

Francis Ford Coppola, Andy Warhol, and many other Catholic filmmakers—whether they are practicing Catholics (like Bresson) or “cultural” Catholics strongly influenced by the images and memories of a Catholic upbringing and (like Scorsese) informed by erudition in the history of art.

Catholic theologians have articulated various forms of an analogical imagination over the centuries: from the foundational Gospel and Letters of John, the later Pauline tradition, and the more moderate Luke–Acts through Origen, the Cappadocians, Augustine, Boethius, Eriugena, Anselm, Hildegard of Bingen, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Angela of Foligno, and Duns Scotus; from Nicolas of Cusa through Teresa of Avila, John of the Cross, René Descartes, Jeanne Guyon, and François Fénelon; and from John Henry Newman and the Tübingen school in the nineteenth century to the majority of Catholic theologians today. Furthermore, many modern liberal Protestant theologians (from Friedrich Schleiermacher through Paul Tillich and beyond) articulated prominent analogical elements for Protestant theology. Schleiermacher’s very definition of religion as a sense and taste of the Infinite opens itself to establishing an order of analogical proportions between the divine Infinite and our finite selves; Tillich insisted that all modern Christian theology should combine a Catholic (and thereby analogical) substance with a Protestant dialectical principle of critique and protest.

The analogical-dialectical distinction of theologies can be said to have originated with the analogical John and the dialectical Paul. The crucial theological truth is that their differences amount to a distinction, not a divide: a both/and, not an either/or. John articulated an analogical theology inexorably focused on love. At the same time, John’s narrative never ignores the dialectical realities of the Passion and the cross. However, John uniquely discerns that the very lifting up of Christ on the cross is the decisive manifestation of God’s glory as infinite, salvific, unbounded love. The Gospel of John is a meditative, contemplative, love-intoxicated analogical theological vision that develops its theological proportionalities by relating all to its primary focal meaning: God is love.

In contrast, Paul’s theology, especially in the Letter to the Galatians and in the Letter to the Romans, is dialectical through and through. Paul’s highly original linguistic dialectic hurls readers about so they cannot evade their faults, sins, and self-delusions: “For I do not do the good I want, but the evil I do not want is what I do” (Romans 7:19). Paul draws the Christian away from all complacency, sometimes even from all religious consolation. Paul demands that the believer face what for Paul is the ultimate dialectical contradiction: that God is best revealed not through glory but through the graced negativity of suffering, pain, the cross. For Paul (as for Luther and Pascal), we understand God best not through analogies to our own intelligence and love but through Christ’s cross revealing the shattering negations, conflicts, contradictions, innocent sufferings, and intellectual paradoxes in every human heart. At the same time Paul and the Pauline tradition (especially in the two early letters to the Corinthians as well as in the later letters to the Colossians and to the Ephesians) affirm a dialectical imagination united to a John-like focal meaning of love: “Faith, hope, love abide, these three; but the greatest of these is love” (1 Corinthians 13:13). Just as John’s analogical theology of love demands for its full understanding the Gospel’s narrated dialectical moments of pain, suffering, and the cross, so Paul’s radical dialectical insistence on finding the true God only in and through negativity, sin, suffering, and the cross opens Paul himself to a distinct analogical theology of interpersonal and cosmic love.

To return to our original example, Michelangelo’s theology is classically Catholic because it is both an analogical theology of creation-incarnation as anticipation of salvation as re-creation (as depicted in the Sistine ceiling) and a profound theology of the cross and of eschatology in the dialectical, sometimes violent, imagery saturating his Last Judgment. These two monumental frescoes exist together somewhat uneasily in the same space, theologically clashing even as they complement each other. Christianity cannot in fact be understood if one ignores the beauty and goodness in all creation or the tragic elements of suffering, evil, and sin in all life. That is the Catholic analogical imagination.

Clothing generally has positive connotations in Catholicism; it symbolizes honor and dignity. Some of the earliest verses of the Bible tell us that God himself, after expelling Adam and Eve from Eden, made garments for the two of them with his own hands to cover their nakedness (Genesis 3:21). Clothing is mentioned frequently throughout both the Old and the New Testament, including in powerful and affirmative metaphors: “I will greatly rejoice in the Lord . . . for he has clothed me with the garments of salvation . . . as a bride adorns herself with her jewels” (Isaiah 61:10). Fine coats recur as symbols of a father’s love: for example, Jacob gives his favorite son Joseph a coat of many colors, the costliest garment of his time (Genesis 37:3), and the prodigal’s father’s greets his son’s return by ordering his servants to “bring out a robe—the best

one—and put it on him; put a ring on his finger and sandals on his feet” (Luke 15:22).

Yet like the human body—created by God in his image but marked with sin, both exalted and disdained—clothing is subject to a dual interpretation. Clothes may also symbolize an attachment to worldly goods. The abandonment of such goods signals a person’s detachment from the world and devotion to Christ; Saint Francis—the son of a prosperous silk merchant who devoted himself to a life of poverty—serves as a prime example of such renunciation.¹ Whether worn or thus discarded, garments in biblical tradition serve as metaphors for a willingness to devote oneself to Christ. In a similar way, wearing a communion suit or a wedding gown signifies the putting aside of an old way of life and the assumption of a new one: conversion, that is.

Sacred vestments are accorded great consideration in the Bible. The vestments of the high priest are described in detail by God himself in the book of Exodus, which specifies their colors (gold, blue, purple, and crimson), material (byssus, or fine twisted linen), and the gems, embroideries, and bells with which to adorn them (Exodus 28:1–43). From ancient times the high priest’s robes were meant to express majesty; in preparation for the first high priest, Aaron, God directed: “You shall make sacred vestments for the glorious adornment of your brother Aaron . . . to consecrate him for my priesthood” (Exodus 28:2–3).

Priestly vestments as outlined in the Old Testament thus lacked no refinement. They were to be made of the finest cloth, using the most costly dyes, and decorated with gems: in short, they were spectacular robes. Along with precious fabrics, showy colors, and expensive ornaments, the robes had an auditory quality; the dazzling quality of the high priest’s clothing was accompanied by the tinkling of golden bells stitched to them.

The role of vestments in defining the status of the priest was codified when Moses, obeying the will of God, signaled Eleazar as the successor of his father, Aaron, by making him put on his father’s priestly garments (Numbers 20:25–29). That gesture made clear to the gathered people that Eleazar was a priest. Ever since, the high priest’s investiture (a word derived from *veste*, clothing) entailed putting on the holy vestments that emphasize his central, vital role in religious ritual.

The ancient origins of the dress of high ecclesiastical figures have made it more immune to changing fashions than lay people’s dress. Neither ceremonial clothing for religious services nor daily attire has altered significantly over the centuries. For millennia, the church has hewed to its founding principles of sacredness and beauty, highlighting the role of the celebrant—and especially that of the pontiff—by garbing him in special vestments. And so there is a common thread running through the history of the church and especially of the papacy: an unflagging concern that the central liturgical figure be dressed in vestments that enhance his role as guide and beacon, attracting the eyes and the hearts of the faithful. For Christians, the connection between beauty and the liturgy is no mere aesthetic matter but the means by which God attracts the faithful. As Benedict XVI (reigned 2005–13) once observed, beauty is not a decoration applied to the liturgy but its constituent element.²

1 Marzia Cataldi Gallo, *Vestire il Pontefice dall’Antico Testamento a Papa Francesco* (Genova: Sagep, 2013), pp. 7–11.

2 Guido Marini, Introduction, in Marzia Cataldi Gallo, *Le vesti dei Papi: I parati della Sacrestia Pontificia, seicento e settecento* (Genova: De Ferrari, 2013), pp. 11–12.

3 Domenico Giorgi, *Gli abiti sacri del Sommo Pontefice paonazzi e neri in alcune solenni funzioni della Chiesa, giustificati con l’autorità degli antichi rituali, e degli scrittori liturgici da Domenico Giorgi* (Rome: Girolamo Mainardi, 1724), pp. 2–16.

4 Michel Pastoureaux, *Blu: Storia di un colore* (Milan: Ponte alle Grazie, 2008), pp. 39–40 (published in English as *Blue: The History of a Color* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001]).

5 Robert Lesage, *Dizionario pratico di liturgia romana* (Rome: Editrice Studium, 1956), p. 326.

Color is one of the fundamental qualities defining clerical clothing. It carries deep symbolic significance, marks the various roles within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and reflects the liturgical calendar. The Catholic world's chromatic scale is quite narrow, however. It is limited to three colors—white, red, and black—to which is added gold (paired with white), violet (*paonazzo* in Italian),³ and green (the latter worn during ordinary time, from Epiphany to the beginning of Lent and from after Pentecost until Advent).

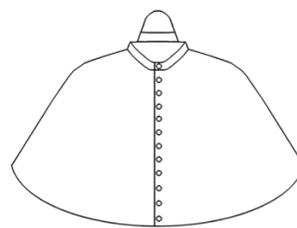
Cardinal Lothar of Segni's treatise *De sacro sancti altari mysterio* (about 1194–5) spelled out the use of liturgical colors—guidelines that were diligently observed after he was named to the papal throne as Innocent III (reigned 1198–1216). White was indicated for the feasts of the angels, the virgins, and the confessors, and for Christmas, Epiphany, Maundy Thursday, Easter, Ascension, and All Saints Day. Red was for the feasts of the apostles and the martyrs, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and Pentecost. Black or purple was to be worn for funeral masses, Advent, the Feast of the Holy Innocents, and Lent.⁴ Pink was permissible but not obligatory on Gaudete and Laetare Sundays, respectively the third Sunday of Advent and the fourth of Lent.

Papal attire, however, uses just two colors—white and red. For private and everyday wear, it consists of a white cassock, white stockings, red sandals (substituted today by shoes), and a white zucchetto (skullcap).⁵ The limited palette is a reflection of the pope's sacred status. White garments in the Old Testament always pertain to celestial, supernatural beings. In the New Testament, angels are always described as dressed in white, according to Jewish tradition. White is prominent in the book of the Apocalypse, identified as the color of celestial creatures and consequently as that of Jesus's robe—a connection that is especially notable in the account of his Transfiguration: "And he was transfigured before them, and his clothes became dazzling white, such as no one on earth could bleach them" (Mark 9: 2–3). White is the color of innocence, purity, and divine revelation. The expression of those values in white is reflected in the customary use of white for baptismal clothing, wedding dresses, and the uniforms of doctors and nurses, who perform "enlightened" service in which cleanliness and hygiene are essential.

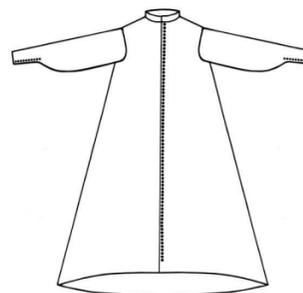
The use of white and red for the pope's vestments became traditional in the thirteenth century, notwithstanding the supposition that the white garment was introduced centuries later by the Dominican priest Michele Ghislieri (reigned as Pius V in 1566–72). Another old legend, mentioned by Filippo Bonanni in the eighteenth century, traced the adoption of white to the appearance of a white dove during the martyrdom of Saint Fabian, who reigned as pope in 236–50.⁶ In fact, the first pope to insist that red and white were the appropriate papal colors was Gregory X (reigned 1271–76) in his *Ordo Romanus XIII* of 1272–3; previously, only the mantle was prescribed to be red.⁷ A few years later, William Durand's *Rationale divinarum officiorum* (1286) offered the first interpretation of the symbolism of the combination of white and red: "The pontiff always appears in a red mantle, but underneath he is dressed in white garments, because whiteness signifies innocence and charity while the external red symbolizes compassion . . . the pope represents the figure of He who turns his clothing to red for us."⁸ Urban V (reigned 1362–70) expressed the same idea, declaring that the whiteness of the pope's clothing symbolizes the Christic purity necessary to the pope's ability to carry out his mission: he daily dons the white rochet, a shirt often trimmed in lace, because "he represents the divine figure of Christ in the Universal Church, the outward whiteness of the rochet symbolizing his intrinsic natural purity."⁹ The sleeves and hem of the rochet can be seen in many papal portraits, including Pietro da Cortona's painting of Urban VIII (fig. 1). In his fifteenth-century *Cerimoniale*, or official church protocol, the papal official Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini made the daily wearing of red and white the rule for popes.¹⁰ With the Counter-Reformation—and in



1 Pietro da Cortona (Italian, 1596–1669). Portrait of Urban VIII, ca. 1627. Oil on canvas. Musei Capitolini, Rome



2 Mozzetta. All illustrations of vestments by Daria Vinco



3 Soutane



4 Zimarra

Gregory VII in 1073. Immediately following the cloaking of the new pope, the cardinals appear to pay him homage, underscoring the importance of the ceremony.

With time the cloak was replaced by the mozzetta, a short cape covering the shoulders (fig. 2). Beginning about 1450 the mozzetta became, along with the long strip of silk known as the stole, a distinguishing mark of the supreme pontiff. The colors: white and crimson for the pope, scarlet for cardinals (violet in times of penitence),¹⁶ and violet for bishops (black in times of penitence). But unlike the Holy Father, who wears white beneath, cardinals and bishops wear a black soutane or zimarra (types of cassocks; figs. 3, 4), which is trimmed in red or violet and bound at the waist with a fascia (a sash) in a matching color. Clergy not in religious orders also wear a black cassock.

The significance of black in the Catholic faith is somewhat ambiguous. Black in the very first verses of the Bible was identified with the absence of light—the sole source of life and the manifestation of God's presence. Thus, throughout the Middle Ages, black was deemed the color of Satan, of sin, and of death. Yet black was also associated with the good: humility, temperance, authority, and dignity.¹⁷

With time, the virtues associated with black took hold, thanks to an unusual convergence of fashion and religion. In the Duchy of Burgundy, the court with the highest standard of luxury in Christendom, lay gentlemen in the 1500s developed the habit of wearing black, a

particular during the late sixteenth century—the dual symbolism of the papal white and red intensified to underscore the pope's status as head of the church. In this context, the white and red of his dress was understood to evoke the clothes worn by Christ before his death. White indicated the integrity of Christ and his vicar; red, the sacrifice of the Passion.¹¹

In ancient Greece and Rome, the West's foundational cultures, red was a symbol of power. Jupiter's mantle was red when linked to fire and blue when linked to the heavens. The garments worn by Bacchus, god of wine and blood offerings, and Mars, god of war, were red,¹² as were the woven stripes adorning the clothing of dignitaries in late imperial Rome. The emperor, personifying Jupiter, wore a crimson mantle. Indeed, the color became the symbol of his office, and he alone was authorized to wear silk tinted with kermes, the best crimson dye, which is made from dried insects. Anyone else wearing that color was guilty of lèse-majesté and treason.¹³

In Catholic iconography both before and after the Council of Trent (1545–63), both God the Father and Christ are often shown wearing crimson mantles. In modern times, different shades of red distinguish the roles within the Catholic hierarchy. Cardinals, the princes of the church, wear scarlet red; the bishops wear violet.¹⁴ Red signifies fire, blood, and divine love and is a key color in the liturgy for feasts devoted to the Holy Spirit, the Passion, and the martyrs, as was prescribed in the above-cited treatise by Innocent III.¹⁵ Red has a dual significance, of course: it both symbolizes the blood Christ sacrificed to save humanity and harks back to the imagery of temporal power.

For nearly a thousand years, the newly elected pope, once he adopts his papal name, has been draped in a crimson garment; initially this was a cloak, the *cappa rubea*. The ceremony first took place with Leo IX, elected at Worms in 1048. The first certain appearance of the practice in Rome was at the investiture of

6 Filippo Bonanni, *La gerarchia ecclesiastica considerata nelle vesti sagre, e civili usate da quelli, li quali la componono, espresse e spiegate con le immagini di ciascun grado della medesima* (Rome: Giorgio Placho, 1720), p. 355.

7 Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Il corpo del Papa* (Turin: Einaudi, 1994), pp. 117–25 (published in English as *The Pope's Body* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000]); Paravicini Bagliani, "I baci liturgici del Papa nel medioevo: Prime ricerche," in *Come l'orco della fiaba: Studi per Franco Cardini*, ed.

Marina Montesano (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2010), pp. 533–44.

8 Guillaume Durand, *Rationale divinarum officiorum* (Venice: Gratosum Perchacinum, 1568).

9 Paravicini Bagliani, *Il corpo del Papa*, pp. 118–27; see also Sara Piccolo Paci, *Storia delle vesti liturgiche: Forma, immagine, funzione* (Milan: Ancora, 2008), p. 230.

10 Patrizi Piccolomini produced the *Cerimoniale* with Giovanni Burchard in 1484, at the invitation of Innocent IV. The preface

is dated 1488, but the text was published posthumously and anonymously almost thirty years later as *Rituum ecclesiasticorum siue sacrarum cerimoniarum S.S. Romanae Ecclesiae: Libri tres non ante impressi* (Venice: Gregorii de Gregoriis, 1516).

11 Paravicini Bagliani, *Il corpo del Papa*, p. 127; Piccolo Paci, *Storia delle vesti*, p. 230.

12 Lucia Rositani Ronchi and Lucia Chiostrì Corsi, "Colore e simbolismo cromatico nel costume," in *Il costume nell'età del Rinascimento*, ed. Dora Liscia Bemporad (Florence: Edifir,

1988), pp. 95–106.

13 Fabio Vicari, "Lavorazione, commercio, e uso della seta nel mondo antico," in *Jacquard 36* (1998), pp. 2–12.

14 John Abel Nainfa, *Costumes of Prelates of the Catholic Church, According to Roman Etiquette* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1909), pp. 35–37.

15 Joseph Braun, *I paramenti sacri: Loro uso, storia, e simbolismo* (Turin: Marietti, 1914), pp. 38–46.

16 Nainfa, *Costumes of Prelates*, p. 37.

custom that came to be widespread and exceptionally long-lived. Over the course of the sixteenth century the fashion for wearing black passed first to Spain and then across Europe, remaining in fashion through the following century.¹⁸ In the early 1500s, Baldassare Castiglione wrote of his model courtier: “I always like [him] to tend a little toward the grave and sober, rather than the gay; thus I think black is more suitable for garments than any other color is, and if it is not black, let it at least be somewhat dark.”²⁰

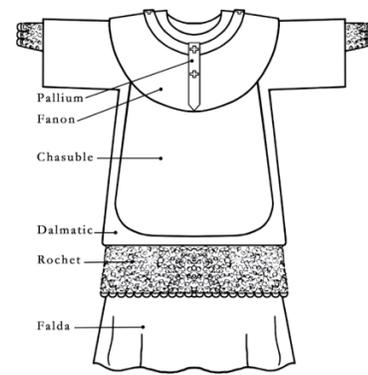
Following the Reformation, black was also promoted in northern and central Europe by a burgeoning Protestantism; proponents such as Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Ulrich Zwingli strongly opposed vivid colors, especially red, as symbols of sin and excessive luxury, recommending instead a sober black-gray-white palette. The Catholic Church was quick to respond; its Council of Trent strongly endorsed the clergy’s wearing of black: “In omni vestitu . . . color tantum niger adhibeatur, nisi fortasse alium colore requirit dignitatis gradus” (For all vestments . . . only black shall be worn, except on occasions when other dignified colors may perhaps be worn instead). Evidently the rules were not strictly followed, as Benedict XIV (reigned 1740–58) saw the need to affirm them nearly two centuries later. Nevertheless, Protestant black and Catholic black seemed to unite, and the color dominated male attire from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.²¹

Vestments for Liturgical Functions

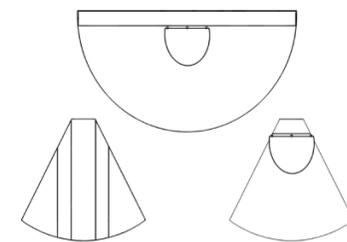
The cope, the chasuble, the dalmatic, and the stole are among the many garments worn by the Catholic celebrant. The vestments worn by the pope to celebrate Mass are not very different from those worn by priests; the main difference is that papal garments are layered (fig. 5). The practice of overlaying vestments stems from a desire to elevate the pope and to distinguish him from other clerical figures present at the Mass. The layering of garments is also a way to signify opulence. The pope, celebrating Mass and officiating at other solemn occasions, once wore a floor-length falda (a Spanish term referring to the lower part of a robe) tied at the waist (fig. 6), in addition to a rochet, a dalmatic (a wide-sleeved over-garment), a chasuble (a sleeveless outer vestment), a fanon (a short cape; fig. 7), and a pallium (a circular band with pendants, all made of white wool, that is a symbol of the Good Shepherd; fig. 8). The use of the falda was discontinued under Paul VI (reigned 1963–78). The fanon and the mantle (the latter used only on certain occasions) are worn by the pope alone, while the pallium is also worn by bishops.²²

The mantle and the papal tiara have since the eleventh century been the traditional regalia signifying the pope’s prestige. The mantle is similar to the cope priests wear for special formal services (fig. 9); both bear a shield on the back at shoulder level, a vestige of the original hood. (The cope, or *piviale*, was once a *pluviale*, a rain cloak.) The mantle is longer than the cope because its hem is meant to cover the gestatorial chair in which the pope is carried or the stairs below the throne on which he is seated, a majestic flow of fabric Ingres captured in his painting of Pius VII (fig. 10). It is worn for formal ceremonies such as masses celebrated in the Pontifical Chapels (the Sistine, the Pauline, the Redemptoris Mater), the benedictions of Maundy Thursday and Easter, august processions like the Corpus Domini, and the opening and closing of the sealed Holy Door in a papal basilica during a jubilee.²³ The mantle has a white ground when called for by a particular liturgical rite; otherwise, the ground is red.

Often a pontiff would adapt a prior pope’s garment by substituting his coat of arms for that of his predecessor. While this custom points to an admirable interest in containing expenses, it makes it difficult to determine which pope commissioned which garments. A striking case



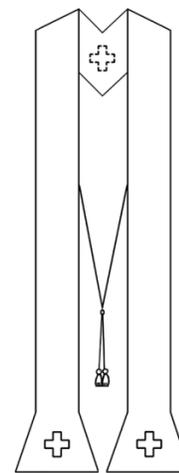
5 Liturgical vestments



9 Cope



10 Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres (French, 1780–1867). POPE PIUS VII IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL, 1814. Oil on canvas. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



11 Pontifical stole

of such reuse involves a mantle ordered in 1760 by Clement XIII (reigned 1758–69). Pius VII (reigned 1800–1823) subsequently had his crest applied to the large border near the bottom. More recently, the same mantle—much reduced in size, likely to lighten its weight—saw the coat of arms of John Paul II (reigned 1978–2005) replace those of Pius VII.²⁴

The stole is an integral part of the vestments worn by celebrants, and over the centuries it has assumed many symbolic meanings (fig. 11). Worn around the neck, it was thought to represent the gentle yoke of Christ’s rules. In ancient ordination rituals, the bishop, placing the stole on the candidate’s right shoulder, recited: “Accipe jugum Dei, jugum ejus suave est et onus ejus leve, suave in prosperis, leve in adversis” (Accept God’s gentle yoke and the burden will be light, easy in good times, slight in adversity). Symeon of Thessalonica, an archbishop who died in 1425, held that the stole refers to the grace extended by the Holy Spirit to the priest wearing it, who prays: “Benedictus Deus qui effendit gratias super sacerdotes suos” (Blessed be God who extends his graciousness unto his priests).

The pope has two types of stole, one for celebrating Mass that is similar to that worn by a priest, and a much longer one that matches his mantle. The pontifical stole is another signifier of the Holy Father’s supreme dignity. It covers the shoulders when he appears in public, hanging to knee level, the two parallel bands joined over the chest by a cord, the hems decorated with a fringe of gold thread. The ground is nearly always crimson or white silk, depending on the liturgical calendar, and embroidered all over with images of candelabra, flowers, and leaves. Often one of the bands bears the pope’s coat of arms, the pope being the only church figure permitted to decorate his stole with his crest. It is usually applied at chest level, while the bottom of the stole usually bears a Greek cross.

For benedictions and certain other occasions the stole is a darker red, sometimes called “consistory” red, after the College of Cardinals.²⁵ The stole worn by newly elected popes for the *Urbi et Orbi*, the benediction pronounced immediately after taking office from the loggia to the faithful in Saint Peter’s Square, has a ground of consistory red velvet embroidered with four niches with images of the evangelists alternating with papal symbols: tiara, keys, and pallium.²⁶

Choir Dress

Both Anglican and Catholic clergy wear choir dress—less lavish vestments, often of wool, cotton, or silk—when attending public prayer and administering sacraments outside the Mass. The basic element of the clergy’s choir dress (and everyday attire) is the soutane, or cassock, worn by all ranks in the religious hierarchy, their different roles indicated only by color.²⁷

The term derives from *sottana*, Italian for “underneath.” In the late Middle Ages, it referred to a sleeved tunic for men and women, often made of a fine, richly embroidered fabric, that was worn under the outer garments or cloak, its decorative elements remaining visible. The soutane worn by the pope and the rest of the clergy is generally a long robe that opens at the front

17 Michel Pastoureau, *Nero: Storia di un colore* (Milan: Ponte alle Grazie, 2008), pp. 18–19 (published in English as *Black: The History of a Color* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009]).

18 Margaret Scott, *Late Gothic Europe, 1400–1550* (London: Mills and Boon, 1980), chap. 1.

19 Marzia Cataldi Gallo, “Abbigliamento e potere: La corte come centro di diffusione della moda,” in *Storia della moda*, ed. Grazietta Butazzi and Ranieri Varese (Bologna: Calderini,

1995), pp. 55–92; Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Leonard Eckstein Opdycke (New York: Scribner, 1901), p. 103.

20 Prospero Lambertini, *Raccolta di alcune notificazioni editti ed istruzioni* (Naples: Andrea Migliaccio, 1772), vol. 1, p. 164; see also Maurizio Vitella, “Sull’origine dei paramenti sacri,” in *Omnia parata: Le vesti liturgiche fra passato, presente e futuro*, exh. cat., ed. Liborio Palmeri, Calogero Piro, and Maurizio Vitella (Trapani: Liber Artis, 2006), pp. 15–18.

21 Pastoureau, *Nero*, p. 88.

22 Marzia Cataldi Gallo, *Il Papa e le sue vesti: Da Paolo V a Giovanni Paolo II (1600–2000)* (Vatican City: Vatican Museums, 2016), pp. 42–54.

23 See Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, 103 vols. (Venice: Tipografia Emiliana, 1840–61), vol. 42, under *manto pontificale*; see also Bernard Berthod and Pierre Blanchard, *Trésors inconnus du Vatican: Cérémonial et liturgie* (Paris: Editions de l’Amateur, 2001), under *manto*, pp. 226–27.

24 Cataldi Gallo, *Il Papa e le sue vesti*, p. 49 n. 16.2, pp. 169–70.

25 See Moroni, *Dizionario*, vol. 2, under *stola*.

26 Cataldi Gallo, *Il Papa e le sue vesti*, p. 36.

27 Nainfa, *Costumes of Prelates*, pp. 38–46.

28 Cataldi Gallo, *Il Papa e le sue vesti*, pp. 136–38 n. 8.1.

29 See Matteo Matzuzzi’s biographies of Benedict XV and John XXIII, in Cataldi Gallo, *Il Papa e le sue vesti*, pp. 343–44, 386–87.

and is fastened with numerous small buttons, a design that has remained practically unchanged in ecclesiastical style for centuries (see fig. 3). A soutane, perhaps the oldest in existence, worn by Innocent XI (reigned 1676–89) and made at the time of his papacy, is preserved in the Pontifical Sacristy, which houses a vast collection of papal vestments.²⁸

The white soutane is the first garment the newly elected pope dons in the Room of Tears, between the Sistine Chapel and the Pontifical Sacristy, before appearing for the first time as pontiff. Since the late eighteenth century, the Roman tailors Gammarelli have made the new pope's soutane. In preparation for the conclave from which a new pope emerges, the firm makes three such garments, having no way to foresee the new pontiff's height and weight. Of the ones prepared for Benedict XV (reigned 1914–22), even the size small was too ample for his slight build, while the soutane best suited to John XXIII (reigned 1958–63) was somewhat tight around the belly. "The papacy's first fetters," quipped the cheerful new pontiff.²⁹

The version of the soutane called a zimarra is enhanced with a short cape or collar attached at the neck, and open half sleeves or over-sleeves (see fig. 4).³⁰ The term zimarra, which possibly derives from Greek, refers to an ancient item of clothing and, in the context of lay dress, a form of outerwear. In Spain during the 1500s and 1600s, the similar word *çamarro* or *çamarra* referred to a shepherd's cloak.³¹ The zimarra became fashionable among the laity in sixteenth-century Italy, as can be seen in numerous portraits and confirmed in documentary sources. But that zimarra, made famous by the aria "Vecchia zimarra senti" from Puccini's *La Bohème*, was a kind of coat, whereas the clerical zimarra is an undergarment. According to tailors' accounts, the papal wardrobe of Benedict XIV included four zimarras of gros de Tours watered silk and taffeta that were lined with fur for the winter months.³² The soutane and the zimarra are completed with a fascia (sash) in gros de Tours watered silk, embroidered at the tips. White is the prescribed color for all these items of pontifical clothing (including the chemise and drawers worn underneath), exemplified by a portrait of Pius XII (reigned 1939–58; fig. 12).

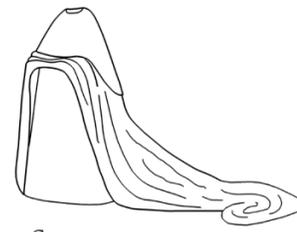
Choir dress also includes the mozzetta, a short mantle closed in front with a row of buttons (see fig. 2). The pope's mozzetta is usually crimson and sometimes trimmed with ermine; it is white during the week following Easter. The mozzetta is derived from the cappa magna, or great cape, an ample, crimson garment with a long train; the mozzetta is much shorter (*mozzetta* means "cut off") but also crimson. According to the nineteenth-century historian Xavier Barbier de Montault, a shortened garment is often a mark of superior rank within the ecclesiastical hierarchy; indeed, only abbots, bishops, cardinals, and popes wear this mantle that stops above the waist.³³

The mozzetta likely dates to the Avignon Papacy, which began with Clement V (reigned 1305–14), who relocated the papal court to that southern French city. There, the curia encountered bitterly cold winters. Thus the mozzetta originally had a hood, subsequently eliminated in the versions worn by cardinals, bishops, and abbots and preserved vestigially in the crimson papal example, whose hood is quite small and not usable. The mozzetta may have been entirely lined with ermine during the period in Avignon, as added protection against the cold, but when the papacy returned to the milder Roman climate, only a trim of ermine was applied to the borders of the pope's mozzetta. A bishop once asked Pius IX (reigned 1846–76) for permission to decorate his mozzetta with ermine; the pontiff laughed and begged him not to, lest every bishop soon resemble a pope.³⁴

Five types of papal mozzetta are recorded. Four are red and made of satin, velvet, twill, or felted wool, a substitute for velvet during Advent and Lent. The fifth version is white damask with ermine trim; it is worn by the pope with a white camauro (a cap) from Holy Saturday to the



12 Leonard Monro Boden (British, 1911–1999). Portrait of Pius XII, 1957. MED TK. Vatican Museum TK. Reproduced in Allen Duston, *Saint Peter and the Vatican: The Legacy of the Popes* (Alexandria, Va.: Art Services International, 2003)



13 Cappa magna



14 Pierre Hubert Sibley (French, 1699–1749). Portrait of Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga, ca. 1745. Oil on canvas. Musei Capitolini, Rome

following Saturday *in albis*, the day white vestments are set aside. A list of mozzettas made for Benedict XIII in 1724, just after his election to the papal throne, confirms their variety: the tailors made him one of crimson velvet, one of crimson satin, and one of scarlet camel's hair wool for Advent and Lent.³⁵

The most spectacular item in the ecclesiastical wardrobe is the cappa magna, a voluminous mantle with an exaggeratedly long train (fig. 13). While the cope and the mantle can be precious garments, often embroidered in gold thread or decorated with pearls and gemstones, the cappa magna is perhaps the most impressive, if only for its oversize dimensions. Popes rarely wore the cappa magna; the last to use it was Pius VI (reigned 1775–99). Other than the pope, only cardinals (in red watered silk), bishops (in violet wool, often with the train knotted), or apostolic nuncios are permitted to don this extravagant item.³⁶

Some of its extravagance was literally cut short by Pius XII, whose edict *Valde solliciti* of November 30, 1952, reduced the length of the cappa worn by cardinals by half, from almost forty feet (twelve meters) to about twenty; on December 4 of the same year, the Sacred Congregation of Rites accordingly halved the length of the cappa worn by bishops from about twenty-three feet (seven meters) to about twelve and a half. The train is carried by an attendant, while the front part of the cappa drapes over the arms, as demonstrated in a portrait of Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga by Pierre Hubert Sibley (fig. 14). A mozzetta is worn on top

of the cappa magna. Cardinals are forbidden to wear the garment in Rome and bishops may not wear it outside of their diocese, to underline the borders of their territorial authority.

Headgear

When dressed in mozzetta and stole, the pope traditionally wears a matching camauro, a head covering made of red velvet and bordered with ermine for winter, and made of satin for warmer seasons. The camauro covers the head and ears more completely than the zucchetto, or skullcap, providing protection from the cold (see fig. 1).

Commonly worn by popes prior to the nineteenth century, the camauro seemed to drop out of favor. Barbier de Montault, in personal service to Pius IX, recalled that when Pius briefly revived its use in the mid-nineteenth century, the camauro had been all but abandoned except in the event of extreme cold or illness.³⁷ When John XXIII ordered one about a hundred years later, the papal tailor had to research the considerable available documentation before satisfying his request. Photographs and film clips record the occasion when Gammarelli presented the Holy Father with his new cap. Popes as recent as Benedict XVI have adopted the red camauro.

Popes wear the round zucchetto both on its own for everyday dress and under the camauro. It is made of eight sections of cloth, either satin, gros de Tours watered silk, or taffeta for summer and felted wool for winter. White is reserved for the pope's zucchetto; it is worn in black by priests, red by cardinals, and violet by bishops. Benedict XIV had many zucchettos made for him by Sebastiano Porena, the *berettario*, as a cap maker was called in eighteenth-century Rome: eight of heavy silk for winter, two lined with thick plush and six with suede; twelve of taffeta for summer; and twelve in white silk lined with taffeta to be worn between those seasons.³⁸

Roman hatmakers known as *capellari* produce the saturno, a red velvet hat with a wide brim that popes have worn since the Middle Ages; it is lined in taffeta and embellished with gold passementerie. (The version used by cardinals is called a galero.) The biretta, another

30 See Moroni, *Dizionario*, vol. 103, under *zimarra*; Nainfa, *Costumes of Prelates*, pp. 47–49; Berthod and Blanchard, *Trésors inconnus*, p. 316; *Glossarium artis*, ed. Rudolf Huber (Munich: Saur, 2002), vol. 4, pp. 72–75.

31 Carmen Bernis, *El traje y los tipos sociales en El Quijote* (Madrid: El Viso, 2001), pp. 407–8.

32 Cataldi Gallo, *Il Papa e le sue vesti*, pp. 31–32.

33 Xavier Barbier de Montault, *Oeuvres complètes* (Poitiers: Blais, Roy, 1889–1902), vol. 1, p. 332.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 334–35.

35 Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Palazzo Apostolico, Computisteria, vol. 289 (1724), pp. 674–80.

36 See Moroni, *Dizionario*, vol. 8, pp. 80–92; Nainfa, *Costumes*, pp. 74–80; Berthod and Blanchard, *Trésors inconnus*, pp. 131–32.

37 Barbier de Montault, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 1, p. 224.

38 Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Palazzo Apostolico, Computisteria, vol. 378 (1750), pp. 663–67, *ibid.* n. 381, pp. 259–60.

39 Nainfa, *Costumes of Prelates*, pp. 86–89.

40 Piccolo Paci, *Storia delle vesti*, pp. 372–78.

41 Giacomo Pouyard, *Dissertazione sopra l'antiorità del bacio de' piedi de' Sommi Pontefici all'introduzione della Croce sulle loro scarpe o sandali e sopra le diverse forme colori ed ornati di questa parte del vestiario pontificio negli antichi monumenti sacri* (Rome: Antonio Fulgoni, 1807), p. 102; *Lettera dell' E.mo e R.mo Sig. Cardinale Cesare Brancadoro arcivescovo di Fermo al sig. Abate Francesco Cancellieri su la Dissertazione del p. Giacomo Pouyard Carmelitano sopra l'Antiorità del bacio de' piedi de' Sommi*

Pontefici . . . Con una lettera del suddetto p. Pouyard al medesimo porporato sopra lo stesso argomento (Rome: Francesco Bourlié, 1807), pp. 2–15.

42 Nainfa, *Costumes of Prelates*, pp. 94–96.

43 Cataldi Gallo, *Il Papa e le sue vesti*, pp. 201–2 n. 19.5.

44 Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Palazzo Apostolico, Computisteria, vol. 1661 (1801), p. 186.

ecclesiastical head covering, is a small square cap with three peaks or horns of cardboard covered in light fabric, the color of which varies according to church office. Cardinals wear the red biretta, given by the pope as a mark of rank, although most set aside the ceremonial one received upon taking office and adopt another. The cardinal's biretta, unlike others, is topped by a decorative silk tuft, or pompom. Priests wear the black biretta, as did bishops until Leo XIII (reigned 1878–1903) granted them the right to wear a violet biretta in 1888.³⁹

Sandals, Shoes, and Stockings

The symbolic significance of footwear goes back at least as far as Urban IV (reigned 1261–64), who specified that shoes guard the wearer from contamination by earthly dust and petty human glory.⁴⁰ A few years later, with his *Ordo Romanus XIII* of 1272–3, Gregory X established that upon election a pope must “depositis communibus calceis, si habentur rubea calciamenta papalia calciantur eidem” (lay down the shoes he has worn in this world and put on ones more suitable to a pontiff).

A cross has been embroidered on papal shoes since Innocent VII (reigned 1404–6) to signify that the pope is Christ's true representative on earth.⁴¹ The laces—usually made of silk and often terminating with an acorn ornament in gold—are meant to symbolize humility, reflecting the words of John the Baptist: “After me comes he who is mightier than I, the thong of whose sandals I am not worthy to stoop down and untie” (Mark 1:7).

Pontifical stockings were worn with sandals for papal masses, not only by the pope but by other high-ranking church figures. Dyed to match the vestments and worn over ordinary socks, they were fastened at the knee with matching garters, usually of silk.⁴² Medieval liturgists considered stockings the emblem of a pure life, necessary for he who would preach God's word. Donning stockings was, moreover, preparation for putting on sandals, symbols of the preacher. The Vatican Museum collection includes the liturgically prescribed white embroidered stockings and shoes of Alexander VII (reigned 1655–67), and a 1765 inventory lists numerous pairs, including some belonging to Urban VIII (reigned 1623–44) that were embroidered with the bees of his Barberini family crest, and some with the lilies and doves of the Doria-Pamphilj, the family of Innocent X (reigned 1644–55).⁴³

The papal wardrobe includes a wide range of footwear, most of which was catalogued in 1801 by Pius VII's cobbler, Ignazio Barattini. Besides the traditional pairs of embroidered crimson slippers there were an “English-style” pair “in fine crimson Morocco leather,” two pairs in the same leather “for trotting,” open slippers “for home use,” more slippers in crimson Morocco leather “for chamber use,” shoes in “camelet” (probably mohair or angora wool) for “just before and the time of summer,” scarlet shoes and open slippers for Advent, and two pairs of sandals in purple wool. All were embroidered with a Greek cross on the uppers and had gilded chevrons on the sides.⁴⁴

In the twentieth century, the traditional collaboration between the *banderaro* (an artisan making flags and ecclesiastical vestments), the embroiderer, and the cobbler gave way to manufacture of papal footwear solely by the cobbler. One was Mariano Rossetti, who made shoes for Pius X (reigned 1903–14) in cooperation with the Romanini firm, which at the time had been making papal garments for decades. Other changes followed. Under John XXIII the custom of kissing the pope's foot was discontinued, and shoes and slippers no longer had to be adorned with the cross, giving rise to new versions of footwear. Paul VI adopted the usual papal slippers but outside Vatican City began to wear laceless shoes of red Moroccan leather, initially decorated with a gold buckle, but later without. John Paul II, in public appearances within and outside the Vatican, wore simple leather moccasins without buckles. For private use in his apartment, the Polish pope had made white slippers with a set of crossed keys embroidered on the uppers.

The sacred garments and accessories in the vast wardrobes of the Pontifical Sacristy thus reflect the changing and the eternal, the vagaries of personal preferences and the vestments that cling to ancient traditions to this day. The collection recounts the history of the pontiffs who succeeded one another on Saint Peter's throne and reveals their individual tastes. The hundreds of yards of fine cloth woven with coats of arms tell stories of those for whom the papacy was their noble family's crowning ambition, including Paul V (born a Borghese), Urban VIII (a Barberini), Alexander VII (a Della Rovere), and Innocent X (a Doria Pamphilj). A comprehensive wardrobe such as Benedict XIV's suggests a particular interest in ceremonial dress, while an enormous number of gifts and donations attest to the esteem accorded to those who, like Leo XIII, stirred the devotion of the faithful. In addition to their essential work of designating rank within the church hierarchy, honoring the demands of the liturgical calendar, and reflecting God's majesty through his representatives on earth, these sacred vestments make it possible to trace nearly one thousand years of a fascinating papal history.

II
FASHIONING
WORSHIP

III
FASHIONING
DEVOTION