NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE HYMNS OF ST AMBROSE.

I AM preparing an edition of the early Latin Hymns, of which the Hymns of Ambrose will form perhaps the most important part. My chief reason for publishing these notes is the hope of receiving criticisms on them which may be of service to me in the forthcoming volume. By 'the Hymns of Ambrose' I mean the eighteen attributed to him by Biraghi, not the twelve of the Benedictines.

The books referred to are these :—

The Benedictine edition of the works of Ambrose, 1690.

Biraghi *Inni sinceri . . . di Sant' Ambrogio*, 1862.

Daniel *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*.

Dreves *Aurelius Ambrosius, der Vater des Kirchengesangs*, 1893.

Kayser *Beiträge zur Geschichte . . . der alten Kirchenhymnen*[2], 1881.

Lipp *Die Hymnen des Cistercienser Breviers*, 1890.

Mone *Lateinische Hymnen . . .* 1853 &c.

Pimont *Les Hymnes du Brévaire romain*, 1874 &c.

Thomasius *Psalterium . . .* (1685 and) 1747.

Trench *Sacred Latin Poetry*[2], 1886.

Werner *Die ältesten Hymnensammlungen von Rheinau*, 1891.

[Thomasius I have referred to as Tomasi, because his own country-man Biraghi does so. I have seen only the edition of 1747.]

The MSS to which I refer in especial are those of the Ambrosian use or closely connected with it, the Roman figures indicating the dates of the MSS.

(*a*) Vat. reg. 11[vii]. (*b*) Vat. 82[x]. (*c*) Vat. 83[xi]. (*d*) Ambrosian T 103 sup. [ix, x]. (*e*) Cap. Mediol. s.n. [x, xi]. (*f*) Ambr. A. 189 inf. [xii]. (*g*) Ambr. A 1 inf. [xii]. (*h*) Ambr. J 27 sup. [xii]. (*i*) Ambr. J 55 sup. [xi, xii]. (*k*) Ambr. E 71 b inf. [xii, xiii].

All these I have collated twice, in 1902, and again in 1904.

I *Aeterne rerum conditor* [MSS *ceik* and thirty-four others[1]].

9 f. *Hoc excitatus lucifer*
    soluit polum caligine,
    hoc omnis errorum chorus
    uiam nocendi deserit.

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[1] i. e. thirty-four other MSS that I know to contain the hymn.

All MSS read *errorum*. But the Roman Breviary of 1632 reads *erronum*, and this has been adopted by Kehrein,[1] Biraghi, Trench, Lipp, and Dreves. But is this comparatively modern conjecture desirable? I think not. The word *errones* means 'idle and malingering slaves', and is explained here, by most of those who read it, of evil men : Lipp translates it by *Landstreicher*. Dreves says that *erronum* is necessitated by the wording of Hex. V xxiv 88 (a parallel passage several periods in length closely connected with the hymn) *hoc canente latro suas relinquit insidias*. But these words seem to me to answer rather to lines 21 f of our hymn : *gallo canente . . . mucro latronis conditur*. This last line is mere tautology if we take *errorum* (or *erronum*) as referring to *men*. *Errorum* is to be taken of wandering *spirits*, 'the extravagant and erring spirit' of Hamlet I i. The abstract is used for the concrete, —no extraordinary liberty. Prudentius probably had this stanza in his mind, Cath. i 37 f *ferunt uagantes daemonas*, | *laetos tenebris noctium*, | *gallo canente exterritos* | *sparsim timere et cedere*. Trench's argument, that the common word *errorum* had ousted the rarer *erronum*, is hardly to the point here, where the latter word is found in no MS.[2]

For *chorus* the Rom. Brev. substitutes *cohors*, perhaps to avoid the sinister sense thus given to *chorus*, which is, however, a more significant word here, and is illustrated by *laetos* of the passage quoted from Prudentius.

ib. 15. *hoc* ipsa *petra ecclesiae*
        canente culpam diluit.

So most MSS and editors. But three good MSS [*h*, Rheinau 111 ˣ, Turin G v 38 ˣⁱⁱ] read *ipse*, which we must certainly read. MSS would be sure to change the *e* to an *a*. And Biraghi points out that it is better to give the tears of repentance to the person *ipse* than to the metaphor *petra*. Pimont argues strongly but unconvincingly in favour of *ipsa*.[3]

ib. 25. *Iesu* labantes *respice*.

The great majority of MSS read *labentes*, which gives a good sense but brings a spondee into the 2nd foot.[4] Some good MSS have *labantes*, 'ready to fall', which is to be preferred as suiting both sense and metre.

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[1] *Lateinische Anthologie aus den christlichen Dichtern . . .* 1840.
[2] p. 249. Cp. Kayser, p. 166.
[3] i p. 57 f.
[4] Ambrose is strict as to his prosody. Cp. Ebert *Literatur des Mittelalters*[2] i p. 181 'das Metrum ist mit aller Sorgfalt beobachtet'. Trench p. 90 'no single instance in the genuine hymns of St Ambrose . . . of a line beginning with two spondees'. Manitius *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie*, p. 140. Biraghi p. 29 f, Dreves p. 44 f. Pimont, on the other hand, thinks that Ambrose was indifferent on such a point and would read *labentes*. Certainly the scribes who copied the hymn would have no opinion about it, but take what they found in their exemplar.

The Ambrosians have *pauentes*, introduced, Pimont suggests, by the monkish copyists under the influence of the fear of nightly demons; cp. this stanza of a Mozarabic hymn: *hinc te Deus deposcimus,* | *ut peruagantes daemonas* | *signo salutis destruas* | *nos a pauore liberans.* Dreves, influenced by the Ambrosian tradition, is inclined to read *pauentes.* But the parallel passage in Hex. V xxiv 88 *Iesus* titubantes *respicit* seems to show that a word of 'tottering to a fall' is required.

ib. 27. *si respicis lapsus cadunt*
      fletuque culpa soluitur.

Most MSS and editors read this, but we find many varieties in the tradition : *si respicis lapsi* (*lapsos*) *cadunt* [i.e. fall on their knees]; *si respicis lapsos, stabunt,* this giving a spondee in the 4th foot. For *lapsus* we also find *lapsis, laxis.* The Oxford MS Junius 25^ix rewrites unmetrically *si nos respicis lapsi non cadunt.* For the peculiar use of *cadunt* cp. Ambr. Carm. i 16 [Biraghi p. 137] *ut puncto exiguo* culpa cadat *populi.*

ib. 32. *et uota soluamus tibi.*

Most MSS (the scribes not understanding what the 'vows' were) read *et ora soluamus tibi,* a good many *et ore psallamus tibi,* either of which readings after line 31 *te nostra uox primum sonet* would be mere tautology.

II *Splendor paternae gloriae* [MSS *a b c e f i k* and forty-one others].

3 *primordiis lucis nouae,* the Benedictine reading, comes in no MSS of this hymn : *quod unde sumpserint, prorsus ignoro,* says Daniel. It is the 3rd line of the ferial hymn *Lucis creator optime.*

4 *diem dies inluminans.*

This reading, although adopted by the Rom. Brev., the Benedictines, Mone, Biraghi, Dreves, and Pimont, is not found in any of the older MSS, almost all of which read the undoubtedly true text *dies dierum inluminans.* Participles used as adj.'s regularly take a gen. ; cp. Verg. *patiens uomeris,* Cic. *sui despiciens.* Then as to the use of the plural Kayser well says : 'Es bedarf kaum der Bemerkung, dass der Gegensatz des einen ewigen Tages zu den unzähligen einzelnen irdischen Tagen der Schreibung *dies dierum* den Vorzug einräumt. Ebenso sieht jeder, wie treffend durch die Genitivconstruction bei dem Participium Präs. die bleibende und dauernde, regelmässig und unabänderlich wiederkehrende Lichtwirkung des Sohnes ausgedrückt ist.' Some MSS read *dies diem inluminans,* which no doubt is a misreading of the contracted form in which *dierum* would be written. Moreover,

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¹ Stanza 3 of the hymn *Gallo canente uenimus* ; Dreves *Analecta* xxvii p. 84.

when elision was no longer in use, it would be easier to sing and more natural to write *diem* than the longer *dierum*.

III *Iam surgit hora tertia* [MSS *a b c e f i k*, in no others].

4 f *Qui corde Christum suscipit*
   innoxium sensum gerit
   uotisque praestat *sedulis*
   sanctum mereri Spiritum.

So all the MSS, Biraghi and Dreves, however, with Tomasi, read *perstat*, which is certainly easier. But *praestat* is defensible = 'endeavours', 'exerts himself' to obtain. Forcellini quotes Livy xxx 30 *quia a me bellum coeptum est, ne quem eius paeniteret* praestiti.

17 f *Celso triumphi uertice*
   matri loquebatur suae
   '*en filius, mater, tuus*',
   apostolo, ' en mater tua '.

apostolo is governed by *loquebatur*. This is my conjecture, as I cannot think that the vulg. *apostole* is right.

21 *Praetenta nuptiae foedera.*

So all the MSS. *Praetenta*, from *praetendere*, gives a good sense. But I cannot help thinking that we should read *praetexta*. Ambrose (who so often repeats himself) says in Luc. x 133 *quo loco* [i. e. Joh. xix 26 f] *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.*

IV *Rector potens, uerax Deus,* [MSS *b c e f i k* + 43].
   qui temperas rerum uices,
   splendore mane instruis
   et ignibus meridiem.

If Ambrose is strict in prosody, he cannot have left such a hiatus as that in line 3. I should read *splendore mane qui instruis*, the *qui* having dropped out of the archetype. Then the structure of the hymn will be like that of the similar hymn for none, *Rerum Deus tenax uigor.* The whole of the 1st stanza is taken up with the invocation, and the petition follows in the next stanza.

V *Deus creator omnium* [MSS *a b c e f i k* + 29].

9 f *Grates peracto iam die*
   et noctis exortu preces
   uotis reos ut adiuues
   hymnum canentes soluimus

This is the vulg. and most difficult, indeed hardly to be translated. But eight MSS, *a c* among them, read in line 3 *uoti* for *uotis*, and all becomes clear. 'We pay our thanks and prayers . . . that thou wouldest help us who are bound in our vow.' The phrase is taken from Verg. Aen. v 237, where Cloanthus addresses the sea-gods: *taurum | constituam ante aras, uoti reus.*

27 *ne hostis inuidi dolo.*

Here we have an unpleasant hiatus. Mone read *nec* for *ne* from a XV cent. MS at Freiburg, and it is also in our MSS *a e*, but not (as Dreves says, p. 141) in *b*.

VI *Veni redemptor gentium* [MSS *a b c d e f g h i k* + 39].

This well-known line is not the 1st but the 5th of the hymn. The 1st stanza runs thus : *Intende qui regis Israhel, | super cherubin qui sedes, | adpare Ephrem coram, excita | potentiam tuam et ueni.* It is in all the Ambrosian MSS, in Trier 592-1578 [ix], [x] and in Munich clm 17027 [x], [xi] ; and it is taken almost as the words stand from psalm lxxix (lxxx) 1. The first words of the psalm in the old Gallican use and in others formed the antiphon for the 1st Sunday in Advent, for which *excita quaesumus, Domine, potentiam tuam & ueni* was (and in the Roman use still is) the collect, as it is for our 4th Sunday.

The stanza is an integral part of the hymn, Ambrose incorporating a passage of Scripture (as he also does in his hymn *Amore Christi nobilis*). In it he prays that Christ may come as the shepherd of Israel, in the 2nd stanza that He may come as redeemer of the Gentiles. The two ideas are often combined in the NT and even in the OT, cp. Ps. xcvii (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 is probably imitated from this passage. When elisions were disused the stanza would become hard to sing, and may have thus fallen out of use ; or some copyist may have deliberately left it out, thinking *Veni redemptor gentium* to be a finer opening, as it no doubt is. Cp. Förster, Ambrosius p. 329.

29 *praesepe iam fulget tuum*
    lumenque nox spirat *nouum.*

Our MS *a*, with three other good MSS, reads *sperat*, which Mone alone accepts. On such a point *a* is valueless, as like many other old MSS it writes *e* and *i* indiscriminately. Thus it has *strinuus, mins, mystirium*, and on the other hand *crededit, tumescet.*

VII *Amore Christi nobilis* [MSS *b c d e g h i k* + 2].

7 *turbante dum* natat *salo.*

So all the MSS. Biraghi, however, followed by Dreves, conjectures *nutat* to match *de uirginit.* xx 131 *hic ergo piscator dum ipse turbato*

agitatur salo mobili mente statione nutantes fundauit in petra. Before changing we should make sure that the original reading there is *nutantes*. For *natat* is quite suitable here, being used both of physical and mental disturbance; cp. Ov. Met. v 72 *oculis sub nocte* natantibus *atra | circumspexit*; Hor. Sat. II vii 7 *pars multa* natat, *modo recta capessens, | interdum prauis obnoxia.*

14 *mundi supernatans salum.*

So the MSS, but the editors (except Daniel) read *salo*, and Ambr. uses it with the dat. elsewhere. But why not follow the MSS here? If *superscandere* takes an acc., why should not *supernatare?*

22 *sed laude ipse resonet*

is the reading of *d e f g i*, and must be corrupt. Biraghi corrects to *sed ipse laude resonet*, which is at least fairly metrical, with the exception of the long *rē-* of *resonet*, though this may, I think, be justified by the fact that the original form of the prefix *re* was *red*, which explains such forms as *red-do, red-eo,* &c. But the sense is not easy to see. Two MSS *b c* [the hymn is not in *a*] for *resonet* have *se sonet*, but this again is hardly satisfactory.

VIII *Inluminans altissimus* [MSS *a b c d e f g i* + 19].

27 f *quis haec*[1] *uidens mirabitur*
    iuges meatus fontium?

Thus read about three-quarters of the MSS, and so most editors rightly, Mone, dismissing *fontium* as 'ohne Sinn', follows the other eight in reading *faucium!* So, too, Werner, who professes especially to follow his Rheinau MSS : the two that contain this hymn have *faucium.* That *fontium* is right is shewn by a parallel passage from Ambrose in Luc. vi 86 : *hoc quidem mirum, quidquid de fluminibus haurias, signo dispendii non notari, quidquid de fontibus haurias, usurario quodam reparari meatu. sed et fluminibus, si nihil decedere nihil tamen uideatur accedere, at uero hic panis, quem frangit Iesus, . . . dum diuiditur augetur.*

IX *Hic est dies uerus Dei* [MSS *a b c d e f k* + 10].

7 *quem non graui* soluit *metu*
    latronis absolutio?

So all the Ambrosian MSS, except *a*, which reads *soluet*, but is unreliable on such a point,[2] However, Tomasi and Mone read *soluet*; —Tomasi because he found it in *a*, Mone because he thinks it should be in the same tense as *mirabitur* of viii 27. The present is as suitable as the future, and being much better supported should be read here;

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[1] i. e. the miraculous feeding of the five thousand.
[2] See above on vi 29.

' Whom does not the pardoning of the robber free from grievous dread ? '
The variant *soluat* is not, as Mone suspects, a correction of Junius
himself; it is found not only in Bodley Junius 25 ix init, but in
Werner's two Rheinau MSS. Ambrose in another hymn uses the sub-
junctive in a similar question : *hic quis requirat testium | uoces, ubi factum
est fides* ? [1]

5 *fidem refundens* perditis | *caecosque uisu inluminans.*
This is the vulg., but Tomasi, Mone, and Werner are no doubt right
in reading *perfidis* with *a* [2] and three other MSS. *perfidis* is contrasted
with *fidem*, as *caecos* with *inluminans.*

9 f *qui praemium mutans cruce
Iesum breui* adquisit *fide,*
iustosque *praeuio gradu*
praeuenit *in regnum Dei.* [3]
opus stupent et angeli. . . .
The variants here are many. In 10 *a* and two good MSS read
adquisiuit, the Ambrosians, Junius 25 and Rheinau 111 *quesiuit*, the other
6 *querit.* Thus there is a decided balance in favour of the perfect. I read
adquisit, because a copyist who found *querit* or *quesiuit* would be most
unlikely to change it into the longer word, which would be awkward in
singing when elision was no longer in use. Mone reads *quaerit* chiefly
because *mutans* is present, as if the tense of the participle could affect
the tense of the verb.

In 11 *iustos praeuenit* = ' preceded the righteous '. That the *iusti* of
Lk xv 7 are meant is shewn by the mention of the angels in the next
line, with a further reference probably to Mt. xxi 31. Mone explains
' *iusti* sind die Altväter in der Vorhölle, ehe Christus diese befreit hatte,
war der Schächer schon im Paradiese'. This seems to me very far-fetched.
About half the MSS, *a* among them, have *iustus.* But *a* is most
unreliable on this point also, writing e. g. in this hymn *corpuris* and
hictu (= *ictu*). [4]
Two MSS have *peruenit*, which would naturally go with *iustus* taken
as nom. sing.
a and Junius 25 have *regno*, which may be right.

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[1] Daniel xxxviii 13 f. He there reads *dic quis* . . . , the reading which he found
in Acta SS for June iii 842 from a Milan breviary of XVIth cent.

[2] *a* actually reads according to its wont *perfides.*

[3] 10 Of the edd Tom. Wern. *quaesiuit* (which will not scan), Bir. Drev. *quaesit*
Dan. *acquirit* (found in no old MS). The MSS which read *adquisiuit* are *a*,
Rheinau 83 [2], [21], St Gallen 387 [21]. 11 Tom. Dan. Bir. Drev. *iustus* . . . *peruenit.*

[4] Other exx. in *a* of confusion between *o* and *u* are *infurmet* (= *informet*), *actos*
(= *actus*), *subria* (= *sobria*), *apostule*, *manos.* Cf. note on vi 29.

27 f *moriatur uita omnium,*
  resurgat uita omnium.

So edd. (and MSS) except Mone, who rewrites 27 *iam mortua est uita omnium,* and Mone and Dan., who with *a* read *resurgat ut uita omnium.* If Ambrose is strict in metre[1] he cannot have left 27 as it stands, with a spondee in the 2nd foot and a hiatus after a short unaccented syllable. Biraghi thinks that the semi-vowel *u* of *uita* would not lengthen the preceding *-tur* and *-gat.* But this is not the case: *u* before a vowel is a consonant, is often transliterated in Greek by *β,* and constantly in MSS confused with *b.* I believe that *ut* has fallen out in both verses, and would read *moriatur ut uita omnium, resurgat ut uita omnium.* The two verses are parallel, and if *ut* is inserted in the one, it must be inserted in the other.

X *Aeterna Christi munera* [MSS *b c d e f g i* + 34].

This hymn, as Ambrose wrote it, was in honour of martyrs. Its subsequent adaptation to Apostles and the consequent breaking up into two hymns have introduced some perplexity into its text. Daniel truly says *hymnum . . . ab ecclesia misere dilaceratum uidemus.*

12 *uitam beatam possident.*

So the vulg., but Tom., Biraghi, and Dreves rightly read *lucem b. p.* with *b c g i,* cap. Veron. XC ix Cas. 420 xi. *uitam* would come in from *uitam beatam carpere* line 16 of *Hic est dies uerus Dei.*

XI *Agnes beatae uirginis* [MSS *b c d f g i* + 3].

8 *cedebat et fessus senex.*

So all editors. But the codd. have *effessus d f² h i,* or *efessus f¹,* Cap. Veron. XC or *effessi* Vat. 7172 xi. *effessus* is a rightly formed word meaning 'worn out' and should be read. Similar adjectives are *edurus, efferus.*

13 f *prodire quis* nuptam *putet,*
  sic laeta uultu ducitur,
  nouas uero ferens opes
  dotata censu sanguinis.

So runs the stanza in Tomasi. *nuptam* 'a bride' makes good enough sense, but later editors rightly prefer *nuptum* (supine) of all the older MSS = 'going forth to her bridal'. 15 is unmetrical, which fault Mone remedied by reading *uero nouas.* But the true reading *nouas uiro* ('for her husband') is found in Veron. cap. XC ix and Cas. 506 Q x.

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[1] Cf. notes on i 25, iv 1.

25 f *percussa quam pompam tulit!*
   nam ueste se totam tegit,
   curam pudoris praestitit,
   ne quis retectam cerneret.

In 25 Daniel reads *percussam*, without authority and against the metre. Mone conjectures *qua* for *quam* 'as the sense demands', which I do not understand.

In 26 the true reading *tegens* is preserved in *b d*. The present *tegit* between the two perfects would be very awkward.

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THE CATACOMB OF PRISCILLA AND THE PRIMITIVE MEMORIALS OF ST PETER.

Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Serie V: Notisie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1906.

THIS volume contains a brief summary (p. 304 ff) of the discoveries made during the year 1906 in the Catacombs. The chief interest of these lies in the fact that they contributed something to the solution of what is perhaps the most important question debated in recent years in this field of study. A tradition of great antiquity placed the scene of St Peter's administration of the rite of baptism in the region to the east and north-east of Rome bounded by the Via Nomentana and Via Salaria. The Basilica and Catacomb of St Agnes adjoin the first-named of these roads, while the Catacomb of Priscilla borders on the latter. In the later recension of the list of Christian cemeteries[1] the *coemeterium fontis* (or *ad nymphas*) *S. Petri* takes its place between the *coemeterium S. Agnetis* and the *coemeterium Priscillae*; but this of course leaves its precise situation an open question. The *Gesta Liberii*, a document which Duchesne[2] considers to have been written not later than the beginning of the sixth century, carry us a step further. We are told by the author[3] that Liberius, when ordered by Constantius to leave Rome, took up his residence *ab urbe Roma milliario tertio quasi exul in cymiterio Novellae Via Salaria*. All that we know concerning the Cemetery of Novella is contained in a passage of the Life of St Marcellus

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[1] De Rossi *Roma Sotterranea* i p. 159, from the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae.*
[2] *Liber Pontificalis* i p. cxxii.
[3] Constant *Epp. Rom. pont.* p. 90 ; Migne *Patrol. Lat.* viii 1391.