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THE MEDIEVAL SEQUENCE AND TROPE

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
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requirements for the degree of
Master of Sacred Theology

by

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INTRODUCTION

Any study of the hymns of the Church is always interesting and rewarding to the Christian historian, musician, theologian, and writer. In approaching such a study they all must remember that the hymn is more than history, music, theology, or a text--it is an expression of faith. In its hymns the Church has treasured the best works of musicians and writers who have dedicated their work to the praise and adoration of God. Some hymns, it is true, are by great and famous men, but many are the products of unknown writers and composers, and some, in a sense, have come from the people.

Interest in this study of the medieval Latin sequence and trope began with the research I did for an earlier thesis on medieval Latin hymnody.¹ This former thesis dealt primarily with the beginnings of Latin hymnody and the development of the hymn for the Daily Office. A special study was made of those Office hymns which appear in The Lutheran Hymnal. This present thesis is intended to supplement the former study by concentrating on another area of

¹John Lemkul, "The Latin Office Hymns in the Lutheran Hymnal," (unpublished Bachelor's Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1954).

Latin hymnody, the sequences and the tropes. Although both the Office hymn and the sequence and trope come under the heading of Latin hymnody, there is very little similarity in their structure or in their history. In general, the hymn originated as a separate and independent metrical art form; it could be sung alone or could be inserted between parts of the liturgy. The trope and sequence, on the other hand, did not begin outside of the liturgy, but were a development mainly within the liturgy of the Mass.

The medieval Roman liturgical tradition did not permit any additional parts to be added to the prescribed Ordinary and Propers of the Mass, and so the musician and poet turned to the only solution possible--to embellish the existing form by interpolating florid melodies into existing chants and adding words to the textless portions of the liturgical chant.

The present thesis primarily is an historical research into the origin and development of the sequence and the trope. From the Table of Contents it may appear that the order of the chapters is a little unusual, for one usually expects an historical account to be presented in chronological order. But because of what we know and what we do not know about the sequence and trope, the outline of the paper begins with the known and proceeds to the unknown. That is why both the sections on the sequence and the trope begin at the Abbey of St. Gall at the time of Charlemagne, and why the section about the origin of these forms is toward the end of the thesis. However, in the chapter about the origin of the

forms one can do no more than present some of the suggested theories, for there is little agreement and it seems that the problem is destined to remain undecided.

In this thesis, as in the former one, I have used examples wherever possible from among those sequences and tropes which are in current use. However, in this study I have included examples from major English hymnals used in the twentieth century by the two Protestant liturgical churches, the Anglican or Episcopal and the Lutheran Church. The hymnals used in this study are Hymns Ancient and Modern, The English Hymnal, The Hymnal 1940, The Lutheran Hymnal, and The Service Book and Hymnal.

Sequences and tropes are very important in the history of hymnody and liturgy, not only because they permitted musicians and poets to write new melodies and texts within the framework of the Mass, but in addition they were a pre-Reformation introduction of the vernacular hymn into the Mass. Perhaps the most significant thing about the development of the sequence is that in this form the German hymn found its way into the Latin worship.²

By the time of the Reformation the number of sequences and tropes had become so numerous³ and the form was so pop-

²Guido Maria Dreves, Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnendichtung (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1909), I, viii ff. According to Dreves there are more than 4,000 sequences and 1,200 tropes known today.

³Joachim Beckmann, "Das Proprium Missae," Leiturgia/Handbuch des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes (Kassel: Johannes Stuada-Verlag, 1955), II, 74 ff.

ular that they crowded out the liturgical text. With the increase in number came a decrease in merit. At the time of the Council of Trent the form had degenerated so completely that they detracted from the worship rather than enhancing it for the people. To correct this abuse the Council of Trent abolished all tropes and all but four sequences. In general Luther and the Lutheran reformers had the same view of the sequences and tropes; however, they did retain a few more than four in the Lutheran worship. Those that were retained usually were older sequences and tropes which were objective and Biblical. The use of hymns in the Communion Service, and especially the Lutheran custom of singing a hymn or a cantata after the Alleluia undoubtedly is from the medieval sequence hymn.

It is hoped that this study of medieval sequences and tropes will contribute a little more understanding of the hymnody which preceded the Reformation, the hymnody out of which arose the Lutheran chorale.

¹John Ellis Henninger, *The Medieval Latin Hymn* (Washington, D.C.: Capital Press, 1953), p. 15.

²James Madison, "Tropes, Sequences, and Cantatas," *Early Medieval Music*, ed. by John J. Gillingham (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 127.

³Ibid., p. 128.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH INTO THE ORIGINS OF SEQUENCES AT ST. GALL

The problem presented by the origin of the sequence is perhaps the most difficult of all those connected with the evolution of medieval hymnology.

--Ruth Messenger¹

Anyone who reads just a few articles about the origin of the tropes and sequences by different authors soon sees the reason for the above quotation. Competent and respected scholars disagree greatly about place and manner of their origin. In fact, in the second volume of the New Oxford History of Music, a series now being published, Jacques Handschin begins his article "Trope, Sequence, and Conductus"² by stating that before embarking on a study of the origins of the sequence and trope, we need to define the terms. "There is already general agreement about the mutual relationship of the two, but unfortunately this does not extend farther."³ All writers agree that the sequence is a trope connected with the Alleluia of the Mass; however, that is about the only thing upon which they all agree. Because of varied theories of origin, the scholars also differ in the definition of the terms.

¹Ruth Ellis Messenger, The Medieval Latin Hymn (Washington, D.C.: Capital Press, c.1953), p. 35.

²Jacques Handschin, "Trope, Sequence, and Conductus," Early Medieval Music up to 1300, New Oxford History of Music (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), II, 128-74.

³Ibid., p. 128.

Much of the disagreement arises from the answer each of the writers would give to the following questions: Is the trope primarily of literary or musical origin? Is the trope primarily of Byzantine or Western European origin? Are the trope and sequence separate developments? Is the trope or the sequence the older of the two? It is in answer to these questions that scholars have proposed many theories of the origin of the trope and then on the basis of the answers often have defined the terms to support their own theory. Lack of definite manuscript proof does not mean that these different views represent a progressive unilateral change of ideas brought about by recent discoveries. Contemporary scholars in the past and contemporary authors today differ.

The Monastery of St. Gall

For the sake of a systematic appraisal of the different theories it is easier to begin our historical study in the middle. If we begin with the ninth century sequence at the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland, we begin with a fairly well documented era with manuscript examples. And on the basis of the St. Gall sequences and tropes, trace back their origins and historical development.

The two most famous centers of music at the time of Charlemagne were St. Martial (Anglo-French) and St. Gall (German). It is at St. Gall that the sequence form is made popular although it was known before in other monasteries of the empire.

The monastery was named after its founder, St. Gall (Gallus), (d. October 16, 640), an Irish missionary and disciple of the famous Irish missionary Columbanus (d. 615). Columbanus was one of the pioneers of the Irish Missionaries to the Continent, especially to France. He set up rules and regulations for the monks which were similar to St. Benedict's but much stricter. Many of the monasteries soon adopted the more lenient rules of St. Benedict. Columbanus adhered to the Irish usage of computing the date of Easter, the Irish tonsure and costume. Because of difficulties with the French King and court he was exiled from France and with his Irish disciples went to Switzerland. At Bregenz Gallus left him and established the monastery which bears his name at the River Steinach near Lake Constance. Through his efforts the whole surrounding country of the Allemanni was nominally Christianized.

The monastery soon became one of the most celebrated schools of learning in Switzerland and Germany. Irish and other missionaries came there to study and to learn "German" in order to prepare themselves for evangelistic work among the Germanic tribes.

One of the great treasures of the monastery was one of the two Gregorian antiphonaires sent by Pope Adrian to Charlemagne to assist the Emperor in his "Romanizing" the Church in his realm.

The account of how the monastery came to receive the manuscript is interestingly written by Ekkehard (Eckhard) IV

also called The Younger. Ekkehard was Dean of St. Gall in 1220. According to his account it seems that the German music center at Metz clashed with the French monasteries as to what was the correct Gregorian method. To solve the problem the Emperor Charles requested the Pope to send two priests who were thoroughly trained musicians to Metz to establish a music school above criticism. Pope Adrian sent two men, Peter and Romanus, and with them two Gregorian Antiphonaries. On the way both men came down with a heavy cold. Peter quickly recovered, but Romanus's cold became more serious and he developed a fever and remained at St. Gall. It seems that Peter wanted to continue the journey alone with the two manuscripts but Romanus insisted that one was his and Peter went on to Metz with only one antiphonary.

The monastery of St. Gall must have pleased him very much for Ekkehard's account states that when his health improved, he made no effort to leave and began to teach music to the monks and established a choral school which was made famous in later years by Hartmann, Notker, Tutilo, Ratpert, and Strabo.

Irish and Scottish pilgrims often stopped and stayed at the monastery on their way to and from Rome. On one occasion an Irish Bishop named Mark and his nephew Maengal (Moengal) stopped there. Maengal (Abbot of Bangor),⁴ a

⁴Samuel W. Duffield, Latin Hymns (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1889), p. 133.

musician, apparently aroused the admiration of Notker who "devoutly prayed God to let the Irishman tarry with them at St. Gall."⁵ Undoubtedly Maengal on his part was impressed with the music at St. Gall because he did stay. He latinized his name to Marcellus and became the teacher of Hartmann, Notker, Tutilo, Ratpert, and Strabo.

Of these men the one largely responsible for the enviable reputation enjoyed by St. Gall was Notker (d. April 6, 912). His fame and the prestige of the monastery was again due to another accession that came to the monastery unexpectedly. One day (c. 862) a wandering monk fleeing from the Abbey of Jumiéges (near Rouen) which was sacked by Normans in 851, arrived at St. Gall carrying with him his antiphonary. This book "contained some verses set to the jubili (or sequentiae)."⁶ Looking at the manuscripts Notker found the answer to a problem which had puzzled him for a long time--how to remember the long melismatic prolongation of the final syllable a in the alleluia which was sung while the deacon ascended to the rood-loft to chant the Gospel. This Jumiéges antiphonary, in which words were fitted to the Gregorian tones, gave him the answer. Notker then composed the Laudes Deo concinat orbis and afterward the Coluber Adae

⁵F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 211.

⁶Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, c.1940), p. 187.

male suasor. He relates his experiences in a letter to Luitward, Bishop of Vercelli and Chancellor of Charles the Fat. The letter of Notker is a preface to his second collection of sequences for almost all the Feasts of the Church Year which he dedicated to his patron Luitward.

When I was still young and was not always successful in remembering the long-drawnout melodies, I set out to find a means to make them easier to remember. At that time it just happened that a certain priest from Gemidia (Jumiéges) which was recently destroyed by the Normans came to us. [He brought with him] his antiphonary in which were written several strophes to sequences which however were filled with errors. This gave me the idea to compose others in the same manner. . . . I showed them to my teacher Yso [Iso], whom they pleased on the whole; but he wished to change a few things and made the observation that as many notes as are in the music, exactly that number of syllables must be in the text--no more, no less. Following this suggestion, I revised my work, and now Yso accepted it with complete approval and gave the text to the boys to sing.⁷

Following the example of the Jumiéges antiphonary and the suggestion of his teacher to keep the text syllabic, Notker wrote many sequences, using one syllable for each note of the sequence. According to Peter Wagner the "collection of longissimae melodiae which gave Notker his first idea of the sequence is still in existence at S. Gall (MS 484), written throughout in Latin neums."⁸ It contains

⁷Georg Rietschel, Lehrbuch der Liturgik (Berlin: Reuther, 1900-1909), I, 468. Translation from German by author.

⁸Peter Wagner, Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies, a Handbook of Plainsong, translated by Agnes Orme and E. G. P. Waytt (Second edition; London: The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1901), p. 223.

a number of greatly prolonged Alleluia-jubili which are only provided with the vowels of the word alleluia. "The manuscript bears all the signs of a foreign origin. Melodies are written from bottom to top so that the singer must begin from the left hand of the lowest line upward."⁹

Guido Dreves¹⁰ points out that at the time of Notker there was no definite and uniform notation system. The neums indicated the rise and fall of the melody but not exact intervals. They were only "eine Gedachtnisstütze"; the singers still had to memorize the melody. And so it would seem that the practice of putting words to the melisma was another mnemonic aid to remember the longissimae melodiae.

From the accounts of Ekkehard and Notker himself it is definite that Notker was not, as some have said, the inventor of the sequence, but that under the supervision of teachers, Yso and Marcellus, Notker modified the form already used at Jumieges and other monasteries in France. According to Heinrich Bessler¹¹ the role of St. Gall has been greatly overrated for a long time. Notker Balbulus surely was a significant poet but not a composer. In spite of the fact that he is often listed as one of the pupils of Marcellus

⁹Ibid., p. 224.

¹⁰Guido Maria Dreves, Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnendichtung (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1909), I, 102 f.

¹¹Heinrich Bessler, Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, edited by Ernest Bücken, Vol. I of Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, c.1931), p. 86.

"he was probably not a composer at all, but simply a writer of words to melodies already in existence."¹²

In addition these two accounts of the musical history of St. Gall point out some important things which scholars have interpreted in different ways and used to arrive at different conclusions. Perhaps we should begin with Ekkehard's account of Romanus and Peter stopping at St. Gall. Peter Wagner discounts the story as complete fiction. "Ekkehard's account of the direct reception of the Roman chant, and the founding of St. Gall song school, from Rome is not credible. He followed a tradition which obscured the real circumstances in order to confer lustre on the monastery."¹³ We must remember that St. Gall was founded by an Irish missionary, that many Irish clergy visited the monastery, and also that the choir was under an Irish monk who had been to Rome.

It is not without importance that the oldest known artist of S. Gall is of Irish origin. A fact which more than anything else demonstrates the important influence of the Anglo-Irish musical customs over the practice of the rising German monastery, is the unmistakable similarity of the notation in the oldest German plainsong manuscript and the English. The oldest S. Gall manuscripts have the same graceful, well rounded delicate neumes as the English; in fact one of the oldest manuscripts of Franco-German origin, if not the oldest, the so-called autograph of the Tonarius of

¹² Reese, loc. cit.

¹³ Wagner, op. cit., p. 220, fn. 1. "All investigators agree that the statements of Ekkehard are to be greatly mistrusted."

Regino of Prüm in the Leipzig City-Library, is written entirely in Anglo-Irish neums.¹⁴

It must be remembered that the monastic situations were in line with the policies of Charlemagne who imported Irish scholars such as Alcuin to set up a school in his court. Especially after his coronation as Emperor of the Pope on Christmas Day 800, Charlemagne actively set out to make all the clergy in his realm conform to the Roman rite. Gregorian chant was the official music of the church. Whether out of conviction, loyalty to Imperial wishes, or in order to seek favor, the monastic institutions strove as though in rivalry with one another for the Cantilena Romana. The monastery of St. Gall was no exception. Wagner claims that the Ekkehard account is a fabrication of the truth in order to give the monastery the reputation of direct tradition from Rome itself.

The account of an anonymous author of St. Gall who mentions it in his biography of Charles the Great is much different from that of Ekkehard. He relates that when Charles noticed that the singers sent from Rome did not fulfill the hopes he had set upon them, he sent two of his own singers to Rome for instruction. When they returned Charles sent one to Metz (unnamed) and kept the other at his court. The latter, Petrus by name, was later to work at St. Gall and teach the monks the Roman chant from an authentic antiphoner.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 221.

This account in contrast to Ekkehard's traces the origin of the choir school to a Frankish singer Peter, not one sent by the Pope from Rome.

This account certainly deserves more credit than that of Ekkehard and thus the Cantor Petrus, in spite of his suspicious name, may be a historical personage. The singer Romanus on the other hand rests upon too late a testimony to be placed in the same rank with Petrus.¹⁵

These accounts of the "Notker story" and general musical history of Anglo-French monasteries give us some definite points upon which to begin our study of the sequences and tropes. First of all we know that the sequence is an addition to the alleluia of the Mass. Secondly we know that this form (often called Prosa) was known in other monasteries before Notker wrote his famous sequences. Other monasteries that had and used sequences were St. Martial, Metz, Murbach, Fulda, Echternach, Kremünster, St. Florian, and Reichenau. In the third place we know that at this time there was much musical interchange among the monasteries. Finally we see that the monastery in question was of Celtic or Irish origin and was later involved in the Romanizing of the Christian churches in Charles's realm.

In the first paragraph of this chapter we said that all writers agree that the sequence is a trope connected with the alleluia. Now perhaps we can begin to define what we mean by trope. For the present let us be satisfied with a

¹⁵Ibid., p. 220.

very general statement and expand the first statement in the above paragraph as follows: the trope is an addition to the regular order of the Mass. We shall discuss the trope later.

St. Gall and St. Martial of Limoges were the two most prominent centers for the composition of sequences in Charlemagne's Empire. Each monastery developed its own style, one followed by French monasteries, the other by German monasteries. The texts of the earliest sequences seem all to have been written for a definite preexistent melody used for the melismatic singing of the alleluia. They are written in prose and are syllabic in style--one syllable for each note of the melody. Many, but not all, repeat the melodic strophe with different words, perhaps alternating between the men's and boys' voices of the choir. However, in some there is no repetition at all--"They are sequences only by virtue of their position as an extension of the Alleluia."¹ In some the parallelism is present but not always exact.²

The French school of St. Martial, Limoges, Fleury-sur-Loire, and Moissac as a rule chanted in unison the alleluia with which the melody opened and then began the sequence with the second phrase. The German school of St. Gall and its followers usually began at once with the next text to the original alleluia melody. Therefore their compositions began

¹Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, c.1940), p. 188.

²*ibid.*, p. 24 for an example by Eberker Balbulus.

CHAPTER III

EARLY SEQUENCES--FRENCH AND GERMAN SCHOOLS

St. Gall and St. Martial of Limoges were the two most prominent centers for the compositions of sequences in Charlemagne's Empire. Each monastery developed its own style, one followed by French monasteries, the other by German monasteries. The texts of the earliest sequences seem all to have been written for a definite preexistent melody used for the melismatic singing of the alleluia. They are written in prose and are syllabic in style--one syllable for each note of the melody. Many, but not all, repeat the melodic strophe with different words, perhaps alternating between the men's and boys' voices of the choir. However, in some there is no repetition at all--"They are sequences only by virtue of their position as an extension of the Alleluia."¹ In some the parallelism is present but not always exact.²

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¹Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, c.1940), p. 188.

²Infra, p. 24 for an example by Notker Balbulus.

with a single line followed by the rest in pairs of lines and again often ending with a single unrepeated line.

The following example of an early French sequence is considered to be pre-Notkerian. The text begins with the alleluia and also is an example of the author's attempt to relate the text to the alleluia by ending each line of the sequence with the sound "a".³ This is the first limitation to a form instead of pure prose style, and other than this restriction as to style, the text has no further elements of poetry such as meter or parallelism which is essential in what we usually regard to be the sequence form.

Alleluia

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. qui regis sceptrum
forti dextra
solus cuncta, | 3. praesta dona illi salutaria. |
| 2. tu plebi tuam
ostende magnam
excitando potentiam; | 4. quem praedixerunt prophetica
vaticinia,
a clara poli regia
in nostra,
Jesu, veni, domine, arva. ⁴ |

Notker's psallat ecclesia⁵ is an example of the German style. Its structure (x aa bb cc dd. . .y) became the model for the later sequences of St. Gall and the East Frankish or German monasteries. A later example of this style is one by Ekkehart I (900 c.973).⁶ Basically his sequences are the

³The second stanza could be considered to end with the vowel-sound a even though the a is closed by the consonant m.

⁴Analecta hymnica medii aevi, edited by Clemens Blume and G. M. Dreyes (Leipzig: C. R. Reisland, 1886-1922), LIII, 8.

⁵Infra, p. 22.

⁶He is also known as Ekkehart the Old. He was Dean of St. Gall and at one time Abbot of St. Gall and should not be confused with Ekkehard who wrote the account of Notker's life.

same as Notker's "except that asonance and rime are more frequent."⁷

1. a solis occasu
usque ad exortum

- | | |
|--|---|
| 2. est cunctis nomen tuum,
deus, laudabile, | 3. qui inde novum solem
mittis mira lege, |
| 4. qui lustret orben radiis | 5. et foetu terras vegetet. |
| 6. hic Columbanus nomine
columbinae
vitae fiut, | 7. dignus habere spiritus
sancti pignus
in hac vita |
| 8. hic terram cum Abraham
reliquit et cognatos
propter deum. | 9. hic cum Iohanne regis
incestum increpare
non metuit. |
| 10. huic partum
dat deus
in deserto
cum Moyse. | 11. huic caelum
obsequi
est paratum
cum Iosue. |
| 12. hic feras mansuefacit
et corvos ut Elias
et Daniel. | 13. hic persecutiones
cum apostolis Christi
perpetitur. |
| 14. huic ipse veritatis
hostis mutu dei | 15. testatur, quod hic veri-
tatis cultor foret. |

16. nos ergo tete poscimus,
beate, quo nos domino
tu commendes.⁸

The French style spread relatively early to Spain and England and in the latter country, Winchester seems to have been the first center. An example from the Winchester Tropes gives a text only for part of the jubilus. Much of it is merely sung on the syllable a. A text is sung only to the

⁷F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 215.

⁸Analecta hymnica medii aevi, L, 272 ff.

fifth, eighth, and twelfth divisions of the melody and their repeats.⁹ This could indicate either that the sequence was brought to England already when it was just beginning to develop in Northern France, or it could mean that in England also the monks were beginning to add a text to the melisma, and that some of the early examples in the Winchester manuscripts are the product of British development. But the rather great amount of communication between monasteries of England with those in France would seem to rule out "spontaneous generation" in both countries at approximately the same time.¹⁰

The sequence form was known in Italy but never really became popular. Early Italian sequences are rare. The style is closely related to the German form but usually inserted the original alleluia melody between the two verses of the first double verse.¹¹

⁹Clemens Blume, "Prose or Sequence," Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: The Gilmary Society, 1907), XII, 482.

¹⁰For a discussion of the French sources of the English sequences see Ruth Messenger, Ethical Teachings in the Latin Hymns of Medieval England with Special Reference to the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Principal Virtues (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), pp. 49 ff.

¹¹Reese, loc. cit.

CHAPTER IV

NOTKER BALBULUS OF ST. GALL AND THE SEQUENCES OF THE EIGHTH AND NINTH CENTURIES

For much of what we know of the man Notker, we must rely again on the writings of Ekkehard the Younger. Here again we have the difficulty of sifting truth from fabrication. Samuel Duffield comments that in Ekkehard's biography "we have a perfect mine of garrulous gossip and chattering pleasant Romance."¹ It has been called "'one of the most delightful of medieval memoirs,' though we are very little disposed to accept a large share of it as solid fact."²

According to Ekkehard, Notker was of noble and even royal parentage and was born about 850, but this is to be doubted. He entered the monastery of St. Gall at a very early age. Though the monastery owes much of its fame and prominence to Notker, he himself owed much to his two teachers Iso and Marcellus. Even before his sequences brought him renown, he was highly respected as a teacher for "generations of scholars passed through his hands."³ Even though he had a speech defect which gave him the name of Balbulus or Stammerer (Der Stammerer), he was a man who commanded his

¹Samuel W. Duffield, Latin Hymns (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1889), p. 132.

²Ibid.

³P. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 211.

students' attention and fascination, for he seemed to have that rare gift of combining scholarship with a sense of humor. ". . . he joined to his learning and his accomplishments in poetry and in music a rough German humour and an endless store of reminiscences."⁴ One of his earlier literary works was a life of St. Gall in the form of a dialogue between himself and his fellow monks, Hartmann and Ratpert. From the fragments which remain, as well as the description of the work by Notker himself, the dialogue seems to have been a mixture of verse and prose. Notker also wrote a martyrology, some works on musical theory, poetical riddles which were so popular at the time, hymns and verses, and a poem on the free arts. One of his most important works is the Gesta Karoli, "a prose account, in his gossiping manner, of the deeds of his hero Charles."⁵ Like his own later biographer, Ekkehard IV, Notker was not too careful about the historical accuracy of his biography of Charlemagne. Writing primarily for his patron Charles the Fat, Notker put into Latin the beginnings of the legends of Charlemagne as it was being told in the German of the common people. The accuracy and probability of many of the accounts did not seem to bother Notker. This raises a question if we know that much of this account cannot be trusted and that Notker was not too accurate: with what degree of confidence can we accept his own account of his

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

work, especially the account of the writing of his first sequence. Undoubtedly he would be more inclined to record the incident truthfully since he was not trying to please a patron. But a doubt is still there.

According to Notker's own account the first work he wrote in the syllabic style suggested by his teacher was for the dedication of a church, the Psallat Ecclesia mater illibata. In this text each syllable corresponds to the melody Laetatus sum.⁶

	I. psallat ecclesia, (6)	
	mater illibata (6)	
	et virgo sine ruga, (7)	
	honorem huius ecclesiae. (9)	
	A.	B.
II.	haec domus aulae (5)	in laude regis (5)
	caelestis (3)	caelorum (3)
	probatur particeps (6)	et ceremoniis (6)
III.	et lumine continuo (8)	et corpora in gremio (8)
	aemulans (3)	confovens (3)
	civitatem sine tenebris (9)	animarum, quae in caelovivunt. (9)
IV.	quam dextra potegat ei (8)	ad laudem ipsius diui (8)
V.	hic novam prolem (5)	angeli cives (5)
	gratia parturit (6)	visitant hic suos, (6)
	fecunda spiritu sancto; (8)	et corpus sumitur Iesu; (8)
VI.	fugiunt universa (7)	pereunt peccatrici (7)
	corpori nocua: (6)	animae crimina: (6)
VII.	hic vox laetitiae (6)	hic pax et gaudia (6)
	peronat: (3)	redundant; (3)

⁶For an abbreviated version of the melody, see Liber Usualis Missae et Officii, edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée and Company, 1947), p. 257.

VIII. hac domo trinitati (7)
 laus et gloria (5)
 semper resultant. (6)⁷

It can easily be seen from the text that this sequence was written to a preexistent melody. The division of each parallel strophe into smaller parallels would indicate smaller musical phrases for each melodic line. There is no attempt to establish either a rhyme or a meter. It can very rightly go by the name of prose since it has practically no poetical characteristics except length of line which was predetermined by the musical melody. On the basis of Notker's early works, and many similar writings by others at St. Gall and elsewhere, we must think of the term prosa applied to these works in its first and most obvious meaning of not poetica. The style of these early French sequences seems to make explanation of the term from PRO Sequentia unnecessary.

Peter Wagner divides Notker's sequences into two classes according to their structure.⁸ Type A which includes the greatest number bears a certain likeness to Latin hymns in its preference for strophic form. It is regular in structure, which means that every two sections have an equal

⁷Raby, op. cit., pp. 212 f. (Analecta Hymnica medii aevi, LIII, 93.) The text in Peter Wagner, Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies, a Handbook of Plainsong, translated by Agnes Orme and E. G. P. Wyatt (Second edition; London: The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1901), pp. 225 f. differs and reads: IV B Ad laudes ipsius dici
 VIII Hac domo trinitatis

⁸Wagner, op. cit., pp. 224 ff.

number of syllables and the same melody. In Type B the poem is divided into strophes, which are not parallel to one another either in their length or in the number of syllables in the melodic line. This form lacks the symmetrical pattern which distinguishes Form A.

Examples of the two types are listed below with the titles of melodies in parentheses.

Type A

1. Psallat ecclesia mater illibata (Laetatus sum)
2. Johannes Jesu Christo (Romana)
3. Natus ante saecula (Dies sanctificatus)
4. Christus hunc diem jocundum (Dominus in Syna)

Type B

1. Laus Tibi sit, O fidelis Deus (In te domini speravi)
2. En regnator coelestium (Qui timent)
3. Laeta mente canamus (Exultate Deo)⁹

We have already given an example of Type A above in the Psallat Ecclesia. To show the difference in structure, we will also give an example of Form B:

I. Laeta mente canamus Deo nostro (11)

A.

B.

- | | |
|--|--|
| II. Qui defectam peccatis (7) | semper novat ecclesiam. (8) |
| III. Et eam pallidulam (7) | de radio veri solis
illuminat. (12) |
| IV. Et terrae de Mesraim (7) | eduxit fornacibus igni-
tis. (10) |
| V. Quique in omni tribula-
tione (11) | eam exaudit. (5) |

⁹ Ibid., pp. 225 ff.

- VI. Insuper coelesti nutrit et cultum docet suum. (7)
pane (10)
- VII. Quin de petra melle cam adimplet. (5)¹⁰
dulci (8)

This type lacks even that one connection to poetry which Type A has, namely a definite number of syllables to a line and a parallelism. It is a sequence because the words are added to the melisma of the alleluia for the Fourth Sunday after Easter, Exultate Deo.¹¹ From the structure of Notker's sequence we can conclude that this melodic strophe was not repeated or sung antiphonally as were the melodies for Type A. However, Type A became more predominant and it is the parallel structure of repeated melodic lines that we usually think of when we think of the sequence form. The general pattern for the sequence form became x (unpaired introduction), aa, bb, cc, dd, . . . y (unpaired conclusion). Often x or y or both were dropped.

Perhaps we should look at one more example of Notker's sequence, this time not only from a literary point of view but also its melodic structure. For the Feast of the Ascension of Our Lord, Notker wrote Christus hunc diem for the Alleluia, Dominus in Sina. This is one example of one of the few sequences whose melody we are able to trace back to an alleluia with some degree of accuracy.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 229.

¹¹For an abbreviated version of the melody, see Liber Usualis, op. cit., p. 856.

I. Christus hunc diem jocundum (8)
 cunctis concedat esse Christianis (11)
 amatoribus suis (8)

A.

B.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>II. Christe, Jesu fili Dei
 mediator (12)
 naturae nostrae ac
 divinae (9)</p> <p>III. Terras Deus visitasti (8)
 aeternus aeterna (6)
 novus homo trans-
 volans (7)</p> <p>IV. Tu hodie terrestribus
 rem novam et dulcam (14)
 dedisti domine (6)
 sperandi coelestia (7)</p> <p>V. Quanta gaudia Tuos (7)
 replent apostolos. (6)</p> <p>VI. Quem hilares in coelis
 tibi (9)
 occurrunt novi ordi-
 nes (8)</p> | <p>Officiis Te angeli atque
 nubes (12)
 stipant ad patrem
 reversum (9)</p> <p>Sed quid mirum? cum lactan-
 ti (8)
 adhuc stella tibi (6)
 serviret et angeli (7)</p> <p>Te hominem non fictum
 levando (10)
 super sideras (6)
 metas regum domine (7)</p> <p>Quis dedisti cernere (7)
 te coelos pergere (6)</p> <p>In humeris portanti diu (9)
 dispersum a lupis
 gregem unum (10)</p> |
|---|---|
- VII. Quem Christe, bone pastor (7)
 tu dignare custodire. (8)¹²

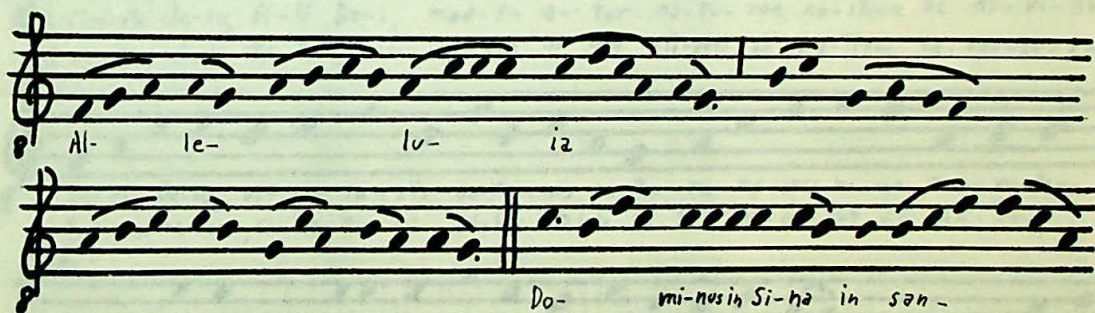
- I. Christ grants this day for rejoicing to his assembled loving Christians.
- II. O Christ Jesus, son of God, mediator between our nature and the divine,
 Thou hast visited the places of the earth, a new man flying through the ether.
- III. The angels with their ministrations and the clouds crowd about thee as thou art rising to thy Father; But who should wonder that the stars and the angels thus serve thee.
- IV. This day thou gavest to earth-born men a new and sweet thing, O Lord, a heavenly hope:
 Thou thyself, O Lord, a true man, rising above the starry limits of the kingdom.

¹²Wagner, op. cit., pp. 227 f.

- V. How great are the joys that fill thy apostles
To whom thou hast granted that they might perceive
thee rising to the skies
- VI. What joyous new ranks meet thee in the heavens
As thou bearest upon thy shoulders a flock for a
long time dispersed by the wolves.
- VII. This flock, O Christ, good shepherd, deign to
guard.¹³

Here again Notker divides each parallel stanza into smaller parallel phrases to comply with the musical phrases. However, there are two exceptions (Stanza IV, the first verse, and Stanza VI, the last verse) for which a music compensation must be made.

The melody Alleluia, Dominus in Sina given below is from the Liber Usualis. The present day melody is different than that of the sequence, but it is nearly enough alike to serve as an example. The note values have been changed so that they are the same as those given with the sequence.



¹³Archibald Thompson Davison and Willi Apel, Historical Anthology of Music (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, c. 1946), p. 240. The Latin text cited by Davison and Apel differs from the one given above as follows:

aethera for aeterna in III A
Quam for Quem in VI A
securrunt for occurrunt in VI A
que for quid in III B
omits tu in VI

cto, as- cen- dens in al- tum,
ca- pti vom du-
xri. ca- pti- vi- ta- Tem.

Notker's Sequence

I
Chris-tus hunc di-em jo-cun-dum cun-ctis con-ce-dat es-se Chris-ti-a-nis a-mā-to-ri-bus su-is.

II
A. Chri-ste Je-su, fi-li De-i, med-i-a-tor na-tu-rae no-strae ac di-vi-nae.
B. Of-fi-ci-is te An-ge-li at-que nu-bes sti-pant ad pā-trem re-ver-su-rum.
Ter-ras, De-us, vi-si-ta-sti ae-ter-nus, ae-the-ra no-vus ho-mo trans-vo-lans.
Sed que mi-rum, cum lac-tan-ti ad-huc stel-la ti-bi ser-vi-ret et An-ge-li?

III
A. Tu ho-di-e Ter-res-Tri-bus rem nor-am et dul-cem de-di-sti, do-mi-ne spe-ran-di
B. Te hom-i-nem non fic-tum lev-an-do super si-de-re-as me-tas re-

¹⁴Liber Usualis, pp. 732 f. The example above is one of the few sequences whose melody can be traced back to some extent to that of an alleluia.

IV

8 coe-les-Ti-a. A. Quan-Ta gau-di-a tu-os re-pleat a-po-sto-las, A. Quam hi-la-res in gum, do-mi-ne. B. Quis de-di-sti cer-ne-re, te coe-los per-ge-re, B. In hu-me-ris por

8 coe-lis ti-bi se-cur-runt no-vi or-din-es. Tan-ti di-u dis-per-sum a lu-pis gre-gem u-nam. Quem, Chri-ste, bo-ne pas-tor,

15 dig-na-re cus-to-di-re.

Notice how the irregularity in the syllabic parallelism in Stanzas IV and VI were compensated for. In one instance the opening notes of the phrase are omitted in the repetition, and in the other the repetition adds two notes.

Notker's sequence won him the greatest veneration already in his lifetime. Some of his contemporaries unhesitatingly ascribed his sequences as the product of divine inspiration. Even Pope Nicholas (d.867) knew of his works and gave them his approval. When many years later in 1215 Abbot Ulrich (Vadalic) of St. Gall was in Rome transacting some imperial business with Pope Innocent III, he showed Notker's sequence Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia to the Pope. The sequence made such an impression on the Pope that he is said to have expressed surprise that so pious a man, as its author must have been, had not yet been canonized.

¹⁵Davison and Apel, op. cit., p. 13, Example 16. Arnold Schering, Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, c.1931), p. 3 gives the text and music for Haec est sancta solemnitas.

Some sources say that Innocent said that the monks at St. Gall were "wretched and wicked people and would suffer for it if they did not celebrate the festival of this man who had to be so full of the Holy Spirit."¹⁶ In spite of this rather forceful statement, it seems that Innocent did nothing about the matter either. Centuries later Pope Julius II commanded the Bishop of Constance to look into the matter and in 1513 he was beatified by Julian II and received the prefix "Blessed" to his name. However, he was never formally canonized nor did the church formally authorize an office in his honor except at St. Gall itself.

Because of the custom in the Middle Ages of giving credit of composition to a "name" in order to have it accepted, we today are faced with an almost impossible scholarly task of deciding which Notkerian sequences are genuinely his and which were attributed to him at a later time. At first it would seem that the problem would be easy for he seems to have begun writing his sequences about 862, and in 885 collected them into a volume, the Liber Sequentiarum Notkeri dedicated to Luitward, Bishop of Vercelli, and Chancellor to Charles the Fat until 887. It is the preface to this collection that contains the letter quoted above¹⁷ in which Notker related how he came to write the sequences. However, there is no autographed copy of the Liber Sequentiarum extant, and there are at least eight manuscripts of

¹⁶Duffield, op. cit., p. 139.

¹⁷Supra, p. 10.

before the eleventh century which claim to contain the Liber Sequentiarum Notkeri, and on examination it is found that no two manuscripts agree exactly.¹⁸ His biographer Ekkehard IV wrote that Notker composed fifty sequences, but nowhere does he give a list of their first lines.

Many books, monographs, and articles have been written about the question but no definite solution has yet been found. James Mearns prepared a table of Notker's sequences for his article in Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology. He listed the first lines of 115 sequences attributed by various manuscripts to Notker. In his analysis he comes to the following conclusions:

1. Those which may be accepted as genuine--46
2. Those of which the ascription is probable--24
3. Those which may possibly be by Notker--37
4. Those certainly not by Notker--8¹⁹

J. Werner (Notker's Sequenzen, 1901) studied the same eight manuscripts and ascribes as genuine 47 sequences. In his tabulation he did not accept 8 sequences which Mearns listed in No. 1 above, and added 8 from No. 2 and one from No. 3, making a total of 47. The Analecta Hymnica lists 47 sequences as authentic.²⁰

¹⁸A Dictionary of Hymnology, edited by John Julian (Second revised edition with New Supplement; London: John Murray, 1907 (1957 reprint)), p. 812.

¹⁹For a detailed explanation of the manuscripts used and of the work of early scholars, see ibid., pp. 813 ff. All examples used in this section are accepted as genuine.

²⁰Analecta Hymnica, LIII.

Sequences in English Translation

Eight of Notker's sequences have been translated into English and have been used in hymn books.

1. Laudes Salvatori voce modulemur supplici (Easter)
2. Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia (Pentecost)
3. Ad celebres, Rex coelice, laudes cuncta (St. Michael)
4. Cantemus cuncti melodum nunc Alleluia (Septuagesima)
5. Ecce sollempnis diei canamus festa (Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary)
6. Eia recolamus laudibus piis digna (Christmas)
7. Laudes Christo redempti voce modulemur (Easter)
8. Nato canunt omnia Domino pie agmina (Christmas)²¹

The sequence Laudes Salvatori is one of the sequences whose authorship by Notker is unquestionably accepted. It is found in all the early St. Gall manuscripts and in many early English manuscripts now at the Bodleian Library at Oxford University. It was used on the Sunday after Easter in the Sarum Rite and at Hereford, and on the Monday in Easter week at York. Julian lists three translations, none of which are in usage today. The translation by Dean Plumptre for the Hymnary, 1872, begins "Praise to our Lord and Saviour dear." The version in the Sarum Missal in English, 1868, and Sequences from the Sarum Missal, 1871 by C. B. Pearson begins, "Let us with lowly voice." The third translation by M. J. Blacker for the Hymner, 1891, reads "Praise to the Saviour sing."

The sequence Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia is also

²¹A Dictionary of Hymnology, op. cit., p. 816. However, none of Notker's sequences appear in The Lutheran Hymnal, The Hymnal 1940, or The Service Book and Hymnal.

without question held to be by Notker. This sequence is also found in many reliable manuscripts and also in the older English manuscripts of Sarum, Hereford, and York. The translation for the Hymnary, 1872 by G. S. Calverley begins, "Come, O Holy Ghost, within us." J. M. Heale wrote a prose translation for his Mediaeval Hymns, 1863, "The grace of the Holy Ghost be present with us." C. B. Pearson translated the sequence for the Sarum Missal in English, 1868, and revised it for his Sequences from the Sarum Missal. Another version was made by E. H. Plumptre.

Ad celebres, Rex coelice, laudes cuncta for St. Michael and All Angels is one of the sequences of which there is great doubt of its authenticity. John Mearns listed it under group four, "may possibly be by Notker."²² Werner does not include this one in his list of Notker's sequences. This one also appeared in the Sarum, York and Hereford missals. It was translated by C. B. Pearson, "To celebrate Thy praise, O King of heaven" for the Sarum Missal in English and revised for the Sequences from the Sarum Missal to "To give thee glory, Heavenly King." The latter translation was altered by the editors of the Hymnary for that publication.

Cantemus cuncti melodum nunc is the only sequence attributed to Notker which is included in Hymns Ancient and Modern and in the English Hymnal, 1906 and 1933. This sequence is included in a manuscript collection of Hymns

²²Ibid., p. 815.

and Sequences, 1507, edited by Father Joachim Brander, a monk of the Abbey of St. Gall. Of this piece he wrote: "Another joyful Sequence of Blessed Notker's for the Epiphany of Christ with the title: The Troubled Virgin. It is sung especially in the octave of the Epiphany."²³

J. Mearns says this is one of the sequences "which may be accepted as genuine." The editors of Hymns Ancient and Modern follow Werner, J. M. Neale, and others who do not accept it as genuine. The Rev. W. A. Shoults, writer of the article in Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology disagrees with Neale who states the sequence was written by Godescalcus.²⁴ F. Raby cites it as a tenth century German sequence.²⁵

The meaning of the title of the melody Puella turbata, "The troubled maiden (or Virgin)" also causes some difficulties. It hardly seems likely that it is the name of a preexistent sacred melody of an alleluia verse as suggested by Shoults. He suggests that on the basis of Matthew 2:3 the troubled Virgin, the daughter of Sion, is Jerusalem and that the "troubling" occurred there at the Epiphany of Our Lord.²⁶ A much more reasonable explanation is that the melody is of secular origin to which Notker wrote his

²³Ibid., p. 203.

²⁴Ibid., p. 204.

²⁵Raby, op. cit., p. 216.

²⁶Hymns Ancient and Modern (Historical Edition), Introduction by W. H. Frere (London: Wm. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1909), p. 449. The melody is given in four-line staff notation.

sequence Scalum ad coelos subrectam tormentis for the Common of the Virgin and then was later used for the Cantemus cuncti. John Mearns places this sequence among "those which may be accepted as genuine," while the editors of Hymns Ancient and Modern and others hold it to be of later composition.

I. cantemus cuncti melodum
nunc Alleluia.

A.

B.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>II. in laudibus aeterni regis
haec plebs resultet
<u>Alleluia</u>.</p> | <p>hoc denique caelestes
chori (9)
cantant in altum (5)
<u>Alleluia</u>.</p> |
| <p>III. hoc beatorum
per prata paradisiaca
psallat concentus
<u>Alleluia</u>.</p> | <p>quin et astrorum (5)
micantia luminaria (9)
jubilant altum (5)
<u>Alleluia</u>.</p> |
| <p>IV. nubium cursus,
ventorum volatus,
fulgurum corusatio
et tonitruum sonitus
dulce consonent simul
<u>Alleluia</u>.</p> | <p>fluctus et undae, (5)
imber et procellae, (6)
tempestas et serenitas, (8)
cauma, gelu, nix, pruinae, (9)
saltus, nemora pangant (7)
<u>Alleluia</u>.</p> |
| <p>V. hinc, variae volucres,
creatorem
laudibus concinite cum
<u>Alleluia</u>;</p> | <p>ast illinc respondeant (7)
voces altae (4)
diversarum bestiarum (8)
<u>Alleluia</u>.</p> |
| <p>VI. istinc montium
celsi vertices sonent
<u>Alleluia</u>;</p> | <p>illinc vallium (5)
profunditates saltent (7)
<u>Alleluia</u>.</p> |
| <p>VII. tu quoque, maris
jubilans abyse, dic
<u>Alleluia</u>,</p> | <p>necnon terrarum (5)
molis immensitates: (7)
<u>Alleluia</u>.</p> |
| <p>VIII. nunc omne genus
humanum laudans exultet
<u>Alleluia</u>.</p> | <p>et creatori (5)
grates frequentas consonet (8)
<u>Alleluia</u>.</p> |

- | | |
|---|---|
| IX. hoc denique nomen audire
iugiter delectatur
<u>Alleluia.</u> | hoc etiam carmen caeleste (9)
comprobat ipse Christus (7)
<u>Alleluia.</u> |
| X. nunc vos, o socii,
cantate laetantes
<u>Alleluia.</u> | et vos pueruli, (6)
respondete semper (7)
<u>Alleluia.</u> |
| XI. nunc omnes canite sim-
ul (8)
<u>Alleluia</u> domino (7)
<u>Alleluia</u> Christo (6)
pneumatique <u>Alleluia.</u> (8) | laus trinitati aeternae: (8)
<u>Alleluia, Alleluia,</u> (8)
<u>Alleluia, Alleluia,</u> (8)
<u>Alleluia, Alleluia.</u> (8) 27 |
- I. The strain upraise of joy and praise, Alleluia!
- II. To the glory of their King
Let the ransom'd people sing Alleluia!
- And the choirs that dwell on high
Sell the chorus in the sky, Alleluia!
- III. Ye, through the fields of Paradise that roam,
Ye blessed ones, repeat through that bright home,
Alleluia.
Ye planets glittering on your heavenly way,
Ye shining constellation, join and say Alleluia!
- IV. Ye clouds that onward sweep,
Ye winds on pinions light,
Ye thunders, echoing loud and deep,
Ye lightnings, wildly bright,
In sweet consent unite you, Alleluia!
- Ye floods and oceans billows,
Ye storms and winter snow,
Ye days of cloudless beauty,
Hear frost and summer glow,
Ye groves that wave in spring,
And glorious forests, sing Alleluia.
- V. First let the birds, with painted plumage gay,
Exalt their great Creator's praise, and say Alleluia!
- Then let the beasts of earth, with varying strain,
Join in creation's hymn, and cry again Alleluia!
- VI. Here let the mountains thunder forth sonorous Alleluia!
There let the valleys sing in gentler chorus Alleluia!

VII. Thou jubilant abyss of ocean, cry, Alleluia!
Ye tracts of earth and continents, reply Alleluia!

VIII. To God, Who call creation made,
The frequent hymn be duly paid, Alleluia!

IX. This is the strain, the eternal strain, the Lord of
all things loves, Alleluia!
This is the song, the heav'nly song, that Christ
Himself approves, Alleluia!

X. Wherefore we sing, both heart and voice awaking,
Alleluia!
And children's voices echo, answer making, Alleluia!

XI. Now from all men be out-pour'd
Alleluia to the Lord;
With Alleluia evermore
The Son and Spirit we adore.
Praise be done to the Three in One
Alleluia! Alleluia! Alleluia! Amen.²⁸

At first the sequence was assigned to Epiphany, later to Sundays in general, and then assigned to the "Farewell to Alleluia" just before Septuagesima. It almost seems that they wanted to sing enough alleluias to keep them through the entire season of Lent. Earlier manuscripts do not end with six alleluias but read:

Laus Trinitati aeternae (8)
in baptismo domini (7)
quae clarificatur: (6)
Hinc canamus: Alleluia (8)²⁹

The reference to Jesus at his baptism would indicate its original use at the Feast of the Epiphany. This version is without question the original since it and not the six-fold alleluia is parallel to the preceding stanza.

²⁸ Hymns Ancient and Modern, op. cit., pp. 448 f.

²⁹ A Dictionary of Hymnology, p. 203.

From the parallel strophic structure of the sequence it would seem that the first verse was sung in unison; the next five stanzas were sung antiphonally, two verses at a time (notice how the parallelism changes); the final section most likely was sung antiphonally verse by verse, although the last two lines would undoubtedly be sung in unison by both choirs.

The next sequence sometimes attributed to Notker, Ecce sollemnis diei canamus festa is considered as "probable" by James Mearns and Mone, and is not accepted by J. Werner. The text appears in a tenth century manuscript of St. Gall and in five St. Gall manuscripts of the eleventh century. It sometimes begins with a variant reading "Ecce sollemni hoc die canamus festa."³⁰ A translation prepared for the People's Hymnal, 1867 by R. F. Littledale begins "We keep the feast in gladness."

The sixth sequence Eis recolamus laudibus piis digna for Christmas or Circumcision is considered by W. A. Shoults to be of undoubted Notkerian authorship, by J. Mearns to be "probable," and denied by J. Werner. It is found in both the tenth and eleventh century manuscripts of St. Gall. It has been assigned by some manuscripts to the first Mass of Christmas Day, by others to the second Mass, and by others to the octave (Circumcision). This is also one of the sequences that came over to England early and was incorporated

³⁰Ibid., p. 320.

with the Sarum and Hereford Missals. The translation by E. H. Plumptre for the Hymnary, 1872, begins "O come and let us tell with praise." For the Sarum Missal in English, 1868, and for Sequences from the Sarum Missal, 1871, C. B. Pearson wrote two versions which began "Sing we the joyful day," and "Let us devoutly pay."³¹

Laudes Christo redempti voce modulemur for Easter is judged by J. Mearns to be "accepted as genuine";³² Werner does not agree. In addition to the St. Gall manuscript, this text is also found in German Missals and is printed in the Magdeburg Missal, 1480, and although found in some English manuscripts it never was adopted by either Sarum, Hereford, or York rites. R. F. Littledale begins his translation "Praise to Christ with suppliant voices" for the Lyra Messianica, 1864.

The last one listed, Nato canunt omnia Domino pie agmina, is judged by J. Mearns to be "possibly by Notker," but not so by Werner. This is found in no St. Gall manuscript but only in an eleventh century German manuscript at Munich and in the eleventh century Winchester Sequentiary in England. This sequence also was incorporated into the Sarum, York, and Hereford Missals to be sung at the Midnight Mass at Christmas.

³¹Ibid., p. 322.

³²Ibid., p. 664.

The translation by E. H. Plumptre for the Hymnary, 1872, "Hark, the hosts of heaven are singing" also found its way into a few American collections. Other translations were made by E. A. Dayman, "To Him God's only Son," J. D. Chambers, "Unto the New-born Diety" and C. B. Pearson, "All hosts with one accord."

CHAPTER V

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY TRANSITION

The eleventh century sequences show a definite transition and change from the sequences of Notker and his school to the highly polished style of Adam of St. Victor who carried the sequence "to the highest point of its formal development."¹ The sequences of this period stand between the rhythmical, irregular and unrhymed prose and the strict meter and rhyme of the late poetic structure. In examples from this period we find a gradual introduction of a definite rhyme and rhythm and also the beginning of the use of the iambic and trochaic meters. With the text becoming more and more bound to a structure pattern, it becomes obvious that the words cannot be made slavishly to fit a preexistent melody. Either the melisma was altered to fit the new text or a new melody was composed using melodic themes from an alleluia sequence, and at times a completely new melody was composed for the new text. In the latter case both the new text and melody were by the same person. The practice of altering or revising existing melodies leads to some difficulties since the melisma retained the name given to it by the first words of the original text (Latin-incipit) which permits a melody under one title to have multiple

¹Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, c.1940), p. 189.

texts and melodic variations to accommodate the structure of the texts.

Out of respect for the judgment of Guido Dreves I feel compelled to use as one example of this transitional style the sequence De Sancto Nicolao. In his commentary on the sequence he wrote that this sequence is one of the most sung and best loved of the entire Middle Ages, and therefore is found in innumerable manuscripts which go back to the eleventh century. At the same time it is also a representative example of the sequence of the "transitional style." For these reasons it dare not be lightly omitted in an anthology.² But oddly enough in spite of Dreves' high regard for the sequence I was not able to find it in translation in any English hymnals. The sequence is of either French or Italian origin.

De Sancto Nicolao Sequentia

A.

B.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>I. Congaudentes exsultemus
vocali concordia</p> | <p>Ad beati Nicolai (8)
festiva sollempnia. (7)</p> |
| <p>II. Qui in cunis adhuc iacens,
servando ieiunia</p> | <p>Ad papillas coepit summa (8)
promereri gaudia. (7)</p> |

²Guido Maria Dreves, Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnendichtung, revised by Clemens Blume (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1909), II, 340. "Diese Sequenz ist eine der gesungensten und beliebtesten des ganzen Mittelalters und findet sich darum in zahllosen handschriftlichen Quellen, die bis ins 11. Jahrhundert zurückreichen. Sie ist zugleich ein sprechendes Beispiel für die Sequenzen des 'Übergangsstiles'. Aus diesen Gründen darf sie in einer Anthologie nicht leicht übergangen werden." For a list of manuscripts which contain the sequence, see A Dictionary of Hymnology, edited by John Julian (Second revised edition with New Supplement; London: John Murray, 1907 (1957 reprint)), pp. 1042 f.

- | | |
|--|--|
| III. Adulescens amplexatur
literarum studia, | Alienus et immunis (8)
ab omni lascivia. (7) |
| IV. Felix confessor,
cuius fuit dignitatis
vox de caelo nuntia, | Per quam provectus (5)
praesulatus sublimatur (8)
ad summa fastigia. (7) |
| V. Erat in eius animo
pietas eximia,
Et oppressis impendebat
multa beneficia. | Auro per eum virginum (8)
tollitur infamia, (7)
Atque patris earundem (8)
levatur inopia. (7) |
| VI. Quidam nautae navigan-
tes
Et contra fluctuum
saevitiam luctantes
Navi paene dissoluta | Iam de vita desperantes (8)
In tanto positi (5)
periculo clamantes (7)
Voce dicunt omnes una: (8) |
| VII. O beate Nicolae,
Nos ad portum maris
trahe
De mortis angustia, | Trahe nos ad portum maris (8)
Tu, qui tot auxiliaris (8)
Pietatis gratia. (7) |
| VIII. Dum calmarent, nec in-
cassum,
Ecco, quidam dicens:
Assum
Ad vestra praesidia. | Statim aura datur grata (8)
Et tempestas fit sedata, (8)
Quieverunt maria. (7) |
| IX. Ex ipsius tuma manat
Uctionis copia, | Quae infirmos omnes sanat (8)
Per eius suffragia. (7) |
| X. Nos, qui sumus in hoc
mundo
Vitiorum in Profundo
Iam passi naufragia, | Gloriose Nicolae, (8)
Ad salutis portum trahe, (8)
Ubi pax et gloria. (7) |
| XI. Ipsam nobis unctionem
Impetres ad Dominum
Prece pia, | Qua sanavit laesionem (8)
Multorum peccaminum (7)
In Maria. |
| XII. Huius festum celebra-
ntes
Gaudeant per saecula, | Et coronas eos, Christe, (8)
Post vitae curricula. (7) ³ |

Merely by looking at the structure of this sequence it is immediately apparent that there is first of all a tendency

³Dreves, op. cit., p. 339.

to equalize the length of each line and each stanza. Almost every line has either seven or eight syllables; the stanzas, too, are limited to only two, three, or four lines. If in stanza I "Nicolai" and in stanzas VII and X "Nicolae" are sung on four syllables there is an exact parallel in the "A" and "B" of each stanza.

The marked alteration of accented and unaccented syllables also indicates a transition from prose to poetry. However, as in the earlier sequences, there is no attempt to rhyme the verses of each stanza, but there is one striking feature of this sequence which is common to most of this period--each stanza ends with the syllable "a." Since the texts of the sequences no longer were necessarily joined to a particular standard melody, the authors felt that they had to show a textual relationship of the words with the final syllable of the alleluia and so repeated the sound at the end of each stanza.

Without question the most famous sequence of this transitional period is the universally known and loved Victimae paschali laudes. This sequence shows us some other characteristics of the form during this period. As in the earlier sequences, the stanzas of the Victimae paschali laudes are not of equal number of verses, nor are the lengths of each verse the same. However, with the exception of the first stanza, which is unpaired according to the German custom, the remaining stanzas are all exactly parallel in "A" and "B." This sequence does not end each stanza with

the syllable "a" as did the sequence De Sancto Nicolai.
 Instead in this sequence we have an example of the beginning
 of the use of rhyme.

I. Victimae paschali laudes (8)
 immolent christiani (7)

A.

B.

II. Agnus redemit oves,
 Christus innocens patri
 reconciliavit
 peccatores.

Mors et vita duello (7)
 conflixere mirando (7)
 dux vitae mortuus (6)
 regnat vivus. (4)

III. Dic nobis, Maria,
 quid vidisti in via?
 Sepulcrum Christi vi-
 ventis
 et gloriam vidi
 resurgentis.

Angelicos testes, (6)
 sudarium et vestes. (7)
 Surrexit Christus, spes mea (8)
 praecedet suos in (6)
 Callilaeam. (4)

IV. Credendum est magis soli
 Mariae veraci,
 Quam Judaeorum
 turbae fallaci.

Scimus Christum surrexisse (8)
 a mortuis vere, (6)
 Tu nobis, victor (5)
 rex, miserere. (5)⁴

I. Let Christians dedicate their praises to the Easter
 victim.

II. The Lamb has redeemed the sheep; the innocent Christ
 has reconciled the sinners with the Father.
 Death and life have fought in wondrous conflict; after
 death the leader of life, living, reigns.

III. Tell us, O Mary, what thou sawest upon thy way?
 I have seen the sepulchre of the living Christ, and
 the glory of the rising (Christ),
 The angelic witnesses, the veil and the garments.
 Christ, my hope, has arisen, he goes before his own
 into Galilee.

IV. We know in truth that Christ has arisen from the dead;
 be merciful unto us, O victorious king: Amen.⁵

⁴Dreves, op. cit., I, 147.

⁵Archibald Thompson Davison and Willi Apel, Historical Anthology of Music (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, c.1946), p. 240.

At the Council of Trent the word suos in line 4 of Stanza III B was changed to vos, thus destroying the perfect structural parallelism. In addition the Council also deleted IV A "probably in order not to destroy the joyful character of the whole by the mention of the Judaeorum turbae fallax."⁶ This also destroyed the original parallelism of IV A and IV B, but by doing so brought the structure closer to the usual German style of unpaired first and last stanzas. This omission adopted by the Council of Trent seems to have set the rule for none of the translations or hymns based on the sequence use the text of IV A.⁷

Today the sequence is quite generally ascribed to Wipo (Wippo, Wigbert) of Burgundy (d.1050). Wipo, a secular priest, served for some time as the chaplain to both the Emperor Conrad II and Henry III. To each of these men he presented a collection of hymns--to Conrad in 1025 and to Henry in 1041. His last work which he completed in 1048 was a prose history of the Emperor Conrad. In his study entitled Die Sängerschule St. Gallens, 1858, P. Anselm Schubiger ascribed the text of the Victimae paschali laudes to Wipo on the strength of a single eleventh century

⁶Peter Wagner, Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies, a Handbook of Plainsong, translated by Agnes Orme and E. G. P. Wyatt (Second edition; London: The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1901), p. 235, fn. 1.

⁷Common textual variations in different manuscripts: III very frequently gallilaeam reads gallilaea (undoubtedly to rhyme with mea); I paschalis, immolant; II conflixerunt; III spes nostra; IV resurrexisse, ex mortuis.

Einsiedeln manuscript which cites him as the author.

John Mearns however is not willing to concede it as definitely by Wipo on the basis of this single reference. "His claim to this sequence can hardly be regarded as definitely established."⁸

Although we usually hesitate to establish proof on the basis of a single reference, yet most contemporary writers follow the example of Guido Dreves who ascribes it unquestionably to Wipo. He says that Wipo as the author of this Easter sequence has secured for himself an honorable position, particularly if we also consider him to be the composer of the beautiful Doric melody which he feels may be greater than the text. Even though the authorship is based solely on the single Einsiedeln manuscript, "es ist endes kein Grund vorhanden, die Angabe derselben in Zweifel zu ziehen."⁹ Andreas Schwerd and other contemporary writers do credit the melody as well as the text to Wipo.¹⁰

The melody of this sequence also has some definite characteristics of the transitional period. "Half-way through the melody in many cases a change takes place which is very analogous to modern modulation into the dominant."¹¹

⁸ A Dictionary of Hymnology, op. cit., p. 1222.

⁹ Dreves, op. cit., I, 147.

¹⁰ Andreas Schwerd, Hymnen und Sequenzen (München: Kosel Verlag, c.1954), p. 100.

¹¹ Walter Frere, Winchester Troper, xxxvii, quoted in Reese, op. cit., p. 189.

I
 Vi-cti-mæ pas-chæ-i lau-des im-mo-lent Chris-ti-an-i. A. Ag-nus re-dem-
 B. Mors et vi-ta

it o-ves Chris-tus in-no-cens Pat-ri re-con-ci-li-a-vit pec-ca-ta-res.
 du-el-lo con-fli-xe-re mi-ran-do dux vi-tæ mor-tu-us re-gnat vi-vus.

III
 A. Dic no-bis Ma-ri-a, quid vi-dis-ti in vi-a? Se-pul-crum Chris-ti vi-ven-tis,
 B. An-ge-li-cos tes-tes su-dar-i-um, et ves-tes. Sur-rex-it Chris-tus spes me-a:

IV
 et glo-ri-am vi-di re-sur-gen-tis. A. Cre-den-dum est ma-gis so-li
 præ-ce-de-t su-os in Gæ-le-le-æ-am. B. Sci-mus Chris-tum sur-rex-is-se

Ma-ri-æ ve-ra-ci, quem Ju-dæ-o-rum Tur-bæ fal-la-ci. A- men.
 a mor-tu-is ve-re: tu no-bis, vic-tor Rex, mi-se-re-re.

VI
 Al-le-lu-ia. 12

This most beautiful sequence begins with the praises of the Risen Christ who was the Sacrificial Lamb given by God for the sins of His people. To this Lamb all the "sheep" are to offer the sacrifice of praise. The second stanza is indeed a most wonderful, succinct, and picturesque account of the Redemption. Martin Luther admired especially the terse description of the conflict between Death and Life and

¹²Davison and Apel, *op. cit.*, p. 13, Example 13b.
 Transcribed from bass cleff by the author.

and the glorious victory and rule of Life. He included it in his hymn Christ lag in Todesbanden. The second part of the sequence is in the form of a dialogue in which the worshipper speaks to Mary Magdalene and asks her to witness again what she saw on that first Easter morning. Her reply concludes with a confession of faith that Christ, her hope, has arisen. This confession of Mary is then taken up by the worshippers who confess that "We know in truth that Christ has risen from the dead" and then concludes with a brief prayer to the victorious King for mercy.

The sequence is a wonderful example of the unaffected naive expression of faith in the Middle Ages. In a very true sense worshippers were able to be with the women at the tomb, as they were able to adore the Christ Child with the shepherds or urge on the donkey carrying the Christ Child from Bethlehem. It is not at all surprising that this sequence should become one of the most well known and popular in Europe. Within a century of its composition it was included in the Missals of all European countries from England to Finland and even south to Italy. The text was often revised and parodied. An example of such a revision by a monk named Othlo (Othlohe, d.1072) is cited by Dreves. The revision expresses the same thought in the same order as does the original, but the structure is quite different.

Oblato Christo studeat sibi quilibet isto
 Tempore paschali laudis dono speciali
 Pacificare Deum, qui depopulans hypogaeum
 Ut tiro magnus, tendendus mitis ut agnus,
 Agnos exemit exinde suosque redemit,

Nos miseros vero simili pietate supremo
 Patri placavit, miserando reconciliavit.
 Mors contra vitam pugnam confert inimicam,
 Dux regnat vitae vivus mortis sine lite.
 Dic, dic, ergo pia nobis dulcisque Maria,
 Quid flens vidisti prope tumbam quando stetit?
 Angelicos testes, sudaria, lintea, vestes.
 Unica spesque mea surrexit et hoc Gallilaea
 Adprobat, est visus ibi nam multis redimendus.
 An vis, Iudaeae, tibi credamusve Mariae?
 Illius sanis verbis tu falsificaris.
 Qui vivis vere, tu nobis, rex, miserere.¹³

In addition to numerous revisions there were also countless parodies written in honor of the Virgin Mary which began "Virgini Mariae laudes" instead of the "Victimae paschali laudes." The Mary of stanza III of course became the Virgin Mary as in one sequence which reads:

dic nobis, Maria--virgo clemens et pia,--
 --guomodo facta es genetrix.¹⁴

In Germany vernacular verses were interpolated between the Latin stanzas so that already in the twelfth century we have the pre-Reformation chorale Christ ist erstanden, which became the basis for Martin Luther's Christ lag in Todesbanden. The Victimae paschali laudes is also very important in the beginnings of liturgical drama.

Another sequence from this period which was included in The English Hymnal is Salus aeterna, indeficiens mundi vita. Believed to be written about the year 1000, this sequence is found in a number of English manuscripts, one dated about 1070. In the fourteenth century it was adopted

¹³Analecta hymnica medi aevi, edited by Clemens Blume and G. M. Dreves (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1886-1922), I, 324.

¹⁴Ibid., LIV, 27 ff.

by the Sarum, Hereford and York Rites and also in some French Missals. In the English Missals it is appointed for the first Sunday in Advent. Typical of many of the sequences of this period, all the verses end in "a."

The translation of M. J. Blacker is as follows:

A.	B.
I. Saviour eternal! Health and life of the world unailing.	Light everlasting! And in verity our redemption.
II. Grieving that the ages of men must perish Through the tempter's subtlety	Still in heav'n abiding, thou camest earthward Of thine own great clemency.
III. Then freely and graciously Deigning to assume humanity,	To lost ones and perishing Gavest thou thy free deliverance Filling all the world with joy.
IV. O Christ, our souls and bodies cleanse By thy perfect sacrifice;	That we as temples pure and bright Fit for thine abode may be.
V. By thy former advent justify,	By thy second grant us liberty:
VI. That when in the night of glory Thou descendest, Judge of all.	When in raiment undefiled, Bright may shine, and ever follow Lord, thy footsteps blest, where'er they lead us. ¹⁵

¹⁵The English Hymnal with Tunes (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 14. M. J. Blacker's translation was altered by the editors.

CHAPTER VI

ADAM OF ST. VICTOR AND THE SEQUENCES OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The zenith, not only of this period but of all hymnody, was reached by Adam of St. Victor. His numerous sequences. . . are incomparably beautiful.

--Clemens Blume¹

It is indeed ironical that the monk Dom Gueranger, called "the greatest poet of the Middle Ages" and who was the best-known member of the Abbey of St. Victor, is almost unknown today. His sequences which have made both him and his community famous are practically forgotten and of his personal life we know very little. Almost without exception everyone who has studied and written about the sequence honors Adam of St. Victor as the writer who brought this art form to the highest point of its development. Archbishop Trench said he was "the foremost among the sacred Latin poets of the Middle Ages"; John Mason Neale calls him "the greatest Latin poet, not only of the Middle Ages, but of all times."² And yet it is impossible to draw up a list of sequences which beyond a doubt are ascribed as his.³

¹Clemens Blume, "Hymnody," The Catholic Encyclopedia, edited by Charles G. Herbermann (New York: The Gilmary Society, 1907 and 1913), VII, 596.

²Guido Maria Dreves, Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnendichtung, revised by Clemens Blume (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1909), I, 257.

³Franz Wellner, Adam von Sankt Victor, Samtliche Sequenzen Lateinisch und Deutsch (Munich, Germany): Kosel Verlag, 1955), p. 16.

Even among the sequences that are used in twentieth century English hymnals what one hymnologist will cite as an example of his finest work, another will delete from a listing of Adam's writings.

The earliest mention of Adam is considerably after his own lifetime. William of St. Lo (d.1349),⁴ a later abbot of St. Victor, mentions him as a contemporary of Hugh (Hugo) of St. Victor. A much later chronicler of the seventeenth century, Jean de Toulouse, in his annals of the Abbey states Adam was a student of Hugh and a contemporary of Richard of St. Victor. He was, as we shall see later, greatly influenced by the theological teachings and methods of Biblical interpretation of three famous medieval scholars.

Generally the date of Adam's birth is given as 1112; but this date is not certain. Nothing is known of his family nor of his life before coming to the monastery in the year 1130. The records of the monastery call him a "Brito," but this is of little value since this term was used for both a resident of "Britannia maior" (England or Britain) and "Britannia minor" (northwest France or Brittany). Both "maior" and "minor" were ruled at this time by the descendants of the Norman, William the Conqueror, who were kings of England and at the same time held lands in northern France as vassal lords to the French King. Some have tried to determine whether Adam is French or English by a careful study of the

⁴F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 350.

linguistical and stylistic characteristics of his writings, but this has proved of little value since Latin was still at this time very international; vulgar national or regional peculiarities were still very few.

The same William of St. Lo also commented that Adam was a Doctor and Master which at that time signified the highest rank in ecclesiastical and academic knowledge. He also credits him as being the author of an Exposito super omnes prologus Bibliae, an historical commentary on the prologues of St. Jerome and a dictionary of all the difficult words in the Bible for the use of novices and beginners in the study of the Scriptures entitled Summa de difficultibus vocabulis in Biblia contentis.⁵ But even here scholars are not agreed to credit him with the authorship--some declare emphatically that none of the prose works attributed to him are his.⁶ The annals of St. Victor mention some additional prose writings by him: a highly mystical treatise entitled De discretione animae, spiritus et mentis, another treatise preserved in the Sorbonne is Super cantica expositio Adae de s. Victore, and still another work ascribed to this Adam is Postille Adam de s. Victore.

Much of the difficulty arises because Adam's sequences and other works were included in the liturgical books of

⁵Wellner, op. cit., p. 18. The title of this work is quoted by some authors to read "Summa Britonis seu de difficultioribus verbis in Biblia contentis."

⁶John J. A'Becket, "Adam of St. Victor," The Catholic Encyclopedia, op. cit., I, 134.

St. Victor without the name of the author and then were brought to the sister and neighbor abbey of St. Genevieve and the Diocese of Paris.⁷ Unfortunately William of St. Lô does not list the titles of the sequences, but merely refers to Adam as a writer of many sequences in honor of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, the Virgin Mary--for whom he had special devotion--the Apostles and other subjects.⁸ During the French Revolution the Abbey of St. Victor, along with many others, was dissolved and the library was transferred to the Bibliotheque Nationale where they were later discovered by M. Léon Gautier. In 1858 Gautier published "the first complete edition" of Adam's sequences. However, of the approximate one hundred sequences in this collection Abbé Misset attributes only 45 to Adam and "it can hardly be doubted that within this list a number of Adam's sequences are to be found."⁹ Clemens Blume in Volumes LIV and LV of the Analecta Hymnica attributed 48 to Adam. A very recent collection by Franz Wellner contains 53 sequences.¹⁰ But with Adam as with Notker, we most likely will never be able to prepare a unanimous and unquestionable list of sequences

⁷Dreves, loc. cit.

⁸Raby, loc. cit. Raby gives the Latin text of William of St. Lô which is quoted from the Analecta Hymnica, LIV, x.

⁹For a complete list of Adam's sequences, see Analecta hymnica mediæ ævi, edited by Clemens Blume and G. M. Dreves (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1886-1922), LIV, lviii.

¹⁰Wellner, op. cit.

which may be attributed to him with absolute certainty. Even the famous Laudes crucis attollamus which J. M. Neale considers "perhaps, his masterpiece,"¹¹ is not credited to him by F. J. E. Raby, who feels that "on manuscript grounds it is certain that it belongs to the end of the eleventh century,"¹² nor by Clemens Blume who credits it as the work of an unknown writer before Adam.

The Abbey of St. Victor

The Abbey of St. Victor, although quite new at the time of Adam, had already become a very important center for medieval theology. According to tradition, after the Ascension of Our Lord, Mary, Martha and their brother Lazarus joined the Apostles. About the year 45 A.D. when the Jews were being driven out of Jerusalem, they, together with Maximinus, one of the 72 disciples, and other Christians set sail in a ship "without rudder, oar or sail." By the direction of God they arrived at Marseille (Massilia) where by preaching and miracles many came to accept the Christian faith. Members of the party scattered and established churches elsewhere while Lazarus remained as the first bishop of Marseille.

It was also at Marseilles that Victor, a Roman cavalry

¹¹A Dictionary of Hymnology, edited by John Julian (Second revised edition with New Supplement; London: John Murray, 1907 (1957 reprint)), p. 14.

¹²Raby, op. cit., p. 351.

soldier, was martyred about 304. Especially in southern France the name Victor was used for many churches and monasteries, especially within the Benedictine Order. St. Victor soon became a favorite saint of the French so that even in a hermitage (Einsiedelei)¹³ outside of Paris there was a Chapel of St. Victor.¹⁴ In 1108 William of Champeaux, Archdeacon of Paris, a student of Anselm and a highly respected scholastic teacher and later an archenemy of Abelard, withdrew to the hermitage of St. Victor, and with several of his students adopted the Rule of St. Augustine and began the Abbey of St. Victor. However, William did not remain long at his newly established monastery. At the insistence of Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans, he returned to the secular church and became Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne. As the Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne he consecrated Bernard as the first abbot of Clairvaux. He died in 1121.

The community of St. Victor flourished under the guidance of Gilduin, a student of William of Champeaux and father-confessor to King Louis VI (1108-1137). By the time the first Abbot Gilduin died, 1155, the monastery already possessed 44 daughter-institutions. Gilduin was also able to attract and keep men of great intellectual ability who were well trained in scholastic thought. The first of these

¹³The German word for hermitage, Einsiedelei, is the name given to some of the manuscripts from the Abbey of St. Victor which contain examples of Adam's sequences.

¹⁴Because of the growth of the city of Paris, the Abbey of St. Victor is now within the city limits.

was Thomas, Prior and Scholastic of St. Victor, Grandvicar of Bishop Stephan of Paris. Thomas was murdered in 1133 by the nephew of Archdeacon Thibaud when he became involved in the conflict between the Bishop and the Archdeacon.

Thomas's pupil Hugh (Hugo) succeeded him as Prior and Scholastic at the age of 36 and became known as Hugh of St. Victor. The annals of St. Victor record that Hugh succeeded to procure some relics of St. Victor from Marseilles for the monastery.¹⁵ Hugh became known as "a second [St.] Augustine" because of his mysticism and intellectual ability. However, his mysticism was expressed as elaborate allegory and symbolism in which everything--nature, historical events, man, even the Holy Scriptures (especially the Old Testament)--was a symbol of God or a type of his relationship with man.

Both Adam and a Richard--later known as Richard of St. Victor--were students of Hugh. At Hugh's early death in 1141 Richard succeeded his teacher as Prior and Scholastic. He also became well known as a theologian and mystic.¹⁶ Under these two great scholars the school of St. Victor became a literary and research center. The monks wrote on almost just every subject: history, geography, grammar, philosophy, psychology, education, together with the usual sermons, commentaries on the Holy Scriptures and various

¹⁵Adam wrote the sequence Ex Radice caritatis for this occasion.

¹⁶Richard of St. Victor (d.1173) came either from Scotland or Ireland. He is mentioned by Dante Alighieri in his Divine Comedy. "Paradise," Canto X: "And Richard

kinds of manuals.¹⁷ G. Morin comments

only these activities and this background can explain the unity of spirit which underlies the diversity (of literature), the special qualities common to the greater mysteries of human being, a typical Victorine mysticism; yet a style which is lively, ingenious, sometimes eloquent, incomparably more attractive than that of the scholastics who succeeded.¹⁸

The Victorine school of Biblical study was typically medieval. Hugh felt "all good things go into threes."¹⁹ All learning he felt must be fitted into a threefold exposition; this is true also of the study of the Holy Scriptures which were to be studied first of all in the literal historical sense, secondly as allegory, and thirdly in a tropological sense.²⁰

The Sequences of Adam

Hugh and Richard expounded a medieval philosophy midway between the rationalism of Abelard and the pure mysticism of Bernard of Clairvaux. Adam and some of the other poets drew this inspiration from the theology of these men and set forth in verse what Hugh and Richard expounded in prose.

more than man, erewhile in deep discernment." Underscoring by the author.

¹⁷Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952), p. 84.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Three was the number of perfect completion, for in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost there is the one completed Godhead and also three is the only number which is the sum total of all numbers that precede it.

²⁰For a further and detailed account of Biblical studies at St. Victor, see Smalley, op. cit., especially Chapters III and IV.

Adam's texts are mainly dogmatic and are most often expressed in symbolical terms. Because it is mainly didactic it is often related that Adam and his school "rarely reach the highest flights of inspiration."²¹ His sequences are mostly songs of praise and are objective in their worship. They have none of the personal or subjective lyrical qualities of the later sequences of the Franciscans. Adam's sequences were still considered to be liturgical and part of the Mass and were not intended for personal devotion.

Die Sequenz, als eine für den Chorgesang bestimmte Kunstform, bedient sich grundsätzlich des 'Wir' Tons; nur zweimal durchbricht Adam diese Regel und gebraucht das 'Ich' (In natale salvatoris, 'Scio tamen posse Deum' and Profitentes unitatem, 'Me nescire sum professus'); beidemal aber ist es an Stellen, in denen er die Unzulänglichkeit des menschlichen Verstandes bekennt--nein, eben nur seines eigenen!²²

The sequences of Adam and of his school cannot be understood without reference to the elaborate allegory and symbolism which the Victorines saw in everything. The visible was a picture or sign of the invisible, temporal events were the shadow of eternal truths. Here, in the beginnings of Neo-Platonism, we find the belief that the "real world" is the world of ideas, a spiritual and moral universe, and the world as we see it and the phenomena which are observed are of value only in that it helps us to understand the spiritual truth. Hugh's De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei regards the visible world as a sign or sacrament under which the invisible

²¹Raby, op. cit., p. 354.

²²Wellner, op. cit., p. 20.

was everywhere to be discerned.²³ This is true of nature, of history, of the Bible, and of man. The familiar Bestiaries of this age always find a symbol of truth about God in the descriptive account of each of the animals so that for instance the lion's secret descent from the mountain to the valley in order to elude the hunter is in reality a sign of the mystery of the Incarnation. Even the mythical Unicorn is a picture of Christ's incarnation and redemption.²⁴ We shall take up the contexts of some of Adam's sequences after looking at the structures.

Structure of Adam's Sequences

The structure of Adam's sequences is so regular that it is hardly distinguishable in form from the Latin hymn. The texts are metrical and rhythmic and use rhyme. However, two things distinguish the sequence from the regular hymns: first of all, although most of them are in either three or four lines, the stanzas may vary in length, and secondly, they retain the original sequence style by having different melodies for different pairs of verses.

The general pattern is a group of trochaic lines of eight syllables with a caesura after the fourth syllable which is at the end of a word (trochaic acatalectic dimeter) followed by one line of seven syllables (trochaic catalectic dimeter) without caesura.

²³Raby, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

²⁴For further information and examples see Raby, *op. cit.*, "The Victorine Sequences and Medieval Symbolism," pp. 355-63.

- u - u/ - u - u
 - u - u/ - u - u
 - u - u - u -

By far the largest number of verses follows this pattern.²⁵ Adam's sequences for the Feast of St. Stephen, Martyr, is often selected as an illustration of his finest work. Raby says that in this sequence the sequence form "reaches a perfection which was never surpassed."²⁶

A.

- I. heri mundus exsultavit
 et exsultans celebravit
 Christi natalitia;
- II. protomartyr et levita,
 clarus fide, clarus vita,
 clarus et miraculis,
- III. fremunt ergo tamquam
 ferae,
 quia victi defecere,
 lucis adversarii;
- IV. agonista, nulli cede,
 certa certus de mercede,
 persevera, Stephane!
- V. testis tuus est in caelis,
 testis verax et fidelis,
 testis innocentiae;
- VI. pro corona non marcenti
 prefer brevis vim tormenti,
 te manet victoria;
- VII. plenus sancto spiritu
 penetrat intuitu
 Stephanus caelestia;

B.

- heri chorus angelorum
 prosecutus est caelorum
 regem cum laetitia.
- sub hac luce triumphavit
 et triumphans insultavit
 Stephanus incredulis.
- falsos testes statuunt
 et linguas exacuunt
 viperarum filii.
- insta falsis testibus,
 confuta sermonibus
 synagogam Satanae!
- nomen habes coronati,
 te tormenta decet pati
 pro corona gloriae.
- tibi fiet mors natalis,
 tibi poena terminalis
 dat vitae primordia.
- videns dei gloriam
 crescit ad victoriam,
 suspirat ad praemia.

²⁵Wellner, op. cit., p. 338: "in etwa drei Fünfteln aller Verse."

²⁶Raby, op. cit., p. 352.

- VIII. en, a dextris dei stantem tibi caelos reserari,
Iesum, pro te dimicantem, tibi Christum revelari,
Stephanes, considera; clama voce libera.
- IX. se commendat salvatori, Saulus servat omnium
pro quo dulce ducit mori vestes lapidantium
sub ipsis lapidibus, lapidans in omnibus.
- X. ne peccatum statuatur, in Christo sic obdormivit,
his, a quibus lapidatur, qui Christo sic oboedivit,
genu ponit et precatur et cum Christo semper vivit,
condolens insaniae; martyrum primitiae.
- XI. quod sex suscitaverit huius dei gratia
mortuos in Africa, revelato corpore
Augustinus asserit, mundo datur pluvia
fama refert publica. siccitatis tempore.
- XII. solo fugat hic odore martyr, cuius est iucundum
morbos et daemonia, nomen in ecclesia,
laude dignus et honore languescentem fove mundum
iugique memoria. caelesti fragrantia.²⁷

1. Yesterday, with exultation
Joined the world in celebration
Of her promis'd Saviour's birth;
Yesterday the Angel nation
Pour'd the strains of jubilation
O'er the Monarch born on earth.
2. But to-day, o'er death victorious,
By His faith and actions glorious,
By His miracles renown'd
Dared the Deacon Protomartyr
Earthly life for Heav'n to barter,
Faithful midst the faithless found,
3. In a hopeless strife engaging,
They like savage beasts are raging,
Adversaries of the light;
False the witnesses they set;
Tongues like swords the rabble whet,
Viper brood of darkest night.
4. Forward, champion, in thy quarrel!
Certain of a certain laurel,
Holy Stephen, persevere!
Perjur'd witnesses confounding
Satan's Synagogue astounding
By thy doctrine true and clear.

²⁷Ibid., p. 351.

5. Lo! in Heaven thy Witness liveth:
Bright and faithful proof He giveth
Of His Martyr's blamelessness:
Thou by name a Crown impliest;
Meetly then in pangs thou diest
For the Crown of Righteousness!
6. For a crown that fadeth never,
Bear the torturer's brief endeavour;
Victory waits to end the strife;
Death shall be thy birth's beginning,
And life's losing be the winning
Of the true and better Life.
7. Whom the Holy Ghost endueth,
Whom celestial sight embueth,
Stephen penetrates the skies;
There God's fullest glory viewing
There his victor strength renewing
For his near reward he sighs.
8. See, as Jewish foes invade thee,
See how Jesus stands to aid thee!
Stands to guard His champion's death:
Cry that opened Heaven is shown thee:
Cry that Jesus waits to own thee:
Cry it with thy latest breath!
9. On his Saviour's aid relying,
Sweet to him the pain of dying,
'Neath the fearful rain of stone:
Paul amidst the stoning throng,
Guarding garments, makes the wrong
Of the angry Jews his own.
10. As the dying Martyr kneeleth,
For his murderers he appealeth,
And his prayer their pardon sealeth,
For their madness grieving sore;
Then in Christ he sleepeth sweetly,
Who His pattern kept completely,²⁸
Martyr first-fruits, evermore!

--John Mason Neale

The five Christmas sequences are excellent examples of both the style and theology of Adam. Because of the

²⁸Ruth Ellis Messenger, The Medieval Latin Hymn (Washington, D.C.: Capital Press, c.1953), pp. 101 ff. Stanzas 11 and 12 are omitted.

nature of the subject there are many examples of the symbolic interpretation of the Old Testament and also of the great honor and worship given to the Virgin Mary.

1. Lux est orta gentibus

A.

B.

- | | |
|---|--|
| I. Lux est orta gentibus
In umbra sedentibus
Et mortis caligine; | Gaudet miser populus,
Quia mundo parvulus
Nascitur de virgine. |
| II. Ut ascendat homo reus,
Condescendit homo-Deus
Homonis miseriae. | Quis non laudet et laetetur,
Quis non audens admiretur
Opus novae gratiae? |
| III. Quidnam iucundius,
Quidnam secretius
Tali mysterio? | O quam mirabilis,
O quam laudabilis
Dei dignatio. |
| IV. Quam subtile
Dei consilium,
Quam sublime
Rei mysterium;
Virga florem,
Vellus rorem,
Virgo profert filium. | Nec pudorem
Laesit conceptio,
Nec viorem
Floris emissio;
Concipiens
Et pariens
Comparatur lilio. |
| V. O Maria, stella maris,
Post Deum spes singularis
Nafragantis saeculi, | Vide, quam nos fraudulenter,
Quam nos vexant violenter
Tot et tales aemuli. |
| VI. Per te virtus nobis detur,
Per te, mater, extrubetur
Daemonum superbia. | Tuae proli nos commenda,
Ne nos brevi sed tremenda
Feriat sententia. ²⁹ |

This first sequence begins with a statement of the fulfillment of the prophet Isaiah (9:2): "The people who walked in darkness have seen a great light; those who dwelt in a land of deep darkness, on them has light shined."

The second strophe is a fine theological statement of the

²⁹Wellner, op. cit., p. 30.

incarnation. The fourth contains references to two Old Testament events which the poet sees as symbols for the birth of Jesus of the Virgin Mary. "Virga florem, vellus rorem"--the bough blossoms, the fleece is covered with dew. The rod of Aaron (Numbers 17:1-11) which "sprouted and put forth buds, and produced blossoms, and bore ripe almonds" is regarded as a picture of the Virgin Birth. The bough which blossomed by itself without external aid miraculously brought forth life and established the authority of the priestly leadership of Aaron; the Virgin also brought forth life and this life established a new priesthood. The fleece of wool is the most frequent symbol of the virginity of Mary. Honorius in his commentary writes:

Gideon, the captain of Israel, spread out a fleece on the threshing-floor, into which the dew descended from heaven, while the threshing floor remained dry. Again spreading out the fleece, the floor was wet with dew, but the fleece was dry. This was a sign of the victory of the faithful and of the flight of the enemy. The fleece wet with dew is the holy Virgin, having conceived. The dry threshing-floor is her inviolate virginity. The floor was on the second occasion wet with dew, because the Church was pregnant with the gifts of the Holy Spirit. . . . The fleece was dry because the Synagogue was barren and lacked those gifts.³⁰

The sequence concludes with a prayer to Mary, "stella maris, post Deum spes singularis," for strength and intercession.

Stanzas II, V, and VI follow the general pattern of two lines of trochaic acatalectic dimeter followed by one in

³⁰Raby, op. cit., p. 371.

trochaic catalectic dimeter. Stanza I is entirely trochaic catalectic dimeter. The meter of the third stanza is

u - u - u -
u - u - u -
- u u - u -

s. Iubilemus salvatori

A.

B.

- | | |
|---|--|
| I. Iubilemus salvatori,
Quem caelestes laudant
chori,
Concordi laetitia; | Pax de caelo nuntiatur,
Terra caelo foederatur,
Angelis ecclesia. |
| II. Verbum carni cunitum,
Sicut erat praefinitum,
Sine carnis copula; | Virgo parit, Dei templum,
Nec exemplar nec exemplum
Per tot habens saecula. |
| III. Res est nova, res insigni-
nis,
Quod in rubo rubet ignis
Nec rubum attaminat; | Caeli rorant, nubes pluunt,
Montes stillant, collest
fluunt,
Radix Jesse germinat. |
| IV. De radice flos ascendit,
Quem prophetae praecosten-
dit
Evidens oraculum; | Radix Jesse regem David,
Virgina matrem praesignavit
Virginem, flos parvulum. |
| V. Mira floris pulchritudo,
Quem commendat plenitudo
Septiformis gratiae. | Recreemur in hoc flore,
Qui nos gustu, nos odore,
Nos invitat specie. |
| VI. Iesu, puer immortalis,
Tuus nobis hic natalis
Pacem det et gaudia; | Flos et fructus virginalis,
Cuius odor est vitalis,
Tibi laus et gloria. ³¹ |

Adam begins this beautiful Christmas sequence with praise for the Savior at whose birth the angels sang and proclaimed peace to men. Again in this sequence we have some

³¹Analecta hymnica, LIV, 99. Musical setting for this sequence is in Archibald Thompson Davison and Willi Appel, Historical Anthology of Music (Cambridge: Harvard University, c.1946), p. 14.

examples of medieval love for symbolism; in the second stanza Adam refers to Mary as the Temple of God, for in her body God dwelt for a time. There are two references to the Virginity of the Mother; one in a simple statement that the Word joined flesh "sine carnis copula" but it is again symbolized in the figure of the burning bush (Exodus 3:2): "Quod in rubo rubet ignis/ Nec rubum attaminut."

In using this picture of the Virgin Birth, Adam expresses the popular belief of the day as expressed by Honorius:

Moses beheld the burning bush with fire, yet not consumed by the flame. In this bush the Lord appeared, when he delivered his people from Egyptian bondage. This prefigured the Blessed Virgin, whom the Holy Ghost illuminated with offspring, yet defiled not with the flame of concupiscence. Out of her the Lord appearing visibly visited the world, and freed the people of the faithful from the bondage of the devil.³²

The poet includes the picture of Isaiah (45:8): "Shower, O heavens, from above and let the skies rain down righteousness." The Rod of Jesse is the symbol of the Virgin which again follows the writings of Honorius.

Jesse was the father of King David, who was the root of this sacred stock. From this root David grew as a tree, of which a noble rod sprung, because the Virgin Mary derived her ancestry from his offspring. This rod brought forth a flower, when the Virgin Mary bore Jesus. For he himself saith: 'I am the flower of the field and the lily of the valleys' (Cant. ii). A field is soil

³²Raby, *op. cit.*, p. 369. The translator of the text as it appears in Davison and Apel, *loc. cit.*, seems to have missed the comparison completely. By mistranslating *in rubo* as "in the ruby," the text has little meaning. His translation reads "O new and wondrous thing, the fire glows in the ruby, but does not destroy it."

untilled, that is, an unwedded virgin. This field produced a precious flower when Christ born of a virgin shone forth on the world.³³

After making the symbolic interpretation of the Old Testament that the root of Jesse signifies King David, the rod (virga) the Virgin, and the flower the child, he stays with the thought of Christ as a flower.

Wondrous is the beauty of the flower, which the plenitude of seven-fold grace commends.

We are recreated in this flower which invites us by its taste, its smell, and its appearance.

Jesus, immortal child, may this day of Thy birth give us peace and joy.

Flower and fruit of the Virgin, whose perfume is live giving, to Thee be praise and glory.³⁴

Certainly the literary structure of this sequence in no way distinguishes it from the Latin hymn. Each stanza has identical form--two lines of trochaic acatalectic dimeter followed by one line of trochaic catalectic dimeter. The first two lines of each stanza and the last lines of each pair of stanzas rhymes and the caesura always comes at the end of a word.

It is no wonder then that all the writers speak so highly of Adam's sequences. For here we have an example of an objective hymn of praise which is didactic and yet beautiful; it is written in perfect form and yet one never feels that the form ever dominates the text.

3. In natale salvatoris

A.

B.

I. In natale salvatoris

Harmonia diversorum,

³³Raby, op. cit., p. 372.

³⁴Davison and Apel, op. cit., p. 240.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Angelorum nostra choris
Succinat condicio; | Sed in unum redactorum
Dulcis est connectio. |
| II. Felix dies hodiernus,
In quo patri coaeternus
Nascitur ex virgine; | Felix dies et iucundus,
Illustrari gaudet mundus
Veri solis lumine. |
| III. Ne periret homo reus,
Redemptorem misit Deus,
Pater unigenitum;
Visitavit, quos amavit,
Nosque vitae revocavit
Gratia, non meritum. | Infinitus et immensus,
Quem non capit ullus sensus,
Nec locorum spatia,
Ex aeterno temporalis,
Ex immenso fit localis,
Ut restauret omnia. |
| IV. Non peccatum, sed peccati
Formam sumens vetustati
Nostrae se contemperat,
Immortalis se mortali,
Spiritualis corporali
Ut natura conferat. | Sic concurrunt in personae
Singularis unione
Verbum, caro, spiritus,
Ut persona non mutetur
Nec persona geminetur,
Sed sit una penitus. |
| V. Tanta rei sacramentum
Later hostem fraudulentum,
Fallitur malitia;
Caecus hostis non praesagit,
Quod sub nube carnis agit
Dei sapientia. | Huius nodum sacramenti
Non subtilis argumenti
Solvit inquisitio;
Modum nosse non est meum,
Scio tamen posse Deum,
Quod non capit ratio. |
| VI. Iesu, noster salutaris,
Qui prudenter operaris
Salutis mysterium, | His, qui colunt hunc natalem,
Da salutem temporalem,
Da perenne gaudium. ³⁵ |

This sequence is interesting for a number of reasons. It differs in many ways from the other sequences. First of all this one alone of the five Christmas sequences speaks only of Christ. There is no mention of Mary other than the reference "nascitur ex virgine." In general this is a poetical treatise of the Incarnation, and it is interesting to note that even though there was a strong emphasis upon the invocation of the saints, especially the Virgin, the new life which God gave in his Son is "Gratia, non meritum."

³⁵Wellner, op. cit., p. 38.

Although this sequence contains practically no symbolic meanings, it does seem to presuppose one common theological thought of the day which was that the coming of the Son of God into the world was hidden from the Devil until Jesus was born (Stanza V A).³⁶

This sequence also contains one of the very rare uses of the first person singular, "I." However, the use of "I" does not in any way weaken the objective character of the sequence for it is a declaration of faith and assurance: "I know, however, that God is able to do that which can not be grasped by reason" (Stanza V B).

The structure is the same as Jubilemus salvatori discussed previously.³⁷

4. Splendor patris et figura

A.

B.

I. Splendor patris et figura Se conformans homini	Potestate, non natura, Partum dedit virgini.
II. Adam vetus Tandem laetus Novum promat canticum;	Fugitivus Et captivus Prodeat in publicum.
III. Eva luctum, Vitae fructum Virgo gaudens edidit	Nec sigillum Propter illum Castitatis perdidit.

³⁶A medieval Bestiary says of the lion that when he senses that the hunter is near, by whatever way he wishes he goes down to the valley. All his footsteps he fills after him; he drags dust with his tail and covers up his trails so that he cannot be followed and found. This, says the Bestiary, is a picture of our Lord's descent. "Our Lord is the Lion who dwells there above. Just how it pleased him to light on earth may devil never know, be he ever so keen a hunter, how he came down, and how he took up his dwelling in that sweet maiden, Mary by name, who bore him as man."

³⁷Supra, p. 67.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>IV. Si crystallus sit
humecta
Atque soli sit obiecta,
Scintillat igniculum;</p> | <p>Nec crystallus rumpitur,
Nec in partu solvitur
Pudoris signaculum.</p> |
| <p>V. Super tali genitura
Stupet usus et natura
Deficitque ratio;</p> | <p>Res est ineffabilis,
Tam pia, tam humilis
Christi generatio.</p> |
| <p>VI. Frondem, florem, nucem
sicca
Virga profert et
pudica
Virgo Dei filium;</p> | <p>Fert caelestem vellus rorem,
Creatura creatorem,
Creaturae pretium.</p> |
| <p>VII. Frondis, floris, nucis,
roris
Pietati salvatoris
Congruunt mysteria;</p> | <p>Frons est Christus pro-
tengendo,
Flos dulcore, nux pascendo,
Ros caelesti gratia.</p> |
| <p>VIII. Cur, quod virgo peperit,
Est Iudaeis scandalum?</p> | <p>Cum virga produxerit
Sicca sic amygdalum.</p> |
| <p>IX. Contemplemur adhuc
nucem;
Nam prolata nux in
lucem
Lucis est mysterium;</p> | <p>Trinam gerens unionem
Tria confert: unctionem,
Lumen et edulium.</p> |
| <p>X. Nux est Christus:
cortex nucis
Circa carnem poena
crucis,
Testa corpus osseum;
Carne tecta deitas
Et Christi suavitas
Signatur per nucleum.</p> | <p>Lux est caecis et unguentum
Christus aegris et fomentum
Piis animalibus.
O quam dulce sacramentum
Foenum carnis in frumentum
Convertit fidelibus.</p> |
| <p>XI. Quos sub umbra sacra-
menti,
Iesu, pascis in prae-
senti,
Tuo vultu satia;</p> | <p>Splendor patri coaeterne,
Nos hinc transfer ad paternae
Claritatis gaudia.³⁸</p> |

The lack of symbolic interpretation in the preceding sequence is more than made up in this one. Almost every thought is expressed either in a symbolical meaning of the

³⁸Wellner, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 f.

Old Testament or by use of the symbols in nature to express a truth about Christ and about Mary: Adam may have been paraphrasing Hebrews 1:3 in Stanza I, "He reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature. . ." and in it is a definite statement of the virgin birth (non natura).

Adam uses St. Paul's picture of the Old Adam who brought sin and death into the world and Christ, the New Adam, who brought salvation to life (Romans 5:14-18, I Cor. 15:45). However, he presses the comparison still further and contrasts Eve's sorrow ("in pain you shall bring forth children") with Mary's joy at the birth of Jesus. He then gives an example from nature to explain how Mary could have a child and yet remain pure.

The symbols of Aaron's staff and Gideon's fleece are again used and explained. But in this sequence Adam goes a step further in his symbolic pictures. The Rod of Aaron brought forth leaves, flowers, and almonds. In the Middle Ages a nut was often used as a symbol of Christ. In Stanza IX the poet asks that the Christian contemplate the nut. A nut, he says, gives three things--ointment, light, and food. Christ is a nut: the outer shell (cortex) is the symbol of his suffering and passion which closed round his flesh; the inner shell represents his body; the kernel is his divinity. Christ, in the symbol of the nut, gives light to the blind, ointment to the sick, and food to the faithful in the Holy Sacrament. The sequence concludes

with a prayer to Christ.

Basically the form is the eight and seven syllable trochaic rhythm, but sometimes the eight is four plus four (e.g., Stanzas II and III).

5. Nato nobis salvatore

A.

B.

- | | |
|--|--|
| I. Nato nobis salvatore
Celebremus cum honore
Diem natalitium. | Nobis natus nobis datur
Et nobiscum conversatur
Lux et salus gentium. |
| II. Eva prius interemit,
Sed Maria nos redemit
Mediante filio; | Prima parens nobis luctum,
Sed secunda vitae fructum
Protulit cum gaudio. |
| III. Negligentes non negle-
xit,
Sed ab alto nos pros-
pexit
Pater mittens unicum; | Praesens mundo, sed absconsus,
De secreto tanquam sponsus
Prodiit in publicum. |
| IV. Gigas velox, gigas fortis
Gigas, nostrae victor
mortis,
Accinctus potentia, | Ad currendam venit viam
Complens in se prophetiam
Et legis mysteria. |
| V. Iesu, noster salutaris,
Medicina singularis,
Nostra pax et gloria, | Quia servis redimendis
Tam decenter condescendis,
Te collaudant omnia. ³⁹ |

In this sequence Adam contrasts the first mother, who brought us death and mourning, with the second mother, Mary, who brought us salvation and the fruits of life. God who formerly "Negligentes non neglexit" now openly shows his presence in the world as a giant who is our victor over death.

³⁹Analecta hymnica, op. cit., LIV, 154.

Gaude, Sion, et laetare

The sequence, Gaude, Sion, et laetare, is of historical interest for it was written for St. Thomas A'Becket whom Adam had met a few years earlier. Thomas, Bishop of Canterbury, because of his conflict with Henry II of England, spent part of his life in exile in France and visited the Abbey of St. Victor on September 4, 1169. According to the monastic record on that day, the Octave of the Feast of St. Augustine, he spoke in the Refectory and later had a disputation with Richard of St. Victor. Shortly afterwards, Thomas left France and returned to Canterbury where he renewed his feud with Henry II about the relationship of the English Church with the Pope and with the English King. He arrived in England on December 1, 1170, and on December 29 he was murdered at the High Altar of Canterbury Cathedral. Two years after his death, February 1173, Becket was canonized by Pope Alexander III and the 29th of December was declared to be the feast of "St. Thomas of Canterbury." Even King Henry made a solemn pilgrimage to Canterbury where many miracles were said to have occurred at the tomb of Thomas. According to the tradition of St. Victor, the following sequence was written by Adam in 1174.

A.

B.

I. Gaude, Sion, et laetare,	Tuus Thomas trucidatur,
Voce, voto iucundare	Pro te, Christe, immolatur
Sollemni laetitia!	Salutaris hostia.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>II. Archipraesul et legatus
Fuit Thomas consecratus
Nullo tamen est elatus
Honoris fastigio;</p> | <p>Dispensator summi regis
Et divinae doctor legis
Pro tutela sui gregis
Trusus est exsilio.</p> |
| <p>III. Telo certans pastorali,
Ense cinctus spiritali
Triumphare meruit.</p> | <p>Hic pro Dei sui lege
Et pro suo mori grege
Decertare studuit.</p> |
| <p>IV. Tunc rectore desolatam
Et pastore viduatam
Se plangebatur Cantia;</p> | <p>Versa vice plausu miro
Exsultavit tanto viro
Senonensis Gallia.</p> |
| <p>V. Quo absente infirmatur,
Infirmata perturbatur,
Perturbata conculcatur
Libertas ecclesiae.</p> | <p>Sic nos, pastor, reliquisti
Te configens cruci Christi
Nec a vero recessisti
Tramite iustitiae.</p> |
| <p>VI. Quondam coetu curiali
Primus eras et regali
Militans palatio;</p> | <p>Plebis aura favorali
Et, ut mos est, temporali
Plaudebas praeconio.</p> |
| <p>VII. Consequenter es mutatus,
Praesulatu sublimatus,
Novus homo reparatus
Felici commercio;</p> | <p>Ex adverso ascendisti
Et te murum obiescisti,
Caput tuum obtulisti
Christi sacrificio.</p> |
| <p>VIII. Carnis tuae morte sprete
Triumphalis es athleta;
Palma tibi datur laeta,
Quod testantur insueta
Miranda miracula:</p> | <p>Per te visus caecis datur,
Claudis gressus instauratur,
Paralysis effugatur,
Vetus hostis propulsatur
Et peccati macula.</p> |
| <p>IX. Cleri gemma, clare Thoma,
Motus carnis nostrae doma
Precum efficacia,</p> | <p>Ut in Christo, vera vite,
Radicati verae vitae
Capiamus praemia.⁴⁰</p> |

Adam views the murder of Thomas as a martyrdom, "Pro te, Christe" and naturally in no way gives any hint of the political background of the conflict between the Archbishop and the King. While Kent (Cantia) grieves the dead, France (Gallia) rejoices in the man who found refuge and safety in France (Stanza IV). Already the accounts of the miracle

⁴⁰Ibid., LV, 328.

at Canterbury were known in France for Adam makes mention of the "Miranda miracula"--the blind see, the infirm are strengthened, the lame walk, and the "ancient enemy and marks of sin are warded off." The sequence concludes with a prayer to St. Thomas.

Although the stanzas are not all of equal length, the eight and seven pattern is followed throughout.

Adam wrote six Easter sequences, one for each day of the week between Easter Sunday and Quasi Modo Geniti. The first one for Easter Monday is primarily symbolic.

I. Ecce dies celebris
Lux succedit tenebris,
Morti resurrectio.

A.

B.

II. Laetis cedant tristia,
Cum sit maior gloria
Quam prima confusio;

Umbram fugat veritas,
Vetustatem novitas,
Luctum consolatio.

III. Pascha novum colite:
Quod praedit in capite,
Membra sperent singula;

Pascha novum Christus est,
Qui pro nobis passus est,
Agnus sine macula.

IV. Hosti, qui nos circuit,
Praedam Christus eruit,
Quod Samson praecinuit,
Dum leonem lacerat;

David fortis viribus
A leonis unguibus
Et ab ursi faucibus
Gregem patris liberat.

V. Quod in morte plures
stravit,
Samson Christum figu-
ravit,
Cuius mors victoria;

Samson dictus sol eorum,
Christus lux est electorum,
Quos illustrat gratia.

VI. Iam de crucis sacro
vecte
Botrus fluit in dilectae
Penetral ecclesiae;

Iam calcato torculari
Musto gaudent debriari
Gentium primitiae.

VII. Saccus scissus et
 pentusus
 In regales transit
 usus;
 Saccus fit soccus
 gloriae,
 Caro victrix miseriae.

Quia regem peremerunt,
 Rel regnum perdiderunt;
 Sed non deletur penitus
 Cain in signum positus.

VIII. Reprobatus et abiectus
 Lapis iste nunc electus
 In propaeum stat erec-
 tus
 Et in caput anguli;

Culpam delens, non naturam,
 Novam creat creaturam
 Tenens in se ligaturam
 Utriusque populi.

IX. Capiti sit gloria
 Membrisque concordia.⁴¹

In this sequence Christ is the new Easter Lamb (I. Cor. 5:7), the Lamb without blemish (Ex. 12:5); the Resurrection of Christ as Head (I Cor. 11:3) gives us, the members (I Cor. 6:15) the hope of our resurrection. Adam continues the symbolic picture (Stanza V): Christ the Savior breaks the circle of the Enemy which surrounds us as Samson conquered the lions (Judges 14:6) and as David defended his father's flock from the lion and the bear (I Chron. 17:34-35). Another interesting comparison is made: "Samson Christum figuravit" for, just as Samson at his death killed more of his enemies than during his lifetime (Judges 16:30), so also Christ's greatest victory was his death. Adam brings in another picture: the cross is the winepress from which the wine flows into the Church for nourishment of the people. He also uses a clever play on words: a saccus (bag, often a bag used for straining wine) becomes soccus (a light shoe, slipper, base or pedestal).

⁴¹Wellner, op. cit., p. 112.

The structure of this sequence is rather unusual, for Adam very seldom followed the German sequence style, but here we have an example of the first and last stanzas without repetition. However, the rhyme and rhythm (7 or 8 feet to a line) are quite typical of him, except for the two line ending which shifts the usual accents.

- u - u - u -
u - u u - u - 42

Adam's second Easter sequence, *Lux illuxit dominica*, pictures the creation of Light brought to its ultimate realization in the Resurrection of Him who is the Light of light. We, the children of light, as members of the Head also will see the Resurrection. Adam sees in the rending of the veil of the Temple the figure of the revealing of shadows of the Old Testament which are fulfilled in Christ, such as, the Lamb without blemish (Ex. 12:5) offered to God for the reconciliation and the goat which carried away the sins of people (Lev. 16:7 ff.). This sequence ends with a beautiful, clear confession of faith in the power of the Resurrection--Stanzas VI and VII.

A.

- I. *Lux illuxit dominica,
Lux insignis, lux unica,*
- II. *Diem mundi condicio
Commendat ab initio,*
- III. *In spe perennis gaudii
Lucis exsultent filii,*

B.

- Lux lucis et laetitiae,
Lux immortalis gloriae,*
- Quam Christi resurrectio
Sublimat privilegio.*
- Vindicent membra meritis
Conformitatem captitis.*

⁴²Ibid., p. 354.

- | | |
|--|---|
| IV. Sollemnis est celebritas,
Et vota sint sollemnia;
Primae diei dignitas
Prima requirit gaudia. | Sollemnitatum gloria
Paschalis est victoria,
Sub multis aenigmatibus
Diu promissa patribus. |
| V. Iam scisso velo patuit,
Quod vetus lex praecinuit;
Figuram res exterminat
Et umbram lux illuminat: | Quid agnus sine macula,
Quid hoedus typi gesserit,
Nostra purgans piacula
Messias nobis asperit. |
| VI. Per mortem nos indebitam
Solvit a morte debita: | Praedam captans illicitam
Praedo privatur licita. |
| VII. Carnis delet opprobria
Caro peccati nescia; | Die reflorens tertia
Corda confirmat dubia. |
| VIII. O mors Christi vivifica,
Tu Christo nos unifica; | Mors morti non obnoxia, ⁴³
Da nobis vitae praemia. |

Franz Wellner says of the third sequence, Salve, dies, dierum gloria, "Wie die schweren Falten kostbaren Brokats rauschen die Verse dieser dritten Oster-Sequenz."⁴⁴ The entire sequence is filled with the deepest joy in the Day of Resurrection. Of the six sequences this one is the most didactic and dogmatic in the statement of theology. Adam remembers mankind bound in deepest sin without hope but that Grace came down to us, "Ut infirmis sperna gratia sulvencret" (Stanza II). The victorious and risen Christ is also the Good Shepherd who carries his sheep on his shoulders to heaven.

A.

B.

- | | |
|--|--|
| I. Salve, dies dierum gloria,
Dies felix, Christi victoria,
Dies digna iugi laetitia,
Dies prima. | Lux divina caelis irradiat,
In qua Christus infernum
spoliat,
Mortem vincit et reconciliat
Summis ima. |
|--|--|

⁴³Analecta hymnica, op. cit., LIV, 145.

⁴⁴Wellner, op. cit., p. 122.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>II. Sempiterni regis sententia
Sub peccato conclusit omnia,
Ut infirmis superna gratia
Subveniret;</p> | <p>Dei virtus et sapientia
Temperavit iram clementia,
Cum iam mundus in praecipitia
Totus iret.</p> |
| <p>III. Insultabat nostrae miseriae
Vetus hostis, auctor malitiae,
Quia nulla spes erat veniae
De peccatis.</p> | <p>Desperante mundo remedium,
Dum tenerent cuncta silentium,
Deus pater emisit filium
Desperatis.</p> |
| <p>IV. Praedo vorax, monstrum tartareum,
Carnem videns, non cavens laqueum,
In latentem ruens aculeum
Aduncatur.</p> | <p>Dignitatis primae condicio
Reformatur nobis in filio,
Cuius nova nos resurrectio
Consolatur.</p> |
| <p>V. Resurrexit liber ab inferis
Restaurator humani generis
Ovem suam reportans umeris
Ad superna.</p> | <p>Angelorum pax fit et hominum,
Plenitudo succrescit ordinum;
Triumphantem laus decet Dominum,
Laus aeterna.</p> |
| <p>VI. Harmoniae caelestis patriae
Vox concordet matris ecclesiae,
Alleluia frequentet hodie
Plebs fidelis.</p> | <p>Triumphato mortis imperio
Triumphali fruamur gaudio,
In terra pax et iubilatio
Sit in caelis.⁴⁵</p> |

The structure of this sequence is quite different from Adam's usual style. This and only one other, Gaudes, Sion, quae diem recolis, are written with three lines in choriambic verse followed by a fourth line of four syllables in trochaic meter.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 126.

- u - u / u - u - u -
 - u - u / u - u - u -
 - u - u / u - u - u - 46
 - u - u

In the fourth sequence for the Friday after Easter, Adam reflects on the events of a week ago, Good Friday, which rescued us from a two-fold death--temporal and eternal. Christ the Lion of Judah has risen from the dead, and is victorious over the Prince of Evil. This sequence also concludes with an exaltation for all to sing joyfully "alleluia."

A.

- I. Sexta passus feria
 Die Christus tertia
 Resurrexit;
- II. Pro fideli populo
 Crucis in patibulo
 Immolatur;
- III. Christi crux et passio
 Nobis est praesidio,
 Si credamus;
- IV. Hostia sufficiens
 Christus fuit moriens
 Pro peccato;
- V. Morte sua simplici
 Nostrae morti duplici
 Fert medelam;
- VI. Leo fortis hodie
 Dat signum potentiae
 Resurgendo,
- VII. Diem istam Dominus
 Fecit, in qua facinus
 Mundi luit,

B.

- Surgens cum victoria
 Collocat in gloria,
 Quos dilexit.
- Claudatur in tumulo,
 Tandem in diluculo
 Suscitatur.
- Christi resurrectio
 Facit, ut a vitio
 Resurgamus.
- Sanguinis effusio
 Abluit nos, impio
 Triumphato.
- Vitae pandit aditum,
 Nostrum sanat gemitum
 Et querelam.
- Principem nequitiae
 Per arma iustitiae
 Devincendo.
- In qua mors occiditur,
 In qua vita redditur,
 Hostis ruit.

VIII. Geminatum igitur Alleluia canitur Corde puro,	Quia culpa tollitur Et vita promittitur In futuro.
IX. In hoc mundi vespere Fac tuos resurgere, Iesu Christe;	Salutaris omnibus Sit tuis fidelibus Dies iste. ⁴⁷

The structure of this sequence is unique. It is the only one that has a half strophe all the way through.

- u - u - u -
- u - u - u -
- u - u 48

The symbolic comparisons in the fifth sequence are not Old Testament references but to nature. The truth of the Resurrection is symbolized in Spring. With the Resurrection of the Lord we also have the resurrection of nature, the dead burst into life, "Revirescunt. . . etc." Unfortunately, as true as the picture may be for Adam in Northern Europe, the Resurrection of Our Lord came close to Harvest time, not planting time, in Palestine. But of course even if Adam had known this, it would not have changed his symbols. In the fourth stanza Adam returns to Old Testament symbolism. Life has overcome death and man now is recovered; the cherub who guarded the gates to Paradise puts away the flaming sword. The heavens are opened and the captives are freed.

I. Mundi renovatio
Nova parit gaudia;
Resurgenti domino
Conresurgunt omnia.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 126.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 345.

Elementa serviunt
Et auctoris sentiunt
Quanta sit potentia.

II. Caelum fit serenius
Et mare tranquillius,
Spirat aura mitius,
Vallis nostra floruit,
Reviverscunt arida,
Recalescunt frigida,
Postquam ver intepuit.

III. Gelu mortis solvitur,
Princeps mundi fallitur
Et eius destruitur
In nobis imperium;
Dum tenere voluit,
In quo nihil habuit,
Ius amisit proprium.

IV. Vita mortem superat,
Homo iam recuperat,
Quod prius amiserat,
Paradisi gaudium.
Viam praebet facilem
Cherubin, versatilem
Amovendo gladium.

V. Christus caelos reserat
Et captivos liberat,
Quos culpa ligaverat
Sub mortis interitu.
Pro tali victoria
Patri, proli gloria
Sit cum sancto spiritu.⁴⁹

The structure of this sequence is rather unusual, if not unique. As a matter of fact, can it still be called a sequence? It has some characteristics of Adam's sequences but it does not really meet the parallel repetition of the sequence form. The lines are seven-syllabled trochaic meter, but since the stanza is seven lines in length, the stanza surely cannot be equally divided for singing, "dass jede Strophe als ganze nach einer besonderen (nicht verdoppelten) Melodie gesungen wird."⁵⁰ It could be agreed this is not really a sequence. There is,

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 130.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 344.

however, a parallel in the rhyme scheme. Stanza I is ababccb, the remaining four are aaabccb.

The sequence is among the earliest to be translated into German. Toward the end of the fourteenth century it was translated by Hermann, "the Monk of Salzburg," and in the fifteenth century by Oswald von Wolckstein and by Heinrich von Laufenberg.⁵¹

The last sequence, for the Saturday after Easter, is the richest in its use of regarding Old Testament events as symbols fulfilled in Christ. John Julian in his Dictionary says:

Of this grand sequence Clichtovaeus says with accuracy: 'The wonderful mysteries of the Resurrection of our Lord are here set forth, as foreshadowed in the Old Testament by many types, and through the goodness of God explained more clearly to us in the New. And of a truth this prose is almost divine, embracing much in few words, and all distinctly taken from the Sacred Scriptures'⁵²

A.

B.

- | | |
|---|---|
| I. zyma vetus expurgetur,
ut sincere celebretur
nova resurrectio. | haec est dies nostrae spei,
huius mira vis diei
legis testimonio. |
| II. haec Aegyptum spoliavit
et Hebraeos liberavit
de fornace ferrea; | his in arto constitutis
opus erat servitutis
lutum, later, palea. |
| III. iam divinae laus virtu-
tis,
iam triumphi, iam salu-
tis
vox erumpat libera, | lex est umbra futurorum,
Christus finis promissorum,
qui consummat omnia. |

⁵¹Ibid., p. 131.

⁵²A Dictionary of Hymnology, op. cit., p. 1305.

- haec est dies,
quam fecit dominus,
dies nostri doloris ter-
minus,
dies salutifera.
- Christi sanguis
igneam
hebetavit romphaeam
amota custodia.
- IV. puer, nostri forma risus,
pro quo vervex est
occisus,
vitae signat gaudium.
- Ioseph exit de cisterna,
Christus redit ad superna
post mortis supplicium.
- V. hic dracones Pharanois
draco vorat, a draconis
immunis malitia:
quos ignitus vulnerat,
hos serpentis liberat
aenei praesentia.
- anguem forat in maxilla
Christus, hamus et armilla
in cavernam reguli
manum mittit ablactatus,
et sic fugit exturbatus
vetus hostis saeculi.
- VI. irrisores Elisaei,
dum conscendit domum dei,
zelum calvi sentiunt.
David arrepticus,
hircus emissarius
et passer effugiunt.
- in maxilla mille sternit
et de tribu sua spernit
Samson matrimonium;
Samson Gazae seras pandit
et asportans portas scandit
montis supercilium.
- VII. sic de Iuda leo fortis
fractis portis dirae
mortis
die surgens tertia,
- rugiente voce patris,
ad supernae sinum matris
tot revexit spolia.
- VIII. cetus Ionam fugitivum,
veri Ionae signativum,
post tres dies reddit
vivum
de ventris angustia.
- botrus Cypri reflorescit,
dilatatur et excrescit,
synagogae flos marcescit
et floret ecclesia.
- IX. mors et vita confligere,
resurrexit Christus vere,
et cum Christo surrexere
multi testes gloriae.
- mane novum, mane laetum
vespertinum tergat fletum;
quia vita vicit letum,
tempus est laetitiae.
- X. Iesu victor, Iesu vita,
Iesu vitae via trita,
culus morte mors sopita,
ad paschalem nos invita
mensam cum fiducia.
- vive panis, vivax unda,
vera vitis et fecunda,
tu nos pasce, tu nos munda,
ut a morte nos secunda
tua salvet gratia.⁵³

Adam begins this sequence reminding us of St. Paul's

⁵³Raby, op. cit., p. 353.

commentary of the meaning of the Resurrection (I Cor. 5:7,8):

Cleanse out the old leaven that you may be fresh dough, as you really are unleavened. . . . Let us, therefore, celebrate the festival not with the old leaven, the leaven of malice and evil, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.

Adam wishes to remind the worshippers that before they can sing the praises of God, they must have a change of heart.

Adam then mentions many examples of Christ's fulfillment of the Old Testament symbols or types. In fact, the key to the entire sequence is III B. Christ fulfills the story of the bondage of Israel in Egypt. Although they suffered at the hands of their persecutors, when they finally left Egypt they took with them much of the Egyptian gold and silver, and just so Christ suffered at the hands of his enemies and especially The Enemy, but before his leaving, he took away many souls from the hands of The Enemy. Therefore, praise God. Isaac appears as a type of Christ; his name means "laughter" because he brought joy to the parents of the Promise, and just so Christ brings joy to all those who live by faith in the promise. The sacrifice of the willing and obedient Isaac is often used as a prefigure of the sacrifice of Jesus on the cross. Joseph's rescue from the pit and his rise to glory and power prefigure Christ's Resurrection and glorious Ascension. Christ is Aaron's serpent which devoured the serpents of Pharaoh's magician. He is Moses' serpent which was set on a pole and all who looked at it were saved (Christ himself made this comparison). Christ is

the one who hooks the Behemoth (Job 40), and He is the suckling child and weaned child (Is. 11:8 f.) who is able to put his hand in the hole of a wasp and on the adder's den without harm. Elijah, derided by the children, is typical of Christ mocked by the Jews and the punishment of the children to be eaten by two bears prefigures the punishment of the Jews in the destruction of Jerusalem under the Emperors Titus and Vespasian. Christ is the David who feigned madness (I Sam. 21:13) to escape Achish the king of Gath; he is the goat set out in the wilderness (Lev. 16:7-10); he is the bird set free to make atonement (Lev. 14:49-53).

Samson again appears as a type of Christ. He has slain a thousand enemies with the jawbone of an ass. Samson took himself a wife from the heathen and in just that way Christ chose his bride, the Church, from among the heathen. Samson carrying away the gates of Gaza is typical of the rising Lord who breaks the gates of Hell.

According to the medieval Bestiary the new born lion cub lies as if dead for three days and is awakened by the roaring of his father. So, says the Bestiary, Christ, the Lion of Judah, was awakened by his Father after three days in the tomb. Jonah in the belly of a great fish for three days is a sign used by Christ himself of his own death and resurrection. The Cyprus grape blooms again, spreads out and grows up--the flower of the synagogue withers and the church blossoms.

Some commentators would like to establish a dependence of Stanza IX upon the famous Victimae paschali. Adam here too pictures the redemptive work of Our Lord as "mors et vita conflixerat." The "Victimae paschali" however called upon Mary to witness the fact of the Resurrection while Adam merely states "Multi testes gloriae." The poet continues his pictures of Christ as Victor, life, bread, living water, and true vine.

And so in many pictures Adam shows Jesus to be the complete fulfillment of the Old Testament and also the perfection of the symbols in nature. For him Christ is the Almighty who is "all in all" and in whom everything is complete. It is noteworthy that in an age which was devoted to the Virgin and which also believed in the intercessory prayers of the saints, not once do either of these emphases come out in any of Adam's Easter sequences. There can be no doubt that for Adam, who himself was very devoted to the Virgin, the redemption is viewed as only Christocentric. Nor do we find any "work righteousness" expressed in the sequences. All of them are a beautiful picturesque expression of God's love and redemption of the world in Christ Jesus. The kerygma was still taught in the pre-reformation monasteries.

The sequence was very popular and soon was used throughout France and adopted by both the Sarum and York rites in England. J. Julian gives seven translations which includes one by J. M. Neale in his Medieval Hymns and Sequences, 1851.

The Music of the Sequence

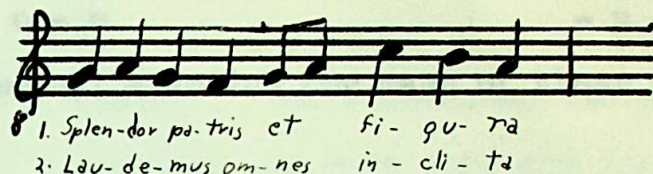
There is today no complete collection of the melodies of Adam of St. Victor.⁵⁴ In general it is believed that Adam composed the melodies to most of the sequence texts which he wrote. However, there is no decisive answer to the question of which were written by Adam himself and which by the choir-master of St. Victor. Nor is the origin of the melodies certain.⁵⁵ Many seem to be taken from the folksongs of the day although this hypothesis cannot be proven. Some melodies are without a doubt "borrowed" from Latin hymns while a few seem to be original compositions of either Adam or someone else at St. Victor.

In these later sequences we have a complete reversal of the relationship of the text with the melody. The sequence began with the fitting of words to a preexisting melody; in the period of the transition the preexisting melodies were "edited" or altered to fit a text, but now the text is primary and a melody is generally composed or adapted to fit the text of the sequence. Since the structure of the sequence became so regular, some melodies were often used for more than one

⁵⁴Wellner, *op. cit.*, p. 363. "Eine allgemeiner Sammlung der Sequenzenmelodien fehlt bisher; allerdings hinterliess der hervorragende englische Hymnologe Rev. H. M. Bannister bei seinem Tode (1909) ein daraufbezügliches, beinahe vollendetes Manuskript, es gelangte aber nicht zum Druck, sondern liegt (soweit feststellbar) in der Verwahrung der Bodleian Library zu Oxford."

⁵⁵Peter Wagner, Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies, a Handbook of Plainsong (Second edition; London: The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1901), p. 240.

text of similar structure. However, it seems that there was not too much concern whether or not the accent or meter of the text agreed with the accent of the music. For instance, two of Adam's texts in different meters are assigned the same melody. The first is trochaic (-u-u-u-u); the second is iambic (u-u-u-u-).



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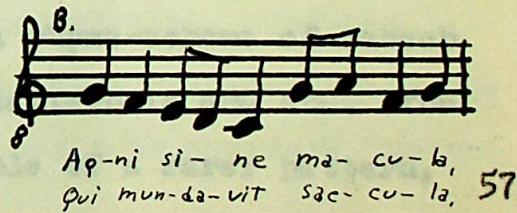
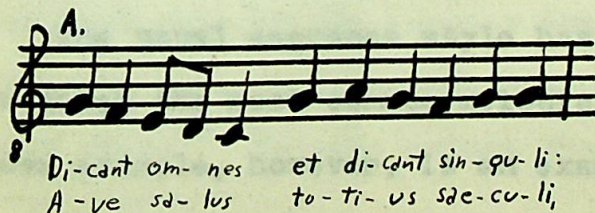
In some of the examples of the texts of the sequences the repetition was not always exactly parallel. This of course demands some melodic change to compensate for a difference in the number of syllables. In the sequence Laudes crucis attollamus for example, the following lines are the A and B of Stanza III.

A.

B.

Dicant omnes et dicant singuli: (10)	Agni sine macula, (7)
Ave, salus totius saeculi, (10)	Qui mundavit saecula (7)
Arbor salutifera. (7)	Ab antiquo crimine. (7)

The first two lines of A are ten syllables while in B they are only seven. In the repetition the melody drops two notes and sings one syllable on two notes.



⁵⁶Adapted from Wellner, op. cit., p. 364.

⁵⁷Wellner, op. cit., p. 386.

The adaptation of a melody to a different text sometimes involved both problems--a change in the rhyme scheme and also a different number of syllables per line. An example of this is the melody used for the Easter sequences:

Sexta passus feria and O, Maria, stella maris

- u - u - u -
- u - u - u -
- u - u

- u - u - u - u
- u - u - u - u
- u - u - u -

The musical adaption for each of these is as follows:

8 Sex-ta passus fe-ri-a Di-e Chris-tus ter-ti-a Re-sur-rex-it

8 O Ma-ri-a, stel-la ma-ris, Pi-e-ta-te sin-gu-la-ris Pi-e-ta-to o-cu-lo

This melody undoubtedly was taken directly from the old famous Latin hymn Ave maris stella whose melody begins:

8 A-ve ma-ris stel-la. 58

The usual sequence style has a rhyme-scheme of aabccb for which the most common melodic pattern is ABC ABC. The above example, however, is an example of a rarer pattern,

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 371.

tonality" but are more properly described as "the c mode."

As an example of an entire sequence we include the sequence used by both Jacques Handschin and Franz Wellner, Salve, mater salvatoris. Wellner writes that the choice of this sequence "begründet sich dadurch, dass es hier um eine unzweifelhaft originale Einzelmelodie und vermöge der besonderen Bedeutung dieser Sequenz unzweifelhaft um eine echt viktorimische Melodie handelt."⁶¹

I

A. Sal-ve ma-ter sal-ve-to-ri-s, vas e-lec-tum, vas hon-o-ri-s, vas cae-
B. Ab ae-Ter-no vas pro-vi-sum, vas in-si-gne, vas ex-ci-sum ma-nu

II

les-tis gra-ti-ae, A. Sal-ve, ver-bi sa-cra pa-rens, flos de spi-na,
sa-pi-en-ti-ae. B. Nos spi-he-Tum, nos pec-ca-ti spi-na su-mus

III

spi-na ca-rens, flos spi-ne-ti glo-ri-a;
cru-en-ta-ti, sed tu spi-nae ne-sci-a. Por-ta clau-sa,

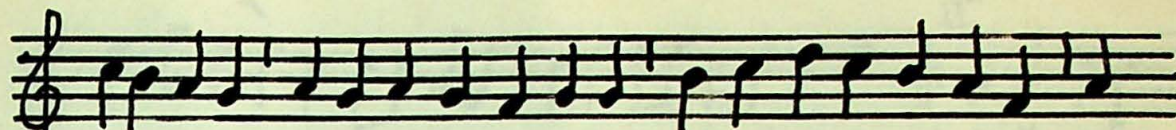
fons hor-to-rum, cel-la cus-tos un-quen-to-rum, cel-la pig-men-ta-

ri-a; cin-na-mo-mi ca-la-mum, myr-rham, thus et bal-sa-mum su-pe-

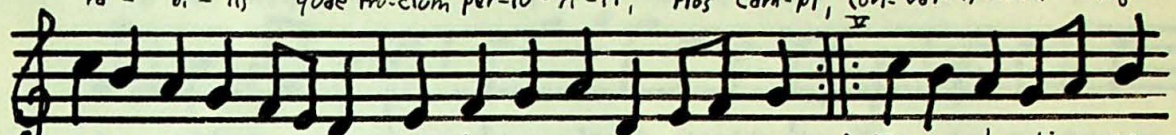
IV

rans fra-gran-tia. A. Sal-ve, de-cus vir-gi-num, re-stau-ra-trix
B. Tu con-val-lis hu-mi-lis, ter-ra non a-

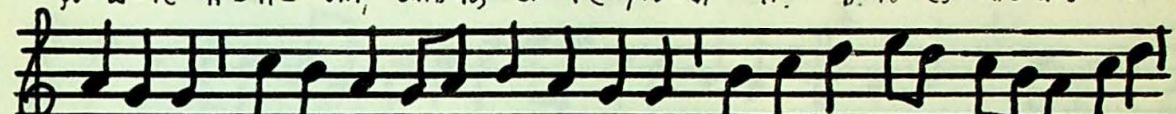
⁶¹Wellner, op. cit., p. 377.



ho-mi-num, sa-lu-tis pu-er-pe-ra, myr-tus tem-pe-ran-ti-ae, re
ra-bi-lis quae fructum par-tu-xi-it, flos cam-pi, con-val-li-um ^v sing-



sa-pa-ti-en-ti-ae nar-dus o-do-ri-fe-ra. A. Tu cae-les-tis pa-
gu-la-re li-li-um, Chris-tus ex te pro-di-it. B. Tu es Thro-nus sa-



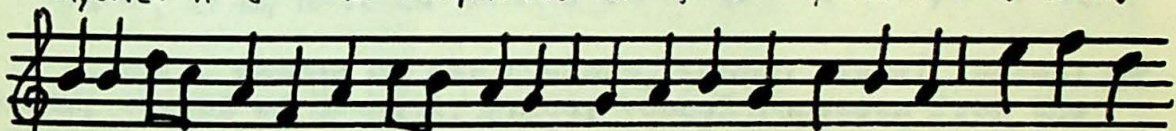
ra-di-sus, Li-ba-nus-que non in-ci-sus, va-po-rans dul-ce-di-nem
lo-mo-nis, cu-i nul-lus par in thro-nis ar-te vel ma-te-ri-a;



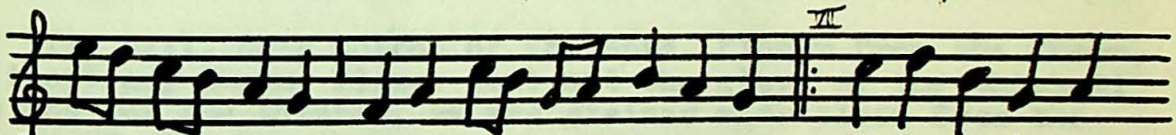
tu can-do-ris et de-co-ris, tu dul-co-ris et o-do-ris ha-bes ple-
e-bur can-dens ca-stri-ta-tis, du-rum ful-vum ca-ri-ta-tis prae-sip-nant



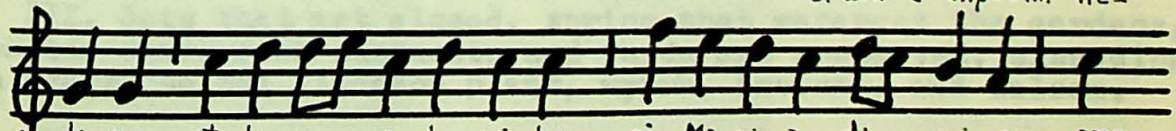
ne-tu-di-nem. ^{VI} Pal-mam prae-fers sin-gu-la-rem, nec in terris ha-bens



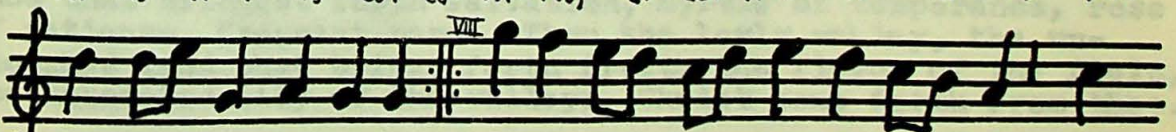
pa-rem, nec in cae-li cu-ri-a; laus hu-ma-ni ge-ne-ris vir-tu-tum



prae-ce-te-ris ha-bes pri-vi-le-gi-a. A. Sol lu-na lu-ci-
B. Lux e-clip-sim he-



di-or et lu-na si-de-ri-bus: sic Ma-ri-a di-gni-or cre-
sci-ens vir-gi-nis est ca-sti-tas, ar-dor in-de-fi-ci-ens im-



^{VII} a-tur-is om-ni-bus; A. Sal-ve, ma-ter pi-e-ta-tis et
mor-ta-lis ca-ri-tas B. Ver-bi ta-men in-car-na-ti spe-

IX

to-ti-us trin-i-ta-tis no-bi-le tri-cti-ni-um, A. O Ma-ri-
ci-d-le ma-jer ta-ti praec-pa-rans hos-pi-ti-um. B. In su-pre-
a, stel-la ma-ris, dig-ni-ta-te sin-gu-la-ris, su-per om-nes
ma-si-ta po-li, hos com-men-da tu-ae pro-li, ne ter-ro-res
or-di-na-ris or-di-nes cae-les-ti-um; A. In pro-cin-ctu
si-ve do-li nos sup-plantent hos-ti-um B. Je-su, Ver-bum
con-sti-tu-ti, te tu-en-te si-mus tu-ti, per-vi-ca-cis et Ver-
sum-mi, pa-tris, ser-va ser-vos tu-ae ma-tris, sol-ve re-os, sal-va
su-ti tu-ae ce-dat vis vir-tu-tis, do-lus pro-vi-den-ti-ae.
gra-tis, et nos tu-ae cia-ri-ta-tis con-fi-qu-ra glo-ri-ae.

I. Hail, mother of our Saviour, chosen vessel, vessel of honour, vessel of heavenly grace, vessel foreseen from the beginning of time, noble vessel, vessel fashioned by the hand of wisdom!

II. Hail, holy mother of the Word, flower from the thorn, without any thorn, flower that art the glory of the thicket! We who are the thicket, we are stained with blood from the thorn of sin, but thou knowest no thorn.

III. Gate that art closed, spring that waterest the gardens, chamber where rich ointments and fards are preserved, exceeding in fragrance the cinnamon plant, myrrh, incense, and balsam.

IV. Hail, glory of virgins, that restorest life to men, thou that bringest forth salvation, myrtle of temperance, rose of patience, fragrant nard! Thou the lowly valley, the unploughed land that brings forth fruit, the flower of the field, the unmatched lily of the valleys, Christ came forth from thee.

V. Thou the heavenly paradise, the frankincense that knows not the knife, giving forth sweet fragrance; thou hast the fullness of beauty and glory, of sweetness and fair odour. Thou art the throne of Solomon, with which no throne can compare for skill or substance; the bright ivory of chastity, the red gold of charity prefigure mysteries.

VI. Thou alone dost bear the palm, there is none like thee on the earth or in the courts of Heaven; the glory of the human race, thou hast the prize of virtue before all others.

VII. The sun is brighter than the moon, and the moon than the stars; so Mary is more worthy than all creatures. The light that knows no eclipse is the virgin's chastity, the heat that never fails is immortal charity.

VIII. Hail, mother of piety and noble entertainment of the whole Trinity, yet preparing a special guest-chamber for the majesty of the Word incarnate!

IX. O Mary, star of the sea, alone in dignity, first in honour above all the citizens of Heaven; where thou standest at the summit of heavens, commend us to thy Son, that neither the threats nor the guile of our enemies may overthrow us.

X. Standing in battle array, let us be safe under thy protection, let the force of the stubborn and deceitful man yield to thy virtue, his guile to thy providence, Jesu, Word of the heavenly Father, save the servants of thy mother, absolve the guilty, bring free salvation, and fashion us after the brightness of thy glory.⁶²

Even after the Council of Trent had limited to four the number of sequences which could be sung, the Abbey of St. Victor continued to sing this sequence at all the Festivals of the Virgin. It soon became popular throughout all of Germany and was frequently translated into German for the people worshipping in the secular churches. In spite of the prohibition of the Council of Trent, the sequences of Adam

⁶²Handschin, *op. cit.*, pp. 162 ff. "It will be noticed that the only verses which are not divided into two symmetrical halves are III and VI; but they repeat each other, though they are separated by IV and V."

and his imitators continued to be sung and translated. Julian's Dictionary cites many English translations in common use during the nineteenth century. The current hymnals of the Lutheran Church and the Episcopal Church contain six:

Supernae matris gaudia
Plausu chorus laetabundo
Iucundare plebs fidelis
Jerusalem et Sion filiae
Stola regni laureatus
Heri mundos exultavit

The first one, Supernae matris gaudia, usually assigned to All Saints' Day, was written by Adam for use at Mass on any Saint's Day. The eleventh stanza is often changed to fit the particular occasion. In this sequence Adam pictures the Church Triumphant as the mother of the Church Militant. Taking his inspiration largely from the Book of Revelation, he describes the worship and praise of God by the Church in heaven. In contrast to the Church on earth, the heavenly hosts know only joy without end or measure; their adoration is everlasting except "When the Lamb opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven for about half an hour"(Rev. 8:1)--Stanza V.

Supernae matris gaudia	Joy and triumph everlasting
Representet Ecclesia,	Hath the heav'nly Church on high;
Dum festa colit annua,	For that pure immortal gladness
Suspiret ad perpetua.	All our feast days mourn and sigh:

In hac valle miserie	Yet in death's dark desert wild
Mater succurrat filie;	Doth the mother aid her child;
Hic celestes excubie	Guards celestial thence attend us,
Nobiscum stent in acie.	Stand in combat to defend us.

Mundus, caro, demonia	Here the world's perpetual warfare
Diversa movent prelia;	Holds from heav'n the soul apart;
Incursu tot fantasmatum	Legioned foes in shadowy terror
Turbatur cordis sabbatum.	Vex the Sabbath of the heart.

Dies festos cognatio
 Simul hec habet odio;
 Certatque pari federe
 Pacem de terra tollere.

Confus sunt hic omnia,
 Spes, metus, meror, gaudium;
 Vix hora vel dimidia
 Fit in celo silentium.

Quam felix illa civitas
 In qua jugis solempnitas,
 Et quam iocunda curia
 Que cure prorsus nescia!

O how happy that estate
 Where delight doth not abate!
 For that home the spirit yearneth,
 Where none languisheth nor mourneth.

Nec langor hic, nec senium, There the body hath no torment,
 Nec fraus, nec terror hostium, There the mind is free from care,
 Sed una vox letantium There is ev'ry voice rejoicing,
 Et unus ardor cordium. Ev'ry heart is loving there.

Illic cives angelici
 Sub ierarchia triplici,
 Trine gaudent et simplici
 Se monarchie subici.

Angels in that city dwell;
 Them their King delighteth well:
 Still they joy and weary never,
 More and more desiring ever.

Mirantur et deficient
 In illum quem prospiciunt;
 Fruuntur nec fastidiunt,
 Quo frui magis stiunt.

Illic patres dispositi
 Pro dignitate meriti,
 Semota iam caligine
 Lumen vident in lumine.

There are the seers and fathers
 holy,
 There the prophets glorified,
 All their doubts and darkness
 ended,
 In the light of Light abide.

Hic santes cuius hodie
 Celebrantur sollempnia,
 Iam revelata facie,
 Regem cernit in gloria.

There the saints, whose memories
 old
 We in faithful hymns uphold,
 Have forgot their bitter story
 In the joy of Jesus' glory.

Illic regina virginum,
 Transcendes culmen ordinum,
 Excuset apud Dominum
 Nostrorum lapsus criminum.

There from lowliness exalted
 Dwelleth Mary, Queen of Grace,
 Ever with her presence pleading
 'Gainst the sin of Adam's race.

Nos ad sanctorum gloriam,
Per ipsorum suffragia,
Post presentem miseriam.⁶³
Christi perducat gratia.

To that glory of the blest,
By their prayers and faith con-
fest,
Us, us too, when Death hath
freed us,
Christ of his good mercy lead
us.

--Robert Bridges⁶⁴

The translation by Robert Bridges was prepared for his Yattendon Hymnal, 1899, and was included in the English Hymnal, 1906. The editors of The Hymnal 1940 omitted the last two verses which honor Mary as the Queen and refer to her prayers and intercessory prayers of the saints for our salvation.

This translation was prepared for the tune "Bourgeois," composed or adapted by Louis Bourgeois for Psalm 42 in the Geneva Psalter, 1551. Julian's Dictionary lists six other English translations of the sequence, including one by John M. Neale which began "The Church on earth with answering love."

Only the editor of the English Hymnal considers Plausu chorus laetabundo to be by Adam; other commentators credit

⁶³The Hymnal 1940 Companion, prepared by the Joint Commission on the Revision of the Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (New York: The Church Pension Fund, c.1949), pp. 91 f. In Wellner, op. cit., p. 290, the third last stanza reads:

Hi sancti quorum hodie
Celebrantur sollemnia,
Iam revelata facie
Regem cernunt in gloria.

⁶⁴The Hymnal 1940 (New York: The Church Pension Fund, 1940), #129. The last two stanzas are from The English Hymnal with Tunes (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 289.

its authorship to one of the many anonymous imitators of Adam of St. Victor. Gautier included it in his first edition of Adam's Oeuvres poétiques, 1858, but in a later edition deleted the text and mentioned that its ascription to Adam is doubtful.⁶⁵ The oldest text is found in a thirteenth century parish gradual in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. In England only the York rite used this sequence and assigned its use for the Feasts of the Evangelists. It is included in Hymns Ancient and Modern, The English Hymnal, and the Hymnal 1940.

Plausu chorus laetabundo
Hos attollat, per quos mundo
Sonant evangelia;
Voce quorum salve fluxit,
Nox praecessit, et illuxit
Sol illustrans omnia.

Curam agens sui gregis
Pastor bonus, acutor legis,
Quattuor instituit,
Quadri orbis ad medelam
Formam iuris et cautelam
Per quos scribi voluit.

Circa thema generale
Habet quisque speciale
Stili privilegium;
Quos designat in propheta
Forma pictus sub discreta
Vultus animalium.

Pellens nubem nostrae molis
Intuetur iubar solis
Johannes in aquila;
Supra caelos dum conscendit,
Sinu patris deprehendit
Natum ante saecula.

Come sing, ye choirs exultant,
Those messengers of God,
Through whom the living Gospels
Came sounding all abroad!
They spake, and lo! salvation
Steam'd forth and banish'd
night;
Up rose the sun of glory
To flood the world with light.
He chose them, our Good Shepherd
And tending evermore
His flock though earth's four
quarters,
In wisdom made them four;
One charter for all nations
The Lawgiver decreed;
And by four penmen utter'd
One glorious title deed.
In one harmonious witness
The chosen four combine,
While each his own commission
Fulfills in every line;
As, in the Prophet's vision,
From out the amber flame
In form of visage diverse
Four living creatures came.

⁶⁵Wellner does not include this sequence in his collection.

Os humanum est Matthaei
 In humana forma Dei
 Dictantis prosapiam,
 Cuius genus sic contexit,
 Quod a stirpe David exit
 Per carnis materiam.

Rictus bovis Lucae datur,
 In qua forma figuratur
 Nova Christus hostia;
 Ara crucis mansuetus
 His mactatur, sic et vetus
 Transit observantia.

Est leonis rugientis
 Marco vultus, resurgentis
 Quo claret potentia;
 Voce patris excitatus
 Surgit Christus laureatus
 Immortali gloria.

His quadrigis deportatur
 Munto Deus, sublimatur
 Istis archa vectibus;
 Paradisi haec fluenta
 Nova fluunt, sacramenta
 Quae irrorant gentibus.

Non est domus ruitura
 Hac subnixa quadratura,
 Haec est domus Domini;
 Glorietur in hac domo,
 Qua beatus vivit, homo⁶⁶
 Deo iunctus homini.

Lo, these the winged chariots,
 That bring Emmanuel nigh;
 The golden s taves uplifting
 The ark of God on high;
 And these the fourfold river
 Of Paradise above,
 Whence flow for all the nations
 New mysteries of love.

Four square on this foundation
 The Church of Christ remains,
 A house to stand unshaken
 By floods or winds or rains.
 O glorious happy portion
 In this safe home to be,
 By God, true Man, united
 With God eternally! Amen.⁶⁷
 --Jackson Mason

The translation by Jackson Mason makes absolutely no attempt to retain the meter or rhyme scheme of the sequence. The Latin is an excellent example of the typical sequence

⁶⁶The Hymnal 1940 Companion, op. cit., pp. 94 f.

⁶⁷Hymns Ancient and Modern (Historical Edition), with Introduction by W. H. Frere (London: Wm. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1909), pp. 283 f.

form of two lines of eight syllables, followed by one line of seven syllables with a rhyme scheme of AAB which Mason's translation transformed into a pattern of 7676 with a general rhyme scheme of ABAB. Hymns Ancient and Modern and The English Hymnal use all five stanzas of the translation, but The Hymnal 1940 omits stanzas two and four.

The tune used by the three hymnals is the German melody Ach Gott von Himmelreiche and is taken from Part VII of the Musae Sionae, 1609, by Michael Praetorius. An earlier publication of Hans Neusidler in 1536 also contains the melody. The tune is also called "Praetorius" or "Görlitz."

The sequence Iucundare plebs fidelis has often been attributed to Adam of St. Victor, but now generally is considered not to be his but again by one of his many anonymous imitators. Like the preceding sequence, this one also was included in the first edition of L. Gautier's edition of Adam's Oeuvres poetiques, 1858, but removed in later editions. E. Misset and Pierre Aubry published a critical study and edition, Les proses d' Adam de Saint Victor, and on the basis of the rhythm and versification have concluded that Adam is not the author.⁶⁸ This sequence, very popular throughout France, is found only in the York rite and in no other English diocese.

⁶⁸The Hymnal 1940 Companion, op. cit., p. 96. Wellner does not include this sequence in his collection.

However, the symbolic interpretations of the Old Testament are quite similar to the symbolic usages of the Scripture made by Adam. The sequence is based on Ezekiel 1: 4-28, 10:9-22, and Revelation 4:6-8. The "living creatures," in accord with the usual interpretation, are the four Evangelists: St. Matthew, the man; St. Luke, the ox; St. Mark, the lion; and St. John, the eagle.

Quattuor describuntisti
 Quadriformes octus Christi
 Et figurant, ut audisti;
 Quisque sua formula:

The writer refers to another symbolic interpretation which was popular in the Middle Ages. The four Evangelists are compared to the four rivers that flowed through and watered Paradise with Christ himself the spring or source. (St. John is represented by the first river, the Pishon; St. Matthew by the second river, the Gihon; St. Mark by the third river, the Hiddekel; and St. Luke by the fourth river, the Euphrates.)

Iucundare, plebs fidelis,	Come, pure hearts, in sweetest
Cuius pater est in caelis,	measure
Recolens Ezechielis	Sing of those who spread the
Prophetæ praeconia;	treasure
Est Johannes testis ipsi	In the holy Gospels shrined;
Scribens in apocalypsi:	Blessed tidings of salvation,
Vere vidi, vere scripsi	Peace on earth their proclamation,
'Vera Testimonia.'	Love from God to lost mankind.

Circa thronum maiestatis
 Cum spiritibus beatis
 Quattuor diversitatis
 Astant animalia:
 Formam primum aquilinam
 Et secundum leoninam,
 Sed humanum et bonvinam
 Duo gerunt alia.

Formae formant figurarum
 Formas evangelistarum,
 Quorum imber doctrinarum
 Stillat in ecclesia;
 Hi sunt Marcus et Matthaëus,
 Lucas et, quem Zebedæus,
 Pater misit tibi, Deus,
 Dum laxaret retia.

Formam viri dant Matthaëo,
 Quia scripsit sic de Deo,
 Sicut descendit ab eo,
 Quem plasmavit, homine.
 Lucas bos est in figura,
 Up praemonstrat in scriptura
 Hostiarum tangens iura
 Legis sub velamine.

Marcus leo per desertum
 Clamans rugit in apertum,
 Iter fiat Deo certum,
 Mundum cor a crimine.
 Sed Johannes ala bina
 Caritatis aquilina
 Forma fertur in divina
 Pulori lumine.

Quattuor describunt isti
 Quadriformes actus Christi
 Et figurant, ut audisti,
 Quisque sua formula:
 Natus homo declaratur,
 Vitulus sacrificatur,
 Leo mortem deprædatur
 Et ascendit aquila.

Ecce, forma bestialis,
 Quam scriptura prophetalis
 Notat, sed materialis
 Haec est impositio:
 Currunt rotis, volant alis:
 Visus sensus spiritalis,
 Rota gressus est aequalis,
 Ala contemplatio.

Pardisus his rigatur,
 Viret, floret, fecundatur;
 His abundat, his laetatur
 Quattuor fluminibus;
 Fons est Christus, hi sunt
 rivl,
 Fons est altus, hi proclivi,
 Up saporem fontis vivi
 Ministrant fidelibus.

See the rivers four that gladden
 With their streams the better Eden
 Planted by our Lord most dear;
 Christ the Fountain, these the
 waters;
 Drink, O Sion's sons and daughters,
 Drink and find salvation here.

Horum rivo debriatis	O that we Thy truth confessing,
Sitis crescat caritatis,	And Thy holy word possessing,
Ut de fonte Deitatis	Jesu, may Thy love adore;
Satiemur plenius;	Unto Thee our voices raising,
Horum trahat nos doctrina	Thee with all Thy ransom'd
Vitorum de sentina	praising
Sicque ducat ad divina,	Ever and for evermore. Amen. ⁷⁰
Ab imo superius. ⁶⁹	

The translation of stanzas one and eight is by Robert Campbell for his Hymns and Anthems, 1850, but actually the first stanza is more a translation of the above sequence Plausu chorus laetabundo than of this sequence. The translation of the third stanza "is wholly due to the Compilers" of Hymns Ancient and Modern.⁷¹ The Lutheran Hymnal has altered the first line to read: "Christians, come, in sweetest measures" and in place of the above third stanza has

Here our souls, by Jesus sated,
More and more shall be translated
Earth's temptations far above;
Freed from sin's abhorred dominion,
Soaring on angelic pinion,
They shall reach the source of love.

Then shall thanks and praise ascending
For thy mercies without ending
Rise to Thee, O Savior blest.
With Thy gracious aid defend us,
Let Thy guiding light attend us,⁷²
Bring us to Thy place of rest.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 95.

⁷⁰Hymns Ancient and Modern, op. cit., pp. 285 f.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 286.

⁷²W. G. Polack, The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1942), p. 206.

The most that can be said of the text is that it is more a poem suggested by the sequence than a translation. Not even the structure of the English is parallel to the original; however it does employ the familiar eight or seven syllables per line.

The Hymnal 1940 sets the words to the tune "Cobb" which was composed by Gerard Francis Cobb and the Lutheran Hymnal sets it to the German melody "Alles ist an Gottes segnen" from Johann B. König's Harmonischer Liederschatz, 1738.

The sequence Hierusalem et Sion filiae is contained only in the English Hymnal which ascribes it to Adam, and so does John Julian in his article "Latin Hymnody."⁷³ However, none of the other hymnals have included this sequence for the Dedication of the Church. It is not included in the listing of Adam's work by M. Gautier nor by modern editions. The translation by Gabriel Gillett for the English Hymnal, 1906 reads:

A.

B.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>I. Sion's daughters! Sons
of Jerusalem!
All ye hosts of heavenly
chivalry!
Lift your voices, singing
right merrily
Alleluya!</p> | <p>Christ our Saviour weds on
this festival
Holy Church, the Pattern of
Righteousness,
Whom from depths of utter most
misery
He hath rescued.</p> |
| <p>II. Now the Bride receiveth
his benison,
Tasteth now the joys of
the Paraclete;
Kings and queens with
jubilant melody
Call her blessed.</p> | <p>Mother meet for sinful humanity,
Life's sure haven, rest for
the sorrowful,
Strong protectress, born in a
mystery
Ever wondrous.</p> |

⁷³A Dictionary of Hymnology, op. cit., pp. 640-45.

- III. Not more fair the moon in
her loveliness!
Not more bright the sun
in his majesty!
Like an army splendid and
terrible,
Ranged for battle--
- So the Church shines forth
on her pilgrimage,
Signed with Jordan's waters
of penitence,
Drawn to hear the wisdom of
Solomon,
From the world's end.
- IV. So, foretold by figures
and prophecies,
Clothed in nuptial ves-
ture of charity,
Joined with Christ, o'er
heaven's glad citizens
Now she reigneth.
- Welcome! feast of light and
felicity,
Bride to Bridegroom joining
in unity;
In her mystic marriage is
typified
Our salvation.
- V. Christ, whose joys we joyfully celebrate,
Grant us all a place with thy chosen ones,
True delights, ineffable happiness,
Rest eternal.⁷⁴

This translation seeks to retain the structure of the Latin text; in fact, it is sung in sequence form in the English Hymnal. B of each stanza is always an exact "echo" of A and in this setting Stanzas I and III, II and IV are alike, and Stanza V follows the usual German custom of having no parallel repetition of the last stanza.

Adam's sequence Stola regni laureatus honors the Twelve Apostles, not as individuals but as a group. The Apostles are the host of heaven seen by St. John in his vision, who, clad in white robes of righteousness, surround the throne of God; they are the judges of the twelve tribes of Israel (Luke 22:30). Adam sees many symbolical references in the Holy Scriptures to the Twelve Apostles. They are the heavens of Psalm 19 which are telling the glory of God and whose "voice goes out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world." It is

⁷⁴The English Hymnal with Tunes, op. cit., pp. 247 f.

they who share with man the burden and yoke of Christ (Matt. 11:30); it is they who sow the seed of Life that Christ may harvest many souls on that Last Day (John 4:35-38). The Apostles are the threshers on the threshing floor (I Tim. 5:17-18) who separate the wheat from the chaff (Matt. 3:12). They are the leaders of the Church who lead the Bride to her Bridegroom Christ (Rev. 19:7). They are the walls of the Temple (Eph. 2:20) and the foundation of the wall of the city (Rev. 21:19-21).

Medieval symbolism also saw many pictures of the Apostles linked with the number twelve. Perhaps the most obvious is the parallel of the Twelve Disciples to the twelve sons of Jacob who became the patriarchs of the twelve tribes of Israel (Gen. 35:22, 49:28). At Elim the Jews found twelve wells of sweet water in the desert (Ex. 15:27). The breastplate of the high priest contained twelve stones (Ex. 28:21) and the Lord commanded that each week the people bring twelve loaves of bread. In the Temple of Solomon the "molten sea" was supported by twelve metal cast oxen (I Kings 7:23-25).

Stola regni laureatus	In royal robes of splendour,
Summi regis est senatus,	Before the great King's feet,
Coetus apostolicus;	The Princes of His Kingdom,
Cui psallant mens et ora;	The crown'd Apostles, meet;
Mentis mundae vox sonora	To Him their songs adoring
Hymnus est angelicus.	With heart and tongue they bring,
	Pure hearts and mighty voices--
	E'en as the Angels sing.

Hic est ordo mundi decus	This Order shed its lustre
Omnis carnis iudex aequus,	O'er all the human race;
Novae praeco gratiae,	A court of righteous judgment,
	The Rock of Gospel grace; --

Ab aeterno praelectus,
Cuius floret architectus
Ad culmen ecclesiae.

Rock of His Church, for ages
Elected and foreknown;
Whose glorious Master-Builder
Is Head and Corner-Stone.

Hi praeclari Nazaraei
Bella crucis et tropaei
Mundo narrant gloriam;
Sic dispensant verbum Dei,
Quod nox nocti, lux diei
Indicant scientiam.

These are the famous heralds
Who, pledged to want and loss,
Proclaim'd the war of suffering,
The glory of the Cross.
Day unto day shows knowledge;
Night unto night gives speech;
So these to earth's four corners
Their wondrous Gospel preach.

Onus leve, iugum mite
Proponentes semen vitae
Mundi spargunt terminis;
Germen promit terra culta,
Foeneratur fruge multa
Fides Dei-hominis.

Christ's burden light they proffer,
His easy yoke proclaim;
The seed of Life they scatter,
That all may own His Name.
The earth brought forth and budded,
Where'er their ploughshare ran,
And fruits of increase follow'd
The faith of God made Man.

Paranymphe novae legis
Ad amplexum novi regis
Sponsam ducunt regiam,
Sine ruga, sine naevo
Permansuram omni aevo
Virginem ecclesiam.

Haec est virgo gignens foetus,
Semper nova, tamen vetus,
Sed defectus nescia;
Cuius torus mens sicera,
Cuius partus fides vera,
Cuius dos est gratia.

Hi sunt templi fundamentum,
Vivus lapis et caementum
Ligans aedificium;
Hi sunt portae civitatis,
Hi compago unitatis
Israel et gentium.

These are the sure foundation
On which the temple stands;
The living stones compacting
That house not made with hands;
The gates by which man enters
Jerusalem the new;
The bond which knits together
The Gentile and the Jew.

Hi triturant aream
Ventilantes paleam
Ventilabri iustitia;
Quos designant aerei
Boves maris vitrei
Salomonis industria.

Patriarchae duodeni,
 Fontes aquae gustu leni,
 Panes tabernaculi,
 Gemmae vestis sacerdotis:
 Hoc figuris signant notis
 Novi duces populi.

Horum nutu cedat error,
 Crescat fides, absit terror
 Finalis sententiae,
 Ut soluti a delictis
 Sociemur benedictis 75
 Ad tribunal gloriae.

Let error flee before them,
 Let truth extend her sway;
 Let dread of final judgment
 To faith and love give way;
 That, loosed from our offences,
 We then may number'd be
 Among Thy Saints in glory,
 Around the throne with Thee.
 Amen. 76

The translation by Jackson Mason and the compilers of Hymns Ancient and Modern omits Stanzas V, VI, VIII and IX, and does not in any ways attempt to retain the sequence structure of the Latin.

Adam's sequence for the Feast of St. Stephen, Heri mundus exsultavit, is included only in Hymns Ancient and Modern. The text and translation by John Mason Neale is given earlier in this chapter.

This sequence is a simple narrative of the trial and martyrdom of St. Stephen, the first saint to die for his confession of Jesus as the Messiah. It contains no symbols except for the play on the word coronati (the crowned) which is the Latin of the Greek word $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\lambda\upsilon\sigma$. Only "yesterday the world exalted" at the birth of the Lord Jesus, but already on December 26, the church remembers the death of the first martyr.

⁷⁵Wellner, op. cit., pp. 314 f.

⁷⁶Hymns Ancient and Modern, op. cit., pp. 280 f.

The first nine stanzas of the text are unquestionably attributed to Adam. The last three, however, which are structurally different from the rest of the sequence, are found only in the Victorine manuscript. They obviously were added by a member of the Abbey at a later time in order to permit the use of the sequence also on the Feast of Finding of the Body of St. Stephen (August 3). They relate some of the miracles said to have occurred as his body was being transferred from Jerusalem to Constantinople. St. Augustine's account of these legendary miracles was known to the author.

Two well known sequences which were written about the time of Adam of St. Victor are the Veni, sancte Spiritus and O beata beatorum.

Veni, sancte Spiritus

Nor indeed, in my opinion, can this
piece be sufficiently praised; for
it is above all praise. . . .⁷⁸

--Clichtovaeus⁷⁸

In medieval times this sequence was often called the Golden Sequence, and there is no doubt that it is one of the masterpieces of medieval poetry. It is indeed one of the finest hymns to the Holy Spirit and is based on the Alleluia and Verse for Pentecost.⁷⁹ John Julian comments that even

⁷⁸Clichtovaeus, Elucidatorium (Paris, 1516), quoted in A Dictionary of Hymnology, op. cit., p. 1212.

⁷⁹Liber Usualis Missae et Officii, edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée and Company, 1947), p. 750.

though the hymn is not distinguished by great originality, for its leading ideas are clearly influenced by earlier pieces, such as the Sancti Spiritus adsit, nevertheless,

. . . it combines a stately grace, a perfect rhythmic melody, and a faculty of saying just the right thing in just the fitting words, in such a measure as to disarm criticism, and at once to defy comparison with any other hymn in any other language, and to make it almost impossible to present an adequate translation.⁸⁰

A.

B.

- | | |
|---|---|
| I. Veni, sancte spiritus,
Et emitte coelitus
Lucis tuae radium; | Veni, pater pauperum
Veni, dator munerum
Veni, lumen cordium. |
| II. Consolator optime,
Dulcis hospes animae,
Dulce refrigerium; | In labore requies,
In aestu temperies,
In fletu solacium. |
| III. O lux beatissima,
Reple cordis intima
Tuorum fidelium; | Sine tuo numine
Nihil est in lumine,
Nihil est innoxium. |
| IV. Lava, quod est sordidum,
Riga, quod est aridum,
Sana, quod est saucium; | Flecte, quod est rigidum,
Fove, quod est laguidum,
Rege, quod est devium. |
| V. Da tuis fidelibus
In te confidentibus
Sacrum septenarium; | Da virtutis meritum,
Da salutis exitum,
Da perenne gaudium. |

This sequence is usually regarded as an early example of the later sequence style. Its construction is very regular;

⁸⁰A Dictionary of Hymnology, loc. cit.

⁸¹Dreves, op. cit., II, 160. The following variations in the text occur:

- II B: lumine reads homine
- III B: solacium reads solatium
- IV A and B: lines 3 are interchanged
- IV B: laguidum reads frigidum

For further information, see Analectia hymnica, op. cit., LIV, 234 ff.

written in trochaic dimeter catalectis (-u-u-u-), it also makes use of a definite rhyme pattern, aab ccb. In all five stanzas b always ends in ium. But here again, as with some of Adam's sequences, the structure and form do not produce a stiff and artificial sounding poetic exercise, but rather the excellence of form serves as the vehicle for the art of expression.

However, unlike the sequences of Adam and his school, this one is not didactic or dogmatic, nor does it use symbolic pictures. Rather it is a simple fervent prayer to the Holy Spirit for his gifts. It prays for the Holy Spirit to be with us now, to bless, strengthen, and comfort in every need in daily life, and finally to be with us at our death and give us eternal joy. The hymn surely is an expression of the faith of the church catholic for it contains no expression of the errors in the Church of Rome which brought about the Reformation. Today it is still sung by the entire Western Church--Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopalian, and most other Protestant churches. It remains the prayer of the Church:

- I. Come, Holy Spirit, and send forth from heaven the ray of Thy light. Come, Father of the poor; come, giver of gifts; come light of hearts.
- II. Thou best consoler, sweet guest of the soul, sweet coolness: in labor, rest; in heat, refreshment; in tears, solace.
- III. O most blessed Light, fill Thou the inmost recesses of the hearts of Thy faithful! Without Thy divine assistance there is nothing in man, nothing harmless.

IV. Cleanse what is base, bedew what is parched,
 heal what is wounded; bend what is rigid, warm
 what is chilled, guide what is astray.

V. Give to Thy faithful confiding in Thee Thy seven-
 fold gifts. Give them the reward of virtue; give
 them the death of salvation; give them eternal
 joy.⁸²

This sequence for Pentecost has been attributed to King Robert II (Robert the Pious) of France, Hermannus Contractus of St. Gall, Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and to Pope Innocent III. The metrical structure of the sequence makes an early authorship by either Robert II (d.1031) or Hermanus Contractus (d.1054) untenable.⁸³ Today the choice is between Stephen Langton (d.1228) and his contemporary and friend, Pope Innocent III (d.1216). Some hymnodists attribute it to one, some to the other. Julian presents the evidence for all the writers and concludes that Innocent is the most probable author for he was "much more competent to have written such a poem than any of the others to whom it has been ascribed."⁸⁴ Blume and Bannister, the editors of the Analectica hymnica, are unable to decide between Innocent and Stephen.⁸⁵ According to Dreves the ascription to Innocent is not only impossible but is "unbegründet und unbegründbar."⁸⁶

⁸²Matthew Britt, The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1922), pp. 161 ff.

⁸³Dreves, loc. cit.

⁸⁴A Dictionary of Hymnology, op. cit., p. 1214.

⁸⁵Analecta hymnica, op. cit., LIV, 237 ff.

⁸⁶Dreves, loc. cit.

Raby, I feel, resolves the contradictory claim of two contemporary historians Ekkehard V of St. Gall and an English Cistercian commentator, in a very satisfactory way in favor of Stephen Langton.⁸⁷ Ekkehard reports that when Ulrich, the Abbot of St. Gall, met with Innocent they discussed the sequences of Notker at great length.⁸⁸ After his great admiration for Notker's work Innocent is said to have given Ulrich a copy of the Veni sancte Spiritus to take back to St. Gall where it would be introduced as a sequence from the Pope. However, in an early thirteenth century commentary on the Clavis de Hominibus of Melio of Sardis (d.circa 170) an anonymous Cistercian contemporary wrote:

Nevertheless let it suffice to adduce as testimony, what Magister Stephanus de Langetunn, a man venerable in life and doctrine, by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, says in praise of the Holy Spirit, in that excellent sequence which he composed concerning the Holy Spirit.⁸⁹

The writer then quotes Stanzas II and IV of this sequence. Stephen Langton, although not a Cistercian himself, was closely related to this order in England and a statement such as this in an otherwise scholarly book cannot simply be ignored. Since both the Pope and the Archbishop were students together at the University of Paris and remained close friends,⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Raby, op. cit., p. 343.

⁸⁸ Supra, p. 29.

⁸⁹ A Dictionary of Hymnology, op. cit., p. 1213.

⁹⁰ In fact, Innocent himself consecrated Langton as the Archbishop of Canterbury on June 17, 1207, and through him brought King John of England into subjection. This friendship ended when the Archbishop sided with the barons against King John forcing him to sign the Magna Charta.

it is quite possible that if Langton is the author that he gave a copy of it to his friend and fellow student, Lothario (Innocent III) who then took it with him to Rome. In the discussion with Ulrich about sequences Innocent showed him the Veni, sancte Spiritus as an example of one of the sequences he regard highly and gave him a copy of it to take to St. Gall where it was undoubtedly introduced as a sequence from the Pope. The sequence itself immediately became very popular in Germany and France but does not seem to have appeared in England until towards the end of the thirteenth century, where it then became very popular.

The sequence became the pattern for many other later sequences. Following is the first stanza of a sequence from a fifteenth century manuscript from a Cistercian Abbey in Kamp on the Lower Rhine.

Quilone pulso veni,
 Hortum, auster, flatu, leni
 Nostrum perfla caelitus,
 Qui Tuorum corde mundas,
 Munda rigas et fecundas,⁹¹
 Veni, sancte spiritus.

A late fourteenth or early fifteenth century English prayerbook contains the following sequence which obviously is dependent upon the Veni sancte Spiritus.

Veni, sancta trinitas,
 Mentis trahe subditas
 Ad te trino digito;

⁹¹Dreves, op. cit., II, 165. "Man darf wohl ohne Übertreibung sagen, dass diese kleine Sequenz dem berühmten Veni, sancti Spiritus nahe kommt, sogar recht nahe."

Veni, pater luminum,
 Veni, salus Hominum,
 Iesu, cum praclito.⁹²

The English Hymnal ascribes the sequence to Stephen Langton and uses the translation by J. M. Neale which begins "Come, thou holy Paraclete, and from thy celestial seat Send thy light and brilliancy." Neale's translation retains the poetic structure of the Latin (three lines of seven syllables) and the first tune follows the sequence form of having a different melody for the A of each stanza with B a repetition of A. The editors also supply an alternate tune of S. Webbe.

Hymns Ancient and Modern and The Hymnal 1940 use the translation of E. Caswall for his Lyra Catholica, 1849, while the two Lutheran Hymnals, The Lutheran Hymnal and Service Book and Hymnal use the translation by Ray Palmer for the Sabbath Hymn Book, 1858.

Come, Thou Holy Spirit, come;
 And from Thy celestial home
 Shed a ray of light divine;
 Come, Thou Father of the poor,
 Come, Thou source of all our store,
 Come, within our bosoms shine!

Thou of comforters the best;
 Thou the soul's most welcome guest,
 Sweet refreshment here below;
 In our labor rest most sweet,
 Grateful coolness in the heat,
 Solace in the midst of woe.

O most blessed Light divine,
 Shine within these hearts of Thine,
 And our inmost being fill;
 Where Thou are not, man hath naught,
 Nothing good in deed or thought,
 Nothing free from taint or ill.

⁹²Ibid., II, 190. "Dies selbe ist wahrscheinlich eine Sequenz und vermutlich mit Wiederholung eines Chorales auf die Melodie des Veni sancte spiritus gedichtet, an welches auch mehrere Anklänge im Texte errinern."

Heal our wounds; our strength renew;
 On our dryness pour Thy dew;
 Wash the stains of guilt away;
 Bend the stubborn heart and will;
 Melt the frozen, warm the chill;
 Guide the steps that go astray.

On the faithful, who adore
 And confess Thee, evermore
 In Thy sevenfold gifts descend;
 Give them virtue's sure reward;
 Give them Thy Salvation, Lord:
 Give them joys that never end. Amen.⁹³

--Edward Caswall

Come, Holy Ghost, in love
 Shed on us from above
 Thine own bright ray.
 Divinely good Thou art;
 Thy sacred gifts impart
 To gladden each sad heart.
 Oh, come today!

Come, tenderest Friend and best,
 Our most delightful Guest,
 With soothing power.
 Rest which the weary know,
 Shade mid the noontide glow,
 Peace when deep griefs o'erflow,
 Cheer us this hour.

Come, Light serene and still,
 Our innocent bosoms fill,
 Dwell in each breast.
 We know no dawn but Thine;
 Send forth Thy beams divine
 On our dark souls to shine
 And make us blest.

Exalt our low desires,
 Extinguish passion's fires,
 Heal every wound.
 Our stubborn spirits bend.
 Our icy coldness end.
 Our devious steps attend
 While heavenward bound.

⁹³Hymns Ancient and Modern, op. cit., p. 265.

Come, all the faithful bless;
 Let all who Christ confess
 His praise employ.
 Give virtue's rich reward.
 Victorious death accord
 And, with our glorious Lord,
 Eternal joy.⁹⁴

--Ray Palmer

Caswall's translation also retains the meter of the Latin, but the version by Palmer shifts the metrical structure to five stanzas of seven lines with the syllabic scheme of 6, 6, 4, 6, 6, 6, 4.

O beata beatorum

The anonymous twelfth century sequence O beata beatorum is believed to be of German origin. The text has appeared in many German manuscripts including one at St. Gall and was included in many later German Missals. It is for the Feast of the Martyrs.

O beata beatorum martyrum sollempnia, O devote recolenda victorum certamina!	Blessed feasts of blessed martyrs, Holy days of holy men, With affection's recollections Greet we your return again.
Digni dignis fulgent signis et florent virtutibus; Illos semper condecenter veneremur laudibus.	Worthy deeds they wrought and wonders, Worthy of the Name they bore; We with meekest praise and sweetest, Honour them for evermore.
Fide, voto, corde toto adhaeserent Domino Et invicti sunt addicti atroci martyrio.	Faith ne'er alter'd, hope ne'er falter'd, Love of Jesus fill'd their hearts, Thus they glorious and victorious Bravely bore the Martyr's part.

⁹⁴Polack, op. cit., p. 169.

Carcerati, trucidati
tormentorum genera
Igne laesi, ferro caesi
pertulerunt plurima.

Rack'd with torments, haled to
slaughter,
Fire, and axe, and murderous
sword,
Chains and prison, foes' derision,
They endured for Christ the Lord.

Dum sic torti cedunt
morti carnis per interi-
tum,
Ut electi sunt adepti
beatorum praemia.

So they pass'd through pain and
sorrow,
Till they sank in death to rest;
Earth's rejected, God's elected,
Gain'd the portion of the blest.

Per contemptum mundano-
rum
et per bella fortia
Meruerunt angelorum
victores consortia.

By contempt of worldly pleasures
And by deeds of valour done,
They have reach'd the land of
Angels,
And with them are knit in one.

Ergo facti coheredes
Christo in caelestibus
Apud ipsum vota nostra
promovete precibus,

Made co-heirs with Christ in
glory,
His celestial bliss they share:
May they now before Him bending
Help us onward by their prayer;

Ut post huius finem vitae
et post transitoria
In perenni mereamur
exsultare gloria.⁹⁵

That, this weary life completed,
And its fleeting trials past,
We may win eternal glory
In our Father's home at last.
Amen.

--John Mason Neale⁹⁶

The translation by John Mason Neale appeared first in
his Mediaeval Hymns and Sequences, 1851.

⁹⁵The Hymnal 1940 Companion, op. cit., pp. 96 f.

⁹⁶Hymns Ancient and Modern, op. cit., p. 293.

CHAPTER VII

SEQUENCES OF THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

The later sequences steadily declined
in worth as they increased in number.

--Walter H. Frere¹

The century which followed was quite different from the age of Adam of St. Victor. However, even though it may not at first appear so, the thirteenth century in many ways was the summation and culmination of the earlier Middle Ages. During this century many phases of medieval life reached their fullest expression. In a sense the thirteenth century can be considered a flower in full bloom; once it has reached its peak it begins to wither and fade. This is very true of the Church in Europe. At this time it reached the highest development of its power and glory, and at this time it also contained the beginnings of its own destruction.

Without question the reign of Innocent III brought the power of the papacy to its highest point. Under his administration the See of Rome controlled almost all of Europe. The papal claims for political authority over temporal rulers first expressed by Gregory VII became an established reality under Innocent. Crowned heads submitted to his demands.

¹Hymns Ancient and Modern (Historical Edition), Introduction by W. H. Frere (London: Wm. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1909), p. xxiv.

Europe was never as much united under the rule of one man as it was under Innocent. However, at this time nationalism was just beginning to awaken in the minds of the people, especially in Germany.

Similarly the theology of Adam and the Abbey of St. Victor developed in two different directions according to the theological emphases of St. Francis and St. Dominic.

St. Francis (Francesco Bernardone 1182-1226) is surely one of the most unusual men of the medieval world. "Few men of history have made so profound an impression as did Francis."² Born about ten years before Adam's death, he became a living protest and reproof of the ecclesiastical organization which later declared him a "saint." Even the Franciscan order quickly repudiated the ideals of its founder.

Adam and the earlier medieval theologians regarded the physical world as the "unreal" and a symbol of the true spiritual reality. All material things, even the Holy Scriptures, were regarded as symbols of God and his activity, and therefore were not considered of value by themselves but only in the truth they teach. However, Francis went a step further; he regarded material things as evil and felt that to understand the spiritual truths of God and his love, one had to renounce material things. Even the human body was regarded as evil; similar to Platonic thought, the body was considered

²Philip Schaff, The Middle Ages, A.D. 1094-1294, in History of the Christian Church (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1950), V, 407.

to be the temporary prison of the soul. The body, then, had to be kept in strict subjection by fasting, work, and sexual abstention. A little later the Franciscans taught that the body, being evil, must also suffer. Under the direction of members of the Franciscan order a movement of mass flagellation spread throughout Italy, and then, in spite of local government attempts to curb it, the movement spread throughout in Europe. Naked penitent sinners stood in line in the churches awaiting their turn to be whipped by the priests. Processions of flagellants went through the streets singing hymns and whipping themselves. Individuals publicly tortured themselves to make their bodies suffer for their sins so that their souls might be pure.³ It was the age of de contemptu mundi whose mind was always fixed upon "Jerusalem, the Golden."

This emphasis upon suffering also had its effect upon regard for the person of Jesus and his mother, Mary. Adam of St. Victor had a great devotion for the Virgin Mary is The Queen of Heaven; she is the glorious mother. Now the Virgin became the sorrowing and suffering mother who endured all the pain of her son as he died upon the cross. In church art the most depicted scene was the pieta, the grieving mother

³Philip Schaff, The Middle Ages, A.D. 1294-1517, in History of the Christian Church (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1950), VI, 502-12. For further information about the Flagellant movement, see page 508. "To these religionists belongs the merit of having revised the use of popular religious songs." The hymns sung by the members of this movement "in Italian went by the name of laude, and in German leisen."

receiving the body of her dead son from the cross. This is expressed also in the religious poetry which emphasized the human pathos of the Crucifixion. Surely the famous sequence Stabat mater dolorosa (the sorrowful mother stood) is the most well known example of this view of the scene on Calvary.

A change very similar to that of the devotion to Mary is evident also in the people's conception of her son. The majestic Christ who is God and ruler of the universe became Jesus, the son of Mary, the Man of Sorrows. In art the Christ who had been depicted as the God-man victorious over death, who ascended to heaven in glory and sits at the right hand of God in majesty coequal, now became Jesus, the suffering and compassionate Savior. The Christ who would come again in majesty, glory, and power to redeem his saints became Jesus, the terrible and terrifying Judge as exemplified in the sequence, Dies irae, dies illa. The cross formerly a symbol of victory (Vexilla regis) became a symbol of suffering together with the scourge, the crown of thorns, the nails, the vinegar and gall, and the spear.

Adam's pure praise and objective adoration became a very personal and subjective devotion. "The collective and liturgical faith of which the Cathedral was a shining expression is replaced by a new relationship between man and the divine: Christ does not address himself to all but

to each."⁴ Worship no longer was joyful praise to God for the fact that God had redeemed man and that God had given man salvation. Now salvation became subjective; it is the product of man's feeling toward what God has done in Christ Jesus.

The whole Franciscan poetry is invested with this pathos, and filled with this compassion. It is charged with tears for that suffering divine and human by which the world is redeemed.⁵

Among the most famous of the Franciscan poets whose writings express these emphases are John of Fidanza (St. Bonaventura 1221-1274) and John Pecham (d.1292), Jacopone da Todi (d.circa 1306) and Thomas of Celano (d.1256).⁶

Bonaventura, general of the Franciscan Order, emphasized the mystical approach to an understanding of God and his relation to the world. He died in the same year as Thomas Aquinas with whom he continually disagreed because of the latter's partiality for Aristotle over St. Augustine.

Many of Adam's sequences were didactic and dogmatic. This emphasis was exploited not by the Franciscans, but rather by the Dominican Order. St. Dominic (1170-1221) founded the

⁴Andre Malraux, La Metamorphose des Dieux, excerpts translated by Henry Anatole Grunwald in "The Gods in Art," Horizon, I, 2 (November, 1958), 113.

⁵F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 421.

⁶For a description and commentary on their poetry, see Ibid., pp. 421-52.

Friars Preachers because he felt that the only way to combat heresy was to educate and indoctrinate both the clergy and the laity. It is the emphasis upon correct knowledge of faith that gave rise to the Inquisition directed by the Dominican Order. Their systematic study and presentation of doctrine culminated in the work of Albert the Great and his more famous pupil, Thomas Aquinas whose Summa Theologiae became the authoritative statement of Roman Catholic doctrine. Thomas' sequence Lauda Sion is in fact a doctrinal treatise in verse and in the sequence he presents the doctrine of the Holy Communion in carefully chosen scholastic terms and concepts.

Dies irae, dies illa

This marvelous hymn is the acknowledged masterpiece of Latin poetry and the most sublime of all uninspired hymns.

--Philip Schaff⁷

The Dies, dies illa and the Stabat mater dolorosa together reflect important emphases of Franciscan theology. These two sequences express the thinking and teaching of the Brothers Minor, as the Franciscans referred to themselves, in examples of some of the most beautiful medieval Latin poetry.

Primarily the Dies irae expresses the popular belief about the return of Christ on Judgment Day. The people lived in an ever present fear of that day of impending doom; for them "that day" was almost wholly a day of terror. The

⁷Quoted by John Swartz, "The Theology of the Mediaeval Hymnology," Lutheran Quarterly, XIV (1884), 536.

thirteenth and fourteenth century Church looked forward to Christ's return in a way which was almost directly opposite to the way in which the Apostolic Church awaited His return. The early Christians eagerly longed for their Lord's return, for then they would share in His glory. On that day their hope would be fully realized, their joy would be complete, and their suffering would end. St. Paul epitomized this faith in the words:

But our commonwealth is in heaven, and from it we await a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will change our lowly bodies to be like his glorious body by the power which enables him even to subject all things to himself.⁸

By the end of the Middle Ages "that day" was primarily a Day of Judgment and Christ was now the terrible judge whose return in majesty was to be awaited in fear. Even the faithful Christian dreaded the day of Christ's return, for "If the righteous man is scarcely saved, where will the impious and sinner appear?"⁹ The terror of the Judgment of this stern Judge could be mitigated only with suffering, sorrow, love, and petitions for mercy and pity. None of the joyful expectation of the early Church remained. Now there was only a fear of the uncertainty. The entire sequence reflects a theology that had become very personal and subjective. It speaks only of the relationship of the individual with the Judge on that Last Day.

⁸Philippians 3:18.

⁹I Peter 4:18.

One thing which is somewhat unusual about this sequence is the absence of any mention of the Virgin Mary. This is especially unusual since this sequence is the product of the same faith which produced the tender Stabat mater and other poems about the Final Judgment which contain petitions to the Virgin to intercede. As a matter of fact she received the name Mater Misericordiae, Mother of Mercy, for she alone could incline the Judge to temper his justice and vengeance with mercy.

In the thirteenth century Liber Exemplorum, a book of stores for the use of Franciscan preachers, it is related how some priests who were on a journey were overtaken by a sudden storm of thunder and lightning. In their terror they began to sing the Ave Maria stella. The Blessed Virgin heard them and spread a veil over them, and under its protection they rested in safety until the tempest had passed. 'Therefore,' the Franciscan homilist continues, 'it is not to be doubted that, when the tempest of death bursts over us, she will overshadow her servants with the robe of her mercy, that they be not stricken by her Son.'¹⁰

Even though this picture of the Virgin covering those who seek her protection in order to shield them from the anger of Christ was popular and even represented in art, in this sequence the plea for mercy is addressed only to Christ Himself.

A.

1. Dies irae, dies illa,
Solvat saeculum in
favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla.

B.

2. Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando Iudex est venturus
Cuncta stricte discussurus.

¹⁰Raby, op. cit., pp. 450 f. Raby also gives an example of a hymn devoted entirely to the Mater Misericordiae.

3. Tuba mirum spargens sonum,
Per sepulchra regionum
Coget omnes ante thronum.
4. Mors stupebit et natura,
Cum resurget creatura,
Iudicanti responsura.
5. Liber scriptus proferetur,
In quo totum continetur,
Unde mundus iudicetur.
6. Index ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet, apparebit,
Nil inultum remanebit.
7. Quid sum miser tunc dictu-
rus,
Quem patronum rogaturus,
Cum vix iustus sit securus?
8. Rex tremendae maiestatis,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me, fons pietatis.
9. Recordare, Iesu pie,
Quod sum causa tuae viae;
Ne me perdas illa die.
10. Quaerens me, sedisti
lassus,
Redemisti crucem passus:
Tantus labor non sit
cassus.
11. Iuste Iudex ultionis,
Donum fac remissionis
Ante diem rationis.
12. Ingemisco tamquam reus,
Culpa rubet vultus meus:
Supplicanti parce, Deus.
13. Qui Mariam absolvisti,
Et latronem exaudisti,
Mihi quoque spem dedisti.
14. Preces meae non sunt dignae,
Sed tu, Bone, fac benigne,
Ne perenni cremer igne.
15. Inter oves locum praesta
Et ab haedis me sequestra,
Statuens in parte dextra.
16. Confutatis maledictis,
Flammis acribus addictis:
Voca me cum benedictis.
17. Ora supplex et acclinis,
Cor contritum quasi cinis;
Gere curam mei finis.
18. Lacrimosa dies illa,
Qua resurget ex favilla
Iudicandus homo reus:
Huic ergo parce, Deus.
19. Pie Iesu, Domine,¹¹
Dona eis requiem.¹¹

A literal translation of the Latin is as follows:

1. That day of wrath, that day shall reduce the world
to glowing embers, David with the Sibyl being witness.

¹¹Andreas Schwerd, Hymnen und Sequenzen (München: Kosel Verlag, c.1954), pp. 53 f.

2. How great shall be the trembling, when the Judge shall come to investigate rigidly all things.
3. The trumpet scattering a wondrous sound through the sepulchers of the whole world shall gather all before the throne.
4. Death and Nature shall stand aghast, when the creature shall rise again to answer to the Judge.
5. The written Book shall be brought forth, in which all is contained whence the world is to be judged.
6. When therefore the Judge shall be seated, whatsoever is hidden shall be brought to light; nothing shall remain unpunished.
7. What shall I, wretched, then say? What patron shall I entreat, when even the just shall hardly be without anxiety?
8. King of awful majesty, who savest freely those who are to be saved, save me, O Fount of mercy.
9. Remember, O loving Jesus, that for my sake Thou didst come upon earth; let me not, then, be lost on that day.
10. Seeking me Thou sattest weary; suffering the Cross, Thou didst redeem me; let not so great a labor be in vain.
11. Just Judge of vengeance, grant the gift of pardon ere the day of accounting.
12. I groan like one condemned; my face reddens with guilt; the suppliant spare, O God.
13. Thou who didst absolve Mary, and didst hearken to the thief, to me also Thou hast given hope.
14. Unworthy are my prayers; but do Thou who are good benignly grant that I burn not in everlasting fire.
15. Amid Thy sheep appoint me a place, and separate me from the goats, placing me at Thy right hand.
16. The accursed having been silenced and given over to the bitter flames, call me with the blessed.
17. Kneeling and prostrate I pray, with a heart contrite as though crushed to ashes; have a care of my last hour.

18. Doleful shall be that day on which guilty man shall rise from the glowing embers to be judged: spare him, then, O God. Merciful Jesus, Lord, grant them rest.¹²

There can be no question that of all the sequences the Dies irae is the most universally known, but the irony of it is that it was not originally composed as a sequence nor, strictly speaking, is it a sequence in the Requiem Mass. Originally, the poem was written by Thomas of Celano¹³ (d.c.1250) as a pia meditatio for private prayer and did not include the last two stanzas.¹⁴ When it came to be used in the liturgy (before 1400) the last two strophes, which do not follow the poetic pattern of the rest of the sequence, were added with the "aim of adopting it, in a somewhat clumsy manner, for its new purpose."¹⁵

By the definition of the word sequence, the Dies irae is not a sequence because it is not an extension of an Alleluia Jubilus--there is none in the Requiem Mass--but is merely sung between the Epistle and the Gospel. Its pattern

¹²Matthew Britt, The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1922), pp. 208 ff.

¹³Although it cannot be proved definitely that Thomas of Celano is the author, it is generally spoken of as by him since no other name which has been mentioned as the author comes anywhere near the evidence offered in his support.

¹⁴Possibly not even the last six are by Thomas. Guido Maria Dreves, Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnendichtung, revised by Clemens Blume (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1909), I, 329. "Die sechs, jedenfalls die zwei letzten Verse, welche auch Metrum und Reimstellung durchbrechen, sind spätere, höchst Urgeschichte Zutat, da sie auf einmal für Abegenstorbene beten, von dem im ganzen Verlauf niemals die Rede war."

¹⁵Raby, op. cit., p. 449.

is not usual for sequences for it consists of a group of three ternary phrases, each repeated and the whole group is repeated three times to cover the whole poem with some modification at the end of the third repetition. Furthermore, it differs in not being syllabic.

The sequence has been called the most majestic of medi-
eval sequences, perfect in form, and an example of a complete
mastery of the two syllabled rhyme. The three-fold rhyme has
been pictured as three hammer blows on an anvil ringing out
judgment with finality.¹⁶

The Dies irae grew out of a rhymed trope added to the
responsory Libera me, Domine¹⁷ from which it derived not only
the same sense of dread but also the melody which has become
inseparable from the words.

libera me, domine, de morte aeterna in die illa tremenda;
quando caeli movendi sunt et terra:
dies illa, dies irae, calamitatis et miseriae, dies
magna et amara valde,
quando caeli movendi sunt et terra.

¹⁶Dreves, op. cit., I, 329. This picture seems to have
originated with "der geistigen Schmiede Friedrichs von Meyer
. . . der im 'Lichtboten' (Aprilheft des Jahres 1806) schrieb:
'dies schauerliche Gedicht, arm an bildern, ganz gefühl, schlägt
wie ein Hammer mit drei geheimnisvollen Reimklängen an die
Menschenbrust. Mit dem Unempfindlichen, der es ohne Schrecken
und Grauen hören kann, möchte ich nicht unter einem Dach wohnen.'"

¹⁷Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York:
W. W. Norton and Company, c.1940), p. 191. For the theory
that the Dies irae was a trope to Libera me before it was used
as a sequence, see Clemens Blume, Dies Irae Tropus zum Libera,
dann Sequenz, in Cazilien-Vereinsorgan, 1914, No. 3, pp. 55 ff.
and Analecta hymnica medi aevi, LIV, 274 ff., see Raby, loc.
cit.

tremens factus sum ego et timeo; dum discussio venerit
 atque ventura ira,
 quando caeli movendi sunt et terra.
 contremunt angeli et archangeli; impii autem ubi
 parebunt,
 quando caeli movendi sunt et terra?
 vix iustus salvabitur; et ego, miser, ubi parebo,
 quando ergo miserrimus, quid dicam, vel quid faciam,
 dum nihil boni perferam ante tantum iudicem,
 quando caeli movendi sunt et terra?
 vox de caelis: o vos mortui, qui iaceditis in sepulchris,
 surgite et occurrite ad iudicium salvatoris,
 quando caeli movendi sunt et terra!
 creator omnium rerum, deus qui me de limo terrae
 formasti et mirabiliter proprio sanguine redemisti,
 corpusque meum licet modo putrescat, de sepulchro
 facies in die iudicii resuscitari,
 quando caeli movendi sunt et terra.
 libera me, domine, de morte aeterna, in die illa
 tremenda,
 quando caeli movendi sunt et terra,
 dum veneris iudicare saeculum per ignem. 18

Compare the melody of the third line of the responsory
 with the opening line of the sequence:

Di-es il-la, di-es ir-ae, ca-lam-i-ta-tis et mi-se-ri-ae. 19

Di-es i-rae, di-es il-la, Sol-vet sae-clum in fa-vil-la. 20

¹⁸Raby, op. cit., p. 445.

¹⁹Hymns Ancient and Modern, op. cit., p. 147. Transcribed from the four-line staff by author.

²⁰Liber Usualis Missae et Officii, edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée and Company, 1947), pp. 1168 ff.

The melodic pattern of the sequence is AA, BB, CC, AA, BB, CC, AA, BB, C, D, E, and is a rather unusual structure since the last three stanzas are not repeated.

With the exception of variant readings for the third line of the first stanza there is a surprising uniformity in manuscript versions. One of the oldest manuscript versions, a fourteenth century Dominican Missal from Pisa, has a text that is the same as that in the modern Roman Missal with the exception of two spelling errors of the scribe.²¹

In 1594 Nathaniel Chytraeus published a text in his Variorum in Europa Itinerum Deliciae which is supposed to have been engraved on a marble base of a crucifix in a church in Mantua. The text of this "Mantuan Marble" was also copied later by the Bürgermeister Charisius of Stralsund in 1676.²² Efforts to find the stone have not been successful.

Father Narcisso Bonazzi, Maestro di Capella to the Bishop of Mantua, has upon application most obligingly written to this effect: that the Church and Convent of St. Francis were suppressed in 1797 (the year of the French occupation of Mantua); that in 1811 the church was desecrated and the convent was turned into a military arsenal; and that no trace of the slab can now be found, neither in the churches to which the monuments of St. Francis were removed, nor in the royal or civic museums of the town.²³

²¹A Dictionary of Hymnology, edited by John Julian (Second revised edition with New Supplement; London: John Murray, 1907 (1957 reprint)), p. 295.

²²Raby, op. cit., p. 449.

²³Dictionary of Hymnology, loc. cit.

The Mantuan text published by Chytraeus prefaces the first sixteen stanzas of the Dies irae with the following four stanzas:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Quaeso, anima fidelis,
ah, quid respondere velis
Christo venturo de caelis, | 2. Cum a te poscet rationem
ob loni omissionem
et mali commissionem. |
| 3. Dies illa dies irae,
quam conemur praevenire
obviamque deo ire. | 4. Seria contritione,
gratiae apprehensione,
vitae emendatione. |

"The poor quality of all these lines is enough to stamp them as additions to the original text, apart from the fact that they rudely disturb the personal meditation."²⁴

After the sixteenth stanza of the text, the Mantuan text adds and concludes with

Ut consors beatitatis,
vivam cum justificatis,
in aevum aeternitatis.²⁵

Thomas of Celano not only reflected the Franciscan view of the Last Day itself, but in the first stanza tries to show the universality of men's belief in "that day." The day of the Lord's return was foretold in the Old Testament and was known to the Hebrew people; it was also foretold to the pagan Roman world by the Erythraean Sibyl. The first line of the sequence is almost a direct quotation from the Latin translation of Zephaniah 1:15, the prophet who warned the people of Judah of God's imminent judgment upon them.

²⁴Raby, loc. cit.

²⁵H. T. Henry, "Dies irae, dies illa," The Catholic Encyclopedia, edited by Charles G. Herbermann et al. (New York: The Gilmary Society, 1907, 1913), IV, 788.

Thomas mentions David because of his prophecies of the God's judgment in some of his Psalms. In trying to harmonize the Old Testament Hebrew teachings and teachings of some pagan "authorities" with the teachings of the New Testament, the author is following a theological tradition that goes back to St. Augustine. In his De Civitate Dei (Book XVIII, section 23) St. Augustine speaks about Erythraean Sibyl who had prophesied the end of the world in a passage "which had the initial letters of the lines so arranged that these words could be read in them: *Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτὴρ* which mean 'Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Saviour.'"

This use of pagan authority, although very acceptable in medieval theology, generally is not accepted in modern times. Already in the eighteenth century two French Missals (Paris, 1738 and Metz, 1778), altered the first stanza to read:

Dies irae, dies illa
 crucis expandens vexilla
 solvet seclum in favilla.²⁶

These missals replaced the testimony of Sibyl and David with another tradition based on Matthew 24:30 that a cross would appear in the sky heralding the return of Christ.

Some other editors, it seems, were not disturbed as much by the witness of the Sibyl as by that of David. Some versions have changed teste David to teste Petro undoubtedly

²⁶Dictionary of Hymnology, op. cit., p. 296.

because of Peter's description of the last day in II Peter 3:7-12.

The sequence is believed to have been used first as the sequence for use in Advent, presumably for the Second Sunday in Advent. Soon it was assigned as the sequence for the Requiem Mass and for the Mass of All Souls' Day (November 2). Protestant hymnals have assigned the text for funeral services and for the Last Judgment. A translation of the Dies irae appears in the hymnal of almost every denomination.

It has been translated many times into various languages. H. T. Henry wrote that there are over 230 English translations and A. Schwerd wrote that there are more than one hundred German versions.²⁷ The translations of the Rev. William Josiah Irons and Sir Walter Scott are the two most frequently used. The former translation tries to remain as close to the original in style (three lines of trochaic dimeter) and in expression, while Scott's version is more or less a condensed expression of the mood of the Dies irae.

The background of the origin of William Irons' translation is interesting and perhaps shows why the hymn made such an impression on him.

It is well known that the Revolution in Paris in 1848 led to many scenes of terror and shame. Fore-

²⁷Dictionary of Hymnology lists 150 translations.

most was the death of Monseigneur D. A. Affre, the Archbishop of Paris, who was shot on June 25 on the barricades on the Place de la Bastille whilst endeavouring to persuade the insurgents to cease firing, and was buried on July 7. As soon as it was safe to do so his funeral sermon was preached in Notre Dame, accompanied by a religious service of the most solemn and impressive kind. Throughout the service the Archbishop's heart was exposed in a glass case in the Choir, and at the appointed place the Dies Irae was sung by an immense body of priests. The terror of the times, the painful sense of bereavement which rested upon the minds of the people through the death of their Archbishop, the exposed heart in the Choir, the imposing ritual of the service, and the grand rendering of the Dies Irae by the priests, gave to the occasion an unusual degree of impressiveness. Dr. Irons was present, and deeply moved by what he saw and heard. On retiring from the Church he wrote out this tr. of the Dies Irae.²⁸

The translation by Irons is used in the English Hymnal, Hymns Ancient and Modern, The Hymnal 1940, and the Lutheran Hymnal. However, all have changed Irons's translation of the first stanza, which is based on the Paris Missal and reads

Day of wrath, O day of mourning,
See once more the cross returning—²⁹
Heaven and earth in ashes burning!

The English Hymnal altered the first stanza to fit the original text.

Day of wrath and doom impending,
David's word with Sibyl's blending!
Heaven and earth in ashes ending!

The other three hymnals merely altered the second line of Irons's translation to read,

See fulfilled the prophet's warning.

Other alterations have also been made in the hymnals throughout

²⁸ Ibid., p. 298.

²⁹ Ibid.

the text. Generally Irons's last two lines,

Lord, who didst our souls redeem,
Grant a blessed requiem,

have been replaced by a translation by Isaac Williams:

Lord all-pitying, Jesu blest,
Grant them Thine eternal rest.

All the above hymnals except for the Lutheran Hymnal sing the Dies irae according to the original melody and structure--AA, BB, CC, AA, BB, CC, AA, BB, C, D, E. The Lutheran Hymnal has one melody based on the tune Dies irae which it repeats for all the nineteen stanzas. Because the sequence is sung like a hymn, the translation of the last two stanzas had to be altered to three lines each.

The translation by Sir Walter Scott was not written for use as a hymn but was written as part of his lengthy poem The Lay of the Last Minstrel. Angus, in his old age, makes a pilgrimage to Melrose Abbey and Scott concluded the scene with a twelve line paraphrase and condensation of the Dies irae which suggests the mode of the sequence more than its content.

1. That day of wrath, that dreadful day,
When heaven and earth shall pass away!
What power shall be the sinner's stay?
How shall he meet that dreadful day?
2. When, shriveling like a parched scroll,
The flaming heavens together roll:
When louder yet and yet more dread
Swells the high trump that wakes the dead.--
3. Lord, on that day, that wrathful day,
When man to Judgment wakes from clay,
Be Thou the trembling sinner's stay
Though heaven and earth shall pass away.³⁰

³⁰W. G. Polack, The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1942), p. 437.

After it had been published in the larger work this excerpt was included in many hymnals. It is included in the English Hymnal, The Lutheran Hymnal, and the Service Book and Hymnal.

The original melody has become inseparable from the text and has become the leitmotif or symbol of death in countless musical compositions, secular and sacred. With the possible exception of Luther's Ein feste Burg, no other musical phrase has been incorporated into as many compositions as has the Dies irae. The melody together with the text has inspired many composers such as Berlioz, Verdi, Liszt, and Faure to write dramatic settings in a Requiem.

Stabat mater dolorosa

the Stabat Mater remains, with the Dies Irae, a supreme achievement of Franciscan and, indeed, of the religious verse of the Middle Ages.

--F. J. E. Raby³¹

The Stabat mater dolorosa is unquestionably the highest expression of Franciscan devotion to the passion and suffering of Mary. It is generally considered to be the tenderest and most tragic hymn of the Middle Ages, combining both the adoration of the Virgin Mary and a worshipful reflection of her anguish. Originally it was not intended as a sequence for liturgical use; for that it was far too subjective. It

³¹Raby, op. cit., p. 440.

was written as a private-devotional poem using the sequence style as its pattern.

The vividness with which it pictures the weeping Mother at the cross, its tenderness, its beauty of rhythm, its melodious double rhymes almost defying reproduction in another language, and its impressiveness when sung either to the fine plain-song melody or in the noble compositions which many of the great masters of music have set to it, go far to justify the place it holds and has long held. . . .

--James Mearns³²

The first four stanzas picture the scene of the Crucifixion and undoubtedly the opening line was suggested by the Latin text of St. John 19:25, "Stabat iuxta crucem Jesu mater eius." The writer sees the suffering of the Virgin Mother at the foot of her son's cross as the fulfillment of the prophecy of Simeon in Luke 2:35 "et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius." The remaining stanzas are reflections on the double passion of Mother and Son in which the writer prays to share in this suffering that he may at his death be able to share in the glory of Paradise.

A.

B.

- | | |
|---|--|
| I. Stabat mater dolorosa
Iuxta crucem lacrimosa,
Dum pendebat filius; | Cuius animam gementem.
Contristantem et dolentem
Pertransivit gladius. |
| II. O quam tristis et afflicta
Fuit illa benedicta
Mater unigeniti! | Quae maerebat et dolebat,
Et tremebat, dum videbat
Nati poenas incliti. |
| III. Quis est homo, qui non
fleret,
Matrem Christi si
videret
In tanto supplicio? | Quis non posset contristari,
Piam matrem contemplari
Dolentem cum filio? |

³²A Dictionary of Hymnology, op. cit., p. 1081.

- IV. Pro peccatis suae gentis Vidit suum dulcem natum
Vidit Iesum in tormentis Morientem, desolatum,
Et flagellis subditum; Cum emisit spiritum.
- V. Pia mater, fons amoris, Fac, ut ardeat cor meum
Me sentire vim doloris In amando Christum Deum,
Fac, ut tecum lugeam; Ut sibi complaceam.
- VI. Sancta mater, istud agas, Tui nati vulnerati,
Crucifixi fige plagas Tam dignati pro me pati,
Cordi meo valide, Poenas mecum divide.
- VII. Fac me vere tecum flere, Iuxta crucem tecum stare
Crucifixo condolere, Et me tibi sociare
Donec ego vixero; In planctu desidero.
- VIII. Virgo virginum praeclara, Fac, ut portem Christi mortem,
Mihī iam non sis amara, Passionis fac consortem
Fac me tecum plangere, Et plagas recolare.
- IX. Fac me plagis vulnerari, Flammis ne urar succensus
Cruce fac inebriari Per te, virgo, sim defensus
Et cruore filii; In die iudicii.
- X. Christe, cum sit hinc Quando corpus morietur
exire, Fac ut anima donetur
Da per matrem me venire Paradisi gloriae.³³
Ad palmam victoriae;

³³Dreves, op. cit., I, 392. The following variants are common:

- I, B line 2: Contristantem reads Contristatam (A,C)
II, B line 2: Et tremebat reads Pia Mater (A)
II, B line 3: Incliti reads incyti (B—most likely a typographical error)
IV, A line 2: Vidit Iesum reads Iesum vidit (D)
IV, B line 2: Morientem reads Moriendo (A,C)
IV, B line 3: Cum reads Dum (A,B,C)
V, A line 1: Pia Mater reads Eia Mater (A,B,D)
VI, A line 1: istud reads illud (D)
VII, A line 1 reads: fac me tecum pie flere (A)
VII, B line 2 reads: te libenter sociare (B,D) (adds a syllable)
VIII, B line 2 reads: passionis eius sortem
IX, A line 2: fac reads hac (B,D)
IX, A line 2 reads: fac me cruce inebriari (A,C)
IX, A line 3 reads: ob amorem filii (D)
IX, B line 1 reads: inflammatus et accensus (B,D)
X, A reads: fac me cruce custodiri,
morte Christi praemuniri
confoveri gratia. (B,D)

The translation of the sequence is as follows:

- I. The sorrowful Mother stood weeping beside the cross while her Son hung thereon: a sword pierced her sighing, compassionate, and grief-stricken soul.
- II. O how sad and how afflicted was that Blessed Mother of the Only-Begotten! How she grieved and suffered, that loving Mother, when she beheld the pains of her glorious Son.
- III. Who is there that would not weep, if he should behold the Mother of Christ in such great distress? Who would be able not to grieve, if he should contemplate the Mother of Christ suffering with her Son?
- IV. For the sins of His own nation, she saw Jesus in torments and subjected to stripes. She beheld her sweet Son dying, abandoned, until he yielded up the ghost.
- V. Ah, Mother, fount of love, make me feel the force of grief, make me weep with thee. Make my heart burn with the love of Christ, my God, that I may be pleasing to Him.
- VI. Holy Mother, mayest thou bring it to pass, that the wounds of the Crucified may be deeply stamped upon my heart. Share with me the sufferings of thy wounded Son who thus deigned to suffer for me.
- VII. Grant that I may devoutly weep with thee, and suffer with the Crucified as long as I shall live. I long to stand beside the Cross with thee, and to unite myself to thee, in thy grief.
- VIII. O peerless Virgin of virgins, be not unfavorably disposed towards me now; grant that I may mourn with thee. Grant that I may bear about (in my body) the

X, B line 3: gloriae reads gloria (to rhyme with gratia)
(B, D)

The letters in parentheses refer to:

- A. Liber Usualis Missae et Officii, op. cit., pp. 1510 f.
- B. Ruth Ellis Messenger, The Medieval Latin Hymn (Washington, D.C.: Capital Press, c.1953), pp. 108 f.
- C. Schwerd, op. cit., pp. 65 f.
- D. Raby, op. cit., p. 440.

death of Christ; make me a sharer of His passion, and make me mindful of His sufferings.

IX. Grant that I may be wounded with His wounds, that I may be inebriated with the Cross and with the Blood of thy Son. That I may not be tormented by the flames of hell, may I, O Virgin, be defended by thee on the day of Judgment.

X. When, O Christ, the hour has come for me to depart hence, grant that through Thy Mother I may obtain the palm of victory. When my body shall die, grant that the glory of Paradise be given to my soul.³⁴

The text is a masterful and sympathetic presentation of popular piety, especially in Italy. It is not at all surprising that this sequence was quickly adopted by the Flagellant Movement to sing as its adherents marched from town to town throughout Europe in the fourteenth century. With the rapid spread of Flagellism the Stabat mater dolorosa soon was known and sung everywhere. In singing this hymn the Flagellant sought emotionally to share the sufferings of Mary and Jesus, and by the pain of self-inflicted torture physically to identify himself with the agony of Christ on the Cross. After severe and almost merciless extermination of the movement by both the governments and by the church, the movement dispelled, but the popularity of the Stabat mater never diminished.

Many early fifteenth century Missals included the sequence and already at that time the Stabat mater was divided into three parts to be sung as office hymns. The diocese at Cologne

³⁴Britt, op. cit., pp. 135 f. The translation is based on the text found in Liber Usualis.

sang the first five stanzas at Vespers, six and seven at Matins, and the remaining three at Lauds. "Thus two streams of Liturgical Hymnody, for the Office and for the Eucharist are at last united in one: the Sequence has become a Hymn."³⁵ Although it was very popular throughout Europe, this sequence was not one of those retained by the decision of the Council of Trent. As a hymn it remained popular and was used in the worship of the Roman Catholic Church, but it was not until 1727 that Pope Benedict XIII declared that it should be added to the list of sequences established at Trent. The sequence was designated as the sequence for the Mass of the Seven Sorrows, on the Friday after Passion Sunday and again for the fifteenth of September when the Feast of the Seven Sorrows is celebrated.³⁶

"The problem of its authorship has been subject to a long and tiresome controversy."³⁷ Various manuscripts have ascribed it to Pope Gregory the Great (d.604), to St. Bernard of Clairvaux (d.1153), to Innocent III (d.1216), to St. Bonaventura (John of Fidanza, d.1274), to Jacopone da Todi (Jacobus de Benedictus, d.1306), to Pope John XXII (d.1334), and to Pope Gregory XI (d.1378). Some of the claims can be regarded as impossible, but there is no definite proof to establish an undisputable claim. However,

³⁵Winfred Douglas, Church Music in History and Practice (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 188.

³⁶Britt, op. cit., p. 134.

³⁷Raby, op. cit., p. 437.

even though it cannot be proved to the satisfaction of critical scholarship, the Stabat mater is generally ascribed to Jacopone da Todi.³⁸ The oldest manuscript says that Jacopone is the author, in fact most of the older manuscripts--including one from Todi--credit him.

If Jacopone is the author, it provides us with an interesting historical anecdote. Jacopone was imprisoned by Pope Boniface VIII for exposing the vices of his age and arraigning Boniface VIII for avarice.³⁹ He remained imprisoned until after the Pope's death in 1303. Not only did a pope imprison the writer of one of the most well-known Roman Catholic hymns, but Boniface himself granted an indulgence to all who recited "this plaint of the Blessed Virgin."⁴⁰

The subjective, sentimental and highly emotional character of the text has inspired many composers to write a musical setting for the words. Already in the fifteenth century Josquin de Pres was among the first to write a lengthy and elaborate choral setting. Other musicians who have used the text as a basis for musical expression were Palestrina, Pergolesi, Haydn, Schubert, A. Scarlatti, Rossini, Verdi, and Dvorak.

³⁸Dictionary of Hymnology, op. cit., p. 1082 and Raby, op. cit., pp. 437-39 for a summary of the arguments for each of these claims.

³⁹Schaff, op. cit., v, 868.

⁴⁰Raby, op. cit., p. 439.

The text also became a model for writing other sequences on the same subject. It was frequently translated into the vernacular, and it inspired the writing of many other hymns about the sorrows of the Virgin standing at the foot of the Cross. The well-known fifteenth century gymel Jesu Cristes milde moder is an English translation of Stabat iuxta Christi crucem, a sequence from the York Missal, circa 1390, which undoubtedly is modelled after the Stabat mater. The first stanza is

A.

Jesu Cristes milde moder
stud
biheld hire sone o rode
that he was ipined on.

B.

The sone heng, the moder stud
and biheld hire childes blud
wic it of his wundes ran.⁴¹

A very similar German version began Christi Mutter stund vor schmerzen.

Luther was familiar with the Stabat mater and remarked "Under this (Mariolatry) I had to creep to get to Christ."⁴² In spite of the fact that the hymn is primarily addressed to Mary it is found in many Protestant hymnals. Even H. T. Henry, the writer of the article on "Stabat Mater" in the Catholic Encyclopedia, seems to think this is unusual enough to comment that Protestants share with Catholics "a deep, and often glowingly expressed, admiration" for the hymn and "this affection of Protestants for the hymn

⁴¹Reese, op. cit., p. 389.

⁴²Quoted in Swartz, op. cit., p. 559.

has resulted in manifest translations." There are well over sixty English translations, but the translation by Edward Caswall is the most widely used.

At the Cross, her station keeping,
 Stood the mournful mother weeping,
 Where he hung, the dying Lord;
 For her soul, of joy bereaved,
 Bowed with anguish, deeply grieved,
 Felt the sharp and piercing sword.

O, how sad and sore distressed
 Now was she, that mother blessed
 Of the sole begotten One.
 Deep the woe of her affliction,
 When she saw the crucifixion
 Of her ever glorious Son.

Who, on Christ's dear mother gazing,
 Pierced by anguish so amazing,
 Born of woman, would not weep?
 Who, on Christ's dear mother thinking,
 Such a cup of sorrow drinking,
 Would not share her sorrows deep?

For his people's sins chastised,
 She beheld her Son despised,
 Scourged, and crowned with thorns entwined;
 Saw him then from judgment taken,
 And in death by all forsaken,
 Till his spirit he resigned.

Jesus, may her deep devotion
 Stir in me the same emotion,
 Fount of love, Redeemer kind,
 That my heart, fresh ardor gaining
 And a purer love attaining,
 May with thee acceptance find. Amen. ⁴³

The new Lutheran hymnal, Service Book and Hymnal, The Hymnal 1940 and Hymns Ancient and Modern all use an altered version prepared by Edward Caswall for his Lyra Catholica,

⁴³Service Book and Hymnal of the Lutheran Church in America (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, c.1958), #84.

1849. The English Hymnal has a composite translation by Bishop Mant, Aubrey de Vere, and others. Both translations have retained the typical metrical structure of the sequence-- trochaic catalectic dimeter. In order to make the hymn theologically more acceptable, the editors of Hymns Ancient and Modern rewrote the first two lines of stanza five. Caswall's translation was addressed to the Virgin:

O thou Mother! fount of love!
Touch my spirit from above.⁴⁴

Unlike the Dies irae whose melody is inseparably bound to the text, we do not even know the melody to which the Stabat mater was first sung. There are many plainsong settings for the text both in sequence form and as a simple hymn; some of these are almost as old as the text itself. The official plainsong setting in the Vatican Graduale, 1908 is by a contemporary, Dom Fontienne, O.S.B.⁴⁵

The English Hymnal has three musical settings for the text: one, a French melody; the second from the Gesangbuch, 1625; and the third is adapted from the Mechlin Gradual which is believed by some to date back to the early fourteenth century. However, the editors of Hymns Ancient and Modern do not agree, for even though it is in ancient tonality "its character and structure are comparatively modern and

⁴⁴Dictionary of Hymnology, op. cit., p. 1084.

⁴⁵Douglas, op. cit., p. 187.

and unlike that of classical style of plainsong."⁴⁶ The Hymns Ancient and Modern and The Hymnal 1940 both use the tune from the Mechlin Gradual and give another tune, "Mainz." This tune first appeared as the melody for the Stabat mater in the Roman Catholic Gesangbuch of the diocese of Mainz in 1661.

The Lutheran Service Book and Hymnal uses the same text as the Hymnal 1940 and the tune "Mainz." It does seem a little unusual to see this hymn in a Lutheran hymnal in America.

If there is any similarity between the sequences of Adam of St. Victor and the Stabat mater it would be only in the use of the sequence form 8, 8, 7. Theologically there is little similarity. The persons of Mary and Jesus are not the same for Adam and Jacopone. Neither does the Stabat mater contain any of the objective worship of a Christian justified by faith in God's act for us. It contains none of the naive and simple medieval symbolism, nor does it express a confident joy and hope which characterized Adam's sequences. Instead, the Stabat mater reflects a hesitant and fearful hope for peace and glory as the reward for patient suffering. I do not know if Martin Luther was acquainted with any of the sequences of Adam. If he was, I am sure that he would have found much in them which agreed with his own approach to the Gospel of God, but we do know that Luther

⁴⁶Hymns Ancient and Modern, op. cit., p. 187.

and much of Lutheranism after him, had little use for the Stabat mater.

Lauda Sion

a Condensed compendium of
exact theology.

--Archbishop Bagshawe⁴⁷

If the Stabat mater dolorosa and the Dies irae, dies illa represent the culmination of Franciscan theology, then surely the Lauda Sion does the same for Dominican theology. The hymns and sequences of Jacopone da Todi and Bonaventura are as different from those of Thomas Aquinas as were the theologies of St. Francis and St. Dominic. The Dominicans were established as a preaching order, and when the Order was confirmed by Honorius III in 1216, they were officially called Friars Preachers. The members of the Order were to be trained in theology and be able to preach in vernacular tongues so that they could combat heresy and ignorance. Dominicans also occupied chairs of philosophy and theology at many universities. The constitutions of the Order subordinated all else to study. "All the hours in church shall be shortened, lest the friars lose devotion and their study be at all impeded." The superior of the order may "grant dispensations whenever he may deem it expedient, especially in regard to what may hinder study or preaching

⁴⁷Britt, op. cit., p. 173.

or the profit of souls." This is directly the opposite of the teachings of St. Francis who saw little value in study and learning. In fact, it was almost regarded as sinful for it would be difficult for a well-educated man to be humble. To one novice he said "If you have a psalter, you will want a breviary; and if you have a breviary, you will sit on a high chair like a prelate, and say to your brother, 'Bring me a breviary.'" To another he said, "The time of tribulation will come when books will be useless and be thrown away."

Thomas, the son of the Count of Aquinam, entered the brotherhood of Dominic in his twentieth year. As a youth of exceptional intelligence and scholastic ability it is easy to realize why that order "attracted the young scholar more readily than the Brothers Minor Franciscans, whose follies were then stirring so profoundly the hearts of the Italians."⁴⁸ At Paris he studied with Albertus Magnus whose life work was to introduce Aristotle into Europe. Thomas carried on the work begun by his teacher and attempted to harmonize theology with philosophy, which for him were two complementary expressions of truth. Both the knowledge arrived at by reason (philosophy) and that learned through revelation (theology) are equally valid, each in its own sphere. However, they are interdependent and supplementary to each other. His Summa Theologica is a very scholarly

⁴⁸Raby, op. cit., p. 402.

presentation of his synthesis of philosophy and theology and is still an authoritative statement of Roman Catholic doctrine.

When, as a result of the growing demands throughout Europe for a special feast day honoring the Body of Christ in the Holy Sacrament, Pope Urban IV decided to establish the Feast of Corpus Christi, he commissioned Thomas to write the Office and the Mass for the day. In the hymns and sequence which he wrote for the feast, Thomas shows himself to be a skilled teacher and preacher; his works are doctrinal teachings about the Sacrament of the Altar in verse. They are stated simply but with the same precise terminology as in his Summa Theologica. For the Vesper Office Hymn he wrote the famous Pange lingua gloriosi; and for Lauds, the Verbum supernum prodiens. For the "Thanksgiving after Mass" he wrote the Adoro te devote, latens Deitas, and as the sequence for the Mass the Lauda Sion Salvatorem. He wrote the Sacris solemniis juncta sint gaudia for Matins.

The hymns and sequence are admirable liturgical compositions; severity of form, economy of expression, scholastic exactness of doctrinal statement are joined to a metrical skill which owes as much to the genius of the poet as to a study of predecessors like Adam of S. Victor.⁴⁹

In these hymns and sequence Thomas reveals his acquaintance with the sequences of Adam of St. Victor and

⁴⁹Raby, op. cit., p. 405.

has written his own following the style of the school of St. Victor. His hymns are objective in their praise of God and do not seek to create a subjective mood as do the hymns of the Franciscans. The Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar is the object of his adoration; the sequence begins "Laude Sion, Salvatorem, lauda ducem et pastorem." Thomas certainly agreed with Adam that the sequence should be didactic, and it is in this respect that Thomas surpasses him. Like Adam, Thomas also used literary symbols to express theological truths. He portrays Christ as the pious Pelican who sacrifices her life for her young; as the Paschal Lamb who as the Lamb of God was slain and has become our Passover; as Manna which miraculously fed the people in the wilderness; as Isaac the only son of his father ready to die as a sacrifice, as Unleavened Bread (Azymes) which was a figure of sincerity, truth and purity (I Corinthians 5:8). For the structure of his sequence, Thomas leans heavily upon Adam, especially his Laudes Crucis and Zyma vetus expurgetur.

A.

B.

- | | |
|--|--|
| I. Lauda, Sion, Salvatorem,
Lauda ducem et pastorem
In hymnis et canticis. | Quantum potes, tantum aude,
Quia maior omni laude,
Nec laudare sufficis. |
| II. Laudis thema specialis
Panis vivus et vitalis
Hodie proponitur. | Quem in sacrae mensa cenae
Turbae fratrum duodenae
Datum non ambigitur. |
| III. Sit laus plena, sit sonora,
Sit iucunda, sit decora
Mentis jubilatio.
Dies enim solemnus agitur,
In qua mensae prima recolitur
Huius institutio. | |

- IV. In hac mensa novi Regis
Novum Pascha novae legis
Phase vetus terminat.
Vetustatem novitas,
Umbram fugat veritas,
Noctem lux eliminat.
- V. Quod in cena Christus gessit, Coti sacris institutis
Faciendum hoc expressit Panem, vinum in salutis
In sui memoriam; Consecramus hostiam.
- VI. Dogma datur Christianis, Quod non capis, quod non
Quod in carnem transit panis vides,
Et vinum in sanguinem. Animosa firmat fides
Praeter rerum ordinem.
- VII. Sub diversis speciebus, Caro cibus, sanguis potus,
Signis tantum et non rebus, Manet tamen Christus totus
Latent res eximiae: Sub utraque specie.
- VIII. A sumente non concisus, Sumit unus, sumunt mille,
Non confractus, non divisus Quantum isti, tantum ille,
Integer accipitur. Nec sumptus consumitur.
- IX. Sumunt boni, sumunt mali, Mors est malis, vita bonis,
Sorte tamen inaequali, Vide, parvis sumptionis
Vitae vel interitus. Quam sit dispar exitus.
- X. Fracto demum sacramento, Nulla rei fit scissura,
Ne vacilles, sed memento Signi tantum fit fractura,
Tantum esse sub fragmento, Qua nec status nec statura
Quantum toto tegitur. Signati minuitur.
- XI. Ecce panis Angelorum, In figuris praesignatur,
Factus cibus viatorum, Cum Isaac immolatur,
Vere panis filiorum, Agnus Paschae deputatur,
Non mittendus canibus. Datur manna patribus.
- XII. Bone pastor, panis vere, Tu, qui cuncta scis et vales,
Jesu, nostri miserere, Qui nos pascis hic mortales,
Tu nos pasce, nos tuere, Tuos ibi commensales,
Tu nos bona fac videre Cohaeredes et sodales.
In terra viventium. Fac sanctorum civium.⁵⁰

According to the melodic structure of the sequence in the Liber Usualis each stanza is divided in half and the second

⁵⁰Schwerd, op. cit., pp. 57 f.

half of each stanza is sung to the same tune as the first. However, the melody for stanzas three and four does not repeat in the second half but is different in the first and last three lines. The melody of the entire stanza three is repeated for stanza four with slight variations to compensate for the difference in the number of syllables in line one and two of III and IV.

A literal translation of the text is:

1. Praise, O Sion, thy Saviour, praise thy Leader and thy Shepherd in hymns and canticles. As much as thou canst, so much darest thou, for He is above all praise, nor art thou able to praise Him enough.

2. To-day there is given us a special theme of praise, the Bread both living and life-giving, which, it is not to be doubted, was given to the assembly of the brethren, twelve in number, at the table of the holy Supper.

3. Let our praise be full and sounding; let the jublations of the soul be joyous and becoming; for that solemn day is now being celebrated, on which is commemorated the first institution of this table.

4. At this table of the new King, the new Pasch of the New Law puts an end to the ancient Pasch. The new supplants the old, truth puts to flight the shadow, day banishes night.

5. What Christ did at that Supper, the same He commanded to be done in remembrance of Him. Taught by His sacred precepts, we consecrate bread and wine into the Victim of salvation.

6. This is the dogma given to Christians, that bread is changed into Flesh and wine into Blood. What thou dost not understand, what thou dost not see, a lively faith confirms in a supernatural manner.

7. Under different species (different) in externals (signis) only, and not in reality (rebus), wondrous substances lie hidden. Flesh is food, Blood is drink; nevertheless Christ remains entire under each species.

8. By the recipient the whole (Christ) is received; He is neither cut, broken, nor divided. One receives Him; a thousand receive Him: as much as the thousand receive, so much does the one receive; though eaten He is not diminished.

9. The good receive Him, the bad receive Him, but with what unequal consequences of life or death. It is death to the unworthy, life to the worthy; behold then of a like reception, how unlike may be the result!

10. When the Sacrament is broken, doubt not, but remember, that there is just as much hidden in a fragment, as there is in the whole. There is no division of the substance, only a breaking of the species takes place, by which neither the state nor stature of the substance signified is diminished.

11. Lo, the Bread of Angels is made the food of earthly pilgrims: truly it is the Bread of children, let it not be cast to dogs. It was prefigured in types,--when Isaac was immolated, when the Paschal Lamb was sacrificed, when Manna was given to the fathers.

12. O Good Shepherd, True Bread, O Jesus, have mercy on us: feed us and protect us: make us see good things in the land of the living. Thou who knowest all things and canst do all things, who here feedest us mortals, make us there be Thy guests, the co-heirs, and companions of the heavenly citizens.⁵¹

The Lauda Sion was written to fit the melody of Adam's Laudes crucis attolamus, a melody used by Adam for several of his own texts. The structure of the Lauda Sion is almost exactly parallel with Adam's sequence in its rhythmic and stanzaic variations. The opening stanzas of each sequence are two lines of trochaic dimeter acatalectic followed by a third in trochaic dimeter catalectic. (Lauda Sion: I, II, first half of III, and IV.) The second half

⁵¹Britt, op. cit., pp. 181 ff.

of stanza III is two lines of trochaic trimeter brachycatalectic (10 syllables) followed by trochaic dimeter catalectic, and its repetition in stanza IV is three lines of trochaic dimeter catalectic. This is exactly the same as the Laudes crucis attoIamus. Both sequences then return to the first form (8,8,7), the Lauda Sion for ten stanzas, the Laudes Crucis for twelve (this is the only real difference in the parallel structure of these two sequences). This is then followed by two stanzas of lines and closes with the final stanza written in five lines.

Though Thomas patterned his sequences on the structure of the Laudes Crucis he also incorporated some expression and ideas for Adam's Easter sequences Zyma vetus expurgetur and Ecce dies celebris.⁵²

The plainsong melody in the Vatican edition of the Roman Gradual might possibly be the melody by Adam. If it is not by Adam, it most likely is by some fellow monk of St. Victor's Abbey.⁵³

The sequence was first included in the Roman Missal and Roman Breviary, 1263. It is also found in a late thirteenth century French Missal, and was adopted in England by Sarum, c.1370, Hereford, c.1370, and York, c.1340. It

⁵²Supra, p. 85.

⁵³H. T. Henry, "Lauda Sion," The Catholic Encyclopedia, edited by Charles G. Herbermann et al. (New York: The Gilmary Society, 1907 and 1913), IX, 37.

seems that it was not adopted by any German Missals until the fifteenth century. Primarily the hymn was for Corpus Christi Day but the Sprum rite allowed stanzas XV and XII to be sung during the octave. The diocese of York used the entire sequence on Corpus Christi and during the octave it was divided into three parts said on succeeding days. On the first day stanzas I through IV, on the second day, V through VIII, and on the last day, stanzas IX through XII.⁵⁴ The last two verses are often used as a Processional Hymn at the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

"In translating this Sequence no difficulty has been found where the translator has held the distinct doctrine of Transubstantiation in common with St. Thomas."⁵⁵ Thomas states the Roman teaching of the Sacrament of the Altar with the same dogmatic terms he used in his Summa Theologica.⁵⁶ Stanza V through XI are dogmatic expositions of doctrine in which Thomas carefully distinguishes between species, the bread and wine, and the res which together with the bread and wine is the Body of Christ. The sequence speaks of the consecrating the "bread and wine into the Victim of salvation." The seventh stanza is not acceptable to Protestants and Lutherans, for it is a substantiation of the Roman practice of distributing only the wafer to the

⁵⁴Dictionary of Hymnology, op. cit., pp. 662 f.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 663.

⁵⁶Summa Theologica, questions lxxiii ff.

laity. However, stanzas VIII and IX are very terse statements of the mystery and paradox and could be used by all who believe in the Real Presence.

This, then, is the real problem for the translators who wish to prepare a version for use in a Protestant hymnal-- how to retain the character of the sequence without including the doctrinally objectionable statements. The editors of The Hymnal 1940 Companion wrote:

Since this dogma 'is repugnant to the plain words of the Scriptures'--to quote the 28th Article of Religion--and since this feast is not observed by our church, the necessary omissions have been made to permit use as Communion hymns without destroying their devout austerity.⁵⁷

The first hymn consists of stanzas 1, 2, 5 and 3. To give an idea of the difficulty in preparing an acceptable translation, it is somewhat amusing to read "The translation, by the Committee on Translations, JCRH [Joint Commission on the Revision of the Hymnal], is based on that in the English Hymnal, 1906, which itself is a cento, rewritten from the translations of Pusey, Wackerbath, and Chambers."⁵⁸

Following the precedent of the early English cathedrals, the editors have made the last stanza into a separate hymn. The translation of the twelfth stanza, "Bone pastor, panis

⁵⁷The Hymnal 1940 Companion, prepared by the Joint Commission on the Revision of the Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (New York: The Church Pension Fund, c.1949), p. 138.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 139.

vere" is admittedly more a paraphrase than a translation of the entire sequence. They did not, however, fully erase the Roman Catholic teaching from the translation--especially the translation of stanza VII. It could perhaps be correctly understood, but against the background of substantiation, it still seems to reflect this doctrine.

A.

VII. Yea, beneath these signs
are hidden
Glorious things to sight
forbidden:
Look not on the outward
sign.

B.

Wine is poured and Bread
is broken,
But in either sacred token
Christ is here by power
divine.⁵⁹

The plainsong setting in the English Hymnal is also in The Hymnal 1940. The former credits it to St. Thomas, while the latter, following the usual contemporary consensus, regards it as an original sequence melody by Adam of St. Victor. In addition, The Hymnal 1940 has a second tune for each of the two sections; one is by Henry Weman, 1937, and the other is based on a melody from the Bohemia Brethren, 1566.

It is as surprising to find this sequence of St. Thomas in a Lutheran hymnal as it would be to find Martin Luther's Ein feste Burg in a Roman Catholic hymnal. But the new Service Book and Hymnal does contain a hymn based on the last stanza of Thomas's great Eucharistic sequence. The text

⁵⁹The English Hymnal with Tunes (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 445.

is exactly the same as the text in The Hymnal 1940, but it has a different melody by John Bacchus Dykes.

Sponsa Christi

After the action by the Council of Trent abolishing all sequences except four, the writing of sequences ceased almost immediately in the Roman Catholic Church. The sequence form never became popular with the Lutherans; their great emphasis was the chorale which was often sung after the Alleluia of the Gradual. The rest of the Churches of the Reformation had no place for a sequence hymn in their service. So within a very short time the form was almost extinct. A very few sequences were written afterward, only because of interest in the structural form, since the composer knew that to sing it in the Mass was prohibited. One of these later sequences which is in both the Hymns Ancient and Modern and the English Hymnal is the Sponsa Christi. This one is considered by James Mearns to be one of the finest of the more recent French sequences. It was, however, included in the Paris Missal of 1665 and again in 1739 and in a French Breviary of 1709. The Missal attributed the sequence to Jean Baptiste de Contes who became Dean of Paris in 1647 and died two years later at the age of 78. The sequence is for All Saints' Day.

A.

B.

I. Sponsa Christi, quae per orbem militas ecclesia, prae cantus et sacros dic triumphos caelitem.	Haec dies cunctis dicata mixta caeli gaudiis, laeta currat et sollemni personet melodia.
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- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>II. Laureatum ducit agmen
iuncta mater Filio,
sola quae partu pudorem
virgo numquam perdidit.</p> | <p>Mox sequuntur angelorum
administri spiritus,
siderumque conditori
mille laudes concinunt.</p> |
| <p>III. His Iohannes, vate maior,
praeco Christi praevisus,
patriarchae cum prophe-
tis
accinunt dulce melo.</p> | <p>Principes sacri senatus,
orbis almi iudices,
sedibus celsis sublimes
facta pendunt omnium.</p> |
| <p>IV. Prodigii vitae, cruore
purpurati martyres,
auspicati morte vitam,
pace gaudent perpeti.</p> | <p>Turba sacra confitentum,
cum levitis praesules,
saeculi luxu reiecto
perfruuntur gloria.</p> |
| <p>V. Pompa nuptialis Agno
consecratae virgines
liliis rosisque sponsum
aemulantur prosequi.</p> | <p>Omnibus sors haec beata
gloriam Deo dare
et potentem confiteri
terque sanctum dicere.</p> |
| <p>VI. Deo cum sanctitate
serviamus subditi,
gloriae posthac futuri,
quam tenetis, compotes.
Amen.⁶⁰</p> | |

Spouse of Christ, in arms
contending
O'er each clime beneath
the sun,
Blend with prayers for
help ascending
Notes of praise for triumphs
won.

As the Church to-day rejoices
All her Saints to join on
high,
So from earth let all our
voices
Rise in solemn harmony.

First amid the laurelled legions
Prays the Mother to her Son,
Close to Christ in these fair regions
Where high praise to him is done.

Angels next, in due gradation
Of the Spirit's ministry,
Hymn the Father of creation,
Maker of the stars on high.

John, the herald-voice sonorous,
Head of the prophetic throng,
Patriarchs, and Seers in chorus,
Join to swell the Angels' song.

⁶⁰Hymns Ancient and Modern, op. cit., p. 347.

Near to Christ the Apostles seated,
Trampling on the powers of hell,
By the promise now completed
Judge the tribes of Israel.

They who nobly died believing,
Martyrs purpled in their gore,
Crowns of life by death receiving,
Rest in joy for evermore.

Priests and Levites, Gospel preachers,
And Confessors numberless,
Prelates meek and holy teachers,
Bear the palm of righteousness.

Virgin souls, by high profession
To the Lamb devoted here,
Strewing flowers in gay procession
At the marriage-feast appear.

All are blest together, praising
God's eternal Majesty,
Thrice repeated anthems raising
To the all-holy Trinity.

In your heavenly habitations,
In your blessed home on high,
Hear, ye Saints, our aspirations,
As to God we lift our cry.

Ever praising, ever praying,
Help ye thus your brethren here,
That the will of God obeying
We in peace may persevere.

So may we, with hearts devoted,
Serve our God in holiness;
So may we, by God promoted,
Share that heaven which ye possess
Amen.⁶¹

W. Palmer's translation of the Sponsa Christi is the one most extensively used in older hymnals. However, it frequently was abbreviated, compressed, and even changed by editors. The first line has been changed to read "Bride

⁶¹The English Hymnal with Tunes, op. cit., p. 370.

of Christ, through Him contending" and "Spouse of Christ, in arms contending."

The editor of Hymns Ancient and Modern chose the translation by J. Ellerton, "Church of Christ, whose glorious warfare," which was later altered to "Bride of Christ." Both the translations by Palmer and Ellerton have retained the structure of the Latin, alternating lines of eight and seven syllables. The latter however has telescoped the Latin text into a short English translation so that stanzas are not parallel.

Bride of Christ, whose glorious warfare
Here on earth hath never rest,
Lift thy voice, and tell the triumphs
Of the holy and the blest:
Joyous be the day we hallow,
Feast of all the Saints on high,
Earth and heav'n together blending
In one solemn harmony.

First the blessed Virgin-Mother,
Reunited to her Son,
With the ministering Angels
Who the will of God hath done;
John the herald, Christ's forerunner,
Head of the prophetic throng,
Seer and Patriarch responsive
Unto Psalmist in their song.

Princes of the great assembly
Throned on their tribunal high,
Lo, the Twelve in kindly judgment
All the sons of Israel try;
Lo, the martyrs, robed in crimson,
Sign of life-blood freely spent,
Finding life, because they lost it,
Dwell in undisturb'd content.

All the saintly host who witness's
Good confessions for His sake--
Deacon, Priest, the world renouncing,
Of their Master's joy partake;
Virgins to the Lamb devoted,
Following with steadfast love,
Bring their lilies and their roses
To the marriage feast above.

All, their happy lot fulfilling,
 God Omnipotent proclaim;
 Holy, Holy, Holy, crying,
 Glory to His Holy Name!
 So may God in mercy grant us
 Here to serve in holiness,
 Till He calls us to the portion
 Which His Saints in light possess.
 Amen.⁶²

⁶²Hymns Ancient and Modern, loc. cit.

... various authori-
 ... definition of the term. Any definition
 ... that a trope is an addition to the
 ... be challenged by some. Disagreement
 ... from the varied answers given
 ... of literary or
 ... of Byzantine or
 ... than the sequence?
 ... or is
 ... of the other?¹
 ... one of the editors of the Anglo-Saxon
 ... research into the problem and defines
 ... a liturgical text or the
 ... either as introduc-
 ... It differs from the sequence
 ... which is also an embellishment of the

... The Catholic Encyclopedia,
 ... New York: The Gilmary
 ... IV, 65.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TROPE

In many ways the trope is similar to the sequence. This is true not only of its structure and origin, but also of the historical and musicological problems connected with it. Here, too, it would be impossible to get the various authorities to agree even on a definition of the term. Any definition that says more than that a trope is an addition to the liturgy would immediately be challenged by some. Disagreement arises, as with the sequences, from the varied answers given to the questions: Is the trope primarily of literary or musical origin? Is the trope primarily of Byzantine or Western European origin? Is the trope older than the sequence? Did the sequence and the trope develop independently or is one a direct outgrowth of the other?¹

Clemens Blume, one of the editors of the Analecta hymnica, has done much research into the problem and defines the trope as an interpolation in a liturgical text or the embellishment brought by interpolation either as introductions, insertions, or additions.² It differs from the sequence in that the sequence, which is also an embellishment of the

¹Supra, p. 6.

²Clemens Blume, "Trope," The Catholic Encyclopedia, edited by Charles G. Herbermann et al. (New York: The Gilmary Society, 1907 and 1913), XV, 65.

liturgy, is an insertion between parts of the liturgy, namely, the Gradual and Gospel, and is often complete in itself. The trope on the other hand is an embellishment or addition to a liturgical text with which both becomes one unit.

The additions made to the liturgical text range from a few words to fit a preexisting melisma into a syllabic text to lengthy sentences and later on even entire poems placed between two words of the text or in direct conjunction with the liturgical selection. The early sequences can not be separated from liturgical text. Lengthy or strophic interpolations demand adding of a new melody to the existing chant melody. Usually the interpolated melody was derived from the original melody by means of a free variation technique. This variation or paraphrasing of the prescribed melody represents the foremost musical advance in Western Europe for some centuries. This implies that the musician's task as well as the poet's is more specialized and less free than in the sequence, for in the trope the melody had to harmonize with the prescribed plainsong tunes which precede and follow it and the text had to fit between the words of the prescribed liturgical text.³ In some ways the musical structure is similar to that of the sequence but in the trope

³For examples see Jacques Handschin, "Trope, Sequence, and Conductus," Early Medieval Music up to 1300 in New Oxford History of Music (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 166 ff.

the repetition is never exact but is a paraphrase of the original liturgical melody. The beginning of a troped Gloria in excelsis which follows is an example:

GLO-RI-A IN EX-CEL-SIS DE-O, A-ve-ni-ci-ve-s cae-le-s-tes sanc-tum cla-man-
tes lau-de Fre-quentant; ET IN TER-RA PAX HO-MI-NI-BUS BO-NAE (etc)

In the introduction to his The Winchester Troper W. H. Frere wrote:

All new developments in musical composition failing to gain admission into the privileged circle of recognized Gregorian service-books, were thrown together so as to form an independent musical collection supplementary to the official books.⁵

Tropes are important in the history of music because they permitted the musician to make a contribution to the liturgy. Even though the plainsong settings of the Mass and Office could not be altered, the composer was free to write insertions between the prescribed settings of the chant.

There are also a few examples of purely musical tropes. These are considered by some musicologists to be the oldest form of troping. Unfortunately there are very few incontrovertible examples of this practice which show clearly and definitely a melodic interpolation in a traditional chant

⁴Ibid., p. 170.

⁵Winfred Douglas, Church Music in History and Practice (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 59.

melody.⁶

Tropes were written in great numbers from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries; this gives them a life span approximately the same as that of the sequences. From a literary view, the development of the trope is also very similar to that of the sequence. At first words were inserted as a syllabic text for the melisma within the chant. This syllabification for a preexisting melody served primarily as a mnemonic aid and was naturally prose and not poetry. Also the beginnings of the trope are closely associated with the Abbey of St. Gall where it appeared at the time of Notker. The earliest rhythmic trope, usually hexameter, appeared as a commentary either introducing or concluding a liturgical text. In this way the composer was not restricted to the melisma of the chant but could write his own melody.

Sometime during the second half of the eleventh century tropes within the framework of the liturgical text appeared in metrical form. Again like the sequences, the iambic and trochaic meters were the most frequently used in lines of eight syllables. This later developed into a regular style of writing which sometimes broke away from the liturgical text and became the meter of much of medieval Latin poetry. Also in the trope do we find the basis for the beginnings of the liturgical drama.

⁶Willi Apel, Gregorian Chant (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c.1958), p. 441. Example given on p. 492.

The following examples will show the various styles of early tropes. The earliest tropes which were merely an addition of words to a melisma would naturally be short and within the text itself.

KYRIE rex genitor ingenite ELEISON.

ITE sine dolo et lite. Pax Vobiscum. MISSA EST.
DEO semper agite in corde gloriam et GRATIAS.⁷

As the textual interpolation became more extended it required a melodic interpolation as well.

SURGE infida gens, dejecta perfidia quem demonstra-
vit stella regem regum venerare ET ILLUMINARE cogita
spera et suspira coelestia contemplete JERUSALEM.⁸

When the trope became a more independent poetical form it sometimes preceded the liturgical text.

Omnipotens genitor lumenque et lucis origo,
de nihilo iussu verbi qui cuncta creasti,
humano generi, peccatai pondere presso,
KYRIE ELEISON.

ad caenum terrae missus genitoris ab arce
indueras carnem, casta de virgine natus,
et mundi culpam mundasti sanguine fuso;
CHRISTE ELEISON.

aequalis patri seu nato, spiritus almus,
trinus personis, deus, in deitate sed unus,
KYRIE ELEISON.⁹

⁷Peter Wagner, Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien (Dritter Auflage; Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, c.1910), p. 290. See also Analecta hymnica, medii aevi, edited by Clemens Blume and G. M. Dreves (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1886-1922), XLVII, 409 ff.

⁸Willi Apel, Harvard Dictionary of Music (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 758.

⁹F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 220. See also Analecta hymnica, op. cit., XLVII, 48 f.

At times the interpolation came after the text.

SANCTUS ex quo sunt omnia;
 SANCTUS, per quem sunt omnia;
 SANCTUS, in quo sunt omnia;
 DOMINUS DEUS SABAOTH, tibi gloria sit in saecula.¹⁰

¹⁰Blume, loc. cit.

CHAPTER IX

TUTILO OF ST. GALL

The trope, like the sequence, was known already in the eighth and ninth centuries and was brought to the Abbey of St. Gall. Here it was most closely associated with Tutilo (Tuotilo) (d.915) who definitely is not the inventor of the trope as the tradition of St. Gall claims; however, he is a writer of tropes. The name of Tutilo is to the trope what the name Notker is to the sequence.

Tutilo was a friend and fellow student of Notker Balbulus. However, we know far less about him than we do about Notker. Notker's biography, Ekkehard IV, and the annals of St. Gall say little about Tutilo. One reason for this might be that at the time of Ekkehard (d.120) the sequence was at the height of its popularity throughout all of Europe--and far more popular than the trope. Undoubtedly Ekkehard wished to exalt his abbey as the home of the first great writer of sequences, and since the popularity of the tropes had declined greatly there was little need to say much about Tutilo. The same could be said of the annals of the abbey which were edited at a later time.

We do know that, as a fellow student of Notker, Tutilo had the same teachers, Yso and Marcellus. He seems to have been an all round well-educated man. Some writers have referred to him as a medieval man of the Renaissance. He

has been depicted as a universal genius famous as an architect, painter, sculptor, wood carver, gold artisan and musician. His artistic talents brought him many commissions to design and furnish churches and because of his musical abilities he instructed the sons of many eminent families to play an instrument.¹

Although we do not know just how Tutilo became acquainted with the trope, the simplest and perhaps the most obvious solution, which can neither be proved nor disproved, is to conjecture that examples of the trope which were well known in France were contained in the Jumièges Antiphonary brought to St. Gall about the year 862.² Perhaps as Notker received his inspiration to write sequences, Tutilo, seeing examples of tropes, began to compose some of his own. We know from Notker's letter that the Antiphonary contained sequences, but unfortunately we do not know whether or not it contained any tropes. It would be rather unusual for Tutilo to know about tropes before Notker saw his first sequences. Research shows quite clearly that both Notker and Tutilo had French predecessors.

The Kyrie-trope Cunctipotens genitor (Omnipotens genitor) is usually ascribed to Tutilo. The first example below is the plainsong setting of the Kyrie-Cunctipotens as it is in the Roman rite. This is followed by Tutilo's

¹Marie Pierik, The Song of the Church (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, c.1947), p. 139.

²For the account by Notker, supra, p. 9.

version which drops the Greek word Kyrie and begins the Latin text on the first note.

Ky-ri- e e- le-i-son. ij

Chris-te e- le-i-son. ij

Ky-ri- e e- le-i-son. ij Ky-ri-

e e- le-i-son. 3

Kyrie-trope: omnipotens
Tuotilo

1. Om-ni-po-tens gen-i-tor De-us om-ni-um cre-a-tor: E -
2. fons et o-ri-go bo-ni pi-e lux-que per-en-nis: E -
3. sal-vi-fi-cet pl-e-tas tu-a nos bo-ne Rec-tor: E -

LEI-SOM. 4. Chri-ste, De-i for-ma vir-tus pa-tris-que so-phi-a:
LEI-SOM. 5. Chri-ste, pa-tris splen-dor, or-bis lap-si re-pa-ra-tor:
LEI-SOM. 6. Ne tu-a dam-ne-mur Je-su fac-tu-ra be-nig-ne:

E - LEI-SOM. 7. Am-bo-rum sa-crum spi-ri-ta-men ne-xus a-mor-que:
& Pro-ce-dens fo-mes vi-tae, fons pu-ri-fi-cans nos

³Liber Usualis Missae et Officii, edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée and Company, 1947), pp. 25 f. Note that the Liber Usualis and other modern Missals use the initial words of the former trope to identify the Kyrie even though the words of the trope are no longer sung.

8 E-
E- LEI-SON. LEI-SON. 7. Pur-ga-tor cul-pa, ve-ni-ae lar-gi-tor

8 op-ti-me, of-fen-sas de-le, sanctus nos mu-ne-re re-ple E-- LEI-SON. 4

- I. 1. Omnipotent Father, Lord creator of all:
have mercy upon us.
2. Fount and source of good, kindly light eternal:
have mercy upon us.
3. May thy mercy save us O good leader: have
mercy upon us.
- II. 1. O Christ, Lord, form, power and wisdom of the Father:
have mercy upon us.
2. O Christ, splendor of the Father, redeemer of the
world astray: have mercy upon us.
3. Let us not disdain thy deeds, O gentle Jesus:
have mercy upon us.
- III. 1. Sacred spirit of both, and united love; have
mercy upon us.
2. Perpetual instigator of life, fount purifying us:
have mercy upon us.
3. Highest redeemer of sin, bestower of mercy,
take away our offense, fill us with thy holy
bounty: have mercy upon us.⁵

Peter Wagner cites the first line to read "Cunctipotens genitor
Deus, omni creatur, ELBISON"⁶ which seems to be preferable to

⁴Archibald Thompson Davison and Willi Apel, Historical Anthology of Music (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, c.1946), p. 13. The transcription from bass clef is by the author.

⁵Ibid., p. 240.

⁶Peter Wagner, Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien (Dritter Auflage; Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, c.1910), I, 279 fn. 1. "Über die Textüberlieferung dieses Tropus vgl. Analecta hymnica Bd. XLVII, 5.50."

the one given by Davison and Apel in the example above. Wagner's text is one syllable shorter and would thus make all three lines of I the same length and allow the first ELEISON to begin on the note "e" instead of "g" which it does in the second and third repetition and in the plainsong version. In this trope Tutilo merely supplied a text to a preexisting melody and did not add to the melody.

The Christmas Introit, Hodie cantandus est, however, is an example of supplying a lengthy introduction and a conclusion to the liturgical text as well as interpolating the text itself. In this trope both the text and melody of the original introit were expanded but the original tune was kept for the liturgical text.⁷

1. Introduction: Abbot and ministers

Hodie cantandus est nobis puer,
quem gignebat ineffabiliter ante
tempora pater,
et eundem sub tempore generavit
inclite mater.

2. Question: Cantors

Quis est iste puer
quem tam magnis prae-
conis
dignum vociferatis?
Dicite nobis
ut collaudatores
esse possimus.

3. Reply: Ministers

Hic enim est,
quem praesagus et electus
symmista dei ad terras
venturum praevidens
longe ante praenotavit
sicque praedixit:

⁷A musical setting of part of this trope (slightly different) is in Arnold Schering, Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Hartel, c.1931), pp. 2 f., #3. See also Liber Usualis Missae et Officii, op. cit., p. 324.

4. Introit: Chorus

PUER NATUS EST NOBIS

absque nascentium ordine procreatus
de virgine sine viri semine.

ET FILIUS DATUS EST NOBIS.

Qui nos filios sui parentis adoptivos
fecit carnem sumens, quos et nominat
fratres.

CUIUS IMPERIUM SUPER HUMERUM EIUS.

Deus, quod pater suo misso in mundum
nato et incarnato semper suum dat
secundum carnem.

ET VOCABITUR NOMEN EIUS

nomen, quod exstat omne super nomen,
quod supnae tremunt postestates,
terra et inferus quem adorant et
trepidant,

MAGNI CONSILII ANGELUS.

Psalm: CANTATE DOMINO CANTICUM NOVUM,
QUIA MIRABILIA FECIT,miro modo, cum de Virginis utere ut
homo processerat et ut Deus imperitat.GLORIA PATRI ET FILIO ET SPIRITU SANCTO.
SICUT ERAT IN PRINCIPIO ET NUNC ET SEMPER,
ET IN SAECULA SAECULORUM. AMEN.

Alleluia.

Laus tibi Christe,
qui hodie
cum magna luce
descendisti.Dicite eia,⁸
Alleluia.⁸

The text which precedes the introit is often considered to be "a glimpse of an early stage in the growth of religious drama."⁹ The question sung by the cantor and the response of the clergy is the beginning of dramatic dialogue.

⁸Wagner, op. cit., p. 278.

⁹F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 221.

CHAPTER X

POPULARITY AND DECLINE OF THE TROPES

The trope became very popular with the medieval musician, poet, and worshipper, for the trope allowed each of them some freedom denied by the Roman rite and Gregorian chant. It permitted the composer to write music which could be sung during the Mass without altering the prescribed melody, and it gave the writer an entry into the text of the Mass which permitted no additional parts, such as hymns,¹ in its structure. The congregation often was allowed to sing some of the tropes, especially the later Kyrie tropes. This, in addition to the fact that some tropes were in the vernacular, gave the congregation an active participation in the worship.

However, the trope never achieved the artistic excellence achieved by the sequence; this is true of the music as well as the texts. In the history of the trope there is no writer who equals the sequence writers Notker Balbulus, Adam of St. Victor, or the later Franciscans. Of the more than 1200 tropes² only a very few are of any artistic or devotional merit, and only a handful are in use today.

¹That is, the regular Latin hymn which is different than the sequence or sequence hymn in structure.

²Guido Maria Dreves, Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnendichtung, revised by Clemens Blume (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1909), I, viii.

Like the sequence, the trope developed from a simple structure into a very elaborate one so that the later tropes repudiated the very reason for the introduction of the form. Instead of short insertions in the liturgical melody or text, the trope became very elaborate and again could be sung only by a trained choir. The melody of the troped text itself became melismatic and there are examples of tropes themselves being troped. What originally was a relatively unimportant addition soon developed into the main work. Instead of short insertions, as time went by several verses, entire stanzas, and even a number of stanzas were fitted in. The liturgical text and its melody withdrew farther and farther into the background and became less and less important.

The text of many tropes often came near the danger of dogmatic error and close to heresy. Although the texts of the tropes were not always strictly Biblical, they do not seem to have been as bad as some of the later parody Masses rejected by the Council of Trent. Some of these Masses used a secular folk song as the cantus firmus, e.g. L'Homme Armé, or used novelties as did one "Cuckoo Mass" in which the tenor imitated the call of the cuckoo (c-a) throughout. In another Mass the tenor sang "Hercules vivet usque in aeternum."³ Similar things occurred in the tropes.

At the time of the Council of Trent the trope had already declined in popularity and in general use. In the

³Karl Weinmann, Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, c.1919), p. 60.

liturgical reforms, to correct the abuses which had arisen, the Council abolished all tropes. It was felt that the great number of the tropes undid the simple objective classical structure of the Mass and that the insertions detracted from the Ordinary and from the Biblical texts of the Propers. When Trent abolished the tropes it did so as a move to give back the Mass to the people which oddly enough is what the trope originally intended to do with the Mass itself.⁴

After Trent the trope disappeared except in some sections in France⁵ where they continued for a while and for some of the Kyrie tropes such as the Kyrie fons bonitatis, which were popular in Germany and were later used by the Lutherans. All that remains of the trope today in the Roman rite are the first words of the troped text to identify a liturgical melody such as the Kyrie Deus sempiternae, and the Kyrie magnae Deus potentiae.

Kyrie fons bonitatis

Of the great number of Kyrie tropes which were well known and sung the text of only one remains in modern English

⁴Joachim Beckmann, "Das Proprium Missae," Leiturgia/Handbuch des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes, edited by Karl Ferdinand Müller and Walter Blankenburg (Kassel: Johannes Stuada-Verlag, 1955), II, 12.

⁵Peter Wagner, Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies, a Handbook of Plainsong, translated by Agnes Orme and E. G. P. Wyatt (London: The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1901), I, 257. The Ordinarium Missae of Lyons, France, contained tropes until the middle of the eighteenth century.

and American hymnals. The Kyrie fons bonitatis, ascribed by Ekkehard IV to Tutilo, was very popular in Germany and was sung frequently. Many hymnals and service books of the Lutheran churches in Germany continued to sing the Kyrie summum as it was called. Some sang it as a nine- or three-fold melismatic Kyrie without using the interpolated text; others sang it as a nine- or three-fold troped Kyrie.

8 Ky-ri-e e-le-i-son. 6

8 Ky-ri-e fons bo-ni-ta-tis, Pa-ter in-ge-ni-te, a quo bo-
 Ky-ri-e qui pa-ri-na-tum mun-di per cri-mi-ne ip-sum ne
 Ky-ri-e tu sep-ti-for-mis dans do-na hev-ma-tis a-quo cte-

8 ha cunc-ta pro-ce-dunt, e-le-i-son. 7
 sal-va-ret mi-si-sti, e-le-i-son
 lum Ter-ra re-ple-tur, e-le-i-son. etc.

The German Mass at Müntzer, 1524, and the Mass of Erfurt, 1526, both use the Kyrie fons bonitatis; the former uses the Greek text while the latter prescribes the German translation, "Herr, erbarm Dich unser, Christ erbarm Dich unser, Herr erbarm Dich unser." The melodies are almost exactly the same

⁶ Liber Usualis Missae et Officii, edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée and Company, 1947), p. 18.

⁷ Willi Apel, Gregorian Chant (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c.1958), p. 431.

as the above example from the Liber Usualis. The Prayer Book of Weisse, 1531 has translated the entire text into German and has retained the nine-fold repetition.

G.B. Weisse 1531

1. O Va-ter, der Barm-herz-ig-keit, Brran al-ler Gü-tig-keit, lass heut Dei-ne
 2. O Va-ter, der Du den Hei-land Christ-um uns hast ge-sanct, lass uns sei-hes
 3. O Va-ter, der Du uns lie-best Und Dein-em Sohn gi-best, hilf, dass wir uns
 4. Chri-ste Got-Tes Sohn
 5. Chri-ste Mensch u Gott
 6. Chri-ste himmlich Licht
 7. O Hei-li-gar Geist, wahr-er Gott sei un-ser
 8. Mei-ster der Aus-er-wähl-ten, der A-po-dun-ken Ort!
 9. O gött-li-che Kraft von o-ben, er-füll uns
 10. Tröst in al-ler Not, mach un-ser Seel ge-sund, dass wir wirk-lich und stel und prop-he-ten, in gött-li-cher Weis-heit, lehr uns auch aus Gnad mit Dei-nen Ga-ben, ver-leih uns gnä-dig-lich al-le das, was uns
 11. aus Her-zens Grund lie-ben den neu-en Bund, und Gü-tig-keit den Weg zur Se-lig-keit! ist se-llig-lich und Dir, Her-re lob-lich! A-men

8 Konrad Ameln et al. "Die einstimmigen Weisen," Der Altargesang, in Handbuch der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenmusik (Göttingen: Verlag von Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, c.1941), p. 20. The note values have been changed to conform with the style used in this paper.

In the service books of Mecklenburg, 1540, and Spangenberg, 1545, the text has been reduced to a three-fold Kyrie. These versions have retained the Greek Kyrie but have replaced the word eileison with the German "erbarm Dich unser."

Od. M. Mecklenburg 1540

8 Ky-ri-e ach Va-der al-der-hö-geste Gott, wo kleh acht me Dyn
 8 Ge-bot! Schon Unser Blint-heyte, de pro the Sün-de deyt: er-barm Dy un-ser!
 8 Chri-ste, Du byst de Wech und dat wa-re Licht, de Porth der Wär-
 heyt und dat Lee-vent, das Va-ders Radt und Wort dat uns Tho Troste is ge-
 8 ge-ven: er-barm Dy un-ser! Ky-ri-e Hylger Geyst in E-wich-cheyt,
 8 sta uns by dorh Dyn Barm-her-Tich-cheit! Un-se Sün-de synt uns leyth:
 8 wil nicht vor-la-ten, de up Dyn ha-pen: er-barm Dy un-ser! 9

⁹ Ibid., pp. 6 f.

K.O. Spangenberg 1545

8 Ky-ri-e, äch Va-ter al-ler-höch-ster Gott, wie Klein achtman doch Dein Gebot!

8 Ver-schon un-ser Blind-heit, die viel Sünd tut: er-barm Dich un-ser!

8 Chri-ste, O Her-re, Du bist der tap und das wah-re Licht, die Pfar-te der

8 Wahr-heit, das Le-ben; des Va-ters Wort und Rat hast Du uns zu Tro-

8 ste ge-ge-ben er-barm Dich un-ser! Ky-ri-e Heili-ger

8 Geist in Ewig-keit, steh uns bei durch Dein Barm-her-zig-keit; All unsre Sünd sind

8 uns leid; Du willst nicht ver-lassen all, die auf Dich hof-fen: er-barm Dich

8 un-ser! 10 10

¹⁰Ibid., p. 7.

The hymn "Kyrie, God Father in heaven above" in The Lutheran Hymnal is based on the version found in the Prayer Book at Erfurt, 1550.

8 Ky-ri-e Gott Va-ter in E-wig-keit, gross ist Deine Barm-herzig-keit al-ler Ding
 8 ein Schöp-fer und Re-gie-rer: e-le-i-son! Chri-ste al-ler Welt
 8 Tröst, uns Sün-der al-lein Du hast erlöst O Je-su Gottes Sohn, un-
 8 ser Mitt-ler bist in dem höch-sten Thron: zu Dir schrei-en wir aus
 8 her-zens Be-gier e-le-i-son! Ky-ri-e Gott Hei-li-
 8 ger Geist, Tröst, stärk uns im Glau-ben al-ten-meist, dass wir am letz-ten End, fröh-
 8 lich uns schei-den aus die-sem E-land: e-le-i-son!¹¹

¹¹ Ibid., p. 8.

Wackernagel¹² believes that it was first printed in Wittenberg in 1541. The German text has sometimes been ascribed to the Lutheran pastor Johann Spangeburg (1484-1550) at Nordhausen and later at Eisleben.¹³ According to customary medieval usage the Kyrie fons bonitatis was sung on festivals from Trinity until Christmas.¹⁴

Two other sixteenth century German versions of the trope are:

KYRIE, O Herr Godt Vater,
 erbarm Di aver uns!
 Si uns gnedich, delge unse Misedadt
 und ERBARM DI UNSER!

CHRISTE, O Herre Godt,
 Vaders eingebarne Søn,
 unse truwe Heilandt,
 de Du mit Dinem Blodt uns alle heffst erlöst
 bidde uns gnade bi Godt dem Vater
 und ERBARM DI UNSER!

KYRIE, O Herr Godt Hillge Geist
 lere uns Jesum Christum recht;
 unse Sünde si uns ledt.
 Tröst uns, leide uns, hillge uns in Warheit
 und ERBARM DI UNSER!¹⁵

¹²K. E. Wackernagel, Das deutschen Kirchenlied (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner Verlag, 1864-1877), III, 226.

¹³W. G. Polack, The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1942), p. 7.

¹⁴A Dictionary of Hymnology, edited by John Julian (Second revised edition with New Supplement; London: John Murray, 1907 (1957 reprint)), p. 635.

¹⁵Konrad Ameln, Christhard Mahrenhold and Wilhelm Thomas, Der Altargesang, "Die einstimmigen Weisen," Handbuch der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenmusik (Göttingen: Verlag von Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, c.1941), I, 1, p. 8, #13.

O HERR GOTT, Du Brunn der Güte,
 Vater in Ewigkeit,
 von dem alles gut muss ausströmen,
 ERBARM DICH UNSER!

CHRISTE, der Du bist des Vaters einiger Sohn,
 es sagten zuvor die Propheten Dich sollt
 gebären schon eine reine Jungfrau Maria:
 ERBARM DICH UNSER!

HEILIGER GEIST, Du Göttliche Brunst
 gib uns allen die rechte Kunst,
 dass wir dich würdignlich allzeit mögen
 inniglich loben.¹⁶
 ERBARM DICH UNSER!

The translation by W. G. Polack was prepared for The
Lutheran Hymnal.

Kyrie, God Father in heaven above,
 Great art Thou in grace and love;
 Of all things the Maker and Preserver.
 Eleison, eleison!
 Kyrie, O Christ, our King,
 Salvation for sinners Thou didst bring.
 O Lord Jesus, God's own Son.
 Our Mediator at the heav'nly throne.
 Hear our cry and grant our supplication.
 Eleison, eleison!
 Kyrie, O God the Holy Ghost.
 Guard our faith, the gift we need the most;
 Do Thou our last hour bless;
 Let us leave this sinful world with gladness.
 Eleison, eleison! Amen.¹⁷

Divinum mysterium

The tune Divinum mysterium which today is usually used
 with the beautiful Christmas hymn Corde natus ex Parentis
 by Prudentius is originally a trope to the Sanctus. It is
 found in Tropers from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Polack, loc. cit.

in Italy and in Germany, but it seems evident that at times, during the fifteenth century, the trope was added to the twelfth century manuscripts.

It was published in a collection entitled Piae Cantiones¹⁸ in the year 1582 by Theodoricus Petri (Didrik Pederson or Peterson). During the time of the spread of the Lutheran Reformation throughout Northern Germany and Scandinavia Petri collected many medieval songs and carols of Scandinavia in order to preserve them from being set aside and forgotten. With this object in view "words were strongly handled; the passages referring to the Blessed Virgin Mary were clumsily transferred to our Lord with strange results and the work of adoption was in many ways ludicrous."¹⁹ However, the melodies were preserved.²⁰ In 1853 a copy of the Piae Cantiones came into the hands of Thomas Helmore who set the tune to Neale's translation of Corde natus ex Parentis, "Of the Father's love begotten."

The melody of the troped Sanctus was originally sung to the words:

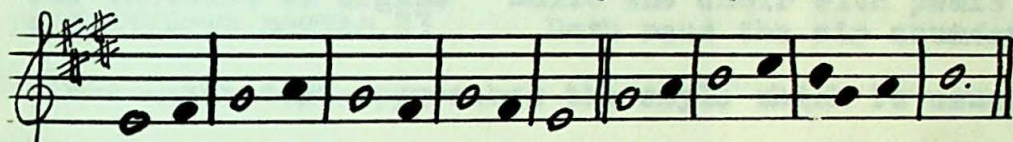
¹⁸Theodoric Petri, Piae Cantiones, originally published in 1582 A.D., revised and edited by G. R. Woodward (London: Plainsong and Medieval Society, 1910).

¹⁹Hymns Ancient and Modern (Historical Edition), introduction by W. H. Frere (London: Wm. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1909), p. 77.

²⁰Two other well-known tunes from the collection are Puer nobis nascitur (*infra*) and Tempus adest floridum, a Latin carol of spring time which is widely used for the Christmas carol "Good King Wenceslas."

Divinum mysterium
semper declaratur,
Et mens infidelium
tumens exaecatur.
Firmas spes credentium
Fide noboratur.²¹

This tune is used by Hymns Ancient and Modern, The English Hymnal, The Hymnal 1940, The Lutheran Hymnal, and The Service Book and Hymnal. Because of its now almost inseparable association with the hymn of Prudentius, the tune is sometimes also called Corde Natus. The first two hymnals present the tune in the rhythmic pattern:



22

The Hymnal 1940 and Service Book and Hymnal have made all the notes of equal value and restored the plainsong quality to the melody, while the Lutheran Hymnal version stands somewhere between the two.

Puer nobis nascitur

Both the words and melody of the famous Puer nobis nascitur, "Unto us a boy is born," are from the fifteenth century and originally were a trope to the Benedicamus domino.

Puer nobis nascitur,
Rector Angelorum,
In hoc mundo pascitur
Dominus dominorum.

Unto us a boy is born!
The King of all creation,
Came he to a world forlorn,
The Lord of every nation.

²¹Hymns Ancient and Modern, op. cit., p. 46. Tune from Piae Cantiones given in facsimile on page 76.

²²The English Hymnal with Tunes (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 790.

In praesepe ponitur
Sub foeno asinorum,
Cognoverunt dominum
Christum regem caelorum.

Cradled in a stall was he
With sleepy cows and asses;
But the very beasts could see
That he all men surpasses.

Hinc Herodes timuit
Magno cum dolore
Et pueros occideit
Infantes cum livore.

Herod then with fear was filled:
'A prince,' he said, 'in
Jewry!'
All the little boys he killed
At Bethle'm in his fury.

Qui natus est ex Maria
Die hodierna,
Ducat nos cum gratia
Ad gaudia superna.

Now may Mary's son, who came
So long ago to love us,
Lead us all with hearts aflame
Unto the joys above us.

O et A et A et O
Cum cantibus in choro
Cum canticis et organo
BENEDICAMUS DOMINO.²³

Omega and Alpha he!
Let the organ thunder,
While the choir with peals of glee
Doth rend the air asunder.²⁴

The Latin text approaches the style which is usually regarded as typical trope form in its meter and rhyme. But it is not an example of perfect structure; the meter for each line is not the same for each stanza nor is the rhyme always correct. Percy Deamer, however, has made each line of his translation seven syllables and has altered the rhythmic pattern.

Latin	English
- u - u - u -	- u - u - u -
- u - u - u -	u - u - u - u
- u - u - u -	- u - u - u -
- u - u - u -	u - u - u - u

²³The Hymnal 1940 Companion, prepared by the Joint Commission on the Revision of the Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (New York: The Church Pension Fund, c.1949), pp. 28 f.

²⁴The Hymnal 1940, prepared by the Joint Commission on the Revision of the Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (New York: The Church Pension Fund, c.1940), #34. Last stanza, The Hymnal 1940 Companion, op. cit., p. 29.

The tune Puer nobis nascitur used by Percy Dearmer in his Oxford Book of Carols and then in The Hymnal 1940 follows the form given in the Piae Cantiones, 1582. The notes are of equal value and are sung in the style of the plainsong.

The Hymnal 1940 as well as The English Hymnal, The Lutheran Hymnal and The Service Book and Hymnal use another version of the melody for several different texts. The variant is based on Michael Praetorius setting for the text "Geborn ist Gottes Söhnelein." It is from his Musae Sionae, Volume VI, 1609 and is written more in the style of a chorale.



O filii et filiae

This well known Easter hymn is quite interestingly unusual for it combines three styles. It is written in the sequence style beginning with the Alleluia; however the text is in the form of a trope on the Benedicamus Domino and its response Deo Gratias. The melody is in the style of a French folk carol with a refrain.

Although older authorities, such as those mentioned in Julian, do not give an author and are in doubt as to the date

of its composition, most recent commentators²⁵ attribute it without apology to Jean Tisserand, a Franciscan monk who died in Paris in the year 1494. The oldest copy is in a small booklet without a title which was published in Paris sometime between 1518 and 1536 and is now in Paris Bibliothèque Nationale.

In France many dioceses use the hymn in the Salut or solemn salutation of the Blessed Sacrament on the evening of Easter Day. The Office de la Semaine Sainte, Paris, 1674, already prescribed this hymn for use at that service. Today the hymn is in many Roman Catholic collections of hymns but is not included among the Hymni in the Liber Usualis.

A German translation of the hymn was included in Nord-Sterns Führers zur Seeligkeit, a Jesuite collection which was published in 1671. The earliest English translation appeared in the Evening Office of the Church, London, 1748. This was a Roman Catholic publication and the translation began, "Young men and maids, rejoice and sing." This translation, sometimes with alterations, appeared in subsequent Roman Catholic collections of hymns. It is interesting to suggest that perhaps the hymn could not be accepted as a sequence hymn in the official Roman Catholic liturgy because of the Council of Trent's limitations and yet because it is not strictly a sequence hymn its use is tolerated. Both the

²⁵For example, The Hymnal 1940 Companion, op. cit., p. 74.

early German and English translations were prepared for its use outside the Mass.

The most commonly used translation today is basically the one by John Mason Neale. The Lutheran Hymnal uses the version prepared for his Mediaeval Hymns, 1851 and used in The English Hymnal; the version which begins "O sons and daughters, let us sing" (Hymnal 1940, Hymns Ancient and Modern, Service Book and Hymnal), is an altered version of Neale's text by the compilers of Hymns Ancient and Modern. Popular in Roman Catholic hymn books is Edward Caswell's translation, "Ye sons and daughters of the Lord." All the versions retain the iambic dimeter meter of the hymn in translation.²⁶

O filii et filiae,
Rex caelestis, Rex gloriae,
Morte revixit hodie.
Alleluia!

Ye sons and daughters of the
King,
Whom heavenly hosts in glory
sing,
Today the grave hath lost its
sting: Alleluia!

Et Maria Magdalene
Et Iacobi et Salome
Venerunt corpus ungere.
Alleluia!

On that first morning of the
week,
Before the day began to break,
The Marys went their Lord to
seek: Alleluia!

In albis sedens angelus
Praedixit mulieribus,
'Galilaea est Dominus.'
Alleluia!

An angel bade their sorrow
flee,
For thus he spake unto the
three:
'Your Lord is gone to Galilee':
Alleluia!

²⁶ Matthew Britt, The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal
(New York: Benziger Brothers, 1922), p. 20.

Discipulis adstantibus
In medio stetit Christus,
Dicens, 'Pax vobis Dominus,'
Alleluia!

That night the Apostles met
in fear,
Amidst them came their Lord
most dear
And said: 'Peace be unto you
here': Alleluia!

Postquam audivit Didymus
Quia surrexerat Iesus,
Remansit fide dubius.
Alleluia!

When Thomas afterwards had
heard
That Jesus had fulfilled His
word,
He doubted if it were the
Lord: Alleluia!

'Vide, Thoma, vide latus,
Vide pedes, vide manus;
Noli esse incredulus.'
Alleluia!

'Thomas, behold My side,'
saith He,
'My hands, My feet, My body,
see;
'And doubt not, but believe
in Me': Alleluia!

Quando Thomas vidit Christum,
Pedes, latus suum, manus,
Dixit, 'Tu es Deus meus.'
Alleluia!

No longer Thomas then denied;
He saw the feet, the hands,
the side;
'Thou art my Lord and God,'
he cried: Alleluia!

Beati, qui non viderunt
Et firmiter crediderunt
Vitam aeternam habebunt.
Alleluia!

Blessed are they that have
not seen
And yet whose faith hath con-
stant been,
In life eternal they shall
reign: Alleluia!

In hoc festo sanctissimo
Sit laus et iubilatio;
Benedictamus Domino.
Alleluia!

On this most holy day of days
To God your hearts and voices
raise
In laud and jubilee and praise:
Alleluia!

Ex quibus nos humillimas,
Devotas atque debitas
Deo dicamus gratias.
Alleluia!

And we with holy Church unite,
As evermore is just and right,
In glory to the King of light:
Alleluia!²⁷

No version commonly used includes stanzas two and four

²⁷Polack, op. cit., p. 1575.

of the original and therefore they are omitted above. The stanzas beginning Discipulis, Postquam, and Beati, which do not appear in the earliest copies were added at a later time. The Hymnal 1940 and Service Book and Hymnal omit the last stanza which is the trope on the response to Benedicamus Domino, namely, Deo Gratias.

Phillips believes that the melody commonly associated with the text is from the twelfth century and that the "melody of O filii et filiae was in its origin that of a trope sung in the Provençal and inserted in the Epistle for Easter Day, Ab Madalene un matin."²⁸ However, the editors of the Companion to the Hymnal 1940 believe the melody to be "the original contemporary melody since none other has ever been used with the text." The Service Book and Hymnal uses the same melody as does The Hymnal 1940 and its predecessors ("French Melody, Fifteenth Century, Mode II"),²⁹ but written in a different rhythm, especially the opening alleluias. The Lutheran Hymnal set the words to the tune "Gelobet sei Gott" or "Vulpius" by Melchior Vulpius. It appeared in his Ein schön geistliche Gesangbuch, etc., Jena, 1609 to words of "Gelobet sei Gott in höchsten Thron."³⁰

²⁸C. S. Phillips, Hymnody Past and Present (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1937), p. 88.

²⁹Service Book and Hymnal of the Lutheran Church in America (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, c.1958), #96.

³⁰Polack, op. cit., p. 158.

Orientis Partibus

The conductus gave the musician more freedom than either the sequence or the trope since the latter bound him to a preexistent melody, while the conductus, which developed from the rhymed tropes, often used only themes from earlier melodies. Oddly enough some were quite melismatic, even though their parent, the trope, came into being as a protest to the melisma.³¹ The conductus then developed into a special musical form--as the conductus of Perotinus.

One of the best known examples of this form is the delightful Orientis partibus whose melody is as beautiful and simple as the text is naive and sincere. It was written for the commemoration of the Flight of the Holy Family to Egypt. Usually on the day of the Feast of the Circumcision or some day close to it the custom developed in many French towns to put a young girl with a child in her arms on the back of a richly decorated donkey and to lead them in a procession through the streets to the church. This custom was first noted in Rouen in the tenth century.

It seems that at first the celebration was only outside in the streets and on the church steps as a dramatic prologue to the church service. In fact it seems at times to have

³¹Jacques Handschin, "Trope, Sequence, and Conductus," Early Medieval Music up to 1300, edited by Dom Anselm Hughes, in New Oxford History of Music (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), II, 173. Gives an example of a melismatic trope.

been humorous, for the donkey was the center of attention. At this annual festival, The Feast of the Ass, the people praised the "noble beast" which carried the Christ Child from savage massacre at Bethlehem to safety in Egypt. Shortly thereafter they even brought the ass into the church and led him up to the altar during the Mass.

When Pierre de Corbeil (d.1222) became Archbishop of Sens in 1200 he set forth an "Office de la Circoncision" which was to be sung in his newly restored cathedral.³² The service contained a "Conductus quando asinus adducitur" which was sung by the choir and congregation during the procession. The choir sang the praise of the ass in Latin to which the congregation replied in French at the end of each stanza, "Hez, sir asne, Hez"--Hey, sir donkey, Hey! Perhaps here, as in the "Leise" we have a beginning of congregational singing, for we have here the people singing in the vernacular.

Corbeil's office soon was adopted at Beauvais, where with a few changes the custom was popular for many years. The following account of the Beauvais celebration is found in a letter of December 18, 1697 from a Canon in Beauvais, Foy de Saint-Hilaire, to M. de Francastel, Assistant Librarian of the Bibliotheque Mazarine in Paris.

On the first day after the Octave of the (three) Kings, they chose a beautiful young girl, put a child in her

³²According to Winfred Douglas, Church Music in History and Practice (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 201 this cathedral was "the immediate progenitor of Canterbury Cathedral."

hands, and mount her on an ass which they led in a procession from the Cathedral Church to the Church of St. Stephen. . . . Placing the ass and his lovely burden in the sanctuary there on the Gospel side, they sang a solemn mass. . . . whose Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, etc., end in hinham (he haw) to the point where in fine missae sacerdos versus ad populum vice, 'Ite Missa est' ter hinhanabit (he-hawed) populus vero vice 'Deo gratias' ter respondavit, 'Hinham, Hinham, Hinham.'³³

The Sens version of the so-called Prose de l'âne by Pierre de Corbeil which follows is from L'Office de Pierre de Corbeil edited by Henri Villetard which gives both text and music for the entire office.

Orientis partibus
aduentavit asinus
pulcher et fortissimus,
sarcinis aptissimus.
HEZ, SIR ASNE, HEZ!

Out from lands of Orient
Was the ass divinely sent.
Strong and very fair was he,
Bearing burdens gallantly.
Heigh, sir ass, oh heigh.

Hic in collibus Sichen
entutritus sub Ruben,
transiit per Iordanem,
saliit in Bethleem
HEZ, SIR ANSE, HEZ!

In the hills of Sichern bred
Under Reuben nourished,
Jordan stream he traversed,
Into Bethlehem he sped.
Heigh, sir ass, oh heigh.

Saltu uincit hinnulos,
dagmas et capreolos,
super dromedarios
uelox Madianceos.
HEZ, SIR ASNE, HEZ!

Higher leaped than goats can
bound
Doe and roebuck circled round,
Median dromedaries' speed
Overcame and took the lead.
Heigh, sir ass, oh heigh.

Aurum de Arabia,
thus et myrram de Sabba
tulit in ecclesia
uirtus asinaria. HEZ!

While he drags long carriages
Loaded down with baggages,
He, with jaws insatiate,
Fodder hard doth masticate.
Heigh.

Dum trahit uhicula,
multa cum sarcinula,
illius mudibula
dura terit pabula, HEZ!

Red gold from Arabia,
Frankincense and, from Sheba,
Myrrh he brought, and through
the door
Into the Church he bravely bore.
Heigh.

³³Henry Copley Greene, "The Song of the Ass," Speculum, VI, 4 (October, 1931), 534.

Cum aristis ordeum comedit et carduum; triticum a palea segregat in area. HEZ!	Chews the ears with barley corn, Thistle down with thistle corn. On the threshing floor his feet Separate the chaff from wheat. Heigh.
---	--

Amen dicas, asine, iam satur ex gramine, Amen, amen itera, aspernare uetera, HEZ!	Stuffed with grass, yet speak and say Amen, ass, with every bray: Amen, amen, say again: Ancient sins hold in disdain. Heigh. ³⁵
--	--

A Beauvais manuscript has a few textual changes and additions and is entitled Conductus Subdiaconi ad Epistolam. Stanza two, line 2 reads "transiit per Iordanem." Stanza three, line 2 reads "dammas" instead of "dagmas." Stanza four is omitted and an eighth stanza reads as follows:

Hez va, hez va, hez va, hez	Heigh ho, heigh ho, heigh
Biax sire asnes car allez	ho, heigh
Bele bouche car chantez.	Fair Sir Ass, you trot all day; Fair your mouth, and loud your bray. ³⁶

It is interesting to note that this manuscript which Henry Greene dates as before the year 1234 adds a final stanza in French. Undoubtedly since it is in the vernacular this stanza was sung by the entire congregation.

A later manuscript, the Glossarium of Ducange, 1733, made the following additions, some in French and some in Latin:

After the first stanza of the Beauvais version add:

Hez, sire asnes car chantez,	Heigh, sir ass, you sing
Belle bouche rechignez,	hee-haw,
Vous aurez du foin assez	Your fair mouth's a sulky

³⁴Henri Villetard, Office de Pierre de Corbeil, Texte et Chant Publiés d'après le Manuscrit de Sens--XIII^e siècle (Paris: Alphonse Picard and Fils, 1907), pp. 85 f. A musical setting is given on pp. 130 f.

³⁵Greene, op. cit., p. 535.

³⁶Ibid.

Et de l'avoine a plantez.

maw;
You shall have your fill of
hay,
Oats enough to cast away.

Lentus erat pedibus
Nisi foret baculus
Et eum in clunibus
Pungere aculeus.
Hez, Sire Asnesm, hez!

Slow he went on lagging feet
Till the rod began to beat,
And the pointed goad to
prick,
Thigh and sides, and make
him kick.
Heigh, Sir Ass, oh heigh.

After the second stanza add:

Ecce magnis auribus
Subiugalis filius
Asinus egregius
Asinorum dominus.
Hez, Sire Asne, hez!

With his flapping ears and
long
Lo the harnessed son of song.
He is chosen: hear his call,
Ass of asses, lord of all.
Heigh, sir Ass, oh heigh.

Stanza four of the Sens version is restored and after
"Amen, dicas Asine" the manuscript has the rubric, "Hic
genuflectebatur."³⁷

The melody also varies slightly in different manuscripts.
It is a very simple but beautiful melody in the mixolydian
mode and has the quality of a popular sacred song.

8 | o-ri-en-tis par-ti-bus Ad-ven-ta-vit A-sin-us Pul-cher et for-

8 | tis-si-mus, Sar-cin-is ap-tis-si-mus. Hez, sir as-nes, hez! 38

The Beauvais melody varies slightly in stanzas one, five,
six, and seven. For instance in stanza one the notes for

³⁷ Ibid., p. 536.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 541.

asinus are D C B instead of D D B. This variation may be the result of a copyist's error; however, it is most likely a deliberate musical change for the Beauvais version, headed Conductus Subdianconi ad Epistolam, which is a three-part setting with the melody in the lowest part.

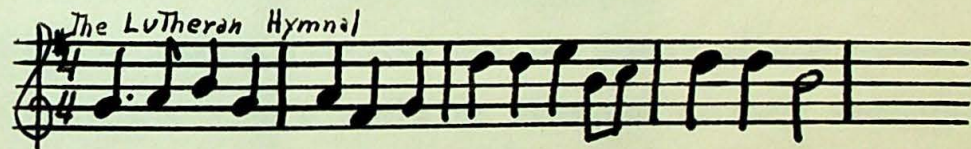
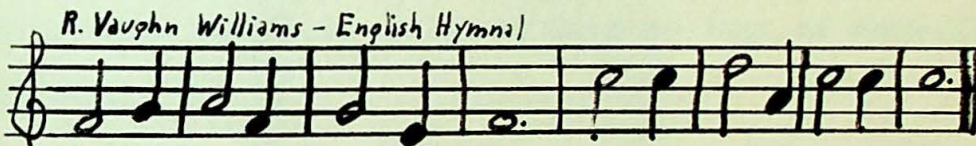
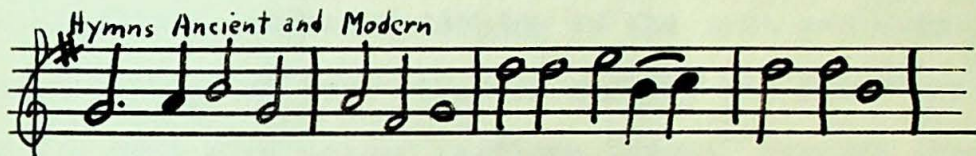
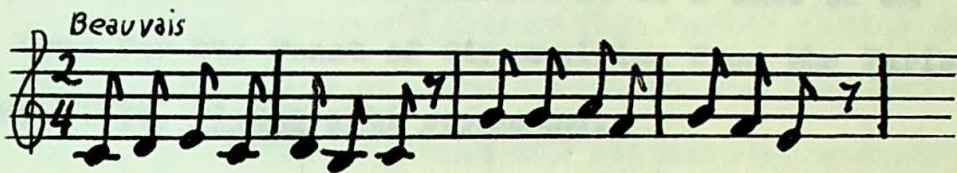
8 O-ri-en-tis par-ti-bus ad-ven-ta-vit a-si-nus pul-cher et for-
 18 tis-si-mus sanc-tis-si-mus. hez, va, hez, sire as-hez, hez, 39

The tune has suffered much in modern hymnals. It has been edited to suit the musical tastes of many arrangers. In 1780 J. B. Laborde rewrote the tune in 6/8 time and inserted one sharp, thus forcing the tune into the modern key of G major. A later revision by Richard Redhead in his Church Hymn Tunes, 1853, arranged the melody as a four part hymn in the major scale and added the ornamental notes B C for adventavit and G A for fortissimus. He transcribed the melody to 4/4 time with the notes generally, but not always, of equal time value. The editors of Hymns Ancient and Modern adopted Redhead's version but transcribed the time to 4/4 - 3/4 to fit the meter of the text. The English

³⁹Anselm Hughes, "Music in Fixed Rhythm," in Early Medieval Music, The New Oxford History of Music (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), II, 321 f. The melody is transcribed from bass clef.

Hymnal has the tune in 3/4 time in an arrangement by Ralph Vaughn Williams. Most contemporary hymnals follow Redhead's setting, and more have returned to the mixolydian mode.

The following examples of the musical settings of the first line give the reader an idea of the variations:



Just as strange as the fact that no modern hymnal has returned to the original tune is the fact that none uses the original text with the tune. Even if some might consider it a little too naive an expression for the twentieth century man, it would at least make a wonderful children's hymn.

In the English Hymnal the tune is used for Michael Weisse's Christus ist erstanden and for Pugnate, Christ

milites (anon., 18th century). The Hymns Ancient and Modern also sets the latter text to the tune. The Lutheran Hymnal, following the example of other American hymnals such as the Harvard University Hymn Book, sets the Easter hymns, "Christ the Lord is Risen Today" and "Hail the Day that Sees Him Rise" by Charles Wesley to the melody. The Hymnal 1940 and Service Book and Hymnal retain part of the original intent of the tune and set it to a text of an office hymn for the Feast of Circumcision from the Paris Breviary, 1736, Victis sibi conyomina.

The Introit

The two oldest introits for the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord are from a tenth or eleventh century manuscript from the Abbey of St. Martial of Limoges. St. Martial was one of the most prominent centers for the writing of tropes as well as sequences.

Terrigenis sumis adfatur caelicae ordo:
VIRI MALLARI, QUID ADMIRARI ASPICIENTIS IN CARLUM

Carl Ferdinand Müller, "Das Ordinarium Missae,"
in Die Kirchenmusik des Mittelalters, edited
by Carl Ferdinand Müller and Walter Gumbert (Kassel:
Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1959), II, 12.

CHAPTER XI

A COMPOSITE TROPED MASS

Although no one Mass was sung with all parts of the Ordinary and Propers troped, there are examples of troping for almost every section. For the purpose of illustration the following troped Mass is reconstructed with examples taken from various sources illustrating varied styles and practices. Some of the interpolations became long and disrupted both the liturgical text and its melody; some of the interpolations contributed nothing to the text and even detracted because of poor literary quality and false teaching. The tropes were also called festivae laudes¹ because they generally were used only on feast days or days of especial importance.

The Introit

The two troped introits for the Feast of the Ascension of Our Lord are from a tenth or eleventh century manuscript from the Abbey of St. Martial of Limoges. St. Martial was one of the most prominent centers for the writing of tropes as well as sequences.

Terrigenis summis adfatur caelicus ordo:
VIRI GALILAEI, QUID ADMIRAMINI ASPICIENTIS IN CAELUM?

¹Karl Ferdinand Mueller, "Das Ordinarium Missae," Leiturgia/Handbuch des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes, edited by Karl Ferdinand Müller and Walter Blankenburg (Kassel: Johannes Stauda-Verlag, 1955), II, 12.

Hic Deus et Dominus, caelorum compos et orbis,
 QUEMADMODUM VIDISTIS EUM ASCENDENTEM IN CAELUM,
 ut reddat cunctis gestorum dona suorum,
 ITA VENIET: ALLELUIA.

Montis oliviferi Christus de vertice scandens,
 Ecce, duo, viri clara voce clamarunt dicentes:
 VIRI GALILAEI, QUID ADMIRAMINI ASPECIENTES IN CAELUM?
 Ad patrem pergit servans vestigia pacis;
 QUEMADMODUM VIDISTIS EUM ASCENDENTEM IN CAELUM,
 Ad diem magnum, qui indicaturus est orbem,
 ITA VENIET: ALLELUIA.²

The Kyrie

This troped Kyrie is an example of the subjective expression of some of the later tropes. It is a second text to the famous Kyrie fons bonitatis.

KYRIE, Sacerdos summa hunc novum respice sacerdotem
 solemnization, ELEISON.
 CHRISTE, Hodie in altari cernite Jesum Christum.
 Nostri miserere tali specie, sicut vere die
 Parasceve pependit pro nobis in cruce, ELEISON.
 KYRIE, Qui tibi novum elegisti sacerdotem, fac
 ipsum corpus dignissime tractare, ELEISON.³

The Gloria in Excelsis

An early thirteenth century troped Gloria in Excelsis is found in the "Office de la Circoncision" of Pierre de Corbeil, Archbishop of Sens (d.1222).

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO,	GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST
Cuius reboat in omni	Whose glory reechoes in
gloria mundo.	all the world.
ET IN TERRA PAX,	AND ON EARTH PEACE,
Pax perhennis,	Peace forever,

²Guido Maria Dreves, Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnendichtung (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1909), II, 150 f.

³Karl Weinmann, Das Konzil von Trent und die Kirchenmusik (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, c.1919), p. 50.

HOMINIBUS BONE VOLUNTATIS,
Qui Deum diligunt in
ueritate.

LAUDAMUS TE,
Te decet laus.

BENEDICIMUS TE,
De die in diem.

ADORAMUS TE,
Cum prece, uoto, hymnis
assumus ecce Tibi.

GLORIFICAMUS TE,
Qui in celis gloriosus
es.

GRATIAS AGIMUS TIBI,
De beneficiis tuis.

PROPTER MAGNAM GLORIAM TUAM,
Ammirabilem gloriam.

DOMINE DEUS,
Rex super omnes unus.

REX CELESTIS,
Rex sine fine manens.

DEUS PATER OMNIPOTENS,
Imperans celo et terre,
et regens maria.

DOMINE, FILI UNIGENITE,
Spes nostra, salus
nostra.

IHESU XPISTE,
Uenturum quem longe
cecinere prophete.

DOMINE DEUS, AGNUS DEI,
Tu uictima et hostia
factus es crucis ara.

FILIUS PATRIS,
A Patre genitus ante
secula

QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI,
Quod perhibuit Iohannes.

MISERERE NOBIS,
Quia uenit tempus miseren-
di.

QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI,
Qui nostram anitquam
leuiasti sarcinam.

TO MEN OF GOOD WILL,
who love God in truth.

WE PRAISE THEE,
praise becometh Thee.

WE BLESS THEE,
from day to day.

WE WORSHIP THEE,
behold, we are in Thy
presence with prayer,
vow and hymns.

WE GLORIFY THEE,
Who art glorious in the
heavens.

WE GIVE THANKS UNTO THEE
for all Thy benefits.

BECAUSE OF THY GREAT GLORY
(Thy) wonderful glory.

LORD GOD,
one King over all.

HEAVENLY KING
remaining King without
end.

GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY,
governing heaven and
earth, and ruling the
seas.

LORD, ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON,
our Hope, our Salvation.

JESUS CHRIST,
of whom the prophets sang
for a long time that he
was to come.

LORD GOD, LAMB OF GOD,
Thou who was made victim
and sacrifice on the altar
of the cross.

SON OF THE FATHER
Begotten of the Father
before the world (began)

WHO TAKES AWAY THE SIN OF
THE WORLD
as John proclaimed.

HAVE PITY ON US
because the time of
mercy has come.

WHO TAKEST AWAY THE SIN
OF THE WORLD
Who takest up our old
flesh.

SUSCIPE DEPRECATIONEM NOSTRAM, Preces intende seruorum ad te deuote clamantium.	ACCEPT OUR PRAYER, hear the prayers of Thy servants who devoutly cry unto Thee.
QUI SEDES, In superne maiestatis arce.	WHO ART SITTING on the highest firmament of majesty.
AD DEXTERAM PATRIS, Ubi ad dextram Patris alman sedes, conregnans, coeternus per omnia.	AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE FATHER where at the benign right hand of the Father Thou sittest, reigning with Him, coeternal over all (things).
MISERERE NOBIS, Ne dampnemur cum impiis in aduentu iudicis.	HAVE PITY ON US, that we may not be con- demned with the unholy at the coming of the Judge
QUONIAM TU SOLUS SANCTUS, Sanctus sanctorum Deus.	FOR THOU ALONE ART HOLY, Holy God of the holy ones.
TU SOLUS DOMINUS, Dominus dominantium.	THOU ALONE ART LORD, Lord of all lords.
TU SOLIS ALTISSIMUS, Supra celigenas etheris omnes.	THOU ALONE ART THE HIGHEST above all the heaven- born of heaven
IHESU XPISTE, Qui manes in eternum cum Patre.	JESUS CHRIST, Who remainest in eternity with the Father
CUM SANCTO SPIRITU, Petenter cuncta disponendo cum eo secla.	WITH THE HOLY SPIRIT together disposing with Him of all ages.
IN GLORIA DEI PATRIS. AMEN. ⁴	IN THE GLORY OF GOD THE FATHER. AMEN. ⁵

The following troped Gloria in Excelsis is cited as a contrast in style to the one above. Pierre de Corbeil expanded each phrase of the liturgical text separately and in general his interpolation adds little. The example below has fewer interpolations but they are longer and also add more to the original text.

⁴Henri Villetard, Office de Pierre de Corbeil, Texte et Chant Publies d'après le Manuscrit de Sens--XIII^e siècle (Paris: Alphonse Picard and Fils, 1907), pp. 109 f. Musical setting, pp. 165 ff.

⁵The translation is by Dr. Richard T. DuBrau.

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO. ET IN TERRA PAX HOMINIBUS
BONAE VOLUNTATIS.

Pax sempiterna, Christus illuxit, gloria tibi,
pater excelse.

LAUDAMUS TE.

Hymnum cantentes hodie, quem terris angeli fuderunt
Christo nascente.

BENEDICIMUS TE.

Natus est nobis hodie salvator in trinitae semper
colendus.

ADORAMUS TE.

Quem vagientem inter angusti antra praeseptis
angelorum coetus laudat exultans.

GLORIFICAMUS TE. GRATIS AGIMUS TIBI PROPTER MAGNAM
GLORIAM TUAM. DOMINE DEUS, REX COELESTIS, DEUS PATER
OMNIPOTENS.

Ultero mortali hodie indutum carne precemur.

DOMINE, FILI UNIGENITE, JESU CHRISTE. DOMINE DEUS,
AGNUS DEI, FILIUS PATRIS.

Cuius a sede lux benedicta caliginoso orbi reful-
sit.

QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI, MISERERE NOBIS. QUI TOLLIS
PECCATA MUNDI, SUSCIPE DEPRECATIONEM NOSTRAM.

O ineffabilis rex et admirabilis, ex, virgine matre
hodie prodisti mundoque subvenisit.

QUI SEDES AD DEXTERAM PATRIS, MISERE NOBIS. QUONIAM
TU SOLUS SANCTUS, TU SOLUS DOMINUS, TU SOLUS ALTISSIMUS.

Regnum tuum solidum. Jesu Christe altissime. Per
te obtinere mereamur veniam nunc et semper, sine
fine et sine termino, qui cum patre semperque regnas
simul et per infinita saeculorum saecula.

JESU CHRISTE. CUM SANCTO SPIRITU IN GLORIA DEI PATRIS.
AMEN. ^o

Old Testament Lesson

The troped lessons from the Old Testament usually were
a commentary showing the fulfillment of the Old Testament
prophecies in the person of Christ and in the events recorded
in the New Testament. In this example Pierre de Corbeil shows

⁶Peter Wagner, Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien
(Dritte Auflage; Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, c.1910), p.
285. Other examples of a troped Gloria in Excelsis given
in Analecta hymnica medii aevi, edited by Clemens Blume and
G. H. Dreves (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1886-1922), XLVII,
220 ff.

the fulfillment of the words of the Prophet Isaiah in the Nativity and the establishment of the new Kingdom of God established in Christ Jesus which will remain until the Day of Judgment.

Isaiah 9:2,6,7

<p>LECTIO YSAIE PROPHETE In qua Xpisti lucida uaticinatur natiuitas. HEC DICIT DOMINUS Pater, Filius, sanctus Spiritus, Deus unus: POPULUS GENTIUM QUI AMBULABAT IN TENEBRIS, Quem creasti, quem fraude subdola hostis expulit paradyso, UIDIT LUCEM MAGNAM, Fulserunt et immania, nocte media, pastoribus lumina, HABITANTIBUS IN REGIONE UMBRE MORTIS Lux sempiterna et redemptio uere nostra ORTA EST EIS. O stupenda natiuitas! PARULUS ENIM NATUS EST NOBIS, Magnus his erit Ihesus Filius Dei. ET FILIUS Patris summi DATUS EST NOBIS, Ab arce summa. ET FACTUS EST PRINCIPATUS EIUS SUPER HUMERUM EIUS Ut celos regat atque arua, necnon refrenet maria, ET UOCABITUR NOMEN EIUS: Messyas, Sother, Emmanuhel, Sabaoth, Adonav, AMMIRABILIS, Radix Daud, CONSILIARIUS Dei Patris qui creauit omnia</p>	<p>THE LESSON OF ISALIAH THE PROPHET In which is clearly prophesied the Nativity of Christ THIS SAITH THE LORD Father, Son, Holy Spirit, one God: THE GENTILE PEOPLE WHO WERE WALKING IN DARKNESS whom Thou hast created, whom by deceit treacherously the enemy expelled from paradise SAW A GREAT LIGHT in the middle of the night, immense lights were lightening to the shepherds TO THE DWELLERS IN THE REGION OF THE SHADOW OF DEATH The everlasting light and our true redemption TO THEM IT IS RISEN O astounding nativity! FOR A LITTLE ONE IS BORN UNTO US This one will be Jesus the great Son of God AND A SON the highest Father IS GIVEN UNTO US from the highest Heaven AND HIS GOVERNMENT IS MADE UPON HIS SHOULDER that He would rule the heavens and earth, and also hold in bounds the seas AND HIS NAME SHALL BE CALLED Messiah, Saviour, Emmanuel, Lord of hosts, Lord WONDERFUL the Root of David COUNSELLOR of God the Father Who has made all things</p>
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DEUS FORTIS,
Pulchre demonum castra peri-
mens teterrima,

PATER FUTURI SECULI
Rex omnipotens
PRINCEPS PACIS.
Per secla sempiterna
MULTIPLICABITUR EIUS IMPERIUM
In Iherusalem, Iudea, siue
Samaría;

ET PACIS NON ERIT FINIS
Hic et in euum.

SUPER SOLIUM DAVID ET SUPER
REGNUM EIUS SEDEBIT,
Et regni meta ipsius non
erit aliqua,

UT CONFIRMET ILLUD ,
In fidei pignore,
ET CORROBORET IN IUDICIO ET
IUSTICIA,
Iudex cum uenerit iudicare
seculum.

AMODO
illi debetur gloria, laus et
iubi latio,
ET USQUE IN SEMPTITERNUM.⁷

THE MIGHTY GOD
marvelously surrounding
the terrifying camp of
the devils
THE FATHER OF AGES TO COME
almighty King
THE PRINCE OF PEACE
world without end
HIS KINGDOM WILL BE MUL-
TIPLIED
In Jerusalem, Judea, as
well as Samaria
AND OF HIS PEACE THERE
WILL BE NO END
here and in time (to come)
UPON THE THRONE OF DAVID
AND HIS KINGDOM HE WILL SIT
and there will be no other
pillar of the kingdom
of the same
THAT HE MIGHT ESTABLISH IT
in surety of faith
AND STRENGTHEN IT IN
JUDGMENT AND JUSTICE
whom the Judge will come
to judge the world
FROM NOW
to Whom glory is due,
praise and jubilation
AND INTO ALL ETERNITY.⁸

The Epistle

The Epistle was rarely troped, and often when it was the interpolation was sometimes merely a vernacular translation of the Latin so that the people who did not know Latin would be able to understand the lesson. Sometimes the vernacular translation was chanted to the same melody

⁷Villetard, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 ff. Musical setting, pp. 168 f.

⁸Translation by DuBrau.

as the Latin.⁹ In some instances the troping was only a vernacular introduction and commentary to the lesson.

Or escoutes, grant et
petit, Traies vous cha
vers chest escript, Si
attendes tant que j'aie
lit Cheste lechon et
Chest chant dit. Je lo
a tous que chascun prit
Damedieux qu'illen noux
habit. Et en nos cuers
faiche son lit Et Nostre
fin n'ait en despit.

Leccio Libri Apocalip-
sis beati Johannis Aposto-
li. Oies le sens et le
raison De saint Jehan la
vision.

Now hear, great and small,
draw yourselves here towards
this Scripture, then heed
what I have read, this lesson
and this (uttered) chant. I
preach to all that each one
pray the good Lord that He
dwell in us and in our hearts
make his bed and not hold our
end in disdain.

Lesson from the Book of the
Apocalypse of the blessed
Apostle John. Hearken to the
meaning and sense of the
vision of St. John.¹⁰

However, some troped Epistles were entirely in Latin and followed the usual pattern of interpreting words of commentary between phrases of the prescribed text. An example of this is the troped Epistle prepared by Pierre de Corbeil for the Feast of St. Stephen.

Acts 6:8-10, 7:54-60

LECTIO ACTUUM APOSTOLORUM.
Uernant fortia iam quorum
trophea in celi regia.

IN DIEBUS ILLIS.
Post acta Ascensionis
sancta sollempnia.

STEPHANUS PLENUS GRATIA ET
FORTITUDINE
Lumine uultus tui, Domine,
insignitus

LESSON OF THE ACTS OF THE
APOSTLES
Of whom now the monument is
growing stronger in the
kingdom of heaven

IN THOSE DAYS
After the solemn holy facts
of the Ascension

STEPHEN FULL OF GRACE AND
STRENGTH
In the light of Thy counte-
nance O Lord, clear and
notable

⁹Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, c.1940), p. 192. Reese gives an example of a troped Epistle which has an interpolated French translation of the Latin repeating the same melody.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 192 f.

FACIEBAT PRODIGNA ET SIGNA
MAGNA IN POPULO.

Optatum infirmis robur
cedendo catheruis.

SURREXERUNT AUTEM QUIDAM DE
SYNAGOGA,

Uiri mendaces,
QUE APPELLATUR LIBERTI-
NORUM ET CIRENENSIVM ET
ALEXANDRINORVM, ET EORVM
QUI ERANT A CILICIA ET ASIA,
DISPUTANTES CUM STEPHANO,

De Ihesu Nazareno qui fuit
uir propheta, potens in
opere et sermone.

ET NON POTERANT RESISTERNE
SAPIENTIE:

Implcuit enim eum Domi-
nus spiritu sapientis
et intellectus.

ET SPIRITUI, QUI LOQUEBA-
TUR,

Nam Spiritus sanctus
erat in eo.

AUDIENCIES AUTEM HEC,

Cogitauerunt interfici-
cere eum.

DISSECABANTUR CORDIBUS
SUIS:

Quidam enim Iudei dice-
bant quia bonus est,
alii autem dicebant:
non, sed seducti

ET STRIDEBANT DENTIBUS IN
EUM,

Paratum ad omnia pro
Saluatoris nomine sus-
tinenda.

CUM AUTEM ESSET STEPHANUS
PLENUS SPIRITU SANCTO,

Spe fruendi uictricia
diuinitus subnixus,

INTENDENS IN CELUM UIDIT
GLORIAM DEI,

Quem terra, pontus,
ethera colunt, adorant,
predicant,

ET IHESUM STANTEM A DEXTRIS
DEI,

In sede maiestatis sue;

PERFORMED MANY SIGNS AND
WONDERS AMONG THE PEOPLE

Ceding to the companies
of the weak the longed-
for strength

ALSO SOME OF THE SYNAGOGUE
STOOD UP

Men and liars
WHO WERE CALLED FREEDMEN,
AND CYRENIANS AND ALEXANDRIANS,
AND THOSE WHO WERE FROM CILICIA
AND ASIA, DISPUTING WITH
STEPHEN

About Jesus of Nazareth,
a prophet mighty in word
and deed.

BUT THEY COULD NOT RESIST
THE WISDOM

For God filled him with
the spirit of wisdom and
understanding

AND SPIRIT WHO WAS SPEAKING
For the Holy Spirit was
in Him

HOWEVER HEARING THESE WORDS
They thought to kill him

TEARING THEIR HEARTS IN PIECES

For some of the Jews said
that he is good others
however, No! he misleads
the crowd

AND THEY GRITTED THEIR TEETH
AGAINST HIM

prepared to suffer all
things for the name of
the Saviour

WHEN STEPHEN ALSO WAS FILLED
WITH THE HOLY SPIRIT

relying divinely on the
hope to enjoy the victory
LOOKING INTO THE HEAVEN HE
SAW THE GLORY OF GOD

Whom earth, sea, sky
worship, adore and preach

AND JESUS STANDING AT THE
RIGHT HAND OF GOD

on the throne of His
majesty

ET AIT:

Ecce quod cupiui iam uideo,

ECCE UIDEO CELOS APERTOS,
Beatus homo cui celi
patebunt!ET FILIUM HOMINIS STANTEM
A DEXTRIS UIRTUTIS DEI,
cuius caritas uera celo
subleuat Stephanum de
terra.EXCLAMANTES AUTEM UOCE MAGNA,
Aduersus eum,CONTINUERUNT AURES SUAS,
Insipientes et maligni
oderunt sapientiam,ET IMPETUM PECERUNT UNANI-
MITER IN EUMUiri iniqui absque miseri-
coridaET EICIENTES EUM EXTRA CIUITA-
TEM, LAPIDABANT,Sed stat fortiter patiens
martyr, et orat;ET TESTES DEPOSUERUNT VESTI-
MENTA SUA SECUS PEDES AOLES-
ENTIS QUI UOCABATUR SALUS,

Uas electionis futurus;

ET LAPIDABANT STEPHANUM,
INUOCANTEM ET DICENTEM:Domine, suscipe me, ut
cum fratribus meis sim;

DOMINE IHESU,

Saluator mundi,

ACCIPE SPIRITUM MEUM,

Et perduc me ad conuiuium
epularum tuarum.

POSITIS AUTEM GENIBUS,

Sinite me, inquit, celum

uidere, ut spiritus dirigatur
ad Dominum,

EXCLAMAUIT UOCE MAGNA, DICENS:

Nunc dimittis, Domine,

seruum tuum in pace,

DOMINE, NE STATUAS ILLIS HOC
PECCATUM,Ne tua dampnetur, Ihesu,
factura, benigne;

AND SAID:

Behold, what I desire I
now seeBEHOLD I SEE THE HEAVENS OPEN
blessed the man to whom
the heavens are open!AND THE SON OF MAN STANDING
AT THE RIGHT HAND OF POWER
OF GODOf Whose true love heaven
raises Stephen from the
earthTHEY CRYING OUT WITH A LOUD
VOICE

against him

STOPPING THEIR EARS

foolish and envious they
hate wisdomAND ALTOGETHER THEY MAKE AN
ATTACK UPON HIM

wicked men without mercy

THEY CAST HIM OUT OF THE CITY
AND BEGAN TO STONE HIMbut he stands bravely a
suffering martyr, and prays;AND THE WITNESSES PUT DOWN
THEIR GARMENTS AT THE FEET
OF A YOUNG MAN CALLED SAULa vessel to be of the
electionAND WHILE THEY WERE STONING
STEPHEN HE SAID THE FOLLOWING
INVOCATIONLord, receive me, that I
may be with my brethren

LORD JESUS

Savior of the world

RECEIVE MY SPIRIT

and lead me to the
banquet of your feasts

ALSO FALLING ON HIS KNEES

allow me, he said, to see
heaven, that my spirit may
be led to the LordAND HE EXCLAIMED WITH A LOUD
VOICE, SAYINGnow lettest Thou Thy serv-
ant depart in peace, O

Lord

LORD, DO NOT IMPUTE TO THEM
THIS SINlest on Thy account,
blessed Jesus, it be damned

ET CUM HOC DIXISSET,
 Sanguine laureatus,
 OBDOORMIUIT IN DOMINO,
 Cum quo gaudet et regna-
 bit per omnia seculorum
 secula.¹¹

AND WHEN HE SAID THIS
 wreathed in blood
 HE FELL ASLEEP IN THE LORD
 with Whom he rejoices
 and reigns through all
 ages.¹²

It is most likely true that troped Epistles are few in number because the writers were hesitant to add to the Scriptural text. In spite of the fact that this reluctance was sometimes overcome in the Old Testament Lessons and in the Epistle, the writers did not trope any of the Gospels.

The Gradual and Alleluia Verse

The Gradual, in spite of its melismatic melodic structure was seldom troped. An example is this trope of the Gradual verse.

SURGE

infida gens, dejecta perfidia; quem demonstrat
 stella, regem venerare
 ET ILLUMINARE,
 cogita, spera et suspira, coelestia contemplare,
 JERUSALEM, QUIA GLORIA DOMINI SUPER TE ORTA EST.¹³

Even the alleluia before the verse was sometimes troped together with the verse.

ALLELUIA

Laudetur omnis tibi cetera a cunctis. Potens
 qui condidisti coelorum astra et regnas per saecula.
 DICITE GENTIBUS, QUIA DOMINUS REGNAVIT A LIGNO. DICITE
 concuncti et psallite
 IN GENTIBUS, QUIA

¹¹Villetard, op. cit., pp. 123 f. Musical setting, pp. 188 f.

¹²Translation by DuBrau.

¹³Wagner, op. cit., p. 287. The music is in Liber Usualis Missae et Officii, edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée and Company, 1947), p. 1330 for the "Festum Inventionis Sanctae Crucis."

magna domini clementia, suis respiciens ovibus
 REGNAVIT
 omnia et imperavit
 A LIGNO
 proprio suo filio crucifixo, qui surrexit et
 sedet in throno, deconculcato Zabulo.¹⁴

The Creed

Tropes to the Creed are exceedingly rare. This may be traced to the usual simplicity of the plainsong setting for the Creed; normally it had little or no melisma. However, more valid is the reluctance of the writers to add anything to the Church's confession of faith which had been formulated so carefully in the early Councils. The Mass written by Pierre de Corbeil has the following troped Crede.

CREDO IN UNUM DEUM,	I BELIEVE IN ONE GOD
Unum Deum in trinitate,	One God in Trinity
PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM,	THE OMNIPOTENT FATHER
Qui poli summa residet	Who is sitting in the
in arce, trinus et unus,	highest vault of heaven
	Three and One,
FACTOREM CELI ET TERRE,	THE MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH
Conditionem fabricae	Founder of the world's
mundi,	frame
UISIBILIVM OMNIUM ET INUISI-	AND OF ALL THINGS VISIBLE
BILIVM	AND INVISIBLE
Que celi ambitu continen-	Which are held together
tur.	by the circumference of
	the heavens
ET IN UNUM DOMINUM,	AND IN ONE LORD
Qui Dominus est omnium,	Who is Lord of all
IHESUM XPISTUM,	JESUS CHRIST
Regem seculorum,	The king of the ages
FILIUM DEI UNIGENITUM,	THE ONLY BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD
Uerbum Patris.	The Word of the Father
ET EX PATRE NATUM,	WHO IS BORN FROM THE FATHER
Priusquam mundus fieret,	Before the world was made
ANTE OMNIA SECLA,	BEFORE ALL AGES
Quis generatio non habet	Whose generation has no end
finem.	

¹⁴Wagner, loc. cit. For additional examples, see Analecta hymnica mediæ ævi, op. cit., XLIX, 220 f.

DEUM DE, DEO,	GOD OF GOD
Deitate socia,	the Deity sharing
LUMEN DE LUMINE,	LIGHT OF LIGHT
Quod olim nostris reful-	Who of old shone in our
sit in tenebris,	darkness
DEUM VERUM DE DEO UERO,	VERY GOD OF VERY GOD
Patris eterni genitum	Begotten from the mouth
ab ore.	(word) of the eternal Father
GENITUM, NON FACTUM,	BEGOTTEN, NOT MADE
Factum sub lege,	Made under the Law
CONSUBSTANTIALEM PATRI,	OF ONE SUBSTANCE WITH THE FATHER
Coeternum per omnia,	Coeternal through all things
PER QUEM OMNIA FACTA SUNT,	BY WHOM ALL THINGS WERE MADE
Valde bona.	very good
QUI PROPTER NOS HOMINES	WHO FOR US MEN
Florifero pulsos solio	(who) for the offense of our
primi patris pro delicto	first father have been been
	pushed from the flowery throne
ET PROPTER NOSTRAM SALUTEM	AND FOR OUR SALVATION CAME DOWN
DESCENDIT DE CELIS,	FROM HEAVEN
Sicut pluuia in uellus.	like the rain upon the foliage
ET INCARNATUS EST DE	AND WAS MADE FLESH BY THE HOLY
SPIRITU SANCTO, EX MARIA	SPIRIT OF THE VIRGIN MARY
UIRGINE,	for what is born in her
Quod enim in ea natum	is of the Holy Spirit
est de Spiritu sancto	
est:	
ET HOMO FACTUS EST,	AND WAS MADE MAN
Ut saluum faceret genus	that he might make whole
humanum.	the human race
CRUCIFIXUS ETIAM PRO NOBIS	ALSO WAS CRUCIFIED FOR US
Mitis hostia	and was made to be our
factus nostra, ob reme-	gracious sacrifice for our
dia:	healing
SUB PONTIO PILATO,	UNDER PONTIUS PILATE
Cum Pilatus haberet pre-	when Pilate was governor
sidium,	
PASSUS ET SEPULTUS EST,	SUFFERED AND WAS BURIED
Ut expiatus sordibus	that with the poorest
reddat polorum sedibus.	seats of heaven He might
	restore the atoned
ET RESURREXIT TERCIA DIE,	AND ROSE ON THE THIRD DAY
Victo rege sceleris,	Victor over the king of
redit ab inferis, cum	evil, returned from the
summa uictoria,	depths with the supreme
	victory
SECUNDUM SCRIPTURAS,	ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPTURES
Tunc implete sunt scrip-	then were the Scriptures
ture.	fulfilled
ET ASCENDIT IN CELUM,	AND ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN
Ante conspectum gentium,	before the face of the
	people,

SEDET AD DEXTERAM PATRIS, Sceptrum tenens imperiale.	HE IS SITTING AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE FATHER holding His imperial scepter
ET ITERUM UENTURUS EST CUM GLORIA Ceterua septus angelica,	AND HE WILL COME AGAIN WITH GLORY surrounded by the angelic company
IUDICARE UIUOS ET MORTUOS, Digna repondens merita:	TO JUDGE THE LIVING AND THE DEAD worthy and deserving (works) rewarding
CUIUS REGNI NON ERIT FINIS, In eternum Dominus regnabit et ultra.	WHOSE REIGN WILL HAVE NO END and will reign Lord in eternity and beyond
ET IN SPIRITU SANCTUM, DOMI- NUM, ET UIUFICANTEM, Qui animabus uiuificandis aquae fecundat;	AND IN THE HOLY SPIRIT, LORD AND GIVER OF LIFE Who makes fruitful the waters giving life to the souls
QUI EX PATRE FILIOQUE PROCEDIT, Amborum sacrum spira- men, nexus amorque, QUI CUM PATRE ET FILIO SIMUL ADORATUR, Una permanens in usya,	WHO FROM THE FATHER AND THE SON PROCEEDS His pledge and love of both the sacred breath WHO IS WORSHIPED WITH THE FATHER AND SON TOGETHER remaining One substance (with them)
ET CONGLORIFICATUR, Cum quibus regnat Deus ante secula QUI LOQUUTUS EST PER PROPHETAS, Uerbis ut essent proflui et caritate feruidi.	AND GLORIFIED TOGETHER with whom He reigns God before the ages WHO SPAKE BY THE PROPHETS as they were profuse and fervent in word(s) and (deeds of) charity
ET UNAM, SANCTAM, CATHOLICAM ET APOSOLICAM ECCLESIAM, Angelis coronatum ut sponsata comite. CONFITEOR UNUM BAPTISMA, Crismate uero genus ut creetur Xpristicolarum.	AND ONE HOLY CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH crowned by angels to be the espoused companion I CONFESS ONE BAPTISM that among Christ's own by (this) gift of grace be created the true birth
IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM, Quod sanauit lesionem multorum peccaminum in Maria. ET EXPECTO RESURRECTIONEM MORTUORUM, in districti aduentu iudicis.	IN THE REMISSION OF SINS because in Mary He has healed the wounds of many sins AND I AM AWAITING THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD and the coming of the busy Judge

ET UITAM UENTURI SECULI, AND THE LIFE OF THE AGE
 In tempore retributionis. TO COME
 AMEN.¹⁵ at the time of retribution.
 AMEN.¹⁶

The same manuscript also contains a troped setting of the Apostle's Creed which is not part of the Mass but was used in some of the minor offices.

CREDO IN DEUM, PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM;
 Solus qui tuetur omnia,
 Solus qui gubernat omnia.
 CREATOREM CELI ET TERRE,
 Sine quo nichil est creatum.
 ET IN IHESUM XPISTUM, FILIUM EIUS UNICUM,
 Natum ante secula;
 DOMINUM NOSTRUM,
 Pro mundi remedio,
 Carnis opertum pallio,
 QUI CONCEPTUS EST DE SPIRITU SANCTO, NATUS
 ineffaciliter
 EX MARIA UIRGINE,
 Sol de stella;
 PASSUS SUB PONTIO PILATO,
 Ipsi potestate tradita;
 CRUCIFIXUS, MORTUUS, ET SEPULTUS,
 Qui nulla perpetrarat facinora:
 DESCENDIT AD INFERNA;
 Gemit capta pestis antiqua;
 TERCIA DIE; RESURREXIT A MORTUIS
 Tyrannum trudens uinculo;
 ASCENDIT AD CELOS,
 Unde descenderat,
 SEDET AD DEXTERAM DEI PATRIS OMNIPOTENTIS,
 Regna cuius disponit iure perhenni;
 INDE UENTURUS IUDICARE UIUOS ET MORTUOS,
 Reddens uicem pro abditis
 iustisque regnum pro bonis.
 CREDO IN SPIRITUM SANCTUM,
 Sine quo preces omnes quasse creduntur
 et indigne Dei auribus,
 SANCTAM ECCLESIAM CATHOLICAM;
 Que construitur in celis
 uinis ex lapidibus,

¹⁵Villetard, op. cit., pp. 114 ff. Musical setting,
 pp. 172 ff.

¹⁶Translation by DuBrau.

SANCTOREM COMMUNIONEM,
 Angeli quorum sempter uident faciem Patris;
 REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM
 Quibus Deum offendimus
 corde, uerbis, operibus;
 CARNIS RESURRECTIONEM,
 Immortalitatem cum Xpisto;
 UITAM ETERNAM,
 Quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se.
 AMEN.¹⁷

The Offertory and Communion

The following troped Offertory for Easter is from a thirteenth century manuscript:

Ab increpatione et ira furoris domini
 TERRA TREMIT.
 Monumenta aperta sunt et multa corpora sanctorum
 surrexerunt
 DUM RESURGERET
 Christus iudicaturus et vivos et mortuos, quando
 uerent
 IN IUDICIO DEUS.
 Christus resurgente a mortuis, uenite adoremus eum
 omnes una uoce proclamantes,
 ALLELUIA.¹⁸

The two troped Communiones are from the same manuscript source and are for the Feast of the Epiphany. One is in prose, the other in poetry:

Quae est ista tam clara colemnitas, fratres
 dilecti, in hac puer de uirgine natus stella
 duce est gentibus reuelatus, quae et dicebant:
 VIDIMUS.
 Nato nouo principe,
 Viso nouo sydere,
 Urbe magi regia
 Ipsum uadunt quaerer,
 VIDIMUS.¹⁹

¹⁷Villetard, *op. cit.*, p. 94. Musical setting, pp. 140 f.

¹⁸Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 288. For additional examples, see *Analectica hymnica*, *op. cit.*, XLIX, 283 ff.

¹⁹Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 290. For additional examples, see *Analectica hymnica*, *op. cit.*, XLIX, 345 ff.

The Sanctus

The Sanctus frequently was troped. The melismatic plainsong setting together with a text of adoration and praise would make the Sanctus a frequent subject for farsing.

SANCTUS

Perpetuo numine cuncta re gens.

SANCTUS

Regna cuius disponens iure perhenni

SANCTUS

Consimilis qui bona cuncta nutris.

DOMINUS DEUS SABAOth. PLENI SUNT CELI E TERRA,
GLORIA TUA.

OSANNA IN EXCELSIS!

O Deitas clemens, seruorum suscipe laudes.

BENEDICTUS

Maire Filius

QUI UENIT IN NOMINE DOMINI.

Plebs Tibi, mente pia, genitor, dictante sophya,
Iubilet:

OSANNA!

Laudibus intentia Tibi plebs quoque, Xpriste
redemptor Geminet:

OSANNA!

Carminis in meta sit, Spiritus est Tibi,
leta Triplicet:

OSANNA IN EXCELSIS!

O quanta, qualis quam suavis, quam beata gloria,²⁰
Qua complentur, continentur, gubernantur omnia.

The two following are from the Abbey of St. Gall by an anonymous writer. They are examples of the beginnings of the use of rhyme and rhythm in the interpolation.

SANCTUS

Sanctorum exultatio.

SANCTUS

Sanctorum benedictio.

SANCTUS

Sanctorum consolatio.

²⁰ Villetard, *op. cit.*, p. 116. Musical setting, pp. 174 f.

DOMINUS DEUS SABAOTH. PLENI SUNT COELI ET TERRA.
 Quem decet laus, salus et honor.
 GLORIA TUA, HOSANNA IN EXCELSIS.
 Quem dulci iubilo sanctorum concinit ordo
 BENEDICTUS QUI VENIT

SANCTUS

Deus pater, cuius providentia
 Bene condita reguntur omnia.

SANCTUS

Filius patris coaeternus
 Semperque cum eo per omnia laudandus.

SANCTUS

Spiritus utrius connexio,
 Fidelium salus, vita et consolatio.
 DOMINUS DEUS. PLENI SUNT COELI ET TERRA.
 Verbo cuius existunt omnia.
 Coelum, pontus, tellus, aeterna.
 BENEDICTUS QUI VENIT.²¹

The Lord's Prayer

This trope also comes from Pierre de Corbell, Archbishop of Sens. It is interesting to note that the troped commentary for the Mass identifies "our daily Bread" with "the bread of angels" or the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

PATER NOSTER,

Fidem auge his qui cre-
 dunt in Te;
 QUI ES IN CELIS,
 Et abyssos intueris;

SANCTIFICETUR NOMEN TUUM,
 In bonitate electorum
 tuorum;

ADUENIAT REGNUM TUUM,
 Cuius regni non erit
 finis;

FIAT UOLUNTAS TUA,
 Per quam nostra generis
 reparata est uita,
 SICUT IN CELO ET IN TERRA
 Regens gubernansque,
 continens et saluans;

OUR FATHER

increase the faith of them
 who believe in Thee
 WHO ART IN HEAVEN
 and (who) lookest (down)
 into the (bottomless) pit
 HALLOWED BE THY NAME
 in the good will of Thy
 elect
 THY KINGDOM COME
 whose kingdom shall have
 no end
 THY WILL BE DONE
 by which the life of our
 race is restored
 ON EARTH AS IT IS IN HEAVEN
 ruling and governing,
 holding together and saving

²¹Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 289. For additional examples,
 see *Analectica hymnica, op. cit.*, XLVII, 303 ff.

PANEM NOSTRUM COTIDIANUM
 Panem angelorum
 DA NOBIS,
 Incorruptibili ueste
 circumamictans nos
 HODIE,
 Nostra ut pura pectora
 sint et corpora;
 ET DIMITTE NOBIS DEBITA
 NOSTRA,
 Potes enim cuncta,
 SICUT ET NOS DIMITTIMUS
 DEBITORIBUS NOSTRIS,
 Ad redimenda peccata et
 saluandas animas
 ET NE NOS INDUCAS IN
 TEMPTATIONEM,
 Ne serpens ille calli-
 dus intrandi temptet
 aditus;
 SED LIBERA NOS
 Et salua nos
 A MALO,
 In perhenni seculorum
 tempore.²²

OUR DAILY BREAD
 the bread of angels
 GIVE UNTO US
 clothing us about with
 incorruptible garment
 TODAY
 that we might have pure
 hearts and bodies
 AND FORGIVE US OUR DEBTS
 for in all things Thou
 art able
 AS WE ALSO FORGIVE OUR
 DEBTORS
 to redeem (them from)
 their sins and save
 (their) souls
 AND DO NOT LEAD US INTO
 TEMPTATION
 lest that cunning serpent
 tempt the entrance of
 those going in
 BUT DELIVER US
 and save us
 FROM EVIL
 in the time of everlasting
 ages.²³

The Agnus Dei

The Agnus Dei was often farsed. The first example by Pierre de Corbeil is a prose interpolation and the second is in simple verse.

AGNUS DEI, QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI,
 Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, solus inuisibilis, Deus
 MISERERE NOBIS.
 AGNUS DEI, QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI,
 Rex regum, gaudium angelorum, Deus,
 MISERERE NOBIS.
 AGNUS DEI, QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI,
 Lux indeficiens, pax perpetua, redemptio, Deus,
 DONA NOBIS PACEM.²⁴

²²Villetard, op. cit., p. 93 f. Musical setting, pp. 139 f.

²³Translation by R. T. DuBrau.

²⁴Villetard, op. cit., pp. 116 f. Musical setting, p. 175.

AGNUS DEI, QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI,
 Crimina tollis,
 aspera mollis
 Agnus honoris,
 MISERERE NOBIS.
 AGNUS DEI, QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI,
 Vulnera sanas,
 ardua planas,
 Agnus amoris,
 MISERERE NOBIS.
 AGNUS DEI, QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI,
 Sordida mundas,
 cuncta foecundas,
 Agnus odoris,
 DONA NOBIS PACEM.²⁵

The Ite Missa est

Even the close of the Mass was frequently troped.

ITE sine dolo et lite. Pax vobiscum. MISSA EST.
 DEO semper agite in corde gloriam et GRATIAS.²⁶

Tropes to the Chants of the Office

The number of troped chants in the Offices is very small. The plainsong setting for the Office was usually simple and most of the texts were already syllabic. Only some of the responses were troped.

TU AUTEM DOMINE,
 Alpha et omega, qui in principio cum Patre
 omnia creasti ex nihilo et in praesenti die
 nasci dignatus es ex virginis alvo,
 MISERE NOBIS.²⁷

²⁵Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1947), p. 346.

²⁶Wagner, op. cit., p. 290.

²⁷Herbert Goltzen, "Der Tägliche Gottesdienst," Leiturgia/Handbuch des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes, edited by Karl Ferdinand Müller and Walter Blankenburg (Kassel: Johannes Stauda-Verlag, 1956), III, 163, fn. 252.

CHAPTER XII

THE PRE-NOTKERIAN SEQUENCE AND TROPE

Nothing can be more unsatisfactory to the student who is trying to force the sequence into any particular theory of musical origin than the contemplation of what is actually known on this subject, for the question seems destined to remain undecided.

--Ruth Messenger¹

By Notker's own admission in his letter to his patron, Luitward, Notker, did not invent the sequence form but rather wrote text following the example he found in the manuscript brought to the Abbey of St. Gall by a monk fleeing from Jumièges. The development of both the sequence and the trope from the time of Notker and Tutilo until the Council of Trent is reasonably well-known; however the origin of the forms and their development until the reign of Charlemagne is not at all clear.

To repeat what was said earlier, all writers agree that the sequence is a trope connected with the Alleluia of the Mass. There is, however, no agreement about a definition of either of the terms, nor which of the two is older. In general most scholars feel that in Europe the trope is older, just as the majority holds that the sequence was primarily a musical, not a literary, innovation. There are a number

¹Ruth Ellis Messenger, The Medieval Latin Hymn (Washington, D.C.: Capital Press, c.1953), p. 39.

of arguments supporting a Byzantine origin for the sequence and tropes, but here again there is little uniformity in the statement of the degree to which the European forms are related to or dependent upon similar counterparts in the Eastern liturgy. The influence may have been indirect and merely suggested the form, it may have been very direct providing the Frankish monks with examples which they translated from Greek into Latin, and of course there may have been no influence at all. It is possible that similar structural forms in the East and West could have developed independently from a common example in the ancient and oriental elements in the early church.

If we begin the history of the sequence and the trope with the works of Notker and Tutilo at St. Gall, the forms appear to be of literary origin. Léon Gautier, who was among the first to study the medieval sequences and tropes, defined a trope as the interpolation of a liturgical text. Musicologists such as Jacques Handschin, Gustav Reese, Willi Apel, and Heinrich Husmann disagree and regard the forms as originally musical interpolations to which text were added at a later time. In support of this they offer many examples and in addition claim that the terms sequence and trope are themselves musical terms.²

²Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, translated from the German by Willard R. Trask (New York: Pantheon Books Inc., c.1953), p. 238. "Of great significance is the appearance of the Muses in the sequence poetry. . . . Now, that the Muses were invoked in

The Alleluia Jubilus

Already in the ancient Hebrew liturgy the cantor was allowed some freedom in the singing of the final vowel of the Alleluia. Here was one of the few places where free musical embellishments were permitted. At first these embellishments were estatic impromptu improvisations; later these improvisations were worked out before hand and became very elaborate.

This liturgical freedom was adopted by the worship of the Christian Church from its parent, the Hebrew liturgy. This custom was adopted by Syrian rite and by the European liturgies as well. Pope Damasus (d.384) is usually credited with introducing the jubilus into Western song.³ This ornate and often lengthy melodic singing of the final vowel of the Alleluia was an expression of the joyful response of the laity to the psalmody sung by the precentor.

Although the priests, anxious to protect the suprapersonal character of the service, have always restrained the autonomy of religious poets and singers, they gave way--both in the Christian and in the Jewish liturgy--in one episode of the cult. The cantor, intoning the Alleluia was allowed to effuse his exaltation

the liturgical sequences of the earliest period is explained by the musical origin of the sequence." However, the statement proves nothing since the Muses, the Classical patronesses of the arts and sciences, were goddesses of both music and poetry.

³Paul Henry Lange, Music in Western Civilization (New York: W. W. Norton, Inc., 1941), p. 46.

in free enthusiastic melodies and to enrapture the priest, and congregation in his godly dithyramb.⁴

St. Augustine in his commentary on Psalm 95 wrote:

"He who sings a jubilus, speaks no words; it is a song of joy without words; it is the voice of a heart dissolved with joy. . . it's joy too great to put into words."

St. Jerome uses similar expressions in his commentary on Psalm 32.

The free melisma of the Alleluia was for a while the only place within the structure of the Mass that gave the musician any freedom of expression. Perhaps this is the reason that the jubilus often was long and elaborate.

The following alleluias of the Gregorian chant, taken from Jewish liturgy, proved to be a precious, but onerous heirloom. Products of a mature oriental art, the endless coloratura on the one concluding vowel--a--were entirely foreign to the voices, techniques and taste of Western and Central Europe.⁵

At the same time that St. Ambrose of Milan introduced antiphonal singing into Italy from the East, the Roman Council of 382, presided over by Pope Damasus, officially introduced antiphonal singing into the Roman liturgy. These two practices introduced from the Orient both a melismatic extension of the final a of the Alleluia and the practice of antiphonal singing; both are essential to the sequence form.

⁴Curt Sachs, Our Musical Heritage (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., c.1948), p. 59.

⁵Ibid.

Under the reforms of Gregory the Great a verse, generally from the Scriptures, was added to the Alleluia after which the Alleluia melody with its jubilus was repeated. However, the melisma was no longer an impromptu improvisation and it was greatly simplified and reduced in length so that it could be more easily sung by the Western clergy. Perhaps it was through the practice of adding a text to the Alleluia melisma that the later literary sequence arose. The melody for the text of the verse was usually less melismatic than for other parts of the liturgy.⁶

Alleluia and Verse for Epiphany

Alleluia, Vidimus stellam eius in Oriente,
et venimus cum muneribus adorare Dominum,
Alleluia.⁷

Attempts to Define Terms

Liturgists and the musicologists in general agree upon the nature and structure of the jubilus, but as soon as an attempt is made to define the term sequence or trope as a development from the jubilus, we find many divergent opinions, different terminology for the same thing and same terms defined differently. Here again one can do no more than present the problems and hope that some day an in-

⁶Carl Parrish and John F. Ohl, Masterpieces of Music before 1750 (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., c.1951), p. 6.

⁷Liber Usualis Missae et Officii, edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée and Company, 1947), pp. 370 f.

disputable answer will be suggested which will satisfy everyone, but at this time the hope for such a possibility seems futile.

One approach, from a musical viewpoint, believes that it became necessary to divide the lengthy and elaborate melisma of the jubilus into shorter phrases so that the singer could catch a breath. Each phrase is called a sequentia and the entire melisma sequentiae.⁸ Some jubili were sung in unison while others it seems were sung antiphonally, the second choir repeating exactly the phrase sung by the first. This, then, would make the sequence primarily a musical form.

Perhaps, as suggested by the Notker story, a text was added to these melodic interpolations. Finally when a text was added to the sequentia it was called sequentia cum prosa. The term prosa here means not poetica, for the first syllabic texts fitted to a preexistent sequentia were of necessity written as prose. The sequentia cum prosa in France generally was called prosa while the Germans usually used the term sequentia. Peter Wagner says that even later, when the texts began to follow a simple poetic style "to ordinary singers the novel poetic form seemed to be prose; consequently given the name Prosa."⁹

⁸ Messenger, op. cit., p. 35.

⁹ Peter Wagner, Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies, a Handbook of Plainsong (Second edition; London: The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1901), p. 234.

According to another theory which agrees partially with the preceding explanation the wordless melody was called a sequela which "was divided into phrases of irregular length which would explain the irregular length of the sequence stanzas each of which was repeated; which were therefore called Sequentia."¹⁰ The words set to the melody were called prosa, not because of their literary form but merely an abbreviation meaning "for the sequence," PRO Sequentia.¹¹ This explanation, however, does not seem to be at all satisfactory.

The terms sequela and sequentia themselves have been defined differently: either as a sequence or succession of notes which form a melody, or tracing the word back to sequor, to follow, it can be either the text or melody which "follows" the Alleluia.¹²

There are very few today who agree with the simple explanation made by Michael Praetorius (d.1621) in his Syntagma musicum I, 46. He attributes the origin of the name sequence to the liturgical formula for the announcement of the Gospel which follows the Alleluia. The announcement

¹⁰Winfred Douglas, Church Music in History and Practice (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 180.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²The Hymnal 1940 Companion, prepared by the Joint Commission on the Revision of the Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (New York: The Church Pension Fund, c.1949), p. 58.

of the Gospel in the Mass begins "Sequentia Sancti Evangelii secundum. . . ." ¹³ However, Peter Wagner dismisses this explanation very quickly and in a few words; in a footnote he says that of this theory "it is unnecessary to waste a single word." ¹⁴

Several Theories of the Origin of Sequence and Trope

Several hypotheses have been offered as solutions to the problem of the origin of the medieval Frankish sequences and tropes. The simplest explanation would be that the sequence and trope developed naturally within the framework of the Roman Mass and Office. As such it would be solely a West European development possibly somewhat dependent upon the folksongs and dances for models. This explanation has some merit and answers some questions quite satisfactorily, but it does not seem to be an adequate solution. ¹⁵ A second hypothesis is that the Carolingian sequence and trope are modeled directly after contemporary Greek examples. Peter Wagner and Egon Wellesz undoubtedly are the two most famous proponents of this theory. A third theory advanced by Clemens Blume is more or less a compromise between Eastern and Western origin. When Gregory established a uniform

¹³Hymns Ancient and Modern (Historical Edition), Introduction by W. H. Frere (London: Wm. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1909), p. xxiv. Messenger, op. cit., p. 37 allows this as a slight possibility.

¹⁴Wagner, op. cit., p. 223, fn. 4.

¹⁵Messenger, op. cit., p. 36.

chant for the church he shortened and simplified the melodies of the liturgy and especially the melismas at the end of the Alleluia. Later in Carolingian times when there was a tendency toward a more elaborate form, according to Blume, the original pre-Gregory melodies were again revived. This would make the Frankish melodies dependent upon very early Greek and Syrian models. But here too the evidence available is not sufficient to prove or disprove this theory.

The majority of the great number of scholars who hold that there is an immediate Greek influence upon the sequence and trope believe that the terms are both musical and Greek. Trope, they say, comes from *τρόπος* which means a turn, and sequence or sequentia is a translation of the Greek *ἰκολουθεῖν* to follow or accompany. But even here there is no agreement, for, says Ruth Messenger, the weakness of this argument "is its dependence upon a misunderstanding of the Greek form of worship to which the word applies."¹⁶

Egon Wellesz and Peter Wagner both agree that the medieval Latin trope and sequence are dependent upon Greek musical and liturgical practices. However, they each emphasize a different way in which the Greek influence was felt in the West. Wellesz tries to establish the similarity of the early Greek styles with the form of the Carolingian sequences and tropes. Wagner, on the other hand, tries to show that there was a close relationship and frequent

¹⁶Ibid., p. 37.

interchange between Charlemagne's court and that of the Byzantine Emperor.

Wellesz maintains the Byzantine origin of the trope and sequence on the great similarity of these forms with that of the Greek troparia. He asserts that the Eastern Church adopted the practice of the Syrian rite of inserting short prayers or other intercalations after each verse of a psalm. The psalm verse was called a stichos and the interplated text a troparion.¹⁷ At first the troparia were written in poetic prose and were brief. After the fifth century they were written in strophic form and were of much greater length. Because of this they were then restricted to be sung only after the last three to six verses of the psalm. "In this period the liturgy consisted of psalms, of nine Odes or Cantica, of certain formulae dating back to the earliest times of Christianity, and the Tropario."¹⁸ If this theory is true that the sequence and trope developed from the troparion, then they are of a literary and not primarily musical origin.

The earliest account of the singing of the troparia is a fifth century record of Abbot Pambo's alarm at the widespread practice. From his monastery in the desert he

¹⁷Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, c.1940), p. 78.

¹⁸A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography, edited by Egon Wellesz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), p. 144.

sent one of his disciples to Alexandria to sell the products the monks had made. While in the city the young monk stayed at the Church of St. Mark where he witnessed the elaborate ceremonies and heard the singing of the troparia. It seems that monk was greatly impressed by the singing and thought that the monks at the monastery ought to be permitted to sing the hymns and troparia he had heard in Alexandria. At this time there was a strict rule of the anchoritic community which did not permit any singing whatsoever. To the young man's suggestion the abbot answered in despair that he saw the time coming when monks would "abandon their rigid discipline pronounced by the Holy Spirit and would give themselves over to songs and melodies."¹⁹

Anthimus and Timocles (c.450) are the first Byzantine hymn writers mentioned by name. Each had a large following in Constantinople. However, none of the troparia of these hymnodists has come down to us at least not under their names. It is probable that among the large number of anonymous troparia found in Byzantine service books there are some by these two writers. Some of their compositions may have survived, but there is no evidence of this.²⁰

The early troparion evolved into a more poetic and independent form called a sticheron. One of the later stichera by a nun, Kasia, in the early ninth century is of

¹⁹Ibid., p. 145.

²⁰Ibid., p. 147.

special interest because of its structure and because it is contemporary with Notker and Tutilo. It consists of three long phrases, each of which is repeated followed by an unrepeated final phrase (aa bb cc y). It is therefore very similar to the sequence which was popular in Europe at that time. "On the basis of such evidence it has been asserted that the sequence spread to the West from Byzantium, but the claim can hardly be said to have been conclusively proved."²¹

Of course the question that is asked is what influence, if any, did these Greek forms have upon Notker and his contemporaries. Wagner and those who agree with him say that these Greek liturgical forms had a great influence and served as models and at times were merely translated from Greek into Latin. They say there is nothing in the hymnody nor liturgical tradition of the Latin church from the time of Ambrose which could have served as a model for the sequence and trope forms.

The origin of the trope is unmistakable when the texts of these insertions is examined. Until far into the twelfth century they abound in Greek words, the whole manner of expression betraying an Eastern origin, but sometimes dramatic, always profuse in types and symbolical images, and differing greatly from the precise Latin style.²²

²¹Reese, op. cit., p. 81. The author gives the music, text, and translation of the sticheron by Kasia, Augoustou Monarkhesantos.

²²Wagner, op. cit., p. 244.

Wagner points out another peculiarity in the oldest manuscript of Notker's Liber sequentiarum to support his theory. The original Alleluia melody was written in the margin at the side of each verse and was normally written in phrases as they would be sung as a melisma. When the sequence was sung the melody written in the margin was to be split up in such a way that one note would fall on each syllable of the text. Sometimes the syllables of the text were also provided with a notation (neums), so that often the melody was written twice--once in the margin as an Alleluia melody with the notes in groups and again with the notes written separately above the text.

A similar method of noting the whole melody in the margin is to be found in the Byzantine hymn MSS: in many of these the text of the hymn is preceded by a short indication of the melody as it is to be sung, while in others the melody is set out in full.²³

Since many of the tropes and sequences have Greek names and employ the Byzantine method of notation, an extensive study of certain sequence melodies has been made to determine whether they are modeled after Greek originals. Wagner is sure that among Notker's melodies there are some Byzantine melodies, but he adds that no manuscript evidence proves this conclusively, nor on the other hand is there any evidence which definitely refutes this. What is true of the melodies Wagner believes is true of the texts also,

²³Ibid., p. 224.

"There is nothing to contradict the supposition that direct translations from the Greek appear in many of Notker's sequences."²⁴ This would not be unusual since a St. Gall manuscript contains a Latin translation of the hymn from the Byzantine liturgy.

The system of notation used in the St. Gall manuscripts of Notker's sequence indicate a Greek influence. The neum which definitely is of Eastern origin, probably around the sixth century, was used by the Frankish monasteries at Metz, Laon, Jumieges, and St. Gall.²⁵ The Abbey of St. Gall continued to use the neums after the invention of the staff to indicate intervals. The neums were written in the manner of the Eastern Church, that is, the symbols were in a straight line and not at different levels to indicate pitch. Unfortunately here too the paucity of manuscripts "makes a gap in the evidence just where support is most needed. . . but the assumption in favor of Greek originals is at least strong enough to forbid its being ignored."²⁶

Wagner believes that originally the neums in France had Latin names which were replaced with Greek names during the Carolingian period. Under the patronage of Charlemagne many Byzantine teachers came to instruct the court and many

²⁴Ibid., p. 230, fn. 1.

²⁵Reese, op. cit., p. 133. Reese discusses the origin of the neum and its introduction into Latin use.

²⁶Messenger, op. cit., p. 39.

were sent by the emperor to teach the monks in the monasteries. That Greeks lived at St. Gall between the ninth and eleventh centuries is certain; evidence of this is found in the letters of St. Gall and in the Abbey's manuscripts which are in both Latin and Greek. Direct proof that Greek monks lived at St. Gall is contained in one of Notker's own letters in which he sends "greetings from the Hellenic Brothers."²⁷ The Eastern influence was felt not only in the Frankish kingdom but in the rest of Latin Europe as well, even as far as the British Isles. Eastern influences are also evident in Italy.

Greek and Latin names were placed side by side, and some theorists used Greek terms while others used Latin for the same meaning; for example, Aribo Scholasticus (d.1078) calls tremula what Berno of Reichenau (d.1048) calls quillisma. Among the Latin neums ten have Greek names, clinis, podatus, climacus, apostropha, oriscus, epiphonus, cephalicus, ancus, trigon, quillisma, while eight have Latin names, clivis, pes, punctum, virga, torculus, porrectus, pressus, scandicus.²⁸

In support of this some have pointed to the fact that the monastery at St. Gall and many others in Germany and France are of Celtic origin; it is well known that the Irish monks were the chief apostles in the West for Byzantine tradition, customs, and teaching.²⁹

It is reasonable to assume that both Notker and Tutilo were acquainted with contemporary Greek hymnody, but just how much they knew of it they learned at the school of St.

²⁷Marie Pierik, The Song of the Church (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, c.1947), p. 214.

²⁸Ibid., p. 213.

²⁹Sachs, loc. cit.

Gall and just how much inspiration did the Jumieges manuscripts give these writers is a question which seems destined to remain undecided.

Even though the sequence and trope form and structure strongly indicate a Byzantine origin, not all scholars are willing to agree that such a definite relationship exists. First of all, they point out there is no incontestable proof supporting the above theories. There is no Latin sequence which we know to be a direct translation from the Greek and if the Byzantine forms did lead to the sequence and trope, the influence was very indirect since the sequence itself is unknown in the Eastern liturgy. There is also no Greek hymn whose structure exactly parallels that of the sequences. "Thus the Byzantine theory of origin breaks down when metrical sources are subjected to closer scrutiny."³⁰

Those who deny or minimize the Greek influence do not regard the Greek titles of some of the sequence as proof or an indication of their Byzantine origin. They regard the Greek titles which replaced the earlier Latin names in keeping with the custom of the scholars of the day who used Greek titles, terms, and phrases much the way we use Latin today. Anyone who wished to appear learned and modern substituted the familiar Latin words with the

³⁰Messenger, op. cit., p. 40.

more impressive Greek words. This was true not only of music and hymnody, but it occurred in other areas as well. However, the alternate suggestions made by those who discount or minimize the Eastern influences are subject to the same criticism. They too can establish no definite indisputable proof to support their claims.

Some contemporary German scholars such as Jacques Handschin, Franz Krieg, and Franz Tack are of the opinion that the trope is primarily a Western Europe development. Handschin outlines the many prototypes of the sequence and trope form in other liturgies other than the Byzantine and also cites similarities in the Anglo-Saxon song and dance forms. Tack maintains that more recent research indicates that instead of the supposed Byzantine origin, that the origin of the form is in Western Europe, possibly even in the Abbey of St. Martial at Limoges. Krieg states forthrightly: "Der Tropus und die Sequenz gehören den mittelalterlichen Forman, sind also rein abendlandischen Ursprunges. . . ." ³¹

According to Jacques Handschin the trope and its later development the sequence had their prototypes in the Ambrosian Gallican, and Mozarabic chant as well as in the older Roman chant. Already in Ambrosian chant, the oldest ecclesiastical chant of the Western Church, we find examples of Alleluia melodies with parallel repetition of the music.

³¹Franz Krieg, Katholische Kirchenmusik (Taufen, Switzerland: Verlag Arthur Niggli und Willy Verkauf, c.1954), p. 41.

There is also a tendency to adopt the inserted melody to the strictly liturgical one: it is particularly the beginning and the ending of the melisma that are related to the plainsong melody, and this reminds us of the sequence and trope.³²

There is also some evidence that the Gallican chant permitted the interpolation of a melisma. The manicantiones (presumably "songs of early morning," i.e. chants of Matins), which are mentioned in the eighteenth Canon of the Second Council of Tours (c.570), are believed by Handschin to be the Responsoary adorned with a long melisma or the melisma itself. However, again it is doubtful whether any example of such a melisma has survived.³³

The early Roman chant before the eighth century added melismas. In the first Roman Ordo which was written in the eighth century and contains some earlier material it states that for Vespers on Easter an Alleluia is sung with three psalm verses, after which the Alleluia is sung again with melodiae by the boys. In the ninth century the second Ordo contained the phrase "sequitur jubilatio quam sequentiam vocant" (here follows the jubilation which is called the sequence).³⁴

Probably the earliest writer to use the term sequence is Amalar (Amalarius) of Metz (d.837).³⁵ In his De ecclesi-

³²Jacques Handschin, "Trove, Sequence, and Conductus," Early Medieval Music up to 1300, in New Oxford History of Music (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), II, 135.

³³Ibid., p. 138.

³⁴Ibid., p. 139.

³⁵Note that Amalar died three years before Notker's birth.

asticis officiis he wrote of the Alleluia and verse "haec jubilatio quam cantores sequentiam vocant." This is almost exactly the same as that in the second Ordo above. He spoke of the Alleluia as being sung "cum omni supplemento et excellentia versuum et sequentiarum" (richly supplemented with verses and sequences).³⁶ Amalar mentions melismatic additions to other sections of the Mass. He contrasts the melismatic Introit with an unadorned Kyrie which follows it; the Kyrie, he says, is a necessary humiliation necessary to singers elated by the "magnificent composition of melodiae."³⁷ Amalar also comments that the singers transferred the melisma for the Responsory for St. John the Evangelist's Day to the Christmas Responsory.³⁸ The transference of a melisma from one Responsory to another follows the tradition of the earlier Ambrosian rite. There is little doubt that at the beginning of the ninth century the practice of embellishing the Alleluia by adding lengthy melismas existed. It seems obvious that it is these melismas to which Notker referred in the introduction to the collection of his sequences.

³⁶ Handschin, op. cit., p. 141.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 142. Amalar used melodiae, sequentia, and neuma for melisma, but he never used the term tropus.

³⁸ Handschin, op. cit., pp. 143 ff. Handschin gives the music and text for the Responsory for St. John the Evangelist Day, In medio ecclesiae.

The relationship of the liturgical trope and sequence with secular music is another facet of the problem for which no definite answer can be suggested. There are many similarities--both melodic and structural--which are easily recognized but almost impossible to explain satisfactorily. It was mentioned earlier that the melodic trope sometimes was a variation on the prescribed liturgical theme, but at times the interpolated melody is quite foreign to the liturgical melody. Some of the sequence melodies are also quite dissimilar from the Gregorian plainsong. Franz Tack³⁹ and others believe that in the sequence we catch a glimpse of the first movement of the churchly folksong (Volkslied) used in the service itself. The sequence then would allow lay contribution to the Mass. This probability is supported by Handschin's mention of the seventh-century Anglo-Saxon scholar, Bishop Aldhelm(d.709) who was said to have been very skilled in the art of Anglo-Saxon poetry. It is related that because his congregation hurried home after the Mass, "he awaited them on their way back, singing like a native (probably with a harp), and, by inserting sacred words into his song, not only won their favour but induced them to piety."⁴⁰ This, says Handschin, may have been some

³⁹Franz Tack, "Der gregorianische Choral in seinen Stilformen," Handbuch der katholischen Kirchenmusik, edited by Heinrich Lemacher and Karl Gustav Fellerer (Essen: Verlag Fredebeul und Koenen KG., c.1949), p. 196.

⁴⁰Handschin, op. cit., p. 152. (Underlining ours.)

kind of Anglo-Saxon trope or paraphrase, related to a liturgical text.

The parallelism and melodic repetition does not necessarily prove Byzantine origin since, first of all, the development could be traced back to a natural result of the liturgical practice of having two choirs, men and boys. Antiphonal singing in repetition can well be considered to be almost an unavoidable result. By going back still farther into the history of Germanic music some scholars claim to have found the European source for the sequence and the trope. One ancient writer in his account of his meeting with the leaders of the German tribes mentions that their songs were sung by two men singing alternately. The claim is then made that both interpolations and melodic antiphonal singing are part of the German musical background and it is therefore not necessary to seek foreign Byzantine influences. This theory, although it is logical and possible, does not have much evidence to support it. However, this may be due more to the nature of the proof required than to the probability of the theory. It is almost impossible to learn anything about the music of the early Germanic tribes. Later secular music however seems to substantiate this theory. The estampie, lai, and notula are all very similar in structure to the liturgical sequence. The chief characteristic of all these forms is the appearance of successive melodic units immediately repeated with new words. (The structure of the lai for instance is a bb cc d and

of the estampie is ab ab cb cb db db eb eb or ax ay bx
by cx cy.)⁴¹

The question which has not yet been decided is what the relationship of these secular forms is to liturgical form. Is one derived from the other? Are they derived from a common earlier example? Or are they two similar forms which developed independently and are alike solely by accident? These and other questions still are unanswered. Can we, as some scholars have done, equate the term sequence with Leich or Leisen to support a Germanic basis for the Frankish sequence and trope?⁴²

This section must conclude with an expression of the same thought with which it began.

The above presentation of what is known as to the origin of the sequence can scarcely be satisfactory to the scientific historian of medieval culture. Full of gaps and baffling inconsistencies the evidence remains totally inadequate.⁴³

⁴¹For a discussion of the musical forms lai, estampie, and notula, see Reese, op. cit., pp. 225 ff. and Parrish, op. cit., p. 9.

⁴²Catherine Winkworth, Christian Singers of Germany (London: Macmillan and Company, 1869), p. 37.

⁴³Messenger, op. cit., p. 44.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

The study of the medieval sequence and trope is not merely an historically interesting subject which is unrelated to later hymnody. Although only a few of the more than five thousand known are in common use today, they are an integral part in the growth of the modern hymn--especially the German chorale. Whether or not the tropes and sequences are of Germanic or Frankish origin is of interest, but relatively of little importance when compared with the direct influence they had upon the pre-Reformation and Reformation hymns in Germany.

As we have seen, the sequence and trope were so very popular that in some places there was a sequence for about every Sunday and Holy Day of the Church Year except for the penitential season, and in addition there were numerous tropes for every part of the Mass. However, their great popularity and number meant that many were of very poor quality, and although both the Council of Trent and Martin Luther restricted the number greatly, their importance can not be discounted. The most significant thing about the development of the sequence and trope is they became the means by which the laity in Western Europe could contribute to the Mass--either as poets or musicians, but more important as laymen. It is through these forms that

the laity could take part in the worship, and it is through them that the vernacular hymn found its way into the Latin worship.¹ Somewhere in the thirteenth century German verses were added or interpolated into the Latin text, the congregation singing the German, the choir the Latin. Often the entire sequence or trope text was translated into German for the congregation.

This is the practice which the Reformers took hold of; in place of the sequence they most often placed a hymn between the lessons following the Alleluia response to the Epistle. Sequences and tropes were expanded into complete hymns. Luther himself based some of his chorales upon some sequences or upon some earlier German songs based on sequences: Victimae paschali laudes (Christ lag in Todesbanden), Grates nunc omnes (Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ), Lauda Sion, salvatorem (Gott sei gelobet), and if we consider the Media vita in morte sumus (traditionally, ascribed to Notker Balbulus), a sequence, Luther's expansion of Mitten wir im Leben sind is still another chorale based upon the sequence.²

¹ Joachim Beckmann, "Das Proprium Missae," Leiturgia/Handbuch des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes, edited by Karl Ferdinand Müller and Walter Blankenburg (Kassel: Johannes Stauda-Verlag, 1955), p. 74.

² Most scholars regard the Media vita as an antiphon rather than a sequence. It is therefore not included in this study nor in the table in the appendix. The Lutheran Hymnal is the only one which contains a hymn based on this text.

One of the most important of the many unsolved problems related to this subject is the relationship, if any, of the Leise with the sequence. If they are the same, as some claim, or merely closely related, this would increase the number of chorales dependent upon the sequence. Even though the exact relationship cannot be proved, the similarity is obvious.³

In this study we have made references, for example in the discussion of the Victimae paschali and the Orientis partibus, to the fact that the trope and sequence are also the beginnings of medieval liturgical drama. It was beyond the scope of this study to go further into the subject, but it too is important and needs further careful and critical study. It could well be the subject for another research paper on the tropes and sequences. With a revival today of religious drama which is patterned after the medieval plays, such a study would be most invaluable.

One may wonder why so few of the sequences are used in modern hymnals, especially since they were so very popular. The answer to this, I believe, was stated very clearly by Walter Frere who wrote in the Introduction to the Hymns Ancient and Modern:

Neither the earlier nor the later type has become popular since [The Council of Trent] though various attempts at revival have taken place. The old type of sequence is too unconventional for the

³For a detailed study of Martin Luther's use of the sequences and Loisen, see Luther Engelbrecht, "Martin Luther's Hymn Texts, with Special Reference to Their Use in Some Hymnals Commonly Used in England and America," (unpublished Master's thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1954).

modern congregation to grasp, and the later type is as a rule too insipid.⁴

Though this thesis does not arrive at many definite conclusions--except that there is no definite answer to most of the questions--it is hoped that the research and presentation have contributed in some way to a better understanding of pre-Reformation hymnody and that in these hymns we may find an inspiration for our own faith.

⁴Hymns Ancient and Modern (Historical Edition), introduction by W. H. Frere (London: Wm. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1909), p. xxiv.

S.D.G.

APPENDIX

Table of Sequences and Tropes Found in Hymns Ancient and Modern, The English Hymnal, The Hymnal 1940, The Lutheran Hymnal and the Service Book and Hymnal

	HA&M	E H	H'40	L H	SB&H
Cantemus cuncti melodum	x	x			
Dies irae, dies illa	x	x	x	x	x
Grates nunc omnes				x	
Heri mundas exultavit	x				
Hierusalem et Sion filiae		x			
Iucundare plebs fidelis	x		x	x	
Laetabundus		x			
Lauda Sion, salvatorem	x	x	x		x
O beata beatorum martyrum	x	x	x		
O filia et filiae	x	x	x	x	x
Salus aeterna		x			
Sponsa Christi quae per orbem	x	x			
Stabat Mater dolorosa	x	x	x		x
Stola regni laureatus	x				
Superne matris gaudia		x	x		
Veni sancte Spiritus	x	x	x	x	x
Victimae paschali laudes		x	x	x	x
Divinum mysterium	x	x	x	x	x
Kyrie, fons bonitatis				x	
Orientis partibus	x	x	x	x	x
Puer nobis nascitur		x	x	x	x

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