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III. r¹ Civitas contemnens quae habitat in spe, quae dicit in corde suo, Ego sum et non est post me adhuc! quomodo facta est in exterminium pascua bestiarum! omnis qui transit per illam sibilabit,
a et movebit manus suas. ⁸O inlustris et redempta civitas, columba quae non audit vocem, non recepit disciplinam, in Domino non est con-3 fisa, et ad Deum suum non adpropinquavit. ⁸ Principes eius in ea ut leones frementes, iudices eius ut lupi Arabiae non relinquebant in 4 mane. ⁴ Profetae eius spiritu elati viri contemptores, sacerdotes eius 5 profanant sacra et conscelerant legem. ⁶ Dominus autem iustus in medio eius non faciet iniustum

Cyprian.

8 * Exspecta me, dicit Dominus, in die resurrectionis meae in testimonium, quoniam iudicium meum ad congregationes gentium, ut excipiam reges, et effundam super eos iram meam .

III 1-5 Tycon. Reg. Quart.; Luc. Cal. De sanct. Athan. i 36 III 1, 2 Cypr. Ad Novat. v III 4 Spec. xlvi III 8 Cypr. Testim. iii 106 ; De bono pat. xxi.

in spe] επ ελπιδι (Γ εν ελπ. Q* (superscr. π Qa vid) III. I. Civitas] pr aurn E 2. Columba non exaudit vocem, id est praeclara et redempta civitas, non recepit doctrinam, et in Dominum fidens non fuit C inlustris] quae erat splendida L quae om G vocem] + σου 68 87 disciplinam] maidias N= (-diar Na. a, c. b) non adpropinguavit] non accessit L our ηγγικεν Q 158 283 our ηγγισεν G L (exc 153 233) 🛃 3. in ea] om L hab G (om Arm.) ut 1º 2º] sicut L frementes] non relinquebant] non subreliquierunt L 4. spiritu elati] fremunt L spiritales Leius 2°] avtor Г profanant ad fin com] contaminant se et sacra et conscelerant] imple agunt L contaminant sancta et reprobant legem Som N* (hab Nº. a) legem] pr es vor L 5. iustus] + est L non] pr et iniustum] iniuste L adistar 62 147 adistor 低乱 (exc 62 147) 我 8. Ex-LŒ spectal pr dia rouro (5 in die] eis nuepar E (er nuepa 42 240 Compl) iram meam] pr masar 低 孔 對 pr TAV opyAV Hou 孔 No. b (vid) (postea ras)

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

THE METRICAL ENDINGS OF THE LEONINE SACRAMENTARY.

It is now more than twenty years since M. Noël Valois, by the publication of his study of the rhythmical system known as the 'cursus Leoninus' or 'stylus Gregorianus', as it appears in the Papal bulls of the middle ages¹, awakened interest in the history and development

¹ Étude sur le rhythme des bulles pontificales : Bibl, de l'École des Chartes 1881.

of the 'cursus'. Since that time much has been written on the subject. especially on the earlier history of the system which after long disuse was 'restored' in the eleventh century. Its use has been traced further and further back by successive writers. By Mgr Duchesne it was shewn that the 'cursus' introduced by Gelasius II and improved by Gregory VIII was professedly a revival of the usage of the time of St Leo¹. M. Léonce Couture traced the use of a similar system in liturgical formulae, and in the works of Christian writers from the third century to the time of St Gregory². M. Louis Havet shewed that the letters of Symmachus are permeated by a 'cursus' which is not a matter of rhythm and accent, but of metre and quantity*. Prof. W. Meyer, in a notice of M. Havet's work, advanced a theory of the metrical principle of the 'cursus' differing from that of M. Havet'. Prof. E. Norden has traced the use of the 'cursus' in classical writers, Greek as well as Latin, and brought together passages from various authorities to elucidate its principles, following and supporting the general theory of Prof. Meyer, though differing from him on points of detail⁵. So far as I am aware no systematic attempt has been made, save in certain papers by Dom A. Grospellier , to shew the extent to which the 'cursus' can be traced in the early sacramentaries, or the precise character of the 'cursus' which they exhibit.

In the following note I have attempted to deal with a part of this task for the Leonine sacramentary (*Leon*). The final phrases of its prayers and prefaces form the natural starting-point for such an investigation, and to these I have for the present limited my examination of its contents ⁷. I have followed the text of Mr. Feltoe's edition, but in

¹ Note sur l'origine du ' cursus': Bibl. de l'École des Chartes 1889.

* Revue des questions historiques 1892.

³ La prose métrique de Symmaque et les origines métriques du 'cursus' Paris 1892.

⁴ In Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen 1893. Prof. Meyer held that the 'cursus' does not depend upon the form of the last word, but is made up by combinations in which the cretic plays a special part.

* Die antike Kunstprosa Leipzig 1898.

• Revue du chant Grégorien 1897. The discussion of the 'cursus' in its relation to the Gregorian plainsong by Dom A. Mocquereau, in vol. iv of *Paléographie Musicale*, proceeds, of course, on different lines.

⁷ By 'final phrase' I mean, of course, not the 'common form' beginning e.g. with 'Per' or 'Et ideo', but the phrase immediately preceding this 'common form' or separated from it by words which serve only to connect the 'common form' with the prayer or preface, and which may be treated as belonging rather to the 'common form'. In three cases it seemed uncertain where the division should be made, or whether any 'final phrase' could be clearly separated from the rest of the prayer. These I have left out of the reckoning. Where the MS seems to indicate alternative forms of final phrase I have reckoned both : where a prayer is



giving references I have cited not the pages of that edition but the columns of Muratori's *Liturgia Romana Vetus* (1745), since that numeration is to be found in the margins of Mr. Feltoe's volume, and is therefore equally useful for either text.

In classifying and tabulating the endings of Leon, I have so far followed the system employed by M. Louis Havet in his examination of the letters of Symmachus (Sym) as to make my arrangement depend on the form of the final word or group of syllables. It is, I think, not impossible that for the composer or composers of the prayers the form of the last word did actually determine that of the word preceding-that they would, for instance, have described the ending 'esse concede' (with Martianus Capella) as formed by prefixing a trochee to a final molossus, rather than (with Terentianus Maurus) as composed of a cretic followed by a trochee: and in any case the relative frequency of particular forms in the final word seems to be a factor of which account should be taken in estimating the character of the 'cursus' as it appears in a particular author or collection. But in following M. Havet's plan I have specially had in view the convenience of ready comparison with his record of the results of his observations with regard to the final phrases of Symmachus: the method does not imply disregard of the theory of the original principle of the 'cursus' to which the investigations of Prof. W. Meyer and Prof. E. Norden would seem to lead.

In respect of the form of the final word or group of syllables there is less variety in *Leon* than in *Sym*. On the other hand, one type of final which is hardly found at all in *Sym* is not infrequent in *Leon*. The whole number of endings of which I have taken account is 1,340. In four of these the last word is a monosyllable, in thirty-five a dissyllable, in 605 a word of three, in 695 a word of four, and in one a word of five syllables. The four final monosyllables are all parts of a larger group *guae inska sunt, quae recta sunt, exorta est, quod summ est*. In the following table these are classed among four-syllable endings. Of the final dissyllables thirty-four are preceded by a monosyllable with which they are closely linked, so that the endings in which they occur may be classed as three-syllable endings : and in the same way 154 of the 605 final trisyllables are preceded by a monosyllable, forming a four-syllable group¹.

divided into paragraphs, as in the Consurvatio Episcoporum, I have reckoned only the last.

⁴ In seven out of the 154 cases it may perhaps be said that the monosyllable is more closely connected with the word which precedes than with that which follows it, or is, so to say, disconnected from both. For convenience of tabulation, however, I have reckoned these also as four-syllable groups. The principal types of final word or group represented in Sym are all found in Leon: their relative frequency may be most clearly shewn in tabular form :---

	Sym.			Leon.		
Type of final	Single words	Groups of syllables	Total	Single words	Groups of syllables	Total
– – ⊻ (A)	207	5	212	449	34	483
∪ ∪ ~ ⊻ (B 1)	54	I	55	71	2	73
- ∪ ∪ ¥ (B 2)	98	8	106	196	32	228
∪⊻(B3)	160	31	191	89	42	131
-∪-⊻(C)	199	36	235	257	58	315

Thus the whole number of final words or groups which belong to one or other of these five types is in Sym 799 out of about 940, in Leon 1,230 out of 1,340. The great majority of the remaining finals of Leon belong to one of two types: these are $\smile - - \smile (D)$ and $- - \smile (E)$. The type D is represented in Sym by twenty-nine instances, all but one being four-syllable words : in Leon it appears forty-six times, forty-one being cases of a four-syllable word. The type E is hardly ever employed by Symmachus as the last word of a letter : in Leon it appears forty-nine times. thirty-one being cases of a four-syllable word, eighteen of a threesyllable word with preceding monosyllable. The fifteen remaining finals of Leon are divided as follows: v - v - occurs six times, five being cases of a single word; this is hardly to be found as a final in Sym: 0000 is an apparent final in five cases in Leon, but is not used as a final in Sym: - (once in Sym), - - (thirteen times in Sym), - - -(twenty-eight times in Sym), and $- \circ - \circ - ($ once in Sym), each appear in a single instance in Leon.

According to M. Havet's observations Sym furnishes 207 cases in which the last word of a letter is of the type A. In 204 of these the penultimate word or group supplies a trochee before the final word, producing the ending $- \bigcirc - - \backsim$, the parent of the later 'cursus planus'. Out of the 483 finals of this type in *Leon*, one is preceded by two monosyllables, 124 or 125 by a word of two syllables, the remainder by a word of three or more. The *foot* preceding the final word is in 472 cases a trochee. In one case the text is apparently faulty; the most probable emendation gives the form 'cuncta succedant'1: in 'proficiendo sectemur' it is likely that the syllable before the final word should be regarded as short. The remaining nine cases⁸ substitute a spondee for the penultimate trochee. *Leon* supplies no instance of

³ The prayer in question is omitted in Muratori's text, where it should appear on col. 481. Bianchini's emendation seems better than that suggested by Mr. Feltoe.

³ Including 'possis audire', which occurs thrice.

a tribrach before a final word of type A, a combination which occurs three times in Sym.

This variation is not mentioned by Martianus Capella, who, in common with other authorities cited by Prof. Norden, commends the ending $- \circ - - -$ which he describes as produced by combining a trochee with final molossus. The substitution of a spondee for the penultimate trochee he regards as bad: probably the few cases of this ending in *Leon* are due to the influence of accent.

With the final molossus Martianus Capella connects the three types of final which appear in the table above as B1, B2, B3. These he treats as developements or variations of the molossus, formed by resolution of its first, second, or third syllable. The form B 1, which he also describes as 'ionicus minor', may be combined either with a trochee or with a tribrach, the other two forms apparently with a trochee only¹. All three types occur frequently both in Sym and in Leon, but their relative frequency, as will be seen from the table above, is by no means the same in the two collections. In Sym B 3 is more common than the other two taken together; in Leon the instances of B 2 outnumber those of B 1 and B 3. In both collections B 1 is the least common of the three types. In Sym all three types of final are regularly combined with a preceding trochee, thus furnishing the endings $- \cup \cup \cup - \leq$ (the 'esse videatur' of Cicero), which Julius Victor describes as composed of a 'paeon primus' followed by a spondee; $- \cup - \cup \cup \preceq$, described by Terentianus Maurus as a cretic followed by a tribrach; and - - - - - - +, which Terentianus Maurus describes as a cretic followed by a dactyl, Julius Victor as a doubled cretic. M. Havet points out that the ending 'esse videatur' is a form which would tend to disappear when accent rather than quantity became the principal factor in determining the final cadence. Under this condition, while the distinction between the final B 2 and B 3 would be obscured, and the one type would be confused with the other, neither of them would be confused with a final of a different type: they would both be com-

¹ Trisyllabis clausulam terminantibus lex est, si modo eam velis molliter fluere, ut trochaeo praecedente paenultimo molossus subsequatur, siue longam habeat nouissimam syllabam siue breuem iure metrico, ut illud est Tullii 'mare fluctuantibus litus eiectis'. fit autem pessima clausula si pro trochaeo paenultimo spondeum praelocaueris ut si dicas 'mare fluctuantibus rupes eiectis'. ... item bona clausula fit si pro nouissimo molosso ionicus minor ponatur post trochaeo mediam molossi solueris, pulchram clausulam feceris, ut si dicas 'litus Aemiliae'. item trochaeo paenultimo pulchre etiam tertia molossi resoluitur ut si dicas 'litus aequabile'. item si trochaei paenultimi longam soluerimus et primam molossi ultimi, fit elegans clausula ut est 'curas regere animorun'. Mart. Cap. De muptiis Philologiae et Mercurii v (522). The passage is mentioned by Norden Die antike Kunstprosa p. 929. bined with a trochee or with its rhythmical equivalent, and both pass into the later 'cursus tardus'. The type B I, on the other hand, would tend to be confused with the type C, a tendency which would be assisted by uncertainty as to the quantity of the first syllable. It would therefore be combined with such preceding words as would be suitable in the case of a final of the type C, and pass, like that type, into the later 'cursus velox'¹.

It might therefore be expected that the usage with regard to type B I would, as the influence of quantity declined before that of accent, be less stable and constant than that which is observed with regard to B 2 and B 3. That this is actually the case in *Leon* will be seen from the following tabular statement :---

		Βι	B 2	В 3
Preceded by	μ υ	45	215	125
"	000	4	0	0
>>		18	t	2
**	<u>v</u> u –	4	0	Ö
33		2	0	0
>>		0	1 2	4
	Total	73	228	131

The number of exceptions to the rule shewn in this table should perhaps be somewhat reduced. I have classed as belonging to the type BI six cases in which the last word is 'celebranus' or 'celebremus'. These ought perhaps rather to be classed as D. If they are deducted the total of instances of BI will be reduced to sixty-seven, of which forty-nine will be regular according to the rules of Martianus Capella. Two cases of an apparent penultimate spondee under B2 are perhaps really regular³. It is clear, however, that while in the case of B2 and B3 the few departures from rule are of the same kind which we have seen in the case of A, the more frequent irregularities in the case of BI are all of another character: they substitute for the trochee a foot with short penultimate, thus assimilating the ending to those which we find in the case of type C or D.

The type C is more frequent in Sym and Leon than any other save A. It is, of course, the 'dichoreus', which is regarded by the authorities

¹ See Havet La prose métrique de Symmaque p. 9.

² These are 'renovando vivificent' and 'lucis acternae efficeret'. In the latter of these (470) 'acternae' is an alternative reading for 'perpetuae' and should probably stand before, not after, 'lucis'. It is just possible that in the phrase 'convertere supplicibus' 'convertere' should be regarded not as imperative but as future indicative. The two cases of a dactyl before B 3 are the ending of a preface which occurs twice.

cited by Prof. Norden as a final cadence complete in itself¹. But Terentianus Maurus rejects the ending produced by adding a 'bacchius' to the cretic, i.e. an ending consisting of three trochees. This combination is avoided in the case of a final of the type C by the common usage of Sym and Leon, which place before this type of final word a word or group of three or more syllables with short penultimate word. In Leon this usage is almost invariable. Of the 315 finals of this type 310 are preceded by a cretic, an anapaest, a dactyl or a tribrach : the cretic is the most frequent, the dactyl next, the tribrach the least common. In more than half the cases the syllable preceding the final word is long. In Sym this is still more general². Of the five apparent exceptions to the rule in Leon, one has before the final the words 'ostensum est', another 'gratae sunt's: the remaining three have a trochee; but in two of these the last word is 'prosequaris' which might fairly, in view of the uncertainty of late writers as to the quantity of 'pro' in composition, be assigned rather to the type B_I. In any case it is clear that in Leon the ending of three consecutive trochees is on the whole carefully avoided 4.

M. Havet treats the type D as a variant of the type C, having regard apparently to the facts that the usage of Sym, in respect of the penultimate word or group of the phrase, is the same for both, and that both types, so treated, would pass into the later 'cursus velox'. The same usage is found in Leon, where, out of forty-six instances of a final of type D^{*}, forty-one are preceded by a polysyllabic word or group of which the penultimate syllable is short. But it would be difficult to suppose that the type D was originally admitted as the equivalent of the 'ditrocheus' where the system was regulated by quantity. It may be observed that in Leon the syllable immediately preceding a final of this type is long in thirty cases or more out of the forty-six. It may be said that these cases yield an ending of the form $-v - - \forall$, while others would give the form $\bigcirc \bigcirc \bigcirc -- \lor$, and that it seems not altogether unlikely that the type D, at first treated as one of the elements in these combinations, was, at a later time, under the influence of accent, or in some cases through uncertainty as to the quantity of its first two syllables,

¹ Martianus Capella v (521) recognizes it as good when composed of two dissyllables. A lacuna in his text leaves it uncertain whether he gave any rule as to the form of the word preceding a quadrisyllable of this type.

² See Havet La prose métrique de Symmaque p. 37.

⁸ On these cases see below, p. 394.

⁴ Cassiodorus, in a passage quoted by Prof. Norden (*Die antike Kunstprosa* p. 930), treats this ending as one which ought to be discarded: 'trochaeum triplicem laudabilis neglectus abscondat' (*De inst. div. litt.* 15).

⁸ La prose métrique de Symmaque pp. 8, 36, 37.

• I include ' patronorum', ' sacraverunt', ' sacramentum'.

assimilated to the type C. In *Leon* out of the five cases in which it is not so treated it is preceded by a trochee in four, in one by the combination 'digni sunt'¹.

The type E is of very rare occurrence in Sym. Its appearance in *Leon* is nearly as frequent as that of D. It seems to be treated as a variety of C, having before it in all cases but one³ a word or group with a short penultimate syllable. The syllable before the final word or group is short in the majority of cases. The admission of this type is probably due in part to the influence of accent, in part to uncertainty as to the quantity of the second syllable, as in the cases of 'et profectum'³, 'suffragantur', 'suffragator', 'suffragari'.

The final --- is preceded in one case by a spondee, in five by a trochee. In the rare cases of its occurrence in Sym the preceding foot is always a spondee; but the instances are too few to warrant the assertion of a rule. It seems most likely that all the instances should be regarded as cases of faulty endings. The five cases of final uuuu, a type not found in Sym, are all instances of the same phrase, 'gratias tibi referimus'. I am inclined to think that these words should be connected rather with those which follow than with those which precede them, and do not constitute the true ending of the collects in which they occur. The words preceding 'gratias' furnish in each case an ending of a more regular kind . With regard to the four isolated cases it may be observed that the instance of --, 'iustificando capaces' (358) may be said to yield a 'dichoreus', that of --, 'conferant vitam' (405) an ending of the form - - -; the instance of -00, 'elegere super omnia' (446) is in accordance with the usage of Sym. The single case of a five-syllable final is 'sequatur universitas' (333).

M. Havet remarks⁵ that the only monosyllables which Symmachus allows to stand at the end of a phrase are those which belong to the conjugation of the verb 'sum'. This rule holds good for the small number of final monosyllables which appear in *Leon*. Two of these are 'est', two 'sunt'. At the end of a group of syllables preceding the final word 'sunt' appears five times, 'est' twice, 'sit' twice : there

¹ See below, p. 394.

³ The ending in this case is 'redemptionis exercetur' (304). It may be observed that the last word appears in the MS as 'exercitur', and that in the variation of the same collect which appears in the Gelasian sacramentary the MS has 'exercitum'.

³ The authority of Ausonius *Idyll*. iv 71 may perhaps favour the transference of the four cases of this final to the type C.

⁴ These are 'dona sumentes' (346), 'perceptione satiati' (348), 'recordatione satiati' (402), 'dulcedine vegetati' (396), and 'dona caelestia' (367).

^b La prose métrique de Symmaque p. 66.

are no instances of any other monosvllable in this position. M. Havet remarks further that in Sym the monosyllable in such a case seems to be treated as non-existent for metrical purposes, so that on the one hand it is a matter of indifference whether the syllable preceding it is short, long, or subject to elision, and on the other hand the word preceding the group of which a final monosyllable forms part has the same form as if the monosyllable were not there. In Leon, except for the doubtful 'lucis aeternae efficeret' mentioned above 1, there is no case of elision or hiatus in a final phrase, except before the word 'est': 'exorta est', 'quod suum est' are the only instances : in a penultimate group of syllables there is no other case besides 'ostensum est'². But I am inclined to think that in all cases in Leon these monosyllables have the full value as syllables, and that in the three cases specified the hiatus is admitted. It may be that M. Havet's view that a long vowel before 'sunt' at the end of a phrase is in Sym practically regarded as short, should be taken into account in the cases of 'digni sunt' and 'gratae sunt' before finals of type C or D. The other cases of final 'est', 'sit', 'sunt' are regular (apart from hiatus) if 'est', 'sit', 'sunt' have their full value : most of them would not be so if the monosyllable were removed.

The conclusions which seem to result from this examination may be briefly stated; they are these :---

1. That the final phrases of *Leon* are regulated by a metrical system which is for the most part strictly observed.

2. That while the influence of accent may be traced in the assimilation of endings with a final of the type B_I to those with a final of the type C, in the occasional combination of finals of the types A, B₂, B₃ with a preceding spondee, and in the admission of finals of the type E, this system agrees in the main with that which M. Havet has traced in the letters of Symmachus³.

3. That a large majority of the final phrases are instances of one or other of the three principal forms of the early 'cursus'.

¹ See p. 391, above.

³ Martianus Capella, from his instance 'curas regere animorum', would seem not to have had much scruple about hiatus. But it is avoided in *Leon* as a general rule.

³ Perhaps we should also consider as due in part at least to the influence of accent the greater relative frequency of the type B 2.

⁴ If we do not reckon those which have a final of the types B I, B 2, D or E, the regular endings are about sixty-seven per cent. of the whole. About thirty-five per cent. are of the form composed of cretic and trochee or spondee, about nine per cent. of the form of the double cretic (or cretic and dactyl), about twenty-three per cent. in the form of the 'dichoreus' (cretic with added syllable). If we take into account, as metrically regular, the endings in which a final of the types B I, B 2 is treated according to the rules of Martianus Capella, the metrically regular endings will number more than eighty-seven per cent. of the whole.

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On two questions which may be of some importance in their bearing on the subject of the formation of the Leonine sacramentary, the question whether the system which prevails in the endings of the prayers and prefaces is traceable through their whole structure, and the question whether exceptions to its rules are specially frequent in particular sections of the collection, I hope to say something in a future note.

H. A. WILSON.

THE POEMANDRES OF HERMES TRISMEGISTUS.

Among the writings which pass under the name of the Egyptian Hermes the chief place is taken by the Poemandres. It consists of fourteen short treatises or chapters which are connected by their reference to a common subject. They deal with the creation of the world and of the soul; the nature of God; the deification of mankind. The character of the book was recognized by Casaubon who devotes to it the greater part of a section in his Exercitationes Baronianae de Rebus Sacris. No one, however, seems to have followed up the clue which he gives. And Zeller, while recognizing the Gnostic character of the first and thirteenth chapters, treats the rest of the book as an expression of paganism in its decline. It seems worth while, therefore, to reconsider the *Poemandres* in the light of some of the knowledge which has been added since the time of Casaubon. We shall have little difficulty in shewing as against Zeller that the book is in the main homogeneous and of a Christian origin. Not only so, our discussion will bring us into contact with the later Greek culture as it developed amid Egyptian surroundings, and will raise several problems of considerable importance. Among other things we shall have to trace the way in which Hermes passes over into Christian tradition, and how the Greek representations of Hermes furnished Christian art with one of its earliest motives. We shall further find in it a bridge by which we may pass over from Greek philosophy and science to modes of thought which are properly Christian. And yet the writer still retains so much of the antique spirit that, as we have seen, he can actually be mistaken for an apologist of paganism. But if, on the one hand, we are enabled by recent discoveries to understand the Poemandres better than Casaubon was in a position to do, on the other hand the Poemandres throws fresh and unsuspected light upon these very discoveries.

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