

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

## Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

---

Bachelor of Divinity

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

---

6-1-1954

### The Latin Office Hymns in the Lutheran Hymnal

John Lemkul

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, ir\_lemkulj@csk.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/bdiv>



Part of the [Practical Theology Commons](#)

---

#### Recommended Citation

Lemkul, John, "The Latin Office Hymns in the Lutheran Hymnal" (1954). *Bachelor of Divinity*. 434.  
<https://scholar.csl.edu/bdiv/434>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Bachelor of Divinity by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact [seitzw@csl.edu](mailto:seitzw@csl.edu).

THE LATIN OFFICE HYMNS IN THE LUTHERAN HYMNAL

---

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Practical Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Bachelor of Divinity

---

by

John Lenkul

June 1954

Approved by:

Walter E. Puszin  
Advisor

Martin H. Franmann  
Reader

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Chapter   | Page |
|---|------|
| I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .                                     | 1    |
| II. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN HYMNODY . . . . . | 2    |
| Hebrew Heritage . . . . .                                     | 2    |
| The New Testament Church . . . . .                            | 3    |
| The Apostolic Church . . . . .                                | 8    |
| The Hymns of the Heretics . . . . .                           | 11   |
| III. THE BEGINNINGS OF LATIN HYMNODY . . . . .                | 13   |
| Saint Hilary . . . . .  | 13   |
| Pope Damasus . . . . .  | 15   |
| Saint Ambrose . . . . .                                       | 16   |
| Ambrosiani . . . . .  | 18   |
| The Hymns of Ambrose . . . . .                                | 19   |
| Prudentius . . . . .  | 20   |
| IV. THE HYMNS USED IN THE DAILY OFFICE . . . . .              | 23   |
| The Daily Office . . . . .                                    | 23   |
| Monastic Life . . . . .                                       | 24   |
| The "Old Hymnal" . . . . .                                    | 25   |
| The Growth of the Order of Saint Benedict . . . . .           | 26   |
| The Opposition of the Church to the Use of Hymns . . . . .    | 27   |
| Benedictine Growth in Gaul . . . . .                          | 28   |
| Later Latin Hymnody . . . . .                                 | 28   |
| V. THE METER OF THE HYMNS . . . . .                           | 32   |
| VI. THE OFFICE HYMNS IN THE LUTHERAN HYMNAL . . . . .         | 35   |
| Veni Redemptor gentium . . . . .                              | 35   |
| Christe, qui lux es et dies . . . . .                         | 38   |
| O Lux Beata, Trinitas . . . . .                               | 40   |
| Splendor paternae gloriae . . . . .                           | 42   |
| Vox clara ecce intonat . . . . .                              | 43   |
| Feesan alphabeticus de Christo . . . . .                      | 45   |
| Vexilla Regis . . . . .                                       | 52   |
| Urbs beata Jerusalem . . . . .                                | 58   |
| Tibi Christi splendor Patris . . . . .                        | 62   |
| Veni Creator Spiritus . . . . .                               | 65   |
| O Pater Sancte . . . . .                                      | 71   |
| Jesu, Dulcis Memoria . . . . .                                | 72   |
| Salvete flores Martyrum . . . . .                             | 77   |
| Instantis adventum Dei . . . . .                              | 79   |

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

VI. THE OFFICE HYMNS IN THE LUTHERAN HYMNAL (Continued)

Jordanis oras praevia . . . . . 80  
 Felix dies, quam proprio . . . . . 81

APPENDICES . . . . . 83

A. Breviary sources of hymns . . . . . 83

B. Classification of Latin Hymns . . . . . 85

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . . 86

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

A study of the hymns of the Church is most interesting and rewarding to both the historian and the theologian. Hymns reflect the theology of the Church as well as special emphases introduced by theological controversies. They reflect the worship life of the people as well as the liturgical worship of the Church. "The study of hymnology is in some sense a reverent and sympathetic fellowship with the mighty men of old . . . speaking to us, not in cold terms of thought merely, but in fiery shafts of spiritual ecstasy."<sup>1</sup>

The study of Christian hymnology of the first centuries has its difficulties. Many accounts of the subject are available, but they are far from conclusive. This is due, first of all, to a scarcity of original sources.<sup>2</sup> Another difficulty is that it is impossible for us today to put ourselves into the same frame of mind as that of the early Christians for whom they were written and by whom they were sung.

---

<sup>1</sup>H. P. Henry, American Catholic Quarterly Review, XVIII, 294.

<sup>2</sup>Ruth Ellis Messenger, "Christian Hymns of the First Three Centuries," The Papers of the Hymn Society, IX (1942), 3.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN HYMNODY

#### Hebrew Heritage

From her very inception, the Church of Christ has incorporated singing into her worship. The Christian Church, so to speak, was conceived in the womb of the Hebrew Temple, and so it is quite natural that when she was born and later when she separated herself from the Hebrew worship and ceremony that she took with her much of her mother's liturgical culture. As the early Christians left the worship of the synagogue and the Temple, they took with them many elements of Hebrew worship, for example, the Psalms, Hebrew sacred songs, antiphonal and responsorial chanting, and so on. In the early centuries these formed the bulk of Christian hymnody. References to their use appear throughout the New Testament. Among the lyrical passages from the Old Testament books we can cite the following as examples of hymns. The Songs of Moses,

I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously  
(Ex. 15:1-19),  
Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak; and hear, O earth, the  
words of my mouth (Deut. 32:1-43);

the Thanksgiving of Hannah,

My heart rejoiceth in the Lord (I Sam. 2:1-10);

the great hymns in the book of Isaiah,

Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of hosts (Is. 6:3),  
We have a strong city; salvation will God appoint for wall and  
bulwarks (Is. 26:1-21),

---

<sup>1</sup>Ruth Ellis Messenger, "Christian Hymns of the First Three Centuries,"  
The Papers of the Hymn Society, IX (1942), 4-6.

the second part of which begins,

With my soul have I desired thee in the night (Is. 26:9-21);

Jonah's Song,

I cried by reason of my affliction unto the Lord (Jonah 2:2-9);

and the Song of Hebbekuk,

O Lord, I have heard thy speech and was afraid (Hab. 3:2-19).

The apocryphal addition to the Book of Daniel, known as the Song of the Three Children, may be considered with Old Testament lyrics.

Comprising sixty-seven verses, it was added to Daniel 3:23, but strictly speaking its date, author and original language are unknown. It is most probable that it is of first century B.C., Hebrew authorship.

Its use, however, is unquestioned.<sup>2</sup> The first part, "Blessed art thou, O Lord of our fathers," is the familiar Benedictus es, Domine; and the second part, "O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord," is the Benedicite, omnia opera.<sup>3</sup>

Richly endowed with such a worship tradition, the young Church began to stand on its own feet and to establish itself outside the borders of Palestine. It is only natural that the hymnody of the Old Testament should have a marked influence upon Christian worship practice.

#### The New Testament Church

The greatest concentration of the labor of the Church of Christ was in the Greek-speaking world. But there is little evidence to demonstrate

<sup>2</sup>R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 627-629.

<sup>3</sup>The Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), p. 120. Included under the heading "Canticles."

the influence of classical Greek poetry upon early Christian hymnody. Instead, it seems the Church took her Jewish background and built on that through the medium of the Greek language. The Old Testament tradition was very strong. Familiar phraseology was readily at hand for the composition of new hymns or canticles from the Psalms or from other portions of the Hebrew Scriptures. Even after Greek and Roman influences were strongly felt within Christianity, its hymnody retained a Semitic character. Pagan lyrics were held in suspicion.

The New Testament canticles or songs recorded in the opening chapter of St. Luke's account clearly demonstrate the influence of the Old Testament upon the New Testament Church. The earliest and most famous of the early Christian hymns is the Magnificat,

My soul doth magnify the Lord (Luke 1:46-55),

of the Virgin Mary said at the angelic announcement of the birth of the Christ Child.<sup>4</sup> The Benedictus,

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel (Luke 1:68-79),

spoken by the aged priest Zechariah contains many quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures, especially the Psalms.<sup>5</sup> The Nunc Dimittis,

Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace (Luke 2:29-32),

spoken by Simeon at the Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple is drawn chiefly from the writings of the prophet Isaiah and from the apocryphal book of Tobit.<sup>6</sup> It is generally conceded that the Psalm sung

<sup>4</sup>Compare with the Song of Hannah, I Samuel 2:1-10.

<sup>5</sup>Check passages in Nestle edition of Greek New Testament or any concordance for Old Testament sources.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.



sung by Our Lord and His disciples on the eve of His crucifixion were the Passover Psalms called the "Great Hallel."<sup>7</sup>

In the remaining portions of the New Testament other hymn fragments are found. Scholars generally agree that certain rhythmically phrased passages from the Epistles of St. Paul and from the Revelation of St. John are probably quotations from early Christian hymns. In the Book of Revelation,

And the four beasts had each of them six wings about them; and were full of eyes within; and they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come (Rev. 4:8),

reference is made to the words of Isaiah,

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty (Is. 6:3).

This passage has been expanded into the Tersanctus of the Western Rite. The Song of Moses recorded in the opening verses of the fifteenth chapter of the Book of Exodus is recalled in one of the visions of St. John,

And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints. Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only are holy: for all nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgements are made manifest (Rev. 15:3-4).

The quotations in St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians,

Awake thou that sleepest (Eph. 5:14),

may be considered a free rendering of certain passages in Isaiah.<sup>8</sup>

The "faithful sayings" in Paul's letter to his young students Timothy and Titus are also considered poetic quotations. The passage opening,

<sup>7</sup> Psalms 113-116 were used at the Passover Feast. Psalms 113-114 were sung before the feast; the rest were sung afterwards.

<sup>8</sup> Messenger, op. cit., p. 7.

For if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him  
(II Tim. 2:11-13),

possesses a definite lyrical character. The lines beginning,

Who is blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord  
of Lords (I Tim. 6:15-16),

reveal the poetic style of the Hebrew Scripture.<sup>9</sup> There are certain  
digressions in the Epistles, formulas of belief or praise, which have  
the quality of a hymn.

God was manifest in the flesh,  
justified in the Spirit,  
seen of angels,  
preached unto the Gentiles,  
believed on in the world  
received up into glory (I Tim. 3:16),

Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth;  
who, when he was reviled, reviled not again;  
when he suffered, he threatened not; . . . (I Pet. 2:22-25)

Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be  
equal with God;  
But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of  
a servant . . .  
That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in  
heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth;  
And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord,  
to the glory of God the Father (Philippians 2:6-11).

The following examples are given as examples of refrains:

For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom  
be glory for ever (Rom. 11:36),

Unto him be glory in the church by Christ Jesus, throughout all  
ages, world without end (Eph. 3:21),

Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise  
God, be honour, and glory for ever and ever (I Tim. 1:17).

The Apostle Paul and other writers of the New Testament freely quote  
from a variety of sources. They have used hymn verses to reinforce their

<sup>9</sup>E. F. Scott, The Pastoral Epistles (New York: Harper, n.d.), p. 11.

teaching and to instill a devotional mood. The apocalyptic vision of St. John contains several magnificent hymns of praise which attest not only to the form and content of the early hymn, but also to the practice of worship in song. "The praises of the heavenly host are mirrored in the praises of the congregation upon earth."<sup>10</sup>

And they sang a new song saying,  
Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof:  
for thou wast slain, and redeemed us to God by thy blood . . . and  
has made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign  
on the earth. (Rev. 5:9-10)

The well known canticle Dignus est Agnus is composed of passages from St. John's visions.

Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power and riches  
and wisdom: and strength and honor and glory and blessing (5:12).

Blessing and honor and glory and power be unto Him that sitteth  
upon the throne: and unto the Lamb forever and ever (5:13).

Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and  
true are thy ways, thou King of saint. (15:3)

Who shall not fear Thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou  
only art holy (15:4).

Praise our God, all ye his servants, and ye that fear him, both  
small and great (19:5).

Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth (19:6).

These and other passages cited as quotations illustrate that the early Church had a different conception of poetry or hymnody than we do today. We today usually regard a hymn as a poem written in clearly marked verses of definite meter and structure, adorned to a greater or lesser degree with regularly recurring rhymes. The early Church however found itself more at home in the traditional Hebrew concept of poetry which

<sup>10</sup>Messenger, op. cit., p. 8.

employed parallelism, uniformity, and the repetition of words and word order. The tone of the hymn is usually a very objective worship and praise of God the Almighty. There is a feeling of "bigness" and awe in these hymns, yet they are tempered with deep humility and love to the Christ who was slain for the redemption of all men.

### The Apostolic Church

One of the roots of early Christian Greek hymnody was the practice of poetic improvisation. The art of writing and speaking poetical prose was practiced by the Greeks for centuries before. It is only natural to assume that, among the early Christians, those who led the worship strove to continue in this tradition. Justin Martyr's account of the liturgy of second century records:

When we have concluded our prayers, bread is brought, and wine and water, and the president in like manner offers up prayer and thanksgiving with all his might (Underlining ours).

Such improvisation tended to assume a distinctive liturgical style. "The bishops" says Don Leclercq, "must have regarded it as a point of honour not to improvise with less abundance and facility than the prophets who were hierarchically inferior to them."<sup>12</sup>

The Didache or Teaching of the Twelve Disciples, discovered in Constantinople in 1875, is a second-century treatise, the second part of which includes a ritual of baptism, fasting, and the Eucharist. The Eucharistic prayers recorded may be taken as examples of the poetical

<sup>11</sup> Justin Martyr, Apology I, 67. Quoted in Henry Bettenson, Documents of the Christian Church (New York: Oxford, 1947), p. 94.

<sup>12</sup> C. S. Phillips, Hymnody Past and Present (New York: Macmillan, 1937), p. 17.

nature of the prayers of the day. The following translation of a portion of these illustrate the style of this early poetry.

Remember, O Lord, Thy Church  
 To deliver it from all evil and to perfect it in Thy love.  
 Sanctify it and gather it together from the four winds into  
 Thy Kingdom  
 Which Thou has prepared for it.  
 For Thine is the power and the glory for ever and ever.  
 Let grace come and let this world pass away.  
 Hosanna to the God of David.  
 If any be holy, let him come: if any be not let him repent.  
 Maran-atha. Amen.<sup>13</sup>

In these rudiments of rhythmical prayers of the first and second centuries, we have the beginnings of distinctive Christian poetry. These became models for later Christian verse. It is believed that the more lengthy Eucharistic prayers were punctuated by congregational responses. The congregations spoke or chanted to the intercessions of the prayer such phrases as Amen, Maranatha, Hosanna, Alleluia, Kyrie Eleison or some other brief refrain. This practice in the nature of a litany provided another source for the evolution of hymns.

Some hymnologists claim that the "gift of tongues" spoken of by the Apostle Paul is this practice of speaking the prayers in poetical prose. Passages from the Book of Acts may refer to this usage, for example, in the case of the Gentiles at Caesarea, who, "speak with tongues and magnify God," or the Ephesians who, "spoke with tongues and prophesied."<sup>14</sup> It is readily seen how this practice could under rising emotions degenerate into gibberish and incoherent thought, as is the case in some of the "Holiness Sects" today. The disorder of such

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>14</sup>Acts 10:45-46, 19:6.

procedure brought upon itself the Apostle's condemnation of this practice as well as the disapproval of many of the heathen.

The legendary origin of the Te Deum which is said to have been composed in solemn ecstasy by Saints Ambrose and Augustine is an indication that ecstatic improvisation was known even in the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries.

Shortly after, men began to break away from the hymn pattern set by the Old Testament Scripture and the liturgy. The choice of subject matter was more lateral, and the style became more varied. The historian Tertullian (c. 200 A.D.) writes that "Each man stirred to sing songs publicly to God either from the Holy Scripture or of his own invention according to his ability." Though we have many references to the singing of hymns in the public worship of the Church, we know relatively little about the worship service of the early Church. We have a reference in the writings of Pliny (62-c.113) that they sang, "a song to Christ as God, sung alternately among themselves."<sup>15</sup>

Clemens Blume makes the interesting observation that in pre-Christian literature the Latin word hymnus is unknown.<sup>16</sup> The word regularly used, as in the example quoted above, is carmen. Early Christian writers at first paraphrased the Greek ὕμνος with Laus Dei cum cantu. Later the Greek was transliterated into Latin to designate a specific type of song. The Greek ὕμνος, to sing, was used of a praise song to the gods or to heroes. It was usually accompanied with the cythara. In the New Testament the noun ὕμνος occurs twice, in Ephesians 5:19 and in Colossians 3:16. It

<sup>15</sup>Pliny, Ep. 10:96. "Carmen Christo quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem."

<sup>16</sup>Clemens Blume, S. J. "Hymnody and Hymnology," The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1907).

is used together with synonyms *ψαλμός* and *ὠδὴ πνευματικὴ*. The verb *ὕμνειν* is used in Matthew 26:30, Mark 14:26, Acts 16:25 and Hebrews 2:12.

Authentic Greek hymnody begins with Clement of Alexandria (170-220). His *Ἕμνος τοῦ σωτῆρος κριστοῦ*, "Hymn to Christ the Savior," is appended to his *Paedagogus*, a work of instruction for the catechumens. It is a hymn of praise and thanksgiving on the part of the newly received into Church membership. In it "Christ is addressed in the familiar oriental imagery of the guide and shepherd."<sup>17</sup> A translation from the Ante-Nicene Christian Library begins:

Bridle of colts untamed,  
Over our will presiding;  
Flight of unwandering birds,  
Our flight securely guiding; . . .

#### The Hymns of the Heretics

The value of hymns for the dissemination of doctrine seems to have been realized by the heretical groups, more so than by the orthodox believers. It is from the hymns of the heretics as well as from the apologetics of the orthodox writers that we learn the emphasis of their false teachings. The Gnostic sects, the Arians, and heretical groups of all varieties of opinions were using hymns as a means of expressing their beliefs. These groups, unhampered by the Hebrew traditions of religious poetry, were able to make use of popular forms of poetry. Their hymns met the needs of the times, and by them were able to convert many converts to their cause.

---

<sup>17</sup> Messenger, *op. cit.*, p. 23. The translation is by William Wilson from the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, IV (Edinburgh: Clark, 1867), 343.

Ephraem Syrus (b.307) strove to counteract the influence of the Gnostic poets, especially that of his countryman Bardesanes. His hymns are metrical in the sense of having lines with a fixed number of syllables and strophic divisions. An Easter hymn of his begins:

Blessed be the Messiah  
 Who has given us a hope  
 That the dead shall rise again.<sup>18</sup>

"It is possible that the hymns of Ephraem were influenced by the Syriac Odes of Solomon, discovered in 1909, which were produced in the first century. Whether the odes themselves are of Gnostic or Christian origin cannot be definitely asserted, but the probability of the latter is strong. For a full discussion of this most interesting but highly controversial topic the work of special commentators must be consulted."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup>Ibid. Quoted from H. Burgess, Select Metrical Hymns and Hymals of Ephraem Syrus (London: Blackader, 1853), p. 77.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.



## CHAPTER III

### THE BEGINNINGS OF LATIN HYMNODY

Contemporary with the development of hymnody within the Eastern Church, the Western or Roman Church increased in prestige and power. Together with the rising domination of the Roman Church, Latin became the liturgical language for the worship of her churches.

#### Saint Hilary

In the beginning of the fourth century the first Latin hymns appear. As was the case in the Eastern Church, the Latin hymns, too, arose from the current theological controversy, namely, the nature of the Holy Trinity. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers (c. 310-366)<sup>1</sup> is credited as the first Latin hymn writer. Hilary was born of heathen parents. His family was quite wealthy and influential, and they saw to it that Hilary received an excellent education. Early in life he married and had a daughter. About the year 350 he was converted to Christianity and thereupon renounced his pagan religion, his wife, and his daughter. His sincere and devoted faith gained the respect and admiration of his fellow Christians. Although a layman and married, Hilary was elected to the office of Bishop of Poitiers in 353. Soon after his consecration as Bishop, he received a visit from St. Martin of Tours. As Bishop, St. Hilary distinguished himself by his strenuous opposition to the Arian heresy. The Roman Emperor Constantius,

---

<sup>1</sup>Some authorities give the year 368 for the death of Hilary. The date usually is January 13. His Saint's Day is celebrated on the following day, January 14, so that it does not fall within the octave of Epiphany.

himself an Arian, exiled Hilary who by his opposition had earned the title of Malleus Arianorum, "The Hammer of the Arians."

Exiled in the year 356 and living in Phrygia in Asia Minor for more than six years, Hilary became familiar with the Greek metrical hymns and with the metrical prayers. The value of using hymns to teach the true doctrine became apparent to him. Upon his return to Poitiers in 362 he translated several Eastern hymns into Latin and added to them some of his own composition. His efforts were not too successful, but they were the beginnings of hymnody in the West. To his disgust and discouragement "Hilary could not arouse his compatriots to love these new hymns. He made no secret of his opinion of the music-poetic talents of the Gauls, whom he called in hymnorum carmine indociles."<sup>2</sup> But perhaps we should not be so hasty in agreeing with his judgment of the Gauls, for Adrian Fortescue comments: "His hymns are not such as would become popular. They are theological treatises in verse."<sup>3</sup> But on the other hand, Isidore of Seville (d. 636) writes: "Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers in Gaul, a man of unusual eloquence, was the first prominent hymn writer."<sup>4</sup> St. Jerome (d. 420) in his Liber de viris illustribus is the first writer to state that Hilary is the author of commentaries,<sup>5</sup> theological works,<sup>6</sup> and a Liber Hymnorum.

<sup>2</sup>Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization (New York: W. W. Norton, c.1941), p. 98.

<sup>3</sup>A. G. McDougall, Pange Lingua (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1916), Introduction p. xxi. The Introduction is by Fortescue.

<sup>4</sup>De ecclesiasticis officiis 1, 6. Quoted in Ruth Ellis Messenger, The Medieval Latin Hymn (Washington, D.C.: Capital Press, 1953), p. 1.

<sup>5</sup>Commentarium in Mattheum. This is one of the earliest commentaries on that Gospel.

<sup>6</sup>His principal work, Libri xii. de Trinitate, is against the Arian heresy.

In 1887 a fragment of St. Hilary's Liber Hymnorum was discovered. Though many later hymns are attributed to him, only the three hymns found in the Liber Hymnorum are regarded as authentic examples of his work. They are: Ante saecula qui manens (O Thou who didst exist before time), a hymn of seventy verses to the Holy Trinity; Fefellit saevum verbum factum te, care (The incarnate Word hath deceived Death), an Easter hymn; and Adae carnis gloriosae (In the person of the Heavenly Adam), a hymn of the temptation of Christ. These hymns are ponderous and far too lengthy for congregational use. Two other hymns usually attributed, though without authentic proof, are Hymnum dicat turba fratrum<sup>7</sup> (Let your hymn be sung, ye faithful), a metrical version of the Life of Christ; and Beata nobis gaudia anni reduxit orbita<sup>8</sup> (The circle of the year has again brought back to us blessed joys). Because of his style it is conceivable that the writings of Hilary hardly outlived the writer himself.

#### Pope Damasus

Pope Damasus (305-384), a contemporary of St. Hilary, is also said to have been the originator of Latin hymnody. Unfortunately, all but two of his hymns have been lost, and the authenticity of those two is questioned. One of the hymns is in praise of St. Andrew the Apostle and the other for St. Agatha. Damasus is usually credited for introducing the "jubilus" into Western song. This ornate and lengthy melodic singing of the final vowel of the Alleluia was the response of the people to the psalmody sung by the

<sup>7</sup>The earliest reference to the hymn is in a 7th century ms.

<sup>8</sup>Matthew Britt, The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal (New York: Benziger Bros., 1924), pp. 168-169.

precentor.<sup>9</sup> Alleluia singing is still very popular in the Eastern churches.

### Saint Ambrose

It is St. Ambrose who is honored with the title of "Father of Latin Hymnody." Ambrose (340-397) was born in Gaul, the son of Ambrosius, Prefect of the Gauls. On the death of his father in 353 his mother returned to Rome with her three children of whom Ambrose was the youngest. Here he studied and entered the legal profession. Because of his distinguishing service, in 374 he was appointed as Consular of Liguria and Aemilia. He established his residence at Milan. A few months after Ambrose moved to Milan, Bishop Auxentius, an Arian, died. Because the election of a new bishop was a matter of great importance to either side of the theological controversy, there was much excitement regarding the election of the new bishop. Ambrose felt that he as Consular should be present to maintain peace and order in the church auditorium. Suddenly, by acclamation of the crowd, Ambrose was elected to the vacant chair. At the time Ambrose was but a catechumen, but he submitted to baptism and within the week was ordained a priest and consecrated Bishop of Milan on December 7, 374 at the age of thirty-four years.

The following year the death of Emperor Valentinian I brought the new bishop into conflict with the Empress-mother Justina, the second wife of Valentinian. Justina had allied herself with the Arians and demanded that Ambrose submit the Church of Milan to the schismatics. This Ambrose refused to do, and his resistance was supported by Gratian, Valentinian's eldest

---

<sup>9</sup>Long, op. cit., p. 146.

son. Upon the assassination of Gratian in 383, Ambrose found that he faced the Empire alone.

In Holy Week, 385, the Emperor Valentinian II, son of Justin, ordered the siege of the Cathedral of Milan. Ambrose and those holding the Cathedral against the armed forces of the Arians passed the time by taking turns singing psalms and hymns composed by Ambrose.<sup>10</sup> St. Augustine,<sup>11</sup> later a close friend of Ambrose, records:

At this time was it here first instituted after the custom of the Eastern Churches, that hymns and Psalms should be sung, lest the people should be worn out with anxiety and fatigue. From that day to this the custom has been kept; many, indeed nearly all Thy congregations throughout the world have copied it.<sup>12</sup>

"To relieve the monotony of their watches, Ambrose frequently addressed them with words of encouragement. His fine equanimity triumphed over impending disaster. He taught the people there and then the hymns of the early church."<sup>13</sup>

In addition to metrical hymns, Ambrose also borrowed the practice of antiphonal singing of the Psalms from the East. Before his time in the West Psalms had been sung by one cantor alone; the people added only the last nouns of each verse.<sup>14</sup> The practice of antiphonal singing of Psalms brought to Milan by Ambrose soon spread rapidly from there throughout all Europe.

---

<sup>10</sup>Aquinas Byrnes, The Hymns of the Dominican Missal and Breviary (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1943), p. 3.

<sup>11</sup>St. Augustine was not converted until the year 387.

<sup>12</sup>St. Augustine, Confessions, 9:7. Augustine records that his mother, St. Monica, was in the Cathedral of Milan with St. Ambrose during this siege.

<sup>13</sup>Samuel W. Duffield, Latin Hymns (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1889), p. 53.

<sup>14</sup>A. G. McDougall, op. cit., Introduction, p. xxii.

The works of St. Ambrose are masterpieces in depth and in clarity of their thought. Perhaps St. Ambrose's own definition of a hymn will give us an insight into the popularity of his verses. A hymn is a "song with praise of the Lord. If you praise the Lord and do not sing, you do not utter a hymn. If you praise anything that does not pertain to the praise of the Lord, and if you praise in song you do not utter a hymn. A hymn, therefore, has these three things: song and praise and the Lord."<sup>15</sup>

The hymns of Ambrose were dedicated to the statement of orthodox belief and the Christian way of life. He wrote simply; his chief inspiration was drawn from the Scripture. He, like Luther so many years later, wrote his hymns keeping in mind their educational value, and he therefore kept them simple. He had in mind hymns which could easily and quickly be learned and memorized for use by the congregation. Therefore, he chose a simple meter, the Iambic dimeter, for his work. This meter is very simple and lyrical, and his hymns became extremely popular. Ambrose "deliberately clothed the highest of doctrine in the plainest of raiment."<sup>16</sup> The popularity of this simple style led many poets to imitate and to attribute their own compositions to St. Ambrose.

#### Ambrosiani

Up until the eleventh century the Iambic dimeter<sup>17</sup> was used almost exclusively for all hymns. It was only after the sixteenth century that

<sup>15</sup>Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York: W. W. Norton, c.1940), p. 104.

<sup>16</sup>Byrnes, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>17</sup>The meters of the hymns are discussed further on in this paper.

other meters began to be used more extensively than this one. From the time of Ambrose (397) to Charlemagne (814) many anonymous and many well known poets retained and used the Iambic dimeter for their verses. They have, thereby, been classified as Ambrosians. A few such men are Prudentius, Sedulius, Fortunatus, Gregory the Great, Paul the Deacon, Rabanus Maurus, and King Chilperic I (d.584). The latter, a member of the Merovingian line, was highly gifted but a profligate. Extant are two of his hymns in honor of St. Medardus. The "verses are bad, content profound, imagery striking . . . they never found place in the liturgy."<sup>18</sup>

The hymns of Ambrose are far outnumbered by those of his unknown imitators. "Moreover, as literary criticism proceeds the number of hymns of proved authorship diminishes. We must relinquish authorship based on legendary fame or hearsay, frankly admitting that a given hymn may be attributed, only, to a particular author, if that has been an age-old belief."<sup>19</sup>

#### The Hymns of Ambrose

Many hymnologists usually count fourteen hymns as the genuine efforts of Ambrose. Father Dreves,<sup>20</sup> who made a study of early hymnaries in the Vatican and Milan makes the following classification:<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup>Clemens Blume, S. J., "Hymnody and Hymnology," The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: Robert Appleton, Co., 1910), VII, 601.

<sup>19</sup>Messenger, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>20</sup>Dreves is co-author with Blume of two most valuable books on the Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages, Analecta hymnica medi aevi - 55 vols., and Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnedichtung - 2 vols.

<sup>21</sup>This list given in Britt, op. cit., p. 355.

Reese and Messenger concede that only #1-4 are authentic. Blume in article in Catholic Encyclopedia agrees with Dreves. Benedictine

## I. Certified as his by early writers,

1. Aeterna rerum Conditor.
2. Deus Creator omnium.
3. Illuminans altissimus.
4. Veni Redemptor gentium.
5. Jam surgit hora tertia.

## II. Others also genuine,

6. Aeterna Christi munera, Et martyrura.
7. Agnes beatae virginis.
8. Amore Christi nobilis.
9. Apostolorum passio.
10. Apostolorum supplicium.
11. Grates tibi, Jesu, novas.
12. Hic est dies verus Dei.
13. Splendor paternae gloriae.
14. Victor, Naboz, Felix, pii.

## III. Possibly his,

15. Jesu corona virginum.
16. Nunc, Sancte nobis Spiritus.
17. Rector potens, verax Deus.
18. Rerum Deus tenax vigor.

Our knowledge of these hymns is restricted to their texts. The evenly built strophes indicate that their melodies must have had the character of folk-songs. But we can say nothing definite of the melodies used by the congregation in the singing of the hymns.<sup>22</sup>

## Prudentius

The work of Prudentius (348-c.413), a contemporary of both Ambrose and Pope Damasus shows a marked difference in writing style from these

---

editors assign #1-6, 13 and Consors Paterni luminis, Sermo refectio artubus, Vit porta Christi parva, O lux Beata Trinitas, and Oratio mente Dominum. Daniel attributes ninety-two hymns to Ambrose.

<sup>22</sup>Lang, op. cit., p. 49.



two men. Writing rather for the educated than for the common people, Prudentius, "the first Christian poet", wrote long poems which were more like odes. He portrayed the lives of the saints and the martyrs in the form of short epics or ballads. His hymns are didactic and theological essays.

Little is known of his life other than the little that can be learned from his own writings. A native of northern Spain, he served as lawyer and judge. It is believed that he attained the office of Roman Governor. At the age of fifty-seven he retired from active civic life and devoted the rest of his life to the service of God and to the writing of sacred poetry. It is said that he dedicated his life to writing sacred verse to atone for his profligate life as a youth.<sup>23</sup> The most famous of his longer poems, the Psychomachia (The Soul's Conflict), is an epic in which virtue, modesty, humility, and patience are personified and fight against the persons of vice, lust and anger. In the Middle Ages this work became very popular and influenced much medieval literature. His works include two collections of hymns, the Cathermerinon (The Christian's Day) which deals with the duties and observances of the devout life, and the Peristephanon, a series of fourteen longer poems in praise of the martyrs of the Church.

Neither of these two collections was intended for liturgical use but rather for private devotional reading. In spite of their length, some of the hymns were included in later hymnaries, especially in Spain. "Hymns from the Cathermerinon, either in their original form or in cento, spread throughout the Church, while the martyr hymns were drawn upon, but

---

<sup>23</sup> Catholic Encyclopedia, under "Prudentius." XII, 516.

to a lesser extent."<sup>24</sup> The best known hymn of the former collection is his hymn for Advent, Corde natus ex parentis (Of the Father's love begotten). Another one of his hymns which is used today is the hymn for the Holy Innocents, Salvete, flores martyrum ("Sweet Flowrets of the martyr band").

Prudentius' poems are more strictly correct than those of Ambrose and other contemporary poets. They are written in verse based on quantity.<sup>25</sup> His love for Rome and the classical tradition together with an intense Christian fervor produced poetical works which were far above the average of the day. His works became models for later poets of the Middle Ages who delighted in using Christian history, legendry, and allegory in their verse. This contribution to the development of Christian hymnody was of immeasurable importance.

---

<sup>24</sup>Messenger, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>25</sup>Frederick B. Arz, The Mind of the Middle Ages (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), p. 87.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE HYMN USED IN THE DAILY OFFICE

To Hilary, Ambrose, Damasus and Prudentius we owe the origin of Latin hymnody. The efforts of these men established a new field in Western culture. But it is to the monasteries that we owe the preservation and spread of Latin hymnody. The first monastic founders and leaders in the Western Church, Caesarius (d.542), Aurelius (d.551), and especially Benedict (480-543), were all interested in the hymns of worship and advocated their use. In the regulations for the religious communities they included Latin hymns in the daily worship at the monasteries. These were sung at the service of the canonical hours and were known as the hour hymns or office hymns.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Daily Office

The origin of the daily office is vague. Undoubtedly, it developed first from the vigils which preceded the celebration of the Eucharist. The vigils continued to be observed even when the Eucharist was not celebrated.<sup>2</sup> Later an evening and a dawn service were introduced. Thus the first three "hours" were established: Vespers, Nocturns (now called Matins), and Lauds.<sup>3</sup> By the fourth century the daily worship of the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ruth Ellis Messenger, The Medieval Hymn (Washington, D.C.: Capital Press, 1953), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>F. Gebrol, "Office", The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1910), XI, 219.

<sup>3</sup>Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization (New York: W. W. Norton, c. 1941), p. 44.

Church was established at the third, sixth, and ninth hours. At the end of the fourth and early fifth centuries the cycle was completed. "The full series therefore included the nocturnal cursus; vespers, compline, matins (nocturns and lauds), and the diurnal cursus; prime, terce, sext, none."<sup>4</sup> The Christian practice of setting aside specific times each day for prayer and praise is largely due to a literal understanding of the words of the Psalms: "I will meditate on thee in the morning . . . , I arose at midnight to give praise to thee . . . Evening and morning and at noon I will speak . . . Seven times a day do I praise thee because of Thy righteousness." Because of this last phrase, which is from Psalm 119, seven hours or offices a day have become the usual rule. The record in the Book of Acts indicates that the early Church retained the sixth and ninth hours for prayer.

At first, the office was little more than the reading or chanting of a few Psalms and some prayers. It is difficult to say just when the hymn became a recognized part of the office.<sup>5</sup> In the course of time, however, the simple assemblies of early Christians developed into the daily offices of prayer which had an elaborate cycle of readings and hymns appropriate for each of the hours as well as for the ever increasing feasts in the church calendar.

#### Monastic Life

The rule of St. Benedict for the monks provided for seven services or offices of praise and prayer.

<sup>4</sup>Messenger, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup>Aquinas Hyman, The Hymns of the Dominican Missal and Breviary (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1943), p. 6.

A typical monastic day, as organized after St. Benedict's time began at midnight with the service of Natins and Lauds, each taking about half an hour. The monks then returned to bed. They rose with the sun . . . At Day break there was the service of Prime followed by regular Mass. Then the monks went to the chapter house where the tasks for the day were assigned; a sermon might be preached, and those who desired might confess. The monks gathered again at the third hours of daylight for Terce, followed by High Mass and Sext with short intervals between. It was now mid-day and the monks entered the refectory for dinner, their first meal . . . The monks then worked or read until the ninth hour when they gathered for Nons, a short service. At the tenth hours Vespers was sung; then came supper. Later Compline was said and the monks retired.<sup>6</sup>

The emphasis in the "Rule of Benedict" was that there be no idle time. Roughly speaking, the monk's time was divided into three portions after allowing eight hours for sleep. First of all, the common services took some four and a half hours altogether. Second came manual work in the field or cloister for about six to seven hours. This was an integral part of St. Benedict's ideal, but when the houses became wealthy this portion of the rule was abandoned. And finally, to the reading of the Scriptures and the Fathers the rest of the time was allotted.<sup>7</sup> The emphasis of the order upon worship and study produced many manuscript copies which have been used through the centuries.

#### The "Old Hymnal"

The Old Hymnal is the name usually given to one of the earliest collection of service hymns.<sup>8</sup> It is a collection of thirty-four office

<sup>6</sup>Frederick B. Arts, The Mind of the Middle Ages (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), p. 186.

<sup>7</sup>C. W. Previte-Orton, The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), p. 205.

<sup>8</sup>Messenger, op. cit., p. 10.

hymns used at the end of the sixth century.<sup>9</sup> Two hymns from the collection are in the Lutheran Hymnal, the hymn for lauds Splendor paternae gloriae (L.H. 550) and Christe qui lux es et dies (L.H. 559), the hymn for compline.

#### Growth of the Order of St. Benedict

Benedictine houses soon began to spread throughout Europe. Wherever the Benedictine Order penetrated, the use of hymns increased. Many of its members using the hymns of Ambrose as a model turned to writing hymns for use by their brethren in their own monasteries. Soon a full complement of hymns for every office and liturgical festival was provided.

The work of the Benedictine Order received great support from the Papacy. Gregory the Great, himself a Benedictine, is noted for his great missionary programs in the North and for his interest in ecclesiastical music and poetry. It was largely through this order that Gregory accomplished his program for the Church. Although there is much dispute as to just how much Gregory himself contributed to the music and hymnody of the Church,<sup>10</sup> it must be conceded that his interest in the project provided a great impetus. Gregory, an unexcelled administrator, was interested primarily in the church organization. He saw the value of a uniform chant and the spread of hymns in the missionary program which he had set up for the Church in Northern Europe.

<sup>9</sup>Clemens Blume and G. M. Dreyer, Analecta hymnica medii aevi, LI, (Leipzig, 1886-1922), Introduction, p. xx.

<sup>10</sup>The Benedictine editors credit him with eight hymns.

### The Opposition of the Church to the Use of Hymns

The great paradox of this age in the Church is that while the monastic use of hymns increased and received favor, outside the monastery walls the use of hymns was forbidden. Especially among the secular clergy of Spain there was still that old prejudice against non-scriptural hymns in favor of the Psalms. Just at the time when the religious orders were beginning to use hymns in their daily worship, the Council of Laodicea, (c.364) ruled against the use of "private hymns". In Spain the Council of Braga (563) repeated the decree forbidding the secular clergy to use hymns in their worship.

But in spite of the decrees forbidding their use, hymns were continuously used in the daily worship of the various monastic orders; new hymns were written and the common people enjoyed singing them. As is so often the case, the church followed after popular usage in adopting the hymns of St. Ambrose and his school. The Council of Tours (567) permitted the use of Ambrosian and other hymns. As a matter of fact, this council under the leadership of Isidore, Archbishop of Seville (d.636), completely reversed the previous Councils. Canon thirteen of the Council reads:

As with prayers, so also with hymns written for the praise of God, let no one of you disapprove of them but publish them abroad both in Gaul and Spain. Let those be punished with excommunication who have ventured to repudiate hymns.<sup>11</sup>

Almost immediately hymnody in Spain became very popular. It built upon the works of Ambrose, Sedulius and notably Prudentius, their own countryman. The Mozarabic Hymnal<sup>12</sup> has become a rich source for many

<sup>11</sup>Messenger, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup>Mozarabic is a term applied to the Christian inhabitant of Spain under Moslem rule and also to the rites of the Christian Church pre-

Latin hymns. It contains over two hundred hymns not including the songs adopted from the hymnal works of Ambrose, Prudentius, Sedulius or borrowed from the Roman liturgy.<sup>13</sup> The writers, all bishops, were Isidore of Seville (d.636), Braulio of Saragossa (d.651), Eugenius II of Toledo (d.657), Guiricus of Barcelona (d.666) and Cyzilla of Toledo (d.657). It is doubtful which hymn in the collection was written by which bishop. Most of the hymns, however, are written in the meter of Ambrose, the Iambic.

#### Benedictine Growth in Gaul

In Gaul the Benedictine monasteries enjoyed great growth and prestige under the patronage of the Carolingian rulers, Pippin, Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and Charles the Bald. Under their guidance many liturgical reforms were instituted, ecclesiastical music promoted, and literary works encouraged. Charlemagne considered it his chosen duty to promulgate the Benedictine Rule with its choir rules, office and festive hymns. At the time of Charlemagne the future of liturgical hymnody was uncertain as the forces of Roman usage and Benedictine practice were in conflict. To this day the Benedictine and other monastic orders have retained their own office and have not submitted to the Roman Rite.

#### Later Latin Hymnody

Following the rapid spread of hymnody throughout Europe by the monastic orders, hymn writing became very prolific. In the period from

---

vailing throughout the Visigothic (466-711) and Moslem periods.

<sup>13</sup>Clemens Blume, "Hymnody and Hymnology", The Catholic Encyclopedia, VII, 601.



the ninth to the sixteenth centuries poets were no longer satisfied with the simple and almost austere style of the Ambrosian hymn. Their style became more florid, and they used much more liberty in their poetical writings. The subject of the hymns shifted towards a more subjective interpretation of such topics as the Passion, the wounds of Jesus, The Holy Name of Jesus, the joys of Paradise, the terror of Judgment, the Virgin Mary, and the lives of the Saints. From this listing of subjects it is easily seen how the style would become more and more sentimental. Writers of this period included Thomas Aquinas, Bernard of Cluny, Thomas of Celano, and Adam of St. Victor.

Hymnody in the West reached its height in the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. Baumgartner in his Geschichte der Weltliteratur<sup>14</sup> writes that:

In this religious poetry, the entire church cooperated, popes, kings, cardinal, bishops, the brightest men of science, influential statesmen and ambassadors, humble monks and simple schoolmasters . . . The versatility and universality of religious culture, the harmony of mental life with the life of feeling lent to religious poetry the richness and depth, that fullness and fervour, which irresistibly attract even the unbeliever.

The florid style of later poets marked the end of Latin hymnody. Since the sixteenth century there has been neither a great author of Latin hymns nor a school of renown that has made a remarkable contribution to this field. One reason is that at this time, the time of the Reformation movements within the Church, the Roman Church no longer controlled the field of art. She had lost her place as patroness of the arts. People no longer dedicated their services entirely to the Church; they no longer allowed themselves to be bound by ecclesiastical rules.

---

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., VII, 603.

The Latin language had fallen into general disuse; it was no longer the language of the people. This is the second reason for the marked decline of Latin hymns. Nationalism had taken hold in Europe and each nation fostered its own language, and so Latin was understood by fewer and fewer people.

Then, too, the scholars of the age frowned upon the poetry of Ambrose and the early Church. To their Humanistic mode of thinking no Latin poem was correct that did not measure up to the classical standard of the Augustan Age. "The Humanists," says Clemens Elms,<sup>15</sup> "abominated the rhythmical poetry of the Middle Ages from an exaggerated enthusiasm for ancient classical forms and meter. Hymnody then received its death blow as, under the revision of the Breviary under Pope Urban VIII, the medieval rhythmical hymns were forced into more classical forms by means of so-called corrections."

Pope Urban, the last of the Humanist Popes, appointed a commission to revise the Breviary. The Jesuit scholars, Sarbiewski, Strada, Galluzzi, and Petrucci were appointed to correct the hymns of the Breviary. Their work resulted in 952 corrections in the 98 hymns then in the Breviary. Eighty-one hymns were corrected: 58 alterations were made in the Hymns of the Psalter, 359 in the Proper of the Season, 283 in the Proper of the Saints, and 252 in the Common of the Saints. The first lines of more than 30 hymns were altered. In this revision some hymns were practically rewritten, others were scarcely touched.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., VII, 601.

<sup>16</sup>Matthew Britt, The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal (New York: Benziger Bros., 1924), p. 171.

It 1629, the Sacred Congregation of Rites approved of the alterations, and by the Bull Divinam Psalmodiam in 1632, Pope Urban introduced the corrections into the Roman Breviary.

From time to time since this revision new offices and new hymns have been introduced into the Roman Breviary by the Sacred Congregation of rites. At present there are about 158 hymns in the Breviary, of which sixty have been added since the days of Urban VIII.<sup>17</sup>

The Monastic orders never adopted the revisions made by Urban. A comparative study of the hymn texts used in the Roman Breviary and in the Breviaries of the Benedictines, Carthusians, Cistercians, Dominicans, and a few others, shows that the monastic orders still use the hymns in their original form. And strangely enough, the two great churches of Rome, St. Peter's and St. John Lateran, also have not accepted the revision.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup>John Julian, A Dictionary of Hymnology (New York: Ch. Scribner's Sons, 1892), p. 171.

<sup>18</sup>Britt, op. cit., p. 25.

## CHAPTER V

### THE METER OF THE HYMNS

In the composition of Latin hymns, Christian poets have employed a great variety of meters. But the Iambic meter is by far the most common. In Latin, verses are not measured by single feet as in English, but rather in pairs of dipodies. Latin verse requires four Iambics to make a Dimeter; while in English a verse with the same number of feet is called a tetrameter. A dimeter, therefore, in this meter contains four iambic feet; a trimeter, six; and a tetrameter, eight.<sup>1</sup>

Early classical Latin poetry, like the Greek, was quantitative poetry. This type of poetry, based on artificial and arbitrary rules of quantity, was only for the cultured and the educated.<sup>2</sup> The common people, on the other hand, had a rhythmical and accentual poetry. The ballads and folk-songs had a definite rhythm.

St. Ambrose and the entire Ambrosian school of hymn writing faced the problem of making hymns attractive to both classes of people, the intellectual and the common. So they sought a compromise between the quantitative and the rhythmical principles. "These writers," says Britt, "made use of the simplest of all the lyric meters, the Iambic dimeter, with its regular succession of short and long syllables; but they took care that the accents should in general fall on the long syllables. Their

---

<sup>1</sup>Matthew Britt, *The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal* (New York: Benziger Bros., 1924), p. 26.

<sup>2</sup>Prudentius writing primarily for the educated and cultured used the classical style for his poetry. See "Hilary" in chapter II.

quantitative hymns can therefore be read rhythmically."<sup>3</sup>

As early as the fifth century many hymn writers used the rhythmical principle only. And in the Middle Ages all sense of long and short syllables had vanished. And with the increased emphasis on rhythm and accent, rhyme also became more prominent.

By far the greater part of the Breviary hymns are composed in the Iambic dimeter. All but three hymns considered in this study are written in this meter.

The following hymn of Ambrose with the translation by John M. Neale illustrates the Iambic meter ("u" indicates an unaccented syllable; - an accented syllable):

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

Te lucis ante terminum,  
Rerum Creator poscimus,  
Ut pro tua clementia  
Sis praesul et custodia.

Before the ending of the day,  
Creator of the world we pray,  
That with Thy wondrous favor Thou  
Wouldest be our guard and  
keeper now.

The hymns Urbs beata Ierusalem and Tibi Christi splendor Patris exemplify the Trochaic tetrameter. Correctly set up this meter is in three lines, thus:

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

Urbs beata Ierusalem, dicta pacis visio,  
Quae construitur in coelis vivis ex lapidibus  
Et angelis coornata ut sponsata comite.<sup>4</sup>

The caesura always comes after the fourth foot, and so the verse can

<sup>3</sup>Britt, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

be divided into a trochaic dimeter acatalectic and a trochaic dimeter catalectic.

Angularis fundamentum  
 lapsis Christus missus est,  
 Qui compage parietis  
 in utroque necitur,  
 Quem Sion sancta suscepit,  
 in quo credens permanet.<sup>5</sup>

Christ, Thou art the sure Foundation,  
 Thou the Head and Corner-stone;  
 Chosen of the Lord and precious;  
 Binding all the Church in one  
 Thou Thy Zion's Help forever  
 And her confidence alone.

Hymns written in Trochaic tetrameter are usually printed in the Breviaries and hymnals with the division made at the caesura.

The only other meter used by the hymns referred to in this study is the Sapphic strophe which can be diagrammed thus:

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

The hymn O Pater sancti, mitis atque pia does not fit this classification exactly; "in its external form it is a sapphic, but its rhythm is not the classical one."<sup>6</sup>

From this cross section of Latin hymns we can see that the idea and ideal of Ambrose proved to be successful with poets and popular with the people of succeeding generations.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup>This is the opening stanza of hymn number 446 in the Lutheran Hymnal. It is stanza five of the hymn Urbs beata Ierusalem.

<sup>6</sup>W. G. Polack, The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1942), p. 179.

<sup>7</sup>In the Lutheran Hymnal the Iambic Dimeter (I.M.) is represented by more hymns than any other meter.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE OFFICE HYMNS IN THE LUTHERAN HYMNAL

#### Veni Redemptor gentium

Veni Redemptor gentium is one of the few hymns which hymnologists unquestionably attribute to St. Ambrose. It is one of the twelve hymns assigned to him by the Benedictine editors. His contemporary St. Augustine makes a reference to the text and cites it as a composition of Ambrose. The work is definitely cited as his by Pope Celestine at the Council held at Rome in the year 430. Faustus (c.450), the Archbishop of Rhegium, France, Cassiodorus (d.575) and other early writers cite Ambrose as the author of this hymn.

Manuscripts of about the fourteenth century generally prefixed the following stanza to the hymn:

Intende qui regis Israel,  
Super cherubin qui sedes,  
Appare Ephraem, coram excita  
Potentiam tuam, et veni.<sup>1</sup>

These lines are simply a reworking of the Latin of the Vulgate text of Psalm 80 which begins,

Qui regis Israel intende; qui deducis velut oves, Joseph.  
Qui sedes super cherubin, manifestare coram Ephraim, Benjamin <sup>2</sup>  
et Manasse excita potentiam tuam, et veni, ut salvos facias nos.

---

<sup>1</sup>John Julian, A Dictionary of Hymnology (New York: Ch. Scribner's Sons, 1892), p. 1211.

<sup>2</sup>Psalm 80:1-2. "Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a flock; thou that dwellest between the cherubims, shine forth. Before Ephraim and Benjamin and Manasse stir up thy strength, and come and save us."

The hymn is in the Sarum, York, Aberdeen, Mozarabic, 1502, and other Breviaries. Generally it was assigned to Christmas Eve or Christmas Day. It is not in the Roman Breviary, but it is listed as the Vesper hymn in the Dominican Breviary.

Julian remarks it "can hardly be said to be in use at the present day, a somewhat unfortunate ecclesiastical prudery having set aside this noble composition. It must however be confessed that a strictly literal English version is hardly desirable for modern congregational use."<sup>3</sup>

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Veni, Redemptor gentium,<br>Ostende partum Virginis:<br>Miratur omne saeculum:<br>Talis decet partus Deus.     | 5. Egressus ejus a Patre,<br>Regressus ejus ad Patrem:<br>Excursus usque ad inferos<br>Rekursus ad sedem Dei.             |
| 2. Non ex virili semine,<br>Sed mystico spiramine<br>Verbum Dei factum caro<br>Fructusque ventris floruit.        | 6. Aequalis aeterno Patri,<br>Carnis trophaeo accingere:<br>Infirma nostri corporis<br>Virtute firmans perpeti.           |
| 3. Alvus tumescit Virginis,<br>Clastra pudoris permanent,<br>Vexilla virtutum micant,<br>Versatur in templo Deus. | 7. Praesepe jam fulget tum,<br>Lumenque nox spirat novum,<br>Quod nulla nox interpolet,<br>Fideque jugi luceat.           |
| 4. Procedens de thalamo suo,<br>Pudoris aula regia,<br>Geminæ gigas substantiae,<br>Alacris ut currat viam.       | 8. Gloria tibi Domine,<br>Qui natus es de Virgine,<br>Cum Patre et sancto Spiritu,<br>In sempiterna saecula. <sup>4</sup> |

The text in The Lutheran Hymnal, "Savior of the Nations, Come," is a translation of Luther's version. Luther's translation of this hymn was published in both editions of Lyn Enchiridion, Erfurt, 1524, and in Johann Walther's Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn, Wittenberg, 1524. W. H. Reynolds' translation first appeared in the Lutheran General Synod's Collection, 1850 beginning "Come, Thou Savior of Our Race." Stanza four

<sup>3</sup> Julian, op. cit., p. 1211.

<sup>4</sup> Aquinas Byrnes, The Hymns of the Dominican Missal and Breviary (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1943), p. 56.



was omitted. The Lutheran Choral Book, 1868 published by the Pennsylvania Synod omitted stanza eight. The Lutheran Hymnal uses an altered form of Reynolds' translation also omitting stanza four. The opening line, "Savior of the Nations, Come" first appeared in a Moravian hymnal in 1743.

Richard Nassie's edition of Martin Luther's Spiritual Songs, 1854, has a translation which begins, "Saviour of the Heathen, Known." John Mason Neale has a translation from the Latin original.

Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland,  
Der Jungfrauen Kind erkannt!  
Dass sich wandre alle Welt,  
Gott solch' Geburt ihm bestellt.

Savior of the nations, come,  
Virgin's Son, make here Thy home!  
Marvel now, O heaven and earth,  
That the Lord chose such a birth.

Nicht von Mann's Blut noch von  
Fleisch,  
Allein von dem Heil'gen Geist  
Ist Gott's Wort worden ein Mensch  
Und blüht ein' Frucht Weibesfleisch.

Not by human flesh and blood,  
By the Spirit of our God,  
Was the Word of God made flesh--  
Woman's Offspring, pure and  
fresh.

Der Jungfrau Leib schwanger ward,  
Doch blieb Keuschheit rein bewahrt,  
Leucht't hervor manch' Tugend schon,  
Gott da war in seinem Thron.

Wondrous birth! O wondrous Child  
Of the Virgin undefiled!  
Though by all the world disowned,  
Still to be in heaven enthroned.

Sein Lauf kam von Vater her  
Und kehrt' wieder zum Vater,  
Fuhr hinunter zu der Hell'  
Und wieder zu Gottes Stuhl.

From the Father forth He came  
And returneth to the same,  
Captive leading death and hell--  
High the song of triumph swell!

Der du bist dem Vater gleich,  
Fuhr' hinaus den Sieg in Fleisch,  
Dass dein' ew'ge Gott'sgewalt  
In uns das krank' Fleisch erhalt'.

Thou, the Father's only Son,  
Hast o'er sin the victory won.  
Boundless shall Thy kingdom be;  
When shall we its glories see?

Dein' Krippe glanz't hell und klar,  
Die Nacht gibt ein neu Licht dar,  
Dunkel muss nicht kommen drein,  
Der Glaub' bleibt inner in Schein.

Brightly doth Thy manger shine,  
Glorious is its light divine.  
Let not sin o'ercloud this light;  
Ever be our faith thus bright.

Lob sei Gott dem Vater G'tan,  
Lob sei Gott sein'm ein'gen Sohn,  
Lob sei Gott dem Heil'gen Geist  
Immer und in Ewigkeit!

Praise to God the Father sing,  
Praise to God the Son, our King,  
Praise to God the Spirit be  
Ever and eternally.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>W. G. Polack, The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), p. 76.

Christe, qui lux es et dies

The evening hymn Christe, qui lux es et dies is attributed to St. Ambrose on the strength of the fact that it is quoted by Hincmar, The Archbishop of Rheims in his treatise Contra Codroschaloun, 857. Although the Benedictine editors have assigned other hymns of St. Ambrose as truthfully his on the strength of quotations by Hincmar, yet they reject this as sufficient proof for this hymn. "Metrical irregularities forbid the attribution of this hymn to St. Ambrose."<sup>6</sup> It is believed to have been written in the sixth century or earlier.<sup>7</sup> The hymn is used in many early rites. It is included in the Mozarabic Breviary, 1502 for the Sunday Compline. The York, and Sarum Breviaries, too, contain the hymn; it is included by the Dominican and other monastic orders as the Compline hymn during the season of Lent. In various Breviaries its liturgical use is varied, but it was usually confined mainly as a Lenten hymn. The hymn has been omitted from the Roman rite.

Christe, qui lux es et dies,  
Noctis tenebras detegis,  
Lucisque lucem crederis,  
Lumen beatum praedicans.

Procuram, sancte Domine,  
Defende nos in hac nocte;  
Sit nobis in te requies,  
Quietam noctem tribue.

Ne gravis somnus inruat,  
Nec hostis nos subripiat,  
Nec caro illi consentiens  
Nos tibi reos statuatur.

O Christ, who art the Light and Day,  
Thou drivest night and gloom away;  
O Light of Light, whose Word doth show  
The light of heaven to us below.

All-holy Lord, in humble prayer,  
We ask tonight Thy watchful care.  
Oh, grant us calm repose in Thee,  
A quiet night, from perils free.

Our sleep be pure from sinful stain;  
Let not the Tempter vantage gain  
Or our unguarded flesh surprise  
And make us guilty in Thine eyes.

<sup>6</sup> Hymns Ancient and Modern (Historical Edition) (London: Wm. Clowes & Sons, Ltd., 1909), p. 146.

<sup>7</sup> K. E. Wackernagel, Das deutsche Kirchenlied (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner Verlag, 1864-1877) III, 121 - cites it as anonymous.

Oculi somnum capiant,  
Cor ad te semper vigilet,  
Dexteram tuam protegat  
Familios, qui te diligunt.

Defensor noster aspice,  
Insidiantem reprime;  
Guberna tuos famulos,  
Quos sanguine mercatus es.

Memento nostri, Domine,  
In isto gravi corpore;  
Qui es defensor animas,  
Adesto nobis, Domine.

Deo Patri sit gloria  
Eiusque soli Filio  
Sancto simul cum Spiritu  
Nunc et per omne saeculum.  
Amen.

Asleep though wearied eyes may be,  
Still keep the heart awake to Thee;  
Let Thy right hand outstretched above  
Guard those who serve the Lord they love.

Behold, O God, our Shield, and quell  
The crafts and subtleties of hell;  
Direct Thy servants in all good,  
Whom Thou hast purchased with Thy blood.

O Lord, remember us who bear  
The burden of the flesh we wear;  
Thou who dost e'er our souls defend,  
Be with us even to the end.

All praise to God the Father be,  
All praise, eternal Son, to Thee,  
Whom with the Spirit we adore  
Forever and forevermore. Amen.

The oldest German form appeared in the Erfurt Enchiridion, 1526 as "Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht." The translation is usually accredited to Erasmus Alberus, a friend of Martin Luther.<sup>9</sup> James Mearns in his article in Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology<sup>10</sup> states that some have attributed the translation to Wolfgang Meusel (Meusslin), while Wackernagel gives it as an anonymous translation.

The text became a favorite evening prayer in Wittenberg, and thereby is known to us chiefly as an evening hymn rather than as a Lenten hymn.

The version in the Lutheran Hymnal is based on a translation from the original by William Copeland. It was first published in his Hymns for the Week, 1848, as "O Christ, that Art the Light and Day." In his translation Copeland has retained the Iambic dimeter of the Latin original.

<sup>8</sup>Polack, op. cit., p. 398.

<sup>9</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>10</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 227.

The opening line of his translation was altered in Hymns Ancient and Modern to read "O Christ, who art the Light and Day," as we have it in the Lutheran Hymnal.

O Lux Beata, Trinitas

The Vesper hymn O Lux Beata, Trinitas is one of the twelve hymns which the Benedictine editors cite as definite works of Ambrose. To support their claim they quote the reference by Bishop Hincmar in his treatise De una et non trina Deitate (1657). Although they declined to accept Hincmar's citation as proof for the authorship of Christe, qui lux es et dies they do accept his word here as evidence.<sup>11</sup> The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal does not agree with the Benedictine view; the editor comments: "although this hymn has been ascribed to St. Ambrose, definite historical proof of his authorship is lacking."<sup>12</sup>

O lux beata Trinitas,  
Et principalis Unitas,  
Jam sol recedit igneus,  
Infunde lucem cordibus.

Te mane laudamus carmine,  
Te deprecamur vespere,  
Te nostra supplex gloria  
Per cuncta laudet saecula.

Deo Patri sit gloria  
Ejusque soli Filio,  
Cum Spiritu Paraclito,  
Et nunc, et in perpetuum.<sup>13</sup>

O Trinity, most blessed Light,  
O Unity of sovereign might,  
As now the fiery sun departs,  
Shed Thou Thy beams within our hearts.

To Thee our morning song of praise,  
To Thee our evening prayer we raise,  
Thee may our glory evermore  
In lowly reverence adore.

All praise to God the Father be,  
All praise eternal Son to Thee,  
Whom with the Spirit we adore  
Forever and forevermore.

(J. M. Neale)

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 342.

<sup>12</sup>W. G. Polack, op. cit., p. 402

<sup>13</sup>Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, Analecta hymnica medii aevi, LI (Leipzig, 1886-1922), 38. The last two lines of the last stanza differ in the Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal, p. 402. They read:

Sancto simul cum Spiritu  
Nunc et per omne saeculum.

The Latin text of this hymn suffered greatly under the Urbanic revision in 1632. The original hymn is barely recognizable. After the revision it reads:

|                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Jam sol recedit igneus:  | Te mane laudum carmine,  |
| Tu lux perennis Unitas,  | Te deprecamur vespers;   |
| Nostris, beata Trinitas, | Digneris ut te supplices |
| Infunde lumen cordibus.  | Laudemus inter coelites. |

Patri, simulque Filio,  
Tibi que sancte Spiritus,  
Sicut fuit, sit jugiter <sup>14</sup>  
Saeculum per omne gloria.

Older Breviaries list the hymn for Vespers on Saturday although one eighth century manuscript assigns it for daily Vespers.<sup>15</sup> It has also been assigned to Vespers and Lauds on Trinity Sunday. In the Roman Breviary, 1632 the hymn is assigned for Saturday at Vespers from the Octave of the Epiphany to Lent and also for I and II Vespers on Trinity Sunday; and also on Saturday at Vespers from the Octave of Corpus Christi until Advent.<sup>16</sup>

Luther's translation of the hymn was first published in Klug's Gesang Buch, Wittenberg 1544, as "Der du bist drei in Einigkeit." The Lutheran Hymnal of the Ohio Synod (1880) used Richard Mussie's translation of Luther's version. Others have based English translations on German versions by Bunsen and Löwenstern. Julian also lists translations made from both versions of the Latin text. The compilers of the Lutheran Hymnal chose J. M. Neale's translation from the original text. It first

---

<sup>14</sup>Matthew Britt, The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal (New York: Benziger Bros., 1924), p. 84.

<sup>15</sup>Wackernagel, op. cit., III, 121.

<sup>16</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 227.

appeared in the Hymnal Noted, 1852 as "O Trinity of Blessed Light." This was later revised and altered to read "O Trinity, Most Blessed Light."

Splendor paternae gloriae

James Mearns says of this hymn: "A beautiful morning hymn to the Holy Trinity, but especially to Christ as the Light of the world, and a prayer for help and guidance throughout the day."<sup>17</sup> The hymn is almost indisputably by St. Ambrose. It has been ascribed to him by Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe, in North Africa (d.533), by Bede in his De Arte Metrica, and by Hincmar in De una et non trina Deitate. It is also one of the twelve hymns definitely credited to him by the Benedictines. The editors of Analecta hymnica list the hymn under Ambrose; the text given is:

Splendor paternae gloriae,  
De luce lucem proferens,  
Lux lucis et Fons luminis,  
Dies dierum inluminans;

Verusque sol inlabere  
Micans nitore perpeti,  
Iubarque sancti Spiritus  
Infunde nostris sensibus.

Votis vocatus et Patrem,  
Patrem perennis gloriae,  
Patrem potentis gratiae,  
Culpam releget lubricam,

Infernet actus strenuus,  
Dentem rotundat invidi,  
Casus fideli corpore:  
Donet gerendi gratiam;

Mentem gubernet et regat  
Caste fideli corpore:  
Fides calore ferveat,  
Fraudis venena nesciat.

O Splendor of God's glory bright,  
Who bringest forth the light from light;  
O Light of light, light's Fountain-spring;  
O Day, our days enlightening!

Come, very Sun of truth and love,  
Come in Thy radiance from above  
And shed the Holy Spirit's ray  
On all we think or do today.

Likewise to Thee our prayers ascend,  
Father of glory without end,  
Father of saving grace, for power  
To conquer in temptation's hour.

Teach us to work with all our might;  
Beat back the devil's threatening spite;  
Turn all to good that seems most ill;  
Help us our calling to fulfil.

Direct and govern heart and mind,  
With body chaste and disciplined;  
Let faith her eager fires renew  
And haste the false and love the true.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 1080.

Christusque nobis sit cibus,  
Potusque noster sit fides;  
Laeti bibamus sobriam  
Ebrietatem Spiritus.

On Christ, the True Bread, let us feed,  
Let Him to us be drink indeed,  
And let us taste with joyfulness  
The Holy Spirit's plenteousness.

Laetus dies hic transeat;  
Fador sit ut diluculus,  
Fides velut meridies;  
Grepusculum mens nesciat.

Oh, joyful be the livelong day,  
Our thoughts as pure as morning ray,  
Our faith like noonday's glowing height,  
Our souls undimmed by shades of night.

Aurora cursus provehit;  
Aurora totus prodeat,  
In Patre totus Filius,  
Et totus in Verbo Pater.

The dawn begins to speed her way,  
Let the true Dawn Himself display,  
The Son with God the Father One,  
And God the Father in the Son.

Deo Patri sit gloria  
Eiusque soli Filio  
Sancto simul cum Spiritu <sup>18</sup>  
Nunc et per omne saeculum.  
Amen.

All praise to God the Father be,  
All praise, eternal Son, to Thee,  
Whom with the Spirit we adore  
Forever and forevermore. Amen.

The use of the hymn for Lauds was prescribed already in the Rule of Aurelian, Bishop of Arles (d.555). Most of the Medieval Breviaries such as the Ambrosian, 1539; Mozarabic, 1502; Roman, Venice, 1476 and revised, 1632 and many others included the hymn. Its use was generally for Matins or Lauds on Monday. Some monastic orders, however, used it daily.

The translation used in the Lutheran Hymnal is a composite of many translations. It was first published in Hymns Ancient and Modern, 1904.

Vox Clara ecce intonat

This Latin hymn is of unknown origin and is usually listed under that broad classification of hymns called Ambrosiani. Some have tried to credit the authorship to St. Ambrose himself, but there is not enough evidence to substantiate this claim. The Benedictine editors do not

<sup>18</sup> Dreyer and Blume, Analecta hymnica medi aevi, I, 11.

include it in their listings of the works of St. Ambrose. But the hymn is certainly very ancient, possibly even of the fifth century.<sup>19</sup>

Vox clara ecce intonat,  
Obscure quaeque increpata  
Pellantur omnes somnia,  
Ab aethere Christus prodicat.

Hark, a thrilling voice is sounding;  
"Christ is nigh!" we hear it say;  
"Cast away the works of darkness,  
O ye children of the day!"

Mens iam resurgat torpida,  
Quae corde exstat saucia:  
Sidus refulget iam novum,  
Ut tollat omne noxium.

Startled at the solemn warning,  
Let the earth-bound soul arise;  
Christ, her Sun, all sloth dispelling,  
Shines upon the morning skies.

E sursum Agnus mittitur  
Laxare gratis debitum:  
Omnes pro indulgentia  
Vocem domus cum lacrimis:

Lo, the Lamb, so long expected,  
Comes with pardon down from heaven.  
Let us haste, with tears of sorrow,  
One and all to be forgiven,

Secundo ut cum fulserit  
Mundumque horror cinxerit,  
Non pro reatu puniat,  
Sed plus nos tunc protegat.

That, when next He comes with glory  
And the world is wrapped in fear,  
He may shield us with His mercy  
And with words of love draw near.

Laus, honor, virtus, gloria  
Deo Patri et Filio,  
Sancto simul Parnclito,<sup>20</sup>  
In sempiterna saecula.

Honor, glory, might, dominion,  
To the Father and the Son,  
With the everlasting Spirit,  
While eternal ages run!

(Edward Caswall)

This beautiful poem summarizes the spirit of Advent; it summarizes the Gospel and Epistle appointed for the First Sunday in Advent according to the Roman rite.<sup>21</sup>

The Sarum rite assigned it to Lauds on the first Sunday in Advent, and from then daily up to Christmas Eve. Other Breviaries had similar rubrics. The Mosarabic Breviary, 1502 appoints it as the Vesper hymn on Wednesday and Friday in the first and third weeks in Advent. The Urbanic

<sup>19</sup> Julian, op. cit., p. 1135.

<sup>20</sup> Dreyes and Blume, Analecta hymnica mediæ ævi, II, 35 and I, 30 and XXVII, 65. Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymndichtung, I, (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1909), 30.

<sup>21</sup> The Epistle for the day is Romans 13:11-14; the Gospel, Luke 21:25-33.



revision recast the hymn to read:

En clara vox redarguit  
Obscura quaeque personans;  
Procul fugentur somnia:  
Ab alto Jesus promicat.

Mens jam resurgat torpida,  
Non amplius jacens humi:  
Sidus refulget jam novum,  
Ut tollat omne noxium.

En Agnus ad nos mittitur  
Laxare gratis debitum;  
Omnes simul cum lacrimis  
Frademur indulgentiam.

Ut, cum secundo fulserit,  
Metuque mundum circumit,  
Non pro reatu puniat,  
Sed nos plus tunc protegat.

Virtus, honor, laus, gloria  
Deo Patri cum Filio,  
Sancto simul Paraclite,  
In saeculorum saecula.<sup>22</sup>

This hymn is not included in the Liber Usualis nor in the Roman Breviary. The monastic orders use the hymn for Lauds during Advent.<sup>23</sup>

The translation used in the Lutheran Hymnal is an altered version of Edward Caswall's "Hark, an Awful Voice is Sounding," published in his Lyra Catholica, 1849. In a later hymnal the word "thrilling" replaced "awful". Another edition has changed the first line to read, "Hark, a herald voice is calling." Father Caswall's translation is the original Iambic dimeter.

#### Psalm alphabeticus de Christo

Very little is known of the life and person of Coelius P. Sedulius (c.450), the author of the hymn Psalm alphabeticus de Christo. From two letters which he wrote we know that as a young man he devoted himself to

---

In the Anglican and Lutheran rite this Epistle is appointed for the First Sunday in Advent; the Gospel is for the Second Sunday.

<sup>22</sup>Britt, op. cit., p. 99.

<sup>23</sup>Hymes, op. cit., p. 49.

the study of heathen literature and that his conversion to Christianity did not occur until late in his life. The place of his birth is generally believed to be Rome. His later works include both prose and poetical versions of the Gospel story.

The Christmas hymn "Now praise we Christ, the Holy One" and the Epiphany hymn "The star proclaims the King is here" are both part of Sedulius' Faen alphabeticus de Christo. In a poem of twenty-three stanzas alphabetically arranged he portrays the life of Christ. This hymn written in Iambic dimeter shows a transition from the classical to popular verse. Quantity is no longer emphasized; rhythm now depends upon accent. Rhyme is now an essential element. Many scholars are also of the opinion that a poet's use of catchy devices, such as acrostics, is a sign of literary degeneracy.

A solis ortu cardine  
Adusque terrae linitem,  
Christum censurus principem  
Natum Mariae Virginis.

Beatus auctor saeculi  
Servile corpus induit,  
Ut carne carnes liberans,  
Non perderet, quod condidit.

Clausa parentis viscera  
Caelestis intrat gratias:  
Venter puella balabat  
Secreta, quae non noverat.

Domus pudici pectoris  
Templum repente fit Dei:  
Intacta nesciens virum  
Vere creavit filium.

Thiua est puerpera,  
Quem Gabriel praedixerat:  
Quem matris alvo gestiens  
Clausus Johannes senserat.

Feno iacere pertulit,  
Praesaepe non abhorruit:  
Ferveque lacte pastus est,  
Per quem nec ales esurit.

Gaudet chorus caelestium,  
Et Angeli canunt Deo:  
Palanque fit pastoribus  
Pastor, Creator omnium.

Hostis Herodes impie  
Christum venire quid times?  
Non eripit mortalia  
Qui regna dat caelestia.

Ibant Magi, qui venerant,  
Stellas sequentes praeviam,  
Lumen requirunt lumine,  
Deum fatentur sanare.

Katerva matrum personat  
Collisa deflens pignora,  
Quorum tyrannus milia  
Christo sacrauit victimam.

Lavara puri gurgitis  
 Caelestis agnus attingit  
 Peccata, qui mundi tulit  
 Nos ablucendo sustulit.

Miraculis dedit fidem  
 Habere se Deum patrem,  
 Infirma sanans corpora  
 Et suscitans cadavera.

Novum genus potentissae  
 Aquae rubescunt hydrisae,  
 Vinumque iussa fundere,  
 Nativit: unda originis.

Orat salutem servulo  
 Nixus genua centurio,  
 Credentis arbor plurimus  
 Extinxit ignes februm.

Petrus per undas ambulat  
 Christi levatus dextera;  
 Natura quam negaverat,  
 Fides paravit semitam.

Quarta die iam foetidus  
 Vitam recepit Lazarus  
 Mortisque liber vinculis  
 Factus superstes est sibi.

Rivos cruoris terribi  
 Contacta vestis obstruit,  
 Fletu rigante supplicis  
 Arent fluenta sanguinis.

Solutus omni corpore  
 Iussus repente surgere  
 Suis vicissim grassatus  
 Aeger vehabat lectulum.

Tunc ille Iudas carnifex  
 Ausus magistrum tradere  
 Facem forebat osculo,  
 Quam non habebat pectore.

Verax datur fallacibus,  
 Fium flagellat impius,  
 Crucisque fixus innocens  
 Coniunctus est latronibus.

Xeromixram post sabbatum  
 Quaedam vehabant compares,  
 Quas allocutus angelus  
 Vivum sepulcro non tegi.

Tuis, venite, dulcibus  
 Omnes canamus subditum  
 Christe triumpho tartarum  
 Qui nos redemit venditum.

Zelus draconis invidi  
 Et os Leonis pessimi  
 Calcavit unicus Dei <sup>21</sup>  
 Seseque caecis reddidit.

The text is found in an eighth century manuscript which is now in the British Museum and has been included in many editions of the works of Sedulius. For ecclesiastical purposes the hymn has been broken up into two hymns. The first seven stanzas (A-G) are used for the Christmas season. The four strophes beginning with the letters H, I, L, and N make up the hymn for the season of Epiphany.

<sup>21</sup> The text in Groves and Blunt, *Analysta hymnica medii aevi*, l. 58 and in *Ein Jahrtausend lateinischer Hymnen*, l. 30, is slightly different from the text given in the Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal, pp. 85, 6 and 104.

The poem A solis ortus cardine begins by singing out: "From the beginning of the rising of the sun, to the uttermost bounds of the earth, let us sing Christ, the Lord, born of the Virgin Mary."<sup>25</sup> Most old Breviaries contain the hymn and assign it to various offices during the week between the Feast of the Nativity and its octave, the Feast of the Circumcision. It was contained in the Mozarabic but not in the Ambrosian Breviary. The Breviaries used by some monastic Orders assign it as the hymn for Lauds from Christmas to Epiphany. The Roman Breviary contains a slightly revised version<sup>26</sup> which is assigned for Lauds on Christmas Day.

Here, too, we have received the hymn in the Lutheran Hymnal from a translation of Martin Luther's German version.<sup>27</sup> Luther first published his translation, "Christum sollen wir loben schon," in Syn Kuchiridion, Erfurt, 1524. The version was translated into English by Richard Massie in his Martin Luther's Spiritual Songs, 1854 and was included in the hymnal of the Ohio Synod in 1880. The Lutheran Hymnal has omitted Massie's translation of the fourth stanza.

Christum wir sollen loben schon,  
Der reinen Magd Marien Sohn,  
Soweit die Liebe Sonne leucht't  
Und an aller Welt Ende reicht.

Now praise we Christ, the Holy One,  
The blessed Virgin Mary's Son,  
Far as the glorious sun doth shine,  
E'en to the world's remote confine.

Der selig' Schöpfer aller Ding'  
Zog an ein's Knechtes Leib gering,  
Dass er das Fleisch durchs Fleisch  
erwarb'  
Und sein Geschöpf nicht all's  
verdurb'.

He who Himself all things did make  
A servant's form vouchsafed to take  
That he as man mankind might win  
And save His creatures from their  
sin.

<sup>25</sup>Britt, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>26</sup>Liber Usualis, ed. by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, Belgium: Desclée and Co., 1947), p. 400.

<sup>27</sup>The same was true of the hymn O Lux beata Trinitas.

Die göttlich' Gnad' von Himmel  
gros  
Sich in die keusche Mutter goss;  
Ein Magdlein trug ein heimlich  
Pfand,  
Das der Natur war unbekant.

Das zuchtig' Haus des Herzens  
zart  
Gar bald -in Tempel Gottes ward;  
Die kein Mann ruhret noch erkannt,  
Von Gottes Wort man schwanger fand.

Die edle Mutter hat gebor'n  
Den Gabriel verhieß zuvorn,  
Den Sankt Johann's mit Springen  
sagt',  
Da er noch lag in Mutterleib.

Er lag im Heu mit Armut gross,  
Die Krippe hart ihn nicht verdross;  
Es ward ein' kleine Milch sein'  
Speis',  
Der nie kein Vöglein hungezu liess.

Des Himmels Chor' sich freuen dorb,  
Und die Engel singen Gott Lob;  
Den armen Hirten wird verneld't  
Der Hirt und Schöpfer aller Welt.

Lob, Ehr' und Dank sei dir gesagt,  
Christ, gebor'n von der reinen Magd,  
Mit Vater und dem Heil'gen Geist  
Von nun an bis in Ewigkeit!  
(M. Lather)

The grace and power of God the Lord  
Upon the mother was outpoured;  
A virgin pure and undefiled  
In wondrous wise conceived a child.

The holy maid became the abode  
And temple of the living God,  
And she, who knew not man, was  
blest  
With God's own Word made manifest.

The noble mother bore a Son,  
For so did Gabriel's promise run,  
Whom John confessed and leaped  
with joy  
Ere yet the mother knew her boy.

Upon a manger filled with hay  
In poverty content He lay;  
With milk was fed the Lord of all,  
Who feeds the ravens when they  
call.

The heavenly choirs rejoice and  
raise  
Their voice to God in songs of  
praise.

To humble shepherds is proclaimed  
The Shepherd who the world hath  
framed.

All honor unto Christ be paid,  
Pure Offspring of the favored maid,  
With Father and with Holy Ghost,  
Till time in endless time be lost.<sup>28</sup>  
(Richard Nassie)

The second part of the poem beginning with the strophe Kostlic Herodes  
impie is generally assigned as the hymn for the Feast of the Epiphany.

<sup>28</sup>The doxology at the close of the hymn (st. 8) is not part of the original hymn, but it is used by most Breviaries. The Latin text reads:

Gloria tibi Domine,  
Qui natus est de virgine,  
Cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu,  
In sempiterna saecula.

Stanzas beginning with the letters K and M are generally not included in most Western Breviaries. The Mozarabic Breviary assigns the hymn for Lauds on Epiphany and uses strophes H, I, L, N, Q, R, S, T, V, W, X, Y, Z, and a doxology. For Lauds on the Day of the Holy Innocents this rite assigns stanzas K, M, O, P with two other additional stanzas and a doxology.<sup>29</sup>

The Urbanic revision of the Roman Breviary discarded the alphabetical arrangement. The only changes made by the editors are in the first two lines of Stanza H which reads:

Crudelis Herodes, Deum<sup>30</sup>  
Regem venire quid times?

It is interesting to note that each stanza contains one complete thought. The first stanza, Hostis Herodes impie, tells of the slaughter of the Holy Innocents by Herod (Matt. 2:16-18). The next three stanzas depict the three-fold manifestation of Our Lord. Imant magi recalls the manifestation of epiphany of Christ to the Gentiles typified by the Magi (Matt. 2:1-12). Lavacra puri gurgitis tells of the manifestation of Christ at His baptism in the River Jordan (Mark 1:9-11). In Novum genus potentiae a third manifestation of Christ as Savior is told; He shows Himself in His power at His first miracle at Cana (John 2:1-11). Here before His disciples He showed His divine control over His creation. The hymn closes with a doxology which is not part of the original hymn.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>30</sup>liber usualis, p. 464.

<sup>31</sup>The doxology commonly used with this hymn is:

Gloria tibi, Domine,  
Qui apparuisti hodie,  
Cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu  
In sempiterna saecula.

This hymn also was translated by Dr. Martin Luther and was first published in Klug's Geistliche Lieder, Wittenberg, 1544. This hymn together with the first section, A solis ortus cardine, appeared in Schirck's edition of Luther's Geistliche Lieder, 1854. The German text was translated by Richard Massie and published in his edition of Martin Luther's Spiritual Songs, 1854. This translation was used in the hymnal of the Ohio Synod in 1860.<sup>32</sup> Although Massie's translation of the first part of the longer poem was used, the editors of the Lutheran Hymnal chose the translation from the original by John Mason Neale for the second group of stanzas. Dr. Neale's version first appeared in his Hymnal Noted, 1852, but was later altered by other editors. Whoever it was that changed the opening lines which originally read, "Wky, impious Herod, vainly fear" to "The Star proclaims the King is here" took the stress of the stanza out of the opening line and thereby weakened the translation.

The Star proclaims the King is here;  
But, Herod, why this senseless fear?  
He takes no realms of earth away  
Who gives the realms of heavenly day.

The wiser Magi see from far  
And follow on His guiding stars;  
And led by light to light they press  
And by their gifts their God confess.

Within the Jordan's crystal flood  
In Meekness stands the Lamb of  
God  
And, sinless, sanctifies the wave,  
Mankind from sin to cleanse and  
save.

At Cana first his power is shown;  
His might the blushing waters  
own  
And, changing as He speaks the  
word,  
Flow wine, obedient to their Lord.

All glory, Jesus, be to Thee  
For this Thy glad epiphany  
When with the Father we adore  
And the Holy Ghost forevermore.  
(John Mason Neale)

<sup>32</sup> Julian, op. cit., p. 5.

I should like to suggest that the unity of this poem might be more evident if both hymns were sung to the same melody. The tune used for the first part, Christum uir sullen loben schon, is based on an ancient plainsong melody<sup>33</sup> that has always been associated with this text. This melody has been called "a most elegant example of the Phrygian tone."<sup>34</sup>

#### Vexilla Regis

According to Dr. Neal, the Vexilla Regis is "one of the grandest hymns of the Latin Church."<sup>35</sup> It is usually credited as the work of Venantius Fortunatus (530-609), Bishop of Poitiers. The hymn is found in all manuscripts of the works of Fortunatus, as well as in all printed editions, and so, although other names have also been connected with the hymn, scholars today feel there is no doubt that Fortunatus is the author.

As a student at Ravenna Fortunatus lost most of his eyesight. He is said to have recovered miraculously from his near-blindness when he anointed his eyes with the oil from a lamp burning before the altar of St. Martin of Tours. In thanksgiving he set out to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Martin at Tours. While in Gaul he met Queen Rhadegunda in Poitiers. He formed "a romantic, though purely platonic, attachment for Queen Rhadegunda."<sup>36</sup> The Queen who was separated from her husband Lothair I was living in the convent at St. Croix, Poitiers. Fortunatus remained in Gaul and soon entered into the priesthood, and after the death

<sup>33</sup>liber usualis, p. 164. Tone III.

<sup>34</sup>Polack, op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>35</sup>Britt, op. cit., p. 124.

<sup>36</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 383.



of the Queen he was consecrated Bishop of Poitiers in 597.

In general the poetry of Fortunatus is not of a high quality. He represents the "last expiring effort of the Latin Muse in Gaul." He tried to retain the "old classical culture amid the advancing tide of barbarism."<sup>37</sup> The excellencies found in Vexilla Regis are the exceptions and not the rule of his writings. It is believed that the influence of Rhadegunda is present in this poem.

It is not unlikely that Queen Rhadegunde had influenced the composition of the hymn, for she was directly associated with the circumstances of its origin. But as is so often true in accounts given in the Middle Ages, the researcher is always faced with the problem of choosing which is true and which is legendary in a given account. It is said that this hymn was composed for the occasion of the reception of the True Cross which was sent by the Emperor Justin II to Queen Rhadegund on November 19, 569. The Queen had desired to present this relic to the convent she had built at St. Croix.<sup>38</sup>

The text, originally eight stanzas, is as follows on the left:

Vexilla Regis prodeunt,  
Fulget crucis, mysterium,  
Quo carne carnis conditor  
Suspensus est patibulo.

Confixa clavis viscera  
Tendens manus, vestigia  
Redemptionis gratia  
Hic immolata est hostia.

Quo vulneratus insuper  
Macrone ciro lanceae,  
Ut nos laveret crimine,  
Manavit unda et sanguine.

Vexilla regis prodeunt,  
Fulget crucis mysterium,  
Dum carus Dec traditur,  
Innocens virgis caeditur.

Quo vulneratus insuper,  
Dillaniatus ictibus,  
In poenis vivens triduo  
Suspensus est patibulo.

<sup>37</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>38</sup> Julian, op. cit., p. 1220, gives a summary of the story.

Impleta sunt quae concinit  
David fideli carmine  
Dicendo nationibus:  
Regnabit a ligno Deus.

Arbor decora et fulgida,  
Ornata regis purpura,  
Electa digno stipite  
Tam sancta membra tangere.

Beata, cujus brachiis  
Sacculi pendit pretium,  
Statera facta corporis,  
Praedam tulitque tartari.

Fundis aroma cortice,  
Vincis sapore nectare,  
Jucunda fructu fertili  
Plaudis triumpho nobili.

Salve ara, salve victima  
De passionis gloria  
Qua vita mortem pertulit.  
Et morte vitam reddidit.<sup>39</sup>

Arbor decora, fulgida,  
De qua facta est status,  
Ad quam ligata est hostia,  
Per quem fiunt miracula.

Beata, cuius brachiis  
Nostrum pendit pretium,  
Christum sequendo reperit  
Effusionem sanguinis.

O Crux ave, spes unica  
Hoc Passionis tempore  
Auge piis justitiam,  
Reisque dona veniam.

Te summa Deus Trinitas  
Collaudet omnis spiritus:  
Quos per Crucis mysterium  
Salvas roge per saecula.<sup>40</sup>

The text at the right is by Winand Ort von Steeg (d. after 1147),  
pastor at Bacharach. Little is known of the man. We do know that he  
received his bachelor's degree from Heidelberg in 1396, but the date of  
his doctor's degree is uncertain. He served the Church in Oberwessel and  
in 1119 he was appointed secretary to Kaiser Sigmund.<sup>41</sup>

Already in the eleventh century it was customary to omit stanzas two,  
seven, and eight. Manuscripts for the tenth century have been found  
which have the second stanza scratched through and stanzas seven and  
eight erased; the last two stanzas by Steeg were written in over the  
erasure.

<sup>39</sup>Dreves and Blume, Analecta hymnica, I, 74 and Ein Jahrtausend, I, 38;  
Julian, op. cit., p. 1219. This text agrees with a St. Peterburg manuscript  
of the 8th century and the Vatican manuscript of the 9th century. It is also  
included in Prof. Leo's edition of Fortunatus' Opera poetica, Berlin, 1861.

<sup>40</sup>Dreves and Blume, Analecta hymnica, XII, 263 and Ein Jahrtausend,  
I, 466. Julian makes no mention of Steeg.

<sup>41</sup>Dreves and Blume, Jahrtausend, I, 465.

The version found in the Lutheran Hymnal is based upon stanzas one, three, four and five by Fortunatus and stanzas five and six of Steeg. The Urbanic revision of the Roman Breviary, 1632 also used this sequence of texts. The revised text reads:

Vexilla Regis prodeunt:  
Fulget crucis mystevium,  
Qua vita mortem protulit,  
Et morte vitam protulit.

Quae vulnerata lanceae:  
Mucrone diris, criminum  
Ut nos lavaret sordibus,  
Moenavit unda, et sanguine.

Expleta sunt quae concinit  
David fideli carmine,  
Discende nationibus:  
Regnavit a ligno Deus.

Arbor decora et fulgida,  
Ornata regis purpura,  
Alceta digno stipite  
Iam sancta membra tangere.

Beste, cujus brachiis  
Fretum pependit saeculi,  
Stratera facta corporis,  
Tulitque praedam tartari.

O Crux ave, spes unica,  
Hoc passionis tempore  
Pis adauge gratiam,  
Reisque dele crimina.

Te fons salutis Trinitas,  
Collaudet omnis spiritus:  
Quibus Crucis victoriam  
Largiris, adde praemium.<sup>42</sup>

The occasion for which the hymn was written, as the Processional Hymn for the reception of the relic of the Holy Cross, gives rise to many allusions within the poem.

Monsignor Henry<sup>43</sup> states that the Vexilla is to be interpreted symbolically as Baptism, the Eucharist, or the other sacraments. In his article he includes the opinions of two other men, Clichtoveus and Kayser. The former maintained that the vexillium are the military standards of the knights and princes; the vexillium of Christ are the cross, scourge, lance, and so on. Kayser held that the vexillium is the cross instead of the

<sup>42</sup>Britt, op. cit., p. 123.

<sup>43</sup>Henry is the author of the article "Vexilla Regis" in the Catholic Encyclopedia.

eagle which was the old Roman cavalry standard. Under Constantine the standard became a square piece of cloth hanging from a bar placed across a gilt pole; embroidered on it were Christian symbols instead of Roman symbols.

James Nearms sees the use of symbolism in another word. "Fortenatus had in mind, especially, in st. v., the old legends of the Tree of the Cross, and designedly used in i.l.l., the word patibulum which means properly a cross, formed thus  $\Upsilon$  or thus  $\Psi$ ; the latter form representing the stem of the tree, with the branches on which, as on a balance, the ransom of the world was weighed. (st. vi)."<sup>44</sup>

Another allusion which is most interesting is the reference in the fourth stanza to God reigning from a tree. Although we find no reference that David spoke of God reigning from a tree in the Hebrew version of the Psalms, nor in the present Vulgate, Septuagint, or English translations, some ancient authors cite Psalm 96:10 as declaring that fact. Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho regards the words  $\lambda\iota\pi\acute{o}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \xi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$  as part of the original Psalm. Tertullian in his Contra Marcian quotes the words a ligno as part of the text of Psalm 96. The words are found also in other manuscripts.<sup>45</sup>

Vexilla Regis was originally a processional hymn and is still so used in the Roman rite today. It is used on Good Friday at the Mass of the Presanctified ceremony of the Adoration of the Cross when the

<sup>44</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 1220.

<sup>45</sup>For further citation of quotes from Justin and Tertullian and for further references to the use of the phrase, check Julian, op. cit., p. 1220.

consecrated host is carried from the Repository to the High Altar. During the Middle Ages this hymn became a favorite song of the Crusaders as they marched. As an office hymn it is sung at Vespers from Passion Sunday to Wednesday of Holy Week. It is also the Vesper hymn on the Feast of the Finding (Invention) of the Holy Cross, May 3, and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14.

The Iambic dimeter and rhyme of the original is retained by J. M. Neale in his translation. It is generally conceded that Neale's translation of the first stanza is the best available. The translation in the Lutheran Hymnal retains Neale's translation of the first stanza but has altered his translation of the rest of the hymn. Julian remarks: "When the various forms of Dr. Neale's translations are taken into account, it is found that his rendering of the Vexilla Regis is more widely used than that of all others put together."<sup>146</sup> His translation appeared first in his Mediaeval Hymns, 1851, and in the following year it was included in the Hymnal Noted. It was included in an altered version in Hymns Ancient and Modern, 1861. Dr. Neale used the traditional sequence as the basis for his translation which reads:

The royal banners forward go;  
The cross shines forth in mystic glow  
Where He in flesh, our flesh was made,  
Our sentence bore, our ransom paid.

Where deep for us the spear was dyed,  
Life's torrent frushing from His side,  
To wash us in that precious flood  
Where mingled water flowed and blood.

Fulfilled is all that David told  
In true prophetic song of old;  
Amidst the nations, God, saith he,  
Hath reigned and triumphed from the tree.

O Tree of beauty, Tree of light,  
 O Tree with royal purple dight;  
 Elected on whose triumphal breast  
 These holy limbs should find their rest;

On whose dear arms, so widely flung,  
 The weight of this world's ransom hung  
 The price of humankind to pay  
 And spoil the spoiler of his prey.

O Cross, our reliance, hail!  
 So may the power us avail  
 To give new virtue to the saint  
 and pardon to the penitent.

To thee, eternal Three in One,  
 Let homage meet by all be done  
 When by the cross Thou dost restore,  
 Preserve, and govern evermore.

(J. M. Neale)

#### Urbs beata Ierusalem

The hymn beginning "Christ, Thou art the sure foundation" is a translation of the latter half of the poem Urbs beata Ierusalem.

The entire poem reads:

Urbs beata Hierusalem,  
 dicta pacis visio,  
 Quae constructur in caelis  
 vivis ex lapidibus,  
 Et angelis cernata  
 ut sponsata comite!

Nova veniens e caelo,  
 nuptiali thalamo,  
 Praeparata ut sponsata  
 copulatur Domino,  
 Plateae et muri eius  
 ex auro purissimo

Portae nitent margaritis  
 adytis patentibus,  
 Et virtute meritorum  
 illuc introducitur  
 Omnis, qui pro Christi nomine  
 hoc in mundo premitur.

Blessed City, heavenly Salem,  
 Vision dear of peace and love,  
 Who, of living stones upbuilded,  
 Art the joy of heaven above:  
 And, with angel hosts encircled,  
 As a bride to earth dost move:

From celestial realms descending  
 Ready for the nuptial bed,  
 Decked with jewels, to His presence  
 By her Lord shall she be led:  
 All her streets and all her bulwarks  
 Of pur gold are fashioned.

Bright with pearls her portal glitters,  
 It is open evermore,  
 And by virtue of their merits  
 Thither faithful souls may soar  
 Who for Christ's dear name in this  
 world  
 Pain and tribulation bore.

Tusionibus, pressuris  
 expoliti lapides,  
 Suis coaptantur locis  
 per manum artificis,  
 Disponuntur permansur  
 sacris aedificiis.

Angularis fundamentum  
 lapis Christus missus est,  
 Qui compage parietis  
 in utroque nectitur,  
 Quem Sion sancta suscipit,  
 in quo credens permanet.

Omnis illa Deo Sacra  
 et dilecta civitas,  
 Plena modulis in laude  
 et canore iubilo,  
 Trinum Deum unicuique  
 cum canore praedicat.

Hoc in templo, summo Deus,  
 exoratus adveni  
 Et clementi bonitate  
 precus vota suscipes  
 Largam benedictionem  
 his infunde iugiter.

Hic promerantur omnes  
 petita acquirere  
 Et adepta possidere  
 cum sanctis perenniter,  
 Paradisum introire  
 translati in requiem.

Gloria et honor Deo  
 usquequo altissimo,  
 Una Patri, Filioque,  
 Inclito Paraclit,  
 Cuius est et potestas <sup>47</sup>  
 per aeterna saecula.

Many a blow and biting sculpture  
 Polished well those stones elect,  
 In their places now compacted  
 By the heavenly Architect;  
 Who therewith hath will forever  
 That His palace should be decked.

Christ is made the sure Foundation,  
 And the precious Corner-stone,  
 Who, the twofold walls surmounting,  
 Binds them closely into one;  
 Holy Sion's Help forever  
 And her Confidence alone.

All that dedicated city,  
 Dearly loved by God on high,  
 In exultant jubilation  
 Pours perpetual melody:  
 God the One and God the Trinal  
 Lauding everlastingly.

To this temple, where we call Thee,  
 Come, O Lord of hosts, today.  
 With Thy wanted loving-kindness  
 Hear Thy servants as they pray  
 And Thy fullest benediction  
 Shed within these walls for aye.

Here vouchsafe to all thy servants  
 That they supplicate to gain  
 Here to have and hold forever  
 These good things their prayers  
 obtain,  
 And hereafter, in Thy glory,  
 with Thy blessed ones to reign.

Laud and honor to the Father,  
 Laud and honor to the Son,  
 Laud and honor to the Spirit  
 Ever Three and ever One:  
 Consubstantial, coeternal, <sup>48</sup>  
 While unending ages run.

The author of this hymn is not known, but it is probably of the sixth or seventh century. The earliest manuscript which contains the hymn

<sup>47</sup>Dreves and Blume, Analecta Hymnica, II, 110 and Ein Jahrtausend, II, 385.

<sup>48</sup>Translation as it appeared in J. N. Neale's Medieval Hymns, 1851, given in Poleck, op. cit., p. 329.

is an eighth-century manuscript now in the Bibliothéque de l' Arsenal in Paris. It is appointed as the baptismal hymn for Holy Saturday.<sup>49</sup>

It is also contained in several eleventh-century manuscripts now in the British Museum. The hymn is based on I Peter 2:5, Revelation 21, Ephesians 2:19-22 and Hebrews 12:22.

The authenticity of stanzas seven and eight has been seriously challenged by both Daniel (1812-1871) and by Neale (1818-1866). Daniel suggests that they are a latter addition meant to adapt the hymn on the Heavenly Jerusalem for use on a dedication festival.<sup>50</sup> The assistant editor of Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology, James Mearns, refutes this charge. He points out that the oldest manuscripts contain the stanzas in question. Archbishop Trench declares:

This hymn coheres intimately in all its parts and in ceasing to be a hymn In Dedicatione Ecclesiae it would lose its chiefest beauty. It is most truly a hymn 'of degrees' ascending from things earthly to things heavenly, and making the first to be the interpreter of the last. The prevailing intention in the building and the dedication of a church, with the rites thereto appertaining, was to carry up men's thoughts from that Temple built with hands, which they saw to that other built of living stones in heaven, of which this was but a weak shadow . . . This poem witnesses for its own true inspiration, in fact that it has proved the source of manifold inspiration in circles beyond its own.<sup>51</sup>

This hymn is contained in many Breviaries of the Middle Ages. It is always appointed for the dedication of a church. Although sometimes used as one hymn, it was usually divided after the fourth stanza into

---

<sup>49</sup>Dreves and Kluge, Ein Jahrtausend, II, 386.

<sup>50</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 1199.

<sup>51</sup>Archbishop Trench, Sacred Latin Poetry, 1861, p. 313. Quoted by James Mearns in Julian, op. cit., p. 1199.



two separate hymns.

In the revised Roman Breviary, 1632, "it is recast very much to its disadvantage"<sup>52</sup> as follows:

Cœlestis urbs Jerusalem,  
Beata pacis visio,  
Quae celsa de viventibus  
Saxis ad astra tolleris,  
Sponsaeque ritu cingeris  
Mille Angelorum millibus.

O sorte nupta prospera,  
Dotata Patris gloria,  
Respersa sponsi gratia,  
Regina formosissima,  
Christo jugata Principi,  
Coeli corusca civitas.

Hic margaritis emicant,  
Patentque cunctis ostia:  
Virtute namque praevia  
Mortalis illuc ducitur,  
Amore Christi percitus  
Tormenta quisquis sustinet.

Scalpri salubris ictibus,  
Et tusionis plurima,  
Fabri polita malleo  
Hanc saxa molem construunt,  
Aptisque juncta nexibus  
Locantur in fastigio,

Alto ex Olympi vertice  
Suavi Parentis Filius,  
Cum monte desectus lapis  
Terras in imas decedens,  
Domus supernae, et infimae,  
Utrumque junxit angulum.

Sed illa sedes coelitum  
Semper resultat laudibus,  
Denique Trinus et Unicum  
Jugi canore praedicat:  
Illi canentes jungimur  
Almae Sionis aemuli.

Hanc templi, Rex coelestium,  
Imple benigno lumine:  
Huc o rogatus adveni,  
Plēbisque vota suscipe,  
Et nostra corda jugiter  
Perfund coeli gratia.

Hic impetrent fidelium  
Voces precesque supplicum  
Domus beatæ munera,  
Patris que donis gaudeant:  
Donec soluti corpore  
Sedes beatas implent.

Decus Parenti debitum  
Sit usqueusque Altissimo,  
Natoque Patris unico,  
Et inclyto Paraclito,  
Cui laus, potestas, gloria,  
Aeterna sit per saecula.<sup>53</sup>

Dr. Neale studied the arguments of Daniel and Archbishop Trench

<sup>52</sup>Julian, *op. cit.*, p. 1199.

<sup>53</sup>Britt, *op. cit.*, p. 343 and 346. "The rugged beauty of the original text, in trochaic tetrameter, is replaced in the Roman Breviary by polished iambs," p. 345.

and in his Medieval Hymns, 1851 he declares:

Daniel imagines these stanzas to be a later addition, when the hymn, originally general, was adapted to the Dedication of a Church. Mr. Trench, on the contrary, will have the whole poem to be of one date; and alleges, very truly, that this mixture of the earthly and heavenly temple is usual in hymns and sequences on a similar subject. Nevertheless, I think that Daniel is right. 1. Because there is a clear difference in the style and language of the two last and the seven first stanzas. 2. Because the transition from one part to the other is so unusually abrupt. 3. Because, at the end of the sixth stanza, there is a quasi-doxology as if to point out that the hymn originally concluded there.<sup>54</sup>

Neale, too, thinks that the hymn has suffered by the revision; he remarks that the "grand old hymn lost half of its beauty in the process."<sup>55</sup>

The Liber Usualis appoints the opening stanzas of the hymn for Vespers of the dedication of a church. The singing of the second portion beginning Alto ex Olympi is prescribed for the office of Lauds.

Part one of the hymn is rarely used, but the second part is quite popular and used extensively. The Lutheran Hymnal contains a translation of the second part only. The translation is based on the one made by J. M. Neales for his Medieval Hymns, 1851 and in the Hymnal Noted, 1852. The Lutheran Hymnal utilizes stanzas five, seven, eight, and nine, and lists the hymn under the heading of the "Communion of Saints." The hymn "Christ is our Corner Stone" is John Chandler's version of the same hymn. It first appeared in his Hymns of the Primitive Church, 1837.<sup>56</sup>

Tibi Christi splendor Patris

The hymn "Jesus, Brightness of the Father" for the Feast of St. Michael

<sup>54</sup> John Mason Neale, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>55</sup> Britt, op. cit., p. 345. Quotation by Neale.

<sup>56</sup> Polack, op. cit., p. 329.

and All Angels is from Tibi Christi splendor Patris. In the Breviaries this hymn has been assigned to both Vespers and Matins for the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel (September 29) and for the Feast of the Apparition of St. Michael (May 8). With a few changes in the second stanza this hymn is also used at Vespers and Matins for the Feast of St. Raphael the Archangel (October 29).

Tibi Christe, splendor Patris,  
Vita, virtus cordium,  
In conspectu Angelorum  
Votis, voce psallimus:  
Alternantes concrepando  
Natos damus vocibus.

Collaudamus venerantes  
Omnes caeli milites,  
Sed praecipue Primatem  
Caelistis exercitus  
Michaelen in virtute  
Conterentem Zabulum.

Collaudamus venerantes  
Omnes caeli principes  
Sed praecipue fidelem  
Medicum et comitem  
Raphaelen in virtute  
Alligantem daemones.

Quo custode, procul pelle  
Rex Christe piissime  
Omne nefas inimici:  
Mundo corde et corpore  
Paradiso redde tuo  
Nos sola clementia.

Gloriam Patri melodie  
Personemus vocibus:  
Gloriam Christo canamus,  
Gloriam Paraclito:  
Qui trinus et unus Deus  
Estat ante saecula. <sup>57</sup>

Jesus, Brightness of the Father,  
Life and Strength of all who live,  
For creating guardian angels  
Glory to Thy name we give  
And Thy wondrous praise rehearse,  
Singing in harmonious verse.

Thus we praise with veneration  
All the armies of the sky:  
Chiefly him, the warrior Primate  
Of celestial chivalry,  
Michael, who in princely virtue  
Cast Abaddon from on high.

Thus we praise with veneration  
All high heaven's princes brave:  
Chiefly him the blest companion  
Sent with healing power to save,  
Raphael, who with mighty virtue  
Did the demon fast enslave.

Blessed Lord, by their protection  
Shelter us from harm this day,  
Keep us pure in flesh and spirit,  
Save us from the foe, we pray,  
And vouchsafe us by Thy grace  
In Thy Paradise a place.

Glory to the almighty Father  
Sing we with the heavenly host;  
Glory to the great Redeemer,  
Glory to the Holy Ghost;  
Three in One and One in Three,  
Throughout all eternity! <sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Bynnes, op. cit., pp. 516-18 and 550-52.

<sup>58</sup> Translation of stanzas 1, 3, 4 by Ed. Caswall as in the Lutheran Hymnal. Stanza 2 is by John N. Neale.

Rabanus Maurus (776-856) is usually credited as the author of this hymn. Rabanus was born in Mainz, Germany and studied at Tours under the famed Alcuin. As head of the school connected with the Benedictine monastery at Fulda he ran into difficulties with the Abbot Ratgar. The Abbot and headmaster disagreed as to what the students should do during the day. The abbot insisted that they should spend their time building additions to the buildings; the headmaster demanded they be given free time for concentrated study. Maurus succeeded Ratgar as abbot in 822. In 847 he was appointed Archbishop of Mainz. His fame as a teacher spread throughout Europe, and he is commonly reputed to have been the most learned man of his age.<sup>59</sup> His authentic prose works are numerous, and tradition credits him with the authorship of a number of hymns. "But recent research convinces us that the ascription in each case is doubtful."<sup>60</sup>

The authorship of this hymn, too, is most doubtful. An early collection of Carmina of Rabanus edited by E. Dümmler does not include the text. The text is found in three eleventh-century Mozarabic Breviary, in an eleventh century manuscript now at Corpus Christi, Cambridge, and in a Rhienau manuscript of the eleventh century.

The hymn originally written in Trochaic tetrameter catalectic was recast by the Urbanic revisionists into the more popular Iambic dimeter.<sup>61</sup> Although the choice of meter was good, Julian comments: "In the Roman

<sup>59</sup>Ernst, op. cit., p. 360.

<sup>60</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 1531.

<sup>61</sup>See previous chapter on Meter.

Breviary, 1632, it is recast greatly for the worse." The text of the revised hymn reads:

Te splendor et virtus Patris,  
Te vita, Jesu, cordium,  
Ab ore qui pendent tuo,  
Laudamus inter Angelos.

Draconis hic dirum caput  
In ima pallit tartara,  
Ducenque cum rebellibus  
Coelestis ab arce fulminat.

Tibi mille densa millium  
Decum corona militat:  
Sed explicat victor cruce  
Michael salutis signifer.

Contra ducen superbiae  
Sequamur hunc nos principes,  
Ut detur ex Agni throno  
Nobis corona gloriae.

Patri, simulque Filio,  
Tibi que sancte Spiritus,  
Sicut fuit, sit jugiter  
Saeculum per omne gloria. <sup>62</sup>

According to the Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal the translation used is an altered form of Father Edward Caswall's version published in his Lyra Catholica, 1849. <sup>63</sup>

It is interesting to observe that the Lutheran Hymnal omits the only stanza of the hymn which specifically mentions St. Michael.

#### Veni Creator Spiritus

The hymn Veni Creator Spiritus antes is one of the great hymns which has come down to us from the Middle Ages. From the twelfth century on, it has been well-known in Western Christendom. The earliest manuscripts, the collection of the poems of Rabanus Maurus, contains the text. <sup>64</sup> Almost all subsequent German Breviaries contain the text, and from the twelfth century onwards manuscript copies of the hymn are innumerable. The text

<sup>62</sup> Britton, op. cit., p. 360.

<sup>63</sup> Julian does not list this translation by Caswall for the Lyra Catholica, 1849 from the original Latin text. The only translation listed for Caswall is from the revised version, Te splendor et virtus Patris.

<sup>64</sup> Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church (Reprint, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1950), IV, 425.

found in these ancient sources reads:

Veni Creator Spiritus,  
Mentes tuorum visita,  
Imple superna gratia  
Quae tu creasti pectora.

Qui Paraclitus diceris,  
Donum Dei altissimi,  
Fons vivus, ignis, caritas,  
Et spiritalis unctio.

Te septiformis munere,  
Dexterae Dei tu digitus,  
Tu rite promisso Patris,  
Sermonem ditas guttura.

Accende lumen sensibus,  
Infunde amorem cordibus,  
Infirma nostri corporis  
Virtute firmans perpeti.

Hostes repellas longius:  
Paceque dones protinus:  
Ductore sic te praevio,  
Viteamus omne noxium.

Per te sciamus, de, Patrem  
Noscamus atque Filium,  
Te utriusque Spiritum <sup>65</sup>  
Credamus omni tempore.

Come, Holy Ghost, Creator blest,  
Vouchsafe within our souls to rest;  
Come with Thy grace and heavenly aid  
And fill the hearts which Thou hast made.

To Thee, the Comforter, we cry,  
To Thee, the Gift of God Most High,  
The Fount of life, the Fire of Love,  
The soul's Anointing from above.

The sevenfold gifts of grace are Thine,  
O finger of the Hand Divine;  
True promise of the Father Thou,  
Who dost the tongue with speech endow.

Thy light to every thought impart,  
And shed Thy love in every heart;  
The weakness of our mortal state  
With deathless might invigorate.

Drive far away our wily foe  
And Thine abiding peace bestow;  
If Thou be our protecting Guide  
No evil can our steps betide.

Make Thou to us the Father known,  
Teach us the eternal Son to own  
And Thee, whose name we ever bless,  
Of both the Spirit, to confess.  
(Edward Caswall)

The original hymn is six stanzas. Very many manuscripts, however, appended a doxology as the final stanza. The one most frequently used is the one included in the Lutheran Hymnal. It reads:

Sit laus Patri cum Filio,  
Sancto simul paraclito:  
Nobisque mittat Filius <sup>66</sup>  
Charisma sancti Spiritus.

Praise we the Father and the Son  
And the Holy Spirit, with them One;  
And may the Son on us bestow  
The gifts that from the Spirit flow.

<sup>65</sup>Dreves and Blume, Analecta hymnica, I. 193 and Ein Jahrtausend, I, 80.

<sup>66</sup>In Dreves and Blume, Ein Jahrtausend, stanza 7 reads:

Fraesta, pater piissime  
Patrique compar unice  
Cum spiritu paracloto  
Regnans per omne saeculum.

The doxology used in the Roman Breviary of 1570 and 1632 reads:

Deo Patri sit gloria  
Et Filio, qui mortuis  
Surrexit, ac Paracelito,  
In saeculorum saecula.

To Sire and Son be praises meet,  
And to the Holy Paraclete;  
And may Christ send us from above  
That Holy Spirit's gift of love.<sup>67</sup>

In the revision of the Roman Breviary the following changes were made:

Stanza 2, line 1. Qui diceris Paracletus  
Stanza 2, line 2. Altissimi donum Dei  
Stanza 3, line 2. Digitus Paternae Dexteræ  
Stanza 6, line 3. Teque utriusque Spiritum

"These variations however rest on no manuscript authority, but are merely due to the tasteless revision of Breviary hymns made in 1628-31, under Urban VIII, and are simply somewhat clumsy attempts to improve the rhythm and scansion."<sup>68</sup>

Though the name of Rabanus Maurus is most generally given as the author, other poets, too, have been credited with its composition. Others who share the credit for its authorship are St. Ambrose, Charlemagne, and Gregory the Great. Like so many other great Latin hymns, this also has been falsely assigned to Ambrose. However, neither the Benedictine editors or any ancient writers support this claim. The arguments for Ambrosian authorship depend largely on the similarity in this hymn and others ascribed to him. The lines "Accende lumen sensibus" and "Infunde aures cordibus" parallel the words "Infunde lumen cordibus" in the fourth stanza of the hymn O Lux beata Trinitas. Lines three and four of the fourth stanza are quoted from Ambrose's Veni Redemptor gentium. But since the hymns of St. Ambrose were considered "common property of the Church",

---

<sup>67</sup>The translation is by Father Aylward.

<sup>68</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 1207.

writers in that age had no scruples of making free use of his works. The case for Ambrose is very weak.

The most widely accepted opinion for some time was that it was written by the Emperor Charlemagne. The tradition is based on Ekkehard's biography of Notker. He reports that Notker sent a copy of his newly composed sequence Sancti Spiritus Adsit nobis gratia to the emperor (who died one hundred years before). In response Notker is said to have received Veni Creator Spiritus from Charles the Great "whose Latin was not sufficient for poetic composition."<sup>69</sup> The Benedictine liturgical scholar Dom Gueranger in his writings<sup>70</sup> credits the hymn to Charlemagne without any reservation. His claim is based on the zeal for the doctrine of the Procession for the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son set forth in this poem. The author of the article in the ninth edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica revives the Notker legend, but substitutes nephew Charles the Bald "who was still less competent for the task."<sup>71</sup>

Mone, Koch, and Wackernagel list Pope Gregory as the author. Mone reasons that it is similar to his known compositions, and the classical meter with occasional rhymes and the prayerfulness indicate Gregory's authorship.<sup>72</sup> But it hardly seems likely that such a great piece of hymnody written by a man of Gregory's fame would remain unnoticed by contemporary writers. It would also seem difficult to see why it was not included in any of the hymnals or breviaries of the sixth and seventh centuries.

<sup>69</sup> Schaff, op. cit., IV, 425.

<sup>70</sup> Institutiones Liturgiques, Paris, 1878, II, 179.

<sup>71</sup> Schaff, loc. cit.

<sup>72</sup> Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: Robert Appleton Company, c.1910) IV, "Veni Creator Spiritus", 311.



Most scholars today generally concede authorship to Rabanus Maurus. Dreves and Blume<sup>73</sup> state that manuscript evidence is in his favor and place the hymn under his name. Frere in his introduction to Hymns Ancient and Modern thinks that the hymn can "with some confidence be ascribed to Maurus."<sup>74</sup> Schaff contributes to this view by remarking that the text "agrees very well in thought and expression with his treatise on the Holy Spirit."<sup>75</sup>

In the Middle Ages the singing of this hymn was generally marked with special dignity, by the ringing of bells, the use of lights, incense and the best vestments. The earliest manuscripts assign the hymn for Vespers on the Festival of Pentecost. The monastery at Cluny in the tenth century is said to have originated its use at the office of Tierce. Tierce, the third hour of the day (9:00 a.m.), was the hour on which the Holy Spirit descended upon the Apostles.<sup>76</sup> The monastic orders still retain the hymn for that time. The Roman Breviary in accord with the more ancient tradition assigns it as the Vesper hymn for Whitsunday, as well as for Tierce. One German Breviary from about the year 1100 assigns it for Lauds. Its use at Lauds, however, is quite exceptional.

The hymn is used also on many other solemn occasions in liturgical and extra-liturgical functions as an invocation to the Holy Spirit. With the exception of the Te Deum, there is probably no other hymn used so extensively in the Church as the Veni Creator Spiritus.

---

<sup>73</sup>Dreves and Blume, Analecta hymnica, I. 195.

<sup>74</sup>Hymns Ancient and Modern (Historical edition), p. xcii.

<sup>75</sup>Schaff, op. cit., p. 425.

<sup>76</sup>Acts 2:15.

The Sarum Missal, 1497, and the Sens Missal, 1529, list it as part of the priest's preparation for the celebration of the Mass.

"For a thousand years (this hymn) has been used in the church at the most solemn functions; election of popes, opening of synods, consecration of bishops, ordinations of priests, crowning of kings and other important occasions."<sup>77</sup> Other functions at which the hymn is generally sung are: the opening and closing of institutions of higher learning, the laying of a corner stone of a church, and the consecration of a church. The Veni Creator Spiritus is the only hymn which has passed into the Anglican liturgy as part of the office for the ordination of a priest of the consecration of a bishop.<sup>78</sup>

Martin Luther translated the hymn which appeared as "Komm, Gott Schopfer, heiliger Geist" in Eyn Enchiridion, Erfurt, 1524. The German version was translated into English by Richard Massie and published in his Martin Luther's Spiritual Songs, 1854. The translation was used by the Ohio Lutheran Hymnal, 1880.

Two translations of the hymn appear in the Lutheran Hymnal; they begin "Come Holy Ghost, Creator Blest" and "Creator Spirit, by Whose Aid." The first is a translation by Father Edward Caswall. It was included in his Lyra Catholica, 1849 as "Come, O Creator Spirit Blest, and in "Our Souls Take up Thy Rest." Leaning heavily upon translations made by Mant and Campbell the editors of Hymns Ancient and Modern, 1861 and 1875 revised Caswall's text. This is the version which is in the Lutheran Hymnal.

<sup>77</sup>M. Garming, Latin Hymns (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1920), p. 34.

<sup>78</sup>Schaff, op. cit., p. 424.

For the other hymn the editors of the Lutheran Hymnal chose four stanzas of the translation by John Dryden. This was first published first in his Miscellaneous Poems, Part III, 1693. The original translation was thirty-nine lines divided into seven stanzas of unequal number of lines.<sup>79</sup> In this form it could hardly have been used as a hymn. The text, therefore, has been repeatedly altered and abbreviated for use with a melody. John Wesley was one of the first to adapt this text for congregational use in his Psalms and Hymns, 1741. The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal prints Dryden's text for the three stanzas not used by the Lutheran Hymnal; one stanza is six lines, another seven, and the third is eight lines in length.<sup>80</sup>

#### O Pater sancte

The hymn "Father Most Holy, Merciful and Tender" is based on the tenth century hymn O Pater sancte. The Trinity hymn is of unknown authorship. In its external form it is in the sapphic strophe, but its rhythm is not a classical one. The hymn is found in two manuscripts of the eleventh century now in the British Museum. Although it was the Vesper office hymn for the Feast of the Holy Trinity<sup>81</sup> and was included in the Sarum, York, Aberdeen, Old Roman and other rites, it is no longer an office hymn in the Roman rite today.

O Pater sancte, mitis atque pie,  
O Iesu Christe, Fili venerande,  
Paracleteque Spiritus o alme,  
Deus aeternae,

Father most holy, merciful and tender;  
Jesus, our Savior, with the Father  
reigning;  
Spirit all-kindly, Advocate, Defender,  
Light never waning.

<sup>79</sup> Julian, op. cit., p. 1210.

<sup>80</sup> Polack, op. cit., p. 176.

<sup>81</sup> Dreyes and Blume, Ein Jahrtausend, II, 175

Trinitas sancta unitasque firma,  
 Deitas vera, bonitas immensa,  
 Lux angelorum, salus orphanorum,  
 Spesque cunctorum,

Trinity sacred, Unity unshaken;  
 Deity perfect, giving and forgiving,  
 Light of the angels, Life of the  
 forsaken,  
 Hope of all living.

Serviunt tibi cuncta, quae creasti;  
 Te tuas cunctas laudent creaturae;  
 Nos quoque tibi psallimus devotig  
 Tu nos exaudi.

Maker of all things, all Thy  
 creatures praise Thee;  
 Lo, all things serve Thee through  
 Thy whole creation.  
 Hear us, Almighty, hear us as we  
 raise Thee  
 Our adoration.

Gloria tibi, omnipotens Deus,  
 Trinus et unus, magnus et excelsus;  
 Te decet hymnus, honor, laus, et  
 decus <sup>82</sup>  
 Nunc et in aevum.

To the all-ruling Triune God be  
 glory!  
 Highest and Greatest, help Thou  
 our endeavor;  
 We, too, would praise Thee giving  
 honor worthy  
 Now and forever.

(Percy Dearmer)

The English translation by Percy Dearmer appeared first in the  
 English Hymnal, 1906. <sup>83</sup>

### Jesu, Dulcis Memoria

By the eleventh century Latin hymnody had become subjective and sentimental. It is often said that the so-called "Jesu Hymns" which tended to be sweet and sentimental in character had their origin with Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153).

Bernard, born of a wealthy and influential family in Burgundy and greatly gifted, chose a life of asceticism. In 1113 he entered into the Cistercian monastery at Citeaux. Two years later he and twelve other monks left the institution to found a daughter foundation in the Valley of Clairvaux.

<sup>82</sup> loc. cit., and Analecta hymnica, II, 58 and LI, 101.

<sup>83</sup> Polack, op. cit., p. 179.

Bernard's exceptional abilities gained him the respect of not only his fellow monks but also of his countrymen. His decisions were so respected that in the split of the Sacred College in 1130 over the successor to Pope Honorius II, the King of France upon Bernard's recommendation pledged allegiance to Gregory of St. Angelo who had assumed the title of Innocent II. And it was directly due to Bernard's influence that Victor II (successor to Peter Leonis,<sup>84</sup> the other pope-elect) was completely defeated in his claim. Innocent II returned to Rome with Bernard. It was universally acknowledged that Innocent's success was the work of the Abbot of Clairvaux. Bernard remained in Rome and served the Pope. His influence now "became paramount in the Church, as was proved at the Lateran Council of 1139, the largest council ever collected together, where the decrees in every line displayed the work of his master-hand."<sup>85</sup> In the last decade of his life Bernard aroused the French people to engage in the Second Crusade. This crusade was a most terrible and complete failure. Vast numbers of the men who had "taken up the cross" never reached the Holy Land. The leaders, Emperor Conrad of Germany and Louis of France, returned home defeated and disgraced. Bernard was blamed for the entire affair. "He died in the sixty-third year of his age, in 1153, weary of the world and glad to be at rest."<sup>86</sup>

The Lutheran Hymnal contains three hymns which are usually credited to Bernard, "O Sacred Head, Now Wounded," "Jesus the Very Thought of Thee," and "O Jesus, King Most Wonderful." The latter two hymns are centos from

---

<sup>84</sup> Peter Leonis died in 1130.

<sup>85</sup> Julian, op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 137.

the poem Jesu dulcis memoria. The earliest and best-attested manuscript of this poem contains forty-two stanzas.<sup>87</sup> Additional stanzas found in various other manuscripts bring the total number up to fifty-one.<sup>88</sup> Many of these additional stanzas are poor verse, and it is extremely doubtful that they are part of the original.

Hymnologists are not agreed as to the authorship of this hymn which has been called "the sweetest and most evangelical hymn of the Middle Ages." James Mearns, the assistant editor of Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology states that "This hymn has been generally (and there seems little reason to doubt correctly) ascribed to St. Bernard; and there are many parallels to it in his genuine prose works, especially that on the Canticles."<sup>89</sup> He dates the hymn after 1146, after Bernard's preaching of the Second Crusade. The most probably time of his life would be about 1150 when he was in retirement, weary of the world. None of the breviaries question or raise the slightest doubt about Bernard's authorship.

On the other hand, the Jesuit scholar Clemens Blume declares that Bernard is not the author.<sup>90</sup> An eleventh century manuscript found by Dom Fothergill ascribes the hymn to a Benedictine Abbess.<sup>91</sup>

The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal states "the authorship of the famous Jesu, dulcis memoria has long been ascribed to him (Bernard). This view is no longer tenable."<sup>92</sup>

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., p. 585. Julian gives the first line of the stanzas contained in a 12th century manuscript which is now in Bodleian.

<sup>88</sup>Dreves and Blume, Ein Jahrtausend, II, 36, lists only 50 strophes.

<sup>89</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 585.

<sup>90</sup>Catholic Encyclopedia, article under "Hymnody and Hymnology," VII, 603.

<sup>91</sup>Hymns Ancient and Modern, p. 357. <sup>92</sup>Polack, op. cit., p. 482.

Luther had a great respect for Bernard and called him "the most pious monk that ever lived"; yet there is no indication that Luther ever translated this poem into German. It is most likely that had Luther been acquainted with this hymn of Bernard, he would have translated it or at least made some reference to it.

Because of its great length the hymn could not be used in its entirety for any of the offices of the Church. Old manuscripts show various divisions for the hymn so that it could be sung in the course of the offices for one day. About the year 1500 a separate office for the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus,<sup>93</sup> came into general use. Centos from this poem were incorporated into the liturgy for that day. The office seems to have been added to the Sarum Breviary about 1495 and certainly in the Paris edition of 1499. It contains two centos of the hymn of the hymn: Jesu, dulcis memoris for the office of Matins and Jesu, auctor clementiae for Lauds. The same centos were also included in the Hereford Breviary, 1505, the Aberdeen Breviary, 1509-10, and the York Breviary, 1526. The office for the Feast of the Holy Name was authorized for use in the Franciscan Order by Pope Clement VII (Pope 1523-34). It was not authorized for general use until the year 1721, and on December 20, 1722 the Feast was decreed to be universally observed. Subsequent editions of the Roman Breviary contain three centos of the text which are assigned as shown below. The Paris Breviary of 1736 appoints a cento beginning Jesu, dulcedo cordium for Lauds on Transfiguration.

The translation in the Lutheran Hymnal is based on the version

---

<sup>93</sup>This Feast is celebrated on the Sunday between Circumcision and Epiphany. If there is no such Sunday, then on January 2.

prepared by Father Edward Caswall for his Iyra Catholica, 1849. He follows the stanza sequence used by the Roman Breviary.

## (Vespers)

Jesu dulcis memoria,  
 Dans vera cordi gaudia,  
 Sed super mel et omnia  
 Eius dulcis praesentia.

Nil canitur suavius,  
 Nil auditur iucundius,  
 Nil cogitatur dulcius  
 Quam Iesus, Dei Filius.

Jesu, spes poenitentibus,  
 Quam pius es potentibus,  
 Quam bonus te quaerentibus,  
 Sed quid inventientibus!

Nec lingua valet dicere,  
 Nec littera exprimere:  
 Expertus potest credere  
 Quid sit Iesum diligere.

Tu esto nostrum gaudium,  
 Quo es futurus praemium;  
 Sit nostra in te gloria  
 Per cuncta semper saecula. <sup>94</sup>

Jesus, the very thought of Thee  
 With sweetness fills the breast;  
 But sweeter far Thy face to see  
 And in Thy presence rest.

Nor voice can sing, nor heart can frame,  
 Nor can the memory find  
 A sweeter sound than Thy blessed name  
 O Savior of mankind!

O Hope of every contrite heart,  
 O Joy of all the meek!  
 To those who fall, how kind Thou art,  
 How good to those who seek.

But what to those who find? Ah! this  
 Nor tongue nor pen can show;  
 The love of Jesus what it is.  
 None but His loved ones know.

Jesus, our only Joy be Thou  
 As Thou our Prize wilt be!  
 Jesus, be Thou our Glory now  
 And through eternity.

## (Matins)

Jesu, Rex admirabilis,  
 Et triumphator nobilis,  
 Dulcedo ineffabilis,  
 Totus Desiderabilis.

Quando cor nostrum visitas,  
 Tunc lucet ei veritas,  
 Munda vilescit vanitas,  
 Et intus fervet caritas.

O Jesus, King most wonderful  
 Thou Conqueror renowned,  
 Thou sweetest most ineffable,  
 In whom all joys are found!

When once Thou visitest the heart,  
 Then truth begins to shine,  
 Then earthly vanities depart,  
 Then kindles love divine.

---

<sup>94</sup>In the Roman Breviary the opening line of the last stanza reads: "Sis Jesu nostrum gaudium". Neither this line nor the opening line in the Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal as given above is found in the 12th century manuscript (see footnote 92). According to this manuscript listing this Vesper hymn is composed of stanzas 1, 2, 3, and 5 and another stanza.



Jesu, Dulcedo cordium,  
Fons veri, lumen mentium,  
Excedens omne gaudium,  
Et omne desiderium.

Jesum omnes agnoscite,  
Aurem eius poscite:  
Jesum ardentem querite,  
Querendo inardescite.

Te nostra Jesu vox sonet,  
Nostrum te morem expriment,  
Te corda nostra diligant,<sup>95</sup>  
Et nunc, et in perpetuum.

O Jesus, light of all below,  
Thou Fount of life and fire,  
Surpassing all the joys we know,  
All that we can desire, -

May every heart confess Thy name  
And ever Thee adore  
And, seeking Thee, itself inflame  
To seek Thee more and more!

Thee may our tongues forever bless,  
Thee may we love alone,  
And ever in our lives express  
The image of Thine own!

(Edward Caswall)

Father Caswall's translation of the hymn retains the Iambic meter of the Latin, but changes the original long meter stanza to common meter. His translation included also a third cento of the hymn which is assigned for Lauds on the day of the Holy Name. This cento, however, is not included in the Lutheran Hymnal.

#### Salvete Flores Martyrum

This hymn is from the twelfth and last poem of the Cathemerinon of Prudentius. The Cathemerinon is a collection of hymns for the sanctification of the hours of the day or for certain important occasions such as Christmas or Epiphany. The entire poem is as recorded in a fifth century manuscript is 208 lines and begins Quicumque Christum queritis. Although it is one of the finest poems of Prudentius, it was used comparatively little by the Church until four centos were included into the Breviary by Pius V (1568). The division of the poem, its composition and liturgical

<sup>95</sup> The last two stanzas are not given by Dreyes and Blume. Stanzas 2, 4, and 5 are not listed as in the 12th century manuscript. (See Footnote 92.) Stanzas 1 and 3 are given as stanzas 9 and 4 in the manuscript.

use are: 1. Quicumque Christum quaeritis (lines 1-4, 37-44, 85-88) for Matins and first and second Vespers on Transfiguration; 2. O sola nannarum urbium (lines 77-80, 5-8, 61-64, 69-72) for Lauds on the Epiphany; 3. Audit tyrannus anxius (lines 93-100, 133-136) for Matins on Holy Innocents and its octave; 4. Salvete flores martyrum (lines 125-132) for Lauds and Vespers on the Holy Innocents and its octave. <sup>96</sup>

Salvete Flores Martyrum,  
Quos lucis ipse lumine  
Christi insecutor sustulit,  
Ceu turbo nascentes rosas.

Vos prima Christi victimas,  
Grex immolatorum tener,  
Aram sub ipsam simplices  
Palma et coronis luditis.

Quid proficit tantum nefas?  
Quid crimen Herodem Juvat?  
Unus tot inter funera  
Impune Christus tollitur.

Jesu, tibi sit gloria,  
Qui natus es de Virgine,  
Cum Patre et almo Spiritu,  
In sempiterna saecula.<sup>97</sup>

Sweet flowerets of the martyr band,  
Plucked by the tyrant's ruthless hand  
Upon the threshold of the morn,  
Like rosebuds by a tempest torn;

First victims for the incarnate Lord,  
A tender flock to feel the sword;  
Beside the very altar, gay,  
With palm and crown, ye seemed to play,

Ah, what availed King Herod's wrath?  
He could not stop the Savior's path.  
Alone, while others murdered lay,  
In safety Christ is borne away.

O Lord, the Virgin-born, to Thee  
Eternal praise and glory be,  
Whom with the Father we adore  
And Holy Ghost forevermore.

(Henry W. Baker)

The Roman Breviary version is two stanzas with a doxology. Lines 133-136, which the Breviary used as part of the hymn for Matins, the Lutheran Hymnal inserted before the doxology. The translation by Henry W. Baker retains the original Iambic meter. It appeared first in the revised edition of Hymns Ancient and Modern, 1875 and was revised and altered later for the edition of 1909. The Lutheran Hymnal follows the revised and altered version.

<sup>96</sup> Catholic Encyclopedia, XII, 607. Article, "Quicumque Christum Quaeritis."

<sup>97</sup> Britt, op. cit., pp. 106-8.

The Latin hymns of Charles Coffin and Abbe Besnault are the most recent Latin hymns incorporated into a Breviary and then into the Lutheran Hymnal.

Charles Coffin (1676-1749) was born at Buzancy (Ardennes) and educated at the college of Flossis, Paris. In 1712 he was appointed principal of the college at Beauvais and then in 1718 appointed rector of the University of Paris. He published some of his Latin poems in 1727, but the bulk of his hymns appeared in the Paris Breviary, 1736. In the same year he published them as Hymni Sacri Auctore Carlo Coffin. A complete edition of his works was published posthumously in 1755.<sup>98</sup> Two of his hymns, Instantis adventus Dei (The Advent of our King) and Jordanis oras praevia (On Jordan's bank the Baptist's cry) are in the Lutheran Hymnal under the section for hymns for Advent.

Instantis adventus Dei

Instantis adventus Dei  
Pescamus ardenti prece,  
Festique munus inclytus  
Præoccupamus canticis

Aetern proles femine  
Non horret includi sinu;  
Fit ipse servus, ut iugo  
Nos servitutis eximat.

Mansuetus et clemens venit  
Occurre, festina, Sion:  
Ultero tibi quam porrigit,  
Ne dura pacem repuas.

Nox nube clara fulgurans  
Mundi redibit arbiter  
Suique membra corporis  
Caelo triumphator vehet.

The advent of our King  
Our prayers must now employ,  
And we must hymns of welcome sing  
In strains of holy joys.

The everlasting Son  
Incarnate deigns to be;  
Himself a servant's form puts on  
To set His servants free.

O Zion's Daughter, rise  
To meet thy lowly King,  
Nor let thy faithless heart despise  
The peace He comes to bring.

As Judge, on clouds of light,  
He soon will come again  
And His true members all unite  
With Him in heaven to reign.

<sup>98</sup> Julian, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-2.

Festus tenebrarum, dis  
 Cedant propinquo crimina;  
 Adam reformetur vetus,  
 Imago succedat novi.

Before the dawning day  
 Let sin's dark deeds be gone,  
 The old man all be put away,  
 The new man all put on.

Qui liberator advenis,  
 Fili, tibi laus maxima  
 Cum Patre et alio Spiritu  
 In sempiterna saecula.

All glory to the Son,  
 Who comes to set us free,  
 With Father, Spirit, ever One,  
 Through all eternity.

(John Chandler)

The Paris Breviary of 1736 is the only breviary that includes this  
 100  
 text. The hymn is assigned as the Matin hymn for Sundays and Ferial Days  
 in Advent. The English text in the Lutheran Hymnal is an altered form  
 of John Chandler's translation which first appeared in his Hymns of the  
 Primitive Church, 1837. The opening line of Chandler's translation read,  
 "The Advent of our God, our prayers . . ." The present text is revised  
 by the compilers of Hymns Ancient and Modern.

Jordanis oras praevia

Charles Coffin's other hymn in the Lutheran Hymnal, Jordanis oras  
 praevia was also published in this Hymni Sacri and in the Paris Breviary.  
 It is assigned as the hymn for Sundays and Ferial Days in Advent at the  
 office of Lauds. The hymn is included in other modern French Breviaries. 101

Jordanis oras praevia  
 Vox ecce Baptistae quatit:  
 Praeconis ad grandes sonos  
 Ignavus abscedat sopor.

On Jordan's bank the Baptist's cry  
 Announces that the Lord is nigh;  
 Come, then, and hearken, for he brings  
 Glad tidings from the King of Kings.

Auctoris adventum sui  
 Tellus et aether et mare

E'en now the air, the sea, the land,  
 Feel that their Maker is at hand;

100 The Paris Breviary is a revision made by Archbishop Charles de Vin-  
 timille in 1736. The hymns in this Breviary are drawn mainly from 15th,  
 16th and early 17th century authors. Three notable exceptions are Ambrose,  
 Prudentius, and Fortunatus. For further information see article "Breviaries"  
 in Julian.

101 Julian, op. cit., p. 606.

Prægestiente sentiunt  
Et jam salutant gaudio.

Mandemus et nos pectora:  
Deo propinquanti viam  
Sternamus, et dignam domum  
Tanto paremus hospiti.

Tu nostra, tu, Iesu, salus;  
Tu robur et solatium:  
Arens ut herba, te sine  
Mortale tabescit genus.

Aegris salutarem manum  
Extende; prostratos leva;  
Ostende vultum; iam suus  
Mundo reflorascet decus.

Qui liberator advenis,  
Fili, tibi laus maxima  
Cum Patre et alio Spiritu  
In sempiterna saecula.

The very elements rejoice  
And welcome Him with cheerful voices.

Then cleansed be every Christian breast  
And furnished for so great a Guest.  
Yea, let us each our hearts prepare  
For Christ to come and enter there.

For Thou art our Salvation, Lord,  
Our Refuge, and our great Reward.  
Without Thy grace our souls must fade  
And wither like a flower decayed.

Lay on the sick Thy healing hand  
And make the fallen strong to stand;  
Show us the glory of Thy face  
Till beauty springs in every place.

All praise, eternal Son, to Thee  
Whose advent sets Thy people free  
When, with the Father, we adore  
And Holy Ghost forevermore.<sup>102</sup>

(John Chandler)

This translation, too, is from Chandler's Hymns of the Primitive Church. The second stanza of the hymn is omitted in the Lutheran Hymnal.

#### Felix dies, quam probric

Abbe Sebastian Besnault (d.1726) is another eighteenth century Latin hymn writer whose poetry is represented in the Lutheran Hymnal. Besnault served as chaplain of the parish at St. Maurice at Sens. His Latin poetry is considered to be written in good literary style. He is one of the contributors to the Clunias Breviary, 1686, the Sens Breviary, 1726, and the Paris Breviary, 1736. The hymn Felix dies (O blessed day) appeared in later publications of the Breviary as the hymn for Matins on the Feast

<sup>102</sup>Polack, op. cit., pp. 51, 52.

of the Circumcision<sup>103</sup> and was included in other later French Breviaries.

Felix dies, quam proprio  
Iesus cruore consecrat:  
Felix dies, qua gestit  
Opus salutis aggredi.

O blessed day when first was poured  
The blood of our redeeming Lord.  
O blessed day when Christ began  
His saving work for sinful man.

Vix natus, ecce lacteum  
Profundit infans sanguinem:  
Libamen ex hoc funeris,  
Amoris hoc praeludium.

While from his mother's bosom fed,  
His precious blood He wills to shed;  
A Foretaste of His death He feels,  
An earnest of His Love reveals.

Intrans in orbem, iam Patris  
Mandata promptus exequi;  
Statum praecipuat diem;  
Ex qua potest, fit victima.

Scarcely come to earth, His Father's will  
With prompt obedience to fulfil,  
A victim even now He lies  
Before the day of sacrifice.

Amore se facit rem  
Poenasque solvit innocens;  
Sub lege factus legifer,  
A Lege nos ut eximat.

In love our guilt He undertakes;  
Sinless, for sin atonement makes.  
The great Law giver for our aid  
Obedient to the Law is made.

The wound He through the Law endures  
Our freedom from the Law secures;  
Henceforth a holier law prevails,  
That law of love that never fails.

Tu, Christe, quod non est tuum  
Nostrum recide pectore:  
Inscribe nomen, intus  
Inscribe legem cordibus.

Lord, circumcise our heart, we pray,  
And take what is not Thine away.  
Write Thine own name upon our hearts,  
They law within our inward parts.

Qui natus es de virgine,  
Iesu, tibi sit gloria  
Cum Patre cumque Spiritu  
In sempiterna saecula.

O Lord, the Virgin-born, to Thee  
Eternal praise and glory be,  
Whom with the Father we adore,  
And Holy Ghost forevermore.<sup>104</sup>  
(John Chandler)

The Iambic meter of the Latin is retained in the translation made by John Chandler. His original translation first published in his Hymns of the Primitive Church, 1837 read "O happy day, when first appeared." The altered form in the Lutheran Hymnal omits stanza five.

<sup>103</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 374.

<sup>104</sup>Polack, op. cit., p. 93.

APPENDIX A

BREVIARY SOURCES OF HYMNS\*

| <u>HYMN</u>                | <u>BREVIARY</u>        | <u>USE</u>                                  |
|----------------------------|------------------------|---|
| A Solis ortus cardine      | 5                      | Christmas Day                               |
| Hostis Herodes impie       | 5, 7                   | Epiphany                                    |
| Christe qui lux es et dies | 10, 11, 12             | Vigil of the Ep.                            |
| Felix dies, quam proprio   | 1, 5, 10, 11, 12       | Compline, Lent                              |
| Instantis adventum Dei     | 6                      | Circumcision                                |
| Jesu dulcis memoria        | 6                      | Advent                                      |
| Jesu rex admirabilis       | 9, 11, 12              | Holy Name                                   |
| Jordanis oras praevia      | 9                      | Holy Name                                   |
| O Lux beata, Trinitas      | 6                      | Advent                                      |
|                            | 5                      | 2 Sun. after                                |
|                            |                        | Oct. of Epiph.                              |
|                            | 10, 11, 12             | Sat. Vespers                                |
|                            | 7                      | Feast of Trinity                            |
| O Pater sancte             | 10, 11, 12             | Trinity Sunday                              |
| Salvete flores martyrum    | 9, 12                  | Holy Innocents                              |
| Splendor Paternae          | 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11,    | Lauds                                       |
|                            | 12                     |   |
| Tibi Christi, splendor     | 7, 8, 10, 11           | St. Michael                                 |
| Urbs beata Ierusalem       | 7, 8, 10, 11           | Dedication of Church                        |
| Angularis fundamentum      | 6, 7, 8, 10, 11        | Dedication of Church                        |
| Veni Creator Spiritus      | 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 | Pentecost                                   |
| Veni Redemptor gentium     | 5, 10, 11, 12          | Christmas Day                               |
| Vexilla Regis              | 2, 11                  | Exaltation and<br>Invention of the<br>Cross |
|                            | 2                      | Palm Sunday                                 |
|                            | 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10      | Passion Sunday                              |
|                            | 11, 12                 |   |

\* Table adapted from John Julian, Dictionary of Hymnology, pp. 172-180.

KEY

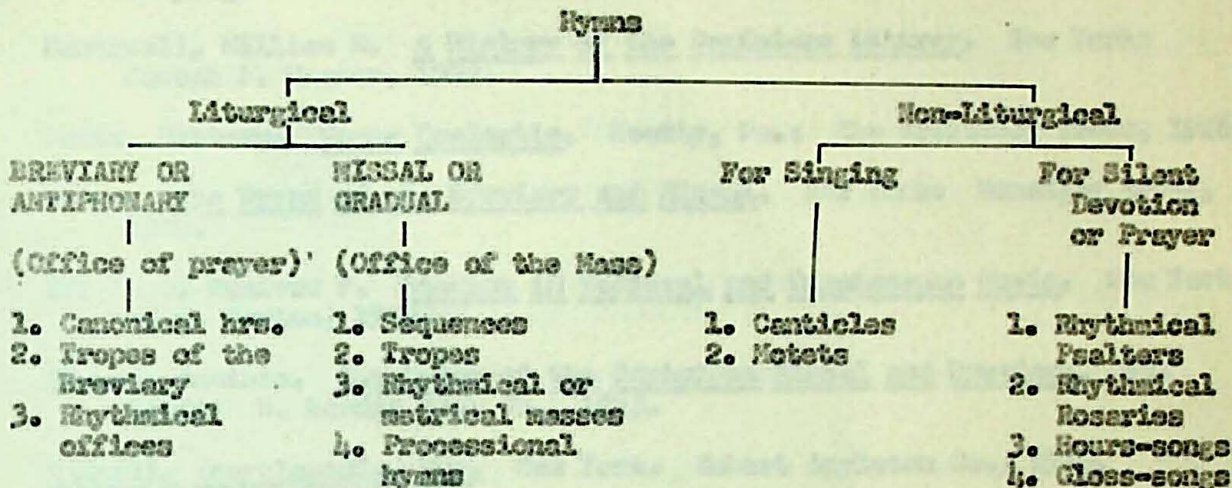
1. Old Ambrosian Breviary, Venice 1539, but not in the revised edition.
2. Revised Ambrosian Breviary, Milan 1582, but not in 1539 edition.
3. Hymns common to both 1 and 2.
4. Old Mozarabic Hymns found in Hymnarium but not in Breviary.
5. Old Mozarabic Hymns found in Hymnarium and also in Kimenes' ed. of the Mozarabic Breviary, 1502.
6. Paris Breviary, Revised, 1736.
7. Roman Breviary, before the first great revision of 1525, Edition, Venice 1515.
8. Roman Breviary, after 4th revision, 1632. Edition, Venice 1635.

9. Roman Breviary, Modern edition, Tournay, 1879.
10. York Breviary, Surtees Soc. Durham, 1880-83.
11. Aberdeen Breviary, London, 1854.
12. Sarum Breviary, Reprint, Cambridge, 1879-86.



APPENDIX B

CLASSIFICATION OF LATIN HYMNS



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arts, Frederick B. The Mind of the Middle Ages. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, c.1953.
- Blume, Clemens, and G. M. Dreyes. Analecta hymnica medi aevi. 55 vols. Leipzig: C. R. Reisland, 1909.
- Bonniwell, William R. A History of the Dominican Liturgy. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1949.
- Britt, Matthew. Gemma Sacrae. Beatty, Pa.: The Archabbey Press, 1926.
- , The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal. New York: Benziger Bros., 1924.
- Bufofner, Manfred F. Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music. New York: W. W. Norton, 1950.
- Brynes, Aquinas. The Hymns of the Dominican Missal and Breviary. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1943.
- Catholic Encyclopedia, The. New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1910.
- Dickinson, Edward. Music in the History of the Western Church. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.
- Dreyes, Guido Maria, and Clemens Blume. Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnedichtung. 2 vols. Leipzig: C. R. Reisland, 1909.
- Duffield, Samuel W. Latin Hymns. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1889.
- Gering, M. Latin Hymns. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1920.
- Hymns Ancient and Modern (Historical Edition). London: Wm. Clowes & Sons, Ltd., 1909. Introduction by W. H. Frere.
- Julian, John. A Dictionary of Hymnology. New York: Ch. Scribner's Sons, 1892.
- Kuhnmueller, Otto J. Early Christian Latin Poets. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1929.
- Lange, Paul Henry. Music in Western Civilization. New York: W. W. Norton, 1911.
- Liber Usualis. Edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes. Tournai, Belgium: Desclée and Co., 1947.

- March, F. A. Latin Hymns. New York: American Book Co., 1874.
- Mc Dougall, A. G. Pange Lingua. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1916.
- Merrill, Wm. A. Latin Hymns. Boston: Benjamin H. Sanborn and Co., 1904.
- Messenger, Ruth Ellis. "Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages," The Papers of the Hymn Society, XIV (1948).
- "Christian Hymns of the First Three Centuries," The Papers of the Hymn Society, IX (1942).
- The Medieval Latin Hymn. Washington, D.C.: Capital Press, 1953.
- "The Mozarabic Hymnal," American Philological Association, LXXIV (1944), 103-126.
- "Recent Studies in Medieval Latin Hymns," American Philological Association, LXXY (1940), pp. 248-261.
- Mone, F. J. Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters. 3 vols. Freiburg in Breisgau, 1853-55.
- Phillips, C. S. Hymnody Past and Present. New York: Macmillan Co., 1937.
- Polack, W. G. The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1942.
- Previte-Orton, C. W. The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952.
- Randall, John H. The Making of the Modern Mind. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, c.1940.
- Reese, Gustave. Music in the Middle Ages. New York: W. W. Norton, 1941.
- Schaff, Philip. History of the Christian Church. Vols III, IV, V, VI. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Reprint, 1950.
- Wackernagel, K. E. Das deutschen Kirchenlied. 5 vols. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner Verlag, 1864-1877. Vol. I contains Latin hymns.