



In persona Christi

Document Version

Accepted author manuscript

[Link to publication record in Manchester Research Explorer](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Warr, C. (Ed.) (2019). In persona Christi: Liturgical Gloves and the Construction of Public Religious Identity. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 95(2), 135–156. <https://doi.org/10.7227/BJRL.95.2.7>

Published in:

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library

Citing this paper

Please note that where the full-text provided on Manchester Research Explorer is the Author Accepted Manuscript or Proof version this may differ from the final Published version. If citing, it is advised that you check and use the publisher's definitive version.

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the Research Explorer are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Takedown policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please refer to the University of Manchester's Takedown Procedures [<http://man.ac.uk/04Y6Bo>] or contact uml.scholarlycommunications@manchester.ac.uk providing relevant details, so we can investigate your claim.



In persona Christi: Liturgical Gloves and the Construction of Public Religious Identity

Cordelia Warr, University of Manchester

Abstract

Within the Catholic Church from around the tenth century onwards, liturgical gloves could be worn on specific occasions by those of the rank of bishop and above. Using a pair of seventeenth century gloves in the Whitworth as a basis for further exploration, this article explores the meanings ascribed to liturgical gloves and the techniques used to make them. It argues that, within the ceremony of the mass, gloves had a specific role to play in allowing bishops to function performatively in the role of Christ.

Keywords: gloves, liturgy, knitting, William Durandus, Charles Borromeo, Counter Reformation, mass

Gloves draw attention to the hands even as they conceal them. Of course, almost all clothes draw attention to the body part with which they are associated. The hands are distinct in that they are considered a particularly expressive part of the body, capable of language, and could become even more so within the context of pulling on, wearing, and taking off gloves. In secular circles during the Middle Ages and Renaissance gloves were often associated with love and erotic sexuality.¹ In the religious life, hands were also expressive, although in different ways. Monastic sign languages were in use from the tenth century, and possibly earlier. They allowed basic communication during periods of silence by using agreed signs formed with the hands.² These were practical, the majority being for nouns, with food vocabulary the most important.³ Preachers also used their hands although many writers on the

ars praedicandi advised that gestures, whilst useful, should be carefully controlled.⁴

Conscious and deliberately regulated gestures were part of religious ceremonial with attention drawn to the hands of the priest at the elevation of the host, for example.

These religious examples relate to the hands only and not to the relationship played out between hand and glove. Yet gloves - generally available only to those of the status of bishop and above - were used during Catholic church ritual.⁵ Liturgical gloves thus aided the performance of a public religious identity. Along with other vestments they helped to conceal the subjective individual identity of the person wearing them.⁶ This replacement of individual identity through the assumption of specific items of ritual clothing is something associated with attire with which people were invested, that is garments specific to a certain role given on an occasion marking entry into that role.⁷ In this respect liturgical gloves were unlike many secular gloves, which indicated status but did not define a ritual persona. Using a pair of seventeenth century gloves in the Whitworth as a basis for further exploration, this article argues that liturgical gloves were an important aspect of public religious ritual identity - drawing attention to the role of the bishop as sacrifice in the mass - and that this identity was constructed through their physical or material form, their use, and writings explicating their meaning.

Liturgical gloves were subject to deliberate, regulated and restricted use. They were not used with the appearance of nonchalant *sprezzatura* that was possible with secular gloves. This is, perhaps, one reason why, in comparison to secular gloves, they have received considerably less attention in medieval and renaissance studies.⁸ They do not have the frisson of excitement occasioned by the whiff of sexual immorality. Even within studies of religious vestments, gloves have generally not been singled out.⁹ Liturgical gloves did not take part in fashionable innovation, even though they were not entirely immune to its effects. Pauline Johnstone has argued that the materials used to make and the techniques used to

decorate church vestments – including silks and embroidery - were at the forefront of fashion.¹⁰ The form of liturgical garments was another matter since most had stabilised by the thirteenth century. Some vestments changed their shape to accommodate better the way they were used during specific moments in the celebration of the mass. The chasuble, for example, was originally a closed conical garment with an opening for the head, which was later shorted at either side.¹¹ This allowed free movement of the arms so that it was easier for the priest to elevate the host, a practical evolution.¹² Knitted gloves, one of the liturgical garments which could be directly compared with garments in common use in the secular world, echoed the changing fashionable forms of lay gloves, but only to a limited extent. Their gauntlets, for example, grew larger and slightly more exaggerated during the seventeenth century.¹³ However, gloves were small vestments. Although they could be heavily decorated, they do not have the iconographic complexity of medieval copes embroidered with *opus anglicanum* or the equally expensive renaissance vestments made of rich velvets and silks to which historiated panels of *or nué* could be attached. Many were knitted and, when the decorative elements were integral to the gloves, the fine detail possible with embroidery was impossible to achieve. Yet from the Middle Ages through to the Counter Reformation liturgical gloves were not ignored in vestimentary regulations, in commentaries on the meaning of vestments, or in instructions on church ceremonial. Furthermore, gloves from this time period survive in collections across the world, mostly knitted, with a variety of integral or appliquéd decoration, and in a number of colours.¹⁴

Gloves assisted in doubling the bishop's ritual body taking on a symbolic role as another as he acted *in persona Christi* when celebrating mass, the most important of the sacraments.¹⁵ Their placement on the hands of the bishop and removal from them during the mass helped to distinguish his roles as sacrifice and sacrificer. The actions of the bishop, as well as and in conjunction with his clothing, were thus loaded with meaning. Priests also took

on the two parts of sacrifice and sacrificer when taking mass but did not wear gloves, which had been fixed as a sign of episcopal status and authority by the twelfth century.¹⁶ The use of gloves by clergy of the rank of bishop and above not only visually distinguished their rank; they were a material demonstration of their higher level of spiritual perfection and their connection to the apostles and to Christ. Thomas Aquinas assigned to the bishop the ‘word of wisdom’ whereas the priest had the ‘word of knowledge’.¹⁷ In arguing that there ought to be an episcopal rank, Thomas claimed that ‘he is higher who represents Christ according to a greater perfection’.¹⁸ The link between the material and the spiritual recalled that between the two realms of earth and heaven. Rich vestments used within the church helped to remind clergy and congregation of the sacred space of the building and the church as a representation of the new or heavenly Jerusalem.¹⁹ Liturgical gloves, firmly embedded in the ritual of the church, emphasized the ‘foreign’ body of Christ acting through the wearer. The church was a foreign country; the clergy who officiated within it wore rich and shining clothes appropriate to that land and to the people who populated it. Gloves, believed like other vestments to express spiritual truth through material splendour,²⁰ were thus subject to a considerable interpretative weight that engendered a tension with their material reality. However, gloves were distinct from other vestments in that they followed the contours of the part of the body that they enclosed and covered. It could be argued, therefore, that more than any other piece of liturgical clothing, gloves drew attention to the bishop’s role as Christ during the mass.

The materiality of the glove

Liturgical gloves are physical things. Meaning was imbued within their materiality, or extracted from their materiality, in relation to the way in which they were made and their ‘decoration’. A close examination of the Whitworth gloves (accession number T.8240), with reference to comparable examples, will ground subsequent discussion. Made using silk yarn, the gloves are believed to have come from Italy or Spain (fig. 1).²¹ In common with many

other extant examples from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they are red, the liturgical colour associated with, for example, the feasts of Christ's Passion and of the apostles and martyrs.²² Each glove measures approximately 254 mm in length and is 127 mm wide. The silk yarn is multi-stranded and the gloves were knitted in the round so that, originally, there were no actual seams, only a false seam on the outer edge of each glove which ran to just before the start of the division for the small finger. The false seam is formed by a purl stitch which, countering the knit stitches of the rest of the glove, adds structure and stability, preventing twisting. At a later date the gloves were altered to make them smaller by taking them in along either side of the false seam. The tip of the left thumb appears to have been damaged at some point and was repaired with yarn which is thicker than the silk used for the main part of the gloves. The yarn may originally have been chosen to match the main colour of the glove but that the colour has since degraded.²³ Damage to the thumb is relatively common in surviving gloves from this period.²⁴ The gloves are knitted in what to modern eyes seems a small gauge (approx. 17 stitches and 24 rows per inch) but one which appears to have been common at the time.²⁵ The smaller the gauge, the more stitches would have been required. The gloves are relatively simple in terms of both their construction – they lack a section of stitch increases leading up to the separation of the thumb from the main part of the hand - and the patterns knitted into them.

The decoration for the gloves was made by the technique of stranded knitting in which a pattern is made by using two or more colours in a single row. In this case the contrast yarn is made of a silver thread S-spun around a core of white silk. On those rows where it is used but does not form a visible part of the pattern, the yarn is 'carried' behind the knitting. For the gauntlets, this is done around the whole circumferences of the gloves, but for the IHS decoration the yarn is carried only to the edges of the motif. The patterns on the gloves are thus an integral part of them, rather than being applied after the basic gloves were complete.

There is a repeating pattern around the wrist, and on the back of each glove is a 'medallion' with the IHS symbol surrounded by a wreath with four crosses to either side and at the top and bottom. The medallion is an essential component of liturgical gloves and the IHS symbol was the most common motif to be knitted into liturgical gloves of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Knitted gloves could also have enamelled or ceramic medallions sewn onto them, for example, and the medallions could represent a variety of subjects such as the Virgin Mary, the Christ Child, cross, apostles, or the Lamb of God, all of which had significance in the context of the celebration of the Mass. Such medallions were sometimes decorated with precious stones.²⁶

The gloves in the Whitworth conform to expectations about liturgical gloves of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as evidenced in known examples.²⁷ They have the same basic form as secular gloves but also important differences. Liturgical gloves seem never to have been made from leather, as are the most impressive of surviving lay gloves from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁸ Such fine leather gloves appear to have been reserved for important occasions and often show little sign of wear.²⁹ As Evelyn Welch has noted, the leather glove was 'an item of high status at court'.³⁰ They could be perfumed and some had elaborate cuffs, which were covered in silk and embroidered.³¹ The Whitworth collection includes a pair of English seventeenth-century white kid leather gloves (T.8231). Their decorated seams serve to emphasise the length of the fingers. The gauntlets and wristband are decorated with embroidered flowers and creatures from earth, sea and air (fig. 2). High status gloves and mittens could also be made out of woven textiles, such as a pair of sixteenth-century crimson velvet mittens now held by the Victoria and Albert Museum,³² and there are also examples of surviving knitted secular gloves. Excavations at Copenhagen have yielded some seventeenth century examples.³³

The earliest surviving examples of liturgical gloves were probably made through the technique of nalbinding, literally ‘binding with a needle’ and sometimes defined as single needle knitting,³⁴ and only later knitted as we now understand the term.³⁵ A late medieval example of secular nalbound gloves survives in Riga.³⁶ An extant example of fourteenth-century liturgical gloves made using nalbinding from Saint Germain des Prés, France, is conserved in the Bibliotheque Municipale, Amiens and the Musée Cluny, Paris.³⁷ It is difficult to date the move from making liturgical gloves using a single needle to knitting them with multiple needles and the two techniques must have existed concurrently for a period of time.³⁸ Liturgical gloves could also be made of woven textiles, which were then cut and sewn. The Victoria and Albert Museum has two pairs of liturgical gloves (876&A-1897 and 437&A-1892) dated to the sixteenth century and believed to have come from Spain (figs 3 and 4). The more elaborate of the two pairs (437&A-1892) is highly decorated. Elements imitate leather gloves or those made from woven materials by the use of fictive seam lines.³⁹ The other pair of gloves (876&A-1897) has a number of similarities to the pair in the Whitworth. The central IHS monogram has almost identical starburst decoration around it. These gloves do not appear to have been altered and still have tassels attached to the edge of the gauntlet.⁴⁰ There seems to have been no significant divergence in the techniques used for liturgical and secular gloves. The Gunnister Man gloves, one of the few surviving secular examples, dated to the end of the seventeenth century, were knitted in the round.⁴¹ The main difference lies in the materials used, with the Gunnister gloves made from a mid-brown woollen yarn in contrast to the fine silk normally used for liturgical gloves, and in the decorative elements.

Some aspects of the requirements for making liturgical gloves are known through religious ordinances. In the sixteenth century the Cardinal Archbishop of Milan Carlo Borromeo (1538-84) issued regulations on ecclesiastical dress in the wake of the Council of

Trent. The Tridentine canons had insisted on appropriate clothing in public, making it clear that clerics were not part of the lay world and should not appear to be so even when they were not taking part in church ceremonial. Their world was that of the divine.⁴² Borromeo gave specific instructions on the form of the vestments to be used during church ritual, included in his *Instructionum fabricae ecclesiasticae et supellectilis ecclesiasticase libri duo* (1577).⁴³ In the section on gloves, ‘De chirothecis episcopalibus’, he states that ‘Chirothecae episcopales contextae esse debent, et circulo aureo insigniter in extrema parte ornatae’ (‘The bishop’s gloves must be interwoven and prominently decorated on the top with a golden circle’).⁴⁴ The instructions are concise, terse even, but they leave no doubt that gloves adorned with a golden medallion were an expected and accepted part of episcopal clothing. Furthermore, they require that the gloves were ‘interwoven’. The main dictionary translations for ‘contextus’ are woven together, entwined, joined together, continuous.⁴⁵ The term ‘contextae’, then, does not unequivocally mean ‘knitted’, and there are certainly examples of liturgical gloves made from woven cloth. However, since most surviving liturgical gloves from Borromeo’s time onwards are knitted, the regulations in the *Instructionum fabricae* have generally been interpreted to mean that ecclesiastical gloves must be knitted.⁴⁶

The bishop and the glove

Gloves were one of nine items of liturgical clothing worn by clergy of the rank of bishop and above. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), in his *Summa Theologiae*, stated that this was because there were ‘nine things which they can, but priests cannot, do, namely ordain clerics, bless virgins, consecrate bishops, impose hands, dedicate churches, depose clerics, celebrate synods, consecrate chrism, bless vestments and vessels’.⁴⁷ William Durandus, Bishop of Mende (d. 1296), in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, one of the most important medieval liturgical treatises, also made it clear that there were vestments (six) that were worn by both priest and bishop but nine appropriate only to those who had reached episcopal rank.⁴⁸

In contexts outside that of religious ceremonial, gloves could be considered as a luxury item and not appropriate for members of the clergy or those who followed a religious life.⁴⁹ Giovanni Pietro Giussano wrote a *vita* of Carlo Borromeo, first published in 1610 the year of his canonisation. In it Giussano describes Borromeo's 'patience in trials and sufferings'. We are told that he would not go near fire to keep warm, nor wear furs or gloves. He even went outside on the coldest winter days with nothing on his hands, which then cracked and bled. When his attendants begged him to cover his hands he refused, citing his desire to suffer for the love of God.⁵⁰ For Borromeo, gloves were a necessary part of certain religious rites but they were not appropriate for a religious man when not engaged in church services. The distinction is an important one, and one which was the subject of discussion, particularly during the Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter Reformation.⁵¹ The issue at stake was when, where, and indeed, whether, clothing reflected the honour of office or was simply a sign of what might now be termed conspicuous consumption. Expensive vestments conveyed the economic power of the church as well as its spiritual power. That it was acceptable and necessary to wear expensive clothing was something supported by scholars such as Thomas Aquinas who argued that members of the clergy wore such garments as a sign of the importance and dignity of their office.⁵² This argument had a long life: it was used, for example, by Pius II (d.1464),⁵³ and re-addressed during the Council of Trent.⁵⁴ Chapter 5 of Session 22 (17 September 1562) on 'Teaching and canons on the most holy sacrifice of the mass', stated that

as human nature is such that it cannot easily raise itself up to the meditation of divine realities without external aids, holy mother church has [...] provided ceremonial such as [...] vestments [...] by which the majesty of this great sacrifice is enhanced.⁵⁵

Thus, liturgical gloves were open to various interpretations aimed at promoting a focus on God and should be considered within the context of the symbolism believed to be inherent in all things.

The use of gloves in ritual ensured that others saw them, even if only a restricted number in a limited context, and that they were thus prompted to recall their significance. Gloves were placed on the bishop at his consecration or ordination, worn in solemn processions and during pontifical mass.⁵⁶ According to Durandus, the following items of clothing were specifically reserved for bishops: stockings, shoes or sandals, girdle, tunic, dalmatic, gloves, mitre, ring and pastoral staff.⁵⁷ This is the same list as that given by Cardinal Borromeo in his *Instructionum* (1577), although Borromeo is generally silent on the meaning of the vestments, concerning himself with practical directions on the material, colour, size, and cut of the various items and only making passing references to symbolic significance, of which he is clearly aware. For example, he requires that: ‘The bishop’s buskins must be long enough to be stretched to the knees and be tied with ribbons in a way that corresponds to the mystical significance.’⁵⁸ The vestition of a bishop is shown in an early fourteenth-century manuscript of Durandus’ *Rationale* (London, British Library, Add. MS 31032, fol. 33v) (fig. 5).⁵⁹ Durandus specifies fifteen garments. Step eight is putting on the gloves and this can clearly be seen in the British Library manuscript where all fifteen parts of the vestition are illustrated.⁶⁰ Vesting prayers accompanied each of the liturgical garments, reflecting the clerical virtues which they represented.⁶¹ At the end of the sixteenth century, the edition of the *Pontificale Romanum* (1595-1596), published during the papacy of Clement VIII and containing details of the rites performed by bishops with the exception of the mass, gave detailed instructions on the consecration of the bishop elect.⁶² After the mitre was placed on the head of the bishop elect, the gloves were blessed, if this had not already been

done, and a prayer was said. The gloves were then placed on the hands of the bishop elect accompanied by another prayer.⁶³

In a pontifical mass, gloves were used by the bishop up until the washing of the hands before the sacrifice or consecration. At the sacrifice the bishop as celebrant moved from acting as sacrifice *in persona Christi* to acting as sacrificer. Pontifical mass was ceremonially complex with detailed and careful instructions about how the various items of liturgical dress should be laid out before the mass and used during it, who should handle the vestments and when. Donning and removing the gloves was part of a highly choreographed sequence. By the seventeenth century instructions could be found in the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* (1600).⁶⁴ There are instructions on who should place the gloves on the hands of the bishop, detailing that the bishop should wear gloves until the offertory when the assistant deacons should remove them, and that gloves should not be used in masses for the dead.⁶⁵ The importance of the vestments, including the gloves, is emphasised by the fact that the bishop does not clothe himself. Those who assist him wash and dry his hands, place the gloves on his hands and remove them, kiss his hands and gloves. In order for these operations to be carried out in an appropriately formal and solemn fashion, it was necessary for the gloves to be large enough to be easily manoeuvred on and off the hands. Knitted gloves had the advantage of being able to stretch and were generally made with wide fingers and thumbs, as is the case with the Whitworth gloves, thus making the job of bishops' assistants easier and the ceremony more dignified. Although some secular leather gloves, such as those for falconers, needed to be relatively easy to put on and take off and therefore padded and had wide fingers,⁶⁶ many high quality leather gloves were designed as a second skin, and to emphasise or give the impression of long thin fingers. They were tight and needed to stretch slightly each time that they were put on. They thus required a certain amount of manoeuvring of the fingers, pulling of the glove, pushing down the fourchettes between the fingers, before

they were properly on the hand. This would have made for a difficult and ungainly operation within the context of liturgical ritual.

The hands of the bishop could also be used for blessing using the sign of the cross. Arm reliquaries of bishop saints tended to have either an open hand or a blessing gesture.⁶⁷ These so-called ‘speaking reliquaries’ could be shown wearing episcopal gloves or fitted-out in actual gloves.⁶⁸ The blessing of the bishop-saint, visualised through an appropriately shaped reliquary, was sufficiently important to override any need for the form of the container to echo its contents.⁶⁹ During the Middle Ages the episcopal blessing at the end of mass in the form of the sign of the cross, and included in the Roman Rite, was highly regarded by the congregation.⁷⁰ The visualisation in reliquaries of the gloved episcopal hand in a gesture of blessing reflected the importance of gesture and its accentuation through rich vestment. The gestures of the bishop were a matter of public importance and this continued to be the case through the Counter Reformation. The Whitworth gloves were made at a time when there was an increasing interest in gestures. As Peter Burke has noted, a ‘reform of gesture formed part of the moral discipline of the Counter-Reformation’.⁷¹ Early books dealing with gesture, such as Giovanni Bonifacio’s (1547-1635) *L’arte dei cenni* (1616), included sections on gesture within a religious context.⁷² At the beginning of the chapter on gestures made with the hands Bonifacio had claimed that the hands could almost speak by themselves (‘quasi che elle da se stesse parlano’) making them more expressive than other parts of the body, which are only capable of helping with expression (‘l’altre parti del corpo aiutano colui, che favella’).⁷³ However, it is still necessary to understand what the hands say, to learn the language, and Bonifacio both described the gesture of benediction - one which a bishop may have made whilst wearing liturgical gloves - and placed it within religious and historical contexts, which include the blessing of Jacob by Isaac.⁷⁴ Later in the century, Giovanni Battista Pacichelli (1641-1695) in his *Chirologia* (1673) included a chapter on

‘De manûs loquela per gestus, nec non de eius aptitudine ad Dei venerationem’ (Cap. VI).⁷⁵ Correct movement of the hands was important within the ritual of Catholic worship, something vigorously objected to by some Protestants in Counter Reformation Europe.⁷⁶ Hands in prayer or blessing indicated religious persuasion. The importance of the hands of the bishop was something acknowledged by a number of writers. Saint John Chrysostom (d.407), speaking of the mass, had asked ‘what must be the hands that serve for such a great thing?’⁷⁷ The hands of the bishop were believed by some to be cemented within the apostolic succession in part through their use of liturgical gloves. The apostolic use of gloves was referenced at the end of the seventeenth century by Pacichelli when he published *De chirotecis, vulgo guantis* as a part of his *Schediasma juridico-philologicum*.⁷⁸ In it, he discussed vocabulary for gloves and their uses in ancient times, the use of gloves by bishops, abbots and other members of the clergy and finished with a section on those not allowed to use gloves.⁷⁹ Pacichelli referenced the twelfth-century theologian Honorius of Autun (Honorius Augustonensis) stating that, in his *Gemma animae* (lib. 1, cap. 215) he had said that he had said that the ‘use of gloves has been handed down by the apostles’.⁸⁰ Between pages 252 and 253 there is an inserted image that can be folded out to show, life size, a single plain glove believed to have belonged to the Virgin Mary, According to Pacichelli, this glove was kept at St. Omer, in the custody of the monks of Saint Bertin (fig. 6).⁸¹ For Pacichelli, the link, real and metaphorical, between the hands of the Virgin and the saints, gloves, and the hands of the bishop, was an important one.

Meaning within liturgical gloves

As William Durandus wrote towards the end of the thirteenth century, linking saints and bishops: ‘When the gloves are on the hands, they are understood to be the examples of the saints, which must be contained in all of his works; works which must be purified of all filth.’⁸² There is a long tradition of commentaries on the liturgy, many of which attributed

meanings to ecclesiastical vestments. They were considered to represent clerical virtues. Prayers and commentaries associated with them reflected this through to the Counter Reformation and beyond.⁸³ Maureen Miller has argued that during the Carolingian period and the Middle Ages ‘allegorical tracts on the meaning of vestments [...] were closely associated with attempts to reform the clergy’.⁸⁴ She characterises these commentaries as proposing multiple allegorical meanings ‘using the physical characteristics of the vestment as keys to understanding its significance’ and claims that the allegorical interpretations helped to form ‘a spirituality centred on these material objects’.⁸⁵ In the eleventh century Peter Damian (d. 1072/1073) had stressed that nothing in the liturgy should be considered ‘frivola’ or ‘levia’. He directed attention to the spiritual meaning of the vestments, although he was concerned with those of the priest and did not discuss gloves.⁸⁶ In the twelfth century Bruno of Segni (d. 1123), in his *De sacramentis ecclesiae*, explained that the bishop wore gloves to denote chastity and cleanliness.⁸⁷ His words reflected the fact that liturgical gloves were normally white until the sixteenth century.⁸⁸

In the thirteenth century, the various symbolic meanings of the church and clerical vestments were explored by Durandus who dedicated a short chapter to gloves in Book 3 (chapter 12) of his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*.⁸⁹ Durandus starts by citing Matthew 6:3 (indicated in italics):

Because many good works are corrupted by the vainglory of those who do them, the bishop, immediately after putting on the dalmatic, covers his hands with the gloves, following the Apostolic rite, *so that his left hand will not know what his right hand is doing*.⁹⁰

Its context in the Gospel of Matthew has meant that the advice has traditionally been taken as meaning that almsgiving should be unostentatious and this understanding is also present in

the *Rationale* where expensive silk gloves could be understood as signifying the humility of the wearer. Durandus goes on to say that the glove represents caution ‘which does her work in public, but hides her intention in secret’. The gloves have an allegorical meaning and in order to expound on this, Durandus relates that meaning to the physical form of the gloves. He links the gold circles on the back of the gloves to Matthew 5:16 (‘Let your light shine before men, so that they will see your good works and glorify your Father, who is in heaven’). As we have seen, these were still a specific expectation in Cardinal Borromeo’s sixteenth century regulations. He also alludes to the fact that gloves are not worn throughout the liturgy, noting that:

Sometimes the hands are covered with gloves and sometimes they are bared, because sometimes good works are hidden to avoid vainglory, and sometimes works are shown openly for the edification on one’s neighbours.⁹¹

Durandus explains that the gloves are seamless ‘because the actions of the bishop ought to be in proper agreement with his faith’. This requirement survived into the sixteenth century with Cardinal Borromeo’s instructions - depending on the interpretation of ‘contextae’ as knitted - and, as we have seen, examples of knitted liturgical gloves such as that in the Whitworth were seamless. Lack of seams had further meaning in relation to Christ’s seamless robe, which was sometimes envisaged as having been knitted by the Virgin Mary for the Christ Child. Such a robe was believed to have been worn by Christ before his crucifixion. According to the gospel of John (19:23-24) the soldiers who crucified Jesus cast lots for it after his death. They could not divide it since ‘the coat was without seam, woven whole from the top down’. Hence, one meaning given to the robe was the unity of the church.⁹²

Some aspects of Durandus’ exposition appear to contradict the physical make-up of actual liturgical gloves. He says that ‘the gloves are made with the small skins of goats’ referring to Genesis 27:16 where Rebecca deceives Isaac into believing that he is giving his

blessing to his older son Esau, when the person before him is his younger son Jacob, by placing the skins of goats on Jacob's hands and neck. In linking the gloves to the story of Jacob and Esau, Durandus followed previous commentators such as Innocent III (Lothar of Segni, d. 1215).⁹³ Yet surviving liturgical gloves are not made of leather and rarely of fabric.⁹⁴ For Durandus, the goat skin had complex meanings. It referred to the sin of Rebecca in deceiving Isaac and to the 'grace of the Holy Spirit' covering Jacob's hands. It also related to Christ's incarnation in human form, taking 'on the appearance of sin' even though he was without sin. In doing this Christ became a second Adam, who after the fall, was clothed with skins by God (Genesis 3:21). Wearing skin, clothing oneself with skin, was thus a sign of the fall and of man's original sin which Christ came to redeem.⁹⁵ In wearing liturgical gloves the bishop acknowledged man's sinfulness but also took on the 'skin' of Christ. Durandus' association of the episcopal gloves with the goat-skin covering used by Rebecca to cover Jacob was still current at the end of the sixteenth century. The *Pontificale Romanum* (1595-1596) instructed that after the mitre was placed on the head of the bishop elect, the gloves were blessed, if this had not already been done, and a prayer was said. The gloves were then placed on the hands of the bishop elect accompanied by another prayer:

Encompass, O Lord, the hands of this your minister in the cleanliness of the New Man who descended from Heaven, that just as you chose one Jacob, with his hands covered by the pelts of young goats, obtained the paternal blessing with the food and drink most acceptably offered to his Father, so also may he, by the saving sacrifice offered through his hands, merit to obtain the blessing of your grace.⁹⁶

The link between the bishop's hands and those of Christ may also have been called to mind through an association between the medallions on the back of the gloves and the nail wounds received on the cross. Although this is not something stressed in the literature on the meanings of individual vestments it was implicit in the understanding of the mass. According

to Innocent III in his *De missarum mysteriis* the mass 'is ordered so that it contains all the events of Christ's life from his birth to the Ascension'.⁹⁷ Thomas Aquinas explained that 'the priest [also] bears Christ's image, in Whose person and by Whose power he pronounces the words of consecration [...] And so, in a measure, the priest and victim are one and the same'.⁹⁸ The medallions set liturgical gloves apart from secular gloves where the decoration is usually focused on the gauntlet, the part of the glove which covers the wrist. Medallions are also shown on the gloves of some speaking reliquaries such as that of Basilus from the eleventh century (Essen Cathedral Treasury).⁹⁹ A seventeenth-century arm reliquary of Saint Blaise in the museum in Evora, Portugal, draws attention to the relic by placing it in a compartment with a transparent cover on the back of the hand of the reliquary. It is surrounded by decorative gilded work. The fingernails are clearly shown precluding any idea that the hand has been represented with liturgical gloves. It is as though the gilded decoration surrounding the enclosed relic is a wound that, in turn, recalls the medallions on liturgical gloves whilst at the same time denying that association.

Conclusion

When the bishop wore liturgical gloves, especially during Pontifical Mass, he ritually took on another identity, one that connected him to Christ, the apostles, and the Church and that worked both with and counter to the materiality of the gloves. Gloves linked those at the rank of bishop and above to the apostolic succession since the apostles were believed to have worn gloves. Their seamlessness connected the bishop with the unified Church. When considered in the context of clothing as a second skin or skin as clothing for the body, they formed a link to Christ who, through his incarnation, put on the appearance of sin in the form of flesh. Gloves could be understood as the flesh of Christ placed on the bishop. Yet, they had undergone a transformation so that they were not only the 'flesh' of another body but also that of a heavenly body to be contrasted with bodies in the sublunary sphere. Like other

liturgical gloves, those in the Whitworth bring together apparently contradictory messages. They are resolutely material items which functioned to call to mind the heavenly 'foreign'. The meanings attributed to them frequently strained the link between the physical glove and the message derived from it. Liturgical gloves, such as those in the Whitworth, can thus be viewed as part of an on-going dialogue about the relationship between the familiar and the foreign.

Images:

1. Knitted liturgical gloves, seventeenth century, Italy, seventeenth century, silk and silver wrapped silk yarn, 254 x 127 mm, Manchester, the Whitworth, T.8240. © the Whitworth, The University of Manchester.
[\[http://gallerysearch.ds.man.ac.uk/Detail/20537\]](http://gallerysearch.ds.man.ac.uk/Detail/20537)
2. Ladies' gloves, 1614-1624, England, leather with silk and silver gilt thread, 302 x 201 mm, Manchester, the Whitworth, T.8231. © the Whitworth, The University of Manchester. [\[http://gallerysearch.ds.man.ac.uk/Detail/18926\]](http://gallerysearch.ds.man.ac.uk/Detail/18926)
3. Knitted liturgical gloves, sixteenth century, Spain, silk with silver wrapped silk yarn London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 876&A-1897. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. [\[https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O129530/pair-of-gloves-unknown/ \]](https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O129530/pair-of-gloves-unknown/)
4. Knitted liturgical gloves, late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, Spain, silk and silver-gilt thread decorated with silver-gilt bobbin lace and plaited braid, London,

Victoria and Albert Museum, 437&A-1892. © Victoria and Albert Museum. London.

[<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O107792/pair-of-gloves-unknown/>]

5. Vesting of a bishop in a historiated initial T (detail) of William Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, early 14th century, London, British Library, Add. MS 31032, fol. 33v. © The British Library.

6. Image of the glove of the Virgin Mary kept at the monastery of St. Bertin in St. Omer, from Giovanni Battista Pacichelli, *Schediasma juridico-philologicum tripartitum* (Naples: ex officina Camilli Cavalli, 1693), inserted image between pp. 252 and 253, London, British Library, 604.b.11 © The British Library.

[[https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=6-](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=6-6MhPgLtuAC&pg=PP25&dq=Giovanni+Battista+Pacichelli+Schediasma+juridico-philologicum&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiUo7qix6_kAhWHEMAKHVg0CnMQ6AEIMDAB#v=onepage&q&f=false)

[6MhPgLtuAC&pg=PP25&dq=Giovanni+Battista+Pacichelli+Schediasma+juridico-philologicum&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiUo7qix6_kAhWHEMAKHVg0CnMQ6AEIMDAB#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=6-6MhPgLtuAC&pg=PP25&dq=Giovanni+Battista+Pacichelli+Schediasma+juridico-philologicum&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiUo7qix6_kAhWHEMAKHVg0CnMQ6AEIMDAB#v=onepage&q&f=false)]

I would like to thank all those who have commented on this article, particularly Anne Dunlop, Sarah Hamilton and the anonymous readers. I hope that I have done justice to their very helpful advice.

¹ Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones, 'Fetishizing the glove in Renaissance Europe', *Critical Inquiry*, 28:1 (2001), 114-132, at 126-29.

² Scott G. Bruce, *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism: The Cluniac Tradition, c. 900-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Robert Barakat,

Cistercian Sign Language: A Study in Non-verbal Communication (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1975).

³ Lois Bragg, 'Visual-kinetic communication in Europe before 1600: a survey of sign lexicons and finger alphabets prior to the rise of deaf education', *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education*, 2:1 (1997), 1-25, argues, at 2, that 'premodern visual-kinetic communication' should not be considered a language and defines the term 'language' as referring to 'natural communication systems that (1) have both a lexicon and a grammar, (2) are capable of expressing any thought on any subject, (3) are learned by at least some infants during the normal language-acquisition-threshold age, and (4) are living, growing, changing systems'. Thus, there is a distinction between artificial and natural communication systems.

⁴ B. M. Kienzle, 'Medieval sermons and their performance: performance and record', in Carolyn Muessig, ed., *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 89-124, at pp. 101-102.

⁵ Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (London: Batsford, 1984), p. 76.

⁶ Gerry Milligan, 'Literary Representations', in Elizabeth Currie, ed., *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in the Renaissance* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 175-92, at p. 190.

⁷ Stewart Gordon, 'A world of investiture', in Stewart Gordon, ed., *Robes and Honour: The Medieval World of Investiture* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 1-19, at p. 1; Stallybrass and Jones, 'Fetishizing the glove', 116-7.

⁸ On secular gloves see, in addition to the article by Stallybrass and Jones cited in endnote 1: Evelyn Welch, 'Art on the edge: hair and hands in Renaissance Italy', *Renaissance Studies*, 23:3 (2009), 114-32; Welch, 'Scented buttons and perfumed gloves: smelling things in Renaissance Italy', in Bella Mirabella (ed.), *The Art of Renaissance Accessories* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2011), pp. 13-39; Charles Victor Ganelin, 'A glove by any other name: a fetish in Lope de Vega's *El guante de doña Blanca*', in Barbara Simerka and

Amy R. Williamsen (eds), *Critical Reflections: Essays on Golden Age Spanish Literature in Honor of James A. Parr* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006), pp. 110-21. Liturgical gloves are included in a wider survey of gloves by Annemarieke Willemsen, *Van hand tot hand: hanschoenen en wanten in de Nederlanden voor 1700* (Zwolle: Spa Books, 2015).

Gloves as health aids are discussed by Elizabeth Currie, 'Health Hazards', in this volume.

⁹ Pauline Johnstone, *High Fashion in the Church: The Place of Church Vestments in the History of Art from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (Leeds: Maney, 2002), discusses gloves only briefly in the first chapter of her book, pp. 15-16. In the catalogue accompanying the 2016-17 *Opus Anglicanum* exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, gloves are again referred to only fleetingly in an explanation of vestments: Nigel Moran, 'Embroidered textiles in the service of the Church', in Clare Browne, Glyn Davies, and M. A. Michael (eds), *English Medieval Embroidery: Opus Anglicanum* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 25-41, at pp. 26, 35. The longest discussion of liturgical gloves almost certainly remains that of Joseph Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1907), pp. 359-84. Examples of extant liturgical gloves are discussed by Elizabeth Coatesworth and Gale Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past: Surviving Garments from Early Medieval to Early Modern Western Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 401-12. Their meaning is considered by Maureen C. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800-1200* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2017), p. 200.

¹⁰ Johnstone, *High Fashion in the Church*.

¹¹ Coatesworth and Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past*, pp. 120-121.

¹² On the elevation of the host, see Thomas M. Izbicki, *The Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 86-136.

¹³ Johnstone, *High Fashion*, p. 16.

¹⁴ The MFA in Boston, for example, has a strong collection of liturgical gloves. For two examples, see: <https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/ecclesiastical-glove-46525>, <https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/pair-of-knitted-ecclesiastical-gloves-46672> (accessed 9 May 2019).

¹⁵ As explicitly noted in the canons of the Council of Trent. See Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 694-5 (Session 13, 11 October 1551, ‘Decree on the most holy sacrament of the eucharist’, Chap. 3).

¹⁶ Miller, *Clothing the Clergy*, p. 200; Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, pp. 367-9, discusses instances where those who were not bishops were granted the use of liturgical gloves.

¹⁷ Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae, Supplement to the Third Part*, Q37, ‘The distinction of Orders, of their acts, and the imprinting of character’, Article 2: <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/5037.htm> (accessed 2 May 2019).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Q40 Article 4, reply to Objection 3: <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/5040.htm> (accessed 2 May 2019).

¹⁹ Laurence Hill Stookey, ‘The Gothic Cathedral as the Heavenly Jerusalem: Liturgical and Theological Sources’, *Gesta*, 8:1 (1969), 35-41; Ann Raftery Meyer, *Medieval Allegory and the Building of the New Jerusalem* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003).

²⁰ Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 82-83; Andrea Denny-Brown, ‘Old Habits Die Hard: Vestimentary Change in William Durandus’ *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 39:3 (2009), 545-70, at 547.

²¹ I would like to thank Uthra Rajgopal (Assistant Curator, Textiles and Wallpaper) and the staff at the Whitworth, for facilitating my study of these gloves. They have been generous

with both their time and expertise. The gloves were first catalogued in the mid-twentieth century, probably sometimes in the 1950s, but the date at which they entered the Whitworth is uncertain.

²² For a brief introduction to the history of liturgical colours, see Gilbert Cope, 'Liturgical Colours', *Studia Liturgica*, 7 (1970), 40-49. See the discussion of red clothing in Curry, 'Health Hazards', in this volume. Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress*, p. 76, states that the colours of liturgical gloves were linked to the position of the wearer, with white for the pope, scarlet for cardinals, and violet for bishops. Green was for those abbots who had permission to wear gloves.

²³ My thanks to Sarah Randles for discussing these gloves with me and suggesting that the colour on the thumb has degraded over time.

²⁴ Annemarieke Willemsen, 'Taking up the Glove: Finds, Uses and Meanings of Gloves, Mittens and Gauntlets in Western Europe, c. AD 1300-1700 – The Geoff Egan Memorial Lecture 2013', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 49:1 (2015), 1-36, at 6.

²⁵ There are 23 stitches and 20 rows per square inch in a sixteenth-century Spanish pair of liturgical gloves (437&A-1892) in the Victoria and Albert Museum: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O107792/pair-of-gloves-unknown/> (accessed 28 February 2019).

²⁶ Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, pp. 374-8, discussed the decoration of liturgical gloves. See also Coatesworth and Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past*, pp. 401-412.

²⁷ Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, pp. 376-7, noted that the form of the decoration of liturgical gloves has remained stable since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

²⁸ Willemsen, 'Taking up the Glove', 6. For a general overview of medieval gloves, see Maria Hayward, 'Gloves', in the *Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles (Brill's Medieval Reference Library Online)*:

https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-medieval-dress-and-textiles/gloves-SIM_000775?s.num=5 (accessed 2 May 2019).

²⁹ See, for example, some of the seventeenth-century gloves in the collection of the Worshipful Company of Glovers, currently housed in the Fashion Museum in Bath: <http://www.glovecollectioncatalogue.org/bydate.html> (accessed 30 April 2019).

³⁰ Welch, 'Art on the edge', 260.

³¹ On perfumed leather gloves, see Elizabeth Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity in Renaissance Florence* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp. 1, 18, 113; Welch, 'Scented buttons and perfumed gloves'.

³² Museum number 1507&A-1882: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O77423/pair-of-mittens-unknown/> (accessed 28 February 2019).

³³ Lise Warburg, *Knitted gloves from 17th century Copenhagen* (Danish Handcraft Guild, 1989).

³⁴ For a full explanation of nalbinding technique, see Ulrike Claßen-Büttner, *Nalbinding: What in the World is That? History and Technique of an almost forgotten Handicraft* (Norderstedt: BoD, 2015), pp. 11-18.

³⁵ Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past*, p. 390; Miller, *Clothing the Clergy*, p. 200.

³⁶ A. Caune and A. Zarina, 'Rīgas 13.–15. gs. vilnas cimdi', *Latvijas PSR Zinātņu Akadēmijas vēstis*, 1 (1980), 60–69. A summary of the article is given by Irene Turnau, 'Recent publications on the history of costume and textile handicraft in Eastern Europe', *Textile History*, 13:1 (1982), 131-6, at 134.

³⁷ Claßen-Büttner, *Nalbinding*, p. 48 (Catalogue M 19).

³⁸ Claßen-Büttner, *Nalbinding*, pp. 40, 42.

³⁹ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O107792/pair-of-gloves-unknown/> (accessed 28 February 2019).

⁴⁰ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O129530/pair-of-gloves-unknown/> (accessed 28 February 2019).

⁴¹ Audrey S. Henshall and Stuart Maxwell, 'Clothing and other articles from a late 17th-century grave at Gunnister, Shetland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 86 (1951-2), 30-42, at 35-6. The gauge is 3 stitches and 4.5 rows per centimetre. See: <http://costumehistorian.blogspot.com/2015/12/the-gunnister-man-project.html> (accessed 1 May 2019).

⁴² Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, p. 716 (Session 14, 25 November 1551, 'Decree on Reform', Canon 6).

⁴³ Charles Borromeo, *Instructionum fabricae ecclesiasticae et suppellectilis ecclesiasticae libri II*, eds, Stefano Della Torre and Massimo Marinelli (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2000).

⁴⁴ Borromeo, *Instructionum fabricae*, p. #. I have used the translation given by Evelyn Voelker: <http://evelynvoelker.com/PDF/Book-II-Final.pdf> (accessed 24 January 2019).

⁴⁵ See C.T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958); Leo F. Stelten, *A Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995).

⁴⁶ Richard Rutt, *A History of Hand Knitting* (London: Batsford, 1987), p. 4.

⁴⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae, Supplement to the Third Part*, Q40, 'The things annexed to the sacrament of Order', Article 7. I have used the transplant in the *New Advent Summa Theologiae*: <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/5040.htm> (accessed 2 May 2019).

⁴⁸ Guillelmus Durantus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, I-IV, ed. A. Davril and T. M. Thibodeau, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, CXL (Turnholt: Brepols, 1995),

p. 180. The most recent English translation is William Durand, *On the Clergy and their Vestments: A New Translation of Books 2-3 of the 'Rationale divinatorum officiorum'*, trans. and intro. T. M. Thibodeau (Chicago: University of Scranton Press, 2010), pp. 31-2.

⁴⁹ To be distinguished from mittens or two-fingered gloves which were most often worn by those of lower social standing. See Willemsen, 'Taking up the Glove', 4-11.

⁵⁰ Giovanni Pietro Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo* (Rome: Nella Stamperia della Camera Apostolica, 1610), p. 605 (Libro Ottavo, Cap. XX).

⁵¹ See the discussion in Cordelia Warr, 'Belief', in Elizabeth Currie, ed., *The Bloomsbury Cultural History of Dress and Fashion. Vol. 3, A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in the Renaissance, 1450-1650* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp. 75-94, at pp. 75-9.

⁵² Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae, Second Part of the Second Part*, Q169, Article 1, reply to objection 2: <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/3169.htm> (accessed 2 May 2019).

⁵³ Thomas M. Izbicki, 'Forbidden Colours in the Regulation of Clerical Dress from the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) to the Time of Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464)', *Medieval Dress and Textiles*, 1 (2005), 105-14, at 105.

⁵⁴ Craig A. Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55/1 (2002), 1-37, at 10.

⁵⁵ Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, p. 734.

⁵⁶ Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, pp. 380-2.

⁵⁷ Durantus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, I-IV, p. 180; Durand, *On the Clergy and their Vestments*, pp. 31-2.

⁵⁸ Borromeo, *Instructionum fabricae*, p. #. I have used the translation given by Evelyn Voelker: <http://evelynvoelker.com/PDF/Book-II-Final.pdf> (accessed 2 May 2019).

⁵⁹ Denny-Brown, 'Old Habits die Hard', 548-51.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 555.

⁶¹ Miller, *The Clothing of the Clergy*, p. 53.

⁶² *Pontificale Romanum. Editio Princeps (1595-1596)*, ed. and intro. Manlio Sodi and Achille Maria Triacca (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1997), pp. 75-117 (136-91).

Pages references are to the pages in the 1600 edition. Numbers in brackets refer to the sections identified by the editors of the 1997 anastatic edition.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-3 (182-5).

⁶⁴ John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 198.

⁶⁵ *Caeremoniale Episcoporum. Editio Princeps (1600)*, ed. and intro. Achille Maria Triacca and Manlio Sodi (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2000), pp. 156 (687), 37 (140), 168 (741), 185 (809). Pages references are to the pages in the 1600 edition. Numbers in brackets refer to the sections identified by the editors of the 2000 anastatic edition.

⁶⁶ See, for example a French fifteenth- or sixteenth-century falconry glove in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (accession no. 38.1136): <https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/falconers-glove-46784> (accessed 16 January 2019).

⁶⁷ Cynthia Hahn, 'The voices of the saints: speaking reliquaries', *Gesta*, 36:1 (1997), 20-31, at 23, 25.

⁶⁸ Hahn, 'The voices of the saints', 27.

⁶⁹ Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400-circa 1204* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), pp. 138-140.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁷¹ Peter Burke, 'The language of gesture in early modern Italy', in Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (eds), *A Cultural History of Gesture from Antiquity to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), pp. 71-83, at p. 76.

⁷² Giovanni Bonifacio, *L'arte dei cenni* (Vicenza: Francesco Grossi, 1616), pp. 272-327 deals with the hands and includes brief sections on, for example, the sign of the cross and blessing.

⁷³ Bonifacio, *L'arte dei cenni*, p. 275.

⁷⁴ Bonifacio, *L'arte dei cenni*, pp. 278-80.

⁷⁵ Giovanni Battista Pacichelli, *Chirologia, sive De varia, ac multiplici manus administratione* (Cologne: typis Wilhelmi Friessem, 1673), pp. 31-8.

⁷⁶ See, for example, the opinion of John Marbeck ('Some foolishly imagine that praier is made either better or worse by the gesture of our bodyes'), quoted in Keith Thomas, 'Introduction', in Bremmer and Roodenburg, *A Cultural History of Gesture*, pp. 1-14, at p. 6.

⁷⁷ Quoted in Hahn, *Strange Beauty*, p. 140.

⁷⁸ Giovanni Battista Pacichelli, *Schediasma juridico-philologicum tripartitum* (Naples: ex officina Camilli Cavalli, 1693).

⁷⁹ A brief discussion of this work is given in Willemsen, 'Taking up the glove', 1-2.

⁸⁰ Pacichelli, *Schediasma*, p. 299: 'Chirothecarum usus ab Apostolis est traditus.' In the *Patrologia Latina* 172, col. 609, the sentence is given as 'Chirothecarum usus ab epistolis est traditus' with 'episcopis' being suggested in place of 'epistolis'.

⁸¹ There are a number of other examples where printed images followed the exact measurements of what were believed the clothes belonging to the Virgin Mary. See, for example: Michael Bury, 'The measure of the Virgin's foot', in Debra Higgs Strickland (ed.), *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in Honour of Gary Dickson* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 121-34.

⁸² Durantus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, I-IV, pp. 207-8; Durand, *On the Clergy and their Vestments*, pp. 185-6.

⁸³ Miller, *Clothing the Clergy*, p. 53.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, *Clothing the Clergy*, pp. 59, 63.

⁸⁶ John J. Ryan, 'Pseudo-Alcuin's *Liber de divinis officiis* and the *Liber 'Dominus vobiscum'* of Saint Peter Damian', *Medieval Studies*, 14 (1952), 159-63, at 159.

⁸⁷ Bruno of Segni, *Tractatus de sacramentis ecclesiae*, in *Patrologia Latina* 165, cols 1089-1110, at 1108: 'ut castae sint, mundaе sint, et ab omni sorditate immunes et nitidae sint'.

⁸⁸ Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past*, pp. 390, 400-404, 406-407.

⁸⁹ T. M. Thibodeau, 'Enigmata Figurarum: Biblical Exegesis and Liturgical Exposition in Durand's "Rationale"', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 86:1 (1993), 65-79.

⁹⁰ Durantus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, I-IV, pp. 207-8; Durand, *On the Clergy and their Vestments*, pp. 185-6.

⁹¹ Durantus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, I-IV, pp. 207-8; Durand, *On the Clergy and their Vestments*, pp. 185-6.

⁹² Cyprian, *De Lapsis, and: De Ecclesiae Catholicae Unitate*, ed. and trans. Maurice Bévenot, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 69 (chapter. 7).

⁹³ Innocent II, 'De sacro altaris mysterio libri VI', in *Mysteriorum Evangelicae Legis et Sacramentae Eucharistiae libri sex* (Amiens: Ambianensis Typographus, 1860), p. 61 (lib. 1, cap. XLI).

⁹⁴ Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, p. 370, says that between the twelfth and the sixteenth century some liturgical gloves were made of stitched fabric.

⁹⁵ Durantus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, I-IV, pp. 207-8; Durand, *On the Clergy and their Vestments*, pp. 185-6.

⁹⁶ *Pontificale Romanum. Editio Princeps*, pp. 112-3 (182-5): 'Circumda, Domine, manus huius ministri tui munditia novi hominis, qui de caelo descendit, ut quemadmodum Iacob dilectus tuus, pelliculis haedorum opertis minibus, paternam benedictionem, oblata patri cibo, potuque gratissimo, impetravit, sic & iste, oblata per manus suas hostia sulutari, gratiae tuae

benedictionem impetrare mereatur.’ I have used the translation in James Monti, *A Sense of the Sacred: Roman Catholic Worship in the Middle Ages* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2012), p. #

⁹⁷ Anko Ypenga, ‘Innocent III’s *De missarum mysteriis* reconsidered: a case study on the allegorical interpretation of liturgy’, in Andrea Sommerlechner, ed., *Innocenzo II: urbs et orbis* (Rome: Società Romana di storia patria/Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2003), pp. 323-39, at p. 326.

⁹⁸ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae, Third Part*, Q83, ‘The rite of this sacrament’, Article 1, reply to Objection 3: <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/5040.htm> (accessed 2 May 2019).

⁹⁹ Hahn, ‘The voices of the saints’, 27.