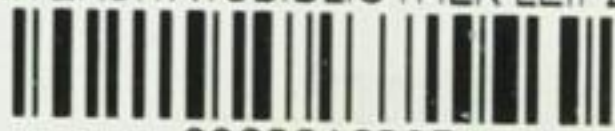


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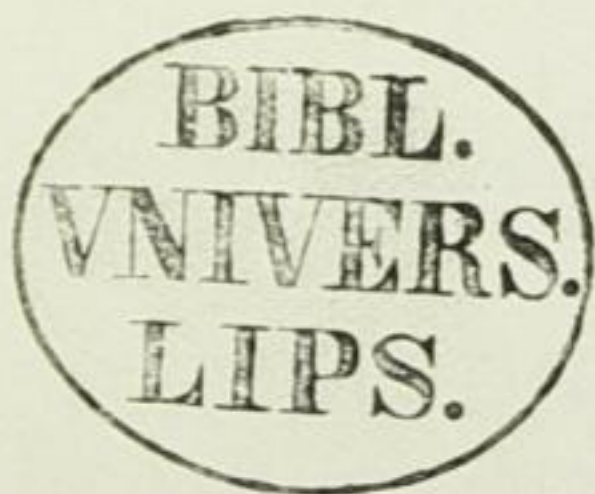
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GENERAL EDITOR—A. J. MASON, D.D.

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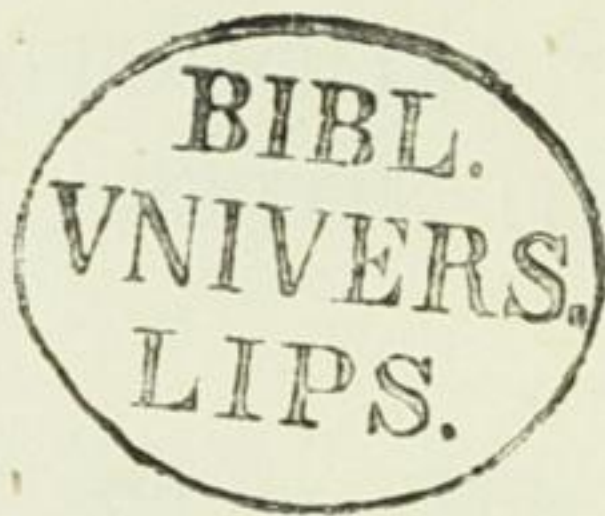
EARLY LATIN HYMNS

WITH INTRODUCTION
AND NOTES

BY THE LATE
[after] [summer]
A. S. WALPOLE, M.A.

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PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR

MR A. S. WALPOLE died February 20, 1920. A few days before his death he sent me all his notes for the present book, with the request that I would prepare the book for publication and see it through the press. In some ways this was not difficult for me to do. For more than twenty years we had worked at the hymns together. Again and again I had been allowed to go at leisure through the successive drafts of his commentary, criticizing and suggesting, so that I was fairly acquainted with his final views on almost every point of interpretation. A few notes of my own have been added which Mr Walpole had not seen. They are distinguished by being enclosed in square brackets. But for the most part the book represents what Mr Walpole himself had written and approved, and my editorial task has been confined to final arrangements and adjustments.

Nevertheless it is a matter for great regret that Mr Walpole did not live to see the work through for himself. He was a scholar who had read deep and wide in Latin literature. He had taken immense pains over this work. In order, for instance, to judge of the authorship of the hymns attributed to St Ambrose, he had read through the whole of that author's prose works, marking every feature of his thought and every peculiarity of his diction and style. So he did with other authors. He was always learning something fresh to throw light upon the hymns. He wrote the whole series out at least half a dozen times in his clear, strong hand. So many volumes of his notes remain that the chief embarrassment has been to coordinate them.

vi *PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR*

In two things I have departed from Mr Walpole's intention. The first is in regard to textual criticism. I have explained in the section on the Text what resolution he had come to, and why it seemed to me unsatisfactory. The second point concerns the contents. Mr Walpole designed to give in an appendix, without note or comment, a number of Latin hymns which did not come into the definition which governed his choice of the 127 here presented. A good many of them were pieces of Prudentius, like *O sola magnarum urbium* and *Quicumque Christum quaeritis*, which were not, so far as we know, used as hymns in ancient days. Others were well-known hymns like *Exultet caelum laudibus*, and *Alleluia dulce carmen*, about which it seemed to be necessary to explain why they were not in the body of the book. Mr Walpole had not made a final selection of those hymns. There are also many hymns, particularly in the Irish and Spanish books, which both for antiquity, and for intrinsic value, would be equally entitled to a place in such an appendix, if not in the main collection. It was difficult to know where and why to stop. I determined therefore to do without the appendix. Readers who wish for those hymns can easily find them elsewhere; and to give the bare text of them apart from notes seemed to me of doubtful utility.

A. J. M.

MICHAELMAS 1922.

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INTRODUCTION

Originally the following *Corpus Hymnorum* was not intended to be a selection, but was to include all those hymns and just those hymns that, to the best of my judgment, were not only written but also sung in church before about the year of our Lord 600; this judgment being based on such ancient documents as have come within my ken in the course of an investigation carried on for more than twenty years. The hymns must have been actually sung: otherwise they would have been nothing more than sacred poems. And having been written at that early period they could fairly be called patristic, and so appear in a series of Patristic Texts. This has proved to be a good working rule, but certain considerations have made it impossible to keep strictly to the letter of it in every case.

For in the first place not all hymns can by the utmost stretch of charity be said to be good enough to claim admission within a limited space. This may be a truism, but its practical result is for our purpose important. Thus, while it would have been undesirable to leave out Ennodius altogether, it has been deemed sufficient to give, by way of a specimen, only one of his laboured and unpoetical hymns, the one given as 32 below, *Iam Christus ascendit polum*. In like manner only *Squalent arua soli puluere multo* has been here printed (hymn 127) without its fellow *Obduxere polum nubila caeli*, although both are almost certainly by the same hymnist, and ancient, being indeed attributed by Bede to the father of church song himself, St Ambrose. There is even a third, a war hymn, of Mozarabic origin like these two, *Saeuus*

bella serit barbarus horrens, which as being probably written by the same poet has a like claim to admission.

In the next place it is by no means always easy to date, even approximately, a hymn of which the writer is no longer known to us by name. It would be quite impossible to date it exactly. Authorities differ widely with regard to these hymns. Let me illustrate this point by a few examples. The advent hymn *Christi ceterua clamitat* (which I would put in the IXth century) was assigned by Mone to the Vth, by Daniel to the XIVth century. It is not included in this collection. On the other hand *Grates tibi Iesu nouas*, number 12 of my collection, which Daniel rightly gave to its author Ambrose, Mone unaccountably ascribed to a humanist of the XVth century. *Christe cunctorum dominator alme* Daniel places in the XIIth century, though it is contained in more than one MS of the Xth; as are also *Aures ad nostras deitatis preces*; *O sator rerum, reparator aeui*; *Signum crucis mirabile*; *Verbi patris principium*; all which Daniel assigns to the XIVth century. In a field where such experienced hymnologists have gone wrong, it is not likely that I should always have gone right.

Then again, we may be able to say more or less definitely when a sacred poem, by a writer whose name we know, was written, but not when it was sung in church for the first time and so became a hymn. Thus whereas we can without hesitation give within a year or two the time at which Ambrose wrote his hymns and when these were set to music and sung, or the date at which the *Vexilla regis prodeunt* of Fortunatus, and his other passion hymns, were composed and first chanted, we are unfortunately not able to date the incorporation of such poems of Prudentius, Sedulius and others, as were taken into the service books of the early Latin Church.

All that in our present state of liturgical knowledge we are entitled to say is that this or that hymn was or was not included in 'the later hymnal'—a term to be explained presently. But this is not very precise, because we do not know just when this later hymnal took the place of the earlier Benedictine series. The outcome of this is that, whereas a line to mark off the earlier from the later hymns must be drawn at some point, it is bound to be a wavy line. When we leave the comparatively safe ground of documentary evidence, and when subjective considerations come into play, difficulties are quite certain to arise. For all that however the risk has to be taken.

[Here Mr Walpole had a paragraph with regard to his proposed Appendix.]

It will be seen that the hymns as arranged in this book fall into two wide classes. The first forty are those of which we are able with some confidence to name the authors, the rest are anonymous or as Daniel calls them *ἀδέσποτοι*. Some few of these we have ventured doubtfully to assign to some particular man, for instance 41 *Mediae noctis* to Niceta, 63 *Nocte surgentes* and 70 *Ecce iam noctis* to Alcuin. But of the great majority no author can be named with any approach to probability.

But a distinction of more far-reaching import is to be drawn between the OLD HYMNAL, viz. that of Benedict and Caesarius and Aurelian of Arles, being in general use during the VIth century, and the LATER HYMNAL which superseded it and which has ever since, it may be said, held the field. Of these we must speak briefly.

Benedict in the Rule which he wrote for his community of monks at Monte Cassino in A.D. 529 prescribed the singing of certain hymns at some of the services. The pity of it is that he does not give the first lines of these, merely saying *inde sequatur ambrosianum* (or

hymnus) eiusdem horae, or hymni earundem horarum; so that it is difficult to say for certain which these hymns are. Until recently, liturgiologists agreed to think that they were to be found in that body of hymns that are contained in practically all MSS later than the tenth century and which still survive, most of them doubtless in an altered form, in the Roman breviary. However Clemens Blume, S.J., in 1908 published a valuable and interesting essay¹ in which he gave good reasons for thinking that this opinion is wrong. His theory is the only one that fits and explains all the circumstances, and it is now generally accepted by scholars. Caesarius, who was bishop of Arles A.D. 503—543, compiled two Rules, one for monks about the year 503, another for nuns in 534. In the former of these he denotes no hymns by name, probably, like Benedict, presupposing a knowledge as to which the regular hymns were. But in his *Regula ad uirgines* he usually, although not invariably, gives the first line. Thus, for instance, he writes: *Ad sextam: psalmi sex cum antiphona, hymnus Ter hora trina uoluitur, lectio et capitellum*. And about A.D. 550 Aurelian, the successor of Caesarius in the see of Arles, compiled similar Rules, one for monks, the other for nuns. In these he also usually, but not invariably, gives the first line of the several hymns. We must remember that both these men were contemporaries of Benedict, who died at Monte Cassino in 543.

[The hymns specified by Caesarius are twelve in number. They are the following; the numerals attached indicate the place of the hymn in the present collection.

Iam surgit hora tertia (4).

Iam sexta sensim uoluitur (55).

¹ *Der Cursus s. Benedicti Nursini und die liturgischen Hymnen des 6—9 Jahrhunderts* (*Hymnologische Beiträge*, 3er Bd.) Leipzig 1908.

Ter hora trina uoluitur (56).
 Hic est dies uerus Dei (10).
 Christe precamur adnue (60).
 Christe qui lux es et dies (61).
 Rex aeterne Domine (42).
 Mediae noctis tempus est (41).
 Aeterne rerum conditor (2).
 Fulgentis auctor aetheris (47).
 Deus qui certis legibus (57).
 Deus creator omnium (5).

Besides these twelve Caesarius mentions the prose hymns *Magna et mirabilia*, *Te Deum laudamus*, and *Gloria in excelsis Deo*.

Aurelian adds two more :

Splendor paternae gloriae (3).
 Aeterne lucis conditor (46).]

We now come to the witness of MSS. And here we must distinguish between MSS of Irish or English origin and all others. There are, so far as is at present known, only five MSS extant containing a body of hymns written in or before the IXth century not in an Irish or English hand. The oldest of these is cod. Vaticanus Reg. 11 written at the end of the VIIIth century. The other four, written in the IXth century, are Junius 25 in the Bodleian at Oxford, Rheinau 34 in the Kantonal Library at Zürich, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 528 and 14088¹. A comparison of the Rules of Caesarius and Aurelian and of these five MSS gives us a body of thirty-six hymns [in all, including the three prose hymns. The hymns not specified in the Rules of Caesarius and

¹ A MS in the British Museum Vesp. A 1 written about A.D. 700 contains three of the hymns in another but contemporaneous hand ; viz. 3 *Splendor paternae gloriae*, 5 *Deus creator omnium*, and 42 *Rex aeterne Domine*. And this last is contained in an VIIIth century MS at St Gall. But neither of these MSS is a hymnal.

Aurelian, but supplied by one or other of these MSS, are the following :

- Tempus noctis surgentibus (43).
 Deus qui caeli lumen es (44).
 Deus aeterni luminis (48).
 Christe caeli Domine (49).
 Diei luce reddita (50).
 Post matutinis laudibus (51).
 Certum tenentes ordinem (52).
 Dicamus laudes Domino (53).
 Perfectum trinum numerum (54).
 Deus qui claro lumine (59).
 Sator princepsque temporum (58).
 Intende qui regis Israel (6).
 Inluminans altissimus (8).
 Dei fide qua uiuimus (99).
 Meridie orandum est (100).
 Sic ter quaternis trahitur (103).
 Ad cenam Agni prouidi (109).
 Aurora lucis rutilat (111).
 Aeterna Christi munera (15).]

Of these thirty-six hymns eight are the work of St Ambrose (2—6, 8, 10, 15). In this body of thirty-six hymns we have the old Benedictine hymnal.

[The Archbishop of Canterbury has called my attention to the account of "Augustine's Psalter" given by Thomas Elmham¹. The book was sent to Augustine by Gregory himself in 601. At the end of the book were hymns, both for day and night. They do not altogether agree with the lists of Arles. "The first hymn, for midnight, is *Mediae noctis tempus est*; the second, at cock-crow, *Aeterne rerum conditor*; at mattins, *Splendor paternae gloriae*; at prime, *Venite fratres ocius*; at terce, *Iam surgit hora tertia*; at sext, *Bis ternas horas explicans*; at none, *Ter hora trina uoluitur*; at evensong, *Deus creator omnium*; at compline,

¹ *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis* (Rolls Series) 1858, p. 97.

Te deprecamur Domine; in Lent, *Christe qui lux es.*" Besides these there was a Sunday hymn, *Rex aeterne Domine*; a Christmas hymn, *Intende qui regis Israel*; an Easter hymn, *Hic est dies uerus Dei*; a hymn for SS. Peter and Paul, *Apostolorum passio*; and one for St John, *Amore Christi nobilis*. There are fifteen hymns in all. Among them are two, *Venite fratres* and *Te deprecamur*, which are not otherwise known.]

But now we notice a most extraordinary phenomenon. For excepting some of those by Ambrose, and a few others which have survived in their integrity, or in part, these Benedictine hymns as it were suddenly and entirely vanished from sight, and were at once swept wholly away. It is true that the Mozarabic and Ambrosian liturgies retained some few of them. But speaking generally in all MSS of the Xth century and onwards an entirely different set of hymns took their place; and this other set of hymns is found in the MSS of Irish and English origin dating from the century before. The newcomers, we may say with a rough approach to accuracy, are those which in the present book are printed as 62 and onwards, but several of the preceding numbers, such as 20, 21, are included among them.

In order not to beg the question, by presuming that the thirty-six hymns above mentioned are more ancient than those which superseded them, or that they really are the Benedictine series, let us for the time being denote these as the A class, their rivals as the B hymnal. Blume has brought forward the most convincing reasons for thinking that *the A hymns are the more ancient*.

The MSS which contain them are in almost every case older, usually much older. No fewer than eight of the hymns were the work of St Ambrose: no fewer than seventeen are mentioned by either Caesarius or Aurelian

or by both bishops. The incompleteness of the series for the hours other than Lauds, which is the one office provided with a separate hymn for each day of the week, points rather plainly to a time when hymn-singing was still comparatively undeveloped. In B each day of the week has its own proper hymn for Nocturns and Vespers. With still greater force does this consideration apply to the hymns *de communi sanctorum*. This section in A is represented by the one hymn of Ambrose *Aeterna Christi munera*, this being in honour of *actual* martyrs and given in only one of the five early MSS,—as opposed to the full array of the many in commemoration of martyrs and confessors, which are included in the B series, as given by the IXth century hymnary at Karlsruhe (Augien. CXCIV)¹ and by virtually all later MSS. Now A. Manser has pointed out (in Buchberger's *Kirchl. Handlexicon* I. col. 735 f. under 'Brevier') that towards the end of the VIIIth century, especially in the Basilica of St Peter at Rome, a rich *sanctorale* developed, and, as many saints of the same class were commemorated, formed a *commune sanctorum*². Finally, the Vesper hymns of A are part of a *night* office, belonging to a time when Vespers often bore the name of *prima uigilia*³. They are all prayers for the night, all dwell upon *noctis caligo*, 5. 18, *fessa curis corpora*, 57. 3, *somnus*, ib. 4, 18, *nox horrida*, ib. 5; all are variations of the prayer expressed in Ambrose's Vesper hymn, 5. 17 f.:

*ut cum profunda clauserit
diem caligo noctium,
fides tenebras nesciat
et nox fide reluceat.*

¹ The earliest extant MS containing the B hymnal.

² See Blume *Cursus* p. 77.

³ Blume refers to Bäumer *Geschichte des Brevier* p. 175.

The corresponding hymns of B, describing the several days of the Creation, make no mention of night or of nightly rest. They were written at a time when Vespers was a *day* office, that is to say after the time of Benedict, who gave it this new character¹.

Blume still further urges that in A all the hymns *ad matutinas laudes*, with the exception of the *Te Deum* and of Ambrose's *Splendor paternae gloriae* (the model on which the others were formed), were the work of one man, as to him seems evident from their interdependence in point of thought and phrase. Here I cannot quite follow him. The hymns in question are 44—50, with the exception of 45 *Lucis largitor splendide*, which is brought into the series on fairly strong but subjective grounds, as will be seen in the special introduction on p. 224. That most of these hymns are like each other and like their model is not to be denied. But I can see little or no similarity to the rest in 44b, 48 or 49, with its peculiar rhythm. In this case Blume's argument, that the mention of one of them (47 *Fulgentis auctor aetheris*) by Caesarius proves that *all* of them were written by his time falls to the ground. Not that this invalidates his main thesis, for these very three hymns are amongst the most ancient of the series, especially 49 *Christe caeli domine* with its constant reminders of the *Te Deum*. In like manner I do not think that Blume is right² in regarding 44b as an integral part of 44, so that here also his deductions are not justified; see further, p. 221.

In spite of the failure of Blume's last argument, we may now look upon it as a certain and proved fact that the 36 A hymns are the old stock, and may, speaking

¹ [Blume does not give proof of this last assertion, but the *Regula* shews that *Vespera* was a day office; see Caput XLI.]

² Blume *Cursus* pp. 92 f.

generally, be called the Benedictine hymns, so that the inscription of the IXth century MS Rheinau 34 is to be taken literally (at least so far as Benedict is concerned), and not, as it has been taken, rhetorically: *incipiunt hymni sancti Ambrosii, quos sanctus Benedictus in diuersas horas canendos ordinauit.*

We must not however think that each and all of the component parts of the A hymnal were of just the same antiquity. Thus the three Lenten hymns for Terce, None and Vespers respectively: 99 *Dei fide qua uiuimus*, 100 *Meridie orandum est*, 103 *Sic ter quaternis trahitur*, are vouched for only by three IXth century MSS, as are also the Easter hymns 109 *Ad cenam Agni prouidi*, 111 *Aurora lucis rutilat*. These do not belong exclusively to the A hymnal, being found also in several later MSS, and probably originated in the VIIIth century or not long before.

The A hymnal, then, disappeared from sight, banished by its victorious rival B. But by a kind of survival of the fittest a very few individual hymns lived on, either in this newer hymnal or in those of various lands and districts. Especially was this the case with the hymns of Ambrose. Thus, for instance, 2, 3, 5, 6, 15 continued to be copied in many breviaries and other MSS besides those of the Ambrosian rite. Also 61 *Christe qui lux es et dies* lived on for many centuries before it was at last driven out and its place taken by 83 *Te lucis ante terminum*. It is to be found in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish MSS of every century so long as MSS were written, to say nothing of the many printed breviaries, its appearance in which is noted by U. Chevalier *Repertorium Hymn.* no. 2934, one of these being as late as 1766. Similarly the hymn for the Ninth hour, 54 *Perfectum trinum numerum*, though in the Xth century it was

restricted to this hour in Lent, with its first line changed into what seemed to be a more grammatical shape, *Perfecto trino numero*, lived on in this shape for several centuries. Chevalier, under heading 14835, notes its presence in several XVIth century breviaries and even in one of 1775. Another, 42 *Rex aeterne domine* has had the longest life of all; for it was mentioned by Caesarius, and in the altered form *Rex sempiternae caelorum* is in the modern Roman breviary the Sunday hymn in Eastertide.

[It is not known how the Later Hymnal (B) came to be substituted for the Earlier (A). But Blume throws out the suggestion that, as the earliest authorities for this collection come from England and Ireland, and as Gregory the Great was specially interested in the British Isles and their liturgical arrangements, Gregory may have drawn up the Later Hymnal, and in particular may himself have composed the cycle of Vesper hymns contained in it. This suggestion appears in note 1 to p. 78 of the work already referred to (*Cursus s. Benedicti*). Blume further elaborated it in a paper *Gregor der Grosse als Hymnendichter* in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* for 1908 pp. 269 ff. He returns to it in *Analecta Hymnica* vol. LI p. xiv. The IXth century, the age of Charlemagne and Alcuin, was a time of many liturgical changes. If at that period hymns were introduced at Rome into the breviary of the secular clergy—till that time they had only formed part of the monastic offices—and if tradition recorded that Gregory the Great had prescribed these particular hymns for the Irish Church, the universal spread of these hymns from that time onwards would be easily accounted for.]

We have now spoken of two sets of hymns: viz. A the old Benedictine series, and B consisting of those which afterwards took their place. There is further a third set,

the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, as they are called by Archbishop Bernard and Dr Atkinson, who with scholarly thoroughness edited them for the Henry Bradshaw Society (1868). Blume has also printed them (1908), with many valuable remarks, under the title of *Hymnodia Hiberno-Celtica* in the *Analecta Hymnica* vol. LI pp. 264 f. [These are not to be confused with the hymns of collection B already spoken of as contained in Irish and English MSS.]

This Irish collection contains hymns 1, 41 and 61 of the present volume, and from it are taken 107 and 108. But, being in general written by native Irish poets for Irish singers, it touches at few points the main stream of Latin Church song, and so need not here detain us.

[Much uncertainty still surrounds the early history of the Mozarabic liturgy of Spain, and therefore of the hymnary connected with it. None of the existing MSS of the Mozarabic hymnary seems to be earlier than the end of the IXth century, and only one as early as that (Toledo 33—3; see *Hymnodia Gotica* ed. Blume, forming vol. XXVII of the *Analecta Hymnica*). The MS is injured, and only nine hymns are partly decipherable in it. Blume mentions four (or five) other MSS belonging to the Xth century. The contents of these hymnaries vary strangely from each other. The MS which may be taken as a kind of standard is the Madrid MS 1005, as numbered by Blume. By J. Mearns (*Early Latin Hymnaries* p. xx) it is numbered 'Nacional 10001.' This is printed in Lorenzana's edition of the Mozarabic Breviary, reprinted in Migne's *Patr. Lat.* vol. LXXXVI. It contains 176 hymns, including *Te Deum laudamus*.

Of these 176 hymns it may be noted that eight are common to it with what we have called the Old Hymnal A. Of these eight five are by St Ambrose; the remaining

three are *Certum tenentes ordinem*, *Christe qui lux es et dies*, and *Mediae noctis tempus est*. The MS contains five other hymns of St Ambrose. No fewer than thirty-three centos from Prudentius occur in it, and six from the hymn of Sedulius *A solis ortus cardine*. A Mozarabic book of the XIth century contains one more hymn of A, *Christe precamur annue*; and the printed breviary of Ortiz (Toledo 1502) contains six more, but whether they formed part of the old Spanish hymnal, or were introduced into the book by Ortiz, cannot now be ascertained.

The chief feature of the Mozarabic hymnal is the multitude of hymns for the festivals of particular saints, largely imitated from Prudentius, but mostly without literary merit. The only hymn in the present collection directly taken from the Mozarabic hymnal is 127 *Squalent arua.*]

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[NOTE ON THE TEXT

IT has been hard to know how best to deal with Mr Walpole's material for the textual criticism of his hymns. The difficulty lies partly in the very abundance of the material. This is in fact so great, that Walpole at length despaired of giving in full the evidence for and against the readings which he adopted. He thought that it was impossible to give a complete apparatus, because, large as the number of MSS which he had inspected was, there were many which he had not inspected. Accordingly he determined, though with regret, to give only indications of a general character. Thus ω was to mean that a reading was supported by practically all the MSS used by him, α by the majority, β by a good many, γ by a few, ρ by later MSS.

This seemed to me unsatisfactory. In itself it appeared too vague to be of much use. Walpole had not himself gone through much of the book on this system. And it gave no idea of the pains which Walpole had spent upon the matter. Besides work in English collections, he had travelled repeatedly to France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Belgium to collate MSS. He had received help for the purpose from the Hort Fund. He was an unusually skilled and accurate collator. I decided to attempt to give Walpole's notes of readings as fully as I could, while begging the reader to remember, first, that Walpole himself had not revised the apparatus, whereas I myself have been unable, except in a few instances, to verify his observations; and secondly, that, as he said, the apparatus makes no attempt to be complete, in this sense, viz. that there are other MSS to consult, which he had no opportunity of consulting. The student will not be able to dispense entirely with the critical notes of Blume and others.

An even greater difficulty in representing Walpole's textual work lies in the fact that he has nowhere left an exhaustive list of the MSS which he has used, and that he has used different methods of notation in different notebooks. It is sometimes hard, even for an expert,—and I cannot profess to be an expert in this department,—to make out what MS Walpole is denoting by the symbol which he uses in a given book. This difficulty would have made me abandon the task of coordinating his notes and attempting to reduce them to a system, if it had not been for the kindness of the late Rev. J. Mearns. At my request he devoted several days to the task of identifying some of the MSS, of which Walpole had recorded the readings without giving any direct guidance to their identity. I wish to express my indebtedness to that eminent hymnologist for aid which no one else could have given.

Walpole generally followed a system of notation which is in part Mr Mearns's own. In as close accordance with it as circumstances admit, I offer the following table of MSS. It does not attempt to state, as Mr Mearns's *Early Latin Hymnaries* does, where the various MSS were written, but for the most part only where they are now to be found. The arrangement however is not completely logical. Two classes, 'Ambrosian' and 'Mozarabic,' represent a different principle; and some MSS which properly belong to these two classes will be found under other heads than A or M. Here, for convenience, I have taken over what Walpole set down.

A = Ambrosian (Milan). a = Ambrogiana, T 103 sup. (IX, X¹).
 b = Chapter Library 155 (X, XI). c = Ambr. s.n. iv. 43 (X).
 d = Ambr. A 189 inf. (1188). e = Ambr. A 1 inf. (XII).
 f = Ambr. J 27 sup. (1183). g = Ambr. J 55 sup. (XII).
 h = Ambr. E 71 b inf. (XIII). i = Ambr. C 23 inf. k =
 Ambr. H 159 inf.

B = Belgian. b = Brussels 8860-7 (IX, X). c = Brussels 9845-7 (IX).

¹ The numbers given thus in brackets give the date or century to which the MS belongs.

E = English. **N** = British Museum, Vesp. A 1 (VIII). a = Brit. Mus. Arundel 155 (XI). c = C. C. C. Cambridge 391 (XI). d = Durham Chapter B. III. 32. δ = Durham *Rituale*. g = Jesus Coll. Cambridge 23. h = Brit. Mus. Harl. 2961 (XI). j = Brit. Mus. Julius A vi (X). k = C. C. C. Cambridge 190. l = Brit. Mus. Add. 37517 (X). n = Brit. Mus. Add. 19768. o = Oxford Bodl. Jun. 25 (IX). r = Brit. Mus. Reg. A xx. s = Brit. Mus. Add. 30848. t = Brit. Mus. Add. 24193. v = Brit. Mus. Vesp. D xii (XI). w = C. C. C. Cambridge 473. x = Oxf. Bodl. Misc. Lit. 297 (XII). η = Brit. Mus. Harl. 2928 (XII). μ = Oxf. Bodl. 16923 (XI). ϕ = Brit. Mus. Add. 18301 (XII). ψ = Brit. Mus. Add. 34209.

F = French. a = Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 14088 (IX). b = Bibl. Nat. Lat. 13-388 (IX). c = Bibl. Nat. Lat. 1153 (IX). d = Bibl. Nat. Lat. 103 (about A.D. 1000). e = Bibl. Nat. Lat. 1154 (XI). f = Bibl. Nat. Lat. 14986 (XI). g = Bibl. Nat. Lat. 743. h = Bibl. Nat. Lat. 11550 (XI). i = Ste Geneviève 1186 (XI). j = a Jumièges ms at Rouen, presumably 231 (A 44). k = Mazarin 512 (X). κ = Mazarin 759 (XI). l = Mazarin 364 (about A.D. 1099). m = Bibl. Nat. Lat. 1240 (X). n = Douai 170 (X—XII). o = Amiens 124 (XIII). p = Amiens 131 (XI). q = Paris, St Geneviève BBL 8 (1098). r = Rouen 57. s = Bibl. Nat. Lat. 1092 (XI). t = Evreux 87. u = Evreux 70 (XII). v = Evreux 43 (IX). w = Orleans 159 (X, XI). x = Orleans 345 (XI). y = Chartres 579 (XI, XII). z = Chartres 44 (X, XI). β = Boulogne 20 (about 1000). γ = Chartres 121. θ = Amiens 115 (XII). λ = Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 1464. ρ = Paris, Arsenal 227 (VIII). χ = Amiens 112 (XIII). ψ = Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 528.

G = German. a = Trier 1245 (X). b = Trier 592 (X). c = Munich 16119 (XI). d = Darmstadt 2106. e = Munich 14083 (XI). f = Munich 14845 (XII). g = Berlin, Theol. IV. 11 (XI). k = Karlsruhe 91. l = Karlsruhe 60. m = Vienna, Rossiana VIII. 144 from Moissac (X). s = Salzburg IX. 11 (XII). v = Vienna, Palat. 1825 (XII). x = Stuttgart 20. 75. z = Stuttgart 98. β = Berlin VIII. 1 (XI). μ = Munich 17027 (X).

H = Helvetian. a = Zürich (Rheinau) 111 (X). b = Zürich (Rheinau) 91 (about A.D. 1000). c = Zürich (Rheinau) 83

(about A.D. 1000). d = Zürich (Rheinau) 82 (XI). e = Zürich (Rheinau) 97 (XI). f = Zürich (Rheinau) 129 (about A.D. 1100). g = St Gall 413 (XI). h = St Gall 414. i = St Gall 387 (XI). k = St Gall 2. m = St Gall 196. r = Zürich (Rheinau) presumably 34. β = Bern 455 (X). γ = St Gall 577. δ = St Gall 454. η = St Gall 455. θ = St Gall 20 (IX, X). λ = St Gall 95. μ = St Gall 27. ϕ = St Gall 651.

I = Italian. \aleph = the Bangor Antiphony: Milan, Ambrogiana, C. 5 inf. (about A.D. 690). a = Verona, Chapter, 90. b = Naples, Nazionale, vi. G. 41 (XI). c = Monte Cassino 506 (XI). d = M. Cassino 420 (XI). e = M. Cassino 559 (about 1100). f = Naples, Naz. vi. F. 2 (about 1100). g = Rome, Casanatense 1907 (B. II. 1) (about 1000). h = Verona, Chapter, cix (102) (XI). i = Verona, Chapter, 32 (IX). m = Florence, Lorenz., Conv. Soppr. 524 (XI). n = Naples, Naz. vi. E. 43 (XI). o = Turin, Nazionale, G. v. 38 (XI). p = Turin, Naz. G. vii. 18 (X). t = Turin, Naz. F. II. 10 (XI). v = Rome, Vallicell. B. 79 (XI).

M = Mozarabic. a = Madrid 1005 Hh 60. b = Madrid, Acad. Reg. 30. c = Toledo 35—3. d = Toledo 35—2. e = Toledo 35—6. f = Compostella, Univ. Reg. 1. g = London, Brit. Mus. Add. 30844. h = London, Brit. Mus. Add. 30845. i = London, Brit. Mus. Add. 30846. k = London, Brit. Mus. Add. 30851. m = London, Brit. Mus. Add. 30849. x = Printed Breviary of Ortiz.

V = Vatican. a = 83, Ambrosian rite (XI). b = Reg. 338 (XI). c = Urbin. 585 (XII). d = 7018 (XI). e = 43 (X). h = 637. l seems to be the same as d. o = Ottobon. 145 (XI). p = 82, Ambrosian rite (X). r = Reg. 11 (about A.D. 705). s = 7172 (XI). σ = duplicate contained in s. t = 3859.

No variants are recorded except such as affect the sense, nor any which are obviously mistakes, except where they help to guide towards the true reading, or some places where they shew the character of the particular ms.]

I. HILARY OF POITIERS

HYMN I

[This hymn is taken from the hymnal of the ancient Irish Church. The text will be found in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society by J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson vol. I pp. 36 foll., and their Notes upon it in vol. II pp. 125 foll. See also their remarks in vol. II pp. ix–xiii, and their translation of the Irish Preface in vol. II p. 18. The text will be found likewise in *Analecta Hymnica* vol. LI pp. 264 foll. with notes by C. Blume. Blume refers to a paper by W. Meyer in the *Göttinger Nachrichten* for 1903 pp. 188 foll. which deals with this hymn.

The hymn is expressly ascribed to St Hilary (died 358) by four of the early MSS containing it. One of these is the famous *Antiphonary of Bangor*, now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, written in the VIIth century. Hincmar of Reims in the IXth century twice quotes from it as the work of Hilary. Bernard and Atkinson rightly affirm that it is 'the one admittedly foreign element' in the Irish Hymnal, and add that it 'bears the unmistakable stamp of a totally different system of metrical structure and consequently of treatment of the language' from the Latin hymns composed in Ireland. 'This,' they add, 'is a classic poem; the others are vulgar Latin.'

If this estimate of the Latinity requires some modification, the departures from classic regularity are no argument against Hilary's authorship. That Hilary composed a book of hymns is stated by Jerome (*de Vir. Inlustr.* c; cp. *Praef. in Galat.* II). Isidore of Seville, in the VIIth century, says that he was the first composer

of hymns in Latin (*de Off. Eccl.* I. 6). Three long hymns of his besides this, though none of them in complete condition, are now known. Both in respect of metre and in respect of difficulties of expression they bear out the attribution of the following hymn to Hilary. (See article in *Journal of Theol. Studies* vol. V pp. 413 foll.) The metre of *Hymnum dicat* is the same as that of the third of the newly recovered hymns, and it is treated with similar freedom. Particular phrases in *Hymnum dicat* recall passages in the three hymns, as well as in the prose writings of Hilary. M.]

The text of the hymn is in places corrupt. All the MSS that contain it are ultimately derived from an archetype not free from demonstrable errors. See the notes on lines 25 and 58. The last few lines in especial are confused and troubled, as may be seen from the critical notes, and more fully in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* and in the *Analecta*, which standard works give a more complete *apparatus criticus*. Bernard and Atkinson think it probable that the hymn originally ended with line 66; but I believe that the next four lines are genuine. The repetition to which they object in *galli cantus, galli plausus* is parallel to *factor caeli, terrae factor* in 9; cp. lines 20, 59, Hil. *Hymn.* III. 7 *gaudet aris, gaudet templis* (cp. Draeger II. 211). The rhyme *nos cantantes et precantes* [and it might be added *pane quino, pisce bino*] is no more out of keeping with the unrhymed character of the hymn than the many instances of a like assonance (collected by Trench p. 28 f.) are with their surroundings, beginning with Ennius' *maerentes, flentes, lacrumantes, commiserantes*¹. The extreme awkwardness

¹ Cp. further instances of rhyme from Cato, Livius Andronicus and Naevius quoted by Huemer *Untersuchungen über die ältesten lateinisch-christlichen Rhythmen* p. 44.

of the passage is removed by the transposition of line 67. *Maiestatemque inmensam* may be impossible, but *inmensamque maiestatem* is an easy and likely correction. It may be granted that *turba fratrum concinnemus* would furnish a fitting end to a hymn beginning *hymnum dicat turba fratrum*; but so does the mention of 'Christ the King' in the last line but one, as in the first line but one. And for the absolute end nothing could be more effective than the indication of the day close at hand, heralded by the cock crowing which had such mystical significance to the early Christians, declaring the night to be far spent, the day at hand. 'The cock, "the native bellman of the night," became in the middle ages the standing emblem of the preachers of God's Word, nay, we may say of Christ Himself¹.'

Bernard and Atkinson object to *ante lucem* in 65 that the preface to the hymn in *f* says with regard thereto nothing about any early morning use, but only: *sic nobis conuenit canere post prandium* (*Lib. Hymn.* I. 35, II. xiii and 127). But these words can only be giving the local use at or about the time when the MS in question was written, which was some 700 years after the writing of the hymn, if, as we suppose, it was written by Hilary.

Lines 71 and 72 however are spurious: 71 is little more than a repetition of 70, and we find in 71 *dóminum*, in 72 *cúm eo*². And without doubt the doxology is spurious. As given in most of the MSS it is in iambic, not trochaic, rhythm; though some of these, by writing *genitori* for *ingenito* try to force it into that metre. It is in fact, as Blume points out, identical with the doxology of 41.

¹ Trench p. 249. His whole note there is full of curious and interesting information.

² [Not that this is much worse than Hil. *Hymn.* III. 10 *Inter tanta dúm exultat.* M.]

[A note in the St Gall MS called *e* below says that the hymn is to be said *omni tempore*. As it is an early morning hymn, this cannot mean *omnis horae*, like Prudentius' *Cathem.* IX. As Bernard and Atkinson point out, it means at any season of the year, not at one in particular. M.]

My critical notes mention only such variants as affect the meaning, not matters of spelling and the like. The MSS referred to are these :

a Turin F. IV. 1 (IXth century).

b The so-called Antiphonary of Bangor written between 680-691 now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, C. 5 inf.

c The Book of Cerne, Cambridge University Library Ll. I. 10 (IXth century).

d St Gall 2 (VIIIth century).

e St Gall 577 (IXth, Xth century).

f Trin. Coll. Dublin E. IV. 2 (XIth century).

g Franciscan Library, Dublin (XIth century).

[I have left the apparatus as in Walpole's writing, without attempting to verify his account of the readings, which differs in some particulars from those recorded in the 'standard' books above mentioned. M.]

Hymnum dicat turba fratrum, hymnum cantus personet,
Christo regi concinnantes laudes demus debitas.

tu Dei de corde Verbum, tu uia, tu ueritas,

Iesse uirga tu uocaris, te leonem legimus.

dextra Patris, mons et agnus, angularis tu lapis, 5

1 personat c. 2 Christum regem (rege d) de. concinnantes b, concinantes fg. laudes...debita d.

1. **hymnum dicat**] *dicere carmen* is a phrase used by Horace *Od.* 1. xxxii. 3, Propert. 1. ix. 9, while later writers freely use *dicere* in the sense of 'singing'; cp. 105. 1, Peregrinatio Aetheriae xxiv. 4 *dicuntur ymni*.

fratrum is used of the faithful in general, as in many passages of the N.T. as Acts iii. 17. In line 57 it denotes the apostles. In a later hymn it would generally mark the composition as intended for monastic use.

2. **concinnantes**] Festus p. 38 defines *concinnare* as *apte componere*; and Nonius p. 43 (according to the Thesaurus), says *recte autem concinnare et consentire intellegi potest quasi concinere*. This seems to point to some degree of confusion between the two words. It is especially used of literary composition; cp. line 65, Hil. *Hymn.* III. 2 *in caelesti rursus Adam concinnamus proelia*; Analecta LI. p. 305 *cantemus in omni die concinnantes uarie*; and Vulg. Job vi. 26 *ad increpandum tantum eloquia concinnatis*.

laudes debitas] Cp. Hil. *Prol. in Psalm.* (Migne IX. 239) *in quo debitas Deo laudes uniuersitas spirituum praedicabit*; and in these hymns 15. 3, 51. 16, 54. 3, 104. 44, 111. 43. [The plural (as against *laudem debitam*) has the support of Bede *de Arte Metr.* 23.]

3. 'Thou coming from the Father's heart art called the Word': the heart being regarded as the seat of the affections, cp. Col. i. 13, 23. 1, 27. 36, Ambr. *de Fide* I. 67 *audis*

Dei Filium: aut dele nomen, aut agnosce naturam...audis cor, uerbum intellege. ib. 82 *ergo et nos cum audimus ex utero filium, ex corde uerbum, credamus quia non plasmatus manibus, sed ex Patre natus*. Observe this adjectival use of the adverbial clause *Dei de corde* (unless indeed the words belong to the predicate, which is perhaps simpler).

For the emphatic repetition of *tu* cp. the Te Deum and hymns 5. 13 f., 20. 13 f., 21. 9 f., 27. 29 f., 41. 46 f., 42, 48, 49, 79. 5 f., 87. 5 f.

uerbum] Joh. i. 1, Rev. xix. 13. **uia, ueritas**] Joh. xiv. 6. The final *a* of *uia*, coming before a pause, is lengthened by the stress falling on it.

4. **Iesse uirga**] Is. xi. 1, cp. Rom. xv. 12, Rev. v. 5, 38. 13.

leonem] Rev. v. 5, cp. 4 Esdras xii. 31. For the accusative cp. Nicet. *de Spir.* 3 *quem nusquam creaturam legere poterit*.

legimus] probably perfect, the *e* being long: 'we are wont to read.' Cp. the use of the perfect in 9. 20.

5. **dextra Patris**] Exod. xv. 6, Ps. cxvii. (cxviii.) 16 and often in the O.T.; cp. Nicet. *de Div. App.* p. 2 (ed. Burn) *dextera...dicitur, quia per ipsum uniuersa creata sunt et ab ipso omnia continentur*.

mons] Dan. ii. 35.

agnus] Joh. i. 29, cp. Is. xvi. 1 (Vulg.), Acts viii. 32, 1 Pet. i. 19, Rev. v. 6.

angularislapis] 'the cornerstone' of especial size and strength, set to

sponsus idem, el, columba, flamma, pastor, ianua.
 in prophetis inueniris, nostro natus saeculo.
 ante saecula tu fuisti factor primi saeculi,
 factor caeli, terrae factor, congregator tu maris,
 omniumque tu creator, quae Pater nasci iubet,
 uirginis receptus membris Gabrihelis nuntio.

10

6 el fg, uel *libri ceteri*. 7 inuenimus nostrum natum seculum d.
 9 caeli et terrae fg. 10 omnia...creasti d. 11 Gabrihele(-li) cde,
 Garaelis a. nuntiat a.

connect the ends of two walls; Ps. cxvii. (cxviii.) 22, Is. xxviii. 16, Mt. xxi. 42, Acts iv. 11, Rom. ix. 33, Eph. ii. 20, 1 Pet. ii. 6, cp. 119. 13; Chrysost. *Homil.* vi. 1066 εἰτά φησιν ὁ τὸ πᾶν συνέχων ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, ὁ γὰρ λίθος ὁ ἀκρογωνιαίος καὶ τοὺς τοίχους συνέχει καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους. Prud. *Hamart.* 489 *angulus hic portae in capite est, hic continet omnem | saxorum seriem constructaque limina firmat.*

6. **sponsus**] Ps. xviii. (xix.) 6, Mt. ix. 15, xxv. 1 f., Joh. iii. 29, cp. 19. 7, 41. 27, 84. 10, 88. 7, 95. 12. 'The mystical application of Ps. xviii. (xix.) to the Incarnation is very ancient. Found in Iren. *adv. Haer.* iv. 55. 4 and *eis* 'Eπιδ. 85 and yet earlier in Justin *Apol.* i. 54, *Dial.* 64, 69. See also Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 11, Cypr. *Test.* ii. 19.' Yorke Fausset on Novatian *de Trin.* liber XIII.

el] i.e. God, the Hebrew לֵא, cp. Oratio s. Adamnani (Irish *Liber Hymn.* i. 184) *idem est Hel et Deus.* The variant *uel* gives a poorer meaning and the pause justifies the hiatus.

columba] Cant. v. 12.

flamma] Deut. iv. 24, Heb. xii. 29; cp. Is. x. 17, Rev. i. 14, ii. 18, xix. 12.

pastor] Joh. x. 11.

ianua] Joh. x. 7; cp. Nicet. *de Div. App.* (p. 3, ed. Burn) *ianua dicitur quia per ipsum ad caelorum regna a fidelibus introitur.*

7. **inueniris...natus**] 'art found

...though only afterwards born,' or 'Thou who wast born art found'; cp. *receptus* in 11.

8. **ante saecula**] Ps. lxxxix. (xc.) 2, Hil. *Hymn.* i. 1 *ante saecula qui manens*; the 'Nicene' creed *πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων*; Ambr. *Epist.* LXIII. 49 *ex Patre solo natus ante saecula, ex uirgine sola in hoc saeculo.* And in the Quicumque 'God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds: and Man, of the substance of his Mother, born in the world.'

9. **factor**] Joh. i. 3, Heb. i. 2. So the Nicene Fathers *δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ*: cp. 33. 4, 40. 5, 41. 5 f., 94. 8. This line and 24 are quoted by Bede *de Arte Metr.* 23, to exemplify the trochaic metre, and its elasticity.

congregator] Gen. i. 9 *congregentur aquae*, Ps. xxxii. (xxxiii.) 7. In classical writers *congregare* and its compounds always denote the assembling of persons or animals.

10. Cp. 49. 15 f., 50. 5 f.; and Hil. *Hymn.* i. 57 foll. *Patri sed genitus paret, omnemque ad nutum attonitus manet*, said in connexion with creation.

11. **Gabrihelis**] The *h*, found in the best MSS here and at 31. 18 (as in *Danihel* 95. 9, *Israhel* 6. 1, 41. 21), represents the *ס* of the Hebrew. As *nuntius* can also mean 'a messenger' the variant *Gabrihele nuntio* may be the reading to adopt.

nuntio may be an instrumental

crescit alius prole sancta; nos monemur credere
rem nouam nec ante uisam, uirginem puerperam.
tunc magi stellam secuti primi adorant paruulum,
offerentes tus et aurum, digna regi mnera. 15
mox Herodi nuntiatum inuidens potentiae.
tum iubet paruos necari, turbam facit martyrum.
fertur infans occulendus, Nili flumen quo fluit,

15 offerunt ei c¹. regis d.
nuntiato a. inuidit a, inuidus e.

16 Herodes e. nuntiatum est c,
17 necare de. 18 quod ad.

ablative 'by the message' like *uerbi ...semine*, 38. 10 note.

12. **crescit alius**] 6. 13.

13. **rem**] *credere* takes an acc. of the thing believed, as Cic. *Div.* II. 13 *multa istius modi dicuntur in scholis, sed credere omnia uide ne non sit necesse.*

uirginem puerperam] Hil. *Hymn.* I. 8 *mundo te genuit uirgo puerpera.*

14. **primi adorant**] 'are the first to worship'; this distinction really belongs to the shepherds.

15. No mention is made of the myrrh, which may be because it did not seem to be a gift fitting a king, but more probably comes from Is. lx. 6 *de Saba uenient aurum et tus deferentes*. In a fragmentary poem, ascribed to Hilary by the one MS which contains it, St Gall 48, giving an account of the birth and childhood of Christ, the gold is not mentioned; see Manitius, p. 102 f.

regi may be dative after *offerentes*, but is more probably governed by *digna*, 'worthy of a king.' Cp. *Commodian Apol.* 23 *Caesari dignus*; *Nicet.* 12. 8 *dignam errori*. If we should with one MS read *regis* we might compare *Verg. Aen.* XII. 649 *indignus aurum*.

For the mystical meaning of the gifts cp. *Juven.* I. 250 *tus, aurum, myrrham, regique hominique Deoque | dona ferunt*; Hil. *in Mt.* I. 5; *Prud. Cath.* XII. 69 f., *Ditloch.* 105 f.; [*Claudian*] *Epigr.* XLIX. 3 f.

dant tibi Chaldaei praenuntia mnera reges. | myrram homo, rex aurum, suscipe tura Deus; *Ambr. in Luc.* II. 44 *aurum regi, tus Deo, murra defuncto*; *Sedul. Carm.* II. 95 f. *aurea nascenti fuderunt munera regi, | tura dedere Deo, myrrham tribuere sepulchro.*

16. 'The fact (the coming of the magi) is at once made known to Herod, an event hostile to his sway.' *inuidens* is used for *inuidum*. This is not satisfactory, but seems better than the alternative pointing and explanation *mox H. nuntiatum. inuidens potentiae* ('then he grudging His sway...'). Though Herod might be said *inuidere Christo potentiam*, the dat. *potentiae* seems unlikely; and elsewhere in this poem (see 14 and 41) *tum (tunc)* begins its clause. Perhaps however the real explanation may be 'grudging (jealous) of his own power, he then' etc.

17. **turbam**] We find a like exaggeration *Sedul. Carm.* II. 120 *audens | innumerum patrare nefas, puerilia mactat | milia*; *Prud. Perist.* X. 737 *mille in Bethlehem ...biberunt paruuli*; 24. 27, 31. 29. See also the editors' note in the *Irish Liber Hymnorum*.

18. **occulendus**] 'that he might be hidden.' The gerundive came to be looked upon as a fut. pass. participle; cp. *nutriendus* in 19, *offerendus* in 34, and see Rösensch *Itala und Vulg.* p. 433.

quo] 'where,' as at 92. 15, 117. 31.

qui refertur post Herodem nutriendus Nazareth.
 multa paruus, multa adultus signa fecit caelitus, 20
 quae latent et quae leguntur, coram multis testibus.
 praedicans caeleste regnum dicta factis adprobat.
 debiles facit uigere, caecos luce inluminat,
 uerbis purgat leprae morbum, mortuos resuscitat.
 uinum quod deerat hydriis mutari aquam iubet, 25
 nuptiis mero retentis propinando populo.
 pane quino, pisce bino quinque pascit milia,

23 fecit bde. 24 uerbo d. morbos ce. 25 deerat] erat c. idris
 (hidris) abfg. motari f, motare c¹, mutare c²de, motuari g. 26 merrore
 taentis a, maerore tentis c. retentis] retinctis c. propinnando c¹f, propi-
 nendum c², prouinato d. populo] poculo g.

19. **post Herodem]** 'after the death of Herod,' cp. 36. 17. It is hard to say whether *Nazareth* is in the acc. after *refertur*, or in the locative with *nutriendus*. *nutriendus* is a fut. participle, used similarly by Ambrose *Hex.* VI. 13 *matri dedit ecclesiae nutriendos*.

20. **multa paruus]** with reference to details given by apocryphal gospels, in disregard of Joh. ii. 11.

signa] σημεῖα, the usual word for miracles in St John's Gospel, ii. 11, 23 etc., and common elsewhere in the N.T.

caelitus refers to Joh. v. 19 and perhaps to Mt. xvi. 1.

21. **quae latent]** i.e. the account of which was not written in our gospels; cp. Joh. xx. 30, xxi. 25.

22. **praedicans c. r.]** Mt. iv. 22, xi. 1.

dicta...adprobat] For a particular instance cp. Mt. ix. 5 f.

23. **caecos l. i.]** Cp. 10. 6.

24. **uerbis]** perhaps with ref. to Mt. viii. 8, 16; cp. Fort. II. xvi. 157 *quid referam mutis qui uerbo uerba dedisti?*

leprae m.] Mt. viii. 2 f., Lu. xvii. 12 f. Cp. note on 9.

mortuos] Mt. ix. 18 f., Lu. vii. 11 f., Joh. xi.

25, 26. 'He bids water in water-pots to be turned into the wine that was lacking.' The many variants and the difficulties in metre, construction, and meaning combine to make these lines doubtful, although they are in all the MSS; cf. Irish *Liber Hymn.* II. xi f. We must scan *uinum quodd deerat hydriis* or *uinum quodd deerat hydriis*, both unsatisfactory. Then the sense is harsh, whether we read *mero retentis* ('cut short in wine') or *maerore tentis* ('seized with mourning'); and whether we read *propinando populo* or *poculo*. On the other hand some reference to Cana seems most likely, though this may have been the reason why an interpolater inserted it, somewhat after its proper place. Dr Mason conjectures *mutuari*, which would make the sense, as well as the metre, just a little better: 'He bids water to borrow (or 'assume') the nature of wine that was lacking.' *mutare* is so obvious a word in the context that copyists would soon get it in.

hydriis] Joh. ii. 6.

27. Mt. xiv. 13 f. *pane quino* is a poetical usage.

et refert fragmenta cenae ter quaternis corbibus.
 turba ex omni discumbente iugem laudem pertulit.
 duodecim uiros probauit, per quos uita discitur, 30
 ex quis unus inuenitur Christi Iudas traditor.
 instruuntur missi ab Anna proditoris osculo.
 innocens captus tenetur nec repugnans ducitur,
 sistitur, falsis grassatur offerendus Pontio.
 discutit obiecta praeses, nullum crimen inuenit. 35

28 corbibus] coffinos d.
 crassatur d, grauatur e.

31 Iuda ab¹cd.

34 grasatur beg,

28. **refert**] by means of the disciples. The *coffinos* of one MS reproduces *cophinos* (κοφίνοις), the word used in the Latin and Greek of the gospel story and by Juvenal III. 90, 249, Sedul. *Carm.* III. 216.

discumbente] The Jews had adopted the Roman custom of reclining on couches round a table at meals. Here of course the crowds lay on the grass. Cp. Mt. xiv. 19 *et cum iussisset turbam discumbere super faenum.*

iugem laudem] 'a stream of praise.' *iugis* in itself, being connected with *iungo*, means 'constant,' 'continuous'; but it is almost always used of 'ever-flowing' water, as at 8. 28. Brugmann however (Curt. *Stud.* IV. 148) regards *iugis* ('living') applied to water as quite distinct from *iugis*, 'constant.' The ref. must here be to Joh. vi. 14.

30. Mt. x. 1 f. *duodecim* is to be scanned *duodecim*; Bernard and Atkinson recall that in Italian it becomes *dodici*.

probauit] used as in 57.

uita] Cp. Acts v. 20.

31. Alcuin *Epist.* XXXI. (Jaffé VI. p. 239) *Iudam...non apostolici nominis dignitas a tanti sceleris perpetratione cohibuit, qui cognita sui sceleris nequitia indignam uitam digna morte finivit, de quo ait Sedulius: tunc uir apostolicus, nunc uilis apostata factus* (*Carm. Pasch.* V. 138).

32. Mt. xxvi. 38. The mention of Annas alone here and in 47 is noteworthy and may come from Acts iv. 6.

33. Is. liii. 7, Acts viii. 32.

nec repugnans] 'and unresisting'; the *nec* qualifies the participle, not the main verb.

ducitur] 'is carried off as a prisoner'; a technical term in Roman law, as at 9. 14, 32. 12; cp. Pliny's famous letter (x. 96) *perseuerantes duci iussi*, Ambr. *de Nab.* 21 *uide ego pauperem duci.*

34. 'He is brought to trial and is assailed with false charges that he may be delivered up to Pilate.' *sisti* is the regular word in Roman law for 'standing one's trial,' as at Prudent. *Perist.* II. 53 *Laurentium sisti iubet.* *falsis* is in like manner used in the neuter by Hil. *Hymn.* III. 8 [Satan] *gaudet falsis.* *grassatur* here and at 38 is passive. Bernard and Atkinson refer also to the *Altus Prosator* 38 *grassatis primis duobus seductisq. parentibus.*

35. **praeses**] The regular representative in the Latin N.T. of the Greek ἡγεμών, i.e. *procurator*; cp. Mt. xxvii. 2, Acts xxiii. 26, 105. 21.

nullum crimen] Lu. xxiii. 4. Strictly *crimen* was the charge, *culpa* the offence on which the charge was based. But in late Latin *crimen* often means 'guilt,' 'sin'; cp. 4. 10, 10. 4 etc.

sed cum turbae Iudaeorum pro salute Caesaris
 dicerent Christum necandum, turbis sanctus traditur.
 impiis uerbis grassatur; sputa, flagra sustinet.
 scandere crucem iubetur, innocens pro noxiis.
 morte carnis quam gerebat mortem uicit omnium. 40
 tum Deum clamore magno Patrem pendens inuocat.
 mors secuta membra Christi laxat, stricta uincula.
 uela templum scissa pandunt, nox obscurat saeculum.

36 turba abe. 37 negandum abce, negatum d. 38 grauatur d.
 40 uincit c. 41 pendens] petens d. inuocans b. 43 uelum d.
 templi libri. pendit d, pendent e², pendunt abe, pendens c.

36. Joh. xix. 12. To the usual reading *turba* there are two objections: *turba* does not answer as it should to *turbis* in 37; then in this hymn (cp. 52), as in these hymns as a whole, a collective singular takes a singular verb, according to the classical usage.

38. Mt. xxvii. 26, 30. *grassatur* as in 34.

sputa, flagra] Cp. Hil. *Hymn.* II. 16 *sputus, flagella*; 33. 19, 112. 19.

39. The final *e* of *scanderē* is lengthened by the stress falling upon it, as Hil. *Hymn.* I. 17 *extra quam caperē potest, 59 et scirē non est arduum.*

innocens pro noxiis] 1 Pet. iii. 18.

40. Heb. ii. 14; cp. Hil. *Hymn.* II. 17 *triumpho morte sumpto a mortua*; 10. 27 f.

uicit] conquered once for all, an isolated aorist among the present tenses.

41. Mt. xxvii. 46, 50.

42. 'Death ensues and relaxes the limbs of Christ, (loosens) the tight drawn bonds,' a case of zeugma. Thus we must explain if we keep the MS reading, but the correction *uinculo* is decidedly easier.

stricta] Cp. 33. 15. That hymn is much influenced by Hilary.

uincula] Evidently the writer thought that Christ was bound, as well as being nailed, to the cross, as indeed was often done in crucify-

ing men; see Smith *Dictionary of the Bible* I. p. 673.

43. 'The rending of the veils lays open the temple.' There were two veils, or rather a double curtain, between the Holy Place and the Most Holy Place (see Hastings *Dict. of Bible* IV. 714 b), although 'the veil' is usually spoken of both in O. and N.T. The Most Holy Place had no door, so that the rending of the veil (Mt. xxvii. 51) would lay open that which was never opened, and which only the high priest might enter, and he only on the great Day of Atonement. Cp. Sedul. *Op.* v. 23 *tunc illud quoque templum mirabile, plenum religionis antiquae, maioris templi culmina cecidisse conspiciens...discisso protinus uelo nudum cunctis pectus ostendit.* For the construction of *uela scissa* cp. 29. 9 *rescissa sed ista seorsum soluunt hominem perimuntque.* The variant *pendent* is intolerably weak, and *pandunt*, to be taken in the sense of *panduntur*, gives the wrong sense: it would not be the *veil* that would be exposed. The reading *templi* would come from the gospel text, the phrase 'the veil of the temple' being so common. *templum* is often used in the Latin versions to translate *vaos*, as well as *oikos* and *iepon*, cp. Mt. xxvi. 55, 61, xxvii. 40, 51.

nox] i.e. darkness, cp. Ovid *Met.*

excitantur de sepulcris dudum clausa corpora.
 adfuit Ioseph beatus; corpus myrra perlitum, 45
 linteo rudi ligatum cum dolore condidit.
 milites seruare corpus Annas princeps praecipit,
 ut uideret si probaret Christus quod sponderat.
 angelum Dei trementes ueste amictum candida,
 qui candore claritatis uellus uicit sericum, 50

After 44 (added by a later hand) regna Christus uictor ingens uastat
 infernalium d. 47 Anna be. 49 timentes d. 50 qui d, qua c,
 quo rell.

VII. 2 *perpetuaque trahens inopem sub nocte senectum* | *Phineus*. This darkness is related Mt. xxvii. 45 and is alluded to 55. 13 f., 56. 9 f.

44. Mt. xxvii. 52. *excitare* is used of awakening Lazarus, Joh. xi. 11.

45. **Ioseph**] Mt. xxvii. 57, Joh. xix. 39. *adesse* specially means to be at hand when wanted; it was a technical term to describe the business of an *aduocatus*.

perlitum] 'anointed all over.' The need of doing this accounts for the great amount of myrrh and aloes used, Joh. xix. 39.

46. **linteo**] the *sindone* of Mt. xxvii. 59. It was used by the Egyptians in preparing corpses and was made of *βυσσός*, a kind of flax.

rudi] 'new,' the usual meaning of the word in late writers, cp. the vulgate of Mt. ix. 16, Mk ii. 21; *Sedul. Carm.* I. 294 *rudis...legis* = 'of the N.T.'; *Fort.* x. vi. 14 *postque usus ueteres praemicat aula rudis*; *Rönsch* p. 336 f.

47. Mt. xxvii. 60 f. *princeps* = *pr. sacerdotum*, 'the high priest.'

48. **si**] 'whether,' a usage first found perhaps in *Propert.* II. iii. 5 *quaerebam sicca si posset piscis arena* | *uiuere*; cp. *Mk* iii. 2 *observabant eum si sabbatis curaret*. The Italian *se* and French *si* carry on this use.

probaret] 'accomplish,' 'bring to pass,' which would be the best 'proof' of the truth of His words.

quod sponderat] Mt. xvi. 21, xvii. 23, xx. 19.

49. 'As they [the soldiers, see Mt. xxviii. 4] are trembling at an angel.' *angelum* is governed by *trementes*, which is either nom. or acc. absolute, rather than in agreement with *milites* in 47, which would be difficult, owing to the intervening clauses *ut uideret...sponderat*.

50. **uellus sericum**] Silk was supposed to be gathered by the Seres (an Indian or Chinese people) from trees; cp. *Verg. Georg.* II. 121 [why tell] *uelleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?* *Plin. N.H.* VI. 17 *Seres lanitio siluarum nobiles, perfusam aqua depectentes frondium canitiem*; *Ambr. Hex.* v. 77 *ex his foliis mollia illa Seres depectunt uellera, quae ad usus sibi proprios diuites uindicarunt*; in *Luc.* v. 107, *Fort. Vita Mart.* II. 88, 259. But as *silk* can hardly be said to be gathered from trees the allusion in these passages is no doubt to a material, possessing many of the properties of silk, made from a kind of nettle, 'Boehmeria niuea,' which has long been used for the purpose in China. Silkworms were not known in Europe before the time of Justinian.

demouet saxum sepulcro, surgens Christus integer.
 haec uidet Iudaea, mendax haec negat cum uiderit.
 feminae primum monentur saluatorem uiuere,
 quas salutat ipse maestas, conplet tristes gaudio,
 seque a mortuis paterna suscitatum dextera 55
 tertia die redisse nuntiat apostolis.
 mox uidetur a beatis quos probauit fratribus.

51 demouet e, demuit a, demouit *rell.* sepulchri e. surgens abcfg.
 52 uidet] uidit *libri contra metrum.* uiderit] abde¹, uiderat g. 54 con-
 plens d. 56 nuntians cd.

51. **demouet**] 'he (the angel) moves away,' Mt. xxviii. 2. In strict grammar the subject should be *Christus*; but *Christus surgens* should rather be construed as nom. abs. than as equivalent to *surgit*. [This seems to me an unnecessary strictness of fidelity to St Matthew's narrative. I would rather remove the stop after *sepulcro*, and make *Christus* nominative to *demouet*. M.]

integer] 'body and soul.' This word was soon to be the Italian *intero*, the French *entier*, our *entire*. Cp. Hor. *Od.* II. xvii. 7 *nec superstes integer*; Aetheriae Peregr. xvii. 1 *ubi corpus illius integrum positum est*; ib. xxviii. 3 *facere integras septimanas ieiuniorum*.

52. **Iudaea**] the Jewish nation, as at 116. 25 and probably at 105. 25; cp. the use of *Aegyptus* 41. 17. The comma should come after *Iudaea*, not, as in some editions, after *mendax*, which goes closely with *negat*. The sense is that more fully expressed Sedul. *Op.* v. 25 *quid fidem niteris explorare, quam non uis, etiam cum probaris, admittere?* or by Ambr. in *Ps.* xliii. 6 *in ueritate uiderunt Iudaei [Christum] et non crediderunt*.

cum uiderit] 'although it has..., hence the subjunctive.

53. **primum m.**] 'are straightway told,' or 'are the first to be told,' though this would strictly be *primae*.

monentur] 'are informed,' used much as in 12. For the sense of the line cp. Ambr. in *Luc.* x. 72 *ideo mulier resurrectionis accepit prima mysterium et mandata custodit, ut ueterem praeuaricationis aboleret errorem*.

54. Mt. xxviii. 9. *maestas* denotes their display of 'mourning,' *tristes* their sorrow at heart.

55. Acts ii. 24, 32, v. 31.

56. **tertia die** refers to Christ's prophecy, Mt. xvi. 21, alluded to at 48 above.

nuntiat] 'sends word.' Final *-at* was in early Latin long and may have remained so in popular usage. In this line the stress also falls upon it; cp. Hil. *Hymn.* I. 34 *uirtus, cum dederit omnia, non tamen*; ib. 36 *cuncta quae sua sunt, cum dederit habens*; II. 22 *tremit et alte*. So in 35 *discutit*. But as *nuntiare* is generally used of a messenger carrying word, and as we read Mt. xxviii. 8 [the women] *exierunt... nuntiare discipulis eius*, it is just possible that we ought to read *nuntiant*, in which case *se* is used for *illum*; see Irish *Lib. Hymn.* II. xii.

57. **uidetur**] 'is seen,' passive (*a beatis fr.*).

probauit] as in 30, cp. 56. 32.

58. Joh. xx. 19. 'To their midst, while they still doubt His having returned, He enters.' In late Latin *quod* gradually gained more and more acceptance, taking up at last the

quod redisset ambigentes intrat clausis ianuis.
 dat docens praecepta legis, dat diuinum spiritum,
 Spiritum Dei, perfectae Trinitatis uinculum. 60
 praecipit totum per orbem baptizare credulos,

58 quos de. redisse e. ianuis clausis *libri contra metrum*. 60 perfectum *libri*.
 61 baptizari fg.

function of every other particle and of the acc. and infinitive. It was used with the subjunctive, as here, or with the indicative, as at 91. 25, 94. 25. It passed into the Italian *che* and French *que*.

ambigentes may be regarded either as acc. abs., like *trementes*, in 49, or as the acc. after *intrat*; cp. Fort. VI. vi. 15 *ne lupus intret oues*. The MS reading *ianuis clausis* will not scan.

59. Mt. xxviii. 20, Joh. xx. 22.

60. **Spiritum Dei**] 'even the Spirit of God,' a stronger reiteration of *diuinum spiritum* in 59, and so no mere tautology; cp. the use of *diuinus* at 48. 24, 49. 20, 107. 12.

perfectae Trinitatis u.] 'the bond of the perfect Trinity.' The reading *perfectum* would be introduced from *spiritum* and *uinculum* in the same line, and from a recollection of Eph. iv. 3, Col. iii. 4; cp. 41. 6 *perfecta Trinitas*; Ambr. in Luc. IV. 44 *Trinitatem coaeternam atque perfectam*; Nicet. de Spir. 22 *perfectam Trinitatem adorantes*. Blume takes *perfectum* as qualifying *spiritum*, which does not seem to me so good.

uinculum] Although the word in this connexion does not seem to occur in Hilary's prose writings, yet the thought underlying it is to be found in various passages. See e.g. *de Trin.* VIII. 27 *Deus igitur Christus est unus cum Deo Spiritus*; ib. 36 *sed sacramentum dicti Dominici apostolus tenens, quod est ego et pater unum sumus, dum utrumque unum profitetur, unum utrumque sic significat non ad solitudinem singularis, sed ad Spiritus unitatem...*; ib. 39

cum in eodem domino filio et in eodem Deo patre unus atque idem Spiritus in eodem Spiritu sancto diuidens uniuersa perficiat; *Op. Hist.* II. 31 *et cum sit Pater in Filio et Filius in Patre, et Spiritus sanctus accipiat ea ab utroque, in eo quod Spiritus exprimitur sanctae huius inuiolabilis Trinitatis unitas, haeretica parte parturiat Trinitas pronuntiata dissidium?*

It must be recognised in interpreting some of these passages, that Hilary uses the word *Spiritus* to denote the common *Deitas* of the Three Persons; but this very fact lent itself to seeing a bond of union in that Person of the Three who bears as His proper name the designation of the common substance. For the later statement of the doctrine by Augustine and others see Petavius *de Trinitate* VII. 12. He does not give any example of the use of the word *uinculum* before St Bernard.

61. **credulos**] 'those who believe'; cp. Mt. xxviii. 19 as quoted by Niceta *de Symbolo* 8; Hil. *Hymn.* I. 21 *felix qui potuit fide | res tantas penitus credulus adsequi*; 107. 15. In classical writers the word is always used as an adjective and in a disparaging sense, 'credulous.'

61 f. As to the punctuation of these lines, it seems that 62 is closely connected with 61, but it also seems that 62 is no less closely connected with 63; for thus the Three Names are brought together and the mystic faith is not only the belief in baptismal regeneration but also in the Trinity. This idea I have taken from

nomen Patris inuocantes, confitentes Filium,
 —mysticam fidem reuelat—unctos sancto Spiritu,
 fonte tinctos, innouatos, filios factos Dei.
 ante lucem turba fratrum concinnemus gloriam, 65

63 *mystica fide libri excepto d. unctos] iunctos d, tinctos rell.* 65 *con-*
cinemus g, concinamus e.

Blume, who however does not point the rest of the sentence exactly as I have done. I would explain the lines thus: 'He bids them to baptize throughout the whole world those who believe, calling upon the Father, confessing the Son (mystic the faith that He reveals!), anointed by the holy Spirit, dipped in the font, born again, made the sons of God.' It will be seen that I regard *unctos, tinctos* etc. as in apposition with *inuocantes* and *confitentes*, and *mysticam f. r.* as a parenthesis. *unctos* I take to be, not a reference to the unction with the chrisma (cp. 26. 4 note), then the necessary adjunct of baptism, for this followed the immersion in the *κολυμβήθρα*, but to the anointing of the whole body which is described by Cyril of Jerusalem as immediately preceding this immersion. After the anointing each candidate was asked if he believed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Spirit. Each made this confession. Cyril makes no further mention of an invocation of the Trinity by the baptiser. Then all were thrice dipped in the pool and came forth again, and after putting on white robes were confirmed with chrism applied to forehead, ears, nostrils and breast. Cyril's words are *Cat. xx* (p. 312 ed. Paris 1720) *εἶτα ἀποδυθέντες ἐλαίῳ ἠλείφεσθε ἐπορκιστῶ ἀπ' ἄκρων τριχῶν κορυφῆς ἕως τῶν κάτω... μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐχειραγωγείσθε κολυμβήθραν.* At Cyprian *Epist. lxx. 2* the allusion is no doubt to the confirmation which immediately followed baptism: *baptizati unguuntur oleum in altari sanctificatum... ungi quoque*

necesse est eum qui baptizatus est, ut accepto chrismate, id est unctione, esse unctus Dei possit. Hilary, as I believe, during his exile in Eastern parts would have had an opportunity of witnessing a baptism according to the Jerusalem ritual. [I cannot think that the *tense* of *unctos* is so strictly used as to signify an action previous to baptism. If it were, the same would apply to *tinctos*, etc. M.] *unctos* would easily pass into *tinctos*, which is so similar in writing, from *tinctos* in the next line. The phrase *tinctos s. Spiritu*, 'dipped in the Spirit,' is more than awkward.

64. **fonte]** Cp. Tit. iii. 5.

innouatos] 'born again,' 'renewed.' More usual words are *renatus* (Joh. iii. 3), *regeneratus*. See Tit. iii. 5 *saluos nos fecit per lauacrum regenerationis et renouationis Spiritus sancti.* At 26. 4 (= Prud. vi. 128), where Dressel reads *innotatum*, several MSS of Prud. and most breviaries that contain the hymn write *innouatum*; see Obbar. *ad loc.*

filios f. Dei] Rom. viii. 16, Gal. iv. 5 f.

65. **ante lucem]** Cp. Plin. *Epist. x. 96 adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam uel culpae suae uel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem conuenire carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum inuicem.* Daniel *Thes. iv. 30* seems to hint at the possibility of our present hymn being one of those thus sung in Bithynia, A.D. 111 f. But those would be in Greek.

concinnemus is used as in 2.

66. **qua** is a kind of descriptive ablative, somewhat like such familiar phrases as *qua es benignitate.*

sempiterno saeculo] 'throughout

qua docemur nos futuros sempiterno saeculo,
 nos cantantes et precantes quae futura credimus,
 inmensamque maiestatem concinnemus uniter.
 ante lucem nuntiemus Christum regem saeculo.
 galli cantus, galli plausus proximum sentit diem. 70
 [ante lucem decantantes Christum regem dominum.
 qui in illum recte credunt regnaturi cum eo.
 gloria Patri ingenito, gloria Unigenito,
 una cum sancto Spiritu in sempiterna saecula.]

66 quia docemur d. futura c, futuri fg. sempiterna saecula cfg.
 67 cantantes] canentes bde. 68 maiestatemque inmensam libri. concin-
 nemus fg. iugiter libri exc. b. After 70 b repeats 70 and adds 72 et qui in
 illum rectae credunt regnaturi cum eo. e writes 68 f. magestatemque in-
 mensam concinnemus iugiter ante lucem nuntiemus xpo regi saecula. Ante
 lucem nuntiemus xpo regi dno qui in illo recti credunt regnaturi cum eo. et
 in 72 om. de. All the MSS except d add a doxology gloria patri ingenito
 gloria unigenito simul cum sco spu in sempiterna saecula. ingenito] genitori
 e. simul] ac, una eg. in saecula saeculorum c.

eternity,' the abl. of time during
 which, rare in classical writers; but
 cp. Caes. Bell. Civ. 1. 47 nostri...
quinque horis proelium sustinuis-
sent; Cic. Div. 1. 19 *negari non*
potest multis saeculis fuisse id ora-
culum. In late Latin duration of
 time was regularly expressed by the
 abl.

66 f. In the arrangement of these
 lines I have put the line *galli cantus*
 ... last, because, when in the usual
 order it came between *qua docemur*
 and *nos cantantes...*, it interrupted
 the sense; whereas it makes a good
 finish. With the transposition all
 runs easily: 'which we are taught
 shall be ours through endless ages,
 even we who sing and pray for what
 we believe will be.'

68. **uniter**] 'in unison,' = *una uoce*
 ...*uno carmine* of 49. 31 f. The gene-
 rally read *iugiter* is less appropriate
 here; see note on *iugem laudem* in
 29 above. *uniter* is a Lucretian word.
inmensamque maiestatem] Cp.
 Te Deum 11 *Patrem inmensae*

maiestatis; Athanasian Creed 9, 12;
 75. 1; Commod. *Apol.* 102 *quod*
Dei maiestas, quid sit, sibi conscia
sola est. relucet inmensa super caelos.
 Minuc. Felix Octavius XVIII. 8 *sic*
eum digne aestimamus, dum inae-
stimabilem dicimus; ...magnitudi-
nem Dei qui se putat nosse, minuit.

69. 'Christ the King' comes just
 before the end as at the beginning
 of the hymn. With the sense of the
 line cp. the prologue to Hilary's
 Hymns: *in carne Christum hymnis*
mundo nuntians.

70. 'The cock's crowing, the
 cock's clapping of wings feels...';
 i.e. the cock by his crowing and
 clapping shows that he is aware of
 the approach of another day. When
 accurate clocks were as yet unknown,
 the hours of the night were often
 reckoned by cockcrow; cp. Mk xiii.
 35, xiv. 30, 72; 2. 5 *praeco diei iam*
sonat; 20. 1 *ales diei nuntius lucem*
propinquam praecinit. Shakesp. *Ro-*
meo and Juliet IV. iv. 'the second
 cock has crowed... 'tis three o'clock.'

II. AMBROSE

The siege of St Ambrose in the Portian basilica, in 386, made an epoch in the history of Latin hymns. Ambrose had already written some hymns for the liturgy of the Milanese church, though we do not exactly know when¹. Hymns in themselves were by this time no novelty. But a new mode of singing them was then introduced. The whole congregation was, as usual, the choir. When the first verse of a hymn had been sung by the one side the second verse was taken up by the other side, and so on throughout the hymn. It was the singing of the hymns in this novel manner that above all seized upon the imagination of the people. One who was in Milan during these stirring times has painted in memorable words the deep impression produced by the sound of all those voices singing with one mouth and with one soul. Augustine tells the story thus, according to Dr Pusey's translation :

'Not long had the church of Milan begun to use this kind of consolation and exhortation, the brethren zealously joining with harmony of voice and hearts. For it was a year, or not much more, that Justina, mother to the emperor Valentinian, a child, persecuted Thy servant Ambrose, in favour of her heresy, to which she was seduced by the Arians. The devout people kept watch in the church, ready to die with their bishop Thy

¹ Some scholars think that Augustine's words quoted below do not bear out this assertion. They maintain that amid the storm and stress of the siege of the basilica Ambrose found time and leisure to write his hymns, no improvisations but carefully worked out poems. That he should have done so may not be absolutely impossible, but it is most improbable.

servant. There my mother Thy handmaid, bearing a chief part of those anxieties and watchings, lived for prayer. We, yet unwarmed by the heat of Thy Spirit, still were stirred up by the sight of the amazed and disquieted city. Then it was first instituted that hymns and psalms should be sung after the manner of the eastern churches, lest the people should wax faint through the tediousness of sorrow: and from that day to this the custom is retained, divers (yea, almost all) Thy congregations throughout other parts of the world, following herein¹.

The Arians fixed upon Ambrose the charge of using the hymns as magic spells. He accepted the charge with pride. 'They allege,' he said, 'that the people are deceived with the magic spells of my hymns. I do not deny the fact. For what can be more powerful than a confession of the Trinity daily sung by the mouth of the whole people²?'

We are entitled to believe that hymns which had so striking an effect must have borne strongly marked features by which they might be recognised; and that hymns which thus found their way to the heart of the Milanese faithful could not have been by them neglected, forgotten and lost. This is the case. They had definite characteristics of substance and of form; and they were clung to with obstinate pertinacity against both emperors and popes. And yet, when we come to ask which these precious hymns are, in the midst of many others more or less like them that have been handed down to us in

¹ Aug. *Confessions* IX. vii. 15. [In Dr Pusey's translation the words 'after the manner of the eastern churches' stand before 'hymns and psalms should be sung.' See the note in the edition of Gibb and Montgomery in this series. M.]

² *Serm. c. Auxent.* 34. Cp. Aug. *Conf.* IX. vi. 14.

old hymnals, it has not been found easy to give a precise answer.

Their very excellence has put one great hindrance in the way. In this case, as in all others, success led to imitation. Almost at once writers arose who composed hymns, which they tried as best they could to make close copies of those of Ambrose. Moreover Ambrose had made the metre that he used so completely his own that it soon came to be called the 'Ambrosian' metre, as Alcaeus and Sappho gave their names to their respective measures. Any hymn composed in that metre was called an 'Ambrosian.' [The earliest instances are in the Rule of Benedict (IX. 8, XII. 8, XIII. 21, XVII. 19—the lines being those of E. C. Butler's edn).] Isidore of Seville at the beginning of the VIIth century says, 'Hymns are from his name called Ambrosians.' Indeed so completely were the two words, hymn and Ambrosian, identified in the course of time, that even the connexion of the one word with the Bishop of Milan was half forgotten. Hincmar in the IXth century gives an alternative derivation of the term Ambrosian as accepted by some: 'there is a certain herb called ambrosia which the heathen used in honour of their gods, and thence is derived "Ambrosian," that is "divine."' It is often impossible to tell with certainty what even such careful writers as Cassiodorus and the Venerable Bede mean, when they call such and such a hymn an Ambrosian.

The next stumbling-block in our way is this. The hymns of Ambrose were one and all written for and inserted in the service-books of his own church of Milan. Now it is notorious that the several parts of a liturgy are not signed with their authors' names. The hymns in the use of Milan would be anonymous. For a while this would cause no doubt or confusion. But when the writer

was dead, and when the generation that knew him had passed away, and when the hymns had been adopted into the uses of other churches, then confusion and doubt would arise, aggravated in this particular case by the imitation of other writers. We need feel no surprise when we find the hymn collectors of the XVIth century, —such as were Clichtoveus or Cassander or Gillot,— assigning to Ambrose any hymns which they believed to be ancient and which they did not wish to give to any other writer.

The first attempt at discrimination that can at all be called scientific was made by the Benedictines of the congregation of St Maur in Paris¹. The hymns formed an appendix to their edition of the works of Ambrose. No hymn was by them allowed to pass as genuine if it was not attested by some good writer who lived near enough to the close of the IVth century to render his statement on the point worthy of credit in the editors' judgement. The Benedictine scholars themselves did not claim that their method was perfect, only that it was the best available in the circumstances. They did not deny that among the hymns omitted by them there might be some written by Ambrose.

The witnesses admitted as adequate were seven in number. They were Augustine of Hippo, Caelestine (Pope from 422 to 436), Faustus (Bishop of Riez, who died in 492), Cassiodorus (who died in 575), Ildefonsus, Bishop of Toledo (who died in 667), the Venerable Bede (who died in 735), and Hincmar of Reims (who died as late as 882). The hymns thus attested were twelve in number. They were :

¹ The editors of St Ambrose were J. du Frische and N. le Nourry and the work appeared in two folio volumes at Paris 1686-1690.

1. Aeterne rerum conditor.
2. Deus creator omnium.
3. Iam surgit hora tertia.
4. Veni redemptor gentium.
5. Inluminans altissimus.
6. Orabo mente Dominum.
7. Splendor paternae gloriae.
8. Aeterna Christi munera.
9. Somno reffectis artubus.
10. Consors paterni luminis.
11. O lux beata Trinitas.
12. Fit porta Christi peruia.

Useful as this test of quotation by an early and careful writer may be when taken in combination with other tests, it is not good enough when taken alone. It is more or less a matter of chance whether any particular hymn is or is not among the few, the very few, that are so quoted. And it will be seen from what we have said above that the canon of the Benedictines is open to yet another serious objection. The evidence of such men as Augustine and Caelestine, and even perhaps that of Faustus, is as good as evidence can be and is not to be gainsaid. But the last few writers on the list—Cassiodorus, and in especial Bede and Hincmar—are by no means equally trustworthy. As to Bede, apart from his lateness of date, we can seldom feel sure whether in calling a hymn an 'Ambrosian' he thereby means to say that it was one written by Ambrose. At times his words can scarcely be taken to mean this. Thus in one place he writes: *quo modo et ad instar iambici metri pulcherrime factus est hymnus ille praeclarus: Rex aeterne Domine... et alii Ambrosiani non pauci*—a hymn which he cannot have ascribed to St Ambrose.

The Benedictine canon is therefore when taken by

itself insufficient. And yet well-nigh all modern writers on the subject before the last few years have followed it implicitly. We may adapt Bentley's well-known saying about Stephens: the judgement of the Benedictines stood as if an apostle had been their compositor. A quotation by an early writer has been the one test of authenticity allowed by such scholars as Ebert, Manitius, Huemer and others. Ihm, who has done such excellent work on Ambrose, winds up a brief account of the above mentioned twelve hymns with the significant words: 'I neither wish nor am able to say more about the hymns of Ambrose¹.'

But there is a better way. As long ago as 1862, Dr Luigi Biraghi of the Ambrosian Library brought out an edition of the *Inni sinceri e carmi di Sant' Ambrogio* with an illustrative commentary and an excellent introduction setting forth his methods in detail. Strange to say, not one of the scholars just mentioned makes any use of this book, only one or two of them so much as mentioning his name. We hope to be able to shew that he is in the right and that he proves his case. Of recent years the late Dr G. M. Dreves, Fr. C. Blume, Dr A. Steier and others have successfully contended for him.

The Benedictines had laid down one canon and only one. Biraghi lays down no fewer than three. Firstly a hymn must be in every respect worthy of Ambrose, in subject-matter, literary style, and prosody. Secondly, it must have been continuously in the Ambrosian use, as the use of Milan is called. Thirdly, if it happens to be attested by some early and careful writer, so much the better. This third test is (as it should be) chiefly used to confirm other evidence. For, as we have already seen, because a hymn does not happen to be quoted, it does

¹ *Studia Ambrosiana* p. 61.

not follow that on this account it is not one of the genuine hymns of Ambrose. We may well add a fourth canon, which is indeed a corollary of the first. Like some other writers Ambrose was given to repeating himself, often using well-nigh the same words. A hymn therefore that contains characteristically Ambrosian thoughts and phrases is likely to have been written by Ambrose.

Let us take first the second of these tests, which at least at the beginning of the search is as important as any. If the leading question to ask is: Where shall we be likely to find Ambrose's hymns? the answer is obviously: In the service-books of that church for which they were written. We know that this church of Milan in every age of its history, but more especially in its earlier days, has shewn itself intensely conservative in upholding the Ambrosian use. Charles the Great succeeded in ousting the offices of other churches in his wide domains, but in spite of his strenuous measures¹ he failed to persuade or compel the Milanese to give up theirs. Is it then likely that they should have neglected that which was regarded as one of the most important parts of their rite, the hymns—and such hymns written at such a crisis by their great bishop?

Then we have to look for our hymns in the old manuscripts—the hymnals, breviaries, manuals, antiphonaries and psalters—which have preserved for us the traditional use of the Ambrosian church. And we shall not search in vain. Biraghi, and after him Dreves, examined these manuscripts, some dozen or so in number, ranging in date from the Xth to the XIVth or XVth century.

¹ Vita Caroli (apud Bolland. 28 Jan.) 26 *Mediolanum profectus omnes libros Ambrosiano titulo sigillatos, quos uel dono uel pretio uel ui habere potuit, alios combussit, alios trans montes quasi in exilium misit.*

The outcome of the investigation is a collection of some forty hymns. Out of this number our genuine hymns of Ambrose have to be picked, as for one reason or another the whole forty cannot be his. This we must do by the application of Biraghi's first canon. We have to find out the characteristics of matter, style and scansion to which a hymn of Ambrose may be expected to conform. With this end in view we may take the four hymns which we know on Augustine's authority to have been written by his master, regarding him for the time being, but only for so long, as the one unimpeachable witness of authenticity.

The four hymns are these: *Aeterne rerum conditor, Deus creator omnium, Iam surgit hora tertia, Intende qui regis Israel.*

What helpful characteristics can we note in them?

To begin with, each one of them contains eight stanzas of four lines. If any one should ask why this exact number, we have an answer to hand which is at least plausible. A hymn of just so many verses would on the one hand not be so long as to weary the singers, nor on the other hand would it be so short as to preclude the teaching, for which it was specially written. Then again, as we have seen, the hymn was to be sung antiphonally, and therefore it must needs contain an even number of verses. This mode of singing made it also desirable that as a rule the sense should end with each stanza and not overlap into the next.

In the next place we note that the four hymns were all written in the 'Ambrosian' metre, the *iambic dimeter* as it is called. The laws of metre are carefully observed, almost as carefully as they had been observed by the great metrists Vergil, Horace and Martial. Ebert would indeed bind Ambrose too fast when he says that his

prosody is perfect. But we must remember that he was thinking only of the four hymns attested by Augustine. To take one or two licences by way of example. Hiatus was as a rule avoided by the classical poets. Yet Horace could scan *capitī inhumato*; Vergil *ter sunt conatī imponere Peliō Ossam*, and even *addam cerea prunā; honos erit huic quoque pomo*. Then we cannot complain if Ambrose wrote *Petrī adaequavit fidem*. And as to the lengthening of short final syllables by the ictus or stress of the verse: of this we have two examples in the four hymns—*te diligat castūs amor*, and *qui credidit saluūs erit*. In this licence Ambrose goes little farther than Horace with *perrupit Acheronta*, or Vergil with *pectoribūs inhians*.

Let us now inquire into the literary character of the four hymns, their outward form and style. They are, as we should expect from a man of Ambrose's character and education under the best masters of Rome, sharp-cut, clear, concise, nervous and strong. And as the themes are high, so the thought is profound. As Archbishop Trench happily put it:

‘The great objects of faith in their simplest expression are felt by him so sufficient to stir all the deepest feelings of the heart, that any attempt to dress them up, to array them in moving language, were merely superfluous. The passion is there, but it is latent and repress, a fire burning inwardly, the glow of an austere enthusiasm, which reveals itself indeed, but not to every careless beholder. Nor do we fail presently to observe how truly these poems belonged to their time and to the circumstances under which they were produced—how suitably the faith which was in actual conflict with, and was just triumphing over, the powers of this world, found its utterance in hymns such as these, wherein is no softness,

perhaps little tenderness; but in place of these a rock-like firmness, the old Roman stoicism transmuted and glorified into that nobler Christian courage, which encountered and at length overcame the world¹.

The hymns which stand the tests that have been mentioned, that is to say, those which are in the liturgical books of the Milanese church and which bear the hall-mark of a workmanlike hand such as was that of Ambrose, are according to Biraghi eighteen in number. They are the eighteen which follow (nos. 2-19).

As to the first fourteen of these we may follow Biraghi without hesitation and admit that they were written by Ambrose. But while the evidence with regard to the last four hymns is no doubt weighty, it is not convincing in the same measure.

We will first take the three short hymns, 16, 17 and 18, each consisting of two stanzas. It is in their favour that they are contained in most of the Ambrosian manuscripts, that in thought and expression they are not unworthy of Ambrose, and that they may be illustrated to some extent at least from his prose writings. Against their authenticity however the following objections must be taken into account.

Ambrose undoubtedly wrote another hymn for the Third Hour, number 4 in this volume. But the longer hymn may possibly have been written for use on Sundays and festivals, a shorter one for daily use. And there may have been another reason why the author should write a second hymn for the Third Hour. In the longer hymn there is but a bare allusion to the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost: he may have felt that the subject was too great to be brought in as merely part of a hymn, and so may have separated

¹ *Sacred Latin Poetry* p. 88.

for special treatment the two events with which the third hour was especially connected.

Their shortness renders the Ambrosian authorship of the three hymns doubtful. It is this above all that persuades Steier to assign them to some other unknown writer. He argues that, as the undoubted hymns of Ambrose without exception contain *eight* verses each of four lines, we may expect this number in any hymn of his. But this seems to be too definite a statement considering our limited knowledge of the circumstances.

It is perhaps more important to note that they are not included in the Rule either of Caesarius, or of his successor Aurelian, nor are they to be found in the MSS which contain the older series of hymns, although all the hymns known to be written by Ambrose, except the six composed in honour of individual saints, are forthcoming in one or more of these documents.

Steier objects moreover that the agreement in respect of language between these three hymns and Ambrose's prose writings is very slight. With regard to this we must bear in mind the obvious truth that the shorter the hymn, the less chance is there of our coming across such parallels, which after all are by no means entirely wanting.

It is perhaps safest in the present state of our knowledge to leave the question undecided. If the three hymns in question were not written by Ambrose they are for all that worthy of him.

For the last hymn on the list Biraghi confidently claims Ambrose as its writer, but his main argument rests on doubly insecure grounds. In the treatise *De Lapsu Virginis consecratae*, which is sometimes assigned to Ambrose and which is a severe rebuke of one Susanna who had broken her vows of chastity, we read *frustra*

hymnum uirginitatis exposui. But probably Ambrose did not write the book¹, and even if he did the words cannot allude to our hymn, for *exposui* must mean 'I have set forth' or 'explained,' not 'I have composed².'

However this does not prove that the hymn was not written by Ambrose. It is likely enough that he should have composed such a hymn for the virgins of whom he wrote and thought so much. His characteristic ideas and phrases occur in it, including the *slightly altered* quotation of scripture, which was quite in his manner. The number of stanzas, four instead of the usual eight, is not an insuperable difficulty. We are inclined therefore to say that in all probability Ambrose was the writer of hymn 19. It must be mentioned that it is not in honour of one or more virgins, in which case a later writer would have had to be found for it, but a beautiful prayer to Christ the heavenly bridegroom.

HYMN 2

Augustine definitely says that this hymn was written by Ambrose: *Retract.* I. 21 *in quo* [sc. libro contra epist. Donati] *dixi in quodam loco de apostolo Petro, quod in illo tamquam in petra fundata sit ecclesia; qui sensus etiam cantatur ore multorum in uersibus beatissimi Ambrosii, ubi de gallo gallinaceo ait: hoc ipsa petra ecclesiae canente culpam diluit.*

A passage from Ambrose *Hex.* v. 88 with which the hymn is clearly and closely connected, forms a good commentary on it: *est etiam galli cantus suavis in*

¹ It is given by some to Niceta of Remesiana, the possible writer of the *Te Deum*; cp. Ihm *Studia Ambrosiana* 73 f., Burn *Niceta* cxxxii f.

² The Benedictine editors of Ambrose identify the 'hymn of virginity' with the latter part of Psalm xlv. (xlv.), namely from verse 10 to the end.

noctibus, nec solum suavis sed etiam utilis; qui quasi bonus cohabitator et dormientem excitat et sollicitum admonet et uiantem solatur, processum noctis canora uoce protestans. hoc canente latro suas relinquit insidias, hoc¹ ipse lucifer excitatus oritur caelumque inluminat; hoc canente maestitiam trepidus nauta deponit, omnisque crebro uespertinis flatibus excitata tempestas et procella mitescit; hoc¹ deuotus affectus exsilit ad precandum, legendo quoque munus instaurat; hoc postremo canente ipse ecclesiae petra culpam suam diluit, quam priusquam gallus cantaret negando contraxerat. istius cantu spes omnibus redit, aegri releuatur incommodum, minuitur dolor uulnerum, febrium flagrantia mitigatur, reuertitur fides lapsis, Iesus titubantes respicit, errantes corrigit. denique respexit Petrum et statim error abscessit; pulsa est negatio, secuta confessio. The passage appears to be based on the hymn, rather than the hymn on the passage.

As to the first stanza of this hymn and also that of 5, Kayser notes that we need not be surprised if Ambrose more than once in his hymns alludes to the recognition of the one true God which is brought home to us by means of the immutable course of nature. There were in his time many Christians who, although they had abandoned the polytheism of heathendom for the monotheism of Christianity, yet needed to be reminded of the great doctrine which distinguished the one from the other. In their attacks on paganism the apologists continually appeal to the possibility and necessity of learning the existence of one almighty God from the facts of surrounding nature. They point to the regular and beneficial succession of times,—as for instance day and night,—

¹ Note that just as in line 11 of the hymn *canente* has to be supplied from the context, so here. It does not seem necessary to write with Schenkl *hoc* *<canente>* *deuotus*.

and of seasons,—spring, summer, autumn and winter,—as the work of one all-seeing, all-working providence.

Thus Minucius Felix *Octavius* XVII. 4 f. *quid enim potest esse tam apertum, tam confessum, tamque perspicuum, cum oculos in caelum sustuleris et quae sunt infra circaque lustraueris, quam esse aliquod numen praestantissimae mentis, quo omnis natura inspiretur, moueatur, alatur, gubernetur?* 5. *caelum ipsum uide: quam late tenditur, quam rapide uoluitur, uel quod in noctem astris distinguitur, uel quod in diem sole lustratur: iam scies quam sit in eo summi moderatoris mira et diuina libratio. uide et annum, ut solis ambitus faciat, et mensem uide, ut luna auctu, senio, labore circumagat.* 6. *quid tenebrarum et luminis dicam recursantes uices, ut sit nobis operis et quietis alterna reparatio?*

The same thought often recurs in Ambrose's prose works and especially in his *Hexaemeron*. Thus at IV. 2 *magnus est [sol] qui per horarum uices locis aut accedit aut decedit cotidie; ib. 7 est ergo in diei potestate sol, et luna in potestate noctis, quae temporum uicibus oboedire compellitur et nunc impletur lumine atque uacuatur... namque luna luminis inminutionem habet, non corporis, quando per uices menstruas deponere uidetur suum lumen.* See also the first stanzas of 5, 17, 18, 25, 45, 47, 57, 58 etc., and 84. 17 f.

This hymn was appointed by Caesarius of Arles to be sung *ad secundum nocturnum* (i.e. at what was afterwards known as Lauds) in alternation with the unmetrical *Magna et mirabilia*, which latter is extant only in Vat. reg. 11 f. 236, where the rubric is *hymnus nocturnus*. It runs thus: *Magna et mirabilia opera tua sunt Domine Deus omnipotens. iustae et uerae sunt uiae tuae Domine rex gentium. quis non timebit et magnificabit nomen tuum? quoniam tu solus sanctus et pius, et omnes gentes*

uenient et adorabunt nomen tuum sub oculis tuis, quoniam iustitiae tuae manifestatae sunt. It will be seen that, although this is called a hymn both in the Rule of Caesarius and in the MS just quoted from, it is in fact a translation of Rev. xv. 3 f. independent of the Vulgate.

According to the Mozarabic use the *Aeterne rerum conditor*, to go by the rubric of the one MS of the old Spanish use that contains it (Madrid 1005 Hh 60, p. 125, Xth century), was originally sung at a very early service *ad pullorum cantum*. In the *Breuiarium secundum regulam sancti Isidori* printed at Toledo in 1502, the editor Alfons Ortiz appoints it for the 1st Sunday in Advent. In the older Roman use it was sung on Sundays at Lauds or Mattins. The ancient Ambrosian MSS have as rubric simply *ymnus nocturnalis*, and so conservative are they that, although none of them is older than the Xth century, this no doubt gives the old tradition of the Milanese church.

For further information on liturgical and other points see Daniel I. 15, IV. 3, Chevalier *Repertorium* number 647, Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* p. 26, Mearns' *Early Latin Hymnaries* p. 4.

Abcghik Eacdjhlosvxημφ Fdhiklnpqsk Gab Habcdefghi
Ibceghimnop Mamx Vabcp

Aeterne rerum conditor,
noctem diemque qui regis,
et temporum das tempora,
ut alleues fastidium ;

3 dans Eos Fs Hbd Iemn Mm.

1. **conditor**] i.e. Christ; cp. *de Fid.* v. 36 *Dei Filium, cum conditor ipse sit temporum*; ib. IX. 58 *cum Filius temporis auctor sit et creator*; *Hex.* IV. 5 *Filius fecit solem.*

3. Ambr. expresses the same

thought *de Helia* IX. 32 *ab ipso mundi conditore didicimus saepe diuersitatibus cumulari gratiam.*

temporum...tempora] There is some play on the different uses of the word, *temporum* being the sea-

praeco diei iam sonat, 5
 noctis profundae peruigil,
 nocturna lux uiantibus,
 a nocte noctem segregans.

 hoc excitatus lucifer
 soluit polum caligine, 10
 hoc omnis errorum chorus

5 sonet Eh Fp²s Gb Hbcde Im Mm. 6 profunda Imp Vc, profundo
 Eh. 8 ac nocte Hc. segregat Ed. 9 excitato El Fkn Igm.

sons of the day and night, summer etc., and *tempora* the fixed times at which they come and go; cp. *Hex.* IV. 21 *tempora autem quae sunt, nisi mutationum uices?*

6. 'Watchful throughout the depth of night.' So of the nightingale *Hex.* v. 85 *quae peruigil custos...insomnem longae noctis laborem cantilenae suauitate solatur.*

7. **uiantibus**] Quintilian VIII. vi. 33 objects to the word then just coined: *uio pro eo infelicius fictum.* But it is more significant than *eo*, connected as it is with the *uiae*, the great military roads. It is one of Ambr.'s favourite words, e.g. *Hex.* III. 38 *luna quoque uiantibus iter demonstrat.* The derivative *uiator* is of course classical.

8. i.e. marking off one part of the night from another; cp. *Epist.* LXIX. 3 *quam canora uox galli, nocturnis uicibus sollemne munus ad excitandum et canendum ministrans.*

9. **lucifer**] the sun; cf. Ambr.'s *lucifer excitatus oritur caelumque inluminat*, quoted in the introduction to the hymn. So probably at 44. 15, 46. 8, 61. 3; at 45. 5, 71. 9 it seems that the morning star is meant.

The rhetorical repetition of *hoc* in 9, 11, 13, 15 is in Ambr.'s manner; as is that of *gallus, gallus, gallo* in 18, 20 and 21, and of *tu, te, tibi* in 29, 31 and 32.

10. **polum**] The Greek *πόλος* was accepted as a Latin word and meant (1) 'the pivot' on which a thing turns, especially the axis of the earth, 'the pole'; hence (2) 'the vault of heaven' as here, at 44. 2 and *Hex.* I. 20 *micans fulgentibus stellis polus*, having been so used in classical writers, as Verg. *Aen.* III. 585 *lucidus aethra | siderea polus*; then (3) 'heaven' itself, 13. 30, 32. 1 and often.

caligine] 'gloom' rather than absolute darkness; cp. Cic. *Phil.* XII. 3 *quod uidebam equidem, sed quasi per caliginem*; yet applicable to night, Hor. *Od.* III. xxix. 30 *caliginosa nocte*; Ambr. *Hex.* v. 86 *nocturnarum tenebrarum caligantem horrorem.*

11. **hoc**] 'at his note,' *canente* being supplied in thought from 16. This is simpler than (with Lipp) to supply *praecone* governed by *excitatus* in 9.

errorum] 'the roving demons,' abstract for concrete. Prudentius no doubt had this stanza in mind: *Cath.* I. 37 f. *ferunt uagantes daemona | laetos tenebris noctium | gallo canente exterritos | sparsim timere et cedere*; and cp. Shakespeare *Hamlet* I. i. *Bernardo*. It was about to speak when the cock crew. *Horatio*. And then it started like a guilty thing | upon a fearful summons. I have heard | the cock that is the trumpet of the morn, | doth with his lofty

uias nocendi deserit.

hoc nauta uires colligit,
pontique mitescunt freta ;
hoc ipse petra ecclesiae
canente culpam diluit.

15

12 uiam Eacdjosvϕ Fk Gb Hgi Iehnp Mm Vbc.
Ecdhjv Gb Hbcdef Ia Vabp.

15 ipsa Ai

16 deluit Edhjlv Fnp¹ Vc.

and shrill sounding throat | awake the god of day; and at his warning... | the extravagant and erring spirit hies | to his confine.... *Marcellus*. It faded on the crowing of the cock. | Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes | wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated, | the bird of dawning singeth all night long, | and then they say no spirit can walk abroad. *erronum*, the correction of the editors of the Roman breviary of 1632, has been taken up by most modern editors, but it has no MS authority, and spoils the sense. For, meaning 'idle slaves,' it would refer to evil men, as both Biraghi and Lipp take it, in which case line 23 *muero latronis conditur* would be tautological. And as to the use of the abstract word *errores* for the roving demons, if Livy I. xiii. 2 could use *iras* in the sense of *iratos*, and at XXVIII. ix. 15 *triumphum* in that of *triumphatorem*; if Tacitus *Ann.* XIII. xxv could use *captiuitatis* = *captae urbis*, and later writers *coniugia* = *coniuges*, and so on, surely here Ambr. may put *errores* when he means 'wandering spirits.' At *Hex.* VI. 52 he uses *seruitiorum* for 'slaves,' as Livy does at II. xxxiv.

chorus is used in this sinister sense by Ambr. *de Cain* I. 14 *quodam nequitarum choro circumfusa*. The *cohors* of the Roman breviary is found in no MS.

12. For the phrase *uias deserere* cp. Ambr. *Epist.* LXXVIII. 2 *qui uias eius deserant*, and Deut. ix. 12, 16, Ecclus. xlix. 18, and for *uias*

nocendi Damasus XXVII. 2 *carnificumque uias pariter quod mille nocendi | uincere quod potuit, monstrauit gloria Christi*.

15. **ipse petra**] 'the church's rock himself.' For the gender of *ipse* cp. Ambr. *Hex.* v. 88 *ipse ecclesiae petra*, which is reproduced by Paulin. Nol. *Epist.* XXXII. 10; also *ille (ipse) uas electionis*, Ambr. in *Ps.* XXXVI. 17, in *Ps.* CXVIII. iii. 18, *de Paenit.* I. 33; see too Vincent Ler. 9 *ille uas electionis, ... ille apostolorum tuba*; and 3. 30 *aurora totus*, 13. 31 *electa...caput*.

With Mt. xvi. 18f. cp. Ambr. *de Incarn. Dom.* 34 *fides ergo est ecclesiae fundamentum; non enim de carne Petri sed de fide dictum est quia portae mortis ei non praeualebunt; in Luc.* VI. 95 *qui enim carnem uicerit, ecclesiae fundamentum est*.

16. **diluit**] 'washed away' with his tears. The phrase *culpa diluitur* is found in Ambr. in *Ps.* XI. 5; and for Ambr.'s application of Peter's tears of penitence cp. in *Luc.* x. 90 *fleuit ergo amarissime Petrus... et tu, si ueniam uis mereri, dilue lacrimis tuis culpam tuam*. The form supported by so many MSS, *deluit*, inclines one to think that a word *deluo*, with which cp. *abluo* (10. 18 etc., in *Ps.* CXVIII. iii. 18 and often), existed side by side with *diluo*, especially as other compounds of *de* are used in a similar way: thus we have in *Luc.* v. 56 *delicta defleui* (where see the context in 55 etc.), ib. v. 106 *peccata detergas*.

17f. 'The cock awakens the lie-

surgamus ergo strenue :
 gallus iacentes excitat
 et somnolentos increpat ;
 gallus negantes arguit. 20
 gallo canente spes redit,
 aegris salus refunditur,
 mucro latronis conditur,
 lapsis fides reuertitur.
 Iesu, labantes respice, 25
 et nos uidendo corrige ;

20 negantem Abi Hd Vap. 21 ipso (*pro gallo*) Ih. 22 egri
 Fi Ig. 24 fide Vp. 25 labentes Ecdjsvx²μφ Fdhinpsκ Gab Habdef
 Ibghimo Vb Mm, pauentes A *meliores cum* bcgi Elo Vap.

a-beds and chides the drowsy, the cock convicts those who deny': note the climax. The sleep is of the soul, and the denial is compared, by the choice of the word *negantes*, to the guilt of Peter; the three calls reminding us of Christ's three calls in the garden, and Peter being mentioned here as in stanzas IV, VI and VII. The variant *negantem* would perhaps over-emphasize the connexion with him.

arguit] 'Convicts' of their guilt; Joh. xvi. 8 *arguet mundum de peccato*.

21. **spes]** because the weary watcher knows thereby that dawn is at hand.

22. Ambr. is remarkably fond of using *fundo* and its many compounds, especially *refundo* and *infundo*, in both literal and metaphorical sense; cp. *de Noe* 42 *animae refusam esse uirtutem*; ib. 59 *uigor animae se refundit*; *Epist.* IV. 7, XII. 2; 9. 3, 10. 5, 16. 4. See the note on *infunde* 3. 8, and the fuller list of the derivatives of *fundo* used by Ambr. which Steier gives on pp. 586, 642. The compounds used by Ambr. are *circumfundo*, *confundo*, *diffundo*, *effundo*, *offundo*, *profundo*, *superfundo*, *transfundo*, and perhaps others.

25 f. Lu. xxii. 60 f., esp. 61 *Dominus respexit Petrum*; cp. Prud. *Cath.* I. 49 *quae uis sit huius alitis | Saluator ostendit Petro, | ter antequam gallus canat | sese negandum praedicans. || fit namque peccatum prius | quam praeco lucis proxima | inlustret humanum genus | finemque peccati ferat. || fleuit negator denique.*

labantes] 'tottering,' 'ready to fall,' answers to *titubantes* in the parallel prose passage. The less rare word *labentes* is read in most MSS, but this would bring a spondee into the second foot of the verse, which fault Ambr. would be likely to avoid, but which copyists would as a rule disregard. But we must admit that Ambr. elsewhere uses *labor* in this connexion, as at *Hex.* v. 35 *titubat sed non labitur*. Dreves at first read *labantes* with Biraghi, but in *Analecta* L. p. 11 *labentes* (with v.l. in critical notes *fauentes*, which must be a misprint). Steier reads *pauentes* with the Ambrosian MSS, and this should perhaps be read in the text, the allusion being probably, not (as Biraghi and Pimont suggest) to the fear of mighty demons, but to the cowardice through which St Peter fell.

respice] Ambr. *in Luc.* x. 89

si respicis lapsus cadunt,
fletuque culpa soluitur.

tu lux refulge sensibus,
mentisque somnum discute ;
te nostra uox primum sonet,
et uota soluamus tibi.

30

27 lapsos Eμφ Fs Habcdegi Icim Va¹p, lapsi Ex Fh Hf Ibo (h lapsis), lapsu Es, latus Ev. stabunt (*pro* cadunt) Exμφ Fhs Hacdefgi Ihimo, cauent Ab, si nos respicis lapsi non cadunt Eo. 30 noctis (*pro* mentis) Eo. 32 ora (*pro* uota) Abcg Eoμ Fk Gb Habce²gi Ibehnop Vacp, ore Esxφ Fis Hde¹ Ic Mm. psallamus (*pro* soluamus) Esxφ Fis Hd¹e¹ Mm.

respexit Iesus et ille amarissime fleuit. respice, domine Iesu, ut sciamus nostrum deflere peccatum. unde etiam lapsus sanctorum utilis.

27. **lapsus cadunt**] 'our backslidings fall from us'; a play on words rather like 5. 22 *dormire culpa nouerit*. For the plural *lapsus* cp. Ambr. *Apol. David* 46 *lapsus quis intellegit?* (=Ps. xviii. 13 *delicta quis intellegit?*), *Epist.* LXX. 23 *confitentibus nobis lapsus nostros*. He elsewhere *Hex.* 1. 31 speaks of a *lapsus ad mortem*.

29. 'Shine forth as a light'; *lux* is nominative as being part of the predicate. Ambr. constantly uses *lux* of Christ, cp. among many passages in *Luc.* IV. 43 *et ipse lux uera*; ib. IV. 43 *quis est enim lux magna nisi Christus*; ib. VIII. 36 *lux, Dei Filius*; *de Spir. S.* I. 141 *lux autem et Filius*; ib. I. 142 *quia Filius Dei lux est. refulge* almost means 'blaze'; cp. *Hex.* IV. 8 *ante solem lucet quidem, sed non refulget dies. sensibus* stands here, as elsewhere, for 'thoughts' not 'senses'; cp. 3. 8.

30. **mentis**] 'of the soul,' as at 3. 17, 28, 5. 16, 21 etc.

somnum] Slothful negligence of our duty towards God is often described as a sleep of the soul; cp. 1 Cor. xi. 30, 5. 21, 20. 12. Our

praise of Him is one of our duties, and so lines 31, 32 are added.

For the phrase *somnum discute* cp. Propert. III. x. 13 *ac primum pura somnum tibi discute lymphæ*; Ammian. Marcell. XIX. vi. 8 *discusso somno*. Steier quotes also from Ambr. *de Bono Mortis* 42 *lux non recepit tenebras, nam statim discutit, in Ps. CXVIII. iii. 25 uelamen discuteret*.

Line 30 is imitated by Prudentius, see 20. 13; and 31 with slight changes recurs in later hymns, see 50. 2, 64. 5.

32. We 'discharge our vows' to God by singing His praises. This thought also often recurs, cp. 5. 11 f. *uoti...soluimus*.

The variant *ora* is no doubt due to the misreading of *uota* by an early copyist, who did not see what 'the vows' were. With *ora*, 32 would be little more than a repetition of 31, as would be the other reading *ore psallamus tibi*, which is not quite free from blame from a metrical point of view, see the note on 15. 10. But when Dreves (*Aurelius Ambrosius* p. 48, note 2) states that *ore psallamus* is to be found only in Daniel, he is not quite just, for this reading is found in several MSS, though none of them are very old.

HYMN 3

[The following hymn is twice quoted in one epistle by Fulgentius (468–533) as the work of Ambrose. *Ipsium enim apostolica praedicat auctoritas splendorem gloriae et figuram substantiae Dei; quod sequens beatus Ambrosius in hymno matutino splendorem paternae gloriae Filium esse pronuntiat* (Ep. XIV. 10). Again, *Hinc est quod beatus Ambrosius in hymno matutino huius nos postulare gratiam ebrietatis edocuit, dum dicimus: Laeti bibamus sobriam ebrietatem Spiritus* (Ep. XIV. 42). The testimony of Fulgentius would itself be as good as that of any of his contemporaries. But the testimony is borne out by an allusion of Augustine's, *Veni Mediolanium ad Ambrosium episcopum, ... cuius tunc eloquia strenue ministrabant adipem frumenti tui et laetitiam olei et sobriam vini ebrietatem populo tuo* (Conf. XIII. xiii. 23). The style of the hymn itself is unmistakable, and the other canons of Biraghi hold good with regard to it.

Aurelian orders that it should be sung at matins, alternately with *Aeterne lucis conditor*.]

Abcdgh ENacdhjlosvxμ Fabdhijknopsuyγψ Gabm Habcdefgir
Ibcdeghimnopv Mam Vabcpr

Splendor paternae gloriae,
de luce lucem proferens,

2 praefrens ENv.

1. Heb. i. 3 *qui cum sit splendor gloriae eius*; Wisd. vii. 26 *candor est enim lucis aeternae*. In both places the Greek has ἀπαύγασμα, 'effulgence.' The eternal relation of the Son to the Father is often illustrated in early Christian writers by the relation of the rays of light to the central source whence they stream. Ambr. frequently uses *splendor* thus; e.g. *de Fid.* 1. 79 *dicet aliquis quomodo generatus est Filius? quasi*

sempiternus, quasi uerbum, quasi splendor lucis aeternae; quia simul splendor operatur, ut nascitur. ib. II. prol. 8, IV. 108, in *Ps.* XXXVIII. 24, XL. 35, XLIII. 12, XLVII. 18, CXVIII. xix. 38. *Hex.* VI. 42 *splendor gloriae et paternae imago substantiae*. The first two stanzas are addressed to Christ.

2. Cp. the 'Nicene' creed *lumen de lumine*; Sedul. *Carm.* 1. 113 *et totum commune Patris de lumine*

lux lucis et fons luminis,
dies dierum inluminans,

uerusque sol inlabere,
micans nitore perpeti,
iubarque sancti Spiritus
infunde nostris sensibus.

5

4 diem (*pro* dierum) Ehs μ Fbhipuy Gb² Igrimv Vb. inluminas Vp.
6 nitorem Gb. perpetim Echv Fb Gb Hd Iv.

lumen; 4 Esdras vi. 40 *tunc dixisti de thesauris tuis proferri lumen luminosum.*

3. **lux lucis**] the Light which gives its character to all other light, without which there could be no light. The *-que* of v. 5 seems to indicate that *lux*, like *sol*, is intended to be a predicate, 'Come as the Light.'

4. The variant *diem dies i.*, though read by most modern editors, is not found in any of the early MSS, most of which give the certainly true text *dies dierum i.* Participles used as adjectives regularly take a gen. Draeger 1. p. 445 f., Schmalz 367. Among many examples we find in Ambr. *Hex.* III. 8 *efficiens naturae*, ib. v. 22 *appetens cibi*, ib. VI. 20 *futuri prouidens, de Fuga* 6 *fugitantes mundi*; cp. *de Res.* 90, 133, etc. Kayser well says that the contrast of the one eternal day with the countless earthly days makes us prefer the reading *dies dierum*. And he notes that the construction of the genitive with the present participle brings out well the abiding character and the constantly and changelessly returning power of bringing light held by the Son. The variant *diem diem* would be due to a misreading of the contracted form in which *dierum* would often be written; and when elision was no longer in use, *diem* would be easier to sing and more natural to write than the longer *dierum*.

5. Christ is the real sun, our sun

in the heavens having but borrowed light and heat, the phrase coming from Mal. iv. 2 to which Ambr. constantly refers; cp. *Hex.* IV. 2 and 5, in *Ps.* XLIII. 6, CXVIII. ii. 9, viii. 51 and 57, xii. 13 and 25, xix. 18 *et tu surge uel media nocte...ut, dum oras nocte, ueri solis pectori tuo splendor inradiet*; 97. 1.

uerus sol is nom. because it is part of the predicate, like *tu lux refulge* in the hymn before.

inlabere] 'steal into our souls'; cp. Verg. *Aen.* III. 89 [Aeneas to the god Apollo] *da pater augurium atque animis inlabere nostris*; 89. 10, 115. 19.

7. **iubar**] strictly 'the ray' of early dawn; cp. Verg. *Aen.* IV. 130, *Juven.* III. 1 *fuderat in terras roseum iubar ignicomus sol*, 74. 14, Ambr. *de Parad.* 23 *Christum, qui iubar quoddam aeternae lucis effudit. Hex.* IV. 1 *procedit sol magno iubare diem...complens.*

8. **infunde**] 2. 22 note. In *Ps.* CXVIII. vi. 9 *ut infundat sensibus...*; xix. 30 [Dominus] *subito se apostolicis penetralibus inprouisus infudit*; in *Luc.* 1. 34 *cui Spiritus sanctus infunditur*. This appeal to the Son to shed the rays of the Spirit upon us is perhaps based on Ambr.'s interpretation of *Ps.* xxxv. (xxxvi.) 10 *apud te est fons uitae* etc.; see *de Spir.* I. 152 f.

9. **et Patrem**] as well as the Son. For the rhetorical repetition see 2. 9.

10 f. 'Let us call upon the Father

uotis uocemus et Patrem—
 Patrem perennis gloriae, 10
 Patrem potentis gratiae—
 culpam releget lubricam,
 informet actus strenuos,
 dentem retundat inuidi,
 casus secundet asperos, 15
 donet gerendi gratiam,
 mentem gubernet et regat
 casto fideli corpore ;

9 ad (*pro* et) ENj, te Ecdhvμφ Fbd Gabm Hce Id¹gm Mm Vb.
 12 religet Vbc et plurimi, redegit ENj, repellat (-et) Fb Gb Ih. 14 dentes
 Edhjl v (-is Ec) Gb Hd Ibcdhmv. 18 castos Ad ENsφ, casto et Hd.

...to banish afar guilt with its snares.' *relegit* depends upon *uocemus*: the mood is indirect jussive, to pass insensibly into the precative use, which seems more suitable in 21 f. *gloriae* looks back to line 1, *gratiae* to the following words.

12. **lubricam** always connotes an idea of danger, which is further brought out here by its emphatic place at the end of the stanza. The epithet is applied to the sin itself though more strictly applicable (as in 5. 25) to the occasion of sin or to the desires which lead to the sin; cp. Ambr. *Epist.* XXII. 4 *aduersus lubricum saeculi huius stabiles permanserunt*, 47. 13, 62b. 5, 72. 4, 85. 8.

13. 'May He shape our actions into energy,' cp. in *Ps.* I. 12 *actusque formare*, in *Luc.* I. 31 *informatus a Domino*, ib. IV. 50 *moralem informet adfectum*. *informare* is one of Ambr.'s words, cp. in *Luc.* II. 50, IV. 4, 13, 50, *Hex.* III. 19, 53, IV. 13, V. 25, *Epist.* I. 31, VI. 105, IX. 17, LIII. 2.

14. **inuidi**] cp. *Wisd.* II. 24 *inuidia autem diaboli mors introiuit in orbem terrarum*, 5. 27, 31. 89, 43. 16, 58. 8. Our 'malignant foe' is probably here conceived of as in the form of a serpent; cp. in *Ps.* XLVIII.

8 *Adam dente serpentis est uulneratus et obnoxiam hereditatem successionis humanae suo uulnere dereliquit, ut omnes illo uulnere claudicemus. de Abrah.* II. 59 *quia princeps mundi huius et uolucres caeli, spiritualium nequitiae...uelut cadauera mortuorum dilacerent dente aspero. de Bened. Patr.* 32 *uulneratus dente serpentis*. He is elsewhere described as a lion: 1 *Pet.* v. 8, 31. 90, 32. 16, or as a wolf *Joh.* x. 12, 35. 4, or as a tyrant 109. 23.

15. **secundet**] 'change for the better,' 'turn to good,' *Verg. Georg.* IV. 397 *euentus...secundet*, *Aen.* III. 36 *secundarent uisus*.

16. **gerendi**] 'grace to act wisely' used absolutely in the sense of *rem gerendi*, as in *Cic. Rep.* I. 8 *in gerendo probabiles*.

17. **mentem**] 'the soul' as at 2. 30. Ambr. often combines the two verbs *gub.* and *reg.* as at *Hex.* I. 7, *de Abr.* II. 9 following the example of *Cic. de Nat. D.* I. 52 *qui regat, qui gubernet* quoted by Steier, who also compares *ad Attic.* XVI. II. 2, *pro Sulla* 78.

18. The body, the animal part of us, is the great hindrance to the soul in its aspirations after God, *Rom.* VIII. 13. If therefore the flesh does

fides calore ferueat,
fraudis uenena nesciat.

20

Christusque nobis sit cibus,
potusque noster sit fides ;
laeti bibamus sobriam
ebrietatem Spiritus.

laetus dies hic transeat,
pudor sit ut diluculum,

25

23 uiuamus Es. sobria Gm Vr, sobrie E^Nchlo Fi Gb² Habceir Id¹mn²p
Vb. 24 ebrietate Vr. 26 diluculo Eos Gb Hcd¹e¹ Mm (de
luculo E^Nv).

not seduce the soul (*casto*), and if it loyally obeys the promptings of the soul (*fideli*), all is well. The use of two adjectives without *et*, qualifying one subst., is very rare in Latin, but we find it again at 91. 5, 109. 17. This passage is imitated in 46. 21 f.

20. 'The poison of false craft' is that of wrong doctrine, the prayer being that our *faith* may not know it. Steier is wrong when he objects to this interpretation, explaining the poison as that of the devil, quoting several passages where *uenenum* is so used by Ambr.; but among other passages cp. *de Sp.* I. 17. Cp. Ambr. *de Fid.* I. 42 *omnem enim uim uenenum suorum, 44 una perfidia... non dissimilis fraude*, III. 129; *in Luc.* I. 3 *uenenatus...adsertionibus*, VII. 51; *Epist.* II. 28 *imbuti animi infidelitatis uenenis*; *in Luc.* VII. 47 *haereticos...qui studio fraudis abiurant. uenena* is thus used in the plural by Verg. and Hor. and often by Ambr. e.g. *in Ps.* XXXVII. 8, XLVIII. 8.

nesciat] with acc. is very common in Ambr. e.g. *in Ps.* CXVIII. vii. 31 *nescis illam caliginem noctis*; cp. Verg. *Georg.* I. 391 *puellae | nesciuere hiemem*. Rönsch 373.

21. Joh. vi. 50; Ambr. *in Luc.* VI. 74 *nonne ipse te pauit? cibus eius uirtus est, cibus eius fortitudo*

est; Epist. LXXVII. 5 *bonus cibus omnium Christus est, bonus cibus est fides*.

23 f. 'Let us drink with joy the sober intoxication of the Spirit'; based on Eph. v. 18 *nolite inebriari uino...sed implemini Spiritu sancto*. Ambr. often refers to this bold phrase; *de Cain* I. 19 *haec ebrietas sobrios facit, haec ebrietas gratiae non temulentiae est; laetitiam generat, non titubantiam*, ib. 20 *haec ebrietas pudicitiae custos est; de Bono Mortis* 20 *feruentioris Spiritus sermo qui inebriat*; *in Ps.* I. 33 *bona ebrietas, quae sobriae stabiliret mentis incessum*; CXVIII. xv. 28 *hac ergo ebrietate corpus non titubat sed resurgit*; cp. also the passages of Aug. and Fulg. (XIV. 42) quoted in the introduction to this hymn. For the combination *bibamus ebrietatem*, cp. *de Isaac* 50 *anima hausit mysteriorum ebrietatem caelestium*, and for the metaphorical use of *ebrietatem*, *Ecclus.* XXXII. 17 *Dominum... inebriantem te ab omnibus bonis suis*.

ebrietatem] The accent falls on the *i* and tends to lengthen it.

26. *diluculum*] 'the twilight' just before dawn. Ambr. may be thinking in this beautiful line either of the shy retirement of modesty dwelling in the dim light, or of the purity of the first rays of dawn. Cp. *Cant.* VI. 9 *quaenam est haec prospiciens tam-*

fides uelut merities,
crepusculum mens nesciat.

aurora cursus prouehit,
aurora totus prodeat, 30
in Patre totus Filius,
et totus in Verbo Pater.

29 aurorae Vr. prouehat (proueat) Abcg Fb Vap. 30 tota Ecdl,
totos Eo Habce²gir Io Vac. protegat Eo Fψ Habce²gir Io, fulgeat Es.

quam diluculum? quoted by Ambr.
de Bened. Patrum 45.

27. **fides**] unlike *pudor*, delights
in the heat and light of noon; cp.
calore ferueat, 19.

merities] Cp. *Hex.* IV. 22 *in
meridiano pascis...ubi fulget iudi-
cium sicut merities*; in *Ps.* CXVIII.
ii. 11 *illis lucet, illis refulget, illis
calet gratia sicut merities*.

28. **crepusculum**] strictly 'the
dusk' of evening. *mens*, 'the soul,'
from which Ambr. prays that the
light may never fade away; cp. 5.
19, 6. 32.

29. **cursus**] plural in a singular
sense as at Verg. *Aen.* III. 460, 686
and Ambr. *Hex.* IV. 2 *rapidis cur-*

sibus...lustret omnia; *de Fid. Res.*
II. 31 *anni cursus*, 47. 3, 55. 2.
Ambr. also uses *Hex.* v. 89 *fletibus*,
in *Luc.* VII. 160 *naturis* etc. See
Draeger I. 9 f., Schmalz 604, Steier
643.

30. For the gender of *totus* cp.
ipse petra, 2. 15 note. This 'dawn'
is Christ, as the following lines ex-
plain.

31 f. Cp. in *Ps.* XXXVI. 37 *Pater
Deus totus in Filio est et Filius in
Patre*; in *Ps.* XLVII. 18 *qui ita ex-
pressit Patrem ut in eo totus sit
Pater sicut in Patre totus est Filius*.
The thought is of course taken from
passages like Joh. xiv. 10.

HYMN 4

Augustine definitely says that Ambrose wrote this
hymn; see *de Natura et Gratia* 63 *quem Spiritum memo-
ratus episcopus etiam precibus impetrandum admonet, ubi
in hymno dicit: uotisque praestat sedulis sanctum mereri
Spiritum*. Even without his authority we might know
from the style and from the treatment of the subject-
matter that it came from Ambrose.

Caesarius of Arles, in his *Regula ad uirgines*, and
Aurelian both appoint it to be sung *in primo die paschae
ad tertiam*, the latter adding *cotidianis...diebus* (i.e. on
week days as opposed to Sundays and festivals) *ad*

tertiam sex psalmos dicite, antiphonam, ymnum Iam surgit hora tertia.

It does not seem to have passed into any later use, its place being taken by *Certum tenentes ordinem* (52), *Iam sexta sensim uoluitur* (55), and *Rector potens, uerax Deus* (17).

The first line was borrowed with which to begin a Mozarabic hymn, also for terce, the first stanza of which runs thus; *Iam surgit hora tertia | et nos intenti currimus, | psallendi opus implemus, | Christum laudemus Dominum*; see *Analecta* XXVII. 108.

Abcdghk Vapr

Iam surgit hora tertia,
qua Christus ascendit crucem;
nil insolens mens cogitet,
intendat affectum precis.

qui corde Christum suscipit,
innoxium sensum gerit,
uotisque praestat sedulis
sanctum mereri Spiritum.

5

7 perstat edd.

1. **surgit** is used of time as at 116. 5, cp. 22. 1 and the note on 5. 10 *noctis exortu*. It is fairly common of the coming of day (cp. Verg. *Georg.* III. 400 *surgente die*; *Aen.* III. 588), less common of the several hours.

3. **nil insolens**] 'no proud thought': the hour of Christ's humiliation is no season for this.

4. **affectum precis** appears to mean 'the mind to pray' (cp. *Hex.* v. 88 *hoc canente deuotus adfectus exsilit ad precandum*) and to *intendere* this is to apply oneself to it, to give all one's attention to it. Ambrose is given to constructing *intendere* with an acc., as *Hex.* I. 1 *Deum...ideam intendentem fecisse*

mundum; *de Inst. Virg.* 113 *Christum intendat*; in *Ps.* CXVIII. viii. 48 *haec diligenter intende*. He also uses it with a following dative, and with *ad* or *in* followed by an acc.

5. Cp. *Eph.* iii. 17; *Ambr. Epist.* XXXVII. 22 *qui Christum recipit*. This we are invited to do by a reminder of what took place at the third hour.

6. For *gerit* thus used cp. *de Off.* II. 68 *sobrium gerere animum*; *de Iacob* II. 30 *pacificum affectum gerabat*; in *Ps.* XXXVI. 51 *paenitentiam g.*; *de Fuga Saec.* 57 *si geras Christum*.

7. **praestat**] When *praestare* is used with an infinitive or a depen-

haec hora, quae finem dedit
 diri ueterno criminis,
 mortisque regnum diruit
 culpamque ab aeuo sustulit.

10

hinc iam beata tempora
 coepere Christi gratia,

9 qua Vr.
 Abdgh Vap.

10 ueterni Vr.
 13 hic Abcdg Vapr.

crimini Ab²cg Vap.

11 diluit

14 Christi coep. Acdgh Vapr.

dent clause, the meaning seems to be connected with that use, common in classical Latin, where *praestare aliquem* or *aliquid* is 'to be responsible for,' 'to undertake.' Thus Cic. *pro Flacco* 12 *quid? nullos fore quis praestare poterat?* 'Who could undertake that there should be none?' This passes into 'seeing to it that' etc. So Livy xxx. 30 says *ne quem eius paeniteret, ... praestili*, 'I have made it my business, have seen to it that no one'; Ov. *Trist.* v. xiv. 19 *ne quis possit temeraria dicere praesta*, 'See to it that nobody'; Juvenius III. 462 *nec minus in stratis aegros donare salute... praestat*, 'makes it his business to give'; Damasus IX. 2 *uiuere qui praestat morientia semina terrae*, 'sees to it that they live.' Here *praestat mereri* will thus be 'undertakes to gain,' 'makes it his business to win.' *Perstat* would make good sense, if it had any authority, but not one MS that I have seen contains it. The two words are often confused. In Prud. *Symm.* II. 991 *in ordine recto praestat*, the word seems to have become a synonym of *perstat*, which Dressel reads.

8. **mereri**] 'win,' 'obtain.' Aug. quotes these lines (see intr. to this hymn) to shew that Ambr. held the belief that men can do nothing without the grace of God. Clearly he had no idea that *mereri* could be used against him in the sense of 'to merit.' Cp. Ambr. *de Resur.* 124 *post usum uota fastidiunt; et quae*

optauimus mereri, cum meruerimus, abdicamus; 41. 51, 63. 6, 102. 6, 125. 22, 127. 33. Rönisch p. 387 quotes Herm. *Past.* I. iii. 1 *qui iam meruerunt Deum*. The Greek *καταξιωθῆναι* is used in a similar way.

Spiritum] which was outpoured at this third hour, Acts ii. See Introduction to 16 below.

9. 'This is the hour which...' *finem dare* in place of the more usual *f. facere* is a Vergilian phrase *Aen.* I. 199, 241. It is found in Ambr. *in Ps.* XL. 37, *de Virginib.* I. 15, *Epist.* VI. 9.

10. **ueternus**] (1) 'old age,' Stat. *Theb.* VI. 94 [*silua*] *nec solos hominum transgressa ueterno | fertur auos*: hence (2) 'lethargy,' 'neglect,' Verg. *Georg.* I. 124 *nec torpere graui passus sua regna ueterno*. (3) 'filth,' 'sin,' Prud. *Cath.* XI. 63f. *nam nunc renatus sordidum | mundus ueternum depulit*.

11. **mortis regnum**] Cp. Wisd. I. 14, Rom. v. 14.

12. **aeuo**] 'the world.' The more usual word is *saeculum*, but cp. Paulin. Nol. *Carm.* XV. 173 *Christi memor, inmemor aeui*; Sedul. *Carm.* III. 172 *in reliquum doctrina fluens decurreret aeuum*; id. *Hymn.* I. 97 *toto credentibus aeuo*; 36. 23.

13. **hinc**] 'with this hour.' For *beata tempora* cp. 116. 8.

14. **Christi gratia**] Acts ii. 33. For the sense cp. Ambr. *in Ps.* CXVIII. vi. 25 *passus est Christus et omnia coeperunt nouae gratiae fecundari germinibus*.

fidei repleuit ueritas

15

totum per orbem ecclesias.

celso triumphi uertice

matri loquebatur suae:

'en filius, mater, tuus,'

apostolo 'en mater tua,'

20

15 fide Vr.

17 celsus Vr.

20 apostole omn. en om. Ah.

15. **fidei ueritas**] a phrase used by Ambr. *de Job* III. 16, in *Ps.* XXVIII. 34, *Epist.* XXI. 12. It means the true faith.

17. **Triumphus** in the sense of an instrument or monument of victory is not classical, and this is a singularly bold identification of the Cross with what it stood for: 'from the height of His ensign of victory.' Possibly 31. 87 is to be understood in the same way. That the Cross, apparently the token of shame, was really the sign of victory, is found in 1 Cor. i. 18, 23, Gal. vi. 14, Col. ii. 15. Thus Peter's cross was a triumph (13. 3). This thought often recurs in Ambr.: cp. in *Luc.* VII. 5 *ille est... ecclesiae filius qui crucem triumphum putat, si uocem Christi triumphantis agnoscat*; X. 109 *unus Dei triumphus fecit omnes prope iam homines triumphare*; *de Fide* IV. 8 *triumpho crucis*. So also Ambr. uses *tropaeum*, *de Virginib.* I. 7 [Agnes] *tendere Christo... manus, tropaeum Domini signare uictoris*; i.e. with outstretched arms she made the sign of the Cross. So too Prud. *Cath.* IX. 83 *dic tropaeum passionis, dic triumphalem crucem*; and 33. 2.

18. Joh. xix. 26f. Cp. in *Luc.* II. 1 *maluit... aliquos de suo ortu quam de matris pudore dubitare*; ib. 4 *Dominus ipse in cruce positus manifestauit [Mariae uirginitatem], cum dicit matri: mulier, ecce filius tuus, deinde discipulo: ecce mater tua. de Inst. Virg.* 46 f. *ipse testis est Filius Dei, qui cum esset in cruce discipulum matri commendabat ut*

*filium, discipulo eam tradebat ut matrem... 47 dignum quippe erat ut qui latroni ueniam donabat, matrem dubio pudoris absolueret. dicit enim ad matrem: mulier, ecce filius tuus, dicit et ad discipulum: ecce mater tua. ipse est discipulus cui mater commendatur... 48 testatur de cruce Dominus Iesus et paulisper publicam differt salutem, ne matrem inhonoram relinquat;... legatur matri pudoris defensio, testimonium integritatis. in Luc. X. 133 quo loco uberrimum testimonium Mariae uirginitatis adhibetur, neque enim abrogatur uxor marito, cum scriptum sit: quod Deus coniunxit homo non separet, sed quae propter mysterium coniugium praetexuit completis mysteriis iam coniugio non egebat. Ambr. thought that Joseph was still living, as is to be seen from the passage just quoted and from in *Luc.* II. 4 *numquam uirum proprium reliquisset [Maria], nec uir eam iustus passus esset a se discedere*. See also *de Inst. Virg.* 42, *Epist.* LXIII. 109 etc.*

20. I have written *apostolo* for *apostole* of the MSS; cp. in *Luc.* II. 4 *dicit matri: mulier, ecce filius tuus, deinde discipulo: ecce mater tua. Ib. X. 131 hic et in cruce non inmemor matris appellat eam dicens: ecce filius tuus, et Iohanni: ecce mater tua.*

21. **praetenta**] lit. 'stretched in front of' the mystery like a veil, to screen it; from *praetendere*. Cp. Tert. *Pudic.* 17 *omnes [epistulae apostolicae] pro pudicitia, pro castitate... praetendunt*. The verb was especially in military use and a favourite with Ambr. Rönisch p. 366 f.

praetenta nuptae foedera
 alto docens mysterio,
 ne uirginis partus sacer
 matris pudorem laederet.

cui fidem caelestibus
 Iesus dedit miraculis,
 nec credidit plebs impia :
 qui credidit saluus erit.

25

21 praetentae Va. nupta Ad. 23 nec Adh. 25 in cael. Adgh.

quotes several examples of its use by him.

nuptae foedera] 'the covenant of a bride,' i.e. the bridal covenant.

22. **Mysterio** is dative, governed by *praetenta*. The *mysterium* was the secret of Christ's conception by the holy Spirit; cp. in *Luc.* x. 133 quoted above, *Epist.* v. 13 *his signis et ipsa Mariae uirginitas apud ignaros mysterii probri suspectabatur*. The combination of *altum* with *mysterium* is found in Ambr. *de Cain* 1. 37, in *Luc.* III. 35 and elsewhere; and he has *Epist.* XVIII. 7 *caeli mysterium doceat me Deus ipse*.

23. **ne...laederet]** i.e. in the opinion of the people, in view of the above passages; otherwise the reference might have been, not to the purpose of the *praetenta foedera*, but to the manner of the birth: 'that His birth (being a sacred and a virgin birth) might not impair His mother's purity.' This would fall in with Ambr.'s use of *pudor*, e.g. 6. 14, 18.

25 f. 'Of which (i.e. His miraculous birth and Godhead) Jesus gave proof by heavenly miracles'; a passage imitated by Sedulius, 31. 45 f. *miraculis dedit fidem habere se Deum patrem. cui* refers back to *mysterio*, or perhaps to *u. partus sacer*.

25. **cui]** The tendency of late

Latin was to resolve diphthongs. Thus Juvenal, Martial, Ausonius, Prudentius scan *cūī*, Orientius *cūī*. But Prud. once scans it as a short monosyllable, *Cath.* III. 167. So Fortunatus scans *cūīūs*, VI. i. 135, VII. v. 22.

fidem] 'proof,' the ground on which the belief is founded. Cp. 12. 14, 31. 45, *Hex.* IV. 15 *hinc fidem suae disputationis arcessere*.

caelestibus...miraculis] Cp. in *Ps.* CXVIII. xxxiii. 6 *crucem esse salutem mundi testimoniis caelestibus adstruebat*. The *in* of several MSS may have been inserted by a copyist who looked upon *cui* as a monosyllable.

27. Joh. xii. 37. *plebs impia*, the Jewish people, as at Niceta *de Psalm.* Bono 6 (p. 74, ed. Burn) *nam et generatio eius exprimitur et reiectio plebis impiae et gentium hereditas nominatur*; cp. 108. 14.

impia] failing in the special duty towards God of believing in His Son. Ambr. puts it more fully in the phrase *Hex.* 1. 14 *impī et infideles*.

28. [Mk] xvi. 16. Ambr. *Epist.* XXII. 21 *audiuimus hodie dicentes eos, quibus manus imponebatur, neminem posse esse saluum, nisi qui in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum credidisset*. Perhaps the concurrence of the double *u* explains the lengthening of *-uus*.

nos credimus natum Deum
partumque uirginis sacrae,
peccata qui mundi tulit
ad dexteram sedens Patris.

30

29 dei Vap.

32 sedit Vr.

29. **nos**] in emphatic contrast with Jews and no doubt also with Arians, see Introduction, p. 17. 'We for our part do believe the birth of God and that a sacred virgin bare [Him]'; cp. Damas. XCI. 1 f. *qui natum passumque Deum repetisse paternas | sedes atque iterum uenturum ex aethere credit.*

31. Joh. i. 29 *qui tollit peccatum mundi. tuli*, in meaning as in form, is often found as the perfect of *tollo* (though *sustuli abstuli* are the commoner words); cp. amongst many instances in Ambr. *in Ps.* CXVIII. xii. 47 *uenit agnus Dei, qui tulit peccatum mundi; de Fuga Saec.* 55 *donec moriatur princeps sacerdotum qui tulit peccatum mundi*, with *Apol. David* 73 *qui p. m. abstulit; in Luc.* IV. 41 *tolle martyrum certamina, tulisti coronas; tolle cruciatus, tulisti beatitudines.* So in the Vulgate Joh. xi. 39 f. *tollite lapidem...tulerunt ergo; Lk.* v. 24 f.

tolle lectum...tulit lectum. Sedul. *Op.* II. 12 *tollit...quod quidem tulit.* Fort. IV. x. 22 *gaudia tot populis, heu, tulit una dies.*

peccata may be chosen instead of *peccatum* in order to avoid a spondee in the 2nd foot, but Ambr. uses the plural in the prose of *in Ps.* CXVIII. iii. 26 *tulit peccata mundi.* The plural passed into the *Gloria in Excelsis*, both in the Greek and in the Latin, not without a loss of some depth of significance; see Westcott on St John *l.c.*

32. [Mk] xvi. 19, Heb. i. 3.

sedens] now, not at the time of *tulit*. Niceta is perhaps alluding to this line when he says *de Psalmodiae Bono* 7 (p. 74, ed. Burn) *uirtutes Domini cantantur, passio ueneranda depingitur, resurrectio gloriosa monstratur, sedisse quoque ad dexteram non tacetur.* But the reference is more probably to the *Te Deum* 18.

HYMN 5

The evidence for Ambrose as author of this hymn is irrefragable. Twice Augustine refers to it as his: *de Beata Vita* 35 *hic mater recognitis uerbis, quae suae memoriae penitus inhaerebant, et quasi euigilans in fidem suam uersum illum sacerdotis nostri: foue precantes, Trinitas, laeta effudit.* *Conf.* IX. 32 (after his mother's death) *deinde dormiui et euigilaui et non parua ex parte mitigatum inueni dolorem meum, atque, ut eram in lecto meo solus, recordatus sum ueridicos uersus Ambrosii tui: tu es enim Deus creator omnium...* Augustine also twice quotes

the first line without giving the writer's name (*de Mus.* VI. ii. 2, ix. 23), and often in the *Confessions* without even marking it as a quotation (e.g. IV. 15), and he twice mentions it as part of a hymn (X. 52, XI. 35).

As to its church use see the Rule of Caesarius *ad uirgines: ad uesperam simili modo in exteriori oratorio directaneus paruulus dicatur et antiphonae tres, hymnus una die: Deus, qui certis legibus, altera die: Deus creator omnium*; cp. the Rule of Aurelian *cotidianis igitur diebus...ad lucernarium omni tempore et festis et cotidianis diebus inprimis directaneus, postea antiphonae duae, tertia semper cum alleluia dicatur, ymnus una die: Deus, qui certis legibus, alia die: Deus creator omnium et capitellum.*

Ambr. probably wrote it for daily use throughout the year and Ambrosian MSS give as rubric simply *ymnus uespertinalis*. It was adopted into the later hymnary and there assigned to vespers on Saturday. 'Its general use is on Saturdays from that preceding the 1st Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany to the Saturday before Quadragesima Sunday, both inclusive; and from the Saturday preceding the 1st Sunday in August to Advent.' (Julian p. 290.)

It does not seem to have been adopted into the Mozarabic breviary, which however has a hymn *Deus creator omnium, | lucis auctor et diei, | perlustra corda omnium | Iesu bone fidelium*; etc. this being appointed for lauds on Saturdays *infra hebdomadam I quadragesimae*. Ambr.'s vesper hymn is not received into the modern Roman breviary.

Biraghi's sub-title, *ad horam incensi*, i.e. 'at the hour of lighting,' is a phrase resting on no MS authority, being derived from Ambr. *de Virginib.* III. 18 *oratio nos crebra Deo commendet; ...certe sollemnes orationes cum gratiarum actione sunt deferendae, cum e somno surgimus...et hora*

incensi. Prudentius' evening hymn, from which 27 is taken, is entitled *ad incensum lucernae*. The service at this hour was known in the Greek Church as τὸ λυχνικόν, in the Western Church as *lucernare* or *lucernarium*. See Aetheriae Peregrinatio LXXII. 5 *hora autem decima, quod appellant hic licinicon, nam nos dicimus lucernare, similiter se omnis multitudo colliget ad Anastasin, incenduntur omnes candelae et cerei, et fit lumen infinitum.*

Abcdghik E^Ncdhjlsvxϕ Fabknops Ga Habcdefghi
Icdehnop Vacpr

Deus creator omnium,
polique rector, uestiens
diem decoro lumine,
noctem soporis gratia,
artus solutos ut quies
reddat laboris usui,
mentesque fessas alleuet
luctusque soluat anxios,

5

4 gratiam Va.

1. Cp. 2 Maccab. i. 24.

2. **poli**] See 2. 10 note. Earthly kings are *rectores mundi* Ambr. in *Luc.* IV. 37; cp. Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 572 *diuum tu maxime rector | Iuppiter.*

uestiens] as with a garment; cp. Ps. ciii. 2, Verg. *Aen.* VI. 640 *largior hic campos aether et lumine uestit purpureo.* Ambr. often uses *uestire* metaphorically, e.g. *Hex.* III. 47, 49, 52, 65, *Epist.* XXXIV, 7 *caeli lumina...creaturae sunt...seruiantes dispositioni creatoris aeterni, ministrantes splendorem quo uestiuntur atque die nocteque emicant.* There is something of a zeugma in joining *gratia* and *lumine* with *uestiens* in the same way.

3. Ambr. *de Off.* 1. 221 *est igitur decorum quod praeminet...Habet hoc decorum generale, quia fecit Deus*

mundi istius pulchritudinem...Ergo decorum hoc, quod in singulis mundi partibus elucebat, in uniuersitate resplenduit.

4. **gratia**] 'the gracious gift,' or perhaps 'the kindly influence,' with which cp. Keble's 'soft dews of kindly sleep.' Aug. *Conf.* IX. 32 (see the introduction to this hymn) quotes the line as *noctem sopora gratia* according to the best MSS.

5. Note the threefold use of *soluere* in these lines 'relaxed in sleep,' 'disperse,' 'pay.'

6. Cp. Nicet. *de Vigiliis* 1 *nox...cunctos in somno detinet animantes, ut reparatis uiribus per soporem possint diurnos labores sustinere uigilantes...ergo diem ad opus, noctem fecit ad requiem, et pro hoc, sicut pro omnibus, gratias debemus agere illi qui praestitit.*

grates peracto iam die
 et noctis exortu preces, 10
 uoti reos ut adiuues,
 hymnum canentes soluimus.
 te cordis ima concinant,
 te uox canora concrepet,
 te diligat castus amor, 15
 te mens adoret sobria :
 ut cum profunda clauserit

11 uotis Adh Fnps Vp. 13 concinat Eh Ga Ih Vr¹, concinent Ejs
 (concinnet Fb). 14 sonora Ah Vap. increpet Ej. 17 ut (*pro*
 et) Abdh ENl Fb Gd Vap. profundo Ed.

7. alleuet] 'relieve,' cp. 2. 4.

8. anxios] 'torturing,' much stronger than our *anxious*. Verg. *Aen.* IX. 89 *sollicitam timor anxios angit*.

9. 'We pay our thanks and prayers...that Thou wouldest help us who are bound by our vow.' The singers are regarded as having in the morning vowed to offer songs and prayers on being brought safely through the day. Now at evening, having obtained their petition, they acknowledge that the song and prayers are due. *Canentes* is nominative and almost means 'by singing.' The clause *ut adiuues* depends upon *preces*. The first stanza of 15 is constructed in somewhat like manner. Not altogether unlike is *Hex.* v. 36 *auium, quae cum eunt cubitum, quasi peracto laetae munere aethera cantu mulcere consuerunt, ut...laudes suo referant creatori. magnum igitur incentiuum excitandae nobis deuotionis amiseram. qui enim sensum hominis gerens non erubescat sine psalmorum celebritate diem claudere, cum etiam minutissimae aues sollempni deuotione et dulci carmine ortus dierum ac noctium prosequantur?*

10. noctis exortu] an unusual phrase, almost 'at the dawn of

night'; cp. *Hex.* v. 36 *ortus dierum ac noctium*; 50. 11. Ambr. brought up upon Verg. would remember *Aen.* II. 250 *ruit oceano nox*, 'night speeds up from ocean.'

11. uoti reos] a phrase borrowed from Verg. *Aen.* v. 237, where Cloanthus begs for the sea-gods' help: *taurum | constituam ante aras, uoti reus*. Festus says: *reus dictus a re quam promisit ac debet*. With the old Romans a vow implied a contract between the vower and the god to whom the vow was made. If the god did his part, the vower was bound to do (*reus*) his. A genitive was used of that in which a person was thus bound.

13. For the rhetorical repetition of *te* see 2. 9.

cordis ima] 'the depth of the heart.' The use of a neuter plu. adj. followed by a gen. is a favourite usage of Ambr., cp. 26, 6. 27, and the many examples quoted by Steier 641, e.g. *mentis (cordis) occulta, caeli alta*, etc.

14. concrepet] an emphatic word which has lost its more definite meaning 'rattle' (of arms etc.). Horace *Od.* I. xviii. 5 uses the simple *crepare*, 'harp upon.' Cp. 72. 12, 116. 28.

15. castus] Cp. 4. 28 *saluus*.

diem caligo noctium,
fides tenebras nesciat
et nox fide reluceat.

20

dormire mentem ne sinas,
dormire culpa nouerit,
castis fides refrigerans
somni uaporem temperet.

20 fidei luceat Ecdlsvx Fkops Hcde¹ Id'en Ver, fidei luc. EN¹ (fidelis N²) Fb Habce²fghi Id²hop. 21 sinat Ec Fb Hh Vr. 22 culpam Ad Ehj Fb Id²n Vr. 23 casti Es, castus EN, castos Adh Ecdlvx Fbp Hacefi Idh. refrigeret Exϕ Fb (-rent Es). 24 uaporem Vr.

18. caligo] Cp. 2. 10 note, and observe the shortened *a*.

noctium] 'of the night'; when no particular night is meant, the plural is common; cp. Steier 643.

19. fides tenebras] strongly contrasted as often in Ambr. e.g. 3. 28.

nesciat] See 3. 20 note.

20. 'And may night be illumined with the light of faith.' Faith is as it were a torch in the darkness; cp. 6. 32.

21. dormire] Cp. 2. 30 note; *de Inst. Virg.* xvii. 111 *uigilet cor eius, caro dormiat*; *de Nab.* 63 f., *in Ps.* cxviii. xii. 14.

mentem] 'the soul.' This is to be kept awake (*Cant.* v. 2); sin (*culpa* as at 4. 12) is to be laid to sleep.

ne sinas] 'suffer not.' This use of the 2nd pers. of the pres. subj. with *ne* is very rare in classical writers: but here we have a prayer, not a prohibition.

22. nouerit] [Walpole had counted sixteen places in Ambr.'s prose works where *nosse* is used with infin.; e.g.] *Hex.* v. 6 *nouit ulcisci*, *ib.* vi. 26 *nouit temptare*; cp. Steier 572, *Verg. Aen.* viii. 317.

23. Literally 'may faith cooling the chaste allay the hot fumes of sleep.' Ambr. seems to be thinking of the bodily warmth that accompanies sleep rising to overpower the

soul and to set free the animal impulses. Cp. *in Ps.* xxxv. 25 *nocte aduenit inimicus et aduersarius, quando somno sensus tenetur, in Ps.* xxxvi. 18 *ne...ueniat ille qui calefactum corporis somno excitare consueuit*. The evils are to be counteracted by the faith which realises even in sleep the presence of God, cp. 26. 28. *refrigerare* in classical Latin usually has a bad sense, 'chill,' 'numb.' But cp. *Cic. de Sen.* 46; 57 *umbris aquisue refrigerari*. It usually takes an acc., as *de Isaac* 77 *eos refrigerabat*; *in Ps.* cxviii. iv. 19 *nos Domini crux refrigeret*; sometimes a dat. as here and at Tertullian *ad Scapulam* 4 *indigentibus refrigeramus*; Ambr. *Epist.* lxiii. 69 *quibus refrigerabat aeternae spes gratiae*; see Rönsch 378.

24. uaporem] Cp. *Sen. Hippol.* 640 *pectus insanum uapor amorque torret*.

25. i.e. freed from the dangers of the waking state; cp. Ambr. *de Res.* ii. 21 *quorum* (i.e. of sleepers) *animi ad altiora se subrigunt et renuntiant corpori*. Just before he has spoken of the soul at death as *depositis proprii sensus repagulis expedita*. Not that *sensus* is to be taken in the physical connotation: it is 'thought' here as elsewhere. *exutus* is used thus in metaph., *in*

exuta sensu lubrico 25
 te cordis ima somnient,
 nec hostis inuidi dolo
 pauor quietos suscitet.

Christum rogemus et Patrem,
 Christi Patrisque Spiritum, 30
 unum potens per omnia,
 foue precantes, Trinitas.

27 ne (*pro nec*) Va.
 Fabs Hb Ic^d Vap.

29 rogamus Abdh Vap.
 32 faue Hdf Ih.

31 unus Echjv

Luc. x. 110 nodo mortis exuta. Cp. Verg. Aen. iv. 319 exue mentem.

26. **somnient**] 'dream of,' with acc., cp. Ter. *Eun.* 194 *me somnies, me exspectes*, Tertull. *de Fuga i scalae, quas somniat Iacob.*

27 f. 'Let not dread by reason of the craft of our malignant foe (the devil, as at 3. 14) arouse us from our quiet sleep.'

hostis] *de Int. David* 11. 28 *sit porta nostri oris et cordis clausa diligentius, ne hostis introeat.*

pauor...suscitet] Cp. Prov. iii. 24 f. *si dormieris, non timebis: ...ne pauas repentino terrore.*

29. **rogemus**] [Walpole left it doubtful whether to read *rogamus* or *rogemus*. The surrounding precatives make it more likely that scribes would alter *a* to *e* than the contrary; and the indicative seems to give the better sense.]

30. **Christi...Spiritum**] Acts xvi. 7, Rom. viii. 9, Gal. iv. 6, Phil. i. 19; Ambr. *de Spir.* 1. 54 *idem est Spiritus Dei, quies Spiritus Christi*; ib. 56; *Epist.* XXI. (*Serm.* 32), XXXVI. 3. Ambr. distinctly teaches the procession of the Spirit from the Son *de Spir.* 1. 119 and 152; cp. Swete *History of the Doctrine of the Procession* p. 119 f.

31. **unum**] perhaps agrees with *potens*, the two words combining into one idea, 'one power,' these two words being in the accusative, in apposition with the foregoing.

potens per omnia] 'all powerful,' 'almighty.' Ambr. often uses *per omnia* thus, *de Parad.* 8 *per omnia malum*; ib. 26 *per omnia...coniunctissimus*; *Epist.* LVIII. 10 *uir nudus per omnia*. Cp. the Lat. versions of Acts xvii. 22, Heb. iv. 15, also 36. 21.

This line is imitated at 32. 23, 44. 19, 48. 10.

32. **foue**] a beautiful and expressive word, combining the ideas of nursing, as a mother nurses her child in her lap, and of keeping warm, as a hen keeps her brood warm by gathering them under her wings; cp. Eph. v. 29 *nutrit et fouet eam, sicut et Christus ecclesiam*; 1 Thess. ii. 7 *tamquam si nutrix foueat filios suos*; 30. 25. It lost, however, some of its original delicacy of meaning and is used in the more general sense of 'protecting,' 81. 7, Aug. *Conf.* VII. 20 *fouisti caput nescientis*. For the interesting reference which Aug. makes to this line see the introduction to this hymn.

HYMN 6

The authenticity of this hymn is more widely attested than that of any other of Ambrose's. Caelestine (Bp of Rome A.D. 422–432) presiding at the Council of Rome A.D. 430, in his speech against the Nestorian heresy says (Mansi IV. 550): *recordor beatae memoriae Ambrosium in die natalis Domini nostri Iesu Christi omnem populum fecisse una uoce canere: ueni Redemptor gentium, ostende partum uirginis, miretur omne saeculum, talis decet partus Deum. numquid dixit, talis decet partus hominem? ergo sensus fratris nostri Cyrilli in hoc, quod dicit θεοτόκον Mariam, ualde concordat: talis decet partus Deum. Deum partu suo uirgo effudit.*

Faustus (Bishop of Riez, died A.D. 492) *Epist. VII. ad Graecum Diaconum* (p. 203 ed. Engelbrecht) *nos uerum hominem et uerum Deum nullo modo ambigimus confitendum. accipe etiam in hymno sacri antistitis et confessoris Ambrosii, quem in natali Dominico catholica per omnes Italiae et Galliae regiones persultat ecclesia: procede de thalamo tuo, geminae gigans substantiae.*

Facundus (Bishop of Hermiana in Africa, fl. 450, Migne LXVII. 540) *unum de Trinitate credidi Dominum Iesum Christum...qui Patris existens unigenitus factus sit unigenitus matris, ut geminae gigans substantiae, sicut intellexit et cantauit Ambrosius, utriusque uerae natiuitatis proprietate credatur.*

Cassiodorus (died about 570, Migne LXX. 79) *in Ps. VIII. II ad fin.: beatus Ambrosius hymnum natalis Domini eloquentiae suae pulcherrimo flore compinxit, ut pius sacerdos festiuitate dignum munus offerret...ait enim: procedat de thalamo suo, pudoris aula regia, geminae gigans substantiae, alacris ut currat uiam: et cetera, quae supra humanum ingenium uir sanctus excoluit. Again in Ps.*

LXXI. 6 (ib. 509) *hinc Ambrosius ille, quaedam ecclesiae candela, mirabili fulgore lampauit dicens: ueni Redemptor gentium...*

Augustine has also been quoted as a witness *Serm. 372 de Nat. Dom. IV. 3 hunc nostri gigantis excursum breuissime et pulcherrime cecinit beatus Ambrosius in hymno, quem paulo ante cantastis; loquens enim de Christo Domino sic ait: egressus eius a Patre, regressus eius ad Patrem, excursus usque ad inferos, recursus ad sedem Dei.* Again *Serm. de Symbol. IV. 4 quis enim non expauescat, cum audit Deum natum? audis nascentem, uide in ipso ortu miracula facientem: alius tumescit uirginis, claustrum pudoris permanet.* But it is not quite certain that these passages are the genuine work of Augustine. It is perhaps against them that Faustus does not speak of the hymn as being sung elsewhere than in Italy and Gaul. However *Aug. Tract. in Ev. Io. LIX. 3* quotes the phrase *geminæ gigans substantiæ*, without mentioning the source. Cp. also *Conf. IV. xii. 19.*

The Benedictine editors also quote Hildephons. *de Partu Virg.: et ideo, quia non fuit huiusmodi partus sacratissimæ uirginis Mariæ...canit et orat beatissimus Ambrosius: ueni, ait, Redemptor gentium, ostende partum uirginis...non enim ait: ostende conceptum uirginis, sed partum.* See Daniel IV. 5 f.; but it is now allowed that the treatise was not written by Hildephonsus. *Sedul. Carm. II. 44 f.* gives much of the wording of our hymn: *tunc maximus infans | intemerata sui conseruans uiscera templi | inlaesum uacuauit iter: pro uirgine testis | partus adest, clausa ingrediens et clausa relinquens. | quæ noua lux mundo, quæ toto gratia caelo? | quis fuit ille nitor, Mariæ cum Christus ab aluo | processit splendore nouo? uelut ipse decoro | sponsus ouans thalamo.*

In the older MSS the rubric runs *in (de) natali (nati-*

uitate) or *ad natale Domini*; in the most ancient MS it runs *Hymnus natali Domini dicendus*. Somewhat later MSS add the particular office at which it was to be sung, thus e.g. Rheinau LXXXIII written about A.D. 1000 adds *ad noct. uel ad uesp.* Mone (I. 43) notes: 'nach den Hss und Ausgaben wurde das Lied theils im Advent theils auf Weihnacht gesungen.'

Aabcdefghik Eacdhsvxμφ Fbdhiprs Gablmμ Hacesghβ
Ibdeghmnv Magkx Vabceprs

Intende, qui regis Israel,
super cherubin qui sedes,
adpare Ephrem coram, excita
potentiam tuam et ueni.

ueni, redemptor gentium,
ostende partum uirginis,
miretur omne saeculum,
talis decet partus Deo.

5

8 deum Acgh Eacdvxφ Fip Gμ Hgh Ibgmnv Mm Vacp².

1. The first stanza is taken, almost as it stands, from Ps. lxxix. (lxxx.) 1 f. *qui regis Israel intende, ... qui sedes super cherubin, manifestare coram Ephraim...excita potentiam tuam et ueni*. This passage in the old Gallican use and in others forms the antiphon for Advent Sunday; and *excita quaesumus Domine potentiam tuam et ueni* was (and in the Roman use is) part of the collect, which we now use for the fourth Sunday in Advent. The stanza is an integral part of the hymn, Ambr. incorporating the words of Scripture, just as he does at 7. 17 f. He prays that Christ may come as the shepherd of Israel, in the next stanza that He may come as Redeemer of the Gentiles. The two ideas are often combined in N.T. and even in O.T., cp. Ps. xcvi. (xcviii.) 2 f., Mt. x. 5, xv. 22, 24, Lk. i. 32, Ac. xiii. 46.

Prud. *Cath.* XII. 41 f. *hic ille rex est gentium | populique rex Iudaici*. When elision was disused the lines would become hard to sing, and may thus have fallen out of use; or some copyist may have deliberately omitted them, thinking *ueni redemptor gentium* a finer opening. In any case, read as they are in all the Ambrosian MSS and in the ancient *Vat. reg.* 11, we must accept them as the genuine work of Ambr.

3. **Ephrem**] This (and *cherubin* as above) appears to be the usual spelling in the Old Latin version and in early writers.

4 f. **ueni, ueni**] repeated in Ambr.'s manner.

6. i.e. shew all men that a virgin has brought forth.

8. Aug. *Serm.* CLXXXVI. 1 *Deum sic nasci oportuit, quando esse dignatus est homo*. Leo *Serm.* XXI. 2

non ex uirili semine,
 sed mystico spiramine 10
 Verbum Dei factum est caro,
 fructusque uentris floruit.
 aluus tumescit uirginis,
 claustrum pudoris permanet,
 uexilla uirtutum micant, 15

11 *om.* est Ag Eacdsυμ Fhs Icdgv Mm.
 Edsvxμ Fihmp Gab Hce¹β Ih.
 uirtute Mgrk Vapr. micat Ec Hh.

14 claustra...permanent
 15 uirtutis F's Gab Idehm Vbs,

talis natiuitas decuit Dei uirtutem et Dei sapientiam Christum. See also Caelestine's words quoted in the introd. to this hymn.

decet] usually takes an acc., but is found with a dative in Terence, Sallust and other writers; see Rönsch. p. 439. Ambr. *de Fug. Saec.* III. 16 twice over quotes *talis nobis decebat princeps sacerdos.*

[9. **non ex u. s.**] Ambr., like Tert., read the verb in Joh. i. 13 in the sing., as applying to our Lord. See in *Ps. XXXVII. Praef.* 5 *qui non ex sanguinibus, neque ex uoluntate uiri, sed de Spiritu sancto natus ex uirgine est.*]

10. **spiramine]** the Spirit in action; Lk. i. 35. Ambr. uses the word *de Bono Mortis* 19; cp. 4 Esdras xvi. 63 *spiramen Dei omnipotentis qui fecit omnia.* Juvenc. I. 340 *abluet ille hominis sancto spiramine mentem.* Prud. *Cath.* IX. 47, *Apoth.* 170, 758, 871, *Psych.* 421, 717, *Perist.* X. 985.

11. Joh. i. 14, often quoted by Ambr.

12. **fructus uentris]** Ps. cxxvi. (cxxvii.) 3, cxxxi. (cxxxii.) 11, Lk. i. 42; Ambr. in *Luc.* II. 24 *ipse fructus uentris est...flos Mariae Christus, qui ueluti bonae arboris fructus...nunc floret. fr. uentris* is, of course, predicate. [The word *floruit* doubtless contains an allusion to Is. xi. 1, where the LXX

has *ἄνθος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης ἀναβήσεται*, though the Latin versions translated otherwise.]

14. **claustrum pudoris]** 'the barrier of chastity,' seems to be used in a physical and literal sense here and *de Inst. Virg.* VIII. 52 *quae est igitur haec porta?* [cp. Ezek. xlv. 2] *porta igitur Maria, per quam Christus intrauit in hunc mundum, quando uirginali fusus est partu et genitalia uirginis claustra non soluit. mansit intemeratum septum pudoris.* See among many like passages of Ambr. *de Inst. Virg.* 52, 58, 60, 62, III, *Epist.* V. 9, XLII. 6 f., LXIII. 33; cp. 31. 9, 39. 4, 88. 4, and contrast 9. 10 (note).

15. **uexilla]** The word usually means a military 'ensign,' 'flag,' and in a Roman legion each squadron of horse had its *uexillum*. But in particular it was a red flag hung out over the general's tent as a signal for battle; cp. Caes. *Bell. Gall.* II. 20 *uexillum...quod erat insigne, cum ad arma concurrere oporteret.* Here *uexilla uirtutum* might mean 'the standards of the heavenly powers'; for *uirtutes* in the Latin versions translates *δυνάμεις* of the Greek e.g. 1 Pet. iii. 22; cp. Ambr. in *Luc.* I. 25. But other passages in Ambr. point decisively to another meaning: *de Inst. Virg.* 35 *egregia igitur Maria, quae signum sacrae uirginitatis extulit et intemeratae inte-*

uersatur in templo Deus.

procedat e thalamo suo,
pudoris aula regia,
geminæ gigans substantiæ ;
alacris occurrat uiam.

20

17 procedens Aabcdefgh Eadsvxμφ Fips Gabl Hβ Ibdg¹hmv Mgkm Vbs,
procedit Gμ Icg²n Vacp. de (*pro e*) Ecdvxf Fi Gb Ih Vbs. 20 ut
currat Ih Va.

gritatis...uexillum erexit; de Vir-
ginib. II. 15 quantae in una uir-
gine species uirtutum emicant!
secretum uerecundiae, uexillum
fidei, deuotionis obsequium. Although
she is a mother, the Virgin's purity
remains inviolate and the banners of
her many virtues gleam forth; and,
as the flag over the palace announces
the prince's presence, even so these
banners of purity announce the
presence of God in His mother's
womb.

16. **uersatur**] perhaps, coming
as it does midway between *tumescit*
and *procedat*, denotes the near ap-
proach of birth.

templo] It is not walls that give
its character to a temple, but the
presence of God, and therefore this
'royal court' is rightly called 'a
temple,' with special ref. to Ps. x.
(xi.) 5, Hab. ii. 20, Mal. iii. 1; cp.
Ambr. *de Spir.* III. 80 *Maria erat*
templum Dei; in Ps. XLV. 13 ad-
mirabile templum Dei et aula cae-
lestis; de Inst. Virg. 33, 105, etc.

17 f. Ps. xviii. (xix.) 6 *ipse tam-*
quam sponsus procedens de thalamo
suo: exsultauit ut gigas ad curren-
dam uiam. Ambr. quotes this verse
in Ps. XLIII. 28, CXVIII. vi. 6, de
Inst. Virg. 6, de Incarn. 35.

17. Most of the MSS read *proce-*
dens, but this would give a spondee
in the 2nd foot of the verse and is
no doubt due to *procedens* in the
psalm. The evidence for *procedat*
is more ancient than that for *procedit*,
which perhaps comes from the sur-
rounding indicatives and which

would clash with the strongly at-
tested *occurrat* in 20. Note that
Ambr. *as usual* (see Steier 582, 595,
613, 633) slightly alters the Scripture
quotation.

18. The phrase 'the royal court'
was for Ambr. a regular synonym
for Mary; e.g. *in Luc. x. 132 quia*
cognouerat per Filii mortem mundi
redemptionem, aula regalis putabat
se et sua morte publico muneri ali-
quid addituram. Cp. *de Inst. Virg.*
79, 105, *Epist. XLII. 7, LXIII. 110;*
Hildebert (quoted by Trench 111)
intra uirgineum decus, intra clau-
stra pudoris, colligit angelicam uir-
ginis aula rosam.

19. Ambr. regarded the giants of
Gen. vi. 4 as 'of two-fold nature,'
earthly and heavenly, 'the sons of
God' being the angels. Leporius
(the convert of Augustine, fl. 425)
alludes to this stanza in his retrac-
tation (Migne XXXI. 1225 f.): *ideoque*
una persona accipienda est carnis et
uerbi, ut fideliter sine aliqua dubita-
tione credamus unum eundemque Dei
Filium inseparabilem semper, ge-
minae substantiae etiam gigantem
nominatum.

substantiae] 'nature.' So Ambr.
Hex. III. 32, de Incarn. 77.

20. **alacris** answers to *exsultauit*
of Ps. xviii. 6. This form of the
masculine is found in Verg. *Aen. v.*
380, VI. 685. The Thesaurus gives
references to three other passages
where it is found. The ancient
grammarians discussed the correct-
ness of it.

occurrat u.] If this reading is

egressus eius a Patre,
 regressus eius ad Patrem,
 excursus usque ad inferos,
 recursus ad sedem Dei.

aequalis aeterno Patri
 carnis tropaeo accingere,

25

26 cingere (*pro acc.*) Aabdefg Eφ Glμ Hgh Mm Vapr.

right, the verb appears to be used in the sense of 'entering upon' the course; but it would not be easy to find a parallel to it. Ambr. may have taken the word from the next verse of the Ps., where *occursus* represents *κατάντημα*, the arrival at the goal; if so, he misunderstood it.

21 f. Still from Ps. xviii. *a summo caelo egressio eius: et occursus eius usque ad summum eius*; cp. Joh. xvi. 28. This application of the psalm goes back to Irenaeus (see *Haer.* IV. xxxiii. 13, *εἰς ἐνδειξὴν* 85) and to Justin (*Apol.* 54, *Dial.* 64, 69). Lines 21, 22 give the starting-point and the end of the course: 23, 24 contrast its nadir and zenith.

23. Ambr. *in Ps.* XLIII. 84 *Dominus in infernum descendit, ut et illi qui in inferis erant a uinculis soluerentur.* The clause *descendit ad inferna* had already found a place in the creed of Aquileia, and was probably known to Ambr.; cf. Rufinus *in Symbol.* 14. 28.

25. Ambr. often recurs to this dogma as *Epist.* VIII. 37 *Palladius dixit: 'Pater maior est Filio.' Ambrosius episcopus dixit: 'secundum carnem Filius minor est Patre, secundum diuinitatem aequalis est Patri'*; *Epist.* XLVIII. 4 *Filium... coaeternum Patri...aequalem Patri secundum diuinitatem.*

25 f. 'Coequal with the eternal Father Thou girdest thyself (or, as in v. 5, 'gird thyself') with the trophy of flesh, strengthening the

weakness of our body with power that shall never fail.'

26. The flesh is here regarded as a *tropaeum*, because it is the everlasting monument of His victory over Satan and death: a *τρόπαιον κατὰ δαιμόνων* answering to the *τρόπαιον κατ' ἐχθρῶν* of which we read so much in Thucydides. As the ref. here is to the moment of the incarnation, it is only by anticipation that it is called a *tropaeum*. Clichtov. says *Christus per carnem assumptam debellato diabolo victor euasit, ipsamque glorificatam carnem caelo tandem intulit.* Cp. Ambr. *in Luc.* X. 170 *talem (i.e. in corpore) sibi Pater ad dexteram locat tropaea nostrae salutis amplectens.* Paulin. Nol. *Natal.* XI. 654 *corporeum statuit caelesti in sede tropaeum | uexillumque crucis super omnia sidera fixit.* Aug. *Serm.* CCLXIII, 1 *tropaeo suo diabolus uictus est.* Prosper *de Prouid.* 444 *et de carne nouum referentem carne tropaeum.* For *tropaeum*, of that which appeared to be an element of weakness, but which was really a sign of victory, see 4. 17 note and 33. 2.

26. *accingere*, which is so well attested and which entails an elision that in the course of time would on this account cause trouble in the singing, is more likely to be the original word than *cingere*. Ambr. uses *accingi*, as *in Ps.* CXVIII. x. 9 *in adiumentum accingere, qui accinctus es ut creares*; *in Luc.* II. 70; *de Virginib.* I. 46; but he does not appear to use the simple *cingi*.

infirma nostri corporis
uirtute firmans perpeti.

praesepe iam fulget tuum
lumenque nox spirat nouum,
quod nulla nox interpolet
fideque iugi luceat.

30

28 perpetim Ev Gab Hβ Mg.
(-pellat Fb) Gb Idh Mg Vbs.
iugis Ev Fh.

31 interpolat Eacdhjsvμ Fh¹rs
32 fides Ev Fh Gb Mk, fidei Fs Vaps.

27, 28 reappear at 118. 15, 16.
Nostris c. seems to mean 'Thine,
which is of the same nature as ours.'

29. The prayer in stanza II (repeated in stanza V) has been heard; the processes of stanzas III and IV are accomplished: Christ lies in the manger. That He was born in the night is seen from Lk. ii. 8. Ambr. is fond of alluding to the manger, as pointing the contrast between the humiliation of Jesus as man and His majesty as God; e.g. in *Luc.* II. 42 *quia in pannis est uides, quia in caelis est non uides; infantis audis uagitus, non audis bouis Dominum agnoscentem mugitus: agnouit enim bos possessorem suum et asina praesepe domini sui, immo praesepe dixerim;...quanto magis nos neglegere uerba debemus, spectare mysteria, quibus uincit sermonis utilitas, quod operum miracula diuinorum nullis uenustata sermonibus ueritatis suae lumine refulse-runt!...hic est Dominus, hoc praesepe, quo nobis diuinum mysterium reuelatum est; cp. 8. 12 and in later hymns 31. 23, 33. 13, 38. 17.*

30. **lumen...nouum**] 'an unwonted light,' 'a light unknown before'; cp. Ambr. in *Ps.* XXXVIII. 18 *uetus dies praeteriit, nouus uenit. alius enim dies hominis, alius dies Christi...de quo et Dauid ait...sanctus ergo in die Domini exsultat, in die nouo, in quo Deus Dominus in-luxit nobis et dedit nouam lucem in innoxiam uitam et integram re-*

*formatis. ideo uir iustus securus nouae lucis et gratiae Dei dicit: erit mihi caelum nouum et terra noua et nouum lumen; referring in these last words to Rev. xxi. 1, xxii. 5. So too Sedul. Carm. II. 48f. (quoted in the introduction to this hymn), id. Op. II. 4 quae nouae lucis illa tunc claritas mundi totius oras impleuit! quae caelo laetitia! quis ille nitor effulsit, cum Christus splendore sidereo, uelut sponsus procedens de thalamo suo, Mariae processit ex utero. Trench quotes Euangel. Infant. 3 ecce repleta erat illa luminibus, lucernarum et candelarum fulgoribus excedentibus et solari luce maioribus. But Ambr. is hardly thinking of such a light as this. Rather cp. in *Ps.* CXVIII. xii. 13 *ortus ex uirgine processit ex aluo uniuersa totius orbis irradians, ut luceret omnibus. De Isaac 31 in praesepe erat et fulgebat e caelo; in Luc. II. 43 terreno in deuersorio iacet, sed caelesti lumine uiget.**

31. 'May no night break into (interrupt) it, and may it shine with a continuous stream of faith!' the prayer being for faith in this life. *interpolare* is a favourite word with Ambr., cf. *Hex.* IV. 22 *magna lux diuinitatis, quam nulla umbra mortis interpolet; in Ps. CXVIII. xii. 13 fulgoris perpetui claritatem, quam nulla nox interpolat; xiii. 8 lumen...quod nullae tenebrae noctis interpolent; Epist. XXII. 6 dies, quos nulla caligo noctis interpolat.*

32. fide...luceat] Ambr. in Ps. XXXVII. 21 *ideo fit persecutio, ut fides luceat*; cp. 3. 27, 5. 19.

iugi] one of Ambr.'s favourite words; thus he joins it with *laetitia*

de Abr. II. 22, with *flatu* ib. 57, with *exercitio* ib. 76, with *labor* *Hex.* V. 52, with *fames* ib. VI. 71. See 1. 29 (note), 8. 28, 49. 28, 92. 14; Rönisch 118f.

HYMN 7

This hymn is not ascribed to Ambrose by any ancient authority, but it is his. It is in the Ambrosian MSS and above all the manner and style are those of Ambrose himself. Augustine refers to it, though he does not name the writer: cp. *Conf.* XIII. 29 *quibus iam terra non indiget, quam parasti in conspectu credentium*. This is just like Augustine's manner of allusion. And *leuare* is not a very obvious word of fishing: the word used in Mt. xvii. 27, for example, is *tolle*.

As in 6 we have the quotation almost verbal of a passage of Scripture, so here (17 f.) we have the verbal quotation of the first two verses of St John's Gospel. At the same time two passages from Ambrose's prose show the supreme importance attached by him to the whole of the words thus quoted. See in *Luc.* I. 13 *tinea haereticus est, tinea Photinus est, tinea tua Arrius est. scindit uestimentum qui separat a Deo uerbum. scindit Photinus, cum legit: in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat; integrum enim uestimentum est, si legas: et Deus erat uerbum. de Fide* I. 56 f. *omnes haereses hoc capitulo breui piscator noster exclusit. quod enim erat in principio non includitur tempore; ergo Arrius conticescat. quod autem erat apud Deum, non permixtione confunditur, sed manentis uerbi apud Patrem solida perfectione distinguitur; ut Sabellius obmutescat. et Deus erat uerbum: non ergo in prolatione sermonis uerbum est, sed in illa caelestis designatione uirtutis; ut confutetur*

Photinus. quod uero erat in principio apud Deum, sempiterna diuinitatis in Patre et Filio inseparabilis unitas edocetur; ut erubescat Eunomius. postremo, cum omnia per ipsum facta dicantur, ipse conditor noui utique testamenti et ueteris designatur; ut Manichaeus locum temptationis habere non possit. ita piscator bonus intra unum omnes rete conclusit, ut faceret inhabiles fraudi, quamuis essent inutiles captioni. See also in *Luc.* II. 40, X. 118; in *Ps.* CXVIII. xiv. 23; *de Interp. Iob* I. 31, II. 15, *de Incarn.* 15 f. Line 21 is separately quoted *Hex.* I. 15, in *Ps.* XXXVI. 35.

Aabdefghik Fs Vaps

Amore Christi nobilis
et filius tonitruī
arcana Iohannes Dei
fatu reuelauit sacro.

captis solebat piscibus
patris senectam pascere ;

5

1. **amore Christi]** Joh. xiii. 23, xix. 26, xxi. 7, 20.

2. **filius tonitruī]** Mk iii. 17. *tonitrus* is the usual form of the gen., but the bye-form from *tonitruum* or *tonitruus* (*Sedul. Carm.* v. 15) is the form constantly found in the versions of the N.T.

3. **arcana]** Cp. Ambr. *Apol. David* 58 *secreta et arcana sapientiae*; in *Ps.* CXVIII. ii. 29 *dignus... cui committerentur arcana sapientiae*. The secret which Ambr. has in mind is already the doctrine of Joh. i. 1-14.

4. **fatu]** 'in sacred utterance,' a rare and solemn word suited to divine oracles; used by Ambr. *de Fide* I. 106. Cp. Prud. *Apoth.* 594 *promite secretos fatus* (the prophecies of Isaiah).

reuelauit] Cp. *de Noe* VIII. 26

reuelauit mysterium; often used by Ambr.

For the sense of the whole stanza cp. *de Inst. Virg.* 46 (of John) *iste dilectus Domini, qui e pectore eius hauserat secreta sapientiae et piae uoluntatis arcana*; *Epist.* LXV. 4 *sapientia autem Dei Christus, in cuius pectore recumbebat Iohannes, ut de principali illo secretoque (? fonte) sapientiae hausisse diuina proderetur mysteria. denique ipse conscius muneris hoc scripsit.*

6. **patris senectam]** 'his aged father.' For this use of an abstract with a dependent personal gen. cp. *Phaedr.* II. v. 23 *tum sic iocata est tanti maiestas ducis*; *Sedul. Carm.* I. 267 *coniugii fidem*, 'a faithful wife.' So too Propert. III. xviii. 15 *patria senecta*, 'her aged father.' Fortunatus has in like manner v.

turbante dum natat salo,
inmobilis fide stetit.

hamum profundo merserat,
piscatus est Verbum Dei,
iactauit undis retia,
uitam leuauit omnium.

10

7 nautat Fs² Vs, nutat *edd.* salum Vap^l.

12 hominum Abefgh.

iii. 3 *curua senectus*; *Vit. Germ.* XII. 41 *pernoctabat algida senectus*. The phrase *patrem pascere* is found in *Luc.* VIII. 75, *Hex.* v. 55.

7 f. Though John was tossed on the sea, his faith stood firm. Lines 7 and 8 are thus sharply contrasted. See *de Virg.* XX. esp. 131 *uide quid piscator etiam iste profecerit. dum in mari lucrum suum quaerit, uitam inuenit omnium; lembum deseruit, Deum repperit; scalmum reliquit, uerbum inuenit; lina laxauit, fidem reuinxit; plicauit retia, homines eleuauit; mare spreuit, caelum adquisiuit. hic ergo piscator, dum ipse turbato agitur salo, mobili mentes statione nutantes fundauit in petra.*

turbante is used intransitively, as at *Lucr.* II. 126, *Verg. Aen.* VI. 800, 857.

natat] the reading of the MSS is suitable here, *natate* being used both of physical and mental disturbance; cp. *Ov. Met.* v. 72 *oculis sub nocte natantibus atra | circumspexit*; and in Ambr. himself *de Bono Mortis* 12 *leuior fabulis et fluitans et natans uerbis*. Biraghi conjectures *nutat* to match the above prose passage, and is followed by Dreves and Steier.

8. **inmobilis** contains the idea of steadfast perseverance. Cp. *Tac. Hist.* IV. 2 *tristes et truces et aduersus plausus ac lasciuiam insultantis uulgi immobiles*. Ambr. *Epist.* II. 1 *inter tot mundi freta... immobilis manet...alluitur undis, non*

quatitur. Ambr. often combines it with *fides*, as here, in *Ps.* XLVII. 6 [*apostoli*] *immobiles fidei seruauerunt fundamentum, ne ecclesia tota nutaret*; in *Ps.* LXI. 18 *inmobilis ergo fide Stephanus immobilem Christum uidebat*; and *fides* with *stare* e.g. in *Ps.* XXXV. 29 *non corpore sed fide stabat*.

10. Ambr. *Hex.* v. 17 *euangelium est mare, in quo piscantur apostoli, in quod mittitur rete*; *de Isaac* 40 *Iohannes, qui uerbum apud Patrem inuenit*; cp. *de Virg.* 119. The symbol IXΘΥC with the representation of a fish is often found on ancient mosaics etc. and is explained as containing the initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Ὁμολογῶν. See Brockhaus 280 f.; Kraus s.v. Fisch; *Smith Dict. of Christian Antiquities* s.v. Eucharist and Fish. Here the 'fish' appears to be the doctrine of the person of Christ rather than Christ Himself. Cp. *Tert. de Bapt.*

uerbum Dei] *Joh.* i. 1.

12. **uitam...omnium**] *Joh.* vi. 57, xi. 25, xiv. 6; 10. 27 f. See *de Virg.* XX. 131 quoted above on v. 7.

leuauit is a word carefully chosen; cp. *Hex.* v. 15 *bonum piscem nec retia inuoluunt, sed eleuant, nec hamus internecat atque interficit*; *de Virg.* 119 *ut...Stephanum de mari eleuet...qui...non reti sed hamo leuatur*; ib. 131 quoted on line 7. For the allusion by *Aug. Conf.* XIII. 29 to this passage see the introduction to this hymn.

piscis bonus pia est fides
mundi supernatans salum,
subnixa Christi pectore,
sancto locuta Spiritu : 15

‘in principio erat Verbum,
et Verbum erat apud Deum,
et Deus erat Verbum, hoc erat
in principio apud Deum. 20

omnia per ipsum facta sunt.’
se laudet ipse, se sonet,
et laureatus Spiritu
scriptis coronetur suis.

14 salo Fs Vs. 15 pectora Aab¹defgh. 16 sancta Aab Vap.
22 se laudet ipse sonet Fs Vs, sed laude ipse se sonet Vap, sed (et Afh)
laude ipse resonet Aabdefgh.

13. The mode of expression reminds us of quite another one in *Luc. VII. 116 passer bonus est.*

pia] displaying the duty and love due from child to parent or from parent to child:—whether our duty towards God 29. 40, 52. 2, 92. 1; or His love towards us, 31. 78, 35. 3, 60. 3, 63. 5, 65. 13 etc. It will be seen that the latter use largely preponderates in these hymns. It often means ‘pious,’ ‘sacred’ as at 9. 4, 11. 1, 12. 5 etc.

14. The comparison of this world to a troubled sea is often found; cp. *de Virg. 118 nauis ecclesia est, quae...in hoc bene nauigat mundo; 33. 29* (note).

salum is found in all the good MSS, the intransitive *natare* becoming transitive when compounded with the prep. *super*. In like manner an acc. is found after *superambulare* (*Sedul. Carm. III. 226*), *supercalcare* (*Prud. Psych. 256*), *supereminere* (*Verg.*), *superiacere* (*Paulin. Nol. Carm. XVIII. 344*), *superstare* (*Ov.*), *superuenire* (*Hor.*), *superuolitare* (*Verg.*). At *Hex. v. 32* we find a dative *supernatant fluctibus*.

15. *Joh. xiii. 23, 25*. The expression is remarkable, but Ambr. is speaking of the orthodox Christian faith in general, of which John was the example and the teacher.

16. Ambr. *Epist. XI. 4 cum et alius uir sancto locutus Spiritu dixerit declinandas huiusmodi bestias*; with special reference to 2 *Joh. 10. Cp. 2 Pet. i. 21*.

17f. *Joh. i. 1*; cp. the passages quoted from Ambr. in the introduction to this hymn. In such a *tour de force* the metre naturally suffers.

22. The Milan MSS read *sed* (or *et*) *laude ipse resonet*; but this, besides being unmetrical, hardly gives the required sense. The two Vatican MSS of the Ambrosian use have *sed laude ipse se sonet*, which gives a better sense but is still spoilt by the harsh hiatus. Two MSS of the Xth cent. read *se laudet ipse sonet* which gives the clue to the original text *se laudet ipse, se sonet*. The abruptness of this is quite in Ambr.’s manner, as is the repeated *se*, which is like the repeated *hoc* at 2. 9 f., or the repeated *gallus* at 2. 18, 20, 21 etc. Ambr. says in effect: ‘instead

commune multis passio, 25
 cruorque delictum lauans ;
 hoc morte praestat martyrum
 quod fecit esse martyres.
 uinctus tamen ab impiis
 calente oliuo dicitur 30
 tersisse mundi puluerem,

29 uictus Aab.

30 ducitur Aabd¹efgh.

of speaking further about the wonders of the faith, which we have learnt from John, let him speak for himself.' Cp. *Ecclus.* xxiv. 1, *Prov.* xxxi. 31. Editors have generally adopted the transposition *sed ipse laude*, which does not seem to be likely.

23. The Spirit Himself wreathes John, whose own writings form the wreath. The laurel was to a Roman a symbol of victory: *laureatae litterae* meant a laurel-wreathed despatch to announce a victory, and in early times a laurel crown was held over the head of a triumphing general; cp. *Aul. Gell.* v. vi. 5 *triumphales coronae... quae imperatoribus ob honorem triumphi mittuntur... haec antiquitus e lauru erant.* So *Prud. Perist.* XII. 6 *superba morte laurcatum. Analecta* XXVII. cxi. 75 *laureatus sanguine.* The abl. without *a* or *ab* is found in *Cic. Cael.* 34 *alienis uiris comitata*, and is common in poets no doubt for metrical convenience. *Tacitus* uses it freely, e.g. *Ann.* II. 79, III. 20 *desertus suis.*

24. *corona* had to do duty for two Greek words: *στέφανος*, the wreath with which victors in the games were crowned; and *διάδημα*, the strip of jewelled linen which marked royalty. In these hymns the athlete's crown is the one meant; cp. 13. 4, 14. 3 etc.

26. *Ambr.* often uses the phrase *delictum (delicta) lauare*; see *de Ioseph* 59, in *Luc.* II. 41, VI. 18, X. 89.

27. 'This is better than the martyrs' death, even that which caused martyrs to be,' or perhaps (taking *quod* as a conjunction) 'even his causing martyrs to be.' *John* wrote that Gospel from which the martyrs derived their faith. See *Hex.* v. 16, where *Ambr.* makes *Stephen* the first martyr to be the fish that came up out of the Gospel sea where the hook was cast. Cp. *Cypr. de Lapsis* XX., *Epist.* XXXVI. 2 (*Hartel*).

morte is abl., because *praestat* ('is better') has a comparative force, as at *de Abr.* 20 *ceteris praestat metallis*; *Epist.* XXII. 11 *praestare maioribus.* Similar are *Sallust Jug.* XVI. 3 *ut fama fide commodum regis anteferret*; *Apul. Met.* LXVII. 4 *H nocte ista nihil antepono.*

28. The acc. and inf. with *facio* is common in *Ambr.* e.g. in *Ps.* XL. 35 *fecisti terram esse*; cp. 1. 23, *Draeger* II. 393, *Rönsch* 366 f., *Kaulen* 236. The French *faire* carries on the construction.

29. *John* was not a martyr (25-28) and 'yet' the will to be one was shewn. *Tert. de Praescr.* 36 is the earliest authority for the tradition that he was plunged into a cauldron of boiling oil before the Latin Gate but miraculously preserved.

31. *tersisse*] 'wiped off,' 'washed off,' 37. 28, 40. 28, 90. 20. *Ambr.* in *Ps.* CXVIII. ii. 8 *haec igitur mirantibus aliis respondit anima Iohannis: fusca sum et decora, filiae Ierusalem; fusca puluere saeculari, quem certando conlegi, decora oleo*

stetisse uictor aemuli.

32

spiritali, quo mundi huius puluerem squaloremque detergi; de Spir. II. 156 ungebat athletam suum Spiritus et puluere impietatis excusso debellatorem...offerebat; in Ps. CXVIII. xii. 28 ungamus igitur oleo lectionis nostrae mentis lacertos,...ut cum aduersarius...puluere nos suae temptationis adperserit, stemus intrepidi. An athlete was twice anointed,

firstly in order to make his limbs supple, then to remove the dust contracted in the course of the exercise.

32. *stetisse*] Cp. Eph. vi. 13.

aemuli] according to Daniel, the philosopher Crato. But Ambr. is much more likely to mean Satan. Cp. *inuidi* 3. 14 note, *zelum draconis inuidi*, 31. 89.

HYMN 8

This hymn is one of the twelve given to Ambrose by the Benedictine editors, on the strength of a statement by Cassiodorus *in Ps. LXXIV. 8 uinum in diuinis scripturis significat caeleste mysterium, sicut in illis hydriis factum est, quas Dominus aqua fecit impleri, ut latices fontium ruborem uini mutata qualitate susciperent, quem natura non habuit. unde beatus Ambrosius in hymno sanctae epiphaniae mirabiliter declamauit splendidissima luce uerborum.* Apart from his witness, the strong concise style and the frequent use of characteristic phrases point decidedly to Ambrose as the writer. And the question is settled by the intimate and necessary connexion between the last four stanzas of the hymn and a passage from an undoubted writing of his. See *in Luc. VI. 84 iam illud diuinum quem ad modum quinque panes quinque milibus populi redundauerint; non enim exiguo sed multiplicato cibo populum liquet esse satiatum. 85 uideres inconprehensibili quodam rigatu inter diuidentium manus, quas non fregerint fructificare particulas et intacta frangentium digitis sponte sua fragmenta subrepere. qui haec legit, quem ad modum iuges aquarum miretur meatus et liquidis fontibus stupeat continuos fluere successus: quando etiam panis exundat et naturae solidioris rigatus exuberat? 86 at uero hic panis quem frangit Iesus...dum diuiditur*

augetur;...dum frangitur, dum diuiditur, dum editur sine ulla dispendii comprehensione cumulatur. 87 nec dubites uel quod in manibus ministrantium uel in ore edentium cibus crescat;...sic in nuptiis ex fontibus uina ministris operantibus colorantur, et ipsi, qui inpleuerant hydrias aqua, uinum quod non detulerant hauriebant;...hic edentibus populis crescunt suis fragmenta dispendiis,...illic in alienam speciem uertuntur elementa;...quin etiam melior est mutati uini natura quam nati, quia in arbitrio creatoris est et quos usus uelit adsignare naturis et quas naturas impertire gignendis;...dum aquam minister infundit, odor transfusus inebriat, color mutatus informat, fidem quoque sapor haustus adcumulat. 88...nam et cibus edentium in ore crescebat.

Here neither the prose nor the verse is a copy the one of the other. Both are the works of the same man Ambrose, and it is natural to consider the hymn to be the earlier.

Nevertheless certain modern writers refuse to allow this on account of the contents of the hymn. Thus it connects the visit of the magi with the Epiphany, and therefore, says Daniel, it cannot have been written by Ambrose; inasmuch as the Roman church did not include the manifestation to the Gentiles as one of the epiphanies before the middle of the Vth century. But Prudentius (born in 348) dwells upon the visit of the wise men throughout his *hymnus epiphaniae*, *Cath.* XII. It is also connected with the Epiphany by Paulinus of Nola (born in 353); see *Carm.* XXVII. 45 f.

*ut ueneranda dies cunctis, qua uirgine natus
pro cunctis hominem sumpsit Deus; atque deinde
qua puerum stella duce mystica dona ferentes
suppliciter uidere magi; seu qua magis illum
Iordanis trepidans lauit tingente Iohanne;*

*siue dies eadem magis illo sit sacra signo
quo primum Deus egit opus, cum flumine uerso
permutauit aquas predulcis nectare uini.*

And Dreves notes that Augustine (born in 354) in all his sermons on the Epiphany mentions the magi.

Then stanzas IV and V mention among the Epiphany wonders the miracle at Cana. Hereupon say Kayser and Kraus, not before the time of Maximus of Turin (*fl. c.* A.D. 450) was this miracle connected with the Epiphany in the western church. But from M.'s own words it is clear that the connexion was already of long standing when he wrote (*Hom. XVII. de Epiph. I, Migne LVII. 260*) *uerum nec minus exultandum est, eo quod in hac sacratissima die huius celebritatis, sicut paterna traditione instruimur, ipse Christus Dominus noster ad terrenas inuitatus nuptias aduenerat, non ut illo delectaretur conuiuio, non ut se uino inebriaret, sed ut nuptiarum se esse demonstraret auctorem.* So Petrus Chrysologus (made Bishop of Ravenna in 433) *Serm. CLVII dominicae festiuitates causas suas suis uocabulis eloquuntur; nam sicut nascendo Christus diem dedit natalem, ... sic lumine signorum diem suae illuminationis ostendit... Deus ipse apparuit trino modo, qui homo in partu patuit singularis. merito ergo sollemnitas praesens epiphaniae uocabulo nuncupatur, in qua inluxit deitas, quae nostra nostris obscurabatur in carne. ista est... festiuitas, quae... peperit tria deitatis insignia... per epiphaniam Christus in nuptiis aquas saporauit in uinum.* So too Paulinus of Nola as quoted above.

Then Kayser and Kraus take exception to the reference to the feeding of the five thousand in the last three stanzas: this miracle being not as yet regarded as an epiphany. But does Ambrose so speak of it here? A careful reading of the words will shew that he does not co-ordinate it as a fourth manifestation, but that he

introduces this last event with *sic*, as much as to say: These three manifestations recall yet another, which illustrates the third of them. And just so does Petrus Chrysologus allude to it (*Serm. de Epiph. v*, Migne LVII. 622) *aquam transfert in uinum...qui panes quinque fragmento profluo et furtiuo incremento ad quinque milia hominum tetendit et dilatauit saginam, potuit augmentis succrescentibus ad nuptiarum festa uini ampliare et perpetuare mensuras.*

[But see *Dict. of Christian Antiquities* vol. II p. 619.]

Aabdefghik Eφ Fikls Gl Habcdfg Icdhn Max Vacprs

Inluminans altissimus
micantium astrorum globos,
pax, uita, lumen, ueritas,
Iesu, faue precantibus;

seu mystico baptismate
fluenta Iordanis retro

5

1. **inluminans** is an appropriate word with which to begin an Epiphany hymn. In like manner our 1st morning lesson for this day, as also in the Roman use, Isaiah lx, begins 'Arise, shine for thy light is come.' And Mone notes that Athanasius explains Ps. xxvi (xxvii) of the baptism of Christ, beginning with the words 'The Lord is my light.' In the eastern church the day was also known as τὰ φῶτα, or ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν φώτων.

altissimus] of Christ as is shewn by line 4; cp. *de Fide* III. 9 *quis autem neget Christum esse altissimum significatum?...hinc dubitari non potest, quod altissimus Christus sit...qui altissimus? Dei Filius. ergo qui altissimus Deus Christus est.* Cp. in *Ps.* XLV. 16f. *uenite ad me omnes qui laboratis...hanc uocem dedit altissimus; in Luc.* VIII. 46 *Christus...luminis sui globos spar-*

git. The nom. is here used for the vocative, 'the Most High.'

2. Ambr., remembering Verg. *Aen.* VI. 725 *lucentemque globum lunae titaniaque astra spiritus intus alit*, often refers to this line, as at *Hex.* I. 28, IV. 27, *de Resur.* II. 10 *caelum non semper stellarum micantium globis fulget; de Spir.* II. 36 *gentiles homines...quod caelum ac terras lunae quoque stellarumque micantium globos spiritus intus alat suis uersibus indiderunt.*

3. **pax**] *Eph.* ii. 14, Ambr. in *Ps.* I. 33 *bibe Christum quia pax est; cp. Epist.* XXIX. 6, LXIII. 4.

uita...ueritas] *Joh.* xiv. 6, to which verse Ambr. constantly refers, e.g. *de Abr.* I. 22; see esp. in *Ps.* XXXVI. 65 *cum de pace loquimur, ipse est; cum de ueritate et uita et redemptione loquimur, ipse est.*

lumen] Cp. 3. 3.

5f. Stanzas II-V give the events

conuersa quondam tertio
 praesente sacraris die ;
 seu stella partum uirginis
 caelo micans signauerit,
 et hoc adoratum die
 praesepe magos duxerit ;
 uel hydriis plenis aquae
 uini saporem infuderis ;

10

7 quodam tempore Gl Ha. 8 praesentem...diem Ha¹b¹cf Icdhn Vs.
 10 signaueris Aabdefh Vap. 11 hac Vap. adorandum Fs Vs. diem
 Ae Gl Habcd¹d Ih. 12 duxeris Aabdef Va. 13 aqua Ab Fis Gl
 Habcdg Ichn Vcs. 14 fuderis (*pro inf.*) Gl, fuderit Eφ Fis Habcdfg
 Icdn Vs, fundere Ih¹ (*inf.* Ih²).

in Christ's life which are especially regarded as His 'manifestations.' The classical turn *seu, seu, uel*, implies a choice of subjects that might be commemorated on this day. As a matter of fact it was a commemoration of them all.

'Whether by Thy mystical baptism Thou didst on this day sanctify the waters of Jordan thrice turned back'; cp. the prayer in the Baptismal Service:—'by the Baptism of thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ in the river Jordan didst sanctify water to the mystical washing away of sin.' The reference in the hymn is to Ps. cxiii. (cxiv.) 3, a passage often quoted or referred to by Ambr. as at *Hex.* III. 2 *mare uidit et fugit, Iordanes conuersus est retrorsum*; cp. *ib.* 6, in *Ps.* LXI. 32. The three occasions were when the Jordan was passed by the Israelites under Joshua (*Jos.* iii), by Elijah (*2 Kings* ii. 8), by Elisha (*ib.* 14). They are here specially alluded to as indicating that the Jordan was already prepared by miraculous interventions for this crowning enrichment. See Ambr. in *Luc.* I. 37 *ille sub Helia diuiso amne fluuialium recursus undarum in originem fluminis,—sicut dixit scriptura: Iordanis conuersus est retrorsum,—*

significat salutaris lauacri futura mysteria.

7. **tertio**] lit. 'for the third time.' It is often used instead of *ter* by Ambr., in *Luc.* I. 36, *Apolog. David.* 43, *Epist.* LXII. I. Cp. *Num.* xxii. 32 *cur tertio uerberas asinam tuam*; *Sedul. Op.* v. 36 *et haec tertio repetit.*

8. **sacraris**] The line is imitated *Sedul. Carm.* II. 161 *gurgitis et propriis sacrauit flumina membris.*

9. **partum uirginis**] 4. 30, 6. 6.

11 f. 'And on this day led the magi to do reverence to Thy manger.' Ambr. would not allow that the manger could be worshipped in the strict sense; but in the sense of 'falling down to' or 'at' it would be natural and harmless; cp. *Ps.* xcvi. (xcvii.) 5 *adorate scabellum pedum eius*; and Ambr.'s comments upon it *de Spir.* III. xi. Ambr. often mentions the visit of the magi. See esp. in *Luc.* II. 43 f.

adoratum is the supine, a form of the verb seldom used in late Latin, but cp. Ambr. *Hex.* v. 36 *auium quae cum eunt cubitum*; *Epist.* LXII. 3 *misi diaconum... memoratum.*

12. **praesepe**] 6. 29. *magos* has its first syllable lengthened by the

hausit minister conscius, 15
quod ipse non impleuerat.

aquas colorari uidens,
inebriare flumina,
elementa mutata stupet
transire in usus alteros. 20

sic quinque milibus uirum
dum quinque panes diuidis,
edentium sub dentibus

15 auxit (hauit Fs Vs) Abdfgh. 17 iubens Fi Ih, iubet Hbd.
18 inebriari Aabdefgh Eφ Fik Hbcdfg Icdn Vacps. 19 mut. elem.
stupent Aabdefgh Fis Ih Vacps (stupent *habent etiam* Eφ Gk Ic Vr).
21 si Vr, hic Ac. uiris Abefgh Fs Hd¹ Ihn Vaps. 22 diuidit Eφ Fi
Gl(?) Habcdf Ihn Vacrs, diuidunt Abdfgh (*et e ut uidetur*) Vp.

stress of the verse. In classical authors it is always short.

13 f. Joh. ii. 6 f. *uel*, 'or if,' answers to *seu* in 9, where that word really is equivalent to *uel si*.

hydriis] by a natural license put for their contents.

plenis aquae] Ambr. almost always uses a gen. with *plenus*, three times out of every four. The abl. is first found in Lucr., then used sparingly by Cic., more freely by Verg., and exclusively by Juv., Prud., Commodian. See Quint. IX. iii. 1. In these hymns we find the gen. at 45. 17, 49. 23, the abl. at 104. 34.

15. **minister**] rhetorical use of the sing. for plu.; cp. Ambr. in Ps. CXVIII. xiii. 6 *Iudaeus...facere consuevit*; XLVII. 11 *eum magus adorauit*; 9. 8, 12. 15 and often.

consciis] 'sharing the knowledge' of the fact that the wine had but lately been water; Joh. ii. 9 *ministri autem sciebant, qui hauriebant aquam*. 'The servant drew (from the water-pot into the cups) that which he knew that he had not filled': he had not poured in the wine that he drew out. With reference to the Gospel text a very

natural turn is given to *impleuerat* cp. Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 953 ἄγγος ἰδίου ἴσον ἀπασί βακχίου μέτρημα πληρώσαντες.

17 f. 'The servant seeing...is amazed.' *aquas, flumina, elementa* plural in form are sing. in meaning, as in *fluente* in 6 above. This is a common classical usage, cp. Draeger I. 4 f.

colorari] The wines of Palestine were mostly red; cp. Prov. xxiii. 31, Is. xxvii. 2, 31. 50, 90. 27, 91. 15.

18. **inebriare**] [W. left it doubtful whether he intended to read the active or the passive. The passive was likely to come from assimilation to *colorari*, and the passage from in Luc. VI. 87 given in the Introd. seems to decide for the active.]

19. Cp. in Ps. CXVIII. xix. 9 *elementa mutaret*; de Inst. Virg. 34 *in usus alteros mutaretur*; de Myst. 52 *non ualebit Christi sermo, ut species mutet elementorum?*

21 f. **quinque...quinque**] in Luc. VI. 79 *non otiosus numerus...cur enim plures, id est quinque milia, quinque panibus, hoc est numero minore, satiabantur?*

23. **edentium...dentibus**] Note

in ore crescebat cibus.

multiplicabatur magis
dispendio panis suo.

25

quis haec uidens mirabitur
iuges meatus fontium?

inter manus frangentium

panis rigatur profluus;

30

intacta quae non fregerant

fragmenta subrepunt uiris.

26 sui Vr. 28 faucium Eφ Fi Gl Hacfg Icn. 31 fregerat Aef Vp.
32 supersunt Ha²cd². uiri Aabefgh Fis Idn Vap.

the play upon the sound of the words, an artifice used elsewhere also by Ambr.; cp. *in Ps.* CXVIII. xviii. 29 *Moyses non imperauit sed impetrauit*; 10. 18 *ut abluat mundi luem*; *Hex.* I. 35 *caelum nubibus textitur ut sol tegatur*; VI. 13 *oua congregauit et clamauit quasi ouans*; *in Luc.* II. 42 *non fuco deliciarum sed suco naturalis alimoniae*; *de Iacob* I. 17 *ut totus mundus eius mundaretur sanguine.*

25. For the oxymoron cp. *Sedul. Carm.* III. 269 *epulas nutriuit edendo | uulgus et adtritae creuerunt morsibus escae*; id. *Op.* IV. 2 *substantiam... quae detrimentis augetur*; *Ouid Met.* VIII. 879 *infelix minuendo corpus alebat.*

27. 'Who...will wonder?' i.e. no one will wonder. Ambr. is fond of making a statement by asking a question, cp. 10. 7, 21, *in Luc.* VI. 85 quoted in the introd. to this hymn. The wonder of the rivers is dwelt upon by Basil *Hex.* III. 6 imitated by Ambr. *Hex.* II. 11.

28. **iuges**] Cp. 1. 29 (note), 6. 32. **meatus fontium**] 'the never failing courses of springs'; cp. *de Fide* II. prol. 2 *fontis meatu*; *de Spir.* I. prol. 7 *meatusque suos fons...deriuauit*; ib. I. 158; *in Luc.* VI. 85 quoted in the introd. to this hymn.

29. **inter manus**] 'in the hands,' more idiomatic than *in manibus*

ministrantium of *in Luc.* VI. 87; cp. Cic. *in Verrem* V. 11 *alius inter manus...auferebatur* with *de Sen.* 12 *est in manibus laudatio* ('is being read by all'), ib. *eam fabulam quam in manibus habebat* ('the play which he had in hand'). So Ambr. *de Virg.* I. 7 *inter cruentas carnificum manus.*

30. **rigatur**] connected with our word *rain*, means 'pour' any liquid, then in general 'shed'; cp. *Lucr.* II. 263 *hinc motus per membra rigan- tur* ('are welled'); IV. 907 *somnus per membra quietem inriget* ('lets a stream of repose over the limbs'); imitated by Verg. *Aen.* I. 691. Cp. *rigatu* in the passage from *in Luc.* V. given above in the introd.

profluus is constantly found in Ambr.'s prose for *profluens*; *in Luc.* IV. 6 *sitiens sitientibus, profluus abundantibus*; cp. *in Ps.* XXXV. 1 *sanguis...Christi...profluus ad lauandum omne peccatum*; *Epist.* XLVII. 1 *ea quae dictantur...profluo cursu feruntur*, 9. 23. *profluens* is also found, if rarely, as *in Luc.* IV. 71.

32. **uiris**] i.e. the disciples. The final couplet refers to the portions which were 'over and above.' Ambr. seems to conceive of the process of multiplication as continuing in the hands of the disciples (*frangentium*), and even in those of the recipients (*quae non fregerant*, sc. *discipuli*).

HYMN 9

Biraghi and Dreves argue that the Agnes-hymn is Ambrose's work, because it is in his style and abounds with his characteristic phrases, and especially because it is closely connected with a passage in the treatise *de Virginibus*, which he wrote in A.D. 377 and which is made up from a series of sermons the first of which he preached on St Agnes' day, Jan. 21st, of that year. However it is just here that Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri joins issue with them (*Römisch. Quartalschrift*, 1901, p. 3 f.). For he roundly asserts that the hymn cannot have been written by Ambrose, inasmuch as according to him in three important points it contradicts this detailed prose account of the martyrdom of Agnes (*de Virginibus* I. 2).

1. He objects that the prose story states that Agnes was beheaded, whereas the hymn represents her as being stabbed to death. No doubt the hymn does admit of this interpretation; see lines 25 and 30. But what says Ambrose in his sermon? The important words here on which Franchi rests his argument are: *stetit, oravit, ceruicem inflexit*. According to him these last two words must mean 'she bent her neck forward' in order to receive the stroke of the sword. Their real force may be quite different: *inflexit* may mean 'bent aside' in order to admit the *point* of the sword. So Catullus LXIV. 56 *euhoë bacchantes, euhoë capita inflectentes*; Propertius IV. viii. 77 *colla caue inflectas ad summum obliqua theatrum*; Verg. *Aen.* III. 631 *ceruicem inflexam posuit*, where the sense is determined by Hom. *Od.* IX. 372 *κεῖτ' ἀποδοχμώσας παχὺν αὐχένα*. Moreover the prose account certainly allows the reader to regard Agnes as being stabbed. If she was not stabbed there is little force in

fuitne in illo corpusculo uulneri locus? or in quae non habuit quo ferrum reciperet. No doubt death by beheading was more general than by stabbing. But stabbing was fairly frequent; cp. Cic. *Phil.* III. 4, XIV. 25; Prud. *Perist.* X. 64 *iugulos resectos obstinate opponere*; Fort. II. xiv. 10 *inuitant iugulis uulnera cara suis.* Jubaru *Sainte Agnes* (Paris 1907) p. 20 suggests that the stabbing in the case of Agnes may have been a concession to her tender years. After all the meaning of the phrase *cervicem inflexit* may be simply 'she gave herself up to death'; cp. in *Ps.* CXVIII. v. 25 [*Christus*] *cervices suas posuit in flagella*; in *Luc.* VII. 178 *Felix, Nabor et Victor ...colla flexerunt*; Damas. XIII. 4 *militibus missis populi tunc colla dedere*; Prud. *Psych.* 352.

2. Franchi says that the prose passage knows nothing of Agnes' flight from her parents' house, as described in the third stanza of the hymn. Now this prose passage does not claim to give the complete and precise account of an exact historian, but is the recital of a preacher striving to stir his hearers,—hearers who already knew the whole story. Why then give all the details? And Ambrose's words elsewhere (*Epist.* XXXVII. 37 *quid Theclam, quid Agnen...loquar, quae...ad mortem...festinauerunt?*) certainly point to incidents that are more fully narrated in the hymn. In much the same way, be it noted, Ambrose does not at *Hex.* v. 88 insert all the details that he gives in the hymn *Aeterne rerum conditor* (see the introduction to 2): and yet no one doubts the fact that this hymn was written by Ambrose.

3. Franchi says that the words of Agnes are different in the two accounts. And why not? As a preacher before an especial audience on the one hand, and as a hymn writer for the whole church on the other, Ambrose might well feel himself at liberty to choose from the martyr's

dying words, so far as he knew them, those which would in either case be more directly suitable for his immediate purpose.

The conclusion to which we are entitled to come by the evidence before us is that the two stories agree in substance, but with a freedom of treatment and a variety in detail which no imitator would venture upon, however bold or clever he might be. And it is noteworthy that the hymn knows nothing of the additions made to the story, as these are told in the *Gesta sanctae Agnes*, which were compiled A.D. 415-420.

Jubaru in his elaborate history of the saint gives January 21st A.D. 305 as the probable date of the death of St Agnes. It took place on the decline between the Pantheon and the Vatican where a church dedicated to her now stands.

Other accounts of her martyrdom were current. Damasus, the son of a Roman notary, became the priest of St Laurence's church and at last Pope, from 366-384. He had therefore as good an opportunity as any one of his time of getting at the truth, and he wrote the following inscription for the other church of St Agnes on the Nomentan Way (*Epigr.* XL. ed. Ihm).

*Fama refert sanctos dudum retulisse parentes
 Agnen, dum lugubres cantus tuba concrepisset,
 nutricis gremium subito liquisse puellam,
 sponte trucis calcasse minas rabiemque tyranni;
 urere cum flammis uoluisset nobile corpus,
 uiribus inmensum paruis superasse timorem,
 nudaque profusum crinem per membra dedisse,
 ne Domini templum facies peritura uideret.
 o ueneranda mihi, sanctum decus alma pudoris,
 ut Damasi precibus faueas precor, inclyta martyr.*

Here the punishment is burning, and Agnes covers her body, not with her clothes but with her hair. See also *Aur. Legend. SS. XXIV tunc uicarius Aspasius nomine iussit eam in copiosum ignem iactari, sed in duas partes flamma diuisa...eam minime contingebat...ignibus iniecta, sed iis per orationem eius extinctis gladio percussa est.*

In the story told by Prud. *Perist. XIV* Agnes is thrust into a brothel (25), and speaks of being stabbed (77 *ferum in papillas omne recepero | pectusque ad imum uim gladii traham*), but she is eventually beheaded (89 *uno sub ictu nam caput amputat*).

Notice that the epigram of Damasus begins with the words *fama refert*, just as Ambrose *de Virginib. I. 7* uses the word *traditur*. Already in the fourth century there was known to be uncertainty as to the facts concerning the martyrdom of this little girl.

Aabdefghik Fis Ia Vacps

Agnes beatae uirginis
natalis est, quo spiritum
caelo refudit debitum
pio sacrata sanguine.

¹ Agnis Vap¹, Agnetis Fs.

1. Ambr. and Prud. *Perist. XIV. 1, 31* etc. and the writer of the epigram *c. 364* Damasus *LXXXIV. 4, 14* (ed. Ihm), make *Agnes* both nom. and gen., the abl. being *Agne* (Ambr. *de Off. I. 203*). Another gen. *Agnetis* is found as early as in the *Feriale ecclesiae Romanae* of A.D. 354, and this at last superseded the shorter form. Mone suggests that Ambr. chose the Greek gen. (*ἀγνής*) to avoid confusion with the Latin *agna*. Anyhow we may safely say that he was thinking of this meaning for the name in view of his words *de Virg. I. 5 quid dignum de*

ea loqui possumus, cuius ne nomen quidem uacuum luce laudis fuit?

2. **natalis**] 'birthday,' i.e. day of martyrdom; cp. Ambr. *de Fid. Res. II. 5 nos quoque ipsi natales dies* (here used in the natural sense) *defunctorum obliuiscimur et eum quo obierunt diem celebri sollemnitate renouamus*. According to Servius on Verg. *Ecl. III. 76* the best writers used *natalis* as a subst., whereas later writers from Juv. onwards said *natalis dies*. But Cic. uses *natalis dies* and Ambr. *natalis*; cp. *de Virg. I. 5 natalis est uirginis, ... natalis est martyr, ... natalis est*

matura martyrio fuit,
matura nondum nuptiis.
nutabat in uiris fides,
cedebat effessus senex.

5

metu parentes territi
claustrum pudoris auxerant:
soluit fores custodiae
fides teneri nescia.

10

8 et fessus Ae Fi Vacp. cedebant effessi senes Fs Vs.

sanctae Agnes. See also Rönsch 104.

3. **refudit]** 2. 22 (note). *caelo* is to be taken with *debitum*.

4. **sacrata]** perhaps implies that her martyrdom was to Agnes what the taking of their vows was to other 'virgins.' She does not appear to have been a 'professed' virgin; cp. *de Virg.* 1. 19 *haec probauit Dominum, quem quia aetas nondum poterat confiteri, natura confessa est.* Her own blood was the instrument of her consecration, as others were baptized in their own blood.

5. Cp. *de Virg.* 1. 8 *nondum idonea poenae et iam matura uictoriae*; Prud. *Perist.* XIV. 10 *iugali uixabilem toro*. She is said to have been only twelve years old. The phrase in the hymn comes from Verg. *Aen.* VII. 53 *iam matura uiro, iam plenis nubilis annis*; cp. [Damasus] LXXIX. 4 (of a boy martyr) *tempore sub paruo matura laude triumphans*.

7. **nutabat** is contrasted with Agnes' firm constancy, as often in Ambr.; cp. *in Ps.* XL. 22 *latro... confessus est Dei Filium, ... iusti plerique nutabant*.

Both *uiris* and *senex* are emphatic. The faith of men in all their strength was wavering around, elders with their wisdom were giving in, but this little girl stood firm. Similarly *de Inst. Virg.* 49 *stabat ante crucem mater et fugientibus*

uiris stabat intrepida; in Luc. x. 132.

8. **effessus]** 'worn out' by persecution. The word, being well attested by the MSS and duly formed, should be read in preference to the *et fessus* of editors. Similar forms are *edurus*, *efferus*.

senex] the rhetorical singular, like *minister* in 8. 15.

9f. Prud. *Perist.* III. 36f. gives the like precautions taken by the parents of Eulalia: *sed pia cura parentis agit, | uirgo animosa domi ut lateat, | ... ne fera sanguinis in pretium | mortis amore puella ruat*.

10. 'had doubled the safeguard of her purity,' viz. the lock and key and similar precautions taken to secure the sanctity of her maidenhood. Perhaps Ambr. has in his mind the language of Hor. *Od.* III. xvi. Cp. *Epist.* v. 9 *erit, inquam, uel maleuola uel imperita, quam pudoris claustra praetereant*. Contrast 6 14.

11. Like Eulalia (Prud. *Perist.* III. 43) Agnes evaded her parents' restraint and voluntarily offered herself for martyrdom. See the introduction to this hymn.

fores custodiae] 'the doors of guard,' i.e. the doors which guarded her—a somewhat Hebraic turn.

12. **fides]** *de Virg.* 1. 7 *magna uis fidei, quae etiam ab illa testimonium inuenit aetate!*

For the use of *nescia* cp. that of *nescire* at 3. 20, 28, 5. 19. Ambr.

prodire quis nuptum putet,—
 sic laeta uultu ducitur,—
 nouas uiro ferens opes,
 dotata censu sanguinis.

15

aras nefandi numinis
 adolere taedis cogitur:
 respondet 'haud tales faces
 sumpsere Christi uirgines:

20

15 uero Aade Ia Vap, uiros Fs Vs.
 authalis facit Ia.

19 aut Adefh Fs Vacp.

has an inf. with *nescius*, as here, *de Virg.* I. 7 *mori...nescia*; ib. II. 9 *prodire domo nescia*; ib. II. 23 *fugere nescia*; cp. Verg. *Georg.* II. 467, IV. 470, *Aen.* X. 502, XII. 527; Draeger II. 354. Ennodius *Hymn.* VIII. 6 imitates the line: *uirtus teneri nescia*.

13. 'One would think she was coming forth to be wedded.' Cp. *de Virg.* I. 8 *non sic ad thalamum nupta properaret, ut ad supplicii locum laeta successu, gradu festino uirgo processit*; ib. III. 34 [*Pelagia*] *fertur ornasse caput, nuptialem induisse uestem, ut non ad mortem ire diceres, sed ad sponsum*. For the form of the line cp. 13. 29, and for the supine *nuptum* 8. 11.

14. *sic*] This use of *sic* (= *tam, adeo*) is rare; but the dictionaries refer to Cic. *Rep.* II. 21 *sic erat in omni uel officio uel sermone sollers*.

ducitur] 'She is led off to execution'; cp. 1. 33, Ambr. *de Nabuth* 21, *de Virg.* III. 34.

15. 'Bringing to her husband riches of a new kind, being dowered with the wealth of her blood.' *nouas* as in 6. 30, 10. 24. *uiro* = Christ. Cp. *de Virg.* I. 22 *Christus uirginis sponsus*. So Fortunatus IV. xxvi. 97 *hinc mater, hinc sponsa Agnes, Tecla dulcis, Agathe | et quaecumque Deo uirginitate placet*.

16. *dotata*] Cp. Ambr. *Hex.* III. 56 *ecclesia...Christi cruore dotata*;

de Isaac 48 *laudant etiam munera animae, quae missa sunt a sponso, quibus dotata ueniebat*; *Epist.* XXXI. 7 *miseri cordiae...dotata patrimonio*.

censu] originally 'rating,' then 'that at which one was rated,' hence 'income,' 'property,' 'wealth.' Ambr. uses the word metaphorically, *de Iacob* II. 20 *censu fidei*; *Epist.* XXXI. 7 *censu pio diues*; ib. XXXVIII. 7 *bonitatis suae censum*; cp. ib. II. 11.

17. 'They would compel her to kindle with the torch the altar of an accursed god': according to Prud. *Perist.* XIV, that of Minerva. Ambr. is borrowing from Verg. *Aen.* VII. 71 *adoleat dum altaria taedis*; as he does *de Ioseph* 17 *thymiana, quo adolent altaria piae mentis*; in *Luc.* I. 28 *adolentibus altaria*; *de Off.* III. 100 *ignis quo adolent altaria*. Cp. Prud. *Perist.* III. 26 f. *ast ubi se furiata lues | excitat in famulos Domini | Christicolisque cruenta iubet | tura cremare, iecur pecudis | mortiferis adolere deis*.

The plural forms *aras* and *taedis* are poetical. Verg. uses of a single altar the plural *arae* more than 60 times, the sing. some 18 times; the plural *taedae* 12 times, the sing. *taeda* twice. And *aras* is here chosen for *altaria* (which is virtually always used in the plural, but cf. Rönisch 259, 265) to suit the

hic ignis exstinguit fidem,
haec flamma lumen eripit.
hic, hic ferite! ut profluo
cruore restinguam focos.'

21

24 extinguiam Ad, restringam Ah Fs Vs.

metre. Steier, p. 628, says that Ambr. always carefully distinguishes between *ara* a heathen and *altaria* a Christian altar. It is true that at *in Virg.* 1. 7 Ambr. says, as here, *uel si ad aras inuita raperetur*, and *in Luc.* IX. 20 *ara deicitur, ut altaria erigantur*. Cp. Cyp. *Ep.* 59. 18 *altare remouentibus... simulacra atq. idola cum aris suis transeant*; *ib.* 65. 1 *quasi post aras diaboli accedere ad altare Dei fas sit*. But he often uses *ara* as the altar of God; thus *de Abr.* 1. 6 *ubi Bethel, id est domus Dei, ibi et ara: ubi ara, ibi et inuocatio Dei nostri*; *Epist.* XVIII. 10 *numquid imperator gentilis aram Christo leuauit* (cp. just above *sed uetera inquit* [Symmachus] *reddenda sunt altaria simulacris*); *ib.* XIX. 23 *nec aram statuit Deo nec hostiam immolauit*; *ib.* LV. 1 *tecum is qui aedificauit aram Deo*. Nor do others make a sharp and constant distinction between the two words; cp. Prud. *Cath.* XII. 131 and often, [Damas.] LVIII. 1 *hanc aram Domini seruant*; Fort. V. v. 133, VII. xxv. 8; *Vit. Mart.* III. 54. For the difference between them Obbar., on Prud. *Cath.* VII. 203 *altaris aram* (cp. *Perist.* X. 49), refers to Isid. *Orig.* XV. 4, Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* II. 515 *superorum et arae sunt et altaria, inferorum tantum arae*. Dressel says *ara sanctorum augustiniorque altaris pars Prudentio esse uidetur*.

18. **adolere** was the technical term in Roman ritual for kindling the sacrificial fire on an altar; but it is hard to say how it came to have this meaning—the later Romans themselves seem not to have known.

19. **faces**] Agnes is referring to the use of torches at weddings. Propertius uses *taedae* for 'marriage' 1. viii. 21 *nam me non ullae poterunt corrumpere taedae*.

20. **sumpsere**] 'are wont to take,' the perfect of repeated action, rare in principal clauses, except in poets and later writers (Roby § 1478 f.); cp. Verg. *Georg.* IV. 213, Hor. *Epist.* I. ii. 47, *Ars Poet.* 343, 1. 4 *legimus*.

21 f. Agnes means that the heathen fire is not true fire, the heathen flame not true flame.

hic...haec] rhetorical repetition, cp. note on 2. 11.

exstinguit...restringam] For the oxymoron in *ignis exstinguit* cp. Sedul. *Carm.* I. 205 *flammis | ardentis fidei restincta est flamma* (an echo of our passage). See also *de Virg.* 1. 30 *quam nulla exstinguit aetas, nulla eripere mors potest*.

23. [**Hic, hic** may indicate the part of the body that she wished them to strike, or the altar in the law-court at which she stood.] With the general sense cp. Agnes' words *de Virg.* 1. 9 *quid percussor moraris?* For *profluo* cp. 8. 30.

24. *de Virg.* III. 33 [Pelagia is speaking] *sacrilegas aras praecipitata subuertam et accensos focos cruore restringam*; *in Luc.* IX. 33 *incendia proprio cruore restinxerit*. *focos* is 'the altar fire' as at Propert. V. xi. 54, Prud. *Symm.* II. 910, 971, *Perist.* II. 447, X. 263. Cp. Isid. *Orig.* XX. x. 1 *Varro focos ait dictos, quod foueant ignes; ...quidquid autem ignis fouet, focus uocatur, seu ara sil seu quid aliud*.

percussa quam pompam tulit!
nam ueste se totam tegens
curam pudoris praestitit,
ne quis relectam cerneret.

25

in morte uiuebat pudor,
uultumque texerat manu,
terram genu flexo petit
lapsu uerecundo cadens.

30

26 tegit Abdefgh Ia Vap.

25. 'When, smitten what grandeur she displayed!' *pompa* seems to have lost its sense of a *procession*, as the Greek *πομπή* sometimes did, and as our word 'pomp' has done. In a similar prose passage (*de Virg.* II. 17 *quae pompa illa, quanta angelorum laetitia plaudentium*) the *pompa* may refer to the marriage procession, or possibly to the funeral procession; cp. Propert. III. v. 3 *nec mea tunc longa spatietur imagine pompa*.

tulit] Cp. Cic. *Att.* XIV. xiii. 2 *laetitiam apertissime tulimus*.

26. According to Damasus XL. 7, quoted in the introduction to this hymn, Agnes covered her naked body with her hair, even as Godiva 'shower'd the rippled ringlets to her knee.' So in a hymn in honour of St Agnes quoted by Mone III. 179 we read *spoliata uestimentis | densis latet capillis*; and in another hymn (ib. 181) *gaude, quod cum nudabaris | crine magis tenebaris | quam amictus gloria*.

27f. Ambr. has in mind the death of Polyxena as Euripides depicts it, *Hec.* 568f. ἡ δὲ καὶ θνήσκουσ' ὄμως | πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐσχήμως πεσεῖν, | κρύπτουσ' ἄ κρύπτειν ὄμματ' ἀσένων χρεῶν, imitated by Ovid *Fast.* II. 833 *tum quoque iam moriens ne non procumbat honeste | respicit; haec etiam cura cadentis erat; Met.* XIII. 479 *tunc quoque cura fuit partes celare tegendas | cum caderet castique decus ser-*

uare pudoris. So did the sisters of Pelagia, Ambr. *de Virg.* III. 35, *suspensio paululum in cinctum sinu, quo pudorem tegerent*; and Pelagia herself, *Epist.* XXXVII. 38 *quid autem sublimius sancta Pelagia, quae...aiebat: uolens morior, nemo me continget manu, nemo oculo proteruo uiolabit uirginem; mecum feram pudorem, mecum incolumem uerecundiam*. So did Perpetua, Potamiaena, and other Christian martyrs. Cp. Tac. *Hist.* III. 84 *ea cura etiam morientibus decori exitus fuit*; Plin. *Epist.* IV. 11.

27. **praestitit]** See note on 4. 7.

29. **morte uiuebat]** an oxymoron. Steier quotes Florus I. 18 *et in ipsa morte ira uiuebat*. Cp. Marius Victor *Aleth.* III. 224 *uiua morte suos referat*.

30. 'even her face she had covered.' This emphatic use of *-que* is found in Catullus and Propertius, and is common with later writers in the phr. *hodieque* (in *Luc.* I. 38); Schmalz 496. For the sense of the line cp. *de Abr.* I. 93 *discite ergo uirgines quemadmodum seruetis uerecundiam nec intecto capite prodeatis ante extraneos*; 1 Cor. xi. 6f.

31. Cp. *Lucr.* I. 92 [The dying Iphianassa] *terram genibus summissa petebat*; *Verg. Aen.* III. 93 *submissi petimus terram*.

petit] = *petiit*; both *uiuebat* and *texerat* being in past time. Vergil, Ovid and Lucan use this shortened form.

HYMN 10

The great antiquity of this hymn is proved by the mention of it in the Rule of Caesarius *ad uirgines*, whose direction is *quem hymnum totum pascha et ad matutinos et ad uesperam psallere debetis*. The Rule of Aurelian is to the same effect, except that for *ad uesperam* he writes *ad lucernarium*. As to its being one of Ambrose's genuine hymns, it is quoted as his by Hincmar of Reims, but his date is too late to allow him to be a competent witness on this point. Firmer grounds of belief are its conciseness and strength, its quotation of scripture passages slightly modified, its close resemblance in vocabulary and idiom to Ambrose's prose.

Dreves would add a further proof of its antiquity in the form of expression of the first words, *hic est dies uerus Dei*. He urges that not until after Jerome's revision did Ps. cxvii. (cxviii.) 24, to which these words refer, run *haec est dies*, and that the hymn must therefore have been written before that revision. However according to Sabatier (*Vet. Ital.* II. 230) the older version also read *haec*, so that we cannot use this argument. But it does seem to be the case that Ambrose when quoting or referring to the psalm-verse makes *dies* masculine, as at *Epist.* XXIII. 11 *die autem dominica exsultandum propheta docet, dicens: hic est dies quem fecit Dominus*.

In other places also Ambrose brings this verse into direct reference to Easter. Thus in *Ps.* XLIII. 6 *docet nos scriptura esse aliquos praeclaros dies in quibus refulserint facta diuina...in ipso enim die Christus hominibus resurrexit, et ideo specialiter de ipso dictum est: hic est dies quem fecit Dominus...cum igitur omnes dies Deus fecerit, hinc tamen diei prae ceteris diuini operis praerogatiua delata, quo peccatum omne sublatum est...hic ergo dies*

quem inluminavit sol ille iustitiae. In Luc. VII 79 quis est ille alter dies nisi forte ille dominicae resurrectionis, de quo dictum est: hic est dies quem fecit Dominus.

The sense of Easter must not be unduly restricted. The present hymn is as much on the Passion as on the Resurrection. In early times the Passion, the Death, and the Resurrection of Christ were regarded as one great celebration; cp. *de Resur.* II 46 *mors eius annua sollemnitatis mundi est*; and see Feltoe's note on Dionysius Alex. p. 94.

Easter was the chief season for Baptism, and the thought of this underlies the hymn, especially the first two stanzas, as also the conclusion of 36, the whole of 37, and the first part of 109 and 110.

Aabcdghik Eo Fisψ Hacı Icefn Mx Vacprs

Hic est dies uerus Dei
sancto serenus lumine,
quo diluit sanguis sacer
probrosa mundi crimina;
fidem refundens perditis
caecosque uisu inluminans.

5

2 sanctus sereno Vr, sanctus serenus Eo Fψ. 3 quod Vrs. 5 per-
fidis Hacı (perfides Vr). 6 uisus Vap.

1. Ps. cxvii. (cxviii.) 24; see introduction.

2. **sancto...lumine**] that of Christ, cp. 3. 3, 8. 3.

serenus] 'bright,' from the same root as *sol*, *sirius*.

3. *de Bened. Patr.* 24 *in passione...diluit gentes suo sanguine*; in *Ps.* XXXIX. 17 *ut in sanguine suo omnium peccata dilueret*; in *Ps.* CXVIII. *prol.* 3 *passio Domini...quae mundum hunc diluit*.

For the consecration of the baptismal water by the passion of Christ cp. *Ambr. de Myst.* 20 *quid*

est enim aqua sine cruce Christi? elementum commune sine ullo sacramenti effectu.

4. *Ambr. Carm.* I. 9 [Biraghi p. 136] *hic* (i.e. in the font) *quicumque uolunt probrosae crimina uitae | ponere, corda lauent, pectora munda gerant.*

mundi] probably with reference to *Joh.* i. 29.

5. **perditis**] 'to the lost.' *perditus* is the only passive part of *perdere* found in good writers, with the one exception of *perditur*, *Hor. Sat.* II. vi. 59, some part of *perire*

quem non graui soluit metu
latronis absolutio?

qui praemium mutans cruce
Iesum breui adquisit fide

10

7 soluat Eo Fiψ Haci Icefn Vcs, soluet Vr. 9 praemio Eo Vr.
cruce Eo Ic Vr. 10 Iesu Ie Vs. adquisiuit Fψ Hci Vr, quaesiuit
Aabdgh Eo Ha Vap, querit Fi Icefn Vacps.

taking the place. The variant *perfidis* makes a pointed contrast with *fidem* (as does *caecos* with *inluminans*), but this very fact may have commended it as a correction to some copyists. For *refundens* cp. 2. 22 note.

6. The enlightenment is partly, but not wholly, that of Baptism.

7f. Lk. xxiii. 39f. The penitent robber is often alluded to in Ambr.'s prose; as in *Ps.* xxxix. 17 *latro crucifixus absoluitur, quia ille Christum in suppliciis agnouit suis, ...et peccatum suum confessus est Christo; ...quia in cruce sua regnum Domini mente conspexit. ...Ideo precationem latronis uox secuta est caelestis huiusmodi: amen, amen, dico tibi, hodie tecum eris in paradiso. ... nemo est qui possit excludi quando receptus est latro.* See the like passages *de Fide* III. 99, in *Luc.* x. 121, *Epist.* lxxi. 8.

In such questions as this the indicative may stand, as in 21. 8. 27 (see the note there); or the subjunctive, as at 12. 13. Mone reads *soluet*, to match *mirabitur* 8. 27, but here the present is better attested and gives at least as good a sense.

9f. 'Who changing his cross into his heaven gained Jesus by a moment of faith.' The variants in 9 are accounted for by the two constructions of *mutare*. Horace could say *Od.* i. xvi. 25 *mitibus | mutare quaero tristia* ('give up bitter for sweet'), and *ib.* xvii. 1 *uelox amoenum saepe Lucretilem | mutat Lycao Faunus*

('takes in exchange for'). Ambr. uses the former construction in *Ps.* xl. 22 *latro ipse nequitiam suam proposito meliore mutauit*; *Epist.* lvi. 3 *patriam peregrino mutabant solo*; in *Luc.* vii. 1 *arduum quippe est crucem tollere...raroque quamuis excelsa uirtus futuris commutat praesentia.*

praemium] Cp. in *Ps.* xxxvii. 18 *dicamus quem ad modum in remunerando [Dominus] praeueniat nostram precationem et doceamus exemplo...tardius uotum precantis [latronis] quam remunerantis est praemium*; *de Fide* v. 125 *merita latronis exiit, praemia innocentis emeruit.*

10. **breui...fide**] Cp. in *Luc.* x. 121 *pulcherrimum adfectandae conuersionis exemplum, quod tam cito latroni uenia relaxatur.* The phrase also occurs in *Luc.* vi. 58 *Dei munus est congregatio nationum, quae etiam breui fide misericordiam inclinat aeternam*: cp. *Epist.* xvi. 4 *Iacob...breui somno...impetrauit, quod magno labore postea adquisiuit hereditas eius.* Ambr. uses *breuis* in a like pregnant sense in *Luc.* iv. 54 *aeterno supplicio et breui fructu.* Cp. Horace's *breues flores* *Od.* ii. iii. 13, *breuem dominum* ('their short lived lord') ii. xiv. 24.

adquisit] = *adquisiuit*. A copyist who found *quaerit* or *quaesit* would not be likely to change it into the longer word, which would be awkward in the singing at a time when elision was no longer in use.

iustosque praeuio gradu
praeuenit in regno Dei.

opus stupent et angeli
poenam uidentes corporis
Christoque adhaerentem reum
uitam beatam carpere.

15

mysterium mirabile!
ut abluat mundi luem,

- 11 iustus Abeg^{1h} Eo Fψ Ha^{2c} Vapr. 12 peruenit Aab^{1d}g Fi Ic
Vap. 13 obstupent (*pro* opus s.) Eo Fψ Hac, obstupeant Ic, hoc
obstupent Hi. 15 Christumq...reo Eo Fψ.

11. **iustos...praeuenit]** 'preceded the righteous'; the *iusti* of Lk. xv. 7 are meant. There is a further reference to Mt. xxi. 31 *praecedent uos in regnum Dei*, a passage quoted by Ambr. in *Ps.* xxxv. 23. He uses *praeuenire* transitively *de Abr.* i. 33, in *Ps.* xxxvii. 18, as it is used also in the Latin of 1 Thess. iv. 14. *praeuius* is used by Ambr. *Hex.* iv. 27, in *Luc.* vii. 122, *de Off.* i. 111, *Epist.* lxxiii. 87, lxxviii. 8. The variant *iustus* would mean 'justified' 'made just' and is used thus of the robber *de Nab.* 38 *auaro nox semper est, dies iusto*. But early MSS are most untrustworthy on this point, Vat. reg. 11 in this same hymn writing *corpuris* at 14. The reading *in regnum* of most MSS may be right, but more probably comes from Lk. xxiii. 42.

12. For the pleonasm *praeuio...praeuenit* cp. Ambr. in *Luc.* vii. 96 *ante praecessit*.

13. Ambr. often alludes thus to the angels; *de Fide* iv. 5 *obstupuerunt et angeli caeleste mysterium... cum resurgeret Dominus...praeibant angeli mirantes spoliū ex hoste quaesitum*; *ib.* 26 *grande mysterium Christi, quod stupuerunt et angeli*; 13. 30. Perhaps there is in these passages a recollection of 1 Pet. i. 12, which Ambr. quotes with the same *et* in *Epist.* lxxix. 3.

14. **poenam...corporis]** 'the bodily sufferings' might be those of the robber, but the passage *de Incarn.* 39 *erat inter supplicia...et regnum caeleste donabat* makes it probable that Ambr. means the sufferings of Christ amidst which He was able to do such miracles of grace.

15. **Christo adhaerentem** is a biblical phrase, cp. Deut. iv. 4, Jos. xxiii. 8, Ps. lxxii. (lxxiii.) 28 etc. Ambr. repeatedly uses it, as in *Ps.* cxviii. i. 5, ii. 9, xi. 5; cp. *de Cain* i. 5 *Christianus adhaerens Deo*.

16. in *Luc.* x. 121 *uita enim est esse cum Christo; ideo ubi Christus, ibi uita, ibi regnum*. That passage (concerning the dying robber) and the present tense here used shew that *carpere* means 'was then enjoying' and does not directly refer to the life after death. This observation favours the reading *regno* in 12. Ambr. often has the phrase *uitam carpere*; *de Interp. Iob* iii. 19, in *Ps.* cxviii. iii. 17, in *Luc.* vii. 39; cp. in *Ps.* xxxvi. 20, in *Ps.* xlvii. 23.

17. 'O wondrous mystery that flesh should....' For the construction cp. *de Exc. Fratris* 4 *magnum pietatis mysterium ut mors corporis nec in Christo esset excepta*.

18. For the intentional assonance of *abluat...luem* cp. 8. 23.

peccata tollat omnium
carnis uitia mundans caro ! 20

quid hoc potest sublimius,
ut culpa quaerat gratiam
metumque soluat caritas
reddatque mors uitam nouam,
hamum sibi mors deuoret 25

suisque se nodis liget,
moriatur ut uita omnium,

20 mundet Fi Icesn. 22 culpam...gratia Fψ Va. 27, 28 ut inserui.

19. Joh. i. 29, cp. 4. 31.

20. The use of 'the flesh' personified is common in the N.T., especially in St Paul's epistles, e.g. Rom. iii. 20; cp. *de Incarn.* 56 *nam quae erat causa incarnationis, nisi ut caro quae peccauerat per se redimeretur?* This is imitated 113.

15.

mundans] Cp. *de Iacob* 1. 17 *ut totus mundus eius mundaretur sanguine; de Bened. Patr.* 24 *nostra delicta mundauit.*

caro] Cp. *de Bened. Patr.* 24 *bona stola est caro Christi, quae omnium peccata operuit...lauit ergo Iesus stolam suam...ut...nostram sordem ablueret.*

21 f. 'What can be grander than this, that guilt should win grace?'

potest] sc. *esse*, meaning almost 'is possible'; Ambr. *Hex.* v. 19 *potest et sic*, as at Ter. *Phorm.* 303 *non sic futurumst: non potest.* Löfstedt *Spätlat. Studien* 44 quotes Tertull. *adv. Marcion.* 1. 25 *non poterit ea bonitas sine suis dotibus.*

ut] as in 18. It explains the *hoc*.

22. **quaerat]** 'win,' as in *Luc.* v. 76 *ita erit ut et iniuriam repellas et gratiam quaeras; de Fide* iv. 5 *spolium ex hoste quaesitum.* The word looks back to *adquisit* in 10, as *soluat* in 23 to *soluit* in 7.

For the question cp. 8. 27 note.

24. **mors uitam** thus standing together form an oxymoron. The

pointed contrast of life and death is common in hymns of all ages. But we may compare the well-known Easter sequence, Daniel II. 95 *mors et uita duello conflixere mirando: dux uitae mortuus regnat uiuus;* and 34. 31 f.

nouam] as in 6. 30.

25 f. 'that death should swallow his own hook and tie himself in his own knots.' The subjunctives still depend upon *ut* in 22.

hamum] Cp. Amphilochius (Holl p. 98) οὕτως καὶ γὰρ τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ τῆς θεότητος μου ὡσπερ σκώληκα περιθεὶς τὸ σῶμα...ἔλκω τὸν θάνατον, 32. 10; and for the general sense of the passage Hos. xiii. 14, 1 Cor. xv. 54, Ambr. *Epist.* XLIV. 7 *in nouo testamento suavis morsus est uitae, quae mortem absorbit. propterea apostolus ait: deuorata est mors in uictoria sua.* Ambr. uses the phrase *hamum uorare*, *de Virginitate* 119.

27 f. 'for the life of all to die that it may rise again the life of all': the splendid climax and conclusion of all the dependent clauses which have preceded. Cp. *in Ps.* XXXVI. 36 *ipsius mors uita est...ipsius resurrectio uita est uniuersorum;* *in Luc.* x. 126 *caro moritur ut resurgat;* *de Fid. Resur.* II. 46 *mors eius uita est omnium.* Ambr. would never have written such a line as *moriatur uita omnium*, which brings a spondee into the 2nd foot and

resurgat ut uita omnium ;
 cum mors per omnes transeat,
 omnes resurgant mortui,
 consumpta mors ictu suo
 perisse se solam gemat ?

30

28 hominum Ac dhi² Fi Iefn Vc. 29 dum Hci. 30 resurgunt Fiψ
 Hac Ien Vc. 32 sola Aabdehi Ifn Vcs.

leaves a final unaccented *ă* unelided before *o*. See Munro's note *Public School Latin Grammar* p. 523: 'Virgil's two examples of such a hiatus with a short syllable, *addam cerea prună·honos* and *patuit dea·ille*, may be defended by the pause; ...the *malĕ ominatis* assigned by some to Hor., and the *malĕ, o miselle passer* given by others to Catull. are impossible.' There would be every temptation for a copyist to omit the *ut* after its omission in the preceding lines, more especially before *ui* (VTVIT). Therefore I insert *ut* and read *moriatur ut uita*

omnium. *Et* would do almost as well.

28. The *ut*, this time found in the oldest of our MSS, is necessary, or here again we should have a spondee in the 2nd foot and the open *ă*. The meaning of the *ut*, however, is different.

29. Rom. v. 12. Ambr. *in Luc.* IV. 67 quotes the verse thus: *et ita in omnes homines pertransiuit (mors)*.

31. Cp. 25, Ambr. *de Fide* III. 84 *mortis enim mors facta est susceptio mortis in Christo*.

HYMN II

Except for the important fact that this hymn is contained in the Ambrosian MSS the evidence for the authorship of Ambrose is merely internal. But this evidence is convincing.

It was written by a poet of Milan, where these martyrs were especially honoured; see line 4 *terrisque nostris aduenae*; Ambr. *in Luc.* VII. 178 *granum sinapis martyres nostri sunt Felix, Nabor et Victor; habebant odorem fidei sed latebant; uenit persecutio, arma posuerunt, colla flexerunt, contriti gladio per totius terminos mundi gratiam sui sparsere martyrii*. Paulin. *Vit. Ambr.* 14 *sancti martyres Nabor et Felix celeberrime frequentabantur*. The omission of any mention of Victor by Paulinus is due to the fact that, whereas Nabor and Felix were buried side by side (cp. Ambr. *Epist.* XXII. 2

eo loci, qui est ante cancellos sanctorum Felicis et Naboris), Victor was buried elsewhere, namely in the basilica of Fausta, where Ambrose also laid the remains of his brother Satyrus; see the epitaph, probably written by Ambrose himself: *Uranio Satyro supremum fecit honorem, | martyris ad laeuam detulit Ambrosius*; and the Panegyric of Satyrus, ascribed by Biraghi to the VIth century [*Ambrosius Satyri corpus*] *lacrimarum riuulis irroratum ad laeuam martyris Victoris propriis manibus sepeliuit*.

The thoughts of the hymn and the words in which they are expressed constantly recur in Ambrose's undoubted prose works.

The negative witness of Ennodius is of great weight. He expressly says that he owed his recovery from a dangerous illness to Victor, to whom he purposes to pay special honour (*ingenioli sui adipem litare*). Yet he wrote no hymn for his festival, evidently because his master Ambrose had already composed one.

The wording of stanza v shews that the three martyrs had served in the imperial army at Milan. According to the martyrologies, they were martyred at Lodi on May 8th, A.D. 304, or according to the Hieronymian martyrology, Victor on the 8th and the others on the 12th, and their bodies were carried back to Milan on May 14th. Nothing more is certainly known of them.

Victor and Felix were especially common names in Africa; and a Numidian bishop Nabor attended the Donatist council of Cirta A.D. 305.

Ambrose evidently has in mind an epigram of Damasus (*Epigr.* XLVI. ed. Ihm), which he may recently have seen. The first four lines of this run:

*Incola nunc Christi, fuerat Carthaginiis ante,
tempore quo gladius secuit pia uiscera matris,*

*sanguine mutavit patriam, nomenque genusque;
Romanum ciuem sanctorum fecit origo.*

(Cp. also *Epigr.* VIII. 5 *ducis impia castra relinquunt.*)

Abcdeghik Vap

Victor, Nabor, Felix, pii
Mediolani martyres,
solo hospites, Mauri genus,
terrisque nostris aduenae.

torrens harena quos dedit,
anhela solis aestibus,
extrema terrae finium,
exsulque nostri nominis,

5

1. **pii** qualifies *martyres*; the predicate probably begins at this point.

2. **Mediolani**] 'of (not 'at') Milan'; as to this see introd. The usual scanning is *Mediōlanum* (or *-ium*). All poets take licence in the pronunciation of proper names, which otherwise would often be excluded from verse.

3. **solo hospites**] 'strangers' or 'guests to the soil.' So in *Ps.* CXVIII. xx. 44 (Sebastian, who was brought to Rome and there put to death) *illic, quo hospes aduenit, domicilium immortalitatis perpetuae collocavit.*

Mauri genus] 'Moors by race,' cp. Verg. *Aen.* v. 285 *Cressa genus Pholoe*. Elsewhere Ambr. appears always to use the abl., which was much commoner in prose until quite late times; as *Epist.* XXIV. 8 *trans-rhenanus genere*.

5. **harena**] 'the scorching desert,' viz. Mauretania. Several touches in this hymn suggest that Ambr. has in his mind Hor. *Od.* I. xxii.

dedit] 'produced' as at Hor. *Od.* III. vi. 47, or perhaps strictly 'has given us.'

6. **anhela**] 'panting,' strictly of the inhabitants, by an easy transition applied to the land. The line is imitated by Ennodius *Hymn.* I. 3 *anhela lucis aestibus*.

7 f. 'at earth's outermost border (lit. outermost of the borders of the earth) and that shares not our name.' At the edge of the earth ran the surrounding ocean, beyond which there was no more land. 'Our name' is the Latin name: the martyrs were not Roman citizens; cp. Hor. *Od.* IV. xiv. 7 (the Vindelici) *legis expertes Latinae*, and the frequent use of *nomen* as in *Od.* III. v. 10, IV. xv. 13.

exsul...nominis] Ambr. often uses a gen. after *exsul*; e.g. in *Luc.* IV. 66 *paradisi exsules*; cp. in *Luc.* v. 108 *regni caelestis extorres*. At 62 b. 13, 73. 10 it takes an abl.

Magistretti (*Mon. uet. lit. Ambr.*) points *extrema terrae, finium exsulque n. n.*, i.e. 'at the edge of earth, having no share in our territories and our name.' But the supplying of *nostrorum* with *finium* is harsh, and the construction of the words unnatural.

suscepit hospites Padus
 mercede magna sanguinis : 10
 sancto repleuit Spiritu
 almae fides ecclesiae ;
 et se coronauit trium
 cruore sacro martyrum,
 castrisque raptos impiis 15
 Christo sacrauit milites.
 profecit ad fidem labor,
 armisque docti bellicis
 pro rege uitam ponere,
 decere pro Christo pati, 20
 non tela quaerunt ferrea,
 non arma Christi milites.

9. **Padus** here means its basin, for neither Milan nor Lodi is actually on that river.

10. **mercede ... sanguinis**] The price they (ultimately) paid for their new citizenship was their blood. Ambr. uses the phrase *de Iacob* 1. 22 *sanguinis sui mercedem*; *de Off.* III. 19 *mercedem sanguinis*; cp. Damasus XLVI. 3 (quoted in the introduction) *sanguine mutauit patriam nomenque genusque*; ib. LII. 2 *sanguine mutasti patriam*; Prud. *Perist.* V. 3 *quo sanguinis merces tibi | corona Vincenti datur*.

11. Cp. *Epist.* LXXVI. 11 *repletos Spiritu sancto*; 4. 15. This line seems to imply that they were converted to Christianity in north Italy.

12. **fides ecclesiae** is a phrase often used by Ambr.; e.g. *de Abr.* 1. 87, ib. II. 74; cp. 14. 4. This faith led them to the gift of the Spirit.

13. The subject of *coronauit* is *fides* in 12. Note the alliteration in this stanza.

15. Cp. Damasus VIII. 5 *ducis impia castra relinquunt*. For the simple abl. *castris* of the place from which they were torn cp.

the use of *caelo* 12. 9, and Fort. IV. xxiv. 10 *hoc rapuit mundo*. It may however be dat. like Hor. *Od.* I. ix. *pignus dereptum lacertis*.

16. The immediate reference seems to be to their conversion, not without thought of their martyrdom.

sacrauit] Cp. 14. 4.

17f. Their previous discipline told, now that they were the soldiers of Christ.

18f. 'Having learnt by military service to lay down life for a king, that it is comely to suffer for Christ.' Taken thus the two clauses are parallel. But in the former the *rex* is abstract, including both the Emperor and Christ. Devotion to the earthly sovereign prepared them for devotion to a higher.

21. Cp. 2 Cor. ix. 4. The arms that a Christian needs are spiritual, cp. Ambr. *in Ps.* XLIII. 9 *non ergo pugnauit militaribus armis et ferreis telis populus ecclesiae*; *de Off.* 1. 201 *isti [martyres] sine armis uicerunt*; Ennod. *Hymn.* 1. 6 *qui bella Christi militat | nudus timetur ensibus*.

22. **Christi milites** is a favourite expression of Ambr., based on 2 Tim. ii. 3; cp. e.g. *in Ps.*

munitus armis ambulat,
ueram fidem qui possidet.

scutum uiro sua est fides
et mors triumphus, quem inuidens
nobis tyrannus ad oppidum
Laudense misit martyres.

25

sed reddiderunt hostias
rapti quadrigis corpora,
reuecti in ora principum
plaustris triumphalis modo.

30

25 uero Abde Va.

30 raptis Ab¹deg.

XXXVIII. 35, *Epist.* XXII. 10 non
saeculi milites sed milites Christi.

23. Cp. *de Helia* 16 munitus ar-
mis ieiunii; in *Ps.* CXVIII. i. 11
munitus es spiritalibus turmis.

ambulat thus used is based on
such Bible passages as *Ps.* cxviii.
(cxix.) 1 etc. and is often found in
Ambr. as in *Ps.* I. 24, in *Ps.* CXVIII.
i. 8.

25. *Eph.* v. 16 *sumentes scutum
fidei*. See among many like passages
Ambr. *Hex.* v. 31 *armis fidei semper
et scuto deuotionis accinctus*; in *Ps.*
XXXVI. 24, XLV. 22.

26. **mors triumphus**] a truly
Ambrosian combination; cp. *de
Fid. Res.* II. 45 (the martyrs) *uice-
runt mortui*, and the note on 4. 17.
So at 13. 20 'Peter suffered death'
is represented by the triumphal
mortem subegit asperam. So Dama-
sus XII. 4 expresses 'who suffer
martyrdom' by *portant qui ex hoste
tropaea*.

27. **tyrannus**] Anulinus, accord-
ing to the worthless 'Acts.' The Greek
τύραννος was an absolute despot, the
word referring rather to the way in
which the power was obtained than
to the way in which it was exercised;
but it soon came to have the bad
meaning implied in our 'tyrant.'
Ambr. uses it of those in power and
especially of persecutors; cp. *de Off.*

1. 206 *cum* [Laurentius] *inluso ty-
ranno, impositus super craticulam
exureretur*; and in the plural in
Ps. CXVIII. xiv. 35; *ib.* XX. 46.

• **oppidum Laudense**] Laus Pom-
peia, 21 miles S.S.E. of Milan,
close to the modern Lodi.

30. **corpora** is probably the acc.
after the passive *rapti*, used almost
like a Greek middle, a very common
usage in Verg. e.g. *Aen.* II. 57
manus reuinctum, 'having his arms
bound'; cp. Ambr. *Hex.* v. 57
pulli...caecitate suffossi oculos with
Aen. I. 228 *lacrimis oculos suffusa*,
'having her eyes suffused with tears.'
Or *corpora* may be in apposition
with *hostias*, *hostias* being like an
adj. or predicate to *corpora*; or *cor-
pora* may be in apposition with *rapti*,
according to the sense and not to the
strict grammar. For *hostias* cp. 12. 5.

31. **principum**] i.e. the perse-
cutors, whom Ambr. calls *principes
mundi* in *Ps.* I. 37, *principes saeculi
in Luc.* II. 3. The *rapti* refers to
the story that the pious Sabina of
Lodi got hold of the bodies and
carried them back to Milan, at that
time the capital city and imperial
residence.

32. **plaustris**] the triumphal car.
The bringing of the martyrs' bodies
reminds Ambr. of the triumphal
procession.

HYMN 12

This hymn, like 11, is given to Ambrose only on internal evidence, but here again this is overwhelming. Clearly the hymn and *Epist.* XXII, a letter written by Ambrose to his sister Marcellina at the time of the discovery of the martyrs' relics, were written by one and the same man. The most important parallels are pointed out in the notes.

And in the hymn itself no one but Ambrose could have used the first person: '*I* sing, *I* the discoverer' (stanza I); '*we* cannot be martyrs, but *we* discover martyrs' (stanza III); '*we* have seen' (stanza VIII). Who else could have claimed to be a contemporary and an eyewitness: 'Severus is the man's name' (stanza V)?

Augustine was then teaching rhetoric at Milan and he tells the story thus (*Serm.* CCLXXXVI. 4): *celebramus hodierno die, fratres, memoriam in hoc loco positam sanctorum Protasii et Geruasii, Mediolanensium martyrum. non eum diem quo hic posita est, sed eum diem celebramus, quando inuenta est pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius per Ambrosium episcopum, hominem Dei, cuius tunc sanctae gloriae martyrum etiam ego testis fui. ibi eram, Mediolani eram, facta miracula noui, adtestante Deo pretiosis mortibus sanctorum suorum; ut per illa miracula iam non solum in conspectu Domini, sed etiam in conspectu hominum esset mors illa pretiosa. Caecus notissimus uniuersae ciuitati inluminatus est. cucurrit, adduci se fecit, sine duce reuersus est. nondum audiuimus quod obierit; forte adhuc uiuit. in ipsa eorum basilica, ubi sunt eorum corpora, totam uitam seruiturum se esse deuouit. nos illum gauisi sumus uidentem, reliquimus seruientem.*

Compare also his account in *Conf.* IX. vii. 16.

Gibbon in ch. XXVII gives a clear if prejudiced account

of the circumstances under which this hymn was written. 'While he [Ambrose] maintained this arduous contest [against Justina], he was instructed by a dream to open the earth in a place where the remains of two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius, had been deposited over three hundred years. Immediately under the pavement of the church two perfect skeletons were found, with the heads separated from their bodies and a plentiful effusion of blood. The holy relics were presented in solemn pomp to the veneration of the people; and every circumstance of this fortunate discovery was admirably adapted to promote the designs of Ambrose. The bones of the martyrs, their blood, their garments were supposed to contain a healing power; and their preternatural influence was communicated to the most distant objects without losing any part of its original virtue. The extraordinary cure of a blind man and the reluctant confessions of several demoniacs appeared to justify the faith and sanctity of Ambrose. And the truth of these miracles is attested by Ambrose himself, by his secretary Paulinus, and by his proselyte the celebrated Augustine, who at that time professed the art of rhetoric in Milan.... Their effect... on the minds of the people was rapid and irresistible.'

Gibbon's tone of incredulity is not surprising. But no one can read the letter to Marcellina and connect Ambrose with any fraud however pious.

Mone, using only XVth century MSS, came to the extraordinary conclusion that the hymn was written by a humanist of the XVth century; who in style, prosody and treatment of the subject, copied the old writers. But, apart from the fact that it is contained in early MSS, the style is that of Ambrose and of no one else, incisive and terse. If the hymn is rather more rhetorical in colouring than others of his, this may well be put down to the

nature of its subject and the circumstances under which it was written.

The finding of the martyrs' bodies was celebrated on June 19.

Abcdeghk Fs Ie Mx Vaps

Grates tibi, Iesu, nouas
noui repertor muneris
Protasio Geruasio
martyribus inuentis cano.

piae latebant hostiae, 5
sed non latebat fons sacer :
latere sanguis non potest,
qui clamat ad Deum patrem.

caelo refulgens gratia
artus reuelauit sacros : 10

3 et G. Vs.

1 f. Cf. Ambr. *Epist.* XXII. 10 *gratias tibi, Domine Iesu, quod hoc tempore tales nobis sanctorum martyrum spiritus excitasti*; ib. 1 *scias etiam sanctos martyres a nobis repertos*; ib. 3 *cum...considerarem...munera quae in sanctis martyribus refulserunt, imparem me, fateor, huic muneri iudicabam.*

2. **repertor** might be in apposition with *Iesu*; 'the real granter' or 'discoverer of a new kind of gift to give.' Christian writers freely used *repertor* in the sense of 'creator,' imitating Verg. *Aen.* XII. 829; cp. e.g. Juvenc. I. 35, II. 405, IV. 479; [Damas.] LXVIII. 11, LXIX. 2. But in view of 12 it seems better to make it nominative.

4. **inuentis**] Cp. *Epist.* XXII. 11 *inuenimus unum hoc, quo uideamur praestare maioribus.* See the epigram of Damasus on finding the relics of the martyr Eutychius (XXVII. 9 f.) *nocte soporifera turbant insomnia mentem, | ostendit latebra*

insontis quae membra teneret; | quaeritur, inuentus colitur.

5. **hostiae**] Cp. *Epist.* XXII. 13 *succedant uictimae triumphales in locum, ubi Christus hostia est.* 11. 29.

6. **fons sacer** is explained by the next line and by *Epist.* XXII. 2 *ossa omnia integra, sanguinis plurimum*; ib. 12 *sanguine tumulus madet, adparent cruoris triumphalis notae.*

8. ib. 13 *sed non ego ad suffragium martyrum usurpo uocem daemonum...melior uox est quam sanguis emittit. habet enim sanguis uocem canoram, quae de terris ad caelum peruenit, dicente Deo: sanguis fratris tui clamat ad me. et hic sanguis clamat coloris indicio, sanguis clamat operationis praeconio, sanguis clamat passionis triumpho.* Ambr. often refers thus to Gen. iv. 10, as at in *Ps.* CXVIII. xix. 44, in *Luc.* I. 41, *de Iob* 32, *de Off.* I. 201, *Epist.* II. 10. Cp. also Job xvi. 19, Is. xxvi. 21.

9. **caelo refulgens**] 'shining from

nequimus esse martyres,
sed repperimus martyres.

hic quis requirat testium
uoces, ubi factum est fides?
sanatus inpos mentium
opus fatetur martyrum.

15

caecus recepto lumine
mortis sacrae meritum probat:
Seuerus est nomen uiro,
usus minister publici.

20

12 reperimus Abdgh Vap.

14 fide Ab²g Ie Vap.

heaven.' It was a dream which led to the discovery. For the abl. cp. *castris raptos* 11. 5. But perhaps *caelo* may mean in the martyrs themselves; cp. *Epist.* XXII. 5 *caelum erat Paulus* etc.

11. Cp. ib. 12 *quia ipse martyr esse non mereor, hos uobis martyres adquisiui*. For Ambr.'s yearning for the honour of martyrdom see in *Ps.* CXVIII. xxi. 9 *utinam ego talis* [sc. *martyr*] *esse merear*.

12. **repperimus**] present. This spelling is found in the best MSS also of Ambr. *passim*, Nicet. *de Psalm. Bon.* 3, Sedul. *Carm.* v. 142, Fort. VII. xx a, 4; and Löfstedt on Aetheria p. 235 gives several other examples. We must remember that the prefix *re-* stands for *red-*, which fact accounts for the similar forms *rel-latus* (Ter. *Phorm.* 21), *rel-liquiae*, *redduco*, *rennuo* (98. 9) besides *red-eo*, *red-do*; cp. Munro on Lucr. I. 228, II. 1001; Brix on Plaut. *Capt.* 915 *rēclusit*.

13. For the question cp. 8. 27 (note).

14. **fides**] 'the proof'; cp. *Hex.* II. 7 *fidem eius disputationis*, IV. 15 *ridiculum...hinc fidem suae disputationis arcessere*.

15. Several persons needing exorcism were healed, as we know from *Epist.* XXII. 9 *cognouistis*,

immo uidistis ipsi multos a daemoniis purgatos, from Paulinus' Life of Ambr. 14 *obsessa etiam corpora a spiritibus inmundis curata*, and from 25 f. below. *inpos* therefore stands rhetorically for *inposes*; cp. 8. 15 note.

mentium seems to be used in the plural partly for the sake of the rhyme, which Ambr. occasionally affects, for he generally uses the singular of *mens*, as at 2. 30, 3. 17, 28, 4. 3 etc.

16. **fatetur**] 'declares.' Cp. Damas. LIII. 1 *quid loquar aut sileam? prohibet dolor ipse fateri*.

17. A second miracle was the recovery of sight by a blind man, which Ambr.'s Arian opponents denied; *Epist.* XXII. 17 *negant caecum inluminatum, sed ille non negat se sanatum*.

18. **mortis sacrae**] Cp. in *Ps.* CXVIII. xx. 10 (of a martyr) *taeiantis animi quod diutius differatur sacrae mortis corona*, 15. 11, 18. 7.

meritum] 'virtue,' 'power'; cp. *Epist.* XXII. 19 *martyribus, quorum merita iam dudum uigent*.

19. Cp. ib. 17 *notus homo est, publicis cum ualeret mancipatus obsequiis, Seuerus nomine, lanius ministerio. deposuerat officium, postquam inciderat impedimentum*. So Paulinus (*Vit. Ambr.* 14) *caecus*

ut martyrum uestem attigit
et ora tersit nubila,
lumen refulsit ilico
fugitque pulsa caecitas.

soluta turba uinculis, 25
spiris draconum libera,
emissa totis urbibus
domum redit cum gratia.

uetusta saecula uidimus, 30
iactata semicinctia,

24 fuit Ab. 26 spumis Vs. draconis Vs. 27 et missa Ab.

etiam, Seuerus nomine, qui nunc usque in eadem basilica, quae dicitur Ambrosiana, in quam martyrum corpora sunt translata, religiose seruit.

20. 'an officer of the public service'; cp. Dill *Roman Society* p. 232: 'Of all departments of administration, probably none caused the Emperor greater anxiety than that concerned with the food-supplies of the capital... An army of public servants incorporated in hereditary guilds... were charged with the duty of bringing up supplies and preparing them for consumption.'

21 f. *Epist.* XXII. 17 *clamat quia, ut contigit fimbriam de ueste martyrum, qua sacrae reliquiae uestiuntur, redditum sibi lumen sit.*

23. Cp. in *Ps.* XXXVI. 30 [Deus] *tetigit caecorum oculos et caecitate depulsa lumen refulsit oculorum;* cp. *Fort. Vit. Mart.* ii. 40 (of Martin's restoring sight to a blind eye) *serena dies deterasa nube refulsit.*

25. **uinculis**] the plagues spiritual and bodily from which they were released.

26. **draconum**] i.e. of evil spirits; cp. in *Luc.* IV. 61 *quis est ille, qui in synagoga spiritum daemonii habebat immundum nisi populus Iudae-*

orum, qui quasi serpentinis spiris reuinctus...; de *Laps. Virg.* 18 *quibus te spiris serpens ille nequissimus obligauit!* The devil is *draco* at *Rev.* xii. 16 f., and often in Ambr.

27. **totis**] = *omnibus*, like the Italian *tutti* and the French *tous*. This use was at first confined to expressions of time, beginning with *Plaut. Miles* 112 *quod bini custodes semper totis horis occubant*, and to military language, as *Caes. Bell. Civ.* III. xlv. 6 *totis copiis*. The poets *Verg.*, *Propert.*, *Juv.*, *Stat.* used *toti* more freely, but we do not find the use in prose writers before *Seneca*. After his time it is common, especially in Gallic Latin and in jurists. *Prud.* has *Perist.* IV. 71 *Christus in totis habitat plateis*, and even uses *totus* in the singular; thus *Psychom.* 217 *totum hominem*, 'every man,' 450 *totus miles*. *Ambr. de Nab.* 117 has *totis diebus*; cp. *Schmalz* 628, *Rönsch* 338.

28. **gratia**] 'thankfulness'; cp. *Paulin.* l.c. 14 *obsessa etiam corpora a spiritibus immundis curata, summa cum gratia domum repetebant.*

29. 'We have seen the ages of old,' i.e. miracles and enthusiasm like those of the earliest church; cp. *Epist.* XXII. 9 *reparata uetusti temporis miracula*. The reference is to *Acts* v. 15 and xix. 12.

tactuque et umbra corporum
aegris salutem redditam.

31

31. umbra] Cp. *Epist.* XXII. 9 [uidistis] plurimos etiam, ubi uestem sanctorum manibus contigerunt, eis quibus laborabant debilitatibus absolutos, ... umbra quadam sanctorum corporum plerosque sanatos cernitis. quanta oraria iactitabantur! quanta indumenta super reliquias sacratissimas et tactu ipso medicabilia reposituntur! More than once Ambr. refers to this passage in the life of

St Peter; cp. *Hex.* III. 71; in *Ps.* XL. 30; in *Ps.* CXVIII. xix. 5; de *Off.* III. 3 transibant apostoli et umbra eorum curabat infirmos. tangebantur uestimenta eorum et sanitas deferebatur. Paulinus *Vit. Ambr.* 48 tells us that at the funeral of Ambr. himself iactabant... turbae uirorum ac mulierum oraria uel semicinctia sua, ut corpus sancti aliquatenus ab ipsis contingeretur.

HYMN 13

This hymn is not ascribed to Ambrose by any early writer, but it is certainly his. It is contained in the series of the Ambrosian MSS and is replete with Ambrose's words and phrases. Thus, to give one example, in line 7 *praesul* is used as an appellation of God, as Ambrose almost always uses it. See *de Isaac* 11 *cui praesul Dominus adest*; ib. 18 *summum Deum praesulem poscat*; ib. 65 *cui Pater Deus praesul sit*; and many like passages. Other writers, especially later ones, generally use the word to denote the leaders of the church; cp. 123. 2.

Besides the many other coincidences of thought and expression which are pointed out in the notes, one brought forward by Steier (p. 614) is of a subtle and convincing character. In line 19 f. we read *sed uolens mortem subegit asperam*. What is the special force here of *uolens*? This is shewn by a passage from Ambrose's sermon against Auxentius 13 [Peter] *quamuis esset cupidus passionis, tamen contemplatione populi precantis inflexus est. rogabatur enim ut ad instituendum et confirmandum populum se reseruaret. quid multa? nocte muris egredi coepit, et uidens in porta Christum occurrere urbemque ingredi ait: Domine, quo uadis? respondit Christus: uenio iterum crucifigi.*

intellexit Petrus ad suam crucem pertinere responsum... intellexit ergo Petrus quod iterum crucifigendus esset in seruulo. itaque sponte remeavit. These last words of the sermon *sponte remeavit* answer to *uolens...asperam* of the hymn. It is noteworthy that this appearance to Peter is not related by any earlier author than Ambrose.

Apart from these indications of Ambrose's workmanship Biraghi and Dreves bring forward another proof of the great antiquity of the hymn. Cp. Benson *Cyprian* p. 484 f. In stanza VII *three* lines of procession are mentioned, whereas Prudentius at his visit to Rome c. 403 already knew of only *two*; cp. *Perist.* XII. 57 f.

*adspice per bifidas plebs Romula funditur plateas,
lux in duobus feruet una festis.
nos ad utrumque tamen gressu properemus incitato,
et his et illis perfruamur hymnis,
ibimus ulterius, qua fert uia pontis Hadriani
laeuam deinde fluminis petemus.
transtiberina prius soluit sacra peruigil sacerdos,
mox huc recurrit duplicatque uota.*

The two places of celebration were the grave of St Peter on the Vatican and that of St Paul outside the walls. The two roads would be the *uia Aurelia* and the *uia Ostiensis*. The third sacred spot, disused in 403, would probably be the catacomb of Callistus, the third road being the *uia Appia*. It is likely enough, as Dreves suggests (*Aurelius Ambrosius* 76), that it was on the omission of the celebration in the catacomb that the inscription was set there by Damasus (*Epigr.* XXVI.) which begins: *Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes, | nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris.*

Aabcd fgh Eϕ Fl Gm Habcd fiß Iadeno Maehkx Vacps

Apostolorum passio
 diem sacrauit saeculi,
 Petri triumphum nobilem,
 Pauli coronam praeferens.

coniunxit aequales uiros
 cruor triumphalis necis,
 Deum secutos praesulem
 Christi coronauit fides.

5

primus Petrus apostolus,
 nec Paulus inpar gratia;

10

2 saeculis Vap¹. 3 nobilis Va. 4 proferens Hd. 7 praesules
 Abdegh Vap.

2. It is to denote that Christ is the true day (cp. 3. 4) that *saeculi* is added to *dies* to denote a day in the usual sense of the word; cp. Cypr. *de Orat. Dom.* 35 *Christus dies est uerus, sole ac die saeculi recedente*. Ambr. often uses the phrase, as in *Ps.* XXXVI. 32 *dies saeculi mali sunt*; cp. *Ecclus.* i. 2 *dies saeculi quis dinumerauit*. Ambr. constantly uses *saeculi* almost in an adjectival sense though he also says *dies saecularis* as at in *Luc.* IV. 40.

3. **triumphum**] again definitely used as a description of martyrdom; see 4. 17 note.

4. **Pauli coronam**] alluding to 2 *Tim.* iv. 8, where the preceding words shew that the athlete's wreath is meant, cp. 7. 24 note. Among many similar references in Ambr.'s prose writings see in *Ps.* XXXVI. 42 *Paulus...coronam inuenit*; ib. 54 *Paulus...qui esset iam proximus ad coronam*; ib. 56 *qui etiam coronam accepit*.

6. **cruor triumphalis**] an Ambrosian expression, cp. *Epist.* XXII. 12 *adparent cruoris triumphalis notae*; ib. 13 *uictimae triumphales*. But as *necis* would be a little bald by itself, *triumphalis* may be geni-

tive agreeing with it. In either case *triumphalis* answers to *triumphum* in 3, and *coronauit* to *coronam* in 4, for the purpose of equalizing the two martyrdoms.

7. **praesulem**] 'leader,' a word formed like *consul*, *exsul*; see introduction. Dirksen quotes from the Code of Justinian *auctor et praesul totius operis*.

8. **Christi...fides**] 'their faith in Christ.'

9. Ambr. in *Ps.* XLIII. 40 *Petrus ecclesiae praepositus postquam temptatus a diabolo est. ideoque ante significat Dominus quid sit illud, quod postea eum pastorem elegit dominici gregis*. Ambr.'s view of Peter's primacy is expressed *de Incarn.* 32 *primatum confessionis, utique non honoris; primatum fidei, non ordinis*.

Petrus] see 4. 28.

10. **nec** qualifies *inpar*: 'and Paul not unequal.' See 2 *Cor.* xi. 5. Cp. *de Spir.* II. 158 *nec Paulus inferior Petro, quamuis ille ecclesiae fundamentum, et hic sapiens architectus...nec Paulus, inquam, indignus apostolorum collegio, cum primo quoque facile conferendus et nulli secundus. nam qui se inparem*

electionis uas sacrae,
Petri adaequauit fidem.

uerso crucis uestigio
Simon honorem dans Deo
suspensus ascendit, dati
non inmemor oraculi.

15

praecinctus, ut dictum est, senex
et eleuatus ab altero
quo nollet iuit, sed uolens

17 ut iam d. Fl, iam ut d. Id.
est ductus senex ab a. Ien Vc.
19 quod Ab¹ Gm Ia Vap¹. ibat Iad.

17, 18 iam ut (ut iam Vc) dictum
18 om. et Eφ Gm Hdfβ Id Mhk Vs.

nescit, facit aequalem. Reference to 1 Cor. iii. 10 is also made by Ennod. (p. 122 ed. Hartel) *uenerunt cum eo caelorum radii... Petrus et Paulus. qui enim in restaurationem aedis essent necessarii nisi architectus et petra, nisi lapis et superaedificans, nisi fundamentum et opifex.*

11. Acts ix. 15 *uas electionis est mihi.* Ambr. constantly uses this as an appellation of St Paul, even without mentioning his name, as in Ps. XLVIII. 7 *cum aptum organum sibi et uas electionis inuenerit.* And he often, in his own way, modifies it (as here by adding *sacrae*) thus *de Abr.* 27 *uas electionis dominicae; in Ps. CXVIII. xiv. 24 uas electionis diuinae.*

13. Nearly three stanzas are now devoted to St Peter.

uestigio] 'the foot' of the cross. Elsewhere Ambr. applies the word more naturally to the Apostle's own feet; *de Iob* 1. 2 *de Petro quid loquar? qui crucem suam futura remuneratione indignam arbitratus inuerso suspendi poposcit uestigio, ut aliquid passioni suae adderet; in Ps. CXVIII. xxi. 21 non fuit opprobrio Petro crux Christi, quae tantum ei gloriae dedit, ut inuersis Christum honoraret uestigiis;*

'Hegesippus' III. 2 *poposcit ut inuersis uestigiis cruci adfigeretur.*

14. **honorem dans Deo]** a Bible phrase (Rom. iv. 20) used by Ambr. to represent Joh. xxi. 19 'he should glorify God.'

15. 'not unmindful of the prophecy vouchsafed to him'; Joh. xxi. 18, 2 Pet. i. 14.

16. **oraculi]** a word especially used by Ambr. to denote Bible utterances, perhaps in imitation of Philo's use of *χρησμός*, as the Benedictine editors suggest: see their note on Ambr. *de Fuga* 19. But Juvencus 1. 237 has *oracula uatum.*

There is no need (with Biraghi) to rewrite *oraculi non inmemor.* The *-or* is in Ambr.'s prosody sufficiently lengthened by the stress of the metre. Cp. v. 30.

17. **praecinctus]** 'girt up.' Flowing eastern robes had to be girt up, especially in front (*prae*), to give the limbs free play; cp. 1 Kings xviii. 46.

ut dictum est] sc. in that *oraculum.* *Senex* refers to *cum...senueris.*

18. **eleuatus]** answers to the words 'and shall carry thee,' Joh. xxi. 18. *Ab altero* is joined to *praecinctus* as well as to *eleuatus.*

19. **nollet]** subjunctive, because in virtual *oratio obliqua*: 'whither

mortem subegit asperam.

20

hinc Roma celsum uerticem
deuotionis extulit,
fundata tali sanguine
et uate tanto nobilis.

tantae per urbis ambitum
stipata tendunt agmina,
trinis celebratur uiis
festum sacrorum martyrum.

25

20 subiecit Ia. 21 hic Io Mh. 24 nobili Ab²dg Fl Hbd¹ Id¹n Vs.

he would not, as the Lord had said.'

See Ambr. *in Luc.* x. 177 f. *Petrus etsi paratus erat animo subire martyrium, tamen, ubi periculum aduenit, constantiam mentis inflexit.... Petrus uidetur nolle, sed parat uincere*; and for the special force of *uolens* see the passage from the Sermon against Auxentius quoted in the introduction.

20. See 11. 26 note.

21-24 dwell first upon St Peter, and then on St Paul, Ambr. seizing the most salient point in the life of either Apostle: Peter's death, Paul's writings. *Hinc*, then, will refer not only to the two preceding stanzas, but to the whole of the foregoing verses.

uerticem...extulit] Cp. *in Ps.* XLVII. 6 *Petro, Paulo...qui graues et excelsi uiri uelut fundamenta et culmina sunt ecclesiae...praecelsi quasi culmina, qui uerticem eius turribus suae uirtutis erexerint; de Virg.* 50 *hi excelsum...cacumen fidei extulerunt.*

deuotio is a favourite word of Ambr., usually combined with *fides*, e.g. *Hex.* IV. 7 *ecclesia maius deuotionis suae et fidei toto orbe lumen effundat*; *ib.* I. 21, V. 31 and 68.

23. *Eph.* ii. 20. Cp. the passages from *de Spir.* and Ennodius quoted on 10, and that from *in Ps.* XLVII

quoted on 21. Note that Rome is now Christian Rome.

24. **uate tanto**] 'such a prophet' viz. St Paul. For *uate* cp. 14. 6. Ambr. *in Luc.* II. 29 *tanti uatis* (of St John the Baptist). Biraghi gives examples of the use of the word = *sacerdos*, but that meaning seems unlikely here.

nobilis] 'ennobled,' as at 7. 1.

25. **tantae...urbis**] 'the great city,' here of course Rome: at *Epist.* XX. 9 Ambr. uses the same words of Milan.

urbis ambitum] Cp. *Hex.* VI. 2 *toto eos circumducit urbis ambitu; in Ps.* CXVIII. xxii. 37 *ambitum totius urbis.*

26. 'The serried crowds take their way.' For *stipata* cp. *Verg. Aen.* XI. 12 *omnis eum stipata tegebat | turba ducum*; Ambr. *Hex.* III. 30 (of a prosperous man) *stipatus clientibus.*

agmina] as at 14. 22; cp. *in Ps.* LXI. 20 *uidet agmina persequentium*; *Epist.* XXIV. 8 *barbarorum stipatus agminibus.*

27. **trinis...uiis**] See the introduction to this hymn.

29. 'One would think that the whole world was coming forth.' *mundus* in classical Latin meant the universe, as *Lucr.* 1. 73 *flammantia moenia mundi*. But cp. *Propert.* v. vi. 19 *huc mundi coiere manus*;

prodire quis mundum putet,
 concurrere plebem poli :
 electa gentium caput,
 sedes magistri gentium.

30

32 sedet Gm, sedens Vs, fides Hβ Io Mk. magistra Mk.

Lucan VII. 234 *sanguine mundi fuso* (in both cases of a single battle).

quis...putet] Cp. 9. 13.

30. plebem poli] i. e. the angels; cp. *de Virg.* II. 17 *quanta angelorum laetitia plaudentium, quod habitare mereatur in caelo!* For the scansion cp. v. 16.

31. electa] 'O elect lady,' cp. 1 Pet. v. 13, 2 Joh. 1, 13. Ambr. regarded the *ἐκλεκτὴ κυρία* as the Roman church. It gives point to the appellation that it is taken from St Peter's own epistle. Possibly *electa caput* are to be taken together, as 2. 15 *ipse petra*.

gentium caput] 'the head of the peoples of the world,' cp. *Epist.* XI. 4 *totius orbis Romani caput Romanam ecclesiam*; Prosper Aquitanus *de Ingratis* 51 f. *sedes Roma Petri, quae pastoralis honoris | facta caput mundo, quidquid non possidet armis | religione tenet*; Fortunat. III. vii. 19 (of Peter and Paul) *a facie hostili duo propugnacula praesunt, | quos fidei turres urbs, caput orbis, habet*; id. VIII. iii. 140 *hi quorum cineres urbs, caput orbis, habet*.

32. magistri gentium] 'the teacher of the Gentiles' (the nations in their religious aspect), viz. St Paul. The phrase comes from 1 Tim. ii. 7, 2 Tim. i. 11. Biraghi, Steier,

and others, not unnaturally, interpret it to mean St Peter. In itself, it might appropriately be applied to him, and Ambr. felt no difficulty in speaking of Rome as the *sedes Petri*. But it had become a special title of St Paul,—as special as *uas electionis*,—and in a poem which is as much on St Paul as on St Peter it would be impossible to apply it to St Peter without some qualification. It is true that the Vulg. at 1 Tim. ii. 7 has *doctor gentium*; but Sabatier gives *magister* as the reading of the Vetus Ital.: at 2 Tim. i. 11 (where *ἐθνῶν gentium* is an addition to the true text, and borrowed from 1 Tim.) both versions have *magister*. It is true also that in his prose writings Ambr. uses the word *doctor* in referring to these passages: in *Ps.* XXXVII. 28 *gentium doctor electus*. But he must have been quite familiar with the equivalent. Cp. Niceta *de Rat. Fid.* 7 *idem magister gentium docet*; Leo *Serm. in Nat. Petri et Pauli* LXXX *beatus coapostolus tuus, uas electionis et specialis magister gentium*; Faustus *Rei. de Spir. S.* 12 *loquitur magister gentium*; Vincent. *Ler. Comm.* 9 *ille uas electionis, ille magister gentium*. Of course *sedes* is less technical than our 'see.'

HYMN 14

That this hymn was written at a very early date is proved by a reference to it on the part of Maximus of Turin (c. 450) *Hom.* LXXIV *nec inmerito eum [Laurentium] apostolorum supparem praedicamus*. He then goes on to paraphrase the wording of the hymn. It is also alluded to by Petrus Chrysologus (c. 450) *Serm.* CXXXV *irrisum*

*se dolens tyrannus auarus...flammas parari praecepit...
iam me uersate et si una pars cocta est uorate.*

That the hymn was written by Ambrose is proved by the many parallels in points of phrase and style with his other works; but more decisively by the fact that the passages in the tract *de Officiis Ministrorum* which give a detailed account of the martyrdom of St Lawrence were obviously written by the composer of the hymn. See *de Off.* I. 204 *non praetereamus etiam sanctum Laurentium, qui cum uideret Xystum episcopum suum ad martyrium duci, flere coepit, non passionem eius sed suam remansionem....* 205 *tunc Xystus ait: non ego te, fili, relinquo ac desero... mox uenies, flere desiste, post triduum me sequeris...quid consortium passionis meae expetis? totam tibi hereditatem eius dimitto...tibi ergo mando nostrae uirtutis successionem.* *ib.* II. 140 *tale aurum sanctus Laurentius Domino reseruauit, a quo cum quaererentur thesauri ecclesiae, promisit se demonstraturum. sequenti die pauperes duxit. interrogatus ubi essent thesauri, quos promiserat, ostendit pauperes, dicens: hi sunt thesauri ecclesiae; et uere thesauri in quibus Christus est. Cp. *ib.* I. 206 *hic Laurentium sanctum ad hoc nullus urgebat, nisi amor deuotionis. tamen et ipse post triduum, cum inluso tyranno impositus, super craticulam exureretur: assum est, inquit, uersa et manduca. Epist. XXXVII. 37 quod ille uerbis gloriatus est, sanctus Laurentius factis probauit; ut uiuus exureretur et flammis superstes diceret: uersa, manduca.**

So runs the story as given by Ambrose, and also by Prudentius *Perist.* v, and by Augustine *in Euang. Ioh.* XXVII. 12, both of whom may have derived it from Ambrose. The true account of the martyrdoms of Xystus and Lawrence seems to be different¹.

¹ I have made large use of Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri's *S. Lorenzo e il supplizio della graticola* in the *Römisch. Quartalschrift*, 1900, 159 f.

In A.D. 258 the emperor Valerian, then on the point of starting for his disastrous expedition against the Persians, issued an edict that all bishops, priests and deacons should be summarily executed. On August 6th of this year Xystus, or Sixtus, who had been Bishop of Rome for about a year, was seized by the soldiers in the cemetery or catacomb of Praetextatus, whither he had gone with his faithful flock in spite of the law of A.D. 257 that the Christians were not to assemble in the cemeteries. Here he was at once beheaded with six of his deacons. Cp. *Lib. Pontif.* I. 155 *capite truncatus et cum eo alii sex diaconi, Felicissimus et Agapitus, Ianuarius, Magnus, Vincentius et Stephanus.*

This tale, it will be seen, differs widely from the later tradition as given below. Note that no mention is made of the crucifixion of Xystus, a point which Cyprian (who writes *Epist.* LXXX *Xistum autem in cimeterio animaduersum sciatis VIII id. Aug. die et cum eo diacones quattuor*) would certainly not have omitted. This part of the later story may have arisen from misunderstanding a line of the inscription which Damasus wrote in honour of Xystus' deacons Felicissimus and Agapetus: *Epigram* XXIII (ed. Ihm) *hi crucis inuictae comites pariterque ministri | rectoris sancti.* It would be eagerly taken up, because it would supply a link between the death of Xystus and that of Lawrence, the only one of his deacons who escaped the slaughter in the cemetery of Praetextatus. For, if Xystus was at once beheaded, Lawrence would have had no opportunity of speaking to him, whereas crucifixion meant a lingering death.

In this case the pathetic conversation mentioned by Ambrose and others cannot have taken place. And in fact some of the details of it are in themselves most unlikely; for Lawrence (as well as Xystus) must have

known from the terms of the edict that he could not be disappointed of martyrdom.

Then, to turn to the death of Lawrence, he was not roasted upon a *craticula* or gridiron, of which the earlier and more trustworthy story knows nothing, and which was a form of torture almost or quite unknown to the Romans, at least of the third century.

The later tradition goes on to say that this cruel form of death was inflicted by the judge in his chagrin at not being able to obtain the treasures of the church. But here again we come across a difficulty. For after the law of A.D. 257 above mentioned no judge would have expected any accumulated treasure; nor is there any hint of search after this in the days of the persecution by Valerian.

Between A.D. 258 and 380, at about which date Ambrose was writing, there was ample time for the legend to grow. Franchi suggests that the roasting on the gridiron may have been brought in owing to a misreading of the contemporary account of Lawrence's martyrdom:—the word *passus est* (which is used about him in the *Lib. Pontif.*) becoming *assus est* by the loss of its initial letter; cp. the expression *assum est* used by Ambr. *de Off.* I. 206 quoted above. Or it may have arisen from a misunderstanding of Damasus *Epigr.* XXXII. 1 f. *uerbera carnificis, flammis, tormenta, catenas | uincere Laurenti sola fides potuit*; where *flammas*, coming where it does in the order of the words, cannot refer to Lawrence's *death* but only to a particular form of torture to which he was subjected.

Cp. however P. Allard *Dernières Persécutions du III^{me} Siècle* pp. 78 foll.

Abcdeghik Fis Ia Vaps

Apostolorum supparem
 Laurentium archidiaconem
 pari corona martyrum
 Romana sacrauit fides.

Xystum sequens hic martyrem 5
 responsa uatis rettulit:

1 suppar est Vs. 2 Laurentius arch-us Vs. 3 parem coronam
 martyris Ia, parit Vs. 4 Romanam Vs. fidem Ia. 5 Xistum
 Syxtum System Sixtum *uarii*.

1. **supparem**] 'almost equal,' one of Ambr.'s favourite words; cp. in *Ps.* XXXVII. 54 *quoniam subsecutus sum iustitiam. quanta uis uerbi in unius syllabae adiectione, ut subsecutum se diceret iustitiam, non secutum! propior est enim qui subsequitur quam ille qui sequitur, et suppar quam impar, et successio heredis magis quam accessio nuncupatur*; de *Incar.* 26 *uirginis enim [Christum] supparem negasti esse non temporis. ego autem et supparem uirginis secundum susceptionem corporis non negabo*; de *Cain* I. 25; de *Fide Res.* 115; *Epist.* XV. 5, XI. 11, 12.

2. **archidiaconem**] the form used by Jerome *Epist.* CXXV. 15, CXLVI. 1, *Fort. Vit. Mart.* III. 38, cp. IV. xv. 3 *Bobolenus honore diacon.* Rönisch p. 262 gives several examples of *diacon.* Bayard (*Cyprian* p. 56 f.) says that Cyprian uses generally the o form of *diaconus*, never the nom. *diacon*, which is found in Greek inscriptions of the IIIrd century; he refers to Ramsay *Church in the Roman Empire* p. 442, Lightfoot *Ignatius* I. 501.

3. 'With equal wreath of martyrdom'; *pari* is intentionally contrasted with *supparem*: in office less, in martyrdom he was their equal. So Damasus XIV. 1 f. (where the martyr Tarsicius is compared with St Stephen) *par meritum, quicumque legis, cognosce duorum.* For the gen. *mar-*

tyrum cp. 4. 21 *nuptae foedera.* With *corona martyrum* cp. Ambr. *de Off.* II. 141 *Laurentius... sacram martyrii accepit coronam*; in *Ps.* CXVIII. xx. 44 *ibi passus est, hoc est, ibi coronatus*; de *Virg.* II. 35 *corona martyrii*; *Epist.* LXIII. 5 *stabat [Jesus] quasi paratus ut coronaret suum militem.*

4. **Romana...fides**] 'a truly Roman faith' i.e. that of the Roman Church, not of L. himself. The phrase is derived from St Paul's words, *Rom.* i. 8; cp. *Cypr. Epist.* LV *quorum fides apostolo praedicante laudata est*; Ambr. *Epist.* XI. 4 *totius orbis Romani caput Romanam ecclesiam atque illam sacrosanctam apostolorum fidem*; *Jer. c. Ruf.* I. 4 *fide Romana pollet ecclesia.*

For the way in which Lawrence was singled out from other Roman martyrs and ranked with the Apostles (*sacrauit*), see Aug. *Serm.* CCXCVI. vi. 9 *iacet Petri corpus Romae, ... iacet Pauli corpus Romae, Laurentii corpus Romae*; Alcuin *Carm.* LXXXVIII. 16 (p. 311 ed. Dümmler) *Iohannes, Paulus, pariter Laurentius atque conseruent aram hanc miserante Deo.* *Ib.* CX. 1 f. *hanc pius Andreas meritis tutabitur aram, et leuita simul uictor Laurentius ignis.*

5. **sequens**] following to the place of execution, which in the case of crucifixion would be without the city. Cp. *Lk.* xxiii. 27.

6. **uatis**] 'prophet' in reference to line 8. But Ennodius (*Hymn.* III.

'maerere, fili, desine,
sequere me post triduum.'

nec territus poenae metu
heres futurus sanguinis
spectauit obtutu pio,
quod ipse mox persoluerat.

iam tunc in illo martyre
egit triumphum martyris,
successor aequus syngraphum
uocis tenens et sanguinis.

10

15

7 mereri Adgh Vp. - deside Va. 8 sequeris Vs. 9, 10 metueris
(*pro metu heres*) Vs. 10 fusurum sanguinem Vs. 12 ipsa mors Vs.
persolueret Va. 13 nam Vs. 15 syngrapham (singrafam) Adgh Ia
Vap. 16 uocem t. e. sanguinem Vs.

1 *uatis Cypriani*) and other later writers quoted by Ducange use the word in the sense of 'bishop'; cp. 'Hegesippus' I. 16 *obsequia uatum*, apparently translating τῶν ἱερέων.

rettulit] 'received,' as in the phrase *acceptum referre*.

9f. 'but unscared by the fear of torture, he beheld.'

territus...metu] as at 9. 9.

10. **heres**] Cp. Xystus' words to Lawrence *de Off.* I. 205 quoted in the introduction; in *Ps.* CXVIII. i. 9 *qui heredes futuri sunt promissorum caelestium*; ib. xiv. 40 *heres sum mandatorum tuorum, successionem tuam...quaesiui*. *heres* means 'inheritor' rather than 'heir.'

sanguinis] Cp. 9. 16.

11. **obtutu**] one of Ambr.'s favourite words, got from his master Vergil; see *Hex.* IV. 1, VI. 4 and 51, *de Noe* 17, in *Luc.* I. 5; *Verg. Aen.* I. 495 etc.

pio answers to *fili* in 7 and to *heres* in 10; cp. 7. 13 note.

12. 'what his master had just accomplished.' The evidence of the MSS compels us to read *persoluerat*, and with this reading it is simplest and best to take *mox* as meaning 'lately,' a sense which it often bears in late writers; cp. *Juven.* III. 160

tunc petit absolui Petrus, quid quaestio uellet, | ipse Pharisaeis quam mox scribisque dedisset. *Arnob. adu. Nationes* II. 21 *mox natum*, IV. 21 *mox traditam...uitam*.

ipse is used as in the Pythagorean ἀὐτὸς ἔφα, *ipse dixit*, 'the master said'; cp. *Cic. Nat. D.* I. 5. Plautus often uses *ipse* to denote the master of the house.

13. 'even then in the person of that martyr.' Lawrence watching the martyrdom of Xystus 'celebrated his own martyr-triumph' (*martyris* like *martyrum* in 3) as being already rightfully assured of it.

in] 'in the person of,' cp. *Ambr. de Nab.* 67 *reddite [munera] in paupere, in egeno soluite*; in *Ps.* CXVIII. xiv. 38 *in Henoch raptus ad caelum es, in Helia leuatus es curru*; 15. 25.

15. **successor**] Cp. *de Off.* I. 205 *tibi ergo mando nostrae uirtutis successionem*; *de Excessu Fratris* 15 *quid agam mei successor heredis?*; *de Interpell.* III. 22 *illa uera posteritas, quae non terris sed in caelo est. huiusmodi ergo uiris hereditas inopia est et mors successio*.

aequus] 'not inferior' to his predecessor.

syngraphum] 'bond,' 'covenant,'

post triduum iussus tamen
 census sacros prodere
 spondet pie nec abnuit,
 addens dolum uictoriae. 20

spectaculum pulcherrimum!
 egena cogit agmina
 inopesque monstrans praedicat:
 'hi sunt opes ecclesiae.'

uere piorum perpetes 25
 inopes profecto sunt opes.
 auarus inlusus dolet
 flammam et ultrices parat.

fugit perustus carnifex
 suisque cedit ignibus: 30

18 prodire Ia, prodidit Vs.
 dicans Vap.

22 cogent Vs.

23 monstrat prae-

uttered by Xystus' voice and ratified by his blood; cp. *de Tob.* 29 *haec debitoris stultitia...pro emolumento hereditatis syngrapham obligationis*. The form *syngrapha* is the usual one, but *σύνγραφος* is found in an inscription, and (at *de Paenit.* II. 80) *tamquam ex syngrapho*.

17. **tamen**] 'however,' with little adversative force, as in the parallel passage *de Off.* I. 206 quoted in the introduction. So in *Luc.* X. 145 *cum uiri fugarentur, solae tamen ab angelo ne timeant, admonentur*.

18. **census**] 'treasures,' cp. 9. 16 note.

19. **spondet...nec abnuit**] Ambr. repeatedly expresses thus by a negative what he has already stated positively as e.g. *de Fide* II. 122 *delictum fateor, peccatum non abnuo*; an idiom derived from O.T., see e.g. *Ps.* xxx. 12 (Bible version).

pie] 'as in duty bound' to Xystus, see II and 7. 13 note.

21. recalls in form 10. 17.

22. **agmina**] as at 13. 26.

23. Note the repeated play on the words *opes, inopes*.

24. Cp. Ambr. *Serm. c. Aux.* 33 *habeo aerarios: aerarii mei pauperes Christi sunt, hunc noui congregare thesaurum*.

25, 26 are Ambr.'s comment, not the words of Lawrence. They come in somewhat as do 7. 13 f. *piscis bonus, etc.*

The parallel *de Off.* II. 140 is in favour of our reading *uere* rather than *uerae*:—*et uere thesauri in quibus Christus est. profecto* is used much in the sense of *enim*. *perpetes*, cp. 6. 28.

27. **dolet**] 'chafes with anger.' The passage is borrowed in a Mozarabic hymn *Anal.* XXVII. cxi. 6f *inlusum ita se dolens Fabricius*.

28. **flammam ultrices**] Cp. in *Ps.* XXXVI. 26 *ministros autem impietatis ultor ignis exuret*; *Epist.* XXXIV. 10 *poenis ultricibus*. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* II. 587 *ultricis flammae*.

30. Similarly of the martyrdom of the Maccabees; Ambr. *de Off.* I.

'uersate me,' martyr uocat,

'uorate, si coctum est,' iubet.

32

201 *defecerunt supplicia, cesserunt
tortores, non defecerunt martyres.*

Cp. Dan. iii. 22.

31 f. The grim jest is drawn out
by Prud. *Perist.* II. 401 f. *conuerte
partem corporis | satis crematam*

*iugiter | et fac periculum, quid tuus |
Vulcanus ardens egerit. | praefectus
inuerti iubet. | tunc ille: coctum est,
deuora | et experimentum cape, | sit
crudum an assum suauius.*

HYMN 15

The antiquity of the oldest Martyr-hymn, like that of the foregoing, is proved by the allusion to it in a sermon of Maximus of Turin, who writes *Serm. LXVI elegerunt itaque ecclesiarum principes quorum Dominus ipsum mundi principem triumphauit*. This of course does not establish the fact of Ambrose's authorship, but it points in that direction.

Nor is the more definite statement of the Venerable Bede decisive on this point, though he writes *de Arte Metrica* II *sed et ambrosiani eo maxime currunt...in quibus pulcherrimo est decore compositus hymnus beatorum martyrum, cuius loca inparia spondeus, iambus tenet paria; cuius initium est: Aeterna Christi munera*. For, as was pointed out on p. 20, Bede elsewhere uses the term *ambrosianus* of hymns which cannot have been written by the great bishop of Milan.

So once more we have to rely on the presence of the hymn in the MSS of the Ambrosian use, and above all on its intimate correspondence in vocabulary, phraseology and thought with the prose works of Ambrose. And these proofs are strong enough to settle the question.

More than any other of Ambrose's hymns this one has in the course of time been changed and mutilated. It was transferred from its use *in natali martyrum* to celebrate that of the apostles, and it then of course became necessary to omit certain stanzas which were no longer

suitable, and in line 2 instead of *martyrum* to read *apostolorum*, and in 30 either *apostolorum* or *ipsorum*. This modification of the original hymn began to be made about the Xth century, and it soon became almost universal. Daniel truly says (I. 29): *hymnum, ex Clich-touaei sententia oppido suauem et elegantem, ab ecclesia misere dilaceratum uidemus. nam illae strophae, quae martyrum laudibus aptissime conueniunt, prima, tertia, quarta, quinta, octaua cantari solitae sunt in communi plurimorum martyrum: reliquae et prima, mutato uersu secundo, in communi apostolorum.*

Aabcdefghik Ecdhjovμφ Fbnψ Gam Habcdfghiβδη
Iacdhnop Mk Vabclp

Aeterna Christi munera
et martyrum uictorias,
laudes ferentes debitas,
laetis canamus mentibus.

ecclesiarum principes,
belli triumphales duces,
caelestis aulae milites
et uera mundi lumina,

5

2 apostolorum gloriam Evμ Gm Vc. uictoriam Hd² Ia, uictoria Ab²d¹
Eo Fψ Ga Ip Vap¹. 3 canentes Ecdvμ Fn Gam Hbe¹ Mk Vbhl.
4-7 omit. Idh Vl. 6 et b. Eo Hacη In. -lis Io. 8 uere Fψ.

1. 'The eternal gifts' are probably the martyrs themselves (cp. 12. 2, Eph. iv. 8, 11), rather than the grace which enabled them to persevere to the end, or the rewards bestowed upon them afterwards.

2. 11. 26 note.

5 f. 'Chieftains of the churches... they conquered...and possess.' This is easier than taking *principes* as acc. in loose apposition to *munera*. For the phrase cp. Ambr. *Epist.* XXII. 7 *principes populi quos alios nisi sanctos martyres aestimare debemus?*

ecclesiarum] the plural is used also at 4. 16.

6. **triumphales**] Cp. 4. 17, 11. 26 (notes).

7. **milites**] Cp. 11. 22 (note). The phrase *caelestis aula* recurs in *Luc.* v. 108.

8. As Christ is the true light of the world (3. 3, 6. 30), so His martyrs are also 'true lights,' in a different and yet in a real sense; cp. Mt. v. 14, Phil. ii. 15, Ambr. *Epist.* XXII. 6 (of the martyrs) *ecce ueri dies pleni luminis et fulgoris aeterni;*

terrore uicto saeculi
 poenisque spretis corporis, 10
 mortis sacrae conpendio
 lucem beatam possident.

traduntur igni martyres
 et bestiarum dentibus :
 armata saeuit unguis 15
 tortoris insani manus.

nudata pendent uiscera,
 sanguis sacratus funditur,
 sed permanent immobiles
 uitae perennis gratia. 20

9 uictor Ab¹ Fn¹ Ga Ih. 12 uitam Ab Ec Fbψ Gm Hgβ Mk.
 15 saeuis Aa Fψ Ga Hac. ungula He (ungulas Ec). 16 insanit He.
 17 pendens Eo, pendunt Fn Hbd Id Va. 20 gloria Hd¹ (gloriae Hb).

in Ps. CXVIII. xiv. 27 Christo lucebat martyrurum lucerna.

9. Ambr. *in Luc. x. 12 indicium est uictores saeculi principibus anteferri.*

10. **poenis corporis]** Cp. 10. 14. Note that *-que* remains short before *spretis*, as in 22 the *-a* of *inuicta* before *spes*. Lucretius and Horace in his Satires take the same license.

11. **conpendio]** 'a short cut.' What others must attain by a long life is theirs by a swift death. Cp. *de Nab. 30 quaerit mortis conpendia; de Off. III. 121 aut conpendium mortis erit aut salutis; Prud. Perist. II. 335 praestetur ut mortis citae | conpendiosus exitus. Orosius VII. v. 11 Pilatus autem praeses...tantis...angoribus coartatus est, ut sua se transuerberans manu malorum conpendium mortis celeritate quaesierit.*

mortis sacrae] Cp. 12. 18 note, and 18. 7.

13 f. Ambr. *in Ps. CXVIII. ix. 2 quam pulchre etiam de martyribus dicitur, qui uere militant Christo... qui persecutiones, unguas, gladios, incendia non timentes infestis se*

regibus obtulerunt; ib. XII. 30 in martyrio plurima flagella sustinuit, equuleo et unguis, plumbo, lamminis ardentibus, gladio comprobatus; cp. Heb. xi. 36 f. Ambrose wishes here to mark a climax: the fire is lifeless, the beasts do but obey the instincts of their nature, man indulges in refinements of cruelty.

15. **ungulis]** iron 'claws' or 'hooks' for tearing the flesh. Ambr. *in Ps. CXVIII. xx. 10 exaratum unguis; Prud. Perist. I. 44 bisulcas unguas; Cod. Theod. xv. 7 unguis sulcantibus latera.*

saeuit] Ambr. *de Iacob II. 47 (of persecutors) pardalidis feritatibus saeuiebant.*

16. **insani]** 'mad with rage'; cp. Prud. *Perist. II. 47 minister insani ducis; Ennod. Hymn. VIII. 13 uesane tortor; 24. 11 amens; 116. 26; Hor. Od. I. xvi. 15 insani leonis.*

17 f. It is probably not an intentional disembowelling that is here alluded to, but such a ripping up of the body that the inwards protrude. Such things are common in the *Acta Martyrum*.

deuota sanctorum fides,
 inuicta spes credentium,
 perfecta Christi caritas
 mundi triumphat principem.

in his paterna gloria, 25
 in his uoluntas Spiritus,
 exultat in his Filius:
 caelum repletur gaudio.

te nunc, redemptor, quaesumus,
 ut martyrum consortio 30

21-24 omit. Idh VI. 21-28 omit. Eph. 24 principes Eo Hβ.
 26 filii (pro spir.) He. 27 spiritus (pro fil.) He. 28 gaudiis Haf Ih.
 30 ipsorum Ed Haf In, illorum Ea.

19. **permanent immobiles**] Ambr. often combines these words as at *Hex.* 1. 22, in *Ps.* XXXVII. 21, ib. CXVIII. v. 21, *Epist.* II. 1; so *Tob.* II. 14 *inmobilis in Dei timore permansit*; cp. 7. 8 note.

21 f. 'The devoted faith of the Saints, the unconquered hope of believers, the perfect love of Christ lead in triumph the prince of this world.' In a Roman triumph the captured leader of the enemy walked before the general's chariot; Ambr. in *Luc.* X. 111 *solet praecedere pompa uictores*. For the close connexion with Ambr. of devotion and faith see 13. 22 note. The three 'theological virtues' are combined, as here, 1 Cor. xiii. 13, Ambr. *Epist.* LXXVIII. 9 *ubi perfecta caritas, ibi omnis fides; sicut ubi perfecta caritas, ibi spes omnis*; 47. 18 f., 71. 17 f., 99. 1 f.

21. **sanctorum**] the commonest name of Christians in N.T., e.g. Rom. i. 7; here of course it refers to martyrs in particular.

23. **perfecta...caritas**] 'the love of Christ towards them,' a phrase derived from 1 Joh. iv. 17 *in hoc perfecta est caritas Dei nobiscum*.

24. **mundi principem**] an appellation of Satan, coming from Joh. xiii.

31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11 (cp. 2 Cor. iv. 4, Eph. ii. 2, vi. 12) constantly used by Ambr. e.g. *de Abr.* II. 62, in *Ps.* CXVIII. iv. 28, ib. viii. 52, ib. xvi. 12; and by Damasus VII. 2, XXX. 2, XLIII. 4, XLVII. 2.

triumphat] So Ambr. in *Ps.* CXVIII. iii. 34 [*Christus*] *in se uoluit principem mundi fallere, in discipulis triumphare*. He uses the word in a transitive sense also *de Iob* II. 26 *triumphauerunt populum*.

25 f. For the rhetorical repetition of *in his* see 2. 11; for *in*, meaning 'in the person of,' 14. 13 note. The lengthening of the *in* (line 27) has no exact parallel in the hymns of Ambr.

paterna gloria] 3. 1.

26. **uol. Spiritus**] 1 Cor. xii. 11.

28. Cp. 10. 13 note, 13. 30, Lk. xii. 8, xv. 10.

29 f. Biraghi compares the prayer *de Inst. Virg.* 104 *nunc ad te... Pater gratiae, uota conuerto... 107 te quaeso ut tuearis hanc famulam, ut... agnis tuis admixta uersetur comes uirginum*.

30. **consortio**] in this connexion is one of Ambr.'s favourite words; cp. *de Paenit.* 1. 49 *martyrum consortia*; *de Noe* 26 *angelorum... consortio*; in *Ps.* 1. 16 *consortio beato*

iungas precantes seruulos
in sempiterna saecula.

32

rum; and in the plu. *de Noe* 64 *iustorum consortia*.

31. **seruulos**] The diminutive has a depreciatory force. But Ambr.

almost always uses *seruulus* rather than *seruus*, and later writers delighted in such forms; see Mayor on Juv. x. 173.

HYMNS 16-18

On the genuineness of the next three hymns, see above, p. 25. There seems to be no reason why Ambrose should not have written two hymns for the Third Hour, one perhaps for Sundays, and one for week days.

The rubric to 4 in some of the Ambrosian MSS *ad tertiam dominicis diebus* shews that this was at least the use adopted in the Milanese church; and, if Dreves¹ had been correct in stating that so ancient an authority as Vat. reg. 11 contained the rubric to 16 *Hymnus ad tertiam cotidianus*, the suggestion would be still more likely; but unfortunately that MS does not even contain the hymn in question.

Steier points out a resemblance between 16 and two stanzas of other later hymns, viz. between stanza I and 78 stanza IV, and between stanza II and 76 stanza IV, which he thinks to tell against the Ambrosian authorship. But if we grant this likeness, it may but mean that the writers of those hymns copied Ambrose, as they did in so many other cases.

The fact that Hincmar of Reims quotes 16 as Ambrose's carries little weight. Nor is the alleged imitation of 16. 5 on the part of Ennodius decisive. For it is not impossible that the writer of 16 copied Ennodius just as the writer of 99 took his 8th line from him (32. 28).

One thing is certain—that the three hymns were all written by the same man. I believe that this man was

¹ *Aurelius Ambrosius* p. 84.

Ambrose. [The prosody, the vocabulary, the concentrated force of the language, the thoughts, the theology, are all in favour of this view.]

HYMN 16

Abdgh Eacdhlsvxδμ Fbhls Gabd Habcdefghμ Ibcdehimnp Vbcp

Nunc sancte nobis Spiritus,
unum Patri cum Filio,
dignare promptus ingeri
nostro refusus pectori.

os, lingua, mens, sensus, uigor
confessionem personent,

5

2 unus Eacdhlsvxδμ Fbhls Gbd Habcd¹ef Ic¹dehmp Vbp. patris Eacdhvδ Fb Gbd Vp. 6 confessione Ecsx Hbe Ihn Vp. personet Ab Echjsxμ (-nat Eδ) Fb Gd Hace Im¹ Vcp.

1. The Holy Spirit is especially invoked at the third hour because it was then that He came down on the day of Pentecost, Acts ii.

2. **unum**] 'one essence,' 'one power' as at 5. 31; not one person. Ambr. more than once quotes and comments upon Joh. x. 30 *ego et Pater unum sumus*. See *de Spir.* III. 117 *repellit...Arianos, quia dicit: unum sumus; tamen et in superioribus et in inferioribus haereticam iugulat saevitatem Sabellianorum, quia unum dixit sumus, non unus; de Incarn.* 77 *non enim quod eiusdem substantiae est, unus, sed unum est; nam utique Filium eiusdem cum Patre substantiae confitentes in tractatu Nicaeni, non unam personam, sed unam diuinitatem in Patre et Filio crediderunt*. Hincmar of Reims observes *orans beatus Ambrosius Nunc sancte nobis Spiritus bene intellexit unum esse Deum cum Patre et Filio...de exemplo euangelico ego et Pater unum sumus Ambrosius scribit unum, ne fiat discretio naturae et potestatis*.

Patri] For the dative cp. Lucr.

11. 918 *cum...animalia sint mortalibus una eademque*.

3. **ingeri**] almost equivalent to *infundi*; cp. Catull. XXVII. 2 *inger mi calices amariores; de Lapsu Virg.* 24 *praecepta, quae oculis tuis ipse scriptus paries ingerebat*; 20. 16.

4. **refusus**] one of Ambr.'s favourite words; see 2. 22 note.

5. 'mouth, tongue, soul, thought, strength.' The line emphatically says 'let everything that is within me bless His holy name.' It is hard to distinguish between *os* and *lingua*: perhaps *os* refers to the singing, *lingua* to the words. The other words are perhaps based on Lk. x. 27 and parallels: *mens* answering to 'heart and soul,' *sensus* to 'mind,' *uigor* to 'strength.' As to Ennod. *Hymn.* III. 2 *cor, lingua, sensus dignitas*, see introduction.

6. **confessionem**] Acts ii. 11 'declaration' of faith or thanks; the usual meaning of *confiteor* and *confessio* in the O.T., cp. Ps. xli. (xlii.) 2 *in uoce exultationis et confessionis*; Ambr. *Hex.* IV. 13 *fidei confessione*. For the acc. cp. 19. 12

flammescat igne caritas,
accendat ardor proximos.

8

hymnos personant, and 2. 31 *te sonet*, 5. 14 *te concrepet*.

7. **igne**] refers to the *linguae tamquam ignis* of Acts ii. 3; cp. 118. 7 *ignis, caritas*. For *caritas* as the gift of the holy Spirit see Rom. v. 5, Ambr. *de Spir.* 1. 94 *offunditur etiam caritas Dei per Spiritum,...*

qui diuinae arbiter et fons profluus caritatis est.

8. **ardor** has a good or bad meaning according to the context; cp. 31. 55, 64. 6, 68. 16 with 58. 13.

proximos is perhaps a happy application of Juv. III. 199 *tua res, cum proximus ardet* | *Ucalegon*.

HYMN 17

Abdghk Eacdhjvδ Fbhps Gab Habcdefghμ Macx Vabcp

Rector potens, uerax Deus,
qui temperas rerum uices,
splendore mane qui instruis
et ignibus meridiem,

2 uice Ec Hb Vp².

3 splendorem Eδ. *inserui qui*.

1. **rector**] Cp. 5. 2, Ambr. *de Cain* 1. 4 *quae tamquam operatori et creatori omnium Deo defert et eius tamquam parentis atque rectoris subdit omnia gubernaculo*.

uerax] 'a God of truth,' who keepest Thy word, probably in this connexion referring to Gen. viii. 22. God is *uerus*, 'very God,' as opposed to idols, which are no gods: He is *uerax* in that He is faithful to His promise and His ordinance; cp. Joh. iii. 33 etc.

2. The thought and expression of this line recur several times in Ambr. Thus *Hex.* IV. 2 *si magnus est [sol] qui per horarum uices locis aut accedit aut decedit cotidie...*; ib. 7 *est ergo in diei potestate sol et luna in potestate noctis, quae temporum uicibus oboedire compellitur...namque luna luminis inminutionem habet, non corporis, quando per uices menstruas deponere uidetur suum lumen...*; ib. 12 *diuisa tempora habent paresque mensuras pro mensium uicibus sol et luna*; ib. 28 *quid autem de tanto loquar temperamento*

et moderamine conditoris? Cp. 2. 3 f.

3. **mane** is a substantive as at Verg. *Georg.* III. 325, Hor. *Sat.* 1. iii. 18, Pers. *Sat.* III. 1, Prud. *Cath.* 1. 96, Genesis i. 4 etc., 72. 9, 73. 5, 110. 13.

Cp. *Hex.* 1. 33 *lux...relectis surgentis diei splendore regionibus nostro se circumfundit aspectui*; ib. IV. 27 (also of dawn) *iam...micat splendor*; cp. 3. 1.

I write *splendore mane qui instruis*. If the hymn is by Ambr. it is impossible to believe that he could have written such a line as *splendore mane instruis*, wherein a short unaccented syllable is left unelided before a vowel. If we insert *qui*, the structure of the hymn will be exactly that of 18: the whole of the first stanza being taken up with the invocation, and the petition following in the next stanza. See also the similar commencements of 2 and 5.

5. **flammas litium**] Cp. Ecclus. xxviii. 11 *homo enim iracundus in-*

exstingue flammam litium, 5
 aufer calorem noxium,
 confer salutem corporum,
 ueramque pacem cordium.

5 extingues Vp.

cendit litem. The prayer is suggested by 'the fires of noon.'

6. **calorem**] 'the heat' of passion (Jas iii. 6) or lust (Hos. vii. 4). *calor, caleo* can also have a good meaning, and this prevails in 3. 19, 60. 10, 116. 16; cp. Prud. *Perist.* VI. 21.

7. The use of the plurals *corporum, cordium* is according to Ambr.'s manner. Steier p. 643 has a list of instances drawn from his prose writings; cp. the use of *noctium* 5. 18, *mentium* 12. 15. Here they seem to be used for the sake of the rhyme.

HYMN 18

Abdghk Eacdhlsvδ Fbhjpps Gabd Habcdefghμ Ibcdhmnopv Ma Vabcp

Rerum Deus tenax uigor,
 inmotus in te permanens,
 lucis diurnae tempora
 successibus determinans,
 largire clarum uespere, 5

2 permanes Eh Ib, permanet Ab² Ecdl Fs Hbd Ih. 3 diurna Ab Esδ. 4 determinas Ab. 5 claro Ea Hacgh Io, clarus Ip. uesperu Ab¹ Gab¹ Hbe Ichd Vp, uesperum Eδ Hd¹.

1. 'O God who art the strength which sustains all creation from day to day.' This seems to be the sense here meant, rather than 'holding all things together in space,' 'the bond of the universe'; though for this latter sense cp. Wisdom i. 7, 36. 41, 39. 15, 44b. 1, 48. 5.

rerum] 'the universe,' as at 2. 1. It is here governed by *tenax*, which takes a like gen. in Hor. *Od.* III. iii. 1 *tenacem propositi*; Ovid *Met.* VII. 657 *quaesiti tenax*; Verg. *Aen.* IV. 188 *ficti prauisque tenax*; Draeger I. § 206. 6.

2. The immutability of God is dwelt upon at Ps. ci. (cii.) 27, Mal. iii. 6, Jas. i. 17. It is a favourite thought with Augustine, as at *Conf.* I. vi. 9 *apud te rerum omnium in-*

stabilium stant causae et rerum omnium mutabilium inmutabiles manent origines and the whole of 10; cp. Prud. *Apoth.* 276 *non conuertibilis nec demutabilis umquam | est Deus.*

in te permanens comes from Wisdom vii. 27, which itself appears to be derived from Aristotle *Phys.* VIII. 5.

3. **tempora**] as in 2. 3.

4. **successibus**] often used as here in the plural by Ambr.; cp. *Hex.* III. 48 *prosperioris cursus successibus*; in *Luc.* VI. 68 *totius naturae creator rebus successus defluos subministrat*; ib. 85.

5. 'Grant us a bright evening time,' *uespere* being a subst. as *mane* at 17. 31. This is simpler

quo uita nusquam decidat,
sed praemium mortis sacrae
perennis instet gloria.

8

7 praemio Ea Fh² Hacgh Inp Vp.
gloriae Es Gd, gloriam Vp.

8 perenni Ab² Im. instat Eδ.

than 'light at evening time,' though *clarum* might be a quasi-subst. like *nubila* at 21. 1, *sereno* at 36. 1, *obscurum* Verg. *Georg.* 1. 478. The writer seems to have in mind Wisdom vi. 13 *clara est et quae numquam marcescit sapientia*; cp. Wisdom vii. 29 f., Zech. xiv. 7.

6. quo] 'whereby.'

nusquam] not *numquam*, i.e. 'that life may not decay at any point in its activities.' Ambr. elsewhere uses this unusual phrase,

which is at the same time one which no imitator would think of taking up; cp. *Hex.* 1. 22 *laudent alii quod ideo nusquam decidat terra*. For *decidat* cp. Ps. lxxxix. (xc.) 6 *uespere decidat*, Wisdom iv. 19 *et erunt post haec decedentes sine honore*.

7. mortis sacrae] as at 12. 18, 15. 11. For the thought cp. Rev. xiv. 13. *praemium* predicate 'as the reward,' cp. 10. 9.

8. instet] 'follow hard upon it.'

HYMN 19

On the authorship of this hymn see above, p. 26. I am inclined to believe that Ambrose wrote it.

Aabcdghk Eacdjhjvμφ Fbps Gam Habcdefghiβ Ibghmnt Makx Vbcps

Iesu corona uirginum,
quem mater illa concipit,
quae sola uirgo parturit,
haec uota clemens accipe,

2 concepit Aadg Ecdvμ Gam Habcdeβ Ighmt Vs.
peperit Eμ. 4 et (*pro haec*) Hb Vs¹.

3 quem Hb.

1. corona comes from Is. xxviii. 5 *in die illa erit Dominus corona gloriae*, whence come also the phrases *corona confitentium*, 121. 2, *militum corona*, 122. 2, *corona praesulum*, 123. 2.

2. illa] emphatic, as often in classical writers, as Verg. *Aen.* VII. 110 *sic Iuppiter ille monebat*.

3. uirgo parturit] So—in spite of *in Ps.* XLVII. 11 *eum Maria non parturiuit, sed peperit*,—Ambr. says *de Inst. Virg.* 39 *minus erat hominem resurrexisse quam uirginem parturisse*.

5. Comes from Cant. ii. 16, vi. 3; cp. Ambr. *in Ps.* CXVIII. xiv. 3 *bona etiam Christi pascua, qui pascit in liliis in splendore sanctorum; bona pascua etiam montes conualium, nam et in his pascitur Christus*.

pascis, as in *Hex.* IV. 22, at *de Inst. Virg.* 113 quoted on line 9, and Fort. *Vita Mart.* 1. 150 *pascens radicibus herbae*, seems to be used in an intransitive sense; cp. Draeger I. § 87, Schmalz 632.

lilia] Cp. *de Inst. Virg.* 93 *qui*



qui pascis inter lilia 5
 saeptus choreis uirginum,
 sponsus decorus gloria
 sponsisque reddens praemia.

quocumque pergis, uirgines
 secuntur atque laudibus 10
 post te canentes cursitant
 hymnosque dulces personant.

te deprecamur, largius
 nostris adauge mentibus
 nescire prorsus omnia 15
 corruptionis uulnera.

5 pascit Fb Vs. 7 sponsi Aa, sponsos Ga, sponsas Eacμ Fbp Hbd²
 Ibgmt Vb, sponsa Ed, sponses Ev. decorans Eadvμ Fb Ga Hd¹β Ibgmt
 Vbs, decoras Gm Hd². gloriae Ha. 8 sponsi Aab² Vs, sponsus Eμ
 Vc. reddis Gm Mk, reddes Hb², reddunt Hb¹. 9 pergit Vc.
 12 insonant Mk. 14 sensibus Eμ.

Christi passionem loquuntur et suo ore concelebrant ac mortificationem eius in suo circumferunt corpore Christi lilia sunt; specialiter sacrae uirgines; in Cant. VI. 1 Moses per desertum duxit populum Iudaeorum...Christus per lilia ducit. The application of the lily to virginity perhaps goes back to Origen in Cant. lib. III. (Migne P.G. XIII. 149 f.).

6. saeptus] Cp. Verg. *Aen.* I. 411, 439, 506, IX. 20, 551, 783.

7. sponsus decorus] from Is. lxi. 10 *sponsum decoratum corona*. For virgins as the brides of Christ see Ambr. *de Virg.* I. 22 *spectate et aliud uirginitatis meritum! Christus uirginis sponsus*; ib. II. 29 *mulieris caput uir, uirginis Christus*; *de Laps. Virg.* 21 *quae se sponndit Christo et sanctum uelamen accepit, iam nupsit, iam inmortalis iuncta est uiro*.

9f. From Rev. xiv. 4; cp. *de Inst. Virg.* 113 *ut uirgo illic agni*

w.

sequatur uestigia et in meridiano pascat.

10. laudibus...canentes] Cp. Stat. *Theb.* VIII. 353 *longa iacet ille canendus | laude*; Fortunat. *Laus Mariae* 47 *sed redeo, qua uirgo trahit me laude canenda*.

11. Comes from Cant. i. 3 *post te curremus*.

12. For the acc. cp. 16. 6.

13. deprecari usually means 'to pray that an evil may be averted,' 'to deprecate': here that a blessing which is in danger of being lost may be granted; cp. Aulus Gellius VII. xvi. 3, Rönsch 358.

largius...adauge] 'increase in our souls more largely,' i.e. 'grant us in ever larger measure,' as in the Baptismal Service, 'Increase this knowledge...in us evermore'; cp. Lk. xvii. 5 *adauge nobis fidem*. The normal acc. after *adauge* is supplied by the clause in 15 f. *nescire...uulnera*.

15. nescire is used as at 3. 20.

16. corruptionis uulnera] Cp.

8

de Laps. Virg. 27 *amplexa es corruptionem*; *ib.* 31 *iaces ecce uulnerata*; *Hex. IV.* 4 *corruptionis subditus seruituti*; *de Noe* 53 *commotio enim uitiosa non est nisi per affectus corruptionem*; *in Ps. CXVIII.* xix. 41 *animae corruptae.*

The thought of sin as wounding the soul is a very favourite one with

Ambr. as de Bono Mortis 40 *animi uulnera*; *in Ps. XXXV.* 3 [*Christus*] *dolores uulnerum sanare consuevit*; XXXVII. 20 *animae uulnera grauiora quam carnis sunt*; *ib.* 53 *homo enim potest uni alicui uulneri non patere*; *ut puta iniustitiae, intemperantiae, impudicitiae*; *cp. in Ps. XXXVI.* 3, XL. 14 etc.

III. AURELIUS PRUDENTIUS CLEMENS

The few historical facts that we know about the life of Prudentius are learnt from his own writings, and especially from the 45 lines which he prefixed to his collected edition of them. Born in Spain, probably at Saragossa, in A.D. 348, he spent a wild youth, though, as he came of a Christian family, his self-accusation may perhaps be exaggerated. After an education in rhetoric, followed by a course of jurisprudence, he entered upon a political career, in which his ability was recognised. He was twice set in command of a province, and was at last raised to some still higher post by the favour of the emperor, probably Theodosius, who himself also was a Spaniard. This high office may have been the command of one of the three divisions of the Palatine (or Imperial) Guard.

Soon after his 50th year his 'white hair warned' Prudentius to retire from public life and to give himself up to the service of God. How long he lived after this we have no means of knowing. In A.D. 404 or 405 he collected and published an edition of his poems. These may be divided into two chief classes, lyric and didactic.

The former of these classes contains the book *Cathemerinōn* (καθημερινῶν), a kind of daily hymn-book, consisting of 12 sacred poems for private use; and one entitled *Peristephanōn* (περὶ στεφάνων), made up of 14 versified accounts of the death of certain martyrs. The poems of these two collections are written in every kind of metre. Their special importance for our present purpose lies in the fact that centos from them have been

taken to serve as hymns in the public offices of the church. The Mozarabic church of Spain adopted large portions of them; elsewhere as a rule only a few shorter pieces were actually sung.

There is one marked distinction between his hymns and those of Ambrose and his successors. Prudentius wrote without any immediate thought of their being sung in church, whereas Ambrose's, as we have seen, were composed directly for that purpose.

The didactic poems, which, though they were less highly esteemed at the time, perhaps reach a higher poetical level, are written in hexameters, and were directed against the absurdities of heathen thought and worship (as the *Psychomachia* and the two *Libri contra Symmachum*), or against the false doctrines of heretical teachers (as the *Apotheosis* and the *Hamartigenia*).

Prudentius is the greatest of the early Christian Latin poets. In the middle ages his works were a great reading-book in schools. Isidore of Seville, with a touch of local feeling, does not hesitate to rank him above the classical writers.

*si Maro, si Flaccus, si Naso et Persius horret,
Lucanus si te Papiniusque tedet,
pareat eximio dulcis Prudentius ore,
carminibus uariis nobilis ille satis.*

This praise of course he does not deserve; but Bentley and other good authorities speak highly of him.

We may say that, although he is not a poet of the highest rank, he might have been one had he lived in an age that would have developed his genius.

Some of his strong points are to be seen in the following extracts:—his easy and graceful flow of language, his clear and vivid style, and his skilful control of various

metres. His weak points are his occasional prolixity and monotony. He does not always know when to bring a story to an end, and does not realise that at times *πλέον ἡμῖσιν παντός*. To give one example: while Ambrose, at 14. 31 f., puts just six words into the mouth of Lawrence when on the gridiron and tells the whole story in 32 lines, Prudentius extends his account to 584 and makes Lawrence in that position utter a fairly long speech (see p. 104).

HYMN 20

Cathemerinon 1, from which 20 is taken, is entitled *hymnus ad galli cantum*, 'at cock-crow.' In its 25 stanzas it insists on the necessity of watchfulness and of avoiding slumber of the soul; it dwells upon the danger of attacks by nightly demons, and concludes with a prayer for help to Christ. The order of the selected stanzas is in the original text I, II, XXI, XXV. As in his other hymns, Prudentius shews from time to time the influence of the hymns of Ambrose.

The hymn was adopted into the later series (see p. xi) and was appointed for Mattins on Tuesdays.

Eacdhjlsvxμφ Fhijklnpsy Gabm Hacdefghi Icdghimnopv Vbc

Ales diei nuntius
 lucem propinquam praecinit,
 nos excitator mentium
 iam Christus ad uitam uocat.

2 cecinit Vb.

1. 'The winged messenger of day' is of course the cock, the *praeco diei* of 2. 5.

3. *Excitare* is used of arousing from the sleep of death, Joh. xi. 11,

1. 44. Christ awakens us from the death of the soul, as the cock arouses us from our nightly slumbers. *mentium* 'souls,' as at 5. 21.

'auferte' clamat 'lectulos
aegros, soporos, desides ;
castique recti ac sobrii
uigilate ; iam sum proximus.' 5

Iesum ciamus uocibus
flentes, precantes, sobrii : 10
intenta supplicatio
dormire cor mundum uetat.

6 aegro Ecv Fk Gm Ideimn Vc. sopore Ecvxμφ Fiknp²sy Gbm Hghi
Icdehimn. 7 caste recte Ejx Fks Hacdeghi Id²eg² (casteq. recti h) m¹nv
Vc. et (*pro ac*) Es. sobrie Ejx Fks Gm Hacdeghi Id²eg²m¹nv Vc.
9 sciamus Ecsxμφ. 10 sobrie Ecdlvxμφ Fikps Gbm Hadehg
Id²himnpv Vc.

5. 'Away with the couches that are for the sick, the drowsy and the slothful.' So Verg. *Georg.* IV. 464 *aeger amor* ; cp. 80. 7. For the other words cp. *Aen.* VI. 390 *umbrarum hic locus est somni noctisque soporae*. Stat. *Theb.* x. 87 *desidis atria somni*.

6. The temptations against which vigilance especially guards us are lust, unjust dealing with others, excess ; cp. Rom. xiii. 13 *sicut in die ambulemus : non in comissionibus et ebrietatibus (= sobrii), non in cubilibus et impudiciis (= casti), non in contentione et aemulationibus (= recti)*.

8. **uigilate**] 1 Cor. xvi. 13, 1 Pet. v. 8. The origin of this and like passages is of course our Lord's bidding, as at Mt. xxiv. 42. Cp. the Rhythm of Bernard of Morlaix *Hora nouissima, tempora pessima sunt, uigilemus ; ecce minaciter imminet arbiter ille supremus*.

9. **ciamus**] 'let us summon to our aid' ; cp. Liv. XII. 14 *deos ciebamus* ; Val. Flacc. IV. 549 *numina nota ciens*. The form *cio, cire*, found in Lucr. I. 212 and later writers, e.g. 120. 6, is not so common as *cieo*, except in compounds.

The invocation of Christ must be aloud (*uocibus*), accompanied by repentance (*flentes*), it must come from

the heart (*precantes*), apart from all worldly excitement (*sobrii*).

10. With the ancients silent prayer was most uncommon, as is illustrated by the story of Hannah, 1 Sam. i. 13. Cp. the Rule of Pythagoras, quoted by Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* IV. xxvi. 173, *μετὰ φωνῆς εὐχεσθαι*, Hor. *Epist.* I. xvi. 59, Martial I. xxxix. 6. And for the combination of tears with prayers so often mentioned in these hymns,—2. 28, 21. 11, 42. 46, 60. 2, 69. 6, 73. 8, 75. 11, 86. 12,—there is no occasion to adopt Dressel's *flere hic et alibi potius ingemiscere esse uidetur*. We must remember the emotional character of southern nations and (among others) the stern Clearchus shedding tears before addressing his troops, Xen. *Anab.* I. iii. 2 *καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδάκρυε πολὺν χρόνον ἐστῶς*. Also Ambr.'s words *Praef. in Ps.* I. 10 *psalmus canitur, et ipsa etiam saxosa pectora molliuntur. uidemus flere praeduros* ; and Augustine's (*Confess.* IX. 14) *quantum fleui in hymnis et canticis tuis suaue sonantis ecclesiae tuae uocibus conmotus acriter ! ib. 16 ideo plus flebam inter cantica hymnorum tuorum*.

11. **intenta supplicatio** denotes the state of mind opposed to the *uaga mens* condemned in 51. 11, 57.

tu Christe somnum dissice,
 tu rumpe noctis uincula,
 tu solue peccatum uetus,
 nouumque lumeningere.

15

13 discute Ev Ii.

14 nostra (*pro noctis*) Ic.

15, 91. 14; cp. 82. 26 f., Prud. *Cath.* 1. 86 *sensum profunda obliuio | pressit, grauauit, obruit, | uanis uagantem somniis.*

12. Cp. 5. 21.

13. The line is imitated from 2. 30.

dissice] 'dispel.' The form *disiicere* is not found in early MSS; Latin dislikes the coming together of *ii*. The *s* could be doubled or not at pleasure after the Augustan period.

The *somnus*, *nox*, and *lumen* are those of the spirit.

14. *noctis uincula*] Cp. Wisdom xvii. 2 *uinculis tenebrarum et longae noctis compediti*. The thought constantly recurs, as at *Cath.* 1. 27 *peccata, ceu nox horrida, | cogunt iacere ac stertere.*

15. *peccatum uetus*] Cp. 4. 10 *diri ueterno criminis.*

16. *nouum lumen*] Cp. 6. 30. *ingere*] Cp. 16. 3.

HYMN 21

The poem from which 21 is taken, *Cathemerinon* II, is entitled *hymnus matutinus* and consists of 28 stanzas. Its central thought is the contrast between the night of dark deeds and the light of Christ (lines 27 f. *nec teste quisquam lumine | peccare constanter potest*). The poet prays that we may be enabled to walk as children of the light. Rom. xiii. 12 f. might be taken as the text.

This hymn is a cento of lines thus arranged: 1-8, 48, 49, 52, 57, 59, 60, 67, 68. It was introduced into the later series (see p. xi) and was appointed for Mattins on Thursdays.

Eacdhjlsvø Fghjlpqsy Gabm Hacdefghi Ibedghimpv Vc

Nox et tenebrae et nubila,
 confusa mundi et turbida,

1. *Nox* etc. are in the vocative. *nubila*] 'clouds,' strictly the neuter plural of *nubilus* 'cloudy,' cp. 12. 22. It is used as a subst. also by Hor. *Od.* 1. xxxiv. 6, and at *Hamart.* 89 *sunt animis etiam sua nubila*; Aug. *Conf.* XI. 11 *discindens nubilum*

meum. As in the preceding hymn, the *nox* etc. are primarily the spiritual night etc., as the contrast with *Christus* in l. 4 shews. In the second stanza it is otherwise.

2. *confusa mundi* probably refers to Gen. i. 2.

lux intrat, albescit polus,
Christus uenit, discedite.

caligo terrae scinditur
percussa solis spiculo,
rebusque iam color redit
uultu nitentis sideris.

5

te Christe solum nouimus,
te mente pura et simplici
flendo et canendo quaesumus,
intende nostris sensibus.

10

sunt multa fucis inlita,
quae luce purgentur tua :

6 speculo Es Ip.

7 calor Es Hd¹ Ibdghimv.11 om. et Eacd^{lv}2.

3. **albescit**] 'grows bright' rather than 'white'; cp. Verg. *Aen.* IV. 586 *cum primum albescere lumen uidit*. Aug. *Conf.* XI. 4 uses it metaphorically: *albescet ueritas*.

polus] Cp. 2. 10 note.

4. **discedite**] a common formula, bidding all uninitiated or obnoxious persons to depart from a sacrifice; cp. 26. 13, 21.

5. The darkness is regarded as a substantial 'cloak' or 'veil' thrown over things (cp. *Hamart.* 86 *aut si fusca polum suffudit palla serenum*), which is 'rent' or 'torn' by the rays of the sun. See also 27. 24.

6. So Lucr. I. 148 *non radii solis neque lucida tela diei*; II. 800 *percussus luce*; Tert. *de Pudic.* VII *non lucernae spiculo lumine sed totius solis lancea opus est*; Prud. *Hamart.* 87 *radiorum spicula*.

7. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 272 *rebus nox abstulit atra colorem*; cp. 22. 2, 67. 1 f.

8. 'Under the countenance of the shining star of day,' viz. the sun. *sidus* is so used in line 15, in 81. 1, and of course in classical poetry.

uultu stands because the sun is personified, cp. Verg. *Georg.* I. 452 *nam saepe uidemus | ipsius in uultu uarios errare colores*; 36. 7.

9. Cp. Hos. viii. 2 *Deus meus cognouimus te*; 1 Cor. ii. 2, Phil. iii. 8 f.

10. **te** is governed by *quaesumus*, which here as in 68. 17 is followed by the imperative (*intende* in 12) instead of its usual *ut*-clause as at 15. 29, 42. 61, 68. 17. At 44. 21 it has no following clause.

quaesumus here stands for *rogare ...discimus* in the original poem.

11. Cp. 20. 10 note.

flendo et canendo] This use of the abl. gerund taking the place of the pres. participle is first found Plaut. *Truc.* 916 *ita miser cubando in lecto hic exspectando obdurui*. Cp. Liv. XLV. 26 *equidem pro patria qui letum oppetissent, saepe fando audiui*; Tac. *Ann.* XV. 38 *incendium plana primum, deinde in edita assurgens, et rursus inferiora populando, anteit remedia uelocitate mali*; 2. 26, 28. 20, 31. 44, 34. 15, 36. 34 etc. The construction was very common in late writers and has passed into Italian; cp. Röscher 432 f., Schmalz 447 f., Löfstedt *Aeth.* 159 f.

12. **sensibus**] See 2. 29, note 3. 8.

13. **fucus** was firstly a sea-weed found off Crete, from which a kind of red dye was made, then the 'dye'

tu lux eoi sideris
uultu sereno inlumina.

15

or 'paint' itself which was at times, like our 'rouge,' used to cover an imperfection; cp. Prud. *Hamart.* 273 f. *taedet sacrilegas matrum percurrere curas, | muneribus dotata Dei quae plasmata fuco | inficiunt, ut pigmentis cutis inlita perdat | quod fuerat, falso non agnoscenda colore.* Ambr. *de Cain* 1. 15 *adulterina est, fucis inlita.* Here it seems to refer to pretences and unrealities of all sorts. Cp. Ps. cxxxix. 23.

15. 'Do thou who art light illuminate us with the bright face of the rising star.' *lux* is found in all hymnals for *rex* of the original, perhaps adopted from 2. 29. In the

same way at 22. 1 *lux aurea* is substituted for Prud.'s *sol aureus*.

eoī sideris] i.e. the sun, as in line 8; cp. Verg. *Georg.* 1. 288 *aut cum sole nouo terras inrorat eous.* Servius there notes *Cinna in Smyrna sic ait: te matrimonium flentem conspexit eous, et flentem paulo uidit post Hesperus idem.* So Sil. *Punic.* IX. 180 *conscia nox sceleris roseo cedebat eoo;* ib. XI. 518 *lucem surgentis eoi;* Sedul. *Carm.* v. 191 *splendidus...fulget eous.* In all these passages *eous* means 'the rising sun,' 'the dawn.'

16. *uultu* as in 8; *sereno* 'bright' as in 10. 2.

HYMN 22

This hymn also comes from *Cathemerinon* II, answering to lines 25, 93, 94, 96-108. It was adopted in the later series and appointed for Mattins on Fridays.

Eacdhjlsvμφ Fghinpsxγ Gabm Hacdefghi Ibcdeghmnopv Vbct

Lux ecce surgit aurea,
pallens facessat caecitas,
quae nosmet in praeceptis diu
errore traxit deuio.

2 fatescat Ecdsvx Gm Hacd Ihp, facessat Eμ Fin Ig, fatescit El, facessat Fhpx Gab Hh Vt. 4 deuio Eμ Vb.

1. 'The golden light,' probably means 'daylight,' which demands spiritual correspondence. The difficulty of fixing the exact signification of the words is a result of bringing together lines from different parts of the original poem. In Prud. the *sol aureus* is certainly the natural sun, but *te Christe solum nouimus* and the rest has intervened, so that *haec lux* in 5 is plain. Here a reference to the time of day seems to be

required to start with, the meaning of *haec lux* being gathered from the three preceding lines.

2. *pallens*] 'colourless' as at 46. 5, Prud. *Cath.* IX. 78 (of the darkness at the Crucifixion) *tristia squalentis aethrae palluerunt sidera,* cp. 21. 7, 67. 1, 120. 10. Here it takes the place of *tandem* in the original.

facessat] 'depart.' So Liv. 1. 47 *facesse hinc;* Ambr. *Hex.* III. 27 *facessat uana opinio;* Prud. *Apoth.*

haec lux serenum conferat 5
 puerosque nos praestet sibi:
 nihil loquamur subdolum,
 uoluamus obscurum nihil.

sic tota decurrat dies,
 ne lingua mendax, ne manus 10
 oculiue peccent lubrici,
 ne noxa corpus inquinat.

speculator adstat desuper,
 qui nos diebus omnibus
 actusque nostros prospicit 15
 a luce prima in uesperum.

10 nec (*pro ne primo*) Esvμ Gm Hacde^{2f} Icgmn Vb. nec (*pro ne sec.*)
 Eacdhsνμφ Gm Hacde^{2f} Icdgnv Vbc. 11 ne (*pro -ue*) Evμφ Ha^{1d}2e
 Icdm, nec Ecs Fn Gm Ha^{2cd}1f Igv Vbc. 12 nec Hc Icv.
 13 spectator Ea.

659. The variant *fatiscat* would mean 'fail,' 'give way,' as at 26. 25.

The same difficulty of determining the reading presents itself in the original poem. Dressel there reads *facessat*.

5. **haec lux** means Christ—the opposite of the *p. caecitas*.

serenum] 'fair weather'; as in classical Latin, and at Juvenc. III. 226 *adueniet uentura luce serenum*, 36. 1; see note on 10. 2. Here, of course, it is used metaphorically.

8. **uoluamus**] 'turn over' in our minds; cp. Lucr. VI. 34 *uoluere curarum tristes in pectore fluctus*; Verg. *Aen.* I. 305 *per noctem plurima uoluens*; Niceta *de Symbolo* 14 *haec salutaris confessio uoluatur in pectoribus uestris*.

obscurum nihil] 'no dark thought,' cp. 67. 11, 86. 2.

9. **sic** is answered by *ne* in 10: 'in such a way that the tongue may not sin by lying, nor the hand or the eyes by sliding, that guilt may not defile the body.'

sic is often used in wishes and prayers. Thus Hor. *Od.* I. iii. 1 f.

sic te diua potens Cypri, | sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera, | uentorumque regat pater; where Page notes: '*sic* = "so" i.e. "on that condition" ...cp. our similar use of "so help you God" in administering oaths: the Latins, however, throw the clauses with *sic* forward, instead of keeping them to the end.' Cp. Verg. *Ecl.* IX. 30 *sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos...incipere*.

decurrat] 'run to its close,' as at 105. 5.

10. Note the emphasis put on the adjs *mendax* and *lubrici*. *lubrici* is here taken in its literal sense 'easily moving'; cp. also the note on 3. 12.

12. **noxa**] 'guilt' cp. 64. 14; Gaius *Digest* L. xvi. 238 *noxae appellatione omne delictum continetur*. We have had the adj. *noxius* 1. 39, 17. 6 meaning 'guilty,' and it is often used in later hymns. But *noxialis* of 23. 11, 33. 5 bears the stronger sense 'baleful.' The *ne* may be taken either as parallel with the two foregoing, or as dependent upon *ne peccent*, cp. James iii. 6.

13. *speculator*] 'watchman,' used in its literal meaning 2 Sam. xviii. 26, 2 Kings ix. 20 etc. For its use of God's all-seeing eye, cp. Minuc. Felix *Octavius* xxxii. 9 *quanto magis Deus, auctor omnium ac speculator omnium, a quo nullum potest esse secretum, ... interest ... cogitationibus nostris*; Ambr. in *Ps.* xxxv. 25

iustitia diuina...quasi speculatrix pia. Arnob. *adu. Nationes* iv. 23 *speculator ille...bene meritorum ac pessime.* The general thought could be illustrated by numberless passages; cp. 48. 4, 93. 5; Commodian *Apol.* 127 *quique tenet caelum, prospicit ubique de caelo | et penetrat totum oculis et auribus audit.*

HYMN 23

Cathemerinon IX, from which 23 is a cento, is entitled *hymnus omnis horae*. At every hour of every day should a believer be mindful of Christ, who is the α and ω , the beginning and the end. Prudentius therefore praises Him as the creator of all things, as the everlasting Son of the Father's love begotten. He then briefly but graphically relates the chief wonders of His earthly life, in order to shew to all men *comminus Deum docendis proditum mortalibus* (line 9).

The uses of different churches selected from the poem various stanzas to form a Christmas hymn. The eight here given are those of the Hereford breviary, and in the original are the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 36th and 37th. The Mozarabic use on the other hand was to sing the first 35 stanzas on Easter Day and during the octave, 36-38 *post ascensionem Domini*.

Ehxϕ Hdefgh Ih Mi Vs

Corde natus ex parentis ante mundi exordium,
alpha et ω cognominatus, ipse fons et clausula

2 A (*pro* alpha) Hh.

1. *corde...parentis*] Col. i. 13. Cp. 1. 3 (which Prud. may have had in mind); Prud. *Apoth. (init.) corde Patris genita est sapientia, Filius ipse est.*

2. *alpha et ω*] Rev. i. 8, 11, xxi. 6, xxii. 13, 107. 21, Sedul.

Carm. III. 287 f. *hunc esse per orbem | principium ac finem, hunc a uiderier, hunc ω .* These letters, the first and last of the Greek alphabet, denote 'the beginning and the end,' as is further expressed by *fons et clausula*, representing *princi-*

omnium, quae sunt, fuerunt, quaeque post futura sunt,
saeculorum saeculis.

ipse iussit et creata, dixit ipse, et facta sunt 5
terra, caelum, fossa ponti, trina rerum machina,
quaeque in his uigent sub alto solis et lunae globo,
saeculorum saeculis.

corporis formam caduci, membra morti obnoxia
induit, ne gens periret primoplasti ex germine, 10
merserat quem lex profundo noxialis tartaro,
saeculorum saeculis.

pium et clausula of Rev. i. 8. Our name *omega* is a modern invention which Prudentius knew not.

4. **saeculorum saeculis**] the refrain after each stanza, is not, as such, in the original, but was inserted from the last line of the whole poem, *omnibus te concelebrent saeculorum saeculis*, when the cento came into use as a hymn.

5. **iussit**] Ps. cxlviii. 5. The *ipse* is Christ catching up the *ipse* of line 2; cp. *Hamart.* 338 *Christus cum conderet orbem*; *Perist.* II. 413f. *O Christe nomen unicum, ... o factor orbis et poli*; ib. x. 468f. *Christus paternae gloriae splendor, Deus | rerum creator*, 1. 8 note.

6. For this threefold enumeration of the elements of the universe cp. Ps. cxlv. (cxlvi.) 6 *qui fecit caelum et terram, mare, et omnia quae in eis sunt*, from Exodus xx. 11.

fossa ponti] 'the hollow of the sea,' cp. *Lucr.* v. 483 *salso suffodit gurgite fossas*.

trina rerum machina] 'the threefold fabric of the world,' from *Lucr.* v. 96 *machina mundi*. The phrase recurs at 113. 9, *Fort.* III. vi. 52 *et Trinitatis opem machina trina sonet*; cp. 39. 3, 69. 2, *Hamart.* 247 *mundana laborat machina*.

7. Prud. is perhaps thinking of *Lucr.* v. 471f. *hunc exordia sunt solis lunaeque secuta, | interutraque globi quorum uertuntur in auris*.

9. **formam**] as at *Phil.* ii. 7 *formam serui accipiens*.

caduci] 'frail,' cp. 29. 21, 94. 26, *Hilary Hymn.* II. 25 *non est caducum corpus istud, quod tenes*.

obnoxia] 'subject to'; cp. *Apoth.* 1043 *mortique obnoxia cessit*; *Symm.* II. 1061 *horrea nocturno non unquam obnoxia furi*; *Verg. Georg.* II. 439 *non ulli obnoxia curae*. The phrase *membra morti obnoxia* recurs at *Perist.* v. 155.

10. **primoplasti**] 'the first made man,' i.e. Adam. The word is half Latin, half Greek. So *Commod. Instr.* xxxv. 1 has *protolapsus*. The more correct *protoplastus* is found at 33. 4, 40. 3, 112. 16, *Wisdom* vii. 1 (*Vulgate*). The words *plasma* (37. 20, 94. 26), *plasmare* (42. 6, 14), *plasmator* (78. 1) also come in these hymns.

Note the adverbial phr. *ex germine* qualifying *gens* like an adjective.

11. 'which the law of death had overwhelmed in the depths of hell.' *noxialis*, 'baleful,' invented, as it seems, by Prud.; cp. *Perist.* x. 1107 *noxialis carceris*; 33. 5; see 22. 12 note.

tartaro] the infernal regions in the old heathen mythology, adopted by Christian writers to denote 'hell,' or 'the powers of hell.' So at 31. 87, 32. 6, 34. 24, 36. 17 etc.

o beatus ortus ille, uirgo cum puerpera
 edidit nostram salutem feta sancto Spiritu,
 et puer, redemptor orbis, os sacratum protulit,
 saeculorum saeculis. 15

psallat altitudo caeli, psallant omnes angeli,
 quidquid est uirtutis usquam psallat in laudem Dei:
 nulla linguarum silescaat, uox et omnis consonet,
 saeculorum saeculis. 20

ecce quem uates uetustis concinebant saeculis,
 quem prophetarum fideles paginae sponponderant,
 emicat promissus olim: cuncta conlaudent eum
 saeculorum saeculis.

13 partus Exφ Hf Ih. 14 plena (pro feta) Vs. 15 ut Hdf. orbem
 hanc sacrando piauit Vs. 18 laude Eφ Hfg. 19 sed (pro et) Vs.
 21 quam Mi. uetusti Ih. 23 collaudant Hdf. deum Mi.

13. uirgo...puerpera] in sharp contrast as at 1. 13 and often. Prud. lays stress upon the Virgin-birth, *Apoth.* 436 etc.

14. salutem] personified, as at 38. 29 iam nata lux est et salus; cp. 36. 27, 87. 16.

feta... Spiritu] Lk. i. 35, 6. 10.

17. psallant] Imitated from Ps. cxlviii. 1. This is the reading of practically all the hymnals. It goes better with *psallat* before and after than *psallite*, which is, no doubt, the original text. But from a metrical point of view *psallant* is not so good, as it brings a spondee into the 1st foot of the 2nd part of the line, which Prud. never admits.

psallere (*ψάλλειν*) is strictly to sing to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument, but this meaning is not to be pressed here or at 43. 5, 51. 2, 54. 4 etc.

18. 'Let every power, wherever it be, sing to the praise of God'; cp. Ps. cxlviii. 2 *laudate eum omnes uirtutes eius*.

19. nulla linguarum] Late Latin extended the use of the partitive gen.; cp. Tac. *Germ.* 43 *nullo hos-*

tium; Draeger I. 421, Schmalz 365. *silescaat* would strictly mean 'leave off singing,' but probably Prud. intended it to be = *sileat*.

21. Cp. *Apoth.* 605 f. *estne Deus iam noster homo? uersatur et adstat | nobiscum nomenque probat uersumque uetustis | obscurum saeculis praesenti inluminat ore*.

We have had the phrase *uetusta saecla* 12. 29. *uates*, the bards or singers such as David and the prophets, cp. 14. 6 note. *concinebant* 'sang with one accord,' cp. Acts x. 43.

22. fideles] 'faithful to the truth,' 'truthful,' as at 34. 14.

paginae] 'prophecies'; cp. Propert. IV. xxv. 17 *has tibi fatalis cecinit mea pagina diras*; Prud. *Apoth.* 107 *falsiloqua est diuini pagina libri*.

sponponderant put into the plural to denote that the promise was of ancient standing, or it may be because the Incarnation, though spoken of in the present, was already a historical event of the past. So 41. 15 *ausus erat*, 95. 10 *uiderat*, 96. 4 *sanxeras*.

macte iudex mortuorum, macte rex uiuentium, 25
 dexter in parentis arce qui cluis uirtutibus,
 omnium uenturus inde iustus ultor criminum,
 saeculorum saeculis.

te senes et te iuuentus, paruulorum te chorus,
 turba matrum uirginumque, simplices puellulae, 30
 uoce concordēs pudicis perstrepat concentibus
 saeculorum saeculis.

31 perstrepat Hgh.

25. **macte**] Originally 'mighty one,' the vocative of a participle answering to the adj. *magnus*. At first confined to the language of religion, it came to be used in the sense of 'well-done.' The idea here is much like that of Ps. xlv. (xlv.) 5 'Good luck have thou with thine honour.'

26. **dexter**] 'on His right hand,' cp. 4. 32.

in parentis arce] Prud. often uses *arx* thus, as *Perist.* II. 272 *in arce lucebunt Patris*; and Fortunatus has taken up the phrase, cp. 33. 11.

cluis] 'excellest.' Prud. uses this word again of Christ *Psych.* 2 *qui patria uirtute cluis*; and twice of Rome *c. Symm.* I. 417 *praediuite cultu | inlustrata cluis*; *ib.* II. 583 f. *uis dicam...quis gloria fotibus*

aucta | sic cluat, inpositis ut mundum frenet habenis? cp. *Cath.* IV. 37 *tua praecluens potestas*. In earlier Latin the more usual form of the word was *clueo cluere*. Plautus uses that word absolutely, as here, with an ablative of the distinguishing feature.

29. **te** is governed by *perstrepat*, which is elsewhere used of confused shouting; cp. the use of *personare* 16. 6. The stanza is an amplification of Ps. cxlviii. 12.

Many hymnals add in full a doxology: *Tibi Christe sit cum Patre hagioque Pneumate (or Spiritu) hymnus, decus (or melos), laus perennis, gratiarum actio, honor, uirtus, uictoria, regnum aeternaliter, saeculorum saeculis*. This of course was not written by Prud.

HYMN 24

This beautiful hymn is patched together from Prud.'s *hymnus epiphaniae*, *Cath.* XII, and has gained by its abbreviation. The lines selected are in the original 125-128, 134, 129, 130, 132, 93, 94, 97, 99, 101, 102, 107-112, 117, 114, 113, 115, 133, 137, 138, 136.

Exϕ Fs Habcdefy Ichn Vcs

Saluete flores martyrum,
quos lucis ipso in limine
Christi insecutor sustulit,
ut turbo florentes rosas.

quid crimen Herodem iuuat?
uos, prima Christi uictima,
grex inmolatorum tener,
palma et coronis luditis.

5

audit tyrannus anxius
adesse regum principem ;

10

2 om. in Exϕ Ich Vc. lumine Ex, limite Fs Vs. 8 corona Hb¹cd¹.

1. 'Hail flowers of the martyr band,' *martyrum* being partitive gen. Cp. [Aug.] *Serm.* CCXX *iure dicuntur martyrum flores, quos in medio frigore infidelitatis exortos uelut primas erumpentes ecclesiae gemmas quaedam persecutionis pruina decoxit.*

2. 'Whom on the very threshold of the light of life'; an echo of Verg. *Aen.* VI. 426 *continuo auditae uoces, uagitus et ingens, | infantumque animae flentes in limine primo, | quos dulcis uitae exsortes* etc.; cp. Lucan II. 106 *nec primo in limine uitae | infantis miseri nascentia rumpere fata.*

4. The original of Prud. *ceu turbo nascentes rosas* might well have been retained. Cp. Stat. *Silu.* III. 126 f. *media cecidere abrupta iuuenta | gaudia, florentesque manu scidit Atropos annos, | qualia palentes declinant lilia culmos | pubentesque rosae primos moriuntur in annos*; Verg. *Aen.* XI. 68 f. *qualem uirgineo demessum pollice florem | seu mollis uiolae seu languentis hyacinthi.*

6 f. *uictima* and *grex* are in apposition with *uos*. *uictima* is a collective singular as at 31. 40.

7. *inmolare* meant (1) to sprinkle

with sacrificial meal (*mola salsa*), hence (2) 'to sacrifice,' as here and at 33. 3, 18, 34. 8, 107. 11.

8. The palm and crown were the tokens of victory among the Greeks and Romans; cp. Liv. X. 47 *eodem anno [B.C. 293] coronati, primum ob res bello bene gestas, ... palmaeque tum primum translato e Graecia more uictoribus datae*. Hence both were adopted by Christians as signs of the martyrs' triumph. Palms are thus spoken of Rev. vii. 9 (though with Hebrew associations) and crowns (in a rather different context), ib. IV. 4. So Cypr. *de Bono Pat.* 7 *qui martyras floribus coronat aeternis, ... qui palmas ueras uincentibus tribuit*; 49. 43. Clément quotes Paulinus of Nola (of Celsus who died as an infant) *aut cum Bethlaeis infantibus in Paradiso, | quos malus Herodes perculit inuidia, | inter odoratum ludit nemus, atque coronas | textit honorandis praemia martyribus.*

10. Acts v. 31, Rev. i. 5 *princeps regum terrae*. So in Prud. Christ is entitled *rex* (*Cath.* XI. 100, XII. 41, *Psych.* 97), *rex aeternus* (*Apoth.* 222), *rex uiuentium* (*Cath.* IX. 106=23. 25).

exclamat amens nuntio :
 'ferrum, satelles, corripe ;
 mas omnis infans occidat,
 scrutare nutricum sinus,
 fraus ne qua furtim subtrahat
 prolem uirilis indolis.' 15

transfigit ergo carnifex
 mucrone dextrico furens
 effusa nuper corpora
 animasque rimatur nouas. 20

o barbarum spectaculum !
 uix interemptor inuenit
 locum minutis artibus
 quo plaga descendat patens.

quid proficit tantum nefas ? 25
 inter coaeui sanguinis

12 arripe Eφ Fs² Hcef Ih Vs².
 Fs Hbcdef Ihn Vcs.

24 descendit Vs.

25 profuit Exφ

11. **amens n.**] 'mad with rage at the message,' 15. 16 note.

12. **satelles**] 'guardsman,' an officer attached to the personal service of a prince. The original of Prud. is here more graphic, if somewhat spun out: *exclamat amens nuntio: | successor instat, pellimur ! | satelles, i, ferrum rape ! | perfunde cunas sanguine !*

14. 'Search the laps of the nursing mothers.'

16. **indolis**] 'sex'; lit. 'quality' usually of character or disposition.

18. 'with drawn sword,' *mucro* is strictly the point, but Verg. *Aen.* II. 449 has *strictis mucronibus*. All MSS read *districto*, which would be meaningless. On such a point their evidence is of little worth.

19. **effusa**] 'born,' cf. Juvenc. I. 105 *iussum fundere partum*; Prud. *Cath.* VII. 59 *nec ante partu de senili effusus est*; 39. 20, Verg. *Aen.*

VIII. 139 *quem candida Maia | Cyl- lenae gelido conceptum uertice fudit*; where Servius says that the word implies an easy labour; Ambr. *Hex.* V. 30 *mulieres solae partus suos inclementer effundunt*.

20. 'and searches out (sc. by piercing the body) the young lives.' *rimari* is used at 85. 10 of God searching the heart, by Verg. *Georg.* I. 384 of birds groping in the meadows for food, and *Aen.* VI. 599 of the vulture digging into Tityos' entrails.

21 f. This passage is imitated from Ambr. *de Virg.* I. 7 (of Agnes) *fuitne in illo corpusculo uulneri locus*.

24. **descendat**] the regular word for a blow 'falling,' cp. Liv. I. 41 *ferrum...in corpus descendisse*; Ov. *Met.* III. 67; Lucan VI. 216; Dracont. *Delib.* 184 *descendit hiatu hasta potens*.

fluenta solus integer
inpune Christus tollitur.

sit Trinitati gloria,
uirtus, honor, uictoria,
quae dat coronam testibus
per saeculorum saecula.

30

27. **fluenta**] See the note on 1. all MSS that contain the hymn, but
17. **integer**] 'unscathed,' cp. 1. 51 it was not written by Prud.
note. **testibus**] i.e. 'to martyrs.'
29 f. This doxology is found in For the martyr's crown cp. 14. 3
note.

HYMN 25

These are the first two (out of 44) stanzas of Prud.'s *hymnus ieiunantium*, *Cathemerinon* VII. The former stanza contains a prayer to Christ that He may regard with favour this fast, which is an offering to Him; the second enumerates some of the benefits to be gained by fasting. The hymn thus formed had no wide use, as is shown by the few old MSS in which it is found, viz. British Museum 37517 probably from Canterbury, and Bern 455 from St John at Laon. But it is mentioned by Radulph *de Canonum Obseruantia* (quoted by Daniel IV. 207) *de quadragesima sunt hymni Audi benigne: ad nocturnos, Ex more: in laudibus, O Nazarene*. The poem as a whole was in the Mozarabic Church sung at the third, sixth and ninth hours during Lent, from 10 to 20 lines at each service.

Eh Makx

O Nazarene, lux Bethlem, Verbum Patris,
quem partus alui uirginalis protulit,
adesto castis, Christe, parsimoniis,

1 dux Mk.

1. Most of the liturgical MSS change Prud.'s *lux* into *dux*, which comes from Mt. ii. 6.

uerbum Patris] Joh. I. 1, cp. 1. 3.
2. **partus**] active, 'child-bearing.'
3. **parsimoniis**] 'fast,' as at 95.

w.

9

festumque nostrum rex serenus adspice,
ieiuniorum dum litamus uictimam.

5

nil hoc profecto purius mysterio,
quo fibra cordis expiatur uuidi,
intemperata quo domantur uiscera,
aruina putrem ne resudans crapulam
obstrangulatae mentis ingenium premat.

10

14, 96. 6, 110. 19. The word is used by classical writers, but not in this sense.

4. **festum**] Cp. George Herbert's 'welcome dear feast of Lent.'

serenus is not nom. for voc., but is to be taken closely with *adspice*, 'look brightly upon.'

5. **ieiuniorum...uictimam**] The fast is an offering to Christ; cp. 96. 18, 110. 17. *litare*, 'offer a successful sacrifice,' usually intransitive with abl. of the offering (like *sacrificare, facere* etc.), but it occurs in classical poetry, as here, with an accus.,—e.g. Ovid *Fasti* IV. 630 has *sacra litate*.

uictimam] Cp. Rom. xii. 1, Phil. iv. 18, Hebr. xiii. 15. Possibly the word has here the same collective meaning as in 24. 6.

6. **purius**] 'more cleansing,' cp. Tibull. I. v. 11 *ipseque te circum lustravi sulphure puro*.

7. **fibra cordis**] 'the heart strings,' for the heart itself. So Pers. I. 47 *neque enim mihi cornea fibra est*; Saluian. *de Gub. Dei* III. 37 *letaliter crescentibus fibris. Fibra, uiscera, aruina* are chosen as being the parts chiefly offered in sacrifice.

expiatur] is cleansed by atonement made. The sin offering was a *piaculum*, cp. 96. 17, 62. 11, and also 67. 5, 98. 8.

uuidi] lit. 'wet' (being akin to *umor, ὑγρός*) probably here means 'drunken,' 'debauched,' as Hor. *Od.* II. xix. 18 uses it, like the Greek *βεβρεγμένος*.

8. **uiscera**] 'the body,' 'the flesh'; see 15. 17 note, and for the general sense cp. I Cor. ix. 27.

9. **aruina**] strictly the hard fat between the skin and the body, hence 'fat' in general; cp. Ambr. in *Ps.* XXXVIII. 34 *deponat...pinguedinem quandam carnalis aruinae*.

resudans] Cp. *Apoth.* 719 *crudus conuiuia resudat | congeriem uentris*; *Cath.* X. 107 *sua tunc tormenta resudans*.

crapulam] originally, like *κρα-πάλη*, the headache after drinking, but often the debauch itself; cp. 103. 17, 116. 27.

10. **obstrangulatae**] invented as it seems by Prud.; cp. *Perist.* I. 99 [*daemones*] *strangulant mentes et ipsas seque miscent sensibus*.

HYMN 26

This hymn consists of the last 7 of the 38 stanzas of Prud.'s *hymnus ante somnum, Cathemerinon* VI. Radulph (*Daniel* IV. 207) notes as to its use: *de passione...ad completorium, Cultor Dei*. Blume (*Analecta* XXVII. 37) gives its Mozarabic use also *ad complet*.

Ehl Fst Gμ Macx

Cultor Dei, memento
 te fontis et lauacri
 rorem subisse sanctum,
 te chrismate innotatum.
 fac, cum uocante somno
 castum petis cubile,
 frontem locumque cordis
 crucis figura signet.

5

crux pellit omne crimen,
 fugiunt crucem tenebrae:

10

3 rore sub ipso sacro chrismate Fs.
 6 peti Fs².

8 signa Fs.

4 innouatum El Fst.

2. **fontis et lauacri**] 'the cleansing stream,' hendiadys. Our use of the 'font' makes it easy to forget that in early times baptism was by immersion, and if possible in running water. *lauacri*, water for cleansing; it is so used also at 31. 41, 37. 22, 91. 24. It is, no doubt, a reminiscence of Tit. iii. 5 *per l. regenerationis et renouationis*.

4. **chrismate**] the sacred oil with which the newly baptized were anointed; see Tertullian *de Bapt.* 7, and cp. 27. 32, 37. 12, 40. 31, 106. 7, 10. This sacramental symbol was at first composed of pure olive oil, but from the VIth century onwards balsam was added to it. In early times no day was fixed for blessing the *chrisma*, but since the Vth century this ceremony has been performed at the second mass on Maundy Thursday, which was hence called *missa chris-matis*. For some time all the clergy of a diocese had to attend and take the chrism away with them, but this rule was afterwards relaxed.

innotatum] 'marked,' not found elsewhere. The variant *innouatum* is found in MSS both of the hymn and of the original text, and is a natural conjecture with reference to baptismal regeneration.

5 f. See that you make the sign imprinted on you at that time. The cross on which Christ was sacrificed was from the earliest times held in high honour (cp. 1 Cor. i. 18, 24, Gal. vi. 14; Chrysost. *Hom. LV in Matth.*, Aug. *Serm. XII de sanct.*, John of Damascus *De Orthod. Fide* IV. 17 etc.); so much so that Christians were accused of worshipping it. With the cross they signed themselves; cp. Tert. *de Coron. Milit.* III. Cypr. *de Orat. Dom.* IX, Lactant. *Div. Inst.* IV. xxiii. 3 *cum diis suis immolant, si adsistat aliquis signatam frontem gerens, sacra nullo modo litant*; Cyril of Jerusalem *Catech.* IV. 14, XIII. 36; Fort. IX. xiv. 7 f., X. vi. 121 f. 42. 35, 103. 9 f. See also the references given by the commentators on this passage of Prud.

7. **frontem...cordis**] Cp. Ambr. *de Is. et An.* 75 *signaculum Christus in fronte est, signaculum in corde; in fronte, ut semper confiteamur; in corde, ut semper diligamus*. Alcuin *Carm.* CXXI. 41 f. *muniat frontem, loca siue cordis...crucis et tropaeum daemonum uafros abigat meandros membra, quae casto dabimus cubili*.

9. **crimen**] 'guilt,' see 1. 35 note.

10. **tenebrae**] spiritual darkness and the powers of darkness.

tali dicata signo
 mens fluctuare nescit.
 procul, o procul, uagantum
 portenta somniorum!
 procul esto peruicaci
 praestigiator astu!
 o tortuose serpens,
 qui mille per meandros
 fraudesque flexuosas
 agitas quieta corda,
 discede, Christus hic est,
 hic Christus est, liquesce!

15

20

13 om. o El.

20 agitat Ft.

21-24 om. Fs.

11. **dicata**] 'hallowed,' as at 95. 4.
mens 'soul' as at 2. 30.

12. **fluctuare** 'waver'; cp. Verg. *Aen.* x. 680 *animo nunc huc nunc fluctuat illuc*; Catull. LXIV. 62 *magnis curarum fluctuat undis*; Ambr. *de Noe* 41 *corporis nostri terrena substantia ... fluctuat passionibus*; Prud. *Hamart.* 278 *mens fragilis facili uitiorum fluctuat aestu*; 87. 27, and see also 9. 7.

nescit] Cp. 3. 20 note.

13. **procul**] an echo of Verg. *Aen.* vi. 258 *procul o procul este profani*; cp. 21. 4 *discedite* (note).

uagantum] Cp. 2. 11. Notice the alliteration running through the stanza. For the power of the cross in banishing evil spirits, see Lact. *de Mort. Pers.* 10, Ath. *de Incarn.* 48.

15. 'Avaunt thou deceiver of persistent cunning!'

praestigiator] ' juggler,' 'cheat,' used by Plautus, but then not until the silver age.

astu] used only in the abl., except in some late writers.

17. **tortuose**] 'writhing,' 'wriggling,' in allusion to the serpent's motion; cp. Verg. *Aen.* v. 275 *nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus*: but with a further sinister meaning.

18. By countless winding ways and evil twists. *mille* as at Hor. *Od.* III. vii. 12 *temptat mille uaferrimis modis*.

meandros] from the river Maeander in Caria, which had a proverbially winding course; cp. Plin. *Hist.* v. 29 *ita sinuosis flexibus, ut saepe credatur reuerti*; Ov. *Met.* VIII. 162 *non secus ac liquidus Phrygiis Maeandros in aruis | ludit et ambiguo lapsu refluitque fluitque; | occurrensque sibi uenturas aspicit undas, | et nunc ad fontes, nunc in mare uersus apertum | incertitas exercet aquas*. Hence Verg. *Aen.* v. 251 *duplici maeandro* 'a double wavy-line'; and of evil twists Cic. *in Pison.* 53 *quos tu maeandros, quae deuerticula fluxionesque quaesisti?* Aul. Gell. *Noct.* XVI. viii. 17 *ne... in illis dialecticae gyris atque maeandris, tamquam apud sirenios scopulos, consenescas*. Alcuin *Carm.* CXXI. 41 f. quoted above on 7. Prud. for metrical purposes writes *meandros*, as also *enigma Apoth.* 331, *hēresis Psych.* 710, *sphēra Apoth.* 210. His doing so is facilitated by the occasional spelling of the word: a coin is extant with the legend ANTIOXEWN MEANΔPOC. But in Greek a diphthong is often shortened before a succeeding vowel.

signum quod ipse nosti
damnat tuam cateruam.

corpus licet fatiscens 25
iaceat recline paulum,
Christum tamen sub ipso
meditabimur sopore.

28 meditabitur Fst.

21. **discede]** Cp. 21. 4 note; Prud. *Apoth.* 406 *fuge callide serpens... desine, Christus adest.*

22. **liquesce]** 'melt away,' 'vanish'; cp. Sil. *Punic.* XVI. 134 *Hannibal ipse etiam iam iamque modestior armis | ire uidebatur, Martisque liquescere fama.*

24. **cateruam]** 'band' of evil spirits as at 65. 7.

25. **fatiscens]** 'worn out,' 'tired,' cp. 22. 2 note.

27. **sub ipso...sopore]** 'in sleep itself,' not 'as sleep comes on,' which would be *sub ipsum soporem*; cp. 5. 21 f., Cant. v. 2.

HYMN 27

Cathemerinon V, from which 27 is taken, consists of 41 four-line stanzas, is inscribed *ad incensum lucernae*, and refers originally to the lighting of lamps, and was therefore, like hymn 5 (Ambrose's evening hymn), where see the introduction, meant for singing at the *lucernare*. That this was its use in the first place is shown not only by the title in the MSS, but also by its position among the poems of the *Cathemerinon*, coming as it does between IV *hymnus ante cibum* and VI *hymnus ante somnum*.

Hymn 27 begins with a seasonable prayer for light to Christ who is the only source of light. Then follows a highly poetical description of the various substitutes for the light of the sun, and an expression of thanks to God for this, the greatest blessing which He has given to men.

In those verses of the original poem which are omitted in the hymn, roughly speaking 30-148, Prud. is led by the incident of the burning bush to describe in a long digression the passage of the Red Sea and the destruction of Pharaoh, and certain events of the journeyings of

the Israelites to the Promised Land; and this again suggests a glowing picture of the heavenly Canaan.

Although the original poem was written for the daily *lucernare*, the *hymn*, adopted as such not before the IXth century, is a celebration of the lighting of the Easter Candle, for which see Smith *Dict. Chr. Ant.* p. 1564, Kraus II. 564; also the note on line 31.

Eanv Makx

Inuentor rutili, dux bone, luminis,
qui certis uicibus tempora diuidis,
merso sole chaos ingruit horridum,
lumen redde tuis, Christe, fidelibus.

quamuis innumero sidere regiam
lunarique polum lampade pinxeris,

5

3 ingruit Mk.

5-28 om. Ea.

1. **inuentor**] 'creator,' has lost its meaning of 'discoverer' as has *repertor*. See 12. 2. *The 1st and 4th lines are an echo of Hor. *Od.* IV. v. 5 *lucem redde tuae, dux bone, patriae*.

2. For this merciful interchange for our refreshment and for the regularity of the changes see introduction to 2.

certis] 'fixed,' is especially used of anything that recurs at definite intervals, as of the regular courses of the sun and stars (47. 4, 84. 20), or of the fixed interchange of times and seasons (as here and 57. 1); cp. also 42. 57, 52. 1.

uicibus] used as at 17. 2.

3. **merso**] 'dipped in ocean,' 'set'; so Catull. LXVI. 68 (of a constellation) *qui uix sero alto mergitur oceano*.

chaos] the state of the world when it was without form and void and darkness was upon the face of the deep; cp. Ov. *Met.* I. 5 *ante mare et tellus et quod tegit omnia caelum | unus erat toto naturae uultus in*

orbe, | quem dixere chaos, rudis indigestaque moles. Lact. *Inst.* I. 4 *chaos est rudis inordinataeque materiae confusa congeries*. It is therefore an apt image of night, as in Stat. *Silv.* III. ii. 92, Prud. *Cath.* IX. 81, *Perist.* III. 55. See also 36. 36 note, and 73. 7.

ingruit] Cp. Verg. *Georg.* II. 410 *ingruit umbra*.

4. **fidelibus**] a subst., as at 29. 49.

5. **innumero sidere**] collective sing. as Ov. *Her.* XVI. 366 *innumeri militis*. Cp. 36. 49 *innumerum populum*. Verg. has *innumeras gentes*, and Prud. elsewhere always uses the plur.

regiam] 'Thy palace' (cp. 41. 36, 112. 24) and *polum* both denote the same thing, the nightly heavens.

6. **lunari...lampade**] Cp. Verg. *Aen.* III. 637 *Phoebeae lampadis* (which Prud. may have taken to mean 'the torch of Phoebe'); Fort. IV. xxvi. 131 *lampade lunae*; VII. vi. 3 *lucifer...lampada mittit*.

pinxeris] 'picked out,' 'adorned.' So of an embroidered robe Verg.

incussu silicis lumina nos tamen
 monstras saxigeno semine quaerere;
 ne nesciret homo spem sibi luminis
 in Christi solido corpore conditam,
 qui dici stabilem se uoluit petram,
 nostris igniculis unde genus uenit;
 pinguis quos olei rore madentibus
 lychnis aut facibus pascimus aridis,
 quin et fila fauis scirpea floreis

10

15

7 impulsu Ev. 8 monstrans Ev. 13 linguis Ev. om. quos Mk.
 14 ac (*pro aut*) Env.

Aen. IX. 582, and of parti-coloured flowers *Ecl.* II. 50 *mollia luteola pingit uaccinia caltha*. Cp. *Lucr.* V. 1396 *anni | tempora pingebant uiridantis floribus herbas*; *Fort.* VI. iv. 11 *non cupis auro umeros, nec collum pingere gemmis*.

8. **monstras...quaerere**] 'biddest us seek'; so Verg. has an inf. after *monstrare*: *Aen.* IX. 44 *conferre manum pudor iraque monstrat*.

saxigeno one of those compound adj.'s which were as a rule avoided by the severer taste of the Augustan poets but which were much liked by Prud., who among others has *caelipotens, columnifer, cunctiparens, cunctipotens, dulcimodus, falsiloquus* etc. See note on 36. 1 *florigero*.

The two lines 7, 8 are a reminiscence of Verg. *Aen.* VI. 6 *quaerit pars semina flammae | abstrusa in uenis silicis*; cp. *Lucr.* VI. 160, 201, 841; *Hom. Od.* V. 490 *σπέσμα πυρός*.

9. This necessity of seeking light from the rock, to supplement that of moon and stars, is to teach us that, as Christ was the spiritual rock that followed the Israelites in the desert (see introduction p. 133), so He is the one source of our lights. Prud., as all the ancients, thought that the flint, by means of which fire was obtained, was the abode of the fire. *Ambr. Hex.* II. 12 f.

sibi...conditam] 'was stored,' or

'hidden,' 'for him.' The body of Christ is called *solidum* to prepare for the far-fetched interpretation which follows.

11. **petram**] 1 Cor. x. 4, *Wisdom* xi. 4 *data est illis aqua de petra altissima*. *Deut.* xxxii. 13.

12. **igniculis**] 'our poor lights,' contrasted with Him who is the *lux uera*, line 29. The diminutive form is depreciatory.

unde refers back to *Christi solido corpore* in 10.

genus] 'source,' 'origin,' as Verg. *Aen.* I. 380 *genus ab Ioue summo*.

13 f. 'Which (lights) we feed with lamps wet with the liquid of rich oil or with dry torches, nay too we fashion rush-wicks smeared with wax from the flowers, the honey having been squeezed out before.' Lamps, torches, wax tapers are here described and again in the next stanza. The lines are full of echoes of Vergil.

13. Cp. Verg. *Ecl.* v. 68 *pinguis crateras oliui*; Verg. *Aen.* v. 854 *rore madentem*.

14. **pascimus**] Verg. *Aen.* XI. 786 *pineus ardor aceruo | pascitur*.

aridis] Verg. *Aen.* I. 175 *succepitque ignem foliis atque arida circum | nutrimenta dedit*; where however dry tinder is spoken of.

15. Cp. Verg. *Georg.* IV. 140 *cogere pressis | mella fauis*.

presso melle prius conlita fingimus.
 uiuax flamma uiget, seu caua testula
 sucum linteolo suggerit ebrio,
 seu pinus piceam fert alimoniam,
 seu ceram teretem stuppa calens bibit. 20
 splendent ergo tuis muneribus, Pater,
 flammis mobilibus scilicet atria,
 absentemque diem lux agit aemula,
 quam nox cum lacero uicta fugit peplo.
 o res digna, Deus, quam tibi roscidae 25
 noctis principio grex tuus offerat,
 lucem, qua tribuis nil pretiosius,
 lucem, qua reliqua praemia cernimus.
 tu lux uera oculis, lux quoque sensibus,
 intus tu speculum, tu speculum foris, 30

17-24 om. Ev.
 27 et 28 luce Ev.

21-24 om. En.

26 uotis (*pro noctis*) Ev.

17. **testula**] the earthenware 'receiver' of the lamp; the word is diminutive in form, but not in meaning. *testula* refers to the *lychnis* above, *pinus* to the *facibus*, and *stuppa* to the *fila scirpea*.

18. **lineteolo...ebrio**] 'well soaked linen yarn.'

19. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* IX. 75 *piceum fert fumida lumen | taeda*. Lev. iii. 16 *adolebitque ea...in alimoniam ignis*. The classical word was *alimentum*; *alimonia* was used by Plautus, then not until Aulus Gellius.

20. 'Or if the burning tow drinks up the rounded wax'; alluding to the shape of the taper.

21 f. 'Aye our halls blaze with Thy gifts, even (*scilicet*) with these flickering flames.'

23. Prud. *Perist.* XI. 167 *sic datur absentis per subterranea solis | cernere fulgorem luminibusque frui*.

agit] 'plays the part of,' 'represents'; cp. Cic. *ad Fam.* II. 9 *egi omnes illos adulescentes*.

24. 'from which flees night beaten and with rent robe.' Prud. takes the idea in *uicta* from Verg. *Aen.* I. 727 *noctem flammis funalia uincunt*; cp. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* XIV. 52. He is in turn copied by Fortunatus I. xv. 56 (of a well lighted church) *nox ubi uicta fugit semper habendo diem*.

peplo] For 'night's robe' see the note on 21. 5.

25 f. 'O worthy offering for Thy flock to make Thee at the beginning of dewy night, even light, than which Thou grantest nought more precious, light by which we perceive Thy other gifts.'

27. **lucem** is attracted into the same case as *quam* in 25. Somewhat like are Ter. *Eun.* 653 *eunuchum quem dedisti nobis, quas turbas dedit*; Verg. *Aen.* I. 573 *urbem quam statuo uestra est*.

28. **reliquā**] see 4. 28.

29. **lux uera**] 1 John i. 5.

sensibus] to the eyes of the soul, as at 3. 8.

lumen, quod famulans offero, suscipe
 tinctum pacifici chrismatis unguine,
 per Christum genitum, summe Pater, tuum,
 in quo uisibilis stat tibi gloria,
 qui noster dominus, qui tuus unicus 35
 spirat de patrio corde Paraclitum.

30. *speculum*] *intus* refers to *sensibus*, *foris* to *oculis* of 29. It is not easy to see what Prud. means by calling God a *speculum*. Perhaps it is that He *shews* us what we ought to see, both in the spiritual and in the natural world. The thought is not unlike that of 3. 3 *lux lucis*.

31. 'The light thus offered at the beginning of night' is *in the hymn* the paschal candle; see the introduction. But Prud. was thinking of the ordinary lights of evening. We do not elsewhere read of these lights as being 'offered,' but the very ancient custom of giving thanks in connexion with them may well have been considered as a kind of consecration of them. See Oehler's n. on Tert. *de Cor. Mil.* 3, where Tert. speaks of making the sign of the cross *ad lumina* as one of the immemorial traditions of the church. Among other reff. Oehler notes Jerome *Ep. LVII ad Laetam* (p. 595 Martianay), where he recommends that Laeta's daughter should make an act of devotion at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, *accensaque lucernacula reddere sacrificium uespertinum*. Jerome does not exactly speak of offering the light, but it is so closely joined to the 'evening sacrifice' as to suggest that it formed a part of it. There remains, however, in Prud., the mystical relation between the lamp itself and the offerer's soul. It is not easy to see which is directly intended, and which indirectly. If he intends *lumen* to be the lamp, he uses language concerning it which properly applies to the baptized and confirmed believer: if he intends the believer, his language is borrowed,

at least in part, from the feeding of the lamp. Cellarius explains *lumen* as equivalent to *fidei lumen*; comparing *Perist. x.* 432 f. *cernant ut illud lumen aeternae spei;...purissed intus quod relucet mentibus*. But how can we fit on to this the next line *tinctum pacifici chrismatis unguine*? It may be compared with Tert. *de Praescr.* 36, where Tert. speaks of the faith as being sealed with the baptismal water, fed with the Eucharist etc.

famulans] 'serving,' hence 'humbly'; cp. Fort. IV. xiv. 13 *ibat ad abbatem famulans sanctumque magistrum | discipulus humilis*.

32. *tinctum*] 'dipped,' the regular word for 'baptized' in Tertullian and other early Latin fathers. *chrismatis* has its special Christian significance, but might mean no more than *unguen* by itself. *pacifici* has reference both to the olive branch and to the peace which the Spirit confers.

unguine] a word found in Verg. *Georg.* III. 450 and elsewhere.

34. *stat*] means little more than *est*; cp. Leo's edition of Fortunatus p. 418. Rönsch p. 388 reminds us that *stare* passed into the French *être*, and gives examples of a like use from several Latin writers.

uisibilis] see Col. i. 15, and cp. Novatian *de Trin.* p. 119 (Fausset).

35. *unicus* is a subst., as at 31. 91, 71. 3, 87. 2; it is used adjectivally 36. 28, 98. 2, 104. 50, 117. 26, 119. 18.

36. For the Procession of the Spirit from the Son cp. 5. 30.

de patrio corde] Cp. 1. 3, 23. 1.

Paráclitus is always thus scanned in these hymns except at 118. 5, in consequence of the Greek accent.

per quem splendor, honos, laus, sapientia,
 maiestas, bonitas, et pietas tua
 regnum continuat numine triplici,
 texens perpetuis saecula saeculis.

40

37. i.e. 'Through Whom (it is not clear whether Prud. means the Son or the Spirit) Thy brightness...has everlasting sway.'

sapientia] from Rev. vii. 12; cp. Rev. v. 12.

39. *continuare* means 'to make continuous' or 'unbroken,' as in Hor.

Od. III. xvi. 42 *si Mydgoniis regnum Alyattei | campis continuem*; Prud. *Praefatio* 37 *hymnis continuet dies*; Fort. I. i. 12 *quo sine nocte manet continuata dies*.

40. *texens...saecula*] God's glory etc. are considered as forming the thread which binds age to age.

HYMN 28

This hymn is pieced together from *Peristephanon* II, the lines in the original being 15, 17, 397, 398, 21-32, 549, 550, 565. It is based upon 14, Ambrose's hymn on St Lawrence, the introduction to which should be referred to for the death of Xystus and Lawrence. See also the general introduction to Prudentius p. 117.

Mhk

En martyris Laurentii
 armata pugnauit fides,
 postquam uapor diutinus
 decoxit exustum latus.

fore hoc sacerdos dixerat
 iam Xystus adfixus cruci,

5

1 f. The first two lines are explained by the preceding passage of the original, the sense of which is: the one glory formerly lacking to Rome, now given up to Christ, was the final subjugation of foul Jove, not by the turbulent might of Cossus, Camillus or Caesar, but by the not bloodless strife of the martyr Lawrence.

3 f. See 14. 28 f. The two fine lines which in some hymnals take

the places of 3 and 4: *nam morte mortem diruit | ac semel impendit sibi*—come from 19, 20 of the original. For *uapor* see 5. 24.

5. *sacerdos* in early writers is perhaps the commonest word for 'bishop.' Cp. Cypr. *Epist.* LXVI. 5 *ecce iam sex annis nec fraternitas habuerit episcopum, nec plebs praepositum, nec grex pastorem, nec ecclesia gubernatorem, nec Christus antistitem, nec Deus sacerdotem*.

Laurentium flentem uidens
 crucis sub ipso stipite :
 'desiste discessu meo
 fletum dolenter fundere ; 10
 praecedo, frater ; tu quoque
 post hoc sequeris triduum.'
 extrema uox episcopi
 praenuntiatix gloriae
 nihil fefellit, nam dies 15
 praedicta palmam praestitit.
 hinc, sancte Laurenti, tuam
 nos passionem quaerimus :
 quod quisque supplex postulat,
 cunctis fauendo praeroga. 20

9 decessu Mh.

12 triduo Mk.

20 proroga Mh.

7. **flentem**] This use of a participle for the infinitive after a verb of perception, though the rule in Greek, is rare in Latin. Prud. has it again *Cath. X. 110 uictrix caro iamque perennis | cernit sine fine gementem*; cp. Schmalz 453 f.

9 f. Note the alliteration.

15. **nihil**] 'in no respect,' as at 45. 19; cp. Draeger I. 360.

17. **hinc**] Prud. has *sic*.

18. 'We ask from thy passion,' i.e. 'from thee as a martyr.' See the two following lines of the original text: *est aula nam duplex tibi, | hic corporis, mentis polo*; and

561 f. *quae sit potestas credita | et muneris quantum datum | probant Quiritum gaudia, | quibus rogatus adnuis*. For *tuam passionem = te passum* see 7. 6 note; and for the acc. after *quaero*, Schmalz 359. The thing asked is contained in the next couplet.

20. **fauendo**] = *fauens*, cp. 21. 11. This line is not in Prud., but forms a summary of the last part of his poem.

praerogare (cp. *erogare, prorogare*) means 'to pay promptly': Dirksen gives several instances from Law Latin.

HYMN 29

'The crowning glory of the poetry of Prudentius' (Trench) is the tenth hymn of his *Cathemerinon*, from which both 29 and 30 are taken. The deep Christian feeling and thought, the exquisite expression thereof, and the admirable choice of metre,—the anapaestic dimeter catalectic, or the second part of a hexameter—all

combine to make this poem the masterpiece of its kind in literature.

The only church that in ancient times sang these grand verses *circa exsequias defuncti* was the Mozarabic. The following cento, hymn 29 (comprising stanzas I–VII, XII, XV–XVII, XL–XLII of the whole poem), is that found in the Spanish use, which added two stanzas of a barbarous type: *animas non immemor ob hoc, | quarum memores sumus ipsi, | Deus, sorte, rogamus, a portis | erebi regis fac alienas. | sit honor tibi, fons pietatis, | laus, gloria, summa potestas | Patri, Genito, siue Dono, | orbis regi, qui Deus unus.* So Blume *Analecta* XXVII. 38 prints from the breviary of Ortiz of 1502. Daniel I. 140 gives the lines incorrectly from Lorenzana.

Makx

Deus ignee fons animarum,
duo qui socians elementa,
uiuum simul ac moribundum,
hominem pater effigiasti :

tua sunt, tua, rector, utraque ;
tibi copula iungitur horum ;

5

3 et Max

1. Prud. looked upon the soul as sprung from fire, which was the principle of life, and from God the creator of fire, *Cath.* III. 186 *oris opus, uigor igneolus, non moritur; Hamart.* 543f. *nec segnīs natura animae est...ignitum quoniam Deus indidit olli | ingenium*; cp. 30. 4, *Clem. Hom.* XX. 9 *αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαί, φωτὸς καθαροῦ σταγόνες οὐσαι, ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλου πυρὸς οὐσίας συμπινόμεναι καὶ φύσιν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ἔχουσαι κατ' ἀξίαν κολάζονται.* See the commentators on *Wisd.* ii. 2.

2. The two 'principles,' as Prud. goes on to say, are the soul which

is immortal (*uiuum*) and the body doomed to death (*moribundum*). *Fort.* XI. i. 33 *iudicaturus uiuos et mortuos: hoc est animas et corpora pariter iudicandas.*

4. *effigiasti*] 'hast fashioned,' a word perhaps coined by Prud. from *effigies*. It is found afterwards in *Sidonius Apoll.*

5. *utraque*] both body and soul. As only two things are thought of, the sing. *utrumque* would be more correct. The plural, already used by *Verg. Aen.* VI. 685 *palmas utrasque* and *Tac. Ann.* XVI. 11 *utrosque intuens*, became the normal use in late Latin, as e.g. *Fort.* III. vi. 26

tibi, dum uegetata cohaerent,
et spiritus et caro seruit.

rescissa sed ista seorsum
soluunt hominem perimuntque; 10
humus excipit arida corpus,
animae rapit aura liquorem.

quia cuncta creata necesse est
labefacta senescere tandem,
compactaque dissociari, 15
et dissona texta retexi.

hanc tu, Deus optime, mortem
famulis abolere paratus,

8 spiritus simul (*pro* et *sp.*) Mk. 12 animā Mk. 15 confracta Ma.
17 hinc ad fin. hymni sequentis nihil annotauit Walp.

spes in utrisque (Domitian and Victorius) *manens*; cp. the Vulg. of Ecclus. xl. 23, Lk. vii. 42. The *a* is lengthened by the stress of the verse coinciding with the accent of the word, which fell on this syllable perhaps by a mistaken analogy with words to which the enclitic *-que* ('and') was appended. So Fort. VIII. vi. 11 *pariter habeatis utraque*.

6. **tibi**] 'by Thee.' The dat. of the agent is rare except with participles or participials; but cp. Verg. *Aen.* I. 440 *neque cernitur ulli*, Schmalz 375. Prud. may, however, intend the dat. to mean that the union is for God's glory and the accomplishment of His purposes.

7. **uegetata**] 'quickened,' as *Hamart.* 846 *unde fluens anima structum uegetauerat Adam*; Aug. *Conf.* X. 10 *tu melior es, ... anima, quoniam tu uegetas molem corporis tui, praebens ei uitam*; 36. 51.

9. 'But the cutting of them asunder breaks up and destroys the man.'

11. The earth is 'dry' as opposed to the nature of the soul, cp. *Apoth.* 694 *liquidus caelesti spiritus*

ore. animae liquorem is equivalent to *animam liquidam*. Prud. has in mind Lucr. II. 999 *cedit item retro, de terra quod fuit ante, | in terras, et quod missumst ex aetheris oris, | id rursus caeli rellatum templa receptant*. Cp. Eur. *Suppl.* 531 f. *εάσατ' ἤδη γῆ καλυφθῆναι νεκρούς, | ὄθεν δ' ἕκαστον ἐς τὸ φῶς ἀφίκετο, | ἐνταῦθ' ἀπελθεῖν, πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα, | τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐς γῆν*. [Damasus] XCII. 7 *terrenum nunc terra tegit, mens nescia mortis | uiuit et aspectu fruitur bene conscia Christi*; Fort. IV. xxvii. 5 *terrae terra redit, sed spiritus astra recepit: pars iacet haec tumulo, pars tenet illa polum*. See too the epitaph on Gregory the Great (Bede *Hist. Eccl.* II. 1) *suscipe terra tuo corpus de corpore sumptum ... spiritus astra petit*; Bücheler *Anthol. Lat.* 1420. 2 *astra tenent animam, caetera tellus habet*.

14. **tandem**] 'sooner or later.'

16. 'Discordant elements in union must be dissolved' lit. 'unwoven.' Lucr. uses *retexo* freely, as at I. 529.

17. **mortem...abolere**] 2 Tim. i. 10, Heb. ii. 14.

iter inuiolabile monstras,
 quo perdita membra resurgant : 20
 ut, dum generosa caducis
 ceu carcere clausa ligantur,
 pars illa potentior exstet,
 quae germen ab aethere traxit.
 si terrea forte uoluntas 25
 luteum sapit et graue captat,
 animus quoque pondere uictus
 sequitur sua membra seorsum.
 hinc maxima cura sepulcris
 inpenditur, hinc resolutos 30
 honor ultimus accipit artus
 et funeris ambitus ornat.

20. **perdita**] i.e. seemingly destroyed.

21. **ut...exstet** explains the *iter* of 19, in the sense of 'the condition being that.'

generosa] i.e. the heaven-born elements, cp. 24.

caducis] as at 23. 9. Notice the alliteration.

22. Cp. Prud. *Praef.* 44 *uinculis o utinam corporis emicem | liber! Perist.* II. 584 *uinculis saeculi*; Ambr. *de Bono Mortis* 5 *ita dimitti petit quasi a uinculis quibusdam ad libertatem festinaret. sunt enim uelut uincula quaedam corporis huius... quae nos alligant*; Fort. II. vii. 7 *uincula corporei dissoluere carceris optans*; IV. xiv. 3; 41. 45.

23. **potentior exstet**] 'assert itself as the more powerful.' Prud. is speaking of what must be done while the union still exists (*dum ligantur*), in order to insure the resurrection of the body (20). 25 foll. shew the effect of the opposite course.

24. **ab aethere**] 'from heaven'; hence the epithet *generosa* in 21. See the passage from Lucr. at 11.

25. 'If perchance the will of the body (cf. Eph. ii. 3 *uoluntatem carnis*) savours of the clay and chooses the gross element.'

terrea] 'of the body,' 1 Cor. xv. 47.

26. **luteum** refers to the material of which the body was formed, cp. Gen. ii. 7, Job xxxiii. 6 *de eodem luto ego quoque formatus sum*; Cath. III. 138 *non luteus, uelut ille prior*. Hor. *Od.* I. xvi. 13 speaks of *principi limo*, 'our original clay.' For the phrase cp. Rom. xi. 20 *noli altum sapere*; Cath. II. 32 *castum sapit*.

27. **pondere u.**] Cp. Wisd. ix. 15.

29. **hinc**] i.e. because the bodies now in the ground will one day rise with their own souls, as is more clearly seen in the original setting, wherein this stanza follows 30. 17-20.

31. 'The last honour (viz. of burial) welcomes the limbs relaxed in death.' The body is a guest to be honourably received.

32. 'The stately funeral' in Prud.'s time would (if in Rome) pass with pomp to the cemetery or catacomb.

hoc prouida christicolarum
 pietas studet, utpote credens
 fore protinus omnia uiua, 35
 quae nunc gelidus sopor urget.

qui iacta cadauera passim
 miserans tegit aggere terrae,
 opus exhibet ille benignum
 Christo pius omnipotenti. 40

quia lex eadem monet omnes
 gemitum dare sorte sub una,

33. **hoc**] an honourable burial. The line is an echo of Hor. *Od.* III. v. 13 *hoc cauerat mens prouida Reguli*.

34. **utpote cr.**] 'as believing.' *Utpote* is usually followed by a relative clause or by *cum*, but cp. Hor. *Sat.* I. v. 94 *inde Rubos fessi peruenimus utpote longum | carpentes iter*; *Apoth.* 903 *utpote... accipiens*; *Hamart.* 526 *utpote summo aethere demissus*.

36. **urget**] 'weighs down'; from Hor. *Od.* I. xxiv. 5 *ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor | urget*. A comparison of the two passages, expressed in very similar words, well illustrates the changed aspect of death to a Christian. To Horace death is a sleep, but a sleep that knows no waking, as to Catull. v. 4 *nobis cum semel occidit breuis lux, | nox est perpetua una dormienda*.

37. **passim**] 'at large,' 'at random.' Here again it is worth while to compare Horace's interesting ode I. xxviii. concerning the three handfuls of earth, which constituted a legitimate burial and saved the soul of the dead from wandering for 100 years on the banks of the Styx; cp. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 325.

38. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* XI. 212 [*ossa*] *onerabant aggere terrae*.

40. **pius** refers to the 'duteous' (cp. 7. 13 note) as *benignum* to the 'kindly' character of the act. Con-

trast Hor. *l.c.* 23 *at tu nauta uagae ne parce malignus harenae | ossibus et capiti inhumato | particulam dare*.

omnipotenti seems to suggest that he shall not lose his reward, though in Matt. xxv the burial of the dead is not one of the corporal works of mercy mentioned.

41. Cp. Damas. IV. 3 *communi lege sepultos*. Bücheler *Anthol. Lat.* 1376. 1 (*C.I.L.* XI. 382) *humano generi legem natura creatrix hanc dedit ut tumuli membra sepulta tegant*; Tertullian *de Spectaculis* 21 *cadauer hominis communi lege defuncti*.

42. 'teaches us that we all groan under the one lot (of mortality) and that in a stranger's death we grieve for the burial of our own kin'; *cognata* being contrasted with *aliena*. For *cognata funera*, 'the burial of our kin,' cp. Catull. LXVIII. 98 *nec prope cognatos compositum cineres*; Propert. IV. vii. 10 *nec pote cognatos inter humare rogos*. Or perhaps 'that in another's death we grieve for a fate like our own.' Latin has no use of the pronoun corresponding to 'that of,' as in 'a fate like that of ourselves,' and so had to say either 'a death like our own death,' or 'a death like to us.'

gemitum dare] Verg. *Aen.* I. 485.

cognataque funera nobis
aliena in morte dolere.

sequimur tua dicta, Redemptor, 45
quibus atra morte triumphans
tua per uestigia mandas
socium crucis ire latronem.

patet, ecce, fidelibus ampli
uia lucida iam paradisi, 50
licet et nemus illud adire,
homini quod ademerat anguis.

illic, precor, optime ductor,
famulam tibi praeci-pe mentem
genitali in sede sacrari, 55
quam liquerat exsul et errans.

44. **in]** 'in the case of,' cp. 14. 13
in illo martyre.

45. Lk. xxiii. 43, cp. 10. 7. *sequimur*, 'we follow in thought.'
Cp. 55 *ductor*.

46. 'triumphing over black death.' The object triumphed over is regarded as the instrument by which the triumph is gained. But it would be hard to find a similar usage. The usual idiom is *de* or *ex* with the abl., in poets and late writers the acc., as at 15. 24. Perhaps the meaning is 'triumphing in the darkest hour of death.'

47. **tua per uestigia]** 'in Thy footsteps': cp. Fort. IX. xi. 5 *cuius pontificis sacra per uestigia currens.*

49. **ampli]** 'spacious,' like Vergil's '*largior...aether.*' Cp. *Passio S. Perpet.* XI. *uidimus lucem immensam...factum est nobis spatium grande.* Prud. paints the glories of Paradise in glowing colours, *Cath.* III. 101f. *tunc per amoena uirecta iubet | frondicomis habitare locis, | uer ubi perpetuum redolet | prataque multicolora latex | quadrifluo celer amne rigat*; a passage imitated by *Sedul. Carm.* I. 53 *amoena uirecta | florentum semper nemorum sedesque*

beatas | per latices intrate pios.

50. **uia...paradisi]** 'the way to Paradise.' The gen. is descriptive and is an extension of such a phrase as *Verg. Aen.* II. 359 *mediaeque tenemus urbis iter*, 'we hold the way to the heart of the city,' where the adj. makes a difference. Cp. *Propert.* I. xx. 18 *uiam Phasidos* ('the voyage to Phasis') and probably II. i. 20 *caeli iter.*

51. **nemus illud]** i.e. Paradise. The word is perhaps chosen with a view to *Verg. Aen.* VI. 639 and similar passages.

52. Gen. iii. 1 f.

54. **famulam tibi]** 'Thy faithful servant,' now that the hindrances of the flesh are removed.

mentem] 'soul.'

55. **genitali]** 'native,' because our first parents were born in (the earthly) Paradise; cp. 92. 2 note. Perhaps *sacrari* is used in the same kind of sense as *consecrat* in *Hor. Od.* IV. viii. 27 *diuitibus consecrat insulis.*

56. Gen. iii. 23 f.; there may perhaps be a reminiscence of Gen. iv. 12, 14 (O. L. *gemens et tremens*, *Vulg. uagus et profugus*).

HYMN 30

Hymn 30 is also taken from *Cathemerinon* X, being a cento ingeniously patched together and consisting of lines 117-120, 53-56, 33-44, 121-140 of that poem. We know neither by whom this rearrangement was made nor exactly when. So skilfully has it been done that it reads like the rearrangement of the poet himself. If it be true (as Rambach *Anthologie* I. 76 asserts) that the new hymn was not used before the Reformation, it was probably made up at about that time. It came into great favour as a funeral hymn in the evangelical church of Germany, being often sung in Latin. A fine paraphrase, *Hört auf mit Trauern und Klagen*, was published in 1561 and increased its popularity. Trench p. 287 f. prints another selection, being the last thirteen stanzas of the original poem with the omission of one of them; on what authority I know not.

Iam maesta quiesce querella ;
lacrimas suspendite matres ;
nullus sua pignora plangat ;
mors haec reparatio uitae est.

1. [Damas.] XXI. 1 *stringe dolor lacrimas*. *maestus* and *maereo* denote the outward expression of grief, cp. 1. 54.

querella] The two oldest mss of Prud. spell the word with the double *l*, in spite of the dicta of the Lat. grammarians quoted by Brambach *Die Neugestaltung der lat. Orthographie* p. 259. See also Lachm.'s *Lucr.* p. 203 f., Munro's *Lucr.* vol. 1. p. 33 (ed. 5), Ribbeck *prol. in Verg.* p. 429. So too *medella*, 33. 9 etc.

2. **suspendite**] 'cease from'; cp. *Ov. Fast.* IV. 849 *nec iam suspendere fletum sustinet*.

3. **nullus** is a subst. used, for *nemo*, to mark the masc. gender ;

W.

but Prud. does not distinguish the two words, for he says *Perist.* II. 744 *neminem diem*.

pignora] lit. 'pledges,' constantly used in classical authors, as here, of children, regarded as 'warrants' of the continuance of mutual love and as 'pledges' to fortune; cp. 31. 26, 36. 52. Bücheler *Anthol. Lat.* 1389. 21 (*C.I.L.* XII. 2094) *pignora desistant lacrimis planctuque grauari: non placeat gemere quod celebrare decet*.

plangat] lit. 'beat the breast' rarely takes the acc. of the person lamented; but cp. *Lk.* viii. 52 *plangebant illam*.

4. Death far from being the end

IO

quidnam sibi saxa cauata, 5
 quid pulchra uolunt monumenta,
 nisi quod res creditur illis
 non mortua sed data somno?
 nam quod requiescere corpus
 uacuum sine mente uidemus, 10
 spatium breue restat ut alti
 repetat conlegia sensus.
 uenient cito saecula, cum iam
 socius calor ossa reuisat,
 animataque sanguine uiuo 15
 habitacula pristina gestet.

is the renewal of life; so Prud. *Perist.* VI. 96 *nec uitam rapit illa sed reformat*; Juvenc. IV. 31 *laetae reparatio uitae*, of the future life; ib. 349 *en ego sum clarae uobis reparatio uitae*.

5 f. Daniel I. 141 compares Cic. *Tusc.* I. 12 *caerimonias sepulcrorum maximis ingeniis praediti nec tanta cura coluissent nec uiolatas tam inexpiabili religione sanxissent, nisi haesisset in eorum mentibus mortem non interitum esse omnia tollentem et delentem, sed quandam migrationem commutationemque uitae, quae in claris uiris et feminis dux in caelum soleret esse, in ceteris humi retineretur et permaneret tamen*.

7. **creditur**] 'is entrusted' for a time, to be given back, see 27 f.; cp. Ambr. *in Luc.* X. 141 *bene ergo Christus monumento creditur iusti*.

8. Mt. ix. 24, xxvii. 52, Lk. viii. 52, Joh. xi. 11 etc., 29. 36, Ennod. *Hymn.* I. 5 *mortis figura blandior | bustum soporis admouet*.

9 f. 'For but a short time remains ere the body which we see resting empty without a soul shall seek again the partnership of the heaven-born intelligence.'

11. **ut** nearly passes into the temporal sense of 'when'; cp. such

passages as Aul. Gell. II. xxix. 4 *nidulatur in segetibus id ferme temporis, ut appetat messis*.

12. **conlegia**] 'partnership,' cp. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* X. 17 *conlegium quoddam naturae*. It is a technical term to express community in office, but most often 'a guild' of such officials, whence comes our word 'college.' For *mens* and *sensus* cp. 29. 54, 4. 6.

13. **saecula**] 'time' in general, a late usage.

14. **calor**] the warmth of life as opposed to the cold of death, cp. 29. 36, Verg. *Aen.* IV. 704. But there is also a reference to fire as the primessence of the soul, 29. 1 note. 'The bones' are often used by Latin poets to denote the framework of the body, as Verg. *Aen.* III. 308 *calor ossa reliquit*; but the bones would be the only part remaining of bodies that had been long buried. Cp. [Tibull.] III. ii. 17 *pars quae sola mei superabit corporis, ossa*; Ambr. *Hex.* VI. 51 *respice in sepulcra hominum et uide quid ex te nisi cinis et ossa remanebunt*.

15. **uiuo**] 'life giving.' So Ov. *Met.* V. 436 *uiuo sanguine*; ib. IV. 248 *uiuum calorem*. Prud. had perhaps forgotten I Cor. xv. 50.

16. **gestet**] 'wear.'

quae pigra cadauera pridem
tumulis putrefacta iacebant,
uolucres rapiuntur in auras
animas comitata priores.

20

sic semina sicca uirescunt
iam mortua iamque sepulta,
quae reddita caespite ab imo
ueteres meditantur aristas.

nunc suscipe terra fouendum,
gremioque hunc concipe molli:
hominis tibi membra sequestro,
generosa et fragmina credo.

25

17 f. *pigra...iacebant*] 'had long been lying dormant'; the imperfect is used from the point of view of the day of resurrection. Ambr. *in Luc.* X. 146 *pigrum corpus a mortis sopore se commouet.*

19. 1 Thess. iv. 16. 'The flying breezes' are often mentioned by poets, as e.g. Verg. *Aen.* XI. 795.

20. So Prud. *Apoth.* 1062 f. *nosco meum in Christo corpus consurgere; ...et totus ueniam, nec enim minor aut alius quam | nunc sum restituar: uultus, uigor et color idem | qui modo uiuit erit, nec me uel dente uel ungue | fraudatum reuomet patefacti fossa sepulcri.* [Damas.] XCII. 6 *nec perit hinc aliquid Domino, caro cuncta resurgit.*

21 f. Nature itself teaches the principle of the resurrection, Joh. xii. 24 f., 1 Cor. xv. 36 f., Clem. Rom. XXIV, Tert. *de Res.* XII, Min. Felix XXIV. 11 *uide ideo, quam in solacium nostri resurrectionem futuram omnis natura meditetur. sol demergit et nascitur, astra labuntur et redeunt, flores occidunt et reuiuiscunt, post senium arbusta frondescent, semina non nisi corrupta reuiuiscunt.* Paulin. Nol. *Carm.* XXXI. 231 *cuncta resurgendi faciem meditantur in omni | corpore et in terris germina et astra polo.*

23. 'which given back from the deep sod call to mind the former ears of corn.' *meditantur*, lit. 'think of,' i.e. 'imitate'; cp. Stat. *Silu.* II. iv. 7 (of a parrot) *meditataque uerba reddideras*; Prud. *Perist.* III. 24 *canitiem meditata senum*; Fort. III. vii. 41 *fulgorem astrorum meditantur tecta metallo.* Or perhaps it is rather, 'practise for,' 'get ready for a renewal of.'

25. 'Welcome him now, earth, into thy cherishing care and embrace him in thy soft lap.' An old gloss notes *terram alloquitur quasi defuncti matrem.* At *Perist.* VII. 27 the river welcomes (*suscipit*) Quirinus when thrown into it; cp. [Damas.] XX. 5 *diaconus hic Tigridas tumulo custode fouetur*; Gray's *Elegy* 119 'here rests his head upon the lap of earth | a youth....'

27. 'The limbs which I commit to thy keeping are those of a man, noble are the remains which I entrust.'

sequestro] 'deposit' for safe keeping, a late word derived from *sequester*, which Festus defines: *qui inter aliquos, qui certant, medius, ut inter eos conuenerit, depositum ita tenet aliquid, ut ei reddat cui id deberi iure sibi constiterit*; cp. Tert. *de Res.* XXVII *proinde enim et cor-*

animae fuit haec domus olim
 factoris ab ore creatae ; 30
 feruens habitauit in istis
 sapientia principe Christo.
 tu depositum tege corpus :
 non inmemor ille requiret
 sua munera fictor et auctor 35
 propriique aenigmata uultus.
 ueniant modo tempora iusta,
 cum spem Deus impleat omnem :
 reddas patefacta necesse est,
 qualem tibi trado figuram. 40

*pura medicata condimentis sepul-
 turae mausoleis et monumentis se-
 questrantur.*

30. **factoris**] 'creator,' a not
 common word in this sense, but
 found 1. 8, 33. 4, 40. 5, 69. 2, 94. 8.

ab ore] Gen. ii. 7, 108. 30,
Apoth. 778 *finxerat hoc digitis,
 animam sufflauerat ore,* *Cath.* III.
 186 *oris opus, calor igneolus, non
 moritur. ab* 'from,' not 'by.'

31. Rom. viii. 9 *Spiritus Dei
 habitat in uobis.*

istis] sc. *fragminibus.*

32. **principe Christo**] i.e. ori-
 ginating from Him who is entitled
sapientia, as at 27. 37; cp. 36. 30.
 Perhaps Prud. has in mind 1 Cor.
 i. 24-ii. 16.

35. **sua munera**] 'His own work.'
fictor] 'fashioner,' cp. Rom. ix.
 20.

auctor] 'creator,' cp. Acts iii. 15.

36. 'the likeness of His own
 countenance,' Gen. i. 27.

aenigmata] 'image,' cp. *Perist.*
 II. 117 *argenteorum aenigmatum* i.e.
 silver coins with the emperor's like-
 ness on them; Arnob. III. 15
*Aegyptiorum...aenigmata, quod mu-
 torum animantium formas diuinis
 inseruerint causis.* Hence *per ae-
 nigma* is opposed to 'openly,' 'face
 to face,' Num. xii. 8, as is *in ae-
 nigmatum* 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

37. **tempora iusta**] 'the due' or
 'proper time' in the counsels of
 God. So Verg. *Aen.* X. 11 *adueniet
 iustum pugnae, ne arcessite, tempus;*
 where in Jupiter's mouth the words
 denote the time appointed by the
 gods, which is not to be anticipated
 by men. St Paul's *plenitudo tem-
 poris* (Gal. iv. 4, cp. 33. 10) has a
 like meaning.

IV. SEDULIUS

HYMN 31

Of Sedulius himself we know next to nothing. It is possible that his praenomen was Caelius, as fairly old authorities give it, but the oldest MSS call him simply Sedulius. Probably he was born in Rome and taught 'philosophy' there and in Achaia, and he returned to Rome. He seems to have lived during the reigns of the younger Theodosius (A.D. 423-425) and of Valentinian III (425-455). Converted and baptized, as it appears, by a certain priest Macedonius, he was ordained a presbyter but never became a bishop. He left his secular work and devoted himself to the study of the scriptures, living apparently in a religious community, which was under the guidance of Macedonius.

Here he wrote a poem entitled *Paschale Carmen* in five books, consisting of 1753 hexameters. The first book by way of introduction treats chiefly of the marvels of the Old Testament. Of the other four books he writes in a prefatory letter to Macedonius: *quattuor igitur mirabilium diuinorum libellos, quos ex pluribus pauca complexus usque ad passionem et resurrectionem ascensionemque Domini nostri Iesu Christi quattuor euangeliorum dicta congregans ordinavi, contra omnes aemulos tuae defensioni commendo. huic autem operi fauente Domino PASCHALIS CARMINIS nomen inposui, quia pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus.*

This poem, which is distinguished by a clear and simple style free from all discordant artifice or verbiage

and at times rising into real poetry, gained a lasting popularity, for throughout the middle ages it remained the model of all such writing. Sedulius afterwards rendered it into rhetorical prose under the title of *Paschale Opus*. Of this prose version he writes to Macedonius: *praecepisti... paschalis carminis textum, quod officium purae deuotionis simpliciter exsecutus uobis obtuli perlegendum, in rhetoricum me transferre sermonem*. In the notes on 31 and elsewhere *Carm.* denotes the *Paschale Carmen*, *Op.* the *Paschale Opus*.

The following hymn 31 *A solis ortus cardine* in 23 four-line stanzas gives a brief description of the chief wonders of Christ's earthly life in order to shew that He was both man and God. It is written in iambic dimeters and uses rhyme freely but not consistently. Two extracts from it were widely used in the offices of the church: the first seven stanzas (A-G) being sung at Christmas, while the following stanzas HILN were sung at the Epiphany, some hymnals including also KM at this latter season. In the Mozarabic use and in some others the whole hymn was sung. The stanzas A-E were appropriated *in diem sanctae Mariae*, FG were used at Christmas, HILN at the Epiphany, KMOP *in allisione infantium*, QRS on the *dominica in Lazaro* (the 3rd Sunday in Lent), TVXYZ *in cena Domini*.

Like 71, 89 and 120, and like Psalm cxviii. (cxix.) and some other Psalms and the book of Lamentations, this hymn is alphabetical. Several Mozarabic hymns of the kind are handed down; see *Analecta* XXVII. 9, 16 and 178. Commodian used the device, as did Hilary and Augustine in his hymn against the Donatists, as well as Fort. I. xvi. *Agnoscat omne saeculum antistitem Leontium*.

Bb Eacdhlrsvxμφ Fhkpsv Gbm Habcdefgh Ibcdeghkmnv
Magkmx Vcsσ

A solis ortus cardine
ad usque terrae limitem
Christum canamus principem
natum Maria uirgine.

Beatus auctor saeculi
seruile corpus induit,
ut carne carnem liberans
non perderet quod condidit.

5

Clausae puellae uiscera

1 ortu Esv Fs Ig¹hm¹ Mg Vs. 2 et (*pro ad*) Bb Es Fv Mg.
3 Christo...principi Edl. 4 nato El. 7 quo (*pro ut*) Ib. caro
(*pro carne*) Edl Imn Mg. 8 ne (*pro non*) Eacvμ Fs Gm Ibcdeghmv
Mm Vs. quos Esμ Gm (*ut uidetur*) Hde Ibghmn¹v Mmg, qui Id.
9 clausa Bb Gm (*ut uid.*) In¹ Vs, casta Ecdhjl v Fh Iv, caste (=castae)
Eaμ Fp Ibd (*manu poster.*) Mm. parentis (*pro puellae*) Fhkpsv Ibe.

1. 'From the point of sunrise to the boundary of the earth,' i.e. from east to west; Ps. cxii. (cxiii.) 3 *a solis ortu usque ad occasum laudabile nomen Domini*; Is. xlv. 6, Mal. i. 11.

cardine] often loosely translated 'hinge,' was the 'pivot' on which a door turned, forming a part of the door and fitting into a socket below and one above. Then it was the 'pole' on which the earth turned, and lastly a 'point' of the compass; cp. Lucan v. 71 *hesperio tantum quantum semotus eoo | cardine*. The variant *et usque* is grammatically possible, cp. Juv. x. 1 *omnibus in terris quae sunt a Gadibus usque auroram*.

2. **terrae limitem**] beyond which was nothing but ocean; cp. 11. 7 note.

3. **principem**] cp. 24. 10 note.

5. **auctor saeculi**] 'maker of the world,' cp. 1. 8.

6. 'clothed Himself with the body of a slave'; Phil. ii. 6; Basil.

Seleuc. *Orat.* XXXIX διὰ τοῦτο μορφὴν ἔλαβε δούλου ὁ ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, ἵνα τοὺς δούλους τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἐλευθερώσας εἰς τὴν προτέραν εὐγένειαν ἐπαναγάγῃ καὶ τοῦ ἐπουρανίου πατρὸς υἱοῦς ἀναδείξῃ, τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν εἰκόνι πάλιν συμμορφωθέντας.

induit] Cp. Prud. *Cath.* XI. 45 *mortale corpus induit*, 23. 10, 38. 20.

7. 'By flesh freeing the flesh,' i.e. freeing man by becoming man. For the sense cp. Joh. i. 14, Col. i. 22, 32. 25 f., 113. 15.

ut...non would in classical Latin be *ne*; cp. Vulgate of Mt. vii. 1 *nolite iudicare, ut non iudicemini*.

8. **quod** gives a better, because a wider sense than the variant *quos*: the whole creation is included; cp. *Carm.* II. 21 *sua ne factura periret*.

9. **clausae**] Cp. *Carm.* II. 44 f. *tunc maximus infans | intemerata sui conseruans uiscera templi, | inlaesum uacuauit iter. pro uirgine testis | partus adest, clausa ingrediens et clausa relinquens*; 6. 14 note; Fort. VIII. iii. 102 *quae*

caelestis intrat gratia ;
 uenter puellae baiulat
 secreta quae non nouerat.

10

Domus pudici pectoris
 templum repente fit Dei ;
 intacta nesciens uirum
 uerbo creauit filium.

15

Enixa est puerpera,
 quem Gabrihel praedixerat,
 quem matris aluo gestiens
 clausus Iohannes senserat.

20

Faeno iacere pertulit,
 praesepe non abhorruit,

10 *post* intrat *desinit* Mg. 13-16 *om.* Gm. 13 corporis Er.
 14 fidei (*pro* fit dei) Ech. deo Eμ. 16 concepit Eacdsυμ Fhksv Hg
 Ibcdgnv Vcs.

Dominum peperit clausa Maria manet. Ezek. xlv. 2 is referred to in this connexion.

10. Lk. i. 28, 35.

11. 'A maiden's womb bears mysteries which she knew not,' i.e. the full significance of which she knew not. The next stanza carries on the thought.

puellae] of the Virgin, as at 38. 12, 39. 8. Cp. Festus: *baiulare quis dicitur quae suo corpore fert, ... a baiulis i.e. operariis*; cp. 38. 11, 39. 4, 40. 19, Rönisch 163.

14. **templum repente]** Mal. iii. 1; and cp. 6. 16 note.

15. **nesciens uirum]** Lk. i. 34.

16. **uerbo]** 'by means of a word,' sc. the word spoken to her by the angel; cp. 1. 11 *nuntio*, 38. 9 f., 39. 11.

creauit] 'she brought forth,' a rare use of the word; but cp. Verg. *Aen.* X. 551 *quem nympha creatat*; ib. XII. 271; Sedul. *Carm.* II. 144 *nondum...creatus*, 'as yet unborn.' Huemer quotes Ekkehard IV (Cod. Sang. 398 p. 8): *Sedulius* 'uerbo

creauit Filium,' *ubi insulsi* 'concepit' *canunt.*

17. **enixa est]** The hiatus after a short unaccented syllable is very harsh. Fabricius emended *enixa iam est*, the modern Roman breviary reads *enititur*. For the phrase cp. *Carm.* II. 63 *salue sancta parens, enixa puerpera regem.*

18. Lk. i. 31 f.

19. Lk. i. 41 f.

gestiens] 'leaping for joy'; cp. Festus: *gestit, qui subita felicitate exhilaratus nimio corporis motu praeter consuetudinem exsultat.*

21. **faeno]** 'in the hay.' The line is imitated 38. 17.

22. **praesepe]** *Carm.* II. 62 *angusto Deus in praesepe quieuit*; 6. 29 note.

abhorruit] 'shrank from'; cp. *Te Deum* 16 *non horruisti uirginis uterum.*

23. 'and He was fed with a little milk (cp. 39. 24), who suffers not even a bird to hunger'; Ps. cxlvi. (cxlvii.) 9, Lk. xii. 6.

paruo] Cp. *Op.* IV. 7 *parui gemitu*

paruoque lacte pastus est,
per quem nec ales esurit.

Gaudet chorus caelestium
et angeli canunt Deum,
palamque fit pastoribus
pastor, creator omnium.

25

Hostis Herodes impie,
Christum uenire quid times?
non eripit mortalia,
qui regna dat caelestia.

30

Ibant magi qua uenerant
stellam sequentes praeuiam;

26 deo Eacv Fhs Gm (*ut uid.*) Hd Ibdegh¹mnv Vcs. 30 uenisse Eμ.
31 arripit Eahjvxφ (aripit Eμ) Hefg Mm Ih Vs², deripit Iv, diripit Hc
Id²gmn Vs. 33 qui uenerat Bb, qua uiderant Gb², quam uiderant
Easvxμφ Fis Gb¹ Hg Ibgmnv Mkm Vs.

tus. The Roman breviary corrects to *et lacte modico.*

24. *nec*] 'not even,' as at *Carm.* IV. 124 *quodque Deo facile est homines optare nec audent*; Fort. L. xv. 90 *et quicquid reliquum nec numerare queo.* [The usage comes from the Latin Bible, where it often represents the Greek οὐδέ: e.g. Matt. vi. 29 *quoniam nec Salomon* etc.]

25 f. Lk. ii. 9 f.

26. 'and angels proclaim (the birth of) God'; cp. *Carm.* II. 72 *angelicus cecinit miracula coetus*; *Op.* II. 6 *caelestis militiae multitudo Deum laudat in Christo, ut, licet humana fuerit pro matris condicione creatio, deitatis tamen una communio Patrem cognosci demonstrat in Filio*; 4. 29 *natum Deum.*

27. 'and to shepherds is displayed the shepherd and creator of all'; *Carm.* II. 70 *tunc prius ignaris pastoribus ille creatus | enituit, quia pastor erat*; 1. 6 note.

palam goes so closely with *fit* as virtually to form one compound verb; Roby § 2027.

29. Mt. ii. 1 f. To avoid the

lengthening of *-is* in *hostis* and the shortening of the first syllable of *Herodes* (Ἡρώδης) Erasmus emended to *Herodis hostes*, and the modern Roman breviary reads *crudelis Herodes Deum | regem*.... But metrical liberties may be taken with foreign proper names; 11. 2 note; and Sedulius' prosody was not that of Horace.

31. Similarly in the account of the Temptation, *Carm.* II. 191 f. *scilicet ut fragilis regna adfectaret honoris | qui populis aeterna parat!* *eripit* is contrasted with *dat*, *mortalia* with *caelestia*.

33. 'The wise men went their way (to Bethlehem), following the lead of the star, by means of which they had come' (to Jerusalem). This is better than 'taking the same road to Bethlehem by which they had entered Jerusalem,' Daniel I. 148. The relative *qua* precedes the word *stellam* to which it refers. The reading of the later MSS *quam uiderant* comes from Mt. ii. 9.

35. They seek the true light (cp. 3. 3 f.) by the light of the star.

lumen requirunt lumine, 35
Deum fatentur munere.

Katerua matrum personat
conlisa deflens pignora,
quorum tyrannus milia
Christo sacrauit uictimam. 40

Lauacra puri gurgitis
caelestis agnus attigit;
peccata qui mundi tulit
nos abluendo sustulit.

38 deflet Mk. 40 uictima Er Hb. 41 lauacrum Ex ϕ Habce²fg
Id¹hm. 42 attingit Ibm¹. 43 quae non detulit Bb Easx ϕ Fk²v
Gb Hg Ibdgmnv Mkm.

36. **munere**] i.e. by the frankincense; *Carm.* II. 96 *tura dedere Deo*.

37. **Katerua** is so spelled on account of the alphabetic sequence; see the corresponding stanzas of 71, 89 and 120.

personat] 'cry out'; cp. Jer. xxxi. 7 *personate et canite et dicite*.

38. **deflens**] 'weeping for them as dead,' the regular use of the word, as at Fort. IV. vi. 17 *non decet hunc igitur uacuis deflere querellis*; but cp. 42. 46.

pignora] 'children,' 30. 3 note; *Carm.* II. 113 *trepidaeque uocant sua pignora fetae | nequiquam*.

39. For the exaggeration in *milia* see 1. 17 note.

40. **uictimam** as at 24. 6 is a collective singular, here in apposition with *milia*. Burmann's conjecture *uictimas* is unnecessary.

41. **lauacra**] see 26. 2 note.

puri] 'cleansed' by Christ's baptism therein; cp. the parallel passage *Carm.* II. 159 *sanctoque liquentes | corpore mundauit latices*. But as Sedul. at times copies Juvencus, it is possible that he here means 'cleansing,' cp. Juvenc. III. 680 *nuper Iohannes, puro qui gurgite lauit | sordentes populi maculas*; cp. 25. 6 note.

gurgitis is used of any great volume of water (at 44. 6 of a flood of light) with no idea here of a rushing stream,—though Jordan means 'the rusher,'—as is shewn by *Carm.* II. 141 *placidam Iordanis ad undam*, *Op.* III. 7 *quieti gurgitis*.

43. **peccata qui mundi tulit**, 'who took upon Him the sins of the world,' is attested by few MSS but these the best and oldest. It is borrowed from 4. 31, and, like *agnus* in 42, is of course based on Joh. i. 29. In favour of this reading is the fact that Sedulius brings this biblical passage into connexion with Christ's baptism both at *Carm.* II. 148f. *agnus | ecce Dei ueniens peccatum tollere mundi*, and at *Op.* II. 12 *ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccatum mundi. cum dicit tollit, ostendit eum non habere quod tollit, quod quidem tulit, non ut ipse gereret sed ut ipse deperderet*. The variant *peccata quae non detulit* has on its side the great mass of MSS, some of them fairly old. In its favour perhaps are the phrases of the parallel passages *Carm.* II. 159 *ipse nihil quod perdat habens*, *Op.* II. 12 *Dominus Iesus Christus, humani gentis delicta suscipiens non tenuit sed fugauit*. If that reading

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Miraculis dedit fidem habere se Deum patrem, infirmas sanans corpora et suscitans cadauera. | 45 |
| Nouum genus potentiae! aquae rubescunt hydriae, uinumque iussa fundere mutauit unda originem. | 50 |
| Orat salutem seruulo nixus genu centurio; credentis ardor plurimus extinxit ignes februm. | 55 |

45-48 *om.* Ih Mk.
50 aqua Fv Iv.

48 resuscitans (*pro et s.*) Fs Idgn Vs.
55 plurimos Fs Vsr.

were adopted, *peccata* must, it appears, be taken as acc. after *sustulit*, 'He took away the sins.' *abluendo* would then be not strictly a gerund, but used, as at 21. 11, participially, 'washing us, not Himself.'

For *tulit* used as the perfect of *tollere* see 4. 31 note.

sustulit] 'raised us up.'

45. *fidem*] 'proof,' as at 12. 14 note. For the general sense of the stanza cp. 1. 22 f., 4. 25 f.

46. Joh. v. 36.

47. *infirmas*] 'sick,' 'ill,' as at Mt. x. 8 etc. *sanare* is also a Vulgate word, Mt. iv. 23 etc.

50 f. 'The water-pots redden and the stream bidden to pour forth wine has changed its nature.'

rubescunt] See 8. 17 note.

hydriae] Joh. ii. 5 f., 8. 13 note.

52. *unda*] Cp. *Carm.* III. 5 *mutauit laeta saporem | unda suum largita merum*; *Op.* III. 1 *amiserunt aquae quod natae sunt, aquis indigentes ad potum, undaque nobilior facta quam genita colorem pariter mutauit et nomen.*

originem] 'its original nature'; cp. *Carm.* II. 238 *iam fratres nos*

esse decet nec origine carnis | germanum tractare odium; Fort. II. xi. 5 *traxit origo necem de semine, sed pater orbis | purgauit medicis crimina mortis aquis.* Somewhat similar is Jude 6 *angelos uero, qui non seruauerunt suum principatum.* The line is borrowed by (not from, as Daniel IV. 11) 91. 12.

53 f. Mt. viii. 5 f.

54. *nixus genu*] 'kneeling'; cp. *Ov. Met.* VIII. 182, *Juven.* IV. 647 *tum genibus nixi regem dominumque salutant.* We are not told in the Gospels that the centurion knelt. *centurio* is read by accent, not by quantity.

55. Mt. viii. 13. *ardor* and *extinxit* placed thus side by side form an oxymoron; cp. *Op.* II. 35 *gelidis ardebat periculis.* Probably Sedulius has in mind 9. 21 *hic ignis exstinguit fidem.*

56. *ignis* is used of disease at *Verg. Georg.* III. 566 *contactos artus sacer ignis edebat.*

februm] plural for singular. No 'fever' is specially mentioned in the Gospel story.

Petrus per undas ambulat
Christi leuatus dextera ;
natura quam negauerat,
fides parauit semitam.

60

Quarta die iam fetidus
uitam recepit Lazarus,
mortisque liber uinculis
factus superstes est sibi.

Riuos cruoris torridi
contacta uestis obstruit ;
fletu rigante supplicis
arent fluenta sanguinis.

65

Solutus omni corpore,
iussus repente surgere,
suis uicissim gressibus
aeger uehebat lectulum.

70

61 quarto Mk. 65 riuum Fv. 66 a tactu (*pro cont.*) Fk. 67 fletus
Fsv Vs. rigantis Fsv Vs, rigantes Mk. supplices Mk. 68 clausit (*pro*
arent) Fsv Vσ. 69 solutos Bb, solutis Fv, solutum Fk. languore
(*pro corp.*) Fk. 70 iussit Fk. 72 laeti uehebant lectulos Bb.

57. Mt. xiv. 28 f. In the parallel passages of both *Carm.* and *Op.* Sedulius describes the calming of the tempest instead of this incident of Peter walking on the sea.

61 f. Joh. xi.

quarta die] 'on the fourth day' after death, Joh. xi. 39.

64. **superstes...sibi]** lit. 'surviving himself.' *Carm.* IV. 289 f. (of Lazarus) *postque sepulcralem tamquam recreatus honorem | ipse sibi moriens et postumus exstat et heres*; *Ambr. de Excessu Fratris* 15 *quid agam, mei successor heredis? quid agam, meae uitae superstes?* Cp. *Prud. Perist.* IV. 115 *sola tu morti propriae superstes | uiuis in orbe*; *Fort. Vit. Mart.* I. 176 (of a dead man raised to life by Martin) *ipse iterum post se uiuens, idem auctor et heres.*

65 f. Mt. ix. 20 f.

66. **contacta uestis]** 'the touch of the garment.'

67. Here also *fletu rigante...arent* form an oxymoron; cp. *Carm.* III. 123 f. *posteriusque latens subitam furata salutem | extrema de ueste rapit siccisque fluentis | damnauit patulas audax fiducia uenas.*

69 f. Mt. ix. 1 f. 'A man relaxed in all his limbs,' being paralysed.

71. **suis]** emphatic; until then he had been carried.

uicissim] 'by way of change'; *Carm.* IV. 198 *subito mundata uicissim | mirantur sua membra uiri.*

73. **carnifex]** Judas is so called because he brought about Christ's death. At Rome the *carnifex* executed only slaves and foreigners, and the office was looked upon as most

Tunc ille Iudas carnifex
 ausus magistrum tradere
 pacem ferebat osculo,
 quam non habebat pectore. 75

Verax datur fallacibus,
 pium flagellat impius,
 crucique fixus innocens
 coniunctus est latronibus. 80

Xeromyrram post sabbatum
 quaedam ferebant compares,
 quas adlocutus angelus
 uiuum sepulchro non tegi.

73 Iudas ille Fv. 75 quaerebat Bb. 76 qui Fk¹. gerebat Fv Mk.
 80 coniungitur Mk. 82 uehebant Mk Vsσ. corpori (*pro* compares) Fksv
 Mk Vsσ. 83 quos Vs. adloquuntur angeli Mk. 84 sepultus Vσ.

degrading, so that the name was one of contumely.

75. Sedulius may have in mind Ambr. in Ps. xxxv. 14 (also of Judas) *oscula labiis ferebat, offundebat uenena pectoribus; meditabatur acerba supplicia, gratiae pignus afferebat; in Ps. xxxix. 17 uenum infundis osculo, quo gratia caritatis infunditur; osculo, quod sacrae pacis insigne est; in Luc. x. 63 amoris pignore uulnus infigis et caritatis officio sanguinem fundis et pacis instrumento mortem inrogas? Hex. vi. 68 caritatis insigne conuertens ad signum prodicionis et infidelitatis indicium, pacis hoc pignore uteris ad officinam crudelitatis.* Cp. Sedul. Carm. v. 66 *quid socium simulas et amica fraude salutas.* For the general sense Ps. liv. (lv.) 22.

77. uerax] See 17. 1 note.

78. Mt. xxvii. 26.

79. innocens] Cp. 1. 39.

80. Mt. xxvii. 38.

81. xeromyrrham] 'dried myrrh,' in which condition it was exported and sold, being originally the gum resin from a shrub which grows in south-west Arabia. It would be

the chief ingredient in the spices brought by the women, Lk. xxiii. 56, xxiv. 1. So Prud. Cath. xii. 71 (of the gifts of the magi) *myrreus | puluis sepulcrum praedocet.* The word *xeromyrrha* is not found elsewhere and has caused much searching of heart. Arevalus suggests *Christo myron*, but surely this would not have been thus altered in the mss. Huemer conjectures *chiro-myrrham* or *cheromyron*, referring to Corssen *Aussprache* II. 517 for the accent of the newly formed word.

82. compares] 'comrades,' an unusual word, whence the variant *corpori*.

83. Mt. xxviii. 2 f. The variant *adloquuntur angeli* is a correction due to the fact that Lk. (who alone mentions the spices) speaks of 'two men,' xxiv. 4. Probably *adlocutus* has the further meaning of consoling here and at 117. 17. Rönisch quotes an example of *adloquebantur* as a translation of *παρὰ-μυθούμενοι = consolabantur* of Vulgate at Joh. xi. 31.

84. tegi] as at 36. 39, 42.

Ymnis uenite dulcibus,
omnes canamus subditum
Christi triumpho tartarum,
qui nos redemit uenditus.

85

Zelum draconis inuidi
et os leonis pessimi
calcauit unicus Dei,
seseque caelis reddidit.

90

86 subditi Fks Vσ. 87 Christo Fk. triumphum nobilem Fs Vσ.
88 uenditos Fk.

85. Ps. xciv. (xcv.) 1.

ymnis] Latin had no *y*, and except in some dialects the Greek *υ* was always aspirated at the beginning of a word, so that a liberty had to be taken if this letter was to take its place in an alphabetical sequence. At the corresponding stanzas of Hilary's second Hymn we find *Ymnos*, *Zelauit*. This difficulty no doubt accounts for the fact that several alphabetical hymns do not go beyond T, as 71 and (probably) 89.

86 f. At line 26 the angels proclaim the birth of God into this world, here we are able to proclaim the destruction of the powers of hell.

triumpho] perhaps = *cruci*; cp. 4.

17.

tartarum] 23. 11 note.

88. **uenditus]** viz. by Judas, sharply contrasted with *redemit*. The line is imitated at 40. 36.

89. **zelum]** See Wisd. ii. 24. Cp. Prud. *Hamart.* 188 (of the devil) *arsit enim scintilla odii de fomite zeli*; 89. 24.

draconis] Ps. xc. (xci.) 13 *conculcabis leonem et draconem*. 12. 26 note.

inuidi] 3. 14, 5. 27 etc.

90. **leonis]** 32. 16.

pessimi] Note the use of the superlative where the positive might stand. We shall have other instances of this, as at 40. 25, 69. 12 etc.

V. MAGNUS FELIX ENNODIUS

HYMN 32

Magnus Felix Ennodius was born at Arles A.D. 473, but at an early age settled in upper Italy, where he taught rhetoric. He took orders, became a deacon of Milan, and in A.D. 513 was consecrated bishop of Ticinum (now Pavia). In 515 and again in 517 he was sent by pope Hormisda as ambassador to the court of Anastasius, the emperor of the East, in order to bring about a reconciliation of the eastern and western churches, in which he was not successful. He died in 521.

Ennodius was a man of marked ability and rhetorical power¹, but no poet. Amongst his works are twelve hymns, which he wrote avowedly in imitation of those by Ambrose², but by no means equal to them in merit. They were too artificial, antithetical and difficult to come into general use. Only one MS now extant contains them all (Brussels 9845-7, of the IXth century), but individual hymns of Ennodius were used in various churches, as is shewn by the presence of one or two of them in such hymnals as are quoted in the critical notes to the following Ascension-hymn, *Iam Christus ascendit polum*.

¹ See Bücheler *Anthol. Lat.* II. i. p. 643 *Florianus abbas mortuum Ennodium laudat. facundiam non solum testatur occidens sed et oriens miratur.*

² Ennod. *Carm.* I. vi. 39 *canthem quae solitus, dum plebem pasceret ore, Ambrosius uates carmina pulchra loqui.*

Bc Fls Icefn Vcos

Iam Christus ascendit polum,
 necauit ante funera:
 letum sepultus expulit:
 mors mortis impulsu ruit.

cantate factum, saecula;
 funus subegit tartarum,
 uicit peremptus exitum;
 sors inde luget pallida,

5

4 ruet Bc.
 7 exitus Icefn Vc.

6 subiecit Fl Icefn Vcos. tartari Fl Iefn Vc.
 8 mors Bc² Iefn Vcs.

2. In this and the following lines the one idea, that Christ's death has destroyed death, is ingeniously expressed in several different ways. How much simpler and more effective are Hilary's *morte carnis quam gerebat mortem uicit omnium*, 1. 40, and *mors, te peremptam sentis lege sum tua, Deum cum cernis subdidisse te tibi*, and Ambr.'s *reddatque mors uitam nouam*, 10. 24 and the lines that follow, which Ennod. here has in mind.

funera is plural for singular, as often in Verg. e.g. *Aen.* IX. 486 *nec te tua funera mater produxi*.

4. 'Death has fallen (or fell) at the onset of death.' *mortis incurso* = *incurso suo* or *proprio*. The *incurso* would answer to the *irruis* in Hil. *Hymn.* II. 12 *Deique tota uiui in corpus irruis*.

5. The world at large is appealed to, as at 6. 7, 38. 1, 31, 39. 32.

6f. **peremptus**] 'one slain.' *exitus* is a poor synonym for *mors*.

8. The identification of *sors* with death, as is proved by the epithet *pallida* (cp. Hor. *Od.* I. iv. 13 *pallida mors*) and by the use of the verb *praesumpsit*, is remarkable; cp. Ennod. *Carm.* II. v. 1 *Rustica, perpetuae non te sors pallida uitae sustulit, interitum nec tibi morte dedit*. Bücheler *Anthol. Lat.* 1336. 1 *sors*

tibi sub teneris Argentea contigit annis; where Schrader needlessly conjectures *mors*. Other writers constantly connect *sors* with the end of life, as Sedul. *Carm.* IV. 130, 272, Fort. II. v. 1, v. ii. 69; but they do not actually identify the two things.

inde answers to *unde* in 9. The use of these words to express cause and effect is very common in late Latin writers; see e.g. 33. 9, Sedul. *Carm.* II. 26 f. *ut unde | culpa dedit mortem pietas daret inde salutem*.

In antiphonal singing the overlapping of the sense from one stanza to the next, as here and in 28, 29 below, must have been awkward. See Bede *de Arte Metrica* 11 *hymnos uero, quos choris alternantibus canere oportet, necesse est singulis uersibus ad purum esse distinctos*. But when he goes on to say, *ut sunt omnes ambrosiani*, he ignores the fact that in some of Ambr.'s own hymns the sense is continued from stanza to stanza, as in the commencements of 2, 3, 5 etc., though not so markedly as in the present case.

9. **praesumpsit**] 'enjoyed in anticipation.' Cp. Hil. *Hymn.* II. 15 *hanc sumis ante pompam tanti proelii | sputus flagella ictus cassa harundinis*; and for the sense of the following lines Prud. *Hamart.*

praesumpsit unde gaudium.

escis uorator captus est,

10

est praeda raptor omnium ;

iam rete uinctum ducitur.

iacet catena in nexibus ;

serpens uenena protulit ;

mitis terit superbiam,

15

agnus leonem euiscerat.

10 escae Fl Icfn Vc.

12 rite Iefn Vcos. uinctus Fl Icefn Vos.

13 catenae Icefn Vco. om. in Ic.

14 proferens Fl Icefn Vcos.

15 mites Bc. teret Bc, teri Vs.

Praef. 24 finita et ipsa est finis exsortem petens ; Fort. II. vii. 43 f. huc captiua cubas, quo te regnare putabas : | inuadendo peris teque ferendo necas. | te tua poena premit, tua te fera uincula torquent, | quos dare ius gemitus ipsa ferendo gemis.

10 f. Here again the one thought is elaborately diversified. With line 10 cp. 10. 25, with 12 cp. 10. 26. Bücheler *Anthol. Lat.* 1391. 1 postquam, mors, Christi pro nobis morte peristi, in Domini famulos nil tibi iuris erit.

12. ducitur is used as at 1. 33 (note).

13. catena] Cp. 37. 15, 111. 8 ; also 36. 45, Prud. *Cath.* XI. 47. Perhaps the ref. is to such a passage as Acts ii. 24, Ps. xvii. (xviii.) 6. It is a triumph over death rather than over Satan that E. has in mind.

14. protulit is the reading of the best MS, and proferens of the later ones is in its favour. But how to take it? Can it mean 'has cast forth' its venom and so lost its power of harming? Hartel conjectured propulit, comparing Ennod. *Carm.* II. vii [serpens aeneus in cruce] Occisor mortis, dux uitae, planta salutis ! | aspice nam serpens ecce uenena fugat, | et quod supplicii species et mortis imago | iam fuerat miseris, est mihi certa salus. In this case the serpent is Christ ; cp. Smith *Dict.*

Chr. Antiquities 1890, Ambr. *de Spir.* III. 50 ; and propulit means 'has banished.' But line 14 seems to be parallel to 13, and if so serpens must refer to Satan, as at 26. 17 and often. Vogel suggests pertulit, 'has had to endure,' cp. 31. 21, 34. 31, 38. 17. It is just possible that the writer of the Brussels MS meant to write pertulit here, for some MSS use the form p for per, though it usually stands for pro ; see Maunde Thompson *Latin and Greek Palaeography* p. 224.

It will be seen that the later copyists entirely missed the meaning of the passage, correcting to iacet catenae in nexibus serpens uenena proferens. In like manner they rewrite 18 f. quod nostra sanctus induens, | ueste serui absconditus, | nos ad triumphum prouehit, | quam si e coruscis sedibus | reos terreret fulgure, | Deus patens per omnia.

15. Gen. iii. 15 ipsa conteret caput tuum ; Levit. xxvi. 15 conteram superbiam ; Is. xxviii. 3 conculcabitur corona superbiae. The line is imitated at 81. 11.

16. agnus] 1. 5.

leonem] 3. 14 note.

Verg. *Aen.* XI. 723 uses euiscerat of a hawk tearing a dove to pieces in order to devour it. Ambr. *Hex.* v. 47 (birds of prey) praedam...uel ore uel unguibus euiscerare.

plus istud est potentiae,
quod nostra, sancte, suscipis
et ueste serui absconditus
nos ad triumphum prouehis,

20

quam si e coruscis sedibus
reos terreres fulgore,
Deus patens per omnia
nullo remotus tegmine.

18 Christe (*pro* sancte) Bc², sanctus Icefn² Vcos, Christus In¹. induens (*pro* susc.) Fl Ifn Vcos. 19 *om.* et Fl Icefn Vcs. serui ueste Vo (seruuli u. Vs). absconditur Vo, abditus Vs. 20 prouehes Bc, prouehit Fl Icefn Vcos. 21 *om.* e Bc¹. haec (*pro* si e) Vs. 22 reos terreret fulgure Fl Icefn (fulgore Vos), reos terreres fulgure Vc. 23 deum Fl Ie. patet Bc, potens Ic. 24 renatus In.

17 f. 'This displays more power of Thine, that Thou, O holy one, takest our nature and hidden in the garb of a slave carriest us on to triumph, than if from Thy dazzling abode Thou shouldest scare the guilty with Thy brightness, completely revealed to us as God separated by no veil.'

17. **est** is often used in Latin, as here, where we expect a more expressive verb.

istud has its strict connexion with the 2nd person, which is lost by the correction of the later MSS reading *sanctus* and *prouehit*.

18. Cp. *Te Deum* 18 *tu...suscepisti (suscepturus) hominem, 42. 25 crucem...suscipere. nostra* in this sense is frequent enough: e.g. Leo's 'Tome' § 3 *totus in suis, totus in nostris*.

sancte is the original reading of the Brussels MS, as *sanctus* of all the others. *Sanctus* as an appellation of Christ is found Acts iii. 14, 1. 37, 41. 48, 42. 61, 46. 16; cp. the like use of *hagius* 41. 49, 44. 17, 84. 21. *Christe* in the MS is to be regarded as a gloss rather than as a correction.

19. **serui**] Phil. ii. 7.

absconditus] 'hidden,' 'disguised,' possibly from Satan; cp. Ignat. *Eph.* XIX. 1 *ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἢ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου*: Commodian *Apol.* 313 *obrepsit Dominus ueteri latroni celatus*; Ambr. *Hex.* II. 3 *ut uirginitas Mariae falleret principem mundi*. But the *reos* in 22 seems to make this interpretation of *absconditus* rather too definite and restricted.

22. **fulgore** is a poetical form which troubled the later copyists, who thought that the sense of *fulgure* was wanted. Here it means 'with all thy flashing brightness'; cp. 2 Thess. ii. 8.

23. It will be seen that I have taken the *patens* of the later MSS, for *patet* of an earlier one. If we read *patet* we must put a full stop at the end of 22, and translate 'He is completely revealed to us as God,' viz. by His resurrection. But this abrupt sentence does not suit the context.

per omnia] 'entirely,' 'in all respects'; see 5. 31 from which this line is imitated.

sed ut iacentes erigat, 25
 dignatus esse quod sumus,
 redemit ipse ius suum,
 ouem reduxit perditam
 pastoris ad custodiam.
 leuate portas, angeli! 30
 intrat tremendus arbiter
 maior tropaeis hostium.

27 redimit Bc, redimens Vs.
 31 intret Fl Icefn Vcos.

28 reuixit Bc.

29 pastores Bc.

25. Cp. Ps. cxlv. (cxlvi.) 8 *Domini* erigit elisos; 38. 28.

26. Cp. 38. 23, 87. 9 f.

27. 'He has Himself redeemed His own possession.' We were His and yet He bought us back. Cp. Sedul. *Carm.* III. 308 *tunc praedo furens ac noxius hostis, cui possessa diu est alieni fabrica iuris...*; id. (p. 2 ed. Huemer) *fabricam sui iuris*.

28. Lk. xv. 4 f. The line is borrowed 99. 8.

29. For the overlapping of the sense into another stanza, see the note on line 8.

30. Ps. xxiii. (xxiv.) 7.

31. *intrat* is more vigorous than *intret* of the later MSS, and goes better with the indicatives of 27, 28. *arbiter*] prob. in the wide sense of 'sovereign,' as there is no ref. to judgment in the context.

32. 'greater by reason of the trophies won from the enemy.' Cp. the like abl. Hor. *Od.* III. v. 39 *Carthago...altior Italiae ruinis*. [It is not improbable, however, that *hostium* is only another spelling for *ostium*, governed by *intrat*. *ostium* is the Vulgate word in John x, which would suit the allusion in 28 f.]

VI. VENANTIUS HONORIUS CLEMENTIANUS FORTUNATUS

Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus, 'the last of the Roman poets,' as Leo well describes him, was born about A.D. 530 not far from Ravenna. In or about his 35th year he suffered from ophthalmia and rubbed the ailing eye with some oil from a lamp that hung before a picture of St Martin of Tours in one of the churches of Ravenna. This healed the eye, whereupon he resolved to shew his gratitude by making a pilgrimage to the saint's grave at Tours. He travelled through Germany and Austrasia, making friends wherever he went and paying his hosts by poetical compliments, for he was before everything a minstrel. At last he reached his destination, but soon set forth once more, again as a minstrel 'courted and caressed, high placed in hall a welcome guest,' going from place to place through the greater part of Gaul. Among other cities he visited Poitiers, where queen Radegundis,—wife of the brutal Frankish king Clotaire I, from whom she had separated,—had established a convent in company with her adopted daughter Agnes. Here Fortunatus settled down, became the intimate friend of the two ladies, and was ordained priest. A year or two before the close of the century he became bishop of Poitiers, where he lived until his death, which befel him soon after A.D. 600.

Of his great poetical gift there can be no question, in spite of the fact that again and again he shews traces of the decadent taste of his times. And between his best and his worst work there is a very wide gulf. Some of his

shorter occasional pieces,—and most of his poems are of an occasional character,—are almost frivolous, while his praises of barbaric kings and nobles indulge in exaggeration and flattery. But his hymns, especially the first two printed here, 33 and 34, rise to supreme excellence. They combine a deep sincerity and a fervor of poetic feeling and religious thought with high dignity, strength and skill of expression. They are indeed models of what Christian hymns should be. For his love of nature and his eminent power of interpreting her various aspects see the introduction to 36.

Fortunatus was highly esteemed as a poet by his contemporaries and by later writers. Thus Paul the Deacon says of him *de Gestis Longobard.* II. 13 *uersiculos, nulli poetarum secundus, suavi et disertis sermone composuit*; and he wrote an epitaph for his tomb in six distichs, the first two of which run thus:

*Ingenio clarus, sensu celer, ore suavis,
cuius dulce melos pagina multa canit.
Fortunatus apex uatum, uenerabilis actu,
Ausonia genitus hac tumulatur humo.*

HYMN 33

This noble hymn was certainly written by Fortunatus, for not only is it handed down among his collected works, but it abounds in his characteristic thoughts and phrases. It is in favour of this view that the hymn bears traces of the influence of a hymn of Hilary, the predecessor of Fortunatus, two hundred years earlier, in the see of Poitiers¹. Nevertheless some writers,—as Sirmond, Ceillier and Pimont,—have given it to Claudianus Mamertus, a writer of southern Gaul who lived in the middle of the Vth century. Their grounds are these:

¹ See *Journ. of Theol. Studies* vol. v. p. 249.

(1) Sidonius Apollinaris writing to Mamertus (*Monum. Germ. Ant.* VIII. 56) says, *Iam uero de hymno tuo si percunctere quid sentiam, commaticus est, copiosus, dulcis, elatus, et quoslibet lyricos dithyrambos amoenitate poetica et historica ueritate supereminet.* Here there is no indication that ours is the hymn spoken of.

(2) In one MS of Gennadius' continuation of Jerome's work *de Viris Illustribus* the hymn is assigned to Mamertus—evidently on the authority of some one copyist, not of Gennadius. See Endlicher's edition of Mamertus *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.* XI. p. ii *scripsit et alia nonnulla, inter quae et hymnum de passione Domini, cuius principium est Pange lingua gloriosi.* A like statement is made in a XIIth cent. MS of Mamertus.

(3) The hymn is so good that it cannot have been written by Fortunatus or by any writer of his time. On this point opinions differ. In any case such subjective reasoning cannot stand against the facts of the case which contradict it.

As to the occasion on which the hymn was composed,—for this, like the great majority of the poems of Fortunatus, is an occasional piece,—Radegundis had obtained from the emperor Justin and his consort Sophia a fragment of the holy Cross for her cloister at Poitiers, and she requested Fortunatus to write a triumphal ode with which to welcome the sacred relic. Gregory of Tours tells us with what splendid and festal joy this and other relics were welcomed in the cloister; *Hist. Franc.* IX. 40. So it seems that the *Pange lingua* (33), the *Vexilla regis prodeunt* (34), and the *Crux benedicta nitet* (35) were for the first time solemnly sung on November 19, A.D. 569.

'The hymn very early came into extensive use and is found in most mediaeval Breviaries and Missals. In the older Roman (Venice 1478), Paris of 1643, Sarum, York,

Aberdeen, and other Breviaries, it is appointed for use from Passion Sunday to Maundy Thursday; stanzas I-V being used at Mattins and VI-X beginning *Lustra sex* at Lauds. In the Roman, Sarum, and other Missals it is appointed to be used on Good Friday at the Improperia, ... stanza VIII *crux fidelis* being first sung by the clergy, or as a solo, then stanza I-VII, IX, X by the people; each stanza being followed by either the first or second line of stanza VIII [i.e. *crux fidelis* or *dulce lignum*]. The Sarum, York, Aberdeen and other Breviaries also appointed stanzas VIII-X...for the festival of the Invention of the Cross (May 3).'

The above quotation is taken from Julian p. 880, where other interesting and valuable information is to be found. In Leo's edition of the poetical works of Fort. this hymn is the third poem of the second book.

Bb Eahlntsvxημ Fbcefhkpsβ Gabm Hbdβγ Iabcdehghnv Mi Vcs

Pange, lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis
et super crucis tropaeo dic triumphum nobilem,

1 linguam Mi. gloriose Bb. 2 tropaeum Evsμ Fβ Hbβ Iabcceghn
Vc. triumpho Es. nobile Bb Es Fc² Iag Mi Vc².

1. **pange**] 'sing,' as at Fort. v. v. 57 *quod canna Dauidica pangit*, 40. 34, 92. 23. In this sense the word is as old as Ennius.

proelium] Cp. Hil. *Hymn.* II *ante pompam tanti proelii*. Fort. is also thinking of Prud. *Cath.* IX. 84 f. *dic tropaeum passionis, dic triumphalem crucem, | pange vexillum, notatis quod refulget frontibus*. The modern Roman breviary alters the sense by reading *lauream certaminis* on which Neale says (*Mediaeval Hymns* p. 4) 'It is not to the glory of the termination of our Lord's conflict with the devil that the poet would have us look: but to the glory of the struggle itself.'

gloriosi...certaminis, shewing in

what the *proelium* consisted, is what may be called an identical gen., like 84. 5 *interitu mortis*, 1. 50 *candore claritatis*.

The first line of the famous *Pange, lingua, gloriosi corporis mysterium* of Aquinas is of course imitated from this.

2. **crucis tropaeo**] 'the trophy of (i.e. consisting in) the cross.' To a Roman ear 'a trophy' meant the spoils carried in the triumphal procession (see 6. 26 note), which were to remind the onlookers of the victory. In a Christian procession the cross would do this; Fort. XI. i. 23 *crux species tropaei est, quod deuictis hostibus solet fieri triumphanti*.

triumphum] In connexion with

qualiter redemptor orbis immolatus uicerit.

de parentis protoplasti fraude factor condolens,
quando pomi noxialis morte morsu conruit, 5
ipse lignum tunc notauit, damna ligni ut solueret.

hoc opus nostrae salutis ordo depoposcerat,
multiformis perditoris arte ut artem falleret
et medellam ferret inde, hostis unde laeserat.

4 parente Bb. facta Bb Easμ Fe Gb Hbd Iabcdeghuv Vcs. 5 in
(ante morte) Ib. morsu morte Fβ, morsu in mortem En Hb² Ih (morsus
in m. Iv) Vs, in morsu mortem Id, morte mors occubuit Bb Gm (m. m.
hoccurruit Mi), morsu mors incubuit Fe (mortu m. i. Ia). 6 om. ipse
Bb, ipsum Vs. ligno Fc. tum Fk. 8 multiformi Eμ. proditoris Bb
Easμ Fh Gabm Hβ Ibceghn Mi Vc. ars (pro arte) Ensμ Fhk Hγ Idg¹hv
Vs². uinceret Eh.

super crucis tropaeo it would be simplest to regard *triumphum* as *ᾠδὴν ἐπιωίκιον*, if any authority for this rendering had been forthcoming. In the absence of such authority, we must take it to be 'the triumph' itself, *dic* being used as at Hor. *Od.* 1. xxi. 1 *Dianam tenerae dicite uirgines.*

triumphum nobilem] 13. 3, 34. 28.

3. **qualiter]** one of Fort.'s favourite words, e.g. at III. x. 25, xxii. 9, xxvi. 8.

r. orbis] 23. 15.

immolatus uicerit placed side by side form a sharp contrast. The victim was the conqueror. Aug. *Conf.* x. 69 *uictor et uictima, et ideo uictor, quia uictima.*

4 f. 'The Creator grieving at the harm wrought to (or 'by') the first man, when by the bite of the fatal apple he fell in death, Himself even then marked a tree, in order to undo the damage caused by a tree.' A legend, which Fort. appears to have in mind here and at 34. 17 f., told how that the cross came from the tree in the Garden of Eden, a shoot of which was brought out by Adam and planted by Seth. The

tree which grew from this was destroyed in the deluge, but a twig of it was saved by Noah; see Kayser I. p. 407. Cp. Comedian *Apol.* 317 *per quod hominem prostrauerat morte malignus, | ex ipso deuictus; ib.* 323 *mors fuit in ligno et in ligno uita latebat, | quo Deus pependit Dominus; Ambr. in Ps. xxxv. 3 paradisum nobis crux reddidit Christi. hoc est lignum quod Adae Dominus demonstrauit; Poetae aevi Carolini* p. 78 (ed. Dümmler) *Adam per lignum mortem deduxit in orbem, per lignum pepulit Christus ab orbe necem.*

protoplasti] Cp. 23. 22. Cp. for the general sense Fort. x. ii. 2 *habet hoc insitum natura praeuaricatione protoplasti parentis ad nos decursa morte multata, ut saepe quod uix acquiritur mox linquatur; serpentis inueterati dens a radice sic perculit, ut nec arbor steterit quin stirpe mortis fixa uiuat; ib.* IX. ii. 1 f. *aspera condicio et sors inreuocabilis horae! quod generi humano tristis origo dedit, cum suadens coluber proiecit ab ore uenenum, morsu et serpentis mors fuit Eua nocens: sumpsit ab ipso ex tunc Adam patre terra dolorem, et de matre gemens*

quando uenit ergo sacri plenitudo temporis, 10
missus est ab arce patris natus, orbis conditor,
atque uentre uirginali carne factus prodiit.

uagit infans inter arta conditus praesepia,

12 caro Εμ Fi Hbdβ² Ibcdenv Vcs².
Εμ Gm.

13 positus (*pro* conditus)

*mundus amara capit. praeuaricando
duo probro damnantur acerbo: ille
labore dolet, haec generando gemit.*

factor] Cp. 1. 8, 30. 30.

5. **morte**] 'in death.' Fort.
favours this abl.; cp. *carne* in 12,
and 34. 3.

7. **hoc opus**] (used as at 10. 13)
viz. the reparation by means of the
cross of the bane wrought by the
tree of knowledge.

ordo] 'the plan.'

depoposcerat] 'had demanded'
in the everlasting counsel of the
Father. Cp. *Vit. Mart.* ii. 206
*funeris ordo sui nostrae fuit arra
salutis.*

8. **arte**] applied to the working of
God as Aug. *Conf.* IV. 24 *in arte
tua*; c. *Faust.* XXI. 5 *ars diuina.*

'That by craft He might foil
the craft of the many-shaped de-
stroyer.' Satan appeared to Eve as
a serpent, and 'fashioneth himself
into an angel of light,' 2 Cor. xi. 14;
cp. *Prud. Cath.* IX. 91 *quid tibi
profane serpens profuit, rebus nouis |
plasma primum perculisse uersipelli
hortamine?* *Vit. Mart.* ii. 132 f.
For another application of the out-
witting of Satan see Greg. Nyss.
Or. Cat. 26.

9. **inde, hostis**] The hiatus is
justified by the pause, and moreover
Fort. constantly, though not con-
sistently, treats initial *h* as a con-
sonant, as e.g. *Vit. Mart.* II. 341
indicio sine hoc.

inde...unde] Cp. *Sedul. Carm.*
II. 26 *ut unde | culpa dedit mortem
pietas daret inde salutem*; and see
note on 32. 8. Possibly there is
(in *inde, unde*) also a ref. to the
locality of the cross. *Ambr. in Luc.*

X. 114 *ipse autem crucis locus...
supra Adae (ut Hebraei disputant)
sepulturam. congruebat quippe ut
ibi uitae nostrae primitiae locarentur,
ubi fuerant mortis exordia.*

10. **plenitudo temporis**] *Gal.* iv.
4, *Eph.* i. 10; cp. *Mk* i. 15 'the
time is fulfilled.'

11. **missus est**] Cp. *Joh.* iii. 17,
vi. 57; *Ambr. in Luc.* VI. 13 *obo-
ediente pietate missus est in hunc
mundum*; X. 1 *missus a Patre, quia
descendit de caelo paternum imple-
turus arbitrium.*

ab arce patris] Cp. 23. 26;
Fort. I. xiv. 1 *summus in arce Dei*;
V. iii. 44 *regis in arce.* Athanasius
de Inc. 8 and other theologians had
dwelt upon the fitness of our being
redeemed by Him who had been the
agent in our creation; cp. 36. 27
conditor atque redemptor; *Dümmler
Monum. Germ.; Poetae lat. aevi
Carol.* p. 48 *ut saluaret quos creauit,
carnem nostram induit. conditor* is
one of Fort.'s favourite words; see
34. 3.

12. **carne**] 'in flesh'; for the
abl. cp. note on l. 5; 1 *Pet.* iii. 18
mortificatus quidem carne; *Fort.*
VIII. iii. 86 *qua caro carne uenit*;
also I. iii. 8. *factus* = 'as a creature,'
—unless indeed we are to take *carne
factus* as practically one word = *caro
factus.*

13 f. The omission of this whole
stanza in some MSS may be due to a
feeling that the story of the infancy
is incongruous in a hymn celebrating
the triumph of the cross.

uagit] The wailing of the infant
Jesus is not mentioned in scripture,
but is often alluded to by Hilary,
from whom perhaps Fort. borrows

membra pannis inuoluta uirgo mater adligat
et pedes manusque, crura stricta pingit fascia. 15

lustra sex qui iam peracta tempus inplens corporis,
se uolente, natus ad hoc passioni deditus,
agnus in crucis leuatur inmolandus stipite.

14 conligat Bb. 15 manus pedesq. Es Hb²d Idehn Mi Vcs. pangit
Fc², cingit Est μ F β Gb² Mi Vcs, cinxit Ihv. 16 lustris E μ Hb¹ Ibcdv
Vs. peractis E μ (peracti Ea) Hb¹ Idv Vs. 17 uolentem Bb Ig¹ Mi.
passione Fc (-nis Ig¹). 18 crucem Eh, cruce Bb Es Gb¹m Hb¹ β Ibcghv
Mi Vcs, cruces Id¹. leuatus Bb Es Gbm. immolatur Bb. stipitem En.

it. Thus *de Trin.* II. 24 *per conceptionem, partum, uagitum, cunas*; *ib.* 27 *infans uagit, laudantes angeli audiuntur*; see *Journ. of Theol. Studies* V. 430. Cp. also *Cypr. Ep.* XXXI. 3 *ubi sacra nati saluatoris infantia uagierat*; *Ambr. in Luc.* II. 41 *me illi infantiae uagientis abluunt fletus*; 42 *infantis audis uagitus, non audis bouis Dominum agnoscentis mugitus*; *Prud. Cath.* XI. 61 *uagitus ille exordium | uernantis orbis prodidit.*

inter] 'within' is used for *intra*, the plural form *praesepia* lending itself to this construction.

conditus] 'hidden.' See the note on *praesepe* at 6. 29.

14 f. 'His virgin mother binds up His body wrapped in rags, yea His feet and hands; the tight-drawn swathe marks His legs.' Lk. ii. 7. No doubt Fort. considered the binding of the infant limbs a pre-sage of the passion.

pannis] 'in rags.' That this is the meaning of the word is shewn by many passages; as *Ter. Eun.* 236 *squalidum, aegrum, pannis annisque obsitum*; *Lact. Phoen.* 19 *egestas obsita pannis*; *Prud. Perist.* II. 281 *pannis uideres obsitos*; *Alcuin de Clade Lindisfarn. Monast.* 104 *uix panno ueteri frigida membra tegit*; *Juven.* I. 156 *puerum ueteri cunabula textu | inuoluunt, duroque datur praesepe cubili.* The *panni* are mentioned also 38. 20, 90. 10. The *panni* are

constantly mentioned, as enhancing the contrast between the real majesty and the apparent poverty.

15. **manusque**] The hands also were tied in, this being the eastern custom.

stricta] used as at 1. 42.

pingit] 'marks,' 'discolours'; cp. *Prud. Perist.* III. 144 *membraque picta cruore nouo | fonte cutem recalente lauant*; *Fort. Vit. Mart.* I. 238 *pingit inaduersum signum crucis.* The reading of the later MSS *pangit* is evidently due to the avoidance of what was found a difficulty.

fascia] Cp. *Quint.* XI. iii. 144 *fasciis crura uestiuntur.*

16. 'When thirty years were now accomplished.' *lustra...peracta* may be either acc. abs. (see Index) or the words may be in apposition with *tempus*. The reading of the later MSS *lustris...peractis* is a correction. Fort. is especially fond of expressing age by *lustra*, as here, e.g. IV. viii. 29.

inplens] 'having fulfilled'; the pres. part. taking the place of the non-existent past part., as often. An extreme case of this is *Sedul. Carm.* III. 130 *moriens ubi uirgo iacebat | extremum sortita diem*; see also 36. 31 *cernens* with the note. Fort. does not mean to say that Christ was crucified when just thirty years old, but only after the thirty years of Lk. iii. 23.

tempus corporis] i.e. His life on earth, like Heb. v. 7 *in diebus carnis*

hic acetum, fel, harundo, sputa, clauī, lancea;
 mite corpus perforatur; sanguis, unda profluit, 20
 terra, pontus, astra, mundus quo lauantur flumine.

19 aceto Bb Eμ Fch^{li} Gabm Hβγ Ig^{lh}. felle Mi. sputo Es Ga. clauis
 Bb Est Fhi Hd Ibcgn² Vc. 20 mitte Es Ih Mi, cum milite Bb Gb^l.
 perforauit Fk. perfluit Et. 21 pondus Bb Mi. mundi Bb.

suae; *corporis* being a gen. of the same kind as at 10. 14 *poenam corporis*; cp. 15. 10.

17. *se uolente*] Is. liii. 7 *oblatus est quia ipse uoluit*; cp. Commod. *Apol.* 224 *et patitur quomodo uoluit*. The abl. abs. referring to the subject of the sentence is a construction found in Cic. *ad Fam.* xvi. 26 *non potes effugere huius culpaē poenam te patrono*; cp. Fort. i. v. 7 *hic se nudato tunica uestiuit egenum*; 43. 1 f.

n. *ad hoc*] 1 Tim. i. 15.

18. *in stipite*] = *in stipitem*. Fort. is rather given to this usage, cp. e.g. III. xvii. 8 *raptus in axe leuor*; VIII. iv. 6 *ducitur in thalamis*.

inmolandus] The cross being the altar, a thought more fully brought out in 109. 3 f.; cp. 1 Cor. v. 7. The gerundive is here equivalent to a final clause (*ut immolaretur*), as 1. 18 *occulendus* (note).

19. *acetum*] Mt. xxvii. 48. *fel*, ib. 34. *harundo*, ib. 30, 48. *sputa*, ib. 30. *clauī*, Joh. xx. 25. *lancea*, Joh. xix. 34. Cp. Fort. xi. i. 21 *hinc multa prophetae, qualiter confixus in cruce foratis pedibus, aceto uel felle aut uino murrato potatus, spinis coronatus, lancea percussus*; Hil. *Hymn.* II. 16 *sputus, flagella, ictus, cassa harundinis*.

harundo probably refers both to the reed with which Christ was struck,—though this was not done at the cross itself, but neither do we read of *sputa* there,—and also to that on which the sponge was put.

sputa] Some later MSS read *stupa*, by a slip in writing, though Pimont

defends it as meaning 'the sponge' of Mt. xxvii. 48.

lancea is probably nominative, like the other words in the line. But it might be abl., as some editors punctuate: 'the gentle body is pierced by the lance,' cp. Joh. xix. 34 *unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit*.

The *cumulatio*, i.e. a string of words with no connecting particle, is a favourite usage of Fort.; take two examples out of many, II. xii. 13 *carcere, caede, fame, uinclis, site, frigore, flamma*; VI. ia. 23 *lingua, decus, uirtus, bonitas, mens, gratia pollut*; cp. 37. 9 f.

20. *sanguis, unda*] In this and the following line, as at 34. 22, 37. 2 f., Fort. is thinking of the consecration of baptism by the cross. Cp. 77. 10 *quos mundat unda, sanguinis*; 89. 3 *baptisma cruce consecrans*; and the prayer in the Baptismal Service 'Whose most dearly beloved Son, for the forgiveness of our sins, did shed out of His most precious side both water and blood.' Prud. *Cath.* IX. 86 *hinc cruoris fluxit unda, lympa parte ex altera: | lympa nempe dat laucrum, tum corona ex sanguine est*.

21. *terra, pontus, astra*] We have had this threefold division of the universe at 23. 6. Fort. often mentions it, as at III. xxxiii. a. 27, IX. viii. 7, XI. ii. 3 etc., cp. 39. 1.

mundus] 'the universe'; the whole, of which the three preceding words are the component parts; cp. 13. 29 note. All things, whether with or without life, are included, as by St Paul, Col. i. 20.

crux fidelis, inter omnes arbor una nobilis,
 nulla talem silua profert, flore, fronde, germine;
 dulce lignum dulce clauo dulce pondus sustinens.

flecte ramos, arbor alta, tensa laxa uiscera, 25
 et rigor lentescat ille, quem dedit natiuitas,
 ut superni membra regis mite tendas stipite.

23 nullam Gb Mi. tale Es. silua talem Bb Eahnt Gam Hbdβ Ibcdegh
 (tale In) Vcs. fronde flore (frondes f. Bb) Eahn Fhi Gm Hbd Icgh, frondes
 florem germinans Iv. 24 dulcem clauum Bb Fi (dulce cl. Eμ Fc Gb
 Mi) Ga Hβ, dulces clauos Ent² Fhβ Hbd Icdegn Vcs (dulce cl. Ih), dulces
 clauui Fk (dulce cl. Es Gm). sustines Hdγ¹ Vs, sustinent Eμ Fk² Gm,
 sustinet Es Fh Ga Hb Ig¹hv Mi. 26 nitescat Es Mi. 27 et (*pro ut*)
 Bb Ga Mi. superna Bb. miti Fh Ibeg²n Vcs, mitte Hβ Mi, mitti Ig¹v,
 mittite de stipite Es, mitendas Fc, mittenda sint Fk. tendis Mi, tendat Et,
 tendant Gm, extendant Bb.

22. **fidelis**] 'faithful,' in that this tree did its duty, accomplished what was expected of it, cp. the use of the word at 34. 14, 37. 25, 38. 10. Or it may mean that it was faithful as opposed to the tree of knowledge in Eden, which was treacherous.

inter omnes] *arbores*.

una nobilis] 'alone in thy glory,' to be taken closely together; cp. Verg. *Aen.* I. 15, II. 426, III. 321 *o felix una ante alias*.

23. **nulla...silua**] i.e. no ordinary forest: this tree came from Paradise. Perhaps Fort. has in mind Hor. *Od.* I. xiv. 12 *siluae filia nobilis*.

The thought works backwards from blossom to leaf and from leaf to bud; and the fruit comes in the next line (*pondus*). Or it may be that Fort. with a distinct feeling of the etymology of *germen* ('the thing borne,' cp. 35. 10 *tam noua pomq geris*) means by it to express 'fruit'; when the order will be that of 75. 5 f.

24. **dulce cl.**] abl. Fortunatus freely uses the form in *-e* instead of the normal *i* of such adj.'s, when the metre requires a short final syllable, as Ovid had sparingly done before him. Thus we have *luce perenne*

diem, morte perenne iacet, cruce textile pulchra, dulce liquore sitim etc. Cp. *mite* in 27.

The nails of the cross are specially mentioned by Fort. in 19, 34. 5, 35. 7, II. iv. 40 *uera spes nobis ligno, agni sanguine, clauo*.

25. **flecte**] 'bend,' that the ascent may be the easier.

ramos] Fort. II. iii. 7 *tensus in his ramis*, 35. 10.

uiscera] i.e. the whole of the timber inside the bark, cp. Dracont. *de Deo* I. 503 *rubigo latens quae uiscera ferri | conrodant*.

tensa laxa uiscera] 'relax thy taut fibres.' Kayser takes *tensa* as the imperative of *tensare* and translates 'extend thy timber into softness'; but this does not give so good a sense, it introduces a spondee where in the rest of the hymn stands a trochee, and it invents a new verb *tensare*.

26. **natiuitas**] 'birth,' 'nature.' Cp. Jas. i. 23 *uiro consideranti uultum natiuitatis suae*.

27. **mite**] abl., like *dulce* in 24.

28. **pretium saeculi**] 'The ransom of the world' was the death of Christ; here by an easy transition it is applied to the body which

sola digna tu fuisti ferre pretium saeculi,
 atque portum praeparare nauta mundo naufrago,
 quem sacer cruor perunxit fusus agni corpore. 30

28 f. saeculi pretium E μ Fh Gm Hb² Ibdghv, saeculi f. pretium Hd In Vs.
 29 naute (i.e. nautae) Iv Vs. mundi Ihv Vs. 30 quam Fck Hb¹d Vs.
 fuso Bb Gb Mi. sanguine Hb² Mi.

suffered death; cp. 34. 22, 36. 40, 42. 28; Fort. II. x. 10 *haec pretio mundi stat solidata domus*; XI. i. 26 *ideo Dominus in cruce suspenditur, ut pro captiuitate nostra pretium sui corporis mercator in statera pensaret.*

29. **nauta** is the cross itself floating over the waves of this troublesome world, and so forming a refuge, like the ark, to a wrecked creation. The metaphor is mixed, but Fort. is given to combining incongruous notions, of set purpose; cp. Fort. II. iv. 25 (of the cross)

uelis das nauita portum; VIII. iii. 397 *opto per hos fluctus animas tu Christe gubernes, | arbore et antemna uelificante crucis, | ut post emensos mundani gurgitis aestus | in portum uitae nos tua dextra locet.* Ambrose before him had likened the cross to a ship *de Spir. S. i. 110 lignum igitur illud crucis uelut quaedam nostrae nauis salutis uectura nostra est.*

30. **quem** refers to *portum*, not without reference to Exod. xii. 13, 23.

HYMN 34

Hymn 34, *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, was written for the same occasion as 33, the introduction to which should be consulted. It 'was thus primarily a Processional hymn, written for use at the solemn reception of a relic of the Holy Cross. Inspired by the occasion the poet composed this poem of the Crucified King, one of the grandest hymns of the Latin church, in which in glowing accents he invites us to contemplate the mystery of love accomplished on the Cross. The occasion thus gives the key to his choice of subject, and to most of the allusions throughout the hymn.'

As to its subsequent history: 'the Sarum use was at Vespers on Passion Sunday and daily up to Maundy Thursday. In the Paris Brev. of 1736 it was assigned to Vespers from Monday in Passion Week up to Maundy Thursday. In the present Roman Brev. it is used at Vespers on the Saturday before Passion Sunday, and up

to Maundy Thursday, and also on the Festival of the Invention of the Cross (May 3); and in the present Roman Missal it is appointed to be sung on the morning of Good Friday, after the ceremony of the Adoration of the Cross, and during the time that the acolytes are censuring the reserved sacrament.' The above quotations are taken from the Rev. J. Mearns' excellent notice of the hymn in Julian p. 1220.

Eacdhjlstvxδημφ Fdfhikmpsβ Gam Habcdefghm Iabcdefghnv Mm Vcs

Vexilla regis prodeunt,
fulget crucis mysterium,
quo carne carnis conditor
suspensus est patibulo.

2 fulge Eδ Ih, fulgens Vs¹, fulgent Ed. mysteria Ed. 3 qua Edt²
Ga Hd Ig. 4 patibulum Ecδ, in patibulo Hh.

1. *uexilla sunt signa militaria principum et regum, quae in bello eriguntur, ubi manus conseruntur cum hostibus. haud aliter insignia sacra passionis Domini nostri (ut flagella, corona spinea, crux, clavi, lancea) sunt eius uexilla* (Clicht.). See 6. 15 (note), 42. 36, Minuc. Felix Octavius XXIX. 7 *nam et signa ipsa et cantabra et uexilla castrorum quid aliud quam inauratae cruces sunt et ornatae?* Prud. Psych. 347 *uexillum sublime crucis.*

2. *fulget*] in the literal sense, says Kayser, because adorned with gold and jewels. No doubt on the occasion for which the hymn was written the cross was thus adorned, but the blaze here is the blaze of glory, as at Prud. Cath. IX. 84 *pange uexillum, notatis quod refulget frontibus*; Sedul. Carm. I. 337 *en signo sacrata crucis uexilla coruscant*; id. Op. I. 30 *ecce sacrata crucis uexilla iam radiant.*

crucis mysterium] the mystery consisting in the cross, i.e. the cross so full of meaning to a Christian.

3. *quo*] 'whereby,' or 'wherein,' referring back to *mysterium*.

carne] 'in the flesh'; cp. 33. 5, 12 (notes).

4. *patibulo*] a yoke shaped somewhat like the letter Y, placed on the back of criminals, to the arms of which their arms were tied for them to carry it to the place of execution; cp. Plaut. Miles 359 f. *credo ego istoc exemplo tibi esse pereundum extra portam, | dispessis manibus patibulum quom habebis.* Fort. did not know it as a punishment in use, any more than we do. It is treated as a practical synonym of *crux*. The *i* of *patibulo* is lengthened by the stress of the accent. Some hymnals have instead of *suspensus* etc. the line *sententiam nostram tulit*, which Neale's version has popularized in England.

5. 'Here the victim, His body pierced by nails, stretching out His hands, His feet, was sacrificed.' *confixa* agrees with *hostia*, *uiscera* is the acc. of the part affected.

uiscera] 'the body,' cp. Fort. I. ii. 17 *quo ueneranda pii requiescunt uiscera Petri*; 15. 17, 33. 25.

6. *tendens manus*] II. iii. 7 *cum*

confixa clavis uiscera, 5
 tendens manus, uestigia,
 redemptionis gratia
 hic inmolata est hostia.
 quo uulneratus insuper
 mucrone dirae lanceae, 10
 ut nos lauaret crimine,
 manauit unda, sanguine.
 inpleta sunt quae concinit
 Daudid fideli carmine,
 dicendo nationibus: 15
 'regnauit a ligno Deus.'

5-8 *om.* Eaxμ Ha Ibghv, *eras.* Ev Gm. 8 *om.* hic Ed. hec Vs.
 inmolatus Ecdt. *om.* est Es Gm Mm. 9 quod Ia. uulneratur Edt.
 10 de dirae Ev. 11 lauare Ig, saluaret Ib. 12 et s. Et Fkm Ga
 Hb²dm Iadeg¹v Vs, ex s. Ec²jl¹vδ. 13 cecinit Ehl Fdiß Hah Mm.
 14 fidelis Exμφ Gm Hacdefg Id²hn, fideles Es. 15 dicendo in Ex¹,
 dicens in Esx²μφ Gm Hd²f Ig¹hv.

plantis bracchia pandens; Fort. XI.
 i. 23 *expandens autem manus ad
 populos [quia adeptus est] palmam de
 terrenis.* The phrase perhaps comes
 from John xxi. 18; but wherever a
 similar phrase occurs (e.g. Is. lxxv. 2)
 the early Christians naturally applied
 it to our Lord on the cross. Ambr.
*in Luc. X. 110 ut non sibi soli, sed
 omnibus uinceret, manus extendit,
 quo omnia traheret ad se; in Ps.
 CXVIII. xiii. 19 nobis quoque ex-
 pandit manus suas Iesus...crucis
 eius protegimur uelamento.*

uestigia] 'feet,' as at 40. 12, cp.
 13. 13 note.

8. *inmolata*] 33. 18 note, and
 24. 7 note.

9. *quo* (sc. *patibulo*) ... *insuper*]
 'whereon.' It carries on the *hic*.
insuper with the abl. often follows
 the word it governs; as Vit. x. 21
quo insuper conlocata erat materies.

11 f. 'to cleanse us from guilt He
 shed forth water and blood.' Job.
 xix. 34, cp. 33. 20 note. The ab-

sence of any connecting particle is
 so much in Fort.'s manner (cp. 33.
 19 *sanguis, unda, 34. 6 manus,
 uestigia*; and the note on 33. 19)
 that although many of the best MSS
 here insert *et*, I have omitted it
 with other good MSS.

13 f. 'Fulfilled is now what
 David sang in truthful strain, telling
 the nations (or 'Gentiles'): God
 hath reigned from the tree.'

14. *fideli*] 'faithful to the truth,'
 as at 23. 21.

15. *dicendo*] for this abl. gerund
 see Index.

16. *regnauit*] The cross is not
 only an altar (33. 20 note), but a
 throne. For the general sense cp.
 4. 17.

a ligno] These words are not
 found in the Vulgate of Ps. xcvi.
 (xcvi.) 10, but they are in certain
 MSS of the Old Latin version. 'Απὸ
 ξύλου is found in one ancient MS of
 the LXX (see Swete *ad loc.*), and
 Justin Martyr *Apol. I. 41*, and

arbor decora et fulgida,
ornata regis purpura,
electa digno stipite
tam sancta membra tangere.

20

beata, cuius bracchiis
pretium pependit saeculi!
statera facta est corporis
praedam tulitque tartari.

17 *om.* et Esm Ib Vc. 19 electo Eδ, elata Fk Ia. digna Ecjv Ig.
22 saeculi pep. pretium Easxμφ Gm Hacesfg Ighnv Mm, pep. saeculi pretium
Ib. 23 *om.* est Edlsνμ Fm Iad¹g Vcs. 24 praedamque tulit Eachjxμ
Fm Hacesfgh Iv Mm Vs, que (=quae) praedam t. In. tartaris Eax He
Ib¹en Vc, tartaro Ed Hd².

Dial. 73 quotes the passage with ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου; and so Tert. *c. Marcion.* III. 19 *age nunc si legisti penes David: Dominus regnavit a ligno; Commodian Apol.* 291 *in psalmis canitur: Dominus regnavit a ligno.* Sabatier ad loc. gives many other references to Latin authors. For liturgical texts which contain the words see Julian p. 1220.

17 f. **arbor**] see 33. 22. For the legend as to the tree of which the cross was made see 33. 4 note.

18. The purple is that of the blood which consecrated the tree as a throne; cp. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* XXVII. 89 *cruce purpurea pretiosi sanguinis ostro; Sedul. Carm.* v. 287 *purpureus cruor et simul unda cucurrit.* It is not of the purple hangings of the processional cross (as Kayser suggests) that the poet is thinking; cp. 2 note.

19. **electa**] Cp. Prud. *Perist.* VIII. 1 *electus Christo locus est; Fort.* II. iv. 21 *arbor...electa ut uisu, sic e crucis ordine pulchra.* The full force of the word is to be got from 33. 6. The *tangere* may depend upon *electa*, rather than upon *digna*, or upon both words in common. Cp. 33. 28.

21. 'O blessed tree, on whose arms hung the ransom of the world!

It was made a balance for His body and bore away the prey of hell.'

22. **pretium saeculi**] Cp. 33. 28 note.

23. Fort. compares the cross to a balance at XI. i. 26 (quoted above on 33. 28); at *Vita Mart.* II. 337 *inque crucis trutina pretii numismata pensans,* and at *Laus Mariae* 170 *in cruce pensandus.*

24. **-que** follows the phrase *praedam-tulit*, which is regarded as one word; it follows the third word of its clause at III. xii. 31. Even classical poets sometimes use *que* late in the sentence; e.g. Tibull. II. v. 72 *multus ut in terras deplueretque lapis.*

tartari] Cp. 23. 11 note. Fort. freely uses the nomenclature of classical mythology, as e.g. X. i. 21 *ob hoc euacuavit tartaros, ut repleat caelos.* He goes further still in places, see VI. i. 36 f.

25. **fundis** has its last syllable lengthened by the stress of the verse.

aroma is a generic name for 'spices,' some of which exude as gum from trees. Here it indicates a spicy odour corresponding to the delicious taste of nectar; cp. Fort. v. i. 1 *nares ipsas aromate respirante suffluit; VII. xii. 38 gratius*

fundis aroma cortice, 25
 uincis sapore nectare,
 iocunda fructu fertili
 plaudis triumpho nobili.
 salue ara, salue uictima
 de passionis gloria, 30
 qua uita mortem pertulit
 et morte uitam reddidit.

25 fundens Ecdlt Hb Ice Vc. aromata cortex Ga. 26 uincens Ecd.
 saporem Ecdt² Ice Vcs (soporem El In). nectarem Et², nectara Hm²,
 nectaris El. 27 fecunda Ecdlt². 28 portas El. triumphum Elt¹
 Ga Hm Vs. nobilem Ecdl Vs, nobile Ga. 29 salua Ga. 30 hostia
 Ga. 31 praetulit Eδ. 32 pro (*pro et*) Edl. morti Ia.

aura fluens quam spiret aroma Sabaeum, uincens quae pinguis balsama silua refat; ib. 120 suauius et recreat quam quod aroma refat; Laus Mariae 354 uincis aromaticas mentis odore comas.

cortice] Fort. II. iv. 27 (of the cross) *arbor dulcis agri, rorans e cortice nectar.*

26. Nectar was the drink of the old Greek gods on Olympus. *nectare* is a collateral form of *nectar*, apparently invented by Fort. for the sake of the metre: similar forms used by him are *calcis* for *calx*, *cotis* for *cos*, *ducis* for *dux* and others,—as Ennius has *lacte* for *lac*. Cp. *uespere* 18. 5. The 2nd hand of one St Gall IXth cent. MS reads *nectara*, plural; an obvious correction.

27. **iocunda]** 'rejoicing,' as if the cross were endowed with life and thought.

fructu] Cp. 33. 23 note, 35. 10.

fertili may be translated 'rich,' 'abundant,' but is really an epithet

transferred from the tree which bore the fruit to the fruit itself; cp. 35. 9.

28. **plaudis]** 'thou clappeth thy hands,' a metaphor taken from Ps. xcvi. (xcviii.) 8 *flumina plaudent manu*; or perhaps from Is. lv. 12 *et omnia ligna regionis plaudent manu*. If *triumphum nobilem* were better supported it might be Fort.'s original, in which case *plaudis* would be transitive.

For *triumpho* cp. 33. 2 note.

29. **ara]** of the cross, see 33. 18 note.

30. 'on account of the glorious passion,' this being both the cause and the subject of the salutation, X. i. 60 *de culpa uapulat*.

31. **uita]** He who is the life of the world; cp. 8. 3, 10. 27 etc.

pertulit is used as at 31. 21, 38. 17.

A different ending to the hymn, *O crux aue, spes unica* etc., is given in some uses. See Julian *ut sup.*

HYMN 35

The following lines were no doubt written for the same purpose as 33 and 34; see the introduction to 33. They are more carefully composed than most of Fortunatus' elegiacs and form an excellent hymn. Trench (on what authority I know not) says: 'These lines are only a portion of a far longer poem.' But, though indeed in a very few MSS certain couplets follow, these are not genuine and were evidently written by someone who failed to see that they spoil the effect of the fine close of the hymn. The interpolated distichs begin thus:

*Gloria magna deo magnalia tanta patranti,
qui tam mira facit gloria magna deo.*

The MSS which contain some or other few of these verses are, I believe, the so-called Severinian MSS at Paris and in the Vatican; Cassino 506 Q; Bodl. Douce 222; Capit. Mutin. O 1 n. 7; Vat. Urbin. 585. Leo did not come across the verses in his more ancient codd., and does not mention them.

Et Fc Hbdm Idf Vcs

Crux benedicta nitet, dominus qua carne pependit
atque cruore suo uulnera nostra lauit:
mitis amore pio pro nobis uictima factus
traxit ab ore lupi qua sacer agnus oues:

4 quas Hb²d.

1. *crux...nitet*] Cp. 34. 2.
carne] Cp. 33. 12, 34. 3.
2. *uulnera*] Cp. 19. 16.
lauit] Cp. 33. 21, 34. 11. Coming between *pependit* and *traxit* it is no doubt perfect, and in a classical poet the *a* would be long. But Fort. gives himself much metrical licence, —writing *defecerit* I. vi. 20, *effugit* (perfect) I. xvi. 39, *petebatur* V. iii. 30; cp. also *fugit* 36. 48, *deiicit*

38. 27. Leo here reads *lauat*, and at Appendix II. 60 (p. 277) *qua Christus dignans adsumpta in carne pependit | atque cruore suo uulnera nostra lauit*, he says that *lauit* is not perfect.

3f. 'Where the sacred Lamb, made a gentle victim for us in his kindly love drew the sheep from the wolf's mouth.'

4. The wolf and sheep are con-

transfixis palmis ubi mundum a clade redemit 5
 atque suo clausit funere mortis iter.
 hic manus illa fuit clavis confixa cruentis,
 quae eripuit Paulum crimine, morte Petrum.
 fertilitate potens, o dulce et nobile lignum,
 quando tuis ramis tam noua poma geris, 10
 cuius odore nouo defuncta cadauera surgunt,
 et redeunt uitae qui caruere diem.

5 transfixus Vc, transfixit Et If. palmas Et If Vc. ibi Hbr. 8 om.
 quae Vc. 11 huius Hb¹.

stantly mentioned by Fort., as at II. iii. 5 f. *quaeque lupi fuerant raptoris praeda ferocis, | in cruce restituit uirginis agnus oues.*

qua is misplaced, as to a less degree is *ubi* in 5. It may either be a conjunction, 'where,' corresponding to *ubi*, or the abl. of the relative, 'on which.'

5. The first half of the line almost recurs V. v. 59 *in cruce transfixus palmis pedibusque pendit*. For the rhythm cp. VI. v. 71 *extensis palmis*.

clade] 'destruction'; cp. Hil. Hymn. III. 10 *inter tanta dum exsultat nostrae cladis funera*; Sedul. Carm. III. 45 *populos a clade leuaui*.

6. For the phrase *clausit iter* cp. Prud. Nol. *Epist.* XLIII. 7 *cum hiems nauigationem et itinera clauderet metus*.

mortis iter occurs at Propert. IV. vii. 2, Fort. I. ii. 16, 36. 34.

7. **clavis**] 33. 24 note.

8. The rescue of Paul from unbelief in Acts ix, of Peter from prison in Acts xii. The elision of *quae* is very harsh.

9. The rhythm *f. p.* comes from Verg. *Aen.* XI. 340 *seditione potens* and is repeated by Fort. at IV. xxi. 7, VII. xiv. 11; cp. VIII. i. 35 *paupertate potens*.

10. 'Seeing that on thy boughs thou bearest fruit so rare.' *quando* is one of Fort.'s favourite words, as

at 33. 10, and is used in a causal sense X. vii. 67, *Vit. Mart.* II. 57, 212, IV. 144. Here it explains *fertilitate*. Cp. 33. 22 ff., 34. 27.

ramis] of the arms of the cross, as at II. iv. 28 *ramis de cuius uitalia crismata surgunt*.

tam noua is an unusual phrase; and possibly (as Leo suggests) *noua* may be a mistake for *bona*, the copyist of the archetype of our MSS letting his eye rest on *nouo* in 11. But *nouus* is one of Fort.'s especial words, see V. ii. 2, 32, V. 100 etc. Cp. III. ix. 92 *atque uetus uitium purgat in amne nouo*.

11. **cuius odore nouo** recalls I. viii. 13 *huius amore nouo*.

odore] Cp. II. v. 10 (of the cross) *dulce mihi lignum, pie maius odore rosetis*; 34. 25.

nouo probably means 'unknown until now'; 6. 30, 12. 2, 31. 49.

defuncta] Cp. Verg. *Georg.* IV. 475 *defunctaque corpora uita*; Fort. X. vi. 59 *o uox sancta, loqui defuncta cadauera cogens*.

12. **uitae** may be gen. after *diem*, 'who have lost the light of life'; cp. [Verg.] *Ciris* 296 *diem...producere uitae*. But it is probably dat. after *redeunt*, as at V. v. 62 *quod rediit caelis, testis et ista dies*. Cp. X. vi. 119 *ducere qui meruit de morte cadauera uitae*, xi. 15 *qui pie restituit defuncta cadauera uitae*. The reference is not only to Mt. xxvii. 52, but also to the quickening

nullum uret aestus sub frondibus arboris huius,
 luna nec in nocte sol neque meridie.
 tu plantata micas, secus est ubi cursus aquarum, 15
 spargis et ornatas flore recente comas.

13 uret nullum Id. exuret nullos (*pro n. u. aestus*) If Vc. aestum Et.
 16 odoratas (*pro et orn.*) If Vc. micante Vs.

of those of whom Christ was the first-fruits.

caruere] Cp. Verg. *Georg.* IV. 472 *umbræ... simulacraque luce carentum*; Prud. *Cath.* IX. 46 *sole iam quarto carentem*. But in *Symm.* I. 291 *luce carentes* has another meaning.

diem] 'the light of day'; as in *Sedul. Carm.* III. 104 *filia clauso functa die*. The acc. after *careo* is found two or three times in Plautus, and in like manner Fort. has IV. xi. 18 *fruitur uultum*, IX. ii. 127 *utentes pallam*.

13, 14 come from Ps. cxx. (cxxi.) 6 *per diem sol non uret te: neque luna per noctem*; Rev. vii. 16 *nec cadet super illos sol, neque ullus aestus. nullum = neminem*. Fort. (like Prud. 30. 3 note) does not distinguish between the two words. Cp. I. xxi. 34 *nullus arare potest*, V. vi. 9 *quam inter omnes litteram meditullio conlocarem, quæ sic reciperet omnem ut offenderet neminem*.

Fort. lengthens the short final of *uret* before a vowel, also of *uitis* in 17, and of *fundis* at 34. 25, as Verg. before him had written *peterēt inconcessos*. And he could so easily have said *uret nullum*, that it looks as if he had lengthened the syllable of set purpose.

noctem is better supported than *nocte*, but probably came in from the wording of the psalm. Fort. is given to rhyming the two halves of a pentameter, doing so in 1092 out of the 3774 possible cases; so that he is more likely to have lengthened the *e* of *nocte* than to have misused *in noctem*, which should mean 'at nightfall.' In like manner many

good MSS at 6. 17 read *procedens* and at 31. 1 *ortu*, in both cases influenced by the psalm referred to.

mēridie is scanned *mēridie*; not necessarily that Fort. did not know the classical quantities; but that he wished to use a word which without taking such a liberty he could not fit into a pentameter. Similarly he has *ānachōreta*, *cēremonia*, *erēnus*, *ecclēsia*, *hēresis* (II. ii. 29), but *ecclēsia* I. xvi. 34, 44, *haeresis* III. xv. 25, when it suits his purpose. The old metrical system based on the quantity of syllables was dying out, the new rhythmical system based on accentuation was coming in; cp. Trench p. 9f.

15. Ps. i. 3 *et erit tamquam lignum, quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum, quod fructum suum dabit tempore suo*. We have the word *plantare* at 56. 7, Fort. IX. ii. 121 and often in Vulg.

micas] like *nitet* in 1; or perhaps it is of the fluttering of the leaves. Cp. 36. 12.

secus...ubi] 'hard by which'; *secus* being a preposition, as in the psalm; here governing the unexpressed antecedent of *ubi*. The adverb *secus* has quite another meaning, 'apart' or 'otherwise.' In the time of the grammarian Charisius the use of *secus* as a prep. was *nouum et sordidum*. It is used, however, by Cato, and is found in inscriptions, as *C. I. L.* III. 6418 *hic est occisus secus Titum flumen*. It is used by Jerome and Gregory of Tours.

16. **comas**] 'foliage.' The idea of *spargis* appears to be that the tree showers its beneficent leaves upon

appensa est uitis inter tua bracchia, de qua
dulcia sanguineo uina rubore fluunt.

18 sanguinea If Vc.

those who take refuge under it,—perhaps with a reference to Rev. xxii. 2. Cp. *Passio S. Perpetuae* 11 *quorum folia cadebant sine cessatione*.

17. 'The cross as the tree to which the vine is clinging and from which its tendrils and fruit depend, is a beautiful weaving in of the image of the true Vine with the fact of the Crucifixion. The blending of one image and another comes perhaps yet more beautifully out, though not without a certain incoherence in the images, in that which sometimes appears in ancient works of Christian Art,—namely, Christ set forth as Lamb round which the branches of a loaded vine are clustering and clinging.' Trench p. 133. Ambr. *de Fide* l. 135 *potulum nouum de caelo delatum in terram, expressum*

ex illo botryone peregrino, qui sicut uua de uiti, ita ille in carne crucis pependit e ligno. Cp. Niceta p. 4 (ed. Burn) *dulcedo te saeculi delectat? magis ad crucem Christi conuertere, ut eius uitis, quae in cruce pependit, dulcedine recreeris;* Sedul. *Carm.* v. 216 (of the impenitent robber) *ore uenenato uitem lacerabat amoenam.*

appensa est is probably an example of a pass. part. in a medial sense. Cp. Fort. IX. ix. 42 *rupibus adpensis pendet et ipse legens*, where Fort. uses it in the sense of a very favourite word of his—*pendulis*.

uina] plural, partly for the sake of the metre, as at 91. 16. So Verg. uses the word in the plur. 16 times, the sing. seven times. Draeger § 5. 18. **rubore]** see 8. 17 note.

HYMN 36

We have here a notable example of hymns of the widest use being made out of a poem. For 36 is an extract from the longest out of several poetical epistles addressed by Fortunatus to Felix bishop of Nantes. In it he dwells with much poetical force and with deep religious feeling upon the beauty of spring, which has come in her gayest attire to greet her risen Lord.

In this poem and in other like vivid pictures of the awakening of nature in spring,—see especially VI. i and vi, VIII. vii, IX. iii,—Fortunatus displays his powers at their best. Not only does he give a brilliant view of the external aspect of things, but he endows nature with a soul, much as a modern poet might. No writer has with truer insight and keener observation portrayed her outburst of rejoicing after the winter of her discontent than Fortunatus has

done in this poem. Each verse brings a fresh trait, a new point of beauty and of exultation, and all this rejoicing is brought into connexion with the resurrection of Christ. We may compare Ambr. *in Luc.* x. 34 *hieme arbores uentus suo honore dispoliat et asperitas frigoris teneras frondes in speciem mortis interficit; uere autem resurgunt semina et tamquam noua aestas naturae uiridantis adolescit. uere pascha est, quando seruatus sum.*

From this poem (III. ix in Leo's edition and consisting of 110 lines) many centos were made in various churches to serve as processionalals for Easter, Ascensiontide, and Whitsuntide, each beginning with line 23 *Salue festa dies, toto uenerabilis aeuo*: to say nothing of hymns for other days, which in many cases took little or nothing from the poem of Fort. except this opening line. Chevalier (*Repertorium* II. 506 f., III. 552) notes more than thirty hymns which begin therewith. See Daniel I. 161, II. 181 f., IV. 143, V. 205; Dreves *Analecta* L. 76 f., where the whole poem is printed and much information as to the use of several of the centos is given.

Et Hm

Tempora florigero rutilant distincta sereno
et maiore poli lumine porta patet.
altius igniuomum solem caeli orbita ducit,
qua uagus oceanas exit et intrat aquas.

4 qui Et.

1. **florigero**] perhaps first used by Sedul. *Carm.* II. 2. Such picturesque adj.'s as this and *igniuomum* in 3 are especially found in late writers, though Lucr. III. 11 has *florifer*. Other like adj.'s used by Fort. are *aestifer*, *altithronus*, *altiuolans*, *blandifluus*, *falsiloquax*, *flammicremus* etc. See 27. 8 note and also Draeger I. p. xf.

distincta] Cp. [Verg.] *Cul.* 70 *distincta coloribus arua*.

sereno] 'fair weather,' as at 22. 5; cp. 10. 2 (note).

2. 'The gate of heaven' is the sky; cp. Verg. *Georg.* III. 261 *porta tonat caeli*; Lact. *Phoen.* 2 *qua patet aeterni maxima porta poli*; Fort. II. vii. 1 *ianua celsa poli terra pulsante patescit*.

3. **caeli orb.**] 'his track through heaven.'

4. **uagus**] 'in his swift course.' So Catull. LXIV. 271 *uagi...solis*; ib.

armatus radiis elementa liquentia lustrans 5
 adhuc nocte breui tendit in orbe diem.
 splendida sincerum producunt aethera uultum,
 laetitiamque suam sidera clara probant.
 rus gaudens uario fundit munuscula fetu,
 cum bene uernales reddidit annus opes. 10
 mollia purpureum pingunt uiolaria campum,
 prata uirent herbis et micat herba comis.

5 armatis Et Hm. 6 urbe Et. 10 reddit Hm.

LXIII. 86 *pede uago*, 'with speeding foot'; Hor. *Sat.* I. viii. 21 *uaga luna*; 76. 8 *uagos recursus siderum*.

oceanas] 'of ocean,' which for the ancients was a great sea encompassing the earth, what Ambr. *Hex.* v. 28 calls *ultra orbis terrarum terminos mare, quod nullae interpolant insulae, nec terra aliqua interiacet uel ulterius ulla sit posita*; and the sun rose from it and set in it; cp. Verg. *Aen.* IV. 129 *oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit*, cp. 27. 3 note. For the form of the adj. cp. Caes. *Bell. Gall.* III. 7, Fort. VII. xii. 56 *mare oceanum*. Fort. has similar forms *Rhodanas aquas, Alexandrae urbis, Romula regna*. The accus. after *exire* is of course quite classical.

5. *armatus radiis*] The sun's rays are likened to darts, as at 21. 6. *liquentia*] 'clear.'

6. *adhuc...tendit*] 'The night is short and he stretches out the day still further.' This sense of *adhuc* is often found in the later Latin; e.g. Plin. *Epist.* VIII. vii. 1 *ego adhuc Saturnalia extendo*. *adhuc* is a spondee as at Fort. I. xx. 23.

7. *sincerum*] 'unmixed with clouds,' 'bright'; cp. VI. i. 26 *sincero lumine*.

producunt] as at VII. vi. 1 *Lucifer ut nitidos producit in aethera uultus*.

aethera] neuter plural, a late usage; cp. *Vit. Mart.* II. 345 *tenuata per aethera lapsus*; III. 424 *longinqua per aethera tranat*; 39. 1.

Just so Fort. IX. i. 141 *aera temperie faueant tibi*.

8. *clara*] i.e. by their brilliance; note the emphasis laid on the adj.

9. *rus gaudens* is found in all liturgical MSS, but the original text of Fort. is *terra fauens*. He has in mind Verg. *Ecl.* IV. 18 *nullo munuscula cultu...tellus...fundet*.

fetu] Verg. *Georg.* II. 390 *largo pubescit uinea fetu*.

10. *bene* as often in Fort. (see Leo p. 393) has lost its special sense as the adv. of *bonus*; but this usage, borrowed from the language of conversation, is found in several writers, as Plautus, Terence, Cicero's Epistles and others. Cp. Lucr. v. 706 *pleno bene lumine fulsit*, and the French *bien*. It is not to be taken with *uernales*, but with *reddidit opes*.

11. *mollia...uiolaria*] Verg. *Ecl.* v. 38 *pro molli uiola*; ib. II. 50 *mollia uaccinia*.

purpureum perhaps refers to the colour of the violet, though the word is often used by poets in the sense of 'bright,' 'gleaming.' Thus Verg. *Ecl.* v. 38 applies it to the white narcissus (cp. *Georg.* I. 405), Horace to swans, Albinouanus to snow; and Fort. VI. vi. 1 has *hic uer purpureum*, which comes from Verg. *Ecl.* IX. 40.

pingunt] 'pick out,' see 27. 6 note; or perhaps 'paint,' the exact force depending on the sense of *purpureum* here. A like question arises at 76. 3.

12. *herbis* does not mean 'wild

paulatim subeunt stellantia lumina florum,
 arridentque oculis gramina tincta suis.
 ecce renascentis testatur gratia mundi 15
 omnia cum domino dona redisse suo.
 namque triumphanti post tristia tartara Christo
 undique fronde nemus, gramina flore fauent.
 legibus inferni oppressis super astra meantem
 laudant rite Deum lux, polus, arua, fretum. 20

13 stillantia Et Hm.

flowers,' as it does at I. xviii. 4 *fragrat odoriferis blandior herba comis*; VIII. vi. 7 *inter odoriferas tamen has quas misimus herbas, | purpureae uiolae nobile germen habent*. As the second half of the line probably refers to the waving of the long grass (cp. I. xx. 14 *fluctuat herba comis*), *herbis* here means 'grass.' At XI. xx. 1 *me pascitis herbis* it means 'salads.' With *micat, comis* cp. 35. 15, 16 above.

13. **paulatim**] of the gradual growth of flowers and plants; cp. Verg. *Ecl.* IV. 28 *molli paulatim flauescet campus arista*.

stellantia] 'star-like.' Lucr. and Verg. and others use the word of the nightly heavens, Ovid *Met.* I. 723 *gemma caudam stellantibus implet* of the 'eyes' on a peacock's tail. For the MS spelling *stillantia* cp. note on *destricto* 24. 18.

14. **arrident**] So Vergil speaks of 'the smiling acanthus,' *Ecl.* IV. 20. Cp. Ps. lxiv. (lxv.) 14.

gramina are the grassy fields, as in 18, and the *oculi* the flowers.

15. **renascentis**] The birth is a long process still going on; but the fact that it has begun is a symbol that the resurrection has restored all good things.

gratia] 'beauty,' cp. Fort. VIII. viii. 15 *gratia florum*, 127. 4.

17. **post...tartara**] i.e. after *His sojourn in Hades*. Fort. is fond of this pregnant use of *post*; cp. III. ix. 85 *post tartara carne resumpta*;

IV. vi. 17 *post tenebras mundi quem tenet aula poli*, ib. xiv. 4, xxvi. 143; VII. xxi. 9 *post Italas terras*, 'after their stay in Italy'; so I. 19 *post Herodem*, 38. 3. For the general sense cp. VIII. vii. 3 f. *tempore uernali, Dominus quo tartara uicit, | surgit aperta suis lactior herba comis*, IX. iii. For *tartara* cp. 23. II note.

18. **fauent**] 'smile upon,' 'rejoice with,' cp. Fort. I. xviii. 14 *et fauet auctori uiuificata suo*. At IX. iv. 14 *perpetui regni se fauet arce frui* = 'rejoices.'

19. **legibus inferni**] 'the reign of hell.' Cp. 35 *infernae...legis*; Propert. v. xi. 3 *infernas leges*; Sedul. *Carm.* IV. 286 *mortisque profundae | lex perit*. Fort. has caught up with vigour Hilary's repeated reference to 'the law of death'; see Hil. *Hymn.* II. 23 *mors, te peremptam sentis lege cum tua*; III. 27 *scit terrenam subiacere mortis legi originem*; Fort. II. xvi. 125 *desponsata uiro mortali lege iacebat*; X. xi. 8 *infernae legis rumpere uincla potens*.

super astra] Fort. is especially fond of thus denoting heaven; cp. e.g. VII. xii. 48 *ac terris recubat quod super astra uolet*, lines 24, 52, 39. 27. This reference to the Ascension in an Easter poem is explained by the fact that the resurrection was the pledge of the ascension, see Joh. xx. 17.

meantem] 'going,' a rarer verb

qui crucifixus erat Deus ecce per omnia regnat,
 dantque creatori cuncta creata precem.
 salve festa dies toto uenerabilis aeuo,
 qua Deus infernum uicit et astra tenet.
 nobilitas anni, mensum decus, arma dierum, 25
 horarum splendor, scripula, puncta fouens.
 Christe, salus rerum, bone conditor atque redemptor,
 unica progenies ex deitate Patris,
 aequalis, concors, socius, cum Patre coaeuus,
 quo sumpsit mundus principe principium, 30

than the compound *remeare* (used at 112. 6), but cp. Lact. *Phoen.* 52 *orbem totum protulit usque means*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* xv. 144 *quae mundi per membra meat*; Fort. I. xv. 73, III. x. 16. IV. v. 3, VI. i. 23, XI. xxv. 2. Horace has *quo simul mearis*, *Od.* I. iv. 17.

20 is the strikingly brief expression of the thought which has been elaborately wrought out in the preceding lines, the conclusion to which they have been progressing.

In the second half of the line we have again the threefold division of the departments of nature (see 23. 6, 33. 21), for *lux* and *solus* form but one idea.

21. *per omnia*] Cp. 5. 31 note.

23 is an echo of Ov. *Fast.* I. 87 *salve laeta dies*. In the various centos made up from this poem lines 23, 24 are always put at the beginning; see introduction.

25. *arma dierum*] i.e. Easter is the protection and guard of all the days of the year. Fort. uses a like phrase, IV. iii. 9 *summus honor regum, populi decus, arma parentum*; II. v. 8 *eripe credentes, fidei decus, arma salutis*, cp. IV. x. 11, xi. 5.

26. *scripula, puncta*] 'minutes and seconds.' The *scripulus* (-um) or *scrup.* generally denoted one 24th part of the *uncia*, but also the

same division of an hour, about 2½ of our minutes. Cp. Fort. *Append.* XXIII. 5 (p. 287, ed. Leo) *scripulos nescimus et horas. fouens* carries on the thought of *arma*, 'protecting,' as at 5. 32.

27. *salus rerum*] 'salvation of the world'; see note on 38. 29.

conditor...redemptor] See note on 33. 11.

28. *deitate*] 'the divine nature,' a word not used except by Christian writers. Here it represents the Nicene *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς*, cp. XI. i. 16 *de deitate Patris atque Filii*. Fort. also uses it as a synonym for *Deus* III. xiv. 1 *deitatis amice*.

29. Perhaps the writer is thinking of Sedul. *Carm.* I. 32 f. *par splendor, communis apex, sociale cacumen, | aequus honor, uirtus eadem, sine tempore regnum, | semper principium, sceptrum iuge, gloria consors....* Cp. Fort. VII. x. 17 *aequalis concors, ut ab omnibus alme uoceris*.

30. *principe*] Cp. 24. 10 note. The word is chosen here because of the following *principium*. Fort. loves to set kindred or like-sounding words thus side by side, as at IV. xxi. 13 *mortua mors est*, V. vi. 1 *cum nihil uelleretur ex uellere quod carminaretur in carmine*, VI. v. 242 *iurat iure suo*, X. ix. 47 *flumina conflua*, Vit. Mart. I. 326 *inculti cultores ruricolares, | ne colerent melius sua si cultura periret* etc.

qui genus humanum cernens mersisse profundo,
 ut hominem eriperes, es quoque factus homo.
 funeris exsequias pateris, uitae auctor et orbis,
 intras mortis iter dando salutis opem.
 tristia cesserunt infernae uincula legis, 35
 expauitque chaos luminis ore premi.
 pollicitam sed redde fidem, precor, alma potestas,
 tertia lux rediit, surge, sepulte meus.

31 quo Et.

31. For the tense of *cernens* cp. Liv. XXVII. 43 *implicantes* (= *cum implicuissent*) *edocuerunt*; Tac. Ann. XII. 48 *cognoscens proditum Mithridatem uocat consilium*; and the imitation of the present passage by Notker XLI. 5 *qui cernens immersos esse barathro, tua quos adornat imago, propter nos factus es homo, ut nos solueres sanguine tuo.*

mersisse] intransitive; cp. Ambr. in Luc. IV. 51 *qui leprosus merserat, fidelis emersit*; de Myst. 21 *ille Syrus septies mersit in lege*; Fort. I. xxi. 30 *ungula mergit equi.*

profundo] a substantive, as often in this sense in the Vulgate, e.g. Is. vii. 11. Ambr.'s *profundo merserat* 7. 9 has quite another meaning.

32. 'To rescue man Thou wast even made man'; or perhaps it is a clumsy way of saying 'wast Thyself also made man.' *quoque* has lost its proper place in the clause, immediately after the word it emphasizes; here it apparently means 'even,' 'actually,' and it qualifies the following words *factus homo*. So at III. viii. 43 *tu quoque ieiunis cibus es*; V. v. 43 *nam Pater et Genitus, quoque sanctus Spiritus idem. quoque* was a literary word avoided by writers of popular Latin, and it did not survive into the Romance languages. Fort. elsewhere uses it for the simple 'and,' Vit. Germ. I. 1 *Germanus...patre Eleutherio matre quoque Eusebia...procreatus est.*

Note that *ut* is lengthened before

hominem, the *h* being reckoned as a consonant, as often in Fort. Cp. 38. 26, 28.

33. *funeris exsequias*] lit. 'the funeral procession,' here 'the rites of burial,' which is mentioned, as in the creeds and as at 32. 3, 37. 16, to shew the reality of the death of Christ.

34. *mortis iter*] Cp. 35. 6; Fort. X. vi. 38 *mors ibi perdit iter*. The phrase *dando salutis opem* recurs at Fort. VIII. xii. 8; cp. 37. 4; ib. V. v. 86 *ferat salutis opem*; X. vii. 42 *salutis opes*. For the abl. gerund see note on 21. 11.

35. *infernae...legis*] See 19 note.

36. *chaos*] 'hell,' 'the realm of darkness.' So Sedul. Carm. IV. 286 *tremuit letale chaos*; Fort. III. ix. 87 *quos habuit poenale chaos*. See 27. 3 note.

The omission of the acc. of the subject (*se*) before the inf. (*premi*) is a common usage with Fort. See Leo p. 404 and cp. 40. 17, 75. 15, 84. 16. The infin. is not = *ne premeretur*, but rather nearer *quia pressum est*.

37. Mt. xx. 19. Fort. has in mind Ov. Fast. III. 366 *pollicitam dictis Iuppiter adde fidem*, where as here the deponent is used in a passive sense: 'the promised fulfilment.'

sed is often thus used by Fort. with little or no adversative force and not first in its clause; cp. e.g. II. vii. 33 *tum mulier collegit ouans et condidit artus, | una sed famula*

non decet ut humili tumulo tua membra tegantur,
 neu pretium mundi uilia saxa premant. 40
 indignum est, cuius clauduntur cuncta pugillo,
 ut tegat inclusum rupe uetante lapis.
 lintea tolle, precor, sudaria, linque sepulcro,
 tu satis es nobis et sine te nihil est.
 solue catenatas inferni carceris umbras, 45

participante sibi. With its use in the hymn we may cp. the like use of ἀλλά in the Greek tragedians, as at Soph. *El.* 411 ὦ θεοὶ πατῶροι, συγκένεσθέ γ' ἀλλὰ νῦν.

potestas] Verg. *Aen.* x. 18 *o pater, o hominum, rerumque aeterna potestas.* Fort. often uses the word in this concrete sense; as at VIII. iii. 179 *praetexta potestas*; IX. ii. 53 *celsa potestas*; *Vit. Mart.* III. 233 *augusta potestas.*

meus] for the usual vocative *mi*, as at Ps. xxi. (xxii.) 2, Fort. VII. xii. 109 *dic homo note meus*; already used by Verg. *Aen.* VI. 835 *proice tela manu, sanguis meus*, and before him by Plaut. *Stich.* 764 *tu interim, meus oculus, da mihi sauuium.* Verg. *Aen.* I. 664 *nate meae uires, mea magna potentia solus* is similar but not identical.

39. **ut** with the subj. sometimes takes the place of the acc. and inf., see Leo p. 421. *decet stent* is found in Plautus, *decet ut* fairly often in late Latin. We find the normal construction of *decet*, Fort. IV. vi. 17 *non decet...deflare*; but cp. v. v. 2 *condecet ut semper laus tua, Christe, sonet.* For the lengthening of *ut* before *h* see 32 above.

tegantur] often so used by Fort. as at IV. v. 6, viii. 6, xviii. 6, xxviii. 6 *lapis, fulgida membra tegis*, IX. iv. 2 *cum caput orbis humo maesta sepulcra tegunt*; cp. VII. xii. 29, 47, 31. 84.

40. **pretium mundi]** 33. 28 note. **uilia saxa]** Fort. II. xiv. 22 *diuitiasque Dei uilis harena tegit.*

premant] Fort. IV. iv. 32 *non premit urna rogi.*

41. Is. xl. 12. Fort. *Laus Mariae* 141 *cuncta tegens palma sidera, rura, freta*; 39. 15 *mundum pugillo continens*; Commodian *Apol.* 114 *solet | inde pugillo suo concludere circulum orbis.* For this pushing forward of the relative clause, see the note on 38. 11.

42. Cp. Fort. III. x. 18 *et fluuium docilem monte uetante trahis.*

43. **lintea...sudaria]** 'the linen cloths' of Joh. xx. 6 f., cp. ib. xi. 44.

tolle] 'away with!' as being no longer needed.

44. **satis es]** Fort. often thus uses an adv. as a complement to *esse*; cp. e.g. III. xviii. 19 *sit tua uita diu.* This is borrowed from popular Latin, a loan taken especially by Plautus, Cicero in his Epistles, Horace in his Satires, Livy and Tacitus, and by later writers in general. Caesar says *longe abesse* but not *longe esse*, which is found in Verg. *Aen.* XII. 52. *satis*, however, is more than an ordinary adverb, being used as an adjective by Verg. *Aen.* VII. 470 *se satis ambobus Teucrisque uenire Latinisque* and other writers.

sine te nihil est] Cp. the Pentecost sequence Daniel II. 35 *sine tuo numine | nihil est in homine, | nihil est innoxium.*

45. **carceris]** Fort. XI. i. 26 *descendens ad infernum iniuriam non pertulit, quod fecit causa clementiae, uelut rex intrans carcerem, non ut ipse teneretur, sed ut noxii soluerentur.* The phrase comes from 1 Pet. iii. 19, Rev. ii. 10. Cp. 120. 35.

et reuoca sursum quidquid ad ima ruit.
 redde tuam faciem, uideant ut saecula lumen,
 redde diem, qui nos te moriente fugit.
 eripis innumerum populum de carcere mortis
 et sequitur liber, quo suus auctor adit. 50
 immaculata tuis plebs haec uegetetur in ulnis
 atque Deo purum pignus ad astra feras.
 una corona tibi de te tribuatur ab alto,
 altera de populo uernet adepta tuo.

46. The line is no mere repetition of 45; the sense is, 'restore to heaven everything else that is in danger of being lost,' as well as the spirits in prison. *ruit* may be perf., but the pres. seems more likely.

reuocare is one of Fort.'s favourite words, which he uses of restoring the dead to life (VIII. iii. 18 etc.), of restoring a church (I. xv. 41), of winning a triumph (II. xi. 17).

48. **diem**] 'the light of day.' The line is an ennobled echo of Martial VIII. xxi. 1 *Phosphore, redde diem: quid gaudia nostra moraris? Caesare uenturo, Phosphore, redde diem*; cp. also Hor. *Od.* IV. v. 5 *lucem redde tuae, dux bone, patriae*.

fugit] perfect, cp. note on 35. 2 *lauit*.

49. The reference is still to 'the harrowing of hell.'

populum] 'a multitude,' as *plebs* in 51. Fort. may be thinking of Sedul. *Carm.* IV. 3 *innumeras releuans a clade cateruas*; ib. 282 *qui dabit innumeras post funera surgere turbas*; cp. Fort. X. xi. 7 f. *ecce dies, in quo Christus surrexit ab imo, | infernae legis rumpere uincla potens, | quando et uinctorum lacrimantia milia soluit, | et reuomunt multos tartara fracta uiros*.

50. **quo...adit**] *quo* takes the place of the dat. found in Fort. I. xiii. 12 *et lapsae fabricae flos rediuiuus adit* (where Leo suggests *adest*).

51. The last four lines are in the original poem addressed to Felix,

but as used in the hymn they are of course addressed to Christ.

plebs haec] consisting of those who having been newly baptized are present for the first time at the Easter service in their white garments.

uegetetur] 'be nurtured,' cp. 29. 7. They are already 'regenerate.' Leo suggests *uectetur*, but no change is required.

in ulnis] because the newly baptized are regarded as *infantes*; cp. Is. xlix. 22 *afferent filios tuos in ulnis*; Fort. *Vit. Mart.* II. 10 *mercis onus suaue est, etsi ueheretur in ulnis*; but cp. Fort. V. vii. 3 *amplectens quem corde gero pietatis in ulnis*.

52. **purum**] as cleansed by baptism.

pignus] 'an offspring,' like the *pignora* of 30. 3, 31. 8, only here collective. The bishop, like Christ, is the spiritual father of his flock, as I. i. 18 *et gradus et pietas te dedit esse patrem*.

53. **de te**] 'won by thee,' i. e. by thy own personal merit. *de* in late Latin is often used to express the instrument or means. The earliest instance of this usage may be Plaut. *Truc.* 632 *de uento miserae condoluit caput*; a clear case of it occurs at Ov. *Trist.* III. iii. 82 *deque tuis lacrimis umida sarta dato*. Rönisch p. 392 f. gives many examples from later writers.

54. 'May another crown bloom for thee won by thy people.' The

people's salvation is the proof of their bishop's, and of their Saviour's, worth. Cp. Phil. iv. 1. *uernet* shews that the athlete's wreath of leaves is the crown here meant; cp. 7. 24 note. **adepta**] passive, as at 119. 23.

So Fort. I. xv. 34 *creuit adeptus honor*, v. iv. 4, and (the simple verb) Plaut. *Trin.* 367 *ingenio apiscitur sapientia*. Sallust, Tacitus and others use *adeptus* in passive sense.

HYMN 37

An ancient MS, a pontifical written at Fort.'s own city Poitiers and usually assigned to the VIIIth century, is the one MS authority for this hymn, which it expressly ascribes to Fortunatus: *interim canitur uersus Fortunati presbyteri ad baptizatos*. It is in every way worthy of him, and the many parallels quoted in the notes from his undoubted poems seem to prove that he was the writer.

Leo confidently pronounces it spurious. But as he did not so much as take the trouble of reading it in the ancient MS that alone contains it, it would seem that he took its later origin for granted.

It appears to have been written before Fort.'s consecration to the episcopate. His latest dated poem (X. xiv) was written in A.D. 591. See Elss p. 22.

The poet has chosen the sprightly Anacreontic metre (catalectic iambic dimeter), a metre already used by Prudentius for his *hymnus ante somnum* (*Cath.* VI), from which Hymn 26 is an extract.

Fρ

Tibi laus perennis, auctor,
baptismatis sacrator,
qui sorte passionis

1. In accordance with Fort.'s usage *perennis* is to be taken with *laus*, rather than with *auctor*, as some punctuate. Cp. II. x. 26 *laude perennis erit*; VII. v. 20 *laude perenne refert*.

auctor] used by Fort. VII. xxii. 5, 36. 33.

2. **baptismatis sacrator**] Cp. 33. 20 note.

3. 'by thy death and passion.' *sorte*, thus used in connexion with death, is one of Fort.'s characteristic words; thus he has II. v. 1 *extorquet hoc sorte Dei ueniabile signum* etc.; IV. ix. 1 *ultima sors*; xii. 1 *sors*

das praemium salutis.

nox clara plus et alma
quam luna, sol, uel astra,
quae luminum corona
reddis diem per umbram;

5

dulcis, sacrata, blanda,
electa, pura, pulchra
sudans honore mella,
rigans odore chrisma;

10

inreparabilis horae; xvi. 4 *sors rapit una uiros*; xx. 4 *sors inimica*; xxii. 3 *simili sunt sorte sepulti*; cp. xxv. 19, xxvi. 5 and 61, and 155; xxviii. 5 etc.

4. **das praemium salutis**] Cp. 36. 34 *dando salutis opem*; Fort. I. viii. 17 *praemia salutis*; II. vii. 3 f. *salutis...praemia*; II. vii. 37 *dantur modo dona salutis*; X. viii. 12 *dona salutis habent*.

5. **clara plus et alma**] i.e. *clarior et almiior*. *plus* thus used for *magis* is found Fort. IV. xvii. 10 *plus lacrimanda*; ib. xxvi. 9 *plus nexa*; VI. v. 109 *pia plus*, and often.

nox clara are placed side by side in sharp contrast, as are *diem* and *umbram* in 8. Baptisms took place late on Easter Even, and the rest of the night was spent in vigil: see Thompson *Offices of Bapt. and Conf.* p. 19.

6. Fort. constantly uses *uel* where *et* might be expected. Leo quotes among other examples IX. i. 22 *sic tibi cuncta simul, terra uel astra fauent*.

8. **reddis diem**] Cp. 36. 48 *redde diem*; Fort. X. xii a. 10 *orbato huic patri redde uidendo diem*. And for the whole line II. xvi. 69 *sacra lumen suscepit ab umbra. luminum cor.* are the lights with which the church is glowing.

9. For this truly Venantian list of epithets see the note on 33. 19 and cp. Fort. IV. iv. 21 *mansuetus, patiens, bonus, aequus, amator,*

amandus; I. xv. 103 *cara, serena, decens, sollers, pia, mitis, opima*.

dulcis] 33. 24, 35. 9, 18, Fort. III. xxii a. 7, IV. vii. 4, xiv. 10 etc., VIII. xvii. 5.

sacrata] Fort. II. xi. 1, xvi. 95.

blanda] Fort. I. xviii. 16, II. viii. 26 etc.

10. **electa**] line 30, 34. 19, II. iv. 21 *electa...pulchra* (X. vii. 27).

pura] 36. 52.

11. **sudans...mella**] comes from Verg. *Ecl.* IV. 30 *sudabunt roscida mella*; cp. Fort. VIII. iii. 270 *aut hyacintheo sudat honore manus*. The use by Fort. of *honore* amounts to a mannerism, cp. I. i. 10 *reddis honore uicem*, iii. 8 *nescit honore mori*, viii. 2 *tendit honore fides* etc. '*odor*' is an extraordinarily common word of Fort. and is used metaphorically of things of the most distinct nature' (Elss p. 25); cp. also 34. 25, 35. 11, VII. xii. 120 *suauius et recreat quam quod aroma reflat*; II. xvi. 15, III. xii. 42, xiii. 3, VI. vi. 2; *Vit. Mart.* I. 193 *mortis odore*. Does *mella*, joined with *chrisma*, allude to the milk and honey given to neophytes? Thompson *Offices of Bapt. and Conf.* p. 35 says that the custom was confined to Rome, Africa, and Egypt.

12. Fort. II. iv. 28 *ramis de cuius uitalia crismata surgunt*; IV. iv. 26 *cum sale mella rigans*; V. v. 112 *chrismatis efflat odor*; VII. xvii. 9 *puro fonte rigans nectar*.

in qua redemptor orbis
de morte uiuus exit,
et quos catena uinxit
sepultus ille soluit ;

15

quam Christus aperiuuit
ad gentium salutem,
cuius salubre cura
redit nouata plasma.

20

17 aperuit Fp.

19 salubri Fp.

For *chrisma* (spelt *crisma* at II. iv. 28 so as to fit into an acrostic), see 26. 4 note.

13. *in qua*] 'on which night.' *redemptor orbis*] Cp. 23. 15, 33. 3, 36. 27. It seems probable that Fort. intended *exit* and perhaps *redit*, as well as *soluit*, to be taken as the past tense, contracted like *redisse* 36. 16.

15. *catena*] Here, as at 36. 45 f., the reference is to the harrowing of hell.

16. *sepultus*] Cp. 36. 33 note.

17. 'Night which Christ revealed [made known] for the healing of the nations.' *aperiuuit* might also be taken in the sense of 'began,' 'opened out,' as in Claudian *de Sexto Cons. Honorii* 640 *nouum fastis aperit felicibus annum*; but the other interpretation is perhaps the simpler. I have by the smallest possible change written *aperiuuit* for *aperuit* of the MS which Fort. would never have written in this place. For this form of the perf. the Thesaurus quotes *Corp.* XI. 191 *aperierit*; and Fort. XI. xxiii. 3 scans *aperiebam*, which is perhaps a clue. Röscher p. 287 quotes similar forms *posiui*, *deposiui*, *supposiui*, *habiui*, *sapiui* etc. And for the scanning *āperiui*, cp. *patibulo* 34. 4, as well as *ālacer*, *cāmelus*, *cātholicus*, *chārisma* etc. all found in Fort.; see the note on 35. 14 *meridie*.

18. *ad gentium salutem*] Cp. Rev. xxii. 2 (Vulg.) *ad sanitatem*

gentium, (Old Latin) *in curationem gentium*.

19. *cuius* refers to *nox*; and *cura* is used in the medical sense,—perhaps with conscious reference to the passage in Rev.

salubre] Cp. Fort. v. ii. 49, VII. v. 31 *de fonte salubri*, X. x. 11. For the abl. in *-e*, used for the sake of the short final, see note on 33. 24 *dulce clauo*. It is quite like Fort. to put *salubre* almost immediately after *salutem*; cp. the note on 36. 30 *principe principium*.

20. *redit*] 'is restored' to health. Very similar are Fort. *Vit. Mart.* II. 53 *excutiturque lues...et sudibus laceros rediit cutis una per artus*; III. 528 *redeat medicata cicatrix*, and not unlike is VII. vii. 6 *te duce sed nobis hic modo Roma redit*.

nouata] 'renewed' in baptism; a Venantian word. Cp. II. xi. 8, III. xxiii. 11, VI. iii. 27, IX. xiv. 11.

plasma] 'the creation.' This word is normally neuter, as at 94. 26. But Commodian *Apol.* 311 writes: *descendit in tumulum Dominus suae plasmae misertus*. And Fort. is given to variety in his genders; writing v. v. 113 *pascha nouellum*, VIII. ix. 15 *gaudia paschae*; and he has II. xvi. 135 *misero aluo*, III. iv. 2 *tantus iubar*, IV. xxvi. 15 *ingenium mitem*; and even II. viii. 5 *est habilem de magnis magna fateri*, ib. iv. 31 *gemmantem et nobile signum*, 36. 7 note. For the word *plasma* cp. v. i. 1, v. 54

accedite ergo digni
ad gratiam lauacri,
quo fonte recreati
refulgeatis agni.

hic gurges est fidelis,
purgans liquore mentes :
dum rore corpus udat,
peccata tergit unda.

25

gaudete candidati,
electa uasa regni,

30

27 sudat Fp.

huius plasma sumus, and the note on 23. 10.

21. **accedite**] Cp. 107. 13.

digni agrees with the subject of *accedite*, like *candidati* below.

24. **agni**] 'lambs,' but perhaps not without a thought of the meaning of the Greek *ἀγνός*, 'pure,' cp. 36. 52 *purum*. As a rule Fort., with the other writers of his time, reserves *agnus* to denote Christ, as at 33. 30, 35. 4; II. iii. 6 *in cruce restituit uirginis agnus oues*, X. xiii. 3; but cp. V. iii. 23 *muniat inclusos pretiosi uelleris agnos*; III. xi. 19, IV. iii. 3, IX. ix. 13; *Sedul. Carm.* V. 413.

25 f. The use of the six words for the baptismal water, *lauacri*, *fonte*, *gurges*, *liquore*, *rore*, *unda* is quite in Fort.'s manner.

gurges] 31. 41.

fidelis] one of Fort.'s characteristic words; see 33. 22 note. Leo prints *fideles* with Luchi. But this is not the MS reading, gives an inferior construction (*est purgans = purgat*) and sense, and is less in the style of Fort.

26. **purgans**] Fort. II. ix. 92 *atque uetus uitium purgat in amne nouo*; ib. xi. 5 *pater orbis | purgavit medicis crimina mortis aquis. mentes*] 2. 30.

27. **rore** is used of the baptismal

water at 26. 3 by Prud., whom Fort. so often imitates.

udat] 'wets.' The MS reading *sudat*, which might come in from *sudans* in 11, gives a poor sense and a spondee in the third foot of the verse, whereas in the other lines this is the case only in the first foot. No mistake is more common in MSS than inserting at the beginning of a word when this begins with a vowel the final consonant of the preceding word. For the sense cp. [Damas.] LXXII. 4 *roborat hic animos diuino fonte lauacrum, et dum membra madent, mens solidatur aquis*.

28. **tergit**] 'washes away,' cp. 7. 31.

unda] 'water,' as at 33. 20, 34. 12.

29. **candidati**] 'in your white robes' of baptism; cp. Fort. III. ix. 91 *candidus egreditur nitidis exercitus undis*; IV. xxii. 5 *lotus fonte sacro prius ille recessit in albis*; V. v. 119, 136; 109. 2 *stolis albis candidi*.

30. **electa uasa**] Fort. III. xxiii. 17 *eligit in tali Christus se uase recondi*; IX. ii. 115 f. *sancto baptisate puri...stantes ante Deum uelut aurea uasa decoris*; X. vi. 31 f. Of course the poet has in mind Acts ix. 15 (cp. 13. 11 *electionis uas sacrae*).

in morte consepulti,
Christi fide renati.

31. Cp. Rom. vi. 4. From the like passage, Col. ii. 12 *consepulti ei in baptismo*, we might conjecture that the original reading in 32 was *Christo* (dative), and that this was altered to *Christi* from the idea that it was to be taken with *fide*, as Daniel iv. 159 and Dreves *Analecta*

L. 85 punctuate. *Christi*, however, would make perfectly good sense, either with *morte* or with *fide*, and perhaps would strengthen the end of the poem. *consepulti* would in that case imply *Christo* understood.

HYMN 38

The following hymn is not found in the MSS containing the collected poems of Fortunatus, but this is very far from proving that it is not his work. For in the first place the same fate has befallen 34 other poems of his, which nevertheless Leo allows to be genuine and prints at length on pp. 271-292 of his edition. Moreover hymns far more easily than any other form of literary writing were apt to go astray, seeing that in the great majority of cases they would be incorporated into the liturgical books without the writer's name. We know that Hilary and Ambrose wrote hymns which are not contained in MSS of their collected works. The fact that hymns 33-36 are exceptionally included among the poems of Fortunatus is due to the fact that they were in the first place occasional poems, afterwards used as hymns. In like manner Prudentius' hymns were a part of his poems, not being originally intended for singing in the public services of the church, and therefore, having been handed down in the MSS along with these other poems, can be certainly identified as his.

Paul the Deacon expressly states that Fortunatus wrote *hymnos singularum festiuitatum*. This Christmas hymn *Agnoscat omne saeculum* may be one of them. And Fabricius says that he found it in the second book of the

poems of Fort. in a Murbach MS, which seems no longer to be extant.

The question of the authenticity of 38 hangs with that of 39 and of the *Laus Mariae*, as it may for convenience be called, a poem consisting of 180 elegiac couplets, regarded as spurious by Leo, but printed by him p. 371 f., and until the appearance of his edition considered genuine. For a careful reader will agree with Ebert I. p. 533 note that 39 and this longer poem were written by one and the same poet, whoever he may have been. And many will go on to believe that he was no other than Fortunatus, again agreeing with Ebert, who pertinently asks: What man living within the next two hundred years was capable of assimilating his style so thoroughly? See the question worked out by G. M. Dreyes in his *Hymnologische Studien zu Venant. Fort. etc.* p. 6 f.

Then as to the intimate connexion between 38 and 39, one has only to read the two hymns one after the other in order to recognise it as at least likely. In especial cp. 38. 7 f. with 39. 9 f., 38. 11 f. with 39. 15 f., 38. 31 f. with 39. 31 f. However Ebert, who swallows the metrical faults in 39, will have it that those in 38 condemn it. But a few words will shew that the metre is not so bad after all.

1. Ebert objects to the hiatus in 14 *fructum edidit*. But Fort. VIII. viii. 1 (according to the MSS) could leave *cui* (also in thesis) unelided before *aurum*, much as Ennius had scanned *militum octo*, and Lucilius *sordidum omne*; cp. also 33. 9 *indē hostis*.

2. He objects to spondees in the second foot. But in 13 *Iese* is a foreign proper name, and with such all poets take licence; cp. the notes on 11. 2, 31. 29. And as to 16 *uirgō*, 23 *dignandō*, from the time of Juvenal final *o* was generally looked upon as short. And so Leo (p. 425)

speaking of Fort.'s usage, says *o finalis in nominatiuis nominum, uerbis et aduerbiis fere correpta*; cp. 34. 15 *dicendō*.

3. In 26 and 28 *-us* is made long by the stress of the verse and by the following *h*, cp. 36. 39 note. Such a strict metrist as Verg. *Aen.* IV. 64 could say *pectoribūs inhians*; cp. 34. 25 *fundīs aroma*.

Contrast the judgment of Clichtoveus: *Praesens hymnus iambicus est dimeter, ubique carminis illius leges exacte seruans praeter id quod in septimo uersu bis secundo loco pyrrichium habet pro iambo. Auctor eius Fortunatus episcopus.*

The hymn does not indeed rise to the supreme excellence of 33 and 34, but it is on the whole not unworthy of Fortunatus and may well have been written by him. He certainly wrote one beginning with the same line, I. xvi, an alphabetical hymn about Leontius bishop of Bordeaux; but he may have written another as well.

If he did write both 38 and 39, we are confronted with the difficulty that, whereas 39 is in almost every hymnal from the IX-X cent. onwards, 38 found its way into very few. However the same has happened in the case of several of Ambrose's hymns, e.g. 3 and 4.

4. In 9 we find *concepit* and in 27 *deiicit*, which might have been presents in Lucretius (see Lachmann on *Lucr.* II. 951), but which in this passage are certainly perfects. See the note on 35. 2 *lauit*, which is also perfect.

Ehxϕ Fsβ Ga Hcefg h Iach Vs

Agnoscat omne saeculum
uenisse uitae praemium;
post hostis asperi iugum
adparuit redemptio.

1. omne s.] No doubt a reminiscence of 6. 7.

2. uitae praemium] 'the reward

of life,' i.e. 'consisting in life': that Christ who is our life has come; cp. 8. 9 note.

Esaiās quae praecinit 5
 completa sunt in uirgine,
 adnuntiauit angelus,
 sanctus repleuit Spiritus.

Maria uentre concepit
 uerbi fidelis semine; 10
 quem totus orbs non baiulat,
 portant puellae uiscera.

radix Iese iam floruit
 et uirga fructum edidit,
 fecunda partum protulit 15
 et uirgo mater permanet.

5 cecinit Ehj. 10 uerbum Exϕ Fs Ih Vs. fideli Ga. 11 orbis
 Fs Ih. 12 portat Fs Vs. 13 om. iam Ga. 14 fructus Ex,
 fructu Vs.

3. **post...iugum**] For this pregnant use of *post*, 'after our enduring the yoke,' cp. 36. 17 note. Perhaps the cruel enemy thought of is Pharaoh, typifying Satan, though this thought is more usually connected with Easter, as in 109.

4. **adparuit**] Tit. ii. 11, iii. 4.

5. Isaiah vii. 14.

6. **in uirgine**] Cp. 14. 13 *in illo martyre*.

7. Lk. i. 35.

10. **uerbi**] the faithful word spoken to her by the angel; cp. Prud. *Apoth.* 115 f. *uerbo praestrinxit uiscera purae | uirginis et uerbo struxit puerilia membra*; Sedul. *Op.* II. 3 *puellae credentis in utero fidelis uerbi mansit adspirata conceptio*; Fort. VIII. iii. 91 *concupiente fide nullo se semine lusit*, where see the context; 31. 16, 39. 11. The variant *uerbum* would refer to Joh. i. 14.

fidelis] 33. 22, 34. 14, 37. 25.

11. **quem...**] Fort. is especially fond of thus beginning with the relative clause, the antecedent being omitted; cp. I. i. 10 *qui tibi digna dedit reddis honore uicem*; vii. 12, xvi. 23, II. v. 2, II. vii. 41 *quem*

male credebis obitu finire salutem, | dat uitam multis; VI. iv. 19 *qui sine ueste iacet, tegmen pietate ministras*; VII. xx. 3 f., xxv. 26, IX. ii. 75; 36. 41, 39. 5 f., 23 f.

orbs] = *orbis* (*terrarum*), a late form found at Fort. IX. iii. 14 *orbs quoque totus*, Vit. Mart. IV. 583, *Laus Mariae* 358. Rönisch p. 263 mentions similar syncopated nominatives, *nubs*, *saeps*, *stips*.

baiulat makes a better antithesis than, and is therefore here put for, the usual *capit*. See 31. 11 note.

12. **puellae** is thus used of the Virgin, Fort. VIII. iii. 85 *respice qui uoluit nasci se uentre puellae*, ib. 95; *Laus Mariae* 3, 67, 142, 216, 231; cp. VI. i. 99, VIII. iii. 276, iv. 4, 23.

13. **radix Iese**] Is. xi. 1, 10, Rom. xv 12, 1. 4. Prud. *Cath.* XII. 49 f. *iam flos subit Dauiticus | radice Iesse editus, | sceptrique per uirgam uirens | rerum cacumen occupat*.

Dreves and others, in order to bring an iambus into the second foot of the verse, write *radix Iesse*, omitting *iam* which is found in almost all the mss. But see intro-

praesepe poni pertulit,
 qui lucis auctor exstitit :
 cum Patre caelos condidit,
 sub matre pannos induit. 20

legem dedit qui saeculo,
 cuius decem praecepta sunt,
 dignando factus est homo
 sub legis esse uinculo.

Adam uetus quod polluit, 25
 Adam nouus hoc abluit :
 tumens quod ille deiecit,

21 saeculi Fs Vs.

27 deicit Fs Vs.

duction to this hymn. And Fort.'s way is to treat initial consonantal *i* as a consonant (as at VIII. iii. 286) or to disregard it (as at IX. ii. 27), but not to regard it as a vowel.

14. **uirga**] The poet understands the *uirga* to be Mary, and plays upon the words *uirga* and *uirgo*, cp. *Laus Mariae* 11 *uirgo haec uirga fuit, de qua est flos Christus obortus.*

fructum ed. is not in Vulg. or O. L., but it is a natural interpretation, and according to the R.V. a correct one.

16. **uirgō**] See introduction and cp. Fort. IX. vii. 30 *ibō*, 61 *scitō*, 65 *ergō*, 86 *soluō*.

17. **praesepe...pertulit**] Cp. 31. 21 f., and for the rhythm of the line Fort. I. xvi. 9 *celare se non pertulit*, and for the abl. in *e* instead of *i* 33. 24 note. Perhaps, however, the writer imitating Plautus has used the abl. not of *praesepe* but of a collateral form of the word, 'though we are not to think of a nominative *praesepes*,' Huemer *de Sedulii...scriptis* p. 26 f.; cp. Plaut. *Curc.* 228 *ad praesepem suam*; Sedul. *Carm.* II. 62 *Deus in praesepe quieuit.*

18. **exstitit**] *exstare* is often used by Fort. meaning little more than *esse*, as at VI. ia. 20, X. xi. 28 *et releuate inopes, si quis et exstat egens.*

20. **pannos**] 33. 14 note.

21. 'He who gave law to the world, whose are the ten commandments, was made man, deigning to be under the bond of the law.' For the thought of the stanza cp. *Laus Mariae* 255 *factor dans legem, factus sub lege minister*; Sedul. *Carm.* II. 38 *rerumque creator | nascendi sub lege fuit*; id. *Op.* II. 3 *prolesque siderea nascendi sub lege delituit, quae cuncta suo nasci nutu concessit.* All such passages are based upon Gal. iv. 3.

23. **dignando**] Cp. 32. 26, 42. 12, 26, 42, 104. 20. For the use of the gerund see 21. 11.

25 f. 1 Cor. xv. 45, Eph. iv. 22 *deponere...ueterem hominem.*

26. **nouus hoc**] For Fort.'s treatment of *h* see 36. 32.

27. 'What Adam by his pride (shewn in disobeying God) overthrew, Christ by His great humility raises up.' The neuter words *quod...hoc* remind us of 31. 8 *ne perderet quod condidit.* For the general sense of the two lines cp. Prov. iii. 34, Lk. i. 53, Jas. iv. 6, 1 Pet. v. 5 and other passages. Fort. VI. ii. 33 *calcauit hostes tumidos, erexit amicos*; ib. 109 *erigis abiectos.*

tumens] 'swelling with pride,' as Deut. i. 43 *tumentes superbia.* The

humillimus hic erigit.

iam nata lux est et salus,
fugata nox et uicta mors :

30

uenite, gentes, credite !

Deum Maria protulit.

word is a favourite one of disparagement with Fort. ; cp. IV. xiv. 14 *discipulus humilis, qui fuit ante tumens*, V. v. 22, VIII. iii. 290.

deiecit] perf. in spite of the short penultimate, for which cp. note on 35. 2 *laui*.

28. **humillimus**] Mt. xi. 29, Phil. ii. 8.

29. For the personal use of the abstracts cp. Fort. I. xv. 58 *illa*

utero lucem clausit; IX. ii. 43 *mortem gustante salute*; X. x. 5 *concepit uirgo salutem*; Juvenc. III. 356 *Dauidis suboles, hominum lumenque salusque*.

30. Cp. I. xv. 56 *nox ubi uicta fugit*.

31. Cp. Fort. I. xvi. 77 *uenite ciues plaudite*; V. iii. 1 *plaudite, felices populi*; 39. 32.

32. Cp. 4. 29.

HYMN 39

For the authorship of this hymn see the introduction to 38, probably written by the same poet. Here we have two cases of hiatus: in 24 and 28.

Eacdhjlsvημφ Fdhpsβ Gafm Habcdēfghi Ibdghnotv Vcs

Quem terra, pontus, aethera
colunt, adorant, praedicant,
trinam regentem machinam
claustrum Mariae baiulat.

cui luna, sol et omnia
deseruiunt per tempora,
perfusa caeli gratia
gestant puellae uiscera.

5

1. For the triple division of the elements so common in Fort. see 23. 6, 33. 21 notes.

aethera] neuter plural, as at 36. 7.

3. **trinam machinam**] see 23. 6, cp. Fort. III. vi. 52 *et Trinitatis opem machina trina sonet*. The sense is like that of 38. 11 f.

4. **claustrum**] see 6. 14. Per-

haps nowhere else is the word used so absolutely in this sense.

baiulat] see 31. 11.

6. **per tempora**] 'through their seasons'; cp. 2. 3 note, and the introduction to that hymn. *per* has here its distributive sense. *deseruiunt*, Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 91.

7. Lk. i. 26.

8. **puellae**] Cp. 38. 12 note.

mirentur ergo saecula,
quod angelus fert semina, 10
quod aure uirgo concipit
et corde credens parturit.

beata mater munere,
cuius supernus artifex,
mundum pugillo continens, 15
uentris sub arca clausus est.

benedicta caeli nuntio,
fecunda sancto Spiritu,
desideratus gentibus
cuius per aluum fusus est. 20

o gloriosa femina,
excelsa super sidera!
qui te creauit prouide,
lactas sacrato ubere.

quod Eua tristis abstulit, 25

9 mirantur Elvμ Idho Vs. 10 nuntia Gm. 11 uerbo (*pro*
aure) Id. concepit Ecdhlø Fp Ido Vs¹. 13 Maria (*pro* munere) He
Ih, muneris Ha². 15 continens Hi. 17 beata Eavμ Fdhpß
Ibgntv Vcs². 21 domina Eμ Fd² Ib. 24 lecta Ec Habc¹d¹
Igh Vcs. sacrata Ec.

12. credens] Cp. 38. 10; Fort. VIII. iii. 91 *concipiente fide*.

13. munere] 'in her office.'

14. artifex] 'creator,' cp. Heb. xi. 10 *cuius artifex et conditor Deus*; Cyp. *de Hab. Virg.* 21 *estote tales quales uos Deus artifex fecit*. Here *cuius* goes with *uentris*, not with *artifex*.

15. pugillo] Cp. 36. 41 note.

16. uentris sub arca] Cp. Fort. IV. xi. 4 *cuius semper habet pectoris arca Deum*; VII. viii. 36; *Vit. Mart.* I. 185; *Laus Mariae* 154 *infra arcam abscondens fulgida luna iubar*; *Vit. Mart.* III. 443 *quae facies, oculi, gena, pes, manus, arca, figura*. There is probably a tacit allusion to the 'ark of the covenant.'

17. benedicta] Lk. i. 28.

19. Construe *cuius per aluum desideratus gentibus* (from Hag. ii. 8, cp. Gen. xlix. 10) *fusus est*.

20. fusus est] Cp. 24. 19 note.

22. excelsa] vocative; cp. *Laus Mariae* 212 *celsa super cedros*; 319 *o decus excellens, o femina forma salutis*. Fort. takes a liberty with the *u* of *super*.

23. prouide] 91. 6, like *prudens* in Horace.

24. Cp. Fort. VIII. iii. 103 *intemerata Deum suspendit ad ubera natum, et panem caeli munere lactis alit*; 31. 23. *-to ubere* forms a violent hiatus.

25. Cp. Sedul. *Carm.* II. 30f. *sic Euae de stirpe sacra ueniente Maria uirginis antiquae facinus noua uirgo piaret*; Fort. III. ix. 99

tu reddis almo germine ;
intrent ut astra flebiles,
caeli fenestra facta es.

tu regis alti ianua,
et porta lucis fulgida :
uitam datam per uirginem
gentes redemptae plaudite.

30

26 aluo Fh¹. 28 est Ec. 29 alta El. 31 uita data Ed Iv².

quos prius Eua nocens infecerat, hos modo reddit | ecclesiae pastos ubere, lacte, sinu ; Laus Mariae 125 humano generi genuit quos Eua dolores, curauit genitus uirgo Maria tuus.

26. **germine**] Is. iv. 2 *in die illa erit germen Domini.*

27. **astra**] 'heaven,' cp. 36. 19 note.

28. Cp. *Laus Mariae* 56 *materna et puero membra fenestra fuit.* Note the hiatus.

29. **ianua** is used by Fort. of a

person III. vii. 10 *ianua fida Petrus.* Cp. Arnob. *adu. Nat.* II. 65 *hanc uitae, ut ita dixerim, ianuam;* Sedul. *Op.* v. 29 *pia genetrix... quae fuit nascentis ianua.* There is doubtless a reference to Ezek. xlv. 2.

30. **porta** is used of the Virgin *Laus Mariae* 51; 88. 1.

lucis] Cp. 38. 29 note.

31. **datam**] sc. *esse*, as 1. 64 etc.

32. See 38. 31 note; Ps. xlvi. (xlvii.) 2 *omnes gentes plaudite manibus.*

VII. FLAVIUS

HYMN 40

The most ancient authority that ascribes this hymn to Flavius is the pontifical of Poitiers, cp. introduction to 37 p. 189, in which the rubric is *uersus Flauii episcopi ad mandatum in cena Domini*. Flavius was bishop of Châlonsur-Saône and died A.D. 591.

The hymn is rhythmical, mainly based upon the accent of each word, and spondees are freely admitted into the second foot of the verse.

Ednvxφ Fehmnr̄s Gefgl Hi Im Vhs

Tellus ac aethra iubilent
in magni cena principis,
quae protoplasti pectora
uitae purgauit ferculo.

1 aether Vs. iubilant Ed Ge. 3 qui Gel. pectore Vs. 4 fercula Vs, ferculum Im.

1. For this appeal to heaven and earth cp. Ps. lxxviii. (lxxix.) 34.

aethra] 'heaven,' strictly *aetheris splendor qui sereno caeli conspicitur*, as Servius notes on Verg. *Aen.* III. 585.

2. principis] 24. 10 note.

3. protoplasti] Adam, as at 33.

4. 112. 16; cp. note on 23. 10. Adam's body is regarded as poisoned by eating of the forbidden fruit; the Eucharist is the antidote,—Ignatius' *φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν*. It is of course inexact to say that Adam's own system is purified by the food

of life given in the Eucharist, but his system as inherited by us is thus purified and healed.

4. uitae...ferculo] 'by the banquet of life,' i.e. the life-giving banquet. 'The food of life' is a reminiscence of the 'tree of life' and of the 'bread of life.' The expression is caught up in a more famous hymn (the *Verbum supernum prodiens* of Thomas Aquinas, see *Analecta* L. p. 588), line 7 *prius in uitae ferculo | se tradidit discipulis*. *ferculum* originally meant 'a charger' or 'dish,' then that which was thereon.

hac nocte factor omnium 5
 potenti sat mysterio
 carnem suam cum sanguine
 in escam transfert animae.
 a celsis surgens dapibus
 praebet formam mortalibus, 10
 humilitatis gratia
 Petri petens uestigia.
 pallet seruus obsequio,
 cum angelorum dominum
 ferendo lympham linteo 15
 cernit caeno procumbere.

6 potentis at mysterium Ed¹ Im Vh (p. ad m. Ev), potentis ac mysterii
 Gel, potentiae mysterio En (-ium Vs). 9 accisis (*pro* a celsis) Im.
 10 praebens Fe. 12 petit Fe. 13 pallens Im, debet Vs. obsequi
 Vs. 15 ferentem Fr. limpha Im. linteum Ge. 16 cena Edv.

5. **factor**] 1. 9.

6. 'in a most mighty mystery.' *sat* strengthens *potenti*, like *assai* in Italian. Cp. Is. lxiv. 9 *ne irascaris Domine satis*, 'be not wroth very sore' and many other places in the Vulg.; 104. 24. The variants shew the perplexity of copyists. The text is found in the French MSS ehn.

8. **transfert**] 'changes,'—but it is a curious use of the word. Cp. Jude 4 *gratiam transferentes in iuxuriam*.

9f. Joh. xiii. 4f. Cp. Ambr. *de Myst.* 31 *Iesus in euangelio lauit pedes discipulis suis...[Petrus] non aduertit mysterium et ideo ministerium recusauit, quod grauari humilitatem serui crederet, si obsequium Domini patienter admitteret.*

celsis] perhaps in reference to its Paschal character, as well as to the Eucharist, is in contrast with *humilitatis* in 11.

10. **praebet**] Cp. Tit. ii. 7 *te ipsum praebe exemplum*.

formam] 'a pattern,' cp. 2 Thess. iii. 9 *ut nosmet ipsos formam daremus uobis ad imitandum nos*. For

the general sense cp. Joh. xiii. 15, on which of course the line is based.

12. **petens**] 'approaching.' In late Latin this verb often loses all idea of 'seeking'; see 124. 20. Fort. uses it as a synonym of *ire*, cp. 1. vi. 16 *quacumque petit*; VIII. i. 52 *super astra petit*.

uestigia] 'the feet,' as at 34. 6; cp. 13. 13 note.

13. **seruus** is used because 'the Lord of angels' is waiting upon him (Joh. xiii. 13), and probably with a further reference to 2 Pet. i. 1. There is a like contrast *Domini... serui* at 111. 18f.

obsequio] 'at the service offered to him'; cp. Ambr. *in Luc.* v. 98 *denique [Petrus] alibi lauare sibi pedes recusat, ubi mysterium non agnoscit, dum dominico grauatur obsequio*; Juvenc. III. 609 *hominis natus sic uestra minister | obsequio solus proprio pia munera gestat*.

15. **ferendo**] = *ferentem* of some MSS; see 21. 11.

linteo] 'together with a towel,' Joh. xiii. 4. The abl. is a very loose abl. of attendant circumstance; *ac*

'permitte Simon ablui;
acta figurant mystica,
dum summus ima baiulo,
quod cinis seruet cineri.' 20

lauator toris accubat,
uerbique fauos aggerat,
quos inter hostem denotat,
necis dolos qui ruminat.

trux lupe, Iuda pessime, 25
fers agno miti basia,
das membra loris regia
quae sorde tergunt saecula.

18 figuram Im, figura Gel. 19 sumus Im. baiulat Env Im Vs
(-let Ed). 20 qui Ed. seruit Ev, seruias Vs. 22 adgregat
Fn Gl. 23 hostes Im. deuotat Vs. 24 necisque dolos Fh.
25 Iuda lupe Fe. 26 mitti Fe Vh. 27 dans Edv. rigida Vs.
28 sordes Ev Im Vs. saeculi Im Vs.

linteum of later MSS gives the same sense.

16. Note the exaggeration of 'in the mud.'

17f. The stanza contains the words of Christ to Peter.

17. 'Allow thyself to be washed,' 'consent to be washed'; the subject of the inf. (*te*) is omitted. See 38. 17.

18f. i.e. My actions, which thou understandest not (*mystica*, cp. Joh. xiii. 7), depict (are a type of) what respect mortal should render to mortal. For the general sense cp. Gal. vi. 2.

19f. is a paraphrase of Joh. xiii. 13-15.

19. *dum...bai.*] 'in carrying,' explanatory of *acta*.

ima] the water and towel, the instruments of homely work.

baiulo] Cp. 31. 11.

20. *cinis*] one who is but dust and ashes; cp. Gen. xviii. 27.

seruet is used for the compound *obseruet*.

21. *lauator*] = *qui lauerat*.

accubat] 1. 29 note.

22. lit. 'and heaps up honeycombs of the word,' i.e. 'utters much discourse as sweet as honey.' The metaphor is a very common one, cp. e.g. Ps. xviii. (xix.) 10, Prov. xvi. 24, Cant. iv. 11, Ambr. in Ps. cxviii. xiii. 23, xiv. 24 *fauos ore fingere, mella ore componere*; Ennod. *Epist.* XIII. *dum fauos loqueris*; Fort. VII. i. 19 *aedificas sermone fauos*; VII. vii. 74 *construis ore fauos*.

23. *quos inter*] i.e. in the course of these words.

hostem] viz. Judas, Joh. xiii. 21 f.

24. *ruminat*] 'is plotting.' The word in this sense is only ante- and post-classical. Vergil and others use it in its literal sense of cattle chewing the cud.

26. Mt. xxvi. 48 f.

27. *loris*] 'to the thongs' that bound Him.

28. *tergunt*] Cp. 7. 31, 37. 28.

nexi soluuntur hodie
carnis ac cordis carcere; 30

unguen sacratur chrismatis:
spes inde crescit miseris.

uictori mortis inclitam
pangamus laude gloriam,
cum Patre et sancto Spiritu 35
qui nos redemit obitu.

29 nexis Eφ Gl. 30 cordis ac carnis Fn (cordis a carnis Fe). a (*pro*
ac) Fh Im. 31 unguens Fe Im, unguem Ev, unguentum En Gl
(-to Vs), tingens Ed. sacri Vs, sacrantur Im, sacratus Vh. crismate Ed.
32 unde Ev Fn. crescat Ev, datur En Gl. 33 inclita Gefl Vs,
inclito En Fe Gg. 34 laudem Im, laudis Vs. Christe (*pro* l.) Fe.
35 ac (*pro* et) Ed Vs.

29. **hodie**] 'on this day,' when the absolutions were pronounced on those who had undergone penance during Lent.

30. **carnis...carcere**] 'from the imprisonment to which flesh and heart were consigned';—'flesh' because the penance partly consisted in fastings and other bodily mortifications. *cordis* is probably chosen, rather than some other word, for the sake of the alliteration, and refers to the humiliation of the soul. For a comparison of the peni-

tential discipline to imprisonment, see Cypr. *Ep.* LV. 20.

31. Cp. 27. 32; Lact. *Phoen.* 119 *unguine balsameo*; Fort. v. v. 103 *hinc oleare ouium perfunditur unguine uellus*.

chrismatis is the identical gen. See 26. 4.

33. **inclitam** is used as at 92. 16; cp. also 89. 19, 104. 15, 126. 3.

34. **pangamus**] Cp. 33. 1.

36. Imitated from 31. 88.

obitu] 'by His death.'

VIII. ANONYMOUS HYMNS

THE EARLIER HYMNAL

HYMN 41

We now come to the second class of hymns, those of which the writers are no longer known by name. These, as might be expected, are many more in number than those which can with any degree of certainty be ascribed to a particular writer.

Daniel IV. 28 quotes a passage from Ambrose which the writer of 41 clearly had in mind: *in Ps. CXVIII. viii. 45 f. docet te propheta quomodo teneas Dominum Iesum. media nocte, inquit, surgebam ad confitendum tibi. Ib. 47 tempus est poenae...non enim otiose Dominus Deus noster, cum posset quocumque momento primitiua Aegyptiorum extinguere, hoc tamen tempus dolori et luctui peccatoris opportunius iudicavit. sic enim scriptum est, quia media nocte primogeniti Aegyptiorum liberi ab exterminatore sint interempti. Ib. 49 non otiose Paulus apostolus et Silas trusi in carcerem, media tamen nocte surgebant mentis uestigio, exorabant Dominum et laudis sacrificium deferebant, ideoque ubi non defuit deuotionis officium, adfuit etiam absolutionis remedium. subito enim media nocte terrae motus factus est grandis, ita ut mota essent fundamenta carceris, ualuae apertae, omnium uincula soluta. Ib. 52 solet sponsus media nocte uenire: caue ne te dormientem inueniat, caue ne facem tuam non queas somnolentus accendere.*

As to the use of the hymn Caesarius of Arles writes: *alia nocte ad primum nocturnum dicendum est Mediae noctis tempus est*; i.e. in alternation with 42 *Rex aeterne Domine*; cp. Blume *Cursus* p. 37. And with this agrees

the witness of the older hymnals, but X/XI cent. MSS appoint it for Nocturn in Lent.

It will be observed that this hymn differs metrically from all that have preceded it in this volume. Most of them have been guided by the rules of classical prosody, though those rules have been freely dispensed with from time to time, especially under the influence of the accentuation of the words. The present hymn pays little regard even to accent, none to quantity. It can begin a line with *mediae* or *obuiam*, and end one with *peccatorum* or *mereamur*. To cut the words into lines of eight syllables each is almost the only law by which the writer is governed.

As to the writer: Niceta, Bishop of Remesiana in Dacia, was a writer of hymns, though no complete collection of them has come down to us. He also composed two tractates, which we possess, *de Vigiliis* and *de Bono Psalmodiae*. What if the hymn *Mediae noctis tempus est* should be one of his hymns, composed for singing in the vigils for which he contended so strongly? in the night seasons which he declares to be *hymnis lectionibusque fecundas* (p. 56, ed. Burn)? It is true that the arguments for observing midnight as a time for prayer and praise are not identical in the hymn and the tractate;—but in both stress is laid on the ‘prophetic’ passage, Psalm cxviii. 62 (p. 60), and in both the example of Paul and ‘Sileas’ is referred to. The Trinitarian doctrine of the hymn is that of Niceta: see p. 37 *perfectam Trinitatem adorantes*, and *fides integra Trinitatis*; cp. p. 13 where the Nicene *de substantia Patris* is discussed. The phrase *Patri ingenito*, contrasted with (*Filio*) *unigenito*, belongs rather specially to the age of Niceta; cp. Burn pp. 20, 39. Particular turns of expression and choice of words in the hymn may be illustrated from Niceta. Its very first

words may recall *nox ecce est caligo corporis*, p. 55. In lines 17, 18 *flebat fortiter* is like *fortiter canens*, p. 71; *funera* is like *quae et qualia eis funera manerent* (ib.); while *tantorum* = *tot* is frequent in Niceta: see p. 11 *tantarum rerum immensitatem*; p. 35 *haec tanta ac talia*; p. 61 *haec et huiusmodi tanta et talia*; p. 78 *cum tantis ac talibus sanctis*. The combination *uigilemus sobrie* in 37 is of course biblical, but Niceta not only quotes the passages (pp. 63, 64); he insists very emphatically upon the sobriety of the Christian's vigil, p. 66. With *conlaudantes* in 44 cp. *conlaudo eos*, p. 68.

If Niceta was the author of the *Te Deum*, lines 3 f. and 46 would run naturally from his pen. The thought of the *uincula peccatorum* in 47 occurs on p. 39 *uincula serpentina, quae stringunt animas hominum*, etc. The phrase *sancte credentium* in 48 may be a reminiscence of Jude 20, but Niceta is fond of expressions like *professio sancta*, p. 13; *omnia pie intellegenda sunt*, p. 16; *fideliter uenerando* and *honorificent integre Trinitatem*, p. 36; *pia confessio in Deum*, p. 40. In 51 f. *ut mereamur...concinere* is a somewhat common kind of phrase, but we may compare *quo adiutus a Domino...canere possis et tu aliquando merearis dicere*, etc., p. 58. From p. 80 *chori concinentis* and its context, it may be supposed that *concinere* in 52 has its proper meaning of 'singing in concert.'

Eo Fsψ Hbdr INn Mafk Vrs

Mediae noctis tempus est :
prophetica uox admonet

r medium Maf, media Vr. tempore Eo Hr Ma.

1. **tempus est** is shewn to be the original text by the agreement in wording of the quotation by Caesarius with the oldest MSS. *tempore* would come from line 41.

2. 'The voice of the prophet' is

that of the Psalmist; the reference is to Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 62. *propheta* is used of David at 50. 36, 62. 8, 66. 10, 82. 6, cp. Mt. xiii. 35, Acts ii. 39, and very often in Niceta.

dicamus laudes ut Deo
 Patri semper ac Filio,
 sancto quoque Spiritui; 5
 perfecta enim Trinitas
 uniusque substantiae
 laudanda semper nobis est.
 terrorem tempus hoc habet,
 quo, cum uastator angelus 10
 Aegypto mortes intulit,
 deleuit primogenita.
 haec hora iustis salus est,
 quos ibidem tunc angelus
 ausus punire non erat, 15
 signum formidans sanguinis.

3 domino (*pro* ut deo) Eo Hr Mafk Vr. 4 *om.* ac Vr. et Mafk.
 7 quoque (*pro* -que) Vr. 8 laudando Mf. 9 terrorum Hbd Vrs.
 (*pro hoc uersu*) medium (mediae) noctis tempore Mafk. 10 quod Fs Hd²
 In Vs. quocumque Hr. pergens (*pro* quo cum) Mafk. 11 mortem
 Hbdr¹ I⁸n Vrs. 12 delet Eo¹, diluit Mafk. 13 iustis
 hora Fs Hbd I⁸n Vs. 14 et quos idem I⁸, in quos idem In, in qua
 idem Fs Hb Vs, in quo hisdem Hd. 15 puniri Hbd I⁸ Vr.
 16 signi Mf.

6. **perfecta Trinitas**] see 1. 60 note. Cp. Niceta *de Spir. S.* 22 *perfectam Trinitatem adorantes.*

7. **substantiae**] used in the Vulgate of Heb. i. 3, iii. 14 etc. to represent the *ὑπόστασις* of the Greek. Here it is, of course, to be taken in the sense which it bears, for instance, in the *Quicumque uult.*

9 f. Exod. xii. The variant *terrorum* is perhaps the original, as being more difficult, and may be defended by such passages as Plaut. *Poen.* 642 *boni de nostro tibi nec ferimus nec damus*; *Most.* 1017 f. *mecum ut ille hic gesserit, | dum tu hinc abes, negoti?* Ter. *Phorm.* 709 *ante brumam autem noui negoti incipere*; Fort. VI. v. 168 *si uenit, ipsa mihi nuntiet aura boni*; id.

Append. IV. 6 quando uel unde tui nuntiet aura boni; *Mulomed. Chir.* p. 87. 5 *infunditur anacallidis tritae*; 175. 16 *admisceto mellis quam optimi*; 180. 16 *sumito turis boni.* It must be owned, however, that *terroris* would be more natural in this sense than the plural.

10. **quo**] 'at which.'

12. **primogenita**] neuter, as at Ps. cxxxiv. 8, because 'all the first-born of beasts' were smitten, as well as of men, Exod. xi. 5.

13 f. Exod. xii. 23 f., cp. 109. 9 f.

14. **ibidem**] i.e. in Egypt.

15. **ausus...non erat**] 'did not dare.' For the force of the pluperf. see 95. 10 note.

17. Exod. xii. 30. *Aegyptus* stands for 'the Egyptians,' as at

Aegyptus flebat fortiter
tantorum dira funera,
solus gaudebat Israhel,
agni protectus sanguine. 20

nos uerus Israhel sumus;
laetamur in te, Domine,
hostem spernentes et malum
Christi defensi sanguine.

ipsum profecto tempus est,
quo uoce euangelica 25
uenturus sponsus creditur,
regni caelestis conditor.

occurrunt sanctae uirgines

18 natorum Eo Fs Hbdr² Vs, tantarum Mafk. diro funere IN Vr.
21 uero Hbdr. 22 laetamur Eo Fψ Hbd²r In. 23 hostes Fs
Hb Vs. immanem (*pro* et malum) Hd In, immanes Fs Hb Vs. hostem
prosternentes malum Mafk. 24 redempti Vr. 25 (*pro hoc iterum*
uersu) medium (mediae) noctis tempore Mafk. 26 per uocem -am Mk.
om. quo Maf. 29 occurrent Hd¹ Mafk.

Ps. civ. (cv.) 38; so *Iudaea* for the Jews 1. 52 note, cp. *Israhel* in 19.

fortiter] 'loudly,' 'bitterly'; cp. Jud. viii. 1 *iurgantes fortiter*; Dan. v. 7 *exclamauit...fortiter*; Niceta de Psalmod. 4 *in cithara...fortiter canens*.

18. **tantorum**] 'so many,' a late usage, the first traces of which we find in Propert. 1. v. 10 *milia quanta*. It became common, cp. e.g. Joh. vi. 9 *sed haec quid sunt inter tantos?* Fort. XI. ix. 7 *portitor ad tantos missus non sufficit unus*. See the references to Niceta in the *Intro.*

21. **uerus Israhel**] 'the true Israel,' answering to St Paul's phrase 'the Israel of God,' Gal. vi. 16, cp. Rom. ii. 28, ix. 6.

23. 'and we laugh to scorn our malicious enemy,' viz. the devil, cp. 5. 27 etc. The use of the present

participle in the sense of a finite verb is very common, see e.g. Leo's *Fortunatus* p. 411. No hymn writer would shrink from using *spernentes* = *spernimus*. *et* (like *ut* in 3) is out of place, as often in late poets, cp. Fort. VI. i. 42 *molliter incumbens et inhaesit flamma medullis*. It was no doubt the difficulty caused thereby that made some of the later copyists substitute *immanem* for *et malum*.

25. **profecto**] 'moreover,' here used as a particle of transition to another point; cp. its use at 14. 26 note.

26f. Mt. xxv. 1 f., especially 6.

27. **uenturus**] sc. *esse* which is usually omitted with the future, often with the past, participle.

28. There is a reference to the first words of the parable, 'the kingdom of heaven,' Mt. xxv. 1.

29. **sanctae** is contrasted with *stultae* in 33.

obuiam tunc aduentui, 30
gestantes claras lampadas,
magno laetantes gaudio.

stultae uero remanent,
quia stinctas habent lampadas,
frustra pulsantes ianuam 35
clausa iam regni regia.

quare uigilemus sobrie
gestantes mentes splendidas,
aduenienti ut Iesu
digni curramus obuiam. 40

noctisque mediae tempore
Paulus quoque et Sileas,
Christum uincti in carcere
conlaudantes, soluti sunt.

- 31 claras gestantes Mfk. 33 at st. Fs Hbd In Vs, quae st. Vr².
34 quae exstinctas *omnes exc.* Vr. 35 ianuas Hb IN, ianua Mfk.
36 iam clausa Mfk, clausam i. r. ueniam Ma. 37 peruigilemus Eo
Fψ Hr. 38 stantes Maf. *om.* mentes Vr. mente splendidi Ma.
splendide Mfk. 39 adueniente Eo¹ Fψ Ma Vr, aduentui Hd.
40 digne IN. occurramus Eo Fψ Hr Mfk. 41 mediae noctis Mk,
medium noctis Maf, media nocte Vr. 44 laudantes resoluti Ma
(laudando res. Mfk).

31. Cp. 120. 46.

33. *stultae* is a trisyllable to be scanned *istultae*; see Index.

34. *quia* is to be regarded as a monosyllable, as at Fort. II. xv. 8.

stinctas is a rare and poetical form, and has been ousted except in the most ancient MS by the better known *exstinctas*, which might and would come from the Vulgate of Mt. xxv. 8 *quia lampades nostrae exstinguuntur*. It is used by Lucr. I. 667 *ignes in coctus stingui*. In our hymn elision is unlikely in view of the several instances of hiatus in 39, 42, 43, 53.

36. *regia*] 'the palace,' as at 27. 5.

37. *uigilemus* is to be scanned

uig'lemus, as it was probably pronounced by the vulgar tongue. Cp. Ital. *vegliare*, Fr. *veiller*. So *mediae* in 41 is a dissyllable, *medjae*.

For *uigilemus sobrie* cp. 20. 7 and the introduction to this hymn.

38. The epithet *splendidas* is of course chosen with reference to the *lampades* in the previous stanzas, but we may compare Ecclus. xxx. 27 *splendidum cor*; Hor. Od. IV. vii. 21 *splendida Minos | fecerit arbitria*.

40. Cp. 104. 46.

41 f. Acts xvi. 25 f.

42. *Sileas*] a by-form of *Silas*. See the critical notes to Wordsworth-White *Vulgate Acts xv. 22* etc.; cp. Niceta *de Vigiliis* 7 (p. 63, ed. Burn) *Paulus et Sileas in custodia*

nobis hic mundus carcer est ; 45
 te laudamus, Christe Deus ;
 solue uincla peccatorum
 in te sancte credentium.
 dignos nos fac, rex hacie,
 uenturi regni gloria, 50
 aeternis ut mereamur
 te laudibus concinere.
 gloria Patri ingenito,
 gloria unigenito,
 simul cum sancto Spiritu 55
 in sempiterna saecula.

45 mundus hic IN. 48 Christe Fψ. 50 futuri IN. gloriae
 Hbdr¹ IN. 51 aeternas Fs Hbd In Vs. 52 tibi laudes Fs Hbd
 In Vs.

*publica circa medium noctis orantes
 hymnum audientibus uinctis dixisse
 memorantur ; ubi repente...omnium
 uincla sunt soluta.*

45. Cp. 40. 30 note.

46. Cp. line 22 and the first words of the *Te Deum*. In later hymns such indicatives were often toned down into subjunctives.

47. Cp. Prov. v. 22 *funibus peccatorum suorum constringitur* ; Sac. Greg. p. 123 (ed. Wilson) *et quos delictorum catena constringit, miseratio tuae pietatis absoluat.*

48. **sancte**] Probably *sancte* here is an adverb, qualifying *credentium*, rather than a vocative. Cp. Niceta *de Ps. Bono 13 Deum... humiliter sancteque laudauerint.*

49. **hacie**] see 44. 17, 84. 21. Perhaps the use of this word came

the more easily because it seems to have been retained in the 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' even in Latin-speaking communities : see *Passio S. Perpet.* § 12.

50. **uenturi regni** no doubt refers to the petition in the Lord's Prayer, *adueniat regnum tuum*, cp. 44b. 3, though we find in Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 627 *uenturi...aeui*. Blume reads *futuri* with the Bangor Antiphonary ; but this may have been a gloss in the first place, or the scribe may not have seen the full meaning of *uenturi*.

gloriae is perhaps the original, a gen. being sometimes found with *dignus*, cp. 1. 15 note.

51. 'that we may be permitted' etc. ; see 4. 8 note.

HYMN 42

The first thing that strikes us in this ancient hymn is the number of lines defective in metre. In view of them Bede's words,—(Keil *Gramm. Lat.* VII. 259) *quomodo et ad instar iambici metri pulcherrime factus est hymnus ille*

praeclarus Rex aeterne Domine,—seem somewhat strange. But at any rate the first line, which seems to us defective, stood as it does now long before Bede's time. Caesarius gives the first words as *Rex aeterne domine*.

Caesarius and Aurelian of Arles prescribe the hymn *die dominica ad primos nocturnos*, Caesarius adding the rubric *alia nocte ad primum nocturnum dicendum est Mediae noctis tempus est*. See Blume *Cursus* p. 37. Originally it was written to commemorate the whole redeeming work of Christ; but from the Xth century onwards the first seven stanzas were taken by themselves to form an Easter hymn, for which purpose they are not especially suited.

The hymn seems indeed to fall into two parts. In the first seven stanzas one or another case of *qui* constantly recurs: in the following stanzas *tu* (*tibi, te*) takes its place. Did these first seven stanzas originally constitute a separate hymn, which was added to in the early hymnal, but adopted by itself in the later one as an Easter hymn?

It will be observed that the first seven contain not one spondee in the fourth foot, the others two or three, in 37, 49 and perhaps 53. Would Bede have thought nothing of this? Also st. VIII joins on rather abruptly to st. VII, with its introductory *nam*.

Aefg (*a uersu* 45) E^Nadgos η μ Fhmrsu ψ Gam Hdk Ibhmov Vs

Rex aeterne Domine,
rerum creator omnium,

1 sempiterne (*pro aet.*) Vs.

1. Perhaps we should with Daniel read *O rex*, laying the blame on the rubricator of the archetype. If not, we must presumably resolve the

diphthong in *aet.* into two syllables, and likewise in *saecula* (v. 3).

2. **creator**] Cp. the note on 1. 8 *factor*.

qui es ante saecula
 semper cum Patre Filius ;
 qui mundi in primordio 5
 Adam plasmasti hominem,
 cui tuae imaginis
 uultum dedisti similem ;
 quem diabolus deceperat,
 hostis humani generis, 10
 cuius tu formam corporis
 adsumere dignatus es,
 ut hominem redimeres,
 quem ante iam plasmaueras,
 et nos Deo coniungeres 15
 per carnis contubernium.

3 eras Ed Hd²k Ib² Vs¹. 7 cuius Hk. imagini Ead¹η Fhm Gm
 Ihv Vs, imagine Eμ¹ (tu -ne Hk), imaginem Es. 9 satanas (*pro*
 diab.) Hd². 11 cui Iv. 13 redemeris E^{no} Fψ Hk. 15 ut E^N.

3. **es**] Perhaps we should with later MSS read *eras*, or possibly [*man*]es, as in Hilary *Hymn.* I. 1. Cassander's *es et* seems to be due to his own conjecture.

ante saecula] 1. 8.

5. **in primordio**] 'in the beginning,' cp. 73. 3. The word is very rare in the singular. Lucretius and others use it in the plural, but not so freely as *exordia*.

6. **plasmasti**] 'didst fashion'; derived from πλάσσειν through πλάσμα, found in the Vulgate at Job x. 8 *manus tuae plasmauerunt me* etc.; Ambr. *de Parad.* 5 *quem plasmauerat*; Prud. *Apoth.* 864 *plasmasse...corporis effigiem*; Fort. v. vi. 3 *plasmata est Eua*. See 23. 10 note; Rönsch 253.

7 f. Gen. i. 27. *cui* is a dissyllable as at 4. 25 note.

imaginis is the gen. after *similem*.

9. Gen. iii. 1 f. *diabolus* is a trisyllable: this pronunciation accounts for the form of the word found in Commodian and other

writers, *zabulus*. See Rönsch p. 457, 41. 37 note.

deceperat] 'ruined,' 'destroyed,' the usual meaning of the word in late Latin; cp. Juvenc. II. 598 *conciliis trucibus conclamant decipiendum*; C. I. L. v. 3372 *patri incomparabili decepto a Daciscis in bello*; C. I. L. IX. 5012 *hic est Simplicius, nam funere mersus acerbo...praecclarus studiis, primis deceptus in annis*. See Löfstedt *Spätl. Studien* p. 72. Cp. Ambr. *Hex.* v. 62 *eo quod primus amor fefellerit eam dilecti morte deceptam*; Aug. *Conf.* x. 46 *scis Esau lenticulae concupiscentia deceptum*.

Between 10 and 11 two MSS, Ed and Hk, insert the two couplets following,—*per pomum ligni uetiti | mortis propinans poculum. | quique clausus in tenebris | gemebat in suppliciiis*.

11. Cp. 36. 32.

16. **contubernium**] an instance of a word ennobled by its religious use. To a Roman ear it generally meant

quem editum ex uirgine
 pauescit omnis anima,
 per quem nos resurgere
 deuota mente credimus.

20

qui nobis per baptismata
 donasti indulgentiam,
 qui tenebamur uinculis
 ligati conscientiae.

qui crucem propter hominem
 suscipere dignatus es,
 dedisti tuum sanguinem
 nostrae salutis pretium.

25

19 et nos Ibv, omnes Vs.

24 conscientia ENs Ga Hk Io.

either companionship in a military tent or the so-called marriage of slaves. But cp. Wisd. viii. 3 [*sapientia*] *contubernium habens Dei*: so this line means 'by Thy dwelling among men.' Perhaps the writer is thinking of Joh. i. 14 *καὶ ὁ λόγος... ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν*.

18. **pauescit o. a.**] Cp. Phil. ii. 10 f.

19. Probably *quem* is to be scanned as a dissyllable. See an interesting tract by A. M. Harmon, 'The Clausula in Ammianus Marcellinus,' in which he shews that *u* may count as a syllable in the combination *qu-*; that, out of 71 clausulae of Ammian in which a word containing *qu-* appears, the *u* counts as a syllable in 35 of these, while in 36 it does not; and that the relative pronoun is oftener a dissyllable than a monosyllable. Thus we have I. vii. 5 *relaturi quae audirent*; I. xcvi. 3 *iste quem uidemus*. In accordance with these facts we find *reliquiis* and *aquã*; cp. Lachmann's *Lucretius* p. 305, Munro on *Lucr.* I. 560, Ritschl on *Plaut. Trin.* 14, Lindsay *Lat. Language* p. 87. See also the note on *cui* 4. 25.

21 baptismum ENas η Gam Hd^{lk}.

nos resurgere] 'that we shall rise again.' We should according to rule have the future, but *resurrecturos* would be a cumbersome word and could not be fitted into the verse. Both in ante- and post-classical Latin the present inf. is freely used for future events after *credo* and like verbs; cp. 89. 18, *Fort. Vit. Mart.* I. 343 *credit stare*. The present tense gives a more general sense: 'we believe in our rising again.'

20. **deu. mente**] 'devoutly'; the *mente* is on its way to become the adverbial *-ment, -mente*, of the Romance languages.

21. If we read *baptismum, qui* again will be dissyllabic; but *baptismata* of the later mss is probably right. The plural is peculiar, but is used by *Fort. Vit. Mart.* II. 187 *ac sua perdiderint baptismata crimine mersi*; *Ambr. in Luc.* I. 35 *baptismata populis frequentata*. It seems to mean baptism as applied to each penitent in succession; cp. *Heb.* vi. 2 *baptismatum doctrinae*.

22. **indulgentiam**] 'pardon,' as at 86. 11, 94. 24.

24. **conscientiae**] 'a bad conscience,' 'consciousness of guilt,' as at 98. 5.

nam uelum templi scissum est
 et omnis terra tremuit, 30
 tu multos dormientium
 resuscitasti, Domine.
 tu hostis antiqui uires
 per crucem mortis conterens,
 qua nos signati frontibus 35
 uexillum fidei ferimus.
 tu illum a nobis semper
 repellere dignaueris,
 ne umquam possit laedere
 redemptos tuo sanguine. 40
 qui propter nos ad inferos
 descendere dignatus es,

29 nam et Hk.
 conteris Eo Fψ (-es Vs).
 38 dignaberis Ed.

31 tunc multis Eo Fψ.
 35 signasti Hk.

34 crucis morte Hk.
 37 semper a n. Vs.

26. **suscipere**] Cp. 32. 18, Lact. *Diu. Inst.* IV. xix. 11 *nisi...illam crucem portandam patiendamque suscepit*. The word is perhaps chosen with reference to Christ's own words Mt. xvi. 24 *tollat crucem*.

28. **pretium**] see 33. 28 note, 1 Cor. vi. 20, vii. 23. At this point the hymn ends in all but the early MSS.

29. Mt. xxvii. 51, 1. 43.

nam] 'moreover,' 'then,' used as a mere particle of transition to another point, as at Fort. IX. x. 13. We find it with almost the adversative force of 'but,' 'whereas,' at Commodian *Apol.* 256 *sicut erat scriptum, quod aues sua tempora norunt, | nam populus iste non me intellexit adesse*; Fort. IV. xxvi. 30 *forma perit hominum, nam benefacta manent*; VII. vii. 14.

31. For the repeated *tu* in this and the following lines cp. note on 1. 3.

32. **resuscitasti**] Cp. 1. 24, 56. 13, 104. 8.

33. **hostis antiqui**] the *serpens*

antiquus of Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2. Often in Bede.

34. **crucem mortis**] 'the cross of death,' i.e. on which Thou didst die. **conterens**] in fulfilment of Gen. iii. 15 *ipsa conteret caput tuum*; cp. Rom. xvi. 20 *Deus...conterat Satanam*.

35. Cp. 26. 7 note.

36. **uexillum**] 'the ensign,' 6. 15 note, 26. 11, 34. 1 note, Victor Vitensis *Hist. Persec.* I. 43 *cuius cum diu ac saepius tibias torquendo tinnientibus constringerent [h]ordis et frontem, in qua Christus uexillum suae fixerat crucis*.

38. **dignaueris**] 'do Thou deign,' perf. subjunctive. The active form *digno* is rare, but used by some early and late writers. As however the deponent *dignor* is used in lines 12, 26 and 42 of this hymn, perhaps we should here read *dignaberis*. The future indicative may have seemed strange to copyists, but would be like such phrases as Ps. xi. (xii.) 8 *tu Domine seruabis nos*.

40. Cp. Rev. v. 9, *Te Deum* 20.

ut mortis debitoribus
 uitae donares munera.
 tibi nocturno tempore 45
 hymnum deflentes canimus,
 ignosce nobis, Domine,
 ignosce confitentibus.
 quia tu testis et iudex es,
 quem nemo potest fallere, 50
 secreta conscientiae
 nostrae uidens uestigia.
 tu qui nostrorum pectorum
 solus inuestigator es,
 tu uulnerum latentium 55
 bonus adsistis medicus.
 tu es qui certo tempore
 daturus finem saeculi,
 tu pro cunctorum meritis
 iustus remunerator es. 60

43 morti Vs, mortem Fψ Hk. 44 donaris E^No Hk. 45 matutino
 (*pro* noct.) Aefg E^N Vs. 49 q. ipse es (est Af) t. et i. Af Vs, q. tu ipse
 t. et i. es Fs (*om.* es Eo), q. tu ipse t. es et i. es Hk. 52 nostra E^N Fψ
 (-am Vs). 53 *addidi* qui. peccatorum Hk. 56 assiste Eo¹,
 assistens Eo². 58 saeculo Fψ. 59 *addidi* pro. et tu Vs.

43. **mortis debitor** is a variation of the usual *reus mortis* of Mt. xxvi. 66, 105. 18, 30 etc.

44. **munera**] 'the gift,' plural.

45. At this point some of the Ambrosian MSS begin a new hymn.

46. **deflentes**] Cp. 31. 38 note.

49. **quia**] a monosyllable, as at 41. 34.

testis] Rev. i. 5, iii. 14; but here it seems to mean that Christ is an eyewitness of all that men do.

52. **uestigia**] 'the lowest depths'; as Ambr. in *Ps.* xxxix. 2 *animi nostri interiora uestigia*.

53. Should we read *peccatorum* with later MSS, or *tu qui nostrorum pectorum*, or possibly *tu,*

tu? *qui* would easily drop out after *tu. inuestigator* (Prov. xi. 27) goes well with either *pectorum* or *peccatorum*. The spondee in the fourth foot would not stand alone in *this* part of the hymn.

55. **uulnerum**] Cp. 66, 19. 16 note.

56. **adsistis**, as at 65. 4, has some of its later sense of 'assisting.' The title of the *bonus medicus* probably comes from Mark ii. 17 and parallels, influenced by John x. 11.

59. Perhaps we should read *tu pro cunctorum meritis*; cp. 85. 11 f. *reddens uicem pro abditis | iustisque regnum pro bonis*; 86. 15 *non pro reatu puniat*. For the sense cp.

te ergo, sancte, quaesumus,
 ut nostra cures uulnera,
 qui es cum Patre Filius
 semper cum sancto Spiritu.

2 Cor. v. 10, Heb. xi. 6, Rev.
 ii. 23.
 [meritis] 'deserts,' whether good
 or bad.

61. sancte] Cp. 32. 18 note.

62. cures] 'cure,' 'heal.' It is

more than doubtful if the word
 ever bears this meaning in classical
 writers, except Liv. XXI. 8 *dum*
uulnus ducis curaretur, and even
 this may mean 'while...was being
 treated.' Cp. *cura* in 37. 19.

HYMN 43

The sense of 43, which is handed down in just three IXth century MSS, is difficult and the grammar abnormal. This difficulty seems to have arisen from the misplacement of the lines, for on a re-arrangement it disappears, and the hymn runs smoothly.

[The lines as given in Blume *Cursus* 113 read thus:

*Tempus noctis surgentibus,
 laudes Deo dicentibus
 Christo Iesuque Domino
 in trinitatis gloria,
 choro sanctorum psallimus,
 ceruices nostras flectimus
 uel genua prosternimus
 peccata confitentibus.
 oremus Deo iugiter,
 uincamus in bono malum,
 cum fructu paenitentiae
 uotum perenni reddere.
 Christum rogemus et patrem
 sanctum patrisque spiritum,
 ut det nobis auxilium,
 uincamus hostem inuidum.*

Perhaps the transposition is less effective in removing difficulties than Mr Walpole thought.]

The hymn *In matutinis surgimus* is a Mozarabic recasting of 43. Daniel I. 3 takes it from Thomasius, who in turn exactly copies the inferior text of the breviary of Ortiz of 1502. Blume prints it more correctly from the Xth century MS, Madrid 1005 hh 60, *Analecta* XXVII. 71.

Eo Faψ

Tempus noctis surgentibus,
 laudes Deo dicentibus,
 Christo Iesuque Domino
 peccata confitentibus,
 in Trinitatis gloria 5
 chorus sanctorum psallimus,
 ceruices nostras flectimus
 uel genua prosternimus.

oremus Deo iugiter, 10
 ut det nobis auxilium,
 uincamus hostem inuidum,
 uincamus in bono malum.

2 laudis Fa. 3 Christi Fa. 6 choro Faψ. 9 deum Eo.
 12 bonis Fa.

1. 'Rising at night-time.' *tempus* is hardly to be distinguished from *tempore*, which would stand here in a classical writer; cp. 55. 10 *quod*, 'at which,' 60. 4 *uenturam noctem*.

surgentibus, *dicentibus* (in 2), *confitentibus* (in 4) are abl.'s absolute, though they refer to the subject of the finite verbs *psallimus* etc.; cp. 33. 17 note. The *confitentibus* might have the same construction at the end of stanza II, though to us it seems more harsh to return to the odd construction after once getting clear of it.

3. *-que* is misplaced, as at 34. 24, and comes in most awkwardly, if we keep the MS order of the lines. In the proposed rearrangement the

meaning is clear: 'and confessing our sins to Christ Jesus the Lord.' In either place *Christus-Iesus* is treated as a single name.

5. 'in our praise of the Trinity'; *gloria* as at 40. 34 and often. There is not much difference in Latin of this kind between *in gloria* and *in gloriam*.

6. *sanctorum*] i.e. of believers; cp. 15. 21 note.

8. *uel*] 'and,' as at 37. 6.

genua prosternimus is an unusual phrase for kneeling, derived from the frequent use in the Vulgate of *prosterno* to express the eastern prostration of the whole body, cp. Dan. iii. 6, 10 etc.

11. *hostem inuidum*] 3. 14, 5. 27.

12. 'That we may overcome evil

Christum rogemus et Patrem
 sanctum Patrisque Spiritum,
 cum fructu paenitentiae
 uotum perenni reddere. 15

13 Christo Fa.

16 uota Fa, uoto Fψ.

with good,' Rom. xii. 21, cp. 50. 20. The use of *in* to express the instrument is biblical.

13 comes from 5. 30, cp. 55. 33. Notice the substitution of *sanctum* for Ambrose's *Christi*. The Mozarabic version referred to in the introduction exactly reproduces 5. 30, and in the following line substitutes *repellat* for *uincamus*: perhaps to avoid the sudden change of subject.

16. *reddere* may be translated 'pay.' In the MS order the inf. depends upon *uincamus*, as at Rev. v. 5 *uicit leo...aperire librum*. But here this construction would be extremely harsh, owing to the intervening words. If *reddere uotum* is transferred to the end, it would seem to mean *ut reddamus: uotum* will then mean 'our desire.'

HYMN 44

This poetical hymn is not mentioned by Caesarius or Aurelian, but early became the office hymn for Mattins on Sunday. Probably the first four stanzas are addressed to God the Father, the direct invocation of Christ not coming until stanza v; see the note on 3. But *sator* in verse 2 may be vocative, in which case the address to Christ begins at that point.

Eo Faψ (ad 8) Hr (in parte)

Deus, qui caeli lumen es
 satorque lucis, qui polum
 paterno fultum bracchio

1 certe (*pro caeli*) Fa. est Fa. fluctus Fa.

2 populum Fa.

3 fultus Fψ,

1. *caeli lumen*] Rev. xxi. 23, cp. xxii. 5.

2. *sator*] 'creator,' or 'father,' lit. 'sower.' Perhaps the word is chosen, because light and fire were thought to spring from seeds; cp. 27. 7 note, Prud. *Cath.* III. 1 *o crucifer bone lucisator*, Fort. v. ii. 3 *ut tenebras animae lux sementiua fugaret*. However, like *inuentor* (27.

1 note) and other similar words, *sator* lost its special meaning: cp. 58. 1 *sator...temporum*; Arnob. *adu. Nat.* I. 34 *sator saeculorum ac temporum*; ib. II. 25.

3. *fultum*] 'firmly set.' The firmament was supposed to be solid and propped upon mountains at either end; see the diagram in Hastings *Dict. of Bible* I. 503.

praeclara pandis dextera ;

Aurora stellas iam tegit
rubrum sustollens gurgitem,
umectis namque flatibus
terram baptizans roribus.

5

currus iam poscit Phosphorus
radiis rotisque flammeis,
quod caeli scandens uerticem
profectus moram nesciens.

10

5 auroram Fa. teget Fa.
12 profectis moris Fa.

8 terra Fa.

11 celis cadens Fa.

'The arm of the Lord' is a metaphor frequently found in the O.T., as at Exod. vi. 6. If *sator* is taken as nom., *paterno* will be 'Thy fatherly arm'; if as voc., 'Thy Father's.'

4. **pandis**] Cp. Ps. ciii. (civ.) 2 'Thou...spreadest out the heavens like a curtain.' Job ix. 8, Is. xl. 22, xlii. 5, xliv. 24, li. 13, Jer. x. 12. Here however *pandis* seems to denote the *opening* of the curtain to give light; cp. 45. 4, 1. 43.

5 f. 'Dawn now shrouds the stars, uplifting her ruddy flood, for with damp blasts she bedews the earth.'

Aurora is personified, as generally in the Latin poets. And just as the darkness is regarded as a material substance (21. 5), so also the light (46. 7). Ambr. *Hex.* IV. 11 implies the objective existence of a man's shadow *uidemus umbram uel hominis uel uirgulti alicuius a lumine separari...est enim, ut peritiores probauerunt, ...umbra terrae*. The flood of light being brought up from ocean (Verg. *Aen.* IV. 129, XII. 114 *alto se gurgite tollunt | solis equi*) is of a watery nature.

7. **namque** introduces the clause that explains this use of *gurgitem* 'a flood of light': elsewhere *gurgis* means 'a water-flood,' as at 31. 41, 77. 3. *namque*, used as it is here, with a participle instead

of a finite verb, seems to be considered as synonymous with the kindred *nempe*, in which the conjunctive force is often lost, and treated as = *scilicet*, *quippe*; cp. Sedul. *Carm.* I. 78 *totum namque lauans uno baptismo mundum*. Otherwise the grammar might be helped by putting only a comma at *roribus* and attaching *baptizans* to *Phosphorus*. But the free use of the pres. part. instead of the pres. indic. is remarkable in our hymn; so 12 *nesciens*, 16 *suscitans*.

9. 'Now Phosphorus calls for his chariot with flaming spokes and wheels, because in his ascent to the height of heaven (i.e. to his zenith) his progress knows no delay.'

Phosphorus (*Φωσφόρος*, the light-bringer), the Latin *Lucifer*, usually denotes Venus the morning-star, but here seems to be used of the sun. Cp. 2 Pet. i. 19.

10 **radiis**] 'spokes,' as at Verg. *Georg.* II. 444 *radios triuere rotis*; but the sun's spokes are his rays.

12. **profectus**, if a substantive, is from *proficio*, and is here either nominative, or genitive after *moram*, 'his progress is unacquainted with delay,' or 'is unacquainted with any delay of his progress.'

nesciens] For this use of the word cp. 3. 20, 28. Pres. part. for pres. indic., this time combined with

iam noctis umbra linquitur,
 polum caligo deserit,
 typusque Christi Lucifer
 diem sopitum suscitans. 15

dies dierum hagijs es
 lucisque lumen ipse es,
 unum potens per omnia,
 potens in unum Trinitas. 20

te nunc, Saluator, quaesumus
 tibi que genu flectimus:
 Patrem cum sancto Spiritu
 totis rogamus uiribus.

13 linquetur Fa.

14 populum Fa.

21 tunc (*pro te*) Fa.

quod. Not unlike is Fort. II. ix. 64
*horrea quando quidem constructura
 Dei*.

13. **linquitur**] 'we leave the
 shade of night'; or perhaps 'it
 fails,' 'fades away.' Ovid *Her.* II.
 130 uses *linquor* of 'fainting.'

15. 'And Lucifer, the type of
 Christ, awakens the day from its
 slumber.' Like Phosphorus in 9,
 Lucifer is the sun; see 2. 9 note,
 and contrast 45. 5 f.

17. **dies dierum**] 3. 4.

hagijs] 'the holy one'; see note
 on 32. 18 *sancte*. Or possibly 'O
 holy one' (nom. for voc.), 'Thou
 art the day of our days.' We have
 had *hagijs* at 41. 49.

18. 'Thou Thyself art the light
 of (all earthly) light'; cp. 3. 3.

19 is identical with 5. 31.

20. It is difficult to see what the
 writer meant by these lines. Unlike
 Ambr., he seems to mean Christ by
unum potens per omnia, but then
 influenced by the recollection of
 Ambr.'s hymn, proceeds to identify
 this 'one Almighty' with the Trinity.
 The effect is somewhat Sabellian.
 Line 20, in relation to 19, seems to
 mean that, as the Divine power ex-
 tends over all things, so this un-
 divided power resides in a Trinity.
 Probably *in unum* is to be taken in
 its adverbial sense, as in Ps. xlviii.
 3, cxxxii. 1, Joh. xi. 52, xvii. 23,
 Acts ix. 13 and elsewhere.

21. **quaesumus** and in 24 **rogamus**
 (as at 59. 3, 98. 11) are without the
 usual complement expressing that
 which is prayed for.

24. **totis**] = *omnibus*, as at 12. 27.

HYMN 44B

The following hymn, consisting of a paraphrase of the
 Lord's Prayer, is regarded by Blume, against Daniel and
 Sievers, as an integral part of 44. But the last stanza of
 that hymn is a doxology, and forms as fitting a conclu-
 sion to it, as the next stanza *Pater, qui caelos continet*,

etc., makes a fitting beginning of a new hymn,—a beginning of the same character as those of other hymns of this series, with *Pater* of course substituted for the usual *Deus*; see the first lines of 44, 57, 59 respectively.

The four stanzas of 44b are, to be sure, written in the MSS as if they belonged to the hymn *Deus qui caeli lumen es*. But this has happened in other cases as well. Thus the Bern MS 455 makes one continuous hymn of 100 *Meridie orandum est*, 99 *Dei fide qua uiuimus*, and 54 *Perfectum trinum numerum*; and two Mozarabic MSS write 41 *Mediae noctis tempus est* as if it were a continuation of the hymn *Iesu defensor omnium*. The same has happened also in other poems. Propert. III. iv and v are written as one piece in the MSS; Hor. *Epist.* I. xvii and xviii in many.

To support his argument Blume emphasizes the use of the *Te Deum* made in 49 *Christe caeli Domine*. But the two cases are not parallel. In the present case the paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer contained in 44b is simply tacked on to 44, whereas parts of the *Te Deum* are interwoven into the very texture of 49 throughout.

If further argument for separating the two poems were required, it might be found in the respective styles. While 44 is full of imagery, delights in unusual words, and abounds in grammatical conundrums, 44b is absolutely simple and free from rhetorical ornament.

Eo Fa

Pater, qui caelos contines,
cantemus nunc nomen tuum;
adueniat regnum tuum,
fiatque uoluntas tua.

1 contines Eo Fa.

4 om. que Fa.

1. contines] 39. 15, 48. 5, cp. 18.
1 note.

2. cantemus] a restricted interpretation of *sanctificetur*.

haec, inquam, uoluntas tua 5
 nobis agenda traditur :
 simus fideles spiritu,
 casto manentes corpore.
 panem nostrum cotidie
 de te edendum tribue ; 10
 remitte nobis debita,
 ut nos nostris remittimus.
 temptatione subdola
 induci nos ne siueris,
 sed puro corde supplices 15
 tu nos a malo libera.

7 sumus fideli Fa.

12 remittimus Fa.

13 temptatio Fa.

14 siueris Eo Fa.

5. **inquam]** 'I say,' often used at the repetition of the same word or thought, cp. Ezek. iv. 6 *diem pro anno, diem inquam pro anno*; Lucr. ii. 256 *unde haec animantibus exstat, | unde est haec inquam fati auolsa uoluntas*.

6. **traditur]** The tradition of the Church teaches it us, that we may work it out.

7, 8 are adapted from 3. 18, and 8 recurs at 46. 22.

manentes] 'ever abiding.' *maneo* was a favourite word in late Latin writers, often meaning little more than *sum*, especially in the pres. participle, which is wanting in *sum* (112. 26). The line tacitly contrasts our earthly state with the heavenly.

10. **de te edendum]** cp. 100. 3 *ut iubeat nos edere | de suo sancto corpore*. This spiritualisation of the

clause was already traditional when Tertullian wrote his *de Oratione*.

11. **debita]** Cp. Mt. xviii. 27, Ambr. *Tob. 15 graue uocabulum debitorum. debita peccata dicuntur, debitores quoque criminosi appellantur*; 86. 10 *laxare gratis debitum*.

12. **nostris]** *debitoribus*; or perhaps simply 'to men of our own kind.'

13. 'Suffer us not to be led on by treacherous temptation.' However, as *induco* is usually followed by a word or words expressing that into which one is led astray, and as up to this point the wording of the hymn has closely followed the original of Mt. vi. 9f., perhaps the writer intended the abl. to be governed by the *in* in *induci*. The difference between acc. and abl. after *in* tended to disappear, like that between *els* and *év*.

HYMN 45

This beautiful and evidently ancient hymn has had a remarkable history. It comes in no hymnal or breviary earlier than the XVth century, nor in any MS of whatever kind before the XIth century, those which contain it

being generally collections of poems and hymns. Yet of its antiquity there can be little doubt; and to judge by its contents and style it may have been written by the author of 44, 46, 47, 50,—if indeed these were all written by one man. Like them it is a happy copy of the Ambrosian hymns, in style though not in scansion, and is especially based upon 2 *Splendor paternae gloriae*. Blume is of opinion that 48 and 49 were also the work of the same writer. But the character of these hymns seems to be wholly different in respect of their subject-matter, style and prosody.

Most of the codices that contain 45 give Hilary of Poitiers as the author; but it is strikingly unlike those hymns of his which Gamurrini discovered and published (see the introduction to 1, p. 2), and it is most unlikely that he wrote it.

[No textual notes are here given. The hymn is not contained in any of the MSS which Walpole collated. The reader is referred to Blume *Cursus* p. 115.]

Lucis largitor splendide,
 cuius sereno lumine
 post lapsa noctis tempora
 dies refusus panditur,
 tu uerus mundi lucifer,
 non is qui parui sideris

5

1. **largitor**] 'generous giver,' 98. 1, 107. 18.

splendide seems to be on the whole better than *splendidae*. It matches with the similar verse of 46, *aeterne lucis conditor*, and is probably an allusion to 3. 1 *splendor paternae gloriae*, though this is brought out more at line 14. On the other hand *splendidae* would give a good sense and would be like 47. 1, where the epithet goes

with the genitive. The variant *optime* would come from 66. 1, 73. 1.

2. **sereno**] 'bright,' see 10. 2 note.

5 f. 'Thou the world's true morning star,—not he who, the herald of the light to come, shines with a small star's tiny gleam, but brighter than all the sun, Thyself art all light and day,—lightening the inward fibres of our hearts.' The first three stanzas are taken up with the

uenturae lucis nuntius
 angusto fulget lumine,
 sed toto sole clarior
 lux ipse totus et dies, 10
 interna nostri pectoris
 inluminans praecordia :
 adesto, rerum conditor,
 paternae lucis gloria,
 cuius amota gratia 15
 nostra patescunt corpora ;
 tuo quae plena Spiritu
 secum Deum gestantia
 nil rapiensis perfidi
 diris pateant fraudibus, 20

invocation, the prayer itself does not come until line 13. In some of Horace's Odes e.g. IV. iv the apodosis is deferred to a very late place.

lucifer] here the star, and not the sun as at 44. 15.

6. The writer perhaps has in mind Prud. *Cath.* v. 129 f. *non sicut tenebras de face fulgida | surgens oceano Lucifer inluit, | sed terris Domini de cruce tristibus | maior sole nouum restituens diem.*

7. Cp. 71. 10.

10. identical with 46. 2, cp. 65. 2.

12. **praecordia]** 'the heart,' strictly the membrane that separates the larger from the smaller entrails, the midriff or diaphragm; cp. 58. 15. It is here and there (as at Is. xxvi. 9, Nicet. *de Psalm.* 5) used for the heart, but rarely.

13 is an echo of 2. 1, as line 14 is of 3. 1.

16. **patescunt]** 'lie open' to the onset of the devil, a thought carried on in the next stanza; cp. 53. 8 *telis patescant inuidi.* The variant *pauescunt* does not go so well with the subject *corpora.*

17. 'May these full of Thy Spirit, bearing God with them, in no way

lie open to the dread wiles of the ravening traitor.'

quae refers to *corpora* in 16. The usual reading is *tuoque*, but this coupling of the indicative *patescunt* with the subjunctive *pateant* would be very harsh. *quae* for *-que* is merely another way of reading the MSS, many of which (e.g. Vat. reg. 11) use *q:* for either word. A modern poet would avoid *pateant* so close to *patescunt*; but not so these hymns, cp. e.g. *lumine* in 2 and 8.

18. Our bodies bear God with them so far as they are filled with the Spirit; cp. 28 below and 1 Cor. vi. 19 f. *membra uestra templum sunt Spiritus sancti...portate Deum in corpore uestro*; Ambr. *in Luc.* v. 24 *hunc tolle in animum tuum, consecra in templo tuo, tolle in corpore tuo, sicut scriptum est; tollite deum in corpore uestro*; ib. IX. 11 *disce...gestare Christum.*

19. **nil]** 'in no way,' as at 28. 14. **rapiensis]** 'ravering'; the devil being compared to a lion greedy for prey; cp. Ps. xxi. (xxii.) 14 *sicut leo rapiens et rugiens.*

perfidi being regarded as a subst.

ut inter actus saeculi,
uitae quos usus exigit,
omni carentes crimine
tuis uiuamus legibus.

probrosas mentis castitas
carnis uincat libidines,
sanctumque puri corporis
delubrum seruet Spiritus.

25

haec spes precantis animae,
haec sunt uotiuua munera,
ut matutina nobis sit
lux in noctis custodiam.

30

is qualified by *rapiens*. It is used as an adj., of the devil 84. 24.

21. **actus saeculi**] 'our worldly actions,' cp. 13. 2 *diem saeculi*.

22. **usus exigit**] Cp. Ambr. *Hex.* v. 47 *hic usus est uitae*; Fort. X. i. 57 *non nobis necesse sit ad escam amplius quam cotidianus usus exigit ut quaeramus re uera*; Prud. *Psych.* 609 *nil uelle super, quam postulet usus | debitus*; Hor. *Epist.* i. xii. 4 has the phrase *rerum usus*.

23. **crimine**] 1. 35 note.

25. **probrosas**] 10. 4.

27. 'and may it (*castitas* in 25) keep holy the temple of the Spirit consisting of a pure body.' 1 Cor. iii. 16 *templum Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in uobis...templum enim Dei sanctum est*, cp. 1 Cor. vi. 19, 52. 5.

corporis is the gen. of definition

showing wherein the *delubrum* consists, and *Spiritus* is the gen. of the possessor, both connected with *delubrum*; which generally,—always in the Vulgate,—denotes the shrine of a false god; but cp. Juvenc. II. 174 *cognouere uiri proprio de corpore Christum | delubrum dixisse Dei*; Fort. i. vi. 5 *condidit ergo aruis delubra Leontius alma*.

29f. 'This is the hope of the supplicating soul, these are the prayers which we present, that the morning light may endure for us until the night watch.'

32. **noctis custodiam**] Cp. Ps. cxxix. (cxxx.) 6 *a custodia matutina usque ad noctem speret Israel in Domino*. In this sense of a watch of the night regarded as a point of time *uigilia* is much the commoner word.

HYMN 46

The use of 46 in the old series was for Mattins on Tuesday, *feria tertia ad matutinas laudes*. In the Mozarabic breviary it was appointed for Lauds on the Saturday *infra hebdomadam primam quadragesimae*; *Analecta* XXVII. 77.

Eo Faψ Hr Mx Vr

Aeterne lucis conditor,
lux ipse totus et dies,
noctem nec ullam sentiens
natura lucis perpeti :

iam cedit pallens proximo 5
diei nox aduentui,
obtendens lumen siderum
adest et clarus lucifer.

iam stratis laeti surgimus 10
grates canentes et tuas,
quod caecam noctem uicerit
reuectans rursus sol diem.

2 lucis (*pro totus*) Mx. 4 naturalis Fa. perpete Eo, perpetim
Mx Vr. 5 cedit Eo, cedat Mx. 7 obtundens Eo Faψ.
8 adstet Fa. 9 strati Fa, stratum Mx. 10 gratis Faψ.
12 reuertat Mx.

1. *aeterne* is better than *aeternae*, which Daniel 1. 39 reads. For not only is the line based on 2. 1 *aeterne rerum conditor*, but *aeternae lucis* would give a wrong sense: the phrase could refer only to God the Father, as at Wisd. vii. 26 *candor est enim lucis aeternae*, cp. 48. 1, or to Christ, as at Ambr. in *Luc.* 11. 12 *Pater...genitor lucis aeternae*, 84. 2, neither of which would go well with *conditor*.

2. Cp. 45. 10.

3. Cp. 1 John i. 5; there is no darkness in God's everlasting nature of light.

5. *pallens*] 'colourless,' cp. 22. 2 *pallens...caecitas*.

7 f. 'The bright morning star also is with us shrouding the light of the stars,' with the solid light of dawn, cp. 44. 5 note, Amb. *Hex.* IV. 9 *fulgorem illam lunarem stellarumque omnium sol exortus abscondit*.

obtendens] 'shrouding' by a veil, cp. Sil. *Punic.* x. 228 *obtendit puluere lucem*. See also 44. 5. The variant *obtundens* would mean 'striking against' and then 'dulling,' cp. Lucr. IV. 619 *uox obtunditur*; Arnob. *adu. Nationes* II. 58 *obtunsi luminis*. Lines 7 and 8 might have changed places, when the connexion would have been easier; but the poet wishes to put the emphatic *Lucifer* at the end of the stanza. *et* is displaced in the same way two lines below; cp. 41. 23.

10. The line is an echo of 5. 9 f.

11. *uicerit* should regularly be *uicit*: *quod* when it gives the actual reason (here the grounds on which we give thanks) takes the indicative.

12. *reuectans*] intensive in form, not in sense; characteristic of late Latin. *reuectare* is not used by any classical writer.

te nunc, ne carnis gaudia
 blandis subrepant aestibus,
 dolis ne cedat saeculi
 mens nostra, sancte, quaesumus: 15

ira ne rixas prouocet,
 gula ne uentrem incitet,
 opum peruertat ne famis,
 turpis ne luxus occupet. 20

sed firma mente sobrii
 casto manentes corpore
 totum fideli spiritu,
 Christe, ducamus hunc diem.

13 nec Eo. 14 subrepat Vr. 15 nec Fa. 17 iram
 Eo Fψ. nec Fa. rixa Eo. 18 gulam Eo Fψ Vr. nec uenter Eo Faψ.
 19 opem Faψ. nec Eo Fa. 20 nec Eo Fa. lux Fa. 21 firmamento
 Mx Vr. 22 manente Fa. 23 toto Fa Mx Vr. fidele Eo.
 24 Christo Eo Faψ. dicamus Fa.

14. **blandis**] 'alluring,' cp. 57.
 12. It has a better meaning at 47.
 11, 111. 21.

subrepant] of evil stealing on us
 unawares, as at 57. 13.

aestibus] originally 'burning
 heat,' 'sultriness,' as at 11. 8, 35.
 13; here of the undue heat of pas-
 sion as at 57. 12, 101. 11 and fre-
 quently in classical authors. So are
 used also *uapor* 5. 24, *calor* 17. 6,
ardor 58. 13.

16. **sancte**] i.e. Christ, 32. 18
 note.

17 from Prov. xv. 18 *uir iracun-
 dus prouocat rixas.*

18. **gula**] properly 'the gullet,'
 hence 'gluttony'; cp. Juv. 1. 140
*quanta est gula, quae sibi totos | ponit
 apros!* Ambr. in Luc. IV. 17 *tria
 praecipue docemur tela diaboli, qui-
 bus ad conuulnerandam mentem
 hominis consuevit armari, gulae
 unum, aliud iactantiae, ambitionis
 tertium.*

19. **opum...famis**] 'hunger for

riches,' cp. Verg. *Aen.* III. 57 *quid
 non mortalia pectora cogis | auri
 sacra fames*; Hor. *Od.* III. xvi. 17
*crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam |
 maiorumque fames*; Prud. *Hamart.*
 256 *auri namque fames parto fit
 maior ab auro*; Sedul. *Op.* II.
 p. 228 ed. Huemer *sunt istis uitiiis
 et plura similia, quibus amica sem-
 per fames auri commilitat*; 50. 33.
 For the form *famis* see 50. 34.

20. **occupet**] 50. 25; Job iii. 5
occupet eum caligo.

21 f. based upon 3. 18 f. See note
 on 42. 20.

sobrii] 3. 23, 5. 16, 20. 7, 10.

22. **manentes**] repeated from
 44 b. 8.

24. The reading *Christe* is pre-
 ferable to *Christo*, which might well
 come from the parallel passage 50.
 38 f., where *Christo* is governed
 by *placentes*. The vocative in the
 closing stanza is not unlike the use
 of *Redemptor* at 15. 29, of *Christe*
 in 20. 13 etc.

HYMN 47

This hymn was appointed by Caesarius of Arles *ad primam* from October to Easter. See Blume *Cursus* p. 38 *deinde dicenda est prima cum psalmis sex, et hymnus Fulgentis auctor aetheris, lectiones duae, una de ueteri, alia de nouo testamento, et capitellum. hoc modo dominica uel sabbato et maioribus festiuitatibus fieri debet.* In the old use it was to be sung *feria quarta ad matutinos*, i.e. at Mattins on Wednesday, in the Mozarabic breviary *feria secunda post oct. epiphaniae.*

Eo Faψ Mx Vr

Fulgentis auctor aetheris,
qui lunam lumen noctibus,
solem dierum cursibus
certo fundasti tramite;

nox atra iam depellitur,
mundi nitor renascitur,
nouisque iam mentis uigor
dulces in actus erigit.

laudes sonare iam tuas
dies relatus admonet,

5

10

1 fulgentes Fψ Vr. 2 lunae Mx. 3 diei Fa. 5 repellitur Mx.
7 nouis Fa. om. que Eo¹. 8 actus Eo Fa², actis Fa¹. in altum
egerit Mx. 9 tuus Fψ. 10 relictos Fa.

2 f. Gen. i. 16. 'Who hast set the moon to lighten the night, the sun with fixed orbit to lighten the days' course.'

noctibus, dierum] These words are often used in the plural when the reference is general, that is to say when no particular night or day is thought of, see 5. 18, 66. 10, 69. 13, 83. 6.

3. **cursibus** is sometimes used in the plural, where we might expect the singular, see 3. 29 note. But here it is used because *dierum* is plural.

4. **tramite** generally means 'a side path,' here 'an orbit'; cp. 117. 3. For the allusion to the regularity of the heavenly bodies, see introduction to 2.

6. **nitor** is used of the brightness of dawn by Lucr. IV. 540.

7. **nouus]** as being reinvigorated by sleep.

8. **dulces]** 'delightful,' because it is now a delight to do them.

9. Cp. 2. 31.

10. **admonet]** Cp 51. 3.

uultusque caeli blandior
nostra serenat pectora.

uitemus omne lubricum,
declinet praua spiritus,
uitam facta non inquinat,
linguam culpa non implicet: •

15

sed sol diem dum conficit,
fides profunda ferueat,
spes ad promissa prouocet,
Christo coniungat caritas.

20

11 uultu Mx. 12 serena Eo¹, serenat Mx. 13 ergo (*pro omne*) Fa.
14 declinat Fψ, declinent Vr. 15 factam Eo Fa. inquinat Fψ Mx.
16 lingua culpam Fa Vr. implicent Fa. 19 adprouocet Fa.

11. Cp. 21. 16 f.

blandior] 'more pleasant' than in the dark; contrast the sinister meaning of *blandus* at 46. 14.

12. **serenat**] 'brightens,' 'illuminates'; cp. 10. 2 note, Verg. *Aen.* 1. 255 *uultu quo caelum tempestatesque serenat*; *ibid.* 1v. 477. The general meaning is rather like that of Ps. xxix. (xxx.) 6 'Heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.'

13. **lubricum**] 3. 12 note.

14. **declinet p.**] The Thesaurus gives a good many instances of this use of *declinare*, beginning with Cic. *Planc.* 97 *urbem...amicissimam declinaui*.

15. **non** with the subjunctive in-

stead of the usual *ne* is once used by Cic. *pro Cluent.* 57 *a legibus non recedamus*, and is found in early writers, in Liv. VI. 41 *non leges auspicato ferantur, non magistratus creentur*, in Verg. *Georg.* 1. 456 and Hor. *Sat.* 11. v. 91 *non...sileas*, *Epist.* 1. i. 29 *non...contemnas*. In later writers it became common, cp. 50. 17, 19, 25, 33, 58. 9, 82. 17.

inquinat] 22. 12.

16. **implicet**] 'entangle.' For the sense cp. Prov. xxix. 5 f.

17. **conficit**] 'completes.'

18. For the theological virtues cp. 15. 21 note.

fides...ferueat] 3. 19.

profunda] 'to its depths.'

HYMN 48

This hymn is remarkable and difficult. Not only are some of its expressions hard to explain, but it is not easy to see to whom the several stanzas are addressed. The last four seem to be addressed to Christ—the first also may be—the second invokes the Father, and the third, or rather the first two lines of it, the Trinity.

Biraghi, p. 26, has some criticisms on 13 f., against those who would claim the hymn for Ambrose. 'Come mai Ambrogio avrebbe cantato di cotale stranezze? Che è questo settimo trono? Come appellar Dio l'onnipotente Sabaoth, Dio lo Hosanna? Ambrogio sapeva benissimo che Sabaoth è un plurale che vale eserciti, che Hosanna è un ottativo Salva noi di grazia, Evviva. Forse a questi versi Adalberto di Magonza, famoso impostore, attinse quella sua cabalistica preghiera, condannata poi dal Concilio Romano, nell' Azione 3, nell' anno 745 a istanza di san Bonifacio. Qui sedes super septimum thronum... Angele Sabaoth...Angele Simiel...e simili altre peccoraggini e ribalderie. Se questo fosse vero, bisognerebbe supporre que quest' Inno anteriore a quella condanna, non più sia stato dipoi accolto fra la viva liturgia.' See Dreves *Ambrosius* p. 17 note, Labbe VIII. 305.

However the hymn was undoubtedly in liturgical use, —being appointed for Mattins on Thursday in the old Benedictine series, and for the Tuesday *post oct. epiphaniae* in the Mozarabic breviary, *Analecta* XXVII. 70. Therefore an orthodox meaning for all its expressions had to be found.

Eo Faψ Mx Vr

Deus, aeterni luminis
candor inenarrabilis,
uenturus diei iudex,

1 aeterne Eo Fa.

1. 'Inexpressible brightness of the eternal light' comes from Wisd. vii. 26 *candor est enim lucis aeternae*, a passage used also Heb. i. 3, and by Prudentius, see 27. 30 note and 3. 1 note.

It is, however, possible that the author intended *aeterni luminis* to go with *Deus*, 'God of eternal light,' addressed to the Father.

Although the coming to judge is generally connected with the Son, it is possible also to connect it with the Father, as in Acts xvii. 31.

3. *diei*] 'of life,' i.e. of the deeds done in this life: cp. Joh. ix. 4. Or it may refer to the day of Judgment (cp. 1 Cor. iii. 13, iv. 3), but in that case we should expect some word qualifying *diei*: 'that day' or

qui mentis occulta uides,
 tu regnum caelorum tenes,
 et totus in uerbo tu es,
 per Filium cuncta regis,
 sancti Spiritus tu fons es.

5

trinum nomen, alta fides,
 unum per omnia potens,
 mirumque per signum crucis
 tu rector immensae lucis.

10

4 uidens Fa. 5 tenens Fa. 8 sancto Mx. spiritui Mx Vr,
 spiritu Fa. 9 nominum Fψ. uides Vr. 10 potes Vr. 11 om.
 per Fa.

'the last day.' The word is used, apparently, to suit the early morning hour at which the hymn was to be sung.

4. **occulta**] 'secrets,' Rom. ii. 16, 1 Cor. xiv. 25, 22. 13, 66. 14.

5. For the repeated use of *tu* in this line, and in 12f. etc. see 1. 3 note.

6. Cp. 3. 32.

8. Neale quoted by Daniel iv. 29 argues that this line, clearly declaring the procession of the Spirit from the Father alone, shews that the hymn was written before A.D. 700. The reasoning is precarious; for on the one hand the doctrine of the double procession was taught long before that date (see Ambr. *de Spir. S.* 1. 152; and cp. Swete *History of the Doctrine of the Procession* p. 120); and on the other hand to ascribe the procession to the Father without mentioning the Son is no denial of the double procession, being merely a reference to John xv. 26. Nevertheless the fact that the hymn was in the Old Series (see Introduction) shews that it is very ancient. The reading of Fa *Spiritu* seems to indicate an original *Spiritus tu*, which we have restored. Otherwise the line must be scanned *sancti iSpiritus fons es*; see 41. 33.

9. 'Threefold the name, lofty the faith'; cp. Sedul. *Carm.* 1. 324 (of Arrius and Sabellius) *iste fidem ternam, hic non amplectitur unam*; Fort. v. v. 41 *est Deus, alta fides, unus trinus et trinus unus*. 'The name' is used in its pregnant sense, so common in Scripture, the nature and essence of God as made known to men. But possibly, as no name has been mentioned, we should read *numen*; cp. 27. 39 *numine triplici*, and the note on 91. 29 *hoc mystico sub nomine*. With the constant confusion in our MSS of *o* and *u* a copyist might write the more familiar word *nomen* for *numen*; 10. 11 note.

10 from 5. 31. The order of the words is altered for the sake of the rhyme,—the *n* being hardly sounded before *s* in Latin. *potens* stands for *potens es*, or in loose apposition to *nomen*.

11. The Son is once more addressed. *mirum* qualifies *signum*; cp. *Analecta* LI. p. 85 *Signum crucis mirabile*.

12. **rector**] 17. 1, 29. 5, 66. 2.

immensae lucis] 'with incomprehensible light,' a kind of descriptive gen. For *immensae* cp. 1. 69 note, and for the phrase Commodian *Apol.* 114 *quidquid est, unus est in immenso lumine*. How our Lord

tu mundi constitutor es,
 tu septimo throno sedes
 iudex, ex alto humilis
 uenisti pati pro nobis. 15

tu sabaoth omnipotens,
 hosanna summi culminis,
 tibi laus est mirabilis,
 tu rex primus, anastasis. 20

tu fidei auditor es,
 et humiles tu respicis,
 tibi alta sedes thronus,
 tibi diuinus est honor.

14 in s. Vr. 15 alta Fψ. 18 tu osianna Vr. 20 tu es Mx.
 prima Vr. 23 altae sedis Eo, alta sedis Fa, altum uides thronum Mx.
 24 tibi que Eo. honor est Eo.

reigns by means of the Cross needs no explanation.

14. **septimo throno**] i.e. on the throne of the seventh and highest heaven; for which cp. Juvenc. 1. 358 *caeli septemplex aethra*, Prud. *Cath.* VII. 36 *caeli principem septemplex*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* XXXII. 182f. *hoc etiam caelum, quod nos sublime uidemus, | sex aliis infra est...postque thronos septem, post tot caelestia regna | cetera pars omnis, quae cunctis eminent ultra*. There were seven heavens because there were seven planets, Plin. *Hist.* II. 6. [See Irenaeus *Demonstration of the Apost. Preaching* 10, with J. A. Robinson's important note, and p. 41 of his Introduction (S.P.C.K. 1920).]

17. **sabaoth**] (like 'hosanna') is treated as a name of God. Cp. (e.g.) Sibyll. Or. 1. 316 *ὁ μέγας Σαβαώθ δὲ χολωθεῖς*, and the famous sequence 'Alma chorus Domini compangat nomina summi: Messias, Soter, Emmanuel, Sabaoth, Adonai' (Mone 1. p. 5). It was commonly understood as a kind of adjectival epithet; see Ambr. *de Fide* IV. i. 14.

18. **hosanna**] 'Thou art the Hosanna of the highest height.' The gen. is a loose one of quality.

20. **rex primus** answers to Rev. i. 5 *princeps regum*. Daniel 1. 69 reads *prima* and sees a reference to 'the first resurrection' of Rev. xx. 5; but to say that Christ is the first resurrection would be strange.

anastasis] 'the resurrection,' cp. Joh. xi. 25. It we might read *primae*, the meaning would be 'Thou art the King of the first resurrection'; we have *anastasis* as a genitive at 110. 4. Cp. Commod. *Instr.* II. iii. 1. The writer loves an imposing foreign word.

21. **fidei auditor**] 'the hearer of faithful prayer.' The glossator of Eo (Bodl. Jun. 25), who writes the gloss *der du helfant bist*, evidently translates *adiutor*, which would refer to Mk. ix. 23 *adiuuua incredulitatem meam*.

22. Lk. i. 48.

24. **diuinus**] because the praise lauds Thee as God; cp. 49. 20.

Christo aeternoque Deo
 Patri cum sancto Spiritu
 uitae soluamus munera
 a saeculis in saecula.

25

25. Here, as in 5. 29 and other hymns, the doxology begins with Christ; so does the apostolic blessing 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

27. The meaning seems to be 'let us perform (lit. 'pay' as in 2. 32) the duties of life'; rather like 45. 22. *uitae* is for the usual

saeculi, and *soluamus* as at 82. 12. *uitae munera* has quite another sense at 42. 44.

It is noticeable that the rhyme in *e* or *i*, which has been carried through as far as line 22 (see the note on 10), there ceases: final *o* or *u*, and in the last two lines *a*, are put in its place.

HYMN 49

This fine if rugged hymn continually reminds us of the *Te Deum*, upon which it is based, and phrases of which it incorporates. The text seems to have suffered in the course of its transmission no less than that of 42. There are several defective lines as these are handed down in the MSS, viz. 1, 3, 17, 29, 33, 34, 35, 38. Of them 29 and 33f. being quotations from Scripture may perhaps have been unmetrical from the first. The defects of the other lines are probably due to mistakes made in the copying. Even in rhythmical hymns spondees are very rare in the last foot of the verse, but here they occur at lines 9, 11, 13, 15, 19, 21, 23, 29, 31, 33, 37, 39, 41, 43, 47.

In the old series the hymn was appointed for Mattins on Friday. It did not pass into the Mozarabic use.

Eo Faψ Vr

Christe, caeli Domine,
 mundi saluator maxime,
 qui nos crucis munere
 mortis soluisti legibus,

1 rex caeli Vr *manu poster.* 3 hoc crucis Vr *manu post.* 4 legimus
 Fψ, crimine Vr².

1 f. In Vat. reg. 11 a later hand of about the Xth cent. adds above

the line *rex* after *Christe*, and in 3 *hoc* after *nos*.

te nunc orantes poscimus, 5
 tua conserues munera,
 quae per legem catholicam
 cunctis donasti gentibus.
 tu uerbum Patris aeterni
 ore diuino editus, 10
 Deus ex Deo subsistens,
 unigenitus Filius.
 te uniuersa creatura
 mundi fatetur dominum,
 iussu Patris inchoata, 15
 tuis perfecta uiribus.
 tibi omnes angeli
 caelestem praestant gloriam,
 te chorus archangelorum
 diuinis laudant uocibus. 20

5 te orantes Vr¹, te deprecantes Vr². 6 conseruas Fa, conseruis Vr.
 7 quem Fa. 9 aeterne Faψ. 11 consistens Vr. 14 fatentur Vr.
 16 perfectis Eo. 15, 16 patris inch. tuis perfecta uiribus iussu Fψ.
 17 et ang. Vr manu post. 20 laudibus (pro uocibus) Fa.

4 is based upon Acts ii. 24, Rom. viii. 2 *lex enim spiritus uitae in Christo Iesu liberauit me a lege... mortis*; cp. 36. 19 *legibus inferni* with the note; 56. 22, 111. 13.

6. **munera**] 'the gifts' of life and salvation. The 'catholic law' is opposed to 'the laws of death' in 4.

9. **uerbum**] 1. 3 note. Prud. *Cath.* XI. 17 *ex ore quamlibet Patris | sis ortus et uerbo editus, | tamen paterno in pectore | sophia callebas prius. | quae prompta caelum condidit, | caelum diemque et cetera, | uirtute uerbi effecta sunt | haec cuncta, nam uerbum Deus.*

Patris aeterni] Cp. *Te Deum* 2 *te aeternum Patrem omnis terra ueneratur.*

10. **editus** agrees in gender with the sense of the passage.

11. Cp. *θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ* of the Nicene creed; 36. 28.

13. Rev. v. 13. *creatura, seniorum* in 21, and *beatorum* in 41 are to be scanned as trisyllables.

14. Cp. *Te Deum* 1 *te Dominum confitemur.*

15. Cp. 1. 10 *omniumque tu creator, quae Pater nasci iubet*; 44. 4, 50. 5 f.; Ambr. *Hex.* VI. 8 [*Moses descripsit*] *quod produxerit terra iuxta Dei omnipotentis imperium operationemque domini Iesu uirgulta de terris et omnem animam uiuentem secundum genus.*

17. We should perhaps read with the corrector of Vat. reg. 11 *et angeli.*

18. **caelestem**] because the angels who give the praise dwell in heaven.

gloriam] 'praise' as at 51. 16, 79. 7 and often.

19. **chorus**] Cp. *Te Deum* 7.

20. **diuinis**] because the words

te multitudo seniorum,
bis duodenus numerus,
odoribus plenas gestans
supplex adorat pateras.

tibi cherubin et seraphin
throno paterni luminis
senis alarum plausibus
clamore iugi personant.

25

sanctus, sanctus, sanctus,
Dominus Deus sabaoth;
omne caelum atque terra
tua sunt plena gloria.

30

hosianna filius Daud!
benedictus es a Patre,

21 seniorum mult. Vr. 23 odoramentis Eo Fa Vr, (omentis Fψ). plena Vr. gestant *omnes*. 24 adorant *omnes*. 26 throni *omnes*. 27 ala Fa. 28 clamorem Fψ, clamori Fa. 34 *om. es omnes exc. Vr manu poster.*

uttered praise Christ as God; cp. 48. 24 *diuinus honor*.

21 f. 'Thee the company of elders ...humbly worship, bearing bowls full of incense.' Rev. v. 8.

22. **numerus**] as in 45, *Te Deum* 8 *prophetarum laudabilis numerus*; Cyprian *Epist.* XL *gloriosus martyrum numerus*; Damas. XII. 5 *hic numerus procerum, seruat qui altaria Christi*.

23. **odoribus**] The MS reading gives a syllable too many. It may have come in from the Vulgate of Rev. v. 8 *phialas aureas plenas odoramentorum*, and the right word here may be *odoribus*, which easily comes to mean 'incense'; cp. Plaut. *Menaechm.* 354 *incendite odores*; Tibull. II. ii. 3 *urantur odores | quos tener e terra diuite mittit Arabs*; Juvenc. I. 10 *cum forte adytis arisque inferret odores | Zacharias*; Ambr. *Hex.* v. 79 *phoenix...facit sibi thecam de ture et murra et ceteris odoribus*.

25 f. Is. vi. 2, Rev. iv. 8. *tibi*, the MS reading, may have come

from the *Te Deum* 4: if kept, it is to be scanned with the following *che-* as an anapaest or tribrach. But perhaps we should read *te... personant*, 'sound Thy praise,' as at 110. 1; cp. 47 below and 2. 31.

26. **throno**] The MS *throni* is so strange a gen. that I can but think that *throno* was the original. Either word must mean 'at the throne'; *throni* would come from the following genitives. *throno* would be an abl. like *caelo* in 42, cp. Fort. II. xiv. 25 *sidereo chorus iste throno cum carne locandus*. The phrase *paterni luminis* recurs at 65. 1. [Conceivably, however, *throni* is nom., and intended for the title of an order of angels, in which case the writer probably understood that they were so called from forming a throne of the *paternum lumen*, like the Cherub of Ezekiel.]

27. 'with the beatings of their six wings.'

29 f. Is. vi. 3.

30. Cp. Burn *Niceta* p. xcvi.

33 f. Mt. xxi. 9; cp. Ps. cxvii. (cxviii.) 25 f., 104. 33 f.

qui in nomine Domini 35
uenisti ex celsis Deus.

tu agnus immaculatus
datus es terrae uictima,
qui sanctorum uestimenta
tuo lauisti sanguine. 40

te multitudo beatorum
caelo locata martyrum,
palmis insignis, coronis,
ducem sectantur gloriae :

quorum nos addas numero, 45
te deprecamur, Domine ;
una uoce te sonamus,
uno laudamus carmine.

35 dei omnes. 36 de Fψ. domine (pro Deus) omnes. 38 addit es
Vr manu post. 42 caeli Fψ Vr. 43 psalmis Fa. signis Eo Fψ.
et cor. omnes. 46 precamur Vr. 47 sonemus Fψ, desonamus Eo
(desonemus Fa). 48 unum Vr. laudemus Fψ.

hosianna of Vat. reg. 11 is as correct a transliteration as the usual *hosanna*. Or we might read *hosanna filio David*, cp. 104. 36; but this coming direct from Mt. xxi. 9 would scarcely have been altered. [Wordsworth and White give *osianna* or *ossianna* as the reading of several MSS of the Vulg. *ad loc.* Sabatier at Mt. xxi. 15 gives the same form for the Old Latin.]

35. For the sake of the metre I follow Blume in reading *Domini* in 35, *Deus* in 36.

36. I omit *de* as not required. Perhaps, however, it is a relic of an original *Deus: uenisti Deus ex celsis*.

37. 1 Pet. i. 19, cp. Exod. xii. 5. 39 f. Rev. vii. 14.

42. *caelo locata*] see note on line 26.

43. I have taken the reading *insignis* of Vat. reg. 11, but have omitted the *et* which mars the metre

without helping the sense; if we keep it, *coronis* must be scanned as a dissyllable. We have had several cases in these hymns of words unconnected by any particle, e.g. 34. 20 *sanguis, unda profluit*, cp. Fort. X. xv. 10 *palma, corona decus. signis* of the other MSS seems to be a corruption.

For the combination *palmis... coronis* see 24. 8 note.

44. *sectantur*] Rev. viii. 17, xix. 14, cp. 19. 10. *d. gloriae* like *rex gloriae* in the Psalm.

45. Cp. 15. 30, and *Te Deum*. The words *addas numero* here perhaps indicate that the writer found *numerari* not *munerari* in *Te Deum* (Blume *Ursprung des Ambrosianischen Lobgesanges* p. 14).

47. *te sonamus*] like 2. 31 *te... sonet*.

48. *uno* is more vigorous than *unum* which Blume reads.

HYMN 50

This hymn was in the old series appointed for Mattins on Saturday: *himnus die sabati dicendus* is the rubric in Vat. reg. 11.

Eo Faψ Vr

Diei luce reddita
 primis post somnum uocibus
 Dei canamus gloriam,
 Christi fatentes gratiam ;
 per quem creator omnium 5
 diem noctemque condidit,
 aeterna lege sanciens
 ut semper succedant sibi.
 tu uera lux fidelium,
 quem lex ueterna non tenet 10
 noctis nec ortus succedens,
 aeterno fulgens lumine,
 Christe, precamur, annue
 orantibus seruis tuis,
 iniquitas haec saeculi 15
 ne nostram captiuuet fidem.

4 fatente gratia Fa, fauente gratia Eo Fψ. 6 condens Vr.
 10 aeterna Eo Faψ. 11 noctem nec ortu(orto) Eo Fψ. succidis Fa,
 occidens Vr. 13 annuas Vr, abnue Fa. 15 ne (*pro* haec) Vr.
 16 *om.* ne Vr.

2. Cp. 2. 31.
 5. Cp. 49. 15 note.
 creator omnium] 5. 1.
 6f. Cp. 18. 2 f.
 8. *sibi*] 'each other.'
 9f. 'Thou the true light of the faithful, shining with eternal light, who art not bound by the ancient law (viz. of constant change, mentioned in line 7), nor by the rising of each successive night'; cp. 6. 31 note. Not unlike is Sedul. *Carm.* IV. 13 *genitor rerum, qui mundum lege coerces | et nulla sub lege manet.*

[Perhaps the reading which would best explain the variants would be *noctis nec ortu succidens*, 'neither succumbing to the rise of night.'] In our hymn, as in 45, the first three stanzas are taken up by the invocation and the prayer is not expressed until stanza IV.

uera lux] Joh. i. 9, cp. 3. 5.

10. *ueterna*] This rare word is more likely to have been changed into *aeterna* than *vice versa*.

11. *noctis...ortus*] see 5. 10 note.

non cogitemus impie,
 inuideamus nemini,
 laesi non reddamus uicem,
 uincamus in bono malum. 20
 absit nostris e cordibus
 ira, dolus, superbia;
 absistat auaritia,
 malorum radix omnium.
 uinum mentem non occupet 25
 ebrietate perdita,
 sed nostro sensui competens
 tuum bibamus poculum.
 conseruet pacis foedera
 non simulata caritas, 30

20 bonum Fa. Vr¹ (nost. sensus Vr²).

26 perpeti (-te) Eo Faψ.

27 sit nostris sensibus

12. aeterno...lumine] 48. 1.
 15. Cp. 60. 1. 'Grant...that this iniquity of the world may not bring our faith into captivity.' Cp. Ambr. *Apol. David* 49 *praecedit iniquitas, peccatum sequitur. radix est iniquitas, fructus autem radice est culpa. unde uidetur iniquitas ad mentis improbitatem referri, peccatum ad prolapsionem corporis. grauior iniquitas tamquam materia peccatorum.*
 16. captiuat] Cp. Rom. vii. 23 *legem...captiuantem me in lege peccati*; 109. 19.

The MS Vr omits 17 and 18, and begins 19 with the words *non coredamus*.

17. non cogitemus] Cp. 47. 15 note.

19. Cp. Rom. xii. 17, 1 Thess. v. 15, 1 Pet. iii. 9.

reddere uicem means to requite either with good (as at Jud. ix. 16 *reddidistis uicem beneficiis eius*, Fort. I. vii. 12 *redde benigne uicem*), or with evil (as here, cp. Fort. iv. vi. 12 *nesciit offensis ira referre uices*). At Lam. iii. 64 *reddes eis uicem Domine iuxta opera manuum suarum*, and

at 85. 11 it means 'recompense' whether with good or evil.

20. Rom. xii. 21, cp. 43. 16.

23 f. 1 Tim. vi. 10, where the Vulgate translates *φιλαργυρια* by *cupiditas*. Prud. *Hamart.* 257 f. *auri namque fames...inde seges scelerum, radix et sola malorum.*

absistat] = *absit* as at 81. 10.

25. Eph. v. 18.

occupet] as at 46. 20.

26. *perdita*] 'abandoned,' hence 'uncontrolled.' The reading *perpeti* would come from 32.

27. *sensui*] a dissyllable, unless we read *sensu*, which would here presumably be a dative. But *competens* 'suitable to,' 'compatible with our intelligence,' is sometimes found with abl. [Was not the original reading *sed nostri sensus compotes*?]

28. Cp. 3. 22. 'Christ's cup' is not that which He drank, but the drink which He gives (Joh. iv. 14, vii. 37).

29. *pacis foedera*] 78. 16. Cp. Eph. iv. 3.

30. Cp. 2 Cor. vi. 6, 1 Tim. i. 5.

sit inlibata castitas
credulitate perpeti.

addendis non sit praediis
malesuada semper famis ;
si affluent diuitiae,
prophetae nos psalmus regat.

35

praesta, Pater ingenite,
totum ducamus iugiter
Christo placentes hunc diem
sancto repleti Spiritu.

40

31 sed Eo Faψ. 33 addendis Fa. 34 mala suadet Fψ (-dat Fa).
35 affluent Fψ, ut se fluent Vr. diuitiae si affl. Fa. 36 propetiae non
ps. redgat Fa.

31. **castitas** and *fides* are thus linked together at 3. 18, 5. 23, and often. Lact. *Diu. Inst.* I. xvii. 11, VI. xxiii. 36 uses the phrase *inlibata castitas*; and *inlibata* recurs at 87. 11.

32. **credulitate**] 'faith,' cp. Fort. XI. i. 1 *in qua et integritas credulitatis ostenditur*; 1. 61 note.

33 f. 'Let there be no greed that ever prompts to evil in the piling up of estates.' When Aeneas visited the lower regions *malesuada famis* was one of the grisly forms that he saw at the mouth of hell, Verg. *Aen.* VI. 276. So Prud. *Psych.* 404 speaks of *malesuada luxuries*, Plaut. *Capt.* 325 *odi ego aurum. multa multis saepe suasit perperam*. Note the

nom. *famis* which is used by Prud. *Psych.* 479 and some other late writers. Cp. 46. 19; Rönsch p. 263.

35. 'If riches increase' from Ps. lxi. (lxii.) 11. 'The prophet' is the psalmist, cp. 41. 2 note.

From *affluo* come our words 'affluent,' 'affluence'; cp. 92. 20 *affluis*. This use of the word is common in classical writers, as Sall. *Cat.* XXXVI. 4 *cum...domi otium atque diuitiae, quae prima mortales putant, affluerent*. Especially does Cic. use *affluens* = *abundans*.

37. **ingenitus** is seldom thus used without its correlative *uni-genitus*, as at 41. 33 f.

38 f. Cp. 46. 23 f.

40. Eph. v. 18.

HYMN 51

Hymn 51 was in the old series appointed for daily use at Prime throughout the year. It was adopted in the later hymnal also and was therein reserved for Prime during Lent, its former place having been taken by hymn 81 *Iam lucis orto sidere*. It was originally written for monastic use: see the notes on lines 4, 6, and 13.

Eo Farsψ Hbr Ih Vbs

Post matutinis laudibus,
 quas Trinitati psallimus,
 psallamus rursus admonet
 uerus paterfamilias.

simus semper solliciti
 ne praetereat opus Dei,
 sed adoremus sedule
 sicut docet apostolus :

5

psallamus mente Domino,
 psallamus simul spiritu,
 ne uaga mens in turpibus
 inertes tegat animos.

10

1 -nas laudes Hb. 2 trinitatis Hr, trinitate Fa. 4 ueris Fψ.
 familia Hr. 7 oremus *omnes*. 8 decet Fa. apostolos Eo¹ Fa.
 10 simul et Eo Fr Hr.

1. 'After the mattin lauds which we have sung to the Trinity.' *post* in late Latin came to govern an abl.; cp. Rönsch p. 408. Blume ingeniously makes one word of *post-matutinis*, and explains 'in the after-mattin lauds,' identical with 'Prime.' In that case the *rursus* would presumably mean 'as we did yesterday and other days'; but this is not nearly so natural.

3. *admonet*] Cp. 47. 10.

4. The word *paterfamilias* is borrowed from the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, Mt. xx. 1 f., upon which stanzas I and II are based, as is hymn 56. The use of the word here denotes that the hymn was in the first place written for household (monastic) use, as indeed we might conclude from *septies* in 13.

6. 'lest the service of God pass by'; cp. 56. 5f. [*Opus Dei* is a technical word in Benedictine language for divine service: for instance S. Bened. *Reg. l. agant ibidem opus Dei ubi operantur...non eos praetereant horae constitutae.*] The last two syllables of *praetereat* coalesce; -*ēāt*.

w.

7. The MS reading *sed oremus sedule* is defective in metre. I would read *adoremus*, the word used in 1 Cor. xiv. 25 *cadens in faciem adorabit Deum*, to verse 15 of which chapter allusion is made immediately after. The writer's eye would pass on from the *d* of *sed*; and moreover *adorare* meaning 'to pray' was much rarer than the simple *orare*. The reference in 8 seems, however, to be to what follows, not to line 7.

9f. 1 Cor. xiv. 15 *orabo spiritu, orabo et mente: psallam spiritu, psallam et mente*, 82. 21 f. It seems to me that the writer reversed St Paul's order of words, writing *mente...spiritu*, to suit the metre, but that the older MSS have spoilt this by inserting *et* before *spiritu* from the recollection of the *et* before *mente*. I would therefore omit the *et*, for which *simul* is substituted. If it be retained *simul et* must be scanned as a kind of tribrach.

11. *uaga mens*] 57. 15, 82. 27, 94. 14; cp. 20. 11 note, Prud. *Psych.* 312 *luxuria...oculis uaga*.

12. *tegat*] 'shroud,' as with a pall of darkness; cp. 21. 5 note.

16

sed septies in hac die
dicamus laudes Domino,
diuinitati perpeti
debita demus gloriae.

15

15 diuinitate Fa Hr¹. perpetim Eo Hr.
gloriam Fs Vs, gloria Hb.

16 debitam Fs Vs.

13. **septies**] i.e. at the seven canonical hours, the observance of which was as yet confined to monastic use, derived from Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 164; cp. 82. 9.

14. Identical with 53. 1.

15 f. 'Let us give the eternal Godhead His due of glory,' cp. 49. 18.

16. **debita...gloriae**] Cp. 5. 13 *cordis ima* (note). Daniel reads *debitam gloriam* with the later MSS.

HYMN 52

52 was of course always sung at Terce: see line 3. The rubric in Vat. reg. 11 is *Hymnus ad tertia cotidian.*, in Rheinau 34 *hymnus priuatis diebus ad tertiam*. The hymn passed into the Mozarabic use (*Analecta* XXVII. 103), but not into the later hymnal.

Eo Fasψ Hr Max Vrs

Certum tenentes ordinem
pio poscamus pectore
hora diei tertia
trinae uirtutis gloriam:
ut simus habitaculum
illi sancto Spiritui,
qui quondam in apostolis
hac hora distributus est.

5

1 certo Vr¹. ordine Faψ. 2 pascamus Vr (paschamus Fa). 4 gloria
Fa, gloriae Eo Fψ Hr. uirtutem trini numinis Max. 8 haec Fa.

1. **certum**] 'fixed,' cp. 27. 2 note.
2. 'Let us with dutiful heart pray to the glory of the threefold might,' i.e. to the glorious Trinity. For this use of the abstract *gloriam* see the Index.

5. Eph. ii. 22 *uos coaedificamini*

in habitaculum Dei in Spiritu; cp. 45. 27 f. *habitaculum* is used at 30. 16 of the body as 'the abode' of the soul. 6 f. Acts ii. 1 f. and 15, 16. 1 f. *illi* is used emphatically as at 19. 2.
7. **in apostolis**] The abl. is here used in the same sense as the accus.

hoc gradientes ordine
 ornauit cuncta splendide 10
 regni caelestis conditor
 aeternae uitae praemiis.

9 quo (*pro hoc*) Max. ordinem Mx. 10 splendida Eo Hr².
 11 celesti Fa. 12 praemia Eo (-miae Fψ), praemium Fa.

9 f. 'Them that walk in this order (according to this rule) the founder of the kingdom of heaven has rewarded in all respects gloriously, even with the gifts of eternal life.' Perhaps we should read *praemia*. The use of the double acc. (which in classical writers was confined to a few words of asking, teaching, concealing) was wide in early and late Latin. Any verb which takes an acc. of the person or

of the thing may take both acc.'s together, as Ter. *Phorm.* 947 *argentum quod habes condonamus te*, Act. *Fratr. Arual. Corp.* p. 550. 7 *uictores palmas et coronas argenteas honorauerunt*. In late Latin among many instances we find in an inscription *aetatem tantos onerare dolores*, and *Commodian Apol.* 418 *quem et potauerunt secundum scripturas acetum*.

HYMN 53

The rubric in the MSS is either *ad sexta* or *ad sextam* except in Rheinau 34 which has *ad sextam priuatis diebus*.

Eo Faψ Mx Vr

Dicamus laudes Domino
 feruente prompto spiritu,
 hora uoluta sexies
 nos ad orandum prouocat:
 quia in hac fidelibus 5
 uerae salutis gratia
 beati agni hostia
 crucis uirtute redditur:

2 feruenti Vr. promptu Eo Faψ. rursus (*pro pr.*) Vr. 3 uoluta Fa.
 5 qui Faψ. hoc Mx. 6 uera Mx. gloriae Eo. 7 agnis Fa.
 8 crucem Fa(?)ψ. uirtutes Eo Fa.

1. Identical with 51. 14.
 2. Blume reads *prompti*, but *prumptu* of the MSS points to an original *prompto*, which comes from 16. 3 *dignare promptus ingeri*: 'with ready and fervent spirit.'

rursus of Vat. reg. 11 might come from 51. 3.

4. *prouocat* has a good sense as at 47. 19, 112. 29, cp. 108. 17. Cp. Heb. x. 24. Here it governs *dicamus*.

5 f. 'Because at this hour the

cuius luce clarissima
tenebricat meridies :
sumamus toto pectore
tanti splendoris gratiam.

10

9 lux Fa.
gratiae Vr.

10 meridie Fψ, meridiem Fa.

12 gratia Faψ,

grace of true salvation is restored to believers by the sacrifice of the blessed Lamb, by the power of the cross,' Joh. xix. 14. Or there may be a reference here already, as there is in 11 f., to the midday communion on a fast day as at 100. 2 f. when we should translate '...by the grace of our true salvation (Christ) the sacrifice of the blessed Lamb is restored to believers....' For *salutis* thus used cp. 23. 14, 36. 27, 38. 29. In either interpretation *beati agni* is the gen. of definition.

9. 'by the brilliant light of whom

midday is darkened.' The first reference is to Mt. xxvii. 45; cp. 55. 13 f.; but the author seems at the same time to wish to suggest that the midday sun is dark in comparison with Christ.

10. *tenebricare* is used in the Old Latin, but not in the Vulgate, of Amos viii. 9, Lk. xxiii. 45; cp. Rönisch p. 159.

11. *sumamus*] Cp. 107. 16.

12. *tanti splendoris*] = *tam splendidi*: of Him who was *splendor paternae gloriae*, 3. 1.

HYMN 54

The original use of 54 was *ad nonam* throughout the year, and so also in the Mozarabic breviary, *Analecta* XXVII. p. 105. It was adopted in the later series of hymns, and, as in that series hymn 18 *Rerum Deus tenax uigor* was the usual one for this hour, our hymn was appointed for None during Lent.

Ecdhjlov Faisψ Gm Hbcdβ Iop Mx Vrs

Perfectum trinum numerum
ternis horarum terminis,
laudes canentes debitas
nonam dicentes psallimus.

1 perfecto -no -ro Ev Iop Vs.
Fa) Vr. dicente Vr.

3 debita Vr.

4 nona Fψ (nota

1. 'The threefold number accomplished in periods of three hours each,' i.e. 'the ninth hour having come.'

The acc.'s in 1 may be in a

kind of apposition to *nonam* in 4; or they may be acc. absolute, as the later copyists who wrote *perfecto trino numero* probably took the passage; see 33. 16 note.

sacrum Dei mysterium 5
 puro tenentes pectore,
 Petri magistri regula
 signo salutis prodita,
 et nos psallamus spiritu
 adhaerentes apostolis: 10
 qui plantas adhuc debiles
 Christi uirtute dirigant.

6 purum Fa. canentes Mx. pectori Elv. 7 patris Mx. magistra
 Fψ. regulam Ecv Vr, regulae Hc. 8 signum Faψ Ip Vr. proditam Vr,
 proditum Hc. 9 at Edo. om. nos Fa. spiritum Fψ Hβ, spiritus Vs.
 10 apostoli Hβ. 11 mentes Mx. habent (*pro adhuc*) omnes praeter Vr.
 12 uirtutem Fi Gm Hbβ Io. diligent Ecl Fi Gm Hcβ Iop, dirigunt Vr.

3. Cp. 15. 3.

4. **nonam**] i.e. the office so-called, 'None.'

5. 'holding the sacred mystery of God in a pure heart'; this mystery being the faith in the Trinity. See 1 Tim. iii. 9 *habentes mysterium fidei in conscientia pura*, which passage the hymn-writer has in mind.

7 f. 'after the rule of our master Peter made known to us by the miracle of healing,' viz. that of the lame man; see Acts iii. 1 f. and especially St Peter's words in v. 16. *magistri* = 'who taught us thus to do.'

9. 'Let us also (as well as the lame man, Acts iii. 8) sing, clinging in spirit to the apostles' (ibid. 11). *psallamus* looks back to *psallimus* in 4. *spiritu* seems to go with both

psallamus (cp. 51. 10) and *adhaerentes*. For *adhaerentes apostolis* cp. 10. 15 note.

11. 'And may they (the apostles) make straight our feet (ankles), that are yet weak, by the power of Christ.' For *dirigant* in this sense cp. Celsus VIII. x. 7 *frangi rursus ossa et dirigi debent*; Prosper in Ps. CXXXIV. 18 *diriguntur pedes claudorum*. The variant *habent* would be due to the copyists not understanding the construction here.

plantas] strictly 'the soles' of the feet, probably connected with *planus*, but here used for *talos*, as in Acts iii. 7 *consolidatae sunt bases eius et plantae* (τὰ σφυρά).

Chr. uirtute] 'by the healing power,' in reference to Acts iii. 12, iv. 7.

HYMN 55

The rules of Caesarius and Aurelian prescribe this hymn *ad sextam tempore paschali* (Blume *Cursus* pp. 36, 40). In Vat. reg. 11, the one MS that contains it, the rubric is simply *ad sexta*. The metre is noticeably correct, except in lines 2, 6, 34, 36. The hymn, though

appointed for *sext*, is here placed after hymn 54, because of its special appointment by both bishops of Arles as an Easter hymn.

Vr

Iam sexta sensim uoluitur
ter binis hora cursibus,
diesque puncto aequabili
utramque noctem respicit.

uenite, serui, supplices 5
mente, ore, extollite
dignis beatum laudibus
nomen Dei cum cantico.

hoc namque tempus illud est 10
quod saeculorum iudicem
iniusta morti tradidit
mortalium sententia,

cum sol repente territus,
horrore tanti criminis
mortem minatus saeculis, 15
diem refugit impium.

6 *inseruit* et Vr¹ *manus recentior*.

1. *sensim* refers to the gradual passing one by one of the first six hours.

uoluitur] 53. 3, 56. 1, 59. 4.

3 f. 'the day from an equidistant point (i.e. midday) regards both nights,' viz. the night past and the night to come.

5. Ps. cxxxiv. 1 *laudate serui Dominum*; 82. 18.

6. *mente, ore*] 'with mind and mouth,' cp. 16. 5. Probably there is an allusion to 1 Cor. xiv. 15.

8. Ps. lxxviii. (lxxix.) 30 *laudabo nomen Dei cum cantico*.

9. Joh. xix. 14.

10. *quod*] 'at which,' in a classical writer would be *quo*, cp. 43. 1 note. Or perhaps *quod* may be a conjunction meaning 'when,' as

often in late writers, cp. Quint. x. iii. 14 *nec dissimulauit adulescens, tertium iam diem esse, quod...non inueniret*; Aetheriae Peregrinatio II. 2 *his diebus, quod sanctus Moyses ascendit in montem Domini*. A third interpretation would make *quod* the nom. to *tradidit*, and *sententia* abl. *saeculorum*] 'of the world,' and so in 15.

13 f. Mt. xxvii. 45, cp. 1. 43, 53. 9; Prud. *Cath.* IX. 79 f. *sol refugit et lugubri sordidus ferrugine | igneum reliquit axem seque maerens abdidit: [fertur horruisse mundus noctis aeternae chaos*. The darkening of the sun was to be a sign of the end of the age (*mortem saeculis*), Mt. xxiv. 29, cp. 120. 9.

18. Gen. xviii. 2 f. The MS read-

hoc et beatus tempore
Abraham fideliter rei
peritus in mysterio
tres uidit, unum credidit. 20

hanc ad precandum congruam
saluator horam tradidit,
cum diceret fidelibus
Patrem rogandum seruulis.

nec non et ille pertinax 25
hostis fidei gratiam,
quam praedicauit gentibus,
hoc est adeptus tempore.

et nos amore debito,
timore iusto subditi, 30
aduersus omnes impetus,
quos saeuus hostis incutit,
unum rogemus et Patrem
Deum regemque Filium

18, 19 reperitus Vr. 26 usus hostis Vr. 33 *inseruit et manus rec.*

ing *Abraham fideliter re peritus* needs correction. I would by the addition of a stroke (perhaps already added by the corrector of the MS) read *rei*; 'By faith (*fideliter*) Abraham knowing the truth saw in a mystery three and believed but one.' The phrase became a commonplace: cp. Ambr. *de Cain* 30 *tres uidet, unum adorat*; *de Fid. Res.* II. 96 *Abraham...fidelis Deo... Trinitatem in typo uidit, ...tres suspiciens, unum adorans*; Aug. *c. Maxim. Ar.* II. xxvi. 8 *et ipse Abraham tres uidit et unum adorauit*; Prud. *Apoth.* 28 f.; Fort. v. v. 47 *tres uidet aequales, unum ueneratus adorat*. It came to be regarded as a biblical text. 'And there he satt and saughe 3 Persones, and worschipte but on; as Holy Writt seythe, *Tres uidit et unū adorauit*' (Maundevile's *Travaile* p. 66, ed. Halliwell).

fideliter] Abraham's faith is dwelt upon in Rom. iv. 3, Gal. iii. 6, Heb. xi. 8 ff., Jas. ii. 23, cp. 1 Maccab. ii. 52.

19. *peritus* is often found with a gen. of the thing known, e.g. Liv. III. 51 *peritus rerum popularium*.

21 f. Joh. iv. 6.

23. Perhaps the author understood the 'hour' in Joh. iv. 23 to mean the hour of the day. The emphasis is on *Patrem*.

25. Acts xxii. 6, xxvi. 13. The allusion is to St Paul's conversion.

27. *gentibus*] to the Gentiles; Acts ix. 15, Rom. xi. 13, Gal. ii. 7, Eph. iii. 8.

29. *et nos*] like those whom Saul persecuted and then joined.

33. Cp. 5. 29, 43. 13. Perhaps intended as an echo of 24.

34. *regem*] Cp. 1. 2, 15, 70; 11. 19, 25. 4, 34. 1, 18.

simulque sanctum Spiritum 35
in Trinitate Dominum,

ut, quos redemit passio
isto peracto tempore,
possit sub ipso tempore
seruare deprecatio. 40

38 sto Vr.

37 f. 'that our prayer may avail to keep us safe at this time whom the Passion redeemed at that past time.' One is tempted to correct, with most editors, to *peracta*: but in these hymns *peractus* is always used as an adj. meaning 'past,' cp. 5. 9, 33. 16, 115. 14.

39 f. Cp. 84. 23 *conserua nos in tempore | hostis a telo perfidi.*

ipso] 'this present' time. *ipse* lost much of its force in late Latin,

often meaning no more than *hic*; cp. Aeth. Peregr. II. 3 *placuit, ut... per mediam uallem ipsam...rediremus*; ib. XV. 1 *requisiui de eo, quam longe esset ipse locus.*

sub] 'in,' a late usage, cp. Jerome *Epist. LXXVII. 10 sub una aestate*, and (on an inscription) *teneris sub annis.*

40. *deprecatio*] Cp. 19. 13 note. The word is often so used in the Vulgate, e.g. Ps. vi. 10, xvi. 1 etc.

HYMN 56

This hymn, which in point of style and metre is well-nigh worthy of Ambrose himself, is prescribed by Caesarius and Aurelian for None in the Easter season (Blume *Cursus* pp. 36, 40). In Vat. reg. 11 the rubric is (erroneously) *Hymnus ad uesperum in die ieiunii*. On these last words Blume *Analecta* LI. p. 18 notes that, in view of the above appointment by the two bishops of Arles, the reference is to the fast on Wednesdays and Fridays in Eastertide, not to Lent; see the note on line 29.

['Easter,' however, was not defined in ancient times in the same manner as with us, and *in die ieiunii* may have been intended for the day or days preceding Easter, which would agree with Caesarius' words *in die primo Paschae*.]

Vapr

Ter hora trina uoluitur,
redire qua Christus solet
mercede largus uineam
locare mercenariis.

decet paratos sistere,
ne transeat merces Dei,
plantare quae uitem solet
Christumque cordi adfigere.

5

haec hora, quae resplenduit
crucisque soluit nubila,
mundum tenebris exuens,
reddens serena tempora.

10

haec hora, qua resuscitans
Iesus sepulcris corpora
prodire mortis libera

15

2 quia Vr. 3 mercedem Vap. uineae Vap. 9 qua Vr.
10 om. que Vp. uincola Vr. 13 quae Vap.

1. **ter**] to be taken with *trina*, not with *uoluitur*.

2 f. Mt. xx. 1 f., especially 5.

redire...solet] 'comes once more.' For this force of *redire* cp. 36. 38; and for the periphrasis with *solet* lines 7 and 30. For the common use in late Latin of such periphrastic expressions see Löfstedt *Aeth.* p. 207 f.

3. **mercede largus**] 'generous in His payment': Mt. xx. 5, although at the ninth hour only three hours of work remain, the payment is still the same; Ambr. *Hex.* II. 10 *Deus...inmensus in remuneratione*. God's payment is His grace or 'mercy' and in this sense we often find *merces* used; see Leo's *Fortunatus* p. 407.

4. **locare**] 'in order to let out,' cp. Mt. xxi. 33 *locauit eam agricolis*. There appears to be a confusion between this parable and that of the Labourers in the Vineyard.

5. **sistere**] 'to take our stand,' with a view to being hired.

6. **transeat**] 'pass by us,' cp. *praetereat* 51. 5 f.

7. **plantare**] If a parable is still in view, it seems to be that of the Vineyard, not that of the Vine, in which case *cordi affigere* will express *plantare*. Ambr. in *Luc.* IX. 29 *agricola quippe omnipotens pater, uitis est Christus...ut uitis maritatur arboribus*; *Hex.* IV. *quid prodest ponere uitem...adiungere ulmis et quodam conubio copulare...?* This attachment is the result of God's 'mercy' (*quae solet*).

9 f. Mt. xxvii. 45.

haec hora] 'this is the hour'; so also in 13, and in 4. 9, of which passage the writer is thinking.

12. **serena**] 'bright,' cp. 10. 2 note.

13 f. Mt. xxvii. 52; cp. 1. 44.

15. **mortis libera**] 'free from death'; cp. Verg. *Aen.* X. 154

iussit refuso spiritu.

redit fauilla in sanguinem
cinisque carnem reddidit,
mixtique uiuis mortui
uidere Christi gloriam. 20

nouata saecla crederes,
mortis solutis legibus,
uitae beatae munere
cursum perennem currere.

dicamus ergo, proximi, 25
laudes Deo cum cantico ;
confessus est latro fidem
in quo est redemptus tempore.

16 refulso Vp¹. 17 reddit Vp¹. 21 credere Vap. 24 perhenne
Vp. 28 om. in Vap.

libera fati; Hor. *Ars Poet.* 212
liber laborum. Usually *liber* takes
an abl., as at 12. 26, 31. 63.

16. **spiritu**] 'the breath of life.'

17. 'The ashes turned to blood
again.' *fauilla* is 'the ashes' of a
cremated body, as at Hor. *Od.* II.
vi. 23, hence the remains of a body
that has been buried; cp. Fort. IX.
ii. 67 *coeperit ut tegere arentes cutis
uda fauillas | et uiui cineres de
tumulis salient*.

redit is perfect. Like contracted
forms are found: *it* (Ter. Verg. Ov.),
abit (Plaut. Ter. Sen.). Cp. 37. 14,
20.

20. **uidere**] perfect. Blume, who
thought that in 21 all the MSS read
credere, takes *uidere*, *credere* and
currere in 24 as historic inf. But
uidere as inf. after the indicative
perfects *redit* and *reddidit* would be
too abrupt. Possibly there is a re-
ference to Joh. xi. 40.

21. **crederes**] 'you would think,'
were you there to see, like Ambr.'s
quis putet 9. 13. For the tense cp.
Prud. *Cath.* IX. *cerneres coire mem-
bra de fauillis aridis* and several

examples quoted by Dräger *Hist.*
Synt. I. 282 f.

nouata saecla] perhaps an echo
of 12. 29.

22. Cp. 49. 4.

23. **uitae beatae**] Cp. 10. 16 and
42. 44.

24. **currere** has *saecla* for subject,
cursum for object.

25. **proximi**] 'neighbours,' as at
16. 8. For the vocative thus used
cp. 55. 5, 82. 18.

26. Cp. 55. 8.

27. Cp. 10. 7. It is implied that
we too are redeemed at this hour,
and therefore ought to glorify God
as the penitent robber did.

28. **in quo est**, though not given
in any MS, is better than *quo est*,
for while elision occurs at lines 8
and 17, no instance of hiatus comes
in the hymn. *in* is thus used of
time at 37. 13, 53. 5, 84. 23, 91. 3,
101. 2.

29 f. 'By this grace (the redemp-
tion granted to the repentant robber,
10. 22, and to us) we joyfully bring
our fast to an end, a type of our
future reward; may those who are

qua gratia ieiunium
laeti solemus soluere 30
instar futuri muneris :
famem probati nesciant.

approved not know (experience) hunger.' Daniel (I. 4) notes: *ueteres Christiani diebus stationum ieiunare solebant usque ad Nonam.* See Prud. *Cath.* VIII. 9f. *nona submissum rotat hora solem; | ...nos breuis uoti dape uindicata | soluimus festum frui-murque mensis; Perist.* VI. 54f. 'ieiunamus,' ait, 'recuso potum. |

nondum nona diem resignat hora'; Epiphan. *Expos. Fid.* 22 τετράδι δὲ καὶ ἐν προσαββάτῳ ἐν νηστεία ἕως ὧρας ἐννάτης. Cp. the introduction to this hymn. *instar* is in apposition with *ieiunium soluere*.

32. **probati**] 'the elect,' cp. 1. 30, 57. See Rev. vii. 16.

HYMN 57

Caesarius and Aurelian appoint this hymn for use at Vespers in alternation with 5 *Deus creator omnium*, Aurelian's actual expression being *ad lucernarium* (Blume *Cursus* pp. 38, 43). And in Vat. reg. 11 hymn 5 immediately follows our hymn with the rubric *item hymnus uespertinus*. 57 and 58 are so much alike that it is most likely that one poet wrote both. Neither of them passed into the later hymnal.

Eo Fabψ Mx Vr

Deus, qui certis legibus
noctem discernis ac diem,
ut fessa curis corpora
somnus relaxet otio,
te noctis inter horridae 5
tempus precamur, ut, sopor
mentem dum fessam detinet,
fidei lux inluminet.

2 a die Fψ. 3 cures Mx. 4 somno Vr, somnum Eo Faψ. relaxat Fabψ. otium Mx. 7 retinet Fa.

1 f. The thought of this stanza often recurs; see the introduction to 2.

5. The dread of night is often

dwelt upon; cp. 27. 3.

8. For the combination of faith and light see 5. 20, 6. 32.

hostis ne fallax incitet
 lasciuus corda gaudiis,
 secreta noctis aduocans,
 blandos in aestus corporis.

10

subrepat nullus sensui
 horror timoris anxii;
 inludat mentem ne uagam
 fallax imago uisuum.

15

sed cum profundus uinxerit
 somnus curarum nescius,
 fides nequaquam dormiat,
 uigil te sensus somniet.

20

9 hoste Fa. 10 lasciuas Fψ. cura (*pro* corda) Vr, curis Eo Faψ,
 curam Mx. 11 secretam Mx. 12 blandus Eo Faψ Mx Vr.
 aestu Fa. isto corpore Eo. 15 mente Fa. nec Vr. 16 uisui
 Eo Fa. 17 secundum profundum Fa. 18 nesciens Fa.
 19 fidem Fa. dormiet Faψ. 20 uigilue Eo, uigilque Mx.

9 f. 'Let not our deceitful enemy, calling to his aid the privacy of night, stimulate our hearts with licentious pleasures to alluring passions of the body.' The reading *cura*, which in some codices was changed into *curis* in consequence of the words on either side of it, bears no satisfactory sense. Blume reads *crura*, but gives no authority. I read *corda*, which would in one MS or another be written *curda* (as Vat. reg. 11 at line 6 of this hymn writes *supor*) and this would be corrupted into *cura*, a word occurring in one or other of its cases at lines 3 and 18. With *incitet corda* cp. 26. 20 *agitas quieta corda*.

11. **secreta noctis**] Cp. 5. 26 *cordis alta*. For the implied meaning cp. Eph. v. 12.

aduocans] Cp. Sil. *Punic.* IX. 81 *ad conamina noctem | aduocat ac furtim castris euadit inquis*.

12. As *hostis* already has its epithet (*fallax*), for *blandus* I read

blandos; cp. 46. 14 *blandis...aestibus*.

aestus corporis] 'bodily heats' or 'passions'; cp. 5. 24, and for the gen. 10. 14 *poenam corporis*.

13. **subrepat**] as at 46. 11.

14. 'dread torturing fear.'

anxii] Cp. 5. 8 note. The allusion is to evil dreams or nightmares sent by the devil, who was thought to have special sway by night.

15. **inludat**] 103. 20. It seems here to refer to apparitions or 'ghosts.' Cp. 83. 5, 6.

mentem uagam] 51. 11.

16. **fallax**] of that which speaks or looks real but is not: 'a deceptive semblance of things seen.'

17 f. an echo of 5. 17 f.

18. **curarum**] the cares of the past day, as in 3.

19. Cp. 5. 21.

20. Cp. 5. 26, 60. 5. *sensus* (like *sensui* above) means the spirit or inner consciousness.

HYMN 58

The rubric in Vat. reg. 11, the one authority for 58, is *item hymnus uespertinus*: so it was in alternate use with 57 and 5, which it immediately follows in this MS. It is not mentioned by Caesarius or Aurelian.

Vr

Sator princepsque temporum,
clarum diem laboribus
noctemque qui soporibus
fixo distinguis ordine,

mentem tu castam dirige, 5
obscura ne silentia
ad dira cordis uulnera
telis patescant inuidi.

somno non cedat spiritus, 10
uigilque custos corporis
metus inanes arceat,
fallax depellat gaudium.

uacent ardore pectora,
faces nec ullas sentiant,

3 laboribus Vr.

1. sator] 44. 1.

5. mentem...castam] 3. 17.

6f. 'lest the dark, silence (i.e. lest we in the dark and silent night) be exposed to the darts of the enemy, causing dread wounds of the heart.' Somewhat similar to this use of the abstract *silentia* is Propert. II. xx. 31 *tunc inter Tityi uolucres mea poena* (i.e. I in my punishment) *uagetur*.

7. uulnera] 19. 16.

8. telis patescant] Eph. vi. 16, 45. 16f., 84. 24.

inuidi] 3. 14, 5. 27 etc.

9. non is to be taken closely with

cedat: 'may it refuse to yield'; hence *-que* not *sed* in the next line. Yet *-que* can have an adversative force, even in Cic. *de Off.* I. 22 *non nobis solum nati sumus ortusque nostri partem patria uindicat*. The 'spirit' watches over the body.

12. fallax] as in 57. 9.

13. Cp. 17. 6, 57. 12.

14f. 'and may they feel no flames (of lust), lest these fastening on the heart destroy the vigour of the soul.'

faces] Cp. Cic. *Tusc.* I. 44 *cum corporis facibus inflammari soleamus ad omnes fere cupiditates*.

adfixae ne praecordiis . 15
 mentis uigorem saucient.
 sed cum defessa corpora
 somni tenebunt gratiam,
 caro quietis sit memor,
 fides soporem nesciat. 20

15 adfixa Vr.

19 solo (*pro caro*) Vr.

20 nesciant Vr.

15. **adfixae** refers to *faces*, cp. 56. 8. The MS reading *adfixa* can but agree with *pectora*, which gives no good sense.

praecordiis] Cp. 45. 12 note.

16. **saucient** may be compared with *uulnera* in 7. The verb is used again at 106. 11, *saucius* at 80. 6, 86. 6.

18. **somni...gratiam**] Cp. 5. 4 *soporis gratia*.

19. **caro**] Our one MS has *solo*,

which is meaningless. Blume corrects to *caro*, comparing the compline hymn *Iesu redemptor saeculi* (*Analecta* LI. p. 43) 15 f. *sic caro nostra dormiat, | ut mens soporem nesciat*. [But if this conjecture be right, *caro* must be taken in a strictly ethical sense. Something is wanted that would correspond to *culpa* in 5. 22. *Dolus* would be a little nearer the MS reading, or *scelus*.]

HYMN 59

In Eo and Fa the rubric is *ad uesperas dominicis* and this was the use of the hymn.

Eo Fasψ Gb Vs

Deus, qui claro lumine
 diem fecisti, Domine,
 tuam rogamus gloriam
 dum pronus uoluitur dies.
 iam sol urgente uespero 5
 occasum suum graditur,

3 tua...gloria Fψ.

4 tu pronos soluitur Vs.

5 arguentes Vs.

uespere Fa, uesperum Fψ.

3. 'We pray to Thy glory,' i.e. we pray to Thee, O glorious one; cp. the similar phrase 52. 2 f. *poscamus...trinae uirtutis gloriam*.

4. **pronus**] 'on its downward course,' being past the zenith. So Stat. *Theb.* II. 41 *prona dies*, Hor. *Od.* III. xxviii. 5 *inclinare meridiem sentis*.

5. 'Now the sun, with Vesperus

pressing on, goes down his western slope.' Vesperus, more usually known in the Greek form Hesperus, was the evening star. Rising after and following the sun, he 'presses him on.' It may, however, simply mean 'the evening.' For the rhythm cp. 84. 9.

6. **occasum** is a kind of contained acc. after *graditur*; unless we take

mundum concludens tenebris,
suum obseruans ordinem.

sed tu, excelse Domine,
precantes tuos famulos 10
labore fessos diei
quietos nox suscipiat ;

ut non fuscatis mentibus
dies abscedat saeculi,
sed tua tecti gratia 15
cernamus lucem prosperam.

7 tenebras Fa. 11 labores Eo Fa. fessus Fa Vs. 12 quieta Vs.
15 tecta Gb. 16 luce prospera Faψ Gb.

it as the acc. of the place to which, as Verg. *Aen.* vi. 696 *haec limina tendere*; Fort. *Vit. Mart.* iii. 223 *ire palatia*, 'to go to the palace.' It might perhaps even be treated as the supine, in spite of the attached *suum*.

7. The sun is said to shut the world in darkness by ceasing to shine, much as the wind is said to calm the waves by ceasing to blow (*Soph. Aj.* 674, Verg. *Ecl.* ii. 26 etc.) or as a husband is said to make his wife a widow by ceasing to live, as in a Mozarabic hymn, *Anal.* xxvii. p. 67 *quam in flore iuuentutis coniunx uiduauerat*.

8. Cp. 84. 17 f., Ps. ciii. (civ.) 19.

9 f. 'And Thou, O most high Lord, may the night welcome into its quiet Thy servants who wearied with the day's toil now pray.' The emphatic *tu* is like the use of the word in several hymns, see the note on 1. 3. It is not necessary to make any change in the text. Grimm for *tu* suggests *fac*, but this is in any case not close enough to the MS tradition; Daniel reads *tunc*, which does not fit in here. Blume would supply *suscipias* from *suscipiat* in 12, but grammar forbids this. If a change were needed, the simplest would be to read *te* governed by

precantes, from which it is separated by two words, as at 57. 5 *te* is separated by four words from *precamur*.

sed has little or no adversative force, as often in prayers, cp. 36. 37 note. *quietos* is used proleptically = *ut quieti sint*.

13 f. 'That this day (the natural day now almost gone) may not depart leaving our souls darkened, but that we shielded by Thy grace may see a happy morrow.' Or, after the manner of these hymns, the *lux pr.* may mean the inward light which makes safe our passage through the night.

fuscatis] 'darkened' by sin, as our bodies are by the night. Cp. Symmachus *Epist.* i. 40 *quem ad hoc aevi nulla actuum culpa fuscavit*; Sidonius vii. 505 *quem fuscet id unum | quod te Roma capit*; Sedul. *Op.* v. 28 *synagoga proprio iam colore fuscata*; Fort. viii. iii. 109 *haec sua membra putans quae nulla iniuria fuscet*.

14. *dies...saeculi*] 13. 2.

15. *tecti*] 'covered' as with a shield.

16. *prosperam*] of temporal happiness, as nearly always; cp. 80. 12, 125. 7. So also our words 'prosper,' 'prosperous.'

HYMN 60

Caesarius of Arles writing in A.D. 534 says: *ad duodecimam* [i.e. at Compline] *hymnus Christe precamur adnue; die altera Christe qui lux es et dies dicatur. et sic omni tempore isti duo hymni dicantur* (Blume *Cursus* p. 36). The hymn is contained only in one MS Toled. Cod. 35-2 and in the printed Mozarabic breviary of 1502, where it is appointed *ad uesperas feria sexta infra hebdomadam primam quadragesimae*; cp. *Analecta* XXVII. 78. We have to bear in mind the possibility that the two hymns may not be the same; for the Mozarabic church in at least one case took the first line of a hymn by Ambrose *Deus creator omnium* and made a hymn which had nothing of the original except this line,—see the introduction to 2. Or it may be that, just as the Ambrosian use took a stanza or two of the midnight hymn *mediae noctis tempus est* with the change of a word *tibi matutino tempore* etc. = 42. 45 f., so Caesarius took a stanza or two of 50, beginning at line 13. The stanzas of that hymn however are more suitable for the morning than for Compline. One would have expected him to make some mention of 50, which was one of the old series. But hymn 60 is certainly suited to Compline and is probably the one prescribed for such use by Caesarius.

Mdx

Christe, precamur adnue,
mixtasque uoces fletibus
semper benignus et pius
uenturam noctem suscipe.

4 in noct. Mx.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 1. adnue] lit. 'nod assent,' hence 'regard with favour.' Verg. often uses it of gods shewing favour, as at <i>Aen.</i> I. 250, IV. 128. The line is | identical with 50. 13; cp. also 123. 13. |
| | 2. Cp. 20. 10 note. |
| | 3. Cp. 29. 39. |
| | 4. uenturam noctem] for the |

te corda nostra somnient, 5
 te per soporem sentiant,
 tuamque semper gloriam
 uicina luce concinant.

uitam salubrem tribue,
 nostrum calorem refice, 10
 taetram noctis caliginem
 claritas tua inluminet.

hymnis uota persoluimus,
 uesperque sacrum poscimus
 nostrum delens chirographum 15
 tuumque praestans editum.

acc., 'during the night,' cp. 43. 1, 55. 10, 82. 9 *septies diem*. The printed Mozarabic breviary reads *uenturam in noctem*, which seems to be a correction.

5. Cp. 5. 26.

6. **te...sentiant]** 'be conscious of Thy presence.'

7f. 'and may they sing Thy eternal glory as day draws near.' For this adjectival use of the adverb *semper* cp. Plaut. *Pers.* 385 *non tu nunc hominum mores uides*; Ter. *Andr.* 175 *eri semper lenitas*, which Wagner illustrates by the Greek ἡ αἰεὶ εὐπέχεια. The construction is here demanded by the order of the words and because *semper* taken as an adv. with *concinant* will clash with *uicina luce*.

10. 'Renew the warmth of our faith'; the prayer corresponds to 3. 19 *fides calore ferueat*.

12. **claritas tua]** 62b. 1, 120. 41.

13 is an evening echo of a thought from Ambr.'s morning hymn, 2. 32. Cp. also 5. 11f.

14f. 'and we pray for a holy evening that cancels our bond etc.' *uesper* is here neuter, like *uespere* at 18. 5, and *delens*, *praestans* agree with it. An objection to this rendering is that *our* evening, however

holy, cannot 'cancel the bond' in view of Col. ii. 14, of which passage the writer is thinking. It may be that, in the havoc of cases indicated in 4, *delens* and *praestans* are a kind of vocative, implied by *poscimus*,—as if, instead of *poscimus*, or in addition to it, the writer had said *da* or some such word. *delens* and *praestans* would agree with the subject of such an imperative. The thought is like that of 18. 5f. *largire clarum uespere* etc.

15f. 'Blotting out the handwriting that was against us (or 'our bond') and giving us what thou hast declared (or 'published') in the gospel,'—probably meaning the *donans omnia delicta* of Col. ii. 13. *editum* must be taken as a substantive, and *tuum editum* is contrasted with *nostrum chirographum*. We cannot give a parallel use of *editum*, but *edere* is a word used in legal and civil Latin for 'publishing,' 'announcing,' 'making known.' We find it in Dirksen used in juxtaposition with *chir.* (s.v. *chirogr.*) *moram facere in chirographo securitatis edendo* (apparently 'in declaring the contents of the bond of assurance').

chirographum (χειρόγραφον) 'a

signed bond,' cp. Ambr. *de Tob.* 33
*quis iste faenerator nisi diabolus, a
 quo Eva mutuata peccatum obnoxiae
 successionis usuris omne genus defae-
 neravit humanum? denique quasi
 malus faenerator chirographum ten-*

*uit, quod postea Dominus suo cruore
 deleuit.* Aug. often refers to Col. ii.
 14, cp. *Conf.* v. 17, vii. 27, ix. 36.
 So Paulin. Aquil. vi. 14 *chirogra-
 phum | mortis cruore diluit rosifluo.*

HYMN 61

This fine old hymn was originally set for Compline on alternate days throughout the year, as is shewn by the united evidence of the Rule of Caesarius, quoted in the introduction to 60, and of all the older MSS. In the course of time however, when a rival appeared in the *Te lucis ante terminum*, hymn 83, its use was in one way or other restricted. Thus in the Mozarabic breviary it was reserved for Compline on Sunday (see *Analecta* XXVII. p. 111), in the later Ambrosian breviary for the same office during the first two weeks of Lent, while the rubric of Paris lat. 11550 runs *ad completorium in hieme*. Its later use was very varied. Chevalier, under No. 2934, gives it thus *Quadragesima (fer., fest., quot.; Passio; Aduent.; domin. et fest.)* always of course at Compline.

The mention of it by Caesarius proves that it was already written in the early part of the VIth century, so that Mone (I. 92) and Chevalier (l. c.), who say that it was not composed before the VIIth century, date it at least a hundred years too late.

The text has, in the various authorities which contain it, suffered many changes; some of the stanzas have been rewritten. It is therefore not easy to say in some lines what the original words were.

The hymn was contained in the French breviaries until the end of the XVIIth century, but it was not adopted in the modern Roman use.

Abcdgh Eacdghjlosvxημφ Fbdhiklnprstuψ Gd Hbcdefh

Ibcdefghmnopv Mackmx Vacps

Christe, qui lux es et dies,
noctis tenebras detegis,
lucifer lucem praeferens,
lumen beatum praedicans,
precamur, sancte Domine,
defende nos in hac nocte,
sit nobis in te requies,
quietam noctem tribue.

5

ne grauis somnus inruat,
nec hostis nos subripiat;
ne caro illi consentiens
nos tibi reos statuatur.

10

oculi somnum capiant,
cor ad te semper uigilet,

2 detegens Ab Hc²d¹ Id Vap, deteges Fψ, detege Es Hh Mak¹x. 3 lux ipse lucem proferens Hh Mk (lumen Max), lux ipse lucis crederis Es, lucisque lumen crederis Eacdglv Fbdiknr¹tuψ Hbcdef Ibceghmnopv Mm Vc. 4 beatis Eo, uitam beatam praed. Max, uitam beatam tribue Acdgh Hh Vap. 6 nocte ac die Eo Fbψ (nos n. a. d. Hh). 7 uite (=uitae) *pro* in te Ex Ib. 8 retribue Vc, tribuas Fs². 9 graui Ab² Fi Ieo Mm Vap. somnu (=somno) Ab². 10 ne Acdh Gd Hbd¹h Ic Vap. hostis ne Eφ. 11 nec Eacov Gd Hcde Icd¹hm Mamx. *om.* ne Eφ Mk. *om.* caro Eo. consentiat Ad Fb¹ψ Io Vap. 12 et ne nos reos Acdh, et nos reos Vap. 14 semper ad te Eco Gd. uigilat Eφ Gd.

1. Cp. 3. 2 f., 45. 10, 46. 2.

2. **detegis**] 'removest' the pall of darkness. As a rule *detegere* has the further sense of 'revealing' that which is hidden beneath.

3. **lucifer**] Cp. 44. 15, 45. 5. Mone 1. 92 seeing a reference to Ps. cix. (cx.) 3 *ante luciferum genui te*, conjectures *luciferum lux praeferens*. He objects that *lucem praeferens* is tautological after *lucifer*; but the hymn writer is thinking of the personified Morning Star, not of the etymological meaning of the word.

praeferens] lit. 'holding in front,' i.e. displaying, cp. 13. 4, 94. 6.

4. 'proclaiming the light of bliss,' cp. 15. 12 *lucem beatam*. *Praed.* seems to mean that Christ in His gospel tells us that this light awaits us hereafter.

9. **grauis** is emphatic, to be taken with *inruat* as part of the predicate.

10. **subripiat**] Cp. Joh. x. 10, 1 Pet. v. 8.

11. **illi consentiens**] 'conspiring with him.' *consentio* is a Bible word, cp. 2 Thess. ii. 12 *consenserunt iniquitati*. *illi* is contrasted with *tibi* in 12.

14. See Cant. v. 2. Cp. 26. 27 and often.

dextera tua protegat
famulos qui te diligunt. 15

defensor noster adspice,
insidiantes reprime,
guberna tuos famulos,
quos sanguine mercatus es. 20

memento nostri, Domine,
in isto graui corpore,
qui es defensor animae,
adesto nobis, Domine.

18 insidiantem Ac Esμφ Im¹n¹o¹v Makx Vap. 20 quo Vp.
22 graui isto Ev (gr. isti Fs). 23 tu (*pro* qui) Eφ. 24 sancte
spiritus (*pro* nobis d.) Hh Vap.

15. The right hand (i.e. the power) of Christ is referred to at 71. 5. The expression is of course frequent in the Psalms.

17. From Ps. lxxxiii. 10 *protector noster aspice Deus*.

18. **insidiantes**] 'treacherous foes.' The variant *insidiantem* would refer to Satan; but the special prayer for deliverance from him has already been made in line 10.

19. **famulos** may have come in from line 16, and the variant *filios*

may be the original. We may be called 'the sons of Christ' (unusual as the thought is) in somewhat the same sense as St Paul calls his converts at Ephesus etc. 'the sons of light.' So Sedul. *Carm.* IV. 181 (of Christ) *non tulit hanc speciem mundi pater*.

20. Acts xx. 28, Ps. lxxxiii. 2.

22. 'under the burden of this body.' The reference is to Wisd. ix. 15, cp. 2 Cor. v. 4. Mone compares Greg. *Mor.* XII. 17 *gravis est sarcina corruptionis*.

THE LATER HYMNAL

NOCTURN HYMNS 62-69

We now come to the later series of hymns; see the Introduction at the beginning of the book. The Nocturn hymns 62 ff. were probably at first all iambic dimeters of the Ambrosian type, until the Sapphic hymn 63 was introduced: see the Introduction to that hymn.

Hitherto 62a and 62b have been regarded as making but one hymn, consisting of eight stanzas. The argu-

ments in favour of dividing them into two separate hymns by different writers are manifold and weighty.

In subject-matter they are quite unlike. As Blume *Analecta* LI. p. 26 notes, 62a addresses the singers, 62b addresses Christ. In metre they are also quite unlike. 62a is metrical and correct with one exception—the hiatus in line 1; but this fault coming in the third foot is less serious than elsewhere. 62b is rhythmical and, besides the spondaic second foot in 16, has no less than six instances of hiatus, three of them in the *second* foot of the verse. Not one of the other hymns of this later nocturn series contains eight stanzas, each having but four; except 63, the unlikeness of which to the rest proclaims it as a later intruder, and 68, which now consists of five stanzas.

It seems likely that 62b was ousted from its independent standing by the new-comer 63, and yet kept its place in the series by being tacked on to 62a. *Iam nunc* is a favourite phrase with which to begin a hymn. Chevalier *Repertorium* 6326–6343, 28431–28435 refers to more than twenty first lines with this commencement. The Parisian breviary of 1680 contained only 62a, and Archbishop Harlay was at the time and afterwards severely criticized for the omission of 62b. Evidently he thought that the two hymns were independent and distinct. The blending of them into one whole took place, however, before the writing of any of our MSS of the later hymnal: the earliest of these was not made before the IXth century, whereas the hymns are more ancient, whoever may have been the authors.

The original use of 62 (a and b) as given in the MSS was at nocturns on Sundays during the winter. The modern Roman breviary has retained the hymn with comparatively few corrections, see Daniel I. p. 175 f.

HYMN 62 A

Eacdhjlsvxημφ Fdhijls Gam Habedefghi Ibefhmnop Mafkm Vbcs

Primo dierum omnium,
 quo mundus exstat conditus,
 uel quo resurgens conditor
 nos morte uicta liberat :

pulsis procul torporibus 5
 surgamus omnes ocius
 et nocte quaeramus pium,—
 sicut prophetam nouimus,—

nostras preces ut audiat,
 suamque dextram porrigat, 10

4 libera Ip, liberans Es Mk, liberet Ecdhlmμφ Fins Hbce Mm In.

1 f. The writer may well be thinking of Sedul. *Carm.* v. 315 f. *coeperat interea post tristia sabbata felix | inradiare dies, culmen qui nominis alti | a Domino dominante trahit primusque uidere | promeruit nasci mundum atque resurgere Christum. | septima nam Genesis cum dicit sabbata, claret | hunc orbis caput esse diem, quem gloria regis | nunc etiam proprii donans fulgore tropaei | primatum retinere dedit.* Mone 1. 371 quotes Greg. Magn. *Hom. in Ezech.* II. iv. 2 *dies dominicus, qui tertius est a morte dominica, a conditione dierum numeratus octauus, quia septimum sequitur; ib. II. viii. 2 in nouo testamento octauus dies in sacramento est, is uidelicet qui dominicus appellatur qui...octauus a conditione est.* The meaning of the stanza is that Sunday was the first day on which 'the world stood forth created' (*exstat conditus*). The modern Roman breviary reads *primo die quo Trinitas | beata mundum condidit*, which

must mean that God created the world on the first day, which is a different thing, and quite in accordance with Genesis. See also 110. 9 *octaua prima redditur*; Blume *Analecta* LI. p. 26.

3. *uel*] 'and,' 37. 6 note. This use is very frequent in the *Regula S. Benedicti*; see the Index to Butler's edition.

4. 1 Cor. xv. 54 f.

5. *torporibus*] 'sloth,' the plural perhaps indicating its repeated attacks.

6. Cp. 2. 17.

7. *pium*] 'our gracious God'; cp. 9. 4 note.

8. 'as we know the prophet' to have sought God by night. The prophet is the psalmist, as at 41. 2 note. See Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 55, 62, cxxxiii. (cxxxiv.) 2. Or possibly the reference may be to Is. xxvi. 9.

10. Cp. Job xiv. 15 (Vulg.); Aug. *Solil.* VI *exaudi me palpitantem in his tenebris et mihi dexteram porrige.*

et hic piatos sordibus
 reddat polorum sedibus,
 ut quique sacratissimo
 huius diei tempore
 horis quietis psallimus, 15
 donis beatis muneret.

11 ut Eclμ Mk. expiatis (*pro hic p.*) omnes praeter Es Fdn Mk Vb.
 13 quicquid He.

11. 'purified here' (i.e. on earth);
 cp. 25. 7 *expiatur* (note).

12. **polorum**] 'of heaven,' cp.
 5. 2.

13f. 'that all we, who in this
 day's most sacred season sing in the
 hours of quiet, may be rewarded
 with blessed gifts.' *quique*=*quicum-*
que, a common usage in late Latin,
 but found also in Plaut. *Miles* 160
quemque in tegulis | uideritis alie-
num; cp. 69. 13, Draeger II. p.

101, Rönisch p. 336. *huius diei*
tempore is used as one compound
 word and therefore *sacratissimo* is
 in the abl. So 46. 5 *proximo diei*
aduentui, 50. 11 *noctis ortus suc-*
cedens, ib. 15 *iniquitas haec saeculi*,
 71. 15 *omnique fine diei*. This last
 stanza of the hymn is similar to the
 last stanza of 69.

16. **donis beatis**] Cp. 42. 40
uitae munera.

muneret] Cp. 42. 60.

HYMN 62 B

Eacdhjlsvxημφ Fdhijls Gam Habcdefghi Ibefhmnop Mafkm Vbcs

Iam nunc, paterna claritas,
 te postulamus affatim,
 absit libido sordidans
 omnisque actus noxius.

ne foeda sit uel lubrica 5
 conpago huius corporis,

5 nec Ecd. ut (*pro uel*) Es Mm.

1. **paterna claritas**] *Claritas* is
 a synonym of *gloria* especially in
 African Latin: *pat. cl.* therefore
 means 'glory of the Father' = glori-
 ous Father; or perhaps Christ, as
 being 'the glory of the Father.'

2. **affatim**] i.e. *ad fatim*, 'to
 satiety,' and hence 'incessantly,'
 'urgently,' as at 69. 16, 92. 22. *fatim*
 is the acc. of a disused substantive

fatis, with which cp. *fati-sco*, *fati-go*.

3. **sordidans**] Cp. Lactant. *de*
Ira Dei (ad fin.) templum cordis
non fumo, non puluere, sed malis
cogitationibus sordidatur.

4. **noxius**] 'guilty,' as at 1. 39;
 cp. the note on 22. 12 *noxu*.

5. **lubrica**] 3. 12 note.

6. **conpago**] lit. 'the fastening
 together'; i.e. our body so mar-

per quam auerni ignibus
 ipsi crememur acrius.

ob hoc, redemptor, quaesumus
 ut probra nostra diluas,
 uitae perennis commoda
 nobis benignus conferas.

10

quo carnis actu exsules,
 effecti ipsi caelibes,
 ut praestolamur cernui,
 melos canamus gloriae.

15

7 quod Exφ Fs Ih, quem Ehs Ip Mk Vc, que (=quae) Eavμ Fhin Mm.
 10 deluas Ecdhlμ Fh In Vc. 12 benigne Eaμ Fh Vc. 15 praesto-
 lantes Es Mk (*ras.*).

vellously knit together. Cp. Souter
Study of Ambrosiaster p. 105A *cor-*
poris manente compagine.

7. **per quam**] i.e. *foedam et lubri-*
cam compagine.

Avernus was a lake near Cumae
 in south Italy, the deadly exhalations
 from which were said to kill
 birds that flew over it, cp. Lucr. VI.
 740f., Verg. *Aen.* VI. 137f., Sil.
 Ital. XII. 120f. *ille, olim populis*
dictum Styga, nomine uerso | stagna
inter celebrem nunc mitia monstrat
Auernum ; | tum tristi nemore atque
umbris nigrantibus horrens | et for-
midatus uolucris letale uomebat | suf-
fuso uirus caelo. From it there was
 thought to be a descent into hell,
 and hence it became a name for
 hell, adopted also by Christian
 writers. Eustace *Classical Tour*
through Italy I. p. 534 says of Avernus
 that it is now 'a scene on the
 whole light, airy and exhilarating.'

8. **ipsi**] 'we ourselves,' including

both our souls and bodies, con-
 trasted with *compago*, of our bodies
 alone.

9. Cp. 68. 17.

ob hoc] i.e. because we shall so
 suffer, if we allow ourselves to be
foedi uel lubrici.

10. **probra**] 'shameful sins,' es-
 pecially those of an unclean life; cp.
 the adj. *probrosus* at 10. 4, 45. 25.

11. **uitae perennis**] 15. 20.

13. 'in order that being absent
 from the activity of the flesh.' This
 freeing is contemporaneous with the
 becoming 'as the angels of God in
 heaven' (*effecti cael.*). Not unlike is
 the use of *exsul* at 73. 10. Pimont
 prefers to translate: 'that being
 now exiles by the action of the
 flesh, (but hereafter) made....' This
 does not seem so simple.

14. **caelibes**] lit. 'unwedded,'
 comes from Mt. xxii. 30, cp. 85. 16.
ipsi as in 8, distinguished from our
caro.

HYMN 63

63 is so unlike the hymns on either side of it, especially
 in its metre and in the number of its stanzas, that we
 cannot but look upon it as a late-comer into the series.
 And, when we consider the determination and zeal with

which Charlemagne forced these Roman hymns upon the churches throughout his empire, we are tempted to conjecture that the poet of 63 and of 70 may have been one of those scholars who gathered round him. After the Caroline reformation of letters a hymn like 62b with its many metrical faults would not be looked upon with a favourable eye, and hymn 63 was apparently written to take its place,—with but partial success, for 62b survived as a part of 62a. However 63 won and kept its place as the nocturn hymn on Sundays during the summer. Was Alcuin himself the writer of 63 and 70? He wrote a few sapphics,—these not unlike our hymn. Cp. the first stanza of 63 with the tenth of Alc. CXXI which runs: *te Deum semper uigilans requirat, cogitet cunctis resoluta curis, actibus cunctis queat ut placere rex tibi summe.* With the use of *pio* in 5 cp. Alc. l.c. 2 *tu pius nostris precibus faueto*, 49 *quod pius totum habitat per aeuum*; with *aula* in 6 cp. Alc. LV. v. 3 *hac in aula*, LXXXIX. 35 *praemia digna retinet honore regis in aula*; with *pariter* in 5 and 10 Alc. p. 313 (ed. Dümmler) 39 *Spiritus sancti pariter*; with *rutilans* in 70. 2 cp. *lumen rutilum, rutilo ...colore* Alc. CXIV. vi. 3, *rutilet nitore* CXXI. 31.

Eacdghjlsvxημφ Fdehijlpqs Habcdesβφ Ibefghimno Mm Vbes

Nocte surgentes uigilemus omnes,
semper in psalmis meditemur, atque
uiribus totis Domino canamus
dulciter hymnos,

ut pio regi pariter canentes

5

1 f. This stanza is imitated in a Mozarabic hymn, *Analecta* XXVII. xviii. 33 f. *cor enim nostrum uigilet sopore, | somniet Christum Dominumque nostrum, | insonet psalmis, meditetur hymnis | nocte dieque.*

2. Cp. Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 47 *medi-*

tabar in mandatis tuis.

3. **uiribus totis**] from Lk. x. 27. *totis* stands for *omnibus* as at 12. 27.

5. **pariter** qualifies both *canentes* and *mereamur*. It means 'together.'

cum suis sanctis mereamur aulam
ingredi caeli, simul et beatam
ducere uitam.

praestet hoc nobis Deitas beata
Patris ac Nati pariterque sancti
Spiritus, cuius reboatur omni
gloria mundo.

10

7 ac Ej, ad Eh. 10 et Eacdhsv Habdβ. 11 cui Hβ. reboat in Eacdglv Ie Vc, reboat per -em -um Fe, reboamus Hβ, renouatur Hb.

6. **cum suis sanctis**] Cp. *Te Deum* 21. *suis* may perhaps be used because 'our gracious king' is virtually the subject of the stanza. But in late Latin *suus* was indiscriminately written for 'his,' 'her,' etc., becoming at last the French *son*, the Italian *suo*.

mereamur] Cp. 4. 8 note.

aulam] Cp. 15. 7.

9. **Deitas**] Cp. 36. 28, 98. 18.

10. **pariter**] 'no less,' for the holy Spirit also is God.

11. **cuius** refers back to *Deitas*.

reboatur] 'resounds.' *reboare*, a rare and poetical word, is transitive as at 70. 11, 92. 17. The variant *reboat* could also stand, being used intransitively, as at Lucr. II. 28, Verg. *Georg.* III. 223.

HYMN 64

The universal use of this hymn has been *ad nocturnas feria II*, i.e. on Mondays. It has been ascribed to St Ambrose, chiefly on the authority of Hincmar *de non Trina Deitate* p. 548. Hincmar's date prevents him from being a trustworthy witness on such a point. It will be noticed that rhyme is carried almost throughout, whereas Ambrose neither chooses nor avoids rhyme. Pimont I. p. 132 f. argues strongly for Ambrose's authorship, alleging that its characteristics prove it: 'pensées graves et nobles sous un tour bref et nettement tranché; diction pure et ferme dans un vers toujours correct' etc. He adds that the resemblance to parts of 5 is so striking that both hymns must be written by the same writer. But the fact that the hymn is not in the Ambrosian tradition means that it was not Ambrose's.

Eacdghjlsvxημφ Fbdghiklnpsy Ga Habcdefgi Ibcefgmnpv Mafkmx Vbc

Somno refectis artubus
spreto cubili surgimus:
nobis, Pater, canentibus
adesse te deposcimus.

te lingua primum concinat, 5
te mentis ardor ambiat,
ut actuum sequentium
tu, sancte, sis exordium.

cedant tenebrae lumini 10
et nox diurno sideri,
ut culpa, quam nox intulit,
lucis labascet munere.

precamur idem supplices
noxas ut omnes amputes,

5 concinant Ej Ic Mk, concinnat Imp¹. 6 ambigat Haf Ih.
7 artuum Ih, ad tuum Ev. 8 te Fb. 9 cedent Ic. 11 culpam Fb.
12 labescat Ecglsv Fbhinsy Habd²e Ibgimpv Mkm Vb.

2. Cp. Prud. *Cath.* 1. 9 *post solis ortum fulgidi | serum est cubile spernere.*

3. Hincmar of Reims (see Daniel IV. p. 37) gives the line thus: *nostris Pater conuentibus.* But this is found in no MS of the hymn and is an inexact quotation.

4. **deposcimus**] 'pray earnestly.' Verbs of entreating are usually followed by *ut* with the subj., but cp. Fort. VI. v. 33 *retineri filia poscens.*

5. **primum**] 'first on waking,' cp. 2. 31.

6. **mentis ardor**] i.e. the soul warmed with fire from on high. *ardor* is used in a good sense, as at 16. 8.

ambiat] 'solicit.' *ambire* usually meant 'to go round' canvassing for votes (hence 'ambition'), but also 'to solicit' or 'pray to' a higher power. Cp. Hor. *Od.* I. xxxv. 5 *te pauper ambit sollicita prece | ruris colonus*; Prud. *Perist.* II. 491 *quos*

mira libertas uiri | ambire Christum suaserat.

7. **sequentium**] i.e. during the day about to begin.

8. **exordium**] 'starting point.' Cp. the well-known collect *ut cuncta nostra operatio...a te...incipiat.*

9. **cedant**] optative: the darkness and light are spiritual. For the contrast cp. Eph. v. 8 *eratis aliquando tenebrae, nunc autem lux in Domino.*

10. **diurno sideri**] the sun, here the sun of righteousness, cp. 21. 8 note.

12. **munere**] 'office,' 'working.'

13. **idem**] nom. plu., so spelt in all the older MSS; it is a way of expressing 'also.'

14. **noxas**] 'sins,' cp. 22. 12 note. **amputes**] strictly 'prune away,' cp. Cic. *de Sen.* 52 *uitis...quam...ferro amputans coercet ars agriculturalium*; Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 39 *amputa opprobrium meum*; Ambr. *in Luc.*

et ore te canentium
lauderis in perpetuum.

15

15 ut Ej Mm. ora Ip Mk (*ras.*). 16 imperp. Hcdf.

v. 18 *medicamento quod...causam amputatione.* The line is based on
diri uulneris amputauit; Arnob. Prud. *Perist.* v. 560 *noxas nec omnes*
adu. Nat. 1. 27 *delictorum omnium imputet.*

HYMN 65

The use of this hymn was *ad nocturnas feria tertia* i.e. on Tuesdays. It has often been assigned to St Ambrose, and is in many ways worthy of him, but its absence from the Ambrosian MSS is fatal to this claim. In the Roman Breviary it is adopted without any change. The doxology is so insistently contained in all MSS, that I have printed it as an integral part of the hymn.

Eacdhjsvxημφ Fhklpqg Gam Hacdefgh Ibcdefghmnopv Mafkx Vbc

Consors paterni luminis,
lux ipse lucis et dies,
noctem canendo rumpimus;
adsiste postulantibus.

aufer tenebras mentium,
fuga cateruas daemonum,
expelle somnolentiam,
ne pigritantes obruat.

5

2 lucis ipse Ec.

3 rupimus Es Mk.

1. **consors**] Cp. Dracont. *de Deo* II. 68 *et consors cum Patre manens*; ib. 547 *dexter in arce sedens consors Genitoris amatus*. For the sense of the line cp. 3. 1.

2 is almost identical with 45. 10, 46. 2; cp. 3. 3 f.

3. **rumpimus**] 'interrupt, break in upon'; cp. Verg. *Aen.* VII. 458 *somnum ingens rumpit pauor*; Prud. *Cath.* 1. 98 (=20. 14) *tu rumpe noctis uincula*; 66. 8, 69. 14. So Hor. *Od.* II. vii. 7 *diem mero fregi*;

Varro *de Re Rust.* I. ii. 5 *diffindere insiticio somno aestiuom diem*.

4. **adsiste**] lit. 'stand by,' i.e. to hear with favour, like *adesse*, cp. 42. 56, and the prayer in our communion office: 'assist us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers.'

6. **cateruas**] as at 26. 24.

8. **pigritantes**] 'lingering'; cp. Acts ix. 28 *ne pigriteris uenire usque ad nos*.

sic, Christe, nobis omnibus
indulgeas credentibus, 10
ut prosit exorantibus
quod praecinentes psallimus.

praesta, Pater piissime,
Patrique compar unice,
cum Spiritu Paraclito 15
regnans per omne saeculum.

9 hic Eμ.

9. sic is answered by *ut* in 11.

11. *exorantibus*] 'praying earnestly,' not, as it usually means, 'gaining our requests.'

12. *praecinentes*] 'singing before Thee,' *prae-* here having a local force; contrast the temporal use in 20. 2, 38. 5. *quod psallimus* is the subject of *prosit* 'that our singing may avail for our good.'

13 f. This formal doxology, the only one in the series, was probably

added,—it is impossible for us now to say when, but it was before any of our MSS were written, for it is contained in all,—in order to bring up the number of stanzas to the usual four. One is tempted to ask whether the fifth stanza of 68, which breaks the symmetry of the many four-stanza hymns, originally belonged here. But the materials for giving a definite answer are lacking.

HYMN 66

The use of this hymn was *ad nocturnas feria quarta* i.e. on Wednesdays. This hymn also has often been ascribed to St Ambrose, often to St Gregory: in each case by guesswork. Mone rightly i. p. 377 disallows the Ambrosian authorship on account of the rhyme running throughout.

Eacdhjlsvxημφ Fhlpqsyθ Gam Hacdefghi Ibcdefghimnopv Mafk Vbc

Rerum creator optime
rectorque noster, respice,
nos a quiete noxia
mersos sopore libera.

2 aspice (adsp.) Esx Fp²yθ Hgh Ieiv¹. 4 merso Gm Id¹hv Mk.

1. Cp. 5. 1, 45. 1, 73. 1.

as at 2. 25 etc.

2. *respice*] 'regard with favour,'

3. *noxia*] 'sinful,' cp. 62 b. 4.

te, sancte Christe, poscimus, 5
 ignosce tu criminibus ;
 ad confitendum surgimus
 morasque nostras rumpimus.
 mentes manusque tollimus,
 propheta sicut noctibus 10
 nobis gerendum praecipit,
 Paulusque gestis censuit.
 uides malum quod gessimus,
 occulta nostra pandimus,
 preces gementes fundimus, 15
 dimitte quod peccauimus.

8 rupimus Mk. 10 sic in Mk. 11 praecepit Ha. 16 deliquimus Vb.

7. It is not easy to say, here and at 67. 3, 82. 15, whether *confiteor* denotes declaring God's praise (cp. 16. 6, 56. 27) or confessing our sins. The two examples given in the next stanza seem to point to the former.

8. 'and we bring our delay to an end.' Cp. Verg. *Georg.* III. 43 and often; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* XIV. 51 *uotis auidis mora noctis rumpitur*; Fort. *Vit. Mart.* I. 314; 20. 14, 65. 3, 69. 13 f.

9. Ps. cxxxiii. (cxxxiv.) 2 *in noctibus extollite manus uestras in sancta*. Cp. Lam. iii. 41. The ancients prayed with hands uplifted and upturned (cp. Verg. *Aen.* I. 93 *duplices tendens ad sidera palmas*; III. 176 *tendoque supinas | ad caelum cum uoce manus*); including the early Christians, cp. 1 Tim. ii. 8 *προσεύχεσθαι ... ἐπαπορτας ὀσλοὺς χεῖρας*; Tertull. *Apol.* xxx (where see Mayor's note) *paratus est ad*

omne supplicium ipse habitus orantis Christiani, quasi diceret orans: praesto sum, necte et plecte si uis aut certe miserere; Prud. *Cath.* IV. 52 *cum tenderet ad superna palmas*. The hands so raised would make the form of the Cross, Prud. *Perist.* VI. 106 *non ausa est cohibere poena palmas | in morem crucis ad Patrem leuandas*.

10. **propheta**] the psalmist, as at 41. 2.

12. **censuit**] 'showed his approval'; cp. Acts xvi. 25.

13. **quod gessimus**] For this use of *gerere* cp. Deut. ix. 18 *peccata uestra quae gessistis*. For the sense of the line cp. 94. 29.

14. *occulta nostra hic dicuntur peccata, quae clam hominibus aut cogitando aut semotis arbitris mali quippiam agendo committimus* (Clicht.); cp. 48. 4.

15. **gementes**] 20. 10 note.

HYMN 67

This hymn was appointed for nocturns on Thursdays. Like the preceding hymns this is ascribed to Ambrose or Gregory by guesswork. It is retained unchanged in the modern Roman breviary.

Eacdhjsvxημφ Fhlqs Gam Hacdefghi Ibcdefghmnopv Mm Vbc

Nox atra rerum contegit
 terrae colores omnium ;
 nos confitentes poscimus
 te, iuste iudex cordium,
 ut auferas piacula, 5
 sordesque mentis abluas,
 donesque, Christe, gratiam,
 ut arceantur crimina.
 mens ecce torpet impia,
 quam culpa mordet noxia ; 10
 obscura gestit tollere
 et te, redemptor, quaerere.
 repelle tu caliginem
 intrinsecus quam maxime,
 ut in beato gaudeat 15
 se collocari lumine.

1 conterit Ec. 2 calores Ech Ip. 15, 16 praemittit Gm uersibus
 13, 14. 14 que (pro quam) Hc. 15 gaudeant Es. 16 collo-
 care Hc.

1 f.] Cp. 21. 7 note.
 contegit] 'covers' with the sub-
 stantial pall of darkness.
 2. terrae is gen. rather than dat.,
 which it would probably be in a
 classical poet,—'of all the things of
 earth.'
 4. iustus iudex comes at Ps. vii.
 12, 2 Mac. xii. 5 (cp. Ps. vii. 10).
 For the general sense of the line
 cp. 22. 13 f.
 5. piacula] usually 'sin offer-
 ings,' cp. 25. 7 note; but here the
 'sins' themselves; cp. Verg. Aen.
 VI. 569 commissa piacula, Jud. xx.
 6 numquam...tam grande piaculum
 factum est in Israel, 98. 8.
 8. arceantur] 'warded off,' as at

58. 11.
 9, 10 refer to the present state of
 the soul, 11, 12 to its state after
 Christ has given His grace.
 11. obscura] 22. 8; opera tene-
 brarum, siue peccata, says Clicht.
 gestit] 'is eager,' 31. 19 note.
 14. intrinsecus taken in conjunc-
 tion with caliginem gets the force
 of an adj., 'inner'; cp. 60. 7 note.
 The line ends with a literary bathos.
 15. beato...lumine] 61. 4.
 gaudeat] sc. mens, to be supplied
 from line 9.
 16. The subject of the dependent
 infinitive, when it is the same as that
 of gaudeo, is usually omitted, as at
 75. 15.

HYMN 68

This hymn was appointed for nocturns on Fridays. Hincmar of Reims assigns the hymn to Ambrose, but it is not his. Several writers (Mone, Pimont and others) have of late given it to Gregory, but on purely subjective grounds.

The Roman breviary has made few changes in it. And (since the revision of 1568) it has borrowed the first stanza of this hymn and the third of 71, to form a new hymn for Lauds on Trinity Sunday; see *Analecta* LI. p. 30, Lipp p. 112.

Eacdhjlsvxημφ Fhilnopqsx Gabm Hacdefghi Ibcdefghimnopv Mafkm Vbcs

Tu Trinitatis unitas,
orbem potenter qui regis,
adtende laudum cantica,
quae excubantes psallimus.

nam lectulo consurgimus
noctis quieto tempore,
ut flagitemus uulnerum
a te medellam omnium.

quo fraude quidquid daemonum
in noctibus deliquimus,
abstergat illud caelitus
tuae potestas gloriae.

5

10

4 qui Ec Fs, qua Es Mk (*ras.*). excusantes Ec.
8 ad Echv Fn Gb Mk (*manu rec.*) m. medela Ha.
10 delinquimus Gb Hceg.

5 iam Ig¹⁰l.9 quod Ga Ic².

1. Cp. 79. 1 f.

2. **potenter**] 90. 28, 117. 6, answers to the *fortiter* in Wisd. viii. 1.

3. **adtendo** is usually followed by a dat. or a prep., here by an acc. as at Job xxi. 5 *attendite me*, and nine other places in the Vulg.

4. Those who watch in order to pray are compared to sentinels; cp. Prud. *Cath.* 1. 77 f. *uigil uicissim*

spiritus, | quodcumque restat temporis, | dum meta noctis clauditur, | stans ac laborans excubet.

7. **uulnerum**] 19. 16.

9 f. 'in order that, whatever sin we have committed at night by reason of the craft of evil spirits, this the might of Thy heavenly glory may wash away.' Thus taken *caelitus* is virtually an adj., cp. 60.

ne corpus adsit sordidum,
nec torpor instet cordium
et criminis contagio
tepescat ardor spiritus. 15

ob hoc, redemptor, quaesumus,
reple tuo nos lumine,
per quod dierum circulis
nullis ruamus actibus. 20

13 nec Eadlv Fn Gm Mm. absit Fnp Ic. 14 ne Ej Gb He Ig.
15 nec Eμ Fs Gm Hd Idiv Mm Vc. 18 nos tuo Fo Hac Io Vb.
19 quos Hd. 20 ruamur Elsvμ Fiknos Gb Hcdg¹hi Idghimo² Mkm Vb.

7 note. For *daemonum* cp. 2. 11, 65. 6; for the plu. form *noctibus*, 47. 3 note; for *deliquimus*, 7. 26 note; for *abstergat*, 7. 31 note.

13. **adsit** almost = *sit*, a common use of the word in late Latin; cp. *Commodian Instr.* 1. xxix. 12 *disce Deum, stulte, qui uult te immortalē adesse*; Paul. Nol. *Epist.* xxv. 2 *si certus esses tantum te adhuc adesse uicturum, quantum uixisti*; Sedul. *Carm.* II. 100 *Deus...semper adest semperque fuit semperque manebit*; Fort. IX. ii. 22 *cum de lege necis nemo solutus adest*. However, the comparison with *instet* seems to suggest the force of 'to be there to witness against us at our prayers.'

15. 'and so the warmth of the spirit grow cool by the pollution of guilt.' The negative of 14 is carried on. For *contagio* cp. 90. 16.

16. **tepescat**] For the bad meaning cp. Rev. iii. 16 *quia tepidus es*.

17 is identical with 62b. 9. The fact that this one hymn in the nocturn series has more than four stanzas makes us wonder if this

concluding stanza, which does not follow the preceding one as closely as its first words *ob hoc* would seem to indicate, at first belonged to another hymn, perhaps to 65; see the note there. This conjecture is to a certain extent confirmed by the existence of this stanza in a slightly different form. Blume *Analecta* LI. p. 30 quotes from a Prague MS a short hymn of two stanzas, the former of which runs *Te puro corde quaesumus, | tuo nos reple lumine, | per quod dierum circulis | nullis ruamur actibus*.

19 f. 'By means of which (i.e. if we are illuminated by this light) in the course of the days no actions of ours may cause us to fall.'

circulis] 87. 14, 94. 3. *Dierum*, like *in noctibus*, gives a more general sense than the singular.

20. **ruamus**] intransitive followed by the abl., a classical usage, as Cic. *pro Milone* 18 *iacent testibus*; cp. 32. 4 *impulsu ruit*, 80. 8 *curis ruant*. For the general sense cp. Joh. xi. 10.

HYMN 69

Appointed for nocturns on Saturday.

Eacdhjsvxημφ Fhiklnpsx Gabm Habcdefghi Ibcdefghmnop Mafk Vbes

Summae Deus clementiae
mundique factor machinae,
unus potentialiter
trinusque personaliter,

nostros pius cum canticis
fletus, benigne, suscipe,
quo corda pura sordibus
te perfruamur largius.

lumbos iecurque morbidum
adure igni congruo,

5

10

5 piis Ech Im Vb, pius Gm. nostras preces Ic. 6 benignus Gm Hh.
7 corde puro Eadvμ Fhknps Idghm Vs. 8 actibus (*pro larg.*) Ic.

1. 'O God of utmost mercy.' Here *summae* balances the line better than *summe*. To say *Deus clementiae* would be well enough = *Deus clemens*, and *Deus summae clem.* = *Deus clementissime*; but the two epithets, *summe* and *clementiae*, do not go well together. The reading of most of the MSS is *summe*, but in *e* and *ae* the MSS are no guide.

2. *machinae*] 23. 6 note.

3. *potentialiter*] 'in power,' like

5. 31 *unum potens*.

5. *pius*] Cp. 29. 39 note, 'hear graciously.'

6. *fletus*] 20. 10 note.

7. Mt. v. 8. The *quo* is used as in 68. 9. *corda pura* is nom. or acc. abs. These nominatives abs. are very common in the Rule of St Benedict: e.g. cap. 11 *iussio eius... in discipulorum mentibus conspargatur, memor semper abbas quia* etc.; cap. VII *abbatem non calcaverit suum, hortans nos de hac re scriptura, dicens* etc.

9. *iecur*] The ancients regarded

the liver as the main spring of life and as the seat of the passions and affections, cp. Soph. *Aj.* 937, Timaeus *Locr.* 100A τὸ μὲν θυμοειδὲς περὶ τὰν καρδίαν, τὸ δ' ἐπιθυματικὸν περὶ τὸ ἦπαρ: Hor. *Od.* 1. xiii. 4, *Sat.* 1. ix. 66, Prud. *Psych.* 238 *anne pudicitiae gelidum iecur utile bello est?*

morbidum] 'diseased' in the moral sense, cp. 80. 8.

10. *adure*] 'burn away' with cautery. So Celsus often uses the term as V. xxvi. 21 *medicamentis... adurentibus*, ib. 33 *aduri locus debet*, VIII. 2 *ferramento adurere*. Cp. the Sarum prayer *Ure igne sancti Spiritus renes nostros et cor nostrum, Domine* (Maskell *Ancient Literature of the Church of England* p. 204, ed. 3; Procter and Wordsworth *Brev. Sar.* fasc. II. col. 500); *Anal.* XLVI. 17 *ure per ignem geminum | nostrarum sordes mentium*.

congruo almost comes to mean 'healing': it 'meets the occasion' by curing the diseased part; cp.

accincti ut sint perpetim
 luxu remoto pessimo,
 ut, quique horas noctium
 nunc concinendo rumpimus,
 donis beatae patriae 15
 ditemur omnes affatim.

11 perpeti Gm.
 16 ditemus Ig¹mv.

13 quicquid Im.

14 concidendo Hd.

the use of the word at 55. 21, and Ambrosiaster's use of the word, *Quaestiones* 102 *si congruam paenitentiam agant*, ib. 44 *congruas poenas*.

11. *accincti*] 'girt up,' referring to *lumbos* in 9, cp. Lk. xii. 35, Eph. vi. 14, 1 Pet. i. 13, 13. 17 note, 120. 45; Ambr. *in Luc.* II. 70 *ad omne accingamur obsequium caeles-*

tium praeceptorum.

12. *pessimo*] note the superlative, as at 73. 16.

13. *quique*] 'all we who,' cp. 62. 13 note.

14. *rumpimus*] See note on 65. 3.

15. *patriae*] Cp. Heb. xi. 14, 29. 55, 92. 13, 106. 8, 120. 37.

16. *affatim*] 62. 18 note.

MATTINS SERIES. HYMNS 70-72

The Mattins series is thus arranged: on Sundays, hymn 2 *Aeterne rerum conditor* for winter use, and 70 *Ecce iam noctis* to be sung during the summer; on Mondays, 3 *Splendor paternae gloriae*; on Tuesdays, 20 *Ales diei nuntius*; on Wednesdays, 21 *Nox et tenebrae et nubila*; on Thursdays, 22 *Lux ecce surgit aurea*; on Fridays, 71 *Aeterna caeli gloria*; on Saturdays, 72 *Aurora iam spargit polum*.

In metre the two following hymns are in a transition state. The laws of prosody are as a rule observed, but see 70. 2 *aurorā*, 6 *pellāt l.* (in 1st foot of sapphic); 71. 3 *celsitonantis*, 7 *-quē in*, 11 *cāligo*, 15 *dēī*; 72. 9 *manē illud*.

HYMN 70

70 was evidently written by the author of 63. See the introduction to that hymn.

Eacdhjlvxημφ Fdfhijkops Habcdefβ Ibefhmno Vbes

Ecce iam noctis tenuatur umbra,
 lucis aurora rutilans coruscat,
 nisibus totis rogitemus omnes
 cunctipotentem,

ut Deus nostri miseratus omnem
 pellat languorem, tribuat salutem,
 donet et Patris pietate nobis
 regna polorum.

praestet hoc nobis Deitas beata
 Patris ac Nati pariterque sancti
 Spiritus, cuius reboatur omni
 gloria mundo.

5

10

2 rutilat coruscans Hd¹.

3 rogitamus Ha, recogitemus Vb.

5 noster Esμ Fiop² Hd², nosmet Hβ. misereatur Fs.

7 nobis p.

Patris Evx Fio Ibh. sola (*pro* Patris) Eacdhj.

2. **lucis**, as at 111. 1, may be a kind of adjectival gen., cp. 10. 14 *poenam corporis*, 13. 2 *diem saeculi*, here meaning 'bright'; but it is more probably a possessive gen., *lucis* = *diei*, 'the dawn of day'; *rutilans coruscat* sufficiently supplies the idea of brightness.

rutilans, 'blushing,' is used of dawn by Accius *apud* Varro *L. L.* VII. v. 96, cp. 36. 1, 111. 1; of the flash of arms, Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 529; of the glitter of gold, Fort. VIII. vii. 351 *rutilantior auro*.

3. **totis**] = *omnibus* as at 12. 27 note, 63. 3.

4. **cunctipotentem**] a late compound, first as it seems used by Prud. *Perist.* VII. 56 *Iesu cunctipotens*.

5. Ps. lxvi. (lxvii.) 1. *miserari*

in classical writers takes an acc., in early and later writers a gen. as here, cp. Accius *apud* Non. 445. 12 *miserabar mei*; Prud. *Psych.* 580 *miserando inopum*. Festus p. 123 says *miseratur is, qui conqueritur aliena incommoda: miseretur is, qui miserum subleuat*. The distinction does not hold here.

6. **languorem**] 'sickness,' much stronger than our word 'languor'; cp. Is. liii. 4 *uere languores nostros ipse tulit*, Mt. iv. 23, viii. 17, 121. 14; and *languidum* 84. 7.

As in the first stanza *nox* is contrasted with *lucis aurora*, so here *languor* with *salutem*.

9f. This doxology is the same as that of 63 and is an integral part of the hymn, being contained in all MSS (except perhaps one).

HYMN 71

[This is the hymn for Lauds on Fridays at ferial seasons; see Julian p. 25.]

Like 31, this hymn is alphabetic. Notice that the C-stanza is duplicated and that the alphabetic sequence

does not go beyond T; cp. the note on 31. 85. The Latin alphabet contained 23 letters and the redoubling of particular lines is common in these acrostic hymns. Thus e.g. at *Anal.* XXVII. xvi. we find the A-stanza repeated: *Altissimi uerbum Patris | Almaeque Iesu uirginis*. In another hymn (*ib.* ix) a last line is added to make the odds even: *ne ualeat subripere*. See also the introduction to 31.

Eacdghjlsvxημφ Fdhijknopqrsyβθψ Gabm Habcdefghi
Ibcdefghmnopv Mm Vbcs

Aeterna caeli gloria,
Beata spes mortalium,
Celsitonantis unice,
Castaeque proles uirginis:

Da dexteram surgentibus,
Exsurgat et mens sobria
Flagransque in laudem Dei
Grates rependat debitas.

(H)ortus refulget lucifer

5

1 aeternae Ec. 4 casti Ec. 7 laude Ecdjlv Haef Iv. 8 perenni
(*pro rep.*) Ec. 9 ortu Gab.

1. The hymn is addressed to Christ; *gloria* and *spes* are vocatives. The thought in this line seems to be that of Christ as the subject of the praises sung by the heavenly choirs, cp. 49. 18 *caelestem praestant gloriam*.

2. *spes*] Col. i. 27, 1 Tim. i. 1, 87. 6, 88. 10, 99. 2, cp. 27. 9, Sedul. *Hymn.* 1. 96 *spes in fine bonis hic homo, qui Deus est*.

3. *celsitonantis*] 'of Him who thunders on high,' one of the compound words mentioned on 27. 8, 36. 1. This word is used as a synonym for *Deus* by Raban. Maur. IV. 33, Theodulf LXV. 1, and others. But commoner still is the simple *tonans*, used by Prud., Sedul., Fort.

1. ii. 17 *Martini, qui textit ueste tonantem* etc.

6. *mens sobria*] 5. 16.

7. *flagrans*] 125. 15.

8. An echo of 5. 9f.; cp. 1. 2 *laudes...debitas*. *referre* is a much commoner verb than *rependere*, for returning thanks, but Ovid *Met.* II. 693 has *neu gratia facto | nulla rependatur, nitidam cape praemia vaccam*.

9. *Hortus* is written for *ortus* according to the vulgar pronunciation of the time. Even Nigidius Figulus, the contemporary of Cic., gives the warning *rusticus fit sermo, si adspires perperam*. Cp. Catull. LXXXIV. But the tendency to put in *h* grew. In the *Peregrinatio*

Ipsamque lucem nuntiat, 10
 Kadit caligo noctium,
 Lux sancta nos inluminet:
 Manensque nostris sensibus
 Noctem repellat saeculi,
 Omnique fine diei 15
 Purgata seruet pectora.
 Quaesita iam primum fides
 Radicet altis sensibus,
 Secunda spes congaudeat,
 Tunc maior exstet caritas. 20

10 sparsamque Ih. nutriat Gb. 11 kadat Ej. caligo cadit Vc.
 noxium Fy. 12 illuminat Ic. 13 manes Ig. 18 radies Ic.
 19 fecunda Mm. 20 et (*pro tunc*) Eag Hac Iop, ut Ec, qua Edhφ Fθ
 Hfgh, quo Exμ Fhknopsψ Gb Hbdei Ibeghimv Vc, quod Ev Fy In Vs,
 cum Fβ Vb. extat Ih Vc.

Aetheriae we find twice *hac si=ac si*, repeatedly *hostium=ostium*. An inscription of about IVth cent., Damasus LXXXII. 7, has *hornat=ornat*. On the other hand in 31. 85 *ymnis*, 120. 43 *ydri* the initial *h* is omitted for special reasons.

lucifer here seems to be the Morning Star, as at 45. 5; not the sun, as usually in these hymns, cp. 2. 9.

10. *sparsamque*, the reading of the MSS, must be wrong, as the first word of the line must begin with *i*. Mone's correction *Ipsamque* seems probably right: 'and heralds the light itself.' Cp. 45. 5 f., Fort. VII. vi. 1 f. *Lucifer...laeto nuntiat ore diem*. If the rubricator of the archetype omitted the *I* and the next copyist found only *psam*, he might look upon it as an abbreviation of *sparsam*. In all extant hymnals the stanza is written consecutively and not in lines: thus, *Hortus refulget lucifer sparsamque lucem* etc.

Yet, as Verg., whose influence on the hymn writers was so great, always uses *nuntia*, *nuntiare*, *nun-*

tius of 'announcing' what has already taken place (cp. 1. 16, 56, 116. 12), and as *Lucifer* in these hymns usually means 'the sun,' perhaps we might read *Iactamque*; cp. Lucr. v. 576 *luna...iactat de corpore lucem*.

11. *Kadit* (so spelled to suit the alphabetic sequence), cp. 2. 27 *lapsus cadunt*, 72. 5 *decidat*.

noctium] 'of night,' not 'of the night just past,' which would require *noctis*, 47. 3 note.

12. Here begins the spiritual application of the hymn.

13. The subject is *lux sancta*.

14. 'The night of the world' is the darkness of sin; cp. Ambr. *de Tob.* 75 *hoc pignus in hac saeculi nocte reddatur, hoc uestimento in his mundi tenebris induatur*. The phrase therefore is not like *diem saeculi* of 13. 2 etc.

15. 'preserve...from any close of day,' cp. 3. 28, 18. 6.

17 f. For the three 'theological virtues' cp. 15. 21 f. *quaesita* 'won,' as at 10. 22. *primum* answers to *secunda* in 19 and to *tunc* in 20.

18. *radicet*] 'take root,' a late verb and usually deponent; but cp. Ambr. in *Ps.* xxxv. 4 *ut regnum Dei in hominum mentibus radicaret*. Mone, thinking that *sensibus* has come in from line 13, would read *altis mentibus*, which two

words, as he notes, are often combined.

19. *congaudeat* seems to refer to 1 Cor. xiii. 6.

20. 1 Cor. xiii. 13 *maior autem horum est caritas*.

exstet] Cp. 38. 18 note.

HYMN 72

Appointed for Mattins on Saturdays.

Eacdhjsvημφ Fhlqs Gabm Habcdefghiθ Ibcdefghmnopv Mak Vbcs

Aurora iam spargit polum,
terris dies inlabitur,
lucis resultat spiculum;
discedat omne lubricum.

phantasma noctis decidat,
mentis reatus subruat,
quidquid tenebris horridum
nox adtulit culpae cadat,

ut mane illud ultimum,
quod praestolamur cernui,
in lucem nobis effluat,

5

10

3 resultat Fx, refulget Ec. speculum Ecsv² Gb Hθ Ibmpv. 4 recedat He Vcs². 7 qui quid Fx. 9 manet Im. 10 postulamus Ec. cernuo Im. 11 luce Es. affluat Ich.

1. Cp. Lucr. II. 144 *primum Aurora nouo cum spargit lumine terras*, Verg. *Aen.* IV. 584, Dracontius *de Deo* I. 671 *roscida puniceum spargens aurora ruborem*.

2. *inlabitur*] 'steals over,' as at 73. 7; cp. 3. 5, 89. 10, 115. 19.

3. 'the dart of the light (cp. 21. 8 note) rebounds,' as a missile violently flung would do after hitting its mark; cp. Verg. *Aen.* X. 329 *tela ...galea clipeoque resultant*.

4. *discedat*] 'avaunt!' as at 21. 4, 26. 21.

5. 'May the apparitions of the night die away.' *phantasma*, sing.

for the plu., which we have at 83. 6.

decidat] 18. 6.

6. *reatus*] 'guilt,' as at 86. 15: the condition of the *reus* 5. 11, 10. 15 etc. *subruat*, lit. 'be undermined.'

7. 'May whatever dark and horrible sin night has brought come to an end.' *culpae* goes with *quidquid*. Cp. 27. 3 *chaos...horridum*, 57. 5 *noctis...horridae*. For *cadat* cp. 2. 27.

9f. 'that the last great morning, which we in awe expect, may burst for us into a flood of light.' *mane* is

dum hoc tenore concrepat.

12 uox canora Ih. concrepet Eφ Habcef Vs¹.

a subst., as at 17. 3. With *illud* cp. 19. 2 note.

12. The line is difficult to understand. We might take *concrepare* (the *con-* being emphatic) as equivalent to *conuenire*, *consentire*, *congruere*. That meaning is given in Goetz's *Glossary*, and the Thesaurus quotes it from Claudius Mamertus: *orbis uniuersi de animae statu nobis concrepare iudicium*. Its opposite is *discrepare*.

If then we take *hoc* = 'this morning,' the general sense would be 'while (since, on the understanding that) this morning is in keeping' (*tenore concrepat*) with it, i.e. with the day of judgment. If we

behave to-day as we should wish to behave then, we may hope that that day will be to us a day of light.

It is however perhaps easier to take *hoc* with *tenore*. The subject would then be *mane illud*,—'that that last morning may break into a flood of light for us, seeing that it is in keeping with this sense (intention),' with the mind that we are in.

If the doxology *Deo Patri sit gloria* had been a part of the hymn from the beginning, the *hoc tenore* might be intended to point on to it. But it is contained in some MSS only.

dum] Cp. Draeger *Syntax u. Stil des Tac.* § 168.

VESPER SERIES. HYMNS 73 foll.

HYMN 73

This hymn was appointed for Vespers on Sunday, being based on Gen. i. 1-5.

Eacdhjsvημφ Fdhlnpqs Gabd Habcdefghiθ Ibcdefghnopv Mamx Vbc

Lucis creator optime,
 lucem dierum proferens,
 primordiis lucis nouae
 mundi parans originem :
 qui mane iunctum uesperi
 diem uocari praecipis,
 taetrum chaos inlabitur ;
 audi preces cum fletibus.

5

3 primordia Gb.

4 paras Hd².

5 nam (*pro qui*) Gd.

1. Cp. 45. 1, 66. 1.

2. Cp. 3. 2 and 4.

3. 'furnishing with the first beginnings of newly created light,' the light of Gen. i. 3: the sun, moon and stars were not created until the fourth day, ib. 14 f.; Ambr. *Hex.* IV. 1 *lucem, quae praecessor*

est solis.

5. 'Who biddest morning, joined to evening, to be called day,' Gen. i. 5. *mane* is a subst., cp. 17. 3 note. *uesperi* dat. of *uespere*, which nominative is found at 18. 5, Gen. i. 5, 8, 13 etc.

7. **taetrum]** as at 60. 11.

ne mens grauata crimine
 uitae sit exsul munere, 10
 dum nil perenne cogitat
 seseque culpis inligat.
 caelorum pulset intimum,
 uitale tollat praemium;
 uitemus omne noxium, 15
 purgemus omne pessimum.

11 cōgitans Ih Mm. 14 tollet Gd. 16 purgemur Gd Ih¹.

chaos] Cp. 27. 3 note.

inlabitur] as at 72. 2.

8. Cp. 20. 10 note.

10. exsul] 'deprived of,' cp. note on 62. 29. mens = 'soul.'

11 is an echo of 4. 3, — 'has no thought of eternity.'

12. inligat] 'entangles'; cp. Prov. v. 22 *funibus peccatorum suorum constringitur*.

14. uitale answers to uitae in 10.

The Latin idiom freely uses adj.'s in this way; cp. e.g. Sedul. *Carm.* 11. 121 *puerilia milia*, 'thousands of boys.'

tollat] 'may it receive,' cp. for this use of *tollere*, which is common in late Latin, Mt. xx. 14 *tolle quod tuum est*.

16. pessimum] 'evil,' the superl. being used as at 69. 12.

HYMN 74

Appointed for Vespers on Monday: it describes the creation work of the second day, as in Gen. i. 6-10.

Eacdghjsvxημφ Fdhiknps Gabm Hacdefgiθ Ibcdefghimnopv Vbcs

Inmense caeli conditor,
 qui, mixta ne confunderent,
 aquae fluenta diuidens
 caelum dedisti limitem;
 firmans locum caelestibus 5
 simulque terrae riuulis,

2 confunderet Hd², confundere Ec.

1. inmense] 1. 69 note. So far as I know, not a MS earlier than the middle of the XIth cent. writes *immense*.

2 f. 'Who dividing the water-floods, lest, if mingled, they should make confusion, hast set the heaven as their boundary.' Gen. i. 7. The

water-floods are those above and those below the vault of heaven, which is thought of as solid, cp. 44. 3 note. *mixta* is nom. agreeing with *fluenta* to be supplied.

5 f. 'establishing a place for the streams of heaven (i.e. for those above the firmament) and also for

ut unda flammis temperet,
terrae solum ne dissipet;

infunde nunc, piissime,
donum perennis gratiae,
fraudis nouae ne casibus
nos error atterat uetus.

10

lucem fides inueniat,
sic luminis iubar ferat,
haec uana cuncta terreat,
hanc falsa nulla conprimant.

15

7 undae Eh. 8 solo Hd¹. dissipet Ea Fhr Hd²g Ic. 15 con-
terat Ha. 16 comprimat Esφ Fs Gb Hd¹.

those of earth.' *firmani* is chosen with reference to the firmament, cp. Ps. xxxii. (xxxiii.) 6 *uerbo Domini caeli firmati sunt*.

7 f. 'that the water may allay the burning heat and not destroy the face of the earth'; the *flammae* are those of the sun, which without the moisture would scorch the earth, cp. Ambr. *Hex.* II. 12 *sicut necessaria ignis creatura, ut ordinata et disposita permaneant caelique clementia temperet aquarum redundantia non superflua, ne alterum altero consumeretur...ita utriusque temperavit dispendia, ut neque plus ignis excoqueret neque exuberaret aqua quam inminutio fieret utriusque moderata*.

8. Gen. ix. 11 *neque erit deinceps diluuium dissipans terram*.

terrae solum] Cp. Lucr. v. 1294.

9. **infunde]** 3. 8. Perhaps in reference to the waters just mentioned; but the comparison is not carried on.

10. **perennis gratiae]** 3. 10 f.

11. **fraudis]** 3. 20.

casibus] 82. 28.

12. **atterat]** 75. 12. The *uetus error* appears to mean the fall of Adam, which is repeated in subsequent falls.

13. **lucem fides]** The combination is found at 3. 27 and often.

14. 'O that it may bring a beam of brightness.' *sic* is used in a petition as at 22. 9, where see the note.

iubar] 3. 7.

15. **haec]** *lux*, and in 16 *hanc]* *fidem*.

uana] In the O.T. whoever is without the knowledge of God is 'vain' or 'empty,' and especially is this word applied to false gods who are powerless to help; cp. 1 Kings xii. 21 *nolite declinare post uana, quae non proderunt uobis neque eruent uos, quia uana sunt*. In the hymn emissaries of the devil are meant, and the neuter is partly contemptuous.

HYMN 75

Appointed for Vespers on Tuesday, based on Gen. i. 11-13, the third day of the creation.

Eacdghjlsvxημφ Fdhijklnprsuyβγθ Gabm Hacdefghiθ Ibcdefghimnopv
Ma Vbc

Telluris ingens conditor,
mundi solum qui eruens,
pulsis aquae molestiis,
terram dedisti immobilem,
ut germen aptum proferens, 5
fuluis decora floribus,
fecunda fructu sisteret
pastumque gratum redderet,
mentis perustae uulnera
munda uiroris gratia, 10

2 mundum Hθ. 5 actum Ev Hc. 7 fructum Ec Hd Id^{2v}.
10 mundi Ex Iv. uirore gratiae Ecdhjlμ Fdhjprsyβγθ Ig^{1m} Vb (uirorem
g. Hd), uigore gratiae Esv Ib, mundauit roris gratia Fi Hceθ, mundabit
rore gratiae Gb.

1. **ingens**] An unpleasing word in this connexion; but see Prud. *Apoth.* 809 *Deus ingens | atque superfusus trans omnia.*

2. Dracont. *de Deo* I. 151 *eruitur tellus uasto demersa profundo.*

4. 'didst banish the troublesome waters and set the earth that it should not be moved'; *immobilem* is emphatically put at the end of the stanza. Ps. xcii. (xciii.) 1, ciii. (civ.) 5; Ambr. *Hex.* 1. 22 *terram ... mole sua immobilem manere.*

5 f. Note the climax *germen, flos, fructus, pastus*, and the alliteration in 6, 7.

6. **fuluis**] 'bright,' with no special reference to its usual meaning 'golden red,' so Prud. *Cath.* IX. 76 *sed Deus dum luce fulua mortis antra inluminat.*

7. **sisteret**] 'present itself,' scarcely more than *esset*. Cp. 56.

5; Sedul. *Carm.* IV. 113 *litore sistentem firmabat ab aequore | plebem.*

8. **pastum**] 'food,' usually for cattle, but cp. Lucr. VI. 1127 *aut alios hominum pastus*; Prud. *Cath.* IV. 56 *qui pastum famulo daret probato*; Levit. iii. 14 *pastum ignis dominici*. So also at times *χοπράζω, χόπρασμα, χόπρος*.

10. **uiroris gratia**] like *soporis gr.* in 5. 4. Clichtov., reading *uirore gratiae*, makes the comment, *uiror gratiae ad herbam uirentem tertio die productam congruum habet responsum, et ex exposito ad mentem uitiorum aestu perustam, quae tali uirore uegetetur, reuirescat et innouetur*. [Walpole records that two other MSS not mentioned elsewhere, which he calls 'Mainz XII, Köln XIV,' agree with the reading of Ex Iv.] The many variants may be

ut facta fletu diluat
 motusque prauos adterat.
 iussis tuis obtemperet,
 nullis malis adproximet,
 bonis repleti gaudeat
 et mortis actum nesciat.

15

11 deluat Ec²dhμ¹ Fin Iegn Vc, deletat Gm Hce. 13 ut temp. Ej.
 15 boni Eμ. 16 actus Eφ Fs Hcd¹e²fgiθ Ibeg²n, actuum Io.

due to the rarity of the word *uiror*. *perustae* seems to refer to *arida* in Gen. i. 9, 10, but with exaggerated emphasis.

11. Cp. 2. 16. *mens*, from *mentis* in 9, is the subject of *diluat*, *adterat*, and of the verbs in 13 f.

12 gives the converse of 74. 12.

14. *adproximet* is a late and rare

verb twice used in the Vulgate, at Ps. xxxii. 6, 9, for the usual *adpropinquare*. For the sense cp. Prov. v. 8 *ne adpropinques foribus domus eius*.

16. *mortis actum*] 'the action of eternal death.' Cp. 62 b. 13 *carnis actu*.

HYMN 76

Appointed for Vespers on Wednesday, based on Gen. i. 14-19, the fourth day of the creation. Note the structure of the hymn. The first two stanzas contain relative clauses concerning God and the creation of the sun, moon and stars. The third stanza contains a final clause, and not until the last stanza is the prayer uttered to which all the first part of the hymn has been leading up.

Eacdhjlsvxημφ Fhijklnpsy Gabm Habcdefghiθ Ibcdefghmnopv Ma Vbc

Caeli Deus sanctissime,
 qui lucidum centrum poli

2. *lucidum centrum p.*] 'the shining centre of the sky' is the sun, or to be exact the spot where the sun is fixed. It may be objected that in this way stanza I anticipates stanza II. Perhaps the objection is not very serious. The writer describes in stanza I what now happens (*pingis*), and in stanza II how this state of things came about:—though

there is no finite verb, *dares* in 12 implies a past tense for stanza II. It was the more easy for the writer to proceed in this order because at the outset he had in view his application of the facts, *inlumina cor hominum*.

The Thesaurus as the meaning of *centrum* gives *medium camerae*, i.e. the centre of a vaulted ceiling, of course dealing with the word as a

candore pingis igneo,
 augens decoro lumine,
 quarto die qui flammeam 5
 solis rotam constituens,
 lunae ministrans ordini
 uagos recursus siderum,
 ut noctibus uel lumini
 diremptionis terminum, 10
 primordiis et mensium
 signum dares notissimum:
 inlumina cor hominum,
 absterge sordes mentium,

3 pinguis Iθ. 4 decora Ecdhl, decore Ev Ib¹, decori Es Gb Hhi Iopv Vb, decorem Fs Hd Ic Vc. lumina Ecdhls Hgi Ip Vb (luminam Iv), luminis Ic, lumini Fs Hd In Vc. 5 quarta Ev. 7 lunam Hce². ministras Eadj Hg Idv Vb. ordinem Elv¹ Fs Had Ibh¹ino Vc. 9 et Ec, luminis Esv¹ Fhis Gab Hdef Ien, luminum Id Vc. 10 diremptionis Ejs Fhiknps Gbm Hacefg Id¹egv, directionis Hd Id²h. 12 daret Edjv Fhi Gb Ib¹g¹v Vb, darent Eacl, dare Es Iehp¹. 13 hominis Ic.

Latin word, not a Greek one. It refers to a passage of Cassian *Coll.* XXIV. vi. 1, which is well worth reading: *Quam ob rem ita monachi omnis intentio in unum semper est defigenda, cunctarumque cogitationum eius ortus ac circumitus in id ipsum, i.e. ad memoriam Dei, strenue reuocandi, uelut si quis teretis apsidis cameram uolens in sublime concludere, sublimissimi illius centri lineam iugiter circumducat, ac secundum certissimam normam omnem rotunditatis parilitatem structurae colligat disciplina.* Cassian goes on to say how impossible it would be to construct a good vault *absque illius medietate examine.*

poli] 2. 10 note.

3. pingis] 27. 6 note.

4. 'enhancing it with beauteous light,' cp. *Lucr.* v. 722 *ignibus aucta.* To this unusual sense of *augens* the many variants are due.

decoro lumine] 5. 3, cp. 116. 14.

6. solis rotam] 'the disk of the

sun,' as at *Lucr.* v. 433, 565, *Prud. Cath.* XII. 5 etc. Cp. *solis...globo* 23. 7. 44. 10 is not quite parallel.

7 f. 'supplying to the moon's path the speeding courses of the stars,' cp. *Judg.* v. 20 *stellae manentes in ordine suo*; *Job* xxxviii. 33, 59. 8. Observe that there is no verb in the relative clause.

8. uagos] 36. 4 note. The 'fixed' stars are included, returning to their stations at the appointed time. They are regarded as waiting upon the moon, their mistress.

9 f. 'that Thou mightest give to night and day a limit of separation and a conspicuous sign for the beginnings of months.' For the plu. *noctibus* see 47. 3 note.

uel] 'and,' 37. 6 note.

10. diremptionis] *distinctionis, discretionis atque diuisionis* (Clicht.). The sign would be in 9, 10 the rising and setting of the sun, in 11 the changes of the moon.

14. absterge] as at 68. 11.

resolue culpae uinculum,
euerte moles criminum.

15

16 auerte Id.

16. Cp. Tac. *Ann.* XII. 66 in tanta mole curarum; Juvenc. II. 786 spinosus ager curarum mole grauatis | respondet. A Mozarabic hymn (*Analecta* XXVII. p. 112) describes us as peccati mole grauide pressos.

HYMN 77

Appointed for Vespers on Thursday, based on Gen. i. 20–23, the fifth day of creation.

Eacdhjsvxημφ Fhijknpqsxyγ Gabm Hacdefghi Ibcdefghmnopv Max Vbcs

Magnae Deus potentiae,
qui ex aquis ortum genus
partim remittis gurgiti,
partim leuas in aera,
dimersa lymphis inprimens,
subuecta caelis inrogans,
ut stirpe una prodiva
diuersa rapiant loca:
largire cunctis seruulis,
quos mundat unda, sanguinis,

5

10

1 magne Ecd Fs Haeceghi. 3 partem Ec. gurgitis Eμ Ic.
4 leuans Ic. aere Gb. 5 imprimis Eh, imprimes In. 6 subiecta
Eσμ Ig¹hv. caelo Eμ. inrigans Es, irrogas Fs Id²v. 8 rapiunt Eμ,
rapiens Fi.

1. 'O God of mighty power,' i.e. 'O great and mighty God.' I have written *magnae* here, as in 69. 1 *summae*; see the note there.

2 f. 'Who, of the race sprung from the waters, sendest some back to the deep, raisest others into the air.'

partim...partim] adverbs meaning 'partly,' originally the acc. of *pars*.

5 f. 'Setting down those plunged in the waters, assigning those that are raised to the heavens; that sprung from one stock they may

take up different abodes.' *lymphis* and *caelis* are (datives) governed by *inprimens* and *inrogans*, but (as often happens) connected at the same time (as dat. or abl.) with *dimersa* and *subuecta*. *irrogare* is generally used of inflicting something disadvantageous, as at Levit. xxiv. 19.

7. *stirpe una* is explained by line 2.

9 f. *largire...nescire*] Perhaps an echo of 18. 5, 19. 13 f.

seruulis] 15. 31 note.

10. 'Who are cleansed by the water and the blood.' *sanguinis* is

nescire lapsus criminum
 nec ferre mortis taedium;
 ut culpa nullum deprimat,
 nullum leuet iactantia,
 elisa mens ne concidat, 15
 elata mens ne corruat.

11 lapsum Ecdh Fpsx Gb Hacd¹g Icd¹g¹mop Vbc, lapsis Ej. criminis
 Hc. 13 deprimet Eh. 14 leuat Es Gb. iactantiae Fx. 15 nec
 Eac He Icm. 16 nec Eac.

probably to be taken as nom., the form (cp. Rösensch p. 264) being adopted to suit the metre, like *nectare* at 34. 26. The sense of the passage is to be compared with that of 33. 20 *sanguis, unda profluit*, 34. 12, *Sedul. Carm. v. 290 corpus, sanguis, aqua tria uitae munera nostrae*, 1 Joh. v. 6. Of course the juxtaposition with *unda* makes it natural to consider *s.* as genitive; but in a hymn concerning the offspring of the water the special mention of the water of Joh. xix. 34 and of baptism is more than likely. So Aug. *Conf. XIII. 26 concipiat et mare et pariat opera uestra, et producant aquae reptilia animarum uiuarum...repperunt enim sacramenta tua, Deus, per opera sanctorum tuorum inter medios fluctus*

temptationum saeculi ad imbuendas gentes nomine tuo in baptismo tuo.

11. *lapsus*] 2. 27.

criminum may be 'into sins' or 'caused by sins.'

12. 'the loathsomeness of everlasting death,' cp. 75. 16. Perhaps *taedium* is to be taken in the special sense of 'malice,' as at Vincent. *Ler. Comm. XXX absque taedio, praesumptione, et gratia*; where Moxon refers to Rösensch *Semasilog. Beiträge* 1. p. 69.

13. *nullum*] = *neminem*, cp. 30. 3 note; or rather, the clause being final, *ut nullum* stands for *ne quemquam*.

15. *elisa*] 'broken,' 'crushed'; cp. Ps. cxliv. (cxlv.) 14 *Dominus...erigit omnes elisos*.

17. *elata*] 1 Tim. iii. 6.

HYMN 78

Appointed for Vespers on Friday, based on Gen. i. 24-31, the sixth day of creation.

Ecdhjsvxημφ Fhnpqsy Gabm Habcdesghi Ibcdefhmnopv Mamx Vbcs

Plasmator hominis Deus,
 qui cuncta solus ordinans
 humum iubet producere
 reptantis et ferae genus,

3 iubens Fs¹ Ig. 4 et ferre Fs Gb Vs, efferre Ic.

1. *plasmator*] 'creator,' 'maker,' cp. 23. 10 note.

4. 'the race of the creeping thing and of the beast.' The gen.'s are

qui magna rerum corpora 5
 dictu iubentis uiuida,
 ut seruiant per ordinem,
 subdens dedisti homini :
 repelle a seruis tuis,
 quidquid per immunditiam 10
 aut moribus se suggerit
 aut actibus se interserit.
 da gaudiorum praemia,
 da gratiarum munera,
 dissolue litis uincula, 15
 adstringe pacis foedera.

6 dicto He¹ In², dictum Gb¹ Hd.
 16 abstringe Ev Fn Hbde Ihv Mm.

sing. for plu. The word used for *fera* at Gen. i. 24 f. is *bestia*, and for *reptans*, *reptile*.

5 f. 'Who hast put into subjection to man, that they may serve him each in its place, the mighty forms of things called into life at the bidding of Thy command.'

magna rerum corpora] a poetical phrase used to contrast the great bulk of beasts with their subservience to men. Cp. Lucr. i. 680 *corpora rerum*; Juvenc. i. 157 *corpora magna iuuencum*. So Ambr. *Hex.* vi. 35 (of the elephant) *haec tantae molis bestia subiecta nobis imperiis seruit humanis*.

6. **dictu**] 'at the bidding,' the abl. of a verbal subst. very rare except as an abl. of respect (so-called supine): *mirabile dictu*, *nefas dictu* etc. Mone would read *dicto*, 'at the word.'

8 hominem Es Hb¹ Mm¹ Ihv.

7 f. Cp. Gen. i. 28, Ps. viii. 8, Eccli. xvii. 4.

10. The hymn rather unkindly views these creatures as unclean. In *per immunditiam* the *per* is used as in *per ludum*, *per iram facere*.

12. For *interserit* Mone would read *inserit*, probably because of the hiatus in 9. But a hymn may have both hiatus and elision, cp. Fort. viii. viii. *o regina potens cui aurum et purpura uile est*. If any change were needed it would be better to omit *se* to be supplied in thought from *se* in 11.

14. **gratiarum**] 'of grace,' brought into the plu. by the other plu.'s around.

15. i.e. free us from the power of strife.

16. **pacis foedera**] 50. 29. *foedus pacis* occurs at Is. liv. 10, Ezek. xxxvii. 26.

HYMN 79

79 is generally, but not universally, appointed for Vespers on Saturday during the summer, and we are hereby brought face to face with a difficult question. The first six of the Vesper hymns, 73-78, are alike in

every respect and are no doubt the work of one writer. They appear with unfailing regularity in all the MSS of the later hymnal. But *O lux beata Trinitas* is a hymn of quite another type, with only two instead of the usual four stanzas. Did the Roman use ever have a seventh hymn concerning the seventh day of the creation, the sabbath rest, answering more or less to 80? Probably not. If it did the hymn has disappeared; see the introduction to 80. Trier 1245 omits hymn 79, though it contains 5 *Deus creator omnium*, which was normally the winter hymn for Saturday Vespers. In the Mozar. MS Madrid 1005 (Hh 60) the rubric of 79 is *cottidianus dominicalis*, and in St Gall. 387 the hymn is appointed *dominica de sancta Trinitate*, in Vesp. D. XII, Durham III. 32, Harl. 2961 it is described as *inuocatio ad sanctam Trinitatem*, in the Moz. brev. of Ortiz (1502) it is appointed *in dom. II post oct. epiphan.*

As to the contents of the hymn. Probably on account of its shortness, it has been much interpolated. A good many MSS add between stanzas I and II: *iam tempus noctis aduenit noctem quietam tribuens, diluculo nos respice, saluator unigenite*. The Mozarabic authorities add two more stanzas after this: *tu Christe solue uincula, absterge nostra uitia, relaxa pius crimina et indulge facinora. Oramus ut exaudias, precamur ut subuenias, Christe Iesu omnipotens, tu nos a malo libera*. A Rheinau MS (Cod. LXXXIII, see Werner *die ältesten Hymnensammlungen von Rheinau* p. 52) adds: *Nos angelorum gloriam, apostolorum gratiam et martyrum certamina ac confitentium praemia, laudemus almas uirgines in mente sacratissimas, quod uirgo Christum gigneret mundoque uitam redderet*.

[This is one of the hymns which the Benedictine editors of St Ambrose ascribe without hesitation to that saint. It is indeed worthy of him, though the constant

rhyme is unlike his workmanship. In three different passages of *de una Deitate* Hincmar speaks of it unquestionably as his. Daniel IV. p. 48 argues for the authorship of Ambrose from the well-known passage in *Epist.* 21 where he speaks of the zeal with which the people of Milan daily proclaimed their faith in the Trinity by singing his verses. But the fact that this beautiful hymn did not find its way into the Ambrosian use is sufficient to disprove the contention. The eighteen hymns of St Ambrose given above contain the doctrine of the Trinity clearly enough to meet the requirements of the Epistle referred to.]

Eacdhlsvxδημφ Fabhlpqs Gdm Habcdefi Ibcdefghmnopv Max Vbcs

O lux beata Trinitas
et principalis unitas,
iam sol recedit igneus,
infunde lumen cordibus.

te mane laudum carmine,
te deprecamur uespere,

5

3 recedat Ic, recedunt Gd¹. ignibus Eδ. 4 sensibus Hc. 5 laudant He¹ Ig Vb, laudent Eδ Fb He², laudunt Ec, laude Gd. carmina Ehvδ Fb Ha²bcdef Igmo Vb. 6 deprecemur Eacdhvxδφ Fabnps Hi Ibdeghmnv Vs, praedicamus Es Max. uesperu Eahvx Hbe¹ Ib²cdegnv.

1. **beata** seems to belong to *Trinitas* rather than to *lux*.

2. **principalis**] 'princely,' 'royal,' is the adj. of *princeps* so often used in these hymns, as at 24. 10, 30. 32, 31. 3 etc. Cp. Ps. 1. 14 *spiritu principali* (πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῷ) *confirma me*, and 68. 1 f. *o Trinitatis unitas | orbem potenter qui regis*. It is, however, possible that the word is here used in the sense of 'primal,' 'fundamental.' Much controversy has, of course, gathered about the use of the word in patristic Latin, especially in certain connexions: see Puller *Primitive Saints and See of Rome* pp. 29—32, 441—442 (ed. 3).

3. **sol igneus**] Verg. *Georg.* IV. 426, Prud. *Cath.* II. 25.

4. Cp. 3. 7 f.

5. From *deprecamur* in 6 a suitable word is to be supplied, 'we worship' or the like. *deprecamur* often means simply 'we pray' not deprecate (19. 13 note), and may itself be supplied. *laudum* is at least on its way to becoming 'Lauds.'

For the repetition of *te* at the commencement of these three consecutive lines see 1. 3 f.

7. 'May our humble praise'—or 'may our glory prostrate before Thee'—'laud Thee through all ages,' i.e. may we be permitted to

te nostra supplex gloria
per cuncta laudet saecula.

8 laudat Eδ He¹, laudes Hd.

take a humble part in the triumph song of heaven. *supplex* belongs to the predicate rather than the subject. Cp. Ps. lvii. 9 *exsurge, gloria mea* (in Ps. xv. (xvi.) 9 the Vulg. has *lingua mea*). The 'glory' of man in the Psalms is interpreted to

mean the soul: see Kirkpatrick on Ps. vii. 5. As, however, *gloria* is sometimes used in these hymns (as at 40. 34) in the sense of an 'ascription of glory,' it may perhaps be so intended here.

HYMN 80

A most interesting, though difficult, hymn. It has been pointed out in the introduction to 79 that, whereas the ferial Vesper hymns 73-78 are based on the several days of the creation, the series then breaks off and 79 *O lux beata Trinitas* is interpolated instead. Did the Roman breviary ever have a special Vesper hymn on the seventh day, similar to the first six? If so, why has it disappeared?

Rerum Deus fons omnium is not likely to be the hymn sought for. For one of the *two* MSS which contain it is of the *Mozarabic* use. And the scanning of *ęgris* (for *aegris*) in 7 points to Spain as its birthplace. Thus Prudentius scans *ęnigma, hęresis, Męander, sphęra* etc.; and Traube (*Poetae Latini aevi car.* p. 791) quotes from Spanish poets *cordulę, dicatę, plumę, prępotens, pręuia, unitę*. Probably therefore a Spanish poet saw his opportunity and wrote hymn 80. But if it be of Spanish origin and, at one time at least, part of the Mozarabic use, how comes it to be in a *Bobbio* MS (Turin G. v. 38)? And why is it not in the printed breviary of Ortiz of 1502?

Io Ma

Rerum Deus fons omnium,
 qui rebus actis omnibus
 totius orbis ambitum
 censu replesti munerum,
 non actibus fessus manens, 5
 laboribus non saucius,
 cunctis quietem das, aegris
 curis ruant ne morbidi:
 concede nunc temporibus
 uti malorum consciis, 10
 instare iam uirtutibus
 et munerari prosperis;
 terroris ut cum iudicis
 horror supremus ceperit,

| | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 3 ambitu Io Ma. | 4 numerum Io. | 7 cuncta Ma. | quietis Io. |
| 8 morbidis Io Ma. | 9 mortalibus Ma. | 10 hostiis Ma. | 11 in- |
| stitue Io. | 12 munerare Ma, munere Io. | 14 caeperit Io. | |

2. The time of *actis* is contemporary with that of *replesti* in 4. From the choice of this word rather than *factis*, *rebus* seems not to be a synonym of *rerum* in line 1.

3. **orbis ambitum**] 120. 10, cp. 13. 25.

4. **censu**] 9. 16, 14. 18.

5 f. The thought of the stanza is that God, Himself not needing rest, made the sabbath for man.

manens] 'being'; cp. 44 b. 8 note.

6. **saucius** is frequently used in poetry in the sense of 'ailing,' 'disabled.'

7 f. 'Thou givest rest to all, that they may not perish stricken with sickly cares.'

aegris curis] Cp. Lucr. III. 905 *doloribus aegris*, ib. 933 *aegris luctibus*; Juvenc. I. 631 *aegra... cura*. Join *curis ruant* 68. 20 note.

morbidi] 'diseased,' as at 69. 9. The MS reading *morbidis* would

come from the surrounding words ending in *-is*. Blume punctuates *cunctis quietem das aegris*, which can but mean that God gives the sabbath rest only to the sick. *morbidi* is my conjecture.

9 f. 'Grant us now to know our wrong-doings and make use of fixed seasons, and even now to strive after virtues and to be rewarded with success.' *nunc* is contrasted with the time of 13 f.

temporibus] such seasons as the end of a week, when we may specially review our past conduct.

12. **prosperis**] 'temporal happiness,' cp. 59. 16.

13 f. 'That when the last fear of the terror of the Judge shall seize the world.' For this use of *horror* with a gen. cp. 57. 14, 102. 11, and for the sense of the passage 86. 14. [Perhaps it would be better to retain the MS reading *coeperit* (*caep.*) 'shall begin.' There would then be

laetemur omnes in uicem 15
 pacis repleti munere.

15 laetemus Ma. 16 replesti munerum Io.

a contrast between those who have prepared betimes and others.]

compense.

15. in uicem] i.e. by way of re-

16. repleti munere looks back to lines 4 and 7.

HYMNS FOR THE DAY HOURS. HYMNS 81 ff.

HYMN 81

This has always been the hymn for Prime in the later series, taking the place of 51 *Post matutinis laudibus*, the hymn for the same office in the old hymnal. But Vat. 82 f. 219^v has another short hymn for Prime: *Christe caelorum conditor, | Deus dominator omnium, | placabilis nos aspice | precantes tuos famulos. | hora prima psallimus, | laudes Deo referimus, | qui caecam noctem uicimus, | Christum regem requirimus. | Deo patri sit gloria | eiusque soli filio | cum spiritu paraclito | et nunc et per perpetuum.* Blume suggests that this hymn, being the shorter one, was intended for the summer.

Abdghk Eacdjhvdμ Fbhlqs Gabd Habcdefghμ Ibho Mx Vabcps

Iam lucis orto sidere
 Deum precemur supplices,
 ut in diurnis actibus
 nos seruet a nocentibus ;
 linguam refrenans temperet, 5
 ne litis horror insonet,

2 precamur Ehδ Fb.

5 temperat Eδ.

1. lucis...sidere] i.e. the sun.

5. Cp. Ps. xxxiii. (xxxiv.) 13; Ja. i. 26 *non refrenans linguam suam.*

3. diurnis actibus] the actions of the coming day, like *actuum sequentium* of 64. 7.

6. 'that grating strife may not resound on it,' the tongue being the instrument, like *calamis insonare* in Ovid. Cp. Ja. iv. 1 *unde bella et lites in uobis?* Lucr. II. 410 *serrae*

4. nocentibus] like 'all things that may hurt us' (*noxia cuncta*) of our Collect.

uisum fouendo contegat
ne uanitates hauriat.

sint pura cordis intima,
absistat et uecordia,

carnis terat superbiam
potus cibique parcitas ;

ut cum dies abscesserit
noctemque sors reduxerit,

mundi per abstinentiam
ipsi canamus gloriam.

10

15

7 concitat Eδ.
11 superbia Edh.

8 uanitatis Ab Ech Gb Ib, uanitatem Hd.
14 sol Eδ Io Va².

*stridentis acerbum horrorem. Or
litis horror* may mean 'dread strife,'
cp. 57. 14 *horror timoris*; 80. 13.

7 f. 'that His protection may
screen our eyes, lest they drink in
vanities.' Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 37 *auerte
oculos meos ne uideant uanitatem*.
Probably the hymn writer is also
thinking of Aug. *Conf.* VII. 20
*posteaquam fouisti caput nescientis
et clausisti oculos meos, ne uiderent
uanitatem, cessauit de me paululum
et consopita est insania mea*.

fouendo] Cp. 5. 32 note and for
the use of the gerund see Index.

uanitates] 74. 15 note.

hauriat] Cp. Verg. *Aen.* IV. 661
hauriat hunc oculis ignem; Ambr.
in Luc. VI. 44 *ne confusionem...
hauriret*; Fort. V. II. 4 *hauriret
mens oculata fidem*; Eccl. I. 18 *non
saturabitur oculus uisu*.

9. Cp. Ambr. *Hex.* IV. 1 *sol in-
cipit. emunda oculos mentis, o homo,
animaeque interiores optutus, ne qua
festuca peccati aciem tui praestringat
ingenii et puri cordis turbet aspec-*

tum. Cp. also 5. 13, 26.

10. **absistat**] = *absit*, as at 50. 23.
uecordia] 'folly,' 'madness,' as
often in Latin translation of O.T.
The heart is regarded as the centre
of thought, and the folly is that of
leading an impure life; cp. Prov.
vii. 7 *uecordem iuuenem, qui...prope
uiam illius graditur in obscuro*.

11. **terat superbiam**] 32. 15.

14. *sors pro successione uicissi-
tudineque temporis, cuius certa serie
ac alternatione diei succedit hora
nocturna* (Clicht.).

15 f. **mundi** is probably an adj.
as at 20. 12, 98. 11: 'that kept
clean by our abstinence we may
sing praise to Him.' But the mean-
ing may possibly be 'that by reason
of our abstaining from the world we
may...' Cp. the Oxyrhynchus Lo-
gion 2 *ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον*.
For a gen. with *abstinentia* cp.
Num. xxx. 14 *ceterarum rerum ab-
stinentiam*. For the general sense
cp. 1 Thess. iv. 3, v. 22.

16. **ipsi**] as in 62 b. 8, 14.

HYMN 82

Here according to their use should come the three
hymns *ad paruas horas* which are printed among the
hymns of Ambrose: for Terce 16 *Nunc sancte nobis*

Spiritus, for Sext 17 *Rector potens, uerax Deus*; for None 18 *Rerum Deus tenax uigor*. 82 is found only in Vat. 82. In many ways it resembles 51, upon which it seems to be based.

There are, it seems to me, good reasons for thinking that Niceta of Remesiana may have written this hymn. As was pointed out in the introduction to 41, Niceta certainly wrote some hymns, and this, as well as 41, may be of their number. Several words, phrases and thoughts in it remind us more or less strongly of passages in his prose writings, especially of the *de Psalmodiae Bono*.

Perhaps the most striking of these resemblances is that between the last four lines of the hymn and *de Psalm. Bono* I. 9 (p. 67, line 4 of Burn's edition). The prose passage runs: *tunc acceptabiles nostrae uigiliae, tunc pernoctatio salutaris erit, si...deuotione sincera ministerium nostrum diuinis obtutibus offeruntur*. Here notice the similarity of thought and wording, and above all the unusual *tunc* (= 'on that condition')...*si*.

But hardly less noteworthy is the likeness of lines 23, 24 to several passages of Niceta, who repeatedly either quotes or refers to St Paul's admonition as to the necessity of attending to what is being sung, 1 Cor. xiv. 26. Thus we read p. 66. 4 *qui orat spiritu, oret et mente*, p. 69. 15 *sicut alio loco ait: psallam spiritu psallam et mente*. Again p. 77. 23 *et iterum alibi: psallam inquit spiritu, psalmum dicam et mente*. Once more p. 79. 15 *non solum spiritu, hoc est sono uocis, sed et mente psallamus et ipsum quod psallimus cogitemus, ne captiuata mens fabulis et extraneis cogitationibus laborem habeat infructuosum*. Here we have what might very well serve as a paraphrase of this part of the hymn.

Then *memento*, used as in line 17, is one of Niceta's ways of drawing attention to a special point; see Niceta

p. 5. 3, 43. 15. In 21 *promeruit* is used much as Niceta uses it at p. 71. 16 *David...carminum thesaurus esse promeruit*. And although Niceta does not actually employ the verb *praeuenire* (as in line 28), he definitely expresses the thought of the passage at p. 18. 14 *certus autem sum praeoccupatas aures et sensus alia opinione grauatos difficile posse placari: perniciosa est enim praeuentio*. Also at p. 79. 17 *captiuata mens fabulis et extraneis cogitationibus* pretty closely reproduces the meaning of *uanis praeuentus casibus*.

Compare too line 6 *prophetae* (=David) with p. 26. 2 *David...prophetantem*; line 7 *soluamus ora* with p. 69. 6 *ora nostra laxauit et linguas soluit*; line 9 with p. 75. 16 where Niceta quotes the same verse, Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 164; line 12 *soluamus debitum* with p. 67. 11 *debitum soluit*. In line 31 *gerat* is used in a rather similar sense to that in p. 75. 15 *hanc scientiam gerens*.

The writings of Niceta were of course copied and studied, and it is always possible that some student of the *de Psalmodiae Bono* may have written the hymn. But this is much less likely.

Vp

Bis ternas horas explicans
diei sol ingreditur
ut sex idemque transigat,
in noctis claudat aditum.

4 auditum Vp.

1. 'The sun having brought to an end six hours of the day proceeds in like manner to complete other six and close it at the approach of night.'

3. **idemque**] = *item*, as sometimes in late Latin; see Löfstedt *Aeth.* pp. 87, 295; *Stud.* 74; Bonnet p. 385. We should have expected

transigens. The asyndeton feels very harsh with the MS reading.

4. In a classical writer *in aditum n.* would mean 'towards night fall'; but late writers use *in* with the acc. very loosely; cp. Fort. II. xvi. 142 *in lucem obscurus*; Rönsch 410.

claudat] Ambr. *Hex.* I. 35 *incipia...diei noctis exitum claudunt*.

nos ergo nunc, confamuli, 5
 prophetae dicti memores
 soluamus ora in canticis
 prece mixta Dauiticis,
 ut septies diem uere
 orantes cum psalterio 10
 laudesque cantantes Deo
 laeti soluamus debitum.
 sic enim Christi gratia
 peccantibus dat ueniam,
 saepeque confitentibus 15
 non aderit mors impia.
 memento non desit tamen
 orantibus, serui Dei,
 quod Pauli uox apostoli
 seruandum praedixit nobis, 20

14 peccantibus Vp.

17 momente Vp.

5. **confamuli**] vocative. Like 51 the hymn was originally written for monastic use; see line 9.

6. **prophetae**] the psalmist, cp. line 8 and 41. 2 note. The reference is to Ps. cxix. 164, mentioned in the following stanza.

7. **soluamus ora in c.**] We may compare Matt. xiii. 35 *aperiam in parabolis os meum*. But it is possible that the construction is intended to be *sol. ora prece mixta in canticis*: cp. Rev. viii. 7 *grando et ignis mixta in sanguine*; Hil. *Hymn.* 1. 54 *alter qui cum sit mixtus in altero*.

9. **septies**] 51. 13 note.

diem] the acc. of time within which; cp. 60. 4 note.

10. **cum psalterio**] Ps. xxxii. 2, xlvi. 5 etc. Does this imply an instrumental accompaniment to the hymn?

12. **debitum**] 'our debt.' Cp. 1. 2 *laudes demus debitas*; 51. 16 etc.

13. **sic**] 'on this condition.'

Christi gratia] 50. 4.

15. **confitentibus** combines the idea of confessing our sins (with reference to *orantes* in 10, *peccantibus* in 14) and of praising God (with reference to 11), cp. 66. 7 note.

16. **aderit**] = *erit*, 68. 13 note.

mors impia] the opposite of *mortis sacrae*, 18. 7.

17. **memento**] 26. 1. Here, as it refers to the plu. *serui*, we should have expected *mementote*; but the word has virtually become an interjection. Not unlike are Plaut. *Poen.* 117 *caue dirumpatis*, *Mil.* 78 *age eamus*. For *non* thus used see 47. 15.

18. **serui**, the MS reading, is a vocative, like *confamuli* in 5, *serui* 55. 5 (note), *proximi* 56. 25. Cp. Ps. cxxxiv. 1 etc. The reading of Daniel etc. *orantibus seruis Dei* is taken from 50. 14.

20. **praedixit**] 'declared' = *praedicauit*. Cp. Damas. II. 16 (of Paul) *gentibus ac populis iussus praedicere uera*.

cuius uox hoc promeruit
 ut diceret idem Deo :
 orabo mente Dominum,
 orabo simul spiritu.

ne uox sola Deo canat 25
 sensusque noster alibi
 ductus aberret fluctuans
 uanis praeuentus casibus.

tunc enim Deo accepta est
 oratio canentium, 30
 si pura mens idem gerat
 quod explicat uox cantici.

29 hunc Vp.

21. **promeruit**] 'was permitted'; cp. Damas. II. 12 *Paulus...noscere promeruit possent quod praemia uitae*; Nicet. *de Psalmodiae Bono* 4 *Dauid...carminum thesaurus esse promeruit*. Rösensch 377 gives several examples of this use of the word, to which add Fort. III. vi. 31, X. vii. 49, *Vit. Mart.* II. 66.

22. The text seems to be corrupt. *idem* may have come in from 3 or 30, *Deo* from 11, 18 or 25. I would read, for *idem Deo*, *identidem* 'to the same effect,' 'in like manner'; see Rösensch p. 342, Löfstedt *Aeth.* p. 295. [Perhaps a simpler emendation would be *idem duo*, 'that the two things (voice and heart) must be one.']

23 f. 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 51. 9 f.

26. **sensus**] 'mind,' 'thoughts.'

alibi] loosely used for *alio*, as Fort. III. x (title) *cum fluium alibi detorqueret*.

27. **fluctuans**] 26. 12.

28. **uanis** has a positively bad sense, corresponding as it does to *turpibus* of 51. 11. See the note on 74. 15.

praeuentus] 'preoccupied.'

casibus] 74. 11; if the meaning of *casibus* there is the same.

29. **tunc...si**] 'only then...if'; Nicet. *de Psalmodiae Bono* 9 *tunc acceptabiles nostrae uigiliae,...si competenti diligentia et deuotione sincera ministerium nostrum diuinis obtutibus offeruntur*.

Deo accepta] Acts x. 35 *qui timet eum...acceptus est ei*.

32. **explicat**] as in line 1.

HYMN 83

This beautiful hymn, which asks God to protect us from the dangers of the coming night, has always been appointed for Compline, to which office its contents make it so suitable. In the younger hymnal it took the place of 61 *Christe qui lux es et dies*. The use of it almost

unaltered continues in the modern Roman breviary. Lovers of Dante will remember the pathetic reference to it in the eighth canto of the *Purgatorio*.

Abdghk Eacdhsvxµ Fbdhijlpqs Gd Habcdefgi Ib Macm Vabp

Te lucis ante terminum,
rerum creator, poscimus,
ut solita clementia
sis praesul ad custodiam.
procul recedant somnia 5
et noctium phantasmata,
hostemque nostrum conprime
ne polluantur corpora.
praesta, Pater omnipotens,
per Iesum Christum Dominum, 10
qui tecum in perpetuum
regnat cum sancto Spiritu.

8 nec Ab¹ Ec. 9 piissime (*pro* omn.) Ab Gd. 11 perpetuo Gd.
12 uiuit Gd.

3. The lengthening of the *o* in *solita* is the one metrical liberty in the hymn itself, apart from the doxology, which was no doubt added later. Cassander suggested *ut pro tua clementia* and this is adopted in the Roman breviary.

4. praesul] 13. 7 note.

ad custodiam] 'to guard us.' *ad* expresses the purpose.

5 f. The stanza is based on the

last but one of 5 *exuta sensu lubrico* etc., and on 26. 13 f., see also 86. 3. *somnia*, as the context shews, means evil and corrupting dreams.

6. noctium] 'of night,' 47. 2 note.

phantasmata] 72. 5.

7. hostem] 5. 27.

8. Cp. the last stanza of 103, and 57. 9 foll., 61. 11 foll., 68. 13.

FOR ADVENT. HYMNS 84-86

HYMN 84

Blume (*Analecta* LI p. 47) says that the contents of this hymn apply less to the Advent season than those of 85 and 86, that perhaps 84 was not originally meant for Advent, and that the three hymns were certainly not written by the same writer, nor even at the same period.

Eacdghjlsvxμφ Fdhikpsx Gmμ Habcdefghβ Ibcdefhmnov Vbcs

Conditor alme siderum,
 aeterna lux credentium,
 Christe redemptor omnium,
 exaudi preces supplicum ;
 qui, condolens interitu
 mortis perire saeculum,
 saluasti mundum languidum,
 donans reis remedium,
 uergente mundi uespere,
 uti sponsus de thalamo,
 egressus honestissima
 uirginis matris clausula.

5

10

5 interitum Exμ Ihn. 8 rei Fs¹ Vs, regis Ehx¹, eis Ic, ei Idn¹.
 9 uesperis Hd², uespera Egl Fx Ha Vb. 10 ut Vb, sicut El. e (*pro*
 de) Eφ. 11 ingressus Ec Vb, ingressu Ha. honestissimo Hagh Vb,
 -me Fs Hbcd¹ef Vs. 12 clausulam Fx Vb, clausulo Hgh.

1. **siderum**] the heavenly bodies, including the sun and moon. The word strikes the keynote of the hymn, forecasting the light which Christ, Himself the eternal light, was to bring into the world: cp. 85. 5 *inlumina*, 86. 7.

2. **aeterna lux**] Ambr. *in Luc.* 11. 12 *et ipse lux uera et genitor lucis aeternae.*

3. = 87. 1.

5f. Mone found in a XIVth cent. MS of Lichtenthal what he believed to be the original of this stanza. *Qui condolens hominibus | mortis subiectis legibus | factus homo restituis | uitam in tuo sanguine;* also 14f. *omnium | caelestium, terrestrium | nec non et infernalium;* and 24 *quamdiu sumus aduenae.* These readings are said (Julian p. 257) to be those of the Cistercian breviary, but Lipp knows them not.

5. **condolens**] 33. 4.

interitu mortis] Cp. 23. 1 note.

7. **languidum**] 'sick,' Mt. xiv. 14 *curauit languidos eorum*, 93. 12,

104. 4, 120. 28. This use of the word is not found before Martial: till then it meant 'languid,' 'weary.'

9. 'When the world's evening was drawing to a close,' Heb. ix. 26. In meaning the line may be compared with 33. 10, 85. 4, 114. 4; in form with 59. 5. The rhyme is so consistently carried through the hymn as to make it almost certain that the original reading in 9 was *uespero*, which was changed to *uespere* or *uespera*, as being a most unusual form in the sense of 'evening.' But *uesperum* (103. 6, 105. 5) justifies an abl. *uespero*, though we need not think of a nom. *uesperus* in this sense.

10. From Ps. xix. 5; cp. 6. 17, 88. 7.

12. **clausula**] Cp. *claustrum* 6. 14, 39. 4. This use of the word appears to be wholly without parallel, unless it be in a passage of Gildas, quoted in the Thesaurus, where it = *cella*.

cuius forti potentiae
 genu curuantur omnia
 caelestia, terrestria, 15
 nutu fatentur subdita,
 occasum sol custodiens,
 luna pallorem retinens,
 candor in astris relucens

13 fortis Ev Ib. 14 curuatur Eal Hb Id, curuantes Ej Ha, flectuntur
 Es Fh He¹ Im, flectentes Eμ Hβ, flectentur Fx. omnium Ealv Iv.
 16 fatentur nutu Ecdvφ Fi. 19 elucens Ha.

13 f. 'To whose mighty power all things in heaven and earth bow the knee and confess that they are subject to Thy sway.' The passage is based upon Phil. ii. 10, cp. Rom. xiv. 11, Is. xlv. 23 *michi curuabitur omne genu*. The Mozarabic Easter Illation has the phrase *Tibi genua curuant caelestia, terrestria et inferna*. In our Lord's time standing was the usual attitude of prayer (Mk xi. 25, Lk. xviii. 11, 13); but, perhaps from His example (Lk. xxii. 41), kneeling soon was the prevailing custom; Acts vii. 60, ix. 40, xx. 36, xxi. 5, Herm. *Pastor Vis.* 1. 3 τὴν τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἠρξάμην προσεύχεσθαι τῷ κυρίῳ: cp. Dressel on Prud. *Cath.* II. 51 *rogare curuato genu*.

13. **forti**] 'mighty,' cp. 111. 5. Löfstedt *Aeth.* 161 f. gives several examples of this use of the word, which comes from conversational Latin. Not unlike is *fortiter* 41. 17.

14. **curuantur** either governs *genu* as at 34. 5 *confixa* is followed by *uiscera*, or *genu* must be taken as an abl. 'on bended knee.'

16. **nutu**] dative. *nutus* lit. means 'a nod,' hence 'the beck and call' of a superior; cp. Verg. *Aen.* VII. 592 *nutu Iunonis eunt res*.

fatentur] supply *se esse*, which words can be omitted almost at will in late Latin poetry. See Löfstedt *Spätlateinische Studien* p. 44. However, the word may here be taken absolutely, or with *poten-*

tiae, as in the passage of Rom.

17 f. **sol, luna, candor** are in apposition to *caelestia* in 15.

The sun, moon and stars are mentioned as obeying the divine will. Ps. ciii. (civ.) 19, Ambr. *Hex.* IV. 7 *sol debitum sibi agnouit occasum;...luna...quae temporum uicibus oboedire compellitur; in Ps. CXVIII. xii. 9 numquid ulla in ipso est sole praeuaricatio. nonne cottidianos cursus suos seruat? numquid continuos nouit luna defectus et commissi munus deserit ministerii? isdem nempe uicibus annus redit...sol diem inluminat, tempora statuta custodiens. fulget splendoribus luna nocturnis...stellarum nitentium rutilat globus...lex una diuersis, constitutorum semel uices cursuum custodire...una omnium oboedientia*. See the introduction to 2, and the second stanza of 59. The stanza is omitted in several MSS, perhaps because the copyists did not see its connexion with the preceding one.

pallorem ret.] *retinere* here seems to mean 'restraining,' 'withholding her pale light,' i.e. only shewing it at the appointed seasons; unless *pallor* is intended to mean, as elsewhere, the gloom and colourlessness of night (see 22. 2), which the moon 'restrains' from becoming absolute darkness.

19. 'The brightness shining in the stars,' i.e. the brightly shining stars.

certos obseruans limites.

20

te deprecamur, hague,
uenture iudex saeculi,
conserua nos in tempore
hostis a telo perfidi.

laus, honor, uirtus, gloria
Deo Patri cum Filio
sancto simul Paraclito
in sempiterna saecula.

25

20 obseruant Fdpx Hbd Vs¹, obseruat Ed²xμ Fi Hf Ih Vs², obseruet Gμ.
22 uenturi Ecl. 23 hoc (*pro in*) Ic. 24 noctis Eμ Fi Hbd¹ghβ Imv
Vb (notis Ha). perfidis El. 26 et (*pro cum*) Eahvφ Inv Vc. 27 una
cum sancto spiritu Hae¹ In Vc, simul cum s. s. Ehlvx¹.

21. hague] 41. 49.

22. Cp. 48. 3.

23. in tempore] 'at the present
time' = *in ipso tempore* of 55. 39.
But it is just possible that we should

read *noctis* for *hostis* in 24, in which
case we must join *tempore noctis*,
with which cp. 103. 8.

24. a telo] 45. 16 f., 58. 8.

HYMN 85

Mone I. p. 49 says that this hymn was probably written in the second half of the Vth century; but this is too early a date. The rhyme carried throughout points rather to VIIth or VIIIth centuries.

Eacdhjlsvxημφ Fdhiks Gabm Hbcdefgh Ibcdefhmnopv Makx Vcs

Verbum supernum prodiens,
a Patre olim exiens,

1 supremum Hc.

1. 'O Word that proceedest forth on high.' No doubt the poet had in mind the great anthem *O sapientia, quae ex ore altissimi prodiisti*, taken from Ecclus. xxiv. 5. *supernum* is part of the predicate, so to speak. Unless it be taken closely along with *prodiens*, the *exiens* clause is mere tautology, and *prodiens* itself is rather unmeaning without some qualification. The writer still takes—like the

writer of 84. 9—the N.T. view that the incarnation came in the end of the world's history (lines 3, 4). In comparison with this event, the eternal existence of the Word with the Father (lines 1, 2) is denoted as what was *olim*. Line 2 interprets line 1, pointing out the source from which the Word proceeds on high. For such a pres. part. as *prodiens*, *exiens* joined with *olim*, see Hebr. i.

qui natus orbi subuenis
 cursu decliui temporis ;
 inlumina nunc pectora 5
 tuoque amore concrema,
 audita ut praeconia
 sint pulsa tandem lubrica.
 iudexque cum post aderis
 rimari facta pectoris, 10
 reddens uicem pro abditis
 iustisque regnum pro bonis :

3 orbis Fi Gab Hd Ino. subueni Ehμ Ic. 5 tunc Ib. 7 audito...
 praeconio Ecdl Fks² Hd²e¹ Ib Vc. 9 qui (*pro* que) Hgh. adueneris
 (*pro* post ad.) Mk. aderit Hb. 10 rimare Gab¹ Mk.

1 *olim Deus loquens patribus. olim* is very frequently thus used of a remote past compared with a subsequent event which has wrought a change; cp. Dirksen *s.v.*

It is possible to make line 1 refer to the eternal generation and line 2 to the incarnation,—line 2 thus forming substantially part of the relative cause *qui natus*; but the difficulty of *olim* as contemporaneous with *cursu decliui temp.* would remain, besides making the stanza rather badly balanced.

This fine exordium supplied Thomas Aquinas with the beginning of one of his famous eucharistic hymns. But he probably mistook the meaning of the line.

4. *decliui*] lit. 'sloping' towards evening, as if the sun were past his zenith, cp. Jud. xix. 9 *dies ad occasum decliuior*. The age is compared to a day as at 84. 9.

6 f. The sense may be 'and warm them with love of Thee.' But it may be 'and in Thy love burn them up,' which fits in better with the usual meaning of *concrema*; cp. 108. 19 *Deus concremans*, 69. 10 *adure*; Fort. IV. vii. 17 *cautere eloquii bene purgans uulnera morbi*; Ambr. in Luc. V. 27 *omne mandatum tuum sicut cauterium impressum tenebo*.

etsi urit cauterium mandati, tamen putrefacta carnis exurit, ne ad uiuum serpat contagio.

7. *audita...praeconia*] i.e. when Thy coming is proclaimed as it were by a herald (*praeco*). The words are in the nom. or acc. abs. (see 69. 7), which construction was not understood by the later copyists, who wrote *per* for *ut*, or *audito...praeconio*, to the wreck of the rhyme.

8. *tandem* strongly emphasizes *pulsa*, being inserted *instandi causa*, as Quint. IX. 27 puts it; cp. its use 94. 31, 103. 18 and that of *demum* in 13. *lubrica*] 3. 12 note.

9. *post*] 'hereafter,' as at 23. 3. Notice the four notes of time, *olim, natus cursu decl. temp., nunc, post*.

10. *rimari*] 24. 20. The infin. stands instead of *rimaturus* or *ut rimeris*.

11. *reddens uicem*] 50. 19 note. *abditis* may mean merely the secret doings of each one known only to God, but as contrasted with *bonis* in 12 it seems to have gained some of the sinister sense of *obscurus*, cp. 22. 8, 67. 11, 86. 2.

pro] 'according to,' 'in proportion to,' as at Plaut. *Trin.* 26 *amicum meum | concastigabo pro conmerita noxia*.

12. Mt. xxv. 34.

non demum artemur malis
 pro qualitate criminis,
 sed cum beatis compotes 15
 simus perennes caelibes.

13 demnes Gab¹ Mak, damnis Eφ Hcd²fgh Iop, des ut Ea. arcemur Ec. 15 compotens Ic. 16 simul Eh. perenne Fs Icm Vcs (-ni Ec Ga Ip).

13 f. 'Oh let us not be punished according to the heinousness of our guilt.' *demum* qualifies the prayer, much like *tandem* in 8. As to the variant *demnes* Blume suggests that it may perhaps be the original, used as the positive from which comes *indemnes* (*indemnati*), and that it may mean 'condemned' in contrast with *beatis* in 15. The more colourless *demum* and the *damnis* of the Rheinau MSS would be the corrections of the *lectio difficilior*; see *Analecta* XXVII. p. 65. If so, the writer must have coined the word, and coined it incorrectly. It occurs nowhere else.

artare is thus used by Plaut.

Capt. 301 *fortuna humana fingit artatque ut lubet*; often in late Latin, cp. Ps. Cypr. *de Sing. Cler.* 9 *quis tam stultus qui artari cupit ad laborem*; Victor Vitens. I. 28 *dum uariis ab eis insidiis artaretur*, III. 22 *artata poenis*. The Vulgate of Lk. xii. 50, Phil. i. 23 has *coartare*.

15. **compotes**] The word is usually followed by a gen. to express that which has been attained; thus we have 114. 15 *uoti compotes*. Here it means much the same, 'of the number of those who have obtained.' Cp. Liv. I. i. 7 *multitudine compotum*.

16. **perennes**] an instance of the adverbial use of an adj.

caelibes] 62. 30 note.

HYMN 86

This hymn was generally appointed for Mattins in Advent, but according to date and locality its use varied. Thus in the Mozarabic breviary it was sung at Vespers on the Wednesday *infra hebdomadam I Aduentus* (*Analecta* XXVII. p. 65). It is largely based on the Advent Epistle Rom. xiii. 11 f. and Gospel Lk. xxi. 25 f.

Eacdhjlsvxμφ Fdhikpsx Gabm Hbcdefgh Icd efghmnopv Makx Vcs

Vox clara ecce intonat,
 obscura quaeque increpat,

1. The voice is that of the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, Joh. i. 23.

intonat] 'resounds loudly' as at 111. 2, 116. 10, and perhaps 19.

2. **obscura**] 22. 8. This use of

quaeque is very common in the later Latin: see e.g. Vinc. Ler. *Comm.* I *necessaria quaeque*, with Moxon's note; Niceta *de Psalm. Bono 3 aspera quaeque*.

increpat] 2. 19.

pellantur eminus somnia,
ab aethre Christus promicat.

mens iam resurgat torpida, 5
quae sorde exstat saucia;
sidus refulget iam nouum,
ut tollat omne noxium.

e sursum agnus mittitur
laxare gratis debitum; 10
omnes pro indulgentia
uocem demus cum lacrimis;

secundo ut cum fulserit
mundumque horror cinxerit,
non pro reatu puniat, 15
sed pius nos tunc protegat.

3 pellat Ecd¹hj Gm. omnia Fx Hd Id¹m Mk, omnium Es. 4 aethra
Eμ Hb², aethere Edjφ Fdp Gab¹ He² Inp Mk Vc. 9 et (*pro e*) Eμ.
sursus Es. 11 -tiam Eμ. 16 nos pius Fs Gm Hbcdgh Idmopv
Vs, nos sed p. Mak, sed p. tunc nos Eμ.

3. **eminus** is to be scanned as if *emnus*; as *aethere* in 4 is actually written *aethre*, so also at Hil. *Carm. in Gen.* 65.

6. **exstat**] = *est*, cp. 38. 18.
saucia] 80. 6.

7. **sidus**] i.e. Christ. The reference may be to Mal. iv. 2, or to the 'Morning Star' of Rev. xxii. 16. So Prud. *Cath.* XII. 17f. *hoc sidus aeternum manet, | haec stella numquam mergitur*; Ambr. *in Luc.* II. 45 *stella haec uia est et uia Christus, quia secundum incarnationis mysterium Christus est stella.*

8. **noxium**] 'guilt,' cp. 22. 12 note. The word answers to *lubrica* at 85. 8. With *tollat* cp. John i. 29.

9. **e sursum**] 'from on high.' *sursus* (from *sub-uorsum*) strictly means 'upwards,' as at 36. 46, 113. 23, so that the phrase is not correct; cp. Rösensch p. 233. It is of course the 'first advent' that is

here intended.

agnus] because the title was used by John the Baptist.

10. **laxare** is used instead of the usual *soluere*, as at 94. 29. The inf. is used to express purpose as at 56. 4 etc.

debitum] 44 b. 11.

11. **pro indulgentia**] 'for pardon.' This curious use of *pro* seems to be an extension of its use in phrases like *non pro illo dico ut roget quis*, 1 Joh. v. 16.

12. Cp. 20. 10 note.

13f. Cp. the last stanza of 80 and of 113.

secundo] 'for the second time,' used with reference to line 7.

15. **pro reatu**] 'according to our guilt,' 85. 14.

16. **pius**] In such contexts the word *pius* (*pietas*) has nearly reached the sense of *pitié*, 'pity.'

FOR CHRISTMAS. HYMN 87

Christmas has naturally been a fertile subject for Christian poets to work upon; and yet but few of our anonymous hymns were written for the season in these early times. It may well be that the excellence and wide use of Ambrose's *Intende qui regis Israhel* (No. 6), as also of *Corde natus ex parentis* (23), of *A solis ortus cardine* (31) and of *Agnoscat omne saeculum* (38), daunted would-be writers.

The rubric of 87 in the several MSS is *de natale (natiuitate) domini*, and then either *ad nocturnas* or *ad mat.*

Daniel *Thes.* I. p. 79 says that hymn 87 is rarely found in old hymnals: which is certainly not correct. Most MSS from the Xth century on contain it, and as it does not belong to the earlier series we cannot expect to find it in the earliest MSS.

The general doxology of the Christmas hymns is *Gloria tibi domine qui natus es de uirgine cum patre et sancto spiritu in sempiterna saecula*. But in many hymnals is given the alternative: *Laus honor etc.*, as in 84.

Eacdhjlsvxημφ Fbdhilmps Gm Hbcdfg Ibcdefghmnopv Vces

Christe, redemptor omnium,
ex Patre, Patris unice,
solus ante principium
natus ineffabiliter,

1 gentium Ib.

1. =84. 3. The same line is also the first of a rather later hymn for All Saints, *Analecta* LI. p. 150.

2. **ex Patre**, joined with *Patris unice*, seems intended to emphasize the doctrine of the (truly) Nicene

Creed γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς.

3. **ante principium**] 1. 8, 23. 1. There is a reference to Gen. i. 1 in *principio creauit Deus caelum et*

tu lumen, tu splendor Patris, 5
 tu spes perennis omnium,
 intende quas fundunt preces
 tui per orbem famuli.
 memento, salutis auctor,
 quod nostri quondam corporis 10
 ex inlibata uirgine
 nascendo formam sumpseris.
 hic praesens testatur dies
 currens per anni circulum
 quod solus a sede Patris 15
 mundi salus adueneris.
 hunc caelum, terra, hunc mare,
 hunc omne quod in eis est,

8 tuis Hd. famulis Ec Hbd¹. 12 sumpserit Ec Fs Vs¹, sumpseras
 Ha. 13 sic Ev Ih, hoc He². 16 aduenerit Ec Fs Ibd¹h, adueneras
 Hceg Iop. 17 te Id², hinc c. Exφ Fs¹ Hefg Vs. terrae Ec. hinc m.
 Exφ Fi Heg Vs. maria (*pro* hunc mare) Gm. 18 hinc Fs Vs.
 17, 18 *pro* hunc Es *hiatum* habet.

terram; perhaps still more to the famous Prov. viii. 22 *Dominus possedit me in initio uiarum suarum, antequam quidquam faceret a principio.*

4. ineffabiliter] Cp. Aug. *Enchir.* 89 *Deus ineffabiliter artifex*; Fort. III. ix. 49 *inrecitabiliter manans de corde parentis.*

5. Cp. 3. 1 f.

9. memento] Hil. *Hymn.* II. 42 *memento carnis, in qua natus es, meae.*

salutis auctor] Heb. ii. 10.

10. quod...sumpseris] = *te sumpsisse*, and 15 *quod...adueneris* = *te aduenisse*; Rönsch p. 402, 481.

corporis...formam] 23. 9, 42. 11, cp. 89. 6.

13. 'This present day (Christmas) recurring in the year's cycle.' Possibly the writer thought of the year as *describing* a circle as it goes round, and *carrying* the day along with it.

praesens...dies] 8. 8.

14. *per* appears to have the kind of distributive sense which it has acquired in our modern *per annum*.

15 f. 'that Thou alone didst come to be the salvation of the world....' St Peter's words are almost reproduced, Acts iv. 12 *et non est in alio aliquo salus*. This is simpler and better than Clicht.'s explanation of the passage *solus aduenisse dicitur Christus, quoniam solus ipse per incarnationem humanam induit naturam; neque enim Pater incarnatus est, neque Spiritus sanctus.*

17 f. 'This day heaven, earth, sea, and all that is in them praise, exulting with song at the advent of their creator.' The two lines 17 and 18 are based upon Ps. xcv. (xcvi.) 11. The variants *hinc* and *te* for *hunc* (sc. *diem*) are due to the copyists not seeing what *hunc* referred to.

auctoris aduentu sui
laudat exultans cantico.

20

nos quoque, qui sancto tuo
redempti sanguine sumus,
ob diem natalis tui
hymnum nouum concinimus.

19 auctorem Elvμ Fbhps Hd Ibdhmpv Vcs. aduentum Ex Hg Io,
aduentus Eacdμ Fbhps Ibdhmpv Vcs. tui Elvμ Fh Hc Ibd²hmv.
20 laudans Eφ Hg. exultat Ecφ Hg. laudas exultas Ib. collaudans
canit Fs Hbcd Icdn Vcs. canticum Id²n Vc. 22 sumus sanguine
Eacd^lv^xφ Hfe² Ibho.

20. cantico] Cp. 55. 8.

21. a quotation from the *Te Deum*.

24. hymnum nouum] Ps. xxxii.

(xxxiii.) 3, xxxix. (xl.) 4, xcv.
(xcvi.) 1.

FOR THE B. V. MARY. HYMN 88

88 is a fragment of an alphabetic hymn, the rest of which is lost to us. For an attempt to supply some of the missing stanzas see Daniel IV. 58 f. and *Analecta* XXVII. p. 118 f. The Benedictine edd. of Ambrose wrongly assigned it to him on the insufficient evidence of Pseudo-Ildephonsus. Chevalier *Repertorium* 6346 notes the various uses of the hymn thus *B^a Maria, Purificatio (Conceptio, Annuntiatio, Visitatio, Compassio, Assumptio; Aduentus, Natiuitas Dom. fer. IV.). hiem. completorium (uesperae, matutinum, laudes)*; cp. Werner p. 61. In the Mozarabic use, to judge by the rubric in Cod. Matrit. 1005 Hh 60: *in alia festiuitate non dicitur*, this hymn was sung only *in die sanctae Mariae*.

Edhv^xφ Fbips Habcdefgh Icd^lfho M^kx Vcs

Fit porta Christi peruia
referta plena gratia,

2 refecta M^k.

1. porta] Ezek. xlv. 2 f. Cp. 39.
29 f.

2. referta plena] 'filled (so as to be) full'; Cic. *Acad.* I. iv. 17 *plena*

transitque rex, et permanet
clausa, ut fuit, per saecula.

Genus superni numinis 5
processit aula uirginis,
sponsus, redemptor, conditor,
suae gigans ecclesiae.

Honor matris et gaudium, 10
inmensa spes credentium,
per atra mortis pocula
resoluit nostra crimina.

5 supernum Eφ. luminis Ex Fi Ih. 6 praec. Fb. 9 gaudia Io Mk.

et referta. Probably *referta p. gr.* is the subject of *fit*—'She (or a maiden) filled...is made the gate.' Probably some reference to her had occurred in the previous stanza.

4. 6. 14 note, 84. 12.

5. *genus*] 'the Son,' as in Horace's

audax Iapeti genus.

6. *aula*] an allusion to 6. 18, as are *sponsus* and *gigans*.

9. *honor*] 'He who is the glory.'

10. *spes cr.*] Cp. 15. 22.

11. *pocula*] Cp. Matt. xxvi. 38 (*calix*).

FOR THE EPIPHANY. HYMN 89

This is again an alphabetical hymn; see introduction to 71. Chevalier *Repertorium* 14 gives the Xth century as the date of its composition, which is no doubt too late. He says that it was an Epiphany hymn, but this was by no means always the case. In some uses it was sung at Christmas (see Werner p. 9); while, according to Blume (*Analecta* XXVII. p. 66), its Mozarabic use was *infra hebdomadam 2 aduentus, feria 2 ad uesp.* The doxology varied according to the season. When sung at Christmas this was *Gloria tibi domine qui natus es de uirgine* etc. (see introduction to 87). When sung in the Epiphany it was generally *Gloria tibi domine qui lotus es in flumine.*

Ecdhjvx Fdips Gm Hbch Ibh Mmx Vs

A Patre unigenitus

Ad nos uenit per uirginem,

Baptisma cruce consecrans,

Cunctos fideles generans.

De caelo celsus prodiit,

5

Exceptit formam hominis,

Facturam morte redimens,

Gaudia uitae largiens.

Hoc te, redemptor, quaesumus

Inlabere propitius,

10

Klarumque nostris sensibus

Lumen praebere fidelibus.

Mane nobiscum, Domine,

Noctem obscuram remoue,

Omne delictum ablue,

15

Piam medellam tribue.

1 unigenite Mx. 2 uenis Mx. 3 baptismo Fs. crucem Ec Gm.
 baptismi rore Mx. 4 fide regen. Mx. 5 e caelo Hb. prodiens Gm
 Mx. 7 factura Ec Gm. mortis Ec, mortem Mm. consequens Hb.
 uictor a morte rediens Mx. 8 uita rediens Gm. 11 cordibus
 Ev Fi Gm Hb Mx. 12 deificum (*pro fid.*) Mx. 14 remouens Gm.
 16 pie Ex Hb Ibh.

1. Blume *Analecta* xxvii. 66 follows the Mozarabic printed breviary in reading *unigenite...uenis*, which suits the rhyme, but not the grammar of 5 f.

3. Ambr. *de Myst.* 20 *quid est enim aqua sine cruce Christi?* 33. 20 note.

5. *celsus*] = *Altissimus*,—an unusual use of the word.

prodiit] 'came forth' into the world, 3. 30, 33. 12.

6. *formam*] 42. 11, 87. 12: of course a reference to Phil. ii. 7.

7. *facturam*] 'His creation' = *quod condidit* of 31. 8. Cp. Sedul. *Carm.* 11 *sua ne factura periret*. In this concrete sense *factura* is used by Cypr. *de Hab. Virg.* 15

opus Dei et factura eius et plastica adulterari nullo modo debeat, and in Iren. xxiv. 1, Tert. *de An.* 4.

10. *inlabere*] 3. 5 note, and *nostris* s. 3. 8.

11. It may be questioned whether *fidelibus* is epithet to *sensibus* ('our faithful thoughts'), or whether *n. s.* is governed by *Klarum*, and *fid.* by *praebere*.

13. Lk. xxiv. 29 *mane nobiscum quoniam aduersperascit*.

14. *n. obscuram*] 22. 8.

15. *delictum*] 7. 26 note.

16. *piam*] 'loving,' 'gracious,' should strictly qualify the giver rather than the gift, as was felt by the copyists who wrote *pie*.

Quem iam uenisse nouimus,
 Redire item credimus,
 Sceptrum tuum inclitum
 Tuo defende clipeo.

20

Vita, salus, et ueritas,
 Christe, rogantes adiuua;
 Ymnum sonantes iubilo
 Zelum uincamus lubricum.

19 sceptrumque Ex Fds Hb Ih Mx, sc. tuumque Gm, tu sc. tuum Ecdv
 Fp Hc Mm. 20 tuum...clipeum Gm. 21-24 in Mx solo
reperiuntur.

18. redire...credimus] 42. 19 and
 note.

19. The line as it stands is probably the original, *sceptrum* being pronounced as *isceptrum*, see 42. 33. But *sceptrum* [tu] tuum is possible, as the *tu* would easily fall out before *tuum*. God's 'glorious sceptre' had been Israel; cp. Jer. li. 19 *Israel sceptrum hereditatis eius*; Lam. ii. 1 *terram inclitam Israel*. Now it is

the Church.

20. 2 Sam. xxii. 36, Ps. v. 13, Prov. xxx. 5.

21 f. These four lines are found only in the *printed* Mozar. brev. and may have been added by the editor Ortiz, who seems to have freely edited the rest of the hymn; see *Analecta* xxvii. p. 66 and cp. 31. 85 note.

HYMN 90

The use of this hymn varies between Vespers and Nocturn in Epiphany, it being in itself suitable to either office. Mone I. 78 thinks that the alliteration shews it to have been written by an Irish or Anglo-Saxon poet; but is this sufficiently marked to demand such a conclusion? The recurrence of Greek words in 4, 13, 20, 23 f. etc. is remarkable. It is rhymed throughout, being in this respect like 84, 85 and others. Daniel owing to a misreading of a note of Thomasius assigns it without grounds to Hilary of Poitiers; cp. *Analecta* xxvii. 49 f. Pimont I. p. 92 f. energetically but unsuccessfully maintains the authorship of Hilary, which is stated as if a certainty by Chevalier.

Ecdhjvxϕ Fils Gms Hbcd f Icdfhn Vcs

Iesus refulsit omnium
pius redemptor gentium;
totum genus fidelium
laudes celebret dramatum.

quem stella natum fulgida
monstrat micans in aethera,
magosque duxit praeuia
ipsius ad cunabula.

5

illi cadentes paruulum
pannis adorant obsitum,
uerum fatentur et Deum
munus ferendo mysticum.

10

denum ter annorum cyclis
iam parte uiuens corporis

4 celebrat Ec Hc. 6 monstrans Gm Idhn. micat Gm Idh. aethere
Vc. 8 illius Gm. 13 denis Ecdv. ciclus Hd. 14 partem Ih.
uigens Ed.

1. **omnium...g.**] In reference to the manifestation to the Gentiles: *totum g.* likewise.

4. **dramatum**] 'of His deeds.' The Lat. *drama*, as well as its Greek orig. *δρᾶμα*, usually meant an action represented on the stage, 'a drama.'

5. As to the brilliance of the star seen by the magi cp. Ignat. *Eph.* XIX ἀστὴρ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔλαμψεν ὑπὲρ πάντα τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἀνεκλάλητον ἦν...τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἄστρα ἅμα ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ χορὸς ἐγένετο τῷ ἀστέρι· αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑπερβάλλων τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντα: Prud. *Cath.* XII. 5 *haec stella, quae solis rotam | uincit decore ac lumine.*

6. **in aethera**] 'in the sky.' So Fort. XI. i. 25, *Vit. Mart.* I. 290 *in aera=in aere*; cp. 33. 18 note. The declension of this word was a constant difficulty to Latin writers.

7 f. Cp. 8. 9 f., 31. 33 f.

10. **pannis...obsitum**] 'though

clothed in rags,' 33. 14 note. Though *panni* need not necessarily mean rags, that sense points the contrast between the real glory and the apparent poverty. Juvenus, though he does not use the word *panni*, echoes the general sense I. 156 *puerum ueteri cunabula textu inuoluunt, duroque datur praesepe cubili.*

11 f. an echo of 31. 36 *Deum fatentur munere.*

12. **munus...mysticum**] referring to the frankincense in particular; see 1. 15 note.

13. 'having now lived a bodily life for thirty years.' *denum* is of course the short form of *denorum*.

cyclis is the abl. of duration of time, cp. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* XIX. 285 *paucis quos corpore uiueret annis*; 1. 66 note.

14. **parte...corporis**, 'in respect of His body,' is like *tempus corporis*, 33. 16; cp. Ambr. *in Luc.* I. 36 *post triennium nostri corporis.*

lympham petit baptismatis 15
 cunctis carens contagiis.
 felix Iohannes mergere
 illum tremescit flumine,
 potens suo qui sanguine
 peccata cosmi tergere. 20
 uox ergo prolem de polis
 testatur excelsi Patris,
 uirtus adestque Pneumatis
 sancti datrix charismatis.
 nos, Christe, supplici prece 25
 precamur, omnes protege,
 qui praecipis rubescere
 potenter hydrias aquae.
 praesta benignum sedulo
 solamen adiutorio, 30
 raptosque nos a tartaro
 regnare fac tecum polo.

15 baptismate Hd. 19 potest Ex Fs In Vcs. 20 tangere Ev.
 21 uos Fs, nox Vs. 23 adestoque Gm. 24 secli Ev. 25 subnixa
 Exϕ Ih. 26 omnes prec. Hd. protege omnes Ev. 29 benignus Vs.
 sedulus Ec. 31 e Ex Vc.

16. For the sense cp. 91. 21, Sedul. Carm. II. 158 f. *in se cuncta lauat nostrae contagia uitae | ipse nihil quod perdat habens, sanctoque liquentes | corpore mundauit latices.*

17. *mergere...tremescit*] 'trembles at ('shrinks from') dipping.' For the inf. cp. Schmalz p. 423.

19. *potens*] *est*, like 76. 7.

20. *cosmi*] Walahfrid Strabo LXXXIII. 8 *morte deuicta superastis arma | hostis antiqui trucis atque cosmi | carnis agone.* The word is taken from John i. 29.

21. 'Then the voice of the most high Father from heaven bears witness to the Son,' i.e. that Christ is His son. Cp. Sedul. Carm. III. 291 f. *sidereoque sono 'meus hic est Filius' aiens | ostendit uerbo genitum uox patria Christum.*

ergo is used, rather like our 'so' or 'then' and sometimes the Greek γάρ, without any causal or inferential force, cp. 27. 21, 33. 10, Sedul. Op. II. 13 *euangelicae lectionis ergo textus ita prosequitur.*

23. *-que* follows the second word of its clause, as at 34. 24.

24. *charismatis*] = χαρισματος, I Cor. xii. 7 f., 31, 101. 9, 106. 13.

27. *rubescere*] 8. 17 note.

28. *potenter*] 68. 2.

30. *adiutorio*] 'aid,' Ps. vii. 11 and often in Vulgate.

31. *tartaro*] 23. 11 note.

32. *regnare*] 2 Tim. ii. 12, Rev. xx. 14.

The doxology found, I believe, in all the MSS is *Laus Trinitati debita | honor potestas gloria | perenniter sit omnia | per saeculorum saecula.*

HYMN 91

Although it is handed down in but four MSS—of which one is only a copy of another—this hymn is certainly ancient. Mone I. 77 dates it in the Vth century, which is probably a little too early. And Daniel IV. 11 is surely wrong when he says that it and not 8 was written by Ambrose, thus making it earlier than Ambrose's Epiphany hymn, 8 *Inluminans altissimus*. This he does because 91 does not mention the visit of the magi among the Epiphany signs. This is indeed somewhat remarkable; but what events should be commemorated at the festival was for a long time not definitely fixed, nor in what order they should stand. With regard to this see p. 63. This hymn seems to have been written later than the hymn of Sedulius 31, phrases of which have been caught up.

Fsβ Ga Vs

Inluxit orbi iam dies
 corusca tot miraculis,
 in quo recurso tempore
 signis Deus se prodidit.
 mitis, benignus arbiter
 haec cuncta fecit prouide,
 humana gens ne falleret
 sed se colendum crederet.

5

2 coruscans Fs Vs, coruscat Ga.

4 se deus Fβ.

7 mens Fs Vs.

3 decursu temporis Fs Vs.

1. **inluxit** is a favourite word with which to begin a hymn. Chevalier cites 12 hymns commencing with this word; cp. Verg. *Georg.* II. 337 *inluxisse diem*, Fort. III. viii. 1 *inluxit festiua dies*, 112. 2. But here it has a special appropriateness, like Ambrose's *illuminans*, on a festival which was sometimes called the Feast of Lights.

3. **recurso**] 'in which recurring season,' cp. *decursa*, 105. 5; see note there.

4. **signis**] 1. 20 note. It is a reference to John ii. 11 *manifestauit gloriam suam*.

5. **arbiter**] 32. 31.

6. **prouide**] 39. 23.

7. **ne falleret**] 'might not go wrong.' The word *fallo* is probably

rogatus est ad nuptias,
 aqua repleuit hydrias; 10
 sermone Christi concite
 mutauit unda originem.
 stupent fluenta gignere
 natura quae non contulit;
 pallor ruborem parturit 15
 et uina currunt flumine.
 Iohanne Baptista sacro
 implente munus debitum,
 Iordane mersus hac die
 aquas lauando diluit, 20

11 sermones sui Fs Vs. 14 contigit Fs Vs. 16 uicina Fs
 (uicina Vs), uini Fβ. flumina Fs¹β Vs. 17 Iohannes Fs Vs. sacrum
 Fs Vs. 18 impleuit Fs Vs.

connected with *σφάλλω*, 'cause to fall,' 'trip up.' Usually it means 'deceive'; but Du Cange quotes Lobinell. *Hist. Brit., tunc...fallit fossa*, 'the ditch comes to an end,' in a marshy meadow. This use of *falleret* comes nearest to the use classified in the Thesaurus as B 1 (*res fallunt*: absolute), where the meaning approaches to that of *faillir*, to fail. Thus Liv. XXVIII. xxvii. 9 *quantum opinio fefellit* ('was at fault,' 'went wrong'); Plin. *Hist. Nat.* XIII. 142 *si fefellerint insidiae* ('have miscarried'); perhaps still nearer Plin. *Epist.* II. i. 3 *per...lubricum pavementum fallente uestigio cecidit* ('missing,' 'slipping'); Porph. on Hor. *Epod.* XVII. 60 *fallit sensus hic* ('is wrong').

9f. Joh. ii. 2, 8. 13f., 31. 49f. This use of *rogare* seems to be unparalleled.

11. *sermone*] 'at the word'; cp. Sedul. *Op.* III. 2 *plenam puero sospitatem uoce praestitit, sermone concessit.*

concite, 'in haste,' seems only to be known here and at 111. 25 and one or two other passages.

12. borrowed from 31. 52.

13. 'The water is astonished at producing what nature had not given.'

Probably the writer found at 8. 19 the reading *elementa mutata stupent transire*. To *gignere* supply *se* as subject. Is it possible that the original reading here was *stupet* (i.e. *unda*), making *fl.* acc. after *gignere*? The *quae* in 14 seems harsh in the sense of 'things which'—though no doubt interpreted by what follows.

14 is an echo of 31. 59.

15. Cp. Sedul. *Carm.* III. 4f. *amittere gaudent | pallorem latices.*

16. *uina*] for the plu. cp. Verg. *Georg.* I. 132 *riuis currentia uina*; 35. 18 note.

17f. 8. 5f., 31. 41f., 90. 15f.

sacer is less common of persons than is *sanctus*, but cp. Fort. III. xv. 14 *te pastore sacro*. Probably *Bapt. sacro* are to be taken together, in apposition to *Iohanne*.

20. *lauando*]. 'by washing,' or 'in washing.' Our Saviour did not 'wash' Himself in the spiritual sense, but He did in the natural sense, and by so doing purified the

non ipse mundari uolens,
ex uentre natus uirginis,
peccata sed mortalium
suo ut fugaret lauacro.

dicente Patre quod 'meus
dilectus hic est Filius,'
sumensque sanctus Spiritus
formam columbae caelitus,
hoc mystico sub nomine
micat salus ecclesiae;
persona trina consonat,
unus Deus per omnia.

25

30

22 de Fs Vs. matris Fs Vs.

28 aduenit (*pro* columbae) Fs Vs.

element of water for higher purposes, as Ambrose says, in *Luc.* II. 83 *baptizatus ergo est Dominus non mundari uolens, sed mundare aquas.* Cp. also *de Spir.* S. I. 114 *non quod Christus peccata sua deponeret, qui peccatum non fecit, sed quod in carne Christi omne in peccatis suis genus absolueretur humanum.*

22. The virgin birth is treated as cutting off the transmission of original sin.

24. Fort. twice scans *lauācrum*, v. v. 96, *Vit. Mart.* II. 186. The accent of the word is there thrown on to the first *a*.

25. **dicente quod...est**] see 87. 10, 15.

27. The nom. abs. certainly occurs in late writers: see note on 69. 7, and Leo's *Fortunatus* p. 409, Ennod. *Panegy.* VIII. 40 (ed. Vogel), 103. 7, 113. 5, Schmalz p. 391. But in view of the abl.'s in

24 fugare (*pro* ut f.) Fsβ² Vs.

31 commanet Fs Vs.

17f. and 25 perhaps the original was *sumente sancto Spiritu.*

sumens...caelitus] Mt. iii. 16, a pregnant phrase: 'descending from heaven and taking.'

29. **sub nomine**] under the name thus revealed as threefold, 48. 9 note.

30. **micat s. e.** means that the faith in the Trinity which is the salvation of the Church was signally set forth in the events which the previous stanza rehearses.

31. **pers. trina**] = *tres personae*, like 1. 27 *pane quino* = *panibus quinque*. *consonat* 'are in agreement'; as Aug. in *Ps.* XLIX says that the two Testaments *consonant*. *unus Deus* is in apposition to *persona tr.*, and shews how the three 'agree.'

32. A variation of 5. 31. *per omnia* may perhaps qualify *consonat* rather than *unus Deus*.

IN SEPTUAGESIMA. HYMN 92

This interesting hymn is no doubt of Mozarabic origin, but its use spread, and it is found in English, French, German and Italian MSS. It dates from a time when

such repetitions as the *alleluia perenne* at the close of each stanza had become customary. For a careful reading shews that these words are worked into the structure of the hymn and that they are not a later addition, as is the *saeculorum saeculis* of 23. The rubric in the Mozarabic MS, BM add. 30851, *de carnes tollendas*,—the general rubric being *in septuagesima*,—shews that the hymn was to be sung especially on the first Sunday in Lent, after which day the *alleluia* following the Gospel and in other parts of the services was discontinued. In the printed Mozarabic breviary of 1502 at the end of this Sunday comes the direction *hic clauditur alleluia*. See Julian p. 47^b; *Analecta* XXVII. p. 76; Neale *Mediaeval Hymns* p. 182; *Hymni Ecclesiae* p. 248. In the earliest English MS that contains the hymn (British Museum add. 37517, Canterbury Psalter) stanza VI is omitted and IX comes as a doxology after stanza IV, and also at the end of the whole hymn.

Ecdhjlsvη Fsu Gmβμ Hbcd Makx Vs

Alleluia piis edite laudibus,
ciues aetherei, psallite nauiter
alleluia perenne.

2 suauiter Gmβμ Hc, unanimiter Mx.

2. *ciues aetherei*] Eph. ii. 19, Heb. xii. 22; Fort. IV. vii. 21 *ad paradisiacas epulas te ciue reducto*; ib. xxvii. 10 *ad patriae sedes ciuis opima redis*. The same thought recurs in 10 *reditu*, 13 *patriae* (cp. 69. 15), 20 *reduces*, as it has already occurred at 29. 55 *genitali in sede*. The 'citizens of heaven' are the saints on earth, who are about to forgo the singing of Alleluia for a season, but are urged to join in it heartily while yet they may:—even when they may not sing it, it is an unceasing Alleluia that they take their part in. Stanzas II and III

speak of the welcome that awaits them hereafter in heaven. Stanzas IV and V encourage them to anticipate the future joy. Stanzas VI and VII dwell upon the nature of it. The last two stanzas praise the creator Christ.

nauiter] 'loudly,' 'lustily.' Neale found *unanimiter* in the Mozar. brev. of 1502 and 'the metre demanding' corrected it not too successfully into *unanime*. The word *nauiter* (*gnauiter*) seems to have been in Spanish use, *Anal.* XXVII. cxx. 1 *gaudet nunc nauiter iam toga candida*; ib. cxxiv. 3.

hinc uos perpetui luminis accola
adsumet resonans hymniferis choris 5
alleluia perenne.

uos urbs eximia suscipiet Dei,
quae laetis resonans cantibus excitat
alleluia perenne.

felici reditu gaudia sumite, 10
reddentes Domino glorificos melos
alleluia perenne.

almum sidereae iam patriae decus
uictores capitis, quo canor est iugis
alleluia perenne. 15

4 hic Fs Hbd Vs. nos Ec. accolae Ecdlv Fs Gm Hbd Vs, accolae Mx.
5 assumens Gm Ma (-entes Fs Hd Vs). resonat Fs Hb Vs, resonant Hd,
ad summum resonate Mx. hymniferi Fs Hd Vs. chori Fs Hd² Vs.
7 mox Hb. perpetua (*pro* exim.) Fs Hd Vs. 8 laeti Gm Hb. resonat
Ecdv Fs Hb Mak Vs. excita Ecd Fs Gμ Hbcd² Vs, excitans Ev.
10 te lucis (*pro* fel.) Fs Vs. reddita Fs Vs. edite (*pro* sumite) Gm.
11 glorificum Ecdv Fu. 13 sidereum Fs Hbd Vs. 14 canores Hb,
canore Fs Hd Vs. iugi Fs Hd Vs.

4 f. lit. 'The dweller hard by the eternal light sounding forth in reply an endless alleluia shall receive you hence with hymn-raising choirs.'

hinc, emphatically placed first, points the contrast between earth and heaven. So *huc* 96. 8. With *perpetui luminis* cp. 46. 1 n.

accola means 'a neighbour,' *incola* 'an inhabitant.' The sing. is collective. Strictly speaking *accola* would imply a dweller in a place that was not his own, like the Greek μέτοικος. Thus Hil. in *Ps.* CXVIII. 19 says *accola non iuris sui terram incolit, sed aduena atque peregrinus fructum ex ea temporariae operationis expectat*. In this interpretation he is followed by Ambrose, Jerome and others. Here however it seems to be used in a freer, less technical sense of one who dwells near a spot or thing.

The *perpetuum lumen* is God Himself: the *accolae* are the angels and saints who dwell in His presence. *assumere* is often used of adopting or taking into fellowship. Here it appears to look forward to the moment of entering heaven, but may perhaps include the thought that our praises are even now caught up by those of heavenly beings.

7. **eximia** has its last syll. lengthened by the stress of the verse as have *iocunda* in 17 and *Christe* in 25.

suscipiet] 'shall welcome,' as at 30. 25.

10. **felici reditu**] 'at (by reason of) your happy homecoming,' cp. note on 2.

11. **glorificos melos**] So Fort. III. ix. 30 *repercusso... melo*; VII. viii. 28 *honorificum... melum*. Rönsch p. 268.

13. Verg. *Aen.* X. 3 *sideream in*

illic regis honor uocibus inclitis
iocunda reboat carmina perpetim
alleluia perenne.

hoc fessis requies, hoc cibus et potus,
oblectans reduces haustibus affluis 20
alleluia perenne.

nos te suauisionis conditor affatim
rerum carminibus laudeque pangimus
alleluia perenne.

te Christe celebrat gloria uocibus 25
nostris omnipotens, ac tibi dicimus
alleluia perenne.

17 iocundo Hc. psallendo carmine (*pro c. perp.*) Hc. 19 fessi Hbd¹.
20 hoc laetans Fs Hbd Vs. reducens Eclv Fs Hd Vs. 22 suauisoni
Fs Vs. 23 laudesque Fs Vs. pandimus Hb. 25 celebret Ecv Fsu
Hbd Vs. 26 hac Ev.

sedem. Fort. often uses *sidereus* = 'heavenly.'

iam...capitis] 'even now ye receive,' by anticipation.

14. **quo**] 'where,' referring to *patriae* in 13, cp. 1. 18, 117. 31. *iugis*, like *potus* below, has lost its quantity.

16. **uocibus inclitis**] Cp. 40. 33 *inclitam...gloriam*. One is tempted to look upon *inclitis* as a transferred epithet; but in that case why should not the poet have actually written *incliti*?

17. **reboat**] 63. 11. *honor* is used in much the same way as *gloria* in 25, for the *ascription* of honour, and may thus be said to echo or sound aloud glad songs.

19. **hoc...hoc**] in apposition with *alleluia perenne*.

22 f. In these two stanzas, the way in which the vocatives are inwoven into the sentences creates a good deal of difficulty,—*rerum* being

separated from *conditor*, as *omnipotens* is from *Christe*. With regard to the construction of the sentence *nos te* etc., it seems clear that *te* is the object or accus. after *pangimus*. *pangimus* must accordingly be understood as a synonym of *canimus*, or *dicimus*. This is not surprising after 33. 1 *pange proelium*; cp. 121. 7 *tropaea pangimus*. This being so, the only construction for *all. perenne* is to throw it into apposition with the ablatives *carminibus laudeque*. *affatim* goes with *pangimus*: "To our hearts' content, O maker of the world, we celebrate Thee with sweet songs and with the praise 'Alleluia without end.'"

In the following sentence *gloria* must be taken in the sense which we have found before in these hymns,—e.g. 40. 34—'ascription of glory':—"Thee, O almighty Christ, our acclamations of praise extol (lit. 'praise by our voices extols')."

IN QUADRAGESIMA. HYMN 93

This Lenten hymn was in the older MSS generally appointed for Vespers, in some few for Lauds. Mone I. p. 94 gives it *ad tertiam*, which must be a later local use. He gives Gregory as the writer, but does not say why.

Eacdghjlsvxδημφ Fdhilprs Gkm Habcddeghβ Ibcdfghmnv Mm Vcs

Audi, benigne conditor,
nostras preces cum fletibus
in hoc sacro ieiunio
fusas quadragenario.

scrutator alme cordium, 5
infirmum tu scis uirium,
ad te reuersis exhibe
remissionis gratiam.

multum quidem peccauimus,
sed parce confitentibus; 10
ad laudem tui nominis
confer medellam languidis.

sic corpus extra conteri
dona per abstinentiam,

2 laudibus Eμ Fhis Gm Hd Ibcdgmn Mm Vcs¹. 6 cordium Eδ.
7 adhibe He. 10 confidentibus Ig Mm. poenasque comparauimus Ex
Fdi Gk Hacedfghβ. 11 nom. tui Eacdghjv Gm Hbd Ib. sed cuncta qui
solus potes Ex Fdi Gk Hacedfghβ. 13 hic El, si Mm. conteris Eμ Mm.

2. Cp. 20. 10 note.

4. **quadr.**] Numerals of this kind are often used without express mention of the thing numbered—'of forty,' sc. days.

5. **scrutator...cordium**] Cp. I Chron. xxviii. 9, Job x. 6, Ps. vii. 10, Rom. viii. 27, Juvenc. I. 579 *tum digna rependet | occulti solus scrutator praemia cordis*; Sedul. *Op.* II. 6 *renum scrutator et cordis*; Ambr. *Hex.* VI. 44 *scrutatur cordis occulta*.

6. Ps. cii. (ciii.) 14.

infirmum...uirium] oxymoron. Cp.

6. 27.

8. Mone quotes Hil. *in Ps.* LXVI. 2 *peccatorum remissio non probitatis est meritum, sed spontaneae indulgentiae uoluntas*.

10, 11. Blume notes that the German MSS, with one French one, read *poenasque comparauimus | sed cuncta qui solus potes*, which is more in keeping with the general character of the metre.

12. **languidis**] 84. 7 note.

13. **corpus** is contrasted with *mens* in 15.

ieiunet ut mens sobria 15
 a labe prorsus criminum.
 praesta, beata Trinitas,
 concede, simplex Unitas,
 ut fructuosa sint tuis
 ieiuniorum munera. 20

16 pressus Hβ. crimina Im Vs. 19 ut sint acceptabilia Edlv.

15. *mens sobria*] 5. 16. To 'fast' from a 'stain' is a curious mixture of figures.

fast may be fruitful to Thy servants.' *munera* in the sense of sacrifices, gifts offered to God, is common enough, cp. 96. 18.

19f. 'that the sacrifice of the

HYMN 94

In the older MSS generally appointed for Nocturns, sometimes for Vespers, throughout Lent. Its later use varied. In the Sarum and York and some other uses it was sung at Vespers from the first to the third Sunday in Lent. In the Roman breviary it is the Mattins hymn during Lent up to Passion Sunday. Hymns 94, 95, 96 occur in very few early French MSS—95 I believe in not one.

This hymn like 93 is assigned to Gregory by Mone who says 'es hat nicht nur seine Behandlung der Zahlenmystik (vergl. seine Homil. in Evang. II. xxiv. 4 und II. xxxi. 6) sondern auch die Art seiner Lehren und Predigten.' This and the two hymns that follow seem to have been written by the same man, and he may have been Gregory; but certainty is impossible.

Eadhlvxϕ Fhis Gm Habcdefgh Icfghmrv Mm Vcs

Ex more docti mystico

1 doctis Ig.

1. *ex more*] 'by the custom.' For the abl. of the instr. cp. Aug. *Conf.* v. 20 *ex carne inquinatum*; Sedul. *Carm.* II. 173 *triplici Deus ex ratione probatur*; Schmalz p. 408. It

may however be 'as taught in accordance with.'

mystico may refer to the number forty; cp. Greg. *Hom. in Euang.* I. xvi. 5 *cur in abstinentia quadra-*

seruemus en ieiunium
denum dierum circulo
ducto quater notissimo.

lex et prophetae primitus
hoc praetulerunt, postmodum
Christus sacrauit, omnium
rex atque factor temporum.

utamur ergo parcus
uerbis, cibis, et potibus,
somno, iocis; et artius
perstemus in custodia.

uitemus autem pessima,
quae subruunt mentes uagas,
nullumque demus callido
hosti locum tyrannidis.

2 seruamus Hab¹c. hoc (*pro en*) Ex Fi Hb² Ig²hn Mm Vc. 3 deno
Fh Gm He Iv. 6 protul. Edhl Hc. 10 cibusque Im. ac Hc.
12 custodiam Ehv Iv. 15, 16 callidi hostis l. tyrannidi Gm Iv Vs².
hostis Ig¹hm.

genarius numerus custoditur, nisi quia uirtus decalogi per libros quatuor sancti euangelii impletur? denarius enim quater ductus in quadragenarium surgit. Or it may refer to the 'mystery' of fasting, cp. 25. 6 *nil hoc profecto purius mysterio.*

2. **en**] 'Oh! let us...' lays an emphasis on *seruemus*. It is often used in questions (Pers. III. 5 *en quid agis?* 'What are you doing?') and with imperatives (Verg. *Ecl.* VI. 69 *en accipe*, 'do take them'). For the use in these hymns see 4. 19 f., 28. 1, 102. 5.

3 f. lit. 'in the well-known round of ten days four times reckoned.' *denum* as at 90. 13.

circulo] 68. 19, 87. 14.

4. **notissimo** of course qualifies *circulo*. Note the superl.

5. **lex**] i.e. Moses, Exod. xxxiv.

28; *prophetas* i.e. Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 8.

6. **praetul.** probably means 'displayed, exhibited'; but *praeferre* is used, though very rarely, in the sense of 'to anticipate.' See Dirksen *s.v.*

7. **sacrauit**] 98. 14, cp. 95. 4, 96. 4.

9. **utamur** etc.] Cp. Reg. S. Bened. XLIX in Lent *subtrahat [unusquisque monachorum] corpori suo de cibo, de potu, de somno, de loquacitate, de scurrilitate.*

13. **pessima**] superl. as at 69. 12, 73. 16.

14. **subruunt**] 72. 6.

mentes uagas] see 51. 11.

15. **callido**] 103. 11.

16. **locum**] 'vantage ground,' a military term. Cp. Eph. iv. 27.

dicamus omnes cernui,
 clamemus atque singuli,
 ploremus ante iudicem,
 flectamus iram uindicem. 20
 nostris malis offendimus
 tuam, Deus, clementiam:
 effunde nobis desuper
 remissor indulgentiam.
 memento quod sumus tui 25
 licet caduci plasmatis:
 ne des honorem nominis
 tui, precamur, alteri.
 laxa malum quod fecimus,
 auge bonum quod poscimus, 30
 placere quo tandem tibi
 possimus hic et perpetim.

17 ergo (*pro* omn.) Gm. 20 flectemus Elv. 23 infunde Ed².
 29 gessimus Eax Hce Ih. 31 quod Elv Gm. 32 hinc Eav He Ih.
 in perpetuum (*pro* hic et p.) Edhl.

17. cernui] 62. 30. The *dicamus* looks on to the petition in 21 foll.

20. uindicem] 'avenging.' It is used of that which does justice, whether against one, as here and Rom. xiii. 4 *uindex in iram*, or for one, 'championing,' as 112. 22.

24. remissor] The word does not seem to be found elsewhere, but this is probably accidental. It is correctly formed, after the manner of *promissor*.

25. Is. lxiv. 8 *factor noster tu, et opera manuum tuarum omnes nos*.

26. plasmatis] 37. 20 note;

'though belonging to a fallen creation.' *tui* is probably nom. plur.; but it might be joined with *plasmatis*.

27. Cp. (of men) Prov. v. 9 *ne des alienis honorem tuum*; (of God) Is. xlii. 8 and xlvi. 11 *gloriam meam alteri non dabo*.

29. laxa] as at 86. 10.

30. auge] Reg. S. Bened. XLIX *his diebus augeamus nobis aliquid solito penso seruitutis nostrae*.

31. tandem emphasizes the verb, as at 85. 8.

HYMN 95

In liturgical practice this hymn is of course always connected with Lent, but its use therein is very varied. One MS from St Gall of the XI/XIIth centuries assigns it to the third Sunday, other old MSS to the first or

second Sunday. Another XIth century MS from Bobbio has the rubric *dominica de passione ad nocturna*.

This hymn like many others has been positively given to Gregory, but on mere guesswork.

Eacdhjlvxϕ Fs Hefgh Ih Vs

Clarum decus ieiunii
monstratur orbi caelitus,
quod Christus altor omnium
cibis dicauit abstinens.

hoc Moyses carus Deo
legisque lator factus est,
hoc Heliam per aëra
curru leuauit igneo.

hinc Danihel mysteria
uictor leonum uiderat,
per hoc amicus intimus
sponsi Iohannes claruit.

5

10

2 orbis Ev¹ Ih. 3 auctor Exϕ Ih, saluator Vs. 7, 8 Helias...
levatur Vs. 9 mysterium Evxϕ Hf Ih. 12 sponsus Ih, Christi
Vs, Christo Ev (*ras.*).

2. **monstratur**] 'is taught' or 'prescribed,' as at Verg. *Aen.* iv. 636 *monstrata piacula*, 'the prescribed offerings of atonement.'

3. **altor** forms an excellent antithesis to *abstinens* in 4. The variant *auctor* would come in as being so much commoner as an appellation of Christ, as in 31. 5, 36. 33, 37. 1, 38. 18 etc. But see Greg. *Hom. in Euangel.* i. xvi. 3 *Moyses, ut legem acciperet secundo, diebus quadraginta ieiunauit, Helias in deserto quadraginta diebus abstinuit, ipse auctor hominum ad homines ueniens in quadraginta diebus nullum omnino cibum sumpsit.*

4. **abstinens** almost = *abstinendo*, Matt. iv. 2.

5. Exod. xxxiv. 28. *hoc*, 'by this.' Probably *carus Deo* refers to Exod. xxxiii. 11, Deut. xxxiv. 10.

7. 1 Kings xix. 8. *hoc*, nom. to *leuauit*.

9. **hinc**] 'by means of this,' Dan. i. 8.

mysteria...uiderat] Dan. ii. 19 *tunc Daniheli mysterium per uisionem nocte reuelatum est.*

10. **uiderat**] 'saw.' The force of the pluperf. is 'saw in days of old.' Cp. the tense of *ausus erat* in 41. 15, and of *sanxeras* in 96. 4, and Propert. II. ii. 13 *diuae quas pastor uiderat olim.*

11. **per hoc**] Mt. iii. 4, xi. 18, Prud. *Cath.* vii. 66 *illic dicata parcus abstinentia | potum cibumque uir seuerae industriae | in usque serum respuebat uesperum, | rarum locustis et fauorum agrestium | liquore pastum corpori suetus dare.*

amicus...sponsi] Joh. iii. 29. Probably this is the real predicate,

haec nos sequi dona, Deus,
 exempla parsimoniae;
 tu robur auge mentium, 15
 dans spiritale gaudium.

'John was distinguished as the friend.' 14. parsimoniae] 25. 3, 96. 6, 110. 19.

HYMN 96

Ecdjvxϕ Fs Hefh Ih Vs

Iesu, quadragenariae
 dicator abstinentiae,
 qui ob salutem mentium
 hoc sanxeras ieiunium,
 quo paradiso redderes 5
 seruata parsimonia,
 quos inde gastrimargiae
 huc inlecebra depulit.
 adesto nunc ecclesiae,
 adesto paenitentiae, 10
 quae pro suis excessibus
 orat profusis fletibus.

8 detulit He².
 precibus Exϕ Hf Ih.

11 qua Eϕ Hef Ih.

12 profusis orat Eϕ Hf Ih.

2. dicator] Cp. 95. 4 *dicauit*.

3. 'who with a view to the health of the soul didst in days of old hallow this fast.'

ob rarely has this final force, except in late Latin; in classical Latin it means 'on account of,' not 'with a view to' as here.

mentium] see 12. 15 note.

4. sanxeras] see note on 95. 10 *uideras*.

5. quo] 'in order that,' a conj., rather than an abl. 'whereby' referring to *ieiunium*: for see line 6, which would otherwise be superfluous. For the sense cp. 29. 49 f.

7. gastrimargiae] 'gluttony,' a word used by Plato *Phaed.* 81E. The MSS for the most part mis-spell the word grotesquely.

8. huc] i.e. into this world of sin and suffering; cp. the analogous use of *hinc*, 92. 4. [It is possible—the word *depulit*, not *expulit*, suggests it—that the writer regarded the Paradise as above this world. Cp. Dr Robinson's note on Irenaeus *Demonstration* p. 81.]

11. pro] 'on account of her transgressions.' The *quae* of course refers back to *ecclesiae*.

12. Cp. 20. 10 note.

tu retro acta crimina
 tua remitte gratia,
 et a futuris adhibe
 custodiam, mitissime,
 ut expiati annuis
 ieiuniorum uictimis
 tendamus ad paschalia
 digne colenda gaudia. 15 20

14 redemit Vs.

15 hac (*pro a*) Vs.

13. **retro**] 'in time past.' Rönsch p. 343 gives many examples of this use of the word.

15. 'and do Thou guard us from sins in the future.' With *a futuris* supply *criminibus* from 13. Blume reads *affuturis*, but does not say how he takes it.

17, 18, like 110. 17 f., is based on 25. 5 f., which see. The yearly Lenten fast is regarded as an offering to Christ. For *expiati* cp. 25. 7. Benedict Reg. XLIX exhorts *negligentias aliorum temporum his diebus sanctis diluere*.

HYMN 97

As to the date of this fine old hymn, its merely rhythmical character (note the repeated lengthening of short syllables in 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8 etc.) and the incomplete rhymes in 3 f., stanza III and 19 f. forbid us to place it after the revival of learning under Charles the Great. If we say VIth century we shall not be far from the truth. Lipp says IX–XIth centuries, Daniel X–XIIIth centuries. But Daniel postdates many hymns. Its general use was at Mattins during Lent. The variety of readings, which at times makes it hard to say what the original text was, seems to be due partly to deliberate editing, partly to the difficulty of certain of its stanzas.

Esvxημ Fdghimnrs Gm Hd Ibdeghmnv Vcs

Iam, Christe, sol iustitiae,
 mentis dehiscant tenebrae,

2 recedant Id Vs.

1. **sol iustitiae**] Mal. iv. 2.2 f. The variant *noctis recedunt*

tenebrae, | *nunc mentis eat caecitas,* |
uirtutum et lux redeat (coming, as

uirtutum ut lux redeat,
terris diem cum reparas.

das tempus acceptabile, 5
et paenitens cor tribue,
conuertat ut benignitas,
quos longa suffert pietas.

quiddamque paenitentiae
da ferre, quamuis grandium 10
maiore tui munere

3 et (*pro ut*) Fg Hd Id Vs. 4 terras Hd². dies Hd Vs. dum Ev Fr.
reparat Ih. 2, 3, 4 *de lectione* Fm Gm *uide annot. infra.* 5 da Gm
Ibghv. 7, 8 *uide infra, ad 2.* 10 licet (*pro quamuis*) Gm.
11 maiorem Hd² Idh, -ra Fm, -ri Fn. tuo Ev Gm Ib, tuis Hd¹. munera
Fm, nomine Ibg, -nis Ex.

it does, in two MSS written probably at Limoges and Moissac respectively) seems to point to a local use. This is so likewise with the variant in 7 f. *ne nos uacuum transeat hoc quod benigne praerogas.*

dehiscant] 'part asunder,' cp. 21. 5 *scinditur* and other passages, where the darkness is regarded as a material pall drawn over things. The Thesaurus quotes the gloss *διαχαλω δεισκει, aperit, patescit* and as synonyms of *dehiscere* gives *scindi, dirumpi*.

4. diem] 'the natural day,' the hymn being written for an early morning hymn; *terris* (plural) means the natural earth.

5 f. 'Thou givest an acceptable time (2 Cor. vi. 2), grant us also a penitent heart.' The appropriation of the passage in 2 Cor. to the beginning of Lent was universal in the West from very ancient times. Leo *Serm. XXXIX (in Quadrag.) opportune auribus nostris lectio apostolicae praedicationis insonuit dicens, 'Ecce nunc t. acceptum,'* etc. Cp. *Serm. XL.*

paenitens and paenitendus are the two forms of *paenitere* that are used by classical writers personally,

but other parts of the verb are so used in late Latin: see Paul. Nol. *Carm. vi. 263, xx. 236, Sedul. Op. IV. 7 quae cadentibus manum dare non paenitet*; Fort. *Vit. Mart. II. 195 si nunc paeniteas*; Löfstedt *Aeth. p. 46. paenitens* is always used as an adj.

7 f. benignitas... pietas] 29. 39. Cp. Rom. ii. 4 f.

9. paenitentiae seems here to indicate the outward expression of penitence, i.e. penance. 'Grant us to bear (offer) something of penitential hardship.' Cicero uses *quiddam mali*, like *quiddam p.* here.

10 f. lit. 'that there may be a doing away of our sins however great by Thy gift which is greater still.' The penitence is regarded as a gift of God, as in Acts xi. 18. [As *demptio* (a rare word) is used in the Old Latin for an 'offering,' perhaps here also there is a touch of sacrificial meaning in it.]

tui] = tuo, as often in late Latin; cp. Sedul. *Hymn. I. 93 passio, Christe, tui compleuit munera legis*; Fort. I. xiii. 9 *pro mercede tui*; VII. xviii. 14 *dicta...tui*. See Moxon's note on Vincent Ler. *Comm. 2 p. 8.*

quo demptio sit criminum.

dies uenit, dies tua,

per quam reflorent omnia ;

laetemur in hac ut tuae

15

per hanc reducti gratiae.

te rerum uniuersitas

clemens adoret Trinitas,

et nos noui per ueniam

nouum canamus canticum.

20

12 quod Esx Fhmn Gm Hd Iegv Vcs. emptio Ex Fm Gm Hd² Ieg Vcs.
 criminis Ex. 13 ueni Hd. in qua Esvx Ibghmv. 15 tui Fmr Hd²,
 tua Eμ Gm Hd¹ Inv, tuam Ib¹. 16 redempti Hd². gratia Gm Hd¹ Iv,
 gratiam Esxμ Fm Hd² In. 19 at Idehmn. uos In.

12. **quo**] 'in order that,' as in 96. 5. Note how late it comes in the sentence.

13 f. 'The day is coming, Thy day, by which all things are brought again into bloom.' This day is Easter. As at 10. 1 there is a reference to Ps. cxvii. (cxviii.) 24.

14. For the underlying thought of this line cp. 36. 9-18, of which passage the writer may be thinking.

reflorent] Ps. xxvii. (xxviii.) 7 *refloruit caro mea.*

15 f. In the Psalm *laetemur in ea*, 'let us be glad therein, as being brought home to Thy favour through

this day.' There is a contrast between *in hac* and *per hanc*: Lenten penance leads to Easter joy.

ut with the participle gives the reason, as *utpote* at 29. 34; Schmalz p. 458.

17. **rerum uniuersitas**] a phrase used by Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* I. xliii. 120, who also has *uniuersitas generis humani*; cp. Tob. viii. 19 *ut cognoscat uniuersitas gentium quia tu es Deus solus in uniuersa terra.*

19. **noui**] 'made new through pardon.'

20. Cp. 87. 24; Rev. xiv. 3 and often in Pss.

HYMN 98

The metre of 98 is rugged. Not only are short syllables made long throughout, but there are many spondees in the 2nd foot, and a spondee or trochee is found as often as an iambus even in the 4th foot of the verse. The only other hymn which does this to any extent is 49. The two may have been written at the same time. The ruggedness of the metre has caused some of the lines to be rewritten in later MSS. Thus Lipp with the Cistercian breviary writes 2 f. *spes una mundi perdit, | preces intende pauperum | ad*

pedes tuos flentium. | nostra nos conscientia | culpis accusat grauibus. See Mone I. p. 97.

The hymn was used for various hours in different places.

Eadghsvημ Fdhipr Gm Hdghλ Ih Mm

Summi largitor praemii,
spes qui es unica mundi,
preces intende seruorum
ad te deuote clamantum.

nostra te conscientia 5
graue offendisse se monstrat,
quam emundes supplicamus
ab omnibus piaculis.

si rennuis, quis tribuet?
indulge, quia potens es : 10
si corde rogamus mundo,
certe debes ex promisso.

ergo acceptare nostrum
qui sacraستی ieiunium,

1 summe Edghsvημ Fdhp Gm Hdg. 4 clamantium Hg. 5 se Ea
Fr. -tiam Mm. 6 se off. Hd. 7 qua Ed. emunda Hg² Ih.
11 rogaris Fhr Hd Mm. 11, 12 te corde rogare mundo fac nos,
precamur, domine Eaghsμ Gm (rogari Ev). 13 accepta rex Ea,
acceptato Eh. 14 quod Eh.

1. **summi** is preferred to *summe* for much the same reasons as *summae* in 69. 1, *magnae* in 77. 1.

largitor] 45. 1, 107. 18.

2. **spes**] 87. 6.

3. **intende** takes an acc. as at 87. 7.

6. The line *graué offéndissé monstrát* is possible, as *se* is often omitted when it is the subject of an infinitive, cp. e.g. 36. 36. But both grammar and metre would be easier if we read *offendisse se*. *se* might well fall out after *offendisse*. The reading of Hd is in favour of it.

7. 'Which we beseech Thee to cleanse': cp. Heb. ix. 14, x. 2.

8. **piaculis**] 'defilements,' 67.

5.

9. For the spelling *rennuis* cp. 12. 12 note, and Stolz *Lat. Gr.* p. 90.

10. **indulge**] 'pardon,' 65. 10.

11 f. The variant *te corde rogare (rogari) mundo | fac nos, precamur, Domine* looks like a softening down of what seemed too bold a statement. The statement in the text is the converse of Ps. lxxv. 18.

13. **acceptare**] Unless we are to treat this as an unique occurrence of the verb as a deponent, we must remove the stop at *promisso*, and take *acc.* with *debes*.

quo mystice paschalia
capiamus sacramenta. 15
summa nobis hoc conferat
in Deitate Trinitas,
in qua gloriatur unus
per cuncta saecula Deus. 20

16 sacramentum Mm.

18 et adoranda (*pro in d.*) Ih.

15. **mystice**] evidently intended to bear the sense of *rite. sacr.* includes all the sacred ceremonies of the festival.

19. **in qua**] sc. *Trinitate*.

gloriatur would seem to be pass. 'is glorified'; but until such an employment of the word is found elsewhere it is safest to take it to

mean that God rejoices in His threefoldness. In the following passages a passive meaning may be intended: Cypr. *Epist.* LXVI. 2 *qui iudicio ac testimonio Dei non probantur tantum sed gloriantur*; Ambr. *in Luc.* VI. 100 *Christus noluit gloriari, sed maluit ignobilis uideri*. See Bayard p. 36.

HYMN 99

In quadragesima ad tertiam or *ad tertia* was the unbroken use of this hymn.

Eacdhjlosvxημφ Fagimszψ Gbm Hbcdβ Icdēfghmnopv Vcs

Dei fide qua uiuimus,
spe perenni qua credimus,
per caritatis gratiam
Christo canamus gloriam.
qui ductus hora tertia 5
ad passionis hostiam

2 perenne Faψ. *om.* qua Eo Faψ. 4 Christi *nonnulli*. 6 hostia Hβ.

1 f. For the three theological virtues cp. 15. 21 f., 47. 17 f.

Dei fide] 'by our faith in God'; for the gen. cp. 116. 15 *fida Christi*, and Mark xi. 22 *habete fidem Dei*.

qua uiuimus] Habak. ii. 4, quoted Rom. i. 17, Gal. iii. 11, Heb. x. 38.

2. **spe perenni**] 'by the hope of eternal life,' Tit. i. 2 *in spem uitae aeternae*. Or shall we simply cp. 87. 6? For the intimate connexion of faith and hope cp. Gal. v. 5. Cp.

also Rom. iv. 18 *qui contra spem in spem credidit*.

5. Mk. xv. 25.

6. 'to the sacrifice of His passion.' For the gen. *passionis* cp. 42. 34 *crucem mortis*, line 7 *crucis suspendia*. *hostia*, like our word 'sacrifice,' denotes both 'the victim' (11. 29, 12. 5 etc.) and the act of offering it (53. 7). Rönisch p. 327 quotes the similar phrase Tert. *Patient.* 3 *adducitur ut pecus ad uictimam*.

crucis ferens suspendia
ouem reduxit perditam.

precemur ergo subditi,
redemptione liberi,

ut eruat a saeculo

quos soluit a chirographo.

10

7 cruci Hβ.
Fi Ie Vs.

9 precamur El Hd² Vs, precentur Hβ.

12 quod

7. **crucis...suspendia**] 'enduring the hanging on the cross.'

8 comes from 32. 28. An old scribe in Durh. B. III. 32 wrote against *ouem...perditam* 'sc. Adam.' The introduction of the *ouis perditam* is to some extent prepared for by the *hostia*, which implies that Christ

is the Lamb.

9. **subditi**] 55. 30.

12. Cp. 60. 15. The doxology to this and the four next hymns is *gloria tibi, Trinitas, | aequalis una Deitas, | et ante omne saeculum | et nunc et in perpetuum.*

HYMN 100

In quadragesima(-mo) ad (sexta) sextam is the rubric of the hymn in the MSS. Sievers in his edition of the Oxford MS, Bodley Junius 25, says that the hymn is contained only in that MS. But it is in about 20 other MSS of the Xth and XIth centuries, while 99 and 101 are contained in many more.

Ecdhjlov Faisψ Gbm Hbcdβ Iop Vs

Meridie orandum est,

Christusque deprecandus est,

ut iubeat nos edere

de suo sancto corpore :

1 rorandum Hβ.

2 *om.* que Eo Faψ Gd Hbc Iop. qui Hβ.

4 sanguine Ev.

1. **meridie**] Ps. liv. (lv.) 18.

2. **deprecandus**] See note on 19. 13, and observe that the gerundive is passive though from a deponent verb. The later MSS inserted *-que* here after *Christus* and in 9 after *det.* See Huemer *Untersuchungen* p. 37 f.

Note that the hymn is one for

fast days, when communion was deferred. The word *iubere* is often used in late Latin in the weakened sense of 'granting,' 'permitting,' as in the well-known liturgical formula *Iube domne benedicere*, on which see Maskell *Ancient Liturgy* (3rd ed.) p. 64 f., and Ducange s.v. *Jubere*.

4. **de...corpore**] 'of His body.'

ut ille sit laudabilis 5
 in uniuerso populo,
 ipse caelorum Dominus,
 qui sedet in altissimis.
 detque nobis auxilium
 per angelos mirabiles, 10
 qui semper nos custodiant,
 in omni uita saeculi.

5 et Hc. 6 uniuersis -lis aliquot posteriores. 7 qui est (*pro ipse*)
 Hβ. 9 om. que Eo Faiψ Ip Vs. 11 nos semp. Hc. 12 uitae Gb.
 saecula Fa Hd.

Here and in the similar passage
 1 Cor. xi. 28 *sic de pane illo edat et de
 calice bibat*, we have the beginnings
 of the partitive use of *de*, which is
 so conspicuous in the Romance
 languages. In Latin this use be-
 longed to the conversational style;
 cp. Plaut. *Stich.* 400 *ibo intro ad
 libros et discam de dictis melioribus*,
 'some better things to say'; Aug.
Conf. III. 7 *utrum iusti...qui sacri-
 ficarent de animalibus (des animaux)*.
Aetheriae Peregrinatio III. 6 *dede-
 runt nobis presbyteri...de pomis (des
 pommes)*; *ib.* XXXVII. 2 *dicitur
 quidam...furasse de sancto ligno*,

'some of the sacred wood.' See
 Löfstedt *Aeth.* p. 106 f., Rönsch
 p. 396, Schmalz p. 407.

5. **laudabilis**] 'praised.' The *ut*
 seems to be parallel to that in 3,
 and dependent upon *deprecandus*.

10. **angelos mirabiles**] Cp. Sedul.
Op. v. 27 *angelus...mirabilis reside-
 bat in saxo* (with reference to Judges
 xiii. 18); and in the Michaelmas
 collect: *Deus qui miro ordine ange-
 lorum ministeria...dispensas*.

12. **uita saeculi**] 'our earthly
 life,' as in *dies saeculi* above, 13. 2,
 and often.

HYMN 101

In quadragesima ad sextam. Blume (*Analecta* LI p. 66)
 notes that no German MS earlier than the XIIth century
 contains this hymn, and that Chevalier *Repertorium*
 no. 15840 gives as sources for it several comparatively
 modern printed French breviaries of the XVth and
 XVIth centuries. There Fortunatus is named as the
 writer of the hymn, a mistake which comes from Daniel
 (I. 169, cp. IV. 176) who says *fertur sub Fortunati nomine
 in Hymnario Thomasii*; but Tomasi says no such thing.

Easvημφ Fisz Gm Hdf Icefghmnv Vcs

Qua Christus hora sitiit,
 crucem uel in qua subiit,
 quos praestat in hac psallere
 ditet siti iustitiae.

quibus sit et esuries,
 de se quam ipse satiet,
 crimen sit ut fastidium
 uirtusque desiderium.

5

charisma sancti Spiritus
 sic influat psallentibus,
 ut carnis aestus frigeat
 et mentis algor ferueat.

10

2 quam Hd² Vs. 3 quod Ih, quo Fz. hanc Fz. 5 esuriens
 Esφ Ih. 6 quam i. de se Eavφ (ipsa Es) Fz Ighmv. 8 desiderio
 Es. 10 sint Es. 11 ardor Gm.

1. The first reference is to Joh. iv. 6 f. (cp. 55. 21 f.), but the writer may also be thinking of the thirst on the cross, Joh. xix. 28, in spite of the inverted order.

2. Joh. xix. 14. Cp. 53. 5 f., 55. 9 f.

uel] 'and,' 37. 6 note.

3 f. 'May He enrich with a thirst for righteousness (Mt. v. 6) those whom He allows to sing at this hour.' In form the sentence is like 36. 41: the relative clause precedes the principal one and the antecedent is omitted.

quos is to be regarded as the subject of *psallere* rather than as the object of *praestat*, after which in

this sense we should expect the dat. *quibus*. Cp. Damas. IX. 2 *uiuere qui praestat morientia semina terrae*, Fort. I. xxi. 10. *praestare* is on its way to becoming the French *prêter*, the Italian *prestare*. See further the note on 4 7.

5. esuries] Mt. v. 6.

6. Ps. cvi. (cvii.) 9 *animam esurientem satiauit bonis*.

de se] Cp. 100. 4 note. See 3. 21.

7. fastidium] 'a loathsome thing,' cp. 2. 4.

9. charisma] 90. 24.

10. influat] 106. 13.

11. aestus] 46. 14.

FOR NONE IN LENT. HYMN 102

Easvημφ Fhns Gm Hdf Icefghmn Vcs

Ternis ter horis numerus
sacrae fidei panditur ;
nunc Trinitatis nomine
munus precemur ueniae.

latronis en confessio

5

Christi meretur gratiam,
laus nostra uel deuotio
mercetur indulgentiam.

mors per crucem nunc interit,
et post tenebras lux redit :

10

horror dehiscat criminum,
splendor nitescat mentium.

1 per Es. 2 fidei sacrae Hd². pangitur Hd². 3 ut (*pro* nunc) Fn.
4 precamur Esvμ Fh Icg¹. 8 meretur Eφ¹. 9 mox Es. 10 rediit
Eμ Ig.

1. The number nine is here professedly broken up into three threes in order to introduce the number of the Trinity; so also at 54. 1. Cp. 52. 3 f. We may take *ternis ter h.* as a descriptive ablative attached to *numerus*, and *s. fidei* as dative after *panditur*: 'the number of thrice three hours is disclosed to holy faith.' Cicero, in his translation of Aratus, uses *panditur* of a constellation becoming visible. A Christian faith notes both the arrival of the hour and its mystical significance.

2. In like manner at 48. 9 *fides* means the special belief in the Trinity.

3. **nomine**] It is a somewhat strange expression, to pray 'in the name of the Trinity.' Perhaps the reference is to the baptismal formula, by which forgiveness is first bestowed.

5 f. 'The robber's acknowledgement wins Christ's grace (cp. 10. 22), may our praise and devotion

procure us pardon.'

latronis] Cp. 10. 7 f., 29. 45, 56. 27.

6. **meretur**] 4. 8 note.

7. **uel**] 'and,' 37. 6 note.

8. **mercetur**] 'procure,' the idea of buying having well-nigh gone. Cp. Ambr. *Apol. David* 85 *corpora sua obtulerunt martyrio, ut Christi sibi gratiam mercarentur*; [Damas.] LVIII. 3 *sanguine purpureo mercatores praemia uitae*; Saluian. *ad Eccles.* II. 13 *Dominum Iesum Christum non sanctitate solum sed etiam paupertate mercantur*; Fort. I. v. 19, II. xvi. 148, IV. v. 20, xxvii. 17 *aeternum mercata diem*.

9. **nunc**] at the ninth hour, when Christ by His death slew death. Cp. 10. 31 f.

10. Mt. xxvii. 45.

11. **horror...criminum**] 'dread sins,' cp. 57. 14, 80. 14, 81. 6.

dehiscat] 'break up,' and so 'disperse,' as in 97. 2.

HYMN 103

Vespers in Lent. Is the first stanza an integral part of the hymn? Certainly *sic ter quaternis* in 5 would be a most abrupt beginning, so abrupt that we can but suppose some stanza to have preceded it. Some copyists tried to remedy matters by writing *iam* for *sic*. But, if the hymn originally began *Ut nox* etc., how is it that the stanza is contained in so few MSS? In Veron. cap. CIX the hymn is rewritten. Thus 7 f. *sol occidens reciproca | noctis resignat sydera. | Sanctae crucis signaculo | signemus (h)ora sedulo, | serpens ut ille callidus | abhinc recedat longius. | Manus pudicis actibus | et corda puris sensibus | armentur, ut perterritum | hostem repellat inprobum. | Et ne ciborum crapula | distendat umquam corpora, | ne sompnus ingens incidat | uagasque mentes opprimat. | Haec est Deo gratissima | ieiuniorum hostia, | si corpus et cor sobrium | noxa carebunt criminum. | Summo Patri sit gloria | proliques laus quam maxima | sanctoque sit spiramini | per cuncta secla seculi.*

Eadhlovμ Fabipsβψ Gbmβμ Hbcdeghβ Icfhopv Vs

Ut nox tenebris obsita
 aequans per horas tempora
 ternis quater successibus
 reddit diem mortalibus,
 sic ter quaternis trahitur
 horis dies ad uesterum, 5

1-4 in Gβ Hēgh Ih tantum.

5 iam Eaμ Gm Iv. uoluitur Ih.

1. **tenebris obsita**] 'shrouded with darkness' as if with a cloak or pall; 21. 5 note. For the phrase cp. Prud. Cath. II. 86 *hominem tenebris obsitum*.

2. **tempora**] the times of day and night. *per h.* distributive, 'hour for hour.'

4. The night gives back the day

by itself departing, cp. 59. 7 note.

5. If *sic ter* is the original beginning of the hymn, *sic* must be taken in the same kind of sense as *ergo* in Horace's well-known *ergo Quinctilium...sopor urget*. But it would be difficult to find a similar instance.

occasu sol pronuntians
noctem redire temporum.

nos ergo signo Domini
tutemus claustra pectorum,
ne serpens ille callidus
inrandi temptet aditum. 10

sed armis pudicitiae
mens fulta uigil libere
sobrietate comite 15
hostem repellat inprobum.

sed ne ciborum crapula
tandem distendat corpora,

7 occasum Edlov Gb Hd¹ehβ Iov Vs. praenuntians Ev Gβ, pronuntiat Eah Fpβ Iv. 8 noctis Fb. tempora Fbβ. 9 signum Fψ.
10 tutemur Hh Iv, tundamus Gb Hbc Io, tundimus Eo Faψ. pectoris Gm Ipv, casta pectora Eho Fabβ Gβ Hgh Io, nostra p. Hβ, casto pectore Fψ.
12 attemptet Gβ Hc. aditus Eo Fbψ Gbβ. 14 liberae Eh, liberis Eo Fψ. 15 -tem -tem Fa (-te -tem Fψ) Gb. 17 et (*pro sed*) Ih.
nec (*pro ne*) Eabchv Gbmβ Hegh Vs. 18 dist. umquam Ih, distentet Edhlv Hd (-tat Hh).

7 f. 'The sun telling forth by his setting that the night season is returning.' *sol pronuntians* is nomin. absolute, cp. 91. 27 note.

8. **redire** should strictly be future, *redituram esse*. But in late Latin the fut. inf. is almost always replaced by the present, cp. 42. 19 *resurgere credimus*, 89. 18, Schmalz p. 428. *n. temporum* appears to be used in the same way as *dies saeculi*.

9 f. The writer is probably thinking of 26. 5.

10. **tutemus**] The active form *tutare* is used by Naevius and Plaut. Cp. Wisd. x. 12 *a seductoribus tutavit illum*. Fort. App. XXIII. 21, Vit. Mart. IV. 83 uses *tutari* in a passive sense. With the variant *tundamus...pectora* cp. Nicet. *de Vigiliis* 3 (p. 59 ed. Burn)

si peccator es, magis curre ut uigilando et orando purgeris; dum tunso pectore frequentius clamas....

11. **serpens...callidus**] Gen. iii. 1 *serpens erat callidior cunctis animalibus*; Ambr. in Ps. CXVIII. xv. 18 *serpens ille callidus et astutus*; 94. 15.

13. **sed** has little or no adversative force here or in 17, cp. 36. 37.

14. **libere...repellat**] 'boldly repel'; cp. Cic. *Cael.* 7 *liberius et fortius et magis more nostro refutaremus*; Quint. XII. i. 21 *fortius liberiusque defendere*.

15. **comite**] perhaps = *socia*, contrasted with *hostem*.

17. **crapula**] 'surfeit,' 25. 9, 116. 27; Luke xxi. 34.

18. **tandem**] 'we pray,' cp. 85. 8 note.

ne ui per somnum animam
ludificatam polluat.

20

19 ne cui Hβ, nec ui Fb (nec uim Fψ). anima Hβ. 20 -ta El Hbβ
Iv Vs (-cat Hh), glorificata Eho Fψ Ip, -tam Hce Io.

19. per somnum] 'during sleep,'
as in Suet. *Caes.* 45 *per somnum*
exterreri solebat.

20. ludificatam] 57. 15 *inludat.*
polluat] Cp. 83. 8.

FOR PALM SUNDAY. HYMN 104

Aabdefghik Bb Flsβ Hbd Iacefn Vcs

Magnum salutis gaudium!
laetetur omne saeculum!
Iesus redemptor omnium
sanauit orbem languidum.

sex ante paschae ferias
aduenit in Bethaniam,
ubi pie post triduum
resuscitauit Lazarum.

5

1 magno...gaudio Icef Vcs (magnum...gaudio Ae). 6 Bethania Aef.

1. 'O great joy of salvation!' With the later reading *magno...gaudio* the line goes closely with the next.

2. Cp. 6. 7, 38. 1, 31, 39. 32.

4. *sanare* is always used of healing bodily sickness, as at Mt. iv. 23 *sanans omnem languorem*; here of course metaphorically.

languidum] 84. 7 note.

After stanza 1 Cod. Vat. 7172 inserts two others. *Si hic fuisset Dominus, | Lazarus adhuc uiueret. | quatrduanus iam fetet | in monumento positus. | currunt uidere Lazarum, | qui fuerat iam mortuus, | sedentem cum discipulis, | loquentem cum apostolis.*

5. Joh. xii. 1 *ante sex dies paschae uenit Bethaniam*: the first words of the Gospel for the day before Palm Sunday in the Roman missal. 'Six days before the pass-

over.' *ferias* here takes the place of *dies* of the Vulgate, having come to mean 'days.' For the process see Ducange s.v. Only once in the Vulgate is *feriae* used, of the feast of Tabernacles, in Levit. xxiii.

In giving a date the gen. denotes the starting-point, as at Oros. VII. xl. 3 *ante biennium inruptionis*.

6. in B.] The curious *in* comes from Matt. xxi. 17, Mk xi. 11, Luke xxiv. 50.

7. post triduum] The deviation from Joh. xi. 39 *quatrduanus est* is perhaps due to ib. 6. The same change is made by Damas. IX. 3 f. *soluere qui potuit letalia uincula mortis, | post tenebras fratrem, post tertia lumina solis | ad superos iterum Marthae donare sorori.*

8. resusc.] A classical writer would have used the pluperfect.

nardi Maria pistici
 sumpsit libram mox optimi, 10
 unxit beatos Domini
 pedes rigando lacrimis.
 post haec iugalis asinae
 Iesus, supernus arbiter,
 pullo sedebat, inclitam 15
 pergebat Ierosolymam.
 o quam stupenda pietas!
 mira Dei clementia!
 sessor aselli fieri
 dignatur auctor saeculi. 20
 olim propheta praescius
 praedixit almo Spiritu:
 'exulta' dicens 'filia
 Sion satis et iubila.
 rex ecce tuus humilis,— 25
 noli timere,—ueniet,
 pullo iugalis residens,
 tibi benignus, patiens.'

10 optimam Ia. 11 beato domino Bb. 15 pullum Aef Fl Icn Vcs.
 27 pullum Aafh Bb. iugali Aeg Fl Iaen Vc. praesidens Ae.

10. Joh. xii. 3. *mox* represents *οὖν* of the Greek, *ergo* of the Latin. Late writers use it loosely, e.g. Fort. *Vit. Mart.* 1. 217 *mox fragor astra petit*. Notice how late it comes in the sentence.

optimi] = *πολυτίμου*, *pretiosi*, of the Gospel.

12. 'wetting His feet with her tears' comes from Lk. vii. 38. For the gerund see 21. 11.

13 f. Mt. xxi. 2 f.

iugalis] strictly one used for ploughing, not for riding: cp. Lk. xix. 30 'whereon no man ever yet sat.' It represents the *ὑποζυγίου* of Mt. xxi. 5. Notice that the writer for the unclassical *subiugalis* of the Vulgate (for which see Röscher p.

104 f.) has substituted here and at 27 the classical *iugalis*.

14. **arbiter**] 32. 31.

15. **pullo**] *pullum* is well attested both here and at 27, but would come from the Latin of Zech. ix. 9, Mt. xxi. 5.

inclitam] 89. 19.

19. **essor...fieri** (a phrase which no classical writer would have here used) = *sedere*; cp. Theodulf's hymn *Gloria, laus et honor*, stanza XI *sis pius ascensor, tuus et nos simus asellus*, see Daniel 1. p. 216, Kayser vol. II p. 320.

21 f. Zech. ix. 9 f.

22. **almo**] a divine attribute, as at 84. 1.

24. **satis**] 'greatly,' is the Vulgate

ramos uirentes sumpserat
 palma recisos tenera 30
 turba, processit obuiam
 regi perenni plurima.
 coetus sequens et praeuius
 sanctoque plenus Spiritu
 clamabat 'in altissimis 35
 hosanna Daud filio.'
 quidam solutis stropheis
 uiam tegebant uestibus,
 pluresque flore candido
 iter parabant Domino. 40
 ad cuius omnis ciuitas
 commota ingressum tremuit,

30 recisa Ad, recisus Af. 31 praecessit Abefh. obuia Aae In Vc.
 34 pleno Ic. 36 filium Bb. 37 salutis Abefh, silitis Bb. tropheis
 Aabdfghi Ia. 39 flores Ia. candidum Ia. 42 cuncta (*pro commota*)
 Bb. ingressus Abe, ingressu Afh Ien Vc.

representative of LXX *σφόδρα*; cp.
 40. 6.

28. *tibi*] *uenit tibi mansuetus* in
 the Vulgate of Mt. Probably both
 there and here *tibi* = *ad te*, governed
 by the verb, not by the adj.

29 f. Joh. xii. 13.

32 f. Cp. Mt. xxi. 8 f. The
obuiam is from St John.

34. The *que* has practically no
 copulative force, but merely marks
 the predicate, as often in Fort. e.g.
 VIII. iii. 120.

36. 49. 33.

37 f. 'Some loosing their girdles
 covered the way with their gar-
 ments, and many with bright flowers
 prepared a road for the Lord.' The
 loosing of the girdles would be a
 necessary preliminary to taking off
 the outer cloaks. *stropheis* has the
 merit not only of giving a good
 sense but also of accounting for the
 variant *trophaeis*, which can hardly
 be right, and which may also have
 come into the text of MSS from a

recollection of Juvenc. III. 639 *Da-
 uidis origine creto | osanna excelsis
 sit gloria laeta trophaeis!* The read-
 ing *propriis* would give a poor sense
 in the text and would be a gloss on
stropheis. Ducange quotes *zonam
 dic strophium*, and *pretiosum etiam
 stropheum quem cingebat*. In MSS a
 final *s* before another *s* is often
 omitted. Blume reads *quidam sa-
 lutis propriis* etc., which he explains
 'covered the way of the Saviour'
 (cp. 23. 14 note), but this does not
 seem suitable here. He also reads
 with a carelessly written MS, Veron.
 cap. XC, in 39 *pluresque flores candi-
 dum* etc. With *flore* used collectively
 in the singular cp. 36. 18 *gramina
 flore fauent*, Juvenc. III. 637 *quaque
 iter est Christo subnexa fronde coro-
 nant*; Verg. *Georg.* II. 72.

40. *parabant* seems almost to
 mean 'decked,' like the French
parer. Cp. 73. 4.

41 f. Mt. xxi. 10. *ciuitas* in late
 Latin came to take the place of

Hebraea proles aurea
laudes ferebat debitas.

nos ergo tanto iudici
curramus omnes obuiam ;
palmas gerentes gloriae
mente canamus sobria.

45

43 prolis Bb Ia. 44 ferebant Hb² Ia. domino (*pro deb.*) Aa.
45 tanti iudici(s) Abf Vs. sui famuli (*pro t. i.*) Bb. 46 omn. curr. Bb
Hd. 47 palmam Abdg Bb Vs². ferentes Vc, tegentes Bb.

urbs and *oppidum*, and survives in the Italian *città*, French *citè*, our *city*; whereas *urbs* and *oppidum* died out in vulgar talk and writing and are not used e.g. in the Aetherae Peregrinatio; cp. 119. 16.

43. If this hymn was known, as it probably was, to Theodulf, *proles aurea* perhaps suggested his *puerile decus*.

44. **laudes...debitas**] 1. 2.
45. **nos**] emphatic, as well as the Hebrew children.
46. Cp. 41. 40.
47. **gloriae**] 'palms of praise,' i.e. consisting of praise. Cp. Theodulf *hi tibi passuro soluebant munia laudis, | nos tibi regnanti pangimus ecce melos*.
48. **mente...sobria**] 5. 16.

FOR MAUNDY THURSDAY. HYMN 105

This hymn seems to be from the same hand as the foregoing.

Aabdeghk Fs Hbd Ihn Vaps
Hymnum dicamus Domino,
laudes Deo cum cantico,
qui nos crucis patibulo
suo redemit sanguine.
die decursa ad uesperum,
qua Christus morti traditur,

5

2 fratres (*pro laud.*) Hbd In Vs. 5 diei cursus Hbd Ihn Vs.
6 quo Hbd In Vs, quia Ae.

1. For the phrase *hymnum dicamus* cp. 1. 1 *hymnum dicat*.

2. **cum cantico**] from Ps. lxxviii. 31; cp. 55. 8. *laudes* is of course in apposition to *hymnum*. For *Deus* in this connexion see Acts xx. 28.

3. **crucis patibulo**] Cp. Ambr.

in *Luc. vii. 5 dicat et tibi de patibulo crucis Christus*. For *patibulo* cp. 34. 4 note.

5. **decursa**] 'having run its course,' lit. 'having been run through'; cp. Ambr. *Hex. III. 48 decurso aetatis flore*; Prud. *Perist.*

ad cenam uenit impius,
qui erat Christi proditor.

Iesus futura nuntiat
cenantibus discipulis ; 10
'unus ex discumbentibus
ipse me traditurus est.'

Iudas, mercator pessimus,
osculo petit Dominum ;
ille, ut agnus innocens, 15
non negat Iudae osculum.

denariorum numero
Christus Iudaeis traditur
innocens et innoxius,
quem Iudas tradit impius. 20

praeses Pilatus proclamat:
'nullam culpam inuenio';
ablutis aqua manibus
Christum Iudaeis tradidit.

phalanx Iudaea impia 25

9 nuntians Aa Hbd Ihn Vs. 10 apostolis Hb. 12 hic (*pro ipse*)
Aa. 14 osculum Hd. domino Hbd Ih Vs. 16 negauit Hbd¹ Vs.
17 numerum Ih. 18 christum...tradidit Hd Ihn Vs. 19 innocentem
pro noxiis Ihn Vs. 20 tradidit Aa²eh Hd Ih Vs. 25 fallax Hd
Ih Vs, fallaces Iudei impii...petunt Aabdegh Vap.

XI. 195 *decursis mensibus*; Fort.
III. vi. 8 *tempore decurso*; 91. 3.
The Thesaurus gives further in-
stances from Plautus, Lucretius, and
many late authors.

6. *traditur*] Cp. lines 12, 18,
20, 24.

12. *ipse*] = 'actually one' etc.

13. 'Judas basest of hucksters,'
Mt. xxvi. 14 f.; but perhaps the
superlative is hardly intended, see
94. 13.

14. 1. 32, 31. 73 f.

15. *agnus*] Is. liii. 7.

19. 'without harm or guilt':
perhaps an echo of 1. 39 *innocens*

pro noxiis. For *innoxius* see note
on 22. 12 *noxa*.

21. *praeses*] 1. 35.

22. Lk. xxiii. 4, 14, 22.

23 f. Mt. xxvii. 24 f.

25. *phalanx Iudaea impia*] 'The
Jews, a horde of unbelievers.' The
reading *phalanx*, written *falanx*, is
doubtless the original, accounting
as it does for the *fallax* of so many
MSS, which would itself jar with the
further epithet *impia*; while *fallaces*
Iudaei impii would be a gloss
written over *fallax Iudaea impia*,
when this had supplanted *phalanx*
I. i. The word *phalanx* is used by

latronem petit uiuere,
Christum accusat grauiter:
'crucifigatur, reus est.'

et Barrabas dimittitur,
qui reus mortis fuerat;
uita mundi suspenditur,
per quem resurgunt mortui.

30

27 accusant Vp. 29 om. et Aabdeg Va. 30 morti Aa²bd¹gh Ih.

Prud. *Psych.* 816; Sedul. *Carm.* III. 83, *Op.* III. 7, always in a contemptuous sense; cp. Rönisch p. 244.

Iudaea] the Jewish nation personified, as at 1. 52.

impia] 4. 27 note.

26. 'beg a robber's life' = *ut latro uiuat.*

28. Mt. xxvi. 66, xxvii. 23.

30. **reus mortis**] 'condemned to death.'

31 f. imitated from 10. 27, 30.

HYMN 106

This hymn concerning the consecration of the Chrism is largely made up of extracts from Prudentius *Cath.* IX and *Peristeph.* II. The metre is trochaic tetrameter as are 1, 23, 33, 119, 120. Notice the rhyme, especially in 8, 9, 12, one of the earliest instances of this kind of rhyme within a trochaic verse. The first line is sung as a refrain after each stanza.

Ekw Gx. Vide *Analecta Hymnica* LI p. 80.

O Redemptor, sume carmen temet concinentium.

Audi, iudex mortuorum, una spes mortalium,
audi uoces proferentium donum pacis praeuium.

arbor feta alma luce hoc sacrandum protulit,
fert hoc prona praesens turba saluatori saeculi.

5

1 summe Ekw.

3 proferentium Gx.

2. **iudex mortuorum**] 23. 25 (=Prud. *Cath.* IX. 106).

3. **pacis praeuium**] 'that leads the way of peace,' 27. 32 (*Cath.* v. 156) *pacifici chrismat.*

4. **f. alma luce**] 'fertilized by the light of grace'; like *f. sancto*

Spiritu 24. 14. Prud. *Apoth.* 372 *numinis alium lumen.*

hoc] *donum.*

5. **prona**] used like 62. 31 *cernui.* *pronus* is common in the Vulgate of the eastern obeisance.

stans ad aram immo supplex infulatus pontifex,
debitum persoluit omne consecrato chrismate.

consecrare tu dignare, rex perennis patriae,
hoc oliuum, signum uiuum iura contra daemonum,

ut nouetur sexus omnis unctione chrismatis, 10
et medetur sauciata dignitatis gloria.

lota fronte sacro fonte aufugantur crimina,
uncta fronte sacrosancta influunt charismata.

12 leta mente Ew. sacrosancta (*pro s. fonte*) Ew. 13 influunt Gx.

6. **immo** corrects or enhances *stans ad a.*, 'standing..., yea and kneeling.'

infulatus] 'mitred.' In the old Roman Pagan cult the *infula* was a head-dress of white or red wool, the two tails of which were kept in place by a band (*uitta*). It was worn by priests (Cic. *Verr.* IV. 50 *sacerdotes Cereris cum infulis*, Verg. *Aen.* X. 537 *sacerdos, | infula cui sacra redimibat tempora uitta*), by Vestal Virgins, later by the emperors and such magistrates as were sacrosanct. The word was taken over by Christian writers and in later times (VIII or IXth cent. and onwards) identified with the bishop's *mitra*. Krieg (in Kraus II. 213) denies that up to this date bishops, as such, wore any head-dress. Apparent exceptions to the contrary he explains as the metaphorical language of poets. *infulatus* is in fact a part of the metaphor of *pontifex*. Cp. Prud. *Cath.* IX. 5 *David...rex sacerdos...infulatus*, id. *Perist.* IV. 79 *sacerdotum domus infulata Valeriorum*; Ennod. *Epigr.* 77 *Ambrosius...serta redimitus gestabat lucida fronte*. Krieg quotes Tert. *de Coron. Mil.* X *quis denique...apostolus aut euangelista aut episcopus inuenitur coronatus?* Cheetham (*Dict. Christ. Antiq.* I. 838) quotes Gelasius as 'wishing to say that a

certain person ought to be rejected from the Christian priesthood,' *clericibus infulis reprobabilis*. See the same *Dict.* s.v. *Mitre*.

7. **debitum p. omne**] from Prud. *Perist.* I. 62.

9. **signum u.**] because applied crosswise.

10. **omnis**] = *uterque*, a sense it sometimes bears in late Latin. Löfstedt *Beiträge* p. 107 f. gives several instances. Similarly Ambr. *Hex.* VI. 56 *alium sexum crinita dedecet, alium tonsa non decet*, where we should expect *alterum*.

11. **medetur**] passive, as from an active *medere*, which is found in Vell. II. xxv. 4 *aquae medendis corporibus nobiles*, Fort. *Vit. Mart.* II. 21 *neque cura mederet alumnae*. The overwhelming weight of MS evidence is against the reading *medeatur*. We must not join *medetur* to *nouetur*, as if dependent on the *ut*: it must be treated as an independent statement, 'consecrate this oil,...and our injured honour is healed.' For *gloria* in this sense cp. 79. 7.

12. Cp. 1. 63 f., [Damas.] CI. 5. The two lines express very clearly the distinctive benefits of the two parts of the baptismal sacrament.

13. **influunt charismata**] Prud. *Perist.* I. 19 *fonte ab ipso dona terris influunt*; 101. 10.

corde natus ex parentis, aluum implens uirginis,
 praesta lucem, claude mortem chrismatis consortibus. 15

sit dies haec festa nobis saeculorum saeculis,
 sit sacrata digna laude, nec senescat tempore.

15 *damna* (*pro claude*) Gx.

14. Cp. 23. 1 = Prud. *Cath.* IX.
 10. Here *natus* stands for *nate*.

15. **praesta lucem**] *Cath.* IX.
 77 *candidum praestat diem*.

claude] 'bring to an end,' 35. 6
clausit...mortis iter. Mone reads
 with later MSS *dampna*, but sug-
 gests *deme* as the original. *chr.*
consortibus seems like a reference to
 Ps. xlv. 8.

16. **sit d. h. f. nobis**] from Prud.
Perist. I. 120, as is *sacrata* in 17.

saeculorum saeculis] from *Cath.*
 IX. 114.

17. **digna laude**] 55. 7.

nec s. tempore] = almost *Perist.*
 I. 82; cp. Nicet. *de Symb.* 2 *qui non*
mutatur temporibus nec senescit ae-
tate.

HYMN 107

This hymn is found only in the Bangor Antiphony, written A.D. 680-691. Daniel I p. 194 speaks of it as *hymno nobili quadam simplicitate conspicuo*. 'Rugged and unpoetical as this hymn is, it has a certain pious simplicity about it which renders it well worthy of preservation. It is an early example of a metrical composition, sung during the communion of the people. The Communio of the Latin, like the Koinonikon of the Eastern, Church, never now appears but as prose.—The present hymn seems not later than the seventh century' (Neale *Mediaeval Hymns* p. 13). The absence of rhyme is a sign of early date. The metre is (rhythmic) iambic trimeter, not as Blume says 'ein jambischer Fünfsilber und trochäischer katalektischer Dimeter abwechseln'; he and others print each line in two halves, as they also cut in two trochaic tetrameters.

IN

Sancti uenite, Christi corpus sumite,
 sanctum bibentes, quo redempti sanguine.
 saluati Christi corpore et sanguine,
 a quo relecti laudes dicamus Deo.
 hoc sacramento corporis et sanguinis 5
 omnes exuti ab inferni faucibus.
 dator salutis, Christus filius Dei,
 mundum saluauit per crucem et sanguinem.
 pro uniuersis inmolatus Dominus
 ipse sacerdos exstitit et hostia. 10
 lege praeceptum inmolari hostias,
 qua adumbrantur diuina mysteria.
 lucis indultor et saluator omnium
 praeclaram sanctis largitus est gratiam.
 accedant omnes pura mente creduli, 15
 sumant aeternam salutis custodiam.

10 existit IN.

15 accedunt IN.

1 f. **sancti...sanctum** reminds us of 1 Pet. i. 15 *secundum eum qui uocauit uos sanctum et ipsi sancti sitis*, and of the well-known liturgical *sancta sanctis*.

2. 'drinking the holy blood by which ye were redeemed.' Daniel and Blume read *sanguinem*, but perhaps *sanguine* (the MS reading), attracted into the relative clause, is possible; cp. Plaut. *Trin.* 985 *illum quem ementitu's is ego sum ipsus Charmides*; 27. 27 note. But the copyist's eye may have caught sight of *sanguine* in 3.

3. **saluati** may perhaps be grammatically attached to the preceding couplet, 'ye that are saved'; or, as seems to be the case with *exuti* three lines below, and again *praeceptum* in 11, it may stand for a finite verb, 'We (or, ye) are saved by' etc.

5. **inferni faucibus**] 'the jaws of

hell': cp. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 201 *fauces...Auerni*; ib. 273 *faucibus Orci*. This use of *exuere* is not classical.

7. **dator salutis**] 108. 4.

10. **exstitit**] 38. 18 note. For the thought cp. Heb. ix. 14; Ambr. in *Luc. Prol.* 7 *idem...et uitulus et sacerdos. ipse=idem*.

11. **praeceptum**] impersonal, 'it was commanded.'

12. Heb. x. 1 *umbram...habens lex futurorum bonorum*.

13. **indultor**] 'giver,' cp. 103. 10 *indulges*.

15. So in the Communion Office: 'Draw near and take this holy sacrament to your comfort,' and the *μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ προσέλθετε* in the Liturgy of St James.

pura mente] 21. 10.

creduli] 1. 61.

16. We should expect *aeternae*, but *salutis custodiam* is treated as a kind of compound word.

sanctorum custos, rector quoque, Dominus,
uitae perennis largitor credentibus.

caelestem panem dat esurientibus,
de fonte uiuo praebet sitientibus. 20

alpha et ω ipse Christus Dominus
uenit, uenturus iudicare homines.

17. 'The Lord is the guardian
and guide of the holy.'

18. uitaie perennis] 15. 20.

largitor] 45. 1, 98. 1.

19. caelestem panem] Joh. vi.
35.

20. de fonte uiuo] Joh. iv. 10,
Rev. xxi. 6 *ego sitienti dabo de fonte
aquae uitae gratis.*

21. 'Christ the Lord Himself
cometh, who is the alpha and
omega' (the beginning and the
end), 23. 2 note. These words are

Rev. i. 8, xxi. 6 *ego sum a et ω* put
into the third person. Probably
 ω was taken to be $\bar{o}\bar{o}$ (two syl-
lables) or the verse would be a
syllable short. The form *o mega*,
which most editors read, is a modern
invention and cannot have been the
original in this ancient hymn.

22. 'He comes (in the sacrament)
who will hereafter come to judge
men.'

iudicare] for the inf. cp. 56. 4
locare, 85. 10 *rimari*, 86. 10 *laxare*.

HYMN 108

This hymn of the Vth or VIth century is, like the
foregoing, of Irish origin. It is handed down only in the
Bangor Antiphonary and in a Bobbio MS, Turin G. v. 38
(XI/XIIth cent.). The title in Bangor Antiphonary is
hymnus quando cerea benedicitur (i.e. the Paschal Candle),
and this seems to have been the first purpose of the
hymn, rather than a daily use at the *lucernarium* i.e.
Vespers (see the introduction to 27).

INo

Ignis creator igneus,
lumen donator luminis,
uitaque uitae conditor,
dator salutis et salus :

1. creator igneus] nom. for voc.
For the sense cp. 29. 1 *Deus ignee
fons animarum.*

3. uita] 10. 27 f. •

4. dator salutis] 107. 7.
salus] 23. 14.

ne noctis huius gaudia 5
 uigil lucerna deserat,
 qui hominem non uis mori,
 da nostro lumen pectori.
 ex Aegypto migrantibus
 indulges geminam gratiam: 10
 nubis uelamen exhibes,
 nocturnum lumen porrigis.
 nubis columna per diem
 uenientem plebem protegis,
 ignis columna ad uesperum 15
 noctem depellis lumine.
 e flamma famulum prouocas ;
 rubum non spernis spineam,

6 lucernae Io. 10 indulgens Io. 13 nobis Io. 14 protegens
 Io. 17 prouocans Io.

5. noctis...gaudia] 37. 5 f. The *ne* seems to depend upon the following *da...lumen*. If so, the *lucerna* is interpreted spiritually.

6. Cic. *ad Att.* VII. vii. 7 *facere diutius, nisi me lucerna desereret.*

7. Ezek. xviii. 32 etc.

9 f. Exod. xiii. 21.

12. porrigis] 'givest,' cp. Mt. vii. 9 *numquid lapidem porriget ei?*

14. uenientem plebem] 'Thy people on their way'; for this use of *uenire* = *iter facere* cp. Fort. VI. x. 64. Prud. *Cath.* v. 65 uses *uiantibus* of the Israelites making their way from Egypt, and here *uiantem* would suit both sense and metre. On the other hand *uenire* is correctly used from the standpoint of the Holy Land to which they came; and from the metrical point of view it is noticeable that this hymn thrice resolves a long syllable: 10 *geminam*, 17 *famulum* and here. This metrical feature appears in early hymns, but not often in later ones.

17 f. The stanza is based on Exod. iii. 2 f., cp. Ambr. *Hex.* IV. 9 f. *ignis...et inluminat et exurit. unde*

Deus uolens Moysi ostendere suae operationis miraculum...in igne uisus est in rubo, et rubus non exurebatur, sed tantum splendere ignis specie uidebatur.... Domini ignis inluminare solet, exurere non solet. ac forte dicas: quomodo scriptum est: ego sum ignis consumens?... non solet consumere nisi sola peccata. Ambr. also alludes to the Bush at *de Spir. Sancto* I. 145 *uox ergo de flamma et in rubo flamma et flamma non noxia. urebatur enim rubus et non exurebatur; eo quod illo mysterio Dominus figuraret quia inluminaturus spinas nostri corporis adueniret; nec consumpturus aerumnosos sed mitigaturus aerumnas. prouocans for prouocas would perhaps improve the verse.*

18. Cp. Ambr. *de Virginib.* I. 2 *Dominus...locutus est in sentibus. Deus nec rubum est dedignatus.*

rubum] fem. as in some MSS of Prud. *Cath.* v. 31 *Moyses nempe Deum spinifera in rubo | uidit conspicuo lumine flammeum; id. Apoth.* 56 and 70.

et, cum sis ignis concremans,
non uris quod inluminas.

20

fuco depasto nubilo
tempus decoctis sordibus
feruente sancto Spiritu
carnem lucere ceream.

secretis iam condis faui
diuini mellis alitus;
cordis repurgans intimas
uerbo replesti cellulas,
examen ut fetus noui
ore praelectum, Spiritu,

25

30

19 *om.* sis Io. 20 illuminans **IN**. 21 foco Io. 22 denocilis Io.
24 carnis Io. creas Io. 25 condens **IN**². fauis Io. 27 repurgas
IN, repugnans Io. 28 cellulis Io. 30 praelicto Io.

19. Deut. iv. 24.

20. Orosius *aduersus Paganos* VII. iii. 1 *Christus... uere ignis ardens, quem qui sequitur inluminatur, qui temptat exuritur.*

21 f. 'Now it is time that the cloudy bee-bread should be consumed (the presence of which would spoil the wax) and all impurity boiled away, and that the waxen flesh should shine with the glow of the Holy Spirit.' Even as the bee-made wax is now to be lighted, so the newly baptized are to be illuminated with the Spirit given in baptism. Lines 21, 22 describe the processes in the purifying of the wax, of which the paschal candle now to be lighted is made.

fuco] Cp. Verg. *Georg.* IV. 39 *fucoque et floribus oras | explent*; Ambr. *Hex.* v. 69 *quid enim aliud est fauus nisi quaedam castrorum species? denique ab his praesepeibus apium fucus arcetur.*

23. Cp. 53. 2.

24. As plums are 'waxen' because of their appearance (Verg. *Ecl.* II. 53), as the psalmist's heart is like wax (Ps. xxi. (xxii.) 15), as light is waxen because it is

fed by wax (Fort. v. v. 117 *lux cerea*): so the flesh, as here represented by the catechumens, because it is to be lighted and to shine. The shining is suggested by the lighting of the taper and is the result of the Easter baptism.

25 f. 'Thou storest now in the recesses of the comb the food (consisting) of the divine honey, and purifying the inmost cells of the heart Thou hast filled them with Thy word.' The wax of the taper has set the writer thinking about bees and he develops the metaphor. Again, as also in next stanza, he is speaking of the newly baptized, who have tasted the baptismal honey. See note on 37. 11.

26. **alitus**] 'food,' 'dainties'; cp. Suet. *Vita Verg.* p. 57 (some MSS) *parentibus quotannis aurum ad abundantem alitum mittebat.*

29 f. 'That the swarm of the new brood, chosen by Thy mouth and Spirit, may leave their burdens and win heaven on wings free from care.'

examen] Cp. Fort. IV. xi. 9 *examina fundens | floribus aeternis mellificauit apes.*

relictis caelum sarcinis
quaerat securis pinnulis.

31 relectum IN¹, relictum IN².

noui] i.e. made new by baptism, cp. 37. 20.

30. God's mouth is a phrase expressed or implied at 30. 30, Ps. xxxii. (xxxiii.) 6. Perhaps from this latter passage, *spiritu oris eius*, we might amend to *oris*. But, as this would hardly be altered in MSS, possibly *ore... Spiritus* is more likely, if any change is needed.

praeligere seems to be first found in Cyprian *Epist.* xxxvii. 1.

31. *relictum*, the reading of the older and better MS, is just possible: 'heaven deserted by reason of their burdens.' But the construction is harsh, and *relictis* gives a much better sense. [*Relictum* is probably

due to the *praelectum* above.]

sarcinis] 'burdens' of cares or other hindrances to the higher life. Cp. Salvian. *ad Eccl.* II. 13 *expediti omnibus sarcinis saluatoris uiam sequuntur*; and for the sense Heb. xii. 1; Fort. *Vit. Mart.* II. 388 *tramite difficili potuit quia pergere diues | depositoque onere ascendit quia liber in arcem*. [It is possible that in *relictis sarcinis* etc. there is a return to the imagery of stanzas III and IV, though *onera* is the word in the Vulgate for the burdens of Egypt.]

32. *quaerat*] perhaps 'obtain,' 'win,' as at 10. 22, 71. 17.

EASTER. HYMN 109

109, III and 61 are the only hymns common to both the earlier and later hymnals, with the exception of those written by Ambrose, and the first part of 42; see introduction thereto. This is probably because they were held in especial honour by reason of their early date. They may have been written by a younger contemporary of Ambrose—possibly by Niceta of Remesiana; but not by Ambrose himself. 109 was always assigned to Vespers at Easter, but in the modern Roman breviary in its rewritten form *Ad regias agni dapes* it is appointed for the First Sunday after Easter (*dominica in albis*). The hymn is rhymed almost throughout.

Aa Eacdghjlosvxδημφ Fabdhilprsβψ Gabm Habcddefiβ Ibcdefghmnop
Mk Vcs

Ad cenam agni prouidi,
stolis albis candidi,
post transitum maris rubri
Christo canamus principi.
cuius sacrum corpusculum
in ara crucis torridum ;

5

2 ex stolis Hβ, et stolis Eadgvxμ Fdhirβ Ibdghv Vs, stolis in Ej,
stolisque Aa Iop. om. albis Aa. amicti candidis Fl Hb² Icefg²n Vc.
5 corpus sanctissimum Aa Ea Flr Gm Hbd Ibcdefg²hmn Mk² Vcs.

1. 'Looking forward to the supper of the Lamb'; Rev. xix. 9. *Agni* strikes at once the Paschal note.

2 refers to the white robes of the newly baptized, which were worn from Easter Eve until the end of the 1st Sunday after Easter. The variants are so many attempts to mend the metre, because the copyists, especially in later times, did not see that *stolis* is a trisyll. to be scanned *istolis*; see 89. 19.

3. Cp. 1 Cor. x. 1; Aug. *Serm.* IV. 9 *liberantur per mare Iudaei, obruuntur in mari Aegyptii, liberantur Christiani in remissione peccatorum, delentur peccata per baptismum.*

4 from 31. 3.

5. 'Whose sacred body is roasted on the altar of the cross.'

sacrum corpusculum] The variant *corpus sanctissimum* was no doubt due to a reverent feeling that the diminutive form was here out of place. But this form was used e.g. by Cyprian *Epist.* LXVIII. 12 *quibus abluī et mundari corpusculum possit.*

6. The cross on which Christ suffered was also the altar on which He, in the hymn, is regarded as the victim-lamb, 'roasted with fire,' Exod. xii. 9. *crucis* is a loose gen. of definition. *torridum sc. est.* This omission of *est* is very common:

Leo (*Fortunatus* p. 399) refers to 33. 19 amongst many instances. Others take *corpusculum* as acc. after *gustando*; but this is rather a gerundive agreeing with *cruore*, not a gerund. The difficulty of the passage is that there was no altar in the case of the original Paschal Lamb in Exodus, and the roasting with fire was for the purpose of eating, not for that of sacrifice. The writer doubtless alludes to the roasting in *torridum*; if so, he mystically confuses two separate things—the roasting of the Passover and the burning of the daily sacrifice upon the altar. *torrere* in the Vulgate is the regular word for 'frying'; Lev. ii. 14 of the first-fruits of corn; 1 Chron. xxiii. 29 for that which is fried; 2 Macc. vii. 5 of the martyr to be fried in the pan; in Is. xxv. 5, a very corrupt passage, *sub nube torrente* seems to mean 'under a scorching cloud.' It is only a slight objection to this view that the Latin versions in Ex. xii. 9 have *assum, assatum*, not *tostum*. Thus the hymn would mean that our Lord's body was, as it were, 'roasted' ('fried,' 'scorched') for our food by the fire of God's wrath against sin, as the Paschal Lamb was roasted. This was done on the Cross; but the metaphor is complicated by the insertion of the thought of the *ara*.

The same thought is applied to

cruore eius roseo
gustando uiuimus Deo.

protecti paschae uespero
a deuastante angelo,
erepti de durissimo
Pharaonis imperio.

10

iam pascha nostrum Christus est,
qui inmolatus agnus est;
sinceritatis azyma
caro eius oblata est.

15

7 cruorem...roseum Aa Hb²d² Iv. et eius Hb². 9 profecti Fa.
uespere Eacdjsvμφ Gm Hbc¹defβ Ic (-ri Ga), uesperum Eo Faψ Gb¹, ad
uesperum Fb. 10 devastando Faψ. 11 erecti Ev. 15 azimo Ic,
anima Fψ. 16 oblita Aa.

Christ considered as the Paschal Bread: see Brevint *Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice* p. 13 (ed. 1847) 'I behold in this bread, dried up, and baked, and burnt at the fire, the fiery wrath which He suffered for me from above, and from the hand of His own Father.'

Clicht. explains *torridum* as *igne passionis et doloris acerbitate excoc-tum*. Lipp translates it 'numbed,' cp. Liv. xxi. 32 *torrida frigore*; but this explanation misses the point, that Christ is the paschal lamb.

7. 'By drinking His rosy blood we live unto God.' Neale *Mediaeval Hymns* p. vii says: 'The poet would tell us that, though one drop of our Lord's Blood was sufficient to redeem the world (*cuius una stilla saluum facere | totum mundum quit ab omni scelere*, as S. Thomas says), yet out of the greatness of His love to us He would shed all. As every one knows, the last drainings of life-blood are not crimson, but of a far paler hue: strictly speaking, roseate.' But this is farfetched. Cp. *Analecta* XXVII. cxxvii. 23 f. *uiscera martyris | profundunt rosei flumina sanguinis*.

8. *uiuimus Deo*] Cp. Lk. xx. 38, Rom. vi. 10 f., Gal. ii. 19.

9. *protecti* and *erepti* in 11 might agree with the subject of *uiuimus* in 8, but perhaps we are intended to understand *sumus*, as in 6 (*est*).

uespero] 'on the eve,' appears to be the right reading, as is shewn by the rhyme; cp. the note on 84. 9.

10. Cp. 41. 10.

11 f. Mone quotes Aug. *Diu. Quaest.* LXI. 2 *Christo duce ab oneribus et laboribus huius peregrinationis nostrae tamquam ab Aegypto liberamur, et persequentia nos peccata sacramento baptismatis nobis euadentibus obruuntur*. Cp. Ambr. *Hex.* 1. 4. 14 *deserit qui abluatur intellegibilem illum Pharao, principem istius mundi; in Ps. CXVIII. xii. 36 Dominus Iesus, agnus Dei, mundi hostia, soluit nos grauium nexibus delictorum, quibus Pharao ille taeterrimus, non unius Aegypti sed saeculi istius princeps, uinculo seruitii grauis nos tenebat astrictos*.

13 f. 1 Cor. v. 7.

15. 'His flesh, the unleavened bread of sincerity, is offered up': i.e. free from 'the leaven of malice and wickedness.' The paschal lamb

o uera digna hostia,
per quam fracta sunt tartara ;
redempta plebs captiuata,
reddita uitae praemia.

20

consurgit Christus tumulo,
uictor redit de barathro,
tyrannum trudens uinculo
et reserans paradisum.

17 uere Eajvφ Fbdp Gm Hi Ihno² Vcs, uera et Aa Esμ Imo¹p¹.
18 quem Aa Es Fab Gm Hβ Ip Vs. 19 red. est Eδ. captiua Fb.
20 reddito Fa¹ Hb¹ Mk. uita Eδ Fψ Igp. praemio Fa¹b Hb¹i Ihn Mk.
redit ad u. p. Ex² Gm He, reddit ad u. p. Ib. 21 cum surgit Fb Ig¹,
consurgens Fr. 23 tradens Eo Hβ Mk. uinculum Aa. 24 paradiso
Faψ.

was to be without blemish, Exod. xii. 5. Of course there is a reference to the prohibition of leaven during the passover. Here, as in 6, two types are fused together: the unleavened bread was not 'offered.'

17 f. 'O true and worthy victim, by whom the powers of hell are broken, the enslaved people is redeemed, the prizes of life are restored.' Daniel I. 89 notes the climax: *non solum fracta sunt tartara, sed etiam plebs in uincula coniecta liberatur. accedit tertium: redduntur ipsi uitae beatae dona.* The reference is to the 'harrowing of hell.' The want of connecting particles adds to the strength of the stanza.

18. tartara] 23. 11 note.

19. captiuata] Cp. I Mac. xv. 40 *coepit...captiuare populum*; Rom. vii. 23 *aliam legem...captiuantem me*; 114. 10.

20. Damas. XIII. 8 *Christus, qui reddit praemia uitae.* Mone, not seeing that *reddita* stands for *reddita sunt*, reads with the later MSS *redit ad u. praemia*, taking these words in connexion with 19. This complicates the construction of 19 and destroys the vigour of the stanza.

21. consurgit is stronger than

cum surgit, which Daniel, Mone and Blume read. Strictly speaking the tomb of Christ was not a *tumulus*, though Fortunatus, as at 36. 39, and others use the word; and the abl. without preposition is harsh.

22. The *βάραθρον* was a deep yawning pit at Athens into which the lowest criminals were thrown. [Damas.] XXVII. 7 uses it of a dungeon, and it was often used to denote 'hell'; cp. Lucr. III. 979 *nec quisquam in barathrum nec Tartara deditur atra*; Jud. v. 15 (Vulgate); Prud. Cath. XI. 39 *mancipatam fumido uitam barathro inmerse-rant*; id. Apoth. 785 *inferni petal ima poli barathroque loquatur*; Ju-uenc. IV. 286.

23. Rev. xx. 2.

trudens] 'thrusting'; Ambr. in Ps. CXVIII. xii. 31 *trusus in carcerem*; in Luc. VI. 45 *in abyssos se esse trudendam*; Prud. Nol. Carm. XIX. 243 *infernis male trusus carceribus.* *uinculo* must be taken for dative = *in uinculum.* *trudens* is a more emphatic word than *tradens*, which Mone prefers.

24. The reference is to Gen. iii. 24, perhaps combined with Lk. xxiii. 43. For the sake of the rhyme Mone would read *reserato paradiso*;

quaesumus, auctor omnium, 25
 in hoc paschali gaudio
 ab omni mortis impetu
 tuum defendas populum.

28 defende Aa Easμ Gm Hbd Icgn Mk Vc.

but at the time when the hymn was written *o* and *u* were pronounced much alike, and the final *m* of *paradisum* would scarcely be sounded.

25 f. That this last stanza is a kind of doxology is shewn by the facts that in some MSS only the first few words are written here and that

it was appended to other hymns. But it seems to form a part of this hymn, for it is almost always found here, either in full or abbreviated, and in most MSS a further doxology is added: *Gloria tibi Domine, | qui surrexisti a mortuis, | cum Patre et sancto Spiritu | in sempiterna saecula.*

HYMN 110

This hymn 110 was written for and used on Easter Day itself, not for the *dominica in albis*, as Mone says, misled by his interpretation of line 9: see the note on that line. In the Mozarabic use it is prescribed for Prime: see *Analecta* XXVII. 87.

Edvφ Fdhirsβ Gb Hbcdei Id Ma Vs

Te, lucis auctor, personant
 huius cateruae carmina,
 quam tu replesti gratia
 anastasis potentia.

nobis dies haec innuit 5
 diem supremum sistere,

1 personant Evφ Fdhⁱ Hbd.

5 haec dies Hbcde.

1. te...personant] Cp. 2. 31.

2. cateruae means perhaps the newly baptized who make their first communion that day, cp. *plebs* at 36. 51. But the words may have a wider bearing.

4. anastasis] 'the resurrection,' a Greek word used also at 48. 20, here declined as a Latin word.

5 f. The change in the gender of *dies* seems to be made for the sake of distinction; cp. Ambr. *Epist.*

w.

XXIII. 11 *die autem dominica exultandum propheta docet, dicens: hic est dies quem fecit Dominus; and the introd. to 10, p. 77. But Caesar uses both genders in the same context and with the same meaning, B. G. I. vi. 4.*

6. sistere] *sistere diem (stato die)* is a regular expression for 'fixing' a day ('on a fixed day'), especially for a trial. Here *sistere* must be taken intransitively, 'that a last day

23

quo mortuos resurgere
uitaeque fas sit reddere.

octaua prima redditur,
cum mors ab unda tollitur,
dum mente circumcidimur
nouique demum nascimur;

10

cum mane nostrum cernimus
redisse uictis hostibus,
mundique luxum temnimus,
panem salutis sumimus.

15

7 qua Hi, quam Ma. 8 fassis Id Ma (fas sis Hc), faxis Hb (*in marg.*
uel fas sit). 10 dum Fd. abunde Hi², habundat Fi Hcd. 13 dum
Eφ Hbde, eum Fi. 16 panemque nostrum Hbcde.

stands fixed.' It seems a somewhat
curious turn for an Easter hymn to
take.

7. 'on which it is granted that
the dead should rise again and re-
turn to life.'

8. **uitae**] dat. as 35. 12 *redeunt
uitae*.

fas] 'the divine will.' The diffi-
culty of the passage has caused the
variants *fassis, fas sis, faxis*.

reddere] The word, which stands
in all the MSS without variant, is
used intransitively = *redire*. In like
manner Fort. *Vita Germ.* xxx. 88 B.
18. 7 *perdit sermo, = perit*. Or per-
haps, with a violent change of the
subject: 'that the dead should rise
again and to restore them to life.'

9. 'The eighth day becomes the
first.' That this is the meaning is
shewn by the following passages.
Ambr. *in Ps.* cxviii. prol. 2 *pri-
mogenita offerimus octaua die, qua
omnes in Christi resurrectione non
solum resuscitati sed etiam confir-
mati sumus; in Luc.* vii. 6 *octaua
enim die facta est resurrectio; ib.*
173 *in octauo numero resurrectionis
est plenitudo; Aug. de Serm. Dom.*
1. 12 *significatur fortasse Domini
resurrectione post sabbatum, qui est
utique octauus idemque primus dies,*

et celebratione octauarum feriarum;
Mone 1. 73 f. *octaua praestat ceteris |
aetatibus sublimior, | cum mortui
de pristino | terrae resurgent aggere.*
See also 62. 1 note.

10. 'on which death is destroyed
by the (baptismal) water'; but per-
haps with an allusion also to the
Red Sea. *ab* was used to denote
the instrument by the Augustan
poets, esp. Ovid, and then by late
writers of prose as well as of verse.
The use arose from the local sense
of *ab* as is clearly shewn by Prud.
Hamart. 257 *auri namque fames
parto fit maior ab auro*, Schmalz 383.
The variants *abunde, habundat* may
have been caused by a recollection
of Rom. v. 20.

11. Cp. Rom. ii. 29; Col. ii. 11
foll.

12. 'and we are born new in-
deed'; *demum* as at 85. 13.

13 f. The relation between the
various parts of this and the fore-
going stanza are rather complicated.

The *dum* (11) seems evidently to
refer to the same moment as *cum*
(10), and indeed probably means,
as so often, much the same as *nam*.
Our 'circumcision' is coincident
with our baptism. Then *cum* (13)
seems to repeat *cum* (10).

ieiuniorum uictimis
 corpus litamur aridis,
 piisque parsimoniis
 sacris potamur hostiis.

20

haec alma sit sollemnitas,
 sit clara haec festiuitas,
 sit feriata gaudiis

17-20 om. Evφ Fdhirβ Hbdei Id.

20 potimur Ma.

But how does 15 come in? It would seem curious to fix Easter Day as the day when we 'despise the world's self-indulgence.' The explanation seems to be that *mundi l. t.* carries out the thought of *uictis hostibus*. Perhaps we are to emphasize *temnimus*, 'the foes are conquered, and we look with contempt upon the self-indulgence,' as the Israelites upon the dead Egyptians in the morning. Then *mundi l.* is again contrasted with *panem s. sumimus* needs no connecting particle, but stands parallel to *temnimus*, and, with it, is coupled by the *que* to the sentence under *cum* (13); 'we look with contempt upon self-indulgence and take instead the bread of salvation' in the Easter Communion.

mane nostrum] 'our morning,' i.e. Christ. There is perhaps an allusion to Ex. xiv. 27 f. For *mane* used as a subst. cp. 17. 5.

17 f. The Prudentian verses 25. 5 f. guide us to the understanding of this difficult stanza. *litare* is used in its weakened, but not uncommon, sense of to sacrifice, and *corpus* is the acc. of the 'part affected.' 'Our bodies have been sacrificed by the dry offering of our Lenten fast, and through dutiful abstinences we are given sacred oblations to drink.' The verses thus carry on the thought of 15 and 16.

It is partly perhaps the difficulty of this stanza that has caused it to be omitted in some MSS, but

chiefly also its seeming unsuitability in an Easter hymn. Some have been inclined to doubt, even of late, if it be not an interpolation, see *Analecta* XXVII p. 87.

For *uictima* (and its synonym *hostia*) used in this somewhat enlarged sense, see 24. 6, 96. 18 and the Index. It will be seen that the singular *uictima* is sometimes used of many offerings classed together, and sometimes the plural occurs where a collective singular might have been expected.

18. *aridis*] 'dry,' gets the meaning of 'chaste' by way of contrast with *uuidus* 'debauched' in 25. 7. In like manner *siccus* comes to mean 'sober' at Hor. *Od.* IV. v. 39.

20. *potamur*] passive *ποτιζόμεθα*. Ps. lxxviii. (lxxix.) 22 *potauerunt me aceto*; 1 Cor. xii. 13 *in uno spiritu potati sumus*; Ambr. in *Luc.* v. 72 *lacte potantur*; Sedul. *Op.* I. 18 *pastus faeno, potatus fluuio*; Fort. XI. 21 *aceto uel felle aut uino murrato potatus*; ib. 22 *felle...potatur*. Rönisch 376 gives several other instances of the transitive use of *potare*.

21. Mone compares Greg. *Hom.* in *Euang.* II. xxii. 6 *sicut in sacro eloquio sancta sanctorum uel cantica canticorum pro sui magnitudine dicuntur, ita haec festiuitas* (i.e. Easter) *recte dici potest sollemnitas sollemnitatum*; cp. Mone CLXIII. I *haec est sancta sollemnitas sollemnitatum, insignita triumpho Christi*.

23. *feriari est requiescere ab opere et otium agere, intermissa quotidiana*

dies reducta ab inferis.

opera says Clicht. Hence *feriata* used passively = 'celebrated as a holiday.'

24. **dies**] 'our day,' i.e. Christ

and all that can be called day along with Him, cp. 13, 3. 4, 61. 1, and especially 36. 48, 37. 8.

HYMN III

This hymn, which bears every mark of great antiquity, is of universal diffusion. Blume *Analecta* LI p. 90 remarks that (except the hymns of St Ambrose) this and *Christe qui lux es et dies* (61) are the only two hymns which are found alike in the ancient Irish hymnaries and in those other than Irish.

It is appointed for Lauds on Easter Day and throughout the season; but it was soon broken up into portions, one of which was used at Terce, and one at Sext.

Eacdgjlosvxημφ Fabdhilpsβψ Gabm Habdei Iabcdefhmnopv Mx Vcs

Aurora lucis rutilat,
caelum laudibus intonat,
mundus exultans iubilat,
gemens infernus ululat,
cum rex ille fortissimus
mortis confractis uiribus
pede conculcans tartara
soluit catena miseros.

5

ille, qui clausus lapide
custoditur sub milite,

10

1 rutilans Hd. 2 laudabilis Fa. 3 exultat Fi Gm Im (exulta Ia).
6 iuribus Ia. 7 tartaros Fabψ Gab. 8 a poena Eac²gjsvxημφ Fhi
Gm Hbdei² Ibcdehmp²v Vcs. 10 limite Hd.

1. Cp. 70. 2.
2. **intonat**] 86. 1.
5. **fortissimus**] 'most mighty,'
84. 14, cp. 41. 17.
7. **conculcans**] often in O.T.,
e.g. Ps. xc. (xci.) 13 *conculcabis*
leonem.

8. **catena**] 36. 45, 37. 15. The descent into hell is referred to; the less definite *a poena* of many MSS is inferior.

9. **lapide**] 36. 40 f.

10. **milite**] 1. 47. The collective use of this word in the sing. is

triumphans pompa nobile
uictor surgit de funere.

solutis iam gemitibus
et inferni doloribus,
quia surrexit Dominus
splendens clamat angelus. 15

tristes erant apostoli
de nece sui Domini,
quem poena mortis crudeli
serui damnarunt impii. 20

sermone blando angelus
praedixit mulieribus:
'in Galilaea Dominus
uidendus est quantocius.'

illae dum pergunt concite
apostolis hoc dicere, 25

12 e Es. 16 resplendens Eacd²gjsvημ Fbdihlpβ Gb(*manu rec.*)m
Hbd Ibcdefhmp² Vcs. clamabat Exφ Hei (*manu rec.*) Iv, clamitat Io,
clamans Ia. 19 morte Vs¹. crudelis Gm Hd¹ Ia Vs¹. 20 saeui
Ed²jsvμφ Fψ Ga Hab¹cei Iaop, saeue Hb²d Id Vs. damnarant Egm Fdhip
Gab Iefv Vc (-rent Fψ), damnauerunt Fa Ia. impie Ecjμ Iav Vcs.
21 blandus Gm. 22 praedicit Eo Fbψ Hac Ia. 25 pergent Fa.
concitae Hde Vs. 26 haec Mx.

common in poets, Verg. *Aen.* II. 495 *loca milite complent*, and even in the prose of Livy and Tacitus.

11. **nobile**] ablative. Most of the MSS give *nobili*, but the three good MSS Eo Fa Gb have *nobile*.

15. 'a shining angel cries out "The Lord is risen."' Mt. xxviii. 2 f., 1. 49. *quia surrexit Dominus = surrexisse Dominum* as at Mt. xxviii. 7 *dicite discipulis eius quia surrexit*. The literary history of this usage of *quia* begins with the *Itala* of Tert.; the usage was taken over into the Vulgate and became common even in non-ecclesiastical writers. For a time it was commoner than the like construction of *quod* with indic. (91. 25 etc.) or subj.

(1. 58). But eventually it was disused, whereas *quod* passed on into the Romance languages; Schmalz p. 544, Rönisch pp. 402, 481, Kaulen *Handbuch zur Vulgata* p. 211.

16. The variants point decisively to the original text *isplendens clamat angelus*; see p. 350.

20. **serui** is in pointed opposition to *Domini* in 18; cp. 40. 13 f.

21. Verg. *Aen.* I. 670 *blandis uocibus*.

22. **praedixit** takes up the words of the angel at Mt. xxviii. 7 *ecce praecedit uos in Galilaeam; ibi eum uidebitis: ecce praedixi uobis*.

23 f. Mk xvi. 7.

24. **quantocius**] 'immediately.' Rönisch p. 231 among other late

uidentes eum uiuere
osculant pedes Domini.

quo agnito discipuli
in Galilaeam propere
pergunt, uidere faciem
desideratam Domini. 30

claro paschali gaudio
sol mundo nitet radio,
cum Christum iam apostoli
uisu cernunt corporeo. 35

ostensa sibi uulnera
in Christi carne fulgida
resurrexisse Dominum
uoce fatentur publica. 40

28 osculantur Eagjsxημφ Fbdil Gab Habcddei Iabdefhmnopv Vcs, adorant Ecdlv, appetunt Fh. dei Eagj Fb Ha¹. 30 Galilaea Eoμ Fab Ga. properant Fψ. 33 paschale Eo Faψ. 34 mundum Es Fa Gb. nitens Fabψ Gab Mx. 35 dum Ha. christo Fab Ga Hb¹. 40 fatetur Eo.

instances of the word refers to the edict of Licinius in *Lact. Mort. Pers.* XLVIII. viii. 10 *ut praeceptum nostrum quantocius compleatur*; *Commodian Instruct.* 1. xxv. 22 *tamen uos adhortor quantocius credere Christo.*

28. Mt. xxviii. 9.

osculant] Rönsch p. 301; *Titin. ap. Non.* 476 *osculauit priuignae caput.* The word is elsewhere deponent. It is just possible, however, that we should read with some not very ancient MSS *osculantur pedes Dei*, the variant *Domini* having been introduced from 32.

33 might be taken closely with the preceding stanza, awkwardly perhaps, but no more so than 32. 8, 9; 28, 29. It is simpler however to join it with *nitet.*

paschali gaudio] 96. 19.

34. **mundo**] 'cleansed': even the sun shines with a purer light. Mone

would get rid of the difficulty of the passage by reading with one MS *sol mundo mittit radios*, making *mundo* = *in mundum*.

37 f. 'When the dazzling wounds have been shewn to them (*Joh. xx. 20*)...they (*apostoli* of 35) declare in public speech....' *ostensa...uulnera*, nom. or acc. abs.; cp. 85. 7. This is better than taking *ostensa* = *ostensa sunt*.

38. **fulgida** may be taken either with *uulnera* or with *carne*: perhaps the former is the more forcible. Cp. the hymn *Pone luctum Magdalena* (*Trench p. 162*) line 25 f. *quinque plagas inspicite: fulgent en ut margaritae, ornamenta nouae uitae*, and 'Those dear tokens of His passion still His dazzling body bears.'

39. The resurrection was the core of the first preaching of the apostles: see *Acts i f.*

rex Christe clementissime,
 tu corda nostra posside,
 ut tibi laudes debitas
 reddamus omni tempore.

43. laudes debitas] 1. 2. That this last stanza was regarded as a quasi-doxology is indicated by the fact that some MSS give only the first few words. But they all add

some other doxology, *Gloria tibi Domine qui surrexisti a mortuis* or *Quaesumus auctor omnium* or *Deo patri sit gloria.*

ASCENSION TIDE. HYMN 112

Blume *Analecta* LI. 92 heads this hymn *In Ascensione Domini. Ad Vesperas*; but he notes (p. 93) that the usage varies. The Ambrosian use assigns it to the eve of the Ascension; Werner to the first Nocturn. Various stanzas of it are omitted in various MSS.

Abdegh Ecdjlv Fblps Hbd Icdcfmn Vachps

Optatus uotis omnium
 sacratus inluxit dies
 quo Christus, mundi spes, Deus
 conscendit caelos arduos.

ascendens in altum Dominus, 5
 propriam ad sedem remeans,
 gauisa sunt caeli regna
 reditu unigeniti.

3 m. christus spes Elv Hbd Id, m. spes christus Ed. 5 om. in Ecj Fbp.
 6 om. ad Ab²dg. remeat Edlv Icen Vc. 8 redita Ev.

2. inluxit] 91. 1.

5. ascendens in altum Dominus] 'as the Lord ascends on high.' It seems best to treat these two lines as forming a nom. absolute: as at 111. 37. The unmetrical reading of the MSS, *in altum*, might naturally come from Eph. iv. 8 *ascendens in altum*, cp. Ps. lxxvii. (lxxviii.) 19. In these hymns the normal construction of *scando* and its compounds is the

simple acc., cp. (*scando*) line 32, 1. 39, 44. 11, 113. 5; (*conscendo*) line 4; (*ascendo*) 4. 2, 32. 1, 116. 1. If we retain the *in* we must scan *Dominus*, as in fact the word came to be written.

6. Cp. [Damas.] LXVI. 1 *ad sedem propriam Deus exule morte resurgit.*

remeans] 36. 19.

magno triumpho proelii,
 mundi perempto principe, 10
 Patris praesentans uultibus
 uictricis carnis gloriam,
 est eleuatus in nubibus
 et spem fecit credentibus,
 aperiens paradisum, 15
 quem protoplasti clauserant.
 o grande cunctis gaudium,
 quod partus nostrae uirginis
 post sputa, flagra, post crucem
 paternae sedi iungitur. 20
 agamus ergo gratias
 nostrae salutis uindici,
 nostrum quod corpus uexerit
 sublimem ad caeli regiam.
 sit nobis cum caelestibus 25
 commune manens gaudium:

9 magni Abdgh Ed Ic. triumpho Vap¹, triumphum Abdegh. proelium
 Vap¹. 10 redemptor Ev. 11 praesentas Ec Vc, praesentis Fbp Hb.
 13 om. in Ecj Fbp Va. 16 protoplastus Id², -to Ev Hd Im Vs, -tis
 Ae El. clauserat Ade Elv Idm Vs. 18 parte Ec. 22 iudici Fbp.
 24 sublime Fbp Hd² In Vc. gloriam Ed¹, gratiam Ec. 26 mane Hd².

9. triumpho proelii] 33. 1. Blume suggests that *magni triumpho proelium* is the original text, comparing the 1st line of 104.

10. mundi...principe] 15. 24.

12. Cp. 6. 26 *carnis tropaeo*.

13. nubibus] Acts i. 9. [Perhaps the reading of several MSS *in nube* would best account for the variants.]

14. Cp. 88. 10.

16. protoplasti] 33. 4. This word usually denotes Adam, here Adam and Eve. Some copyists reserve it to Adam alone by writing *protoplasto*, or *protoplastus clauserat*.

18. nostrae] 'of our race'; cp. line 23.

19. sputa, flagra...crucem] 1. 38 f.

22. uindici] 94. 20.

23. quod...uexerit] 46. 11 note. This Christ has done by ascending to heaven in His human body, and also by enabling our nature to hope for heaven through His redemption and ascension.

24. sublimem] 'lofty,' cp. *Juvenec. III. 591 caeli sublimis in arce*; 120. 13. The variant *sublime*, 'on high,' might also stand, cp. *Verg. Aen. I. 259 sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli | magnanimum Aenean. regiam*] 27. 5, 41. 36.

25 f. sit...manens] Fort. *Append.*

illis quod se praesentauit,
nobis quod se non abstulit.

nunc prouocatis actibus
Christum exspectare nos decet, 30
uitaque tali uiuere,
quae possit caelum scandere.

31 uitamq. talem Ev¹ Ic.
caelo Hb, caelos possit El.

32 ut (*pro quae*) Fb. caelos Ecdj Hd,

VII. 14 *sic tua uita decens hoc sit in orbe manens*; cp. 44b. 8 note.

29. prouocatis actibus] 'calling forth all our energies,' 'zealous conduct,' 47. 19, 53. 4.

31. Ambr. *de Virginib.* II. 17
quanta angelorum laetitia, quod

habitare mereatur in caelo, quae caelesti uita uixit in saeculo. The variant *uitam talem* gives the more usual construction; cp. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* XXVI. 206 *et merear semper uiuentis uiuere uitam.*

HYMN 113

The most noteworthy fact concerning 113 is that a short version is found in two of the oldest MSS. The Moissac Ross. VIII. 144, after having given the hymn in the usual form on f. 16, gives it again on f. 66 thus: *Aeterne rex altissime, | scandens tribunal dexteræ | Patris, cui rerum machina | flectit genu iam subdita.* Then *Tu Christe nostrum gaudium...*i.e. stanzas V–VIII. A IXth century MS in Paris has the same. Stanza IV is omitted. One can understand the expansion of a hymn, but abbreviation is very uncommon. It may be that the short form was the original and was afterwards expanded to the form in which the great majority of the MSS give it. The Mozarabic MSS insert further stanzas:

after I:

quem lex subacta tartari marcens auerno dispulit carens mucrone pessimo throno remisit patrio.

after IV:

nec sit salus ullo modo tuo foris uocabulo, a quo creata cuncta sunt et recreata cuncta sunt.

*haec tanta Christi gratia nexum tulit peccaminum, sump-
sitque corpus proprium totumque possidet polum.*

after VII :

*quae praeminet uirtutibus summis procul caelestibus
Deus caro atque spiritus, plenus Deus uerusque homo.*

*dicunt ex astris angeli demum reuerti huiusmodi, quem
nos redire credimus, regnare prorsus nouimus.*

after XII :

da nobis illuc sedula = last stanza of 117.

Eacdgsνημ Fbdhips Gm Hbcdeiβ Ibdghm Madgi Vs

Aeterne rex altissime,
redemptor et fidelium,
quo mors soluta deperit,
datur triumphus gratiae;
scandens tribunal dexteræ
Patris, potestas omnium
conlata est Iesu caelitus,
quae non erat humanitus,

5

3 salute Mi.

4 triumphum Mgi, -is Es.

7 om. est Ea Id.

Iesu est Mgi², est et cael. Vs.

1. **altissime]** 'O Thou most highest,' often in O.T. as appellation of God, e.g. Ps. ix. 3; here of Christ.

3. 'by whom death is utterly destroyed,' the abl. of instrument with a neuter verb used for the passive of a transitive verb; cp. 68. 20 *nullis ruamus actibus*; 80. 8 *curis ruant*; 84. 5 f. *interitu... perire*.

The abl. of the instr., for the normal use with *a, ab*, of persons is found rarely in Cicero, cp. *Cael.* 34 *alienis uiris comitata*, often in poets who found it metrically convenient, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 1. 312 *uno graditur comitatus Achate*. It is found in late writers as Cassian. *Coll.* XVIII. xv. 7 *dirissimo daemone adreptus*, but it never became common. *gratiae*

probably dative after *datur*.

5 f. 'At Thy ascent to the judgment seat, at the right hand of the Father, power over all things was given to Thee, Jesus, from heaven, which was not Thine as man.' *scandens* is the nom. abs. (cp. 91. 27) rather than = *scandis* or in a loose agreement with *Iesu* in 7.

tribunal is the Vulgate word for the judgment seat of Pilate, Herod, Gallio etc., and of Christ, Rom. xiv. 10, 2 Cor. v. 10, Prud. *Cath.* IX. 104 *arduum tribunal alti uictor ascendit Patris | inclito caelo reportans passionis gloriam*. For the acc. cp. 112. 5 note.

dexteræ] a loose descriptive gen. Or is it possessive, 'belonging to Thee as the Right Hand of the Father'; cp. 1. 5 note?

ut trina rerum machina
caelestium terrestrium
et inferorum condita
flectat genu iam subdita. 10

tremunt uidentes angeli
uersam uicem mortalium,
culpat caro, purgat caro,
regnat Deus Dei caro. 15

tu, Christe, nostrum gaudium
manens Olympo praeditum,
mundi regis qui fabricam

9 at Hc, et Ev. 11 inferorum Mi. 12 flectet Gm, flectant Ea Ib
Magx. 13 tremunt Es Mgi. 14 uersa vice Eμ Hd¹ Ig. 15 culpa
carnis Mg. purget Id¹. 16 homo (*pro dei*) Hd². 17 te Es Fb
Hbceß Ih Mgi Vs. 18 proditum Hc, praemium Gm.

7. *caelitus*] 1. 20. It is not unlikely that *Iesu* is to be regarded as dative rather than vocative. There is no *tibi* expressed. Stanza IV seems not to be addressed to our Lord directly, and the direct address may as well end at line 4 (or 2) as at any other point.

9. 'The threefold fabric of the world' is here heaven, earth and the lower regions, cp. Phil. ii. 10; not as usual heaven, earth and sea, as at 23. 6 note.

10 f. Cp. 84. 13 f.

11. *condita*] 'which thou createdst' in opposition to *subdita* in 12.

13. *tremunt, id est, cum tremore reuerentur et uenerantur Christum ... et tunc plane uersa est sors atque condicio mortalium: nam prius humana natura et naturali sua conditione et peccati depressione longe infra angelicam naturam fuerat constituta: in Christo uero eadem super omnes angelorum choros exaltata est et ad Dei Patris dexteram collocata atque ab angelis merito adorata* (Clicht.). Cp. Fort. xi. i. 31 *Dominus caelos ascendit... unde uidentes angeli carnis naturam caelos*

intrare stupuerunt dicentes: quis est iste rex gloriae?

14. Contrast Hor. *Epod.* v. 87 *uenena magnum fas nefasque non ualent | conuertere humanam uicem.*

15. *culpat*] 'causes sin.' *caro Adae culpam induxit: Christi autem caro nos a peccatis purgat* (Clicht.), cp. 10. 20 *carnis uitia mundans caro. culpate* elsewhere means 'to blame,' 'find fault with.'

16. *ipse Christus uerus homo, regnat Deus. caro quae est Deus i.e. homo Deus* (Clicht.).

With *regnat Deus* cp. *regnauit... Deus* 34. 16.

17. *tu*] *es*.

18. *manens* is an adj. as at 112. 26.

praeditum] 'set over,' 'ruling over,'—a sense of the word in silver-age Latin, of which the dictionaries give several examples. The agreement with *gaudium* rather than with *tu* is peculiar.

19. Cp. Ambr. *Hex.* vi. 55 *humani corporis fabricam instar esse mundi*; Nicet. *de Rat. Fid.* i *fabricam caeli*; Sedul. *Carm.* i. 61 *caeli fabricator*.

mundana uincens gaudia.

20

hinc te precantes quaesumus,
ignosce culpis omnibus,
et corda sursum subleua
ad te superna gratia ;

ut cum repente coeperis
clarere nube iudicis,
poenas repellas debitas,
reddas coronas perditas.

25

20 uices Gm, uidens Mi. 21 hic Mi Vs. 22 omnium Hc.
24 gratiam Gm Vs. 25 et Vs. rubente Eacdjsv Fh Gm Heß² Ibv
Magix. ceperit Fi¹ Hbd¹. 26 clarare Vs. nubem Magi, nubes Em.
iudicans Im.

20. uincens] 'surpassing,' as at 34. 26.

21. hinc may mean 'for this cause'; or possibly 'from where we stand,' 'on this lowly earth.'

23. corda sursum refers to the well-known liturgical formula.

25. Mt. xxiv. 30, Lk. xxi. 34 attendite...uobis, ne forte...superueniat in uos repentina dies illa, 120. 1. At first reading coeperis clarere seems to clash with repente, and such may have been the thought of the scribe who substituted for that word rubente, which is picturesque but less likely to be the

original. coepi is often used in late writers as a mere auxiliary. Löfstedt *Aeth.* p. 209 f. quotes Petron. XXIX. 9 interrogare ergo atriensem coepi, quas in medio picturas haberent, where interrogare coepi = 'I asked.' See Friedländer on Petron. XXVII. 1, and Rönsch p. 369 f. for the like use of incipio. In Cypr. ad Demetrianum 22 we have cum uastari coeperit mundus, and at *Epist.* LVIII. 18 antichristus cum uenire coeperit.

26. nube iudicis] 'in the cloud assigned prophetically to the judge.'

28. coronas perditas] Rev. iii. 11.

HYMN 114

Eacdgijsvημφ Fbhimps Gm Hdei Ibhmv Vs

Iesu, nostra redemptio,
amor et desiderium,
Deus creator omnium,
homo in fine temporum:

4 finem Es.

1. nostra redemptio] 1 Tim. ii. 6.
2. desiderium] 101. 8.
3. = 5. 1.

4. Cp. Heb. ix. 26, 1 Pet. i. 20, 84. 9.

quae te uicit clementia, 5
 ut ferres nostra crimina,
 crudelem mortem patiens
 ut nos a morte tolleres,
 inferni claustra penetrans,
 tuos captiuos redimens, 10
 uictor triumpho nobili
 ad dextram Patris residens?
 ipsa te cogat pietas
 ut mala nostra superes
 parcendo, et uoti compotes 15
 nos tuo uultu saties.
 tu esto nostrum gaudium,
 qui es futurum praemium,
 sit nostra in te gloria
 per cuncta semper saecula. 20

6 nostra f. Eφ Ih. 9 penetras He Ih. 12 resides Ead²l Hd
 Im²v Vs. 14 sufferas Fm. 15 om. et Fb. uotis Vs. 20 laus et
 Hd, lausque (*pro* semper) Vs.

6. Is. liii. 4, 1 Pet. ii. 24. The use of *uincere* in 5 is interesting.

10. 'redeeming the captives who were all the time thine own.' The line seems to be connected with 32. 27 *redemit ipse ius suum*. Cp. 109. 19 *redempta plebs captiuata*. The spoiling of hell is meant.

11. triumpho nobili] 34. 28, 111. 11, 117. 20.

12. Cp. 4. 32.

13. pietas] 'Thy love (pity),' 7. 13 note.

14f. Clicht. notes: *cum Deus ipse pro sua benignitate dimittit*

nobis peccata iam commissa: tunc mala nostra parcendo superat. nam maior est eius in nos miseratio, quam peccatorum nostrorum sit grauitas et pondus: praeualetque tunc illius misericordia nostrae culpa, efficaciorque est ut nos saluet, quam sit pernicioosa culpa ut nos damnet.

uoti compotes] 85. 15.

16. Ps. xvi. (xvii.) 15.

17. Cp. 113. 17.

18. Cp. 38. 2.

19. Jer. ix. 23 f., 1 Cor. i. 31, 2 Cor. x. 17.

FOR WHITSUNTIDE. HYMN 115

Mone regards this hymn as based upon 116, which he says was written by Ambrose—a purely arbitrary ascription. The two hymns seem to have been written about the same early date, but after Ambr.'s time. It will be

seen that the hymn falls into two parts: stanzas I-IV are historical, stanzas V, VI pray that God will give us the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Eacdgjlsvημφ Fdhlpwχ Gam Hbcde Ibcdfhmnv Maix Vcs

Beata nobis gaudia
anni reduxit orbita,
cum Spiritus Paraclitus
effulsit in discipulos.

ignis uibrante lumine
linguae figuram detulit,
uerbis ut essent proflui
et caritate feruidi.

5

linguis locuntur omnium,
turbae pauent gentilium;
musto madere deputant,
quos Spiritus repleuerat.

10

patrata sunt haec mystice
paschae peracto tempore,

4 discipulis Es.
9 omnibus Id².
Gam Hc Imv.

5 igni Vs. luminis Hb Mi.
12 quod Hb, quo Mi.

7 uerbi Vs.
13 mystica Ecv Fh

2. 'The year's circle (i.e. the revolving year) has brought back.' *orbita* is used for the commoner *circulus* of 68. 19, 87. 14, 94. 3.

5. 'The Spirit took the form of a tongue in the quivering light of fire.' *uibrante lumine* is abl. of attendant circumstance.

7 refers back to 6, as 8 to 5.

8. Cp. 16. 7.

9. = 116. 24, Acts ii. 11.

10. **gentilium**] 'of Gentiles,' not quite correctly, for the multitudes would be at least proselytes (Acts ii. 5).

11. 'They put them down as sodden with young wine.'

musto] Acts ii. 13. 'Must' is young, and therefore intoxicating, wine; Juvenc. II. 373 *calidum mustum*.

madere] Mone objects to the word and substitutes *calere*. But Latin poets often use *madere* of heavy drinking. *madidatus* means 'drunk' at Arnob. *adv. Nat.* v. 1 and elsewhere. Cp. 25. 7 note.

deputare is sometimes used with a sinister meaning, like the Greek ἀποκαλεῖν, cp. Lk. xxii. 37 *cum iniquis deputatus est*; 122. 7.

12. Cp. Acts ii. 17, and for the form of expression iv. 8.

13. 'These things were done in mystic wise at the fulfilment of the passover season, at the sacred number of days when by the law release is made.'

mystice] 'in mystic wise,' 98. 15. The mystery lay in the sacred number of days (seven times seven, which inclusively reckoned made

sacro dierum numero 15
quo lege fit remissio.

te nunc, Deus piissime,
uultu precamur cernuo,
inlapsa nobis caelitus
largire dona Spiritus. 20

dudum sacrata pectora
tua replesti gratia ;
dimitte nunc peccamina
et da quieta tempora.

16 legis Ecdjv, longe Hc. sit Fw.
19 illapsi Gm (-pse Mi).

18 cernui Ec Hc Mai.

up 50) of which the passover season was composed. This number 50 reminds the poet that every 50 years came the year of Jubilee, *annus remissionis*, Num. xxxvi. 4, cp. Levit. xxv. 8 f.; Ambr. *Apol. David. 42 et in Lege habes, quia iubilaeus dicitur numerus quinquaginta annorum recursus, celebrabilis admodum quo debita euacuantur...hunc numerum lacti celebramus post Domini passionem, remisso culpae totius debito, chirographo quoque euacuato, ab omni nexu liberi: et suscipimus aduenientem in nos gratiam Spiritus sancti die Pentecostes*. The writer may have in mind Ennodius *Hymn. IV. 25 f. (de pentecoste): quae sacra nunc remissio, | paschalis instar gratiae, | dum mysticam septemplici | ornat coronam munere, | augmenta plenitudinis | opus ministrat diuitis*.

Kayser explains *remissio* as the 'atonement' made by the sacrifices that were offered at the feast of weeks, referring to Levit. xxiii. 17 f., Num. xxviii. 27 f., Joseph. *Ant. III. x. 6*, Mishna *Menach. IV. 2*. But *remissio* in this connexion means not 'atonement' but 'release.'

18. *cernuo*] 'downcast,' expressive of humility, a slight and natural extension of its usual sense, as

at 62. 31, 72. 10, 94. 17.

19. *inlapsa*] 3. 5, 89. 10. Notice that the time of *inlapsa* is in fact subsequent to that of *largire*. Verg. often uses the past participle passive in a present sense, cp. e.g. *Aen. I. 481 tunsae pectora palmis*, 'beating their breasts'; cp. 80. 2 note.

21. *dudum...replesti*] 'of old Thou didst fill.' *dudum* generally means 'a short time ago,' but in opposition to *nunc*, as here, it comes to signify 'formerly.' Donatus on Ter. *Andr. 591* says *dudum de exiguo tempore praeterito sed incerto*; but he adds *item dicitur de tempore praeterito paulo longiore*. Cp. Plaut. *Menaech. 740 f.*, *Amphitr. 479, 894 f.*, Ter. *Andr. 824*, *Eun. 683 f.*, *730 f.*, Verg. *Aen. II. 726 f.*, *XII. 632 f.* Kayser translates *dudum sacrata pectora* 'längst geheiligte Herzen der Apostel...die längst geheiligt waren durch die Nähe und den Umgang Christi.' To take *dudum* thus with *sacrata* might be in accord with John xv. 3, said before the coming of the Spirit. But it is simpler to join it with *replesti*. It is then contrasted with *nunc* in 23, and the action upon the holy apostles with the action upon us sinners.

repl. gratia] 110. 3.

HYMN 116

Mone I p. 239 positively asserts that 116 was written by Ambrose. But his statement has no foundation to go upon. The spondee in the second foot at lines 5, 9, 12, 19, 21, 28, 29 (if nothing else), the hiatus in 23, and the different style forbid us to allow the possibility.

The hymn was differently used in different localities, being generally divided into two or three sections. See Julian 576.

Abdegh Eacdgijsvημφ Fbhipsχ Gam Hbdei Ibcdefghmnopv Vacps

Iam Christus astra ascenderat,
regressus unde uenerat,
promisso Patris munere
sanctum daturus Spiritum.

sollemnis surgebat dies,
quo mystico septemplici

5

3 promissum Eaφ Fχ Hbd In. promissa...munera Esμ Fb Gam Hei Ich
Vc. 4 sanctis Es Ib. daturum Es Hd. 5 urgebat (urguebat)
Eadjlsvμφ Fd Ga Hbde Icdhop. 6 qui Ga Iov. mystice Iv.

1. Probably imitated from 32. 1.
2. Joh. xvi. 28, vi. 63.
3. Lk. xxiv. 49 *promisso...munere* is harder than the variants *promissum*, *promissa munera* (in apposition with *Spiritum*), and so the more likely to be the original.
4. **daturus**] 'in order to give,' a fairly common use of the fut. part. from Livy on. See Joh. xvi. 7.
5. **surgebat**] 'was beginning'; cp. Verg. *Aen.* III. 588 *dies primo surgebat Eoo*; 4. 1, 22. 1. The variant *urgebat* would mean 'was pressing on,' but 'the day of Pentecost was fully come,' Acts ii. 1.
- 6f. It is tempting to render 'on which the globe having revolved seven times in mystic seven.' But it is at least doubtful whether the writer contemplated a rotation of

the earth. *orbis* must therefore be taken as = *orbita*, *circulus*, so often used in these hymns. *septemplex*, as Cass. notes, is used as a subst.; but he is perhaps too concrete when he says that it means 'a week.' It is rather 'a seven,' like *ἑβδομάς* before it became 'a week.' *septenarium* is used in much the same way in the hymn *Veni sancte Spiritus*. We might therefore translate after this fashion: 'on which the circuit seven times rolling in its suggestive seven denotes the time of blessing.'

mystico] Cp. 115. 13. Here, as there, the sacred number 7 seven times repeated constitutes the mystery.

8. **beata tempora**] (cp. 4. 15) *id est, futuram quietem typo iubilaei,*

orbis uolutus septies
 signat beata tempora,
 cum hora cunctis tertia
 repente mundus intonat, 10
 apostolis orantibus
 Deum uenisse nuntians.
 de Patris ergo lumine
 decorus ignis almus est,
 qui fida Christi pectora 15
 calore uerbi compleat.

7 orbem He¹ Ih¹p, orbi Im, orbe Ejsvφ Fbp Ga Hbde Id. uoluto Ejsvφ Fbp Hbde Id, uolutos Ig. 9 dum Easμφ Hbi, tum Fh Ihmop. cunctus Eφ. 10 mundo Io Vap¹. 11 orantibus ap. Elvμφ Fhip Ga Hi Ibdghmopv. 12 nuntiat Ag Elμ Fi Gam Hei Idhmn¹ov, nuntiant Es Fh Ibgp. 13 te Eφ Hi. patre Hb. lumina Ga. 14 demissus Ga. albus Es. 15 quo Ecjsφ Fb Ga Hi. fide Fb, fidi Ad. christo Ea Imn Vc. 16 uerbi c. Hd. compleuit Edlv¹μ Fh Ig, compleant Ecv².

qui constabat septenario annorum septies decurso, adumbratam (Cass.). Clicht. notes that the law was given on the fiftieth day after leaving Egypt: see also patristic references in Hastings *Dict. of Bible* III s.v. *Pentecost* p. 742.

10. *intonat*] 86. 1, 111. 2. 'The world thunders round them all.' There is possibly a tacit allusion to Wisd. i. 7, which is often quoted in rather a forced manner by ecclesiastical writers.

11. Acts i. 14.

12. Possibly an allusion to Psalm xlix. 3 *Deus manifeste ueniet*.

13 f. The two adjectives are perhaps to be treated as the predicate after *est*. 'Beauteous and gracious then is the fire proceeding from the Father's light.' Or perhaps *ignis* also is a part of the predicate, 'It (viz. what is portended by the rushing noise) is a beauteous and gracious fire' etc. The three Persons of the Trinity are mentioned in the stanza:

W.

the Father in 13, the Spirit in 14, the Son in 15 and 16.

ergo merely marks the continuation of the story.

14. *decorus ignis*] i.e. the holy Spirit, cp. 115. 5, 118. 7, Aug. *Conf.* XIII. 25 *factus est subito de caelo sonus...et uisae sunt linguae diuisae quasi ignis...et facta sunt luminaria in firmamento caeli uerbum uitae habentia. ubique discurre, ignes sancti, ignes decori*.

almus] a divine attribute, as at 36. 37, 84. 1, 104. 22 etc. In Latin poets the word is often applied to gods, as to Venus (Lucr. 1. 2, Hor. *Od.* IV. xv. 31), and to Ceres (Verg. *Georg.* 1. 7).

est] Cp. 32. 17 note.

15. *fida Christi*] for the active sense of *fidus* thus used with a gen. cp. Verg. *Aen.* XII. 659 *tui fidissima*, and see Löfstedt *Stud.* p. 52 f.

16. *uerbi*] of the burning word which they are to preach (cp. 115. 6 f.).

impleta gaudent uiscera
 afflata sancto lumine,
 uoces diuersae consonant,
 fantur Dei magnalia.

20

ex omni gente cogitur
 Graecus, Latinus, Barbarus;
 cunctisque admirantibus
 linguis locuntur omnium.

Iudaea tunc incredula,
 uesano turba spiritu,

25

17 completa Es Ib. gaudens Eμ. 18 afflato Ecv Fb Igmp. flamine Ecj, spiritu Easvφ Fi He Ibdeghmnop Vc. sancti spiritus Ga Hi. 19 diuersas Eavμφ Gam Hei, diuersis Es. intonant Eadμ Gam Hei, intonat Ev Ib, consonae Hd²e, consono Hd¹. 20 fantes El. 21 coitur Ae² Ed²j Fbp Id, cogniti Ead¹svμφ Fdhi Ga Hi Ibghmv, cognitis Ip², cognitos Iop¹. 22 Graecis -is -is Eadsvμφ Fhi Ga Hi Ibghmp²v, Graecos -os -os Fb Iop¹. 24 omnibus Evμφ Fd Ga Hi Ighmp. 26 uesana Ag Eacv Fp Gm He Ibgmn Vc, uesani Hb. turbo Ag Es Hd¹, torua Id²v, toruo Eaμ Fp Gm Ibcghmn, tacta Eφ He², tunc Hi. spiritus Hb Icd.

17. **uiscera**] 'hearts' as often in Latin versions of N. T. as Lk. i. 78, Philem. 20 *refice uiscera mea*.

18. 'breathed upon (inspired) by the sacred light.' The variant *Spiritu* seems to be a gloss, though *lumine* may possibly have come in from line 13. Note that the one word *uiscera* is qualified by both *impleta* and *afflata*:—*impl. affl.* means 'filled by the inspiration of.'

19. **consonant**] The less expressive *intonant* may have come from line 10. *u. diu.* stands for the *uariis linguis* of Acts ii. 4.

20. **magnalia**] Acts ii. 11.

21 f. 'From every nation is gathered together Greek,' etc. The writer may be thinking of Prud. *Cath.* XII. 201 *gaudete quicquid gentium est | Iudaea, Roma, Graecia*; or of Ennod.'s Pentecostal hymn IV. 17 f. *Thrax, Gallus, Indus unus est: | quod blanda ludit Graecia | ...mundi ad salutem curritur*; or of Fort. *Vit. Mart.* III.

497 *Hebraeus, Graecus, Romanus, barbarus, Indus, | Israhelita canit.*

The variant *cogniti Graecis* etc. (wherein the ablatives or datives of 22 are in a peculiar kind of apposition with *ex o. gente* 'men of all nations') would come from Acts ii. 11 and the thought is expressed in line 23. *cogniti* would mean 'understood'; but this would be a strange use of the word.

cogitur] 14. 22. Daniel iv. 83 f. *Sane uox cogitur s. coitur sine dubitatione recipienda est in textum; ... fortasse legendum ex omni g. coitur, Graecis* etc. But *coitur* is not well attested and would not harmonize with the prosody of this hymn.

22. **Graecus** etc.] sing. for plu. For the sense cp. Rom. i. 14, Col. iii. 11.

24. = 115. 9.

25. **Iudaea**] Cp. 1. 52.

26. **uesano**] Cp. the similar use of *insanus* 15. 16, *amens* 24. 11.

ructare musti crapulam
alumnos Christi concrepat.

sed signis et uirtutibus
occurrit et docet Petrus 30
falsa profari perfidos,
Iohele teste comprobans.

27 crapula Eμ Fh Ga Hi. 28 concrepant Ga, concrepet Ed¹.
31 falsas Hb, falso Ev Fh Ine Vc, falsos Eadsvμφ Fdi Ga Hi Ighmp.
profare (proph.) Io, probari Ea Ig, probauit (prouabit) Edsμφ Fdi Ga Hi
Imp. 32 Iohelis testimonio Eadlvφ Fdhi Ga Hi Ibghmopv (-nium Es).

27. **musti]** Acts ii. 13, 115. 11.
crapulam] 25. 9, 103. 17.

28. **concrepat]** 5. 14.

29. 'But Peter meets them with signs and powers'; i.e. by reminding them of those which God had wrought through Jesus and which ought to have persuaded them of His divine mission, Acts ii. 22. Or there may be a reference to the

wonders and signs wrought later on by the apostles, ib. 43.

32. Acts ii. 16 f. A curiously abrupt ending, which is avoided in some MSS by the insertion of a stanza: *sic, Christe, nunc paraclitus | per te pius nos uisita, | nouansque terrae faciem | culpis solutos recreet.*

HYMN 117

Eacdgijsvημ Fhips Gam Hbdei Ighmnv Vs

Hymnum canamus gloriae,
hymni noui nunc personent,
Christus nouo cum tramite
ad Patris ascendit thronum.

transit triumpho gloriae 5
poli potenter culmina,

1 domino (*pro gl.*) Ed. 2 hymnum -um Fs Hb Vs. personet Ig Vs,
personant Fi. 3 nunc (*pro cum*) Eμ Fh Gm Igm. 5 triumphus
Vs. nobili Elv Hi Ih.

1. **h. gloriae]** like *palmas gloriae*
104. 47; and cp. v. 5.

2. **hymni noui]** 87. 24. The v. l.
hymnum nouum gives the usual acc.
after *personare*, as at 19. 12.

3. **nouo]** as 6. 30.

cum] The v. l. *nunc* would come

from a scribe whose eye caught *nunc*
in 2.

tramite] 47. 4.

5 f. Note the alliteration.

6. **poli...culmina]** Cp. 48. 18.
For the meaning of *transit c.* see
Eph. iv. 10.

qui morte mortem absumpserat
derisus a mortalibus.

apostoli tunc mystico
in monte stantes chrismatis
cum matre clara uirgine
Iesu uidebant gloriam. 10

hunc prosecuti lumine
laeto petentem sidera
laetis per auras cordibus
duxere regem saeculi. 15

quos alloquentes angeli:
'quid astra stantes cernitis?
saluator hic est' inquiunt,
'Iesus, triumpho nobili 20

a uobis ad caelestia
qui regna nunc adsumptus est,
uenturus inde saeculi
in fine iudex omnium.'

7 assumpserat Ev Fh Hbd¹ Igh, superat Hd². 9 tum Ga. mystice
Ev. 13 ac Edl Ga, hic Fp, hoc Eacj. 14 laetum Hi. 15 laeti
Hd. aures Ed Gm. cordium Es Hd^{2e} Ig. 20 Iesu Ev. nobilis Ec
Fp Hbe. 22 regnat Ga Hbd¹ Vs. hinc Vs.

8. **derisus**] 'although derided.'
9 f. i.e. on the Mount of Olives,
a name full of meaning (*mystico*);
the chrism (26. 4 note) was chiefly
made of olive oil. For *mystico* used
of that which has a hidden meaning,
cp. 40. 18, 98. 15, 115. 17, 116. 6,
124. 7.

11. This of course is not ex-
pressly stated in Scripture.

13. 'with joyful gaze following
Him in His ascent to heaven, with
joyful hearts they accompanied
through the air the King of the
world.' The repetition *laeto...laeti*
is emphatic. Sedul. Carm. v. 429
*illi autem laetis cernentes uultibus
altas | ire super nubes Dominum.*

lumine] 'eye,' rare in sing., but

cp. Juvenc. i. 659 *cernis adhae-
rentem festucam in lumine fratris*;
Paul. Nol. Carm. xviii. 291 *lu-
mine...cernis*. Fort. iv. x. 24 *a
nostro lumine raptus obit*.

15. Lk. xxiv. 52.

16. **duxere**] *deducere* is more
common in this sense than *ducere*.

regem saeculi] 1. 70.

17. Acts i. 10.

19. **est** goes with *uenturus* in 23.

20. **triumpho nobili**] referring to
the ascension (cp. 114. 11) not to
the future parousia. It goes gram-
matically with *assumptus est*.

21. English MSS for the most part
omit this stanza and the next but
one (*quo nos*), while the stanza
sicque is omitted in foreign ones.

sicque uenturum asserunt, 25
 quem ad modum hunc uiderant
 summa polorum culmina
 scandere Iesum splendida.
 quo nos precamur tempore,
 Iesu redemptor unice, 30
 inter tuos in aethera
 seruos benignus adgrega.
 da nobis illuc sedula
 deuotione tendere,
 quo te sedere cum Patre 35
 in arce regni credimus.

28 splendide Ev. 32 benigne suscipe Hb. 33 illud Es. sedulo
 Ec. 35 qua Ga.

31. in aethera] 1 Thess. iv. 16. *mus.*
 33. Cp. the Ascension Collect. 35. quo] 'where,' as in l. 18.
 Ambr. in Luc. x. 159 ergo et ascen- 36. arce regni] 23. 26, 33. 11,
 disti nobis, ut te sequeremur menti- 120. 7.
 bus, quem oculis uidere non possu-

HYMN 118

[Walpole left prefixed to this hymn the note, 'Introduction elsewhere.' We have not been able to find such an introduction among his papers. Probably he put off writing it, and never accomplished his purpose. In default of work of his, the student is referred to the excellent account in Julian's *Dictionary*, by Dr Gibson, now Bishop of Gloucester.

There is no evidence whatever to connect the authorship with any known name. The ascription to the Emperor Charlemagne by Ekkehard (c. 1220) is shewn by Dr Gibson to be based on a blunder. The utmost which can be inferred from Ekkehard's story, if there is any truth in it at all, is that the hymn was new or not well-known towards the end of the IXth century: otherwise the Emperor of the time (Charles the Fat) would hardly

have sent it as a present to a distinguished ecclesiastic like Notker. No MS of earlier date than the Xth century contains it. The earliest of those whose readings are recorded in this volume, to which anything like a year can be assigned, is the one here denoted Ej. It came from Durham; and Dr Mearns (*Early Latin Hymnaries* p. xi) dates it from about 980. Our El Gm μ and Ha are reckoned to be of the same century. By about the beginning of the XIth century, it is found in MSS representing England, France, Germany with Switzerland, Italy, and Spain.

Its earliest liturgical use seems to have been at Vespers in Whitsuntide (as in Ej); but the Sarum use assigned it to Terce on Whitsunday and the three following days, when it was to be sung with special solemnity. No doubt that hour was chosen with reference to Acts ii. 15. Dr Gibson traces its use at Ordinations to the XIth century.

No other Latin hymn, except those of the daily offices, has been so frequently and widely used as this. It is the only one which has found its way, in alternative translations, into the English Prayer Book.

The most elaborate special work upon the hymn is that which Dr Gibson mentions—S. G. Pimont *Hymnes du Bréviaire Romain* vol. II, part II, pp. 125–143.]

Eacdgilsvx $\eta\mu\phi$ Fhilpsy Gm μ Habcdci Ibcdefghmn Vcs

Veni creator Spiritus,
mentes tuorum uisita,
imple superna gratia,
quae tu creasti pectora :

1. Ambr. *de Spir.* II. 41 *dubitare ergo non possum Spiritum creatorem, quem dominicae cognoscimus incarnationis auctorem*; Nicet. *de Sp. S.* (p. 26) *sed dices: de Verbo quidem manifestatum est quod creauerit; sed quid de Spiritu? accipe aliud testimonium iustissimi illius et sanc-*

qui Paraclitus diceris, 5
 donum Dei altissimi,
 fons uiuus, ignis, caritas,
 et spiritalis unctio.
 tu septiformis munere,
 dextrae Dei tu digitus, 10

6 altissimus Ec.

9 gratia Ine Vc, gratiae Fy Gm².

tissimi Iob. Spiritus inquit diuinus qui fecit me (Job xxxiii. 4) et Dauid psallens dicit ad Deum: emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur et renouabis faciem terrae (Ps. ciii. (civ.) 30). si creatio et renouatio per Spiritum erit, sine dubio et principium creationis sine Spiritu non fuit. sed solent ei qui ueritati resistunt argute Spiritus uocabulum et personam ad Filium conuertere, sicubi creator Spiritus inuenitur etc. Cp. id. p. 74. 9. See also Ps. xxxii. (xxxiii.) 6, 4 Esdr. xvi. 63. Note the climax ueni, uisita, imple.

5. Notable as the only place in these hymns where we find the quantitative *Paraclitus* and not the accentual *Paráclitus*.

6. **donum**] Joh. iv. 10, Acts viii. 20. Aug. *de Trin.* xv *per donum, quod est Spiritus sanctus, multa propria dona diuiduntur membris Christi; Enchir.* 12 *Spiritus sanctus ipse proprie sic est Deus, ut dicatur etiam Dei donum.*

7. **fons uiuus**] Joh. vii. 38 f. Cp. iv. 14. Ambr. *de Spir.* i. 174 *sed siue patrem quis hoc loco, siue filium intellegat fontem; fontem utique intellegimus non aquae istius, quae creatura est: sed diuinae illius gratiae, hoc est Spiritus sancti; ipse enim est aqua uiua.*

ignis] Lk. xii. 49, Acts ii. 3, Ambr. *de Spir.* i. 164 *et Esaias significat non solum lucem, sed etiam ignem esse Spiritum sanctum; Sedul. Op.* v. 35 *ignis Spiritus sancti gerit imaginem, quo deuoti consecramur ad fidem. in eadem namque specie demonstratus effulsit, cum beatos apostolos, sicut liber eorum Actuum*

protestatur, clara sui diuinitate perfudit.

caritas] Rom. v. 5 and other places. Cp. Ambr. *de Spir.* i. 94 *effunditur etiam caritas Dei per Spiritum...ut intellegamus non esse opus sanctum Spiritum, qui diuinae arbiter et fons profluus caritatis est; ib. i. 130 sicut enim una est caritas patris et filii, ita hanc caritatem Dei supra effundi per Spiritum sanctum et fructum esse sancti Spiritus declarauimus.*

8. 1 Joh. ii. 20, 27; cp. a *troparium* given by Mone i. p. 81 *Spiritui quoque cordis unctori iubilemus.*

9. 'Thou art sevenfold in Thy gifts.' Is. xi. 2. Cp. Rev. i. 4; Greg. *Moral.* xxxv. 15 *quos Spiritus gratiae septiformis repleuit, perficit, eisque non solum Trinitatis notitiam sed etiam uirtutum quattuor, id est prudentiae, temperantiae, fortitudinis atque iustitiae, operationem praebet; id. Hom. in Ezech. ii. vi. 7. The prayer for the gift of the septiformis Spiritus in confirmation is very ancient in the West, and very widespread; see Thompson *Offices of Baptism* p. 216, Mason *Relation of Confirmation to Baptism* 248.*

10. **Dei...digitus**] a phrase found Exod. viii. 19, xxxi. 18, Deut. ix. 10, cp. Ps. viii. 3. From these passages (cp. Ambr. *in Ps.* cxviii. xv. 9 *digitum...pro Spiritu, ut lex digito Dei scripta est*), and from a comparison of Mt. xii. 28 with Lk. xi. 20 'the finger of God' was identified with the Holy Spirit. Ambr. *de Spir.* iii. 11, 13.

tu rite promisso Patris
sermone ditas guttura.

accende lumen sensibus,
infunde amorem cordibus,
infirma nostri corporis
uirtute firmans perpeti. 15

hostem repellas longius,
pacemque dones protinus,
ductore sic te praeuio
uitemus omne noxium. 20

per te sciamus da Patrem,
noscamus atque Filium,
te utriusque Spiritum
credamus omni tempore.

11 promissum Eμ Fhpy Ib¹en Vc. 12 ditas Eσμ Fhpy Hd¹ Ieghmn
Vcs. 16 firma Gm. perpetim Ecs Fy Hbde. 17 repelle Gm Id,
repellat Ev Vs¹. 18 dona Id, redde Gm, donet Ev. 23 utrorum-
que Gm.

11. Mk. xiii. 11 *promisso* is a
subst. as in Lk. xxiv. 49, 'by pro-
mise of the Father.' The abl. as at
116. 3.

12. Acts ii. 4.

13. **lumen**] e.g. 2 Cor. iii. 16 f.
sensibus, 'thoughts.'

14. Greg. *Hom. in Ezech.* 1. v. 8
*Spiritus sanctus in electorum cordibus
ex se ipso flammam amoris proicit.*

15, 16] taken from 6. 27, 28. For
the application to the Spirit cp.
Eph. iii. 16.

18. **protinus** is used in the less
common sense of 'continually.'

19. Probably the reference is to
the guiding cloud in the wilder-
ness.

21 f. Cp. Joh. xvi. 14, 15. The
last stanza is a quasi-doxology, so
that the last stanza given by Trench

is not needed, *sit laus Patri cum
Filio*, which early MSS as a rule
know not. Durh. B. III. 32 gives it
thus, *sit laus Patri cum Genito, | am-
borum et Paraclito, | proles ut hunc
promiserat | nobis modoque tribuat.*
Other doxologies are *Praesta Pater*
or *Hic Christe nunc Paraclitus | per
te pius nos uisitet* or *Dudum sacrata*
(=115. 21 f.) or *Deo Patri sit gloria*
or (most common) *Gloria Patri do-
mino | natoque qui a mortuis | sur-
rexit ac Paraclito | in saeculorum
saecula.* And the stanza which
Trench gives *Da gaudiorum prae-
mia* is interpolated from 78. 13 f.

23. Opens out the tremendous
question which has estranged the
West from the East. But cp. (e.g.)
Mt. x. 20 *Spiritus Patris uestri*
with Acts xvi. 7 *Spiritus Iesu.*

DEDICATION OF CHURCH. HYMN 119

This grand old hymn, full of poetical feeling though rugged enough as to its prosody, was written in VI-VIIIth cent. if we may judge by its metre and the character of its rhymes. The main idea is taken from Rev. xxi. 2, some of its imagery from Is. xxviii. 16 and 1 Pet. ii. 5 f.

Neale *Med. Hymns* p. 20 f. says: 'Daniel imagines [stanzas VII, VIII] to be a later addition, when the hymn, originally general, was adapted to the dedication of a church. Trench, on the contrary, will have the whole poem to be of one date: and alleges, very truly, that this mixture of the earthly and heavenly temple is usual in hymns and sequences on a similar subject. Nevertheless I think Daniel is right: (1) because there is a clear difference in the style and language of the two last and seven preceding stanzas, (2) because the transition from one part to the other is so unusually abrupt, (3) because at the end of the sixth stanza there is a quasi-doxology as if to point out that the hymn originally concluded there.'

The oldest MS containing the hymn, Paris Arsenal 227, omits stanzas VII and VIII, and thus Daniel's idea becomes quite likely. At Poitiers in IXth cent. the hymn was sung at the Baptism on Easter Eve and instead of the two stanzas this was added after line 18: *Fonte prolem salutari chrismatis et unguine | candidatum et ornatum uirgo mater afferens | quam superna proles Patris caelo Christus accipit.*

The hymn was rewritten in smooth but comparatively weak iambic dimeters for the modern Roman breviary, beginning thus: *Caelestis urbs Ierusalem, | beata pacis uisio, | quae celsa de uiuentibus | saxis ad astra tolleris.*

Contrast the strength of line 13 f. with *Alto ex Olympi uertice | summi parentis filius | ceu monte desectus lapis | terras in imas decidens*. Another version in smooth trochaics, wherein less of the original power was lost, was made by the Abbé Besnault for the Sens breviary of 1726 *Urbs beata, uera pacis | uisio, Ierusalem; | quanta surgit! celsa saxis | conditur uiuentibus: | quae poliuit, haec coaptat | sedibus suis Deus*.

This hymn is the ultimate source of inspiration to all the many hymns concerning the New Jerusalem.

Eansvημφ Fhlnrσρ Gm Hdfhi Ibcdefghmnopv Mk Vcls

Urbs beata Ierusalem dicta pacis uisio,
 quae construitur in caelis uiuis ex lapidibus,
 et angelis coornata ut sponsata comite,
 noua ueniens e caelo, nuptiali thalamo
 praeparata, ut sponsata copuletur Domino,
 plateae et muri eius ex auro purissimo. 5

2 quem Ig. caelo Es. 3 angelico ornata Es Ih (ornatu Mk).
 coronata Hi. hac sponsata comiti Id, uelut sponsa nobilis Hfi, ut sponsa
 de thalamo Es. 4 a Gm Iv, de Ih. 5 ac (*pro* ut) In². copulata
 Ean Fn Ih, copulatur Ev Id Vs. 6 portae atque m. Es Mk, plateae
 murique Eμ.

1. 'Blessed city called Jerusalem, (that is to say) the vision of peace.' Cp. 120. 40. For this favourite derivation cp. e.g. Aug. in *Ps.* I. 22 *interpretatur enim Sion speculatio, et Ierusalem uisio pacis*. Modern discovery has been thought to confirm it. See Hastings *Dict. Bible* s.v.

2. **uiuis ex lapidibus**] 1 Pet. ii. 4 f. *ad quem accedentes lapidem uiuum...et ipsi tamquam lapides uiui supraedificamini*. Prud. Nol. xvii. 237 f. *bone serue Christi, | qui tibi donat lapides in astra | uertere et uiuis sacra templa saxis | aedificare*. Bede *Hist.* iv. 3 *superuenit namque clades diuinitus missa, quae per mortem carnis uiuos ecclesiae lapides de terrenis sedibus ad aedificium cae-*

leste transferret.

3. 'adorned by angels as a bride (is adorned) by her attendants,' Rev. xxi. 2 *paratam sicut sponsam ornatum uiro suo. comes*, from classical times downwards, is a constant word for the attendants of great personages; cp. e.g. Hor. *Od.* iv. ix. 14 f. *aurum uestibus illitum mirata regalesque cultus et comites Helene Lacaena*. Here the singular is used for the plural, as we have often had in these hymns.

The verb *sponsare* occurs in the Vulgate, as well as in the jurists, but it is not so common as the compound *desponsare*.

Cassander's *coronata* is perhaps a misprint.

portae nitent margaritis adytis patentibus,
et uirtute meritorum illuc introducitur
omnis qui pro Christi nomen hic in mundo premitur.

tensionibus, pressuris expoliti lapides, 10
suis coaptantur locis per manum artificis,
disponuntur permansuri sacris aedificiis.

angularis fundamentum lapis Christus missus est,
qui conpage parietis in utroque nectitur,
quem Syon sancta suscepit, in quo credens permanet. 15

7 nitet Vs. abditis Fn Im. 8 illic Id. 9 ob Gm. nomine
Eanvη Fhn Hd Ih Vcl. christo deo Eφ Hfi. hoc immutando geritur Vs.
10 tansionibus Es Fh Id Mk (-oribus Ev), tensionibus Vs. pressure (sc.
-rae) Es Mk. 11 suisque apt. Eanvφ Hdf Ic¹n. manus Eavμ Fh Hi
Ibdv Vs. 12 permansuris Eμ Fhn Hd Id²m Vs. sacri Ih.
13 angulare En Fn Ih. fundamenti Esφ Hfi Mk. 14 parietum Gm
Hfi, pariete Eη.

6. Rev. xxi. 21.

7. ib. 21, 25.

8. **meritorum**] No doubt the poet meant 'their merits,' 'in accordance with their deserts.'

9. 1 Pet. iv. 14, Damas. LVIII. 2 *Christi...pro nomine passi*. In view of the hiatus in lines 3, 5, 6, 16, 17, 22, 24 and of the absence of any elisions in the hymn the reading *nomen*, which is found in Es Icn Mk Vc, is more likely than *nomine*, the last syllable of which would be elided. The variants *ob Christi nomen* and *pro Christo Deo* would avoid the elision but would not account for *pro C. nomine*. For *pro* with the acc. cp. Rönsch pp. 412, 523, Schmalz p. 410, Löfstedt *Aeth.* p. 289. *hic* is of course the adverb, explained by the following words: 'here in the world.' We have had this adverbial use at 62. 11 *et hic piatos sordibus*.

10. **pressuris**] in reference to *premitur* above, cp. Joh. xvi. 13 *in mundo pressuram habebitis*. See

Rönsch p. 320 f. Clicht. says *nempe in exstruenda domo exciduntur lapides et sculpuntur tundunturque mal-leis, antequam aptentur aedificio*. Greg. in *Ezech.* II. ii. 5 *Ierusalem caelestis ut ciuitas aedificatur, quae tamen in hac peregrinationis terra, dum flagellis percutitur, tribulationibus tunditur, eius lapides cotidie quadrantur. et ipsa est ciuitas, scilicet sancta ecclesia, quae regnatura in caelo adhuc laborat in terra*. Cp. Acts xiv. 21.

11. **artificis**] 39. 14.

12. **permansuri**] Rev. iii. 12.

13. Is. xxviii. 16 *ego mittam in fundamentis Sion lapidem, lapidem probatum angularem pretiosum, in fundamento fundatum*; 1. 5 note.

14. Eph. ii. 19 foll. As *conpages* is always fem., *in utroque* must be taken either with *pariete* understood, or absolutely, like the *utraque* of Eph. ii. 14, which is perhaps better. 'Which in the framework of the wall is bonded into both.'

15. Is. vii. 9 *si non credideritis non permanebitis*.

omnis illa Deo sacra et dilecta ciuitas
plena modulis in laude et canore iubilo
trinum Deum unicumque cum fauore praedicat.

hoc in templo, summe Deus, exoratus adueni
et clementi bonitate precum uota suscipe, 20
largam benedictionem hic infunde iugiter.

hic promereantur omnes petita acquirere
et adepta possidere cum sanctis perenniter,
paradisum introire translati in requiem.

gloria et honor Deo usque quo altissimo 25
una Patri Filioque inclito Paraclito,
cui laus est et potestas per aeterna saecula.

16 sacra deo Ib. grata Gm, sacrata Ih. om. et Ev. 17 canoro Ea
Gm Ic Vc. 18 unum quoque Eav. feruore Gm. praedicant Eη Im
Vcl, praedicans Hd. 19 templum Ea. deus s. Es Mk. 21 infundens
Ean. 22 hinc Gm, sic Hd. promereamur Ih. accipere Es Gm Idhm
Mk. 24 paradiso Im. nos transl. Ih. 25 (*pro* usque quo altissimo)
atque coaltissimo Ihm Vs. laus et benedictio Eμ, uirtus et imperium Es Fh.
26, 27 genitoque nazareno simul et paraclito qui supernum tenet regnum
permanet in saecula Eμ. 26 inclitoque filio p. Es. 27 honor (*pro*
laus est) Vs. immensa Vs.

16. **ciuitas**] Rev. xi. 2, xx. 8.

17. **modulis**] The dictionaries give references to Pliny and others for the sense of 'modes' or 'melodies.' *iubilo* must be understood here to be an adj. agreeing with *canore*.

18. **fauore**] Cp. 36. 18 *fauent*. Corippus has *gaudia quanta illic, quantus fauor*.

19. **in templo**] = *in templum*, cp. 33. 18 note.

exoratus here has its proper

sense, 'won by our prayers,' unlike 65. 11.

22. **promereantur**] 82. 21.

23. **adepta**] passive as at Fort. I. xv. 34, v. iv. 5.

cum sanctis] *Te Deum* 21.

24. **paradisum**] 29. 50.

25. **usque quo**] like *usque quaque*, in the sense of 'for ever.' Grammatically *Deo* is to be connected with *Paraclito*.

27. **cui**] dissyllable.

DE IUDICIO. HYMN 120

This alphabetical hymn is quoted by Bede and is therefore certainly as old as the VIIth cent., perhaps much older. Neale writes, 'It manifestly contains the germ of the *Dies Irae*, to which, however inferior in

lyrical fervour and effect, it scarcely yields in devotion and simple realisation of its subject.'

It has sometimes been ascribed to Hilary, who is known to have used the alphabetical contrivance; but there is no particular evidence to guide our judgement to him.

Bb

Apparebit repentina dies magna Domini,
fur obscura uelut nocte inprouisos occupans.

Breuis totus tum parebit prisci luxus saeculi,
totum simul cum clarebit praeterisse saeculum.

Clangor tubae per quaternas terrae plagas concinens 5
uiuos una mortuosque Christo ciet obuiam.

De caelesti iudex arce, maiestate fulgidus,
claris angelorum choris comitatus aderit.

Erubescet orbis lunae, sol et obscurabitur,
stellae cadent pallescentes, mundi tremet ambitus. 10

2 obscuro Bb.

7 caeleste Bb.

1. **repentina]** Lk. xxi. 34, 113.
25.

dies magna Domini] Mal. iv. 5,
itself a quotation from Joel ii. 31.

2. **fur...nocte]** 1 Thess. v. 2.
uelut should begin its clause, as
should *uel* in 22. The order of
words in the hymn is often in-
verted, cp. *quo* in 35, *in qua* in 40,
ubi in 42, and the prep. *ad* in 15.

inprouisos] not expecting it, Lk.
xvii. 26 f. The word is elsewhere
passive, as at 2 Macc. viii. 6.
Ebert 1. 555 quotes the verse with
the reading *improuisa*, which would
of course be passive. I do not know
his authority.

3. **parebit]** 'will appear,' 'will
be seen to be.' *pareo* often = *appareo*
in Vulgate, as Mt. xxiv. 30 *tunc*
parebit signum Filii hominis in
caelo; see Löfstedt *Aeth.* 58. Rönsch
374 gives many instances.

4. **clarebit]** 'it will be clear
(manifest),' Lucr. vi. 938; Juven.
ii. 773 *multi ueteres... | quae uobis*
clarent, orarunt cernere dona; Ambr.
Apol. David. 17 *quo indicio claruit*
auri cupiditatem materiam esse per-
fidiae; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* XIX. 598
uel qua latuit scelus atque reclusum
claruit.

5. Mt. xxiv. 31.

quaternas...plagas] Cp. Verg.
Aen. VII. 226 *plagarum quattuor.*

6. 1 Thess. iv. 16 f.

ciet] 'shall summon,' 20. 9 note.

7. **arce]** 23. 26.

8. Mt. xvi. 27, xxv. 31.

choris] abl. Cp. 119. 3.

comitatus] passive.

9. Is. xxiv. 23, Joel ii. 31, Acts
ii. 20.

sol...stellae] Mt. xxiv. 29.

10. **pallescentes]** 22. 2 note.

mundi...ambitus] 80. 3.

Flamma ignis anteibit iusti uultum iudicis,
caelos, terras et profundi fluctus maris deuorans.

Gloriosus in sublimi rex sedebit solio,
angelorum tremebunda circumstabunt agmina.

Huius omnes ad electi colligentur dexteram, 15
prauī pauent a sinistris, hoedi uelut fetidi.

'Ite' dicet rex a dextris 'regnum caeli sumite,
Pater uobis quod parauit ante omne saeculum ;

Karitate qui fraterna me iuuistis pauperem,
karitatis nunc mercedem reportate diuites.' 20

16 ceu (*pro* uelut) Bb.

11. **flamma ignis**] Joel ii. 3, Is. lxvi. 15, Rev. xx. 9.

iusti...iudicis] Ps. vii. 12.

12. **caelos, terras, ...maris**] 23. 6 note.

13. Mt. xxv. 31.

15. Mt. xxv. 33.

ad...dexteram] The order of the words is abnormal and so strange that I venture to suggest as the original reading *adelecti...dextera*. Verbs compounded with two prepositions were rare in classical writers, common in later times, and we find *adinuentio, adinuentor, adimpletio* etc. and even *per-dis-coperire*. See Löfstedt *Aeth.* p. 92 f., Rönsch pp. 180 f., 202. But parallels in Latin literature are quoted by Schmalz p. 416 who compares Tibull. i. vi. 30 *contra quis ferat arma deos*. One might compare the familiar *per ego te deos oro* of Terence; Liv. xxiii. ix. 2 *per ego te, inquit, fili, quaecumque iura* etc.; Verg. *Écl.* vi. 19 *iniciunt ipsis ex uincola sertis*, where Forbiger cites, among other passages, Ov. *ex Pont.* i. ii. 150 *iure uenit cultos ad sibi quisque deos*.

16. **pauent**] among the futures is perhaps intended to be future, as if from *pauēre*.

hoedi] lit. kids = *capri*. *hoedi* is the biblical word.

17. **a dextris**] τοῖς ἐκ δεξιῶν 'to

those on his right hand.' This use of a prep. with its object to take the place of an adj. or subst. is rare in Latin. But not unlike is Liv. xxiii. 21 *priores ex Sicilia...recitatae sunt*, 'the despatch from Sicily was read first'; where the subject is *ex Sicilia* = 'that from Sicily' (*αὐτὴ ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας*), *litterae* being understood from the preceding section. Cp. 16 and 25 *a sinistris*, and perhaps 1. 3 *tu Dei de corde*. In Acts vi. 9 the O. L. (in Sabatier) has *de conuentione...Alexandrinorum et a Cilicia et Asia* = καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας. In something like the same way Rev. iii. 9 (Vulgate and O. L.) *dabo de synagoga Satanae*. The rarity of the phrase lies in the want of *qui* or some such word to help it out. Thus in Heb. xiii. 24 the Vulgate adds *fratres* to help out *de Italia* = οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας. Cicero helps out *ex Platone et Aristotele* by prefixing *illi*. The v. l. *ad dextros* is a not too successful attempt to mend the unusual phrase.

18. Mt. xxv. 34.

20. **diuites**, going closely with *reportate*, gets an adverbial force: 'receive richly.' The word is chosen, and thus placed, to contrast with *pauperem* in 19. *reportare* is often used by Cicero of gaining a prize or reward.

Laeti dicent: 'quando, Christe, pauperem te uidimus?
te, rex magne, uel egentem miserati fuimus?'

Magnus illis dicet iudex 'cum iuuistis pauperes,
panem domum uestem dantes, me iuuistis humilem.'

Nec tardabit a sinistris loqui iustus arbiter: 25
'in gehennae maledicti flammis hinc discedite;

Obsecrantem me audire despexistis mendicum,
nudo uestem non dedistis, neglexistis languidum.'

Peccatores dicent: 'Christe, quando te uel pauperem,
te, rex magne, uel infirmum contemnentes spreuimus?' 30

Quibus contra iudex altus: 'mendicanti quamdiu
opem ferre neglexistis, me spreuistis inprobi.'

Retro ruent tunc iniusti ignes in perpetuos,
uermis quorum non moritur, ignis nec restinguitur,

Satan atro cum ministris quo tenetur carcere, 35
fletus ubi mugitusque, strident omnes dentibus.

32 improbum Bb.

36 fletu sibi Bb.

22. **fuimus**] for *sumus* of classical Latin.

24. 'in the days of My humiliation.'

25. **a sinistris**] *eis qui a sinistris sunt*, cp. 17 note.

26. **gehennae**] one of the few Hebrew words retained in the Vulgate (Mt. v. 22 etc.).

27. **despexistis**] 'you scorned,' is followed by the inf. *audire* after the analogy of *recuso* and like verbs; and so *ferre neglexistis* in 32, cp. Schmalz p. 424. It looks as if the poet sounded the *i* in *mendicus* short.

28. With *nudo* supply in thought *mihi*, with *languidum* supply *me*. For *languidum* 'sick' cp. 84. 7.

31. **quamdiu**] 'inasmuch as.' For the causal sense here and Mt. xxv. 40, 45 expressed by a conj. properly expressing time, cp. the use of *quando* 35. 10, and of *dum* (e.g.) 110. 11.

32. **inprobi**] 103. 16. It goes

closely with *spreuistis*, cp. note on 20 *diuities*.

33. **retro**] 'away'; the sense of 'back' is lost, as at times in the case of verbs compounded with *re*.

34. Mk. ix. 43, cp. Is. lxvi. 24. The usual reading *moriatur* (which would be scanned as a trisyllable) does not match with *restinguitur*.

35. 'where Satan is confined in his dark prison.' The *atro* forbids us to take *quo* with *carcere*. For the order of the words see note on *uelut* in 2. *Satan* is the form found in the Vulgate of the O.T., but *Satanas* in N.T.

carcere] Rev. xx. 9.

36. **mugitus**] usually of the 'lowing' or 'bellowing' of cattle, but cp. Mal. ii. 13 *operiebatis... altare Domini fletu et mugitu*; *Aetheriae Peregr.* 57 *tantus rugitus et mugitus fit omnium hominum*.

strident...dentibus] Mt. viii. 12 *stridor dentium*.

Tunc fideles ad caelestem sustollentur patriam,
choros inter angelorum regni petent gaudia.

Urbis summae Ierusalem introibunt gloriam,
uera lucis atque pacis in qua fulget uisio, 40

Xristum regem iam paterna claritate splendidum
ubi celsa beatorum contemplantur agmina.

Ydri fraudes ergo caue, infirmantes subleua,
aurum temne, fuge luxus, si uis astra petere.

Zona clara castitatis lumbos nunc praecingere, 45
in occursum magni regis fer ardentis lampades.

39 introibit Bb. 44 tene Bb¹. 46 lapides Bb.

37. **sustollentur]** 44. 6. *patriam*
92. 2 note.

38. **petent]** 'shall go into.'

39. **Ierusalem** is scanned as at
119. 1.

40. Cp. Sedul. *Hymn.* 1. 107 f.
*uisio, Christe, tui tormentum et
poena malorum est, | gloria cuncta
bonis uisio, Christe, tui.* There is a
reference to the meaning of the
name Jerusalem as at 119. 1.

41. Cp. 3. 1, 62 b. 1. Cp. note
on line 2 for the position of *ubi*.
The writer has to begin with *Xpm*
on account of the alphabetical se-
quence. It may be noted that in
MSS *Christus* is always written XPC
or *Xps* (not *Xristus*), *Christum* al-

ways *Xpm*.

43. **ydri]** lit. 'a water snake.'
J. E. B. Mayor in the *Journal of
Philology* VII p. 314, speaking of
this use of *hydros* = *διάβολος*, refers
to Prud. *Hamart.* 614, Bede *Hymn.
et Epigr.* IV. 20 vs. 21, *de Mirac.
Cuthb.* c. 13. See the note on 31.
85.

infirmantes] 'the sick.' *infirmari*
in Vulgate often translates *ἀσθενεῖν*,
e.g. 2 Cor. xi. 29; cp. Röscher
p. 370 f.

44. **astra petere]** 'to go to hea-
ven' as at line 38.

45. **lumbos...praecingere]** 13.
17, 1 Pet. i. 13.

46. Mt. xxv. 6 f., 41. 31 f.

HYMNI DE SANCTIS COMMUNES. HYMNS 121-123

The three hymns which follow appear to be all from
the same hand. The same words recur again and again.

HYMN 121

Eacdghjlvxημφ Fbdhs Gabms Habcdefghβ Ibfhnopt Makx Vbcdls

Rex gloriose martyrum,
corona confitentium,

2 coronas Hb Vs. confid. He.

2. **corona]** 19. 1 note, 122. 2. *confitentium* as distinguished from

qui respuentes terrea
 perducis ad caelestia,
 aurem benignam protinus 5
 adpone nostris uocibus;
 tropaea sacra pangimus,
 ignosce quod deliquimus.
 tu uincis in martyribus,
 parcendo confessoribus, 10
 tu uince nostra crimina
 donando indulgentiam.

3 dispuentes Gab Ha¹β¹. terrena Ecdhvφ Fdh Gb¹s Hacedβ¹ Ihot Vbls.
 4 perducit Hh Vs. 5 benignus Ga, benigne Hcgh Ihn¹, benigna Hb.
 8 delinquimus Eμ Fb Gs Hce Ih Vdls. 9 uinces Vs. 11 uinces Hd¹.
 12 indulgentia Hb Mk.

martyrum, those who confess Christ before men (Mt. x. 32), but die a natural death.

3. *terrea*] The dictionaries quote Varro for this word, but cannot find it elsewhere. See 29. 25, 125. 7.

5. *protinus*] as at 118. 18.

7. 'We sing sacred triumphs.' *tropaea* 6. 26 note. *pangimus* as at 33. 1.

8. *quod deliquimus*] Cp. note on 7. 26 *delictum*.

9f. The statements in 9, 10 are balanced by the prayers in 11, 12. [I surmise that *confitentes*, *confessores*, here are not used in the strict and technical sense,—at least not of the 'confessors' as a class of departed saints, but of those who are now confessing Christ on earth, whether under persecution at the moment or not. It describes those who are singing the hymn.

Thus in 2, it would mean that the King of the martyrs is *our* crown, while we confess Him and follow

Him (and them) in preferring heavenly things to earthly. In 10, a good deal depends upon the question whether the gerund is used with classical accuracy or not. If it is, then Christ's victory obtained in the person of the martyrs is displayed in mercy to weaker, but not unfaithful, Christians. This would be quite in accordance with early Christian teaching: see Benson *Cyprian* p. 89 foll. It would well suit the language of the hymn. If, however, this is considered too archaic, the gerunds must be taken like present participles, 'Thou conquerest in the martyrs, while sparing those who confess Thee.']

in martyribus] 'in the person of the martyrs,' cp. 14. 13 *in illo martyre*.

10. *parcendo*] abl., see p. 408.

confessoribus] = *confitentium* in

2. For the thought cp. 114. 14.

12. *donando*] abl., see p. 408.

HYMN 122

Abdg Eacdghj $\eta\mu\phi$ Fdhmnp ς Gabm μ Habcdefg β Ibcfghnopt
Makx Vbedls

Deus, tuorum militum
sors et corona, praemium,
laudes canentes martyris
absolue nexu criminis.

hic nempe mundi gaudia
et blandimenta noxia
caduca rite deputans
peruenit ad caelestia.

poenas cucurrit fortiter
et sustulit uiriliter ;

pro te effundens sanguinem
aeterna dona possidet.

ob hoc precatu supplici
te poscimus, piissime,
in hoc triumpho martyris
dimitte noxam seruulis.

5

10

15

3 martyres G μ . 4 nexum Fm Gab Ih² Mk. 5 hinc Mk.
11 refundens Ab¹ Ed Fmp Io Mk¹ Vb, effudit Ga. pro te ustus craticula
G μ . 13 supplices Mk Vdl. hic nos precantes supplices Ab.
15 in hoc festo Laurentii G μ .

2. **sors**] 'the portion,' Ps. xv. 5
(*pars*), lxxii. (lxxiii. 26) 25 (*pars*),
cxli. (cxlii.) 6 (*portio*).

corona] Cp. 121. 2.

praemium] perhaps a reminiscence of Gen. xv. 1. [The arrangement of the words is strange,—the connecting *et* between the first pair with no conjunction before *praemium*. Are *corona*—*pr.* a single idea, like a compound word?]

6. **blandimenta** could in classical writers bear a good sense, but in Christian writers it always has a bad one; cp. Prov. xxviii. 23, and the use of *blandus* at 46. 14, 57. 12.

7. **caduca**] 'fleeting,' 'perishable.' Cic. *Lael.* 102 had already said *res humanae fragiles caducaeque*

sunt.

deputans] 115. 11.

9. **cucurrit**] 'he passed through.' Verg. *Aen.* III. 191 has *currimus aequor*. Stat. *Theb.* III. 116 comes nearer to the present example when he says *miserabile currunt certamen*. The metaphor is, no doubt, that of the toilsome race. Cp. 125. 16, and *Acta Archelai* 39 *circum* (acc. of *circus*) *cucurri*.

13. **precatu**] a late form.

15. **triumpho**] We have had the word applied to the death of Christ, 4. 17, 31. 87, 33. 2; and to that of His servants, 11. 26, 13. 3, 14. 14. Here it seems to mean 'the *day* of triumph.'

16. **noxam**] 23. 12.

seruulis] 15. 31.

HYMN 123

Eacdghjlvηφ Fbhilnps Gm Hbcdefhβ Ighnot Mk Vbs

Iesu redemptor omnium,
 perpes corona praesulum,
 in hac die clementius
 nostris faueto uocibus ;
 tui sacri qua nominis 5
 confessor almus claruit,
 cuius celebrat annua
 deuota plebs sollemnia.
 qui rite mundi gaudia
 huius caduca respuens, 10
 cum angelis caelestibus
 laetus potitur praemiis.
 huius benignus adnue
 nobis sequi uestigia,
 huius precatu seruulis 15
 dimitte noxam criminis.

2 coronam Mk. 3 clementia Ec. 4 precibus In. 5 cui
 Eφ Hc Vs, qui Hd². sacrique (*pro* s. qua) Fn Hbd¹β Iot Mk Vs, s. tui
 Hd², s. quo Fh¹, sacrati Ecdhjvφ Hcef. 7 huius In, cui Io. celebret
 Eφ. 9 que (sc. quae) Vs. gloriam Ejvφ Hcef. 10 caducam Ejvφ
 Hcef Ih. reputans Ed, deputans Hbd In Vbs. 12 laetis Eacd Io.
 13 cuius Eφ Hcd Io. benigne Eacd H Fd² Hc¹ Mk Vs. annua Io².
 15 precamur Ih.

2. praesulum] see note on 13. 7;
corona as in the two preceding
 hymns.

5. qua] 'on which day.'

nominis] Mt. xix. 29.

8. plebs] 36. 51.

10. caduca] 122. 7; *respuens*,

121. 3.

11. cael. goes with *praemiis*.

14. sequi is the object of *adnue*,
 for which cp. 50. 13.

15. precatu] 122. 13; *seruulis*,
 ib. 16; *dim. nox. ib.*

HYMNI DE SANCTIS PROPRII. HYMNS 124-126

HYMN 124

This hymn seems to have been first assigned to
 Damasus by Baronius in his *Martyrologium Romanum*
 1603, but he says that he found it *in collectaneis poetarum*

Christianorum. The authorship of Damasus was taken up by the editors of his works Sarazanius and Rivinus, but is now abandoned. The last to defend it was Kayser, and he doubtfully. Kayser makes one point (*Beiträge* I p. 105 f.). The relics of St Andrew were translated from Patras to Constantinople A.D. 357, at which time Damasus was at Beroea, having accompanied pope Liberius into exile at that place. ?If the relics were carried by road, they would pass through, or near, Beroea.

The key to the understanding of the hymn is given by the supposed meaning of the name Andrew (manful, noble) and by the fact that he was represented as in a special sense the preacher of the Cross: see Sarum Breviary (Procter and Wordsworth), Fasc. III col. 4 *Ego crucis Christi seruus sum, et crucis tropheum optare potius debeo quam timere.* Col. 7 *Ego si patibulum crucis expauescerem, crucis gloriam non praedicarem.*

As for the structure of the hymn, the first two lines are developed twice over in what follows. *Decus s. n.* is caught up in *hinc te decorum*, and that again in *Andrea, hoc...decorus*; while *nomenq. u. expr.* is caught up in *praedicat c. b. gloria*, and that again in *Christi ap., idem... nomine.* Then in the following stanzas the meaning of this last assertion is drawn out.

Eφ Fls Gcm Hbdef Icfhin Makx Vcs

Decus sacrati nominis

nomenque uitam exprimens,

1 diem (*pro decus*) Eφ Gc Hf Ih. hominis Eφ Gc Hf.
Gm Hd¹ In Vc.

2 uita Fl

1 f. 'How noble is thy sacred name! and how that name expresses thy life! Ennobled with this (to begin with), the glory of the "Blessed Cross" extols thee.' *hinc* = with the name of Andrew;

praedicat is to be taken separately, as often (e.g. at 39. 2), not with *decorum*. In other words, Andrew is famous for his devotion to the cross.

hinc te decorum praedicat
crucis beatae gloria.

Andrea, Christi apostole, 5
hoc ipso iam uocabulo
decorus, idem mystice
signaris isto nomine ;

quem crux ad alta prouehit,
crux quem beata diligit, 10
cui crux amata praeparat

3 hic Hbc Ii Ma Vs, sic Gm. praedicans Gm. 4 beata Eφ Gc Hf
Ii. gloriae In. 5 Andreas Hb Mk Vs. apostolus Hbe. 6 ipse Eφ
Hbd¹ef Mk. in (*pro iam*) Hbd¹ In Vcs, *om.* iam He. 7 hisdem
(isdem) Hbd Vs. 10 crucem beatam Hd²e, crucemque beata Hbd¹.
11 armata Ih, amat Gm. properat He.

4. **crucis beatae**] It may be observed that the cross in this poem is not the particular cross on which St Andrew died, nor that of Christ alone. They are treated as one and the same. Here and in l. 10 there is probably a direct reference to the legend (Sarum Brev. *ut s.* col. 21) *O crux beata, sine amore tuo ad illam regionem nullus attingit, nullus ingreditur.* Cp. col. 8.

6. **hoc ipso iam uoc.**] = *Andrea*; *isto nomine* = *Christi*. Thereby hangs a tale. The word *signaris* 'signed, or sealed' gives a hint of it, because the sign of the cross was made on Christians to seal them as His. Andrew, by his crucifixion and his devotion to the cross, was thus sealed beyond others. But there is, I believe, more intended in this 'mystic' sealing with the name of Christ. It was well known to Latin-speaking Christians that X, the cross-shaped letter, stood for 'Christ.' Thus Tertullian *de Bapt.* 8 says that when Jacob crossed his arms over his grandsons, they 'outlined Christ.' He might have said that they prefigured the cross; but he prefers to say that in forming a cross (*transuersim obliquatis in se*) they de-

noted Christ (*Christum deformantes*), with reference, it seems, to the initial letter. The same idea recurs in Novatian *de Trin.* XIX, and perhaps in Aug. *Conf.* X. xxxiv (*diuexas mystice manus*). The words concerning the cross which follow show how the sign of Christ was set on Andrew.

Perhaps the later legend of the St Andrew's Cross X arose out of this conception.

9. **ad alta** combines the ideas of being raised on the cross (cp. 4. 17 *celso t. u.*) and of thereby winning heaven.

10. The cross is represented as loving him; much as Fort. 33. 25 addresses the cross as a sentient being.

11. **amata**] Sarum Brev. col. 11 *Qui cum peruenisset ad locum ubi crux parata erat, uidens eam a longe exclamauit dicens, 'Salue crux quae in corpore Christi dedicata es, et ex membris eius tamquam margaritis ornata. Antequam te ascenderet Dominus noster, timorem terrenum habuisti, modo uero amorem caelestem obtinens pro uoto susceperis... Securus ergo et gaudens uenio ad te: ita ut et tu exultans suscipias me,*

lucis futurae gaudia.

in te crucis mysterium

cluit gemello stigmatē,

dum probra uincis per crucem

15

crucisque pandis sanguinem.

12 futura Ma Vs. 10-12 cui crux am. pr. lucis fut. gaudia figuram
christi imitans Gc. 14 stipite Hbde Vs. 15 om. dum Eφ Gc Hf Ih.
probra iam Ih. uincens Hf Ih. 16 crucem Hbd Vs, cruce He, cruci
Fl In Vc. pendens He, pendis Ii Ma. sanguine Hde Vs.

discipulum eius qui pependit in te; quia amator tuus semper fui et desideravi amplecti te. O bona crux, ... diu desiderata, sollicitē amata, sine intermissione quaesita, et aliquando iam concupiscenti animo praeparata, accipe me ab hominibus, et redde me Magistro meo, ut per te me recipiat, qui per te me redemit.

12. **lucis futurae g.]** Cp. 15. 12 *lucem beatam.* Sarum Brev. col. 11 *Scitur enim a credentibus quanta in te [sc. cruce] gaudia habeas, quanta munera praeparata.* Possibly there is an allusion to the light which shone round Andrew on the cross (Sarum Brev. col. 11).

13. **crucis mysterium] 34. 2.** Sarum Brev. col. 6 *O si uelles scire mysterium crucis; ib. Hoc est quod etiam me dixisse iam retines: magnum est mysterium crucis; col. 7 Ideo audire te uolo crucis mysterium; ib. Restaurationem...per crucis mysterium pandam; col. 9 audisti mysterium crucis.*

14. **cluit] 23. 26.** Of the alternative readings far the better attested is *stigmatē*, cp. Gal. vi. 17. If we might read *stipite* the sense would be 'with double stock,' alluding to the form of the cross; but the legend of the X cross is much later than this hymn. 'In thy person the "mystery of the cross" gains renown in [regard to] its double disgrace, for through the cross thou overcomest its reproaches, and thou disclovest (interpretest)

the blood of the cross.'

gem. stigm. must mean 'twofold disgrace,' as when Pliny speaks of *gemella poma* 'a double apple.' The 'double stigma' of the cross would be (1) its shame (l. 15) and (2) the death (l. 16) which it implies. Both of these are converted into glory (*cluit*) by Andrew's crucifixion and his own explanation (*pandis*).

15. **probra]** Probably in special reference to the reproaches hurled upon Christ and His cross by Aegeas in the legend (Sarum Brev. cols. 6, 7).

16. **crucis...sang.]** Col. i. 20.

pandis] If this reading is correct, it probably refers directly to the legend, in which the word frequently occurs. Sarum Brev. col. 7 *ut dum perditas animas hominum docuero, iustam restaurationem earum per crucis mysterium pandam; col. 9 ut putes tormentis me tibi diuina pandere sacramenta; ib. pandam tibi quo ordine occisus uiuat Agnus.* It refers here to Andrew's exposition of the Atonement. If *pendis* is what the poet wrote, it can only mean 'payest.'

17. **foueto] 5. 32.** Damas. xxx. 5 *care Deo, ut foueas Damasum precor, alme Tiburti.*

languidos] 84. 7.

19f. 'that owing to the victory of the cross we may obtain our fatherland of heaven.' It is not limited (at least) to Andrew's victory.

iam nos foueto languidos
 curamque nostri suscipe,
 quo per crucis uictoriam
 caeli petamus patriam. 20

17 faueto Eφ Hbf Ihn Vs. 18 nostris Fl Gm Hb Ma Vs, nostrique
 curam Hd. 19 qui Hb Vs. uictoria Vs, mysterium Gm. 20 peti-
 mus Hb Vs. ueniam Hb.

19. **per crucis u.**] Cp. the Sarum *crucis tropheum coronauit beatum*
 Invitatory at mattins on St Andrew's *Andream apostolum.*
 day: *Adoremus uictoriosissimum* 20. **patriam]** 92. 2 note.
regem Christum, qui uictorem per

HYMN 125

Clichtoveus in his notes says with regard to line 15: *seruatum fuisset legitimum carmen, si sic auctor posuisset laetior inde magisque flagrans*, and with regard to 18 *dicere potuisset auctor: pro miseris rogata Dominum, nisi maluisset consonantiam finalem illius carminis cum praecedente seruare*. Then Fabricius improved upon this by writing *pro misero rogata Damaso*, which ingenious conjecture was adopted by the editors of Damasus, e.g. Sarazanius and Rivinus, and came to be looked upon as a proof that the hymn was written by Damasus. No one now attributes it to him. The older French MSS give the hymn as a later insertion in a hand usually of the late XIth cent., but in the hymnaries of South Italy,—those written at Monte Cassino, Beneventum and Naples—it has already been incorporated amongst the other hymns. This points to an origin in South Italy or Sicily, as we might have expected, seeing that Agatha suffered at Catana, under Decius A.D. 251 on Febr. 5.

The story goes that the Roman judge Quintianus attracted by her beauty used the edict of persecution for the purpose of obtaining possession of her person, and that when foiled by her constancy and purity he thrust

her into a brothel, had her breasts tortured and cut off, and rolled her upon red-hot coals. In the prison St Peter came and healed her wounds. A year after her death Catana was on the point of being destroyed by an eruption of Etna, and was saved only by her intercessions, the veil which she had worn being carried in solemn procession. Again on 8th March A.D. 1669 a fearful eruption of Mt Etna took place, and an arm of the lava stream (14 miles in length and 25 ft. in width) flowed in the direction of the town. The pious inhabitants however succeeded in averting its course by extending the veil of St Agatha towards it, in consequence of which the stream took a westerly direction, almost filling up the harbour.

The hymn is composed in the metre invented by Prudentius for his poem on St Eulalia (*Perist.* III), but is vulgarized by its obtrusive rhymes.

Esη Filnps Gm Hbd Ibcfghn Vcs

Martyris ecce dies Agathae
uirginis emicat eximiae,
qua sibi Christus eam sociat,
et diadema duplex decorat.

stirpe decens, elegans facie,
sed magis actibus atque fide,

5

3 quam *Esη Fs Hd.*

5 stirpis *Es.*

1. Feb. 5.

2. Cp. Fort. VIII. ii. 1 *emicat ecce dies.*

3. **qua]** 'on which (day).' Christ is the bridegroom of holy virgins; cp. 9. 13 f., 19. 7. Edd. of Dam. read *Christus eam sibi qua sociat*, but this is in no MS.

4. The two crowns are won by Agatha as virgin and as martyr: cp. the Ambrosian preface for her day: *o illustris et gloriosa, gemino illustrata decore*; Prud. *Perist.* XIV.

7 (of Agnes) *duplex corona est praestita martyri: | intacta ab omni crimine uirginal, | mortis deinde gloria libera*; also Cypr. *ad Mart.* 9 *floribus eius nec lilia nec rosae desunt*; Ambr. *in Luc.* VII. 128 *illic confessorum uiolae, lilia uirginum, rosae martyrum sunt.* Fort. VIII. iv. 7 *ad Virgines* speaks of a three-fold crown: *pulchra corona caput triplici diademate cingit.* Perhaps *diadema* is a double accus. after *decorat* after the manner of *ἐνδύειν*.

terrea prospera nil reputans,
iussa Dei sibi corde ligans,
fortior haec trucibusque uiris
exposuit sua membra flagris ; 10
pectore quam fuerit ualido,
torta mamilla docet patulo.
deliciae cui carcer erat,
pastor ouem Petrus hic recreat,
inde gauisa magisque flagrans 15
cuncta flagella cucurrit ouans.
iam renitens quasi sponsa polo

7 refutans Fi. 8 corda Es. 9 fortiter Gm. 11 qua Es. fuit
Vc, fuerat Fs Gm Hb Ibgh Vs. 13 feliciae Es. 14 hanc Gm,
hinc Fn. recreans Fs Vs. 17 nam Es. renitet Hb, retinens Ib.
polum Ih.

5. In early times Christians were supposed to belong without exception to the lowest classes, and therefore the 'Acts' and also the poets, when they could, emphasized good birth. Our poet is perhaps thinking of Prud. *Perist.* III. 1 f. *germine nobilis Eulalia | mortis et indole nobilior.* The 'Acts' make Agatha say [I am] *non solum ingenua, sed ex spectabili genere.* For her beauty cp. ib. 615 *ad aspectum uirginis pulcherrimae oculorum suorum concupiscentiam commouebat.*

7. t. prospera] 'Earthly prosperity,' 59. 16. For the sense of the line cp. 121. 3, 122. 5, 123. 9.

8. Prov. vi. 21 *liga ea in corde tuo.* 9 f. 'and she braver than those savage men,' viz. Quintianus and his officers. *-que* is either misplaced as at 34. 24 etc. or it means 'braver even than those' (*καὶ ὠμῶν ἀνδρῶν*), see note on 9. 30. There is a similar contrast between the weak girl and her surrounders at 9. 7 f.

12. See introduction. *patulo*, 'openly,' instead of the more

natural form *patule*, is chosen for the sake of the rhyme.

13. *deliciae*] *Lectio iii in Primo Nocturno: 'Agatha autem laetissime carcerem intrauit, et quasi ad epulas inuitata.'*

cui] to be scanned *cūi*.

14. *pastor*] with reference to Joh. xxi. 15 f.

hic] 'here,' i.e. in the dungeon, in which according to the Acts St Peter appeared to her and healed her wounds.

15. *inde gauisa*] see Clicht.'s remarks in introduction and cp. 5 *ēlegans.*

flagrans] 71. 7.

16. 'She endured all tortures,' of which the *flagellum* was one of the most dreadful, cp. Hor. *Sat.* I. iii. 119 *ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.* As the legend does not speak of Agatha as being submitted to this form of suffering, it must here be understood in a wider sense. For the construction cp. 122. 9 note.

17. *polo*] 'in heaven.' Fabricius' *renidens* is against the metre.

pro miseris supplicet domino ;
 sic sua festa coli faciat,
 se celebrantibus ut faueat.

20

ethnica turba rogum fugiens
 huius et ipsa meretur opem ;
 quos fidei titulus decorat,
 his uenerem magis ergo premat.

gloria cum Patre sit Genito,
 Spirituique perinde sacro ;
 nunc Deus unus et omnipotens
 hanc memorum faciat memorem.

25

18 dominum Fs Hd¹ Vs, dominus Hd². 19 si Hd². 20 foueat
 Hb Ihn. 21 ut unica Ib. 22 ipse Es. mereatur Hd. ope Hb.
 23 titulum Hb, titulos Ih¹n. 26 proinde Fs Gm Ib, pro idem Es.

18. See introduction. Perhaps with Ihm *Damasus* p. 76 we should read *sūplicit*, cp. Buecheler *Rhein. Mus.* XLI p. 5. But in view of *elegans* and *gauisa* it seems unnecessary to modify the spelling. The variant *supplica* does not suit the syntax of the rest of the hymn, and especially the next two lines. It might come in the first place from a copyist who read *renites* in 17.

19. sic] see 22. 9 note; answers to *ut* in 20. Note that her favour is made to depend upon the way in which her festival is kept.

21 f. 'Even the very heathen population fleeing from a fiery death obtains her help.'

ethnicus is used in the Vulgate of Mt. v. 47 etc. to translate *ἔθνικός*, 'a Gentile'; cp. Watson *Style and Language of Cyprian* p. 268. The conjecture of Carrera *aetnea*, 'of Etna,' is ingenious but unnecessary, and it misses the contrast intended with line 23.

rogum fugiens] see introduction. *rogus* usually means 'a funeral pile,'

but cp. Manil. *Astron.* I. 867 f. *cometae; funera cum facibus ueniunt terrisque minantur | ardentem sine fine rogos*; Sedul. *Carm.* II. 202 (of the three children) *medios trudentur in ignes | nil audente rogo*; *Analecta* XXVII. xc. 71 f. *Aetneus ipse mons eructauit | ignem ardentem. | uidentes cuncti rogum uenientem, | uelum sepulchri simul expandentes, | ignis stetit honorificandum | corpus beatum.*

22. **meretur**] 'obtains,' 'gains,' as at 4. 8.

23. i.e. may she then the rather quench the fire of lust in those who call themselves Christians.

24. **uenerem**] Cp. the old Roman proverb, Ter. *Eun.* 732 *uerbum hercle hoc uerum erit: sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus*. Note how late *ergo* comes.

26. **perinde**] 'likewise,' 'also.' Clicht. and others read *prouide*, clearly in the first instance a misprint for *proinde* which means the same as *perinde*.

HYMN 126

126 has been constantly assigned to a Sicilian lady, Elpis or Helpis. But we know nothing about her. Until recently she was said to be the wife of Boethius, and to have gone with him to prison, being the mother by him of two sons, Patricius and Hypatius. All this is pure invention. Boethius' wife was Rusticiana, daughter of the senator Symmachus. Not to be beaten, the upholders of the Elpis-legend said either that Elpis was a byname of Rusticiana, or that she was Boethius' first wife. She is a part of the many puzzling legends that have grown up round the name of Boethius.

Still an Elpis may quite well have written the hymn; for why should it be attributed to a name otherwise unknown, and to a woman? Cp. Smith *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* I. 321, II. 105, Ersch u. Gruber *Encycl.* XI p. 284, Bähr p. 139, *Analecta* LI p. 216 f. Elpis is sometimes said to have written another hymn also, in the same metre, in honour of St Peter and St Paul: *Felix per omnes festum mundi cardines*, which Dreves (*Anal.* L p. 141) attributes to Paulinus of Aquileia.

Eacdghjsvxημφ Fdhilnpswx Gam Hbcdefiβ Ibcdefghmnotv Vbcdls

Aurea luce et decore roseo,
lux lucis, omne perfudisti saeculum,
decorans caelum inclito martyrio
hac sacra die, quae dat reis ueniam.

4 haec Hβ. regis Im.

1. aurea luce] 22. 1.

2. lux lucis] 3. 3. It may be doubted whether the poet is referring to the sunrise or to a spiritual lustre.

3. decorans] The Thesaurus gives several instances (though not this) of the lengthening of this *o* in late poets.

ianitor caeli, doctor orbis pariter, 5
 iudices saeculi, uera mundi lumina,
 per crucem alter, alter ense triumphans,
 uitae senatum laureati possident.
 iam, bone pastor Petre, clemens accipe
 uota precantum, et peccati uincula 10
 resoluere tibi potestate tradita,
 qua cunctis caelum uerbo claudis, aperis.
 doctor egregie Paule, mores instrue
 et mente polum nos transferre satage,
 donec perfectum largiatur plenius, 15
 euacuato quod ex parte gerimus.
 oliuae binae pietatis unicae,
 fide deuotos, spe robustos, maxime

5 ianua Ga. 7 triumphat Ecd. 8 senatu Ed. 9 o (*pro iam*) Ib.
 10 peccatum Ga. 14 mentes Fhw Ido Vcls. nostras ferre Ecs Fw
 Hbd¹ Idot²v Vs. 15 perfecte Hb Igv Vs, perfectus Ed. 16 qui Igm.
 gemimus Exμφ Ga Hefiβ Ighv Vdl. 18 spes Fw. maxima Ex Ga
 Hi Ice Vc.

5. **ianitor caeli**] St Peter,—based on Mt. xvi. 19.

doctor] St Paul; see note on 13. 32.

6. **iudices saeculi**] Mt. xix. 28, 1 Cor. vi. 2.

uera m. lumina] from 15. 8.

7. **triumphans**] 11. 26, 13. 6.

8. **senatum**] an illustration drawn from Roman political life. Though the senate no longer had any real power, it still enjoyed much prestige and the title of senator was coveted. Fort. IV. xxvi. 99 *tunc ibi quis terror caeli adsistente senatu!* cp. II. xiv. 17.

laureati] 7. 23.

9. **pastor**] 125. 14.

10. **uincula**] Probably an allusion to St Peter's own deliverance from prison.

12. **uerbo**] 1. 24 note.

13. **instrue** is taken up from St Paul's own phrase, 2 Tim. iii. 15.

14. Perhaps alludes to Eph. ii. 6.

polum] = *in polum*.

transferre is the prolativ inf. after *satage*. 'Strive to carry us in spirit to heaven.'

15 f. From 1 Cor. xiii. 10 *cum autem uenerit quod perfectum est, euacuabitur quod ex parte est*. 'Waiting for the time when that which is perfect is more fully granted, that which we now do in part (1 Cor. xiii. 11) being done away.' The difficulty of *gerimus* caused the v. l. *gemimus* (which is certainly no easier), and Daniel's suggestion *cernimus*.

largiatur] passive, cp. Rönsch p. 300.

16. **euacuato**] consult Rönsch p. 363.

17. **oliuae binae**] Zech. iv. 3, 11 and Rev. xi. 4. *unicae* of course is opposed to *binae*.

18 f. **fide, spe, caritatis**] 1 Cor. xiii. 13, 15. 21 f. 'Obtain that we may live devoted' etc.

fonte repletos caritatis geminae
post mortem carnis impetrare uiuere. 20

sit Trinitati sempiterna gloria,
honor, potestas atque iubilatio,
in unitate cui manet imperium
extunc et modo per aeterna saecula.

19 germine Fd.

20 impetrare Fx.

21 trinitatis Fx.

23 imperio Ec.

fide deuotos] 15. 21 *deuota sanctorum fides*.

maxime is attached to the next line, with reference to *maior autem horum est caritas*.

19. **caritatis geminae** means 'the love of you two,' referring to the mutual affection of the two saints; cp. *pietatis unicae* above.

24. **extunc**] 'in time past,' formed on the analogy of *deinde*, *exinde*,

dehinc. So Juvenc. has the like words *exhinc* I. 130, 435, *exin* III. 600, IV. 457. In late Latin prepositions were freely put before adverbs, a marked case of which was *de-ab-ante*, which became the French *devant*: so *de-post* became Italian *dopo*.

modo] 'now.' See the full statement and explanation of this usage in Löfstedt's *Aetheria*.

HYMN 127

Bede *de Arte Metr.* attributes this hymn, together with another, in time of excessive rain, *Obduxere polum nubila caeli*, to Ambrose: *metrum dactylicum tetrametrum catalecticum constat ex spondeo, dactylo, catalecto, dactylo, spondeo. quo usus est sanctus Ambrosius in precatatione pluuiiae, cuius exordium hoc est: Squalent arua soli puluere multo, ...cuius finis est hic lam caelos reseres....* It is unnecessary to prove that it was not written by Ambrose, whose style is very different.

Widely varying are the judgments expressed as to its merits. Biraghi p. 28 says: 'l'altra per invocare la pioggia *Squalent arua soli puluere multo*, nella quale v'è una lunga, puerile descrizione de' sentimenti della cervetta, degli uccelli, de' buoi, con giuochetti di parole e accozzamenti pedanteschi.... Certo nè la Chiesa di Milano non ne fece uso, nè Ambrogio fu così pedante poeta.' Contrast Gerwinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur* III p. 13

‘schwerlich habe man schönere Gesänge als die lateinischen aus Wassernoth und Wassermangel.’

Whatever the poetical worth of the hymn, it was in the Ambrosian use, at least in three Ambrosian MSS, and also in Mozarabic MSS (2) and use. It has some grace of ‘linked sweetness long drawn out,’ and was written by a student of Vergil, from whom many words and phrases are borrowed. In the schools of the IVth and Vth cent. Vergil, among Latin poets, held the foremost place; see *Dill Roman Society in the last cent. of the Western Empire* pp. 419 ff.

For the drought which is the subject of the hymn cp. *Ambr. Hex. II. 12 cum tanta igitur ubertas aquarum sit, tamen plerumque terra meridianae plagae torretur ardoribus atque aestu soluta fatiscit in puluerem, miserandi agricolae labore consumpto, ut frequenter ad potum siccatis puteis arido gurgite subsidium uitale deficiat.* And Fortunatus VII. viii. 1 f. has a graphic account of the terrors of a scorching July.

The prosody is fairly correct, but the poet has copied his master in lengthening short final syllables, cp. 12 *despuitūr*, 34 *mercē*, 35 *culpā*, 38 *placidūs*. There is not an elision throughout.

Ab Mak Vp

Squalent arua soli puluere multo,
pallet siccus ager, terra fatiscit:
nullus ruris honos, nulla uenustas,
quando nulla uiret gratia florum.

2 aer Mak. 3 nulla Ma. roris onus Mak. 4 uires Ma.

1. **squalent arua**] ‘are gone out of cultivation,’ Verg. *Georg.* 1. 507.

2. **pallet**] 22. 2.

fatiscit] ‘break into chinks’ with a further sense of exhaustion; Verg. *Georg.* 1. 180 *puluere uicta fatiscat.*

3. **ruris honos**] Verg. *Georg.* 1.

507, II. 404. Cassander’s *roris* does not suit the context and may have come in from 5.

uenustas] a prose word, used much by Plaut., Cic. and Quint., but also once by Prud. *Hamart.* 331.

tellus dura sitit nescia roris, 5
 fons iam nescit aquas, flumina cursus,
 herbas nescit humus, nescit aratrum,
 magno rupta patet turpis hiatu.
 feruens sole dies, igneus ardor
 ipsas urit aues, frondea rami 10
 fessis tecta negant, puluis harenae
 sicco despuitur ore uiantis.
 uentis ora ferae, bestia uentis,
 captantesque uiri flamina uentis,
 uentis et uolucres ora recludunt, 15
 hac mulcere sitim fraude uolentes.
 fetus cerua suos, pignora cerua,
 fetus cerua siti fessa recusat,
 fetus cerua pios maesta relinquit,

5 dira Mak. 7 herbam Mak. 8 magnorum Ma. 9 aestu
 feruet humus Ma, (aestus f. h. Mk). 10 ramis Mak. 11 necat Mk.
 14 uenti omnes. 18 sitim Mk.

nullus...nulla] Schmalz p. 350.

4. nulla...gratia] Verg. *Georg.* I. 83.

5. Verg. *Georg.* III. 297 *duram... humum.*

sitit] Verg. *Ecl.* VII. 57 *sitit... herba.*

6. nescit] perhaps imitated from Ambrose, cp. 3. 20 note, rather than from Verg. *Georg.* I. 391.

flumina cursus] a Vergilian clausula, *Ecl.* VIII. 4.

7. herbas] generally used by Verg. in the plu., though he also has the sing.

8. patet] *Aen.* VIII. 242 *penitus patuere cauernae.*

turpis] 'disfigured,' 'ugly.'

hiatu] *Aen.* VI. 237 *spelunca alta fuit uastoque immanis hiatu.*

9. feruens...dies] sc. *est. aestu feruet humus* looks like a deliberate correction.

10 f. frondea...tecta] Verg. *Georg.* IV. 61 f. There are no leaves to form a covert.

12. Verg. *Georg.* IV. 97 *puluere ab alto | cum uenit et sicco terram spuit ore uiator | aridus.*

13. bestia] cattle.

14. captantes] Verg. *Georg.* I. 376, *Aen.* III. 514.

flamina] Verg. *Aen.* IV. 241, v. 832, x. 97. It is hard to say whether we should read *flamina uenti* (*Lucr.* I. 291) or *uentis*, which fits in better with the context, but is suspicious on that very account.

16. fraude] line 28 *fraudatum*; Verg. *Aen.* v. 851 *caeli...deceptus fraude sereni.*

uolentes] 'seeking,' 'trying,' Verg. *Georg.* IV. 501.

17. fetus is the usual word for the young of animals, as at *Ecl.* I. 22, not *pignora*, which usually = 'children,' 30. 3 n.

18. recusat] refuses to suckle them.

19. pios] 'loving,' and therefore feeling the desertion by their dam; a touch of pathos missed by v. l. *suos*.

quaesitam quoniam non uehit herbam.

20

uenerunt iuuenes pocula noti
quaerentes putei, lymphaque fugit,
et uasis uacuis tecta reuisunt,
fletus, heu, proprios ore bibentes.

bos praesepe suum linquit inane,
pratorumque uolens carpere gramen
nudam uersat humum, sic pecus omne
fraudatum moriens labitur herbis.

25

radices nemorum rustica plebes
explorat misero curua labore,
solarique famem cortice quaerit,
nec sucos teneros arida praestat.

30

20 uenit Ma. 22 puteum Ma. 24 fletu seu Ma. proprio Mak.
27 nuda u. humus Mk. 29 plebs Ma. 30 miseros Ma.
32 praestet Ma.

20. Verg. *Aen.* VII. 758 *quaesitae...herbae*. 'Seeing that the land does not produce the sought for grass,' *uehit* being used impersonally and in the sense of *fert*. But though the use of *impers.* verbs was widely extended in late Latin (Löfst. *Stud.* p. 56 f.) this use of *uehit* is hardly possible. [Probably the original was *quaesita...uenit herba*. This hymn is of course more literary and accomplished than most, but 35 shews that the *a* would be no difficulty. For *uenit* in this sense see Verg. *Georg.* I. 54.]

21. **pocula**] 'water for drinking,' as Verg. *Georg.* I. 9 and often.

22. The emphatic *-que*.

23. **reuisunt**] Verg. *Aen.* VI. 330.

24. **proprius**] = *suos*, line 34, 30. 36, 112. 6, Verg. *Georg.* II. 428.

26. **carpere gramen**] Verg. *Aen.* IX. 353.

27. **nudam**] bare of grass, as Verg. *Ecl.* I. 48.

uersat] Verg. *Georg.* I. 119. The ox is reduced to turning the clods over, like the swine.

28. **fraudatum**] Cp. 16, and Plin. *H.N.* IX. xxxix. 64 *ille pallor, saturitate fraudata*.

labitur] Verg. *Georg.* III. 498.

herbis] 'on the ground,' though there are no *herbae* on it. It would not do to connect it with *fraudatum* across the other words.

29. Verg. *Ecl.* III. 84 *Polio amat nostram, quamuis est rustica, musam*.

30. **explorat**] Verg. *Aen.* I. 307.

curua] Verg. *Ecl.* III. 42.

31 comes from Verg. *Georg.* I. 159 *famem in siluis solabere quercu*, but I think through Ambr. *Epist.* XVIII. 17 *detractis...corticibus famem in siluis miseram solabantur*; Heges. *de Bell. Iud.* V. xviii. 12 *suco infelici miseram solabantur famem*.

32. 'But the dry (bark) supplies no soft juices.' Supply *cortex* (which is fem. Verg. *Ecl.* VI. 63 etc.) from 31.

sucos teneros] Lucr. I. 809 *et nisi nos cibus aridus et tener umor | adiuuat*; imitated by Verg. *Georg.* II. 331 *superat tener omnibus umor*.

hanc peccata famem nostra merentur ;
 sed merce propria, Christe, foueto ;
 quo culpa grauior gratia maior 35
 iusti supplicii uincla resoluens.

iam caelum reseres aruaque laxes
 fecundo placidus imbre rogamus ;
 Heliae meritis impia saecla
 donasti pluuiam, nos quoque dones. 40

34 mercem propriam Mak. 36 resoluat Ma. 38 secundo Mak.
 40 pluuiæ Vp.

33. **merentur** in this one passage out of all these hymns has its usual classical meaning 'deserve'; see 4. 8 note; perhaps owing to Vergil's frequently having it in this sense.

34. **merce propria**] [There can be little doubt that *merce propria* means simply 'with Thine own mercy.' This would exactly answer to the requirements of the context.

The word 'mercy' is directly derived from *merces*, -dis: see Skeat *s.v.*, Wörting *Lat.-roman. Wörterb. s.v. merces*. Ducange, *s.v. merces*, gives many mediaeval examples to justify the translation *m. = misericordia*. But he gives some others. The earliest example is from Faustus of Riez (Ep. VI, *ad Felicem*) *causa uestrae deuotionis et mercedis uestrae materia sumus* (p. 196, l. 8 ed. Engelbrecht). Here the word may bear its classical sense of 'recompense,' but it at least illustrates the process by which the word passes to the sense of 'mercy'; the process being the reverse of that by which *gratia* passes from 'favour' to 'thanks.' Two references to Gregory the Great in Ducange are nearer to the point, *Ep. lib. IV. xxxi* (ad Theodor. *sub fin.*) *facere uos rogo quod facitis, ut dum peto quod fieri uideo, mercedi uestrae me petendo subiungam* ('may submit myself to your good grace').

Ep. lib. XI. xiv (ad Asclep.) *dum praestantiorem sibi locum ad animae utilitatem datum intellegunt [reges], certum est quia mercedis causas, ubi inueniunt, non postponunt*. This might be understood as 'means of obtaining reward,' like the passage in Faustus; but it suits the context more easily to take it as 'objects of charity.'

In our poem there is the objection that *merce* is used, not *mercede*. But the word *merx* 'wares' could have no possible meaning here. It is evident that the author uses *merce* as = *mercede* in whatever sense he intended to use that word, and in spite of his Vergilian erudition it is likely that he thought *merce* an allowable abl. from *merces*.]

35 f. 'the heavier our fault, the greater be, or is, the grace undoing the bonds of our well-earned punishment.' With *gratia* supply *sit*, or *est*. Cp. Rom. vi. 20.

37. **reseres**] Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 244.

arua...laxes] an echo of Verg. *Georg.* II. 331.

38. **fecundo...imbre**] Verg. *Georg.* II. 325.

placidus] Verg. *Aen.* IV. 578.

39. 1 Kings xvii, Jas. v. 18.

impia saecla] Verg. *Georg.* I. 468.

40. **donare** is constructed with double accus. in the comic poets.

[GRAMMATICAL NOTES

WALPOLE spent much time and labour in the attempt to draw up what he called a Grammar of the Hymns. He said that if he did not do it, no one else would. It may be doubted whether the task was worth undertaking. Considering what a long period of time is covered by these hymns, and what varying degrees of culture they represent, an inquiry into their linguistic peculiarities lacks the interest attaching to the study of the Latin of a particular author, or of a particular region at a given date. Walpole's plan was never carried out. He left many books full of notes on the subject, but nothing completed. What follows is compiled from his notes, but does not pretend to be all that he aimed at. The Index of Words will supply a good deal of the information which he wished to convey.]

I. FORMATION OF WORDS

Substantives

In -tor (-trix) and -sor (see Rönsch 55, Schmalz 607):

altor, auctor, auditor, conditor, congregator, creator, cultor, dator (datrix), debitor, defensor, dicator, donator, ductor, excitator, factor, fictor, indultor, insecutor, interemptor, inuentor, inuestigator, largitor, lauator, mercator, pastor, peccator, perditor, plasmator, praenuntiatix, praestigiator, proditor, raptor, rector, redemptor, remissor, repertor, sacrator, saluator, scrutator, sessor, speculator, successor, tortor, traditor, uastator, uictor (uictrix), ultor (ultrix), uorator.

N.B. Vergil has 61 such words, Prudentius 149.

In -tio and -sio (see Rönsch 69, Schmalz 603):

absolutio, benedictio, confessio, corruptio, demptio, deprecatio, diremptio, electio, iubilatio, natio, oratio, passio, redemptio, reparatio, supplicatio, tunsio, uisio, unctio.

In -ura (see Rönsch 40):

creatura, factura, pressura.

In -monia (see Rönsch 28):

alimonia, parsimonia.

In -ella (see Rönsch 45):

medella, querella.

In -tus, -sus (see Schmalz 603):

actus, aditus, aduentus, aestus, affectus, alitus, ambitus, artus, astu, cantus, casus, census, coetus, concentus, cursus, dictus, discessus, egressus, excessus, excursus, exitus, exortus, fetus, flatus, fletus, fructus, gemitus, gressus, haustus, ictus, impetus, ingressus, interitus, iussus, lapsus, luctus, meatus, morsus, motus, mugitus, nexus, nisus, nutus, obitus, obtutus, occursus, ortus, pastus, plausus, potus, profectus, reatus, recursus, reditus, regressus, sensus, successus, tactus, transitus, usus.

In -men (see Rönsch 25):

agmen, carmen, certamen, nomen (cogn.), crimen, culmen, examen, flamen, flumen, fragmen, germen, gramen, limen, lumen, numen, peccamen, semen, solamen, spiramen, tegmen, uelamen.

In -mentum (see Rönsch 22):

blandimentum, fragmentum, fundamentum, monumentum, odoramentum, sacramentum, uestimentum.

In -do (see Rönsch 66):

altitudo, libido, multitudo, plenitudo.

In -tia (see Rönsch 49):

auaritia, clementia, conscientia, iactantia, indulgentia, imunditia, iustitia, laetitia, paenitentia, potentia, sapientia, somnolentia, substantia.

In -tium:

consortium, silentium, uitium.

In -tas (see Rösch 52):

benignitas, bonitas, caecitas, caritas, castitas, ciuitas, claritas, credulitas, deitas, dignitas, diuinitas, ebrietas, fertilitas, festiuitas, humilitas, iniquitas, maiestas, natiuitas, nobilitas, parcitas, pietas, potestas, qualitas, sinceritas, sobrietas, sollemnitas, trinitas, uanitas, ueritas, unitas, uniuersitas, uoluntas.

N.B. Vergil has 19 such words, Prudentius 64.

In -lus, -la, -lum, mostly diminutives (see Roby I 319,

Rösch 37, 93, Schmalz 673):

asellus, cellula, circulus, confamulus, corpusculum, crepusculum, cunabula, discipulus, famulus, ferculum, habitaculum, igniculus, lectulus, linteolus, miraculum, modulus, oraculum, osculum, paruulus, patibulum, piaculum, pinnula, poculum, puella, puellula, pugillus, regula, riuulus, saeculum, scripula, seruulus, spectaculum, speculum, spiculum, testula, uexillum, uinculum, ungula, uocabulum.

Adjectives

In -osus (see Paucker 34, Rösch 125):

flexuosus, fructuosus, generosus, gloriosus, pretiosus, probrosus, tortuosus.

Compound Adjectives

celsitonans, coaeuus, cunctipotens, floriger, hymnifer, igniuomus, malesuadus, multiformis, omnipotens, primoplastus, sacrosanctus, saxigenus, septiformis, suauisonus, unigenitus.

Adverbs

In -ter (see Draeger I 124, Rösch 149):

dolenter, dulciter, fideliter, fortiter, grauiter, ineffabiliter, iugiter, nauiter, perenniter, personaliter, potenter, potentialiter, qualiter, uiriliter, uniter.

In -tim, -sim (see Draeger I 117, Rösch 148):

affatim, furtim, partim, passim, paulatim, perpetim, sensim, uicissim. Cp. olim.

In -tus (see Draeger I 125, Rösch 148):

caelitus, humanitus, primitus.

Verbs

In -tare, -sare (see Rönsch 213, Schmalz 633):

acceptare, agitare, aptare, cantare, captare, cursitare, excitare, flagitare, gestare, grassari, iactare, pigritare, pulsare, reptare, reuectare, rogitare, sectari, spectare, tutare, uersare, uisitare.

In -scere (see Rönsch 179):

agnoscere, albescere, erubescere, expauescere, fatiscere, flammescere, inlucescere, labascere, lentescere, liquescere, mitescere, nitescere, pallescere, patescere, pauescere, quiescere, rubescere, senescere, silescere, tepescere, tremescere, tumescere, uirescere. Perhaps clarescere.

II. GREEK WORDS FOUND IN THESE HYMNS

(see Rönsch 238, 250, Schmalz 661):

aenigma, aer, aether, aethra, alpha, anastasis, angelus, archangelus, archidiacon, aroma, azyma, baptisma, baptismus, baptista, barathrum, barbarus, catholicus, centrum, chaos, charisma, chirographum, chorus, chrisma, cosmus, crapula, cyclus, daemon, diabolus, diadema, drama, ecclesia, eous, episcopus, ethnicus, euangelicus, gastrimargia, gigans, hagijs, hydria, hydrus (ydrus), hymnus, lampas, lychnus, lympa, machina, margarita, martyr, martyrium, meander, melos, myrra, mysterium, mysticus, nardus, oceanus, paraclitus, paradisus, peplus, petra, phalanx, phantasma, pisticus, plāga, plāga, plasma and derivatives, platea, pneuma, polus, pompa, pontus, propheta, propinare, protoplastus, psallo, psalmus, psalterium, sceptrum, sericus, statera, stigma, stola, stropheum, syngraphus, tartarus, thalamus, thronus, triumphus and derivatives, tropaeum, typus, tyrannis, tyrannus, xeromyrra, zelus, zona.

Hebrew words

alleluia, amen, cherubim, el, gehenna, hosanna, pascha, sabaoth, sabbatum, seraphim.

III. FORMATION OF WORDS

Prothetic vowel before double consonant (see Rönisch 467, Stolz *Lat. Gram.* 87, Lindsay *Lat. Lang.* 102, 105, Lachmann on Lucr. iv 283):

sceptrum 89 19 (perhaps spiritus 48 8), splendens III 16, stolis 109 2, stultae 41 33.

Peculiar forms of words

acceptari (perhaps deponent), aethera (nom.), aethre (abl.), aperiuit, famis (nom.), melos (acc. pl.), merce (for mercede), nectare (acc.), orbs, osculant, rennuo, repperire, sanguinis (nom.), tonitruui, tuli (perf. of tollo) 4 31, 31 43, tutemus, uespere (nom.).

Ablatives in -e

dulce 33 24, mite 33 28, salubre 37 19.

IV. SYNTAX

Prepositions and their cases

a, ab, with abl. of agent after passive participle I 32, 7 29, 13 18, 30 30, 117 8.

ad separated from its case 120 15.

de used in partitive sense 44b 10, 100 4, 101 6; = *ex* I 44, 84 10; = *propter* 33 4, 34 30; = *per* 36 53 f.

in with acc. instead of abl. 90 6.

inter = *intus* 33 13.

per, used distributively 10 29, 39 6, 103 2; descriptive of manner 60 6, 78 7, 10, 103 19.

post with abl. 51 1; used in pregnant sense I 19, 36 17, 38 3.

secus without case expressed 35 15 (*secus est ubi*).

Prepositions used in semi-adjectival phrases

Dei de corde uerbum I 3; a sinistris, a dextris 120 16, 17, 25; gens primoplasti ex germine 23 10; nostri...in graui isto corpore 61 22.

Pronouns

suus for *illius* 63 6; *tui* for *tuo* 97 11.

Adjectives attached to compound phrase

proximo diei...aduentui 46 5, noctis...ortus succedens 50 11, iniquitas haec saeculi 50 15, omni fine diei 71 15, aeternam salutis custodiam 107 16.

Adjectives or Pronouns declined ad sensum

ipse petra ecclesiae 2 15, aurora totus 3 30, electa...caput 13 31.

Neuter Adjectives as Substantives

nubila, confusa mundi et turbida 21 1, 2, cp. 56 10, serenum 22 5, 36 1, mystico septemplici 116 6.

Adjectives governing unusual cases

digna regi 1 15, unum Patri 16 2, cp. una Patri 119 26.

Comparative

expressed by *plus* 37 5; perhaps = positive 62b 8, 69 8 = superlative 71 20.

Superlative = positive 31 90, 69 12, 73 16, 76 12, 94 4, 13.

Deponent Verbs used passively

grassatur 1 34, 38, pollicitam 36 37, (in past participle) adepta 36 54, 119 23 and often (cp. a possible converse use in *linquitur* 44 13).

inebriare, pascere used intransitively 8 18, 19 5; cp. *mersisse* 36 31, *falleret* 91 7, *reddere* 110 8.

Past Participles used with present meaning

1 63 f., 13 15, 30 20 and frequently.

Present Participles inexactly used

4 32, 82 1, 106 14, 114 9 f., 122 11, 123 11.

Participle for finite Verb

41 23, 44 8, 12, 16, 76 6 f., 90 19, 107 2, 4, 6, 11.

Supine in -um

8 11 adoratum, 9 13 nuptum.

Gerund in -di

2 12 nocendi, 3 16 gerendi, 103 11 intrandi.

Gerund in -do

2 26, 21 11, 28 20, 31 44, 34 15, 36 34, 38 23, 40 15, 65 3, 69 14, 81 7, 87 12, 90 12, 91 20, 104 12, 109 8, 114 15, 121 10, 12.

In the majority of these instances the gerund is used in the manner which has passed into modern Italian, equivalent to present participle.

Nominative and Accusative absolute

1 49, 52, 58, 33 16, 54 1, 69 7, 85 7, 91 27, 103 6, 111 37, 113 5.

Ablative Absolute of the subject of the sentence

33 17, 43 1, 2, 4.

Genitive dependent on Participle

3 4 dierum illuminans.

Pluperfect curiously used

14 12, 23 22, 29 52, 56, 33 7, 41 15, 96 4, 104 29, 115 12, 117 7, 120 22.

Gnomic Perfect

1 4 legimus, 9 20 sumpsere.

Infinitive

after *facere* 1 23, 90 32, *doctus* 11 18, *praecipio* 1 47, 90 27, *moneo* 1 12, *monstras* 27 8, *vincere* 43 12, *deposco* 64 4, *tremesco* 90 17, *despicio* 120 27, *largus* 56 4;

expressing purpose 85 10, 86 10, 107 22, 111 26;

present = future 42 19, 89 18.

Oratio Obliqua

quod with indic. (for acc. and inf.) 39 10, 11, 91 25, 94 25, 112 17, with subj. 1 58, 46 11, 87 10, 15, 112 23.

quia with indic. 111 15.

Verbs with unusual construction

morte praestat 7 27, decet Deo 6 26, potest (sc. esse) 10 21, caruere diem 35 12.

Accusative of time

43 1 tempus noctis, 55 10 quod, 60 4 uenturam noctem, 82 9 septies diem.

Ablatives

instrumental = of agent 7 23, 113 3, of place whence 11 15, 46 9.

Dative instead of prep. and accus. 35 12, 112 20.

Adverb

for adjective, palam fit 31 27, satis es 36 44; formed with *mente* 42 20, 46 21, 107 15.

Negatives

Nec, neque = ne quidem 31 24, = neue 5 27, 58 14, 61 10, 68 14, 106 17; non = ne 31 8, 47 15, 50 17, 19, 33, 58 9, 82 17; nullus = nemo 30 3, 77 13 f.

-*Que* with special force 9 30, 125 9, 127 22; otiose 82 3; misplaced 34 24, 43 3, 90 23.

Si = 'whether' ut uideret si probaret 1 47.

Iam pleniore fiducia hymnorum ministerium fideliter impleamus, magnam nos credentes a Deo gratiam consecutos, quibus concessum est cum tantis ac talibus sanctis, prophetis dico atque martyribus, Dei aeterni cantare miracula.

NICETA.

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