

Ways in Which God is Addressed in Ancient Latin Liturgical Prayers

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In the tradition of the Latin Church, liturgical prayers are generally addressed to God (the First Person of the Trinity) under the names *Dominus*, *Deus*, and *Pater* ("Lord," "God," "Father"). These divine names, however, may be used in ways that are varied and complex. For example.

1. The divine names *Dominus*, *Deus* and *Pater* are not used equally and their relative usage varies within and among liturgical books.
2. In addition, these "standard" divine names may be used alone or in various combinations with one or two other divine names.
3. Furthermore, the standard divine names (alone or in combination) may be used together with simple epithets (usually one or two words that refer to some divine quality or attribute; often these are adjectives).
4. The standard divine names may also be used together with appositives (phrases that refer to qualities or attributes of God that usually are longer and more complex than simple epithets).
5. Another feature of the Latin tradition of liturgical prayer is that prayers are sometimes addressed using divine names and images that are different from those already named.
6. A small number of prayers, finally, contain no divine name at all; their implicit address is simply "you."

Here I report the ways in which God is addressed, both qualitatively and quantitatively, in three ancient liturgical books: the so-called Veronese sacramentary, the Gelasian sacramentary, and the Gregorian sacramentary. These date from the 6-8th centuries and may be regarded as foundational for the tradition of Latin liturgical prayer in subsequent liturgical books.

This is primarily a descriptive study, with little or no discussion. It provides background and context for a separate, more focused and extensive study, of the use of *Pater* / “Father” in liturgical prayers.

Sources Studied

Editions and relevant information about their use in this study are given below. In each case numbered texts include items that are not really prayers and that have been excluded from this study; these include rubrics, texts addressed to the people, etc.

Veronese Sacramentary

L. C. Mohlberg, with L. Eizenhoder and P. Siffrin, eds., *Sacramentarium Veronense* (Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV [80]). Rome: Herder, 1956

Texts are numbered from 1 to 1331; appendices include the so-called Rotulus of Ravenna and other texts. In addition to the non-prayer items named above, the canon and prefaces have been excluded from this analysis. The total number of texts that were actually included in the present analysis was 1055.

Gelasian Sacramentary

L. C. Mohlberg, with Leo Eizenhofer and P. Siffrin, eds. *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Aeclesiae Ordinis Anni Circuli* (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 316 (Paris Bibl. Nat 7193, 41/56). Rome: Herder 1960

This liturgical book is divided into three parts, as follows:

Book I	1-803
Book II	804-1177
Book III	1178-1704

In addition to texts that are not prayers, the canon, prefaces, and exorcisms have been excluded from this analysis. The total number of texts that were actually included in the present analysis was 1420.

Gregorian Sacramentary

Jean Deshusses, ed., *Le Sacramentaire Gregorien: Ses principales formes d'apres les plus anciens manuscrits*, vol. I, second edition. Fribourg: Editions Universitaires Fribourge Suisse, 1979

This source is divided into two sections, as follows:

Hadrianum 1-1018

Supplementum 1019-1805

In addition to texts that are not prayers, the canon and ordo missae have been excluded as have the extended section of prefaces (1516-1737) and extended section of episcopal blessings (1738-1789). The total number of texts that were actually included in this analysis was 1335.

Presentation

The data are presented in 13 Tables. The format of Table 1 is straightforward. Tables 2-7 follow this format:

(A) Individual addresses are listed in the left hand column, grouped in various “categories”, e.g, divine name alone, with simple epithets, with appositives, with other divine names, etc.

(B) The number of prayers with each address is then given, both for individual addresses and for individual categories. Numbers are also given for the three sections of the Gelasian sacramentary and for the two sections of the Gregorian sacramentary.

(C) When the number of prayers with individual addresses is small (usually less than 7), the number by which each text is designated in the source is listed in parentheses.

Table 1 presents a summary of the results of studying 3810 texts in these three liturgical books. Prayers whose addresses include two or three divine names are counted two or three times, respectively, and give a total in this table of 4067.

In all three liturgical books examined, *Dominus* is the predominant divine name used in prayer addresses (56 to 68 percent). *Deus* is also used extensively (29 to 43 percent) and the two together account for 96 to 99 percent of all divine names used. *Pater* and other addresses account for only 1 to 4 percent of the total

Table 1

Prayer Addresses: Summary

	Veronese	Gelasian	Gregorian
	(number of texts/percentages)		
Dominus	773 (68%)	881 (58%)	784 (56%)
Deus	328 (29%)	585 (38%)	607 (43%)
Pater	18 (>1%)	42 (ca 3%)	13 (ca 1%)
Other	17 (>1%)	12 (<1%)	7 (<1%)
Total	1136	1520	1411

Tables 2, 3 and 4 show how *Dominus* is used as prayer address in the Veronese, Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries, respectively.

First, it is always used in its vocative form, *Domine*.

Second, it is predominantly used alone, without epithets, appositives or joined with other divine names. Such “sole” use accounts for 91-93 percent of its total usage.

Dominus used together with *Deus* is the next most common usage, but relatively uncommon in comparison with *Dominus* alone.

The use of simple epithets or appositives is rare or absent in the Veronese and Gregorian sacramentary, but used more extensively in the Gelasian sacramentary; still, these usages account for only ca 1 percent of the total.

Table 2
Dominus As Address:

Veronese Sacramentary

Address	Category (number of texts)	Book	(Text nos.)
Domine used alone	705		
Domine		705	
Domine used with simple epithets	1		
Miserator et misericors Domine		1	(1282)
Domine used with appositives	0		
Domine used with Deus	57		
Domine Deus		3	(258, 919, 948)
Domine Deus noster		54	
Domine used with Pater	10 (see Table 8 for details)		

Table 3
Dominus as Address:
Gelasian Sacramentary

Address	Category	Book	Section*	(Text nos.)
		(number of texts)		
Domine used alone	816			
Domine		816		
book I			308	
book II			254	
book III			254	
Domine used with simple epithets	2			
Domine sanctae		1		
book I		1		(156)
Misericors et miserator Domine		1		
book III			1	(1369)
Domine used with appositives	2			
Uirtutem caelestium Domine			1	(1065)
book II				
Domine, saluator et custos			1	(676)
book I				
Domine used with Deus	34			
Domine Deus		3		
book I			2	(151, 375)
book III			1	(1345)
Domine Deus noster		25		
book I			9	
book II		10		
book III			6	(1197, 1200, 1373, 1512, 1524, 1644)
Deum et Dominum nostrum			1	(754)
book I				
Dominus used with Deus and simple epithets	4			
Domine Deus uirtutem				
book I			1	(623)

Domine Deus omnipotens book I		2	(695, 700)
Domine Deus omnipotens sempiternae book III		1	(1704)
Dominus used with Deus and with appositives	1		
Deus indulgenciarum Domine book III		1	(692)
Domine used with Pater	27 (see Table 9 for details)		

* book I 1-803
book II 803-1177
book III 1178-1704

Table 4
Dominus As Address:
Gregorian Sacramentary

Address	Category	Book	Section*	(Text nos.)
	(number of texts)			
Domine used alone	722			
Domine		722		
H			504	
S			218	
Domine used with simple epithets	0			
Domine used with appositives	0			
Domine used with Deus	51			
Domine Deus		6		
H			4	(40, 88, 289, 1003)
S			2	(1305, 1370)

Domine Deus noster	45	
H		36
S		9
Domine used with Pater	11 (see Table 10 for details)	

*H = Hadrianum 1-1018
S = Supplementum 1019-1803

Tables 5, 6 and 7 show how *Deus* is used as prayer address in the Veronese, Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries.

In contrast to *Dominus/Domine*, *Deus* is frequently used together with simple epithets or with appositives, as well as simply with *Dominus*.

Table 5 shows how *Deus* is used in the Veronese sacramentary, *Deus* is used alone 30 percent of the time, in combination with simple epithets 41%, and the 24 appositives account for 7%; *Deus* plus *Dominus* accounts for 11% of usages.

In this liturgical book, the eight epithets used contribute basically four images of God: *omnipotens*, *aeterne/semperne*, *salutaris noster*, and *misericors*. The addresses *omnipotens Deus* and *omnipotens sempiterne Deus* are particularly common.

The 35 distinct appositives offer a rich assortment of images.

Table 5
Deus As Address:
Veronese Sacramentary

Address	Category	Book	(Text nos.)
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(number of texts)

Deus used alone	97		
Deus		93	
Deus noster		4	(9, 16, 724, 882)
Deus used with simple epithets	136		
Deus omnipotens		1	(255)
Deus aeternae		1	(1070)
Deus salutaris noster		5	(174, 337, 504, 953, 1186)
Omnipotens Deus		39	
Misericors Deus		7	(171, 194, 211, 621, 945, 979, 1271)
Omnipotens sempiternae Deus		64	
Omnipotens et misericors Deus		18	
Misericors et omnipotens Deus		1	(1199)
Deus used with appositives	24		
Protector in te sperantium Deus		4	(35, 350, 534, 1057)
Creator populi tui Deus, adque reparator		1	(56)
Uirtutum caelestium Deus		5	(232, 917, 1034, 1081, 1184)
Deus, institutor et rector		1	(379)
Protector noster...Deus		1	(390)
Donorum omnium, Deus, auctor adque largitor		1	(682)
Deus, generis institutor et reparator humani		1	(698)
Deus omnium fortitudo sanctorum		1	(704)
Deus, defensor et rector		1	(862)
Deus misericors, rex aeternae		1	(995)
Rerum omnium Deus creator et rector		1	(1045)
Deus, auctor sincerae deuotionis et pacis		1	(1047)
Ueritatis auctor et misericordiae Deus		1	(1092)
Deus, animarum conditor et redemptor		1	(1150)
Deus, confitentium te portio defunctorum		1	(1161)
Bonorum omnium, Deus, auctor adque largitor		1	(1176)
Omnium uirtutum, Deus, bonorumque largitor		1	(1229)
Deus used with Dominus	57		

Domine Deus	3	(258, 919, 948)
Domine Deus noster	54	
Deus used with Pater	14 (see Table 8 for details)	

Table 6 shows how *Deus* is used in the Gelasian sacramentary, *Deus* is used alone 38 % of the time, in combination with simple epithets 41%, and the 53 appositives account for 9 %; *Deus* plus *Dominus* constitutes 6%.

The 13 simple epithets used contribute basically six images of God: *omnipotens*, *miserator/misericors/misericordium*, *salutaris noster*, *virtutem*, *sempiternae/aeterne*, *clemens*.

The 53 appositives contribute a rich variety of images.

Table 6
Deus as Address:
Gelasian Sacramentary

Address	Category	Book	Section	(Text nos.)
				(number of texts)

Deus used alone	220		
Deus		218	
book I			92
book II		33	
book III			93
Deus noster		2	
book I			2 (23, 547)
Deus used with simple epithets	240		
Deus omnipotens		3	
book I			1 (694)
book III			2 (1348, 1563)
Deus miserator		1	
book I			1 (279)
Deus salutaris noster		7	
book I			4 (74, 95, 144, 259)
book III			3 (936, 1063, 1170)
Deus uirtutem		1	
book III			1 (1182)
Omnipotens Deus		107	
book I			45
book II		37	
book III			25
Misericors Deus		21	
book I			13
book II		3	(899, 1036, 1076)
book III			4 (1217, 1289, 1365, 1578)
Omnipotens sempiterne Deus		84	
book I			49
book II		8	
book III			27
Omnipotens et misericors Deus		10	
book I			5 (11, 345, 361, 655, 678)
book III			5 (1194, 1206, 1234, 1349, 1658)
Omnipotens aeterne Deus		2	
book I			1 (30)
book III			1 (1624)
Miserator et misericors Deus		1	

book III	1	(1292)
Clemens et misericors Deus	1	
book II	1	(1025)
Omnipotentis Dei misericordium	1	
book III	1	(1618)
Deum omnipotentem ac misericordiem	1	
book III	1	(1702)
Deus used with appositives	53	
book I	31	
book II	3	
book III	19	
<i>book I</i>		
Deus inluminator omnium gentium	1	(63)
Creator omnipotens Deus	1	(116)
Deus, instituor et rector	1	(238)
Deum omnium misericordiarum ac totius bonitatis auctor	1	(249)
Deus patrum nostrorum, Deus universis conditor ueritatis	1	(290)
Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Iacob	2	(291, 295)
Deus caeli, Deus terre, Deus angelorum, Deus archangelorum, Deus prophetarum, Deus martyrurum, Deus omnium bene uiuentium	1	(293)
Deus humani generis benignissimi conditor et misericordissimi formator	1	(358)
Deus misericors, Deus clemens	2	(364, 367)
Uirtutum caelestium Deus	1	(369)
Deus incrementorum et profestuum spiritalium munerator	1	(384)
Deus, mundi conditor, auctor luminis, siderum fabricator	1	(426)
Deus inconmutabilis uirtutum, lumen aeternum	1	(432)
Deus, celsitudo humilium et fortitudo rectorum	1	(440)
Deus aeclesiae tuae redemptor atque perfector	1	(469)
Deus, innocentiae restitutor et amator	1	(495)
Deus, uita fidelium, gloria humilium, beatitudo iustorum	1	(562)
Deus, in te sperantium fortitudo	1	(566)

Deus spei luminis sincerum mentium luxque perfecta beatorum	1	(567)
Deus, gloriatio fidelium et uitae iustorum	1	(621)
Deus humani generis conditor et redemptor	1	(688)
Deus, sanctificationum omnipotens dominator	1	(690)
Deus fidelium receptor animarum	1	(720)
Deus honorum omnium, Deus omnium dignitatum	1	(769)
Deus, mundi creator et rector	1	(775)
Deus, castorum corporum benignus habitator et incorruptarum, Deus, amator animarum	1	(788)
Deus, aeternorum bonorum fidelissimi promissor, certissimi persolutor	1	(791)
Deus, castitatis amator et continenciae conseruator	1	(797)
Bonorum, Deus, operum institutor	1	(799)
<i>book II</i>		
Deus, fidelium remunerator animarum	1	(814)
Deus salutaris noster et apostolorum tuere praesidiis	1	(936)
Deus, tuorum gloria sacerdotum	1	(965)
<i>book III</i>		
Deus, refugium pauperum, spes humilium salusque miserorum	1	(1350)
Deus infinitae misericordiae et bonitatis inmensae	1	(1357)
Deus, humilium consolator et fidelium fortitudo	1	(1364)
Deus, in te sperantium fortitudo	1	(1474)
Deus, auctor pacis et amator	1	(1476)
Deus, regnorum omnium regnumque dominator	1	(1479)
Deus, seruientium tibi fortitudo regnorum	1	(1494)
Deus, in te sperantium salus et seruientium fortitudo	1	(1498)
Deus, et temporalis uitae auctor et aeternae	1	(1499)
Deus, regnorum omnium et romani maximae protector imperii	1	(1505)
Uirtutum caelestium Deus	1	(1537)
Deus, infirmitatis humanae singulare		

praesidium	1		(1542)
Protector in te sperantium, Deus, et subditarum tibi mentium custos	1		(1548)
Protector fidelium Deus, et subditarum tibi mentium frequentator	1		(1549)
Deus, humilium uisitor	1		(1544)
Redemptor animarum, Deus	1		(1622)
Fidelium Deus omnium conditor et redemptor	1		(1671)
Deus, fidelium lumen animarum	1		(1684)
Deus, iustorum gloria, misericordia peccatorum	1		(1705)
Deus used with Dominus	34		
Alone			
Domine Deus	3		
book I		2	(151, 375)
book III		1	(1345)
Domine Deus noster	25		
book I		9	
book II	10		
book III		6	(1197, 1200, 1373, 1512, 1524, 1644)
Deum et Dominum nostrum	1		
book I		1	(754)
Deus used with Dominus and simple epithets	4		
Domine Deus uirtutem	1		
book I		1	(623)
Domine Deus omnipotens	1		
book I		2	(695, 700)
Domine Deus omnipotens sempiterne	1		
book III		1	(1704)
Deus used with Dominus and with appositives	2		
Deum iudicem universitatis, Deus caelestium et terrestrium et infororum Dominum	1		

book III		1	(1616)
Deus indulgenciarum Domine	1		
book III		1	(1692)
Deus used with Pater	38 (see Table 9 for details)		
* book I 1-803			
book II 804-1177			
book III 1178-1704			

Table 7 shows how *Deus* is used in the Gregorian sacramentary. *Deus* is used alone 39% of the time, in combination with simple epithets 45%, and the 34 appositives account for 6%; *Deus* plus *Dominus* constitutes 8%.

The ten simple epithets used contribute basically four images of God: *omnipotens*, *aeterne/semperiterne*, *salutaris noster*, *misericors/miserator*.

The 34 appositives contribute a rich variety of images.

Table 7
Deus As Address:
Gregorian Sacramentary

Address	Category	Book	Section*	(Text nos.)
		(number of texts)		
Deus used alone:	234			
Deus		231		
H			151	

	S		80	
	Deus noster	3		
	H		3	(69, 116, 657)
Deus used with simple epithets		274		
	Deus omnipotens	1		
	S		1	(1256)
	Deus aeternae	1		
	S		1	(1484)
	Deus salutaris noster	6		
	S		6	(171, 318, 601, 784, 930, 1009)
	Omnipotens Deus	156		
	H		131	
	S		25	
	Misericors Deus	17		
	H		15	
	S		2	(1196, 1202)
	Omnipotens semipterne Deus	67		
	H		38	
	S		29	
	Omnipotens aeternae Deus	3		
	S		3	(1255, 1280, 1452)
	Aeternae omnipotens Deus	1		
	S		1	(1409)
	Omnipotens et misericors Deus	21		
	H		9	
	S		12	
	Miserator et misericors Deus	1		
	S		1	(1205)
Deus used with appositives		34		
<i>Hadrianum</i>				
	Deus honorum omnium, Deus omnium dignitatum	1		(23a)
	Omnipotens Deus honorum dator ordinum distributor officiorumque dispositio	1		(32a)
	Deus innocentiae restitutor et amator	2		(216, 883)
	Deus institutor et rector	1		(276)
	Deus et reparator innocentiae et amator	1		(444)
	Deus humani generis conditor et redemptor	1		(452)
	Deus refugium pauperum	1		(870)
	Protector in te sperantium Deus	1		(906)

Supplementum

Deus glorificatio fidelium et uita iustorum	1	(1057)
Deus patrum nostrorum, Deus universae conditor ueritatis	1	(1070)
Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Iacob	2	(1071, 1076)
Deus caeli, Deus terrae, Deus angelorum, Deus archangelorum, Deus prophetarum, Deus martyrurum, Deus uirginum, Deus omnium bene uiuentium	1	(1073)
Deus inmortale praesidium omnium postulantium, liberatio supplicum, pax rogantium, uita credentium, resurrection mortuorum	1	(1074)
Deus in te sperantium fortitudo	1	(1129)
Protector in te sperantium Deus	1	(1138)
Deus refugium nostrum et uirtus	1	(1195)
Deus castorum corporum benignus inhibitor et incorruptarum amator animarum	1	(1254)
Deus auctor omnium iustorum honorum, dator cunctarum dignitatum et piorum gratissimus conseruator imperiorum	1	(1274)
Deus fons bonitatis et pietatis origo	1	(1285)
Deus humilium uisitor	1	(1316)
Deus infinitae misericordiae et maiestatis inmensae	1	(1319)
Deus regnorum omnium regnumque dominator	1	(1330)
Deus seruientium tibi fortitudo regnorum	1	(1340)
Deus auctor pacis et amator	1	(1345)
Deus humani generis benignissimi conditor et misericordissime reformatior	1	(1385)
Virtutum caelestium Deus	1	(1390)
Deus infirmitatis humanae singulare praesidium	1	(1394)
Deus misericors Deus clemens	1	(1396)
Deus uitae dator et humanorum corporum reparator	1	(1407)
Fidelium Deus omnium conditor et redemptor animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum	1	(1437)
Deus inuictae uirtutis auctor et inseparabilis imperii rex ac semper magnificus triumphator	1	(1455)
Deus conditor et defensor generis humani	1	(1513)

Deus used with Dominus	51		
Domine Deus	6		
H		4	(40, 88, 289, 1003)
S		2	(1305, 1370)
Domine Deus noster	45		
H		36	
S		9	
Deus with Domine and simple epithet	1		
Domine deus uirtutem	1		
S		1	(1063)
Deus used with Pater	13 (see Table 10 for details)		

* H = Hadrianum, 1-1018
S = Supplementum 1019-1805

Tables 8, 9 and 10 show how *Pater* is used as prayer address in the Veronese, Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries.

The format of these tables is somewhat different than that used in Tables 2-7. Because of the small number of texts involved, each text is listed separately. The address formula is followed (on separate lines) by a brief incipit and by the liturgical occasion for which the prayer is intended. Sections of sources are given immediately following the incipit.

The number of prayers addressed to *Pater* is small.

Table 8 shows the use of *Pater* as address in the Veronese sacramentary

In no case is the divine name *Pater* used by itself as an address.

Some prayers are addressed to *Pater* plus a simple epithet, and some to *Pater* plus *Deus* plus a simple epithet. The majority of addresses are more complex and include *Dominus* and *Deus* together with *Pater*, plus one or several epithets. The most commonly used such address formula is *Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens sempiterna Deus*.

The simple epithets used contribute basically seven images of God: *summe, bone, aeterne, omnipotens, misericors, sancte, gloriae*. Several of these epithets are not used with *Domine* or *Deus*.

Table 8
Pater as Address:
Veronese Sacramentary

	Category (number of texts)	Book	(Text nos.)
Pater alone	0		
Pater with simple epithet	4		
<i>summe Pater</i>		1	(253)
[Remotis...]			
June, mass			
<i>Pater bone</i>		1	(316)

	[Gregem...]		
	June, mass, postcommunion		
Pater aeterne		1	(938)
	[Ad te...]		
	Sept, mass, oratio		
Pater aeterne		1	(1027)
	[Ad te...}		
	Sept, mass, oratio		
Pater with appositives		0	
Pater with Deus		4	
	Deus Patrem omnipotentem	1	(949)
	[Oremus...]		
	Sept, benedictio super diaconus		
Deus Pater omnipotens		1	(953)
	[Oremus...]		
	Sept, consecratio presbyter		
Sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus		1	(537)
	[Sumentes...]		
	July, postcommunion		
Omnipotens et misericors Deus,			
et sempiternae Pater		1	(1240)
	[Da nobis...]		
	Dec, mass, secreta		
Pater with Dominus		0	
Pater with Dominus and Deus		10	
	Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus		
	[Et sanctorum...]	1	(403)
	July, mass, postcommunion		
	[Domine...]	1	(600)
	July, mass, postcommunion		
	[Domine...]	1	(602)
	July, mass, postcommunion		
	[Domine...]	1	(972)
	Sept, In natale episcoporum, oratio		
	[Domine...]	1	(973)
	Sept, In natale episcoporum, oratio		
	[Domine..]	1	(990)
	Sept, In natale episcoporum, oratio		
	[Domine...]	1	(991)

Sept, In natale episcoporum, oratio		
Domine sancte Pater omnipotens Deus		
[Domine...]	1	(963)
Sept, In natale episcoporum		
Domine Deus Pater gloriae	1	(989)
[Domine...]		
Sept, In natale episcoporum		
Domine Deus Pater gloriae	1	(993)
[Domine...]		
Sept, In natale episcoporum		

Rotulus of Ravenna and Other Appended Texts
(For information only; not counted)

omnipotens Pater	1	(1335)
omnipotens Pater	1	(1360)
Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus	1	(1408)
Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus	1	(1464)

Table 9 shows the use of *Pater* as address in the Gelasian sacramentary.

In no case is the divine name *Pater* used by itself as an address

A small number of prayers are addressed to *Pater* plus a simple epithet, and one includes an appositive.

A larger number are addressed to *Pater* plus *Deus* plus one or two simple epithets.

While *Pater* is never combined with *Dominus* alone in any way, it is most frequently used in combination with *Dominus* plus *Deus* plus several epithets. The most common such address is *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus*.

The simple epithets used contribute basically eight images of God: *omnipotens, summe, misericordiam, fidelium, consolationis, aeterne/semperiterne, sancte*.

Three prayers listed here are really addressed to *Deus*, but *Deus* is named as *Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christ*.

Table 9
Pater as Address:
Gelasian Sacramentary

	Category (number of texts)	Book	(Text nos.)
Pater used alone	0		
Pater with simple epithet	3		
omnipotens Pater		1	(146)
[Domine...] book I			
Ordination of priests; within consecratio			
omnipotens Pater		1	(573)
[Praesta...] book I			
Ascension, oratio			
sume Pater		1	(679)
[Remotis...] book I			
Sundar after Pentecost, secreta			
Pater with appositive	1		
Pater, mundi conditor, nascentium genitor, multiplicandi originis institutor		1	(1451)
[Pater...] book III			
Marriage, benedictio			
Pater with Deus	11		
Deum Patrem omnipotentem		1	(143)
[Oremus...] book I			
Ordination of priests, oratio			
[Oremus...] book I		1	(150)
Ordination of deacons, oratio			
[Deum...] book I		1	(748)
Ordination of doorkeepers, oratio			
[Deum...] book I		1	(752)
Ordination of exorcists, oratio			

Dei Patris omnipotentis misericordiam	1	(693)
[Dei...] book I		
Blessing of an altar, oratio		
Deus fidelium Pater summe	1	(434)
[Deus...] book I		
Easter Vigil, after third reading		
Omnipotens Pater misericordiarum		
et Deus consolationis	1	(685)
[Omnipotens...] book I		
Reconciliation of heretics		
Sancte Pater, omnipotens Deus	1	(684)
[Sancte...] book I		
Reception of former heretics		
Deus omnipotens, Pater Domine nostri Iesu Christ	1	(450)
[Deus...} book I		
Presbyteral anointing after baptism		
[Deus...] book I	1	(451)
Episcopal anointing after baptism		
Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus	1	(1621)
[Opus...] book III		
Funerals; prayer at the grave		
Pater with Dominus	0	
Pater with Dominus and Deus	27	
Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus		
[Domine...] book I	1	(145)
Ordination of priests, consecratio		
[Aeternam...] book I	1	(298)
Exorcism over the elect		
[Domine...] book I	1	(363)
Deathbed reconciliation of penitents		
[Maiestatem...] book I	1	(366)
Deathbed reconciliation of penitents		
[Innumeras...] book I	1	(592)
For sick catechumens at Pentecost		
[[Domine...] book I	1	(594)
For a sick child at Pentecost		
[Te deprecor...] book I	1	(600)
For a catechumen coming from heresy		
[Domine...] book I	1	(601)
For a catechumen coming from heresy		
[Domine...] book I	1	(606)
Blessing of font		
[Domine...] book I	1	(749)

Ordination of a doorkeeper, benediccio		
[Domine...] book I	1	(751)
Ordination of a lector, benediccio		
[Domine...] book I	1	(753)
Ordination of an exorcist, benediccio		
[Domine...] book I	1	(755)
Ordination of a subdeacon, benedictio		
[Te inuocamus...] book I	1	(792)
Consecration of virgins		
[Exaudi...] book II	1	(847)
Annunciation, oratio		
[Domine...] book III	1	(1273)
Mass, blessing over people after communion		
[Domine...] book III	1	(1454)
Marriage, blessing over people		
[Domine...] book III	1	(1455)
Marriage, postcommunion		
[Domine...] book III	1	(1538)
Prayer over the sick		
[Domine...] book III	1	(1543)
Prayer for the sick		
[Exaudi...] book III	1	(1545)
Prayer for the visitation of a home		
[Exaudi...] book III	1	(1547)
Prayer for the visitation of a home		
[Exaudi...] book III	1	(1558)
Blessing and sprinkling water		
[Domine...] book III	1	(1561)
Exorcism over salt		
[Te Domine...] book III	1	(1617)
Funerals, at the grave		
Domine Deus omnipotens, Pater Domine nostri Iesu Christi	1	(683)
[Domine...] book I		
Blessing for those coming from heresy		

* book I 1-803
book II 804-1177
book III 1178-1704

Table 10 shows the use of *Pater* as address in the Gregorian sacramentary.

In no case is the divine name *Pater* used by itself as an address, nor are simple epithets used together with *Pater* alone, nor is *Pater* used in combination with *Dominus* alone.

Two prayers are addressed to *Pater* together with *Deus* together with epithets, though here the addresses formulas are complex. In fact these prayers are really addressed to *Deus*, but *Deus* is named as *Pater Domine nostri Iesu Christi*.

Most of the prayers listed are addressed to *Pater* together with *Dominus* and *Deus* plus several epithets. The most commonly used such address is *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus*.

Table 10
Pater as Address:
Gregorian Sacramentary

	Category	Book	(Text nos.)
	(number of texts)		
Pater alone	0		
Pater with simple epithets	0		
Pater with appositive	0		
Pater with Deus	2		
Omnipotens sempiterne deus, Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi [Omnipotens...] S Oratio ad caticuminum faciendum Deus angelorum, Deus archangelorum, Deus prophetarum, Deus apostolorum, Deus martyrum,		1	(1065)

Deus uirginum, Deus Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi	1	(1512)
[Deus...] S		
Prayers at the baptism of a sick person		
Pater with Dominus	0	
Pater with Dominus and Deus	11	
Domine sancte Pater omnipotens Deus	1	[329]
[Ipse...] H		
In cena Domini, super oblata		
Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus		
[Domine...] H	1	(29a)
Ordination of priests		
[Aeternam ...] H	1	(358)
Catechumenate: giving of the gospels		
[Medellam...] H	1	(980)
Baptism of the sick		
[Aeternam...] S	1	(1079)
Catechumenate		
[Domine...] S	1	(1391)
Visitation of the sick		
[Domine...] S	1	(1395)
Prayer for the sick		
[Domine...] S	1	(1463)
Benedictio ad frugas nouas		
[Gratias...] S	1	(1491)
Orationes matutinales		
Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens sempiterne Deus		
[Exaudi...] S	1	(1456)
Oratio quando aqua spargitur in domo		
[Domine...] S	1	(1511)
Pro parvulo energumino		

* H=Hadrianum 1-1018

S= Supplementum 1019-1805

Tables 11, 12 and 13 show how divine names or images other than *Dominus*, *Deus* and *Pater* are used in the Veronese, Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries. They also identify prayers that use no specific address, but rather use the implicit address, “you.”

The format of these tables is similar to that used in Tables 8, 9 and 10.

The number of texts using such addresses – or no address – is small.

Table 11 identifies two prayers addressed to *Pastor* plus an epithet; two more are addressed to the more indefinite divine images *Aeterne* and *Altissimi*. Another 13 have no specific address.

Table 12 identifies three prayers addressed to *Pastor* plus a simple epithet. Each is used with the image of “*gregem tuum*.” However, the texts of these three prayers are identical; it is a single prayer used three times.

Another nine prayers have no specific address.

Table 13 shows that the Gregorian sacramentary uses no divine name or image other than *Dominus*, *Deus* and *Pater* in prayer addresses. Seven prayers have no specific address.

Table 11
Other Addresses:
Veronese Sacramentary

	Category	Book	(Text nos.)
	(number of texts)		
Other Addresses	4		
Pastor bone [Gregem...] June, postcommunion		1	(290)
Aeternae [Aeternae...] June, postcommunion		1	(335)
Altissime [Intende...] June, oratio		1	(375)
Pastor aeternae [Vere...] June, within preface		1	(376)
No Address	13		

[Sacris...] April, postcommunion	1	(55)
[Repleti benedictione...] June, postcommunion	1	(349)
[Libera nos...] July, postcommunion	1	(483)
[Observationis annuae...] July, postcommunion	1	(490)
[Offerendorum tibi...] August, secreta	1	(705)
[Repleti gusti...] August, postcommunion	1	(761)
Debitum nostrae...] August, oratio	1	(767)
[Donis caelestibus...] August, postcommunion	1	(807)
[In honorum...] Sept, oratio	1	(854)
[Haec nos...] Sept, postcommunio	1	(877)
[Hoc nobis...] Oct, postcommunion	1	(1131)
[Et quod...] Oct, postcommunio	1	(1143)
[Suscipite uenerabiles...] Dec, postcommunio	1	(1330)

Rotulus of Ravenna and Other Appended Texts
(For information only; not counted)

[Redemptionis nostrae...]	1	(1372)
[Repleti benedictione...]	1	(1423)
[Repleti substania...]	1	(1474)

Table 12
Other Addresses:
Gelasian Sacramentary

Category	Book	(Text nos.)
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(number of texts)

Other addresses

3

book I

Pastor bone	1	(272)
[Gregem tuum...]		
Mass, over the people		
Pastor bone	1	(374)
[Gregem tuum...]		
Reconciliation of penitents		

book III

Pastor bone	1	(1274)
[Gregem tuum...]		
Blessing over the people		

No Addresses

9

book I

[Sanctificationum...]	1	(148)
Ordination of priests, item benedictio		
[Da nostrae...]	1	(234)
Mass, oratio		
[Erectis sensibus...]	1	(579)
Ascension, ad populum		
[Consecrentur manus...]	1	(756)
Ordination of subdeacons		

book II

[Sicut gloriae...]	1	(884)
Saint Vite, secreta		
[Beatorum Petri...]	1	(917)
Vigil of Peter and Paul, post communion		
[Pignus aeternae...]	1	(949)
octive of Peter & Paul, postcommunion		
[Itera festiuitate...]	1	(989)
octave S. Lawrence, oratio		
[Sumentis gaudia...]	1	(1005)
S. Ruffi, postcommunion		

Table 13
Other Addresses:
Gregorian Sacramentary

	Category (number of texts)	Book	(Text nos.)
No Address	7		
<i>Hadrianum</i>			
[Concede...]		1	(404)
temporale, ad completa [probably scribal error]			
[Sumentes...]		1	(708)
Mass, ad completa			
[Tuere...]		1	(968)
orat vespertinales seu matitunales			
<i>Supplementum</i>			
[Consecramus...]		1	(1257)
Consecratio patenan			
[Praesta...]		1	(1326)
missa pro peccatis, postcommunion			
[Sanctae...]		1	(1469)
oratio post cibum, super mensam			
[Beati petri...]		1	(1470)
oratio post cibus, super mensam			

Conclusions

These data leave us with more questions than answers.

1. Why do Dominus and Deus vastly outnumber Pater, Pastor and other divine names and images? Why does Dominus outnumber Deus? Does this pattern perhaps reflect the usage of the Latin (Vulgate) Bible?

2. Why is Dominus primarily used alone, without epithets or appositives, while Deus is used much more often with epithets and appositives? Does this perhaps have to do with the sound and rhythm of these two and three syllable words?

3. What accounts for the variation in usage among the three liturgical books studied, and even in different parts of the same book?

4. Why is Pater used predominantly in complex address formulas, especially Domine sancte Pater omnipotens [aeterne / sempiternae] Deus? Why is this formula used more often for liturgies of ordination, baptism, etc., than for daily and Sunday mass?

5. To what extent were prayer addresses chosen with deliberation and with regard to content, and what extent was this choice unreflective?

We will probably never be able to answer these questions – the evidence simply is not available.