



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Letters of Pope Leo the Great:
A Study of the Manuscripts

Matthew Hoskin
Doctor of Philosophy, Divinity
The University of Edinburgh
2015

Abstract

This dissertation explores the transmission of the letters of Pope Leo the Great (pope, 440-461). In Chapter 1, I set out the contours of Leo's papacy from external sources and from the letters, showing the significance of these letters for understanding his papacy and its context: our vision of the mid-fifth century would be much scantier without them. After discussing the letters in context and as sources, I conclude this chapter by examining the varied editions of his letters from Giovanni Bussi in 1470, through the only full edition, that of the Ballerini brothers in the 1750s, to the partial editions of Eduard Schwartz and Carlos Silva-Tarouca in the 1930s, a tribute to Leo's enduring importance.

Chapter 2 deals in detail with the pre-Carolingian canonical collections of Leo's letters, beginning with the earliest in the late 400s and early 500s. Through these collections, I trace the ongoing significance of Leo for canon law as well as noting the links between early Italian collections, e.g. Teatina, Sanblasiana, and Quesnelliana, and postulate that one Gallic collection, Corbeiensis, was the source of another, Pithouensis. I also question the concept of a 'renaissance gélasienne' while still admitting the importance of this period for canonical activity. Chapter 3 deals with the letter collections gathered in relation to the Council of Chalcedon (451) – the old Latin version, Rusticus' version, and the later Latin text, assessing their relationships and importance for our knowledge of Leo as well. Chapter 4 is an exploration of Leo's letters through the Carolingian and post-Carolingian Middle Ages. The Carolingian explosion of manuscripts is the most important assessed, and I deal with Leo's various collections in the period, especially Pseudo-Isidore, and demonstrate their relationships and those between them and the earlier collections.

To give the reader a sample of the editorial implications of my scholarship, I include as an appendix an edition of *Ep.* 167 with an apparatus detailing the most significant manuscripts and a translation of my edition as a second appendix. This popular letter exists in different recensions, so it serves an important key to Leo's text criticism. The third appendix is a conspectus of the letters.

Lay Summary

Pope Leo the Great (pope, 440-461) was a formative figure in the history of the fifth century, shaping the contours of how the papacy would operate in the future, helping sort out questions of church order, and successfully working for the establishment of his theology of the natures of Christ as the official theology of the church within the Roman Empire. The activity he undertook in these regards is available to us in over 140 of his letters, plus many from his correspondents. My thesis begins in Chapter 1 by describing Leo's life and times and the significance of these letters as sources for his history. I then talk about the printed editions of his letters, beginning in 1470 with Giovanni Bussi, through the only complete edition, that of the Ballerini brothers in the 1750s, and ending in the 1930s with Carlos Silva-Tarouca and Eduard Schwartz.

The popularity of the letters is demonstrated through their copying and recopying and editing throughout the Middle Ages in handwritten manuscripts. In Chapter 2, I discuss the various overlapping collections of Leo's letters from the period before the mid-700s and how these relate to one another. The third chapter discusses the letter collections that were put together in relation to the Council of Chalcedon (451), an event of which Leo was the chief architect. Then, in chapter 4, I discuss the collections put together in the Carolingian Age (8th-9th centuries) and beyond, demonstrating both the significance of the Carolingians as well as their dependence on previous ages. Throughout, I demonstrate that Leo's thought was relevant to churchmen of all ages, at times in different ways, explaining the ongoing work of copying.

As an appendix, I provide the Latin text of his 167th letter with an apparatus at the bottom of the page that notes where the different manuscripts vary from one another in their transmission of the letter. This helps show the many relationships discussed in the body of the thesis. It is accompanied in a second appendix by an English translation for the reader's assistance. A third appendix is a conspectus of the letters, showing briefly their date, addressee, content, which manuscripts contain them, and where they can be found in printed editions.

Declaration

I, Matthew Hoskin, declare that I have composed this thesis myself. All of the work contained herein is my own work. It has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Edinburgh, 22 September 2015

Matthew Hoskin

Acknowledgements

I would like to begin my acknowledgements with Richard Burgess of the University of Ottawa, and not simply because it was in Ottawa where my interest in Late Antiquity was piqued as an undergraduate. One night while I was fishing around for thesis ideas on Facebook—specifically looking for a text to edit—he recommended the letters of Leo the Great. I have never looked back. The project is not, as it turns out, an edition, for the task before me then was much more monumental than I had expected. Yet it is from his suggestion on Facebook that made me take the road that has led me here.

I would like also to thank the University of Edinburgh whose generous financial support, through the Principal's Career Development Studentship and Edinburgh Global Scholarship, gave me the financial resources to remain in this beautiful city and pursue this wide-ranging programme. Further funding was awarded by the School of Divinity to help defray the cost of some of the research trips. I would also like to thank the Hugh Last Fund of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies for helping finance my major research trip to Italy in 2014 and the Thomas Wiedemann Memorial Fund for funding my travel to Oxford in 2012. Finally, I would like to thank the Erasmus Exchange Programme, which allowed me to spend three months based in Tübingen, visiting the many libraries of Germany (and one in Austria!). Money may not make the world go 'round, but it certainly helps one get around the world.

A project such as this could not be possible without the generous assistance of many libraries. In Edinburgh, I have benefited from the collections of the National Library of Scotland, New College Library, the University of Edinburgh's Law and

Europa Library, and the University of Edinburgh's Main Library, as well as the diligent efforts of the University of Edinburgh's Interlibrary Loan team. So as not to seem to be giving preference to any library in particular, I would like to thank the staff of the following other libraries in alphabetical order by city: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz; El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana and Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig; Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; Oxford, All Souls College Library, the Bodleian Library, and Oriel College Library; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, both the manuscripts section at Site Richelieu and the main collection at François Mitterand, as well as the Institut de Recherches d'Histoire des Textes; Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana; Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Benediktinerstift Sankt Paul; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana; Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare di Vercelli; Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare; and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek. I found the staff of all of these libraries enormously helpful, and not a single horror story came true for me!

I am also thankful for the careful supervision of Drs Gavin Kelly and Sara Parvis, my doctoral supervisors, who helped guide me on this long journey and have read far more tables and charts and multiples drafts thereof than I would have thought advisable! They have saved me from many errors and directed me to many of the best resources for this massive undertaking.

I would like to extend my thanks to Dr Abigail Firey of the University of Kentucky who manages the Carolingian Canon Law Project. She assisted me with

the use of images of Berlin, Hamilton 132, as well as the transcription software T-PEN that accompanied it. She also gave me proofs of her 2015 article on said manuscript before it went to print. Her graduate student Christie Pavey has also been of assistance in transcribing Hamilton 132. I must also unburden an enormous and hearty debt of thanks to Mr Andrew Dunning of the University of Toronto, whose zeal for text editing, publishing, and the software involved is infectious. Without him, I am uncertain as to whether I would have successfully rendered *Ep.* 167 as a readable edition in Appendix 1. Although he claims utter delight in doing such things, I feel that I owe him a great debt.

I would finally like to extend my thanks to the patience of everyone around me who does not get excited about such things as Corbie a-b or scribes who write Latin in Greek characters. The patient endurance and support of friends and family is invaluable in an undertaking of such monumental proportions as this. I am notably grateful to my family in Canada who have supported me in many ways, both metaphysical and financial. Most especially, I must thank my wife for her understanding, support, and patience. She has endured ‘PhD brain’—when my brain is not actually paying attention to what is going on either because it has turned off out of weariness or is accidentally thinking about the PhD. She has lovingly supported me through my long absences on the Continent, hunting down the manuscripts. She has proofread Chapter 1 and told me where I make no sense. She has taught me how to tell normal people what I do. She has been my solid rock and the love of my life—profuse thanks for enduring three years and ten months of Leo

Table of Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	i
<i>Conspectus Siglorum</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xiv
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: The Life and Letters of Pope Leo I	5
1.1 The Life and Papacy of Leo Through External Sources	5
1.2 Leo's Papacy Through the Letters	24
1.3 Editing the Letters	41
1.3.1 Giovanni Andrea Bussi	42
1.3.2 The Sixteenth Century	42
1.3.3 The Seventeenth Century	44
1.3.4 Pasquier Quesnel	45
1.3.5 Giacomo and Pietro Ballerini	46
1.3.6 <i>Epistolae Arelatenses genuinae</i> (MGH Epist. 3), ed. Gundlach	50
1.3.7 <i>The Tome of Pope Leo the Great</i> , by Blakeney	51
1.3.8 Eduard Schwartz	51
1.3.9 Carlos Silva-Tarouca	57
1.3.10 <i>Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum Series Latina 1</i>	61
1.4 The Case for a New, Complete, Critical Edition	62
Chapter 2: Pre-Carolingian Canonical Collections	65
2.1 The Earliest, Unknown Period of Transmission	65
2.2 Pre-Carolingian Canonical Collections and the <i>renaissance gélasienne</i>	72
a. <i>Collectio Frisingensis Prima</i> (F)	74
i. Dating and context	74
ii. Manuscripts	76
iii. Manuscript relations	77
b. <i>Collectio Diessensis</i> (Di)	78
i. Dating and context	78
ii. Manuscript	79
iii. Manuscript relations	80
c. <i>Collectio Quesnelliana</i> (Q)	84
i. Dating and context	84
ii. Manuscripts	86
iii. Manuscript relations	93
d. <i>Collectio Vaticana</i> (L)	106
i. Dating and context	106
ii. Manuscripts	107
iii. Manuscript relations	108
e. <i>Collectio Sanblasiana</i> (Sa)	114
i. Dating and context	114

ii.	Manuscripts	115
iii.	Manuscript relations	117
f.	<i>Collectio Dionysiana</i> (D)	121
i.	Dating and context	121
ii.	Manuscripts	123
iii.	Manuscript relations	124
g.	<i>Collectio Dionysiana Bobiensis</i> (D-b)	131
i.	Dating and context	131
ii.	Manuscripts	131
iii.	Manuscript relations	132
h.	Cresconius, <i>Concordia canonum</i>	137
i.	Dating and context	137
ii.	Manuscripts	140
iii.	Manuscript relations	143
i.	<i>Collectio Teatina</i> (Te)	145
i.	Dating and context	145
ii.	Manuscript	146
iii.	Manuscript relations	146
j.	<i>Collectio Corbeiensis</i> (C)	152
i.	Dating and context	152
ii.	Manuscript	153
k.	<i>Collectio Pithouensis</i> (P)	154
i.	Dating and context	154
ii.	Manuscript	155
iii.	Manuscript relations	155
l.	<i>Collectio (ecclesiae) Thessalonicensis</i> (T)	161
i.	Dating and context	161
ii.	Manuscripts	165
iii.	Manuscript relations	166
m.	<i>Collectio Avellana</i>	167
i.	Dating and context	167
ii.	Manuscripts	168
n.	<i>Collectio Arelatensis</i> (Ar)	169
i.	Dating and context	169
ii.	Manuscripts	170
iii.	Manuscript relations	171
o.	<i>Collectio Albigensis</i> (Al)	172
i.	Dating and context	172
ii.	Manuscripts	172
iii.	Manuscript relations	174
p.	<i>Collectio Remensis</i> (Re)	178
i.	Dating and context	178
ii.	Manuscript	178
iii.	Manuscript relations	179
q.	<i>Collectio Coloniensis</i> (K)	188
i.	Dating and context	188
ii.	Manuscript	188
iii.	Manuscript relations	189

r.	<i>Collectio Casinensis (Ca)</i>	191
	i. Dating and context	191
	ii. Manuscripts	191
	iii. Manuscript relations	192
s.	<i>Collectio Vetus Gallica</i>	194
	i. Dating and context	194
	ii. Manuscripts	195
t.	<i>Epitome Hispana</i>	196
	i. Dating and context	196
	ii. Manuscripts	197
u.	<i>Collectio Hispana (S)</i>	198
	i. Dating and context	198
	ii. Manuscripts	201
	iii. Manuscript relations	204
v.	<i>Collectio Hispana Systematica</i>	211
Chapter 3: Chalcedonian Collections		215
a.	Ballerini Collection 17 (Early Latin <i>Acta</i> ; Ac)	215
	i. Description of collection	215
	ii. Manuscripts	215
	iii. Manuscript relations	216
b.	Collection of Vat. lat. 1322 (A)	219
	i. Description of collection	219
	ii. Manuscripts	220
	iii. Manuscript relations	218
c.	Rusticus' <i>Acta</i> (Ru)	224
	i. Dating and context	224
	ii. Manuscripts	226
	iii. Manuscript relations	227
d.	<i>Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium antiqua correcta</i> (Ch)	230
	i. Description of collection	230
	ii. Manuscripts	230
	iii. Manuscript relations	231
e.	<i>Collectio Novariensis</i> (N)	232
f.	<i>Codex Encyclius</i>	233
	i. Dating and context	233
	ii. Manuscripts	234
Chapter 4: The Carolingian and Post-Carolingian Tradition of Manuscripts		235
4.1	The Carolingian Context	235
4.2	Carolingian Canonical Collections	244
	a. <i>Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana</i> (D-h)	244
	i. Dating and context	244
	ii. Manuscripts	246
	iii. Manuscript relations	249
	b. <i>Collectio Dionysiana adaucta</i> (D-a)	256
	i. Dating and Context	256
	ii. Manuscripts	259

iii. Manuscript relations	261
c. Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis (S-ga)	267
i. Dating and context	267
ii. Manuscripts	269
iii. Manuscript relations	271
d. Pseudo-Isidorus Mercator, <i>Decretales</i> (I)	275
i. Context	275
ii. Hinschius' Classification System	279
iii. Hinschius A/B & B (Ballerini Collection 10; I-b)	282
iv. Hinschius A1 (I-a)	285
v. The Cluny Recension, or Yale Pseudo-Isidore (Y)	293
vi. Hinschius Class C (I-c)	296
e. <i>Collectio Florentina</i> (Ballerini Collection 13; m)	300
f. Systematic as well as Unorganised Collections of Extracted Canons	303
4.3 Other Carolingian Collections	305
a. Collectio Grimanica (G)	305
b. Collectio Bobbiensis (B)	306
i. Dating and context	306
ii. Manuscript	307
c. Collectio Ratisbonensis (E)	307
i. Dating and context	307
ii. Manuscripts	309
iii. Manuscript relations	309
4.4 Post-Carolingian Collections	311
4.4.1 Post-Carolingian Canonical Collections	311
a. Collectio Lanfranci	311
i. Dating and context	311
ii. Manuscripts	312
b. Collectio Britannica	313
c. Systematic as well as Unorganised Collections of Extracted Canons	314
4.4.2 Other Post-Carolingian Collections	321
a. Ballerini Collection 20	321
b. Ballerini Collection 21 (Y-a)	322
i. Description of the Collection	322
ii. Manuscripts	323
c. Ballerini Collection 22 (22)	325
i. Description of the Collection	325
ii. Manuscript	326
d. Ballerini Collection 23 (23)	327
i. Description of the Collection	327
ii. Manuscript	328
e. Ballerini Collection 24 (24)	328
i. Dating and context	328
ii. Manuscripts	329
iii. Manuscript relations	332
Conclusion	333

Appendix 1: My Edition of Leo, Ep. 167	337
Appendix 2: My Translation of Leo, Ep. 167	348
Appendix 3: A Conspectus of the Letters of Pope Leo the Great	359
Bibliography of Primary Sources	439
Bibliography of Secondary Sources	444

Conspectus Siglorum, based on ACO 2.4 where possible; in alphabetical order for ease of reference (chapter and section in parentheses)

- A** – Collection of Vat. lat. 1322 (3.b) **m** – *Collectio Florentina* (4.2.e)
Ac – Early Latin *Acta* (3.a) **N** – *Collectio Novariensis de re*
Al – *Collectio Albigensis* (2.2.o) *Eutychis* (3.e)
Ar – *Collectio Arelatensis* (2.2.n) **P** – *Collectio Pithouensis* (2.2.k)
B – *Collectio Bobbiensis* (4.3.c) **Q** – *Collectio Quesnelliana* (2.2.c)
C – *Collectio Corbeiensis* (2.2.j) **Re** – *Collectio Remensis* (2.2.p)
Ca – *Collectio Casinensis* (2.2.r) **Ru** – Rusticus’ *Acta* (3.c)
Ch – *Versio Gestorum*
Chalcedonensium antiqua correctata
(3.d) **S** – *Collectio Hispana* (2.2.u)
D – *Collectio Dionysiana* (2.2.f) **S-ga** – *Collectio Hispana Gallica*
D-a – *Collectio Dionysiana adaucta* *Augustodunensis* (4.2.c)
(4.2.b) **Sa** – *Collectio Sanblasiana* (2.2.e)
D-b – *Collectio Dionysiana Bobiensis* **T** – *Collectio (ecclesiae)*
(2.2.g) *Thessalonicensis* (2.2.l)
D-h – *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana* **Te** – *Collectio Teatina* (2.2.i)
(4.2.a) **Y** – Yale/Cluny Recension of Pseudo-
Di – *Collectio Diessensis* (2.2.b) Isidore (4.2.d.v)
E – *Collectio Ratisbonensis* (4.3.c) **Y-a** – Ballerini Collection 21 (4.4.2.b)
F – *Collectio Frisingensis Prima* **22** – Ballerini Collection 22 (4.4.2.c)
(2.2.a) **23** – Ballerini Collection 23 (4.4.2.d)
G – *Collectio Grimmanica* (4.3.a) **24** – Ballerini Collection 24 (4.4.2.e)
I – Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries (4.2.d)
I-a – Pseudo-Isidore Class A1
(4.2.d.iv)
I-b – Pseudo-Isidore Classes A/B and
B (4.2.d.iii)
I-c – Pseudo-Isidore Class C (4.2.d.vi)
K – *Collectio Coloniensis* (2.2.q)
L – *Collectio Vaticana* (2.2.d)

Abbreviations Used in This Thesis

ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , ed. E. Schwartz
CLA	<i>Codices Latini Antiquiores</i>
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
EOMIA	<i>Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiqua</i> , ed. C. H. Turner
JK	<i>Regesta Pontificorum Romanorum</i> , ed. P. Jaffé
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
SC	Sources chrétiennes

Introduction

This project is an analysis of the manuscripts of the letters of Pope Leo I (pope 440-461). These letters are among our most valuable sources for the middle decades of the fifth century, and although we can construct most events from Leo's papacy without them, with them everything enters into sharper definition. Given the major importance of the letters as sources documenting so important a figure, it is remarkable that no one has undertaken a full examination of them since the Ballerini brothers in the 1750s. The Ballerini did an outstanding job, and consulted more manuscripts than any previous editor of Leo. However, regardless of how good their text is—and it is good—their notes are maddeningly obscure. Furthermore, 250 years of exploration in the libraries of Europe have brought to light more manuscripts of Leo's letters, some representing witnesses from within a century of his death. If a new editor of Leo were to do nothing more than provide us with a good apparatus documenting these manuscripts, we would be in good stead. Leo's significance for theology and canon law has never waned, as the many manuscripts this dissertation examines show. He is the only pope to get his own chapter in Quasten's *Patrology*. His place as a theologian and man of power have been highlighted in recent studies, from the introductory (Neil 2009) to the theological (Armitage 2005 and Green 2008) to the politico-theological (Wessell 2008).

Leo studies are not slowing down, yet his letters still lack a solid critical edition. My exploration of the manuscripts is the first step on the road to providing that edition. In Chapter 1, I begin by providing two accounts of Leo's papacy, the first from external sources, the second from the letters. Both elements together demonstrate the significance of Leo's letters. The chapter continues with a discussion

of the editions of Leo's letters, beginning with the few in Bussi's edition of 1461, then a select discussion of certain other editions meant to be indicative of their eras, with more detailed discussion on Pasquier Quesnel's groundbreaking work in 1675, and then that of the Ballerini in 1753. Finally, the very good, but sadly selective, editions of C. Silva-Tarouca and E. Schwartz are assessed. It is the custom of some editors to scorn their predecessors, but I am neither inclined, nor have grounds, to do so; whatever advantages I may have,¹ they did well at the task set them. Our need for a better apparatus and, at times, a better text, does not make them failures at what they did. Their work makes mine possible, and I am daily aware of what I owe them.

Chapters 2-4 take on the task of assessing these manuscripts.² Leo's letters are gathered in 45 letter collections, ranging from two or four letters all the way to 104 letters. These collections overlap, and many of them use each other or common sources. At the beginning of Chapter 2, I set out the context of the earliest collections and their common sources, no longer extant, which I call 'proto-collections,' which had little or no official, papal impetus behind them, for they do not need a pope to be made or mined. The time was ripe and the sources fecund. Chapter 2 then analyses the canonical collections of the pre-Carolingian era, not just cataloguing the manuscripts, but finding variants peculiar to certain collections or common to multiple collections, and thereby tracing relationships among manuscripts of individual collections and then among the various collections. Each collection, as far as can be done, is put into context. Chapter 3 does the same for the various letter collections appended to the *Acts* of the Council of Chalcedon, while Chapter 4 brings us from the Carolingians to the end of the Middle Ages. I demonstrate the major

¹ As Leo, *Ep.* 14, says, 'Honor inflat superbiam.'

² The vast majority of these manuscripts I visited myself in Austria, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain.

significance of the Carolingian era for the survival of Leo's letters and the collections that contain them, and then discuss briefly the Carolingian Renaissance.

A few points concerning the methodology of Chapters 2 through 4 are in order. First, the reader will find that throughout I have used the Ballerini edition as a control text by which to assess the variants of the manuscripts and thereby trace their relationships. The result is that I cite their readings time and again. It must be stressed, therefore, that I do not assume that the Ballerini are correct when I cite a reading as being 'against' the Ballerini. Rather, by showing that it is at variance with them, I am able to bring out the unique characteristics of a reading. The same is true for those times when my control is Schwartz or Silva-Tarouca. Second, I make a distinction between 'variant' and 'error' that is artificial. Obviously, all errors are variants, and many variants are errors. By 'error' in what follows, I mean those variants that are clearly and obviously wrong, due to carelessness or the slip of the pen. By 'variant' I meant those variants that are not immediately wrong and whose assessment may require more effort. Third, the assessments are accompanied by a large quantity of tables of prodigious size. These tables exist to demonstrate as fully as possible what I argue and have seen in the manuscripts. Far too often textual criticism reads like conclusions already made. I wish the reader to be able to follow my arguments and disagree where possible. Fourth, each letter collection has a siglum in **bold** and its manuscripts sigla in *italics*; a *conspectus siglorum* for the letter collections is immediately following the table of contents at the beginning of this work.

Having assessed the entire manuscript tradition of Leo's letters, itself a monumental undertaking, I show that he is a major figure, esteemed and copied

through all ages. All of this work is put together at the end in Appendix 1, my edition of Leo, *Ep.* 167, which is accompanied by my translation. Finally, for the reader's reference, a conspectus of Leo's letters is provided, giving the addressee, date, contents, letter collections, and editions of each epistle, followed by a list of the 'proto-collections' ascertained in the main text. Now let us begin with the life and letters of this great pope.

Chapter 1: Leo's Life, Letters, and Their Editions

1.1 The Life and Papacy of Leo Through External Sources

Our main source for Pope Leo I's pontificate (440-461) is his correspondence. However, some facts can be constructed from sources external to Leo himself of which the most significant are the *Chronicle* of Prosper of Aquitaine, the *Acts* of the Council of Chalcedon, the *Chronicle* of Hydatius, and the *Liber Pontificalis*. Leo does, however, turn up in various other places—setting aside still more sources that help us see Leo in his geo-political, geo-ecclesiological, and theological context. From these sources alone, it becomes evident that Leo was a significant figure in the mid-fifth century and had greater long-term stature than some other Roman bishops—thus his later appellation *Magnus*, shared only with Gregory I and Nicholas I.

We have no secure facts concerning Leo's early life. It is assumed that he was born no later than 400, since one must be 40 to be consecrated bishop according to the canons, and he became bishop in 440. The *Liber Pontificalis* says he was born in Tuscany, but that source is dubious for such details;¹ however, Gore's statement that Leo calling Rome his *patria* undermines the *Liber Pontificalis* need not be certain, for many people have adopted a new *patria* throughout history.² A Roman acolyte named Leo is mentioned in Augustine, *Ep.* 191.1 from 418; the general assumption, which there is no reason to doubt, is that here we have our first evidence for Leo's

¹ 47.1. The *Liber Pontificalis* is systematic as to what information it gives for each Roman bishop including the birthplace and father of every pope. However, it is generally unreliable for events prior to 498 (the start of the papacy of Symmachus, 498-514); see Duchesne 1886, xxxv-xlvi, Mommsen 1898, xvii-xviii, and the summary of their arguments in Davis 2010, xlvi.

² Gore 1880, 5-6.

existence as he follows the established path of an ecclesiastical career.³ By the time of the Nestorian Controversy, Leo seems to have been Archdeacon of Rome, evidence of which is that John Cassian composed his *De Incarnatione contra Nestorium* at the instigation of Archdeacon Leo c. 430,⁴ a fact of significance for students of Leo's theology;⁵ here we see how early he was interested in the theological debates of the age, including the Nestorian controversy that would lead to Chalcedon. A passage in Prosper's *Chronicle* that manuscripts *M* and *Y* lack says that, as archdeacon in 439, he encouraged his predecessor Sixtus III not to allow any inroad for Pelagians into the Church of Rome.⁶ This, however, is most likely added simply for the benefit of Leo's prestige and not to be taken seriously.

In 440, to quote Prosper:

At the death of Bishop Sixtus, the Roman Church was without a priest for 40 full days, awaiting with wondrous peace and patience the presence of Deacon Leo, whom at the time the Gauls were detaining as he restored friendship between Aëtius and Albinus, as if he had been taken far away—so that the

³ The reference is, in fact, no more than that: 'si enim breuissimam epistolam tuam, quam de hac ipsa re ad beatissimum senem Aurelium per Leonem acolithum direxisti'. For the establishment of an ecclesiastical *cursus honorum* in Rome, see Pietri 1976, Vol. 1, 690-696, including references to the primary sources.

⁴ *Praef.*, 1.

⁵ That Leo commissioned Cassian to write this piece is potentially significant, demonstrating that Leo held the Greek-speaking monk of Marseille in high regard; for those who argue that many of Leo's works were actually composed by Prosper of Aquitaine, this association and reliance on Cassian when Archdeacon rather than Prosper should give pause. Although Prosper would not write his anti-Cassian piece, *Contra Collatorem*, until 433, Prosper's stance on predestination was clearly in strong opposition to Cassian's in *Conference* 13, written between 426 and 429 (for dating the *Conferences*, see Ramsey 1997, 8). If Leo were so indebted to Prosper that his own anti-Pelagian writings were written by the Aquitanian, why would he turn to Prosper's opponent for knowledge of Nestorianism? For arguments in favour of Prosper having penned the anti-Pelagian letters (*Epp.* 1, 2, 18), see James 1993; James' argument is based on similarities in language between Prosper and Leo; however, basing authorship on technical terminology is always tricky because a single author can choose different terms at different times. For other, more substantial counter-arguments against Prosper's composition of Leonine works, see Neil 2009, 95-96, and Green 2008, 193-202; that Prosper never even lived in Rome, see Salzman 2015, which demonstrates that our idea of Prosper in Rome as Leo's secretary comes from a misreading of Gennadius and is, in fact, contradicted by the work of Prosper himself. My Cassian argument is admittedly weak; it is circumstantial and requires the more nuanced work of Neil, Green, and Salzman to be of any use, especially since Prosper's *Chronicon* makes it clear that he considered Leo a great hero.

⁶ Prosper, *Epitoma Chronicon* 1336. On mss *M* and *Y*, see Mommsen 1892, 354-358. Mommsen judges these to be among the better manuscripts, although both are incomplete.

judgement would be reckoned worthy of both the one elected and the ones electing him. Therefore, Deacon Leo, after he was called by a public delegation and presented to a rejoicing fatherland, was ordained the forty-third Bishop of the Roman Church.⁷

Leo's accession is our first unequivocal, secure fact about his career, one which he himself backs up in his accession sermon,⁸ though we have no series of letters sent out informing other bishops of his election such as survive from later popes.

Three years later, in 443, we learn from Prosper that Leo discovered many Manichaeans in Rome, whose activities and 'shamefulnesses' ('turpitudines') he disclosed to the whole church in Rome. Leo's care is said to have inspired not only the city of Rome, but many in the whole world, so that, besides the Manichaean leaders found in Rome, others were hunted out in the provinces and towns.⁹ Leo seems to have got the imperial administration involved, for one of Valentinian III's laws was promulgated against the Manichaeans, *Novella XVIII* of 19 June, 445, sent to Albinus, Praetorian Prefect of Italy, Illyricum, and Africa (443-448).¹⁰ The fact that Leo, who also wrote *Ep. 7* in January 444 to all the bishops of Italy warning them of fugitive Manichaeans, felt it necessary to get Valentinian involved displays his weakness rather than Valentinian's. If the Bishop of Rome had been in as strong a position against the Manichaeans as the account in Prosper and his letter make it seem, he would not have felt any need to involve the secular authorities.¹¹

⁷ 'Defuncto Xysto episcopo XL amplius diebus Romana ecclesia sine antistite fuit, mirabili pace atque patientia praesentiam diaconi Leonis expectans, quem tunc inter Aetium et Albinum amicitias redintegrandem Galliae detinebant, quasi ideo longius esset abductus, ut et electi meritum et eligentium iudicium probaretur. igitur Leo diaconus legatione publica accitus et gaudenti patriae praesentatus XLIII Romanae ecclesiae episcopus ordinatur.' *Chron.* 1341.

⁸ *Serm.* 1.

⁹ Prosper, *Chron.* 1350.

¹⁰ Edited by the Ballerini as Leo, *Ep.* 8. However, it does not belong with Leo's letters in my judgement, although ms **Q o**, (see below 2.2.c.ii), does include it amongst Leo's letters. See also Albinus 10, PLRE Vol. 2.

¹¹ This interpretation is directly at odds with the more traditional reading, represented by Gore 1880, 33, who believes that the pro-Leo *novellae* XVII and XVIII were executed through papal

Presumably this law was part of the impetus behind the discovery and prosecution of Manichaeans in Astorga who had allegedly been hiding there after having been tried by Bishops Hydatius and Turribius some years before.¹² The last certain mention of Manichaeans I have found is in Hydatius, where a certain Roman Manichaean named Pascentius fled from Astorga and was arrested in Emerita in 448, then banished from Lusitania.¹³ As I say, this seems to be the last we hear of Manichaeans, setting aside the polemical convenience of the term in the struggle for orthodoxy involving Priscillianists and, much later, Cathars. The double prong of Leo's decretal and Valentinian's edict can be assumed to have worked.

In early July of 445, Valentinian III issued another constitution, *Novella XVII* to Aëtius,¹⁴ in support of Leo's authority, saying that his authority deserved to be upheld because of the merit of St Peter, the dignity of the city of Rome, and the authority accorded it by Nicaea. The issue under consideration was the activity of Hilary of Arles, who, contrary to Leo's wishes, was causing trouble in the churches across the Alps by unjustly removing bishops from their sees and replacing them with others. Hilary is supporting this activity, according the imperial constitution, with an armed band and bringing about war. Such actions are against the imperial majesty and the reverence of the Apostolic See, and Hilary is banned from mixing arms with ecclesiastical affairs; people are to respond to any summons made by the Bishop of Rome and abide by his judgement. For details of the events that provoked this imperial constitution, our best source is Leo, *Ep.* 10. We also have, however, the

pressure. Jalland 1941, 48-49 sees the edict as of possible imperial origin, representing cooperation between church and secular government.

¹² Hydatius, *Chron.* 122.

¹³ Hydatius, *Chron.* 130.

¹⁴ Ed. Ballerini as Leo, *Ep.* 11, but not really one of his letters. It is not transmitted with Leo's letters in the manuscript tradition and, therefore, should not be edited with them as argued by Humphries 2012, 168-169.

Life of Hilary of Arles by Honoratus of Marseille, who provides us with the other side of the debate. According to Honoratus, while Hilary was visiting the apostles and martyrs, he presented himself to Leo at the pope's command.¹⁵ This makes it seem as though Hilary was simply on pilgrimage to Rome at the time. According to this account, Hilary presented himself with respect and humility, and explained that he was simply putting affairs in Gallic churches in order following established custom. He said that certain people who justly deserved a public sentence had entered into the church in Rome and asked that things that had been expressed publicly might be emended secretly—Hilary had not, according to his speech as recorded by Honoratus, come to Rome to be judged but to do his duty,¹⁶ and the statements he had made on these issues had been put forward as protests not accusations. Moreover, if he wished anything more, it was that he would not be disturbed in future. Honoratus does not name the men involved, but Hilary refused to give them an inch of ground in Rome, and therefore left the city despite guards posted at his chambers and the savage harshness of winter. To put a holy ending on an unbecoming tale, Honoratus says that Hilary, prompted by piety, sent Ravennius, who would succeed him as Bishop of Arles, with Nectarius and Constantius to change Leo's mind by placating him with lowly humility. They met up with Auxiliaris, a former prefect, who felt that Hilary had been firm in his course and always level-headed,¹⁷ and, essentially, that Hilary's forthrightness and obvious sanctity had done him no favours amongst the people of Rome. Auxiliaris took their message. This is the last Honoratus says on the subject—the question of which Gallic

¹⁵ 'Apostolorum martyrumque occursu peracto beato Leoni papae ilico se praesentat,' *Vita Hilarii* 22.1-2.

¹⁶ 'se ad officia, non ad causam venisse', *Vita Hilarii* 22.8.

¹⁷ 'propositi tui tenax sis et semper aequalis', *Vita Hilarii* 22.37.

city ought to be the metropolis of Viennensis is not mentioned, nor are Leo's and Valentinian's rulings on the subject that are so hostile to Hilary.

In 447, Leo wrote to Turribius, Bishop of Astorga in Suevic-dominated Spain, as Hydatius tells us.¹⁸ His letter, presumably *Ep.* 15, was about the Priscillianist heresy and about observance of the catholic faith. Priscillianism is, besides the end of the world,¹⁹ one of Hydatius' great concerns, being Spain's first home-grown heresy.²⁰ However, it disappears from view in his *Chronicle* after the year 447, presumably because Priscillianist activity, if any, had quieted down.²¹ More context is given in an undated, fragmentary letter of Turribius to Ceponius and Hydatius, appended by the Ballerini to Leo, *Ep.* 15.²² When Turribius finally gets around to his point, his main concern is the use of apocryphal scriptures by the presumed Priscillianists, especially a text called the Acts of Thomas which teaches to baptise not with water, but with oil—a Manichaean practice. Indeed, Turribius declares, Manichaeism is intimately tied to Priscillianism; they also have apocryphal acts, such as those of Andrew and John, and another of Thomas. It is unclear to me whether the other apocryphal work, the *Memoria Apostolorum*, is Manichaean,

¹⁸ Hydatius, *Chron.* 128.

¹⁹ See Hydatius, *Chron. Praef.* 6. According to Burgess 1993, 9-10, Hydatius believed that the world was going to end on 27 May 482 due to his acceptance of an apocryphal apocalypse, allegedly written by Christ himself to St Thomas. The *Chronicle* was an eyewitness account of the world's end.

²⁰ He details the Priscillianist controversy in *Chron.* 13, 16, 25, 30, and 127.

²¹ Burgess 1993, 5, writes, 'the peaceful co-existence between orthodox and Priscillianist would seem to have been restored in Gallaecia after the witch-hunts stirred up by the zealous Thoribius.' However, to take the McCarthyist concept of the witch-hunt to its logical conclusion, I contend that perhaps there were few, if any, Priscillianists to be found by Turribius at all. This argument hinges upon their relative quiet in the surrounding decades as well as the fact that the gory details as ascribed to them in Leo, *Ep.* 15, are closer to some form of esoteric Gnosticism as caricatured by catholic Christians and not to the beliefs of Priscillian. In fact, according to Escribano 2005, Priscillian and his followers were not Gnostic at all, but more likely hard-line Nicenes who rejected the acceptance of lapsed Nicenes in Spanish sees and were ascetic rigorists. One very striking piece of evidence is that the earliest and most consistently repeated charges against the Priscillianists are not the Gnostic/dualist ideas of Leo, *Ep.* 15, but the charge of Sabellianism and the charge of Gnosticism on the grounds of rigorism.

²² PL 54.693-695. Regrettably, I have not determined the ms sources for this letter.

Priscillianist, or both. Perhaps Turribius is intentionally vague so as to unite the two sects in one ‘perversity’. As we see in Leo’s letters, Priscillianism is tied to Manichaeism in his mind as well, and this latter heresy, as seen above, is one of his major concerns. His anti-heretical activity on both fronts is thus visible to us from the sources beyond his letters, although the details are lacking.

The next major event in Leo’s papacy detailed by the external sources is the start of the Eutychian controversy. More will be said in an organic way about Leo’s role in this controversy when I discuss his theological treatises and the road to Chalcedon. Nevertheless, from Prosper, *Chron.* 1358, for the year 448, we learn about Eutyches’ alleged belief that Christ had no human nature, and that Dioscorus of Alexandria vindicated Eutyches’ opinion against Flavian of Constantinople at the Second Council of Ephesus, not allowing Leo’s delegates to speak. Flavian passed through to a glorious end in Christ at their hands, writes Prosper. Things may have now looked bleak for the success of Leo’s theological policies in the geo-ecclesiological stage. However, in 450, Theodosius II, supporter of Dioscorus and Eutyches, died by falling from his horse. On 25 August, Marcian, formerly tribune and *domesticus*, was crowned Augustus in the East; he was fifty-one years old and gained his legitimacy from a marriage to Pulcheria Augusta, herself a consecrated virgin and sister to the late Theodosius II. Valentinian III was not informed; as sole and senior Augustus, Valentinian ought to have had the right to appoint his imperial colleague in light of the dynastic vacuum in the East.²³ Following the arguments of Burgess, it seems most likely that Marcian was the choice of the *patricius* Aspar and

²³ See Burgess 1993, 49; he writes *contra* Holum 1982, 208-09; that Pulcheria chose Marcian has been stated as recently as Moorhead 2015, 27. I accept Burgess’ view that Pulcheria did not rule alone for approximately one month after Theodosius’ death, and note that what would have mattered most for Leo was the presence of an eastern Augustus and Augusta who would have favoured his Christology.

that Pulcheria was necessary for legitimisation.²⁴ The one-month interregnum was due to Aspar's negotiations with Pulcheria to ensure her compliance.²⁵ Nonetheless, despite the constitutional irregularities of Marcian's accession and Valentinian's lack of recognition of Marcian until March 452,²⁶ what would have mattered most to Leo was the presence of an Augustus and Augusta who supported his vision of orthodoxy. In Marcian, he got such a man; to quote Prosper, he was 'ecclesiae pernecessarius'.²⁷ At the accession of Marcian, events were set in motion to have a new council called that would repeal the Second Council of Ephesus. Originally called to sit at Nicaea (a symbolic move taken again in 787), it met at Chalcedon, just across the Bosphorus from Constantinople. Unlike at previous councils, such as Nicaea, which seems to have followed its own course, or the First Council of Ephesus, where two independent and mutually hostile councils met and then presented their acts to Theodosius II to ratify, the emperor took a firm hand in directing the activity of the Council of Chalcedon, with his own special lay appointees chairing many of the sessions, although formally run by Leo's delegation. Everything that had transpired at Second Ephesus was undone, even those deeds that many of those present at Chalcedon would have thought salutary, such as the deposition of Ibas of Edessa. Here, Leo's *Tome* (*Ep.* 28) was affirmed as the official teaching of the imperial church. After its reading, the bishops are recorded as hailing it with acclamations that the *Tome* is the faith of the fathers, the apostles, Peter, and Cyril, even saying, 'Leo and Cyril taught the same'.²⁸ Alongside the *Tome*, the dogmatic letters of Cyril of Alexandria were also acclaimed as orthodox. Cyril, who

²⁴ Burgess 1993, 62-65.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 65.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 63.

²⁷ Prosper, *Chron.* 1361. Marcian was also popular with Hydatius.

²⁸ *Actio* II.25.

died in 444, had been the greatest and most esteemed theologian of the Greek East in the generation before Leo. He was a powerful polemicist but also sought to articulate his theology of Christ's unity with a rigorous logic rooted in the Christian scriptures. For Leo to be acclaimed alongside Cyril was a great victory for the western church; for once, the Bishop of Rome seemed to be leading the way, unlike in the days of Pope Celestine I, who largely followed Cyril's lead in the doctrinal controversy surrounding Nestorius.²⁹ After much debate over multiple sessions, including a secret one, the Chalcedonian delegates put forward a famous *symbolon* or *definitio* of the faith that quoted a version of the Nicene creed adopted at the Council of Constantinople in 381 and declared Christ to exist in two natures, 'without confusion (ἀσυγχύτως), without change (ἀτρέπτως), without division (ἀδιαιρέτως), without separation (ἀχωρίστως).'³⁰ Even when its first draft was read out (this draft was later modified), glory redounded to Leo, albeit coupled with Cyril.³¹ As far as the doctrinal acts of Chalcedon are concerned, the council was a great success for Leo. Cyril was held in the highest esteem by the Eastern bishops there assembled, and time and again, the Roman bishop's name was given glory alongside Cyril's. Furthermore, at the Council of Chalcedon, we see Leo's enemies brought low in the depositions of Dioscorus of Alexandria and Eutyches, and his friends raised up, as in the restoration of Theodoret of Cyrrhus to his see.

Be that as it may, the canonical enactments of Chalcedon were not all to Leo's liking. Most of them deal with issues that were then current in the sees of the

²⁹ This is in direct contrast to the interpretation provided by Moorhead 2015, 28, where Leo's acclamation alongside Cyril is seen as detrimental to the pope's rising star. In fact, Cyril and Leo are acclaimed complementarily, even when Cyril's letter to John of Antioch, *Laetentur Caeli*, is read out in *Actio* II.20.

³⁰ *Actio* V.34.

³¹ *Actio* V.20.

eastern Mediterranean, from wandering monks to episcopal translations. However, one enactment was decisively contrary to Leo's policy, the so-called 'Canon 28'. This ruling, debated in the sixteenth or seventeenth session of Chalcedon,³² 'assigned privileges equal [to those of Senior Rome] to the most holy see of New Rome' with the right of consecrating the Metropolitans of the provinces of Pontica, Asiana, and Thrace.³³ Leo's representatives at Chalcedon responded strongly to this action, initially taken at an unofficial sitting of bishops at the council. The Roman delegates had been asked to take part in the unofficial gathering, but they declined on the grounds that their mandate from Leo did not cover the issue.³⁴ Thus they had a way out of approving it without having to necessarily express their disapproval of the actions of the council. Nonetheless, the Roman delegate Lucensius argued against the canon on the grounds that it ran contrary to the Nicene canons,³⁵ which were about the only conciliar canons accepted in Roman canon law at the time.³⁶ In terms of real ecclesiastical power, the canon gives Constantinople the same privileges as Rome in terms of local, metropolitan power. No doubt this is one reason why so many eastern bishops accepted it; 185 signatures are appended to it in the Greek *acta*. Another reason for its widespread acceptance in the East is that it solved a number of jurisdictional problems in the relationship between Constantinople and Asia Minor. Nonetheless, however one tries to downplay the powers thus given, the phrasing runs *τά ἴσα πρεσβεῖα*, and could be interpreted as bringing Constantinople to the same level of honour as Rome.

³² It is number 16 in the Latin and 17 in the Greek *acta*.

³³ *τά ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἀπένευμαν τῶι τῆς νέας Ρώμης ἀγιωτάτωι θρόνωι*, ACO 2.1.3, 89.

³⁴ *Actio XVI/XVII.6*. Gk ACO 2.1.3, 88.

³⁵ *Actio XVI/XVII.12*. Gk ACO 2.1.3, 95.

³⁶ Cf. Nicene Canon 6, Latin in EOMIA 1.2.120-123.

Furthermore, by elevating Constantinople above Alexandria and Antioch, this action would reduce Rome's real power in theological disputes. Eastern bishops had often turned to the Church of Rome to aid them or to put pressure on their opponents, most recently in Celestine's support of Cyril against Nestorius. With Constantinople taking precedence over Antioch and Alexandria, the real power of Rome in eastern ecclesiastical polity would diminish; furthermore, with Constantinople wielding both official and actual power, Rome's importance would also decline since eastern appeals could more easily turn to the eastern imperial patriarch than the western. These reasons, succinctly laid out by Price and Gaddis, lay behind the Roman rejection of 'Canon 28',³⁷ alongside others mentioned in Meyendorff's discussion, that Leo's western vision of patriarchal power lay not in the imperial system but in apostolic descent: Constantinople had no apostolic descent, and therefore no legitimate claim to the same powers as Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome.³⁸ The position not only of Rome as the Apostolic See descended from Peter, but of the other major sees, was thus imperilled by Canon 28 in the Roman view taken up by Leo. All of this, of course, cannot be explicated from the conciliar *acta*—some of it is only implied, other aspects require the sources of pre-Leonine papal history, while still more aspects Leo's letters themselves.

We are fortunate to have the *Acts* of Chalcedon as sources for this pivotal moment in Leo's papacy, as the above discussion shows. Without them, our extra-epistolary knowledge would be paltry in comparison to what we know. From

³⁷ Price and Gaddis, Vol. 3, 70-72. See also the discussion in Meyendorff 1989, 156-158.

³⁸ Wessell 2015, 340, argues that the Constantinopolitans tried to appease Leo by demonstrating their place in Apostolic Succession but gives no reference to where this allegedly occurred. I believe she means apostolic descent, which is not the same, referring as it does to the actual foundation of the local church in question. And, while Leo argued for the necessity of apostolic foundation, I am keen to know in which documents Constantinople claimed such a foundation.

Prosper, we would learn that the council condemned Eutyches and Dioscorus and approved Leo's teaching on the incarnation—but that it occurred in 453, not 451, which is the correct date.³⁹ This is better than the *Liber Pontificalis* that tells us that Leo wrote the *Tome* to Marcian, that Marcian and Pulcheria presided over the council themselves, and that they laid aside their imperial majesty and expounded the catholic faith before the bishops! Leo is also, interestingly, credited with discovering Nestorianism as well as Eutychianism, both of which the council is said to have been held to oppose. It does, however, acknowledge that Chalcedon approved Leo's teaching that Christ existed in two natures, God and man. But, while Leo certainly received a version of the *Acta* to approve, it is highly unlikely that it was composed by the imperial hands themselves.⁴⁰ Victor of Tunnuna (d. before 575), a staunch supporter of Chalcedon and the Three Chapters, wrote that the council opposed Eutyches and Nestorius, but imagined that Leo had presided over it.⁴¹ Indeed, although western theologians had great esteem for Chalcedon, our Latin sources keep us almost veiled about its relation to Leo, save that he called for it and that his doctrine was approved at it. We should not, however, fault the Latin tradition for this lack of information,⁴² for most of our Latin historiography of this period consists of

³⁹ Prosper, *Chron.* 1369. The fact that Prosper put Chalcedon a year after Attila's attack on Italy rather than the year before rather bolsters the argument that he was not Leo's secretary. These two events are what Leo is best known for, and it would take a very poor secretary, indeed, to get them so wrong—especially if that secretary were the man responsible for Leo's *Tome*!

⁴⁰ *Liber Pontificalis* 47.2-4. The LP's insistence on imperial activity in the condemnation of heresy catches the eye as potentially significant for its turn of the sixth-century context, when the emperor in Constantinople was himself an opponent of Chalcedon.

⁴¹ *Chronicon* 10.

⁴² With the possible exception of Hydatius who, although he knows of dogmatic letters sent by Leo, Flavian, *et al.* (*Chron.* 137), makes no mention of the council at all. *The Gallic Chronicle of 452* is unsurprisingly silent on Chalcedon; its sole reference to the affair of Eutyches is ch. 135. *The Gallic Chronicle of 511*, 54, tells us only that Leo was fortieth bishop of Rome.

chronicles and *breviaria*, rather than extended historical narrative such as Ammianus Marcellinus or Gregory of Tours. Indeed, Greek chronicles are no more loquacious.⁴³

The great Greek ecclesiastical historians of the fifth century, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, do not reach the year 451. We must, therefore, wait until the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius Scholasticus from 593,⁴⁴ to see what knowledge of the council we could obtain without the *Acts*. Evagrius' detailed account, Book 2.2-5, refers throughout to Leo's deputies, thereby highlighting the central role Leo played in the council, though from afar, as well as his centrality to its memory. Outside of the *Acta*, Evagrius is our best source for a detailed discussion of Chalcedon, and his description, like the events themselves, helps raise Leo's prestige, which continued to rise after the success of his doctrine at Chalcedon in both East and West.

The Council of Chalcedon is the reason Leo is considered *Magnus*, but the event that has held the imagination, and for which he is primarily famous today, is one that deals with neither doctrine nor canon law, and which he never mentions once in sermon or letter—his meeting with Attila,⁴⁵ called by Trevor Jalland 'a

⁴³ E.g. *Chronicon Paschale*, Olympiad 308, 'In year 422 from the Ascension to heaven of the Lord, there took place in Chalcedon the fourth Synod of the 630 holy fathers against the abominable Eutyches and Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, who were indeed demoted.' Trans. Whitby and Whitby. Malalas, *Chronicle* 14.30, simply notes that Marcian summoned the Council of Chalcedon.

⁴⁴ Interestingly, in Latin historiography of approximately the same date we have Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*. Although Gregory mentions Eutyches and the fact that a council was summoned against him (2.34), neither Leo nor Chalcedon is named.

⁴⁵ This encounter is most famous to us through Raphael's fresco in the Vatican; it is also depicted on one of the Vatican's ceilings, carved in stone above Leo's tomb, and hangs in the staircase of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana. It has grown legendary trappings over the years, visible in these artistic renderings: from a sober, secular delegation, it has become a moment of ecclesiastical triumph and miraculous intervention. Sts Peter and Paul appear above Leo, wielding swords and causing the barbarian warrior to quail before this papal intervention. According to Jalland 1941, 412, the first mention of any supernatural intervention is Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana* 14.12, from 740-50. When asked why he showed such respect for Leo, Attila said that 'non se eius, qui aduenerat, personam reueritum esse, sed alium se uirum iuxta eum in habitu sacerdotali adstantem uidisse forma augustiore, canitie uenerabilem illumque euaginato gladio sibi terribiliter mortem minitantem, nisi cuncta, quae ille expetebat, explesset.'

dramatic climax in Leo's career.⁴⁶ After spending much of his career harassing the eastern Roman Empire,⁴⁷ in 451 Attila, erstwhile ally of the Romans, turned his attention to the West and began raiding in Gaul. He was engaged by Aëtius, in 'peaceful alliance'⁴⁸ with the Visigoths at the Catalaunian Plains in Gaul.⁴⁹ The battle, in which the Visigothic King Theoderic died, came to a stalemate; Hydatius writes that 'it was the darkness of night which broke off the fighting.'⁵⁰ The Huns now turned to Italy. Attila proceeded to attack Aquileia, one of the chief and most prosperous cities of northeastern Italy and metropolis of Venetia and Histria.⁵¹ Having laid waste Aquileia,⁵² Attila turned his attention to Milan and Ticinum.⁵³ After the ransacking of Italy's major northern cities, the Hun army set out on its way south, presumably to take the city of Rome itself in the grand tradition of Alaric. However, unlike Alaric and, later, Gaiseric, they never reached Rome. Attila was met by a delegation from the emperor, the senate, and the people of Rome, consisting of Avienus, a former consul;⁵⁴ Trygetius, a former prefect; and 'the most blessed Pope Leo.'⁵⁵ According to Prosper, Attila was so delighted by the presence of the chief

⁴⁶ Jalland 1941, 55.

⁴⁷ The Huns raided the East from 441-447, in which year Attila looked as though he would attack Constantinople following January's earthquake; he opted for payments in gold instead. Since booty and power, not conquest, were what the Huns seem mostly to have desired in these campaigns, taking payment was much better than trying to take Constantinople without a fleet, even with its walls partly demolished. See Kelly 2015, 200-201.

⁴⁸ 'in pace societas', Hydatius, *Chron.* 150.

⁴⁹ Jordanes, *Getica* 197-218, gives a rousing description of the battle, reminiscent of Livy in its detail.

⁵⁰ Hydatius, *Chron.* 150, trans. Burgess.

⁵¹ Attila's destruction of Aquileia is part of the foundation legends of Venice, that people fleeing from the Huns' attacks settled on the islands in the lagoon for safety; see Constantine Porphyrogenitus' tenth-century *De Administrando Imperio* 28.

⁵² For his attack on this city, see Jordanes, *Getica* 219-222, and Procopius, *Wars* 3.4.29-35.

⁵³ Jordanes, *Getica* 222, says that 'the Huns raged madly through the remaining cities of the Veneti' (trans. Mierow).

⁵⁴ Considered one of the two most distinguished men in Rome by Sidonius, *Ep.* 1.9.

⁵⁵ Prosper, *Chron.* 1367, l. 13. However, Prosper makes Leo the subject of the sentence; he himself took up the business with ('cum') the others.

priest that he ceased from war and returned back across the Danube.⁵⁶ According to Jordanes, who cites the now-fragmentary history of Priscus as his source, Attila was wavering at this point in his journey because his advisers had reminded him that Alaric had died shortly after sacking Rome; therefore sacking Rome was a deed of ill fortune. When Attila met Leo (the only member of the delegation Jordanes names) at the Mincius, his mind was made up.⁵⁷ Gold probably changed hands, or was at least promised.⁵⁸ Modern scholars usually accept Italian famine and the fatigue of long campaigning as the reasons for Attila's departure in 452.⁵⁹ Hydatius, in fact, fails to mention Leo's embassy and attributes their departure from Italy to famine, disease, and a punitive expedition led by Aëtius and sent by Marcian.⁶⁰ Moreover, in a letter to Pope Symmachus (pope, 498-514), reference is made to Leo having been involved in the ransom of Christian, pagan, and Jewish captives from the Huns.⁶¹ If this ransom occurred—perhaps it was an extrapolation of Leo's role in 452 on the part of Symmachus' eastern correspondents, we do not know—it would have been part of the embassy. The involvement of bishops in the ransom of captives and slaves is not unusual; they are a logical choice, for they are meant to be representatives of the

⁵⁶ Prosper, *Chron.* 1367.

⁵⁷ Jordanes, *Getica* 222-223.

⁵⁸ Priscus, *frag.* 17, as cited by Neil 2009, 9, suggests that there may have been some sort of treaty made with Attila, one possibly involving gold, as had been made with Attila in the past. However, this is simply the Latin paraphrase of Jordanes above and makes no mention of such things. Nevertheless, it is not unlikely that gold changed hands, given how much the Romans had been paying Attila earlier in his career to keep him from harassing; see Kelly 2015, 201-202, for these payments, as well as arguments as to why they were possibly a better investment than costly wars, 205-206.

⁵⁹ E.g. Jalland 1941, 413 n. 6; Wessell 2008, 44-45; Kelly 2015, 202.

⁶⁰ Hydatius, *Chron.* 146.

⁶¹ Pope Symmachus, *Ep.* 6, PL 62.59D-60A: 'Si enim qui praecessit beatitudinem tuam inter sanctos constitutus Leo archiepiscopus ad Attilam tunc erronem barbarum per se currere non duxit indignum, ut captivitatem corrigeret corporalem, nec tantum Christianorum, sed et Iudaeorum (ut credibile est) atque paganorum: quanto magis...' The inclusion of pagans and Jews amongst the captives ransomed by Leo is not so much 'unusual' to the writers (Wessell 2008, 46 n. 165) as it is being used to rhetorical effect. If Leo had set free not only Christians but pagans and Jews as well, *how much more* ought Symmachus to be involved in setting Christians free from the heresies of Eutyches and Nestorius.

whole people, having been chosen by the people, clergy, local bishops, and metropolitan bishop.⁶²

Leo's participation in this delegation, as told within his lifetime by Prosper, is a moment of glory for the fifth-century Roman pontificate. As in Jordanes, Leo is the only member of the delegation named in the *Liber Pontificalis*—any mention of the emperor, senate, and people of Rome has been expunged from the record.⁶³ The tone for the later tradition is thus set by the early 500s.⁶⁴ Although Leo never mentions this event, and a variety of other circumstances contributed to Attila's departure from Italy, it illustrates the prestige of the Bishop of Rome in the middle of the fifth century for us. He was a known diplomat, having already engaged in the mission to Gaul at the time of his accession to the see of Rome. Whether Leo was there only to ransom captives or not, his presence alongside two of the leading secular figures of Rome reminds us that the Roman bishop was rising in prominence in this period. Rome was still a long way from becoming a papal city,⁶⁵ of course, but in Leo's meeting with Attila, we get a foretaste of things to come as well as a vision of the complementary secular and ecclesiastical powers in Rome at this time. Attila died in 453, and with the loss of a strong king, the subjugation of neighbouring peoples that the Huns had forged into an empire fell apart.

⁶² In several places, e.g. *Ep.* 167.1.

⁶³ *Liber Pontificalis* 47.7.

⁶⁴ However, writing c. 519, Cassiodorus, *Chron.* 1256, says that Leo was directed by Valentinian to take the embassy. He nevertheless names no other delegates.

⁶⁵ As Humphries 2007 discusses, there was still a strong presence of the Senate into the sixth and even seventh century in Rome as well as strong visibility of the imperial family, even if few of them, excepting the court of Valentinian III, of course, lived in the city. And, whether it was inhabited by the princeps or not, the residence on the Palatine was a visible reminder. They were also visible in new edifices, such as the mausoleum of Honorius next to St Peter's basilica. On this building see McEvoy 2013, 125, who reminds us of its remarkable status, since no emperor had been buried at Rome in over a hundred years. The rise of non-military child emperors in the late fourth century meant that emperors needed prestige somewhere other than the battlefield; not only ceremonial but buildings in Rome were part of that prestige, again as argued *ibid.*, 127-128.

In 454, out of suspicion that Aëtius was a traitor and sought the imperial honours for himself, Valentinian III killed the patrician with his own hand.⁶⁶ The suspicious emperor was not to live long, however. On 16 March, 455, the friends and comrades (Prosper: ‘amicos armigerosque eius’; Hydatius: ‘duos barbaros Aetii familiares’) of Aëtius slew Valentinian on the Campus Martius.⁶⁷ Petronius Maximus was now raised to the imperial purple.⁶⁸ According to Prosper, the people fled soon after when a messenger from Geiseric, the Vandal King of Africa, arrived in the city. On 31 May, the city was invaded by the Vandals, and Petronius was slain as he attempted a secret withdrawal from Rome, according to Prosper; Hydatius says that a mob assassinated him.⁶⁹ Geiseric, reports Prosper, intended to leave the entire city bare, when Leo stood in his way in front of the city gates and extracted promises from the barbarian king to refrain from fire and slaughter. Nevertheless, the Vandals pillaged the city for fourteen days,⁷⁰ acquiring as part of their booty Valentinian’s widow and daughter. Leo had once again stood in the gap between the people of Rome and a barbarian king, but his embassy was less effective this time, given that the invaders were literally at the gate of the city; Prosper lessens the blow by saying, ‘cum omnia potestati ipsius essent tradita’—since everything had been handed over to Geiseric’s power. It was not a failure on Leo’s part; Rome was already in Geiseric’s hands.

⁶⁶ Prosper, *Chron.* 1373, ‘Aetius imperatoris manu et circumstantium gladiis intra palatii penetralia crudeliter confectus est.’ Hydatius, *Chron.* 152, ‘Aetius ... accitus intra palatium manu ipsius Valentiniani imperatoris occiditur.’

⁶⁷ Hydatius, *Chron.* 154, for the assassination of Valentinian. Procopius, *Wars* 3.4.36, mistakenly turns Petronius into the assassin.

⁶⁸ See Prosper, *Chron.* 1375, for the events of March and May-June 455.

⁶⁹ Hydatius, *Chron.* 162. See also Procopius, *Wars* 3.5.2.

⁷⁰ Besides the list in the *Liber Pontificalis*, discussed below, Procopius, *Wars* 3.5.3-7, lists the plunder as including all the valuables from the imperial residence and the contents of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, including half of its roof; at *Wars* 4.9.5, we learn that amongst this palatial plunder were the treasures from Jerusalem brought back to Rome by Titus. Cassiodorus, *Chron.* 1263, says that Rome was emptied by Geiseric.

From the *Liber Pontificalis* we learn that:

After the Vandal disaster [Leo] replaced all the consecrated silver services throughout all the *tituli*, by melting down 6 water-jars, two at the Constantinian basilica, two at the basilica of St Peter, two at St Paul's, which the emperor Constantine had presented, each weighing 100 pounds; from these he replaced all the consecrated vessels.⁷¹

The Vandal sack of Rome provided Leo with an opportunity to exercise papal largesse by attending to the maintenance of church buildings and church plate (a preoccupation of the *Liber Pontificalis*).⁷² In this way, the aftermath of the Vandals allowed Leo was able to exercise a visible, temporal function of his role as spiritual head of the Roman community.

Prosper's final entry is also for the year 455 and concerns Leo—the date of Easter.⁷³ It was celebrated on 26 April 455 by the 'tenacious' ('*pertinaci*') intent of the Bishop of Alexandria, although Leo wanted to celebrate it on the seventeenth because it was neither in the reckoning of the full moon nor in the boundary of the first month. Nevertheless, he backed down '*studio unitatis et pacis*'. Prosper notes that Leo wrote many letters on the subject of Easter 455 to Marcian, attempting to have the Roman date approved, and these letters are our main source for the event—as with almost every other event, save Leo and the barbarian kings. However, we have one other highly significant source for the Easter controversy, and that is the *Cursus Paschalis* of Victorius of Aquitaine from the year 457.⁷⁴ This paschal cycle was put together by Victorius for Hilarus the Archdeacon. Hilarus had been one of Leo's delegates to the ill-fated Second Council of Ephesus in 449 and would be

⁷¹ *Liber Pontificalis* 47.6, trans. Davis.

⁷² In the same chapter, it says that Leo renewed St Peter's and the apse-vault as well as St Paul's 'after the divine fire'; to the 'Constantinian basilica' (St John's Lateran, presumably), he added an apse-vault, besides founding a church for St Cornelius near San Callisto on the Via Appia.

⁷³ Prosper, *Chron.* 1376.

⁷⁴ Victorius' Easter tables became the standard in Rome for several decades until, in the 500s, Dionysius Exiguus would make his own calculations and Easter tables, and these were then taken on as the standard for the western church.

Leo's successor as Bishop of Rome.⁷⁵ Victorius never names Leo, although he mentions Theophilus of sacred memory, the Alexandrian archbishop whose Easter tables had been in use in the East since the reign of Theodosius I.⁷⁶ In contrast to Leo's letters, where we see the pope flustered about the errors of the East, Victorius takes a different tack in his dedicatory letter to Hilarus, observing that different ways of calculating the sixteenth moon of the first month in relation to the requisite Sunday have produced the discrepancies in establishing the date of Easter. In his Easter table, the date of Easter for the disputed year 455 is given as the date favoured by Leo but with a note acknowledging the date calculated by Theophilus.

Prosper may stop there, but Leo's episcopacy continued for six years after 455 with its Vandal sack and contested Easter. After Petronius Maximus' brief reign came the reign of a Gallic aristocrat, Avitus, father-in-law to Sidonius Apollinaris.⁷⁷ While Avitus was hailed and recognised as Augustus by the people of Rome,⁷⁸ he needed to send envoys to gain acknowledgement by his eastern colleague, Marcian,⁷⁹ who would have been senior Augustus, and whose approval was needed according to procedure, especially in the case of an extra-dynastic succession such as that of Avitus. This acknowledgement was secured, but we should be aware that by 456 Avitus had lost the favour of the Italian aristocracy and was replaced by Majorian.⁸⁰ The principates of Petronius and Avitus go unnoticed in Leo's correspondence, just

⁷⁵ He is sometimes called 'Hilarius', but that is likely due to overcorrection. In the manuscripts that contain his letters as well as in Leo's letters, the *Liber Pontificalis*, and most mss of Victorius' *Cursus*, his name is given consistently as 'Hilarus'; Thiel, Jaffé, *PCBE* 2, and *CAH* 14 are in agreement in giving his name thus.

⁷⁶ It had been established by Constantine that the Bishop of Alexandria would set the date for Easter for everyone so as to resolve disputes.

⁷⁷ Sidonius wrote him a panegyric, *Poem* VII.

⁷⁸ As attested by Hydatius, *Chron.* 156, 159.

⁷⁹ Hydatius, *Chron.* 159.

⁸⁰ For an account of Avitus and his reign's tragically unsuccessful attempt to reintegrate Gaul and Italy, see Halsall 2007, 257-261.

as most lay activity fades into the background—indeed, we know of Majorian in the letters only from consular formulae of the year 458.

It is hard to gain a clear picture of the final years of Leo's pontificate from these sources. As the previous paragraph hints, this was a turbulent time in Roman history, with a succession of short-lived western emperors that would end in 476. In the midst of this, what do the chroniclers and historians tell us of the Bishop of Rome? Prosper ends in 455, and we have already exhausted Hydatius' references to Leo. The *Liber Pontificalis* gives us no details of events later than the Vandal sack, although it closes, 47.8-9, with some interesting information about Leo's activity in the liturgy, in the ordinances concerning nuns, and in establishing guards for the tombs of Sts Peter and Paul. It then gives its customary facts, that 'He performed four December ordinations in Rome, 81 priests, 31 deacons; for various places 185 bishops. He was buried in St Peter's on 11 April. The bishopric was vacant 7 days.'⁸¹

Thankfully, we *do* have Leo's letters to work with, as did the writers of his history. Prosper, as mentioned above, states that Leo's letters concerning the Easter controversy of 455 still exist. Besides Leo's letter to Turribius, Hydatius also says that letters concerning Eutyches were brought to Gaul and circulated amongst the churches, including a letter of Flavian to Leo, Cyril's letters to Nestorius, and Leo's responses to Flavian.⁸² The only thing Gennadius of Marseille has to say about Leo is that he penned the *Tome*,⁸³ and the *Liber Pontificalis* mentions that many of his

⁸¹ Trans. Davis.

⁸² Hydatius, *Chron.* 137.

⁸³ *De Viris Illustribus*, 71.

letters survive in the archives at Rome.⁸⁴ We now turn to these letters as a source for Leo's papacy.

1.2 Leo's Papacy Through the Letters

As I have just demonstrated, a relatively full account of Leo's papacy can be produced from external sources. However, his letters and sermons remain the most important sources of all. We begin again, then, on 29 September 440, when he preached *Serm.* 1, giving thanks to God and the people of Rome for his election to the episcopate, as well as beseeching their prayers for him as he undertook this role. As pope, Leo preached a cycle of sermons for the major feasts and fasts of the Roman calendar;⁸⁵ as argued by Bernard Green, this was an innovation on Leo's part; bishops of Rome were not hitherto known as preachers, and Leo is likely modelling himself on Ambrose of Milan and other major bishops of the age in acting this way.⁸⁶ These sermons show that throughout his twenty-year papacy, Leo was interested in expounding a soteriological Christology that shifted over time.⁸⁷ Thanks to Chavasse's dating of the sermons in his edition, we can now combine them with the letters to produce a vision of the major events of Leo's episcopate. Throughout his papacy, Leo was a champion of orthodoxy and defender of tradition—even when

⁸⁴ 47.8 lists 12 to Marcian, 13 to the Emperor Leo, 9 to Flavian, and 18 to the bishops throughout the East.

⁸⁵ His surviving sermons are for the anniversary of his election to the episcopate, the annual collections, the December fast, the Nativity, Epiphany, the Lenten fast, a Lenten sermon on the Transfiguration, the Passion, Ascension, Pentecost, Sts Peter and Paul, one commemorating Alaric's sack of Rome, one for the Maccabaeen Martyrs, St Lawrence, the September fast, the Beatitudes, and one against Eutyches. These 96 sermons would make a cycle of 16 per year; whether he preached more frequently is unknown.

⁸⁶ For the argument in favour of Ambrose's example, see Green 2008, 66-67. Although I can imagine Leo taking Ambrose as an example for preaching, there were other famous Latin preachers in Leo's lifetime who could just as easily have inspired Leo, such as Augustine of Hippo and Peter Chrysologus.

⁸⁷ This theological emphasis of Leo's work is the subject of Armitage 2005 and Green 2008. For the development of Leo's Christology over time, see Green 2008, 138-248, and Barclift 1997.

innovating. Some issues he addressed only emerge in his sermons, such as potential sun-worshippers in his congregation.⁸⁸ The focus for the rest of this discussion of his papacy, however, will be Leo's letters and what they tell us about the events and focus of Leo's long incumbency of the See of Peter. The first issue that emerges in the letters, then, is Pelagianism, a teaching the Roman Church had dealt with in earlier decades, siding with Augustine of Hippo against it, notably during the papacy of Innocent I. Leo's concern in *Epp.* 1 and 2, both of 442, is the presence of runaway Pelagians trying to insinuate themselves into the churches of northern Italy; Leo reiterates some of these concerns again in *Ep.* 18, 30 December, 447. According to Leo, Pelagians are to make public confession and recantation before admission to the church's fellowship; they are also to be barred from advancement in the ecclesiastical *cursus*.

Leo shared another target with Augustine that was more important for him than Pelagianism, and that was Manichaeism; we have already seen this religion in Valentinian's *Novella* XVIII and references in Prosper and Hydatius. He tackled Manichaeism from the pulpit in *Serm.* 9, 16, 24, 34, 42, 72, and 76. According to investigations he undertook himself,⁸⁹ Rome had a large Manichaean population that included members of the church and involved amongst its secret rites the violation of a young girl.⁹⁰ This investigation resulted in the expulsion of the Manichaeans from Rome, and in *Ep.* 7 of 30 January, 444, Leo warned the bishops of Italy that these Manichees were now fugitive and would try to infiltrate their congregations. A few years later in 447, Leo would respond to a letter from Turribius of Astorga in

⁸⁸ *Serm.* 27.4.

⁸⁹ See *Serm.* 16, 12 December 443.

⁹⁰ These Manichaeans were likely refugees from North Africa following the Vandal invasions of the previous decade, for the most part. See Schipper and van Oort 2000, 1.

Gallaecia, Spain, about Priscillianism. This, *Ep.* 15, is the longest of Leo's decretals and draws connections between Priscillianism and Manichaeism throughout, as we have already seen Turribius do. This letter represents an important element in fifth-century geo-ecclesiology. As any brief scan of fourth- and fifth-century Spanish ecclesiastical history demonstrates—it is enough to look at Hydatius—Priscillianism was regarded as a pernicious heresy by catholic churchmen, and it had already been condemned by church councils, bishops, and popes. Turribius had no need to send a letter to Leo outlining the supposed beliefs of Priscillianists—especially when one belief held that demons create the embryos in women's wombs. No catholic prelate would be unaware of the unorthodoxy of that claim. The Roman bishop's ruling or opinion would be of little actual worth. Rather, what Turribius' letter to Leo shows us is the desire on the part of catholic/orthodox bishops living beyond the pale of secular Roman influence to be united with the Roman world. The Bishop of Rome was a living symbol of that. By including the Bishop of Rome in his anti-Priscillianist cause, Turribius was including Gallaecia in the affairs of the Roman Church, far away though it was.⁹¹ This sort of activity would continue over the decades to come, as the church had to renegotiate her identity amidst the political disunity of a ruptured, and then extinguished, western Roman Empire.

Leo's decretals are not confined to heresy, however. One of the most important issues, and one which we will return to, found in this body of 17 letters is the relationship of Arles to the rest of Gaul, discussed above at 1.1 from the vantage

⁹¹ At the time Turribius wrote to Leo, Gallaecia was under Suevic. When one considers Gallaecia's turbulent history, it comes as no great shock that the Bishop of Astorga was keen to establish ties with the Bishop of Rome. To reconstruct the chronology and events of Gallaecia's long removal from Roman power in the fifth century, see Hydatius, *Chron.* 34, 49, 80, 81, 86, 91, 106, 115, 123, 129, and Kulikowski 2004, 161-167, 172.

point of Hilary's supporters. In *Ep.* 10,⁹² we learn that Leo has judged an appeal to Rome against Hilary of Arles, declaring that the Bishop of Vienne, not of Arles, should be Metropolitan of Viennensis, and nullifying all of Hilary's acts as metropolitan. The dispute with Hilary arose because Hilary had deposed a certain Celidonus, Bishop of Besançon. Celidonus went to Rome as a court of appeal, and Hilary followed to defend his action. In contrast to Hilary's hagiographer, Leo recounts that in front of the pope Hilary seems to have lost control and behaved in a way unbecoming of a bishop. As a result, Leo decided in favour of Celidonus, arguing that secular prestige such as Arles had was insufficient grounds for ecclesiastical power. The claim that Leo did this because the Bishop of Rome was suspicious of Gallic monasticism and feared that it (and therefore also Hilary, a former monk of Lérins) was Pelagian,⁹³ is largely groundless. The Roman hierarchy was no longer suspicious of asceticism at large,⁹⁴ and Leo, as observed already, was on close terms with Cassian, himself an ascetic who promoted precisely the sort of ascetic life practised by the monks of Lérins. From reading his decretals, it is clear that Leo was a firm believer in ecclesiastical order, and he believed that Hilary had upset this order. Therefore, he took action against him; asceticism has nothing to do with it.

Beyond the dispute with Arles, the many other issues dealt with in the decretals include whether those who minister at the altar must be celibate, what to do

⁹² The Ballerini date it to July 445 since that is when Valentinian sent *Novella XVII* on the subject, discussed above. However, it is entirely likely that, as with the Manichaeans, Leo's letter could have been sent earlier, and that he only enlisted the emperor's help when things were not going his way.

⁹³ As argued by Wessel 2008, 71-84.

⁹⁴ Green 2008, 61-73. Armitage 2005, 145-151, introduces Leo's use of ascetic ideals in his preaching then lays the details bare in the following two chapters (153-183). One would expect nothing less from a man who requested theological tractates from one of Gaul's greatest ascetic writers.

with pseudo-bishops, how the papal *vicarius* in Ravenna should behave, what the correct date of Easter in 455 is (as we have seen), etc. We shall return to canon law and Gaul later. First, let us look at Leo's career as a theologian at this time and how it was to shape his papacy and the rest of ecclesiastical history, for it is doctrinal dispute that fills the middle years of Leo's episcopate.

In 444, the year of Leo's anti-Manichaean actions, Cyril of Alexandria died. Despite the modern distaste for his personality, Cyril should be recognised as a theological powerhouse in the first half of the fifth century, certainly one of the most influential and highly-regarded theologians of the Eastern Church. Cyril had been involved in the dispute with Nestorius from the moment Nestorius said, '*Christotokos*'—for, as Henry Chadwick has made clear, Cyril's commitment to *mia physis* Christology and opposition to any division in Christ's single *prosopon/hypostasis* predates the Nestorian Controversy.⁹⁵ His version of the Council of Ephesus, 431, won imperial favour. He penned the Formulary of Reunion, a document of theological compromise known in Latin by its opening words: *Laetentur caeli*, 'Let the heavens rejoice' (*Ep.* 39);⁹⁶ this was a letter to John of Antioch that sought to heal the breach between 'Antiochene' bishops from Oriens and 'Alexandrian' bishops from Egypt (and their western supporters, such as Pope Celestine I) that resulted from Ephesus. The 'Antiochene' position was keen to see the dual aspect of Christ's Incarnation—he was fully man and fully God; they used language that Cyril found very dangerous, characterised in Latin by the term *assumptus homo* which, he observes in *Quod Unus Sit Christus*, makes it seem that there was a man Jesus separate from the Incarnate Word. At its worst, or at least

⁹⁵ Chadwick 1951.

⁹⁶ Ed. E. Schwartz, ACO 1.1.4, 15-20.

most careless, this version of Christology accidentally made Christ into two persons, *πρόσωπα/ὑποστάσεις*, as Nestorius seemed to at times, or seemed to deny the full divinity of Christ from the point of conception, as Nestorius did in calling Mary *Christotokos* instead of *Theotokos*. The ‘Alexandrian’ position stressed above all else the unity; Cyril had no room for attributing certain acts or sayings of Christ to one nature or the other. For him, it was all one Christ, fully man, fully God. The difficulty with Cyril is that there is the uncompromising Cyril, favoured in the years to come by Miaphysites, and there is the Cyril of *Laetentur Caeli* who compromised with John of Antioch to produce a Christology hopefully suitable to both sides. This latter Cyril is undoubtedly the Cyril of Leo.⁹⁷

Upon Cyril’s death, Leo set himself up to be the new theological powerhouse of his age, a reality visible in his preaching as well as in the letter he sent to Dioscorus, Cyril’s successor, where he gives Dioscorus advice on being a good bishop (*Ep.* 9).⁹⁸ All theological powerhouses need controversies to test their mettle, and Leo’s came in 448 when the Home Synod of Constantinople deposed the archimandrite Eutyches for heresy on 8 November. Eutyches promptly wrote both to Leo and to Peter Chrysologus in Ravenna, protesting that he was as orthodox as any anti-Nestorian; Flavian of Constantinople’s own letter arrived hot on its heels.⁹⁹ In *Ep.* 20, Leo had already been in contact with Eutyches whom he had praised for informing him of an alleged Nestorian revival in Constantinople in June of that year.

⁹⁷ For further discussion of Cyril as christologian and his role in the Nestorian Controversy, I recommend Russell 2000, especially 31-58, which is a good introduction with selected writings. See also Wessell 2000 and McGuckin 1994, who also gives a good analysis of Cyril in this period with selected translations of pertinent documents in the latter portion of the book, 244-378.

⁹⁸ The Bishop of Rome writing to the Bishop of Alexandria as a superior to an inferior, or as a master to a disciple, is very telling in terms of Leo’s vision of his role in geo-ecclesiology, a departure from 428 and the years following, when it had been Cyril who took the lead, enlisting Celestine in Rome for his aid.

⁹⁹ Eutyches to Leo: Leo, *Ep.* 21; Flavian to Leo: Leo, *Ep.* 22. Chrysologus’ response to Eutyches: Leo, *Ep.* 25; he tells Eutyches to listen to the Bishop of Rome.

Now, with the information given Leo by Flavian, the tables were turned on Eutyches. Rather than hunting heretics, he was now hunted *as* a heretic. Leo responded to Flavian in *Ep.* 23 on 18 February, 449, expressing amazement that he'd not been informed about the Eutychian scandal sooner; he requested more information from Flavian to be able to make a sound judgement on the issue. He sent a similar letter, *Ep.* 24, to Emperor Theodosius II in Constantinople the same day. In March of that year, Flavian sent Leo his second letter explaining Eutyches' condemnation, saying that Eutyches' error, partly Apollinarian and partly Valentinian, was twofold: first, he believed in two natures before the incarnation, and in one afterwards; second, he believed that Christ's body from Mary did not possess exactly the same nature as ours. Furthermore, writes Flavian, Eutyches had lied in his letter to Leo, for there had been no written appeal to the Synod at Constantinople or to Leo. In *Ep.* 27 of 21 May, 449, Leo praised Flavian for his treatment of Eutyches and promised a full response soon.¹⁰⁰

The full response was the *Tome* of Leo, *Ep.* 28, sent 13 June, 449. This lengthy letter is essentially a treatise on Christology, and it has been written upon extensively.¹⁰¹ In this letter, after giving a preamble about Eutyches' theological ineptitude and unworthiness as an archimandrite, Leo presents a two-nature Christology, drawing upon several of his earlier homilies and using all of his rhetorical flourish to lay out his own vision of how scripture teaches that Christ exists *in* two natures, fully human and fully divine, evident in how some of his

¹⁰⁰ However, this letter considered suspect by Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183.

¹⁰¹ Useful analyses of the *Tome*'s Christology are Sellers 1953, 228-253; Grillmeier 1965, 460-477; Green 2008, 193-226.

actions are clearly divine, others clearly human.¹⁰² One of the main purposes of the *Tome* is to attempt to steer between the two perceived extremes—Eutychianism and Nestorianism. To Leo, Eutyches has denied the full manhood of Christ, Nestorius the divinity. In Leonine Christology, Christ is still fully man and still fully God. The *Tome* has had its critics, some immediate, such as Dioscorus, and others right up to this day; what these critics often fail to see is what the *Tome* means. It does not mean that there are two acting persons inside Jesus; that would be Nestorianism. Although Severus of Antioch would cast aside the statement in the early 500s,¹⁰³ Leo does declare, ‘in domino Iesu Christo dei et hominis una persona sit.’ Severus could doubt the logic of that in the face of ‘agit enim utraque forma...’, but he could not doubt the honesty of Leo’s belief. An entire chapter could be devoted to the *Tome*, its reception, and its proper interpretation, but our ultimate concern at present is the significance of the letters as sources, and in this project as a whole on the manuscripts. Therefore, let us leave the *Tome* there for now and continue our narrative.¹⁰⁴

Although addressed to Flavian, Leo sent the *Tome* to the Second Council of Ephesus on 8 August 449, the goal being its acceptance by the council.¹⁰⁵ Despite Leo seeing no need to call a council to deal with the matter of Eutyches,¹⁰⁶ these *legati* would nevertheless go to represent papal interests,¹⁰⁷ and Leo commends them

¹⁰² See especially the passages ‘agit enim utraque forma ... non relinquit’ and ‘esurire sitire lassescere atque dormire euidenter humanum est ... diuinum est.’ (ACO 2.2.1, 28.12-16, 29.1-5).

¹⁰³ E.g. *Ad Nephaliium, Or.* II, pp. 14-15; trans. Allen and Hayward 2004, 62.

¹⁰⁴ Allow me to take the opportunity to direct the reader to my forthcoming 2015 article in *Studia Patristica*, where I assess the success and failure of Leo’s rhetoric in this letter.

¹⁰⁵ We know that this was Leo’s expectation from *Epp.* 43 (26 August 449), and 44 (13 October 449).

¹⁰⁶ *Epp.* 36, 37.

¹⁰⁷ Leo commends his *legati* to parties in the East on 13 June, 449, in *Epp.* 29, 30, 31 (30 & 31 may be different redactions of the same letter to Pulcheria; see JK 425), 33, 34 as well as on 20 June in *Epp.* 36 and 37.

to various eastern persons, including Theodosius II, Theodosius' sister Pulcheria, Flavian of Constantinople, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Julian of Cos. Leo also encourages his correspondents to hold fast to the truth against Eutychianism but to be lenient if Eutyches himself is penitent.¹⁰⁸ However, Second Ephesus did not go according to Leo's plans—Dioscorus never allowed the *Tome* to be read out, and Leo's *legati* were bulldozed by the Bishop of Alexandria's presidency of the council.¹⁰⁹ In fact, one of Leo's *legati* claimed to have been barred from entering the council at all.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, Flavian of Constantinople seems to have been beaten up by Alexandrian supporters and possibly died of those injuries. In response, Leo began a letter-writing campaign to the East, either encouraging his supporters or putting pressure on the imperial court, totalling nine such letters amongst the surviving corpus by Christmas 449. In February 450, at Leo's insistence, the western imperial family, Valentinian III, Galla Placidia, and Licinia Eudoxia all wrote letters to Theodosius; Galla Placidia also wrote a letter to Pulcheria.¹¹¹ Leo's personal letter-writing campaign also continued at this time, sending another six letters East before July trying to have a new council called to overturn Second Ephesus and establish the *Tome* and two-nature Christology as official orthodoxy. Theodosius remained unswayed by Leo's entreaties until his death—an untimely fall from his horse, 28 July 450.¹¹² He died without an heir.

We have already seen how Marcian now rose to the highest prominence of imperial honour through his marriage to Pulcheria Augusta. Leo's council was called

¹⁰⁸ See *Epp.* 31, 32, 33, 35, and 38.

¹⁰⁹ *Ep.* 44. All Hilarus could cry was, 'Contradicitur!', as recorded in the acts read out at Chalcedon, *Actio* I.964.

¹¹⁰ See *Ep.* 46.

¹¹¹ Leo, *Epp.* 55-58. The western imperial court had relocated to Rome from Ravenna by this point, an important fact often overlooked. See Humphries 2012, 161-182.

¹¹² Theodorus Lector 353 and John Malalas XIV.71-2. See Burgess 1993, 48.

to finally settle the disturbances that had rocked the church since the enthronement of Nestorius in Constantinople in 428. However, Leo's letters demonstrate that, aside from eastern developments later in the century,¹¹³ Chalcedon was not happily accepted by the opponents of Nestorius and the Eutychian position. The monks of Palestine rebelled and barred Bishop Juvenal of Jerusalem entry to the city, installing the anti-Chalcedonian Theodosius as his replacement until Juvenal regained the city and his bishopric in 453.¹¹⁴ This crisis was so heated that Severianus of Scythopolis was murdered.¹¹⁵ In response to the crisis and then its resolution, Leo wrote letters to the monks and to Juvenal,¹¹⁶ to the former explaining his theological position under the assumption that the *Tome* had been mistranslated through malice in order to stir up trouble;¹¹⁷ to the latter, congratulating him on his restoration but reminding him that it was his own tergiversations that caused his trouble, since Juvenal had been one of Dioscorus' supporters at Second Ephesus. He also wrote to his colleague and representative Julian of Cos to put pressure on the emperor to move against the Palestinian monks and to Eudocia, the widow of Theodosius II, then resident in Jerusalem, to urge the monks into orthodoxy.¹¹⁸

Palestine was not the only location of anti-Chalcedonian sentiment, for many Egyptians saw the deposition and exile of Dioscorus and the adoption of two-nature

¹¹³ Particularly the *Henotikon* of the Emperor Zeno in 482.

¹¹⁴ Theodosius then fled to Sinai for refuge. We have Emperor Marcian's letter to Bishop Macarius and the monks of Sinai urging them to drive Theodosius out (ACO 2.1.3, 490-491). He wandered about until he was caught in Antioch; imprisoned in Constantinople, he died in 457; see Ps-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle* III.3-9. Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, II.2.5, discusses the rebellion of the Palestinian monks.

¹¹⁵ See Marcian's letter to Macarius again.

¹¹⁶ To the monks in rebellion, *Ep.* 124; to Juvenal on his restoration, *Ep.* 139.

¹¹⁷ For a discussion of the Greek of the *Tome* and how it Nestorianises Leo, see Prestige 1930.

¹¹⁸ To Julian, *Epp.* 109, 118; to Eudocia, *Ep.* 123, around the same time as *Ep.* 124 to the Palestinian monks. Eudocia herself was a supporter of the anti-Chalcedonian movement at this time. In Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 5945, Eudocia emerges as anti-Chalcedonian from the start; in John Rufus, *Plerophoriae* 10, 11 (PO 8.23-24, 27), she is a pious woman of anti-Chalcedonian bent.

Christology as an abandonment of Cyril, whose first Council of Ephesus was enshrined as an ecumenical council by Chalcedon itself.¹¹⁹ The replacement of Dioscorus as Bishop of Alexandria was Proterius, a Chalcedonian whose statement of faith Leo accepted.¹²⁰ In March of 454, Leo wrote to Proterius encouraging him to maintain vigilance against those who would lead the Egyptians into heresy;¹²¹ at the same time he wrote to Marcian, praising the Emperor for approving of Proterius as archbishop.¹²² The Egyptian situation was to heat up, and in 457, Proterius was killed by anti-Chalcedonian mob violence;¹²³ responding to this situation, Leo wrote *Ep.* 149 to Basilus of Antioch and *Ep.* 150 to Exitheus of Thessalonica, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Peter of Corinth, and Luke of Dyrrhachium.¹²⁴ In these letters, Leo laments Proterius' death and the seizure of power by 'Eutychians' in Alexandria. Leo's letters also help demonstrate the Bishop of Rome's awareness of earlier unrest in Egypt, for in *Ep.* 113 to Julian of Cos, mentioned above in relation to the Palestinian monks, he requests information on the source of discontent amongst the Egyptian monks as well. In *Ep.* 126 to Marcian from January 454, Leo rejoices in the restoration of the Palestinian monks to orthodoxy, but laments that the Egyptian monks are still in a state of rebellion. In 455 Leo inquires of Julian of Cos about the outcome of an embassy made to Egypt by a certain John,¹²⁵ and in 457 Leo sent eleven letters East discussing the anti-Chalcedonian problems in Egypt, including *Epp.* 149 and 150 mentioned above,¹²⁶ including two, *Epp.* 154 and 158, to Egyptian bishops in exile at Constantinople. By June of 460, Timothy Aelurus had been

¹¹⁹ Dioscorus would die in exile in Gangra, northeast of Ancyra, in 454.

¹²⁰ Mentioned in *Ep.* 127 to Julian of Cos, 9 January 454.

¹²¹ *Ep.* 129.

¹²² *Ep.* 130.

¹²³ According to Victor of Tunnuna, *Chron.* 19, Timothy Aelurus organised Proterius' death.

¹²⁴ These two letters are redactions of the same original sent East; see Silva-Tarouca 1926, 28.

¹²⁵ *Ep.* 141.

¹²⁶ *Epp.* 145-147, 149-150, 154-158.

expelled from Egypt by Emperor Leo I, a feat upon which Pope Leo congratulates the Emperor.¹²⁷ However, on the same day the pope unhappily complains to his episcopal colleague in Constantinople for allowing the anti-Chalcedonian to take refuge there.¹²⁸ Leo also wrote to Timothy Salophakiolus (that is, ‘Wobble-cap’), the presbyters and deacons of Alexandria, as well as a selection of Egyptian bishops in August of that year, encouraging them to uphold the orthodox, Chalcedonian, faith.¹²⁹

As discussed above, Chalcedon addressed more than Christology. In his response to ‘Canon 28’, Leo fought to the hilt for the Roman view of what would later be termed patriarchates—visible, as always, in his correspondence. The basics of the Roman view have been set out. In this controversy, we encounter Leo the diplomat. In the spate of letters sent East in response to ‘Canon 28’, Leo never refers to the apostolic origin necessary, in his view, for a patriarchate,¹³⁰ but to Constantinople’s overriding of Canon 6 of Nicaea and displacement of Antioch and Alexandria in rank of honour. The correspondence between Leo and the East immediately homes in on this topic, beginning with *Ep.* 98, from the Council to Leo, which encourages him to ratify Canon 28 since his *legati* opposed it. In *Ep.* 104, Leo responds to the Emperor Marcian’s requests for him to ratify Canon 28 with his own grief against the ambition of Anatolius that put the canon forward. The letters continue in this vein; of the letters between Leo and the East in 451 after Chalcedon, only one of the eight does not touch on Anatolius and Canon 28. Throughout 453,

¹²⁷ In *Ep.* 169, 17 June, 460. This and the final letters of the correspondence, *Epp.* 170-173, are found only in the *Collectio Avellana*; for discussion thereof, see below, 2.2.i.

¹²⁸ *Ep.* 170.

¹²⁹ *Epp.* 171-173.

¹³⁰ A point of view that Leo’s eastern correspondents would not have understood or shared, as argued by Meyendorff 1989, 153-154.

Leo continued sending letters mentioning Anatolius and this canon, and the East kept asking for his ratification of the actions at Chalcedon. However, Leo never gave his official sanction to Canon 28, although he was reconciled to Anatolius in *Ep.* 128, 9 March 454. Undoubtedly, this division over the position of Constantinople weakened the imperial promotion of Chalcedon in the face of Cyrillian fundamentalists in Egypt and Palestine.

If all we had of Leo's correspondence were the so-called 'dogmatic' letters gathered together by Schwartz in ACO 2.4 and discussed by Turner's 1910 article,¹³¹ one could imagine that the last thirteen years of his episcopate were devoted to nothing other than the problem of Eutyches and the aftermath of Chalcedon. Such is not the case, as the rest of Leo's letters from the years 448-461 demonstrate. Among these, of major importance are those letters involving Gaul and the status of the episcopate of Arles. After the dispute with Hilary in 445, relations were calm for a while; at this time Leo sent *Epp.* 40 and 41 (22 August 449) to Gallic Bishops and Ravennius of Arles respectively in order to congratulate them on Ravennius' election to the episcopacy of Arles. In *Ep.* 42 (26 August 449), Leo also wrote to Ravennius about a certain Petronianus, who was causing mischief. However, the bishops of the province of Viennensis were evidently dissatisfied with the outcome of Leo's confrontation with Hilary back in 445. In spring of 450, the fellow-bishops of Arles' metropolis wrote *Ep.* 65 to Leo expressing their discontent with the turn of events and a desire to see Arles restored to metropolitan status. They argued that from its secular prestige as a major political centre in Gaul and from its ancient foundation by St Trophimus, whom they believed was a disciple of St Peter, Arles was deserving of

¹³¹ Turner 1910, 688-739.

the old rights it had lost in Leo's dispute with Hilary. In response, Leo wrote *Ep.* 66 relating that the issue had already been decided. He also wrote *Ep.* 67 on the same day (5 May 450); this letter mentions the presence of Gallic legates whom Leo had detained in Rome so that they could bring information to all the bishops of Gaul. It does not in any clear way mention their mission, which was undoubtedly the same as *Ep.* 65, although Leo has sent them with an oral message giving Ravennius instructions. Thus, Leo has put the Bishop of Arles in his place without leaving a record of the action. Undoubtedly this was to help Ravennius save face, thus maintaining visibly good relations between Rome and Arles, although they would have been undoubtedly strained at this point in time. Leo corresponds with Arles again around the time his concern over the date of Easter 455 emerges, this time informing Ravennius of the date of Easter 452 to ensure there is no diversity in celebrating the feast.¹³²

Now we turn to the thorny question of calculating Easter as reflected in Leo's letters. Again, this is an issue we have seen in external sources. It was the responsibility of each metropolitan to inform his provincial bishops of the date of Easter every year. At some point in 443, Paschasinus of Lilybaeum, Sicily, consulted Leo, his Metropolitan, concerning the date of Easter for the upcoming year.¹³³ Easter does not emerge in the existing correspondence again until *Ep.* 88 (24 June 451). In this letter, Leo sends Paschasinus, who was to preside over the Council of Chalcedon in his stead, the *Tome* and asks about the date of Easter, 455. Paschasinus had a reputation for reckoning the date of Easter well, and Leo says that he has found an irregularity in the paschal table set out by Theophilus of Alexandria; according to

¹³² *Ep.* 96.

¹³³ Leo, *Ep.* 3.

‘ecclesiastical rule’ (of Rome) Easter should be 17 April that year, whereas Theophilus had 24 April. Paschasinus’ activities in Constantinople in 451 did not satisfactorily clear up the discrepancy between the Roman practice and Theophilus. Thus we see Leo penning a letter to Marcian on 15 June 453, urging the emperor to look into the date of Easter 455, and another to Julian of Cos, urging him to encourage Marcian to look into this issue for him.¹³⁴ By 9 January 454, the situation was not resolved, and Leo wrote to Julian again in *Ep.* 127. *Ep.* 131, of 10 March 454, requested information from Julian concerning the emperor’s response to these enquiries. Early in April of 454, Leo is sent a response from the official guardian of this concern, Proterius of Alexandria; Proterius tells Leo that the Roman tables are wrong—Easter 455 is to be 24 April.¹³⁵ Unfortunately for the Emperor Marcian, Leo was to send him *Ep.* 134 before receiving Proterius’ answer. On 29 May 454, Leo corresponds with Marcian to thank the emperor for conferring with Proterius on the issue of dating Easter 455.¹³⁶ His capitulation is signalled in *Ep.* 138 of that July, wherein Leo tells all the bishops of Spain and Gaul that Easter 455 is to be 24 April, the date established by Theophilus and confirmed by Proterius. 13 March, 455, Leo makes sure there are no loose ends by informing the Marcian that the western bishops had received the date set forth.¹³⁷

Alongside these issues that span multiple letters and years, Leo’s letters reflect the day-to-day business of a metropolitan bishop. Focussing again on this fecund dozen of years, in 452 Leo wrote a letter, destined to be a decretal, in

¹³⁴ *Epp.* 121 and 122 respectively.

¹³⁵ Leo, *Ep.* 133.

¹³⁶ *Ep.* 137.

¹³⁷ *Ep.* 142.

response to Theodore of Friuli who had asked him about penitence.¹³⁸ In March of 458, Leo wrote to Nicetas of Aquileia answering questions about the status of the wives of men returning from capture, showing us the pastoral concerns arising from invasion, in this case Attila's sack of Aquileia in 452, as well as the correct response to those baptised by heretics.¹³⁹ In October of the same year, Leo wrote to Neon of Ravenna about how to treat those returning from exile amongst heretics.¹⁴⁰ In the following months, he would also write a letter to Rusticus of Narbonne that responded to many of the similar concerns about the pastoral response to those returning from exile as well as questions concerning a variety of items, including marriage and concubines, monks in imperial service, and penitence.¹⁴¹ Leo's last decretal was *Ep.* 168, another letter to bishops of Suburbicarian Italy concerning the canonical times for baptism, which Leo considers as only Easter and Pentecost.

Leo's letters are a treasure-trove of information. As the above description of his pontificate has demonstrated, they give us insight into his thought on Christology, canon law, the episcopate, and many other issues facing the Church in the fifth century. They set out for us the major lines of the Eutychian crisis and the aftermath of Chalcedon. They show us Leo's role in establishing episcopal boundaries in southern Gaul. We can watch the playing-out of the controversy of the date of Easter 455. We see the ongoing actions against Manichaeans, Pelagians, and Priscillianists in the western church at that time. We see the effect of invasions, whether by Attila and the Huns or by Visigoths, upon the churches and communities of the western Empire. Without Leo's letters, not only would our knowledge of this

¹³⁸ *Ep.* 108. The mss address it to 'Theodoro episcopo Foroiuliensi', which could possibly be Fréjus, but it seems moderately more likely for Leo to write an Italian bishop than a Gallic one.

¹³⁹ *Ep.* 159.

¹⁴⁰ *Ep.* 166.

¹⁴¹ *Ep.* 167; see my text in Appendix 1.

pope be inestimably diminished, so would our knowledge of the theological, ecclesiastical, and secular issues affecting the Roman Empire, both East and West, during the twenty-one years of his pontificate.

The unifying thread that runs through the various letters of his papacy, whether decretal, pastoral, or dogmatic is his vision of what the Bishop of Rome was to do and to be. Throughout all of the above, Leo is acting as the primate of the western church. He involves himself in ecclesiastical disputes outside of his own metropolitan area. He strives for the recognition of himself as head over the papal vicariate in Thessalonica. He corrects episcopal abuses wherever they are found in the West—whether Suburbicarian Italy, North Africa, or southern Gaul. He gives his support to the pursuit of orthodoxy in places as geographically disparate as Gallaecia in western Spain and the diocese of Oriens bordering the Syrian Desert. He seeks the acknowledgement of his theological position from bishops in Gaul, northern Italy, and the Eastern Empire. These practical actions on Leo's part derive from his own ecclesiology, that as Bishop of Rome and successor to St Peter who sits on the Apostolic See at Rome, the imperial capital, he holds a *primatus* and *principatus* of honour and power in the Church. Leo does not hold this belief because it is convenient for him or because he is a power-hungry villain. Throughout his writings, it is clear that Leo seeks the health and well-being of all the churches, from Gallaecia to Galatia, from Mauretania to Mesopotamia. As a man who takes the ecclesiastical hierarchy and episcopal duties seriously, Leo engages in the actions he does in the way that he does because he considers these activities his solemn duty as Bishop of Rome.

1.3 Editing the Letters

Leo's letters have been published time and again over the centuries since the development of printing. What follows is a selection of those editions, including those that are the most significant of their age, such as Quesnel and the Ballerini, and others because they are indicative of trends.

1.3.1 Giovanni Andrea Bussi (1470)

The first printed edition of Leo's works was by Giovanni Bussi in 1470.¹⁴² Bussi's printing of the letters is worth little mention save that it is the first. The letters contained in this edition are the *Tome* which is placed just before the Christmas sermons, and then, following the rest of the sermons (of which Bussi includes 95), four letters, *Epp.* 119, 80, 145, and 165 with the *testimonia*. Bussi's primary consideration was clearly Leo's theology—he had access to a comprehensive manuscript of the sermons, as his printing provided 95 of them for the reader. When Bussi provided this edition, he only gave the reader the final five Leonine letters of the *Collectio Dionysiana adaucta* in order.¹⁴³ I can only assume that Bussi had a defective manuscript of the *Dionysiana adaucta* since there are three more dogmatic letters in that collection (and six decretals as well), all of them from the early stages of the Eutychian controversy.

1.3.2 The Sixteenth Century

The 1500s saw multiple printed editions of Leo's letters, bringing a growing number of Leo's letters available in print, although the text remained what may be termed *vulgata*—the versions found in the later mediaeval manuscripts, such as that

¹⁴² NB: In older literature, Bussi tends to be called Johannes Aleriensis or Johannes Andreae.

¹⁴³ On the *Dionysiana adaucta*, see below, Chapter 4.2.b.

of Ballerini Collection 24, rather than a text based on the earliest, best manuscripts. However, the sciences of palaeography and codicology were as yet unborn, so the task of judging between different manuscripts was much more difficult for the sixteenth-century textual critic. In 1505, Bussi's text was reprinted by Bartolomeo de Zanis de Portesio, and again in Paris in 1511 with the addition of the tract, 'De Conflictu uirtutum et uitiorum'.¹⁴⁴ Jacobus Merlinus produced in 1524 an edition of Pseudo-Isidore that included 94 of Leo's letters. Our first real edition had to wait until the work of Peter Crabbe, who published a two-volume work on the councils in 1538 and his edition of Leo in 1551.

In September of 1546, Petrus Canisius published his own *Opera Omnia* of Leo's works in Cologne at the press of Melchior Novesianus.¹⁴⁵ In this edition, Canisius included 103 of Leo's letters, counting all of them 'Epistolae Decretales'. His edition includes: *Epp.* 4, 7, 18 (addressed to Julianus, not Januarius), 16, 19, 20, 24, 23, 22, 26, 54, 28, 35, 29, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 30, 34 (addressed to Julian of Cos; sometimes this letter addressed to Juvenal of Jerusalem), 38, 39, 50, 59, 43, 44, 45, 49, 51, 47, 48, 60, 61, 69, 71, 70, 166 (dated to the consulate of Marcian, not Majorian), 78, 80, 81, 82, 90, 83, 84, 85, 93, 87, 89, 94, 95, 99, 102, 97, 106, 104, 105, 113, 112, 115, 116, 114, 119, 120, 3, 121, 122 (as to Eudocia, as in some mss), 123, 125, 127, 130, 134, 135, 139, 145, 148, 156, 155, 163, 162, 159, 168, 9, 118, 124, 14, 2, 1, 12 (in version missing middle chapters, in **D-h**), JK †551, 10, 41, 108, 167 (with **D capitula** listed at beginning), 15 (to 'Turbio'), 103, 138, a letter to the bishops of Thrace (from Leo, Victorius and Eustathius, 'Tanta seculi potestates'), 165 with *testimonia*, and 72. The letters run 87^f-126^v. Canisius gives almost no notes

¹⁴⁴ See P. Quesnel 1675, cited PL 54.33.

¹⁴⁵ Regrettably, time and access have reduced the sixteenth-century collections under discussion to Canisius.

about variants from the manuscripts, and he frequently puts Leo in the salutation as ‘Leo Romanae & vniuersalis Ecclesiae episcopus’. In 1561, the Carthusian Laurentius Surius produced another edition of Leo’s works in Cologne, containing the same letters in the order of Canisius with the addition of *Ep.* 68 on the end, but emending the text (a minor example, ‘Turibio’ instead of ‘Turbio’). He also distinguished between what one would call ‘decretals’ and ‘epistles’. In 1567, Leo’s letters were once again printed in Cologne, this time a reprint of Surius’ work in an edition of conciliar decrees.

1568 brought the edition of Joannes Sichardus, which was well regarded by Quesnel and cited often by him in his notes. Joannes Ulimmerius, prior of St Martin’s at Leuven, produced an edition of letters from collations made by him and his monks, publishing it first at Leuven in 1575, again in 1577, then in Antwerp in 1583. A selection of Leo’s letters was again included in an edition of conciliar decrees, this time the Venetian edition of Dominico Bolanus in 1585. In 1591, Antonio Carafa closed the century by publishing a monumental edition of all papal letters in Rome, right up to Innocent IX.¹⁴⁶

1.3.3 The Seventeenth Century

In the 1600s the quantity of Leo’s letters available in print continued to increase, beginning with Severinus Binius’ edition of the Latin councils in 1606. He went to produce a bilingual Greek-Latin edition in 1618, and again in 1638. In both editions he included a collection of Leo’s letters.¹⁴⁷ In 1614-18, another *Opera Omnia* was published, this one joining Leo with Maximus of Turin and Peter

¹⁴⁶ For the editions before Canisius and after Surius, see Quesnel 1675, cited in PL 54.34-35.

¹⁴⁷ See Quesnel 1675, cited in PL 54.35.

Chrysologus. This collection was frequently reprinted, in Lyons in 1622, then in Paris in 1623, 1633, 1651, 1661, 1671, and 1672. Based upon the 1622 Lyons printing, Leo's letters run pp. 97-182. They begin with the run of Canisius, then add *Ep.* 68 as Surius did. The text seems not to be especially varied, still giving 'Julianum' with a note in the margin 'Januarium' for *Ep.* 18, just as Canisius and Surius did. *Ep.* 166 is still dated to the consulship of Marcian, not Majorian. However, the *testimonia* of *Ep.* 165 have been subdivided into chapters. After *Ep.* 68, Binius' edition adds newly-found letters in the order of their collections. First come the five of the *Collectio Avellana* (*Epp.* 169-173), then *Ep.* 17 and 107 (both in Ballerini Collection 23), then *Epp.* 40, 42, 65, 66, and 67 from *Collectio Arelatensis*. The *Arelatensis* letters had originally been identified by Baronius in his *Annals*. This edition epitomises the seventeenth century—more letters are added, some problems are cleared up, and other problems persist. From Baronius' work, Vossius was working on producing an edition of Leo's letters at the time of his death. Jacques Sirmond continued the work of expanding and editing Leo using French manuscripts, giving Leo's letters as the fourth volume of his edition of the councils.¹⁴⁸

1.3.4 Pasquier Quesnel (1675)

Quesnel produced an edition of Leo's letters on scientific principles, bringing together more letters than any previous editor. He provided an extensive introduction and thorough notes, making the basis of his readings and judgements much more transparent than most sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions. He identified the *Collectio Quesnelliana* as being of great antiquity and, therefore, great worth. His

¹⁴⁸ For Baronius and Vossius, see Quesnel 1675, cited in PL 54.35-36.

introduction covers not only the life of Leo, as is usual for the day, but also the various editions available, giving Quesnel's judgements on each. He discusses the letters and their importance, as well as those manuscripts he accessed, as any good editor would do. His second volume discusses various issues related to the study of the life, work, and teaching of Leo. Quesnel makes progress in the scientific analysis of Leo's letters by attempting to date and rearrange the documents accordingly, not simply printing the order of earlier editions with new discoveries attached to the end. Quesnel is not merely a corrective to his predecessors but also to his successors, and is a critic worthy of dialogue.

1.3.5 Giacomo and Pietro Ballerini (1753-55)

Although Quesnel's edition of Leo's works was very good, the papacy was not content to let the matter of the works of one of the great popes rest there. Since Quesnel was a Jansenist, Pope Benedict XIV recruited Giacomo and Pietro Ballerini to produce a new edition. This edition was to become the standard edition of Leo's letters, both because of its high quality and because Migne included it in *Patrologia Latina* 54-56. The first volume, reprinted as PL 54, provides the texts of Leo's sermons and letters with important introductory material. Both bodies of work are accompanied by introductions by the Ballerini discussing the origins and manuscripts of the texts. Throughout the letters, the Ballerini provide *Admonitiones* before the text of each individual letter that signal issues surrounding it. For some letters, the question surrounds its date. For *Ep.* 12, the concern is the existence of at least four different versions in the manuscripts and how to unravel them. These *Admonitiones*

are very helpful to the interested reader. Where a letter exists in Greek, they provide Latin; however, see below for how this practice goes awry.

The second two volumes, reprinted as PL 55 and 56, are an ongoing conversation with Quesnel's work that the Ballerini had begun in PL 54. The second volume is an edition of the so-called 'Leonine Sacramentary' followed by other *spuria* attributed to Leo, and concluding with Quesnel's *dissertationes* on Leo's works. The third volume discusses ancient canonical collections, including their own edition of *Collectio Quesnelliana*, the collection called *Prisca*, the Nicene canons in Latin, a second Latin version of the Nicene canons with the canons of Serdica and Chalcedon as well, a compendium of other ancient documents of canon law, Quesnel's *dissertationes* on the *Codex canonum ecclesiasticorum*, and unedited sermons of Leo.

For many of their notes and much of the legwork, the Ballerini relied on Quesnel. This reliance on Quesnel is visible in the number of notes wherein they refer the reader to Quesnel's edition. Furthermore, for some manuscripts they relied on Quesnel's work to gain access to their readings rather than travelling to the manuscripts themselves, an understandable choice in the eighteenth century. However, they also accessed more manuscripts than Quesnel had, manuscripts they described extensively in their introduction. Furthermore, they did not simply trust Quesnel's judgement, but reordered and re-dated some of the letters and diverged from his readings when they felt it was necessary. Finally, the Ballerini usually show good philological sense in the readings they chose. The resultant edition in 1753 of 173 letters was the largest, most authoritative edition of Leo's epistolary corpus ever put together.

However, this editions presents certain difficulties. First and foremost, even if every reading were true, the Ballerini gave us no *Conspectus Siglorum*. The footnotes are riddled with references to, ‘Unus codex Vaticanus’, ‘Tres codices’ and the like. Sometimes by cross-referencing these obscure references with the discussion of letter collections and manuscripts in the introduction, the reader can ascertain whence the variants came. Sometimes this is not possible. A second problem is that practical factors prevented the Ballerini from viewing every manuscript in person. They viewed certain manuscripts only through apographs, such as Paris lat. 3836, or others through the notes of Quesnel, such as *Collectio Grimantica*. Their text suffers because sometimes their apographs were wrong; through no fault of their own judgement, the Ballerini sometimes went astray in their documentation of the readings. Similarly, not every major variant was listed, as a simple comparison between my edition of *Ep.* 167 and theirs would prove. At times, the Ballerini give chapter headings and divisions without always clarifying their source—often headings and divisions not present in the whole manuscript tradition. Were these headings from one branch, from Quesnel, or from the editors themselves? Another problem that runs throughout the Ballerini edition of Leo’s letters is the context of its compilation—the anti-Jansenist position of the editors and the pope. Rather than seeking only to assess Leo as a major figure of the fifth century, their notes at times engage in concerns of the eighteenth. For example, the ‘Admonitio’ to *Ep.* 1 discusses whether it and *Ep.* 2 are both genuine or if only one of them is. Amongst the arguments they discuss are questions of whether the contents of the different versions of *Ep.* 12 are *worthy* of the pope and the catholic faith. The

scientific approach to this sort of question is, rather, whether the language and content are consistent with Leo, regardless of ‘worthiness’.

There are two other problems with the Ballerini as editors. First, they included *Ep.* 11, which is actually Valentinian III, *Novella* XVII, only ever with Leo’s letters in Oriel College ms 42. They include letters to and from the imperial family, but these are usually gathered together amongst Leo’s letters and are easily forgiven. However, a more problematic practice was that the Ballerini also provided Latin translations for all Greek letters. In the case of *Epp.* 52 and 53 they provided their own, no Latin being extant. For *Ep.* 72 they provided a tidied-up version of an authentic mediaeval version. This practice can lead the reader astray, making him or her believe that the Latin is that of Leo’s correspondents, whereas it is, in fact, that of Leo’s editors. The usefulness of such translation in the 1700s when literacy in Latin amongst the educated was very high but in Greek less so, is understandable; however, the Ballerini’s methods are ambiguous as to whether the Latin is original or their own, a problem only compounded by the presence of original Latin documents, such as the *Tome*, alongside their Greek translations.

Finally, simple progress has rendered the Ballerini edition outdated. We have more manuscripts to compare than the Ballerini did, making the task more complex but also helping us determine the trends of transmission more clearly. Another example of progress is how the Pseudo-Isidorian Forgeries have gone through much assessment in recent years, sometimes affirming the Ballerini, as in dating Vat. lat. 630,¹⁴⁹ and sometimes going beyond not only them, but Hinschius, Pseudo-Isidore’s nineteenth-century editor. Similar situations exist for many of the canonical

¹⁴⁹ See below, Chapter 4.2.d.iii.

collections used by the Ballerini in the preparation of their edition—scholarship has assessed the date, purpose, and location of their original compilation, all of which help us in classifying the manuscripts and judging the variants. Latin philology has not stood still since 1753, either. Many studies have delved into the use of both clausulae in classical and late antique Latin, the application of which to an author's corpus has helped editors choose between variants, as done by Silva-Tarouca in his edition.¹⁵⁰ For these reasons alone, a new edition of the entirety of Leo's epistolary corpus is long overdue—yet I cannot leave the Ballerini there, for they loom so very large in the study of Leo, and their judgement was so very good. Indeed, for most of the letters, even if an editor disagrees with them, the most important change a modern editor can hope to make is simply to provide a proper apparatus—and that is a worthy enough task.

1.3.6 *Epistolae Arelatenses genuinae* in MGH Epist. 3, ed. W. Gundlach (1892)

In 1892, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* put out its third volume of *Epistolae, Merowingici et Karolini Aevi Tomus I*. This volume includes as its first item *Epistolae Arelatenses genuinae*, the epistles of the *Collectio Arelatensis*.¹⁵¹ The six *Arelatensis* letters of Leo (items 9-14) are *Epp.* 40, 42, 41, 65, 66, and 67 (pp. 15-22). These six letters are a shining example in the history of Leonine epistolary textual criticism. For the first time since the Ballerini, an editor had himself consulted the manuscript tradition of a collection of Leo's letters, even providing a stemma with the resultant critical edition. Furthermore, unlike the Ballerini, Gundlach included a clear, easy-to-read critical apparatus for the reader. Finally,

¹⁵⁰ See below, 1.3.9.

¹⁵¹ MGH Epist. 3, 1-83. For a discussion of *Collectio Arelatensis* and its place in the transmission of Leo's letters, see below 2.2.j.

Leonine textual criticism was moving forward, even if for a mere six letters.

Gundlach's introduction is almost entirely devoted to the manuscript tradition, with a small discussion of the collection's origins. Although MGH Epist. 3 is a step forward for Leonine epistolary textual criticism, it highlights for us the main problem besetting the modern editing of Leo's letters: its incomplete and fragmentary nature. All of the editors of Leo's letters from Gundlach onwards have been concerned only with certain collections or certain letters, not the corpus as a whole, as the totality of Leo's surviving correspondence. The most obvious gap, as we shall see, is the decretal material, left unedited since the Ballerini.

1.3.7 *The Tome of Pope Leo the Great*, by E. H. Blakeney (1923)

This text from SPCK's 'Texts for Students' series can be discussed very briefly. It is not meant as a highly critical edition, as the series title implies. Nonetheless, Blakeney here gives us the best text of the *Tome* between the Ballerini and Schwartz because he includes variants from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14540 in the notes at the suggestion of C. H. Turner. The main text is, nonetheless, that of the Ballerini. The book comes with a helpful, but severely dated, introduction, facing-page English translation, and explanatory notes.

1.3.8 Eduard Schwartz (1932)

In 1932, as part of the ambitious multivolume *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, Eduard Schwartz published an edition of various of Leo's 'dogmatic' letters as the fourth part of his *Acta* of Chalcedon; this edition includes 115 letters, which is a sizeable portion of the corpus, amounting to approximately

two thirds of Leo's epistolary output. The basis for Schwartz's edition is the ninth-century *Collectio Grimanica* of 104 Leonine letters;¹⁵² to this, he has appended eleven items drawn from various epistolary collections with two more appended to the introduction: items 105-107 are Leo, *Epp.* 109, 144, 151, from *Collectio Ratisbonensis*; items 108 and 109 are *Ep.* 21, taken from *Collectio Casinensis* with two other items from *Casinensis* that are non-Leonine; item 112 is *Ep.* 103, as in *Corbeiensis*; item 113 is *Ep.* 124 as in *Quesnelliana*; and, in the Appendix, items 114 and 115 are *Epp.* 100 and 132 from *Thessalonicensis*. The introduction to ACO 2.4 is a thorough discussion of the manuscripts Schwartz used, that addresses the editions of Quesnel and the Ballerini, whose achievement is not downplayed by their 20th-century successor. At the end of the introduction, Schwartz provides the reader with two letters he had meant to make available in the edition but overlooked; to the first of these he gives the number 116—it is *Ep.* 102; the second is a Greek version of part of *Ep.* 53. Beside the main collection of dogmatic letters in ACO 2.4, Schwartz has various other Leonine items scattered through ACO 2, located in their places within the different mediaeval collections that make up the edition. Setting aside the Greek items in ACO 2.1, the *Tome* is thus not in 2.4 with the rest of Leo's letters, but is found in 2.2.1, pp. 24-33; other Leonine items in volume 2.2.1 (Schwartz's edition of *Collectio Novariensis*) are *Epp.* 22 (pp. 21-22), 26 (pp. 23-24), and 21 (pp. 33-34), as well as the final two items of *Novariensis* items 11 (pp. 77-79) and 12 (pp. 79-81), from Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum respectively, both unknown to the Ballerini.¹⁵³ In ACO 2.3, Schwartz gives references for those Leonine letters that would otherwise be repeated, directing the reader to their item

¹⁵² For a description of *Collectio Grimanica*, see below, Chapter 1.3.3.a.

¹⁵³ For more on *Collectio Novariensis*, see below, 3.e.

numbers in ACO 2.4; the other Leonine letters are item 5, a different version of *Ep.* 22 from what is in ACO 2.2.1 (pp. 7-8); item 8, a different version of *Ep.* 26 from ACO 2.2.1 (pp. 9-11); items 18-24 (pp. 13-17), the letters from the imperial household to Theodosius with his responses (Leo, *Epp.* 58, 55-57, 62-64); item 27, *Ep.* 73 (p. 17); item 28, *Ep.* 76 (p. 18); and item 29, *Ep.* 77 (18-19). Of the seven letters, or thirteen if we count the ones amongst the imperial family, scattered throughout ACO 2.2.1 and 2.3, the only one repeated in 2.4 is *Ep.* 21. People who are interested in Leo *qua* Leo will wish that Schwartz had assembled all of his Leonine letters into one place, especially the *Tome* which is separated from the rest of the dogmatic letters. It is with his edition of the dogmatic letters in ACO 2.4 that we shall occupy ourselves for the rest of this analysis.

Schwartz makes a strong distinction in the introduction to this edition between *decretales* and *epistulae*, maintaining that decretals and epistles, by which one may assume he means dogmatic epistles, are not transmitted together in the collections up to the seventh century, or, if they are, they are in two separate parts of the same collection.¹⁵⁴ This observation of Schwartz's is usually true, but not always, as our fuller knowledge of mediaeval letter collections demonstrates. In *Collectiones Teatina* and *Remensis*, for example, the *Tome* is the only 'dogmatic' letter included, but is inserted in the middle of Leo's decretals. In the *Quesnelliana*, the decretals are scattered throughout the collection; rather than seeing this as a flaw in his argument, given that this collection may date as early as the fifth century, Schwartz sees it as a flaw in the collection.¹⁵⁵ Of the fifteen letters in *Collectio Pithouensis*, a few decretals at the beginning and end frame a series of non-decretal epistles.

¹⁵⁴ ACO 2.4, i.

¹⁵⁵ In *ibid.*, i, Schwartz calls it, 'congeries magis quam collectio epistularum decretaliumque Leonis.'

Nonetheless, we shall concede to Schwartz that most collections before the eighth century do not mingle decretals with the other letters; be that as it may, unlike Schwartz's edition, they are often still within the same collection, if separately.

Schwartz uses this argument about the nature of early mediaeval letter collections to govern his editorial selection, effectively ruling out all decretals from inclusion. Had he simply produced an edition of *Collectio Grimanica*, the 104-letter collection that forms the edition's basis, all would have been well. Yet Schwartz augments *Grimanica* with the abovementioned letters that he considers either dogmatic or important enough for inclusion. Nonetheless, as full as Schwartz's edition is, this editorial choice meant that a number of Leo's letters, even ones related to the events following Chalcedon, were left out; for example, the letters that Leo sent to eastern bishops and the Emperor Marcian about the date of Easter 455 are included by Schwartz because they are included with the 'dogmatic' letters in the manuscript tradition—this is because most of Leo's dogmatic letters were sent East and often, as he demonstrates, the collections derive from eastern archives.¹⁵⁶

However, *Ep.* 133, a letter to Leo from Proterius of Alexandria on this very subject, is not included by Schwartz, presumably because it is included in a manuscript of the disdained, canonical *Collectio Quesnelliana*. Such is also the case for *Ep.* 138, where Leo informs the Spanish and Gallic bishops of the Easter date decided for that year; the exclusion of this letter is less surprising than the former, since it does not involve the East. However, the exclusion of both of these, while multitudinous other letters concerning the date of Easter 455 *are* included amongst the alleged 'dogmatic' letters, shows the weakness in Schwartz's system. A person wishing to do research

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., xxi, xxxviii-xxxx.

on the question of dating Easter will be able to get the most up-to-date editions of most of the letters from Schwartz, yet will still be forced to rely on the older edition of the Ballerini.

In most areas related to the manuscript tradition, Schwartz's edition is a step forward from the Ballerini, as we shall see below. However, regarding Pseudo-Isidore, Schwartz takes on Hinschius' classification wholesale.¹⁵⁷ As a result, the only Pseudo-Isidorian manuscript Schwartz consulted for the production of this edition is Vat. lat. 1340, a good witness of the thirteenth century, certainly, but neither as good nor as early as Vat. lat. 630 (saec. IX^{med}), which Hinschius misdated and undervalued, as I shall demonstrate below.¹⁵⁸

The ordering of the letters in Schwartz's edition is questionable. He has left the letters in the order of *Grimanica*, and then, when other letters that met his approval were found in other letter collections, he appended them to the end, telling the reader from whence in their original collections they came. The merit of this editorial style becomes clear to anyone seeking to study the mediaeval collections of Leo's dogmatic letters as collections—and, no doubt, such study is due, since the last such was by C. H. Turner,¹⁵⁹ and the world of the ancient letter collection *as a collection* is now being explored, as we see, for example, in the work of Roy Gibson.¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, this method means that Schwartz's edition, as an edition of Leo's letters, is as variable and anomalous as any number of mediaeval collections. The first 104 are an accurate representation of a systematised, mediaeval letter collection. But when one reaches the end of the Leonine material from *Grimanica* on

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., xxx-xxxii.

¹⁵⁸ For the problems with Hinschius' classification and the dating of Pseudo-Isidorian mss, see below, 4.2.d.ii.

¹⁵⁹ Turner 1910.

¹⁶⁰ Gibson 2012.

page 131, one is confronted with letters from the *Collectio Ratisbonensis* not included in *Grimanica*, and in the order of *Ratisbonensis*, a technique continued for letters from *Collectiones Casinensis*, *Corbeiensis*, *Quesnelliana* and the two items from *Collectio Thessalonica*. Therefore, the whole collection of 113 letters is not, as a collection, systematised for the reader, but, rather, resembles the later mediaeval collections that Schwartz himself scorns in his introduction to the edition.¹⁶¹ This method of compiling letters from different canonical collections is laudably transparent, then, but not without its problems. As no problem-free organisational method exists, we must leave Schwartz as he is. An online edition would alleviate some of the problems of ordering and text, since with the click of a mouse, one could see the letters in the order and wording of *Dionysiana*, and then with another, that of *Vaticana*. This, I believe, is the future of editing papal letters, but we cannot fault editors from the 1930s for not being able to do it!

To leave the edition of Schwartz at a point of weakness would be to do a grave disservice to a work of high erudition that brought forward Leonine textual criticism from where it had stood for almost 200 years.¹⁶² At the most basic level, Schwartz's edition is an improvement simply by giving the reader sigla and an apparatus. Unlike the Ballerini text, variants are clearly marked and easily identified; gone are the days of 'Unus codex Vaticanus.' More significantly, for those texts he edited in ACO 2.4, Schwartz identified several early collections unknown to the Ballerini. These are *Collectiones Bobbiensis* and *Laudunensis*. Alongside these collections, Schwartz consulted in person manuscripts of which the Ballerini only

¹⁶¹ ACO 2.4, xxxv.

¹⁶² Indeed, it is part of the praise given the Ballerini by Turner that no one had been able to surpass their edition by 1910; Turner 1910, 701, calls their edition, 'perhaps the most remarkable achievement in the field of Patristic criticism down to Bishop Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*.'

had apographs or had not used in their edition, demonstrating some of the false readings provided by their second-hand knowledge. These collections are *Corbeiensis*,¹⁶³ *Rerum Chalcedonensium Collectio Vaticana*,¹⁶⁴ *Grimanica* itself,¹⁶⁵ and *Ratisbonensis* (which they knew through an apograph). Third, Schwartz drew connections between these various collections to demonstrate more clearly their filiation and origins, highlighting the vital importance of the Three Chapters Controversy for the preservation of Leo's dogmatic epistles.¹⁶⁶ This better understanding of the manuscript tradition and access to more manuscripts placed Schwartz in a better position for judging variants than the Ballerini, although their skill as Latinists must never be underestimated.

A further strength of Schwartz's edition is his production of a non-partisan edition of Leo's letters. As noted above, the Ballerini edition was commissioned to provide an alternative to Quesnel's because of Quesnel's Jansenist tendencies. The result is a text whose introductions and footnotes are riddled with discussions that are often not seeking to understand Leo and his text in the fifth century, but, rather, safeguarding Catholic teaching in the eighteenth. Schwartz's text does away with these disputes and presents the reader with a text whose sole concern is Leo, what he meant, and what his manuscripts say. Such a text is an invaluable aid to those who wish to encounter this fifth-century author with as little taint from later times as possible.

1.3.9 Carlos Silva-Tarouca (1930s)

¹⁶³ See ACO 2.4, xiii.

¹⁶⁴ Described *ibid.*, xv; PL 55.727ff..

¹⁶⁵ As Schwartz observes (ACO 2.4, xxiii), the Ballerini only accessed *Grimanica* through Quesnel's notes (PL 54.569-70).

¹⁶⁶ ACO 2.4, xxxv-xxxxi.

Carlos Silva-Tarouca also published a partial edition of Leo's letters in the 1930s.¹⁶⁷ In vol. 9 of *Textus et Documenta*, Silva-Tarouca provides his editions of *Epp.* 28 (the *Tome*) and 165 (the 'Second' *Tome*) with Leo's patristic *florilegium*, including critical discussion of the texts and manuscripts. Vols. 15 and 20 represent his edition of the Leonine letters in the *Collectio Ratisbonensis*, and vol. 23 is an edition of *Collectio Thessalonicensis*, including both the Leonine and non-Leonine material without reproductions of Leonine letters that are in his previous volumes. These four volumes represent three different editorial programmes. Vol. 9 is the production of critical editions of Leo's most famous and influential dogmatic letters. Silva-Tarouca's introduction to these two letters discusses their importance and authority, including a discussion and vindication of Leo's theology, as well as their context and history, including the manuscript and print tradition. Having given a strong historical, philological, and theological introduction to Leo's two most famous letters, Silva-Tarouca gives us the texts themselves; first comes the *Tome*, divided *per cola et commata* into 205 sections; second come the *Testimonia* usually appended to the 'second' *Tome*; third is the 'second' *Tome*, subdivided into 174 sections. Certainly, Silva-Tarouca's arrangement makes it much easier to find a passage in either *Tome* than the Ballerini's or Schwartz's edition. However, this ease of use is diminished by Silva-Tarouca failing to include a *Conspectus Siglorum*; to discover what *M* and *N* mean in the *Tome* or what *M*, *C*, and *Q* signify in the 'second' *Tome*, the reader must go through the introduction itself to find out. Aware of Schwartz's work, Silva-Tarouca chose to print the text of the *Tome* from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14540, with references to Novara, Biblioteca

¹⁶⁷ C. Silva-Tarouca, *Textus et Documenta*, (Gregorian University) Series Theologica Vols. 9, 15, 20, and 23 (1932, 1934, 1935, 1937).

Capitolare XXX (66), referring the reader to Schwartz for more variants; he judged these to be the best manuscripts available, and used them again for the *Testimonia*, then *M* for *Ep.* 165 with notes from Paris, lat. 12097 (*C*) and Einsiedeln 191 (*Q*).¹⁶⁸

The second two volumes of Silva-Tarouca's Leonine work, vols. 15 and 20, represent a presentation of Leonine materials from a single epistolary collection. The introduction to these volumes, found in vol. 15, covers the manuscript tradition with a chronological table of the letters in that volume, and then prints F. Di Capua's discussion of Leo's clausulae.¹⁶⁹ Di Capua's analysis of the clausulae is probably the most important part of the introduction, since from it we gain insight into the editor's task as well as into Leo as a stylist. Furthermore, Di Capua provides the reader with a table of differences between *Ratisbonensis* and *Grimanica*, demonstrating the superiority of the former as a faithful transmission of Leo's text. This analysis of the quality of *Ratisbonensis* based entirely upon internal, coherent evidence of the manuscript itself is an important contribution to Leonine textual criticism. Hitherto, in Schwartz's edition and the discussion of the dogmatic letters by Turner, manuscripts were judged almost entirely by cross-analysis and comparison of readings across the tradition. Yet when we do not know what the truth is, we cannot judge the strengths and weaknesses of two manuscripts simply by noting which gives a reading we think better. Rather, coherent evidence from within each manuscript, independent of the other, must be adduced. Di Capua has done this for Silva-Tarouca's edition. Thus, although his text is based on a collection that has 33 letters fewer than Schwartz's choice, Silva-Tarouca's judgement of manuscripts is more sophisticated and more reliable. In his text of *Ratisbonensis*, he also gives variants in

¹⁶⁸ Silva-Tarouca 1932, 16-18.

¹⁶⁹ Di Capua 1934.

the apparatus from major manuscripts of *Collectiones Grimanica, Quesnelliana, Coloniensis, Pithouensis, Hispana, Vaticana, Chalcedonensis, and Novariensis*. The differences between Silva-Tarouca and the Ballerini edition include the dating of some letters and the names of some of the persons mentioned therein; the strengths of Silva-Tarouca's choices will be addressed the course of this study.¹⁷⁰

Silva-Tarouca's third programme was editing the *Collectio Thessalonicensis*; the production of an edition of an early mediaeval collection of canonical materials, an important source for canon law. The introduction provides the historical circumstances for the collecting of *Thessalonicensis* as well as its treatment in modern editions and the manuscript tradition. Thankfully, this edition includes a *Conspectus Siglorum*. Unlike his edition of *Collectio Ratisbonensis*, Silva-Tarouca's edition of *Thessalonicensis* includes the entire canonical collection as represented in the manuscript tradition. Thus, he provides us with a text that is eminently useful for the study of late antique and medieval canon law and the church in Thessalonica, not simply the study of Pope Leo. As a result, although he reproduces some of the idiosyncrasies of Schwartz's editions regarding selection and ordering, it seems to have been with more justification, since Silva-Tarouca is not providing us with every dogmatic letter he can find but giving us a clear window into certain traditions of ancient material in its mediaeval tradition. This editorial programme fits well with Silva-Tarouca's other work, such as his volume *Nuovi studi sulle antiche lettere dei Papi*,¹⁷¹ in which he discusses the transmission of papal letters and the issues

¹⁷⁰ For example, Silva-Tarouca re-evaluates the Ballerini dating of *Ep. 59 (Textus et Documenta 15, 40 n. a)* and replaces *Lucianus* with *Lucensius* in *Epp. 104 and 107 contra* the manuscript tradition (*Textus et Documenta 20, 93-97, 105-106*).

¹⁷¹ Originally published in three parts in the journal *Gregorianum* 12 (1931): 1-56, 349-425, 547-598; repr. as *Nuovi Studi Sulle antiche lettere dei Papi*. Rome: Pontificia università gregoriana, 1932.

surrounding their study, and his work on thirteenth-century mediaeval manuscripts.¹⁷²

1.3.10 *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum Series Latina 1*

The first volume of the Latin series of Brepols' CFM is *Sermones et Epistulae: Fragmenta Selecta* by Leo the Great, edited by G. H. Schipper and J. van Oort. This volume contains texts and translations of items from the Leonine corpus pertinent to the study of Manichaeism. Thus, we find here seven sermons and only two letters that are genuinely 'Leonine' based on their place in the tradition, *Epp.* 7 and 15, although *Ep.* 8, which is actually Valentinian's *Novella XVIII* 'De Manichaeis', is logically included, as is the letter of Turribius that the Ballerini appended to *Ep.* 15. As a sourcebook for understanding the position of Manichaeans in Rome during Leo's papacy, this is a helpful resource; however, the English is somewhat clunky. I would direct the reader to other translations instead; *Epp.* 7 and 15 have already been translated by C. L. Feltoe in the Victorian *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series 2, Vol. 12, and all of the sermons more recently by J. P. Freeland and A. J. Conway for *The Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 93. The Introduction, however, is useful as a guide to Manichaeism in the fifth century and Leo's response to it.

As an edition of Leo's letters, this text is by default almost useless since we have here only two genuine Leonine items. Not only that, *Ep.* 7 is a reprint of the Ballerini version, including their hard-to-follow footnotes for variants. *Ep.* 15 is based on the edition of B. Vollmann from 1965.¹⁷³ Nonetheless, making Vollmann's

¹⁷² *Codices Latini saeculi XIII*. Rome: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1929.

¹⁷³ Vollmann 1965, 87-138.

edition of *Ep.* 15 more readily available while also taking into account the Spanish version of the letter is helpful;¹⁷⁴ however, once again we have a simple repetition of another's work. For the so-called *Ep.* 8, however, the editors have only given us a reprint of the Ballerini version, not even taking the time to provide us the edition of Mommsen and Meyer instead.¹⁷⁵ CFM, Series Latina 1, serves only to highlight the pressing need for a new edition of Leo's letters.

1.4 The Case for a New, Complete, Critical Edition

The above demonstrates quite clearly that a new, complete, critical edition is needed. Quesnel brought us near to a complete edition. The Ballerini came as close as anyone, barring the two items discovered in the nineteenth century and edited by Schwartz in ACO 2.2.1, 77-81. They, however, had a flawed and difficult-to-follow citation system. They also included items that did not strictly belong with Leo's correspondence, although these documents are certainly helpful in contextualising the Leonine epistolary corpus. Since then, no one has even tried. MGH, *Epistulae* 3, gave us a good edition of the Leonine letters in *Collectio Arelatensis*; Schwartz provided a good edition of well over 100 items, Silva-Tarouca of over 70. CFM, Series Latina 1, on the other hand, reprinted editions of only two genuine Leo letters.

That is to say, the chief weakness of the twentieth-century editions is their incompleteness: the scholarly world needs a new edition of all of Leo's letters. Because Schwartz was only interested in dogmatic epistles and Silva-Tarouca only in certain collections, many letters remain without a sound, modern edition—especially, but not only, the decretals. Our lack of a competent, critical edition of these decretals

¹⁷⁴ For the Spanish version of *Ep.* 15, see Campos 1962.

¹⁷⁵ Mommsen and Meyer 1905, 103-105.

poses a serious problem to historians of canon law, the papacy, and the development of church order. Leo left behind 17 decretals, a higher number than any of his predecessors, which, besides the *Tome*, were among the first Leonine letters to begin to be edited in the sixth century.¹⁷⁶ The exact nature of their transmission is shrouded in mist, and their text has not been improved since 1757. The edition of *Ep. 167 I* have produced in Appendix 1 helps demonstrate what a new critical edition can do for Leo studies—an edition for which this study is the foundation.

¹⁷⁶ Jasper 2001, 49.

Chapter 2: Pre-Carolingian Canonical Collections

2.1 The Earliest, Unknown Period of Transmission

The letters of Pope Leo I come down to us in 44 collections, the earliest of which dates to the very late fifth century, around thirty years after Leo's death. The period before these collections is shrouded in a mist of uncertainty as with all papal letters before the sixth century.¹ These surviving collections have their origins in what I term 'proto-collections' circulating in Italy and Gaul in the fifth century,² regional collections, and, potentially, the incipient papal archive. The proto-collections are smaller collections that no longer have an existence independent from the collections that have come down to us. The contents of some such proto-collections can be postulated from the collation of the surviving canonical collections, which are collections of items pertinent to canon law: almost entirely either canons and proceedings from church councils, or papal letters, usually though not always decretals.³ The proto-collections that are found within them and that concern us tend to be small collections of papal material; we shall see examples of Leo's proto-collections throughout this chapter, and there are others containing letters of his predecessors. As Jasper observes,⁴ some of the proto-collections that contain his predecessors may be what Leo has in mind when he writes in *Ep.* 4, 'omnia decretalia constituta, tam beatae recordationis Innocentii, quam omnium decessorum nostrorum, quae de ecclesiasticis ordinibus et canonum promulgata sunt disciplinis'.

¹ Gaudemet 1985, 60.

² See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

³ According to *ibid.*, 12-13, the legislation of papal decretals has a universal competence, just like an ecumenical council, and unlike letters of other bishops or regional councils.

⁴ Jasper 2001, 22, 26.

When these proto-collections are distilled from the larger collections that contain them, it becomes clear that most papal letters seem not to have circulated as individual units. From what we can observe, the recipients seem rarely to have copied and recopied them as single, discrete pieces.⁵ Instead, papal letters exist in small compilations from each pope, consciously gathered by their editors before being transmitted. Many of these proto-collections were circulating in Italy, making their way into the earliest Italian collections. However, Gallic collections also existed, such as those traceable in the *Collectio Corbeiensis* (**C**) and its related collections, or in the *Collectiones Arelatensis* (**Ar**) and *Albigensis* (**Al**). Leo's proto-collections may have gained their contents from a variety of sources, possibly originating in the papal archive, possibly the epistolary recipients. They are not usually confined to documents pertaining to a specific area. For example, the earliest surviving Italian collections besides the *Dionysiana* (**D**)—*Teatina* (**Te**), *Sanblasiana* (**Sa**), and *Vaticana* (**L**)—include letters sent by Leo to Constantinople, Gaul, Jerusalem, North Africa, Sicily, Spain, and Thessalonica. The early Gallic *Corbeiensis* likewise displays an international interest in the letters of Leo the Great, similarly drawing from letters to Constantinople, Gaul, Italy, Jerusalem, Spain, and Thessalonica. The presence of eastern letters implies that the proto-collections are, by and large, descendants of the papal archive, whether in Italy or Gaul. That said, the presence in **C**, a collection originating in Arles, of *Ep.* 10 concerning Hilary of Arles and *Ep.* 103 to all the bishops of Gaul, hints at the potentially local origins of some of the contents of these proto-collections.

⁵ The exceptions are Siricius to Himerius of Tarragona and Innocent I to Decentius of Gubbio, as discussed *ibid.*, 27-8.

The purpose and origins of these proto-collections may be similar to those of the imperial *novellae* composed after the compilation of the Theodosian Code in 439, such as the collection composed during the reign of Majorian (457-461) and transmitted in Vat. lat. 7277;⁶ however, the ecclesiastical equivalent of the collections and *breviaria* of imperial *novellae* may, in fact, be the fifth- and sixth-century canonical collections. Either way, the interest in law, secular and sacred, was leading in the same period to collections of documents, even if the vast array of unofficial collections pertaining to canon law cannot be called codifications. These proto-collections were no doubt put together by clerics wishing to know the authoritative opinions of Roman bishops on certain subjects, and then circulated in the ensuing decades until they made their way into the surviving collections. Perhaps they were copied by their recipients to other bishops and clergy in their area; many of our collections may be gathered from this sort of transmission.⁷

To move from the general to the particular: one of the proto-collections discussed by Jasper that has been postulated as having been in circulation before Leo became pope in 440 is called the *Canones urbicani*, including five letters: two from Innocent I (JK 293 and 303), one from Zosimus (JK 339), and one from Celestine I (JK 369 and 371).⁸ Each proto-collection is very small and illustrative of how papal documents were being transmitted before the 490s. The diligent work of earlier scholars has also identified a collection of seven of Leo's letters with other documents relating to the Eutychian crisis as an appendix to **C** and used by two

⁶ For this collection, see Mommsen and Meyer 1905, xiii.

⁷ This has been imagined by the Ballerini, PL 54.553-554, and Jalland 1941, 500, follows their lead. It seems an entirely likely, if unprovable, inference.

⁸ Jasper 2001, 23-24. He also discusses (25-26) one proto-collection called the *Epistolae decretales* and another that was a common source for **C** and **P**, on which see below 2.2.k.iii.

collections from shortly thereafter, *Coloniensis* (**K**) and **P**.⁹ This proto-collection contains Actio VII of the Home Synod of Constantinople of 448, Flavian's letter to Leo after the Home Synod (Leo, *Ep.* 22), and Leo, *Epp.* 28, 103, 31, 35, 139, 59, and 165.¹⁰ Since this appendix to *Corbeiensis* seems to have been added early in the collection's life, it can be dated to the mid-sixth century.¹¹ That this particular collection was inserted wholesale into these three collections is visible by the fact that they have its *incipit* in common and close with 'finit' after *Ep.* 165.¹²

Besides these proto-collections that later coalesced into the great canonical collections of the sixth century and beyond, there were regional collections. The idea mentioned above of bishops circulating Leo's letters to their fellows possibly led to these regional collections; possibly they were born from the local archives of their respective bishoprics. Local circulation was recommended by Leo himself to a number of recipients,¹³ and he addressed some letters to a number of bishops simultaneously.¹⁴ We also have records of various bishoprics maintaining their own archives,¹⁵ so a combination of the two forces probably produced these regional collections. Examples of such regional collections are the *Collectio Thessalonicensis* (**T**) from c. 531;¹⁶ the mid-sixth-century *Collectio Arelatensis* (**Ar**) from the ecclesiastical archives of Arles;¹⁷ and the seventh-century *Collectio Hispana* (**S**) that

⁹ As discussed *ibid.*a, 44-45, with references to earlier literature. **K** and **P** are discussed below at 2.2.q and 2.2.k respectively.

¹⁰ Silva-Tarouca 1931 (1932), 413-414 (121-122), provides the description from *Corbeiensis* in Pars, lat. 12097.

¹¹ See Jasper 2001, 45 n. 185, citing Turner 1929, 232.

¹² Jasper 2001, 45 n. 185, citing Wurm 1939, 171 n. 16.

¹³ E.g., *Epp.* 15, 108.

¹⁴ E.g., *Epp.* 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 13, 16, and 17.

¹⁵ E.g. *Acts* of Chalcedon, XIII.12, as evidence for archives at Nicaea.

¹⁶ See below, 2.2.l.

¹⁷ See below, 2.2.n.

emerges from Spain and includes Leonine material related not only to Spain but to the concerns of the wider church as well.¹⁸

One source from which Leo's letters may have come to us is the fifth-century episcopal archive of the Church of Rome. The evidence for this archive is as follows. According to E. D. Roberts, our earliest reference to papal archives is from Julius I (337-52).¹⁹ Presumably, the example Roberts had in mind was 'in sacro nostrae ecclesiae sedis scrinio.'²⁰ Liberius (pope, 352-66) also makes mention of a *scrinium*.²¹ The most famous fourth-century reference, however, is from Damasus I (366-83). He is reputed to have converted his family home into the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso. Damasus' dedicatory inscription includes the lines (5-7):²²

Archiuus, fateor, uolui noua condere tecta,
Addere praeterea dextra laeuaque columnas,
Quae Damasi teneant proprium per saecula nomen.

It is assumed that the *archiua* here mentioned are the papal archives, being built a new home by Damasus. No archaeological evidence survives for archives at San Lorenzo, however.²³ Jerome mentions that anyone can go verify facts in the *chartarium Romanae ecclesiae*, in which important documents were stored.²⁴ Presumably Damasus' *archiua* at San Lorenzo are in Jerome's mind. Innocent I (401-17) writes, 'Omnem sane instructionem chartarum in causa archiuorum cum presbytero Senecione, uiro admodum maturo, fieri iussimus.'²⁵ According to E. D.

¹⁸ See below, 2.2.u.

¹⁹ Roberts 1934, 191.

²⁰ *Ep.* 2.29 (PL 8.989).

²¹ See his letter to Athanasius and the Egyptian bishops, 'de venerabili scrinio nostro' (PL 8.1408).

²² Text ed. Ihm, no. 57.

²³ Smith 1990, 94.

²⁴ *Apologia adu. libros Rufini*, 13.2. The text dates to 402-404, although probably drawing from memories of his own time in Rome 382-385. Cf. Gaudemet 1985, 60-61.

²⁵ *Ep.* 13 (PL 20.516-517).

Roberts,²⁶ Boniface I (418-22),²⁷ Celestine I (422-32),²⁸ Gelasius I (492-96),²⁹ and Hormisdas (514-23)³⁰ all mention a ‘scrinium sedis apostolae.’ As my notes below demonstrate, they actually use a variety of similar phrases, but the point is made. Leo’s successor, Hilarus (461-68) built two libraries for pilgrims at San Lorenzo fuori le Mura,³¹ but such libraries are clearly not an episcopal archive. Gelasius I’s writings against Nestorius and Eutyches are said to be ‘kept safe today in the archive of the church library,’ in a post-530 addition to the text of the *Liber Pontificalis*.³² These are the traces of the papal archive in the fourth and fifth centuries. They are very scanty and tell us almost nothing about the *modus operandi* of this archive. One assumption that is typical about this early archive is that it included complete registers for all the papal letters such as we know existed by the episcopate of Gregory I. Poole contends that there is evidence in the *Collectio Britannica* of such a register existing for Gelasius I.³³ Even if a register for Gelasius were definitively demonstrated, it still says nothing about the operation of the episcopal archive at Rome in the pontificate of Leo I. Assumptions about the archive, then, are not safe to make, especially when we consider the state of early papal letters, including the collection of Leo’s letters in the *Dionysiana* below.

²⁶ See Roberts 1934, 191-2, for this knowledge as well as for Hilarus’ and Gelasius’ involvement with libraries, albeit with no references.

²⁷ *Ep.* 4.2, ‘scrinii nostri monimenta’ (PL 20.760).

²⁸ *Ep.* 4.5, ‘in nostris libelli scriniis continentur’ (PL 50.433).

²⁹ In a synodal letter of Gelasius’, the notarius Sixtus who wrote it includes in his *explicit*, ‘jussu domini mei beatissimi papae Gelasii ex scrinio edidi’ (PL 59.190).

³⁰ *Ep.* 51, ‘documenta quaeque de Ecclesiae scriniis assumentes’ (PL 63.459) and ‘Bonifacius notarius sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae ex scrinio’ (PL 63.460); *Ep.* 75 closes, ‘Gesta in causa Abundantii episcopi Trajanopolitani in scrinio habemus’ (PL 63.505). Hormisdas also assumes that churches at large have *scrinia*, ‘in scriniis ecclesiasticis,’ (*Ep.* 70, PL 63.493).

³¹ *Liber Pontificalis*, 49.12.

³² ‘qui hodie biblioteca ecclesiae archivo reconditi tenentur’, *Liber Pontificalis*, 51.6, trans. R. Davis.

³³ Poole 1915, 29-30.

If the primitive archive included any of Leo's letters, such survival may be known to us from the sixth-century editors at Rome, such as Dionysius Exiguus.³⁴ Dionysius likely used the papal archive.³⁵ Dionysius himself says that he gathered together as many letters from Roman pontiffs as he could;³⁶ one would assume, then, that he would have used the papal archive, such as it then was. And when we observe how scanty the Leonine pickings of Dionysius are—a mere seven letters—one cannot help ask how well-stocked the papal archive was. Given Dionysius' conciliar thoroughness, one would have expected far more than seven letters from an output of over 140. Indeed, when we take this fact into account in our observations about the early papal archive, it is difficult to imagine that in a short seventy years essentially the entire papal register of Leo the Great would have been destroyed, since Dionysius pre-dates the Gothic-Byzantine War. If the optimistic descriptions of the papal archive by Poole and Noble, for example,³⁷ that imagine the insertion of all papal letters into a papal register such as survives in part for Gregory the Great are true, then surely Leo's must have been severely damaged before the 510s. Perhaps the Laurentian-Symmachan schism of the years 498-506,³⁸ resulted in damage to the archive. Since papal letters were written on papyrus,³⁹ we admit to their fragility,⁴⁰ even in such registers as may have existed before Gregory I. In all probability, the archive never held the entire corpus of Leo's letters, nor those of any of the early bishops of Rome. Let us turn from the unknown to what we do know and view the

³⁴ Jasper 2001, 49-50.

³⁵ Cf. Gaudemet 1985, 136.

³⁶ Praef. 1: 'ita dumtaxat, ut, singulorum pontificum quotquot a <me> praecepta reperta sunt, sub una numerorum serie terminarem, omnesque titulos huic praefationi subnecterem' (CCSL 85, 45).

³⁷ Poole 1915, 13-17; Noble 1990, 86-90.

³⁸ Divisions and bitterness, however, persisted amongst the Roman clergy until Symmachus' death in 514. On this schism, see Reynolds 1979, 69-76.

³⁹ Poole 1915, 37.

⁴⁰ Nonetheless, the papyri of Ravenna have survived the ravages of time.

story of Leo's letters through the manuscripts of those canonical collections that *do* survive.

2.2 Pre-Carolingian Canonical Collections and the *renaissance gélasienne*

Various canonical collections served as the main sources for mediaeval canon law before the *Decretum Gratiani* of 1140.⁴¹ Among the most famous are the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries, a collection both of genuine canonical material, which is at times manipulated to the forgers' ends, and of forged documents that are primarily papal decretals;⁴² we shall discuss these in due course under Carolingian Collections.⁴³ Most canonical collections, however, do not contain deliberate inventions!⁴⁴ Our investigation of the manuscripts begins, then, with the manuscripts of canonical collections compiled before the Carolingian era began in the eighth century. Questions concerning the compilation and ordering of the material included will be considered and the manuscripts, and their witness to Leo's letters discussed. This assessment will demonstrate the vital importance of a new edition as well as the problems facing the editor, especially when we behold the complexity of the textual tradition of the decretals found almost entirely in the canonical collections.

The most important pre-Carolingian moment in the history of western canon law is what is termed the *renaissance gélasienne*, running by G. Le Bras's reckoning from the accession of Pope Gelasius (492) to the death of Pope Hormisdas (523).⁴⁵

⁴¹ For a description and discussion of the earliest sources of mediaeval canon law, see Gaudemet 1985 for the period ending in the seventh century; for the period from Pseudo-Isidore until Gratian, see Fournier and Le Bras 1931.

⁴² Fuhrmann 2001 provides a detailed and useful introduction to the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries and their study.

⁴³ Below 4.2.d.

⁴⁴ Some do, of course, contain forgeries; but these are not usually the work of the editors of the collections as with Pseudo-Isidore.

⁴⁵ See Le Bras 1930, 507.

Following Le Bras's arguments, this was a period of compilation in western canon law.⁴⁶ Our earliest surviving canonical collections that include Leo—*Quesnelliana*, *Teatina*, *Vaticana*, *Sanblasiana*, *Dionysiana*, *Frisingensis Prima*—all date to this period. The western church had a growing awareness of its own canonical and legal legacy that could be promoted and regulated. Furthermore, thirty years after Leo's death, the power invested in the person of the pope now had theological foundations; the rulings of pope and council, then, were desired for the running of ecclesiastical life. Moreover, the consolidation of canon law manifest in the compilation of large canonical collections meant the cessation of irregularities, such as canons forged in the names of apostles, and regularisation rather than localised canonical collections and penitentials.

While all of the above arguments from Le Bras's work is true, the parallel to the *Theodosian Code* or Justinian's work is not entirely apt.⁴⁷ The spirit of compilation in this age can certainly be adduced for both the *Theodosian Code* and the canonical collections, as well as for works such as Cassiodorus' *Institutions* or theological compilations; the spirit of codification, on the other hand, is harder to trace since none of these canonical collections dating from Le Bras's *renaissance gélasienne* are official works promulgated by the papacy. Furthermore, besides the fact that terming this possible *renaissance* 'gélasienne' may overemphasise the role of Gelasius—note again the unofficial character of these works as well as Gelasius' relative unimportance in the history of canon law⁴⁸—the temporal boundaries also spill out beyond Le Bras's terminus. Six early collections come from this period, but eleven or twelve more come from the rest of the sixth or the early seventh century.

⁴⁶ See Le Bras 1930, 506-511.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 510.

⁴⁸ As emphasised by Firey 2008.

Finally, if we are to term this period a renaissance, we will need evidence beyond canon law. It seems that, although there is some cultural flowering in Ostrogothic Italy and early Merovingian Gaul,⁴⁹ there is no great break in literary and artistic production from the period before the 490s—no great increase in productivity or creativity. Furthermore, the *floruits* of the great literary figures of the Ostrogothic and Merovingian world overlap neither with each other nor with the canonical activity of this period. This so-called *renaissance* in canon law loses steam by the end of the sixth century, and the seventh is seen as a period of wider cultural decline in Merovingian lands and beyond,⁵⁰ visible in the enormous decrease of new canonical collections—the 600s produce a mere three canonical collections.

a. *Collectio Frisingensis Prima*⁵¹ (F)

i. Dating and context

The *Collectio Frisingensis Prima* takes its name from a manuscript formerly in Freising, now in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6243. The manuscript has two collections in it, the second of which (*Frisingensis Secunda*, foll. 192-196) is an attempt at a systematised canonical collection; since it contains none of Leo's letters, it need not concern us here except to say that, clearly, it and **F** have crossed paths.⁵² **F** (foll. 11-189), on the other hand, is a chronologically-organised canonical collection that was gathered in Italy a little after 495, the date of its most recent

⁴⁹ Look no further than Cassiodorus, Boethius, or Gregory of Tours.

⁵⁰ G. Brown 1994, 4. Italy, having been ravaged by the Gothic War in the middle decades of the sixth century, was beset by new troubles in the form of high imperial taxation in the years immediately following and then the Lombardic invasions of the final decades. Cultural renaissances tend to require money to fund them—perhaps it is no surprise that it would be our first truly monastic pope, Gregory I, who would be the great light at the end of the century in an impoverished Italy, for the monastic impulse would be less affected by the economic travails of the age.

⁵¹ Not listed by Ballerini or Jalland. For a list of manuscripts and bibliography for this collection, see Kéry 1999, 2-3.

⁵² Gaudemet 1985, 131. Edition in Mordek 1975, 618-633.

item.⁵³ Jasper proposes the idea that it came from smaller, early collections dating to the era of Gelasius I,⁵⁴ while Schwartz argues that the original collection was, in fact, arranged in the 420s and later expanded.⁵⁵ *F* itself was used as a source for the *Collectio Diessensis*,⁵⁶ described below.⁵⁷ As many canonical collections do, *Collectio Frisingensis Prima* begins with canons from fourth-century eastern councils, followed by letters of Popes Damasus, Siricius, Innocent I, and Zosimus. Next come documents pertinent to the business of the African presbyter Apiarius of Sicca Veneria, which are important for the history of canon law despite Apiarius being ‘a very tiresome person’,⁵⁸ and then letters from Popes Siricius, Leo, Gelasius, and Simplicius. The collection closes with documents relating to the Acacian Schism (484-519), a stage in Chalcedonian debate wherein Bishop Acacius of Constantinople (471-489) approved of Emperor Zeno’s *Henotikon*, a document that attempted to bridge the gap between Chalcedon and its Miaphysite opponents. Because of its lack of reference to Leo and Chalcedon, the western bishops opposed it, leading to the schism that only ended with the accession of the Chalcedonian Emperor Justin.⁵⁹ Given that this canonical collection was compiled during the age of that schism, the inclusion of several of Leo’s decretals comes as no surprise, since Leo was the hero of western Chalcedonian polemic. Furthermore, the organisation of

⁵³ Gaudemet 1985, 131-132.

⁵⁴ Jasper 2001, 49-50.

⁵⁵ Schwartz 1936, 61-83, arguing for a conciliar nucleus c. 420 at Rome largely on the basis of the forms of canons from Nicaea, Serdica, the acts of the 419 Council of Carthage, and how these relate to each other and fifth-century ecclesiastical history.

⁵⁶ As demonstrated by Gaudemet 1985, 148.

⁵⁷ 2.2.b.

⁵⁸ Chadwick 1967, 231, n. 1. The case of Apiarius is discussed at length in Merdinger 1997, 111-135 and 183-199. The relevant primary sources are edited by Munier in CCSL 149, 78-172. See also *PCBE* 1, APIARIVS.

⁵⁹ The text of the *Henotikon* can be found in ACO 2.2.3, 21-22; for discussions with a primarily eastern focus, see Gray 1979, 28-34 and Frend 1972, 143-183. For an analysis focussing on the popes, see Richards 1979, 57-68, 100-113; Blaudeau 2012 provides a reading that sees the Acacian Schism rooted in Rome’s view of Constantinople’s place in the hierarchy overall, not simply the *Henotikon* and the Chalcedonian Roman response.

this very early canonical collection into a clear division between the conciliar and papal material, and within the councils between east and west, with a further division into chronological order, is a method of organisation that will persist throughout the rest of the history of canonical collections.⁶⁰ **F** contains seven of Leo's letters, all decretals: *Epp.* 14, 15, 159, 108, 4, 12, and 9.⁶¹ *Ep.* 12 is in the *decurtata* recension.⁶²

ii. Manuscripts

The decretal portion of *Collectio Frisingensis Prima* can be found in two manuscripts:⁶³

f. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6243 (saec. VIII^{ex}), from the Lake Constance region.⁶⁴ This is the aforementioned manuscript which gives the collection its name. Written in early Caroline minuscule, the manuscript will have reached Freising by the year 800; in the ninth, foll. 200-216 and 233-238 were added. Fol. 1 has Freising's library mark on it, and historical content on 238^v confirms the Bavarian provenance.⁶⁵ Each item in the manuscript is given a rubricated uncial inscription of the type, 'INCP EPIST DECRETALIS AD ANATHOLIVM EPM THESSALONICENSIVM LEONIS PAPAE'; the very first item has a multi-coloured uncial inscription in red, green, and very faded yellow. These three colours are used for the

⁶⁰ See Gaudemet 1985, 132.

⁶¹ For the contents, see Maassen 1870, 485-86.

⁶² For the recensions of *Ep.* 12, see PL 54.639-646 and below, 4.2.d.iv and 4.2.e. The two most common ones are *decurtata*, which the Ballerini print second (PL 54.656-663) and a damaged version of the one they print first, missing chh. 6-8; the third is a blend of those two, and the fourth is the complete version from Florence, printed in PL 54.645-656.

⁶³ Kéry 1999, 2, lists a third manuscript for this collection (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f. 146 [saec. IX]), but the contents as described by Thurn 1984, 72-74, include no papal decretals.

⁶⁴ This manuscript is digitised: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00054483-8>. Accessed 1 May 2015.

⁶⁵ CLA 9, 8. See also Mordek 1995, 321.

littera notabilior that commences each item contained herein, often using a fish motif.

r: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5508, fol. 135ff. (saec. IX), probably from Reichenau and likely a copy of the previous manuscript;⁶⁶ this manuscript has been digitised.⁶⁷ It is written in an early Caroline minuscule.

Frisingensis Prima has here been appended to *Diessensis*.

There are also fragments of **F**'s conciliar canons in Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f. 47 and 64a, from the second quarter of the ninth century and written in a late Hunbert script.⁶⁸ These are very similar to the *Frisingensis Prima* readings of the same passages;⁶⁹ while not useful for establishing the text of Leo's letters, knowledge of these fragments is useful in tracing the family tree of *Frisingensis Prima*.

iii. Manuscript relations

My research confirms that *r* is a copy of *f*. It follows the *f* text of Leo quite closely, including the uncommon spelling 'prumptum' in *Ep.* 14.1 as well as giving 'oboeditiae' for 'oboedientiae'. The majority of the differences are small errors on the part of *r*; a few examples from *Ep.* 14.1 are 'moderaminis diligari' instead of 'diligau', 'curare' for 'curari', 'sint' for 'sit', the omission of 'et' in 'Vnde et beatus', 'moderatione' instead of 'moderatio', 'redda est' for 'reddenda est', 'pagines' for 'paginas', omitting 'in' from 'in litteris tuis', and omitting 'sponsione'

⁶⁶ Cf. Kéry 1999, 2.

⁶⁷ Available at: <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00036890/images/>. Accessed 2 May 2015.

⁶⁸ 'Hunbert script' is a script at Würzburg associated with the episcopacy of Hunbert (832-42); its history is discussed in Bischoff and Hofmann 1952, 15-17, with examples in Abb. 5 and 6.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 31 and 135.

following ‘oboeditiae’ [sic]. These are merely exemplary, but I hope the point is made.

F’s readings bear a very strong resemblance to **Q**. Out of the 58 **Q** variants for *Epp.* 14 and 159 in the table at 2.2.c.iii below, **F** shares all but 8 of them. These eight are Variants 48, 50, 53, 62, 67, 74, 77, and 88. 48 and 62 are universal **Q** variants, both of which could have been easily emended to the **F** text or easily made in the **Q** text. 50 is only in two **Q** manuscripts (*p* and *b*), likewise 53 (*a* and *e*). **F**’s reading of ‘recessit’ against **Q** in 67 it shares with *v* and *w*—and its agreement with Variant 68 is also in alignment with *v* and *w*. Variant 74 is only a marginally majority reading of **Q** (mss *a*^l, *e*, *v*, *w*). 77, on the other hand, is a significant minority reading in *a*, *p*, and *b*. Finally, 88 is a reading where the only **Q** manuscript with which **F** agrees is *p*; both could have been emended to produce the reading ‘sanctificatio.’

Given the date of **F**, there would be a very small possibility of its being dependent on **Q** for its contents, thereby explaining these commonalities. Furthermore, the order of the letters is widely divergent between the two collections. It is, therefore, more likely that they are based upon a common source or sources from amongst the previously postulated proto-collections. This close relationship with **Q** also helps tie **F** down to an Italian origin.

b. *Collectio Diessensis*⁷⁰ (Di)

i. Dating and context

The first part of this seventh-century collection makes use of the *Collectio Dionysiana* (**D**) for its conciliar material, whereas the second part is from **F**, as

⁷⁰ Unknown to the Ballerini and therefore Jalland. See Kéry 1999, 3-4.

discussed immediately above.⁷¹ The earlier, **D** part of this canonical collection mingles conciliar canons, decretals, and secular documents with no order, the latest of its pieces being from the Council of Clichy (626/627); the **F** material is taken entirely from the decretals.⁷² However, not all of the non-**D** Leo material is drawn from **F**; in the first portion of **Di**'s manuscript, only three of the seven items are also in **D**, and at least one of these does not follow the text of **D**. **Di** contains two main collections of Leo's letters, all decretals: *Epp.* 15, 16, 159, 1, 2, and 12 (items XXXIII-XXXVIII);⁷³ item LIII is *Ep.* 167; and the other large selection, in which **Di** lacks numeration, is *Epp.* 14, 108, and 4, drawn directly from **F** and probably a copy of manuscript **Ff**, as discussed above.⁷⁴ My evaluation, therefore, only concerns Leo's letters in the first section of **Di**.

ii. Manuscript

It exists in one manuscript:

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5508 (saec. VIII^{ex}), written in Salzburg. It has been digitised.⁷⁵ Leo's letters are on foll. 55^r-68^r, 88a^r-91^r, and 164^r-170^v. It is written in two columns of Caroline minuscule with uncial rubrication. Each major item—body of conciliar decrees, papal decretal, *etc.*—is given a *capitulum*. Many items end with 'EXPLICIT'.

⁷¹ See Gaudemet 1985, 148.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 148.

⁷³ Maassen 1870, 627.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 634-635, where Maassen observes that **Di** leaves out those texts from **F** that are doublets already included earlier in the manuscript when drawing from **D**.

⁷⁵ For palaeographical grounds for dating and provenance, cf. CLA 9, 6. This is ms **F r** above. Available at: <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00036890/images/>. Accessed 2 May 2015.

iii. *Manuscript relations*

Ep. 15 in **Di** shares its *incipit*, including the spelling of Turribius' name, with **Te**, 'LEO THORIBIO EPISCOPO ASTORIENSI', although **Di**'s scribe does better with the name of Turribius' city. Beyond that, **Di**'s text of *Ep.* 15 stands out for being unlike that in practically any other early collection—including **F**. Giving only examples from the *Praefatio*, **Di** gives 'moueris' for 'mouearis'; 'congrueagi deuotione' for 'dominico gregi deuotionem'; 'notitia nostrae' for 'notitiae nostrae'; 'errorum moribus' for 'errorum morbus'; 'hereses qui' for 'hereses quae'; 'prisciliana' for 'Priscilliani'; 'emersit' for 'immersit'; 'infecto sedorum' for 'in effectu siderum'; 'offerri' for 'aufferri'; 'subuertisse' for 'suberti si'; 'recurrerunt' for 'recurrunt'; 'supplicio' for 'supplicium'; 'strinctim' for 'stricti'; and 'nec aliquid' for 'ne aliquid'. Finally, the phrase '-que rationem in potestate daemonum' has been omitted. These are almost exclusively errors of one sort or another, probably arising from carelessness and even weak Latinity on the part of the scribe. Beyond the errors, it is worth noting that **Di** provides many non-**S** readings in this letter as well as some contrary to **CP**: 'ab euangelio xpi nomine xpi deuiarunt' (**Te, C, P**; not **F**); 'tenebris etiam' (**Te, C, P**) *versus* 'tenebris se etiam' (**F, Q, S**); 'siderum conlocaret' (**F, Te**) *versus* 'siderum conlocarent' (**C, P, Q, S**); 'simulque diuinum ius humanumque' (**F, Te, Q, S**) *versus* 'simul diuinum humanumque' (**C, P**). In short, at different times **Di**'s text of *Ep.* 15 runs counter to **F, C, P, Q**, or **S**. Besides its unique errors, however, it is most consistently in accord with **Te**. Presumably, then, it owes its text of *Ep.* 15 either to **Te** itself—unlikely, since that collection seems not to have moved beyond its home in Chieti in antiquity—or to a common source. Given that *Epp.* 15, 16, 159, 1, and 2 come in that exact order in **Te** and **Re** as well, it is not

unlikely that we have in them a proto-collection, designated **proto-3** in the discussion below at 2.2.p.⁷⁶

The text of *Epp.* 16 and 159 is different enough from **D** to confirm a hypothesis that the compiler used a copy of **D** from its earlier, conciliar recension, not one with the decretals. Of the variants in the table at 2.2.f.iii for *Ep.* 16, **Di** shares variants 38, 40, and 48 with **D**. A few other **D** variants are shared, but not enough to signal a relationship. A few **Di** variants worth noting are in 16.1, ‘accipitis’ against ‘accipistis’ (Ballerini); it also gives ‘beati petri apostoli sedes’ (also Ballerini) rather than ‘apostoli petri’ (**Te**, **Re**, **D**, **L**); again in 16.1 ‘Ut licet uix’ (also **Te**, **D a**) rather than ‘Et’ (Ballerini); in 16.2 ‘Quod in domo patris mei oportet’ against ‘quid in patris me oportet’ (**D**) and ‘quod in his quae patris mei sunt oportet’ (Ballerini); ‘sed aliter quaeque’ against ‘quoque’ (**D c**) and ‘quidque’ (Ballerini); still in 16.2, **Di**¹ read, ‘tempus quae tenere’ before being scraped away and replaced with ‘tempus potest pertinere’ (also **D**) against Ballerini ‘tempus posse pertinere’—this **Di**¹ reading is similar to **Te** and **L** omitting ‘posse’ altogether. Further in 16.2 **Di** provides ‘discretio’ against ‘districtio’ (**D**; also **Te**, **L**) and ‘distinctio’ (Ballerini). In 16.3, **Di** agrees with **Te**, **D a** and **D-b** in giving ‘quod’ against Ballerini ‘quidquid in illo.’ One place where **Di** provides a text that concurs with the Ballerini is in 16.1 where **Di**¹ gives ‘aestimatus’ (also Ballerini, **Te**, **L**) against **D** and **Di**² ‘existimatus’. In *Ep.* 16, it is clear that **Di** and **Te** do have some sort of relationship, possibly a shared proto-collection.

In *Ep.* 159, as is usual in the early collections regardless of letter, **Di** does not include ‘episcopus’ in the inscription. The inscription looks as though it has been

⁷⁶ See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

modified from the original incipit: ‘EPISTOLA LEO NICATE EPO
 AQVILIGENSE’.⁷⁷ Although ‘EPISTOLA’ has been thrust onto the front of this
 inscription, Leo’s name has not been put into the genitive, presumably through *saut-
 du-même-au-même* from ‘LEONISNICETE’, possibly because ‘LEONIC’ looks a lot
 like ‘LEONIS’. Indeed, one later hand seems to have assumed that ‘ate’ was not an
 especially apt name, and thus gave ‘IANVARIO’ as a suggestion, while another put
 parentheses around that name and rewrote ‘NICETE’ beside it. If we set aside
 ‘EPISTOLA’, had this incipit included ‘salutem’, it would have agreed with **Te**, **DD-
 b**, and **Q**. Like **Te**, **D**, and **Q**, **Di** omits ‘a nobis’ in the preface. In 159.1, **Di** agrees
 with **D c**, reading, ‘quae uiros proprios’ against ‘qui’ (**Te**, **Q**), ‘quae cum uiros
 proprios’ (**L**, Ballerini), and ‘quae uiris propriis’ (**D a**). Later in that chapter, **Di**
 provides ‘liberandos et in aliorum’ (also **Te**, **D**, **Q**) against ‘ad aliorum’ (Ballerini).
 At 159.5, **Di** provides ‘consolatione’ (similar to ‘consulationis’ in **D a**, **Te**, **L**) against
 ‘consultationi’ (**D c**, **Q**, Ballerini). Interestingly, at 159.6, **Di** writes ‘ea esse
 custodienda moderatione’; while **D** provides the infinitive ‘esse’, no other collection
 gives ‘moderatione’ instead of ‘moderatio’. Dates are often tricky for scribes; in *Ep*
 159, **Di** closes with ‘Data xv kl apr constantinop’ against **D**, ‘XIII kl april, cons
 marciani augusti’ and Ballerini, ‘Data xii...’ XV is an easy enough corruption of XII,
 but the consular formula has been completely bungled. Overall, **Di** gives a mixture of
 readings in *Ep*. 159 that signify an Italian source; as we shall see at 2.2.p, it is the
 same source as **Re**.

In this manuscript, although *Epp.* 1, 2, and 12 come in the same order as in **Q**,
 they lack the protocols of that collection. The word ‘CONTVLI’ does not conclude

⁷⁷ The original would likely have been ‘EPISTOLA LEONIS NICETAE EPISCOPO
 AQUILIENSE’, ‘Nicetas’ being the Aquileian bishop’s proper name.

the text of each letter, nor are the inscriptions the same. *Ep.* 1 is inscribed, ‘EPISTOLA PAPAE LEONIS AD AQVILEGENSEM EPM’ against, ‘incip epla papae leonis ad aquilensem epm’; *Ep.* 2 has, ‘INCIPIT EIVSDEM AD SEPTIMVM EPM’ against, ‘incipit epla papae leonis ad septimum epm’; only *Ep.* 12 gives an exact correspondence between the two collections with, ‘INCIPIT EPISTOLA PAPAE LEONIS AD MAUROS EPOS’. Like **Q**, however, **Di** produces the *decurtata* recension of *Ep.* 12, as do **F**, **L**, **Sa**, **Te**, and the **S** family of collections. **Di**’s text of *Epp.* 1 and 2 is close to that of **Sa** (see table below at 2.2.e.iii). It shares variants 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28 (*l, c, k*), 29, 37, 39 (*sl, c*), and 41; that is to say, 10 out of 20 variants. When **Di** does not agree with **Sa**, it agrees with **Te** in 8 of the remaining 10 variants. Of the 10 where **Di** agrees with **Sa**, it shares 6 variants **Te**. In all, then, **Di** is still here closer to **Te** than to **Sa**, and the table at 2.2.p.iii shows us its similarly close relationship to **Re**.

Di provides the text of *Ep.* 167 with the *capitula* associated with **Q** (and also, therefore, **Te**, **Re**, **Sa**, *Vetus Gallica*, etc.) rather than those associated with **D**. It also, however, inserts a chapter between 167.15 and 16 that builds on 167.15. The *capitulum* for chapter 15 runs, ‘De puellis quae aliquando in habitu religioso fuerint non tamen consecrate si postea nupserint.’ This new Chapter 16 (XVII in **Di**) is as follows:

XVII De his qui [*sic*] iam consecrate sunt, si postea nupserunt, ambigi non potest magnum crimen admitti, ubi et propositum deseritur et consecratio uiolatur. Nam si humana pacta non possunt inpone calcari, quid eas manebit quae corruerunt tanti foedera sacramenti?

Di is the second appearance of this chapter, **Re** the first. A few decades later, it also emerges in the *Collectio Hispana* (**S**)—a tradition that uses the **D** recension of *Ep.* 167’s *capitula*. We will also see it in **Q** *w*, added by a later hand that seems to be

collating the text against a manuscript from the wider **S** tradition (possibly Pseudo-Isidore).

Di, then, is a collection with diverse agreements and disagreements with the early Italian collections to which it seems to be related. For *Epp.* 15 through 2, it is most closely similar to **Te** and **Re**, yet even in those letters its divergences from **Te** are often shared with other collections, demonstrating that it is descended not from **Te** but from a common source, **proto-3**.⁷⁸

c. *Collectio Quesnelliana*⁷⁹ (**Q**)

i. *Dating and context*

This chronological collection of conciliar canons and decretals was compiled after 495.⁸⁰ Maassen gives strong arguments for the collection's origins in Gaul, which Duchesne narrows down to Arles;⁸¹ however, his evidence is countered by Silva-Tarouca's demonstration of the Roman and Italo-Greek qualities of the Leonine portions in this collection,⁸² as well as Le Bras's observation of a variety of items included here but not in contemporaneous Gallic collections.⁸³ Regarding Maassen's evidence, the fact that all of the manuscripts are Transalpine need not, in fact, give the collection a Gallic origin, as has been easily demonstrated by observing the possibility of the original Italian exemplar having been taken to Gaul.⁸⁴ When

⁷⁸ See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

⁷⁹ Ballerini, Collection 5 (PL 54.556), Jalland 1941, Collection 1(v) (501). Because these two works are the most easily accessible discussions of the manuscripts, for each of the collections discussed henceforth, we shall reference them in the following manner: B5 (PL 54.556), J1(v) (501).

⁸⁰ The most recent item in the collection is a decretal of Pope Gelasius I, *Necessaria rerum*, from 494. See C. Silva-Tarouca 1931, 552.

⁸¹ Maassen 1870, 492-494; Duchesne 1902, 159-162.

⁸² Silva-Tarouca 1919, 661-662, and 1931, 552-559. My own research bears out the similarities between **Q** and the other early Italian collections in the text of Leo's letters.

⁸³ Le Bras 1930, 513.

⁸⁴ Silva-Tarouca 1919, 662.

Maassen's Gallic elements are weighed up against Le Bras's and Silva-Tarouca's Italian evidence, an Italian origin seems more likely. Van der Speeten says it was used by Dionysius Exiguus for the canons of Nicaea and Serdica,⁸⁵ a fact which, if true, has little bearing on the relationship between the collections when Dionysius came to compiling the decretals. I do, however, doubt Van der Speeten's conclusion of direct transmission to **D** simply because of the vast differences between these collections in Leo's letters;⁸⁶ if Dionysius used **Q** for the canons, he must have no longer had access to a copy when he compiled the decretals. The Ballerini argue that **Q** is to be preferred to **D** for *Ep.* 167, since it contains what looks to be the original text of Rusticus' queries rather than paraphrases.⁸⁷ However, it is unlikely that that is actually the case, and probable that both the **Q** and **D** *capitula* are scribal additions.

Q contains 32 of Leo's letters, twelve of which are decretals, and has thus been important for the transmission of the letters through other collections: 165, 139, 28, 108, 15, 167, 14, 159, 18, 4, 7, 16, 31, 59, 124, 1, 2, 12, 33, 44, 45, 35, 29, 104, 106, 114, 155, 162, 163, 135, 93, 19. *a* and *p* add 97, 99, and 68 at the beginning of Leo's letters, although *p* begins with the patristic *testimonia* of *Ep.* 165.⁸⁸ Schwartz maintains that this is simply a disordered rabble of texts,⁸⁹ but closer investigation makes it plain that, instead, the editor had a number of sources available to him that he did not dismember and reorganise according to a single system; that is, rather than

⁸⁵ Van der Speeten 1985, 449-50.

⁸⁶ When we consider, for example, the differences in readings between **Q** and **D** in the Leo portion, such as the *capitula* of *Ep.* 167, as well as the vast number of Leo's letters in **Q** versus the paucity in **D**, it seems very unlikely that Dionysius made use of **Q** in producing his decretal collection. Perhaps the similarities between the Nicene and Serdican canons derive from a source common to both collections.

⁸⁷ PL 54.1198. Repeated by Jalland 1941, 501.

⁸⁸ The Ballerini (PL 54.556) mention that some manuscripts add these letters to the beginning, but fail to mention which ones. The rest of the **Q** manuscripts include only *Ep.* 68 out of these three, despite the otherwise very strong textual similarities in the rest of Leo's letters between *a* and *e* on the one hand and *p* and *b* on the other.

⁸⁹ ACO 2.4, iii-iv.

there being no system at all, we have instead multiple systems working side by side. The first three letters, *Epp.* 165, 139, and 28, all deal with the matter of Chalcedon—two are Leo’s most famous dogmatic epistles. The next series, from 108 through 16, is of decretals, possibly drawn from more than one proto-collection—note the pairing of *Epp.* 4 and 7, just as in **D** and **proto-2**, a source of **C**, **P**, **AI** discussed below at 2.2.j-k;⁹⁰ *Ep.* 16 follows *Ep.* 7 in **D** as well. *Epp.* 31, 59, and 124 are another series of dogmatic letters—31 and 59 are also in **C** and **P** in that order, although with two other letters intervening. Nonetheless, these could be traces of similar proto-collections. *Epp.* 1, 2, and 12 form the next subcollection of **Q**, another of decretals;⁹¹ 1 and 2 are often paired together as seen above in **Di**, as well as in **Sa**, **Te**, and other early collections. The next run of letters to *Ep.* 163 is a chronological selection of dogmatic letters, and then **Q** closes with *Epp.* 135, 93, and 19.⁹²

ii. Manuscripts

The primary tradition of the *Quesnelliana* exists in the following manuscripts:⁹³

a: Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 644 (572) (saec. VIII-IX). It originates in Northeastern France and is likely from the same scriptorium as *e. a* begins Leo’s letters at 124^v with *Epp.* 97, 99, and 68, then provides the standard **Q** sequence, closing with *Ep.* 19 on 212^r. After 173^v there is a lacuna of several

⁹⁰ See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

⁹¹ Of interest is the fact that at the conclusion of these three letters in the **Q** manuscripts is found the word ‘CONTVLI’, meaning that the scribe has double-checked with his exemplar; its presence strengthens the identity of *Epp.* 1, 2, 12 as a discrete entity within **Q**. See Wurm 1939, 219-223, for the ‘CONTVLI’ protocol. Wurm sees this as evidence of a papal archive, but see the doubts of Schwartz ACO 2.4, iii, and Silva-Tarouca 1926, 38, and 1931, 132, n. 2.

⁹² See similar conclusions of Wurm 1939, 210-219, against Schwartz. Jasper 2001, 50-52, generally agrees with Wurm.

⁹³ One further *Quesnelliana* ms exists, but it is incomplete and lacks Leo: Paris, lat. 3848A (saec. IX1/4). This manuscript is from the region around Metz; it made its way to the Bibliothèque Nationale from Troyes.

folios; the text cuts off in *Ep.* 15 at ‘mendax etiam resur[rectio]’ and resumes on 174^f with *Ep.* 167 towards the end of the *Praefatio* at ‘seuerius castigare necesse est.’ Another selection of missing folios occurs at the end of 180^v, in the midst of *Ep.* 14.11 at, ‘sicut in uno corpore multa membra’; the text resumes on 181^f midway through *Ep.* 159.2 at ‘captiuitatem ducti sunt pertinebant’. There is a third lacuna of missing folios at the end of 198^v, partway through *Ep.* 2 at ‘constitutionem praecipimus custodiri ne[c\] ab his’. The text resumes on 199^f with *Ep.* 12 at ‘tinetur nec putandus est honor ille legitimus’. Throughout this manuscript small errors of one or two letters have been corrected by a second hand of similar date; they have not been collated in the table below unless potentially significant.

e: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 191 (277), (saec. VIII-IX).⁹⁴ *e* includes a catalogue of popes (fol. V11 through fol. 1^v) that closes during the papacy of Hadrian I (772-795), making a late eighth- or early ninth-century date for this manuscript likely. It is written in Caroline minuscule with rubricated *capitula*. 2^v, which is to say the page facing 3^f, is taken up entirely by an archway that resembles those of canon tables; the architecture is ornamented with knotwork in yellow, blue, purple and orange; this manuscript is more prestigious than many canon law codices. Bischoff argues that this decoration is from Charlemagne’s court library, further securing the date of the manuscript and its prestigious origins.⁹⁵ *e* has an *incipit* page (3^r) in large uncials that fill the page:

⁹⁴ This manuscript has been digitised: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/sbe/0191>. Accessed 1 May 2015.

⁹⁵ Bischoff 1998, §1116. There is a similar archway on folio V10.

CONTINET CODEX ISTE CANONES ECCLESIASTICOS ET
CONSTITUTA SEDIS APOSTOLICAE ID EST

3^v finishes the sentence by providing the table of contents in Caroline minuscule. Leo is listed in these contents 6^r-7^v, items LXVII-XCVIII; the item numbers are given in red while the listed *capitula*—for Leo, *Epp.* 15 (item LXXI) and 159 (item LXXVIII)—are in black. His letters run 161^r-162^r (*Ep.* 68) and 163^v-229^r; at 229^v a second hand takes over and a variety of *miscellanea* complete the manuscript. As well, the bottom four lines of 214^v are written in a different, smaller hand than the rest of the page and what follows. The collection of Leo's letters in this manuscript is the 'standard' version of **Q** with *Ep.* 68 two items beforehand; as in *b* below, the intervening item is Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius. The main text of the manuscript is in Caroline minuscule with uncial rubrication. As usual for **Q**, Leo's letters are for the most part not divided into chapters with headings.

p: Paris, lat. 3842A (saec. IX^{med}/3/4).⁹⁶ As noted above, Leo starts at 77^r with the *testimonia* of *Ep.* 165, and the sequence of letters is different from standard **Q**. They run 79^v-168^r, starting with *Epp.* 97, 99, 68, followed by the standard sequence to *Ep.* 19, then finishing 166^r-168^r with *Ep.* 120.

b: Paris, lat. 1454 (saec. IX3/4), from around Paris.⁹⁷ It made its way into the Bibliothèque nationale via the cathedral chapter of Beauvais.⁹⁸ If the correct manuscript has been identified, this manuscript was one of those used by Quesnel in his groundbreaking *Opera Omnia* of Leo in the seventeenth

⁹⁶ Olim *Colbertinus* 932 as listed by the Ballerini and Jalland. For dating, see Kéry 1999, 27.

⁹⁷ I believe this is the manuscript Jalland lists as Paris, lat. 1564, since that manuscript is of the *Collectio Pithouensis* described at 2.2.k. It is digitised: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8572237k>. Accessed 1 May 2014.

⁹⁸ Kéry 1999, 27.

century. Leo's **Q** letters run 162^v-212^v in the order described above, ending with *Ep.* 19; before the main series of letters, *Ep.* 68 runs 160^v-161^r, followed by Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius before the rest of Leo's letters, as in *e*, *v*, and *w*. The rubrication comes and goes for most of the collection: the *testimonia* of *Ep.* 165 are rubricated only until 166^v, 'SCI ATHANASII ALEXANDRINI EPI ET CFESSORIS AD EPICTITU(M) EPM CORINTHIUM'; *Ep.* 124, which begins at the top of fol. 193^f, has no rubric or inscription; from *Ep.* 144 (fol. 204^r) onward, there are no rubrics or inscriptions to the letters (i.e. 'Leo eps Theodoro epo...') although two spaces have been left between each letter for this purpose, and *Ep.* 155 is missing the D from 'Diligentiam' that begins the letter. In *Ep.* 19, 212^r starts a new hand and a new quire with 'pertinere ut s(an)c(t)arum constitutionum...' In this new quire, after the *Damnatio Vigilii*, Leo *Ep.* 120 is on 214^f-216^f.

v: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2141 Han (c. 780).⁹⁹ Leo's letters run foll. 122^r-169^v; the collection of letters is the 'standard' run of **Q** as described above, beginning with *Ep.* 165 and closing with *Ep.* 19; as with *e*, *b*, and *w*, *Ep.* 68 is included after Pseudo-Clement to James and before Cyril's second letter to Nestorius running 120^{r-v}. *v* is written in a Caroline minuscule with rubricated uncial headings in a single column.

w: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2147 Han. (c. 780);¹⁰⁰ based on their scribal hands both Viennese manuscripts are from the area around Lorsch, written in pre-Caroline and Caroline minuscule.¹⁰¹ Leo's

⁹⁹ Ibid., 28. This ms is digitised: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00166793>. Accessed 1 May 2015.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 28. *w* and *v* must be the old 'Caesarea Bibliotheca' manuscript in the Ballerini. This ms is digitised: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00166016>. Accessed 1 May 2015.

¹⁰¹ CLA 10, 20.

letters run in the **Q** sequence in foll. 156^r-223^r; as with *e*, *b*, and *v*, *Ep.* 68 is included after Pseudo-Clement to James and before Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius running 154^{r-v}.

This manuscript is atypical in two ways. First, in the middle of the collection a quire has been inserted, running 169^r-176^v. This quire comes after the end of *Ep.* 28 on 168^v and before the start of 108 on 177^r; the uncial incipit of this non-**Q** quire is, 'Incipiunt decreta papae Leonis aduersus Euticen Constantinopolitanum abbatem, qui uerbi et carnis unam ausus est pronuntiare naturam, dum constet in Domino Iesu Christo unam personam nos confiteri in duabus naturis Dei atque hominis'. It consists of a series of **S** letters, *Epp.* 20, 23, 22, 115, 130, 134, 25, 60, 61, 69, 70, 71, and 79. The letters are taken in three selections from **S**: *Epp.* 20, 23, 22; 130 and 134; 25; and 60 through 79. None of these letters is part of **Q**, and the quire has been added at a logical break in **Q** between the first run of dogmatic letters and decretals, not willy-nilly in the middle of a letter. Furthermore, the hand is similar enough to the surrounding quires that, taking all the evidence together, it was conceivably drawn up in the same scriptorium as a supplement to **Q**. The text of *Ep.* 79 ends three quarters down 176^v at the bottom of which is written, 'EIVSDEM LEONIS AD THEODORUM FOROIULIENSEM EPM / Ut his qui in exitu sunt p(a)enitentia & communio non negetur.'

Second, after *Ep.* 19 ends on 223^r, a series of letters closes the manuscript, the first eight of which are Leo, *Epp.* 80, 82, 83, 85, 90, 168, 166, 9; *Epp.* 80-90 are from the sequence of Pseudo-Isidore Class A1 (**I-a**), as are

166 and 9, *Ep.* 168 being the one out of order. These letters are written in a new hand immediately following *Ep.* 19 with ‘Item Leonis ad Anatolium constantinopolitanum epm’. After Leo’s letters come Popes Hilarus to Ascanius, ‘Diuinae circa nos’ (JK 561); Simplicius to Zeno, ‘Plurimorum relatum’ (JK 590); and Innocent I to Aurelius of Carthage ‘Qua indignitate’ (JK 312). Besides these two notable additions, a *testimonium* has been slipped into *Ep.* 165 right after 160^v which closes ‘in mea substantia loquebatur’; it is a small piece of parchment bound into the volume, about a quarter of a page, with a blank recto and the text on the verso, ‘Item eiusdem ad sabinu(m) epm inter caetera. Vnde pulchre apostolus eiusde(m) uerbi...’ which is a *testimonium* from Ambrose, *De Officiis*, that belongs on 161^r but had presumably been missed out by a scribe and added in this manner. Given these **S/I** additions to *w*, I believe that *w*² had a Pseudo-Isidorian Leo against which the text was collated. This explanation is bolstered by a number of small changes that bring the text of *w* into agreement with the **I** tradition; some of these are changes that also bring *w* into line with a vulgate tradition, so the Pseudo-Isidorian theory requires the other changes discussed above. However, *w* also includes Spanish *aeras* in the dates of some letters, such as *Ep.* 28, further increasing the Spanish-influenced passages within the text. Some examples of these small Pseudo-Isidorian changes are: ‘carent culpam’ (Var. 14 below) to ‘carent culpa’; ‘in paenitentiam’ to ‘paenitentia’ (Var. 19); the addition of ‘mortis’ after ‘metu’ in ‘aut metu, aut captiuitatis’ (Var. 21); ‘ad anatholium’ to ‘ad anastasium’ (Var. 33); and ‘siue ratione’ to ‘si uera ratione’ (Var. 36).

I term the second tradition of Leo in **Q** ‘Oriensis,’ for its ‘most reliable manuscript’¹⁰²—in fact, its only manuscript—is Oxford, Oriel College, 42 (saec. XII; *o*), originating in Malmesbury—possibly with notes by William of Malmesbury himself. The hand is a minuscule hand; each page has 36 lines of text in 2 columns. New items have rubricated minuscule *tituli*, and the first initial of each text is an uncial *littera notabilior*; these *litterae notabiliores* alternate blue and red, and the rest of the opening word is typically uncial as well, but of the same size as the minuscule text. The ruling is by hardpoint. This manuscript was the starting basis for Quesnel’s edition of Leo’s letters and contains a different selection of Leonine material from the rest of **Q**, a collection of forty-five letters, of which fifteen are decretals: *Epp.* 28, 68, 99, 97, 29, 31, 33, 44, 45, 69, 70, 93, 114, 104, 106, 79, 80, 135, 163, 155, 61, 59, 162, 165 (without the *testimonia* which are at 53^r-56^v), *gesta* from the Constantinopolitan Home Synod of 448 condemning Eutyches,¹⁰³ 124, 139, 35, 108, 15, 7, 8, 167, 159, 18, 1, 2, 166, 19, 14, 9, JK †551, 138, 168, 4, 16, 12, Valentinian III’s *Nov.* XVII,¹⁰⁴ followed by a series of sermons, a brief life of Leo in a different hand, and ending with *Epp.* 133 and 3.¹⁰⁵ The main collection of letters, including Valentinian’s *novella*, runs 91^r-140^v, with the final two letters at 213^r-216^r.

This manuscript is demonstrably not a **Q** manuscript as far as its Leo portion is concerned. First, the selection and order of the letters is different from **Q**, as noted above. Furthermore, the readings in *o* are not **Q** readings. When a **Q** variant tends to be an inversion of what the Ballerini chose, *o* usually agrees; however, as the cross-

¹⁰² Kéry 1999, 27.

¹⁰³ ‘Gesta dampnationis Euticetis in sinodo constantinopolitana praesente sancto flauiano confessore eiusdem urbis episcopo’

¹⁰⁴ Leo, *Ep.* 11.

¹⁰⁵ Both the Ballerini, PL 54. 556, and Jalland 1941, 501, are misleading on this manuscript as they fail to mention the separation of the *testimonia* from *Ep.* 165, the inclusion of *gesta* from the Home Synod of 448, and Valentinian III, *Nov.* XVII, and make the sermons seem to be simply appended to *Epp.* 133 and 3.

references in the table below show, many such variants are common among the diverse traditions of Leo's letter collections. For example, in Var. 10, *o* alone provides the singular 'cisset' as well as the variant 'coniugiorum' for 'connubiorum'. In 21, *o* provides 'mortis'; in 22, the spelling given is 'iuuenilis'; in 167.14, *o* reads 'ducere' for 'accipere'; *o* omits 'sit' in 24; in 25, *o* gives 'postea'; in 34, *o* provides the incipit; in 42, *o* gives the Ballerini order; in 44, *o* follows the minority **Q** *p* reading; *o* does not omit 'tui' in 49; *o*¹ writes 'urgebat' in 55 instead 'arguebat', although *o*² changes it to 'arguebat'. Many more examples could be provided where *o* does not accord with the rest of the **Q** tradition. Few of its variants that do agree are especially significant for the establishing of the ur-**Q**. My current hypothesis is that this is a heterogeneous collection of Leo's letters drawn from the disparate sources at the compiler's disposal.

iii. Manuscript relations

The first table sets out those variants from the selected passages of the 'Tome' (*Ep.* 28) where **Q** manuscripts are at variance with Schwartz's edition. They bear out the same findings in terms of manuscript relationships as the second, larger table on the decretals.

Var.	Q	Schwartz (control)	Significance
1	<i>epistulis</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	Lectis dilectionis tuae <i>litteris</i>	Common error Q
2	<i>credere</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	doctioribusque non <i>cedere</i>	Common variant Q
3	<i>hac insipientia</i> (<i>a, e, v, w</i> ¹)	sed in <i>hanc insipientiam</i> (<i>p, b, w</i> ²)	Common error <i>a, e, v, w</i>
4	<i>generandorum</i> (<i>w</i> ¹)	omnium <i>regenerandorum</i> uoce (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i> ²)	Error <i>w</i> ¹
5	<i>uerbo</i> (<i>p</i> ¹ , <i>b</i>)	de <i>uerbi</i> dei incarnatione sentire (<i>a, e, p</i> ² , <i>b, v, w</i>)	Common error <i>p</i> ¹ , <i>b</i>
6	totam <i>separando</i> (<i>a</i> ¹ , <i>p</i> ¹ ,	sed totam <i>se reparando</i> (<i>a</i> ² ,	Common error <i>a,</i>

	<i>b</i>)	<i>e, p², v, w</i>)	<i>p, b</i>
7	<i>nos possemus (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i>	<i>enim superare possemus</i>	Common variant Q
8	<i>utinam doctrinae (b)</i>	<i>propria tenebrarat, doctrinae (a, e, p, v, w)</i>	Variant <i>b</i>
9	<i>interiori (a¹, p¹)</i>	<i>interiore adprehendisset auditu (a², e, p², b, v, w)</i>	Common error <i>a, p</i>
10	<i>ademittit ita (b)</i>	<i>forma non adimit, ita (a, e, p, v, w)</i>	Error <i>b</i>
11	<i>utramque naturam (a², e, v, w¹) naturae (a¹)</i>	<i>in utraque natura intellegendam (p, b, w²)</i>	Common error <i>a², e, v, w</i>
12	V ID (<i>p</i>) IUN (<i>p, b, w²</i>)	<i>id ian (a, e, v, w)</i>	Common error <i>p, b</i>
13	<i>hera cccclxxxi contuli (w)</i>	Om. (<i>a, e, p, b, v</i>)	Spanish influence

The following table contains a selection of readings drawn from certain of the **Q** decretals, namely *Epp.* 167, 14, 159, 18, 4, 7, 16, 1, and 2. Although not exhaustive for these letters, these variants are sufficient to make apparent the relationships among the six **Q** manuscripts.

Var., <i>Ep.</i>	Quesnelliana	Ballerini (control)	Significance
1, 167 <i>Inscr.</i>	<i>ad rustitium (e, v, w)</i>		Agreement <i>e, v, w</i> <i>a</i> missing inscription
2, 167.Pr	<i>Ecce inquit ego (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i>	<i>Ecce ego inquit</i>	Common variant Q
3, 167.Pr	om. <i>de singulis (a, e, p, b, v¹, w)</i>	<i>quaereretur de singulis si nobis (v²)</i>	Common error Q
4, 167.Pr	<i>conspectus tui (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i>	<i>si nobis tui conspectus copia</i>	Common variant Q
4, 167 <i>Titulus</i> for <i>q</i> 's	' <i>Inquisitiones et responsiones (a, e, p, b, w)</i> ' <i>Adinquisitiones eiusdem epi subiecta responsa (v)</i>		Agreement <i>a, e, p, b, w</i> <i>v</i> agreement with D Therefore, <i>a, e, p, b, w = Q</i>
5, 167.1	<i>qui ad (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i>	<i>ordinati sunt quae ad proprios</i>	Common error Q
6, 167.1	<i>est habenda (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i> <i>una (e, p, b, v¹, w)</i>	<i>uana habenda est creatio</i>	Common variant Q Common error Q (<i>a</i> easy correction)
7, 167.2	<i>hi (a, p, v)</i>	<i>consecrati ii pro</i>	Common variant Q

	<i>hii</i> (b, e, w)		
8, 167.2	<i>orauit</i> (a, e) <i>quis orabit quis orabit</i> pro (v)	<i>quis orabit</i> pro illo (p, b, w)	Mere orthography a, e Dittography v
9, 167.3	<i>altaris ministris</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	<i>eadem est ministris</i> <i>altaris</i> quae	Common variant Q
10, 167.3	<i>cessent</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	<i>connubiorum et cesset</i> <i>opera nuptiarum</i>	Common error Q
11, 167.4 Cap.	<i>coniugio</i> (a, e, v, w)	<i>uiro in coniugium</i> <i>dederit</i> (p, b)	Common error a, e, v, w
12, 167.4	<i>uiro iuncta</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	<i>mulier iuncta uiro</i> uxor est	Common variant Q
13, 167.4	<i>heres est patris</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	<i>heres est patris</i>	Q agreement with Ballerini, unlike many other collections
14, 167.5	<i>culpam</i> (a, e, v, w ¹)	<i>carent culpa</i> si mulieres (p, b, w ²)	Error a, e, v, w
15, 167.5-6	Division of chh. 5 and 6 after ‘aliud concubina’, not after ‘non fuerunt’ (a, e, p, b, v, w)		This is where D divides chh. 4 and 5
16, 167.7	<i>expetiuerunt</i> (a, e, v, w)	<i>necessarie expetierunt</i> <i>fideliter</i> (p, b)	Common variant a, e, v, w
17, 167.8	<i>communicamus</i> (a, e, v, w)	<i>non communicauimus</i> <i>mortuis</i> (p, b)	Common error a, e, v, w
18, 167.10	<i>etiam a multis licitis</i> (a, e, p, b) <i>oportet etiam multis</i> <i>licitis</i> (v, w)	<i>oportet a multis etiam</i> <i>licitis</i> abstinere	Common variant a, e, p, b Common error v, w
19, 167.11 Cap	<i>in paenitentiam</i> uel (a, e, v, w ¹)	<i>in poenitentia</i> uel post <i>poenitentiam</i> (p, b, w ²)	Common error a, e, v, w due to attraction
20, 167.12	<i>omnino est</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	<i>Contrarium est omnino</i>	Common variant Q
21, 167.13	<i>om. mortis</i> (a ¹ , e, p, b, v, w ¹)	aut metu <i>mortis</i> , aut <i>captiutatis</i> (a ² , w ²)	Common error Q
22, 167.13	<i>iuuenalis</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	<i>incontinentiae</i> <i>iuuenilis</i> , copulam	Common variant Q ; also D, L
23, 167.13	Keeps <i>uenialem</i> (a, b, v, w) <i>ueniale</i> (e) <i>uenial</i> (p)	rem uidetur fecisse <i>uenialem</i>	NB: Sa gives <i>iuuenalem</i> here due to <i>iuuenalis</i> above, unlike Q, D, L , etc.
24, 167.14	<i>innocens sit</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w) <i>sit malitia</i> (p)	<i>etsi innocens militia</i>	Common variant Q

	<i>sit milicilia</i> (w^1 ; w^2 corr. <i>milicia</i>)		
25, 167.15 <i>Cap</i>	<i>post</i> (a, e, b, v, w^1) <i>potest</i> (p)	<i>si postea</i> nupserint (w^2)	Common error $a, e, b, v, w = \mathbf{Q}$ Error p , from <i>post</i>
26, 167.15	<i>non parentum coactae</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	<i>non coactae parentum imperio</i>	Common variant \mathbf{Q}
27, 167.15	<i>si nondum eis gratia consecratio</i> (a^2, w^2)	<i>si consecratio</i> (a^1, e, p, b, e, v, w^1)	a^2, w^2 addition from \mathbf{S}
28, 167.15/1 6	‘INQ: De his qui iam consecrate sunt si ...’ (w^2)		Extra ch from \mathbf{S} between 15 and 16
29, 167.16 <i>Cap</i>	Om. <i>et</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w^1)	sunt, <i>et</i> utrum (w^2)	Common variant \mathbf{Q}
30, 167.17	<i>etiam hoc</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	<i>si hoc etiam</i> ab ipsorum	Common variant \mathbf{Q}
31, 167.19 <i>Cap</i>	<i>gentibus</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	a <i>gentilibus</i> capti sunt	Common variant \mathbf{Q}
32, 167.19	<i>uisi</i> (a) <i>immolaticiis interfuisse</i> <i>usi</i> (p) <i>immolaticiis interfuisse</i> <i>uisi</i> (b)	<i>immolaticiis usi</i> sunt (e, v, w)	Error a Error p , probably from Variant b
33, 14 <i>Inscr</i>	‘Incipit epistula decretalis ad <i>anastasio thessalonicensem</i> epm leonis pape’ (a) <i>anatholium</i> for <i>anastasio</i> (e, p, b, v, w^1) <i>thessalonicensium</i> for <i>thessalonicensem</i> (e, b, w) epm <i>thess</i> (p)		Common error e, p, b, v, w Common variant e, b, w Common variant a, v
34, 14.Pr	om. ‘ <i>Leo ... Thessalicensi</i> ’ (a, e, p, b, v, w)	<i>Leo episcopus urbis Romae, Anastasio episcopo Thessalicensi.</i>	Common variant \mathbf{Q} due to inscription above
35, 14.Pr	apostoli <i>sede</i> commissa (a, e, p, b, v, w)	apostoli <i>auctoritate</i> sint commissa	Common error \mathbf{Q}
36, 14.Pr	<i>siue</i> ratione (a, e, v, w^1)	<i>si uera</i> ratione (p, b, w^2)	Common error a, e, v, w
37, 14.Pr	<i>perspicere</i> (e)	<i>perspiceres</i> et iusto (a, p, b, v, w)	Error e
38, 14.Pr	<i>seu</i> (a, e, b, v, w) <i>se</i> (p)	perspiceres <i>et</i> iusto	Common variant a, e, b, v, w

			Error <i>p</i> derived from variant, thus common to Q
39, 14.Pr	<i>iniuncto</i> (<i>a, e, w</i>) <i>iniuncta</i> (<i>p, b</i>)	de <i>iniunctae</i> tibi sollicitudinis deuotione (<i>v</i>)	Common error <i>a, e, w</i> Common variant, probable error, <i>p, b</i>
40, 14.1	<i>qui ad</i> continenti (<i>a^l, a²</i> <i>e pro ad</i> ; <i>e, w</i>) <i>si quid</i> (<i>v², v^l</i> scraped away) <i>quo ad</i> (<i>p, b</i>)	impenderes: <i>siquidem</i> continenti	Common error <i>a, e, w</i> Error <i>v</i> Common error <i>p, b</i>
41, 14.1	<i>existunt</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	plerumque <i>existant</i> inter negligentes	Common variant Q
42, 14.1	<i>Paulus apostolus</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	Vnde et beatus <i>apostolus Paulus</i>	Common variant Q
43, 14.1	om. <i>nostris</i> (<i>a, e, v, w</i>)	fratribus et coepiscopis <i>nostris</i> sine offensione (<i>p, b</i>)	Common error <i>a, e, v, w</i>
44, 14.1	<i>sint</i> (<i>a, e, b, v, w</i>)	in sacerdotalibus <i>sunt</i> reprehendenda (<i>p</i>)	Common error <i>a, e, b, v, w</i> <i>p</i> easy correction
45, 14.1	<i>disciuisse</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	immodice <i>discessisse</i> cognosco	Common variant Q
46, 14.1	<i>ante</i> (<i>p^l, v^l</i>)	quod <i>a te</i> (<i>a, e, p², b, v², w</i>)	Simple error <i>p^l</i> and <i>v^l</i> , probably independent
47, 14.1	<i>cognoui</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	quod <i>a te cognouimus</i> esse praesumptum	Common variant Q
48, 14.1	<i>diaconis</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	astantibus <i>diaconibus</i> ¹⁰⁶ tuis	Common variant Q
49, 14.1	om. <i>tui</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	diaconi <i>tui</i> detulerunt	Common error Q
50, 14.1	<i>retulerunt</i> (<i>p, b</i>)	diaconi tui <i>detulerunt</i>	Common variant <i>p, b</i>
51, 14.1	<i>fuisset</i> (<i>a, e, b, v, w</i>)	deuotionis <i>fuisse</i> , quod (<i>p</i>)	Common error <i>a, e, b, v, w</i> <i>p</i> easy emendation
52, 14.1	<i>quid</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	doleo, <i>quod</i> in eum	Common variant Q
53, 14.1	<i>a tua</i> (<i>a, e</i>)	quid <i>ad tua</i> consulta (<i>p, b, v, w</i>)	Common error <i>a, e</i>
54, 14.1	<i>meis moribus</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	de <i>moribus meis</i> existimasti	Common variant Q
55, 14.1	<i>arguebat</i> (<i>a, e, b, v, w</i>)	criminis pondus	Common variant Q

¹⁰⁶ *diaconibus* is a not uncommon spelling for what should, in fact, be *diaconis* since it comes from the second declension Greek δῆκονος. Nonetheless, a search of the Patrologia Latina database finds 1338 occurrences of this spelling but only 964 of *diaconis*.

	<i>argebat (p)</i>	<i>urgebat?</i>	Error <i>p</i> from majority Q
56, 14.1	om. <i>At (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i>	<i>urgebat? At hoc quidem alienum ab</i>	Common error Q
57, 14.3	<i>bonae uitae habeat testimonium habitus non (a, a² del. habitus; e, b, v, w)</i> <i>habeat testimonium (p)</i>	<i>bonae uitae testimonium habeat non laicus</i>	Common error <i>a, e, b, v, w</i> = Q Variant <i>p</i> , related to majority Q
58, 14.5	<i>uocata (a¹, e, v, w)</i>	<i>partium se uota diuiserint (a², p, b)</i>	Common error <i>a, e, v, w</i>
59, 14.6	om. <i>de (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i>	<i>et de cleri plebisque consensu</i>	Common error Q
60, 14.6	om. <i>ut (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i>	<i>faciat ut ordinationem rite</i>	Common error Q
61, 14.6	<i>ecclesiae eiusdem (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i>	<i>ex presbyteris eiusdem Ecclesiae</i>	Common variant Q
62, 14.7	<i>indicetur (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i>	<i>assolent, iudicetur. Ac si</i>	Common error Q , palaeographical
63, 14.7	om. <i>si (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i>	<i>ut si coram positis partibus</i>	Common error Q
64, 14.8	<i>occasione (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i>	<i>quacumque ratione transtulerit</i>	Common variant Q
65, 14.9	<i>agatur (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i>	<i>res agitur, transfugam</i>	Common variant Q
66, 14.9	<i>ecclesiam suam (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i>	<i>ad suam Ecclesiam metropolitanus</i>	Common variant Q
67, 14.9	<i>recesserit (a²)</i> <i>precessit (p)</i> <i>processit (b)</i>	<i>longius recessit, tui (a¹, e – v, w give recessit)</i>	Common variant <i>p, b</i>
68, 14.9	<i>ui (v, w)</i> <i>ut (p)</i> <i>autui (b)</i>	<i>recessit, tui praecepti (a, e give tui)</i>	Related errors <i>p, b, v, w</i>
69, 14.9	<i>praeceptis (a, e, v, w)</i>	<i>tui praecepti auctoritate (p, b give praecepti)</i>	Common error <i>a, e, v, w</i>
70, 14.10	<i>iniuriis uidearis (a, e, b, v, w)</i> <i>iniuriis uideaturis (p)</i>	<i>gloriarı uidearis iniuriis</i>	Common variant <i>a, e, b, v, w</i> Error <i>p</i>
71, 14.11	<i>referentur (a, e, p, b, v, w)</i>	<i>testificatione referantur, ut</i>	Common variant Q
72, 14.11	<i>offendunt (a, e, v¹, w)</i>	<i>de tuis offenduntur excessibus (p, b, v², w)</i>	Common error <i>a, e, v, w</i>
73, 14.11	om. <i>que (a, e, v, w)</i>	<i>salubriterque disposita (p, b)</i>	Common error <i>a, e, v, w</i>
74, 14.11	<i>ad dispositam nulla (a¹, e, v, w)</i>	<i>disposita nulla (a², p, b)</i>	Common variant <i>a, e, v, w</i>
75, 14.11	<i>ait apostolus (a, e, b, v, w)</i>	<i>sicut Apostolus ait: Vnusquisque</i>	Common variant <i>a, e, b, v, w</i>

	om. <i>ait</i> (<i>p</i>)		Error <i>p</i>
76, 159.3	<i>est quod</i> (<i>a, e, b, v, w</i>)	restituendum quod fides (<i>p</i>)	Common variant <i>a, e, b, v, w</i>
77, 159.4	om. <i>sunt</i> (<i>a, p, b</i>)	impiae habendae <i>sunt</i> ita	Common error <i>a, p, b</i>
78, 159.4	<i>sunt habendae</i> (<i>e, v, w</i>)	impiae <i>habendae sunt</i> ita	Common variant <i>e, v, w</i>
79, 159.4	<i>laudabiles iudicandae</i> (<i>a, e, b, v, w</i>) <i>laudabiles</i> (<i>p</i>)	<i>sunt laudandae.</i>	Common variant <i>a, e, b, v, w</i> Variant <i>p</i> from above
80, 159.6	<i>similiter dilectio tua</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	de quibus <i>dilectio tua</i> <i>similiter</i> nos credit	Common variant Q
81, 159.6	<i>est custodienda</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	ea <i>custodienda est</i> moderatio	Common variant Q
82, 159.6	<i>prospexeris</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>) <i>animo</i> (<i>w</i>)	animos <i>perspexeris</i> esse deuotos	Common variant Q Error <i>w</i>
83, 159.6	<i>habentes</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	etiam <i>habens</i> senilis aetatis	Common error Q
84, 159.6	<i>respicientes</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	aegritudinum <i>respiciens</i> necessitates	Common error Q
85, 159.7	<i>cum baptizati ante</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	<i>cum antea baptizati</i> non	Common error Q
86, 159.7	<i>sola spiritus sancti</i> <i>inuocatione</i> (<i>a, e, b, v, w</i>)	<i>sola inuocatione</i> <i>spiritus sancti</i> per impositionem (<i>p</i>)	Common variant <i>a, e, b, v, w</i>
87, 159.7	Vnus <i>d(eu)s</i> (<i>a, e, b, v, w</i>)	Vnus <i>dominus</i> , una fides (<i>p</i>)	Common error Q ; easily emended by <i>p</i>
88, 159.7	<i>sanctificationem</i> (<i>a¹, e, w</i>) <i>sanctificatione</i> (<i>a², b, v</i>)	<i>sola sanctificatio</i> Spiritus sancti (<i>p</i>)	Common error <i>a, e, w</i> Common error <i>b, v</i>
89, 159.7	om. <i>et</i> (<i>a, e, b, v, w</i>)	ad omnes fratres <i>et</i> comprovinciales (<i>p</i>)	Common variant <i>a, e, b, v, w</i>
90, 159.7	Maioriano Aug primum cons (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	consulatu Maioriani Augusti	Slight variations, but same phrasing in all mss
91, 18 <i>Inscr.</i>	‘ITEM INCIPIT EPISTVLA PAPAE LEONIS AD IANVARIVM DE HERETICIS ET SCISMATICIS’ (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	N/A	Agreement Q
92, 18	Om. <i>urbis Romae</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	Leo episcopus <i>urbis</i> <i>Romae</i> , Ianuario	Common variant Q

		episcopo	
93, 18	<i>cognouimus</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	noueramur, <i>agnouimus</i> , congratulantes	Common variant Q
94, 18	<i>gregum</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	ad custodiam <i>gregis</i> Christi	Common variant Q
95, 18	enim <i>est</i> et ... plenissimum ut (<i>a, e, b, v, w</i>) Om. <i>est</i> (<i>p</i>)	Saluberrimum enim et ... plenissimum <i>est</i> ut	Common variant Q
96, 18	diaconi subdiaconi <i>uel</i> cuiuslibet (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w¹</i>) <i>w²</i> add. ' <i>siue</i> ' ante ' <i>subdiaconi</i> '	diaconi, <i>uel</i> subdiaconi, <i>aut</i> cuiuslibet	Common variants Q
97, 18	<i>ad hanc</i> rursum (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	amiserant, rursum reueriti	Common variant Q
98, 18	<i>errorem suum</i> (<i>a, b, e, v</i>) <i>errorem suam</i> (<i>p</i>)	prius <i>errores suos</i> et	Common variant <i>a, e, b, v</i> Error <i>p</i>
99, 18	ipsos <i>erroris</i> auctores errorum (<i>a, p</i>) ipsos <i>erroris</i> auctores damnari (<i>e, b, v, w</i>)	ipsos <i>auctores errorum</i> damnari	Common error <i>a, p</i> Common variant <i>e, b, v, w</i>
100, 18	<i>prauis et dudum</i> peremptis (<i>b, v, w</i>)	<i>prauis etiam</i> peremptis (<i>a, e, p</i>)	Common variant <i>b, v, w</i>
101, 18	<i>inuenietur</i> (<i>a¹, e, b, v, w</i>)	in quo <i>inueniuntur</i> ordine (<i>a², p</i>)	Common error <i>a, e, b, v, w</i>
102, 18	<i>perpetua stabilitate</i> <i>permaneant</i> (<i>a, e², v</i>) <i>perpetua stabilitate</i> <i>permaneant</i> (<i>e¹, p, b, w</i>)	<i>stabilitate perpetua</i> <i>maneant</i>	Common variant <i>a, v</i> Common error <i>e, p, b, w</i>
103, 18	<i>iteratae tinctionis</i> <i>sacrilegio non</i> (<i>a, e, v, w</i>) <i>iterate intentionis</i> <i>sacrilegio non</i> (<i>p, b</i>)	si tamen <i>iterata</i> <i>tinctione non</i>	Common variant <i>a, e, v, w</i> Common error <i>p, b</i> derived from above
104, 18	<i>Dm</i> (<i>a, e, b, v, w</i>)	apud <i>Dominum</i> noxam (<i>p</i>)	Common error <i>a, e, b, v, w</i>
105, 18	<i>debeat</i> (<i>a, e, v, w</i>) Om. <i>debet</i> (<i>p</i>)	non <i>debet</i> licere suspectis. (<i>b</i>)	Common error <i>a, e, v, w</i> Error <i>p</i>
106, 18	<i>ac</i> (<i>a</i>)	circumspecte <i>atque</i> <i>uelociter</i> (<i>e, p, b, v, w</i>)	Variant <i>a</i>
107, 18	Data III k <i>Iulias</i> (<i>a</i>) Data III kl <i>iul</i> (<i>e, p, b, w</i>) Data III no <i>ian</i> (<i>v</i>)	Data III kalend. <i>Ianuarii</i>	Common variant <i>a, e, p, b, w</i> Common variant <i>e, p, b, v, w</i>
108,	Om. <i>episcopus urbis</i>	Leo <i>episcopus urbis</i>	Common variant Q

4.Pr.	<i>Romae</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	<i>Romae</i>	
109, 4.Pr.	<i>uniuersis</i> <i>episcopis</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	<i>omnibus</i> <i>episcopis</i> <i>per</i>	Common variant Q
110, 4.Pr.	<i>canonum et ecclesiasticam disciplinam</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	<i>canonum ecclesiasticamque disciplinam</i>	Common variant Q
111, 4.1	<i>uestrae prouinciae</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	<i>omnes prouinciae uestrae</i> <i>abstineant</i>	Common variant Q Agreement with D
112, 4.1	<i>substrahatur</i> (<i>a, e¹, p, b, v, w</i>) <i>substratur</i> (<i>e²</i>)	<i>uinculis abstrahatur</i>	Common variant Q Q agreement with D a
113, 4.1	<i>munerosa</i> (<i>e</i>)	<i>numerosa coniugia</i> (<i>a, p, b, v, w</i>)	Error <i>e</i>
115, 4.5	<i>Maximo ii et Paterio cons</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	<i>Maximo iterum et Paterio uiris clarissimis consulibus</i>	Common variant Q
116, 7 <i>Inscr.</i>	<i>per diuersas prouincias</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w¹</i>)	<i>per Italiae prouincias</i> (<i>w²</i>)	Common variant Q
117, 7.2	<i>XIII</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	<i>Theodosio XVIII et Albino</i>	Common error Q
118, 16.Pr.	<i>Om. episcopus</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	<i>Leo episcopus uniuersis</i>	Common variant Q
119, 16.1	<i>Om. obseruantiae ... esset</i> (<i>p</i>)	<i>inde legem totius obseruantiae sumeretis: ... dignitatis, esset ecclesiasticae magistrarationis</i>	Error <i>p</i>
120, 16.1	<i>Om. petri</i> (<i>a, e, b, v¹, w</i>)	<i>et beati Petri apostoli sedes</i> (<i>v²</i>)	Common variant <i>a, e, b, v, w</i>
121, 16.1	<i>Vt</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	<i>Et licet uix</i>	Common error Q
122, 16.2	<i>mortuo persecutore</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	<i>in Galilaeam, persecutore mortuo reuocatus</i>	Common variant Q
123, 16.2	<i>quaerebatis me</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	<i>quod me quaerebatis?</i>	Common variant Q
124, 16.2	<i>Om. his quae</i> (<i>a¹, e, v, w</i>) <i>in domo patris</i> (<i>a²</i>) <i>Om. in</i> (<i>p</i>)	<i>quod in his quae Patris mei sunt oportet me esse?</i> (<i>b</i>)	Common error <i>a, e, v, w</i> Error <i>p</i>
125, 16.2	<i>quaeque</i> (<i>a, e, b, v, w</i>) <i>quemque</i> (<i>p</i>)	<i>sed aliter quidque</i>	Common error <i>a, e, b, v, w</i> Error <i>p</i> , likely descendent from source of above
126,	<i>Om. posse</i> (<i>a, e, p, b, v,</i>	<i>ad tempus posse</i>	Common error Q

16.2	w)	pertinere	
127, 16.2, 1 Cor. 1:10	<i>scientia</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w; some Vulgate mss)	et in eadem <i>sententia</i> (some Vulgate mss)	Common variant Q Agreement with L
128, 16.3	<i>quod</i> (a, e, p, b, w) <i>et</i> (v ¹)	totumque <i>quidquid</i> in illo (v ²)	Common variant a, e, p, b, w Error v
129, 16.3	<i>Pentecosten</i> (a, e, p, b, v ¹ , w)	<i>Pentecostes</i> ex aduentu (v ²)	Common error Q
130, 16.3	<i>sancti spiritus</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	aduentu <i>Spiritus Sancti</i>	Common variant Q
131, 16.3, Jn 14:26	<i>Pater meus</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	mittet Pater in nomine meo (Vulgate)	Common variant Q
132, 16.3	<i>utriusque</i> (a ² , e) Om. <i>que</i> off <i>nomen</i> (e, p, b, v ¹ , w)	<i>nomenque</i> Paraclleti <i>utriusque</i> sit (a ¹)	Common error a ² , e Common error e, p, v, w
133, 16.4	<i>promissum</i> (e, v ¹ , w) <i>promisso</i> (p, b)	<i>promissus</i> Spiritus sancti (a, v ²)	Common error e, v, w Common error p, b
134, 16.4	<i>sancti Spiritus</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	<i>promissus Spiritus</i> <i>sancti</i> repleuit	Common variant Q
135, 16.7	<i>cura</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w) <i>Petro apostolo</i> (a ¹ , e, p, b, v, w) <i>Petri apostoli</i> (a ²)	<i>coram beatissimo</i> <i>apostolo Petro</i>	Common error Q Common variant Q Attempted emendation a ²
136, 16.7	<i>quae</i> , inspirante Domino, <i>uobis</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w) inspirante <i>deo</i> (p, b)	<i>quae uobis</i> , inspirante Domino, insinuanda	Common variant Q Common variant p, b; probably an error due to <i>nomina</i> <i>sacra</i>
137, 16.7	<i>et</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	Bacillum <i>atque</i> Paschasinum	Common variant Q
138, 1.1	<i>ceditur</i> (a, e ¹ , p, b, v, w)	<i>quidem conceditur</i> usurpasse (e ²)	Common variant Q
139, 1.2	<i>hoc</i> (a, e ¹ , v, w)	<i>hac</i> nostri auctoritate (p, b, e ²)	Common error a, e, v, w
140, 1.2	diaconi, <i>uel cuiusque</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	diaconi, <i>siue</i> <i>cuiuscumque</i> ordinis	Common variant Q
141, 1.2	<i>quod</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	<i>quidquid</i> in doctrina	Common variant Q
142, 1.2	<i>eorum</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w) <i>uersutia</i> (p)	<i>istorum</i> esse uersutiam	Common variant Q Error p
143, 1.4	Om. <i>in</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	huiusmodi <i>in</i> homines extincta	Common error Q
144, 1.5	<i>ordine</i> (a, e, p, b, v, w)	nec in subsequenti <i>officio</i> clericorum	Common variant Q

145, 2.1	diaconi, <i>uel</i> cuiuslibet (<i>a, e, p, b, v, w</i>)	diaconi, <i>siue alii</i> cuiuslibet	Common variant Q
----------	---	---	-------------------------

What we see in the above chart is a vast array of variants common to all of **Q**, very frequently places where the Ballerini text is an inversion of what **Q** provides. A number of these are also common errors. Besides those things shared by all of **Q**, the next fact that stands out is the near-independence of *p* from the wider **Q** tradition. The **Q** manuscript whose readings it most closely resembles is *b*, but it also shows a number of cases where it provides an error that is a descendent of the wider **Q** readings. In some instances, *p* also gives us readings that agree with the Ballerini text where **Q** disagrees, whether **Q** is in error or not. This demonstrates that, while *p* and *b* are closer to each other than they are to the other four **Q** manuscripts, they are not twins and probably not copies of each other. On the other hand, *a, e, v* and *w* all stand in the same tradition, given how frequently they agree against *p* and *b*. *a* and *e* are both from the Lorsch region and of a similar time; Bischoff says that they are sister manuscripts,¹⁰⁷ and their extreme similarity bears out his assessment. *v* and *w* are from another branch of the same tree as *a* and *e*, probably twins as well, for the same reasons. The various modifications of *w* would make one question this; however, its text is too similar to that of *v* for any other interpretation. They are born from the same exemplar, but *w* has been modified in very specific ways by its copyist-editor, explaining its difference. What the table does not show us is the great number of places where **Q** agrees with the Ballerini against other traditions. This is especially true for *Ep.* 167, despite the variant concerning 167.5-6; the Ballerini clearly valued **Q** above the other collections for their text of this letter.

¹⁰⁷ Bischoff 1998, §1116.

Before moving on from **Q**, it is worth mentioning its protocols. Throughout this body of manuscripts, the inscriptions for letters are united, as are their incipits. For example, *Ep.* 18 has the inscription, ‘ITEM INCIPIT EPISTVLA PAPAE LEONIS AD IANVARIVM DE HERETICIS ET SCISMATICIS’ in every manuscript. Very few of the letters are subdivided into chapters. Only in *Ep.* 167 can they be considered to have chapter headings. However, a few of them have been thus divided. For the sake of example, *Ep.* 14—a notably long letter—has been divided into six chapters, marked out by Roman numerals that are sometimes in the margin and sometimes in the midst of the text itself, depending on the manuscript. They are, ch I at, ‘In ciuitatibus quarum rectores obierint’; II at, ‘Prouinciales episcopi ad ciuitatem metropoli conuenire’; III at, ‘De conciliis autem episcopalibus non aliud indicimus’; IIII at, ‘Si quis episcopus ciuitatis suae mediocritate despecta’; V at, ‘Alienum clerum inuito episcopo’; and VI at, ‘In euocandis autem ad te episcopis moderatissimam esse’. These divisions do not correspond with the Ballerini chapter divisions, reminding us that there is more than one way to skin a cat. These features show us that at the very beginning of the tradition of canonical collections, there was a desire to organise the texts in some fashion to make them easier to use. While we ought not to read the history of canon law teleologically, in a fashion that makes Gratian’s *Decretum* and the *Codex Iuris Canonici* the necessary and natural endpoints of mediaeval canon law,¹⁰⁸ we should be aware that the tendency that produces Gratian’s *Decretum* is the same tendency that subdivides longer texts into chapters and that will move on to the addition of *capitula*, or *tituli* as the canonists themselves call them.

¹⁰⁸ As some articles do, such as Flechner 2009, an otherwise illuminating article about Insular canon law.

d. *Collectio Vaticana*¹⁰⁹ (L)

i. Dating and context

This collection was compiled in the first quarter of the sixth century in Rome,¹¹⁰ making use of **D** for the canons;¹¹¹ it pre-dates the **D** recension with decretals. It has long been recognised as one of the oldest canonical collections, designated by the Ballerini as ‘vetustissima’,¹¹² and used by them in their investigations of early Roman recensions of councils. **L** contains 16 of Leo’s letters, the first seven of which are decretals: 14, 167, 16, 1, 12 (in the *decurtata* version), 159, 9, 139, 145, 119, 23, 22, 20, 28, 165, 80. These are items XVIII and LIII-LXVIII. As discussed in greater detail below,¹¹³ **L** shares a common source with the *Collectio Dionysiana adaucta* (**D-a**), which I term **proto-4**.¹¹⁴ This source consists of **L**’s dogmatic letters, from *Ep.* 145 to *Ep.* 80. Finally, the Ballerini description of **L** is misleading and fails to note that *Ep.* 14 is separated from the rest of the letters by a significant portion of this collection.

ii. Manuscripts

¹⁰⁹ B3 (PL 54.555), J1(iii) (501).

¹¹⁰ Fournier and Le Bras 1931, 25-26, argue for a Roman origin for *Vaticana*, not only for an Italian one as argued for this collection, *Sanblasiana*, and *Teatina*, by Maassen 1870, 500-504. They cite the presence of the Symmachan Forgeries in a collection compiled during Symmachus’ pontificate and the fact that all three collections utilise the canonical collection termed the *Prisca*.

¹¹¹ For the contents and sources of the collection, see Maassen 1870, 514-522.

¹¹² PL 56.20.

¹¹³ 4.2.b.i.

¹¹⁴ See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

It exists complete in three manuscripts.¹¹⁵ Chronologically, these are:

a: Vat. lat. 1342 (saec. VIII or earlier), from central Italy.¹¹⁶ The Ballerini say that *a* is believed to be one of these which was in the old Lateran Library.¹¹⁷ It is written in an eighth-century uncial of Roman style. The main collection of Leo's letters begins fol. 131^r. This manuscript and *b* are described by the Ballerini as 'pervetusti', 'antiquissimi', and 'perantiqui'.¹¹⁸ *a* was unavailable at the time of my visit to Rome, so my notes on it are based on Schwartz's reporting of its readings in the apparatus of ACO 2.4.

b: Vat. Barb. lat. 679 (olim XIV. 52; 2888), fol. 1-295^r (saec. VIII^{ex}-IXⁱⁿ), from northern Italy, 'perhaps Aquileia'.¹¹⁹ *b* has been arranged *per cola et commata* in a single column, written mainly in uncials with uncial rubrics with some pre-Caroline minuscule text.¹²⁰ The rubrics are in a very large hand, written in multiple colours of ink. It belonged to San Salvatore, Monte Amiata, near Siena in the eleventh century.¹²¹ *Ep.* 14, item XXVIII, is on foll. 103^r-107^v; the main body of Leo's letters begins with *Ep.* 167 (using *capitula* associated with **Q**) at fol. 193^r; 199^{r-v} contain canons from a Council of Braga; then follow *Epp.* 16, 1, 12, 159, 15, 9, 139, 145, 119, 80, 23, 22, 20, 28, and 165. While this last run of letters includes everything in *Collectio Vaticana*, we note that *Ep.* 15 is added and the order of letters is modified

¹¹⁵ The fourth manuscript is Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek, E.1 (saec. IX²), fol. 3^{ra}-44^{ra}; the **L** fragment does not reach Leo. However, the *Dionysio-Hadriana* portion to which **L** is joined does. See below, 4.2.a.

¹¹⁶ Dating and location on palaeographic grounds, CLA 1, 4.

¹¹⁷ 'Vaticanus codex 1342 ... unus ex his esse creditur qui ad veterem bibliothecam Lateranensem spectabat', PL 56.135.

¹¹⁸ E.g. PL 56.1072, 135, and PL 54.555.

¹¹⁹ Kéry 1999, 25. However, CLA 1, 20, places it in central Italy because of its time spent near Siena, noted below.

¹²⁰ CLA 1, 20.

¹²¹ From a record added on fol. 133^r.

slightly. The addition of this particular letter to Spain along with the inclusion of the Council of Braga make me wonder if some of the material travelled through Spain before coming to Aquileia.¹²² *b* also distinctively adds Hs to the beginning of certain words, e.g. ‘hubi’ and ‘heutices’ (fol. 2^v).

c: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Aedil. 82 (saec. IX3/4), with a northern Italian origin.¹²³ Leo’s letters run foll. 70^r-73^r, 116^r-146^v. As with Vat. Barb. lat. 679, this manuscript does not follow the ‘official’ order described by the Ballerini; instead, after the gap between *Epp.* 14 and 167, where non-Leonine items are found, it runs from fol. 116^r as follows: *Epp.* 167, 16, 1, 12, 159, 15, 9, 139, 145, 119, 80, 23, 22, 20, 28, and 165 with *Testimonia*.

iii. Manuscript relations

b and *c* both include the phrase ‘subditis responsionibus et ad eiusdem consulta respondentibus’ between the salutation ‘LEO EPISCOPVS RVSTICO NARBONENSI’¹²⁴ and the Ballerini start of the body, ‘Epistolas fraternitatis tuae’. This is a trait shared with a significant body of other collections, including *Collectiones Dionysio-Hadriana (D-h)*, *Sanblasiana (Sa)*, and the Oriel MS of **Q**. In most **Q** manuscripts, this phrase follows the inscription for the letter, in a manner similar to the Ballerini text which writes, ‘EPISTOLA CLXVII. AD RVSTICVM

¹²² However, none of the potentially Spanish spellings herein are definitive (*bacatione* for *uacatione* [*Ep.* 167, *Praef.*, fol. 194^r], *captibi* for *captiui* in the margin at the start of *Ep.* 159, fol. 210^r). Another example is *guernator* for *gubernator* [*Ep.* 167, *Praef.*, fol. 194^r]). If *b* has any relationship to Spain, it is more likely through its exemplar or another ms with Spanish material influencing it. Adams 2007 details the fact that the interchangeability between V and B is common across the entire Roman Empire, not just Spain, in Chapter X.

¹²³ Although this ms is also listed in the literature as including the *Collectio Vetus Gallica*, it is to be noted that none of the *Vetus Gallica* Leo material is present in it.

¹²⁴ As *b*, *c*¹; *c*² *add.* ‘episcopo’ *post* ‘rustico’.

NARBONENSEM EPISCOPVM. *Subditis responsionibus ad eiusdem consulta rescriptis.*' (PL 54.1196) The difference seems to be whether the inscription is such as 'Incp epl ci leonis ad rusticu epm narbonense' (**Q p**) or whether the salutation is used as the inscription; in **L c** the salutation is rubricated, and in **b** it is written in uncials. The *capitulum* 'LVII INCIPIVNT AD INQVISIONES EIVSDEM / pape leonis subiecta responsa'¹²⁵ precedes the series of questions which Leo answers in this letter. Before providing the table for *Ep.* 167 in **L**, one of the most significant other **L** variants in this letter is towards the very end; 167.19 is divided in two, and a twentieth chapter is subdivided with the *capitulum*, 'XX DE HIS QVI IDOLA ADORAVERVNT AVT HOMICIDIIS VEL FORNICATIONIBVS IN QVI NATI SVNT',¹²⁶ between 'esse participes' and 'Si autem aut idola'.

Var.	L text	Ballerini (control)	Significance
1, 167.Pr	<i>conspectu tui (b)</i>	tui conspectus (c)	<i>b</i> variant Sa, D, D-b 'conspectus tui'
2, 167.4	De presbytero <i>et</i> diacono (c)	De presbytero <i>uel</i> diacono qui filiam suam (b)	<i>c</i> variant Agreement with Sa
3, 167.7	<i>expetiuerunt (c)</i> <i>expetuerunt (b)</i>	<i>expetierunt</i>	<i>c</i> variant <i>b</i> error derived from <i>c</i> variant <i>c</i> agreement with Sa, D, D-b
4, 167.8	<i>paenitentiam iam deficientes (b, c)</i>	de his qui <i>iam deficientes poenitentiam</i> accipiunt	L variant Agreement with Sa
5, 167.10	<i>postulante (b)</i> <i>oportet etiam multo (c¹; c² multis)</i>	ueniam <i>postulantem</i> oportet <i>a multis</i> etiam licitis	Error <i>b</i> Error <i>c</i>
6, 167.10 (1 Cor. 6:12)	omnia licent (b, Vulgate)	omnia <i>mihi</i> licent (c)	Variant <i>b</i> ; agreement with D ; D-b ; D-h v m a r d ; Sa l r c k ; Te ; Di ; Re ; S o ; S-ga ; <i>BibVulg</i>

¹²⁵ **L b**; *c*: 'Quod INCIPIT AD...'

¹²⁶ **L b**; *c* 'CAP XX De his qui idola adhorauerunt aut homicidiis uel fornicationibus in qui \contami/nati sunt'

7, 167.13	om. <i>mortis</i> (<i>b</i> , <i>c</i> ¹)	si urgente aut metu <i>mortis</i> aut captiuitatis periculo (<i>c</i> ²)	Common error L Agreement with Sa
8, 167.13	<i>iuuenalis</i> (<i>b</i> , <i>c</i>)	lapsum incontinentiae <i>iuuenilis</i>	As with D , Q , etc., in contrast to Sa , orthography does not lead to <i>iuuenalem</i> for <i>uenialem</i> in this case
9, 167.18	impositionem <i>uocata</i> (<i>b</i>) per manus <i>impositione</i> <i>uocata</i> (<i>c</i> ¹ ; <i>c</i> ² <i>impositionis</i>)	sed per manus <i>impositionem inuocata</i> uirtute	Variant L Error <i>c</i>
10, 167.19 <i>cap.</i>	om. <i>adhuc iuuenes</i> (<i>c</i>) <i>Cap. in b</i> different: 'DE GENTILIBUS QUE ESCIS IMMOLATICIIS USI SUNT'	cum ad Romaniam adhuc iuuenes uenerint	Error <i>c</i> ; agrees with Sa

Ep. 167 closes with:

EXPLICIT LEONIS PAPE AD RVSTICVM NARBONENSEM EPISCOPVM
DE ORDINATIONIBVS SACERDOTIVM ET LAPSVS ET
REBAPTIZANDIS CAPTVLI H XX¹²⁷

Here is where *b* adds material from a synod of Braga, after which it rejoins *c* for *Ep.*

16. The **L** inscription reads, 'Incipit eiusdem episcopis Siculis de non baptizandum
Theophaniorum et duo per annum episcopi Romae proficiscantur.'¹²⁸ The results for

Ep. 16 are as follows:

Var.	L text (<i>b</i> , <i>c</i>)	Ballerini text (control)	Significance
1, 16.Pr	om. <i>episcopus</i> (<i>b</i> , <i>c</i>)	Leo <i>episcopus</i> uniuersis	Common variant L Agreement with D , D-b
2, 16.Pr.	om. <i>in domino salutem</i> (<i>b</i> , <i>c</i> ¹)	constitutis <i>in domino</i> <i>salutem.</i> (<i>c</i> ²)	Common variant L
3, 16.Pr	<i>inueniat</i> (<i>c</i> ¹)	si quid usquam reprehensioni <i>inuenitur</i> (<i>b</i> , <i>c</i> ²)	Error <i>c</i> ¹
4,	<i>Monente</i> (<i>b</i> , <i>c</i>)	<i>Manente</i> enim Dominicae	Error L

¹²⁷ As *b*; *c* closes the rubric with 'capitula numero XX'.

¹²⁸ As *b*; *c* has errors: 'eiusdem opusculi ... duo eandum epi ..'

16.Pr		uocis	
5, 16.Pr	<i>negligens totiens (b)</i>	quia <i>negligenter pascens</i> totiens (c)	Error <i>b</i>
6, 16.1	<i>apostoli petri (b, c)</i>	et beati <i>Petri apostoli</i> sedes	Common variant L Agreement D, D-b
7, 16.2	<i>generandum (c¹)</i>	temporaliter <i>gerendarum</i> in Incarnatione (b, c ²)	Error <i>c¹</i>
8, 16.2	<i>obligationem (b)</i>	adoratum paruulum mystica munerum <i>oblacione</i> uenerantur. (c)	Error <i>b</i>
9, 16.2	om. <i>baptizato Domino</i> <i>Iesu (b, c¹)</i>	quando <i>baptizato Domino</i> <i>Iesu Spiritus Sanctus (c²)</i>	Error L
10, 16.2	om. <i>posse (b, c)</i>	ad tempus <i>posse</i> pertinere baptismatis	Error L D, D-b v give <i>potest</i>
11, 16.2	<i>rationalis seruanda</i> <i>districtio (b, c¹; c² mod.</i> <i>rationabi/lis)</i>	<i>rationabilis seruanda</i> <i>distinctio</i>	Variant L <i>districtio</i> agreement D, D-b c² agrees with control text
12, 16.2 1 Cor. 1:10	<i>scientia (b, c)</i>	et in eadem <i>sententia</i>	Common variant L Agreement with D <i>c</i>
13, 16.3	<i>indigens remissionem</i> peccati (b) <i>remissione</i> peccati indigens (c)	<i>indigens remissione</i> peccati	Error <i>b</i> Variant <i>c</i>
14, 16.3	om. <i>in se (b, c¹)</i>	baptismi autem sui <i>in se</i> condidit (c ²)	Error L

Although ‘quia’ in 5 agrees with **D** and **D-b**, it is an easy enough error that it signals no relationship. In 8, although *b* gives us an error, the section of this passage that has given other Italian copyists, as seen below, difficulty is here written out meaningfully and, presumably, correctly. The omission of ‘posse’ in 10 is of note because most of the **D** tradition provides us with a variant reading for the verb, ‘potest’, raising the question as to whether perhaps the Italian tradition lacks the verb and **D** was emending to make up for it. In 12, ‘scientia’ is a reading in some of the Vulgate

manuscripts according to Weber-Gryson.¹²⁹ In 13, the movement of ‘indigens’ to the end of the clause in *c* is possibly a case of missing and then re-inserting a word; furthermore, the word order of *c* and the Ballerini produces a cretic spondee, and this phrase is at the end of the phrase, ‘Dominus enim nullius indigens remissione peccati’, followed by, ‘nec quaerens remedium renascendi’. Elsewhere, the variants are notable for agreements with the **D** tradition, signalling a wider Italian transmission of this document. The variants of *c*² are often enough at variance with *b* that I can make a cautious affirmation that *c* was later collated against a different tradition; however, without the added evidence of *a*, more cannot be said.

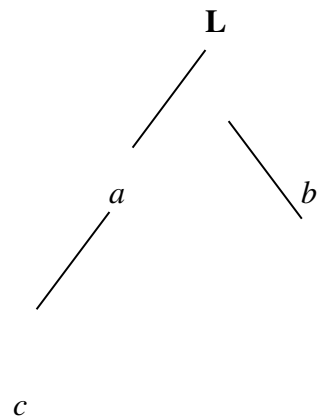
The above should be illustrative of the **L** tradition for the decretals. Let us turn our attention to the ‘dogmatic’ letters that close the collection. The following table covers variants from *Epp.* 139 and 145.

Var.	L text (<i>a, b, c</i>)	Silva-Tarouca (control)	Significance
1, 139	Leo <i>episcopus</i> (<i>a, b, c</i>)	Leo Iuuenali episcopo	Shared variant L Agreement with Q, C, P, CI , Laon 122, D-adaucta , Ps-Is
2, 139	<i>constantia</i> (<i>b</i>) <i>perdidisset</i> (<i>c</i>)	haereticis <i>constantiam</i> <i>perdidisse</i> , quia (<i>a</i>)	Errors <i>b, c</i>
3, 139	om. <i>enim</i> (<i>a, b, c</i>)	beatae <i>enim</i> memoriae Flauiani	Shared variant L
4, 139	<i>etanden ossis e(ss)e</i> (<i>c</i>)	<i>tandem possis esse</i> (<i>a, b</i>)	Error <i>c</i>
5, 139	<i>locorum ipsorum</i> <i>testimonii</i> (<i>a, c</i>)	sed <i>ipsorum locorum</i> <i>testimoniis</i> eruditur (<i>b</i>)	Shared word-order variant <i>a, c</i> ; D-a Shared error <i>a, c</i>
6, 139	<i>de his</i> (<i>a, c</i> ¹)	in quibus <i>degis</i> , testificatione (<i>b, c</i> ²)	Shared error <i>a, c</i> ¹
7, 139	<i>instruatur</i> (<i>c</i>) <i>unde</i> (<i>a, c</i>)	auctoritatibus <i>instruantur</i> , <i>ut de</i> (<i>b</i>)	Error <i>c</i> Shared error <i>a, c</i>
8, 145	LEO LEONI AVG III (<i>a, b, c</i>)	Gloriosissimo et clementissimo filio Leoni augusto, Leo episcopus	Shared variant L
9, 145	<i>diuinitus paratum</i>	<i>diuinitus praeparatum</i>	Errors <i>c</i>

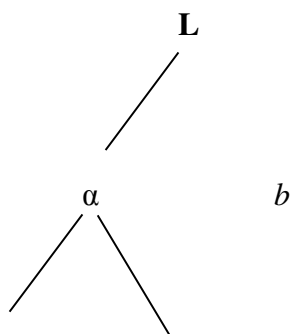
¹²⁹ *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Fifth edition. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007.

	<i>laboris (c)</i>	<i>fauoris (a, b)</i>	
10, 145	uniuersum (<i>a, b, c</i>)	in <i>uniuersa</i> fidei	Variant L Agrees with G
11, 145	<i>ante (a, b, c)</i>	quae <i>antea</i> catholicis fuit	Variant L Agrees with G
12, 145	<i>sanctum spiritum (a, b, c)</i> om. <i>per (c)</i>	concilio <i>per spiritum sanctum</i> congregato	Variant L; G Error <i>c</i>
13, 145	om. <i>in (a, b, c)</i> <i>fide perfectione (c)</i>	et <i>in fidei</i> perfectione	Error L Error <i>c</i>
14, 145	<i>Constante (a, b, c)</i>	<i>Constantino</i> et Rufo <uu cc> cons.	Error L; D-a, Ps-Is

It is evident that *a* and *c* have a closer connection than either of them to *b*. The possibility that *c* is a descendant of *a* cannot be ruled out. If it is not a descendent, however, they likely share a common ancestry different from *b*. Based only on these select collations of the Leo contents of this collection, we can postulate either of the following scenarios:



or:



e. *Collectio Sanblasiana (Italica) (Sa)*¹³⁰

i. Dating and context

This collection was compiled in the early sixth century. Since its compiler seems to have made use of **D** for the conciliar portions but not for the decretals,¹³¹ we can postulate a date c. 500-520. Our earliest manuscripts, as will be seen below, originate in Italy; thus, we can postulate an Italian origin for the collection.¹³² It consists of conciliar canons and then decretals, all arranged chronologically and ending with Pope Gelasius I (d. 496).¹³³ The Chalcedonian decree against Eutyches and its *Definitio fidei* may seem to run contrary to this otherwise ordered collection; however, they immediately follow the decretals of Pope Leo, thus being absorbed into his papal decrees. **Sa** contains 4 letters of Leo, all of which are decretals: 167, 12, 1, and 2. Its *capitula* for *Ep.* 167 follow the **Q** format, and its text of *Ep.* 12 is in the version called *decurtata* by the Ballerini. It is worth observing that, like the other very early collections, **Te** and **Q**, **Sa** gives us *Epp.* 1 and 2 together. Because of their close similarities, *Epp.* 1, 2, and 18 have been scrutinised and the possibility of forgery postulated.¹³⁴ However, since *Epp.* 1 and 2 are attested together in our earliest collections, the evidence of the manuscripts and early collections suggests that they are probably both genuine. The first two of Leo's letters are simply variants copied out to different recipients, possibly even on the same day.

¹³⁰ B4 (PL 54.556), J1(iv) (501).

¹³¹ Maassen 1870, 509-10 gives us the compiler's sources.

¹³² As Turner 1929, 9-11.

¹³³ For a description of the contents, see Maassen 1870, 505-508.

¹³⁴ As outlined in PL 54.582-584.

ii. Manuscripts

In chronological order, the five manuscripts of **Sa** with Leo material are:¹³⁵

s: Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, ms 7/1 (olim XXIX Kasette 1; XXV a. 7), based on the palaeographical data of its uncial and minuscule scripts,¹³⁶ has an Italian origin but was on the island of Reichenau in Germany by the end of the eighth century, based upon corrections made to it later on. There is a fifteenth-century library mark from Reichenau on fol. IX. The abbey of Sankt Blasien which gave the collection its name acquired it between 1768 and 1781; it came to its current home in 1807.¹³⁷ Leo runs foll. CXXI^v- CXXXIV^v.

k: Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 213 (olim Darmstadt 2336),¹³⁸ dates from the beginning of the eighth century and originates either from Northumbria or a part of the continent with Northumbrian missionaries; since it was in Cologne during the eighth century,¹³⁹ one imagines it to have been produced by Northumbrian missionaries in that region, although CLA 8 maintains that it was ‘doubtless’ written in Northumbria.¹⁴⁰ With the rest of the holdings of Cologne’s Dombibliothek, this manuscript was taken to Arnsberg

¹³⁵ There is one further manuscript, Paris, lat. 4279 (saec. IX^{med}) from western France, which was brought to Paris by Colbert. This manuscript contains only the beginning of the *Collectio Sanblasiana* and therefore none of the Leonine material.

¹³⁶ CLA 10, 7.

¹³⁷ CLA 10, 7.

¹³⁸ This manuscript has been digitised and is available through the following website:

<http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/>

¹³⁹ Kéry 1999, 30.

¹⁴⁰ CLA 8, 40.

in 1794, then to Darmstadt, and was returned to Cologne Cathedral in 1867.¹⁴¹ *k* is written in an Insular half-uncial, hence its connection with Northumbria. It includes Insular-style illuminated *litterae notabiliores*, begins with a full-leaf illumination, and is rubricated for new items and numbers but not for individual canons. Leo runs 123^v-134^v; by the Leo stage of the manuscript, the *litterae notabiliores* have dissipated.

c: Paris, lat. 3836 (olim Colbert 784, Regius 3887 3.3) originated in Corbie or the surrounding area, from the second half of the eighth century.¹⁴² Leo runs 79^v-87^r. The opening line of each *capitulum* is in large uncials, each letter comprised of red, a golden yellow, and blue. The text of each of the letters begins with a *littera notabilior*. As far as canon law manuscripts go, this is nearing a prestige copy.

l: Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, 490, foll. 236^r-271^v, is written in uncials and pre-Caroline minuscules; it originated in Lucca and bridges the eighth and ninth centuries.¹⁴³ Leo runs foll. 260^v-265^v.

r: Paris, lat. 1455, 3^r-79^v, is from the second half of the ninth century, likely from the area around Reims.¹⁴⁴ This manuscript combines **Sa** and **Q** elements; Leo runs 33^r-76^r. The sequence of the letters is *Epp.* 16, 165, 31, 59, 28, 35, 139, a synodal letter, 104, and 106. Leo reappears in the manuscript on 57^r partway through *Ep.* 15 in a different hand, fol. 56^v having ended midway through a letter of Gelasius I. *Ep.* 15 is followed by *Epp.* 18 and 4, then another series of non-Leo items, taking up Leo again on 71^r with *Epp.* 97, 99, decrees of a

¹⁴¹ CLA 8, 36; this applies to all of the Dombibliothek mss with a Darmstadt number.

¹⁴² Kéry 1999, 30.

¹⁴³ See CLA 3, 9.

¹⁴⁴ Kéry 1999, 30.

council, and then *Ep.* 68. These letters look at times like groups of two or three taken from **Q**, such as *Epp.* 16, 31, and 59 (with *Ep.* 165 dropped in the middle); 104 and 106; 18 and 4; and, most interesting, 97, 99, and 68. As noted above, these final three letters are appended to the front of **Q** in certain manuscripts. When all of the **Q** texts are accounted for, this manuscript still has two of Leo's letters not included there. Finally, its order is as idiosyncratic as that of **Q**—the decretals are mingled with the dogmatic letters and no chronology of letters is attempted. Foll. 1-2 give some canonical excerpts, including one from Leo on fol. 1^v:

Ex dec pp Leonis metropolitano defuncto cum in loco ei(us) alius fuerit subrogando conprouinciales epi ad ciuitate(m) metropolitani conuenire debebunt ut omnium clericorum adque omnium ciuiu(m) uolu(n)tate discussa ex presbiteris ei(us)dem aeccl(esi)ae uel ex diaconis optim(us) eligatur.¹⁴⁵

iii. Manuscript relations

Four of the five manuscripts display many similarities in orthography and variants; *k* is at variance with the other manuscripts in the following except where noted. They give *adque* for *atque* and *scribtum* with related words, such as *conscribtas*, for *scriptum*; in *Ep.* 167.5, *l* gives *nubserint* for *nupserint*. Excepting *r*, these four tend to give *-ūs* for *-os*, and *c* gives *-ci* for *-ti*, as in *iusticia*. **Sa**, including *k*, prefers the spelling *paenitentia* and tends not to modify prefixes, giving *conmercium*, *inlustris*, *inplicat*, and sometimes even *obportunius*—although in the latter case *k* gives *oportunius*. For the most part, these orthographic commonalities are uninteresting and amongst the many 'standard' choices used by mediaeval

¹⁴⁵ *Ep.* 14.6.

scribes, with the exception of *obportunius*. Primarily, they show us the depth of unity these manuscripts share.

Sa variants of note are:

Var., <i>Ep.</i>	Sa text	Ballerini text (control)	Significance
1, 167 <i>Praef.</i>	Om. <i>de singulis</i> (<i>s, l, r, k</i>)	<i>opportuni</i> quaeretur <i>de singulis</i> si nobis tui conspetus copia proueniret. (<i>c</i>)	Error <i>s, l, r, k</i>
2, 167 <i>Praef.</i>	<i>conspetus tui</i> (<i>s, l, r, c, k</i>)	<i>tui conspectus</i>	Common variant Sa
3, 167.1	sunt <i>qui</i> ad proprios (<i>s, l, c, k</i>) ... sunt <i>quia</i> ad proprios ... (<i>r</i>)	ordinati sunt <i>quae</i> ad propriis episcopos pertinebant	Common error Sa
4, 167.4	De presbytero <i>et</i> diacono (<i>s, l, r, c, k</i>)	De presbytero <i>uel</i> diacono qui ... dederit	Common variant Sa
5, 167.4	<i>patri</i> (<i>s, l, k</i>)	nec omnis filius haeres est <i>patris</i> (<i>r, c</i>)	Variant <i>s, l, k</i>
6, 167.7	<i>expetiuerunt</i> (<i>s, l, r, c</i>)	<i>expetierunt</i> (<i>k</i>)	Variant <i>s, l, r, c</i>
7, 167.8 <i>cap.</i>	<i>qui paenitentiam iam</i> <i>deficientes</i> (<i>s, l, r, c, k</i>)	de his qui <i>iam deficientes</i> <i>poenitentiam</i> accipiunt	Common variant Sa
8, 167.10	Om. <i>a</i> (<i>s, l, r, c, k</i>) Om. <i>postulantem</i> (<i>k</i> ¹ , <i>add.</i> <i>k</i> ²)	Sed illicitorum ueniam <i>postulantem</i> oportet <i>a</i> multis etiam licitis abstinere	Common error Sa
9, 167.10 1 Cor. 10:22	Om. <i>mihi</i> (<i>l, r, c, k</i> , Vulgate Bible)	omnia <i>mihi</i> licent (<i>s</i>)	Common* variant Sa
10, 167.13	Om. <i>mortis</i> (<i>s, l, r, c, k</i>)	si urgente aut metu <i>mortis</i> aut captiuitatis periculo	Common error Sa
11, 167.13	et postea timens lapsum incontinentiae <i>iuuenalis</i> (<i>s,</i> <i>l, r, c, k</i>)	... <i>iuuenilis</i>	Common variant Sa
12, 167.13	rem uidetur fecisse <i>iuuenalem</i> (<i>s, l, r, k</i>)	rem uidetur fecisse <i>uenialem</i> (<i>c</i>)	Error <i>s, l, r, k</i>
13, <i>Ep.</i> 167.18 <i>cap.</i>	<i>Maritania</i> (<i>s, l, c</i>) <i>auritani</i> (<i>k</i>)	<i>Mauritania</i> (<i>r</i>)	Error <i>s, l, c</i>
14, 167.18	sed manus <i>inpositione</i> uirtute spiritus sancti(<i>s, l, r,</i>	sed <i>per</i> manus <i>impositionem inuocata</i>	Common error Sa and error <i>s, l,</i>

	<i>c; k does not om. per)</i>	<i>uirtute spiritus sancti</i>	<i>r, c</i>
15, 167.19 <i>cap.</i>	<i>om. adhuc iuuenes (s, l, r^l, c, k)</i>	<i>cum ad Romaniam adhuc iuuenes uenerint (r²)</i>	Common error Sa
16, 12.4	<i>Om. priuilegia, sed etiam laborum (s, l)</i>	<i>matrimoniorum priuilegia, sed etiam laborum merita (r, c, k)</i>	Error <i>s, l</i>
17, 12.2	<i>in elegendo (s, l, r^l, c, k)</i>	<i>in eligendo sacerdotem (r²)</i>	Common variant Sa
18, 12.2	<i>affecit (s, l, r^l, c, k)</i>	<i>semetipsum afficit damno (r²)</i>	Common variant Sa
19, 12.2	<i>Om. de (s, l, r^l, c, k)</i>	<i>fuerit de praeuaricatione (r²)</i>	Common error Sa
20, 12.4	<i>emeritis? exinde quidem (s, l, r^l, c) emeriti? exinde... (k)</i>	<i>emeritis? et in domo quidem (r²)</i>	Common variant Sa and unique error <i>k</i>
21, 12.4	<i>praedictus (s^l, l)</i>	<i>quis bonis moribus praeditus (s², r, c, k)</i>	Error <i>s, l</i>
22, 1.1	<i>Om. ne (s, l, r, c, k)</i>	<i>nostrorum ne insontibus</i>	Common error Sa
23, 1.1	<i>ceditur usurpasse (s, l, r, c) ...creditur... (k)</i>	<i>quidem conceditur usurpasse</i>	Common error Sa and unique <i>k</i>
24, 1.1	<i>domus sedeant et per falsi (s^l, l, r^l, c) domos sedeant... (k)</i>	<i>domus adeant et (s², r²)</i>	Common variant Sa and unique error <i>k</i>
25, 1.1	<i>receptionem (s, l, c)</i>	<i>in talium receptione seruassent (r, k)</i>	Error <i>s, l, c</i>
26, 1.2	<i>hoc (s, l, r, k)</i>	<i>hac nostri auctoritate (c)</i>	Error <i>s, l, r, k</i>
27, 1.2	<i>diaconi, uel cuiuscumque (s, l, r, c, k)</i>	<i>siue presbiteri, siue diaconi, siue cuiuscumque ordinis</i>	Common variant Sa
28, 1.2	<i>possint (l, c, k) possent (r)</i>	<i>nullis possit (s)</i>	
29, 1.2	<i>quod in doctrina (s, l, r, c, k)</i>	<i>quidquid in doctrina</i>	Common variant Sa
30, 1.2	<i>Om. esse (s, l, r, c, k)</i>	<i>istorum esse uersutiam</i>	Common variant (error?) Sa
31, 1.2	<i>istorum uersutiam (r, c, k) stolarum... (l) itholarum... (s)</i>	<i>As above</i>	Agreement <i>r, c, k</i> , but sim. error <i>s, l</i>
32, 1.4	<i>Om. per ... dudum (s^l, l, r, c, k)</i>	<i>ne per huiusmodi in homines extincta dudum scandala (s²)</i>	Common error Sa
33, 1.5	<i>Om. nec ... officio (s, l, r, c, k)</i>	<i>diaconatus ordine nec in subsequenti officio clericorum (s², r²: paraphrase omission)</i>	Common error Sa

34, 1.5	deprauatus <i>ubi ubi</i> ordinatus (<i>s, l, c</i>)	deprauatus <i>ubi</i> ordinatus (<i>r, k</i>)	Variant <i>s, l, c</i>
35, 2.1	Om. <i>pertinere</i> (<i>s, l, r, c, k</i>)	periculum cognosceret <i>pertinere</i> si quisquam	Common error Sa
36, 2.1	<i>cognoscere</i> (<i>l</i>), <i>cognoscerit</i> (<i>r</i>), <i>cognusciret</i> (<i>c</i>)	periculum <i>cognosceret</i> (<i>s</i> , <i>k</i>)	
37, 2.1	<i>uel</i> (<i>s, l, r, c, k</i>)	diaconi, <i>siue</i> alii cuiuslibet ordinis clerici	Common variant Sa
38, 2.2	<i>illa</i> (<i>s, l, r, c</i>)	<i>illam</i> canonum constitutionem (<i>k</i>)	Error <i>s, l, r, c; k</i> conjecturable – common Sa
39, 2.2	<i>cum quo</i> recte (<i>s, l, c</i>) ... <i>cum quod</i> ... (<i>k; k¹</i> om. recte, <i>k²</i> add. recta)	transire. <i>quod cum</i> recte (<i>r</i>)	Error <i>s, l, c, k</i>
40, 2.2	<i>sponsionibus</i> (<i>s¹, l, r¹, c</i>)	curam suam <i>dispositionibus</i> (<i>s², r², k</i>)	Variant <i>s, l, r, c</i>
41, 2.2	<i>incolumitate</i> (<i>s, l, c, k</i>)	ad totius ecclesiae <i>incolumitatem</i> , et (<i>r</i>)	Error <i>s, l, c, k; r</i> conjecturable – common Sa

r also had the following errors at variance from the rest of **Sa** in *Ep.* 12:

	<i>r</i>	<i>s, l, c, k</i>
<i>Ep.</i> 12.1	Om. <i>necessarium fuit</i>	relatione patefecit <i>necessarium fuit</i> ut
<i>Ep.</i> 12.3	<i>ipsam</i> suo	et aliam praeter <i>missam</i> suo
<i>Ep.</i> 12.3	Om. <i>releuata iam</i>	sub <i>releuata iam</i> gratia

The majority of the common variants serve simply to reinforce **Sa** as a collection in more than simply contents; these manuscripts all derive from the same source. The following are common errors in *s, l, r, k*: 1, 12, and 26. Var. 12 is a case of attraction due to the spelling *iuuenalis* (Var. 11) above; it is a liminal case of being a common error, as it would be easily emendable by the scribe of *c* if the exemplar contained *iuuenalem*. The following are common variants in *s, l, r, c*: 6 and 40; Var. 6 is a trivial difference, largely dependent on the scribe's choice of spelling. However, *expetiuerunt* scans *_u_l_* while *expetiuerunt* *_uu/_*; the first is one of Leo's favoured metrical clausulae to match the accentual *cursus planus*.¹⁴⁶ Of the common

¹⁴⁶ See the results of Di Capua 1937, 37-9. Parallels are easily found: *Ep.* 167.6 closes, 'est honestatis'; *Ep.* 165, explicit: 'regnare cum Christo'; *Ep.* 9.1, opening, 'impendamus affectum'.

errors in *s*, *l*, *r*, *c*, Variant 14 is curious because *k* includes ‘per’ but then ungrammatically agrees with the other manuscripts in giving ‘inpositione’ rather than ‘inpositionem’. The common variant in *s*, *l*, *c* is: 34, while the common errors are: 13 and 25. 13 could have been emended by the scribe of *r* and 25 by those of *r* and *k*, just as 12 could have been by the scribe of *c*. The following are the common errors in *s*, *l*: 16, 21. In variant 31, *s* and *l* differ between each other while the rest of the manuscripts agree with the Ballerini. The only other time *s* and *l* are at variance is variant 36, where *s* and *k* agree with the Ballerini but *l*, *r*, and *c* give their own divergent readings. *s* and *l*, therefore, are more closely united than any other two manuscripts of **Sa**; they are from a common branch of the *Sanblasiana* tree, possibly twins, possibly *l* descended from *s*—these two manuscripts are both Italian. *k* has a few unique readings, such as secondary variants in 20 and 24 as well as divergences from the rest of **Sa** for 23 and 14; it is also the manuscript from farthest afield, whether Northumbria or the area of Reichenau. *r* also displays some unique readings in *Ep.* 12 due to carelessness. At first glance, *r* and *c* seem to be closely related, but they are at variance with each other more often than *s* and *l* are. *c* is thus separate from the wider **Sa** tradition. One test to further these arguments would be to check for contamination of *c*’s parent against manuscripts of other traditions.

f. *Collectio Dionysiana*¹⁴⁷ (D)

i. Dating and context

Unlike with our other early canonical collections, the compiler of the *Collectio Dionysiana* is known—Dionysius Exiguus (c. 470 – c. 540), a monk most

¹⁴⁷ B6 (PL 54.557-558), J1(vi) (501-502).

famous for his Easter computation that the Roman church was to adopt and thereby set our current dating of Christ's birth.¹⁴⁸ Dionysius came from 'Scythia', noted as 'Scytha natio' by Cassiodorus, to Rome shortly after the death of Pope Gelasius I (d. 496);¹⁴⁹ as Firey argues, Dionysius' origin is most significant for the fact that Scythia was long Latinised and its monks often involved in doctrinal quarrels—thus, Dionysius was well-positioned to translate Greek texts for the use of Latin churchmen.¹⁵⁰ The first version of *Collectio Dionysiana* was a translation of Greek canons into Latin during the pontificate of Symmachus; Dionysius' collection of papal decretals followed shortly thereafter.¹⁵¹ Since we know who compiled this collection, we can also safely say where it was compiled with no conjecture: Rome. Furthermore, Dionysius seems to have used the incipient papal archive, as mentioned above.¹⁵²

Gaudemet judges that **D** is the most important canonical collection of this era.¹⁵³ Part of its importance lies in its use by later canonists, as visible below. For example, Cresconius' *Concordia Canonum*, which is one of our first systematic collections, is based on Dionysius' work, as are the *Collectiones Dionysio-Hadriana*

¹⁴⁸ Dionysius' texts on the dating of Easter are in PL 67.19-28 (two letters *De Ratione Paschae*) and 483-519 (*Liber de Paschate*, Proterius of Alexandria to Leo the Great [Leo, *Ep.* 133], and an *Epistola Dionysii de Ratione Paschae*).

¹⁴⁹ Besides Dionysius' own work and his introductions to it, we derive information about him from Cassiodorus, *Institutiones divinarum et humanarum lectionum*, 1.23; 1.23.2 includes the important information: 'fuit enim nostris temporibus et Dionisius monachus, Scytha natione sed moribus omnino Romanus, in utraque lingua valde doctissimus, reddens actionibus suis quam in libris Domini legerat aequitatem.' (Emphasis added.)

¹⁵⁰ See Firey 2008. The best brief description of Dionysius' life and work within their historical context is still Duchesne 1925, 134-137.

¹⁵¹ For dates of the compiling of *Collectio Dionysiana*, see Gaudemet 1985, 134; Fournier and Le Bras 1931, Vol. 1, 24. That the decretals were added shortly after the original collection highlighted in the italicised phrase from his own introduction to the decretal collection: 'ita duntaxat ut singulorum pontificum, quotquot a me praecepta reperta sunt, sub una numerorum serie terminarum, omnesque titulos huic praefationi subnecterem, *eo modo quo dudum*, de Graeco sermone Patrum transferens canones, ordinaram, quod vobis initium placuisse cognoveram.' (PL 67.231)

¹⁵² At 2.1. See also Gaudemet 1985, 136.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 134.

(D-h) and *Dionysiana Bobiensis* (**D-b**), the other canonical collections descended from the *Dionysiana* containing these decretals.¹⁵⁴ The *Dionysiana* also exerts influence upon the *Collectio Hispana* and its text of these letters, thereby also the later collections related to the *Hispana*, such as *Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis*, Pseudo-Isidore, and Ballerini collections 21 and 22. **D** contains seven Leonine epistles, all of which are decretals: 4, 7, 16, 18, 167, 14, 159.

ii. Manuscripts

As the existence of the independent introduction implies, Dionysius' decretal collection was originally a discrete entity from that of the canons. However, in the manuscript tradition, it always comes with the conciliar material. The manuscripts are:¹⁵⁵

a: Paris, lat. 3837 (saec. IX; before 829), from Angers, scriptorium of Saint-Maurice cathedral;¹⁵⁶ the table of contents includes Leo at foll. 96^v-98^v; his letters run 140^{rb}-158^{ra}. Written in two columns, it is a minuscule manuscript with rubricated capitals and uncials for the *tituli*. This manuscript and *c* also include the preface to the decretals.

c: Vat. lat. 5845 (ca. 915 and 934), from Capua; written in two columns of 27 lines each. The hand is Beneventan script.¹⁵⁷ It was written by monks of

¹⁵⁴ The *Collectio Dionysiana adaucta* (**D-a**) is also descended from Dionysius' collection, but its Leonine letters are not the same selection as in **D**.

¹⁵⁵ See the helpful table of the *Dionysiana* manuscripts in Firey 2008. Kéry 1999, 10, also lists Paris, lat. 3845 under the Second Recension with the note 'also decretals'. However, this manuscript does not contain the decretals, and is not listed on page 11 with the other decretal manuscripts. Firey 2008 reproduces this.

¹⁵⁶ The manuscript gives a catalogue of the Bishops of Angers ending with Benedict (d. 828/829). See *Catalogue général*, Bibliothèque nationale de France. <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000061802> Accessed 8 October 2014.

¹⁵⁷ Lowe 1980, Vol. 1, 69. Costantino Gaetano classified the script as Lombard in the 1600s according to the old methodology of assigning scripts to people groups; he also wrote, 'il piu quasi

Montecassino in exile at Capua when they had fled the Saracens, first to Teano in 883, then to Capua from 896-949.¹⁵⁸ The contents list Leo 73^f-74^f, and his letters in the **D** portion run from 112^v-126^v. The first hand of the Leo portion runs until 118^v, the second beginning at 119^f; since 118-124 are a single quire, the change of hands is due to a change of scribe at time of writing, not later damage to the manuscript. The first hand is larger, clearer, and darker. The rubrics throughout are very pale and almost illegible.¹⁵⁹ This manuscript also includes the *Collectio Dionysiana adaucta* (**D-a**), for which see below at 4.2.b. The decretal collection also exists in two manuscripts that excerpt decretals from the *Dionysiana*; however, these manuscripts do not contain Leo's letters.¹⁶⁰ Finally, the decretals were edited by Christophe Justel;¹⁶¹ however, Gaudemet says that Justel's edition of the *Dionysiana* decretals is actually a reprint of either the 1525 edition of **D-h** by Johannes Wendelstinus (Cochlaeus) or that of Pithou from 1609.¹⁶²

iii. Manuscript relations

Before setting forth the many *Dionysiana* variants, it is worth observing that these two manuscripts are orthographically distinct. For example, *a* frequently uses *–us* for *–os*, and gives *–tium* where *c* gives *–cium*, as in *officium*. Throughout, *a* has a tendency to interchange *i* and *e*, giving each where the standard text provides the

antico codice di Concilij, che habbia la Libreria Vaticana'. See his letter to Urban VIII inscribed in Vat. Barb. lat. 3150, foll. 356 and 358; full text in Ruysschaert 1964, 268-271, quotation from p. 270.

¹⁵⁸ Lowe 1980, Vol. 2, 53-54.

¹⁵⁹ Kéry lists Vat. lat. 5845 as both *Dionysiana adaucta* and *Dionysiana*; however, since its contents for Leo are those of the *Dionysiana*, I have classed it here for our purposes.

¹⁶⁰ These manuscripts are Paris, lat. 10399, fol. 20-25, and Paris, lat. 3847 of the twelfth century.

¹⁶¹ C. Justel. *Codex canonum ecclesiasticorum Dionysii Exigui*. Paris 1628 and 1643. Repr. G. Voellius and H. Justellus, *Bibliotheca iuris canonici veteris* 1 (Paris 1661), decretals in 183-248; and PL 67.137-316, decretals in 230-316.

¹⁶² Gaudemet 1985, 136, n. 19. Justel has certainly produced a **D-h** text, since PL 67.298B-302C prints for us *Ep.* 12, the one addition to Leo's letters in that version.

other; such a difference is due not to error, nor even to a variant in the copyist's mind, but, rather, to the sound of Latin to the copyist's ear.¹⁶³ Both manuscripts, however, prefer *inp-* to *imp-*, and *inr-* to *irr-*, as in *inperitia* and *inrationabilis*. Besides the variations in spelling, *a* demonstrates greater carelessness in copying. Although both texts demonstrate numerous variants from the control text, those in *a* that are not shared with *c* are more frequently demonstrable errors than in *c*, as the following table will show. In total, out of the 238 **D** variants analysed, 95 of them are definitive errors unique to *a*, while only 34 are definitive errors unique to *c*. On those grounds, *c* seems to be the more reliable manuscript—although not free of error. However, *c* tends to omit *uc* or *uu cc* from the consular formulae at the ends of letters, an omission not present in *a*. One of the notable errors in *c* is the failure of the first scribe to finish column 2 of fol. 118^v, missing out the last chapter of *Ep.* 16 and all of *Ep.* 18. A much later, possibly early modern, hand, and not the scribe who took over on 119^f, thus wrote the *incipit* of *Ep.* 167 at the bottom of 118^v, col. 2:

Leo epus Rustico Narbonensi epo. Eplis snctitatis tuae, quas Hermes archidiaconus suus detulit, libenter accepi diuersarum quidem causarum connexione

119r begins *connexione multiplices*. This lacuna seems not to have affected the later manuscripts of the **D** tradition, so we can assume *c* has no descendents.

In the following table, all of the variants from *Ep.* 4, which begins the collection, have been included, and select other readings—all of the errors unique to *a* after *Ep.* 4 have been excluded for the sake of space. Despite these readings being a fraction of those investigated, the quantity of variants in the table below is still extensive; this extensive laying out of relationships is important for the *Dionysiana*

¹⁶³ The interchange between *i* and *e* in select circumstances is discussed at great length in Chapter X of Adams 2007.

because of its early date and wide influence. The better we understand **D**, the better we understand the later collections and their textual development. The results for the *Collectio Dionysiana* are as follows:

Var., Ep.	D text	Ballerini text (control)	Significance
1, 4, <i>Praef.</i>	et <i>per</i> uniuersas (c)	Tusciam et uniuersas prouincias (a)	Variant c
2, 4, <i>Praef.</i>	<i>errore</i> (a)	nos <i>maerore</i> contristat (c)	Error a
3, 4, <i>Praef.</i>	et ecclesiasticam disciplinam (a, c)	constituta canonum ecclesiasticamque disciplinam	Variant D
4, 4, <i>Praef.</i>	om. <i>esse</i> (a)	speculatores <i>esse</i> uoluit (c)	Variant a
5, 4, <i>Praef.</i>	<i>quis</i> corpus (a) <i>sincere</i> (c)	permittentes <i>sincerum</i> corpus	
6, 4, <i>Praef.</i>	<i>purum macula</i> (a, c)	quod ab omni <i>macula purum</i>	Variant D
7, 4, <i>Praef.</i>	dissimulationem (a)	dissimilationem (c)	Variant a; very common variant spelling
8, 4.1	<i>atque</i> (a)	Duplex <i>itaque</i> in hac (c)	Error a
9, 4.1	<i>uestrae prouinciae</i> (a, c)	omnes <i>prouinciae uestrae</i>	Variant D
10, 4.1	<i>temerari</i> (a)	uolumus <i>temperari</i> : nisi (c)	Error a
11, 4.1	<i>nulla necessitate saeculi subtrahatur</i> (c)	<i>nullis necessitatis uinculis abstrahatur</i> (a)	Error c
12, 4.2	<i>constituet</i> (a)	unicuique <i>constiterit</i> (c)	Error a
13, 4.2	om. <i>quibus</i> (a)	quosdam etiam <i>quibus</i> (c)	Error a
14, 4.2	om. <i>licentiam</i> (a)	et ad omnem <i>licentiam</i> uita (c)	Error a
15, 4.2	<i>adyticum</i> (a)	patefactis <i>aditibus</i> fuisse (c)	Error a
16, 4.2	<i>quia</i> (a)	uocem, <i>qua</i> talibus (c)	Variant a
17, 4.2	<i>quod</i> (a)	praeceptum, <i>quo</i> dicitur et (c)	Error a
18, 4.2	huius discussiones (a)	huius discussionis (c)	Orthographic variant – e and i often interchangeable in a.
19, 4.2	<i>liceat</i> (a)	<i>licuerit</i> sacerdotem (c)	Error a
20, 4.2	<i>regulis canonum</i> (a, c)	<i>canonum regulis</i> fuerit	Variant D
21, 4.2	<i>consuerunt</i> (a)	enecare <i>consueuerunt</i> (c)	Variant a
22, 4.3	om. <i>turpis</i> (a)	quosdam <i>lucris turpis</i> cupiditate (c)	Error? a

23, 4.3	<i>constitutos (a)</i>	officio <i>constituti (c)</i>	Error <i>a</i>
24, 4.4, <i>Cap.</i>	<i>fenus exerceant (a)</i> <i>exerceat (c)</i>	N/A	
25, 4.4	<i>non (a, c)</i>	<i>ita nec alieno nomine</i>	Error D
26, 4.4	<i>indecus (a)</i>	<i>indecens enim est (c)</i>	Error <i>a</i>
27, 4.5	a suo <i>scianit se officio (c)</i>	a suo <i>se nouerit officio (a)</i>	Error <i>c</i>
28, 4.5	<i>custodire (a)</i>	a uestra dilectione <i>custodiri (c)</i>	Error <i>a</i>
29, 4.5	maximo et paterio uu cc cons (a) om. <i>uu cc (c)</i>	Maximo iterum et Paterio uiris clarissimis consulibus	Variant <i>c</i>
30, 7.1	<i>ne (a, c)</i>	inueniat latebrarum <i>ut quod a nobis</i>	Error D
31, 7.1	<i>uigilanti ad uulgauit (c)</i>	reperit <i>uigilantia diuulgauit auctoritas (a)</i>	Error <i>c</i>
32, 7.1	<i>que (c)</i>	<i>quid refugeret aut uitaret (a)</i>	Error <i>c</i>
33, 7.2	quos ne absoluerent (<i>a, c</i>)	quos <i>hic, ne se absoluerent</i>	Error D
34, 7.2	om. <i>per acolythum nostrum (a, c)</i>	<i>misimus per acolythum nostrum; ut</i>	Variant D
35, 7.2	Dat III kl Febr Theodosio XVIII et Albino uc cons (<i>a</i>) Dat III kl Feb theodosio XVIII et Albino cons (c)	Data tertio kalendas Februarii, Theodosio Augusto XVIII et Albino uiris clarissimis consulibus	
36, 16, <i>Praef.</i>	om. <i>episcopus (a, c)</i>	Leo <i>episcopus</i> uniuersis	Variant D
37, 16, <i>Praef.</i>	<i>cleri (a, c)</i> om. <i>sollicitudine (a)</i>	obnoxium <i>celeri sollicitudine</i>	Error D Error <i>a</i>
39, 16.1	<i>apostoli petri (a, c)</i>	et beati <i>Petri apostoli</i> sedes	Variant D
40, 16.2	<i>mistico munerum oblato (a, c)</i>	paruulum <i>mystica munerum oblatione</i> uenerantur	Error D
41, 16.2	<i>mortuo persecutore (a, c)</i>	in Galilaeam, <i>persecutore mortuo</i> reuocatus est	Variant D
42, 16.2	<i>esse se; om. et (a)</i> om. <i>se (c)</i>	significans eius <i>se esse filium</i> cuius esset <i>et templum</i>	Variants <i>a</i> Error <i>c</i>
43, 16.2	<i>...districtio... (a, c)</i>	seruanda <i>distinctio</i> quia	Error D
44, 16.2	<i>dicit (a)</i>	apostolus <i>docet (c)</i>	Variant <i>a</i>
45, 16.2	in eodem <i>sententiendam</i> sententia (<i>a</i>) <i>scientia (c)</i>	in eodem <i>sensu et in eadem sententia</i>	Error <i>a</i> Variant <i>c</i>
46, 16.3 (Jn)	<i>...Pater meus in... (c)</i>	quem mittet Pater in nomine meo (<i>a, Vulgate</i>)	Variant <i>c</i>

14:26)			
47, 16.5 (VI)	Quia <i>si</i> sunt (a, c)	Quia <i>etsi</i> sunt alia quoque festa	Variant D
48, 16.6	ob hoc <i>existimat</i> (a, c)	ob hoc <i>aestimat</i> priuilegium	Variant D
49, 16.6	om. <i>implendo finire</i> (c)	sed implere et <i>implendo finire</i> (a)	Error c
50, 16.6	<i>primatum</i> (a, c)	in omnibus <i>primatus</i> tenens	Variant D
51, ¹⁶⁴ 16.7	quae, inspirante Domino, <i>uobis</i> (a)	quae <i>uobis</i> , inspirante Domino, insinuanda	Variant a
52, 16.7	<i>Vacillum et Paschasium</i> (a)	coepiscopos nostros <i>Bacillum atque Paschasinum</i>	Variant a
53, 16.7	a gives no date in <i>explicit</i>		Error a
54, 18	<i>gregum</i> (a)	ad custodiam <i>gregis</i> Christi	Variant a
55, 18	<i>Deum</i> (a)	Non leuem apud <i>Dominum</i> noxam	Variant a
56, 18	Data III kl iul alipio et ardabure cons (a)	Data III Kalend. Ianuarii Calepio et Ardabure uiris clarissimis consulibus	
57, 167, Praef.	<i>debeas adhibere</i> (a, c)	spiritalement <i>adhibere debeas</i> medicinam	Variant D
58, 167, Praef.	<i>conflictatione</i> (c) nulla <i>perfectorum portio a conflictione</i> (a)	nulla <i>piorum portio a tentatione</i> sit libera	Variant a, c Variant a
59, 167, Praef.	<i>pastorum</i> (a)	Si <i>pastoris</i> cura non uigilet?	Variant a
60, 167, Praef. (Jn 16:33)	<i>confidite</i> (a, c; Vulgate)	habebitis; sed <i>bono animo estote</i> , quia	Variant D
61, 167, Praef.	om. <i>de singulis</i> (a, c)	quaeretur <i>de singulis</i> si nobis conspectus	Error D
62, 167, Praef.	<i>conspectus tui...</i> (a, c)	nobis <i>tui conspectus</i> copia	Variant D
63, 167, Praef.	om. <i>patrum</i> (a, c)	decretis sanctorum <i>patrum</i> inueniatur	Error D
64, 167.1	<i>doceatur</i> (a, c)	quod non docetur fuisse collatum?	Error D
65, 167.1	<i>qui</i> (a) <i>quia</i> (c)	in eis ecclesiis ordinati sunt <i>quae</i> ad	Error a Error c
66, 167.1	<i>consecratio</i> (a)	habenda est <i>creatio</i> <i>quae</i> (c)	Variant a
67, 167.7 (Bal.)	<i>sit poenitus desperanda</i> (c, a)	Culpanda est talium negligentia, sed non <i>poenitus deseranda</i>	Variant D

¹⁶⁴ Variants 53-58 are where c has a lacuna.

68, 167.10 (1 Cor. 6:12)	omnia licent (<i>a, c</i> ; Vulgate)	omnia <i>mihi</i> licent	Variant D ; Sa
69, 167.18	impositionem, <i>uirtutem</i> (<i>a, c</i>)	sed per manus impositionem, <i>inuocata uirtute</i> Spiritus Sancti	Variant D Sa also om. <i>inuocata</i>
70, 14 <i>Inscr.</i>	Quod semper thesalonicenses antistites uices apostolicae sedis <i>impleuerint</i> (<i>c</i>) <i>...impleuerit</i> (<i>a</i>)		Error <i>a</i>
71, 14, <i>Praef.</i>	<i>...Petri auctoritate</i> <i>commissa sunt</i> (<i>a</i>) <i>patris auctoritate</i> <i>commisa sunt</i> (<i>c</i>)	<i>a beatissimi Petri apostoli</i> <i>auctoritate sint commissa</i>	Error <i>c</i> Shared variant <i>a, c</i> This comes at the end of a clause, and ‘- tate commissa sunt’ scans <i>_u/_u_</i> , preferable to ‘-tate sint commissa’: <i>_u/_u_</i> .
72, 14, <i>Praef.</i>	<i>siue ratione</i> (<i>a, c</i>)	<i>si uera ratione</i>	Error D ; haplography
73, 14.1	uniuersis <i>et ecclesiis</i> (<i>c</i>) om. <i>ecclesiis</i> (<i>a</i>)	quam uniuersis <i>Ecclesiis</i>	Variant <i>c</i> Error <i>a</i>
74, 14.1	<i>impenderis et</i> continenti (<i>c</i>) <i>impenderes et continet</i> (<i>a</i>)	<i>impenderes siquidem</i> continenti	Variant <i>c</i> Error <i>a</i>
75, 14.1	<i>audientiae</i> (<i>a, c</i>)	salubritatem <i>oboedientiae</i> prouocares	Error D
76, 14.1	<i>seniores</i> (<i>c</i>)	<i>seniorem ne</i> (<i>a</i>)	Variant <i>c</i>
77, 14.1 (1 Tim. 5:1)	<i>obsecraris</i> (<i>c</i>)	Sed <i>obsecra</i> (<i>a, Vulgate</i>)	Variant <i>c</i> ; likely wrong
78, 14.1	<i>credenda</i> (<i>c</i>)	<i>reddenda est</i> (<i>a</i>)	Error <i>c</i>
79, 14.1 (Phil. 2:21)	<i>Christi Iesu</i> (<i>a, c</i> , Vulgate)	quae <i>Iesu Christi</i> facile	Variant D
80, 14.1	<i>trahi in culpam sentio</i> (<i>a, c</i>)	in culpam <i>trahi</i> sentio	Variant D

81, 14.1	<i>concessum</i> (c)	quodque <i>consensum</i> suum etiam (a)	Error c
82, 14.1	de <i>meis moribus</i> <i>aestimasti</i> (a, c)	bene de <i>moribus meis</i> <i>existimasti</i>	Variant D
83, 14.1	om. <i>sunt</i> (a, c)	quae perperam <i>sunt</i> gesta	Error D
84, 14.1	<i>commendamus</i> (a) <i>commendabimus</i> (c)	tibi <i>commendaui</i> mus	Variant a Variant c; orthography
85, 14.3	<i>testimonio fulceatur</i> (a) <i>testimonio fulciatur</i> (c)	etiamsi bonae uitae <i>testimonium habeat</i>	Variant D ; viable possibility as correct reading
86, 14.4	<i>uel</i> secundo tercio <i>uersandum</i> (a) <i>aut</i> secundo, tercio <i>seruandum</i> (c)	<i>aut</i> secundo <i>uel</i> tercio <i>seruandum</i>	Error & variant a Variant D
87, 14.5	<i>...praeponatur...</i> (a, c)	is alteri <i>praeferatur</i> qui	Variant D
88, 14.8	Si quis <i>autem</i> episcopus (a)	om. <i>autem</i> (c)	Variant a
89, 14.11	om. <i>Nemo ... Apostolus</i> <i>ait</i> (a, c)	turbentur. <i>Nemo quod suum</i> <i>est quaerat, sed quod</i> <i>alterius, sicut Apostolus ait:</i> Unusquisque	Error D
90, 14.11 (Ro. 15:2)	om. <i>uestrum</i> (a, c)	Unusquisque <i>uestrum</i> proximo (Vulgate)	Variant D
91, 14.11	et haec <i>quidem</i> connexio (a, c)	haec connexio totius <i>quidem</i> corporis	Variant D
92, 159.1	liberandos, <i>et in</i> aliorum... (a, c)	liberandos, <i>ad</i> aliorum coniugium	Variant D
93, 159.1 (Pr. 19:14)	scriptum ‘a <i>domino...</i> (a, c)	scriptum, <i>quod</i> ‘a <i>Deo</i> <i>iungitur</i> ’	Neither is Vulgate, which follows Heb.; Latin trans. of LXX. Variant D
94, 159.2	om. <i>habeatur</i> (a, c), thus allowing ‘ <i>iudicetur</i> ’ to govern ‘ <i>peruasor</i> ’ <i>peruasor per personam</i> (a)	<i>peruasor habeatur</i> qui	Variant D Error a
95, 159.2	<i>sit</i> (a, c)	quanto magis ... <i>faciendum</i> <i>est</i>	Variant D
96, 159.7	<i>sola spiritus sancti</i> <i>inuocatione</i> (c)	<i>sola inuocatione Spiritus</i> <i>Sancti</i>	Variant a Variant c

	<i>sancti spiritus inuocatione (a)</i>		
97, 159.7, <i>Explicit</i>	om. date (a) Dat XIII kl April, cons. marciani Augusti (c)	Data XII kalendorum Aprilium, consulatu Maioriani Augusti	Error <i>a</i> Variant or error <i>c</i>

This table shows us that, even when we wish to exclude most of the *a* errors, we cannot. *a* may be a somewhat corrupt text, but certainly not irredeemable. **D** has a number of notable common variants from the control text: 43 out of these 97, of which 12 are errors and 30 neutral variants with one that is debatable. *c* introduces fewer errors as well as its own variants. Overall, with *c* and *a* frequently correcting each other, these two manuscripts could help produce an ur-**D** of Leo’s letters that would be in the running for the urtext itself—but we have a third witness, **D-b**, which makes that task even easier. **D** is a good text, and we are fortunate it was so influential for the transmission of these seven letters through the Middle Ages. The transmission of these letters in traditions indebted to **D** runs through **D-h**, **S** and its children, thus also **I** and its children—spreading, that is, into canon law collections from Italy into Spain and Gaul, thence to Germany and Britain as well as back again into Italy.

g. *Collectio Dionysiana Bobiensis*¹⁶⁵ (D-b)

i. Dating and context

This collection is a seventh-century augmentation of the *Collectio Dionysiana*. Later material was added to the original *Dionysiana*, and then at an even later date were added canons from Roman councils of Pope Zacharias in 743 and

¹⁶⁵ Unknown to Ballerini and therefore to Jalland.

Pope Eugenius II in 826.¹⁶⁶ Nonetheless, according to Wurm's research on the text, **D-b** is descended from a more or less 'pure' *Dionysiana*.¹⁶⁷ The Leonine material bears this out, being the same as in *Collectio Dionysiana* and following readings that may be considered 'typical' of that collection, as I shall demonstrate. As discussed below, **D-b** is important as a third witness to the text of **D**, but drawn from a source independent of our two **D** manuscripts.

ii. Manuscripts

It survives in two manuscripts:

m: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana S. 33 sup. (saec. IX), originating in Bobbio during the abbacy of Agilulf (887-896); Leo's letters run 224^r-245^f. *m* gives the collection its name; it is about one foot tall, with a single column of text, and is written in a minuscule hand with *tituli* in capitals. There are two hands in the writing of this manuscript, and for Leo's letters the second hand is an obsessive corrector, who even corrects orthography such as 'quicumque' to 'quicunque'. Besides interlinear glosses that are typically simple synonyms, such as 'letitiam' for 'gratulationem' or 'ordinatus' for 'compositus' (see fol. 224^r), *m*² also provides marginal glosses, especially on foll. 227^v, 229^v, and 230^f. Pantarotto persuasively argues that *m*² is also responsible as the primary

¹⁶⁶ See Fowler-Magerl 2005, 42, and Kéry 1999, 13.

¹⁶⁷ Wurm 1938, 32-33.

scribe for several other quires.¹⁶⁸ My own examination of the manuscript bears out the essentially contemporary nature of these two hands in the Leo portion of the manuscript.

v: Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXI (saec. X). v is written in a Caroline minuscule with uncial *capitula* that alternate between red and same ink as text. Leo's letters run foll. 162^v-180^v.

iii. Manuscript relations

Of minor importance yet still worth noting is the fact that *m* and *v* differ orthographically. For example, *m* gives 'praesumat' but *v* 'presumat'; others are *m* 'tanquam', *v* 'tamquam'; *m* 'aggregandus', *v* 'adgregandus'; *m* 'paenitus', *v* 'poenitus'; and *m* 'quae', *v* 'que'. At first glance such orthographic differences make one suspect that *v* is not a copy of *m*. However, as Wurm has already argued,¹⁶⁹ *v* is a descendant of *m*—and likely a direct copy. My own collation of the two manuscripts demonstrates that *v* takes on too many of *m*'s non-**D** variants to be independent of the *m* tradition. The following table gives a brief selection of some of these readings to demonstrate this dependency:

<i>Ep.</i>	D-b (<i>m</i> and <i>v</i>)	D and Ballerini (control)
4.2	<i>obstiterant</i>	quod <i>obstiterat</i> , non fuerunt
7.1	om. <i>suis</i>	in occultis traditionibus suis habent
7.2	om. <i>fratres karissimi</i>	sanctitas uestra, <i>fratres karissimi</i> , sollicitius
16, <i>Praef.</i>	<i>Monente</i>	<i>Manente</i> enim dominicae uocis
16.2	in templum <i>in</i> Ierusalem	in templum Ierusalem
16.2	<i>recolamus</i>	honore <i>colamus</i> , omnia tempora
16.3	<i>Pentecosten</i>	<i>Pentecostes</i> ex aduentu

¹⁶⁸ Pantarotto 2007 demonstrates that many of the additions to the *Dionysiana* that make it *Bobiensis* are done by *m*² on new quires added at a later date than the transcription of the rest of the manuscript. Based upon style of writing as well as use of abbreviations, *m*² went on to correct and gloss the text of *m*¹ in the rest of the manuscript.

¹⁶⁹ Wurm 1939, 32-3.

16.3	<i>magister latius</i>	quae <i>latius magister gentium</i>
167, <i>Praef.</i>	<i>castigare</i>	<i>castigari</i> necesse est
167.1	<i>in iudicio</i>	consensu et iudicio praesidentium
14.1	<i>profectu</i>	opportunoque prospectu
14.1	<i>nostrae</i>	<i>nostra</i> erat expectanda

All of the readings from the table above are, it is true, errors. However, these errors common to **D-b** but distinct from **D** help show us the independence of **D-b** from both **D a** and **c**, as does the fact that at times it agrees with **D a**, at times with **D c**. Very frequently, *v* follows *m*² in deviating from **D-Ballerini**; however, at times *v* follows *m*¹. The question thus arises whether *m*² is a single hand, as previously argued, or more than one hand. By the appearance of the manuscript, *m*² looks to be a single hand of similar date to *m*¹, as discussed above. However, since *m* is late ninth-century and *v* early tenth-century, a third *m* hand in the same script could be postulated to account for cases where *v* deviates from *m*² and follows the *m*¹ reading although it had already been corrected; this postulated *m*³, however, runs against the current of most scholarship on the manuscript, and I, myself, have observed no palaeographical reason to believe in a third hand. A likely cause of *v* choosing *m*¹ over *m*² is the fact that *m*² both obsessively corrects and glosses; for someone making a copy, an interlinear correction could be mistaken for an interlinear gloss. An important piece of evidence for *v* dependency on *m* is in 16.7 where a marginal gloss from *m* has been added to the main text of *v*.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, as the table below will demonstrate, *v* introduces a large quantity of corruptions into the text that *m* lacks, pointing to a later stage of transmission within the same corpus. Finally, in those few instances where *v* provides a true reading against a corruption in *m*, these are

¹⁷⁰ The text is, 'Quod itaque laboriosum non est si uicissim inter uos haec consuetudo seruetur' (*m* fol. 231^v; *v* fol. 169^r)

moments where the text could easily have been emended by the scribe. These instances are in *Ep.* 7.1, where *v* agrees with the Ballerini in giving ‘dispergat ecclesias’, but *m* gives the corrupt reading ‘ecclesiis’; in 18 *v* gives ‘spiritalis medicinae’ but *m* provides ‘spiritali’; in 167, *Praef.*, *v* gives ‘recensitis’, while *m* gives two variants, ‘recensiti’ (m^1) and ‘recensentes’ (m^2); in 14.1, *v* provides ‘temperantia frequenter instruximus’ against *m*’s ‘frequentia’; in 14.1 *v* also writes ‘nostro uiderentur gesta’ rather than either ‘uideantur’ (m^1) or ‘uidearentur’ (m^2); again in 14.1, *v* has ‘euocatus adesse differret’ but *m* ‘adesset’; later in the same chapter, *v* has ‘noui apud Te criminis’ rather than *m* ‘apud se’; in 14.11, *v* gives ‘exigit concordiam sacerdotum’ instead of the *m* corruption ‘concordia’; in 159.3, *v* provides ‘in captiuitatem reuersi’, but *m* ‘in captiuitatem persereuersi’. This accounts for the total number of instances where *v* provides a sound reading against an *m* corruption; it is obvious that a good scribe could have corrected the text before in each of the above rather than requiring either a different exemplar or a second text to bring in contaminations.

A selection of other **D-b** variants is described below. The purpose of this table is to demonstrate the dependency of *v* upon *m* as well as the textual derivation of **D-b** from the work of Dionysius. My collations of these manuscripts found 236 variants of one sort or another from the Ballerini control text. Therefore, I present only a selection of the findings to demonstrate and illustrate my argument; the variants provided are drawn from *Ep.* 4 as well as some of the significant other variants of the collection.

Variant: <i>Ep.</i>	D-b (<i>m</i> , <i>v</i>) D (<i>a</i> , <i>c</i>)	Ballerini text (control)	Significance
1, 4, <i>Praef.</i>	Tusciam et <i>per</i> uniuersas prouincias (<i>v</i> ; <i>c</i>)	om. <i>per</i> (<i>m</i> ; <i>a</i>)	Variant <i>v</i> ; <i>c</i>

2, 4, <i>Praef.</i>	praesumpta uel <i>contempta</i> (m^1 , v)	<i>commissa</i> (m^2 ; a , c)	Error m^1 , v
3, 4, <i>Praef.</i>	debemus <i>ambigendo</i> <i>improba</i> (v)	<i>ambientium</i> (m ; a , c)	Error v
4, 4.1	honorem <i>accipiat</i> (m^1 , v)	<i>capiat</i> (m^2 ; a , c)	Variant m^1 , v
5, 4.1	om. <i>ad</i> (v)	<i>ad illicitae usurpationis</i> (m ; a , c)	Error v
6, 4.1	om. <i>uestrae</i> (m) <i>uestrae prouinciae</i> (v ; a , c)	omnes <i>prouinciae</i> <i>uestrae</i> abstineant	Variant m Variant v
7, 4.1	<i>tamen</i> (v)	non <i>tantum</i> ab his, sed ab aliis (m ; a , c)	Variant v
8, 4.1	<i>ordinationi</i> (v)	aut alicui <i>conditioni</i> obligati (m ; a , c)	Variant v
9, 4.1	<i>necessitatis calculis</i> (v) <i>necessitatibus calculis</i> (m^1)	nullis <i>necessitatis</i> <i>uinculis</i> abstrahatur (m^2 ; a)	Variant v Error m^1
10, 4.2 <i>Cap.</i>	<i>uim</i> (m) sacerdotum uel uiduarum (v ; a , c)		Error m
11, 4.2	om. <i>constiterit</i> (m^2 , v)	uniquique <i>constiterit</i> <i>natalium</i> (m^1 ; c) <i>constituet</i> (a)	Error m^2 , v
12, 4.2	<i>protectione</i> (v)	diuina <i>praeceptione</i> didicimus (m ; a , c)	Error v
13, 4.2	<i>quod</i> (v ; a)	legis <i>praeceptum</i> , <i>quo</i> dicitur (m , c)	Error v ; a
14, 4.2	<i>auellantur</i> (m^2 , v)	radicitus <i>euellantur</i> (m^1)	Variant m^2 , v
15, 4.2	<i>qua nata segetem et necare</i> <i>consuerunt</i> (v) <i>consuerunt</i> (m ; a)	si ea <i>quae natam</i> <i>segetem enecare</i> <i>consueuerunt</i> (m ; c)	Error v
16, 4.3	<i>decreuimus</i> (m^1 , v)	confutati <i>decernimus</i> (m^2 ; a , c)	Variant m^1 , v
17, 4.3	<i>adimitatur</i> (v)	opportunitas <i>adimatur</i> (m ; a , c)	Error v
18, 4.4	<i>mensuram</i> (m) <i>tribuet</i> (v)	in perpetuum <i>mansura</i> <i>retribuet</i> (a , c)	Error m Variant v
19, 4.5	<i>statuta</i> (m^2 , v)	contra haec <i>constituta</i> uenire (m^1 ; a , c)	Variant m^2 , v
20, 4.5	om. <i>forte</i> (m^1)	a nobis <i>forte</i> credatur (m^2 , v ; a , c)	Error m^1
21, 4.5	<i>nostra</i> (v) <i>custodire</i> (m ; a)	ita a <i>uestra</i> dilectione <i>custodiri</i> (c)	Error v Error m ; a

Finally, **D-b** shares the following common **D** variants from the table at 2.2.f.iii: 3, 6, 30, 34, 38, 39, 41, 43, 50, 57, 62, 69, 75, 79, 80, 82, 87, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95; m^1 and v share 60, 61, and 89 with the table; m^2 and v share 85. m also shares 48, 68, 69, and 91; m^1 shares 63 and 67, while m^2 shares 64, and v shares 9. Furthermore, the **D-b** reading of 40 is a variation on the **D** variant from that printed by the Ballerini; **D** provides ‘mistico munerum oblato’, and **D-b** gives ‘mystico munere oblato’. Given the occasions where m^1 alone of the **D-b** hands follows the consensus of **D**, while at times in the same place m^2 gives a reading that matches the Ballerini control text, it is my contention that the second hand of m is not collating against the exemplar. Of the agreements between the four manuscripts, the most apparent convergences between **D-b** and **D** are those inversions of the Ballerini’s choice of word order, such as the frequent ‘Sancti Spiritus’ instead of ‘Spiritus Sancti’ or ‘debeas adhibere’ for ‘adhibere debeas’ (*Ep.* 167, *Praef.*).

Furthermore, while m has a certain number of its own peculiarities, as does the **D-b** tradition *in toto*, c and m nevertheless have fewer errors than **D a**, further bearing out Wurm’s thesis mentioned above that **D-b** is simply an expansion of a ‘pure’ **D**. When we consider the age of these manuscripts—each is as old as either of the two surviving **D** manuscripts—their witness to the urtext of **D** is not to be discounted. Thus, if anyone were to seek to replace Justel’s edition of the decretals—based as it is on **D-h**—**D-b** as well as **D a, c** would be an important source.

h. Cresconius, *Concordia canonum*¹⁷¹

i. Dating and context

¹⁷¹ This collection is a subsection of both of B6 and J1(vi).

Cresconius compiled this collection around the middle of the sixth century using Dionysius' work, as mentioned above.¹⁷² Although chronologically precedent to **D-b**, I have placed Cresconius after that collection because of the textual closeness of **D-b** to **D**. Like Dionysius he refers to himself as 'Exiguus' as a mark of humility: 'Cresconius Christi famulorum exiguus';¹⁷³ Cresconius made the *Concordia* for a Bishop named Liberinus, writing that the purpose of church sanctions was to help the faithful live correctly in contrast to secular law which primarily constrains the wayward, and to that end:

you enjoin that I collect together for you all of the canonical ordinances which from the very beginnings of the Christian service both the holy apostles and apostolic men laid down through the succession of time; and setting down their agreement (*concordia*) and placing preceding *tituli* amongst them, we publish them more clearly.¹⁷⁴

Unlike the handbook of Ferrandus of Carthage, writes Cresconius, his own work did not summarise the canons but anthologised them in their original wording and entirety, although the editor left out selections not suited to his task. The purpose of the *Concordia* is to help those judging ecclesiastical cases in a manner similar to the *Theodosian Code*, as Cresconius says:

when an extremely fair judge has examined for himself that each and every canonical ruling of a decree concerning which a question has been stirred up at some time has been set in order in many ways, he may learn by proveable examination whether he ought to guide his judgement through severity or through leniency.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² See 2.2.f.i.

¹⁷³ *Praef. ll.* 1-2.

¹⁷⁴ 'praecipis ut cuncta canonica constituta quae ab ipsis exordiis militiae Christianae tam sancti apostoli quam apostolici uiri per successiones temporum protulere uobis colligamus in unum, eorumque concordiam facientes ac titulorum praenotationem interponentes ea lucidius declaremus.' *Praef. ll.* 14-18.

¹⁷⁵ 'aequissimus iudex coram perspexerit multimode esse digestum, probabili examinatione condiscat utrum ex seueritate an ex lenitate suum animum debeat moderari.' *Praef. ll.* 50-52.

It exists complete in very many manuscripts as well as in excerpts and fragments.¹⁷⁶ Cresconius included excerpts from the same seven of Leo's letters as the *Dionysiana*: 4, 7, 16, 18, 167, 14, 159. The *Concordia* is our earliest systematic canonical collection, one that rearranges the conciliar canons and rulings of decretals according to subject matter. As a result, Cresconius does not transmit to us entire letters but, rather, a selection of excerpts. The usefulness of individual readings can be compared from these excerpts, which can show us something about the mid-sixth century and the early decades of the *Dionysiana*.

The following table sets out those chapters of Cresconius extracted from Leo's letters.

Cresconius, chh.	Leo, <i>Epp.</i>
4,4	14.3
17,6	14.8
18,5	14.9
19,8	4.2
27,6	167.2
39,5	14.7
39,6	14.11 (rubric)
44,4	4.3
44,5	4.4
61	18
62,1	167.16-17
63	167.18
64	159.6
65	159.7
74	159.5
87,2	167.19
101,3	167.14
101,4	167.15
109,2	167.3
195,2	4.1
212,2	16.1
212,3	16.2
212,5	16.4
212,6	16.5-6

¹⁷⁶ Kéry 1999, 35-36, lists the excerpts and fragments.

218,3	14.2
220,3	167.10
226,2	159.1
226,3	159.2
226,4	159.3
226,5	159.4
228,3	167.1
228,4	14.5
230	167.4-6
231	167.6
232	167.8
233	167.10
234	167.11
235	167.12
236	167.13
237	14.4

Cresconius includes excerpts from six of **D**'s seven Leo letters. The missing letter is *Ep. 7*, which is Leo's anti-Manichaean letter. All but the final chapter of *Ep. 4* have been excerpted in various places throughout the collection; that chapter is of a very general nature and does not lend itself to a topically arranged collection such as this. Most of *Ep. 14* is included in various chapters of Cresconius as well, excluding chh. 1, 6, 10, and the body of 11, although Cresconius uses Dionysius' rubric for 14.11 at 39,6. In this case, 14.1 includes no general precepts but concerns itself with the matters of the case at hand and the relationship of Rome and Thessalonica's bishops; 14.6 includes explicit references to Thessalonica but has some general information about the election of a bishop that one could have imagined would have secured its inclusion, and the other excluded chapters are of a similar nature. *Ep. 16*, except its final chapter, has been excerpted in a string of chapters by Cresconius; the final chapter of this letter contains explicit instructions for the Sicilian bishops. The entirety of *Ep. 18* has been excerpted by Cresconius as a single chapter. *Ep. 159* is lacking only its introductory paragraph. *Ep. 167* is missing the prefatory letter and chh. 7 and 9 of Leo's responses to Rusticus' queries. That is to say, the vast bulk of

D's Leo letters are included with only a few exceptions, these exceptions being due to Cresconius' interest in creating a universally applicable handbook of canon law.

ii. Manuscripts

The Ballerini list five manuscripts of Cresconius; the sigla throughout are those of Zechiel-Eckes:¹⁷⁷

Ve: Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXII (60), fol. 4^f-103^f (saec. VIII-IX), from northern Italy, likely Verona.

V1: Vat. Pal. lat. 579, fol. 1^{ra}-94^{ra} (saec. IX^{2/4}), from western Germany.

V4: Vat. lat. 1347, fol. 1^r-63^v (saec. IX^{med-ex}), from Reims.

V3: Vat. Reg. lat. 849, fol. 118^f-216^f (saec. Xⁱⁿ), from eastern France.

R: Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, T.XVIII (saec. X^{ex}-XIⁱⁿ), from central Italy.

Cresconius' *Concordia* exists complete in 20 manuscripts listed by Kéry. When I considered the relatively minor significance of Cresconius for Leo's text as well as the very good edition of K. Zechiel-Eckes,¹⁷⁸ I decided to forego investigating all 20 manuscripts. Therefore, only partial collations of one Cresconius manuscript were made for comparison with **D** manuscripts and to confirm the quality of Zechiel-Eckes' readings. Alongside Zechiel-Eckes, then, I made use of the following manuscript:

W: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmst. 842 (saec. IX^{2/4}), written in Fulda ca. 840 by one Ercanbertus.

Zechiel-Eckes also made use of the following manuscripts with the accompanying sigla:

¹⁷⁷ Zechiel-Eckes 1992, 415-416.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 419-798.

- O: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. misc. 436 (saec. IX^{1/3}), from Würzburg.
- K: Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 120 (saec. Xⁱⁿ),
from eastern France/Belgium.
- S: Salzburg, Bibliothek der Erzabtei St. Peter, a. IX. 32 (saec. XI¹), from around
Cologne.
- E: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 197 (saec. X^{2/3}), from Einsiedeln.
- V5: Vat. lat. 5748 (saec. IX/X) from Bobbio.
- M: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6288 + Clm 29390/1 (saec. X^{3/3}),
written by hands from Freising and northern Italy.
- R: Rome, Bibliotheca Vallicelliana, T.XVIII (saec. X^{ex}), from Rome.
- B1: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phill. 1748 (saec. VIII/IX), from southern
Burgundy.
- Mo: Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire (méd.), H 233 (saec. IX^{1/3}),
Rhaetian.
- N: Novara, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXI (saec. IX^{med}-3/4), from Novara.
- V2: Vat. Reg. lat. 423 (saec. IX²), from Weissenburg in Bavaria.
- Kr: Crakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Inv.-Nr. 1894 (saec. IX^{2/3}), from
northeastern France.

The following manuscripts include selections and fragments:

- Ve1: Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXI (saec. VIII), from around Verona.
- P1: Paris, lat. 3851 (saec. IX¹), from Lorsch.
- B3: Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, unnumbered fragment (saec. X¹),
from southern Germany.
- P2: Paris lat. 3851A (saec. X), from southwestern France.

W1: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 404.7 (25 a) Novi (saec. X).

V6: Vat. lat. 15204 (saec. X).

When we consider Cresconius, we realise just how important his predecessor, Dionysius, was, for we have over twenty manuscripts that contain Cresconius' work that range all the way into the sixteenth century. For Leo, these manuscripts contain the same material with the same or similar readings as **D**. Thus Dionysius Exiguus, though called 'the short', has a millennium-long reach. Three printed editions of this work exist. First is the 1661 edition of G. Voellius and H. Justellus.¹⁷⁹ Second is Turner's edition in EOMIA. Last comes the aforementioned 1992 edition of Zechiel-Eckes. In an edition of Leo's work, Cresconius would serve as a further witness to **D**, especially in cases where his readings would add weight to a minority **D** reading.

iii. Manuscript relations

Zechiel-Eckes has identified two main bodies of Cresconius manuscripts: those with rubrication, and those without. There are five groups of manuscripts with rubrication. Using his sigla, these are:

I. OKSE

II. VeV5M

III. V3

IV. R

¹⁷⁹ Voellius, G. and H. Justellus, eds. *Bibliotheca iuris canonici veteris*, 1 (Paris 1661) *Appendix*, p. xxxiii-cxii (PL 88.829-942).

V. Excerpts and fragments of Cresconius: Ve1, P1, P2, B3, W1, V6

The four groups of manuscripts without rubrication are:

I. B₁M₀N

II. WW₂V₄McV₂V₁

III. KrB₂

IV. Mi

The readings of Cresconius against **D** are generally unremarkable—the text is basically Dionysian. Nonetheless, a few interesting points emerge through comparing the table above at 2.2.f.iii to the edition of Zechiel-Eckes. While most Cresconius manuscripts agree with *a* at Variant 11, V₂ gives ‘*nullus necessitatis*’, while V₅ and M give, ‘*necessitatibus calculis*’. At Variant 12, where **D** *a* gives ‘constituet’ against *c* ‘constiterit’, a series of Cresconius manuscripts (WV₄V₂V₁) gives ‘consisterit’. At Variant 16, instead of either ‘qua’ (**D** *c*) or ‘quia’ (**D** *a*), V₃ and Kr give ‘qui’, while at 17 Kr agrees with **D** *a* in giving ‘quod’. At 20, no Cresconius manuscript agrees with **D** *a* and *c* in the wording ‘regulis canonum’, but N reads, ‘canonum fuerit regulis’. At 23, we have a case of Cresconius agreeing with **D** *a* against *c* wholesale. Variant 40 is notorious for giving scribes trouble. The majority of Cresconius read, ‘mystico munerum oblato’ with **D** *a*, *c*, but several (KSEWV₄V₁) read, ‘mystica munerum’, and all but E have ‘oblacione’ instead of ‘oblato’. At Variant 42, the majority agree with **D** *c* in omitting ‘se’ from ‘eius se esse’, but three (WV₄V₁) write ‘se’ before ‘eius’. Variant 43 brings with it much division; B₁M₀NV₄ read ‘discretio’, while K and S read ‘distinctio’, and the rest agree with **D** in reading ‘districtio’. Variant 45 sees for the first time the whole range of options for ‘eadem sententia’; R concurs with the Ballerini, while KSEV₅M read ‘scientia’ with **D** *c*,

and the rest provide ‘sapientia’, which is the **D-h** reading (see table below at 4.2.a.iii). At 56, the majority of Cresconius manuscripts write the date as ‘III kalendas’ against **D a** and the Ballerini who write ‘III’ (**D c** has a lacuna here), along with V3EWV4. In the quotation from 1 Corinthians 6:12, most write ‘omnia licent’ in agreement with **D** and the Vulgate, but Kr and P2 write ‘omnia mihi licent’ at 220,2; when the chapter is repeated at 233, only P2 writes ‘mihi’. At 86 we encounter another **D-h** reading when E and R write ‘tertioque’ against the majority Cresconius reading, ‘tertioque’, the Ballerini ‘uel tertio’, and **D** which has no conjunction for ‘secundo’ and ‘tertio’ at all. In Variant 93, the majority of the Cresconius manuscripts write ‘scriptum a domino’ in agreement with **D**, but several write ‘scriptum quod’ (KSEWV4V1), and E writes ‘deo’ for ‘domino’. Various other divergences from **D a** and **c** are found throughout the Cresconius text, but these are the most significant. They serve as a reminder that the two ‘pure’ **D** manuscripts are not enough, and they also look ahead to **D-h** suggesting that some of the **D-h** readings may be genuine Dionysius readings and not corruptions.

i. *Collectio Teatina*¹⁸⁰ (Te)

i. Dating and context

The *Collectio Teatina*, also known as the *Collectio Ingilramni*¹⁸¹ or the Collection of Chieti,¹⁸² is from Italy and dates from around 525, certainly after the death of Pope Hormisdas in 523 but before that of John I.¹⁸³ This collection of canons and decretals was not gathered with an eye either to system or to

¹⁸⁰ B1 (PL 54.554), J1(i) 500.

¹⁸¹ Kéry 1999, 24.

¹⁸² As in, e.g. Le Bras 1930, 507.

¹⁸³ This dating is based on the inclusion of a catalogue of popes in the ms that ends with Pope Hormisdas.

chronology,¹⁸⁴ although a perusal of its contents shows that it was likely compiled from several of the proto-collections that lie at the root of many of the canonical collections;¹⁸⁵ it is broadly divided between canons and decretals, but even these overlap, and the contents within the divisions are not chronological. The collection contains eight of Leo's letters in two divisions of six and two: *Epp.* 167, 12, 28, 15, 16, 159 (foll. 57^v-82^r) and 1 and 2 (foll. 114^r-116^v); all but *Ep.* 28 (*Tomus ad Flavianum*) are decretals.

Alongside **Q**, **D**, **Sa**, and **L**, this collection is one of our important early canonical collections from the so-called *renaissance gélasienne*.¹⁸⁶ Its text of *Ep.* 167 shares its *capitula* with **Q**, **Sa**, and **L** against **D**. It is thus close in date to, but independent of, **D**, with which it differs on this and several points. Furthermore, it gives the *decurtata* version of *Ep.* 12, which it shares in common with **Q**, **Di**, **F**, **Sa**, and **S**. Although likely compiled in Italy, its variations from **D** make it unlikely that this collection originates in the papal archive.

ii. Manuscript

It exists in one manuscript:

Vat. Reg. lat. 1997 (VIII-IX or IX^{med}), from Chieti¹⁸⁷ and written in an Italian Pre-Caroline Minuscule with rubricated uncial *capitula*. Each letter begins with a *littera notabilior*, many of which are illuminated. Foll. 73^v, Column B, and 74^r, are written entirely in uncial, and then the hand switches back to the

¹⁸⁴ Kéry 1999, 24.

¹⁸⁵ The contents are described by Reifferscheid 1976, 333-336.

¹⁸⁶ Discussed above at 2.2.

¹⁸⁷ Kéry 1999, 24; the provenance was determined from the colophon on fol. 153 in *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, Vol. 1, 34.

same pre-Caroline minuscule as before. Within the Leo portions, the scribe has shown off by writing in Greek characters on two occasions: first, on fol. 62^r, at the top of Column A, ‘ΕΞΗΛΙΧΙΤ ΕΠΥΣ/ΘΥΛΑ SCI LEONIS’; the second time on fol. 78^r, Column B, ‘ΕΞΗΛΙΧΙΘ.’ The archetype of this manuscript was written by a certain Sicipertus for Ingilramnus, Bishop of Metz (768-791), whence comes its alternate name.¹⁸⁸

iii. Manuscript relations

Teatina’s text of Leo demonstrates several important features. Of great significance is its lack of *capitula* throughout most of the text—*Ep.* 167 is the only letter herein with proper *capitula*—albeit lacking for chh. 17-19, and the initial words of each chapter of *Ep.* 15 are rubricated uncials;¹⁸⁹ no other letter has been thus subdivided. That early collections such as this and **Q** lack *capitula* indicates that the chapter headings are more likely to have been added by later users who were reading Leo’s letters as sources for canon law or theology than being added by Leo and his *notarii* who made no such use of them. **Te** further demonstrates a close affinity with **Sa**. The following variants are shared by the two collections, referencing the table at 2.2.e.iii: 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, ‘inpositione’ of 14 but keeps ‘per’, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 34, 37, and 39. **Te** also includes the second of the unique errors from the **Sa r** version of *Ep.* 12, ‘aliam praeter ipsam.’ Of the **Sa** variants **Te** lacks, the majority come from *Ep.* 12, and on several occasions **Te** is still in agreement with one or more **Sa** manuscripts when they, too, agree with the control; finally, some of the **Sa** variants are in the *capitula* not included in **Te**. It

¹⁸⁸ CLA, Vol. 1, 34.

¹⁸⁹ E.g. ‘**I PRIMO ITAQUE CAPITULO DEMONSTRATUR QUAM IMPIAE SENTIANT De Trinitate divina**’

seems most likely that for these four letters, *Epp.* 167, 12, 1, and 2, *Teatina* and *Sanblasiana* employed a common source, thus accounting both for similarities and for differences between their readings.

In *Ep.* 28, for the majority of the 26 diagnostic readings from across the tradition, **Te** displays a majority reading; only on seven occasions does this collection diverge. It shares a few of its divergent readings with **D-a**, in particular numbers 4 and 5,¹⁹⁰ although Variant 5 is also shared with **Q t** and **L c**.¹⁹¹ Variant 6, ‘qui cum agnoscendam ueritatem’, is very close to the **D-a** reading which gives ‘ad agnoscendam’. **Te** Reading 10 is, ‘qua fidelium uniuersitas’, which it shares with **Q**, including *o*. In Reading 12 it agrees with **L**, but in 14 it is alone in giving, ‘legens epistolas’ rather than ‘in epistola’. Reading 23 is a unique error, ‘in utraque naturae intellegenda’. Finally, for the *explicit* of *Ep.* 28, **Te** provides, ‘DAT ID IUN asturio et protogene uc cons.’

Te is one of the earliest attestations of *Ep.* 15, along with **C** and **Q**; the next collection to include this letter is **P**. **Te** spells Turribius ‘Thoribius’. Like **P** and **C**, **Te** does not give *capitula* for the various chapters of this letter, simply writing the first line or two in rubricated uncials.¹⁹² For our purposes, it is sufficient to discuss only the first ten of the 30 readings collated from *Ep.* 15. Amongst these, **Te** presents a variant for Reading 4 (*Ep.* 15.*Praef.*), giving, ‘ab euangelio xpi nomine xpi deviarunt,’ in contrast to the Ballerini ‘ab Euangelio *sub* Christi nomine deviarunt’, and **Q** ‘ab Euangelio Christi nomine deuiarunt’. In the phrase immediately following, **Te** omits ‘se’ after ‘tenebris’. In Reading 5 (*Ep.* 15.*Praef.*), **Te** writes, ‘usquam uiueret,’ rather than Ballerini and **Q** ‘uiuere’. Reading 6 (*Ep.* 15.*Praef.*) gives, ‘ad

¹⁹⁰ Variant 4, **Te**: ‘sapientioribus doctoribusque non recedere’. Majority: ‘doctoribusque’.

¹⁹¹ See 2.2.c and 2.2.d respectively.

¹⁹² **P**, on the other hand, gives, e.g. ‘explicit. Incipit secunda’.

spiritale(m)’ rather than ‘ad spiritale’ and agrees with **P** and the Ballerini in giving ‘corporale supplicium’ against **Q** ‘corporale iudicium’.¹⁹³ Reading 7 (*Ep.* 15.*Praef.*) provides ‘stricti omnia’ in place of ‘strictim omnia’, as does **P**—an easy error to make. In Reading 9 (*Ep.* 15.1), it omits ‘nunc filius’ from ‘Deus nunc pater, nunc filius, nunc spiritus sanctus’, an error shared with **P** and **C**. In Reading 10 (*Ep.* 15.1), at variance with the Ballerini and **Q**, which omit the word ‘ea’, **Te** provides ‘contrarium est, ea quae’; this variant is likely traceable back to the a common ancestor with the **P** and **C** reading ‘contrarium est, et que’. Although **Te**, **P**, and **C** share a few variants within the first 10 readings, many of the most significant **P** and **C** variants are unattested in **Te**. The relationship between the text of *Ep.* 15 in the Italian **Te** and the Gallic **P** and **C** is, therefore, tenuous, given the lack of any other similarities between the collections and lack of important variants from these two in **Te**. Thus, it is more significant that, although **P** and **C** happen to have some of the same variants as **Te**, our earliest Italian collection, **Q**, does not. This suggests independence from **Q** in the compilation of **Te**.

In *Ep.* 16’s *incipit*, like **D** and **L**, **Te** does not include ‘episcopus’ after Leo’s name, as the Ballerini do. At 16.1, although it agrees with the Ballerini in giving ‘Quam’, **Te** provides the variant ‘Quam culpa nullo’. In 16.1, it agrees with **D** and **L** in giving ‘beati ap(osto)li Petri sedis,’ rather than ‘Petri apostoli’. One of **D**’s *a* variants proves in this letter to be of note, as **Te** agrees in giving ‘Ut’ rather than ‘Et licet uix ferendum’—probably a simple shared error. 16.2 gives an oft-corrupted passage, here as ‘mystico munerum oblatione(m) venerantur’ against Ballerini

¹⁹³ **C**, however, gives ‘corporali supplicium’—nonetheless, given that *I* and *E* are often interchangeable in this manuscript, the reading is essentially the same as **P** and **Te**.

‘mystica munerum oblatione uenerantur’.¹⁹⁴ One of the many frequent word reversals of the manuscripts against the Ballerini also comes shortly in 16.2, giving ‘mortuo persecutore’ rather than ‘persecutore mortuo’ (as, e.g., **D**, **L**). **Te** also gives ‘quod quaerebatis me’ in place of ‘quod me quaerebatis’, as in **D** and **L**. Later in that chapter, in the phrase, ‘ad tempus posse pertinere’, **Te** omits ‘posse’ like **L**. **Te** once again agrees with **D** in giving ‘rationabilis servanda districtio quia’ against Ballerini ‘distinctio’; **L** likewise provides ‘districtio’, although with the adjective ‘rationalis’. In 16.3, **Te** agrees with **D a** and **D-b** in giving ‘totumque quod in illo’ rather than Ballerini ‘quidquid’, whereas **D c** provides ‘quid’. From this brief selection of variants for *Ep.* 16, **Te** and **L** may be related, since they frequently agree, at times against both **D** and the Ballerini. Let it be noted, however, that each of these early traditions at times agrees with the Ballerini control text against the other two.

The final letter to be considered, and the last from **Te**’s initial group of 6, is *Ep.* 159. Like the other **Te** letters, this epistle is found in some of the earliest collections—**Q**, **L**, and **D** besides **Te**. As frequently elsewhere, so also here **Te** omits ‘episcopus’ after ‘Leo’ in the incipit.¹⁹⁵ In the *praefatio*, **Te** omits ‘a nobis’, like **D** and **Q**. In 159.1, **Te** provides ‘qui uiros proprios’ in agreement with **Q** against Ballerini and **L**, ‘quae cum uiros proprios’, **D c** ‘quae uiros proprios’, and **D a** ‘quae uiris propriis’. Again in 159.1, **Te** provides ‘liberandos. Et in aliorum’, agreeing with **D** and **Q**, whereas the Ballerini give ‘ad aliorum’, and **L** omits the preposition altogether. In 159.4, **Te** has ‘mulieres, quae reuertit ad’ rather than Ballerini ‘reueriti’. Like **D**, at 159.4, **Te** gives ‘impiae sunt habendae’, unlike Ballerini ‘habendae sunt’;

¹⁹⁴ On many occasions we have seen manuscripts give corrupted readings of this phrase. Besides its basic comprehensibility, the Ballerini version gains weight from the fact that it produces a clausula of the ‘esse uideatur’ type.

¹⁹⁵ As also **D**, **D-b**, and **Q**.

Q and **L** both omit ‘sunt’. At 159.5 in agreement with **L**, **Te** gives the unsurprising reading of ‘esse polluti, *consolationis* caritatis’ for Ballerini, **D c**, and **Q** ‘consultationi’—this manuscript often gives *consol-* for *consult-* readings. At 159.6 with **D**, **L**, and **Q**, **Te** gives ‘similiter dilectio tua’ *versus* Ballerini ‘dilectio tua similiter’. Also in 159.6, **Te** agrees with **Q** and writes, ‘ea est custodienda moderatio’ against the Ballerini and **L** ‘ea custodienda est moderatio’, and **D** ‘ea esse custodienda’. **Te** agrees with **D** in 159.6, providing ‘aegritudinum respicientes necessitates’ against Ballerini ‘aegritudinis respiciens necessitates’, and **L** ‘egritudinum. Respiciens necessitates’; **Q p** comes close, ‘aegritudinum respicienti sunt necessitates’. In 159.7, **Te** provides ‘cum baptizati ante’ with **L** and **Q** against Ballerini ‘cum antea baptizati’; **D a** and **D-b** ‘cum baptizati antea’; and **D c** omitting *ante/antea* altogether. **Te** gives ‘sola sci sps inuocatione’ with **D a** and **L** against Ballerini and **Q** ‘sola inuocatione Spiritus Sancti’ and **D c** ‘sola spiritus sancti inuocatione’. In 159.7, the quotation from Ephesians 4:5 shares the error ‘Vnus deus’ with **D c** and **D-b** against the Ballerini, Vulgate, **D a**, **L**, and **Q** ‘Vnus Dominus’, most likely caused by the similarity between the *nomina sacra* ‘ds’ and ‘dns’; ‘dominus’ must be correct because it translates the Greek. The letter closes with ‘DAT XV KL APRIL CONSTAN GLP MAIVRIANO AVG’, in contrast to **D c** giving the date as ‘XIII kl April, cons. marciani augusti’ and **D-b** ‘XII kl aprl maioriano aug primum cons’, which basically agrees with the control text and **Q p**.

From the above discussion, various conclusions can be drawn. First of all, in terms of contents, **Te** is most similar to **Sa**, all of whose contents are also included herein. Furthermore, the text of **Te** is also similar to that of **Sa**, and they likely share a common source. One theory that presents itself is that **Sa** is based on a damaged

copy of **Te**, but given the spread of the eight letters throughout **Te**, it is more likely either that they derive the four letters from a similar source, some lost proto-collection, or that **Sa** sampled letters from **Te**, the compiler not being interested in the other selections of Leo. After **Sa**, **Te** demonstrates a close affinity with **Q** in its variants, although the two have their share of disagreements, visible in the various moments when **Te** agrees with **D**, or even **P** and **C** against **Q**. It is, however, highly significant that all of **Te**'s letters are included in **Q**. They are not in the same order, and other letters often intervene. It is more likely, then, that **Q** and **Te** drew upon a common source, rather than **Te** being derivative of **Q**. **Te** also shows a number of agreements with **C** and **P**; however, they share only *Epp.* 15 and 28 in common, so their similarities are likely to stem from a point further back in the transmission of the letters or from errors easily made. **Te** shares many readings with **D** against the *Ballerini*, but rarely with **D** alone. In sum, then, based upon its text, **Te** is definitively part of the group of early Italian collections that trace themselves to a common core of proto-collections, and it is most similar to, yet independent of, **Q** and **D** but at variance with **L**; since it shares only two letters with **C** and **P**, it is unlikely to have used the proto-collection shared by those collections and **Al**—indeed, **C**, **P**, and **Al** are all Gallic and are likely common descendents of a Gallic proto-collection, not the Italian source of **Te**. As the examination of **Re** will show (2.2.p), one of **Te**'s sources was **proto-3**.¹⁹⁶

j. *Collectio Corbeiensis*¹⁹⁷ (C)

i. Dating and context

¹⁹⁶ See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

¹⁹⁷ B2 (PL 54.554-555), J1(ii) (500).

Jasper dates **C** as a whole to after 524,¹⁹⁸ while Kéry dates its compilation to the pontificate of Vigilius (537-555) in Gaul, likely at Arles.¹⁹⁹ Vigilius' pontificate is most likely, given that the catalogue of popes included in the collection ends with him. It contains both conciliar canons and decretals, and is arranged chronologically.²⁰⁰ *Collectio Corbeiensis* exists in one manuscript and contains 14 Leonine epistles, the first five of which are decretals, and grouped into three batches: 4, 7, 15 (foll. 34^r-44^v); 10 (82^r-86^v); 22, 28, 103, 31, 35, 139, 59, 165, 138, 108, 15 (foll. 97^{ff}). As discussed above,²⁰¹ **C** includes elements of two of the oldest proto-collections of Leo's letters, both shared with *Collectiones Pithouensis* (**P**).²⁰² One of them (**proto-1**), shared with **P** and *Coloniensis* (**K**), includes: *Epp.* 28, 103, 31, 35, 139, 59, and 165, although **K** misses out *Ep.* 139. As with **P** below,²⁰³ **C** appends *Ep.* 22 to the beginning of this proto-collection. To the end of **proto-1**, **C** and **P** append four more of Leo's letters, 165, 138, 108, and 15. Silva-Tarouca refers to **proto-1** as 'the oldest level of the tradition of Leo's letters.'²⁰⁴ Elsewhere in the collection are *Epp.* 4, 7, and 15 (chh. X-XII), and *Ep.* 10 (ch. XXXIII)—let us call this **proto-2**. **Proto-2** is not simply dropped randomly into the collection but rather grouped with other items of similar interest to the reader, whether of canon law or theological controversy.²⁰⁵ **Proto-2** is used by **AI** as well as **C** and **P**.²⁰⁶ These three traditions all

¹⁹⁸ Jasper 2001, 44-45.

¹⁹⁹ Kéry 1999, 47.

²⁰⁰ For a description of its contents, see Maassen, *Geschichte*, 556-574.

²⁰¹ 2.1.

²⁰² **C**'s connection with **P** is well-known, as discussed by Kéry 1999, 48; Jasper 2001, 44-45, 52-53; Dunn 2015.

²⁰³ 2.2.1.

²⁰⁴ Silva-Tarouca 1926, 37, 'die älteste Überlieferungsschicht der Leo-Briefe'. On 41-42, he says that **C** was sent directly from Rome to Gaul. As usual in these arguments, the analysis is based upon the rubrics.

²⁰⁵ For a full description, see Maassen 1870, 556-574; for both **C** and **P**, see Dunn 2015, Tables II.1 and II.2.

²⁰⁶ Jasper 2001, 53-53. For **AI**, see below 2.2.o.

originate from Southern and Western Gaul in the same period; all also introduce their decretals with the same heading ‘Incipiunt decreta papae Leonis’, and *Epp.* 7 and 15 begin in each of these collections with the phrase, ‘Incipiunt eiusdem papae Leonis de Manichaeis.’ These collections also all bear a resemblance to **D** (see above at 2.2.f) which begins with the same decretals, *Epp.* 4 and 7, and with the same heading, ‘Incipiunt decreta papae Leonis.’ Finally, **Q** may also have added *Epp.* 4 and 7 from **proto-2**, given that it also pairs them together (see above, 2.2.c).²⁰⁷

ii. Manuscript

Among the manuscripts of this canonical collection, Schwartz lists Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 213 and Paris, lat. 1564;²⁰⁸ the former of these manuscripts is of **Sa** and the latter is **P**.²⁰⁹ It is most likely that 213 here is a typographical error for 212, given that Cologne 212 contains *Collectio Coloniensis* (**K**), one of the collections that utilises the same proto-collection as **C** and **P**, whereas these collections have no relationship with **Sa**. *Collectio Corbeiensis* exists in one manuscript:

Paris, lat. 12097, fol. 1^r-232^v, which dates from the second quarter of the sixth century.²¹⁰ It was written in southern France, possibly at Arles.²¹¹ It made its way to the Bibliothèque nationale from Corbie, whence comes its name, via St-Germain-des-Prés.²¹²

²⁰⁷ See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

²⁰⁸ ACO 2.4, 1.

²⁰⁹ On these collections, see above 2.2.e and 2.2.k respectively.

²¹⁰ This ms is digitised: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525030636.r=12097.langEN>. Accessed 23 March 2015.

²¹¹ Kéry 1999, 47.

²¹² See the online catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France; to view entry, click on ‘Detailed Information’ on the ms link above. Accessed 23 September 2014. See also fol. 2^f.

The relationship between this manuscript and the other collections that make use of the same proto-collection will be discussed presently, in the treatment of *Collectio Pithouensis* (2.2.k.iii).

k. *Collectio Pithouensis*²¹³ (P)

i. Dating and context

This canonical collection contains the following 14 of Leo's letters, of which the first three and the last are decretals: 4, 7, 15, 2 non-Leo items, 10, 22, 28, 103 (with the *exemplar sententiae* as a separate item), 31, 35, 139, 59, 165, 138, and 108. It draws upon the same proto-collection of Leo's letters as **C** and **AI (proto-2)**, mentioned by Jasper and discussed more thoroughly above at 2.2.j;²¹⁴ it also uses **proto-1**,²¹⁵ as do **C** and **K**. The relationship with **C** is so striking and similar that the Leo portion of the manuscript is cited in the online catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France as *Collectio Corbeiensis*.²¹⁶ **P** dates from the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century.

ii. Manuscript

It exists in one manuscript:

²¹³ Not listed by Ballerini or Jalland. Cf. Kéry 1999, 38-49, for bibliographical information on this collection. Also called *Collectio canonica Pithoeana*, as on the BnF website.

²¹⁴ See Jasper 2001, 44-45.

²¹⁵ See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

²¹⁶ See <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000059512>. Accessed 23 March 2015.

Paris, lat. 1564 (c. 785-810), from Northern France; Leo's letters run foll. 41^v-48^v (*Epp.* 4, 7, 15), 65^v-68^v (*Ep.* 10), and 83^r-100^v (the rest of the letters as described above).²¹⁷ It is a Caroline minuscule written in a single column.

iii. Manuscript Relations

Collectio Pithouensis has the same collection of Leo's letters as *Corbeiensis*, whatever other differences the two collections may have in contents. Not only does *Pithouensis* contain the same letters, they are in the same groupings, drawn presumably from the same proto-collections. **Proto-2** consists of *Epp.* 4, 7, and 15; it displays great textual similarities between **C** and **P**. Out of 64 **P** variants for *Epp.* 4 and 7, **C** shares 42 and provides other similar readings, such as 'f k' where **P** gives 'fratres karissimi'. Many of the variants the two collections do not share are errors on the part of **P**, such as omitting 'talis' from 'ministerium talis consortii' in 4.1, or largely orthographical, such as giving 'propari' for 'probare', also in 4.1.²¹⁸ Throughout *Ep.* 15, which they do not share with **Al**, these two manuscripts also demonstrate a strong textual relationship. For example, in the salutation **C** calls the recipient, Bishop Turribius of Astorga, 'chorebio', and **P** 'Choribio' (in the dative); the former is evidently an orthographical variation of the latter. In Reading 2, **C**¹ and **P** write 'eoroum morbus exarserit', although **C** gives 'reliquiis' and **P** 'regulae quis'. In Reading 4, both provide 'qui ab Euangelio xpi nomine xpi diuiarunt, tenebris etiam' against Ballerini 'qui ab Euangelio sub Christi nomine deuiarunt, tenebris se

²¹⁷ This ms is digitised: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9066891d.r=latin+1564.langEN>. Accessed 23 March 2015. The Bibliothèque nationale's catalogue misses out some folios, only giving '41v-48, 65v, 84-100v'; see <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000059512>. Accessed 23 March 2015.

²¹⁸ On the other hand, **Al**, as I discuss below (2.2.o), is probably not derived from **C** but from a common source.

etiam...'. The rest of *Ep.* 15 is much the same, pointing to the shared inheritance of these two collections running deeper than shared contents and confirming the postulation of common sources.

Once again, in *Ep.* 10, these two manuscripts demonstrate a close textual similarity. I collated a sample of 76 **P** variants from this very long letter, which had 122 variants from the Ballerini control; 31 of its variants are shared by both **P** and **C**. This not as high a ratio as in **proto-2**. However, alongside these 31 are a few examples where a corrupted **C** reading could be seen as the ancestor of the **P** reading. For example, in 10.3, where the Ballerini text reads, 'ad sacram militiam', **C** gives 'ad sacram militia', and **P** corrects in the wrong direction, giving, 'ad sacra militia.' Later in 10.3, for Ballerini 'cognitionem', **C**¹ gives 'cogitationem', but an early correcting hand makes it a hard-to-read 'cognitionem'. If **P**'s scribe was confronted with this same text, the hard-to-read word was easily transposed into 'cognitione'. A shining example of a corrupted text in **C** is at 10.4, Ballerini, 'Esto ut breuis.' **C** gives, 'esto o[...]tus', and **P**, 'Est obretus.' Many of the **P** variants not shared by **C** are simple errors, such as 'iudicio' for 'iudicium' in 'Remotum est ergo iudicium'; 'suicessit' for 'successit'; 'tradetatum' for 'tarditatem'; 'uideatur gloria' instead of 'gloriam'; *et cetera*. Finally, the shared variants between **P** and **C** tend to include significant variations from the Ballerini text. Almost every **C** omission is also omitted in **P**, including the omission of 'Romae episcopus' from the inscription; and 'uoluit' from 'pertinere uoluit, ut' (10.1). They also both write 'id' for 'in' at 10.1, 'ut *in* beatissimo Petro.'

However the tempting theory that these two Gallic manuscripts are directly related, with **C** as the archetype for the original of **P**, takes a serious blow when we

see that **P** does not omit the phrase ‘concordiam custodiri cupimus sacerdotum, ad unitatem uos uinculo charitatis hortantes’ as **C** does. **P** does not appear to be collated against another manuscript of Leo’s letters anywhere else. Since **C** is likely the original manuscript of its collection, dating as it does to the time and place of the compilation, how does **P** retain the phrase? This manuscript is not the original; *Collectio Pithouensis* was compiled in the later sixth century, yet manuscript **P** is written in a Caroline minuscule. One hypothesis is a Gallic text of *Ep.* 10 was available to a copyist of *Pithouensis* at some stage of its transmission, and either when the collection was compiled or copied between **C** and **P**, this omission was corrected; given the size of the omission, it would be much more easily noticed by someone with a knowledge of the text or a second version to compare than the many little words here and there, scattered throughout the text. This is only a hypothesis, but it has the beauty of maintaining a line of descent between **C** and **P**, something like **C**-P—**P**, but with a dotted line for the postulated alternate version of *Ep.* 10 to account for the difference in the texts at this point. I shall delay the *stemma* until the end of this section.

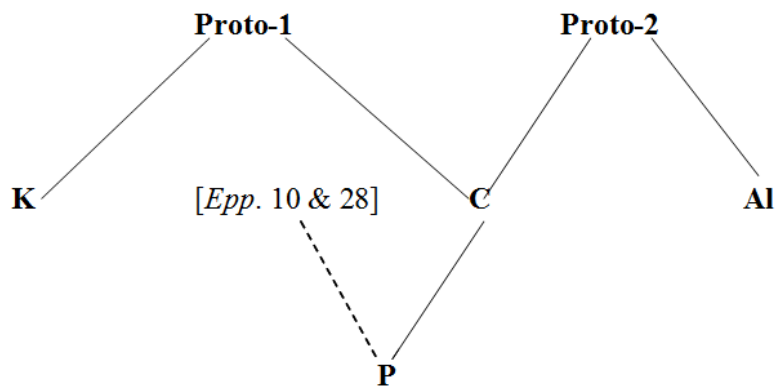
In the dogmatic proto-collection that they share with K, we see this similarity again. To make this demonstration easier, I give a table for *Epp.* 22 and 28, using Schwartz as a control text:

Var., <i>Ep.</i>	C, P, K	Schwartz, ACO 2.2.1, 21-22 (<i>Ep.</i> 22); 24-33 (<i>Ep.</i> 28)
1, 22	<i>adque deorsum</i> (C, K)	sursum enim <i>atque deorsum</i> peruolans (P)
2, 22	<i>posset</i> (P)	quos <i>possit</i> deuorare (C)
3, 22	<i>ut fatuas</i> (C, P, K)	est <i>et fatuas</i>
4, 22	<i>uitari det sequia</i> (C) <i>uitare de id sequi</i> (P) <i>uitare dit</i> (K)	<i>uitare decet, sequi</i>
5, 22	<i>clericos</i> (C)	sub me <i>clericus</i> degens

	<i>clerecus</i> (P)	
6, 22	om. <i>resiliit</i> (C, P, K)	exiliit <i>resiliit</i> a proposito diuino
7, 22	sunt <i>quidem</i> (C, P, K illeg. from mildew after 'sunt')	narrare sunt <i>enim</i>
8, 22	<i>enim essent</i> (C, P, K)	si enim de nostro numero
9, 22	<i>infirmi</i> (P)	autem <i>infirmas</i> fidei (C)
10, 22	<i>perdicione</i> (P) <i>peredicatione</i> (K)	in <i>perditionem</i> praecipitant (C)
11, 22	<i>lingua sua</i> (P)	enim <i>linguam suam</i> quasi (C)
12, 22	<i>secta</i> (C, P) <i>sectaip</i> (K)	<i>sectam</i> sapiebat
13, 22	<i>uiri</i> (P)	praeceptum <i>ueri</i> dei dicentis (C)
14, 22	<i>legetur</i> (P)	asinaria <i>ligetur</i> (C)
15, 22	om. <i>omnem</i> (P, K)	autem <i>omnem</i> abiecit (C)
16, 22	<i>adseuerebat</i> (C) <i>adseuerauit</i> (P) <i>adsuerabat</i> (K)	synodo <i>adserabat</i>
17, 22	<i>coessentiam nobis subsistere</i> (C) <i>quoessentiam nobis esse</i> (P)	<i>coessentiuam</i> nobis esse (K)
18, 22	<i>esset ex uirgine</i> (C) <i>esset si essit ex uirginem</i> (P) <i>esse etsi essit ex</i> (K)	<i>esse quod est</i> ex uirgine
19, 28	om. <i>gestorum</i> (C ¹ , P)	seras, et <i>gestorum</i> episcopalium ordine
20, 28	<i>recensitas</i> (P)	ordine <i>recensito</i> (C)
21, 28	<i>ipsum</i> (P)	etiam de <i>ipso</i> dictum (C)
22, 28	<i>doctoribusque non credere</i> (C, K) <i>doctoribus quae non credere</i> (P)	sapientioribus <i>doctioribusque</i> non <i>cedere</i>
23, 28	<i>insipientia</i> (P)	sed in hanc <i>insipientiam</i> (C, K)
24, 28	<i>agnuscendam</i> (P) <i>agnoscendam</i> (K)	cum ad <i>cognoscendam</i> ueritatem (C)
25, 28	<i>reparandum</i> (P) om. <i>se</i> (K)	sed totam <i>se reparando</i> (C)
26, 28	<i>possimus</i> (C), <i>possumus</i> (P, K)	enim superare <i>possemus</i>
27, 28	<i>propriae tenebrabat</i> (P)	<i>propria tenebrarat</i> doctrinae (C, K)
28, 28	<i>interiori</i> (C)	<i>interiore</i> adprehendisset auditu (P, K)
29, 28	<i>tenit</i> (C) <i>sene</i> (P)	homo; <i>tenet enim sine</i> (K)
30, 28	<i>ademit</i> (C, P)	forma non <i>adimit</i> , ita (K)
31, 28	<i>humilitatem</i> (P) <i>humitate</i> (K)	<i>humilitate</i> cunarum, magnitudo (C)
32, 28	<i>utramque naturam intellegendam</i> (C) <i>utraque quae natura intellegendam</i> (P) <i>utraque natura intellegendum</i> (K)	in <i>utraque natura intellegendam</i>

Ep. 22 maintains the trend whereby **P** follows **C** very closely, the majority of the differences between the two being errors on the part of **P**. However, *Ep.* 28 is, like *Ep.* 10 above, divergent. Once again, there is likely to be another source influencing the text of **P**. After all, *Ep.* 28 is the most commonly copied of all of Leo's letters. It is the most read and the best-known. As a result, it is also the most likely to be contaminated. That is to say, *Ep.* 22, being somewhat less common, can account for the majority of **P**'s variations from **C** through scribal error, whereas *Ep.* 28 compounds scribal error with a text or texts—viewed or remembered—from a different tradition. Therefore, although the case for **P** as a direct descendent of **C** for the Leo material is weakened and not airtight, it is still worth upholding.

When all of these variants are considered together, and given the relative ages of the manuscripts and their collections, it is my contention that **P**, as far as its Leo contents are concerned, is, in fact, a descendant of **C**, at least for the Leo portion of its contents. They have the exact same letters, drawn from two different proto-collections, each of which is shared with only one other collection, and they have very similar contents. Furthermore, **P** tends to add errors of omission and includes all of the variants of addition included in **C**, as well as most of **C**'s omissions. This is more likely caused by dependence rather than the manuscripts being twins. Finally, **P** very frequently uses rare spellings for words such as 'negliendo' that **C** also uses. Therefore, it is my contention that the **C** manuscript is, in fact, the ancestor of **P**, and the *stemma* would thus be as follows:



However, the matter cannot rest there. Geoffrey D. Dunn has recently argued that **P** is not dependent on **C** but that they share a common source for their Leo material, one that may also include the material in the collections just before Leo, including both **proto-1** and **proto-2**.²¹⁹ The arguments against **P** being a copy of **C** are concerned with its copying of the protocols, as well as where the collection of documents comes in the manuscript. If **P** is a copy of **C**, it seems that the copyist rearranged some of the material and changed the protocols. Considering the kind of differences between the manuscripts and how few they are, this seems more likely than **P** using a now-lost third manuscript with the same contents as **C** and **P** that was then rearranged, which requires an unnecessary complication. Even if **P** did not copy **C** for much of its material, it seems to me that it did for Leo. Dunn is also concerned, however, as to why *Epp.* 7 and 15 follow *Ep.* 4, because *Ep.* 4 matches the non-Leo collection of papal decretals that immediately precedes it in terms of content.²²⁰ However, if we see *Epp.* 4, 7, and 15 as the unit **proto-2** then the sudden inclusion of *Ep.* 7 about Manichaeans in the midst of letters about episcopal rights and

²¹⁹ Dunn 2015.

²²⁰ Dunn 2015, 185-186.

ordinations is not a surprise. The collector liked *Ep.* 4 because of its confluence with the other material, and *Ep.* 4 comes with *Ep.* 7, which he added for good measure.

I. *Collectio (ecclesiae) Thessalonicensis*²²¹ (T)

i. Dating and context

This collection includes 24 letters from Popes Damasus (366-384) through Hilarus (461-468), including Leo I; letters between the Emperors Honorius and Theodosius II from after 421; and two letters to Pope Leo I from the Emperor Marcian in 450 and to Anatolius of Constantinople in 454. The collection was arranged to demonstrate that the Bishop of Rome had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Eastern Illyricum, even after the division of the Prefecture of Illyricum meant that the eastern half was administered politically by the Eastern Empire following the death of Theodosius I in 395 rather than by the Western Empire. Frequently, the divisions of the ecclesiastical administration followed those of the imperial administration; therefore, if Eastern Illyricum had fallen under the political administration of the Eastern Empire, some felt that its ecclesiastical administration ought to have followed as well. The Bishops of Rome, however, as, in their eyes, Patriarchs of the Western Church, were loath to surrender their power and authority in this district, as is visible in Leo, *Ep.* 14, to Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, where he emphasises very strongly Anastasius' role as papal *vicarius*. This collection seems to have been compiled when Stephen, Metropolitan of Larissa in Thessaly, was deposed by the Bishop of Constantinople and made appeal to a Roman Synod of 7 and 9 December, 531.²²² The clear argument in the collecting of these documents is

²²¹ B16 (PL 54.566), J2(iii) 505-506).

²²² See Jasper 2001, 81-82.

not only that Eastern Illyricum is under the jurisdiction of Rome, but also that the Bishop of Thessalonica is papal *vicarius*.

The *Collectio Thessalonicensis* includes ten of Leo's letters as items XVII-XXVI: 100, 104, 106, 136, 132, 135, 6, 5, 13, and the first half of *Credebamus post* (JK 351)—a letter to which we shall return. Of these letters, nos. 100, 136, 132, 6, 5, 13 were unknown to modern readers of Leo prior to Holstenius' use of them in his edition of 1662. These previously unknown letters are particular rarities; *Epp.* 100, 132, 6, 5, 13, and *Credebamus post* exist only in **T**; *Ep.* 136 exists only in **T**, *Ratisbonensis* (**E**), and *Grimanica* (**G**).

Of these rarities, the most difficulty lies in Item XXVI, *Credebamus post*. It has the inscription, 'DILECTISSIMO FRATRI ANASTASIO LEO', yet it is dated, 'Data XIV kal. octubr. Monaxio uc cons.'—to 419 in the pontificate of Boniface I. Furthermore, in the second half there is reference to one Perigenes, and it is known from item VII in **T** (Boniface, *Ep.* 4 [JK 350]) that Perigenes was involved in a disputed episcopal election in Corinth, and his opponents had appealed to Pope Boniface in the issue. Prior to Silva-Tarouca, editors had assumed that item XXVI was falsely attributed to Leo and simply changed the inscription to make the whole text match. Silva-Tarouca, however, following arguments put forward by Schwartz,²²³ chose to divide the text in two. The first half was a fragmentary letter of Leo I to Anastasius of Thessalonica from c. 446, the second half a fragmentary letter from Boniface I to Rufus from 419.²²⁴ Geoffrey D. Dunn has recently upheld this theory,²²⁵ arguing thoroughly from internal and external evidence that the second half is most assuredly from Boniface to Rufus; since it goes over much the same

²²³ Schwartz 1931, 151-159.

²²⁴ Silva-Tarouca 1937, 62.

²²⁵ Dunn 2014.

ground as item VII, Dunn argues that it was sent shortly thereafter when Boniface had gained more information in the case of Perigenes. Item XXVI(b) cannot be a different transmission of item VII since the contents are too different. Dunn then argues that Schwartz and Silva-Tarouca are essentially right concerning the first half of *Credebamus post*, that it was a letter from Leo to Anastasius that became damaged and spliced together with the letter from Boniface. The general content of the first half of *Credebamus post* could point to either Anastasius or Rufus as recipient. However, when taken with the Leo letters immediately preceding it—*Ep.* 6 in which Leo declares Anastasius his *vicarius*, and *Ep.* 13 to all the bishops of Illyricum complaining about lack of discipline—this letter, sent ‘post epistulas nostras pro ecclesiasticae disciplinae observacione (*sic*) transmissas’, fits well. Here the author commends the recipient for his industrious vigilance and encourages him to maintain strong discipline.

Added to these arguments are those of style—although this is not hard and fast, given the stylistic similarities amongst the writings of popes of all ages. Nonetheless, certain phrases strike the reader as especially Leonine. The opening sentence includes the phrase ‘post epistulas nostras pro ecclesiasticae disciplinae obseruacione transmissas’, wherein the separation of the noun ‘epistulas’ from the participle ‘transmissas’ is not unlike Leo, as in a most common incipit, ‘Leo episcopus uniuersis episcopis per Siciliam constitutis’ (*Ep.* 16).²²⁶ Elsewhere in *Credebamus post*, we see the *genitivus identitatis*: ‘Vigilantiae tuae laudamus industriam’. Such usage is frequently found in Leo, as in *Ep.* 10.1, ‘hanc petrae istius sacratissimam firmitatem’. Divorcing ‘hunc’ from ‘timorem’ is also the style of Leo:

²²⁶ Cf. e.g. *Epp.* 4, 7, 10, 12, 16, *et cetera*.

‘hunc te Dei nostri habere professus timorem’. Examples abound on almost every page of his letters; a few are, ‘a suo se nouerit officio submouendum’ in *Ep.* 4.5; ‘per uestras se dispergat ecclesias’ and ‘suarum furtim cuniculos inueniat latebrarum’ in *Ep.* 7.1. Towards the close we find a partitive genitive, ‘plurimi sacerdotum’, rather than simply ‘plurimi sacerdotes’; I provide two examples of Leo using it with persons: ‘aliquis clericorum’ (*Ep.* 4.3); and ‘quis fratrum’ (*Ep.* 4.5). Far less compelling are this letter’s use of terminology, as most of it could easily be termed either papal or ecclesiastical.

The strongest stylistic test for authorship is scansion; I include it for thoroughness, but it will help us little because of how short the sample text is.

Credebamus post contains only 9 long sentences, the clausulation of which is as follows:

Sentence ending	Clausula
ecclesiástica éxigit disciplína	<i>cursus velox</i> with a resolved cretic-double-trochee
inefficácem cognóuimus fuísse	<i>cursus trispondaicus</i> with a double-iamb-trochee
lítteris sentiámus	<i>cursus velox</i> with a cretic-double-trochee
ecclésiis fuerímus expérti	<i>cursus planus</i> with a cretic-spondee
rectóris utáris offício	<i>cursus tardus</i> with a double-trochee-iamb or cretic-tribrach
légimus fundaméntum	<i>cursus velox</i> with a cretic-double-spondee
et prudénter utáris	<i>cursus planus</i> with a cretic-trochee
pertulísse dixísti	<i>cursus planus</i> with a cretic-spondee
mémores, sunt proféssi	<i>cursus velox</i> with an anapest-double-trochee

What we see here is a united system, a *cursus mixtus* that includes both the accentual *cursus* as well as the metrical clausulae of Cicero. As has been thoroughly demonstrated by F. Di Capua, Leo uses such a system. 5/9 of the accentual rhythms are the *cursus velox* and 3/9 (1/3) the *cursus planus*—these two accentual clausulae

are often favoured by Leo, as Di Capua's conclusions show.²²⁷ Furthermore, following again Di Capua's conclusions,²²⁸ our three forms of the *curus planus* herein follow the metrical clausulae most favoured by Leo with this combination: *_u_ _x*. The *curus veloces* do likewise, with 4 out of 5 being *xux_u_u*. Due to the brevity of the text under examination, the question of authorship cannot be closed decisively, but we may be fairly safe in saying that the first portion of item XXVI in **T** may be by Leo I, not Boniface I.

ii. Manuscripts

It exists in three manuscripts:

Vat. lat. 5751, fol. 55r-75r (saec. IX-X) from northern Italy, Bobbio or Verona.²²⁹ Silva-Tarouca and Jasper consider this manuscript the best,²³⁰ but it is incomplete and muddled, perhaps due to a mixed-up exemplar with misplaced folios.²³¹ In 1618, it came from Bobbio to the Vatican with a number of other Bobbio manuscripts under the watch of Paul V (1605-21), and is known to have been in the city in 1648.²³²

Vat. lat. 6339 (saec. XVI); an apograph of Vat. lat. 5751. Foll. 12-62^v contains emendations and notes in the seventeenth-century hand of Lucas Holste.²³³

Vat. Barb. lat. 650 (*olim* 3386 saec. XVII), another copy of Vat. lat. 5751.

Two modern editions are worth mentioning, the *editio princeps* under the name of Lucas Holstenius in 1662 and Silva-Tarouca's in 1937.²³⁴ The earlier edition

²²⁷ See Di Capua 1937, 37-40, 54.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

²²⁹ Kéry 1999, 41.

²³⁰ Silva-Tarouca 1937, viii; Jasper 2001, 82.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

²³² Silva-Tarouca 1937, viii. Collura 1943, 133-134, identified the MS. as no. 57 in the Bobbio inventory of 1461. (Cited in Dunn 2014, 478, n. 10)

²³³ Silva-Tarouca 1937, viii.

comes under severe fire by Silva-Tarouca due to the many unnecessary emendations it included as well as what the twentieth-century editor considered an increase of corruptions.²³⁵ Due to inaccessibility of the manuscripts, Silva-Tarouca's 1937 edition was the first since 'Holstenius' to view the ancient volumes themselves. Due to the soundness of Silva-Tarouca's edition as well as the paucity of manuscripts worth investigating, his work has been used in the comparison of variant readings in the course of this project.

iii. Manuscript relations

Since two of our three manuscripts are, in fact, apographs of the first, the relationships amongst manuscripts of **T** need not be investigated. Nevertheless, the relationship of **T** to the wider tradition is worth observing. Since *Epp.* 100, 132, 6, 5, and 13 only exist in **T**, they obviously have no relationship to the wider manuscript tradition. *Epp.* 104, 106, and 136 edited by Silva-Tarouca in *Textus et Documenta* 20 as items 37, 38, and 57, include no notable variants in **T**. *Ep.* 135, given its inclusion in more collections, bears slightly more fruit. First, it alone bears the inscription, 'DILECTISSIMO FRATRI ANATHOLIO LEO', vs Schwartz, 'Leo Anatolio episcopo'; **Q**, **G**, 'Leo Anatolio episcopo per Nectarium agentem in rebus'; and Ballerini Collection 13, 'Leo urbis romae episcopus Anatholio episcopo in domino salutem'. At **G**, 'sanctis praecessoribus tuis', **T** gives the false reading 'processoribus' against **Q** and Ballerini Collection 13 (*m*) 'praecursoribus'. At

²³⁴ L. Holstenius, *Collectio Romana bipartita a veterum aliquot historiae ecclesiasticae monumentorum*, Pars 1 (Rome 1662), 1-163; and C. Silva-Tarouca, *Epistularum Romanorum pontificum ad vicarios per Illyricum aliosque episcopos collectio Thessalonicensis* (Rome 1937). Silva-Tarouca observes that the Holstenius edition post-dates Holste, and writes that it was published 'a nescio quibus ignaris compilatoribus' (viii).

²³⁵ Silva-Tarouca 1937, viii-ix. He writes, 'Textus erroribus et ineptis emendationibus scatens', and that 'series epistularum ita ineptis et arbitrariis mutationibus turbata appareat' (viii).

Schwartz, ‘uidebatur, cum et haereticorum’, **T** joins **G** and **Q** in omitting ‘et’. At no other point within my diagnostic passages does **T** diverge from Schwartz’s text in *Ep.* 135. Very briefly, then, we see that **T**, while a largely independent source of Leo’s letters, offers us no great changes wrought in the *scrinia* of Illyricum.

m. *Collectio Avellana*²³⁶

i. Dating and context

This collection dates from the time of Pope Vigilius (pope, 537-555). It contains five of Leo’s letters, numbers 51-55 of the collection, not found elsewhere; by the Ballerini numbering, they are *Epp.* 169, 170, 171, 172, 173. The collection as a whole contains 244 items dating 367-553, thereby giving us the dating of its gathering—the latest item is from Vigilius himself. Included are not only letters from popes but also from emperors and magistrates of both the eastern and western Roman Empires as well as from other bishops, priests, and synods.²³⁷ Leo’s five letters, along with over 200 other documents in the collection, are unique.²³⁸ The collector of the *Avellana* put together the text from five distinct parts, of which the Leonine component is the third;²³⁹ given the high number of rarities exhibited in the collection, its collector seems to have been seeking to edit items hitherto little or never published.

ii. Manuscripts

The *Collectio Avellana* exists in two medieval manuscripts:

²³⁶ B14 (PL 54.564-565), J2(i) (505).

²³⁷ Günther puts it much the same, CSEL 35.1, ii.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid., iii.

Vat. lat. 3787 (saec. XI).²⁴⁰ This manuscript is of 163 foll., written in two columns. Günther has identified nine scribes involved in the composition of this manuscript, and argues that its exemplar was written in minuscule.

Vat. lat. 4961 (X^{ex}-XIⁱⁿ) from Santa Croce, Avella; hence the collection's name.²⁴¹ This is a manuscript of 109 foll., also written in two columns and of the same form as Vat. lat. 3787. Günther has identified four scribes who wrote it besides more recent correctors.

Several early modern copies of this collection exist, none of which is very useful for establishing the text of Leo:

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Iur. can. 13 (171) from 1469; possibly a copy of either Vat. lat. 4961 or another copy thereof.²⁴²

Vat. lat. 3786 (XVI saec.), possibly a copy of Vat. lat. 3787 or another copy thereof.²⁴³

Vat. lat. 4903 (XVI saec.); listed by Kéry as a probable copy of Vat. lat. 4961 as well,²⁴⁴ but Günther demonstrates a number of parallels with Vat. Ott. lat. 1105, despite a seventeenth-century hand claiming its descent from Vat. lat. 4961.²⁴⁵

Vat. lat. 5617 (XVI saec.); this manuscript's version of *Avellana* is impure, with some letters added and others omitted.²⁴⁶

Vat. Ott. lat. 1105 (XVI saec.); Günther argues for a lost exemplar dependent upon Vat. lat. 4961.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁰ This manuscript is discussed *ibid.*, iii-xvii.
²⁴¹ This manuscript is discussed *ibid.*, xvii-xviii.
²⁴² *Ibid.*, xxvi.
²⁴³ *Ibid.*, xxvii.
²⁴⁴ Kéry 1999, 37.
²⁴⁵ CSEL 35.1, xxxii-xxxiii.
²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, xxx.

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Iur. can. 14 (172) (XVI saec.); this manuscript is a copy of the other Venetian codex.²⁴⁸

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 292 (XVI/XVII saec.); this manuscript is a copy of Vat. lat. 5617 that is missing its beginning.²⁴⁹

Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Corsin. 817 (XVI-XVII saec.); this manuscript admits to being a copy of Vat. lat. 4961, and scholars agree.²⁵⁰

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, C.II.21 (XVII saec.), a copy of Vat. lat. 4961.²⁵¹

This canonical collection has a modern edition by O. Günther in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.²⁵² Günther's edition is very good, and we need not detain ourselves with this collection any longer, since it is independent of the rest of the Leo tradition.

n. *Collectio Arelatensis*²⁵³ (Ar)

i. Dating and context

This collection, known on the catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France as *Collectio canonum ecclesiae Arelatensis* and by Jasper as the *Liber auctoritatum ecclesiae Arelatensis*,²⁵⁴ contains six of Leo's letters: *Epp.* 40, 42, 41, 45, 66, and 67; between *Epp.* 66 and 67 is interposed a letter of Pope Hilarus (JK

²⁴⁷ Ibid., xxvii-xxviii.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., xxvi.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., xxxi.

²⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, xxxiii.

²⁵¹ Ibid., xxxiii.

²⁵² CSEL 35.1-2; Vienna, 1895-1898.

²⁵³ B15 (PL 54.565), J2(ii) (505).

²⁵⁴ For the BnF, see <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000060559>. Accessed 27 March 2015. See Jasper 2001, 85-87.

557). Four of these letters are not found in any earlier collection: 40, 42, 66, and 67; of these, 42 and 67 are unique to **Ar**, while 40 and 66 are shared with **Al**. **Al** has used **Ar** as a source and also includes *Epp.* 41 and 65. **Ar** was probably compiled around the time of its latest portion, which is Pope Pelagius I's confession of faith (JK 938) from April 557 or early 558.²⁵⁵ W. Gundlach produced an edition for *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in 1892.²⁵⁶ This collection is important for the study of Leo principally because it is our earliest attestation for the four previously mentioned letters. It also demonstrates for us aspects of the archive at Arles whence these documents come. Clearly Leo's letters to the bishops of Gaul were important to the see of Arles in the sixth century, a reminder to us that this pope's importance, preservation, and influence throughout the centuries is no mere accident and rides on more than the Chalcedonian settlement.

ii. Manuscripts

The manuscripts are:²⁵⁷

I: Paris, lat. 2777 (olim Colbert 5024, Regius 3989^{3.3}), fol. 20-42^v (saec. IX1/2), from Lérins. This manuscript contains Leo's letters from the *ante gesta Chalcedonensia* of Rusticus' edition of the *Acta Chalcedonensia*,²⁵⁸ which are followed by the *Collectio Arelatensis* with summaries of contents and marginal commentaries.²⁵⁹ Leo's **Ar** letters run foll. 20^v-25^v.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 87.

²⁵⁶ MGH Epist. 3, 1-83. See above, 1.3.6.

²⁵⁷ For consistency, I used Gundlach's *sigla* with these mss.

²⁵⁸ For which, see below, 2.2.b.

²⁵⁹ See Jasper 2001, 86.

- 2: Paris, lat. 3849 (olim Mazarin 316, Regius 3989) (saec. IX) from eastern Gaul;²⁶⁰ foll. 4^r-6^r include Leo's *Epp.* 40, 41, and 42. Fol. 6^v is blank, and folio 7^r begins with a letter from Pope Zosimus to Hilarius of Narbonne (JK 332); the manuscript moves on to Pope Hilarus at fol. 9^v after Zosimus is finished. This is the only fragmentary **Ar** version of Leo's letters.
- 3: Paris, lat. 5537 (XI/XII saec.), from Colbert; Leo's letters run foll. 5^v-19^r. According to Jasper, this is the most complete version of the *Collectio Arelatensis*.²⁶¹
- 4: Paris, lat. 3880, fol. 70-91^v, (saec. XII); the table of contents runs 70^r-71^r, and Leo's letters in this manuscript run 72^v-76^v.

iii. Manuscript relations

Of these manuscripts, 3 and 4 are descendants of 1, according to Gundlach.²⁶² They demonstrate enough similarities to assume them to be twins, and are different enough from 1 that 1 is not their exemplar but still an ancestor, and there is an intervening manuscript, now lost. 2, on the other hand, stands alone. 1 and 2 are both descended from the now lost archetype of **Ar**. Gundlach's edition is very thorough, and is not based solely on 1 and 2, but also includes readings from **Al** *t*; readings from 3 and 4 are included in his apparatus. Doing this helps demonstrate their dependence on 1, making the edition a window into the manuscripts, even though they themselves are not of great assistance in establishing the original text of **Ar**.

²⁶⁰ See *ibid.*, 86.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 86. There are two early modern copies of this manuscript that, following Jasper, I consider 'of no editorial value' (*Ibid.*, 86 n. 378): Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, G.99; Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale, 1856, fol. 50-96.

²⁶² Gundlach 1892, 2.

My own readings of these four manuscripts confirm what Gundlach has written, please see my *stemma* at 2.2.o.iii (p. 177):

o. *Collectio Albigensis*²⁶³ (Al)

i. Dating and context

This canonical collection contains several groupings of Leo's letters: *Epp.* 4 and 7 (items 34 and 35; presumably from **proto-2**, shared with **C** and **P**: see 2.2.k.iii);²⁶⁴ *Ep.* 10 (item 47); *Epp.* 40, 41, 65, and 66 (items 62-65, taken from **Ar**).²⁶⁵ The Toulouse manuscript also includes a fragment of *Ep.* 165. Three of these letters, 4, 7, and 10, are defined as decretals, although the canonical matter of items 62-65 makes one wonder about how we designate a letter 'decretal' or otherwise. The date of the collection is contested, as noted in Kéry, with estimates ranging from 549 to after 604.²⁶⁶

ii. Manuscripts

It exists in two manuscripts. The first is in two parts:

t: Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, 364 (I.63) and Paris, lat. 8901 (before 666/667), foll. 88^vff. of the Toulouse portion of the manuscript contain Leo.

This manuscript was written by a scribe named Perpetuus in Albi at the command of Bishop Dido of Albi,²⁶⁷ as learnt not from this manuscript itself

²⁶³ Not included by the Ballerini or Jasper; for a list of manuscripts and bibliography, see Kéry 1999, 46-47.

²⁶⁴ See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

²⁶⁵ For a full description of its decretal collection, see Wurm 1939, 279-283.

²⁶⁶ Kéry 1999, 46.

²⁶⁷ Duchesne 1910, 43, argues that Dido was Bishop of Albi at the time of Pope Gregory I based upon the contents of this manuscript: the canons stop at 549, and the Bishops of Rome end with Gregory, giving his name but no dates—although perhaps the contents determine the date of its exemplar, not its copying by Perpetuus. I have found no other reference to Dido of Albi to help secure

since it is damaged, but from the tenth-century copy of it in Albi which we shall describe below.²⁶⁸ The subscription as preserved in Albi cites the manuscript as having been saved from a fire in July of the fourth year of the reign of King Childeric, which, assuming Childeric II, is either 666 or 667.²⁶⁹ This manuscript was in the Augustinian monastery in Toulouse in 1715, and the portion now in Paris was stolen by the book thief Libri (Guglielmo Libri Carucci dalla Sommaja, 1803-1869).²⁷⁰ Both the Toulouse and Paris portions of this manuscript are digitised.²⁷¹ Like other early Gallic canonical manuscripts, it is written in an uncial hand in a single column of text with few *tituli*—none break up the monotony of text in the individual letters of Leo, although each item is given an initial rubricated *titulus*. Leo is found in the Toulouse portion of the manuscript at foll. 45^r-46^r, 67^v-72^r, 88^v-92^r, and the fragment of *Ep.* 165 is at 104^r-106^v. 45^{r-v} contain the beginning of *Ep.* 4, and 46^r the close of *Ep.* 7.

The other manuscript is:

a: Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, 2 (147); Kéry dates it to the second half of the ninth century,²⁷² whereas CLA 6 claims it is tenth-century.²⁷³ The

the date of either the collection or its copying, a situation that has persisted since the time of Traube 1909, 36, 'The Toulouse MS. was accordingly written by a presbyter Perpetuus at the command of Bishop Dido of Albi, of whom we unfortunately know nothing further.'

²⁶⁸ See CLA 6, 39, which gives the lost subscription: *Explicit liber canonum. Amen. Ego Perpetuus quamuis indignus presbyter iussus a domino meo Didone urbis Albigensium episcopum hunc librum canonum scripsi. Post incendium ciuitatis ipsius hic liber recuperatus fuit Deo auxiliante sub die VIII Kal. augustas anno IIII regnante domni nostri Childerici regis.*

²⁶⁹ I cite the century as the seventh and thus the King as Childeric II out of deference to earlier scholarship, but I find no reason that there could not have been a Bishop Dido in Albi at the time of Childeric III in the 700s.

²⁷⁰ See CLA 6, 39.

²⁷¹ Toulouse: http://numerique.bibliotheque.toulouse.fr/cgi-bin/superlibrary?a=d&d=/ark:/74899/B315556101_MS0364. Accessed 25 March 2015. Paris: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9077669g.r=Latin+8901.langFR>. Accessed 25 March 2015.

²⁷² Kéry 1999, 47.

²⁷³ CLA 6, 39.

Médiathèque at Albi, comparing it with other Albigeois manuscripts, dates it 880-890.²⁷⁴ It, too, is digitised.²⁷⁵ This manuscript, as noted, is a copy of the bipartite one above. It is written in a Caroline minuscule in a single column with rubricated *tituli* for the beginning of letters, but not for internal divisions. Leo's letters are at 63^v-66^r, 95^r-100^r, and 121^v-125^r. The missing portions of *Epp.* 4 and 7 have been added by the scribe; that these are additions and not the state of *t* when it was copied is demonstrated by the fact that 65^v stops about one third of the way down the page, and the top of 66^r is the same as the top of *t* 46^r, where *Ep.* 7 begins. The *a* text of the missing sections of *Epp.* 4 and 7 is textually similar to the **C P** text, so it likely came from another Leo manuscript of the Gallic type, probably one of those in the Albi scriptorium.

iii. Manuscript relations

Epp. 4 and 7 are introduced with the same incipit as in **C** and **P**, 'INCIPIUNT DECRETA PAPAE LEONIS', pointing immediately to **proto-2** (*Epp.* 4, 7, 15 in **C** and **P**; see above, 2.2.j-k).²⁷⁶ Of the first 25 **P** variants in *Ep.* 4, which are all that *t* contains, **AI** has 12 of 16 common **C, P** variants and one **P** variant. In 4.2, **AI** gives 'exiuerant' whereas **C** and **P** give 'exteterant' against Ballerini 'quod illis obstiterat'. The most significant disagreements amongst **C, P**, and **AI** are that **AI** gives 'Picenam' rather than 'Ticinam' in the inscription and omits 'Pauli' from 'beati Pauli Apostoli uocem' in 4.2. The similarities point towards a common source for all three—the postulated proto-collection—but independence from **C** on the part of **AI**.

²⁷⁴ See <http://mediatheques.grand-albigeois.fr/1035-manuscrits-medievaux.htm>. Accessed 27 March 2015.

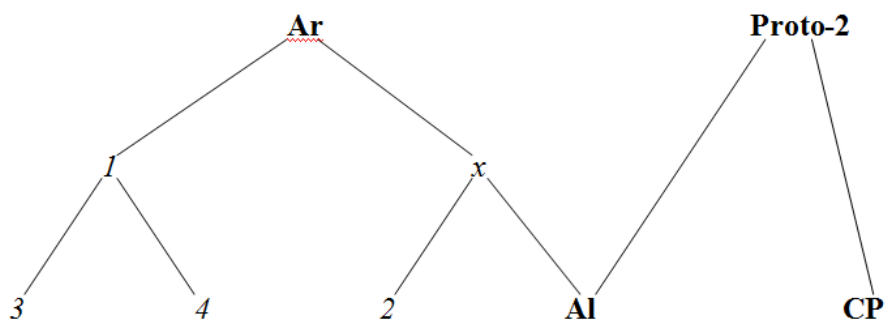
²⁷⁵ Cf. http://www.manuscrits.mediathèque-albi.fr/_images/OEB/RES_MS002/index.htm

²⁷⁶ See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

Ep. 7 bears this out. Even in the added portions, *a* provides the same incipit as **C** and **P** for *Ep. 7*, ‘INCIPIT EIVSDEM PAPAE LEONIS DE MANICHEIS’, and agrees with those two collections for 8 of the first 9 variants; if, as the codicological evidence suggests, *a* did not get its text for the lacuna in *Ep. 7* from *t*, it used a source from the same family as **proto-2**. Of the remaining 15 **P** variants for *Ep. 7*, **A1** contains 8 of the 12 common **C, P** variants, its variations from **C** once more demonstrating its independence from that collection yet a common source for all three. Since I have already demonstrated **P**’s dependence upon **C**, it is worth noting that, since *Ep. 15* is lacking from **A1**, **proto-2** may not have had all three letters, since **C** could have acquired *Ep. 15* from another source, and **P** got it from **C**. Furthermore, **D** also begins with *Epp. 4* and *7* with the same incipit. However, it could alternatively be posited that *Ep. 15*, a letter to a Spanish bishop about Priscillianism which is very long, may have been dropped from the proto-collection by the compilers of **A1** and **D** because of a lack of interest—why take the time and money to make a copy of something so large in which one has little interest? By the mid- to late-sixth century, when **A1** was compiled, Priscillianism was most likely not an issue in southern Gaul. *Ep. 10* proves to be from a shared ancestry as well. **A1** shares 18 of the first 21 common **C, P** variants of this letter with those two collections. This collection also agrees with **C** at 10.3 in omitting ‘se’ from ‘quamuis ipse se suis’, whereas **P** omits ‘ipse se suis’ entirely in a case of *saut-du-même-au-même*. At 10.2, **C** gives ‘ita se uos cupiens’, **P** ‘ita saeuus cupiens’, and **A1** gives ‘ita se cupiens’. These three readings could all be descended from the same damaged text. Furthermore, they all use the spelling ‘Helarius’ for ‘Hilarius’.

The final batch of Leo letters in **Al** is the selection from **Ar**, for which *t* is the earliest manuscript, predating by over a century by the earliest **Ar** manuscript. Although Gundlach has chosen to print **Al** variants as his text, in many cases these variants are not preferable readings. For example, in *Ep.* 40 **Al** reads, ‘Quod ergo in Arelatensium ciuitatem’, against **Ar** ‘ciuitate’, which is better; later, we read, ‘Quia electione pacificam atque concordem’, where ‘electionem’, the **Ar** reading, is correct. This letter closes in **Al** with ‘uiris clarissimis consoles’, rather than ‘consulibus’. In *Ep.* 41 **Al** gives ‘habetur antestis’ rather than **Ar** ‘antistes’; immediately following this orthographical error comes ‘cuius primi et adiuuentur’, for which **Ar** gives ‘plurimi’—again, a reading that is clearly right. Another error from **Al** is ‘quid de sinceritatem’ for **Ar** ‘sinceritate’, as is ‘constantia mansuetudo commendet’ instead of **Ar** ‘constantiam’. Likewise we see ‘iustitia lenitas temperet’ in **Al** where **Ar** gives the correct ‘iustitiam’. Passing over the other errors in *Ep.* 41, we move on to *Ep.* 65, which in fact lacks its inscription in **Al**. Here, **Al** has a tendency to agree with **Ar** 2 when it is at variance with the rest of the **Ar** tradition. In this letter, **Al** provides a good reading at ‘Rauennius in ciuitate’, agreeing with **Ar** 2 (as well as 3 and 4) against **Ar** 1 ‘ciuitatem’. However, its next agreement with **Ar** 2 against **Ar** 1 (here with 3 and 4) is less fortunate, giving the dative ‘caritati’ in ‘tanta dignatione et caritati fuisse responsum’ rather than ‘caritate’. We see another shared error with **Ar** 2 against **Ar** 1 at ‘maximam coronae uestrae’ instead of ‘maxime’—a phrase from which **Al** omits ‘uestrae’. Yet another agreement with **Ar** 2 against **Ar** 1 is ‘gratia morum suorum mansuetudine et sanctitate meruisse’, where **Ar** 1 (3, 4) give ‘manusetudinem’ and ‘sanctitatem’; the latter reading makes more sense in the sentence as a whole, providing an accusative direct object for ‘meruisse’. The rest of

Ep. 65 is much the same, with shared variants between **Al** and **Ar 2** that are sometimes good readings, sometimes not. Finally, *Ep.* 66 includes some names more fortuitously spelt in **Al** than **Ar 2**, such as ‘stefano’ over ‘sthefano’ and ‘theodoro’ over ‘theudoro’. In the phrase ‘siquidem postuletis, ut ei, quod’ (as **Ar 1**), **Al** gives ‘postuletes’, greatly preferable to **Ar 2**, ‘postholetis’. An interesting variant in this letter is ‘adhiberetur iusta moderatio’ (**Al**, **Ar 2**) in opposition to ‘iustitiae moderatio’ (**Ar 1** [3, 4]). Both of these readings make sense, but I am inclined towards the *genitivus identitatis* of ‘iustitiae moderatio’ as being more typically Leo’s style than a simple ‘iusta moderatio’. **Al** alone contains the good reading, ‘Considerantes enim...’, a *lectio difficilior* in what is a long sentence that undoubtedly caused an early **Ar** scribe to write ‘Consideratis enim...’ When the sentence is parsed, it is clear that ‘ita ... repperimus’ contains the main verb, and it is not like Leo to produce a run-on sentence. Therefore, *nos* should be inferred earlier, and the syntactically preferable participial phrase of **Al** accepted over the second person plural of the **Ar** tradition. Finally, **Al** closes this letter at ‘augusto VII et Abieno’, omitting the rest of the consular date, ‘uiris clarissimis consulibus’, and the **Ar** sentence saying that Pope Symmachus confirmed Leo’s ruling in the consulate of Probus. We can now postulate the following **Al-Ar** stemma:



p. *Collectio Remensis*²⁷⁷ (Re)

i. Dating and context

This canonical collection from the second half of the sixth century includes eight decretals of Leo as well as the *Tome: Epp.* 14, 12, 28, 15, 16, 159, 1, 2, 167.²⁷⁸ As an early witness to Leo's letters that was not investigated by the Ballerini, *Remensis* is an important corpus of documents. The collection is chronologically arranged and divided by conciliar canons and decretals. Its place of origin seems to be Gaul, although the collection of Leo's letters came there from Italy. Nonetheless, there is no reason to doubt its Gallic origin, borne out by various Gallic items included therein, such as the letter 'TEMP(O)R(E) SIGISMUNDI REGIS / Ab epis in urbe lugdunum (*sic*)' from a synod in Lyons during the reign of the Burgundian King Sigismund (*d.* 524).

ii. Manuscript

It is in the following manuscript:

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Phill. 1743 (VIII2/2), written at Bourges. The manuscript is disordered; Leo's letters are the twelfth through twentieth items in the contents, following the order listed above; in that order, they are in the following foll: 257^r-265^r (*Epp.* 14 and part of 12), 208^v-239^f (the rest of *Ep.* 12 to the end). This single-column manuscript is written in Luxeuil script, which, according to Bischoff, was in use 'until the

²⁷⁷ Not included by the Ballerini or Jasper; for a list of manuscripts and bibliography, see Kéry 1999, 50.

²⁷⁸ For a description of the whole collection, see Wurm 1939, 287-292.

time of Boniface',²⁷⁹ who died in 754. It includes uncial rubrics, the first line of which are in double-height letters of differing colours, whereas the other lines of the rubrics are in red. This is a manuscript where the scribe writes 'with an accent', if you will; we see such spellings as 'nubi' for 'noui', as well as various other switches of *u* for *o* and *o* for *u*. On many occasions, *i* and *e* are also switched.

iii. Manuscript relations

The primary relationship **Re** shares is with **Te** and **Di**, the former older than it, the latter younger. *Epp.* 15, 16, 159, 1, and 2 are shared in the same order by all three of these collections; let us call this **proto-3**.²⁸⁰ **Re** adds 14, 12, and 28 to the beginning, while **Te** adds 167, 12, and 28. *Epp.* 12 and 28 are not included in this proto-collection because they are two letters that very frequently circulate independently of the rest of the corpus. Furthermore, if they were part of the original question, we would need to postulate that **Di** has somehow lost *Ep.* 28 and ask why it moves *Ep.* 12. Ockham's razor cuts thus cuts these two off the beginning of **proto-3**, although perhaps they were originally part of it in an earlier recension available to the collectors of **Te** and **Re**, but not of **Di**; perhaps the compiler of **Di** had no interest in *Ep.* 28 and found himself moving *Ep.* 12, anyway. At the end of **proto-3**, **Re** has appended *Ep.* 167 with **Q capitula**. **Di**, on the other hand, adds *Ep.* 12 at the end of **proto-3**, but 167 at a later point in the manuscript. Variants suggest, however, that **Di** and **Re** have a common source for *Ep.* 167. The table below sets out selected variants for *Epp.* 16, 159, 1, and 2.

²⁷⁹ Bischoff 1990, 104.

²⁸⁰ See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

Var., <i>Ep.</i>	<i>Collectio Remensis</i>	Ballerini text (control)	Significance
1, 16. Pr.	om. <i>episcopus</i> in incipit	Leo <i>episcopus</i>	Shared variant Re, Te, Di, D, L
3, 16.1	<i>accepistis</i>	<i>accipitis</i>	Error di
4, 16.1	beati <i>apostoli petri</i> sedes	beati <i>petri apostoli</i> (Di)	Shared variant Re, Te, D, L
5, 16.1	<i>Vt</i>	<i>Et licet uix</i>	Shared error Re, Te, Di, D a
6, 16.2	om. <i>uenerantur</i>	mystica munerum oblacione <i>uenerantur</i> (Di)	Omission aside, agreement Re and Di against Te
7, 16.2	gallileam <i>ortuo</i> <i>persecutore</i>	galilaeam <i>persecutore</i> <i>mortuo</i>	Missing <i>m</i> aside, shared variant R and Te (Di om. <i>mortuo</i>) with D, L
8, 16.2	quod <i>quaerebatis me</i>	quod <i>me quaerebatis</i>	Shared variant Re, Te, Di, D, L
9, 16.2	om. <i>his quae</i> and <i>sunt</i>	quod in <i>his quae</i> patris mei <i>sunt</i> oportet (Te?)	Shared variant Re, D against Di ('in domo patris')
10, 16.2	<i>quicquid</i>	sed aliter <i>quidque</i>	Variant against Di (<i>quaeque</i>), D c (<i>quoque</i>)
11, 16.2	om. <i>posse</i>	ad tempus <i>posse</i> pertinere	Shared variant Re, Te, L
12, 16.2	<i>discritio</i>	rationabilis seruanda <i>distinctio</i>	Shared variant Re, Di, similar to D, Te, L (<i>districtio</i>)
13, 16.3	<i>quod</i>	totumque <i>quidquid</i> in illo	Shared variant Re, Te, Di, D a, D-b
14, 159.Pr.	om. <i>episcopus</i>	Leo <i>episcopus</i> Nicetae	Shared variant Re, Te, Di, D, D-b
15, 159.Pr.	om. <i>salutem</i>	episcopo Aquiliensi <i>salutem</i>	Shared variant Re, Di
16, 159.Pr.	Includes 'a nobis'	de his <i>a nobis</i> auctoritatem	Omission of <i>a nobis</i> in Di, Te, D, Q
17, 159.1	<i>quae uerus proprius</i>	<i>quae cum uiros</i> <i>proprios</i>	Shared variant Re, Di against Te
18, 159.1	<i>Et in aliorum</i>	liberandos. <i>Ad</i> aliorum	Shared variant Re, Di, D, Q
19, 159.5	<i>consultacioni</i>	<i>consultationi</i> (D c, Q)	Against Di (‘consolatione’); Te, D a, L (‘consulationis’)
20, 159.6	similiter dilectio tua	dilectio tua similiter	Shared variant Re, Te, D, L, Q
21, 159.6	<i>ea est custodienda</i>	<i>ea custodienda est</i>	Shared variant Re, Te, Q

22, 159.6	<i>aegritudinum respicientes</i>	<i>aegritudinis respiciens necessitates</i>	Shared variant Re, Te, D
23, 159.7	<i>cum baptizati ante</i>	<i>cum antea baptizati</i>	Shared variant Re, Te, L, Q
24, 159.7	<i>sancti spiritus inuocatione</i>	<i>sola inuocatione Spiritus Sancti (Q)</i>	Shared variant Re, Te, D a, L
25, 159.7 (Eph. 4:5)	<i>deus</i>	Unus <i>Dominus</i> , una fides (Vulgate, D a, L, Q) Shared error Re, Te, D c, D-b, S-ga h due to <i>nomina sacra</i> ('ds' and 'dns'); Vulgate and Greek give 'Dominus'/'κύριος'	
26, 159.7	DAT XV kal	Data <i>xii</i> kal (D-b, Q p)	Shared variant, probably error R, Te, Di
quidem conceditur usurpasse Errors Re: 'ceditur' for 'conceditur' and dittography ²⁷ (Sa 22), 1.1	<i>pie</i>	nostrorum <i>ne</i> insontibus	Error Re
29 (Sa 25), 1.1ced eturus 28 (Sa 23), 1.1	<i>receptionem</i>	<i>in talium receptione seruassent</i>	Shared error Re, Sa sl c
30 (Sa 26), 1.2	<i>hoc</i>	<i>hac nostri auctoritate</i>	Shared error Re, Sa sl r k
31 (Sa 27),	<i>uel</i>	<i>siue diaconi siue cuiuscumque</i>	Common variant Re, Sa

1.2			
32 (Sa 29), 1.2	<i>quod</i>	<i>quidquid</i> in doctrina	Common variant Re , Sa
33 (Sa 33), 1.5	om. <i>nec</i>	diaconatus ordine <i>nec</i> in subsequenti	Error Re
34 (Sa 34), 1.5	<i>ubi ubi</i>	deprauatus <i>ubi</i> ordinatus	Common variant Re , Sa <i>sl c</i>
35 (Sa 37), 2.1	<i>uel cuiuslibet</i> ordinis	<i>siue alii</i> cuiuslibet	Shared variant Re , Sa
36 (Sa 38), 2.2	<i>illa</i>	<i>illam</i> canonum constitutionem	Shared error Re , Sa <i>sl r c</i>
37 (Sa 39), 2.2	<i>cum quod</i>	<i>quod cum</i> recte	Shared error R , Sa <i>k</i>
38 (Sa 41), 2.2	<i>incolumitate</i>	ad totius ecclesiae <i>incolumitatem</i>	Shared error Re , Sa <i>sl c k</i>

What the table shows is that, while **Re**, **Te**, and **Di** are certainly related, none seems to be descended from any of the others. **Re** frequently agrees with both of the others, but sometimes only **Te**, sometimes only **Di**. Therefore, an agreement between two of them can be assumed to be the reading of **proto-3**. Furthermore, the Italian nature of the text of Leo letters is confirmed by the frequent agreements with other collections such as **D**, **Sa**, and **L**.

Ep. 167 is not part of that proto-collection, so it is treated separately. The most important feature of this letter, besides using the **Q** *capitula*, is the presence of chapter XVI, ‘De his qui <i>am consecrate sunt si postea nupserint’, a logical continuation of XV, ‘De puellis qui alequandio in habito religioso fuerint non tamen consecrate si post nupserint’. This chapter is not present in the earliest collections, **Q**, **D**, **Te**, **L**, **Sa**, but it is present in **S**, dating to the 680s and **Di** from the 630s. Thus, its

appearance in **Re**, assuming it is original to the manuscript's exemplar and therefore the collection, is its earliest attestation. Furthermore, its presence here but not in **Te** bolsters my argument that **Te** is not the source for **Re**, especially combined with the different placement of this letter in the collection. Moreover, **Re** is not likely to be the source for **Di** even though they both share this extra chapter, because **Di** separates it from the rest of the letters with a number of intervening items. All three of these collections contain *Epp.* 12, 28, and 167 at some point. Yet the texts as they provide them do not always line up, nor are the letters always included in the same place in the collection. These are three of Leo's longest letters, and each of them has something important to say to the wider community—*Ep.* 12 about the ordination of bishops, *Ep.* 28 about Christology, and *Ep.* 167 about various matters of canon law. Given their length and usefulness, it is not unlikely that they were circulating independently in the fifth through sixth centuries and even into the seventh. As a result, we gain the differing versions of the letters, especially *Epp.* 12 and 167—and amongst the versions of the letters thus gained we acquire a version of *Ep.* 167 with 21 chapters, the sixteenth of which is not original to Leo but likely a piece of *marginalia* added to a copy to aid the curious reader. The rest of **Re**'s variants for *Ep.* 167 are laid out in the following table with numeration continuing from the above; variants resulting from **Re**'s orthography are omitted. Variants 39-80 are an exhaustive tabulation of the *Praefatio*, whereas 81 to the end are comparisons with variants from **Sa** and **Q**.

Var., <i>Ep.</i>	<i>Collectio Remensis</i>	Ballerini text (control)	Significance
39, 167	HAEC EPISTOLA PAPAE LIONIS AD RVSTIC/IO EPO NARBONENSE		

	DIRECTA		
40, 167.Pr.	om. inscription		
41, 167.Pr.	<i>spacia</i>	ita <i>patientiae</i> legentes	Error Re
42, 167.Pr.	<i>conpetra</i>	allegatione <i>concepta</i>	Error Re
43, 167.Pr.	<i>auctionis suae</i>	presbyteris <i>actionis tuae</i>	Errors Re
44, 167.Pr.	<i>esse quaerimuniam</i>	iustam <i>superesse</i> querimoniam	Error Re
45, 167.Pr.	<i>ora statim</i>	charitatis <i>hortatu</i> , ut	Error Re
46, 167.Pr.	<i>tandem egressi</i>	ut <i>sanandis aegris</i> spiritalem	Error Re
47, 167.Pr.	<i>stodeas</i> adhibere; om. <i>debeas</i>	spiritalem adhibere <i>debeas</i>	Error Re , corruption of <i>debeas</i> , which would have preceded ‘adhibere’ in the original
48, 167.Pr.	<i>scripturam</i>	dicente <i>Scriptura</i> :	Error Re
49, 167.Pr.	<i>zelo pudicitiam</i>	qui <i>pudicitiae zelo</i>	Variant Re with an error
50, 167.Pr.	<i>uacatione</i>	ut <i>uacationem</i> ab episcopatus	Error Re
51, 167.Pr.	<i>optare</i>	laboribus <i>praeoptare</i> te dicas	Error Re
52, 167.Pr.	om. <i>atque otio</i>	silentio <i>atque otio</i> uitam	Error Re
53, 167.Pr.	<i>agire</i>	uitam <i>degere</i> , quam	Variant Re (assuming ‘agire’ misspelled ‘agere’, otherwise error)
54, 167.Pr.	om. <i>Nam ...</i> <i>praedicationem</i>	<i>patientiae? Nam</i> <i>secundum apostolicam</i> <i>praedicationem</i> , omnes	Error Re
55, 167.Pr. (2 Tim. 3:12)	<i>persecutione</i>	uiuere <i>persecutionem</i> patientur (Vulgate)	Error Re (elsewhere Re gives ablative for accusative ending in <i>-em</i>)
56, 167.Pr.	<i>tanto</i>	in eo <i>tantum</i> computanda	Error Re
57, 167.Pr.	om. <i>contra</i>	quod <i>contra</i> Christianam	Error Re

58, 167.Pr.	<i>negutia</i>	<i>periculis nec otia careant</i>	Error Re
59, 167.Pr.	<i>custodiet ouis</i>	<i>luporum oves custodiet</i>	Variant Re
60, 167.Pr.	<i>quieretis</i>	<i>amor quietis abducat?</i>	Error Re
61, 167.Pr.	<i>tenenda iustitiae benigne</i>	<i>tenenda est iustitia, et benigne</i>	Errors Re
62, 167.Pr.	<i>haberentur</i>	<i>Odio habeantur peccata</i>	Variant Re
63, 167.Pr.	<i>tolerint</i>	<i>tumidi, tolerantur infirmi</i>	Error Re
64, 167.Pr.	<i>om. in peccatis</i>	<i>quod in peccatis seuerius</i>	Error Re
65, 167.Pr.	<i>seuenienter</i>	<i>non saeuientis plectatur</i>	Error Re
66, 167.Pr.	<i>animus</i>	<i>plectatur animo, sed medentis</i>	Error Re
67, 167.Pr.	<i>sit uirebus resistendum</i>	<i>propriis sit uiribus resistendo</i>	Variant Re
68, 167.Pr.	<i>om. inquit</i>	<i>Ecce ego, inquit, uobiscum</i>	Error Re
69, 167.Pr.	<i>dubitacione</i>	<i>sine dubio</i>	Variant Re
70, 167.Pr.	<i>om. nullis ... electioni</i>	<i>sunt, nullis debemus scandalis infirmari, ne electioni Dei uideamur</i>	Error Re
71, 167.Pr.	<i>sunt deo uedeamur</i>	As above	Error resulting from Var. 70
72, 167.Pr.	<i>om. de singulis</i>	<i>quaereretur de singulis, si nobis</i>	Error Re
73, 167.Pr.	<i>conspectu tui</i>	<i>nobis tui conspectus copia</i>	Error Re , derived from word-order variant
74, 167.Pr.	<i>quadam</i>	<i>cum quaedam interrogationes</i>	Error Re
75, 167.Pr.	<i>si quod</i>	<i>Quia sicut quaedam</i>	Error Re
76, 167.Pr.	<i>possit</i>	<i>nulla possunt ratione conuelli</i>	Variant Re
77, 167.Pr.	<i>ha multa</i>	<i>ita multa sunt</i>	Error Re
78, 167.Pr.	<i>ut</i>	<i>quae aut pro consideratione</i>	Error Re
79, 167.Pr.	<i>necessitatem</i>	<i>pro necessitate rerum</i>	Error Re
80,	<i>incipiunt rispona</i>		

167.Pr.	secundum communiturium consolencis		
81, 167.2	<i>hii</i>	consecrati, <i>ii</i> pro	Common variant Re, Q
82, 167.3	<i>orauit pro illum</i>	quis <i>orabit</i> pro <i>illo</i>	Common variant Re, Q Error Re
83, 167.2	om. <i>altaris</i>	eadem est ministris <i>altaris</i> quae	Error Re
84, 167.3	<i>cessint</i>	connubiorum, et <i>cesset</i> opera	Common error Re, Q
85, 167.4	<i>uiro coniuncta</i>	mulier <i>iuncta uiro</i>	Variant Re , similar to Q (<i>uiro iuncta</i>)
86, 167.5- 6	Division of chh. 5 and 6 after ‘aliud concubina’, not after ‘non fuerunt’		Agreement Re, Q
87, 167.10	om. <i>a</i>	oportet <i>a</i> multis etiam licitis	Common error Re, Sa
88, 167.10	om. <i>mihi</i>	omnia <i>mihi</i> licent	Common variant Re, Sa
89, 167.11 <i>Cap.</i>	<i>paenitentiam</i>	in <i>poenitentia</i> uel	Common variant Re, Q
90, 167.12	<i>omnino est</i>	Contarium <i>est omnino</i>	Common variant Re, Q
91, 167.13	om. <i>mortis</i>	aut metu <i>mortis</i> , aut	Common error Re, Q, Sa
92, 167.15 <i>Cap.</i>	<i>post</i>	si <i>postea</i> nupserint	Common error Re, Q
93, 167.17	si <i>eam hoc</i>	si <i>hoc etiam</i>	Error Re , based on variant Q
94, 167.19 <i>Cap.</i>	<i>gentibus</i>	a <i>gentilibus</i> capti sunt	Common variant Re, Q

The significance of this table is twofold. First, it is evident that **Re** contributes a great many of its own errors. Second, here as elsewhere, it contains many variants common to other Italian collections. However, its lack of many of the variants of **Sa** and **Q** against which it was collated, demonstrate that its text of *Ep.* 167 is independent of theirs.

q. *Collectio Coloniensis*²⁸¹ (K)

i. Dating and context

Dating from the middle or second half of the sixth century, **K** includes seven of Leo's letters, none of which are decretals: 66 [followed by 12 non-Leo items], 22, 28, 103, 31, 35, 59, and 165. This collection includes the set of the letters found in **C** and **P** which I termed **proto-1** above at 2.2.j.i, missing out *Ep.* 139.²⁸² **K** was most likely compiled in Gaul, not only because of its relationship with other Gallic collections but also because of the presence of canonical material from Gaul in the collection beyond Leo.

ii. Manuscript

It exists in one manuscript:

Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 212 (olim Darmstadt 2326) (c. 600), provenance in Cologne since eighth/ninth centuries.²⁸³ A. von Euw's description of the manuscript on the digitisation's website argues that it must be before 604 because it cites no pope later than Gregory I. He also argues, based on the decoration and bookhand, that it was probably produced in southern Gaul before reaching Cologne. Given its relationship with **Ar** and **Al** in the Leonine corpus, this point of origin makes sense. It is written in a single column in an uncial hand with red *capitula* for letter headings but no chapter divisions. Much of the rubrication is flaking off, making decipherment difficult; infrared would undoubtedly help with this.

²⁸¹ This collection not listed by the Ballerini or Jalland. See Jasper 2001, 44-45, and Kéry 1999, 44-45. A description of the earlier portion (items 15-52) of the decretal collection is in Wurm 1939, 276-278.

²⁸² See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

²⁸³ This manuscript is digitised at <http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/>. Accessed 30 June 2015.

The table of contents which is written in paired colonnaded arches on two of the unnumbered folios that start the volume, listed in the digitisation as V4-V5, include as item XL<I> ‘It epist papae leonis’, which is followed by the 12 non-Leonine items, and on V6 we read:

LIII definitionis synodi aduersus eutichen
LIIII epist flauiani epi constantinopolitani ad leonem urbis romae epm
LV epist leonis epi ad flauianum epm
LVI epist papae leonis ad epis p(ro) gallia constitutis
LVII epist papae leonis ad leonem imp contra eutichen
LVIII regulae siue definitionis expositae ab epis cl
LVIII epist papae leonis ad pulche agost
[col. 2]
LX eiusd ad iulianum epm
LXI eiusd papae leonis ad constantinopolitanus ciues
LXII can(on) anquiritani
LXIII can(on) caesariensis
LXIII can(on) grangensis

Items LV through LXX have rubricated numbers but no items written opposite. *Ep.*

66 is on 122^v-123^v, and the later block of letters on 136^r-159^r.

iii. Manuscript relations

Ep. 66 is shared by **K** only with **Ar** and **Al**. In the list of recipients, **K** gives ‘sthefano’ and ‘theudoro’ in agreement with **Ar** 2 against ‘stefano’/‘stephano’ and ‘theodoro’ of **Ar** 1 and **Al**. It also agrees with **Ar** 2 in the spelling ‘regolinus’ against **Ar** 1 and **Al** ‘regulinus’. It further agrees with **Ar** 2 in ‘Vasensis antistetis’ against **Ar** 1 and **Al** ‘antestitis’; and in ‘uero ciuitatis’ against their ‘ciuitates’. **K** gives ‘temperantiam ita’ with **Ar** 2 and **Al** against **Ar** 1 ‘temperantia’—**Al** could easily have emended the text. Another **Ar** 2 spelling in **K** is ‘stodiosum caritatis’ against **Ar** 1 and **Al** ‘studiosum’. Although small, these variants demonstrate that **K** drew its text of *Ep.* 66 from a copy of **Ar** that is related to 2, not to 1-3-4 or **Al**.

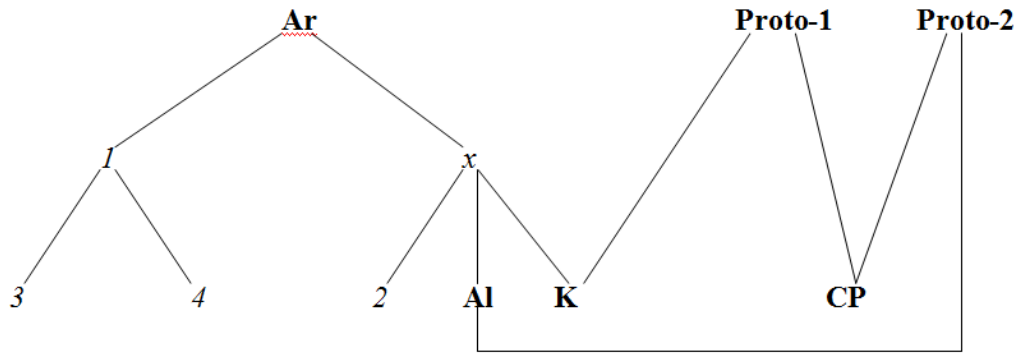
The main body of Leo's letters herein begins at fol. 136^r with the same incipit for *Ep.* 22 as **C** and **P**: 'INCP EPISTVLA FLAVIANI EPI / CONSTANTINOPOLITANI AD LEONEM / urbis romae episcupum'.

Unfortunately, the salutation is rubricated, and the aforementioned flaking has made it illegible, so we cannot say whether **K** writes, 'amabili' with **CP** against 'amacissimo' in the Ballerini. Besides those in the table at 2.2.k, **K** and **C** demonstrate the following shared variants:

Var., <i>Ep.</i>	C and K	Schwartz (control)	Significance
1, 28.2	om. <i>se</i> (K)	totam <i>se</i> reparando (C)	Error K haplography?
2, 28.2	<i>possumus</i> (K) <i>possimus</i> (C)	enim superare <i>possemus</i>	Variants C , K
3, 28.2 (Is. 9:6)	angelus <i>dei</i> (K) angelus <i>admirabilis</i> deus (C ²)	angelus <i>deus</i> (C ¹ , Vulgate)	Error K
4, 28.4	<i>desinentibus</i> (K)	non <i>desidentibus</i> ambulare (C)	Error K
5, 28.5	<i>utramque naturam</i> (C)	in <i>utraque natura</i> (K)	Error C
6, 28.6	Dat in dieb iuniis (K) om. date (C ¹) d e in die id iuniis (C ²)	DAT ID IVN	Error K Error C ²
7, 28.6	asterio et protogene uucc cons (b) (K) astorgo et protogene uc conssb (C ²)	ASTVURIO ET PROTOGENE VV CC CONSS	Variant spelling K Completely different name C ²

What we see from the *Epp.* 22 and 28 variants from these two tables is that **K** contains most of the **C** variants. When **K** introduces an error, however, the error is not derived from a **C** variant. Furthermore, **K** does not persist in all of **C**'s errors. Combining these facts concerning the variants with the differences in letter selection, it can now be said with certainty that **K** and **C** have a common descendent for *Epp.* 22, 28, 103, 31, 35, 59, and 165, but that neither is the other's descendent.

A proposed stemma for **K**, then, would be:



r. *Collectio Casinensis*²⁸⁴ (Ca)

i. Dating and context

The broad contents of this collection seem to have been copied from Rusticus' edition of the *Gesta Ephesena* and their appendix gathered together in light of the Three Chapters Controversy. It contains the following Leonine letters: 24, 37, 54, 89, 94, 78, 111, 156, 164, 148, 145, 105, 84, 116, 38, 36, 39, 49, 87, 47, 74, 85, and 21.

Ca shares none of its Leo material with Rusticus. Of interest, as Schwartz pointed out in his introduction, is the editorial choice to group letters by recipient, a relatively uncommon act. They are in five groups: three to Theodosius, four to Marcian, four to Emperor Leo I, three to Pulcheria, four to Flavian, and the final items individually to Anatolius, Anastasius of Thessalonica, Martinus Presbyter, and Anatolius again. This collection of letters was probably drawn together somewhere in central Italy, given the origins of its two manuscripts.

ii. Manuscripts

It exists in the following two manuscripts:

m: Montecassino 2 (saec. XIII), whence comes its name.

²⁸⁴ Not listed by the Ballerini or Jalland. For what follows, see ACO 2.4, x-xiii, 143.

v: Vat. lat. 1319 (saec. XII-XIII); **Ca** collection of Leo runs foll. 93^r-98^v. 93^r is the beginning of a new quire, so something has evidently fallen out, as 92^v ends mid-sentence, and 93^r begins in the middle of *Ep.* 89 in a different hand. The order of letters differs from above, adding *Ep.* 21 after 85. After the Leonine letters of **Ca** end on fol. 98^v, this manuscript provides a transcription of Paris, lat. 11611, of Rusticus' collection of Leo's letters.²⁸⁵

iii. Manuscript Relations

m and *v* are frequently united in their readings and probably come from a common ancestor; neither is a copy of the other. Of more interest is their relationship to other collections, especially since so many items in **Ca** are rarities. A rare Leo item, *Ep.* 24, which starts this collection is also found in Pseudo-Isidore C (**I-c**), *Ratisbonensis* (**E**), *Grimanica* (**G**), *Bobbiensis* (**B**) and Ballerini Collection 24 (**24**).

For this letter, the collated variants are:

Var.	Ca <i>m</i>	Schwartz	Significance
1	<i>religionis habens</i>	<i>religionis habetis</i> (G, E, 24)	Error Ca
2	<i>agreement</i>	Constantinopolitana ecclesia (Ca, E, 24) G <i>constantiniana</i>	Error G
3	<i>per turbationes</i>	<i>ecclesia perturbationis</i> acciderit quod (G, 24) E <i>ecclesia turbationis</i>	Error Ca
4	<i>nicine</i>	asserens se <i>Nicaenae</i> synodi constituta G, 24 <i>niceni</i> E <i>Nichaenae</i>	Variant Ca
5	<i>misit, deo unum</i>	presbyter misit, <i>de obiectionum</i> euidencia (G, E) B, 24 <i>de obiectionis</i> E, B <i>euidenciam</i>	Error Ca
6	Between <i>tamen</i> and <i>in eo</i> , Ca adds a fragment	<i>tamen in eo sensum argueret,</i> <i>non euidenter expressit</i> (G)	Error Ca

²⁸⁵

See below 3.c.iii.

	of a disputation concerning Eutyches <i>urgueret</i> (I-c)	E , B24 <i>arguerit</i> B , E sensu	
7	<i>agreement</i>	quibus eum aestiment arguendum (Ca , E) estimet (G) estimat (B , I-c , 24)	---
8	om. <i>nobis</i>	primitus <i>nobis</i> cuncta reserare (E , 24) G , B reseruare	Error Ca
9	<i>reductis</i>	ut in lucem <i>deductis</i> his (E) <i>ductis</i> (G , B , 24)	Variant Ca

For *Ep.* 24, at least, we can see from the table that **Ca** is largely independent of the wider transmission. To test this theory, we skip ahead to *Ep.* 94, the first full letter which both *m* and *v* share. As the table below demonstrates, *Ep.* 94 further demonstrates this independence. No single other collection predominates in the sharing of errors and variants.

Var.	Ca <i>m</i> , <i>v</i>	Schwartz	Significance
1	item ad marcianum aug per bonephatium pbrm	Leo Marciano augusto.	Inscriptions often vary
2	<i>quo ad</i> (<i>m</i> , <i>v</i> ; A a [Vat. lat. 1322], I-c)	studium <i>quod ad</i> reparationem (G , B , E , O)	Shared error Ca , A a , I-c
3	<i>agreement</i>	aptius expectari tempus optassem (G , B , A a , O) E spectari I-c expectare	Wide agreement
4	<i>agreement</i>	etiam de longinquiribus prouinciis euocari (G , B , E , A a , O) Ps-Is C longinquis	Wide agreement
5	<i>Bonefatium</i> (<i>m</i> , <i>v</i>)	tradita, et <i>Bonifatium</i> de conpresbyteris meis (G , E , A a , I-c , O) B bonifatio	Shared variant Ca ; minor
6	partis <i>meae praesentia</i> iungerent\ur/, GL. (<i>m</i> , <i>v</i>)	implendas partes meae praesentiae iungerentur, GL. (G , B) gloriae (A a , O) GL om. E , I-c	Shared variant Ca
7	<i>erit</i> (<i>m</i> , <i>v</i>)	dies synodo fuerit constitutus (G , B , E , I , O) fuerint (A a)	Shared variant Ca

8	<i>adsensum</i> (<i>m</i> ; B)	sanctae fraternitatis assensu quae uniuersali (<i>v</i> ; G, E, I-c, A a) ascensu (O)	Shared variant <i>m</i> , B
9	<i>agreement</i>	probanda concordia, si in eam fidem quam euangelicis (G, E) concordiam, si in ea (A a) in ea (O) in eandem (I-c) quae euangelicis (B)	Agreement Ca, G, E
10	om. <i>omnium</i> (<i>m</i>)	declaratam per sanctos patres nostros accepimus et tenemus, <i>omnium</i> corda (<i>v</i> ; E, A a) declarat tam per sanctos fratres (O) per quos patres (B) per antiquos patres (I-c) accipimus (G)	Error <i>m</i>
11	Data (<i>m, v</i> ; A a, O, I-c) xiiii (<i>m, v</i> ; B, I-c) kl adelfio aug consule (<i>v</i>)	DAT XIII KL AUG ADELFIO VC CONS (G) E om. VC	

Besides the independence of **Ca** from much of the wider tradition, the above two tables also demonstrate that it is a fairly reliable text for the items it contains.

s. *Collectio Vetus Gallica*²⁸⁶

i. *Dating and context*

This canonical collection was compiled in Lyon at some point between 585 and 626-627. It is transmitted through a few different classes of manuscript: the Northern French Subclass and Southern French Subclass, both parts of the wider French Class as well as a Southern German Class.²⁸⁷ Typically, the *Vetus Gallica* includes the following excerpts from Leo: *Ep.* 14, ch. 3 (ch. XLI, 30g in Mordek), *Ep.* 15, and *Ep.*

²⁸⁶ Not listed by Ballerini or Jalland. For a list of manuscripts and bibliography, cf. Kéry 1999, 50-53.

²⁸⁷ The manuscripts are listed by Kéry 1999, 51-52.

167, ch. 2 (following **D**, ch. XLI, 30f in Mordek) as well as chh. VIIff. of *Ep.* 167 which follow **Q** for the *capitula* (ch. LXV, unedited by Mordek).

ii. Manuscripts

Given how little Leo material is found in the collection and the vast range of manuscripts, combined with Mordek's edition in *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankreich*,²⁸⁸ prudence led me to examine only two manuscripts of the *Vetus Gallica* myself.²⁸⁹

Paris, lat. 1603 (saec. VIII/IX), from northeastern France and provenance of Saint-Amand; of the Northern French Subclass. *Ep.* 167, beginning at *Cap.* VII, 'De his qui in egritudine penitentiam accipiunt, et cum revaluerint, agere eam nolunt', runs foll. 71^v-74^v.

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB.VI.109 (IX1/4 saec.) from southwestern Germany, with provenance of Constance, cathedral chapter, then Weingarten; of the Northern French Subclass. This manuscript includes the same selection from *Ep.* 167, foll. 90^v-94^v.

Finally, I consulted a professional transcription of a third manuscript made by Michael D. Elliot for the Carolingian Canon Law Project and available online;²⁹⁰ this manuscript represents a redaction of the *Vetus Gallica* completely different from that of the above two manuscripts, called S₁ by Mordek and relying heavily upon **D**.²⁹¹ It is worth a brief mention if only because of the varying contents of this collection and

²⁸⁸ Mordek 1975, 343-617.

²⁸⁹ Mss as described in Kéry 1999, 51-52.

²⁹⁰

<http://individual.utoronto.ca/michaelelliot/manuscripts/texts/transcriptions/stuttgartvetusgallica.pdf>. Accessed 22 October 2014. This ms is also digitised: [http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/digitale-sammlungen/seitenansicht/?no_cache=1&tx_dlf\[id\]=1418&tx_dlf\[page\]=1&tx_dlf\[pointer\]=0&cHash=eacbd0a0f6ded196bdd692dbb7840c10](http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/digitale-sammlungen/seitenansicht/?no_cache=1&tx_dlf[id]=1418&tx_dlf[page]=1&tx_dlf[pointer]=0&cHash=eacbd0a0f6ded196bdd692dbb7840c10). Accessed 22 October 2014.

²⁹¹ Mordek 1975, 229.

the difficulties it would present to a reconstruction of Leo's text if not for the various other manuscripts and collections. This manuscript is:

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB.VI.113 (saec. VIII^{ex}), foll.

92^v-195^v.²⁹² Leo appears in this redaction of the collection at foll. 184^r-185^f (*Ep.* 9, chh. 1, 2), 185^f-186^f (*Ep.* 159, chh. 1-4), and 189^v-190^f (*Ep.* 167, chh. 4-6,).

As with other systematic collections, the *Vetus Gallica* is a collection to be aware of, but will not be taken into account in the edition since it is not a letter collection proper and since so many manuscripts and collections of such early date exist that *do* contain proper letter collections. The traces of Leo's letters in collections such as *Vetus Gallica* tend to be few, and the likelihood of one of these collections maintaining a true original reading or true conjecture not found elsewhere is extremely slim. Besides *Vetus Gallica*, we also have Cresconius, the *Hispana Systematica*, and over 60 systematic collections between the Carolingian age and Gratian's *Decretum* in 1140.

t. *Epitome Hispana (Hispanico)*²⁹³

i. Dating and Context

The *Epitome Hispana* is a chronological collection from the early 600s, its most recent text from the Council of Huesca of 598. After canons drawn from earlier collections, such as the *Capitula Martini*, and from conciliar collections, the *Epitome Hispana* gives a series of papal letters from Clement, Siricius, Innocent I, Zosimus, Boniface I, Celestine I, Leo I, Gelasius I, Felix III, and Vigilius, ending with a letter

²⁹² For a description of this manuscript's contents, see *ibid.*, 229-237.

²⁹³ Fowler-Magerl 2005, 34-6; Kéry 1999, 57-60.

from Jerome to Patroclus. It contains the following 11 of Leo's letters: 14, 12, 167, 16, 159, 4, 108, 166, 168, 9, 15. In addition, Canon 2.32.1 is a letter of Leo III to Alcuin ('Ternam mersionem'), misinscribed as 'Ex epistola leonis pp ad balconium', that is, to Balconius who was Bishop of Braga during Leo the Great's tenure as Bishop of Rome, and who was involved in anti-Priscillianist activity. Worthy of note concerning these eleven letters is that, although they are certainly all in the *Collectio Hispana*, they are not included in the same order. This collection was used from an early time in Gaul, northern and central Italy, and southern Germany as evidenced by the manuscripts listed below.

Martínez Díez produced an edition in 1962,²⁹⁴ the goal of which, as he wrote in his historical and critical discussion of 1961, was to provide evidence for the *Epitome* as one of the sources for the *Collectio Hispana*, the national collection of Spain; for him, the value of the *Epitome* was found in the *Collectio*.²⁹⁵ For the text critic of the *Epitome*'s sources, on the other hand, its main value lies in precisely the opposite direction. It provides us with a Spanish collection from the turn of the seventh century that is an important textual witness to its sources; it is several decades after the earliest collections, but a century or more before the major collections of the Carolingian era. For these reasons, it is worth examining as a witness to the text of Leo's letters.

ii. Manuscripts

²⁹⁴ Martínez Díez, 'El Epítome Hispánico. Una colección canónica Española del siglo VII', in *Miscelanea Comillas* 37.2 (1962), 322-466.

²⁹⁵ Martínez Díez 1961, 14.

The *Epitome Hispana* exists in the following manuscripts, many of them fragmentary or excerpts:²⁹⁶

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare LXI (59) (saec. VII/VIII).

Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, 490 (ca. 800), fol. 288^r-309.

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek, Ny Kgl. Saml. 58 8° (shortly after 731), fol. 52^r-69^v, from Gaul in a book hand with Spanish influence, with provenance in Regensburg.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14468. This manuscript was written in 821 under Abbot Baturich in Regensburg; it is a copy of the Copenhagen manuscript.²⁹⁷

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Collection Baluze 270 (saec. IX), fol. 177^r-178^v, and Lyon Bibliothèque de la ville, 788, fol. 100^r-101^v (saec. IX), are fragments from the same copy of the *Epitome Hispana*.

Vat. Lat. 5751 (saec. X), fol. 31^r-41^v, from northern Italy, once a possession of monastery of Bobbio, is an excerpt of the *Epitome*.

u. *Collectio Hispana*²⁹⁸ (S)

i. Dating and context

The *Collectio Hispana* is an important source for the ecclesiastical history as well as the history of canon law in Visigothic Spain. No post-Roman kingdom left behind as extensive a body of canonical documents as this. At its broadest extent, this canonical collection combines the canons of Greek councils, African councils,

²⁹⁶ See Kéry 1999, 58-9.

²⁹⁷ As demonstrated by Fowler-Magerl 2005, 35.

²⁹⁸ This collection not listed by the Ballerini or Jalland. See ACO 2.3.1 S, p. 2; Martínez Díez 1966, Vol 1; and Kéry 1999, 61-67 for descriptions. Note, however, that ACO 2.3.1 only lists the dogmatic letters and adds *Ep.* 25 between *Epp.* 20 and 23.

‘ecumenical’ councils, Spanish councils, and more alongside an extensive body of papal letters. We are thus given insight into what sorts of documents were considered authorities for discerning canon law in early mediaeval Spain. We can also see the canonical activity of the Spanish church as its bishops gathered together in council. Furthermore, since they were so assiduous in taking *acta* and maintaining them in this collection, the *Collectio Hispana* is also a major source for the secular events of Visigothic Spain under Catholic rule, since we have a paucity of narrative sources.²⁹⁹ The *Collectio Hispana* stands in stark opposition to the catastrophist position on the post-Roman world. While we can certainly agree that fifth- through eight-century Spain was not a time of perfect rest and quietness, it is a testament to the stability developed by the Visigothic kingdom in the late sixth and seventh centuries that so many church councils were able to meet within its borders—especially since its power was, in many ways and especially at the beginning, decentralised due to the realities of Iberian history and topography.³⁰⁰ The bulk of the major Visigothic councils begin in 589 with the Third Council of Toledo, when Reccared—the first Nicene-Catholic Visigothic king—officially brought his kingdom into the Catholic Church, after his father Leovigild (*r.* 569-86) had united the vast majority of the peninsula. These two unifying events help explain the extraordinary number of synods to follow, up to the ‘Eighteenth Council’ of Toledo in the early 700s (for which no *acta* or canons exist),³⁰¹ under a decade before the Islamic conquest.

²⁹⁹ See Wickham 2005, 38-9, on the Spanish councils as major historical sources.

³⁰⁰ For the tension between economic localisation and political centralisation in Visigothic Spain, see *ibid.*, 93-97. A good overview of the Visigothic kingdom in Spain can be found in Wickham 2009, 130-149.

³⁰¹ The Seventeenth Council of Toledo in 694 is the last for which we have proceedings. See Wickham 2005, 38.

S may originally have been edited by Isidore of Seville, according to Martínez Díez.³⁰² Its oldest recension dates from the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633, and the form contained in most of the manuscripts, the *Vulgata*, covers the Seventeenth Council of Toledo in 694. It was used in the formation of the collections known as the *Hispana Gallica* and *Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis*.³⁰³ It includes the following 39 Leonine letters: 20, 23, 22, 28, 25, 33, 44, 45, 60, 61, 69, 70, 71, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 90, 93, 104, 106, 115, 130, 134, 165, 15, 7, 16, 4, 18, 167, 14, 159, 12, 108, 166, 9, and 168.³⁰⁴ The decretal collection that closes this selection of Leo's letters, from *Ep.* 15 onwards, draws *Epp.* 7-159 from **D**, including many of the **D/D-b** variants throughout, as shall be seen, including the **D capitula** in *Ep.* 167 and elsewhere. Their order is almost identical to that of **D**, simply transposing *Ep.* 4 to after 16 instead of before 7. *Ep.* 12 exists here in the *decurtata* version. The only collection earlier than **S** that includes all four final letters is the *Epitome Hispana*, so the *Collectio Hispana* presumably used it as a source.

The earliest recension, that of 633 which is possibly edited by Isidore, is known as the Primitive *Hispana* or the *Isidoriana*. This recension does not exist in any manuscripts but can be reconstituted from the lost *Codex Rachionis*, from manuscript W of the Galician tradition of the *Vulgata*,³⁰⁵ and from Gallic manuscripts that rely on the *Hispana*.³⁰⁶ This original recension consisted of a preface, index, Greek councils, African councils from a source only used by the *Hispana*, canons of ten Gallic councils, and fourteen Spanish councils, ending at the

³⁰² Martínez Díez 1966, 257-270; Munier 1966, 240-241, expresses misgivings on the identification of the compiler as Isidore because Isidore elsewhere seems ignorant of some of its contents. For other scholars who disagree, see Kéry 1999, 61. This question is the sort that is ultimately insoluble.

³⁰³ See Jasper 2001, 53-55. Discussed below at 4.2.c.

³⁰⁴ Martínez Díez 1966, 214.

³⁰⁵ Kéry 1999, 62.

³⁰⁶ Fournier and Le Bras 1931, Vol. 1, 68.

Fourth Council of Toledo, which is followed by the *Capitula Martini*, the *Sententiae* attributed to the Council of Agde, and 104 decretals.³⁰⁷

The second known recension of the *Hispana* is the *Juliana* recension from after 681. This recension adds eight more Toledan councils from the Fifth Council of Toledo (636) to the Twelfth (681). It falls into two subcategories, the Gallican and Toletanian. The Gallican subcategory omits the signatures of the bishops from the councils of Agde, Orléans, and Toledo III-XI and reorders the decretals. This subcategory exists in at least three manuscripts.³⁰⁸ The second subcategory of the *Juliana* is the Toletanian. This subcategory has varying additions of the Twelfth Council of Toledo and was written before 775.³⁰⁹

The third recension—the second which survives—is the *Vulgata*, compiled between 694 and 702; this recension represents the bulk of the manuscripts. It builds on the *Juliana*, adding fourteen councils ending at the Seventeenth Council of Toledo in 694³¹⁰ as well as the *Definitio Fidei* of the Sixth Ecumenical Council which took place in Constantinople 680-81; the *Definitio* is the version sent to Spain by Pope Leo II and is followed by five papal letters.³¹¹ The *Vulgata* exists in two subcategories. The first is the Común, which represents most of the manuscripts, including two now lost from Lugo, Carrión de los Condes and San Juan de Peña.³¹²

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, D.18 (saec. X) which is also classified as of the *Collectio Hispana Gallica* (see Kéry 1999, 67); Vat. Pal. lat. 575 (saec. IX-X) of unknown provenance, but formerly at the library of the church St. Martin at Mainz according to fol. 3^r (Ms V in Martínez Díez); and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 411 (iur. can. 41) (saec. VIII-IX), also categorised under *Hispana Gallica* (Ms W in Martínez Díez). For full lists of all manuscripts of all recensions, see Kéry 1999, 62-64; Martínez Díez 1966, 11-15.

³⁰⁹ Kéry 1999, 62.

³¹⁰ Kéry 1999, 62.

³¹¹ Fournier and Le Bras 1931, Vol. 1, 68.

³¹² Kéry 1999, 62.

The only two of these manuscripts we shall mention are Martínez Díez's R and T, as they were used by Schwartz in *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*:³¹³

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MSS/1872 (olim P.21, Vitrina 14.4), fol. 2^r-345^v (XI saec.), known as *Codex of the Biblioteca Regia*.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MSS/10041 (olim Toledo XV,16), fol. 1^v-237^v, of 1034-72, with provenance of Cordoba, residing at Toledo since 1455, and known as *Codex Toledanus*.

There are two more Común manuscripts of the *Vulgata* recension that contain decretals³¹⁴ and two manuscripts of the Catalan subcategory.³¹⁵

There also exists a collection of decretals from the *Collectio Hispana* in El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, o-I-13, fol.1^r-136^v (saec. XV), of unknown provenance,³¹⁶ as well as three *Hispana* manuscripts of uncertain recension.³¹⁷

ii. Manuscripts

The following three *Juliana* manuscripts are those which were consulted in the course of this project:³¹⁸

³¹³ Cf. ACO 2.3.1, 2; note, however, that the information on these two manuscripts is taken from Kéry 1999, 63.

³¹⁴ El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, e-I-13, fol. 1^r-103^v (X-XI saec.), provenance of Cordoba and very fragmentary, known as *Codex Soriensis*, (Martínez Díez, ms S); and Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitular, 15-17 (olim Tol. 31,5), fol. 1va-348rb, written 16 May, 1095 ('Iulianus indignus presbiter scripsit; a. 1095, IIII feria, XVII K. Iunius era ICXXXIII', as transcribed in Kéry 1999, 63), with provenance of Alcatá de Henares, the purest complete *Vulgata* known as *Codex Complutensis* (Kéry 1999, 63. Martínez Díez, ms C).

³¹⁵ Gerona, Archivo de la Santa Iglesia Catedral Basílica, Códice Conciliar, fol. 1^r-XXIII^r and 1^r-365^v, known as *Codex Gerundensis* (Martínez Díez, ms G); and Seo de Urgel, Biblioteca Capitular, 2005, fol. 1^r-290^{vb} (XI^{ex} saec.), with provenance probably from Seo de Urgel, known as *Codex Urgelensis* (Martínez Díez, ms U).

³¹⁶ Martínez Díez, ms K.

³¹⁷ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1554, fol. 99^v-119^v (XII^l saec.); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham misc. 19 (XII^m saec.), from Tuscany, probably Pistoia (cf. Brooke, *English Church* 230; Fournier, 'Angleterre' 132-133; Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform* 251); and Paris lat. 4280 (XII saec.) (cf. Rambaud-Buhot, 'Baluze, bibliothécaire et canoniste' 329 n. 25; Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform* 251).

e: El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, d-I-1, fol. 19^v-316^v, written 992-994 with provenance of San Millán de la Cogolla, known as *Codex Emilianus*.³¹⁹ According to Guilmain, based on the illuminations, this manuscript is a copy of El Escorial d-I-2, below.³²⁰ However, the illustrations in the Leo portion of the manuscript are not at all the same as in d-I-2; Guilmain says that the illuminator set himself free from slavish copying. This seems correct, since most of the illuminations in this portion of the manuscript are of animals, mermaids, and other fantastic beasts.³²¹ The contents of the manuscript nevertheless beginning with excerpts from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, are the same as d-I-2, confirming that both images and text are copied.

v: El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, d-I-2, fol. 20^f-238^v and 248-341^r, written between 974-976, with provenance of San Martin de Alveda, known as *Codex Albeldensis* or *Vigilanus*—after the first of its scribes, Vigila.³²² This prestige manuscript is written in two columns of 40 lines each in Visigothic minuscule. The chapter numbers are always in the margin, and there are stylistically unique images throughout,³²³ most especially of Leo at 277^r where he is rebuking Eutyches, 286^v where he addresses Marcian, and

³¹⁸ Schwartz, ACO 2.3.1, 2, lists these manuscripts indiscriminately beside two manuscripts of the *Vulgata*, not making a distinction between the two recensions.

319

For a description of the manuscript, see Guillermo 1910, 320-368.

³²⁰ Guilmain 1965, 36-37. Guillermo 1916, 534, also notes that the miniatures are copies from d-I-2.

³²¹ For images of illuminations, see Domínguez Bordona 1930, plates 27, 28, 29b (black and white); and Mentré 1996, plate 37.

³²² A minutely detailed description is available Guillermo 1910, 368-404.

³²³ The illumination is not typically Mozarabic in style but exhibits more 'classicism', according to Domínguez Bordona 1930, 19. For examples, see Domínguez Bordona 1930, plates 23-26, 29a (black and white); and Mentré 1996, plate 56 (colour). They are, nonetheless, drawn in a disarming Iberian style.

300^v where he stands holding a scroll; 277^v also includes an image of Flavian. Leo's letters begin with an interlace A of Mozarabic style rather than a simple *littera notabilior*.³²⁴

o: El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, e-I-12, fol. 1^r-323^v (saec. IX, although Schwartz and the *Catalogo* say X),³²⁵ known as *Codex Oxomensis*. This is a two-column manuscript of 39 lines per page in Visigothic minuscule with rubricated majuscule *tituli*. Leo's letters run 240^v-296^r, the decretals (*Epp.* 15 to the end) beginning at fol. 273^v.³²⁶ *Ep.* 16 cuts off partway through at 281^v, 'per fratres et quoepiscopos uestros' and picks up on 282^r towards the end of *Ep.* 4 at, 'Hoc itaque admonitio nostra denuntiat.'

iii. Manuscript relations

Since *e* is a copy of *v*, the relationship to be assessed is that between *v* and *o*. My assessment is of selected passages from the decretals at the end of *S*, *Epp.* 15, 7, 16, 4, 18, 167, 14, 159, 12, 108, 166, 9, and 168. First, we immediately encounter some stereotypical Iberian spellings in *S*: 'mobearis' for 'mouearis', 'debotionem' for 'deuotionem', 'uibere' for 'uiuere', 'fabentia' for 'fauentia', etc.; *o* also provides 'habitatit' where *v* and our control text give 'habitauit'; and *v* gives 'solba' where *o* and the control give 'solua'. Another *S* orthography but one that is not necessarily Iberian is 'blasfemia' for 'blasphemia'. *v* and *o* tend not to assimilate prefixes, giving 'inpietas' (*v*), 'conlocarent' (*v, o*), 'conprehendi' (*v, o*), 'adserunt' (*o*), 'inmersit' (*v, o*) and so forth—although the rarely assimilated 'eandem' (*v, o*) appears, not 'eamdem'.

³²⁴ For interlace in *Codex Vigilanus*, see Guilmain 1960, 211-218; at 215, its interlace is characterised as 'Franco-Insular'.

³²⁵ ACO 2.3.1, 2; Guillermo 1911, 17.

³²⁶ For a minute description of this manuscript, *ibid.*, 17-28.

Turning to the variants, one of the most important differences between these two manuscripts that emerges from the start is the addition of proper *capitula* in *v* *Ep.* 15, whereas *o* uses the first line of each chapter as a heading as in **Te**, but, since the lines fall differently, the phrases that serve as *capitula* are not exactly the same. Unlike a number of other collections, **S** basically spells Turribius' name correctly, 'Turibius'. **S** provides 'per diaconoconum tuum' against Ballerini 'diaconoconem' and **Te** 'diaconoconum'. **S** reads 'impietas ipsa contagium' versus Ballerini 'ista'. In a reading that many manuscripts discussed above have seemingly faltered on, **S** provides, 'qui ab euangelio xpi sub xpi nomine deuiarunt' against the control's 'qui ab Evangelio sub Christi nomine deuiarunt'; this is also in contrast to **Te**, **C**, **P**, 'euangelio xpi nomine xpi', with their omission of 'sub' and **Q**, 'euangelio xpi nomine deuiarunt' omitting 'sub' and the second 'xpi'. As the evidence weighs up, it seems that the Ballerini omission of 'Christi' following 'euangelio' in this passage of *Ep.* 15, *Praef.*, is an error, but their inclusion of 'sub' is not. Also in 15, *Praef.*, **S** reads 'sequeris tamen xpianorum principum constitutionibus' against 'seueris' (**Q**, **Te**, **C**, **P**, Ballerini). Later in the same sentence, **S** gives 'ad spiritaalem' with **Q a** & Paris 3842A¹, **Te**, **C**, and **P**, against Ballerini 'spiritale'; this common error is one easily made. In 15.1, *saut-du-même-au-même* does not cause **S** to omit 'nunc filius' as in a number of other collections. In 15.1, we have two important variants that run counter to the Ballerini methodology, where *v* gives 'homousione' and *o* 'homo[h\]usyon' against their definitely false Greek 'ὁμοούσιον'. Although the spellings for this word are many and varied in the manuscripts,³²⁷ every single one of them makes use of the Latin alphabet, not the Greek, according to a common practice of Latin scribes as

³²⁷ A few examples: 'homousion' (**Q p**, **Te**, **24 f**), 'homohosion' (**C**), and 'omohosion' (**P**).

observed by Aaron Pelttari.³²⁸ Against the Ballerini and the majority early tradition in 15.3, **S** gives ‘sermone’ at ‘Tertii uero capituli sermo designat’ robbing ‘designat’ of its subject. At 15.5, **S** reads ‘anima’ against Ballerini ‘quod animam hominis divinae asserant esse substantiae’ (**Te, C**); this is an error, since ‘asserant’ introduces *oratio obliqua*, ‘that the soul of a man is of the divine substance’. In case the common heritage of these two manuscripts were not becoming clear already, they concur with **C** in giving the spelling ‘subolis’ at 15.9 where the Ballerini text provides ‘ne illa soboles quae de carnis semine nascitur’.³²⁹ An uncritical reading would count this an error; however, it is as likely to be based on pronunciation as the Iberian spellings noted above. In 15.10, **S** gives ‘in corpore’ along with **Te, C**, and **P**, against Ballerini ‘sine corpore’. The sentence, given as in *v* reads, ‘animas que humanis corporibus inseruntur fuisse in corpore’; it makes much better sense to read ‘sine’ than ‘in’—‘spirits that had been *without* a body which were inserted in human bodies’ is the logical formulation Leo gives here. **S** reads ‘est dicere eosdem quod’ (**C, P**)³³⁰ in 15.13, an inversion against ‘eosdem dicere’ (Ballerini). In 15.14, **S** gives ‘creatur’ against ‘pro terrena qualitate teneatur’ (**Te, C, P, Ballerini**). At the start of 15.15, **S** writes ‘quinto decimi’ against ‘quinti decimi’ (**Te, C, P, Ballerini**). In 15.17, against the Ballerini and **C**, ‘Si autem aliquid, quod absit, obstiterit’, **S** gives ‘obstiterint’ in error.

³²⁸ Pelttari 2011 observes that Augustine wrote Greek in Latin script, visible in contemporary and near-contemporary manuscripts (464-468); based on the manuscript evidence Macrobius, who wrote Greek phrases in Greek script, seems to have been inconsistent as to which alphabet he used for individual words (471-476); and Ausonius similarly sometimes wrote individual Greek words in Latin, sometimes in Greek script (476-480). Modern editors such as the Ballerini, on the other hand, have usually printed Greek words in Greek script, even when the entire manuscript tradition is against them.

³²⁹ Cf. **Te, P** ‘sobolis’.

³³⁰ **Te** om. ‘dicere’.

The independent variants of *v* are as follows. Further in 15, *Praef.*, *v* omits ‘que’ in ‘omnemque coniugiorum copulam solui’ (*o*; Ballerini). In 15.1, *v* writes, ‘quia patris, et filii’ rather than ‘qui’ (*o*; **Te, C, P**, Ballerini); *v* also gives ‘procedit’ for ‘processit’ (*o*; **Q, Te, C, P**, Ballerini), a simple but clear error. A variant that is most likely wrong is the use of ‘at’ by *v* against the majority ‘sed’ (*o*; **Q, Te, C, P**, Ballerini) in ‘sed non in tribus sit accipienda’. A purely orthographical variant in *v* is ‘katholice’ in ‘catholicae fidei’ (*o*, etc) in the final sentence of 15.1 and again in 15.4. Also orthographical but, or so it seems to this writer, difficult to pronounce is ‘ueruum’ in 15.4 in place of ‘uerbum’ (*o*, etc); this is a spelling likely not to live long. A clear error is in 15.12, ‘animas’ instead of the partitive genitive ‘partes animae’ (*o*; **Te, C, P**, Ballerini). Another error comes in 15.14, with *v* giving ‘propter’ for ‘pro’ in ‘pro terrena qualitate’ (*o*, etc), but leaving the case after the preposition unchanged. In 15.17, *v* writes, ‘die tertia’ against ‘tertio’ (*o*; **Te, C, P**, Ballerini). Here either could be correct, the feminine following the classical usage for a set day, while the masculine is the natural gender of the word. The Vulgate text of Jesus’ predictions of his resurrection and St Paul’s reference in 1 Corinthians, however, use the feminine.³³¹ The question is whether the scribe of *v* emended on the basis of a remembered phraseology from the Vulgate, or if the scribes of the other manuscripts made an error using the natural gender of the word ‘die’. The *v* reading is very tempting, for it seems that Leo would use the feminine, given its use in classical Latin. Towards the end of 15.17, *v* writes ‘stantia tua’ instead of ‘instantia tua’ (*o*, etc).

³³¹ Mt. 17:22, ‘die tertio’ in Weber-Gryson, however ‘tertia’ in many mss; Mk 10:34, ‘tertia die’; Lk. 18:33 ‘die tertia’. See also 1 Cor. 15:4, ‘tertia die’.

The following are the *o* variants for *Ep.* 15. In the final sentence of 15, *Praef.*, *o* gives ‘dilectio tua fidei’ against ‘fidei’ (*v*; **Q, Te, C, P**, Ballerini). An interesting *o* variant is ‘hominis’ for ‘humanis’ (*v*; **Te, C, P**, Ballerini) in the phrase ‘quae humanis corporibus inseruntur’ (15.10); ‘hominis corporibus’, ‘bodies of man’, makes for a striking English translation, but the phraseology does not feel like Leo, nor is it normal Latin. The early majority is more likely correct here. Later in 15.10, *o* makes the common error of replacing ‘ob’ (*v*; **Te, C, P**, Ballerini) with ‘ab’ in ‘ob hoc a sublimibus ad inferiora delapsas’ (*v*). In 15.14, *o* erroneously omits ‘uero’ from ‘decimo uero capitulo’ (*v*, etc), presumably a case of *saut du même au même*. A simple error in *o* is ‘iuxta’ for ‘iusta’ in 15.15 (*v*, etc). *o* omits ‘est’ from 15.17, ‘morta est et sepulta’ (*v*, etc). In 15.17, *o* writes ‘possint’ instead of ‘quo minus possit celebrari’ (*v*, etc). The scribe of *o* did not know what to do with ‘Ceponius’, giving the garbled, ‘quoaepionius’ in 15.17.

What we learn from this discussion is that *v* and *o* seldom disagree, and when they do disagree, it is usually because one of them has made an error. While many of their shared variants are readings that could be correct, most of their independent variants are errors. From *Ep.* 15 alone we have seen that **S** has a strong, united text type. To demonstrate this fact even more fully, the table that follows will give select variants from other decretal letters but in lower frequency than for *Ep.* 15. First, a few notes before the table to assist the reader are in order. *v* tends to divide letters into chapters throughout; the *capitula v* uses are the same as those of **D/D-b**; similarly, the inscriptions at the heads of letters, used by both *v* and *o* are those of **D/D-b**. A sample of twenty-two variants from *Epp.* 7, 16, and 4 can give us an idea of the behaviour of **S** in the letters it has clearly taken from **D**:

Var., Ep.	<i>Collectio Hispana</i> (S v, o)	Ballerini (control)	Significance
1, 7	Cap.: ‘LXIII Item eiusdem leonis ad episcopos per Italiam constitutos De eo quod plurimi maniceorum uigilantia papae leonis in urbe roma delecti sunt.’ (v; o no significant variants)		Unity
2, 7.1	sub legibus (v)	subditi legibus (o)	Error v
3, 7.2	quos ne absoluerentur (o; D-b v) absolberentur (v)	quos <i>hic</i> , ne <i>se</i> absolueret	Om. <i>hic</i> and <i>se</i> shared variant D, D-b v Om. <i>hic</i> only D-b m Error S
4, 7.2	om. <i>fratres charissimi</i> (v, o)	uestra, <i>fratres charissimi</i> , sollicitius	Error S
5, 7.2	<i>pestibus</i> (v, o)	mentibus, ne <i>pestis</i> haec	Error S
6, 7.2	<i>diligens</i> (o, v)	a Deo <i>dignae</i> remunerationis praemium	Error S
7, 7.2	<i>suae</i> (v, o)	de reatu negligentiae <i>se</i> non poterit	Variant S
8, 7.2	<i>sacrileges</i> (v) <i>sacrilegms</i> (o)	contra <i>sacrilegae</i> persuasionis auctores	Error S
9, 7.2	Datum tertio kl fbrs theodosio XVIII et Albino vc cns (v) Datum iii kls fbas teodosio XVIII et Albino uiris clarissimis consulibus (o)	Data tertio kalendas Februarii, Theodosio Augusto XVIII et Albino uiris clarissimis consulibus	
10, 16 Cap.	LXII eiusdem leonis ad episcopos per siciliam cum capitibus suis (o; v om. ‘cum capitibus suis’—o lists chapters, v straight into text)		
11, 16 Pr.	om. <i>episcopus</i> (v, o)	Leo <i>episcopus</i> uniuersis	Variant S Agrees with D, D-b
12, 16 Pr.	reprehensionem (v, o)	si quid usquam <i>reprehensionem</i> inuenitur	Error S
13,	quo <i>beatissimus Petrus</i>	quo <i>beatissimus</i>	Variant o

16 Pr.	apostolus (<i>o</i>)	<i>apostolus</i> Petrus (<i>v</i>)	
15, 16.1	<i>accipitis</i> (<i>o</i>) <i>accip[...]</i> (<i>v</i>)	consecrationem honoris <i>accipitis</i>	Variant S Agrees with D, D-b
16, 16.1	<i>apostoli petri</i> (<i>v, o</i>)	et beati <i>Petri apostoli</i> sedes	Variant S Agrees with D, D-b
17, 16.2	<i>mistico munerum</i> <i>oblatio veneratur</i> (<i>v</i>) <i>mistico munerum oblato</i> <i>venerantur</i> (<i>o</i>)	paruulum <i>mystica</i> munerum <i>oblacione</i> <i>uenerantur</i>	<i>o</i> agrees with D, D-b
18, 4 Pr.	<i>per uniuersas</i> (<i>v</i> ; lacuna <i>o</i>)	Tusciam et uniuersas prouincias	Variant <i>v</i> Agrees with D c, D-b
19, 4 Pr.	constituta kanonum <i>et</i> ecclesiasticam disciplinam (<i>v</i> ; lacuna <i>o</i>)	canonum ecclesiasticam <i>que</i>	Variant <i>v</i> Agrees with D, D-b
20, 4 Pr.	<i>puram macula</i> (<i>v</i> ; lacuna <i>o</i>)	quod ab omni <i>macula</i> <i>purum</i>	Variant <i>v</i> Word order agrees with D, D-b
21, 18,	<i>secta delapsus et</i> (<i>v, o</i>)	schismaticorum <i>sectam</i> <i>delapsus est, et</i>	Variant S Agrees with D a
22, 18	<i>deum</i> (<i>v, o</i>)	leuam apud <i>Dominum</i> noxam	Variant S Agrees with D a
23, 18	Datum iii kl lls alipio et ardabure cns (<i>v</i>) Datum/ iii kls lhas alipio et ardabure consulibus (<i>o</i>)	Data III Kalend. Ianuarii Calepio et Ardabure uiris clarissimis consulibus	'alipio' agrees with D, D-b

Next, as mentioned above, we have *Ep.* 12. After this come letters likely drawn from the *Epitome Hispana*, although their order differs; however, the order of the **D** letters in **S** also differs, so that may simply be due to editorial choice. From this final section of four letters I present a table of the variants from *Ep.* 9:

Var.	<i>Collectio Hispana</i> (<i>v, o</i>)	Ballerini (control)	Significance
1	LXVIII eiusdem leonis ad dioscorum alexandrinum epm (<i>v, o</i>)	N/A	Agreement S
2	I De ordinatione prsbri uel diaconi ut subbato sco celebretur id est die dominico II De festiuitatibus si una augenda pplis non sufficerit nulla sit	N/A	Divergence S

	dubitatio iterare sacrificium (<i>o</i> ; om. <i>v</i>)		
3	dioscoro alexandrino salutem (<i>v</i>) dioscoro alexandrino epsco salutem (<i>o</i>)	Dioscoro <i>episcopo</i> <i>Alexandrino</i> salutem	Divergent variants, <i>v</i> , <i>o</i>
4	<i>effectum</i> (<i>v</i> , <i>o</i>)	impendamus <i>affectum</i>	Error S
5	<i>festinemus</i> (<i>v</i> , <i>o</i>)	fundare <i>desideramus</i>	Variant S
6	<i>ipsius</i> (<i>v</i> , <i>o</i>)	discipulus <i>eius</i> Marcus	Variant S
7	et <i>ad eandem</i> (<i>v</i>) et <i>ad eam</i> (<i>o</i>)	et ea fidelium multitudo conuenerit	Errors S
8	<i>processoribus</i> (<i>o</i>)	nostris <i>processionibus</i> atque ordinationibus frequenter interfuit (<i>v</i>)	Error <i>o</i>
9	<i>sedis auctoritatis</i> (<i>v add.</i>)	in omnibus apostolicae auctoritatis teneremus (<i>o</i>)	Variant <i>v</i> ; false

This table definitively demonstrates first, that *v* and *o* are descended from the same ancestors, but the ways in which they diverge from one another mean that *v* is neither copy nor descendent of *o*, and they are not twins. Their ancestor is the earlier **S** tradition and those of its sources. Second, some of the variants are possibly true. Third, the **S capitula** help us see how early mediaeval readers were using and reading Leo's letters.

v. *Collectio Hispana systematica*

Between 675 and 681, the *Collectio Hispana* was reorganised into a systematic collection, the *Collectio Hispana systematica*.³³² Basing my identifications on Martínez Díez's synopses of the canons, those which have been extracted from Leo are:

<i>Hispana Systematica</i>	Leo, <i>Epistula</i>
1.1.22	4.2
1.1.38	4.1
1.13.1	4.4

³³² Martínez Díez 1976, 247-250. A complete and thorough summary of its contents are in Vol 2.1, 279-426.

1.16.1	167.2
1.26.7	9.1
1.26.8*	not from known Leo, nor from <i>Collectio Hispana</i> ; source unknown
1.31.10	9.1
1.34.9	12.1
1.34.10	167.1
1.34.14	4.2
1.34.16	12.3
1.34.19*	Letter from Celestine, misattributed to Leo, as observed by Martínez Díez
1.34.21	14.4
1.38.6	83 (most likely)
1.38.7	85 (most likely)
1.47.7	9.1
1.49.4	14.2
1.51.5	14.1
1.55.10	167.3
1.58.36	14.8
1.58.40	83 (again)
1.58.41	85 (again)
1.60.25	4.1
1.60.28	14.9
2.6.2	167.14
2.7.6	12.4
2.7.8	167.13
2.12.7	167.12
2.15.1	108.4
2.16.1	108.3
2.16.4	108.4
2.17.3	167.7
2.18.13	4.2
2.18.14	108.1
2.18.15	108.5
2.19.9	167.8
2.19.10	167.9
2.19.11	167.10
2.23.14	167.11
3.1.1	167, <i>Praef.</i>
3.1.2	12.1
3.26.21	16.7
3.26.22	14.7
3.26.24	14.10
3.26.25	14.11
3.30.2	167.6
3.40.1	28.1
3.41.5	93

3.41.7	12.3
3.41.9	130.1-2
3.41.10	130.3
3.41.20	12.5
3.41.23	4.5
4.11.1	9.2
4.24.1	16.3
4.26.5-10	16.1-6
4.26.7	168.1
4.30.2	167.15
4.30.3	166.1
4.35.9	166.2
4.35.10	159.7
4.35.12	167.16
4.35.14	159.6
5.1.12	159.1
5.1.13	159.12
5.1.14-15	159.3-4
5.1.16-17	167.4-5
6.3.13	4.3
8.2.6	15.1
8.3.8	15.3
8.4.1	15.2
8.4.2-3	165.2-3
8.4.4-7*	Flavian to Leo, <i>Ep.</i> 22.1-4
8.4.8-12	28.2-6
8.4.15	134
8.6.5-17	15.4-16
8.8.2	7
9.8.1	79
9.8.2	78
9.8.3	82
9.8.4	83 (again)
9.9.6	90?
10.4.14	167.17
10.4.25	159.5
10.4.27	14.2
10.4.30	12.2
10.4.31*	Letter from Innocent I misattributed to Leo and not caught by Martínez Díez
10.4.32	106 to Anatolius
10.5.1	106.3
10.6.6	106.4 concerning Julian
10.6.7	106.1 'De gratulatione fidei missis'

Since we are blessed with such an abundance of *Hispana* manuscripts and other descendants, such as *Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis* and Pseudo-Isidore, that maintain the letter collections intact, the *Hispana systematica* will not figure in the editing of Leo's letters.

Chapter 3: Chalcedonian Collections

Beginning with the first, official Greek *Acta* published by Marcian in the 450s, when *Acta* of the Council of Chalcedon were put together and circulated, the compilers usually included a selection of other documents with them. Usually, amongst these documents would be a selection of Leo's letters pertinent to interpreting the council. Five such Latin collections of Leo's letters are helpful to us in our investigation of the manuscripts as well as a sixth collection (N) that is not, strictly speaking, Chalcedonian but similar enough to include it here.

a. Ballerini Collection 17, an early edition of the Latin *Acta*¹ (Ac)

i. Description of collection

These *Acta* include two Leonine letters, 28 and 98. *Ep.* 28 is included within the *acta* of the council in the 'tertia cognitio' (*cognitio* being the term these *Acta* use of the sessions), while *Ep.* 98 comes in its place after the council. Worth noting is the fact that these *Acta* do not include 'Canon 28'² within their list of the canons of the Council of Chalcedon.

ii. Manuscripts

The collection exists in three manuscripts:

p: Paris, lat. 16832 (olim F1: D2; Notre-Dame 88) (saec. VIII²/2), formerly in Colbert's Library, with provenance of Notre-Dame.³ Baluze consulted this manuscript and left a note on fol. 124^r, 'Contuli. Absolvi VI. Kalend. April.

¹ PL 54.569 §36, J2(iv) b (506).

² That is, the granting of jurisdiction to Constantinople over Pontus, Asiana, and Thrace, with its concurrent equality of honour with Rome.

³ This ms is digitised: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8577525z.r=latin+16832.langEN>. Accessed 11 May 2015.

MDCLXXXIII. Stephanus Baluzius.’ This manuscript is written in a Caroline minuscule in two columns with uncial rubrication. It was most likely written by a team of scribes because the text of a number of quires ends partway through the final folio, and often a visibly different hand has written the following quire.

v: Vat. Reg. lat. 1045; foll. 107^r-110^r (*Ep.* 29) and foll. 173^r-174^r (*Ep.* 98).

Vat. Barb. XIV: 53. This manuscript was listed by the Ballerini, but I cannot determine what manuscript it is today.

iii. Manuscript Relations

Since the events at Chalcedon were transacted in Greek, the original and official *Acta* were promulgated in that language. Therefore, it is reasonable to wonder if *Ep.* 28 would be back-translated from the Greek into Latin. Such seems not to be the case. The text of *Ep.* 28 shows no signs of having been translated out of Greek, such as synonyms for Latin words varying from the original text. The *incipit*, a rubricated uncial in both manuscripts, reads, ‘INCIPIT EPISTOLA LEONIS PAPAЕ VRBIS AD FLAVIANVM EPISCOPVM DE HERESE EVTYCHIANORVM PROPRIAE DE IPSO EVTYCHAE’. *p* varies from that in giving ‘EVTICHIANORVM’ and *v* in giving, ‘EVTYCHE’. As the table below sets out, *p* has a better text than *v*, but this is not to say that *v* has an especially bad text.

Var., Silva- Tarouca §	Ac	Silva-Tarouca text (control)	Significance
1, 5	de <i>eo</i> (<i>p</i>) de <i>o</i> (<i>v</i>)	etiam de <i>ipso</i> dictum	Variant <i>p</i> Error <i>v</i> derived from variant <i>p</i> , thus variant Ac
2, 6	<i>doctoribusque</i> (<i>p</i>)	sapientioribus	Error <i>p</i> ; very

		doctioribusque (v)	common shared with S-T M
3, 7	<i>agnoscendam</i> (p) <i>ignosdam</i> (v)	qui cum ad <i>cognoscendam</i>	Variant p Error v
4, 14	<i>quam</i> (p, v)	<i>qua</i> fidelium	Shared error Ac
5, 27	<i>superare possemus</i> (p) <i>superare possimus</i> (v)	Non enim <i>possemus</i> <i>superare</i> peccati et mortis auctorem, nisi	Common variant Ac; since Silva-Tarouca does <i>not</i> give us a good clausula, but p and v do, yet because this is not the end of a colon, his text is to be preferred
6, 41 (Is. 9:6)	om. <i>princeps pacis</i> (p, v)	Deus fortis <i>princeps</i> <i>pacis</i> pater futuri (Vulgate)	Common error Ac
7, 75	<i>admittit</i> (v)	forma non <i>adimit</i> (p)	Error v
8, 202	<i>ab domnem</i> (v)	<i>ad omnem</i> uero causam (p)	Error v
9, 202	<i>fidelium</i> (v)	sed et <i>filium</i> meum hilarum (p)	Error v
10, 202	<i>uoce</i> nostra <i>dixerimus</i> (p) <i>diximus</i> (v)	<i>uice</i> nostra <i>direximus</i>	Error and variant p Error v derived from variant p
11, 204	<i>diuinita</i> (v ¹) <i>diuinitati</i> (v ²)	<i>diuinitatis</i> auxilium (p)	Errors v

Ep. 28 ends with the explicit, ‘EXPLICIT EPLA LEONIS PAPAE VRBIS AD FLAVIANUM EPISCOPVM’. Of the Ac variants, 1, 3, and 5 could possibly be the result of back-translating out of Greek. Var. 1, ‘Vt etiam de eo dictum sit a propheta’ for ‘ipso’ is, ‘ὡς περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ προφήτου εἰρηῆσθαι’;⁴ given the wide variance between the Latin and Greek word order, although ‘eo’ could possibly have come from αὐτοῦ, it is not likely that the entire phrase was translated from Greek. In Var. 3, ‘cognoscendam’ in Silva-Tarouca is given as a near-synonym ‘agnoscendam’; this is the sort of variant one may expect in a back-translation from the Greek verb

⁴ ACO 2.1, 11 l. 5.

‘γνώναι’.⁵ However, this variant is shared with the sixth-century Italian *Collectio Teatina* (**Te**, 2.2.i) and the eleventh-century *Dionysiana adaucta* (**D-a**, 4.2.b). Var. 5 is a word inversion that would only point to a Greek origin if the Greek copy had the words in that order, and even then would be a weak argument since such simple inversions occur frequently in Latin texts; and according to Schwartz’s text, the Greek is, ‘ἠδυνήθημεν νικῆσαι’.⁶ Furthermore, the **Ac** text is in agreement here with *Collectio Novariensis de Re Eutydis* (**N**, 3.e), *Collectio Vaticana* (**L**, 2.2.d), **Te**, *Collectio Quesnelliana* (**Q**, 2.2.c; not including manuscript *o*), and **D-a**, albeit lacking ‘nos’ between ‘superare’ and ‘possemus’ as the other collections do. Therefore, it is obvious that this version of *Ep.* 28 was not translated from Greek. On the contrary, it was added from a Latin source.

Ep. 98 exists in two recensions, and the version represented here is the older of the two. The other is the translation from Rusticus’ *Acta* of Chalcedon (**Ru**, 3.c). It begins with the inscription:

EXEMPLAR RELATIONIS ARCHETYPAE SANCTAE MAGNAE ET
VNIVERSALIS SYNODI QVAE IN CALCHEDONIAE METROPOLI
CONGREGATA EST AD SCAE MEMORIAE PAPAM LEONEM

The text of *Ep.* 98 is inevitably a translation, since the council fathers will have drafted the original in Greek, even if there is an ‘official’ Latin version. The later recension is but a different translation of the same Greek text. Here are the variants of this version, collated against the Ballerini as a control:

Var.	Ac text	Ballerini text (control)	Significance
1	<i>quaem</i> (<i>p</i>)	synodus <i>quae</i> secundum Dei (<i>v</i>)	Error <i>p</i>
2	amatorum <i>nostrorum</i> (<i>p</i> , <i>v</i>)	amatorum principum	Variant Ac

⁵ Ibid., 11 l. 8.

⁶ Ibid., 11 l. 30.

3	<i>quae de mandauī (v)</i>	<i>quaecumque mandauī (p)</i>	Error <i>v</i>
4	<i>abiectam (p, v)</i>	<i>infructuosam autem et derelictam</i>	Variant Ac
5	<i>denudantes (p)</i>	<i>pelle nudantes, quo (v)</i>	Variant <i>p</i>
6	<i>natu (p, v)</i> <i>gubernanti (p)</i>	<i>sed nutu diuino gubernati</i>	Error Ac Error <i>p</i>
7	om. <i>uim (v)</i> <i>insinuamus (v)</i> <i>insiniauimus (p)</i>	<i>gestorum uim</i> <i>insinuauimus</i>	Error <i>v</i> Variants Ac
8	om. <i>ad (v)</i>	<i>et ad eorum quae (p)</i>	Error <i>v</i>
9	<i>depositionem (p, v)</i>	<i>confirmationem et dispositionem</i>	Variant Ac
10	<i>uos (p)</i> <i>nos (v)</i>	<i>ualere me in Domino</i>	Error <i>p</i> descended from variant <i>v</i>
11	<i>deum (p, v)</i>	<i>Deo amantissime pater</i>	Variant Ac
12	<i>urbis (p, v)</i>	<i>magnae ciuitatis Antiochiae</i>	Variant Ac

The text of *Ep.* 98 closes with Juvenal of Jerusalem’s subscription, followed by ‘EXPLICVIT FILICITER’ (*v* om. ‘FILICITER’). Juvenal’s is only the third out of 65 subscriptions included by the Ballerini⁷ and **A** *a* (below, 3.b). *Ep.* 98 is the last item in this version of the *Acta Chalcedonensia*.

b. Collection of Vat. lat. 1322⁸ (A)

i. Description of collection

This collection of documents related to Chalcedon—not, as Schwartz observes,⁹ *acta*—contains several of Leo’s letters at the beginning of the collection, including Leo, *Epp.* 114, 87, 89, 93, and 94. In manuscript *a*, *Epp.* 28 and 98 follow in their locations within the context of the council. The contents of *o* differ on this point. The abbreviated *Acta* of *a* are similar in age to those of Rusticus below; their

⁷ PL 54.963-965

⁸ PL 54.570 §37; ACO 2.2.2, v-xx.

⁹ ACO 2.4, xv.

use of the older translation of *Ep.* 98, discussed above, is evidence of the collection's antiquity.

ii. Manuscripts

The letter collection exists in two manuscripts that otherwise differ in certain respects:

a: Vat. lat. 1322. Foll. 1-24 of this manuscript, where the initial letter collection is found, are from the eighth or ninth century; in this collection, Leo's letters run 18^v-22^r. The text frequently runs into the margins in this section. The *Acta* themselves, where *Epp.* 28 (37^v-46^v) and 98 (foll. 273^v-278^r) are to be found, are from the end of the sixth century.¹⁰ Schwartz, however, argues that *Ep.* 98, 'nisi oculi me fallunt', was written by the same hand as the letter collection at the start of the manuscript.¹¹ My own judgement coincides with that of Schwartz. The whole manuscript, including both the sixth- and eighth-century portions, was written at Verona.

o: Novara, Biblioteca Capitolare XXX (66) (saec. IX/X). Written at Novara in a Caroline minuscule, with 37 lines in two columns per page. The protocols are in brown capitals.

iii. Manuscript relations

First, our examination will consider the letter collection unique to *a*. The incipits of the letters included here are of the type, 'LEO PAPA AD SYNODVM CALCEDONENSEM,' (*Ep.* 114) at variance with Silva-Tarouca's editorial decision

¹⁰ CLA 1, no. 8.

¹¹ ACO 2.2.2, v.

to write the much wordier formula, ‘Leo episcopus sanctae synodo apud

Calchedonam habitae, dilectissimis fratribus, in Domino salutem.’ The table below

sets out some of the notable variants of **A**:

Var., Ep.	<i>Ante Gesta Epistularum Collectio</i> , mss <i>a</i> and <i>o</i>	Silva-Tarouca (control for <i>Ep.</i> 114); Schwartz (for <i>Epp.</i> 89, 93, 94)	Significance
1, 114	<i>definitionem (a, o)</i>	non ambigo <i>definitiones</i>	Error A
2, 114	<i>dubita de (a) dubitale (o)</i>	interpretes <i>dubitabile uideatur</i>	Error <i>a</i> derived from variant found in <i>o</i>
3, 114	<i>perfidiam ueri uel (a) perfidiam tueri uel (o)</i>	<i>tueri</i> perfidiam, uel Eutyches	Error <i>a</i> derived from variant <i>o</i>
4, 114	<i>et (a, o)</i>	elatio, <i>ut</i> adpetitus	Variant A
5, 114	...]ra <i>dilectione (a)</i>	uestra <i>lectione cognoscere (o)</i>	Error <i>a</i> ; ‘uestra’ goes with sanctitas; the scribe has misread as the typical address ‘uestra dilectione’
6, 89	<i>uoluisti (a)</i>	nunc fieri <i>uoluistis (o)</i>	Error <i>a</i>
7, 89	om. <i>GL (a, o)</i>	errorem, <i>GL. si</i>	Variant A
8, 89	<i>murmurat (a) murmurum (o)</i>	quid ergo <i>morborum, si</i>	Error <i>a</i> derived from variant <i>o</i>
9, 89	<i>turbidinis (a) turbinis (o)</i>	contra <i>turbines falsitatis</i>	Error <i>a</i> Variant <i>o</i> ; orthographical
10, 89	om. <i>enim sum (a, o)</i>	certus <i>enim sum</i> quod	Error A
11, 89	viii kl <i>iun (a) ianuario et adelfio uc cons (a, o)</i>	viii kl iul adelfio uc cons	Variant A
12, 93	<i>sanctitas (a, o)</i>	uestra <i>fraternitas aestimēt</i>	Variant A
13, 93	<i>Efese (a)</i>	prioris autem <i>Ephesenae synodi (o)</i>	Error <i>a</i> derived from Efesi
14, 93	Data (<i>a, o</i>) iii kl iulias adelfio cu consulae (<i>a</i>)	dat vi kl iul adelfio uc cons	Variant A Variant <i>a</i> , probable error of iii from vi
15, 94	iungerentur, <i>gloriae (a, o)</i>	praesentiae iungerentur, <i>GL.</i>	Error A , expansion should be ‘gloriosissime’ or ‘gloriosissime imperator’
16, 94	<i>ea (a, o)</i>	si in <i>eam</i> fidem	Error A
17, 94	<i>fratres (a, o)</i>	per sanctos <i>patres</i> nostros	Error A

The above table of 17 variants seems, at first glance, to be a powerful indictment against *a*'s text of these letters. Most of its variations from Schwartz's or Silva-Tarouca's edition are errors. However, this is but an illusion. The data set from which these 17 variants are drawn is a selection of 38 passages from the entirety of *a*'s letter collection. At only 17 places from the 38 does it provide us with a different reading from the editors (who, even if not always correct, provide at least *good* texts)—that is to say, less than one half. Of these 17, 12 are definitively errors, while of the remaining five, some might be—Var. 14 almost certainly is. On the other hand, the omission of one 'GL' (Var. 7) and its wrong expansion another time (Var. 15), done by both *a* and *o*, makes it likely that, like **G, A** is descended from a version that made use of that abbreviation. Moreover, given that *a* has errors derived from the text found in *o*, but *o* is a later manuscript, it is evident that *o* makes use of a better text of **A** than *a*.

As discussed above, *a* also includes *Epp.* 28 and 98 within its conciliar portion; *Ep.* 98 seems to have been written by the same hand as the letter collection just discussed, whereas *Ep.* 28 comes within the sixth-century section of *a*. Of the two, the ensuing discussion will only cover *Ep.* 28 as being the more important of the two letters. The incipit from *a* is: 'INC EPISTVLA LEONIS PAPE AD FLAVIANUM EPI DE HERESE EVTHICI', similar but probably unrelated to *o*, 'INCIPIT EPISOLA PAPAЕ LEONIS AD FLAVIANVM EPM CONSTANTINOPOLITANVM DE EVTYCHEM'. The following table shows the selected variants in *Ep.* 28 from *a* as well as those of *o*, although they are not descended from the same tradition. The control text, as with **Ac**, is that of Silva-Tarouca.

Var., Silva- Tarouca §	A <i>a</i> and ms <i>o</i>	Silva-Tarouca text (control)	
1	Dilectissimo fratri flauiano leo (<i>a</i> ; om. <i>o</i>)	Included in <>	
1, 1	<i>lectionis (a)</i>	lectis <i>dilectionis</i> tuae litteris (<i>o</i>)	Error <i>a</i>
2, 2	<i>ordinem (a)</i>	<i>ordine</i> recensito (<i>o</i>)	Error <i>a</i>
3, 5	<i>de eo praedictum (a)</i>	etiam <i>de ipso dictum</i> sit (<i>o</i>)	Variant <i>a</i>
4, 6	<i>doctoribusque non (a)</i>	sapientioribus <i>doctioribusque non</i> <i>cedere (o)</i>	Error <i>a</i>
5, 6	<i>credere (a)</i>	As above	Error <i>a</i>
6, 7	<i>agnoscendam (a)</i>	ad <i>cognoscendam (o)</i>	Error <i>a</i>
7, 12	<i>incarnationem (a)</i>	de Verbi dei <i>incarnatione sentire (o)</i>	Error <i>a</i>
8, 14	<i>quam (a)</i>	<i>qua</i> fidelium (<i>o</i>)	Error <i>a</i>
9, 25	Sed totum se <i>homini</i> <i>reparando (a)</i> Sed totam <i>separando</i> <i>homini (o)</i>	Sed <i>totum se reparando</i> <i>homini</i>	Variant <i>a</i> Error <i>o</i>
10, 27	<i>superare possumus (a)</i> <i>superare possimus (o)</i>	enim <i>possemus superare</i>	Error <i>a</i> Orthography <i>o</i>
11, 34	<i>inueniret (a)</i>	<i>inueniens</i> promissionem	Error <i>a</i>
12, 41 (Is. 9:6)	<i>dei (a)</i>	angelus <i>Deus</i> fortis (<i>o</i> ; Vulgate)	Error <i>a</i>
13, 115	<i>desinenter (a)</i>	non <i>desidentibus</i> <i>ambulare (o)</i>	Error <i>a</i>
14, 126	<i>naturae intellegendae (a)</i>	in utraque <i>natura</i> <i>intelligendam</i>	Error <i>a</i>
15, 154	apostoli <i>praedicantem</i> <i>quod sanctificatio</i> <i>spiritus per aspersionem</i> <i>fiat sanguis Iesu Christi</i> <i>nec transitoriae legat</i> <i>eiusdem apostoli uerba</i> (<i>a</i>)	beati apostoli <i>et</i> <i>euangelistae Iohannis</i> <i>expauit dicentis: Omnis</i> (<i>o</i>)	Variant <i>a</i>
16, 200	<i>fidei (a)</i>	fructuosissime <i>fides</i> uera defenditur (<i>o</i>)	Error <i>a</i>
17, 202	<i>iulianum (a)</i>	<i>Iulium</i> episcopum (<i>o</i>)	Error <i>a</i>
18, 203	nobis <i>probata est fides (a)</i>	cuius nobis <i>fides</i> esset <i>probata (o)</i>	Error <i>a</i>
19, 204	<i>diuini causa qualium (a)</i>	adfuturum <i>diuinitatis</i> <i>auxilium (o)</i>	Error <i>a</i>
20, 205	<i>damnetur (a)</i>	sui prauitate <i>saluetur (o)</i>	Error <i>a</i>

The explicit to *Ep.* 28 is, ‘EXP EPISTVLA LEONIS PAPE VRBIS AD FLAVIANUM EPISCOPVM’. Immediately, it becomes evident from the foregoing table that *a* and *o* are unrelated in their transmission of *Ep.* 28. This comes as no surprise, since in *a* it comes within the Chalcedonian documents, whereas in *o* it comes amidst a different collection of documents pertaining to the matter of Eutyches (collection N, 3.e below). The majority of these variants are errors. However, of note is Var. 15, an uncommon variation on the introduction of 1 John 4:2-3 that helps us place *a*’s text in the wider transmission of *Ep.* 28.

c. Rusticus’ *Acta Chalcedonensia*¹² (Ru)

i. *Dating and Context*

Rusticus, fraternal nephew of Pope Vigilius, was a Roman deacon at Constantinople who was enmeshed in the Three Chapters Controversy. He was originally a strong supporter of Justinian’s condemnation of the Three Chapters, going so far as to circulate the edict without official permission, but he changed sides in the debate when he saw how strong the support of the Latin West was for the Three Chapters. He took actions against Vigilius’ support of Justinian’s edict, going so far as to join a number of excommunicated clerics in submitting a *commonitorium* to Justinian against Vigilius’ *Judicatum*, a text supporting the condemnation of the Three Chapters. Rusticus was accordingly excommunicated by his uncle in 550, and,

¹² PL 54.566-567 §33, J2(iv) c (506-507), ACO 2.3.1, 2, Φ^r ; ACO 2.4, 1, Φ . Schwartz has edited both **Ru**’s and **Ch**’s letter collections together, since they seem to derive from a common source, in ACO 2.3.1.

later, when he published a tract attacking the Second Council of Constantinople of 553, was banished to the Thebaid by Justinian to silence him.¹³

While in Constantinople, Rusticus found a good hideout in the monastery of the *Acoemetae*.¹⁴ There, he published his own edition of the Latin *Acta* of the Council of Chalcedon.¹⁵ His source was a codex containing the recension called Φ^c in Schwartz's *sigla* of the *Acta*, which he collated with other Greek and Latin collections of the *Acta* and to which he then added various letter collections—using the Latin where available, according to Jalland.¹⁶ Rusticus' *Acta* include the following Leonine letters with the *Ante Gesta Chalcedonensia*: 20, 25, 23, 22, 72, 26, 35, 32, 29, 30, 33, 43, 44, 45, 46, 58, 55, 56, 57, 62, 63, 64, 50, 51, 73, 76, 77; and with the *Gesta* themselves: 28, 98, and 114. As well, the collection begins with the epistle from Flavian to Theodosius II, 'Nihil ita convenit',¹⁷ followed by the sequence of Leo's letters. Following Leo's letters are several other items before the *Acta* proper begin. Clearly, Rusticus did not see these items as entities separate from the Leonine collection—indeed, it is he who includes the letters sent among the members of the imperial family with Leo's letters, *Epp.* 54-58 and 62-64.

¹³ For an account of Rusticus and Justinian's various actions against him and other western clerics who had the temerity to oppose the imperial will in matters within ecclesiastical jurisdiction, see Richards 1979, 145-147, 153.

¹⁴ The *Acoemetae*, or Sleepless Monks, were staunch supporters of Chalcedon and were, I imagine, the leading eastern monastic opposition to Justinian's condemnation of the Three Chapters, as they had been opposed to the *Henotikon* from the accession of Pope Felix III (483-492) until the reconciliation of 519 as well as to Theopaschism starting in the 530s (see Allen 2000, 819, 823). Rusticus' refuge amongst them would point to a resistance to the condemnation of the Three Chapters as well.

¹⁵ Cf. ACO 2.3.1, XI-XII.

¹⁶ Jalland 1941, 506-507.

¹⁷ ACO 2.3.1, 5.

ii. Manuscripts

These *Acta* exist in nine manuscripts:

l: Paris, lat. 2777, fol. 1-19^v (saec. IX1/2) from Lérins.¹⁸

c: Paris, lat. 11611 (saec. IX),¹⁹ from Corbie; it moved to St. Germain in the seventeenth century before going to the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. It is written in a single-column Caroline minuscule. Leo's letters run foll. 1^r-14^r.

Vat. lat. 1319, (saec. ?), includes a transcription of *c* after *Collectio*

Casinensis.²⁰

p: Paris, lat. 1458 (olim Colbert 2576; Regius 3887¹) (saec. X), which Schwartz says is not as important as Paris, lat. 11611,²¹ and Jalland calls *Codex*

Colbertinus.²²

d: Montpellier H 58 (saec. X),²³ which includes variant readings between the lines and in the margins, some of which are useful and noted by Schwartz.²⁴ It is written in a minuscule hand without majuscule rubrics throughout. Leo's letters run foll. 1^r-10^v. *m* is damaged and at times illegible, including the bulk of *Ep.* 20; the last eleven lines of the outer column of fol. 1 are missing the outer half. Such trimming persists through the manuscript, creating a series of lacunae throughout the text.

y: Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare LVIII (56) (saec. X) from Italy, which may have crossed paths with Codex Casinensis 2. The manuscript has undergone

¹⁸ This ms was discussed above at 2.2.1.n.ii in relation to the *Collectio Arelatensis* (**Ar**) which it also contains.

¹⁹ This manuscript is digitised, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90683096>. Accessed 14 May 2015.

²⁰ ACO 2.3.1, XII. Jalland 1941, 507, lists this manuscript as *Codex Corbeiensis*. For a description of the ms and its contents from *Collectio Casinensis*, see above, 2.2.r.i.

²¹ ACO 2.3.1, XII.

²² Jalland 1941, 507.

²³ Jalland's ms *Divionensis*.

²⁴ ACO 2.3.1, XII-XIII.

extensive damage from moisture at some point; some pages have rotten through along the edges and have holes in them. In other places, the text has flaked away. Leo's letters run 4^f-22^v; the contents of the manuscript are listed on foll. 2^v-3^v.

Vat. lat. 1323 (saec. XV), from Rome, which is based on *v*.

Vat. lat. 4166 (saec. XV). I did not consult this manuscript due to the lateness of its copying; I hope to consult it in time to come.

Finally, the Ballerini list contains Vat. Chig. 483. I cannot find what manuscript this might currently be, but intend to look this Autumn in Rome.

iii. Manuscript Relations

Select passages from *Epp.* 20, 25, 23, and 22 from the *Ante Gesta* have been chosen to examine the relationship between the manuscripts. The first table consists of the letters from the *Ante Gesta*. *Ep.* 22 is not in the version printed in ACO 2.4 ('Nulla res diaboli'), but a different translation from Flavian's original Greek, 'Nihil est quod stare faciat'. The Ballerini print both translations, giving this one first.²⁵

Var., <i>Ep.</i>	Rusticus' <i>Ante Gesta Epistularum Collectio</i>	Schwartz's text (<i>Epp.</i> 20, 25, 23) or Ballerini text (<i>Ep.</i> 22) (controls)	Significance
1, 20 <i>Incip.</i>	EPISTOLA LEONIS ARCHIEPI ROMAE AD EVTYCHEN SCRIPTA (<i>l om. ad; c om. scripta; p; d illeg.; y om. epi</i>)		Small variations, but general agreement on <i>incipit</i>
2, 20	<i>Desiderantissimo filio euthyci leo eps</i> (<i>l, c, p, d, y</i>)	<i>Leo Eutychi presbytero</i>	Common variant Ru
3, 20	<i>litteris</i> (<i>l, c, p, d, y</i>)	<i>epistulis rettulisti</i>	Common variant Ru , and unless Leo received more

²⁵ PL 54.723-727.

			than one letter from Eutyches, likely correct
4, 20	<i>saluum custodiat (l, c, p, d, y)</i>	<i>Deus te custodiat incolumem</i>	Common variant Ru
5, 25	INCIPIT EPISTOLA PETRI EPI RAVENNIENSIS AD EVTYCHEN PRBM SCRIPTA (<i>l rauennatis; c om. epistola; p; d; y om. scripta</i>)		As with Var. 1
6, 25	<i>Dilectissimo et honore digno filio eutychi (l, c, p, d, y)</i>	<i>Dilectissimo filio et merito honorabili Eutychi</i>	Common variant Ru
7, 25	<i>Om. Tristis ... per (c)</i>	<i>Tristis legi tristes litteras tuas et scripta maesta merore debito percurri (l, p, d, y)</i>	One line of <i>c</i> skipped; rewritten in bottom margin
8, 25	g[lacuna of 4-5 letters] <i>uerbum aut caelestis (d)</i>	<i>gloria in excelsis deo, caelestis (l, c, p, y)</i>	Error <i>d</i>
9, 25	<i>rescripturas (c, y)</i>	<i>Haec breuiter respondi, frater, litteris tuis, plura rescripturus, si (l, p, d)</i>	Shared error <i>c, y</i>
10, 23	INCIPIT EPISTOLA SANCTISSIMI ARCHIEPI VRBIS ROMAE LEONIS AD FLAVIANUM ARCHIEPM CONSTANTINOPOLITANVM (<i>c</i>) om. VRBIS (<i>l, p, d, y</i>)		Variant <i>c</i>
11, 23	<i>Dilectissimo fratri flauiano episcopo leo eps (l, c, p, d, y)</i>	<i>Leo Flauiano episcopo Constantinopolitano</i>	Common variant Ru
12, 23	<i>incedentibus (l, c, d, y)</i>	<i>quibus rebus intercedentibus (p)</i>	Shared variant <i>l, c, d, y</i>
13, 23	<i>fuerit in se (c, d)</i>	<i>in se fuerit (l, p, y)</i>	Shared variant <i>c, d</i>
14, 22.Pr.	<i>amicissimo (d)</i> om. <i>Sanctissimo ... salutem. (l)</i>	<i>Sanctissimo et Deo amantissimo patri et consacerdoti Leoni Flauianus in Domino salutem. (c, p, y)</i>	Variant <i>d</i> Error <i>l</i>
15, 22.1	<i>nequitia (l, d)</i>	<i>diaboli nequitiam (c, p, y)</i>	Error <i>l, d</i>
16, 22.1	<i>quem (l, c, p, d)</i>	<i>Quos conturbet quos deuoret (y)</i>	Shared variant <i>l, c, p, d</i>
17, 22.1	<i>Deponentes (l, y)</i> <i>itaque timorem tumorem (timorem om. subpunc., y)</i>	<i>Deponens itaque tumorem luctus (c, p, d)</i>	Shared error <i>l, y</i>

18, 22.1	om. <i>unus</i> (<i>l, c, p, d, y</i>)	quoniam <i>unus</i> eorum qui	Common variant Ru
19, 22.4	<i>uestram beatitudinem</i> (<i>l</i>)	cum <i>uestra beatitudine</i> (<i>c, p, d, y</i>)	Error <i>l</i>
20, 22.4	om. <i>doneris nobis</i> (<i>l</i>)	pro nobis <i>doneris nobis</i> amantissime pater (<i>c,</i> <i>d, y</i>)	Error <i>l</i>

Rusticus' text stands out for providing rubricated inscriptions at the start of each letter as well as keeping the salutations. The fact that his salutations differ from our controls in all four of the above occasions could be taken as evidence that these letters were all translated from Greek copies in Constantinople and are not based on Latin originals. The use of synonyms by Rusticus in Variants 3, 4, and 6 of *Epp.* 20, 25, and 23, supports this theory; *Ep.* 22 is definitively a translation from Greek. Rusticus presumably has made his own for *Epp.* 20 and 25, since these will have had Greek originals, whereas *Ep.* 23 would be a back-translation into Latin. There is no overwhelming pair or trio of manuscripts here—none of them agrees more frequently with any other than it does with the rest. The convergences are as follows: *l, p, d* = 9; *l, c, d, y* = 12; *c, d* = 13; *l, d* = 15; *l, c, p, d* = 16; *l, y* = 17. Although *l* and *d* have but one occurrence of agreement against the other manuscripts (Var. 15), they also agree on three more variants that include others. *c* and *d* show a similar trend, but only on two other variants, both of which happen to also include *l* as well. Therefore, based on this data, the two most similar manuscripts are *l* and *d* which also bear a resemblance to *c*. Having said that, *l* also includes a number of independent errors of omission, thus setting it apart from *d*.

d. *Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium antiqua correctata*²⁶ (Ch)

i. Dating and Context

This edition of the *Acta* contains the following letters from the Leonine corpus in the *Ante Gesta*: 20, 25, 23, 22, 72, 26, 35, 32, 29, 30, 33, 43, 44, 45, 46, (up to here, the same as **Ru**) 50, 51, 73, 76, 77 (these are the same as the final five of **Ru**), and 118. *Ep.* 118 is the only letter included herein that is not also in **Ru**; this collection lacks seven of **Ru**'s letters.

ii. Manuscripts

It exists in three manuscripts:

p: Vat. lat. 5750 (saec. VII), from Bobbio, taken to Rome by Paul V in 1618.

p was written by three scribes in Bobbio's scriptorium. It is the basis for this collection as a discrete entity from **Ru**, especially considering *d* below.

CLA 1.

d: Montpellier H 58 (saec. X). This manuscript has been discussed above with **Ru** because it contains the first 15 letters of **Ru** in the text of **Ch**, then, after *Ep.* 46, takes up **Ru**'s text beginning at *Ep.* 55. Given its frequency of agreement with **Ru** manuscript *l* for the first four letters of these two collections, let alone **Ru** as a whole, it is evident that **Ru** and **Ch** do not differ extensively in those letters for which they share a common source.

²⁶ Not in Ballerini or Jalland. Cf. ACO 2.3.1 Φ^c , p. 2.

m: Montecassino 2 (saec. XII), written in many hands. Due to textual similarities between *m* and **Ru c**, Schwartz argues that they come from the same place, so this manuscript does not originate in Montecassino.²⁷

iii. Manuscript Relations

These three manuscripts are not necessarily related to each other directly. *p* provides the ‘original’ collection, but *d* modifies the collection to make something essentially **Ru**, and *m* also shares many variants with **Ru** against *p* and *d*. Their ancestor is a collection of letters related to Chalcedon, but always bound up in manuscripts with a variety of other material. This same collection was the basis of **Ru**, given the fact that **Ch** and **Ru** share all of the common **Ru** variants; occasionally *m* strays from **Ch Ru** but simply by giving a variant/error that derives from this tradition. Thus, in Var. 1 **Ch m** omits ‘ROMAE’; in 2, it gives ‘eutyche pbro’ when the rest do not give ‘pbro’; in 11, it omits ‘episcopo’. The disparate nature of these manuscripts is borne out by **Ch p** alone giving, ‘ROMANI’ in Var. 1. The idiosyncratic nature of many **Ru** variants is also attested by **Ch**, as Variants 7-9, 12, and 20 are not attested in it. As well, in 10, **Ch** agrees with the majority of **Ru** against **Ru c** and does not give ‘VRBIS’. At Var. 13, **Ch p, m** give ‘in se fuerit’ in agreement with **Ru l, p, y**—and not, therefore, with **Ch/Ru d**. They also agree with **Ru** against *d* in giving ‘amantissimo’, not ‘amicissimo’ in Var. 14. Var. 15 is in neither *p* nor *m*. At Var. 16, **Ch** gives ‘quem’ in agreement with most of **Ru** against *y*; at 17, **Ch** gives ‘deponens’, not ‘deponentes’ and at 19 **Ch p** and *m*, ‘cum uestra beatitudinem’. The long and short of it is that Schwartz’s decision to classify **Ru** and

²⁷ ACO 2.3.1, x.

Ch as two different recensions of the same letter collection (Φ , as Φ^r and Φ^c respectively) makes perfect sense, since **Ru** does seem simply to be an amplified **Ch**—or **Ch** a truncated **Ru**.

e. *Collectio Novariensis de Re Eutychis*²⁸ (N)

Schwartz argues that this collection could have been put together by none other than Leo himself.²⁹ First, it seems to have been compiled within the lifetimes both of Theodosius II and Flavian, since it knows of the deaths of neither, yet includes material from Leo as well as from events in Constantinople in 448. Second, the *Tome* ends with the subscription, ‘ET ALIA MANV: TIBVRTIVS NOTARIVS IVSSV DOMINI MEI VENERABILIS PAPAE LEONIS EDIDI.’ This, Schwartz maintains, is evidence that *Ep.* 28 is here in the copy Leo circulated in the period after Dioscorus refused to have it read at Second Ephesus. Third, the acts of the 448 Home Synod of Constantinople lack the sessions where Cyril’s letters are read out; this, argues Schwartz, is evidence for Leo’s editorial hand because Leo wanted his *Tome* to be the sole standard for orthodoxy. I doubt this argument because Leo elsewhere, as in the *Testimonia* he would later append to *Ep.* 165, upholds his orthodoxy precisely through Cyril. Schwartz’s fourth argument is the poor translation out of Greek into Latin in some of the documents, pointing to a mid-fifth-century origin for the collection because there were few high-quality Greek interpreters in Rome at the time. The first two arguments are the strongest and certainly seem to point to someone with access to Roman archival material; whether Leo or not, it is ultimately impossible to say. But Leo is an attractive choice. N includes Leo *Epp.* 22,

²⁸ In neither Ballerini nor Jalland. Ed. with introduction, ACO 2.2.1.

²⁹ ACO 2.2.1, vi-viii.

26, 28, and 21 as a collection; at the end of **N**, two texts sent to Leo and first edited by Amelli in *S. Leone Magno e l'Oriente*, 1882, and again by Mommsen in 1886,³⁰ before being edited by Schwartz in ACO 2.2.1, 77-81. These are the *libelli appellationis* to Leo from Flavian of Constantinople on the one hand and Eusebius of Dorylaeum on the other. **N** is the only known source for these texts. This collection exists in only one manuscript, described as **A o** above (3.b), Novara, Biblioteca Capitolare XXX (saec. IX/X). Its relationship with **A a** has also been discussed already.

f. Codex encyclius³¹

i. Dating and Context

Jalland lists this codex under collections pertaining to the Council of Chalcedon. This collection contains letters sent to Emperor Leo I and was translated from Greek into Latin in the sixth century at Cassiodorus' command.³² It contains letters from bishops to Emperor Leo affirming their support for Chalcedon, including Pope Leo, *Ep.* 156 (Item XII). Given that the extract herein is back-translated from Greek, it is of little use in establishing a text of Leo's letter, so the manuscripts have not been consulted in the course of this project.

³⁰ Mommsen 1886, 362-368.

³¹ See Mansi, *Concilia* Vol. 7, col. 785-792, for incipits; J2(iv) d (507); ACO 2.4, L. Ed. Schwartz, ACO 2.5, 1-98.

³² Cf. Jalland 1941, 507; see Cassiodorus, *Institutions* 1.XI.2, 'The Codex Encyclius bears witness to the Council of Chalcedon and praises the reverence of that council so highly that it judges that the council ought to be compared to sacred authority. I have had the complete collection of letters translated by the erudite scholar Epiphanius from Greek into Latin.' (trans. J. W. Halporn)

ii. Manuscripts

It exists in the following manuscripts:

Paris, lat. 12098 (saec. IX), from Corbie via St. Germain before arriving at the
Bibliothèque nationale.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 397 (saec. X).

Chapter 4: The Carolingian and Post-Carolingian Tradition of Manuscripts

4.1 The Carolingian Context

As discussed above, the early sixth century, with its so-called *renaissance gélasienne*,¹ is a crucial period for the assembly of epistolary collections that include Leo's letters, whether canonical collections or more theologically-oriented collections gathered in response to Chalcedon and the Three Chapters. The Carolingian Age, on the other hand, is primarily important for the proliferation of manuscripts that contain Leo's letters. The Carolingian superabundance of manuscripts is well-known, often accompanied by such figures as these: from before 800 we have in total 2000 Latin manuscripts; from the ninth century alone we have 7000.² With almost all Latin texts, even when our earliest manuscript pre-dates the Carolingians, we usually have a Carolingian copy or copies. This alone merits the appellation 'Carolingian explosion', which I use here to refer to the proliferation of manuscripts in that age and its effect upon the transmission of patristic documents. First, I will display how the numbers of Leo's manuscripts amply demonstrate this explosion, then I shall discuss the causes of this explosion. Having introduced this significant era, I shall discuss those collections of Leo's letters compiled during it.

First, allow me to illustrate the Carolingian explosion. In the table below, I present the pre-Carolingian collections, how many manuscripts each has, and the relationship of these manuscripts to the Carolingian era. The *Collectio Hispana (S)* is not included because it and its manuscripts are all Spanish, and the Spanish centres

¹ See 2.2.

² G. Brown 1994, 34.

whence these manuscripts come, were not part of the Carolingian world.³ Numbers in parentheses represent manuscripts that could be either pre-/post- or Carolingian.

Collection	Date	Total mss	Pre-Carol. mss	Carol. mss	Post-Carol. mss
<i>Frisingensis Prima</i>	Post-495	3		3	
<i>Dionysiana</i>	c. 500	2 complete		1	1
<i>Teatina</i>	c. 525	1		1	
<i>Vaticana</i>	VII/4	4	(1)	3 + (1)	
<i>Sanblasiana</i>	VI ⁱⁿ	6	1	5	
<i>Quesnelliana</i>	VI ⁱⁿ	5		4 + (1)	(1)
<i>Thessalonicensis</i>	531	3		1	2 ⁴
<i>Corbeiensis</i>	537-555	1	1		
<i>Avellana</i>	537-555	2			2
Cresconius	VI ^{med}	20+1 Rev. Car.		11+1	9
<i>Arelatensis</i>	557-558	4		2	2
<i>Remensis</i>	VI2/2	1		1	
<i>Pithouensis</i>	VI ^{ex} -VII ⁱⁿ	1		1	
<i>Albigensis</i>	549-604	2	1	1	
<i>Coloniensis</i>	VI ^{med}	1	1		
Rusticus' <i>Acta</i>	VI ^{med}	7		2	5
<i>Casinensis</i>	VI ^{med}	2			2
<i>Codex Encyclius</i>	pre-583	2		1	1
<i>Vetus Gallica</i>	585-627	13 complete		12	1
<i>Diessensis</i>	VII	1		1	
<i>Dio-Bobiensis</i>	VII	2		1	1
Totals		84	5 (4)	52 (54)	27 (26)

Out of the 21 collections of Leo's letters gathered before the Carolingian era presented above, 2 exist only in pre-Carolingian manuscripts, 2 only in post-Carolingian manuscripts, and the remaining 17 collections include Carolingian manuscripts. Of those 17, 6 collections have only Carolingian manuscripts, as well as two that include manuscripts that may or may not be Carolingian (*Vaticana* and

³ See 2.2.u above for S. Catalonia, however, was conquered by Charlemagne.

⁴ It is worth noting that one of these manuscripts is a direct copy of the existing Carolingian manuscript.

Quesnelliana), making the potential number of collections existent only in Carolingian manuscripts 8. Of the remaining 9 collections, 8 have a Carolingian manuscript as their earliest. Finally, to repeat the results in the final row of the table, these 21 collections represent 84 manuscripts: 52 are Carolingian (61%), 5 are pre-Carolingian (5.9%), and 27 are post-Carolingian (32%).

To strengthen the case that the Carolingian era, alongside the sixth century, is the most significant period for the transmission of Leo's letters, we have only to look at the Carolingian collections themselves. The most widely distributed of these is Pseudo-Isidore,⁵ and only those recensions of Pseudo-Isidore that can be attested in the Carolingian era will be included here, although it should be observed that the later recensions still owe much of their contents to the original Carolingian enterprise. When those later recensions are taken into account, the number of Pseudo-Isidorian manuscripts known to contain Leo is 45 with an additional 30 manuscripts listed by Kéry that have not been given a Hinschius classification, and whose Leo contents are therefore as yet unknown to me.⁶

Collection	Date	Total mss	Carol. mss	Post-Carol. mss
<i>Ratisbonensis</i>	VIII	2	1	1 (copy of Car.)
<i>Dio-Hadriana</i>	Pre-774	9	9	
<i>His-G-August.</i>	840s	2	2	
<i>Dio-adaucta</i>	850-872	6	2	4
<i>Grimanica</i>	pre-840s	1	(1)	(1)
Ps-Isidore A1	840s	25	1	24
Ps-Isidore A/B	840s	5	2	3
<i>Bobbiensis</i>	IX	1	1	
Totals		51	18 (19)	33 (32)

The numbers listed above are not as impressive or striking as the previous numbers.

Nonetheless, they still represent 51 manuscripts who trace their descent to the

⁵ See 4.2.d below.

⁶ See Kéry 1999, 100-108.

copyists and compilers of the Carolingian Renaissance. Furthermore, unlike the pre-Carolingian collections, all of the Carolingian collections have manuscripts of their own era, that is, within a century or a century and a half of compilation.

To take both eras together, we have a total of 135 manuscripts representing 29 collections. 70 (51.8%) of these 135 are Carolingian and 60 (44.4%) are post-Carolingian; of the post-Carolingian manuscripts, only the *Collectiones Avellana* and *Casinensis* lack any Carolingian precedents. For the transmission and history of Leo's letters, no age compares to the Carolingian in numbers alone. Without these manuscripts, a great many of Leo's letters and letter collections would have been lost to us or preserved only in a handful of witnesses—the fate of many classical authors even with Carolingian manuscripts, such as Lucretius or Ammianus, as well as of Greek Fathers such as Justin Martyr. Leo's wide popularity in the West assured his survival.

Accompanying this explosion in manuscripts is a revolution in the size of Leo's letter collections compiled by the Carolingians. The largest pre-Carolingian collections of Leo's letters are the *Hispana* with 39, the *Quesnelliana* with 32, Rusticus' collection with 29, the *Chalcedonensis correcta* with 29, the *Thessalonicensis* with 24, the *Vaticana* with 16, and the *Pithouensis* and *Corbeiensis* with 14 letters. The other collections are closer in size to the seven-letter *Collectio Dionysiana* or the four-letter *Sanblasiana*. The Carolingians, on the other hand, give us the largest Leonine collection of them all, the 104-letter *Collectio Grimanica*. Nothing before the Carolingians rivals it for size; the next contender is a post-Carolingian collection that combines medium-sized Carolingian ones, Pseudo-Isidore C, with 102 letters. Finally, in third place we have another Carolingian collection, the

Collectio Ratisbonensis with 72 letters, which in terms of numbers ties some post-Carolingian collections.⁷ Besides the two great Carolingian collections, we also have the 55 letters of Pseudo-Isidore A1. *Collectio Bobbiensis* holds 26 letters, and the *Dionysiana adaucta* contains 15 of Leo's letters while the *Dionysio-Hadriana* has only eight letters, adding one to the original seven of the *Dionysiana*. The impact upon the transmission of Leo's letters should be obvious—to have so many letters being gathered together is a likely way to ensure the survival of larger numbers, a fact borne out by that very survival. Furthermore, many letters that do not exist elsewhere, such as in *Collectio Grimanica*, are preserved in these massive Carolingian endeavours, frequently based on now-lost exemplars.

How is it, then, that the Carolingian scriptoria were able to produce not only so many manuscripts, but collections of such size—not only of Leo's letters, but canonical collections more broadly? The *Collectio Dionysiana* has only 39 papal letters in total, yet the Carolingians a little over two hundred years later are able to gather together over one hundred of Leo alone. That is to say, what drove the Carolingian Renaissance that drove manuscript production and canonical activity? First comes the mindset of Carolingian kings, most fully realised in Charlemagne, that the king is to be involved in the reform of the kingdom, not only in secular law and politics but also in ecclesiastical affairs; the word for this reform is *correctio*,⁸ which seems to trace itself back to Isidore of Seville's etymology of *rego* from *corrigo*.⁹ Charlemagne uses cognates of the word *correctio* in his capitularies, as do

⁷ That is, those collections identified by the Ballerini as numbers 23 and 24; see below at 4.4.2.d-e.

⁸ As used by G. Brown 1994, 45, and Costambeys *et al.* 2011, 144. It is also the title of the final chapter in McKitterick 2008, 292-380.

⁹ *Etym.* 9.3.4. This is certainly one of the earliest and most explicit uses of *correctio* cognates in this way, one which is part of the common heritage of the Carolingian intellectual world.

the reform efforts of his father, Pippin the Short.¹⁰ For example, in Charlemagne's *Epistola Generalis*, c. 786-800, to the 'religiosi lectores' of his dominion, he states that it is his care to promote the improved state of the churches and thus the liberal arts to that end:

Amongst these [goals] we have already precisely corrected all the books of the Old and New Testaments, corrupted by the ignorance of scribes, with God helping us in all things.¹¹

This is merely exemplary of a wider use of such cognates from from the sources of the Carolingian reform,¹² setting aside instances where Charlemagne and others use synonyms for correction, such as *emendatio*. Explicit instances of *correctio* cognates cover everything from correcting biblical texts, to clerical *correctio*, to the *correctio* of *comites*, and even when the terms are lacking, this spirit of correction persists throughout all levels of the Carolingian reform.

The mindset of royal *correctio* of church and society itself is not new, however, being present in the Anglo-Saxons and Visigoths,¹³ even the

¹⁰ See the cited purpose of Council of Verium (755), 'correctum quo aeclessiae Dei ualde cognoscit esse contrarium.' The term is used again in ch. 3. Ed. Boretius 1883, MGH Leges III, *Capitularia* I, 33, ll. 27-28, 41-43.

¹¹ 'Inter quae iam pridem uniuersos ueteris ac noui instrumenti libros, librariorum imperitia deprauatos, Deo nos in omnibus adiuuante, examussim correximus.' Ed. Boretius 1883, 80 ll. 28-30.

¹² See, *inter alia*, references in the following passages edited by Boretius 1883: 47 l. 28; 53 l. 41; 54 ll. 1, 3; 60 l. 32; 94 l. 14; 98 l. 20; 204, l. 2; 159 l. 1. As well, see these in Louis the Pious, ed. Boretius 1883: 274 l. 47; 278 l. 11; 279 l. 36; 303 l. 18; 304 l. 37; 305 ll. 25-26; 309, l. 14; 342, col 1. l. 23 and col. 2, l. 22 (this is two versions of the same text). These examples plus many more not only from Charlemagne and Louis the Pious but their successors as well attest to the widespread use of terminology of *correctio* in Carolingian capitularies, whether the *correctio* of texts, behaviour, liturgy, and whether *correctio* by an individual of himself, or by laws and the church of the community and its behaviour or its texts.

¹³ Brief references are as follows: For the Anglo-Saxons, Bede preserves views on kingship throughout his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*; see, e.g., the reign of King Oswald and his desire to convert/reform Deira and Bernicia, 3.3-7. Post-Carolingian, see King Alfred's 'greed' for learning in Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, 76-79. For Spain, Isidore of Seville writes, amongst other things, the play on words 'he who does not correct (*corrigit*) does not rule (*regit*)' (*Etym.* 9.3.4); quoted by Brown 1994, 2. Visigothic Spain epitomises the desire for reform by holding seventeen church councils in Toledo alone before the year 702.

Merovingians,¹⁴ and tracing its heritage back to the late Roman world.¹⁵ However, as Giles Brown makes clear, the Merovingians whom the Carolingians succeeded did not achieve the *correctio* of their people and realms overall, despite certain centres that continued to flourish culturally.¹⁶ One result of this failure at *correctio* is the extreme paucity of manuscripts from the Merovingian world. The Merovingian age, both within their realms as well as in Italy, is when many classical authors were palimpsested, and very few copied.¹⁷ Of the 2000 Latin manuscripts that survive from anywhere before the year 800, 300 of them, including both whole manuscripts and fragments, are from Merovingian lands; McKitterick observes that this is a considerable number, given how difficult it is for any manuscript to survive from such early times;¹⁸ many more would have been copied, now lost to us. However, given that 7000 come from the ninth century alone,¹⁹ and that we know many classical authors survived into the Merovingian world, it seems evident that during the later Merovingian period, even if book production continued, its pace had slackened, and many texts were lost in the sixth and seventh centuries. The later seventh century for the Merovingian and Italian worlds has been argued to be a time

¹⁴ The Merovingian kings in the early seventh century display their concern for *iustitia* and *pietas* more effectively than later Merovingians, as discussed by Wallace-Hadrill 1971, 47-53. See also Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, e.g., the speech of Avitus of Vienne to Gundobad upon the latter's conversion to Catholicism that the king should be both religious reformer and public example (2.34). Terminology cognate to *correctio* in Merovingian capitularies is sparser than in Carolingian ones—however, fewer Merovingian capitularies exist. E.g. edict of Guntram of 10 November, 585, to all priests and bishops ed. Boretius 1883, 11 ll. 41-43, and 12 ll. 6 and 8; the royal precept of Childebert I, ed. Boretius 1883, 2 l. 31.

¹⁵ G. Brown 1994, 1-3. For the later Roman Empire, recall the various imperial laws directed against heretics, pagans, and Jews, as well as Justinian's prime example of this coalescence of administrative force, including church architecture, church councils, edicts on theology, etc., alongside projects such as the codification of Roman law.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 7-11.

¹⁷ Reynolds and Wilson 1991, 85.

¹⁸ McKitterick 1994, 235.

¹⁹ G. Brown 1994, 34.

of cultural decline;²⁰ to cite one example, besides the scarcity of manuscripts mentioned above, few Gallic and Italian canonical collections can be dated to this period and few church councils met, while church properties were often taken over by secular powers.

Part of why the later Merovingians failed at *correctio* is their lack of effective power. In the final decades of Merovingian rule, power was not in the hands of the monarchs, who were often child kings, as Patrick Wormald reminds us,²¹ but in those of the *majordomos*, the ancestors of the Carolingians. Furthermore, there was much political unrest in this age, in part due to the Frankish practice of dividing monarchical inheritance between sons who would inevitably compete for complete power, in part due to the vying for power at court during a king's minority, in part due to the fall of Visigothic Spain and the need to protect Frankish land from the Islamic invaders—a feat achieved by Charles 'the Hammer' (Martel) at the Battle of Tours in 732. Political instability meant that the powers who would have funded *correctio* and its correlated cultural products were not in a position to do so, not having the necessary real power and authority. Furthermore, the wealth to do so would be lacking as well—wars of defence are costly with none of the booty that comes with wars of conquest. And, as the stories of Merovingian civil strife demonstrate, sources of internal wealth or potential cultural production, such as towns and monasteries, often suffered heavily in this period. Political stability, strong leaders, and wealth to fund the desired changes are the necessary corollaries to a 'successful' *correctio* that leads to cultural flourishing. The Carolingians, unlike their

²⁰ See G. Brown 1994, 4-8. Reynolds and Wilson 1991, 85, characterise the period thus, 'Although few ages are so dark that they are not penetrated by a few shafts of light, the period from roughly 550 to 750 was one of almost unrelieved gloom for the Latin classics on the continent'.

²¹ Wormald 2005, 573. Regencies make for the rise of new powers at court, and the Merovingians had their share of them, visible as early as Gregory's *Historiae*.

predecessors, were more often powerful than not, patronising monasteries and courtiers and philosophers—they had the political wherewithal to make Merovingian dreams of *correctio* possible.²² Second, they had wealth. Under Charlemagne, they expanded their territory to include Italy and expanded, subdued, and ‘tamed’, if you will, more lands across the Rhine for the Franks. An example of wealth through expansion is the subjection and conquest of the Avars (790-803), whose own sacred treasury, the Ring of the Avars, was raided.²³ This expansion brought wealth through both plunder and tribute, and manuscript production and the other aspects of cultural and artistic renaissance require wealth for the procuring of materials as well as of manpower.²⁴

The Carolingians, then, were able to achieve *correctio* because of their material wealth and secular dominion. What were the results of *correctio* for our purposes? First, people demanded correct copies of foundational texts—the Bible, liturgy (usually the so-called *Gregorian Sacramentary*),²⁵ St Benedict’s *Rule*, and canon law texts—this last being provided at the beginning by the *Collectio Dionysio-*

²² Carolingian power is visible in the ability of Carloman and Pippin III ‘the Short’ even as *majordomos* to call the reform councils over which Boniface presided, between 742 and 747 (e.g., see Boniface, *Epp.* XL/50 to Pope Zacharias and XLV/57 from Zacharias to Boniface).

²³ Einhard on the Avars: ‘All the wealth and treasure they had assembled over many years was seized. Human memory cannot record any war against the Franks that left them richer and more enriched. Until that time they had seemed almost paupers but they found so much gold and silver in the palace and so much valuable booty was taken in the battles that the Franks might be thought to have justly taken from the Avars what the Avars had unjustly taken from other peoples.’ *Life of Charlemagne* 13, trans. Ganz.

²⁴ Manuscript production was not an inexpensive thing when one considers the materials and labour involved. McKitterick 1989, 135-164, devotes a chapter to the economic realities of book production and possession. She cites various Carolingian examples of book theft and book sale that show how much a book could be worth then assesses the cost of production, including the number of animal skins per manuscript, the cost of materials for the ink both for writing and illuminating, as well as the cost of the binding. Books are shown to be indisputably items of luxury, and McKitterick moves on to discuss the social world of books as wealth and gifts.

²⁵ See the letter from Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne concerning the reform of the liturgy, MGH Epist. 1, p. 626. See also Wilson 1915, xxi-xxiii.

Hadriana. The *Dionysio-Hadriana*, as we shall see below,²⁶ was sent from Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne and thus seen by the latter as authoritative. Nonetheless, the earlier canonical collections continued to be copied and corrected in this period, as the table above displays, for *correctio* included not only the dissemination of the approved texts but the correction of the existing ones. Carolingian scriptoria were, as a result, centres of text editing as well as copying, and the existence of pre-Carolingian collections was secured. We must keep Carolingian textual *correctio* in mind when reading any Latin text that passed under their quills, for a reading that seems legitimate on the basis of Latinity and content may be a Carolingian conjecture; it may be true; it may be both. Finally, regardless of royal policy, we should keep in mind that manuscript production was also favoured simply by the relative stability and wealth of the period. Other ages might have acted similarly could they have been able to. Furthermore, Leo himself is copied profusely because of his enduring relevance to canon law, whether kings fund *correctio* or not.

4.2 Carolingian Canonical Collections

a. *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*²⁷ (D-h)

i. *Dating and Context*

As noted above,²⁸ Pope Hadrian I had the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana* compiled and sent to Charlemagne around 774.²⁹ It includes the same seven letters of Leo as the *Dionysiana* (D) with the addition of letter 12.³⁰ *Ep.* 12 is included in the

²⁶ 4.2.a.

²⁷ B7 (PL 54.557-558), J1(vii) (502).

²⁸ In my discussion of the *Collectio Dionysiana* at 2.2.f.

²⁹ See Gaudemet 1985, 134.

³⁰ Therefore *Epp.* 4, 7, 16, 18, 167, 14, 159, and 12.

truncated version edited by the Ballerini first,³¹ that is, it omits Ballerini chh. 6-8 but includes 9-end. This collection was highly influential due to its connection with Charlemagne—together with Cresconius, **D-h** is the main disseminator of Dionysius Exiguus' work. In 789 Charlemagne provided a summary of some of **D-h** in the *Admonitio Generalis*, and in 802 he again promulgated this collection as the official stance of the Frankish empire on canon law.³² The *Admonitio Generalis* references Leo at chh. 5 (*Ep.* 4.3-4), 23 (*Ep.* 4.1, 3-4), 56 (*Ep.* 1), 57 (*Ep.* 4.1), and 58 (*Ep.* 4.5).³³ For the age of Charlemagne, this was the source for canon law *par excellence*, which was sought precisely as a definitive guide to aid in the task of reform that required texts both authentic and authoritative.³⁴ Before discussing its manuscripts, it is necessary to observe the influence of **D-h** as visible in the *Collectio Hadriano-Hispanica*, a composite collection drawing upon both this and the *Collectio Hispana (S)*.³⁵ The main manuscript of the *Hadriano-Hispanica*, Vat. lat. 1338 (saec. XI), shares a colophon with the fragmentary **D-h** manuscript, Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f. 72 (saec. IX2/4 or 3/4). The colophon runs:

Iste codex est scriptus de illo authentico, quem dominus Adrianus apostolicus dedit gloriosissimo regi Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricio Romano, quando fuit Romae.³⁶

We feel like we are almost able to touch Charlemagne with this colophon—yet its presence is not only in the ninth-century Würzburg codex but again in the much later

³¹ PL 54.645-656.

³² See McKitterick 1977, 3-10.

³³ Ed. A. Boretius, MGH, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, Vol. 1, 53-62.

³⁴ As McKitterick 1994, 242, notes, 'There is ... a preoccupation with authority, orthodoxy and correctness which is also a prevailing characteristic of Carolingian scholarship.' For Charlemagne's need of a definitive source of canon law, see also McKitterick 1977, 3.

³⁵ See Fournier and Le Bras 1931, 103, working from Hinschius 1884.

³⁶ See Traube 1898, 77, who refers to these two mss and 'Frankfurt 64' as of simply the same collection, leading to repetitions that some mss of the *Dionysio-Hadriana* contain this colophon by Lietzmann 1921, XVI, and McKitterick 1992, 119. However, we have two different collections here, one of which is a fragment of only the beginning of the collection.

eleventh-century Vatican codex. Therefore, even the earlier *Dionysio-Hadriana* manuscript may not be a direct copy of Pope Hadrian's. Nonetheless, this colophon reminds us of the weighty importance **D-h** held in Carolingian times, and the influence it extended.

ii. Manuscripts

The importance and influence of **D-h** is displayed by the vast array of manuscripts containing it. Kéry lists 91 **D-h** manuscripts.³⁷ The Ballerini wisely consulted only the following ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts:

- v*: Vat. lat. 4979 (saec. IX1/4), from Verona in the time of Archdeacon Pacificus.³⁸ The Ballerini misprinted its catalogue number as 4969.³⁹ Leo is found at foll. 88^v-108^v. Written in a half uncial, this manuscript has large pages divided into two columns of 30 lines each. In the bottom margin of 92^r, a note keenly observes, 'multa desunt'; the text ends that side of the folio at 16.1, 'mysterio nullam', and starts 92^v at the beginning of 16.4, 'Hoc nos autem'. *v* starts with a list of the contents, rather than giving the *tituli* before each author.
- m*: Vat. Pal. lat. 578 (saec. IX), from Mainz.⁴⁰ Leo's letters run foll. 46^v-72^v; 46^v-48^r is a list of their *tituli*, and the corpus of letters begins on 48^r. It is written in a single-column Caroline minuscule hand with half-uncial rubrication. 46^v starts the *tituli* with the inscription, 'TIT DECRETORVM PAPAЕ LEONIS : NVM XLVIII'.

³⁷ Kéry 1999, 13-20 gives a list of the manuscripts of the *Dionysio-Hadriana*.

³⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, 17, for information on this ms.

³⁹ The error is in the Ballerini's own edition at 520, not just Migne's reprint.

⁴⁰ This ms digitised: http://digi.vatlib.it/view/bav_pal_lat_578. Accessed 19 May 2015.

a: Vat. Reg. lat. 1021 (saec. IX1/4), from Saint-Amand; Leo is found at foll.

155^r-174^v. This manuscript is written in a Caroline minuscule hand. The *tituli* are given in a table of contents at the beginning.

b: Vat. Reg. lat. 1043 (saec. IX), probably from the Rhône region of

Burgundy;⁴¹ Leo runs foll. 116^r-132^r. *b* is written in Caroline minuscule with half-uncial rubrication; in the contents, the *capitula* are black letters with yellow and orange colouring. In the main text, the rubrics look to have been red but have largely oxidised to being black/blue with a few splatterings of red.

Unlike *m*, which gives the *tituli* immediately before Leo's letters, *b* gives the *tituli* for the whole collection at the very beginning; those for Leo are at fol.

11^{ff}. The manuscript has 20 lines per page in a single column.

r: Vat. lat. 1337 (saec. IXⁱⁿ), from the Upper Rhine; Leo is found in foll. 120^r-

139^r. As in *m*, the text of Leo begins at 120^r-121^v with the *tituli* of Leo's decretals. This manuscript was written in an elegant Caroline minuscule in two columns of 29 lines each. *Capitula* are rubricated whilst the first line of each author is given in orange, yellow, and green. Leo's letters begin, 'INCI PAPAE LEONIS DECRETA.'

g: Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, A.5 (saec. IX), from central Italy.⁴² As with *v*

above, the Ballerini misprinted its shelfmark, this time as A S. *g* also includes Cresconius, *Concordia canonum*, and the *Collectio Dionysiana adaucta* (**D-a**).

Leo's epistles in the **D-h** portion of this manuscript run 152^r-171^v.

Besides the manuscripts the Ballerini accessed, I consulted two others of which

mention must be made:

⁴¹ Cf. Kéry 1999, 17.

⁴² Kéry 1999, 20, however, only lists this ms for the *Dionysiana adaucta*. Bischoff 1998-2014, §5349, says it is from Rome.

p: Paris, lat. 1458, a manuscript made of various different fragments; the fragments gathered herein range from the ninth through seventeenth centuries. The second part of this manuscript is **D-h**, from the ninth-tenth centuries.⁴³ Since it is listed neither by the Ballerini nor by Kéry for **D-h** yet is of the time period chosen by the Ballerini for investigation, I felt it important to collate *p*'s text of Leo. The text begins at ch. 7 of *Ep.* 16, covering foll. 33^r-46^v.

d: Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek, E.1, (saec. IX2/2) originating from Italy, likely in Rome; this manuscript is digitised.⁴⁴ *d* contains a partial version of *Collectio Vaticana* (**L**) that has been combined with material from the tradition of **D-h**. The Leo contents are all **D-h**, running foll. 104^v-120^r, with *tituli* running from 103^v-104^v. *d* is written in a neat Caroline minuscule in two columns with uncial rubrication; at fol. 114^v, the rubrication disappears, although it reappears for the second letter of Pope Hilarus who immediately follows Leo. Fol 107^r has a brief lacuna in *Ep.* 16.2, missing the words, 'uel quibus ab Aegypto in Galilaeam, persecutore mortuo, reuocatus est'. At 114^r, the second half of line two is scraped away, along with the seven lines following. A new hand takes over, and the text jumps ahead from *Ep.* 14.1 to 14.10. Finally, 115^r begins with a new hand and changes twice in column 2.

Finally, the Ballerini make mention of one further manuscript which they cite as Vallicelliana XVIII. Presumably, this is T.XVIII, (saec. X), from central Italy. This manuscript begins with Cresconius, *Concordia canonum*, foll. 1-58^v. Foll. 207^r-208^r

⁴³ Cf. 'Bibliothèque nationale de France, Archives et manuscrits – Latin 1458', accessed 20 May 2015, http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000059426&qid=sdx_q0#FRBNFEAD000059426_e0000165.

⁴⁴ The URL of this digitisation is: <http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/man/content/titleinfo/3870845>. Accessed 20 May 2015.

include a fragment from Leo, *Ep.* 16, and 246^r-252^v have a variety of Leo excerpts.

First comes Leo, *Ep.* 167.7-end, then an item, ‘**De coniuratis ex concilio**

calcedonensem / Apud extrinsecas leges penitus amputatur’. Leo, *Ep.* 106, covers

fol. 251^r-252^r, followed by an excerpt from *Ep.* 162.1:

Ex epistula eiusdem sci leonis ad leonem augustum:

Apud niceam mysticus ille patrum numerus definiuit ne catholicorum confessio aut unigenitum dei filium in aliquo crederet patribus im patrem aut eundem cum facuts est filius hominis non ueram carnis nostre atque anime habuisse naturam; Qui numerus ideo mysticus esse dicitur qui a trinitatem significat reuera enim si trecentos decem et octo patres diuidas nihil omnino remanebit;

Ep. 93 closes the Leo section of this manuscript. T.XVIII, as it turns out, is not **D-h**, but the *Collectio LXXII capitulorum*, a systematic collection discussed below at 4.2.f.

iii. Manuscript Relations

Of the 97 **D** variants in the table above at 2.2.f.iii, 44 are common to **D a c**.

Of these 44, all of **D-h** agree with **D** in 23 cases;⁴⁵ in eight cases, all **D-h** manuscripts agree with **D** except for **D-h m**;⁴⁶ in three cases, they all agree with **D** except *v*;⁴⁷

twice they all agree with **D** except *v* and *m*;⁴⁸ once they all agree with **D** except *v* and *a*;⁴⁹ and once, all but *p* agree with **D**. Moreover, of the variants where *c* has a lacuna,

D-h agrees with **D a** at Variant 53. With these data should be included Variant 60,

for which all **D-h** manuscripts agree with **D c** in giving ‘conflictatione’ against

Ballerini ‘tentatione’, except for *p*, which agrees with **D a**, ‘conflictione’, a variant

well within the **D** family of readings. As well, **D-h** agrees with **D** in Variant 84,

except for *m*, which provides ‘meis moribus exaestimasti’ against **D**, ‘meis moribus

⁴⁵ Varr. 6 (but see **D-h g** ‘homine’ for ‘omni’); 9, 28; 32; 35; 36; 41; 43; 49; 50; 52; 59; 62; 63; 64; 65; 69; 71; 82; 85 (although **D-h m** slightly different from others); 87 (all agree with **D c**); 93 and 94.

⁴⁶ Varr. 38; 40 (**D-h m**¹—*m*² modifies text to rest of **D-h**); 77; 84; 88; 91; 92; and 95.

⁴⁷ Varr. 3; 26; and 81.

⁴⁸ Varr. 96 and 97.

⁴⁹ Var. 66.

aestimasti'. Given that 'aestimo' and 'extimo' are often interchangeable (visible throughout the variants discussed in this project), this variant is not significant. These many correspondences alone demonstrate that **D-h** is descended from a strand of the **D** tradition similar to **D a c**. Variant 73, *Ep.* 14.Pr., has multiple variants: first, the order of the words, 'sint commissa', and the mood of the verb. **D** gives 'commissa sunt', with which all but **D-h p** give; *p* follows the word order but gives the subjunctive 'sint'. As well, Variant 73 is an omission of 'apostoli' before 'auctoritate'. *m* includes 'apostoli'—*m* is the most like the Ballerini variants of the **D-h** manuscripts, as seen in the cross-references to **D**. Here again is a major convergence between **D** and **D-h**. These major convergences are not the whole story, however. **D** gives 'regulis canonum' in Variant 21, but all of **D-h** agrees with the Ballerini order, 'canonum regulis.'

Of variants/errors unique to **D c**, all but **D-h d** agree with Variant 1; here, *d* gives, 'per diuersas prouincias' against the others, 'per uniuersas' and the Ballerini who do not put 'per' between 'et' and 'uniuersas'. Another example is Variant 48, where all but **D-h a** give, 'Pater meus in nomine meo' against the Ballerini—and Vulgate—omission of 'meus'. In Variant 76, **D-h** agrees with **D a**, 'impenderes et', but with **D c** and the Ballerini in keeping, 'continenti', against *a*'s error. In Variant 83, all but *v* and *m* agree with **D c**, 'concessum', although *p* changes 'quodque' to 'quodcumque'. With these data in mind, we can start to separate out *v* and *m* from the rest of **D-h**, and move along in our investigation to questions other than how closely are **D** and **D-h** related. The following table provides the variants where there is greater diversity amongst the **D-h** readings, agreement with **D a** against **D c**, or **D-h** is at variance from **D**. Where no reading is given for *v*, *p*, or *d*, this is because there

is a gap in the text. Where no reading is given for *g*, on the other hand, this is because of time restraints upon access to the manuscript, of which only partial collation was possible. The variants are simply listed with their numbers from **D**.

Var.	<i>Collectiones Dionysio-Hadriana</i> (D-h) and <i>Dionysiana</i> (D)	Ballerini text (control)	Significance
5	<i>quis</i> (D a) <i>sincere</i> (D c) <i>sinceram</i> (D-h d) <i>sincer</i> (D-h b¹)	permittentes <i>sincerum</i> corpus (D-h v, m, a, b², r, g)	Errors <i>d</i> and <i>b¹</i>
7	<i>dissimulationem</i> (D a; D-h m, a, b)	<i>dissimilationem</i> (D c; D-h v, g)	Shared variant D a; D-h m, a, b
11	<i>nulla necessitate saeculi substrahatur</i> (D c) <i>nullus</i> (D-h a)	<i>nullis necessitatis uinculis abstrahatur</i> (D a; D-h v, m, a, b, r, g, d)	Error D-h a
13	<i>constituet</i> (D a) <i>constituerit</i> (D-h a, b¹, r, g, d)	unicuique <i>constiterit</i> natalium (D c; D-h v, m, b²)	Shared variant D-h a, b¹, r, g, d
19	<i>liceat</i> (D a; D-h v, m, a, b)	<i>licuerit</i> sacerdotem (D c; D-h r, d)	Shared error D a; D-h v, m, a, b
20	<i>regulis canonum</i> (D a, c)	<i>canonum regulis</i> (D-h v, m, a, b, r, d)	D-h differs from D
21	<i>consuerunt</i> (D a; D-h m, r², g, d) <i>consuluerunt</i> (D-h r¹)	<i>consueuerunt</i> (D c; D-h v, a)	Common variant (error?) D a; D-h m, r², g, d
23	<i>constitutos</i> (D a; D-h v, m, a, b, r, g, d)	<i>constituti</i> (D c)	Shared error D a; D-h
24	<i>exerceant</i> (D a) <i>exerceat</i> (D c; D-h v, m, a, b, r, g, d)	N/A	Common reading D c; D-h
28	<i>a uestra dilectione custodire</i> (D c) <i>ut uestra dilectione custodiri</i> (D-h v, m, a, b, r, d)	<i>a uestra dilectione custodiri</i> (D a)	Common error D-h
29	maximo et paterio uu cc conss (<i>a</i>) om. <i>uu cc</i> (D c) Maximo iterum et paterno conss (D-h m, a, b, r, g, d) D-h v as above, but ‘ <i>uua</i> <i>consulibus</i> ’	Maximo iterum et Paterio uiris clarissimis consulibus	Common variant on names D-h Error in abbrev. D-h v
32	<i>que</i> (D c) <i>qui</i> (D-h a, b)	<i>quid</i> refugeret (D a; D-h v, m, r, d)	Common error D-h a, b
35	Dat III kl Febr Theodosio	Data tertio kalendas	Agreement in content,

	XVIII et Albino uc cons (D a) Dat III kl Feb theodosio XVIII et Albino cons (D c) Data III Febr Theodosio Augusto XVIII et Albino uiris clarissimis consulibus (D-h v) Data Feb \kl/ Theodosio XVIII et Albina uua cons (D-h a) Dat iii k Feb Theodosio XVIII et Albino uucc cons (D-h r) Data iii kl feb Theodosio XVIII et Albino cons (D- h g) DAT III kl febr theodosio XVIII et albino cons (D- h d)	Februarii, Theodosio Augusto XVIII et Albino uiris clarissimis consulibus	diversity in abbrev.
37	<i>cleri</i> (D a, c; D-h b^l, d)	obnoxium <i>celeri</i> sollicitudine (D-h v, m, <i>a, b², r, g</i>)	Common error D; D-h <i>b^l, d</i>
40	<i>mistico munerum oblato</i> (D a, c; D-h d) <i>mystico munerum oblatio</i> (D-h a, b^l, r)	<i>mystica munerum</i> <i>oblacione</i> (D-h m, b²)	Common error D; D-h <i>d</i> Common error D-h a, <i>b^l, r</i>
43	<i>districtio</i> (D a, c; D-h m, <i>b, r</i>) <i>discrectio</i> (D-h a) <i>destrictio</i> (D-h d)	<i>distinctio</i>	Common variant D; D-h m, b, r
45 1 Cor. 1:10	in eodem <i>sentendiendam</i> <i>sententia</i> (D a) et in eadem <i>scientia</i> (D c; many Vulgate mss) et in eadem <i>sapientia</i> (D- h b, r, d) in eodem <i>sensum</i> et in eadem <i>sententiam</i> (D-h g)	in eodem <i>sensu</i> et in eadem <i>sententia</i> (D-h a; some Vulgate mss)	Common variant D-h <i>b, r, d</i> Error D-h g based on same text as D-h a
52	<i>Vacillum et Paschasium</i> (D a) <i>Vacchillum atque</i> <i>Pascasinum</i> (D-h v) <i>Vaccillum et Paschasinum</i> (D-h m, a, r, g) <i>Vacillum et Paschasinum</i> (D-h b, d)	<i>Bacillum atque</i> <i>Paschasinum</i>	Various spellings derived from 'Vacillum et Paschasinum' For 'et/atque', agreement D a; D-h <i>m, a, b, r, g</i> against D- h v, p and Ballerini

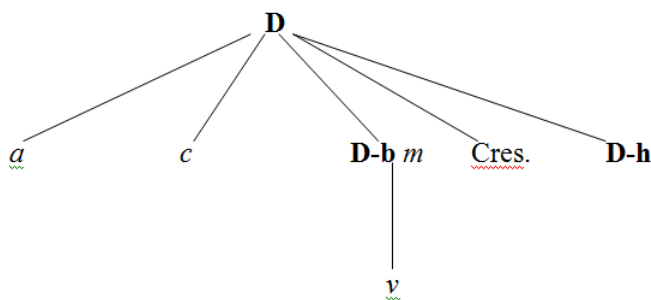
	<i>Vacillum</i> atque (D-h <i>p</i>)		
54	<i>gregum</i> (D <i>a</i>) <i>gregem</i> (D-h <i>a, b, r, g, p, d</i>)	<i>gregis</i> (D-h <i>v, m</i>)	Shared error D-h <i>a, b, r, g, p, d</i> derived from variant D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>v, m</i> variant a possible emendation of error
55	<i>Deum</i> (D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>r, d</i>)	apud <i>Dominum</i> (D-h <i>v, m, a, b, p</i>)	Shared variant D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>r, d</i>
56	Data III kl iul alipio et ardabure conss (D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>p</i>) Data III kl Ianuarias alypio et ardabure consulibus (D-h <i>v</i> ; abbrevv. vary, but also: <i>m, a, b, r</i>) Data III kl Ian Olympio et Ardabure consulibus (D-h <i>g, d</i>)	Data III Kalend. Ianuarii Calepio et Ardabure uiris clarissimis consulibus	D-h <i>v, m, a, b, r</i> in essential agreement with Ballerini save ‘alipio’ for ‘Calepio’ Shared variant D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>p</i> Shared error D-h <i>g, d</i> derived from rest of D-h
59	<i>pastorum</i> (D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>v, m, a, b, r, g, p, d</i>)	<i>pastoris</i> cura	Shared variant D <i>a</i> ; D-h
65	<i>qui</i> (D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>v, m, a, b, r, p, d</i>) <i>quia</i> (D <i>c</i>)	in eis ecclesiis ... <i>quae</i>	Shared error D <i>a</i> ; D-h Error D <i>c</i> an attempt to correct above error
66	<i>consecratio</i> (D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>v², m, r</i>) <i>con creatio</i> (D-h <i>v¹</i>) <i>creato</i> (D-h <i>b</i>)	<i>creatio</i> (D <i>c</i> ; D-h <i>a, p, d</i>)	Shared variant D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>v², m, r</i> Error D-h <i>v¹</i> derived therefrom Error D-h <i>b</i> derived from D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>a, p, d</i>
70	apostolicae sedis <i>impleuerit</i> (D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>m, b, r, d</i>) <i>impleuerint</i> (D <i>c</i> ; D-h <i>a</i>) <i>impleuerunt</i> (D-h <i>v</i>) <i>apostolica si impleuerint</i> (D-h <i>p</i>)	N/A	Shared error D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>m, b, r, d</i> Error D-h <i>v</i> derived from D <i>c</i> ; D-h <i>a, p</i> verb number Error D-h <i>p</i>
72	<i>siue ratione</i> (D <i>a, c</i> ; D-h <i>g, p</i>)	<i>si uera ratione</i> (D-h <i>v, m, a, b, r, d</i>)	Shared error D ; D-h <i>g, p</i>
86	<i>uel</i> secundo tercio <i>uersandum</i> (D <i>a</i>) <i>aut</i> secundo, tercio <i>seruandum</i> (D <i>c</i>) <i>aut</i> secundo tertio <i>ue</i> (D-h <i>v, p</i>) <i>uel</i> secundo tertio <i>ue</i> (D-h <i>m, a, b</i>) <i>uel</i> secundo tertio	<i>aut</i> secundo <i>uel</i> tertio <i>seruandum</i>	Shared variant D-h <i>v, p</i> Shared variant (D-h <i>m, a, b</i> with familial trait of above Variant D-h <i>r</i> D-h <i>-ue</i> common to this branch of wider D family

	seruandum (D-h <i>r</i>)		
88	Si quis <i>autem</i> episcopus (D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>v, m, a, b, r, g, p</i>)	Si quis episcopus (D <i>c</i>)	Shared variant D <i>a</i> ; D-h
96	<i>spiritus sancti inuocatione</i> (D <i>c</i>) <i>sancti spiritus inuocatione</i> (D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>v, m, b², r, d</i>) <i>sancti spiritus inuocationem</i> (D-h <i>a, b¹, g</i>)	<i>inuocatione Spiritus Sancti</i>	Shared variant D <i>a</i> ; D-h <i>v, m, b², r, d</i> Shared error D-h <i>a, b¹, g</i> based on variant above
97	Omission of date (D <i>a</i>) Dat XIII kl April, cons. marciani Augusti (D <i>c</i>) Data XII kal April consulatu maioriani augusti (D-h <i>v</i> ; abbrev. vary, but also <i>m, a, b, r, p, d</i>) Dat kl April consuli martiano (D-h <i>g</i>)	Data XII kalendarum Aprilium, consulatu Maioriani Augusti	Basic agreement with Ballerini D-h <i>v, m, a, b, r, p, d</i> Error D-h <i>g</i>

This table sets forth many elements of **D-h** to us. First of all, some errors or variants that seemed isolated to either *a* or *c* of **D** are now seen in a wider context of agreement with **D-h**, while some that seemed to be definitively **D** are seen not to exist in **D-h**. Second, two manuscripts that stand out as related are *b* and *r*, which also very often agree with *m* and occasionally *d*. *b* and *r* are from the Rhône region of Burgundy and the Upper Rhine, respectively—there is a slim possibility that they have a common descent. Highly significant is their shared variant of ‘sapientia’ in Variant 45, a variant no other **D-h** manuscript has and which is not cited by Weber-Gryson for manuscripts of the Vulgate Bible. Its significance increases when we recall its presence in some Cresconius manuscripts. *m*, despite its similarities to *b* and *r*, stands out as the manuscript that most frequently provides a reading in agreement with the Ballerini against the rest of **D-h**; those instances where *b* agrees with *m* in such readings, it is *b*’s correcting hand, not the original. Thus, *b* and *r* still stand

united, and *m* stands to one side, sometimes with *v*. However, *m* and *v*, unlike *b* and *r*, are further removed from each other in origin, from Mainz and Verona respectively. They furthermore agree less frequently than *b* and *r*, and some of their agreements against **D-h** could be independent conjectures, such as ‘gregis’ against the obviously corrupt and ungrammatical ‘gagem’. *g* and *d* are related in providing ‘Olympio’ against the reading ‘Alypio’ of the rest of **D-h**, although the consul’s real name was ‘Calypius’, given by the majority of Leo manuscripts. Since *g* is alone amongst the manuscripts of **D-h** in mistaking ‘Marciano’ for ‘Maioriano’, it is probably an error independent of **D c**, especially since *g* omits the number of the date before ‘k April’. For a copyist of Leo’s letters, Majorian would be a less common sight than Marcian, so it is no surprise that Marcian occasionally appears in consular formulae instead of Majorian; it is highly unlikely to have gone the other way.

Now that we have seen the latest of the **D** family of Leo’s letters (I class **D-a** separately), the following stemma can be put forward:



b. *Collectio Dionysiana adaucta*⁵⁰ (D-a)

i. Dating and Context

This canonical collection was gathered between 850 and 872, mostly likely in Ravenna, but possibly in Rome.⁵¹ Massigli provides strong evidence for an origin in Ravenna based on the following: the northern Italian origin of *v* and *p*; a Ravenna origin for *g*, itself based on its presence in Ravenna within a century and a half and certain textual variants leaning to a non-Roman origin; and the Greek Italian origins of **D-a** c.⁵² Chavasse also points to northern Italy, citing the presence of an anti-Arian dossier in **D-a** that would make sense if its source had been those parts of Italy in the close neighbourhood of the supposedly Arian Lombards;⁵³ if the Lombards were more pagan than Arian, as argued by Fanning,⁵⁴ Northern Italy would still be the Italian region most likely to produce anti-Arian tractates and compendia, given the existence of at least some Lombard Arians as well as the possible legacy of the previous Arian invaders, the Gepids and Ostrogoths. Indeed, Thomas S. Brown has taken Fanning's article to task and argued that there was a significant element of Arianism within the Lombard kingdom and élite, citing various examples from the 600s which Fanning had failed to mention as well as the aforementioned populations of Ostrogoths and Gepids amongst the Lombards.⁵⁵ Furthermore, regardless of how many Arians were amongst the Lombards as a people, Paul the Deacon—who sees

⁵⁰ B8 (PL 54.557-558), J1(viii) (502).

⁵¹ Landau 1999, 429-30, n. 19, argues for Rome.

⁵² Massigli 1912, 369-377; Wurm 1939, 35, agrees with Massigli.

⁵³ Chavasse 1964, 162.

⁵⁴ Fanning 1981 argues from the documentary evidence that the Lombards were primarily pagan upon entering Italy in 568 but with Catholic and Arian minorities that persisted into the 600s when the Catholic conversion of the Lombards took place. Brown 2009 takes issue with Fanning concerning Arianism, however—see below. Either way, some of the archaeology points towards the ongoing life of pre-Christian practices within the Lombard community, as visible in the artifacts on display at the Civico Museo Archeologico di Milano.

⁵⁵ On Arianism, see T. S. Brown 2009, 293-295.

them as primarily pagan in the 500s—says that there were many Arian bishops in the Lombard kingdom.⁵⁶ That is to say, Chavasse’s argument for an anti-Arian compendium likely originating in northern Italy still holds in the face of any continued Lombard paganism and the catholic elements in Lombard society.

The collection is either an augmented *Dionysiana*, according to Wurm, or *Dionysio-Hadriana*, according to Maassen; Wurm’s arguments that the additions to the original collection come from the *Vaticana* (**L**) as well as being present in the otherwise ‘pure’ *Collectio Dionysiana* manuscript, Vat. lat. 5845 (*c*), make a compelling case that, in fact, we have here an augmented *Dionysiana*, not *Dionysio-Hadriana*.⁵⁷ However, Bibliotheca Vallicelliana A.5 (*g*), on the other hand, is a manuscript of the *Dionysio-Hadriana*, not the *Dionysiana*. Chavasse sidesteps the issue of which Dionysian collection has been augmented by simply addressing the augmentation itself through the lens of its two earliest manuscripts, *c* (*Dionysiana*) and *g* (*Dionysio-Hadriana*). The additions he refers to as **S**, looking to their source.⁵⁸

Since **D-a** is an augmentation that compilers felt compelled to append to both the *Dionysiana* and *Dionysio-Hadriana*, it comes as no surprise that the characteristic letters of the collection are not those of **D**. **D-a** contains fifteen of Leo’s letters, the first six of which are decretals: 9, 15, 1, 2, 108, 17, 20, 23, 22, 28, 139, 119, 80, 145, and 165. Chavasse argues that the source of **D-a** made use of some of the same sources as other collections, thereby explaining the common groupings of letters found herein. The selection of dogmatic letters, which we shall analyse shortly, consists of two proto-collections related to **L**, whereas the body of six

⁵⁶ *Historia Langobardorum* 4.42: ‘Huius temporibus pene per omnes ciuitates regni eius duo episcopi erant, unus catholicus et alter Arrianus.’

⁵⁷ Maassen 1870, 454; Wurm 1939, 35.

⁵⁸ Chavasse 1964.

decretals is hitherto unattested in any other canonical collection,⁵⁹ although we have frequently seen *Epp.* 1 and 2 attached together.

More significant is the body of dogmatic letters in **D-a**. As Chavasse demonstrates, there are two selections of Leo's dogmatic letters included in both **D-a** and **L**: *Epp.* 20, 23, 22, and 28; and *Epp.* 139, 119, 80, 145, and 165.⁶⁰ In **D-a**, they run as items 111-123 (*g*) or 46-58 (*c*); in **L** they are items 61-70 and 82-89. Between the two collections, they are in a different order. In the **D-a** order, they appear to be documents with two distinct concerns. The first selection of four letters is about the issue of Eutyches, consisting of *Ep.* 20, Leo's anti-Nestorian letter to Eutyches; this is followed by the account of the trial of Eutyches at the Home Synod of 448; then *Ep.* 23, to Flavian of Constantinople where Leo expresses his shock that he'd not heard about Eutyches' heresy sooner; *Ep.* 22, in which Flavian initially tells Leo about Eutyches, but given here as though a reply to *Ep.* 23; then Leo's 'Tome' (*Ep.* 28), presented as the final judgement on the issue. In **L**, the Home Synod is delayed until later in the collection. This selection of letters is also apparent in *Collectio Hispana* (**S**), where these four (*Epp.* 20, 23, 22, and 28)—omitting the Home Synod—are also edited together.⁶¹ Let us call them **proto-4**,⁶² a fairly straightforward anti-Eutychian collection.

The second selection of five letters is about the relationships amongst the highest-ranking episcopates; *Ep.* 139 is addressed to Juvenal of Jerusalem, where Leo both congratulates Juvenal on being restored to his see and reprimands him as the likely source of the problem of his forced exclusion from the city and the

⁵⁹ See the chart *ibid.*, 169.

⁶⁰ See *ibid.*, 158.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 169-170.

⁶² See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

uncanonical enthronement of a rival bishop, the monk Theodosius; *Ep.* 119 is to Maximus of Antioch, whose Nicene episcopal privileges Leo sees as threatened by both Anatolius of Constantinople and Juvenal of Jerusalem; in *Ep.* 80 to Anatolius of Constantinople, Leo urges him to remove Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Eustathius of Berytus from the diptychs;⁶³ *Ep.* 145 is addressed to Emperor Leo I and concerns itself with the establishment of an orthodox episcopacy in Alexandria; and *Ep.* 165 is Leo's famous 'second Tome' to Emperor Leo I. Let us call this **proto-5**, *Epp.* 139, 119, 80, 145, and 165.⁶⁴ Chavasse argues that **proto-5** would have been considered important during the Acacian Schism, when bishops' names were being erased from diptychs, and when Bishops of Rome were involved in wrangling with emperors over the definition of orthodoxy.⁶⁵ The two collections have been split up and rearranged in **L**, but they are still clearly evident in the selection of Leo's letters. Chavasse has thus discovered two more proto-collections for us. Let us see how these relationships hold out in the realm of textual variation.

ii. Manuscripts

D-a exists in six manuscripts, all listed below, but only five consulted for this project:

c: Vat. lat. 5845. For palaeography and origins, see **D c** above at 2.2.f.ii. Leo's letters are items 40-58.⁶⁶ In *c*, **D-a** has been appended to the *Collectio Dionysiana*, not the *Dionysio-Hadriana*, but it is, nonetheless, the same collection. When I consulted this manuscript, I collated only the **D** portion's

⁶³ The diptychs were lists of major bishops with whom an episcopal see was in communion that were read out as part of the intercessions in the celebration of the Eucharist.

⁶⁴ See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 172-175.

⁶⁶ If the number seems too large, this is because *Ep.* 165 is items 55-58.

selection of Leo's letters. Therefore, in the analysis that follows, the information for the decretals is unavailable, and for the dogmatic letters, my analysis is based on Schwartz's readings as given in ACO 2.4.

m: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14008, from the second half of the ninth century, originating in Rome with provenance of St Emmeram, Regensburg; this manuscript has been digitised.⁶⁷ It is written in a Caroline minuscule with capitals as rubrication. *m* like *g* and *v*, contains both **D-h** and **D-a**; a damaged selection from **D-h** can be found at foll. 111^v-120^v, where the text of *Ep.* 14.11 ends somewhere shortly after 'conflueret'; fol. 121^r is mostly flaked away and illegible, and when legible text resumes on 121^v, we are in the letters of Pope Hilarus. Leo's **D-a** letters run foll. 203^v-235^v; after *Ep.* 20 ends on 213^v, before moving on to *Ep.* 23, we have 'EXEMPLA GESTORUM VBI IN CONSTANTINOPOLITANA SYNODO A SCO FLAVIANO CONFESSORE EVTICHES HERETICVS AVDITVS ATQVE DAMNATVS EST', running 213^v-216^v.

g: Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, A.5, from the third quarter of the ninth century, from central Italy; for more information, see **D-h g** above (4.2.a). The **D-a** Leo runs 270^{rb}-298^v. The text is minuscule while the rubrics are capitals. If this manuscript comes from Ravenna, as argued by Massigli, then the arguments for a Ravennate origin for this collection are bolstered; acts of Ravennate councils are inscribed on fol. 16 in a tenth-century hand. The correcting hand (*g*²) looks to be either contemporary or the original scribe.

⁶⁷ The URL for this manuscript is: <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00032665/images/>. Accessed 22 May 2015.

v: Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXVI (saec. X), originating in Vercelli itself. The entire text, including rubrics, is in a minuscule hand. *v*, like *g*, contains Cresconius and **D-h** as well as **D-a**.

p: Vat. lat. 1343 (saec. X^{ex}-XIⁱⁿ) from Pavia, Italy. This manuscript only contains parts of **D-a** and is a merging of material from both this collection and Pseudo-Isidore.⁶⁸ From the **D-a** collection of Leo's letters I was able to find only *Ep.* 9 on fol. 148^{r-v}. The text of *Ep.* 9 cuts off short at 'multitudo conuenerit', and a letter of Pope Zacharias suddenly takes its place.

b: Vat. lat. 1353 (from 1460) which was copied from a manuscript from Bergamo. Massigli says of this manuscript, 'le texte ne présente pas d'autre particularité notable que de donner un grand nombre de mauvaises lectures et aucun détail extérieur ne nous renseigne sur la patrie de l'archétype.'⁶⁹ It has thus, due to its lateness and Massigli's negative judgement, been excluded from my analysis.

ii. Manuscript Relations

The following table is based upon select readings from *Epp.* 9, 15, 1, and 2.

Var., <i>Ep.</i>	<i>Collectio Dionysiana adaucta</i> (D-a)	Ballerini text (control)	Significance
1, 9 <i>Inscr.</i>	LEO EPISCOPVS DIOSCORO ALEXANDRINAE ECCLESIAE DE SACERDOTVM VEL LEVITARVM ORDINATIONE (<i>m, g, p</i>) ... ordinationem (<i>v</i>)	N/A	Error <i>v</i>
2, 9	<i>probetur</i> (<i>p</i>)	<i>comprobetur. Cum</i>	Variant <i>p</i>

⁶⁸ Kéry 1999, 21.

⁶⁹ Massigli 1912, 368-9.

		enim (<i>m, g, v</i>)	
3, 9	<i>nefas est quod sanctus discipulus ipsius Marcus (m, g, v, p)</i>	<i>credere quod sanctus discipulus eius Marcus</i>	Common variant D-a
4, 9	<i>apostolis (m, g, v)</i>	quod cum <i>Apostoli (p)</i>	Common error <i>m, g, v; p</i> possible emendation
5, 9	<i>aeternum principium (m, g, v, p)</i> <i>hac capituli (p)</i>	et uita accepit <i>initium.</i> In hac <i>apostoli</i>	Common variant D-a
6, 9	<i>iunias (m)</i> <i>iun (g, v)</i>	Data XI kalendas <i>Iulias</i>	Common variant <i>g, v</i>
7, 15 <i>Inscr.</i>	CVI ITEM STATVTA LEONIS AD TOROBIVM EPM ASTVRICENSEM PROVINCIE HISPANIE (<i>v</i> ; <i>m</i> om. 'cui' and 'prouincie hispanie'; <i>g</i> om. 'prouincie hispanie')	Leo episcopus Turribio episcopo salutem	
8, 15.Pr.	om. <i>ab</i> and <i>sub (m)</i> ab euangelio <i>xpi</i> sub <i>xpi</i> nomine deuiarunt (<i>g</i> ² , <i>v</i>) om. <i>sub xpi (g</i> ¹)	qui <i>ab</i> Euangelio <i>sub</i> Christi nomine deuiarunt	Errors <i>m</i> Common variant <i>g, v</i>
9, 15.Pr.	om. <i>se (m, g, v)</i>	tenebris <i>se</i> etiam	Common error D-a
10, 15.Pr.	<i>immersa (m, g, v)</i>	paganitatis <i>immersit,</i> ut	Common error D-a
11, 15.Pr.	in <i>effectum (m)</i> <i>collocaret (g, v)</i>	in <i>effectu</i> siderum <i>collocarent</i>	Error <i>m</i> Common error <i>g, v</i>
12, 15.Pr.	<i>qui etsi sacerdotalis (m)</i> <i>et (v)</i>	<i>quae etsi sacerdotali</i> (<i>g</i>)	Error <i>m</i> Variant (likely error) <i>v</i>
13, 15.Pr.	<i>christianissimorum (v)</i>	tamen <i>Christianorum</i> principum (<i>m, g</i>)	Variant <i>v</i>
14, 15.Pr.	<i>spiritalem (g, v)</i>	ad <i>spiritalē ...</i> remedium (<i>m</i>)	Common error <i>g, v</i> ; easily emended by <i>m</i>
15, 15.Pr.	<i>xvii (m)</i> <i>xvi (g)</i> <i>xvimi capitulit (v)</i>	opiniones <i>sedecim</i> <i>capitulis</i>	Error <i>m</i> Error <i>v</i>
16, 15.17	<i>cuiusdam (m, g, v)</i>	miror <i>cujusquam</i> catholici	Common variant D-a
17, 15.17	<i>laborem (m)</i> <i>labo\ra/re (g)</i>	intelligentiam <i>laborare (v)</i>	Errors <i>m, g</i>
18, 15.17	<i>sit ascendente (v)</i>	<i>sit an descendente</i> ad inferna (<i>m, g</i>)	Error <i>v</i>
19,	om. <i>est (m, g, v)</i>	et mortua <i>est</i> et	Common variant

15.17		sepulta	D-a
20, 15.17	<i>tertia resuscitata</i> (g, v) <i>tertio resuscitata</i> (m)	die tertio suscitata	Common variant D-a Common variant g, v
21, 15.17	<i>ydacianus</i> (m) <i>datius</i> (g) <i>dacius</i> (v)	fratres nostri <i>Idatius</i> et	Errors <i>m</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>v</i> ; <i>g</i> , <i>v</i> clearly related
22, 15.17	<i>substantia</i> (g)	cum eis <i>instantia</i> tua (<i>m</i> , <i>v</i>)	Error <i>g</i>
23, 15.17	No date given (<i>m</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>v</i>)		Common variant D-a
24, 15.17	EXPLICIT (g) EXPLIC (v) om. 'explicit' (<i>m</i>)	N/A	
25, 1 <i>Inscr.</i>	INCIPIIT PAPE LEONIS AD AQVILENSEM EPISCOPVM (<i>m</i> ; <i>g</i> ² , <i>v</i> <i>add.</i> 'ianuarium' <i>post</i> 'ad')	N/A	
26, 1.1	om. <i>ne</i> (<i>m</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>v</i>)	nostrorum <i>ne</i> insontibus	Common error D- a; Sa
27, 1.1	<i>domos sedeant...</i> (<i>m</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>v</i>)	plures <i>domus adeant</i> et per falsi	Common variant D-a; Sa
28, 1.1	<i>in talium receptionem</i> <i>seruassent</i> (<i>m</i>)	<i>receptione</i> (<i>g</i> , <i>v</i>)	Error <i>m</i> ; agreement with Sa <i>s</i> , <i>l</i> , <i>c</i> coincidental
29, 1.2	<i>hoc</i> nostri auctoritate (<i>m</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>v</i>)	<i>hac</i>	Common error D- a; Sa <i>s</i> , <i>l</i> , <i>r</i> , <i>k</i>
30, 1.2	<i>diaconi, uel cuiuscumque</i> <i>ordinis</i> (<i>m</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>v</i>)	<i>diaconi, sive</i> <i>cuiuscumque</i>	Common variant D-a; Sa
31, 1.2	<i>possint</i> (<i>m</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>v</i>)	nullis <i>possit</i> (<i>s</i>)	Common error D- a; Sa <i>l</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>k</i>
32, 1.2	<i>quod</i> in doctrina (<i>m</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>v</i>)	<i>quidquid</i> in doctrina	Common variant D-a; Sa
33, 1.2	om. <i>esse</i> (<i>m</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>v</i>)	istorum <i>esse</i> <i>versutiam</i>	Common variant (error?) D-a; Sa
34, 1.2	<i>hanc iustorum versutiam</i> (<i>m</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>v</i>)	As above	Common error D-a
35, 1.4	om. <i>per ... dudum</i> (<i>m</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>v</i>)	<i>ne per huiusmodi in</i> <i>homines extincta</i> <i>dudum scandala</i> <i>suscitentur</i> (<i>s</i> ²)	Common error D- a; Sa
36, 1.5	om. <i>nec ... officio</i> (<i>m</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>v</i>)	<i>diaconatus ordine nec</i> <i>in subsequenti officio</i> <i>clericorum</i> (<i>s</i> ² , <i>r</i> ² : paraphrase omission)	Common error D- a; Sa
37, 2	EXPLICIT AD	N/A	

<i>Inscr.</i>	AQVILENSEM EPM INCIPIT PAPAE LEONIS AD SEPTIMVM EPM ALTINENSEM (<i>m, g, v; g</i> 'ad quilensem'; <i>m, g, 'expl'</i>)		
38, 2.1	<i>cognoscere (m, g, v)</i>	<i>periculum cognosceret...</i>	D-a agreement with Sa l
39, 2.1	<i>uel cuiuslibet (m, g, v)</i>	<i>siue cuiuslibet</i>	Common variant D-a; Sa
40, 2.2	<i>cum quod (m, g, v)</i>	<i>transire quod cum recte</i>	Common variant D-a
41, 2.2	<i>sponsionibus (m, g, v)</i>	<i>curam suam dispositionibus nostris</i>	Common variant D-a; Sa s, l, r, c

Throughout these four letters, *m, g,* and *v* are strongly united in what seem to be the most characteristic variants of this collection—indeed, in *Ep. 9, p* follows suit. On several occasions (Variants 6, 8, 11, 14, 20, 21, and 25 where *v* includes an addition by *g*² [of approximate date to *g*¹] that *m* lacks), *g* and *v* agree against the rest of the collection. *v* also introduces a number of errors that *m* and *g* lack (Variants 1, 12, 13, 15, and 18). From the foregoing table, it looks as though *v* is possibly a descendant of *g*. Manuscript *m*, on the other hand, since it is not as close to the other two, is more likely a second branch of the family tree (it only agrees with *g* against *v*, besides *v*'s errors, twice, Variants 7 and 17). Thus, from our point of origin, we have two known branches of the tree, *g—v* and *m*. Manuscript *p* lacks too much Leo material to classify. Finally, the resemblance between **Sa** and **D-a** in *Epp. 1* and *2*—including significant omissions the Ballerini print—speaks of some relationship between their texts, probably a common Italian source.

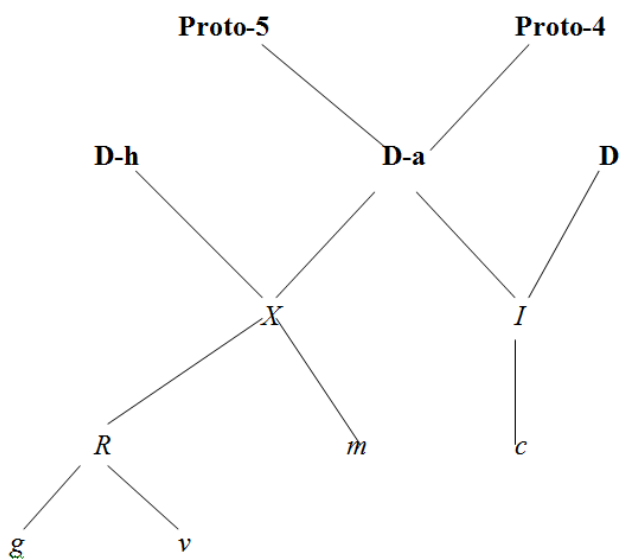
The following table sets forth the relationships for *Epp. 20* and *22*, adding *c*'s readings as collated by Schwartz in ACO 2.4; unfortunately, Schwartz does not list all of the **D-a** variants I found—these are the variants in the table that do not list *c*. For an edition, the entirety of *c* will have to be collated.

Var., Ep.	<i>Collectio Dionysiana adaucta</i> (D-a)	Schwartz (control)	Significance
1, 20 <i>Inscr.</i>	INCIPIT EPISTOLA LEONIS EPI VRBIS ROMAE AD EVTYCHETEM PBRM ATQVE HERETICVM (<i>c, m, g</i>) ... PAPAЕ VRBIS ROME ... (<i>v</i>)	N/A	Agreement <i>c, m, g</i> ; variant <i>v</i>
2, 20	<i>epistola</i> (<i>c, m, g, v</i>)	tuae dilectionis <i>epistulis rettulisti</i>	Common variant D-a
3, 20	<i>pullaret</i> (<i>g, v</i>)	studiis <i>pullularet</i> (<i>m</i>)	Common error <i>g, v</i>
4, 20	<i>ambigas</i> (<i>c, m, g, v</i>)	non <i>ambigis</i> auctorem	Common variant D-a
5	INCIPIVNT EXEMPLA GESTORUM VBI IN CONSTANTINOPOLITANA SYNODO A SCO FLAVIANO CONFESSORE EVTICHES HERETICVS AVDITVS ATQVE DAMNATVS EST (<i>m, g</i>) ... GESTORUM URBI IN ... (<i>v</i>)	N/A	Agreement <i>m, g</i> Error <i>v</i>
6, 23 <i>Inscr.</i>	INCP EPISTOLA LEONIS PAPAЕ VRBIS ROMAE AD FLAVIANVM EPM CONSTANTINOPOLITANAЕ VRBIS (<i>g</i>) INCIPIT EPLA ... (<i>m, v</i>)	N/A	<i>c</i> gives this inscription, but whether it abbrev. 'incipit' or not unspecified by Schwartz Agreement D-a
7, 23	<i>Dilectissimo fratri flauiano Leo.</i> (<i>c, m, g, v</i>)	Leo Flauiano episcopo Constantinopolitano.	Common variant D-a
8, 23	<i>scae laudabilis fidei</i> (<i>c, m, g, v</i>)	sancta et laudabili fide pro	Common variant D-a
9, 23	<i>eccla catholica pacis</i> (<i>c, m, g, v</i>)	pro <i>ecclesiae catholicae pace sollicitus</i>	Common variant D-a
10, 23	<i>necdum</i> (<i>c, m, g, v</i>)	intercedentibus <i>nondum</i> agnoscimus	Common variant D-a
11, 23	<i>seuiore</i> (<i>g</i>)	quod <i>seuioire</i> sententia (<i>c, m, v</i>)	Error <i>g</i>
12, 23	ab errore reuocatis nostra quorum <i>auctoritate</i> fides (<i>g</i>) nostra <i>auctoritate</i> quorum (<i>c, m, v</i>)	ab errore reuocatis <i>auctoritate</i> nostra quorum fides	Error <i>g</i> Common variant <i>c, m, v</i>
13, 23	quid in se fuerit <i>inuentum</i> (<i>c, m, g, v</i>)	quid <i>inuentum</i> in se fuerit	Common variant D-a

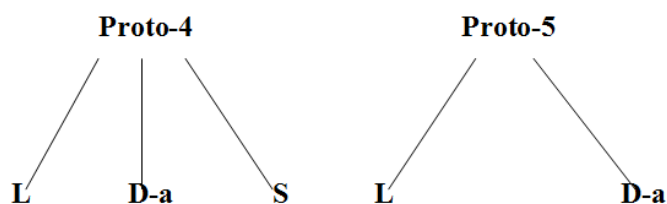
14, 23	<i>dei inspiratione</i> (<i>c, m, g, v</i>)	<i>ea obseruantia deo inspirante</i>	Common variant D-a
15, 22	INCIP RESCRIPTA FLAVIANI (<i>c, m</i>) ...FLAVIANA (<i>g, v</i>)	N/A	Agreement D-a Common error <i>g, v</i>

Although its version of **D-a** is appended to **D**, not **D-h**, we can now say that *c* is definitively within the family of manuscripts of **D-a** based both on its readings as well as its contents. It provides the same rubrication and the same variants. It also becomes apparent that *g* is not, as hypothesised, the ancestor of *v*, since Variants 11 and 12 are clear errors on the part of *g* that *v* does not repeat; in the former case *v* and all other **D-a** manuscripts concur with Schwartz's text, whereas in the latter *v* agrees with the other **D-a** manuscripts against Schwartz. The relationship between *g* and *v*, then, is less clear than had been anticipated. Perhaps, instead, *g* and *v* share a now-lost ancestor from Ravenna, *R*.

With the above information, we can create the following stemmata for **D-a**. *c* is treated separately because of its inclusion in a **D** manuscript, not a **D-h** manuscript, so the intervening manuscript *I* between it and the original **D-a** must differ from that between the other manuscripts and **D-a**, *X*.



and:



c. *Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis*⁷⁰ (S-ga)

Before moving on to the *Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis*, brief mention must be made of the *Collectio Hispana Gallica* upon which it was based. The *Hispana Gallica* is, as its name implies, a Gallic recension of the *Collectio Hispana* (S).⁷¹ It is the intermediate step between the pure *Hispana* and S-ga. During the eighth-century Islamic invasion of Spain, the *Hispana* crossed the Pyrenees into the area of Narbonne and spread along the lands of the Rhine by the end of the century. In this process of transmission, however, the text was itself transformed. A version of this *Hispana* from across the Pyrenees written in Strasbourg in 787 was lost in a fire of 1870; however, a copy of the 787 version survives in a Viennese manuscript from c. 800.⁷² The Viennese manuscript shows us the birth of the *Hispana Gallica*. The *Hispana Gallica* is missing the later Visigothic councils and the *Sententiae* of Agde, and adds various items besides changing the order of the decretals. Fournier and Le Bras consider it ‘corrompu, barbare’.⁷³ This collection

⁷⁰ B9 (PL 54.559-560), J1(ix) (502).

⁷¹ See above 2.2.u.

⁷² Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 411. This manuscript is misprinted by the Ballerini, PL 54.559-560, as Caesareum Vindebonense 41 (olim 281); they record it as of their ‘Hispana’, which is S-ga soon to be described; note, however, that the *Hispana*, *Hispana Gallica*, and S-ga all have the same selection of Leo’s letters, and they all trace themselves back to the same Iberian source.

⁷³ For the above, see Fournier and Le Bras 1931, 100-102.

survives in three manuscripts, and I have decided not to consult these for this project because of the prominence of **S-ga** and the later importance of **S**. A complete critical edition, however, will necessitate their consultation.

S-ga was likely compiled after the mid-840s in Gaul. Not only is it the base text for most of the genuine material in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals (**I**): it is itself a product of this group of forgers, evident from certain Pseudo-Isidorian readings and additions. Using the *Collectio Hispana Gallica* as a base, the forgers added other genuine items as well as three forgeries and tweaked their material slightly.⁷⁴ They were thereby able to produce a collection of documents with a strong aura of authority that supported their objectives. The objectives of these skilful forgers and editors was primarily to influence the working out of canon law in favour of local bishops against their metropolitans; to this end, they invested greater power in the office of the primate and limited the ability of the metropolitan to intervene in a bishop's diocese.⁷⁵ If we consider this preliminary stage of their operations, the Pseudo-Isidorian forgers were mostly being selective in their material, using known canonical sources that would sway the opinion of their readers towards their position, with an ambitious range of concern throughout the entire ecclesiastical hierarchy.

S-ga includes the same thirty-nine of Leo's letters as **S**; the dogmatic letters are in roughly chronological order,⁷⁶ and twelve decretals are included. Although the manuscripts mention forty letters, including three to Marcian, items 51, 52, and 53, only two to Marcian are in the collection at this point, *Epp.* 82 and 83. Since the

⁷⁴ For the publication of the *Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis* and its relationship to Pseudo-Isidore as described herein, cf. Fuhrmann 2001, 144-149. The three forged items are a letter from Archbishop Stephen to Pope Damasus, Damasus' response to said letter, and one more item by Damasus, 'De vana superstitione chorepiscoporum vitanda.'

⁷⁵ For the purpose behind the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries, cf. Fuhrmann 2001, 140-144.

⁷⁶ Jalland 1941, 502.

collection matches **S**, the error lies with the table of contents, not with the contents themselves. The Leonine epistles included are thus *Epp.* 20, 23, 22, 28, 25, 33, 44, 45, 60, 61, 69, 70, 71, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 90, 93, 104, 106, 115, 130, 134, 165, 15, 7, 16, 4, 18, 167, 14, 159, 12 (*decurtata* recension), 108, 166, 9, and 168. However, neither of our two **S-ga** manuscripts contains Leo's letters in this order; furthermore, neither of them preserves them in the same order. **S-ga** has been edited online through *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* by A. Grabowsky and D. Lorenz;⁷⁷ I have checked this edition against *a* and found it to be sound.

ii. Manuscripts

The *Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis* exists in two manuscripts:

h: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Hamilton 132, fol. 1^{ra}-128^{va} (saec. IX^{in-med}), with provenance in Corbie. This manuscript is damaged, rearranged, and somewhat of a mess. Leo is to be found in foll. 47bis^r, 76^r-95^v, 98^{r-v}, and 103^{r-v}. The text of Leo is Caroline minuscule except the following folios of Corbie a-b: 85^r, col. 2, to 86^v; and 88^r, col. 2, to 94^v.⁷⁸ 47bis^r contains the fragmentary end of *Ep.* 106, beginning at the same point as the collection does in *a*, 'nulla sibimet'. 76^r begins with *Epp.* 20, 23, 22 without merging with the end of *Ep.* 7 as does *a* below, then the sequence from 28 through to the end of 106 on 84^v. 85^r begins with *Ep.* 7 in its entirety without merging

⁷⁷ <http://www.benedictus.mgh.de/quellen/chga/> Accessed 13 June 2015.

⁷⁸ Firey 2015 has evaluated the composition of this manuscript, which has many more sections of Corbie a-b than those mentioned here, and makes a compelling case that two scriptoria wrote the text, one using Caroline minuscule, the other Corbie a-b. Her contention is that the Corbie a-b portions are the product of a nunnery scriptorium, the rest a monastic scriptorium. Certainly, as I have observed, the fact that the Corbie a-b text contains many more corrections, and all of them in a Caroline minuscule hand, than the Caroline minuscule text points to the Caroline minuscule portions of the manuscript being from some sort of head of the manuscript's production, while the quires and folios in Corbie a-b were written elsewhere and then incorporated. I would like to thank Dr Firey for providing me with proofs of her article before it went to print.

with *Ep.* 22 as does *a* below, then *h* gives *Epp.* 16, 4, 18, 167, 14, 159, 12, and JK †551 up to 95^v. Leo resumes again on 98^{r-v}, where we encounter *Epp.* 108, 166, and 9 up to ‘aliis regulis traditionu(m) e(st)’. Finally, 103^{r-v} begins with the conclusion of *Ep.* 9 from ‘suarum decreta formauerit’, where 98^v had ended; then follows *Ep.* 168, which runs from column 2 of 103^r to a third of the way down column 2 of 103^v, where the text of 103^v ends. This sequence of letters is **S/S-ga** as described above; however, we have here the interpolation of JK †551 and a gap covering *Epp.* 106-15. It looks as though *h* was written in the right order and then dismembered.⁷⁹

a: Vat. lat. 1341 (saec. IX),⁸⁰ with provenance in Autun, although it may have been written in Corbie.⁸¹ In *a*, we have Leo’s letters in the following order, matching that of Vienna, ms 411 of the *Hispana Gallica*, including errors:⁸² the end of *Ep.* 106, then 115, 130, 134, 165, 15, the beginning of *Ep.* 7 which is cut off partway through, then the end of *Ep.* 22, followed by the sequence of Leo’s letters as noted above from *Epp.* 28, through the beginning of *Ep.* 106. *a* then gives us letters from Popes Innocent I through Celestine I, then resumes the collection of Leo’s letters with *Epp.* 20, 23, and the start of *Ep.* 22. *Ep.* 22 then merges with the latter part of *Ep.* 7, then provides the rest of the collection as described above, ending with *Ep.* 168. When the **S-ga** is used to create the various collections associated with Pseudo-Isidore (**I**), the transposition between *Epp.* 7 and 22 is maintained. In *Ep.* 22, the cut off is at ‘ualentini et

⁷⁹ When the contents of Vienna 411, *Hispana Gallica*, (cf. Chavasse 1975, 29-30) are compared with *h*, we see that *h* lacks the damage done to the collection in that ms. If *h* truly is **S-ga**, it is descended not from Vienna 411 but something else, whereas *a* is descended either from Vienna 411 or another ms with the same errors, as discussed below.

⁸⁰ Wurm 1939, argues X^{ex}. See Kéry 1999, 70.

⁸¹ Kéry 1999, 70, notes Bischoff arguing for Corbie but with no proper reference.

⁸² Discussed and described by Chavasse 1975, 29-30.

apollonaris reparans sectum: hos enim diuulgauit’, running into *Ep.* 7 at ‘diuulgauit auctoritas et censura coercuit’ and running through to its end. In *Ep.* 7 the text cuts off at ‘uigilantia diuulgauit, qui non’ and provides the missing text of *Ep.* 22 beginning with ‘qui non timebant praeceptum ueri dei dicentis’ and continuing to the end. The transposed section of *Ep.* 7 is 287 words consisting of 1837 characters; the transposed section of *Ep.* 22 is 206 words consisting of 1282 characters. In **I-a** and **I-b** the 39 letters of Leo are placed back together in the right order; someone likely observed that the actual contents differed from that in the table of contents. However, this error of the merged letters was maintained. This explains why the two transposed sections are of differing lengths, for it was not simply two letters switching endings but the entire corpus of Leo’s letters being moved around. It is not only their use of the same collection of letters but this shared error that makes **I** and **S-ga** worth consideration as a single family. **I** is also, thus, descended from *a* and its branch of the family tree, not the branch of *h*.

iii. Manuscript relations

S-ga is clearly descended from **S**, albeit not from either *v* or *o*, both of which it pre-dates. Nonetheless, the following table, using the variant numbers from the two tables at 2.2.u.iii demonstrates this descent:

Var., <i>Ep.</i>	S (<i>v, o</i>) S-ga (<i>a, h</i>)	Ballerini (control)	Significance
1, 7	Cap.: ‘LXIII Item eiusdem leonis ad episcopos per Italiam constitutos De eo quod plurimi maniceorum uigilantia	N/A	Unity S , S-ga <i>a</i>

	papae leonis in urbe roma delecti sunt.’ (v; o no significant variants) om. <i>h</i> LXIII. EIVSDEM LEONIS AD EPISCOPOS PER ITALIAM QVOD PLVRIMI MANICHEORVM VIGILANTIA PAPAE LEONIS IN VRBE ROMA DETECTI SVNT’ (a)		
2, 7.1	sub legibus (v) subditi legimus (a)	subditi legibus (o; h)	Error v
3, 7.2	quos ne absoluerentur (o; a; D-b v) absolberentur (v) nos ne absoluerentur (h)	quos <i>hic</i> , ne <i>se</i> absolueret	Om. <i>hic</i> and <i>se</i> shared variant D , D-b v Om. <i>hic</i> only D-b m Error S , S-ga Error S-ga h
4, 7.2	om. <i>fratres charissimi</i> (v, o; h, a)	uestra, <i>fratres charissimi</i> , sollicitius	Error S , S-ga
5, 7.2	<i>pestibus</i> (v, o)	mentibus, ne <i>pestis</i> haec (h, a)	Error S
6, 7.2	<i>diligens</i> (v, o)	a Deo <i>dignae</i> remunerationis praemium (h, a)	Error S
7, 7.2	<i>suae</i> (v, o)	de reatu negligentiae <i>se</i> non poterit (h, a)	Variant S
8, 7.2	<i>sacrileges</i> (v) <i>sacrilegms</i> (o)	contra <i>sacrilegae</i> persuasionis auctores (h, a)	Error S
9, 7.2	Datum tertio kl fbrs theodosio XVIII et Albino vc cns (v) Datum iii kls fbas teudosio XVIII et Albino viris clarissimis consulibus (o) Data III kl FEBR Theodosio VIII et Albino uucc cons (h, a)	Data tertio kalendas Februarii, Theodosio Augusto XVIII et Albino uiris clarissimis consulibus	
10,	LXII eiusdem leonis ad		Unity S , S-ga

16 <i>Cap.</i>	episcopos per siciliam cum capitibus suis (<i>o</i> ; <i>v</i> om. ‘cum capitibus suis’— <i>o</i> lists <i>chh</i> , <i>v</i> straight into text) <i>h</i> ‘...siciliam constitutos’; does not mention <i>chh</i> but lists them <i>a</i> ‘cum capitul(is) suis’, lists <i>chh</i>		
11, 16 Pr.	om. <i>episcopus</i> (<i>v</i> , <i>o</i> ; <i>h</i> , <i>a</i>)	Leo <i>episcopus</i> uniuersis	Variant S , S-ga Agrees with D , D-b
12, 16 Pr.	<i>reprehensionem</i> (<i>v</i> , <i>o</i>) <i>a reprehensione</i> (<i>h</i>) <i>reprehensione</i> (<i>a</i>)	si quid usquam <i>reprehensioni</i> inuenitur	Error S Error S-ga
13, 16 Pr.	quo <i>beatissimus Petrus</i> apostolus (<i>o</i>) <i>beatissimi apostolus</i> Petrus (<i>h</i>)	quo <i>beatissimus apostolus</i> Petrus (<i>v</i> ; <i>a</i>)	Variant <i>o</i> Error <i>h</i>
15, 16.1	<i>accipitis</i> (<i>o</i> ; <i>h</i> , <i>a</i>) <i>accip[...]</i> (<i>v</i>)	consecrationem honoris <i>accipistis</i>	Variant S , S-ga Agrees with D , D-b
16, 16.1	<i>apostoli petri</i> (<i>v</i> , <i>o</i> ; <i>h</i> , <i>a</i>)	et beati <i>Petri apostoli</i> sedes	Variant S , S-ga Agrees with D , D-b
17, 16.2	<i>mistico munerum oblatio</i> <i>veneratur</i> (<i>v</i>) <i>mistico munerum oblato</i> <i>venerantur</i> (<i>o</i>) <i>mistico mī\u/nero\um/ ob/lato uenerantur</i> (<i>h</i>)	paruulum <i>mystica munerum oblatione</i> <i>uenerantur</i> (<i>a</i>)	<i>o</i> agrees with D , D-b
18, 4 Pr.	<i>per uniuersas</i> (<i>v</i> ; <i>h</i> , <i>a</i> ; lacuna <i>o</i>)	Tusciam et uniuersas <i>prouincias</i>	Variant <i>v</i> , S-ga Agrees with D <i>c</i> , D-b
19, 4 Pr.	constituta <i>kanonum et ecclesiasticam disciplinam</i> (<i>v</i> ; ‘ <i>kanonum</i> ’ <i>h</i> , <i>a</i> ; lacuna <i>o</i>)	<i>kanonum ecclesiasticamque</i>	Variant <i>v</i> , S-ga Agees with D , D-b
20, 4 Pr.	<i>puram macula</i> (<i>v</i> ; lacuna <i>o</i>) <i>purum macula</i> (<i>h</i> , <i>a</i>)	quod ab omni <i>macula purum</i>	Variant <i>v</i> , S-ga Word order agrees with D , D-b
21, 18,	<i>secta</i> <i>delapsus et</i> (<i>v</i> , <i>o</i> ; <i>h</i> , <i>a</i>)	<i>schismaticorum sectam delapsus est, et</i>	Variant S , S-ga Agrees with D <i>a</i>
22, 18	<i>deum</i> (<i>v</i> , <i>o</i>)	<i>leuem apud Dominum noxam</i> (<i>h</i> , <i>a</i>)	Variant S Agrees with D <i>a</i>
23, 18	Datum <i>iii kl IIs alipio et ardabure</i> <i>cns</i> (<i>v</i>)	Data III Kalend. <i>Ianuarii Calepio et Ardabure uiris</i>	‘ <i>alipio</i> ’ agrees with D , D-b

	<p>\Datum/ iii kls lhas alipio et ardabure consulibus (<i>o</i>) DATVM III KL IANVARIAS ALIPIO ET ARDABVRE CONSVLIBVS (<i>h</i>) Data III kl ian Alapio et Ardabure consulibus (<i>a</i>)</p>	clarissimis consulibus	S-ga <i>a</i> ‘Alapio’ descended from ‘alipio’
Table Two (<i>Ep.</i> 9)			
1	<p>LXVIII eiusdem leonis ad dioscorum alexandrinum epm (<i>v, o; h</i>) LXXIII ... episcopum (<i>a</i>)</p>	N/A	Agreement S, S-ga
2	<p>I De ordinatione prsbri uel diaconi ut subbato sco celebretur id est die dominico II De festiuitatibus si una augenda pplis non sufficerit nulla sit dubitatio iterare sacrificium (<i>o; om. v</i>) aut diaconi (<i>h, a</i>) sp. ‘sabbato’, ‘agenda’, ‘iterari’ (<i>h, a</i>) <i>a</i> expands abbrev.</p>	N/A	Divergence S Agreement S o; S-ga
3	<p>dioscoro alexandrino salutem (<i>v; a</i>) dioscoro alexandrino epsco salutem (<i>o</i>)</p>	Dioscoro <i>episcopo</i> <i>Alexandrino</i> salutem (<i>h</i>)	Divergent variants, <i>v, o</i> Agreement S v and S-ga a
4	<i>effectum</i> (<i>v, o</i>)	impendamus <i>affectum</i> (<i>h, a</i>)	Error S
5	<i>festinemus</i> (<i>v, o; a, h</i>)	fundare <i>desideramus</i>	Variant S, S-ga
6	<i>ipsius</i> (<i>v, o; a, h</i>)	discipulus <i>eius</i> Marcus	Variant S, S-ga
7	et <i>ad eandem</i> (<i>v; h, a</i>) et <i>ad eam</i> (<i>o</i>)	et <i>ea</i> fidelium multitudo conuenerit	Errors S, S-ga
8	<i>processoribus</i> (<i>o</i>)	nostris <i>processionibus</i> atque ordinationibus frequenter interfuit (<i>v; h, a</i>)	Error <i>o</i>
9	<i>sedis auctoritatis</i> (<i>v, a add.</i>) <i>sedis auctoritatibus</i> (<i>h</i>)	in omnibus apostolicae auctoritatis teneremus (<i>o</i>)	Variant <i>v, S-ga a</i> ; false

S-ga is clearly not a descendent of the same **S** tradition as *v* and *o*. Nonetheless, its close similarity to these manuscripts on a number of points, especially rubrication, demonstrates that it is firmly a member of the wider **S** family. We see also that, at several points where **S-ga** diverges from **S** that *h* and *a* are united, drawing them closer together as a unit, despite the differing damage done to the collection in its manuscripts.

d. Pseudo-Isidorus Mercator, *Decretales* ('Pseudo-Isidore'; 'False Decretals'; I)

i. Dating and Context

The next collection to consider is the tradition associated with the name 'Isidorus Mercator.' This family of manuscripts is a compilation of forgeries, manipulated conciliar canons and decretals, and unmodified canons and decretals. The Pseudo-Isidorian forgery scheme includes five projects identified thus far.⁸³ The first project comprises the Capitularies of Benedictus Levita, himself fictional, completed 847-857;⁸⁴ the second stage is **S-ga**,⁸⁵ which is followed by the third stage, those canonical collections published under the name of Isidorus Mercator. For a long time, these collections were thought to be the product of Isidore of Seville, but, as we shall see below, research has demonstrated that they are the product of a clever group of ninth-century forgers.⁸⁶ Two smaller projects were also carried out by the Pseudo-Isidorian forgers, the *Capitula Angilramni* and the *Collectio Danieliana*, which have both been edited by K.-G. Schon. The former is a forged

⁸³ Unless otherwise stated, the information about the history of the Pseudo-Isidorian workshop comes from Fuhrmann 2001.

⁸⁴ This stage of the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries does not involve Leo.

⁸⁵ Discussed immediately above at 4.2.c.

⁸⁶ Martínez-Díez 1965, 265, in his brief survey of the modern study of the *Collectio Hispana*, cites Antonio Agustín (1516–1586) as 'the first to distinguish between the genuine *Hispana* and the False Decretals.'

piece of royal legislation and need not concern us. The latter is a canonical collection, identified by Schon as Pseudo-Isidorian,⁸⁷ that includes a single Leonine quotation from the rubrics of **D-h**.⁸⁸

These forgeries are a product of the secular and ecclesiastical politics of the Carolingian age. The organisation of the Carolingian court as crafted and fine-tuned by Charlemagne involved the conjunction of the Church, the royal family, and the nobility to run the Empire. Throughout the reign of his son Louis the Pious (*r.* 814-840) moments of calm were scattered amidst various rebellions—his nephew Bernard rebelled, then his younger son Pippin. At a later point, there were rebellious counts in Aquitaine; then both of Louis' sons rebelled, and then his elder son Lothar alone rebelled. All of these rebellions involved clergy, as when Lothar used the aid of Pope Gregory IV to depose his father in 831 and had himself crowned king of Francia; following this deposition, when Louis was released from captivity by his son Pippin, bishops loyal to Louis reinstated him as sole ruler of the Frankish realms. Upon Louis' death, his younger sons Louis the German and Charles the Bald fought against Lothar and Louis' grandson Pippin II for rule of the empire. Despite a treaty in 843, hostilities resumed in 844 and lasted until 848.⁸⁹ Time and again, bishops were deposed, exiled, and imprisoned for having supported the losing side in one of these conflicts; it is only natural that they would take an interest in canon law to protect themselves.⁹⁰ Something about Leo and his geo-ecclesiology was attractive to these Carolingian churchmen, for they gather and copy his letters in abundance.

⁸⁷ Schon 2006*b*.

⁸⁸ *Ut non amplius ab statuto concilii tempore quam diebus XV remorentur episcopi*. From *Ep.* 14. See *Collectio Danieliana*, 36, ll. 6-8.

⁸⁹ See Nelson 1995, 110-125.

⁹⁰ Of course, as the case of Praetextatus in Gregory of Tours reminds us, canon law and forgeries thereof can also harm bishops. In order to have his way in the case against Praetextatus, Chilperic

In this milieu arose a group of forgers in the diocese of Reims, very likely at the monastery of Corbie.⁹¹ They compiled a notable amount of canonical information about the rights of bishops which they proceeded to modify when they felt it necessary. And if modification alone was not enough, they forged canonical items—especially decretals. These forgeries fooled people for a long time, but one clue that a decretal is a forgery is if a pope from before Gregory the Great uses the formula, ‘seruus seruorum Dei’—for this was an introduction of his. And the forged decretals purporting to be of the third and fourth centuries do just that. In the imaginary *Benedictus Levita* and the *Capitula Angilramni*, they also produced secular legislation that favoured bishops. Through their projects of forgery and publication, the Pseudo-Isidorian forgers protected the rights of bishops from metropolitans and the secular authorities, frequently through either investing power at the diocesan level or turning the papacy into the protector of the bishops. They invested greater power in the position of primate, and proceeded to delineate the treatment of clergy throughout the entire ecclesiastical hierarchy.⁹² After they are first wielded in ecclesiastical politics by Hincmar of Reims and his nephew Hincmar of Laon in 868,⁹³ the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries become widely disseminated, in Cologne by 887, Mainz by 888, Metz by 893, Tribur by 895, but Rome even earlier, being attested during the papacy of Nicholas I (pope, 858-867), and in Milan by 882 or

forged a document: ‘King Chilperic went home to his lodging. He sent to us a book of the canons, with a newly-copied four-page insert, which contained what appeared to be apostolic canons, including the following words: “A bishop convicted of murder, adultery or perjury shall be expelled from his bishopric.”’ *History of the Franks* 5.18, trans. Thorpe.

⁹¹ Note that **S-ga h** comes from Corbie, and *a* may have as well.

⁹² For the purpose behind the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries, see Fuhrmann 2001, 140-144.

⁹³ Although we have a citation of Pseudo-Isidore as early as 852, the False Decretals really explode into the scene with the Hincmars. See Wallace-Hadrill 1983, 275-278, 292-303, for a very lucid account of the Hincmars and their use of Pseudo-Isidore. However, for the textual origins of Pseudo-Isidore, Fuhrmann 2001 is greatly to be preferred.

896.⁹⁴ In time, Pseudo-Isidore was disseminated throughout the entire former Frankish Empire, and even into England, becoming the most widely disseminated piece of canonical literature before Gratian—as the many manuscripts from across Europe demonstrate.⁹⁵ Having already discussed **S-ga**, I shall now investigate the canonical collections under the name of Isidorus Mercator themselves.

Being the most widespread pre-Gratian canonical collections alone makes the collections **I** of interest to the student of Leo; they represent a major force for the transmission of Leo's letters and their use in canon law before the *Decretum* of Gratian in the 1140s. Furthermore, the Pseudo-Isidorian collections have an extensive selection of Leonine letters, some of which, while not always occurring here for the first or only time, are rare. Thus, for such letters, Pseudo-Isidore is an important witness. However, for the 39 **S/S-ga** letters, **I** is of less interest, especially since the repetition of the confused texts of *Epp. 7* and *22* throughout the manuscripts makes their descent from **S-ga** a likely.

Although edited by Paul Hinschius in 1863,⁹⁶ Pseudo-Isidore has never been fully collated. Happily, a critical edition is currently underway under the auspices of Monumenta Germaniae Historica at *Projekt Pseudoisidor*.⁹⁷ For the authentic decretals, Hinschius simply reused the current editions of these texts. As a result, scholars of mediaeval canon law lack a suitable tool for fully investigating how the Pseudo-Isidorian forgers modified their texts. The interpolations and purposeful modifications make collating Pseudo-Isidore tricky, especially in the face of the rare letters. If a reading occurs in a letter attested only in Pseudo-Isidore and *Collectio*

⁹⁴ See Fuhrmann 2001, 181-183.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁹⁶ P. Hinschius, ed., *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Ingilramni*, Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1863.

⁹⁷ K.-G. Schon, K. Zechiel-Eckes, and W. Hartmann, ed., *Projekt Pseudoisidor*, <http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/>, accessed 29 June 2015.

Ratisbonensis that differs between the two traditions, is the difference due to Pseudo-Isidorian modification or due to the usual errors of scribal transmission? If the latter is the case, one should ask whether the *Ratisbonensis* reading is necessarily the better. Since *Ratisbonensis* pre-dates Pseudo-Isidore, its readings might be preferred, *ceteris paribus*, but a Pseudo-Isidorian variant need not necessarily be an interpolation or error. It may even preserve an older, ‘better’ tradition. Part of this evaluative task is considering *how* the variant affects the text. If it is clear that a Pseudo-Isidorian reading is both a minority reading and promotes the Pseudo-Isidorian agenda, it may be cautiously assumed to be an interpolation, especially if the other variant fits better with Leo’s style and content of the Leonine corpus.

Having said that, my collations of Leo’s letters do not demonstrate any serious deviation from the pre-**I** tradition save the frequent inclusion of the *spurium* JK †551. The variants that I have found in the **I** manuscripts are the sorts of corruptions/emendations one would expect within any body of manuscripts where there was no suspicion of intentional modification of the text to suit any particular party.

ii. Hinschius’ Classification System

The Ballerini identified four different collections of Leo’s letters within the Pseudo-Isidorian manuscript tradition, covering their Collections 10-13.⁹⁸ Hinschius identified five classes of Pseudo-Isidorian material: A1, A2, A/B, B, and C; of these, current research points to A1, A2 and A/B as coming from the Pseudo-Isidorian

⁹⁸ PL 54.560-564.

workshop.⁹⁹ Hinschius considered A1 the oldest and best class,¹⁰⁰ and it contains all three strands of the Pseudo-Isidorian tradition as he perceived it:

1. Decretals from Popes Clement I (d. ca 97) to Miltiades (d. 314);¹⁰¹
2. Councils from Nicaea I in 325 to Seville II in 618, although there is also material from Toledo XIII of 683 that precedes Seville II in the manuscripts;
3. Decretals from Silvester I (d. 335) to Gregory II (715-731).¹⁰²

This class bears a significant resemblance to **S-ga**; strand two is the same as the first portion of the earlier collection, and the decretals of strand three are largely the same as therein. Fuhrmann judges Pseudo-Isidore as represented by Class A1 to be ‘a *Hispana* expanded by adding false papal letters’, not forgetting the inclusion of material from the *Dionysio-Hadriana*.¹⁰³ The main expansion of Class A1, the early decretals, only includes pre-Constantinian material; the canonists have forged letters to cover the period before **S-ga** and placed them at the beginning, maintaining the chronological nature of most early mediaeval canonical collections.

Class A2 does not contain the conciliar material and only has decretals from Clement I to Damasus (336-384);¹⁰⁴ therefore, it does not concern us. Class A/B was judged by Hinschius to be inferior to both A1 and A2; it is the source whence the later Classes B and C derive, hence its resemblance to them and its label ‘A/B.’ Hinschius considered this class inferior due to his dating of Vat. lat. 630, which the Ballerini judged to be one of our oldest Pseudo-Isidorian manuscripts.¹⁰⁵

Contemporary scholarship as represented by Fuhrmann follows the Ballerini in

⁹⁹ Fuhrmann 2001, 155-159.

¹⁰⁰ Hinschius 1863, xviii-xix.

¹⁰¹ Hinschius refers to this latter bishop of Rome as ‘Melchiades’.

¹⁰² Fuhrmann 2001, 155.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹⁰⁵ See *ibid.*, 156, citing Hinschius 1863, xvii, and Ballerini, PL 56.251ff.

dating this manuscript, not Hinschius. Having examined the manuscript myself, I, too, follow the Ballerini dating of Vat. lat. 630 on palaeographical grounds. This dating is corroborated by the early dating of the other A/B manuscripts. The result is that A/B's closer resemblance to the *Hispana* manuscripts, especially to **S-ga**, can be ascribed to its proximity to the original forgers, not to later modification as proposed by Hinschius,¹⁰⁶ who imagined Class A/B to be a later, eleventh-century blending of material from A1 and B, not a product of the original forgers' workshop.¹⁰⁷ Classes B and C, derived from A/B, are of later origin than the other strands of the Pseudo-Isidorian tradition, and therefore come last in the classification of Pseudo-Isidorian manuscripts. After these classes comes the recently identified Yale or Cluny recension, itself dated to the ninth century. Finally, as discussed below, Ballerini Collection 13, which I name *Collectio Florentinus*, seems related to Pseudo-Isidore.

Our discussion of the manuscripts themselves, now that we have set forth the Pseudo-Isidorian playing field, will be organised around the Ballerini collections, not only because of how predominant their study remains for Leo—especially for Anglophones as Jalland simply gave an English version of it in his work—but also because it is broadly chronological and easily maps onto the other widely-used system of Pseudo-Isidorian classification, that of P. Hinschius. Neither system is perfect, as my discussion below demonstrates. Nevertheless, in using them, it is hoped that my study and analysis can easily be compared with the work of earlier scholars. Ballerini Collection 10 corresponds with Hinschius A/B and B; Ballerini 11 with Hinschius A1; and Ballerini 12 with Hinschius C.¹⁰⁸ Each classification of

¹⁰⁶ Fuhrmann 2001, 156.

¹⁰⁷ See Hinschius 1863, lx-lxvii, esp. lx-lxi.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Kéry 1999, 100-108.

Pseudo-Isidorian decretals begins with the manuscripts listed by the Ballerini, then moves on in a subsection to the others that share Hinschius' classification.

iii. *Ballerini Collection 10*;¹⁰⁹ *Hinschius A/B and B (I-b)*

Ballerini Collection 10 generally contains the same 39 letters of Pope Leo as **S/S-ga**, with the same *decurtata* form of *Ep.* 12, cutting off midway through chapter 9. Although classed distinctly by Hinschius among the wider Pseudo-Isidorian collections, both A/B and B are the same collection of Leo's letters, which is why I give them a single *siglum* as a collection. Furthermore, all of the manuscripts of A/B and B are from northern France or Flanders with the exception of the Montecassino manuscript. If Hinschius' system still holds any merit, this fact is worth keeping in mind. And if the theory of the forgers working in Corbie is also of worth, then this geographical spread of manuscripts makes sense, assuming they all descend from the Corbie scriptorium; indeed, this centre provides us with one ninth-century manuscript (*c*), and possibly a second (*l*), both approximately contemporary with the forgers. Given the ages of the manuscripts, it is likely that Hinschius' Class B is a descendant of A/B that was modified. Because **I-b** is so clearly dependent upon **S/S-ga**, I have not taken the time to produce detailed tables for these letters. The most important manuscripts are *c* and *l*.

The manuscripts of 'Category 10', as assessed by the Ballerini, are, in chronological order:

c: Vat. lat. 630 (saec. IX^{med}),¹¹⁰ from Corbie via Arras.¹¹¹ Hinschius classed

this manuscript as A/B, as seen above, and dated it much later than the

¹⁰⁹ PL 54.559-560, Jalland 1(x) (503).

Ballerini, to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, basing his arguments upon palaeographical data and the contents of the manuscript itself.¹¹² However, as noted above, my own assessment of *c* on palaeographical grounds reaffirms the Ballerini dating. Leo's letters run foll. 228^r-252^r. Leo's letters begin with a magnificent *littera notabilior* D with intricate knot designs forming the letter itself. The rubrics are in an uncial hand, as is the first line of each epistle. The collection of Leo's letters begins:

Incipiunt decreta papae leonis aduersus euticen constantinopolitanum abbatem. Qui uerbi et carnis unum ausus est pronuntiare naturam dum constat in domino ihu xpo unam personam nos confiteri in duabus naturis dei scilicet atque hominis. Scriptum leonis episcopi urbis romae ad euticen constantinopolitanum abbatem aduersus nestorianam heresem.

f: Vat. lat. 631 (saec. XIII), from Flanders via France, classed as B by Hinschius.

*iii-a. Hinschius Class A/B*¹¹³

Four other manuscripts are listed as being Class A/B:

l: Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Rep. II 7 (Leihgabe Leipziger Stadtbibliothek) (saec. IX); this manuscript may have originated in Corbie; its provenance is Leipzig. Leo's letters run foll. 52^v-end, beginning with the

¹¹⁰ Access to the MGH collation of this ms is available at: http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/html/handschriftenbeschreibung_vat_lat_630.html. Accessed 2 December 2014.

¹¹¹ Jasper 2001, 54-55.

¹¹² Hinschius 1863, xvii-xviii.

¹¹³ There is one further A/B ms: Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, II.8 (olim Stadtbibliothek, Naumann CCXL) (saec. XII), of unknown origin. This manuscript is fragmentary, consisting of a mere seven folios, and contains no Leo material.

same programmatic incipit as *c*. Sadly the manuscript is water-damaged in several places, tops of some pages are missing, and occasional mending covers some of the text. Its damaged state is further visible in its incompleteness, cutting off at *Ep.* 4.2 ‘quicumque tales admissi sunt, ab ecclesiasticis’. That we have a ninth-century Class A/B manuscript that was possibly written in Corbie is of significance when one considers Zechiel-Eckes’ contention that the entire project originated in Corbie.¹¹⁴

m: Monte Cassino, Archivio e Biblioteca dell’Abbazia, 1 (saec. XI), originating in Monte Cassino itself.

o: Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 189 (saec. XI), from northern France with provenance of the chapter library of Notre-Dame at Saint-Omer.

iii-b. Hinschius Class B

Hinschius Class B contains six more manuscripts, none earlier than the 1100s:

b: Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale 115 (saec. XII), from Flanders with provenance in Boulogne.

g: Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale 116 (saec. XII), also from Flanders with provenance in Boulogne.

p: Paris, lat. 14314 (olim Saint-Victor 184), of 1138-43, from Flanders but with provenance in Paris. This manuscript has its contents laid out in a late mediaeval or early modern hand. The original contents of the twelfth century are on fol. 4^v and simply say, ‘Decreta Leonis p(a)p(ae) c(um)

¹¹⁴ See Zechiel-Eckes 2002, 1-26.

ep(istu)la flauiani constantinopolitani ep(iscop)i ad eu(n)de(m) (et)

ep(istu)la pet(ri) rauennensis ep(iscop)i ad euticen hereticu(m).

a: Paris, lat. 3853 (1154-59), from Saint-Amand in Pévèle, Flanders. This is a very large manuscript, measuring 500 x 320 mm. It is written in a minuscule hand in two columns with red and green rubrication. The *litterae notabiliores* that commence each letter alternate amongst blue, green, and red; the *incipit* of each letter receives a large *littera notabilior* and then the content receives a small, rubricated letter at its start. In terms of presentation, this manuscript and Paris, lat. 14314, were produced on basically the same template.

v: Vat. Reg. lat. 976 (saec. XIII), from northern France or Flanders.

y: York, Minster Library, Add. 8, from 1469, with the 39 Leonine letters in fol. 309^v-345, which was written in France for Simon Radin (*d.* 1510), who was *consiliarius* of the French king and a senator of the order of ‘Parrisi’;¹¹⁵ an anthology of *opuscula* from various church fathers was dedicated to him in 1500 by Cipriano Beneto.¹¹⁶ This manuscript was acquired by one Thomas Jessop in 1826 and bequeathed to York Minster upon his death in 1864.¹¹⁷

iv. *Ballerini Collection 11*;¹¹⁸ *Hinschius Class A1 (I-a)*

This collection contains the following Leonine letters: 120, 97, 99, 139, 28, 31, 59, 124, 1, 35, 29, 114, 155, 162, 135, then the 39 of **S/S-ga**, with *Ep.* 19 added.

¹¹⁵ Radin is listed in F. Blanchard’s 1647 ‘Catalogue de tous les conseillers’, *Les Présidens au mortier du Parlement de Paris*, 33-34.

¹¹⁶ A digitised version of this *incunabulum* is online: <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00036947/images/index.html?seite=00005&l=en&viewmode=1>. Accessed 4 December 2014. More about Radin I have not been able to ascertain. The spelling ‘Parrisi’ above comes from this text.

¹¹⁷ On this ms, see Ker and Piper 1992, 795-797.

¹¹⁸ PL 54.559-562, J1(xi) (503).

Thus the Ballerini describe it. However, what the Ballerini fail to mention is the fact that the 39 letters from **S** are not in the canonical order, and that there are further variations found in the many Pseudo-Isidorian manuscripts. My collations confirm the following order for the **S** letters that follow *Ep.* 135 as described by Hinschius:¹¹⁹ 20, 23, 22 (as in other Pseudo-Isidorian manuscripts), 115, 130, 134, 165, 15, 7, 28, 25, 33, 44, 45, 60, 61, 69, 70, 71, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 90, 93, 104, 106, 16, 4, 18, 167, 14, 159, 12, 108, 166, 9, JK †551, *Damnatio Vigili*, 168, and 108 in the same form as its earlier appearance. *Ep.* 106 cuts off at: ‘in aliqua unquam sit parte solubilis’, then adds: ‘quos uidet dignatio tua non posse reprobari eligere debebis quos clericos facias.’ Hinschius does not identify the interpolation; it is a passage from Innocent I, *Ep.* 37.4.¹²⁰ *o* adds *Ep.* 19 after *Ep.* 16, while *v* adds it before. The whole collection of Leo’s letters in this recension begins, ‘FINIVNT EPISTOLAE DECRETORVM CELESTINI ET SIXTI; DEHINC SEQVVNTUR DECRETA PAPAE LEONIS’.

The text of *Ep.* 28 comes from the ancient homilaries and thus differs from **S** without changing the order.¹²¹ The letters added to Pseudo-Isidore in **I-a** are all in **Q** save *Ep.* 35. Jasper observes that the **Q** and **S-ga** texts found here have ‘melded together into a single body of texts’, most notably in *y*—their manuscripts crossed paths as medieval editors made new collections.¹²² As discussed above, **I-a** was favoured by Hinschius.

Before we discuss the manuscripts, it is worth taking note that this collection contains the third form of *Ep.* 12 as identified by the Ballerini; it is a conflation of two other partial versions of the text—the *decurtata*, which cuts off in chapter 9 (in **I-b** and **S/S-ga**), and the second form, used in the *Dionysio-Hadriana* (**D-h**), which

¹¹⁹ Hinschius 1863, xxvi-xxviii.

¹²⁰ PL 20.604.

¹²¹ Jalland 1941, 503.

¹²² Jasper 2001, 55.

lacks Ballerini chapters 6-8. This conflated form takes the second form and adds the *decurtata* chapters 6 through 8 to the end. The other collections that share this reading of *Ep.* 12 with **I-a** are Ballerini Collections 20, 21, and 23, as well as their Collection 22,¹²³ whence comes the only manuscript that actually alerts the reader to the conflation's existence.¹²⁴ It is my contention, since Ballerini Collections 20 through 23 date from the twelfth through fifteenth centuries, that the original conflation of the two forms of this letter was done by the Pseudo-Isidorian workshop itself. As we have seen, form two is favoured by **D-h**, which itself has left traces in the Pseudo-Isidorian collection. We know that the group associated with **I** had access to **D-h** from the aforementioned *capitulum* in *Collectio Danieliana*. Therefore, when they prepared this stage of the task of forgery, they had become aware of the discrepancy between the **S-ga** form of *Ep.* 12 and the **D-h** form. Accordingly, they sought to create a form of this letter that included all of the material available to them.

Finally, a note about the geographic spread of **I-a** is in order, as with **I-b**. 26 manuscripts are listed below. Our earliest come from France/northern France or the Rhine-Moselle region of Germany, which shared close political and cultural ties in the Early Middle Ages. Of the manuscripts below, two are classified incorrectly, and another is a copy of one of those, reducing our manuscripts to 23. The table below demonstrates the spread of Pseudo-Isidore from northern France, although **I-a** is copied primarily in that country, with only a couple from Rhenish Germany and northern Italy.

	Saec. IX	Saec. XI	Saec. XII	Saec. XIII+
--	----------	----------	-----------	-------------

¹²³ See below at 4.4.2.a-d.

¹²⁴ Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. Z. 79 (=1665). For this information, see PL 54.640.

France	2 (or 3; 1: IX-XI)	5 (or 6; 1: IX-XI)	4	2 (XV)
Northern Italy				2
Rhine-Moselle		3		
England				2
Unknown			3	

All of this is to reinforce the geographical centre of the Pseudo-Isidorian forgers upon northern France. Furthermore, when we glance at the dates of the **I-a** manuscripts versus those of **I-b**, we see that **I-a** is not to be preferred on grounds of dating as Hinschius put forward, since there are more **I-b** manuscripts of the ninth century than **I-a** ones. The most important **I-a** manuscripts are *o* (because of its age) along with *v* and *p*, our other early **I-a** manuscripts but with fewer corruptions than *o*, despite being later—as noted below, these latter two manuscripts are clearly related in their treatment of Leo’s letters.

The Ballerini mention five manuscripts that include this collection, in chronological order:

y: New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library 442 (saec. IX^{med}), probably from Reims. In terms of dating this manuscript, Kéry observes, *contra* Williams,¹²⁵ that it was not written in the decade after 850, but in John VIII’s pontificate (872-882);¹²⁶ this argument is based on the pope list found in *y*, a reliable means of obtaining a *terminus post quem*. The Yale manuscript itself causes us some problems, because Schon has used it to identify another strand of original Pseudo-Isidore, which he calls the ‘Cluny’ recension, the name based on his identifying the manuscript as

¹²⁵ Williams 1971.

¹²⁶ Kéry 1999, 102-03.

being from Cluny.¹²⁷ This means that when we turn our attention to all other A1 manuscripts, we should keep in mind that further research may reveal to us that these are, in fact, manuscripts of the proposed Cluny recension, not Class A1. Furthermore, the Yale Pseudo-Isidore and its related manuscripts do not contain the collection of **I-a** but the same one as Ballerini, Collection 21. It will be discussed more fully below.

o: Vat. Ott. lat. 93 (saec. IX^{med}), originating and with provenance in northern France.¹²⁸ This manuscript is mutilated at its conclusion, and since Leo concludes the volume, running 129^v-149^v, this has an effect upon his text. Fol. 149^r closes with the increasingly illegible *capitula* to *Ep.* 14, and 149^v proved unreadable. The final folios, 150-151, are neither Pseudo-Isidore nor original to the manuscript. Due to the illegibility, we are effectively missing all of *Ep.* 14 as well as what followed. As mentioned above, this manuscript adds *Ep.* 19 after *Ep.* 16 in Hinschius' canonical order.

v: Vat. lat. 3791 (saec. XI), from northern France as well. Leo's letters run foll. 88^r-166^v. In general, the readings herein are better than in Vat. Ott. lat. 93. It adds *Ep.* 19 before *Ep.* 16, as noted above. The synopsis of *Ep.* 44 at fol. CXXXVI^v is incorporated into the text of the letter, as with Paris, lat. 9629. Both manuscripts also share the spelling *capud* in *Ep.* 12.

Vat. lat. 4902 and Vat. Barb. lat. 57 are mentioned by the Ballerini for this category as well; about these modern catalogues and bibliographies have yielded no information.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ See Schon 1978.

¹²⁸ Kéry 1999, 105.

¹²⁹ The Vatican's electronic catalogue has recently added Vat. Barb. lat. 57, but no information to further my quest was found there.

iv-a. Hinschius Class A1

Hinschius Class A1 as listed by Kéry is enormous. Since one of the listed A1 manuscripts in Milan (Biblioteca Ambrosiana A.87 inf.) does not include Leo, not every manuscript that Hinschius identified as A1—and he did view the Milanese manuscript, as attested by the list of consulters—contains Leo’s letters. Below I list all of the known manuscripts classified as A1 to give a picture of the magnitude of Pseudo-Isidore. However, I only consulted select manuscripts from the list below, namely *p*, *m*, and *f*. I begin with the manuscripts assessed before listing the others.

p: Paris, lat. 9629 (Reg. 3887.8.A) (saec. IX-XI) from France. Leo’s letters run 102^v-142^r. This manuscript adds *Ep.* 19 after *Ep.* 16. The *capitula* are rubricated uncials for which the scribe of the text failed to leave enough room; as a result, entire words and phrases frequently spill over into the margins. The synopsis at the start of *Ep.* 44, fol. 122^r, col. 2, is incorporated into the main text of the letter, as with *v*, with which it also shares the spelling *capud* in *Ep.* 12.

m: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. soppr. J.III.18 (saec. X-XI) from northern Italy with Florentine provenance. I believe that this is the manuscript the Ballerini identify as being San Marco 182. When the Florentine priory of San Marco was suppressed under Napoleon, the vast majority of its manuscripts were dispersed, ending up in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze; before reaching San Marco, this manuscript spent time in the library of the Florentine humanist Niccolò Niccoli whose

library was only surpassed in Florence by that of Cosimo de' Medici.¹³⁰ According to the catalogue of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, this manuscript was formerly San Marco 675. Following the *Inventario dei codici di San Marco ricevuti nel 1883*, San Marco 182 is now Conv. soppr. J.IV.20; however, according to the *Inventario* of 1768, San Marco 182 is not canonical; having viewed Conv. soppr. J.IV.20, I confirm that this manuscript does not contain Pseudo-Isidore. Conv. soppr. J.III.18 is, however, from San Marco, for the front-page, verso, reads, 'Iste liber est conuentus S. Marci de flô ordinis predic / Ex hereditate uiri doctissimi Nicolai de Nicolis Florentini'. Finally, the contents of *m* match those of Ballerini, San Marco 182, a manuscript classified as Collection 13 by the Ballerini, not Collection 11 which would have made the manuscript Class A1. It is most likely, then, that the shelfmark recorded by the Ballerini was no longer correct at the time of the dissolution of the priory over fifty years later. Since the Leo contents of *m* are clearly not **I-a**, it will be dealt with presently at 4.2.e.

f: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichi 135 (saec. XV); this manuscript comes from a form lacking the conciliar portions,¹³¹ as I saw myself. Leo runs fol. 142^r-188^v. It does not follow the order established for Class A1 by Hinschius as described above, but, rather, the order of Ballerini Collection 21; I shall therefore discuss it more fully in its place.¹³²

Nevertheless, the rest of the manuscript appears to be Pseudo-Isidore A1.

¹³⁰ See *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

¹³¹ Mordek 1978, 474.

¹³² See below 4.4.2.b.

Bernkastel-Kues, Bibliothek des St.-Nikolaus Hospitals, 52 (olim 37; C. 14)
 (saec. XI), provenance of Bernkastel-Kues ‘from monastery of S. Eucharius-
 Matthias at Trier’.¹³³

Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 702 (E.27) (saec. XI) from Angers with
 provenance of Rouen.

Vat. Reg. lat. 1054 (saec. XI) from France.

Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, 91 (saec. XI) from Angers, provenance of
 Vendôme.

Cologne, Historisches Archiv, W 50 (saec. XI-XII); this and the Cologne
 manuscript below include the A1 decretals in an abridged form.¹³⁴

Cologne, Historisches Archiv, W 101 (saec. XII).

Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, 146 (saec. XII), from Northern France,
 provenance of Avranches.

Eton, College Library, B.1.I.6 (saec. XII), likely written in Normandy with
 provenance of the cathedral chapter of Exeter, written in a Norman hand,
 with papal decretals on fol. 88-232.¹³⁵

London, British Library, Cotton Claudius E.V. (saec. XII), written in
 Normandy with provenance in England.

Vat. lat. 1344 (saec. XII) from France.

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 496 (olim A. V. 40) (saec. XII).

¹³³ See Kéry 1999, 101.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹³⁵ Ker 1977, 708-711. Although Hinschius did not classify said manuscript, we can thus safely assume that the Eton Pseudo-Isidore is Class A1 along with London, British Library, Royal 11.D.IV which is a copy of it; be aware, however, that it also has some relationship with Saint-Omer 189, which Hinschius classed as A/B (Kéry 1999, 101, 104). Somerville 1972, 305-306, summarises arguments for/against its French/English origins, noting that, either way, it was in Exeter well before the fourteenth century, possibly as early as the mid-twelfth. Ker 1977, 711, thinks that mss written in such a script as this have provenance of Exeter, but acknowledges that they may be French.

Vat. Reg. lat. 978 (saec. XII).

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 2133 (saec. XII), with both place of writing and provenance uncertain.

Cambridge, University Library, Dd.I.10-11 (saec. XIV), a copy of British Library, Cotton Claudius E.V. written in England, with provenance of Cambridge.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 16.18, fol. (saec. XV), from Florence, which is an incomplete copy of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. soppr. J.III.18 (*m*).

London, British Library, Royal 11.D.IV (saec. XV) from England, 'either directly or indirectly copied from Eton, College Library, B.1.I.6,'¹³⁶ above.

Paris, lat. 3855 (saec. XV) from Paris.

Paris. lat. 15391 (olim Sorbonne 729) (saec. XV), from France, provenance of Paris.

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 221 (D.III.16; olim A.II.14) (saec. XV) from Italy.

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. IV.47 (=2126) (saec. XV) with provenance of Northern Italy.

v. *The Cluny Recension, or Yale Pseudo-Isidore (Y)*

As discussed above (at 4.2.iv), in 1978, K.-G. Schon identified the Yale manuscript of Pseudo-Isidore as yet another recension of the collection from the ninth century; this recension is called the Cluny Recension because of its use in

¹³⁶ Kéry 1999, 102.

Cluny at a later date. The Yale Pseudo-Isidore is not, strictly speaking, **I-a** as it was previously classed. Indeed, we need look no further than its collection of Leo's letters to demonstrate this fact: *Epp.* 20, 23, 22, 28, 25, 35, 29, 31, 33, 59, 44, 45, 60, 61, 69, 70, 71, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 90, 93, 104, 106, 120, 97, 99, 139, 115, 114, 134, 135, 130, 124, 163, 162, 155, 165, 15, 7, 1, 19, 16, 4, 18, 167, 14, 159, 12, 108, 166, 9, JK †551, and 168. This collection of letters corresponds to that of Ballerini Collection 21 (see below at 4.4.2.b). E. Knibbs has argued that y's edition of Leo's letters originally contained just the 39 letters of **S/S-ga**, and that the sixteen other letters, known from the other manuscripts of **I-a**, were added. The evidence for the addition of new letters into a manuscript that already existed with the 39 is found in the fact that new folios have been added into the manuscript, and text has been erased and recopied, the modifications producing the collection as described above.¹³⁷

Schon lists twelve manuscripts of the Cluny Recension:¹³⁸

1. New Haven, Beinecke Library 442 (saec. IX; **I-a** y)
2. Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 113 (saec. X/XI)
3. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 2253 (saec. X/XI)
4. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. IV. 47 (saec. XV)
5. Paris, lat. 15391 (saec. XV)
6. Vat. lat. 1344 (saec. XII)
7. Paris, lat. 16897 (saec. XIII)
8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 6 (saec. XIII)
9. Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, I.9 (saec. XIII)

¹³⁷ See Knibbs 2013.

¹³⁸ For the following discussion, see Schon 1978.

10. Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal 679 (saec. XIV)

11. Paris, lat. 5141 (saec. XIV)

12. Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale 473 (saec. XII)

Part of the proof that these manuscripts are descendants of ms y is found, in fact, in the letters of Leo the Great. In y, Leo’s letter to Theodoret of Cyrillus, *Ep.* 120, has been corrected; in ms 2, these corrections are repeated:

Ms 1/y before corrections	1/y after corrections	Ms 2
sede	<i>fide</i> sede	fide sede
compleus	complet	complet
memoriae	tamen et	tamen et
inuincibilis	inuisibilis	inuisibilis

These corrections are not enough, of course—2 could have been the manuscript from which y was corrected. However, Schon also observes that y includes a number of gaps in it—due, no doubt, to the insertions identified by Knibbs. 2 does not include these gaps. Manuscripts 3-5 have been grouped together by Schon; they have the same content as y, but lack the characteristic gaps of y; they are thus descended from that manuscript as well. Ms 6 includes the contents and text type of y, but it presents them in a different order. Mss 7-11 are also derived from y, including the corrections of y in *Ep.* 120. Ms 12 does not include everything from 7-11, but there is still a selection from Leo’s letters; it is, thus, a truncated version of the collection of y. Thus we see the groups of the Cluny Recension of Pseudo-Isidore, descending from manuscript y: 2, 3-5, 6, 7-11, and 12.

vi. *Ballerini Collection 12*;¹³⁹ *Hinschius Class C*¹⁴⁰ (**I-c**)

This collection of 102 of Leo's letters, the second-largest in existence,¹⁴¹ is made of 39 letters from **S**, textually similar to **I-b c**, then 62 letters in the order of their sources, drawing on the *Quesnelliana* (**Q**), *Grimanica* (**G**), and *Bobbiensis* (**B**).¹⁴² The Ballerini's description of this collection's contents has proven to be disordered, while Hinschius' and Chavasse's are more accurate. First, *Ep.* 24 has been added as the second letter in the **S/S-ga** series. Having compared my collations with Hinschius, after these forty letters, the following series of Leo's epistles is found: 102, 121, 122, 162, 2, 1, 19, JK †551, 10, 41, 35, 29, 31, 59, 95, 32, 94, 155, 105, 113, 111, 112, 118, 123, 125, 124, 120, 127, 163, 135, 114, 139, 99, 68, Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius, 168, a letter from a different Leo,¹⁴³ 103, 138, 54, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 50, 47, 49, 48, 51, 74, 78, 81, 84, 87, 89, 116, 119, 145, 148, 156, and 30. As Jalland notes, from *Ep.* 54 onwards this collection corresponds to the collection of Leo's letters in **G**;¹⁴⁴ however, **G** contains many more letters at this stage in the manuscript, so it is difficult to affirm a common source for both **I-c** and **G** based solely upon these grounds. Furthermore, **G** does not include *Ep.* 30 in the position that **I-c** does. **I-c**'s *Ep.* 12 is from the shorter, *decurtata*, form of that decretal, derived from **S-ga**. Finally, yet again we see northern French origins for the manuscripts of a Pseudo-Isidorian collection. When we consider the vast number of much earlier manuscripts of Leo's letters than any of this collection—none earlier than the twelfth century—collating all seven manuscripts of such a large yet late

¹³⁹ PL 54.562-563, J1(xii) (503).

¹⁴⁰ Hinschius 1863, lxix-lxx; see also Chavasse 1975, 37-38.

¹⁴¹ The largest is the *Collectio Grimanica*, discussed below at 4.3.a.

¹⁴² Jasper 2001, 55-56.

¹⁴³ Ed. Ballerini, PL 54.1239-1240.

¹⁴⁴ Jalland 1941, 504.

collection seemed a futile, time-consuming task. Therefore, I selected only the rare letters of **I-c** for collation: *Epp.* 102, 121, 122, 105, 123, 127, 36, 39, 47, 48, 74, and 156. I also chose to examine earlier rather than later manuscripts: *f* and *m*.

Regrettably, the pressures of time prevented me from seeing *r*, the earliest of **I-c**, in the course of this study. Before producing an edition of Leo's letters, seeing this manuscript will be necessary. The Ballerini list the two following **I-c** manuscripts:

f: Vat. lat. 1340 (saec. XIII), from Flanders, provenance in France. This illuminated manuscript with gold leaf is written in a beautiful Gothic hand. Leo begins with a *capitula* list on 197^r, the text of the letters running 200^r-248^r.

v: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. Z. 169 (also 168) (=1615, 1616) (saec. XV), with provenance of Venice, based on a late twelfth-century northern French manuscript.¹⁴⁵

vi-a. Hinschius Class C

I-c exists in five other manuscripts:

r: Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 672 (G. 166), fol. 7-191^v, from between 1154-1159, originating in Reims itself.

m: Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, H 013 (saec. XIII), from northern France with provenance in Pontigny. This manuscript's Gothic hand gives away its century of origin. Each letter begins with a large, intricate *littera notabilior*.

¹⁴⁵ See Kéry 1999, 105.

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée nationale 27 (B.19, olim 681) (saec. XII^{ex}) which bears a 'striking correspondance to Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 672 and Venezia, Zenetti lat. 168 and 169';¹⁴⁶ it was penned in northern France, and its provenance is from Paris.

Prague, Národní Knihovna České Republiky, IV.B.12 (saec. XV), which is based on a late twelfth-century source from Reims, and has provenance in Prague.

Prague, Národní Muzeum, XII.D.2 (saec. XIV), with provenance in Prague itself, which was classed by Hinschius as C,¹⁴⁷ but Williams argues that it is of an older tradition;¹⁴⁸ it is identical with Prague, Národní Muzeum, I.G.15 (which is an old shelf-mark) of the fifteenth century. Kéry thus lists it as Class B,¹⁴⁹ and refers the reader to Fuhrmann's work.¹⁵⁰

The differences between *f* and *m* are slight, such as 'ignota' (*f*) vs. 'incognita' (*m*), as well as *m* including 'epc' after 'Leo' in the inscription, as the sole differences between their texts for *Ep.* 102. In *Ep.* 121, the differences are of similar but slightly greater magnitude. First we have 'septuagesima et quartus est annus' (*f*) vs. 'septuagesimus et quartus est agnus' (*m*); *m* provides a better reading until—amusingly—placing 'agnus' for 'annus'. Anyone who has spent a long time copying out texts longhand knows how easily a tired mind and hand could have produced that slip! Next there is 'leui' (*f*) vs. 'leuiter' (*m*)—*m* is preferred; and 'mearum diem' (*f*) vs. 'in eam diem' (*m*)—again, *m* wins. Significantly, they are united in the rubrics, giving, for example, 'Leo eudochiae augustae de pascha' as the heading for *Ep.* 122;

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 103.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 103.

¹⁴⁸ Williams 1971, 50.

¹⁴⁹ Kéry 1999, 104.

¹⁵⁰ Fuhrmann 1972, 169 n. 61; see the correction in Mordek 1978, 475, n. 19.

this attribution is striking, given that *Ep.* 122 is cited elsewhere as to Julian of Cos.¹⁵¹ In that letter, *f* gives ‘institutionis’ against *m*, ‘instructionis’—each is a credible reading, although ‘instructionis’ has the weight of **G**, **E**, and **B** behind it; ‘diligentius inuestigare’ against ‘diligentior inuestigare’—in this case, each has a major collection on its side,¹⁵² although both of them add ‘inuestigare’ at variance with those collections. Finally, we have *f* ‘tua petitur’ against *m* ‘tua poterit’, both against **E** and **B** ‘repperit’ and **G** ‘repperit’. The sentence runs, ‘quicquid autem de hac re *diligentior* inuestigare sollicitudo tua *poterit*’ (*m*), and I believe that *m* ‘poterit’ makes better sense than *f*. Not to overburden us with more evidence, *m* gives a better text of **I-c** than *f*.

Before leaving Pseudo-Isidore, it remains to mention a host of manuscripts listed by Kéry but not included by the Ballerini and not, apparently, classified by Hinschius.¹⁵³ As a result, we cannot be sure which—if any—collections of Leo’s letters are gathered in these manuscripts. Investigating these manuscripts, of which we know 30, and classifying them would be a research project in itself. Besides these many Pseudo-Isidorian manuscripts that, if not complete, are fragments from presumably complete manuscripts, Kéry lists a large number of manuscripts containing excerpts from the Pseudo-Isidorian tradition.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ I.e. **G**, **E**, and **B**. Ballerini Collection 24, however, maintains this attribution, demonstrating its dependence upon the tradition of **I** for its contents.

¹⁵² *diligentius*: **G**, **B**; *diligentior*: **E**.

¹⁵³ See Kéry 1999, 100-105.

¹⁵⁴ See *ibid.*, 106-108.

e. *Collectio Florentina* (Ballerini Collection 13; *m*)¹⁵⁵

This collection was classed as Hinschius A1, but that identification is false, as far as Leo is concerned. It includes twenty-four of Leo's letters, the last of which is damaged; there may formerly have been more. The pre-Leonine letters of this canonical collection are not even Pseudo-Isidorian, but the Ballerini say that Leo's letters clearly are, with the first eight, however, following the text of Cresconius.¹⁵⁶ These letters, of which twelve are decretals, are: 4, 7, 16, 18, 167, 14, 159, 12, 124, 59, 33, 44, 45, 29, 35, 31, 1, 2, 163, 135, 93, 19, the edict of Marcian to Palladius the Praetorian Prefect confirming the Council of Chalcedon: 'Tandem aliquando quod', 28, and 165. Leo's letters run foll. 148^v-175^v. After *Ep.* 165 *m* closes with the *acta* of a synod.

m is the only source for the complete form of *Ep.* 12 as published by the Ballerini.¹⁵⁷ Before the Ballerini discovered *m*'s readings for this decretal, the arguments for and against the other two contenders—that which cuts off in chapter 9 and that which lacks chapters 6 through 8—had centred upon questions as to whether the content of the missing portions was *contrarium* or *dignum* of Roman teaching.¹⁵⁸ These debates were still continuing in the days of the Ballerini when P. M. Sereno 'perhumaniter' brought the sole manuscript of Collection 13 to their awareness: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. soppr. J.III.18 (saec. XII).¹⁵⁹ In this manuscript, the variant readings of the second form, common to **D-h**, are found

¹⁵⁵ PL 54.565, J1(xiii) (504).

¹⁵⁶ PL 54.563; repeated by Jalland 1941, 504.

¹⁵⁷ Edition in PL 54.645-656.

¹⁵⁸ PL 54.640-641. The main contenders in this contest were Quesnel, fighting for the *decurtata* of *Collectio Quesnelliana*, and Baluze fighting for the second form from the *Dionysiana*.

¹⁵⁹ As discussed above, 4.2.d.iv-a, the Ballerini saw this manuscript when it was still in residence at the Dominican friary of San Marco, Florence, and noted it as San Marco 182.

containing all of the content of both it and the *decurtata*.¹⁶⁰ When the Ballerini compared the readings of the *decurtata* with the San Marco manuscript, they were convinced that the style of each form was Leo's. They then formulated the theory that Leo had written two recensions of this decretal, as he had done on occasion with his sermons.¹⁶¹ The first was the *decurtata*, the second the *m* version. Both circulated, but in an early stage of transmission—that is, before the compilation of the *Vaticana* (**L**) in the early 500s and **D-h** in the 700s—both recensions were damaged; the *decurtata* as in **L** lost the very end, while the version of **D-h** lost three chapters in the middle.¹⁶² Happily, the pre-**L/D-h** recension managed to persist undamaged long enough for this twelfth-century manuscript to include the complete recension. Besides the Ballerini's contention that both this recension and the *decurtata* are in Leo's style, the fact that evidence for both exists at an early stage of transmission of the letters is also important for arguing that both the Florentine and *decurtata* forms of this decretal are genuine.

I doubt the Ballerini theory that *m* is related to **I**. Besides the different order of letters, a number of significant differences exist between the collections, not least of which is the inclusion of a different version of *Ep.* 12 as just discussed. As well, *m* does not include the same rubrics as the collections of **I**. Furthermore, in *Ep.* 28, the text of *m* is not sufficiently similar to **I-b c** to postulate a relationship; while they are more similar here than in the version of this letter added to manuscripts of **I-a**, such as **I-a o**, there are several differences, the most significant being that *m* writes, 'Beati quoque Iohannis apli testimonium resistat dicentis', while **I-b c**, along with Schwartz's text, writes, 'apostoli et euangelistae Iohannis expauit dicentis.' Another

¹⁶⁰ PL 54.641.

¹⁶¹ E.g. *Sermm.* 58 & 59.

¹⁶² PL 54.642-643.

difference is the writing of ‘desidentibus’ in *m* against ‘subsidentibus’ in **I-b** *c*, in the phrase ‘non desidentibus ambulare’. In *Ep.* 33, *m* gives the address as, ‘Leo urbis romae eps dilectissimis fribs in ephesina synodo congregatis in dno salutem,’ against **I-b** *c*, ‘Leo eps sanctae synodo quae apud Ephesum conuenit.’ In the next sentence, it writes ‘prouenire’ against *c*, ‘pertinere’; elsewhere in this letter, *m* omits: ‘xpc’ in Peter’s response to Christ’s question in Matthew 16:18, but *c* does not; *m* includes ‘sunt’ before ‘placitura’, but *c* omits the verb. Various other differences exist in *Ep.* 33, but they are small and subtle, and could merely speak of errors unique to any manuscript. The address in *Ep.* 44 once again differs between these manuscripts; in *m* we have ‘Leo urbis romae eps et oms spi p(ro) sca religione in eade(m) urbe c(on)gregati theodosio augusto,’ as opposed to *c*, ‘Leo eps et sancta synodus quae in urbe Roma conuenit, Theodosio augusto.’ Later in that letter, *m* writes, ‘datam defendite fidei’ against *c*, ‘date defendendae fidei’.

The decretal collection at the beginning of *m* is a different story. Although in *Ep.* 7, *m* includes the **S/S-ga** variants ‘quos ne absoluerentur’, and omitting ‘fratres charissimi’, both are **D-h** variants. In fact, we should turn our attention for the source of the decretals in *m*, at least, from **I** to the **D** tradition, since the first eight letters of *m* are the letters of **D-h**. Without going needlessly into much more detail, the readings of *m* for the decretal portion of the manuscript are those of the **D** tradition. Interestingly, this tradition first gives us the damaged version of *Ep.* 12, the entirety of which is found only here. It seems entirely likely that Pope Hadrian had access to a damaged copy of this decretal selection when he sent Charlemagne his augmented **D**, thus explaining the textual similarities and the presence of the undamaged *Ep.* 12

here but not there. In short, *m*'s opening Leo decretal collection comes from the **D/D-h** tradition.

f. Systematic as well as Unorganised Collections of Extracted Canons

Besides these canonical collections that include letter collections of Leo's work, there also exist a large number of systematic and unorganised canonical collections. These collections have taken passages from councils and decretals out of their original context and rearranged them; in the systematic ones, they are placed in an order according to topic, as with Cresconius, *Concordia canonum*.¹⁶³ They are not, as a result, very useful for determining the text of Leo's letters. Nonetheless, they represent an important mode whereby his thought was transmitted through the Middle Ages, for systematic collections become by far the favoured form of compilation in the Central Middle Ages. Thus, although these collections are not to be consulted for the purposes of textual criticism, I list them to demonstrate their importance for the transmission of Leo the Great, who, it proves, was one of the more important Bishops of Rome, given the diversity and spread of collections containing his letters. The following 14 collections contain excerpts from Leo's letters.

- The *Collectio Herovalliana* (saec. VIII²/2), which is an extension of the *Collectio Vetus Gallica*,¹⁶⁴
- The *Collectio LXXII capitulorum*, in Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana T.XVIII, which is descended from the ninth-century *Herovalliana* manuscript, Bamberg, StB Patr. 101.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ See above 2.2.g.

¹⁶⁴ Fowler-Magerl 2005, 37. On the *Vetus Gallica*, see above 2.2.s.

- *Collectio Bonavallensis prima*, (saec. IXⁱⁿ).¹⁶⁶
- *Collectio Capitularium* of Ansegis, by the end of January 827.¹⁶⁷ As listed in the *Clavis Canonum* CD-ROM, this collection contains only one paraphrase of Leo, *Ep.* 167.14, at 1.22.
- *Collectio capitularium* of Benedictus Levita, c. 847-852.¹⁶⁸
- The *Collectio Dacheriana*, early ninth-century; this collection used the *Collectio Hispana systematica* as a source and originates in Gaul.¹⁶⁹
- The *Quadripartitus* (saec. IX^{2-3/4}) which is dependant on the *Dacheriana*.¹⁷⁰
- The *Pittaciolus* of Hincmar of Laon, which he presented to his uncle Hincmar of Reims at the assembly called by Charles the Bald in November 869 at Gondreville.¹⁷¹ This collection has but one canon from Leo, *Ep.* 4.5.
- From around the same time as Hincmar's *Pittaciolus* and associated with him are five collections in Berlin, SBPK Phillipps 1764;¹⁷² of these Subcollection 1 contains several canons from Leo's letters.
- The *Collectio canonum Anselmo dedicata*, dedicated to Anselm II of Milan (882-896).¹⁷³
- All three collections of canons in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A. 46 inf. (saec. IX^{ex}), from Reims.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 49. Discussed above at 4.2.a.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 37-8. Fowler-Magerl provides divergent names for this collection. On 37-8 of the book, it is called *Collectio Bonavallensis prima*, the name I adopt here as correct; on p. 37, this collection is giving the Key **BA** for the CD-ROM, which in the index of the *Clavis* Keys as well as in the software is named *Collectio Bonavallensis secunda*.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 51-2.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 51-2. Mentioned in relation to **I**, 4.2.d

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 55-6.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 59-60.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 64-5.

¹⁷² Ibid., 65.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 70-74.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 66-7.

- The *Collectio CCCXLII capitulorum* (saec. IX).¹⁷⁵

4.3 Other Carolingian Collections

a. *Collectio Grimanica*¹⁷⁶ (G)

Collectio Grimanica predates the Pseudo-Isidorian enterprise, and, Schwartz argues, was transcribed in the ninth century from four sixth-century codices all currently or formerly resident in Verona, according to Turner's investigations: the second part of Vat. lat. 1322 of Latin *Acta Chalcedonensia*;¹⁷⁷ Verona LIII (51) of Facundus' *Defense of the Three Chapters*; Verona XXII (20); and Verona LIX (57).¹⁷⁸ G is the most extensive collection of Leo's letters,¹⁷⁹ consisting of 104 of them arranged chronologically; it served as the basis for Schwartz's edition, but Jasper rightly doubts the textual value of this collection when compared with *Collectio Ratisbonensis* (E).¹⁸⁰ It includes: 20, 24, 23, 72, 35, 27, 29, 30, 54, 32, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 44, 50, 47, 49, 48, 45, 51, 43, 46, 61, 60, 70, 69, 71, 74, 75, 59, 79, 78, 37, 81, 82, 86, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 93, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 117, 114, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 125, 120, 126, 127, 130, 129, 128, 131, 134, 135, 137, 136, 139, 140, 143, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 148, 152, 153, 155, 154, 156, 158, 162, 160, 161, 157, 164, 165. The letters found herein for the first time are: 27, 75, 86, 92, 117, 131, 140, 141, 147, 152, 88, 91, 143, 146, 157, 126, 128, 137, 142, 129, 153, 149, 150, 154, 158, 160, 161, 164.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 61-3.

¹⁷⁶ B18, J3(i) (507).

¹⁷⁷ See above 3.b.

¹⁷⁸ ACO 2.4, xxiii, citing EOMIA 2.1, viii.

¹⁷⁹ Jasper 2001, 46.

¹⁸⁰ As discussed above, 1.3.9.

Its value, therefore, is great, even if its variants, when held up against those of **E**, may not be of the highest quality.

It exists in the following manuscript: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1645 (IX/X saec.),¹⁸¹ from the region of Friuli whence also comes its first known owner, Petrus Passerinus in the sixteenth century. Passerinus gave it to Antonius Bellonus, through whom it came to Cardinal Grimani, after whom the collection is named. Upon the dissolution of Grimani's library, the manuscript was purchased by André Hurault Mersy, then on a diplomatic mission to the Republic of Venice. It passed through Mersy's family to the Parisian Oratory of St-Michel, whence it came to the Bibliothèque Mazarine upon the suppression of the Oratory in the eighteenth century. Quesnel's edition of the manuscript was based on the apograph in the Vatican Library.

b. *Collectio Bobbiensis*¹⁸² (B**)**

i. Dating and context

Following a selection of Pope Gregory I's letters, this collection contains twenty-six of Leo's letters. The title page lists 50 letters; those which survive are: *Epp.* 9 & 14 of Leo, then a letter of Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage (d. 430), following which are the *acta* of a North African council against Pelagians; the five Leonine decretals 12, 167, 16, 159, 15, and then *Epp.* 24, 31, 94, 95, 93, 102, 104, 105, 113, 111, 112, 118, 121, 122, 123, 125, 128, 127, 130. The text breaks off partway through *Ep.* 130. *Ep.* 167 has the **D** *capitula*, and *Ep.* 12 is in the *decurtata* recension. These same five decretals are shared by **Te**, but with *Ep.* 28 added into the

¹⁸¹ This manuscript is available on microfilm, Mf 1069 from the Bibliothèque Mazarine. There is also an apograph made for Quesnel, Vat. Reg. lat. 1116.

¹⁸² Not listed by Ballerini or Jalland.

mix and a different order; *Epp.* 15, 16, and 159 are also in the proto-collection common to **Te**, **Di**, and **Re**, **proto-3**.¹⁸³ The difference in order and the *capitula* of *Ep.* 167 makes it unlikely that they are directly related, however. One could just as easily postulate a relationship with **D** due to the presence of *Ep.* 167 with **D** *capitula* and *Epp.* 16 and 159. However, the text of **B** does not correspond very closely to any of the above collections. It seems to be heterogeneous as a type of text. Yet whatever other sources it may have had, it seems likely that **B** used either **G** or a common source with **G**, given that its letters from 24 onwards are in almost the same order as they appear in **G**, although, obviously, missing out many items and with an occasional difference in order. Nonetheless, some of the letters do appear in matching batches between the two collections, such as *Epp.* 94, 95, 93, 102, 104, 105. Throughout these letters, **B** shares a great many readings with **G**.

ii. Manuscript

It exists in one manuscript:

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana C.238 inf., (saec. IX2/2) with provenance of San Colombano, Bobbio. Leo's letters run foll. 141^r-172^v.

c. *Collectio Ratisbonensis*¹⁸⁴ (E)

i. Dating and Context

This collection of letters was the basis for Silva-Tarouca's edition.¹⁸⁵ It includes 72 letters, as Jasper says, 'compiled hierarchically according to their

¹⁸³ See Appendix 3 for a list and description of the proto-collections.

¹⁸⁴ B19 (PL 54.572), J3(ii) 507).

recipients, and frequently according to their date of dispatch, thus betraying an editor's orderly hand.'¹⁸⁶ The Ballerini and Jasper prefer *Ratisbonensis* over *Grimanica*.¹⁸⁷ It includes the following letters of the Leonine corpus: 24, 23, 29, 30, 28, 35, 34, 33, 32, 37, 38, 44, 45, 51, 50, 54, 60, 61, 69, 70, 75, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 104, 105, 106, 107, 114, 119, 109, 102, 115, 116, 117, 121, 122, 123, 126, 127, 139, 130, 129, 131, 136, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 164, 165, 162. Silva-Tarouca observes that **E** is one of those rare collections organised by recipient and argues that this collection is a direct descendent of the papal archive.¹⁸⁸ He argues this on the basis that the painstaking order of the documents, by recipient and by date, bespeaks of archival access, given how difficult organising them would be if they came from elsewhere. The strongest argument is that **E**'s compiler knew that *Epp.* 149 and 150 were two different redactions of the same letter. The beginning of the letter was sent to Basil of Antioch (edited as *Ep.* 149 by the Ballerini), and thus, after 'commonemus', **E** writes, 'Vsque hic Basilio', then continues the rest of the text; the longer version is edited as *Ep.* 150 by the Ballerini. **G**, on the other hand, keeps these as two letters, with no acknowledgement of their relationship. We know from the evidence in our earliest surviving original copy of a papal register, that of Gregory VII (c. 1088, ed. PL 148), that letters sent to multiple people in the same words or different redactions were noted down as having been thus sent by the scribes.

¹⁸⁵ Jasper 2001, 41, n. 173.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 48, cf. also n. 197.

¹⁸⁷ PL 54.572, Jasper 2001, 47-48.

¹⁸⁸ For **E**, see Silva-Tarouca 1926, 25-31.

ii. Manuscripts

E exists in the following two manuscripts:

m: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14540 (VIII/IX saec.), from the Benedictine Abbey of St Emmeran, Regensburg.¹⁸⁹ Leo runs foll. 1^v-157^v. It is written in a very attractive and fluid Caroline minuscule; it is unrubricated with uncial explicits and incipits. The pages are not large, only 14.5 x 21.5 cm, and the text is written in single columns. As noted in chapter 1.3.9, Silva-Tarouca used *m* as the basis for his edition of *Ep.* 28, and, at 1.3.7, Blakeney collated it against the Ballerini text at C. H. Turner's recommendation. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 829 (XII saec.), which is a transcript of the above and need not concern us. It is enough to note that Di Capua has demonstrated 79 variants where this manuscript differs from the above; in all 79, the Munich manuscript demonstrates clausulae more in line with Leo's style.¹⁹⁰

iii. Manuscript Relations

E and **G** are the foundations of the two largest editions of Leo's letters in the twentieth century. Schwartz, in choosing **G** in 1932, selected a text whose greatest virtue was comprehensiveness and size, not quality. When Silva-Tarouca prepared his text which was published two years later in 1934, then, he chose with greater perspicacity. His introduction to the collection, in *Textus et Documenta: Series Theologica* 15, includes a discussion of Leo's clausulae by F. Di Capua who would go on to write *Il ritmo prosaico nelle lettere dei papi e nei documenti della*

¹⁸⁹ This manuscript is digitised at <http://bsb-mdz12-spiegel.bsb.lrz.de/~db/0006/bsb00064057/images/>.

¹⁹⁰ Di Capua 1934, xxix-xxxi.

Cancellaria Romana dal IV al XIV secolo, the first volume of which (1937) also deals with Leo's prose rhythm. Drawing from this discussion of the clausulae, Silva-Tarouca gives a sample of eight places where the **E** variants demonstrate better clausulae than **G**.¹⁹¹ This sampling is as follows (numbering is that of the letters in **E**, with line numbers of Silva-Tarouca's edition):

Epistle	<i>Collectio Ratisbonensis</i> (E)	<i>Collectio Grimianica</i> (G)	Clausulae (my scansion)
I l. 8	religionis habeatis _uuu/_u	religionis habetis	E : Trispondaicus, both metrical and accentual G : Cursus planus
I l. 27	pietatis exegit	pietatis exigit	E : Planus cretic/spondee G : Nothing
III ll. 22-23	ueniam reseruauit	ueniam reseruauerit	E : Velox (preferred, cretic spondee) G : Velox 2 or octosyllabicus (double cretic)
III l. 23	se esse promitteret	se expromitteret	E : Tardus (preferred) G : Tardus (with hiatus)
IV l. 27	audet astruere	audeat astruere	E : Tardus G : Nothing
IV l. 54	melius consuletur	melius consulitur	E : Velox G : Nothing
VII l. 35	credimus sacerdotum	credidimus sacerdotum	E : Velox (cretic spondee) G : Velox (cretic spondee)
X l. 20	fuisset abstentum	fuisset abstinendum	E : Planus, both metrical and accentual G : Trispondaicus

¹⁹¹ Silva-Tarouca 1934, ix. He goes so far as to say that this codex preserves clausulae 'melius quam omnes ceteri codices'.

Given the regularity of Leo's prose rhythm and his clear systematisation thereof, one need look no further than Di Capua's work to demonstrate the clear superiority of **E** over **G**.

4.4 Post-Carolingian Collections

4.4.1 Post-Carolingian Canonical Collections

a. *Collectio Lanfranci*¹⁹²

i. *Dating and Context*

This collection is a shortened form of Pseudo-Isidore named after Lanfranc of Bec, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1070 to 1089. The collection is named after Lanfranc due to his possession of the copy that is now Cambridge, Trinity College B. 16. 44, which he had acquired while abbot of Saint-Étienne at Caen (1066-70). The collection dates to after 1059. In global structure, this collection differs from Pseudo-Isidore by grouping together the decretals up to Gregory II at the beginning and then the conciliar canons from Nicaea to Seville as the second portion, as opposed to the Pseudo-Isidorian order of ante-Nicene decretals, conciliar canons, then post-Nicene decretals. The decretals exist occasionally in shortened forms.

Collectio Lanfranci contains the following 27 of Leo's letters: *Epp.* 124.1-2, 1, 163, 165.1-3, 15, 44, 45, 61, 69, 70, 79, 80, 104, 106, 16, 19, 4, 18, 167, 14, 159, 12, 108, 166, 9, JK †551, and 168. Álvarez de las Asturias argues that *Collectio Lanfranci*, based on the Leonine letters, is based upon either **I-b** (Pseudo-Isidore as in Vat. lat. 630, see above 4.2.d.iii) or the Yale/Cluny recension (**Y**, see 4.2.d.v).¹⁹³ Neither of the two contains all the letters of Leo in Lanfranc's collection. Moving on from those

¹⁹² For description of collection, see Fowler-Magerl 2005, 181-2; for manuscripts, see Kéry 1999, 239-43.

¹⁹³ Álvarez de las Asturias 2008, 23.

collections and drawing upon a wider spread of evidence amongst manuscripts, Álvarez de las Asturias goes on to argue for a relationship between *Collectio Lanfranci* and the Eton Pseudo-Isidore (Eton College, ms 97).¹⁹⁴ When this manuscript was discussed above, I observed that it likely had origins in Normandy; since Lanfranc brought his canon law manuscript with him from France, these origins remain likely.

ii. Manuscripts

The *Collectio Lanfranci* exists in many English manuscripts because Lanfranc had it copied for the use of English bishops when he came over from Normandy. Therefore, of the complete manuscripts of *Collectio Lanfranci*, only Lanfranc's archetype seems fruitful for consideration, especially in a project of such enormous scope as this. That manuscript, mentioned above, is:

Cambridge, Library of Trinity College, B.16.44 (405) (saec. XI), provenance

either of Bec, according to Kéry 1999, or Caen, according to Fowler-Magerl 2005. Leo's letters run pages 115-157. We can confirm that this is

Lanfranc's own copy because it contains his notice of purchase.

Besides this copy of the complete collection, there are four manuscripts that contain just the decretals. Significant is the fact that all of these manuscripts come from Normandy in the period of Anglo-Norman political and cultural union, save the earliest, which is from Exeter. These are probably descendants from Lanfranc's copy. They are:

Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3512 (saec. XIIⁱⁿ), from Exeter.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 24-30.

Paris, lat. 3856 (saec. XII), from Normandy.

Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 701 (E.78) (saec. XII), from Abbey of Jumièges.

Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale 703 (E.23) (saec. XII), from Abbey of Jumièges,
possibly written elsewhere.

Because *Collectio Lanfranci* is yet another reworking of **I**, and a late one that adds nothing (unlike **I-c**), it has not been consulted in the course of this project. The 27 letters of **I** that Lanfranc included are very well attested in the early manuscripts of **S**, **S-ga**, and **I**, especially **I-b**, with the result that even without this collection we would have more than enough material to compose a critical text that sheds light on Leo's *ipsissima uerba*.

b. *Collectio Britannica*¹⁹⁵

This collection was compiled some time after 1090 and exists in a sole manuscript, London, British Library, Add. 8873. It is most notable not for the decretals of Leo but, rather, for those items herein not found elsewhere, especially letters of popes Gelasius I, Gelasius I, Alexander II, John VIII, Urban II, Stephen V, and Leo IV. However, Leo the Great does make an appearance in the section of the manuscript scholars entitle *Varia I* (fol. 52^r-120^f), which is a mixture of papal decretals, patristic texts, and Roman law. It includes *Epp.* 42 (without its incipit) and 66 (without its incipit or explicit). As mentioned in my analysis above, these two letters are amongst those found in *Collectio Arelatensis* (**Ar**) for the first time; *Britannica* is known to have made use of the *Arelatensis* in other portions of the

¹⁹⁵ For description, see Fowler-Magerl 2005, 184-7.

collection, and the compiler seems to have been looking for some items not in wide circulation. It need detain us no further.

c. Systematic as well as Unorganised Collections of Extracted Canons

The Carolingian era did not see the end of the ongoing work of forming and re-forming canonical collections. However, after that age the trend emerged for a greater number of systematic collections like the earlier *Concordia* of Cresconius. The most important of these was the *Decretum Gratiani*. As above, using the *Clavis canonum* software by Linda Fowler-Magerl, I have identified the following 61 collections of canons. Some of these are unsystematised, while others are systematic. Sometimes all they contain is a sentence from one of Leo's letters. Sometimes they will contain extended passages, but none of them contains a letter collection, and their disparate parts, when pieced back together, do not give us extensive re-formed letters of Leo, unlike Cresconius. Therefore, as with the Carolingian collections of canons, these collections will not be used in the assessment of readings and editing of texts. A further reason for their limited usefulness is the fact that we have an extensive corpus of much earlier manuscripts that contain the collections from which the following are derived. Nonetheless, an awareness of their diversity and existence is important for observing and tracing the long voyage of Leo's letters from the moment of his dictation to the first printing by Giovanni Bussi.

- The *Collectio IV librorum* in Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 124, of no earlier than the beginning of the tenth century.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 68-70.

- The *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis* of Regino of Prüm, from around 906.¹⁹⁷
- The *Collectio IX librorum* of the ms Vat. lat. 1349 from the tenth century.¹⁹⁸
- The *Liber decretorum* of Burchard of Worms, between 1012 and 1022.¹⁹⁹
- Both the first and amplified versions of the *Collectio XII partium*, from the early eleventh century and two or three decades later, respectively.²⁰⁰
- The *Collectio V librorum* from shortly after 1014.²⁰¹
- A derivative of the *Collectio V librorum* is a canonical collection in Rome, Vallicelliana Tome XXI, foll. 284r-302v; it includes one canon attributed to Leo on fol. 290v, but the material given in the *Clavis* is insufficient to determine which Leo it is.²⁰²
- The *Collectio canonum* of the ms Celle, Bibliothek Oberlandesgericht C.8, which contains excerpts from the *Collectio IV librorum* and Burchard of Worms' *Liber decretorum*.²⁰³
- The *Collectio canonum Barberiniana*, sections from mid-eleventh-century and later eleventh-century.²⁰⁴
- The *Collectio canonum Ashburnhamensis* in Florence, BML Ashburnham 1554, and Paris lat. 3858C, both from the second half of the eleventh century.²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 77-9. The *Clavis* Key for this collection is **RP**; however the index to the Keys lists its name incorrectly as the *Collectio canonum* of Regino of Prüm.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 79-82.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 85-90.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 91-3.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 82-5.

²⁰² Ibid., 94-5.

²⁰³ Ibid., 121-2.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 95-6.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 148-50.

- The *Liber canonum diversorum sanctorum patrum*, also known as the *Collectio CLXXXIII titulorum* or the collection of Santa Maria Novella, from the decade after 1063, possibly compiled in Lucca;²⁰⁶
- the ‘reduced version’ of this collection, a *Collectio V librorum* in Vat. lat. 1348, also compiled in Tuscany (probably in Florence), contains Leo as well and dates to the later eleventh century.
- The *Collectio canonum* of the canonry of Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand, compiled during or soon after the papacy of Alexander II (1061-73).²⁰⁷
- *Collectio Sinemuriensis*.²⁰⁸ This collection dates from after 1067; as described by Fowler-Magerl, it is a pastiche of selections from different canonical sources, neither chronologically nor systematically arranged.²⁰⁹ Due to the lateness of its gathering as well as its format as selections of dismembered canons, this canonical collection is less important than those listed above; therefore, its manuscripts were not collated. As represented by the *Semur* manuscript, it contains selections from the following of Leo’s letters: *Epp.* 162, 22, 15, 104, 106, 4, 167, 14, 108, 119, 9, 16, and 168.
- The *Diversorum patrum sententie* or *Collectio LXXIV titulorum*, first attested use by Bernold of Constance in 1073/74; the rearrangement of this collection in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n. a. lat. 326 also contains Leo, as does the form in Paris lat. 13658,²¹⁰ and the first part of Vat. lat. 4977.²¹¹

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 100-2.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 126-9.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 104-110. Cf. Kéry 1999, 203-204. This collection is also called *Remensis*, but should not be confused with the one discussed above at 2.2.p.

²⁰⁹ Fowler-Magerl 2005, 104-110.

²¹⁰ On these three collections, see *ibid.*, 110-18.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 204.

- The *Collectio IV librorum*, compiled not long after the *Collectio LXXIV titulorum*.²¹²
- The *Collectio canonum* of Munich, Clm 12612, related to the circle of Bernold of Constance.²¹³
- The *Collectio canonum Ambrosiana II* in Milan, Biblioteca I. 145 inf., whose latest item is a letter of Alexander II.²¹⁴
- The *Breviarium canonum* of Atto of San Marco, shortly after 1073.²¹⁵
- The *Collectio Burdegalensis*, possibly 1079-80.²¹⁶
- The *Collectio canonum* in the ms Madrid, BN lat. 11548, from after 1080.²¹⁷
- The first version of the *Collectio Tarraconensis* from after 1080, including the version in ms Tarragona 26.²¹⁸
- The *Collectio canonum* of Anselm of Lucca, before 1086.²¹⁹
- The *Collectio canonum* of Deusdedit, compiled while he was cardinal priest of Santi Apostoli in Eudoxia (today San Pietro in Vincoli) before his election as pope in 1087.²²⁰
- The *Collectio II librorum* or *VIII partium*, which exists in two manuscripts; in two books, it dates to around 1100, and was later divided into eight parts.²²¹

²¹² Ibid., 119-20.

²¹³ Ibid., 168-9.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 124-5.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 138-9.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 129-30.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 167-8.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 133-6.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 139ff.

²²⁰ Ibid., 160-63.

²²¹ The book for the *Clavis canonum*, 150, lists this as 'The *Collectio canonum* in the Mss Vat. lat. 3832 and Assisi, BCom 227 (2L/8P)', whereas the index to the Key for its beginning (**VA**) and end (**VB**) names the collection as in the text here. In Kéry 1999, 227-8, they are listed as two separate collections of one manuscript each, *Collectio 2 Librorum* as the Vatican manuscript, and *Collectio 8 Partium* as the Assisi manuscript.

- The *Collectio XIII librorum* of Berlin, SBPK Savigny 3, ca. 1089, which, besides including genuine Leo material, mistakenly labels Canon 1.122, which is from a letter of Innocent I to Felix of Nocera, as of Leo I.²²²
- The *Collectio VII librorum* in Turni, BNU D. IV. 33 from the late eleventh century.²²³
- The *Collectio canonum* of Rome, Vallicelliana B. 89, drawn from several eleventh-century collections.²²⁴
- *Liber de vita christiana* of Bonizo of Sutri late 1080s or early 1090s.²²⁵
- The *Collectio Sangermanensis IX voluminorum* of around the time of the Council of Clermont (1095).²²⁶
- The *Collectio canonum* in Munich, Clm 16086; the manuscript is from the late eleventh or early twelfth century.²²⁷
- From the twelfth century comes the *Collectio Brugensis* as found in London, BL Cleopatra C. VIII and Bruges, Bibliothèque de la Ville 99;²²⁸ the canons of the Bruges manuscript that the London manuscript lacks do not contain Leo, but those in the London manuscript lacking in Bruges do contain him.
- *Collectio Atrebatensis*, ca. 1093.²²⁹
- The *Collectio canonuum Ambrosiana I* in Milan, Archivio Capitolare di S. Ambrogio M. 11, from the last decade of the eleventh century.

²²² Fowler-Magerl 2005, 155ff.

²²³ Ibid., 163-6.

²²⁴ Ibid., 171-2.

²²⁵ Ibid., 174-5. This collection, **BO** in the *Clavis canonum* software, is incorrectly labelled *Collectio canonum* of Bonizo of Sutri in the index to the *Clavis* Keys.

²²⁶ Ibid., 207-9. Confusingly, the index to its *Clavis* Key **WO** lists the collection as *Collectio IX voluminorum Sangermanensis*.

²²⁷ Ibid., 179.

²²⁸ Ibid., 183-4.

²²⁹ Ibid., 206-7.

- The *Collectio Farfensis* ca. 1099.²³⁰
- The *Collectio canonum* in Paris, lat. 13368, from the 1090s.²³¹
- The Decretum of Ivo of Chartres (bishop of Chartres, 1090-1115), from after 1093,²³² and his *Panormia*, which is a shortened version of the former.²³³
- The *Collectio Tripartita* draws on three main sources (hence its name), one of which is Ivo's *Decretum*.²³⁴
- From shortly after Ivo's *Decretum* is the *Collectio X partium* of Cologne, Historisches Archiv W.Kl. fol. 199.²³⁵
- From after 1097, the second version of the *Collectio Tarraconensis*.²³⁶
- The canonical collection in the second part of Vat. lat. 4977.²³⁷
- The *Collectio canonum Sancte Genoveve*, beginning of the twelfth century.²³⁸
- The *Polycarpus* by Gregory, cardinal priest of San Grisogono in Rome, from as early as 1104 (amongst its canons it mistakenly lists passages from *Ep.* 16 as being by Leo Quintus); the additions to the *Polycarpus* also include Leo material.²³⁹
- The *Collectio canonum* of Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 713, from after 1108.
- The *Collectio X partium* from sometime before 1110.²⁴⁰
- The *Collectio Gaddiana*, early twelfth century.²⁴¹

²³⁰ Ibid., 122-3.

²³¹ Ibid., 136.

²³² Ibid., 193-8.

²³³ Ibid., 198-202.

²³⁴ Ibid., 187-90.

²³⁵ Ibid., 191-2.

²³⁶ Ibid., 166-7.

²³⁷ Ibid., 204-5.

²³⁸ Ibid., 205.

²³⁹ Ibid., 229-32.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 209-10.

- The *Collectio XIII librorum* found in Vat. lat. 1361, which used the A' version of Anselm of Lucca, Ivo of Chartres' *Panormia*, and the *Polycarpus*; it dates to the early twelfth century.²⁴²
- The *Collectio VII librorum* in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 2186, from during or soon after the papacy of Paschal II (1099-1118).²⁴³
- The *Collectio Catalaunensis I*, possibly from 1100-1113.²⁴⁴
- The *Collectio canonum* of the ms Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal 721, after 1110.²⁴⁵
- The *Collectio III librorum*, from after 1111, was one of Gratian's major sources.²⁴⁶
- Based upon the *Collectio III librorum* is the *Collectio IX librorum* of ms Vatican, Archivio di San Pietro C. 118, from after 1123.²⁴⁷
- The *Collectio canonum* of Codex 203 of the Biblioteca Civica Guarneriana in San Daniele del Friuli, from before 1119.²⁴⁸
- The *Collectio Beneventana*, after 1119.²⁴⁹
- The *Collectio canonum* of the ms Paris, lat. 4283 from after 1119.²⁵⁰

²⁴¹ Ibid., 214-5.

²⁴² Ibid., 225.

²⁴³ Ibid., 232-4.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 238.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 237-8.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 234-5.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 235-6. This collection also exists in the ms Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. fol. 522.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 228-9.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 227-8.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 203.

- The *Collectio Caesaraugustana*, first version, ca. 1120, which, alongside some original Leo material, includes the forgery *Quali pertinacia* (JK †446).²⁵¹
- The *Collectio canonum* in the ms Turin, BNU 903 (E. V. 44), fol. 71v-86v, likely dating to the papacy of Paschal II (1099-1118) or shortly thereafter.²⁵²
- The abbreviation of Anselm of Lucca's *Collectio canonum* that is found in Pisa, Seminario Santa Catarina 59, dating after 1123;²⁵³ this collection *may include Leo canons from Anselm of Lucca*, and *also* includes one excerpted canon amongst its additions on fol. 127^r from *Ep.* 14.
- The second version of the *Collectio Caesaraugustana*, compiled around 1143/44, also contains Leo material.²⁵⁴
- The *Collectio canonum Pragensis I*, also known as the *Collectio CCXCIV capitulorum*, from shortly after 1140.²⁵⁵

4.4.2 Other Post-Carolingian Collections

a. Ballerini Collection 20²⁵⁶

This collection contains 27 of Leo's letters, the last 11 of which are in what the Ballerini consider an expected order, the first 16 of which are 28, 35, 31, 59, 124, 1, 163, 165, 'etc.'²⁵⁷ It contains *Ep.* 12 with appendices. A few non-Leonine items are amongst Leo's letters. It exists in one manuscript, which the Ballerini accessed in Rome at the Biblioteca della Basilica di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme 237 (saec. XI).

²⁵¹ Ibid., 239-42.

²⁵² Ibid., 172-3.

²⁵³ Ibid., 221-224.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 242-3.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 244-6.

²⁵⁶ PL 54.573, J3(iii) 1 (508).

²⁵⁷ Ballerini: 'epist. 165 ad Leonem Augustum, etc.'

At the dispersal of Santa Croce's library in 1873, this was one of the manuscripts that went to the Biblioteca nazionale di Roma and subsequently went missing in the spring of 1940.²⁵⁸

b. Ballerini Collection 21²⁵⁹ (Y-a)

i. Description of the Collection

The Ballerini say that this collection resembles **I-a** but with different readings. However, some **I-a** readings are still intact, such as rubrication for *Ep. 7* and other similarities. The differences in the text probably come from contamination from other collections in the Leonine tradition, since even **I** traditions did not go unchanged in their passage through the Carolingian scriptoria of Europe and on into the Central Middle Ages. Unmentioned by the Ballerini is the fact that not only are the readings of the letters different from **I-a**, so is the order. The letters of this collection, based on *v*, are in the order: 20, 23, 22, 28, 25, 35, 29, 31, 33, 59, 44, 45, 60, 61, 69, 70, 71, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 90, 93, 104, 106, 120, 97, 99, 139, 115, 114, 134, 135, 130, 124, 163, 162, 155, 165, 15, 7, 1, 19, 16, 4, 18, 167, 14, 159, 12, 108, 166, 9, JK †551, and 168. This, as it turns out, is the same collection of letters as the Cluny Recension of Pseudo-Isidore discussed above at 4.2.d.vi. Its earliest manuscript is twelfth-century, making this set of manuscripts considerably later than that discussed above, for the earliest manuscript of this collection as a whole is, of course, 1/y, of the ninth century.

²⁵⁸ Jemolo and Palma 1984, 29-30.

²⁵⁹ PL 54.573, J3(iii) 2 (508).

ii. Manuscripts

Of the manuscripts listed below, given the lateness of the collection as well as of many of its manuscripts, I consulted only *v*, *r*, *m*, *p*, and *o*.

v: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. Z. 170 (=1569), fol. 2-100 (saec. XII). Its text includes letters dated in Spanish *aerae*, recalling the connection with Spain and **S-ga** shared with **I**. It is written in a clear minuscule hand with rubrication in a single column per page. The contents run 1^v-2^r, and Leo's letters cover 2^v-100^v.

Vat. lat. 542 (saec. XIV).

r: Vat. lat. 543 (saec. XII on palaeographical grounds). This manuscript is written in two columns of 30 lines each. Foll. 1^v-2^r list the contents, and Leo runs 2^r-82^r. The scribe was careful in certain respects, such as marking out numbers from the rest of text in the format ·v·. The influence of the centuries and some lack of knowledge of context are visible in providing 'Theodericus Cypri' for 'Theodoritus Cyri'.

Vat. lat. 546.

Vat. Urb. lat. 65.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 21.11.²⁶⁰

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 21.23.²⁶¹

m: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Fiesol. 48 (saec. XV^{med}).²⁶² I

based the dating of this manuscript upon the palaeographical features as well

²⁶⁰ This manuscript is digitised at the following link:

<http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaViewer/index.jsp?RisIdr=TECA0000619258&keywords=Plut.21.11>

²⁶¹ This manuscript is digitised at the following link:

<http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaViewer/index.jsp?RisIdr=TECA0000288710&keywords=Plut.21.23>

²⁶² At the time of the Ballerini's work, this manuscript was at the Augustinian abbey in Fiesole and is listed therefore as '*Faesulanus can. Lateran. 7*'. They date it saec. XV as well.

as the style of illumination on the first page; the decoration and book hand are very similar to Fiesol. 46, which includes a date of 1461 by the scribe. The nearest to a date we find is on the last folio of the ms, ‘an(n)o LXIII’.

Litterae notabiliores persist throughout starting *libri*, but not *capitula*, and only the first of Leo’s letters. It contains a variety of items, compiled into this manuscript at the same time. From fol. 190 to the end there is a circular hole eaten through the manuscript by woodworm, three-quarters of the way down the inner column of the page. A few other holes are present in the margins and do not affect the text. Leo runs 260^r-303^v.

p: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichi 135 (saec. XV); this manuscript comes from a form lacking the conciliar portions.²⁶³ Leo runs fol. 142^r-188^v. The manuscript is written in a very fine, clear humanist hand mimicking Caroline minuscule. The original contents do not list Leo, although a later hand added a complete index by canon rather than by letter at the back of the manuscript. It has been described as a Pseudo-Isidorian manuscript of Class A1,²⁶⁴ but this description is inaccurate as far as the Leo contents are concerned—although the other contents appear to be Pseudo-Isidorian.

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 5.10.

Vat. lat. 541, written in the year 1452 at Rome; this manuscript has 12 more letters following the 56 above, 11 of which are from Ballerini Collection 24.²⁶⁵

²⁶³ See Mordek 1978, 474.

²⁶⁴ See above, 4.2.d.iv.

²⁶⁵ See PL 54.574.

The Ballerini note that to this collection can be added two other manuscripts that contain the same 56 letters.²⁶⁶ Although eleven of the letters taken from the end of this collection are inserted after *Ep.* 26 in these manuscripts, nevertheless, they otherwise preserve the same order and readings as the rest of the collection. These two manuscripts are:

Vat. lat. 3137.

o: Vat. Ott. lat. 332. This single-column manuscript is written in a late Gothic hand with lovely illuminated *litterae notabiliores*; its use of capital letters is reminiscent of modern usage, starting sentences and for proper nouns. It tends not to abbreviate, not even for *nomina sacra*. Those abbreviations it does use point to a date of saec. XIV-XV: *epus* for *episcopus*, *lris* for *litteris*, *pplus* for *populus*, and others. The folios have their original numbering in gold leaf and blue in Roman numerals; the first folio is II. The text begins partway through *Ep.* 23 and closes at *Ep.* 19; Leo runs foll. IIff.

c. Ballerini Collection 22²⁶⁷ (22)

i. Description of Collection

This collection contains letters from Ballerini Collection 21 (**Y-a**) and 17 Rusticus' *Acta* (**Ru**):²⁶⁸ first come the first 26 letters of **Y-a** (up to *Ep.* 106), in the same order, followed by those of Rusticus in their order, save those that would have been repeated, and then the rest of the letters from **Y-a** with three of them (97, 99, 168) missing, the order unchanged, and the readings basically the same. Included with the letters from **Ru**, and unmentioned by the Ballerini, is a series of imperial

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ PL 54.574, J3(iii) 3 (509).

²⁶⁸ See above, 4.2.b and 3.c respectively.

letters pertinent to Chalcedon. Taking all of this into account, from *Ep.* 106 the order of the letters is as follows: *Epp.* 106, a letter from Flavian of Constantinople to Theodosius II ‘Nihil ita conuenit’, 22, 72, 26, 32, 30, 43, 46, 58, 55, 62, 63, 64, 50, 51, 73, 76, 77, Valentinian III and Marcian ‘Omnia ad ueram’, Valentinian III and Marcian ‘Omnibus rebus oportet’, ‘Studii nostri est congruenter’, Pulcheria ‘Intencio nostre tranquillitatis’, Valentinian III and Marcian ‘Festinantes ad sanctum’, Valentinian III and Marcian ‘Dudum quidem per alias’, 120, 139, 124, 1, 114, 155, 162, 163, 135, 115, 130, 134, 165, 15, 7, 16, 19, excerpts from *Ep.* 16, 4, 18, 167, 14, 159, 12, 108, 166, 9, and JK †551. This concludes the letter collection which is followed by a collection of Leo’s sermons. The collection as a whole is very likely of an age with the manuscript that includes it, compiled at a time with interest in Leo as an author all together, rather than the earlier canonical interests.

ii. Manuscript

This collection exists in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. Z. 79 (=1665), fol. 1^r-102^v (saec. XV).²⁶⁹ There is a page attached to the front of this manuscript declaring:

CODEX LXXIX
in 4. membranaceus foliorum 270.
saeculi XV
 S. LEONIS Papae Epistolae omnes & aliorum ad Leonem. Nota Epistolam missam Doro Episcopo in Codice ad Cap. IV. tantum extendi.

This page then lists the sermons, but not the letters. The first folio begins with the words, ‘In nomine domini incipiunt epistole Leonis pape urbis Rome quas pro defensione fidei catholice in diuersas mundi partes direxit.’ The manuscript is written

²⁶⁹ Valentinelli 1868, Vol. 2, 274.

in a humanist hand in a single column, 29 lines to a page. There is decoration on the first folio in the bottom margin as well as lovely *litterae notabiliores*; the images are primarily floral motifs, although the marginal illustration on fol. 1^v includes a cardinal's hat, presumably Bessarion's, as the Ballerini say that this manuscript's provenance is 'Bessarione'. Every letter also begins with an intricate *littera notabilior* wherein the letter itself is gold leaf in a rectangle with floral designs that are primarily blue but with green and red as well. The rubrication ceases at fol. 34^v, although the *litterae notabiliores* remain throughout.

d. Ballerini Collection 23²⁷⁰ (23)

i. Description of Collection

This collection begins with the fifteen letters of the *Dionysiana adaucta* (**D-a**), up to *Ep.* 165. Then four papal documents of pre-Leonine date are inserted: Innocent I to Decentius, Boniface I to Emperor Honorius, the response of Honorius to Boniface, and Celestine to Venerius. After these four letters come the *Testimonia patrum* from *Ep.* 165, then the 56 letters of **Y-a**, omitting those already in appearance and a few changes in order. The collection then adds Leo, *Epp.* 107, 50, 49, 51. Based on this information, this collection includes the following letters: 9, 15, 1, 2, 108, 17, 20, 23, 22, 28, 139, 119, 80, 145, 165, 4 non-Leonine texts, *Testimonia patrum*, the 56 letters of Collection 21, 107, 50, 49, 51. Gerardus Vossius published two letters from this manuscript, nos. 17 and 107, as the Ballerini brothers learned from the 1604 edition of Gregorius Thaum.²⁷¹

²⁷⁰ PL 54.574, J3(iii) 4 (509).

²⁷¹ PL 54.575.

ii. Manuscript

23 exists in one manuscript, now Vat. Ott. lat. 2324 (olim 297, as in the Ballerini).²⁷² It is a paper manuscript, placing it no earlier than the thirteenth century although the Ballerini date it to the twelfth, and it uses the abbreviation ‘fc3’ for ‘scilicet’ that Cappelli says is fourteenth-century.²⁷³ This manuscript was produced with care, evident in the writing of a catchword from the start of the next folio at the bottom of each folio’s *verso*; each letter begins with a rubricated *capitulum* such as, ‘leo papa dioscoro alexandrie ecclie epo de sacerdotum uel leuitarum ordi(n)atio(n)e et celebrande imisarum’ (fol. 1^r). Leo’s letters fill this 129-folio manuscript.

e. Ballerini Collection 24²⁷⁴ (‘La Collection léonine des 71 letters’²⁷⁵ 24)

i. Description of Collection

This collection contains 71 of Leo’s letters, consisting of 54 from **Y-a**—missing *Epp.* 25 and 97)—with 17 rare letters shared with **I-c** interspersed throughout.²⁷⁶ *Epp.* 2, 10, 24, 41, 94, 95, 102, 105, 111, 112, 113, 118, 121, 122, 123, 125, 127. Most of these are also shared with **B/G** and follow the **B** order, except for *Epp.* 10 and 41; furthermore, *Epp.* 18 and 20 come in the opposite order in **B**.²⁷⁷ The collection is grouped into three selections. The first, items 1-53, consists of letters from **Y/Y-a** in order with some additions. The second, 54-71, consists of **Y/Y-**

²⁷² The current Vat. Ott. lat. 297 is a Bible.

²⁷³ Cappelli 2011, 343.

²⁷⁴ PL 54.575, J3(iii) 5 (509).

²⁷⁵ Chavasse 1975, 35.

²⁷⁶ Ballerini Collection 12.

²⁷⁷ See the extraordinarily helpful table in Chavasse 1975, 34.

a letters with additions, all rearranged by geographical designation. The third is an antipelagian dossier, not Leonine.²⁷⁸

ii. Manuscripts

24 exists in the following manuscripts:

n: Vat. lat. 544 (saec. XII). On the final folio of this codex is an ex libris note, ‘Liber Sancte Marie de Fonte Neto’. The *capitula* are rubricated in a half-uncial hand, while the body of the texts is in minuscule; *n* is written in two columns of 40 lines each. It begins with Leo’s sermons; the letters run foll. 115^r-191^v; they begin with a table of contents to which modern numerals were added at a later date (foll. 115^r-116^r). On fol. 125^v, *Ep.* 33 is dated ‘era qua supra’—however, this is the first of the letters to include *aerae*. The letters of **Y-a** must derive, if not from **Y-a** itself (as the Ballerini claim they do not), from another source related to **S** and other Spanish sources. An idiosyncrasy of this manuscript is the spelling ‘Martinianum’ for ‘Martianum’ in the rubrics and contents, while the text provides the latter form.

v: Vat. Reg. lat. 139 (saec. XIII).

p: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 21.14, which adds *Epp.* 119 and 145.²⁷⁹

f: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Fiesole 46,²⁸⁰ which has 26 letters of this collection.²⁸¹ *f* was written in 1461, as noted on fol. 147^v. It is

²⁷⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, 35-37.

²⁷⁹ This manuscript has been digitised and can be viewed at:

<http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaViewer/index.jsp?RisIdr=TECA0000285502&keywords=Plut.21.14>

²⁸⁰ Formerly of the Lateran Canons in Fiesole, Plut. 3, MS 10 (PL 54.575).

written in a fine humanist script that mimics Caroline minuscule, and the pages are large with a wide margin, written in a single column of 31 lines. At the bottom of fol. 3^r there is a blue *fleur-de-lys* on a red field inside a green wreath flanked by Renaissance-style angels. The initials ‘P. C. F.’ (‘Patres Canonici Faesulani’) are below the wreath, and flowers mark off the bottom of the page, extending to either side of this seal; the same type of design adorns the top left corner which includes the L of the incipit illuminated with gold and a variety of interlocking floral designs that are also gilt and in blue, red, green, or uncoloured and outlined in blue. Furthermore, the parchment is very pale, smooth, and thin. The Lateran Canons of Fiesole evidently took care over this manuscript. The second hand of this manuscript seems either to be the same as that of Fiesole 48 or of approximate date, and the style of decoration is also similar; given that both are mid-fifteenth-century manuscripts from the Lateran Canons of Fiesole, it seems entirely likely that the same scribes could have been involved in their production.

Foll. 1^r-2^v give the contents of the manuscript but only list 23 of Leo’s letters, not all 26; it misses out *Epp.* 94 which is sandwiched between two letters to Pulcheria, 28, and 108, while further naming *Ep.* 127 as to ‘nestoriano episcopo’ when it should be ‘iuliano,’ although the text of the letter herein does not include Julian’s name. The letters themselves run foll. 147^v-180^v, including: *Epp.* 12, 15, 24, 31, 94, 95, 93, 102, 104, 105, 113, 111, 112, 118, 121, 122, 123, 125, 120, 127, 130, 28, 108, 168, 2, 1. *Ep.* 108

²⁸¹ Although the Ballerini say 25 (PL 54. 575).

cuts short at ‘metuitur m(isericord)ia dei saluari cupientibus negetur’. 147^v includes the explicit of the sermons as follows:

Expliciuunt (*sic*) **sermones beati leonis pape deo gratias amen.**
Absoluit / N. die nona febr MCCCCLXI tu(n)c etatis annorum lxx
duorum. [1 line blank] **Iste fuit leo primus qui uirgo maria manum**
restituit: cuius festum celebratur in uigilia apostolorum.

The Ballerini also accessed a manuscript ‘Caesanus Patrum Minorum

Conventualium S. Francisci’ and Quesnel used manuscripts named

Victorinus, *Reginacensis*, and *S. Martinus Autissiodorensis*, but I have no information as to their modern homes or shelfmarks.

t: Troyes, Médiathèque de l’Agglomération Troyenne, ms. 225 (saec. XII), from Clairvaux I20. The inscription on the last page reads, ‘Liber iste sce marie clareuallis qui abstulerit anathema sit.’ It is written in a neat Gothic hand in two columns of 31 lines each. *t* was unknown to the Ballerini, but it is definitely a manuscript of **24**; its contents of sermons and letters are the same, and its table of contents is identical to that of *n*, including the incipits of the letters. Furthermore, after Leo’s letters it includes the same anti-Pelagian dossier as *n*, then ends, ‘Expliciunt eple beati leonis pp que in hoc uolumine continentur’. Another similarity it shares with *n* includes the use of Spanish aerae in letters such as *Ep.* 33 on fol. 122^r. The table of contents runs 114v-115r, and then the letters themselves run 115^r-183^v, ending with *Ep.* 15 before the anti-Pelagian dossier takes over. One significant difference between *t* and *n* is the inclusion in *t* of ‘Ad iulianum epm aquileiensem’ at the end of the table of contents which was then struck out. I strongly suspect that *t* is the archetype of this collection, given its place of origin, contents, and the relationship between its features and those of *n*.

iii. Manuscript Relations

n and *t* are the oldest manuscript of the collection, and I contend that *t* is the archetype. Unfortunately, time has not allowed for a full examination of the readings in *t*, so this analysis touches only on manuscripts *n* and *f*. Briefly, examining the **S** letters of *n* and *f* through the same select passages as we did in **S-ga** above at 4.2.g, we find first that, just as the order of the letters has been changed, so has the rubrication. We have, ‘**Item pla b(eat)i leonis pp ad o(mne)s episcopos per italiam**’ in *n* at the start of *Ep.* 7, for example. *n* gives ‘absoluerent’ where **S/S-ga** gives ‘absoluerentur’, as well as the inclusion of ‘hic’ before ‘ne’. Like many collections before it, *n* omits ‘fratres charissimi’ between ‘uestra’ and ‘sollicitius’. These few variants—the different rubrication, the deviation from **S/S-ga** unity in the text—are enough to confirm that the text of *Ep.* 7 did not reach us in this twelfth-century Vatican text through Pseudo-Isidore (**I**). It may have begun there, due to the selection of letters and the Spanish features maintained throughout. But Leo’s letters took a different course to reach us here, different from the one that brought them to the manuscript in Yale and its descendants. Therefore, this twelfth-century re-fashioning of the tradition of **I** would be worthy of inclusion in a full critical edition simply to see where it converges with which of the traditions, showing us how Leo’s letters started to settle into different patterns by the dawn of print when **24** *t* was penned.

Conclusion

In this study, we have seen that Leo's letters were read and copied and reorganised time and again throughout the Middle Ages. For the later period, after the ninth century, **S** proved to be the most influential, even if modern scholars are often more interested in the work of early collections such as **Q**. Of the early collections, however, **D** is the most widespread and influential through medium of **D-h**, **S**, and its use by the various strands of **I**. In fact, in **I**, **S** and **D-h** come together. In the later collections, we also see the trend emerging of gathering as many as could come to hand—thus **I-c** and **24** take their **S/D-h** base and bring in letters from **G/B** or even **Q**. The process of transmission, then, is not straightforward. We do not have a single corpus of letters descended from a single letter collection but many corpora born from many collections, extracted, rearranged, and amplified time and again as history progressed. A full stemma, which will not be attempted here, would look like a spider's web; it would probably require computer software to render it in three dimensions.

With such a diverse array of texts, manuscripts, contaminations, and variants, it seems that an eclectic text is the only way to move forward in editing—but an eclectic text with a proper, full apparatus. The main basis for editing Leo's letters will be those late fifth- and early sixth-century collections (**Q**, **Te**, **Sa**, **C**, **P**, **D**, **Re**), as well as **S** because of its influence, **G** because of its quality, size, and rarities, and **E** for the same reasons as **G**. From these collections will come both the earliest and best readings. Later readings are worth recording because of the story they tell, not necessarily because they cast light on Leo himself. As a Dante scholar remarked to me on a train, when he reads Augustine, he doesn't want what Augustine *himself*

said, but what Dante read. A balance must, therefore, be struck between overburdening the reader and leaving too sparse an apparatus. For me to be able to produce this edition, I must follow up a few manuscripts noted above as well as the *Epitome Hispana*, regrettably unobtainable at the time of writing. Other manuscripts that were partly collated solely for the purposes of assessment and analysis will have to be revisited. Thankfully, this project has pared down that mountainous task so that not every manuscript needs a full collation. Once I have done that, the first part of the edition that should be put out, and the sooner the better, is the decretals and pastoral letters, thereby filling the gap left by the editions of Schwartz and Silva-Tarouca and bring much benefit to the study of papal letters, Leo the Great, early canon law, and the fifth century.

In an ideal world, one of the best ways to edit these letters would not be on paper but on-screen. Since they exist in so many different arrangements with variant readings, it is almost impossible to edit them according to collection. However, by programming them into a digital edition, the reader would have at his or her disposal the ability to change both the context of each letter and its readings based upon the letter collection desired. If such could be done for the whole corpus of pre-Carolingian papal letters, the task of studying and analysing decretals and their place in canon law would become much clearer than it is now, when we must rely upon old editions scattered about, often with imperfect apparatuses, or databases, or simply descriptions of these collections in books. With this tool at our disposal, we could see not just a list of which letters go together in the collections, but their contents and readings as well. Why did the compiler put these two or three together here? What story does each collection tell?

Finally, one important aspect of editing Leo's letters is the question of *spuria*. Space did not allow treatment, but that such exist should be well known. Even in the Ballerini's day, JK †446 and †551 had been identified as pseudepigrapha.¹ Künstle argued that *Ep.* 15 was spurious; however, I disagree with his judgement.² Silva-Tarouca argued for the spuriousness of a large number of Leo's letters: *Epp.* 43, 74, 111, 112, 113, 118, 120, 137, 141, and 154.³ I have not yet done a proper assessment of whether these letters are spurious or not; it would require an analysis of both the style and content of the letters, as well as an examination of Silva-Tarouca's historical contextualisation. For example, his reconstruction of *Ep.* 43's spurious origin hinges upon Theodosius II being the lackey of Chrysaphius, a theory now under scrutiny by the work of George Bevan.⁴ Nonetheless, even if Silva-Tarouca is proven right, it is essential, in my mind, to edit the *spuria* alongside Leo's letters, but flag them for the reader; they have been read as his for centuries and deserve a good edition as well.

¹ See PL 54.1237.

² See Künstle 1905, 117-126.

³ See Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183.

⁴ Bevan 2005, 405.

167. Ad Rusticum Narbonensem Episcopum

Leo episcopus Rustico Narbonensi episcopo.
5 Epistulas fraternitatis tuae, quas Hermes archidiaconus
tuus detulit, libenter accepi diuersarum quidem causarum con-
nexionem multiplices, sed non | ita patientiae legentis onerosas ut
aliquid earum inter concurrentes undique sollicitudines fuerit
praetermissum. Vnde totius sermonis tui allegatione concepta,
et gestis quae in episcoporum honoratorumque examine con-
10 fecta sunt recensitis Sabiniano et Leoni presbyteris actionis
tuae | intelleximus fiduciam defuisse, nec eis iustam superesse
quaerimoniam qui se ab inchoatis disceptationibus sponte sub-
traxerint. Circa quos quam formam quamue mensuram debeas
tenere iustitiae tuo relinquo moderamini, suadens tamen carita-
15 tis hortatu ut sanandis aegris spiritalem debeas adhibere medi-
cinam, et dicente Scriptura, Noli esse nimium iustus, mi-
tius agas cum eis qui zelo pudicitiae uidentur modum excessisse
uindictae, | ne diabolus, qui decepit adulteros, de adulterii ex-
sultet ultoribus.
20 Miror autem dilectionem tuam in tantum scandalorum qua-
cumque occasione nascentium aduersitate turbari, ut uacatio-

PL 54.1200a

Ballerini 1417

PL 54.1200b

167.16 Eccl. 7:17

167.1-2 *Inscr.* COMMVNITVRIVM CONSVLENTIS DE PRB VEL DIA-
CON *ins.* **Di** de primo capitulo 3 episcopus] *om.* **D D-b D-h B S v S-ga**
Narbonensi episcopo] episcopo Narbonensi. Subditis responsionibus et ad
eiusdem consulta rescriptas **D a** ... responsibus ... respondentibus **D-b**; re-
scriptas] rescriptis **Di** respondentibus **B** scriptis **S-ga a**; episcopo Narbo-
nensi. Epistolas **S v o**; consulta rescriptas] cum sultare rescriptis **S-ga h**;
Leo ... episcopo] *om.* **Re** 4 Epistulas] epistolis **S-ga** | fraternitatis] sancti-
tatis **D c² 5** tuus] suus **D c² om.** **D a S-ga h** | causarum] prouintiarum
add. **S-ga a 6** patientiae] patientia **Di** spaciae **Re** | ut] aut **S o 7** earum
inter] earum per inter **D a S o** earum per inconcurrentes **S v** | concurren-
tes] currentes **S-ga a** | sollicitudines] sollicitudine **S v o 8** concepta] con-
petra **Re** comperta **B 9** et gestis] *om.* **D a** | examine] ex anime **S-ga a**
10 recensitis] recensentes **B** | actionis] auctionis **Re 11** tuae] suae **Re S-**
ga a | iustam superesse] iustam esse **Di** iusta esse **Re** iuxta superare **B**
12 disceptationibus] ceptationibus **D a** disceptionibus **S o^l** | sponte]
spond&e **Di 12-13** subtraxerint] subduxerint **B 13** quam] que **B** | men-
suram] bene mensuram **S o^l 14** tenere] *add.* & **Di**; teneri **S-ga a 15** hor-
tatu] ora statim **Re** | sanandis aegris] tandem egressi **Re** | debeas] stodeas
Re | debeas adhibere] adhibere debeas **QL Sa Te S o 16** Scriptura] scrip-
turam **Re 16-17** mitius] mitis **Di 17** zelo pudicitiae] pudicitiae zelo **QL**
Sa Te pudicitiam **Re** | excessisse] et cessisse **S-ga h^l 18** qui] qui te **D-b v**
qui qui **S-ga h** | adulterii] adulteris **Di 19** *Lacuna post ultoribus ind. Bal-*
lerini 20 scandalorum] scandalizatorum **D a 20-21** quacumque] quicum-
que **S-ga h 21** aduersitate] aduersa **B** | turbari] titubari **S-ga 21-22** uaca-
tionem] uocationem **Di** uacatione **Re**

PL 54.1201a
 nem ab episcopatus laboribus praeoptare te dicas, et malle in si-
 lentio atque otio uitam degere, quam in his quae tibi commissa
 sunt permanere. | Dicente uero Domino: Beatus qui perse-
 uerauerit usque in finem, unde erit beata perseuerantia, 25
 nisi de uirtute patientiae? Nam secundum apostolicam praedi-
 cationem, omnes qui uoluerint in Christo pie uiuere
 persecutionem patientur. Quae non in eo tantum compu-
 tanda est, quod contra Christianam pietatem aut ferro aut igni-
 ballerini 1418 bus agitur, | aut quibuscumque suppliciis, cum persecutionum 30
 saeuitiam suppleant et dissimilitudines morum et contumaciae
 inoboedientium et malignarum tela linguarum. Quibus conflic-
 tationibus cum omnia semper membra pulsentur, et nulla pio-
 rum portio a tentatione sit libera ita ut periculis nec otia careant
 nec labores, quis inter fluctus maris nauem diriget si gubernator 35
 abscedat? Quis ab insidiis luporum | custodiet oues si pastoris
 cura non uigilet? Quis denique latronibus obsistet et furibus si
 speculatorem in prospectu explorationis locatum ab intentione
 sollicitudinis amor quietis abducat? Permanendum ergo est in
 opere credito et in labore suscepto. Constanter tenenda est ius-
 titia et benigne praestanda clementia. Odio habeantur peccata,
 non homines. Corripiantur tumidi, tolerantur infirmi. Et quod
 in peccatis seuerius castigari necesse est, non saeuientis plecta-
 tur animo sed medentis. Ac si uehementior tribulatio incubue-

24–25 Mt. 24:13 27–28 2 Tim. 3:12 36–37 Cf. Ioh. 10:12

22 ab] *om.* **D a S o S-ga** | praeoptare] optare **Di Re** obtare **B** 23 atque
 otio] *om.* **Re** | degere] agere **Re** 25 unde] *add.* enim **S-ga a** | erit] enim
 erit **S o** erat **S-ga h** 26–27 Nam ... praedicationem] *om.* **Re** 26 secundum]
 ea secundum **S o** 27 uoluerint] uolunt **S o S-ga a** | in ... uiuere] pie uiuere
 in christo **B** 28 persecutionem] persecutione **Re** | patientur] pateuntur **S**
o patientur **S-ga a** patientur **B** | tantum] tanto **Re** 29 contra] *om.* **Re**
 30 agitur] agitur **Di** | quibuscumque] quicumque **Di** | cum persecutio-
 num] persecutionem **D-b m² v¹** *om.* cum **D-b v** 31 saeuitiam] saeuitia **Di**
 contumaciae] continatiae **D a** 32 inoboedientium] inoptium **D a** ino-
 boedientiae uel **S-ga h** inoboedientia **B** | malignarum] magnantium **D a**
 tela linguarum] *om.* **Di** 32–33 conflictationibus] conflictionibus **Di** con-
 strictionibus **B** 33 semper] scae per **Di** | membra] ecclesiae membra **B**
 33–34 piorum] perfectorum **D a** priorum **Di** 34 tentatione] conflictione
D a D-h p conflictatione **D c D-h v m a b r d S o S-ga** | ut] *add.* ne **S-ga**
h² | nec otia] negotia **D a Di Re S o S-ga h** 35 labores] labore **D a** | fluctus]
 fructus **B** | si] sic **S o** 36 custodiet] custodiat **S-ga a** | custodiet
 oues] oues custodiet **QL Sa Te** | pastoris] pastorum **D a D-b m¹ v D-h S-**
ga h 37 uigilet] uigiletur **S-ga h** | obsistet et] existet ut **S o** absistet et **B**
 et] *om.* **D a** | furibus] foribus **S-ga a** 39 quietis] quieretis **Re** | Perma-
 nendum] Perdendum **D a** 40–41 est iustitia] *om.* est **Re** iustitiae **Re**
 41 clementia] dementia **S-ga a** elementia **S-ga h** | habeantur] habeatur **D**
a haberentur **Re** 42 homines] omnes **Di** | Corripiantur] Nunc corripiantur
D-b m² B Nec **D-b v** | tolerantur] tolerint **Re** tollentur **Di S-ga a**
 43 in peccatis] *om.* **D D-b Re S-ga** | peccatis] *om.* **Di sed non** in | casti-
 gari] castigare **D-b S o** | saeuientis] seuenienter **Re** 44 animo] animus
Re | medentis] mentis **S-ga h¹**

45 rit, non ita expauescamus quasi illi aduersitati propriis uiribus
resistendo, cum et consilium nostrum et | fortitudo sit Christus
ac sine quo nihil possumus per | ipsum cuncta possimus. Qui
confirmans praedicatorum euangelii et sacramentorum mini-
50 stros, Ecce ego, inquit, uobiscum sum omnibus diebus
usque ad consummationem saeculi. Et iterum: Haec,
inquit, locutus sum uobis, ut in me pacem habeatis.
In hoc autem mundo tribulationem habebitis; sed
bono animo estote quia ego uici mundum. Quae polli-
citationes, quia sine dubio manifestae sunt, nullis debemus
55 scandalis infirmari ne electioni Dei uideamur ingrati cuius tam
potentia sunt adiutoria quam uera promissa.

PL 54.1202a
Ballerini 1419

De consultationibus autem dilectionis tuae quas separatim
conscriptas archidiaconus tuus detulit, | quid sentiendum sit in-
ter praesentes opportunius quaereretur de singulis si nobis con-
60 spectus tui copia proueniret. Nam cum quaedam interrogatio-
nes modum diligentiae uideantur excedere, intelligo eas collo-
quiis aptiores esse quam scriptis. Quia sicut quaedam sunt quae
nulla possunt ratione conuelli ita multa sunt quae aut pro consi-
deratione aetatum aut pro necessitate rerum oporteat tempe-
65 rari. Illa semper conditione seruata ut in his, quae uel dubia fue-
rint aut obscura, id nouerimus sequendum quod nec praeceptis
euangelicis contrarium nec decretis sanctorum patrum inuenia-
tur aduersum. |

PL 54.1202b

Ballerini 1420

49–50 Ioh. 15:5 50–51 Mt. 28:20 52–53 Ioh. 16:33

45 illi] *om.* **S-ga a** | propriis] propriis sit **Re B** | uiribus] uiris **S-ga a**
46 resistendo] resistendum **D-b m Re B** | Christus] *om.* **D a 47 ac]** *om.* **S**
o S-ga a | quo] quod **S-ga h** | possimus] possumus **D a S-ga a 48 sacra-**
mentorum] sacrorum **D a 49 inquit]** *om.* **D-b m^l Re** Ecce inquit ego **Q**
51 pacem] *om.* **B** | habeatis] habetis **B 51–52 habeatis ... tribulationem]**
om. **S-ga h 52 autem]** *om.* **B 53** bono ... estote] confidite **D D-b D-h S o**
S-ga, BibVulg bono animo stote **B 53–54 pollicitationes]** pollicitatio non
est **S o 54 dubio]** dubitatione **Re 54–55 nullis ... electioni]** *om.* **Re**
55 electioni] lectioni **S o** | Dei] sunt deo **Re** | cuius tam] cum iusta **D a**
57 consultationibus] consolationibus **D a Di S-ga h** | quas] qua **Di** quos
S-ga a | separatim] reparati **S-ga a 58 sentiendum]** sitiendum **S o**
59 quaereretur] quaerentur **D a** quae feretur **S-ga h** | de singulis] *om.* **Q**
D D-h Sa Te Re S o S-ga 59–60 conspectus tui] tui conspectus **L c**
conspectu tui **L b Re 60** copia] copiam **S o S-ga** | proueniret] praeuisset **S**
o praeuisses S-ga a | quaedam] quadam **Re 61 diligentiae]** *om.* **D D-b v**
S o S-ga 61–62 colloquiis ... esse] aptiores esse conloquiis **S o S-ga a**
62 Quia] qui **S o** | sicut] si quod **Re 63** nulla] nullam **S-ga h** | nulla ...
ratione] nullam possunt rationem **D a** nulla possint tratione **D-b m^l** nulla
possunt traditione **D-b m² B** nulla possunt raditione **D-b v** nulla possit ra-
tione **Re** nulla possint ratione **Di S o** | conuelli] conpelli **D a D-b m² v**
ita] ha **Re** | aut] ut **Re** | pro] prae **S v o 63–64** consideratione] conside-
rationem **S v o 64** necessitate] necessitatem **Di Re** necessitudine **B**
65 Illa] Illic **S-ga a** | conditione] consideratione **Di S 66** nouerimus] no-
uerit **D a** | praeceptis] praecepti **Di 67** patrum] *om.* **D D-b m^l D-h S-ga**
h

PL 54.1203a

Inquisitiones et responsiones |*I. De presbytero uel diacono qui se episcopos esse mentiti sunt et de his quos ipsi clericos ordinarunt*

70

Nulla ratio sinit ut inter episcopos habeantur qui nec a clericis sunt electi, nec a plebibus sunt expetiti, nec a prouincialibus episcopis cum metropolitani iudicio consecrati. Vnde cum saepe quaestio de male accepto honore nascatur, quis ambigat nequaquam istis esse tribuendum quod non docetur fuisse collatum? Si qui autem clerici ab istis pseudoepiscopis in ecclesiis ordinati sunt quae ad proprios episcopos pertinebant, et ordinatio | eorum consensu et iudicio praesidentium facta est, potest rata haberi ita ut in ipsis Ecclesiis perseuerent. Aliter autem uana habenda est creatio quae nec loco fundata est nec auctore munita. |

PL 54.1203b

Ballerini 1421

75

80

II. De presbytero uel diacono qui si, cognito crimine suo, paenitentiam publicam petat, utrum ei per manus impositionem danda sit

85

Alienum est a consuetudine ecclesiastica ut qui in presbyterali honore aut in diaconii gradu fuerint consecrati ii pro crimine aliquo suo per manus impositionem remedium accipiant paenitendi. Quod sine dubio ex apostolica traditione descendit

69 Inquisitiones ... responsiones] Ad inquisitiones eiusdem epi subiecta responsa **Q** v Incipiunt ad inquisitiones eiusdem episcopi subiecta responsa **D a D-b m² v S-ga h B**; *om.* **Q o S S-ga a** incipiunt responsa secundum communitorium consolencis **Re**; *ins. usque ad 'De presbytero uel diacono'* **Di ad initium epistulae 70-71** I ... ordinarunt] XV Quod non habeantur episcopi quos nec clerus elegit nec populus exquisiuit nec prouinciales episcopi consecrare. Si qui tamen clerici ab his pseudoepiscopis ordinantur rata potest ordinatio talis existere **D D-b m D-h S S-ga I B**; consecrare] consecrarunt **D c S-ga B**; qui] quis **S-ga h** tamen] non **D-b v 73** sunt²] *om.* **D Di S o S-ga 74** metropolitani] metropolitano **Di 75** male] *add.* eodem **Di** | quis] quid **D a 76** docetur] doceatur **D D-b m² D-h p m b r d** doceantur **D-b v B** debeatur **Di** deceatur **S-ga h 77** qui] qua **D a** quis **S-ga h¹** | istis] ipsis **Di** | eis] eorum **S-ga a om. Di B 77-78** eis ecclesiis] ecclesia **D-b 78** quae] qui **Q D a D-b D-h Sa sl c k S-ga a B** quia **D c Sa r Te 79** iudicio] in iudicio **D-b** | facta] fata **D a 79-80** potest rata] post ratam **Di 80** autem] aut **S-ga a 81** uana] una **Q e p b v¹ w** | habenda est] est habenda **Q a e p b v w**; est in hibenda est **Q o** | creatio] consecratio **D a D-b m¹ v D-h v² m r S o S-ga a h²** con creatio **D-h v¹** creato **D-h b** ordinatio **B** | auctore] auctoritate **D a D-b S-ga 83-84** II ... sit] XVI Quod presbyteri aut diaconi si in aliquo crimine prolapsi fuerint non possint per manus inpositionem paenitendi remedium consequi **D D-b D-h S S-ga I B**; si] nisi **S v** aliquo] aliquorum **D c** alio **B** crimine] criminum **D c¹** prolapsi] lapsi **B** inpositionem] inpositione **B** paenitendi] paenitentiae **S v S-ga 83** uel] et **Di** | si cognito] recognito **Di 84** petat] petit **Di** | ei] eis **Di 85** consuetudine ecclesiastica] consuetudinem ecclesiasticam **Di 86** in] *om.* **D a Di S o S-ga** | gradu] gradum **Di S-ga h** | fuerint] fuerant **Di** | consecrati] consequuti **B** | ii] hi **Q a p v o S-ga hii Q e b w Di Re S o B 88** traditione] traditionem **S-ga h**

90 secundum quod scriptum est, Sacerdos si peccauerit, quis
orabit pro illo? Vnde huiusmodi lapsis ad promerendam mi-
sericordiam | Dei priuata est expetenda secessio, ubi illis sati-
sfactio, si fuerit digna, sit etiam fructuosa.

PL 54.1204a

III. De his qui altario ministrant et coniuges habent, utrum eis licito
misceantur

95 Lex continentiae eadem est altaris ministris quae episcopis
atque presbyteris qui cum essent laici siue lectores, licito et ux-
ores ducere et filios procreare potuerunt. Sed cum ad praedictos
peruenerunt gradus, coepit eis non licere quod licuit. Vnde, ut
de carnali fiat spiritale coniugium, oportet eos nec dimittere
100 uxores et quasi non habeant sic habere quo et salua sit caritas
connubiorum et cesset opera nuptiarum. |

Ballerini 1422

IV. De presbytero uel diacono qui filiam suam uirginem illi uiro in
coniugium dederit qui | iam habebat coniunctam mulierem ex qua
etiam filios susceperat

PL 54.1204b

105 Non omnis mulier uiro iuncta uxor est uiri quia nec omnis fi-
lius haeres est patri. Nuptiarum autem foedera inter ingenuos
sunt legitima et inter aequales. Multo prius hoc ipsum Domino
constituente quam initium Romani iuris existeret. Itaque aliud
est uxor, aliud concubina, sicut aliud ancilla, aliud libera. Prop-
110 ter quod etiam apostolus ad manifestandam harum personarum

89–90 Cf. 1 Sam. 2:25; Aug. *Contra Litteras Petiliani Donatistae Cortensis
Episcopi* 2.106.241 107–8 Cf. Gen. 2:24

90 orabit] orauit **Q a e D a D i R e S o** | lapsis] dilapsis **D a** | promeren-
dam] promerandum **S o** 91 expetenda] *add.* est **D i** | secessio] secesso **B**
92 si fuerit] *om.* **B** | fuerit] fuerat **D i** | digna] *om.* **D a** | sit] fiat **D i**
93–94 III ... misceantur] XVII Quod diaconi sicut episcopus aut presbiter-
us cessare debent ab opere coniugali non tamen repudiare coniugia **D D-
b D-h S S-ga I B**; aut] et **S-ga** tamen] *om.* **D c**; coniugia] coniuges **S-ga h**
95 altaris ministris] ministris altaris **Sa L Te** *om.* altaris **Re** | quae] qui **D a**
96 siue] atque **D i** | licito] licite **S-ga a** 98 peruenerunt] peruenerint **D a**
S o peruenerint **S-ga h** | licuit] licent **S-ga a** | Vnde] *om.* **D i B** | ut] et **S**
o¹ stet **S o**² 99 carnali] carnibus **D i** 100 quo] quod **D i S o S-ga h B** | et²]
eo **S-ga h** 101 connubiorum] coniugiorum **Q o B** | cesset] cessent **Q a e p**
b v w D i S o cessint **Re** | nuptiarum] nubtiarum **S o** 102–4 IV ...
susceperat] Quod aliud sit uxor aliud concubina nec erret quisquis filiam
suam in matrimonium concubinam habenti tradiderit **D D-b v D-h S S-ga**
I B | sit] sed **D a** quisquis] quisquam **S v** quisquis si **B** matrimonium] ma-
trimonio **D c** concubinam] concubina **D-b m** matrimonium ... tradiderit]
matrimonium tradiderit ei qui habuit concubinam **S-ga a** 102 uel] et **Sa L**
c 103 coniugium] coniugio **Q a e v w** 104 susceperat] susceperit **D i**
105 uiro iuncta] iuncta uiro **Sa L Te** uiro coniuncta **Re** | uxor] *om.* **S-ga**
h¹ | omnis²] *add.* uir **D a** 106 haeres est] hereditatem **D a** | patri] patris
Q D c D-b m Sa r c L D i S o 107 sunt] *om.* **S-ga a** | legitima et] legitime
D i | aequales] *add.* et **D a S o S-ga a** | ipsum] ipso **D i** ipsut **S o** ipsud **B**
108 quam] qua **D i** | existeret] existere **D i** 110 manifestandam] manife-
standum **D i S-ga h**

discretionem, testimonium ponit ex Genesi, ubi dicitur Abrahae, Eiice ancillam et filium eius: non enim haeres erit filius ancillae cum filio meo Isaac. Unde cum societas nuptiarum ita ab initio constituta sit ut praeter sexuum coniunctionem haberet in se Christi et ecclesiae sacramentum, | 115
 PL 54.1205a
 dubium non est eam mulierem non pertinere ad matrimonium in qua docetur nuptiale non fuisse mysterium. Igitur cuiuslibet loci clericus, si filiam suam uiro habenti concubinam in matrimonium dederit, non ita accipiendum est quasi eam coniugato dederit, nisi forte illa mulier et ingenua facta et dotata legitime 120
 et publicis nuptiis honestata uideatur.

V. De puellis quae uiris concubinas habentibus nupserint

Paterno arbitrio uiris iunctae carent culpa, si mulieres quae a uiris habebantur in matrimonio non fuerunt. |
 Ballerini 1423

VI. De his qui mulieres ex quibus filios habent relinquunt, et uxores accipiunt | 125
 PL 54.1205b

Quia aliud est nupta, aliud concubina, ancillam a toro abii- cere et uxorem certae ingenuitatis accipere, non duplicatio co- niugii, sed profectus est honestatis.

VII. De his qui in aegritudine paenitentiam accipiunt, et cum reual- uerint, agere eam nolunt 130

Culpanda est talium negligentia, sed non poenitus deserenda, ut crebris cohortationibus incitati quod necessarie expetierunt

112–13 Gal. 4:30; Gen. 21:10 115 Cf. Eph. 5:32

111 discretionem] discretio S o 113 erit] est B 114–15 coniunctionem] add. qu(a)e D a S o S-ga a 115 et] om. Di S o S-ga h | ecclesiae] ecclesia Di S-ga h 117 qua] quo Di | qua ... non] qua non docetur etc B | myste- rium] ministerium S-ga a | cuiuslibet] cuilibet Di 118 uiro] om. D a 120 forte illa] illa forte Di | dotata] dotata D a 121 honestata] om. D a honestatem S-ga h 122 V ... nupserint] om. D D-b D-h S S-ga I B | quae] qui Di | uiris] om. Di 123 Paterno arbitrio] paternum arbitrium B | iunc- tae] iniunctae D c D-b m² v S v o S-ga h 127 Quia ... concubina] ante capi- tulum Q D D-b D-h Di Re S S-ga I B | ancillam ... toro] ancilla matrona S-ga h | a] ad Di 128 uxorem] uxore S-ga h 128–29 coniugii] coniugii D a 130–31 VII ... nolunt] om. D D-b D-h S S-ga I B 130 aegritudine] aegritudinem Di 130–31 reualuerint] releuauerint Di 132 Culpanda] culpa non Di | est] sit sane D a D-h S-ga; est sane S o | deserenda] de- speranda D D-b D-h S o S-ga; om. poenitus D-b v 133 expetierunt] expe- tierunt Q a e v w o D a D-b Sa sl r c L c Di S-ga; expetuerunt L b

135 fideliter exsequantur. Nemo enim desperandus est dum in hoc
corpore constitutus est quia nonnumquam quod diffidentia ae-
tatis differtur consilio maturiore perficitur.

VIII. De his qui iam deficientes paenitentiam accipiunt, et ante com-
munionem moriuntur

140 Horum causa Dei iudicio reseruanda est | in cuius manu fuit
ut talium obitus usque ad communionis remedium differretur.
Nos autem quibus uiuentibus | non communicauimus mortuis
communicare non possumus. |

PL 54.1205c

PL 54.1206a

Ballerini 1424

145 IX. De his qui dolore nimio perurgente rogant dari sibi paeniten-
tiam, et cum uenerit presbyter daturus quod petebant, si dolor pa-
rum perquieuerit, excusant et nolunt accipere quod offertur

Dissimulatio haec potest non de contemptu esse remedii, sed
de metu grauius delinquendi. Vnde paenitentia quae dilata est
cum studiosius petita fuerit non negetur ut quoquo modo ad
indulgentiae medicinam anima uulnerata perueniat.

150 X. De his qui paenitentiam professi sunt, si in foro litigare coeperint

Aliud quidem est debita iusta reposcere, aliud propria perfec-
tionis amore contemnere. Sed | illicitorum ueniam postulantem
oportet a multis etiam licitis abstinere, dicente Apostolo, Om-
nia mihi licent, sed non omnia expediunt. Vnde si pae-

PL 54.1206b

153–54 1 Cor. 6:12

134 Nemo] non **S-ga a** | desperandus] desperatus **D a** | hoc] *om.* **B**
135 corpore] opere **S o¹** | nonnumquam] numquam **Di** | diffidentia] diffi-
dientiae **Di S-ga h** 136 consilio] consilium **D a** | perficitur] proficitur **S-**
ga h 137–38 VIII ... moriuntur] De communione priuatis et ita defunctis
D D-b D-h S S-ga I B 137 iam ... paenitentiam] paenitentiam iam defi-
cientes **Sa L** 139 fuit] fuerit **Di** 140 ut talium] aut talium **Di uitalium B**
add. uel **S-ga h** | obitus] obitum **S o** 141 communicauimus] communica-
mus **Q a e v w** 143–45 IX ... offertur] De his qui paenitentiam agere diffe-
runt **D D-b D-h S S-ga I B** 143 perurgente] perurgentur **Di** 146 de] *om.*
S-ga a | de contemptu] ob contemptum **Di** | remedii] remediis **D a S o**
remedium **Di** 147 paenitentia] paenitentiam **Di** 148 cum] cum in **D a**
quoquo] quo **Di S-ga h** 149 perueniat] permaneat **S-ga a** 150 X...
coeperint] XXII Quod oporteat eum qui pro illicitis ueniam poscit etiam
multis licitis abstinere **D D-b m D-h S S-ga I B**; eum] cum **D a** qui] *om.* **S-**
ga a poscit] possit **D-b v om. S-ga h¹**; multis] a multis **S v S-ga a**; *om.* mul-
tis licitis **S o¹, o² add.** ab illicitis; abstinere] abstine tenere **D a** 151 iusta]
iuste **Di** 151–52 perfectionis] professionis **S-ga h¹** profetionis **S-ga h²**
153 a] *om.* **Sa L c Te Re B** | a multis] *om.* **D a S-ga h Di** | a ... licitis] e-
tiam a multis licitis **Q a e p b o D-b m² S-ga a**; etiam multis licitis **Q v w S**
o; etiam a licitis **D c D-b m¹ v** 154 mihi] *om.* **D D-b D-h v m a r d Sa l r c k**
L b Te Di Re S o S-ga, BibVulg; quidem **D-h b** | licent] licet **S-ga h**

nitens habet causam quam negligere forte non debeat, melius expetit ecclesiasticum quam forense iudicium. 155

XI. De his qui in paenitentia uel post paenitentiam negotiantur

Qualitas lucri negotiantem aut excusat aut arguit quia est et honestus quaestus et turpis. Verumtamen paenitenti utilius est dispendia pati quam periculis negotiationis obstringi quia difficile est inter ementis uendentisque commercium non interuenire peccatum. | 160

Ballerini 1425

PL 54.1206c

PL 54.1207a

XII. | De his qui post paenitentiam ad militiam reuertuntur

Contrarium est omnino ecclesiasticis | regulis post paenitentiae actionem redire ad militiam saecularem, cum Apostolus dicat, Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis saecularibus. Vnde non est liber a laqueis diaboli qui se militia mundana uoluerit implicare. 165

XIII. De his qui post paenitentiam uxores accipiunt uel concubinas sibi coniungunt 170

In adulescentia constitutus, si urgente aut metu mortis aut captiuitatis periculo paenitentiam gessit et postea timens lapsum incontinentiae iuuenilis copulam uxoris elegit ne crimen fornicationis incurreret, rem uidetur fecisse ueniale si praeter coniugem nullam omnino cognouerit. In quo tamen non regulam constituimus, sed quid sit tolerabilius aestimamus. Nam se- 175

166–67 2 Tim. 2:4

155 habet] habeat **Di S-ga a** | causam] causa **S-ga h** | debeat] debeant et **D a**; debeat et **S o**; debent et **S-ga h** 156 expetit] exegit **B**; *add.* quis **S-ga h** | forense] forensium **Di** 157 XI ... negotiantur] XXIII Quod paenitenti nulla lucra negotiationis exercere conueniat **D D-b D-h S S-ga I B**; quod] quomodo **S o**; paenitenti] penitentia **S-ga h** | paenitentia] paenitentiam **Q a e v w^l Di Re** 158 Qualitas] qualis iam **D a** | excusat] honestat **S-ga a** | et] *om.* **D a S-ga h** 159 utilius] illius **Di** nullius **B** | est] e&iam 160 periculis] periculi **D a** 161 ementis uendentisque] uendentis ementisque **D a S o S-ga a** 163 XII ... reuertuntur] XXIII Quod ad militiam saecularem post paenitentiam redire non debeat **D D-b D-h S S-ga I B**; redire] reditus **D a** rediri **S-ga a**; debeat] decet **S v** 164 est omnino] omnino est **Q Di Re B** 165 actionem] actione **Di** actionis **S-ga h** 167 diaboli] *om.* **B** 167–68 militia mundana] mundane **S-ga a** militiae mundanae **B** 169–70 XIII ... coniungunt] XXV Quod adulscens si urgente quocumque periculo paenitentiam gessit et non se continet uxore potest remedio sustineri **D D-b D-h S S-ga I B**; urgente quocumque periculo] urgerit quoque periculo et **B**; uxore] uxoris **D c S-ga** uxoris amplexa **B**; potest] poterit **S o**; sustineri] sustinere **D c B** subtineri **S v** 169 uel] et **Di** 171 constitutus] constitutis **S-ga h** | metu] metum **D a**; *om.* **Q Sa** | mortis] *om.* **Q a^l e p b v w^l Sa L b c^l Te Di Re B** 172 periculo] periculum **B** 173 iuuenilis] uenialis **D a S-ga h** 174 ueniale] ueniale **Q e** uenial **Q p** iuuenalem **Sa sl r k Te Di** ueniabilem **S o** 175 coniugem] coniuge **S-ga h** 176 sit] *om.* **Di**

cundum ueram cognitionem | nihil magis ei congruit qui paenitentiam gessit quam castitas perseuerans et mentis et corporis. |

PL 54.1207b
Ballerini 1426

XIV. De monachis qui aut militare coeperint, aut uxores accipere

180 Propositum monachi proprio arbitrio aut uoluntate susceptum deseri non potest absque peccato, quod enim quis uouit Deo debet et reddere. Vnde qui relicta singularitatis professione ad militiam uel ad nuptias deuolutus est, publicae paenitentiae satisfactione purgandus est quia, etsi innocens militia et honestum | potest esse coniugium, electionem meliorum deseruisse
185 transgressio est.

PL 54.1208a

XV. De puellis quae aliquamdiu in habitu religioso fuerunt non tamen consecratae si postea nupserint

190 Puellae quae non parentum coactae imperio, sed spontaneo iudicio uirginitatis propositum atque habitum susceperunt, si postea nuptias eligunt, praeuaricantur, etiam si consecratio non accessit; cuius utique non fraudarentur munere, si in proposito permanerent. |

Ballerini 1427

181–82 Cf. Deut. 23:21; Ps. 49:14

177 cognitionem] correctionem **Di** | ei] et **D a** | congruit] construit **S o**¹
178 castitas] castitatem **Di** 179 XIV ... accipere] XXVI Quod si quis propositum monachi deseruit publicae sit paenitentiae satisfactione purgandus **D D-b D-h S S-ga I B**; deseruit] deseruerit **D a S v S-ga h B**; publicae sit paenitentiae] publicae sit paenitentiae **D c S-ga** publica sit paenitentia **D a** | accipere] acciperunt **Q a**¹ ducere **Q o** acciperint **Di** 180 Propositum] proposito **Di** | aut] ac **Di S o** 182 Deo] dno **D a** | et] *om.* **D a S-ga h** 183 deuolutus] deuotus **D a** reuolutus **Di** prouolutus **S o** | publicae] *om.* **Di** 184 militia] sit militia **Q** milicilia **Q w**¹ malitia **Q p** 185 electionem] electione **D a** | deseruisse] defuisse **Di** 186 transgressio] transgresso **S-ga h**¹ transgressa **S-ga h**² 187–88 XV ... nupserint] XXVIII Quod puellae quae non coactae sed uoluntate propria uirginitatis propositum susceperunt delinquunt cum nupserint **D D-b D-h S S-ga I B**; Quod] Quae **S-ga a**; propositum] prepositum **S v** nupserint] nupserint etsi nondum fuerunt consecratae **D c S v S-ga B** nupserint non fuerunt consecratae **S o** 187 aliquamdiu] aliquando **Di** 188 postea] post **Q a e b v w**¹ **Re** potest **Q p** 189 Puellae] puella **Di** | parentum coactae] coactae parentum **Sa L** 191 si] *add.* nondum eis gratia **Q a**² **w**² **D a S o S-ga** | consecratio] consecrationis **S o S-ga** | non] *om.* **D a** 192 utique non] minus **D a** 193 permanerent] *Hic addunt Q w² **Di S S-ga a S-ga h marg.***: ‘De his quae iam consecratae sunt si postea nupserint / Ambigi non potest magnum crimen admitti ubi et propositum deseritus et consecratio uiolatur nam si humana pacta non possunt inpune calcari qui de eas manebit que corruperint diuini foedera sacramenti’ *sic S o*; **Di** ‘...quid eas ... corruperunt tanti foedera...’; deseritus] deseritur **S-ga**; pacta] facta **S-ga**; qui de eas] quid eis **S-ga**; que] qui **S-ga**; diuini] diuina **S-ga**

XVI. *De his qui a parentibus Christianis paruuli derelicti sunt, et utrum baptizati sint non potest inueniri, an debeant baptizari*

195

PL 54.1208b

Si nulla existant indicia inter propinquos | aut familiares, nulla inter clericos aut uicinos, quibus hi de quibus quaeritur baptizati fuisse doceantur agendum est ut renascantur ne manifeste pereant. In quibus quod non ostenditur gestum, ratio non sinit ut uideatur iteratum.

200

XVII. *De his qui paruuli ab hostibus capti sunt, et non se sapiunt baptizatos, sed sciunt se aliquotiens ad ecclesiam a parentibus ductos utrum possint uel debeant cum ad Romaniam uenerint baptizari*

205

PL 54.1209a

Qui possunt meminisse quod ad ecclesiam ueniebant cum parentibus suis, possunt recordari an | quod ab eorum parentibus dabatur acceperint. Sed si hoc etiam ab ipsorum memoria alienum est conferendum eis uidetur quod collatum esse nescitur, quia non temeritas interuenit praesumptionis ubi est diligentia pietatis. |

210

Ballerini 1428

XVIII. *De his qui ex Africa uel de Mauritania uenerunt, et nesciunt in qua secta sint baptizati, quid circa eos debeat obseruari*

Non se isti baptizatos nesciunt sed cuius fidei fuerint qui eos baptizauerunt se nescire profitentur; unde quoniam quolibet modo formam baptismatis acceperunt baptizandi non sunt. Sed per manus impositionem inuocata uirtute Spiritus sancti quam ab haereticis accipere non potuerunt catholicis copulandi sunt.

215

194–95 XVI ... baptizari] XXVIII De his quibus dubium est utrum baptismum perceperint necesse est ut renascantur **D D-b D-h S S-ga I B**; est] *om.* **S-ga h¹**; De his quibus dubitunt utrum baptizati sint eos necesse est baptizari **S v 194** et] *om.* **Q a e p b v w¹** si **Q o 195** sint] sunt **Di 196** existant] extant **D a Di S o S-ga 197** aut] atque **Di B 199** non¹] nos **B | gestum**] *om.* **D a 200** sinit] statim **D a sit S-ga a | uideatur**] indicetur **Di 201–4** XVII ... baptizari] *om.* **D D-b D-h S S-ga I B 203** Romaniam] romanam **Di 205** Qui] *add.* autem **D a S-ga** quia autem **S o | meminisse**] meminisci **S-ga a 206** ab] *om.* **Ballerini 207** etiam] iam **D a** si etiam hoc **Q B** si eam hoc **Re | ab**] ad **B | ipsorum**] ipsa **D a S o S-ga 208** uidetur] uidebitur **Di 211–12** XVIII ... obseruari] Quod eos qui se baptizatos agnoscunt sed in qua fide nesciunt per manus impositionem suscepti conueniant **D D-b D-h S S-ga I B**; Quod] Quis **S-ga h** fide] professione **S v**; impositionem] inpositionis **D a** inpositione **B**; suscepti conueniant] suscipiantur **S v** sucepi conueniat **S-ga a 211** de] *om.* **Di | uenerunt**] ueniunt **Di 212** sint] sunt **Di 213** Non ... nesciunt] Hii autem de quibus scripsisti non se baptizatos nesciunt **D a S o S-ga B 214** quolibet] quo **S o¹ 215** formam] forma **S o 215–16** Sed ... impositionem] sed manus inpositione **Sa sl r c** impositione **Sa k L c² Te 216** inuocata] *om.* **D D-b Sa Te S o S-ga** uocata **L | uirtute**] uirtutem **D D-b m D-h S o S-ga 217** ab] *om.* **D a | potuerunt**] poterunt **D a**

XIX. | *De his qui paruuli quidem baptizati a gentilibus capti sunt et cum illis gentiliter conuixerunt, cum ad Romaniam adhuc iuuenes uenerint si communionem petierint quid erit obseruandum*

PL 54.1209b

220

Si conuiuio solo gentilium et escis immolatitiis usi sunt possunt ieiuniis et manus impositione purgari ut deinceps ab idolothytis abstinentes, sacramentorum Christi possint esse participes. Si autem aut idola adorauerunt aut homicidiis uel fornicationibus contaminati sunt, ad communionem eos nisi per paenitentiam publicam non oportet admitti.

225

218–20 XIX ... obseruandum] XXX De his qui conuiuio gentilium et escis immolaticiis usi sunt **D D-b D-h S S-ga I B**; his qui] babtizatis qui post **S v** babtizatis qui postea **S o S-ga a**; conuiuio] coniugio **D a** 218 gentilibus] gentibus **Q Re** 219 adhuc iuuenes] *om. Sa sl r^l c k L c* 221 Si] Qui **S v o S-ga a** | gentilium] gentium **S-ga h^l** | immolatitiis usi] immolatitiis uisi **Q a** immolaticiis interfuisse usi **Q p** immolatitiis interfuisse uisi sunt **Q b** 222 impositione] inpositionem **D D-b D-h S S-ga I B** | ab] *om. Di* 222–23 idolothytis] idolatis **D a** 223 possint] possunt **Di S v** possent **S o** 224 uel] aut **Di**

Decretal XVI
Ballerini, *Ep.* 167

Bishop Leo to Rusticus, Bishop of Narbonne.

I have gladly received the letters of Your Fraternity which your archdeacon Hermes delivered. They are manifold in that they bring together diverse cases, but not so burdensome on the reader's patience that anything from them has been passed over amongst the concerns that are rushing together from all sides. Accordingly, when the representation of your whole statement was received, and when acts which were carried out in the examination of the bishops and high-ranking men were reviewed, we understood that the confidence of your action was lacking in the presbyters Sabinianus and Leo, nor was a just complaint left to them, since they have of their own accord removed themselves from the disputes they had begun. Concerning them, I leave to your moderation what shape and what measure of justice you ought to maintain, urging you, however, with an encouragement to charity that you ought to apply spiritual medicine to healing the sick, and by the Scripture that says, 'Do not be too just,'¹ you should act mildly with those who in their zeal for chaste behaviour seem to have exceeded the limit in vengeance. One should not let the Devil, who has deceived adulterers, rejoice in the punishers of adultery.

But I am amazed that Your Esteem is so stirred up by the adversity of scandals arising from any occasion that you say that you wish freedom from episcopal labours and that you prefer to spend your life in quiet and rest rather than remain in this situation which has been entrusted to you. But when the Lord says, 'Blessed is he who will have persevered until the end,'² whence will the blessed perseverance come except from the virtue of endurance? For according to the

¹ Ecclesiastes 7:17 Vulg. & LXX; 7:16 MT.

² Matthew 24:13.

apostolic preaching, ‘all who wish to live piously in Christ will endure persecution.’³ This is not to be reckoned only in that which is done against Christian piety, by sword or by fire or by any tortures whatsoever, since the savagery of persecutions is also produced by differences of character, the arrogance of the disobedient, and the darts of malicious tongues. Since all its members are always beaten by these conflicts, and no section of the pious is free from temptation, so that neither leisures nor labours lack dangers, who will guide the ship amongst the waves of the sea, if the helmsman deserts? Who will guard the sheep from the traps of wolves if the careful shepherd is not vigilant?⁴ Who, finally, will resist robbers and thieves if love of quiet takes away the watchman, placed in a lookout, from the commitment of concern? That is why it is necessary to remain in the task entrusted to you and in the work you have undertaken. Justice must be constantly upheld and clemency must be favourably exhibited. Sins are to be held in hatred, not men. The proud are to be reproved, the weak supported. And as for the fact that severe castigation must be made against sin, punishment is made in a spirit of savagery but of healing. And if harsher trouble is hatched, let us not be frightened, as if resisting that adversity by our own strength, since both our council and our strength are Christ, and without him we can do nothing; through him, we can do all things.⁵ He, when he was confirming the preachers of the Gospel and ministers of the sacraments, said, ‘Behold, I am with you for all days all the way to the consummation of the age.’⁶ And again he says, ‘I say these things to you so that in me you will have peace,’⁷ ‘yet in this world you

³ 2 Timothy 3:12.

⁴ Cf. John 10:12.

⁵ Cf. Philippians 4:13.

⁶ John 15:5.

⁷ Matthew 28:20.

will have trouble; but be of good mind, since I have conquered the world.’⁸ We should not enfeeble these promises with any stumbling blocks, since they are without doubt clear, lest we seem ungrateful to the choice God made, whose supports are as mighty as his promises are true. However, what should be thought concerning the enquiries of Your Esteem, which your archdeacon delivered written down separately, would have been asked more opportunely in person, if the opportunity to see you had arisen. For since certain questions seem to go beyond the bound of diligence, I understand that these are more suitable for conversation than for writings. Since just as there are some things that can be uprooted by no reasoning, so are there many things that ought to be qualified, either for the consideration of people’s age or for the need they arose in. As long as this condition is always preserved, that in matters which are either doubtful or uncertain, we know that what is done should not be found either contrary to gospel precepts or opposed to the decrees of the holy fathers.

Question 1: About a presbyter or a deacon who has told the lie that he is a bishop; and about those whom such men ordain as clerics.⁹

Response: No rationale allows that those who were neither chosen by the clergy, sought by the people, nor consecrated by provincial bishops with the metropolitan’s consent be reckoned amongst the bishops. Then, since the question of badly received honours often arises, who would hesitate that nothing ought to be attributed to them which was not demonstrably conferred? But if any clerics who have been ordained by these pseudo-bishops in their churches which belong to their own bishops, and if their ordination was made with the agreement and consent of the rulers(?), it can be

⁸ John 16:33.

⁹ These *capitula* are not original to Leo and come to in two forms. I present in this translation the form associated with **Q**.

maintained that these are valid so that they remain in those churches. However, the creation which is neither established in a place nor defended by a founder must be considered void.

Question 2: About a presbyter or deacon who, if, when his crime is known, seeks public penitence, is it to be given to him through the laying on of hands?

Response: It is foreign to ecclesiastical custom that those who had been ordained in presbyteral honour or in the rank of deacon, receive the remedy of penitence for any crime of theirs through the laying on of hands. This comes down from the apostolic tradition without doubt, according to what is written, ‘If a priest has sinned, who will pray for him?’¹⁰ Accordingly, private withdrawal should be sought for the lapsed of this sort so they can deserve the compassion of God, where satisfaction, if they were worthy, may also be fruitful.

Question 3: About those who serve at the altar and have wives, whether they have intercourse with them allowedly?

Response: The law of continence is the same for ministers of the altar as for bishops and presbyters who, when they were laymen or readers, could allowedly take wives and procreate children. But when they have come to the abovementioned ranks, that which was formerly allowed begins to be not allowed them. Then, so that spiritual union may come from carnal, it is appropriate that they do not divorce their wives and act as if they did not have what they have, to which end the charity of marriage may be preserved, and the work of weddings may cease.

¹⁰ Leviticus 5 LXX according to Ballerini, but I can find no exact verse in the LXX that says this. *Priest* translates *sacerdos*, which very often means bishop in Leo, but not exclusively. *Presbyterus* I render *presbyter*.

Question 4: About a presbyter or a deacon who gave his virgin daughter in marriage to a man who previously had a joined woman (concubine?) from whom he had already received sons.

Response: Not every woman who is joined to a man is the wife of the man, since not every son is the heir of the father. However, the contracts of marriage amongst freeborn people and equals are legitimate; the Lord established this much earlier than the start of Roman law occurred.¹¹ And so, a wife is different from a concubine; just as a slave woman is different from a free woman. On account of this, the Apostle, to demonstrate the distinction of these ranks, set down the testimony from Genesis, where it is said to Abraham, ‘Throw out the slave woman and her son, for the son of a slave woman will not be heir with my son Isaac.’¹² Therefore, since the association of marriage was established from the beginning so that besides the union of the sexes it may embody the sacrament of Christ and the church,¹³ there is no doubt that that woman does not belong to a marriage for whom the nuptial mystery does not seem to have taken place. Therefore, if a cleric of any place has given his daughter in marriage to a man with a concubine, it is not considered as if he had given her to a married man, unless, perhaps, that woman seems to have gained *ingenua* status, and legitimately dowried, and honoured with a public marriage.

Question 5: About girls who married men with concubines.

¹¹ Cf. Genesis 2:24, ‘Therefore a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and they shall become one flesh.’ NKJV

¹² Galations 4:30, Genesis 21:10.

¹³ Ephesians 5:32.

Response: Women joined to men by their father's judgement are not to be faulted if the women who were kept by the men were not in matrimony.

Question 6: About those who abandon women from whom they had children and take wives.

Response: Because a bride is different from a concubine, to cast a slave woman from bed and receive a wife of certain *ingenua* status, is not a doubling of marriage but an advancement in honourable behaviour.

Question 7: About those who receive penitence in sickness, and when they become well again do not wish to perform it.

Response: The negligence of such men must be blamed, but must not be entirely forsaken so that, stirred up by frequent encouragement, they may faithfully perform what they sought out of necessity. For no one is to be despaired of while he is in this body, because sometimes, what is postponed by the disobedience of youth is completed through more mature counsel.

Question 8: About those who forsake receiving penitence and die before communion.

Response: Their case must be reserved to the judgement of God in whose hand it was for the death of such men to be postponed until the remedy of communion. However, we cannot have communion with the dead with whom we did not have communion when they were alive.

Question 9: About those who request that penitence be given them when pain is distressing them excessively, and when the presbyter who would give them what they sought comes, if the pain has quieted a little, excuse themselves and do not wish to receive what is offered.

Response: This negligence cannot be from contempt of the remedy but from fear of a grave transgression. Thus, penitence which has been delayed when it had been sought so eagerly, is not to be denied, that the wounded soul may in some way arrive at the medicine of indulgence.

Question 10: Concerning those who publically profess penitence, if they begin litigation in the forum.

Response: Certainly, demanding back things justly owed is different from scorning one's own possession by love of perfection.¹⁴ But it is fitting that one requesting indulgence for things that are not allowed also abstain from many things that are allowed, as the Apostle says, 'All things are allowed to me, but not all things are profitable.'¹⁵ From this, if a penitent has a case which perhaps he ought not to neglect, he does better to seek ecclesiastical rather than secular judgement.¹⁶

Question 11: About those who do business during penitence or after penitence.

¹⁴ See Matthew 19:21: *Ait illi Iesus si uis perfectus esse uade uende quae habes et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelo et ueni sequere me.* (Vulg.) 'Jesus said to him [the rich young ruler], "If you wish to be perfect, go, sell what you have and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven. And come, follow me.'" *Perfection* in Leo is the Latin *perfectio*. The parallel verses are Mark 10:21 and Luke 18:22.

¹⁵ 1 Corinthians 6:12.

¹⁶ The bishop in Late Antiquity began to hear more and more cases, sometimes of a civil nature. We see this reflected, for example, in Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* 6.4.3, where a bishop is giving a civil verdict.

Response: The quality of the profit either excuses or censures the man doing business, since profit can be sought both honourably and disgracefully. Nevertheless, it is more useful for the penitent to suffer loss than to be tied up in the dangers of business because it is difficult for sin not to occur amongst the intercourse of buying and selling.

Question 12: About those who return to public service after penitence.

Response: It is entirely contrary to ecclesiastical rules to return to the secular service after the action of penitence, since the Apostle says, ‘No one in the service of God implicates himself in secular business.’¹⁷ Accordingly, worldly service is not free from the snares of the devil.

Question 13: About those who receive wives after penitence or join themselves to concubines.

Response: When a man is young, if driven either by the fear of death or by the danger of captivity, he has done penitence, and, afterwards, fearing a lapse of youthful incontinence, chooses the union of a wife so that he may not incur the charge of fornication, he seems to have done a venial act if he has not known any other woman at all besides his wife. Nevertheless, in this case we are not establishing a rule, but we are considering what may be more tolerable. For by a true way of thinking, nothing is more appropriate for one who has done penitence than the enduring chastity both of mind and of body.

¹⁷ 2 Timothy 2:4.

Question 14: About monks who enter the public service or take wives.

Response: The intention of a monk, taken up by his own choice, cannot be abandoned without sin. For what somebody has vowed to God he should also give.¹⁸

Accordingly, a man who has abandoned his profession of singleness and passed into the public service or marriage, must be cleansed by the satisfaction of public penitence. This is because, although the public service can be harmless and marriage honourable, the transgression is that he has abandoned the choice of better things.

Question 15: About girls who for a long time had been in the religious habit but not consecrated, if afterwards they get married.

Response: Girls who, not driven by their parents' command but by their own judgement, took up the intention and habit of virginity, if they choose marriage later on, are prevaricators, even if their consecration has not taken place. At any rate, they would not be deprived of consecration's honour if they still remained in the intention.

Question 16: Concerning those who were deprived of Christian parents when very young, and it cannot be discovered whether they were baptised, should they be baptised?

Response: If no evidence exists amongst relatives or those close to them, and none amongst clerics or neighbours, by which it can be found that these people in question had been baptised, action is to be taken so that they are reborn, so that they may not

¹⁸ Deuteronomy 23:21, Psalm 49:14.

clearly perish, since in those people reason does not permit that what cannot be demonstrated to have been done seem to be repeated.

Question 17: About those who were captured by enemies when very young, and they do not think that they were baptised, but they know that sometimes they were brought to church by their parents, whether they can or ought to be baptised when they come to Romania?¹⁹

Response: Those who can remember that they came to church with their parents can recollect whether they received what was given to their parents.²⁰ But if this is also missing from their memory, it seems that what is not known to have been conferred should be conferred to them because the boldness of presumption does not intervene where there is diligence of piety.

Question 18: About those who have come from Africa or Mauretania, and do not know in which sect they were baptised, what ought to be observed concerning them?

Response: These people are not unaware that they were baptised, but they claim that they do not know what the faith was of those who baptised them. Accordingly, since they accepted the form of baptism in whatever way, they should not be baptised. But through the laying on of hands and the invocation of the power of the Holy Spirit, which they cannot have received from heretics, they are to be joined to the catholics.

Question 19: About those who were indeed baptised when very young, but were captured by gentiles and lived with them after the custom of the country. When they

¹⁹ If this wording is original, it is interesting to see the arrival of the word *Romania* on the scene; it exists in Greek since the fourth century.

²⁰ That is, communion. Only the baptised can receive communion, so if they remember that, the case is closed.

return to Romania already as youths, if they seek communion, what is to be observed?

Response: If they only joined in the banquets of the gentiles and food that was sacrificed, they can be cleansed by fasting and the laying on of hands, so that, refraining thenceforth from food of idols, they can share in the sacraments of Christ. However, if they worshipped idols or were contaminated by murder or fornication, it is not suitable that they be admitted to communion except through public penitence.

Conspectus of the Letters of Pope Leo I

Letter 1, JK 398 'Relatione sancti' – 'Decretal'

Date: 442? (cf. PL 54.582-594)

Recipient: A Bishop of Aquileia

Contents: The bishop of Aquileia/Altinum has admitted Pelagians/Caelestians to the priesthood without recantation. This should be stopped.

In the following collections: Teatina, Vaticana, Sanblasiana, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Diessensis, Remensis, Dionysiana adaucta, Ps.-Is. A1, Yale Pseudo-Isidore, Ps.-Is. C, Florentina, Lanfranc, B20, B21, B22, B23

Editions: JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 574, Mansi V. 1211, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 1

PL 54.582-594 gives a thorough description of the uncertain relationship this *ep* has with *Epp.* 2 & 18, to which it bears a considerable resemblance, with some scholars considering this version spurious, others genuine.

Letter 2, JK 399 'Lectis fraternitatis' – 'Decretal'

Date: 442

Recipient: Septimus, Bishop of Altinum

Contents: Covers much the same ground as *Ep.* 1.

In the following collections: Teatina, Sanblasiana, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Diessensis, Remensis, Albigensis, Dionysiana adaucta, Ps.-Is. C, Florentina, B24

Editions: JK notes Mansi V. 1216, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 3

Letter 3, 'Apostolatus uestri scripta'

Date: 443

Recipient: Leo of Rome, from Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybaeum

Contents: Paschasinus consults Leo concerning the date of Easter 444.

In the following collections: Oriel College MS of Quesnelliana, Albigensis

Letter 4, JK 402 'Ut nobis gratulationem' – 'Decretal'

Date: 10 October, 443

Recipient: All the bishops in Campania, Etruria, and all (Italian) provinces

Contents: Leo deals with discipline: i. Slaves cannot be priests; ii. husbands neither of widows nor of multiple marriages can be priests; iii. neither clergy nor laity can lend at interest; iv. clergy are not to exact interest under another name; v. those who neglect Leo's or his predecessors' decrees are to be removed.

In the following collections: Frisingensis Prima, Diessensis, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Dionysiana, Cresconius, Corbeiensis, Pithouensis, Albigensis, Dionysio-Hadriana, Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, & Y**), Florentina, Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24, Vat. lat. 1347, Vat. Pal. lat. 579, Vat. Reg. lat. 849

Editions: JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 614, Cocqu. I. 29, Mansi V. 1226, Bull. Rom.

T. E. I. 46

Letter 5, JK 403 'Omnis admonitio'

Date: 12 January, 444

Recipient: Metropolitan Bishops of Illyricum

Contents: Leo places them under Anastasius, his *uicarius* and bishop of

Thessalonica; they are to obey him, and the hierarchy is to be preserved.

In the following collections: Thessalonicensis

Editions: Silva-Tarouca (ST) 23, *Ep.* 24 (pp. 57-59); JK notes Cocqu. I. 29, Holstenii

Coll. Rom. I. 152, Mansi V. 1230, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 48

Letter 6, JK 404 ‘Omnium quidem litteras’

Date: 12 January, 444

Recipient: Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica

Contents: Leo declares Anastasius his *uicarius*, affirming his power to consecrate

Illyrican Metropolitans and to convene synods, reserving weightier matters for himself. Priests and deacons are to be ordained on Sundays.

In the following collections: Thessalonicensis

Editions: ST 23, *Ep.* 23 (pp. 53-57); JK notes Holstenii Coll. Rom. I. 143, Mansi V.

1233, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 4

Letter 7, JK 405 ‘In consortium uos,’ – ‘Decretal’

Date: 30 January, 444

Recipient: All Italian Bishops

Contents: Leo tells them to investigate for any Manichaeans, since a great number

was found at Rome, of whom some returned to the faith, others were exiled, and others fled away.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Dionysiana, Cresconius, Corbeiensis, Pithouensis, Albigensis, Dionysio-Hadriana, Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, & Y**), Florentina, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: CFM, Series Latina 1, pp. 46-48; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 596, Cocqu.

I. 30, Mansi V. 1236, La Fuente Hist. eccl. de España II. 444, Bull. Rom. T. E.

I. 49

Letter 8, 'Superstitio paganorum' Not Leonine

Date: 19 June, 445

Recipient: Albinus, praetorian prefect, from Theodosius II and Valentinian III

(Valentinian III, *Novella XVIII*)

Contents: Manichaeans are abroad spreading their false beliefs and misdeeds;

Manichaeism is a crime, and people who wish can expose Manichaeans with no fear of accusation. Manichaeans can neither inherit nor pass along inheritances; they are barred from military service.

In the following Leonine collections: **None**

Editions: Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum, Series Latina 1, 48-50; Mommsen and

Meyer 1905, 103-105

Letter 9, JK 406 'Quantum dilectioni' – 'Decretal'

Date: 21 June, 445

Recipient: Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria

Contents: Leo gives Dioscorus advice on how to be a good bishop: priests are to be ordained Saturday night or Sunday morning; both the consecrators and the one to be consecrated should fast; Eucharist can be celebrated twice on major feasts because of how many people who come.

In the following collections: Frisingensis Prima, Diessensis, Vaticana, Oriel College MS of Quesnelliana, Epitome Hispana, Hispana, Dionysiana adaucta, Bobbiensis, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, & Y**), Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, Vat. lat. 1343

Editions: JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 627, Mansi V. 1240, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I.

7

Letter 10, JK 407 ‘Diuinae cultum’ – ‘Decretal’

Date: July, 445

Recipient: All bishops in the province of Viennensis

Contents: Leo writes against Hilary of Arles who, against Leo’s wishes, acted as Metropolitan. Leo lists the grievances against Hilary, and annuls Hilary’s metropolitanical acts.

In the following collections: Corbeiensis, Pithouensis, Albigensis, Ps.-Is. C, B24

Editions: JK notes Conc. Gall. I. 491, Mansi V. 1244, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 9

Letter 11, ‘Certum est et nobis’ Valentinian III, *Novella XVII* concerning Gallic

Bishops – Not Leonine

Date: 8 July 445

Recipient: Aetius in Gaul

Contents: Hilary of Arles is not Metropolitan of Gaul.

In the following Leo manuscript: Oriel College, MS 42

Editions: Mommsen and Meyer 1905, 101-103.

Letter 12, JK 408 & 410 ‘Cum de ordinationibus’ – ‘Decretal’

Date: 445 (JK 408) or 10 August, 446 (JK 410; PL 54)

Recipient: Bishops of Mauritania Caesariensis

Contents: Leo writes to them about the following concerns: Irregular ordinations are going on; bishops, priests, and deacons can only have been the husband of one wife; *rudes* and recent converts are not to be ordained. Leo discusses a Donatist & a Novatianist who were reconciling to the Roman Church; where bishops ought to be ordained; what to do about virgins violated by barbarians; and examines the case of Bishop Lupicinus. Major cases are to be referred to Rome.

Complete form 1 in the following collection: Florentina

Short form of 1 in the following collections: Dionysio-Hadriana

Decurtata (form 2) in the following collections: Frisingensis Prima, Diessensis,

Teatina, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Vaticana, Sanblasiana,

Remensis, Hispana, Dionysiana adaucta, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis,

Ps.-Is. A/B & B, Pseudo-Isidore C, Bobbiensis

Blended form in the following collections: Ps.-Is. A1, Yale Pseudo-Isidore, Lanfranc,

B21, B22, B23, B24

Recension unknown to me: Epitome Hispana, B20, Vat. Barb. lat. 77.

Editions: JK notes Mansi V. 1257, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 14

The Ballerini give two versions of this letter, whereas JK sees this letter as two separate entities separated by about a year. Given how similar they are in content, the Ballerini solution makes more sense.

Letter 13, JK 409 ‘Grato animo epistolas’

Date: 6 January, 446

Recipient: Metropolitans of Illyricum

Contents: Leo reminds them that Anastasius of Thessalonica is to oversee them.

They are to go to his councils, and consecrations require the consent of the people and cannot be in someone else’s jurisdiction.

In the following collection: Thessalonicensis

Editions: ST 23, *Ep.* 25 (pp. 60-62); JK notes Holstenii Coll. Rom. I. 158, Mansi V.

1273, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 20

Letter 14, JK 411 ‘Quanta fraternitati’ – ‘Decretal’

Date: 446

Recipient: Anastasius of Thessalonica

Contents: Anastasius has misused his authority and harmed Atticus of Old Epirus;

Leo gives him rules for ordination—bishops cannot be married, their election needs approval of both clergy and people, and Leo discusses the consecration of metropolitans, gathering of councils, not transferring bishops, not receiving foreign clerics without their bishops’ invitation, summoning bishops modestly, and the referral of weightier cases to himself.

In the following collections: Frisingensis Prima, Diessensis, Vaticana, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Dionysiana, Cresconius, Corbeiensis, Pithouensis, Remensis, Epitome Hispana, Hispana, Dionysio-Hadriana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, & Y**), Florentina, Lanfranc, Bobbiensis, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 618, Cocqu. I. 31, Mansi V. 1278, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 50. There is a fragment of this letter edited in PL 54.1261, Mansi VI. 427, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 196.

Letter 15, JK 412 ‘Quam laudabiliter pro’ – ‘Decretal’

Date: 21 July, 447

Recipient: Turribius, Bishop of Astorga, Spain

Contents: Leo discusses how Turribius should deal with the Priscillianists and describes what the Priscillianists believe.

In the following collections: Frisingensis Prima, Diessensis, Teatina, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Corbeiensis, Pithouensis, Remensis, Epitome Hispana, Hispana, Dionysiana adauca, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, & Y**), Bobbiensis, Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: Vollmann 1965, 87-138; CFM Series Latina 1, pp. 59-76 reprints

Vollmann’s text; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 591, Cocqu. I. 33, Mansi V.

1288, La Fuente Hist. eccl. de España II. 439, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 54.

Künstle 1905, 117-126, argues this letter is spuriously attributed to Leo.

Letter 16, JK 414 ‘Diuinis praeceptis et’ – ‘Decretal’

Date: 21 October, 447

Recipient: All the bishops of Sicily

Contents: Leo advises them not to baptise on Epiphany but at Easter and Pentecost instead.

In the following collections: Diessensis, Teatina, Vaticana, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Dionysiana, Cresconius, Remensis, Epitome Hispana, Hispana, Dionysio-Hadriana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, & Y**), Florentina, Bobbiensis, Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 611, Cocqu. I. 37, Mansi V. 1305, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 61

Letter 17, JK 415 'Occasio specialium'

Date: 21 October, 447

Recipient: All the bishops of Sicily

Contents: Leo advises them not to sell church property if there is no advantage to the church in doing so.

In the following collections: Dionysiana adaucta, B23, Vat. lat. 1343

Editions: JK notes Cocqu. I. 39, Mansi V. 1314, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 65

Letter 18, JK 416 'Lectis fraternitatis tuae' – 'Decretal'

Date: 30 December, 447

Recipient: Januarius, Bishop of Aquileia

Contents: If a cleric goes over to heresy and then recants, he cannot advance in the hierarchy once restored to catholic communion.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Dionysiana, Cresconius, Dionysio-Hadriana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, & Y**), Florentina, Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24
Editions: JK notes Hinschius p. Is. P. 615, Cocqu. I. 39, Mansi V. 1317, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 66

Letter 19, JK 417 ‘Iudicium, quod de te’ – ‘Decretal’

Date: 8 March, 448

Recipient: Dorus, Bishop of Beneventum

Contents: Leo is displeased with Dorus, who admitted some underage people to the priesthood. The priests thus ordained, rather than being defrocked, are to be last in rank amongst the priests of the province. Bishop Julius of Puteoli will carry out Leo’s commands.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Ps.-Is. A1, Yale Pseudo-Isidore, Florentina, Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24
Editions: JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 615, Cocqu. I. 39, Mansi V. 1317, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 66

Letter 20, JK 418 ‘Ad notitiam nostram’, ‘Ἐἰς γνῶσιν’

Date: 1 June, 448

Recipient: Eutyches

Contents: Leo praises Eutyches for alerting him about an alleged Nestorian revival in CP. Leo will gather more information and deal with the issue.

In the following collections: Vaticana, Casinensis, Hispana, Dionysiana adaucta,
Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, & Y**),
Grimanica, Vat. lat. 1343, Greek Acta

Editions: ACO 2.4, *Ep.* 1 (p. 3); Gk in ACO 2.1.2, p. 45; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is.
p. 580, Mansi V. 1323, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 23

Letter 21, 'Domino uenerabili'

Date: After 22 November, 448

Recipient: Leo of Rome, from Eutyches

Contents: Eutyches denies two-nature Christology and gives his side of the events at
the Home synod of CP, 448.

In the following collections: Vat. lat. 1319; Novariensis

Editions: ACO 2.2.1, 33-35

Letter 22, 'Nulla res diaboli'

Date: Late 448, early 449

Recipient: Leo of Rome, from Flavian of CP

Contents: Eutyches is a Valentinian & Apollinarian, he was excommunicated at the
Home Synod.

In the following collections: Vaticana, Corbeiensis, Pithouensis, Coloniensis,

Hispana, Dionysiana adaucta, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-
Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, & Y**), Rusticus' Acta, *Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium*
antiqua correcta, Novariensis, B21, B22, B23, B24, Greek Acta

Editions: ACO 2.2.1, pp. 21-22

Letter 23, JK 420 ‘Cum Christianissimus,’ ‘Ὅποτε ὁ’

Date: 18 February, 449

Recipient: Flavian of Constantinople

Contents: Leo is amazed that Flavian hadn’t told him about the scandal sooner;

Eutyches claims innocence, that he was wrongly excommunicated. Leo wishes to be made more certain of these events.

In the following collections: Vaticana, Hispana, Dionysiana adaucta, Hispana Gallica

Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, & Y**), Rusticus’ Acta,

Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium antiqua correcta, Ratisbonensis, B21,

B22, B23, B24, Greek Acta, Grimanica

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 2 (pp. 2-4); ACO 2.4, *Ep.* 3 (pp. 4-5), Gk: ACO 2.1, p. 46; JK

notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 581, Mansi V. 1338, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 24.

Letter 24, JK 421 ‘Quantum praesidii’

Date: 18 February, 449

Recipient: Theodosius II Augustus

Contents: A reply to Theodosius saying that Leo lacks sufficient knowledge to judge

concerning Eutyches. He desires more accurate information so he can judge more easily.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Bobbiensis, Grimanica,

Ratisbonensis, B24

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 1 (pp. 1-2); ACO 2.4, *Ep.* 2 (pp. 3-4); JK notes Mansi V. 1341,

Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 15, Biblioteca Casinensis I. Florilegium p. 55

Letter 25, ‘Tristis legi tristes’ ‘Στυγνὸς ἀνέγνων’

Date: c. February, 449

Recipient: Eutyches, from Peter Chrysologus

Contents: Eutyches should believe what the church has already decided on Christology, which he can learn from the pope.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana, Hispana, Hispana Gallica

Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Iisdore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, & Y**), Rusticus’ Acta, *Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium Antiqua Correcta*, B21, B22, B23, Greek Acta

Letter 26, ‘Pietate et recta uerbi’; ‘Pie et recte’ ‘Ἐὐσεβείας καὶ’

Date: c. March, 449

Recipient: Leo of Rome, from Flavian of Constantinople

Contents: This is Flavian’s second letter explaining Eutyches’ condemnation.

Eutyches’ error, partly Apollinarian, partly Valentinian, is twofold—a. Before the Incarnation there were 2 natures, afterwards 1; b. Christ’s body from the Blessed Virgin was not exactly the same nature as ours. Eutyches lied to Leo—there was no written appeal to the Home Synod of CP or to Leo.

In the following collections: Albigensis, Rusticus’ Acta, VGCAC, B22, Greek Acta

Editions: PL 54.743-752 gives two Latin versions and a Greek version; ACO 2.2, §4 (pp. 23-24) provides another Latin version, ‘Pie et recte’.

Letter 27, JK 422 ‘Peruenisse ad nos’

Date: 21 May, 449

Recipient: Flavian of CP

Contents: Leo has received Flavian's letter and praises him for his treatment of Eutyches. Promises a full response soon.

In the following collections: Albigensis, Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, p. 9; JK notes Mansi V. 1359, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 26

Silva-Tarouca 1931, p. 183, considers this letter suspect

Letter 28, The *Tome*, JK 423 'Lectis dilectionis tuae,' 'Ἀναγνόντες τὰ'

Date: 13 June, 449

Recipient: Flavian of CP

Contents: Leo sets out in detail his view on the two natures of Christ in response to Eutyches.

In the following collections: Teatina, Corbeiensis, Vaticana, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Albigensis, Remensis, Coloniensis, Hispana, Dionysiana adaucta, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, & Y**), Florentina, early Latin Acta, Rusticus' Acta, Novariensis, Ratisbonensis, B20, B21, B22, B23, B24, Cod. Veronensis 8, Cod. Veronensis 58, Greek Acta

Editions: SILVA-TAROUCA 9, *Ep.* 1 (pp. 20-33); ACO 2.2.1, pp. 24-33; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 597, Conc. Gall. I. 523, Mansi V. 1365, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 26

The text in Ps.-Is. A1 is from the homilies, not from the *Hispana*; nonetheless, the order of the *Hispana* is preserved.

Letter 29, JK 424 ‘Quantum rebus’ ‘ὅσῳ’

Date: 13 June, 449

Recipient: Theodosius II Augustus

Contents: Leo is sending *legati* to Eph2 & has sent the *Tome* to Flavin of CP.

In the following collections: Corbeiensis, Pithouensis, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel

College MS), Ps.-Is. A1 (B10), Yale Pseudo-Isidore, Pseudo-Isidore C,

Florentina, Rusticus’ *Acta*, *Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium Antiqua*

Correcta, Grimanica, Bobbiensis, Ratisbonensis, B21, B22, B23, B24, Greek

Acta

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 3 (pp. 4-5); ACO 2.4, p. 9, Gk. ACO 2.1, p. 45; JK notes

Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 576, Mansi V. 1391, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 34

Letter 30, JK 425 ‘Quantum sibi fiduciae’ ‘ὅσῃν πεποιθήσιν’

Date: 13 June, 449

Recipient: Pulcheria Augusta

Contents: About the same as *Ep.* 29.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C (B12), Rusticus’ *Acta*, VGCAC,

Ratisbonensis, B22, Greek *Acta*, Grimanica

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 4 (pp. 6-8); ACO 2.4, *Ep.* 8 (pp. 10-11), Gk. ACO 2.1, 45-46.

This letter may be a recension of *Ep.* 31, which ST edits as 4b; JK lists both *Ep.* 30

and 31 as #425 with a preference for *Ep.* 31. Concerning *Ep.* 30, JK says:

Altera in nonnullis locis abbreviata et mutata recension cum versione graeca

invenitur in Leonis M. Opp. I. 847 (Migne 54 p. 786), Mansi V. 1396, Bull.

Rom. T. E. App. I. 35 ... Fortasse haec mutatio facta est a Leone M. ipso, cum Pulcheriae exemplar istius epistolae pridem ab eadem non acceptae transmisit cum litteris d. die. 13 m. Octobr. a. 449 (v. infra ep. 439).

Letter 31, JK 425 ‘Quantum praesidii’

Date: 13 June, 449

Recipient: Pulcheria Augusta

Contents: Leo goes into a deeper discussion of Eutyches’ errors than in *Ep.* 30. He cannot be at Eph2.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Corbeiensis, Pithouensis, Coloniensis, Ps.-Is. A1, Yale Pseudo-Isidore, Ps.-Is. C, Florentina, Bobbiensis, Grimmanica, B20, B21, B22, B23, B24, Vat. Reg. lat. 293

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 4b (pp. 8-13); ACO 2.4, *Ep.* 11 (pp. 12-15); JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 570, Mansi V. 1401, Bull Rom. T. E. App. I. 36

See *Ep.* 30 concerns about its relationship with this letter.

Letter 32, JK 426 ‘Cum propter causam’ ‘ἐπειδὴ διὰ’

Date: 13 June, 449

Recipient: Faustus, Martinus, and the rest of the archimandrites of CP

Contents: Leo condemns Eutyches, but wishes for mercy not to be denied Eutyches if he is penitent.

In the following collections: Rusticus’ Acta, *Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium Antiqua Correcta*, Grimmanica, Ratisbonensis, B22, Greek Acta, Montpellier H 308.

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 8; ACO 2.4, p. 10; Gk. ACO 2.1, p. 42; JK notes Mansi V.

1406, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 39.

Letter 33, JK 427 ‘Religiosa clementissimi’ ‘ἡ τοῦ ἡμερωτάτου’

Date: 13 June, 449

Recipient: Council of Ephesus II

Contents: Leo asserts Petrine primacy (citing Mt. 16:13, 16-18), and encourages them to heed his *legati* whom he has sent to condemn Eutychianism and restored Eutyches if penitent.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, & Y**), Florentina, Rusticus’ Acta, *Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium Antiqua Correcta*, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, B21, B22, B23, B24, Greek Acta, Montpellier H 308

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 8; ACO 2.4, p. 15; Gk ACO 2.1, 43-44; JK notes Hinschius Ps.

Is. p. 600, Cocqu. I. 42, Mansi V. 1409, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 71.

Letter 34, JK 428 ‘Litterae dilectionis tuae’

Date: 13 June, 449

Recipient: Juvenal of Jerusalem (cf. ST 15, p. 18) or Julian of Cos (cf. PL 54.801, ACO 2.4, p. 16)

Contents: Leo praises his recipient’s faith and tells him of the *legati* he is sending to Eph2 and states Eutyches’ guilt.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 7; ACO 2.4, p. 16; JK notes Mansi V. 1413, Bull. Rom. T. E.

App. I. 40

Letter 35, JK 429 ‘Licet per nostros’ ‘Ἐὶ καὶ διὰ’

Date: 13 June, 449

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo expounds upon the errors of Eutyches

In the following collections: Oriel MS of Quesnelliana, Corbeiensis, Pithouensis, Ps.-

Is. A1, Yale Pseudo-Isidore, Ps.-Is. C, Florentina, Rusticus’ Acta, *Versio*

Gestorum Chalcedonensium Antiqua Correcta, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis,

B20, B21, B22, B23, B24, Vat. Reg. lat. 293, Greek Acta, Leiden VLQ 122,

Montpellier H 308

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 6; ACO 2.4, pp. 6-8; Gk. ACO 2.1, pp. 40-42; JK notes Mansi

V. 1415, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 41

Letter 36, JK 430 ‘Litteras tuae dilectionis’

Date: 20 June, 449

Recipient: Flavian of CP

Contents: Leo acknowledges receipt of *Ep.* 26. Although he sees no need for a

council, he will send his *legati*.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, p. 17; JK notes Mansi V. 1423, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 44.

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183, thinks spurious

Letter 37, JK 431 ‘Acceptis clementiae’

Date: 30 June, 449

Recipient: Theodosius II Augustus

Contents: Leo praises Theodosius’ zeal but notes that a council is unnecessary.

Nevertheless, he will send *legati*.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Grimantica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 10; ACO 2.4, p. 17; JK notes Mansi V. 1424, Bull. Rom. T. E.

App. I. 44

Letter 38, JK 432 ‘Profectis iam nostris’

Date: 23 July, 449

Recipient: Flavian of CP

Contents: Leo encourages Flavian against those who are opposed to the truth, but

encourages him to give leniency to the penitent.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Grimantica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 11; ACO 2.4, p. 18; JK notes Mansi V. 1425, Bull. Rom. T. E.

App. I. 45

Letter 39, JK 433 ‘Auget sollicitudines’

Date: 11 August, 449

Recipient: Flavian of CP

Contents: Leo queries why Flavian is not sending him letters; he wants to know all

about Eph2.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Grimantica

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 18-19; JK notes Mansi V. 1427, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 46

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183, thinks suspect

Letter 40, JK 434 'Iusta et rationabilis'

Date: 22 August, 449

Recipient: Constantine, Audentius, Rusticus, Auspicius, Nicetas, Nectarius, Florus,

Asclepius, Iustus, Augustalis, Ynantius, and Chrysaphius, bishops of Arles

Contents: Leo congratulates them on the accession of Ravennius to the see of Arles.

In the following collections: Arelatensis, Albigensis

Editions: Gundlach 1892, 15. JK notes Conc. Gall. I. 505, Mansi V. 1428, Bull.

Rom. T. E. App. I. 46

Letter 41, JK 435 'Prouectionem dilectionis'

Date: 22 August, 449

Recipient: Ravennius of Arles

Contents: Leo congratulates him on becoming bishop; encourages him to be

moderate in governance and to consult Leo for advice often.

In the following collections: Arelatensis, Albigensis, Ps.-Is. C, B24

Editions: Gundlach 1892, 16-17. JK notes Conc. Gall. I. 507, Mansi V. 1429, Bull.

Rom. T. E. App. I. 47

Letter 42, JK 436 'Circumspectum te'

Date: 26 August, 449

Recipient: Ravennius of Arles

Contents: Leo warns Ravennius to watch out for a certain Petronianus, a deacon who claims to be from Rome and is wandering about Gaul. Ravennius should check Petronianus' boldness if he crosses his path; he should excommunicate him if necessary.

In the following collections: Arelatensis, Britannica

Editions: Gundlach 1892, 16. JK notes Conc. Gall. I. 509, Mansi V. 1430, Bull.

Rom. T. E. App. I. 48

Letter 43, JK 437 'Antea et ab' 'Olim et ab' 'ἀνωθεν'

Date: 26 August, 449

Recipient: Theodosius II Augustus

Contents: Leo queries about Eph2. He complains about how things transpired—they should have had a general synod in Italy.

In the following collections: Rusticus' Acta, VGCAC, B22, Greek Acta, Grimanica

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 12b; ACO 2.4, pp. 26-27; JK notes Mansi VI. 7, 11, Bull. Rom.

T. E. App. I. 48, 49

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 150, 183, thinks spurious. In notes to his edition (TD 15), he writes, 'Versionem hanc falsatam epistulae XII [*Ep.* 44 in PL 54] Chrysaphio eunucho iubente, Constantinopoli statim post acceptam authenticam Leonis epistolam divulgatam fuisse exposui in *Nuovi Studi*, p. 150 ss. Finis et scopus fraudis fuit culpam omnem eorum quae Ephesi occurrerant, Flaviano adtribuere; quare eliminato Alexandrini antistitis nomine (supra XII, lin. 14), « *supra dicto sacerdoti* » i. e. Flaviano (XII *b*) lin. 38, conf. 17) eius crimina tribuuntur' (p. 30, n. a). This theory is dependent upon Chrysaphius having

done the modification/forgery, a theory in part hinged upon the idea that any such doings would necessarily be carried out by Chrysaphius. Traditionally, Chrysaphius has been seen as ruling over Theodosius II and forcing the emperor to do his will. However, as George Bevan's research from 2005 shows, Theodosius was a man of his own mind and his own will. Therefore, even if we can demonstrate this letter to be a modified forgery of *Ep.* 44, the identity of the forger is not necessarily Chrysaphius, as so easily assumed by an earlier generation.

Letter 44, JK 438 'Litteris clementiae uestrae' 'τοῖς γράμμασι'

Date: 13 October, 449

Recipient: Theodosius II Augustus, from both Leo and the recent Roman Synod

Contents: Leo and the Roman Synod set before the emperor the injuries done at Eph2, which Leo had already mentioned in earlier letters. Something must be done, and Leo and the Romans encourage Theodosius to be vigilant against heresy.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana, Hispana, Hispana Gallica

Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore, Florentina, Rusticus' Acta, *Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium Antiqua Correcta*, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24, Greek Acta

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 12; ACO 2.4, pp. 19-21; Gk ACO 2.1, p. 25; JK notes Hinschius

Ps. Is. p. 601, Mansi VI. 13, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 51.

Letter 45, JK 439 'Si epistolae, quae' 'Ἐὶ ἐπιστολαὶ'

Date: 13 October, 449

Recipient: Pulcheria Augusta

Contents: Leo and the synod send Pulcheria a copy of an earlier letter (*Ep.* 30) that never reached her. Leo wants a council in Italy.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Arelatensis, Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, & Y**), Florentina, Rusticus' Acta, *Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium Antiqua Correcta*, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, B21, B22, B23, B24, Greek Acta

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 13; ACO 2.4, pp. 23-25; Gk. ACO 2.1, pp. 47-48; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 602, Mansi VI. 19, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 53

Letter 46, 'Studium mihi fuisse'

Date: 13 October, 449

Recipient: Pulcheria, from Hilary the Deacon

Contents: Hilary was not allowed to enter Eph2, and Dioscorus sent back Leo's letters. He escaped Dioscorus' plots and returned to Rome.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Rusticus' Acta, *Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium Antiqua Correcta*, B22, Greek Acta

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 27-28

Letter 47, JK 440 'Quantum relatione'

Date: 13 October, 449

Recipient: Anastasius of Thessalonica

Contents: Leo congratulates Anastasius on avoiding Eph2; Anastasius is to keep the faith, following Flavian, and strengthening other bishops.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 22-23; JK notes Mansi VI. 27, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 55

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183 thinks suspect

Letter 48, JK 441 ‘Cognitis, quae apud’

Date: 13 October, 449

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo consoles Julian and will write his plans to him through a messenger.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, p. 23; JK notes Mansi VI. 28, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 55

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183 thinks suspect

Letter 49, JK 442 ‘Quae et quanta’

Date: 13 October, 449

Recipient: Flavian of CP – probably deceased at time of writing

Contents: Leo consoles Flavian in the matter of his sufferings Eph2 and encourages him to keep the faith.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, B23, Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, p. 23; JK notes Mansi VI. 28, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 56

ST considers *Epp.* 47-49 suspect on stylistic grounds.

Letter 50, JK 443 ‘In notitiam nostram’ ‘Εἰς γνῶσιν’

Date: 15 (13?) October, 449 (cf. ACO 2.4, p. 22, app. crit. for *l.* 12)

Recipient: Clergy, nobles, and people in CP

Contents: Leo and the Roman synod encourage them in the matter of the ill deeds of Dioscorus at Eph2. Leo encourages them to keep the faith.

In the following collections: Rusticus' Acta, *Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium*

Antiqua Correcta, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, B21, B22, B23, B24, Greek Acta

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 15; ACO 2.4, pp. 21-22; Gk. ACO 2.1, pp. 50-51; JK notes

Mansi VI. 30, Bull Rom. T. E. App. I. 56

Letter 51, JK 444 'Quamuis ea, quae' 'Εὶ καὶ τὰ'

Date: 15 (13?) October, 449 (cf. ACO 2.4, p. 26, app. crit. for *l.* 4)

Recipient: Faustus, Martinus, Peter, and Emmanuel, presbyters and archimandrites in CP

Contents: Leo warns them not to abandon Bishop Flavian or his faith. This letter from Leo and the Roman Synod.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C, Rusticus' Acta, *Versio Gestorum*

Chalcedonensium Antiqua Correcta, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, B22, B23,

Greek Acta

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 14; ACO 2.4, pp. 25-26; Gk. ACO 2.1, p. 51; JK notes Cocqu. I.

42, Mansi VI. 33, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 72

Letter 52, 'Εὶ Παῦλος'

Date: September-October, 449

Recipient: Leo I Episcopus from Theodoret of Cyrrhus

Contents: Theodoret writes to Leo for instructions in the wake of his deposition at Eph2.

In the following collections: The letters of Theodoret of Cyrrhus

Editions: SC 111, pp. 56-67.

Letter 53, 'Καὶ γὰρ ὁ' 'Etenim piisimus et'

Date: Late 449

Recipient: Leo of Rome, from Anatolius of CP

Contents: In this fragmentary letter Anatolius explains to Leo how he gained the see of CP.

In the following collections: Vat. Reg. lat. 940 (I think; PL 54.853 simply calls it Cod. Regius 940). However, there is no information about where the Greek came from if the ms is Latin.

Editions: Cotelarius, Eccl. Graec. Monumenta, tom. I, p. 66.

Letter 54, JK 445 'Pro integritate fidei'

Date: 25 December, 449

Recipient: Theodosius II Augustus

Contents: Leo maintains the Nicene faith and condemns Nestorianism. He urges the emperor to call a council in Italy.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 16; ACO 2.4, p. 11; JK notes Conc. Gall. I. 503, Mansi VI. 45,

Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 57

Letter 55, 'Cum aduenissem'

Date: February 450

Recipient: Theodosius II Augustus, from Valentinian III Augustus

Contents: If Theodosius were to hold a council in Italy, it would please Leo.

In the following collections: Rusticus' Acta, B22, Greek Acta

Letter 56, 'Dum in ipso ingressu'

Date: 450

Recipient: Theodosius II Augustus, from Galla Placidia Augusta

Contents: At Leo's insistence, she mentions his complaints against Eph2 and call for
Theodosius to follow Leo's lead in matters ecclesiastical.

In the following collections: Rusticus' Acta, B22, Greek Acta

Letter 57, 'Omnibus notum est'

Date: 450

Recipient: Theodosius II Augustus, from Licinia Eudoxia

Contents: Leo knows what is best. Flavian of CP suffered at the hands of the bishop
of Alexandria. Theodosius should revoke Eph2.

In the following collections: Rusticus' Acta, B22, Greek Acta

Letter 58, 'Ut Romam frequentibus'

Date: 450

Recipient: Pulcheria Augusta, from Galla Placidia Augusta

Contents: Leo is in a bad state about Eph2, where everything was conducted contrary to order. Galla Placidia encourages Pulcheria to work at overturning these actions.

In the following collections: Greek Acta (a Venice ms), Latin Acta (Veron. 57)

Editions: Cotelerius, Monument. Eccles. Graecae, Tom. I, p. 62.

Letter 59, JK 447 'Licet de his quae'

Date: March 450 (ST thinks end of 449, TD 15, p. 40 n. a)

Recipient: Clergy and people of CP

Contents: Leo congratulates them for not being heretics. He demonstrates Christ's real body from the Eucharist and that the Incarnation is needed to overcome Adam's sin.

In the following collections: Corbeiensis, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College ms), Ps.-

Is. A1, Florentina, B20, B21, B22, B23, B24, Grimanica

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 15b; ACO 2.4, 34ff; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 572, Mansi

VI. 58, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 58

Letter 60, JK 448 'Gaudere me plurimum'

Date: 17 March, 450

Recipient: Pulcheria Augusta

Contents: Leo praises her faith and requests her help to hold another synod.

In the following collections: Coloniensis, Hispana, Hispana Gallica

Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a**, **I-b**, **I-c**, **Y**), Grimanica,

Ratisbonensis, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 17; ACO 2.4, p. 29; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 602, Mansi

VI. 64, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 62

Letter 61, JK 449 ‘Bonorum operum’

Date: 17 March, 450

Recipient: Martinus and Faustus, presbyters and archimandrites

Contents: Leo reminds them of *Ep.* 51 and the need to preserve the faith and church from things contrary to piety and sense.

In the following collections: Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 18; ACO 2.4, p. 28; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 603, Mansi

VI. 65, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 63

Letter 62, ‘Et Romae peruenisse’ ‘Καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ’

Date: c. April 450 (cf. PL 54.875 n. *e*)

Recipient: Valentinian III, from Theodosius II

Contents: Theodosius responds to *Ep.* 55 that there has been no departure from the faith of the Fathers, and that Flavian was adding innovations. Now peace and harmony will reign in the Church.

In the following collections: Rusticus’ Acta, B22, Greek Acta

Letter 63, ‘Ex litteris tuae’ ’ἐκ τῶν γραμμῶν’

Date: 450

Recipient: Galla Placidia Augusta, from Theodosius II

Contents: Despite Leo's concern, there has been no departure from the faith of the Fathers decided at Nicaea. No new council will be called, for all is well, and Flavian had been the innovator.

In the following collections: Rusticus' Acta, B22, Greek Acta

Letter 64, 'Semper equidem tui' 'Ἀεῖ μὲν οὖν'

Date: 450

Recipient: Licinia Eudoxia, from Theodosius II

Contents: Although Theodosius receives her letter and requests with sweetness, in the case of Flavian, nothing can be done. Flavian was judged rightly at Eph2.

In the following collections: Rusticus' Acta, B22, Greek Acta

Letter 65, 'Memores quantum honoris'

Date: A while before May, 450 (PL 54.879, n. *d*)

Recipient: Leo of Rome, from all the bishops of Arles

Contents: The Arelatensians want old honours restored to the see of Arles. Arles had various prerogatives, and St. Trophimus went there; there are civil rights and privileges given Arles; the beseech Leo in various ways.

In the following collections: Arelatensis, Albigensis

Edition: Gundlach 1892, 17-20.

Letter 66, JK 450 'Lectis dilectionis uestrae'

Date: 5 May, 450

Recipient: Bishops of the Province of Arles – all named

Contents: No. Leo has already presided over and judged this issue.

In the following collections: Arelatensis, Albigensis, Coloniensis, Britannica

Editions: Gundlach 1892, 20-21. JK notes Conc. Gall. I. 515, Mansi VI. 76, Bull.

Rom. T. E. I. 73

Letter 67, JK 451 ‘Diu filios nostros’

Date: 5 May, 450 (PL 54.885)

Recipient: Ravennius of Arles

Contents: Leo commits Ravennius with the task of promoting the *Tome* and a letter of Cyril’s (*II Ad Nestorium?*) in Gaul. Petronius the presbyter and Regulus the deacon will give him secret/unwritten instructions.

In the following collections: Arelatensis

Editions: Gundlach 1892, 21-22. ST 15, p. 89; JK notes Conc. Gall. I. 521, Mansi VI.

78, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 64

Letter 68, ‘Recensita epistola beatitudinis uestrae’

Date: A little after May, 450 (PL 54.888, n. c)

Recipient: Leo, from Ceretius, Salonius, and Veranus, Bishops of Gaul

Contents: They thank Leo for the *Tome* and include a copy for him to make any corrections to and send back to them.

In the following collections: Oriel College MS of Quesnelliana, Ps.-Is. C

Letter 69, JK 452 ‘Omnibus quidem uestrae’ (‘Credimus filium’ – fragment, cf.

below)

Date: 16 July, 450

Recipient: Theodosius II Augustus who died before the letter arrived

Contents: Leo has not yet acknowledged Anatolius as Bishop of CP not out of spite

but, rather, out of a concern for catholic doctrine. In all the trouble, he was waiting to be assured of Anatolius’ catholicity. He urges Theodosius to secure and adhere to catholic teaching, which Leo and his predecessors maintained, through a council in Italy.

In the following collections: Oriel College MS of Quesnelliana, Hispana, Hispana

Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 18 (pp.51ff); ACO 2.4, pp. 30-31; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p.

603, Mansi VI. 83, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 65

JK observes that there is a fragment in PL 54.1257, Mansi VI. 423, Bull. Rom. T. E.

App. I. 198, that he believes to be from the same letter.

Letter 70, JK 453 ‘Gaudeo fidei clementiae’

Date: 16 July, 450

Recipient: Pulcheria Augusta

Contents: Leo has not heard back from the letters he sent to Anatolius to hear

Anatolius’ confession of faith. He stresses the importance of having a general council.

In the following collections: Oriel College MS of Quesnelliana, Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 20 (pp. 54-55); ACO 2.4, p. 29; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 604, Mansi VI. 86, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 67

Letter 71, JK 454 ‘Causa fidei, in qua’

Date: 17 July, 450

Recipient: Faustus, Martinus, Petrus, Manuelus, Job, Antiochus, Abrahamius, Thedorus, Pientius, Eusebius, Helpidius, Paulus, Asterius, and Charosus, presbyters and archimandrites, and Jacobus the deacon and archimandrite in CP

Contents: Leo complains of not having a confession of faith from Anatolius and the people whom he has ordained. Also, he commends his *legati* to the recipients.

In the following collections: Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Grimanica, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 31-32; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 605. Mansi VI. 88, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 68

Letter 72, JK 455 ‘Gratum semper est’ ‘Kexarisme/non’

Date: Between March and November 450 (PL 54.897 n. *a*)

Recipient: Faustus the presbyter

Contents: Leo is answering Faustus, praising his faith and encouraging him not to be put to confusion concerning Jesus’ incarnation.

In the following collections: Rusticus' Acta, *Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium*

Antiqua Correcta, Grimanica, B22, Greek Acta

Editions: ACO 2.4, *Ep.* 4 (pp. 5-6); JK notes Mansi VI. 91, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I.

69

Letter 73, 'Ad hoc maximum imperium'

Date: Late August, early September 450 (PL 54.900, n. *a*)

Recipient: Leo of Rome, from Valentinian III and Marcian, Augusti (must be really
fr Marcian)

Contents: The emperors promise to Leo that they will rid the world of heresy through
another council.

In the following collections: Rusticus' Acta, VGCAC, B22, Greek Acta

Letter 74, JK 456 'Gratias agimus Deo'

Date: 13 September, 450

Recipient: Martinus, a presbyter

Contents: Leo encourages Martinus not to lack zeal for the destruction of heresy, for
the right arm of God will break the weapons of the Devil. Leo hopes his *legati*
are well in CP.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, p. 32; JK notes Mansi VI. 95, Bull. Rom. T. E. app. I. 69

ST, NS 183, thinks it spurious

Letter 75, JK 457 'Omnes scribendi'

Date: 9 or 8 November, 450 (cf. ACO 2.4, p. 33, app. crit. *l.* 36; ACO & ST = 9 November; PL 54 = 8 November)

Recipient: Faustus and Martinus, presbyters and archimandrites in CP

Contents: Leo encourages them to take up constancy against Nestorius and Eutyches who are the precursors of Antichrist.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 21 (pp. 56-57); ACO 2.4, p. 33; JK notes Mansi VI. 96, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 70

Letter 76, ‘De studio et oratione nostra’ ‘Περὶ τῆς σπουδῆς’

Date: 22 November, 450 (cf. PL 54.903, nn. *c* and *e*)

Recipient: Leo of Rome, from Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo’s envoys have arrived in CP. Marcian agrees that a council should be held with all haste, but in the East, not the West.

In the following collections: Rusticus’ *Acta*, *Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium Antiqua Correcta*, B22, Greek *Acta*

Letter 77, ‘Litteras tuae beatitudinis’ ‘τὰ γράμματα τῆς σῆς μακαριότητος’

Date: Same time at *Ep.* 76 (22 November, 450)

Recipient: Leo of Rome, from Pulcheria Augusta

Contents: Anatolius has confirmed his orthodoxy, and Flavian of CP’s body has been returned and is buried in the Church of the Apostles. There should be a council in the East to decide the fates of those involved in Eph2.

In the following collections: Rusticus' Acta, *Versio Gestorum Chalcedonensium*

Antiqua Correcta, B22, Greek Acta

Letter 78, JK 458 'Litteras pietatis uestrae'

Date: 13 April, 451

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo responds to *Ep.* 76 that he is pleased with Marican's faith and encourages him to defend catholic truth. He adds that more letters will follow.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 22 (pp. 57-58); ACO 2.4, p. 38; JK notes Mansi VI. 103, Bull.

Rom. T. E. App. I. 71

Letter 79, JK 459 'Quod semper de'

Date: 13 April, 451

Recipient: Pulcheria Augusta

Contents: In his response to *Ep.* 77, Leo congratulates Pulcheria for her victory over Nestorianism and Eutychianism. He praises her for aiding his *legati* and readmitting catholic priests ejected at Eph2, and returning Flavian to CP. He commends Eusebius of Dorylaeum and Julian of Cos to her.

In the following collections: Oriel College MS of Quesnelliana, Hispana, Hispana

Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**),

Ratisbonensis, Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 23 (pp. 58-60); ACO 2.4, pp. 37-38; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is.

p. 605, Mansi VI. 105, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 72

Letter 80, JK 460 'Gaudemus in Dominio'

Date: 13 April, 451

Recipient: Anatolius of CP

Contents: Leo rejoices in Anatolius' orthodoxy. He notes the error of the lapsed who are to be restored as are those condemned at Eph2. Dioscorus, Juvenal, and Eustathius are to be removed from the diptychs, and he commends Julian and Eusebius to him.

In the following collections: Vaticana, Oriel College MS of Quesnelliana, Hispana, Dionysiana adauca, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Ratisbonensis, Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 24 (pp. 60-63); ACO 2.4, pp. 38-40; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 606, Mansi VI. 108, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 73

Letter 81, JK 461 'Litteras fraternitatis tuae'

Date: 13 April, 451

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo congratulates Julian for being freed from his miseries and encourages/urges him to put pressure more tightly upon treacherous heretics.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C, Grimantica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 25 (pp. 64-65); ACO 2.4, p. 40; JK notes Mansi VI. 111, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 75

Letter 82, JK 462 'Quamuis per Constantinopolitanos'

Date: 23 April, 451

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo advises Marcian to guard the peace of the church against anything new insinuating itself contrary to evangelical and apostolic preaching. He will send *legati* to the new synod, which is to treat only of Dioscorus and Eutyches.

In the following collections: Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Grimanica, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: ACO 2.4, p. 41; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 607, Mansi VI. 112, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 76

Letter 83, JK 463 ‘Multam mihi fiduciam’

Date: 9 June, 451

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo commends Lucentius a bishop and Basilius a presbyter to Marcian.

They have been sent to CP and are to receive penitent heretics. Leo wishes for the synod to be at a different time because bishops in places ravaged by war will not be able to travel.

In the following collections: Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 26 (pp. 65-67); ACO 2.4, 42-43; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 607, Mansi VI. 114, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 77

Letter 84, JK 464 ‘Religiosam pietatis’

Date: 9 June, 451

Recipient: Pulcheria Augusta

Contents: Leo commends his *legati* to her. Eutychianism is to be eliminated just like Nestorianism, wherever it may be—remove Eutyches from CP so he won't pull others down with him, and replace him with a catholic abbot.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 27; ACO 2.4, pp. 43-44; JK notes Mansi VI. 116, Bull. Rom. T.

E. App. I. 79

Letter 85, JK 465 'Licet sperem dilectionem'

Date: 9 June, 451

Recipient: Anatolius of CP

Contents: Leo urges Anatolius to be zealous and to act together with his *legati* so that neither benevolence nor justice will be neglected. Anatolius should receive those who were led to heresy out of fear, but the authors of impiety are to be reserved for the more mature judgement of the Apostolic See.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, B21, B22, B23, B24, Grimanica

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 28 (pp. 70-73); ACO 2.4, 44-45; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p.

608, Mansi VI. 118, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 80

Letter 86, JK 466 'Quam gratum mihi'

Date: 9 June, 451

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo urges Julian to aid his *legati* in the destruction of heresy through penitence.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 29 (p. 73); ACO 2.4, p. 42; JK notes Mansi VI. 119, Bull. Rom.

T. E. App. I. 81

Letter 87, JK 467 ‘Ad declinandam erroris’

Date: 19 June, 451

Recipient: Anatolius of CP

Contents: Leo commends Basilius and John, presbyters, to Anatolius. By these men, both Nestorianism and Eutychianism were condemned at Rome.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Collection of Vat. lat. 1322,

Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, p. 45; JK notes Mansi VI. 120, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 82

Letter 88, JK 468 ‘Quamuis non dubitem’

Date: 24 June, 451

Recipient: Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybaeum

Contents: Leo is sending Paschasinus a copy of the *Tome* and patristic testimonia to which all monasteries at CP with many bishops and all bishops of Antioch have subscribed. He asks about the date of Easter, 455.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 30 (pp. 74-76); ACO 2.4, pp. 46-47; JK notes Mansi VI. 123,
Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 82, Krusch Studien z. christl.-mittelalt. Chronologie p.
255

Letter 89, JK 469 ‘Credebamus, clementiam’

Date: 26 (ST, PL 54) or 24 (ACO 2.4) June, 451 (cf. ACO 2.4 p. 48, app. crit. *l.* 6)

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo has sent Boniface the presbyter and Julian the bishop to join

Paschasinus as his envoys at the council held at a time contrary to his wishes.

He wants Paschasinus to preside at the council so that the catholic faith can
hold strong.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Collection of Vat. lat. 1322,

Grimanica

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 31b (pp. 79-80); ACO 2.4, pp. 47-48; JK notes Mansi VI. 126,

Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 84

Letter 90, JK 470 ‘Puposceram’

Date: 26 June, 451

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo agrees to the council being held and asks for the faith not to be

discussed as though doubtful.

In the following collections: Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of

Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, B21, B22, B23,

B24

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 30 (pp. 77-78); ACO 2.4, p. 48; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p.

608, Mansi VI. 127, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 85

Letter 91, JK 471 ‘Cognita clementissimi’

Date: 26 June, 451

Recipient: Anatolius of CP

Contents: Leo is amazed that the emperor is holding the council with such haste.

Many bishops could not be summoned from various provinces.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 32 (p. 81); ACO 2.4, p. 49; JK notes Mansi VI. 129, Bull. Rom.

T. E. App. I. 86

Letter 92, JK 472 ‘Quid de dilectionis’

Date: 26 June, 451

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo gives Julian the mandate to support his *legati* at the council.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 33 (p. 82); ACO 2.4, p. 49; JK notes Mansi VI. 130, Bull. Rom.

T. E. App. I. 86

Letter 93, JK 473 ‘Optaueram quidem’ ‘ἔμοι μὲν’

Date: 26 June, 451

Recipient: Council to be gathered at Nicaea (Council of Chalcedon)

Contents: Although invited by the emperor, Leo cannot come, but will preside over the proceedings through his *legati*. He warns them not to acquiesce to the rejected boldness against the faith which out neither to be defended nor believed. He encourages them to embrace the *Tome* and take care to reinstate the exiled catholic bishops.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Grimonica, Bobbiensis, Ratisbonensis, Collection of Vat. lat. 1322, Vallicelliana 18, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 34 (pp. 83-84); ACO 2.4, 51-52; Gk. ACO 2.1, 31-32; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 609, Mansi VI. 131, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 87.

There are ms difficulties set out in PL 54.569-570 par. 36.

Letter 94, JK 474 ‘Sanctum clementiae uestrae’

Date: 20 July, 451

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo encourages Marcian to remove the impiety of the few in the synod, not to admit any dispute nor to allow the foundations of the faith to seem infirm or doubtful.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Grimonica, Bobbiensis, Ratisbonensis, Collection of Vat. lat. 1322, B24

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 35 (pp. 85-86); ACO 2.4, pp. 49-50; JK notes Mansi VI. 135, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 88.

Letter 95, JK 475 ‘Religiosam clementiae uestrae’

Date: 20 July, 451

Recipient: Pulcheria Augusta

Contents: Leo wishes the penitent heretics to be treated mercifully at the council, unlike how Catholics were treated ‘in illo Ephesino non iudicio sed latricinio’—the first calling of Eph2 a *latricinium*.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C, Florentina, Grimanica, Bobbiensis, Ratisbonensis, B24

Editions: ST 15, *Ep.* 36 (pp. 86-89); ACO 2.4, pp. 50-51; JK notes Mansi VI. 138, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 88

Letter 96, JK 477 ‘Ad praecipuum’

Date: July 451

Recipient: Ravennius of Arles

Contents: Leo requests Ravennius to celebrate Easter on 23 March in 452 since there should be no diversity in celebrating the feast.

In the following collections: Undetermined

Editions: JK notes Conc. Gall. I. 531, Mansi VI. 140, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 91

Letter 97, ‘Reuersis, Domino annuente’

Date: August or September 451 (PL 54.945, n. c) -- IMPOSSIBLE

Recipient: Leo of Rome from Eusebius, Bishop of Milan

Contents: Eusebius is glad that his fellows are back from the East. The *Tome* was read and signed at a Milanese synod; he and his bishops agree to the condemnation of Eutyches.

In the following collections: Oriel College MS of Quesnelliana, Ps.-Is. A1, Yale Pseudo-Isidore, B21, B23

Letter 98, ‘Repletum est gaudio’ ‘ἐπλήσθη χαρᾶς’

Date: Early November 451 (PL 54.951, n. *a*)

Recipient: Leo of Rome from the bishops at Chalcedon

Contents: Leo is congratulated for maintaining Catholic truth; Dioscorus’ misdeeds are recounted; Eutyches has been deposed; they request that Leo ratify Canon 28 which his *legati* opposed.

In the following collections: Early Latin Acta (**Ac**), Greek Acta

Editions: Look up whether this *Ep.* in ACO.

Letter 99, ‘Perlata ad nos’

Date: December 451 (PL 54.965, n. *c*)

Recipient: Leo of Rome from Ravennius of Arles

Contents: All the bishops of Gaul have received the *Tome* as the truth of the faith.

In the following collections: Oriel College MS of Quesnelliana, Ps.-Is. A1, Yale Pseudo-Isidore, B21, B23, B24

Letter 100, ‘Diuina humanaque scripta’

Date: 18 December, 451

Recipient: Leo of Rome from Marcian Augustus (& Valentinian III)

Contents: Marcian rejoices that the faith was restored at Chalcedon where the faith of the *Tome* was received. He asks for CP to become second patriarchate, following Rome. He has asked Lucianus and Basilius for his consent in this matter.

In the following collections: Thessalonicensis

Editions: ST 23, *Ep.* 17 (pp. 46-47)

Letter 101, 'Vestrae sanctitatis zelus'

Date: December 451 (PL 54.975, n. *a*)

Recipient: Leo of Rome, from Anatolius of CP

Contents: Anatolius approves Leo's zeal against heresy and mentions acts of Chalcedon gathered at Rome; his *legati* are bringing more. He speaks of Dioscorus' condemnation and says that the *Tome* was received by all as was the definition of faith produced at Chalcedon. He notes other business at Chalcedon after the definition, especially the privilege of CP, the confirmation of which he seeks.

In the following collections: Vat. Gr. 1455

Letter 102, JK 479 'Optassemus quidem'

Date: 27 January, 452

Recipient: Various Gallic bishops, including Ravennius and Rusticus

Contents: Leo is glad that they approve of the heavenly teaching. Leo expounds on fleeing from Nestorian and Eutychian error. Dioscorus was condemned at Chalcedon, and Leo is expecting his own *legati*.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica, Bobbiensis, Ratisbonensis, B24
Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 44 (pp. 116-119); ACO 2.4, 53-54; JK notes Conc. Gall. I. 543,
Mansi VI. 181, Bull. Rom. T. E. 75

Letter 103, JK 480 ‘Impletis per’

Date: February 452 (PL 54.987, n. 1)

Recipient: Bishops of Gaul

Contents: Acts of Chalcedon have been gathered by Leo’s *legati*, and he rejoices that the synod assented with him about the incarnation. Leo includes a copy of the sentence against Dioscorus and his associates.

In the following collections: Corbeiensis, Coloniensis, Ps.-Is. C

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 155-156; JK notes Conc. Gall. I. 545, Mansi VI. 185, Bull
Rom. T. E. App. I. 91

Letter 104, JK 481 ‘Magno munere’ ‘Μεγάλη χάριτι’

Date: 22 May, 452

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo responds to Marcian, rejoicing at the extinction of error at Chalcedon but grieving over the ambition of Anatolius contrary to the ecclesiastical privileges established at Nicaea whereby he damages the dignity of Antioch.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS),

Thessalonicensis, Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-

Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Grimanica, Bobbiensis, Ratisbonensis, Lanfranc B21,
B22, B23, B24

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 37 (pp. 93-97); ACO 2.4, pp. 55-57; Gk. ACO 2.1.2, pp. 58-60;

JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 609, Mansi VI. 187, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 93

ST replaces *Lucianus* with *Lucensius* in this letter and in *Ep.* 107. Hunt disagrees
(181, n. 9).

Letter 105, JK 482 ‘Sanctis et Deo’

Date: 22 May, 452

Recipient: Pulcheria Augusta

Contents: Leo writes of the victory of the faith and the arrogance of Anatolius, which
goes counter to the canons and ancient custom. This will cause trouble
amongst the bishops.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica, Bobbiensis,
Ratisbonensis, B24

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 38 (pp. 97-100); ACO 2.4, pp. 57-59; JK notes Mansi VI. 195,
Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 96

Letter 106, JK 483 ‘Manifestato, sicut’ ‘Φανερωθέντος’

Date: 22 May, 452

Recipient: Anatolius of CP

Contents: Leo values Anatolius’ catholic faith but is harsh towards him over his
abuses at Chalcedon, grieving that Anatolius has fallen into this situation,

breaking the most holy canons of Nicaea and damaging the privileges of Antioch and Alexandria.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS),

Thessalonicensis, Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Grimonica, Ratisbonensis, Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24, Vallicelliana 18

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 39 (pp. 100-105); ACO 2.4, pp. 59-62; Gk ACO 2.1.2, 56-58;

JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 610, Mansi VI. 198, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 98 (cf. Hinschius Ps. Is. p. CI)

Quoted by Gratianus, *Decretum*, Pars Prima, Distinctio XLVII, Canon VI, PL

187.246c

Letter 107, JK 484 ‘Cum frequentibus’ (In some older edd., opens with, ‘Dilectio tua’, due to a misreading of the ms evidence [cf. PL 54.1009 n. g])

Date: 22 May, 452

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo reproves Julian because he sent him a letter on behalf of Anatolius of CP

In the following collections: Grimonica, Ratisbonensis, B23

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 40 (pp. 105-106); ACO 2.4, p. 62; JK notes Mansi VI. 207,

Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 101

Letter 108, JK 485 ‘Sollicitudinis quidem tuae’

Date: 11 June, 452

Recipient: Theodore, Bishop of Forum Iulii (Friuli, possibly Fréjus)

Contents: Leo responds to Theodore concerning the status of penitents, first telling him to observe the hierarchy and go to his metropolitan first in the future.

In the following collections: Frisingensis Prma, Diessensis, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Hispana, Dionysiana adaucta, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24, Vat. lat. 1343

Editions: JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 625, Conc. Gall. I. 549, Mansi VI. 208, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 102

Letter 109, JK 486 ‘Grauia sunt et’

Date: 25 November, 452

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo responds to Julian that the mobs of Palestinian monks are to be put down, that the emperor is to be moved to do something about it. Leo includes a copy of a letter from Athanasius to Epictetus which Cyril used against Nestorius at Eph1. Leo grieves for Juvenal of Jerusalem’s calamity.

In the following collections: Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 43 (pp. 113-115); ACO 2.4, 137-138; JK notes Mansi VI. 212, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 104

For *Ad Epictetum*, cf. ACO 1.5, pp. 321-334; PL 56.664-673

Letter 110, ‘Beatitudinem tuam ualere’

Date: 15 February, 453

Recipient: Leo of Rome, from Valentinian III and Marcian Augusti

Contents: The emperors seek the necessary confirmation of Chalcedon from Leo and
praise his constancy in protecting the canons and attacking innovations.

In the following collections: Gk: Vat. Gr. 1455; Lat. Oriel College, MS 42

Letter 111, JK 487 ‘Quam excellenti’

Date: 10 March, 453

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Anatolius has wrongly removed Aetius from archdiaconate and replaced
with Andrew, a Eutychian. Leo urges Marcian to prevent Anatolius from such
plots and commends Julian of Cos to him.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Grimantica, Bobbiensis, B24

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 62-64; JK notes Mansi VI. 217, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 106

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183, thinks it spurious

Letter 112, JK 488 ‘Multis exstantibus’

Date: 10 March, 453

Recipient: Pulcheria Augusta

Contents: As *Ep.* 111.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C, Grimantica, Bobbiensis, B24

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 64-65; JK notes Mansi VI. 220, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 107

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183, thinks spurious

Letter 113, JK 489 ‘Agnoui in dilectionis’

Date: 11 March, 453

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo praises Julian for relating to him ill deeds and encourages him to keep watching out for more impiety and heresy in CP. He requests a letter on the causes of Palestinian and Egyptian monastic rebellion and on the state of Egypt.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C, Grimonica, Bobbiensis, B24, Bobbiensis, Grimonica

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 65-67; JK notes Mansi VI. 220, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 108
Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183, thinks spurious

Letter 114, JK 490 ‘Omnem quidem fraternitatem’ ‘Πᾶσαν μὲν’

Recipient: Bishops who were at Chalcedon

Contents: Leo agrees to Chalcedon’s defence of the truth but not its abrogation of the laws of Nicaea.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Ps.-Is. A1, Yale Pseudo-Isidore, Rusticus’ Acta, B21, B22, B23, B24, Greek Acta

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 41 (pp. 106-108); ACO 2.4, 70-71; Gk. ACO 2.1.2, pp. 61-62;
JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 577, Mansi VI. 225, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 77

Letter 115, JK 491 ‘Multa mihi in omnibus’ ‘Πολλή μοι’

Date: 21 March, 453

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo lets Marcian know of the letter sent to the bishops of Chalcedon. He praises his instructions concerning the monks and commends Julian of Cos to him.

In the following collections: Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 45 (pp. 120-122); ACO 2.4, pp. 67-68; Gk. 2.1.2, pp. 62-63; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 582, Mansi VI. 229, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 111

Letter 116, JK 492 'Quamuis nunc'

Date: 21 March, 453

Recipient: Pulcheria Augusta

Contents: Leo is pleased that something is being done about the rebellious monks and lets her know about his letter to the Chalcedonian bishops.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 46 (pp. 122-123); ACO 2.4, 69-70; JK notes Mansi VI. 233, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 112

Letter 117, JK 493 'Quam uigilanter'

Date: 21 March, 453

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo is sending Julian two copies of the letter he'd sent to the bishops from Chalcedon. One is attached to his letter to Anatolius, and the other is to be distributed to priests in the provinces. Leo is glad that Marcian and Pulcheria

have done something about the Palestinian monks; he himself has called Eudocia back to orthodoxy. Julian should bear his injuries with a light spirit. It seems that Anatolius of CP is intervening in Illyricum (the entirety of which Leo considers under his patriarchate by old custom).

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Edition: ST 20, *Ep.* 47 (pp. 123-126); ACO 2.4, pp. 69-70; JK notes Mansi VI. 234,

Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 113

Letter 118, JK 494 ‘Litteras dilectionis tuae’

Date: 2 April, 453

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo encourages Julian to rouse Marcian to take real action against the Palestinian monks.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C (B12), VGCAC, B24, Bobbiensis, Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 71-72; JK notes Mansi VI. 237, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 115

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183, thinks this spurious

Letter 119, JK 495 ‘Quantum dilectioni tuae’

Date: 11 June, 453

Recipient: Maximus, Bishop of Antioch

Contents: Leo write of the Nestorians and Eutychians, of Antioch’s ecclesiastical privileges not being diminished, of preserving Nicene laws, and of his letter Anatolius.

In the following collections: Vaticana, Dionysiana adaucta, Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica,
Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 42 (pp. 108-112); ACO 2.4, pp. 72-75; JK notes Mansi VI. 238,
Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 116

Letter 120, JK 496 ‘Remeantibus ad nos’

Date: 11 June, 453

Recipient: Theodoret of Cyrhus

Contents: Leo commands Theodoret to reject the idea that the mystery of the
incarnation is returned to earth. He expounds on both Nestorians and
Eutychians and says that they are to be shunned and condemned.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. A1, Yale Pseudo-Isidore, Grimanica, B21, B22,
B23, B24

Editions: ST 20, pp. 169-175; ACO 2.4, pp. 78-81; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 565,
Mansi VI. 244, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 119

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183, thinks it spurious.

Letter 121, JK 497 ‘Tam multis documentis’

Date: 15 June, 453

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Dissension has arisen about the date of Easter. Leo wants Marcian to look
into this.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica, Bobbiensis, Ratisbonensis, B24

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 48 (pp. 126-128); ACO 2.4, 75-76; JK notes Mansi VI. 251,

Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 123, Krusch Studien z. christl.-mittelalt. Chronologie

p. 257

Letter 122, JK 498 'De paschali'

Date: 15 June, 453

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo urges Julian to encourage the emperor to determine the date of Easter

455

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C, Grimonica, Bobbiensis, Ratisbonensis, B24

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 49 (pp. 128-129); ACO 2.14, pp. 76-77; JK notes Mansi VI. 254,

Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 124, Krusch Studien z. christl.-mittelalt. Chronologie

p. 260

Letter 123, JK 499 'Quanta mihi catholicae'

Date: 15 June, 453

Recipient: Eudocia Augusta

Contents: Leo urges Eudocia to move the Palestinian monks back to orthodoxy

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C, Grimonica, Bobbiensis, Ratisbonensis, B24

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 50 (pp. 130-131); ACO 2.4, p. 77; JK notes Mansi VI. 256,

Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 125

Letter 124, JK 500 'Sollicitudini meae, quam'

Date: c. 15 June, 453

Recipient: Palestinian monks

Contents: This letter contains Leo's recasting of two-nature Christology using

substantia over *natura* as a way to reconcile Palestinian monks to Chalcedon and the *Tome*, which he understands to be circulating in a falsified version.

The content is much the same as *Ep.* 165 without the *testimonia*.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Ps.-Is. A1, Yale

Pseudo-Isidore, Florentina, Lanfranc, B20, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 159-163; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 574, Mansi VI. 258,

Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 67

Letter 125, JK 501 'Saepissime dilectionem' 'Frequentissime' (Canisius 1546)

Date: 25 June, 453

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo chides Julian for not sending letters—he wants to know about the situation in the East.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica, Bobbiensis, B24

Editions: ACO 2.4, p. 78; JK notes Mansi VI. 264, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 126

Letter 126, JK 502 'Geminis clementiae'

Date: 9 January, 454

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo congratulates Marcian for adhering to catholic teaching. He praises

God for the final return of the Palestinian monks to orthodoxy—he prays for such a case in Egypt.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 51 (pp. 131-132); ACO 2.4, pp. 81-82; JK notes Mansi VI. 265,

Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 127

Letter 127, JK 503 ‘Christianissimi principis;

Date: 9 January, 454

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo lets Julian know of the letter he’d sent to the emperor (*Ep.* 126), and

notes that he has accepted the letter of Proterius of Alexandria, and that it is

full of faith. He advises Julian to take care concerning the date of Easter 455.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. C (B12), Ratisbonensis, B24, Bobbiensis,

Grimanica

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 52 (pp. 132-134); ACO 2.4, pp. 82-83; JK notes Mansi VI. 266,

Bull. Rom. T. E. Alp. I. 128, Krusch Studien z. christl.-mittelalterl.

Chronologie p. 261

Letter 128, JK 504 ‘Si quantum uestra’

Date: 9 March, 454

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo says that he will show favour to Anatolius and make friendship if

Anatolius puts aside his ambition and association with heretics and answers his

letters.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Bobbiensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 57 (pp. 144-146); ACO 2.4 p. 86; JK notes Mansi VI. 269, Bull.

Rom. T. E. App. I. 129

Letter 129, JK 505 ‘Laetificauerunt me’

Date: 10 March, 454

Recipient: Proterius of Alexandria

Contents: Leo responds to Proterius that he should watch carefully lest souls are led into heresy. He should teach the people, and there is nothing new in Leo’s writings, just old things passed down from the Fathers.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 55 (pp. 140-143); ACO 2.4, 84-86; JK notes Mansi VI. 271, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 130

Letter 130, JK 506 ‘Puritatem fidei’

Date: 10 March, 454

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo rejoices that Marcian favours Proterius and lets him know of his letter (*Ep.* 129). He requests that the *Tome*, which had been falsified by heretics, be translated into Greek by Julian of Cos or someone else suitable and sent to Alexandria with the imperial seal on it.

In the following collections: Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Grimanica, Bobbiensis, Ratisbonensis, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 54 (pp. 138-140); ACO 2.4, pp. 83-84; JK notes Hinschius Ps.

Is. p. 583, Mansi VI. 274, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 132

Letter 131, JK 507 ‘Sumptis fratris et’

Date: 10 March, 454

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo advises Julian about the *Tome*'s translation into Greek and wishes to know what the answer of the emperor was concerning the date of Easter 455.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 56 (pp. 143-144); ACO 2.4, p. 87; JK notes Mansi VI. 276,

Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 134, Krusch Studien z. christl.-mittelalterl.

Chronologie p. 263

Letter 132, ‘Omne quidem solacium’

Date: c. April, 454 (PL 54.1081 n. f)

Recipient: Leo of Rome, from Anatolius of CP

Contents: Anatolius laments that he gets no letters while others do. He has restored Aetius and deposed Andrew. He says he has no ambition, and has published in the East Leo's approval of the *Gesta Chalcedonensia*.

In the following collections: Thessalonicensis

Editions: ST 23, *Ep.* 21 (pp. 48-50); L. Allatius, *De Ecclesiaie occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione*. Cologne, 1648, pp. 407ff; L. Holstenius, *Collectio Romana bipartita a veterum aliquot historiae ecclesiasticae monumentorum* Vol. 1, p. 132.

Letter 133, 'Piissimus et fidelissimus'

Date: a little after 4 April, 454

Recipient: Leo of Rome, from Proterius of Alexandria

Contents: The date of Easter, 455, in Roman calendars is wrong. Proterius gives proof for 24 April, the Eastern date.

In the following collections: Oriel College MS of Quesnelliana

NB: Cf. PL 54.1084 n. *j* concerning the two Latin translations of this letter

Letter 134, JK 508 'Quod saepissime'

Date: 15 April, 454

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo will show favour to Anatolius once Anatolius repents. Eutyches should be exiled further off, and Leo is still waiting on the correct date for Easter, 455.

In the following collections: Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Grimanica, B21, B23, B24

Editions: ACO 2.3, pp. 87-88; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 583, Mansi VI. 288, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 135

Letter 135, JK 509 'Si firmo incommutabilique'

Date: 29 May, 454

Recipient: Anatolius of CP

Contents: Leo responds to *Ep.* 132. He praises Anatolius for reinstating Aetius. The lapsed are only to be taken up if they condemn their error.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS),

Thessalonicensis, Ps.-Is. A1, Yale Pseudo-Isidore, Ps.-Is. C, Florentina, Grimanica, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: ST 23, *Ep.* 22 (pp. 51-53); ACO 2.4, 88-89; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 580, Mansi VI. 290, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 136

Letter 136, JK 510 ‘Litterarum clementiae’

Date: 29 May, 454

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo informs Marcian of his letter to Anatolius (*Ep.* 135) and requests him not to endure the condemned heresy of the monk Carosus being defended at CP.

In the following collections: Thessalonicensis, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 56 (pp. 143-144); ACO 2.4, p. 87; JK notes Mansi VI. 292, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 138

Letter 137, JK 511 ‘Sollicitudinem meam’

Date: 29 May, 454

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo thanks Marcian for looking into the Easter matter which Proterius has made more certain for him. He then entreats Marcian that stewards of churches of CP not be tried in public courts.

In the following collections: Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, p. 89; JK notes Mansi VI. 294, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 139,

Krusch Studien z. christl.-mittelalt. Chronologie p. 264

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183, thinks is spurious

Letter 138, JK 512 ‘Cum in omnibus’

Date: 28 July, 454

Recipient: All the bishops in Gaul and Spain

Contents: Leo tells them that 24 April is the date for Easter in 455

In the following collections: Oriel College MS of Quesnelliana, Ps.-Is. C

Editions: JK notes Conc. Gall. I. 567, Mansi VI. 295, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 140,

La Fuente Hist. eccl. de España II. 446

Letter 139, JK 514 ‘Acceptis dilectionis tuae’ ‘Δεξάμενος’

Date: 4 September or 6 February 454 (ST 20, unlike PL & ACO, gives the date ‘prid.

non. <feb.>’ with the note, ‘Ita emandandum puto *Sep* codicis *M*, maxime cum epistula hic suo loco inserta videatur’ [p. 137, n. *k*].)

Recipient: Juvenal of Jerusalem

Contents: Leo congratulates Juvenal on his restoration but is grieved when he recalls

Juvenal’s past as the cause of the troubles. He encourages Juvenal to stay in the faith.

In the following collections: Vaticana, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS),

Corbeiensis, Pithouensis, Dionysiana adaucta, Ps.-Is. A1, Yale Pseudo-Isidore,

Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, B21, B22, B23, B24, Vat. Reg. lat. 293

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 53 (pp. 134-137); ACO 2.4, 91-93; Gk. ACO 2.1.1, pp. 63-65;

JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 569, Mansi VI. 297, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 141

Letter 140, JK 515 'Litteras dilectionis tuae'

Date: 6 December, 454

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo hopes that with Dioscorus dead heresy can be more easily removed.

He wishes to know more about affairs in Alexandria.

In the following collections: Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 93-94; JK notes Mansi VI. 303, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 143

Letter 141, JK 516 'Per filium meum'

Date: 11 March, 455

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo inquires about Carosus, who had returned to the faith, and continues to

avoid/shun communion with Anatolius. He also asks to be informed of the

outcome of an embassy to Egypt undertaken by a certain John, and of the

status of Maximus of Antioch.

In the following collections: Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 94-95; JK notes Mansi VI. 304, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 144

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183, thinks it spurious

Letter 142, JK 517 'Quanta sit in uestra'

Date: 13 March, 455

Recipient: Marcian Augustus

Contents: Leo lets Marcian know about the receiving of the date of Easter for 455 in the West. He is pleased that Carosus and Dorotheus, heretical monks, are in exile.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 58 (pp. 147-148); ACO 2.4, p. 95; JK notes Mansi VI. 305, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 144, Krusch Studien z. christl.-mittelalt. Chronologie p. 264

Letter 143, JK 518 ‘Curae esse dilectioni’

Date: 13 March, 455

Recipient: Anatolius of CP

Contents: Leo encourages Anatolius to get rid of the rest of the heretics in CP.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 59 (p. 148); ACO 2.4, p. 94; JK notes Mansi VI. 306, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 145

Letter 144, JK 520, ‘Gratias Deo, quod’

Date: 1 June, 457

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo is pleased that Eutychianism, softened by the Emperor Marcian, might be destroyed. He adds that uncertain men are telling things about actions dared at Alexandria.

In the following collections: Ratisbonensis, Collection of Vat. lat. 1322

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 60 (pp. 148-149); ACO 2.4, p. 138; JK notes Mansi VI. 306,

Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 145

Letter 145, JK 521 ‘Officiis, quae ad’

Date: 11 July, 457

Recipient: Leo I Augustus

Contents: Leo Episcopus encourages Leo Augustus to defend the church of

Alexandria then stirred up by heretics, and that a catholic bishop should be installed there who would protect Chalcedonian decrees.

In the following collections: Vaticana, Casinensis, Dionysiana adaucta, Ps.-Is. C,

Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 61 (pp. 150-151); ACO 2.3, pp. 95-96; JK notes Mansi VI. 307,

Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 146

Letter 146, JK 522 ‘Satis claret’

Date: 11 July, 457

Recipient: Anatolius of CP

Contents: Leo responds to Anatolius with a notification that he had commended the

church in Alexandria to the emperor.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 62 (pp. 151-152); ACO 2.4, p. 96; JK notes Mansi VI. 309,

Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 147

Letter 147, JK 523 ‘Quamuis dudum’

Date: 11 July, 457

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo scolds Julian about the lack of letters from him and discusses matters at Alexandria.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions; ST 20, *Ep.* 63 (pp. 152-153); ACO 2.4, p. 98; JK notes Mansi VI. 310,

Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 148

Letter 148, JK 524 'Licet proxime'

Date: 1 September, 457

Recipient: Leo I Augustus

Contents: Leo Episcopus thanks Leo Augustus that he has professed himself to the guardian of peace in the world and of the Council of Chalcedon.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C, Ratisbonensis, Grimanica

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 64 (138-140); ACO 2.4, p. 98; JK notes Mansi VI. 311, Bull.

Rom. T. E. App. I. 149

Letter 149, JK 526 'Ordinationem quidem'

Date: 1 September, 457

Recipient: Basilius, Bishop of Antioch

Contents: Leo urges Basilius to resist Eutychianism, the madness that killed Proterius in Alexandria. He praises Leo Augustus for his support of Chalcedon.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 65 (pp. 155-156); ACO 2.4, pp. 97-98; JK notes Mansi VI. 313,
Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 149

PL 54.1117-1118 notes that this and *Ep.* 150 are transmitted as a single letter in
Ratisbonensis, but as two in Grimanica. Presumably these are different
transmissions of the same circular sent East. ST 20, *Ep.* 65 based on
Ratisbonensis, gives the single letter, letting the reader know where the *Ep.*
149's independent material ends and *Ep.* 150 begins, as does ACO 2.4, pp. 97-
98, based on Grimanica.

Letter 150, JK 525 'Cognitis, quae apud'

Date: 1 September, 457

Recipient: Exitheus of Thessalonica, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Peter of Corinth, Luke of
Dyrrhachium

Contents: As *Ep.* 149 about Eutychians in Alexandria.

In the following collections: Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 65 (p. 155 l. 13-p. 156); ACO 2.4, p. 98 ll. 3-25; JK notes Mansi
VI. 315, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 150

See notes on *Ep.* 149 for the relationship between the two.

Letter 151, JK 529 'Fidem dilectionis tuae'

Date: 1 September, 457

Recipient: Anatolius of CP

Contents: Leo advises Anatolius to maintain catholic purity and to either remove or
correct Atticus, a heretical presbyter.

In the following collections: Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 66 (p. 157); ACO 2.4, 138-139; JK notes Mansi VI. 319, Bull.

Rom. T. E. App. I. 153

Letter 152, JK 527 'Existente occasione'

Date: 1 September, 457

Recipient: Julian of Cos

Contents: Leo commits Julian to take care that his earlier letter (*Epp.* 149-150)

reaches its addressees. Notes his surprise at those who calumniate the *Tome*, a document which pleased the whole world; this calumny makes the *Tome* appear obscure and in need of exposition.

In the following collections: Grimmanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 67 (pp. 157-158); ACO 2.4, *Ep.* 93, p. 99; JK notes Mansi VI.

317, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 152

Letter 153, JK 528 'Accepimus dilectionis'

Date: 1 September 457

Recipient: Aetius the Presbyter in CP

Contents: Leo commands Aetius to send copies of his letter (*Epp.* 149-150) to the

bishops of Antioch and Jerusalem. Leo also sends copies of letters from the bishops of Gaul (*Ep.* 99) and Italy (*Ep.* 97) so Aetius may know that western bishops agree with Leo's teachings.

In the following collections: Grimmanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 68 (pp. 158-159); ACO 2.4, *Ep.* 94, pp. 99-100; JK notes Mansi VI. 318, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 153

Letter 154, JK 530 ‘Licet laboribus’

Date: 11 October, 457

Recipient: Bishops of Egypt in exile at CP

Contents: Leo consoles them and orders them to have hope. He is writing to the emperor to give him thanks for having taken them up humanely.

In the following collections: Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, *Ep.* 98, pp. 104-105; JK notes Mansi VI. 319, Bull Rom. T. E. App. I. 153

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183, thinks spurious

Letter 155, JK 531 ‘Diligentiam necessariae’

Date: 11 October, 457

Recipient: Anatolius of CP

Contents: Leo lets Anatolius know about the letter he sent to Egyptians (*Ep.* 154) and encourages him to be vigilant against heretics and their supporters.

In the following collections: Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Ps.-Is. A1 (B11), B21, B22, B23, B24, Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, *Ep.* 95, p. 100; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 577, Mansi VI. 320, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 154

Letter 156, JK 532 ‘Litteras clementiae tuae’

Date: 1 December, 457

Recipient: Leo I Augustus

Contents: Although he desires it, Leo Episcopus cannot visit Leo Augustus. He encourages him not to allow for retraction on things established at Chalcedon and that he should attempt to reconcile with Church of Alexandria, a 'spelunca latronum'. Heretics should be exiled from CP and Leo commends Julian of Cos to the emperor.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Ps.-Is. C (B12), Grimanica, Codex Encyclius

Editions: ACO 2.4, *Ep.* 97, pp. 101-104; JK notes Mansi VI. 323, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 156

Letter 157, JK 534 'Rursus acceptis'

Date: December, 457

Recipient: Anatolius of CP

Contents: Leo writes to Anatolius about troubles in Alexandria, asks him to write something about Atticus and Andrew, heretics in CP.

In the following collections: Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 109-110; JK notes Mansi VI. 327, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 159

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183, considers this letter suspect

Letter 158, JK 533 'Olim me commissorum'

Date: 1 December, 457

Recipient: Egyptian Bishops exiled in CP

Contents: Leo exhorts them to be in good spirits and advises them to encourage the emperor to defend their common faith.

In the following collections: Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 104-105; JK notes Mansi VI. 329, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I.

160

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183, considers it suspect

Letter 159, JK 536 ‘Regressus ad nos’ – ‘Decretal’

Date: 21 March, 458

Recipient: Nicetas, Bishop of Aquileia

Contents: The wife of a captured man who has remarried must, if her husband returns, go back to her first husband; people who ate sacrificial meat by force are not to be denied penitence; people baptised by heretics do not need to re-baptised but only get hands laid on them.

In the following collections: Frisingensis Prima, Diessensis, Teatina, Vaticana, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Dionysiana, Cresconius, Epitome Hispana, Hispana, Dionysio-Hadriana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Florentina, Bobbiensis, Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 620, Mansi VI. 331, Rubeis Mon. eccl.

Aquilei. p. 148, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 78

Letter 160, JK 537 ‘Tribulationem, quam’

Date: 21 March, 458

Recipient: Bishops and clergy of Alexandria exiled at CP

Contents: Leo hopes they will be restored, lets them know he has sent a *legatus* to the emperor. He encourages them not to allow the faith to be battled against.

In the following collections: Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, pp. 107-108; JK notes Mansi VI. 335, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I.

161

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183, thinks suspect

Letter 161, JK 538 ‘Laeticatus ualde sum’

Date: 21 March, 458

Recipient: Presbyters, deacons, clerics of CP

Contents: Leo urges them to preserve the catholic faith, that the decrees of

Chalcedon are not to be violated, and Atticus and Andrew the Eutychians are to be corrected or removed.

In the following collections: Grimanica

Editions: ACO 2.4, *Ep.* 101, pp. 108-109; JK notes Mansi VI. 337, Bull. Rom. T. E.

App. I. 162

Silva-Tarouca 1931, 183, considers it suspect

Letter 162, JK 539 ‘Multo gaudio mens’

Date: 21 March, 458

Recipient: Leo I Augustus

Contents: Leo Episcopus tells Leo Augustus that he is sending *legati* who will

demonstrate what the rule of the apostolic faith is lest there be conflict with enemies of the faith since the affairs of Nicaea and Chalcedon ought not to be questioned.

In the following collections: Ps.-Is. A1, Yale Pseudo-Isidore, Ps.-Is. C, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, B21, B22

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 72 (pp. 165-168); ACO 2.4, pp. 105-107; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 578, Mansi VI. 338, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 163

Letter 163, JK 540 ‘Lectis dilectionis tuae’

Date: 23 March, 458

Recipient: Anatolius of CP

Contents: Leo answers Anatolius about being wary of heretics and asks for Atticus to be made to read a public statement condemning Eutyches.

In the following collections: Oriel College MS of Quesnelliana, Yale Pseudo-Isidore, Ps.-Is. C, Florentina, Lanfranc, B20, B21, B22

Editions: ACO 2.4, p. xxxxiiii; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 579, Mansi VI. 341, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 166.

Letter 164, JK 541 ‘Multis manifestisque’

Date: 17 August (Grimanica, ACO, JK, PL 54) or 1 September (Ratisbonensis, Casinensis, ST), 458

Recipient: Leo I Augustus

Contents: Leo Episcopus commends to Leo Augustus Domitianus and Geminianus, his *legati*. Questionings of Chalcedon's integrity are not allowed. He encourages the emperor to free the Church of Alexandria and establish a catholic bishop there and reinstate exiled bishops.

In the following collections: Casinensis, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis

Editions: ST 20, *Ep.* 69 (pp. 160-164); ACO 2.4, pp. 110-112; JK notes Mansi VI. 343, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 167

Letter 165, JK 542 The 'Second' *Tome* 'Promisisse me' 'Υποσόμενον'

Date: 17 August, 458

Recipient: Leo I Augustus

Contents: Leo Episcopus explains Eutyches' and Nestorius' errors to Leo Augustus, then expounds upon the incarnation at length with much the same content as *Ep.* 124. Then he appends patristic *testimonia*.

In the following collections: Vaticana, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Corbeiensis, Pithouensis, Hispana, Dionysiana adaucta, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Florentina, Codex encyclius, Grimanica, Ratisbonensis, B20, B21, B22, B23, B24, Vat. Reg. lat. 293, Paris lat. 3848b (*testimonia* only)

Editions: ST 9, pp. 44-58 (letter), 34-43 (*testimonia*); ACO 2.4, pp. 113-131; Gk. *Abhandlung d. Bayer. Ges. d. Wiss.* 32 (1927), 52-62; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 584, Mansi VI. 351, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 170.

Letter 166, JK 543 'Frequenter quidem'

Date: 24 October, 458

Recipient: Neon, Bishop of Ravenna

Contents: Leo says that, based on a recent synod, those returning from captivity amongst heretics who were taken when young and do not know if they were baptised are to be baptised. Those baptised by heretics are to be received by the laying on of hands.

In the following collections: Oriel College MS of Quesnelliana, Epitome Hispana, Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions: JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 626, Mansi VI. 387, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 74

Letter 167, JK 544 'Epistolas fraternitatis' – 'Decretal'

Date: 458-459?

Recipient: Rusticus, Bishop of Narbonne

Contents: Leo answers a series of questions from Rusticus on a wide range of issues, including episcopal elections, penance, marriage of clergy, monks and nuns returning to the world, heretical baptisms, and pagan feasts.

In the following collections: Diessensis, Teatina, Vaticana, Sanblasiana, Quesnelliana (incl. Oriel College MS), Dionysiana, Cresconius, Remensis, Epitome Hispana, Hispana, Dionysio-Hadriana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Florentina, Bobbiensis, B21, B22, B23, B24, Codex Veronensis 58

Editions: JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 615, Conc. Gall. I. 475, Mansi VI. 397, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 42

Quoted by Gratianus, *Decretum*, Pars Prima, Distinctio XIV, Canon II, PL 187.70c-d

Distinctio L, Canon LXVII, PL 187.285b-286a

Distinctio LXII, Canon I, PL 187.325b-325c

Distinctio LXXXVI, Canon II, PL 187.405c-d

Letter 168, JK 545 ‘Magna indignatione’ – ‘Decretal’

Date: 6 March, 459

Recipient: All the bishops in Campania, Samnium, and Picenum

Contents: Leo informs them that they should baptise only in the seasons of Easter and Pentecost. They should not publish the written confessions of the faithful.

In the following collections: Oriel College MS of Quesnelliana, Epitome Hispana, Hispana, Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, all of Pseudo-Isidore (**I-a, I-b, I-c, Y**), Lanfranc, B21, B22, B23, B24

Editions; JK notes Hinschius Ps. Is. p. 629, Mansi VI. 410, Bull. Rom. T. E. I. 79

Letter 169, JK 546 ‘Si gloriosum pietatis’

Date: 17 June, 460

Recipient: Leo I Augustus

Contents: Leo Episcopus congratulates Leo Augustus on expelling Timothy Aelurus from Egypt. Care should be taken in placing a new catholic bishop in Alexandria.

In the following collections: Avellana

Editions: CSEL 35, *Ep.* 51 (pp. 117-119); JK notes Mansi VI. 412, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 188

Letter 170, JK 547 ‘Dilectionis tuae litteris’

Date: 17 June, 460

Recipient: Gennadius, Bishop of Constantinople

Contents: Leo complains to Gennadius that Timothy Aelurus had been allowed to go to CP. Timothy’s presence and speech should be fled, and Gennadius should take care to place a catholic bishop over the Church of Alexandria.

In the following collections: Avellana

Editions: CSEL 35, *Ep.* 52 (pp. 119-120); JK notes Mansi VI. 414, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 189

Letter 171, JK 548 ‘Euidenter apparet’

Date: 18 August, 460

Recipient: Timothy Wobblecap (Salophakiolus), Bishop of Alexandria

Contents: Leo writes to the new bishop of Alexandria congratulating him on his election and encouraging him to destroy the traces of Nestorian and Eutychian error. He asks him to write often.

In the following collections: Avellana

Editions: CSEL 35, *Ep.* 53 (pp. 120-121); JK notes Mansi VI. 415, Bull. Rom. T. E. App. I. 190

Letter 172, JK 549 ‘Gaudeo exultanter’

Date: 18 August, 460

Recipient: Presbyters and deacons of Alexandria

Contents: Leo encourages them to preserve peace and concord and to restore heretics through penance.

In the following collections: Avellana

Editions: CSEL 35, *Ep.* 54 (pp. 121-122); JK notes Mansi VI. 416, Bull. Rom. T. E.

App. I. 191

Letter 173, JK 550 ‘Litteris fraternitatis uestrae’

Date: 18 August, 460

Recipient: Theophilus, John, Athanasius, Abraham, Daniel, Joahas, Paphnutius, Musaeus, Panulvius, and Peter, Egyptian Bishops

Contents: Leo encourages them to help their newly-consecrated bishop, Timothy Wobblecop, in destroying scandal.

In the following collections: Avellana

Editions: CSEL 35, *Ep.* 55 (pp. 123-124); JK notes Mansi VI. 417, Bull. Rom. T. E.

App. I. 19

Two more items sent to Leo can be added to this corpus; these are the *libelli appellationis* from Flavian of Constantinople on the one hand and Eusebius of Dorylaeum on the other.

In the following collection: Novariensis is the only known source for these texts.

Editions: Amelli in *S. Leone Magno e l’Oriente*, 1882; Mommsen 1886, 362-368;

ACO 2.2.1, 77-81.

Proto-Collections Analysed in This Thesis

proto-1: *Epp.* 28, 103, 31, 35, 139, 59, 65. Used by the *Collectiones Corbeiensis* (**C**), *Pithouensis* (**P**), and *Coloniensis* (**K**, omits *Ep.* 139)

proto-2: *Epp.* 4, 7, 15. Used by the *Collectiones Corbeiensis* (**C**), *Pithouensis* (**P**), and *Albigensis* (**Al**); *Quesnelliana* (**Q**) and *Dionysiana* (**D**) also include *Epp.* 4 and 7 in sequence but without *Ep.* 15, and **Q** without the same inscription as the rest

proto-3: *Epp.* 15, 16, 159, 1, 2. Used by the *Collectiones Teatina* (**Te**), *Diessensis* (**Di**), and *Remensis* (**Re**)

proto-4: *Epp.* 20, 23, 22, 28. Used by the *Collectiones Vaticana* (**L**), *Hispana* (**S**), and *Dionysiana adaucta* (**D-a**)

proto-5: *Epp.* 139, 119, 80, 145, 165. Used by the *Collectiones Vaticana* (**L**) and *Dionysiana adaucta* (**D-a**)

Bibliography of Primary Sources

Acts of the Council of Chalcedon. Ed. E. Schwartz. Greek *Acta* in ACO 2.1, Latin versions in ACO 2.2 (partial) and 2.3 (complete, Rusticus' *Acta*). Trans. R. Price and M. Gaddis, 3 Vols. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005-2007.

Benedictus Levita. Ed. G. Schmitz. Online via MGH:

<http://www.benedictus.mgh.de/haupt.htm>. Accessed 2 June 2015.

Boniface. *Letters*. Ed. E. Dümmler. MGH Epist. III.230-433. Trans. E. Emerton. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Boretius, A., ed. 1883. *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, Vol. 1. MGH Leges III.

Damasus. *Epigrammata*. Ed. M. Ihm. Leipzig: Teubner, 1895.

D. F. Caner, ed. and trans. *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010.

Capitula Angilramni. Ed. K.-G. Schon, *Die Capitula Angilramni: eine prozessrechtliche Fälschung Pseudoisidors*, Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2006. Available online:

http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/html/capitula_angilramni.html. Accessed 2 June 2015.

Cassian, John. *De Incarnatione contra Nestorium*. Ed. Petschenig. CSEL 17.

Cassiodorus. *Chronicon*. Ed. T. Mommsen, MGH *Chronica Minora*, Vol. 2, 109-161.

Charlemagne. *Admonitio Generalis*. Ed. A. Boretius, MGH, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, Vol. 1, 53-62. Trans. P. D. King. In *Charlemagne: Translated Sources*, 209-220. Lambrigg: P.D. King, 1987.

- Chronicon Paschale*. Ed. L. A. Dindorf. Bonn: E. Weber, 1832. Trans. M. and M. Whitby. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989.
- Collectio Danieliana*. Ed. K.-G. Schon. *Unbekannte Texte aus der Werkstatt Pseudoisidors: die Collectio Danieliana*. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2006.
- Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. *De Administrando Imperio*. Ed. G. Moravcsik, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins. 2nd edition. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967.
- Cresconius. *Concordia canonum*. Ed. K. Zechiel-Eckes. *Die Concordia canonum des Cresconius: Studien und Edition*. 2 volumes. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Cyril of Alexandria. 'Laetentur Caeli' (*Ep.* 39). Ed. E. Schwartz, ACO 1.1.4, 15-20. Trans. J. I. McEnerney in *Letters 1-50*, 147-152. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1987.
- . *Quod Unus Sit Christus*. In *Deux Dialogues Christologiques*. Ed. G. M. de Durand, 302-515. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1964. Trans. J. A. McGuckin, *On the Unity of Christ*. Crestwood, N.Y.: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995.
- . *Select Letters*. Ed. and trans. L. R. Wickham. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983. Including the Second and Third Letters to Nestorius, 2-33.
- Einhard. *The Life of Charlemagne*. Ed. O. Holder-Egger. MGH S.S. rer. Germ. 25, 1911. Trans. D. Ganz in *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, 15-44. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2008.
- Evagrius Scholasticus. *Ecclesiastical History*. Ed. ? Trans. M. Whitby. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000.
- Facundus of Hermiana. *Defense of the Three Chapters*. SC 471, 478, 479, 484, 499.

- The Gallic Chronicle of 452*. Ed. R. W. Burgess. In *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul*, ed. R. Mathisen, 52-84. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- The Gallic Chronicle of 511*. Ed. R. W. Burgess. In *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul*, ed. R. Mathisen, 85-100. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Gennadius of Constantinople. *Die Texte*. Ed. F. Diekamp. In *Analecta Patristica: Textue und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik*, 73-84. Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1938.
- Gregory of Tours. *History of the Franks*. Ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison. MGH SS Merov. rer. 1.1. Trans. L. Thorpe. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974.
- Hadrian I, Pope. *Epistulae*. Ed. W. Gundlach in *Codex Carolinus*, MGH Epist. 1, 469-657.
- Honoratus of Marseille. *La Vie d'Hilaire d'Arles*. Ed. P.-A. Jacob. SC 404.
- Hydatius. *Chronicle*. Ed. and trans. R. W. Burgess in *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Isidore of Seville. *Etymologiae*. Ed. ?. Trans. S. A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and O. Berghof. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- John Cassian. *See Cassian, John*.
- John Moschus. *See Moschus, John*.
- John Rufus. *See Rufus, John*.
- Justinian. 'Edict on the Three Chapters.' In *Drei dogmatische Schriften Justinians*, edited by E. Schwartz, 47-69. Munich: Publisher, 1939. Trans. K. P. Wesche, *On the Person of Christ: The Christology of Emperor Justinian*, 161-198. Crestwood, N.Y.: SVS Press, 1991.
- Landulphus Sagax. *Historia Miscella*. Ed. F. Eyssenhardt. Berlin: Guttentag, 1868.

- Leo the Great. *Episulae*. Ed. P. and G. Ballerini. PL 54.
- . *Sermones*. Ed. A. Chavasse. CCL . Trans. . Selection in *Select Sermons of S. Leo the Great*. 2nd edition. Trans. W. Bright. London: J. Masters and Co. 1868.
- Martínez Díez, G., ed. 'El Epítome Hispánico. Una colección canónica Española del siglo VII.' In *Miscelanea Comillas* 37.2 (1962):322-466.
- Mordek, H., ed. *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankreich. Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonensammlung des fränkischen Gallien. Studien und Edition*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975.
- Moschus, John. *Pratum Spirituale*. PG 87.2852-3112. Trans. J. Wortley. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Press, 1992.
- Paul the Deacon. *Historia Langobardorum*. Ed. L. K. Bethmann and G. Waitz. MGH SS rer. Germ. 48, 1878.
- . *Historia Romana*. Ed. H. Droysen. MGH SS rer. Germ. 49, 1879.
- Price, R., trans. *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009.
- Priscus of Panium. *Excerpta*. Ed. P. Carolla. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000.
- Procopius of Caesarea. *Wars*. Ed. H. B. Dewing. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916.
- Prosper Tiro (of Aquitaine). *Epitoma Chronicon*. Ed. T. Mommsen in *Chronica Minora*, Vol. I, 341-499. Berlin, Weidmann, 1892.
- Rufus, John. *Plerophoriae*. Ed. F. Nau. PO 8, 5-208.
- Schon, K.-G., K. Zechiel Eckes, and W. Hartmann, edd. *Projekt Pseudoisidore*.
Online edition under the auspices of MGH: <http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de>.
Accessed 29 June 2015.

- Severus of Antioch. *Ad Nephaliium*. Ed. CSCO 64: 10-21. Trans. P. Allen and C. T. R. Hayward in *Severus of Antioch*, 59-66. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Theophanes Confessor. *Chronographia*. Ed. J. Classen and I. Bekker. Bonn: E. Weber, 1839-1841. Trans. C. A. Mango and R. Scott. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Valentinian III. *Novellae*. Ed. T. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer. *Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1905.
- Victor of Tunnuna. *Chronicon*. Ed. C. de Hartmann. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.
- Victorius of Aquitaine. *Cursus Paschalis Annorum DXXXII*. Ed. T. Mommsen in *Chronica Minora*, Vol. I, 667-735.

Bibliography of Secondary Sources

- Adams, J. N. 2007. *The Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC - AD 600*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Allen, P. 2000. 'The Definition and Enforcement of Orthodoxy.' In *The Cambridge Ancient History Vol. 14*, edited by Av. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins, and Mi. Whitby, 811-834. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Álvarez de las Asturias, N. 2008. *La "Collectio Lanfranci": Origine e influenza di una collezione della chiesa anglo-normanna*. Milan: Giuffrè.
- Amelli, G. 1882. *S. Leone Magno e l'Oriente*, repr. 1908 as *Nuovi contributi alla teologia positiva. San Leone Magno e il primato del romano pontefice in Oriente*. Montecassino: Tipi di Montecassino.
- Armitage, J. M. 2005. *A Twofold Solidarity*. Strathfield, NSW: St. Paul's Publications.
- Barclift, P. L. 1997. 'The Shifting Tones of Pope Leo the Great's Christological Vocabulary,' *Church History* 66:221-239.
- Bethune-Baker, J. F. 1908. 'The Date of the Death of Nestorius: Shenute, Zacharias, Evagrius', *JTS* os 9:601-605.
- Bevan, G. 2005. 'The Case of Nestorius: Ecclesiastical Politics in the East, 428-451 CE.' PhD diss., University of Toronto.
- Bischoff, B. 1998-2014. *Katalog der festländische Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*. 3 volumes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Bischoff, B. and J. Hofmann. 1952. *Libri Sancti Kyliani, Die Würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert*. Würzburg: Kommissionsverlag Ferdinand Schöningh Würzburg.

- Blanchard, F. 1647. *Les Presidens au mortier du Parlement de Paris*. Paris: Chez Cardin Besongne, au Palais, au haut de la montée de la sainte Chapelle, aux Rose Vermeilles.
- Blaudeau, P. 2012. 'Between Petrine Ideology and Realpolitik: The See of Constantinople in Roman Geo-ecclesiology (449-536).' In *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, edited by L. Grig and G. Kelly, 364-384. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, G. 1994. 'Introduction: the Carolingian Renaissance.' In *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, edited by R. McKitterick, 1-51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Brown, T. S. 2009. 'Lombard Religious Policy in the Late Sixth and Seventh Centuries: The Roman Dimension.' In *The Langobards Before the Frankish Conquest: An Ethnographic Perspective*, edited by G. Ausenda, P. Delogu, and C. Wickham, 289-308. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009.
- Burgess, R. W. 1993. Introduction to *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*, 3-66. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 'The Accession of Marcian in the Light of Chalcedonian Apologetic and Monophysite Polemic.' In *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 86:47-68. Repr. item XII in *Chronicles Consuls and Coins: Historiography and History in the Later Roman Empire*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
- Campos, J. 1962. 'La epístola antipriscilianista de San León Magno.' *Helmantica* 13:269-308.
- Cappelli, A. 2011. *Dizionario di abbreviature Latine ed Italiane*. 7th edition. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli Editore.

- Chadwick, H. 1951. 'Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian Controversy.' In *Journal of Theological Studies* ns 2:145–164.
- . 1967. *The Early Church*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Chavasse, A. 1964. 'Les lettres de Saint Léon le Grand dans le supplément de la Dionysiana et de l'Hadriana.' In *Revue des sciences religieuses* 38:154-176.
- . 1975. 'Les lettres du Pape Léon le Grand (440-461) dans l'Hispana et la collection dite des Fausses Décrétales.' In *Revue de droit canonique* 25:28-39.
- Collura, P. 1943. *Studi paleografici. La pre-carolina e la carolina a Bobbio*. Milan: U. Hoepli.
- Costambeys, M., M. Innes, and S. MacLean. 2011. *The Carolingian World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davis, R. 2010. *The Book of Pontiffs*. Revised 3rd edition. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Di Capua, F. 1934. 'De clausulis a S. Leone Magno adhibitibus,' in *Textus et Documenta, Series Theologica 15: S. Leonis Magni Epistulae Contra Eutyichis Haeresim, Pars Prima*, edited by C. Silva-Tarouca XXIII-XXXII. Rome: Gregorian University. Repr. 1959 in *Scritti Minori I*, edited by F. di Capua, 431-440. Rome: Desclée and Co.
- Domínguez Bordona, J. 1930. *Spanish Illumination*. Florence: Pantheon.
- Drobner, H. R. 2007. *The Fathers of the Church: A Comprehensive Introduction*. Trans. S. S. Schatzmann. Peabody: Hendrickson.
- Duchesne, L. 1886. Introduction to *Le Liber Pontificalis*, Vol 1, i-cclxii. Paris: Ernest Thorin.

- . 1902. 'La première collection romaine des décrétales.' In *Atti del II° congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana*, 159-162. Rome: Libreria Spithöver.
- . 1910. *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, Vol. 2, 2nd edition. Paris: Fontemoing et Compagnie.
- . 1925. *L'Église au VIe siècle*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Dunn, G. D. 2014. 'Is the Letter *Credbamus Post* from Boniface I or Leo I?' In *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 54:474-493.
- . 2015. 'Collectio Corbeiensis, Collectio Pithouensis and the Earliest Collections of Papal Letters.' In *Collecting Early Christian Letters from the Apostle Paul to Late Antiquity*, edited by B. Neil and P. Allen, 175-205. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Escribano, V. 2005. 'Heresy and Orthodoxy in Fifth-century Hispania.' In *Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*, edited by M. Kulikowski and K. Bowes. Leiden: Brill.
- Fanning, S. C. 1981. 'Lombard Arianism Reconsidered.' *Speculum* 56:241-58.
- Firey, A. 2008. 'Collectio Dionysiana.' Part of the *Carolingian Canon Law Project*. <http://ccl.rch.uky.edu/dionysiana-article>. Accessed 13 June 2015.
- . 2015. 'Canon Law Studies at Corbie.' In ?, 19-79.
- Flechner, R. 2009. 'An Insular Tradition of Ecclesiastical Law: Fifth to Eighth Century.' In *Anglo-Saxon/Irish Relations Before the Vikings*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press for The British Academy.
- Fournier, P. and G. Le Bras. 1931-1932. *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien*. 2 Volumes. Paris: Recueil Sirey. Repr. 1972, Aalen: Scientia Verlag.

- Fowler-Magerl, L. 2005. *Clavis Canonum: Selected Canon Law Collections Before 1140, Access with Data Processing*. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung. Book with CD-ROM.
- Frend, W. H. C. 1972. *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fuhrmann, H. 1972. *Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen, von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit*. Volume 1. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- . 2001. 'The Pseudo-Isidorian Forgeries.' In *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by D. Jasper and H. Fuhrmann, 137-195. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.
- Gaudemet, J. 1985. *Les Sources du droit de l'église en occident du IIe au VIIe siècle*. Paris: Éditions du CERF.
- Gibson, R. 2012. 'On the nature of ancient letter collections.' In *Journal of Roman Studies* 102:56-78.
- Gilchrist, J. 1970. 'Was There a Gregorian Reform Movement in the Eleventh Century?' in *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association: Study Sessions* 37:1-10.
- Gore, C. 1880. *Leo the Great*. London: SPCK.
- Gray, P. T. R. 1979. *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451-553)*. Leiden: Brill.
- Green, B. 2008. *The Soteriology of Leo the Great*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grillmeier, A. 1965. *Christ in Christian Tradition: From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451)*. London: A. R. Mowbray.
- Guillermo, A. 1910. *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real biblioteca del Escorial*, Volume 1. Madrid: Imprenta Helénica.

- . 1911. *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real biblioteca del Escorial*, Volume 2. Madrid: Imprenta Helénica.
- . 1916 *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real biblioteca del Escorial*, Volume 4. Madrid: Imprenta Helénica.
- Guilmain, J. 1960 'Interlace Decoration and the Influence of the North on Mozarabic Illumination (in Notes).' In *The Art Bulletin* 42:211–218.
- Haring, N.M. 1950. 'The Character and Range of the Influence of St. Cyril of Alexandria on Latin Theology (430-1260).' *Medieval Studies* 12:1-19.
- Hinschius, P. 1863. *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Ingilramni*. Leipzig: Tauchnitz.
- . 1884. 'Die kanonistischen Handschriften der Hamiltonschen Sammlung.' *ZKG* 6:193-246.
- Holum, K. G. 1982. *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hoskin, M. 2015. 'Pope Leo the Great's Rhetoric: Its Use and Misuse in *Ep.* 28, the "Tome", and the Impact upon "Leonine" Christology', in *Studia Patristica* LXXIII. (Forthcoming.)
- Humphries, M. 2007. 'From Emperor to Pope? Ceremonial, space, and authority in Rome from Constantine to Gregory the Great.' In *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in a Christian Capital: Rome, 300-900* edited by K. Cooper and J. Hillner, 21-58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2012. 'Valentinian III and the City of Rome (425-455): Patronage, Politics, Power.' In *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, edited by L. Grig and G. Kelly, 161-182. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Jalland, T. 1941. *The Life and Times of St. Leo the Great*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- James, N. W. 1993. 'Leo the Great and Prosper of Aquitaine: A Fifth-century Pope and His Advisor,' in *JTS* ns 44:554-584.
- Jasper, D. 2001. 'The Beginning of the Decretal Tradition: Papal Letters from the Origin of the Genre through the Pontificate of Stephen V.' In *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by D. Jasper and H. Fuhrmann, 3-133. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.
- Jemolo, V. and Palma M. 1984. *Sessoriani dispersi: contributo all'identificazione di codici provenienti dalla Biblioteca Romana di S. Croce in Gerusalemme*. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.
- Jenson, R. W. 2002. 'With No Qualifications: The Christological Maximalism of the Christian East.' In *Ancient and Postmodern Christianity: Paleo-Orthodoxy in the 21st Century*, edited by K. Tanner and C. A. Hall, 13-22. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press.
- Kelly, C. 2015. 'Neither Conquest nor Settlement: Attila's Empire and Its Impact.' In *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Attila*, edited by M. Maas, 193-208. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ker, N. R. 1977. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*. Volume 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ker, N. R. and A. J. Piper. 1992. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*. Volume 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Kéry, L. 1999. *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400-1140): A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press.
- Knibbs, E. 2013. 'The Interpolated Hispana and the Origins of Pseudo-Isidore.' In *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 99:1–71.
- Künstle, K. 1905. *Antipriscilliana*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Landau, P. 1989. 'Kanonessammlungen in der Lombardei im frühen und hohen Mittelalter.' In *Atti dell'11° congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, Milano, 26-30 ottobre 1987*, volume 1, 425–457. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo.
- Lebon, J. 1909. *Le monophysisme sévérien: étude historique, littéraire et théologique sur la résistance monophysite au Concile de Chalcédoine jusqu'à la constitution de l'église Jacobite*. Louvain: J. van Linthout.
- Le Bras, G. 1930. 'Notes pour servir à l'histoire des collections canoniques III: Un moment décisif dans l'histoire de l'Église et du droit canon: la Renaissance gélasienne.' In *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 9:506-518.
- Lewis, C. S. 1967. *Studies in Words*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lietzmann, H. 1921. *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Ur-exemplar*. Münster in Westf.: Aschendorff.
- Maassen, F. 1870. *Geschichte de Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande, 1: Die Rechtssammlungen bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts*. Graz: Verlag von Leuschner & Lubensky.

- McEvoy, M. 2013. 'The mausoleum of Honorius: Late Roman Imperial Christianity and the City of Rome in the Fifth Century.' In *Old St Peter's, Rome*, edited by R. McKitterick, J. Osborne, C. M. Richardson, and J. Story, 119-136. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McGuckin, J. A. 1994. *St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy: Its History, Theology, and Texts*. Leiden: Brill.
- McKitterick, R. 1977. *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895*. London: Royal Historical Society.
- . 1989. *The Carolingians and the Written Word*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1992. 'Royal patronage of culture in the Frankish kingdoms under the Carolingians: motives and consequences.' In *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale*, 93-129. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo.
- . 1994. 'Script and Book Production.' In *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, edited by R. McKitterick, 221-247. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2011. *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martínez-Díez, G. 1961. 'El Epítome Hispánico: Una colección canónica Española del siglo VII. Estudio y texto crítico.' In *Miscelanea Comillas* 36:5-90.
- . 1962. 'El Epítome Hispánico. Una colección canónica Española del siglo VII.' In *Miscelanea Comillas* 37.2:322-466.

- . 1965. 'Prolegomenos a la edición crítica de la Hispana.' In *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras*, 263-272. Paris: Sirey.
- . 1966. *La Colección Canónica Hispana*, Vol. 1. Madrid: C. S. I. C.
- . 1976. *La Colección Canónica Hispana*, Vol. 2.1. Madrid: C. S. I. C.
- Massigli, R. 1912. 'Sur l'origine de la collection canonique dite Hadriana augmentée.' In *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 32:363-383.
- Mentré, M. 1996. *The Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Merdinger, J. E. 1997. *Rome and the African Church in the Time of Augustine*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.
- Meyendorff, J. 1989. *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions*. Crestwood, N.Y.: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press.
- Mommsen, T. 1886. 'Actenstücke zur Kirchengeschichte aus dem Cod. Cap. Novar. 30.' In *Neues Archiv der Gessellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 11:361-368.
- . 1892. Prolegomena to *Epitoma Chronicon* by Prosper Tiro, 342-384. In *Chronica Minora*, Vol. I. Berlin: Weidmann.
- . 1898. Prolegomena to *Liber Pontificalis*, vii-cxxxix. MGH Gesta Pontificum Romanorum 1. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Mommsen, T. and P. M. Meyer. 1905. Prolegomena to *Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Mordek, H. 1975. *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankreich. Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonensammlung des fränkischen Gallien. Studien und Edition*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

- . 1978. 'Codices Pseudo-Isidoriani: Addenda zu dem gleichnamigen Buch von Schafer Williams.' In *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* 147:471-478.
- . 1995. *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta: Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse*. Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
- Neil, B. 2009. *Leo the Great*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Nelson, J. L. 1995. 'The Frankish Kingdoms, 814-898: The West.' In *The New Cambridge Medieval History Vol. 2*, edited by R. McKitterick, 110-141. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Noble, T. F. X. 1990. 'Literacy and the Papal Government in the Early Middle Ages.' In *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, edited by R. McKitterick, 82-108.
- Pantarotto, M. 2007. 'La (ri)costruzione di un manoscritto nello scriptorium di Bobbio Al tempo dell'abate Agilulfo (887-896).' In *Scriptorium* 61:48-71.
- Peltari, A. 2011. 'Approaches to the Writing of Greek in Late Antique Latin Texts.' In *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 51:461-482.
- Pietri, C. 1976. *Roma christiana: Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311-440)*. Rome: École française de Rome.
- Poole, R. L. 1915. *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery Down to the Time of Innocent III*. Cambridge: University Press, 1915.
- Prestige, G. L. 1930. 'The Greek Translation of the *Tome* of St. Leo.' *JTS* os 31:183-84.

- Price, R. and M. Gaddis. 2005-2007. *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*. 3 Volumes. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Quasten, J. 1986. *Patrology, Vol. IV: The Golden Age of Latin Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicea to the Council of Chalcedon*. Trans. P. Solari. Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics.
- Ramsey, B. 1997. Introduction to *The Conferences* by John Cassian. Trans. B Ramsey. New York: Paulist.
- Reifferscheid, A. 1976. *Bibliotheca patrum Latinorum Italica*. Hildesheim; New York: Olms.
- Reynolds, L. D. and N. G. Wilson. 1991. *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*. Third edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Richards, J. 1979. *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476-752*. London, Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.
- Roberts, E. D. 1934. 'Notes on Early Christian Libraries in Rome.' In *Speculum* 9:190-194.
- Russell, N. 2000. *Cyril of Alexandria*. London: Routledge.
- Salzman, M. R. 2015. 'Reconsidering a Relationship: Pope Leo of Rome and Prosper of Aquitaine.' In *The Bishop of Rome in Late Antiquity*, edited by G. D. Dunn, 109-125. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Schipper, H. G. and J. van Oort. 2000. *Sancti Leonis Magni Romani Pontificis: Sermones et Epistulae Fragmenta Selecta*. Turnhout: Brepols.

- Schon, K.-G. 1978. 'Eine Redaktion der pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen aus der Zeit der Fälschung.' In *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 34:500-511.
- . 2006a. *Die Capitula Angilramni: eine prozessrechtliche Fälschung Pseudoisidors*. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung.
- . 2006b. *Unbekannte Texte aus der Werkstatt Pseudoisidors: die Collectio Danieliana*. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung.
- Schwartz, E. 1931. 'Die sog. Sammlung der Kirche von Thessalonich.' In *Festschrift Richard Reitzenstein*, edited by E. Fraenkel et al, 137-159. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner.
- . 1936. 'Die Kanonensammlungen der alten Reichskirche.' In *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 25:1-114.
- Sellers, R. V. 1953. *The Council of Chalcedon: A Historical and Doctrinal Survey*. London: SPCK.
- Silva-Tarouca, C. 1926. 'Die Quellen der Briefsammlung Papst Leos des Großen.' In *Papsttum und Kaisertum: Forschungen zur politischen Geschichte und Geisteskultur des Mittelalters: P. Kehr zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht*, edited by A. Brackmann, 23-47. Munich: Verlag der Münchner Drucke.
- . 1931. 'Nuovi studi sulle antiche lettere dei Papi.' In *Gregorianum* XII:3-56; 349-425; 547-598. Repr. 1932 as single volume. Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana.
- . 1937.
- R. V. Sellers, R. V. 1953. *The Council of Chalcedon: A Historical and Doctrinal Survey* London: SPCK.

- Smith, J. C. 1990. 'The Side Chambers of San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna: Church Libraries of the Fifth Century.' In *Gesta* 29:86-97.
- Somerville, R. 1972. 'Lanfranc's Canonical Collection and Exeter.' In *The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 45:303-306.
- Thurn, H. 1984. *Die Pergamenthandschriften der ehemaligen Dombibliothek*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Traube, L. 1898. *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*. Munich: Verlag der k. Akademie.
- . 1909. Palaeographical notes in *Facsimiles of the Creeds from Early Manuscripts*, edited by A. E. Burn, 27-37. London: Harrison and Sons.
- Turner, C. H. 1910. 'The Collection of the Dogmatic Letters of St. Leo.' In *Miscelanea Ceriani*, edited by A. Ratti, 688-739. Milan: U. Hoepli.
- . 1929. 'Chapters in the History of Latin MSS of Canons IV: The Corbie MS(C) now Paris. lat. 12097.' In *JTS* 30:225-236.
- Valentinelli, J. 1868. *Bibliotheca manuscript ad S. Marci Venetiarum*. 2 volumes. Venice: 'Ex Typographia Commercii'.
- Van der Speeten, J. 1985. 'Le dossier de Nicée dans la Quesnelliana.' In *Sacris erudiri* 28:383-450.
- Vollmann, B. 1965. *Studien zum Priszillianismus. Die Forschung, die Quellen, der fünfzehnte Brief Papst Leos des Grossen*. St Ottilien: Eos Verlag der Erzabtei St. Ottilien.
- de Villanuño, M., ed. 1784. *Summa Conciliorum Hispaniae quotquot inveniri potuerunt ad usque saeculum proxime praeteritum, epistolarum ad Hispanos cum earum delectu*. Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra.

- Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. 1971. *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1983. *The Frankish Church*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ward, B. 2007. *A True Easter: The Synod of Whitby 664 AD*. Oxford: SLG Press.
- Wessell, S. 2000. *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy: The Making of a Saint and of a Heretic*. London, New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2008. *Leo the Great and the Spiritual Rebuilding of a Universal Rome*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2015. 'Religious Doctrine and Ecclesiastical Change in the Time of Leo the Great.' In *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Attila*, edited by M. Maas, 327-343. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wickham, C. 2005. *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400 to 800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2009. *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000*. London: Penguin.
- Williams, Sch. 1971. *Codices Pseudo-Isidoriani: A Paleographico-Historical Study*, New York: Fordham University Press.
- Wilson, H. A. 1915. Introduction to *The Gregorian Sacramentary Under Charles the Great*, xv-xlv. London: Henry Bradshaw Society.
- Wormald, P. 2005. 'Kings and Kingship.' In *The New Cambridge Medieval History Vol. 1*, edited by P. Fouracre, 571-604. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wurm, H. 1939. *Studien und Texte zur Dekretalensammlung des Dionysius Exiguus*. Bonn: P. Schippers.

Zechiel-Eckes, K. 1992. *Die Concordia canonum des Cresconius: Studien und Edition*. 2 volumes. Frankfurt: Lang.

---. 2002. 'Aus Pseudoisidors Spur, Fortschritt durch Fälschungen?' MGH Studien und Texte 31.