



II/MMXI

CAEREMONIALE
ROMANVM

BVLLETIN



The Study

History and meaning of the papal ceremonial in the history of the liturgy (by Bartłomiej K. Krzych):

'You are surely well aware that this Apostolic See has always made careful provision for the schooling of the people committed to its charge in the correct spirit and practice of the liturgy; and that it has been no less careful to insist that the sacred rites should be performed with due external dignity.' The words spoken by Pius XII in *Mediator Dei*¹ encyclical demonstrate that the endeavours of successive popes, and effectively the Holy See, to unify the liturgical rites, were not purposeless. They were to raise the spirits and hearts of the faithful to cherish God more, and sensitise them to the extraordinary mysteries entrusted us by Christ in the liturgy. The papal ceremonials composed especially for the Roman Curia and the Papal Court stand out in the history of liturgical books for the preparation and celebration of the sacred rites. This subject is somewhat alien to extensive liturgical writings on the development of liturgical books (especially in Poland)², so we shall endeavour to present it appropriately.

I. Definition

The Polish language dictionary defines the ceremonial as *obligatory general directives and forms for the ceremony*³. In the language of the Church, it is a book describing the course of liturgical ceremonies, functions and service rendered by individuals during the celebrated rites, their vestments, postures and gestures. It also prescribes the order of liturgical events, such as – in papal ceremonials – the papal coronation and election,

¹ Quote: J. Wierusz – Kowalski (transl.), *Ojca Świętego Piusa XII, z Boskiej Opatrzności Papieża Encyklika o Liturgii (Mediator Dei) of 20 November 1957*, Kielce 1948, p. 30.

² In the past decades, there appeared studies about books published for the use by the Roman Curia, but nothing more extensive dedicated to the papal ceremonial. Some information may be found in various general studies, dictionaries or encyclopaedias. Worth noting is the study by B. Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kirche im Mittelalter*, Tübingen 1973, where he compiled and described the medieval papal ceremonial.

³ <http://sjp.pwn/szukaj/ceremonia%C5%82>, [available online: 21 July 2010].



or cardinal creation. The ceremonial is not used directly in the liturgy, and is an auxiliary instrument in its preparation. It contains neither prayers nor hymns sung during the celebration, which is a profound difference between the so-called *ordinarium*⁴ and *directorium (guide)*⁵.

The Catholic Encyclopaedia of 1874 defines the ceremonial as follows: *the book of sacred rites celebrated in cathedrals and collegiate churches, mainly by bishops and their clergy*⁶. In a strict sense, the ceremonial is the most precise work among other liturgical books when it comes to the description of rites and customs of a given community throughout the liturgical year⁷.

II. History

Like the history of all liturgical books, the history of ceremonials is essential for the studies on the development of the liturgy, and in the case of papal ceremonials, it can sometimes be quite peculiar. A. G. Martimort⁸ identifies the following stages of papal ceremonial development: a) the 12th century beginnings, b) the 13th century development, c) changes that occurred when the papal court moved to Avignon in the 14th century, d) ceremonials during the Great Schism, e) Early Renaissance breakthrough⁹. Nonetheless, we shall confine ourselves to a simpler division, with the first ever published papal ceremonial being the focus.

a) Genesis, beginnings and development – 7th to 15th centuries

The oldest claimed Roman Ceremonial is *Ordo Romanus I*¹⁰, detailing the solemn Easter Papal Mass that dates back to the second half of the 7th

⁴ The book gives a detailed description of the celebration throughout the liturgical year, see B. Nadolski, *Ordinarium*, [in:] *idem, Leksykon liturgii*, Poznań 2006, p. 1109.

⁵ The book dealing in the daily monastic life, also the liturgy, see *idem, Zwyczajnik (Directorium)*, [in:] *idem, Leksykon...*, p. 1741.

⁶ *Encyklopedia Kościelna*, vol. 3, Warsaw 1874, p. 198.

⁷ Cf. C. Folsom, *The Liturgical Books of the Roman Rite*, [in:] A. J. Chupungco, *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, vol. 1, Collegeville 1997, p. 295.

⁸ A. G. Martimort, *Les ordines, les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux*, Turnhout 1991, p. 96 – 102.

⁹ Cf. A. J. Chupungco, *Handbook...*, vol. 5, p. 296.

¹⁰ T. Sinka, *Zarys liturgiki*, Kraków 2006, p. 65.



century. Then came other *Ordines Romani*, containing liturgies celebrated by the Pope, bishops, liturgical readings and sacramental rites¹¹. Besides the first *Ordo Romanus* the most interesting is the 13th century *Ordo papalis per annum liturgicum* published e.g. by J. Mabillon¹², also called *Caeremoniale Romanum editum jussu Gregorii X*¹³ - this and other *Ordines Romani* laid a foundation for compiling papal ceremonials throughout centuries¹⁴.

The mentioned *Ordo papalis* was preceded by a ceremonial that originated in the second half of the 12th century, which was brought about by a reform of the Roman Curia¹⁵. It advanced and supplemented the earlier *Ordines Romani*, and expanded the description of the papal court ceremonies of the Roman Pontifical. The book, published by Pope Innocent III (1198 – 1216) was titled *Ordinarium*. Such names, besides *Ordo*, were given to ceremonials published in the papal surroundings up to the 15th century.

One of the first *Ordines Romani*, which could be claimed the first proper papal ceremonial then published and meant for the papal liturgy, was the *Ordo Romanus* numbered 13 by J. Mabillon in his *Museum italicum*¹⁶ (called *Roman Ceremonial of Pope Gregory X*). It was published by order of Pope Gregory X (1271 – 1276) probably in 1273 during the Council of Lyon. The *Ordo* described the ceremony of papal election and instalment, and orders concerning the papal Mass and various liturgical celebrations throughout the liturgical year¹⁷.

¹¹ An extensive study concerning *Ordines Romani* is found in: J. W. Boguniowski, *Rozwój historyczny ksiąg liturgii rzymskiej do Soboru Trydenckiego i ich recepcja w Polsce*, Kraków 2001, p. 146 – 150.

¹² J. Mabillon, *Museum italicum*, vol. 1 - 2, Paris 1687 – 1689. The monk published in his work 15 *Ordines* from 9th to 15th centuries, see B. Nadolski, *Ordo, Ordines Romani*, [in:] *idem, Leksykon...*, p. 1118.

¹³ Such type of books also include three other *Ordines*, published by J. Kösters: *Qualiter, post ordinationem, cardinales vadunt ad ecclesias suas, Ordo qualiter eligatur summus Pontifex p. Romanae Ecclesiae et quomodo consecretur et ad summum honorem venire debeat, Ordo cerimoniarum servandarum in coronatione summi Pontificis*. The first two are found in the manuscript of Ottoboni no. 3057 from 12th century, the third is in the 15th century manuscript at the Seminary of Eichstätt, cf. J. W. Boguniowski, *Rozwój...*, p. 261.

¹⁴ Cf. vol. Sinka, *Zarys...*, p. 49.

¹⁵ The ceremonial laid a foundation for later *Caeremoniale Romanum* of 1516.

¹⁶ See note no. 12.

¹⁷ Cf. *Proemium*, [in:] *Caeremoniale episcoporum*, Città del Vaticano 2008, p. 7.



Some years later, *Ordinarium Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae*¹⁸ written by cardinal J. G. Stefaneschi (1270 – 1343)¹⁹ appeared. It was prepared between 1314 and 1320, and is deemed published in 1341. The book describes the rites of papal election and coronation, conciliar liturgy and canonisation *ordo* as well as imperial and royal coronation. During the reign of Benedict XII (1334 – 1342) and Clement VI (1342 – 1352), and Urban V (1362 – 1370), *Ordinarium* was expanded with e.g. description of papal demise ceremonies²⁰.

Besides Stefaneschi, the first papal ceremonials were written by P. Ameli († 1401) – who published *Caeremoniale romanum pontificium*, which, along with the above ceremonials, laid a foundation for the *Liber caeremoniarum Romanae Curiae* of the early 15th century. The *book of ceremonies* contained e.g. the *ordo* of papal consecration and coronation, imperial and royal coronation, cardinal creation or *Ordo Missae* and *ordo* of Canonical Hours, and other ceremonies celebrated throughout the liturgical year. This was a foundation of another ceremonial written by Piccolomini²¹. Ameli's ceremonial, published during the reign of Urban VI (1378 – 1389), was supplemented under the pontificate of Martin V (1417 – 1431) by P. Assalbit by adding the *appendix*. It was named *Liber Caeremoniarum Sacrae Romanae Ecclesiae*. The book served the Roman Curia, alongside the handwritten Avignon ceremonials until the new ceremonial of A. P. Piccolomini²² appeared.

b) Breakthrough and stabilisation – 15th to 19th centuries

The second half of the 15th century saw very important papal ceremonials: the first, compiled by Petrus of Burgos titled *Caeremoniale*

¹⁸ See H. Schmidinger, *Jacobus Gaetani Stefaneschi*, [in:] *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ed. J. Höfer, K. Rahner, vol. 5, Freiburg 1960, p. 874 - 887, cf. J. W. Boguniowski, *Rozwój...*, p. 158.

¹⁹ His name is written in various ways: Jacobus Gaetani, Gaytani Stefaneschi, Jacopo or Jacopone Gaetani or lastly Gaietani, see B. Nadolski, *Ceremonial*, [in:] *idem, Leksykon...*, p. 225.

²⁰ Cf. *Proemium*, [in:] *Caeremoniale...*, p. 7 – 8.

²¹ F. Wasner, *Caeremoniale Romanum*, [in:] *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche ...*, vol. 2, Freiburg 1958, p. 940; M. Piszczak, *Ceremonial*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 3, Lublin 1979, p. 8, cf. J. W. Boguniowski, *Rozwój...*, p. 158.

²² Cf. *Proemium*, [in:] *Caeremoniale...*, p. 8.



Romanum, was published in 1455 under the reign of Pope Nicolaus V (1447 - 1455). Another ceremonial, as it turned out later, was a breakthrough. It was named *De caeremoniis Curiae Romanae libri tres* – and came to light in 1488, and was compiled by A. P. Piccolomini (later the bishop of Pienza in Tuscany), in cooperation with G. Burchard²³ and P. de Crassis. The book was commissioned by Pope Innocent VIII (1484 – 1492). The same ceremonial (commissioned by Pope Leo X) was written and published in Venice in 1516 and titled *Rituum ecclesiasticorum sive sacrarum caeremoniarum S. S. Romanae Ecclesiae libri tres non ante impressi*, C. Marcello²⁴. Strictly speaking, this had been the first generally accessible papal ceremonial (earlier versions were for the exclusive use of the Roman Curia). This gave rise to controversies, all the more that the book was not a literal copy of the Piccolomini's work, and contained a multitude of mistakes. P. de Crassis, the then prefect of papal masters of ceremonies²⁵, reported his objections to Pope Leo X. In his memorial, he requested that the Pope burn the whole edition, or finally remove all erroneous information²⁶. Heedless of the request, the Pope approved the ceremonial and declared it obligatory for his court. The decision appeared to be extremely important for the unification of later papal ceremonies²⁷.

A little earlier, before publishing of the ceremonial, C. Marcello (MC of Pope Julius II, reigning 1503 – 1513), P. de Crassis delivered a book for the use of the Roman Curia, which became a basis for the 1564 two-volume published work describing the liturgical ceremonies under the leadership of cardinals and bishops²⁸.

It is rarely mentioned that two years before (19 March 1586), Sixtus V (1585 – 1590), who on 22 January 1588 established the Sacred Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, ordered that the codes from the Vatican Library be dusted off, elaborated and published as a new ceremonial²⁹.

²³ Some writers also write the name of this papal MC as: Burckard, Burckhard or Burchardo.

²⁴ Because of the meaning of the book, the appendices include three drawings placed in the primary (1516) edition of the book and photographs of the title pages, see app. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

²⁵ Almost always, it was clear for papal MCs that the exposing of sacred texts to "human profanation", such as papal rites, was a sacrilege, see A. J. Nowowiejski, *Wykład liturgji Kościoła katolickiego*, vol. 3, Warsaw 1905, p. 146.

²⁶ He wrote e.g. *Librum caeremoniarum nuper impressum omnio comburi simul cum falso auctore, aut saltem ipsum auctorem corrigi et castigari*, see A. J. Nowowiejski, *Wykład...*, p. 146, note 2.

²⁷ Cf. *ibid.*

²⁸ Cf. *Proemium*, [in:] *Caeremoniale...*, p. 8.

²⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 9.



The ceremonial published by C. Marcello in 1516 lived to two necessary and inevitable³⁰ reappearances in 1560 and 1582³¹. Both were already published in Rome. Other important edition appeared as late as in the 18th century. It was written by G. Catalani between 1750 and 1751. The work titled *Sacrarum Caeremoniarum sive rituum ecclesiasticorum S. R. Ecclesiae libri tres*³² was in universal use at the papal court until end of the 1960s.³³ Reprints and comments to the ceremonial emerged in the 19th century, during the reign of Pius XI³⁴. Please note his words spoken in the Apostolic Constitution *Divini Cultus* of 1928, published on the 50th anniversary of his priestly ordination (20 December): *the Roman Pontiffs have been so solicitous to safeguard and protect the Liturgy. They have used the same care in making laws for the regulation of the Liturgy, in preserving it from adulteration, as they have in giving accurate expression to the dogmas of the faith*³⁵.

The Supreme Pontiff Benedict XIV (1740 – 1758), by publishing on 25 March 1742 a new edition of *Caeremoniale episcoporum*, added book III, containing matter necessary for the use across the Papal States³⁶.

In 1886, during the reign of Leo XIII (1878 – 1903), another edition of the liturgical ceremonial for bishops was published, which preserved the whole book added by Benedict XIV, even if the Papal States ceased to exist, and their territory was then reduced to the Vatican borders³⁷.

c) Modern times – 20th and 21st centuries

It looks like Pius XII was the first Pope, who, by publishing an encyclical on the sacred liturgy *Mediator Dei* in 1947³⁸, made a valuable contribution to the discussion and development of papal liturgical

³⁰ Because of controversies caused by its publishing, see above.

³¹ Cf. J. W. Boguniowski, *Rozwój...*, p. 158.

³² See *Giuseppe Catalani*, [in:] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03427b.htm>, [available online: 22 July 2010].

³³ Cf. B. Nadolski, *Ceremonial*, [in:] *idem, Leksykon...*, p. 225.

³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*

³⁵ Quote from: M. R. od Chrystusa, *Liturgia a sztuka*, Warsaw 2002, p. 191.

³⁶ Cf. *Proemium*, [in:] *Caeremoniale...*, p. 9.

³⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁸ *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XXXIX (1947), p. 521 - 600.



ceremonies written down in the papal ceremonial, and spoke officially about the liturgical movement. The Pontiff often quoted and made references to the papal ceremonial in his documents, calling it *Caeremoniale Romanum*³⁹. The Apostolic Constitution *Vacantis Apostolicae Sedis* of 1945⁴⁰ may be an example, with Chapter 7 Article 103 reading: *Deinde, actis de more agendis, iuxta Caeremoniale Romanum, Cardinales primato "adorationem" Summo Pontifici Electo de more exhibent: qua expleta et hymno Te Deum decantato, populo expectanti novus Romanus Pontifex a Priore Cardinalium Diaconorum publicatur pauloque post ipse Pontifex Apostolicam Benedictionem Urbi et Orbi impertit. Sequitur deinde secunda "adoratio," quam, cappis violaceis induti, Cardinales peragunt*⁴¹. The references to the book appear in notes 49, 52, 53 and 55⁴². Under the reign of Pius XII, the Roman Ceremonial reappeared⁴³. The discussion over the shape of papal ceremonies moved to the Second Vatican Council, when some kind of the Papal Chapel reform plan was elaborated⁴⁴. It was prepared by P. Jounel and A. G. Martimort. The Secretariat of State sent it to *Consilium*⁴⁵ on 13 February 1965 (a few months before the Council ended). The work lead up to the creation of study group 39 of the *Consilium (de ritibus Cappellae papalis)*⁴⁶, which designed a general reform plan in the study entitled General Guidelines for a Revision of the Rites of the Papal Chapel. The effect of the work done by groups 39 and 25 responsible for Mass singing, was *Missae in quarta periodo Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani II celebrandae*⁴⁷ prepared for the final session of the Council (14 September 1965). The work and later studies on e.g. papal funeral or election, were appended to *Caeremoniale Romanum*⁴⁸.

³⁹ Cf. B. Nadolski, *Ceremonial*, [in:] *idem, Leksykon...*, p. 225.

⁴⁰ *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XXXVIII (1946), p. 65 – 99.

⁴¹ Quote: *ibid*, see <http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/vacantis.htm>, [available online: 22 July 2010].

⁴² See *ibid*.

⁴³ Cf. B. Nadolski, *Ceremonial*, [in:] *idem, Leksykon...*, p. 225.

⁴⁴ Cf. A. Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy 1948 – 1975*, Collegeville 1990, p. 805 – 817. I rely on this work further in this section.

⁴⁵ One of commissions working before and during *Vaticanum II*, dedicated to the liturgical reform, headed by Annibale Bugnini.

⁴⁶ The commission was working under A. Bugnini. Please note that the deliverables were communicated directly to the Pope, but not to the *Consilium*.

⁴⁷ Vatican Polyglot Press, 1965, p. 119. The *Ordo* contained introduction, the rite of celebration, calendar and Mass formularies.

⁴⁸ Cf. B. Nadolski, *Ceremonial*, [in:] *idem, Leksykon...*, p. 225.



Other documents resting in the archives of the Papal Office of Liturgical Celebrations are no less important. These are e.g. diaries of E. card. Dante, MC serving several successive popes of the 20th century (Pius XII to Paul VI), e.g. *Diario del Conclave di Giovanni XXIII*⁴⁹ and, albeit *sensu stricto* they are not ceremonials and as such had never been appended to them, they may be another vital source of knowledge of papal ceremonies.

After the Second Vatican Council, no papal ceremonial has been published⁵⁰. Special books or formularies were prepared for each occasion, such as conclave, but these were separate publications (inaccessible to wider public)⁵¹ – such as 123-page *Ordo Rituum Conclavis* of 1978, published for the conclave that elected Pope John Paul II. Only the Office of Papal Liturgical Ceremonies, formed by archbishop Piero Marini, wrote and published liturgical books, being today some kind of ceremonials⁵² describing rites for special events in the life of the Holy See⁵³. In addition, for each liturgy offered by the Pontiff himself, the Office of Papal Liturgical Ceremonies designs special brochures⁵⁴.

III. Meaning

As already mentioned, the publication of the papal ceremonial in 1516, albeit an object of some controversies, resulted in unification of

⁴⁹ See p. M. Maggiani, *Dall'Ordo ad coronandum Summum Pontificem Romanum all'Ordo Rituum pro Ministerii Petrini initio Romae Episcopi*, [in:] Ufficio delle Celebrazioni Liturgiche del Sommo Pontefice, *Inizio del Ministero Petrino del Vescovo di Roma Benedetto XVI*, Città del Vaticano 2006, p. 150.

⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the *Caeremoniale episcoporum* published as *reimpressio emendate* published in 2008 contains information that the ceremonial originally published by C. Marcello, then repeatedly supplemented until 20th century, is now used in the preparation of the papal liturgies. Page 8 of *Proemium* reads: *nostris quoque diebus, in caeremoniis Romani Pontificis usui remansit*.

⁵¹ Cf. J. Stefański, *Tu es Petrus*, 2010, p. 110, note 49. Published as e-book: <http://www.caeremonialeromanum.com/p/publications.html>, [available online: 22 July 2010].

⁵² These are: *Ordo exsequiarum Romani Pontificis*, E Civitate Vaticana 2000, pp. 438; *Ordo rituum conclavis*, E Civitate Vaticana 2000, pp. 344; *Ordo rituum pro ministerii petrini initio Romae episcopi*, E Civitate Vaticana 2005, pp. 228.

⁵³ Meaningful and unprecedented fact that the for the first time ever the books have become available from the Vatican bookshop for laity.

⁵⁴ Available from the website of the Office of Papal Liturgical Celebrations: http://www.vatican.va/news_services/liturgy/calendar/ns_liturgy_calendar_en.html, [available online: 22 July 2010].



pontifical services not only in Rome but in the whole Catholic world⁵⁵. Like other ancient liturgical books, this is a precious source of information about the development of the papal liturgy.

The ceremonial, detailing a multitude of liturgical issues, is of key practical significance, in particular for the adequate preparation of each liturgical ceremony. This very book, especially at the papal court where until today the liturgy has been offered in the utmost dignified manner, is of major liturgical and pastoral significance⁵⁶.

Some of the ancient papal ceremonials (especially from the 16th century) may also be a source for interpretation of various iconographic presentations or description of the liturgy and customs of the Papal Court, such as the work of R. K. Rasmussen, wherein the writer described Mass offered in the Sistine Chapel in the presence of Pope Gregory XIII (1572 – 1585)⁵⁷.

The ceremonials, especially those dedicated to the liturgy offered by the Bishop of Rome, should also be a mandatory reading for all episcopal or even papal MCs, and all liturgy enthusiasts – as these may play a didactic role, teaching respect for past generations, for whom solemn celebration was not of minor significance.

To recapitulate, let us re-quote the words once spoken by Pius XII in his encyclical on the liturgy, where he instructed us to study the liturgy more carefully and seriously, and strengthen supernatural spirit in life, following St Paul Apostle: *Do not quench the Spirit* (1Tes 5, 19) – the goal

⁵⁵ *Rituum ecclesiasticorum sive sacrarum ceremoniarum p. S. Romanae Ecclesiae libri tres non ante impressi* published in Venice in 1516 by C. Marcello as ordered by Leo X (see above), became a model for episcopal ceremonials published worldwide. One of the very first editions of the episcopal ceremonial appeared as early as in 1600, through the endeavours of Pope Clement VIII: *Caeremoniale episcoporum iussu Clementis VIII novissime reformatum, omnibus ecclesiis, praecipue autem metropolitanis, cathedralibus et collegiatis per utile ac necessarium*. The ceremonial was repeatedly reprinted. A new postconciliar version of *Caeremoniale episcoporum* appeared in 1984, see B. Nadolski, *Ceremonial*, [in:] *idem, Leksykon...*, p. 225; A. J. Nowowiejski, *Wykład liturgji Kościoła katolickiego*, vol. 3, Warsaw 1905, p. 146 – 149.

⁵⁶ Cf. B. K. Krzych, *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, <http://www.nowyruchliturgiczny.pl/2009/06/z-kart-historii-caeremoniale.html>, [available online: 22 July 2010].

⁵⁷ R. K. Rasmussen, *Maiestas pontificia. A Liturgical Reading of Etienne Duperac's Engraving of the Capella Sistina from 1578*, [in:] *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, 12 (1983), p. 109 – 148. Cf. B. Nadolski, *Ceremonial*, [in:] *idem, Leksykon...*, p. 225.



is attainable through digging in the history of the liturgical books, in our case, papal ceremonials. Pius XII also reminded us to experience everything and retain the good, as once admonished by the Apostle to the Gentiles, (see 1Tes 5, 21)⁵⁸, *that during our earthly exile we may with one mind and one heart participate in the sacred liturgy which is, as it were, a preparation and a token of that heavenly liturgy in which we hope one day to sing together with the most glorious Mother of God and our most loving Mother, "To Him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb, benediction and honour, and glory and power forever and ever" (Ap 5, 13)*⁵⁹.

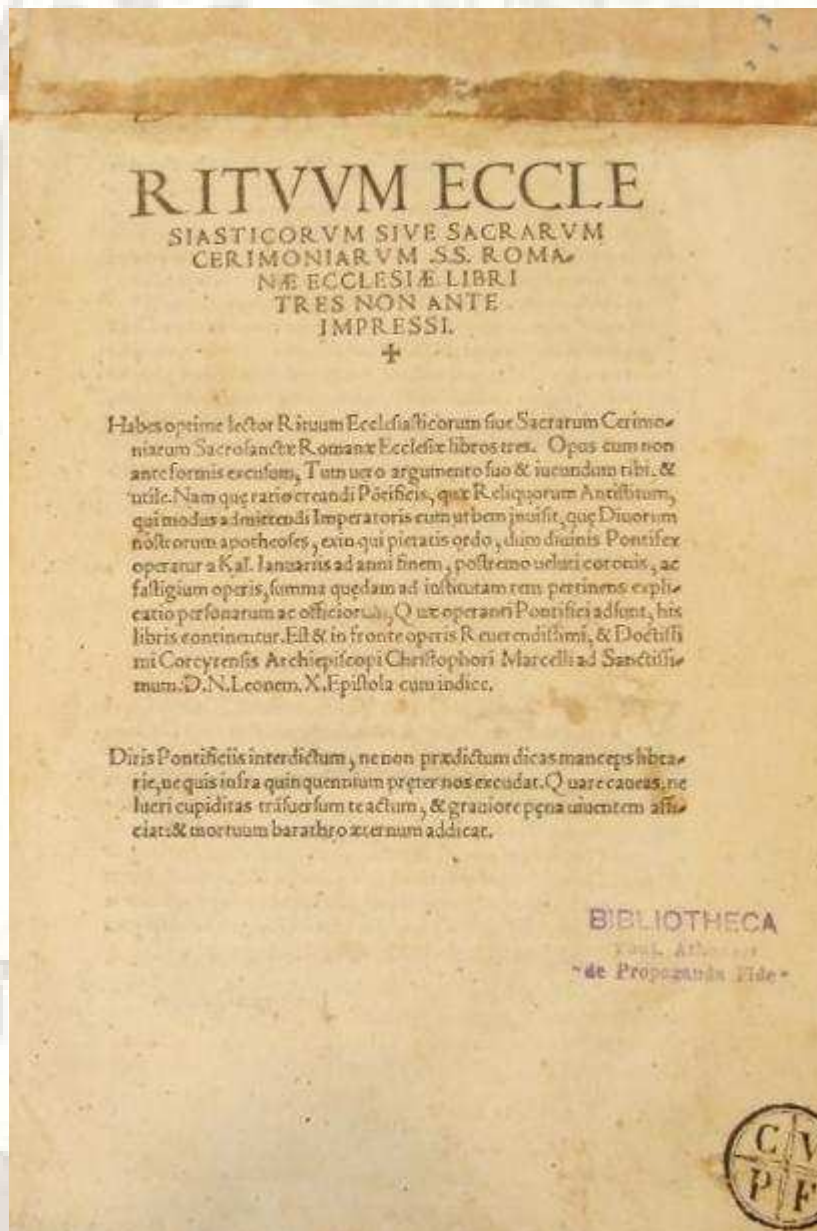
⁵⁸ Cf. J. Wierusz – Kowalski (transl.), *Ojca Świętego Piusa XII...*, p. 105.

⁵⁹ Quote: *ibid*, p. 105 – 106.



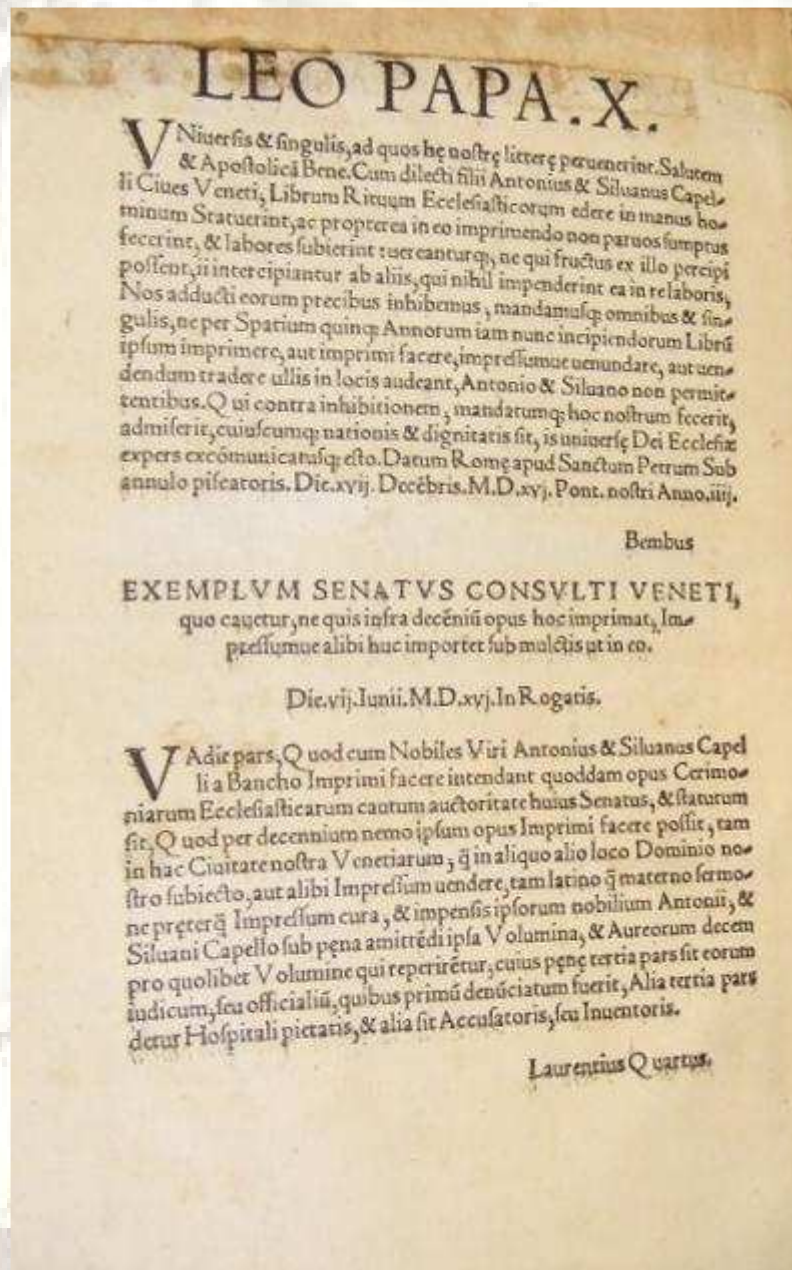
IV. Appendices

1. The title page of *Rituum ecclesiasticorum sive sacrarum ceremoniarum S. S. Romanae Ecclesiae libri tres non ante impressi* published in Venice in 1516 by C. Marcello [photo from private collection].





2. *Verso of the title page of Rituum ecclesiasticorum sive sacrarum ceremoniarum S. S. Romanae Ecclesiae libri tres non ante impressi* published in Venice in 1516 by C. Marcello [phot. private collection].





3. Drawing from *Rituum ecclesiasticorum sive sacrarum ceremoniarum S. S. Romanae Ecclesiae libri tres non ante impressi - Liber primus. De loco Conclavis primum deligendo* (s. 1) published in Venice in 1516 by C. Marcello [phot. private collection].



4. Drawing from *Rituum ecclesiasticorum sive sacrarum ceremoniarum S. S. Romanae Ecclesiae libri tres non ante impressi - Liber secundus. De prima Dominica Adventus Domini* (s. 69) published in Venice in 1516 by C. Marcello [phot. private collection].





5. Drawing from *Rituum ecclesiasticorum sive sacrarum ceremoniarum S. S. Romanae Ecclesiae libri tres non ante impressi - Liber tertius. De reverentiis et primo de reverentia altaris* (s. 120) published in Venice in 1516 by C. Marcello [phot. private collection].

