³ Salmon, *Etude*, chp. II, p. 35.

⁸⁴ Epist. VIII, 27, *ML* 77. 928 Cfr. note n. 24.

According to the instruction *Pontificales ritus* bishops today are at liberty to use or not use buskins and sandals at a pontifical Mass.

Tunic and dalmatic

Since the second century the old Roman *toga virilis* had fallen into disuse as an everyday garment and was no longer worn at ordinary meetings of the Roman Senate: the upper classes had adopted a new style of dress for everyday use, a linen robe with close sleeves covering the body from neck to feet, the *linea*; over the *linea* a sort of tunic with short close sleeves and extending to the knees was worn, this was the *tunica* or *colobion*.⁸⁵ On formal occasions and out of doors, men and women wore the *paenula*⁸⁶ over the tunic. These three items of dress are mentioned

⁸⁵ Cfr. Dictionary of Christian Antiquities s.v. *Tunica* p. 1998 and s.v. *Colobium* where it is described as a tunic with very short sleeves only, and fitted closely about the arm.

⁸⁶ The *paenula* was a warm, heavy outer garment, for travelling or cold weather: it covered the whole person, having only a hole for the head to pass through, and thus did not require sleeves but fell over the arms and enveloped the whole person of the bearer. Originally it was not worn by persons in the higher ranks of life, but in the second century of the Christian era it was adopted by all classes of society. (Dictionary of Christian Antiquities s.v. *paenula* p. 1533). The *paenula* resembled in shape, though it was not quite identical with the *casula*, the *lacerna* and the *planeta*. According to Isidore (De orig. xix, 21) the *casula* is a garment furnished with a hood — *vestis cucullata* — and is the diminutive of *casa* as like a small cottage or hut it covers the entire person. In all probability the term *casula* was a popular term in the provinces to indicate the *paenula*. The *planeta* on the other hand was a more costly dress than the more common *casula*, and for this reason its use was prohibited by Cassian for his monks: ... *planetarum atque byrriorum pretia simul ambitionemque declinant!* (Inst. I, 6).

That there was a distinction between the *casula* and the *planeta* seems to be implied by ORDO XXXVI (composed in the second half of the ninth century), which says that at the consecration of a bishop in Rome, after the Gospel, the bishop elect has his *casula* taken off by deacons and then the pope vests him with the *planeta*. The distinction seems to be confirmed by the Romano-German Pontifical and by the Roman Pontifical of the 12th century, which distinguish between the *casula* of the assistant bishops and the *planeta* of the bishop-elect; but one must take into account the fact that in the tenth century in Spain and Gaul the term *casula* was used to indicate the Roman *planeta*: in fact ORDO X, which faithfully uses Frankish terminology, speaks of the *casula* worn by some of the *featres* who gather in the sanctuary for the bishop's Mass on festive days (n. 27), of the *casula* which the acholytes wear (n. 3), and of the bishop's *casula* (n. 41) — in the last two instances the reference is certainly to the Roman

in the *Acta martyrii* of St. Cyprian:⁸⁷ the saint is wearing them simply as the ordinary outdoor dress of a gentleman of the day, but they are in essentials the pontificals of a medieval bishop.

We have already said that by the end of the fourth century fashion had changed in favour of a more military style of dress, introduced by the barbarian mercenaries, but by a law of A.D. 397 senators were obliged to resume the old civilian style of the *paenula* over the *colobion* or tunic and the ungirdled *linea*,⁸⁸ while civil servants were ordered to wear the *paenula* over the girdled *linea* as part of their full dress uniform. Two centuries later, in a contemporary mosaic portrait, Pope Gregory the Great together with his father, the senator Gordianus, and his mother, are depicted as wearing the *paenula* over the tunic and the ungirdled *linea*: the only distinguishing item in their dress is a sort of linen turban for Gregory's mother and the pallium for Gregory — otherwise the dress of a bishop, a distinguished layman, and his wife, were exactly the same.

The dalmatic was developed from the *tunica* and *colobion*: the two words, dalmatic and colobion, are often used synonymously,⁸⁹ but it

planeta. We can therefore conclude with all probability that for the compiler of the Romano-German pontifical, the two terms, *casula* and *planeta*, were synonyms. This can be confirmed by the Pontifical of Durand of Mende, which depends on the two pontificals just mentioned. In Durand's pontifical the terms are inter-changed, and it is the bishop-elect who is vested with the *casula*, while the assistant bishops use the *planeta*.

But originally the *casula* and the *planeta* were distinct vestments, the *planeta* developing into our chasuble and the *casula* into our cope. *Casula* does not belong to the vocabulary in use in Rome at least to designate the chasuble — at Rome it indicated the vestment given to newly baptised infants after their Baptism (Ordo XI — Rome 6th-7th century), while in Gaul it originally designated the amphibalus — 'casula quam amphibalum vocant quod sacerdos induitur' we read in the seventh century pseudo-Germanus of Paris (ep. 2, ML 72, 97A) — this was a sort of woollen mantle which could have a hood — this agrees with Isidore's definition of *casula*, which is certainly not the Roman *planeta*. (Cfr. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, IV, p. 149-151).

⁸⁷ '... se lacerna byrro expoliavit ... et cum se dalmatica expoliasset et diaconibus tradidisset in linea stetit' (*Acta proconsularia S. Cypriani*, 5).

⁸⁸ Cod. Theod. lib. xiv, tit. 10, 1.1.

⁸⁹ The Dictionary of Christian Antiquities (s.v. *Dalmatic* p. 523) quotes Epiphanius (Haer. XV): Δαλματικάς, εἴτουν κολοβίωνας, ἐκ πλατυσῆμων δια πορφύρας ἀλουργουφεῖς κατεσκευασμένας. And an edict of Diocletian fixing the maximum price of articles throughout the Empire, in which edict the two words *colobion* and *dalmatic* are used as equivalents.

seems that later on the *colobion* or *tunica* indicated a tunic with short close sleeves or a sleeveless tunic, whilst the dalmatic was a tunic with large sleeves, which came to be worn in public without the chasuble.⁹⁰

In the fourth century the dalmatic had become a sort of undress uniform for high officials, and as such it began to be worn by important bishops, though always under the chasuble. It was adopted by itself as the normal dress for the seven regional deacons of the church of Rome, whose duties were becoming administrative and financial rather than religious as they were the superintendents of the poor relief system of the city and administrators of the estates which formed its endowment.⁹¹ For this reason, perhaps, the dalmatic, up till the middle of the ninth century, seems to have been associated in a special way with the local church of Rome, and therefore it could be worn only if permission had been granted by the Pope.⁹²

⁹⁰Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, chp. 12, p. 402 says this happened in the second century, but adds that the emperor Commodus was accused of breach of decorum when he appeared at the circus clad only in a dalmatic without the chasuble. It is not quite clear what this breach of decorum was: if the dalmatic at this time was still a short sleeved tunic, then it would be obvious unseemliness in a person of rank to be seen abroad thus clad. Others, taking the dalmatic to be already a long-sleeved dress, saw the unseemliness in the implied effeminacy of the wearer as Aulus Gellius remarks: 'tunicis uti virum prolixis ultra brachia, et usque in primores manus ac prope in digitos Romae utque omni in Latio indecorum fuit' (vii, 12). Others finally saw the unseemliness in the foreign nature of the garb (Cfr. Dictionary of Christian Antiquities s.v. *Dalmatic*, p. 524 note).

⁹¹Dix, l.c.

⁹²The dalmatic (described by Isidore, *Etymol.* xix, 22, as: 'dalmatica vestis primum in Dalmatia provincia Graeciae texta est, tunica sacerdotalis candida cum clavis ex purpura') was the prerogative of the Pope and his seven deacons: in fact when Pope Symmachus (+ 514) granted to St. Caesarius bishop of Arles the pallium he granted the dalmatic to his deacons and the biographer of St. Caesarius remarks that this was an outstanding favour as the Arles deacons had received an honour which put them on par with the Roman deacons: 'diaconos ad Romanae instar ecclesiae dalmaticarum fecit habitu praeminere' (S. Caesarii vita, n. 42). When Gregory the Great granted to the bishop of Gap (Vapineum), Aregius, and to his archdeacon the sought — for privilege of the dalmatic, the Pope sent him two ready-made dalmatics as if he wanted him to have authentic models of a vestment unknown in Gaul (IX, epist. 219).

Two centuries later, in 757, Fulrad, abbot of St. Denis, had to obtain authorisation from Pope Stephen II, so that his abbey could have six deacons using the dalmatic in the liturgical services.

In the tenth century Ordo XXXV distinguishes between the *diaconi cardinales* and the *diaconi forenses*: the *diaconi cardinales* were the seven regional deacons

The use of both tunic and dalmatic under the chasuble is first men-

of Rome and used the dalmatic, while the *diaconi forenses* did not receive it at their ordination: 'In forensibus autem nec dalmatica induitur (diaconus), nisi tantum benedictione percepta pergit via sua ... Ut autem venerint ad communicandum si cardonalis fuerit ... diaconus, ascendunt ad sedem eucharistiam de manu pontificis accipiendum et communicant super altare iuxta morem. Forenses vero ... diaconi nec ad sedem accedunt ad communionem percipiendum, nec super altare communicant. Et quomodo potest fieri ut super illud altare communicent, ubi licentiam non habent ministrare (Ordo XXXV, 34-36).

Doubtlessly with the diffusion of Roman uses outside Italy the dalmatic was adopted as the deacon's vestment, without any thought of obtaining an authorisation from Rome. Nevertheless official liturgical books even later than the tenth century do not allude at all to the dalmatic as the deacon's vestment.

Briefly in the Roman tradition the dalmatic was the liturgical vestment for deacons, while in the Gallican tradition it was the stole. The two traditions first met in the beginning of the ninth century, and became fully integrated three centuries later: in fact from this century onwards in miniatures, mosaics, etc. deacons appear vested in stole and dalmatic.

We have already referred above to how the dalmatic came to be used in Gallican lands; we will see now how the stole passed into the Roman tradition. The stole (which was the name given to the *orarium* in Frankish lands) was already in use in the fourth century, under its ancient name of orarium: canons 22 and 23 of the Council of Laodicea in Phrygia (v. 380) forbade minor orders to use the orarium; the second council of Braga in 563 ordered deacons to put the orarium over their shoulders, visibly, and not under their tunic, to distinguish themselves from subdeacons: 'item placuit ut quia in aliquantis huius provinciae ecclesiis diaconos absconsis infra tunicam utuntur orariis, ita ut nihil differri subdiacono videantur, de cetero superposito scapulae, sicut decet, utantur orario'. This was the manner of putting on the orarium in the Eastern Churches and in southern Italy. The orarium was used by deacons, priests and bishops, but the deacon put it on in a different way from a priest and a bishop. The deacon wore the orarium on the left shoulder only and it had to be plain and not ornamented with colours or gold: 'unum igitur orarium oportet levitam gestare in sinistro humero, propter quod orat, id est praedicat, dexteram autem partem habere liberam, ut expeditus ad ministerium sacerdotale discurrat; caveant igitur amodo levitae gemino uti orario, sed uno tantum et puro nec ullis coloribus aut auro ornato' (can. 40 of the 4th council of Toledo in 633). A priest wore the orarium in such a way that it passed round the neck and over both shoulders to form a cross over his breast: 'cum sacerdos ad solemnia missarum accedit ... non aliter accedat quam orario utroque humero circumseptus ... ita ut de uno eodemque orario cervicem pariter et utrumque humerum premsas, signum in suo pectore praeferat crucis' (can. 3 of the Council of Braga in 675).

The orarium which is referred to in the texts quoted is the same liturgical vestment which was known as a stole in Frankish lands.

From the seventh century onwards documents speak of the orarium being given to the deacon at his ordination, v.g. can. 28 of the 4th Council of Toledo

tioned in the *Ordo Romanus I*;⁹³ the two vestments were of different colours, the tunic blue and the dalmatic red – at least this was so in the twelfth century. Later on the two vestments became indistinguishable, although bishops put both vestments on, as, according to Durandus, the bishop when pontificating should use the vestments of all the Holy Orders.⁹⁴

orders that a rehabilitated deacon should receive back the orarium – this implies that the orarium had been given to the deacon on his ordination as 'ea in reparationem sui recipient quae cum ordinarentur perceperant'. The rite of the imposition of the orarium at the deacon's ordination passed from Spain into Gaul in the ninth century and by the eleventh century was in common use everywhere in the West except in Rome. The first mention of the stole or orarium in Rome is in the twelfth century, with the introduction in Rome of the franco-german liturgical books. The stole and the orarium are mentioned in some Roman Ordines of an earlier century, but in a different meaning, v.g. *Ordo XI*, n. 99 calls a *stola* the white vestment which the newly baptised put on after their Baptism, and *Ordo XXXIV* twice mentions the *orarium*, once when speaking of the cleric who is to receive minor orders – 'induunt clericum illum planetam et orarium' – and secondly when speaking of the subdeacon who is being promoted to the diaconate – 'indutus tunicam albam et tenens orarium in manu'; in Rome the *orarium* was a sort of linen handkerchief or scarf which was also known as a *sudarium*: evidently here the *orarium* is our maniple, or better still, in Rome, at this time the term *orarium* was a generic term indicating any type of lengthened scarf.

The Hispano-Gallican-Oriental tradition (the *orarium* or *stola*) and the Roman tradition (the dalmatic) first came together in a Frankish country towards the year 800 as witnessed by *Ordo XXXVII A*, n. 9: 'si enim diaconi ordinandi sunt, orarios et dalmaticas (revestit eos archidiaconus)'. A century later the author of the Romano-German Pontifical at Mayence does the same thing: the imposition of the stole is followed by the vesting with the dalmatic – this pontifical introduced in Rome was instrumental in introducing the rite of the imposition of the stole and the dalmatic at a deacon's ordination in the Roman Pontifical.

Actually the stole was already used in Rome by the deacons, although it was not yet given to the deacon at his ordination: Amalarius in his *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (in fine praef. 3rd ed.) says that 'quando versus de Alleluia canitur, exiit se planeta diaconus stolamque post tergum ducit subtus dextram alam una cum planeta' (Cfr. Andrieu, *Ordines Romani*, IV, pp. 129-138).

⁹³ n. 34: Et tunc ceteri subdiaconi regionarii secundum ordinem suum accipiunt ad induendum pontificem ipsa vestimenta, alius lineam, alius cingulum, alius a nagolaium (id est amictum), alius lineam dalmaticam alius maiorem dalmaticam et alius planetam'. Amalarius in his *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (II, e. 22) confirms this: 'Summus pontifex octo habet vestimenta: amictus, camisia, cingulum stola, duae runicae, casula pallium'.

⁹⁴ Sicard, bishop of Cremona (+1215) in his *Mitrale* (II, e. 8) says: ministri induunt episcopo tunicam hyacinthinam et superinduunt dalmaticam'; and Durandus in his *Rationale* (III, I n. 3) writes: 'Episcopus induit tunicam hyacinthinam, id est,

The new rules suppress the tunic and only the dalmatic is to be used at a Pontifical Mass or even at a low Mass during which a pontifical rite v.g. an ordination is performed. The new rule has its parallel in a Milanese custom of the twelfth century: at that time the bishop in Milan used only the dalmatic.⁹⁵

The gremial veil

is first mentioned towards the end of the thirteenth century in the Pontifical of Durandus, who describes it as a *tobalea pulchra*: the bishop wore it over his lap when sitting on the throne, and when the deacon helped the bishop to stand he took the gremial with his hands, and when the bishop went from the throne to the altar or from the altar to the throne the gremial veil was held in front of him by the deacon and his chaplain. This shows that the gremial, in Durandus' time was a sign of honour and not just a means of keeping the chasuble unsoiled. And since Durandus describes it as a *tobalea pulchra* it must have already been an ornate piece of cloth. In Rome the gremial veil is first mentioned in the Ordo of Giacomo da Gaeta (1311) and it is still called a *tobalea pulchra*; it is only in the inventories of the fifteenth century that it is called a *gremiale*.

In the fourteenth century the gremial veil was not considered to be a pontifical vestment; in fact it was also used by priests – a Dominican missal of the fourteenth century and the statutes of 1339 of Grandisson, bishop of Exeter attest this.⁹⁶

The gremial used at a Pontifical Mass was made of silk, decorated by a cross in the centre and trimmed with silk embroidery; its colour corresponded to that of the chasuble. In the baroque period the veil was richly decorated with gold, silver and silk embroidery.

Besides this gremial veil, another gremial veil, made of linen without any decorations or embroidery, is used by bishops during the distribution of candles, palms and ashes and during the anointings in ordinations.

The new rules abolish the silk gremial veil, but maintain the linen veil when its use is required.

J. LUPI

(to be concluded)

caelestem conversationem' (Cfr. Nabuco, *Ius Pontificalium*, Lib. II, pars. II, tit. I, pag. 183 nota 23).

⁹⁵ The fact is mentioned by Nabuco l.c.

⁹⁶ G. Braun, *I Paramenti Sacri, loro uso, storia e simbolismo*, Torino 1914 parte IV, § 3, p. 208.