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Rev. Charles Lett Feltoe

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LEONIANUM.

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SACRAMENTARIUM LEONIANUM

*EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND
THREE PHOTOGRAPHS,*

BY THE

REV. CHARLES LETT FELTOE, B.D.

RECTOR OF FORNHAM ALL SAINTS' AND WESTLEY,
AND LATE FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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1896

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UXORI

AMANTISSIMAE

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PREFACE.

LITTLE is needed by way of preface to this edition of the "Leonian" Sacramentary. A tiro in liturgical lore, I was led to undertake the work in the course of publishing a selection of the Sermons and Letters of its once-reputed author, Leo Magnus, in Dr Schaff's Library of Post-Nicene Fathers (Vol. XII.). The text has, I believe, never been published in England and I thought there was room for a handier and cheaper edition than Bianchini's and for one more accurate as well as cheaper than any of the more recent editions. My first ambition was to bring out my volume as a companion to Mr Wilson's "Gelasian" Sacramentary which came out two years since: *proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo*. But the Clarendon Press declined my overtures and I was fain to have recourse to my own Alma Mater, whom perhaps I should never have tried to forsake. I am greatly indebted to the Syndics of the University Press for undertaking the whole expense of the publication and to the printers themselves for the pains they have taken and the help they have given me. In spite of defects, if the work should be only in part as useful to students as I hope it may be, a large share of gratitude will be due to Professors Swete and Robinson, Canon F. E. Warren, Rev. H. A. Wilson and Mr F. C. Burkitt, each of whom has constantly given me the benefit of his advice and learning, when applied to. My thanks are due to the Chapter at Verona for giving me free access to their Library, as well as to their

F.

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PREFACE.

Vice-Librarian, of whom I have spoken in the Introduction. I am also under obligations to Sir Edward Maunde Thompson for dating the MS. and to M. l'Abbé Duchesne for twice answering my inquiries on smaller points.

In the text itself, I have to some extent followed the peculiarities of spelling of the MS. and have usually indicated at the bottom of the page where another spelling has been adopted. A certain number of the abbreviations to be found in the original are also introduced: this was chiefly for brevity's sake, nor can any difficulty be caused thereby to any one likely to use the book. I have not paid much attention to the stops employed in the MS. But one kind is, I think, there to be found (*viz.* the point) and that rarely and irregularly, and more frequently perhaps for marking alternative readings than for the purpose of punctuation. Where points are used by the scribe to mark such readings, the fact is recorded in the footnotes. I have myself introduced into the text only such stops as seemed necessary to the sense. It will be seen therefore that the present edition does not offer an exact reproduction of the text, as it is written in the MS. But, as the notes will show, I have corrected some of the mistakes of former editions and have also been at some pains to gather together information of various kinds, which I trust will be of use for the illustration of the subject.

CHARLES LETT FELTOE.

FORNHAM ALL SAINTS',

Michaelmas, 1896.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE “Leonine” Sacramentary¹ was, as is well known, discovered in the Chapter library at Verona by Joseph Bianchini and first published by him in the 4th volume of his uncle Francis Bianchini’s edition of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (1735). It still remains among the treasures of the same library bound in white parchment uniformly with the rest of the Bianchini MSS. and books. It is only a fragment, but originally consisted of 20 gatherings (each containing 8 leaves) and 3 additional leaves at the end. Of these the first three gatherings are missing and the MS. begins towards the middle of Missa vi for April. Each leaf is about 9½ in. high by 8¾ in. wide. The first remaining page is rather soiled and the writing is very indistinct: in the left-hand top corner is a thick red cross about 1 in. high by 1 in. broad followed by a short thick line about ¼ in. long. The third specimen photograph shows the state of the last page but one, where the sacramentary proper suddenly breaks off: the writing on the last page of all, which is probably by the same hand as the latter part of the last page but one, is, if anything, more indistinct than that on the first. The document is otherwise on the whole in good preservation and has been comparatively little tampered with and seldom in such a way as to obliterate the original text. The specimen photographs give an accurate idea of the excellence of the handwriting, which hardly varies at all from first to last: it is in uncials of a slightly loose character. Sir Edward Maunde Thompson has expressed his opinion to me in writing thus: “I think you may put the MS. fairly early in the seventh century:” and this is the opinion a little less definitely expressed of Delisle², adopted by Duchesne³.

¹ It has not been thought advisable to change the familiar title as it need deceive no one now-a-days, and a change would only cause confusion. Assemani, however, in Tom. VI. of his *Codex Liturgicus Eccl. Univ.* prints the MS. under the title of *Sacramentarium Veronense*, although this only describes its present locality, not its origin.

² *Mém. sur l’anc. Sacr.*, p. 65.

³ *Origines du culte Chrétien*, p. 129.

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The CONTENTS of the MS. are in many ways unique. In the first place, not to mention the absence of the Canon Actionis, which was perhaps contained in the missing pages, the MS. is remarkable for the large number of alternative Missae frequently found under one heading: e.g. there were originally xliii or more such Missae in April, apparently for the "common" of martyrs, though the heading of this section (vii) is now lost, viii for SS. John and Paul, xxviii for SS. Peter and Paul, xlv sets of *preces et orationes diurnae*, xliiii for S. Lawrence, xxiii in *nat. episcoporum*, and so on. Investigation however shows that this feature is more or less accidental, being sometimes only due to incompleteness in the use of headings or to want of method in arrangement: for Missae, which, as the collector must have known quite well, belong to a different occasion, are often included under the same heading as the foregoing or the following Missae. This is in some cases remedied to a certain extent by marginal or other notes in red or black ink (e.g. on pp. 11, 15, 25, 31, &c.). In other cases no such indication is given: e.g. the Missae from viii onwards in *nat. episcoporum* seem to be almost entirely without connexion with their heading and to belong rather to the post-Pentecostal season. With regard to the heading *orationes et preces diurnae*, I take this to indicate roughly the non-festal or post-Pentecostal period of the Kalendars, and indeed several of the forms included especially towards the end of the section (xviii) belong to that season in other books: e.g. in xxviii (*om̄p̄ et misericors D̄s*, &c.), in xxx (*sit nobis*, &c.), in xxxii (*sumpsimus*, &c.), in xxxiii (*om̄p̄ semp̄ D̄s*, &c.) in xxxvi (*tantis*, &c.), in xxxvii (*laetificet*, &c.), in xxxviii (*sentiamus*, &c.), in xxxviii (*da nobis*, &c., and *repleti*, &c.), in xliii (*ad aures*, &c., and preface). Thus the Kalendar, as it would be made out by a mere reference to the headings, is not quite as complete as an examination of the Missae themselves would warrant¹.

In the second place a large number of the prayers and other forms, very often whole Missae, do not seem to occur in any other extant service books, though the somewhat laborious examination to which I have subjected the various parts reveals that a good many more prayers and prefaces are found elsewhere than previous editors have discovered or at all events recorded. By the aid of such books as Muratori's *Liturgia Romana vetus*, and Mr Wilson's most useful Index to it, Gerbert's *Monumenta v. Lit. Alem.* and Pamelii *Liturgia Latinorum* vol. i., I have compared this Sacramentary as thoroughly as I could with the Gelasian, the Gregorian, the Ambrosian, the *Missale Gothicum*,

¹ Muratori (Dissert. col. 39) has already pointed out that there are certain considerable coincidences between the Kalendar of our MS. (if we may so speak) and the Bucherian Kalendar (iv. cent.): see pp. 60 &c., and notes *in loc.*

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the *Missale Francorum*, the *Missale Gallicanum vetus*, the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*, and the Leofric Missal (Mr Warren's edition): and I have also noted the few cases in which our English Book of Common Prayer contains common matter, and very frequently those where the Roman Missal of to-day does the same. The adducing of these last two authorities may seem to some superfluous, but to others it may increase the interest of my labours. One result of this investigation is somewhat curious, and may possibly prove significant: besides the many whole Missae which are apparently peculiar to our MS., there is an even larger number of Missae which contain only *one* collect or other form which can be traced to other books. Perhaps if we had all the service books at hand which the collector had¹, the number of such Missae might be considerably reduced, but in the present state of our information the impression is distinctly produced that the singularity is not unintentional; it seems as if the collector had intended to amplify his collection of Missae in that particular way, viz. by taking one form already recognized and fitting on to it forms of his own composition, or derived from private sources², in order to make a complete Missa.

A third feature in the contents of our MS. is the confused order it frequently displays: e.g. the Missae for S. Stephen the Protomartyr are placed in August instead of December; this is apparently through a mistaken identification of him with S. Stephen the Pope, though many of the forms introduced show clearly enough a connexion with the Christmas season; the December fast is placed after the Christmas Feast instead of before; a preface for S. Eufymia seems to be inserted in the middle of a Missa for SS. Cornelius and Cyprian, and so on.

And fourthly, closely connected with this feature is the fact that very often the same prayer, sometimes even a whole Missa, is repeated with slight, if any, verbal changes: instances of this need not be given here; they are in each case mentioned in the notes.

A fifth point in respect of the contents is connected with what may loosely be called the rubrics. The headings to the various sections are in red and seem to be in most, if not all cases, by the same or a contemporary hand. Especially towards the beginning of the MS. the

¹ This inference of course proceeds on the assumption that our MS. is the compilation of a collector.

² By "private sources" here are meant quotations from patristic writings &c. Three or four such quotations have already been discovered by previous editors from Leo Magnus, and I cannot doubt that a competent acquaintance with other patristic writings would reveal a great number of similar instances, particularly in the prefaces. Duchesne (*Orig. du culte Chrétien*, pp. 170, 1) remarks with regard to these latter "le sacramentaire léonien donne lieu de croire que l'improvisation, ou du moins l'intercalation de phrases préparées par l'officiant lui-même était encore pratiquée au sixième siècle."

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rubrical notes, &c. are sometimes inserted, as if by an afterthought, either at the end of a line (e.g. p. 11) or between the lines: further on in the MS. (perhaps because the scribe became more accustomed to his work) they are inserted with greater regularity: very often, however, from first to last they are in the margin. These minor notes are sometimes in red like the headings of sections; more frequently, however, they are in black, and seem likewise mostly of a contemporary character.

Besides these, there are a few scribblings in the margin and a good many annotations in more or less recent hands. One kind of rubrical note has baffled my powers of interpretation, viz. those consisting chiefly of single letters: thus we have $\bar{F} \bar{E} \bar{S} \bar{P}$ 3 times running at the end of a Missa, $\bar{P} \bar{S} \bar{F} \bar{E}$ once at the end of a Missa, $\bar{P} \bar{F} \bar{E} \bar{S} \bar{P}$ once after 1st collect, $\bar{P} \bar{S} \bar{F} \bar{E}$ once after 2nd collect, $\bar{P} \bar{F} \bar{E} \bar{S} \bar{P}$ once after 3rd collect, $\bar{P} \bar{F} \bar{E} \bar{S} \bar{P}$ once at end of a Missa, and $\bar{P} \bar{F} \bar{E}$ once after 2nd collect and once at end of a Missa. In this list $\bar{F} \bar{E}$ always come together (? = *faciendum est*), $\bar{P} \bar{F} \bar{E}$ 5 times out of 10: and 6 times out of 10 the letters come at the end of a Missa. They are always in black. The first time such letters occur is on p. 11, Pascali $\bar{S} \bar{C} \bar{F} \bar{S} \bar{P}$, where they are in black at the end of the prayer (*sacrificium*, &c.), and are now so faint as to be almost illegible: they refer no doubt to the succeeding Preface, which is of a Paschal character. Again, on p. 27 we have $\text{Præce} \cdot \bar{S} \bar{F}$ before the second collect in a Missa that has no Preface (? = *preces sunt faciendae*). And on p. 104 we have $\text{preces} \bar{h}$ in $\bar{s} \bar{c} \bar{e}$ Eufymia at the end of the preceding prayer and probably referring to the succeeding preface which seems to be out of its place (? \bar{h} = *habendae* or *hae*)¹. One other kind of mark must be mentioned: towards the middle of the MS. and onwards letters of the alphabet occur in black ink and in alphabetical order against many of the prayers (but not always consecutive prayers), and sometimes throughout the MS. such signs as ÷ or \int or \cdot or $\frac{1}{2}$, generally in black. These probably have something to do with indicating the sources from which the collector was drawing, though the clue to them is not in our possession yet, and it is doubtful if it ever will be.

Three other points in connexion with the contents remain for notice:—

(1) The number of “Roman” allusions of various kinds is considerable and goes far towards fixing the provenance of the document at

¹ It is perhaps worth while to notice that in the Library copy of Anastasius at Verona the same hand which has so often annotated the MS. itself, tries to interpret these letters thus: $\text{Præce} \cdot \bar{S} \bar{F}$ = *preces super fratres sive preces spiritui fienda* (sic), $\bar{F} \bar{E} \bar{S} \bar{P}$ = *facta eucharistia super populum*: here Bianchini suggests *preces feriales*; $\bar{P} \bar{S} \bar{P} \bar{F} \bar{E}$ = *preces sup. pop. facta eucharistia*, $\bar{P} \bar{F} \bar{E} \bar{S} \bar{P}$ = *preces facta eucharistia sup. pop.*, $\bar{P} \bar{S} \bar{F} \bar{E}$ = *post sumptionem facta euchar.*, $\bar{P} \bar{F} \bar{E} \bar{S} \bar{P}$ = *post factam eucharistiam sup. pop.*, and $\bar{P} \bar{F} \bar{E}$ = *preces facta euchar.*

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Rome: e.g. phrases like *hostes Romani nominis* (p. 27), *Romani nominis securitas* (p. 63) where Amb. (372 Pam.) reads *Xrīani* for *Romani*, and *statum Romani nominis* (p. 75) often occur; so too we have references to *Romani principes* (p. 77) &c.; the traditional connexion of SS. Peter and Paul with Rome is assumed on pp. 40 and 47; the catacombs of Rome seem to be referred to as the burying places of SS. John and Paul on p. 34 and of S. Xystus on p. 90; several Roman "stations" are given in the rubrics (*Callisti, Praetextati* &c.); several Roman bishops and other celebrities are commemorated (e.g. S. Xystus, S. Lawrence, S. Clement, S. Silvester and S. Simplicius), and other Roman localities besides the stations are probably alluded to (e.g. on p. 15, the dedication of S. Peter's basilica, and on p. 106 of S. Michael's).

(2) Distinct references to early conditions of church life are but scanty: the incompleteness of the Kalendar as evidenced by the commemorations in the MS. is probably due to the general character of the compilation rather than to any other cause: the blessing on the water, honey, and milk used after baptism on p. 25, which has been adduced by Muratori, is found also in Greg. (505 Mur.) of 9th cent. and in Leofr. (224 W) of 10th cent. and therefore is again uncertain. It is possible, however, that on p. 9 there is an allusion to an early condition of church life in the distinction drawn between *veri confessores falsique*: see notes *in loco*.

(3) A few Biblical quotations seem to be made from a pre-Hieronymian text. It must, however, be remembered that Biblical quotations or references in a service book cannot as a rule throw much light upon the sources or the antiquity of the liturgical forms in which they occur. Their witness is weakened by the essential character of a prayer or a preface: verbal accuracy of quotation is not at all characteristic of primitive or mediaeval prayers: the thought is seized upon and used, and the language freely adapted to the rhythm. So that even in cases, where the wording differs materially from the Vulgate, too much stress must not be laid upon the variation. Still there are a certain number of cases, where an earlier or at least a different version of the Bible has been or may have been the basis of the quotation or reference. I proceed to give a list of them¹, marking the more important instances with * :—

p. 1. *post SALUTA(RIA) tua curramus*. Perhaps here *salutaria* = *σωτήρια* (Vulg. *pacifica*) of Exod. xx. 24 &c. though on the other hand we may compare pp. 79 and 133 *ad...salutaria mandata*

¹ I am much indebted to Mr F. C. Burkitt in dealing with this branch of the matter.

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currentes and *viam tuam...currentes*, both of which seem to come from Ps. cxviii. (= cxix.) 32.

p. 138. *iustitiam diligis* || Vulg. *iustitias dilexit*, Ps. x. (= xi.) 8.

*pp. 99, 138. *PLENITUDINEM gaudiorum* || Vulg. *adimplebis laetitia*, Ps. xv. (= xvi.) 11. Compare Psalt. Hebr. *plenitudinem laetitarum*.

p. 15. *ut in omnem terram sonus eius exeat et TOTO ORBE salutaria verba decurrant* || Vulg. *in omnem terram exiit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum*, Ps. xviii. (= xix.) 4.

p. 5. *auxilium nobis de scō...FAC ADESSE* || Vulg. *mittat tibi auxilium de sancto*, Ps. xix. (= xx.) 2.

p. 62. *cuius viae misericordia est semper et veritas* || Vulg. *universae viae misericordia et veritas*, Ps. xxiv. (= xxv.) 10: on p. 128 both *universae* and *semper* are found.

p. 60. *COMPRIE os iniqua loquentium* || Vulg. *obstructum est os loquentium iniqua*, Ps. lxii. (= lxiii.) 11.

*p. 102. *ne dicant GENTES ubi est Deus eorum* || Vulg. *ne forte dicant in gentibus ubi* &c., Ps. lxxviii. (= lxxix.) 10; here *gentes* for *in gentibus* is an O.L. reading, found in \aleph^{ca} RT, Psalt. Rom., Corb. Moz. Sanger.

p. 154. *FABRICAVIT sibi sapientia domum septem columnis INSTRUCTAM* || Vulg. *sapientia aedificavit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem*, Prov. ix. 1: Auct. *de Promiss.* has *fabricavit* (late African).

*p. 160. *ecce virgo IN UTERO ACCEPTIT et PEPERIT filium et VOCAMUS nomen eius Emmanuel* || Vulg. *ecce virgo concipiet [in utero habebit (S. Matt.)] et pariet f. et vocabitur n. e. E.*, Is. vii. 14 (S. Matt. i. 23). Here the tenses are unusual, though perhaps due to context, but *accipere in utero* is attested by Amb., Cypr., Leo, Fulgent. &c.

*p. 160. *ecce PUER natus est nobis PARVULUS datus est nobis et factus est principatus CUIUS POTESTAS super humeros eius et vocabitur admirabilis consiliarius Ds fortis pater futuri saeculi princeps pacis. multiplicabitur eius imperium et pacis non erit finis super solium David et super regnum eius ut confirmet illud et corroboret a modo et usque in sempiternum* || Vulg. *parvulus enim natus est nobis et filius datus est nobis et factus est principatus super humerum eius* &c., *et super regnum eius sedebit ut* &c., *corroboret in iudicio et iustitia* &c., Is. ix. 6, 7. Here *puer* for *parvulus*, but *filius* in the second clause is the O.L. reading: in Leo, *Serm.* lix. 4 and Cypr. *Test.* ii. 21 we have *cuius imperium super humeros eius*, and

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in Leo, *Ep.* xxviii. 2 *cuius potestas super humerum eius*. On the other hand *admirabilis...pacis* is distinctively Vulgate.

p. 160. *ET nobiscum Deus est* || Vulg. *quod est interpretatum nobiscum Deus*, S. Matt. i. 23.

p. 69. *si lumen quod in te est tenebrae sunt* IPSAE *tenebrae quantae SUNT*, S. Matt. vi. 23. Here the best text of Vulg. omits *ipsae* and reads *erunt* for the second *sunt*.

*p. 55. *mittens in medium nos luporum manere vis simplices similitudine columbarum et astutos fieri more serpentum* || Vulg. *mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum. estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae*, S. Matt. x. 16 (cf. S. Luke x. 3). Here Aug. has *astutos* five times and Amb. often: but all biblical MSS. and Cypr. *Test.* iii. 87 read *prudentes*.

p. 30. *INTER HOMINUM FILIOS nemo praelatus* || Vulg. *non surrexit inter natos mulierum maior*, S. Matt. xi. 11: but in the Prefaces of Missae II. and v. *inter nat. mul.* is found.

p. 152. *abnegans semet ipsum crucem...ADSUMPSIT ut te...sequeretur* || Vulg. *abneget semet ipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me*, S. Matt. xvi. 24.

p. 68. *DEFORIS sunt* and *REFERTI sunt* || Vulg. *aforis* and *plena*, S. Matt. xxiii. 27.

*p. 57. *Xr̄m in CUBILI requirentes* || Vulg. *ecce in penetralibus*, S. Matt. xxiv. 26. (*in cubiculis* occurs in c.)

p. 161. *ERIGENS nobis cornu salutis in domo David pueri tui ad dandam scientiam salutis POPULO TUO in remissionem peccatorum eorum per viscera misericordiae TUAE in quibus visitavit nos Oriens ex alto* || Vulg. *et erexit cornu salutis nobis &c., plebi eius &c., Dei nostri &c.*, S. Luke i. 69, 77, 78.

p. 31. *fidelium MENTES dirige in viam SALUTIS et pacis* || Vulg. *ad dirigendos pedes nostros illam pacis*, S. Luke i. 79.

p. 161. *in LUCEM gentium revelasti* || Vulg. *lumen ad revelationem gentium*, S. Luke ii. 32.

p. 16. *si vis POTENS ES mundare* || Vulg. *potes*, S. Luke v. 12.

p. 35. *non TIMENTES &c.* || Vulg. *ne terreamini ab &c.*, S. Luke xii. 4, 5.

p. 166. *in principio erat verbum et Deus erat verbum QUI (? quia) hoc erat in principio apud Deum*, S. John i. 1, 2. N.B. *et verbum erat apud Deum* omitted and *qui* (or *quia*) for *et*: lower down we have *et Deus erat verbum ET hoc &c.*

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- p. 140. DE TUO S̄FU GENITIS || Vulg. *ex Deo nati*, S. John i. 13.
- p. 160. *Quia verbum caro factum habitavit in nobis* || Vulg. *et verbum caro factum est et &c.*, S. John i. 14.
- *p. 35. *nisi granum TRITICI cadens in terram mortuum fuerit ipsum solum manet, si autem mortuum fuerit multum fructum ADFERET* || Vulg. *nisi granum frumenti &c. affert*, S. John xii. 24, 25. Here *tritici* is found in every extant MS. of the O.L., including *b* (the Verona Codex).
- *p. 21. GLORIA *quam TECUM semper habuit* || Vulg. *claritate* and *apud te*, S. John xvii. 5. N.B. *gloria* is found in *a d (f)*.
- p. 140. *ex omni natione quae est sub caelo* || Vulg. Acts ii. 5, where *est* comes last.
- p. 142. *in quo vivimus movemur et sumus* || Vulg. Acts xvii. 28, where *et* is added before *mov*.
- *p. 56. *providentes bona non SOLUM coram Deo sed etiam coram hominibus* || Vulg. *p. b. n. tantum &c. coram omnibus hominibus*, Rom. xii. 17: here *d₂* and Lucif. *de s̄co. Athan.* II. 6 read as our MS.
- *p. 56. *per dulces sermones SUOS seducentes corda FALLACIA* || Vulg. *per dulces sermones et benedictiones seducunt corda innocentum*, Rom. xvi. 18. *et benedictiones* is omitted by *D*₂ G₃* and their Latin versions.
- p. 69. PRO QUIBUS *Xrs est mortuus* || Vulg. *propter quem Xrs mortuus est*, 1 Cor. viii. 11. *pro quo &c.* is in Ambst. *loc*.
- p. 167. *non efficiantur pueri sensibus sed malitia INNOXII REPPERIANTUR ET parvuli*, 1 Cor. xiv. 20: here Vulg. om. *innoxii repp. et*.
- p. 69. *haec eos in occulto GERERE quae ETIAM turpe sit dicere* || Vulg. *quae enim in occulto fiunt ab ipsis turpe est et dicere*, Eph. v. 12.
- p. 25. *contra spiritalēs nequitiās* || Vulg. *contra spiritualia nequitiae*, Eph. vi. 12. Cypr. *Test.* iii. 117 reads *ad* (or *adversus*) *spiritalis* (or *spiritalia*) *nequitiae* and *Ep.* lviii. 8 *adversus spiritus nequitiae*; *adv. spiritalēs nequitiās* is found in Hil. and Amb.
- p. 69. SEPARATE *vos ab omni fratre INORDINATE AMBULANTE* || Vulg. *ut subtrahatis vos ab omni fratre ambulante inordinate*, 2 Thess. iii. 6: here Cypr. twice has *recedatis* and once *discedatis*. *d₂* has *inquiēte ambulante* with Lucif. *de non conv.* ix. and Aug. *de op. Mon.* and *m* 587 (exc. *sess*, which = *vg*).
- p. 68. NESCIENTES *quae loquantur neque de quibus adfirmant* || Vulg. *non intellegentes neque quae loquuntur n. d. q. affirmant*, 1 Tim. i. 7.
- *p. 130. *episcopatum qui desiderat bonum opus CONCUPISCIT* || Vulg. *si quis ep. des. bon. op. desiderat*, 1 Tim. iii. 1. Aug. *Ep.* 173 has the same reading as our MS.; *d₂ m* have *cupit...desiderat*.

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p. 52. *in FOVEAM et diaboli laqueos incidere* || Vulg. *incidunt in tentationem et [in] laqueum [diaboli]*, 1 Tim. vi. 9. Here *diaboli* is added by vg. *cl* (and *fuld*), *m* 621, Amb., (Chrom.), Valerian, and Caesar Arelât.; it is omitted by *d*₂ *am*, Cypr. ⁴/₄, Aug. ⁵/₅, Auct. de *Prom.*, Ambst.

p. 69. *a quo donum omne perfectum optimumque descendit* || Vulg. *omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum desursum est descendens a* *ſc̄a*, S. James i. 17.

p. 58. *superbis resistis ET gratiam PRAESTAS humilibus* || Vulg. *superbis resistit humilibus autem dat gratiam*, S. James iv. 6 (Prov. iii. 34; 1 Pet. v. 5).

p. 144. *genus electum regale sacerdotium populus acquisitionis et gens ſc̄a*, 1 S. Pet. ii. 9: here Vulg. has *gens ſc̄a* bef. *pop. acquis.*; but *acquisitionis* is an essentially Hieronymian rendering for *εἰς περιποίησιν* in this passage.

The general idea of the contents of the MS. which we have now attempted to gain will help us in some measure to settle THE PURPOSE OF THE AUTHOR. But before doing so, we must be clear as to the relation of the date of the MS. to the date of the author or, as I prefer to call him, the collector. The date of the MS. is, as we have seen, not earlier than the seventh century: therefore if the author be, as has been suggested, either Leo Magnus (†461) or Felix III. (†492) or Gelasius (†496) or contemporary with any of these, our MS. must be a copy, not an original document¹. But there is nothing in the MS. to warrant this. The incompleteness and the confused order to which we have alluded, would not lead one to think the work of sufficient importance to have required copying. And further a great many of the expressions used (e.g. in the section xviii *orationes et preces diurnae*: see notes *in loc.*) could never have found a permanent place in a sacramentary compiled by or with the sanction of a Pope for public use. There seems therefore little doubt that our MS. is an original document *sui generis*, and if so, the collection as it stands belongs to the seventh century, though of course a large quantity of the matter introduced is of an earlier date². It will at once be seen

¹ In any case the presence of a prayer for S. Simplicius (†483) on p. 148, unless, as has been suggested, *Simplici* is the copyist's error for *Silvestri*, brings the book down at least into the sixth cent. A *martyr* Gregory occurs on p. 15 and Gregory simply in conjunction with S. Chrysogonus on p. 156, but it is by no means clear which Gregory is there alluded to: see notes *in loc.*

² Probst (*die Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts*, pp. 445 and foll.) attributes the oldest Missae in this collection to the time of the schism of Ursinus (or Ursinus) against Damasus (366).

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that this means that the book *qua* book is later than the time of Gregory I. († 604), the reputed author of the “Gregorian” sacramentaries: and I do not think there is anything in the MS. to militate against this view; in fact there are certain indications which point towards it, e.g. the forms of *hanc igitur* and of *communicantes* imply that the missing Canon Actionis into which they were meant to fit was in the shape of what is generally known as “Gelasian” or “Gregorian”: again one *hanc igitur* (p. 123) contains a peculiar form of the phrase *diesque nostros* &c., which probably presumes the existence of the words said to have been added by Gregory I. to the Canon¹: and again of the comparatively few saints commemorated several are distinctively “Gregorian,” as Duchesne (*Orig. du c. Chrét.*, p. 126) has pointed out, viz. the Seven brothers (July 10), S. Stephen the pope (Aug. 2: in the rubric not the Missae themselves), SS. Felicissimus and Agapitus (Aug. 5), SS. Felix and Adauctus (Aug. 30) and S. Chrysogonus (Nov. 24). On the other hand though the Roman stations are sometimes very precisely marked (e.g. on pp. 50, 85 and 90² and possibly on p. 49 *ad s̄m Paulum* and p. 104 *in s̄ae Eufymiae*), yet the likelihood of the book being intended for the use of a Pope or in fact having any official, semi-official or even private connexion with a Pope is on all hands extremely small and in no way justified by the contents of the MS. This likelihood becomes even smaller, if, as I maintain, he would have to be a post-Gregorian Pope. The final solution of the problem must remain *sub iudice*, until the discovery of the first pages of the MS., should it ever be made, sets our doubts at rest, as it probably would, especially if the Canon Actionis were included therein. But meanwhile the suggestion that has been made seems an extremely probable one, that we have here a sort of note-book or collection of liturgical forms partly no doubt original and partly drawn from earlier sources, but, it must further be added, of an entirely private nature. This collection may have been intended by the collector either for his own use or for the edification of some other personage at Rome, otherwise unknown, but in any case he is one, in whom a certain amount of unskilfulness is combined with a considerable

¹ In one instance (pp. 24, 5) the natural order of the *hanc igitur* and the *communicantes* is inverted, but this is probably due to the transcriber’s carelessness, and to nothing else (cf. p. 22). It may also be noted that a very large portion of the prefaces end simply with *per*, as well as the collects and other prayers: but no stress can be laid on this because other sacramentaries occasionally exhibit the same simple ending, and our MS. occasionally exhibits the more regular *et ideo cum angelis* &c. The collection seems originally to have begun in January, while the Gelasian and Gregorian texts begin with Christmas eve.

² It seems not improbable that these rubrics are taken from a much earlier source: see notes *in loc.*

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amount of meritorious love of labour, research, and original composition or compilation¹.

Since Bianchini printed the MS. with notes for the first time in 1735, it has been printed again by Muratori in his *Liturgia Romana vetus* (1748 Venice) and by the Ballerini with notes in their edition of Leo Magnus (1753–7), which latter edition Migne has reproduced with fewer misprints than usual in Vol. LV. of his *Patrologia Latina*. Assemani reprinted Muratori's text with a preface in Tom. VI. of his *Codex Liturgicus Eccl. Univ.* (1754 Rome). Of these editions the first is by far the most accurate and valuable; in fact except for the comparative rarity and positive bulkiness of the book there would be little need to reprint the text now. I doubt whether Muratori or the Ballerini consulted the original MS. thoroughly if at all, and consequently their text is mostly Bianchini's with the introduction of his emendations or their own throughout: Muratori is a worse offender than the Ballerini in the matter of arbitrary alterations. The present text is the result of a collation of my own carried out in the course of two autumnal visits to Verona in 1894 and 1895. I cannot hope to have made no slips, but I have tried to reduce them to a minimum: the probability is that if ever my witness should disagree with Bianchini's without express mention of the fact by me, his text may be taken to correct mine. I am much indebted to the courtesy and consideration shown me by my friend D. Antonio Spagnolo, the Vice-Librarian of the Chapter, who is always ready to display the rich treasures in his charge to the casual visitor and to give every assistance in his power to the serious student.

TEXTS AND AUTHORITIES CITED
OR USED.

Jos. Bianchini's text of the Leonine Sacramentary in Vol. 4 of Fr. Bianchini's edition of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. Verona, 1735 (Editio Princeps). The *Ballerini's edition* with notes in their Leo Magnus (1753–7), reprinted by Migne (Patrologia Latina, Vol. LV.).

Muratori's Liturgia Romana vetus. Venice, 1748. Two Vols. in one: containing, besides the Leonian Sacram., a Gelasian and Gregorian text, Missale Gothicum, Missale Francorum, Miss. Gallicanum vetus and Sacramentarium Gallicanum. Muratori's paging of the Leonian Sacramentary is given in the inner margin of my text.

Index to Roman Sacramentaries by Wilson. Camb., 1892.

¹ Gerbert's conclusion is similar: *privati alicuius hominis foetus qui praeftationes a Romanis pontificibus ac a Leone diverso tempore scriptae collegit et retulit, Mon. vet. Lit. Alem.* Pars I. Preface, and so also is Assemani's *Cod. Lit.* VI. praef. p. ix.

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- Ambrosianum Sacramentarium* in Vol. 1. of Pamelii *Liturgica Latina*, 1571.
Gerbert's Monumenta veteris Liturgiae Alemannicae. S. Blasien, 1777.
Ménard's Gregorian Sacramentary. The references are taken from Wilson,
 and have not been verified.
Gelasian Sacramentary, ed. Wilson. Oxford, 1894.
Leofric Missal, ed. Warren. Oxford, 1883.
Mozarabum Missale Mixtum, printed by Migne (*Patrologia Latina*, Vol.
 LXXXV.).
Missale Drummondense, ed. Forbes. Burntisland, 1882.
Cerian's Rotolo Opistografo. Milan.
Missale Romanum, 1862.
Pontificale Romanum, 1859.
English Book of Common Prayer.
Bright's Ancient Collects, 1889.
Delisle's Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires, 1886.
Duchesne's Origines du culte Chrétien, 1889.
Probst's Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts.
Ebner's Quellen und Forschungen. Freiburg i/B. 1896.
Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, cited by book, chapter and
 section not by volume and page.

LIST OF CHIEF ABBREVIATIONS RETAINED
IN THE TEXT.

- digñ = dignum est.
 Dñe, Dñm &c. = Domine, Dominum &c.
 Ds &c. = Deus &c.
 Ihs &c. = Jesus &c.
 INC = incipit.
 N̄ = natalis.
 omp̄ = omnipotens.
 sacros̄s &c. = sacrosanctus &c.
 s̄s, s̄e &c. = sanctus, sancte &c.
 s̄ificare &c. = sanctificare &c.
 semp̄ = sempiternae.
 S̄ps &c. = Spiritus &c.
 X̄rs &c. = Christus &c.
 X̄rianus &c. = Christianus &c.

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OTHER ABBREVIATIONS.

Amb. = Ambrosian Sacramentary.
 Ball. = Ballerini.
 Bianch. = Bianchini.
 diff. = differences.
 Edd. = a consensus of Bianch., Mur. and Ball.
 Gel. = Gelasian Sacr.
 Gerb. = Gerbert.
 Greg. = Gregorian Sacr.
 Leofr. = Leofric Missal.
 marg. = margin of the MS., usually the outer one.
 Men. = Ménard.
 Miss. Drum. = Missale Drummondense.
 Miss. Franc. = Missale Francorum.
 Miss. Gall. = Missale Gallicanum vetus.
 Miss. Goth. = Missale Gothicum.
 Mur. = Muratori.
 Pam. = Pamelius.
 postcom. = postcommunion.
 Rom. Miss. = Roman Missal (modern).
 Rom. Pont. = Roman Pontifical (modern).
 Sacr. Gall. = Sacramentarium Gallicanum.
super obl. = *super oblata*.
super or *ad pop.* = *super* or *ad populum*.
super sind. = *super sindonem*.
 W. = Warren.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

- On p. 7, note 7, *for suggest read suggests*
 „ 12, line 1, *for s̄orum read supplicum*
 „ 17, note 3, *for Sacra read sacra*
 „ 25, line 21, *to the words contra...pugnaturi add the reference Eph. vi. 12*
 „ 26, line 3, *for Om̄n read Om̄p*
 „ 26, line 21, *for ut read et*
 „ 33, line 7, *add munera after tuo*
 „ 39, note ||, *for S. Matt. xvi. 8 read 18*
 „ 42, line 8, *for Pater read Pastor*
 „ 52, line 1, *to the words foveas...incidere add the reference 1 Tim. vi. 9*
 „ 63, note 4, *add “ or supply quæsumus before ut from Gel. (507 Mur.)”*
 „ 78, line 24, *for et read ut*
 „ 88, line 19, *for quæ read qua*
 „ 92, line 22, *for Dñus read Dñe*
 „ 106, line 27, *for Michaelis read Michael*
 „ 157, line 1, *add Andreae after beati*
- N.B. In a few cases the spellings *coelum*, &c. for *caelum*, &c., *s̄us*, &c. for *s̄s*, &c., *S̄pus* for *S̄ps* have crept in.
- On p. 4, line 8, *s̄orum*, &c. occurs with some diff. in Miss. Drumm. p. 80, *nat. plur. virginum*.