

## THE VESTMENTS OF THE CHURCH.

BY THE REV. WHARTON B. MARRIOTT.

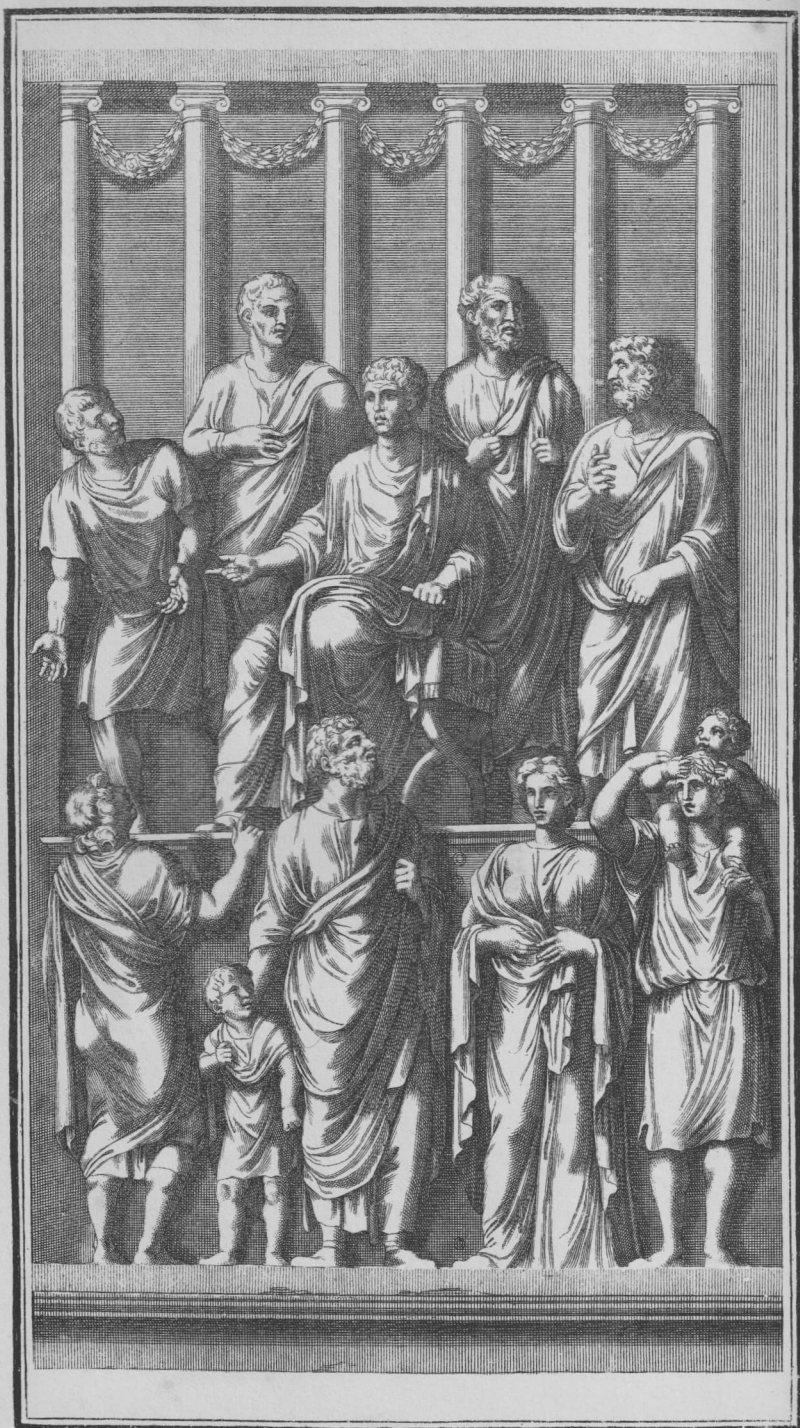
The subject on which I have been asked to speak is a very wide one; but the form in which it has been proposed to me determines the main outlines within which it shall be treated. Having to speak of the Vestments of the Church, I shall have to direct your attention mainly, not to any particular types of ministerial dress characteristic of particular churches, whether of the West or of the East, but of that which is common to the Church as such. And in order to determine what this is, we must look, not to the special developments of mediæval or of modern Christendom, in periods of broken unity, and of diversities of doctrine finding expression in diversities of outward ritual and of vesture. We must go back, in the first instance at least, to the earlier centuries of Christian history, while the Church was yet "at unity in herself;" one still in outward semblance and by outward communion, even as she was (and still is) one, by virtue of her essential relation to one Divine Head.

As a first step in the inquiry before us, I think it will be well to lay before you the facts with which we have to deal. I have placed upon the walls before you, in historical order, some of the most ancient monuments of Christendom illustrative of the subject before us. And a brief notice of these will serve, better than anything else, to put you in possession of the main facts essential to the determination of the question which I have been desired to treat.

### DESCRIPTION OF PLATE I.

*Roman Dress, of the more stately type, in the Apostolic Age.*

The first Plate in the series before you is from a group in the Arch of Titus. This will serve, as well as any that



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FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS.

could be selected, to show what was the prevailing type of dress in the Roman empire during the apostolic age, and in that which immediately followed. And I bring this under your notice, in the first instance, because this dress, as we shall see, is the germ, out of which, by special modifications made from time to time, the ministering dress of the Church has been developed.

The scene represented is that of the Emperor Titus giving audience to his people, who assemble, with their wives and children, to give thanks to him for the restoration of peace and plenty to Italy.<sup>1</sup> The emperor, with officers of state and attendants, is represented in the upper compartment of the picture. Below, the central figure is no other than the typical "Paterfamilias," from whose modern representatives we receive so many and such interesting communications, whether *de rebus alimentariis*, as in the case before us, or upon other questions of moment GENITORVM SPEI . . . . . His wife and children are also, as you see, duly represented—even the baby<sup>2</sup> has not been forgotten, though his clothes apparently have been.

The value of the picture for our present purpose is this—that you see here represented the dress of festivity, or of ceremonial, proper to different classes of persons, from an emperor to an ordinary father of a family. As the emperor appears here in the character of PVBLICVS PARENS (father of his people), he does not wear the shorter dress of military activity (illustrated in the figure of the attendant on his right), but the long and flowing dress of peaceful dignity, a toga worn over a long tunic reaching to the feet. The fuller<sup>3</sup> this supervestment (whether toga or pallium), the longer the tunic, the finer

<sup>1</sup> FEMINARVM FOECVNDITATI GENITORVMQ SPEI CONSVLVIT PVBLICVS PARENS PER VNIVERSAM ITALIAM PVERIS PVELLISQ VLPIIS (*sic*) ALIMENTARIIS INSTITVTIS. See Bellori, "Veteres Arcus Augustorum." Fol. Romæ, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Pliny Paneg. cap. 26. *Adventante congiarii die . . . . . labor parentibus eral ostentare parvulos, impositosque cervicibus adulantia verba blandasque voces edocere.*

<sup>3</sup> Compare Horace Epod. iv. *Videsne Sacram metiente te Viam, Cum bis ter ulnarum toga, ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium Liberrima indignatio?* And again, "*Exiguæque togæ simulet textore Catonem,*" Ep. 1, xix. 13; and, even more clearly, 1 Ep. xviii. 29, *Tibi parvula res est; Arcta decet sanum comitem toga.*

the materials of which each was composed—the greater was the indication of dignity in the person wearing them. Only in these particulars did the dress of an emperor, on a peaceful occasion such as this, differ<sup>4</sup> from that of any other citizen, such as that of the father of a family who stands at the emperor's feet in the picture before us.

And this I will ask you to take note of, as a general principle, evidence of which will come before you again and again in the course of inquiries such as these:—

*Short and scanty dress is the dress of activity, and of inferior rank:*

*Long and flowing dress is that appropriated to stately ceremonial, and to the expression of official dignity.*

The picture before you speaks for itself in illustration of what I have now said, and I may pass on now therefore to the second in order of the Plates to which I have called your attention.

## PLATES II. AND III.

### *Jewish Sacerdotal Dress.*

The two Plates that follow immediately after the one last described, represent the costume of a Levitical priest and high priest. They are reproductions of the drawings given by Dr. Böck, one of the latest German writers upon vestimentary questions. And he again followed Braunius, in his erudite work on the "Dress of Jewish Priesthood." These drawings have been evolved out of the imagination of Braunius himself, giving expression, as exactly as he could, to the verbal descriptions of these vestments given in Holy Scripture, by Josephus and St. Jerome, illustrated by the commentaries of Maimonides and other Jewish writers. The dress of the high priest probably presents a very close approach indeed to that actually worn. But the representation of the priest is defective (so there is reason to think) in two particulars. The mitre, or tiara, which he wears upon his head, should probably be of the nature of a closely-fitting skull-cap; and the long white tunic be shorter by six or eight inches than that here shown.

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<sup>4</sup> There was, however, a further difference of ornament, in the stripes of purple, on the outer tunic, and on the border of the toga.





Vincent Brooks, Day & Son, Lith.

JEWISH HIGH PRIEST

After D<sup>r</sup> Bock

But I will not dwell now upon these and other particulars relating to this dress, a full description of which would occupy our whole time this afternoon. For the purpose of comparison with the earlier monuments of Christian dress, the plates before you are sufficiently exact. And for this purpose no elaborate inquiry will be needed into the minute details of the Levitical vestments here depicted.

#### PLATES IV. AND V.

##### *Early Representations of Our Lord and of the Apostles.*

I come now to what is of nearer interest to us, and has a more direct bearing upon the question in hand, the two plates, after frescoes in the Roman catacombs, representative of our Lord and his Apostles. In the first, which is from the Cemetery of St. Agnes, our Lord is represented with three apostles on either side (such at least is the most probable explanation of the scene represented). Our Lord himself occupies a central "throne" or chair of state, distinguished from the subordinate "thrones," both by its central position and by the footstool placed before it. The dress, common to all the personages represented, is a long white tunic, reaching to the ankles, with sleeves reaching to the wrists; and over this tunic (*tunica alba*, or *alb*) is a supervestment, such as in the Apostolic age, and for some three centuries later, was known as a "pallium," the Greek (*ἱματίον*) himation.

And here I may call your attention to the remarkable ornament of the tunic, one which here first appears among the monuments now before you, but of which in one form or other we find innumerable traces, both in East and West, throughout the whole period of Christian history. I speak of the dark band falling from both shoulders over the tunic. I say from *both* shoulders, because though, in several of the figures, that on the left shoulder is hidden by the supervestment (pallium), it is visible in one or two; and from a comparison of other monuments we know, that, as a matter of fact, it was attached to *both* sides of the tunic.

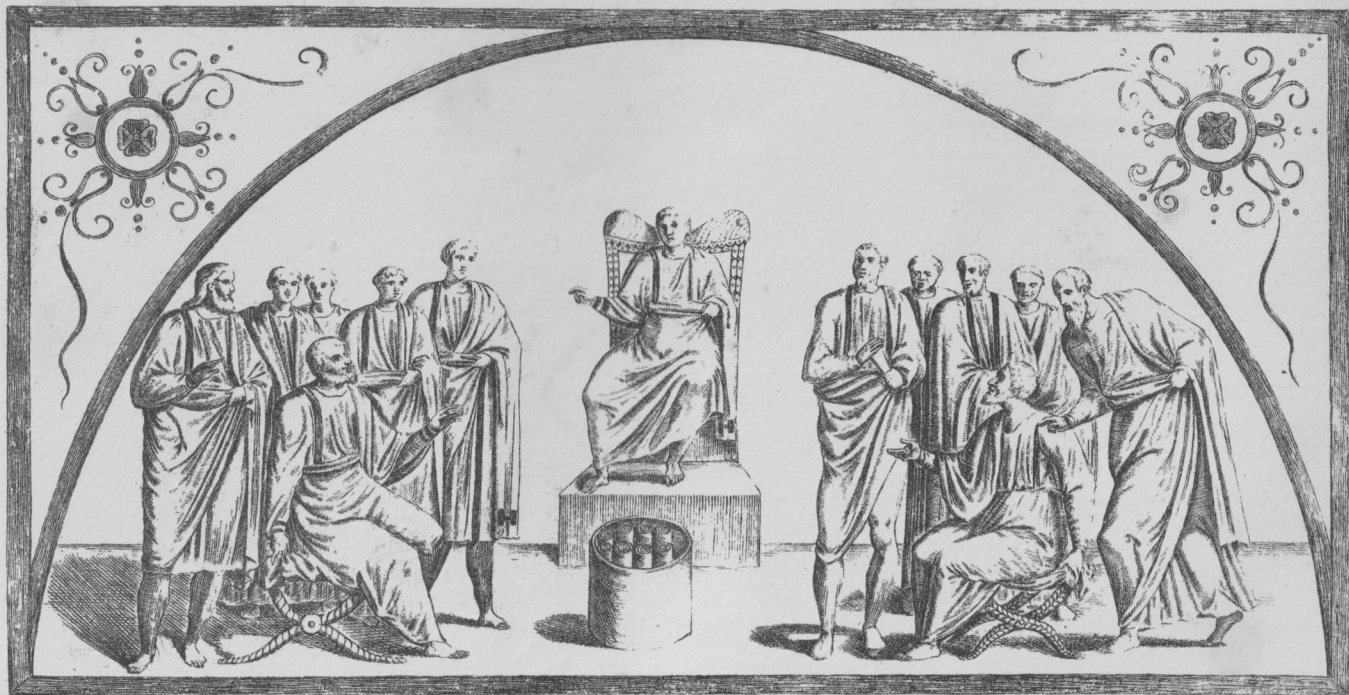
Observe, in passing, that as in the clavus, or ornamental stripe, on the tunic worn by senators and knights respectively, the higher dignity was indicated by the



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FROM THE CEMETERY OF ST AGNES AT ROME.





Vincent Brooks, Day & Son, Lith.

# OUR LORD AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES

From the Cemetery of S<sup>t</sup> Callixtus at Rome.

broad stripe or "laticlave," so here in the central figure, intended, without doubt, for that of our Lord, the greater dignity is indicated by a stripe of double breadth.

Of this ornament, the exact resemblance of which, in general appearance at least, to the scarf or stole of English use, you will at once have observed, I shall have occasion again to speak somewhat later. Before passing on further, I will ask you to observe the many curious points of coincidence between this plate and that from the Menologium of the Emperor Basil, "The Seventh General Council," which you will see later in this series:

#### PLATE V.

##### *Our Lord and the Twelve Apostles.*

If any doubt could attach to the significance of the last picture, there will certainly be none as to that which comes next in order, a fresco from the Cemetery<sup>5</sup> of St. Calixtus. It will be evident to you at a glance that our Lord and the Twelve are here represented. Our Lord is seated on a central throne (a *θρόνος δόξης*, or "throne of glory," in the language of Holy Scripture). Of the apostles, two (no doubt St. Peter and St. Paul) are seated on lower thrones or seats, while the rest stand in two equal groups on either side of our Lord.

The dresses here assigned to our Lord and to the Twelve resemble those shown in the Plate I have just now described. That dress, I may now add, is that which was assigned to Apostles by the consentient traditions of Christian art, both in East and West. And you will observe here a curious illustration of a matter which I mentioned just now (see p. 305). Of the figures here represented, only the three who are seated, as a mark of special dignity, only these have the full *tunica talaris*, actually reaching to the feet. The others, who are represented

<sup>5</sup> The general term "The Catacombs," by which the various Christian cemeteries at Rome are commonly described, is not a correct one from an archaeological point of view. One of these cemeteries is described in ancient documents as being *AD CATACUMBAS*, and to this specific designation the general use of the word is due. I may add here that in giving names to the different cemeteries, I have followed the older nomenclature (that of Bosio and Aringhus) not the later and more correct designations of Chevalier de Rossi.

*standing*, and so in an attitude of activity, have, with one or two exceptions only, a much shorter tunic, reaching but a little way below the knee.

It will be a matter of interest to many present to observe the central figure of the right hand group (spectator's right) in this Plate V, which is reproduced by photography, I will add, from the engraving given by Aringhus, and has not therefore been manipulated (such things have been before now), so as the better to prove a point. I speak of the resemblance as a plain matter of fact—you may draw your own conclusions from it, or, if you will, draw none at all. But as to the fact, you will bear me out in saying, that an English clergyman, in his surplice and stole, might have sat (or rather stood) as the model from which that figure was to be drawn.



Observe, before we go further, the case (*capsa* would be the Latin term) containing scrolls (*volumina*) placed before the throne on which our Lord is seated. This is a symbol which we not unfrequently meet with in early Christian art, pointing to our Lord as the giver of the Divine Word contained in Holy Scripture.<sup>6</sup> This symbol appears in a still more remarkable form in another picture, from the Cemetery of St. Agnes, at Rome. (See the

<sup>6</sup> Compare Irenæus adv. Hæres, lib. iv. cap. 21, where he says that our Lord is the true "householder," who brings forth out of his "treasure" or "store," "things old and new." He adds, "*utraque Testamenta unus et idem Paterfamilias produxit.*"

woodcut above.) In this picture our Lord is again represented as seated, with St. Peter and St. Paul on either hand. And while he holds in the left hand an open codex (the later form of book), there are placed on either side of Him two open *capsæ*, containing "rolls of a book." Thus are represented, without doubt, the Books of the Old and the New Testament respectively, and our Lord, the Divine Word, as the giver of them.

Observe in that same picture the small scroll in the left hand of each of the two apostles. Take special notice of this—as being *the recognized symbol*<sup>7</sup> *of an apostle* in early Christian art, while the Book of the Gospels, held in like manner, but in the form of a codex or bound book, was *the symbol of a bishop*,<sup>8</sup> both in East and West.

## PLATE VI.

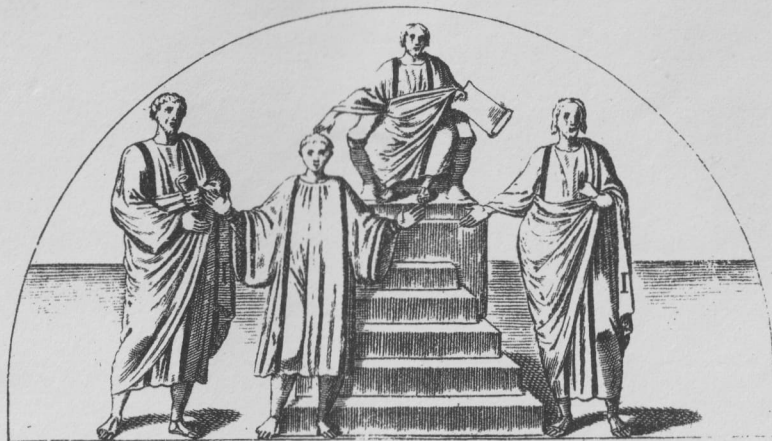
### *Ordination of a Deacon.*

The picture next in order is one of great interest, to which I must ask your special attention.

First for its history. It is a fresco in the Cemetery of St. Hermes, near the Via Salaria, at Rome. And it represents (almost without doubt) the ordination of a deacon, under its ideal aspect, that is as derived ultimately from our blessed Lord (seated here upon an

<sup>7</sup> See for example the diptych of St. Paul, in the frontispiece of my "Vestiarium Christianum," and compare plates xvii., xxxviii., xlv. (the figure to the left of our Lord—*spectator's right*), and lxiii. In this last Plate, while the figure on the spectator's left has this older symbol, in that of St. James (from Trebizond), which is of very much later date, the later codex is substituted for the scroll.

<sup>8</sup> *The Book of the Gospels held in the hand the symbol of episcopal office.* On the subject of official insignia generally, with special reference to those of Christian priesthood, see "Vestiarium Christianum," pp. xxxix. to xlv. And for what is here stated concerning the book of the Gospels, see the diptych of St. Paul (frontispiece of "Vest. Christ."), and plates xxv. (St. Gregory the Great); xxx. (St. Cornelius and St. Cyprian of Carthage); xxxi. (St. Xustus and St. O.—? Optatus); xl. (Leo IV.); xli. (St. Tarasius of Constantinople, and other Eastern patriarchs at the Seventh General Council). The figure of Eusebius of Cæsarea, in plate xxvii. (from Syriac MS.) seems to be an exception, but is, I think, not really so. He is there represented, as is Ammonius of Alexandria, a layman, in his *ordinary costume*, and the scroll which he holds in his hand is suggestive probably of his character as an *author*, the character in which he was directly associated with Ammonius.



Vincent Brooks, Day & Son, Lith.

ORDINATION OF A DEACON.

From the Cemetery of S<sup>t</sup> Hermes at Rome.

exalted "throne"), *through* the apostles, represented, as at Rome more especially (but not at Rome only) they were commonly represented, by St. Peter and St. Paul. You will see in the hand of the figure to the right of our Lord, and less distinctly in that to the left, the "scroll" which I have already spoken of as symbolizing the apostolic office.

This picture being quite unique of its kind among all the frescoes of the Catacombs, the question naturally occurs, whether there are any special circumstances to account for this.

I think there are. And this first is to be noted, that we learn from Anastasius, "the librarian," our chief authority for details of ecclesiastical matters concerning the early Roman Church, that Pelagius, Pope of Rome<sup>\*</sup> from the year 578 to 590 A.D., "*fecit*" (either repaired or "arranged and decorated") this cemetery. The vague use of "*fecit*" in Roman documents, leaves us uncertain what share exactly Pelagius may have had in repairing or enlarging this cemetery. But of one thing we may be quite certain, that Pelagius did not "make" or construct this cemetery in the ordinary sense of the word. For the cemetery had existed for centuries before; and some of the inscribed stones, found not long after its rediscovery in the sixteenth century, bear consular dates which go back to the middle of the third century. And there are other indications, such as the occurrence of *Greek* inscriptions, which indicate a very early date.

But there is a further circumstance to be mentioned. The same Pelagius who "*fecit*" this cemetery ("*did, it*

\* *Pope of Rome. Papa Romanus.* This was, till about the middle of the ninth century (possibly somewhat later, but if so we have no evidence of it) the general mode of describing officially the Bishop of Rome, in order to distinguish him from other Popes (*Papæ*), such as the Bishops of Alexandria and of Carthage. The latest instance, if I am not mistaken, of the official use of this title, is in the now famous fresco ["Vest. Christ." plate xl.] from the hypogæan church of St. Clemente. This fresco, representing the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, was given to the church by Leo IV. (represented with the *tabula quadrata, viventis insigne*, the "square nimbus" so called, which marked the personage represented as *still living*) in the middle of the ninth century. He is described in the fresco itself as SANCTISSIMUS DOM. LEO QRT. PP. ROM., *i. e.* *Sanctissimus Dominus Leo Quartus Papa Romanus*. Roman antiquaries have honestly recognized the true date of the fresco; Roman controversialists, I am afraid, have not.

up," perhaps we may say), rebuilt the ancient Church of St. Laurentius, and decorated it with mosaics. And in the mosaic portrait of the donor, which is placed, *de more*, on the extreme left (spectator's left) of the principal mosaic,<sup>10</sup> the bishop is represented in precisely the same costume (white alb with black stripes, and white super-vestment) as that assigned to our Lord and the apostles in the fresco of which we now are speaking.

This being so, it might be inferred with some probability, that the fresco of the cemetery and the mosaic of the Church of St. Laurentius proceed from the same hand. I cannot, of course, be *certain* that this inference would be a wrong one, but I incline to think it is, and for the following reason:—As I am speaking to antiquaries and archæologists, it is hardly necessary for me to remind you, that the accompaniments and surroundings of an ancient monument, such as that now before you, are as important to the determination of its true character as is the *context* of a passage from Scripture, or the Fathers, when alleged for the determination of some matter of theological controversy. Now what are the surroundings of this picture—what the frame, so to speak, in which it is set? You will find them shown in detail by Aringhus<sup>11</sup> in his "*Roma Subterranea*," and the result you will find to be this—that this fresco occupies the back wall of an arcosolium, or arched recess over a tomb, and that what may be called the framework of the picture consists of a series of smaller frescoes, in which are represented (in their order from spectator's left to right) Daniel in the Lions' Den, Moses drawing Water from the Rock, the Raising of Lazarus by our Lord, and the "Three Children" in the Furnace. Now these all belong to that earlier "*Ciclo Biblico*," or cycle of Scriptural subjects, which is characteristic of an earlier stage of catacombal illustration than that of Pelagius II. at the close of the sixth century. And these subjects (which frequently recur in the earlier catacombs) are such as point evidently to our Lord as the deliverer from persecution, or from trouble in this world, and from death itself in the world to come. From all this I infer, that the monument in

<sup>10</sup> See "*Vestiarium Christianum*," plate xxix.

<sup>11</sup> Aringhi "*Roma Subt.*," tom. ii. p. 328. [*Romæ*, MDCLII.]

question has reference to the life, and possibly to the martyrdom, of some deacon of the Roman Church there buried; and I should assign to it a date considerably earlier than that of Pelagius II.

However, all this I readily admit to be matter too uncertain to serve as a basis for any distinct conclusions based upon date. It is sufficient for my present purpose to point out, that this fresco, probably the earliest in which a distinctly ecclesiastical act is represented, whatever be its exact date, agrees in details of costume with all these early representations of our Lord and of the apostles which we have had already under our view. And, again, that Pelagius, wishing to represent himself, in a solemn scene, in the mosaics of a church restored by himself, caused himself to be depicted in the same ancient costume which the artist of the Cemetery of St. Hermes had thought appropriate to one of the most solemn ordinances of Christian ministry.

#### PLATE VII.

##### *Eastern representation of our Lord and the Twelve.*

As time presses, I must not dwell, as I could have wished to do, on this next picture, which is from an ancient Syriac MS. written at Zagba<sup>12</sup> in Mesopotamia, in the year 586 A.D., and acquired, with many other such treasures, for the library of the Medici at Florence in the year 1497. I will only ask you to observe, that in this picture, which represents the traditions of the East at a time exactly coincident with that of Pelagius II.—viz., the close of the sixth century—the traditionary type of apostolic dress (long tunic, with dark stripe, and himation for supervestment) is identical with that assigned to them in those many Western pictures, which we have already had under our notice.

#### PLATE VIII.

##### *The San Vitale Mosaics at Ravenna.*

We now come to a new type of dress—new, at least, in some particulars—one which forms a connecting link

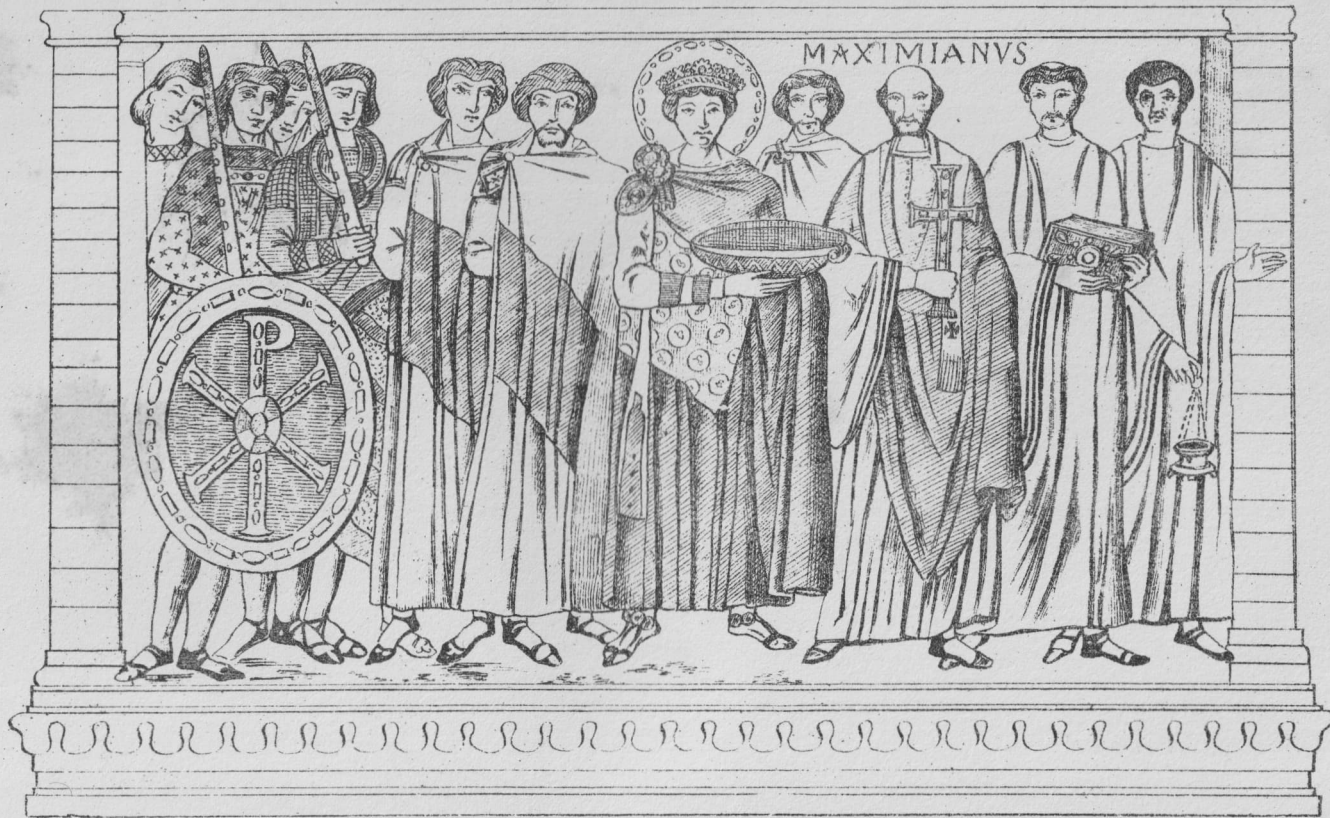
<sup>12</sup> For the history of the MS. and representations of its illustrations (none the less faithful for being very rude), see Assemani (Steph. Evod). "Bibliotheca Medicea." Florentiæ, folio, 1742.





# THE ASCENSION.

From a Syriac M.S. written A.D. 586.



Vincent Brooks, Day & Son, Lith.

THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN AND ARCHBISHOP MAXIMIANUS.

From a Mosaic of the VIth Century in the Church of S. Vitale at Ravenna.

between that primitive and apostolic type (so reputed at least, and, as I for one believe, rightly reputed, both in East and West), and the later mediæval type preserved to this day in the vestments of the Roman Church. (See Plate XIII.)

We possess a number of monuments, both of literature and of art, and of the Eastern as well as the Western Church, which enable us to determine with sufficient certainty the type of ministering dress, which prevailed in the Church at the close of the sixth century, and had probably been received, more or less generally, for perhaps a hundred years or more (it is impossible to say exactly how long) before that time.

The picture before you will give you a very good idea of what that dress was. And it will command, probably, a still greater interest, when I add, that it is very nearly the same as that prescribed for the dress of holy ministry in the Rubrics of the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., referred to, as all here will recollect, in those of our present Prayer-book. The resemblance is not *quite* exact, as we shall see presently. But, speaking generally, we may say, that as our surplice and black stole have their exact counterpart (in appearance, at least) in that figure of an apostle which I pointed out to you in Plate V.; so do the "white alb plain," with vestment [or cope], of the Prayer-book of 1548, find a very close counterpart in the mosaics of the Church of San Vitalis, at Ravenna, and in those<sup>13</sup> given by the same Emperor Justinian to the great church (now mosque) of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, between 532 and 538 A.D.

This mosaic, then, now before you, will serve as a good foundation—the best that we could find—in determining the dress of holy ministry in the sixth century of our era. And first let us ascertain its date. It cannot be *earlier* than the year 547, for it was not till then that the church was completed, and the consecration of the church, here represented, took place. How

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<sup>13</sup> See "Vestiarium Christianum," p. lxxv., note ρ; and to the reference to Salzenberg there given, add Weiss, *Kostumkunde* (Stuttgart, 1864) l. p. 125; Fig. 65. The woodcut in the last page of this lecture will give a very good idea of the original, as shown in colours by Salzenberg. Both the tunic (sticharion) and phænolion (answering to Roman *casula*) are white; the ornamental stripes, etc., either red, or purple and red together.

long after that time this mosaic may have been put up, it is, of course, impossible to say with certainty. The addition of the *name* of the archbishop [MAXIMIANVS] renders it probable that the mosaic dates from after his death. During his life, it would have been no more necessary to proclaim his name to the people of Ravenna, than that of the emperor at whose side he stands. But, on the other hand, there are many reasons for supposing, that its date cannot be *very much* later than that of the church itself; and, on the whole, we may safely accept, as sufficiently exact, the general verdict of antiquaries, which assigns the monument before you to a date nearly coincident with that of the completion of the church.

And now for a description of the plate itself. The Emperor Justinian occupies the central place in the entire group, and he holds in his hands a golden bowl, containing offerings (or perhaps itself the offering) to be presented at the altar, on occasion of the dedication of the church. On his right hand, but standing a very little in the rear, are his great officers of state, and beyond them again some of his guards. Before them is the imperial shield of state, blazoned with the mystical monogram XPI, representing the name of Christ, or, as some explain it, XP (ΙΣΤΟΣ) Ι (ΗΣΟΥΣ), "Christ Jesus." A third officer of state<sup>14</sup> may be seen standing behind the emperor, a little to his left, his head and shoulders only appearing.

To the left of the Emperor, and in the same line with him, is the Archbishop of Ravenna, with two clergy in attendance, who may be either archdeacon<sup>15</sup> and deacon, or two deacons (their dress<sup>16</sup> is precisely similar), or, as

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<sup>14</sup> In the drawing given of this mosaic by Gally Knight ("Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy." London, 1842. Pl. x.), which I have followed, there is a slight mistake, which is reproduced in this plate. The layman, who stands behind the emperor, is represented with the tonsure; the deacon (or possibly subdeacon), on the extreme right (spectator's right) of the picture, is without it. This is owing to a mistake of the artist, who probably did not very accurately distinguish which were laymen and which not.

<sup>15</sup> At Constantinople, the archdeacon wore the characteristic dress of a deacon, though he had, no doubt, some insignia to mark his higher rank. Whether this was the case elsewhere I do not know.

<sup>16</sup> Both have the tonsure, though only one is so represented in this plate. See note 14.

others again think, a deacon and a subdeacon, the latter carrying a thurible.

It is with these three figures that we are now concerned, and of these only that I shall now speak.

And first I will ask you to notice the vestment which is common to all the three—viz., the long *tunica talaris*, reaching to the feet, like the ordinary English surplice, and with full sleeves, also not unlike those of some surplices. In the absence of such accurate representation as only a coloured drawing could give, you must take my word<sup>17</sup> for some of the details which follow. The tunic, then, which you see here represented, differs from the simple “alb” (*tunica alba*), of more general use in the primitive Church, in that it has a narrow edging of black (a triple line) round the sleeves, and has also the double stripe of black, corresponding in appearance to the stole now customarily worn in the English Church, falling from either shoulder down to the feet. There is reason to believe that this ornament was not worn as a separate vestment, as is our own “stole,” but was sewn on, or otherwise attached, to the tunic itself.

The tunic thus ornamented was known as a “Dalmatic;” and till the close of the eighth century, or thereabouts, the wearing of this particular kind of tunic was claimed as a special privilege by the clergy at Rome, and only granted as an exceptional favour (see note 23) to such other churches in the West as the Bishop of Rome desired more especially to honour. Ravenna was one of the churches which claimed this right; and, not very long after the building of this church of St. Vitalis, they had a long and successful controversy on the subject with the clergy of the Roman Church.

I may mention here, that in all the earliest examples

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<sup>17</sup> Extraordinary differences of statement having lately been publicly made, with regard to these mosaics, I will state here that my description is founded on a comparison of four independent authorities, who give both drawings and descriptions of them. These are, Ciampini, “*Monumenta Vetera*,” tom. ii. pl. 22 [*Romæ*, 1699]; Hefner-Altenck, “*Trachten des Christlichen Mittelalters*,” vol. i. pl. 91 (an elaborately-coloured drawing, with description, after copies of the original, taken on the spot, for the King of Prussia); Gally Knight (see above, note 14); and Dr. Rock, “*Church of our Fathers*,” vol. i. p. 319 (following drawings made expressly for his use by a skilful artist, under the direction of the then Archbishop of Ravenna).

of such dalmatics worn by ecclesiastical personages, in which I have been able to determine the colour of the ornamental stripes, I have found them to be either black,<sup>18</sup> as here, and in the dresses assigned to SS. Cornelius, Cyprian of Carthage, and Pope Xustus (Sixtus), in the frescoes lately<sup>19</sup> discovered by De Rossi; or dark red and dark purple,<sup>20</sup> as in the mosaics of St. Sophia at Constantinople, and in a mosaic at Rome (a coloured copy in the Windsor collection) of the year 640 A.D., in which the apostles are represented as wearing white tunics, with red stripe falling down in front from both shoulders.

Not having personally inspected the frescoes of the Catacombs, I cannot speak with certainty as to the colour in the various representations of apostles already noticed. But judging from the impressions of those who have seen them, and from such other evidence as is available, I have every reason to believe, that the stole-like stripe upon the *white* tunic is almost invariably black. It certainly is so in all the earliest mosaics in the collection to which I have made frequent reference, with the one exception which I mentioned just now, of the year 640 A.D.

Such, then, is the tunic common to all the three ecclesiastics, differing but little in shape from our own surplice, and in appearance and ornament differing very slightly from the same vestment when worn, as it now commonly is, with a black stole over it.

But as one of the three figures before us represents an archbishop, and an archbishop of a quasi-imperial city, we might have anticipated, what in point of fact is the case, that he would have some distinguishing vestments or insignia designating his exalted office.

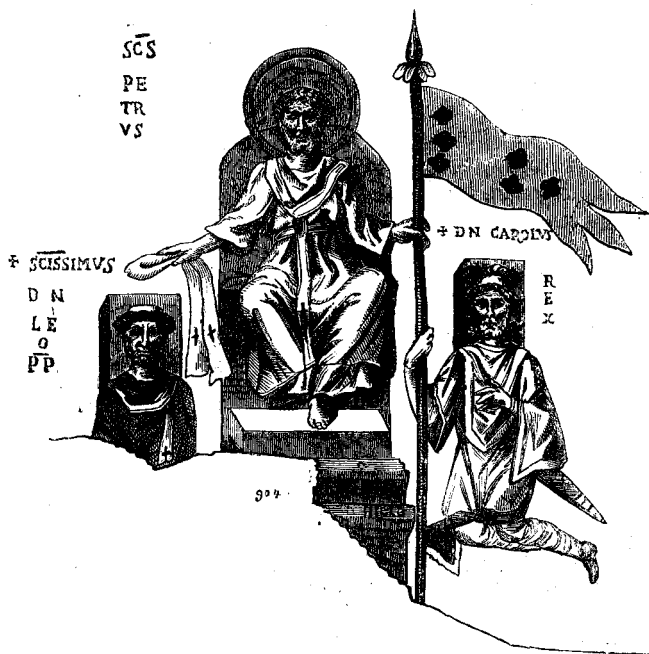
He has both one and the other. The vestments

<sup>18</sup> To the instances mentioned above, add a remarkable example from an ancient rock-church at Urgub, in Mesopotamia. See note σ, p. xxxvii. of the "Vestiarium Christianum," and the description and references there given.

<sup>19</sup> See plates xxx. and xxxi. of the "Vestiarium Christianum," and De Rossi, "Roma Solteranea," vol. i.

<sup>20</sup> Technically, the tunics here represented are *sticharia*. The word *δελματικίον* does once occur ("Vest. Christ.," p. lv., note φ, where read *ἐθελοθρησκευτικὰ* for *ἐθελορησοευκτικὰ*); but it is in speaking of the "phylacteried garments" of the Pharisees, not of Christian vestments.

peculiar to him are the planeta<sup>21</sup> (answering to the later chasuble), and the archiepiscopal pallium (in shape like a white "stole," but differently<sup>22</sup> arranged) worn over the



MOSAIC OF THE TRICLINIUM LATEBANUM.\*

\* This woodcut is from a coloured drawing in Her Majesty's collection. St. Peter is here represented bestowing a Pallium upon Leo III. (who already wears one in that older form described in note 22) and a Vexillum, or Standard of Empire, upon Charlemagne. For further particulars concerning this interesting historical monument, see "Vest. Christ." (description of Plate xxxiii.), p. 239, and (description of woodcuts) p. 247.

<sup>21</sup> For the history of the planeta, casula, and penula, see "Vestiarium Christianum," p. lx *sqq.*, and Appendix C, p. 192 *sqq.*

<sup>22</sup> The mode in which the Papal or archiepiscopal pallium is arranged is an excellent test of the date of monuments. In genuine Western monuments earlier than the year 850 A.D., the pallium is never found in the forms Y or T, which occur in the later Roman monuments ["Vest. Christ.," pl. xxxix., xlii., xliii., xlv., xlvi.], but is arranged nearly as in early Greek monuments, one end (with a single black cross upon it) pendant in

planeta. The insignia, of which I speak, are the jewelled cross which he holds in his left hand, symbolizing his archiepiscopal office, and the book of the gospels, which, as we have seen already, was in those days the conventional sign of the office of a bishop. But in this case the Book is carried by one of his attendant deacons, much as the pastoral staff would be carried by a chaplain in the present day.

Summing up the conclusions to be drawn from the inspection of this monument, we find a long surplice-shaped tunic, with full sleeves, worn in common by the archbishop and his attendant clergy; that tunic, in the case of the clergy of a metropolitan see, having some simple ornament of black stripes. The bishop wears a planeta, or bell-shaped supervestment, over the tunic; and as metropolitan, or archbishop, he has a cross and a pallium.

And now, if we turn to literary evidence of not very much later date (some sixty or seventy years perhaps) we shall see how exactly our conclusions are borne out. In the acts of the fourth council of Toledo, in the year 633 A.D., we find that alb and orarium (or "stole," as it was afterwards called) were the vestments of a deacon; alb, orarium, and planeta the vestments of a priest; while a pastoral staff and episcopal ring are mentioned as the distinctive insignia of a bishop. No exclusively episcopal vestments are there spoken of; but from other sources we learn, what from the Ravenna mosaic we might have inferred, viz., that Bishops wore the planeta over either alb or dalmatic,<sup>23</sup> as the case might be.

Such, and so simple, was the dress of Christian

front from the left shoulder, while the other is carried behind the neck, brought over the right shoulder and across the chest, and then thrown over the left shoulder so as to hang down behind. Compare the arrangement of the omophorium (answering to the pallium) worn by the various patriarchs in Plate XI. below. A variation of the early form may be seen in the remarkable monuments figured in "Vest. Christ.," pl. xxx, xxxi.

<sup>23</sup> The dalmatic only by privilege from Rome, or by invasion of the exclusive right claimed by the Roman Church. Compare Walafrid Strabo (writing early in the ninth century), *De Reb. Eccles.*, cap. 24. "Gregory and other Roman primates (*præsules*) allowed the use of the dalmatic by some bishops, forbade it to others; and by this it is evident that in those days that was not matter of general right, which now almost all bishops, and some priests, think is allowable to them, viz., that they should wear a dalmatic under a chasuble. See "Vest. Christ.," pp. 108, 109.



ministry even as late as the close of the sixth century of our era. Two vestments worn by a deacon, three by a priest, and the same three, with the addition of some distinctive insignia, by a bishop.

#### PLATE IX.

##### *Mosaic of Pope Pelagius II.*

I must not detain you long upon this next picture, though there is much to interest us in it if time allowed of fuller discussion. At present I need only say, that it dates from the episcopate of Pelagius II., near the close of the sixth century; and that he himself is represented, as I mentioned just now, on the (spectator's) left of the mosaic. All the figures, including St. Stephen (related as a *deacon* to St. Laurentius) and St. Hyppolytus, as well as St. Peter and St. Paul, have the same primitive type of dress as that which we have already seen to be characteristic of the earliest representations of apostles. Only St. Laurentius himself (in whose memory, and in whose name, the church was dedicated) wears sombre vestments, which in shape, however, resemble those of the other personages.

#### PLATE X.

##### *A Bishop administering the Chrism.*

We must now take a long step of from three to four hundred years into the middle of the ninth century, or thereabouts. This Plate, which was first published, as far as I know, in my "*Vestiarium*," is from a MS. of the ninth century at Rome. It was photographed from a careful copy in the collection which belonged formerly to Pope Clement XI. It tells its own story, which is one of very great interest, for many reasons; but I must now speak of it only in regard to vestments. And first note what is now the dress of the laity, exemplified as this is in that of the godfather (*Patrinus* or *Susceptor*), who is receiving back the newly-baptized and "chrisomed" child. Compare this with the dress depicted in Plate I., and you will see proof of the revolution produced in dress, as in many other important matters, by the great tides of invasion from the north, which, from the begin-





A BISHOP ADMINISTERING THE CHRISM.

ning of the fifth century, had swept over the border lands of the Mediterranean Sea.

Then, turning to the ecclesiastics here represented—deacons, priests, and bishop are all there—you will see but little, if any, change from what we found just now to be the vestments of the sixth and seventh centuries. There is a priest (dipping a child into the font) in close-fitting alb, and the stole worn over both shoulders; behind him is a deacon, with the stole on one shoulder only. There is another priest (on the spectator's extreme left) wearing a planeta (or chasuble) over an alb; on his left is (apparently) a subdeacon, with alb only, and neither stole nor chasuble. But the prominent figure in the picture is the bishop (as he has the pallium over the chasuble he is, no doubt, an archbishop).<sup>24</sup> And he, again, is vested exactly as the acts of Toledo IV. would lead us to expect, save only that there is no trace of an orarium or stole underneath the chasuble.

One or two special points, however, are suggested by this picture, on which something must be said before we go further. And first, you may see here, in the figure of the priest immediately opposite the bishop, an example of that narrower and more scanty form of alb, which, at any rate from this ninth century onwards, and probably also from a somewhat earlier date, was in ecclesiastical use, side by side with the fuller surplice-shaped alb of earlier times. That the fuller form was the older and more normal of the two, we may conclude with certainty from the language of St. Jerome<sup>25</sup> and of

<sup>24</sup> The same may be said of other early representations of bishops (before 800 A.D.), where a vestment shaped like an orarium (stole), but corresponding to the pallium, is worn *outside* the planeta. See "Vest. Christ.," pl. xxx., xxxi.

<sup>25</sup> Epist. ad Fabiolam, quoted in "Vest. Christ.," pp. 12, 13. He is describing the *tunica talaris* of the Levitical priest, which he (as Josephus before him) describes as fitting closely to the body, and with very narrow sleeves; and in order to convey to his reader an idea of what it was like, he compares it with the *camisia*, or linen shirt, worn by soldiers when on service. Had any closely-fitting alb resembling the tunic of Levitical priesthood been in use in his own day in the service of the Church, we can hardly doubt that he would have referred his reader to this, rather than to the *camisia* of a common soldier. But Amalarius, writing early in the ninth century, draws a direct contrast in this very particular between the Levitical tunic and the Christian alb. After quoting (De Eccl. Off., lib. ii. cap. 18) the passage of St. Jerome just referred to, he adds: "*In eo distat vestimentum illud (the Levitical) a nostro, quod illud strictum est, nostrum vero largum.*" And he adds a mystical reason *why* this should be.

Amalarius. But you can well imagine that a full-sleeved surplice, or an alb so shaped, would be the most inconvenient vestment in the world for one administering baptism by immersion; and accordingly we find evidence in this picture, confirmed by what we read elsewhere,<sup>26</sup> that a closely-fitting alb, girt in at the waist, was worn by the priest when administering holy baptism.

You can easily understand how this narrower form of alb began to be very generally adopted, when in the tenth and later centuries it came to be a mere foundation, outside of which some three or four different supervestments were to be accumulated.

Just observe, before passing on, the strange *backing* to the bishop's head, something like the back of a chair. This is only the "square nimbus," so called, of which we have already spoken, as marking a distinguished personage *in his lifetime*.<sup>27</sup>

## PLATE XI.

### *The Seventh General Council.*

The next plate takes us into a new region altogether—from the "old Rome" on the Tiber to the "new Rome" on the Bosphorus; from the Western Church to the Churches of the East. The scene represented is the Session of the Seventh General Council (so accounted in the Greek Church), known also as the Second Council of Nicæa, from the place in which it was held, in the year 787 A.D. It was the Council in which the Iconoclasts were condemned. You may see their representative, the embodied heretic of that day (in the judgment of that council), literally "floored," while six patriarchs,<sup>28</sup> the

<sup>26</sup> See the fragment describing the Gallican vestments ("Vest. Christ.," p. 204, Appendix D): "*Præcinctio vestimenti candidi, quod sacerdos baptizaturus præcingitur.*"

<sup>27</sup> John the Deacon (biographer of Gregory the Great), writing in this same ninth century, is the first to describe this, in speaking of a picture of St. Gregory. "*Circa verticem tabulæ similitudinem, quod viventis insigne est, præferens, non coronam (i. e., not the nimbus in which he would have been represented after his death).*" For contrasts of the square and the round nimbus, in the same picture, see plate xi. in this volume, and "Vest. Christ.," plates xxxiii., xl., and xlii. compared with xliv.

<sup>28</sup> They are *supposed* to be present, though in point of fact several of them had not even heard of the council being summoned, owing to the occupation of the country by the Saracens. For farther historical particulars see "Vestiarium Christianum," p. 242, and the authorities there referred to.



Vincent Brooks, Day & Son, Lith.

# THE SEVENTH GENERAL COUNCIL

From a M.S. of the X<sup>th</sup> or XI<sup>th</sup> Century

Emperor (Constantine VI.) presiding, sit in judgment upon him.

The drawing (of which an exact copy, coloured from the original, is in my possession) is in the "Menologium Græcorum" of the Emperor Basil, a magnificently illustrated MS. of the tenth or eleventh century, now in the Vatican library. The dress of the various patriarchs, as here represented, is one of considerable splendour. The long tunic, reaching to the feet, varies in colour, and is made, apparently, of silk. The phænolia, answering to the "casulæ," or chasubles of Western bishops, are, with one exception, a mixture of black and gold. The one exception is that of the patriarch immediately on the left of the emperor. This is no doubt intended for Tarasius of Constantinople, the "Ecumenical Patriarch." He is distinguished from the rest by a phænolion of lilac purple. One and all of them have a white omophorion (corresponding to the archiepiscopal pallium of the West) upon which are three black crosses, and they hold in the hand the book of the Gospels, the ancient symbol, as we have already said, of the episcopal office.<sup>29</sup>

Though time will not allow of my entering at all minutely into the subject of ministering dress in the East, I may take this opportunity of stating, very briefly, that at the close of the eighth century the vestments of the Greek Church were all but identical in form, one of them (the orarium, or ὠράριον<sup>30</sup>) in name also, with those commonly worn in the West. They were—1st, the sticharion, a long white tunic, like the alba, but ornamented at

<sup>29</sup> The dress in this case may either represent what actually was worn by Eastern patriarchs in the eighth century, or what that dress *had become* in the tenth or eleventh century, when the drawing was made. In all but colour it really represents both one and the other, for the Easterns made no change in the number and form of the vestments between the eighth and the close of the tenth century. As to colour, the white vestments of St. Sophia, already described (dating somewhat early in the sixth century), and these of Plate XI. dating from about the close of the tenth century, mark two limits, and are indicative of a change of taste in the interval on the part of ecclesiastical artists, corresponding to that which may be traced in the Western monuments of the same date. This is not to be wondered at, as almost all the mosaic work in the Roman churches at that time, and for some centuries later, was executed by Byzantine artists.

<sup>30</sup> Only the *deacon's* "stole" (to use the modern term) was known as ὠράριον. The same vestment (see "Vest. Christ.," p. 84, note 144), when worn by a priest round the back of the neck, was called περιτραχήλιον or ἐπιτραχήλιον.

times with little borders round the sleeve (called *λωρία*), and a stripe in front, like the Roman dalmatic; 2nd, a girdle; 3rd, a peritrachelion (*i.e.*, "worn round the neck"), answering to the Latin orarium; and 4th, a phenolion (*φαινόλιον* or *φελόνιον*, "Vest. Christ.," note 143), answering to the planeta (later "casula," or chasuble). Coupling together various notices of this vestment, some of fixed date, others more or less uncertain, we should conclude, that at the close of the eighth century the phænolion ordinarily worn in priestly ministry was "red," "fire-coloured," or "scarlet," but that on the most solemn occasions this would be exchanged for white (*λαμπράν ἐσθήτα*), such as the white phenolia shown in mosaics of the sixth century. To the vestments above named we may add yet two more: one (a napkin, suspended to the girdle) specially characteristic of the deacon's office, in respect of *service*<sup>31</sup> to be rendered to the priest; the other, the "omophorion," was, like the Roman pallium, worn outside the phenolion, and was, as early as the time of St. Isidore of Pelusium, a recognized symbol of episcopal dignity in the East. In the ten centuries that have elapsed since St. Germanus of Constantinople gave the first detailed account of the vestments worn in any Eastern church, very few additions have been made. What these are, may be seen on comparison of the enumeration given by Patriarch Symeon<sup>32</sup> of Thessalonica, early in the fifteenth century, with that of St. Germanus in the eighth.

<sup>31</sup> Probably in handing water to the priest for the ceremonial washing of hands. This would explain the allusion of St. Isidore of Pelusium (Epist., lib. i. cap. 136), repeated with slight variation by Germanus of Constantinople (Rerum Eccl. Theor., p. 135). St. Isidore says:—"The piece of linen (*ἡ ὀθόνη*) with which the deacons minister in the holy place, is a memorial of the humility of our Lord in washing, and wiping dry, the feet of the disciples." St. Germanus (early in the eighth century) distinguishes between the *ὀθόνη* (either a piece of linen, or a vestment of linen), and "the napkin attached to the girdle," *ἡ ὀθόνη μεθ' ἧς λειτουργοῦσιν οἱ διάκονοι* *ῥηλοῖ τὴν τοῦ χριστοῦ ταπείνωσιν, ἣν ἐνεδείξατο ἐν τῷ νικητῆρι. Τὸ δὲ ἐγγχείριον τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ζώνης ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπόμαζαν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ λέντιον* [Rerum Eccles. Theoria, p. 135, *apud* "Vest. Christ.," p. 86]. He adds, strangely enough, that this napkin is in antitype of him who wiped his hands, and said, "I am innocent" (meaning, of course, Pontius Pilate).

<sup>32</sup> See "Vestiarium Christianum," p. 168, *sqq.*, and for St. Germanus, *ibid.*, p. 83.



## PLATE XII.

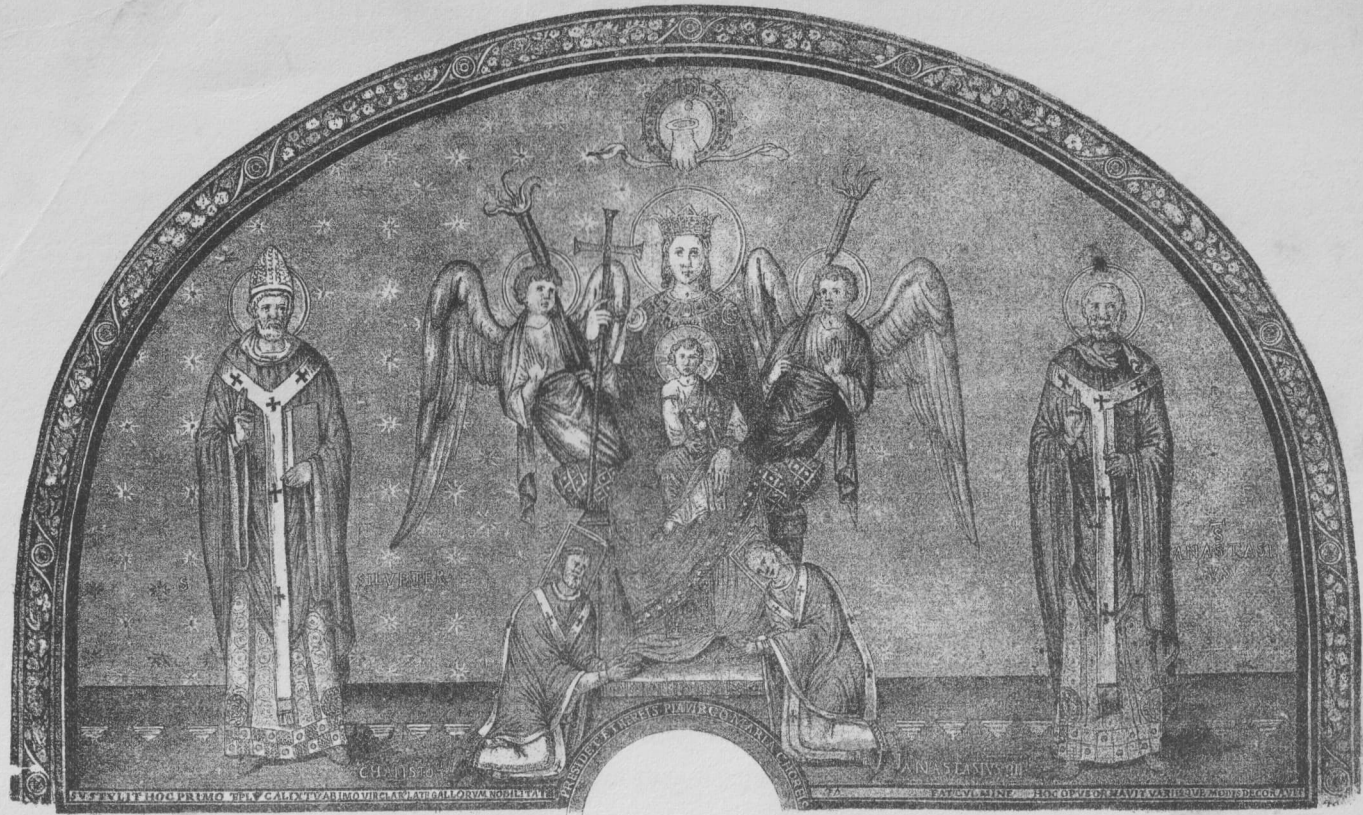
*A Mosaic of the twelfth century from the Church of St. Nicholas in Urbe, at Rome.*

This Plate, coupled with the one which immediately follows it in the series before you, brings us, at a single step, over a period of three hundred years, reckoned from the approximate date (say 850 A.D.) of the last Roman monument (see Plate X.), which was under our consideration. And I have purposely selected these particular monuments for illustration and mutual comparison, because in the interval between those two is to be traced out that special development of sacerdotal dress, which is characteristic of the Roman Church. The plate before you, one that on many grounds is painfully characteristic of the time from which it dates, is a mosaic, the execution of which was commenced by order of Pope Calixtus II., and which was completed by his successor Anastasius IV. Let the inscription speak for itself, with a Latinity as characteristic in its way, as is the subject and the signature<sup>33</sup> which you see in the Plate itself. The inscription runs as follows :—

SUSTULIT HOC PRIMO TEMPLUM CALLIXTUS AB IMO  
VIR CLARUS. LATE GALLORUM NOBILITATE.  
VERUM ANASTASIUS PAPATUS CULMINE QUARTUS  
HOC OPUS ORNAVIT VARIISQUE MODIS DECORAVIT.

In respect of vestments, this Plate taken by itself will only help us to determine what was in the middle of the twelfth century the ceremonial dress of a pope. But on

<sup>33</sup> The words are PRÆSIDET ÆTHEREIS PIA VIRGO MARIA CHOREIS. The two Popes kneeling at the Virgin's feet, and embracing them, present a significant contrast to a picture, which in some particulars may be compared with this, whether as suggested in Holy Scripture, or actually depicted in the catacombs. The Magi, "when they saw the child with Mary, his mother, fell down and worshipped Him" (Matt. ii. 11). The two Popes here represented see before them, as did the Magi, "the young Child with Mary his mother," and they fall down and worship Her. Roman monuments form a suggestive commentary on this sad topic. Compare "Vest. Christ.," plate x., "The Holy Family"—probably not later than the close of the third century; plate xxxviii. (the Virgin crowned, and enthroned as a queen) of the year 855 A.D.; plate xl. (almost exactly contemporary with the last, see "Vest. Christ.," p. 241) representing the "Assumption;" plate xlv., in which the Virgin Mother shares the throne of the Saviour, being seated at his right hand; this last mosaic precedes by about twenty years that in plate xii. of this series.



PRESIDET ETHEREIS PIA VIRGO MARIA CHOREIS

supplementing this by an examination of contemporary literary evidence, we have no difficulty in determining, with even minute detail, every question of interest relating to the vestments then worn.

And one very important fact is at once suggested by the picture itself. The figure on the left (spectator's left) of the mosaic is intended to represent St. Silvester, the contemporary of Constantine. And you will observe that here, for the first time, we arrive at a representation of an ornament for the head, resembling (or intended to resemble) either the "mitre" (or "tiara"), or the "triple crown" of the Jewish high priest. It is a remarkable fact, that in the monuments of Christian art, from the very earliest that can now be traced, to the close of the tenth century, there is not a single example of any "mitre" upon the effigy of either pope or bishop in any part of Christendom, whether East or West.<sup>34</sup> Nor is the evidence on this subject negative only. In literary monuments from the beginning of the ninth to the close of the twelfth century, beginning with Rabanus Maurus<sup>35</sup> and ending with Innocent III.,<sup>36</sup> we are able to trace distinctly the series of changes and additions, by which the dress of a bishop, such as it had been in the ninth century (see Plate IX.), became such as we see in the plate now before you. At the beginning of that period the idea was broached of a resemblance in detail between the vestments of the Church, and those of the seven (or eight) vestments of the Jewish priesthood. Several of the earlier writers, while tracing this resemblance, show, indirectly but most conclusively, that they knew nothing of any actual "mitre," or anything at all resembling it, worn in offices of Christian ministry. Amalarius, for example ("Vestiarium Christianum," p. 102), early in the ninth century, can find nothing which will answer to the "golden plate" worn by a Jewish high priest, save

<sup>34</sup> In the East they are unknown to this day. Metropolitans in some parts of the East, in comparatively recent times, have had crowns or coronets bestowed upon them by imperial favour; and these, in consequence, have now become associated with the idea of metropolitical or patriarchal dignity at least in the Russian Church. But there has never been in the East generally any adoption of a "mitre" like that of Western bishops as a symbol of episcopal office.

<sup>35</sup> "Vest. Christ.," p. 88.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

the pallium (not worn on the head at all) of a Western archbishop. Walafrid Strabo, about the same time, says, "Whereas *then*" (under the Levitical law) "there were the tunic of the ephod, the tunic of linen, superhumeral (or 'ephod'), breastplate" (the "Urim and Thummim") "girdle, drawers, *tiara and golden plate*, so now we have dalmatic, alb, maniple, stole, girdle, sandals, chasuble, and *pallium*. And as the last named of those older vestments was worn only by high priests, so is the last of these Christian vestments worn only by "chief pastors." These passages alone would suffice to prove (even were other evidence wanting) that neither episcopal mitre nor papal tiara were known to these two writers, who, like others



ADORATION OF THE MAGI.

FROM THE CEMETERY OF SS. MARCELLINUS AND PETER AT ROME.

of their time, were studiously looking out for points of resemblance between Jewish and Christian vestments. Honorius of Autun, *circa* 1125 A.D., is the first of the writers on ritual who recognizes an episcopal mitre as one of the Christian vestments. He speaks of it as made (*ex bysso*) of linen. In point of fact its use had commenced about the year 1000 A.D., but was not generally recognized for one hundred years later, or even more.

I have dwelt upon this matter partly because it happens to be one of interest at the present time, but chiefly because it will serve as one example, out of many that

might be selected, as proving the rapid development and multiplication of vestments in the Western Church between the ninth and the twelfth centuries. Rabanus Maurus at that earlier time knew of but seven vestments, even when sandals and pallium were included in the enumeration. Innocent III., 300 years later, enumerates no less than eighteen in all. He assigns six to presbyters; fifteen in all to bishops; one, the pallium, specially to archbishops; while he reserves two others, the "orale" and the "pectoral cross," as belonging exclusively to the Roman pontiff.

### PLATE XIII.

#### *Roman Vestments.*

The later development, which, with very slight changes only, has been maintained to the present time in churches subject to the Roman See, will be illustrated by Plate xiii., the last of the series before you. This has been so arranged as to explain itself, and I need not therefore detain you with any lengthened description. I must explain, however, that in little details of ornament and the like, the vestments here represented are what Pugin represented they *should* be in this nineteenth century; correcting, in deference to his antiquarian knowledge and his artistic taste, the debased forms which were prevalent both here and on the Continent early in this century.

### GENERAL RESULTS.

#### *Earliest Type of Dress.*

And now at last we have reached a point at which we can look back over the long course of eighteen centuries, which we have been traversing, and gather up with a rapid glance the points of main importance (such at least as now we can properly treat) in relation to these "Vestments of the Church," upon which we have been occupied.

The monuments before us divide themselves, as I think you will at once see, into three classes. In the first, including Plates iv. to vii. (Plate ix. is also to be added to the number), we have that solemn dress of the primitive type, which was recognized as "apostolic" both in Eastern and Western art. There is, I readily

*Priest.*

1. Apparel of Neck.
2. Orphrey of Chasuble.
3. Chasuble.
4. Sleeves of Albe.
5. Apparels.
6. Maniple.
7. Ends of Stole.
8. Albe.
9. Apparel of Albe.

The Stole is worn by  
Priests crossed in front &  
fastened by a girdle.



A Priest.



A Bishop.

*Bishop.*

- 1 & 2 The Tabalis and Sandels
3. The Humeral or Amice.
4. The Albe.
5. The Girdle
6. Stole.
7. Tunic.
8. Dalmatic.
9. Chasuble.
10. Gloves and Ring
11. Mitre
12. Maniple.
13. Pectoral Cross
14. Pastoral Staff
- 14a. Fanniculus of Staff
15. Rational
16. Pallium.



A Deacon.

*Deacon.*

1. Apparel of Neck.
2. Dalmatic or Tunic.
3. Orphreys of Dalmatic.
4. Sleeves of Albe.
5. Apparels.
6. Maniple.
7. Apparel of Dalmatic.
8. Albe.
9. Apparel of Albe.

The Stole is worn by  
Deacons over the left shoul<sup>r</sup>

admit, no *absolutely* conclusive evidence, that dresses such as those represented, say in the "Ordination" depicted in Plate vi., were really those worn in the highest offices of Christian ministry in apostolic and sub-apostolic times. But what is certain is this, that when the primitive artists, to whom are due the frescoes of the catacombs and the earliest mosaics, wished to depict apostles on the most solemn of all occasions, as gathered, for example, about the Lord, on their "twelve thrones" of subordinate and delegated authority, or as exercising the power of ordination in his name, this was the dress with which they always represented them. And this further, we may add, that the dress is one which exactly tallies with all the allusions to that primitive dress, direct or indirect, to be met with in early Christian writers. And this again is certain, that in the primitive period (of about 400 years) the vestments of the Christian ministry were white. And further, that when first we hear of any distinct regulations on the subject of their material, viz., in the time of Constantine, linen alone is prescribed, to the exclusion of silk and of dyed cloth. "*Sylvester Papa constituit sacrificium altaris non in serico, non in panno tincto celebrari, nisi tantum lineo e terra procreato, sicut corpus Domini Jesu Christi in sindone munda sepultum est.*" (Walafrid Strabo, *De Rebus Eccles.*, cap. 24, and Anastasius Bibliothecarius in *Silvestro*.)

But at the point at which we have now arrived, it may be well, I think, to point out some particulars of more general interest in reference to the subject before you.

#### *Origin of Christian Vestments.*

And in the first place it is natural to ask, what was the *earlier history* of those primitive vestments which were before us in the most ancient monuments (Plates iv., v., vi., vii., ix.); and, again, what the *earlier history* of those which date, monumentally, from the middle of the sixth century, and of which the representations came under our notice in Plates viii. and x.? We ourselves, as English Churchmen, have a special interest, direct or indirect, both in one and the other.

And first, to whatever monuments of the first eight centuries we may look whether in literature or in art, it

will be abundantly clear, that the dress of Christian ministry was not modelled upon that of the Levitical priesthood. The time has been when many supposed this to be the case. I believe there are some few who think so still. But I never knew any one who so thought after thoroughly investigating the facts. And with the monuments before you, which speak for themselves, it will be abundantly clear to you all, I think, that a theory of Levitical origin for Christian vestments of the first eight centuries, is utterly untenable.

There is another, and wholly opposite view, which has been generally received hitherto by antiquaries, and by men of learning, whether on the continent or among ourselves. But it is a theory from which the religious instinct of most men is inclined to recoil, and, as it appears to me, not without some reason. That more generally received theory, of which I speak, is this. It is said that the dress worn in the highest offices of Christian ministry was identical with that worn in common life by people of every class, whether heathens or Christians, in the apostolic age. And some have gone yet further, and said (or at least have been understood to say), that this dress was one worn more particularly by peasants,<sup>37</sup> and others of the lowest class, as a protection against the weather.

What shall we say to this? I think you will agree with me that a religious instinct of natural reverence tells us, that such a statement as this *cannot* truly represent the facts. And I will add that we should do right in giving weight to this instinctive feeling, and in seeking somewhat further for such a solution, as will satisfy at once the requirements of historical truth, and the intuitions of natural reverence.

Such a solution at once presents itself, when we remind ourselves of a fact which, as far as I know, none of the many writers on vestimentary subjects have hitherto

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<sup>37</sup> This is both true and untrue. It is true that the name *casula*, which in the third century (certainly) and probably for some considerable time, both before and after, was assigned to the characteristic dress of Italian peasants, was the name employed from the *ninth* century onward, as *synonymous* with *planeta*, the older name for the dress of ministry. But it is untrue that the same vestment was *at one and the same time* the characteristic out-door dress of peasants, and the distinctive badge of Christian ministry. See on the history of the *casula*, Appendix C of the "*Vestiarium Christianum*," and pp. lx. to lxxvii. of the Introduction.



brought to bear upon the question of which we are now speaking. The fact to which I allude is this. Throughout the Roman empire there was, in the apostolic age, and had been both in East and West for centuries before, a particular type of dress, and a special colour, which was recognized by all men as consecrated, so to speak, to occasions of solemn festivity or of stately ceremonial; consecrated, I may add, more particularly to occasions of religious observance. Of this type of dress I have already spoken, when describing Plate i. of the series before you. After full investigation of all the passages in ancient writers that bear directly or indirectly upon the question, and after reading most, if not all, that has been written on the subject by authors of chief repute in modern times, my own belief is, that the actual form of dress worn in Christian ministry for the first three hundred years or thereabouts in Palestine, in Asia Minor, and in Italy, was that which you have seen represented again and again in early monuments in Plates iv., v., vi., vii., ix. These would be known as *chiton* and *himation* in the East; as *tunica* and *pallium*<sup>38</sup> in the West. Add to this the fact, which is absolutely certain, that in the Primitive Church white was regarded ["Vest. Christ.," p. xxx., *sqq.* and Appendix A] as specially appropriate to the highest offices of Christian ministry. And with these considerations before us, we shall see, I think, at once,

<sup>38</sup> In chapter 11 of the "*Vestiarium Christianum*" I have adduced a great number of passages to show what were the associations connected with the *toga* in the first and second centuries of our era. I added, that what was true of the *toga*, at Rome, would apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the *pallium* (or "*himation*") in those parts of the Roman empire where Greek usage prevailed. I refrained (feeling the matter to be doubtful) from expressing an opinion that the *toga* was actually used at Rome in offices of Christian ministry. But I am free to confess that I inclined so to think, and I found myself confirmed in so thinking by a man of great learning, the Jesuit Sirmondus. ["Vest. Christ.," p. 47.] But on further reflection, and with the arguments of others (criticising my book) to help me, I am inclined to think that the *pallium*, not the *toga*, was the super-vestment really used, at Rome as elsewhere. Christianity at Rome, in the earliest ages, was *Greek* in all its associations, as every one knows who has studied the subject. In the first and second centuries of our era, the *toga*, on occasions of high ceremonial, would be the symbol of *Romanism*, i.e., of adherence to the old ideas and habits which had prevailed in Rome for centuries. The *pallium*, on the other hand, was more or less the symbol of "*Gracism*," and of Greek Christianity *inter alia*. Herein will be found the key to that difficult treatise the "*Pro Pallio*" of Tertulian.

how to reconcile the seemingly conflicting claims of historical truth with the instincts of religious men. These claims are no longer conflicting, as soon as we give due weight to the fact, that a dress such as that represented in those earlier Christian monuments, now before you, was one which, by its shape and colour, was marked out in the eyes of all men as being proper to occasions of holy festivity, or of solemn assemblage in the presence of God. It was in one sense a dress of common life; but in another sense it was a dress universally regarded as proper to religious use.

*Origin of the second type of Ministering Vestments.*

What I have now said applies only to that oldest type of sacred dress represented in the earliest monuments. But we have already seen that in monuments dating from the middle of the sixth century onwards, both in East and West, we find clear evidence of a change made in what I have throughout called the "super-vestments" of Christian ministry. Those monuments again (especially those at Byzantium) are such as imply, that the artists and ecclesiastics of that day believed, that the dress of their own day had long been received in the Church. This super-vestment then of the second age, which was a bell-shaped vestment, known as a *planeta* in the West, and a *phenolion* in the East, came into general use in West and East, as a sacred vestment for bishops and priests, at some indefinite period before the close of the fifth century. In no other respect was there any change of importance till the ninth century, save that from the close of the sixth century onwards there are indications, that in some parts of the Church, as at Ravenna and at Rome, there was a tendency to greater richness of ornament on the part of the higher order among the clergy.

Was there any special reason why this particular dress should be adopted? The silence of all writers on the subject till after the close of the eighth century, and the fact that both *planeta* and *phenolion* were worn by laymen as well as by ecclesiastics, give the strongest reason for thinking that, in adopting this new form of super-vestment, the Church did but adapt herself to a change, which was generally made throughout the Roman world at an

early period of the Christian era. The toga, from its cumbrousness, and great inconvenience, had been discontinued, save as an exceptional dress of ceremony, from the time of Augustus. And a far more convenient garment, like in shape to the planeta, but for the most part of rougher material, after asserting its supremacy in country districts generally, had gradually won its way, step by step, into the city itself, against manifold imperial prohibitions; till at last, in the year 438 A.D., it was formally recognized by the Theodosian Code (published simultaneously for both East and West) as the proper undress garment to be worn at Rome even by senators. This garment was known as a pænula.

Now, we nowhere find any trace of the pænula itself, under that name, being adopted as a sacred vestment. But we do find that a garment like in shape to the pænula,<sup>39</sup> but called planeta,<sup>40</sup> was so adopted. And this planeta we know, from early evidence, such as that of Cassianus (*circ.* 418 A.D.) and Nolanus (*circ.* 533 A.D.), was a better kind of super-vestment, such as was too costly to be fit for monks,<sup>41</sup> but was an ordinary out-door dress for men of distinction (*nobiles*).<sup>42</sup> Even as late as St. Gregory's time (*circ.* 600 A.D.) it was still worn by laymen of distinction as well as by the higher ecclesiastics; and by these again in out-door use as well as in church.<sup>43</sup>

From all these facts we may infer, that either in the fifth century, or possibly at some yet earlier date, the Western Church adopted a white planeta, the Eastern Churches a white phenolion, as the super-vestments for bishops and priests, at times of holy ministration. This was but carrying out in principle, under changed circumstances, what had been done at an earlier period, in the adoption of that still older type of dress, which we have already noticed.

<sup>39</sup> See the history of the "pænula" in "Vest. Christ.," p. lx., lxii. and in Appendix C (*ibid.*), p. 192. *seq.*

<sup>40</sup> "Codex Theodosianus," fol. Ritter, Lipsiæ, 1741; Liber i. De habitu, quoted and commented on "Vest. Christ.," Appendix C, p. 197.

<sup>41</sup> "Cassianus de habitu Monachorum," lib. i., cap. 7, quoted in "Vest. Christ.," p. 202 [Appendix C, No. 38].

<sup>42</sup> Vita S. Fulgentii apud Acta Sanctorum, tom. i., Januar., p. 43 ["Vest. Christ.," Appendix C, No. 39].

<sup>43</sup> Joannis Diaconi Vita D. Gregorii," lib. iv., cap. 83 ["Vest. Christ.," Appendix C, No. 40].

*Late Mediæval Vestments.*

*Change of feeling on the subject from the Ninth Century onwards.*

I have already occupied your time so long, that I feel bound to hasten towards a conclusion. Yet one matter of interest to ourselves I may point to in passing, viz., the evidence afforded by these monuments to the marked contrast which exists between the vestimentary ideas current in the early Church, and those which prevailed in the Middle Ages, and have since then been retained by many. It would be difficult to find a contrast more complete than is presented by the simple attire attributed to apostles or to primitive bishops in early Christian monuments, and the vestments resplendent with jewels and gold, which are now in many parts of the Christian Church thought proper to that office.

The evidence of primitive art is here in exact accordance with that of primitive fathers. Late mediæval and not a few modern writers, speak as though the more gorgeous be the dress assumed by Christian priests, the higher the honour thereby paid to Christ. But ideas the very opposite of these were prevalent<sup>44</sup> in the Church for many centuries. Take as an example the language of the "*Liber Sacramentorum*"<sup>45</sup> of St. Gregory the Great. There is a prayer in the office for the consecration of a bishop, in which reference is made to the splendour of the older Levitical vestments, in the following terms:—

*"The vesture of that older priesthood is with us an adornment of the heart; and the glory of them that are chief in priesthood, is to us no longer commended by the beauty of vestments, but by a splendour that is of the soul. . . . And, therefore, Lord, do we pray for such grace to*

<sup>44</sup> A curious instance of this contrast is afforded by the usage noticed by Isidore of Pelusium. He refers to the fact that our Lord, as the Divine Word, was regarded as *specially present* at the reading of the gospel (in church); and accordingly that the bishop then stood up and *laid aside* the special symbol of his own pastoral office in reverence for Him who is the Chief Shepherd over all. This was in accordance with a very generally received idea, that the symbols of *delegated office* should be laid aside in the actual presence of Him from whom that delegation has been received. See the passage of St. Isidore quoted in "*Vest. Christ.*," p. 50.

<sup>45</sup> Edited by Hugo Menardus, 4<sup>e</sup>. Paris, 1642, p. 239 ["*Vest. Christ.*," p. li., note 1].

*be bestowed on this thy servant, whom thou hast called to office of highest priesthood unto Thee, that what those former vestments signified by the brightness of gold, and the brilliancy of jewels, and the many colours of manifold embroidery, may shine forth now in the character and the good works of this thy servant."*

And if we come nearer home we may hear our own Bede<sup>46</sup> (early in the eighth century) speaking precisely to the same effect:—

*"The ordination and the vesture of them that ministered in the tabernacle are in this wise rightly applicable to the priesthood of the Church, that the outward splendour which in their case shone brightly in ornamented vestments, shall now, spiritually understood, be inwardly conspicuous, deep seated in the hearts of them who serve in holy ministry to God—and that in the acts (good works) of these our Christian priests there should be an outward glory also, a glory beyond what is to be seen in the good works of the faithful generally."*

Passages<sup>47</sup> to similar effect might be greatly multiplied, if need were, from writers both in East and West, during the first seven or eight centuries of our era. But enough has been already said, to enable you to judge of the accuracy of such statements as you may have seen very confidently put forth of late, as to "splendid vestments" of the richest materials, and the most costly decoration, having been adopted by the Church from the earliest times; or that, "apart from the vestments" (meaning such as are now worn in the Roman Church), "the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist has never been adequately set forth," and other such assertions. And the reason of my dwelling more particularly on this matter is this, that in much more important points than

<sup>46</sup> "De Tabernac." lib. iii., cap. 11 ["Vest. Christ.," p. 78].

<sup>47</sup> See for the time of Constantine ("the sacrifice of the altar to be celebrated not in garments of silk, or of dyed cloth, but of linen only,") "Vestiarium Christianum," p. 107; for a yet earlier time in the East, St. Clement Alex., *ibid.*, Appendix A, p. 184; for the fifth century, the Sermon *De Uno Legislatore* (attributed to St. Chrysostom), *ibid.*, p. 51; for the sixth, the description given by Fortunatus of St. Germanus of Paris, *ibid.*, p. li.; for the eighth, the "Letter of St. Boniface (Winifred of Crediton) to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury," *ibid.*, note 209, p. 107; for the ninth, the *Parænesis ad Episcopos* of Theodulf of Orleans, *ibid.*, Appendix B, p. 191.

the colour, or the shape, or the names, of particular vestments, we of this day need to be reminded, that no mode of arguing can be more unsound than that of assuming, as many now-a-days do assume, that the Doctrine or the Ritual of the Mediæval Latin Church is a safe guide to the Doctrine and the Ritual of the Church Primitive and Catholic—assume, in other words, that “Catholic” and “Mediæval” are mutually convertible terms.

Let us escape now, however, from these lower levels, at which our retrospect of the past is marred by thoughts of the divisions of the Church, and the unhappy controversies of the passing hour. Let us look back to more primitive ages, and mark the general principles upon which men then acted in this matter of ministering dress, and apply those principles freely to the needs of our own day, as the Church of old did to the needs that then were. This is, if I mistake not, the true spirit which should animate us in our study of antiquity, especially of Christian antiquity. We should investigate the records of the past with no prepossessions such as shall hinder us from ascertaining and stating the truth and the whole truth, whether it be such as we ourselves should wish it to be or no. And whether in seeking for knowledge or in using it when attained, our reverence for the past, and for all that it had of good and great, should be tempered with a thankful recognition of what is good and great in these our own days. Good and great, at least, is the work that lies before us; our own fault if we learn not something of true goodness and of true greatness, in bearing our part, as God shall enable us, in ennobling work for Him. And if we must have new interpretations of old rules, or new rules in place of old ones, in matters relating to the vestments of the Church, let us deal with these questions in the same spirit in which the Church dealt with them in the days of her youthful strength. Then questions of the dress that her ministers should wear were determined by thought of the work they had to do for God, and of the true dignity thereto pertaining. There was no desire for those outward splendours of “brightness of gold, and brilliancy of jewels, and the many colours of manifold embroidery.” What they desired, and what they did, was, to mark out by simple

indications, such as all men could understand, those diversities of orders in the Church which had been by Divine ordinance from the first; and to recognize, also, what we, thank God, are recognizing more and more, from year to year, that the work to be done in the body of Christ is not a work to be done by the threefold order of the ministry *alone*; that there are works on Christ's behalf, and gifts from God enabling to such work, for laymen as well as for clergy, for the young as well as for the old, for rich and poor, for the learned and unlearned together. Vestments, then, there were, not of silk nor of dyed cloth, but of linen only,<sup>48</sup> which were regarded as proper to offices of ministry for Christ. For men had learnt, on a higher than human authority, that white linen is a type of the righteousness of the saints; and they deemed that in the righteousness which is from Christ lies the true splendour<sup>49</sup> of them who speak on behalf of the Church unto God, on behalf of God unto the Church. Insignia there were for the Bishop; the oldest of them all being the Book of the Gospels, "the true evangelical tiara," as one said of old time. "In the consecration of bishops<sup>50</sup> and of priests (St. Chrysostom writes),<sup>51</sup> the gospel of Christ is laid upon their heads, that he who is ordained may learn, that he then receiveth the true tiara of the gospel; and may learn this also, that though he be head of all, yet doth he act in subjection to God's laws; though he be ruler of all, yet is he, too, under rule to the law; though in all things a setter forth of the Word, yet himself to that Word in subjection." And yet another symbol they had, whether the woollen omophorion<sup>52</sup> of Eastern bishops, or the pastoral staff<sup>53</sup> common in the West, which set forth the office of the bishop as having charge, under the Chief

<sup>48</sup> So Pope Sylvester ordained in the time of Constantine.

<sup>49</sup> See the passages from the Sacramentary of St. Gregory and from Bede, quoted in Appendix A.

<sup>50</sup> τῶν ἱερέων, a term which, like *sacerdos*, is constantly used in early writers in speaking of bishops. I have assumed that here the word is inclusive of both.

<sup>51</sup> In the Sermon "De uno Legislatore." It is not certain whether it is really St. Chrysostom's. See "Vest. Christ.," p. 51, note 80.

<sup>52</sup> For this symbolism of the episcopal omophorion, see St. Isidore of Pelusium, quoted "Vest. Christ.," p. 50.

<sup>53</sup> See "Vest. Christ.," p. 222. No. 15.

Shepherd, of that flock of Christ which had been committed to him. And the priest, too, had a vestment of greater dignity, the planeta, which distinguished his office from that of a deacon. The deacon, again, while in common with others of inferior rank, he had a dress which marked him out for offices of *active ministration* (i.e., a short alb worn without any cumbrous super-vestment), was himself distinguished (by the orarium, or stole, worn over one shoulder) from the subdeacon, from the Cantores (singing men and choristers), and other such. And, when after the "Peace of Constantine," the body politic of the Church developed her outward organization in accordance with that form, which, under the providence of God, had already been developed in the two great empires of Rome and Constantinople—when her dioceses were gathered up into provinces, and her provinces into patriarchates—appropriate designations were found, as soon as convenience required them, by which these various conventional priorities of rank might be expressed<sup>54</sup> in outward symbol.

Upon principles such as these of the early Church, so far as they may be applicable to our own times, we may gladly act, whenever need shall require; nay, we have already unconsciously so acted, when, for example, we have clad our Cantores, our singing men, and choristers, in a white dress, which marked them out as having a special part in the services of the Church. And wherever this has been done, there also, by a kind of necessity, have the clergy themselves acted upon a rule which is as old as, nay, older than the Council of Laodicea<sup>55</sup> (A.D. 327), early in the fourth century, that of wearing a distinctive vestment, such as then was called (as in the East it still is) an orarium, or scarf, and among

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<sup>54</sup> The Pallium served, as is well known, to the designation of Metropolitan rank in the West; though the corresponding vestment, the Omophorion, was worn by all bishops in the East. Even in the West it was sometimes bestowed on other than archbishops. Another symbol was the archbishop's cross or crozier (see Plate VIII. for an early example). In the case of a patriarch, his cross (see Plate XI.), had *two* transverse bars. The Roman See in later times claims *three* such, by way of pre-eminence.

<sup>55</sup> Hardvin. Concil., tom. i. p. 786. Canons xxiii. and xxiv. speak of the orarium as a well-known vestment, not *instituting* its use but regulating it, by saying that it is not to be worn by subdeacons (*ὑποπρεβὴ*), readers, or chanters.



ourselves is known either as scarf or stole, as the case may be.

In one word I would say, that there was in old times, and there may be, nay is, in these our days, a noble way of dealing with things ignoble in themselves. That way will not be such (so I for one am bold to say), as some would fain have us believe, that of seeking to do honour to Christ, or to His most holy ordinances, by multiplying and enriching the vestments of them that minister to Him; by contending with all the earnestness that a question of the faith might inspire, for a "maniple" to be worn by one, or a "dalmatic" by another; for purple stoles or for white, for red chasubles or for green. What we do need, and greatly need, is such a clear determination of our own Church's rule in these matters, as shall leave us of the clergy without excuse, if we leave the Word of God to quarrel over the proper colour of a chasuble, or the most orthodox shape of a surplice; or devote time, which God has given us for nobler ends, to fastening gilt crosses on to satin stoles. We do need such a rule as shall save us from the scandal of proclaiming ourselves partizans of one school or of another, by the very garb we wear in God's house, and in administering that sacrament which should be to us the very bond of peace. And greatly do we need (I may fitly add on this occasion) in those who aspire to lead their fellow-churchmen to a higher knowledge of the truth, that fuller, deeper, more exact knowledge of times past, which it is the special province of archæological study to promote; and in the pursuit of which (you will bear me out in what I say), we may find an ever fresh delight, and reap an ever more abundant reward.

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This Lecture as now printed, contains the substance, rather than the exact words, of what was actually delivered. Owing to the pressure of other work, the Lecture had not been committed to writing; and now, at an interval of six months or more, the writer, having no notes of any kind to assist his memory, can only approximately reproduce what was actually said at the time.

## APPENDIX A.

## SIMPLICITY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN VESTMENTS.

§ 1. Introductory.—§§ 2 to 4. St. Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, witnesses of prevailing feeling in the second century.—§ 5. Mediæval and modern arguments from Scripture, contrasted with that of St. Clement.—§ 6. Regulations of Sylvester, Bp. of Rome in the time of Constantine.—§ 7. Language of St. Jerome, speaking of white vestments of Holy Ministry.—§§ 8, 9. Language of St. Chrysostom, or of one contemporary with him.—§ 10. Language of St. Gregory's Sacramentary, and § 11. of Venerable Bede.—§ 12. Indications of change, from primitive usage, in the sixth century.—§ 13. Exemplified in some of the Mosaics at Ravenna.—§ 14. Strong condemnation of these new fashions expressed by St. Boniface.—§ 15. Meaning of his words considered.—§ 16. General result of the above.—§§ 17 to 22. Passages from the "Acta Sanctorum," and from the Apostolical Constitutions, which have been thought to prove conclusions contradictory to that here maintained.—23. General result of all the foregoing.

Opinions the most contradictory have of late years been maintained as to the character of the Vestments of the Church in primitive times, in respect of material, colour, and ornamentation.

It may be well therefore to collect here, and to set before the reader, the evidence available for judgment. I class this evidence under two heads. The first contains all such authorities as bear out the view expressed in this Lecture; the second, two or three passages which have lately been alleged as conclusive reasons for a diametrically opposite conclusion.

I. *Simplicity of Primitive Vestments.*

§ 2. St. Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, at the close of the second century, must have known as well as any two men that can be named, what were the customs of the Church, in East and West respectively, at the time they wrote. And what is said by one and the other, on the subject of brilliant colours in dress, is absolutely inconsistent with the hypothesis, that they could have known of any such colours being worn in any vesture of Holy Ministry in the Church. All Tertullian's language on the subject is very illogical, but it will serve as well as better reasoning, to prove what is now asserted. Speaking of these brilliant colours as worn in ordinary dress, he says (*De Habitu Muliebris*, cap. 8), "What can there be rightly to be honoured in garments that are adulterated by unrighteous colours? Nothing is pleasing to

God save that which He himself has created. And manifestly He could, if He had so willed, have created sheep with purple or with sky-blue (*hyacinthinas*) fleeces. If this be so, it follows, that having the power, yet He willed not that so it should be. How then can it be allowable for us to contrive that which God willed not to be?<sup>1</sup>”

In another passage of the same treatise, we may trace a similar feeling, mixed up with a special dislike of the *Roman Church*, such as was characteristic of his later writings. “That mighty Power (*valida civitas*) which sitteth exalted upon the Seven Hills, and over many waters, when designated as a Harlot by the Lord, with what dress, corresponding to this reproach, is she set forth? Truly it is in purple that she sits, with scarlet and gold and precious stones.”

§ 3. The language of Clement of Alexandria, to a similar effect, is even stronger than that of Tertullian. The second and third books of the “*Paidagogos*” abound with examples to the purpose. Dyed garments, coloured like unto flowers, are in his eyes fit only for women that are without modesty,<sup>2</sup> and for men<sup>3</sup> that are without manhood. Garments such as these “*are fit only for Bacchic rites, and for the mummeries of heathen priests*. Purple too, and silver tissues, are ‘*for tragedy players, not for real life*,’ as the comic poet writes. Whereas the life of us Christian folk should be anything rather than a vain pomp.”<sup>4</sup>

§ 4. In another passage he had spoken in strong condemnation of women who wore any such gaudy colours. And he anticipates an objection which might be made in reference to the language of Holy Scripture, in speaking of the Spiritual Bride (the Church, according to generally received interpretation). “What though the Word of God, by the mouth of David, speaketh in Psalm concerning the Lord saying, ‘*Kings’ daughters were among thy honourable women: on thy right hand did stand the Queen in a vesture of gold, and with garments fringed with gold was she compassed about*.’ In this he would have us to understand not raiment of luxurious softness, but that which is wrought of faith, the incorruptible adornment of them that have received mercy, the adornment of the

<sup>1</sup> *Quis est vestium honor justus de adulterio colorum injustorum? Non placet Deo quod non ipse produxit, nisi si* (See “*Vest. Christ.*” Note 399) *non potuit purpureas et hyacinthinas oves nasci jubere. Si potuit, ergo jam noluit. Quod Deus noluit, utique non licet fingi*. For the passage which follows, see “*Vest. Christ.*” p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Alex. Opera. [Potter, 2 voll. fol. Oxon. 1715.] Tom. i. p. 233. “*Vest. Christ.*” Appendix A. No. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 208. “*Vest. Christ.*” Appendix A. No. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 235. “*Vest. Christ.*” App. A. No. 39.

arch, wherein Jesus, the guileless One, shineth out as gold, and the fringes, made of gold, are the Elect.”<sup>5</sup>

§ 5. It affords a suggestive illustration of the changed thing in this respect, in writers of the ninth century, as compared with those of the second, that Amalarius (“Vest. Christ.” 99), thinks that this vesture of gold prophesied of in the alm, was a Dalmatic! And, I may add, that a correspondent

*The Guardian*, some time since, in maintaining a view directly opposed to that of the present writer, as to the character of vestments worn in the primitive ages of the Church, made use of this very verse, in the way which St. Clement anticipated as possible, only applying it, not of course to the dress of women, but to the ministering dress of the clergy.

§ 6. Passing on now to the beginning of the fourth century, we find a remarkable regulation recorded of Pope Sylvester,<sup>6</sup> the contemporary of Constantine. Walafrid Strabo,<sup>7</sup> and Anastasius the Librarian, both tell us, that this bishop made a regulation, *that the sacrifice of the altar should be celebrated, not in silk, nor in dyed cloth, but in linen only, which is produced from out of the earth,<sup>8</sup> just as the Body of the Lord Jesus Christ was buried in clean linen.*” Walafrid, after quoting these words, goes on to say: “For the sacerdotal vestments” (he writes early in the ninth century), “have grown, by successive accretions, to that degree of ornament, which is now observed. For in the first ages of the Church Mass was performed in the garments of ordinary life, as is reported to be done, even to this day, in some parts of the East.”<sup>9</sup>

§ 7. About the close of the same century, St. Jerome is defending the general practice of Christian people against Pelagius, who thought all splendour of dress or ornament (whether for clergy or laity) offensive to God. And the only

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 246. “Vest. Christ.” App. A. No. 40.

<sup>6</sup> Bishop of Rome from 314 to 335 A.D.

<sup>7</sup> De Rebus Eccles. cap. 24. [“Vest. Christ.” p. 107.]

<sup>8</sup> *From out of the earth.* He implies a contrast with the animal origin (tainted, as it was thought, with sin and death), of woollen garments. Compare the words of St. Jerome (Epist. ad Fabiolam) “Quum parati ad indumentum Christi tunicas pelliceas deposuerimus, tunc induemur veste lineæ nihil in sese mortis habente, sed tota candida.” He, again, had been anticipated by Philo (Liber de Somniis, p. 597. Opera Fol. Paris, 1640). Linen, he says, cometh not of anything subject unto death, ἐξ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀποθνήσκόντων γίγνεται.

<sup>9</sup> A recent writer in the *Church Times*, interprets the “celebrating the sacrifice of the Altar . . . in linen only,” of a “corporal” with which the Holy Elements were covered. He even thought it “incredible,” that any other interpretation should have been given. I mention this that the reader may know that there is a way of escape from the plain meaning of this passage, if he wishes for one.

'splendour' that St. Jerome has to defend, in respect of ecclesiastical vestments, is indicated by what he says in the course of his reply. "I would fain know," he says, "what offence there would be against God in my wearing a somewhat handsome<sup>10</sup> tunic; or if, *in the administration of the holy things (sacrificiorum) bishop, priest, and deacon, and the other officers of the Church, come forward dressed in white garments.*"

§ 8. About the same time St. Chrysostom, or whoever was the author of the Homily, *De Uno Legislatore*,<sup>11</sup> attributed to him ("Vest. Christ." note 80), writes as follows concerning the Levitical Vestments. After enumerating the Vestments of the High Priest, he goes on to say: "In all this, that which is outwardly fashioned is one, other that which thereby is to be understood. For God, without doubt, hath no delight in blue and purple and scarlet and Byssus."<sup>12</sup> That for which God looketh, is purity of heart. And in the embodiment of these colours He setteth forth to us, as in a picture, the semblance of the diverse virtues. *For if God had really pleasure in those vestments of glory, why did He not clothe Moses therewith, before He so clothed Aaron?* But Moses was himself without that vesture, and yet clothed he therewith the priests. Moses was not washed with water, and yet did he wash them. He was not anointed with oil, yet did he anoint them. He wore not a priestly vesture, yet did he put that vesture on the priests; *that thou thereby mightest learn, that to him that is perfect virtue sufficeth for all adornment.*"

§ 9. The reader will, I think, agree with me in thinking, that language such as this is utterly inconsistent with any belief, on the part of the author of that homily, that gorgeous vestments, rich in colour and ornamentation, after the fashion of the dress of Jewish high priesthood, were the proper vesture of Christian ministry, and had been so ordained from the time of the apostles onward.

§ 10. Returning now to the West, we have a remarkable testimony to the general feeling of the early Church upon this subject, in the office used in the sixth century (and probably for long time before), at the consecration of bishops. In the earliest MS. of the *Liber Sacramentorum* of St. Gregory the Great, that edited by Hugo Menardus,<sup>13</sup> there is an allusion

<sup>10</sup> *Mundiores*: See "Vest. Christ." Note 57 (p. 34).

<sup>11</sup> *Adversus Pelagianos*. Lib. i. Vol. iv. p. 502. Ed. Benedict. ["Vest. Christ." p. 34.]

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in full "Vest. Christ." p. 51. For the word *Byssus*, meaning sometimes "fine linen," sometimes "white" as a colour, see "Vest. Christ." Note 5 (p. 2) and 122 (p. 72).

<sup>13</sup> D. Gregorii Papæ Sacramentorum Liber. 4to. Paris, 1642. ["Vest. Christ." Introduction, Note 1, p. li.

(p. 239) to the Levitical Vestments in terms even more marked than those last quoted. "The vesture of that older priesthood is with us an adornment of the heart, and the glory of them that are chief in priesthood is to us no longer commended by the beauty of vestments, but by a splendour that is of the soul."<sup>14</sup> . . . And therefore, Lord, do we pray for such grace to be bestowed upon this Thy servant, whom Thou hast called to office of highest priesthood unto Thee, that what those former vestments signified by the brightness of gold, and the brilliancy of jewels, and the many colours (*varietas*) of manifold embroidery, may shine forth now in the character, and the good works of Thy servant."

Such was in early ages of the Church the thought of contrast suggested between the ornate vestments of Levitical Priesthood, and the simple, yet dignified, dress customarily worn by those who ministered in the Church of Christ.

§ 11. Nearly to the same effect is the language of our own Bede,<sup>15</sup> about the close of the seventh century,<sup>16</sup> or early in the eighth. He says that, "the Ordination, and the Vesture, of them that ministered in the Tabernacle, is in this wise rightly applicable to the Priesthood of the Church, that the outward splendour, which in their case shone brightly in ornamented vestments, shall now, spiritually understood, be inwardly conspicuous, deep-seated in the hearts of them who serve in holy ministry to God."<sup>17</sup> And, that in the acts (good works) of these our Christian priests, there should be an outward glory also, a glory beyond what is to be seen in the good works of the faithful generally."

§ 12. While such was the traditional language of the Church, and of her worthiest representatives, such as St. Gregory and our own Bede, even as late as the sixth and seventh centuries, a change in actual practice was gradually making its way, both in the secular and the ministering dress of ecclesiastics in some parts of the Church.

<sup>14</sup> Compare the language of Fortunatus (sixth century) in his description of St. Germanus, Bishop of Paris. ["Vest. Christ." Introd. p. li.] *Sensim incedit, velut alter Aaron, non de veste nitens, sed pietate placens. Non lapides, coccus, clarum aurum, purpura, byssus, Exornant humeros, sed micat alma fides.* And to the same effect the *Parænesis ad Episcopos* of Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans (apud Sirmondi Opera, Tom. ii. p. 1106), quoted and commented on in "Vest. Christ." Appendix B. p. 191.

<sup>15</sup> De Tabernaculo, Lib. iii., cap. 11. ["Vest. Christ." p. 78. See Note 105.]

<sup>16</sup> Bede was born A.D. 673, and died A.D. 735.

<sup>17</sup> *Ut omne, quod illic in ornatu vestium clarum extrinsecens fulgebat, hoc intellectum spiritualiter in ipsis sacerdotum* ["Vest. Christ." Note 61.] *mentibus altum intus emineat.*

§ 13. The earliest indication of this, in monuments of art, is afforded by a comparison of the dress attributed to Archbishop Maximian in the mosaic figured in Plate viii. above, with that of one of his successors, Ecclesius, whose effigy<sup>18</sup> appears on the walls of the same Church (that of St. Vitalis at Ravenna). There is a remarkable difference<sup>19</sup> between the two. It is to be regretted that there are no means of determining precisely the date at which this last mosaic (that of Ecclesius) was executed. It is, however, by no means improbable that in imperial cities, such as Rome and Constantinople, and cities that were all but imperial, such as Ravenna, a somewhat richer style of dress for the highest ecclesiastics, may have come into use at an even earlier period than that of Maximian. The seeming inconsistency between this hypothesis, and the occurrence of language such as that quoted above from St. Gregory's Sacramentary, and other sources, is easily explained, on the supposition, that these latter represent the general traditions of the yet earlier Church, before the introduction of the more splendid dresses which gradually found their way into use.

§ 14. The most remarkable instance of what most men would deem an even exaggerated expression of the older feeling on the subject, worded in the spirit of St. Clement of Alexandria, and of Tertullian, already quoted, is contained in a letter of St. Boniface (Winifred of Crediton) to Cuthbert, then Archbishop of Canterbury. St. Boniface was a contemporary of Bede, having been consecrated *Episcopus Germanorum* by Pope Gregory II., in the year 725. "Spare no pains" (so he writes to the Archbishop) "in checking that superstition of vestments, hateful as it is to God. These ornamented vestments (ornamented as these men deem, but mere deformity as others hold), with their broad bands, and likenesses of worms,<sup>20</sup> have been sent across by Antichrist,

<sup>18</sup> The two are figured, side by side, by Dr. Rock: "Church of Our Fathers," vol. i. p. 319.

<sup>19</sup> It is not impossible however (I myself incline to the opinion), that Maximian is represented in a *processional* dress only; Ecclesius in that of Holy Ministry. This would account for many of the peculiarities observable in these mosaics.

<sup>20</sup> *Latissimis clavis et vermium imaginibus clavata*. The expression "*vermium imaginibus*" is a very obscure one. I can only conjecture that it may refer to a peculiar ornament of some Dalmatics, "little branches," Dr. Rock calls them, diverging from the perpendicular stripe (*clavus*), which hung from the shoulder to the lower edge of the garment. Possibly, however, the word *vermium* may have reference to the colour, "*vermilion*," as we still call it, prepared from the "kermes" dye. Compare Alcuini Lib. de Div. Off., *cinguli genus ex bysso retorta, hyacintho, purpura ac vermiculo*.

and are precursors of his advent. . . . . These trappings for the body, indicative of a bare and unclothed soul, are proofs of arrogance, and pride, and luxury, and vanity. And it is of these that the word of wisdom is spoken: "Arrogance, and pride, and a crooked way, and a double tongue, are an abomination unto Me."<sup>21</sup>

§ 15. The way in which the writer mentions the introduction of these "superstitious" vestments "within the cloisters of monasteries," of their tending to impurity of life among the young, to neglect of reading and of prayer, makes it difficult to suppose that his language can refer only to some newly imported fashion of *ministering* dress. And yet his reference to "*superstitio*," as involved in them, seems clearly to imply some such reference. Coupling this with other evidence we may probably conclude, that in his time there had been a great development of external splendour in ecclesiastical dress, both secular and ministerial, and that this had been defended on some assumed ground<sup>22</sup> of religion, which St. Boniface regarded as superstitious.

§ 16. Taking all these passages together, we can hardly fail to see, that their general result is strongly to confirm the opinion of those, who hold that the dress of Christian ministry, for the first five hundred years, or thereabout, was characterized by a remarkable simplicity, and contrasted, in this respect, with the gorgeous colours and costly jewels of the "robes of glory," occasionally worn by the Jewish high priest. Let us see now what can be alleged on the other side.

*Passages which have been thought to indicate splendour of colouring and of ornament in the primitive dress of Christian ministry.*

§ 17. The passages here to be quoted are very few, and need not detain us long.

The first in date (or at least of supposed date), is a passage from the "*Testamentum S. Perpetui Episcopi*," the will of S. Perpetuus, Bishop of Tours,† A.D. 461, given in his life in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Aprilis, tom. i. p. 750). It is referred to, and correctly quoted by Dr. Rock ("Church of our Fathers," vol. i. p. 316); and has recently been referred

<sup>21</sup> This letter of St. Boniface will be found in "Spelman's Concilia" (fol. London, 1639), p. 241. The original of the passage above quoted is given in "Vest. Christ.," p. 107, note 209.

<sup>22</sup> Such as that of Amalarius, thinking (as already quoted) that the Dalmatic is the identical vestment prophesied of in Psalm xlv., "*Adstitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate*." (De Eccl. Off., lib. ii. cap. 21, quoted in "Vest. Christ.," p. 99.)



to, and incorrectly quoted, in a Church newspaper. The words are—"Amalario . . . . *presbytero capsulam unam communem de serico.*" Dr. Rock (as does the writer just referred to) thinks that this *capsula communis de serico* is an ordinary chasuble for every-day use. And this being of *silk*, the later writer argues as follows:—If the *ordinary* chasuble was of silk, in the fifth century—silk, which was rare and costly, and only imported from the East—what a convincing proof is here of the splendour that must have been characteristic of Christian vestments generally!

§ 18. The argument abounds with mistakes from beginning to end. It is a mistake, to begin with, to assume, that every document that you meet with in these legendary "Lives of the Saints" may be trusted as authentic documents dating from the time to which, in the course of the story, they may be referred. It is a mistake, too, to assume, that *capsula*<sup>23</sup> is certainly the same word as *casula*. That this last word is a diminutive of *casa*, not of *capsa*, all authors are agreed, from Isidore of Seville to the present time. These writers *may* all be wrong, but I own I do not think they are. And as we know that *capsa* meant the *hood* of a *casula*, so we may not improbably conclude, were it only on etymological grounds, that *capsula* is a small hood or a cap, not a chasuble. But further there is no proof whatever that in the fifth century the word *casula* was ever used of any vestment for holy ministry. There is, on the other hand, abundant proof<sup>24</sup> that it was used of a garment for *out-door use*, worn by laymen and by monks as well as by the clergy; by peasants and artisans, as well as by bishops and archbishops. "*Casulae*" of rich materials were used by the latter as processional dresses. So that even if this *capsula de serico* meant a silk "*casula*," there would be here no proof whatever that it was a chasuble to be worn in church.

Under these circumstances, it is not of great importance to our present inquiry to determine whether the will of St. Perpetuus is a genuine document or not.

§ 19. The next passage alleged is very much more to the purpose, if genuine, and would prove that the development of splendour in Church dress at the close of the sixth century was even greater than I have supposed (above, p. 331). In

<sup>23</sup> The two words, *capsa* and *casula*, are expressly distinguished the one from the other, and the former identified with the *cucullus* ("cowl," or "hood,") in a passage of the "Life of St. Nicetius," by St. Gregory of Tours. See Dr. Rock's "Church of our Fathers," vol. i., p. 316, note 1.

<sup>24</sup> See the evidence for this given in full in "Vest. Christ.," Appendix C, No. 26, *sqq.*

the life<sup>25</sup> of St. Livinus, an Irish saint and bishop (consecrated bishop by St. Augustin of Canterbury), and written, according to Dr. Rock, about 656, A.D., it is said, that on the day of his ordination St. Augustin bestowed on him *casulam purpuream auro gemmisque composite ornatam, et stolam cum orario gemmis pretiosis auroque fulgido pertextam*. Whether such a present was actually made or no, it is clear that whoever wrote this life (or this portion of it) thought that purple and gold and precious stones were appropriate ornaments for the dress of a Christian bishop. In this he differs from all the authorities whom we have quoted as expressing a contrary opinion.

§ 20. Be the true date however what it may, the utmost that the passage can prove is, that (in some parts at least of the Church) "splendid" dress, such as that described, had come into use as early as the beginning of the seventh century. I am in no wise concerned to dispute this; but I own I think the authority of these "Lives of the Saints" always very doubtful, when questions of date are involved, and I should be sorry therefore to build a very wide conclusion upon so very weak a base. And now but one (supposed) early authority remains, which has been appealed to as conclusive upon more than one point of interest to inquiries such as these.

§ 21. In the Greek manuscripts of the Apostolical Constitutions, and in the Eighth Book<sup>26</sup> containing the "Liturgy," there attributed to St. James, there occurs (cap. 12) the following direction as to the vesture of the Bishop. "*The Bishop (λαμπρὸν ἐσθῆτα μετενδύς) when he has put on a splendid vestment (so the words are rendered,) shall stand at the altar, and say as follows.*" This passage is supposed to prove two points, first, the use of "splendid" vestments in the third century, or thereabouts, to which these Constitutions, in their original form, may probably be referred; and secondly, that at that early date a change of dress was prescribed for the celebration of Holy Communion. In point of fact, it proves neither one nor the other.

§ 21. It does not prove the use of "splendid" vestments, let the date of this passage be what it may. For, as in Holy Scripture,<sup>27</sup> and in the language of Philo Judæus,<sup>28</sup> so in Greek

<sup>25</sup> See *Acta Sanctorum Ord. Ben.*, tom. ii. p. 436.

<sup>26</sup> See the *Patres Apostolici* of Joannes Clericus, p. 398, or that of Cotelierius.

<sup>27</sup> Compare Rev. xv. 6, and xix. 8, in both of which linen is described as λαμπρόν. And so the (white) dress of an angel is described as λαμπρά, by St. Luke, Acts x. 30.

<sup>28</sup> Liber de Somniis [Opera, fol. Paris, 1640] p. 597. "Whenever the

ecclesiastical<sup>29</sup> writers of every age, λαμπρός, which means literally "shining," is the word habitually used in speaking of a "shining" or brilliant *white*, like that of linen. It exactly answers to the Latin *candidus*, meaning a lustrous white, as distinct from *albus*, which when distinctively used, means a dull and dingy white. As one example out of many, Iobius the monk (quoted by Photius of Constantinople), speaks of the newly baptized as λαμπροφοροῦντες, wearing *white* garments. To speak of these as wearing "splendid" garments, in the modern acceptance of the term, would be simply absurd.

§ 22. But more is yet to be added. The passage itself is, almost without doubt, of very much later date than the context in which it occurs. I had long suspected this to be so, from the substitution of ἀρχιερεὺς and ἱερεῖς for the terms ἐπισκοπος and πρεσβύτεροι, which had been used as official designations only a few lines before. And I now find the strongest confirmation of this in the following facts. There are three forms in which these "Apostolical Constitutions" have been preserved—an Æthiopic, a Syriac, and a Greek Version; and of this latter the earliest manuscript dates from the eleventh century. These Æthiopic and Syriac Versions *do not contain* the rubrical direction (so to call it) of the late Greek manuscripts, in which alone these words are found. And this being so, there can be no doubt of this being but one instance out of the many which prove, that the Liturgies, *as they now come into our hands*, embody, not only the Liturgy itself, as originally committed to writing (perhaps in the fourth century), but the successive accretions<sup>30</sup> made to each from age to age, as time went on.

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High Priest enters into the Most Holy Place, he putteth off his variegated vesture, and putteth on him another, made of linen, of the finest and purest kind; and this serves *as a symbol of the intensity of most brilliant light* (ἡ δ' ἐστὶ σύμβολον εὐτολίας αἰγιοειδερὰτου φέγγους). . . If carefully cleansed it hath a most bright (λαμπρότατον) and luminous colour." Any one who has observed the appearance of linen vestments (as worn for example in processions) in the clear and sunny air of southern lands, will know that such language is not exaggerated.

<sup>29</sup> The usage is also found, though less frequently, in other Greek writers. Cf. Hom. Odys. 19, 234.... Diod. Sic. 1, 91. Polybii Hist. x. 4, 5 (where he speaks of the *toga candida* as being λαμπρά). Plutarch, too, in his *Questiones Romanæ* ["Vest. Christ." p. 176. No. 3.] used λευκὸς and λαμπρός as equivalent terms.

<sup>30</sup> As to the fact of such additions being made, we have a remarkable testimony from Walafrid Strabo, one of the most learned of that group of writers, on ecclesiastical subjects, who mark the brief revival of learning in the ninth century. He says (De Reb. Eccles. cap. 22) that in the first ages of the Church, Mass was celebrated after a much simpler manner than in his time it was. "Many (he goes on to say) both of the Greeks and of the Latins, have arranged the Order of Mass, as to them seemed good.

*Conclusion.*

§ 23. The reader has now before him all the literary evidence of importance available for the decision of the question now under discussion. The evidence of early monuments of art has already been brought under notice. And the two concur, as will now be seen, in one conclusion, that expressed in the present Lecture—that the Vestments of Christian Ministry, during the first five or six hundred years of the Christian era, were characterized by a remarkable simplicity, by an absence of gorgeous colour, and of costly ornament.

## APPENDIX B.

## HISTORY OF THE SURPLICE.

To English Churchmen a peculiar interest attaches to the history of the surplice, as having been, for the last three hundred years, the specially characteristic vestment of English Church usage. Though the *name* surplice<sup>1</sup> is comparatively modern, the vestment itself is at once more ancient, and more truly "Catholic" (to use in its true sense a very ill-used word), than any other that could be named.

For the surplice, as a vestment (the word shall be spoken of somewhat later), is nothing else than the alb, or white garment of Christian ministry *in its oldest form*; but the alb, *now* so called, though old in *name* is, in its form, of very much later date. As for the *albæ paratæ*, or richly decorated albs, of which we have heard lately, these were wholly unknown as

And the Romans, receiving their usages and observances from Peter, chief of the apostles, *have added, each in his own time, what was deemed to be suitable thereto (suis quique temporibus quæ congrua judicata sunt addiderunt).*" He enters into much detail as to many of these additions, the date and the authors of which were known, and states further that these additions were made partly by men of very great learning, partly by men of very moderate learning, partly by men whose learning was very small indeed. *Multis et ex summa scientia, et ex mediocri, et ex minima addentibus.* The whole chapter, indeed, the whole treatise, well deserves attentive study.

<sup>1</sup> There is no distinct evidence of the use of the word before the eleventh century. A "superpelliceum" is sent as a present to Cardinal Albinus, by Stephanus Tornacensis, in the twelfth century, and in the century before, the phrase *linea superpellicealis* is used in speaking of a vestment belonging to John, Archbishop of Rouen, 1076. (See "Vest. Christ.," note 469, p. 227.)

vestments of Christian ministry for about a thousand years<sup>2</sup> from the time of the Apostles. The statement now made as to the full and ample surplice being more ancient in form than the narrow and closely-fitting alb, is one which is confirmed by ancient monuments, whether of literature or of art.

For literary evidence I may appeal to two passages of ancient authors, one written by St. Jerome at the close of the fourth century, the other by Amalarius early in the ninth. St. Jerome, in his Epistle to Fabiola,<sup>3</sup> describes at great length the vestments of Levitical priesthood. And amongst other things he wishes to convey to his reader as exact an idea as may be of the linen tunic worn by Levitical priests. Of this he says (following Josephus), that "it is closely fitted to the body, and is so scanty, and with sleeves so narrow, as to show no folds in any part of it. It reaches (*ad crura*) about half way below the knee."

Such is his description of the Levitical tunic (one which might be adopted, almost in so many words, as a description of a *modern* alb). Let the reader now observe how this bears upon the question now under discussion.

We know for certain that, at the time St. Jerome wrote that letter to Fabiola, white<sup>4</sup> garments were in use for the highest offices of Christian ministry. It follows that if, among the albs or white vestments then customarily worn, there had been any which corresponded in form to that of the Levitical vestment he describes, he could at once have referred Fabiola to this as a standard of comparison. But what is the fact? He does, indeed, look about him to find among garments in use in his own day, one which will suggest to Fabiola the kind of tunic he is describing; and the dress which he pitches upon for the purpose of illustration is the *camisia*, or closely-fitting shirt worn by soldiers. It is scarcely conceivable that he should have selected this as the type to which to refer Fabiola, if there had then been in use in the churches of his time, a scanty, closely-fitting, "alb," such as that which, in comparatively recent times, has monopolized this ancient name.

But I have yet more direct testimony than this to appeal

<sup>2</sup> Weiss, in his *Kostumkunde*, p. 667, dates these as "after the tenth century." Compare Bock, *Liturgische Gewänder*, ii. p. 33, *sqq.*, and Hefele, *Beiträge*, u.s.w., p. 171, *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in full, "Vest. Christ.," p. 10, *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> See his *Treatise Adv. Pelagianos*, Lib. i. (quoted in full in "Vest. Christ." p. 34). *Quæ sunt rogo inimicitiae contra Deum si tunicam habuero mundiore; si Episcopus, Presbyter, et Diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus, in administratione sacrificiorum candida veste processerint?*

to. Some four hundred years after the date of the passage last quoted, Amalarius, in speaking of the "alba," or white tunic of Christian ministry, quotes St. Jerome's description of the Levitical vestment, and then adds:—*In eo distat illud vestimentum a nostro, quod illud strictum est, nostrum vero largum.*—[De Eccl. Off. Lib. ii. cap. 18.] The point of difference between the Levitical and the Christian tunic, according to Amalarius, is this, that the former was scanty and closely-fitted, the latter large and loose.

And now let us turn to early monuments of Christian art. What will they tell us? Their testimony, with one seeming exception, which, when closely examined, strongly confirms the rest, is entirely in accordance with that of the passages just quoted. The tunics, worn by Archbishop Maximian and his deacons in the Ravenna Mosaic, are surplices in shape, whatever they may have been in name.<sup>5</sup> Those attributed to bishops of the third century, St. Cyprian of Carthage, St. Xustus, and St. Cornelius of Rome, in frescoes<sup>6</sup> of the seventh of eighth century, lately discovered by De Rossi, are identical in form, and in every other particular, with those of the Ravenna Mosaic (see Plate VIII.).

But, as was intimated just now, there is an exception to this prevailing rule. Among a number of manuscript illuminations, dating from the ninth century, exact copies of which are now before me, there is one (reproduced in Plate X. above), in which a priest, officiating at holy baptism, is represented as wearing a very scanty alb, with closely-fitting sleeves, and girded at the waist, which would almost exactly correspond either with the Levitical tunic, as described by Josephus and St. Jerome, or with the late mediæval and modern alb, which is still in use in many parts of the Church.

This seeming exception is easily explained. In the administration of baptism *by immersion*, a vestment like the surplice would be the most inconvenient possible; and the picture we are now considering (Plate X.), shows us not what was the *ordinary* form of the alb (for this was *largum*, as Amalarius has told us), but the special kind of alb adapted for the office of baptism. And, accordingly, this picture serves as

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<sup>5</sup> They were probably called *Dalmatics* (*tunica dalmaticæ*), as the higher ecclesiastics at Ravenna claimed the privilege (so it was considered) of wearing this more particularly Roman vestment. The *tunica dalmatica* differed from the ordinary *tunica alba* in having two *clavi* in front, corresponding in appearance to our narrow black stole; and two or three still narrower borders (also black in *early ecclesiastical monuments*), round the edge of each sleeve. This ancient dalmatic has scarcely anything, save its name, in common with the modern dalmatic.

<sup>6</sup> Photographed in "Vest. Christ." Pl. *xxx.* and *xxxi.*

the best possible comment upon words with which we meet elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> "*præcinctio vestimenti candidi quod sacerdos baptizaturus præcingitur*;" the girding in of that white vestment which the priest girds about him for the office of baptism.

The picture above described is but one out of a large series, dating from the ninth century, exact fac-similes of which (copied and coloured from the originals in the St. Minerva Library at Rome) are before me as I write. And a comparison of all these shows, that, at that time, *all* the ecclesiastical albs in use were *talares*, reaching to the feet, like ordinary English surplices. But there was already a difference observable between two kinds of albs. One to be worn in office of baptism, or again *to be worn under a supervestment* (casula or planeta), had narrow, close-fitting sleeves, without ornament of any kind; the other with a full surplice-like sleeve, and commonly with a slight ornament at the edge,<sup>8</sup> to be worn (like our own surplice in modern times), without any supervestment over it.

It is not improbable that the vestment here described (closely resembling that of the two deacons in the Ravenna Mosaic, Plate VIII.), and which looks to us like a surplice with a slight addition of ornament, is what was worn in metropolitan churches in those days in place of the simple alb, and was known then as a dalmatic.

In the course of the three centuries, which followed that now under consideration (the ninth), the vestments of ministry in the West, were doubled in number. One natural consequence of this was, that the alba, or "linea," worn *underneath the rest*, became more and more contracted in form. Accordingly, this narrow, close-fitting alb, which once was an exceptional form, is now the only "alb" recognized as such, and what we now call a surplice, is really the ampler white vestment of primitive usage, corresponding in form to that older *vestimentum largum*, contrasted by Amalarius with the close-fitting tunic of Levitical priesthood.

But the name "superpelliceum" is comparatively modern. is, no doubt, rightly explained by Durandus (Rat. Div. Off. Lib. iii. cap. i.). It is a vestment, as he says, which men wear over their ordinary dress when engaged in any service of the

<sup>7</sup> In the *Expositio brevis antiquæ Liturgiæ Gallicanæ*, published by Martene (Thesaur. Anecd. tom. v.), and reproduced in my "Vestiarium Christianum," App. D.

<sup>8</sup> Very simple, as worn by priests and deacons; but with a rich stripe of gold, occasionally, on that of a bishop. The most solemn dress represented in this series (that worn at the ordination of priests, in the Pontifical of Landulfus), is wholly white (both chasubles and albs), but with stoles and sleeve-borders coloured like gold.

altar, or other holy office. And this particular name, which implies further that the dress, covered by the surplice, was made of, or lined with, *fur* (*super tunicas pellicias*), indicates the origin of the name, as coming from countries such as Gaul and Britain (probably the first), in which, during winter, garments lined with fur would naturally be worn in ordinary costume. The two earliest instances (above Note 1), in which the word occurs, have reference to *churches of Gaul*, Tournay, and Rouen. A new name such as this would naturally come into use, for distinction's sake, as soon as two distinct forms of the "alba" became generally recognized, side by side the one with the other.

In this way we may account for the fact which certain adversely disposed critics have spoken of as too improbable to be seriously discussed — viz., that the dress attributed to an apostle by early Christian art, in Roman catacombs, should correspond exactly in appearance with the ordinary ministering dress of an English clergyman at the present day. I can only say that Plate V. in the present series is reproduced, by photography, from the engraving of Aringhus, which is really that of Bosio, the discoverer of the catacombs he describes. And any of my readers may judge for themselves whether there is anything "absurd" in saying, that the central figure of the right-hand group (spectator's right) in that plate, wears a dress precisely resembling that of an English clergyman of the present day, when vested in surplice and stole.<sup>9</sup>



<sup>9</sup> *Description of woodcut.*—The figure above is that of a Greek Bishop in a mosaic, dating from the time of Justinian (6th century), in the church (now Mosque) of St. Sophia, at Constantinople. Both the Sticharion (*i.e.*, a long alb) and the Phænolion worn over it are white. But on the former are two stripes of red or purple (in some of the figures both one and the other) extending to the lower edge of the garment, and running also round the sleeve. Over the Phænolion is worn the Omophorion (white with red or purple crosses). The Book of the Gospels, as the symbolic designation of a Bishop (*supra*, p. 336), is held in the left hand. For further particulars as to these mosaics, see "*Vest. Christ.*," p. lxxv. (notes).