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**Popes and coins: The ceremonial distribution of money by the  
papacy during the Middle Ages**

**Ingoglia, Robert Thomas, Ph.D.**

**City University of New York, 1995**

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POPES AND COINS: THE CEREMONIAL DISTRIBUTION OF MONEY  
BY THE PAPACY DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

by

ROBERT THOMAS INGOGLIA

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in  
History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to examine an ignored aspect of medieval papal ceremonial: the pope's distribution of coins.<sup>1</sup> The pertinent medieval textual record clearly indicates the importance attached to these ceremonial disbursements.<sup>2</sup> The official instructions (*ordines*) written for the proper execution of certain cere-

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<sup>1</sup>The most recent analysis of the papacy's ceremonial disbursements can be found in Pietro Moretti's *Ritus dandi presbyterium papae, cardinalibus, et clericis nonnullarum ecclesiarum urbis, nunc primum...investigatus et explanatus* (Rome, 1742); as well as his later supplement to the above book entitled *Parergon ad lucubrationem suam De Ritu Dandi Presbyterium* (Rome, 1742). A close reading of these books verifies the opinion of Marc Dykmans, *L'Oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou Le cérémonial papal de la première renaissance* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1982), 2:522 n. 3, that Moretti's work is "confus mais utile."

<sup>2</sup>Sources dating from roughly 600-1500 were used in tracing the history of: 1) the coin distributions, and 2) the terminology and practice connected with the bestowal of *presbyterium* and the performance of the *jactus*. This is, here, the meaning of the adjective "medieval."

monies (such as papal enthronements), or for the celebration of important feast days (such as Easter and Christmas), generally mention two types of distributions: those made to individuals (which came to be called *presbyterium*), and those thrown to the crowd (sometimes referred to as the *jactus*).<sup>3</sup> Both types of distributions conveyed a meaning to the medieval observer by way of: 1) the gestures or actions associated with each rite (i.e., the ceremonial form of the distribution), and 2) the idea or reason behind the distribution. This thesis attempts to uncover the meaning of the distributions through understanding both their form and intent.

This study relies, primarily, on an examination of the liturgical prescriptions detailing the bestowal of

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<sup>3</sup>The recipients of the *presbyterium* are best seen as "individuals" not "clerics;" those receiving the *jactus* are best viewed as "a crowd" rather than as "laymen." Although later medieval popes bestowed the *presbyterium* exclusively on (high) clerics, the analysis -- presented below -- of the practice and the term indicates that earlier recipients could include Jewish individuals. With respect to the *jactus*, it is possible that those either thronging to view the pope's procession or milling outside of the palace (both opportunities for the performance of the *jactus*) included members of the lower clergy.

the *presbyterium* and the *jactus*.<sup>4</sup> This type of source provided information on when, how, and to whom these distributions were made. This was not, however, the only type of source used. All prior discussions of the *presbyterium* fail to precisely define the term. To rectify this, an examination of the term's early meanings was in order. In this endeavor, the references uncovered in the official biographies of the pope (the *Liber pontificalis*) proved crucial. Of less importance -- for the purposes of this study -- were certain financial and administrative sources. The information found therein aided in establishing (or corroborating) the chronology of the distributions. Such sources are, however, invaluable to any examination of coin types and amounts.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>The liturgical prescriptions for papal coronations -- with respect to both the *presbyterium* and the *jactus* -- are more numerous than those for any other occasion. These non-coronation bestowals have not been ignored, and the reader is warned against any exclusive linkage of bestowals with papal coronations.

<sup>5</sup>See the references to the *presbyterium* in:

1) A record of the income and expenses for Boniface VIII's *camera* and palace, drawn up for the year 1299, lists the expenses incurred for the distributions at Easter and Christmas. Augustin Theiner, ed., *Codex diplomaticus domini temporalis sanctae sedis: recueil de*

As indicated, the medieval sources generally in-

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*documents pour servir à l'histoire du gouvernement temporel des états du saint-siège*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1861), 365 (col. 2) and 366 (col. 2).

2) An anonymous early fourteenth-century list of curial officials (compiled between 1305-1307) enumerates the responsibilities and compensation attached to various posts in the Roman *curia*. Here, the *presbyterium* is mentioned in connection with the remunerations performed on the day of a pope's coronation, and the celebration of Christmas and Easter. Text in J. Haller, "Zwei Aufzeichnungen über die Beamten der Curie," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 1 (1898): 10, 28-29.

3) Entries belonging to Clement V's *Liber expensarum camere* -- a record of returns for the period November 1308 to November 1309, and of weekly expenses for 22 November 1308 to 17 October 1309. Bernard Guillemain, ed., *Les recettes et les dépenses de la chambre apostolique pour la quatrième du pontificat de Clement V (1308-1309)*, Collection 39 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1978), 39 (Christmas 1308), 73 (Holy Thursday 1309), and 75 (Easter 1309).

4) The papal *camera's* record of expenditures for the coronation of Gregory XI (1370-1378). A notice dated 10 February 1371 records the reimbursement of the *camera's* moneychanger (*campsor*) for both monetary advances and services performed during the coronation. Karl Heinrich Schäfer, ed., *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer unter den Päpsten Urban V. und Gregor XI. (1362-1378) nebst Nachträgen und einem Glossar für alle 3 Ausgabenbände*, Görres-Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaft im katholischen Deutschland: Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung 1316-1378, vol. 6 (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1937), 360.

I have found no similar records for the *jactus*.

dicare when, how, what, and to whom coins were distributed.<sup>6</sup> Drawing together and analyzing these sources will be a contribution to liturgical scholarship. Although gaps within the record will sometimes prevent the obtaining of a complete picture, the highlighting of these *lacunae* will also contribute to a fuller understanding of both the distributions and their study.

The sources do not explain -- because it was either obvious or forgotten -- certain strange (to modern eyes) rites which were integral parts of the act of distribution (and, as such, need to be studied). The ceremony involved in the pope's distribution of *presbyterium* on the day of his coronation/accession illustrates this point.<sup>7</sup> A cleric, doffing and holding his upturned miter,

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<sup>6</sup>The "what" aspect of this problem -- the coins involved in the distributions -- will not be studied here. This important question requires a separate numismatic study to determine coin types, their status (in circulation or not), and provenance, *inter alia*. As a point of interest, the textual records do not indicate that specially minted coins were used in either the distribution of *presbyterium* or in the *jactus*. This, of course, needs to be evaluated in light of the numismatic evidence.

<sup>7</sup>In every instance, the act of bestowing *presbyterium* and performing the *jactus* occurred after the pontiff had left the site of his coronation. Although the proper forms for both types of bestowals are found in prescrip-

approached and knelt before the sitting pope. The pontiff, receiving from the hands of his chamberlain a silver vessel (*scyphus*) previously filled with coins, removed the coins and dropped them into the miter. The recipient then kissed the pope's knee.<sup>8</sup> Each of these three aspects of the ceremony of distributing *presbyterium* (the *scyphus*, the miter, and the kissing of the knee) requires explanation. Why did the papal chamberlain hand the pope the coins in a silver *scyphus*? And why did the cleric receive the coins in the miter? Since the miter was a medieval contribution to liturgical dress, how soon after its appearance does it enter into the distribution of *presbyterium*? Mitred recipients of the *Agnus Dei* (wax medallions impressed with the image of the Lamb of God) also used their headdress to receive this sacramental from the pontiff's hands. Did the use of the miter in the distribution of *Agnus Dei* influence that used in the be-

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tions for papal coronations, the distributions were a part of the coronation day proceedings, not the coronation itself.

<sup>8</sup>Michel Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical de la curie romaine au XIII siècle*, vol. 2 of *Le pontifical romain au moyen-âge* (1938-1941); reprint, Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1972), 2:379, lines 15-20.

stowal of *presbyterium* (or vice-versa)? And, why does the recipient kiss the pontiff's knees? The kissing of the knee was known to the ancient classical and Jewish worlds, as well as to those sharing in the Byzantine secular and western ecclesiastical traditions. This examination will survey these traditions, explore the meaning(s) each imparted to the gesture, and determine which of its meanings entered into the kissing of the pontiff's knee. It will also be made clear how this gesture fits into the history of the medieval papacy. Both endeavors will contribute towards the history of the knee-kiss called for by P. E. Schramm.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the ceremony for the distribution of the *Agnus Dei* also involved the kissing of the pope's knee. This thesis will explore the connection between the appearance of this gesture in the rituals for bestowing both the *presbyter-*

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<sup>9</sup>This call -- first issued in *Kaiser, Könige, und Päpste* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1968-1971), 1:32 -- for "eine Untersuchung, mit welchen Gesten die Herrscher des Mittelalters im Laufe der Jahrhunderte begrüsst worden sind: Verneigung, Kniefall, Proskynese, Küsse auf die Wange, auf die Hand, auf das Knie, den Fuss, ferner Reichen der Hand oder Verschränken der Arme auf der Brust usw." has, with respect to the kissing of the knee, never been answered.

*ium* and the *Agnus Dei*.

The disbursements to the crowd were of two types: 1) those performed by the pope's representative during certain ceremonial processions, and 2) those made by the pope at two separate locations at the Lateran palace following his coronation. Unique to the first of the palatial tosses was the pope's near verbatim recitation of St. Peter's words from Acts 3:6 ("I have neither gold nor silver, but what I have I give to you").<sup>10</sup> These words are strangely out of keeping with the granting of material wealth. Two historians have attempted to explain this incongruity. Their efforts will be critiqued and a cogent explanation advanced for resolving this problem.

In addition to explaining certain aspects of the ritual, this thesis will also examine the reasons for, and significance of, the distributions. With respect to the pope's bestowal of coins to individuals the liturgical prescriptions sometimes state why this was done. As

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<sup>10</sup>"Argentum et aurum non est mihi; quod autem habeo, hoc tibi do." Throughout this work, all biblical citations are from the Vulgate. The edition used is that by B. Fischer, et al., *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983).

will be shown, the *presbyterium* could be granted "pro honore," that is, in exchange for the recipient's performance of some action honoring the pope (the chanting of the papal *laudes*, for example, or for the construction of arches along the papal cavalcade's route). However, this study will also make clear that the pope bestowed *presbyterium* on individuals who performed in the pope's honor no immediately prior action. An explanation must rely, therefore, on conclusions drawn from an examination of the context provided by ancient and contemporary disbursements. This context, to anticipate the conclusions presented below, suggests that the classical notion of largesse -- transmitted either through the medium of the ancient or Byzantine worlds (or both) -- was operative in medieval papal ceremonial. It was not unusual for a Roman *princeps* or a Byzantine monarch to distribute and/or cast coins to his subjects during (or in commemoration of) his accession to power. In a later discussion of the term "presbyterium" it will become clear that the pope bestowed coins before the word *presbyterium* was applied to these disbursements. Thus, the pope's **act** of bestowing coins on certain occasions to individuals was not bound

up with any new pretensions or aggrandizement of power.<sup>11</sup> Nor was the pope's bestowal of *presbyterium* linked to any notion of "rewarding" his electors. Mitred recipients of the *presbyterium*, although high clerics, included an array of clergy (such as bishops and abbots) who had no hand in the papal election.

Moreover, since the medieval Western Roman Emperor also bestowed *presbyterium* it will be important to determine: 1) whether pope copied emperor (or vice versa) or if both drew upon a common heritage, and 2) if the act of distributing *presbyterium* played any role in the competing claims of pope and emperor. To anticipate the findings, the evidence for the distribution of coins called *presbyteria* appears earlier for pope than emperor. The closeness in time of the pertinent liturgical texts, however, allows for no definitive answer as to whether pope or emperor was the first to distribute *presbyterium*.

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<sup>11</sup>The papacy (from the eleventh and twelfth centuries on) increasingly concerned itself with standardizing and setting down the ceremonies important to the Church. This accounts for the many liturgical prescriptions for ceremonies involving the distribution of *presbyterium*. The process of regularizing and prescribing ceremonial forms **was**, of course, bound up the increasing authority of later medieval popes.

Moreover, there is no evidence to suggest that its distribution played any role in the struggle between pope and emperor.

Medieval sources are not silent on the reasons for the pope's processional coin casts. These sources unanimously agree that the pontiff (or his proxy) had only one concern in mind: the papal cavalcade's safe, quick, and easy movement through the admiring crowds.<sup>12</sup> If this was the case, however, why was the pontiff surrounded by armed bodyguards (*stimulatores*) whose job it was to clear the way?<sup>13</sup> The casting of coins, after all, would have attracted, rather than dispersed, onlookers.

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<sup>12</sup>To cite but one example: Ulrich Richtental, *Das Konsil zu Konstanz MCDXIV - MCDXVIII*, ed. Otto Feger (Starnberg: Josef Keller Verlag, and Konstanz: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1964), 2:162 (column 1), where the Middle High German reads: "um das der bapst dest minder trungen wird." For other examples please refer to Chapter 6 ("The Reason for the Distribution of *Presbyterium* and the Casting of Coins") in the section entitled "The Processional Coin Casts."

<sup>13</sup>The twelfth-century *ordo* of Cencius describes the role of the *stimulatores* (or *majorentes*) thus: "Major-entes autem ad curiam accedere non debent pro servitio aliquo faciendo, seu pro alio, nisi in diebus coronationis domni pape, cui dum equitat baculos habentes in manibus viam parant, multitudinem populi removendo; ...." P. Fabre, L. Duchesne, and G. Mollat, eds., *LC*, vol. 1 (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1889), 305 (col. 2).

This examination will confront this discrepancy between the medieval explanation and the modern critique of the purpose of the processional distributions.

The following chapter lists and discusses the liturgical sources supplying the details of the bestowals (as well as discussing the limitations inherent in using them). Many of the pertinent passages within these sources rely on the texts of earlier prescriptions. The relationship between the sources will be made clear. This is followed by a chapter devoted to the terminology of the distributions. There, a history of the terms used to describe both the individual and collective disbursements (*presbyterium* and *jactus*, respectively) will clarify the relationship between the occurrence of, and the name given to, a distribution. The next chapter establishes the context of the bestowals by describing the ceremonies and occasions during which the pope handed out or threw coins. The subsequent two chapters move from description to analysis in attempting to account for: 1) curious aspects of the bestowal rituals, and 2) the purpose of each bestowal. The final chapter summarizes the findings.

## CHAPTER 2

### SOURCES

#### The Nature and Limitations of the Sources

The basis of an analysis of the medieval popes' ceremonial distribution of coins is an examination of the liturgical instructions written (or compiled) for those occasions calling for the distribution of coins.<sup>1</sup> In every case, these prescriptions date from the twelfth century onwards -- the period in which the papacy possessed both the will and the means to order and regularize its ceremonial observances.<sup>2</sup> The existence of

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<sup>1</sup>See footnote 5 in the previous chapter for the financial and administrative sources which refer to the *presbyterium*.

<sup>2</sup>With respect to the liturgical sources, between the ninth and twelfth centuries, according to Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamation and Medieval Ruler Worship*, University of California Publications in History, vol. 33 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), 129, liturgical writing stagnated and "recovered under the new impulses which proceeded from the Reform Papacy in the eleventh century." However, as Roger E. Reynolds, "Liturgical Scholarship at the Time

modern editions for these instructions -- replete with information on their manuscript tradition and textual variants -- facilitates this analysis. A brief discussion of both the purpose of these prescriptions and of the information they can (and cannot) provide must precede a listing and brief description of these sources.

Prescriptions, by nature, state what should or must be done, **not** what was done -- or if done whether the prescribed action was precisely followed. That a distribution did occur on a certain occasion can **sometimes** be verified in a non-liturgical source (such as a record of

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of the Investiture Controversy: Past Research and Future Opportunities," *Harvard Theological Review* 71 (1978): 111, has pointed out:

The dearth of liturgical commentaries from the mid-ninth through the mid-eleventh centuries by no means signaled a stagnation of liturgy. Rather than musing on the meaning of the liturgy, men of the two hundred years following Amalarius of Metz [early ninth century] were busy practicing and creating liturgical forms and compiling books of the rites themselves.

It is **possible** that a remuneration called the *presbyterium* was practiced (and rites connected with its distribution created) in the centuries prior to their mention in the twelfth century sources. I have found, however, no evidence for that view.

papal expenses). Every effort was made to locate references to distributions in the non-liturgical sources. In the vast majority of instances, however, the prescribed action could not be checked against what actually occurred. Moreover, the non-liturgical sources (such as an account book) are unconcerned with how the distributions were performed. This imposes an unavoidable reliance on liturgical prescriptions in describing the form of the bestowals.

Those setting down the instructions on how to bestow coins rarely did so in their own words. Their passages often contain, sometimes verbatim, the text of earlier prescriptions. This does not mean that the distributions did not occur or, if occurring, were unimportant. Medieval liturgical instructions "would not [ordinarily] have been recopied if it were not destined for practical use."<sup>3</sup> The appearance of distributions within

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<sup>3</sup>Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, translated and edited by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1986), 137. Vogel's full comment reads:

They [the *ordines* as liturgical documents] permit us to witness a liturgy as it was actually celebrated when the *codex* was drawn

all the important prescriptions for a papal coronation, for instance, suggests that their authors or compilers regarded the bestowals as a necessary and important part of the ceremony. The modern editions of these instructions generally indicate a passage's textual similarities with other sources. This study compared all the liturgical texts referring to the distribution of coins. The results of this comparison (presented in Table 1 found at the end of this chapter) will be discussed after first listing and describing the sources.

#### A Listing and Description of the Liturgical Sources

Throughout this work, references to the liturgical prescriptions usually carry the name of its author or

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up and for as long as it remained in use. Since we are dealing with a liturgical document in the strict sense (and not with a work of erudition or instruction) we ordinarily maintain that a MS containing *ordines* would not have been recopied if it were not destined for practical use. On the other hand, it must be confessed that, because of the archaizing tendency of some *scriptoria* and a kind of craze for collecting everything in sight, in some MSS there can be found out-of-date *ordines* side by side with current ones. It is comparatively easy to distinguish one from the other.

compiler and the words "ordo," "ceremonial," or "pontifical." *Ordo* (plural, *ordines*) means "arrangement" or "grouping" and in this context refers to a collection of instructions for the proper conduct of a ceremony (such as a papal coronation).<sup>4</sup> In the thirteenth-century the terms *ordinarium*, *liber de caeremoniis*, and *liber caeremoniarum* began to replace *ordo*.<sup>5</sup> With respect to the term *pontifical*, this refers to a liturgical book formed from the fusion of instructions (*ordines*) with the pertinent prayers and *formulae* from another type of liturgical book, the sacramentary. During the Middle Ages the pontifical used in Rome became known as the *Ordo Romanus*. In this study, each liturgical prescription is known by the

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<sup>4</sup>Succinctly defined, "An *ordo* is a compilation of the prayers, hymns, and anthems used in a religious ceremony; it is almost exclusively liturgical, its rubrics are as brief as possible, and it is usually prescriptive." See Richard A. Jackson, "A Little-Known Description of Charles IX's Coronation," *Renaissance Quarterly* 25 (1972): 290 (note 7).

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 136; also see Marc Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance*, vol. 1, *Le cérémonial papal du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1977), 34-35.

name chosen by the modern editor of its best edition.<sup>6</sup> Table 1 (under the heading "Occasion/Bestowal") indicates the occasion for which each liturgical document was written or compiled.

#### Canon Benedict's *Liber Politicus*

Between 1140 and 1143 Benedict, canon of Saint Peter's, wrote -- at the request of cardinal Guido de Castello (the future Celestine II) -- the *Liber politicus*.<sup>7</sup> This work contains, amongst other things, an *ordo*, a description of popular feasts, and a *mirabilia*. The *Liber politicus* survives, however, only in those parts excerpted by a later compiler, Albinus.<sup>8</sup> In Benedict's

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<sup>6</sup>The above discussion relies heavily on the definitions presented in *ibid.*, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup>Cyrille Vogel, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge*, Biblioteca degli "Studi Medievali," vol. 1 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1981), 178.

The title (read: *polyptyque* for *politicus*) represents more an intended goal of the author than a description of the work's contents. For more information both on the *Liber politicus* and its author, see P. Fabre, L. Duchesne, and G. Mollat, eds., *Le Liber censuum de l'église romaine*, vol. 1 (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1889), 3-4.

<sup>8</sup>Fabre, et al., eds. *LC*, vol. 2 (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1905), 141-177, for the best edition of the

*ordo*, the distribution of coins is mentioned primarily in connection with the celebration of Christmas and Easter (the sections dealing with papal elections, consecrations, and crownings, have been lost).<sup>9</sup>

*Albinus' Gesta pauperis scholaris*

Between 1183 and 1188 Albinus, the future cardinal bishop of Albano, wrote a customary based, in part, on material drawn from Benedict's *Liber politicus*.<sup>10</sup> This customary, entitled *Gesta pauperis scholaris*, contains two *ordines* with pertinent information.<sup>11</sup>

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*Liber politicus*. Older editions in J. Mabillon, ed., *Museum italicum*, vol. 2, 118-157 (often referred to as OR[do] XI); and *PL*, vol. 179 (1855), cols. 731-762 (a reprinting of Mabillon's text).

<sup>9</sup>According to Eichmann, *Weihe*, 46, "Albinus XI 3 gibt nur eine kurze summarische Darstellung."

<sup>10</sup>In the period 1183-1188, Albinus was first cardinal deacon, and then cardinal priest. Biographical details in Fabre, et al., eds. *LC*, 1:2. The text of Albinus' *Gesta* is available in *ibid.*, 2:87-137.

<sup>11</sup>The two *ordines* are the *Ordo Qualiter Eligatur Summus Pontifex Sancte Romane Ecclesie et Quomodo Consecratur et ad Summum Honorem Venire Debeat* and the *Ordo Romanus de Consuetudinibus et Observantiis Romane Ecclesie in Precipuis Sollemnitatibus*.

Cencius' *Liber censuum*

Cencio Savelli was a Roman aristocrat who had risen from canon of Santa Maria Maggiore to become papal chamberlain or *camerarius* (1188), cardinal deacon (1193), cardinal priest, tutor (1197) to the future Emperor Frederick II, and finally, pope Honorius III (1216-1227).<sup>12</sup> During the pontificate of Celestine III (1191-1198), Cencius, as *camerarius*, compiled the *Liber censuum*.<sup>13</sup> An official register listing the dues (*census*) owed by secular and spiritual institutions to the Holy See, the

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<sup>12</sup>Biographical details in *ibid.*, 1:1-2, and Kelly, *Oxford Dictionary of the Popes*, 188-189.

<sup>13</sup>According to Fabre, et al., eds., *LC*, 1:1, Cencius began this work in 1192. Michel Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain au moyen âge* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938-1941) gives two dates for the *Liber censuum*. His first volume, *Le pontifical romain du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938), 106, accepts the dating of 1192. However, in his second volume, *Le pontifical de la curie romaine au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1940), 264, Andrieu dates Cencius' work to circa 1198.

For Cencius' *ordo*, the text used will be that found in the *Liber censuum*, rather than that found in Mabillon, ed., *Museum italicum* vol. 2, 167-220 (referred to as OR[do] XII); The first four chapters of Cencius' *ordo* are also available in Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kurie im Mittelalter*, Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts im Rom, vol. 40 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1973), 210-213.

*Liber censuum* also contained (amongst other things) a *Mirabilia urbis romae*, papal chronicles, and an *Ordo romanus*.<sup>14</sup> Cencius' *ordo*, although largely based on that of Albinus, does differ from his predecessor in the wealth of details provided on the *presbyterium* distributions.

#### The Basel *Ordo*

This *ordo*, found in a thirteenth-century manuscript at Basel, provides instructions for a papal election, consecration and crowning.<sup>15</sup> Its editor, Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, argues that this manuscript preserves the text of a heretofore unknown twelfth-century *ordo*. Although Schimmelpfennig did not fully collate the Basel text with the prescriptions of Benedict, Albinus, and Cencius, his rough comparison suggested many similarities -- especially between the Basel text and Albinus' pre-

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<sup>14</sup>A history of the *Liber censuum* is available in Fabre, et al., eds., *LC*, 1:1-12. Also see T. Schmidt, "Liber censuum Ecclesiae Romanae," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5/Lieferung 9 (1991): cols. 1941-1942.

<sup>15</sup>"Ein bisher unbekannter Text zur Wahl, Konsekration und Krönung des Papstes im 12. Jahrhundert," *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 6 (1968): 43-70.

scriptions.<sup>16</sup> The Basel *Ordo's* text on the distribution of *presbyterium* during a papal coronation is nearly identical to that of Albinus. At present, the compiler of these twelfth-century instructions is unknown.<sup>17</sup>

#### Ordinal of the Papal Court (Innocent III)

This ordinal was compiled between 1213-1216 during the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216).<sup>18</sup> It provides, in general, invaluable information on the ceremonies conducted in the papal chapel in the early-thirteenth century. Specifically, this ordinal contains information on the distribution of *presbyterium* on Holy Thursday and Christmas.

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 51-55.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 55:

Diesen Ordo zu rekonstruieren und einem Verfasser zuzuweisen (eventuell dem Kanoniker Benedikt), halte ich bei der jetzigen Quellenlage nicht für realisierbar.

<sup>18</sup>Critical edition by Stephen J. P. Van Dijk and Joan Hazelden Walker, *The Ordinal of the Papal Court from Innocent III to Boniface VIII and Related Documents*, Spicilegium Friburgense vol. 22 (Fribourg: The University Press, 1975).

### Gregory X's Ordo

At the request of Pope Gregory X (1271-1276), a French curial official compiled this *ordo*, in Italy, sometime before July of 1274.<sup>19</sup> Its wording with respect to the distribution of *presbyterium* is striking similar to a text ( $\gamma$  recension) of the Thirteenth-Century Curial Pontifical. The exact relationship between these two sources -- as well as between Gregory X's *Ordo* and the prescriptions of both Cencius and (the still to be mentioned) Jacques Stefaneschi -- remains unresolved.<sup>20</sup>

#### The Pontifical of the Roman Curia (thirteenth-century)

The *Pontificale romanae curiae* survives in thirty-three manuscripts based on three recensions

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<sup>19</sup>Critical edition in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 1:155-218. The manuscript tradition of this *ordo* is fully discussed in Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 30-35.

The date of compilation is Andrieu's (*Le pontifical romain*, 2:278) and it based on the *ex silentio* argument that the important papal electoral reforms of the constitution *Ubi periculum maius*, promulgated at the Council of Lyon (July 1274), are not mentioned in Gregory's ceremonial.

<sup>20</sup>Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 1:62-65; and Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 30-35.

(labelled  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , and  $\gamma$  by its editor, Michel Andrieu).<sup>21</sup> The earliest recension ( $\alpha$ ) probably dates to the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216), and the last recension ( $\gamma$ ) appeared, in Andrieu's view, no later than the pontificate of Innocent V (1276) -- the  $\beta$  recension cannot be securely dated.<sup>22</sup> These three editions:

existed side by side (along with copies of the *XII Century Pontifical*) but in the XIV century the third recension came to predominate, and it was that edition which accompanied the popes to Avignon (1305/1309)...[the thirteenth-century Pontifical] was used at the Lateran and in the Italian churches immediately subject to the Holy See of Rome. After the popes established themselves in France, the new Pontifical became the official book of the papal court and spread throughout the south of France.<sup>23</sup>

#### Early fourteenth-century papal coronation *ordo*

The anonymous compiler of this *ordo* was, most

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<sup>21</sup>*Le pontifical romain au moyen âge*, vol. 2, *Le pontifical de la curie romaine au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940), 327-522 (text), 3-326 (manuscripts, recensions and dating). For a summary of Andrieu's conclusions regarding the latter see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 252.

<sup>22</sup>According to Dykmans, *Le pontifical romain révisé*, 9, parts of the  $\gamma$  recension date to circa 1300.

<sup>23</sup>Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 252.

likely, a curial official well versed in papal ceremonial.<sup>24</sup> His instructions (c. 1300) for a papal coronation were later inserted into fourteenth- and fifteenth-century copies of William Durand's Pontifical.<sup>25</sup>

#### Stefaneschi's Ceremonial/*Ordo*

The Ceremonial (or *ordo*) of Cardinal Jacques Stefaneschi has no single date of composition.<sup>26</sup> Its diverse chapters were written at Avignon between 1300 and 1340.<sup>27</sup>

#### The Long Ceremonial

Another fourteenth century *ordo* which mentions

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<sup>24</sup>Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 32-33.

<sup>25</sup>Thus, the inclusion of this *ordo*'s text in Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain*, vol. 3, *Le pontifical de Guillaume Durand* (1940), 665-669 (Appendix I).

<sup>26</sup>Critical edition in Marc Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, vol. 2, *De Rome en Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1981) -- see pages 25-29 for biographical details on Stefaneschi. An older, but valuable, discussion on this *ordo*'s manuscript tradition is available in Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 62-100.

<sup>27</sup>Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:253-507. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 195-196, dates Stefaneschi's *ordo* to 1304/1328.

the distribution of coins is referred to as *Le cérémonial long*.<sup>28</sup> These prescriptions -- probably the work of Jean de Sion (at various times a papal chaplain, almoner, and scribe) -- were compiled during the pontificate of Clement VI (1342-1352), but appeared only in 1362.<sup>29</sup> In his work, de Sion brought together a number of previous *ordines*, including the compilations of Gregory X and Jacques Stefaneschi.<sup>30</sup>

#### *Ordo* for the Consecration of Martin V

The *ordo* written for the consecration of Pope Martin V (pontificate, 1417-1431) at Constance contains several references to the ceremonial distribution of coins.<sup>31</sup> Its author was either canon Guy de Busco or

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<sup>28</sup>A name bestowed by the editor of its critical edition: Marc Dykmans, *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance*, vol. 3, *Les textes avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme d'occident* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1983).

<sup>29</sup>Details on this *ordo's* authorship and date, as well as its author's career, are available in *ibid.*, 3:22-23, 28-29.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, 3:11-12, for a listing of the works used in compiling the *Le cérémonial long*.

<sup>31</sup>Critical edition in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial*

canon and papal scribe Michel Goye. This *ordo's* use of the future tense indicates a *terminus post quem* of 21 December 1417 (the date of Martin V's consecration).

#### The Ceremonial of Bindo Fesulani

Between February and August of 1377, a chaplain belonging to the *curia* of Gregory XI (pontificate, 1370-1378) composed a ceremonial.<sup>32</sup> Its author -- (probably) Bindo Fesulani -- wanted to provide his fellow chaplains with the instructions and texts requisite for the celebration of (*inter alia*) papal masses. This ceremonial was based, in part, on instructions dating to the pontificate of Urban V (1362-1370).

#### The Ceremonial of Pierre Ameil

Pierre Ameil (Petrus Amelii) -- who served as

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*papal*, vol. 3, *Les textes avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme d'occident* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 1983), 462-472 (text) and 141-144 (details on manuscript tradition, authorship, and analysis - the basis for my comments).

<sup>32</sup>Details on this ceremonial's manuscript tradition and authorship, as well as on Fesulani's career, are discussed in Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 101-106. The text of this ceremonial is available in *ibid.*, 245-291.

bishop of Sinigaglia, patriarch of Grado, and papal sacristan -- compiled, at Rome, a ceremonial (1385/1390).<sup>33</sup> His *De caeremoniis Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae* contained instructions for the conduct of ceremonies throughout the whole liturgical year. This compilation was based on both Stefaneschi's prescriptions as well as those found in the "Long Ceremonial."<sup>34</sup>

#### Barozzi's Pontifical

Giovanni Barozzi, the Bishop of Bergamo (1449-1465), compiled a pontifical (Rome, circa 1451/1455).<sup>35</sup> His compilation relied: 1) predominantly (but with additions and reworkings) on the  $\gamma$  recension of the thir-

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<sup>33</sup>Critical edition in Marc Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, vol. 4, *Le retour à Rome ou le cérémonial du patriarche Pierre Ameil* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1985), 69-251.

<sup>34</sup>Details on Ameil's career, as well as on the manuscript tradition for his ceremonial, in Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 107-117.

<sup>35</sup>Text in Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 338-349. Schimmelpfennig edited only that section of Barozzi's pontifical concerned with papal consecrations.

Biographical details in Dykmans, *Le pontifical romain révisé*, 67-68; P. Paschini, "Barozzi, Giovanni," *DHGE*, vol. 6 (1932): cols. 887-888; and G. Spiazzi, "Barozzi, Giovanni," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 6 (1964): 500-501.

teenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia, and 2) partly on the pontifical of William Durand.

#### The Ceremonial of A. P. Piccolomini

In 1488 Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini with the help of Johannes Burckard compiled, at the request of Innocent VIII (pontificate, 1484-1492), a new edition of the Roman Ceremonial.<sup>36</sup> This undertaking by the current (since 1467) master of ceremonies (and aided by a future one) was the last "medieval" (that is, pre-1500) revision of the *Caeremoniale Romanum*.

#### The Similarities Between the Liturgical Prescriptions

Piccolomini's Ceremonial is different -- with respect to the distribution of coins -- in that its passages did not borrow the wording of prior liturgical prescriptions. Piccolomini took seriously his charge to update the Roman Ceremonial (as will be seen in a later

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<sup>36</sup>Critical edition in Marc Dykmans, ed., *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou Le cérémonial de la première renaissance*, 2 vols., *Studi e testi*, 293-294 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980-1982).

Biographical details on Piccolomini in *ibid.*, 1:1\*-15\*.

discussion on the disappearance of the *presbyteria* not connected with a papal coronation). Table 1 lists the liturgical sources whose pertinent passages are similar to those found in prior and subsequent instructions.<sup>37</sup> The degree of similarity between texts is indicated either by the words "almost identical," and "similar." The former points to an almost exact textual identity, the latter indicates that the passages contain many common words and phrases. It is important to remember that the earliest member of a set of almost identical texts did not, necessarily, **directly** influence the wording of subsequent texts (other than the one to which it was closest in time). Texts A, B, and C, for instance, contain nearly identical prescriptions. Text A is the earliest example of this text and, perforce, had to be responsible for the wording of Text B. Text C, coming after Texts A and B, could have relied on either one (or both) as its model.

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<sup>37</sup>This table, in the section pertaining to "Occasion/Bestowal," indicates the occasion for which the prescription was written (for example, Christmas) and which type of distribution is under consideration (the processional *jactus*, for example).

Summarizing the information presented in Table 1 (found at the end of this chapter), it is clear that several prescriptions exerted a predominant influence over the wording found in subsequent instructions. With respect to both the distribution of *presbyterium* and the processional *jactus* performed during a papal coronation, the texts of four prescriptions are almost identical with those found earlier in Gregory X's *Ordo* (1274).<sup>38</sup> The similar instructions for the bestowal of *presbyterium* on Christmas can be traced to Cencius' prescriptions (1191-1198).<sup>39</sup> The text in the Long Ceremonial (1362) for the distribution of *presbyterium* on Holy Thursday can be found, almost exactly, in two subsequent sources.<sup>40</sup>

The relationship between the texts outlining the coin casts performed at the Lateran Palace (during a

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<sup>38</sup>The four texts are those found in the Pontifical of the Roman Curia ( $\gamma$  recension, 1276), Stefaneschi's *Ordo* (1300-1340), the Consecration *Ordo* of Martin V (1417), and Barozzi's Pontifical (1451/1455).

<sup>39</sup>Cencius' text is similar to that found in the Ordinal of the Papal Court (1213-1216), Stefaneschi (1300-1340), and Ameil's Ceremonial (1385/1390)

<sup>40</sup>The instructions in the ceremonials of Fesulani (1377) and Ameil (1385/1390).

papal coronation) is more complicated. The texts prescribing the *jactus* conducted at the *sedes stercoraria* fall into two groups. One group consists of the nearly identical passages found in Albinus (1183-1188), Cencius (1191-1198) and the Basel *Ordo* (12th century). This identity is shared by a later passage found in the Papal Coronation *Ordo* (c. 1300) whose compiler relied on one (or more) of the three earlier texts. The second group of passages -- those found in the  $\gamma$  recension of the Pontifical of the Roman Curia (1276), Stefaneschi's instructions (1300-1340), and Barozzi's Pontifical (1451/1455) -- are almost identical to that found in Gregory X's *Ordo* (1274).

Uncovering the relationship between the texts prescribing the *jactus* conducted at the *sedes porphyreticae* is a more daunting, but not hopeless, task. All of the passages except that taken from the Basel *Ordo* are nearly identical. Sometimes, however, the closeness of two passages' identity provide a basis for reasoning who borrowed from whom. Cencius (1191-1198) clearly borrowed from Albinus ((1183-1188), and the former served as a model both for Gregory X's *Ordo* (1274) and the compiler

of the Papal Coronation *Ordo* (c. 1300). The passage in Gregory X's *Ordo* was used by the Pontifical of the Roman Curia ( $\gamma$  recension, 1276), and either (or both) provided Stefaneschi with the basis for his prescriptions. It is not clear whether Barozzi's Pontifical used the Pontifical of the Roman Curia or Stefaneschi's instructions.

TABLE 1

THE TEXTUAL SIMILARITIES BETWEEN PASSAGES IN THE PRESCRIPTIONS  
FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF *PRESBYTERIUM* AND THE *JACTUS*<sup>41</sup>

PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)	Albinus' Prescriptions (1183-1188)	Cencius' Prescriptions (1191-1198)
Occasion/Bestowal:	Papal Coronation/ <i>jactus</i> at <i>Sedes Stercoraria</i> Papal Coronation/ <i>jactus</i> at <i>Sedes Porphyreticae</i>	
Wording Between Texts:	almost identical ( <i>stercoraria</i> ) almost identical ( <i>porphyreticae</i> )	
Conclusion:	Cencius borrowed from Albinus	

(Table 1 continued on next page)

<sup>41</sup>Albinus' prescriptions in *LC* 2:123 (col. 1) and 2:124 (cols. 1-2); Cencius' instructions in *ibid.*, 1:291 (col. 1), 311 (col. 2), and 1:312 (cols. 1-2); the Basel *Ordo* in Schimmelpfennig, "Ein bisher unbekannter Text," 60, 63, and 68; The Ordinal of the Papal Court in Van Dijk and Walker, *The Ordinal*, 24, and 124; Gregory X's *Ordo* in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 1:174, 1:175-177, and 1:179; the Pontifical of the Roman Curia (thirteenth century) in Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain*, 2:377-379; an early-fourteenth-century coronation *ordo* in *ibid.*, 3:665-669 (Appendix I); Stefaneschi's *Ordo* in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:284-338, *passim*; the Long Ceremonial in *ibid.*, 3:209-210; the *ordo* for the consecration of Martin V in *ibid.*, 3:470-472; Fesulani's Ceremonial in Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 266; Ameil's Ceremonial in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 4:138; and Barozzi's Pontifical in Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 348-349.

TABLE 1 (continued)

<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p> <p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p> <p>Wording Between Texts:</p> <p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Basel <i>Ordo</i> (12th century)</p> <p>Papal Coronation/<i>jactus</i> at <i>Sedes Stercoraria</i></p> <p>almost identical</p> <p>unresolved who borrowed from whom</p>	<p>Cencius' Prescriptions (1191-1198)</p>
<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p> <p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p> <p>Wording Between Texts:</p> <p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Basel <i>Ordo</i> (12th century)</p> <p>Papal Coronation/<i>jactus</i> at <i>Sedes Porphyreticae</i></p> <p>similar</p> <p>unresolved who borrowed from whom</p>	<p>Cencius' Prescriptions (1191-1198)</p> <p>2) Albinus' Prescriptions (1183-1188)</p>

(Table 1 continued on next page)

TABLE 1 (continued)

<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p> <p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p> <p>Wording Between Texts:</p> <p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Ordinal of the Papal Court (1213-1216)</p> <p>Christmas/<i>presbyterium</i></p> <p>similar</p> <p>Ordinal borrowed from Cencius</p>	<p>Cencius' Prescriptions (1191-1198)</p>
<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p> <p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p> <p>Wording Between Texts:</p> <p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Gregory X's <i>Ordo</i> (1274)</p> <p>Papal Coronation/<i>jactus as Sedes Porphyreticae</i></p> <p>almost identical</p> <p>Gregory X's <i>Ordo</i> borrowed from Cencius</p>	<p>Cencius' Prescriptions (1191-1198)</p>

(Table 1 continued on next page)

TABLE 1 (continued)

<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p> <p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p> <p>Wording Between Texts:</p> <p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Pontifical of the Roman Curia (1276) (<math>\gamma</math> recension)</p> <p>Papal Coronation/<i>presbyterium</i> Papal Coronation/<i>jactus</i> (processional)</p> <p>almost identical (and similar to Cencius and Albinus)</p> <p>Pontifical (<math>\gamma</math> recension) borrowed from Gregory <i>X's Ordo</i></p>	<p>Gregory X's <i>Ordo</i> (1274)</p>
<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p> <p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p> <p>Wording Between Texts:</p> <p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Gregory X's <i>Ordo</i> (1274)</p> <p>Papal Coronation/<i>jactus</i> at <i>Sedes Stercoraria</i> Papal Coronation/<i>jactus</i> at <i>Sedes Porphyreticae</i></p> <p>almost identical (also: similar to Cencius and Basel <i>Ordo</i>)</p> <p>Pontifical (<math>\gamma</math> recension) borrowed from Gregory <i>X's Ordo</i></p>	<p>Pontifical of the Roman Curia (1276) (<math>\gamma</math> recension)</p>

(Table 1 continued on next page)

TABLE 1 (continued)

<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p> <p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p> <p>Wording Between Texts:</p> <p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Papal Coronation <i>Ordo</i> (c. 1300)</p> <p>Papal Coronation/<i>jactus</i> at <i>Sedes Stercoraria</i></p> <p>almost identical</p> <p>Coronation <i>Ordo</i> borrowed from Cencius and/or Basel <i>Ordo</i></p>	<p>1) Cencius' Prescriptions (1191-1198)</p> <p>2) Basel <i>Ordo</i> (12th c.)</p>
<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p> <p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p> <p>Wording Between Texts:</p> <p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Papal Coronation <i>Ordo</i> (c. 1300)</p> <p>Papal Coronation/<i>jactus</i> at <i>Sedes Porphyreticae</i></p> <p>almost identical</p> <p>Coronation <i>Ordo</i> borrowed from Cencius</p>	<p>Cencius' Prescriptions (1191-1198)</p>

(Table 1 continued on next page)

TABLE 1 (continued)

<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p> <p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p> <p>Wording Between Texts:</p> <p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Stefaneschi's Cere- monial (1300-1340)</p> <p>Christmas/<i>presbyterium</i></p> <p>almost identical (and similar to Cencius' Prescriptions)</p> <p>Stefaneschi borrowed from the Ordinal</p>	<p>Ordinal of the Papal Court (1213-1216)</p>
<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p> <p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p> <p>Wording Between Texts:</p> <p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Stefaneschi's Cere- monial (1300-1340)</p> <p>Papal Coronation/<i>presbyterium</i> Papal Coronation/<i>jactus</i> (processional)</p> <p>almost identical</p> <p>Stefaneschi borrowed from the Pontifical of the Roman Curia (<math>\gamma</math> recension) and/or Gregory X's <i>Ordo</i></p>	<p>1) Pontifical of the Roman Curia (1276)</p> <p>2) Gregory X's <i>Ordo</i> (1274)</p>

(Table 1 continued on next page)

TABLE 1 (continued)

<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p> <p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p> <p>Wording Between Texts:</p> <p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Stefaneschi's Cere- monial (1300-1340)</p> <p>Papal Coronation/<i>jactus</i> at <i>Sedes Stercoraria</i> Papal Coronation/<i>jactus</i> at <i>Sedes Porphyreticae</i></p> <p>almost identical (and similar to Cencius)</p> <p>Stefaneschi borrowed from the Pontifical of the Roman Curia (<math>\gamma</math> recension) and/or Gregory X's <i>Ordo</i></p>	<p>1) Pontifical of the Roman Curia (1276)</p> <p>2) Gregory X's <i>Ordo</i> (1274)</p>
<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p> <p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p> <p>Wording Between Texts:</p> <p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Long Ceremonial (1362)</p> <p>Holy Thursday/<i>presbyterium</i></p> <p>almost identical</p> <p>Fesulani borrowed from Long Ceremonial</p>	<p>Fesulani's Ceremonial (1377)</p>

(Table 1 continued on next page)

TABLE 1 (continued)

<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p>   <p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p>  <p>Wording Between Texts:</p> <p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Consecration <i>Ordo</i> for Martin V (1417)</p>   <p>Papal Coronation/<i>presbyterium</i> Papal Coronation/<i>jactus</i> (processional)</p>  <p>almost identical</p> <p>The Consecration <i>Ordo</i> for Martin V borrowed these texts either from Stefaneschi or from Stefaneschi's source: the Pontifical of the Roman Curia (<math>\gamma</math> recension) and/or Gregory X's <i>Ordo</i></p>	<p>1) Stefaneschi's Cere- monial (1300-1340)</p> <p>2) Pontifical of the Roman Curia (1276) (<math>\gamma</math> recension)</p> <p>3) Gregory X's <i>Ordo</i> (1274)</p>
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(Table 1 continued on next page)

TABLE 1 (continued)

<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p>	<p>Ameil's Ceremonial (1385/1390)</p>	<p>1) Fesulani's Ceremonial (1377)</p> <p>2) Long Ceremonial (1362)</p>
<p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p>	<p>Holy Thursday/<i>presbyterium</i></p>	
<p>Wording Between Texts:</p>	<p>almost identical</p>	
<p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Ameil borrowed either from the Fesulani's Ceremonial or from the latter's source: the Long Ceremonial</p>	

(Table 1 continued on next page)

TABLE 1 (continued)

<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p>	<p>Ameil's Ceremonial (1385/1390)</p>	<p>1) Stefaneschi's Ceremonial (1300-1340)</p> <p>2) Ordinal of the Papal Court (1213-1216)</p> <p>3) Cencius' Prescriptions (1191-1198)</p>
<p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p>	<p>Christmas/<i>presbyterium</i></p>	
<p>Wording Between Texts:</p>	<p>similar</p>	
<p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Ameil borrowed either or all of the above three prescriptions</p>	

(Table 1 continued on next page)

TABLE 1 (continued)

<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p>	<p>Barozzi's Pontifical (1451/1455)</p>	<p>1) Consecration <i>Ordo</i> for Martin V (1417)</p> <p>2) Stefaneschi's Cere- monial (1300-1340)</p> <p>3) Pontifical of the Roman Curia (1276) (<math>\gamma</math> recension)</p> <p>4) Gregory X's <i>Ordo</i> (1274)</p>
<p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p>	<p>Papal Coronation/<i>presbyterium</i> Papal Coronation/<i>jactus</i> (processional)</p>	
<p>Wording Between Texts:</p>	<p>almost identical</p>	
<p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Barozzi borrowed from either (or all) of the above four prescriptions)</p>	

(Table 1 continued on next page)

TABLE 1 (continued)

<p>PRESCRIPTION(S) (date)</p> <p>Occasion/Bestowal:</p> <p>Wording Between Texts:</p> <p>Conclusion:</p>	<p>Barozzi's Pontifical (1451/1455)</p> <p>Papal Coronation/<i>jactus</i> at <i>Sedes Stercoraria</i> Papal Coronation/<i>jactus</i> at <i>Sedes Porphyreticae</i></p> <p>almost identical (and similar to Cencius)</p> <p>Barozzi borrowed from either (or all) of the above three prescriptions)</p>	<p>1) Stefaneschi's Ceremonial (1300-1340)</p> <p>2) Pontifical of the Roman Curia (1276) (<math>\gamma</math> recension)</p> <p>3) Gregory X's <i>Ordo</i> (1274)</p>
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## CHAPTER 3

### TERMINOLOGY

#### The Tossing of Coins

Coin casts were of two basic types: those performed during a papal procession, and those performed at the Lateran Palace. The earliest evidence (twelfth century) for the pope's tossing of coins comes from the liturgical sources. These sources display a slight preference in the wording chosen to describe each type. A prescription for a processional cast typically runs: "Fit...iactus pecunie seu missilium."<sup>1</sup> *Jactus*, *jactūs* is a masculine noun (fourth declension) formed from the perfect passive participle of the verb *jacio* ("to throw,

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<sup>1</sup>The quotation is from the prescriptions for a papal consecration conducted at Rome, see Marc Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance*, vol. 2, *De Rome en Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 1981), 320.

cast, scatter").<sup>2</sup> The type of coin to be thrown is sometimes indicated instead of the genitive form of the noun *pecunia* ("money").<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, the word *jactus* never appears and the type of coin is always mentioned in the prescriptions for the tosses performed at the Lateran Palace. Instructions for a palatial toss typically read: "denarios argenteos...et proicit."<sup>4</sup> The most important difference

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<sup>2</sup>*Sparsio*, the classical term for the action of throwing coins to the crowd, does not appear in the medieval liturgical sources for either a processional or palatial coin cast. There is one instance of the verb *spargo* used in conjunction with the instructions for a palatial toss: "denarios argenteos omnifariam...spargens" in Piccolomini's *Ceremonial* (1488). See Marc Dykmans, ed., *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou Le cérémonial de la première renaissance*, vol. 1 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980), 83.

<sup>3</sup>Two examples will suffice. The twelfth-century *ordo* found in a Basel manuscript -- edited by Bernhard Schimmelpfennig in "Ein bisher unbekannter Text zur Wahl, Konsekration und Krönung des Papstes im 12. Jahrhundert," *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 6 (1968): 66 -- states that the "camerarius...proicit pleno pugno diversos denarios." A papal coronation *ordo* (c. 1300) -- edited by Michel Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain au moyen âge*, vol. 3, *Le pontifical de Guillaume Durand* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940), 667 -- instructs the pope's representative to "facit...iactum denariorum."

<sup>4</sup>Quoted from the prescriptions for a papal consecration performed at Rome, in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:323.

between the processional and palatial casts is that the former was very rarely (if ever) -- and the latter always -- performed by the pontiff.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the instructions for a palatial cast, written for execution by the pope, may have avoided using a general expression such as *jactus pecuniae* in favor of specifying what coins were to be thrown.

#### The Presbyterium

During the period under consideration, roughly A.D. 600-1500, the word *presbyterium* had several meanings. It could signify the priesthood, a meeting of the priests within a diocese, and the choir (presbytery) of a church. The word also meant a parish church and/or the revenues derived from the exercise of a sacerdotal ministry. *Presbyterium* also denoted the "donative which the Roman pontiffs were accustomed to distribute, especially upon their inauguration."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>The evidence for the pope's performing a processional coin toss is ambiguous (please see Appendix A).

<sup>6</sup>"Donativum, quod summi pontifices romani distribuere solent, maxime cum inaugurantur," according to Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, 5 (1845): (s.v. "Presbyterium"). The medieval sources never

Meanings: Pre-Twelfth Century

The earliest references to the *presbyterium*, those found in the letters of Pope Gregory I (590-604), refer to a stipend connected with the performance of clerical duties.<sup>7</sup> This was also the meaning of the word in several of the official biographies of early-medieval popes. In these last-named sources, however, *presbyterium* frequently appears in the context of papal displays of largesse -- usually "quantifying" a pope's generosity towards his clergy. The *vita* of Pope Eugene I (654-657), for example, relates that:

[Eugene] granted the accustomed distribution [*roga*] to his clergy and furnished alms for the needy, as indeed on the day of his death he ordered an entire *presbyterium* bestowed to the poor or to the clergy or clerical dependents.<sup>8</sup>

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used *donativum* as a synonym for *presbyterium* (understood as a remuneration).

<sup>7</sup>Edited by P. Ewald and L. M. Hartmann in *M.G.H. Epistolae*, vol. 1 (1891), 111 (*epistola* II,13 - December 591), 135 (*epistola* II,38 - July 592), and 307-308 (*epistola* V,27 - March, 595).

<sup>8</sup>Louis Duchesne, ed. (revised by Cyrille Vogel), *Le Liber pontificalis* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1955-1957), 1: 341:

Rogam clero solitam tribuit et indigentibus

The biographer of Pope Zacharias (741-752) reports that he "truly valued his clergy and annually distributed to

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elemosynam subministravit, ut etiam die transitus sui pauperibus vel clero seu familiae presbyteria in integro erogari praeceperit.

The *vitae* of Adeodatus I (615-618), Boniface V (619-625), and John IV (640-642), in *ibid.*, 1:319, 1:321, and 1:330 (respectively), make it clear that by the mid-seventh century it was not unusual for a dead (or dying) pontiff to endow Rome's clerical inhabitants with money. Regarding these funerary endowments to clerics Duchesne (*ibid.*, 1:320) concluded:

Nous ne sommes pas bien renseignés sur la façon dont cet usage se combinait avec l'ancienne règle de partager entre les clercs le quart des revenus de l'église.

Adeodatus' grant -- "Hic [Adeodatus I] demisit pro obsequias suas ad omnem clerum rogam unam integram" (*ibid.*, 1:319) -- was the first instance of a pontiff's funerary bequest to his clergy. On the basis of the following sentence in his *vita*: "Hic [Adeodatus] clerum multum dilexit, sacerdotes et clerum ad loca pristina revocavit," Kelly, *Oxford Dictionary of the Popes*, 69, writes that Adeodatus "was the choice of the party opposed to the pro-monastic policies of Gregory I and Boniface IV;...." The scanty sources for a history of this pontificate -- discussed in B. Botte, "Deusdeit I<sup>er</sup>, pape," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 14 (1960), cols. 356-357 -- provide no further details on Adeodatus' attitude towards the pro-monastic policies of previous popes. It is, however, interesting to note that Adeodatus was the first pontiff to endow, after death, "omnem clerum." Was this done to boost the morale of the secular clergy in view of monasticism's increasing wealth and prestige?

them double (and more) amounts of *presbyterium*."<sup>9</sup> The life of Leo III (795-816) states that this pope "increased the distribution [*roga*] to his clerics especially with respect to their *presbyterium*."<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the life of Paschal I (817-824) relates that he "moreover increased, in various ways, the distribution [*roga*] to his clergy with respect to their promised *presbyterium*."<sup>11</sup>

The above citations indicate that *roga* was often used to denote a distribution. This word is not found in classical Latin, but derived from the classical verb *erogare* ("to pay out," or "to bequeath"). By the late sixth century *erogare* had developed a nominal form (*roga, -ae*) which came to mean: 1) the pay of both soldiers and clerics, 2) the distribution of money, 3) the bestowal of alms, 4) a tallage, 5) a banquet, 6) a prayer, and 7) a request.

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 1:435, where the phrase reads: "[Eugene] dilexit clerum suum valde atque presbiteria eis annue in duplo et amplius tribuit,...."

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 2:1: "roga clero suo in presbiterio maxime ampliavit."

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 2:52: "Rogam etiam omni clero suo in presbiterio profecto multipliciter ampliavit."

There is no record of the word *presbyterium* in the sources (liturgical or non-liturgical) between the first quarter of the ninth and the first quarter of the twelfth centuries.<sup>12</sup>

#### Meanings: Twelfth Through Fifteenth Centuries

When in the twelfth-century the word *presbyterium* again appears, it has a new (additional) meaning: a bestowal of coins accompanying the celebration of a special occasion. Hugh the Chanter (died 1139), in narrating the biography of Thurstan (Archbishop of York), describes the first instance of a pope -- Callistus II (1119-1124) -- distributing what is called the *presbyterium*. On Christmas day:

The Archbishop [Thurstan], as if he were a cardinal, received from the pope golden bezants, called *presbyterium*, which is distributed by the pope on the day of his coronation to the cardinals and his clerics - each one receiving his designated due.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Please refer to footnote 1 in Chapter 2.

<sup>13</sup>*Historia quatuor archiepiscoporum Eboracensium* in James Raine, ed., *The Historians of the Church of York and Its Archbishops*, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores - Roll Series*, 71 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1886; reprint, Wiesbaden: Kraus, 1965), 2:175-176:

Since each cleric received a prearranged amount ("unicuique secundum quod ordinatum est") the **practice** of distributing coins -- as is clear from the references in the early *vitae* found in the *Liber pontificalis* -- antedated its designation by the word *presbyterium*.<sup>14</sup> Hugh, in any event, felt the need to clarify for his readers the meaning of the term ("quod presbyterium ab ipsis appellatur"). It is interesting that the beginnings of the fin-

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archiepiscopus, sicut cardinales, bisancios aureos, quod presbyterium ab ipsis appellatur, a domino papa suscepit, quod cardinalibus et clericis suis, unicuique secundum quod ordinatum est, Apostolicus die coronationis suae distribuit.

On Hugh the Chantor (or Hugo Sottovagina) as an historian, see Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, vol. 1 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), 123-125.

<sup>14</sup>That popes bestowed coins long before the bestowal became known as the *presbyterium* is evident, for example, in the *vita* of Pope Hadrian II (867-872). This biography describes how Hadrian had once received coins during Sergius II's pontificate (844-847):

When on a certain day, among his fellow clergymen, [Hadrian] with the forty *denarii* received (according to custom) from the most holy Pope Sergius....

See Duchesne, ed., *Liber pontificalis*, 2:173. See Appendix B regarding Duchesne's contention that Pope Gregory I originated the practice of festive gift distributions.

ancial administration of the cardinalate belongs to Callistus' pontificate.<sup>15</sup> It is not known what (if any) role this played in the appearance of a term used to describe an extraordinary remuneration granted -- as the twelfth century liturgical prescriptions make clear -- not just to cardinals.

Although in the twelfth-century the word *presbyterium* gained the meaning of a commemorative distribution of coins, the word did not yet refer to a bestowal provided only to clerics. In Cencius' prescriptions (1191-1198) for the celebration of Christmas, Rome's senators are mentioned as recipients of the *presbyterium*:

It befalls to half of those senators present in the city to personally receive the *presbyterium* and to dine with the lord pope who [gives] to one or two [senators], on behalf of all the others, the *presbyterium*: namely one *melequinus* to each senator.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Hans Wolter, "The Crisis of the Papacy and of the Church, 1274-1303," in *History of the Church*, vol. 4: *From the High Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation*, eds. Hubert Jedin and John Dolan (New York: Crossroad, 1986), 261.

<sup>16</sup>Fabre, et al., eds., *LC*, 1:291 (col. 2):

Senatorum vero qui tunc urbi presunt medietas accedit pro presbyterio, et ad commedendum cum domno papa; quorum uni domnus papa vel duobus

Similarly, Cencius' prescriptions reproduce the text of an agreement (dated 31 May 1188) between Pope Clement III (1187-1191) and the Roman commune whose provisions include the senators receipt of the *presbyterium*.<sup>17</sup> According to Cencius' instructions for Easter Monday, two additional non-clerical groups also received the *presbyterium*. During his processional return to the Lateran upon conclusion of the stational Mass, the pope was presented with the Torah and lauded by Rome's Jewish community.<sup>18</sup>

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pro omnibus aliis presbyterium, pro unoquoque senatore scilicet unum melequinum.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 1:373 (col. 1) - 374 (col. 2):

Moreover, you [Clement III] will bestow upon the senators (who were present at the time [of the original dispute]) the privileges and customary *presbyterium*.

A decade later (28 May 1191), an agreement between Pope Celestine III (1191-1198) and the Roman senate mandated the pope to provide largesse to fifty-six senators -- gifts to any senator beyond that number was *mera liberalitas* (fifty-six was the number of senators who, a decade earlier, had signed the pact between Clement III and the senate). See Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae*, 4 (1741), cols. 35-36.

<sup>18</sup>The *Liber censuum* in Fabre, et al., eds., *LC*, 1:299 (col. 1):

The Jews run up [to the pope] and present him with the Torah and chant his *laudes*; for which

His procession was also honored by: 1) festive arches constructed at the behest of the city's notable citizens (*honorabiles*) and 2) a censuring performed by Rome's clergy.<sup>19</sup> For their efforts, all three groups received a

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they receive from the chamberlain a *presbyterium* amounting to twenty *solidi proveniensium*.

The Jewish inhabitants' ceremonial greeting, presentation of the Torah, and chanting of *laudes* became, in the following centuries, an established part of the popes' (and some secular rulers') coronation celebrations. The ceremony served a dual purpose. On the one hand it allowed Rome's Jewish population to participate in the welcoming of a new (or the celebration with an established) pontiff. On the other hand, it consciously emphasized both the distinctiveness, and wrongness, of the Jewish faith: the pontiff, upon presentation of the Torah, publicly approved of the Mosaic law and reproved the Jews for their erroneous interpretation of it. See Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Die Krönung des Papstes im Mittelalter dargestellt am Beispiel der Krönung Pius' II. (3. 9. 1458)," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 54 (1974): 234; and Noël Coulet, "Les entrées solennelles en Provence au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Aperçus nouveaux sur les entrées royales françaises au bas Moyen Age," *Ethnologie française* 7 (1977): 73-74.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 1:299 (col. 1). For both groups, Cencius' prescriptions give a very detailed listing of the recipients and the amounts bestowed. "De presbyterio quod datur pro arcubus; quomodo et quibus detur," in *ibid.*, 1:299 (col. 2) - 300 (col. 2); "De presbyterio pro turribulis dato; quibus et quomodo detur," in *ibid.*, 1:300 (col. 2) - 304 (col. 1).

With respect to the *presbyterium* granted in return for the festive arches ("pro arcubus"), the recipients are listed by their location along the procession's route

remuneration called the *presbyterium*.

Nor, in the twelfth-century, did the term *presbyterium* refer to a bestowal performed only by the pontiff. The Basel *Ordo* for a papal consecration, for instance, mentions that Rome's clergy received their *presbyterium* from the *prior basilicae* three days after the consecration.<sup>20</sup> Cencius' prescriptions for Easter Monday do not specify who bestowed the *presbyterium* on those

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(e.g., "A negotiatoribus usque ad fiolarios XLII solidi provenienses...Deinde usque ad domum Nicolai Derri V solidi et denarius provesini...."). The amounts are given either in *solidi provesini*, *denarii*, or a combination of the two). Presumably, the representative of a commercial district (e.g., the *magister negotiatorium*) or the head of an area's dominant household, received the bestowal.

The *presbyterium* bestowed for the censuring ("pro turribulis") is granted to the priest of a church (e.g., "sancto Laurentio in Damaso II sol.,...sancto Salvatori Trium ymaginum VI den.,....").

<sup>20</sup>The Basel *Ordo* as found in Schimmelpfennig in "Ein bisher unbekannter Text," 70. The pertinent passage reads:

On the third day following, the prior of the basilica gives the *presbyterium* to the Roman clergy [for] the streets in each area decorated with the various ornaments called arches.

The clerics' receipt of the *presbyterium* -- for this reason -- is unusual. In all subsequent sources the lay *honorabiles* assumed the responsibility of providing the festive arches. The author of the Basel *Ordo* probably confused (or conflated) the course of events.

honoring the pope's procession with *laudes*, arches, or censuring. It is likely, however, given the number of recipients, that the distribution was performed as in the Basel *Ordo* (i.e., by proxy at some point after the procession).<sup>21</sup>

Starting in the thirteenth-century *presbyterium* became more narrowly defined: a bestowal whose performer was only the pontiff and whose recipient was exclusively clerics. Although the pope's remuneration of some groups continued, it was not called *presbyterium*. After Cencius (late-twelfth century) no source mentions the remuneration of Rome's Jewish population for their greeting of the papal procession.<sup>22</sup> Nor, after the twelfth century,

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<sup>21</sup>Cencius lists 90 recipients "for [construction of] the arches" (*pro arcubus*), and 313 recipients "for the censuring" (*pro turribulis*). See Fabre, et al., eds., *LC*, 1:299 (col. 2) - 304 (col. 1).

<sup>22</sup>It is quite clear from the liturgical instructions (twelfth through fifteenth centuries), however, that the presentation of the Torah to, and the *laudes* chanted in honor of, the new pontiff were consistent features of papal coronations.

The failure to remunerate the Jewish population for these actions supports the view that, from the twelfth century, Christian rulers increasingly minimized Jewish participation in public ceremonies. See N. Coulet, "Les juifs dans les entrées médiévales," *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations* 34 (1979): 672-683. On a

is *presbyterium* used for the distribution given to those constructing festive arches or for censuring the cavalcade.<sup>23</sup> Since those performing the latter act were churchmen, even the circle of clerics receiving the *presbyterium* had contracted. These twelfth and thirteenth century restrictions on who received the *presbyterium* were not out of step with the history of the Church in this period. This era was marked by the widening of the gulf -- in the eyes of the Church -- between laymen and clerics. Is it surprising, then, to see laymen excluded from receiving a remuneration called the *presbyterium*? Moreover, Rome's "lower" clerics (i.e., those representatives of the city's churches who had greeted the pope's cavalcade with incense) also came to be excluded from its receipt. This indicates an exaltation of status for those cardinals, mitred clergy, and members of the pope's reti-

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general overview of papal processions and Rome's Jewish population see Ferdinand Gregorovius, *The Ghetto and the Jews of Rome*, Schocken Library, no. 12 (New York: Schocken Books, 1948), 52-64 (this work is a translation, by Moses Hadas, of Gregorovius' *Wanderjahre in Italien*).

<sup>23</sup>The thirteenth-century prescriptions contain no references to the construction of arches or the censuring. Both actions reappear in the Papal Coronation *Ordo* (c. 1300) and disappear with Stefaneschi's *Ordo* (1300-1340).

nue/household who received the *presbyterium* (a development in harmony with these orders' increasing importance in the late medieval period). The exclusion of representatives of the Jewish community from receiving the *presbyterium* (by the early thirteenth century) agrees with N. Coulet's observation that in the late Middle Ages Christian rulers minimized Jewish participation in public ceremonies.

It is unclear why, in the twelfth-century, *presbyterium* was chosen to denote the pope's festive distribution of coins. Since the recipients of this bestowal could be non-clerical and non-Christian, the other meanings of *presbyterium* -- "priesthood" or "clerical stipend" -- did not influence the selection of this term. As shown in the discussion of the disbursements mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis* (pre-twelfth century *vitae*), the amount bestowed during a papal distribution was often expressed *in presbyterio*. This may have influenced the later selection of this term to denote these distributions.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE DISTRIBUTION CEREMONIES

#### The Presbyterium Not Connected With The Pope's Coronation

The distribution of *presbyterium* regularly occurred at five points in the liturgical year: Holy (or Maundy) Thursday, Easter, the Monday following Easter, Christmas, and Saint Stephen's Day (December 26th).<sup>1</sup> A pope also distributed *presbyterium* during the festivities marking his entrance into office.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, no

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<sup>1</sup>"The commonest name for Holy Thursday in the West was *feria quinta in Coena Domini* ('Thursday of the Lord's Supper'), usually abbreviated to *Coena Domini* (or occasionally *Coena Dominica*): John Walton Tyrer, *Historical Survey of Holy Week: Its Services and Ceremonial*, Alcuin Club Collections no. 29 (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 79. Tyrer's section on Holy Thursday (pp. 79-115) makes no reference to the *presbyterium*. Also see H. A. P. Schmidt, *Hebdomada Sancta* (Rome: Herder, 1956-1957), 1:272-277, and 2 (part 2): 710-777, 969-971.

<sup>2</sup>The pope's practice of distributing *presbyterium* on his accession continued into the modern period: see the references in Gaetano Moroni, "Presbitero o presbiterio," *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, vol. 55

connection between the pontiff's wearing of his crown and the distribution of *presbyterium*. Apart from the fact that a crown wearing formed no part of the Maundy Thursday celebration, there were other liturgical celebrations which included a crown wearing and for which no trace of any coin disbursement is found. This study begins by describing the major features of the rites connected with the five annual distributions of *presbyterium*. This description is based almost exclusively (and unavoidably) on the liturgical prescriptions written for the proper celebration of these five occasions.

In general, the rites connected with Easter (Holy Thursday, Easter, and Easter Monday), Christmas, and Saint Stephen's Day, are very similar.<sup>3</sup> Excluding, for

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(1852), 160-170. Tracing the history of the *presbyterium* from the end of the Middle Ages into the modern period remains to be done but is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of the present study.

<sup>3</sup>Sources mentioning the *presbyterium* in the observance of:

**Holy Thursday:** Benedict's *Liber Politicus* in P. Fabre, L. Duchesne, and G. Mollat, eds., *LC*, vol. 2 (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1905), 150 (col. 2) - 151 (col. 1); Albinus' *Ordo* as found in his *Gesta pauperis scholaris* in *LC* 2:129 (col. 1) - 130 (col. 1); Cencius' *Ordo* in *LC* vol. 1 (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1889), 294 (col.

2) - 296 (col. 1); the Ordinal of the Papal Court (1213-1216) in Stephen J. P. Van Dijk and Joan Hazelden Walker, eds., *The Ordinal of the Papal Court from Innocent III to Boniface VIII and Related Documents*, Spicilegium Friburgense vol. 22 (Fribourg: The University Press, 1975), 240; and the *Ordo* of Gregory X in Marc Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance*, vol. 1, *Le cérémonial papal du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 1977), 193 (a referral to the prescriptions set forth both in the Roman Ordinal and Gregory's prior discussion of papal coronations); Stefaneschi's *Ordo* in *ibid.*, vol. 2, *De Rome en Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 1981), 372-373, 381-382; the "long ceremonial" in *ibid.*, vol. 3, *Les textes avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme d'occident* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 1983), 209-210; Fesulani's *Ordo* in Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kurie im Mittelalter*, Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts im Rom, vol. 40 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1973), 266; Ameil's Ceremonial in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, vol. 4, *Le retour à Rome ou le cérémonial du patriarche Pierre Ameil* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 1985), 138.

**Easter:** Benedict's *Liber Politicus* in LC 2:152 (col. 1) - 154 (col. 1); Albinus' *Ordo* as found in his *Gesta pauperis scholaris* in LC 2:131 (col. 1) - 132 (col. 1); and Cencius' *Ordo* in LC 1:297 (col. 2) - 298 (col. 2).

**Easter Monday:** Benedict's *Liber Politicus* in LC 2:154 (cols. 1-2); Albinus' *Ordo* as found in his *Gesta pauperis scholaris* in LC 2:132 (col. 2); and Cencius' *Ordo* in LC 1:299 (col. 1).

**Christmas:** Benedict's *Liber Politicus* in LC 2:144 (col. 2) - 147 (col. 1); Albinus' *Ordo* as found in his *Gesta pauperis scholaris* in LC 2:128; Cencius' *Ordo* in LC 1:290 (col. 2) - 292 (col. 1); the Ordinal of the Papal Court (1213-1216) in Van Dijk and Walker, eds., *The Ordinal*, 124-125; Stefaneschi's *Ordo* in Dykmans, ed., *Le*

the moment, the Holy Thursday celebration, each ceremony included: 1) the crowned pope's procession from the Lateran Palace to a stational church; 2) the celebration of mass at this church (and the chanting of the pope's *laudes* within the mass); 3) upon the mass' conclusion, the re-crowning of the pontiff outside of the church (the crown had been removed upon arrival); 4) a processional return to the Lateran (and, in most instances, the chanting of the papal *laudes* at some point after the pope's arrival); 5) the distribution of *presbyterium* within the Lateran Palace; and 6) the holding of a banquet.<sup>4</sup> The

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*cérémonial papal*, 2:338; and Ameil's Ceremonial in *ibid.*, 4:80-81.

**Saint Stephen's Day:** Benedict's *Liber Politicus* in *LC* 2:147 (col. 2); Albinus' *Ordo* as found in his *Gesta pauperis scholaris* in *LC* 2:128 (col. 2); Cencius' *Ordo* in *LC* 1:292 (cols. 1-2); and Ameil's Ceremonial in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 4:81.

<sup>4</sup>In the case of the rites for Holy Thursday, it is clear that the pope distributed the *presbyterium* irrespective of his residence in Rome or Avignon. Stefaneschi's *Ordo*, for example, compiled at Avignon between 1300 and 1340, contains instructions for the *extra Romam* celebration of Holy Thursday -- including the distribution of *presbyterium* (Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:380-381; also available in Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 152). In the "Long Ceremonial," compiled during the pontificate of the fourth Avignonese pope Clement VI (1342-1352), the wording of a rubric on Holy Thursday implies that the ceremony was conducted

Holy Thursday ceremony generally followed this course of events but differed in that it involved neither a crowning nor the *laudes* (either in the mass or upon the pope's arrival at the Lateran). In addition, the observance of Holy Thursday included a ceremony unknown to the others: the *pedilavium* or *mandatum* (the pope's reenactment of Christ's washing of his disciples' feet).<sup>5</sup>

The *presbyterium* was a part of each of these five ceremonies during the twelfth through fourteenth centuries. For each ceremony, however, there is no continuous record of the inclusion of the distribution of *presbyterium*. A variety of liturgical and non-liturgical sources record the distribution of *presbyterium* on Holy Thursday

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elsewhere than Rome (Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 3:209-210 [by Dykmans' numbering, Rubric 85]):

finita missa...papa...vadit ad aliquem locum  
adherentem capelle sive ecclesie in qua cele-  
bravit...et ponit pro presbiterio in mitra....

<sup>5</sup>*Mandatum* from "command" or "exhortation" - a literal interpretation of Christ's actions at the Last Supper according to John 13.14-15. John Walton Tyrer, *Historical Survey of Holy Week*, 109. An introduction to the *pedilavium* ceremony is available in K. Schreiner, "Fusskuss," *LM*, vol. 4/Lieferung 5 (1988), col. 1065 ("IV. Fusskuss und Fusswaschung in der Liturgie").

up until the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup> For the Easter distribution, the liturgical sources fall silent at the end of the twelfth century. However, at the very end of the following century, and at the beginning of the fourteenth century, two non-liturgical sources again refer to the Easter *presbyterium*. The bestowals of *presbyterium* on Easter Monday and Saint Stephen's Day are known only to twelfth century liturgical sources.<sup>7</sup> Several liturgical and non-liturgical sources spanning the twelfth to the late fourteenth centuries record the *presbyterium* granted on Christmas.

Thus, no sources (liturgical or non-liturgical) mention a "non-coronation" *presbyterium* in the fifteenth

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<sup>6</sup>References to the financial and administrative records used in making these generalizations are available in Chapter 1, note 5.

<sup>7</sup>It is unclear whether the prescriptions in Ameil's Ceremonial (1385/1390) for the celebration of Saint Stephen's Day refer to the *presbyterium*. The passage (Dykman, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 4:81) prescribes the performance of "the other things just as they are found in the *politicus*." The referral back to Benedict's *Liber Politicus* (LC 2:147, cols. 1-2) -- where a *presbyterium* distribution is mentioned -- suggests that Ameil's Ceremonial calls for a bestowal on this day. This, however, is too scanty a basis for accepting the presence of the *presbyterium* in the fourteenth-century observance of Saint Stephen's Day.

century. In the case of Easter Monday, for example, it is even doubtful whether its *presbyterium* distribution even survived into the thirteenth century. Moreover, it is unclear how to interpret the fourteenth-century references to the bestowal on Easter. Do they make explicit a practice which the **sources** of the previous century chose not to mention, or mark a rediscovery and revival of a twelfth century practice?

In 1488 Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini (with the help of Johannes Burckard) compiled, at the request of Pope Innocent VIII (1484-1492), a new edition of the Roman Ceremonial.<sup>8</sup> This revision mentions only the *presbyterium* connected with the papal coronation.<sup>9</sup> It seems reasonable to suggest, then, that none of the non-coronation *presbyterium* bestowals survived into the late fifteenth century.

This conclusion, however, need not rest on an

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<sup>8</sup>Critical edition in Marc Dykmans, ed., *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou Le cérémonial de la première renaissance*, 2 vols., *Studi e testi*, 293-294 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980-1982).

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 1:83-84, 92, for the references to the *presbyterium* distributed within a papal consecration and crowning.

argument *ex silentio*. Evidence for a restriction of the practice of bestowals is available, but only for the Holy Thursday ceremony. Bindo Fesulani compiled a ceremonial in 1377.<sup>10</sup> In a rubric to his own text on the celebration of Holy Thursday, Fesulani reproduced the rubric of an earlier *ordo* (from the Long Ceremonial) on the rites connected with Holy Thursday (prominent among which was the distribution of *presbyterium*). Fesulani's borrowing from this ceremonial is nearly word for word, with one exception: Fesulani prefaced his rubric with the following comment:

These things which follow are to be observed only during the first year following our Lord Pope's coronation.<sup>11</sup>

A slightly later *ordo* modified this restriction. Pierre Ameil's Ceremonial (1385/1390) described the distribution of *presbyterium* on Holy Thursday within a section entitled "Note concerning those things done when the chrism

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<sup>10</sup>Text in Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 245-291.

<sup>11</sup>Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 266:

Ista que secuntur, non observantur nisi in anno primo coronationis domini nostri pape.

is fashioned and the *mandatum* bestowed, and concerning erogations, etc."<sup>12</sup> In these prescriptions, the pope distributed the *presbyterium* only when he consecrated the chrism and performed the *mandatum* (both traditional features of the Holy Thursday observance). Yet in his opening discussion of Holy Thursday Ameil restricted the pope's consecration of the chrism to only the first year of his pontificate and to every seventh year after that.<sup>13</sup> For Ameil, then, the occasion for the distribution of *presbyterium* coincided with the pope's consecration of the chrism (the occasion for the latter being the first year of his pontificate and every seventh year thereafter). This represents a modification of Fesulani's ceremonial's restriction of the bestowal to the first

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<sup>12</sup>"Nota de hiis que fiunt quando conficitur crisma et fit mandatum, de largitione, etc." in Marc Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 4:138.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 4:129:

Sciendum quo Romani presules in primo anno coronationis consueverunt conficere sacrum crisma, et facere mandatum, et conficere agnus Dei - nota de singulis locis suis - et numquam plus nisi de septem in septem annis, quoniam tunc multa observanda sunt. A later section makes clear (ibid., 4:132) that by "presules" Ameil was referring to the bishops.

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year of a pope's reign. In general, the limitation of the occasions on which the pope granted the Holy Thursday *presbyterium* represents a heretofore unnoticed parallel with similar late-fourteenth-century limitations placed on his consecration of the chrism, performance of the *mandatum*, and fashioning of the waxen *Agnus Dei*.<sup>14</sup>

However, the clearest evidence for the disappearance of the *presbyterium* disbursements not related to a papal coronation, at some point before the fifteenth century, is found in Piccolomini's Ceremonial. In a general discussion of the pope's miters and tiara this ceremonial states:

Previously, when on certain solemn occasions the Roman pontiff carried this tiara, the laud *Exaudi Christe* was chanted by the deacons and officials (as during a coronation)...and the

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<sup>14</sup>The limitations placed on the latter three actions discussed in *ibid.*, 4:129, note 61.

A reduction in the number of occasions on which the Byzantine emperor distributed largess was also a feature of late imperial ceremonial (fourteenth century). See Jean Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1917), 98-100 (based, in part, on Pseudo-Codinos' *De officiis*, XIV). A translation of the *De officiis* is available in Jean Verpeaux, ed. and trans., *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des offices: Introduction, texte et traduction*, *Le monde byzantin*, 1 (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1966).

pontiff bestowed the *presbyterium*. Today, these practices have been abolished. The days on which the pope is crowned are listed below namely...on Christmas, Saint Stephen's Day ...on Easter and on the day following Easter ....<sup>15</sup>

The meaning of this passage is clear. The *laudes* and *presbyterium* bestowals formerly ("antiquitus") associated with the *dies solemnes* are no longer practiced. The sources do not explain why, by the late fifteenth century, the occasions on which the pope distributed *presbyterium* were limited to his accession.

For details on the distribution of *presbyterium* there are only the prescriptions for Holy Thursday (and only in those sources dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries).<sup>16</sup> There is, however general agree-

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<sup>15</sup>Dykmans, ed., *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 2:522:

Antiquitus quando Romanus pontifex diebus solemnibus thiam h[a]nc ferebat, fiebant ei laudes a diaconis et officialibus ut in coronatione *Exaudi Christe...*, et pontifex dabat presbiterium. Hodie utrumque abolitum est. Dies autem in quibus papa coronabatur, erant infrascripti, videlicet:...in nativitate Domini, in sancti Stephani,...in resurrectione et in secunda feria,....

<sup>16</sup>Details in the Ordinal of the Papal Court (1213-1216) in Van Dijk and Walker, eds., *The Ordinal of the Papal Court*, 240; and in the fourteenth century *ordines*

ment on when and how the pope distributed the *presbyterium*. Upon conclusion of the Holy Thursday mass, the pope: 1) proceeded to a nearby chapel,<sup>17</sup> 2) removed his chasuble (*planeta*) and donned the mantle of state (*mantus*), the *fano* and the miter,<sup>18</sup> 3) sat on the chair of state (*faldistorium*), his feet propped up on a stool (*scabellum*),<sup>19</sup> and 4) distributed the *presbyterium*.<sup>20</sup> The dis-

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of: Stefaneschi in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:372-373, 381-382; *Le cérémonial long* in *ibid.*, 3:209-210; an Ameil, in *ibid.*, 4:138; and Fesulani in Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 266.

<sup>17</sup>Stefaneschi's *Ordo* is the only fourteenth century source that specifies a location for the distribution (Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:372-373): "[papa] ducitur ad capellam sancti Silvestri...." The other sources, written for the papacy residing *extra Romam*, use phrases such as "[papa] vadit ad aliquem locum adherentem capelle sive ecclesie, in qua celebrabit...."

<sup>18</sup>The *fano* (or *phano*) referred to is the amice (Latin, *amictus*), a square or oblong piece of linen worn by priests celebrating the Eucharist (the pope, uniquely, wears his amice over, not under, the alb).

<sup>19</sup>Neither the thirteenth century Ordinal nor Stefaneschi's *Ordo* -- the two earliest of the sources providing details on the distribution -- mention the *scabellum*.

<sup>20</sup>Ameil's discussion of the bestowal of *presbyterium* on Holy Thursday (Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 4:138) provides a detail not found in the other prescriptions:

Afterwards [while the pope] sits on the

tribution proceeded thus. Clerics individually approached the *faldistorium* -- upturned miter in hand -- and knelt before the pope.<sup>21</sup> The pontiff reached into a silver dish (*scyphus*) held by the *camerarius* and removed its contents -- the coins for distribution. The pope then placed them into the cleric's upturned miter, whereupon the recipient kissed the pontiff's knee and made way for the next

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throne, his feet resting on the stool, wearing the mantle of state over his shoulders, the amice on his head over which is placed a white miter, the sacristan extends a towel over the pope's knees and two acolytes -- one on the left, the other on the right -- hold this towel. With this done...the chamberlain hands the pope a great silver vessel...[containing] the money set aside for the *presbyterium*...

The pope's washing of the feet (*pedilavium*) -- not the distribution of *presbyterium* -- required the holding of a towel over his knees. The above passage is from Ameil's "Note concerning those things done when the chrism is fashioned and the *mandatum* bestowed, and concerning erogations, etc." This explains the discrepancy: Ameil's prescriptions conflate the rites performed in the two ceremonies.

<sup>21</sup>Stefaneschi's *Ordo* (Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:372-373) specifies the order in which clerics approached the pope (and its basis): "[papa] dat cuilibet cardinali singulariter et prelato presbiterium solitum, primo videlicet episcopis cardinalibus, secundo presbiteris, tertio diaconibus, secundum ordinem antiquitatis singulorum in statu in quo tunc est cardinalatus. Consequenter omnibus aliis prelatiis, singulis singulariter."

cleric. The prior transfer of the coins into the *scyphus* was the responsibility of treasury officials (*clerici camerae*) and two moneychangers (*mercatores*) sitting at a counting table.

The *Presbyterium* Connected With A Pope's Coronation

The bestowal of *presbyterium* on the day of the pope's coronation is the best documented of the distributions. Not surprisingly, only the liturgical sources provide details (which will be examined after first establishing the context).<sup>22</sup> The sources -- with only minor exceptions -- agree on the details surrounding that

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<sup>22</sup>Sources mentioning the *presbyterium* in papal coronations: Albinus' *Ordo* in *LC* 2:124 (col. 2); Cencius' *Ordo* in *ibid.*, 1:312 (col. 2) and 313 (col. 1); the Basel *Ordo* in Schimmelpfennig, "Ein bisher unbekannter Text," 68; Gregory X's *Ordo* in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 1:174 and 179; the Pontifical of the Roman Curia (thirteenth-century) in Michel Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain au moyen âge*, vol. 2, *Le pontifical de la curie romaine au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940), 379; an early-fourteenth-century papal coronation *ordo* in *ibid.*, vol. 3, *Le pontifical de Guillaume Durand* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940), 667; Stefaneschi's *Ordo* in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:286, 302-303, 323; an *ordo* composed for the consecration of Martin V in *ibid.*, 3:471-472; Barozzi's Pontifical in Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 348-349; and Piccolomini's Ceremonial in Marc Dykmans, ed., *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:83-84.

day's events. The consecration, scheduled for the Sunday immediately following the election, took place during the mass at Saint Peter's.<sup>23</sup> Other rites that followed the consecration included: 1) the pope's palliation, 2) his sitting in the *cathedra Petri* and receiving the cardinals *ad osculum pedis et oris*, and 3) the *laudes* chanted in his honor. The coronation, performed on the steps of Saint Peter's, followed the end of mass.<sup>24</sup>

The pontiff then headed in procession towards the Lateran to assume formal ownership (*possessio*) by physically occupying the premises.<sup>25</sup> Upon arrival (and follow-

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<sup>23</sup>The following discussion assumes, for the sake of simplicity, the papacy resident in Rome. The pertinent sources indicate that papal consecrations and coronations *extra Romam* (at Avignon or Constance) included the bestowal of *presbyterium*.

<sup>24</sup>On the general aspects of papal coronations see Reginald Maxwell Woolley, *Coronation Rites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), 159-164.

<sup>25</sup>The new bishop of Rome's *possessio* (or *introductio*) -- a ritual act performed by his walking into and through the Lateran -- proclaimed its new owner. Since only the pope could take possession of the palace, the *possessio* usually followed his consecration. See Eduard Eichmann, *Weihe und Krönung des Papstes*, 4, 14; Nikolaus Gussone, *Thron und Inthronisation des Papstes von den Anfängen bis zum 12. Jahrhundert: zur Beziehung zwischen Herrschaftszeichen und bildhaften Begriffen, Recht und Liturgie im christlichen Verständnis von Wort und Wirklichkeit*,

ing, according to some sources, the chanting of his *laudes*), he dismounted and sat in the marble *sedes stercoraria* (located at the palace's entrance). Next, the cardinals ceremonially raised the pontiff from this chair, and the pope cast coins to the crowd. Led into the Lateran basilica (to the sound of *Te Deum laudamus*), the pope first prayed and then blessed the people. The pontiff then proceeded to the *magna sedes* located behind the altar, sat down, and received the reverence ("ad pedem et ad osculum") of the Lateran's canons. Rising, the pope was led toward the door linking basilica and palace where a *faldistorium* was set up. After the pope sat down, the prior of the cardinal priests, the *iudices*, and the *scriniarii* (each arranged in ranks) chanted the *laudes* (similar to those chanted earlier by the prior of the

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Bonner historische Forschungen, vol. 41 (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1978), 144-145, and n. 20 (for a good bibliography on the *possessio*); and Gaetano Moroni, "Possesso de'Papi," in *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, vol. 54 (1852), 294-297.

The twelfth century prescriptions of Albinus, Cencius, and the Basel *ordo* -- in *LC* 2:123 (col. 1) - 124 (col. 1), *ibid.*, 1:311 (col. 2) - 312 (col. 1), and Schimmelpfennig, "Ein bisher unbekannter Text," 60-63, respectively -- mention the *possessio* taking place after the election but prior to the consecration.

cardinal deacons within the mass at Saint Peter's). Rising and moving through the palace, the pope next stopped at the two porphyry seats located at the door of the *basilica Sancti Silvestri*.<sup>26</sup> The pontiff sat in each, and while in the second again casts coins. He then proceeded to the "Sancta Sanctorum" chapel (*basilica Sancti Laurentii*) and prayed before its altar. Upon returning to Saint Sylvester's Basilica, the pontiff distributed the *presbyterium*. A banquet concluded the day's events.

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<sup>26</sup>The *sedes porphyreticae* were actually made of *rosso antico*, a stone often confused with (and thus, substituted for) porphyry. Both seats (still extant):

are absolutely identical and unmistakably antique works of unique quality. They were taken from the ruins of the city,... [and] had not been thrones originally, but - as analogies in the British Museum from Ostia and the Terme of Caracalla clearly show - Roman toilet seats or stools from the baths. It was their symbolic color and beautiful execution that induced the papal court to employ them for ceremonial purposes....

See Josef Deér, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, no. 5 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959), 144 (especially 142-146, "The 'Porphyry' Thrones of the Lateran Palace"). The porphyry thrones' connection with the Pope Joan legend is explained in Johann J. I. Döllinger, *Die Papst-Fabeln des Mittelalters: Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte* (Munich: Literarisch-artistische Anstalt, 1863), 29-34.

Until the end of the fifteenth century the ceremony at the palace followed very nearly the same form as that observed during the other, non-coronation, bestowals: the sitting pontiff placed the *presbyterium* directly into the miter of a kneeling cleric who, in turn, kissed the pope's knee.<sup>27</sup> A banquet followed the distribution ceremony. There is only one very minor exception. The *ordo* in the Basel manuscript has the distribution ceremony taking place *at*, not before, the banquet.<sup>28</sup>

At the end of the fifteenth century, on the other hand, the bestowal ceremony as described in Piccolomini's *ordo* was modified in several respects. First, cardinals and mitred clerics, although both receiving the *presbyterium* in their miters, now received the distribution in different postures: the former while bowing low ("profunde caput inclinant"), the latter while kneeling (the posture of the *alii prelati et officiales* is not indicat-

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<sup>27</sup>The papacy's residency at Avignon had no effect on the ceremonial form of the distribution of *presbyterium* (to judge by Stefaneschi's prescriptions written at Avignon sometime between 1300-1340).

<sup>28</sup>Thus, the pope distributed the *presbyterium* from a dining-couch (*lectus*) and not from his throne (see Schimelpfennig, "Ein bisher unbekannter Text," 68).

ed). Secondly, the kissing of the pope's knee became only one of three gestures performed by the recipients: cardinals kissed the pope's hand, lesser mitred clergy kissed the pope's knee, and non-mitred clerics kissed the pope's foot (the latter received the coins in their hands). Lastly, the coins for distribution, formerly handed to the pontiff in a silver *scyphus*, are now removed (by the pope) from the folds of the chamberlain's garb ("e gremio camerarii").<sup>29</sup> These instructions, differentiate a recipients': 1) body posture in front of the pope (bowing low/kneeling/unspecified), 2) the means by which he received the *presbyterium* (miter/hand), and 3) the type of kiss he performed (hand-/knee-/foot-kiss). The different (and hierarchized) gestures clearly mark off a boundary between the mitred and non-mitred clerics and -- most significantly -- exalt the position of the cardinals over their fellow-mitred but non-cardinal recipients.<sup>30</sup> This

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<sup>29</sup>Dykmans, ed., *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:83-84.

<sup>30</sup>As mentioned in the following chapter, Piccolomini's prescriptions for the pontiff's bestowal of the *Agnus Dei* also sharply differentiated the gestures performed by groups of recipients (e.g., mitred and non-mitred, cardinal and non-cardinal). In both types of distributions a cleric's status was (not surprisingly)

is in perfect step with the increasing pretensions of the late medieval cardinalate.<sup>31</sup>

The *Jactus* Not Connected With The Pope's Coronation

The casting of coins to the crowd (*jactus*) is the second type of distribution performed on certain festive occasions. Of the five previously mentioned non-coronation ceremonies (Holy Thursday, Easter, the Monday following Easter, Christmas, and Saint Stephen's Day), only the crowned pope's processional return to the Lateran on Easter Monday featured the tossing of coins. Evidence for the tosses performed on this day is available only in two twelfth-century sources (the prescriptions of Albinus and Cencius).

Albinus' instructions simply state that a *jactus* "in vulgus" was performed during the processional return (when, where, and by whom are not specified).<sup>32</sup> Cencius' prescriptions are, as is generally the case, the more

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enhanced by possessing a miter and being a cardinal.

<sup>31</sup>Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), 158-160.

<sup>32</sup>Fabre, et al., eds., *LC* 2:132 (col. 2).

informative. In the latter, a coin toss is performed five times. The first is undertaken by the seneschal riding behind the pope as the cavalcade starts off. Curial officials, positioned at the following locations, undertook the next four casts (at the point when the procession reached them): on the *turrus Stephani Serpetri*, from the *palatium Centii Musca Inpunga*, at Saint Mark's, and from the *palatium Sancte Martine*.<sup>33</sup> Subsequent prescriptions for the celebration of Easter Monday do not refer to these processional coin casts. This suggests a disappearance, by the thirteenth century, of these tosses from the Easter Monday celebrations. This exactly parallels the disappearance of references to the *presbyterium* once bestowed on this day.

#### The Coin Tosses Performed at the Pope's Coronation

Two types of coin tosses were connected with a papal coronation: those made during the procession to, and those performed at, the Lateran Palace. The processional casts appear in almost every source for a papal

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 1:299 (col. 1).

coronation.<sup>34</sup> Several sources mention the casting of coins by the pope's seneschal or marshall after the pope had mounted his horse (but prior to the cavalcade's setting off).<sup>35</sup> Better documented, in all of the sources save one, are the tosses made along the processional

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<sup>34</sup>With one exception (Albinus' prescriptions), the sources and citations listed for Table 1 (footnote 42 *supra*) are applicable here. Albinus' prescriptions do not refer to the coins tossed during the procession on the day of a pope's coronation.

Achille Luchaire, *Innocent III* (1905; reprint, Westmead: Gregg International Publishers, 1969), 1:22-23, erroneously interpreted the *Gesta Innocentii's* reference to "sparsis de more missilibus" to mean that arrows, launched by bystanders, honored Innocent's coronation procession. See *PL*, vol. 214 (1855), cols. xx-xxi.

<sup>35</sup>Gregory X's *Ordo* in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 1:176; Stefaneschi's *Ordines* in *ibid.*, 2:299-300 (for the coronation of John XXII), and 2:320 (for a consecration at Rome); the *ordo* composed for the consecration of Martin V in *ibid.*, 3:470; the thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia in Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain*, 2:376; and Barozzi's Pontifical in Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 346.

Cencius' *Ordo* in *LC* 1:312 (col. 2), does not explicitly refer to the *jactus* made prior to the cavalcade's setting off. But this passage's referral back to the Easter Monday coin casts ("et jactubus totidem et tanta quantitate factis, sicut in predicta secunda feria post Pascha") -- where such a *jactus* is performed -- implies that an initial coin throw was also a part of the post-coronation procession.

Please see Appendix A regarding whether the pope tossed coins at the start of the procession.

route by (predominantly) the pope's representative.<sup>36</sup> For a consecration performed at Rome, the locations are specified: they are the same as those met with in Cencius' prescriptions for the Easter Monday procession: the *turris Stephani Serpetri*, the *palatium Centii Musca Inpunga*, Saint Mark's, and the *palatium Sancte Martine*.<sup>37</sup> The processions connected with *extra Romam* coronations also included coin tosses. John XXII (pontificate, 1316-1334) was the second of the Avignon popes. His consecration and crowning, performed at Lyon on 5 September 1316,

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<sup>36</sup>The twelfth-century Basel *ordo* mentions the coin tosses without specifying locations.

The first instance of a pope casting coins during a procession appears in a letter (dated 26 August 1471) written by an eyewitness to the coronation of Sixtus IV (9 August 1471):

Et benché avesse commenzato sul tribunale de la coronatione ad spargere moneta d'oro, qui suso lo principio del ponte [de Sancto Angelo] sparsio de soa mano al populo etiamdio monete de argento, et cossì la faceva spargere dal thexoriero generale che per ancora è lo archiepiscopo de Spalatro, et da Franceschino che sta al banco di Medici quale è suo depositorio.

See F. Cruciani, *Teatro nel rinascimento: Roma 1450-1550* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1983), 149.

<sup>37</sup>Cencius' prescriptions in *LC* 1:299 (col. 1).

included processional coin tosses at four locations.<sup>38</sup> The *ordo* composed for Pope Martin V's consecration (Constance, 21 December 1417) reproduced, nearly word for word, Stefaneschi's prescriptions for the coronation procession of Pope John XXII.<sup>39</sup> Barozzi's pontifical (composed 1451/1455), our first source after the reestablishment of the papacy in Rome, again refers to the coin tosses at the four usual Roman locations. An eyewitness account of Sixtus IV's coronation (9 August 1471) records that coins were cast at every triple crossroad (*trivio*) and piazza.<sup>40</sup> Piccolomini's *Ceremonial* (1488), our last source, changed several of the locations for the proces-

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<sup>38</sup>Stefaneschi's prescriptions in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:300-301. The procession's terminus was not, of course, the Lateran palace. John XXII, prior to his occupation of the episcopal palace in Lyons, inhabited that city's Dominican priory.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, 3:470-471.

<sup>40</sup>Letter, from Rome (dated 26 August 1471), written by the Milanese ambassador Giovanni Blancho da Cremona to the Duke of Milan:

Et cossì in ogni trivio, fin ad Sancto Janni,  
e piazza, sparse e fece spargere de dicte  
monete,....

See Cruciani, *Teatro nel rinascimento*, 149.

sional coin casts (and, at the pope's discretion, called for additional coin casts).<sup>41</sup>

The second type of coin toss performed on the day of a papal coronation took place during the *possessio* of the Lateran. The pope -- not his agent (as was the case in the processional casts) -- tossed coins twice: once, at the marble *sedes stercoraria* (located at the palace's entrance), and again at the two porphyry seats located at the door of the *basilica Sancti Silvestri*. All of the liturgical sources (twelfth to fifteenth century) which refer to the *possessio* of the Lateran mention these two palatial coin casts.<sup>42</sup> Ceremonies *extra Romam* -- for

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<sup>41</sup>Dykmans, ed., *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:80.

<sup>42</sup>Albinus' *Ordo* in LC 2:123 (col. 1) - 124 (col. 1); Cencius' *Ordo* in *ibid.*, 1:311 (col. 2) - 313 (col. 2); the Basel *Ordo* in Schimmelpfennig, "Ein bisher unbekannter Text," 60-63; Gregory X's *Ordo* in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 1:177-179; the Pontifical of the Roman Curia (thirteenth century) in Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain*, 2:377-379; the early-fourteenth-century coronation *ordo* in Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain*, 3:667-668; Stefaneschi's *Ordo* for the benediction of a new pope in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:284-285; Stefaneschi's *Ordo* for the coronation of John XXII in *ibid.*, 2:301-302; Stefaneschi's prescriptions for a consecration at Rome in *ibid.*, 2:322-323; Barozzi's Pontifical in Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 348; and Piccolomini's Ceremonial in Dykmans, ed., *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:82-83.

example, the consecration of Popes John XXII and Martin V (at Lyons and Constance, respectively) -- did not duplicate the casts connected with the *sedes* of the Lateran palace.<sup>43</sup>

Their context established, we can now examine the details of the tosses performed at the *sedes stercoraria* and *sedes porphyreticae*. The sources are unanimous on the conduct of the ceremony at the former. The post-coronation cavalcade having arrived at the Lateran, the pope is led to the *sedes stercoraria* (located at the palace's entrance) and sits down.<sup>44</sup> He is then raised up by the

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<sup>43</sup>Stefaneschi's prescriptions (Dykman, ed., *Le cérémonie papale*, 2:301) for John XXII's post-coronation cavalcade (at Lyons) state:

Later when [the pope] comes into the entrance of the palace, a papal attendant will likewise make another toss.

However, given that an attendant (*familiaris papae*) -- not the pope -- will cast the coins, and that the "palatium" returned to is the Dominican priory -- John XXII did not, at first, occupy the episcopal palace -- Stefaneschi's instructions do not refer to the coin tosses connected with a *possessio*.

<sup>44</sup>It is unknown when the *sedes stercoraria* first appeared. Eichmann, *Weihe und Krönung des Papstes*, 47, states that "er ist jedenfalls älter als die Zeit, aus der wir diese erste Kunde besitzen" and suggests that Gregory the Great -- the first pope to call himself the

cardinals so that -- as the sources inform us -- these words could be fulfilled: "He raised the poor from the dust, and lifts the needy from the dunghill to give them a place with princes and to assign them a seat of honor" (1 Kings 2:8; cf., Psalm 112:7-8).<sup>45</sup>

Standing, the pope then removed from the folds of his *camerarius'* garb ("de gremio camerarii") three handfuls of *denarii* and threw them to the assembled crowd while reciting, almost verbatim, Acts 3:6: "I have neither gold nor silver, but what I have I give to you" (*Argentum et aurum non est mihi; quod autem habeo, hoc tibi do*).<sup>46</sup> The

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*servus servorum Dei* -- may have introduced its use. This *sedes* has been linked to the pope Joan legend, but as Mabillon, ed., *Museum italicum*, 1:57-58 has pointed out, references to the *sedes stercoraria* predate, by a century, the pope Joan fable.

<sup>45</sup>The text of the Vulgate reads:

Suscitat de pulvere egenum, et de stercore erigit pauperem, ut sedeat cum principibus, et solium glorie teneat.

The ninth century *vita de sancto Maximiano* written by Agnellus (as found in his *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* - *MGH: Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum* (1878), 332, 335, has references to fine-linen altar cloths displaying the words "de stercore exaltavit," and "de stercore exaltasti."

<sup>46</sup>All of the sources for a papal coronation at Rome

sources do not make clear whether these words were recited once or with each cast.

Likewise, the sources basically agree on the ceremony connected with the casts performed at the *sedes porphyreticae*. The cardinals (or *iudices*) led the pope to the two porphyry seats placed at the entrance of the *basilica Sancti Silvestri*.<sup>47</sup> The pope then sat in the chair "ad dexteram."<sup>48</sup> Next, the prior of the Saint

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refer to these words. Several sources, however, add the phrase "ad delectationem" directly after *mihi*. Its significance is reserved for a later discussion.

The two prescriptions for ceremonies *extra Romam* -- the *ordo* written for the coronation of John XXII (at Lyon, 5 September 1316), and the *ordo* for the consecration of Martin V (at Constance, 21 December 1417) -- do not, naturally, include the casts made at the Lateran.

<sup>47</sup>The twelfth century sources -- namely Albinus in *LC* 2:123 (col. 2); Cencius in *ibid.*, 1:312 (col. 1); and the Basel *ordo* in Schimmelpfennig, "Ein bisher unbekannter Text," 61 -- uniquely refer to an *ymago Salvatoris* (placed on the arch at the basilica's entrance) which "a quodam Judeo percussa olim in fronte sanguinem emisit, sicut hodie cernitur ...."

<sup>48</sup>The description of the pope sitting in the *sedes porphyreticae* is convenient rather than accurate. The sources call for a posture closer to reclining than sitting. The description of the pope's posture (and its significance) as found in the thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia (Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain*, 2:378-379) is typical:

Et in istis duabus sedibus debet papa taliter

Lawrence basilica handed the pontiff a rod (*ferula*) and a set of keys (for the Lateran's basilica and palace). The sources state that the rod signified the pope's authority to lead and to correct, and the keys symbolized his power of binding and loosing. The pope then rose and proceeded to the second porphyry seat. Before sitting down, the pontiff restored both the rod and the keys to the aforementioned prior. The prior then girded the sitting pope with a red silk belt (*cingulum*, or *zona*) from which hung a purple purse filled with twelve seals (*sigillae*) of precious stone and perfumed powder (*muscus*). Only the prescriptions of Albinus, Cencius, and the *ordo* from Basel -- that is, only the twelfth century sources -- explain the significance of each of these items.<sup>49</sup> The red belt symbolized chastity, the purple purse represented the pope's obligation to feed the

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se habere ut videatur potius iacere quam sedere, videlicet ut videatur incumbere inter duos lectos, scilicet inter principatum Petri et doctrinam Pauli. Et nulla istarum sedium, nec etiam stercoraria, erit cooperta, vel parata, sed nuda.

<sup>49</sup>Albinus in *LC* 2:123 (col. 2) - 124 (col. 1); Cencius in *ibid.*, 1:312 (col. 1); and the Basel *ordo* in Schimmelpfennig, "Ein bisher unbekannter Text," 62.

*pauperes Christi* and to take care of widows, the twelve seals signified the *potestas* (alternately, *precepta*) *apostolorum*, and the *muscus* symbolized the apostolic claim "Christi bonus odor sumus Deo." The pontiff then received the reverence of the palace officials "ad pedes et postea ad osculum." Still sitting, the pope took, three times, from the hand of his *camerarius*, a fistful of silver coins and tossed them to the crowd. With each cast the pope recited the words of 2 Cor 9:9 (which refers to the words of Psalm 111:9): "He dispersed his wealth to the poor, his righteousness will live forever and ever" (*Dispersit dedit pauperibus, justitia ejus manet in seculum seculi*).

## CHAPTER 5

### THE EXPLANATION OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE RITUAL CONNECTED WITH THE DISTRIBUTION OF *PRESBYTERIUM*

This chapter examines puzzling aspects of the ritual associated with the distribution of *presbyterium*. The ceremony connected with the processional coin casts has no perplexing features. The only puzzling feature of the coin casts performed at the Lateran palace -- the words recited during the cast -- is best discussed in the next chapter, devoted to the purpose of the distributions.

#### The Placing of the Coins in the *Scyphus*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>On liturgical vessels in general, see Joseph Braun, *Die christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und seiner Entwicklung* (Munich: M. Hueber, 1932); Eisenhofer, *Handbuch*, vol. 1 (1932), 396-407 ("Die liturgischen Gefässe"); on the *scyphus* see Polikárp Radó, *Enchiridion liturgicum complectens theologiae sacramentalis et dogmata et leges juxta novum codicem rubricarum*, vol. 2 (Rome: Herder, 1961; 2d ed., Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1966), 1434-1435, 1442. On classical *scyphi* see E. Pottier's entry in *DAGR*, vol. 4/part 2 (1969), 1159-

The coins which the newly-crowned pontiff placed inside a recipient's miter had been brought to him by the *camerarius*. The latter had, in turn, removed the coins from a counting table. The sources agree that the *camerarius* carried these coins in a silver cup (*nappus*, *scyphus*), dish (*vas*), or basin (*bacile*).<sup>2</sup>

The earliest appearance of the *scyphus* in the distribution of *presbyterium* is clear. Albinus' prescriptions, composed between 1183-1188, are the first to mention the *scyphus*' role in the bestowals. The *scyphus*, therefore, was a part of the ceremony almost from the

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1161.

<sup>2</sup>Albinus' prescriptions in *LC* 2:124 (col. 2); The Basel *Ordo* in Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Ein bisher unbekannter Text zur Wahl, Konsekration und Krönung des Papstes im 12. Jahrhundert," *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 6 (1968): 68; Gregory X's *Ordo* in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 1:174; The thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia in Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain*, 2:379; Stefaneschi's *Ordo* for the coronation of Pope John XXII in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:302; Stefaneschi's *Ordo* for a consecration at Rome in *ibid.*, 2:323; and the prescriptions for the consecration of Pope Martin V in *ibid.*, 3:471.

One source, the latest -- Patrizi Piccolomini's revised edition of the *Caeremoniale Romanum* (1488) -- prescribed that the pontiff removed the *presbyterium* "e gremio camerarii." See Dykmans, ed., *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:84.

first detailed accounts of the distributions (and was featured in most subsequent descriptions).<sup>3</sup>

Albinus' prescriptions indicate that some individuals received several dozen coins.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the use of the *scyphus* reduced the number of trips made by the *camerarius* between counting table and pope.

Did the *camerarius'* use of the *scyphus* derive from Roman and/or Byzantine ceremonial? The bestowal of specially cast silver *largitio* dishes was a feature of both late imperial and Byzantine largesse distributions.<sup>5</sup> The senatorial recipients of Justin II's largesse, for example, carried away "silver vessels full of yellow gold" (*fulvo plena ferunt argentea vasa metallo*).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Among the non-coronation bestowals of *presbyterium*, Stefaneschi's prescriptions (between 1300-1340) for Holy Thursday (Dykman, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:373) contain the first reference to the *scyphus'* role.

<sup>4</sup>The pope, for example, gave "Prefecto...XX solidos denariorum et manum [*manum* was a double *presbyterium*]." See LC 2:124 (col. 2).

<sup>5</sup>J. P. C. Kent, and K. S. Painter, eds., *Wealth of the Roman World, A.D. 300-700* (London: British Museum Publications, 1977), 20-25, 104-112; and Marlia M. Mango, "Largitio Dishes, Silver," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (1991), 2:1179-1180.

<sup>6</sup>Cameron, ed. and trans., *Corippus - in Laudem*

However, there is no evidence that the papal distribution of *presbyterium* involved the conferring of the silver dish used to carry the coins to the pope.

In sum, it seems most likely that the *scyphus'* role in the distribution of *presbyterium* was practical rather than symbolic: it simplified the conveyance of the coins to the pope.

#### The Placing of the Coins in the Miter

The newly-crowned pope's placement of coins into a recipient's upturned miter is another unusual feature of the bestowal of *presbyterium*. The miter, however, had not always been a part of the distribution ceremony. This headdress first appeared in the mid-tenth century.<sup>7</sup> Ini-

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*Iustini*, Corippus' book 4, lines 142-147 (text), and 113 (translation).

<sup>7</sup>The best study of the miter remains Joseph Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1907), 424-498. Also see Carl Sachsse, "Tiara und Mitra der Päpste," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (1914): 481-501; Theodor Klauser, "Mitra," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 7/2 (1962), 490-491; E. Wüscher-Becchi, "Ursprung der päpstlichen Tiara und der bischöflichen Mitra," *Römische Quartalschrift* 13 (1899): 77-108; and Gaetano Moroni, "Mitra," *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, vol. 45 (1847), 260-281.

tially worn only by the pope, a series of papal grants in 1049 began the extension of the privilege of its use to cardinals, bishops, canons, and abbots.<sup>8</sup> The gradual adoption of the miter had -- apparently -- no immediate impact on the distribution of *presbyterium*. The twelfth century *ordines'* references to these bestowals do not mention the miter's later, special role (in fact, how the coins were received is not discussed). Gregory X's *Ordo* (circa 1274) is the first to refer to the miter as a receptacle for the *presbyterium*, a reference repeated in almost all subsequent *ordines*.<sup>9</sup> This *ordo* contains, interestingly enough, the first reference to another unusual distribution practice. On the third Sunday in Advent (*Gaudete* Sunday), the pope (celebrating Mass at

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<sup>8</sup>Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 447-457. According to Braun (p. 448), an early eleventh century *Exultet Roll* from Bari contains the earliest representation of an episcopal miter. Its use, however, appears to have been isolated.

<sup>9</sup>Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 1:174. The only exception is Stefaneschi's prescriptions for the benediction of a new pope (in *ibid.*, 2:286) written between 1300-1340). This omission was probably an oversight. His *ordo* for the coronation of Pope John XXII (*ibid.*, 2:302), as well as that for a Roman consecration (*ibid.*, 2:323), both refer to the placement of coins in the miter.

Saint Peter's) placed a gold coin -- received from his *camerarius'* hand -- into the mouth of the chanter who had intoned the fifth antiphon.<sup>10</sup> There is insufficient information to clarify the relationship, if any, between this *ordo's* two novel distribution practices.<sup>11</sup>

The use of the miter in the reception of *presbyterium* abnegates any attempt to view the reception of the coins as a pontiff's reward (symbolic or actual) to his electors. Bishops and mitred abbots played no role in the election of the pope but were -- as mitred clergy -- entitled to receive their *presbyterium* in their headdress.

Although the miter-as-receptacle appeared in several other non-coronation ceremonies, none predated its earliest use in papal coronations. The *presbyterium* bestowed on Holy Thursday, as well as the waxen *Agnus Dei*

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 1:182-183.

<sup>11</sup>Gregory X's *Ordo* does not refer to the *moneta aurea* as *presbyterium*. On the other hand, two later sources -- copies of Cencius' prescriptions (made c. 1300 and c. 1350) -- refer to the *Gaudete* bestowal within a discussion of the *presbyterium* (Cencius makes no reference to the *Gaudete* distribution). See LC 1:291 (col. 1, note a), and Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kurie im Mittelalter*, Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts im Rom, vol. 40 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1973), 213 (also see page 54).

distributed after Easter, could be placed in the miter. In both cases, however, the earliest evidence for doing so comes from the fourteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Reservations are always in order when assuming an identity between the first mention of a practice and the appearance of that practice. However, it is not unreasonable to conclude that these two non-coronation ceremonies borrowed the use of the miter from its use on the day of a pope's coronation.

Chronology aside, it is not clear why the miter was used to receive the *presbyterium*. This unusual practice is discussed neither by the liturgists who wrote the prescriptions for, nor the eyewitnesses to, the bestowals. It is possible that a mitred recipients' removal of the headdress upon approaching the pontiff betokened respect and reverence. This does not explain, however, why the pope placed the coins in the miter. This use of the miter was, most likely, for reasons other than practicality. The first mention of the miter in the distribution

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<sup>12</sup>Stefaneschi's *Ordines* in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:373, and 2:381 (Holy Thursday *presbyterium*); the Long Ceremonial in *ibid.*, 3:235 (*Agnus Dei*).

ceremony (1274) postdated, by almost a century, the earliest descriptions of the bestowal ceremony. It is unlikely that Albinus, for example, who carefully prescribed how the *presbyterium* was transported to the pope (in a *scyphus*), could then fail to mention how each recipient carried away his coins -- unless the miter was not a part of the ceremony. This is, admittedly, an argument *ex silentio*, but it is nonetheless a reasonable one.

There are no similarities between this use of the miter and ancient Roman or Byzantine distribution ceremonies. The *liberalitas* issues (coin or medallion) of several Roman emperors,<sup>13</sup> as well as the largesse scene depicted on the Arch of Constantine,<sup>14</sup> show individuals receiving their bestowal in the folds of their garments. But the classical gesture is too dissimilar to that con-

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<sup>13</sup>Richard Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven, Connecticut: Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1963), 77 (Nero), 132-133 (Hadrian), 151 (Antoninus Pius), 171 (Valerian) -- all with references to the numismatic literature.

<sup>14</sup>Hans Peter L'Orange, and Armin von Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens*, Studien zur spätantike Kunstgeschichte im Auftrage der archäologischen Instituts des deutschen Reiches, 10 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1939), 97-98.

nected with the miter to have exerted any influence on it. Moreover, if the Church had so wanted, those entitled to the *presbyterium* could easily have received it within their garments rather than miters.

In Byzantine ceremonial, imperial largesse was not always placed directly in the recipient's hands. Bishop Luitprand of Cremona was an eyewitness to the *erogationes* distributed by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus to his court during the week preceding Palm Sunday (March 950).<sup>15</sup> According to Luitprand, the emperor placed the bestowal (cloaks and money) directly onto a recipient's shoulders:

Finally [the recipients] approached the emperor, not confusedly, but each as his name was called...The first of whom was *rector domus* who received his coins and four military cloaks directly on his shoulders. After this [the names of the commander of] the army and navy were called...Both, commensurate with their office, received coins and cloaks whose number could not be placed on their shoulders but was, with effort, carried away by their assistants.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Luitprand's *Liber antapodosis* (dated 958-962) in Joseph Becker, ed., *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, in *MGH: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (3d ed., Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1915), 1-158.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 157-158:

Important recipients clearly received their largesse in a special way. Only the amount precluded the army and fleet commanders from receiving the bestowal on their shoulders.<sup>17</sup> This interesting (and unexplained) distribution practice is, unfortunately, too dissimilar to the use of the miter in the *presbyterium* ceremony to suggest any parallels (other than that the pope may have borrowed the notion of distributing largesse in a unique way).

Benedict of Saint Peter's prescriptions for the celebration of Christmas suggest a link between the removal of the miter and the bestowal of largesse. According to Benedict, immediately after the return of

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Ingrediebantur [recipients] denique ante imperatorem non confuse, sed ordinatim secundum vocantis vocem, ... Quorum primus vocatus est rector domus, cui non in manibus, sed in humeris posita numismata cum scaramangis IIII<sup>or</sup>. Post quem o domésticos tis ascalónas [army commander] et o delongáris tis ploôs [fleet commander] sunt vocati... Hi itaque pari numero, quia dignitas par erat, numismata et scaramangas suscipientes prae multitudine non iam in humeris portaverunt, sed adiuvantibus aliis post se cum labore traxerunt.

<sup>17</sup>Luitprand's subsequent text refers to many other recipients, but does not indicate how they received their bestowal. It is clear (*ibid.*, 158) that lesser officials did not receive their grant from the emperor's hand.

the procession to the Lateran (following the stationary mass at Santa Maria Maggiore), the prior cardinal of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura dismounted, removed his miter, and chanted the *laudes* to the (still mounted) pope. The *laudes* were soon taken up by the other (also dismounted) cardinals, and "pro laude accipiunt III solidos."<sup>18</sup> It is tempting to see the mounted pope leaning over to place *solidi* into the outstretched miters of his dismounted officials (and this, in turn, serving as a model for subsequent distributions). Yet this would entail reading too much into Benedict's text. As our chronological discussion of the miter has shown, Benedict's prescriptions -- similar to the other twelfth century liturgical sources -- nowhere mention the pope's placement of coins into a miter. Nor does Benedict's text link the miter's removal and a bestowal of coins. In the same section on the Christmas celebration, Benedict states that at Santa Maria Maggiore, the *primicerius* removed his miter, kissed the pontiff's right shoulder, and received a blessing.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Benedict's prescriptions in *LC* vol. 2:146 (col. 2).

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 2:145 (col. 2).

In conclusion, the use of the miter in the distribution ceremony remains, unfortunately, unexplained.

#### The Kissing of the Pope's Knee

The recipients' kissing of the pope's knee is one of the most unusual features of the *presbyterium* distribution. But explaining its purpose, and when and whence it had entered into the distribution ceremony, has been heretofore impossible. Schramm's call for an historical study of medieval knee-kissing has gone unheeded.<sup>20</sup> To understand, therefore, the role of this gesture in the distribution of *presbyterium*, we must first examine the clasping and/or kissing of the knee within the classical Greco-Roman, Jewish, Byzantine, and western medieval worlds with an eye towards understanding its meaning(s).

#### The Classical Greco-Roman World

The Greeks practiced the clasping and the kissing of the knees, both gestures connected with the act of

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<sup>20</sup>Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige, und Päpste* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1968-1971), 1:32. H.-W. Strätz's article on the "Kuss," *LM*, vol. 5/Lieferung 8 (1991), cols. 1590-1592, does not mention the kissing of the knees.

supplicating men and gods.<sup>21</sup> Knee-clasping as a supplicatory rite was also known to the Romans.<sup>22</sup> Seneca (*De*

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<sup>21</sup>Standard discussion with many examples in Karl Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1890), 163-164, 169, 282, 296; also see Johannes Horst, *Proskynein: Zur Anbetung im Urchristentum nach ihrer religions-geschichtlichen Eigenart*, *Neutestamentliche Forschungen*, 3/2 (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1932), *passim*.

August Wünsche, *Der Kuss in Bibel, Talmud und Midrasch* (Breslau: M. & H. Marcus, 1911), 3 (and note 2), incorrectly interprets the gesture found in Herodotus *Historias* 2.80 as an Egyptian form of the knee-kiss. Herodotus' passage refers to an Egyptian greeting expressed by the lowering of the hands to one's knees.

For an excellent explication of (and bibliography on) supplication (*ἱκετεία*), see John P. Gould, "Hiketeia," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 93 (1973): 74-103. General survey in G. Wissowa, "Supplicationes," *RE*, vol. 7 (2d ed., 1931), cols. 942-951.

On the *proskynesis* offered to Alexander the Great, see Lily Ross Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, American Philological Association, Monograph Series no. 1 (Middletown, Connecticut: American Philological Association, 1931; reprint, n.p.: Scholars Press, n.d.), 256-266 (Appendix II: Alexander and the *Proskynesis*).

<sup>22</sup>In addition to the discussion in Sittl, *Die Gebärden*, *passim*, see Andreas Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung* 49 (1934): 1-118, and Thomas Schäfer, *Imperii Insignia, Sella Curulis und Fasces: Zur Repräsentation römischer Magistrate*, *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung*, *Erganzungsheft - Bullettino dell'Istituto Archeologico Germanico Sezione Romana*, Supplemento 29 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1989), *passim*.

Specific references: Pliny *Naturalis Historia*

*beneficiis* 2.12.2) reproached Caesar who -- having spared Pompeius Pennus' life and offering his foot to be kissed in thanks -- thereby "invenit aliquid infra genua, quo libertatem detruderet."<sup>23</sup> In the Late Roman Empire, the kissing of the knees was a form of salutation: the *Historia Augusta* records that Emperor Maximinus' son -- to the shame of his father -- allowed himself to be so greeted.<sup>24</sup>

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11.103; Claudianus *Raptus Proserpinae* 1.48ff [Theodore Birt's edition in *MGH: Auctores Antiquissimi* 10 (1961), 352]; Virgil *Aeneid* 3.607-608. Servius, one of Virgil's greatest classical expositors, mentions the "genua misericordiae, unde haec tangunt rogantes" in his commentary on the above lines [Arthur Frederick Stocker, et al., eds., *Servianorum in Vergilii carmina commentariorum quod in Aeneidos libros III-V explanationes continet*, Special Publications of the American Philological Association, no. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 215]. The knees are again linked to supplication in Servius' commentary to Virgil *Eclogues* 6.3 [Georgius Thilo, ed., *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica commentarii* (1887; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961), 65].

<sup>23</sup>John W. Basore., ed. and trans., *Seneca - Moral Essays*, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 3 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935).

<sup>24</sup>Ernst Hohl, ed., *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (1927; reprint, Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1965), 2:25 (re: chapter 28: "Maximini Duo"). The veracity of the story is, for our purposes, irrelevant. The author(s) of the *Historia Augusta* would not have mentioned a gesture unknown to their readers.

## The Jewish World

The Old Testament contains no references to the kissing of knees.<sup>25</sup> The knee-kiss does appear, however, in the Babylonian Talmud: twice as a gesture of gratitude, once as a joyful greeting, and once as a sign of respect.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Wünsche, *Der Kuss*, 2-3 (note 2). Psalm 2.11 urges the world's kings to prostrate themselves before Yahweh: "adore pure ne forte irascatur et pereatis de via."

<sup>26</sup>**Gratitude:** Sanhedrin 27b, and Baba Bathra 16a. Jacob Shachter (trans.) as found in Isidore Epstein, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud*, volume: *Sanhedrin* (London: Socino Press, 1935), 163; and Lazarus Goldschmidt, trans., *Der babylonische Talmud*, vol. 8 (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1933), 565, understand the kiss delivered in Sanhedrin 27b to be a foot-kiss.

Maurice Simon (trans.) as found in Isidore Epstein, ed., *Baba Bathra: Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud* (New York: Soncino Press, 1976); and Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud*, 8:61, understand the kiss delivered in Baba Bathra 16a to be a foot-kiss.

For Wünsche, *Der Kuss*, 52 (re: Baba Bathra 16a), and 39-40 (re: Sanhedrin 27b) -- whose translation I have followed -- both passages refer to a kissing of the knees. Horst, *Proskynein*, 64, accepts Wünsche's translation of Sanhedrin 27b.

**Greeting and respect:** both in Kethuboth 63a.

Wünsche, *Der Kuss*, 30-32; Horst, *Proskynein*, 64; and M. Rawicz, *Der Tractat Kethuboth*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt am Main, 1900), 43-44, interpret this passage's kisses as knee-kisses.

On the other hand, Israel W. Slotki (trans.) as found in Isidore Epstein, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud*, volume: *Sanhedrin* (New York: Soncino Press, 1936); 378-379; Goldschmidt, trans., *Der babylonische Talmud*, vol.

### The Byzantine World

In the Eastern Roman Empire, the *proskynesis* (προσκύνησις) was an important part of the ceremonial life of church and state.<sup>27</sup> *Proskynesis* as a physical act:

ranged from full prostration to a genuflection, a bow, or a simple greeting...certain forms...such as those which entailed kissing the emperor's breast, hands, or feet, were reserved to specific categories of officials.<sup>28</sup>

Most pertinent to our study is that form of *proskynesis* which involved the clasping and/or kissing of the knee(s).<sup>29</sup> We begin with the former gesture. In his

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5 (1931), 198; and Hermann L. Strack, and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 1, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus erläutert aus Talmud und Midrasch* (München: C. H. Beck, 1926; reprint, 1978), 519, understand the two kisses in Kethuboth 63a to be foot-kisses.

<sup>27</sup>Rodolphe Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, 35, vol. 1 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967), 144-150 ("La cérémonie de προσκύνησις").

<sup>28</sup>Michael McCormick, "Proskynesis," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (1991), 3:1738-1739.

<sup>29</sup>Will Durant, in *The Age of Faith: A History of Medieval Civilization - Christian, Islamic, and Judaic - from Constantine to Dante: A.D. 325-1300*, *The Story of Civilization*, vol. 4 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 470, stated that visitors to Charlemagne's im-

*Gratiarum actio de consulatu suo Iuliano imperatori* (delivered 1 January 362), Claudius Mamertinus praised Julian for abolishing the traditional routes followed by office-seekers: the expenditure of money, the door-to-door canvassing of the powerful, and the embracing of feet and knees.<sup>30</sup> Bishop (of Cyrrhus) Theodoret's (c. 393

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perial court:

prostrated themselves to kiss his foot or knee; so much had Charlemagne learned from Byzantium, and Byzantium from Ctesiphon.

Durant provides no citation for this detail, but it is clear that his other biographical information on Charles comes from Einhard's *vita*. Since Einhard, however, does not mention any visitor kissing Charlemagne's foot or knee, Durant -- with respect to this aspect of Charles' court ceremonial -- is mistaken. I owe Durant's reference to the Carolingian imperial court to Mr. Bryan K. Loney.

<sup>30</sup>Hans Gutzwiller, ed. and trans., *Die Neujahrsrede des Konsuls Claudius Mamertinus vor dem Kaiser Julian*, *Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft*, vol. 10 (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1942), 58:

But now the method of seeking advancement is far easier. Whoever, I say, wishes to seek a magistracy, forget about offering gold and silver, do not run -- door to door -- to the homes of the powerful, embrace the knees of no one.

It is unclear: 1) just whose knees Claudius' office-seeker is no longer beholden to embrace -- those of the *potentes* or those of the emperor, and 2) whether the

- c. 466) "Religious History" (a collection of biographies of monks) relates that an imperial general greeted the monk Macedonios by clasping his knees and hands. This same gesture was repeated by both the court's ladies and the bishop of Carrhae when carrying a request to Macedonios.<sup>31</sup> In Flavius Cresconius Corippus' panegyric *In laudem Iustini* (written c. 566-567), Justin II's enemies sue for peace while clasping his knees.<sup>32</sup>

Claudius Mamertinus in his *gratiarum actio* (delivered 1 January 362) to Julian also lauded the emperor for greeting his two new consuls (one of whom was Claudius) by rising from his throne, kissing them and extending his hand -- thus obviating the consul's traditional *proskynesis*.<sup>33</sup> The kissing of the knees is referred to in

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embrace should be considered an obsequious greeting or an entreaty for advancement.

<sup>31</sup>Karl Gross, *Menschenhand und Gotteshand im Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1985), 53. The "Religious History" is available in PG, vol. 82 (1859).

<sup>32</sup>Avril Cameron, ed. and trans., *Flavius Cresconius Corippus - in Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris Libri IV* (London: Athlone Press, 1976): Corippus' book 3, lines 274-278 (text), and 192 (Cameron's commentary).

<sup>33</sup>Gutzwiller, ed. and trans., *Die Neujahrsrede des*

Saint Nicephorus' *Breviarium* or *Short History* (*Ἱστορία σύντομος*), a description of events between 602-770 (probably written between 775 and 787). In the *Breviarium*, Justinian II (emperor, 685-695 and 705-711) elevated to caesar the Bulgarian chief Terbelis, sat Terbelis by his side, and ordered the people to render joint homage (*προσκυνεῖσθαι*) -- a gesture which almost certainly involved the kissing of their knees.<sup>34</sup> But it is in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' (emperor, 912-959) *De cerimoniis* -- a description of Byzantine court ceremonial at its height -- that we find the fullest record of the knee-kiss.<sup>35</sup> For example, the court's first act of homage

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*Konsuls Claudius Mamertinus*, 68, 70 (text); 87-88 (commentary); 223 (commentary *sub verbo* "osculo").

<sup>34</sup>Cyril Mango, ed. and trans., *Short History* [Nicephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople], *Dumbarton Oaks Texts*, 10: *Corpus Fontium Historiae byzantinae*, vol. 13 (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, Research Library and Collection, 1990), 102-105.

In the tenth-century *De cerimoniis* (1.43.221), the knees of a newly-promoted caesar were kissed by successive ranks of officials.

<sup>35</sup>J. J. Reiske, ed., *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris de cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri duo*, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, vol. 4 (Bonn: Weber, 1829-1830). Also see J. B. Bury, "The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos," *English Historical Review* 22 (1907): 209-227, 417-439.

to a newly crowned *Augustus* and *Augusta* was the kissing of their knees.<sup>36</sup> On Easter, prior to mass at Hagia Sophia, dignitaries and officials lined up (in the palace) to bestow the kiss of peace (*ἀσπασμός*) on the emperor (the *ἀσπασμός* included the kissing of the knees, hands, and mouth).<sup>37</sup> Prior to an imperial inspection of

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<sup>36</sup>Complete citations to the *De cerimoniis* (for this, and the other examples in this paragraph) in Rodolphe Guiland, "Autour du livre des Cérémonies de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète: La cérémonie de la προσκύνησις," *Revue des études grecques* 59-60 (1946-1947): 253-256, 258; Jean Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1917), 37-38, 95-96 (and notes); and Otto Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung in höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena: W. Biedermann, 1938; 2d ed. Darmstadt: Herman Genther, 1956), 92.

<sup>37</sup>On the *ἀσπασμός* Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire*, 96, observed:

Cette cérémonie se passait exclusivement entre laïcs; aucun prêtre n'y assiste. Elle se distingue nettement du rite du baiser de paix, qui avait lieu dans les églises. Mais sa signification était identique. Le dimanche de la Résurrection, où les Orthodoxes se saluent par les mots: 'Christ es ressuscité' auxquels on répond: 'Vraiment ressuscité,' les empereurs de Constantinople recevaient leurs sujets et échangeaient, comme dans l'église primitive, le baiser de paix, signe symbolique de la fraternité spirituelle et de l'égalité de tous dans la personne du Christ.

Ebersolt does not explain how the knee-kiss, so obviously

the granaries, the accompanying dignitaries -- immediately after the emperor entered his coach -- kissed his knees. If the occasion called for an adoration, highly placed clerics (metropolitans, bishops, the clergy of Hagia Sophia, and hegumens) also kissed the emperor's knees. Upon the promotion of a *nobilissimus* (held at the palace on Easter morning) each senator abased himself and kissed: 1) the emperor's feet and knees, 2) the caesar's knees, and 3) the hand of the new *nobilissimus*.<sup>38</sup> Newly-promoted proconsuls and curopalates, to give only two examples, prostrated themselves before the emperor and kissed his feet and knees.

It has been suggested that the introduction of the knee-kiss (from the East) into late imperial ceremonial made necessary the placement of cloth patches (*segmenta*)<sup>39</sup> in the knee area of the emperor's outer gar-

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a gesture denoting adoration and obedience, could also signify "fraternité spirituelle et de l'égalité de tous dans la personne du Christ."

<sup>38</sup>The knees of a newly-promoted caesar were also kissed by successive groups of officials.

<sup>39</sup>"...on donnait le nom de segments à de petites pièces décoratives fixées dans le vêtement aux épaules et à la hauteur des genoux." See Victor Chapot, "Segmentum,"

ments.<sup>40</sup> There is no compelling reason to accept this proposal. Its proponents rely on Delbrück's discussion of the *segmenta*<sup>41</sup> which focused on: 1) his acceptance of the suggestion that the *segmenta* replaced the veiled hand used in the giving of objects to (and the receiving of

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DAGR, vol. 4/part 2 (1969), 1173.

The *segmenta* is depicted on the chlamydes of Justinian and his court in the mosaic (between 546-548) of San Vitale in Ravenna. See Rosita Levi Pisetzky, *Storia del costume in Italia*, vol. 1 ([Milan:] Istituto editoriale italiano, 1964), illustration 23. An early ninth-century mosaic from the Roman Church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere (ibid., illustration 56) depicts Saint Valerian's dalmatic decorated with *segmenta*.

<sup>40</sup>Proposed by Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells," 63-64:

...die...kreuz und quer verbreitete Proskynese mit Umfassen der Knie oder Kniekuss, die vielleicht die Einsätze um die Kniegegend auf dem kaiserlichen Obergewand des 4. Jahrhunderts erforderlich machte.

and Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee*, 92 (note 233):

Der Kniekuss hat wahrscheinlich die Einsätze auf dem kaiserlichen Obergewande, die vom 4. Jahrhundert ab in der Gegend der Kniee erscheinen, notwendig gemacht.

<sup>41</sup>Richard Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, 2 (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1929), 38-39.

objects from) the emperor,<sup>42</sup> and 2) his observation that the *segmenta*'s location on the *chlamys* changed between the fourth and sixth centuries.<sup>43</sup> Neither point supports, even indirectly, the supposition that knee-kissing made the use of *segmenta* necessary. Therefore, it is unclear what evidence the proponents of the knee-kiss/*segmenta* argument found in Delbrück. Moreover, the following two points should be borne in mind. First, *segmenta* did not

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., where Delbrück explains:

Der Untertan empfängt die Gaben des Kaisers auf einem purpurnen die Hände verhüllenden Tuch und bringt ihm in gleicher Weise die seinen dar; der Einsatz ist ein solches Tuch, dauernd auf der *Chlamys* angebracht.

In this, Delbrück relied on J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis zum XIII Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1916), 1:87-90.

<sup>43</sup>Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen*, 38-39:

Die Anbringung der Einsätze ändert sich fassbar um 400 und dann wieder um 500. Im 4. Jh. sitzen sie tief, unter den Knien, von den Rändern der *Chlamys* abgerückt...Gegen 400 rücken zunächst die Einsätze hinauf, bis vor die Körpermitte...Bald darauf sind die Halbstücke verschwunden und erscheint der normale Typus ausgebildet: zwei grosse quadratische Einsätze vor der Körpermitte an den Rändern der *Chlamys*...Im 6. Jh. werden die Einsätze kleiner und rücken noch höher.

appear exclusively on the garments worn by the emperors and their courts (which should have been the case if there was a direct connection between the *segmenta* and the knee-kiss).<sup>44</sup> Second, given the continuing importance of the knee-kiss in court ceremonial, why (following Delbrück) had a garment's *segmenta* gradually shifted to a position above the knees?

#### The Western Medieval World<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>In the Roman catacombs, a painting depicts a shepherd (of the later fourth century) wearing a long-sleeved *tunica* whose bottom is decorated with two square *segmenta*. See Mary G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration, A Technical History of Costume*, vol. 2 (London: A. and C. Black, 1931; 2d ed., 1947; reprint, 1963), 129 (figure 140).

<sup>45</sup>For an introduction to gestures in the medieval West, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, "The rationale of gestures in the West: third to thirteenth centuries," in *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 59-70; and François Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Paris: Léopard d'or, 1982-1989). Garnier's second volume, *Grammaire des gestes*, 140-143, contains an interesting section on the motif "main tenant le pied d'autrui" (the clasping or kissing of the knee is not discussed).

On the medieval kiss see H.-W Strätz, "Kuss," cols. 1590-1591. Strätz does not discuss the kissing of the knee(s).

On the medieval *proskynesis* see Percy Ernst Schramm, "Das Herrscherbild in der Kunst des frühen

The clasping and the kissing of the knees appeared in a variety of Western medieval textual sources: New Testament, didactic, hagiographical, monastic, liturgical, and formulaic.<sup>46</sup> In addition, an examination of the stories regarding the knee impressions left, in Rome, by Peter and Paul, will help to establish the context in which the *presbyterium* distribution's knee-kissing took place.

New Testament, Christian Didactic,  
and Hagiographical Sources

Within the New Testament, the only passage referring to the knees is in Luke 5.8.<sup>47</sup> There, Peter,

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Mittelalters," *Bibliothek Warburg: Vorträge 1922-1923 (Teil I.)* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1924), 220 ("Exkurs II: Zur Geschichte der Proskynese").

<sup>46</sup>Research, especially at Princeton University's Index of Christian Art, failed to uncover any representations of the knee-kiss -- hence this section's exclusive reliance on textual sources.

Please see Appendix D for a discussion of the therapeutic knee-kiss.

<sup>47</sup>The New Testament does, however, contain several references to the clasping and the kissing of the feet. The women outside of the tomb fall down and grab the feet of the risen Christ (Matthew 28.9). Luke 7.39 relates how, at the Pharisee's house, the *peccatrix* washed, kissed, and anointed Jesus' feet. In Acts 10.25, the centurion Cornelius greeted Peter by prostrating himself

prior to his calling to become an apostle (and after witnessing, at Jesus' command, the filling of his nets with fish at the Lake of Gennesaret), "procidit ad genua Iesu dicens exi a me quia homo peccator sum Domine."

Tertullian (c. 160 - c. 225), in his instructional work *On Chastity (De Pudicitia)*, referred to the clasping of the knees as a gesture of entreaty. In one passage, Tertullian painted a vivid picture of a Christian adulterer seeking forgiveness and readmission into the Church. The penitent stood, literally, outside of the church, dogging the footsteps and clutching at the knees of his fellow Christians.<sup>48</sup>

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at the apostle's feet. Also see H. Greeven, "Προσκυνέω," in G. Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, vol. 6 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1959), 759-767.

<sup>48</sup>*De Pudicitia* edited by A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa in *Tertulliani opera, CSEL*, vol. 20 (1890), 243-244.

According to E. Schwartz, *Bussstufen und Katechumenatsklassen*, Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg, Heft 7 (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1911), 24, the Eastern Church's first (that is, lowest) class of penitents were the *προσκλαίοντες* ("weepers") who:

stehen vor dem äusseren Kirchentor und bitten die eintretenden Gläubigen für sie zu beten, indem sie ihre Sünde bekennen.

The clasping of the knees as a gesture of entreaty is also mentioned by Saint Ambrose (c. 339-397). In his *De Tobia*, Ambrose vividly described a debtor desperately imploring a money-lender by kissing his head and embracing his knees ("tu oscularis caput, amplecteris genua...").<sup>49</sup>

Hagiographical sources, on the other hand, provide a richer store of references to the clasping and the kissing of knees. Sulpicius Severus' (c. 360 - c. 420) *De vita beati Martini* contains three instances of individuals who, in seeking help from the saint, threw themselves down before his knees.<sup>50</sup> Paulinus of Périgueux (fl. 459-472) composed, in verse, a *vita Sancti Martini*. Since Paulinus' account was closely based on Sulpicius' prose

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Tertullian's penitent may be, according to E. Vacandard, *Le pénitence publique dans l'Église primitive* (Paris: Librairie Bloud & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1908), 20-21, a western representative of this class of penitent. On the "weepers" in the Eastern Church also see F. E. Brightman, ed., *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896; reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 585 (s.v. Penitents).

<sup>49</sup>Edited by C. Schenkl in *CSEL*, vol. 32/part 2 (1897), 532.

<sup>50</sup>*PL*, vol. 20 (1845), cols. 165, 169.

biography, it is not surprising to find one of the knee-clasping incidents reproduced in hexameters.<sup>51</sup> The humility and sanctity of Betharius (bishop of Chartres) so impressed his captor (Theuderic II) that both king and court flung themselves at their captive's knees requesting that he pray for them.<sup>52</sup> In the sixth century *vita Nicetii*, the clasping of the saint's knees accompanied a request for intercession.<sup>53</sup> In Gregory of Tours' (c. 540 - 594) *De vita patrum* (a biography of twenty-three Gallic saints), Gregory relates how he kissed Saint Nicetius' knees when pleading on another cleric's behalf.<sup>54</sup> In Agnellus' (805 - c. 846) *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, the *vita* of Peter II (elected, c. 429,

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<sup>51</sup>*PL*, vol. 61 (1847), col. 1049:

Donec Martini genibus connexus et haerens  
 Exanimis genitor lacrymoso flebilis ore  
 Astrueret cunctam gemitu pendente querelam,  
 Attracta ex imo suspiria pectore ducens.

<sup>52</sup>*Vita Betharii episcopi Carnoteni* in *MGH: Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* 3 (1896), 617.

<sup>53</sup>*Vita Nicetii episcopi Lugdunensis* in *ibid.*, 3:522.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, 1 (1885), 693-694. The *De vita patrum* is part of Gregory's chief hagiographical work, the *Libri octo miraculorum*.

archbishop of Ravenna) refers to ecclesiastics greeting each other "usque ad genua."<sup>55</sup>

Although not a hagiographical source, this is the best point to discuss Isidore of Seville's (c. 560-636) explanation of the efficacy of the knee-clasp in supplications. Isidore, in his *Differentiarum sive de proprietate sermonum*, advanced a biological reason to explain why tears welled up in the eyes of those entreated by a knee-clasp: the knees, *in utero*, both formed and nurtured the eyes.<sup>56</sup> Although not made explicit, Isidore evidently believed that the *postpartum* individual retained a connection between the two body parts -- a connection of which the eyes could be reminded by the touching of the knees.

### Monastic

The knee-kiss and knee-clasp were also a part of Western monasticism. The *Regula magistri*, written in

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<sup>55</sup>MGH: *Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum* (1878), 312. A more recent edition of Agnellus' *Liber pontificalis* was edited by A. Testi-Rasponi in *RIS*, vol. 2/part 3 (2d ed., 1924), 146.

<sup>56</sup>PL, vol. 83 (1850), col. 79.

Italy (southeast of Rome) sometime during the sixth or seventh centuries, exercised, through its connection with Benedict of Nursia's Rule, an important influence on the development of monasticism in the West.<sup>57</sup> The Master's Rule contains several references to knee-related gestures. The first mention of the knee-kiss is in the ceremony marking the start of two monks' week of service in the kitchen (*eudoma cocinae*). Every Sunday morning, the provosts led two brothers into the oratory and asked the abbot to lead the congregation in praying for the monks' successful completion of their task. After everyone else had finished praying and had risen (all, including the abbot, had prayed prostrate), the two monks rose, kissed the abbot's knees and bestowed the kiss of peace

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<sup>57</sup>Text in Adalbert de Vogüé, ed. and trans., *La règle du maître*, Sources chrétiennes, vols. 105-107 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1964-1965).

To Franz Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinisch Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 *Von Cassiodor bis zum Ausklang der karolingischen Erneuerung* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1975), 48 (and bibliography, 514-515), the *Regula magistri* was written between the early sixth and seventh centuries. Cross and Livingstone, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, (2d ed., 1978), 1168, dates its composition to c. 500-525.

either on the provost or the whole congregation.<sup>58</sup> In the section of Saint Benedict's Rule (c. 540) concerned with the monks' alternating turns of service in the kitchen (*De septimanariis coquinae*), there is also a gesture involving the knees (the sole reference in this *regula*). For Benedict, those beginning or ending their week of service should throw themselves down at their *fratres'* knees and request a prayer.<sup>59</sup>

The next reference to the kissing of the knees in the *Regula magistri* lies in the section devoted to the monk's recitation, in front of the abbot, of lessons learned during summer's extra daylight hours. When he felt ready, the monk (led by the provosts) approached the abbot and recited from memory his chosen psalm, canticle, or passage. Upon completion of the recitation, the monk sought for himself a prayer (begun by the assembly and finished by the abbot), and then kissed the abbot's

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<sup>58</sup>Vogüe, ed. and trans., *La règle du maître*, 2:90, 92.

<sup>59</sup>R. Hanslik, ed., *Benedicti regula*, in *CSEL*, vol. 75 (1960), 94.

knees.<sup>60</sup>

The passage describing a monk's proclamation to undertake a Lenten fast is the only reference to the knee-clasp in the *Regula magistri*. The monk so resolved entered the oratory and humbled himself towards the abbot's knees, giving thanks for the abbot's permission to undertake the fast (immediately prior, the abbot had provided the permission necessary for supererogatory fasting). The monk then declared the items of food or drink from which he intended to abstain.<sup>61</sup>

The prescriptions for an abbot's ordination contain the *Regula magistri's* last references to the knee-kiss (the pertinent parts of the ceremony are summarized in the following description).<sup>62</sup> After an abbot's palliation by the bishop, both men, together with the monastic congregation, proceeded into the oratory.

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<sup>60</sup>Vogüe, ed. and trans., *La règle du maître*, 2:234, 236.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., 2:244.

<sup>62</sup>On the development of the abbot's ordination rite in the West, see Stephanus Hilpisch, "Entwicklung des Ritus des Abtsweihe in der lateinischen Kirche," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 61 (1947-1948): 53-72.

There, the abbot prayed and placed his monastery's *regula* on the altar (both the *regula*, and the keys to his foundation, had been previously handed to him by the former abbot). Further prayers (performed prostrate by both abbot and congregation) led to a request -- subsequently satisfied -- that the bishop pray on the abbot's behalf. The abbot, still prone, then kissed the bishop's knees. The bishop next raised the abbot and exchanged with him the kiss of peace, which the abbot then shared with his officials and provosts (or in lieu of the latter group, the entire assembly). After handing to the cellarer the keys to the monastery, the abbot sat in his predecessor's seat (*cathedra*) and received a knee-kiss from the provosts and the congregation. Rising, the abbot went over to his predecessor (*prior*), kissed his knees, and exchanged with him the kiss of peace.<sup>63</sup>

The *Constitutions* or customary (*consuetudo*)<sup>64</sup> of

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., 2:428, 430.

<sup>64</sup>Cross and Livingstone, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (2d ed., 1978), 366-367, defines customary as a "book containing (1) the rites and ceremonies for the services, and/or (2) the rules and customs of discipline, of a particular monastery, cathedral, or religious order."

Lanfranc (c. 1010 - 1089), theologian, Archbishop of Canterbury, and monastic reformer, contain the next reference to a knee-kiss.<sup>65</sup> Its section on the abbot contains specific instructions for those ordered (by the abbot) to sit at his side:

No one, unless ordered by the abbot, may presume to sit where he [the abbot] is sitting. If so ordered, he must do so humbly after first bowing and kissing the abbot's knees.<sup>66</sup>

Lanfranc's instructions are similar to those found in the contemporary *Consuetudo Fructuariensis*.<sup>67</sup> The monastery of Saint Benignus of Fruttuaria, located in

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<sup>65</sup>Text in Kassius Hallinger, ed., *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, vol. 3, *Decreta Lanfranci Monachis Cantuariensibus Transmissa*, edited by David Knowles (Siegburg: F. Schmitt), 1967. Lanfranc's customary was written between 1073 and 1077 (*ibid.*, p. xvi).

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, 62:

Ubi cunque sederit nullus iuxta eum sedere praesumat, nisi ipse iusserit. Iussus vero sedere ad genua eius se flectat et osculetur et sic humiliter iuxta eum sedeat.

<sup>67</sup>Text in Kassius Hallinger, ed., *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, vol. 12 (2 parts), *Consuetudines Fructuarienses - Sanblasianae*, edited by L. G. Spätling and P. Dinter (Siegburg: F. Schmitt), 1985-1987. In 1072 Saint Blaise had adopted, through the urgings of both King Henry IV and his mother Agnes, the *consuetudo Fructuaria* (*ibid.*, 1:xv-xvii).

Italy's Piedmont region, had been founded in 1003 by William of Dijon (also known as William of Volpiano). In the course of the eleventh century, Fruttuaria emerged as an important center of monastic reform.<sup>68</sup> During that same century "Fruttuaria war...eine wichtige Station für die deutschen Könige, kaiser und Bischöfe auf dem Wege nach oder von Rom."<sup>69</sup> This monastery's customary (containing both liturgical prescriptions and a description of the tasks and responsibilities of its officials) was composed between 1080 and 1090.<sup>70</sup>

Fruttuaria's customary enjoins, three times, the kissing of the abbot's knee prior to sitting near him. On Holy Thursday: "Diaconus...ad caritatem debet osculari

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<sup>68</sup>A basic introduction (with bibliography) to Fruttuaria's history is available in G. Picasso, "Fruttuaria," *DHGE*, vol. 19/fascicules 108b-109 (n.d.), cols. 246-251; and L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, vol. 1 (Mâcon: Protat frères, 1935), cols. 1227-1228. Also see the map "Die Klosterreform von S. Bénigne (Dijon)," in Hubert Jedin, et al., eds. *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte: Die christlichen Kirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1987), 48B (map), 36\*-37\* (commentary and bibliography by I. Liebrich).

<sup>69</sup>Spätling and Dinter, eds., *Consuetudines Fructuarienses*, 1:xv.

<sup>70</sup>Picasso, "Fruttuaria," col. 249.

genu abbati, quando iuxta eum sessurus est."<sup>71</sup> Moreover, when the abbot sat down in the cloister or the refectory, no brother could sit near him without: 1) asking the abbot's permission, and 2) kissing the abbot's knee.<sup>72</sup> These rules indicate that Lanfranc's prescriptions for sitting near an abbot mandated, without expressly referring to, a knee-kiss.

In two sections which refer to the singing of the Night Office, *Fruttuaria's* customary again refers to the kissing of the abbot's knee. At Nocturns (Mattins), the abbot's *antiphonae* and *responsoria* could be intoned by the chorister (or his associate). In this case, the abbot's proxy would first have to kiss the abbot's knee.<sup>73</sup>

The *Consuetudo Fructuaria* also called for the kissing of the abbot's knee when the abbot received certain items. The distribution of new shoes (*calciamenta*)

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<sup>71</sup>Spätling and Dinter, eds., *Consuetudines Fructuarienses*, 2:18. *Caritas* refers to the monastic custom of distributing, on festive occasions, additional portions of meat and drink.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 2:22 (cloister), and 2:122 (refectory).

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., 1:11-12, and 2:114.

to the community (on Holy Thursday) began with the *camerarius* handing a pair of shoes to the abbot and kissing his knee:

After the sermon...the lord abbot orders the brothers to receive their new shoes. Then the chamberlain gives to the abbot his new shoes - after first kissing his knees -- and then consigns to each one his due.<sup>74</sup>

The text does not specify if the abbot was sitting or standing when he received his new shoes. The former was probably the case since, as another section indicates ("Quando Secretarius Aliique Fratres Brachium vel Genu Abbatis Osculentur"), the abbot's knee was to be kissed whenever anyone placed something in his lap.<sup>75</sup>

The last source which mentions a knee-kiss in connection with monasticism is found in William Durand's *Pontifical*.<sup>76</sup> Durand (c. 1230 - 1 February 1296), bishop

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 1:159:

Post sermonem...iubeat domnus abbas fratres recipere calciamenta. Tunc camerarius deferat abbati sua genu eius prius osculando, postea reassignet unicuique sua.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 2:114: "Quando vero [abbas] sedet, si aliquis ei mittit in gremium aliquid, osculatur ei genu."

<sup>76</sup>Michel Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain au moyen âge*, vol. 3, *Le pontifical de Guillaume Durand* (Vatican

of Mende (from 1285), composed a pontifical (between c. 1291 and 1295) whose influence passed well beyond his southern French see. In his section on "De confirmatione et benedictione regularis abbatis," the new abbot (upon the conclusion of his ordination mass) is -- if in his own monastery -- kissed on the knee(s) by his *fratres*.<sup>77</sup>

Liturgical<sup>78</sup>

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City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940).

<sup>77</sup>Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain*, vol. 3:408:

Then the archdeacon loudly intones the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*. And the bishop returns to the altar...And when the second verse, namely *Te eternum patrem*, is sung, if he [the abbot] is in his own monastery the brothers of his congregation orderly approach and, on bended knee, reverently bestow the first kiss.

Although this passage does not explicitly mention the kissing of the abbot's knee, the *fratres'* kneeling posture implies that they performed this gesture.

<sup>78</sup>General discussion: Rudolf Suntrup, *Die Bedeutung der liturgischen Gebärden und Bewegungen in lateinischen und deutschen Auslegungen des 9. bis 13. Jahrhunderts*, Munstersche Mittelalter-Schriften. vol. 37 (Munich: Fink, 1978).

On the liturgical kiss see *ibid.*, 362-379, and Ludwig Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, 2 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1932-1933; reprint, 1941), 1:260-262 ("Der liturgische Kuss"), and 2:389-403 ("Pax Domini und Friedenkuß").

The knee-kiss is very briefly discussed in Thomas

The kissing of the knee could also be found in certain Western liturgical rites.<sup>79</sup> Specifically, rites in (or connected with) the following services contained a knee-kiss: 1) episcopal and papal masses, 2) Candlemas, 3) Palm Sunday, 4) Ash Wednesday, 5) Easter and Christmas, and 6) the octave of Easter.

#### Episcopal and papal masses<sup>80</sup>

The knee-kiss appeared at several points in a bishop's ordinary mass, according to an *ordo* written (c. 900) in the area of modern Switzerland.<sup>81</sup> Within the

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Ohm, *Die Gebetsgebärden der Völker und das Christentum* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1948), 216-217.

<sup>79</sup>The ordination of an abbot is, of course, a liturgical rite. It seemed best, however, to discuss ceremonies connected with monasticism in the section on monasticism.

<sup>80</sup>Hélène Lubienska de Lenval, *La liturgie du geste* (Tournai: Casterman, 1956), 70, mentions that in the pontifical mass among the Ruthenian Uniats:

les prêtres s'agenouillent devant l'évêque  
incliné, lui baisent successivement le pied  
droit, le genou gauche et l'épaule droite.

The author, unfortunately, neither dates nor documents these practices.

<sup>81</sup>Referred to as *Ordo IX* by its editor, Michael Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. 2

early part of the Eucharistic service, directly after the bishop had pronounced the collect (*oratio*) and sat down, the subdeacon began the reading (*lectio*). When done, the subdeacon kissed the bishop's knee. Upon completion of the gradual or the *Alleluia*, the choristers repeated this gesture (but only if they were in holy orders -- choristers *extra gradum* only prostrated themselves at the bishop's feet). The rite's next phase, the deacon's reading of the Gospel, was preceded by the deacon's kissing of the bishop's knee.<sup>82</sup> Further into the service, during the offertory, the same deacon who had read the Gospel again kissed the sitting bishop's knee. The deacon then divided the oblation of bread and wine into that intended for immediate and future use (and placed the former on the altar).<sup>83</sup>

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(Louvain: "Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense" Administration, 1948), 325-336 (introduction and text). A brief description of the fifty *ordines* found in this set's five volumes (1931-1961), is available in Theodor Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections*, translated by John Halliburton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 59-60.

<sup>82</sup>Andrieu, *Ordines romani*, 2:331.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 2:333.

Innocent III (pontificate, 1198-1216), in his book *De sacro altaris mysterio*, also referred to the pontiff's being kissed seven times (including once on the knees) during a papal mass.<sup>84</sup> Innocent, unfortunately, provided no further information on the kissing of the knee.

In the new edition of the *Caeremoniale Romanum* (compiled in 1488 by Patrizi Piccolomini and Johannes Burckard), the prescriptions for a canonization mention the kissing of the pope's knee within the papal mass.<sup>85</sup> After the *Credo*, three groups of clerics, in succession, performed the Offertory. Each group (composed of one cardinal and one *orator*) brought forward their gifts and kissed the pontiff (the cardinals kissed his knee, the

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<sup>84</sup>*PL*, vol. 217 (1855), col. 910:

Illud quoque vacare non creditur a mysterio quod summus pontifex a ministro septem modis accipit osculum: ad os, ad pectus, ad humerum, ad manus, ad brachia, ad pedes, ad genua, expressum mysterium, sed alias exprimendum.

<sup>85</sup>Text of the Roman Ceremonial in Marc Dykmans, ed., *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou Le cérémonial de la première renaissance*, *Studi e testi*, 293-294, 2 vols. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980-1982).

oratores kissed his foot).<sup>86</sup>

### Candlemas

The Western Church celebrated Candlemas (more precisely: the Presentation of the Virgin Mary and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple) on February 2. The pope's distribution of candles on this day involved the knee-kiss, according to the prescriptions found in four *ordines* from the fourteenth and fifteenth century.<sup>87</sup> In brief, the candles for distribution were first blessed, sprinkled with holy water, and then censed. The cardinals

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid., 1:124.

<sup>87</sup>Prescriptions and their dates: Stefaneschi (1300-1340), the Long Ceremonial (1342-1352), Ameil (1385/90), and Piccolomini (1488).

Texts (and references): Marc Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance*, vol. 2, *De Rome en Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 1981), 355; the Long Ceremonial in *ibid.*, vol. 3, *Les textes avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme d'occident* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 1983), 184; *ibid.*, vol. 4, *Le retour à Rome ou le cérémonial du patriarche Pierre Ameil* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 1985), 86; and Dykmans, ed., *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 2:335-336.

My description of the distribution ceremony is a summary of the information presented in these four sources.

and other assembled prelates next performed a prostration (*reverentia*) before the sitting pope. After this, the prior of the cardinal bishops (with his miter removed) handed a special candle ("que aliis maior est") to the pope. The cardinal bishop then kissed the pontiff's hand.<sup>88</sup> The pope then began the distribution of candles,

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<sup>88</sup>In Ameil's Ceremonial, Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 4:86, the prior of the cardinal bishops hands two candles (separately) to the pope -- kissing the pope's hand upon reception of the first candle, and kissing the pope's right knee after the pontiff's acceptance of the second:

Then the prior of the cardinal bishops...with his miter removed, standing before the pope (who is sitting in his own seat) silently hands the pope an unlit candle (larger and better than the other candles) and kisses the pope's hand. Likewise, he hands the pope another candle in the same manner. At the same time, he who hands the pope an unlit candle kisses the pope's right knee.

The pope's receipt of two candles will later be mentioned in Piccolomini's Ceremonial. However, Ameil's reference to the cardinal bishop's kissing of the pope's knee -- at this point in the ceremony -- is not mentioned by previous or subsequent *ordines*. Ameil's very next line adds to the confusion by suggesting that the remaining cardinals and prelates did likewise:

And all the cardinals do likewise, first the bishops, second the presbyters, and third the deacons (with the prelates assisting) and finally all the dressed prelates [i.e., wearing the violet cope or chasuble] kiss the

starting with the cardinal bishop. The latter, kneeling, received his candle and kissed the pope's knee. Next, the remaining cardinals, ecclesiastics, and laymen (including, if present, the king), came forward, knelt, received their candle, and also kissed the pope (either on the foot or the knee). The prescriptions made explicit which groups had the greater honor of kissing the pope's knee. Those ecclesiastics who could wear the violet cope (*pluviale violacei coloris*) or the violet chasuble (*planeta violacei coloris*) -- which included all the cardinals -- kissed the pontiff's knee. Other ecclesiastics, (simply referred to as *ceteri prelati*), if they had the right to wear the violet chasuble, also kissed the

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poppe's knee.

Yet, the paragraph from which the above quote was taken ends by stating:

in brief, all the *familiares papae*...receive (on bended knee) a candle from the pope's hand.

Clearly, then, the only sensible way to harmonize Ameil's account with subsequent information in both his ceremonial and the other *ordines*, is to state that Ameil's cardinal bishop did kiss the pope's knee, **but only after the pope had presented him with a candle**. The inadvertent omission of this action, either by Ameil or a copyist, would explain the discrepancy.

pope's knee. Without possessing that right, a high curial official such as the *camerarius* -- even if he were also a bishop or archbishop (that is, a mitred cleric) -- only kissed the pope's foot.<sup>89</sup> All laymen (both *familiares papae* and *non familiares papae*), including emperors and kings, could only kiss the pontiff's foot.<sup>90</sup>

#### Palm Sunday

The ceremony for distributing palms on Palm Sunday was very similar to that for distributing candles on Candlemas.<sup>91</sup> The kissing of the pope's knee figured as

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<sup>89</sup>See, for example, the prescriptions in the Long Ceremonial (Dykman, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 3:189-190).

<sup>90</sup>A king, however, received his candle after the cardinals but **before** any prelate possessing the honor of kissing the pope's knee. This was the procedure, at least, until Ameil's Ceremonial (dated to 1385/90) which stated (*ibid.*, 4:86):

Nevertheless in modern times the king is accustomed to receive [the candle]...after the prior of the cardinal bishops -- such is also the case on Palm Sunday and Ash Wednesday. Remember that if the emperor is present, he receives his candle after the prior, and he kisses the pope's foot, not knee.

Prior to Ameil's Ceremonial it is unclear when the emperor received his candle: after or before the cardinals.

<sup>91</sup>Information on the Palm Sunday ceremony in the

prominently in the former as in the latter. Here, in brief, is the ceremony for distributing palms. The *prior episcoporum cardinalium* handed an especially beautiful palm branch ("spatulam palme aliis pulcriorem [sic]") to the pontiff and then kissed his hand. The pope, in turn, handed another palm to the cardinal bishop, and the latter kissed the pope's knee. It was then the turn of the other cardinals, prelates, and laymen to repeat the ritual of reception (including, the foot- or knee-kiss). As was the case in the Candlemas ceremony, the kissing of the knee was performed only by ecclesiastics (and, within this group, only by those wearing the violet cope or violet chasuble). Laymen, including the king, could only kiss the pontiff's foot.

#### Ash Wednesday

The ceremonial form for the distribution of ashes on Ash Wednesday was nearly identical to that followed for the distribution of candles (on Candlemas) and palms

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*ordines* of Stefaneschi (1300-1340) and Ameil (1385/90).  
 Texts (and references): Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:356 (Stefaneschi's *Ordo*); and *ibid.*, 4:118-119 (Ameil's Ceremonial).

(on Palm Sunday). Since this identity included the prescriptions surrounding the kissing of the pope's knee, a reiteration -- for Ash Wednesday -- is unnecessary.<sup>92</sup>

#### Easter and Christmas

The only mention of a knee-kiss in connection with the celebration of Easter appears in a late fifteenth-century *ordo*.<sup>93</sup> The pope, having arrived at Saint Peter's for the celebration of mass:

with a prayer performed over the throne the pope goes to his seat...where the cardinals and all the dressed clerics [i.e., wearing the violet cope or violet chasuble] perform a reverence. The cardinals kiss the pope's gold-fringed cope, which the pope (using his covered right hand) slightly extends to them. The prelates kiss the pope's right knee, after

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<sup>92</sup>Information on the Ash Wednesday ceremony in the Long Ceremonial (1342-1352) and Piccolomini's Ceremonial (1488).

Texts (and references): *ibid.*, 3:189-190 (Long Ceremonial); and Dykmans, ed., *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 2:345-346.

One important detail differentiated Piccolomini's distribution (Ash Wednesday) from that in the Long Ceremonial (Ash Wednesday) and those performed on Candlemas and Palm Sunday. In Piccolomini's Ceremonial, the *humilitas* associated with the ashes induced an emperor, king, and other princes to forego their reception of the ashes ahead of the cardinals (*ibid.*, 2:345).

<sup>93</sup>Piccolomini's Ceremonial (1488), in Dykmans, ed., *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 2:411 and \*204-\*205.

first performing -- all the way to the ground  
-- three reverences.<sup>94</sup>

Piccolomini had previously mentioned the cardinals' kissing of the pontiff's gold-embroidered cope. But this is the first mention of the Easter reverence performed by the *prelati parati*,<sup>95</sup> namely, the kissing of the pope's right knee and the triple prostration.

There is additional evidence that, by the late fifteenth century, the *reverentia* which involved the kissing of the pope's knee -- formerly reserved to the cardinals -- was sometimes downgraded to a gesture performed by lesser clergy.<sup>96</sup> Johannes Burckard's diary entry for 24 December 1487 records a conversation between himself and two cardinals regarding the reverence per-

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<sup>94</sup>Ibid., 2:411.

<sup>95</sup>That is, ecclesiastics who were not cardinals, but entitled to wear the violet cope or chasuble.

<sup>96</sup>As we have seen in the *Caeremoniale Romanum*'s prescriptions for a canonization within a papal mass (Dykmans, ed., *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:124), the cardinals -- in this instance -- kissed the pope's knee. It is unclear whether the ceremony or the type of cleric participating alongside of the cardinals determined the type of the latter's kiss.

formed at Saint Peter's for the Christmas celebration.<sup>97</sup> The cardinals complained that the pope extended his right hand *sub pluviali* to the prelates (that is, to non-cardinals) for kissing, instead of allowing them to only kiss the cope draped over his (unextended) right knee. Burckard responded that the cardinals were correct, but that the pope could do as he saw fit ("respondi autem pontifici placuisse ita facere").<sup>98</sup>

#### The Easter Octave

*Agnus Dei* are small waxen tablets or medallions, originally fashioned on Holy Saturday from the wax of the previous year's paschal candle, and impressed with the image of the Lamb of God.<sup>99</sup> In terms of theology, the

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<sup>97</sup>Burckard's diary in Louis Thuasne, ed., *Johannis Burchardi Argentinensis Capelle Pontificie Sacrorum Rituus Magistri Diarium sive Rerum Urbanarum Commentarii (1483-1506)*, 3 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1883-1885).

Burckard, who later became the papal master of ceremonies, had helped Piccolomini compile the new edition of the *Caeremoniale Romanum* (1488).

<sup>98</sup>*Ibid.*, 1:281.

<sup>99</sup>E. Mangelot, "Agnus Dei," *DTC*, vol. 1 (1903), cols. 605-613 (with good bibliography); W. Henry, "L'Agnus Dei pascal," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 1 (part 1) (1907), cols. 969-971; W. Dürig, "Agnus Dei (Sakramentale)," *LM*, vol. 1 (1980),

*Agnus Dei* are grouped with the sacramentals -- those "religious practices and objects akin to the Sacraments but differing in being held not to have been instituted by Christ and therefore of relatively much less importance."<sup>100</sup> The distribution of *Agnus Dei* (during mass) on the first Sunday after Easter (also referred to as *Sab-*

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col. 215; Gaetano Moroni, "Agnus Dei di cera," *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, vol. 1 (1840), 127-132; and Mario Righetti, *Manuale di storia liturgica*, vol. 4 *I Sacramenti e i sacramentali* (Milan: Ancora, 1953; 2d ed., 1959), 133.

A good listing of older works on the *Agnus Dei* is available in the second volume of Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca ritualis*, 3 vols. (Rome: Octavii Puccinella, 1776-1781; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, [1964]), passim, and Sergio Bertelli, *Il corpo del re: sacralità e potere nell'Europa medievale e moderna* (Florence: Ponte alle Grazie, 1990), 117-127 ("Un agnello di cera").

On the blessing of the *Agnus Dei* see Adolph Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, vol. 1 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1909; reprint, Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1960), 553-575 ("Die Weihe der 'Agnus Dei' in Rom").

<sup>100</sup>Cross and Livingstone, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, (2d ed., 1978), 1219-1220 (s.v. Sacramentals). The most recent edition of the *Codex Iuris Canonici* (Washington, D.C.: Canon Law Society of America, 1983), defines sacramentals (Canon 1166) as:

Somewhat in imitation of the sacraments, sacramentals are sacred signs by which spiritual effects especially are signified and are obtained by the intercession of the Church.

*bato in Albis*) sometimes involved the kissing of the pope's knee.<sup>101</sup> The sources for, and pertinent features of, the *Agnus Dei* distributions are summarized in Table 1 (a "●" indicates the presence of that feature or person in the source).

Two things are clear. From our first authentic reference to the *Agnus Dei* in *Ordo XXVI* (mid- to late-eighth century) until the mid-tenth century, the arch-diacon (of the Lateran Basilica) distributed the *Agnus Dei*.<sup>102</sup> Then, after a two-hundred year *lacuna*, the *Agnus*

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<sup>101</sup>After the banquet which followed the end of mass, the pope distributed the *Agnus Dei* to his *familia*, servants, and others. There are no details on the gestures accompanying this distribution, but it is unlikely -- given the recipients (chaplains, acolytes, etc.) -- that the kissing of the pope's knee occurred.

On the *post prandium* distribution of the *Agnus Dei* see Cencius' *Ordo* in P. Fabre, L. Duchesne, and G. Mollat, eds., *LC*, vol. 1 (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1889), 307 (col. 2); Stefaneschi's *Ordo* in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:401; Ameil's *Ceremonial* in *ibid.*, 4:183 (and n. 71); and Dykmans, ed., *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 2:420.

<sup>102</sup>I have accepted the claim of Andrieu, ed., *Ordines romani*, 3:326 (note to paragraph 7), that the earliest reference to the *Agnus Dei* appears in *Ordo XXVI* (c. 750 - c. 775), rather than Mangenot's contention ("*Agnus Dei*," *DTC*, vol. 1, col. 606) that "*Les Agnus...il n'en est parlé dans aucun document authentique, antérieur au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle.*"

TABLE 1  
 THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE AGNUS DEI: SOURCES  
 AND SELECTED ASPECTS OF THE BESTOWALS<sup>103</sup>

Source (Date)	Distribution Performed By			Knee-Kiss Mentioned
	unspecified	archdiacon	pope	
<i>Ordo XXVI</i> (third quarter of 8th c.)		●		
<i>Ordo XXVII</i> (second half of 8th c.)		●		

(Table 1 continued on next page)

<sup>103</sup>Michael Andrieu, ed., *Ordines romani*, vol. 3 (Louvain: "Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense" Administration, 1951), 326-327 (*Ordo XXVI*), and 349-350 (*Ordo XXVII*); Amalarius of Metz's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* in Jean Michel Hanssens, ed., *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, *Studi e Testi*, 139, vol. 2 (Vatican City: Bibliotheca apostolica vaticana, 1948), 110; C. Vogel and R. Elze, eds., *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, *Studi e Testi*, 227, vol. 2 (Vatican City: Bibliotheca apostolica vaticana, 1963), 99, 119; Benedict's *Liber Politicus* in *LC* vol. 2 (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1905), 151 (col. 2) and 155 (col. 1); Albinus' prescriptions as found in his *Gesta pauperis scholaris* in *LC* 2:132 (col. 2) - 133 (col. 1); Cencius' prescriptions in *LC* vol. 1 (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1889), 307 (col. 2); Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:400-401 (Stefaneschi's *Ordo*); *ibid.*, 3:235-237 (the Long Ceremonial); *ibid.*, 4:179-184 (Ameil's Ceremonial); and Piccolomini's Ceremonial in Dykmans, ed., *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 2:418-420.

TABLE 1 (continued)

Source (Date)	Distribution Performed By			Knee-Kiss Mentioned
	unspecified	archdiacon	pope	
<i>De ecclesiasticis</i> (before 838)	•			
Romano-German Pontifical (c. 950-962)		•		
<i>Liber Politicus</i> (1140-1143)			•	
Albinus' Prescriptions (1183-1188)			•	
Cencius' Prescriptions (1191-1198)			•	
Stefaneschi's <i>Ordo</i> (1300-1340)			•	
Long Ceremonial (1342-1352)			•	•
Ameil's Ceremonial			•	•
Piccolomini's Ceremonial (1488)			•	•

*Dei* is again mentioned in an *ordo* found in Benedict's (canon of Saint Peter's) *Liber Politicus* (1140-1143). But in this, and all subsequent sources (through and beyond the fifteenth century) it is now the pope who distributed the *Agnus Dei*.<sup>104</sup> It is also clear that within the distribution ceremony, the kissing of the pope's knee can only be documented from the mid-fourteenth century (the Long Ceremonial, compiled between 1342-1352, contains the first reference). These late medieval sources provide our only details on the distributions.

The gestures accompanying the bestowal and receipt of the *Agnus Dei* were similar to those found in the other, previously discussed, distribution ceremonies.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>104</sup>Ameil's discussion (Dykman, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 4:182) of the distributions during the pontificates of Urban V (1362-1370) and Gregory XI (1370-1378) -- both Avignon popes -- indicates that the *Agnus Dei* was also bestowed outside of Rome.

<sup>105</sup>Dykman, ed., *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 2:419 n. 1, believes that the scene depicted in an historiated initial in a missal of c. 1480 (New York, Pierpont Morgan 306, f. 139) represents the distribution of the *Agnus Dei*. An engraving of this initial is available in T. F. Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron; or, Ten Day of Pleasant Discourse upon Illuminated Manuscripts*, vol. 1 (London: Shakespeare Press, 1817), opposite p. cxii. With respect to the depiction, whatever the kneeling cardinal is receiving from the pontiff (and what this object is,

A cardinal, with his miter removed, approached and knelt before the sitting pontiff. The pope placed the *Agnus Dei* within the cardinal's miter, and the cardinal kissed the pope's right knee (Piccolomini's Ceremonial has the cardinal first kiss the pontiff's hand and then the right knee). The *prelatus paratus* (that is, a cleric wearing the violet chasuble) approached (without miter) the pope, and received the *Agnus Dei* in his hand. He then kissed the pope's right knee. Piccolomini's Ceremonial only differs in that this type of cleric received the sacramental in his miter, not in his hand. All other recipients (*prelati non-parati* and laymen), received the *Agnus Dei* in their hand and kissed the pope's right foot.

#### Formulaic

A formula appended to the *Graphia-Libellus* -- from the pen of an unknown Roman author (c. 1030) -- contains a reference to a knee-kiss.<sup>106</sup> This formula

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is by no means clear), the cardinal is not receiving it in his miter.

<sup>106</sup>This formula (one of three) was edited by G. H. Pertz in *MGH: Legum*, vol. 4 (1868), 661-662, and later by Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 1, *Gründung des Kaiserthums* (5th ed., Braun-

("Qualiter patricius sit faciendus"), describes the ceremony for the investiture of an imperial patrician.<sup>107</sup>

It "rappelle, de tous points, le rite de l'investiture des fonctionnaires et des dignitaires byzantins ...."<sup>108</sup>

The new patrician was to kiss the emperor's feet, knee,

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schweig: G. A. Schwetschke, 1881), 892-893. The *Graphia-Libellus* was edited by A. F. Ozanam, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire littéraire de l'Italie depuis le VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'au XIII<sup>e</sup>* (Paris: Jacques Lecoffre, 1850), 155-183 (formulae on pp. 182-183).

The name *Graphia-Libellus* is a shortening of the two principal titles comprising its contents: the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae* and the *Libellus de caerimoniis aulae imperatoris*. On the *Graphia-Libellus* see Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des Karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1929; reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 193-217 (211-214 re: the three formulas).

Herbert Bloch, "Der Autor der 'Graphia aureae urbis Romae,'" *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 40 (1984): 89, connects the first formula with the reign of Emperor Otto III (983-1002).

<sup>107</sup>This formula, as well as the other two -- "Qualiter iudex sit constituendus," and "Qualiter Romanus fieri debeat" (the latter incomplete) -- were later appended to an eleventh century manuscript of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* (Vat. lat. 4917, folios 146<sup>v</sup>-147<sup>v</sup>).

On the medieval *patricius Romanorum* see Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 57-63.

<sup>108</sup>Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire*, 9.

and face (in that order), prior to his investiture (by the emperor) with mantle, ring, diploma, and gold crown.<sup>109</sup>

#### The Roman Knee Impressions of Peter and Paul

In medieval religiosity, relics were an important channel between the sacred and the profane.<sup>110</sup> Yet, there existed another type of holy object which provided an equally palpable demonstration of Divinity's intervention in the material world. I am referring to the stones on which it was believed that Christ, and certain apostles and saints, had, through their kneeling in prayer, left impressions of their knees.<sup>111</sup> Most pertinent for our

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<sup>109</sup>Pertz, ed., *MGH: Legum*, 4:662:

Dum autem venerit patricius, in primis osculetur pedes imperatoris, deinde genu, ad extremum osculetur ipsum. Tunc osculetur omnes Romanos circumstantes, et dicant omnes: 'Bene veniatis.' [Tunc dicat imperator:] 'Nobis....' Tunc induat ei mantum....

<sup>110</sup>The description of relics as "channels" is borrowed from R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, The Pelican History of the Church, vol. 2 (New York: Penguin Books, 1970), 31.

<sup>111</sup>**Impressions of Christ's knees:** According to J.-B. Thibaut, *Ordre des offices de la semaine sainte à Jérusalem du IV<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècle: Études de liturgie et de*

study is the Eternal City's possession of a stone bearing the knee imprints of the apostles Peter and Paul.

Gregory of Tours' *Liber in gloria martyrum* (written in 590), makes the first mention of the knee imprints of Peter and Paul. In the chapter "De sepulchro

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*topographie palestiniennes* (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1926), 37, both the Russian hegumen Daniel (c. 1110) and Johannes von Würzburg (1165):

affirmant, en effet, avoir vu là [Gethsemane] où le Christ agonisa une église neuve dans le pavé de laquelle étaient trois pierres portant l'empreinte des genoux de Jésus.

Although Daniel's account does mention the church at Gethsemane, he does not refer to the stone with the imprints of Christ's knees. See Abraham de Noroff, ed. and trans., *Pèlerinage en terre sainte de l'igoumène russe Daniel, au commencement du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, (1113-1115)* (St. Petersburg: Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1864), 38 (and n. 3). Johannes von Würzburg's *Descriptio terrae sanctae* does mention both the church and the stones with the three impressions. See Titus Tobler, ed., *Descriptiones terrae sanctae ex saeculo VIII., IX., XII., et XV* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1874), 137-138.

**Impressions of Saints' knees:** References in Hugo Hepding, "Knien," in Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 4: col. 1582; H. Günter, *Legenden-Studien* (Cologne: J. P. Bachem, 1906), 28; Paul Sébillot, *Le folklore de France*, vol. 1, *Le ciel et la terre* (Paris: E. Guilmoto, 1904), 359-412 ("Les empreintes merveilleuses"); and Guy-Alexis Lobineau, *Les vies des saints de Bretagne et des personnes d'une éminente piété qui ont vécu dans cette province*, vol. 1 (Paris: Méquignon, 1836), 54.

et basilica sancti Petri apostoli," Gregory relates that at present, in Rome, there existed a stone with two small cavities (*fossulae*). These depressions marked, for Gregory, the spots where Peter and Paul had fallen to their knees in asking for God's help against the sorcerer Simon Magus (the latter was attempting to deceive the Romans with his ability to fly).<sup>112</sup> There is no biblical basis for Simon's presence in Rome. Acts 8.9-24 only refers to Simon Magus' attempted "simoniacal" purchase of the Holy Spirit (in Samaria). However, by Gregory of Tours' time, several other sources -- for example, early Christian apocryphal literature (such as the Roman Clementines and the Acts of Saint Peter) -- purported to reveal Simon's exploits and teachings. Several sources spoke of Simon's journey to Rome and his (losing) battle with Saint Peter for the souls of Rome's populace.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>112</sup>*Gregorii episcopi Turonensis miracula et opera minora* edited by Bruno Krusch in *MGH: Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* 1 (part 2) (1885; reprint, 1969), 53.

Although he did not elaborate, it is reasonable to assume that Gregory viewed the impressions as a testament to the fervency of the Apostles' prayers and/or a visible sign that God was about to answer their prayers.

<sup>113</sup>The growth of the Simon Magus legend (and its

One, or more, of these legends supplied the background for Gregory of Tours' story of the knee impressions.

The next reference to the knee imprints lies in the *Liber Pontificalis*. The *vita* of Paul I (pontificate, 757-767) states that this pope constructed (or reconstructed -- the Latin reads "fecit noviter") a Roman church dedicated to Peter and Paul, and that it contained a stone bearing the knee imprints of both apostles.<sup>114</sup> Although scholars are still not clear as to: 1) what became of this church, and 2) its location on the Via Sacra, it is generally agreed:

che una pietra con le impronte dei ginocchi  
degli apostoli fu mostrata sulla Via Sacra

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sources) are discussed in É. Amann, "Simon le Magicien," *DTC*, vol. 14/part 2 (1941), cols. 2130-2140; P. Lugano, "Le memorie leggendarie di Simon Mago e della sua volata," *Nuovo bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 6 (1900): 29-66; and Philip Mason Palmer and Robert Pattison More, eds. and trans., *The Sources of the Faust Tradition: From Simon Magus to Lessing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1936; reprint, New York: Haskell House, 1965), 9-41. The latter work contributes to the debate on the origins of the Faust legend by providing translations of possible earlier influences (among which are translations of Christian apocryphal literature concerning Simon Magus).

<sup>114</sup>Louis Duchesne, ed. (revised by Cyrille Vogel), *Le Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1 (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1955), 465.

certamente nel sec. VI e forse prima, nel V. Questa pietra, almeno sin dal 1375...si vedeva davanti alla chiesa di S. Maria Nuova e più tardi nell'interno.<sup>115</sup>

Agnellus' (805 - c. 846) life of Saint Apollinaris also refers to a stone (located on the Janiculum) containing the miraculous imprint of Peter's knees. In this *vita*, Saint Apollinaris (date unknown), prior to becoming Ravenna's first bishop and martyr, is Peter's companion at Rome. Here, Peter ordained Apollinaris who, through the imposition of the apostle's hands, received the Holy Spirit. The two then proceeded as far as the third milestone. Peter, praying at a spot near the "monasterium beati Petri quod vocatur ad Ianiculum," left

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<sup>115</sup>Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae*, vol. 1 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1937), 221 (n. 3). This reference is found *sub nomine ecclesiae* S. Francesca Romana (S. Maria Nuova). Also see Christian Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo: cataloghi ed appunti*, vol. 2, *Di topografia, toponomastica e storia delle chiese medioevali di Roma* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1927), 422 (SS. Petri et Pauli in Via Sacra).

Contrary to the statement of H. K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (part 2) (Saint Louis, Missouri: B. Herder, 1925), 338-339, the church dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul did not survive into the fourteenth century.

an impression of his knees.<sup>116</sup> Agnellus neither explains the reason for Peter's prayer, nor mentions Simon Magus (but it is interesting that the story emphasizes Apollinaris' receipt of what had been denied to Simon in Acts 8.9-24 -- the apostolic bestowal of the Holy Spirit).<sup>117</sup>

There is, of course, no direct connection between a knee-imprinted stone and the kissing of the pope's knee. But it is not irrelevant to examine -- as the foregoing paragraphs have attempted to do -- a part of the context within which that gesture was performed. The Roman See prided itself on its double apostolic founda-

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<sup>116</sup>Appendix E attempts to clarify Agnellus' vague reference to a "monasterium beati Petri quod vocatur ad Ianiculum."

<sup>117</sup>*Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, edited by O. Holder-Egger in *MGH: Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum* (1878), 280:

Sanctus Apolenaris...apostoli Petri discipulus, et cum eo in urbem Romam pervenit. Qui post plurimum tempus eum pontificem ordinavit atque per inpositionem manus Spiritum sanctum tribuit et osculum ille dedit; et ab urbe Roma quasi terdenos miliarios communiter cum eo venit, in quo situm est monasterium beati Petri quod vocatur ad Ianiculum. Ibi Christi apostolus oravit, et ubi genua posuit, lapis mollis apparuit, ut cera ab igne, et in modum eius lapis genu concavus est.

tion. Rome, from the fourth century on, celebrated (29 June) the feast of its two martyrs.<sup>118</sup> During the pope's *possessio* of the Lateran Palace he sat as if lying ("se habere ut videatur potius iacere quam sedere") on the two porphyry seats located at the door of the *basilica Sancti Silvestri*. His posture, in the words of the thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia, symbolized his lying "inter duos lectos, scilicet inter principatum Petri et doctrinam Pauli."<sup>119</sup> To a medieval Roman then, could it have seemed strange that the successor to Peter and Paul -- that is, to the apostles whose efforts established the primacy of the Roman See and whose prayerful fervency for the faith was "written in stone" -- should have his knees kissed?

#### Conclusion

This examination began with a twofold purpose: 1) to examine why the knee-kiss was bestowed, and thus, account for its appearance in the distribution of

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<sup>118</sup>Eduard Eichmann, *Weihe und Krönung des Papstes im Mittelalter*, Münchener theologische Studien vol. 3 (Munich: Karl Zink, 1951), 53-54.

<sup>119</sup>Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain*, 2:378-379.

*presbyterium*, and 2) to explain when and whence this gesture entered into the ceremony.

Those who prescribed the knee-kiss never explained what its performance was intended to convey. Yet, the history of this gesture in the West shows that it could be used as: 1) a greeting, 2) a gesture of entreaty, and 3) a sign of reverence and obedience. In the bestowal of *presbyterium*, the knee-kiss can only have signified the latter. That ceremony's order of events rules out the first two possibilities: once the pope had bestowed the *presbyterium* there was little point in either greeting or entreating him.

Such certainty is not possible, however, in stating when the knee-kiss entered into the bestowal ceremony. Our first liturgical prescriptions for the *presbyterium* (twelfth century) refer to the kissing of the pontiff's knee (as do **all** subsequent prescriptions up through the fifteenth century). But, the practice of distributing *presbyterium* antedates the twelfth century prescriptions. It is possible, but not demonstrable, that the knee-kiss was a part of the distribution ceremony before the twelfth century.

It is clear that the knee-kiss' appearance in the distribution of *presbyterium* predated its appearance in other ceremonies. Table 2 indicates (with a "●") the appearance of the knee-kiss in the non-*presbyterium* ceremonies. Stefaneschi's *Ordo* (1300-1340) contains the earliest "non-*presbyterium*" references to a knee-kiss. This is a full century after that gesture's appearance in the distribution of *presbyterium* (late twelfth century).

Still unanswered is whence entered the knee-kiss into the twelfth-century prescriptions. This gesture's near-eastern origin, as well as its incorporation into late imperial ceremonial, are indisputable. It is equally clear that the Western Church borrowed many of its ceremonial gestures and practices from Byzantium.<sup>120</sup> But, did the Church borrow the knee-kiss? Our inquiry has demonstrated that the knee-kiss was not unknown in the West. Which instances of knee-kissing could have served as a source for the twelfth-century prescriptions?

Several sources can be easily dismissed. The

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<sup>120</sup>Theodor Klauser, *Kleine abendländische Liturgiegeschichte: Bericht und Besinnung* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1965), 72-73, 116; Ohm, *Die Gebetsgebärden*, 216; Schreiner, "Fusskuss," *LM*, vol. 4/Lieferung 5 (1988), col. 1063.

TABLE 2  
REFERENCES TO THE KISSING OF THE POPE'S KNEE  
IN SELECTED CEREMONIES<sup>121</sup>

Source (Date)	Ceremony Connected With					
	Easter	Easter Octave	Christ- mas	Candle- mas	Palm Sun- day	Ash Wed- nes- day
Stefaneschi's <i>Ordo</i> (1300-1340)				●	●	
Long Ceremonial (1342-1352)		●		●		●
Ameil's Ceremonial (1385/1390)		●		●	●	

(Table 2 continued on next page)

<sup>121</sup>Stefaneschi's *Ordo* in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:355 (Candlemas), and 2:356 (Palm Sunday); the Long Ceremonial in *ibid.*, 3:235-237 (Easter Octave), 3:184 (Candlemas), and 3:189-190 (Ash Wednesday); Ameil's Ceremonial in *ibid.*, 4:179-184 (Easter Octave), 4:86 (Candlemas), and 4:118-119 (Palm Sunday); Burckard's diary in Thuasne, ed., *Johannis Burchardi Diarium*, 1:281; Piccolomini's Ceremonial in Dykmans, *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 2:411 (Easter), 2:418-420 (Easter Ocatve), 2:335-336 (Candlemas), and 2:345-346 (Ash Wednesday).

TABLE 2 (continued)

Source (Date)	Ceremony Connected With					
	Easter	Easter Octave	Christ- mas	Candle- mas	Palm Sun- day	Ash Wed- nes- day
Burckard's Diary (24 December 1487)			●			
Piccolomini's Ceremonial (1488)	●	●		●		●

knee-kiss in the ceremonies on Easter, Easter Octave, Christmas, Candlemas, Palm Sunday, and Ash Wednesday all postdate the twelfth century (and thus, could not have influenced the *presbyterium's* prescriptions). The Talmud's references to the kissing of the knee would not have been widely known. The knee-kissing and -clasping in the New Testament, the Christian didactic and hagiographical sources were used, without exception, in entreaties.

The *Regula magistri*, Lanfranc's customary, and the customary from Fruttuaria seem likely sources for the knee-kiss' introduction into the *presbyterium* ceremony. Chronology is no problem: each appeared before the twelfth century. Moreover, the knee-kiss in each of these sources signified, unmistakably, obedience and respect. Certain problems do, however, arise. The *Regula magistri's* importance lies in its influence on Saint Benedict's Rule (the latter of crucial importance for the development of monasticism in the West). However, those sections of the Master's Rule which entered directly into Benedict's prescriptions (the prologue and chapters one through seven), do not refer to the knee-kiss. Nor did Benedict evince any interest in mimicking the Master's

use of the knee-kiss: Benedict's Rule contained only one instance of a knee-clasp (a similar section in the Master's Rule called for a knee-kiss). The customary of Lanfranc and that from Fruttuaria both appeared in the eleventh century. Although this antedates the appearance of the *presbyterium's* twelfth-century prescriptions, it also postdates the writing of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' tenth-century *De cerimoniis* (in which references to the knee-kiss abound). Therefore, it cannot be stated, unequivocally, that the knee-kiss appearing in either of these monastic sources influenced the *presbyterium's* distribution ceremony.

The anonymous Roman author of the *Graphia-Libellus* (c. 1030) knew of the knee-kiss (as shown in his formula regarding a patrician's investiture). This knowledge derived, in Schramm's view, from familiarity with the ceremonies of either the Byzantine or papal court: "Nur beim Basileus - im Westen höchstens beim Papste - war damals der Fuss- und Kniekuss üblich."<sup>122</sup> Support for this statement comes from a prior discussion

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<sup>122</sup>Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 214.

of the *proskynesis*.<sup>123</sup> But, this "discussion" (more a listing of citations) -- subsuming the knee-kiss under the rubric "proskynesis" -- does not provide references to the kissing of the pope's knee. Thus, it remains: 1) unclear how "üblich" it was, at the time of the writing of the *Graphia-Libellus*, to kiss the pope's knee, and 2), unresolved whether the Anonymous' familiarity with the knee-kiss derived from the papal or Byzantine courts.

The knee-kisses appearing in the prescriptions for a bishop's ordinary mass (c. 900) may have influenced that gesture's appearance in the bestowal of *presbyterium*. The date of this *ordo*'s composition is before that of the *De cerimoniis*, and its numerous references to the knee-kiss denote respect and obedience. However, this *ordo* may reflect only local usages, given that it survives in just two manuscripts (both from the same area). Moreover, two nearly contemporaneous *ordines* whose prescriptions were written for a very similar purpose -- the celebration of a papal ordinary mass -- refer only to the

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<sup>123</sup>Schramm, "Das Herrscherbild," 220 ("Exkurs II: Zur Geschichte der Proskynese").

kissing of the foot.<sup>124</sup>

In short, it is still not clear whence entered the knee-kiss into the distribution of *presbyterium*. The valid generalization that papal ceremonial borrowed many of its gestures and rites from Byzantium can, with respect to the knee-kiss, neither be accepted nor rejected.

#### Conclusion

This chapter, with respect to the bestowal of *presbyterium*: 1) examined three perplexing features of that ritual, and 2) attempted to explain their meaning. The latter endeavor was not always successful. The use of the *scyphus* to convey the coins to the pope was most likely practical and not symbolic in nature. It proved impossible, however, to come to a cogent explanation for the use of the miter in the reception of the coins. The notion of reverence sometimes connected with the knee-kiss clearly accounts for its appearance within the bestowal of *presbyterium* (based on its performance by the recipient after he has received the coins). A reverence performed to the pope was, incidentally, not out of step

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<sup>124</sup>Andrieu, ed., *Ordines romani*, 2:325-326.

with the pretension of the medieval papacy. It has remained, unfortunately, unclear whence this gesture entered into papal ceremonial. Definitiveness as to whether its use by the papal court imitated Byzantine imperial practice or based itself on Western models is not possible.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE REASON FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF *PRESBYTERIUM* AND THE CASTING OF COINS

Previous chapters described the distributions and attempted to explain various aspects of their associated rituals. Still unexplored are the reasons for and the origins of these distributions.

#### The *Presbyterium*

##### The *Presbyterium* Not Connected With The Pope's Coronation

The sources only occasionally state why the pope distributed the *presbyterium* on Holy (or Maundy) Thursday, Easter, Christmas, and the Mondays following Easter and Christmas. "The *presbyterium*...is awarded [to the various *scholae*] for the service rendered to the Roman *curia*," according to the instructions found in the *Liber censuum* for the celebration of Easter Monday.<sup>1</sup> However,

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<sup>1</sup>"*Presbyterium...donatur propter servitium quod*

the sources also mention groups whose receipt of *presbyterium* was (in the absence of any explanation) apparently not contingent upon the performance of any service. It is therefore likely that, on these five occasions, the pope bestowed the *presbyterium* for a reason other than the remuneration of a service provided. It is possible to make a reasoned supposition as to why he distributed coins. Upon each of these occasions his bestowal of coins (either on the way to or at the Lateran palace) was among the very last of the activities connected with the day's celebration (in most cases immediately prior to the banquet at the palace).<sup>2</sup> Both its position within the

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*exhibent curie Romane.*" In P. Fabre, L. Duchesne, and G. Mollat, eds., *LC*, 1:304 (col. 2). As an example of the *servitium* rendered to the pope, the:

Adestratores semper, quando domnus papa coronatur, custodiunt regnum, et ipsum usque ad ecclesias ad quas equitare debet, adestrant, in eundo scilicet et redeundo.

<sup>2</sup>As previously described (Chapter 4) each ceremony included: 1) the crowned pope's procession from the Lateran Palace to a stational church; 2) the celebration of mass at this church (and the chanting of the pope's *laudes* within the mass); 3) upon the mass' conclusion, the re-crowning of the pontiff outside of the church (the crown had been removed upon arrival); 4) a processional return to the Lateran (and, in most instances, the chanting of the papal *laudes* at some point after the pope's

day's events and its locale (at the palace) suggests that the distribution was redolent of the pope's authority, lordship and "open-handedness" with respect to his fellow high clerics/circle/household.

The *Presbyterium* Connected With  
A Pope's Coronation

Heretofore, the accepted view has been that the pope bestowed the *presbyterium* "pro laude" (that is, in return for the chanting of his acclamations).<sup>3</sup> This is only partially correct. Previous explanations do not define the *presbyterium*, and thus assume for the term an unchanging meaning: a remuneration bestowed by the pope

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arrival); 5) the distribution of *presbyterium* within the Lateran Palace; and 6) the holding of a banquet.

<sup>3</sup>Eduard Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des kirchlichen Rechts, der Liturgie und der Kirchenpolitik*, vol. 2 (Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1942), 268 (note 26). This view was later adopted by Bernhard Opfermann, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen im Sacrum Imperium des Mittelalters* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1953), 80-81.

Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamation and Medieval Ruler Worship*, University of California Publications in History, vol. 33 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), 173 (and footnote 73), 169, viewed the royal *presbyterium* as a remuneration to those chanting the king's *laudes*.

on clerics. The discussion of terminology presented in Chapter 3, however, has clearly shown that among the first stated purposes for the distribution of *presbyterium* was the performance of certain actions in addition to the chanting of *laudes*. The prescriptions for a papal coronation for example, as outlined in both Cencius' and the Basel *Ordo*, call for the bestowal of *presbyterium* to those honoring the pope's procession with festive arches and censuring.<sup>4</sup> On the same occasion, Rome's Jews are rewarded for their presentation of the Torah ("pro representatione legis").<sup>5</sup> However, it was also not unusual for the sources to mention a remuneration without providing a reason for it (this was especially so when the recipients were members of the high clergy). There is, then, no reason to dispute the view -- implicit in the views of Ernst Kantorowicz and explicit in those of Eduard Eich-

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<sup>4</sup>Cencius in *ibid.*, 1:312 (col. 2) -- also see his prescriptions for Easter Monday in *ibid.*, 1:299 (col. 1). The Basel *Ordo* in Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Ein bisher unbekannter Text zur Wahl, Konsekration und Krönung des Papstes im 12. Jahrhundert," *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 6 (1968): 70.

<sup>5</sup>Cencius' prescriptions in P. Fabre, L. Duchesne, and G. Mollat, eds., *LC*, 1:312 (col. 2).

mann -- that the pope bestowed the *presbyterium* to indemnify those participating in the festivities accompanying his celebration of certain occasions. This places the *presbyterium* firmly in the tradition of the largesse granted by ancient Roman and Byzantine rulers to those participating in certain important ceremonies.

As to the origin of the distributions, Ernst Kantorowicz has suggested that a medieval ruler's remuneration of those chanting his *laudes* resuscitated -- and possibly continued -- the Roman *princeps'* reward to the Arvalian Brotherhood<sup>6</sup> for their chanting of his *laudes*:

It is always difficult to tell whether the ceremonies and feasts of the Church are survivals of the pagan past or analogies produced by other formative elements. There is no doubt that the rituals of the Arvalian Brothers were well known to Christians: for instance, Tertullian's polemics against the Roman celebra-

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<sup>6</sup>The Arval Brotherhood (*Fratres Arvales*) was an ancient Roman priestly college whose original agricultural rites became, during the Principate, less important than their ritual acclamations of the *princeps* (in return for which they were given the *sportula*). On the *Arvales* see Ronald Syme, *Some Arval Brethren* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), Arthur Ferrill's review of Syme's book in the *American Historical Review* 89 (1984): 414-415; and Georg Wissowa, "Arvales fratres," in *RE*, vol. 2 (1896): cols. 1463-1486.

tions of the emperor's birthday and similar festivals condemn and ridicule the performances of the *fratres Arvales*. The Arvalian College was dissolved as late as 382 by the Emperor Gratian, and other pagan sacerdotal organizations, at least in the provinces, even survived the fourth century. A continuity of certain rites should therefore not be ruled out completely. But even though the tradition may have been broken, it was resuscitated in a new form.<sup>7</sup>

It may be that imperial ceremonies influenced those conducted by the Church. It is not clear from the reference in Tertullian's *Apologeticus* 35.7 -- the basis for Kantorowicz's assertion -- that the rites of the Arval Brethren were "well known" to Christians. The pertinent passage reads:

For if nature had placed over man's breast a transparent glass-like material, everyone's chest would bear the engraved scene of countless Caesars bestowing the *congiarium* to those in attendance, even at the moment when the recipients are exclaiming 'Jupiter, take from our years and give them to him [i.e., the new Caesar]!'... 'But such are the common people,' you say. Yes the common people, who are nevertheless Romans, and in the forefront of those condemning the Christians.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>*Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamation and Medieval Ruler Worship*, University of California Publications in History, vol. 33 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), 67.

<sup>8</sup>See H. Hoppe, ed., *Apologeticus*, CSEL, vol. 69

The imperial remuneration mentioned by Tertullian clearly concerns the bestowal of a money gift (*congiarium*) to the people (*vulgus*), not the granting of *sportula* to the Arvals (the priesthood's usual remuneration for their acclamations).<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, a phrase very similar to "De nostris annis..." does appear on inscriptions attributed to the Arvals.<sup>10</sup> It is not clear, however, if only

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(1939), 85:

Iam si pectoribus ad translucendum quandam specularum materiam natura obduxisset, cuius non praecordia insculpta appare<re>nt novi ac novi Caesaris scaenam congiario dividendo praesidentis, etiam illa hora, qua acclamant: 'De nostris annis tibi Iuppiter augeat annos!' ...'Sed vulgus,' inquis. Ut vulgus, tamen Romani, nec ulli magis depostulatores Christianorum quam vulgus.

<sup>9</sup>Syme, *Some Arval Brethren*, 112. On the *congiarium* see M. Rostowzew's article in *RE* 6 (1900), cols. 875-880.

Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636), in his *Etymologies* -- edited by W. M. Lindsay, vol. 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1911), book 16, chapter 26, paragraph 7 -- understood the *congiarium* to be that which:

unusquisque enim sui temporis imperator fauorem populi captans adiciebat, ut largior videretur in donis.

<sup>10</sup>Andreas Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung* 49 (1934): 86. On the origins of the acclamation *De nostris annis* see F. B. Ferrarius, *De veterum*

the Arvals used this acclamation. In light of such ambiguous evidence, it is best to reject the *princeps*'s remuneration of the Arvals as a model upon which a medieval ruler rewarded those chanting his *laudes*.

Eduard Eichmann, on the other hand, emphasized Byzantium's role in transmitting to the West a ruler's remuneration of those participating in his accession:

Der Brauch, die bei der Krönung Beteiligten für ihre Dienste in Geld zu entschädigen, ... Vom Orient her wird Byzanz den Brauch übernommen und das unmittelbare Vorbild für Rom gegeben haben.<sup>11</sup>

Is this view valid? The Byzantine emperor distributed gifts to his officials, dignitaries, and soldiers on several important occasions: his accession/crowning (and anniversaries thereof),<sup>12</sup> Palm Sunday, Easter, imperial

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*acclamationibus et plausu libri septem*, 43, 215, in J. G. Graevius, ed., *Thesaurus antiquitatum romanarum*, vol. 6 (Venice, 1732).

<sup>11</sup>Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, 2:267.

<sup>12</sup>For example, according to Eusebius' *De Vita Beatissimi Imperatoris Constantini* (Book 3, chapter 16), Constantine distributed gifts to the clergy during the celebration of his *vicennalia*. For this information, I have relied on the Latin translation of the Greek provided in *PG*, vol. 20 (1857), col. 1074. Modern critical edition of this *vita* in Ivar A. Heikel, ed., *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 1, *Über das Leben Constantins, Constantins*

marriages and births.<sup>13</sup> An emperor's consular inauguration was also celebrated by the distribution of largesse to both officials and members of the senate.<sup>14</sup> And not only the emperor was expected to display his liberality. A person promoted to certain high dignities provided presents (*συνήθεια*) to both court officials and religious

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*Rede an die heilige Versammlung, Tricennatsrede an Constantin*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902), 84.

<sup>13</sup>Jean Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1917), 97-98; Rodolphe Guiland, "Vénalité et favoritisme à Byzance," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 10 (1952): 35-46; Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, 2:267-268; Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), passim; and Alexander Kazhdan, Ioli Kalavrezou, and Anthony Cutter, "Largess," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2 (1991), cols. 1178-1179.

Luitprand's (c. 922 - c. 972) *Liber antapodosis* (dated 958-962) mentions Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' distribution of *erogationes* to his court in the week **preceding** Palm Sunday. See Joseph Becker, ed., *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, in *MGH: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (3d ed., Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1915), 157 (text of the *Antapodosis* on 1-158).

<sup>14</sup>Avril Cameron, ed. and trans., *Flavius Cresconius Corippus - in Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris Libri IV* (London: Athlone Press, 1976): Corippus' book 4, lines 90-205 (especially lines 172 ff. and accompanying notes), regarding Justin II's assumption of the consulship (1 January 566).

institutions.<sup>15</sup> But, Eichmann never indicates when the eastern practice of rewarding those participating in a ruler's crowning had entered Byzantium. In one scholar's view, the Hellenistic courts (at the end of the third century B.C.) introduced **Rome** to the notion of *liberalitas* (subsequently popularized by the second century B.C. Stoic philosopher Panaetius).<sup>16</sup> Moreover, Roman emperors -- well before the establishment of Constantinople -- had, on festive occasions, showered their subjects with gifts. Imperial largesse, referred to as *largitio* or *liberalitas*, was of three basic types.<sup>17</sup> The *largitio*

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<sup>15</sup>Ebersolt, *Mélanges*, 74 (based on *De cerimoniis*).

<sup>16</sup>Károly Borsányi, "A Liberalitas-Eszme Története," *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny* 62 (1938): 1-42. Borsányi's article, although in Hungarian, is provided with a French summary (pp. 39-42). The article's main points are also summarized in the *L'année philologique* 13 (1939): 395.

On *liberalitas* as a concept, also see Armin U. Stylow, *Libertas und Liberalitas; Untersuchungen zur innenpolitischen Propaganda der Römer* (Munich: n.p., 1972).

<sup>17</sup>General surveys in H. Berve, "Liberalitas," *RE*, vol. 13 (1926), cols. 82-93; Adrien Blanchet, "Liberalitas," *DAGR*, vol. 3/part 2 (1904; reprint, 1969), 1192; Ramsay MacMullen, "The Emperor's Largesses," *Latomus* 21 (1962): 159-166; W. Ensslin, "Largitio," *RE*, vol. 12 (1925), cols. 835-836; D. van Berchem, *Les distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine sous l'Empire* (Geneva: Georg and Cie, 1939), *passim*; G. Barbieri,

*frumenti* was a free distribution of corn, the donative (*donativum*) was a grant of money to the soldiers, and the *congiarium* a money-gift to the people.<sup>18</sup> The importance of all three *liberalitates* to the social, political, and military life of the Empire is well known. The occasions calling for a display of liberality were numerous, but the emperor's accession to imperial or consular office

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"*Liberalitas*," in Ettore de Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico de antichità Romane*, vol. 4 (Rome: Loreto Pasqualucci, 1958), 838-885; and Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1977), 133-139, 368-375.

<sup>18</sup>M. Rostowzew, "Frumentum" *RE* 7 (1910), cols. 126-187; Heinrich Fiebiger, "Donativum," *RE* 5 (1905), cols. 1542-1545; and M. Rostowzew, "Congiarium," *RE* 6 (1900), cols. 875-880.

The *missilia* (discussed below):

étaient donc une des multiples formes de la *Largitio*. Mais cette espèce différait essentiellement de toutes les autres [*Congiarium*, *Donativum*, *Epulum*, *Sportula*, etc.] en ce que celles-ci allaient par portions déterminées à des personnes désignées, tandis qu'aucune partie des *missilia* n'était prédestinée à aucun individu de la foule à laquelle la masse était offerte.

References in Roman law to gifts (such as the *missilia*) granted to no specific person are available in Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, Transactions, New Series vol. 43/part 2 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1953; reprint, 1980), 584 ("*Missilia*"), and 740 ("*Traditio in incertam personam*").

were among the most important.<sup>19</sup> The northwest frieze of the Arch of Constantine, for example, depicts Constantine's bestowal of *congiarium* to Rome's senators upon his assumption of the consulship (January 313).<sup>20</sup>

In any event, the pope's liberality need not have been directly modelled on Byzantine custom. Some early medieval clerics distributed gifts on various occasions. Upon possession of his episcopal see (Siponto), Saint Lawrence (died, c. 546) distributed presents to each according to his measure (*unicuique secundum propriam mensuram*).<sup>21</sup> The ninth-century *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* records that on Christmas and Easter the bishops

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<sup>19</sup>For the gifts distributed (or thrown) during a consul's accession to office, see Richard Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, 2 (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1929), 68-73.

<sup>20</sup>Hans Peter L'Orange, and Armin von Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens*, Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte im Auftrage der archäologischen Instituts des deutschen Reiches, 10 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1939), 89-102 and Plates 16a-b, 17a-b, 22a-c.

On the frieze, non-senators receive the *congiarium* from imperial officials, not from the emperor.

<sup>21</sup>*Vita Sancti Laurentii episcopi Sipontini*, edited by G. Waitz in *MGH: Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum* (1878), 544.

of Milan customarily bestowed soap and money.<sup>22</sup> Whether pope or bishop, in distributing gifts, imitated the other, is unimportant. The key point is that the West would not, of necessity, have only had Byzantine practices before their eyes (as Eichmann states).

It is not clear if the bestowal of *presbyterium* by medieval Western Roman Emperors at the time of their coronation provided a model for the popes' distributions (or vice versa). The earliest reference to the western imperial *presbyterium* (an imperial coronation *ordo* in the twelfth-century *Liber censuum*) postdates the earliest references to the papal bestowals (see Appendix C).<sup>23</sup> This only **suggests** that the emperor's bestowal of *presbyterium* was modelled on papal practice (the reference in the *Liber censuum* called for a joint bestowal by representatives of both authorities).<sup>24</sup> In any event, it is unlikely that the pope begrudged the emperor for distributing *presbyterium*. The compiler of the *Liber censuum*

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 418.

<sup>23</sup>See Appendix C on the imperial *presbyterium*.

<sup>24</sup>Fabre, et al., eds., *LC*, 1:6\* (cols. 1-2).

(Cencio Savelli, the future pope Honorius III) would not have referred -- within a set of official ecclesiastical prescriptions -- to the emperor's distribution of *presbyterium* if the papacy had reserved to itself this particular gesture.

#### The Coin Casts

There were two types of ceremonial coin casts: those made during a procession, and those made at the Lateran Palace.<sup>25</sup> The explanation of the purpose of these tosses begins with the processional casts.

#### The Processional Coin Casts

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<sup>25</sup>According to Michael Canensi's *De vita et pontificatu Pauli Secundi*, edited by Giuseppe Zippel in *RIS*, vol. 3/part 16 (1904), 116-117, this pontiff (1464-1471) enjoyed both watching and remunerating those celebrating the Roman carnival:

Moreover this pontiff, with the banquets completed, to show his great benevolence and good will toward the Roman people, was in the habit of secretly observing the revelling crowds and pouring onto them -- from the window of his home -- silver coins.

This is the first instance of a papal *jactus* outside of a ceremonial setting. On Michael Canensi, see the biography by Massimo Miglio in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 18 (1975), 10-12.

Only a few of the *ordines* mentioning the processional coin tosses supply a reason for the distributions (always performed by proxy). There is unanimity, however, on the reason for the cast: to insure the papal cavalcade's easy movement through the crowded streets.<sup>26</sup> For example, Patrizi Piccolomini's instructions for a papal

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<sup>26</sup>For example, the Basel *Ordo* -- in Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Ein bisher unbekannter Text zur Wahl, Konsekration und Krönung des Papstes im 12. Jahrhundert," *Archivum historiae pontificiae* 6 (1968): 66 -- states:

The *camerarius* riding a short distance behind the pope -- and surrounded and guarded by curial officials -- throws fistfuls of diverse [kinds of] *denarii* lest the multitude following the pope pressure him [the pope].

The same reason is supplied in an early-fourteenth-century coronation *ordo* found in Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain au moyen âge*, vol. 3, *Le pontifical de Guillaume Durand* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940), 667:

After the lord pope arrived at the *Turris de Campo*...someone climbs to some location and casts *denarii* lest the crowds impede the pontiff.

Cencius' prescriptions for the procession on Easter Monday, Fabre et al., eds., *LC*, vol. 1 (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1889), 299 (col. 1), call for a *jactūs*:

to remove the multitude of people who are impeding the pope by focusing [the crowd's attention] on gathering the thrown *denarii*.

coronation (compiled 1488) explains:

The marshall or marshall of the *curia* will ride near the pontiff, sometimes before him, sometimes behind him, with two money sacks on his saddle, and he throws this money among the people to facilitate [the cavalcade's] forward movement.<sup>27</sup>

Occasionally, an account of a papal procession will also explain the coin casts as an attempt to redirect crowds away from the pontiff. For example, a Middle High German account of John XXIII's (antipope, 1410-1415) entrance into Constance states:

Und rait neben dem bapst ain priester, der warff pfenning under die lüt, umb das der bapst dest minder trungen wurd.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Marc Dykmans, ed., *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini ou Le cérémonial de la première renaissance*, vol. 1 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980), 80:

Circa pontificem, aliquando ante, aliquando post, equitab[i]t marescallus sive soldanus curie, cum duobus sacculis pecuniarum ante sellam, et ipsas pecunias proiciet super populum ad pressuram dimovendam,....

Piccolomini's instructions on "Quomodo procedit pontifex in publicum" (*ibid.*, 1:183) state:

The papal almoner customarily rides among them, and throws coins whenever he spies [the crowds putting] pressure on the pontiff.

<sup>28</sup>Ulrich Richtental, *Das Konsil zu Konstanz MCDXIV - MCDXVIII*, ed. by Otto Feger (Starnberg: Josef Keller Ver-

The same reason is advanced by Johannes Burckard -- the future papal master of ceremonies -- in his diary entry regarding Pope Innocent VIII's (1484-1492) post coronation procession:

With the pontiff departing from the *platea Sancti Petri* the marshall made three coins casts to the people, so that the pope could freely proceed...He did the same at the *Monte Jordano*, at Saint Mark's, and Saint Hadrian's, and wherever he perceived the pressure of the crowd.<sup>29</sup>

This explanation for the tosses was not unique to references to papal accessions. Cosmas of Prague's (c. 1045-1125) *Chronica Boemorum* records the coin toss performed to distance Bretislav I (duke of Bohemia, 1034-1055) from

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lag, and Konstanz: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1964), 2:162 (column 1). An accompanying illumination -- available in Jörg Traeger, *Der reitende Papst: Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie des Papsttums*, Münchner kunsthistorische Abhandlungen, 1 (Munich and Zurich: Schnell and Steiner, 1970), Abbildung 45 -- depicts a papal official (on horseback, alongside of the pope) distributing coins.

<sup>29</sup>F. Cruciani, *Teatro nel rinascimento: Roma 1450-1550* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1983), 203:

Recedente Pontifice de platea Sancti Petri, soldanus fecit tres jactus pecuniarum populo, ut Papa liberius procedere posset....Idem fecit in Monte Jordano, apud Sanctum Marcum, ad Sanctum Hadrianum et alibi, ubi populi oppressionem videbat.

his admirers:

Upon completion of the customary funeral rites [for the prior duke Odalrich] [Jaromir, Bretislav's cousin] receives his cousin Bretislav and leads him to the principal throne: and just as is always done in the election of a duke, from the gallery balustrade of the upper hall ten thousand coins are thrown among the people who, in concentrating on gathering coins, do not pressure the enthroned duke.<sup>30</sup>

During the festivities marking the accession of Otto IV (emperor, 1209-1218), coin tosses helped the imperial procession move forward.<sup>31</sup> The *ordo* for an imperial

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<sup>30</sup>Bertold Bretholz, ed., in *MGH: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum (nova series)*, vol. 2 (1923), 65:

Post expletis rite funebriis exequiis accipit Bracizlaum fratrualem, et ducit eum ad sedem principalem: et sicut semper in electione ducis faciunt, per superioris aulae cancellos decem milia nummorum aut plus per populum spargunt, ne ducem in solio comprimant, sed potius sparsos nummos rapiant.

Nils Ludvig Rasmusson, "Auswurfsmünzen: Eine Skizze," *Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica - Atti (Roma 11 - 16 Settembre 1961)* (Rome: Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, 1965): 625-626, is wrong in dating to the fourteenth century the first Bohemian references to coin casts.

<sup>31</sup>According to the *Chronica slavorum libri VII* of Arnold of Lübeck:

Therefore on Sunday [4 October 1209], as was said, after the feast of the blessed Michael when the procession reached the atrium of the blessed Peter, the procession could not pro-

consecration and crowning contained in William Durandus' pontifical (begun c. 1292, completed 1293-1295) explained that the casts distanced the emperor from the crowds.<sup>32</sup> In Johannes Porta de Annoniaco's account of Charles IV's coronation (Rome, 5 April 1355), processional coin casts moved the imperial cavalcade through the admiring crowds.<sup>33</sup>

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ceed up the steps of the monastery of Saint Peter due to the flocking crowds, but the generous hand of the king cast a copious supply of silver, and finally the ascent was obtained.

See J. M. Lappenberg, ed., *MGH: Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum*, vol. 21 (1869), 249.

<sup>32</sup>Critical edition in Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain*, 3:667:

*camerarius* seu dispensatoribus ipsius *missilia* seu pecunias in vulgo longe ad turbam arcendam *spargentibus ante ipsum* [emperor]....

The above passage's italicized words represents Durandus' borrowing from earlier pontificals. It is clear that Durandus' explanation for the coin casts was his own.

There is another edition of Durandus' coronation *ordo* in Reinhard Elze, ed., *Die ordines für die Weihe und Krönung des Kaisern und der Kaiserin*, *Fontes iuris germanici antiqui in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi*, 9 (Hannover: Hahns, 1960), 102-121.

A biography of Durand is available in G. Mollat, "Durant (Guillaume)," *DHGE*, vol. 14 (1960), cols. 1169-1171.

<sup>33</sup>The text of the *Liber de coronatione Karoli IV.*

Historians have, in general, accepted the explanation that coins were thrown to guarantee a procession's quick passage through onlookers.<sup>34</sup> Sergio Bertelli, on the other hand, has rightly questioned whether the coin casts redirected a crowd's movement or attracted and excited bystanders.<sup>35</sup> Papal (and imperial) cavalcades did not rely exclusively on coin tosses to wend their way through admiring crowds. In Albinus' prescriptions, the Lateran Basilica's archdeacon and prior, armed with rods (*ferulae*), patrolled lest "ne quis ipsam [processionem]

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*Imperatoris* was edited by Ricardus Salomon in *MGH: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1913). Porta de Annoniaco was both secretary and chaplain to the cardinal bishop instructed by Pope Innocent VI (still resident in Avignon) to perform the consecration.

<sup>34</sup>Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Die Krönung des Papstes im Mittelalter dargestellt am Beispiel der Krönung Pius' II. (3. 9. 1458)," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 54 (1974): 227-228; and Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, 2:35.

<sup>35</sup>*Il corpo del re: sacralità e potere nell'Europa medievale e moderna* (Florence: Ponte alle Grazie, 1990), 99. A sixteenth century print depicting a Venetian procession -- showing soldiers with clubs clearing the way through a crowd scrambling for the tossed coins -- led Bertelli to challenge the accepted view of the purpose of the *jactus*.

interrumpat."<sup>36</sup> Cencius' instructions for a papal coronation procession include the *majorentes* (or *scola stimulatī*) who "holding clubs in their hands clear the way (by removing the crowds) when the pope rides."<sup>37</sup> Arnold of Lübeck's account of Otto IV's coronation (1209) mentions the redirection of the assembled crowds through both coin casts and the officials (*ministri*) who "cum lanceis et fustibus reprimere tumultus."<sup>38</sup> A manuscript illumination in Ulrich Richtental's *Das Konsil zu Konstanz* shows John XXIII (antipope, 1410-1415) entering Constance. The antipope's procession includes two individuals, one tossing coins and one (in armor) with a raised club.<sup>39</sup>

Moreover, a coin toss did not always take place prior to the moving forward of a cavalcade. The *ordo* written for the consecration and crowning of Pope John XXII (Lyons, 5 September 1316) prescribed a toss **before**

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<sup>36</sup>LC 2:124 (col. 2).

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 1:305 (col. 2): "dum [papa] equitat baculos habentes in manibus viam parant, multitudinem populi removendo...."

<sup>38</sup>*Chronica slavorum libri VII* in Lappenberg, ed., *MGH: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, 21:249.

<sup>39</sup>Traeger, *Der reitende Papst*, Abbildung 45.

the presentation of the Torah by the city's Jews (that is, well before the procession intended to move forward):

Moreover when [the pope] arrives at the street before the Church of Saint Nicetius, the lord pope's attendant, standing in some high place, will make a toss of coins, and here the lord pope will pause a short time. And the Jews bearing the Torah will chant the pope's *laudes* and present the Torah to him.<sup>40</sup>

In addition, this *ordo* -- written by Cardinal Jacques Stefaneschi for a coronation *extra Romam* -- calls for a coin toss at five locations: at the procession's beginning (performed three times), three along the route, and at the procession's end.<sup>41</sup> It is possible to explain the initial and subsequent three casts as necessary to move the cavalcade forward. But what was the purpose of the

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<sup>40</sup>Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:300-301. These prescriptions are part of Stefaneschi's *Ordo*. The *ordo* composed for Pope Martin V's consecration at Constance (21 December 1417) borrowed, almost word for word, Stefaneschi's text (*ibid.*, 3:470-471).

Cum autem [papa] pervenerit ad plateam ante ecclesiam Sancti Niceti, aliquis familiaris domini pape stans in aliquo loco eminenti, faciet alium iactum pecunie, et ibi dominus papa trahet aliquam moram. Et venient Iudei cum lege sua et facient ei laudem, et offerent ei legem ut adoret.

<sup>41</sup>Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:300-301.

final toss once the procession's destination had been reached? It is also unclear why Stefaneschi's prescriptions called for **three** casts prior to the procession's setting off. The specifying of a number suggests that the *jactus* was, in general, performed for a reason other than the cavalcade's movement.

What this reason might be is indicated in a poem, written (c. 1300) by Cardinal Stefaneschi, on the election and crowning of Boniface VIII (pope, 1294-1303).<sup>42</sup> In the section on the pope's post-coronation return to the Lateran, the poem states:

And the people repeatedly run up to and crowd  
 round the advancing pontiff:  
 And receive tosses of genuine coins  
 Of either gold or perhaps shining silver,  
 It was once permitted to the consuls to cast  
 All types of coins, later the consuls could  
 not cast gold,  
 To the prince alone was this honor reserved.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>*De electione et coronatione S. D. Bonifacii Papae VIII libri duo* in *RIS*, vol. 3/part 1 (1723), 641-655.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, 652 (lines 261-266):

Atque frequens Patrem currens stipabat euntem:  
 In quem jactus erat validae per cuncta monetae  
 Sive auri, seu fortè nitens argentea stridat,  
 Consulibus quondam licuit dispergere passim  
 Quodque genus nummi, vetitum nunc temporis  
 aurum

The poem's references to the ancient consular *jactus* and the coins thrown in the pope's name suggest a common purpose. If Stefaneschi does not make this purpose explicit, he clearly understood the casting of gold coins as an honor (*insignia*) reserved to the *princeps*.<sup>44</sup> This implies that, for Stefaneschi, the meaning behind the pope's coin tosses was deeper than the desire to insure a ruler's passage through admiring crowds.

Stefaneschi's poem, then, suggests that the coin tosses made during a pope's post-coronation procession represent a continuation of the *sparsiones* long associated with both ancient Roman and Byzantine consular inaugurations.<sup>45</sup> No one, other than Stefaneschi, drew a paral-

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Jactari in vulgus: tenet haec insignia Princeps.

<sup>44</sup>Was Stefaneschi familiar with Justinian's *Novella CV* limiting the distribution of gold to imperial consuls?

<sup>45</sup>The *sparsiones* of Roman (ancient and late imperial periods) and of Byzantine rulers are discussed in Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen*, 68-73; Berchem, *Les distributions de blé et d'argent*, passim; Michael Meslin, *La fête des kalendes de janvier dans l'empire romain: étude d'un rituel de Nouvel An*, Collection Latomus, vol. 115 (Brussels: Latomus, 1970), passim; Cameron, ed. and trans., *Corippus - In laudem Iustini*, 195 (note to Book 4, lines 9 and 12), and 202 (note to Book 4, line 226); Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership*

lel between the *jactus* of consul and pope. But, the timing of the casts (in Pope John XXII's coronation *ordo*), and their location (in Stefaneschi's *Ordo* for an coronation *extra Romam*), raise serious objections to accepting the coin tosses simply as a means of controlling a procession's movement (apart from the fact that club-wielding bodyguards were probably equally effective in directing crowds). A reasonable reconciliation of the evidence is that the processional coin tosses originated as a conscious imitation of consular largesse, and that its origins were forgotten in using it for the purpose of redirecting crowds.

#### The Palatial Coin Casts

The procession having reached its destination, the newly-crowned pope -- during his *possessio* of the

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*in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 153, 228; articles by Philippe Fabia entitled "Missilia," and "Sparsio," in *DAGR*, vol. 3/part 2 (1969), 1934-1938, and vol. 4/part 2 (1969), 1418-1419, respectively; Friedrich Heinrich Graff, *Dissertatio inauguralis de missilibus* (Leipzig, [1754]); and Rasmusson, "Auswurfsmünzen," 624-625.

Lateran -- twice threw coins to the Roman crowd.<sup>46</sup> The two tosses differ both in location and in the words recited by the pontiff during the casts.<sup>47</sup>

#### The Coin Casts at the Sedes Stercoraria

The first toss was performed upon arrival at the palace's entrance. Led to the *sedes stercoraria*, the pope sat down and was then raised up by the cardinals. The pope next removed from the folds of his *camerarius'* garb ("de gremio camerarii") three handfuls of *denarii* and threw them to the assembled crowd. His cry of: "Argentum et aurum non est mihi; quod autem habeo, hoc tibi do," preceded the casts.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>The sources for *extra Romam* consecrations and crownings (e.g., those for Popes John XXII and Martin V) indicate no effort to reduplicate the coin casts connected with the *sedes* of the Lateran palace.

<sup>47</sup>The pope's casts from high locations in the Lateran obviated the need to construct -- as was sometimes the case in ancient Roman and in Byzantine ceremonies -- special grandstands for the tosses. On the latter, see Graff, *Dissertatio inauguralis de missilibus*, 22; and Cameron, ed. and trans., *Corippus - In laudem Iustini*, 195 (note to Book 4, line 12).

<sup>48</sup>Some liturgical prescriptions add the phrase "ad delectationem" after "non est mihi." The significance of this will be discussed.

Eduard Eichmann views the coin tosses performed at the *sedes stercoraria* as similar to those conducted by the Byzantine emperor upon his accession.<sup>49</sup> The purpose of the tosses was, therefore, the distribution of largesse. This is a reasonable explanation in light of the place of the toss within the ceremony as well as a new piece of evidence, a phrase in Cardinal Stefaneschi's (previously mentioned) poem on the coronation of Pope Boniface VIII. Describing the moment immediately after the pope rose from the *sedes stercoraria*, the poet writes:

...He [Boniface] casts coins three times  
 into the people while saying: We do not have  
 gold,  
 And you do not have shining silver for enjoy-  
 ment:  
 What [wealth] there is, this with an eager  
 hand he endeavors to distribute.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>*Weihe und Krönung des Papstes im Mittelalter*, Münchener theologische Studien vol. 3 (Munich: Karl Zink, 1951), 48-49.

<sup>50</sup>*De electione...Bonifacii Papae VIII* in Muratori, ed., *RIS*, vol. 3/part 1 (1723), 654 (lines 342-345):

...ter missile jactat  
 In populum, faturque docens; Non aurea nobis,  
 Argentumque nitens vobis ad gaudia non sunt:  
 Quod tamen est, hoc prompta manus dispergere  
 tentat.

The phrase "eager hand" (*prompta manus*) indicating Boniface's ardent generosity, only makes sense if the casts were a form of largesse.

If it is clear that the new pontiff's first palatial coin toss demonstrated his munificence, the accompanying verbatim (or near verbatim) recitation of Acts 3:6 ("Argentum et aurum non est mihi ad delectationem; quod autem habeo, hoc tibi do,") remains unexplained.<sup>51</sup> In Acts 3:1-10, Peter and John, about to enter the Temple for the evening sacrifice, are confronted by a crippled man. In response to the latter's request for alms, Peter recites the above quote ("argentum ...do") and cures the man's lameness. Thus, the biblical context is not connected with the distribution of material wealth. It appears inappropriate for the pope to quote a biblical passage -- describing Peter's bestowal of the gift of healing -- while dispensing coins.

The pope's words and the accompanying tosses have been variously explained. One historian asserts that the

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<sup>51</sup>The Vulgate used is that edited by B. Fischer, et al., *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983).

actions connected with the *sedes stercoraria* ritually mimicked a royal birth,<sup>52</sup> and that:

Il getto di monete che seguiva quella verifica, col grido 'non est mihi,' ribadiva questo mutamento di status, questa 'nascita.'<sup>53</sup>

However, the phrase "non est mihi" does not indicate this supposed change in the pope's status. In the Vulgate, these words clearly mean: "I, Peter, possess neither silver nor gold" (the *mihi* is a dative of possession). There is no reason to believe -- especially in the absence of an explanation -- that the pope used a standard grammatical construction to convey a particular notion of rulership.

In Alain Boureau's view, the new pope's recita-

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<sup>52</sup>Bertelli, *Il corpo del re*, 149:

Se la Chiesa di Roma era 'mater et caput ecclesiarum'..., allora il pontefice ne era il figlio. Come tale, egli doveva, in un qualche modo, imitare la nascita del bambino regale, sottoponendosi da adulto ad una *ostentatio* intesa come *testimonium fortitudinis*. La cerimonia, insomma, intendeva mimare il parto regio ed essa resta un ottimo documento di quanto il *pontifex rex* rincorresse a sua volta il *rex sacerdos*.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

tion of Acts 3:6 was an acknowledgement of his possession ("habeo") -- but not ownership ("non est mihi") -- of the Church. The coin casts, the pope's gift to those who had "theologically but not actually" elected him, symbolized, by a "feudal transposition," an offering made by possessor (pope) to owner (people).<sup>54</sup> This explanation is not convincing. No tenet of medieval ecclesiology stated that either the "people" or the pontiff owned the Church. Christ's words (Matt. 16:18) to Peter in founding the Church -- *tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam* (emphasis added) -- leave no doubt as to

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<sup>54</sup>*La papesse Jeanne* (Paris: Aubier, 1988), 104:

On croit percevoir le sens originel du rituel décrit ici pour la première fois; il devait manifester la transformation religieuse de l'élu en dominant et prolonger ainsi le rite immédiatement antérieur, celui du changement de nom: l'action divine fait du pauvre l'occupant du trône de gloire. Dans sa transposition féodale, le rite dit aussi que l'élu prend possession de l'Eglise en donnant au peuple qui l'a théologiquement sinon pratiquement élu l'offrande symbolique du tenancier au propriétaire ou au suzerain: le pape prend l'argent des mains du camérier (chargé des finances pontificales) et proclame la possession ("habeo"), mais non la propriété ("non est mihi"). Mais, dans nos *ordines*, ce sens se perd;....

who owned the Church. Moreover, clerics would not have conceptualized the relationship between pope and Church as that between possessor and thing owned, but of between overseer (*episcopus*) and thing overseen. A newly-elected pontiff, surveying the admiring Roman crowds, could see in them neither his "theological" electors (whatever Boureau means by this) or the Church's true owners.

In a later passage, Boureau provides an additional explanation of the significance of the casts:

C'est sur la chaise stercoraire que le pape lance une triple poignée d'argent en disant: 'Cet argent n'est pas à moi'; le permutation des rôles (prendre ou piller/distribuer ou concéder) importe, car elle place le pontife élu en position christique et prétend annuler par anticipation le rite funéraire du pillage qui néantise la personne et le corps du pape.<sup>55</sup>

This is an equally unconvincing explanation. Would an eyewitness perceive the tosses to the crowd as a counter-

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 113. Bertelli, *Il corpo del re*, 101, accepts Boureau's idea that the coin casts compensated the crowd for avoiding the pillaging usually accompanying a pope's funeral.

Boureau's statement that the pope tossed coins from the *sedes stercoraria* is incorrect. Every source indicates that the pope cast coins after rising from this chair.

point to the crowd's future despoliation of a deceased pontiff? And, how does "distributing" rather than "pillaging" place the pope in a "position christique" (assuming that it was explained what this phrase means)?

An explanation of this discrepancy between the pope's words and the coin cast may be that the popes (and/or the writers of the *ordines*) focused only on the wording of the passage and ignored its biblical context. Some medieval theologians did precisely that. The *Glossa Ordinaria* was the standard medieval commentary on the Bible. Each Gloss has its own history (sometimes complicated), but the one "on the Acts of the Apostles is almost entirely compiled from Rabanus Maurus and Bede."<sup>56</sup> Rabanus Maurus' (780/1-856) commentary on Acts remains unedited.<sup>57</sup> Bede's (c. 673-735) commentary on Acts 3:6 (c. 709) revolved around a literal understanding of the words "Argentum...do." He contrasted the material wealth of the Jews with the intentional poverty -- prescribed in

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<sup>56</sup>Cross and Livingstone, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, (2d ed., 1978), 572.

<sup>57</sup>Raymund Kottje, "Raban Maur (Hrabanus Maurus)," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 13 (1987), col. 5.

Matt. 10:9 -- of the Christians (and the triumph of the latter faith over the former).<sup>58</sup> A Christian should distribute -- not hoard -- any wealth which had come his way.<sup>59</sup> The pertinent section of the *Glossa Ordinaria*

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<sup>58</sup>The passage from Matt. 10:9 reads: "Nolite possidere aurum neque argentum neque pecuniam in zonis vestris."

<sup>59</sup>*Expositio actuum apostolorum et retractatio* edited by M. L. W. Laistner in *Corpus Christianorum*, vol. 121 (1983), 23-24:

*Argentum et aurum non est mihi, et cetera. Habuit quidem uetus tabernaculum iustificationes culturae et sanctum saeculare auro argentoque distinctum, sed metallis legis sanguis euangelii pretiosior emicat, quia populus ille, qui ante auratos postes mente debilis iacuerat, in nomine crucifixi saluatus templum regni caelestis ingreditur. Alioquin beatus Petrus dominici memor praecepti quod dicitur: Nolite possidere aurum et argentum, pecuniam quae ad pedes apostolorum ponebatur non sibi recondere, sed ad usum pauperum qui sua patrimonia reliquerant, reseruare solebat.*

Lawrence T. Martin, *The Venerable Bede: Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, Cistercian Studies Series, no. 117 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1989), 47-48, interprets Bede's understanding of Acts 3:6 as follows:

The old law had the temple which glittered (*emicat*) with silver and gold, and that Peter does not have, but what he does have to give is the 'blood of the gospel,' which spurts forth (*emicat*) salvation for the enfeebled in mind, represented by the lame beggar.

preserved this emphasis on a Christian's obligation to distribute his wealth as alms:

Vers. 6 - *Silver*, etc. Peter was mindful of that teaching: *Possess neither gold nor silver*. The money placed at the Apostles' feet was not to be hoarded by themselves but used for the poor, for whoever relinquishes his patrimony protects his heavenly one.<sup>60</sup>

Thus, a literal understanding of the text of Acts 3:6 would -- with one important reservation -- make it suitable for recitation during a coin toss. Would it not be contradictory for the pope to assert that he did not have wealth while distributing it? A subtle, but important, difference in the wording of Albinus' prescriptions -- our earliest source for these coin casts -- suggests that he was aware of the contradiction and attempted to correct it.

In prescribing the words the pope was to recite

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<sup>60</sup>PL, vol. 114 (1852), col. 434:

Vers. 6 - *Argentum*, etc. Memor erat Petrus illius praecepti: *Nolite possidere aurum et argentum*. Pecuniam etiam quae ad pedes apostolorum ponebatur, non sibi recondabant, sed ad usus pauperum, qui sua patrimonia reliquerant, servabant.

while casting coins, some sources reproduced, verbatim, Acts 3:6: "Argentum et aurum non est mihi; quod autem habeo, hoc tibi do." Several sources, however, add the phrase "ad delectationem" directly after "mihi." Table 1 separates the sources according to this distinction.<sup>61</sup> Almost all of the sources which rendered verbatim Acts 3:6 did so within passages that relied -- nearly verbatim -- on the instructions found in Gregory X's *Ordo* regarding the coin casts.<sup>62</sup> Those sources whose passages added the phrase "ad delectationem" to Acts 3:6 closely followed the text of Albinus' prescriptions.

Albinus may have added the phrase "ad delectationem" to Acts 3:6 to harmonize the words with the bestowal. The addition of the phrase "ad delectationem" does not endue the passage -- understood literally -- with a new meaning. It does, however, harmonize the quot-

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<sup>61</sup>Two prescriptions for a papal consecration/coronation are not included in Table 1: the *ordines* written for the coronation of John XXII (at Lyon, 5 September 1316), and for the consecration of Martin V (at Constance, 21 December 1417). Ceremonies *extra Romam* made no attempt to duplicate the coin casts performed at the Lateran.

<sup>62</sup>The pertinent passage in Piccolomini's *Ceremonial* did not directly rely on the passage found in Gregory X's *Ordo*.

TABLE 1

THE RENDERING OF THE TEXT IN ACTS 3:6 ACCORDING TO THE SOURCES  
FOR A PAPAL CORONATION AT ROME<sup>63</sup>

Sources adding the phrase "ad delectationem" to the wording of Acts 3:6	Sources preserving the wording of Acts 3:6
Albinus (1183-1188)	Gregory X's <i>Ordo</i> (c. 1274)
Cencius (1191-1198)	Pontifical of the Roman Curia (c. 1276)
Basel <i>Ordo</i> (12th c.)	Stefaneschi's <i>Ordo</i> for Benediction of New Pope (1300-1340)

(Table 1 continued on next page)

<sup>63</sup>Albinus' *Ordo* in *LC* 2:123 (col. 1); Cencius' *Ordo* in *ibid.*, 1:311 (col. 2); the Basel *Ordo* in Schimmelpfennig, "Ein bisher unbekannter Text," 60; Gregory X's *Ordo* in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 1:177; the Pontifical of the Roman Curia (thirteenth century) in Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain*, 2:377-388; the coronation *ordo* dated to c. 1300 in *ibid.*, vol. 3, *Le pontifical de Guillaume Durand* (1940), 668 (Appendix I); Stefaneschi's *Ordo* for the benediction of a new pope in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, 2:284; Stefaneschi's prescriptions for a consecration at Rome in *ibid.*, 2:322; Barozzi's Pontifical in Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher*, 348; and Piccolomini's Ceremonial in Dykmans, ed., *Patrizi Piccolomini*, 1:82.

TABLE 1 (continued)

Sources adding the phrase "ad delectationem" to the wording of Acts 3:6	Sources preserving the wording of Acts 3:6
Papal Coronation <i>Ordo</i> (c. 1300)	Stefaneschi's <i>Ordo</i> for Consecration at Rome (1300-1340)
	Barozzi's Pontifical (1451/1455)
	Piccolomini's Ceremonial (1488)

ation with the bestowing of wealth. By crying out "I possess neither gold nor silver for [my] enjoyment/pleasure, but what I have I give to you!" -- followed by the tossing of fistfuls of coins -- the pope acknowledged his wealth, stated his intention to share it, and immediately made good on his word.

The Coin Casts at the *Sedes Porphyreticae*

The pope performed the second palatial coin toss at the two *sedes porphyreticae* (located at the entrance of the *basilica Sancti Silvestri*). Sitting in the second porphyry seat, the pope threw three fistfuls of coins to the crowd and recited the words: "Dispersit dedit pauperibus, iustitia ejus manet in seculum seculi." The words are a nearly verbatim rendering of Psalm 111:9, which praises the generosity of the virtuous man.<sup>64</sup> The Psalmist's words were quoted in 2 Cor 9:9, and became a standard praise for charitable distributions.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>The passage (edition: B. Fischer, *Biblia sacra*) reads:

dispersit dedit pauperibus  
iustitia eius permanet in aeternum

<sup>65</sup>In Wulfstan's *Vita Ethelwoldi* (c. 996), Ethelwold's

In Eduard Eichmann's view, the purpose of this second set of casts was to demonstrate the new pontiff's liberality and to win favor with the Roman crowd.<sup>66</sup> This explanation is reasonable and accords well with the other examples of the tosses.

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generosity towards his parishioners during a famine is favorably compared to Saint Lawrence's concern for those committed to his care:

In his pious works he [Ethelwold] followed the imitable example of the blessed Lawrence priest and martyr, who, at the very time of the persecution, distributed the treasures and supplies of the church *dispersit deditque pauperibus, ut iusticia eius maneret in seculum seculi* and by the [martyr's] crown might be exalted in glory.

See Michael Winterbottom, ed., *Three Lives of English Saints*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1972), 50 (lines 22-26).

<sup>66</sup>*Weihe und Krönung des Papstes*, 50: "um seine Freigebigkeit zu bekunden und das Volk für sich zu gewinnen."

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION

This investigation focused on the *presbyterium* and the tossing of coins (sometimes referred to as the *jactus*): the two types of non-charitable money distributions performed by (or for) medieval popes. Specifically, the purpose of this thesis was to describe and explain: to describe in detail the who, where, when, and to whom of the distributions, as well as to explain certain puzzling aspects of the ritual and the meaning behind the distributions. It is appropriate, at this point, to summarize the findings.

#### The *Presbyterium*

An analysis of the meanings associated with the word *presbyterium* was key to understanding what was meant by "bestowing *presbyterium*," as well as to determining when the practice originated. This study has shown that a remuneration referred to as *presbyterium* first appeared

in the early twelfth century during the pontificate of Callistus II (1119-1124). The pontiff's practice of distributing coins antedated its twelfth-century referral as *presbyterium*. Thus, this type of distribution was not indicative of any new display of wealth or power. It remains unclear why the word *presbyterium* was chosen to represent these distributions.

Specifying the occasions on which medieval pontiffs customarily bestowed the *presbyterium* is a contribution to liturgical history. It is now clear that popes disbursed *presbyteria* on six occasions which -- for descriptive reasons -- were arranged into two groups: those performed within and outside of papal coronations. The latter group encompassed the celebrations belonging to Holy Thursday, Easter, Christmas, and the first day after the latter two occasions. By the late fifteenth century, however, all trace of the non-coronation day bestowals disappeared. The distribution of *presbyterium* on the day of a pope's coronation, on the other hand, continued into the modern era. It is unclear why the non-coronation *presbyteria* disappeared.

The information uncovered on who received the

*presbyterium* accorded well with two exclusionary trends within late medieval Church and society. Recipients of the twelfth-century *presbyterium* included Roman clerics (both high and low) as well as important Christian laymen and representatives of the city's Jewish population. By the thirteenth-century *presbyterium* was understood in a narrower sense: a bestowal performed only by the pontiff to high clerical officials. The remuneration of low clerical and non-clerical Christians may have continued, but it was not referred to as *presbyterium*. In addition, the representatives of Rome's Jewish community were, by the thirteenth century, excluded from receiving the *presbyterium*. These exclusions typify both the growing gulf in the late medieval church between laymen and clerics and, among the clerics, an exaltation of the status of the higher clergy. Moreover, according to N. Coulet, Christian rulers -- from the twelfth-century onwards -- increasingly minimized Jewish participation in public ceremonies. The medieval Church's exclusion of the Jewish community from receipt of the *presbyterium* corroborates Coulet's view.

Describing the ritual connected with the distri-

bution of *presbyterium* was a straightforward task. The sources provide details only for the remunerations made to individual prelates (that is, not to those made to lower clergy and non-clerics), but all agree on the course of events. What proved difficult was explaining three perplexing features of the bestowal: 1) the use of a silver *scyphus* in carrying the coins for distribution to the pope, 2) the pope's placing of the *presbyterium* directly into a recipient's miter, and 3) the recipient's kissing of the pope's knee.

The *scyphus* appeared in the earliest descriptions of the distribution ceremony. Its role within the distribution ceremony admitted no antecedents. The bestowal of silver *largitio* dishes by ancient Roman rulers was too dissimilar to the use of the *scyphus* in the distribution of *presbyterium*. The use of the *scyphus* was, therefore, probably practical in nature with no deeper significance.

Such is not the case with the pope's placement of coins in a recipient's miter. This gesture conveyed a meaning (or meanings) to observers/participants which was no less significant for having frustrated the attempt made here to understand it. Whatever this act meant, its

origins were medieval and western -- there were no antecedents either in the classical or contemporary Byzantine worlds. Moreover, this study has clarified two points. First, the earliest instructions (twelfth century) for the distribution of *presbyterium* do not refer to the miter being used to receive coins (how the coins were received is not, in fact, discussed). This suggests that up until Gregory X's *Ordo* (circa 1274) -- the first instructions which include the special use of the miter -- the recipient did not use his headdress to receive the coins. In addition, it is now clear that although the miter-as-receptacle appeared in several other distribution ceremonies (the bestowal of *presbyterium* on Holy Thursday as well as the disbursement of *Agnus Dei*), these distributions borrowed the special use of the miter from the instructions provided for papal coronations.

The goal of this study to fully understand the role of the knee-kiss within papal ceremonial as well as to account for its origins produced mixed results. Establishing the reason for the kissing of the pope's knee required examining the meanings associated with this gesture. This necessitated surveying the many traditions

(ancient and medieval, eastern and western) acquainted with this gesture. This contributed to Percy Schramm's call for a history of the knee kiss. It is now clear that the knee kiss was used to supplicate, greet, and to show respect. This study concluded that the papal *curia* borrowed this gesture with the latter meaning -- the conveyance of reverence and respect -- and that this harmonizes best with: 1) the place of the gesture within the distribution, and 2) the pretensions of the papacy during the period in which the knee kiss was performed. Less successful was the attempt to determine whence entered the knee kiss into papal ceremonial. Since many rituals associated with the Byzantine court entered into the Roman *curia*, it was tempting to view the knee kiss (used by the Byzantines) as another of the gestures borrowed by the Romans. This study, although unable either to affirm or to deny to Byzantium the role of transmitter, has shown that the problem of origins is a complicated one. There were western "non-papal" ecclesiastical traditions -- traditions outside of and earlier than the prescriptions set down for the papal court -- which used the knee kiss. This suggests that the *curia*, in borrowing the ges-

ture, could have relied on western rather than eastern practices. Definitiveness regarding which tradition influenced the western Church's decision to incorporate the knee kiss into the rites connected with the distribution of *presbyterium* is not possible.

This study scrutinized the traditional explanation advanced for the pope's distribution of *presbyterium* -- *pro laude* (that is, in return for the chanting of his *laudes*) -- and discovered it to be only partially correct. Although some sources state that the coins remunerated the recipient's chanting of the pope's acclamations, others adduce a bestowal *pro honore* (for example, the censuring of the papal cavalcade). Still other sources mention no service or honor rendered to the pontiff prior to the disbursement (this was particularly the case with the *presbyterium* received by many of the higher clergy).<sup>1</sup> If the relationship between service and bestowal was not necessarily one of *quid pro quo*, the remunerations possibly possessed an overarching meaning. Eduard Eichmann,

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<sup>1</sup>Apart from the fact that the bestowal of *presbyterium* occurred on non-coronation occasions, its many non-cardinal recipients argues against viewing its distribution as the pope's reward to his electors.

in discussing the reason for the pope's bestowal of *presbyterium* on the day of his coronation, viewed this distribution as squarely in the tradition of the general largesse granted by ancient Roman and Byzantine rulers upon their accession to power. The examination undertaken here supports Eichmann's view. Both the locale of the distribution (at the Lateran Palace) as well as its place within the last part of the coronation day proceedings (during the *possessio* of the palace) suggest connecting the distribution of *presbyterium* with the notion of liberality. There is nothing incongruous about a crowned pontiff's taking possession of his palace and, in the process, sharing with his clerical household/"retainers"/co-celebrants a part of his temporal riches. Such a posture was certainly in step with the power and authority, to say nothing of the pretensions, of the high medieval papacy.

Answers as to how the notion of largesse entered papal ceremonial proved as elusive as tracing the origins of the knee kiss. Eichmann viewed Byzantium as the likeliest transmitter of the notion that a ruler, upon his accession, rewarded his followers/subjects. Kantorowicz

suggested that the *princeps'* remuneration of a priestly college (the *Arvals*) for their participation in the rites accompanying his accession influenced the papal *curia's* adoption of distributing *presbyterium*. This study scrutinized and rejected the textual evidence adduced by Kantorowicz for this claim. However, implicit in Kantorowicz's argument is the idea that **western** imperial traditions influenced the ceremonies of the western Church. Several western lay and ecclesiastical forms of distributions were, subsequently, surveyed. This survey, if not arriving at a definitive statement regarding Byzantine influence on the papal court (with respect to the remunerations), has highlighted the complexity of the problem.

The chronological relationship between the papal and western imperial *presbyteria* is now, as a result of this study, clear. The first evidence for the pope's distribution of *presbyterium* antedate those performed by the emperor. This **hints** that, with respect to the *presbyterium*, the imperial *curia* borrowed from its papal counterpart. However, it is also likely that both pope and emperor drew upon a common heritage which sanctioned a ruler's display of liberality upon entering office. No

evidence suggests that the pope viewed the western emperor's bestowals as a rival or disputed act.

#### The Coin Casts

For descriptive purposes, coin casts were of two types, those performed: 1) by a representative of the pope during a papal procession, and 2) by the pope at the Lateran Palace (once at the *sedes stercoraria* and again at the *sedes porphyreticae*). An analysis of the terms used to describe both types of tosses uncovered the following difference. A coin toss made during a procession (usually by proxy) was most often referred to as a *jactus*. The sources for the coins cast at the Lateran Palace, on the other hand, emphasize the type of coin(s) thrown rather than the action of tossing (thus the word *jactus* never appears). A possible explanation for this difference is that the authors of the instructions for the palatial casts -- knowing that the pope, not his agent, always performed these tosses -- specified what coins were to be thrown.

The processional coins casts occurred on two occasions. The first was on Easter Monday, following Mass,

and took place during the pope's processional return to the Lateran. Since these tosses are mentioned in only two twelfth century sources, it is very likely that subsequent celebrations of Easter Monday did not include the tosses (exactly the case with the disappearance of the *presbyterium* formerly bestowed on this day).

The processional coin casts conducted on the day of a pope's coronation, on the other hand, appeared in almost all of the ritual prescriptions dating from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries (irrespective of whether the coronation was held *infra* or *extra Romam*). The order of events was, in every case, identical. The tosses occurred as the newly-consecrated and -crowned pope headed back to the Lateran (or residence) to take formal possession of his palace and to hold a banquet.

In exploring the reason(s) for the processional distributions, this study has broadened the modern critique of the explanation proffered by the medieval liturgical sources. The sources state that the purpose of the coin toss was to facilitate -- by redirecting the crowd away from the pontiff -- the forward movement of the pope's cavalcade. Sergio Bertelli has challenged this

explanation, arguing that the coin casts: 1) excited and attracted, not redirected, the crowd, and 2) were unnecessary -- for the stated purpose -- given the presence and effectiveness of club-wielding bodyguards (*stimulatores*). This study, in bringing forth new evidence, corroborates Bertelli's view. Within some of the liturgical sources the prescribed coin tosses occurred at a moment well before the cavalcade intended to move forward and again at the very end of the procession. This suggests that the casts had little to do with the movement of the procession. Moreover, the author of a poem on the election and crowning of Boniface VIII (pope, 1294-1303) implicitly connected the coins launched during that pontiff's coronation procession with the largesse bestowed by the ancient Roman *princeps*. In this poet's mind, the coins cast in Boniface's name connoted something deeper than the channelling of crowds.

The reason behind the pope's casting of coins in the first of the palatial tosses (performed near the *sedes stercoraria*) is clear. These casts -- given their place within the pontiff's *possessio* of his palace as well as the similar tosses performed by a new Byzantine

monarch -- were clearly intended as displays of largesse. Such was the opinion of Eichmann and there is no reason to contest it. In fact, a phrase in a poem on Pope Boniface VIII's coronation (here discussed for the first time) corroborates Eichmann's view.

An attempt has been made to explain a very puzzling aspect of the tosses associated with the *sedes stercoraria*: their connection with the pope's recitation of Acts 3:6 ("Argentum...do"). This quotation has nothing to do with the bestowal of material wealth and its appearance here is seemingly inappropriate. Past efforts by scholars (such as Sergio Bertelli and Alain Boureau) to rectify this discrepancy between action and quote have been carefully examined and rejected. A misreading of the text of Acts 3:6 -- based on a faulty understanding of Latin grammar -- doomed Bertelli's efforts. Boureau's explanations, although clever, suffered from: 1) reading modern notions into the election of a medieval pope, and 2) closely linking (on the basis of ill-defined concepts) a pope's accession with the rites of despoliation practiced during his funeral.

On the seeming contradiction between the recita-

tion of Acts 3:6 and the coin casts this study has suggested that the *ordines'* use of the quotation focused, exclusively, on a literal understanding of the words. Proof has been adduced that some medieval commentators of the Bible understood this passage literally. The addition of the phrase "ad delectationem" to the wording of Acts 3:6 -- present in Albinus' prescriptions (as well as in those whose texts relied on Albinus) -- suggests: 1) a medieval recognition of the discrepancy between the passage's literal and biblical meanings, and 2) an attempt to reconcile the literal understanding with the act of distributing wealth.

The analysis of the second set of palatial coin casts -- those performed at the *sedes porphyreticae* -- presented no difficulties. Eichmann viewed these tosses as illustrative of papal largesse (the new pontiff's obligation/willingness to share with his new subjects his temporal wealth). Again, both the point in which the casts took place (during the *possessio* of the palace) as well as their similar role in Byzantine accession ceremonies, offer no ground for contradicting Eichmann's view. The recitation accompanying these tosses (based on

Psalm 111:9; also see 2 Cor 9:9) accorded perfectly with the sharing of material wealth.

## APPENDIX A

### WHETHER THE POPE PERFORMED A *JACTUS* PRIOR TO HIS PROCESSIONAL RETURN TO THE LATERAN

Discussing the emperor's post-coronation procession, Eduard Eichmann reasons -- on the basis of the usual course of events in papal coronations -- that the emperor personally performed a *jactus*.<sup>1</sup> But the sources are not clear as to whether the pontiff performed a coin cast during a papal procession. Table 1 lists the sources

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<sup>1</sup>*Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des kirchlichen Rechts, der Liturgie und der Kirchenpolitik*, vol. 2 (Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1942), 277:

Dass der Kaiser, wie es nach diesem Bericht sheinen möchte, persönlich die Münzen ausgeworfen habe, ist glaublich, weil beim päpstlichen Krönungszug auch der Papst persönlich Münzen auszuwerfen pflegte; ....

Eichmann's views are based on a passage in the thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia. This text is available in Michel Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain au moyen âge*, vol. 2, *Le pontifical de la curie romaine au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940), 376.

TABLE 1  
 THE SOURCES AND TEXTS ON THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE POPE  
 PERFORMED A PROCESSIONAL COIN CAST<sup>2</sup>

Source (Date)	Text
Gregory X's <i>Ordo</i> (c. 1274)	Et postquam [papa] equitaverit, fit ibi in eodem loco iactus pecunie per senescalcum vel alium ter, et post papam proicit.

(Table 1 continued on next page)

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<sup>2</sup>Gregory X's *Ordo* in Marc Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal de la fin du moyen âge à la renaissance*, vol. 1, *Le cérémonial papal du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 1977), 176; the Pontifical of the Roman Curia (thirteenth century) in Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain*, 2:376; Stefaneschi's *Ordo* for the coronation of John XXII in Dykmans, ed., *Le cérémonial papal*, vol. 2, *De Rome en Avignon ou le cérémonial de Jacques Stefaneschi* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 1981), 300; Stefaneschi's prescriptions for a consecration at Rome in *ibid.*, 320; the prescriptions for the consecration of Martin V in *ibid.*, vol. 3, *Les textes avignonnais jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme d'occident* (Rome: Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 1983), 470; Barozzi's Pontifical in Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kurie im Mittelalter*, Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts im Rom, vol. 40 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1973), 346.

TABLE 1 (continued)

Source (Date)	Text
Pontifical of the Roman Curia (c. 1276)	Et postquam [papa] equitaverit, fit ibi in eodem loco iactus pecunie seu missilium per senescallum vel alium ter et postea papa proicit.
Stefaneschi: Coronation <i>Ordo</i> - John XXII (1316-1340)	Processione taliter ordinata, et cum dominus papa ascenderit equum, in eodem loco post eum per marescallum vel alium fient ter missilia vel iactus pecunie.
Stefaneschi: <i>Ordo</i> - Consecration at Rome (1300-1340)	Et postquam equitaverit, fit ibi in eodem loco iactus pecunie seu missilium per senescallum vel alium ter, et postea papa proicit.
Consecration of Martin V (post 1417)	Processione taliter ordinata, et cum dominus papa ascenderit equum, in eodem loco post eum per marescallum vel alium, fient ter missilia vel iactus pecunie.
Barozzi's Pontifical (1451/1455)	Et postquam [papa] equitaverit, fit ibi iactus pecunie per senescalcum vel alium ter et postea papa procedit.

and provides the pertinent texts. All the sources agree that the papal seneschal or marshal performed three coin casts immediately after the pope had mounted his horse.

The problem lies in determining what happened next. Two sources (John XXII's coronation *ordo*, and the consecration *ordo* for Martin V) contain the words "post eum." Their position in the sentence indicates that the coin tosses were performed by the marshal "behind him [i.e., the pope]." Gregory X's *Ordo* contains instead the phrase "et post papam proicit." *Proicio* (meaning "to throw, throw down") is a transitive verb normally requiring a direct object (missing here).<sup>3</sup> Presumably, the clause's meaning is that the pope's agent -- stationed behind the pope -- performed the casts. However, both the thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia and a fourteenth century consecration *ordo* prescribed that the pope perform a cast directly after his seneschal had done so ("et postea papa proicit"). Barozzi's mid-fifteenth-century pontifical called for the pope to move forward

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<sup>3</sup>In all the sources using the word *proicio*, variants in the manuscripts are orthographical and do not support the supposition that any other verb was intended.

once the seneschal's three tosses had been performed ("et postea papa procedit)."

In sum, the contradictory information presented in the sources makes unacceptable, at this time, Eichmann's contention that the newly-crowned pope cast coins prior to his processional return to the Lateran.

## APPENDIX B

### WHETHER GREGORY I WAS THE FIRST POPE TO DISTRIBUTE GIFTS UPON FESTIVE OCCASIONS

Duchesne, the editor of the *Liber pontificalis*, traces the pope's practice of festive gift distributions to Gregory I.<sup>1</sup> The evidence for this claim is a passage (Book II, 25) in a *Vita Gregorii Magni* written by John the Deacon:

At dawn on Easter, in the basilica of the most learned Pope Vigilius...[Gregory] stayed for the purpose of bestowing the kiss of peace [and] distributing gold coins to all the bishops, presbyters, deacons and other notables. Moreover, on the anniversary of the Apostles, or on his own, offering mixed *solidi*, nonetheless he bestowed exotic tapestries.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Louis Duchesne, ed. (revised by Cyrille Vogel), *Le Liber pontificalis* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1955-1957), Vol. 1, 364 n. 6; Vol. 2, 34 n. 5.

<sup>2</sup>*PL*, vol. 75 (1849), col. 97 (Book II, 25 of the *vita*):

Primo Dominicae resurrectionis diluculo in basilica quondam doctissimi papae Vigilii...ad impertiendum pacis osculum residens, cunctis episcopis, presbyteris, diaconibus aliisque axiomaticis aureos erogabat. Natalitio vero

John the Deacon completed book two in 875 (nearly three centuries after Gregory's pontificate).<sup>3</sup> An assessment of the validity of the author's information on Gregory, therefore, requires both a scholarly edition of this *vita* and an analysis of its sources.<sup>4</sup> To date, beginning steps have been taken towards fulfilling both prerequisites.<sup>5</sup>

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apostolorum, vel suo, mistos solidos offerens,  
peregrina nihilominus vestimenta donabat.

<sup>3</sup>Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 1, *Von Justinian bis zur Mitte des Zehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1911), 691.

<sup>4</sup>Irrespective of the accuracy of his information on Pope Gregory, John certainly believed that his ninth century audience was familiar with the pope's distribution of coins on special occasions.

<sup>5</sup>Regarding the *Vita Gregorii Magni*: H. Brackmann, "Reise nach Italien vom März bis Juni 1900," *Neues Archiv* 26 (1900-1901): 323-330; N. Bartolomucci and M. Carella, "Il cod. Arch. S. Pietro B 43 nella tradizione della *Vita Gregorii* di Giovanni Immonide," *Invigilata lucernis: Rivista dell'istituto di latino dell'università di Bari* 7-8 (1985-1986): 225-262; M. Carella and I. Ranieri, "Contributi per una nuova edizione della *Vita Gregorii* di Giovanni Immonide (manoscritti Fiorentini del sec. X)," *Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Bari* 19-20 (1976-1977): 179-200.

For analyzing John the Deacon's sources: Helmut Goll, *Die Vita Gregorii des Johannes Diaconus: Studien zum Fortleben Gregors des Grossen und zu der historiographischen Bedeutung der päpstlichen Kanzlei im 9. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rudolf Goldschagg, 1940).

However, the most modern edition of this *vita* remains that found in the *Patrologia Latina*.<sup>6</sup> Without being able to determine the validity of John the Deacon's information on Gregory I's distributions, it is best to disregard the *Vita Gregorii Magni* as proof of the assertion that festive gift distributions go back to the pontificate of Gregory I.

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<sup>6</sup>The Bollandists, *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, *Subsidia hagiographica*, no. 6 (Brussels, 1898-1899; reprint, 1949), 1:543 lists the older editions of John's *Vita Gregorii Magni*.

## APPENDIX C

### THE IMPERIAL PRESBYTERIUM

The bestowal of *presbyterium* was a feature of imperial (as well as of papal) coronations.<sup>1</sup> This section

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<sup>1</sup>Important for the general study of medieval imperial coronations are: Andreas Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung* 49 (1934): 1-118; Cornelius Adrianus Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning: The Development of the Latin Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the Coronation of an Emperor before the Eleventh Century*, Bijdragen van het Instituut voor middeleeuwse Geschiedenis der Rijks-Universiteit te Utrecht, vol. 30 (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1957); Eduard Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des kirchlichen Rechts, der Liturgie und der Kirchenpolitik*, 2 vols. (Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1942); Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamation and Medieval Ruler Worship*, University of California Publications in History, no. 33 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946); Hans-Walter Klewitz, "Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte - Kanonistische Abteilung*, 63 (1943): 509-526; Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige, und Päpste*, vols. 1-3 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1968-1971); several essays in Bernhard Schimmelpfennig and Ludwig Schmugge, eds., *Päpste-Kaiser-Könige und die mittelalterliche Herrschaftssymbolik*, Collected Studies vol. 152 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1982); and Reginald Maxwell Woolley, *Coronation Rites* (Cambridge: Cambridge

presents a brief history of the medieval Roman emperor's distributions (ending with, but including, the fifteenth century).<sup>2</sup>

The day of an imperial coronation -- not unlike its papal counterpart -- ended with a procession towards the Lateran palace and, once there, both the distribution of *presbyterium* and the holding of a banquet. The first mention of an emperor's procession and banquet is found in the *Chronicon* of Thietmar of Merseburg (the coronation described was that of Henry II, crowned by Pope Benedict VIII in February 1014).<sup>3</sup> There is, however, no reference to the *presbyterium* in the *Chronicon*.

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University Press, 1915). The major medieval imperial coronation *ordines* are available in Reinhard Elze, ed., *Die ordines für die Weihe und Krönung des Kaisern und der Kaiserin*, *Fontes iuris germanici antiqui in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi*, 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1960).

<sup>2</sup>The best introduction to the medieval emperor's distribution of gifts during his coronation can be found in "Die Krönungsservitien," the sixth chapter of Eichmann's *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland*, 2:257-279 (see 2:267-273 for the *presbyterium*).

<sup>3</sup>According to Anton Diemand, *Das Ceremoniell der Kaiserkrönungen von Otto I. bis Friedrich II.* (München: H. Lüneburg, 1894), 96. Thietmar's *Chronicon* was edited by Robert Holtzmann in *MGH: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum (nova series)*, vol. 9 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1935), 396-398.

The accounts of the imperial coronations of Frederick I (Rome, 18 June 1155) and Otto IV (Rome, 4 October 1209) refer to distributions. Otto of Freising relates (*Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*) that representatives of the Roman people approached Frederick prior to his entrance into the city. These legates presented Frederick with several demands, among which was the future emperor's acknowledgement of the sum (*expensa*) owed to the Roman people.<sup>4</sup> Two accounts of Otto IV's coronation partly blamed an ensuing riot between the emperor's forces and the Roman people on the emperor's failure to remunerate the Romans.<sup>5</sup> One historian, Anton Diemand, has suggested that in both coronations, the *expensa* referred to is probably the *presbyterium*.<sup>6</sup> To another scholar, Eduard Eichmann, it is unclear whether the *expensa* (in

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<sup>4</sup>G. Waitz and B. De Simson, eds., *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, in *MGH: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1912), 136.

<sup>5</sup>For the accounts of Otto IV's coronation see William Brito, *Gesta Francorum*, edited by A. Molinier, A. Pannenberg, and G. Waitz in *MGH: Scriptorum*, vol. 26 (1882), 302; and Thomas Tusci, *Gesta Imperatorum et Pontificum*, edited by Ernest Ehrenfeuchter in *MGH: Scriptorum*, vol. 22 (1872), 509.

<sup>6</sup>*Das Ceremoniell*, 59 (note 1), and 104.

the two accounts of Otto IV's coronation) refer to the *presbyterium* or the tossing of coins to the crowd (Frederick's *expensa* is not discussed).<sup>7</sup> It is best to apply Eichmann's reservations regarding Otto IV's *expensa* to those of Frederick I's.

The first unequivocal reference to an imperial distribution called *presbyterium* appeared more than fifty years after the earliest reference to the papal *presbyterium*.<sup>8</sup> The imperial coronation *ordo* found in the *Liber censuum* (1191-1198) prescribes that after his coronation the emperor should return to the Lateran Palace. There:

The imperial chamberlains and the papal chamberlain bestow the *presbyterium* upon all the officials of the sacred palace....<sup>9</sup>

The bestowal of *presbyterium* by the imperial chamberlains

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<sup>7</sup>Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, 2:272.

<sup>8</sup>In Hugh the Chantor's (died 1139) *Historia quatuor archiepiscoporum Eboracensium* in James Raine, ed., *The Historians of the Church of York and Its Archbishops*, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores - Roll Series*, 71 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1886; reprint, Wiesbaden: Kraus, 1965), 2:175-176.

<sup>9</sup>Fabre, et al., eds., *LC*, 1:6\* (cols. 1-2):

Camerarii imperatoris cum camerario domini pape dent *presbyterium* omnibus ordinibus sacri palatii....

is -- in the context of twelfth-century liturgical prescriptions for a papal coronation -- not unusual. It is interesting, moreover, that the distribution of *presbyterium* is performed jointly by representatives of both pope and emperor.

The next reference to the imperial *presbyterium* lies in the imperial coronation order found in the Pontifical of the Roman Curia.<sup>10</sup> The pertinent passage reads:

Moreover, it is customary for the emperor to distribute a great amount of *presbyterium* to all those officials who receive the *presbyterium* upon a papal coronation....<sup>11</sup>

Here, the emperor (not his representative) bestows the *presbyterium*. This exactly parallels the narrowing -- in

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<sup>10</sup>This *Ordo ad benedicendum seu coronandum imperatorem* exists in all of the pontifical's recensions (labelled  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , and  $\gamma$  by its editor). The earliest recension ( $\alpha$ ) probably dates to the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216), and the last recension ( $\gamma$ ), appeared no later than the pontificate of Innocent V (1276). See Michel Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical romain au moyen âge*, vol. 2, *Le pontifical de la curie romaine au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940),

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 2:408:

Consuevit autem imperator larga presbiteria omnibus ordinibus exhibere, quibus ea, cum coronatur, summus pontifex largitur....

the thirteenth-century -- of the papal *presbyterium* to mean a distribution performed only by the pontiff. This passage, as well as subsequent references to the imperial *presbyterium*, does not refer to a joint distribution with the pope.

There are four references to the imperial *presbyterium* between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. All display a close similarity with the prescriptions found in the thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia. The imperial *presbyterium*, for example, appears in a private *ordo* (for an imperial coronation) appended to a copy of Otto of Freising's *Chronica*.<sup>12</sup> The owner of the *Chronica*, as well as the compiler of the *ordo*, was the Dominican Lutold of Reginsberg.<sup>13</sup> The pontifical compiled by William Durandus (begun c. 1292, completed 1293-1295) contains -- within an *ordo* for an imperial consecration and crowning -- the last thirteenth century reference to the *presbyterium*.<sup>14</sup> In the next century, our first refer-

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<sup>12</sup>Text in Diemand, *Das Ceremoniell*, 134-142 (Document #4 for *ordo*); 142 (for reference to *presbyterium*).

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>14</sup>Critical edition in Andrieu, ed., *Le pontifical*

ence to the imperial *presbyterium* is in Johannes Porta de Annoniaco's account of Charles IV's coronation (Rome, 5 April 1355).<sup>15</sup> Porta de Annoniaco (modern day Annonay) was both secretary and chaplain to the cardinal bishop of Ostia and Velletri. The latter had been instructed by Pope Innocent VI (the papacy was still resident in Avignon) to perform the consecration. Porta de Annoniaco accompanied the cardinal to Rome, and set down (1356) his observations in the *Liber de coronatione Karoli IV. Imperatoris*.<sup>16</sup> To provide his readers with the proper form

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*romain au moyen âge*, vol. 3, *Le pontifical de Guillaume Durand* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940), 427-435 (text of the coronation *ordo*), 433 (reference to the *presbyterium*). There is also an edition of the coronation *ordo* in Elze, ed., *Die ordines*, 102-121.

<sup>15</sup>Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland*, 2:271, is wrong in stating that Porta de Annoniaco's description of the 1355 coronation does not mention the *presbyterium*:

Es muss auffallen, das in keinem Krönungsbericht von der Verteilung der Presbyterien die Rede ist, weder vor noch nach der Avignonesischen Zeit. **Johannes Porta, der die Krönung von 1355 ausführlich beschreibt, weiss nichts von ihr**, und auch aus den ausführlichen Berichten zu 1433, 1452, 1530 erfahren wir nichts. (emphasis added)

<sup>16</sup>Edited by Ricardus Salomon in *MGH: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1913).

for an imperial coronation, Porta de Annoniaco copied a coronation *ordo* into his *liber*.<sup>17</sup> In the section which records the distribution of the imperial *presbyterium*, it is clear that the prescriptions copied were nearly identical to the text of the thirteenth-century Pontifical of the Roman Curia.<sup>18</sup> The only reference to the imperial *presbyterium* in the fifteenth century appears in a copy of William Durandus' pontifical. Giovanni Barozzi, the Bishop of Bergamo (1449-1465) had Durandus' pontifical copied at Rome circa 1451/1455.<sup>19</sup> The *presbyterium* is mentioned in the *ordo* entitled: *De benedictione et coronatione Romanorum imperatoris*.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 25.

<sup>18</sup>Porta de Annoniaco's *Ordo* in Salomon, ed., *Iohannis Porta de Annoniaco*, 30.

<sup>19</sup>Biographical details in P. Paschini, "Barozzi, Giovanni," *DHGE*, vol. 6 (1932): cols. 887-888; and G. Spiazzi, "Barozzi, Giovanni," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 6 (1964): 500-501.

Barozzi's manuscript is available in the Vatican Archives (Vat. Lat. 1145).

<sup>20</sup>Text in Elze, ed., *Die ordines*, 145-151 (Elze's *Ordo XXIV*); and 150 (reference to *presbyterium*).

## APPENDIX D

### THE THERAPEUTIC KNEE-KISS

The kissing of one's own knee was mentioned in the sermons of two late-medieval preachers.<sup>1</sup> The Franciscan Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444) was, at the time of his death, Italy's best known religious reformer and preacher. In a sermon entitled *De idolatriae cultu* he condemned an unusual remedy for *carno calefacta* (ergotism of the skin?). The superstitious sufferer, according to Bernardino, would count -- using his foot -- the stones in a wall, and then kiss his knee.<sup>2</sup> A later preacher, the

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<sup>1</sup>Both references are owed to H. Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 4 (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter De Gruyter, 1931-1932), col. 1571 (s.v. Knie), and Theodor Zachariae, "Das Dach über einem Sterbenden abdecken," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 18 (1908): 444.

<sup>2</sup>Part of *Sermo X Dominica Prima in Quadragesima infra Diem* in College of Saint Bonaventure (Quaracchi - Florence), eds., *Sancti Bernardini Senensis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum opera omnia*, vol. 1, *Quadragesimale de christiana religione (Sermones I - XL)* (Florence: Ex typographia Collegii Sancti Bonaventurae, 1950), 116:

Augustinian Hermit Gottschalk Hollen (c. 1411-1481), repeated Bernardino's condemnation of this remedy.<sup>3</sup> Presumably, both Bernardino's and Hollen's information on this superstitious practice derived from the same (unknown) Italian source.<sup>4</sup>

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Contra carnem calefactam, quam infirmitatem quidam vocant 'ignem silvestrem' vel 'carnem crepatam,' quidam numerant cum pede lapides muri per cursum, elevato pede ad murum; demum osculantur suum genu, et alia plura insana.

<sup>3</sup>Hollen's sermon (according to Zachariae, "Das Dach," 444) reads:

Contra dolorem pedum numerant cum pede lapides muri pede sursum elevate ad muram et osculantur genua.

Zachariae, unfortunately, does not indicate his quotation's source. Willigis Eckermann, *Gottschalk Hollen OESA: Leben, Werke und Sakramentlehre* (Würzburg: Augustinus Verlag, 1967), xviii, states that the most recent printed edition of Hollen's *Sermonum opus exquisitissimum* (the book containing the pertinent sermon) is dated 1519/20.

On Hollen, also see Adolar Zumkeller, "Hollen (Gottschalk)," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 7 (1968), cols. 588-590.

<sup>4</sup>Zachariae, "Das Dach," 445.

APPENDIX E

THE IDENTIFICATION OF AGNELLUS' "MONASTERIUM BEATI  
PETRI QUOD VOCATUR AD IANUCULUM"

In his biography of Saint Apollinaris, Agnellus (805 - c. 846) relates that this saint, in the company of Saint Peter, journeyed:

ab urbe Roma quasi terdenos miliarios...in quo situm est monasterium beati Petri quod vocatur ad Ianiculum. Ibi Christi apostolus oravit, et ubi genus posuit, lapis mollis apparuit, ut cera ab igne, et in modum eius lapis genu concavus est. Et ad aliud monasterium ipsius apostoli, quod vocatur ad Ulmum, in ipsa nocte pariter sopiti sunt, et apparent fossae in illo lapide, ubi caput vel terga atque nates et crura tenuerunt, usque in hunc diem.<sup>1</sup>

A basic question arises: To what monasteries is Agnellus referring? His editor states that the monastery "ad Ulmum" is unknown. Additional research has not, unfortunately, uncovered its identity.<sup>2</sup> But this same editor

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<sup>1</sup>*Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, edited by O. Holder-Egger in *MGH: Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum* (1878), 280.

<sup>2</sup>Agnellus' assertion that Saint Peter left an imprint of his body "in ipsa nocte," suggests a location

offers no comment on the identity of the monastery "ad Janiculum." The reference works most likely to provide an answer, were not helpful.<sup>3</sup> One scholar, Mariano Armellini, identified Agnellus' structure as the church of S. Pietro in Montorio.<sup>4</sup> There are two problems with this identification. First, Agnellus referred to a "monasterium beati Petri," not a church. There was a monastery attached to S. Pietro, but the earliest evidence for its

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for the monastery *ad Ulmum* within -- at the most -- a day's journey of the saint's first miraculous knee impressions.

<sup>3</sup>L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés Mâcon*: Protat frères, 1935-1970; and Guy Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries: Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Convents at Rome from the V Through the X Century*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana, vol. 23 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1957).

<sup>4</sup>*Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX, nuova edizione con aggiunte inedite dell'autore, appendici critiche e documentarie e numerose illustrazioni a cura di Carlo Cecchelli*, vol. 2 (Rome: Edizioni R. O. R. E. di Nicola Ruffolo, 1942), 809:

Della chiesa si fa menzione fino del secolo IX da Agnello nel Libro pontificale di Ravenna.

Since Armellini does not footnote this claim, a re-checking of the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* was necessary to insure that Agnellus made no other references to a church of S. Pietro.

existence comes from the fourteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Second, Armellini's dating of the church of S. Pietro to the late ninth century runs counter to the heretofore accepted view that its earliest mention was in the twelfth century.<sup>6</sup> Armellini offers no evidence -- other than an unsubstantiated identification of S. Pietro with Agnellus' reference -- for a rejection of this church's traditional dating.

Many of the above objections can also be levelled against the little church ("chiesuola") of Sanctus Angelus in Ianiculo.<sup>7</sup> There is no mention of it prior to

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<sup>5</sup>The Turin Catalog (compiled between 1313-1339) of Roman churches contains the following entry (number 401):

Ecclesia Sancti Petri Montis Aurei habet  
fratres ordinis sancti Petri de Morrone VIII.

The Turin Catalog is available in the first volume of Christian Hülsen's *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo: cataloghi ed appunti* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1927), 26-43.

<sup>6</sup>Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma*, 2:418. The document in question is a Parisian catalog of Roman churches, available in Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, vol. 3 (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1946), 271-290 (page 276 for S. Pietro).

<sup>7</sup>Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma*, 2:196-197.

the twelfth century. Moreover, there are no indications that it ever had an attached monastery. In spite of these objections, an important piece of evidence may connect Holy Angel with Agnellus' structure. A stone inscribed c. 1500 and later (1731) transported to S. Maria in Trastevere bears the following inscription:

LAPIS HIC SVPER QVO VISI SUNT  
 ANGELI GENVFLEXI IN MARTYRIO  
 DIVI PETRI DE RVINIS SANCTI ANGE  
 LI IN GENICVLO ERECTUS A IVLIA  
 NO DE DATHIS LOCI HVIVS ANTISTI  
 TE PIETATI NOSTRAE EXPOSITVS  
 AN . IVBILEI . MD<sup>8</sup>

Thus, there is a clear link between the church of The Holy Angel and a stone with miraculous knee impressions. In Hülsen's view, a popular etymology explained the inscription's reference to the angels' knees:

Così al S. Angelo in Gianicolo, per una etimologia popolare, si erano sostituiti i Santi Angeli in ginocchio.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, vol. 9 (Rome: Fratelli Bencini, 1873), 362 (inscription number 740, sub nomine ecclesiae S. Dorotea).

<sup>9</sup>Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma*, 2:196-197. A late medieval (1492) catalog of churches included S. Angeli's under the name "SS. Angeli in Ginocchio."

This is a reasonable suggestion. But, Hülsen leaves unexplained how the knee-imprints were accounted for prior to the inscription's time. The following is a tentative explanation. Holy Angel's knee impressions were originally attributed to Saint Peter (an idea either started or perpetuated by Agnellus). The subsequent ruin of this church muddled the details surrounding the stone's origin. The stone's rescue ("de ruinis...erutus") set in motion an attempt to rediscover its story. This story was formed from a fusion of attenuated legend and popular etymology.

In sum, Agnellus' "monasterium beati Petri quod vocatur ad Ianiculum" cannot be identified. Its identification with S. Pietro in Montorio (Armellini's view), as well as with Holy Angel, must be rejected: neither structure can be proved to have existed in the late ninth century. But, it is clear that throughout the Middle Ages -- starting at least from Agnellus' time -- miraculous knee impressions were connected with some structure on the Janiculum.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
<i>DAGR</i>	<i>Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments</i> , eds. C. Daremberg and E. Saglio
<i>DHGE</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i> , ed. A. Baudrillart and others
<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> , ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, and É. Amann
<i>LC</i>	<i>Le Liber censuum de l'église romaine</i> , eds. P. Fabre, L. Duchesne, and G. Mollat
<i>LM</i>	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i>
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> , ed. J. P. Migne
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J. P. Migne
<i>RE</i>	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. G. Wissowa
<i>RIS</i>	<i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</i> , ed. L. A. Muratori

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