The Papal Tiara in Sacred Historiography

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Abstract: This article sets out historiographical engagement with the papal tiara since the late sixteenth century, examining the range of questions asked about the object and the motivations behind them. Early Modern Catholic writers developed a consistent line of inquiry into the tiara based on an evolving agenda to affirm the pope's majesty. More recent scholars, though motivated by very different concerns, have nevertheless retained many of their lines of questioning. Indifference to practical questions about exactly how the tiara was used as a ceremonial object has sometimes been a feature of this discourse. However, contemporary discussion of the tiara medieval origins now integrates it. The oddity that tiaras have still been produced for late twentieth- and twenty-first century popes needs to be included in the story told.

Keywords: Papacy, Tiara, Early Modern, Sacred Historiography

The tiara, that gaudy oversized turban-shaped jewel-encrusted gold and silver helmet, has come to epitomize papal claims to worldly majesty. The pope has his crossed keys too, of course, but they embody a quite different metaphor: his guardianship *vice* St. Peter of the gateway to Heaven. The pope's "fisherman's ring", a memento of Peter's original profession, and his wide array of raiments---*pallium, falda*, *mantum*, and *sub-cinctorium*, etc.---constitute further potent symbols of a primarily pastoral role. Yet the pope's tiara is unique in the sheer ostentation, audacity, and imaginative resonance is displays. It holds a particular recognition factor, being both instantly identifiable and attributable to him alone. The very limitation to the cultural

transfer associated the tiara form is, in fact, one of the object's defining features. Only the archbishop of Benevento and the Patriarch of Lisbon have ever incorporated it into their arms.[1] Only Suleiman the Magnificent, in the sixteenth century, ever exported it beyond Christian confines.[2] Various late medieval and early modern artists depicted God or Christ as wearing the tiara, which could be seen as a further translation of its symbolic potential.[3]

Catholic writers have long been fascinated by the tiara's history and symbolism---and some of the most engaged of these have included the early modern and nineteenth-century

[1]* University of Oxford/Deakin University. This article develops a paper first given at the "Object Mobilities" conference held at The Australian National University in Canberra in November 2022. The author thanks the organizers of that event as well as this journal's editor and anonymous readers for their suggestions and improvements.

Clement XI licensed the Patriarchs of Lisbon to use in "In supremo apostolatus," November 7, 1716, in Luigi Tomassetti et al. (eds.), *Bullarium Romanum*: *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum santorum romanorum pontificum: taurinensis editio* 24 vols. (Turin, 1857-72), XXI, 724-39. On the Beneventan use of the tiara, see Giovanni Marangoni, *Chronologia romanum pontificorum* (Rome, 1751), 84-85.

[2] Only three examples in which the tiara has definitively appeared in contexts beyond the papacy are known: Suleiman the Magnificent's Venetian-crafted four-crowned tiara, which he used to assert his superiority to visiting Christian dignitaries, and an ersatz, sub-papal version which Clement XI licensed the Patriarchs of Lisbon to use in 1716. Michael Levey, *The World of Ottoman Art* (London, 1975), 65, 1975; Gulru Necipoglu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin*, 71 (1989): 401-27. Jessica Keating, "Otto Kurz's Global Vision," in Daniel Savoy (ed.), *The Globalization of Renaissance Art: A Critical Review* (Leiden, 2017), 45-64, at 54.

[3] Colette Nativel, "Dieu le Père en Vierge Marie La Trinité - Pietà de Rubens," in Walter Melion and Lee Palmer Wandel (eds.), *Image and Incarnation: The Early Modern Doctrine of the Pictorial Image* (Leiden, 2015), 461-88 at 469-71; François Boespflug, "Dieu en pape: une singularité de l'art religieux de la fin du Moyen âge," *Revue Mabillon*, 2 (1991): 167-205.

"antiquaries" and sacred historians who explored its origins, form, meaning, and usages in over a dozen treatises. This article interrogates their texts for what they divulge about the tiara itself but also about the variety of their sacred historiography and Catholic antiquarianism. The tiara's recent historiography has generally been shaped by medievalists who, rightly, engage the pre-1500 traditions surrounding its use (traditions which also informed early modern writers). Nevertheless, comparison between the medieval and early modern texts can illuminate something about both by placing them into richer context. Such comparisons also contributes to a broader discussion because antiquarian Catholic historiography lacks for a stable definition. The writers whose works on the tiara are discussed below constitute an eclectic selection from different quarters of the Church all of whom nevertheless sought to use research on rites and symbols to support the papacy in its post-Tridentine, and then its post-Revolutionary, affirmation. This essay emphasizes, above all, how their forms of writing about regalia as an example of material culture, though far from homogenous, are part of a continuum of engagement with the papal past which we cannot straightforwardly contrast with the "professional" historiographies which emerged around them---or after them. Revisiting early modern tiara texts can help elucidate the aims of such engagements as well as restore the intellectual and even emotional valences of those who wrote about the papal regalia.

Papal historiography and the tiara

Most recent historiography on the tiara is medieval. It builds on the earlier interest of scholars such as the French art historian Eugène Müntz (1845-1902) and the German Percy Ernst Schramm (1894-1970), who took a small interest in the subject as part of his wider enquiries into the sacred symbolism of medieval kingship.[4] Franz Wasner (1905-92), an Austrian priest, Bernhard Sirch (1943-2013), a German Benedictine, and Gerhart Ladner (1905-93), an Austrian-Canadian art historian, each pursued a similar agenda to Schramm after World War Two, developing Schramm's arguments about "the state" for "the Church," and taking on such questions as the earliest depictions, the origins of particular features, and the evolution of praxis.[5] Agostino Paravicini Bagliani has inherited Ladner's mantle as the most important recent synthesizer of work on the medieval papal image. His *Le Chiavi e la Tiara* (1998) interrogates the full range of elements of which it was comprised, although his *The Pope's Body* (*pace* Kantorowicz's "King's Body") engages the problem of how to reconcile the pope's human

[4] Eugène Müntz, "La tiare pontificale du VIIIe au XVIe siècle," Mémoires de l'Institut national de France, 36 (1898): 235-324; idem, "La tiare des papes du XIIe au XIVe siècle," Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 39 (1895): 115-16; idem, "Les tiares du pape Jules II," Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 40 (1896): 65-66; Percy Schramm, "Zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Tiara," Historische Zeitschrift, 152 (1935): 307-12.

[5] Franz Wasner, "Literarische Zeugnisse für eine Federkrone der Päpste im Mittelalter," *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 60 (1960): 409-27; Bernhard Sirch, *Der Urpsrung der bischöflichen Mitra und der päpstlichen Tiara* (St. Ottilien, 1975); Gerhart Ladner, "Die Statue Bonifaz' VII. in der Lateranbasilika und die Entstehung der dreifach gekrönten Tiara," in idem, *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages* (Rome, 1983), 393-426, a revised version of his article in *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 42 (1934): 35-69; and idem, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Vatican City, 1941-83), esp. II, 313-17; idem, "Der Ursprung und die mittelalterliche Entwicklung der päpstlichen Tiara," in Herbert A. Cahn, Erika Simon (eds.), *Tainia. Roland Hampe zum 70. Geburtstag am 2. Dezember 1978 dargebracht von Mitarbeitern, Schülern und Freunden*, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1980), I, 449-81.

frailty with his institutional permanence.[6] The German Bernhard Schimmelpfennig and the Italian Claudia d'Alberto have also contributed useful articles on the crucial period of the Avignon Papacy---in Alberto's case, one in which the tiara's composition, usage, and features would appear to have consolidated decisively.[7] A recent conference on the pope's image (*Imago papae*), the papers for which were edited by d'Alberto, also sought to explain this medieval tradition within a broader diachronic context.[8]

These medieval scholars nevertheless all drew (or still draw) for their work on the extensive corpus of printed texts which their early modern forebears bequeathed: texts which excavate and present many of the relevant manuscript citations for a tiara history. These texts bear certain similarities with other antiquarian traditions which emerged across Europe at this time: notably, their authors' obsessive engagements with a particular, imagined past, their a priori agendas, and their propagandistic claims to cultural superiority or legitimacy.[9] The sense,

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[6] Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Le Chiavi e la Tiara: Immagini e simboli del papato medievale*, La corte dei papi 3 (Rome: Viella, 1998); idem, *The Pope's Body*, trans. David Petersen (Chicago, 2000); and idem, "Innocent III and the world of symbols of the papacy", trans. Gesine Oppitz-Trotman, *Journal of Medieval History*, 44 (2018): 261-79, which summarises key arguments about that pope's transformative pontificate; Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1998).

[7] Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Papal Coronations in Avignon," in Janos Bak, *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley, 1990), 179-96; Claudia d'Alberto, "Le pape vicaire du Christ et sa tiare," *Rivista d'arte*, 5th series, 7 (2017): 167-84; eadem, "La tiare à trois couronnes: une invention de la papauté d'avignon (XIIIe-XVe siècle)," *Rivista d'arte*, 5th series, 8 (2018): 23-39.

[8] Claudia d'Alberto (ed.), *Imago papae: le pape en image du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine* (Rome, 2020). See, in particular, d'Alberto's introduction, "Imago papae," ibid., 17-39.

[9] On this subject in general terms, see Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 2004) but also the various works cited directly below concerning sacred historical traditions in Italian context.

though, has been that the accomplishments of antiquarian circles and sacred historians were something categorically different to the objective, "scientific" work of the historical successors to both groups---the latter finally producing histories which sought to reconstruct "what actually happened" (to use Ranke's felicitous phrase). Whig interpreters of history, and their German equivalents, all too often responsible for this historiographical division, saw modern professional historiography as emergent from decidedly Protestant traditions; they were quick to downplay Catholic intellectual contributions to the study of the past (and, indeed, to the wider phenomenon of the Enlightenment). Baroque exuberance of the kind that the tiara itself represented---especially in cultural revival in the Ultramontane nineteenth century---played into such a narrative. Catholic historiography, long since been marked with something of the status of a compromised amateur engagement, has only been rehabilitated in recent decades. Scholars such as Anthony Grafton, Simon Ditchfield, and Stefan Bauer have noted Catholic contributions to source criticism and also begun to reflect on sacred historiography's engagement with material culture as a component of the evidence sets behind.[10]

The present essay aims to make a small contribution towards the binding of that body of medieval scholarship on the tiara closer together with those debates about Catholic engagement with source criticism and material. One limitation with the historiography of sacred historiography is always that its impetus to study Rome as the site of arbitration or endorsement for the provinces, rather than as a site of study of the past, can mean that the papacy's own

[10] Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, MA, 1997); idem, *What Was History?: The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2006); Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge, 1995); Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (eds.), *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford, 2012); Stefan Bauer, *The Invention of Papal History: Onofrio Panvinio between Renaissance and Catholic Reform* (Oxford, 2019).

historiographical traditions are overlooked within it. At the same time, the implicit division between an early modern and modern, scientific historiography certainly needs finessing, even reconsidering, in the tiara's case: both in light of revisionist perspectives on early modern scholarship and also because of important wider developments. The Catholic Enlightenment's intellectual significance, now re-established at a wider level by scholars such as Ulrich Lehner and Michael Printy, is key to understanding what "antiquarian" sacred historians were doing.[11] At the same time, the postmodern critique of all historical claims to supposed objectivity undercuts many existing normative claims about what followed them.[12]

The remainder of this essay sets out the range of questions and answers that early modern writers about the tiara asked and provided about its origins, form, usage, and meaning. It also takes inspiration for situating their texts within a field from the literary theorist Carloyn Dinshaw, who observed how "amateur" itself ought to be seen as a positive label: it derives from the Latin "amare", to love. As Dinshaw reminds us in *How Soon is Now?*, all of us routinely pursue overtly affective historical impulses which need not necessarily be bound by rules of periodization, source criticism, or scholarship in order to be seen as valid.[13] Dinshaw's key insight has been that seemingly asynchronous engagements with the past---a form of engagement that the early modern texts on the papal tiara typify---is always freighted with emotional resonances and with a desire to develop resources for fashioning a different, more agreeable present. Dinshaw describes this performance as inherently *queer*---a word which may put off

[11] Ulrich Lehner, *The Catholic Enlightenment: The Forgotten History of a Global Movement* (Oxford, 2018); Ulrich Lehner and Michael Printy (eds.), *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe* (Leiden, 2007).

[12] Keith Jenkins, *Re-Thinking History*, 3rd edition (London, 2003).

[13] Carolyn Dinshaw, *How Soon is Now? Medieval Texts, Amateur Readers, and the Queerness of Time* (Durham, NC, 2012), esp. 1-39.

many Catholic scholars---because its heterogenous models can accommodate multiple time frames and temporal systems, and also because they explicitly seek to create an alternative experience of temporality. Catholic scholarship may balk at such an ironic application of the theory to the Church's own sacred historiography, but it can be fruitful. Indeed, both Marina Caffiero and the present author have used a similar framework for understanding the important programme for re-sacralizing Rome and restoring the pope's majesty which took place during the Napoleonic period---a key moment of trauma when those invested in the pope's authority and power had to confront the reality that, for a time, it had come crashing down.[14]

Those who wrote about the papal tiara, even in ways we would not recognize as fully historical, in the sixteenth century as well as the eighteenth and nineteenth, were nevertheless engaging less in bad practice than in a form of emotional community building which responded to aspirations and desires as much as to truth itself. The essay seeks to set their discussions in the context of such community building but also in the context of contemporary practice.

Engaging the tiara's origins

Texts which discuss the papal tiara go back to the *Liber Pontificalis* itself. This essay nevertheless engaged a selection from a specific in Counter-Reformation and later Catholic

[14] Marina Caffiero, "La maestà del papa: trasformazioni dei rituali del potere a Roma tra XVIII e XIX secolo," in Catherine Brice and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (eds.), *Cérémoniel et ritual à Rome (XVIe-XIXe siècle)* (Rome, 1997), 281-316; Miles Pattenden, "Ringing in the Papal Restoration: Francesco Cancellieri's Treatise on the Capitoline Bells (1806)," *Modern Italy*, 27 (2022): 207-23.

history, which form a particular phase in engagement with the object. These texts include early ones by [Marco] Antonio Mazzaroni (1546-92), an obscure figure whose *Tractatus de tribus coronis pontificis maximis, nec non de osculo sanctissimorum ejus pedum* [Treatise on the pope's three crowns and also on the rite of kissing his most holy feet] appeared in Rome in 1586 or 1588, and Angelo Rocca (1545-1620), papal sacristan, head of the Vatican printing office, and founder of the Angelica Library.[15] Théophile Reynaud (1583-1663), the French theologian, was the author of a seventeenth-century intervention, which became the subject of a convoluted rebuttal by the Lutheran Heinrich Pipping (1670-1722).[16] The eighteenth century witnessed a proliferation of discussions including in works by Filippo Bonnani (1638-1723), a Jesuit polymath;[17] Giovanni Marangoni (1673-1753), a canon of Anagni cathedral and custodian of the Roman Catacombs;[18] and Giuseppe Garampi (1725-92), archivist, bibliographer, and later diplomat.[19] Key nineteenth-century writers who engaged the tiara include the antiquarian abbé

[15] Angelo Rocca, "De Tiarae Pontificiae quam Regnum Mundi vulgo appellant," Biblioteca Angelica ms 908, 371r-372v. Agostin Roskványi gives the 1601 date for an edition though I am yet to locate it. Rocca's works mostly survive in eighteenth-century editions, e.g., for this tract, in *Opera Omnia*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1719), I, 7-8. Roskványi, *Romanus Pontifex tamquam primas ecclesiae et princeps civilis*, 2 vols. (Nitra, 1867), II, 585. On Rocca, see the entry by Stefania Nanni in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 88 (2017), online: https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/angelo-rocca_(Dizionario-Biografico)/ [accessed August 2, 2024].

[16] Heinrich Pipping *De triplici corona Romani pontificis* (Leipzig, 1692).

[17] Filippo Bonnani, *La gerarchia ecclesiastica* (Rome, 1720), 268-76.

[18] Marangoni, *Chronologia romanum pontificorum*, 72-89.

[19] Giuseppe Garampi, *Illustrazione di un antico sigillo della Garfagnana* (Rome, 1759), 89-101. On Garampi, see also Dries Vanysacker, *Cardinal Giuseppe Garampi (1725-1792): An Enlightened Ultramontane* (Turnhout, 1995), which engages primarily with his diplomatic career.

Francesco Cancellieri (1751-1826);[20] the Portuguese ex-Jesuit, Giuseppe de Novães (1736-1821);[21] and Gaetano Moroni (1802-83), one time *major-domo* to Gregory XVI, via his *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*.[22] The contents of these texts are supplemented in what follows below by pertinent information from from ceremonial diaries, Charcas' *Diario Romano* (1716-1836), and other sources.

Reasons exist for a certain skepticism towards the normative claims about usage made in these ancillary texts and these need noting. For one thing, references to the tiara in them tend to be relatively cursory or incidental, and are thus open to multiple interpretations. For another, there remains something not entirely plausible about the series of increasingly elderly and frail men who occupied St Peter's throne in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries sitting for long periods, or being carried processionally, while wearing an item that weighed around twice that of St Edward's Crown, the crown used in the coronation of British monarchs. A key exception concerns the triumphal entry of Leo X into Florence in 1516, when the pope may well have worn the tiara atop his head for several hours---but then Leo was then a mere forty years old.[23] Giovanni Francesco Cecconi's *Diario storico*, which contains and extended

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[20] Francesco Cancellieri, Descrizione de' tre pontificali (Rome: Stamperia Vaticana, 1788), esp. 90-92, 117; idem, *Descrizione delle cappelle pontifice* (Rome, 1790), esp. 271-75; idem, *Storia de' solenni possessi* (Rome, 1802), passim.

[21] Giuseppe de Novães, *Introduzione alle vite de' sommi pontifici*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1822), esp. II, 81-92.

[22] Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da San Pietro sino a nostri giorni*, 103 vols. (Venice, 1840-61), LXXXI, 29-68. The index which Moroni compiled in 1878-79 indicates quite a number of other references to the tiara throughout the work, although its accuracy of citation is questionable, *Indice generale alfabetico delle materia del dizionario di erudizione*, 6 vols. (Venice, 1878-79), VI, 377-78.

[23] John Shearman, "The Florentine Entrata of Leo X, 1515," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 38 (1975): 136-54.

description of the coronation of the seventy-five-year-old Benedict XIII in 1724, mentions various tiaras involved in the ceremony but only at one point was one placed on the pope's head (for an ambiguous duration).[24] Her Majesty, the late Queen Elizabeth II herself---a young woman at the time of her coronation---once remarked on camera that she had to be careful when wearing it not to snap her neck.[25]

Two things arguably bind the tiara's early modern historiography (as described above) into a usefully-aggregated corpus. First, and above all, the texts that comprise this corpus invoke a shared emotional investment in the tiara's sacred and symbolic power. This is manifested variously, but above all through the kinds of questions asked of it and the answers desired of those questions. All the scholars considered here were concerned, above all, with origins---and, seemingly, with the imperative to establish the tiara's *authentic* antiquity. Rocca and Mazzaroni, the earliest authors under consideration, both tried to link it to the Donation of Constantine (as some medieval sources had done). They repeat a story that it developed as a result of Pope Sylvester's refusal of the offer of a more conventional crown to represent the temporal powers Constantine had bestowed upon him.[26] Later writers still hankered for such an auspicious origin for the item, even as they began to accept the Donation was fabricated. Cesare Baronio (1538-1607), who was one of the first Catholic authors to hold to the latter position, found the tiara's origins to lie not with Constantine and Sylvester but with a certain John the Deacon at the end of

[24] Giovanni Francesco Cecconi, "Diario istorico," in idem, *Roma sacra e moderna* (Rome, 1725), 619-766, at 740-44, 750.

[25] Zahid Mahmood, "Crown could break your neck, Queen Elizabeth says," CNN, January 12, 2018: https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/12/europe/queen-elizabeth-crown-break-neck-intl/index.html [accessed August 5, 2024].

[26] Rocca, De Tiarae Pontificiae," 7; Mazzaroni, *Tractatus de tribus coronis*, 50.

the tenth century.[27] Bonnani and Marangoni, who both wrote later once a defence of the Donation was no longer practicable, both linked it to the headdress of the Jewish high priest (citing the ancient historian Josephus to this end).[28] Marangoni also cited the Codex San Galli, written around 795, which explained how Leo III (r. 795-816) was crowned with a crown like a helmet [*similitudinem cassidis*].[29] Garampi placed a similar importance on passages in the *Liber Pontificalis*.[30] All the authors from Rocca onwards---implicitly conceding the weakness of the Constantinian case---linked the tiara a further crown which the Frankish king Clovis had sent to Pope Hormisdas (r. 514-23).

The pattern of these arguments concerning origins was replicated in a similar one reflecting emotional investment in the composition of early tiaras (a question which also notably preoccupied Ladner).[31] Mazzaroni, for instance, defended the idea that early tiaras must have had gems embedded in them as contemporary ones did---because "supreme princes" wear crowns with jewels in them and the tiara was derived from Clovis' crown.[32] Bonnani, partly because of his similar ongoing ideological commitment to the tiara's early origins, also more or less also explicitly refused to entertain the possibility that the object's form could have changed much over time. Only later, with Marangoni and Garampi, was change in material composition seriously considered. Marangoni discussed a passage in the *Liber Pontificalis* which records

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[27] Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici*, 12 vols. (Antwerp, 1588-1607), ann. 324, num.118 (vol. 3) and ann. 1191, num. 60 (vol. 12).

[28] Marangoni, *Chronologia romanum pontificorum*, 72. Bonnani, *Gerarchia Ecclesiastica*, 276

[29] Marangoni, *Chronologia romanum pontificorum*, 78.

[30] Garampi, *Illustrazione di un antico sigillo della Garfagna*, 89-90, 93. Louis Duchesne (ed.), *Le Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886-92), I, 390.

[31] Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse*, III, 278-82.

[32] Mazzaroni, *Tractatus de tribus coronis*, 29-45, esp. 30.

Pope Constantine (r. 708-15) as wearing a special type of hat: the "camelaucum", which (as the καμιλαύκιον) was also favoured at the Byzantine court, including by the imperial family.[33] Was this the tiara's original design? Marangoni preferred to link it to the *camauro*, another item of papal headgear. However, elsewhere, he expressly discussed how one might discern the tiara's changing shape during the Middle Ages via comparison of early fresco made of Pope Formosus (r. 891-96) and the statutes of Boniface VIII (r.1294-1303). In older monuments, he said, the papal "crown" appears as if a sugarloaf or turban with its diadem often but a radiate circle in "Phrygian gold" (i.e. gold embroidery). Engagement with what the tiara might mean symbolically (for instance, Giles of Rome's theory, based on Hugh of St. Victor, that it represented the cubit of Noah's Ark) was limited.[34] Garampi also drew attention to a similar pattern of development, but via textual references: that of Abbot Suger on the tiara used to crown Innocent II ("a Phrygian imperial ornament, like a helmet surrounded by a golden circle") and a passage from the Acts of Alexander III which Baronio had included in the *Annales ecclesiastici*.[35] Marangoni illustrated various of the "early" tiaras he has observed (fig. 1), including that of Pope Urban I in the Basilica di Santa Cecilia (fig. 2), dating the image to around the time of a ceremony for translating the bodies of Cecilia and other martyrs to the high altar in c. 817. Marangoni then argues for its ninth-century authenticity on the grounds that the image

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[33] Louis Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 390. Marangoni, *Chronologia romanum pontificorum*, 75. Ladner accepted this possibility, *Die Papstbildnisse*, III, 275-76, but Paravicini Bagliani dissents, *Le chiavi e la tiara*, 67.

[34] Giles of Rome, *De ecclesiastica potestate*, ed. Richard Scholz (Weimar, 1929), 209 (b.3, c.12); Hugh of St Victor, *De archa Noe, Libellus de formatione arche*, ed. Patrice Sicard (Turnhout, 2001), 23-24 (b.1, c.5). The question also interests d'Alberto, "Le pape vicaire du Christ," 174.

[35] "Phrygium ornamentum imperiale, instar galeae, circulo aureo circinnatum," and "Regno de more insignitus, mitra scilicet turbinate cum corona", Garampi, *Illustrazione di un antico Sigillo*, 90-91.

was consistent with the gothic art of that time and also that it was well established no restoration work had taken place in the basilica until the time of Clement VII (r. 1523-34).

Of course, one reason why the tiara's form mattered to all these writers is that form had implications for meaning and usage. These became third and fourth axes on which discussion of the object turned. Was the tiara like a miter? Was it developed from the miter? Agostino Paravicini Bagliani now emphasises the two headdresses' common origins.[36] However, early modern authors were less sure. The question mattered to them because, as Théophile Reynaud put it, the miter is a symbol of episcopal authority but the tiara ought to be a symbol of something rather greater. How therefore could the one derive from the other? Angelo Rocca made one of his more significant contributions to the debate via his willingness to sustain a tiara versus mitre contrast: his text cited two key passages from the thirteenth century, a sermon by Innocent III (r. 1198-1216) and a section of William Durandus's (c.1230-96) *Prochiron* (a liturgical guide which has become our most detailed medieval source for norms of ecclesiastical dress), which became central to the tradition of differentiating the two items. Innocent's sermon and Durandus' text both strongly imply that the tiara is a symbol of the pope's temporal lordship---something evidenced by the restrictions on its use inside ecclesiastical buildings (inside churches, where the pope exercised his spiritual authority, he should wear only a mitre).[37] Indeed, Rocca quoted Durandus at length:

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[36] Paravicini Bagliani, *Le chiavi e la tiara*, 67-68.

[37] Innocent III, "Romanus pontifex in signum imperii utitur regno et in signum pontificii utitur mitra," Serm. de S. Silvestro, in Jean-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CCXVII, 481. Idem, "In signum spiritualium contulit mitram, in signum temporalium dedit mihi coronam, mitram quoque pro sacerdotio, coronam pro regno", Sermo iii, "in consecration pontificis," in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CCXVII, 665.

> It should also be noted that the Roman pontiff uses the tiara as a sign of empire---that is, it is his imperial crown, and he uses the mitre as a sign of his pontifical status. But he uses the mitre always and everywhere and the tiara neither always nor everywhere: his pontifical authority both precedes and is more dignified and more widespread than his temporal power, for the priesthood preceded the kingdom among the people of God. Aaron the first pontiff preceded Saul the first king, and Noah preceded Nimrod...[38]

Rocca's agenda here was very much to circumnavigate the restrictions on the tiara's usage which this passage might be thought to presuppose: he points out that if the pope wears it to process into the church building, and only then removes it, then he is nevertheless still wearing it inside church. Durandus' point is thus moot. If the custom was not to wear the tiara inside a church in Antiquity, and that was because it was a symbol of temporal dominion, then that

[38] "Illud quoque notandum est, quod Romanus pontifex in signum imperii utitur Regno, id est corona imperiali et in signum pontifices utitur mitra. Sed mitra semper utitur et ubique regno vero non semper, nec ubique: quia pontifices authoritas et prior est et dignior et diffusior imperiali potestate sacerdoium enim in populo Dei regnum praecessit, cum Aaron primus pontifex Saulem primum Regem praecesserit et Noë [i.e. Noah] Nembroth [Nimrod], William Durandus, *Prochiron, vulgo rationale divinorum officiorum* (Lyon, 1551), Ch. 13 "De mitra", n.8, 45-46, quotation on 46v. The rest of this passage is worth noting here: "quia sicut legitur principium Regni Nembroth extitit Babylonis... Noë vero aedificavit altare Domino et holocausta obtulit super illud Regno quidem non utitur nisi certis diebus et locis: nunquam intra ecclesiam, sed extra. Porrò secundum quod capiti, id est Christo convenit mitra pontifices illud significant quod propheta loquens de filio dicit ad patrem" [because, as it is read, the beginning of the Kingdom of Nimrod existed in Babylon… But Noah built an altar to the Lord and offered burnt offerings on it. Indeed, the popes does not use the tiara except on certain days and places: never inside a church, but only outside. Further, following the above, that is, the pontiff's mitre signifies that which the prophet, speaking of the son, says to the father, is fitting for Christ].

argument was also irrelevant now because the tiara has evolved into a more plenitudinal expression of papal majesty. This observation in fact anticipates Agostino Paravicini Bagliani's re-evaluation of the medieval tradition, which identifies the iconographic placement of Innocent in his tiara in a famous fresco, beside Christ's Throne of the Lamb, as a statement that it represents more than just temporal power.[39] Bonnani, in his work, noties that the custom of using the tiara and the mitre as separate and unrelated objects had fallen into abeyance at the time of Boniface VIII, which again dissents from Durandus' theories.[40] Garampi concurs: the tiara is "effectively a crown" but the miter is not.[41] As Reynaud also argued in his 1647 text: the mitre gives the pope the same authority as other bishops but the tiara is the symbol of his triplicate power.

One important development to note in the presentation of these arguments was the shifting nature of the evidence used to support them. Rocca, for instance, relied to a large extent on logic in his construction of arguments for the tiara's significance and appropriate use. Insofar as he cited past practice it was to explain why it was inapplicable to present circumstances. Mazzaroni had a different, but no less telling approach. His arguments were even more rhetorical, relying on simile, comparison, and metaphor to make their case. Thus, he gave a series of reasons why the pope was crowned with both a miter and the triple diadem: all major princes have more than one crown. He also cited earlier texts which supported his claims but in the manner of arguing from authority. By contrast, Marangoni and Garampi, even when pursuing a similar agenda, were much more source critical. Maragoni, in particular, paid close attention to visual evidence. After noting that no actual document mentioned the tiara before the time of

[39] Paravicini Bagliani, "Innocent III and the world of symbols," 274.

[40] Bonnani, *Gerarchia Ecclesiastica*, 270-71.

[41] Garampi, *Illustrazione di un antico sigillo della Garfagna*, 91.

Pascal I (r. 817-24) he then nevertheless drew his readers' attention to a quite different document from that pope's pontificate which discussed the ceremony for translating the bodies of St Cecilia and other martyrs to the high altar in her eponymous basilica. Four new images were created on the columns of the baldacchino for this occasion and that of Urban I (r. 222-30) depicted him with a tiara. The significance, said Maragoni, was not what the text said but the fact that these images had survived until the basilica was restored under Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605). They clearly showed Urban with a tiara and a pallium, the earliest such image.

This approach to combining textual criticism with empirical observation, and, indeed, actual illustrations of the items in question, looked forward to the later texts of the Napoleonic period, for example Francesco Cancellieri's celebrated discussion of the papal *possesso* and Jacques-Gabriel Pouyard's "Dissertation on whether the ritual of kissing the pope's feet predates the introduction of the cross on his slippers".[42] That latter text is significant for the sheer industry pursued by its author in visiting and describing the many mosaic depictions of papal footwear to survive in Rome from Late Antiquity, applying critical methods to dating and explaining them. Pouyard also wrote a second dissertation on the tiara which is sadly lost to us. The manuscript apparently festered in Rome for several years in the 1820s but was lost before his executor could bring it into print.[43]

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[42] Jacques-Gabriel Pouyard, *Dissertazione sopra l'anteriorità del bacio de' piedi de' sommi pontefici all'introduzione della croce sulle loro scarpe o sandal* (Rome, 1807).

[43] Domenico Moreni, "Notizie necrologiche del P. Giacomo Gabriele Pouillard Carmelito Francese," *Effermeridi letterarie di Roma*, 12 (1823): 207-23, at 213. Toussaint-Bernard Emériс-David, "Notice sur M. l'abbé Pouillard," *Moniteur universel*, August 23, 1823, 1008.

The tradition of the triple crown

All the above dynamics were also reflected in the specific debate about the origins and meaning of the *triple* crown. The tiara's triplicate nature---a feature so prominent that it was most often referred to as the *triregnum* in the texts discussed here---was a major source of fascination for all the authors who wrote about it. Moreover, as they have also been for Claudia d'Alberto, the questions of *when* the second and third crowns had appeared on the tiara and *why* they had done so were central to the projection of its significance. What was it exactly that popes were claiming when they wore the *triregnum* tiara and what were other princes acknowledging, even legitimizing, when they did obeisance to it?

The question is in some ways odd in the context of the anticipation of Paravicini Bagliani's argument that Innocent III's single crown tiara already represented the *plenitudo*. And, indeed, Angelo Rocca's brief text simply asserts that the tiara's three crowns represented imperial, royal, and sacerdotal or pontifical authority which presumably reflected a new wording Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605) implemented in the coronation ritual: this stated that the pope was father of princes, rector of the world and vicar of Christ.[44] This is a change from Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini's ceremonial diary, which simply assert that the triple crown signifies the "sacerdotal and imperial" power (why three crowns are required for two powers is not discussed).[45] Mazzaroni's text, in contrast to Rocca's, is, on the other hand, exceptionally rich in

[44] Rocca, "De Tiarae Pontificiae," 8. On Clement's coronation formula, see Moroni, *Dizionario storico-ecclesiastica*, LXXXI, 35.

[45] Marc Dykmans, *L'oeuvre du Patrizi Piccolomini ou le ceremonial papale de la première Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Vatican City, 1982), I, 69.

allegorical interpretation. The tiara's triplicate nature is taken as a given and is claimed to be simply indicative of its felicitous theological harmonies. The tiara's forms, Mazzaroni intimates, echoed the nature of Roman territorial jurisdiction: the pope is prefect of Italy, Illyria and Africa, Justinian's three Western domains, and he also patriarch and praetor as well as prefect (another Roman administrative trinity).[46] Just as allegorically, the empire of Christ flourishes in languages Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Indeed, Pilate wrote "the King of the Jews" in these three languages in John 19 which again implies the appropriateness of three crowns. Moreover, as head of the Holy Church, the pope holds her at the same time as daughter, wife, and mother---rather in the manner a pharaoh of old held those women which the Egyptians depicted via a triple crown in their hieroglyphs (according to Piero Valeriano).[47] The Church herself can also be described triply is as heaven, earth [*terra*] and cultivated land [*ager*]; as garden, fountain, and well; as ship, house and city; fish-trap [*sagena*],[48] temple, or tabernacle; queen, friend, or wife of Christ. She has three chambers (faith, hope, and charity) and three statuses (beginner, proficient, perfect). The ludic nature of this exercise should not necessarily be seen as evidence that Mazzaroni did not believe in his position's essential legitimacy. But a sense of *jouissance* pervades this text and stands in contrast to the more historical approach taken later. It also raises an important question of audience: whom was Mazzaroni looking to impress with this approach?[49]

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[46] Mazzaroni, *Tractatus de tribus coronis*, 45-66, esp. 50-55.

[47] Piero Valeriano Bolzani, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum litteris commentarii* (Basel, 1556).

[48] The reference here is to Matthew 13:47, "Iterum simile est regnum caelorum sagenae missae in mare, et ex omni genere piscium congreganti" [Once again, the kingdom of heaven is like a net that was let down into the lake and caught all kinds of fish].

[49] On ludic cultures among seventeenth-century clerics, see Yasmin Haskell, "Latinitas Iesu: neo-Latin writing and literary-emotional communities in the Old Society of Jesus," in Ines Zupanov (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of the Jesuits* (Oxford 2019), 553-74; Miles Pattenden, "Gaspar Sanz's *Ecos sagrados de la fama gloriosa de Innocencio*

Reynaud's seventeenth-century text scarcely engages the question of the triple crown at all but the eighteenth-century texts by Bonanni, Marangoni, and Garampi all do---albeit in a way that is very different to Mazzaroni. Bonanni identifies the provenances of the second and third crowns in the time of Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303) and Urban V (r. 1362-70). However, he includes a discussion of alternative chronologies, specifically one which states that Benedict XII added the third crown.[50] This is a much more familiar line of discussion in the context of recent medieval historiography. However, the reasoning behind selection among the various claims is not always spelled out---albeit that an authority for the dissent, Antonio Stefano Cartari (1651-85), is cited.[51] Marangoni and Garampi are rather more forthcoming in their discussions. Boniface certainly used a second crown on his monuments, Marangoni declares, but the evidence for this as a decisive precedent is weak: his successor Benedict XI (r. 1303-04) did not adopt it. It was only with the Avignon popes that the second, and then third, crowns were established as integral.[52] Garampi likewise expressed doubt about being able to reconstruct a precise chronology: a fourteenth-century pope, possibly Clement V, John XXII or else Urban V, certainly added the third diadem---but which was difficult to say.[53] Like several who followed him, he was, however, very concerned with the question of how the three crowns were placed in relation to each other and what this might mean for interpreting their significance as symbols of the temporal, spiritual, or imperial power. These observations and the empirical observations of

XI (1681) and Clerical Cultures of Diversion in Baroque Spain," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 73 (2022): 783-813.

[50] Bonanni, *Gerarchia Ecclesiastica*, 271.

[51] See the entry on Cartari in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* by Armando Petrucci, 20 (1977) and online: https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-stefano-cartari_(Dizionario-Biografico)/ [accessed August 2, 2024].

[52] Marangoni, *Chronologia romanum pontificorum*, 79-80.

[53] Garampi, *Illustrazione di un antico sigillo della Garfagna*, 94.

surviving monuments which informed them also fed into the Revolutionary period and nineteenth-century which followed them and maintained the question structures of the earlier work. Nevertheless, the growing tension between the imperative towards establishing the pope's majesty and documenting an historical record perhaps let to less forthright discussion than the eighteenth-century texts displayed. Thus, in both Cancellieri's work, on the papal *possesso*, and Novães, on the history of papal coronations, difficult questions and contradictions in the record were rather glossed over in favor of thick citation of the earlier historiography.[54] Moroni's primary entry on the tiara, completed in 1856, takes a similar approach with a generally uncritical discussion of the earlier work which is simply presented as authoritative of the points about the tiara's legitimizing symbolism Moroni wanted to put across.

One of the major points that this essay seeks to put across is that these eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholars ought to be seen as differing from Müntz, Ladner, and those who followed them not so much in method but in motivation. This can be appreciated in treatments of the triple crown question, which has remained a constant within historiographical discussion. The major difference between Müntz's approach to it, and to the tiara's history in general, and that of Cancellieri or Moroni was, for instance, his interest less in the pope who wore it than in the artist who fabricate it. Müntz, an Italophile Frenchman was one of the earliest generation of scholars who were able to take advantage of the opening of the École française in Rome and also of the Vatican archives.[55] This gave him access to a new set of sources which had not been

[54] E.g. Novães, *Introduzione alle vite de' sommi pontifici*, 2:84-85. Cancellieri, *Storia de' solenni possessi*, 92, 106, 126.

[55] Michela Passini, "Eugène Müntz: un interlocuteur français d'Aby Warburg," *Images Re-vues* [Online] 4 (2013), accessed August 1, 2024: http://journals.openedition.org/imagesrevues/2908. See also, eadem, *La fabrique de l'art national. Nationalism and the origins of art history in France and Germany (1870-1933)* (Paris, 2012).

available to Moroni or Cancellieri: where they relied largely on printed editions of medieval texts, and occasionally on manuscripts, he was able to use the full range of papers preserved in archives, such as memoranda, bills, inventories, and contracts. Müntz was also heavily influenced by German historiographical trends---not only Ranke but also Jacob Burckhardt and his celebrated thesis of the rise of the individual.[56] This desire to situate the tiara in a history of artistic achievement and expression shaped what Müntz had to say. But the same was also true of Schramm, Ladner, and the other Germans. Indeed, Ladner saw his work on the papal image as building on from that both Schramm and also (like Paravicini Bagliani) Kantorowicz.[57] Although addressing many similar questions to earlier scholarship, Ladner aimed to produce a catalogue and commentary on all images of the pope from the Middle Ages (in the end he only just reached the Avignon period) in order to recover the "human traits" he believed were represented beneath the idealizations inherent in portraiture. The assumption behind Ladner's approach, even if couched as "scientific" was, like Müntz's post-Burckhardtian investigation into the rise of the artistic individual, ultimately unfalsifiable. Texts which said something about a pope were used to support interpretations of images of that pope, although whether the text really offered an objective rather than motivated description of the pope's physicality was rarely definitively knowable. Ladner's discussions of the tiara, important as they have proved, were tangential to all this.

In the context of such discussions a further short piece on the tiara in the *Burlington Magazine* by Egerton Beck (1894-1976), an English contemporary of Schramm's who later

[56] On the reception history of Burckhardt, see Stefan Bauer and Simon Ditchfield (eds.), *A Renaissance Reclaimed: Jacob Burckhardt's* Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy *Reconsidered* (Oxford, 2022).

[57] Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable, and John Van Engen, "Gerhart Burian Ladner," *Speculum*, 71 (1996): 802-04.

became a colonial policeman, needs mention.[58] Beck, like Schramm, seems to have been interested in the symbolism of heraldry and ecclesiastical dress, writing a number of pieces on the subject in his youth. The phenomenon of affective investment in the tiara's history has nevertheless not stopped with the further turn towards professionalisation which has accompanied the development of historical research during the later twentieth century. We might note the impetuses which continue to drive scholarship on the medieval papacy, including its regalia: a desire to show it as the most important cultural and institutional force of the High Middle Ages and beyond. A parallel trend in French historiography (broadly defined) continues to encourage Francophone historians to invest in study of the Avignon period---the Frenchification of the papacy---as a peak moment in its institutional reach and power.[59] Whether or not this motivates d'Alberto or Paravicini Bagliani (both Italians with strong Francophone connections) specifically in their investigations into the promulgation of the third crown or the growth of papal symbolism in the period before it, it highlights an interesting irony in this nexus of historiographical interpretation. Italy and France are both republics with long and defining anti-clerical traditions. Papal historiography in both has tended to come from the political right, which is more sceptical of those republican traditions---and, like everything else described above, it represents a form of emotional investment of the kind Dinshaw identifies in her work.

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[58] (Ewald) Egerton Beck, "The Mitre and Tiara in Heraldry and Ornament," *The Burlington Magazine*, 23 (1913): 221-24 and 330-32. See the biographical information about Beck in the Cambridge University Library catalogue: https://archivesearch.lib.cam.ac.uk/repositories/2/archival_objects/166711 [accessed July 31, 2024].

[59] See Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and its Papacy, 1309-1417: Popes, Institutions, and Society* (Lanham, MD, 2015), 1-15.

Theory vs practice

The second half of this essay turns to one of the more noticeable, and fascinating, things about these early modern tiara texts: their comparative disengagement with contemporary practice for using the tiara or descriptions of contemporary items. Thanks to the pioneering work of Eugène Müntz, in particular, we know a great deal about the composition of those tiaras fabricated not just in the Middle Ages but also after the return to Rome in 1420. Eugene IV (r. 1431-47) and Calixtus III (r. 1455-58) both had tiaras made from gold-plated silver.[60] Paul II (r. 1464-71), Sixtus IV (r. 1471-84), Alexander VI (r. 1492-1503), and Julius II (r. 1503-13) all also refurbished and aggrandized the tiaras passed down to them. Paul's tiaras---he commissioned two---contained jewels valued at 50,000 florins and at 120,000-200,000 florins respectively (the more valuable one was destroyed during the Sack of Rome in 1527 but may survive in depictions of Sixtus IV and Alexander VI). Sixtus IV's tiara was valued at 110,000 florins, with well over 10,000 ducats spent on pearls and gemstones in the months prior to his death. Julius II reworked two of the extant tiaras one of which he had ornamented with an enormous 120-carat ruby costing 2,300 florins, and other of which, commissioned in 1510, cost him over 200,000 ducats. The lack of reference to these tiaras, or to later tiaras, such as that of Gregory XIII (r. 1572-85)---the only early modern tiara to survive to the present day[61]---is a striking feature of the pre-Revolutionary texts about the item discussed above. Only Francesco Cancellieri, in 1788 and in

[60] Müntz, "La tiare pontificale du VIIIe au XVIe siècle," 288, 292.

[61] Shawn Tribe, "The Tiaras of the Popes: Pope Gregory XIII († 1585)," *Liturgical Arts Journal* (May 19, 2023): https://www.liturgicalartsjournal.com/2023/05/the-tiaras-of-popes-pope-gregory-xiii.html#:~:text=All%20of%20this%20is%20merely,end%20of%20the%2018th%20century [accessed July 24, 2024].

1790, took an interest in describing their majesty---a development no doubt intimately connected with Pius VI's project to renovate the extant examples around that time.[62] The lack of interest in the contemporary objects was further reflected in a lack of critical discussion about their usage. Many contemporary sources, in particular the diaries of masters of ceremonies and the *Diario Romano*, record occasions when the tiara appeared---e.g. Corpus Domini, anniversaries of coronations, canonisation ceremonies for new saints in 1712.[63] We might well ask how often these texts recorded ideals for usage rather than daily realities. As I adumbrated before, the tiara was an exceedingly heavy object which elderly popes were unlikely to have been able to bear for long. Many of the references to tiaras in processions in fact intimate them to have been carried *en masse* and using cushions for most of the ceremonies. Yet the eighteenth-century, and even nineteenth-century texts, which report the information contained in these sources, do not really engage the implications of this practice.

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[62] Jeffrey Collins, *Papacy and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Rome: Pius VI and the Arts* (Cambridge, 2004), 60.

[63] Giustiniano Chiapponi, *Acta Canonizationis Sanctorum* (Rome, 1712), 216, column 2 which describes a procession with mitres and tiaras in the hands of chaplains, likewise Giovanni Francesco Cecconi's "Diario istorico", 740-44. Cancellieri's *Descrizione delle cappelle pontifice* likewise describes such processions, 301, and Moroni is also clear on this point, e.g. *Dizionario storico-ecclesiastica*, LXXXI, 66-67, where he cites Cancellieri and Novães as sources. The *Diario Ordinario* has many such references, usually expressed in a clearly formulaic way: E.g. August 17, 1743, 23-24, "Finalmente, asceso in sedia gestatoria con flabelli e triregno…" [finally,he was seated in the ceremonial chair with the fans and the tiara]. Among the many instances of the tiara being carried rather than worn are, March 22, 1724, 12, and April 15, 1724, 20 (use with Innocent XIII's catafalque); February 28, 1733, 5 (translation of body of Benedict XIII); August 4, 1742, 4 (translation of the body of Clement XII); February 20, 1802, 13 (translation and reburial of Pius VI's remains in Rome); August 27, 1823, 12 (use with Pius VII's catafalque). On the *Diario Ordinario*, see Marina Formica, "Mutamenti politici e continuità redazionali: le gazzette della stamperia Chracas," in Marina Caffiero and Giuseppe Monsagrati (eds.), *Dall'erudizione alla politica. Giornali, giornalisti ed editori a Roma tra XVII e XX secolo* (Milan, 1997), 103-26.

The period from Pius VII onwards is therefore noteworthy for having seen a significant reappraisal of the tiara's potential---something which must have had an impact on this discourse and perhaps partly explains the greater attention paid by Novães, Pouyard (at least insofar as we can surmise from his other extant treatise), and Moroni. When Pius VII was elected at the Conclave of Venice in 1800 he lacked any tiara with which to perform his coronation---the French troops which had captured Pius and Rome in 1797 having also seized the pope's entire extant collection, breaking them up as part of a wider initiative to exploit the Church's fungible assets. Pius commissioned a new tiara from Venetian artisans. However, owing to his reduced circumstances, it was made not from precious metal or even fine cloth but from papier mâché. Stones to decorate it were even borrowed from local Venetian noblewomen.[64] This papier mâché tiara proved to be an item of enormous utility to Pius: being much lighter in weight than the heavy tiaras owned by Pius VI it seems to have been far more congenial for the pope to wear. Tellingly, Gregory XVI (r. 1831-46), although he thought papier mâché an unsuitable material for the crown of Christendom's supreme pontiff and such a sacred item, nevertheless commissioned a new albeit lightweight metal tiara on his accession.[65] Pius IX (r. 1846-78) then had it expanded to accommodate his larger head in 1855, wearing it for the Easter celebrations that year.[66] Famously, Pius also wore the tiara for his 1854 declaration of the Assumption of the Virgin---an occasion which was strictly spiritual and not temporal and thus obviously violated Innocent III's guidelines on when the tiara might be used (even if the tiara was a symbol of the

[64] *Diario Ordinario*, March 29, 1800, 2-10, describes the coronation in San Giorgio, Venice, April 2, 1800, 4, the gift of the tiara.

[65] Moroni, *Dizionario storico-ecclesiastica*, LXXXI, 63. In this context it is interesting that Moroni himself barely describes the tiara of 1800.

[66] Ibid., LXXXI, 64.

plenitude).[67] This praxis fitted in with the general "re-sacralization" agenda which dominated in Rome during these pontificates. However, it also resulted in a new de facto division between the tiaras which could be worn easily and those which were, in effect, simply for show. Pius IX acquired a considerable number of these, especially after his loss of the temporal power in 1870. "The Spanish tiara", a pious gift from Queen Isabella II (r. 1833-68), was presented to him in 1855;[68] The "Belgian" tiara, a donation from the women of the Belgian court of Leopold II (r. 1865-1909) in 1871. The "Palatine" tiara, a present from the Palatine guard, was a third donated in 1877.[69] Following Pius' death in 1878, further tiaras were presented to Leo XIII (r.1878-1903): the "Paris" tiara was a token from French Catholics for his decade on the papal throne in 1888; the "Austrian" tiara was an award to him from Franz Joseph in 1894; the Golden tiara, one from the world's Catholics for Leo's "silver jubilee" in 1903.

Most of these tiaras were presented to the pope after even Moroni had written his "last gasp" paean to papal authority. Nevertheless, what Moroni has to say about the rituals surrounding the tiara's usage, in particular his extended descriptions of the routines whereby the papal *majordomo* (an office he himself occupied) would go with the Apostolic Treasurer to the Castel Sant'Angelo to procure the item.

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[67] Ibid., LXXXI, 66.

[68] Letter from Pius IX to Isabella II, January 1, 1855, in Julio Gorricho, "Epistolario de Pío IX con Isabel II de España," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 4 (1966): 281-348, at 285-86. On Isabella's devotion, see David Martínez Vilches, "The Pious Crown: the monarchy's religious devotions during the reign of Isabella II", in David San Narciso, Margarita Barral Martínez, and Carolina Armenteros (eds.), *Monarchy and Liberalism in Spain* (London, 2020), 169-83.

[69] The three main tiaras commissioned for Pius IX were loaned to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2018 and appear in the catalogue Andrew Bolton (ed.), *Heavenly Bodies*, 2 vols. (New York, 2018), I, 72-76.

> The morning before the event they were placed on a table, near the vestry where the pope dressed, or on a table near the stoop of holy water to the right of the Vatican basilica, if the Pope put on his liturgical vestments in the adjacent chapel of the Pietà.[70]

This stands in contrast to another passage in Moroni in which he informs of how the tiara itself became a triggering item for the "meek" Pius VII: instead of functioning as a symbol of majesty it became a memento of the chaos and despair which had engulfed his years as a cardinal and the first half of his pontificate.[71] Pius VII's own relatives in fact seized his tiara after his death in order to ransom it for 12,000 scudi---another difficult fact that Moroni could not ignore readily.[72] In 1831, at a moment of revolutionary risk, Gregory XVI hid his tiaras; Pius IX did the same as he prepared for his flight to Gaeta in 1848.[73] And yet Moroni, until the pre-Revolutionary texts, took a great interest in the material detail of these nineteenth-century tiaras: their gems, their metal, their value. Engaging Moroni's text is important for understanding the tiara's place within the pro-papal elite which surrounded him (and to which he contributed to extensively)---and it might even allow us to rethink a standard interpretation of the under-size, over-weight tiara which Napoleon gifted to Pius VII in anticipation of his own coronation in Paris in 1805.[74] This tiara, the "Napoleon" tiara, may have been both too heavy and too small for the pope actually

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[70] "Nella mattina prima della funzione si ponevano sopra una mensa, vicino alla camera de' paramenti ove si vestiva il papa, ovvero sopra una mensa vicino al pilo dell'acqua santa a destra della basilica Vaticana, se il Papa assumeva i sagri paramenti nella propiuqua cappella della Pietà," Moroni, *Dizionario storico-ecclesiastica*, LXXXI, 66.

[71] References to Pius VII wearing the tiara can nevertheless be found in the *Diario Romano*. Pius not only wore it in Rome but even took it to Genoa in 1815, where he used it for an external procession, issue of May 13, 1815, 12.

[72] Moroni, *Dizionario storico-ecclesiastica*, LXXXI, 62. Moroni does not specify which tiara, the papier-mâché one or the Napoleon tiara, was taken.

[73] Moroni, *Dizionario storico-ecclesiastica*, LXXXI, 62.

ever to have worn. But it may go too far to see this as a calculated insult to the pontiff.[75] Those who fabricated the tiara may simply not have considered liturgical functionality as an item for the pope's person as a primary requirement of the object---and the 400-carat emerald shorn from Gregory XIII's tiara, which was its crowning jewel, may have been included less as a sign of gloating than as a gesture of peace.[76]

What are we to make of this selective history of engagement with the actual usage and design of contemporary tiaras? On one level, it lends credence to the kinds of interpretations that Dinshaw offers for how we exploit the past intellectually and emotionally. The prime concern of those who wrote about tiaras was how to construct a politics of papal majesty in the present: this privileged bringing past into present, but it also meant focusing on some pasts more than others. A further notable quality of such discussion, in light of this, is the lack of interest within the corpus of the very many uses of the tiara as image in early modern, and nineteenth-century, Rome. The tiara first appeared on papal arms, for instance, during the Middle Ages but became a staple of coins and medals too from the pontificate of Martin V (r. 1417-31) onwards (replacing images of Peter and Paul).[77] This usage, like its usage on vestments, in heraldic devices, and ornamentation was also glossed over. By contrast, the appearance of tiaras on statues and tomb effigies, for instance those of Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303), was pored over. In that context, the revival of the tiara as a symbol for eighteenth-century papal portraiture and, in particular, for the tomb monument of Pius VI by Antonio Canova (1757-1822) in the early nineteenth century, is

[74] Ibid., LXXXI, 60-61. The *Diario Ordinario*, June 26, 1805, 2-3, contains a notice of the gift and a description of the tiara.

[75] E.E.Y. Hales, *Napoleon and the Pope* (London, 1962), 70-71.

[76] Moroni, *Dizionario storico-ecclesiastica*, LXXXI, 60. Perhaps tellingly, Napoleon also seized the "Napoleon" tiara again when he took Pius into captivity in 1809, Hales, *Napoleon and the Pope*, 116.

[77] Francesco Muntoni, *Le monete dei papi e degli Stati pontifici*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1972).

not surprising. Nevertheless, a gap between praxis and commentary is again observable. Giuseppe Maria Crespi's portrait of Benedict XIV (r. 1740-58), and another anonymous one of Clement XIV (r. 1769-74) in the Museo storico archaeologico in Santarcangelo di Romagna, place the tiara on a desk in front of the pope (extending a practice in much early modern portraiture of showing bishops with their miters thusly).[78] This is very different to the medieval monumental examples. In the case of Pius VI's tomb effigy, the tiara sits beside the pope as he kneels down in prayer. The significance of this design probably lies in the fate which befell that pope after Revolutionary French forces invaded the Papal States in 1796. Carried away to captivity, Pius died in a French prison in 1799 and was interred in a grave labelled with the equalising epithet "Citizen Braschi".[79] The restoration of Pius' tiara therefore mattered: it lifted him symbolically back to his pontifical state. But the tiara's placement besides the pope, rather than on his head, also freed Pius' effigy to be on his knees, eyes aloft in prayer. Jeffrey Collins has suggested that the pose asserts his status as political martyr as well as humble penitent---and such a reading, which shows the new versatility with which the object was being used in practice, is pretty persuasive.[80]

Twentieth- and twenty-first-century tiaras

[78] https://bbcc.ibc.regione.emilia-romagna.it/pater/loadcard.do?id_card=169137 [accessed February 16, 2023]. Crespi's portrait of Benedict XIV is in the Vatican collections: https://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/la-pinacoteca/sala-xv---secolo-xviii/giuseppe-maria-crespi--ritratto-di-benedetto-xiv.html [accessed February 16, 2023].

[79] E.E.Y. Hales, *Revolution and Papacy, 1796-1846* (London, 1960), 115, 128-29.

[80] Collins, *Papacy and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, 131.

One irony of the tiara's modern, post-1870 history is that is has seen a gradual return to the understanding of its symbolic value which held currency among the medieval rather than early modern writers about it. John XXIII (r. 1958-63) and then Paul VI (r. 1963-78) decided to abandon it in the wake of the Second Vatican Council, because they identified it with the precise claims to temporal dominion which the Council now repudiated. John retired his tiara after his coronation, in some ways a curious but, no doubt, highly purposeful decision given his general love of ritual and tradition.[81] Paul did likewise.[82] However, it was John Paul I who deliberately and definitively extinguished the formal rites of papal coronations.[83] John's decision and Paul's marked a particular moment in the tiara's gradual disappearance from the arsenal of papal symbols. In fact, we might start that story with its removal from papal medals Pius VI.[84] Benedict XV's decision to sell the jewels in the "Napoleon" tiara to raise money for victims in the First World War---an act still lauded in Catholic circles---might be said to be another key moment.[85] Most recently, Benedict XVI (r. 2005-13) removed the tiara from the papal coat of arms in 2005,

[81] Peter Hebblethwaite, *Pope John XXIII: Shepherd of the Modern World* (New York, 1985), 293.

[82] Stephen Platten, "Selling a Tiara, Giving a Ring: Paul VI's Jewelled Legacy," *Theology* 119 (2016): 407-16.

[83] Kenneth A. Briggs, "In the Vatican, a Pope who underscores the shift in style to humility," *The New York Times*, November 14, 1978: https://www.nytimes.com/1978/11/14/archives/in-the-vatican-a-pope-who-underscores-the-shift-to-style-of.html [accessed August 6, 2024].

[84] Collins, *Papacy and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, 303.

[85] On Benedict's humanitarianism, see John Pollard, *The Unknown Pope: Benedict XV and the Pursuit of Peace (1914-1922)* (London, 1999). Zelda Caldwell, "The Day the Pope Gave up his Papal Tiara to Feed the Poor," *Aleteia*, August 9, 2018: https://aleteia.org/2018/08/19/the-day-the-pope-who-gave-up- his-papal-tiara-to-feed-the-poor/ [accessed July 16, 2024].

replacing it with a mitre, a symbolic triumph of the spiritual over the temporal.[86] Popes since John Paul I have likewise been "crowned" by receiving the pallium, that ancient stylised woollen cloak which is said to represent the pope's role as successor to the Good Shepherd. Little of this has been written about---scholars sometimes seeming to prefer to engage the alternative uses of the tiara in papal fiction[87]---and y the German historian Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, who has engaged the evolution of contemporary papal ceremonial, rightly complains that the substitution of tiara for the pallium misunderstands what the latter signified to the medieval popes who first used it: they very much saw it as a token of investiture with their authority.[88] Nevertheless, this "misunderstanding" itself, of course, reflects the ongoing and constant reinvention of tradition which has been a papal hallmark since the Middle Ages (and no doubt before them).[89] The efforts of early modern writers to establish the tiara's significance as part of that tradition rested within that tradition, just as papal efforts to forget (or even repudiate) it do even now. During routine liturgical ceremonies the pope now exclusively uses the episcopal mitre; at other times he wears the simple *zucchetta* cap.

Today, most Catholics now regard the tiara as little more than a curiosity, perhaps a symbol of an aspect to papal history---and a particular set of now superannuated claims---which they find a touch embarrassing. Equally, it was a powerful visual effect, and a conscious choice

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[86] Jerry Filteau, "Has Pope Benedict changed his coat of arms?," *National Catholic Reporter*, October 12, 2010: https://www.ncronline.org/blogs/ncr-today/has-pope-benedict-changed-his-coat-arms [accessed July 24, 2024].

[87] D'Alberto, "Imago papae," 17.

[88] Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "L'incoronazione papale nel tardo Medioevo, con uno sguardo all'«inaugurazione» di Benedetto XVI," *Studi storici*, 47 (2006): 959-75, at 972.

[89] On the medieval history of the pallium, see Steven Schoenig, SJ, *Bonds of Wool: the Pallium and Papal Power in the Middle Ages* (Washington, DC, 2016).

on behalf of director Paolo Sorrentino, to have Jude Law in the hit HBO satire *The Young Pope* wear it again. In fact, though, tiaras have never entirely disappeared from the papal purview. Before Vatican II, further tiaras were made for Pius X in 1908 and Pius XI in 1922 but since then a tiara has been made for every pope (with the exception of John Paul I). That of John XXIII was a gift from the people of his hometown of Bergamo on the occasion of his election (it remains in the cathedral treasury).[90] But that of Paul VI was fabricated in Milan (the site of his former archdiocese), in a modern and minimalist style.[91] John Paul II's tiara, made in 1981, was presented to him by Catholics from Hungary. Benedict XVI's (fig. 3), presented in 2011, was likewise a commission from pious German admirers.[92] Even Pope Francis has been given a tiara by the President of the Assembly of North Macedonia in 2016.[93] Keeping track of these modern tiaras is hard: they are rarely seen or reported on and have never even been worn by the pontiff. Their story, and their surprising obscurity nevertheless still bears material, if silent, witnesses to the papacy's---and, by extension, the Catholic Church's---on-going, holistic transformations in the contemporary world. We have come a long way from the now iconic 1949 photographs of Pius XII (r. 1939-58) in full robes and wearing the tiara as he gives a blessing from his *sedia*

[90] http://www.cattedraledibergamo.it/tesori/la-tiara-di-papa-giovanni-xxiii/ [accessed November 3, 2022].

[91] The tiara is now on permanent display in the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, Washington, DC: https://www.nationalshrine.org/blog/a-moment-in-history-the-papal-tiara-at-the-basilica/ [accessed November 3, 2022]. This is the model for the tiara in *The Young Pope*, see d'Alberto, "Le pape vicaire du Christ," 168-69, 181.

[92] http://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/germans-present-pope-benedict-with-his-own-papal-crown/ [accessed November 3, 2022].

[93] https://www.lastampa.it/vatican-insider/en/2016/05/17/news/a-tiara-for-every-pope-br-1.35005458 [accessed November 3, 2022].

gestatoria.[94] Nevertheless, the sacred historiography surrounding the tiara and other papal *sacramentalia* continues. We must read it carefully and in context---for just as the papacy is an institution of epochal transformations, so too are the stories its adherents tell of its most treasured possessions and politically ambiguous ensigns.

[94] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Papst_Pius_XII.,_Krönung_10._Jahrestag.jpg [accessed July 27, 2024].