



1954

Study of the Sequences Ascribed to Adam of St. Victor

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STUDY OF THE SEQUENCES ASCRIBED TO ADAM OF ST. VICTOR

by

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A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Loyola University
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

June

1954

LIFE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

After a long period of barrenness, the twelfth century witnessed a flowering of literature and other branches of knowledge. The rest of the Middle Ages "ne connaîtra plus un épanouissement littéraire aussi vigoureux, aussi sain et aussi attrayant. . ."¹ The Belgian scholar and critic, Father Joseph de Ghellinck, singles out for special commendation several poets of this era. Adam of St. Victor was writing sequences in the rhythmic genre, "avec un goût et une aisance peu commune." Alain of Lille was faithful to classical quantitative verse. Hildebert of Tours and Walter of Châtillon wrote in both genres.²

A study of the sequences of Adam of St. Victor is justified because, though he is considered the most brilliant representative of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the golden age of Latin hymnody, his fame has been obscured by a widespread prejudice against non-classical medieval poetry. There has been a revival of interest in and appreciation of the popular lyrics and the Goliardic poetry of the Middle Ages. The religious poetry of the same era,

1 Joseph de Ghellinck, S. J., L'Essor de la littérature latine au IIIe siècle, Brussels, 1946, II, 6.

2 Ibid., 7.

however, with perhaps a few great exceptions, has remained under the cloud of Renaissance disapproval.

A cursory preliminary study of the sequences ascribed to Adam of St. Victor suggests these questions:

(1) What is the position of the twelfth-century sequence in relation to other forms of religious poetry? What is its setting in the general history of literature?

(2) How does the twelfth-century sequence stand in relation to its time? Does it reflect or influence its age? Can we learn something of the character of the Middle Ages from the sequence?

(3) Is there any possibility of determining which of the sequences attributed to Adam were really written by him?

(4) Are the sequences ascribed to Adam of St. Victor worth studying? What is their value as poetry?

As one aspect of the twelfth-century efflorescence, the poetry of Adam of St. Victor cannot be studied in isolation. It must be placed in proper relation to its own past, present, and future.

This study will investigate the sequences attributed to Adam, their authorship, their setting in literary history, their significance as an expression of and an index to their time, and lastly their intrinsic poetic value. The first chapters will present the background of the twelfth-century sequence, literary, geographical, and philosophical. Following chapters will deal with the life of Adam of St. Victor, the history of the text of Adam's sequences, and an account of the literary criticism of the sequences. A more

detailed inquiry into the content and form of the sequences ascribed to Adam will conclude the study.

Origin of the Sequence

The sequence of the twelfth century was based on qualitative and accentual rhythm as opposed to the quantitative classical imitations of the time; it was imbued with religious doctrine and ideals as opposed to the more worldly accentual, rhythmic verse such as Goliardic poetry.

It seems generally agreed that the sequence developed from the trope, a text of one or more verses with musical accompaniment which was made to serve as interpolation, introduction or addition to a liturgical text.³ The word comes from τροπος , musical mode or melody. The origin of the trope is obscure. Some time during the eighth or ninth century words were fitted to ornate melodies added to parts of the liturgy. The practice of "troping" became general, especially in monasteries and cathedral chapters.⁴ The parts of the Mass so embellished were usually the Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Offertory, Sanctus, Agnus Dei and the Communion. Usually the tropes attached to the Kyrie, Gloria, and Agnus Dei were rimed; the others were in prose.⁵

3 Joseph de Ghellinck, S. J., Littérature latine au moyen âge, Paris, 1939, II, 178.

4 Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (with an introduction on the music of ancient times), New York, c1940, 185.

5 Léon Gautier, Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge: Les Tropes (I; no more published), Paris, 1886, 3n.

These tropes were merely tolerated; they were never officially accepted into the body of the liturgy. When their number reached undue proportions, they were discouraged and suppressed by the Church.⁶

Not a single author's name has come down to us, but there are two great collections of tropes extant, those of Limoges, France, and Winchester, England.⁷ The real service rendered to music by the unknown composers of tropes is in their organizing and maintaining what might be considered conservatories of sacred music in the monasteries. They rendered still another service to literature. The tropes, transformed in the twelfth century into rimed songs, may be the source of the Latin songs of the Goliards. Wandering clerks and students began by singing tropes, but they rapidly descended to parodies on lighter topics, and then even to mockery of all things holy.⁸ The role of the trope in the development of the theatre will be discussed later with the sequence.

Some of the tropes exhibited an interesting characteristic, alternating Latin lines with responses in the vernacular. Father de Ghellinck believes that this adaptation of the austere Roman rite as used by different peoples gave larger play to the imagination and the feelings and added an element of spontaneity to the liturgy.⁹

6 Reese, Music, 186.

7 De Ghellinck, Litt. lat. au moyen âge, II, 179.

8 Gautier, Tropes, 7-8.

9 De Ghellinck, Litt. lat. au moyen âge, II, 179.

Léon Gautier notes the characteristic quality of much of medieval religious poetry when he speaks of the tropes as "full of sursum."¹⁰ They are concrete evidence of how the medieval man could, if he chose, live in a continual banquet of the spirit and the heart.

Tropes were added to certain parts of the Mass; the sequence was interpolated in the Mass itself. The sequence began as a farcing or padding of the Gradual. The Anglican hymnologist, Neale, suggests a utilitarian motive: the Gradual was prolonged to give the deacon or the celebrant time to climb up to the pulpit to read the Gospel.¹¹

The jubilus, the series of neums or notes following the last alleluia of the Gradual, was originally sung without words, on the final a. Fond of allegory, the medieval liturgists saw in this an expression of the inability of man to put into words his aspirations for heaven and his longing for God.¹²

¹⁰ Gautier, Tropes, 7. "Ces pauvres vers sont pleins de sursum, et nous avons eu la joie fort vive de n'y jamais rencontrer une idée vile ou fausse. . . . Dans ces Tropes joyeux, c'est le cœur qui parlait, et il était plein." This criticism illustrates the enthusiastic spirit in which Gautier approached his study of the Middle Ages.

¹¹ John Mason Neale, Collected Hymns Sequences and Carols, posth. ed. by two daughters, London, 1914, 19.

¹² Léon Gautier, Les Oeuvres poétiques d'Adam de Saint Victor, 1st ed., Paris, 1858, I, cxxvii. Abbe Legrain quotes St. Bonaventure's mystical explanation (from de Expos. Missae, II) of the cri de joie after the alleluia. We multiply the notes of the last syllable "parce que la joie des saints dans le ciel est indicible et interminable."—Abbe Legrain, "Etude sur Adam de Saint-Victor," Le Musée Belge, Revue de philologie classique, Louvain, 1899, III, 122n.

The same idea with additional explanations may be found in Bishop William Durand's encyclopedia of medieval symbolism and ritual, Rationale divinatorum officiorum. The alleluia represents the joy that follows sorrow or labor. As the gradual is seen to symbolize the laborious acquisition of virtues, step by step, so the alleluia is the outburst of joy following a hard

This joyous musical prolongation of the alleluia had many names. Sequentia was most common, signifying the natural follow-up, or, as Gautier says, the cortège or queue of the alleluia.¹³ Jubili were also called melodiae, cantilenae,¹⁴ sequelae¹⁵ cantica, odae, hymni, carmina, and laudes.¹⁶ Medieval authors spoke of the act of executing these melodies as neumitzare, jubilare or protrahere alleluia.¹⁷

Sequence, then, was originally a musical term. When words were added to the neums of the alleluia, the composition was usually designated as sequentia cum prosa. Later, the poem came to be known as a prose (in France) or a sequence (in Germany). Notker called his sequences hymns.¹⁸

Both sequences and hymns are essentially an expansion or extension of the Psalms, the New Testament, or some article of faith.¹⁹ Both forms are

job well done. The alleluia is called the "angelic praise" of God, a wordless praise well befitting the Invisible Majesty of God. Thus the alleluia has not many words but many neums. This signifies eternal joy: life without death and day without night. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard. . . ."—Gulielmus Durantis, Rationale divinarum officiorum, Rome, 1477, 74.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid., cxxix.

15 Reese, Music, 187.

16 Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 122.

17 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, cxxix.

18 Reese, Music, 188.

19 Max Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters (III: Vom Ausbruch des Kirchenstreites bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts, unter Paul Lehmann's Mitwirkung), 9th sec., 2nd part of Iwan Müller's Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, newly ed., Walter Otto, Munich, 1931, III, 985.

strophic compositions, to be traced back to a division of Gregorian chant. The sequence or prose is polystrophic, characterized by a change of melody for each pair of strophes.²⁰

Early hymns, from the time of St. Ambrose on, were strongly metrical in structure. Most frequently the popular iambic and trochaic metres were used. Often, as with St. Hilary or Fortunatus, the hymn was so constructed that it could be read either metrically or accentually. The hymn form varied with the widening influence of rhythmic poetry. Finally, about the ninth century, the rise of the rhythmic sequence forced the disappearance of most of the older hymns.²¹

Accentual poetry is found in early Latin literature and in the early poetry of every literature, according to Abbe Legrain. Based on the tonic accent of the word itself, rhythmic poetry is more natural than quantitative poetry. It never entirely disappears, even when it yields for a time to the more learned metrical verse.²² In the Middle Ages, three definite lines of poetic development were followed. First, there was an attempt to retain the

20 Reese, Music, 169. Gregorian chant may be divided into four main classes: (1) the strophic compositions mentioned here, a form known to the Greeks; (2) psalmodic compositions used in Hebrew and Christian liturgy, unknown to the Greeks; (3) commatic compositions, chants of the Mass and Office having no verses or strophes, but divided into sections or melodic "members"; and (4) chants having the character of monologues and dialogues.—Reese, Music, 169-171. Some sequences partake of the nature of the last division as well as the first.

21 Manitius, Geschichte, III, 985.

22 Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 194.

ancient metrical quantitative verse. Second, gradually, and in the framework of ancient measures, tonic accent and rime replaced the old quantities. Third, accentual, riming hymns and sequences developed.²³

These three tendencies developed simultaneously. Though there was a certain fitness in rhythmical expression of the "Christian and romantic sentiment" of the era, many medieval poets continued the metrical style as well. "But it was not the true mediaeval style, and became obviously academic as accentual verse was perfected and made fit to carry spiritual emotion."²⁴

Parallel development of the opposing trends is not surprising. In the early Latin period, when metrical poetry was the rule, two tendencies were observed, tendencies which later combined to bring about the overthrow of quantitative metre—assonance, the forerunner of rime, and syllabism, or the use of equal number of syllables in corresponding lines. After their initial invasion of the domain of classical verse, these two principles became stronger; finally in the Middle Ages popular and rhythmical religious poetry broke away from the classical rules.²⁵

History of the Sequence

It would be an oversimplification to state that the literary sequence was developed as a mnemonic device, but there is an element of truth in the assertion.

23 Henry Osborn Taylor, The Mediaeval Mind (History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages), II, London, 1930, 216.

24 Ibid.

25 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, clii-cliii. The question of rime and metre will be taken up later in connection with Adam's verse structure.

Purely musical sequentiae, consisting sometimes of thirty to a hundred neums, were complicated and difficult to remember. To add to the difficulty, good cantors were extremely rare. As the story is told,²⁶ Charlemagne, ascending the throne before the turn of the ninth century, found the churches in a deplorable condition of disorder, especially in the matter of liturgical chant. Most of the parts of the Office were corrupted, but no part of the Mass had been affected so much as the alleluia chant. Charlemagne asked Pope Hadrian for cantors to train students in the chant. Two cantors responded to the appeal; Pierre founded a celebrated liturgical school at Metz, and Romanus established an equally famous school at St. Gall. These two men and their students reformed and corrected the older sequences and composed new ones. Though undoubtedly much improved, these revised versions were the longissimae melodiae which Notker learned under protest and with difficulty.

The musical sequence had been known and, to some extent, developed, but it was not until the time of Notker, Tutilo, and Ratpert of St. Gall that its use became widespread.²⁷

Notker Balbulus himself tells the story.²⁸ When the Norsemen destroyed the monastery of Jumièges, near Rouen, about 850 or 860, the monks were

26 This account is from Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, cccc-cxxdii.

27 De Ghellinck, Litt. lat. au moyen âge, II, 176-177. These "three inseparables" left the monastery of St. Gall to enter the monastery of heaven together.—Gautier, Tropes, 37.

28 This account may be found in Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, cxxcii-cxxcvi; Manitius, Geschichte, I, 354-367; Reese, Music, 187; Taylor, Med. Mind, II, 230-231; et al. For Notker's own account cf. Migne, Patrologia latina, CXXXI, col. 1003.

scattered, taking with them as many of their precious books as they could save. One of these fugitives brought to St. Gall a Gregorian antiphonary which had a new feature: the jubili were set to words. The text, mediocre and banal as it was, offered the singers a better chance of performing the musical passage without error. Notker resolved to compose more fitting words.

When he showed his first prose, Laudes Deo concinat orbis universus, to his teacher, Yson (or Iso) suggested that the words and notes would be easier to remember if each syllable of the text had only one note. Following this advice, Notker composed his second prose in syllabic style,²⁹ Psallat ecclesia mater illibata. Soon the schoolboys were chanting these and other proses in the abbey church. Notker presented a collection of the proses with an account of their history to Liutward, Bishop of Vercelli, a man well versed in music and the liberal arts.

Notkerian proses were almost exclusively in use at the end of the ninth, and during the tenth and eleventh centuries, a period known as the first epoch in the history of the sequence.³⁰ In the early sequences, two strophes or half-strophes were sung to each melodic member. It was customary to have two alternating choirs. This characteristic was retained in all later proses.

29 "Syllabic" chant, with one neum or note for each syllable of the text, originally intended as an aid to the memory, was retained as characteristic of early and transitional sequences.

30 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, cxxxvii. Tropes properly so called disappeared gradually after dominating the scene in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The sequence of the second epoch reached its height during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.—Reese, Music, 193.

Peculiar to the earlier sequences, however, were the special phrases used as introduction and conclusion.

The proses spread rapidly through Germany, England, and the northern countries of Europe. France, too, with the exception of the Midi, adopted many of the Notkerian proses, ³¹ though not discontinuing the use of the French type.³²

Though Notker can be considered the outstanding composer of early sequences, research has banished the former belief that he was the originator of the form. All evidence points to France as the original home of the sequence. French collections of proses include Notkerian-type sequences along with others less perfect, in various stages of development. In German collections there is no evidence of such progress; almost without exception, the sequence form is found fully developed. Other signs indicate German borrowing from French sources. First, misinterpretations of notes or text are found most frequently in German collections. Second, German titles of proses show development over French titles. French collections usually identified a prose by its first line; German collections used titles based on some inner characteristic of the prose, some analogy or allegory. Further, German modification of the custom

31 Ibid., cxxxvi.

32 Generally, the French sequence of the early and transitional period ended all lines with the a of the alleluia. The German sequences did not follow this practice, though Notker's later sequences do have frequent assonance in a.—De Ghellinck, Litt. lat. au moyen âge, II, 177; Taylor, Med. Mind, II, 231.

of ending all lines with a, a reminiscence of the origin of the prose in the alleluia, is a later development.³³

Almost fifty years ago, Father Clemens Blume and Henry Marriott Bannister described and summarized their research into the origin of the sequence. While admitting the many obscurities involved, the two learned hymnologists presented this probable course of development of the sequence from the Schluss-a of the alleluia:

- (1) lengthening of a short melody following the alleluia;
- (2) division of this melody into incises or members, mainly to furnish opportunity for the singers to take a breath;
- (3) performance of these melodic sentences (incises) by two choirs: entrance of the element of repetition which characterized all later sequences;
- (4) introduction of a text with some of these melodies (cf. notes to the effect that aliqui versus ad sequentias erant modulati; i.e., prosas habent);
- (5) composition of texts for all melodies: the sequentiae cum prosa.³⁴

Concerning Notker and his work, Blume and Bannister make these observations: First, the prose or sequence did not originate at St. Gall, nor was

³³ Clemens Blume, S.J., ed., Analecta Hymnica, LIII, xiv-xix passim. This is the first volume of a three-volume study by Clemens Blume, S.J., and Henry Marriott Bannister, Thesauri Hymnologici Prosarium (LIII, LIV, LV, of Analecta Hymnica, Leipzig, 1911, 1915, and 1922 resp.) In the Vorwort und Einleitung, dated November 30, 1910, Blume and Bannister give an account of decades of research which forced them to abandon many of their earlier theories

³⁴ Ibid., xxiv-xxv.

Notker the inventor of the form, though he was the first outstanding composer of sequences in Germany. Further, it is difficult to ascertain which Notkerian sequences were written by Notker, or even which were certainly composed in the monastery of St. Gall.³⁵

This was the fruit of decades of research, announced at the beginning of our century. More recently Father de Ghellinck stated that the exact role of Notker and the other monks of St. Gall, as well as the parts played in the development of the sequence by other monasteries: Limoges, Moissac, Winchester, St. Florian, Beneventum—should be investigated further.³⁶

A new development in the sequence came about when new melodies were introduced, freeing writers from some of the restrictions of the Notkerian sequence, which had been bound to a pre-existing melody. In the transitional sequences, rime and assonance, as well as a certain correspondence between text and melody, foreshadowed the ultimate victory of accentual rhythm. A fine example of the transitional style, its basic Notkerian structure tempered by occasional rime, is Victimae paschali laudes, attributed to Wipo.³⁷

Two centers of liturgical activity brought the sequence to the perfection of the second epoch. The abbey of St. Martial at Limoges developed

35 Ibid., xix-xx. A familiar note to any student of sequences! Blume and Bannister speak of the "flexible" canon of Notker's compositions: Jacob Werner takes forty-seven, while Paul von Winterfeld accepts only fifteen. Latest research is embodied in Wolfram von den Steinen's Notker der Dichter, Bern, 1948. Vol. II of this work prints forty hymns as Notker's.

36 De Ghellinck, Litt. lat. au moyen âge, II, 177.

37 De Ghellinck, Litt. lat. au moyen âge, II, 177, 181; Reese, Music, 188.

the Anglo-French type of sequence; the Swiss abbey of St. Gall perfected the German sequence.³⁸

Fully perfected, the twelfth-century sequence had these characteristics: regular, entirely accentual rhythm (with occasional shifts of stress); regular caesura, usually occurring at the end of a word; and two-syllabled rime. The most frequently used scheme was based on the eight-syllabled trochaic line repeated at will, followed by a seven-syllabled trochaic line,³⁹ an adaptation of the classical trochaic tetrameter catalectic. This metre was so extensively used for the sequences of the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries that it is known as the sequence-strophe, as the iambic dimeter has been called the hymn-strophe.⁴⁰

The characteristic difference between Notkerian (German) sequences and the later Anglo-French type of the abbey of St. Victor, Paris, was that the older were governed by the musical pattern to which they were more or less arbitrarily fitted, while the later sequences were governed by the laws of rhythm and rime.⁴¹ In the sequences of Adam of St. Victor and his immediate

38 Reese, Music, 188. Very early, sequences exhibited characteristics which marked them as Gallo-Anglican or Germano-Italian. France, England, and Spain exchanged sequences freely, as did Germany, Italy and the Netherlands, but there was little exchange between the two circles of influence.—Blume, Analecta Hymnica, LIII, xcix-xxx.

39 F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry (from the beginnings to the close of the Middle Ages), Oxford, 1927, 348; cf. also Blume, Analecta Hymnica, LIV, vii.

40 Blume, Analecta Hymnica, LIV, vii.

41 Guido M. Dreves, "Adam von St. Victor: Studie zur Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters," Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, Freiburg im Breisgau, XXIX, 1885, 425.

predecessors, as well as those of his contemporaries, the unattached introduction and conclusion characteristic of the Notkerian sequence are not found.

Adam marks the point at which the music and text of the sequence became independent.⁴² His sequences are "indistinguishable from hymns poetically; musically, however, they remain sequences because the melody is changed for each pair of verses."⁴³

Adam, as last and supreme legislator of this type of rhythmic poetry,⁴⁴ profited by the long, slow process of centuries' development. Besides the nameless monks and clerics, kings and scholars who tried their hand at composing sequences, there were men like Godescalcus, Wipo, Hermannus Contractus, Abélard, and Bernard who contributed to the final perfection of the form.⁴⁵

Moreover, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was an efflorescence of hymnody in German-speaking countries, especially in Austria and Bavaria. Augustinians were outstanding in Germany as they were in France; the Augustinian monastery of St. Florian, Bavaria, made distinguished contributions to the fund of the sequences.⁴⁶

42 Manitius, Geschichte, III, 986.

43 Reese, Music, 190.

44 Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 123.

45 Ibid. Cf. also De Ghellinck: "Héritier de toute une série d'auteurs anonymes, centre d'un group qui a déjà produit de remarquables séquences, Adam de Saint-Victor porte à leur perfection les modèles qu'il a sous les yeux. . . ." L'Essor, 295.

46 Blume, Analecta Hymnica, LIV, xvii.

The Victorine sequences, including those of Adam, were borrowed and used by other churches and abbeys, first in France (except the Midi, which retained its old practice of not admitting proses),⁴⁷ and then in other countries. Adam's sequences were highly praised by Pope Innocent III during the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215.⁴⁸ The Fathers of the Council discussed liturgical matters as well as points of doctrine. They solemnly declared their approval of Adam's proses, and many of them took copies of the proses back to their own dioceses.⁴⁹

During the next three or four centuries, Adam's sequences were part of Catholic liturgy, sung in many churches and religious houses.⁵⁰ They were imitated, plagiarized, and parodied, sometimes well, sometimes "miserably."⁵¹

Thirteenth-century writers of sequences, Innocent III, Thomas Aquinas, Thomas of Celano, Jacopone da Todi and others, scrupulously observed the poetic laws evolved for the sequence. Later, however, under varied influences, the great number of proses escaped the rules and limits demanded by the liturgy. The literary perfection of the prose degenerated, finally falling into complete discredit.⁵²

47 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, clxxvii.

48 Dreves, "Adam von St. V.," 282.

49 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, clxxvii.

50 The Council of Trent, sixteenth century, approved only four sequences for use in the Roman rite: Victimae paschali laudes, Veni sancte spiritus, Lauda Sion, and the Dies irae. Later, the Stabat mater was added. Other rites preserve a few additional ones.

51 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, clxxviii.

52 Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 123-124.

Then came the Renaissance.

Well known is the sixteenth-century ardent enthusiasm for the study of antiquity. Abbé Legrain remarks that it was more than an infatuation: "c'était de la folie, du délire."⁵³ In its extreme, it was a madness which touched even the most religious of Christians. Even in milder forms, it tried to break with all the traditions of the Middle Ages in art and literature.

Many churchmen believed that following the dictates of the taste of the time would redound to the good of religion and the salvation of souls. Several popes appealed to classical scholars to adapt to new literary exigencies the Roman Breviary, venerable and beautiful in itself, but considered by some to be outmoded.⁵⁴

Classical scholars rejoiced when Urban VIII ascended the papal throne. Urban, like the rest of the Barberini family, was a connoisseur of art and literature. To satisfy the taste of the time he commissioned four Jesuit scholars, Famiano Strada, Tarquinio Galuzzi, Girolamo Petrucci and Matthias Sarbielewski, to revise the hymns of the Breviary. His correspondence with Father Strada reveals that Urban himself helped with the revision.⁵⁵

53 Ibid., 124.

54 Ibid. By order of and under the supervision of sovereign pontiffs, there have been many revisions of the Breviary. Outstanding reforms were those of St. Pius V, 1565; St. Gregory XIII, 1572; Clement VIII, 1592; Paul V, 1605; Urban VIII, 1623; Clement XI, 1700; and Benedict XIV, 1740.—Félix Clément, Histoire de la poésie chrétienne (depuis le IV^e siècle jusqu'au XV^e), Paris, 1876, xxxii-xxxiii.

55 Pierre Batiffol, History of the Roman Breviary, tr. Atwell M. Baylay from 3rd French ed., London, 1912, 221. Urban had published a volume of Latin poetry in the classical mode, Poemata, 1631. He wrote three hymns for the new Breviary—for St. Martina, St. Hermenegild, and St. Elizabeth of Portugal—all somewhat "formally scholastic."

The revision was promulgated by the bull Divinam Psalmodyam, January 25, 1631, and the "Vulgate of the Breviary," as Urban called the revised edition, was published the following year. Though the corrected hymnal became obligatory in 1643, it has never been accepted at St. Peter's, Rome, or by some of the religious Orders.⁵⁶

Through a misunderstanding of the rules and laws of rhythmic poetry, the commission forced time-honored qualitative hymns into classical measures.⁵⁷ Starting from the principle that accentual metre is a barbarity, they found nearly a thousand "errors" in quantity. Though the commission improved the Latinity of many of the hymns,⁵⁸ they went too far, not considering rhythmic poetry as a genre by itself. "At the present time, all the world agrees in regretting this modernization of the ancient hymns."⁵⁹

Our quarrel is not with classical literature or imitations of it, but with what Guido M. Dreves has called "die blinde Voreingenommenheit des Humanismus gegen alles. . .im sogen. Kirchen-, Küchen- oder Mönchs-Latein

⁵⁶ Ibid., 223.

⁵⁷ Aquinas Byrnes, The Hymns of the Dominican Missal and Breviary, St. Louis, 1943, 5.

⁵⁸ George Warren McGrath, Revision of the Hymns of the Roman Breviary under Urban VIII, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, 1939. The writer, now Father Brendan, O.S.B., in his comparison and evaluation of old and new versions, sometimes prefers the new.

⁵⁹ Batiffol, Roman Breviary, 222. Msgr. Batiffol compares the revision of the hymns to the attempts of Renaissance art connoisseurs to restore ancient statues. The new limbs were greater disfigurements than the destruction wrought by time and rough handling. Cf. F. J. Mone, Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters (aus Handschriften herausgegeben und erklärt), 3 vols. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1853, I, x; Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 125.

geschrieben."⁶⁰ It was this blind opposition which kept many of the liturgical poems from full recognition. It also led humanists of the sixteenth century to go to amusing lengths in mingling classical allusions with Christian faith.⁶¹ The result was often eine bunte Mischung, not at all suited for Christian instruction or formation.⁶² Indeed, the Christian element seemed only an interpolation or a veneer.

When churchmen and scholars imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance turned their attention to sequences and proses, founded exclusively on qualitative rhythm, the result was not difficult to foresee. No mercy was shown. Declared barbarisms, the sequences were banished.⁶³

Gautier writes with some bitterness that the crime of riming in Latin "settled" Adam with the new littérateurs: to them imprecations against

60 Dreves, "Adam von St. V.," 278.

61 Sannazar, in his principal work De Partu virginis, called the Blessed Mother dea and banned the name of Jesus. Other poets of the Renaissance show this strange mixture of pagan mythology and Christian theology. Vida, bishop of Alba, called the Eucharist Cerealia dona. René Rapin, of the seventeenth century, was so imbued with pagan literature that his images, graceful as they were, were little in harmony with his state in life. It was said of him that he served God and the world par semestre.—Clément, Poésie chrét., xxv-xxvi.

Battifol notes a Breviary revision undertaken in the late seventeenth century by Claude de Santeuil and his brother, a canon of St. Victor, John Baptist de Santeuil. Santeuil's hymns Clément calls "hybrid"—a good name for the whole genre. French popular taste approved of these hymns for a time, but Santeuil later was criticized for "sacrificing to the pagan muses." His subjects were Christian, but the turn of phrase is often quite pagan. Clément quotes the first line of a hymn for the dedication of a church: Ecce sedes hic Tonantis—Battifol, Roman Breviary, 242; Clément, Poésie chrét., xxviii-xxxi.

62 Mone, Lat. Hymnen, I, xi.

63 Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 125.

Canidia were full of interest and reality, but salutations directed to the Blessed Mother by a twelfth-century Augustinian canon had no place in their affections.⁶⁴ Even the abbey of St. Victor proscribed the proses of their illustrious son, but decided in their general assembly of 1636 to keep the Salve mater salvatoris in all solemn Masses of the Blessed Virgin.⁶⁵

The Renaissance attitude to medieval literature is part of the general disparagement of the Middle Ages characteristic of a whole school of criticism and history. An Italian scholar has noted the peiorative use of the term medieval as a synonym for grosso, barbarico, gotico, scolastico (in a disparaging sense: "hair-splitting"), and tenebroso. He recalls the tradition of the Middle Ages as la longue nuit, or, as Rabelais called it in contrast to what he considered the dignity and light of his own time, le temps ténébreux.⁶⁶ A modern critic's curt comment is: "Today the occasional use of medieval or middle age in such disparagement is a sign of ignorance. No scholar would risk his reputation by slurring the middle age."⁶⁷

Perhaps the very term, Middle Ages, rose from the certainty of the critics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the highest literary

64 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, c100ci. In the same vein, Clément complains of those who think Helicon and Parnassus more inspiring than Tabor and Golgotha.—Félix Clément, Carmina e poetis christianis (excerpta ad usum scholarum edidit. . . et permultae interpretationes, cum notis gallicis quae ad diversa carminum genera vitamque poetarum pertinent, adjecit), 4th ed., Paris, 1880, vi.

65 Ibid.

66 Luigi Sorrento, Medievalia: problemi e studi, Brescia, 1943, 58.

67 Charles Sears Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (to 1400), New York, 1928, 3.

achievement had been reached in classical antiquity and recovered in their own time. The period intervening, which seemed to them characterless, was designated as the Middle Ages.⁶⁸

The dream of the Italian humanists, to recover and revivify the ideals of classical antiquity, did not come to fulfillment. "Das alte Hellas und Rom standen nicht wieder vom Grabe auf."⁶⁹ The substance of this observation of Father Baumgartner has been recently put in vigorous terms by Thorndike in a study of the concept of the Renaissance. Is a Renaissance possible? Thorndike answers: "Legacies from the past? Yes. Inheritances from previous periods? Yes. Survivals? Yes. Resemblances to our forebears? Yes. Reformations? Perhaps. Reactions? Unfortunately. But no rebirths and no restorations!"⁷⁰ In Thorndike's opinion, the idea of the Renaissance has done much harm. Implying a phoenix-like change in history and literature, it does not take into account the fact that human nature is relatively constant. It has

68 Baldwin, Three Medieval Centuries of Literature in England, Boston, 1932, 3. Julius Caesar Scaliger (whose Poetica was influential during and after the Renaissance) brings his history of Latin poetry down to include a generous selection of his own work, but he omits the entire medieval period.—Ibid., 245. Jack Lindsay, in the self-revelatory preface of his book, Medieval Latin Poets, confesses that he once held the conventional view that Latin literature ended after the Silver Age, and that barbarism set in until the Renaissance. His book, stressing secular poetry rather than religious, was written as a gesture of reparation for his "smugness" and as a sign of his conversion to a better view.—Jack Lindsay, Medieval Latin Poets, London, 1934, 8.

69 Alexander Baumgartner, S.J., Die lateinische und griechische Literatur der christlichen Völker, IV, (Geschichte der Weltliteratur), Freiburg im Breisgau, 1925, 643-644.

70 Lynn Thorndike, "Renaissance or Prenaissance?" Journal of the History of Ideas, IV, 1943, 65.

discouraged serious study of hundreds of years of human development. It has made men forget that fundamentally our life and thought have been derived from medieval Europe rather than from ancient Greece and Rome, "from whom our heritage is more indirect, bookish and sentimental, less institutional, social, religious, even less economic and experimental."⁷¹

Renaissance scholars believed in the idea of the Renaissance so ardently and so articulately that they succeeded in converting their own and succeeding ages to the belief. Their scornful rejection of the idea that any good could come out of the Middle Ages continued, to some extent, even to the last century.

Many of the nineteenth-century scholars who were sympathetically interested in the Middle Ages had to apologize for or justify their interest as they published their observations and conclusions. Léon Gautier, for instance, in his discussion of Adam's Summa Britonis, a work explaining difficult words in the Bible and intended for the use of novices, cites several of the author's "naïve" derivations of words. Gautier maintains that though there are many errors in philology in medieval writers, this is not sufficient reason for treating the science of the Middle Ages with contempt. Impartial study of some of the great encyclopedists of the Middle Ages, Vincent of Beauvais, Thomas Aquinas, and others, reveals that some of the laughable errors are really an inheritance of classical antiquity. The biased critic is reduced to the absurdity of making fun of the notions of science found in

⁷¹ Ibid., 74.

medieval authors, while he treats the blunders (les balourdises) of Pliny the Elder with solemn respect.

Gautier concludes that the Middle Ages knew well its responsibility to transmit knowledge, whether received or discovered, to later ages. The ungrateful Renaissance was the recipient of many scientific treasures.⁷²

Wilhelm Meyer aus Speyer noted a tendency of classical scholars of his day to reject medieval Latin literature. In addition to the usual objections to the unclassical tone of such literature, Meyer found that many nineteenth-century Germanic scholars rejected medieval literature because it was Latin, or partly in Latin. The great philologist resolved to bring medieval Latin out of the shadows.⁷³

Besides being essential to the understanding of the rest of medieval literature, medieval Latin literature has many values of its own to recommend it.

Und ist der Satz richtig, dass aus der lateinischen kirchlichen Gesangsdichtung nicht nur der Kunstgesang, sondern auch die ganze herrliche Gesangsdichtung des Mittelalters emporgesprosst sei, dann liegt hier ein allgemein wichtiger Vorgang vor uns, welcher gleich steht der Entwicklung der altgriechischen Dichtung.⁷⁴

Though Meyer does not explicitly state that the art-song and popular poetry derived from religious poetry, he treats such a derivation as probable and bases further conclusions upon it.

72 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, civ-cv.

73 Wilhelm Meyer aus Speyer, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittel-lateinischen Rythmik, Berlin, 1905, I, 36.

74 Ibid., prefatory note, unpaginated.

Knowledge of the character and thousand-year development of Latin poetic forms of the Middle Ages is now recognized as an important part of medieval Latin philology. About ten years after the publication of Meyer's assembled works, Father de Ghellinck noted that Romance and Germanic philologists were referring more frequently to medieval Latin philology for clues to some of their problems. The two literatures, Latin and vernacular, cannot be studied separately; they explain each other.⁷⁵

Ease, naturalness, flexibility—qualities which had belonged to twelfth-century Latin—fell away before the natural forces of decline and the studied elegance of Renaissance attempts to revive the classical mode. These qualities took refuge in the vernacular.⁷⁶ By the time of the Renaissance, it had become evident that the future of poetry lay in the vernacular. The classicists, though their achievements were admirable on the whole, proved their short-sightedness in trying to stem the current of new influences. "Their contemptuous rejection of medieval rhythms hastened the processes by which Latin became a 'dead' language."⁷⁷

This was the end of Latin as the "living vehicle of communication and culture" which it had been for more than a thousand years after the fall of Rome—a Latin which was no "abstract esperanto of scholars, but rooted in the common idiom of the people throughout Roman history."⁷⁸ Medieval Latin

75 De Ghellinck, L'Essor, II, 9-10.

76 Ibid., 17-18.

77 Baldwin, Med. Rhet. and Poetic, 227.

78 Lindsay, Med. Lat. Poets, 7.

can be traced back to popular or quasi-popular Latin, as in Catullus and Plautus; "we find that medieval Latin has a far more real and important lineage than any Ciceronian fixation of the language."⁷⁹ It is in turn the root and source, or at least the enrichment, of the vernacular languages. The dominance of the rhythmic principle fostered the rapid growth of melodic, poetic variations. Meyer has traced the influence of the new combinations of short and long lines which gave fresh impetus to poetic composition.

Dieser Satz der rhythmischen Dichtung eröffnete tausend neue Wege, welche die Sänger-Dichter in lateinischer, dann in deutscher, provenzalischer, französischer und englischer Sprache mit Eifer verfolgten. So ist die *L y r i s c h e D i c h t u n g* des Mittelalters durchaus aus dem Kirchengesang neu geboren worden.⁸⁰

The last phase of the history of the sequence, or, more accurately, an extension of its history, is thus closely connected with the vernacular literatures. "Its syllabic style rendered the sequence form the most folklike of all the divisions of the Chant, and thus made it especially suitable ground for the religious folk-song and the vernacular to draw sustenance from."⁸¹

A new rhythmic principle was the basis of the sequence-strophe, a principle rich in life and vigor. Gautier, in his usual dramatic way, sees the new versification as a *gigas velox*, *gigas fortis*, striding along and taking possession not only of tropes, proses, and rimed offices, but also of

79 *Ibid.*

80 Meyer, *Rythmik*, II, 372.

81 Reese, *Music*, 191.

popular songs, moral and didactic works, early dramatic efforts, and even chansons lubriques.⁸²

Though a parallel development of religious and profane poetry is evident, the religious poetry is to be considered first in originality and inspiration. More worldly verses evolved from sequences and hymns by derivation and analogy.⁸³ In parodies of well-known sequences, the priority of the sequence can be in no doubt. Other forms of popular poetry proceed partly from the sequence, partly from new currents of life and thought astir in the Middle Ages. In looking at the sequence we see "the very central current of the evolution of medieval Latin poetry."⁸⁴

The rapport between religious poetry and profane is recognizable but only vaguely limited and defined. Father de Ghellinck enumerates the signs of the relationship: the mixture of real life and artificial rhetoric, of spontaneity and bookish elaboration. Added to the difficult question of the degree of knowledge of Latin (on the part of poets and audience), these signs, present in sacred and profane Latin poetry, pose as many riddles as they answer.⁸⁵

Two fields especially show the influence of religious poetry—the drama and the lyric.

The liturgical poems of the Middle Ages contain in the bud the flower of French poetry, with its strict adherence to rules, its elegance,

82 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, cli.

83 Taylor, Med. Mind, 244.

84 Ibid., 231.

85 De Ghellinck, Litt. lat. au moyen âge, II, 185.

variety, and harmonious rhythm.⁸⁶ Abbé Legrain's study of Adam of St. Victor presents many parallels between Adam's poetry and that of the French poets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The third volume of the series Mélanges de Musicologie Critique⁸⁷ traces the likenesses between Adam's proses and those of the following centuries. The editors see in liturgical poetry, with its characteristic repetition of two identical periods, its absolute laws, its multiplicity and diversity of combinations, the prototype of the lai.⁸⁸ Legrain also considered the connection between proses and the lai, as well as the French cantilène, the laoidh of Brittany, and the German Lied.⁸⁹ Félix Clément states that in his opinion the proses of Adam of St. Victor contributed more to the development and perfection of the rules of French versification than the poetry of the trouvères and troubadours.⁹⁰

Proses in their early forms were more dramatic than lyrical, and as such they provide a rough sketch of the medieval theatre.⁹¹ During the eight hundred years of practical suppression of the theatre in western Europe, only a few scholars and collectors knew Terence or, more rarely, Plautus. In the

86 Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 129.

87 Alfred Jeanroy, Louis Brandin, Pierre Aubry, Lais et descorts français du XIIIe siècle, Paris, 1901.

88 Ibid., xxi. The music of the lais was the ars mensurabilis of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. "Ce sont des mélodies mesurées en rythme ternaire & avec les valeurs fixes de la doctrine franconienne."—Ibid., xxiv.

89 Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 128.

90 Clément, Carmina, 497.

91 Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 128.

Latin countries, meanwhile, dramatic performances had been replaced by mimes, festivals and tricks of jugglers. The sequence brought about the revival of the theatre, first in the dramatic exchange of questions and answers characteristic of some proses, then in liturgical drama, which began as part of the divine service. The ludus, first designed to feed the devotion and strengthen the faith of the people,⁹² soon became too theatrical to be allowed within the church doors. With the addition of the vernacular and the operation of the vivid medieval imagination, it proved its vitality as a literary form, though it descended from its original dignity.

92 De Ghellinck, Litt. lat. au moyen âge, II, 179-180.

CHAPTER II

THE ABBEY OF ST. VICTOR: ITS LEADING LIGHTS

The geographical, philosophical, and religious setting of the sequences of Adam of St. Victor was the abbey of St. Victor, Paris, which he entered about 1130. The abbey had been founded in the first decade of the twelfth century, when William of Champeaux,¹ noted professor of theology and rival of Abélard, retired to a hermitage next to the church of St. Victor, intending to live under the discipline of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine.² Several of his students joined him.

1 William had been arch-deacon and instructor at the church of Notre Dame, the most ancient and celebrated school in Paris.—Alfred Franklin, Histoire de la Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint Victor, Paris, 1865, 1.

According to Gautier, William retired because he was disgusted with the world and his own glory.—Oeuvres d'Adam, I, xcii. Another version has it that the opposition and ridicule of Abélard, a former student, "drove" William from Notre Dame in 1108. (William later became bishop of Chalons, and died in 1120.)—Maurice de Wulf, History of Mediaeval Philosophy, tr. Ernest C. Messenger, London, 1935, I, 171.

2 Félix Vernet, Mediaeval Spirituality, tr. Benedictines of Talacre, St. Louis, 1930, 35. St. Augustine wrote a letter to his sister's community at Hippo, with no intention of formulating a "Rule." This letter was adopted as a rule of life in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by several congregations of hermits, finally joined under the title of Hermits of St. Augustine by Pope Alexander IV, 1253. Even in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, canons regular had lived in clerical monasteries under the same rule. Some autonomous houses finally formed "unions" or Orders of Canons Regular. The most important of these were the Victorines, the Premonstratensians, and the Friars Preachers.

The community grew and the abbey flourished under Gilduin, most famous of the early Victorines, who should be considered the first abbot. King Louis VI declared himself a founder in 1113, giving the monastery royal privileges.³ The abbey was the recipient of many favors from Popes Paschal II, Honorius II, Innocent II, as well as the archbishops and bishops of France.

New monasteries were founded on the model of St. Victor; these looked to the abbey as their natural leader. At Gilduin's death, forty-four houses of Canons Regular were affiliated with St. Victor.⁴ One hundred years after its foundation, the abbey had thirty daughter-abbeyes and more than eighty priories to its credit.⁵

The history of the library of the abbey of St. Victor indicates the importance of the abbey in the first developments of public instruction in Paris. Several times the library survived suppression of religious houses. Though an estimate of the number of volumes included in the abbey library at any given time would be difficult, it is certain that, like all the great

3 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, xxxiii-xxxiv. Gautier lists the principal documents relating the history of the abbey. Jean of Toulouse wrote Annales ecclesiae abbatialis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis, begun in 1625, destroyed in a fire, 1637, and heroically begun again the week following the fire. Also by Jean is Tractatus de fundatione et gestis abbatum Sancti Victoris Parisiensis, 1615. A related work is Simon Gourdan's Les Vies et les maximes saintes des hommes illustres qui ont fleuri dans l'abbaye de Saint-Victor. Finally, there are William of St. L6's Notices sur la vie et les ouvrages des hommes illustres de Saint-Victor, and Jean Picard's Chronicon ecclesiae Victorinae, which includes twelfth-century necrologies of the abbey.—Ibid., xxxix-xxxiii passim.

4 Ibid., xxvi.

5 Samuel W. Duffield, The Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns, New York, 1887, 227.

collections of the age, the library even in its early days was especially rich in works of theology, church history, and jurisprudence.⁶ Founded over two hundred years before the invention of printing, the library had a priceless cabinet of old manuscripts, including a twelfth-century Livy and an old Cato, as well as several Oriental manuscripts.⁷

The venerable abbey was suppressed in 1792, but the walls remained standing until 1815, when the building was razed to make room for a wine-market. On a fountain in a corner of one of the cloister walls an inscription by the later Victorine poet, De Santeuil, sets forth the true glory of the abbey:

Quae sacros doctrinae aperit Domus intima fontes,
Civibus exterior dividit urbis aquas.⁸

Three men constituted the glory of St. Victor: Hugh, Richard, and Adam, forming "une puissante et glorieuse trinité, dont l'éclat a traversé les âges et qui atteste de quelle intensité de vie intellectuelle rayonnait alors la célèbre abbaye."⁹ We cannot but have a faulty impression of the life and character of Adam of St. Victor if we neglect his great forerunners and

6 Franklin, Bibliothèque, 66, 67, 69. Franklin considers the estimate of one of the government officials, 1787, who said he found forty-five thousand printed volumes and twenty thousand manuscripts, an evident exaggeration. But the official declaration of the prior to the National Assembly on March 11, 1790, seems an exaggeration in the other direction: thirty-four thousand printed works, and about eighteen hundred manuscripts.

7 Ibid., 70-71.

8 Ibid., 95-96.

9 Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 120.

contemporaries: Hugh, who taught the novices from his immense knowledge of theology; and Richard, whose life-span more nearly corresponded with Adam's. Spiritual traits of both the older men are found in the youngest.¹⁰

During the twelfth century the school of St. Victor was the refuge of sound doctrine in philosophy and theology. Its teaching was not, as too often stated, exclusively mystic and Platonic, though Hugh and Richard were the principal representatives of Augustinian Platonic philosophy in their time. On the scholastic side, however, Hugh was one of the models of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Reading the great philosophers we find that the heart is dominant in some, while in others reason dominates. Still, the most scholastic are sometimes also the greatest mystics, and the greatest mystics are also great logicians. A mystic may begin by loving what in the end will satisfy his intellect; the scholastic philosopher will reason, and discover in the object of his research that which excites great love in his heart.¹¹ There are in Hugh of St. Victor (as well as in Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas) passages which recall the tradition of Anselm of Canterbury, "l'union intime de la spéculation affectueuse et de l'affection spéculative."¹²

10 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, xxxvi.

11 Ibid., xxiv-xxv.

12 De Ghellinck, Litt. lat. au moyen âge, II, 131.

Hugh of St. Victor was probably a Saxon.¹³ Little is known of the life of the man „auf dessen Persönlichkeit und Streben der Hauch des wissenschaftlichen Idealismus ruht.“¹⁴ According to Manitius, Hugh was born in 1097. He was head of the monastery school at St. Victor about 1130, when Adam joined the community.¹⁵

Hugh's numerous treatises on the mystical life were in part based on pseudo-Dionysius. Both sacred and profane knowledge of later centuries stemmed from Hugh's monumental work, the Didascalion, assembled after his death by order of Abbot Gilduin. Hugh's principle was Omnia disce; videbis postea nihil esse superfluum. His encyclopedia consisted of three books of secular knowledge, three on theology and one on prayer.¹⁶

Even more influential than the encyclopedia was Hugh's work De sacramentis fidei christianae. This treatise has been recently translated by Dr. Roy J. Defarrari.¹⁷

13 Gautier notes that he was the nephew of Reinhart, bishop of Alberstadt, Saxony, and son and grandson of a count. Both Hugh and his great-uncle, Hugh, arch-deacon of Alberstadt, joined the Augustinians at the new school of St. Victor, on the recommendation of Bishop Reinhart, who had studied under William of Champeaux in his youth. Tradition attests to the holiness and zeal of both the white-haired novice and the young cleric.—Oeuvres d'Adam, I, xliii-xliv.

14 Manitius, Geschichte, III, 112.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid., 112-114. Hugh was not the only one to plan and execute so grand a scheme of work, but we may say that the encyclopedic trend which flowered in the thirteenth century (especially in the works of St. Bonaventure, Vincent of Beauvais, and St. Thomas Aquinas) had its root in the abbey of St. Victor, with the work of Hugh and Richard.—Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, li-lii. Hugh's works are published in Migne, Patr. Lat., CLXXV-CLXXVII.

17 Hugh of St. Victor on the Sacraments of the Church, Cambridge (Mass.), 1951; reviewed in Dominicana, XXXVII, March, 1952, 101-102. The

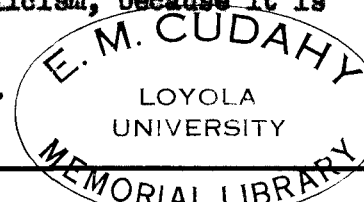
Hugh's works have been edited in three volumes: first, Annotationes elucidatoriae super Biblia; second, Institutiones monasticae; and third, Eruditiones Theologiae, treating of scriptural symbolism, moral theology and dogmatic theology. The third volume includes the work on the Sacraments as well as a spirited defense of the Blessed Virgin Mary's perpetual virginity.¹⁸ De institutione novitiorum contains several charming character sketches which have been compared to those of La Bruyère. De arrha animae is a dialogue, or, according to medieval usage, a soliloquy between the soul and God. The great number of manuscripts and translations of this work and the book On the Instruction of Novices testifies to their popularity. There is also among Hugh's volumes a precious little piece, De bestiis et aliis rebus, setting forth a kind of universal symbolism of the spiritual sense of all creation. Other works, De modo orandi, De laude caritatis, De substantia caritatis, are praised for the transparency of style, the sober, reasoned use of antithesis, the rich and sublime imagery, that won for Hugh the name of the "Second Augustine."¹⁹

Father de Ghellinck discusses Hugh's style—correct, elaborate, polished, showing the same fine psychological insight, ardor and sublimity which characterize the writing of St. Augustine. He notes in both philosophers the same "imprécision de limites entre l'ordre naturel et l'ordre

reviewer ("A.G.") thinks that this book of the "great figure in the adolescent period of medieval philosophy and theology" may be helpful in fostering unity of Anglican and Episcopalian factions with Roman Catholicism, because it is free from Aristotelian influence.

18 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, xlvi-lxviii.

19 Ibid., xlix-l.



surnaturel." His final judgment on Hugh as a philosopher is one of admiration and respect: "On plonge avec satisfaction dans cette âme, où la contemplation de la vérité et la jouissance qu'elle en retire ne nuisent habituellement pas à la justesse de la pensée ni à l'exactitude de l'expression."²⁰

Hugh died on February 11, 1141. According to his epitaph, he was resplendent in learning and sanctity:

dogmate praecipuus, nullique secundus amore,
claruit ingenio, moribus, ore stylo.²¹

Richard of St. Victor, a Scot, systematized the often unwieldy doctrine of Hugh. Following the lead of his teacher, Richard attempted to forestall the advance of dialectic, which both men regarded as a danger to the Christian faith.²² His editions of Hugh's writings as well as his independent works on contemplation made him one of the spiritual masters of the Middle Ages.²³ His work is more important for content than for style.

Richard's important works are Annotationes on Isaias, Ezechiel, the Psalms, the Canticle of Canticles, the Apocalypse, and others. These comprise a whole course in Sacred Scripture. In dogmatic theology, his famous works are De Trinitate, De potestate ligandi et solvendi, De Verbo Incarnato. In mystical theology, there are Beniamin minor (de praeparatione animi ad contemplationem) and Beniamin maior (de gratia contemplationis). Several sermons are also extant.²⁴

20 De Ghellinck, L'Essor, I, 53.

21 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, xlvi.

22 Manitius, Geschichte, III, 118-119.

23 Vernet, Med. Spir., 38.

24 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, xl-xli. For Richard's works, see Migne, Patr. lat., CXCVI, cols. 9-1366.

There are really very few sources to which we can turn for information on the lives of these great men. The same dearth of data is noted when we try to piece together an account of Adam's life. Though he is one of the outstanding poets of his age, little is known of his life or character.

Most editors and historians report that authorities do not agree on the dates of Adam's birth and death. Even his birthplace is a matter of dispute, though probably Adam was a Breton. Gautier reviews the question of Adam's nationality: Migne, Brial, and Barthélemy confused Adam of St. Victor with Adam d'Arras. A work ascribed without proof to Adam of St. Victor is titled in one collection Liber sententiarum Adae de Rhodonio; from this it was concluded that Adam of St. Victor was born at Rennes. Gautier points out that any conclusion resting on a doubtful ascription is shaky indeed. There is also another manuscript entitled Adae Anglici super Marcum. Should we infer from this that Adam was English? Or must we not rather conclude that many Adams wrote commentaries and books of sentences?²⁵

Adam has been designated as magister Adam Brito. Dreves asserts that in the twelfth century the word Brito applied equally to a native of Britain or a native of Brittany. Since Adam's great forerunners, Hugh and Richard, were not French, Dreves believes it possible that Adam, too, was a foreigner, probably English. Though the rhetorical style and the use of antithesis (word-play as well as contrasts of ideas) in Adam's poetry remind him of contemporary French poetry, Dreves finds more significant Adam's

25 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, lxiv-lxv.

vigorous accentuation and his "truly Germanic predilection for alliteration."²⁶ Many instances of alliteration and assonance lead Dreves, as he avers, almost against his will to conclude that Adam was Anglo-Saxon.²⁷

Abbé Legrain saw a certain hardiesse in Dreves' comparison of twelfth-century Latin poetry with nineteenth-century French verse. He points out that many German poets have liked contrast of words and ideas. Antithesis is not exclusively French, nor is alliteration exclusively Germanic. It would not have been necessary for Adam to speak an accentual language to find delight in alliteration and to observe certain rules of accent. Especially would this be so in a monastery like St. Victor, famous for learning and international connections. Abbé Legrain concludes that Adam was French.²⁸

In the last analysis the most decisive factor is determination of the usage of the term Brito. It is true that in the twelfth century it meant either Breton or Briton. But in the seventeenth century we find the distinction which is still current in modern use of the terms. When Simon Gourdan wrote that Adam came from Bretagne, he meant by the word what we mean today.²⁹

Gautier finds a further indication that Adam was not English in the fact that there is no reference to the remarkable circumstances that all three

26 Dreves, "Adam von St. V.," 280.

27 Ibid., 294.

28 Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 119-120.

29 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, lxx-lxvi.

bright stars of St. Victor were foreign. Besides, Gautier would expect some patriotic references to England in Adam's sequence celebrating the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Adam's silence on this point seems to be another indication that he was not British.³⁰

Most of the evidence, fragmentary and inconclusive as it is, would lead us to suppose that Adam was a Breton.

He entered the abbey of St. Victor about 1130 under Abbé Gilduin, who governed the monastery from its foundation till 1155. Adam was certainly a contemporary of Richard, but there are accounts which question his being a contemporary of Hugh. He might have been a pupil of Hugh. He must have been old enough to have written some poetry before the older man's death, because in one of his sermons Hugh referred to Adam as egregius versificator and quoted part of the sequence, Ave virgo singularis.³¹

Richard was prior of the abbey during a celebrated quarrel occasioned by the efforts of the fourth abbot, Gruise or Ervisius, to mitigate the rule. Richard's zeal and fervor finally prevailed, and Gruise ceded his office to Abbé Guérin.³² It is not difficult to guess that Adam stood with Richard on the side of regular observance. In his monastic life, Adam did a difficult thing: in a monastery noted for sanctity, he gained a high reputation as a saint among saintly religious.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., lxxvii-lxxviii. Gautier cites the Rouen edition of Hugh's sermons, no. IV, on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, II, 484.

32 Ibid., xli-xlii.

Legrain's brief account of Adam's life is gleaned as much from his own experience in a Benedictine monastery as from the data available. Adam, he writes, was faithful to the cloistral motto: ama nesciri et pro nihilo reputari. He lived his whole life in silence and austerity, in prayer, study, and the composition of his works. As choir-master (préchantre) of the community he spent much of his time and effort on music and liturgical poetry.³³

One persistent legend bears witness to Adam's devotion to the Mother of God. It is connected with the celebrated sequence, Salve mater salvatoris, one of the few which can be attributed to the poet with hardly any doubt.³⁴ Adam often prayed and composed his sequences before the altar of a crypt chapel of the Blessed Mother, a chapel graced by the Virgin Mary's image fastened to one of the pillars. One day Adam retired to this crypt, where he composed the first strophes of the famous sequence. When he came to the strophe beginning Salve mater pietatis, the crypt was filled with light, and the Blessed Mother appeared. Gloriosa Virgo, apparens ei, cervicem inclinavit.³⁵ The Augustinians

33 Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 120.

34 Father de Ghellinck lists Salve mater salvatoris with Verbum bonum et suave, Hodiernae lux diei, and Laudes crucis attollamus as having a manuscript tradition prior to Adam's life. He gives no further explanation or proof.—L'Essor, II, 296.

Blume and Bannister quote a notice found in a London manuscript: "Prose de la benoite vierge Marie compiles par tres devot et saint docteur maistre Adam de Saint Victor." They add that they would like very much to accept this ascription, and that there is no significant reason for not doing so; in this case, they venture a positive statement that the prose is Adam's.—Analecta Hymnica, LIV, 386.

35 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, Lxxx-Lxxxi. The account is given in Apum seu de bono universali lib. II, written by Thomas de Cantimpré, a compiler of legends, b. 1201. A canon of St. Augustine, he had been consulted by the Victorines about the marvel when he was on a trip to Paris in 1217. On the

held the chapel in deepest reverence from that time, looking upon it as a holy relic. A monument was erected showing Adam on his knees before the Queen of Heaven, who had come to thank one of her poets for his praise of her.³⁶

The date of Adam's death, when vitam cum immortalitate commutavit,³⁷ is uncertain. Félix Clément cites Ducange and Moréri in placing the date at 1177, Félibien and Lobineau for 1192.³⁸ Manitius sets the date of death at the usual 1192 on the strength of Adam's sequence celebrating St. Thomas à Becket, who was not yet canonized in 1172, the other possible date according to the manuscripts.³⁹ At any rate, Adam died during the term of office of Abbé Guérin, who governed the abbey from 1172 to 1192. Though little is heard of Adam after the death of Richard, 1173, he might well have lived until 1192 in his self-appointed obscurity.

He was buried under the cloister at St. Victor, where his body remained, his tomb visible to the brothers as they entered the chapter-room,

authority of the whole abbey of St. Victor, he tells of Adam's method of composition in De apibus, lib. I, cap. xx. Cf. also Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 120.

36 Ibid., lxxxiii. The monument was destroyed in 1520 when a more elaborate oratory was built. Later the crypt chapel was remodeled, and a statue of St. Roch replaced the plaque, but a wooden plaque near the statue of the Virgin recalled the apparition. The gradual of 1524 has these words before the stanza honored by the Blessed Mother: "Dum venerabilis Adam sequenti versiculo beatam Mariam virginem salutaret, ab ea resalutari et regratiari meruit." Ibid., lxxxiii-lxxxiv.

37 James N. Neale, Sequentiae ex Missalibus Germanicis, Anglicis, Gallicis, aliisque medi aevi, collectae, London, 1852, xviii.

38 Clément, Carmina, 466.

39 Manitius, Geschichte, III, 1002; Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 120-121.

until the dispersal of his ashes when the abbey was destroyed. His epitaph, intended to be a reflection on the miseries of this life, was composed in part by Adam; the last four lines were added by a later Victorine, Jean Corrad.

Heres peccati, natura filius irae
 exsilique reus nascitur omnis homo.
 Unde superbit homo, cuius conceptio culpa
 nasci poena, labor vita, necesse mori?
 Vana salus hominis, vanus decor, omnia vana;
 inter vana nihil vanius est homine.
 Dum magis alludunt praesentis gaudia vitae,
 praeterit, imo fugit; non fugit, imo perit.
 Post hominem vermis, post vermem fit cinis, heul heul
 sic redit ad cinerem gloria nostra suum.
 (Hic ego qui iaceo, miser et miserabilis Adam,
 unam pro summo munere posco precem:
 peccavi, fateor, veniam peto, parce fatenti;
 parce, pater; fratres, parcite; parce Deus.)⁴⁰

Gautier prefers for Adam's epitaph the tribute of Jean of Toulouse: Adam,
sanctimonia clarus, scriptis clarior, miraculis clarissimus!⁴¹

Adam continued the speculative, mystical trend of his predecessors, both in poetry and in prose. A list of the manuscripts relative to the abbey of St. Victor in the Bibliothèque Impériale includes the following works of Adam:

- (1) De discretione anime, spiritus et mentis;
- (2) Expositio super omnes prologos biblie;
- (3) Summa de difficilibus vocabulis in biblia contentis;

⁴⁰ Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, xcii; Digby S. Wrangham, The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor, 3 vols., London, 1881, III, 190. One Victorine manuscript (no. 1038) has these first ten lines under the title, Versus Magistri Adam de Sancto Victore de miseria hominis. The first six lines (Dreves says the first ten: "Adam von St. V.," 281) are to be found in Herrad of Landsberg's Hortus deliciarum. What did the learned abbess have to do with Adam's verses? Grammatici certant.—Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, xciii.

⁴¹ Ibid., xciv.

(4) Declaratio sive expositio quorundam vocabulorum, secundum ordinem litterarum alphabeti;

(5) Ade de sancto Victore prose;

(6) Ade de sancto Victore epitaphium et nomina editorum ab eodem.⁴²

In attempting to resolve some of the difficulties in Holy Scripture, Adam chose the dictionary form as the most practical, and one in keeping with the contemporary encyclopedic penchant. The Summa Britonis (de difficilibus vocabulis) is a compilation found rather frequently in manuscript collections of European libraries. The explanation of St. Jerome's prologues on Holy Scripture is still considered as a good starting point for scripture study. These two last works of Adam, intended for beginners, together with Hugh's explanations, make up almost a complete course in Holy Writ.⁴³

In addition to the psychological treatise mentioned above, Adam is the reputed author of a Soliloquium de instructione discipuli. Gautier bases his ascription of the work to Adam on the authority of Simon Gourdan and two Brussels manuscripts. Dom Brial mentions the work, but ascribes it to a Premonstratensian monk named Adam.⁴⁴

According to Gautier, Adam wrote offices of St. Victor and St. Augustine. Extant manuscripts of St. Augustine's office merely state that valde probabiliter Adam was the author.⁴⁵ This ascription is very doubtful.

42 Franklin, Bibliothèque, 106.

43 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, LXXXV.

44 Ibid., LXXXVI, cxviii-cxix.

45 Ibid., LXXV.

Father Dreves speculates on the possible earlier works of Adam. If the poet wrote a sequence like Ave virgo singularis relatively early in his monastic career, he must have served an apprenticeship of some sort, practicing the dictamen metricum in accordance with the established custom of medieval schools. He could have been writing poetry while he was "still sitting on the school-bench."⁴⁶

Adam did not continue to use the metrical, quantitative forms that he must have learned as a student; he turned to qualitative verse for his sequences. These proses are the works most appreciated and best remembered by later generations.

Faced by so many perplexities and reassured by so few certainties relating to Adam's life, Félix Clément deplores the "negligence" and "ingratitude" of the sixteenth century in failing to record details of the lives of the greatest men of the Middle Ages.⁴⁷ Today's most common approach to the study of an author, the biographical one, is very much restricted in considering the writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Baldwin sees in this lack of data no greater obstacle to a real knowledge of a person than our present flood of data and "news" about notables. He concludes that the best approach to the study of an author is through his work.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Dreves, "Adam von St. V.," 425. Dreves cites the example of Walafrid Strabo, who wrote nine hundred hexameters de visionibus Wettini when he was a youth of eighteen.

⁴⁷ Clément, Carmina, 497.

⁴⁸ Baldwin, Three Med. Cent., 9.

It would be heartening to find in the proses details which would fill in the meager outline of Adam's life as we know it—a life summarized in two dates, both uncertain, a legend, and a tradition. But the internal evidence is lacking in poems of so impersonal a nature as these sequences. The only possible exception to this is an occasional plea for unity, which might refer to the disturbance caused by Ervisius' efforts to mitigate the rule.⁴⁹

From the sequences we can learn of Adam's love for the liturgy, his deep appreciation of Sacred Writ, his penetration into the mysteries of faith. On the technical side, we can see in the perfection of the sequences evidence of a long and arduous apprenticeship in handling metre, rime, and accent. Each prose is a masterpiece, joining perfection of form to sublimity of content:

r ichesse et harmonie des rimes, variété du rythme, élégance et précision du style, délicatesse et choix des expressions, heureuse application des figures de l'Écriture sainte, beauté des comparaisons, noblesse et profondeur des pensées, chaleur des sentiments, mouvements poétiques d'une force singulière, sublimes élans d'enthousiasme qui ne partent que de l'âme d'un véritable poète: telles sont les qualités qui les placent au rang des productions les plus étonnantes de l'esprit humain.⁵⁰

These qualities will be taken up in detail later.

Adam carried the sequence to the highest point of perfection of form; still, he was not merely an inventor of pleasant rhythm-patterns. He was more than a virtuoso; he was a great theologian and liturgist. Characteristic of his poetry is the union of rich inspiration with very profound theological

⁴⁹ Cf. Appendix, last strophes of viii and xli. Cf. also xv, especially strophes 2, 12, 13, and 14, and an extended plea for unity in xlix.

⁵⁰ Clément, Carmina, 466; cf. also Clément, Poésie chret., 502.

science. The sources of this union can be found in Adam's life as a religious: his observance of the rule of St. Augustine, his meditations on Holy Scripture, loving thought of the mysteries of faith, his association with the great and holy men of St. Victor's abbey.⁵¹

In Adam's proses, Dreves sees the poetic flowering of the scholastic-mystic doctrine of both Hugh and Richard.⁵² If the other great Victorines were called Lingua Augustini and Alter Augustinus, Adam could well be called the "Schiller of the Middle Ages." Dreves sees in both Adam and the German classical poet a certain rhetorical fire, a richness of expression, and a melodic flow of rhythm.⁵³ Appropriately, we might recall that der Schiller in German is "brilliance"; Adam's sequences have the iridescent sheen so much admired by the Middle Ages.

Another comparison concludes Dreves' study of the poet. Adam, representing the highest peak of achievement in Latin rimed poetry, can be compared with Prudentius, recognized as the outstanding exponent of quantitative Christian Latin poetry. In both are profound doctrine, sublime inspiration, and brilliant play of colors and images. Dreves ingeniously suggests that if we designate Prudentius the romanticist of Christian classicists, we may call Adam of St. Victor the classicist among the religious poets of medieval romanticism.⁵⁴

51 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, lxxiv.

52 Dreves, "Adam von St. V.," 281.

53 Ibid., 441. For this comparison, Dreves cites Fortlage, Gesänge christlicher Vorzeit, Berlin, 1844, 400 (not available).

54 Ibid.

CHAPTER III

TEXT AND CRITICISM OF THE SEQUENCES OF ADAM OF ST. VICTOR

The number of Adam's sequences is indefinite. It has been variously estimated from about thirty-six to more than a hundred.

A Flemish theologian, Jodocus Clichtovaeus of Nieuport,¹ is given credit for collecting and publishing for the first time thirty-six sequences of Adam of St. Victor.² Clichtovaeus' Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum,³ designed to help his brethren understand the offices of the Church, appeared first in Paris, 1515. Four later editions were published; the edition of Paris, 1556, is considered the best, while that of Cologne, 1732, is the latest.⁴

1 Clichtovaeus taught at Paris and Chartres after studying at the college of Cardinal Lemoine; he joined the society of Navarre in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and received his doctorate in 1506. He died at Chartres, September 22, 1544.—Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, clx.

2 This account is taken from Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, clx, and from Dreves, "Adam von St. V.," 283.

3 Jodocus Clichtovaeus, Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum, ad officium ecclesiae pertinentia planius exponens et quatuor libros complectens: Venale habetur hoc opus viris sane ecclesiasticis quam utilissimum, 1st ed., Paris, 1515. Gautier lists two later editions, Basel, 1517, and 1520, and one still later edition, Paris, 1556. Dreves gives the second Basel edition as 1519. This agrees with the dates given by Neale, Seq. ex Missalibus, viii-ix: Paris, 1515, 1556; Basel, 1517, 1519; Cologne, 1732. The writer of this dissertation used the Basel 1517 edition.

4 Duffield, Latin Hymn-Writers, 228.

Léon Gautier quotes the commentary of Clichtovaeus on the proses of the second epoch, especially those of Adam:

Haec prosarum forma in officio ecclesiastico est celeberrima et omnium maxime usitata. Auctor ejus insignis et non minus virtute quam doctrina praeclarus, Adam de Sancto Victore, in rhythmica prosarum modulatione majorem in modum copiosus et promptus. . . quemadmodum permultae ab eo compositae prosae quae suis ponentur locis dilucide declarant.⁵

Gautier continues that after these rather vague commendations of the art and virtue of the poet, Clichtovaeus reports that he has found only thirty-seven proses of Adam in the manuscripts of St. Victor, but he presumes that many others have been lost.⁶

Gautier asserts that a mere survey of the selections of Clichtovaeus should lead to the conclusion that the collection is incomplete. There are four Easter sequences, three for Pentecost, several in honor of lesser lights among the saints, like St. Léger—but not one sequence for Christmas.⁷ Perhaps the older anthologist noted this discrepancy, also. There are indications that Clichtovaeus did not intend to make a complete collection of all the works of Adam of St. Victor. The very purpose of his entire work is selective. The first section of the Elucidatorium contains hymnos de tempore & sanctis with no attempt to include them all; the second explains nonnulla cantica ecclesiastica, antiphonas, & responsoria, together with some of the blessings used by Church; the third discusses ea quae ad Missae pertinent officium. The fourth

5 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, clx-clxi.

6 Ibid. The slight variation in different accounts of the number of Adam's proses—thirty-six, thirty-seven, and thirty-eight—is due to the use of different editions of Clichtovaeus.

7 Ibid., clxv.

section, in which Adam's proses are found passim, simply claims to elucidate facili annotatione proses or sequences quae in sancti altaris sacrificio ante euangelium dicuntur.⁸ There is no avowed intention of publishing an all-inclusive, definitive edition. Further, in a note on the sequence for Easter, Zyma vetus expurgetur, Clichtovaeus speaks of Adam's deep and devoted study of Sacred Scripture, evident in many of his proses: quod . . . in complusculis prosis a se compositis (quarum permultae huic Libro inseruntur) grauiter obseruat, ut qui illarum studio fuerit addictissimus.⁹ This seems to imply that Clichtovaeus knew of other proses ascribed to Adam, proses which he did not include in the Elucidatorium.

Other hymnologists of the sixteenth century furthered the work of Clichtovaeus. The Basel editions contain a letter of Wolfgang Fabritius Capito, a contemporary scholar and hymnologist. This edition was published in Venice, 1555, under the title Hymni et prosae. The 1556 Cologne edition, under the title Hymni ecclesiastici, praesertim qui Ambrosiani dicuntur, multis in locis recogniti, et multorum hymnorum accessione locupletati, includes notes by George Cassander.¹⁰ Here again, reference to "many" places and "many" hymns implies that the collection was selective.

Whatever might have been the mind of Clichtovaeus on the matter, later anthologists and hymnologists acted on the principle that only thirty-six

8 Clichtovaeus, Eluc. Eccles., title page.

9 Ibid., 169

10 August Jakob Rambach, Anthologie christlicher Gesänge (aus allen Jahrhunderten der Kirche, aus der alten und mittlern Zeit) Leipzig, 1817, I, Einleitung, 24.

to thirty-eight of Adam's sequences had survived the corrosive effects of time and neglect. Cornelius Schulhtucingius (sic) in his Bibliothèque ecclésiastique, published at Cologne, 1599, listed as the complete work of Adam thirty-one sequences, all taken from Clichtovaeus' selection.¹¹

Later anthologists, Daniel, Mone, Königsfeld, Morel, Simrock, and others, used the common fund found in Clichtovaeus, as did Migne, who published the basic thirty-six in 1855.¹²

In the early nineteenth century two distinguished historians, Dom Brial and Dom Petit-Radel, presented accounts of Adam of St. Victor in L'Histoire littéraire de la France.¹³ Dom Brial blindly follows Clichtovaeus; Petit-Radel, though he still reflects Clichtovaeus, judiciously qualifies his

¹¹ Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, clxii.

¹² Hermann Adelbert Daniel, Thesaurus Hymnologicus, sive Hymnorum canticorum sequentiarum circa annum MD usitatarum collectio amplissima, 5 vols., Halle, 1841-1856. Vol. II contains the sequences of Adam of St. Victor, 64-89.

F. J. Mone, Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters (aus Handschriften herausgegeben und erklärt), 3 vols., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1853.

Gustav Adolph Königsfeld, Lateinische Hymnen und Gesänge aus dem Mittelalter, 2 vols., Bonn, 1847, 1865.

Gall Morel, Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters (grösstentheils aus Handschriften schweizerischer Klöster. . . herausgegeben), Einsiedeln, 1868.

Karl Simrock, Lauda Sion (Auswahl der schönsten lateinischen Kirchenhymnen mit deutsche Uebersetzung), 2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1868.

Jacques Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus (series latina), CXCVI, Paris, 1855: "Adami a sancto Victore Sequentiae," cols. 1425-1534.

¹³ Michael-Joan.-Jos. Brial, "Adam de Saint-Victor" (Sa vie; Ses écrits), Histoire littéraire de la France, (Membres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres), XV, Paris, 1820, 40-45.

Louis Charles François Petit-Radel, "Addition à l'article Adam de St. Victor, déjà publié par Dom Brial," Ibid., XVII, Paris, 1832, xxxii-xxxiii.

estimate of the body of Adam's work, saying that Adam composed "at least" thirty-seven sequences.¹⁴ These articles were neither new nor definitive, but coupled with Dom Guéranger's acclaim of Adam as the greatest poet of the Middle Ages they provided the impetus for serious study of Adam and his work. The fame of Adam of St. Victor enjoyed a modest revival; his work, formerly the exclusive delight of a few bibliophiles and archivists interested in medieval literature, began to reach a more extensive audience.¹⁵

First-fruit of the new interest in Adam of St. Victor was Félix Clément's inclusion of twenty-five of Adam's sequences in his anthology of Christian Latin poetry.¹⁶ Clément credits Adam with thirty-eight sequences. Gautier praises Clément for the accuracy of his text, the helpfulness of his notes, and the precision of his interpretations in the face of difficulties militating against accuracy and precision in the question of liturgical poetry.¹⁷

Next, Charles Barthélemy made a bold stroke of reparation to the memory of an all-but-forgotten poet when he not only published all of Adam's known works--the thirty-eight proses--but added the first translation attempted since the Middle Ages, as well as an essay of appreciation.¹⁸ Unfortunately,

14 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, clxii-clxiii.

15 Ibid., I, xv.

16 Clément, Carmina.

17 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, xvi.

18 Ibid., The essay is at the end of the third volume of Barthélemy's translation of William Durand's Rationale Divinorum Officiorum; this translation is unavailable.

however, he worked too rapidly, not taking full advantage of Dom Guéranger's translation of some of the proses.¹⁹

All of these men, even the last two, followed the assumption that the complete works of Adam of St. Victor comprised about forty sequences. Yet, Gautier remarks, any one of them could have read in the Annales of the abbey of St. Victor: Nonaginta prosas Adam composuit quas commendat Clichtovaeus, quamvis 35 tantum illarum recenseat.²⁰

Gautier severely criticized conservative critics and editors for accepting unquestioningly, year after year, edition after edition, the old list of proses.²¹ He determined to look into the manuscripts rather than into former collections.²² In 1858 after research in the rich collection of manuscripts in the Imperial Library he jubilantly announced to the world, in a two-volume edition of Adam's poetic works, that he had rediscovered about sixty sequences to be attributed to Adam in addition to the forty already known.²³

Les Oeuvres poétiques d'Adam de Saint Victor became in its turn, after Clichtovaeus and Migne, the storehouse for future anthologists. Both Neale and Trench²⁴ drew their selections from the hundred and six proses which

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., clxiii-clxiv.

21 Ibid., vii.

22 Duffield, Latin Hymn-Writers, 229.

23 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, lvii, vii.

24 Neale, Seq. ex Missalibus; Hymni Ecclesiae, London, 1851-1852.
R. C. Trench, Sacred Latin Poetry, London, 1874.

Gautier had presented as the work of Adam of St. Victor. Wrangham, another Anglican divine, published a complete English edition of Gautier's work, reproducing the Latin texts with English translations and a selection of the notes in the original French edition.²⁵

Each prose was treated under five aspects. First a bibliographical notice stated where the prose had been found, by what authority it was attributed to Adam, where it was printed, and where sung. Second, the text, established from the best manuscripts available to Gautier, was given. Third, important variant readings were listed. Fourth, translations, usually from the fifteenth century, were set down for comparison with the Latin versions. Fifth, Gautier added explanatory notes.²⁶ These notes were: theological, based mainly on the twelfth and thirteenth-century doctrine of the Victorines; hagiographical, based on the Roman Breviary, the Golden Legend,²⁷ and medieval art; and symbolical, explaining the figures of the sequences, based mainly on Sacred Scripture.²⁸

In establishing Adam's authorship of the sixty new sequences, Gautier used four authorities:

(1) William of St. Lô, twenty-second abbot of the abbey of St. Victor, wrote Notices sur la vie des hommes illustres de Saint-Victor some time before 1349, the date of his death. He compiled a list of Adam's proses,

25 Wrangham, Poetry of Adam.

26 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, x.

27 The Golden Legend was that vast compilation "sans laquelle on peut dire qu'on ne connaît pas vraiment le moyen âge."--Ibid., xi.

28 Ibid.

to which he adds: Has prosas et alias plures de sanctis Adamus composuit. This is the list repeated, sometimes with variations, in many fourteenth-century manuscripts.

(2) Jean of Toulouse, somewhat later than William of St. Lô, is credited with "immense" authority by Gautier, on the strength of having lived in the same monastery in which Adam of St. Victor had lived. Jean, in his Annales, rearranges the list of William of St. Lô, citing an old manuscript which speaks of sex viginti et amplius proses on the mysteries of faith, on the Blessed Mother, and on the saints, all supposedly written by Adam. Later accounts repeat this information, some without criticism, others with critical notes.

(3) Simon Gourdan was another Augustinian writer who by virtue of living in touch with the tradition of St. Victor, was an authority for Gautier. Included in Père Gourdan's volumes, lourds et ennuyeux, was a list of the first lines of Adam's proses; it was this list of incipits that Gautier used as a check when internal evidence pointed to Adam's authorship of any prose. Gourdan lists fifty-nine, not even pretending that this is a complete list.

(4) A minor authority mentioned by Gautier is Jean Picart, writer of a Chronicon of the abbey.²⁹

On the whole, Gautier's account gives the impression of a man carried away in the white heat of his enthusiasm. He deals profusely in superlatives, in scholarly invectives directed against other scholars, and in

29 Ibid., lviii, clxviii-clxix, lix, clxii-clxix, lix, lxi, clxvi, lxi.

tricks of emphasis such as writing entire sentences in capital letters. Only once does he judge a manuscript³⁰ valueless from a critical point of view. Though he uses the manuscript, he advises careful comparison with other sources. Even in this critical evaluation, Gautier does not escape his habit of enthusiasm. He states that this particular list of proses has been corrected here and there by une main intelligente with the note: Non est Adami nostri.³¹ A later critic heartily took Gautier to task for that reference to an "intelligent hand."

Gautier's 1858 edition called forth a scholarly attack on the part of Abbé Eugène Misset, who published in 1881 and 1882 a series of articles in Les lettres chrétiennes.³² Misset's main contention was that Gautier had been misled into printing as Adam's work many interpolated pieces and many spurious sequences, unworthy of the poet. The lists used by Gautier were unreliable, written at least a hundred and fifty years after Adam's death by uncritical observers who were eager to credit any and all accomplishments to their poet. Misset suggested investigation into the oldest known liturgical books of the

30 No. 577 du fonds actuel de Saint-Victor—Ibid., "Avertissement au lecteur," 5.

31 Ibid.

32 This study, "Essai philologique et littéraire sur les oeuvres poétiques d'Adam de Saint-Victor," in vols. II, III, IV, and V of Les lettres chrétiennes, not available to the writer, has been published in permanent form: Eugène Misset and Pierre Aubry, Les Proses d'Adam de Saint-Victor: Texte et musique (précédées d'une étude critique), Paris, 1900. This is vol. II of the series Mélanges de musicologie critique, ed. Pierre Aubry. Though published twenty years later than the series of articles, this volume represents the exact expression of Misset's thought as expressed in the original articles. Cf. preface, v.

abbey, especially two graduals which he supposed to date back at least to 1239. Even in these, however, the sequences of Adam are mixed with older proses. In later graduals, the problem of separating Adam's works from the rest is further complicated by many imitations.

After this rebuff Gautier's second edition, much revised and reduced to a single volume, appeared in 1881. A third edition followed in 1894. These editions came nearer than the first to the original Book of Sequences, which ascribed at least fifty to a hundred sequences to Adam of St. Victor.³³

Misset had launched into his investigation in the interests of Christian faith, good taste, and scholarly criticism; his only regret was to seem to attack a man whom he venerated as a master and a pioneer in the field of medieval literature.³⁴ The necessity of unsparing criticism had been shown in the uncritical acceptance of spurious attributions by editors and anthologists. Misset cites Kehrein, who sans une ombre d'hésitation, ascribed to Adam a sequence honoring King Louis IX of France, who was born at least twenty years after the death of the poet and canonized about a hundred years later.³⁵

33 Dreves, "Adam von St. V.," 283, 428.

34 Misset, Proses d'Adam, v.

35 Ibid., 5. Kehrein's Lateinische Sequenzen, Mainz, 1873, is unavailable; however, cf. Joseph Kehrein, Kirchen-und religiöse Lieder aus dem zwölften bis fünfzehnten Jahrhundert (aus Handschriften der k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien), Paderborn, 1853. Most of the hymns from the first section of this book, labeled hymns of the twelfth century, are translations of hymns of St. Ambrose, Hilary, et al.; the section containing hymns from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century includes the Salve mater salvatoris (164-169) and Mundi renovatio (173-175), with no identification. Abélard's sequence on the Annunciation (169-172) and two of St. Thomas' hymns, the Pange lingua (176-178) and the Lauda Sion (179-182) are also unidentified. Kehrein seems to consider the age of the translation rather than the date of the composition of the hymn itself.

In the spirit of dispassionate criticism, Misset reviewed the "discoveries" of Gautier, excusing the mistakes of the medievalist on the grounds of his youth and enthusiasm. Examining the sixty-odd new sequences ascribed to Adam, the critic discussed them (de sang-froid, as he says) and weighed their claim to be included in the authentic canon of the works of Adam of St. Victor.³⁶

The critic first disposed of manuscript no. 577 as an unreliable source, mainly because of a manifest disagreement between the contents of the manuscript and its index. The man who wrote the index of the manuscript, with the assurance that these proses were by Adam of St. Victor, evidently did not even know the contents of the manuscript. Misset believed that the piece was merely a collection of proses assembled at the end of the fourteenth century. Proses of the early period, proses of the period of transition, Adam's proses and those of his imitators can be found therein. Among the hundred and thirteen in the manuscript (the index lists one hundred and sixteen), there are many which can be ascribed to Adam, but, as Misset remarks, there are also a few others.³⁷ It will be noted that Gautier himself advised using this document with care.

Misset next turned to Père Simon Gourdan's six-volume work, Les vies et les maximes saintes des hommes illustres qui ont fleuri dans l'abbaye de Saint Victor. Gourdan died in 1725, much too late to have been a valuable witness to the life and works of Adam of St. Victor. Père Gourdan wrote a

36 Misset, Proses d'Adam, 6.

37 Ibid., 6-7.

work of piety rather than one of criticism. He used previous accounts written by Jean of Toulouse and William of St. Lô, authorities subjected to scathing criticism by Misset. In fact, Gourdan is open to the charge which Gautier leveled at Clichtovaeus: he did not search the manuscripts.³⁸

Jean of Toulouse was commended by Gautier for reproducing William of St. Lô's account of Adam, as well as a list of his proses, not in a servile manner, but as a man of talent and good critical sense. Misset countered by citing a few instances in which Jean of Toulouse repeated obvious errors of William of St. Lô. Many of William's stock abbreviations of words were misinterpreted by Jean of Toulouse. Other mistakes were taken over bodily, such as references to the "tomb" of Sion rather than the trumpet of Sion.³⁹ Variations in the copy made by Jean of Toulouse are minor, usually changes in spelling. Each writer used the orthography of his time. Several of the "corrections" of Jean of Toulouse are incorrect. Misset's conclusion is that this authority is an incompetent critic and a servile copyist of William of St. Lô: "il a copié ses barbarismes, ses solécismes, ses abréviations, ses non-sens!"⁴⁰

Gautier had called the authority of William of St. Lô "most incontestable." William, however, died in 1349. His notes on Adam of St. Victor are vague and unsatisfactory, cloaking his lack of real knowledge with generalizations and figures of speech. He speaks of Adam as excellens, celebris. . .

38 Ibid., 8, 9.

39 Ibid., 10. Tumba is written for tuba: tumba Sion iocundetur.

40 Ibid., 14.

conversazione humilis et gratus, doctrina et eruditione utilis. Jean of Toulouse later compared these phrases to the artist who, not knowing how to paint the grief of Agamemnon, painted him with face veiled—a comparison which Misset dismisses as "puerile." Finally, Misset concludes from his writings that William made no use of the manuscript collection of the abbey. Nor did he profit from the "living tradition" about Adam of St. Victor which Gautier had emphasized.⁴¹ Even more prejudicial to William's reliability are some evidences of his not having read with critical discrimination the proses he called Adam's. For example, he entitled the prose for the dedication of a church, Ierusalem et Sion filiae, "de sancta Maria." Besides this, he included in his list of Adam's works several sequences which are definitely first-epoch works. If he did this, Misset argues, he was capable of ascribing to Adam later sequences, some of which are mere tours de force, cultivating form to the detriment of content and substituting the ingenious for the really beautiful, the bizarre for the symbolic.⁴²

41 Ibid., 15-16.

42 Ibid., 18. As an example of these proses factices, Misset cites the sequence in honor of the Holy Spirit, a sequence as poor in content as it is rich in form:

Spiritus
 Paraclitus
 Procedens divinitus
 Manet ante saecula;
 Populis,
 Discipulis
 Ad salutem sedulis
 Pacis dedit oscula.

The critic observes that "la poésie d'Adam nous a habitués à un tout autre sérieux & à une toute autre allure."—Ibid., 19.

Relying on internal criticism to establish authorship, Misset selected about forty sequences, similar in style, content, and technique. Raby, a modern critic, concedes that a number of Adam's sequences are to be found in Misset's group⁴³—a very modest concession, but one in keeping with the caution exercised by present-day critics when it comes to making definite attributions to writers of sequences. Two masterpieces are Adam's with "hardly any doubt at all." These are Heri mundus exsultavit, in honor of St. Stephen, and Salve mater salvatoris, in honor of the Blessed Virgin.⁴⁴ Zyma vetus expurgetur, the Easter sequence, is ascribed to Adam by Alain of Lille (died 1202), who wrote poetry in classical metres while Adam was writing his sequences.⁴⁵

These and many other proses exhibit the characteristics which serve as criteria for both Misset and Gautier in their criticism. In Adam's poetry there should be invariable correspondence of word and verse accent, and the occurrence of caesura at the end of the fourth syllable and the end of the word. In seven-syllable lines which are acatalectic and end in masculine rime, the stress may be changed. A third criterion: the sequence in question should be included in the earliest graduals of St. Victor.⁴⁶

43 F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry (from the beginnings to the close of the Middle Ages), Oxford, 1927, 350.

44 Raby, Chr.-Lat. Poetry, 351.

45 Ibid., 352-353. The reference of Alain of Lille is in Migne, Patr. lat., CCX, col. 122.

46 Raby, Chr.-Lat. Poetry, 351.

Unfortunately, these characteristics are also found in some compositions known to antedate Adam. Though they observe all the rules, Verbum bonum et suave,⁴⁷ Laudes crucis attollamus, and Hodiernae lux diei cannot be included in an official canon of Adam's works by reason of their appearance in manuscripts which are older than he.⁴⁸

Rigid adherence to these criteria also precludes the very human possibilities of poetic experiment, mistakes and development on the part of Adam.

Raby suggests that a possible check on any sequence possessing most of these characteristics would be determination of its place of origin. If it can be determined with certainty that the abbey of St. Victor is the place of origin, if the sequence exhibits certain traits of content and style, and if it is rather definitely of the time of Adam, we can "guess" that Adam is the author of the sequence. "It will be clear that the last word has not been said on this perplexing problem of criticism."⁴⁹

Substantially, these are the conclusions reached by Guido M. Dreves, who evaluated the work of Gautier and Misset in his study of 1885.⁵⁰ In the

47 This delightful sequence in honor of the Blessed Virgin is victim of a parody almost as delightful, Vinum bonum, etc. Both poems may be found in Fred Brittain's Medieval Latin and Romance Lyric to A.D. 1300, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1951, 138-140.

48 Raby, Chr.-Lat. Poetry, 351.

49 Ibid.

50 Dreves, "Adam von St. V."

absence of any completely reliable manuscript tradition, Dreves used the thirteenth-century gradual of the abbey as a basis, selecting the probable work of Adam by means of certain criteria of construction and internal criticism. According to Dreves, characteristics of the construction of Adam's sequences are parallelism of strophes, accentual rhythm, two-syllabled rime, and caesura. In addition Dreves asserts that Adam's proses are marked by three special internal traits: a predilection for repetition, assonance, and play on words.⁵¹ Still another characteristic of Adam's sequences is the importance he gives to allegory and symbolism. Compared with some of his contemporaries, Adam is moderate and restrained in his symbolism.⁵²

After the elimination of obviously later pieces, a selection of about fifty sequences may be ascribed to Adam until they are proved not to be his. But Dreves immediately asks the question: Is this all that Adam wrote? And he answers that it is highly improbable that Adam wrote only these fifty proses. Dreves concludes that, if he cannot edit a critical edition of Adam's authentic sequences, he can nevertheless attempt a literary, historical appreciation on the assumption that we have at least fifty to a hundred sequences written by Adam.⁵³

During the last years of the nineteenth century there was growing dissatisfaction with anthologies of medieval poetry. German anthologists in their investigations had made selections from the manuscripts available. They

51 Ibid., 284-292 passim. These will be treated in detail later.

52 Ibid., 416.

53 Ibid., 424, 428.

used an arbitrary system, selecting hymns that happened to strike their fancy, omitting others, perhaps more important, which did not appeal to them. This procedure was followed by Daniel and Mone; later anthologists continued their work with the same method.

F. J. Mone commended the work of Daniel as a laudable evidence of interest in Church hymns on the part of non-Catholics. Still, he was of the opinion that Daniel's work did not sufficiently take into account old Greek Church literature, a defect leading to erroneous interpretations and oversimplification of problems.⁵⁴

Mone's anthology, Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters, is a three-volume collection, the first volume including hymns to God and hymns about the mysteries of faith, the second, Marienlieder, and the third, hymns honoring the saints. The anthologist merely selected those hymns which interested him. In his foreword to the second volume are outlined the difficulties connected with the Marian poems. Many collectors of hymns considered songs to the Blessed Virgin or the saints at best unnecessary, and at worst, dangerous or idolatrous.⁵⁵

Obviously, confusion arose when each man's belief and taste determined his selection. It was impossible to tell whether or not a source had been fully exhausted: "c'est pêle-mêle qu'on a tout publié. . . ."⁵⁶ Two

54 Mone, Lat. Hymnen, I, vii-viii.

55 Ibid., II, iii.

56 Eugène Misset and W. H. James Weale, Thesauris Hymnologis hactenus editis supplementum amplissimum (Analecta Liturgica), vol. II, part II, Paris, 1892, 2. This material is from the preface by Dreves.

editors planned to remedy this confusion and put some order into what seemed the impenetrable jungle of medieval poetry by assembling a corpus hymnorum according to cities or dioceses. The earliest calendars, breviaries, and missals were used so that later researchers might know where the work was to be taken up.⁵⁷ Eugène Misset and W. H. James Weale, collaborators in the work, outlined their method of procedure in the preface of the first volume. Chronological order was discarded as impracticable and well-nigh impossible. Division of the hymns according to locale was modified; the editors assembled the pieces used in each particular church up to the time of the invention of printing. Proses included in well established anthologies already published were not printed by Misset and Weale.⁵⁸

This ambitious venture was never completed.

To date, the most comprehensive work in sequences has been the three-volume Thesauri Hymnologici Prosarium, collected and edited by Clemens Blume, S.J., and Henry Marriott Bannister.⁵⁹ The first part deals with the liturgical proses of the first epoch, especially those of Notker Balbulus, the "Stammerer." The second part is a two-volume study of the proses of the transitional period and the second epoch, especially those ascribed to Adam of St. Victor.

57 Ibid., 2-3.

58 Ibid., vol. I, Part II, 4-5. The notation on the title page specifies: Prosaе quae apud Daniel, Mone, Neale, Gautier, Schubiger, Wackernagel, Morel, et Kehrein non reperiuntur.

59 The Proсарium is part of the monumental Analecta Hymnica medii aevi (ed. Clemens Blume), LIII, LIV, LV, published in 1911, 1915, 1922 resp. Bannister died in 1919, before the second volume of the second part was published.

Dreves, Blume, and Bannister, the editors of Analecta Hymnica, the larger work of which the Prosarium is a part, did not plan a definitive work which would trace the sequence from the earliest examples to its full development and expansion. They intended to collect hymns and sequences as aids to understanding the spiritual life and vigor of the Middle Ages. This edition of the Analecta Hymnica was not intended to be a new foundation for the building up of a complete history of the sequence and hymnody, nor was it to build up an edifice on the shaky foundation already available. It was to furnish building stones (Bausteine), sorted and numbered, more or less rough-hewn or smoothly finished, for future builders.⁶⁰

This purpose makes the text in Analecta Hymnica most suitable for use in the present study. Each sequence is edited according to the best manuscripts and accompanied by a list of the places in which it was sung. At a glance, the reader can determine the life of the sequence: its use, restricted or widespread, its dissemination to dioceses of the country of its origin or to other countries. The sequence with definite ascriptions are marked:

Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore; or they are credited to Thomas Celano, Thomas Aquinas, and others.⁶¹

60 Blume, Analecta Hymnica, LIII, vii, ix.

61 Those sequences ascribed to Adam of St. Victor, found passim in the second section of vol. LIV and most of vol. LV, comprise the Appendix of this dissertation. Necessary editing has been done. The text is better than Gautier's because it is more accurate and objective. Gautier, too, definitely had an axe to grind. Misset's text attempts to reproduce the medieval manuscripts so literally that many of the spellings give a modern reader pause (e.g., celi, ymprum, dampnari, sollempnitas).

To say that a sequence is ascribed to Adam of St. Victor is not the same as to assert that Adam wrote it. A brief survey of the vicissitudes suffered by the works attributed to Adam shows that as an author he has endured much from both his friends and his enemies.

First obstacle in the way of establishing authorship of medieval hymns and sequences is the well-known tendency of medieval writers to hide behind the cloak of anonymity, or quite simply not to announce themselves as authors.

A hundred years ago Gall Morel met this difficulty in his collection of medieval hymns. In discussing and evaluating different manuscripts, he observed that anyone who has worked in the field of medieval hymnology knows how seldom the name of an author is given with a piece, and what a critical task it is to determine the authenticity of an ascription when one is given. Similar to composers of folk-songs, the poets of the songs of the Church have thrown over their works the veil of modesty.⁶²

The individualism of the Renaissance led to the practice of signing literary and artistic works, but it would seem that the earlier medieval hymn-maker no more thought of signing his work than the builder of a Gothic cathedral demanded over-time wages. The nineteenth-century hymnologist, John Mason Neale, has well captured the medieval attitude:

I suppose that no one ever sent forth a hymn without some faint hope that he might be casting his two mites into that treasury of the Church into which the 'many who were rich'—Ambrose and Hildebert, and Adam and

62 Morel, Lat. Hymnen, vi. This last phrase is not a literal translation; Morel's words are: "doch warf über die Namen der Dichter des Kirchenliedes auch ihre Demuth den Schleier."

Bernard Cluny, and S. Bernard. . .—'cast in much.' But having so cast it in, is not the claiming a vested interest in it something like 'keeping part of the price of the land'?⁶³

The hymns, of unknown or uncertain authorship, are the overflow of some devout Christian's sensible devotion, sometimes set down for himself alone, sometimes for his religious brothers. The difficulty—often impossibility—of establishing the authorship of so many works may be accidental, or it may be "a token that with these happy troubadours of God the song was the thing, and not the singer."⁶⁴

A second obstacle to be reckoned with in establishing authorship is what seems to us the uncritical attitude of the editors and liturgists of the medieval period. Footnotes and accurate citations of references are comparatively late developments in scholarship. Nameless chroniclers of monasteries and abbeys, as well as men whose names we know, such as Jean of Toulouse, William of St. Lô and others, seemed to compile their lists according to the reasoning: "This is a good sequence. Therefore it is Adam's." Besides this, they often unquestioningly transmitted lists already compiled by others.

Perfection of form, once considered as an almost infallible indication of Adam's authorship, has been found in sequences of the eleventh century. The only possible conclusion is that Adam had contemporaries and forerunners who handled the sequence form with as great technical mastery as he showed.

63 Neale, Collected Hymns, frontispiece.

64 Hugh T. Henry, "Latin Hymns and English Versions," American Catholic Quarterly Review, XVIII, 1893, 276.

The conclusion is inescapable, and Blume and Bannister admit that they made it reluctantly, forced by the evidence.⁶⁵

Concerning the real text of the sequences of Adam of St. Victor, what has been established so far? First, we cannot be sure that we have all the sequences Adam wrote, nor can we be certain that he would recognize as his own work all the sequences which have been ascribed to him. Perhaps the last word has been said by Charles Sears Baldwin, author of authoritative studies on ancient and medieval rhetoric and poetic: "Adam of St. Victor wrote great hymns—which hymns we are not always sure."⁶⁶

It is out of the question to establish the authors of most of the hymns and sequences written in the twelfth century. Religious editors hardly ever identified authors' names in their collections. Often not even the approximate time of composition can be determined. Regarding the many sequences ascribed to Adam of St. Victor, only a negative kind of certainty may be established. If a sequence is found in a manuscript of the eleventh century, before Adam's birth, or if there is definite proof that a sequence was extensively known and used early in the twelfth century, we may safely say that Adam did not compose it.

Our only procedure must be first to learn what we can about the man, his work, and his times; second, to take the sequences ascribed to him and weigh their merits as poetry and as indications of that tenuous thing called "the medieval spirit."

65 Blume, *Analecta Hymnica*, LIV, xiii-xv. Three sequences discussed by the editors are Verbum bonum et suave, Hodiernae lux diei, and Laudes crucis attollamus.

66 Baldwin, *Three Med. Cent.*, 9.

A brief survey of various editions of the proses ascribed to Adam reveals that from the beginning the personality of the poet was subordinated to his work. Clichtovaeus and other hymnologists of the sixteenth century were interested in the hymn rather than in the hymn-writer. The collections of Daniel, Migne, Mone, Morel and other nineteenth-century anthologists were also interested in the work rather than the man. If we attempted to characterize this interest, we could say that the earlier collectors emphasized the religious value of the sequences, while the later ones stressed their aesthetic value.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Gautier, fired with enthusiasm and holy indignation, tried to rescue the personality of Adam of St. Victor from what he felt was undeserved obscurity. Whatever his inaccuracies and extravagances, Gautier stimulated thoughtful consideration and research. Misset and Dreves clarified the question as much by their objections and doubts as by their actual discoveries. The early twentieth century witnessed the work of Blume and Bannister, who modestly disavowed the intention of making final decisions on the authorship of sequences ascribed to Adam and other sequence-writers. Their aim was to provide building blocks for later students of medieval religious poetry.

Adam's Proses in Literary Criticism

Through the centuries scholarly criticism has alternately smiled and frowned upon the literary productions of the Middle Ages, including the sequences of Adam of St. Victor. De gustibus non disputandum: though we may

subscribe to this principle, a survey of the criticism of Adam's proses will be interesting and instructive.

The first era in the life of the sequences of Adam, the uncritical era of joyful acceptance and use of sequences and hymns without serious reference to their authors, has been treated in the discussion of the text. This period of no ascriptions or wholesale ascriptions was followed by the Renaissance. Criticism after the Renaissance, even to our day, has either accepted its standards or reacted to them.

The French Benedictines applied modern scientific methods to medieval literature in the monumental Histoire littéraire de la France, begun in 1733. Before this, the findings of paleography and diplomatics, the science of deciphering and reading manuscripts, had been reserved for ancient literature. The work begun by the Benedictines was continued after the French Revolution by the Académie des Inscriptions and L'Ecole des Chartes.⁶⁷ The names of these two organizations appear on the title pages of subsequent volumes from 1814.

The German school of medieval studies points with pride to Ludwig Traube as founder.⁶⁸ Traube and his school demonstrated conclusively that the continuity from the ancient world to the Renaissance was unbroken, thus shattering the beloved myth of two bright worlds with the dark world of the Middle Ages in between.

67 Paul Rumpf, "L'Etude de la latinité médiévale," Archivum Romanicum (nuova rivista di filologia romanza), Geneva, IX, 1925, 219-220.

68 Ibid. The author remarks a bit testily that those who are proud of Traube did not help him while he lived.

Wilhelm Meyer's exhaustive researches uncovered the richness and beauty of rhythmic poetry, and Paul von Winterfeld was his friend and rival in grasping the spirit of medieval works, informing the dead letter with life.⁶⁹

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the nationality of a critic often imparted a distinctive tone to his criticism. We have seen that Father Dreves maintained that Adam was an Anglo-Saxon. Two characteristics of Adam's proses impelled Dreves to this decision: "neben der echt germanischen Vorliebe für den Strabreim vor allem die bewundernswerthe Festigkeit im Accente."⁷⁰ Misset, who believed that Adam was French, contrasted the sequences of Notker with Adam's sequences. Notker's seemed to the critic "froids, compassées, sans relief, le plus sans mouvement, dignes, si l'on veut, mais d'une dignité pesante et toute germanique." Adam's sequences, on the other hand, were "éminemment légères et gracieuses."⁷¹

The distinguished French scholar, Dom Cabrol, praises the sequences of Adam of St. Victor as "admirables d'élévation, de profondeur théologique et d'habileté technique."⁷² Adam should be considered one of the great French poets and the king of liturgical poets of the Middle Ages, Dom Cabrol continues. His skill and precision in manipulating syllables, rime, and accent give his works "une légèreté, un équilibre, une harmonie" unequalled by many

69 Ibid., 256.

70 Dreves, "Adam von St. V.," 280.

71 Cited in Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 123.

72 Fernand Cabrol, Les Livres de la Liturgie latine, Paris, 1930, 122.

modern poets.⁷³ Likewise, in the Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de la Liturgie, edited by Dom Cabrol with Leclercq, Adam's sequences are commended for three qualities: "la fracture des verses, la lucidité des pensées, l'éclat des images."⁷⁴ It is to be noted that many of the qualities here admired are those considered typical of French classicism. Perfection of form, clarity of thought, brilliance—these are the refrain.

Sometimes religious bias entered into a critic's judgments. Two extremes are observed. On one side stands the reader, editor, or translator who accepts as good literature anything that is religious in tone. On the other, we have translators like Neale and other English divines who omitted from their versions of a hymn or sequence any stanzas which did not agree with their doctrinal position.

Rambach, nineteenth-century German historian of sacred poetry, admired Adam of St. Victor as the "Schiller of the middle ages," but he found in most of the medieval hymns features highly objectionable:

alle die Verirrungen des religiösen Gefühles, mit denen so viele Blätter der christlichen Kirchengeschichte angefüllt sind, Heiligendienst, Anbetung des Kreuzes und der Reliquien, Messopfer, Transsubstantiation, Büssung und Selbstpeinigung, Verehrung der heil. Jungfrau u.s.w.⁷⁵

He traces these "aberrations" back to pagan veneration of the Muses and heroes. The same author deplores the honor given to Our Lady in the religious hymns and diagnoses it as a sort of "religious romanticism" which descends to "den

73 Ibid.

74 Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, DACL, Paris, XV, 1950, col. 1299.

75 Rambach, Anthologie, I, 13.

ungeheueren Schwärmereyen, ja zu wirklichen Gotteslästerungen. . . ."76 As an example he cites lines from Adam of St. Victor's Salve mater salvatoris and remarks with a touch of sadness that, bad as these lines are, worse ones could be cited. The whole passage of indignation against what he considers foolish sentimentality and near-blasphemy concludes with the regret that the rich imagination and ardent feelings of medieval hymn-writers were not put to better use.⁷⁷

Anthologists who were sincerely shocked at certain manifestations of the faith of the Middle Ages excluded many hymns from their collections. Mone found that it was almost impossible to tell whether or not a manuscript source had been completely published. The Marian poems, he found, were treated most severely. He answered objections of non-Catholic anthologists that such songs take away from the honor of God, stating that it is God whom the poets honor in His saints. Further, Mone asserts that if devotion to the Blessed Virgin diminishes the honor of God, then the Incarnation of Christ is also a diminution of God's glory, "und der Mensch Christus verdient so wenig unsere Verehrung wie seine menschliche Mutter."⁷⁸

Many critics have regarded Adam's works as the peak of perfection and the synthesis of all the fine qualities looked for in religious poetry. John Mason Neale called him "the greatest Latin poet, not only of medieval, but of all ages." Summarizing the history of hymnody from the "sublime"

76 Ibid., 14.

77 Ibid., 15-16; 284-285.

78 Mone, Lat. Hymnen, II, iii, v.

St. Ambrose through other outstanding hymn-writers, including Godescalc of "scriptural calm" and St. Bernard of "subjective loveliness," Neale depicts the culmination of the age "in the full blaze of glory which surrounds Adam of St. Victor, the greatest of them all."⁷⁹

Abbé Legrain sees Adam, coming at the end of a century already distinguished by the works of Abélard and St. Bernard, as gathering up "tous les éléments épars d'harmonie et de beauté, les groupera et l'inspiration aidant, réalisera cet accord parfait du rythme, de la forme et de la pensée, qui fait le charme indéfinissable de toute poésie."⁸⁰

Félix Clément makes a similar tribute, designating Adam as the poet "qui résume toutes les qualités lyriques et harmonieuses de la poésie au moyen âge."⁸¹

A modern critic who, in spite of some misunderstanding of Catholic doctrine, has made a genuine effort to be impartial in considering Adam's work, has come to this conclusion:

The poetic advance represented by the Sequences of Adam of St. Victor. . . should not blind our eyes to the continuity of development leading to it. Adam is the final artist and his work a veritable creation; yet his antecedents made part of his creative faculty. The elements of his verses and the general idea and form of the sequence were given him;—all honor to the man's holy genius which made these into poems.⁸²

79 John M. Neale, Medieval Hymns and Sequences, London, 1863, 5.

80 Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 123.

81 Clément, Poésie chrét., xxiv.

82 Taylor, Med. Mind, II, 235.

These elements of the sequence were accentual rhythm and two-syllabled rime. Wright and Sinclair consider these the basis of modern poetry, and Adam of St. Victor, who perfected them, the father of modern poetry.⁸³ They point out, however, that Adam is noted for perfection of form rather than lyric beauty. Adam lacks the touch of fire we expect of lyrical genius: "il lui manqua de joindre à son génie d'artiste un peu de la folie de l'amour, un peu de l'envol du mysticisme; il lui manqua encore une originalité réelle de pensée."⁸⁴

The presence or absence of lyrical quality in Adam's sequences has been a point of contention among critics. Generally, Adam's hymns are strictly doctrinal and theological, and they keep to the doctrine without any of the transports of a contemplative soul which we find in poetry of the Cistercian school of St. Bernard or of the later Franciscans.

Some critics, particularly Gautier, Clément, and Misset, have maintained that Adam's works have lyrical beauty. Misset finds in the proses "un véritable souffle, une inspiration fraîche & naïve, mystique & audacieuse, un

83 Frederick Adam Wright and Thomas Alan Sinclair, History of Later Latin Literature (from the middle of the fourth to the end of the seventeenth century), London, 1931, 309-310.

84 Ibid. The quotation is here given as it is in Rémy de Gourmont, Le Latin mystique (les poètes de l'antiphonaire et la symbolique au moyen âge), Paris, 1922, 263. M. de Gourmont praises Adam as a "grand fabricant de séquences régulières," but he takes him to task for excessive use of antithesis and balance, as well as "un goût assez puéril pour les jeux de mots," though sometimes these plays on words are adroit and pleasant enough. The critic concludes that if we considered only Adam's musicianship with "symphonies of words," together with his perfection of rhythm and rime, then he would be "le plus magique artisan verbal qui ait fait sonner le psaltérion latin."—Ibid., 263, 264.

heureux assemblage des pensées, des mots, du rythme qui captive, qui transporte & fait naturellement penser à saint Bernard & à Dante."⁸⁵

Gottfried Herder, that indefatigable enthusiast for poetry at its well-springs, noted a lack of originality and inspiration in the medieval hymns, but he justified it. We do not look for inspiration in these poems; many are only brilliant reworkings of well-known themes, or even paraphrases of familiar prayers. Herder continues: "Was ists denn, was uns rührt? Einfalt und Wahrheit. Hier tönt die Sprache eines allgemeinen Bekenntnisses, eines Herzens und Glaubens."⁸⁶

Most critics emphasize the impersonal quality of Adam's works; he seemed to speak for the entire Church, not for himself alone. These are the critics who stress his virtuosity.

Königsfeld says Adam was one of the most productive writers of the Middle Ages, distinguished "durch Gewandtheit in Sprache und Versification, so wie durch lebendige Darstellung des besungenen Thema's."⁸⁷

Digby S. Wrangham, the English clergyman who translated Adam's poetical works at the close of the nineteenth century, states that if we take away Adam's metres and his characteristic way of building up a line "till he

85 Misset, Proses d'Adam, 4.

86 This quotation is adapted from Simrock, Lauda Sion, iv, and Rambach, Anthologie, I, 9; it is from Herder's Zerstreute Blätter or from his Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität, with no exact citations. The writer was unable to locate the exact quotation in Herder, though there are many references to Einfalt and Wahrheit in the above-mentioned work. At any rate, the quotation as given here expresses the mind of Herder.

87 Königsfeld, Lat. Hymnen, II, 368.

finishes with a rush of liquid rhyme," we would be despoiling him of his chief claim to our attention.⁸⁸

Duffield, American scholar of the liturgy, gives an analysis which might well be quoted in full. First he lists those characteristics of Adam's poetry which he felt should have a special appeal for theologians: Adam is "so terse, so metaphorically accurate, so allegorically copious." After quoting several enthusiastic appreciations of Adam, Duffield confesses that he is "compelled to dissent from the cultus which has grown up about this brilliant, epigrammatic, and altogether admirable Adam." Adam's main appeal will always be to the scholar and the translator.

To me the man is always fascinating, always suggestive. He appears to challenge the best that we moderns can do. His very terseness is a defiance. And here, in this strange symmetry, I fancy that I see the alertness and skill of that wise insect which takes hold with her hands in kings' palaces. The web of this precise and unvarying artisan often sparkles with the moving dew of a pure devotion. The lines and stays and braces and fashionings of these illustrious verses are as accurate as the spider's spinning. I look up toward the light and, yonder, upon some Corinthian capital of the song of songs,—or over there in a corner of the gate called Beautiful through which Ezekiel walks—or again, high amid the wisdom of that Solomon's porch of the Apocalypse where stands the serene John—there I see how Adam of St. Victor has stretched his web.

And if, now and then, some dead fly of an obscure allusion, or some desiccated bit of monasticism, offends the sight, I strive to think only of the art that has spread the fabric—and God's glorious sunshine brightens, upon His own temple, His little creature's toil!⁸⁹

88 Wrangham, Lit. Poetry of Adam, I, ix-x.

89 Duffield, Latin Hymn-Writers, 233. Duffield has an amusing series of figures in his treatment of the abbey of St. Victor and its work. The monks "like bees in a hive," busily laid up the only honey of those shadowy ages—manuscripts. Their main interest, Duffield reports with regret, was "muddling their brains over abstruse questions." It was only once in a while that the sluggish stream swirled to catch a flower on the shore. On the next page, we find the same monks busy with "useless pieces of chop-logic,"

The author makes no secret of his attitude to medieval monasticism. His praise of Adam is dealt out begrudgingly, almost in spite of himself. Duffield has based his judgment on a set of preconceived notions of the value or uselessness of a way of life to which Adam of St. Victor and thousands of men of more than ordinary intelligence and character have dedicated themselves.

One final fallacy in criticism should be noted here. Romanticists rejected some medieval poetry because it lacked the sentimental, lambent, "plangent" quality which seemed to nineteenth-century critics indispensable for poetic beauty.⁹⁰ Several of the later sequences, notably the Dies irae and the Stabat Mater, fulfilled romantic requirements; this in large part explains the tremendous popularity of these sequences as compared with the faint praise accorded to poetry of brilliance, wit, and paradox.

Recently, however, with the revival of interest in John Donne and other English metaphysical (or better, metalogical) poets, there have been indications that we may hope for a new appraisal and appreciation of the medieval poetry which depends for its effect upon wit, contrast, and brilliance.

Adam has been interpreted as a great lyric poet, rivaling Bernard or Dante, or as a mere versifier with an extraordinary talent for turning a

digging shafts and tunnels rather than sinking doctrinal wells down to living streams. Three pages later, Duffield finishes his discussion of the "mud-flats" of the dark ages. Adam's occasional flashes of inspiration and independence are compared to the "gambolling" of a little goldfish stranded in its pool after the tide had gone down.—Ibid., 227-228, 231.

⁹⁰ Cf. two thoughtful and thought-provoking articles: Walter J. Ong, S.J., "Wit and Mystery: A Revaluation in Medieval Latin Hymnody," Speculum, XXII, March, 1947, 310-341; and Linus Walker, O.P., "Paradox as an Element in Poetic Contemplation," Dominicana, XXXVII, March, 1952, 43-55.

phrase. He has been regarded as a powerful voice in religion and poetics, inspiring many people to lead virtuous, God-centered lives. He has been thought of as an obscure monk with strange notions about God's rights over a man, and sentimental fancies about the Blessed Virgin. He has been called a master of scriptural allegory; he has been pictured as a rather fussy old poet, spinning out webs of theological subtleties.

The secure position in criticism is between these two extremes. We should not accept as the highest flight of poetic genius every sequence which has at some time or other been attributed to Adam, nor should we condemn a sequence through misunderstanding of Adam's intentions.

Father de Ghellinck has the most definitive discussion on the lyrical quality of Adam's proses. Adam spoke "in the name of the Christian community," putting its faith and its beliefs into his sequences. If "lyrical quality" is to be confined to expressions of personal emotion or human passions in the accents vibrants we have come to connect with lyrical poetry, then Adam certainly was not lyric. His subject matter and the exigencies of the sequence form imposed limits on him from the start. Still, within his narrow limits Adam gave expression to a lofty idealism and a profound faith which could not be otherwise than inspired by the Holy Spirit:

Mais, en bien des endroits, il rend la pensée commune avec un mouvement, une vie, un souffle vibrant, et recourt, pour l'exprimer, à toutes les ressources d'un art dont il possède remarquablement la maîtrise. La choix du vers, la richesse de la rime, la composition de la strophe, la variété de l'expression, fruits de sa dévotion dans le ravissement de l'admiration, donnent au lecteur l'impression d'une âme qui est totalement sous le coup de l'inspiration lyrique.⁹¹

91 De Ghellinck, L'Essor, II, 297-298.

CHAPTER IV

MEDIEVAL SYMBOLISM AND PARADOX IN THE SEQUENCES

ASCRIBED TO ADAM OF ST. VICTOR

As an index to certain characteristics of their age, medieval sequences and hymns are fully as important as the popular rhythmic poetry of the time which dealt with secular themes. Both types of poetry, which developed side by side, influenced the age which had imposed certain qualities on them.

No literary work in the Dark Ages can be compared for the extent and far-reaching results of its influence with the development of popular Latin verse. The hymns went further and affected a larger number of people's minds than anything else in literature. They gave the impulse to fresh experimentation which was so much needed by scholarly persons; provided new rules and a new ideal of expression for the unscholarly. . . .¹

Baumgartner describes the process whereby medieval poets and post-asters took the basic fund of doctrine and expanded it into thousands of hymns and sequences.² In the century and a half between 1060 and 1220 were composed enough hymns to fill more than fifty volumes of Analecta Hymnica.³ The very number of hymns written and sung during this period indicates a wide, almost universal influence.

1 William P. Ker, The Dark Ages (vol. I of series, Periods of European Literature, ed. Prof. Saintsbury), New York, 1904, 199-200.

2 Baumgartner, Weltliteratur, IV, 438.

3 De Ghellinck, L'Essor, II, 285.

Unfortunately, the danger inherent in these thousands of variations on a theme is obvious to any reader of medieval religious poetry. As we shall see, even Adam of St. Victor, true poet though he was, weakened occasionally to deal in mere Spielerei, word-play, though most of his work is redeemed by a solid theological basis and an ardent religious spirit.⁴ Most of his imitators, however, with more zeal than poetic skill or inspiration, did Adam and religious poetry a real disservice by echoing his melodic strophe.⁵

Still, the existence of many hymns which exhibit nothing deeper than a certain facility of expression should not blind us to the sublimity and lyricism of the best of the poems, which give us an edifice beautifully designed and firmly established on the bedrock of Christian doctrine. "The greatest medieval hymns obliterate the crude distinction between 'reason' and 'feeling,' between 'thought' and 'emotion.' They remind us of that ancient saying about the sublime, that it springs from intellectual vigor of conception."⁶

The sequences are most revealing as an expression of medieval piety, the childlike devotion which saw a loving father in God, a real mother in the Virgin Mary, and friends and brothers in the saints. A more sophisticated age smiles at this naïveté, as it is appalled by the thousands of hymns

4 Baumgartner, Weltliteratur, IV, 448. „Adam war eine echte Sängernatur, wie es nur je eine gab, dem gleichsam jedes Wort zu Reim und Melodie ward. Vielleicht wäre er in blosse Spielereien herabgesunken, aber tiefes theologisches Wissen und die innigste Gottesliebe waren die Seele seines Liedes und gaben ihm mächtige Schwingen himmelan.“

5 Ibid., 451. "Echoed" is a poor substitute for the vivid German nachgeklimpert.

6 Baldwin, Med. Rhet. and Poetic, 205.

commemorating feasts and saints, manifestations of something like a child's delight in repetition and brilliance.

Both friendly and unfriendly critics of the Middle Ages have said that medieval men were like children. The unfriendly critics stress medieval credulity, even gullibility; the friendly critics speak of wholesome naïveté. Unfriendly critics point out that the man of the Middle Ages was eager to believe any marvel related of any saint, just so it was marvelous enough; friendly critics praise the devotion and lively imagination of the medieval man. The observation that the man of the Middle Ages was completely supernatural in his outlook is a reproach with one critic, praise with another.

Was the medieval man childish? Or was he childlike? Any answer, of course, cannot be applied categorically to every single man of the Middle Ages. A generalization has the same danger of error for us, studying the Middle Ages, as it might have for future students of our muddled age.

Still, there is this basic principle we may use in our study of literature. The man of the Middle Ages was a man of faith. He might have been like a child, but he was a devout child of God. He believed that truth was universal and absolute, and therefore the same for all.⁷ Even intellectual rebels of the time tried to reach the truth; they did not practice the peculiarly modern subjective attitude of bending realities to fit their own minds.

⁷ Etienne Gilson, Medieval Universalism and Its Present Value, New York, 1937, 12-14, 16-17, 20.

The medieval man was a child of the Church, which had kept learning alive and "alone had saved mankind not only from hell, but from savagery."⁸ The realization of this was an important factor in the unity of the Middle Ages. The Church satisfied "the best cravings of the whole man," giving him truth to enlighten his intellect, beauty to delight his senses and warm his affection, goodness to motivate and incite his will to action.⁹

In the Mass and the liturgy, men worshiped God with all their faculties. Philosophy and history were God-centered, based on the deposit of the faith. "The task of the medieval thinker was. . .one of reconciliation, of synthesis rather than creation."¹⁰ Proses and hymns were based on the same deposit of faith. They reflected the faith of the Middle Ages, while intensifying and strengthening the very faith which was their origin.

The same faith and the same inspiration animated all the works of the arts of the Middle Ages: architecture, painting, the making of stained glass, the composition of proses and hymns. One art can be best explained in the light of the others. All other arts can be enlisted in our efforts to understand the literary art of the Middle Ages. The music and language of the hymns, the poetry of words and sounds, reached perfection under the vaults of

8 C. R. S. Harris, "Philosophy," The Legacy of the Middle Ages, ed. C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob, Oxford, 1938, 227.

9 F. M. Powicke, "The Christian Life," Legacy, 39.

10 Harris, "Philosophy," Legacy, 227-228. In this connection, cf. Pius XII (in the encyclical Humani Generis): "God, the Highest Truth, has created and guides human intellect, not that it may daily oppose new truths to rightly established ones but rather that having eliminated errors, . . . it may build truth upon truth in the same order and structure that exist in reality, the source of truth."

basilicas and cathedrals.¹¹ The twelfth century, which saw important developments in Gothic architecture, witnessed a parallel development in liturgical poetry. After this brief flowering, Gothic architecture held its own for another century of matchless perfection, but liturgical poetry exhibited signs of descending to "art for art's sake." Brilliant phrasing gave way to ingenious word-play, elaborate symbolism to bizarre effects.¹² Content was sacrificed to form, and decadence set in.

But at its height the sequence was vigorous and beautiful. Like the characteristic medieval Gothic architecture, it compelled a man to look up and send his thoughts God-ward. Both the sequences and the cathedrals accomplished this with a deceptive appearance of simplicity, hiding the underlying intricacies of structure.

What religion demanded of art in this age of faith was nothing less than a materialization of the spiritual,¹³ which was brought about by a spiritualization of wood, glass, and stone. Dead wood and inert glass and stone were forced to express spiritual ideas, sometimes by means of artistic distortion. The supernatural overpowered the material or the purely natural. Gothic art is informed with what critics call verticalism or "western love of

11 Pierre Aubry, La Musicologie médiévale (vol. I of series, Mélanges de musicologie critique), Paris, 1898-1899, 5.

12 Misset, Proses d'Adam, 18.

13 Louis Réau and Gustave Cohen, L'Art du moyen âge (Arts plastiques, art littéraire et la civilisation française; vol. XL of series, L'Évolution de l'humanité, ed. Henry Berr), Paris, 1935, 21-22.

the vertical."¹⁴ This is one of the qualities which give the breathless "tenseness and poise"¹⁵ to the Gothic cathedral. The depth and sublimity of the twelfth-century sequence at its height correspond to this Gothic reach and thrust: the pointed arch, the lofty roof, the towers and pinnacles, and the long, narrow windows. Thus a learned German critic speaks of Adam of St. Victor, "in dessen Strofen wie in den Kathedralen die Kraft der ersten Gotik sich entfaltet."¹⁶

There was nothing academic about the original Gothic; it was "an art contrary to all classic regulations, a vernacular art. . .as various and capricious in its forms as nature itself."¹⁷ It was as popular and communal as the sequence. The "lucidity and serenity"¹⁸ of a Greek temple were peculiarly appropriate to the clear air of Attica and the gentle, skeptical humanism of the Greeks. The Gothic cathedral, as well as the sequence dealt in mysteries which were as natural to the medieval mind as skepticism was for the ancients. Moreover, both cathedral and sequence held out the hope that man could climb the dizzying heights, aspiring to the very heart and source of the mystery.

14 W. R. Lethaby, "Medieval Architecture," Legacy, 88.

15 Ibid., 76.

16 Von den Steinen, Notker, 86.

17 Frank P. Chambers, History of Taste: (Account of the revolutions of art criticism and theory in Europe), New York, 1932, 216. Many critics, especially those with romantic leanings, have called attention to the resemblance of the pillared Gothic nave to an avenue of trees. Something of the mystery of a forest is seen in the Gothic cathedral.—Ibid., 218.

18 Lethaby, "Medieval Architecture," Legacy, 89.

Medieval man's attempts to elucidate and express this mystery resulted in the use of symbols and paradox. Symbols were used to represent abstract or less familiar realities. They cast light on many points of doctrine and pictured to the medieval mind the mysteries contemplated. Paradox, as it is used in this study, includes contrasts of ideas or words usually classified as specific figures of speech: oxymoron, antithesis, syncrisis, and others. The use of paradox and symbolism originates and grows when the man of faith is confronted with natural and supernatural realities; it is the normal expression of the thoughts and dreams of the man of faith who has turned over and over in his mind the symbols which Christ used to describe the Christian life, and who has reflected long on those resolutions of opposites which we speak of as the great Christian paradoxes.

Looking at the world, the medieval poet saw eternity through it. Material creation spoke to him of God, heaven, the virtues. Nature was "one vast allegory."¹⁹ On the other hand, when he is faced with mystery, the poet of faith knows more than he can understand. His attempt to express his inexpressible certitude results in the juxtaposition of contrary ideas—paradox. Symbolism and paradox were the warp and woof of medieval poetry.

Though symbolism can be found in other times, it has never been so all-pervading a habit as it was in the Middle Ages.²⁰ Symbols appealed to the men of the Middle Ages from all sides. There were sermons in stone, glass, wood; in the ceremonies and processions of the liturgy; in hymns and proses.

19 Raby, Chr.-Lat. Poetry, 354.

20 Baldwin, Three Med. Cent., 173.

It was usual for the medieval preacher to develop a text first in its literal meaning; second, in a moral sense for its application to conduct; finally in its mystical significance, to give the listeners an insight into Divine Providence. Psalms were regularly treated in this way, not only in sermons, but also in the liturgy and hymns. First the psalmist would be depicted in the historical setting which gave rise to the psalm. Then the psalm would be applied to "Everyman," or leveled to common human experience, so that the hearer felt, at least in some degree, the joy or grief of the psalmist. Finally, Christ would be depicted in the attitude of grief or joy, praise or thanksgiving, to which the psalm gave voice.²¹ With this constant practice, even the illiterate would be profoundly influenced by the lesson of a stained glass window, a statue, a cathedral, or a hymn.

The main sources of the common fund of symbolism and allegory were three: the Scriptures, especially the Old Testament; the universal symbolism worked out by theologians and encyclopedists such as Hugo of St. Victor; and personal contemplation of Christ and His saints. The faithful inherited a rich and full tradition of symbols which explained and deepened their faith. There is abundant evidence of their vigorous and constant comparison of things seen with things unseen.

Medieval symbolism sought to induce mood, to stir emotion, not by individualizing concrete details, but by familiar typical associations: lamb, vine, star of the sea. Such symbols, long ago drawn from Messianic prophecy. . . had become both numerous and familiar.

.....
This habitual symbolism of stone and glass and hymn is less sentimental

21 Ibid., 173-174. This is freely adapted.

than intellectual. While it appeals to childhood memories, it opens vistas.²²

Adam knew and possessed the characteristic medieval trait of seeing through accidents to the substance of reality. Rex Salomon fecit templum (11),²³ the sequence for the feast of the dedication of a church, is a fine example of medieval symbolism.²⁴ Solomon's temple symbolizes both Christ and the Church. Christ, the ruler of the Church, is at once its Founder and Foundation (1-2):

Rex Salomon fecit templum,
quorum instar et exemplum
Christus et ecclesia:
huius hic est imperator,
fundamentum et fundator
mediante gratia.

The gleaming marble of the temple signifies the virtues; its length, breadth, and height are faith, hope, and charity (3-6). The temple is divided into three parts, signifying the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, or under another aspect, the Church militant, suffering, and triumphant (7-8):

Quadri templi fundamenta
marmora sunt, instrumenta
parietum paria.
Candens flos est castitatis
lapis quadrus in praelatis
virtus et constantia.

22 Baldwin, Med. Rhet. and Poetic, 203-204.

23 All references to the sequences ascribed to Adam may be checked in the Appendix. The sequences are arranged in the following order: first, those dedicated to Christ and the Holy Ghost; second, Marian sequences; third, sequences honoring the saints, in alphabetical order; fourth, for the dedication of a church. A first-line index is provided at the end of the Appendix.

24 Cf. Taylor, Med. Mind, II, 104-108 for a discussion of the elaborate symbolism applied to the church edifice.

Longitudo,
 latitudo
 templique sublimitas
 intellecta
 fide recta
 sunt fides, spes, caritas.
 Sed tres partes sunt in templo
 trinitatis sub exemplo;
 ima, summa, media;
 prima signat vivos cunctos,
 et secunda iam defunctos,
 redivivos tertia.

The spices and incense used in the temple services signify the good lives and prayers of the faithful (11-12). The golden vessels are the teachers and priests, excoctos (tried and tested as in the crucible) by the fire of the Holy Spirit (13-14):

Templi cultus
 exstat multus:
 cinnamomus
 odor domus,
 murra, stactis, cassia;
 quae bonorum
 decus morum
 atque bonos
 precum sonos
 sunt significantia.
 In hac casa
 cuncta vasa
 sunt ex auro
 de thesauro
 praelecto penitus;
 nam magistros
 et ministros
 decet doctos
 et excoctos
 igne sancti spiritus.

As the temple was built by the combined efforts of the Jews and the gentiles, so the Church is a union of the peoples. Christ is their unity, the cornerstone (15-18):

Sic ex bonis
 Salomonis
 quae rex David
 praeparavit,
 fiunt aedificia;
 sed in lignis
 rex insignis
 iuvit Tyri,
 cuius viri
 tractant artificia.
 Nam ex gente Iudeisque,
 sicut templum ab utrisque,
 conditur ecclesia.
 Christe, qui hanc et hos unis,
 lapis huic et his communis,
 tibi laus et gloria!

The symbols set forth in this sequence can be compared to those applied to the church in the outstanding compendium of ritual and symbolism of the Middle Ages, the Rationale divinatorum officiorum of William Durand (Durandus, or Durantis), Bishop of Mende, c. 1286.²⁵

Durandus teaches that the tripartite division of the Church, besides reflecting the Blessed Trinity, symbolizes the division of the faithful into three classes: the virgins, the continent, and the married. The four walls, he continues, remind us that the doctrine of the Church rests on the four

25 Gulielmus Durantis, Rationale divinatorum officiorum. Newberry Library, Chicago, has seven copies of this work in its collection of incunabula Mainz, 1459; Rome, 1477; Nurenburg, 1480 and 1481; Strassburg, 1486 and 1488; and Basel, 1488. All citations in this thesis, unless otherwise specified, are from the Rome, 1477, edition.

The Rationale is named for the breastplate which was part of the regalia of the Jewish high priest (as described in Ex. 28. 3), in rationali iudicii; or it is so called because it gives the reasons for customs and rubrics of the Mass and Divine Office. It was first published towards the end of the thirteenth century, the first book to be printed after the Bible and the Psalter. John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb, translators of the first book of the Rationale, in an excellent introductory essay, call it the "most valuable work on Symbolism which the middle ages can furnish."—The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments, 3rd ed., London, 1906, vii.

Gospels. The length of the church symbolizes longanimity or the patient bearing of adversities. The breadth of the church is to signify charity, a widening of the mind and sympathies to love friends in God, and enemies for God's sake. The height of the church is to signify the hope of future reward. The Christian must look upon both favorable circumstances and adversities from the height of his faith, while his hope reaches out to the "good things of God in the land of the living." The foundation of the church, most important, yet invisible, represents faith, which is the knowledge of things unseen. The roof is charity, covering a multitude of sins. The pavement is humility. The four side walls call to mind the four cardinal virtues—prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude. The door is the obedience by which the Lord enters the Christian's life.²⁶

This is the symbolism which enlivened and strengthened the faith of the medieval church-goer as he crossed the threshold for Mass or Vespers.

That this symbolic system remained somewhat constant through the centuries is shown by some notations on the fly-leaf of a manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century, at one time belonging to the public library of Boulogne.

Speaking of the church building, the unknown author states:

Fundamentum. . .est Fides.
 Altitudo ejus est Spes.
 Latitudo ejus est Caritas.
 Longitudo ejus est Perseverantia.
 Latera ejus sunt Concordia et Pax.

²⁶ Durantis, Rationale, 4. Apropos of the door, Neale and Webb note that as Christ said, "I am the door," early English doors were usually made double, to signify the two natures in Christ. The single arch joining and covering both represented His One Person.—Symbolism, xcii.

Pulchritudo ejus est exemplum bonorum operum.

.....
Columnae ejus sunt boni pontifices & sacerdotes.²⁷

The last writer quoted wrote his marginal notes in the tenth or eleventh century. Adam of St. Victor wrote about the church in the twelfth century. Durand compiled his book of symbols in the late thirteenth century, a work still used and read in the late fifteenth century. Through all these years, the medieval mind was led by things seen, the physical structure of the church, to the contemplation of things unseen--the virtues and God Himself.

In Durand's Rationale we note that even the materials of the church had symbolical meaning. The cement holding the church together is made up of lime, an active substance symbolizing fervent charity; sand, symbolizing undertakings of a purely temporal nature, earthly concerns; and water, emblem of the Holy Spirit, the Bond that unites all the elements and keeps them together. The stones making up the edifice are polished, each stone representing the body purified by self-denial and penance. Weaker members in the church are seen in the stones which must rest upon other stones. Stronger members are represented in those stones which depend upon the Cornerstone, Christ, alone.²⁸

As the material temple rests upon the cornerstone, so the Church rests on Christ. Further, Christ is not only the Cornerstone of this edifice; He is the Foundation. Love of Him is the cement keeping together the living

27 Neale and Webb, Symbolism, lxxi-lxxii; quoted from British Magazine, 1843, 393.

28 Ibid., 15.

stones of the Church in the bond of peace. "Christus noster murus fuit in conuersatione & ante murale in passione."²⁹

A tender devotion to the Humanity of Christ was characteristic of the Middle Ages. St. Bernard crystallized this devotion in his highly individualized, personal regard for Christ, especially the Child in the Crib and the God-Man on the Cross. St. John the Evangelist, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Paul, St. Ignatius of Antioch, knew to some extent the familiar love of Christ. St. Bernard gathered up previous scattered instances of this "passion for the Passion" and human tenderness for Christ as a Child. All spiritual writers and religious poets after St. Bernard bore the marks of his affective devotion to the Incarnate Word.³⁰

29 Durantis, Rationale, 3. Cf. a selection from this text as it is in Durand: "Hec est domus firmiter edificata. cuius fundamentum est angularis lapis christus. super quo fundamento positum est fundamentum apostolorum & prophetarum sicut scriptum est Fundamenta eius in montibus sanctis super-edificati parietes. iudei sunt & gentiles de quatuor mundi partibus ad xpm uenientes. ad uitam praedestinati sunt lapides in structura huius muri qui semper usque in finem huius mundi edificabit. lapis uero super lapidem positum quando magistri ecclesie minores in proprium studium assumunt ad docendum & corrigendum (et) stabiliendum. In sancta ecclesia habet lapides super se ad ferendum pro edificio quicumque laborem fraternum portat. grossiores uero lapides & politi seu quadrati qui ponuntur foris altrinsecus in quorum medio minores lapides iacent. sunt uiri perfectiores qui suis mentis & orationibus continent infirmiores in sancta ecclesia."

30 Vernet, Med. Spir., 85-90 passim. This can be seen particularly in the Franciscan poets. Cf. Vernet, 236, for citation of a passage from St. Bonaventure's Mystic Vine as summary of the spirituality of St. Bernard, St. Bonaventure, and all the Middle Ages: "What seekest thou that thou findest not in Christ? If thou art ill, He is the physician; in exile, He is the guide; in affliction, He is King; assaulted, He is the defender; thirsty, He is the well; cold, He is a garment; sad, He is joy; in darkness, He is light; orphaned, He is thy Father; He is thy Spouse, thy Friend, thy Brother. He is the highest, the best, the most merciful, the strongest, the most beautiful, the wisest, Who governs all things, world without end. But why so many words?"

Adam of St. Victor's images and symbols of Christ reflect this personal devotion, as well as the more intellectual devotion to Christ as the Word. Christ is seen as the fulfillment of all the promises of Holy Writ, the substance foretold by the shadows of the old law and the Old Testament (xiii. 7):³¹

Lex est umbra futurorum
Christus finis promissorum,
qui consummat omnia!

The Easter sequence, Zyma vetus expurgetur (xiii), is the most elaborate development of scriptural imagery and symbolism.³² Christ is compared with those Old Testament heroes and kings who prefigured Him: Joseph, David, Eliseus, Samson, Jonah. With the bait of His Humanity, He caught the serpent, the devil, on the hook of His Divinity (13):

Anguem forat in maxilla
Christus, hamus et armilla. . . .

As Child of Mary, Christ is called puer immortalis (iii. 11; v. 19). He is Flower and Fruit of Mary, full of sweetness and fragrance (iii. 10, 12; v. 12). He is called a protective branch, sprung from the rod that is Mary; He is called a flower because of His beauty, a nut because He is our food, and a dew of heavenly grace come upon the world (iv. 14). Most unusual to our

Jesus is all that thou canst desire." Quid quaeris quod in illo non invenis?
Omnia quae velle potes est Dominus Jesus Christus.

31 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, identifies every scriptural reference and analogy made by Adam. The body of notes constitutes a complete glossary of Adam's symbolism. Wrangham, Poetry of Adam, more easily available than Gautier, has only a selection of these notes.

32 For a detailed analysis, see Taylor, Med. Mind, II, 114-115.

modern ears is the comparison of Christ with a nut. As the poet develops the idea, Christ is a nut whose possible Humanity was the hard shell enclosing the sweet kernel of His Divinity. Further, the nut serves as food, and when it is processed the oil made from it can be used for lighting or medicinal purposes. So also Christ is light to the blind, healing anointing for the sick in body and soul, and food for all loving souls (iv. 19-20).

Here we note a difference between the conventional figures of classical poetry and the symbols of medieval religious poetry. Symbols in the hymns are not simply epithets substituted for the proper name; they are rather "immediate lyrical approaches." Light is not used instead of the name of Christ, but to focus attention on Christ as the Light of the World. Similarly, Christ in different aspects of His work of Redemption is called the Cornerstone, the Lamb, our Bread, and so on.³³

Christ is the stone cut from the mountain sine manu, i. e., born of Mary without carnal generation (v. 7-8):

Quid de monte lapis caesus
sine manu, nisi Iesus,
qui de regum linea
sine carnis opere
de carne puerperae
processit virginea?

In the sequence for the feast of the Circumcision, In excelsis canitur (v), Christ is allowed to cry like other babies. The kings hasten to the praesaepe vagientis, gentium primordia (v. 18).

33 Baldwin, Med. Rhet. and Poetic, 203-204.

Postquam hostem et inferna (xiv), a sequence for the feast of the Ascension, is a full-length portrait of the Risen Christ, the Ruler Who has despoiled the enemy, robbed hell, brought back joy to the world, received the adoration of angels, and Who is now to order all things, equal to the Father in power and glory (1-4):

Postquam hostem et inferna
 spoliavit, ad superna
 Christus redit gaudia.
 Angelorum ascendenti
 sicut olim descendenti
 parantur obsequia.
 Super astra sublimatur,
 non apparet, absentatur
 corporis praesentia;
 cuncta tamen moderatur,
 cuius patri coaequatur
 honor et potentia.

Christ is conqueror, life, and the way of life (xiii. 25). Risen and ascended to His Father, He is living bread, life-giving water, a fruitful vine. Finally, the poet appeals to Christ: "Feed us, cleanse us, save us from the second death (xiii. 26)."

Iesu victor, Iesu vita,
 Iesu vitae via trita,
 cuius morte mors sopita,
 ad paschalem nos invita
 mensam cum fiducia.
 Vive panis, vivax unda,
 vera vitis et fecunda,
 tu nos pasce, tu nos munda,
 ut a morte nos secunda
 tua salvet gratia.

As a Judge, Christ is pictured in mildness and kindness (xxvi. 16). As Savior, He gives hope to the sinner who asks for pardon (xliii. 1).

Several Pentecost sequences are dedicated to the Holy Spirit. In Lux iucunda, lux insignis (xv), the Holy Spirit is seen as a fire sent upon

the disciples, filling their hearts, enriching their tongues with éloquence, inspiring all to union of hearts (1-2):

Lux iucunda, lux insignis,
qua de throno missus ignis
in Christi discipulos
corda replet, linguas ditat,
ad concordem nos invitat
cordis, linguae modulos.

A brief, fervent prayer is addressed to the Holy Ghost as unifier (15):

Consolator alme, veni,
linguas rege, corda leni!

The poet celebrates the Holy Ghost as lumen, unguentum, and caeleste condimentum (17), a series reminiscent of the comparison of Christ with a nut, giving light, food and unction:

Tu lumen es et unguentum,³⁴
tu caeleste condimentum,
atque ditans elementum
virtute mysterii.

Adam bases most of his symbols for the Holy Ghost on the obvious qualities of fire, heat and light. Enlighten us, he begs—cor ad bonum facit pronum (xvi. 16); give us a true sense of values (18):

Da contemptum terrenorum,
ad amorem supernorum
trahe desiderium.

Besides this, warm us with the fire of charity, first burning away the dross in us. Give us a true love of God and of our neighbor (xvi. 19-20):

34 The irregularity of the rhythm of this line is apparently intentional (perhaps connected in some way with the music of the sequence). At any rate, the correction of Misset and other critics (Tu es lumen) has no manuscript authority. See Note 18, Appendix.

Consolator et fundator,
 habitator et amator
 cordium humilium,
 pelle mala, terge sordes,
 et discordes fac concordas,
 et affer praesidium.

Adam of St. Victor shared the medieval love and devotion for the Mother of God. It is in his Marian poems that he reaches the heights of lyricism and the depths of profound theological and scriptural knowledge.

Many of the symbols applied to the Blessed Mother in Adam's proses are familiar to us; they have been culled from Sacred Scripture or from prayers addressed to the Virgin. Mary is the temple of God (iii. 4), a star (v. 6), a constant star (non erratica, xxvi. 1), star of the sea (xviii. 1; xv. 1), gate of life (xviii. 1), gate of our salvation (xxvii. 23), a closed gate (with reference to her virginity, not her role in our salvation; xxii. 5). She is the fountain of gardens (xxii. 5), and as Mother of the Saviour, the cistern of the fount of life (xxvii. 21). She is a lamp, burning with the fire of love, brilliant with the splendor of chastity, illuminating the world with the Light which came from above (xxvii. 21-22):

Fontis vitae tu cisterna,
 ardens, lucens es lucerna;
 per te nobis lux superna
 suum fudit radium;
 ardens igne caritatis,
 luce lucens castitatis,
 lucem summae claritatis
 mundo gignens filium.

Like a star giving forth its rays, she gave birth to Christ (xxi. 11). As the crystal in the sun's rays gives light and color without being broken or dissolved, so Mary brought forth her Son with no diminution of her virginity (iv. 7-8):

Si crystallus sit unecta
 atque soli sit obiecta,
 scintillat igniculum;
 nec crystallus rumpitur,
 nec in partu solvitur
 pudoris signaculum.

Christ's birth is also compared to the flowering of a lily (ii. 18).

Foreseen and loved by God through all the centuries, Mary was for a long time hidden under the letter of the Old Testament (xxvii. 11). Three favorite Old Testament symbols have been used by all the medieval poets: Gideon's fleece, the burning bush, and the flowering rod. These foreshadow Mary's fruitful virginity. Adam speaks of Christ conceived in Mary as the dew descending on the fleece (xxvii. 15). Like the burning bush, still unconsumed, Mary did not lose her integrity (xxiv. 7-8; xxvii. 15). Most used by Adam is the symbol of the flowering rod (xxi. 14; xxvii. 19, et al.). The rod, Mary, put forth leaf, blossom, and fruit, i. e., Christ (frondem, florem, nucem; iv. 11). A holy root, a living root, blossom, vine, and olive (xxvi. 13), Mary made the earth beautiful with the gift of her Child (xviii. 11-12):

Virga florem, stella solem,
 coaeternam patri prolem
 virgo mater genuit;
 sol et lumen, et decorem,
 flos et fructum et odorem
 toti mundo praebuit.

Mary herself is a rose blossoming amid thorns (xxii. 14). A rose without thorns, Mary is the glory of the thorn bush that we are, we who are wounded and bloodied by the thorns of sin (xxii. 3):

Salve, verbi sacra parens,
 flos de spinis, spina carens,
 flos, spineti gloria.
 Nos spinetum, nos peccati
 spina sumus cruentati
 sed tu spinæ nescia.

She is a chosen vessel of honor, full of heavenly gifts, a vessel fashioned (excisum) by the hand of Wisdom (xxii. 1-2). She is dear to God (xviii. 21), even more, a delight to Him (xxiii. 14):

orta rosa est ex spinis
cuius ortus sive finis
semper studet in divinis
et regis deliciis.

She is "God's Little Lady," almost "sweetheart of God," praedilecta Deo muliercula (xxv. 12).³⁵

Several of the sequences contain long lists of titles, reverently cataloguing the perfections of Our Lady as they appear in Holy Writ and the liturgy. An example of this type of prose is Templum cordis adornemus (xxv). Lux advenit veneranda (xxiv) and Ave, virgo singularis (xxvi. 13-14) also have lists of epithets.

The outstanding example of this loving enumeration of Mary's titles is Salve mater salvatoris (xxii). Besides the titles and symbols already discussed, there are references to Mary as a precious room full of costly ointments more fragrant than spices (5-6), a low-lying valley with unploughed ground, yet fruitful, giving birth to the Flower of the Field, Christ (9-10).

35 Many post-Reformation critics have taken exception to these symbolic expressions or "extravagances" of love, protesting the earthiness or familiarity of some poets, while, on the other hand, deploring the "attitudinizations of Mariolatry, worship of liege lady, and mysticism." Philip Schuyler Allen, Medieval Latin Lyrics, Chicago, 1931, 55; cf. also 191. Others have sought in the troubadours' minne, Frauendienst, or cult of the liege lady, the origin of the devotion to the Virgin Mary. Mone answers this theory by pointing out that many Latin manuscripts of Marian hymns are older than chivalry, and that the Greeks, who had no knowledge of western European chivalry, had Marian poetry even earlier than the Latins.—Mone, Lat. Hymnen, II, ix.

Mary is a myrtle tree of temperance, a rose of patience, fragrant nard (8). She is an uncut, fragrant cedar, a whole paradise full of beauty and delight. (11-12). She is the throne of Solomon, which has no equal in material or workmanship (arte vel materia), the ivory of which signifies her shining chastity, the gold, her charity (13-14):

Porta clausa, fons hortorum,
 cella custos unguentorum,
 cella pigmentaria.
 Cinnamomi calamum,
 murram tus et balsamum
 superas fragrantia.
 Salve, decus virginum,
 mediatrix hominum,
 salutis puerpera;
 myrtus temperantiae,
 rosa patientiae,
 nardus odorifera.
 Tu convallis humilis,
 terra non arabilis,
 quae fructum parturit;
 flos campi, convallium
 singulare liliū,
 Christus, ex te prodiit.
 Tu caelestis paradusus,
 libanusque non incisus,
 vaporans dulcedinem.
 Tu candoris et decoris,
 tu dulcoris et odoris
 habes plenitudinem.
 Tu es thronus Salomonis,
 cuius nullus par in thronis
 arte vel materia.
 Ebur candens, castitatis,
 aurum fulvum, caritatis
 praesignant mysteria.

Most beautiful is the poet's symbolism in greeting the Mother of God as the resting-place of the Blessed Trinity (17-18):

Salve, mater pietatis,
 et totius trinitatis
 nobile triclinium;

verbi tamen incarnati
speciale maiestati
praeparans hospitium.

Mary is the crown or ornament of virgins (xviii. 1); she is also decus matrum singulare (xxv. 17). In the sequence for the Purification, Templum cordis adornemus, Mary is shown offering her son in the temple as a prelude to offering Him on the Cross (xxv. 4):

Stans in signum populorum,
templum luce, laude chorum,
corda replet gloria,
templo puer praesentatus,
post in cruce vir oblatum,
pro peccatis hostia.

In her office as Mother of the Redeemer, Mary is medicina saeculi (xxv. 17), and part of her salutary influence over us is making us realize the transitory nature of the world (13-16):

Omnis decor tenebrescit,
deformatur et horrescit
tuum intuentibus;
omnis sapor amarescit,
reprobatur et sordescit
tuum praegustantibus.
Omnis odor redolere
non videtur, sed olere
tuum odorantibus:
omnis amor aut deponi
prorsus solet, aut postponi
tuum nutrientibus.

The knowledge that Mary is Virgo potens et benigna (xviii. 17), that she can help us and wants to help us, is emphasized in many of the sequences. No symbol is more forceful than the frequent one of Mary, Star of the Sea, guiding the individual soul or saving the whole world from shipwreck. Besides simple references to Our Lady's power against the floods of evil or temptation, there are in Adam's sequences several extended metaphors. Two, referring to a

shipwrecked world, have a strangely modern tone. The Christmas sequence, In natale salvatoris, speaks of Mary as spes post Deum singularis naufragantis saeculi (ii. 19). Another sequence, O Maria, stella maris, addresses this appeal to Our Lady (xx. 1-2):

. . . pietatis oculo
nos digneris intueri;
ne cunctaris misereri
naufraganti saeculo.

In Ave, virgo singularis the poet begs the Blessed Virgin not to allow us to be shipwrecked in the sea of life. He adds a description of the perils of the sea, the waves and the winds, and other dangers besides—the sea-serpent, sirens, and pirates (xxvi. 2-4):

non in huius vitae mari
non permitte naufragari,
sed pro nobis salutari
tuo semper supplica.
Saevit mare, fremunt venti,
fluctus surgunt turbulenti,
navis currit, sed currenti,
tot occurrunt obvia;
hic sirenes voluptatis,
draco, canes cum piratis,
mortem paene desperatis
haec intentant omnia.

In the concluding strophes of this sequence, Christ is shown as a Captain all-powerful against the tempests; there is a final hope that He will lead the faithful safely to port (17-18):

Iesu, sacri ventris fructus,
nobis inter mundi fluctus
sis dux, via, et conductus
liber ad caelestia;
tene clavum, rege navem,
tu, procellam sedans gravem,
portum nobis da suavem
pro tua clementia.

Finally, there is an uncompleted metaphor in Gratulemur in hac die. After an appeal to Our Lady to call us back to the right way, the poet describes the faithful as calling upon her from the deeps, navigantes in hoc mundo, beset by enemies. The next strophe changes the figure to the valley of tears, and the final strophe requests the promise of eternal life after the struggle in hoc mari (xxvii. 23-26):

O salutis nostrae porta
 nos exaudi, nos conforta,
 et a via nos distorta
 revocare propera:
 te vocantes de profundo,
 navigantes in hoc mundo,
 nos ab hoste furibundo
 tua prece libera!

It was in the twelfth century that the Blessed Mother's statue was usually placed at the north end of the church, soliciting her powerful aid in helping the faithful to weather the storms of life. The cold and blustery north symbolized human passions and sin.³⁶

The shipwreck metaphors are one phase of this expression of confidence in the Blessed Mother. She also receives a series of titles reminiscent of the Litany of Loretto, stressing her office as a solicitous, sometimes indulgent, Mother. There is a gracious picture of her in the sequence for All Saints. As queen of virgins, set high above all the heavenly orders, Mary pleads with the Lord, making excuses for our many lapses (xxviii. 23-24):

Illic regina virginum,
 transcendens culmen ordinum,
 excuset apud Dominum
 nostrorum lapsus criminum.

Symbols and figures of the Blessed Mother are not merely poetic and emotional; they are effective as well as affective. Mary "embodies personally hope after hope."³⁷ She is dulce refrigerium, our best hope after God,

consolatrix miserorum, suscitatrix mortuorum (xx. 8, 10). She is spes certa miserorum, mater orphanorum, levamen oppressorum, and medicamen infirmorum.

In fact, Mary is all things to all (xxi. 15):

Tu spes certa miserorum,
vera mater orphanorum.
tu levamen oppressorum,
medicamen infirmorum,
omnibus es omnia.

She is our hope of living a good life and dying a happy death (xviii. 25-28):

Donet nobis rectam mentem,
in adversis patientem,
in secundis humilem,
fidem puram, spem securam,
caritatem permansuram,
qua nihil est melius.
Opus verae pietatis
et decorem castitatis
intus et exterius,
ut sit vita speciosa,
sit mors nostra pretiosa
in conspectu Domini.

Symbols and poetic figures illustrate different aspects of medieval devotion to the Mother of God. Many symbols glorify her perfections. Others add a note of urgency, a plea for help. In all the symbols, there is a certain holy audacity, a nearness to the Queen of Saints. Figures and symbols applied to the saints reveal, mutatis mutandis, the same familiarity in the same aspects: admiration and confidence. A living realization of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints informs the symbols of the saints' sequences.

The apostles are celebrated as the foundation of the temple of the Church, its living stones, as well as the mortar keeping the edifice together (xxx. 13):

Hi sunt templi fundamentum,
 vivus lapis et caementum
 ligans aedificium;
 hi sunt portae civitatis,
 hi compago unitatis
 Israel et gentium.

The apostolic band is depicted, in the loftier of the two sequences dedicated to the apostles, as crowned with laurel and clothed in the royal robes of the King they serve (xxx. 1). This little band is the glory of the world; the apostles are judges of all men, heralds of the new law and the new King (3, 9). They scatter the seed of life to all the ends of the earth, gathering in the rich harvest of faith (7-8). As friends of the bridegroom, they lead to Christ a royal spouse, virginally fruitful--the Church without spot or wrinkle (9-12):

Onus leve, iugum mite
 praeponentes semen vitae
 mundi spargunt terminis;
 germen promit terra culta,
 foederatur fruge multa
 fides Dei-Hominis.
 Paranymphe novae legis
 ad amplexum novi regis
 sponsam ducunt regiam,
 sine ruga, sine naevo,
 permansura omni aevo
 virginem ecclesiam.
 Haec est virgo gignens fetus,
 semper nova, tamen vetus,
 sed defectus nescia;
 cuius torus mens sincera,
 cuius partus fides vera,
 cuius dos est gratia.

The apostles are gates of the city, joining Israel and the gentiles⁴ (14). They are fountains of water, gustu leni; they are sacramental hosts or the loaves of proposition (panes tabernaculi; 17). They are jewels on the priestly robes of the Church (18).

Some of the apostles are individually characterized in certain of the sequences. Cor angustum dilatamus (xxix) is like a catalogue. The only vivid characterization is that of St. Paul as tuba veritatis (5). The sequence dedicated to him, Corde, voce pulsa caelos, emphasizes Paul's character as a chosen vessel and as an athlete of Christ. There is an interesting strophe on his transformation: mane lupus, sed ovis vespere—a wolf in the morning, a lamb in the evening (xlii. 3):

Hic Beniamen adolescens,
lupus rapax, praeda vescens,
hostis est fidelium;
mane lupus, sed ovis vespere
post tenebras lucente sidere
docet evangelium.

St. Peter is called a torch of charity—sacri fax amoris (xlv. 3-4):

Petrus sacri fax amoris,
lux doctrinae, sal dulcoris,
Petrus mons iustitiae,
Petrus fons est salvatoris,
lignum fructus et odoris,
lignum carens carie.

Roma Petro gloriatur (xlv), the sequence in honor of both Peter and Paul, is an extended metaphor. The two saints are compared to essential parts of the material temple of the Church (3-4):

Hi sunt eius fundamenta,
fundatores, fulcimenta,
bases, epistylia;
idem saga, qui cortinae
pelles templi hyacinthinae,
scyphi, sphaerae, lilia.

In a very apt figure, the saints are also likened to clouds sending forth upon the earth first dew, then rain (5):

Hi sunt nubes coruscantes
 terram cordis irrigantes
 nunc rore, nunc pluvia.

They are heralds of the new law, and leaders of the new flock of Christians to the crib of Christ (6):

Hi praecones novae legis
 et ductores novi gregis
 ad Christi praesaepia.

Two strophes are based on the work of the threshing-floor and the vineyard (7-8):

Laborum socii
 triturant aream
 in spe denarii
 colentes vineam;
 his ventilantibus
 secedit palea
 novisque frugibus
 replentur horrea.

Finally the saints are compared to high mountains, first to be touched by the light of the sun; so the saints are above the rest of the flock, and the light of grace is shed upon them first of all (9):

Ipsi montes appellantur
 ipsi prius illustratur
 veri solis lumine.

Though the primacy is given to Peter, both saints work for Christian unity, like the grain which has the force of many potential grains within its single shell (15-16):

Principatus uni datur
 unitasque commendatur
 fidei catholicae;

unus cortex est granorum,
sed et una vis multorum
sub eodem cortice.

With a narrative interruption of the series of metaphors, a new series is begun. Peter and Paul are doctors healing the people (xlv. 17-18):

Romani convenerant
salutis nuntii,
ubi plus noverant
inesse vitii,
nihil medicinae.
Insistunt vitiis
fideles medici;
vitae remediis
obstant phrenetici,
fatui doctrinae.

They are brave warriors, bellatores praelecti, standing fast in battle (22).

Parts of the sequence in honor of St. Andrew, Exsultemus et laetemur (xxxix), will be discussed in another connection. There is one lively picture which may be considered here (8):

In Andreae retia
currit Dei gratia
Magna pars provinciae.

This is a fair sample of the style and tone of the whole sequence. Its ascription to Adam is doubtful. If he wrote this sequence, it is certainly not one of his best.

St. John the Evangelist fared better, with Gratulemur ad festivum (xxxvii), wherein he is shown as Christ's beloved apostle, leaning on His breast and learning from Him—hausit sapientiam (3). John's character is summarized in one strophe (5):

Intus ardens caritate,
foris lucens puritate,
signis et eloquio.

He is depicted also as a vessel of honor, full of the heavenly dew of grace, clean within, shining bright without, altogether noble (17):

Salve, salvi vas pudoris,
vas caelestis plenum roris,
mundum intus, clarum foris,
nobile per omnia.

Adam of St. Victor might have written proses honoring other apostles, but they have lost their identity in the common fund of the Church.

St. John the Baptist is celebrated as praeco, tuba, signifer of the new law and the new King (xxxvi. 7). By an adroit turn of phrase, St. John is called the voice preceding the Word, the groomsman of the Bridegroom, the day-star before the Sun (8):

vox praeit verbum,
paranympus sponsi sponsum,
solis ortum lucifer.

Two strophes set forth John's mission of recognizing Christ, a mission he fulfilled twice (13-14):

Alvo Deum virgo claudit,
clauso clausus hic adplaudit
de ventris angustia;
Agnum monstrat in aperto
vox clamantis in deserto,
vox Verbi praenuntia.

Laus erumpat ex affectu (xli) honors St. Michael the Archangel.

Strophe 18 presents the poet's firm belief that an honest approach to God unites us to Him and associates us with the angels:

Deo nos conciliat
angelisque sociat
sincera devotio.

St. Augustine, according to the poet, is garlanded with a gold wreath, sign and reward of his great learning, used in defense of the Faith

(xxxii. 17-20). Adam asks the grace of following in the footsteps of his great patron and of preaching his doctrine in faith and fervor (21-22).

Gaude prole, Graecia (xxxiv), honoring one of the most beloved patrons of Paris, St. Denis, has a quick-moving description of the saint's travels and work in Gaul until finally (12):

Turba credit,
error cedit,
fides crescit
et clarescit
nomen tanti praesulis.

Then follows the simple account of the rage of Domitian (13-14), a catalogue of instruments and modes of torture (15-16), a description of the saint's last Mass (17), and an account of St. Denis's death.

St. Lawrence in his torments is compared to a lyre, strings drawn taut, playing a song to Christ (xxxviii. 5-6):

Sicut chorda musicorum
tandem sonum dat sonorum
plectri ministerio,
sic in cheli tormentorum
melos Christi confessorum
dedit huius tensio.

Like a potter's vase, Lawrence was proved by fire (17-18):

Sicut vasa figulorum
probat fornax et eorum
solidat substantiam,
sic et ignis hunc assatum
velut testam solidatum
reddit per constantiam.

He breathed forth the good odor of virtue when he was crushed, as the mustard seed is most pungent when it is broken; and when he was burned, as frankincense is fragrant in the flames (23-24):

Parum sapis
 vim sinapis,
 si non tangis,
 si non frangis,
 et plus fragrat
 quando flagrat
 tus iniectum ignibus;
 sic artatus
 et assatus,
 sub labore,
 sub ardore,
 dat odorem
 pleniorem
 martyr de virtutibus.

The figure of the mustard seed occurs again in the prose in honor of St. Victor of Marseilles, soldier-martyr, patron of the abbey of St. Victor. Victor rejoiced under torture, his faith neither broken nor weakened by the punishment, ut sinapis vis excrescit quo maior attritio (xlvi. 17). St. Victor was ground like grain in the mill, but as a good athlete and soldier of Christ he emerged victor (9, 13, 19-20):

Christi miles indefessus
 christianum se professus
 respuit stipendia

 Mente laeta
 stat athleta,
 carne spreta,
 insueta
 superans supplicia

 Mola tritus pistorali,
 poena plexus capitali
 vitam clausit morte tali
 ut per mortem immortali
 frueretur bravio.
 In Victoris tui laude,
 spiritalis turma, gaude,
 corde, manu, voce plaude
 et triumphi diem claude
 laudis in praeconio.

St. Léger's sequence tells the story of the saint's life. There is one unusual turn of phrase in the sequence, and that not a particularly pleasing one: the martyr gave his head for Christ the Head (xxxix. 13):

Lictor vibrat gladium,
martyr caput obvium
dat pro Christo capite.

The glorious Heri mundus exsultavit (xlvi) revolves around a pun: Stephen, coronatus. The torments which he endured as a worthy fighter for Christ gained him an imperishable crown (8-9):

nomen habes coronati,
te tormenta decet pati
pro corona gloriae.
Pro corona non marcenti
perfer brevis vim tormenti,
te manet victoria.

Thomas à Becket, whom Adam might have met when the exiled bishop visited the abbey of St. Victor, is characterized in Gaude, Sion, et laetare (xlvii. 5-6):

Telo certans pastorali,
ense cinctus spiritali
triumphare meruit.
Hic pro Dei sui lege
et pro suo mori grege
decertare studuit.

He is also pictured as a victorious athlete of Christ (triumphalis es athleta, 15), and a jewel of the priesthood (cleri gemma, 17).

Symbols used to represent Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the saints in the sequences ascribed to Adam of St. Victor are rich in variety and meaning. Many have been gleaned from the Scriptures, the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and the liturgy; some are the result of Adam's prayerful

consideration of the strength of Christ, the beauty of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the many-sided charity of the saints.

Adam's use of symbolism presents one side of the picture; his use of contrast shows another side of the medieval character. The medieval man had a vivid realization that his life on earth was passed in no lasting city, but rather in a way station on the road to eternity. He had a nostalgia for heaven, that blessed fatherland full of light and peace, where Deus est omnia: life, strength, and wisdom, food, clothing, and (the poet adds with childlike simplicity) all other things the loving heart can desire (xxxii. 7-11):

Beata illa patria,
 quae nescit nisi gaudia!
 Nam cives huius patriae
 non cessant laudes canere;
 quos ille dulcor afficit,
 quem nullus maeror inficit;
 quos nullus hostis impetit
 nullusque turbo concutit.
 Ubi dies clarissima
 melior est quam milia.
 luce lucens praefulgida,
 plena Dei notitia;
 quam mens humana capere
 nec lingua valet promere,
 donec vitae victoria
 commutet haec mortalia,
 quando Deus est omnia:
 vita, virtus, scientia,
 victus, vestis et cetera,
 quae velle potest mens pia.

Superna matris gaudia (xxviii), the sequence for All Saints, is an extended paradox contrasting the struggles of this life with the peace and joy of the next. Holy Mother Church, in celebrating the feast of her triumphant children, anticipates the joys of heaven, bringing them down to earth, in a sense, and lifting earthly desires to heaven (1-8):

Supernae matris gaudia
 repraesentet ecclesia;
 dum festa colit annua,
 suspiret ad perpetua.
 In hac valle miseriae,
 mater succurrat filiae;
 hic caelestes excubiae
 nobiscum stent in acie.
 Mundus, caro, daemonia
 diversa movent proelia;
 incursu tot phantasmatum
 turbatur cordis sabbatum.
 Dies festos cognatio
 simul haec habet odio;
 certatque pari foedere
 pacem de terra tollere.

In this valley of tears, man is buffeted by the assaults of world, flesh, and devil; all happiness is mixed with sorrow, and hope is tinged with fear (9-10). But in heaven the discordant and frenzied struggles of earth give way to the blessed united and unifying activity of the Beatific Vision. The saints rejoice one in voice and one in heart (9-14):

Confusa sunt hic omnia:
 spes, metus, maeror, gaudium;
 vix hora vel dimidia
 fit in caelo silentium.
 Quam felix illa civitas,
 in qua iugis sollemnitas,
 et quam iucunda curia,
 quae curae prorsus nescia!
 Nec languor hic, nec senium,
 nec fraus, nec terror hostium,
 sed una vox laetantium
 et unus ardor cordium.

So the sequence, beginning in heaven, then dipping down for a brief consideration of earth, returns to heaven where, with the mist taken away, the saints lumen vident in lumine (20). In this sequence each joy is set against the proper foil of darkness, misery, or struggle which serves to enhance its brilliance.

Medieval predilection for paradox springs from an essential quality of a man of faith--the sense of wonder. Confronted with the problem of reconciling the paradoxes which the thoughtful Christian sees in life, the religious poet of the Middle Ages did not explain these antitheses away, nor did he rationalize them to fit man's limited mind. He delighted in the brilliant clash of opposites: the Omnipotent God incarnate as a helpless Baby, the Infant Word, born of the Virgin Mother; the greatness of lowliness, death as the way to life, the joy-bringing Cross; man's nothingness in his own right, his tremendous value as a child of God. Christ often expressed Himself in paradoxes; the medieval poet delighted in these age-old antitheses, turning them over and over again in the light of study, experience, and prayer, trying to see new facets in them, striking new flashes from them.

Paradox as used in Adam's poetry illustrates the tension between the finite and the infinite, so vividly sensed in the Ages of Faith. How can the finite mind stretch to encompass infinity? In his attempt to say the unsayable, the poet is the first to admit his inadequacy, as in the sequence on the Blessed Trinity (i. 15):

Digne loqui de personis
vim transcendit rationis,
excedit ingenia.

The poet's humility in the face of mystery is even more clearly set forth in one of his Christmas sequences (ii. 15-16):

Huius nodum sacramenti
non subtilis argumenti
solvit inquisitio;
modum nosse non est meum,
scio tamen posse Deum,
quod non capit ratio.

What can be said of the glory of Christ? Adam confesses that he is attempting the impossible (xviii. 5-6):

quibus verbis explicemus
nomen tanti numinis?
Eius quippe magnitudo,
virtus, honor, pulchritudo
cor excedit hominis.

Though the poet cannot understand and express the infinite, he can celebrate and illustrate it in song. He does this by the juxtaposition of opposing ideas. The resultant flash or shock awakens the sense of wonder in the reader or hearer.

The sequence on the Trinity (i) contrasts the ideas of One and Three. Throughout the poem there are repeated references to unitatem and trinitatem; unum, tria; simplex, triplex; trinae unitate, simplex trinitati.

In natale salvatoris (ii) celebrates the Incarnation, always rich in paradox. Christ immortal accommodated Himself to mortality, His Spirit to a body (immortalis se mortali, / spiritalis corporali, 10). Adam contrasts figures of time and space (7-8):

Infinitus et immensus,
quem non capit ullus sensus
nec locorum spatia,
ex aeterno temporalis,
ex immenso fit localis,
ut restauret omnia.

In the Incarnation, the Word was united to flesh sine carnis copula (iii. 3).

A sequence honoring John the Baptist celebrates the miraculous birth of Christ (xxxvi. 20):

qui de carne carnem cepit
sine carnis opere.

Christ's life-giving death is sung in the sequence for the feast of the Circumcision (v. 20):

Tu, post vitam hanc mortalem
sive mortem hanc vitalem,
vitam nobis immortalem
clementer restitue.

Yet the life and death of Christ would be rejected by some men, of whom it could be said that they did not know God, though they knew many other things.

Of the Hebrew people Adam wrote: multa sciens, Deum nescit (xxxiii. 6).

Mary is the highest of creatures, but still, like all other creatures, she was made of nothing. She was the first to acknowledge this in her answer to the angel of the Annunciation and in the Magnificat. Her tremendous dignity, coupled with her own acknowledgment of her complete dependence on God, is a fruitful source of paradox. The medieval poets sang over and over again of the Maid who was also a Mother, of the creature who bore her Creator, fashioning and nourishing her God out of the substance of the body which He had given her.

Adam of St. Victor several times joins the ideas of creature and Creator: The creature bore the Creator to redeem creation (iv. 12):

Fert caelestem vellus rorem,
creatura creatorem,
creaturae pretium.

Without the agency of a human father, this holy mother gave temporal birth to the Word, Who had been without a mother in eternity (xviii. 10):

Verbum patris sine matre
sancta mater sine patre
genuit in tempore.

By a miracle, the creature bore the Creator, the daughter her Father

(xxi. 12):

Nova prorsus genitura:
 creatorem creatura,
 patrem parit filia.

Mary's relationship with her Son has an inherent element of paradox

(xviii. 23):

O Maria, redemptoris
 creatura, creatoris
 genetrix magnifica.

A Virgin gave birth to God, ardore spiritali, non attactu coniugali

(xxiv. 8). The miraculous conception dowered the mother with chastity

(xxi. 13):

O mirandam novitatem,
 novam quoque dignitatem!
 Ditat matris castitatem
 filii conceptio.

Solitudo floreat et desertum gaudeat (v. 9). Tota virgo, sed fecunda, Mary mothered Christ, Who had created His own mother, Who had created and divided the heavens, the earth, and the seas (xviii. 2-3):

Mater eius qui creavit,
 qui distinxit et ornavit
 caelum, terram, maria. . . .

In a strophe peculiarly Latin, Adam continues (9):

Virgo fuit ante partum,
 et dum parit, et post partum,
 virgo mente, corpore.

In Adam's sequences there are two instances of the common antithesis of Eve and Mary. Eve brought forth sorrow and woe, Mary the fruit of life

(iv. 5):

Eva luctum,
vitae fructum
virgo gaudens edidit.

Mother Eve gave the world over to death, while salvation and life returned to the world through the Virgin Mary (xviii. 15-16):

Eva mater per reatum
stola vitae spoliatum
morti dedit hominem;
culpa perit, mors recedit;
datur salus, vita redit
per Mariam virginem.

The lives of the followers of Christ are sometimes presented with a paradoxical turn of thought. Martin of Tours, poor and humble on earth, is caelo dives, raised to companionship with the angels (xl. 2). He did not fear death, nor did he shun the hard work of living (7). He harmed no one, helped all men, and was pleasing to God (8):

Hic Martinus
nec mori timuit
nec vivendi
laborem respuit
sicque Dei
se totum tribuit
voluntati.

Hic Martinus
qui nulli nocuit,
hic Martinus,
qui cunctis profuit,
hic Martinus,
qui trinae placuit
maiestati.

St. Michael's battle with Lucifer is treated in Laus erumpat ex affectu (xli). The most effective antithesis in the sequence describes the expulsion of the Prince of Darkness: exturbatus est turbator (5).

St. Paul's conversion suggests comparison of his earlier life with his apostolic life. A ravaging wolf, an enemy of the faithful, he became a

lamb (or, as the Latin has it, a sheep) after nightfall. His blindness was the source of light for him (xlii. 3):

mane lupus, sed ovis vespere,
post tenebras lucente sidere
docet evangelium.

The poet continues, contrasting Saul's arrogance with Paul's docility and virtue (4-5):

Hic mortis viam arripit,
quem vitae via corripit,
dum Damascum graditur;
spirat minas, sed iam cedit,
sed prostratus iam oboedit,
sed iam victus ducitur.

The figure is completed: the wolf is taken to the sheep, Ananias:

fontis subit sacramentum,
mutat virus in pigmentum
unda salutifera.

The sequence on St. Paul's conversion also stresses the difference between Saul and Paul. Christ struck Saul down, blinding him with a ray of His light (xliii. 5):

Quem in via Iesus stravit,
increpatum excaecavit
lucis suae radio.

Light returned to Paul after he had prayed and wept. Saul was the despoiler of our flock (Saulus, praedo nostri gregis); Paul became the herald of the new law (Paulus, praeco nostrae legis; 8). There is a closing plea to St. Paul, asking him to pray for us and give us life, taking away eternal death (9-10):

Ergo, Paule, doctor gentis,
vas electum, nostrae mentis
tenebras illumina
et per tuam nobis precem
praesta vitam atque necem
aeternam elimina.

Though St. Peter's career is not so amenable to paradox as St. Paul's, there is a fine phrase in Adam's sequence on the Prince of the Apostles. Peter, lacking gold and silver, coruscat miraculis (xliv. 7). Here we have the opposing ideas of no-brilliance, brilliance, and poverty, wealth. Peter's denial and his threefold reparation are succinctly told (11):

Quod negando ter peccavit
simplex amor expiavit
et trina confessio.

Heri mundus exsultavit (xlvi) describes Stephen's martyrdom as that of a follower and imitator of Christ (9). After a short time of torment, his victory remains forever (10):

tibi fiet mors natalis,
tibi poena terminalis
dat vitae primordia.

Thomas à Becket's miracles are presented antithetically (xlvii. 16):

per te visus caecis datur,
claudis gressus instauratur. . . .

St. Victor so closed his mortal life that he won an immortal one (xlviii. 19):

vitam clausit morte tali
ut per mortem immortalis
frueretur bravio.

In tasting the sweetness of Christ, St. Victor realized the bitterness of the world (xlix. 17). As his soul burned with supernatural fervor and love, the natural delights of the world cooled, losing their appeal (19):

Ut hic mundus amarescat,
odor Christi praedulcescat;
haec dulcedo semper crescat
cordis in cellarario.

Ubi spirat flagror talis
 fervor crescit spiritalis
 et frigescit temporalis
 vitae delectatio.

The medieval penchant for comparison and contrast, symbolism and paradox, can be explained by an investigation of what the man of the Middle Ages knew and believed. The symbols of the sequences spoke to medieval listeners of the realities of the Faith, depicting in comparison and contrast the trials and joys of this life and the beauty of the life to come. The sequences employed comparisons and contrasts to enrich the knowledge and faith of the learned. For the unlettered, the verbal images of the sequences were an important factor in religious education. Durand spoke of church art as the "Scriptures of the people" calling to mind the things they should believe and adore.³⁸ Pictures and ornaments in the church have a counterpart in the word-pictures of the sequences and hymns.

The literary history of Latin proses and hymns is intimately bound up with the whole development of the thought, piety, religious education, and art of the Middle Ages.³⁹ First to be considered is the well-nigh universal influence exercised by the hymns and sequences, elucidating as they did the common Faith with symbols generally recognized and accepted by the medieval mind. On the other hand, the hymns and sequences are a vivid and accurate expression of medieval faith and piety. They express childlike devotion to God, the Blessed Mother, the saints—a devotion solidly based on Christian doctrine.

³⁸ Durantis, Rationale, 7. "Picture et ornamenta in ecclesia sunt laicorum lectio & scripturae. . . Aliud est picturam adorare. aliud per picture historiam quid sit adorandum adiscere."

³⁹ This is the conclusion of Father de Ghellinck, based on his deep and extensive knowledge of classical and medieval literature.--Litt. lat. au moyen âge, II, 182.

In isolating certain phases of this devotion, it is useful to study the various figures applied to the life of Christ, His Mother, and His good friends, the saints. It is small wonder that medieval thought, God-centered and directed to eternity, should find expression in two types of figures which may be classified under symbolism and paradox. The symbolism and imagery of the great sequences emphasize the Uncreated Beauty shining through every created thing. Paradox and antithesis attempt to express the upward lunge of the soul's aspirations.

CHAPTER V

VERSE PATTERNS AND TECHNIQUES OF THE SEQUENCES

ASCRIBED TO ADAM OF ST. VICTOR

Both content and form, both the spirit and the physical structure of the sequences of Adam of St. Victor reveal the masterly hand of a great poet moved by no ordinary inspiration. The chief poetic value of the sequences, their expression of profound faith and ardent devotion especially through symbolism and antithesis, has been discussed in the preceding chapter. There remains to be considered the secondary but important value of Adam's sequences as examples of perfect form.

Adam's technique is based on five essential principles, combined according to fixed rules: tonic accent, binary rhythm, syllabism (equality of the number of syllables in corresponding lines), two-syllabled rime, and regular caesura.¹

The first principle, tonic accent, comprises two elements: elevation of the voice or tone, and strengthening of the sound. Abbé Legrain cites St. Isidore of Seville who enunciated the principle as acuit et erigit.² Tonic

1 Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 194-198 passim. These elements are treated in detail, 194-205.

2 Ibid., 194.

accent is based on the very nature of the word. Adam follows these simple rules of accent:

(1) Monosyllables are accented or not, as the particular use of the word demands.

(2) Two-syllabled words are always accented on the first syllable.

(3) Polysyllables are accented on the penult, if it is long; the antepenult is stressed if the penult is short. This is the only advertence to quantitative principles found in rhythmic poetry.

(4) In polysyllables, secondary accents are placed two syllables before or two after the principal accents.³

The second basic principle, binary rhythm, is a natural outgrowth of the tonic accent.

Syllabism, the third principle, is not found in classical metres which allow the substitution of two long syllables for a long and two shorts (e.g., a spondee for a dactyl). In certain classical metres, however, such as the esclepiad, the iambic dimeter, and the trochaic septenarius, the number of syllables was more constant.⁴ It will be noted that these are the rhythms most frequently adopted by the medieval poets.

Earlier sequences used one-syllabled rimes or assonance, which may be considered the forerunner of rime. Rime, the fourth element, is in Adam's sequences the homophony of two syllables. Masculine rime occurs when the last

3 Ibid., 194-195.

4 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, cliii.

syllable is accented; feminine rime stresses the penult.⁵ Adam's use of rime is rich and sonorous. Ordinarily, he avoids tricks and puerilities, or, as Abbé Legrain calls them, enfantillages poétiques.⁶

The fifth constituent element of rhythmic verse is the caesura, which, like tonic accent, has a natural physiological basis. The physical necessity for a break or pause has led to variety and beauty in poetry.

Legrain lists the following rules governing Adam's use of caesura in verses of eight or more syllables:

(1) Eight-syllable feminine verse and ten-syllable masculine verse take the caesura after the fourth syllable, which is rarely accented.

(2) Eleven-syllable verse has caesura after the seventh syllable, whether it is accented or not.

(3) Verses of twelve syllables have caesura after the sixth syllable, which is always accented.⁷

Adam seldom violates these rules. When he does not observe them, it is usually in proper names or technical or foreign words. Some critics take the rules of caesura so seriously that a violation of one of the rules seems to them an infallible indication that a line or verse is spurious. Blume and Bannister have pleaded for a less rigid application of the letter of the law to proses, which should be treated as productions of a free poetic spirit.⁸

5 Legrain, "Etude sur Adam," 196.

6 Ibid., 197.

7 Ibid., 197-198.

8 Blume, Analecta Hymnica, LIV, vii.

The most characteristic traits of medieval poetry, both religious and popular, are rime and accentual rhythm.

Rime was only gradually and very slowly recognized as a principle of verse composition. Fortunatus and other early hymn-writers used rime only occasionally, but often enough to indicate that the use was intentional.⁹ The two-syllabled rime which came into its own in the twelfth century has been traced to the Irish Celts,¹⁰ but the roots of it may well be deep in human nature and the nature of the language.

Even more significant than the development of rime was the gradual transition from quantitative to qualitative poetry, the first ruled by time and length of syllables, the second by tonic or stress accent.

In classical Latin poetry, accentual rhythm sometimes broke through the learned Greek quantitative rhythms in "half-conscious echoes."¹¹ In the Middle Ages, even after the rhythmic principle had been established, quantitative metric verse was taught and practiced (mainly by the learned). By the twelfth century ancient metrical verse was only an academic exercise, "quite out of the literary current."¹² Scholarly, pedantic poets continued to

9 Baldwin, Med. Rhet. and Poetic, 106.

10 Ibid. Cf. also Manitius, Geschichte, I, 160, 162; Meyer, Rythmik, I, 122; Alexander Croke, Essay on the Origin, Progress, and Decline of Rhyming Latin Verse, Oxford, 1828, 7. Sir Alexander Croke was the first to point out early examples of Latin rimes to English readers.

11 Baldwin, Med. Rhet. and Poetic, 110. Cf. J. B. Greenough, "Accentual Rhythm in Latin," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, IV, 1893, 113-114. Greenough believes that Horace's treatment of the Alcaic and Sapphic metres had a profound effect on Christian hymnology and was instrumental in developing accentual rhythms.

12 Ibid., 198.

compose their complaints, commonplaces, and jests in the ancient mode, "but accentual scansion, the lure of rhythm and of rhyme, and a catchy tune proved to many as irresistible as they are still found to be to unregenerate minds."¹³

Accentual rhythm made possible the expression of violent or tender sentiment, of joy or melancholy, with an ease, a naturalness, a fresh spontaneity which more than made up for its occasional monotony.¹⁴

The metre used in most of the sequences of the Middle Ages is derived, according to Gautier, from the trochaic tetrameter catalectic, sometimes called septenarius because it has seven complete feet. It is adaptable to division, repetition, and other variations. Though it would be rash to try to prove that Adam of St. Victor invented or first adapted this strophe, he certainly may be credited with popularizing it and using it remarkably well.¹⁵

Adam's technical skill and poetic savoir-faire are nowhere more evident than in his use of repetition, especially anaphora, the repetition of the same word or syllable at the beginning of successive members or lines of a strophe. This is so characteristic of the poet that it constitutes one of the tests by which critics judge the authenticity of his sequences. Dreves compares Adam's repetition to the solemn tread of a tragic actor in buskins.¹⁶

13 Jenkins, "Med. Latin Literature," Legacy, 157.

14 De Ghellinck, Litt. lat. au moyen âge, 174, 168.

15 Gautier, Oeuvres d'Adam, I, clv-clviii.

16 Dreves, "Adam von St. V.," 292. Dreves' exact words are that Adam's use of repetition lend to his writings "etwas Panegyrisch-sollennes, eine Art Kothurnschritt..."

Artistic emphasis is achieved by the repetition of simplex and non hic in the sequence for the Trinity (i. 5, 11-12):

Simplex esse, simplex posse,
simplex velle, simplex nosse,
cuncta sunt simplicia;

.....

Non humana ratione
capi possunt hae personae,
nec harum discretio;
non hic ordo temporalis,
non hic situs, aut localis
rerum circumscriptio.

Iam is the key word in the Easter sequence, Zyma vetus expurgetur (xiii. 5):

Iam divinae laus virtutis,
iam triumphi, iam salutis
vox erumpat libera!

This is the day, the poet repeats again and again, an echo from the Easter Mass (2, 6):

Haec est dies nostrae spei,
huius mora vis diei
legis testimonio.

.....

Haec est dies, quam fecit Dominus,
dies nostri doloris terminus,
dies salutifera.

There is also an echo of Wipo's Victimae paschali laudes in Adam's account of the struggle between life and death, and Christ's victory (23):

Mors et vita confluxere
resurrexit Christus vere
et cum Christo surrexere
multi testes gloriae.

The sequence closes with a loving repetition of the name of Jesus, and the repetition of tu . . . tu . . . tua (25-26):

Iesu victor, Iesu vita,
 Iesu vitae via trita,

 tu nos pasce, tu nos munda,
 ut a morte nos secunda
 tua salvet gratia.

In the sequence for the feast of the Ascension the repetition of semel (xiv. 7) and modo (5) emphasizes the finality of our Lord's earthly mission:

Modo victor, modo tutus
 est in caelis constitutus
 rector super omnia.
 Non est rursus moriturus,
 nec per mortem mundaturus
 hominum contagia.
 Semel enim incarnatus,
 semel passus, semel datus
 pro peccatis hostia.

Lux iucunda, lux insignis (xv), sequence for Pentecost, characterizes the Holy Spirit of light and love. This note of light and love is merely suggested later in the same piece (14, 17):

in obscuris vel divisis
 non potest haec paraclisis
 habitare cordibus.

 Tu lumen es et unguentum,
 tu caeleste condimentum,
 aquae ditans elementum
 virtute mysterii.

A strophe accenting nil and nihil (16) protests that nothing on this earth is of any value without the grace of the Holy Spirit. In this strophe and through the rest of the prose, the insistent, intimate repetition of tu, te, and tua is found (16-20):

nil iucundum, nil amoenum,
 nil salubre, nil serenum,
 nihil dulce, nihil plenum
 sine tua gratia.

.....
 Nova facti creatura
 te laudamus mente pura,
 gratiae nunc, sed natura
 prius irae filii.
 Tu, qui dator es et donum,
 tu, qui condis omne bonum,
 cor ad laudem redde pronum
 nostrae linguae formans sonum
 in tua praeconia.
 Tu purga nos a peccatis,
 auctor ipse puritatis,
 et in Christo renovatis
 da perfectae novitatis
 plena nobis gaudia.

Qui procedis ab utroque (xvi), honoring the Holy Spirit, has examples of alliteration, anaphora, or assonance in every strophe. It is filled with echoes (e.g., 3-6, 9-10):

Amor patris filiique,
 par amborum et utrique
 compar et consimilis,
 cuncta replet, cuncta foves,
 astra regis, caelum moves,
 permanens immobilis.
 Lumen carum, lumen clarum,
 internarum tenebrarum
 effugans caliginem,
 per te mundi sunt mundati,
 tu peccatum et peccati
 destruis rebiginem.

.....
 Te docente nil obscurum,
 te praesente nil impurum;
 sub tua praesentia
 gloriatur mens iucunda,
 per te laeta, per te munda
 gaudet conscientia.

Simplex in essentia (xvii) contrasts the light of the Holy Spirit and the Gospel with the shadows and mists of the Old Law. Lex is used six times in

reference to the Old Law (3, 5, 9-10), and once in the last stanza in reference to the law of Christ, liberet lex caritatis (18):

Lex praecessit in figura,
Lex poenalis, lex obscura,
 lumen evangelicum.
.....
Lex de monte populo,
paucis in cenaculo
 nova datur gratia.
.....
Sic in Sina
lex divina
 reis est imposita;
lex timoris,
non amoris,
 puniens illicita.

The beginning and the end of this prose are also notable for what we might call partial echoes. Subtle changes in form vary words and ideas. Illustret (1) is followed by lustret; (2) solvunt is used twice (11, 14); dies is followed by diei (15); distractas is echoed by distractos (17-18); and there is the series libere, liberet, libertatis (17-18).

St. Andrew's sequence turns on the idea of light: ad lucem and lux illuxit echo in the account of Andrew's first meeting with Christ (xxxii. 3). The end is also lightsome: luce nimia. . . cum luce, cum laetitia. . . ad lucis atria (16). There are other repetitions: rete, retia (6, 8); mens secreta, mens virilis (11), and a series of repetitions of the syllable vi-, or alliteration in y, a vigorous passage suggesting St. Andrew's strength and courage in face of the proconsul's peevishness and meanness (6, 7, 9, 11-15):

Mens secreta, mens virilis,
cui praesens vita vilis,
 viget patientia;
blandimentis aut tormentis
non enervat robur mentis
 iudicis insania.

Crucem videns praeparari
 suo gestit conformari.
 magistro discipulus.
 Mors pro morte solvitur
 et crucis appetitur
 triumphalis titulus.
 In cruce vixit biduum,
 victurus in perpetuum,
 nec vult volente populo
 deponi de patibulo.

An apostrophe to St. Andrew hinges upon anaphora (17):

O Andrea gloriose,
 cuius preces pretiosae,
 cuius mortis luminosae
 dulcis est memoria.

The keynote of the sequence in honor of St. Denis is rejoicing:

Gaude prole, Graecia. . . Speciali gaudio gaude. . . tota gaudet regio (xxxiv.

1-4). One sinister note is struck in the pagans' rejoicing in idolatry (9).

In this strophe a fine anaphora describes the evil state of Gaul at the time when St. Denis began his evangelizing there:

Hic errorum cumulus,
 hic omnis spurcitia,
 hic infelix populus
 gaudens idolatria.

The figure is set between two strophes, the first of which uses hic in its account of the saint's mission to Gaul (7), and the second of which introduces the whirlwind of activity begun by Denis upon his arrival (11):

Hic a summo praesuli
 directus ad Galliam
 non gentis incredulae
 veretur insaniam.

.....
 Hic constructo
 Christi templo
 verbo docet
 et exemplo,
 coruscat miraculis.

Turba credit,
error cedit,
fides crescit
et clarescit
nomen tanti praesulis.

The end couplet of the prose repeats the first note of rejoicing: such a glorious martyrdom should fill us with joy (21).

The sequence in honor of St. Martin (xl) exhibits the most persistent use of anaphora in its frequent reference, Hic Martinus, which occurs eleven times, and O Martine, repeated twice in the end strophes. Misset, regarding the prose as a tour de force, doubted Adam's authorship.¹⁷ Manitius called the sequence "vivid" or "lively"—sehr lebendig.¹⁸ The often repeated Hic Martinus does not seem monotonous or forced, because each repetition serves to heighten our wonder at the holiness and bravery of the saintly bishop.

The prose in honor of St. Michael the Archangel has three instances of anaphora: laus (xli. 1-2), pax (6), and iugi (9-10):

Laus erumpat ex affectu,
psallat chorus in conspectu
supernorum civium;
laus iucunda, laus decora,
quando laudi concanora
puritas est cordium.
.....
Sub tutela Michaelis
pax in terra, pax in caelis,
laus et iubilatio.
.....

17 Cf. Appendix, n. 43.

18 Manitius, Geschichte, III, 1003.

tres distinctae hierarchiae
 iugi vacant theoriae .
 iugique psallentio;
 nec obsistit theoria
 sive iugis harmonia
 iugi ministerio.

St. Paul is called a consecrated vessel pouring forth the wine of grace and doctrine, an example of anaphora in Corde, voce, pulsa caelos (xlii. 6):

Vas sacratum, vas divinum,
 vas propinans dulce vinum
 doctrinalis gratiae!

Gaude, Roma, caput mundi (xliv) features repetition of the names of Peter and his two adversaries, Nero and Simon Magus. Roma Petro gloriatur (xlv), dedicated to both Peter and Paul, starts with a repetition of Roma (1):

Roma Petro gloriatur,
 Roma Paulum veneretur
 pari reverentia.

Naturally, there are several references to the two apostles, but there seems to be no intentional anaphora on Peter or Paul. Once they share a strophe exhibiting anaphora: ipsi (9):

Ipsi montes appellantur
 ipsi prius illustrantur
 veri solis lumine.

Heri mundus exultavit (xlvi) has an anaphora which is reminiscent of the epitaph of Jean of Toulouse on Adam of St. Victor. St. Stephen is (3):

clarus fide, clarus vita,
 clarus et miraculis.

There is almost certainly no borrowing; this idea must have been a commonplace for centuries before either Adam or Jean of Toulouse. Two other anaphoras are used: Testis (7), and two instances of tibi. . . tibi (10, 14):

Testis tuus est in caelis,
testis verax et fidelis,
testis innocentiae.

.....
tibi fiet mors natalis,
tibi poena terminalis
dat vitae primordia.

.....
tibi caelos reserari,
tibi Christum revelari,
clama voce libera.

Appropriately, the sequence on St. Victor has a repetition of vicit (xlvi. 6, with a previous use in 5) to describe the victories of St. Victor over himself and his enemies:

Hunc in primo Victor flore,
immo Christus in Victore
sua vicit gratia;
vicit carnem, vicit mundum,
vicit hostem furibundum
fide vincens omnia.

The sequence on the translation of St. Victor's relic expresses the joy of the Augustinians in psallat, used three times (xlix. 1-2):

Ex radice caritatis,
ex affectu pietatis
psallat haec ecclesia;
psallat corde, psallat ore,
et exsultet in Victore
Victoris familia.

The sequence on St. Vincent does not use the obvious play on words, Vincent, conquering. It begins with an anaphora suggestive of an Easter sequence, a repetition of dies (l. 1-2):

Ecce, dies praeoptata,
dies felix, dies grata,
dies digna gaudio.
Nos hanc diem veneremur
et pugnantem admiremur
Christum in Vincentio.

Extraordinary facility in the manipulation of words and rimes has the inherent danger of playing on words for the sake of sound, or, as the German critics call it, Klingeln or Klingklang. Sometimes repetition or anaphora seems forced in these sequences. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish an effective use of anaphora from mere word-playing. Such a passage might strike a reader as effective; the same passage, read at another time, may seem forced. Like most good things, the religious hymns are best enjoyed in moderation.

The writer has collected a few examples of Klingeln or word-play bordering on Klingeln.

The conjunction of many p's, t's, and s's, together with repetition of words, can be observed in the following strophe (i. 2):

tres personas asserentes
personali differentes
a se differentia.

The Christmas sequence couples a good anaphora with an untranslatable rather extreme repetition (iii. 5):

Res est nova, res insignis,
quod in rubo rubet ignis
nec rubum attaminat.

Splendor patris et figura (iv) occasionally exhibits the riming of very short lines, which gives several strophes a sing-song effect (3-4, 5-6):

Adam vetus
tandem laetus
novum promat canticum,
fugitivus
et captivus
prodeat in publicum.

Eva luctum,
 vitae fructum
 virgo gaudens edidit,
 nec sigillum
 propter illum
 castitatis perdidit.

Zyma vetus expurgetur (xiii) exhibits a crescendo of repetitions and echoes in the last two strophes. They do not seem objectionable, however, because of the sustained ardor of the rest of the prose.

Often a word or syllable is repeated several times, sometimes with different connotations, as in the Pentecost sequence, Lux iucunda, lux insignis (xv. 2):

corda replet, linguas ditat,
 ad concordes nos invitat
 cordis, linguae modulos.

In the Marian sequence Dies ista celebretur there is an instance of the repetition of nova which, in its setting, is rather pleasant (xxi. 11):

Nova mater novam prolem,
 nova stella novum solem
 nova profert gratia.

In the sequence for the Purification, a combination of very short rimed lines and repetition of syllables concludes with a rather forced play on words (xxv. 20):

fons sublimis
 munde nimis,
 ab immundo
 munda mundo
 cor mundani populi.

Other short rimed lines on the same pattern are to be found in Qui procedis ab utroque (xvi), a sequence for Pentecost (13-14):

Quando venis,
 corda lenis,
 quando subis,
 atrae nubis
 effugit obscuritas;
 sacer ignis,
 pectus ignis,
 non comburis,
 sed a curis
 purgas, quando visitas.

The same sequence is redeemed by a strophe, pleasant in effect, which exhibits a subtle variation of words with t, p, and q (25):

Quia tantus es et talis
 quantus pater est et qualis,
 servorum humilitas.

This is reminiscent of the beginning of Abélard's Sabbath sequence:

O quanta qualia sunt illa sabbata
 quae semper celebrat superna curia!
 Quae fessis requies, quae merces fortibus,
 cum erit omnia Deus in omnibus!

Polysyndeton, the repetition of conjunctions, is used to good effect in Ave virgo singularis (xviii. 12):

sol et lumen, et decorem,
 flos et fructum et odorem
 toti mundo praebuit.

Again speaking of the Blessed Mother, the poet uses repetition of ideas and sounds (xxi. 5-6):

Virga florem conceptura,
 stella solem paritura
 hodie concipitur.
 Flos de virga processurus,
 sol de stella nasciturus,
 Christus intelligitur.

The same sequence has a strophe almost too rich in variation and interlocking echoes (14):

Gaude, virgo gratiosa,
virga flore speciosa,
mater prole gloriosa,
plene plena gaudio.

The magnificent Salve mater salvatoris (xxii) starts with a play on words which might be translated as "Hail, O Mother of the Healer." It continues with an intricate pattern of repetitions, variations, and figures. The entire sequence is on a level far above mere skill in versifying. It is a perfect example of how even contortions of ideas and words may be purest poetry.

Virgo mater salvatoris (xxiii) has a pervasive use of syllables with r. Besides series of rimes in -oris (1), -orem (2), -erunt (3), -oras (8), and -ore (9, 11), there is frequent use of words like floris, currunt, auro, turo, murra, rigaris, fragrat, decoratur within the lines.

Lux advenit veneranda (xxiv), for Our Lady's Purification, begins with emphasis on lux, reflected in luminosis cordibus, (1-2):

Lux advenit veneranda,
lux in choris iubilanda
luminosis cordibus.
Huius laeta lux diei
festum refert, matris Dei
dedicandum laudibus.

Short, interlocking lines give a choppy effect, probably not objectionable when the sequence was fitted to its proper music (3-6):

Vox exsultet
modulata,
mens resultet
medullata,
ne sit laus inutilis.
Sic laus Deo
decantetur,
ut in eo
collaudeter,
mater eius nobilis.

Gloriosa
 dignitate,
 viscerosa
 pietate,
 compunctiva nomine.
 Cum honore
 matronali,
 cum pudore
 virginali
 nitet caeli cardine.

The last four strophes are easier to burlesque than to evaluate fairly. There is no doubt a breathless virtuosity about them, reminding the reader of a cadenza in an operatic aria or a violin concerto. The lyrical flourish is based on the repetition of cuus (15) and super (16); after a breathless rush of thought and sound, both strophes have the characteristic slowing or cadence at the end. The last strophes feature internal interlocking rime. There is an interesting interchange of ideas in supernorum. . . superatrix (17-18):

Cuius preces, vitia,
 cuius nomen tristia,
 cuius odor lilia,
 cuius vincunt labia
 favum in dulcedine;
 super vinum sapida,
 super nivem candida,
 super rosam roscida,
 super lunam lucida
 veri solis lumine.
 Imperatrix supernorum,
 superatrix infernorum,
 eligenda via caeli,
 retinendi spe fideli,
 separatos a te longe,
 revocatos ad te iunge
 tuorum collegio.
 Mater bona quam rogamus,
 Nobis dona quod optamus,
 nec sic spernas peccatores,
 ut non cernas peccatores;
 reos sibi diffidentes,
 tuos tibi confidentes
 tuo siste filio.

A parallel shift of meanings and forms embellishes Templum cordis adornemus (xxv. 12):

A dilecto praelecta,
ab electo praedilecta
Deo muliercula!

Many examples of interlocking order and balanced repetition are to be found in Ave, virgo singularis (xxvi) in which the Blessed Mother, assumed into heaven, is praised for having given birth to Christ, novum florem novo more (7).

Gratulemur in hac die (xxvii), for the Assumption of Our Lady, is rich in symbolic language, beautifully expressed. One picture borders on Klingeln (21-22):

ardens, lucens es lucerna;
per te nobis lux superna
 suum fudit radium;
ardens igne caritatis,
luce lucens castitatis,
lucem summae claritatis
 mundo gignens filium.

In the sequences dedicated to God and the Blessed Mother there are relatively few passages which strike us as overdone. The sequences on the saints contain many such passages, perhaps because Adam did not bring to their composition the ardor of inspiration which is evident in many of the former, or simply because many of the saints' sequences ascribed to Adam are not his work.

In the sequence for All Saints there is a play on words based on the heavenly state of heaven (curia/ quae curae prorsus nescia, xxviii. 12).

The less distinguished of the two sequences honoring the apostles, Cor augustum dilatemus (xxcix), has frequent alliteration and anaphora. An

example of the repetition of syllables is strophe 10:

nil aut parum mortem sensit,
qui corrumpi non consensit
corpus corruptibile.

A further example of Klingeln is in the final strophes, an apostrophe to the apostolic band (25-26):

Caeli cives, digni dici
Christi fratres et amici,
consessuri iudices,
quando fremet furor irae,
date nobis non sentire
flammas, culpae vindices.

Ad honorem tuum, Christe (xxxvi), to St. John the Baptist, contains two examples of overdrawn repetition (13,20):

Alvo Deum virgo claudit
clauso clausus hic adplaudit
de ventris angustia.
.....
sese tantum hic exceptit,
qui de carne carnem cepit
sine carnis opere.

Two strophes about John's office as forerunner of Christ approach Klingeln in the play of light on light, with undertones of verum and verbum (15-16):

Ardens fide, verbo lucens
et ad veram lucem ducens
multa docet milia;
non lux iste, sed lucerna,
Christus vero lux aeterna,
lux illustrans omnia.

The sequence for St. Lawrence has several strophes in short-lined rime (xxxviii. 1-4, 7-8, 23-24). Perhaps least poetic are strophes 7 and 8:

Deci, vide,
quia fide
stat invictus
inter ictus,
minas et incendia;

spes interna,
 vox superna
 consolantur
 et hortantur
 virum de constantia.

The last two strophes contain more effective repetitions and contrasts (25-26):

O Laurenti, laute nimis,
 rege victo rex sublimis,
 regis regum fortis miles,

 qui tot mala devicisti
 contemplando bona Christi,
 fac nos malis insultare,
 fac de bonis exsultare
 meritorum gratia.

The poet makes a pun on Lawrence's name, the laurel-crowned one. St. Stephen (crowned or garlanded) and St. Victor and St. Vincent (conquerors) have names which can be used in the same way.

St. Léger's sequence contains good advice, but in a style bordering on gleeful manipulation of words merely for the pleasure of the activity (xxxix. 3-4):

Sit mens munda,
 vox canora,
 ut iucunda
 et decora
 nostra sit laudatio;
 non discordet
 os a corde,
 sint concordēs
 hae tres chordae:
 lingua, mens, et actio.

St. Paul's sequence contains a strophe which has two series of repetitions. The first especially is overdrawn (xlii. 7):

Verbum crucis protestatur,
 crucis causa cruciatur,
 mille modis moritur;

sed perstat vivax hostia
 et invicta constantia
 omnis poena vincitur.

The next half-strophe completes the series with vincit (8). There is a similar construction in another sequence dedicated to St. Paul. Saul is depicted breathing slaughter against the Christians (xlili. 4):

impetravit, ut ligaret
 et ligatos cruciaret
 crucifixi famulos.

This latter example seems to be neater, better expressed, than the earlier one.

A double play on words, using two words the same, two similar in sound, is found in the sequence on St. Peter. Peter, at our Lord's first word to him, fugit rete, fugit ratem (xliv. 6). Later in the sequence there is repetition of sanat in describing Peter's miracles, as well as a skillful manipulation of the names of the two principals in the struggle between the miracle-worker of Christ and the wonder-working magician (13):

Petrum Simon magus odit,
 magum Simon Petrus prodit.

Heri mundus exsultavit (xlvi) steps down from its exalted tone in addressing Stephen just about to be martyred (6):

Agonista, nulli cede,
 certa certus de mercede,
 persevera, Stephane.

The recurrent t sounds in Gaude, Sion et laetare (xlvii), especially in the second strophe, are probably intentional. Strophe 9 shows a progression of repetition:

Quo absente infirmatur,
 infirmata perturbatur,
 perturbata conculcatur
 libertas ecclesiae.

The final strophe uses similar words of different meanings (18):

ut in Christo, vera vite,
radicati verae vitae
capiamus praemia.

The sequence in honor of St. Victor begins with three striking repetitions. First, the turma spiritalis is directed to rejoice spiritali gaudio (xlvi. 1). The other two instances of repetition use similar words with different meanings. One cannot have a joyful heart (3):

nisi prius fiat mundum
a mundi contagio.

The poet immediately expresses the same idea in different terms: si vis vitam mundum vita (4). Victor fought against the world and received his reward (7):

Invicti martyris
mira victoria
mire nos excitat
ad mira gaudia.

Two strophes with four four-syllable riming lines give the staccato effect so often found in the sequence (13-14):

Mente laeta
stat athleta,
carne spreata,
insueta
superans supplicia;
in tormentis
status mentis
non mutatur
nec turbatur
animi potentia.

Finally, one of the sequences on St. Victor yields up two examples of interlocking, progressive repetition, in which a word in a line suggests another use of the same word in the next line (12-18):

Per urbem trahitur
tractus suspenditur,
suspensus caeditur,
sed nulla frangitur
martyr iniuria.

.
Tortor furit in Victorem,
furor cedit in stuporem,
dum Victori dat vigorem
Christi visitatio.

Besides the usual quota of repetitions and riming short lines, the sequence in honor of St. Vincent has one line which may be used as a final example to illustrate the danger of facility in word manipulation. It is a line worthy of St. Lawrence on the gridiron, though it is applied to the martyrdom of St. Vincent: Dum torretur, non terretur (l. 15).

The structure and vocabulary of Latin, whether used in quantitative or rhythmic poetry, are peculiarly suited to startling repetitions. When pushed to the extreme, this faculty results in overdrawn poetic figures, as we have seen. Still another pitfall is not always avoided by Latin poets: the kind of matter-of-fact unpoetic recital which may be found in classical writers as well as in some of the later versifiers.

Some of the sequences ascribed to Adam, especially those of doubtful authenticity, contain lines eminently unpoetic by reason of language or subject matter, or both. These lines, often set in truly poetic surroundings, have a half-disturbing, half-amusing effect, like gargoyles grinning from a cathedral roof.

O quam felix, quam festiva
dies, in qua primitiva
fundatur ecclesia!

This encomium of the first Pentecost (xv. 7) is pure prose, as good or as bad as Cicero's extant poetry.

Other lines are unpoetic by reason of their subjects, such as the strophe describing the death of St. James, beginning ferro collum huic abscidunt (xxix. 12); the account of St. Andrew's martyrdom beginning In cruce vixit biduum (xxxix. 15); the last strophes of the sequence on St. Denis, especially (xxxiv. 19-20):

Se cadaver mox erexit,
truncus truncum caput vexit, etc.

The description of the martyrdom of St. Victor is in the same category (xlviii. 15-16):

Pes truncatur, quia stabat,
sed nec truncus aberrabat
a Christi vestigio;
pedem Christo dat securus
ipsum caput oblaturus
eius sacrificio.

Of a similar nature are the details of St. Vincent's sufferings (l. beginning with strophe 11 to end, passim). A selection will suffice to show the tone of the whole sequence (11, 15-16, 21-22):

Fessos ex itinere,
pressos ferri pondere
taetro claudit carcere
negans victualia.
.....
Dum torretur, non terretur,
Christum magis profitetur
nec tyrannum reveretur
in eius praesentia.
Ardet vultus inhumanus,
haeret linguis, tremit manus
nec se capit Datianus
prae cordis insania.
.....

In, cadaver inhumatum
 corvus servat illibatum,
 sicque sua sceleratum
 frustratur intentio.
 At profanus Datianus,
 quod consumi nequit humi,
 vult abscondi sub profundo
 gurgitis silentio.

With the exception of mel silvestre, a good phrase, St. John's daily life in the desert is expressed quite baldly (xxxvi. 17-18).

Cilicina tectus veste,
 pellis cinctus strophium
 cum locustis mel silvestre
 sumpsit in edulium.

St. Augustine's services for Holy Mother Church are described in the following strophes (xxxii. 19-20):

cuius librorum copia
 fides firmatur unica;
 hinc et mater ecclesia
 vitat errorum devia.

Finally, the whole sequence honoring St. Bartholomew (xxxiii) can be cited as heavy and unpoetic in tone.

After the worst has been set forth (in all justice it must be insisted upon that these sequences are merely ascribed to Adam), it is well to remember that the poet is at times capable of a union of profound meaning and tight economy of phrasing. Two strophes may be singled out to illustrate this, though these are by no means the only examples that could be cited. In the Christmas sequence, Iubilemus salvatori (iii), Christ's birth of the Virgin Mary is celebrated. Strophe 8 succinctly explains one of the Old Testament figures:

radix Iesse regem David,
virga matrem praesignavit
virginem, flos parvulum.

In the Pentecost sequence, Qui procedis ab utroque (xvi), the mission of the Holy Ghost as sanctifier is presented (5-6):

Lumen carum, lumen clarum,
internorum tenebrarum
effugans caliginem,
per te mundi sunt mundati,
tu peccatum, tu peccati
destruis rubiginem.

Only a real artist in full control of his materials could turn out In natale salvatoris (ii), Zyma vetus expurgetur (xiii), Salve mater salvatoris (xxii), or Heri mundus exsultavit (xlvi).

Medieval sequences were based on accentual, not quantitative rhythm, but the outstanding writers of sequences followed rules as precise as those governing classical metrical poetry.

Technically, the sequence strophe is characterized by repetitions of various sorts: repetition of sounds in alliteration and assonance; repetitions in beginning syllables or words in anaphora; repetition of end-syllables in rime; repetition of related words in subtle variations difficult to classify.

This chapter has presented many examples of repetition, particularly anaphora, in the sequences ascribed to Adam of St. Victor. It has been noted that those sequences honoring God and the Blessed Virgin seem to be on a higher plane than some of the saints' sequences. While most of the former escape falling into the maudlin or the tawdry, some of the sequences are heavy

with examples of what might be called dangerous facility in word-manipulation. Still, even the worst of these sometimes have redeeming features, exhibiting a jewel of a strophe set in the base metal of prosaic, sterile word-play.

CHAPTER VI

COMMENTARY ON SEVERAL SEQUENCES ASCRIBED

TO ADAM OF ST. VICTOR

Individual phrases, lines, or strophes of many of the sequences ascribed to Adam of St. Victor have been used to illustrate various particular points. At the risk of repetition, but for the sake of a more complete view of the sequences, the writer here considers several of the sequences in toto—in their general impact upon the intellect, emotions, and the interior and exterior senses. Prosody and word selection appeal to the eye and ear. The more important elements of the sequences—intellectual, emotional, and imaginative—will be evident to the reader who carefully follows the thought of the poet. An analytical examination of any sequence, an investigation of language, prosody, and figures of speech, though necessary, must be completed by a study of the whole idea of the sequence.

Profitentes unitatem (i), the sequence in honor of the Blessed Trinity, is mainly doctrinal and intellectual in its appeal. The sense of wonder interweaves and unites elements of reason and faith.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Profitentes unitatem
veneremur trinitatem
pari reverentia, | 2 tres personas asserentes
personali differentes
a se differentia. |
| 3 Haec dicuntur relative,
cum sint unum substantive,
non tria principia. | 4 Sive dicas tres vel tria,
simplex tamen est usia,
non triplex essentia. |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 5 Simplex esse, simplex posse,
simplex velle, simplex nosse,
cuncta sunt simplicia; | 6 pater, proles, sacrum flamen,
Deus unus; sed hi tamen
habent quaedam propria. |
| 7 Non unius quam duarum
sive trium personarum
minor efficacia; | 8 una virtus, unum numen,
unus splendor, unum lumen,
hoc una quod alia. |
| 9 Patri proles est aequalis,
nec hoc tollit personalis
amborum distinctio. | 10 Patri compar filioque,
spiritualis ab utroque
procedit connectio. |
| 11 Non humana ratione
capi possunt hae personae,
nec harum discretio; | 12 non hic ordo temporalis,
non hic situs, aut localis
rerum circumscriptio. |
| 13 Nil in Deo praeter Deum,
nulla causa praeter eum
qui creat causalia; | 14 effectiva vel formalis
causa Deus, et finalis
sed nunquam materia. |
| 15 Digne loqui de personis
vim transcendit rationis,
excedit ingenia. | 16 Quid sit gigni, quid processus,
me nescire sum professus:
sed fide non dubia. |
| 17 Nos in fide gloriemur,
nos in una modulemur
fidei constantia; | 18 trinae sit laus unitati,
sit et simplae trinitati
coaeterna gloria! |

The poet begins by celebrating the unity of the Blessed Trinity, contemplating with profound reverence the Three Persons in unity and trinity. The idea of Three Persons in One is amplified, reaching a climax in the fifth strophe with its often repeated simplex declaring that God is one and indivisible in being, in power, in will, and in knowledge. The neat Latin sequence of esse, posse, velle, nosse cannot be duplicated in English. The next strophe continues the idea with a further modification of tone. The poet singles out the Persons of the Blessed Trinity: Pater, Proles, and Sacrum Flamen. Strophe 8 emphasizes the idea of unity in God in a manner not so striking but just as untranslatable as strophe 5. The Trinity is una virtus, unum numen, unus splendor, unum lumen.

Strophes 9 and 10 take up the individual roles and dignity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The sense of wonder here becomes articulate in strophes 11 and 12. Not by human reasoning, the poet tells us, can we understand the essence of the Trinity, nor can we hope to circumscribe or limit God to time or place.

Back to the contemplation of God, the next two strophes have a distinctly scholastic tone. God is God, nothing else; there is nothing in God but God. He is the sole cause of the existence of all other beings.

Strophes 15 and 16 reiterate the poet's sense of wonder and his realization of his own incapacity to deal with the mysteries he has celebrated. The last strophes take up the note of the last line of strophe 16: sed fide non dubia. Faith may be trusted as a sure guide after reason has reached its farthest limit. The poet then exhorts us to glorify God in faith and (with a slight turn of the meaning of faith) to live in the unity of the Faith. The last strophe echoes the ideas featured in strophes 5 and 8: simplex, unus. Praise is given to God in His threefold One-ness; glory is given to the simplicity of the Trinity.

There is nothing of emotionalism in this sequence, but wonder and awe are definitely expressed in certain strophes and implied throughout the poem. Peculiarly appropriate to the theological nature of the subject is the scholastic language noted above, setting forth the attributes of God with cold, clear reasonableness. The sequence offers a compendium of orthodox teaching on the Most Holy Trinity, emphasizing God's unity, simplicity, power, glory, infinity. It makes use of theological terms sanctioned by tradition and still used by theologians today: e.g., substantive, usia (*ουσία*), causalia.

The frequent repetition, especially notable in the earlier stanzas, may be an attempt to balance the theological element of the sequence with an appeal to the emotions through eye and ear.

There is aptness in the poet's choice of words to indicate the indescribable power and beauty of God. Our poet approached his subject with a reverence that precluded any sentimental embroidering or flights of fancy. Somewhat in the manner of Dante, Adam delineates the One God as light, power, majesty, and splendor.

The relatively short Christmas sequence, Iubilemus salvatori (iii), celebrates the birth of the Son of God.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 Iubilemus salvatori
quem caelestes laudent chori,
concordi laetitia; | 2 pax de caelo nuntiatur,
terra caelo foederatur,
angelis ecclesia. |
| 3 Verbum carni cunitum,
sicut erat praefinitum,
sine carnis copula | 4 virgo parit, Dei templum;
nec exemplar nec exemplum
per tot habens saecula. |
| 5 Res est nova, res insignis,
quod in rubo rubet ignis
nec rubum attaminat; | 6 caeli rorant, nubes pluunt,
montes stillant, colles fluunt;
radix Iesse germinat. |
| 7 De radice flos ascendit,
quem prophetae praestendit
evidens oraculum; | 8 radix Iesse regem David,
virga matrem praesignavit
virginem, flos parvulum. |
| 9 Mira floris pulchritudo,
quem commendat plenitudo
septiformis gratiae! | 10 Recreemur in hoc flore,
qui nos gustu, nos odore,
nos invitat specie. |
| 11 Iesu, puer immortalis,
tuus nobis hic natalis
pacem det et gaudia; | 12 flos et fructus virginalis,
cuius odor est vitalis,
tibi laus et gloria. |

The first reference to Christ speaks of Him as Our Savior. Two strophes develop His role as Prince of Peace. He is Our Savior whom angelic

choirs praise in joy and peace; heavenly peace is proclaimed at His birth. Earth is united to heaven, and the church (the assembly of the faithful) to the angels.

Christ is next celebrated as the Incarnate Word. The Virgin, temple of God, bore Him—a thing which had never happened before and has never since happened. Adam's nec exemplar, nec exemplum recalls the Christmas antiphon of Our Lady's Office: Genuit puerpera Regem. . . nec primam similem visa est, nec habere sequentem. In an Easter antiphon, our Blessed Lady is saluted in like manner as Beata Dei genitrix. . . templum Domini, sacrarium Spiritus Sancti, tu sola sine exemplo placuisti Domino nostro Jesu Christo.

The sequence continues with scriptural references to the burning bush, the earth-blessing dews and rains, and the rod of Jesse. Christ is the Blossom growing from Mary, the Rod, as foretold by the prophets. The root of Jesse signifies David, the rod is the sign of the Mother, and the flower is the Child. Two strophes enlarge upon the beauty and fragrance of this Flower.¹ The poet invites all to be renewed in the Flower, which charms by

¹ "Why is the Son of Mary called the Flower of Jesse and the Flower of the world, unless it is because there was consecrated and harmonized in Him every created value, the whole value of His race and of man?"—Antonin G. Sertillanges, O.P., Rectitude, New York, 1953, 7.

Compare with this Richard of St. Victor, De Comparatione Christi ad florem et Mariae ad virgam. The opusculum, too long to quote in full, is a good illustration of medieval allegory and of Richard's rhythmic, studied style:

"Virgo Dei genitrix virga est, flos Filius ejus; quia recte dicitur beata Virgo Maria, virga recta, virga erecta est in coelum usque porrecta, virga gracilis, virga flexibilis, virga florifera, virga fructifera. . . . Virgo Dei Genitrix virga est, flos Filius ejus. O quam bene, quam recte flos dicitur, qui ex virga virginali producitur! . . . In flore namque mellificatio, ex flore fructificatio. Ex flore itaque favus et fructus. In favo mel et cera, in fructus potus et esca. Si parva sunt ista, addo quia et in flore est

the threefold appeal of taste, fragrance, and beauty. The last strophes beg peace and joy from Christ, puer immortalis, Child of the Ages, the Flower and Fruit of virginity, Flower and Fruit with life-giving fragrance.

This sequence is based on sound doctrine, as was the sequence celebrating the Blessed Trinity. But there is in the Christmas sequence a warmer tone, a more obvious exposition of the beautiful, than we find in the Trinity sequence. This is to be expected. By reason of His Humanity, the Child in the Crib is closer to us than is the glowing center of the Godhead.

Still, the poet emphasizes the theological aspects of the Nativity as the fulfillment of God's promise of a Redeemer. Many Old Testament figures picture Christ as the Promised One. Appeals to the senses, beauty and fragrance have their part in the sequence.

In addition to the tenderness which characterizes the poet's contemplation of the Babe of Bethlehem, there is an aura of peace about the whole sequence. The poem begins with the peace promised by the angels on Christmas night; it closes with a plea to Christ for the peace and joy He promised us.

medicina. . . .Septem itaque sunt quae in flore miramur, tenuitatem, teneritudinem, lenitatem, levitatem, pulchritudinem, odorem, utilitatem. . . . Flos tenuis ad indignationem, tener ad miserationem, mansuetudine lenis, damnatione levis, pulcher per conversationem, fragrans per repromissionem, utilis per remunerationem. Est ergo tenuis in flagellis, tener in misericordiis, lenis in donis, levis in praeceptis, pulcher in exemplis, fragrans in promissis, fructuosus in praemiis. Hic flos factus est nobis medicina, ex illo mel et cera, in ipso potus et esca. Medicina in redemptione, potus et esca in justificatione, mel et cera in glorificatione. Ex hac medicina sanitas sempiternae incorruptibilitatis; ex ejus esca refectio internae satietatis; ex ejusmodi potu ebrietas aeternae securitatis; de illius cera splendor summae claritatis; in ejus melle dulcor indeficientis felicitatis."

—Migne, Patr. lat., CXCVI, cols. 1031-1032.

In excelsis canitur (v), celebrating the feast of the Circumcision, begins with a prosaic quartet of strophes in trochaic seven-syllable lines. "The Gloria is sung on high for the King through Whom peace is come to earth and to heaven. By right we keep Christ's birthday, at Whose birth was born the grace of the new law."

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| 1 | In excelsis canitur
nato regi "Gloria," | 2 | per quem terrae redditur
et caelo concordia. |
| 3 | Iure dies colitur
Christi natalitia, | 4 | quo nascente nascitur
novae legis gratia. |
| 5 | Mediator nobis datus
in salutis pretium
non naturae sed reatus
refugit consortium. | 6 | Non amittit claritatem
stella fundens radium
nec Maria castitatem
pariendo filium. |
| 7 | Quid de monte lapis caesus
sine manu, nisi Iesus,
qui de regum linea | 8 | sine carnis opere
de carne puerperae
processit virginea? |
| 9 | Solitudo floreat
et desertum gaudeat!
Virga Iesse floruit; | 10 | radix virgam, virga florem,
virgo profert salvatorem,
sicut lex praecinuit. |
| 11 | Radix David typum gessit,
virga matris, quae processit
ex regali semine; | 12 | flos est puer nobis natus,
iure flori comparatus
prae mira dulcedine. |
| 13 | In praesaepi reclinatur,
cuius ortus celebratur
caelesti praeconio. | 14 | Caeli cives iubilant,
dum pastores vigilant
sub noctis silentio. |
| 15 | Cuncta laudes intonant
super partum virginis; | 16 | lex et psalmi consonant
prophetarum paginis. |
| 17 | Angolorum et pastorum,
stellae simul et magorum
concordant indicia; | 18 | reges currunt Orientis
ad praesaepe vagientis,
gentium primordia. |
| 19 | Iesu, puer immortalis,
ex aeterno temporalis,
nos ab huius vitae malis
tu potenter erue. | 20 | Tu, post vitam hanc mortalem
sive mortem hanc vitalem
vitam nobis immortalem
clementer restitue. |

Returning to the regular sequence—strophe after the first four strophes the poet speaks of Christ given to us as Mediator and Savior. The rest of the sequence treats of the birth of Christ in various figures. First, as the star shedding forth its rays does not lose its brilliance, so Mary in giving birth to her Son did not lose her chastity. Jesus is He Who is cut from the mountain not by hand; that is, He is born of a regal line, made flesh sine carnis opere, made incarnate without carnal generation. The rod of Jesse has flowered—this is the climax of the sequence, strengthened in strophe 9 by two figures: "Let the wasteland give flower; let the desert rejoice." In a progressive figure, the poet says that the root has produced the rod, the rod the flower, the virgin a Savior. Then comes the explanation: the root is a type of David, the rod Mary, the flower the Boy born to us, like a flower in His wonderful beauty.

This leads to a consideration of Christ in the Crib at Bethlehem. The Christmas scene is complete with angels (caeli cives), shepherds, and kings led to the Crib of the Babe (and a very natural Baby—vagientis) by the sign of the star. In the Virgin Birth, the poet says, the law and the psalms join their testimony to that of the prophets.

Finally there is a plea addressed to Jesus, puer immortalis ex aeterno temporalis, to deliver us from the evils of this life. The final strophe turns about an effective antithesis begging life from Him through His life-giving death.

This sequence, like Iubilemus salvatori (iii), treats the doctrinal aspects of the Nativity first, making an appeal to the intellect through reason and faith. Christ is called Redeemer and Mediator. The Virgin Birth

is represented under various figures from tradition and the Old Testament.

A new element is present in this sequence, however. There is an air of intimacy, a tenderness of sentiment, in the portrayal of the Christ Child. Some of this is merely suggested by the traditional associations called up by the mention of the angels making glad music, the shepherds adoring, the Wise Men being led by the star. The poet relies on Christian imagination to fill in the details. Two unusual details are specifically added: the note of haste in the story of the Wise Men (reges currunt), and the reference to the infirmity of the Babe (vaglientis).

There is more sentiment in this sequence, but Iubilemus salvatori (iii) is better unified. There is nothing in this sequence to perform the task of binding the beginning, middle and end together; the encomium of Christ as Peace-Bringer helps to round out the former sequence to a satisfying conclusion.

Postquam hostem et inferna (xiv) is the Ascension sequence ascribed to Adam. Christ is pictured triumphant, conqueror of the enemy and of hell.

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|---|---|
| 1 Postquam hostem et inferna
spoliavit, ad superna
Christus redit gaudia. | 2 Angelorum ascendenti
sicut olim descendenti
parantur obsequia. |
| 3 Super astra sublimatur,
non apparet, absentatur
corporis praesentia; | 4 cuncta tamen moderatur,
culus patri coaequatur
honor et potentia. |
| 5 Modo victor, modo tutus
est in caelis constitutus
rector super omnia. | 6 Non est rursus moriturus,
nec per mortem mundaturus
hominum contagia. |
| 7 Semel enim incarnatus,
semel passus, semel datus
pro peccatis. | 8 nullam feret ultra poenam,
nam quietem habet plenam
cum summa laetitia. |

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| 9 | Cum recessit, ita dixit,
intimavit et infixit
talia discipulis: | 10 | "Ite, mundum circuite,
universos erudite
verbis et miraculis. |
| 11 | "Iam ad patrem meum ibo,
sed sciatis, quod redibo,
veniet paraclitus, | 12 | qui disertos et loquaces
et securos et audaces
faciet vos penitus. |
| 13 | "Super aegros et languentes
manus vestras imponentes
sanitatem dabit. | 14 | Universas res nocentes,
inimicos et serpentes
et morbos fugabitis. |
| 15 | "Qui fidelis est futurus
et cum fide suscepturus
baptismi remedium, | 16 | a peccatis erit purus
et cum iustis habiturus
sempiternum praemium." |

Angels pay homage to the Lord ascending as they had when He first descended to earth. Strophes 3 and 4 depict Christ exalted above the stars, no longer corporally present on earth, but ordering all things, equal to the Father in honor and power. The next strophes subtly recall His sufferings. Now He is victor, now He is safe, never again to die, never again obliged to wash away the stains of the world by His death. Christ, in possession of perfect peace and joy, will never again have to suffer penalty for us; once He was made flesh, once He suffered, once He was given over as a victim for sin.

These four strophes (5-8) are the heart of the sequence. The repetition of modo in strophe 5, the assonance of ur and or syllables in strophe 6, the repetition of semel in 7—all point up these strophes as the most important ones of the sequence. Certain overtones of compassion and pity are heard, even in considering Christ in His glory. There is the idea, perhaps strange to us, that the God-Man is now "safe" (tutus) from suffering and death. This, with the note of calm and peace in strophe 8, suggests the mystic's compassionate contemplation of Christ's life.

The conclusion, strophes 9 to 16, is a rhythmical, too-smooth rendition of Christ's last admonitions to His disciples. For imaginative and emotional appeal, the first eight strophes might well be studied as a separate unit.

In this writer's opinion Adam of St. Victor is at his best in his Marian sequences. O Maria, stella maris (xx) urgently begs the Blessed Virgin to be a real Star of the Sea to the whole shipwrecked world. Its theme is the sorrow and pain of mortal life, sweetened only by the thought of the Blessed Mother.

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 1 | O Maria, stella maris,
pietate singularis,
pietatis oculo | 2 | nos digneris intueri;
ne cuncteris misereri
naufraganti saeculo. |
| 3 | In hac valle lacrimarum
nihil dulce, nihil carum,
suspecta sunt omnia: | 4 | quid hic nobis erit tutum,
cum nec ipsa vel virtutum
tuta sit victoria? |
| 5 | Caro nobis adversatur,
mundus carni suffragatur
in nostram perniciem; | 6 | hostis instat, nos infestans,
nunc se palam manifestans,
nunc occultans rabiem. |
| 7 | Et peccamus, et punimur,
et diversis irretimur
laqueis venantium; | 8 | o Maria, mater Dei,
tu post Deum summa spei,
tu dulce refugium: |
| 9 | tot et tantis irretiti
non valemus his reniti
nec vi, nec industria: | 10 | consolatrix miserorum,
suscitatrix mortuorum,
mortis rumpe retia. |
| 11 | Intendentes tuae laudi,
nos attende, nos exaudi,
nos a morte libera; | 12 | quae post Christum prima sedes,
inter Christi coheredes
Christo nos adnumera. |
| 13 | Iesu, mitis et benigne,
cuius nomen est insigne,
dulce, salutiferum, | 14 | munus nobis da salutis,
in defectu constitutis
plenitudo munerum. |
| 15 | Pater, fili, consolator,
unus Deus, unus dator
multiformis gratiae, | 16 | solo nutu pietatis,
fac nos simplae trinitatis
post spem frui specie! |

Strophes 3 to 7 enumerate the woes of this vale of tears. The weary tone of the recital is deepened by avowals of the emptiness and vanity of this world: nihil dulce, nihil carum (3); quid hic nobis erit tutum (4). Besides the uncertainty of earthly conditions, there is the deadly certainty of necessary combat with the flesh and the Old Enemy, graphically summarized in strophes 5 and 6. In strophe 7 the poet admits that we have not escaped this struggle unscathed. Polysyndeton joins three melancholy admissions with a cumulative effect: we are sinners; we are liable to punishment; we are entangled in the nets of our enemies. In strophe 8 the poet turns to Mary, Mother of God, our best hope after God. She is invoked by three of her titles which have special significance for poor human wayfarers in trouble: sweet refuge, consoler of the afflicted, and encourager of the faint-hearted. Prayers to her, asking her to break the death net, to deliver us from death, to number us among the heirs of Christ, follow in strophes 10, 11, and 12. There is repetition of nos and of the name of Christ, adding urgency to the prayer. The sequence closes with an address to Jesus, an appeal to His Holy Name, and a final prayer to the Blessed Trinity.

The tone of the sequence is set by the first two strophes, a succinct, direct plea for help, contrasting the Star of the Sea, in all her loveliness and lovableness, with us, trapped in a world going to ruin. The stanzas relating the dangers of the world are filled with strong, harsh-sounding, unpleasant words: suspecta, perniciem, infestans, rabiem. We might even note the consonant sounds in strophes 3 to 7. Strophe 8 introduces the Virgin Mother of God, and some of her serenity is projected into the madcap world just presented. As invariably happens, Mary leads the troubled soul to

Christ, first indirectly referred to in strophe 12--Christum, Christi, Christo--then directly addressed in the next two strophes. The last strophes correspond to the doxology frequently found at the end of hymns; they are addressed to the Blessed Trinity.

The last note is one of hope. The soul has passed through the waters of tribulation. Though the shipwreck metaphor is not carried through to the end, the whole sequence revolves about the soul overwhelmed in a sea of troubles, looking to the powerful Star of the Sea for aid.

A concrete evidence of the piety of the Middle Ages is the conventional plea to Christ or the Blessed Mother and the saints honored in a sequence to "unite us to the blessed." This ending was as common as the customary beginning address to the muses in pagan classical poetry. All the saints, but especially the Blessed Virgin, are presented as models to be imitated, friends to be admired and loved, and above all, friends who have the power to help us attain the goal they reached.

One of the most magnificent of all the medieval sequences is Salve mater salvatoris (xcii). O Maria, stella maris is a plaint and a plea for help; Salve mater salvatoris, though it includes the inevitable request for aid, is primarily a contemplation of the perfections of the Blessed Virgin, considered under various aspects and expressed in various figures.

1 Salve mater salvatoris,
vas electum, vas honoris,
vas caelestis gratiae.

2 Ab aeterno vas provisum:
vas insigne, vas excisum
manu sapientiae.

3 Salve, verbi sacra parens,
flos de spinis, spina carens,
flos, spineti gloria.

4 Nos spinetum, nos peccati
spina sumus cruentati
sed tu spinae nescia.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>5 Porta clausa, fons hortorum,
cella custos unguentorum,
cella pigmentaria.</p> <p>7 Salve, decus virginum,
mediatrix hominum,
salutis puerpera;</p> <p>9 Tu convallis humilis,
terra non arabilis,
quae fructum parturit;</p> <p>11 Tu caelestis paradusus,
libanusque non incisus,
vaporans dulcedinem.</p> <p>13 Tu es thronus Salomonis,
cui nullus par in thronis
arte vel materia.</p> <p>15 Palman praefers singularem,
nec in terris habes parem,
nec in caeli curia.</p> <p>17 Salve, mater pietatis,
et totius trinitatis
nobile triclinium.</p> <p>19 O Maria, stella maris,
dignitate singularis,
super omnes ordinis
ordines caelestium.</p> <p>21 In procinctu constituti
te tuente simus tuti,
pervicacis et versuti
tuae cedat vis virtuti
dolus providentiae.</p> | <p>6 Cinnamomi calammum,
murrum, tus et balsammum,
superas fragrantia.</p> <p>8 myrtus temperantiae,
rosa patientiae,
nardus odorifera.</p> <p>10 flos campi, convallium
singulare lilium,
Christus, ex te prodiit.</p> <p>12 Tu candoris et decoris,
tu dulcoris et odoris
habes plenitudinem.</p> <p>14 Ebur candens castitatis,
aurum fulvum, caritatis
praesignant mysteria.</p> <p>16 Laus humani generis,
virtutum prae ceteris
habes privilegia.</p> <p>18 Verbi tamen incarnati
speciale maiestati
praeparans hospitium.</p> <p>20 In supremo sita poli,
nos assigna tuae proli
ne terrores sive doli
nos supplantent hostium.</p> <p>22 Iesu, verbum summi patris,
serva servos tuae matris,
solve reos, salva gratis
et nos tua claritatis
configura gloriae.</p> |
|---|---|

First, six repetitions of vas prepare the reader for the series of epithets to follow. Mary is a vessel of election, of honor, of heavenly grace.

She is a vessel foreseen and chosen from all eternity, a glorious vessel, hollowed out and fashioned (excisum) by the hand of Divine Wisdom. All this is compressed into the first two strophes.

Then the Blessed Virgin is hailed as Mother of God, Mother of the Word, and the poet passes over into another series of comparisons centering in the idea that the Blessed Virgin is a blossom, a flower without thorns, product of the thorn bush of human nature, glory of the thorn bush, yet herself spinae nescia. Both strophes intertwine flos with forms of spina, forming a wreath of devotion and wonder.

Biblical references follow in close order, praising the Blessed Virgin as the closed gate, the fountain of gardens, a room full of perfumes and spices. She surpasses cinnamon, myrrh, frankincense, and balsam in fragrance. One strophe recalls the capitulum of Vespers of Our Lady's Little Office: Sicut cinnamomum et balsamum aromatizans odorem dedi: quasi myrrha electa dedi suavitatem odoris.²

The breathless list of epithets is interrupted for three direct salutations: Hail, crown (decus) of virgins, our mediatrix, the bearer of salvation. These touch upon Mary's role as a virgin, as Mother of Our Savior, and as a mediatrix, the office which she fulfills for us even to the present time. The next strophe develops Mary's dignity as virgin, mother and mediatrix. As myrtle tree of temperance she practiced the asceticism of chastity. As rose of patience she suffered with Christ as co-Redemptrix. As precious nard she fills the world with the fragrance of her solicitude, even while she is in glory.

Strophe 9 develops the comparison of the Virgin to a low-lying valley, an untilled field, yet not barren, for she bore fruit—the Flower of

2 Ecclus. 24, 20.

the Field, Christ, the Lily of the valley. She is not only a field, but a whole heaven of delights—a paradise.³ She is lofty and straight as an uncut cedar: Quasi cedrus exaltata sum in Libano, et quasi cypressus in monte Sion.⁴ Like Solomon's throne, a type of Mary, the Virgin is unique arte vel materia. The gold and ivory of the throne signify her charity and chastity. Like the palm tree, with its tall beauty and its rich, sweet fruit, Our Lady has no equal on earth or in heaven.

Finally the crown of the sequence comes near the end, with strophes 17 and 18. Succinctly and lovingly, Mary's dignity as Mother of God is presented. She is mother of love (mater pietatis), noble resting place (triclinium) of the whole Trinity, preparing herself to receive the ineffable majesty of the Incarnate Word as an honored guest.⁵

3 Cf. Richard of St. Victor, Explicatio in Cantica Canticorum, caput xxxiii, for a linking of the two epithets applied to the Blessed Virgin, "paradise" and "fountain of waters": "Est enim beata Virgo paradus de qua egreditur fons iste, qui deinde dividitur in quatuor capita, quia de corpore Christi quod de ipsa processit, profluxit fons sanguinis qui sacramentaliter inde fluxit in quatuor mundi partes ad abluendum pariter a peccatis, et infundendam gratiam suis." Migne, Patr. lat., CXCVI, col. 475.

4 Ecclus. 24, 17.

5 The Latin word triclinium, as applied to the Blessed Mother, is pregnant with connotations. It calls up the idea of a couch, a resting-place, a dining room. Besides this, there is the appropriateness of calling the Blessed Mother a triclinium, that is, the resting-place of Three Persons.

Richard of St. Victor, in the commentary on the Canticum already quoted, chapter xlii, explains the office of the Blessed Mother as a resting-place and (almost) an inn for the Incarnate Word. He adds several other scriptural references, quite in the manner of the earlier part of this sequence: "haec est in quo se reclinat rex, reclinatorium viatorum dum declinat, haec est diversorium, caput super hanc inclinatur, non habens tugurium, Rex aeternae gloriae. . . Haec est arbor inflammata, sed comburi nescia, stella Jacob procreata, veri solis nuntia, porta semper obserata, soli regi pervia,

The last strophes address Mary as the Star of the Sea set above the hierarchy of the heavens and above the angels. The poet asks her, in her exalted position, to entrust us to the care of her Son, lest the assaults and wiles of our enemies waylay us. In full realization of the strength and cleverness of these enemies, still the poet expresses the confidence of the child--te tuente tuti sumus.

The final strophe directs a prayer to Mary's Son, asking Him to keep safe those who love and serve His Mother. The Latin has two plays on words: serva servos, and solve reos, salva gratis.

For tenderness and sublimity of thought, as well as for adroitness of expression, this sequence deserves a place with the greatest religious poems of the Middle Ages.

Virgo mater salvatoris (xxiii) was written to honor the Blessed Virgin during the time following Epiphany, so there are traces of the Crib and the traditional Bethlehem scene in it.

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| 1 | Virgo mater salvatoris,
angelorum grata choris,
intus fove, serva foris
nos benignis precibus: | 2 | protulisti virga florem,
cuius floris in odorem
sancti currunt per amorem
piis cum muneribus. |
| 3 | Tria dona reges ferunt:
stella duce regem quaerunt
per quem certi semper erunt
de superno lumine. | 4 | Auro regem venerantes,
turo Deum designantes,
murra mortem memorantes,
sacro docti flamine. |

sed et arca foederis, allata David humeris, magno translata júbilo. . . .Ave Maria, mater gratiae, mundi regina, mater misericordiae, salva nos a ruina, fons vitae, vena veniae, venire tunc festina cum morti appropinquamus, ut tecum valeamus perpetue gaudere. Amen."—Migne, Patr. lat., CXCVI, col. 522.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>5 Dies iste iubilaeus
dici debet quo Sabaeus
plene credens quod sit Deus
 mentis gaudet requie;</p> <p>7 Synagoga caeca, doles,
quia Sarae crescit proles,
cum ancillae prolem moles
 gravis premat criminum.</p> <p>9 Consecratus patris ore,
Iacob gaudet cum tremore:
tu rigaris caeli rore
 et terrae pinguedine;</p> <p>11 Unguentorum in odore
sancti currunt cum amore,
quia novo fragrat flore
 nova Christi vinea.</p> <p>13 Adstat sponsa regi rato
cul ritu servit grato
in vestitu deaurato,
 aureis in fimbriis</p> <p>15 Haec est sponsa spiritalis,
vero sponso specialis;
sponsus iste nos a malis
 servet et eripiat.</p> | <p>6 plebs Hebraea iam tabescit;
multa sciens, Deum nescit,
sed gentilis fide crescit,
 visa Christi facie.</p> <p>8 Tu tabescis et laboras;
Sara ridet dum tu ploras,
quia novit quem ignoras,
 redemptorem hominum.</p> <p>10 delectaris in terrenis
rebus, vanis et obscenis;
Iacob tractat de serenis
 et Christi dulcedine.</p> <p>12 Ad peccatum prius prona,
iam percepit sponsa dona,
sponsa recens, et corona
 decoratur aurea.</p> <p>14 orta rosa est ex spinis,
cuius ortus sive finis
semper studet in divinis
 et regis deliciis.</p> <p>16 Mores tollat hic ineptos,
sibi reddat nos acceptos,
et ab hoste sic ereptos
 in caelis recipiat.</p> |
|---|--|

As mother of Our Savior, the Blessed Virgin is pleasing to the choirs of angels, and, we hope—thus the poet inserts his plea early in the sequence—ready to foster our devotion and save us with her prayers.

The Rod has brought forth a Blossom Whose fragrance incites the saints to eager pursuit of holiness.

Introducing the Epiphany motif, the poet depicts the three kings, bearing gifts and seeking the King. They are led by a star which they know to be a sure sign through an interior light sent from God. This elaborate figure is interwoven: The kings seek a King; stella duce. . . de superno lumine. The

three gifts they bear are allegorically significant. The gold befits Christ the King; the frankincense is owing to His divinity; the myrrh is in commemoration and anticipation of His death.

The adoration of the Eastern kings also signifies the entrance of the gentiles into the kingdom of the Chosen People. The poet characterizes the Hebrew people as languid, indifferent to their fulfillment in Christ. They are in the sad condition of not knowing what is to their peace, as the grown-up Christ would observe later in His career. Multa sciens, Deum nescit. In contrast to Sara in her joy, representing the peoples who accepted Christ, the synagogue labors under blindness and grief. Jacob, also representative of the gentiles, rejoices, but with wholesome fear. The blessing he has received, the heavenly dew and fertility of the land, carries with it new responsibilities. While those who reject Christ waste their time in empty, worldly, or even unseemly pursuits, Jacob, representing those who accept Christ, deals with the peace of Christ and His sweetness.

The new-born King is to found a society of saints, drawn to follow Him by "the odor of His ointments." This and the following scriptural references may best refer to the Church, the Spouse of Christ, gold-crowned and jeweled, attired in gilded vesture. Strophe 14 can apply equally well to the Church or to the Blessed Virgin: either may be said to be a rose without thorns, always zealous to please her divine and royal Lord. She is the spiritual spouse who can ask her Spouse to preserve us, deliver us from evil, and finally receive us into heaven.

This sequence, contrasting the gentile kings who represented the Church-to-be with the synagogue, blind to Christ, is a reflective meditation

throughout. The sad sequence tabescit, nescit is applied to Christ's own people, while crescit describes the faith of the nations (strophe 6). Sara and Jacob represent the same contrast. The repetition of or, ur, and other r sounds, particularly noteworthy in the beginning of the sequence and from strophe 9 and 11 to the end, gives a rounded-out quality which reinforces the reflective mood of the piece. There are also other echoes: sponsa several times in strophes 12, 13, and 15; deaurato. . . aureis; orta (rosa). . . ortus.

This sequence is not an agonized prayer for help, though the usual soul-enemies are mentioned in the last strophes; it is a sober reflection on the Church.

Ave, virgo singularis (xxvi) is a sequence in honor of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It is mainly a prayer for help, but parts of it recall the Salve mater salvatoris in its lists of titles addressed to Our Lady.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Ave, virgo singularis,
mater nostri salutaris,
quae vocaris Stella Maris,
stella non erratica; | 2 non in huius vitae mari
non permittite naufragari,
sed pro nobis salutari
tuo semper supplica. |
| 3 Saevit mare, fremunt venti,
fluctus surgunt turbulenti,
navis currit, sed currenti
tot occurrunt obvia; | 4 hic sirenes voluptatis,
draco, canes cum piratis,
mortem paene desperatis
haec intentant omnia. |
| 5 Post abyssos nunc ad caelum
furens unda fert phaselum,
nutat malus, fluit velum,
nautae cessat opere; | 6 contabescit in his malis
homo noster animalis,
tu nos, mater spiritalis,
pereuntes libera. |
| 7 Tu, perfusa caeli rore,
castitatis salvo flore,
novum florem novo more
protulisti saeculo; | 8 verbum patri coaequale,
corpus intrans virginale,
fit pro nobis corporale
sub ventris umbraculo. |

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>9 Te praevidit et elegit
qui potenter cuncta regit,
nec pudoris claustra fregit,
sacra replens viscera;</p> <p>11 O Maria, pro tuorum
dignitate meritorum,
supra choros angelorum
sublimaris unice;</p> <p>13 Radix sancta, radix viva,
flos et vitis et oliva,
quam nulla vis insitiva
iuvit ut fructificet,</p> <p>15 In conspectu summi regis
sis pusilli memor gregis,
qui transgressor datae legis
praesumit de venia;</p> <p>17 Iesu, sacri ventris fructus,
nobis inter mundi fluctus
sis dux, via, et conductus
liber ad caelestia;</p> | <p>10 nec pressuram nec dolorem,
contra primae matris morem,
pariendo salvatorem
sensisti, puerpera!</p> <p>12 felix dies hodierna
qua conscendis ad superna;
pietate, tu, materna,
nos in imo respice.</p> <p>14 lampas soli, splendor poli,
quae splendore praees soli,
nos assigna tuae proli
ne districte iudicet.</p> <p>16 iudex mitis et benignus,
iudex iugi laude dignus
reis spei dedit pignus,
crucis factus hostia.</p> <p>18 tene clavum, rege navem,
tu, procellam sedans gravem,
portum nobis da suavem
pro tua clementia.</p> |
|--|---|

Mary is again addressed under the title of Stella Maris, a constant star: stella non erratica. In a strophe not so neatly expressed as the first strophes of O Maria, stella maris (xx), the poet begs her not to let us be shipwrecked in life's sea. Strophes 3 to 5 describe the raging sea, dangerous not only because of the storm winds, but because the sirens of pleasure, the sea monster (the devil), dogs, and pirates infest it, bent on the destruction of the frail boat. Mary is asked to free the soul from all these dangers.

She is eminently fitted for her mission as guide and deliverer, because she has been filled with the dew from heaven and she has, with no impairing of her virginity, given to the world a "new Blossom in a new way"—novum florem novo more. She enclosed in her virginal body the Divine Word, equal to the Father, and in the shelter of her womb He put on flesh for our sake. The

strophes use repetition, first flore in referring to the flower of Mary's virginity, then florem to speak of Christ. The second uses the antithesis already old in the Church: the Incarnate God confined in the space of His Mother's womb:

Beata mater munere
 cujus supernus Artifex
 mundum pugillo continens
 ventris sub arca clausus est. ⁶

Next the poet expands the idea of the miraculous conception and birth of Jesus. God foresaw and forechose Mary. God, Who rules all things mightily, did not break the cloister of her purity when He entered her holy womb. At the birth, Mary did not feel the pain or sorrow which has been the inheritance of mothers since Eve.

The poet returns to a eulogy of Mary, unique in her exaltation above the choirs of angels. In her Assumption, on the happy day when she ascends the heights, she is reminded that we are counting on her motherly solicitude for us.

The next strophes are a list of epithets, either scriptural or devotional. Mary is the holy, living Rod. She is flower, vine, and olive branch; it is the power of God which produces fruit in her. She is as the dawn preceding the sun, as the radiance of the spheres, a radiance surpassing the sun in glory.

⁶ Fortunatus' hymn, used in Matins and Lauds of Our Lady's Little Office. Note the force of the diminutive pugillo: Our Lady shelters in her womb the God Who holds the whole world in His "little fist."

Finally the poet makes another appeal for her intercession, beginning with the last two lines of strophe 14: commend us to your Son, lest He judge us too severely. Be mindful of your little flock (the diminutive having the idea of childlike, little in spirit rather than in size) in the presence of the Great King.⁷

Christ is addressed as a kind and loving Judge, Who gave guilty men hope of pardon when He died for them on the Cross.

The last strophes appeal directly to Christ as the Fruit of Mary's womb. The poet asks Him to be leader, road, and way to heaven. "Keep the rudder, pilot the ship; quieting the storm, lead us, in your kindness, to a pleasant (suavem) port."

This Marian sequence refers again to the shipwreck theme, both at the beginning and at the end, though the gamut of Old Testament figures is run through in the body of the poem. The description of the dangers of the sea is much more vivid and terrifying than the corresponding description in O Maria, stella maris (xx). We have a raging sea, wild winds, and mountainous waves (strophe 3). The next strophes develop even more terrible dangers, terrible because they are not simply forces of nature, but the result of the machinations of the dread intelligence of the devil. It is into this formidable atmosphere that the poet introduces the Blessed Virgin, in a rather unwieldy, awkward strophe (6). Strophes 7 to 14 skillfully touch upon traditional and

7 Cf. Offertory, Mass of the Seven Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary: "Recordare, Virgo Mater Dei, dum steteris in conspectu Domini, ut loquaris pro nobis bona, et ut avertat indignationem suam a nobis."

Old Testament figures applied to the Blessed Mother. Strophe 8, with its rather commonplace first three lines, has a lovely closing: sub ventris umbraculo.

The raging sea is momentarily forgotten in contemplating the perfections of the Maid whom God chose as Mother. Then strophes 9 to 12 are more or less prosaic. Strophe 13 goes back to the Old Testament figures. Finally the Blessed Mother is asked to recommend us to her Son (iudex. . . iudex). Christ then takes over the frail boat as Pilot. In the final strophes He is in full control of the storm. "Peace, be still," might be a good summary of the tone of this sequence.

A meditative consideration of the message of the sequences reveals that the poet expressed love, faith, and a wholesome sense of awe in accepting and rejoicing in the mysteries of the Faith. As a child of God, the poet, standing as a representative of all the faithful, adored the Blessed Trinity, contemplating the life and sufferings of Our Lord with a tinge of the personal ardor which, since St. Bernard, characterized the Middle Ages. The Blessed Virgin is revered as the chosen vessel of grace and beauty, specially fashioned by God for her mission. She is also invoked as a powerful help in the trials of life. The shipwreck metaphors are particularly eloquent in this regard. Other symbols and figures applied to the Blessed Virgin have their foundation in Sacred Scripture or in the devotion of the writer. With this common-sense, steady, uncompromising acceptance of the realities of faith, there was a grateful upsurge of an unspoiled, childlike devotion.

We have seen that the over-facile versification of much of medieval poetry has been compared to the child's delight in endless variations,

repetitions, and word manipulation. Unfortunately, many medieval hymns and sequences serve to corroborate the idea that the men of the Middle Ages were merely big children. In those sequences, however, in which skill in versification is made to serve the higher powers of man—his intellect, imagination, emotions—we see indubitable evidence of the maturity and dignity of the men of the Middle Ages. "If the four chief attributes of man at his highest be Love, Reason, Faith, and the sense of Wonder, they at least had them all; which does not mean that they always used them well."⁸

All four of these attributes were used well in the best of the medieval sequences. Love directs and purifies the emotions. Reason and faith exercise and illumine the intellect. The sense of wonder keeps the whole man in his proper place in creation. Indeed, all these faculties or attributes may be summarized under one head: worship. If we attempt to characterize the greatest religious poems of the Middle Ages, we come closest to their essence when we fix upon their quality of adoration. The writer is convinced that Adam of St. Victor wrote his sequences not to delight his hearers, not to teach them, not to display his own learning, but primarily to worship God.⁹ All his devotion, his great knowledge, and his skill were brought to bear upon the truths of faith; and the poet offered up the results of his contemplation like incense to God.

⁸ Claude Jenkins, "Some Aspects of Medieval Latin Literature," Legacy, 158.

⁹ This primary purpose of worship might be the key to the sublime indifference of medieval poets to rights of authorship and fame.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The sequences ascribed to Adam of St. Victor have been considered under four aspects: their position in literary history, their value in illuminating certain phases of medieval life, their authorship, and their poetic value.

First, this study has entailed an investigation of the place of the sequence in literary history and criticism. Sequences developed from a musical to a literary form, attaining a high degree of maturity and perfection with the work of Adam of St. Victor, about the end of the twelfth century. Through part of the thirteenth century the sequences flourished as a vigorous poetic form; but decadence soon set in, and the quantity of the sequences rapidly increased with a corresponding diminution of quality.

By the time of the sixteenth-century Renaissance, the profusion and mediocrity of religious poetry had become embarrassing. Renaissance critics, undertaking the task of administering a much-needed pruning, almost cut down the tree in the process. Since the Renaissance almost to our own day, with the exception of a few critics and during a few periodic revivals of medieval religious poetry, the prevalent attitude has reflected Renaissance contempt of "monk's Latin" or "kitchen Latin."

This attitude compels serious investigation of the question: is medieval religious poetry worth studying? For centuries critics and scholars had dismissed medieval Latin literature (if they gave it a thought) as beneath contempt. With a skeptical sneer they wondered if anything good could come out of the Middle Ages. Within the last hundred years an occasional courageous voice was heard advocating that these poems be judged on their merits, rather than on criteria of criticism which were based on misunderstanding of the principles of medieval Latin literature. Secular Latin poetry finally carved out a niche for itself. Now it is time for a general reevaluation of medieval Latin religious poetry on its own merits.

Doubtless the dusty anthologies and hymnaries of the last centuries contain many pieces which are happily buried. Reading them, we understand why the writers of the Renaissance wanted to banish them forever from the liturgy, even from memory. The only possible usefulness of this type of versification is to teach us what virtuosity without genius, or even taste, can do to variations on a good thing. A few judicious selections might serve as horrible examples for class amusement.

There are also many poems and hymns which in our kindest moments we might call mediocre. Some of them are sincere expressions of the writer's piety and devotion, but they are not literature.

On the other hand, there are many real gems buried in the great anthologies of the last century, particularly in the Analecta Hymnica, illustrating the love, reason, faith, and sense of wonder of the medieval poets and their audience. These works convince the unprejudiced reader that medieval

religious poetry should not be the step-child of classical studies. Selected hymns and sequences should be studied and taught along with quantitative metrical poetry (in the classical mode) and in conjunction with popular rhythmic poetry—selected student songs and Goliardic verse.

All three types of literature are indications of the long extension of classical culture into the Middle Ages. They are expressions of the spirit of the Middle Ages. At its apogee, the sequence is an expression of the best qualities of the Middle Ages: faith, love of beauty as revealed in symbolism, clear vision as revealed in the love of paradox, and a sense of wonder in contemplating God and the marvels of His creation. In content and technique the sequences ascribed to Adam of St. Victor are representative of these qualities.

Coming to the question of authorship of the many sequences attributed with or without reason to Adam of St. Victor, the student is beset with many difficulties. This investigation has made no claim to resolve doubts; it has merely set them forth, comparing available standard texts, and compiling a history of the text of Adam's sequences.

After careful consideration of the content and form of all the sequences ascribed to Adam of St. Victor, the writer believes that the following sequences are in the best spirit of Adam, characterized by sound theological knowledge, depth and richness of symbolism, and adroitness of expression:

- i. Profitentes unitatem (in honor of the Blessed Trinity)
- iii. Iubilemus salvatori (for Christmas)
- v. In excelsis canitur (for the feast of the Circumcision)
- xiii. Zyma vetus expurgetur (for Easter)

- xiv. Postquam hostem et inferna (for the Ascension)
- xvii. Simplex in essentia (for Pentecost)
- xviii. Ave virgo singularis (in honor of the Blessed Virgin)
- xx. O Maria, stella maris (in honor of the Blessed Virgin)
- xxi. Dies ista celebretur (in honor of the Blessed Virgin)
- xxii. Salve mater salvatoris (in honor of the Blessed Virgin)
- xxiii. Virgo mater salvatoris (in honor of the Blessed Virgin)
- xxiv. Lux advenit veneranda (in honor of the Blessed Virgin)
- xxvi. Ave virgo singularis (in honor of the Blessed Virgin)
- xxx. Stola regni laureatus (in honor of the Apostles)
- xxxvi. Ad honorem tuum, Christe (in honor of John the Baptist)
- xxxvii. Gratulemur ad festivum (in honor of John the Evangelist)
- xxxviii. Prunis datum admiremur (in honor of St. Lawrence)
- xlv. Roma Petro glorietur (in honor of Sts. Peter and Paul)
- xlvi. Heri mundus exsultavit (in honor of St. Stephen)
- xlviii. Ecce, dies triumphalis (in honor of St. Victor)
- li. Rex Salomon fecit templum (for the dedication of a church).

We may say that these are Adam's best. Less definitely of the highest caliber, but still worthy of study and consideration as having much of the spirit of Adam, are:

- xii. Sexta passus feria (for Easter)
- xv. Lux iucunda, lux insignis (for Pentecost)
- xvi. Qui procedis ab utroque (for Pentecost)
- xxv. Templum cordis adornemus (in honor of the Blessed Virgin)

- xxvii. Gratulemur in hac die (in honor of the Blessed Virgin)
- xxxii. Interni festi gaudia (in honor of St. Augustine)
- xli. Laus erumpat ex affectu (in honor of St. Michael)
- xlii. Corde, voce pulsa caelos (in honor of St. Paul)
- xliiii. Iubilemus salvatori (in honor of St. Paul)
- xliv. Gaude, Roma, caput mundi (in honor of St. Peter)
- xlix. Ex radice caritatis (in honor of St. Victor)

This is by no means a complete or absolutely final canon of Adam's works. It does not preclude the possibility that some of these were written by other gifted writers, writing in what might be considered the recognized spirit of Adam. Nor does it include the possible early or inferior productions of Adam. In the light of available evidence, however, and until further manuscript evidence is forthcoming, we may consider these as the sequences of Adam of St. Victor.

This investigation has demonstrated the usefulness of combining the text of all the poems ascribed to Adam of St. Victor with an account of their background and literary and critical history. But the main purpose of the writer has been to study the poems themselves in the light of the new respect for the traditions and dignity of the Middle Ages which is characteristic of an increasing number of modern historians.

Judged as poetic works, the sequences ascribed to Adam offer little, according to Romantic or sentimental standards of literary criticism. These critics will naturally gravitate to the magnificent thirteenth-century sequences, Stabat Mater and the Dies Irae.

The best of Adam's sequences are characterized by a classic perfection of form according to the laws of the sequence at its height. They are especially notable for their sound doctrinal basis, for their poetic imagery and use of symbolism, for their "wit" in combining and contrasting the ever-wonderful, ever-startling paradoxes of the Faith.

These sequences have a place in world literature. As a holy man and the recognized outstanding liturgical poet of the golden age of religious poetry, Adam of St. Victor gathered up from his predecessors all the scattered brilliances of thought and expression, crystallized them, and flung them down the years to enlighten and inspire future poets and lovers of God.

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APPENDIX

TEXT OF THE SEQUENCES ASCRIBED TO ADAM OF ST. VICTOR

Included in this appendix are all the sequences attributed to Adam of St. Victor by Blume and Bannister¹ (generally designated: Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore), even those sequences not specifically or exhaustively treated in this study and those sequences of doubted ascription by reason of their irregularities, their inclusion in eleventh-century manuscripts, or their early widespread use. This basic fund of sequences has been compared with those included in the collections of four other editors: Clichtovaeus, Gautier, Migne, and Misset.² Location of each sequence is indicated by number or page.

1 Clemens Blume, S.J., and Henry M. Bannister, Thesauri Hymnologici Prosarium (Vols. LIII, LIV, and LV of Analecta Hymnica medi aevi), Leipzig, 1911, 1915, 1922 resp. This source will be indicated in subsequent footnotes by A. H. Both editors are responsible for the first two volumes. Bannister died in 1919, before the publication of the third.

2 Jodocus Clichtovaeus, Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum, Basel, 1517. The copy used by the writer is in the Salzmann Library of St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. It is bound with Homilie hoc et conciones populares sanctissimorum ecclesie doctorum, published by Joannes Frobenius. This source will be indicated by Clichtovaeus.

Léon Gautier, Les Oeuvres poétiques d'Adam de Saint-Victor, 2 vols., Paris, 1858. Gautier will designate this source.

Jacques Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus (series latina), CXCVI, "Adami a Sancto Victore Sequentiae," cols. 1425-1534, Paris, 1855. Migne will designate this source.

Eugène Misset and Pierre Aubry, Les Proses d'Adam de Saint-Victor (Vol. II of Mélanges de musicologie médiévale, ed. Pierre Aubry), Paris, 1900. Misset will indicate this source.

For regular dictionary work connected with the proses, especially the establishment of consistent spelling, the writer has used Harper's Latin Dictionary.³

The sequences are arranged in the following order: first, those about God; second, those about the Blessed Virgin; third, those honoring various saints (alphabetically arranged); and finally, one sequence for the feast of the dedication of a church.

An index of first lines will be found at the end of the appendix.

I. De Trinitate⁴

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| 1 | Profitentes unitatem
veneremur trinitatem
pari reverentia, | 2 | tres personas asserentes
personali differentes
a se differentia. |
| 3 | Haec dicuntur relative,
cum sint unum substantive,
non tria principia. | 4 | Sive dicas tres vel tria,
simplex tamen est usia,
non triplex essentia. |

³ A New Latin Dictionary founded on the translation of Freund's Latin-German Lexicon, ed. E. A. Andrews; revised, enlarged, rewritten by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, New York, 1907.

⁴ A. H., LIV, no. 161. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Citeaux had this sequence at the beginning of the thirteenth century. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, it was much used not only in Augustinian abbeys in France and England, but in almost all European Dominican houses. This circumstance and the scholastic diction of the sequence gave rise to the conjecture that, if the sequence did not originate in the abbey of St. Victor, it might have been written by a Dominican. It is more probable, according to Blume and Bannister, that it was composed at St. Victor's, and that some visiting Dominicans liked it and took it home to their brethren.

Clichtovaeus, IV, 181.

Gautier, no. xxii.

Migne, no. xi.

Misset, no. xxiii.

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| 5 | Simplex esse, simplex posse,
simplex velle, simplex nosse,
cuncta sunt simplicia; | 6 | pater, proles, sacrum flamen,
Deus unus; sed hi tamen
habent quaedam propria. |
| 7 | Non unius quam duarum
sive trium personarum
minor efficacia; | 8 | una virtus, unum nomen,
unus splendor, unum lumen,
hec una quod alia. |
| 9 | Patri proles est aequalis,
nec hoc tollit personalis
amborum distinctio. | 10 | Patri compar filioque,
spiritualis ab utroque
procedit connectio. |
| 11 | Non humana ratione
capi possunt hae personae,
nec harum discretio; | 12 | non hic ordo temporalis,
non hic situs, aut localis
rerum circumscriptio. |
| 13 | Nihil in Deo praeter Deum,
nulla causa praeter eum
qui creat causalia; | 14 | effectiva vel formalis
causa Deus, et finalis
sed numquam materia. |
| 15 | Digne loqui de personis
vim transcendit rationis,
excedit ingenia. | 16 | Quid sit gigni, quid processus,
me nescire sum professus;
sed fide non dubia. |
| 17 | Nos in fide gloriamur,
nos in una modulamur
fidei constantia; | 18 | trinae sit laus unitati,
sit et simplae trinitati
coaeterna gloria! |

II. In Nativitate Domini⁵

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| 1 | In natale salvatoris
angelorum nostra chorus
succinat condicio; | 2 | harmonia diversorum,
sed in unum redactorum,
dulcis est connectio. |
|---|---|---|--|

⁵ A. H., LIV, no. 98. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. The sources indicate Paris, the abbey of St. Victor, as the origin of this sequence, but Adam's authorship is not absolutely certain. There are a few irregularities of rhythm.

Gautier, no. iii.

Misset, no. i.

- 3 Felix dies hodiernus,
in quo patri coaeternus
nascitur ex virgine;
- 4 felix dies et iucundus,
illustrari gaudet mundus
veri solis lumine,
- 5 Ne periret homo reus,
redemptorem misit Deus,
pater unigenitum;
- 6 visitavit, quos amavit,
nosque vitas revocavit
gratia non meritum,
- 7 Infinitus et immensus,
quem non capit ullus sensus
nec locorum spatia,
- 8 ex aeterno temporalis,
ex immenso fit localis,
ut restauret omnia.
- 9 Non peccatum, sed peccati
formam sumens vetustati
nostrae se contemperat,
- 10 immortalis se mortali,
spiritualis corporali
ut natura conferat,
- 11 Sic concurrunt in personae
singularis unione
verbum, caro, spiritus,
- 12 ut natura non mitetur
nec persona geminetur,
sed sit una penitus.
- 13 Tanta rei sacramentum
latet hostem fraudulentum,
fallitur malitia;
- 14 caecus hostis non praesagit,
quod sub nube carnis agit
Dei sapientia.
- 15 Huius nodum sacramenti
non subtilis argumenti
solvit inquisitio;
- 16 modum nosse non est meum,
scio tamen posse Deum,
quod non capit ratio.
- 17 Quam subtile
Dei consilium!
Quam sublime
rei mysterium!
Virga florem,
vellus rorem,
virgo profert filium.
- 18 Nec pudorem
laesit conceptio,
nec virorem
floris emissio;
concupiens
et pariens
comparatur lilio.
- 19 O Maria, stella maris,
spes post Deum singularis
naufragentis saeculi,
- 20 vide, quam nos fraudulenter,
quam nos vexant violenter
tot et tales saeculi.
- 21 Per te virtus nobis detur,
per te, mater, exturbetur
daemorum superbia.
- 22 Tuae proli nos commenda,
ne nos brevi sed tremenda
feriat sententia.
- 23 Iesu, noster salutaris,
qui prudenter operaris
salutis mysterium,
- 24 his, qui colunt hunc natalem,
da salutem temporalem,
da perenne gaudium.

III. In Nativitate Domini⁶

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| 1 | Iubilemus salvatori,
quem caelestes laudent chori,
concordi laetitia; | 2 | pax de caelo nuntiatur,
terra caelo foederatur,
angelis ecclesia. |
| 3 | Verbum carni cōnstitutum,
sicut erat praefinitum,
sine carnis copula | 4 | virgo parit, Dei templum;
nec exemplar nec exemplum
per tot habens saecula. |
| 5 | Res est nova, res insignis,
quod in rubo rubet ignis
nec rubum attaminat; | 6 | caeli rorant, nubes pluunt,
montes stillant, colles fluunt;
radix Iesse germinat. |
| 7 | De radice flos ascendit,
quem prophetae praestendit
evidens oraculum; | 8 | radix Iesse regem David,
virga matrem praesignavit
virginem, flos parvulum. |
| 9 | Mira floris pulchritudo,
quem commendat plenitudo
septiformis gratiae! | 10 | Recreamur in hoc flore,
qui nos gustu, nos odore,
nos invitat specie. |
| 11 | Iesu, puer immortalis,
tuus nobis hic natalis
pacem det et gaudia; | 12 | flos et fructus virginalis,
cuius odor est vitalis,
tibi laus et gloria. |

IV. De Nativitate Domini⁷

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| 1 | Splendor patris et figura
se conformans homini | 2 | potestate, non natura,
partum dedit virgini. |
| 3 | Adam vetus
tandem laetus
novum promat carnicum, | 4 | fugitivus
et captivus
prodeat in publicum. |

6 A. H., LIV, no. 99. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Earliest sources place the origin of this sequence at Paris, and more particularly at the abbey of St. Victor, without making Adam's authorship absolutely certain. Gautier, no. v. Misset, no. vi.

7 A. H., LIV, no. 100. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Clichtovaeus, IV, 162. Gautier, no. vii. Migne, no. iii. Misset, no. v.

- 5 Eva luctum,
vitae fructum
virgo gaudens edidit,
- 7 Si crystallus sit unsecta
atque soli sit obiecta,
scintillat igniculum;
- 9 Super tali genitura
stupet usus et natura
deficitque ratio;
- 11 Frondem, florem, nucem sicca
virga profert et pudica
virgo Dei filium.
- 13 Frondis, floris,
nucis, roris
pietati salvatoris
congruunt mysteria:
- 15 Cur, quod virgo peperit,
est Iudaeis scandalum?
- 17 Contemplamur adhuc nucem;
nam prolata nux in lucem
lucis est mysterium.
- 19 Nux est Christus:
cortex nucis
circa carnem poena crucis,
testa corpus osseum,
carne testa deitas
et Christi suavitas
signatur per nucleum.
- 21 Quos sub umbra sacramenti,
Iesu, pascis in praesenti,
tuo vultu satia;
- 6 nec sigillum
propter illum
castitatis perdidit.
- 8 nec crystallus rumpitur,
nec in partu solvitur
pudoris signaculum.
- 10 res est ineffabilis,
tam pia, tam humilis
Christi generatio.
- 12 Fert caelestem vellus rorem,
creatura creatorem,
creaturae pretium.
- 14 frons est Christus
protegendo,
flos dulcore, nux pascendo,
ros caelesti gratia.
- 16 cum virga produxerit
sicca sic amygdalum?
- 18 Trinam gerens unionem,
tria confert; unctionem,
lumen et edulium.
- 20 Lux est caecis
et unguentum
Christus aegris, et fomentum
piis animalibus.
O quam dulce sacramentum!
Faenum carnis in frumentum
convertit fidelibus.
- 22 splendor patri coaeterno,
nos hinc transfer ad paternae
claritatis gaudia.

V. In Circumcisione Domini⁸

- 1 In excelsis canitur
nato regi "Gloria,"
- 2 per quem terrae redditur
et caelo concordia.

⁸ A. H., LIV, no. 104. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore.
Gautier, no. ii.
Misset, no. vii.

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| 3 | Iure dies colitur
Christi natalitia, | 4 | quo nascente nascitur
novae legis gratia. |
| 5 | Mediator nobis datus
in salutis pretium
non naturae sed reatus
refugit consortium. | 6 | Non amittit claritatem
stella fundens radium
nec Maria castitatem
pariendo filium. |
| 7 | Quid de monte lapis caesus
sine manu, nisi Iesus,
qui de regum linea | 8 | sine carnis opere
de carne puerperae
processit virginea? |
| 9 | Solitudo floreat
et desertum gaudeat!
Virga Iesse floruit; | 10 | radix virgam, virga florem,
virgo profert salvatorem,
sicut lex praecinuit. |
| 11 | Radix David typum gessit,
virga matris, quae processit
ex regali semine; | 12 | flos est puer nobis natus,
iure flori comparatus
prae mira dulcedine. |
| 13 | In praesaepi reclinatur,
cuius ortus celebratur
caelesti praeconio. | 14 | Caeli cives iubilant,
dum pastores vigilant
sub noctis silentio. |
| 15 | Cuncta laudes intonant
super partum virginis; | 16 | lex et psalmi consonant
prophetarum paginis. |
| 17 | Angelorum et pastorum,
stellas simul et magorum
concordant indicia; | 18 | reges currunt Orientis
ad praesaepe vagientis,
gentium primordia. |
| 19 | Iesu, puer immortalis,
ex aeterno temporalis,
nos ab huius vitae malis
tu potenter erue. | 20 | Tu, post vitam hanc mortalem
sive mortem hanc vitalem
vitam nobis immortalem
clementer restitue. |

VI. In Transfiguratione Domini⁹

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| 1 | Laetabundi iubilamus
ac devote celebremus
haec sacra sollempnia; | 2 | ad honorem summi Dei
huius laudes nunc diei
personet ecclesia. |
|---|--|---|--|

⁹ A. H., LIV, no. 106. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Very little expansion is noted for this sequence. Its use was restricted to Paris for the most part, with a few recorded instances in the rest of France. The editors note a lack of Adam's usual depth and spirit.

- 3 In hac Christus die festa
suae dedit manifesta
gloriae indicia.
- 4 Ut hoc possit enarrari
hic nos suo salutari
repleat et gratia.
- 5 Christus ergo, Deus fortis,
vitae dator, victor mortis,
verus sol iustitiae,
quam assumpsit
carnem de virgine,
transformatus
in Thabor culmine
glorificat hodie.
- 6 O quam felix sors bonorum!
Talis enim beatorum
erit resurrectio.
Sicut fulget
sol pleni luminis,
fulsit Dei
vultus et hominis
teste evangelio.
- 7 Candor quoque sacrae vestis
deitatis fuit testis
et futurae gloriae.
- 8 Mirus honor et sublimis,
mira, Deus, tuae nimis
virtus est potentiae.
- 9 Cumque Christus, virtus Dei,
Petro, natis Zebedaei
maiestatis gloriam
- 10 demonstraret manifeste,
ecce, vident Luca teste
Moysen et Eliam.
- 11 Hoc habemus ex Matthaeo,
quod loquentes erant Deo,
Dei patris filio.
- 12 Vere sanctum, vere dignum,
loqui Deo, et benignum,
plenum omni gaudio.
- 13 Huius magna laus diei,
quae sacratum voce Dei,
honor est eximius.
- 14 Nubes illos obumbravit
et vox patris proclamavit:
"Hic est meus filius."
- 15 Huius vocem exaudite!
Habet enim verba vitae
verbo potens omnia.
- 16 hic est Christus, rex cunctorum,
mundi salus, lux sanctorum,
lux illustrans omnia.
- 17 Hic est Christus,
patris verbum,
per quem perdit ius acerbum,
quod in nobis habuit
- 18 hostis nequam,
serpens dirus,
qui, fundendo suum virus,
Evae, nobis nocuit.
- 19 Moriendo nos sanavit,
qui surgendo reparavit
vitam, Christus et damnavit
mortis magisterium.
- 20 Hic est Christus, pax aeterna,
ima regens et superna,
cui de caelis vox paterna
confert testimonium;
- 21 Cuius sono sunt turbati
patres illi tres praefati,
et in terram sunt prostrati,
quando vox emittitur.
- 22 Surgunt tandem adruente
sibi Christo, sed intente
circumspectant cum repente
solus Iesus cernitur.

- 23 Volens Christus hæc celari
non permisit enarrari,
donec vitæ reparator,
hostis vitæ triumphator,
morte victa surgeret.
- 24 Hæc est dies laude digna,
qua tot sanctos fiunt signa.
Christus, splendor Dei patris,
prece sancta suæ matris,
nos a morte liberet.
- 25 Tibi, pater, tibi, nate,
tibi, sancte spiritus,
sit cum summa potestate
laus et honor debitus.

VII. In Inventione S. Crucis¹⁰

1 Laudes crucis attollamus
nos qui crucis exsultamus
speciali gloria.

- 2 Dulce melos tangat caelos;
dulce lignum dulci dignum
credimus melodia:
- 3 voce vita non discordet;
cum vox vitam non remordet,
dulcis est symphonia.
- 4 Servi crucis crucem laudent,
qui per crucem sibi gaudent
vitæ dari munera.
Dicant omnes et dicant singuli
Ave salus totius populi,
arbor salutifera!
- 5 O quam felix, quam præclara
hæc salutis fuit ara,
rubens agni sanguine;
agni sine macula
qui mundavit sæcula
ab antiquo crimine.
- 6 Hæc est scala peccatorum
per quam Christus, rex caelorum
ad se traxit omnia;
- 7 forma cuius hoc ostendit,
quæ terrarum comprehendit
quattuor confinia.
- 8 Non sunt nova sacramenta
nec recenter est inventa
crucis hæc religio:
- 9 ista dulces aquas fecit,
per hanc silix aquas iecit
Moysi officio.

¹⁰ A. H., LIV, no. 120. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. This sequence was extensively used in all countries of Europe by the middle of the twelfth century. It is found in a gradual of St. Florian, Bavaria, dating from the late eleventh century, as well as in many sources which have no other sequences by Adam of St. Victor.

Glichtovaeus, IV, 196.

Gautier, no. xlvii.

Migne, no. xx.

Misset, no. xviii. (De Cruce).

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| 10 | Nulla salus est in domo
nisi cruce munit homo
super liminaria; | 11 | Neque sensit gladium
nec amisit filium,
quisquis egit talia. |
| 12 | Ligna legans in Sarepta
spem salutis est adepta
pauper muliercula; | 13 | Sine lignis fidei
nec lecythus olei
valet nec farinula. |
| 14 | In scripturis sub figuris
ista latent, sed iam patent
crucis beneficia; | 15 | reges credunt, hostes cedunt;
sola cruce, Christo duce,
unus fugat milia. |
| 16 | Ista suos fortiores
semper facit et victores,
morbos sanat et languores,
reprimat daemonia; | 17 | dat captivis libertatem,
vitae confert novitatem,
ad antiquam dignitatem
crux reduxit omnia. |
| 18 | O crux, lignum triumphale,
mundi vera salus, vale!
inter ligna nullum tale
fronde, flore, germine! | 19 | Medicina christiana,
salva sanos, aegros sana,
quod non valet vis humana,
fit in tuo nomine. |
| 20 | Assistentes crucis laudi,
consecrator crucis, audi,
atque servos tuae crucis
post hanc vitam verae lucis
transfer ad palatia; | 21 | ques tormento vis servire,
fac tormenta non sentire,
sed, cum dies erit irae,
nobis confer et largire
sempiterna gaudia. |

VIII. In Resurrectione Domini¹¹

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| 1 | Ecce, dies celebris,
lux succedit tenebris,
morti resurrectioni! | 3 | umbra fugat veritas,
vetustatem novitas,
luctum consolatio. |
| 2 | Lacris cedant tristitia
cum sit maior gloria,
quam prima confusio; | | |

¹¹ A. H., LIV, no. 114. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. This sequence was hardly known outside the boundaries of France. Paris, St. Victor, is definitely the source. It is modeled on the sequence Mane prima sabbati, which explains its unusual rime scheme. Parts of St. Thomas' Lauda Sion are reminiscent of strophe 3.

Clichtovaeus, IV, 172.

Gautier, no. ix.

Migne, no. vii.

Misset, no. xii.

- 4 Pascha novum colite!
Quod praesit in capite,
membra sperent singula.
- 6 Hosti, qui nos circuit,
praedam Christus eruit,
quod Samson praesinit,
dum leonem lacerat;
- 8 Quod in morte plures stravit
Samson, Christus figuravit,
cuius mors victoria;
- 10 Iam de crucis sacro vecte
botrus fluit in dilectae
penetral ecclesiae;
- 12 Saccus scissus et pertusus
in regales transit usus,
saccus fit soccus gloriae,
caro victrix miseriae.
- 14 Reprobatus et abiectus
lapis iste nunc electus
in tropaeum stat erectus
et in caput anguli.
- 5 Pascha novum Christus est,
qui pro nobis passus est,
agnus sine macula.
- 7 David fortis viribus
a leonis unguibus
at ab ursi faucibus
gregem patris liberat.
- 9 Samson dictus sol eorum,
Christus lux est electorum,
quos illustrat gratia.
- 11 iam calcato torculari
musto gaudent debriari
gentium primitias.
- 13 Quia regem perimerunt,
rei regnum perdiderunt,
sed non deletur penitus
Cain in signum positus.
- 15 Culpam delens, non naturam,
novam creat creaturam
tenens in se ligaturam
utriusque populi.
- 16 Capiti sit gloria,
membrisque concordia!

IX. In Resurrectione Domini¹²

- 1 lux illuxit dominica
lux insignis, lux unica,
- 2 lux lucis et laetitiae,
lux immortalis gloriae.

¹² A. H., LIV, no. 145. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. In all the sequences ascribed to Adam, there is nothing similar to this one. Glichtovaevs, IV, 170. Gautier, no. x. Migne, no. vi. Misset, no. xiii.

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| 3 | Diem mundi conditio
commendat ab initio, | 4 | quam Christi resurrectio
sublimat privilegio. |
| 5 | In spe perennis gaudii
lucis exsultant filii, | 6 | vindicent membra meritis
conformitatem capitis. |
| 7 | Sollemnis est celebritas,
et vota sint sollemnia;
primae diei dignitas
prima requirit gaudia. | 8 | Sollemnitatum gloria
paschalis est victoria,
sub multis aenigmatibus
diu promissa patribus. |
| 9 | Iam scisso velo patuit,
quod vetus lex praecinuit;
figuram res exterminat
et umbram lux illuminat: | 10 | quid agnus sine macula,
quid haedus typhi gesserit,
nostra purgans piacula
Messias nobis aperit. |
| 11 | Per mortem nos indebitam
solvit a morte debita; | 12 | praedam captans illicitam
praedo privatur licita. |
| 13 | Carnis delet opprobria
caro peccati nescia, | 14 | die reflorens tertia
corda confirmat dubia. |
| 15 | O mors Christi vivifica,
tu Christo nos unifica; | 16 | mors morti non obnoxia,
da nobis vitae praemia. |

X. In Resurrectione Domini¹³

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| 1 | Mundi renovatio
nova parit gaudia; | 2 | resurgenti Domino
conresurgunt omnia; |
| 3 | Elementa serviunt
et auctoris sentiunt
quanta sint potentia. | 4 | Revirescunt arida,
recalescunt frigida,
postquam ver intepuit. |

¹³ A. H., LIV, no. 118. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. This sequence is certainly from Paris, but it is different from others ascribed to Adam of St. Victor.

Glichtovaens, IV, 168.

Gautier, no. xiii.

Migne, no. iv.

Misset, no. xvi.

5 Caelum fit serenius,
et mare tranquillius,
spirat aura mitius,
vallis nostra floruit.

6 Celu mortis solvitur,
princeps mundi fallitur
et eius destruitur
in nobis imperium.
Dum tenere voluit,
in quo nihil habuit,
ius amisit proprium.

7 Vita mortem superat;
homo iam recuperat
quod prius amiserat,
paradisi gaudium.
Viam praebet facilem,
cherubin, versatilem
amovendo gladium.

8 Christus caelos reserat
et captivos liberat,
quos culpa ligaverat
sub mortis interitu.
Pro tanta victoria
patri, proli gloria
sit cum sancto spiritu!

XI. In Resurrectione Domini¹⁴

1 Salve, dies, dierum gloria,
dies felix Christi victoria,
dies digna iugi laetitia
dies prima.

2 Lux divina caelis irradiat,
in qua Christus infernus spoliat,
mortem vincit et reconciliat
summis ima.

3 Sempiterni regis sententia
sub peccato conclusit omnia,
ut infirmis superna gratia
subveniret;

Dei virtus et sapientia
temperavit iram clementia,
cum iam mundus in praecipitia
totus iret.

5 Insultabat nostrae miseriae
vetus hostis, auctor malitiae,
quia nulla spes erat veniae
de peccatis.

6 Desperante mundo remedium,
dum tenerent cuncta silentium,
Deus pater emisit filium
desperatis.

¹⁴ A. H., LIV, no. 146. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. The rhythm of this sequence has a very classical flavor.
Gautier, no. xi.
Misset, no. xiv.

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| 7 | Praedo vorax, monstrum tartareum
carnem videns, non cavens laqueum,
in latentem ruens aculeum
aduncatur. | 8 | Dignitatis primae condicio
reformatur nobis in filio,
cuius nova nos resurrectio
consolatur. |
| 9 | Resurrexit liber ab inferis
restaurator humani generis
ovem suam reportans umeris
ad superna. | 10 | Angelorum pax fit et hominum,
plenitudo succrescit ordinum;
triumphantem laus decet Dominum,
laus aeterna. |
| 11 | Harmoniae caelestis patriae
vox concordet matris ecclesiae,
alleluia frequentat hodie
plebs fidelis. | 12 | Triumphato mortis imperio
triumphali fruamur gaudio,
in terra pax et iubilatio
sit in caelis. |

XII. In Resurrectione Domini¹⁵

- | | | | |
|---|--|----|---|
| 1 | Sexta passus feria
die Christus tertia
resurrexit; | 2 | surgens cum victoria,
collocat in gloria
quos dilexit. |
| 3 | Pro fideli populo
crucis in patibulo
immolatur; | 4 | clauditur in tumulo,
tandem in diluculo
suscitatur. |
| 5 | Christi crux et passio
nobis est praesidio,
si credamus; | 6 | Christi resurrectio
facit, ut a vitio
resurgamus. |
| 7 | Hostia sufficiens
Christus fuit moriens
pro peccato; | 8 | sanguinis effusio
abluit nos, imple
triumphato. |
| 9 | Morte sua simplici
nostrae morti duplici
fert medalam; | 10 | vitae pandit aditum,
nostrum sanat genitum
et querelam. |

¹⁵ A. H., LIV, no. 147. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Note that dies is feminine in strophe 13, masculine in strophe 18. Gautier, no. xii. Misset, no. xv.

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 11 | Leo fortis hodie
dat signum potentiae
resurgendo, | 12 | principem nequitiæ
per arma iustitiæ
devincendo. |
| 13 | Diem istam Dominus
fecit, in qua facinus
mundi luit, | 14 | in qua mors occiditur,
in qua vita redditur,
hostis ruit. |
| 15 | Geminatum igitur
alleluia canitur
corde puro, | 16 | quia culpa tollitur
et vita promittitur
in futuro. |
| 17 | In hoc mundi vespere
fac tuos resurgere,
Iesu Christe; | 18 | salutaris omnibus
sit tuis fidelibus
dies iste. |

XIII. In Resurrectione Domini¹⁶

- | | | | |
|---|--|----|---|
| 1 | Zyma vetus expurgetur
ut sincere celebretur
nova resurrectio. | 2 | Hæc est dies nostræ spei,
huius mora vis diei
legis testimonio. |
| 3 | Hæc Aegyptum spoliavit
et Hebræos liberavit
de fornace ferrea; | 4 | his in arto constitutis
opus erat servitutis
lutum, later, palea. |
| 5 | Iam divinæ laus virtutis,
iam triumphi, iam salutis
vox erumpat liberali | 6 | Hæc est dies, quam fecit Dominus
dies nostri doloris terminus,
dies salutifera. |
| 7 | Lex est umbra futurorum
Christus finis promissorum,
qui consummat omnia; | 8 | Christi sanguis igneam
hebetavit rompheam
amota custodia. |
| 9 | Puer, nostri forma risus,
pro quo vervex est occisus,
vitæ signat gaudium, | 10 | Iosep̄ exit de cisterna,
Christus redit ad superna
post mortis supplicium. |

16 A. H., LIV, no. 149. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore.
Clichtovæus, IV, 169.
Gautier, no. xiv.
Migne, no. v.
Misset, no. xvii.

- 11 Hic dracones Pharaonis
draco vorat, a draconis
immunis malitia;
- 12 quos ignitus vulnerat,
hos serpentis liberat
senel praesentia.
- 13 Anguem forat in maxilla
Christus, hamus et armilla;
in cavernam reguli
- 14 manum mittit ablactatus,
et sic fugit exturbatus
vetus hostis saeculi.
- 15 Irrisores Elisei
dum conscendit domum Dei
zelus calvi sentiunt;
- 16 David arrepticus
hircus emissarius
et passer effugiunt.
- 17 In maxilla mille sternit
et de tribu sua spernit
Samson matrimonium;
- 18 Samson Gazae seras pandit
et asportans portas scandit
montis supercilium.
- 19 Sic de Iuda leo fortis,
fractis portis dirae mortis,
die surgens tertia,
- 20 rugiente voce patris
ad supernae sinum matris
tot revexit spolia.
- 21 Cetus Ionam fugitivum
veri Ionae signativum
post tres dies reddit vivum
de ventris angustia.
- 22 Botrus Gypri reflouescit,
dilatatur et exorescit,
synagogae flos marcescit,
et floret ecclesia.
- 23 Mors et vita conflixere
resurrexit Christus vere
et cum Christo surrexere
multi testes gloriae;
- 24 mane novum, mane laetum,
vesperinum tergat fletum,
quia vita vicit letum,
tempus est laetitiae!
- 25 Iesu victor, Iesu vita,
Iesu vitae via trita,
cuius morte mors sopita,
ad paschalem nos invita
mensam cum fiducia.
- 26 Vive panis, vivax unda,
vera vitis et fecunda,
tu nos pasce, tu nos munda,
ut a morte nos secunda
tua salvet gratia.

XIV. In Ascensione Domini¹⁷

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Postquam hostem et inferna
spoliavit, ad superna
Christus redit gaudia. | 2 Angelorum ascendenti
sicut olim descendenti
parantur obsequia. |
| 3 Super astra sublimatur,
non apparet, absentatur
corporis praesentia; | 4 cuncta tamen moderatur,
cuius patri coaequatur
honor et potentia. |
| 5 Modo victor, modo tutus
est in caelis constitutus
rector super omnia. | 6 Non est rursus moriturus,
nec per mortem mandaturus
hominum contagia. |
| 7 Semel enim incarnatus,
semel passus, semel datus
pro peccatis hostia, | 8 nullam feret ultra poenam,
nam quietem habet plenam
cum summa laetitia. |
| 9 Cum recessit, ita dixit,
intimavit et infixit
talia discipulis: | 10 "Ite, mundum circuite,
universos erudite
verbis et miraculis. |
| 11 "Iam ad patrem meum ibo,
sed sciatis, quod redibo,
veniet paraclitus, | 12 qui disertos et loquaces
et securos et audaces
faciet vos penitus. |
| 13 "Super aegros et languentes
manus vestras imponentes
sanitatem dabitis. | 14 Universas res nocentes,
inimicos et serpentes
et morbos fugabitis. |
| 15 "Qui fidelis est futurus
et cum fide suscepturus
baptismi remedium, | 16 a peccatis erit purus
et cum iustis habiturus
sempiternum praemium." |

17 A. H., LIV, no. 151. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. The use of this sequence is limited to a small region of France, especially the environs of Paris. The sequence is perfect in form and rhythm.

Gautier, no. xv.

Misset, no. xix.

XV. In Pentecoste¹⁸

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Lux iucunda, lux insignis,
qua de throno missus ignis
in Christi discipulos | 2 corda replet, linguas ditat,
ad concordem nos invitat
cordis, linguae modulos. |
| 3 Christus misit quem promisit,
pignus sponsae, quam revisit
die quinquagesima. | 4 Post dulcorem melleum
petra fudit oleum,
petra iam firmissima. |
| 5 In tabellis saxeis,
non in linguis igneis,
lex de monte populo, | 6 paucis cordis novitas
et linguarum unitas
datur in cenaculo. |
| 7 O quam felix, quam festiva
dies, in qua primitiva
fundatur ecclesia! | 8 Vivae sunt primitiae
nascentis ecclesiae
tria primum milia. |
| 9 Panes legis primitivi
sub una sunt adoptivi
fide duo populi; | 10 se duobus interiecit
sicque duos unum fecit
lapis, caput anguli. |
| 11 Utres novi, non vetusti,
sunt capaces novi musti;
vasa parat vidua; | 12 dat liquorem Elisaeus,
nobis sacrum rorem Deus,
si corda sint congrua. |
| 13 Non hoc musto vel liquore,
non hoc digni sumus rore,
si discordes moribus; | 14 in obscuris vel divisis
non potest haec paraclisis
habitare cordibus. |

18 A. H., LIV, no. 154. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Strophe 17 gives an instructive example of the fallacious reasoning: "Adam always wrote in pure rhythm; he wrote this sequence; therefore, it must be regular even if we must change words to make it so." Misset's correction: (Tu es lumen) has no foundation in any manuscript. There is no good reason, according to the editors, to take later text corrections just to secure faultless rhythm.

Clichtovaeus, IV, 177.

Gautier, no. xvi.

Migne, no. viii.

Misset, no. xx.

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|--|
| 15 | Consolator alma, veni,
linguas rege, corda leni;
nihil fellis aut veneni
sub tua praesentia; | 16 | nil iucundum, nil amoenum,
nil salubre, nil serenum,
nihil dulce, nihil plenum
sine tua gratia. |
| 17 | Tu lumen es et unguentum,
tu caeleste condimentum
aquae ditans elementum
virtute mysterii. | 18 | Nova facti creatura
te laudamus mente pura,
gratiae nunc, sed natura
prius irae filii. |
| 19 | Tu, qui dator es et donum,
tu, qui condis omne bonum,
cor ad laudem redde pronum
nostrae linguae formans sonum
in tua praeconia. | 20 | Tu purga nos a peccatis,
auctor ipse puritatis,
et in Christo renovatis
da perfectae novitatis
plena nobis gaudia. |

XVI. In Pentecoste¹⁹

- | | | | |
|---|--|----|---|
| 1 | Qui procedis ab utroque,
genitore, genitoque,
pariter, paraclite, | 2 | redde linguas eloquentes,
fac ferventes in te mentes
flamma tua divite. |
| 3 | Amor patris filiique,
par amborum et utrique
compar et consimilis, | 4 | cuncta reple, cuncta foves,
astra regis, caelum moves,
permanens immobilis. |
| 5 | Lumen carum, lumen clarum,
internarum tenebrarum
effugans caliginem, | 6 | per te mundi sunt mandati,
tu peccatum, tu peccati
destruis rubiginem. |
| 7 | Veritatem novam facis
et ostendis viam pacis
et iter iustitiae; | 8 | perversorum corda vitas
et bonorum corda ditas
munere scientiae. |
| 9 | Te docente nil obscurum,
te praesente nil impurum;
sub tua praesentia, | 10 | gloriatur mens iucunda,
per te laeta, per te munda
gaudet conscientia. |

19 A. H., LIV, no. 155. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore.

Peculiarities not found in other works ascribed to Adam are frequent use of internal rime and correspondence of word-accent with verse-accent in the end-verses of the strophes.

Clichtovaeus, IV, 179.

Gautier, no. xvii.

Migne, no. x.

Misset, no. xxi.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 11 Tu committas elementa,
per te suam sacramenta
habent efficaciam; | 12 tu nocivam vim repellis,
tu confutas et refellis
hostium nequitiam. |
| 13 Quando venis,
corda lenis,
quando subis,
atrae nubis
effugit obscuritas; | 14 sacer ignis,
pectus ignis,
non comburis,
sed a curis
purgas, quando visitas. |
| 15 Mentis prae imperitas
et sopitas et oblitatas
erudis et excitas; | 16 foves linguas, formas sonum;
cor ad bonum facit primum
a te data caritas. |
| 17 O iuvamen oppressorum,
o solamen miserorum,
pauperum refugium! | 18 Da contemptum terrenorum,
ad amorem supernorum
trahe desiderium. |
| 19 Consolator et fundator,
habitor et amator
cordium humilium, | 20 pelle mala, terge sordes,
et discordes fac concordes,
et affer praesidium. |
| 21 Tu, qui quondam visitasti,
docuisti, confortasti
timentes discipulos, | 22 visitare nos digneris,
nos, si placet, consoleris
et credentes populos. |
| 23 Par maiestas personarum,
par potestas est earum
et communis deitas. | 24 Tu, procedens a duobus,
coaequalis es ambobus;
in nullo disparitas. |
| 25 Quia tantus es et talis
quantus pater est et qualis,
servorum humilitas | 26 Deo patri filioque
redemptori, tibi quoque,
laudes reddat debitas. |

XVII. In Pentecoste²⁰

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Simplex in essentia,
septiformis gratia,
nos illustret spiritus; | 2 cordis lustret tenebras
et carnis illecebras
lux emissa caelitus! |
|--|---|

20 A. H., LIV, no. 156. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. This sequence was in use only in France, and very little outside Paris. The origin is definitely the abbey of St. Victor.

Clichtovaeus, IV, 175.

Gautier, no. xviii.

Migne, no. ix.

Misset, no. xdi.

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| 3 | Lex praecessit in figura,
lex poenalis, lex obscura,
lumen evangelicum. | 4 | Spiritualis intellectus,
litterali fronde tectus,
prodeat in publicum! |
| 5 | Lex de monte populo,
paucis in cenaculo
nova datur gratia. | 6 | Situs docet nos locorum,
praeceptorum vel donorum
quae sit eminentia. |
| 7 | Ignis, clangor bucinæ,
fragor cum caligine,
lampadum discursio, | 8 | terrorem incutiunt
nec amorem nutriunt,
quem infudit unctio. |
| 9 | Sic in Sina
lex divina
reis est imposita; | 10 | lex timoris,
non amoris,
puniens illicita. |
| 11 | Ecce patres praeselecti
dii recentes sunt effecti:
culpa solvunt vincula. | 12 | Pluunt verbo, tonant minis;
novis linguis et doctrinis
consonant miracula. |
| 13 | Exhibentes aegris curam,
morbum damnant, non naturam
persequentes scelera; | 14 | reos premunt et castigant;
modo solvunt, modo ligant,
potestate libera. |
| 15 | Typum gerit iubilaei
dies iste, si diel
requiris mysteria, | 16 | in quo tribus milibus
ad fidem currentibus
pullulat ecclesia. |
| 17 | Iubilaeus est vocatus
vel dimittens vel mutatus,
ad priores vocans status
res distractas libere; | 18 | nos distractos sub peccatis
liberet lex caritatis,
et perfectae libertatis
dignos reddat munere. |

XVIII. De beata Maria virgine²¹

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| 1 | Ave, virgo singularis,
porta vitae, stella maris,
ave decus virginum; | 2 | tota virgo, sed fecunda,
casta corde, carne munda,
gignens Christum Dominum! |
|---|---|---|--|

21 A. H. , LIV, no. 206. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore.
Gautier, no. xcii.
Misset, no. xxxi.

- 3 Mater eius qui creavit,
qui distinxit et ornavit
caelum, terram, maria,
- 4 vivit, regnat, dominatur,
cuius nullo terminatur
fine regni gloria.
- 5 Cuius, eius quid dicemus,
quibus verbis explicemus
nomen tanti numinis?
- 6 Eius quippe magnitudo,
virtus, honor, pulchritudo
cor excedit hominis.
- 7 Res mutando, dic, natura,
dic, ubi sunt tua iura?
virgo parit filium,
- 8 quae, conceptu veritatis,
incorruptae castitatis
non amittit liliam.
- 9 Virgo fuit ante partum,
et dum parit, et post partum,
virgo mente, corpore.
- 10 Verbum patris sine matre
sancta mater sine patre
genuit in tempore.
- 11 Virga florem, stella solem,
coaeternam patri prolem
virgo mater genuit;
- 12 sol et lumen, et decorem,
flos et fructum et odorem
toti mundo praebuit.
- 13 Hic est enim, ipso teste,
verum lumen et caeleste,
cibus indeficiens,
- 14 panis vivus mendicantis,
sed credentis et amantis
animam reficiens.
- 15 Eva mater per reatum
stola vitae spoliatum
morti dedit hominem;
- 16 culpa perit, mors recedit;
datur salus, vita redit
per Mariam virginem.
- 17 Virgo potens et benigna,
angelorum laude digna
plena Dei gratia,
- 18 laudes tuas decantamus,
corde tibi supplicamus;
dele nostra vitia.
- 19 Paenitentes confitemur
mala quibus promeremur
iram Dei vindicem:
- 20 tu miserta tui gregis,
o regina, mater regis,
placa nobis iudicem.
- 21 Cara Deo, semper ora
pro misellis et implora
peccatorum veniam.
- 22 Servis tuis Iesu Christi
quem tu, virgo, genuisti,
tu reforma gratiam.
- 23 O Maria, redemptoris
creatura, creatoris
genetrix magnifica,
- 24 per te nobis reparatrix,
per te fiat consolatrix
tua proles unica!

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|--|
| 25 | Donet nobis rectam mentem,
in adversis patientem,
in secundis humilem, | 26 | fidem puram, spem securam,
caritatem permansuram,
qua nihil est melius. |
| 27 | Opus verae pietatis
et decorem castitatis
intus et exterius, | 28 | ut sit vita speciosa,
sit mors nostra pretiosa
in conspectu Domini. |
| 29 | Deo patri filioque,
procedenti ab utroque
sed non temporaliter, | 30 | regnum, decus, et potestas,
honor, virtus, et maiestas
nunc et aeternaliter. |

XIX. De beata Maria virgine ²²

- | | | | |
|---|---|----|--|
| 1 | Hodiernae lux diei
celebris in matris Dei
agitur memoria; | 2 | decantemus in hac die
semper virginis Mariae
laudes et praeconia. |
| 3 | Omnis homo, omni hora,
ipsam ora et implora
eius patrocinia; | 4 | psalle, psalle nisu toto
cordis, oris voce, voto:
"Ave, plena gratia!" |
| 5 | Ave, regina caelorum
inexperta viri thorum
parens paris nescia! | 6 | Fecundata sine viro,
genuisti more miro
genitorem filia. |
| 7 | Florens hortus, austro flante,
porta clausa post et ante,
via viris in via; | 8 | fusa caeli rore tellus,
fusum Gedeonis vellus
deitatis pluvia! |
| 9 | Salve, splendor firmamenti,
tu caliginosae menti
desuper irradias; | 10 | placa mare, maris stella,
ne involvat nos procella
et tempestas obvia. |

22 A. H., LIV, no. 219. This sequence was very widely used early in the twelfth century, and it has been found in manuscripts dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is another indication that Adam had talented forerunners. It has often been ascribed to him.

Gautier, no. xciv.

XX. De beata Maria virgine ²³

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 1 | O Maria, stella maris,
pietate singularis,
pietatis oculo | 2 | nos digneris intueri;
ne cuncteris misereri
naufraganti saeculo. |
| 3 | In hac valle lacrimarum
nihil dulce, nihil carum,
suspecta sunt omnia; | 4 | quid hic nobis erit tutum,
cum nec ipsa vel virtutum
tuta sit victoria? |
| 5 | Caro nobis adversatur,
mundus carni suffragatur
in nostram perniciem; | 6 | hostis instat, nos infestans,
nunc se palam manifestans,
nunc occultans rabiem. |
| 7 | Et peccamus, et punimur,
et diversis irretimur
laqueis venantium; | 8 | o Maria, mater Dei,
tu post Deum summa spei,
tu dulce refugium; |
| 9 | tot et tantis irretiti
non valemus his reniti
nec vi, nec industria; | 10 | consolatrix miserorum,
suscitatrix mortuorum,
mortis rumpe retia. |
| 11 | Intendentes tuae laudi,
nos attende, nos exaudi,
nos a morte libera; | 12 | quae post Christum prima sedes,
inter Christi coheredes
Christo nos adnumera. |
| 13 | Iesu, mitis et benigne,
cuius nomen est insigne,
dulce, salutiferum, | 14 | manus nobis da salutis,
in defectu constitutis
plenitudo munerum. |
| 15 | Pater, fili, consolator,
unus Deus, unus dator
multiformis gratiae, | 16 | solo nutu pietatis,
fac nos simplae trinitatis
post spem frui specie! |

23 A. H., LIV, no. 246. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore.

Undoubtedly, this glorious sequence had its origin in Paris, though there is no absolute evidence of Adam's authorship.

Gautier, no. xciii.

Misset, no. xlv.

XXI. De Conceptione beatae Mariae virginis²⁴

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 Dies ista celebretur,
in qua pie recensetur
Mariae conceptio; | 2 huius laudes prosequamur
nos, qui tanto gratulamur
Dei beneficio. |
| 3 Felix quidem est conceptus
per quem mundus est adeptus
salutis remedia; | 4 hunc prophetae praeviderunt,
patriarchae praesenserunt
inspirante gratia. |
| 5 Virga florem conceptura,
stella solem paritura
hodie concipitur. | 6 Flos de virga processurus,
sol de stella nasciturus,
Christus intellegitur. |
| 7 O quam felix et praeclara,
mundo grata, Deo cara
fuit haec conceptio, | 8 qua salute destitutis
redit verae spes salutis,
luctus cedit gaudio! |
| 9 Virga Iesse floruit,
Christum virgo genuit,
Virgo, mundi domina; | 10 novo quodam ordine
absque maris semine
virum parit femina. |
| 11 Nova mater novam prolem,
nova stella novum solem
nova profert gratia. | 12 Nova prorsus genitura:
creatorem creatura,
patrem parit filia. |
| 13 O mirandam novitatem,
novam quoque dignitatem!
Ditat matris castitatem
filii conceptio. | 14 Gaude, virgo gratiosa,
virga flore speciosa,
mater prole gloriosa,
plene plena gaudio. |
| 15 Tu spes certa miserorum,
vera mater orphanorum,
tu levamen oppressorum,
medicamen infirmorum,
omnibus es omnia. | 16 Te rogamus voto pari,
laude digna singulari,
ut errantes in hoc mari
nos in portu salutari
tua sistat gratia. |

²⁴ A. H., LIV, no. 180. Perfect in form, above average in language and content, this sequence has been attributed to Adam by Félix Clément. It is of French origin. Conceptio is taken in both the passive and the active sense, common usage in the Middle Ages.

XXII. In nativitate beatæ Mariæ virginis ²⁵

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Salve mater salvatoris,
vas electum, vas honoris,
vas caelestis gratiae. | 2 Ab aeterno vas provisum:
vas insigne, vas excisum
manu sapientiae. |
| 3 Salve, verbi sacra parens,
flos de spinis, spina carens,
flos, spineti gloria. | 4 Nos spinetum, nos peccati
spina sumus cruentati
sed tu spinæ nescia. |
| 5 Porta clausa, fons hortorum,
cella custos unguentorum,
cella pigmentaria. | 6 Cinnamomi calamus,
murræ, tus et balsamum,
superas fragrantia. |
| 7 Salve, decus virginum,
mediatrix hominum,
salutis puerpera; | 8 myrtus temperantiae,
rosa patientiae,
nardus odorifera. |
| 9 Tu convallis humilis,
terra non arabilis,
quæ fructum parturiit; | 10 flos campi, convallium
singulare liliûm,
Christus, ex te prodiit. |
| 11 Tu caelestis paradus,
libanusque non incisus,
vaporans dulcedinem. | 12 Tu candoris et decoris,
tu dulcoris et odoris
habes plenitudinem. |
| 13 Tu es thronus Salomonis,
cui nullus par in thronis
arte vel materia. | 14 Ebur candens castitatis,
aurum fulvum, caritatis
praesignant mysteria. |
| 15 Palman praefers singularem,
nec in terris habes parem,
nec in caeli curia. | 16 Laus humani generis,
virtutum prae ceteris
habes privilegia. |
| 17 Salve, mater pietatis,
et totius trinitatis
nobile triclinium. | 18 Verbi tamen incarnati
speciale maiestati
praeparans hospitium. |

25 A. H., LIV, no. 245. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. This is one of the few sequences for a long time attributed without question to Adam of St. Victor.

Clichtovaeus, IV, 205.

Gautier, no. lxxiii.

Migne, no. xxv.

Misset, no. xxxvi.

- 19 O Maria, stella maris,
dignitate singularis,
super omnes ordinarius
ordines caelestium.
- 20 In supremo sita poli,
nos assigna tuae proli
ne terrores sive doli
nos supplantent hostium.
- 21 In procinctu constituti
te tuente simus tuti,
pervicacis et versuti
tuae cedat vis virtuti
dolis providentiae.
- 22 Iesu, verbum summi patris,
serva servos tuae matris,
solve reos, salva gratis
et nos tua claritatis
configura gloriae.

XXIII. De beata Maria virgine in tempore Epiphaniae ²⁶

- 1 Virgo mater salvatoris,
angelorum grata choris,
intus fove, serva foris
nos benignis precibus;
- 2 protulisti virga florem,
cuius floris in odorem
sancti currunt per amorem
piis cum muneribus.
- 3 Tria dona reges ferunt;
stella duce regem quaerunt
per quem certi semper erunt
de superno lumine.
- 4 Auro regem venerantes,
turo Deum designantes,
murra mortem memorantes,
sacro docti flamine.
- 5 Dies iste iubilaeus
dici debet quo Sabaeus
plene credens quod sit Deus
mentis gaudet requie;
- 6 plebs Hebraea iam tabescit;
multa sciens, Deum nescit,
sed gentilis fide crescit,
visa Christi facie.
- 7 Synagoga caeca, doles,
quia Sarae crescit proles,
cum ancillae prolem moles
gravis premat criminum.
- 8 Tu tabescis et laboras;
Sara ridet dum tu ploras,
quia novit quem ignoras,
redemptorem hominum.
- 9 Consecratus patris ore,
Iacob gaudet cum tremore:
tu rigaris caeli rore
et terrae pinguedine;
- 10 delectaris in terrenis
rebus, vanis et obscenis;
Iacob tractat de serenis
et Christi dulcedine.

26 A. H., LIV, no. 105. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. This
was sung during the octave of the Epiphany.

Gautier, no. xc.

Misset, no. ix.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 11 Unguentorum in odore
sancti currunt cum amore,
quia novo fragrat flore
nova Christi vinea. | 12 Ad peccatum prius prona,
iam percepit sponsa dona,
sponsa recens, et corona
decoratur aurea. |
| 13 Adstat sponsa regi nato
cui ritu servit grato
in vestitu deaurato,
aureis in fimbriis | 14 orta rosa est ex spinis,
cuius ortus sive finis
semper studet in divinis
et regis deliciis. |
| 15 Haec est sponsa spiritalis,
vero sponso specialis;
sponsus iste nos a malis
servet et eripiat. | 16 Mores tollat hic ineptos,
sibi reddat nos acceptos,
et ab hoste sic ereptos
in caelis recipiat. |

XXIV. In Purificatione beatæ Mariæ virginis 27

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Lux advenit veneranda,
lux in choris iubilanda
luminosis cordibus. | 2 Huius laeta lux diei,
festum refert, matris Dei
dedicandum laudibus. |
| 3 Vox exsultet
modulata,
mens resultet
medullata,
ne sit laus inutilis. | 4 Sic laus Deo
decantetur,
ut in eo
collaudetur,
mater eius nobilis. |
| 5 Gloriosa
dignitate,
viscerosa
pietate,
compunctiva nomine. | 6 Cum honore
matronali,
cum pudore
virginali
nitent caeli cardine. |
| 7 Rubus quondam exardebat,
et hunc ardor non urebat,
nec virorem nocuit; | 8 sic ardore spiritali,
non attactu coniugali,
virgo Deum genuit. |

27 A. H., LIV, no. 198. The content and technique of this sequence are worthy of Adam of St. Victor, and many editors attribute it to him. Only the fact that Adam had contemporary rivals makes Blume and Bannister hesitate to assert his authorship positively.

Glichtovaevs, IV, 194.

Gautier, no. lxxiv.

Migne, no. xix.

- 9 Haec est ille fons signatus,
hortus clausus, fecundatus
virtutum seminibus;
- 10 haec est illa porta clausa,
quam latente Deus causa
clauserat hominibus.
- 11 Haec est vellus trahens rorem,
plenus ager dans odorem
cunctis terrae finibus.
- 12 Haec est virga ferens florem,
terra suum salvatorem
germinans fidelibus.
- 13 Haec est dicta per exemplum
mons, castellum, aula, templum,
thalamus et civitas.
- 14 Sic eidem aliorum
assignatur electorum
nominum sublimitas.
- 15 Cuius preces, vitia,
cuius nomen tristia,
cuius odor lilia,
cuius vincunt labia
favum in dulcedine;
- 16 super vinum sapida,
super nivem candida,
super rosam roscida,
super lunam lucida
veri solis lumine.
- 17 Imperatrix supernorum,
superatrix infernorum,
eligenda via caeli,
retinenda spe fideli,
separatos a te longe,
revocatos ad te iunge
tuorum collegio.
- 18 Mater bona quam rogamus,
nobis dona quod optamus,
nec sic spernas peccatores,
ut non cernas precatores;
reos sibi diffidentes,
tuos tibi confidentes
tuo siste filio.

XV. In Purificatione beatæ Mariæ virginis²⁸

- 1 Templum cordis adornemus;
novo corde renovemus
novum senis gaudium,
- 2 quod dum ulnis amplexatur,
sic longævi recreatur
longum desiderium.
- 3 Stans in signum populorum,
templum luce, laude chorum,
corda replet gloria,
- 4 templo puer præsentatus;
post in cruce vir oblatas,
pro peccatis hostia.

28 A. H., LIV, no. 197. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore.
St. Victor's abbey is the origin of this sequence. The end-verse of each
half-strophe follows the natural word accent; this is not usually the case
with Adam.

Gautier, no. xlv (in Purificatione b. Mariæ v.).
Misset, no. xi (de Annuntiatione b. Mariæ v.).

- 5 Hinc salvator, hinc Maria,
puer pius, mater pia,
moveant tripudium!
- 7 Verbum patris lux est vera,
virginalis caro cera,
Christi splendens cereus;
- 9 Christum tenens per amorem,
bene iuxta festi morem,
gestat lumen cereum,
- 11 Gaude, mater genitoris,
simplex intus, munda foris,
carens ruga, macula;
- 13 Omnis decor tenebrescit,
deformatur et horrescit
tuum intuentibus;
- 15 Omnis odor redolere
non videtur, sed olere
tuum odorantibus:
- 17 Decens maris luminare,
decus matrum singulare,
vera parens veritatis,
viae, vitae, pietatis,
medicina saeculi;
- 19 Fons signate
sanctitate
rivos funde,
nos infunde;
fons hortorum
internorum,
riga mentes
arescentes
unda tui rivuli:
- 6 Sed cum votis perferatur
opus lucis, quod signatur
luce luminarium.
- 8 cor illustrat ad sophiam,
qua virtutis rapit viam,
vitiis erroneus.
- 10 sicut senex verbum patris
votis, strinxit pignus matris
bracchiis corporeum.
- 12 a dilecto praelecta,
ab electo praedilecta
Deo muliercula!
- 14 omnis sapor amarascit,
reprobatur et sordescit
tuum praegustantibus.
- 16 omnis amor aut deponi
prorsus solet, aut postponi
tuum nutrientibus.
- 18 vena vivi fontis vitae,
sitienda cunctis rite,
sano dulcis et languenti,
salutaris fatiscenti
confortantis poculi!
- 20 fons redundans
sis inundans;
cordis prava
quaeque lava;
fons illimis,
munde nimis,
ab imundo
munda mundo
cor mundani populi.

XXVI. In Assumptione beatae Mariae virginis

29

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 Ave, virgo singularis,
mater nostri salutaris,
quae vocaris Stella Maris,
stella non erratica; | 2 non in huius vitae mari
non permittite naufragari,
sed pro nobis salutari
tuo semper supplica. |
| 3 Saevit mare, fremunt venti,
fluctus surgunt turbulenti,
navis currit, sed currenti
tot occurrunt obvia; | 4 hic sirenes voluptatis,
draco, canes cum piratis,
mortem paene desperatis
haec intentant omnia. |
| 5 Post abyssos nunc ad caelum
furens unda fert phaselum,
mutat malus, fluit velum,
nautae cessat opere; | 6 contabescit in his malis
homo noster animalis,
tu nos, mater spiritalis,
pereuntes libera. |
| 7 Tu, perfusa caeli rore,
castitatis salvo flore,
novum florem novo more
protulisti saeculo; | 8 verbum patri coaequale,
corpus intrans virginale,
fit pro nobis corporale
sub ventris umbraculo. |
| 9 Te praevидit et elegit
qui potenter cuncta regit,
nec pudoris claustra fregit,
sacra replens viscera; | 10 nec pressuram nec dolorem,
contra primae matris morem,
pariendo salvatorem
sensisti, puerperal |
| 11 O Maria, pro tuorum
dignitate meritorum,
supra choros angelorum
sublimaris unice; | 12 felix dies hodierna
qua conscendis ad superna;
pietate, tu, materna,
nos in imo respice. |
| 13 Radix sancta, radix viva,
flos et vitis et oliva,
quam nulla vis insitiva
iuvit ut fructificet, | 14 lampas soli, splendor poli,
quae splendore praees soli,
nos assigna tuae proli
ne districte iudicet. |
| 15 In conspectu summi regis
sis pusilli memor gregis,
qui transgressor datae legis
praesumit de venia; | 16 iudex mitis et benignus,
iudex iugi laude dignus
reis spel dedit pignus,
crucis factus hostia. |

29 A. H., LIV, no. 204. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Hugh of St. Victor quotes part of this sequence in his fourth sermon on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (Migne, CLXXVII, col. 910f.).

Gautier, no. lxvi.

Misset, no. xxxiii.

17 Iesu, sacri ventris fructus,
nobis inter mundi fluctus
sis dux, via, et conductus
liber ad caelestia;

18 tene clavum, rege navem,
tu, procellam sedans gravem,
portum nobis da suavem
pro tua clementia.

XVII. In Assumptione beatæ Mariæ virginis³⁰

1 Gratulemur in hac die
in qua sanctæ fit Mariæ
celebris assumptio;

2 dies ista, dies grata,
qua de terris est translata
in caelum cum gaudio.

3 Super choros exaltata
angelorum est prælata
cunctis cæli civibus.

4 In decore contemplatur
natum suum, et precatur
pro cunctis fidelibus.

5 Expurgemus nostras sordes
ut illius, mandicordes,
assistamus laudibus;

6 si concordant linguis mentes,
aures eius intendentes
erunt nostris vocibus.

7 Nunc concordēs hanc laudemus
et in laude proclamemus;
ave, plena gratia!

8 Ave, virgo mater Christi,
quæ de sancti concepisti
spiritus præsentia!

9 Virgo sancta, virgo munda,
tibi nostræ sit iucunda
vocis modulatio.

10 Nobis opem fer desursum,
et post huius vitæ cursum
tuo iunge filio.

11 Tu a sæclis præelecta,
litterali diu tecta
fuisti sub cortice;

12 de te, Christum genitura,
prædixerunt in scriptura
prophetæ, sed typice.

13 Sacramentum patefactum
est, dum verbum caro factum
ex te nasci voluit,

14 quod sua nos pietate
a maligni potestate
potenter eripuit!

15 Te per thronum Salomonis,
te per vellus Gedeonis
præsignatam credimus,

16 et per rubum incombustum,
testamentum si vetustum
mystice perpendimus.

17 Super vellus ros descendens
et in rubo flamma splendens,
neutrum tamen læditur,

18 fuit Christus carnem sumens
in te tamen non consumens
pudorem dum gignitur.

30 A. H., LIV, no. 205. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore.
Gautier, no. Lxv.
Misset, no. xxxiv.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 19 De te virga progressurum
florem mundo profuturum
Isaias cecinit, | 20 flore Christum praefigurans
cuius virtus semper durans
nec coepit, nec desinit. |
| 21 Fontis vitae tu cisterna,
ardens, lucens es lucerna;
per te nobis lux superna
suum fudit radium; | 22 ardens igne caritatis,
luce lucens castitatis,
lucem summae claritatis
mundo gignens filium. |
| 23 O salutis nostrae porta,
nos exaudi, nos conforta,
et a via nos distorta
revocare propera: | 24 te vocantes de profundo,
navigantes in hoc mundo,
nos ab hoste furibundo
tua prece libera! |
| 25 Iesu, nostrum salutare,
ob meritum singulare
tuae matris, visitare
in hac valle nos dignare
tuae dono gratiae; | 26 qui neminem vis damnari,
sic directo conversari
non concedas in hoc mari,
ut post mortem munerari
digni simus requie! |

XXVIII. De omnibus Sanctis³¹

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Supernae matris gaudia
repraesentet ecclesia; | 2 dum festa colit annua,
suspiret ad perpetua. |
| 3 In hac valle miseriae,
mater succurrat filiae; | 4 hic caelestes excubiae
nobiscum stent in acie. |
| 5 Mundus, caro, daemonia
diversa movent proelia; | 6 incursu tot phantasmatum
turbatur cordis sabbatum. |
| 7 Dies festos cognatio
simul haec habet odio; | 8 certatque pari foedere
pacem de terra tollere. |
| 9 Confusa sunt hic omnia:
spes, metus, maeror, gaudium; | 10 vix hora vel dimidia
fit in caelo silentium. |

³¹ A. H., LV, no. 37. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. This sequence originated in France; only in rare instances, and then in Augustinian houses, is it found in other countries. Strikingly unlike other works ascribed to Adam are the occasional harshness of the rhythm and the shifting accent.

Clichtovaeus, IV, 223.
Gautier, no. ciii.
Migne, no. xxxiv.
Misset, no. xlv.

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|--|
| 11 | Quam felix illa civitas,
in qua iugis sollemnitatis, | 12 | et quam iucunda curia,
quae curae prorsus nesciat |
| 13 | Nec languor hic, nec senium,
nec fraus, nec terror hostium, | 14 | sed una vox laetantium
et unus ardor cordium. |
| 15 | Illic cives angelici
sub hierarchia triplici | 16 | trinae gaudent et simplici
se monarchiae subici. |
| 17 | Mirantur nec deficiunt
in illum, quem prospiciunt; | 18 | fruuntur nec fastidiunt,
quo frui magis sitiunt. |
| 19 | Illic patres dispositi
pro dignitate meriti | 20 | semota iam caligine
lumen vident in lumine. |
| 21 | Hi sancti quorum hodie
celebrantur sollemnia | 22 | iam revelata facie
regem cernunt in gloria. |
| 23 | Illic regina virginum,
transcendens culmen ordinum, | 24 | excuset apud Dominum
nostrorum lapsus criminum. |
| 25 | Nos ad sanctorum gloriam
per ipsorum suffragia | 26 | post praesentem miseriam
Christi perducatur gratia. |

XXIX. De sanctis Apostolis³²

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| 1 | Cor angustum dilatemus,
ut senatus exaltemus
laudes apostolici; | 2 | laeta linguae mens collaudet,
quae si laudi se defraudet,
fructus laus est modici. |
| 3 | <u>Petro</u> laudis sit primatus,
cui provenit principatus
in sacrum collegium; | 4 | <u>Petro</u> tradit claves caeli,
<u>Petro</u> credit ut fideli
curam Christus omnium. |
| 5 | <u>Paulus</u> , tuba veritatis,
cultum suadet pietatis,
obstat idolatriae; | 6 | post sudores tot agorum
dat athletae Christus donum
coronam iustitiae. |

32 A. H., LV, no. 2. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Though this sequence definitely stems from Paris, and the abbey of St. Victor, the editors, noting many irregularities of rhythm and changes of accent, think the ascription to Adam doubtful at best.

Gautier, no. xcvi.

Misset, no. xli.

- 7 Gaudens sequi Christum ducem
fert Andreas promptus crucem,
promptus ad suspendium;
- 8 plebs Aegeam, hinc Aegeas
adit crucem, sed Andreas
remittit remedium.
- 9 Supergressus vim naturae
Verbum Dei cernit pure
per Ioannes aquilae;
- 10 nil aut parum mortem sensit,
qui corrumpi non consentit
corpus corruptibile.
- 11 Unum nomen, una fides,
unam paene poenam vides
utriusque Iacobi;
- 12 ferro collum huic abscidunt,
fuste caput huic elidunt
contribules reprobi.
- 13 Haeret Thomas, timet prius:
videt, palpat, clamat pius
Deum mox et Dominum;
- 14 Indos Christo lucrifecit,
quorum rex hunc interfecit,
nec rex, sed vir sanguinum.
- 15 Philippus lustrans Scythiam
fide purgat spurcitiam
veteris perfidiae;
- 16 morum silet barbaries,
Martis ruit effigies,
crux habetur gloriae.
- 17 India distans ultima
Deo vocatur proxima
fidei compendio;
- 18 Bartholomaeus impiis
fidem firmat prodigiis
et vitae impendio.
- 19 Spreto quaestu telonei,
Publicano Verbi Dei
delegatur gratia;
- 20 pane vitae praemunitus,
secus aram non invitus
Christum placat hostia.
- 21 Fines ingressus Persidis,
fidem propalat perfidis
Iudas, accito Simone;
- 22 spargunt doctrinae semina,
delent profana numina,
curant delusos daemone.
- 23 Non secutus fortuitum,
sed fortis regens exitum
Matthiam Deus eligit.
- 24 Barnabas felix meritum,
quo collega, per spiritum
Paulus salvandos colligit.
- 25 Caeli cives, digni dici
Christi fratres et amici,
consessuri iudices,
- 26 quando fremet furor irae,
date nobis non sentire
flammas, culpae vindices.

XXX. De sanctis Apostolis³³

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|--|
| 1 | Stola regni laureatus
summi regis est senatus,
coetus apostolicus, | 2 | cui psallant mens et ora;
mentis mundae vox sonora
hymnus est angelicus. |
| 3 | Hic est ordo mundi decus,
omnis carnis iudex aequus,
novae praeco gratiae, | 4 | ab aeterno praelectus,
cuius floret architectus
ad culmen ecclesiae. |
| 5 | Hi praeclari Nazaraei
bella crucis et tropaei
mundo manant gloriam; | 6 | sic dispensant verbum Dei,
quod nox nocti, lux diei
indicant scientiam. |
| 7 | Onus leve, iugum mite
proponentes semen vitae
mundi spargunt terminis; | 8 | germen promit terra culta,
faeneratur fruge multa
fides Dei-Hominis. |
| 9 | Paranymphe novae legis
ad amplexum novi regis
sponsam ducunt regiam, | 10 | sine ruga, sine naevo
permansura omni aevo
virginem ecclesiam. |
| 11 | Haec est virgo gignens fetus,
semper nova, tamen vetus,
sed defectus nescia; | 12 | cuius torus mens sincera,
cuius partus fides vera,
cuius dos est gratia. |
| 13 | Hi sunt templi fundamentum,
vivus lapis et caementum
ligans aedificium; | 14 | hi sunt portae civitatis,
hi compago unitatis
Israel et gentium. |
| 15 | Hi triturant aream,
ventilantes paleam
ventilabri
iustitia, | 16 | quos designant aerei
boves maris vitrei
Salomonis
industria. |
| 17 | Patriarchae duodeni,
fontes aquae gustu leni,
panes tabernaculi, | 18 | gemmae vestis sacerdotis;
hoc figuris signant notis
novi duces populi. |
| 19 | Horum nutu cedat error,
crescat fides, absit terror
finalis sententiae, | 20 | ut soluti a delictis
sociemur benedictis
ad tribunal gloriae. |

33 A. H., IV, no. 1. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. The place of origin of this sequence is definitely the abbey of St. Victor. Its regular form and inspired diction are worthy of Adam.

Gautier, no. C.
Misset, no. xliii.

XXXI. De sancto Andrea³⁴

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 1 | Exsulemus et laetemur
et Andreae delectemur
laudibus apostoli! | 2 | Huius fidem, dogma, mores
et pro fide tot labores
digne decet recoli. |
| 3 | Hic ad lucem Petrum duxit,
cui primum lux illixit
Ioannis indicio; | 4 | secus mare Galilaeae
Petri simul et Andreae
sequitur electio. |
| 5 | Ambo prius piscatores
verbi fiunt assertores
et forma iustitiae; | 6 | rete laxant in capturam
vigilemque gerunt curam
nascentis ecclesiae. |
| 7 | A fratre dividitur
et in partes mittitur
Andreas Achaiae. | 8 | In Andreae retia
currit Dei gratia
magna pars provinciae. |
| 9 | Fide, vita, verbo, signis
doctor pius et insignis
cor informat populi. | 10 | Ut Aegeas comperit,
quid Andreas egerit,
irae surgunt stimuli. |
| 11 | Mens secunda, mens virilis,
cui praesens vita vilis,
viget patientia; | 12 | blandimentis aut tormentis
non enervat robur mentis
iudicis insania. |
| 13 | Crucem videns praeparari
suo gestit conformari
magistro discipulus. | 14 | Mors pro morte solvitur
et crucis appetitur
triumphalis titulus. |
| 15 | In cruce vixit biduum,
victurus in perpetuum,
nec vult volente populo
deponi de patibulo. | 16 | Hora fere dimidia,
luce perfusus nimia
cum luce, cum laetitia,
pergit ad lucis atria. |
| 17 | © Andrea gloriose,
cuius preces pretiosae,
cuius mortis luminosae
dulcis est memoria | 18 | ad hac valle tenebrarum
nos ad illud lumen clarum,
pie pastor animarum,
tua transfer gratia. |

³⁴ A. H., LV, no. 56. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Adam is
wahrscheinlich the author of this sequence, perfect in form and content. Its
use was limited to France.

Glichtovaeus, IV, 188.

Gautier, no. xxvii.

Migne, no. xiv.

Misset, no. xli.

XXXII. De sancto Augustino³⁵

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Interni festi gaudia
nostra sonet harmonia, | 2 quo mens in se pacifica
vera frequentat sabbata, |
| 3 mundi cordis laetitia
odorans vera gaudia, | 4 quibus praegustat avida,
quae sit sanctorum gloria, |
| 5 qua laetatur in patria
caelicolarum curia | 6 regem donantem praemia
sua cernens in gloria; |
| 7 Beata illa patria,
quae nescit nisi gaudia!
Nam cives huius patriae
non cessant laudes canere; | 8 quos ille dulcor afficit,
quem nullus maeror inficit;
quos nullus hostis impetit
nullusque turbo concutit. |
| 9 Ubi dies clarissima
melior est quam milia,
luce lucens praefulgida,
plena Dei notitia; | 10 quam mens humana capere
nec lingua valet promere,
donec vitae victoria
commutet haec mortalia, |
| 11 quando Deus est omnia:
vita, virtus, scientia,
victus, vestis et cetera,
quae velle potest mens pia. | 12 Hoc in hac valle misera
meditetur mens sobria,
hoc per soporem sentiat,
hoc attendat, dum vigilat; |
| 13 quo mundi post exsilia
coronetur in patria
ac in decoris gloria
regem laudet per saecula. | 14 Harum laudum praeconia
imitatur ecclesia,
cum recensetur annua
sanctorum natalitia. |
| 15 Cum peracta proelia
digna reddantur praemia, | 16 pro passione rosea,
pro castitate candida, |
| 17 datur et torques aurea
pro doctrina catholica, | 18 qua praefulget Augustinus
in summi regis curia, |
| 19 cuius librorum copia
fides firmatur unica; | 20 hinc et mater ecclesia
vitat errorum devia. |
| 21 Huius sequi vestigia
ac praedicare dogmata | 22 fide recta ac fervida
det nobis mater gratia. |

35 A. H., LV, no. 74. Ascribenda videtur Adamo de S. Victore.
 Clichtovaeus, IV, 213.
 Gautier, no. lxxviii (Aeterni festi).
 Migne, no. xxvii.

XXXIII. De sancto Bartholomaeo³⁶

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 1 | Laudemus omnes inclita
Bartholomaei merita, | 2 | cuius sacra sollemnia
nobis inspirant gaudia. |
| 3 | Per diem centum vicibus
flexis orabat genibus, | 4 | nec minus noctis tempore,
toto prostratus corpore. |
| 5 | In istius praesentia
obmutescunt daemonia; | 6 | Christi sonante bucina
falsa terrentur numina; |
| 7 | Non Astaroth illudere
genti praesumit miserae, | 8 | nec fallere, nec laedere,
nec laesis potest parcere; |
| 9 | Gravi dignus supplicio
cruciatur incendio; | 10 | quanta sit eius tortio,
Berith patet indicio. |
| 11 | Per virtutes apostoli
patescit fraus diaboli; | 12 | arte detecta subdoli,
cultores cessant idoli. |
| 13 | Liber exultat Pseustus,
hostis repressa rabie,
credit et rex Polimius
propter salutem filiae.
Permissus ab apostolo
daemon mugit ex idolo:
"A vobis ultra, miseri,
sacra non posco fieri. | 14 | "Me iam nil posse fateor,
qui vix respirans torqueor
ante diem iudicii
poenam ferens incendii."
Sic effatus apparuit
et sigilla comminuit,
sed nec praesentes terruit;
nam virtus crucis adfuit. |
| | 15 | | Christi signet caractere
fanum manus angelica,
laesos absolvit libere
potestate mirifica. |
| 16 | Mox pellem mutat India
tincta baptismi gratia, | 17 | ruga carens et macula
caelesti gaudet copula. |

36 A. H., LV, no. 86. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Though this sequence is evidently French, the editors state that it would be difficult to determine that it originated in the abbey of St. Victor, or that Adam wrote it. Its unevenness of rhythm and banality of content do not agree with what we have come to expect of the poet.

Clichtovaeus, IV, 212.

Gautier, no. lxxvii,

Migne, no. xxvi.

Misset, no. xxxv ("Cette prose présente bien des faiblesses, & peut-être n'est-elle pas d'Adam").

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 18 | Currunt ergo pontifices
ad Astriagem supplices, | 19 | athletam iam emeritum
poscentes ad interitum. |
| 20 | Sub Christi testimonio
caput obiecit gladio; | 21 | sic triumphavit hodie
doctor et victor Indiae. |
| 22 | Bartholomase, postula
pro servis prece sedula, | 23 | ut post vitae curricula
Christum laudent in saecula. |

XXXIV. De sancto Dionysio Parisiensi³⁷

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| 1 | Gaude prole, Graecia,
glorietur Gallia
patre Dionysio; | 2 | exsultet uberius
felici Parisius
illustris martyrio. |
| 3 | Speciali gaudio
gaudi, felix contio,
martyrum praesentia, | 4 | quorum patrocinio
tota gaudet regio,
regni stat potentia. |
| 5 | Iuxta patrem positi
bellatores incliti
digni sunt memoria; | 6 | sed illum praecipue
recolit assidue
regalis ecclesia. |
| 7 | Hic a summo praesuli
directus ad Galliam
non gentis incredulae
veretur insaniam. | 8 | Gallorum apostolus
venerat Lutetiam,
quam tenebat subdolos
hostis velut propriam; |
| 9 | Hic errorum cumulus,
hic omnis spurcitia,
hic infelix populus
gaudens idolatria; | 10 | adorabant idolum
fallacis Mercurii,
sed vicit diabolium
fides Dionysii. |
| 11 | Hic constructo
Christi templo
verbo docet
et exemplo,
coruscat miraculis. | 12 | Turba credit,
error cedit,
fides crescit
et clarescit
nomen tanti praesulis. |

37 A. H., IV, no. 113. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Without doubt this schöne, aber doch nicht erstklassige sequence had its origin in France, but the editors point out that many irregularities of rhythm must be explained before the ascription to Adam is definite.

Clichtovaeus, IV, 220.

Gautier, no. lxxx.

Migne, no. xxxi.

Misset, no. xxxix.

- 13 His auditis fit insanus
immitis Domitianus
mittitque Sisinnium,
- 14 qui pastorem animarum,
fide, vita, signis clarum,
trahat ad supplicium,
- 15 Infliguntur seni poenae,
flagra, carcer et catenae;
catastam, lectum ferreum
et aestum vincit igneum;
- 16 prece domat feras truces,
sedat rogam, perfert cruces,
post clavos et patibulum
translatus ad ergastulum,
- 17 Seniore celebrante
missam, turba circumstante,
Christus adest comitante
caelesti frequentia;
- 18 specu clausum carcerali
consolatur et vitali
pane cibatur immortali
coronandum gloria.
- 19 Prodit martyr conflicturus,
sub securi stat securus;
ferit lictor
sicque victor
consummatur gladio.
- 20 Se cadaver mox erexit,
truncus truncum caput vexit,
quo ferentem
hoc direxit
angelorum legio.
- 21 Tam praeclara passio
repleat nos gaudio;

XXXV. De sancta Genovefa³⁸

- 1 Genovefae sollemnitatis
sollemne parit gaudium;
- 2 cordis erumpat puritas
in laudis sacrificium.
- 3 Felix ortus infantulae
teste Germano praesule
- 4 quod praevidebat in spiritu,
rerum probatur exitu.
- 5 Hic ad pectus virgineum
pro pudoris signaculo
- 6 nummum suspendit aeneum,
crucis insignem titulo.
- 7 Genovefam divinitus
oblato donat munere,
- 8 in templum sancti spiritus
sub Christi dicans foedere.
- 9 Infantem manu feriens
mater privatur lumine,
- 10 matri virgo compatiens
lucis dat usum pristinae.

38 A. H., LV, no. 146. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. The origin of this sequence is undoubtedly France, probably Paris. The editors believe it might have been composed in the abbey of St. Genevieve rather than in the abbey of St. Victor.

Gautier, no. xxxviii.

Misset, no. viii.

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 11 | Genovefa magnanimitas
carnem frangit ieiunio | 12 | terramque rigans lacrimis
iugi gaudet martyrio. |
| 13 | Caelesti duce praevio
caelos lustrat et tartara
civesque precum studio
servat a gente barbara.
Divino diu munere
sitim levat artificum,
contractum casu misere
matri resignat unicum. | 14 | Ad primam precem virginis
contremiscunt daemonia,
pax datur energumenis,
spes agris, reis venia.
In eius manu cerei
reaccenduntur caelitus;
per hanc in sinus alvei
redit amnis coercitus. |
| 15 | Ignem sacrum refrigerat
post mortem vivens meritis, | 16 | quae prius in se vicerat
aestus interni fomitis. |
| 17 | Morti, morbis, daemonibus
et elementis imperat; | 18 | sic Genovefa precibus
naturae leges superat. |
| 19 | Operatur in parvulis
Christi virtus magnaia. | 20 | Christo pro tot miraculis
Laus frequens, iugis gloria |

XXXVI. De sancto Ioanne Baptista³⁹

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| 1 | Ad honorem tuum, Christe,
recolat ecclesia | 2 | praecursoris et baptistae
tui natalitia. |
| 3 | Laus est regis in praecanis
ipsius praeconio, | 4 | quem virtutum ditat donis,
sublimat officio. |
| 5 | Promittente Gabriele
seniori filium | 6 | haesitavit et loquelas
perdidit officium. |

³⁹ A. H., LV, no. 178. Ascribenda videtur Adamo de S. Victore. This is based on, and closely follows, an eleventh-century sequence in honor of St. Nicholas; hence it is unusual in construction and rhythm. The editors believe that these small irregularities are not sufficient to warrant striking it from the list of probable works of Adam of St. Victor, because there are many features characteristic of his work. "Ein grosser Dichter darf nicht als Pedant und Automat behandelt werden."

Clichtovaeus, IV, 199.

Gautier, no. li.

Migne, no. xci.

- 7 Puer nascitur,
novae legis, novi regis
praeco, tuba, signifer;
- 8 vox praecit verbum,
paranympus sponsi sponsum,
solis ortum lucifer.
- 9 Verbo mater,
scripto pater
nomen indit parvulo,
et soluta
lingua mita
patris est a vinculo;
- 10 est caelesti
praesignatus
Ioannes oraculo
et ab ipso
praemonstratus
uteri latibulo.
- 11 Quod aetate praematura
datur heres, id figura,
quod infecunda
diu parens;
res profunda!
- 12 Contra carnis quidem iura
Ioannis haec genitura
talem gratia
partum format,
non natura.
- 13 Alvo Deum virgo claudit,
clauso clausus hic adplaudit
de ventris angustia;
- 14 agnum monstrat in aperto
vox clamantis in deserto,
vox verbi praemuntia.
- 15 Ardens fide, verbo lucens
et ad veram lucem ducens
multa docet milia;
- 16 non lux iste, sed lucerna,
Christus vero lux aeterna,
lux illustrans omnia.
- 17 Cilicina tectus veste,
pellis cinctus strophium
- 18 cum locustis mel silvestre
sumpsit in edulium.
- 19 Attestante sibi Christo
non surrexit maior isto
natus de muliere;
- 20 sese tantum hic excepit,
qui de carne carnem cepit
sine carnis opere.
- 21 Capitali iustus poena
iubetur in carcere
consummari,
- 22 cuius caput rex in cena
non horret pro munere
praesentari.
- 23 Martyr Dei,
licet rei
simis nec idonei
tuae laudi,
- 24 te laudantes
et sperantes
de tua clementia
nos exaudi.
- 25 Tuo nobis in natale
da promissum gaudium
- 26 nec nos minus triumphale
delectet martyrium.
- 27 Veneramur
et miramur
in te tot mysteria;
- 28 per te frui
Christus sui
det nobis praesentia.

XXXVII. In natali sancti Ioannes Evangelistae⁴⁰

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 Gratulemur
ad festivum,
iucundemur
ad votivum
Ioannis praeconium;</p> <p>3 Hic est Christi praedilectus,
cui reclinans supra pectus
hausit sapientiam;</p> <p>5 Intus ardens caritate,
foris lucens puritate,
signis et eloquio,</p> <p>7 Vim veneni superavit,
morti, morbis imperavit
neonon et daemionibus.</p> <p>9 Cum gemmarum
partes fractas
solidasset, has distractas
tribuit pauperibus;</p> <p>11 Invitatur ab amico
convivari, Christum dico
visum cum discipulis;</p> <p>13 Testem habes populum,
inno, si vis, oculum,
quod ad eius tumulum
manna scatet, epulum
de Christo convivio.</p> <p>15 Huius signis est conversa
gens gentilis, gens perversa,
gens totius Asiae;</p> | <p>2 sic veretur
laus in ore,
ne fraudetur
cor sapore,
que degustet gaudium.</p> <p>4 huic in cruce commendavit
Christus matrem, hic servavit
virgo viri nesciam.</p> <p>6 ut ab aestu criminali,
sic immunis a poenali
prodit ex delio.</p> <p>8 Sed vir tantae potestatis
non minoris pietatis
erat tribulantibus.</p> <p>10 inexhaustum
fert thesaurum,
qui de virgis fecit aurum,
gemmas de lapidibus.</p> <p>12 de sepulcro, quo descendit,
redit vivus; sic ascendit
frui summis epulis.</p> <p>14 Scribens evangelium
aquilae fert proprium,
cernens solis radium
scilicet principium
verbum in principio.</p> <p>16 huius scriptis illustratur,
illustrata solidatur
unitas ecclesiae.</p> |
|---|--|

⁴⁰ A. H. IV, no. 191. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Earliest sources place the origin of this sequence in Paris; its form and content are worthy of an Adam of St. Victor.

Glichtovaeus, IV, 160.

Gautier, no. xcxi.

Migne, no. ii.

Misset, no. iii.

17 Salve, salvi vas pudoris,
vas caelestis plenum roris,
mundum intus, clarum foris,
nobile per omnia.

18 Fac nos sequi sanctitatem,
fac per mentis puritatem
contemplari trinitatem
unam in substantia.

XXXVIII. De sancto Laurentio⁴¹

1 Prunis datum
admiremur.
Laureatum
veneremur
Laudibus Laurentium;

2 veneremur
cum tremore,
deprecemur
cum amore
martyrem egregium.

3 Accusatus
non negavit,
sed pulsatus
resultavit
in tubis ductilibus,

4 cum in poenis
voto plenis
exsultaret
et sonaret
in divinis laudibus.

5 Sicut chorda musicorum
tandem sonum dat sonorum
plectri ministerio,

6 sic in cheli tormentorum
melos Christi confessorum
dedit huius tensio.

7 Deci, vide,
quia fide
stat invictus
inter ictus,
minas et incendia;

8 spes interna,
vox superna
consolesantur
et hortantur
virum de constantia.

9 Nam thesauros, quos exquiris,
per tormenta non acquiris
tibi, sed Laurentio;

10 hos in Christo coacervat
huius pugna, Christus servat
triumphantis praemio.

11 Nescit sancti nox obscurum,
ut in poenis quid impurum
fide tracta dubia,

12 neque caecis lumen daret,
si non eum radiaret
luminis praesentia.

⁴¹ A. H., IV, no. 217. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. This brilliant sequence which, singularly enough, was not in liturgical use outside of France, is certainly worthy of all standards of Adam of St. Victor. Though there is no evidence questioning his authorship, there is also, unfortunately, no direct proof of it.

Clichtovaeus, IV, 208.

Gautier, no. Lxiv.

Migne, no. xxiv.

Misset, no. xxi.

- 13 Fidei confessio
lucet in Laurentio;
non ponit sub modio,
statuit in medio
lumen coram omnibus.
- 14 Iuvat Dei famulum
crucis suae baiulum,
assum quasi ferculum,
fieri spectaculum
angelis et gentibus.
- 15 Non abhorret prunis volvi,
qui de carne cupit solvi
et cum Christo vivere.
- 16 Neque timet occidentes
corpus, sed non praevalentes
animam occidere.
- 17 Sicut vasa figulorum
probat fornax et eorum
solidat substantiam,
- 18 sic et ignis hunc assatum
velut testam solidatum
reddit per constantiam.
- 19 Nam cum vetus corrumpatur,
alter homo renovatur
veteris incendio;
- 20 unde nimis confortatus
est athletae principatus
in Dei servitio.
- 21 Hunc ardorem
factum foris
putat rorem
vis amoris
et zelus iustitiae;
- 22 ignis urens
non comburens
vincit prunas,
quas adunas,
o minister impie.
- 23 Parum sapis
vin sinapis,
si non tangis,
si non frangis,
et plus fragrat,
quando flagrat
tus iniectum ignibus;
- 24 sic artatus
et assatus,
sub labore,
sub ardore,
dat odorem
pleniorum
martyr de virtutibus.
- 25 O Laurenti, laute nimis,
rege victo rex sublimis,
regis regum fortis miles,
qui duxisti poenas viles
certans pro iustitia,
- 26 qui tot mala devicisti
contemplando bona Christi,
fac nos malis insultare,
fac de bonis exsultare
meritorum gratia.

XXXIX. De sancto Leodegario Augustodunensi⁴²

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| 1 | Cordia sonet ex interno
regi regum, hodierno
die, nostra contio; | 2 | collaudemus mente laeta
suo illum in athleta,
in Leodegario. |
| 3 | Sit mens munda,
vox canora,
ut iucunda
et decora
nostra sit laudatio; | 4 | non discordet
os a corde,
sint concordae
hae tres chordae:
lingua, mens, et actio. |
| 5 | Generosa stirpe clarus
fuit et ab ipsa carus
Deo pueritia. | 6 | Mansit in palatio
sub rege Chlothario,
cuius providentia |
| 7 | Hinc Pictavis mittitur
praesulique traditur
disciplinae gratia. | 8 | Praesulatu sublimatur,
sublimatus cumulat
gratiarum copia. |
| 9 | Maior domus regiae,
Ebroinus, rabie
ferali succenditur; | 10 | torquendus nefarie
ministris saevitiae
sanctus Dei traditur. |
| 11 | Venerando praesuli
erantur oculi
saeculis profuturi; | 12 | fodiuntur terebris
aliorum tenebris
lumen reddituri. |
| 13 | Lictor vibrat gladium,
martyr caput obvium
dat pro Christo capite, | 14 | hostem vincens hominum,
Babylonis dominum,
cum suo satellite. |
| 15 | Sic caelorum ostia
Christi factus hostia
intrat cum victoria; | 16 | caelestis militis
cantat cum laetitia:
"Deo laus et gloria!" |
| 17 | Circumdati periculis
atque momenti singulis
paene periclitantes | 18 | ad te, martyr, confugimus
tibi que preces fundimus,
suscipe deprecantes. |

⁴² A. H., LV, no. 220. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. This one is the weakest and least widespread of the sequences ascribed to Adam. The editors suggest that it might be the work of some other gifted Victorine. Gauthier, no. lxxix. Misset, no. xxxviii.

19 Tuis bonis adgaudentem,
tuas laudes attollentem
praesentem familiam

20 in caelestem transfer aedem
et fac Christo coheredem
atque tibi sociam.

XL. De sancto Martino Turonensi⁴³

1 Gaude, Sion,
quae diem recolis,
qua Martinus
compas apostolis,
mundum vincens,
iunctis caelicolis
coronatur.

2 Hic Martinus
pauper et modicus,
servus prudens,
fidelis vilicus,
caelo dives
civis angelicus
sublimatur.

3 Hic Martinus,
qui catechumenus
nudum vestit,
et nocte protinus
insequenti
haec veste Dominus
est indutus.

4 Hic Martinus
spernens militiam
inimicis
inermis obviam
ire parat,
baptismi gratiam
assecutus.

5 Hic Martinus,
dum offert hostiam,
intus ardet
per Dei gratiam,
supersedens
apparet etiam
globus ignis.

6 Hic Martinus,
qui caelum reserat,
mari praestat
et terris imperat,
morbos sanat
et monstra superat
vir insignis.

7 Hic Martinus
nec mori timuit
nec vivendi
laborem respuit
sicque Dei
se totum tribuit
voluntati.

8 Hic Martinus,
qui nulli nocuit,
hic Martinus,
qui cunctis profuit,
hic Martinus,
qui trinae placuit
maiestati.

⁴³ A. H., LV, no. 248. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. About this sequence, the editors confirm only the certainty of its French origin and the possibility of its Parisian origin.

Clichtovaeus, IV, 224.

Gautier, no. LXXXVII.

Migne, no. XXXV.

Misset, no. XI ("La langue de cette prose ne nous paraît pas être la langue d'Adam").

- 9 Hic Martinus,
cuius est obitus
Severino
per visum cognitus,
dum caelestis
canit exercitus
dulce melos.
- 10 Hic Martinus,
cuius Sulpicius
vitam scribit
astat Ambrosius
sepulturae,
nil sibi conscius
intrat caelos.
- 11 O Martine,
pastor egregie,
o caelestis
consors militiae,
nos a lupi
defendas rabie
saevientis.
- 12 O Martine,
fac nunc, quod gesseras,
Deo preces
pro nobis offeras,
esto memor,
quam nunquam deseras,
tuae gentis.

XLI. De sanctis Michaelis et angelis ^{lll}

- 1 Laus erumpat ex affectu,
psallat chorus in conspectu
supernorum civium;
- 2 laus iucunda, laus decora,
quando laudi concanora
puritas est cordium.
- 3 Michaelis cuncti laudent
nec ab huius se defraudent
diei laetitia;
- 4 felix dies, qua sanctorum
recensetur angelorum
sollemnis victoria.
- 5 Draco vetus expugnatur
et draconis effugatur
inimica legio;
exturbatus est turbator
et proiectus accusator
a caeli fastigio.
- 6 Sub tutela Michaelis
pax in terra, pax in caelis,
laus et iubilatio.
Cum sit potens hic virtute
pro communi stans salute
triumphat in proelio.
- 7 Suggestor sceleris
pulsus a superis
per huius aeris
oberrat spatia,
- 8 delis invigilat,
virus insibilat,
sed hunc annihilat
praesens custodia.

^{lll} A. H., LV, no. 288. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. The form and content give evidence of a distinguished prosator. This sequence had a wide distribution. Many interpolations were added to suit the traditions and taste of different localities.

Clichtovaeus, IV, 219.

Gautier, no. lxxvii (de Angelis).

Migne, no. xxxi.

Misset, no. xxxvii.

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|--|
| 9 | Tres distinctae hierarchiae
iugi vacant theoriae
iugique psallentio; | 10 | nec obsistit theoria
sive iugis harmonia
iugi ministerio. |
| 11 | O quam mirae caritatis
est supernae civitatis
ter terna distinctio, | 12 | quae nos amat et tuetur,
ut ex nobis restauretur
eius diminitio! |
| 13 | Sicut sunt hominum
diversae gratiae,
sic erunt ordinum
distinctae gloriae
iustis in praemio; | 14 | solis est alia
quam lunae dignitas,
stellarum varia
relucet claritas;
sic resurrectio. |
| 15 | Vetus homo novitati,
se terrenus puritati
conformet caelestium; | 16 | coaequalia his futurus,
licet nondum plene purus,
spe praesumat praemium. |
| 17 | Ut ab ipsis adiuvemur,
hos devote veneremur
instantes obsequio. | 18 | Deo nos conciliat
angelisque sociat
sincera devotio. |
| 19 | De secretis reticentes
interim caelestibus
erigamus puras mentes
ad caelum cum manibus, | 20 | ut superna nos dignetur
coheredes curia
et divina collaudetur
ab utrisque gratia. |
- 21 Membris sit concordia
capitique gloria!

XLIII. De sancto Paulo⁴⁵

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| 1 | Corde, voce pulsa caelos,
triumphale pange melos,
gentium ecclesiae! | 2 | Paulus, doctor gentium,
consummavit stadium
triumphans in gloria. |
|---|--|---|---|

⁴⁵ A. H., LV, no. 278. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. This sequence, French in origin, is worthy of a great poet. The editors would like to attribute it to Adam. They note that most of the half-strophes do not correspond, an unusual feature in sequences ascribed to Adam of St. Victor.

Clichtovaeus, IV, 193.

Migne, no. xviii.

Misset, no. xxvii.

3 Hic Benjamin adolescens,
 lupus rapax, praeda vescens,
 hostis est fidelium;
 mane lupus, sed ovis vespere
 post tenebras lucente sidere
 docet evangelium.

4 Hic mortis viam arripit,
 quem vitae via corripit,
 dum Damascum graditur;
 spirat minas, sed iam cedit,
 sed prostratus iam oboedit,
 sed iam victus ducitur.

5 Ad Ananiam mittitur,
 lupus ad ovem trahitur,
 mens resedit effera;
 fontis subit sacramentum,
 mutat virus in pigmentum
 unda salutifera.

6 Vas sacratum, vas divinum,
 vas propinans dulce vinum
 doctrinalis gratiae!
 Synagogas circuit,
 Christi fidem astruit
 prophetarum serie.

7 Verbum crucis protestatur
 crucis causa cruciatur,
 mille modis moritur;
 sed perstat vivax hostia
 et invicta constantia
 omnis poena vincitur.

8 Segregatus docet gentes,
 mundi vincit sapientes
 Dei sapientia;
 raptus ad caelum tertium
 videt patrem et filium
 in una substantia.

9 Roma potens et docta Graecia
 praebet colla, discit mysteria;
 fides Christi proficit.

10 Crux triumphat, Nero saevit;
 quo docente fides crevit,
 Paulum ense conficit.

11 Sic exutus carnis molem
 Paulus videt verum solem,
 patris unigenitum;

12 lumen videt in lumine,
 cuius vitium numine
 Gehennalem gemitum.

XLIII. In conversione sancti Pauli⁴⁶

- | | | | |
|---|--|----|---|
| 1 | Iubilemus salvatori,
qui spem dedit peccatori
consequendi veniam, | 2 | quando Saulum increpavit
et conversum revocavit
ad matrem ecclesiam. |
| 3 | Saulus caedis et minarum
spirans adhuc cruentarum
in Christi discipulos | 4 | impetravit, ut ligaret
et ligatos cruciaret
crucifixi famulos. |
| 5 | Quem in via Iesus stravit,
inrepatum excaecavit
lucis suae radio; | 6 | qui consurgens de harena,
manu tractus aliena,
clauditur hospitio. |
| 7 | Flet, ieiunat, orat, credit,
baptisatur, lumen redit,
in Paulum convertitur; | 8 | Saulus, praeco nostri gregis,
Paulus, praeco nostrae legis,
sic in Paulum vertitur. |
| 9 | Ergo, Paule, doctor gentis,
vas electum, nostrae mentis
tenebras illumina | 10 | et per tuam nobis precem
praesta vitam utque necem
aeternam elimina. |

XLIV. De sancto Petro⁴⁷

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| 1 | Gaude, Roma caput mundi,
primus pastor in secundi
laudetur victoria; | 2 | totus orbis hilarescat
et virtutis ardor crescat
ex Petri memoria. |
| 3 | Petrus sacri fax amoris,
lux doctrinae, sal dulcoris,
Petrus mons iustitiae, | 4 | Petrus fons est salvatoris,
lignum fructus et odoris,
lignum carens carie. |

⁴⁶ A. H., IV, no. 282. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. This sequence was in liturgical use almost exclusively at St. Victor. The editors note that the employment of the same construction and rhythm throughout the whole poem is unusual for Adam.

Gautier, no. xliii.

⁴⁷ A. H., IV, no. 283. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. A distinguished French poet wrote this sequence. Was it Adam of St. Victor? The editors conclude: „Ja und Nein fällt schwer.“

Clichtoveaus, IV, 202.

Gautier, no. liii.

Migne, no. xcii.

Misset, no. xxvi.

- 5 Et quid Petro dices dignum?
Nullum Christi videns signum
primo sub admonitu
- 7 Auro carens et argento
oculiscat miraculis;
a nervorum sub momento
claudum solvit vinculis.
- 9 Petrus vitam dat Tabithae
iuvenamque reddit vitae
potestate libera.
Pede premit fluctus maris
et nutantem salutaris
Petrum regit dextera.
- 11 Quod negando ter peccavit,
simplex amor expiavit
et trina confessio.
- 13 Umbra sanat hic languentes,
sanat membra, sanat mentes,
morbos reddit impotentes
medici potentia.
Petrum Simon magus odit,
magum Simon Petrus prodit,
plebem monet et custodit
a magi versutia.
- 15 Nero fremdet furibundus,
Nero plangit impium,
Nero, cuius aegre mundus
ferebat imperium.
- 17 Petro sunt oves creditae
clavesque regni traditae;
Petri praesit sententia
ligans et solvens omnia.
- 6 fugit rete, fugit ratem
necdum plene veritatem
contemplatus spiritu.
- 8 Paralyti dissolutus
Aeneas erigitur,
Petrum praesens Dei natus
ad votum prosequitur.
- 10 Facta Christi quaestione
brevis claudit hic sermo
fidem necessarium;
hunc personam dicit unam,
sed nec tacet opportunam
naturae distantiam.
- 12 Angelus a carcere
Petrum solvit libere
destinatum gladio.
- 14 Hic a Christo "petra" dictus
in conflictu stat invictus,
licet iugis sit conflictus
et gravis congressio;
dum volare magus quaerit,
totus ruens totus perit,
quem divina digne ferit
et condemnat ultio.
- 16 Ergo Petro crux paratur
a ministris scelerum.
Crucifigi se testatur
in hoc Christus iterum.
- 18 Pastoris nostri meritis
ac prece salutifera
nos a peccati debitis,
aeterne pastor, libera.

XLV. De sanctis Petro et Paulo ⁴⁸

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1 Roma Petro gloriatur,
Roma Paulum veneretur
pari reverentia.</p> <p>3 Hi sunt eius fundamenta,
fundatores, fulcimenta,
bases, epistylia;</p> <p>5 Hi sunt nubes coruscantes
terram cordis irrigantes
nunc rore, nunc pluvia;</p> <p>7 Laborum socii
tritarant aream
in spe denarii
colentes vineam;</p> <p>9 Ipsi montes appellantur
ipsi prius illustrantur
veri solis lumine.</p> <p>11 Fugam mortis imperant,
leges mortis superant,
effugant daemonia;</p> <p>13 Laus communis
est amorum,
cum sint tamen singulorum
dignitates propriae;</p> <p>15 Principatus uni datur
unitasque commendatur
fidei catholicae;</p> | <p>2 Immo tota incundetur
et incundis occupetur
laudibus ecclesia.</p> <p>4 idem saga, qui cortinas,
pelles templi hyacinthinas,
scyphi, sphaeras, lilia.</p> <p>6 Hi praesones novae legis
et ductores novi gregis
ad Christi praesaepia.</p> <p>8 his ventilantibus
secedit palea
novisque frugibus
replentur horrea.</p> <p>10 Mira virtus est eorum,
firmamenti vel caelorum
designantur nomine.</p> <p>12 delent idolatriam,
reis praebent veniam,
miseris solacia.</p> <p>14 Petrus praesit
principatu,
Paulus pollet magistratu
totius ecclesiae.</p> <p>16 unus cortex est granorum,
sed et una vis multorum
sub eodem cortice;</p> |
|--|---|

⁴⁸ A. H., IV, no. 289. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. It is extraordinary that this sequence did not leave the boundaries of France. The editors note that "much in it speaks of Adam."

Clichtovaeus, IV, 203.

Gautier, no. lii.

Migne, no. xciii.

Misset, no. xxviii.

- 17 Romam convenerant
salutis muntii,
ubi plus noverant
inesse vitii,
nihil medicinae.
- 18 Insistunt vitia
fideles medici;
vitae remediis
obstant phrenetici,
fatui doctrinae.
- 19 Facta Christi mentione
Simon magus cum Nerone
conturbantur hoc sermone
nec cedunt apostolis.
- 20 Languor cedit, mors oboedit,
magus crepat, Roma credit
et ad vitam mundus redit
reprobatis idolis.
- 21 Fremit Nero sceleratus
magi morte desolatus,
cuius error ei gratus,
grave praecipitium.
- 22 Bellatores praeselecti
non a fide possunt flecti,
sed in pugna stant erecti
nec formidant gladium.
- 23 Petrus, heres verae lucis,
fert inversus poenam crucis,
Paulus ictum pugionis,
nec diversae passionis
sunt diversa praemia.
- 24 Patres summae dignitatis,
summo regi coregnatis;
vinola nostrae pravitatis
solvat vestrae potestatis
efficax sententia.

XLVI. De sancto Stephano ⁴⁹

- 1 Heri mundus exsultavit
et exsultans celebravit
Christi natalitia;
- 2 heri chorus angelorum
prosecutus est caelorum
regem cum laetitia.
- 3 Protomartyr et levita,
clarus fide, clarus vita,
clarus et miraculis,
- 3 sub hac luce triumphavit
et triumphans insultavit
Stephanus incredulis.
- 5 Fremunt ergo tanquam ferae,
quia victi defecere,
lucis adversarii;
falsos testes statunt
et linguas exacunt
viperae filii.
- 6 Agonista, nulli cede,
certa certus de mercede,
persevera, Stephane,
insta falsis testibus,
confuta sermonibus
synagogam Satanae!

⁴⁹ A. H., LV, no. 310. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. This is one of the few sequences which are without doubt the work of Adam. Blume and Bannister have agonista for agonista in strophe 6. Misset's correction of strophe 18 (sic in Christo obdormivit/qui sic Christo oboedivit) is, according to the editors, schulgerecht, but against all the sources extant.

Clightovagus, IV, 158.
Misset, no. 11.
Misset, no. 11.

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| 7 | Testis tuus est in caelis,
testis verax et fidelis,
testis innocentiae; | 8 | nomen habes <u>coronati</u> ,
te tormenta decet pati
pro corona gloriae. |
| 9 | Pro corona non marcenti
perfer brevis vim tormenti,
te manet victoria; | 10 | tibi fiet mors natalis,
tibi poena terminalis
dat vitae primordia. |
| 11 | Plenus sancto spiritu
penetrat intuitu
Stephanus caelestia; | 12 | videns Dei gloriam
crescit ad victoriam,
suspirat ad praemia. |
| 13 | En, a dextris Dei stantem
Iesum, pro te dimicantem,
Stephane, considera; | 14 | tibi caelos reserari,
tibi Christum revelari,
clama voce libera. |
| 15 | Se commendat salvatori,
pro quo dulce ducit mori
sub ipsis lapidibus | 16 | Saulus servat omnium
vestes lapidantium
lapidans in omnibus. |
| 17 | Ne peccatum statuatur,
his, a quibus lapidatur,
genua ponit et precatur
condolens insaniae. | 18 | In Christo sic obdormivit,
qui Christo sic oboedivit,
et cum Christo semper vivit,
martyrum primitiae. |

XLVII. De sancto Thoma martyre ⁵⁰

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Gaude, Sion, et laetare,
voce, voto iucundare
sollemni laetitia! | 2 | Tuus Thomas trucidatur,
pro te, Christe, immolatur
salutaris hostia. |
| 3 | Archipraesul et legatus,
fuit Thomas consecratus,
nullo tamen est elatus
honoris fastigio. | 4 | dispensator summi regis
et divinae doctor legis
pro tutela sui gregis
trusus est exilio. |

50 A. H., LV, no. 328. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Liturgical use of this sequence, outstanding for its technique rather than for content and style, remained restricted to Paris and northern France. There is as good evidence for its origin in the Sens region as there is for its origin in the abbey of St. Victor. Only a few years before his death, St. Thomas visited the abbey of St. Victor and there held a memorable discourse on St. Augustine. Gautier, no. xxxv. Misset, no. iv.

- 5 Telo certans pastorali,
ense cinctus spiritali
triumphare meruit.
- 7 Tunc rectore desolatam
et pastore viduatam
se plangebatur Anglia;
- 9 Quo absente infirmatur,
infirmata perturbatur,
perturbata conculcatur
libertas ecclesiae.
- 11 Quondam coetu curiali
primus eras, et regali
militans palatio;
- 13 Consequenter es mutatus,
praesulatu sublimatus,
novus homo reparatus
felici commercio;
- 15 Carnis tuae morte sprete
triumphalis es athleta;
palma tibi datur laeta
quod testantur insueta
miranda miracula;
- 17 Cleri gemma, clare Thoma,
motus carnis nostrae doma
praecum efficacia.
- 6 Hic pro Dei sui lege
et pro suo mori grege
decertare studuit.
- 8 versa vice plausu miro
exsultavit tanto viro
Senonensis Gallia.
- 10 Sic nos, pastor, reliquisti
te configens cruci Christi
nec a vero recessisti
tramite iustitiae.
- 12 plebis aura favorali
et, ut nos est, temporali
plaudebas praeconio.
- 14 ex adverso ascendisti
et te murum obiecisti,
caput tuum obtulisti
Christi sacrificio.
- 16 per te visus caecis datur,
claudis gressus instauratur,
paralysis effugatur,
vetus hostis propulsatur
et peccati macula.
- 18 ut in Christo, vera vite,
radicati verae vitae
capiamus praemia.

XLVIII. De sancto Victore Massiliensi⁵¹

- 1 Ecce, dies triumphalis!
Gaude turba spiritalis
spiritali gaudio;
- 2 mente tota sis devota
et per vocem fiat nota
cordis exsultatio.

⁵¹ A. H., LV, no. 337. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. The editors remark that it is almost certain that the outstanding poet of St. Victor would write a sequence honoring the patron of the abbey. This work is worthy of Adam. There is a longer version in a Canterbury manuscript.

Gautier, no. lvii.

Misset, no. xcix.

- 3 Nunquam fiet cor iucundum,
nisi prius fiat mundum
a mundi contagio;
- 4 si vis vitam, mundum vita,
prorsus in te sit sepita
mundi delectatio.
- 5 Hunc in primo Victor flore,
inno Christus in Victore
sua vicit gratia;
- 6 vicit carnem, vicit mundum,
vicit hostem furibundum
fide vincens omnia.
- 7 Invicti martyria
mira victoria
mire nos excitat
ad mira gaudia.
- 8 Deprome iubilum,
mater ecclesia,
laudans in milite
regis magnalia.
- 9 Christi miles indefessus
christianum se professus
respuit stipendia;
- 10 totus tendit ad coronam
nec sustam vult annonam
ad vitae subsidia.
- 11 Praeses Asterius
et eius impius
comes Eusticius
instant inuitus
pari malitia.
- 12 Per urbem trahitur,
tractus suspenditur,
suspensus caeditur,
sed nulla frangitur
martyr iniuria.
- 13 Mente laeta
stat athleta,
carne spreta,
insueta
superans supplicia;
- 14 in tormentis
status mentis
non mutatur
nec turbatur
animi potentia.
- 15 Pes truncatur, quia stabat,
sed nec truncus aberrabat
a Christi vestigio;
- 16 pedem Christo dat securus
ipsum caput oblaturus
eius sacrificio.
- 17 Damno pedis hilarescit,
frangi poena fides nescit,
ut sinapis vis exorescit,
quo maior attritio.
- 18 Tortor furit in Victorem,
furor cedit in stuporem,
dum Victori dat vigorem
Christi visitatio.
- 19 Mola tritus pistorali,
poena plexus capitali
vitam clausit morte tali,
ut per mortem immortalis
frueretur bravio.
- 20 In Victoria tui laude,
spiritalis turma, gaude,
corde, manu, voce plaude
et triumphis diem claude
laudis in praesentio.

XLIX. In susceptione Reliquiarum s. Victoris Massiliensis

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 Ex radice caritatis,
ex affectu pietatis
psallat haec ecclesia; | 2 psallat corde, psallat ore
et exsultet in Victore
Victoris familia. |
| 3 Pars istius nobis data,
per fideles est allata
ab urbe Massilia, | 4 oculus prius spiritali,
nunc ipsius corporali
fruihur praesentia. |
| 5 Haec est summa gaudiorum;
dilatemus animorum
ipsa penetralia; | 6 martyris reliquiae
laudis et laetitias
nobis sunt materia. |
| 7 Nostri cordis organum,
nostrae carnis tympanum
a se dissidentia | 8 harmonia temperet
et sibi confoderet
pari concinantia. |
| 9 Choris concinentibus,
una sit in moribus
nostris modulatio; | 10 vocum dissimilium,
morum dissidentium
gravis est collisio. |
| 11 Ex diversis sonitus
fiet incompositus,
nisi Dei digitus
chordas aptet primitus
dulci magisterio; | 12 nisi dulcor spiritus
cor tangat medullitus,
nihil vocis strepitus,
nihil sapit penitus
carnis exsultatio. |
| 13 Dulcor iste non sentitur
in scissuris mentium
nec in terra reperitur
suave viventium. | 14 Hunc dulcorem sapiat
et praegustans sitiatur,
donec plene capiat
unitas fidelium. |
| 15 Praegustemus cordis ore,
ut interno nos sapore
revochemur ab amore
mundi seductorio. | 16 Hic est sapor salutaris,
hic est gustus singularis,
per quem curae saecularis
subrepat oblivio. |
| 17 Ut hic mundus amarescat,
odor Christi praedulcescat;
haec dulcedo semper crescat
cordis in cellario. | 18 Ubi spirat fraglor talis,
fervor crescit spiritalis
et frigescit temporalis
vitae delectatio. |

52 A. H., LV, no. 338. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore.
Gautier, no. 1.
Misset, no. xxv.

- 19 Victor, miles triumphalis,
Christi martyr specialis,
nos a mundi serva malis
ne nos amor mundialis
mergat in flagitia.
- 20 Una voce, mente pari,
nos honore singulari
te studemus venerari;
dum versamur in hoc mari,
exhibe suffragia.
- 21 Ne permittas spe frustrari,
quibus potes suffragari;
fac nos Christo praesentari,
ut hunc tecum contemplari
possimus in gloria.
- 22 Ad honorem tuum, Christo,
decantavit chorus iste
tui laudes agonistas,
quo praesente nihil triste
nostra turbet gaudia.

L. De sancto Vincentio Caesaraugustano⁵³

- 1 Ecce, dies praecoptata,
dies felix, dies grata,
dies digna gaudio.
- 2 Nos hanc diem veneremur
et pugnantem adhaeremur
Christum in Vincentio.
- 3 Ortu, fide, sanctitate,
sensu, verbo, dignitate
clarus et officio
- 4 arcem diaconii
sub patris Valerii
regebat arbitrio.
- 5 Linguae praesul impeditae
Deo vacat et levitae
verbi dat officia,
- 6 cuius linguam sermo rectus
duplex quoque simplex pectus
exornat scientia.

53 A. H., LV, no. 339. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Misset objected to Gautier's inclusion of this poem in Adam's works on the ground of minor irregularities of rhythm. In his third revised edition, however, Gautier remained firm and included the sequence. The editors emphasize the artistic quality of its structure, language and technique, as well as the profundity of its content. As for rhythmic unevenness, sometimes a good poet will use it to break the monotony of a long poem. At any rate, the editors continue even a great poet has occasional irregularities. „Ein Dichter ist doch kein Pedant oder gar Automat.“ With this touch of exasperation, Blume and Bannister conclude that, though it may not be positively stated that Adam wrote this sequence, still it may be ascribed to him for the same reasons as other ascriptions have been made.

Glichtovaeus, IV, 192.

Gautier, no. xl.

Migne, no. xvii.

- 7 Dumque fidem docet sanam
plebem Caesaraugustanam
comitante gratia,
- 8 saevit in ecclesiam
zelans idolatriam
praesidis invidia.
- 9 Post auditam fidei
constantiam
iubet ambos protrahi
Valentiam
sub catenis;
- 10 nec iuveni parcitur
egregio,
nec aetas attenditur
ab impio
sancti senis.
- 11 Fessos ex itinere,
pressos ferri pondere
taetro claudit carcere
negans victualia;
- 12 sic pro posse nocuit
nec pro voto potuit,
quia suos aluit
Christi providentia.
- 13 Seniores relegat
exsilio,
iuniorem reservat
supplicio
praeses acerbiori.
- 14 Eculeum perpressus
et unquam
Vincentius conscendit
craticulam
spiritu fortiori.
- 15 Dum torretur, non terretur,
Christum magis profitetur
nec tyrannus reveretur
in eius praesentia.
- 16 Ardet vultus inhumanus,
haeret lingua, tremat manus
nec se capit Datianus
prae cordis insania.
- 17 Inde specu
martyr retruditur
et testulis
fixus illiditur;
multa tamen
hic luce fruitur
ab angelis visitatus.
- 18 In lectulo
tandem repositus
ad superos
transit emeritus,
sicque suo
triumphans spiritus
est principi praesentatus.
- 19 Non communi sinit iure
virum tradi sepulturae,
legi simul et naturae
vim facit malitia;
- 20 in defunctum iudex saevit,
hinc defuncto laus accrevit;
nam, quo vesci consuevit,
reformidat bestia.
- 21 En, cadaver inhumatum
corvus servat illibatam,
sicque sua sceleratum
frustratur intentio.
- 22 At profanus Datianus,
quod consumi nequit humi,
vult abscondi sub profundi
gurgitis silentio.

23 Non tenetur a molari
nec celari potest mari
quem nunc laude singulari
venerari voto pari
satagit ecclesia.

24 Ustulatum corpus igne
terra mari fit insigne.
Nobis, Iesu, da benigne,
ut cum sanctis te condigne
laudemus in patria.

LI. De dedicatione ecclesiae⁵⁴

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Rex Salomon fecit templum,
quorum instar et exemplum
Christus et ecclesia; | 2 huius hic est imperator,
fundamentum et fundator
mediante gratia. |
| 3 Quadri templi fundamenta
marmora sunt, instrumenta
parietum paria. | 4 Gandens flos est castitatis
lapis quadrus in praelatis,
virtus et constantia. |
| 5 Longitudo,
latitudo
templique sublimitas | 6 intellecta
fide recta
sunt fides, spes, caritas. |
| 7 Sed tres partes sunt in templo
trinitatis sub exemplo;
ima, summa, media; | 8 prima signat vivos cunctos,
et secunda iam defunctos,
redivos tertia. |
| 9 Sexagenae quaeque per se
et ter tantum universae
habent lati cubitos; | 10 horum trium tres conventus
Trinitati dant concentus
Unitati debitos. |
| 11 Templi cultus
exstat cultus;
cinnamomus
odor domus,
mirra, stactis, cassia; | 12 quae bonorum
decus merum
atque bonos
precum sonos
sunt significantia. |

⁵⁴ A. H., LV, no. 31. Ascribitur Adamo de S. Victore. Doubtless an outstanding French writer is the author of this sequence. It might have been Adam. On the other hand, the editors note the obscurity in strophe 9 and the fact that a corrected version (which in no way illuminates the obscure points) of the sequence is the one found in the manuscripts of St. Victor.

Gautier, no. xxiv.

Misset, no. xxiv.

- 13 In hac casa
cuncta vasa
sunt ex auro
de thesauro
praelecto penitus;
- 14 nam magistros
et ministros
deest doctos
et excoctos
igne sancti spiritus.
- 15 Sic ex bonis
Salomonis,
quae rex David
praeparavit,
fiunt sedificia;
- 16 sed in lignis
rex insignis
iuvit Tyri
cuius viri
tractant artificia.
- 17 Nam ex gente Iudaeisque,
sicut templum ab utrisque,
conditur ecclesia.
- 18 Christe, qui hanc et hos unis,
lapis huic et his communis,
tibi laus et gloria!

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APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Sister Marie Bertrand, Shigo, O.P. has been read and approved by the members of the Department of Classical Languages.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 28, 1954
Date

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