

PONTIFICAL INSIGNIA

III

IN the first two sections of this study we have discussed the various vestments used during a liturgical celebration by bishops and by other ecclesiastics who have been granted the privilege of using pontifical vestments; we have now to discuss pontifical insignia proper. There is no complete agreement in enumerating pontifical insignia, but for our purpose it is enough to consider those listed as such in a recent study on pontifical rights and privileges.¹ According to this list the more important pontifical insignia are the pectoral cross, the ring and the crozier; to these we must add the archiepiscopal cross, the seventh candle on the altar, the *liber canonis* and the *bugia*, the silver ewer and basin, and the *formale*.

In the early centuries, the Church, contrary to civilian custom, was very slow in adopting and displaying insignia of office:² in fact the first certain reference to the use of episcopal insignia is found in a poem by St. Paulinus of Nola,³ where the saint describes the solemn processional entry of the bishop and clergy at the beginning of the liturgy, an entry which replaced the old greeting of the assembled church after an informal arrival. The bishop, entering the church, was preceded by torches and incense, much the same way as Roman magistrates going to court had been doing for centuries.⁴ Towards the end of the

¹Ioachim Nabuco, *Ius Pontificalium*, Tournai, 1956

²'Ancient Rome might look askance at official costume, but it had no such tradition against the display of other insignia of office. The consul had the *fascēs* borne by lictors, and magistrates their curule chairs;... such symbols are the Western equivalent for the official robes of Greece and the Near East, where insignia were less common (e.g. the Old Testament High Priest had special vestments but no equivalent of the pastoral staff). The general Christian acceptance in the fourth century of the Western principle of NOT using special liturgical robes makes it a little surprising that the other Western practice of the display of symbols of office instead was not accepted.' (G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, Westminster, 1954, chp. 12)

³*Carmina*, xxii, 203s.

⁴Horace, *Satires*, I, v, 36; Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, 35.

fourth century, the State was placing upon bishops some of the duties of civil magistrates in those cities where they were bishops, and it may be that for this reason bishops going to church adopted the custom followed by magistrates going to court. At this time, magistrates, to the torches and incense, had added their 'liber Mandatorum' or 'Instrument of Instructions,' namely the document they received on taking their office, setting forth the general line of policy which the reigning emperor intended them to follow; bishops, instead of the 'Liber Mandatorum,' adopted the Gospel book — 'the Law of Christ.' These insignia were therefore originally simply signs of civil honour, and only two or three centuries later did they take on a religious significance, as we will see discussing each one of these pontifical insignia separately.⁵

*The Pectoral Cross*⁶

In the early centuries, especially in the East, Christians used to wear, suspended round the neck, a small casket,⁷ generally in the form of a cross,⁸ containing relics, called ἐγκόλιον.

⁵Dix, l. c.

⁶A bishop's pectoral cross should be distinguished from the pectoral cross granted by the Holy See to certain chapters: the 'cruz canonicalis' has the form of a Greek cross and is suspended round the neck by a five centimetre-wide silk ribbon; the bishop's pectoral cross has the form of a Latin cross and is suspended round the neck by a gold chain or a cord of silk and gold. The 'cruz pretiosa,' i.e. the pectoral cross with gems, is an exclusive privilege of bishops, which later on was extended to cardinals and to protonotaries 'de numero' (J. Nabuco, *Ius Pontificalium*, lib. II, tit. ii, c. 1).

⁷St. John Chrysostom in *Quod Christus sit Deus* speaks of a small relic of the true cross suspended from the neck of both men and women, enclosed in gold.

In 1571, two such reliquiaries, made of gold, were found in tombs near the Vatican: they are square in form and are furnished with rings which indicate their use, and on one side they bear the monogram of Christ between A and Ω; probably they belong to the fourth century (Smith-Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, London, 1908, s.v. Encolpion).

⁸The oldest pendant reliquary in the form of a cross is probably that preserved in the treasury of St. Peter's, Rome, and known as the 'Encolpion Constantini Magni.'

Two remarkable examples of pectoral crosses exist in the treasury of the church of Monza: one has always been regarded as that given by Gregory the Great to Queen Theodolinda in 603, with a letter in which these words occur:

From the ἐγκόλπιον we can perhaps trace the origin of the pectoral cross, for even today the bishop's pectoral cross ought to have relics of the saints, or, preferably a relic of the Holy Cross.⁹

Whatever the origin of the pectoral cross, there is no doubt that in the thirteenth century Pope Innocent III (+1216) considered it to be a papal privilege, and traced its use by the Pope to the vesting of the High Priest in Mosaic Law.¹⁰

Soon bishops began imitating the Pope in using the pectoral cross during a pontifical Mass, although for a long time it was not considered to be one of the episcopal insignia – in fact Durandus in his Pontifical says that a bishop may use it, but is not bound to do so.¹¹ It is only after the Council of Trent, in a rubric of the Missal of Pius V, that we first meet with the directive: 'episcopus accipiat cruciculam a collo ante pectus,'¹² although its use was already firmly established, as the prayer said by the bishop on vesting it dates from the fourteenth century.¹³

The many pontifical decrees between the ninth and fourteenth centuries granting to abbots the use of various pontifical insignia, never mention the pectoral cross, but from the fifteenth century onwards it is commonly used by abbots, although up to the time of Pope Benedict XIV (+1758) the Holy See was still prohibiting abbots from using the pectoral cross at low Mass.¹⁴

Nowadays Cardinals, bishops and abbots use the pectoral cross both when celebrating the liturgy and with their ordinary walking dress, but up till the time of Pius X, Cardinals were not permitted to use the pectoral cross when the Pope was present, and Cardinal-priests and Car-

Excellentissimo autem filio nostro Adulouvaldo Regi transmittere phylacteria curavimus, id est crucem cum ligno sanctae crucis Domini et lectionem sancti evangelii theba persica inclusa (Ep. lib. XIV, 12); the other cross is the one called 'crux regni' which belonged to Berengarius, king of Italy (+924). (Smith-Cheetham, s.v. Reliquary).

⁹ Cic. 1288.

¹⁰ *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, I, 53

¹¹ '... pectoralis si quis ea uti velit'

¹² In the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* the rubric reads: *Diaconus postea sumpta cruce pectorali... ipsi Episcopo osculandam praebet et eius collo imponit, ita ut ante pectus pendeat...* (II, viii, 14).

¹³ It is found in the Pontifical of Pius IV, 1561.

¹⁴ In the letter *In throno iustitiae*.

dinal-deacons could only use it when celebrating a pontifical Mass.¹⁵

Since the sixteenth century bishops outside Rome began using the pectoral cross with their ordinary walking dress in their diocese.¹⁶ This custom was opposed by the Patriarch of Lisbon, who enjoyed several pontifical privileges, among which that of the pectoral cross with two bars or transoms: he objected to bishops, even apostolic nuncios, using a pectoral cross in his presence, but Benedict XIV, after a protest of the nuncio Acciapuoli in 1755, decided against the Patriarch.

At the time of Vatican Council I, bishops began using the pectoral cross with their 'habitus praelatitius' outside their diocese,¹⁷ but not in Rome, on account of the Pope's presence, so as to be in line with the Cardinals.

Protonotaries were not allowed the use of the pectoral cross by Pius IX, but Pius X granted them its use when celebrating a pontifical Mass.¹⁸ Nevertheless, protonotaries, both in Rome and elsewhere, have been wearing the pectoral cross not only when celebrating pontifical Mass, but also with the 'abito prelatizio' and the 'abito piano.'

*The Episcopal Ring*¹⁹

The first mention of a ring as a special symbol of the episcopal office is in the 28th canon of the fourth Council of To-

¹⁵ Formerly Cardinals in Rome wore the pectoral cross over their 'mantelletta' and their 'abito piano,' but under their 'mozzetta;' nowadays they also use it over their 'mozzetta.' The pectoral cross is still worn under the 'cappa magna.' In 1916 the Congregation of Ceremonies expressly stated that the wearing of the pectoral cross over the 'cappa magna,' a use introduced by bishops and Cardinals outside Rome, was contrary to tradition, and therefore not to be permitted in the Roman Curia and at a 'Cappella Papale.' In 1943 another decree insisted that Cardinals should not wear the pectoral cross over the 'cappa magna.' (Cfr. Nabuco, *Ius Pontificalium*, pag. 195, note 48).

¹⁶ For example, St. Francis of Sales (+1622) is often portrayed wearing the pectoral cross over his ordinary walking dress.

¹⁷ This custom was sanctioned by the Congregation of Rites in 1899 (*Decreta authentica*, n. 4035)

¹⁸ 'ad ecclesiam accedentes pontificalia celebraturi, ab eaque recedentes, habitu praelatitio induti, supra mantelletum crucem gestare poterunt a qua alias abstinebunt.' (*Inter multiplices*, 7 and 26)

¹⁹ Nabuco (*Ius Pontificalium*, Lib. II, tit. ii, c. 2) distinguishes various types of rings used by ecclesiastics, the most important being what is known as 'the

do held in 633.²⁰ St. Isidore of Seville, who presided over the Council, is his *De ecclesiasticis officiis* says that the ring is given to the bishop at his consecration 'propter signum pontificalis honoris vel signaculum secretorum.'²¹ This might mean that the ring given to the bishop at his consecration was a signet ring. Bishops in common with other Christians, used signet rings from early times, and it is impossible to say when such rings became also a badge of office.²²

In eighth and ninth century manuscripts of the Gregorian Sacramentary and in several early Pontificals we meet with various formulae for the blessing and delivery of the ring,²³ which give a symbolical mea-

fisherman's ring.' This is the ring which the Cardinal-Camerlengo places on the finger of the newly elected Pope; it is made of gold, with a representation of St. Peter in a boat, fishing, and the name of the reigning Pope around it. The ring, together with the seal of the Apostolic Chancery, is broken by the Cardinal-Camerlengo at the first meeting of the Congregation of Cardinals after the death of the Pope. The first mention of such a ring occurs in a private letter of Pope Clement IV to his nephew Peter Grassi in 1265; *Saluta matrem et fratres: non scribimus tibi neque familiaribus nostris sub bulla, sed sub Piscatoris sigillo, quo Romani pontifices in suis secretis utuntur*. From the time of Martin V it has been used to seal papal briefs, and the first briefs to be sealed are dated 1426.

²⁰ *Episcopus, presbyter aut diaconus si a gradu suo iniusta deiectionem in secunda synodo innocens reperitur non potest esse quod fuerat nisi gradus amissos recipiat coram altari de manu episcopi... (si episcopus) orarium, anulum et baculum.*

²¹ Lib. II, c. 5

²² St. Augustine speaks of sealing a letter with a ring: *... si veraciter hanc epistolam signatam nisi anulo qui exprimit faciem hominis adtendentis in latum* (Ep. 59, 2). A letter of Clovis to the Gallican bishops, written about 511, promises to recognise their letters if signed with their ring: *epistolas vestras de annulo vestro infra signatas...* (S. Greg. Turonensis, *Opera omnia*, ML. 71, 1158). Other examples may be found in Smith-Cheetham, s.v. Rings, pp. 1903-1904.

²³ The Romano-German Pontifical of the tenth century has the following prayer for the blessing of the ring: *Creator et conservator humani generis, dator gratiae spiritualis, largitor aeternae salutis, tu, domine, per mitte tuam benedictionem super hunc anulum, ut quicumque hoc sacrosanctae fidei signo insignitus incedat, in virtute coelestis defensionis ad aeternam vitam sic proficiat*. Per. (C. Vogel-R. Elze, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixieme siecle*, Studi e Testi, 226, Città del Vaticano 1963, vol. I, LXIII, 38.

With slight changes (*emitte* for *per mitte*, *sibi* for *sic*) this prayer is found

ning to it, being commonly regarded as emblematic of the betrothal of the bishop to his church.²⁴ In the eleventh century it was almost universally considered as a badge of office, together with the crosier: this is quite evident from the strife concerning investiture,²⁵ although one

also in the Roman Pontifical of Clement VIII, in use till last year. This prayer, in the reformed rite for the ordination of a bishop, has been substituted by the following prayer '*de benedictione insignium pontificalium*' (ring, crosier and mitre), which may be used '*tempore opportuno, ante ordinationem Episcopi:*' *Omnipotens sempeterne Deus, benedic haec (hoc) muneris pastoralis et pontificalis honoris insignia (insignium) ut qui ea (id) gestaverit praemium dispensationis sibi creditae cum Christo, summo sacerdote et bono Pastore in aeterna vita accipiat. Per. (De Ordinatione diaconi, presbyteri et episcopi, Vatican, 1968).*

²⁴ The Romano-German Pontifical of the tenth century distinguishes between the *traditio anuli* and the *imposito anuli digito*. *Quando datur anulus*, these words are said: *Accipe anulum discretionis et honoris, fidei signum, ut quae signanda sunt signes, et quae aperienda sunt prodes, quae liganda sunt liges, quae solvenda sunt solves atque credentibus per fidem baptismatis, lapsis autem, sed penitentibus, per ministerium reconciliationis ianuas regni coelestis aperias, cunctis vero de dominico nova et vetera proferas ad aeternam salutem hominibus consolatus gratia domini nostri.*

Ad anulum digito imponendum. two formulas are given, the first one being the following: *Accipe anulum, fidei scilicet signaculum, quatenus sponsam Dei sanctam, videlicet ecclesiam, intemerata fide ornatam, illibata custodias;* the second is as follows: *Accipe anulum pontificalis honoris ut sis fidei integritate ante omnia munitus, misericordiae operibus insistens, infirmis compatiens, benivolentibus congaudens, aliena damna propria deputans, de alienis gaudiis tamquam de propriis exultans.* (C. Vogel-R. Elze, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixieme siecle*, Studi e Testi 226, Città del Vaticano, 1963, vol. I, LXIII, 44-45) The first form is found in the Gregorian Sacramentary and is still used in the reformed rite of the ordination of a bishop, published in 1968.

²⁵ The whole problem of investiture must be considered in the light of the special circumstances of an age which did not know yet the essential distinction between State and Church, but merely the functional distinction between *Sacerdotium* and *Regnum*. Since both powers, as members of the one superposed unity under the rule of Christ, regarded themselves as bound to the same religious and political goal, royal service, secular administration, and divine service could all be conceived as one and the same religious and moral accomplishment. The ruler, from whose hands, the bishops at their investiture by ring and staff, received not only the property and the secular rights of sovereignty, but also the ecclesiastical function, was, in the view of the age, not simply a layman. His anointing... raised him to the sphere of a *vicarius Christi* and

might perhaps doubt whether the ring and crosier at this time had any liturgical significance: in fact the whole problem of investiture seems to imply that they were more tied to the power of jurisdiction than to the pastoral charge of a particular diocese,²⁶ at least with regard to the ring.²⁷

In the twelfth century the ring was considered to be an exclusive right of bishops,²⁸ although Popes had been granting the ring to abbots

made him, according to the anointing formula of a Mainz Ordo, a participant in the episcopal office and an intermediary between clergy and people.' (*Handbook of Church History*, Freiburg, 1969, vol. III, sec. 7, chp. 27, p. 202)

'Election to the episcopate was followed by installation and consecration, two separate acts which in themselves could be carried out by different representatives of the law. Naturally only bishops were taken into consideration as consecrators, whereas installation in office and in possession presupposed an authority which held rights of donation or of property in regard to the church concerned. In the case of bishoprics these were the kings and princes who had taken their place.... The important functions which the bishops exercised in the political field of themselves suggested the idea of binding them to the crown by means of vassalage.... But... not merely Church property but also the office of bishop was drawn into the wake of the *beneficium*. In the ninth century over and above the fiscal goods belonging to an office, the very function itself was regarded as a *beneficium* to be conferred by the king. This made it possible for a ruler to confer the *episcopatus*, that is, the office of a bishop with all its rights of ownership, administration and usufruct after the manner of a *beneficium* by delivering the symbol of office, the pastoral staff, and later also, under Henry III, the ring;... from the tenth century this act was called investiture.' (*Handbook of Church History*, vol. III, sec. 7, chp. 34, p. 275)

²⁶ Salmon, *Etude sur les insignes du Pontife dans le rit romain*, Roma, 1965, chp. I, p. 25

²⁷ 'L'anneau est avant tout un sceau: *ut quae signanda sunt signes* (on lit dans la formule de tradition de l'anneau dans le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième siècle). Il est un symbol du majordomat, comme serait la clé de majordomat spirituel, (*ut quae aperienda sunt prodas, quae liganda sunt liges, quae solvenda sunt solvas*). Il est le symbol de l'intendance confiée a l'évêque sur le trésor du Seigneur. On comprend après cela qu'il symbolise la mise à la disposition de l'évêque des biens, soit temporels, soit spirituels, de l'église dont il devient l'évêque. Et, en vertu même de ce symbolisme, conformément à la mentalité du IXe siècle, l'anneau peut devenir le signe de l'investiture.' (P. Batiffol, *La liturgie du sacre des évêques*, in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, XXIII (1927), p. 753.

²⁸ Gregory VIII informed all bishops that *clerici... anulos non portant in manibus, nisi episcopos fuerit, qui habet hoc ex officio*.

since at least two centuries: in fact Pope Leo IX had granted it to the abbot of Monte Cassino, contrary to the wishes of St. Bernard who considered the wearing of a ring by an abbot as a piece of useless ostentation.²⁹ With the Pontifical of Durandus the blessing and delivery of the ring form part of the ordinary ritual for the blessing of an abbot, and this is still the case at the present day.

Protonotaries 'de numero' may use the ring not only at a pontifical Mass but also at any Mass, while other protonotaries can only use the ring when saying a pontifical Mass.³⁰ Members of several chapters in Italy, Portugal and Brazil have been granted the privilege of the ring by the Holy See, but not *infra Missiam*; several decrees of the Holy See prohibit the use of the ring by ecclesiastics during Mass, but these decrees are more honoured in their breach than in their observance.

*The Crosier*³¹

The first mention of a pastoral staff by Greek writers is

²⁹ The granting of rings to abbots became general from 1154, when Pope Anastasius IV granted it to the abbot of Corbie, who received the ring as a gift from the Pope; in 1177 the abbot of Santa Giustina, Padua, received from Pope Alexander III the privilege to use the ring every day; the same Pope granted the ring to the abbot of Lorsch in 1181 at the request of the archbishop of Strasbourg. (Salmon, l. c., chp. II, 2, p. 54.)

³⁰ Pius IX in his Apostolic Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis officium* expressly says: *sciunt numquam sibi licere praeterquam in celebratione Missae pontificalis* while Pius X in the *Inter multiplices*, 26, expressly prohibits the use of the pectoral cross with the 'abito piano' and the 'abito prelatizio,' but does not make any mention of the ring.

³¹ Ecclesiologists distinguish three early forms of the crosier: the first was a rod of wood bend or crooked at the end and pointed at the lower end: this is the oldest form and was known as the *pedum*. The second, instead of the crook, had a knob which was often surmounted by a cross, and was called the *ferula* or *cambuta*. The term *cambuta*, with its many variants due to the vagaries of copyists, is traced by some authorities to the Irish missionaries who crossed over to Europe at the time of the Merovingians, while others derive it from the Greek *καμπύω* or *καμπύλη*. In the third form the top consisted of a *crux decussata* or a Greek T, the arms of the cross being so twisted as to represent two serpents opposed. This was known as the *crocia* or *crosse*, and is the type of crosier used by Eastern abbots and bishops. The term *crosse* is of doubtful etymology, some deriving it from the Latin *crux*, while others (v.g. Magri, *Hierolexicon*, Bologna, 1777, s.v.) derives it from the English *crutch*, because originally used as a support for walking.

as early as the time of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, who says: 'I know the staff which can support and the one which belongs to pastors and teachers and which corrects the sheep which have reason.'³²

Among Latin writers the earliest mention seems to be found in a letter of Pope Celestine (+432) addressed to the bishops of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne on the subject of episcopal dress, and the Pope seems to regard the use of the staff by a bishop in the light of a *reductio ad absurdum*.³³

Another early mention of the pastoral staff in the West is found in a prophetic poem of the fifth century, in which the Druids of Ireland are warned of the arrival of St. Patrick with 'his staff crook-headed.'³⁴

At the time of St. Isidore the granting of the ring and crosier were already a sign of episcopal jurisdiction,³⁵ at least in those countries subject to Gallican influences. In fact we read in the life of St. Caesarius of Arles (+542), written by his pupil Cyprian, that his pastoral staff was borne by his chaplain.³⁶ We also find that Romanus, archbishop of Rouen, about 623, was invested with the pastoral staff by the king.³⁷ Finally, Charles the Bald, writing to Pope Nicholas I, in 867, says that Ebbon, the archbishop of Rheims, on his return to the see, from which he had been forced to depart by Hincmar, gave the crosier and ring to those suffragan bishops who had been consecrated during his forced absence, and this in compliance with Gallican uses.³⁸

In the eleventh century, when the mitre was coming into use in count-

³²Oratio, 42

³³*Nam si ad hoc ista praecepta sunt ut taliter servarentur, cur non fiunt pariter quae sequuntur, ut lucernae ardentes in manibus una cum baculo teneantur? Habent enim ista mysteria, et intelligentibus ita clara sunt ut ea magis qua decet significatione servantur. Nam in lumborum praecinctione castitas, in baculo regimen pastoralis, in lucernis ardentibus fulgor operis.... indicatur.*

³⁴H. Thurston, *The Alphabet and the Consecration of Churches*, in the Month, 1910, p. 629

³⁵*Huic autem dum consecratur, datur baculus, ut eius iudicio subditam plebem vel regal, vel corrigat, vel infirmitates infirmorum sustineat.* St. Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, lib. II, c. v, n. 12

³⁶*Cum vir Dei ad aliquam ecclesiam pergeret clericus cui cura erat baculum illius portare (quod notariorum officium erat) oblitus erat.*

³⁷*rex, baculum illi contulit pastorem.*

³⁸*omnesque suffraganei, qui eo absente ordinati fuerant, annulos et baculos et suae confirmationis scripta a more gallicarum ecclesiarum, ab eo acceperunt.*

ries across the Alps, we find the crozier being adopted in Italy, even in Rome itself,³⁹ although the Pope, it seems, never used the crozier, but used instead, a staff surmounted by a crucifix.⁴⁰

The use of the crozier may have originated in Spain and from there spread to the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon churches, from whence, between the eighth and ninth centuries, it spread all over the West, and finally arrived in the Italian peninsula towards the eleventh century.

Even the earliest Christian writers consider the pastoral staff as a symbol of authority.⁴¹ There are sufficient grounds to suppose, accord-

³⁹ The first representation of a pastoral staff in Rome is in the eleventh century frescoes of San Clemente: the person wearing a chasuble and holding a staff, is certainly not the pope but a bishop or an abbot, for the person represented is of an inferior rank to the pope. (Salmon, *Etude*, . . . p. 43)

⁴⁰ Pope Innocent III, writing to Basil, archbishop of Trnovo, primate of the Bulgars, in 1206, says: *Licet Romanus pontifex non utatur baculo pastorali, tum propter historiam, tum propter mysticam rationem, tu tamen ad similitudinem aliorum pontificum poteris eo uti*. But early representations of the popes on tablets, coins and other monuments often show them holding a staff, some examples of which are mentioned in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (s.v. Pastoral staff). In fact, some authorities hold that the popes carried a staff, but not the crook or T-shaped staff, which implies limited power (S. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, suppl. q. II, art. 3, ad 8um); he used the *ferula* or sceptre-like staff which betokened sovereign authority. The pope's *ferula* would correspond to the $\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\rho\theta\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}$ or *ferula* of the Byzantine emperor, rather than to the bishop's staff. (Nabuco, *Ius Pontificalium*, p. 204, note 68).

⁴¹ The staff could betoken either the shepherd's duty to tend the flock of God or the responsibility and rights of the ruler: both ideas are combined in St. Isidore's statement quoted in note 35.

In the Romano-German Pontifical of the tenth century, the idea that the staff is a symbol of authority is clearly expressed in the words accompanying the delivery of the staff: *Accipe baculum pastoralis officii et sis in corrigendis vitiis pie saeviens, iudicium sine ira tenens in favendis virtutibus auditorum animos demulcens, in tranquillitate severitatis censuram non deserens*. The Pontifical has also a second formula: *Accipe baculum sacri regiminis signum, ut imbecilles consolides, titubantes confirmes, pravos corrigas, rectos dirigas in viam salutis aeternae, habeasque potestatem eligendi dignos et corrigendi indignos, cooperante Domino nostro Iesu Christo. Memor sponsionis et desponsationis ecclesiasticae et dilectionis domini Dei tui: in die qua assecutus es hunc honorem cave obliviscaris*. (L. Vogel-R. Elze, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième siècle*, vol. I, LXIII, 41-43)

The first formula was maintained in the Roman Pontifical to the present time,

ing to some authorities, that the use of the crosier by the Christian clergy was but the adoption with a new significance of a religious usage older than Christianity itself;⁴² nevertheless others think that the crosier is a survival, in the case of bishops of what once was in the hands of all: a walking stick, a staff or crutch used as a support while standing in church. This opinion would agree with that which holds that the staff used by Eastern bishops is derived from the crutch or leaning-stick employed by Eastern monks as a support when standing through their long office: Eastern bishops being almost entirely recruited from monastic orders, they retained as bishops the staff they were used to, merely having it in a more expensive and elaborate form.⁴³

It seems that abbots have always used the crosier, as something pertaining to them by right: every time Popes have granted the use of pontifical insignia to abbots there is no mention of the pastoral staff, and it seems that the assumption of the staff has always formed part of the ceremonial for the investiture of an abbot.⁴⁴

The Archiepiscopal Cross

Processional crosses are of a very ancient and general use. They may owe their origin to Constantine's *labarum*, the most important of standards borne before the emperors. Constantine's *labarum* consisted of a gilded cross, surmounted by the monogram of Christ, from the arms of which hung a banner of purple silk; Con-

but in the reformed rite for the ordination of bishops, published in 1968, the formula has been changed to the following: *Accipe baculum, pastoralis muneris signum, et attende gregi, in quo te Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopum regere Ecclesiam Dei.*

⁴²The pastoral staff, according to some authorities, has an affinity with the *lituus* or staff used by the Roman augurs in their divinations.

⁴³Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, Westminster, 1954, chp. XII, p. 413.

⁴⁴The first mention of an abbot's crosier is in the life of St. Gall, who lived in the early part of the seventh century; it is a description of the staff of St. Columban: *qui et baculus ipsius, quem vulgo cambuttam vocant, per manum diaconi transmiserunt dicentes, sanctum abbatem ante transitum suum iussisse ut per hoc potissimum pignus Gallus absolveretur.*

Pope Stephen II (+752), or perhaps Pope Hadrian (+872) granted the use of the crosier to Anselm, abbot of Nonantola: this does not detract from the fact that abbots had always the right to use the crosier, as the abbey of Nonantola was in Italy, where the use of the staff, as we have seen, developed later.

antine also set a gilt cross above the figure of the dragon on the pole which had formed the cavalry standard of Diocletian's army. ●

The Church was very slow to adopt the carrying of the cross in liturgical ceremonial. The first instance we find of the cross being carried in a Christian procession is when St. John Chrysostom in Constantinople organised a procession to counter the street propaganda of the Arians, and silver crosses, to which burning candles were attached, were carried in procession.⁴⁵ Nevertheless this does not seem to have been liturgical practice transferred to the streets, but a novelty to attract attention: in fact the crosses were presented by the empress herself for the occasion.

In the sixth century we first meet in Gaul with 'hand-crosses' being carried in procession, but these 'hand-crosses' may have been reliquaries. One such cross was carried by St. Augustine at Thanet in 596, but, again, this may have just been a device to attract attention rather than a customary liturgical action. We also meet with occasional mentions of processional crosses in the writings of Gregory of Tours and other contemporary writers.⁴⁶ In Gaul again, in the sixth century we find the custom of bishops being preceded by a processional cross, a custom which later became a privilege reserved to prelates, especially metropolitans, who had received the pallium from the Pope.⁴⁷

These processional crosses were also in use in Constantinople and in Rome in the sixth century. When Pope John I (+525) arrived at Constantinople he was met by the people of the city, carrying crosses. When

⁴⁵Socrates in his Ecclesiastical history (lib. VI c. 8) reports the fact with these words: σταυροὶ ἄργυροὶ φέροντες φῶτα ἐκ τῶν κηρίων λαμπάδων, while Sozomen in his Ecclesiastical History (lib. VIII, c. 8) says: σταυρῶν ἄργυρα σημεῖα ὑπο κηροῦ ζήμιένοις προηγούμενοι αὐτῶ.

⁴⁶Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, chp. XII, p. 414.

⁴⁷Andrieu, (*Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen age*, Louvain 1951, vol. III, p. 243), mentions the fact of St. Samson, abbot of Dol (circa +565) who left an *imago crucis quae ante eum ferre semper solebat*.

Andrieu also mentions the fact that St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, remarked to Samuel, bishop of Dublin: *Praeterea audivi quia facis portare crucem ante te in via. Quod si verum est, mando tibi ne amplius hoc facias, quia non pertinet nisi ad archiepiscopum a romano pontifice pallio confirmatum*. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries there are several instances of Popes granting the privilege of the processional cross and the pallium to archbishops and some bishops.

Pope Stephen II in 759 returned from France he was met by the Roman clergy carrying crosses – *cum crucibus* – These crosses might have been the stational crosses of Rome, but they also might have been any other type of processional crosses.

The use of stational crosses in Rome was very old. These crosses, when not in use, were kept in the church of St. Anastasia at the foot of the Palatine hill. They served as a *signum* for each of the seven regions of Rome, and when the Romans went to meet the exarch or other dignitaries representing the imperial authority, the inhabitants of each region would walk after the cross of their region. When Charlemagne, in 744, arrived in Rome, Pope Hadrian sent the stational crosses to meet him; the same thing happened again when Louis II arrived in Rome on the 8th June 844.⁴⁸

The various *Ordines Romani* always speak of seven stational crosses;⁴⁹ but when the Roman regions were increased to twelve in the twelfth century, the seven stational crosses were no longer carried in procession – henceforth only one cross, borrowed from one of the Roman basilicas, headed each procession. The twelve regions now served only to provide the cadres of the Roman militia, whose ensigns were no longer crosses but banners,⁵⁰ and with these banners at their head they took part in processions, preceding the cross.

The stational crosses were carried by *staurophoros*, and on each cross three lighted candles were fixed. The term *staurophoros* and the lighted candles may indicate Byzantine influence.⁵¹

Besides the stational crosses, other crosses were carried in pro-

⁴⁸... *obuiam illi, dirigens venerandas cruces, id est signa, sicut mos est exarchum aut patricium suscipiendum. (Lib. Pontificalis)* There is nothing to prove that these *venerandas cruces* are not the seven stational crosses so often mentioned in the *Ordines Romani*, although other crosses were carried in procession. (See below, note 51).

⁴⁹The *Liber Pontificalis* says that Pope Benedict II (+858) *fecit cruces argenteas VII, quae per olitana tempora per omnes catholicas ecclesias more solito procedebant, quae nimia vetustate contracta fuerant.*

⁵⁰*ante crucem milites drachonarii portantes XII vexilla quae bandora vocantur.*

⁵¹We have already mentioned above the fact that St. John Chrysostom organised a procession in which crosses having lighted candles were carried.

In the catacomb of St. Pontianus there is a fresco showing a *crux gemmata* with lighted candles on each arm.

cession: from the *Ordines Romani*⁵² we know that in the procession of St. Mark the old people from the poor house walked behind a painted wooden cross; after them the seven stational crosses followed, and finally the Pope with two other crosses in front of him.⁵³ These processional crosses in front of the Pope are often mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* and in the *Ordines*, and Charlemagne, after his coronation, presented a magnificent jewelled cross to the Pope:⁵⁴ this cross was in use up to the time of Pope Paschal (+824), when it was stolen, and later on substituted with another by Pope Leo IV (+855).⁵⁵

Some have thought that this gift of Charlemagne was the occasion for the introduction of a cross at the head of a procession⁵⁶ but we have seen that this came about in the twelfth century, when the use of the stational crosses was discontinued. What seems to have been considered a papal privilege was the processional cross carried in front of the Pope. We have already mentioned instances, in Gaul, of bishops

⁵²The *Ordo letaniae maioris* (*Ordo XXI*, ed. Andrieu) says: *et interim egrediuntur omnes de ecclesia. Primitus enim pauperes de xenodochio, cum cruce clamando Kyrie eleison. . . . Et Post ipsos egrediantur cruces VII stationarias portantes ab staurophoros, habens in unaquaque III accensos cereos. Deinde secuntur episcopi vel presbyteri et subdiaconi, deinde pontifex cum diaconibus et duae cruces ante eum, portantes ab subdiaconibus et timiamasteria portantur a mansionariis ecclesiae et scola post pontificem psallendo.*

⁵³The *Ordo Romanus I* speaks also of crosses carried behind the Pope, apparently not by clerics but by lay servants: these seem to have been rather something belonging to secular pomp as they recall to mind the eagles and other standards carried by slaves behind the consul and other Roman magistrates.

⁵⁴The *Liber Pontificalis* says: *crucem cum gemmis hyacinthinis, quam almificus pontifex in letania praecedere constituit secundum petitionem ipsius piissimi imperatoris.*

⁵⁵. . . . *necnon et crucem ex auro purissimo, gemmis ornatam, quam Carolus. . . . obtulerat, quae mos et ut in letania ante sacratissimum pontificem ipsa precederet. . . . a latronibus nocte furtim ablata. Et nullus predecessorum pontificum tam domnus Paschalis, quam domnus Eugenius, sive domnus Valentinus, sive domnus Gregorius, necnon et domnus Sergius recordatus fuit, ut in eam restauraret, et ad usum sanctae Dei romanae ecclesiae pararet; sed idem praefatus (Leo IV) et magnificus praesul fecit ex auro purissimo et mirae magnitudinis margaritis et gemmis hyacinthinis et prae finis utiliter ornavit, et ad usum pristinum sanctae Dei romanae ecclesiae mirifice decoravit (*Liber Pontificalis*)*

⁵⁶Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, chp. XII, p. 411

being preceded by a cross, in the sixth century,⁵⁷ and therefore we must perhaps conclude that the processional cross may originally have always been a papal privilege in Italy, and when Roman uses began to be adopted outside Italy, then, even here, the processional cross became a privilege reserved to archbishops who had received the pallium from the Pope, and so were considered to be born legates in their region; ultimately it was granted to all metropolitans.

At the beginning of the eleventh century, legates a latere were already using the processional cross for Humbert the Cardinal legate at Constantinople in 1054 was preceded by a cross.

The privilege of the processional cross has hardly ever been granted to bishops,⁵⁷ and Innocent III in the fourth Lateran Council in 1215 expressly stated that it was an exclusive privilege of the Roman Church although in canon V of the decrees of the Council he recognised the right of the titulars of the four great patriarchates to be preceded by the processional cross even outside the territory of their jurisdiction, but not in Rome or when an Apostolic delegate was present.⁵⁸

The custom of bringing the processional cross in front of an archbishop before he gives his blessing, now obsolete, may be perhaps what had remained of an old custom of handing the cross to an archbishop before he gives his blessing, a custom still in use in the Anglican church, Formerly archbishops before taking possession of their see, would sit on their throne holding the processional cross in their hand; this is still done by the Pope and his legates a latere when the Holy Doors of the Roman basilicas are solemnly opened at the beginning of a Jubilee.⁵⁹

⁵⁷Only five bishops have the right to the archiepiscopal cross, granted to them by Pope Benedict XIV, i.e. one in Italy (Pavia), one in Hungary (Pecs), two in Germany (Wurzburg and Eichstadt), and one in the new territories of Poland (Ermland or Warmia).

Pope Gregory XVI granted the same privilege to the bishop of Algiers (Iuliae Caesareae) in 1844, but in 1866 Algiers became a metropolitan see.

⁵⁸*Antiqua patriarchalium sedium privilegia renovantes.... sancimus ut post Romanam ecclesiam.... Constantinopolitana primum, Alexandrina secundum, Antiochena tertium, Hierosolymitana quantum locum obtineant.... Dominicae vero crucis vexillum ante se faciant ubique deferri, nisi in urbe Romana et ubicumque summus pontifex praesens extiterit vel eius legatus....*

⁵⁹Nabuco, *Ius Pontificalium*, lib. II, pars II, c. viii, note 108 •

The Seventh Candle

In ancient times nothing was put on the altar except the altar-cloths and the bread and wine: lamps and candelabra were hung above the altar, six or eight, or even more, candlesticks stood around, but none at all on it. This feeling of the special sanctity of the altar began to break down in the ninth century in Gaul, and we begin meeting with candlesticks on the altar, although it is not yet something common even in great churches.⁶⁰ In Rome Pope Leo IV (+855) limited the objects to be placed on the altar to the shrine containing relics, the Gospel book, and the pyx or tabernacle containing the consecrated bread for the sick;⁶¹ not even the cross had a place on the altar but was put either on the top of the *ciborium*, or suspended from the *ciborium* over the altar.

It was only towards the eleventh century that the cross and candlesticks were first put on the altar. The cross on the altar is often derived from the processional cross, the head being detached from the staff after the procession and placed on the altar facing the celebrant during the celebration of the liturgy: but this is very doubtful. The first clear reference to a cross between two candles on an altar dates from the twelfth century;⁶² fifty years later we find that seven candles are to burn on the altar when the Pope celebrates the liturgy.⁶³

⁶⁰Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, chp. XII, p. 419

⁶¹The directive is found in a pastoral homily which is generally attributed to Pope Leo IV, and is quoted by RATHERIUS OF VERONA (+958); probably the homily of Gallican origin and belongs to the ninth century (DENDY, *Use of Lights in Christian Worship*, London, 1959, chp. 2, page 18).

⁶²In Pope INNOCENT III'S *De sacro Altaris Mysterio: in missa solemnī papae praeferuntur duo lumina cum incenso* (Lib. II, c. 8), and: . . . *in comibus altaris duo sunt constituta candelabra, quae, mediante cruce, faculas ferunt accensas* (Lib. II, c. 21)

⁶³An *Ordo Romanus* attributed to Cardinal CENCIVS DE SABELIS, who later on became Pope HONORIUS III (+1227), says this: *notandum quod septem faculae debent esse in missa super altari. . . . deinde Dominus Papa incipit missam sollempnem*. This seems to contradict what Pope INNOCENT III expressly says, describing the same service at the same period. But it has been proved without doubt that this *Ordo* was not part of the original *Liber Censuum* compiled by CENCIVS, but one of a number of sections inserted in 1254. In the original manuscript of the *Liber Censuum* there was an *Ordo*, but this is now missing,

It has been often suggested that the seven candles on the altar when a bishop celebrates pontifical Mass, are directly connected with the seven candles carried in procession to the altar and then put behind the altar during a Papal Mass, a custom which spread widely throughout the West from the ninth century onwards, chiefly through the adoption of the *Ordo Romanus I*. It might be possible that these candles were transferred from behind the altar to the altar itself when, towards the eleventh century, the custom of adding a reredos to the altar was slowly being introduced. Whatever the reason for the change, nowadays, the Pope 'ubique terrarum,' Cardinal legates *a letere*, and residential bishops have the right to a seventh candle on the altar when celebrating a pontifical Mass.

The remaining pontifical insignia may be easily disposed of in a few words as they are, so to say, of recent origin.

The *liber canonis* is not even mentioned in the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* except when it speaks of the private Mass of a bishop.⁶⁴ The first *canones pontificales* or *libri canonis* date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and were introduced for a practical purpose: missals in use then were rather heavy to be held up by a book-bearer in front of the bishop at the throne.

Formerly the book-bearer was accompanied by the *bugia*-bearer, who held the *bugia* with the lighted candle, on the right hand near the book whenever the bishop read, *etiamsi aer sit lucidus, ita ut opus non sit lumine ad legendum* as the *Caereminale Episcoporum* says.⁶⁵ The use of a candle for reading undoubtedly originated from a practical purpose,

and there is nothing to show that what was inserted in 1254 was by Cencius. From the contradiction between the *Ordo* and Innocent's extremely definite words, it seems clear that a change took place in the first half of the thirteenth century (D.R. Dendy, *The Use of Lights in Christian Worship*, chp. 3, page 51). Perhaps the symbolism of the seven golden candlesticks of the Apocalypse may have been a reason for the change: the bishop is the earthly representative of Christ, as the Eucharist is the earthly manifestation of the heavenly worship, and the adaptation would easily lend itself (Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, chp. XII, p. 414)

⁶⁴ *Calix igitur, missale, et alia necessaria prout in rubricis missalis romani et Canone pontificali...* (Caer. Episc. lib. I, c. xxix, n. 2) The words *canone pontificali* first appeared in the edition of Pope Benedict XIII. ●

⁶⁵ *Caer. Episc. lib. I, c. xx, n. 1*

but in the sixteenth century it was considered to be a papal privilege, denied even to Cardinals.⁶⁶

The *ewer and basin*: the washing of hands during the liturgy is found mentioned in very early documents,⁶⁷ and the term used by early writers to indicate the ewer and basin used for the ritual washing of hands was the *aquamanus*,⁶⁸ *id est*. says the Gelasian Sacramentary, *vas manuale quo scilicet manus lavantur*. The *Ordo Romanus I* describing the Pope's solemn procession from the Lateran on Easter Sunday morning, besides the *aquamanus*, mentions also the *gemelliones*.⁶⁹ These *gemelliones*, or *fontes* as they were often also called, were a pair of silver basins one of which was filled with sweet-smelling rose water for ablutions during the Mass; they were in use for several centuries, but are now obsolete. The *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* says that they are to be used only when a Cardinal is celebrating Mass.⁷⁰

The *formale* or *pectorale*, i.e. the clasp for holding the cope, became a very elaborate object of art in the late Middle Ages,⁷¹ and from the

⁶⁶ At least this seems to be the conclusion to be drawn from the fact that Paris de Grassis, in his *caeremoniale* (c.1520) for the Cardinal archbishop of Bologna, does not mention the *bugia* or the *bugia*-bearer.

⁶⁷ One can mention in this connection the *Apostolic Constitutions* (lib. VII, c. 2): 'let one subdeacon give water to the priests for washing their hands, a symbol of purity of souls consecrated to God.' One can also mention what St. Cyril of Jerusalem says in his *Mystagogical Catechesis* (V, 1): 'You saw the deacon who gave to the priest and to the elders surrounding the altar of God (water) to wash.... (their hands).... the washing of hands is a symbol of guiltlessness of sins.'

⁶⁸ Other variants are: *aquamanile*, *aquaminale*, *aquaminarium*, *aquamanarium*.

⁶⁹ L, 19: '.... *acolyti.... portent chrisma ante pontificem et evangelia, sindones et sacculos et aquamanus post eum... L, 21:.... aquamanus, patena cotidiana.... scifios et pugillares et alios aureos et gemelliones aregenteos.... de ecclesia Salvatoris.... sumunt*.

⁷⁰ Lib. I, p. ii, n. 12:.... *si celebrans esset S.R.E. Cardinalis aut Archiepiscopus aut Episcopus valde insignis possent ad.... ministerium ablutionis manuum ipsius celebrantis invitare aliqui ex magistratu, vel proceribus, et nobilibus viris illius civitatis.... duas aregenteas lances, seu fontes, so comodem erit, vel et buccale cum aqua odorifera.... suo tempore ministrent*.

⁷¹ Righetti (*Storia Liturgica*, Milano, 1950, vol. 8, pag. 511) says that the first mention of an ornate clasp is found in the necrology of Monza, where one can read that in 1196 the archbishop Oberius, formerly the archpriest of Monza, left a *piviale peroptimum cum armilla argentea*.

beginning of the fourteenth century it was considered as one of the pontifical insignia, to be used only by those who had the privileges of a diocesan bishop. the *formalia* used by the Renaissance Popes are certainly worthy of special mention and undoubtedly the most famous of these is the *formale* of Pope Clement VII made by Benvenuto Cellini, which had as a centre piece a thirtyfour carat diamond. The *formale* has never been granted to abbots or protonotaries and Cardinals in Rome did not use it even if they had been granted the throne by the Pope.

Many of these insignia are out of place in the new rite of the Mass; in fact there has been a provisional regularization of them with the Instruction *Pontificales Ritus*⁷² – a final regularization will come with the publication of the new Pontifical and the new *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*.

J. LUPI

⁷²A.A.S. vol. LX (1968), p. 406-412