AN ANALYSIS OF THE
MEDIEVAL LATIN HYMNS IN HONOR OF SAINT GREGORY

by Sister M. Kathleen, O.S.U.

Thesis presented to the Department of Latin and Greek of the University of Ottawa as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

There is no historian at present who is unaware of the importance of a thorough knowledge of the Middle Ages as an epoch important for the understanding of the basis of modern civilization. As Jacques Perret says in his article entitled "Situation et Problèmes de la Poésie Latine Médiévale"¹, in our historical conception of Europe, this epoch fills the gap between the crumbling ancient world and our own.

But, even though this period occupies a key-position, scholars have to admit with Jacques Perret in the same article that there is no period in the literary history of Europe less known than, and so little explored as, the beginning and the middle years of Medieval Latin Literature. One main reason for this lack of knowledge, Mr. Perret goes on to say, is the immense quantity of this literature: the hymns and similar pieces account for the 55 octavo volumes of Blume and Drevès' Analecta Hymnica; while the Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini occupy five or six bulky volumes of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica.²

As F.J.E. Raby declares, the hymns "form the raw material which would help elucidate the state of religious and intellectual culture during the obscure centuries of the Middle Ages". Their principal contribution to the history both of ideology and of iconography in the early and late Middle Ages, has had a far-reaching influence in Christian literature. Right from the earlier period on to the late, a wide-spread use of allegory drawn from special sources is only one aspect of a general change in late pagan religious thought, and its survival in medieval and modern times affords an opportunity to show to some extent the relations and influences which are reflected in the group of Gregory hymns. They are, therefore, full of penetrating and invaluable insights, which may allow an over-all picture of medieval lore to emerge against the background of earlier ecclesiastical traditions.

The following lines from H. Waddell's The Wandering Scholars give an idea of what the world thought of Gregory the Great:

... He, Fortunatus, had his youth and his learning in Ravenna; when he left it, it was to step into a world where the barbarians were masters,

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except where Gregory in Rome was building, without
sound of ax or hammer, a stronger house than
Caesar's.

It is this strong builder that the hymns glorify, stanza by
stanza, building and rebuilding with blocks of stone that
will never perish.

The present thesis undertakes the study of one
section of the medieval hymnological heritage -- the hymns,
sequences, and other similar pieces, written in honor of
Saint Gregory the Great, in all forty-two pieces.

I have first of all transcribed the hymns contained
in the Analecta Hymnica and noted the dates of the manuscripts
and other information given by Blume and Dreves on their
origin. The hymns have next been grouped under these
headings: Breviary Hymns, Sequences, Rhythmical-Metrical
Offices, Tropes, Pia-Dictamina, and Non-Liturgical Hymns.

The next step has been the study of form and content
in each of these groups. I have attempted here, following
the method advocated by Dr. Szöverffy in "The Legends of
St. Peter in Medieval Latin Hymns"5, to trace and state with
precision the sources of various elements in the content of
the hymns: allusions of a biographical nature; biblical
reminiscences; elements drawn from medieval legends, from

5 Joseph Szöverffy, "The Legends of St. Peter in
INTRODUCTION

St. Gregory's works, from medieval biographies of the Saint; references to contemporary theological issues, social and religious transformations.

There has never been an analysis of the Gregory hymns. It is hoped therefore that this research will reveal what authors, both in the early and the late Middle Ages, have thought and said about St. Gregory; to isolate, and to interpret the traditions recorded in legends and historical documents that are embodied in the Gregory hymns, keeping in mind the headings listed above, under which we may arrange such information. In view of St. Gregory's outstanding role in an age of great ferment, such a study should yield a rich harvest of facts and traditions connected with his name.

My main sources are the Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, by the two Jesuits, Blume and Dreves; the three important Lives: one, by Paulus Diaconus in the eighth century; another, the Whitby Life, discovered in a monastery of St. Gall, also of the eighth century; and the third, by Johannes Diaconus, published in the ninth century. Besides


these, there are other important works of an encyclopedic nature which will be indicated in the notes and references throughout the thesis. The authors of these hymns, as has been stated, evidently built around an authentic store of information gathered from the Lives, from records in monastic archives, and from the all-important documentary evidence in the writings of St. Gregory, particularly in his Letters which furnish trustworthy data for many of the allusions made to him in the hymns. For these Letters, of which 850 have come down to us, addressed to all sorts of men in different walks of life, to Europe, to Asia, and to Africa, depict the life of his time with lucidity and faithfulness.

All these form a rich mine for the investigator of the history of the sixth century, and, at the same time, help to interpret the spirit and the references to a great period which reached from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries.
CHAPTER I

FUNDAMENTAL INFORMATION ON THE HYMNS IN HONOR
OF POPE SAINT GREGORY THE GREAT

"The psalms of David", says Raby, "became the hymn-
book of the Church".¹ He further points out that the
influence of the Psalter remained throughout the whole
development of the new religion, and the Jewish psalm was
the model of the earliest Christian hymns. What did the
early Christians consider the purpose of a hymn, and whence
originally was the hymnody of the Western Church derived?
This two-fold question is answered by St. Augustine when he
says: "Know ye not what a hymn is? It is a song of praise
to God. If thou praisest God and singest not, thou utterest
no hymn".² And this definition accords with the original
purpose of the hymn in both the Classical and Hebrew tradi-
tions. The same author proceeds to give three requisites
of every hymn: it must be praise of God or of His saints, be
capable of being sung, and be metrical.

Before Augustine, we find Lactantius defining a
hymn as a song of praise to God;³ but, after this time the

³ Albert Blaise, Dictionnaire Latin-Français des
Auteurs Chrétiens, Strasbourg, 1954, Librairie des Méridiens,
p. 397.
main literary influence was that of the Latin Classical poets. Likewise, a noted specialist in the field of hymnology, Christine Mohrmann, makes an emphatic statement regarding very ancient sources of hymns, when she states that the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan gives proof that the hymns sung by the early Christians were no doubt of biblical origin, and their structure and general character fundamentally different from those of classic poetry. The same author, speaking of the comparison between Eastern and Western hymns, says that in the orient the hymn was not only in use as a liturgical chant, but also, especially in several heretical sects, was a means of propaganda. She states further that this seems to have been the type of hymn that made the first impression on the West, and that while some of the earlier hymnologists of the West, among them St. Hilary of Poitiers, tried to introduce doctrinal propaganda by the same means, they had little success. It was not until St. Ambrose’s time that the Christian hymn obtained immediately huge success.

The metrical hymn, then, of the type of those of St. Ambrose definitely begins with the Bishop of Milan and made its way into the experience of the Christian Church,


establishing for itself a permanent place in the Roman Office. In these hymns Ambrose used, for the first time, the classical quantitative meter, which gained so much popularity as to be referred to as the 'Ambrosian' meter, the classical iambic dimeter.⁶

With the end of the fifth century and the downfall of Roman civilization, a brilliant period of Christian literature came to an end. A period of darkness ensued in which light was not to break again until the eighth century, which produced such litterateurs as Theodulf⁷ and Alcuin⁸, true children of the Middle Ages, and the best representatives of a reviving culture in the Carolingian Renaissance.

The generation of scholars which followed Alcuin and Theodulf shows indeed great industry and erudition, but less productivity and a more definitely theological outlook.⁹ But as time went on, more and more hymns were composed for private and public devotion, so that by the eleventh century the ordinary usage of hymns in various forms had increased greatly in number, becoming more spiritualized, subjective, devout and mystical.

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⁷ One of Charlemagne's Missi Dominici. His poems are a mirror of the Carolingian era.
⁸ The most prominent figure of the Carolingian Renaissance.
The interaction of various elements which were so organic in medieval society - the religious, the military and the commercial - in the formation of these "groups" around the castles and the monasteries, must always be appreciated. The sources for this enormous change in political organization and in social texture abound in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But the beginnings of this fecund social process go back to the period of the Norse invasions and the violence of the ninth and tenth centuries. The deeper we penetrate into the details of the history of these two centuries, the more we discover that this epoch was fertile in social origins, in the adjustment of society to new conditions, to the evolution of new institutions.  

The Gregory hymns, which range chronologically from the tenth to the sixteenth century, form a category all their own, as do all groups of hymns written in honor of a particular saint. These contain the lyric element, not a little of the narrative, a rare combination of the biblical, the biographical-legendary, and panegyric elements. Each of these elements will be treated in its proper place according as it fits in with the scope of the title of this thesis.


According to the classification mentioned on page viii, the first group included in this study is made up of Breviary Hymns, which occupied a permanent place when the Roman Office was introduced into the Carolingian Empire. The hymns of Ambrose formed the nucleus round which the hymnary of the Church of Milan was collected and formed an integral part of the divine service. They bear a Christian character in especially two respects: they are a true effort of original creation, in which the Christian spirit controls the artistic form; and they contain an emphatic sense pause which can only be explained by the fact that the hymns were composed to be sung by alternate choirs.\(^1\) The idea of this pattern of composition was provided, it appears, by fragments of hymns which were already incorporated into the Offices as responses.\(^2\) At first, the intrusion of poetical pieces took place on a modest scale, but later on, a larger number of hymns, and these of unequal merit, found their way into the hymnaries of various Churches in the West, especially in Italy, Gaul and Spain. It was inevitable

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\(^2\) Ibid., note 4, p. 453; Cf. Wagner, History of Plain-Chant, p. 242; on this semi-liturgical poetry, see Wilmart, Revue Bénédictine, 11 (1939), p. 51 seq.
that these hymns should find a place side by side with the other hymns and be incorporated in the Offices.

The list of first lines of the Breviary Hymns in the Gregory collection as collated in the *Analecta Hymnica* is found in Table I.

H(2) and H(3) are two versions of the same hymn, differing only in arrangement on the page and in the date of the source manuscript, the Casinense. H(2) is dated the eleventh century, and H(3), the tenth.

All these Breviary Hymns have a chronology ranging from the tenth to the sixteenth century. There seems to have been a lull in original composition in the twelfth, thirteenth and part of the fourteenth centuries, as they account for only three of the 20 hymns, the rest of which are almost evenly divided between the preceding and the succeeding periods. (cf. the quotation from Raby soon to follow).

The second class of hymns treated here deals with another type of Rhythmical invention, the most important of the Middle Ages, and commonly called a Sequence. This developed from the singing of the *alleluia* and a prolonging of the final a with unusual musical skill. Raby describes the origin and significance of this literary type from its beginning to its decay.13

Table I
Breviary Hymns Dedicated to Pope Gregory the Great

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>1st verse</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Anglorum jam apostolus</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>AH 22  No 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Anglorum jam apostolus</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>AH 48  No 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Claret sacra jam dies</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>AH 14a No 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Fulget in coelis celebris sacerdos</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>AH 23  No 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Gaudeat sancta nunc mater ecclesiae</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>AH 19  No 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Gaude, coelestis curia</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 12  No 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Gregori, doctor inclite</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 22  No 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Laetetur orbis quadruus</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>15/16</td>
<td>AH 23  No 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Laudibus dignis resonemus omnem</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>AH 4   No 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Laudis opus ut honoris</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 23  No 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Magnus miles mirabilis</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>AH 14a No 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>O decus sacerdotum * flosque sanctorum</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>AH 52  No 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Pange, lingua, confessoris</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 23  No 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Praesulis egregii merita</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>AH 51  No 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Rerum salus intermina</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>AH 52  No 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Sancte, Gregori magni pastor meriti</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 23  No 314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Sancte, tu praebE miseris</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 12  No 225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Sancti Gregori praeaulis</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>AH 14a No 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Splendido sacra gratulans</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 43  No 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Summae sedis antistitis</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>AH 43  No 277</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notker Balbulus of the ninth century was considered the traditional author of the first Sequences, but this seems to be no longer held in authoritative circles, as Raby makes clear in his statement:

He got the impulse from the Antiphonary of the monk of Jumièges; both he and his master Iso were clearly familiar with this kind of composition, and Iso, at any rate, knew its rules and was able to put Notker on to the right lines. [...] What is certain is that by Notker's time the composition of Sequences on French soil had already reached an advanced stage, especially at such centres as Luxeuil, Fleury, and Moissac.  

There is a later type that clung tenaciously to life, and so again Raby says in his characteristic way:

At the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, the day of Latin poetry is over. In the monastic and the cathedral schools and in the universities, the language of S. Thomas and of Duns Scotus was still read and spoken, and a long array of hymns and sequences, composed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, bears witness to the obstinate strength of the old tradition, which refused to accept the answer of death. [...]  

The same tabular treatment, as shown in Table II, is used for the identification of this group throughout this thesis.

14 Raby, Op. Cit., p. 213. Raby also notes here in footnote 2 that E. Wellesz, Eastern Elements in Western Chant, Oxford, 1947, p. 158, points out that Notker saw in the Sequence or Sequences in the Jumièges book an older model which was out of date.

15 Raby, p. 453.
### TABLE II

Sequences Dedicated to Pope Gregory the Great

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>1st verse</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Adest dies recolenda</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 10 No 249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Nostro redemptori</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>11/12</td>
<td>AH 54 No 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Organum spirituali</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 37 No 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Sancti papae Gregorii</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 39 No 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Spiritualis filii</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 10 No 250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of these five Sequences, only one, S(23), belongs to the transitional period which took its form in the eleventh century from the Notkerian or earlier period, and the other four belong to the second or regular period, which began in the twelfth century.

A third class, very small, introduces the type known as the Rhythmical-Metrical Offices, a development of versified Offices which went on parallel to the Sequences. Beginning with a simple combination of portions in prose and poetry respectively, the whole Office soon came to be clothed in metrical forms. Speaking of these Rhythmical form in the rimed Office Norberg has drawn attention to the "variété déconcertante" of the older rimed Offices, often as he says, a mixture of prose, of quantitative and of rhythmical poetry. He mentions "un domaine que l'on a totalement négligé d'étudier du point de vue métrique et dont un examen des formes se révélerait très fructueux, à savoir les offices rimés.\footnote{Dag Norberg, \textit{Introduction à l'Etude de la Versification Latine Médiévale}, Stockholm, Almquist \\& \textcopyright{} Wick-selle, 1959, p. 85.}

The references to such Offices found among the Gregory hymns are again shown in Table III.
Table III
Rhythmical-Metrical Offices Dedicated to Gregory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>1st verse</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17a</td>
<td>Gloriosa sanctissimi</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>AH 50 N° 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17b</td>
<td>Gloriosa sanctissimi</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>AH 5 N° 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Laude, felix mater</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>AH 5 N° 65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

et filia
According to the Analecta Hymnica, \( R(17a) \) has the same text as the introduction to \( R(17b) \), and is found, isolated from the rest of the text. Cf. \( R(17a) \) in a number of manuscripts listed in \( AH \), Vol. 50, p. 303-304.

Another form of composition known as the Trope is also associated traditionally with S. Gall and with the Age of Notker. It may be defined as the "text which is employed (with the accompaniment of music) as introduction, intercalation, or the addition of a portion of the liturgy, such as the Introit, the Kyrie, Gloria, etc." Since in the forthcoming list pieces 19(c), (d) and (e) and 19(b) are not strictly Tropes, but Introductions to two Graduals and one Antiphonal, I have inserted them here as a result of the remark in \( AH \) Vol. 49, Appendix to No 2 to the effect that they should find a place with the Tropes because they are of Tropic character. They are shown in Table IV.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the golden age of Latin hymnody may be said to have expired, and its sun to have gone down in glory. Many hymns came into use, not for public but for private devotions.\(^{17}\) Such is the next group called 'Pia Dictamina' which contains within the present survey ten items, though two have the same text with different claimants to authorship. These hymns are divided into two categories:

### Table IV

Tropes Dedicated to Pope Gregory the Great

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>1st Verse</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19(a)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>9/10</td>
<td>AH 49 No 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19(b)</td>
<td>(Gregorius praesul meritis et nomine)</td>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>9/10</td>
<td>AH 49 No 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19(c)</td>
<td>(dignus)</td>
<td>Intr.</td>
<td>8,8/9</td>
<td>(Append, to AH 49 No 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19(d)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Intr.</td>
<td>7,8,9,10</td>
<td>(AH 49 No 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19(e)</td>
<td>Hoc quoque Gregorius patres de more secutus</td>
<td>Intr.</td>
<td>10/11</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Sanctissimus Namque Gregorius cum preces</td>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>AH 49 No 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FUNDAMENTAL INFORMATION

I. The rambling hymn represented by P(5), P(4), P(26), P(34), and P(35).

II. The short texts represented by P(7), P(10), and P(15), which have the traditional features of dignity, beauty, comprehensiveness, and devout feeling of their predecessors.

Another table of the same type as the preceding ones will be used in Table V.

Because non-liturgical hymns were introduced by "Christian" Gnostics imitating the elaborate hymns of Oriental cults, there grew up a tendency to limit hymnology to the psalms or other biblical statements. This was dealt with by several Councils. The opinion that prevailed about the Gloria in Excelsis was that, while the first part was composed by the angels, the second part was the work of Doctors of the Church, and would therefore have to be rejected if the non-canonical hymns were not accepted. Hence the influence and composition of these grew apace.¹⁸

In the Gregory hymns there is recorded only one of this type, which, according to pattern is an imitation of the liturgical. According to AH, Vol. 48, No. 303, p. 300, this non-liturgical hymn which we will designate HNL(8),

Table V
The 'Pia Dictamina' Dedicated to Pope Gregory the Great

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>1st verse</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ave, doctor o Gregori</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 29 No 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(a)</td>
<td>Ave, gemma praesulum</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 3 No 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5(b)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 41a No 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ave, sancte tu Gregori</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 29 No 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ave, tu Gregori pie</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 29 No 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Gaude te esse vocatum</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>AH 29 No 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Magne pater o Gregori</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 33 No 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Salve, flos ecclesiae</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 33 No 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Salve, Gregori maxime</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 3 No 45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dates back to the thirteenth century, having as its first line: "Ave, qui tractans mores Iob beati." It consists of two stanzas, one devoted to Gregory the Great, and the other to St. Martin. Its main theme is a prayer for the Saints' intercession and assistance.

2. Origin and Authorship.

There are, comparatively speaking, only a few known authors of these hymns, or at least, only a few to whom the work may be definitely ascribed:

H(2) was composed by Petrus Damiani who was born at Ravenna in the year 1007. The date of the composition is the eleventh century.

H(33) was composed by Herimannus Contractus also in the eleventh century. Herrimannus was a contemporary of Peter Damiani, being born in 1013, of German birth.

H(12), according to a 12th century manuscript, the Schönaugiense, has two claimants to authorship, Elizabeth of Schönaau and her brother Ecbert. The facts are as follows. Elizabeth, a Benedictine nun from the age of twelve, was favored from 1152 with visions of various kinds.


20 J. May, Zu Herimannus Contractus, in Neues Archiv., XII, 1887, p. 226 seq.
What she saw and heard she related to her brother Ecbert, a priest at the Church of Bonn. Ecbert received the tablets and Elizabeth supplemented what she had written by oral explanation. Ecbert who became a monk of Schönau in 1155 put everything in writing, later arranging the material at leisure and then publishing all under his sister's name. Thus came into existence (1) three books of "Visions": of these the first is written in very simple language and unaffected style, so that it may easily pass as the work of Elizabeth; the other two are more elaborate and replete with theological terminology, so that they show more of the work of Ecbert than of Elizabeth. (2) "Liber viarum Dei", which seems to be an imitation of St. Hildegarde's "Scivias": it contains admonitions to all classes of society, clergy and laity; here the influence of Ecbert is very plain; the work utters prophetic threats against priests who are unfaithful shepherds of the flock of Christ, etc., and even recognizes the anti-pope, Victor IV, Frederick's choice of the Vicar of Christ, and frowns on Alexander III. (3) The revelation of the martyrdom of St. Ursula and her companions.

There is a great diversity of opinion in regard to her revelations. The Church has never pronounced sentence on them. Only she, her brother Ecbert and her friend Hildegarde were convinced of their spirituality. A complete edition of her writings was made by F.W.E. Roth (Brünn, 1884);
translations appeared in Italian (Venice, 1884), French (Tournai, 1864) and Icelandic (1226-1254). Her feast day is June 4. She was never formally canonized, but in 1584 her name entered the Roman martyrology and has remained there.

HNL(8) was composed by Adam de la Bassée in the thirteenth century. He was canon of Lille and died in 1286.

P(5) and P(6) have the same text except for st. 4, line 7, which in P(5) reads: Sed ut sim virtutifex, and in P(6): Sed sim verus sacrifex, and a difference of spelling (caeli and ceoli) in the second stanza of P(5) and P(6). The earlier composition, P(6) is ascribed by the AH to Udalricus Wessofontanus, who was originally Ulrich Stöcklin, an abbot of Wessobrunn (Wesofontanum ad fontes Wessonis). Dreves, who edited this collection, styled him "one of the most prolific rhythmic poets of the later Middle Ages."

Consult the Catholic Encyclopedia for details of her life. The Acta Sanctorum in Volume 34 for June 4 has a long article about this saint on p. 499.

version is ascribed to Christian von Lilienfeld who died in the fourteenth century, while he was prior of the Austrian Cistercian Abbey of Lilienfeld.

P(35) is said to have been edited by Conradus Gemnicensis in the fourteenth century, but in Vol. 41a of the AH, Dreves edited Christians von Lilienfeld, Hymen, Officien, and Reimgebete, Leipzig, O. R. Reisland, 1903, 281 p., in which he states in the Einleitung, p. 5-24, that a number of the works attributed to Conrad in Vol. 3 of the AH, should according to newly discovered documentary evidence, be assigned to Christianus Campoliliensis, a prior of the Cistercian Abbey of Lilienfeld, who died about 1332. He names such works as (1) Ein Ruhe von Hymen, Sequenzen und Reimoffschen; (2) "Salutationes" a sequel to Reimgebeten; (3) Zwei metrische Traktate; and (4) Ein longes episch-didaktisches Gedicht über den heiligen Jakobus den Älteren Zebedides betitelt. He says emphatically that these works should have as author Christian von Lilienfeld and not the imitator Konrads von Gaming who is younger than Christian.

For the rest of the hymns, we can deal only with the date and source of the manuscripts which will furnish some information regarding these compositions.

Among the Liturgical hymns, many items are confined to one single source, or, at least, the Analecta Hymnica gives only one source. A few notable exceptions are:
H(2), a hymn by Petrus Damiani, also found in Brev. Casinense, and in Cod. Neapolitanus; H(11), one of the several hymns in the Hymnarius Severianus in Naples; H(25) found among others in Vallis Umbrosa Breviaries and their counterparts; H(31) associated with the Dominican Office of 1514; H(33), a surprisingly popular hymn, judging by the large number of manuscripts in which it is found. This last hymn is ascribed to Herimannus Contractus, appearing in manuscripts between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. This ascription to Contractus tallies with the fact that he "loved to introduce Greek words". Raby selects his prose De Sancta Cruce to illustrate this characteristic:

1. grates, honos, 
   hierarchia
   et euphonizans tibi
   hymnologia

2. sacrosancta
   tu patris hostia
   Jesu Christe, rex
   monarchos,
   eulogoumene.

In this hymn there is an abundance of Greek or Greek-inspired words: hierarchia, euphonizans, hymnologia, monarchos, eulogoumene. In the hymn ascribed to him among the Gregory hymns there is a corresponding preponderance of Greek words, and in some stanzas, a decided preference for Greek words as modes of expression:

Noster meleth sollemnum
Harmonis dulcedinum,
Ultra solens almiphonae
Purae modos hymnodiae.

Note the Greek words: meleth, hymnodiae, and the hybrid almiphonae in this stanza, and in following stanzas such words as euphonica, aethers, spermalogon, hyperboleon, charismatum, theologica, oeconomic, and the hybrid Hyrsapiens. St. 5 is laden with such words:

Mox fulsit ut topazius
Tota noy theoricus
Chrysolithum per aureas
Vibransque cathegorias,
Melliculi quas dogmatis
Elucidavit radiis;
Agapis almae nisibus
Est factus omnis omnibus.

In this stanza there are seven Greek words in eight lines: topazius, noy, theoricus, Chrysolithum, cathegorias, dogmatis, and agapis, and the word melliculi is derived from a word from which the same root is used in Greek and Latin (mel and mell).

H(32) must be of monastic origin as sts. 9, 11, prove. In st. 9:

Gesta tua monachos relevent
Ecclesiæque decus teneant
Fortibus auxiliis, Gregori,
Nos solide Domino socians.

The intercession for monks continues in st. 11:

Coenobii memorare nostri,
Hoc supplices petimus domine,
Pastor adesto tuis monachis,
Pastor ut altius nos recreet.

This is one of the earlier hymns taken from a Parfense manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century. There are some Tropes, 19(a) and 19(b), which may be older but the point
can not be settled owing to the fact that no certain chronology can be given to the Tropes which were found according to the note in Vol. 49, Nos 1 and 2 in the various churches from the 9th till the middle of the 16th centuries.

The latest products among these hymns are perhaps two liturgical hymns, H(13) and H(14), which are dated the 16th and 14th centuries respectively. They stand at the end of the Medieval period.

H(37) was composed in the fourteenth century according to the AH and belongs to the monastic church of St. Arnulf of Metz. This hymn is full of the leonine rime, which came into vogue as early as the ninth and tenth centuries.

In the history of the Sequences, there are two divisions, according to form. The German type began probably in the eighth century with an independent strophe. To this belongs S(23). This Sequence or original type was followed by a parallel construction throughout, and is especially concerned with the Konstanz area as the location of the Petershausen manuscript would indicate. The Second or Regular Period, beginning with the eleventh century

deviates from the earlier so that the text was no longer in
bondage to a pre-existing melody, and the development of a
rhythmical form based on accent. To this rhythm was added
assonance. The prose then, was free to assume a regular
poetical form, with a rhythmical structure, and ultimately
a fully developed system of rime. All the remaining
Sequences, S(1), S(30), S(39), and S(41), are of French and
Belgian sources as the mss indicate, the first three being
fifteenth century products while the last is a fourteenth
century one.

Of the two Offices, R(17a) and R(22), the former is
far more widespread in its manuscript locations: Italian,
Bohemian, Hungarian, and French, with the latest date
probably 1497. Much less widespread is the other Office,
R(22), which was printed at Venice. It has the same indi­
cated source as H(31), the Pange, Lingua, for Vespers;
H(25), the Laudis Opus for the Nocturne. These, too, are
printed in a Venetian manuscript of the same date, 1514.

Most of the texts come either from a comparatively
early or from a late period. Hymns are from the tenth
century or earlier; the eleventh century; or from the end
of the Middle Ages, that is the fifteenth or sixteenth
centuries. Thus, one can draw the conclusion that, judging
by this chronology, the liturgical popularity of Gregory
was widespread in an earlier period, and at the end of
the Middle Ages. This apparent popularity was evidently caused by the crying need for reform, and the Church's mind was naturally directed to a true reform Pope, Gregory the Great.


Before attempting a chapter on the versification and verse structure of the St. Gregory hymns, I have had recourse to the works of scholars who have given us the benefit of their deep study in the field of Medieval meter. Foremost of these is the Scandinavian Dag Norberg, who opens the first chapter of his Introduction à l'Etude de la Versification Latine Médiévale with the following statement:

Il est évidemment impossible de formuler des règles de prosodie qui seraient généralement valables pour la poésie quantitative au Moyen Age. Les auteurs se rattachaient en principe aux modèles qui, pour eux, étaient classiques, certains réussissant mieux, d'autres moins bien. Mais nous devons sur ce point faire observer que l'on imitait pas seulement Virgile, Ovide et d'autres poètes des âges d'or et d'argent, mais aussi des poètes bas-latin tels que Juvencus, Prudence et Sedulius.28

The same author points out the change from the classical intensive quantitative verse, the gradual appearance in the imperial period of the less musical accent-

based versification characterized basically by the numbering of syllables, and the final appearance of a new rhythmical versification, which did not, even though widespread and popular, entirely replace the classical meters of the past. Karl Strecker\textsuperscript{29} says that rhythmical poetry made sharp inroads in the Merovingian kingdoms and in Italy on quantitative poetry. He calls this a type of poetry more characteristic of the Middle Ages. He further says that it was restricted in the Carolingian Renaissance when attempts were made to adapt it to quantitative poetry, but that it gained new life in the tenth and eleventh centuries from a development which brought it into close relationship with music. "Until the eleventh century", says Raby, "rime continued to appear in liturgical verse, but it rarely persisted through all the lines of a hymn."	extsuperscript{30}

And so we learn from these studies that as early as the fifth century less and less attention was being paid to vowel quantity, the basis of classical meter, and greater attention to accent, which was rapidly replacing quantity. Concerning this statement, Raby has this to say:

Once the principles of quantitative verse were abandoned, it was essential, if the new


rhythmical verse were to have any principle at all, that some such basis as the numbering of syllables should be adopted.\textsuperscript{31}

Progress towards the universal adoption of these verses was slow at first, but gradually Latin sacred poetry assumed, not only an accentual stress, but also, as being more facile, a unique rhythm and syllabism.

Another specialist\textsuperscript{32}, an authority on Church Song, offers a clearly defined explanation of the trend which the medieval meters followed after they abandoned the classical:

... Church Song was composed mostly in alliterative and rhythmical measures, judging of the melody by the ear, and attending to the artificial distribution of the accent and not to the quantity of the syllable.

Thus, as the centuries moved on to the tenth, the new principle of rhythmic poetry gained momentum, and ushered in the golden age of Latin hymnody. And after that up to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the hymns are mainly in accentual-stroke patterns modelled on the iambic and trochaic meters, which pattern we shall for convenience simply call iambic, trochaic, etc., meters.

Raby comments on the use of rime as follows:

The origin of the use of rime for the adornment of verse still remains somewhat obscure.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., p. 21.\\
\textsuperscript{32} John Julian, Dictionary of Hymnology, Vol. 1, p. 646.
\end{flushright}
... but it is not possible to trace with any clearness a direct influence on Greek or Latin religious verse. In any case, the use of rime was well known to the writers of antiquity. ...33

He further points out that parallellism of form was most in evidence in both Greek and Latin rhetorical prose and to this was added the rhetorical device of homoteleuton ('similar ending', assonance or rime) which had the effect of marking the end of the clause. In classical antiquity this belongs rather to rhetoric, to comedy, to mnemonic purposes than to lyrical or creative poetry. There are innu­merable examples of rhetorical poetry which appeared in classical poetry, where it was used, on rare occasions, as a device consciously from the rhetorical prose. For example, the quotation from Ennius, given in Cicero's Tusculan Disputations-34 frondescere, pubescere, incur­vescere; in Terence's Andria; facite, invenite, efficite35; in Plautus' Captivi-, reddiderunt, exemerunt.36 But Rime as an integrated part of poetic creation begins to appear only in the Elegiacs. This does not mean that all hymns are rimed. We have also cases of assonances, as in H(2)

34 Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, I, 69, 85.
35 Terence, Andria, l. 334.
36 Plautus, Duo Captivi, l. 924-925.
soon to be dealt with, or simply no-rime, as Norberg says:

... Le vers classique sans rime a existé aussi au Moyen Age, pratiqué par un grand nombre d'écrivains qui s'inspiraient étroitement des modèles anciens. Mais, en même temps se développait un usage systématique et régulier de l'assonance et, plus tard, de la rime, usage qui au XIIe siècle atteignit son apogée.37

Assonance is sometimes called vowel38 rime, but it is far more unrestrictive. According to Dearmer, it marks the transition from unrhymed classical verses to Medieval rimed verse.39 In H(2) the rime scheme, aabb, admits of assonance as well as homeoteleuton at the end of each couplet as the following arrangement of its first stanza shows:

Anglorum jam apostolus,  
Nunc angelorum socius,  
Ut tunc, Gregori, gentibus  
Suocurre jam credentibus.

In this stanza the use of assontal -o is very marked.

Again in the case of the homeoteleuton in Anglorum and angelorum, Marouzeau's remark to the effect that "le latin, en raison de la faiblesse d'articulation des finales ..."

37 Norberg, Op. Cit., p. 38. See also note 2 below.

38 Clement, Wood, Poets' Handbook, New York, Greenberg Press, 1940, p. 183, says: Assonance is a formalized convention where vowels were heard more clearly than consonants in meridian and sub-tropical lands.

devait être moins sensible à un effet phonique qui n'intéresse que la fin du mot\textsuperscript{40}, shows the prominence of the vowel -o in the course of singing.

H(11) is the accentual iambic dimeter, but the rime varies. This hymn is sonorous and has certain harmonies of sound, e.g. claret sacrata in st. 1; sale, praecopta, condita in st. 5; but it has no system of assonance or rime. One can apply to it the comment made by Raby on Irish religious verse:

... we may say here that the continental rhythmical poetry, and, with it, rime, seems to have influenced the structure of the Irish religious verse, but that in the native Irish verse there was already existent a kind of assonance, which involved harmony rather than identity of the consonants.\textsuperscript{41}

H(14) is regular in its rime throughout, aabb, except in the first and fifth stanzas where a combination is found consisting of the scheme, aaaa. In fact there is a predominance of certain vowels in each stanza: 1st. -a; 2nd. -u; 3d. -i; 4th -i and -e; 5th -us and -um; 6th -i and -a. Four of the stanzas 2, 3, 4 and 6 consistently follow the scheme aabb.

In H(21), the poetic devices, alliteration\textsuperscript{42},

\textsuperscript{40} Marouzeau, Op. Cit., p. 47.


\textsuperscript{42} Wood, Op. Cit., p. 198, says: "the value of alliteration is in proportion as it fits into the speech-idiom of language."
assonance, and regular rime, abound. An outstanding example of alliteration is found in st. 4:

Spiritu sancto didicit
Magistro, quidquid edidit
Favos destillans mentibus
Nunc sermone cantibus.

One hears the dental sound all through the stanza. Leading in assonance in H(21) is st. 2:

Hic sacro fervens studio
Totum se vovit Domino,
Verbis, scriptis et opere
Propagator ecclesiae.

The repetition of o's and i's is very conspicuous here. There is a great use of sibilants in this stanza, and all through the hymn.

More highly embellished with assonantal types is st. 3:

Gentem convertit Anglicam
Colentem idolatriam,
Missis praedicatoribus
Adscribens Christi ovibus.

This stanza contains the end rimes -am, and again the extreme case where repetition is with the essential part, col with idol.

H(43) is devoid of any regular rime scheme, but the rime here, too, is retained in the sibilant with which the first line is replete, and which is conspicuous all through the hymn:
In most lines which have many sibilants, the proportion of accented sibilant syllables is rather high. While the first line of st. 1 exemplifies alliteration by accent, the whole of st. 4 is a better pattern of vowel assonance and alliterative accent:

Anglorum quoque populis
Hic adfuit (incredulis)
Quos licto cultu daemonum
Convertit ad altissimum.

It will be observed in this hymn that the trochee or iambus is evident only at the beginning of the line:

Summae sedis antistitis,
Deus alme, Gregorii
Festum colentes per orbem
Meritis eius protege.
Sæcra cuius eloquia
Vítæs ferentis pascua
Lac potum donant pârvulis,
Cibum ministrant validis.

Anglórum quóque populis
Hic adfuit (Íncrédulis),
Quos lément cultu daemonum
Convertit ad altíssimum.

Though rime continued to appear in liturgical verse until the eleventh century, it rarely persisted through all the lines of a hymn. Raby says concerning this:

... Gotteschalk (d. 869) and Wipo (d. 1050) used two-syllabled rimes freely, but it is in Hildebert and Marbod, in the latter eleventh century, that this rime approaches its perfection. Hildebert's couplets contain an equal number of syllables, stressed alternately and ending with a two-syllabled rime. The development of rhythmical poetry was then nearly complete. ...43

H(18), H(27), and H(33), all the iambic dimeter and trochaic dimeter acatalectic, involve double rimes or coupled rimes which are called feminine, and lend grace and fluidity to the riming movement. The lines of these hymns end in full iambi with the rime scheme varying from aabb to aaaa. H(18), st. 1 shows these varieties of rime:

Gregóri, doctor inclité
Túo lustrata dogmate
Tótta máter eccléśia
Fláddat ad haec solemnía.

The coupled rime here follows the rime scheme aabb, with assonantals o and a while st. 2 of the same hymn follows the

rime scheme of aaaa with assonantal -um:

Tu sidus micans fulgidum,
Jubar solaere fervidum,
Illustras corda hominum
Fers animae praesidium.

H(27) has a varying scheme, but it makes greater use of poetic devices, assonance, double rime and especially alliteration. All these make the uniform presence of rime unnecessary. The first stanza is worthy of note, filled as it is with the techniques of medieval verse, even though it is a tenth century production:

Magnus miles mirabilis,
Multis effulgens meritis,
Gregorius cum Domino
Gaudet perenni praeADIO.

Here the alliterative m's and the middle l's and initial alliterative n's with assonantal i's and o's, make this an interesting arrangement to catch the fancy or attention.

Norberg says in speaking of this whole poem:

L'alliteration qui est ici utilisée à l'exccès, s'écarte tellement de ce que l'on trouve par ailleurs dans le recueil d'hymnes, que l'on a toutes raisons de croire que ces strophes sont un apport étranger. En réalité, on les retrouve mot à mot dans une hymne composée en Angleterre en

44 Maurice Helin, Medieval Latin Literature, p. 57, says: "Rhyme itself developed one tendency to become richer (in the eleventh century it was frequently of two syllables) and another tendency toward repetition."
honneur de Cuthbert, et il ne fait pas le moindre doute qu'elle a vraiment été composée en Angleterre. Les Anglo-Saxons avaient en effet emprunté à leurs maîtres, les Irlandais, un goût prononcé pour l'allitération.\textsuperscript{45}

We may incidentally note here that the abuse of phonie repetition had from the origin been a permanent danger in the practice of the Latin Language. As Marouzeau says: "Il faut dire ... qu'à toutes les époques les Latins eux-mêmes ont critiqué l'abus du procédé."\textsuperscript{46}

H\textsuperscript{(33)} is the only eight-lined stanza form in the group, containing the iambic dimeter acatalectic with the regular rhyming scheme, aabbccdd, throughout the entire eight stanzas. One example of a stanza will suffice to show the effect:

```
Euphónicaé quo citharaé,
Spiritualis musicae,
Suavisdnans os, aureó
Grátas patri Gregóric,
Efferat húnc spermológon
Laudum sat hyperbóleon,
Décess ut ét, idónéis
Donántæ te praecóníis.
```

The use of Greek words is probably meant to obtain those "effets d'exotisme" which Marouzeau refers to (p. 87); he has much to say about the Latin tendency to use Greek words (p. 86-87), and even shows how such a taste for the exotic "... a conduit les Latins de l'époque classique à rendre


\textsuperscript{46} Jules Marouzeau, Op. Cit., p. 46.
aux mots grecs leur son véritable, délatinisant, ...
Phryges et Pyrrhus" (p. 87).

The meter of H(25) is the same in principle as its model, Pange, Lingua, but accentual. It has a six-line stanza of trochaic dimeters alternately catalectic and acatalectic, rimeing ababab. A stanza from this hymn, st. 1, will illustrate the entire hymn. Notice the similarity of rime endings in the a lines, and in the b lines:

\[
\begin{align*}
Laudis opus ut honóri \\
Servat opificis \\
Colláudári té, Gregóri, \\
Décet módis músicis \\
Pér quem sérvit cónditóri \\
Mundus laudum cánticis.
\end{align*}
\]

And a second stanza will call attention more emphatically to the arrangement expressed:

\[
\begin{align*}
Primo confrért té pastórí \\
Pídeí constantía, \\
Páulo sénus, prǽcursóri \\
Víctus parsíménia \\
Ét Joánní séníóri \\
Méntis éminéntia.
\end{align*}
\]

H(29) is difficult to reconcile to any metrical form, having twelve syllables in the first line, eleven in the second, and eleven in the third. The AH has a note\(^{47}\) under the hymn saying that it is worthy of notice that this hymn resembles verse- and a strophe structure with similar unevenness in the syllable count and extended to double rime as

\[^{47}\text{AH, Vol. 52, No. 214, p. 196-197.}\]
that under No 34, a hymn dedicated to the Conception of the Virgin Mary: both are unwieldy poems stemming from the Konstanz area.

In every stanza there is inner rhyme and throughout the three stanzas a striking flow of similar sounds. A view of the first stanza will reveal its Leonine sonorousness, and the probability of its being arranged for alternating voices:

O decus sacerdotum* flosque sanctorum
Doctor egregie, * sancto Gregori,
Fautor assidue * sis ecclesiae,

The other two stanzas seem to be arranged with the first in ascending climax. Gregory is lauded for his earthly positions, then for his theological and cardinal virtues, and lastly for his ability to intercede for his people from his heights on high.

The second stanza as quoted will bear out this statement:

Quo fides accrescat, * spes nos sustentet,
Caritas exuberet, * iustitia regnet,
Prudentia gubernet, * conservet.

And the third and final:

Fortis Jesu Christi * paterque superne
Cum sancto periculo * nos tuere
Ab omni periculo * nunc et in aevo.

In the second line of the first stanza there was a possible pronunciation of "Doctor egregie" as "Doctor egregi" to make it rhyme with "Gregori"; but there is another surprise in the
second line of st. 3 where the o in *periculum* does not rime with e in *tuere*.

Norberg has an interesting passage on this type of so-called inner rime, or Leonine verse:

> Ce qui, avant tout, influençait la structure de l'hexamètre du Moyen Age, c'était l'emploi régulier de rimes. Avoir fixé le type d'hexamètre léonin entraînait par exemple l'usage obligatoire de la coupe penthémitère: ...

H(32) and H(38) are on the same stroke pattern. H(32) is a tenth century hymn, one of the earliest of the Gregory hymns, and follows the pattern of not adhering to any particular rime scheme. Its first stanza is quoted below as an example of the entire twelve:

> Praeulis egregii mérita
> Gregorií rutilant titulis,
> Caecolas quibus irradiat
> Terrigenas et ad astra levat.

H(38) carries the trochaic dimeter in its stanzas. The quotation below is st. 7:

> Rogémus ergo, pòpuli,
> Pontificém Gregorium,
> Ut ejus intervénitibus
> Laetémur in coeléstibus.

This stanza and the doxology in the last stanza have an abundance of the o assonance:

> Deo pátri sit glória,
> Sit laus et unigérito,
> Sánto simul paraélito
> In saéculorúm saecula.

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The Hymns H(12), H(24), H(27), and H(42), all have the classical meter, the Sapphic, which was developed by the Greek poets and used also by the Latin poets, especially Horace. The Sapphic meter is composed of three lines of a trochee, a spondee, and a dactyl, followed by a trochee, and a spondee. The fourth line is modelled on the Adonic verse which is composed of a dactyl followed by a spondee or trochee. The caesura occurs always after the fifth syllable of the first three lines. One example of these stanzas of H(12), st. 1, will serve as a specimen of the entire hymn:

Fulget in coelis, celebris sacerdos,
Stella doctorum rutilat in astris,
Fidel sacros radios per orbis
Climata spargens.

Elision in the Middle Ages was purposely avoided, but it was unusual in a classical example to have no elision. Norberg says: "Bien des questions intéressantes se rattachent à l'emploi de l'élosion et de l'hiatus au Moyen Age. Dès la fin de l'Antiquité, plusieurs poètes avaient, avec plus ou moins de sévérité, tenté d'éviter l'élosion." And further on the same author says in speaking of avoiding the use of elision:

49 Dearmer, Op. Cit., p. xxx, says: "There are three classical meters which do fit very beautifully to music, the Sapphic (called after the Greek poetess, Sappho, who used the meter), the Elegiac, and in some instances only, the Alcaic."

Le principe d'éviter aussi bien l'élision que l'hiatus mettait les poètes à rude épreuve. Il est compréhensible que, vers la fin de l'Antiquité et au début du Moyen Âge surtout, alors que le niveau général de la culture était relativement bas, les poètes ne parvenaient pas à s'en tirer et admettaient de temps en temps un hiatus.51

There is only one example of hiatus in the whole hymn and it occurs in the 4th st.:

Hic fidem sacram vigilanter firmat,
Arma errorum subigit potenter,
Maculas morum lavat et repellit
Dogmate claro.

On the contrary, Cicero makes a special plea for hiatus as Marouzeau says in quoting him:

L'oreille est sensible non seulement à la nature et à la qualité des sons, mais aussi à la façon dont ils sont répartis dans la phrase; celui qui parle doit soigner l'arrangement des mots, "continuatio verborum", de façon à réaliser une disposition qui flatte l'oreille: "bona collatio" (De orat. III, 171)52.

In HNL(8), the non-liturgical hymn, there are three eleven-syllabled lines in every stanza followed by five syllables. It is, as Norberg says, an imitation of the classic Sapphic strophe, in that the author has totally neglected not only the quantity but the structure also, and has only enforced the composition of four verses, three having each 5 + 6 syllables and one having 5 syllables. The only borrowing from the ancient versification is then

the stroke and the number of syllables. Following is the poem which in spite of its irregularities may be called Sapphic:

Ave, qui tractans mores Iob beati
Vivere doces languidos et pati,
Nunc in sanctorum coetu confessorum
Iure refulges.

O confessores Domini sacrati,
Candidis stolis vita decorati,
Deum orate, rei ut optatae
Donet assensum;

What is meant by "rhythmic sapphics"? Norberg again discusses this type of poetry, and from him we derive this key definition:

Du vers saphique quantitatif ... l'auteur du vers rhythmique n'a donc pris ni la quantité ni les iотus mais la répartition des mots et les accents de la prose ou ce que nous appelons ici la structure du vers. Dans le vers saphique quantitatif, la coupe est, au Moyen Age, normalement fixée après la cinquième syllabe: il en est de même dans le vers rhythmique.

In accordance with this statement, HNL(8) has every caesura after the fifth syllable.

When the Abbot of the Monastery of Montieramy asked Bernard of Clairvaux to compose a hymn in honor of St. Victor, the patron of the Abbey, he complied with his wish, saying: hymnum composui, metri negligens ut sensui non deessem", proving that he did not consider such

54 Ibid., p. 95.
compositions with the full classical conception of verse musicality. But the monks do not appear to have shrunk from singing in the Office of St. Victor, Sapphic lines such as these:

Vita Victoris meritis praecclara
hominem terris, qui non sit de terra,
Velut de caelo datum representet
ad imitandum.55

This seems to be a case of rhythmic and quantitative Sapphic mixed.

Though the 'Pia Dictamina' are not of liturgical origin, they exhibit a great variety of metrical measures. Of the iambic meters accentual, only one hymn, P(35), has this measure throughout the entire seventeen stanzas in the form of iambic dimeters acatalectic alternating with the catalectic. It is very regular with its rime scheme, abab, and assonance prevails throughout. A few examples will verify these statements:

Salve, Gregori, maxime,
Antistes Romanorum
Secundum Nomen optime
Vigil catholicorum.

There is about the same variety of vowel emphasis in st. 3:

Ut voces Deo libere;
Terræna contempsistere
Ut posses vix subsistere
Sic corpus afflixisti.

It seems that there is an occasional trochee at the start of a verse, then a succession of iambi. The reasons for this are the required accentual stress and the purpose to give greater virility and variety.

The abundance of trochaic measures in the 'Pia Dictamina' is due to the nature of these songs which naturally call for a more joyous note. P(4) shows a mastery of the new rhythmical verse with the two-syllabled rime, and the rime scheme, aabb, accentual, with the regular caesura in the fourth syllable of the eight-lines of the trochaic tetrameter acatalectic. All these characteristics are evident in the hymn mentioned, especially in the first ten lines:

Ave, doctor, o Gregori,
Dilexisti mundo mori,
Humilis, mitis fuisti,
Quod a Christo didicisti,
Te servum servorum Dei
Scirpsisti fideli gregi
Hoc docens esse pastorum
Quod non fecit quis priorum,
Sancte papa o Gregori,
Vidisti Romanos mori

These lines are replete with poetical devices - assonance, alliteration, double rimes, and rhythmical verse. They are arranged in continuous lines to make the devices more evident. Though the 'Pia Dictamina' belong to a late period, the fifteenth century, in discussing the dissylabic rime with which this hymn abounds, Norberg points out that
it belongs to a very early period, the merovingian, that
disyllabic assonance had been in use in several hymns
composed in Gaul, and that disyllabic assonance or dis-
syllabic rime had been earlier used in certain Irish re-
gions.56

P(5) is also trochaic, but it is a trochaic dimeter
in eight-lined stanzas, accentual, alternately acatalectic
and catalectic. Every stanza is similar in its arrangement,
and begins with Ave. In speaking of these hymns of the
fourteenth century, Julian comments on the number of these
derivatives of the Angelic Salutation which begin with
Ave or Salve: "There are glosses innumerable on the
Angelic Salutation, more than 100 beginning with Ave or
Salve"57. The first stanza of this hymn represents the
remaining four in its conformity to the requirements of a
typical panegyric of the fifteenth century:

Ave, gemma praesulum,
Gregori beatae,
Exemplar et speculum
Vitae illibatae,
Cordis mei vasculum
Reple castitate,
Ne per carnis vinculum
Liger voluptate.

There is a particular skill here in the handling of rime
groups though the skill is far from perfect. The rime scheme

is abababab, with the a rime always on the 3-stroke pattern: /-/-/-, while the even lines are always on this other stroke pattern: /-/-/-.. We also have in st. 1 perfect consonance of: Vitae illibatae; Reple Castitate; Liger voluptate; and also in st. 3 which we shall quote, there is similar though less perfect consonance in spiritus; coelitus, medullitus, and penitus:

Ave, sancti spiritus
Organum jucundum
Verbo tibi coelitus
Dato ditas mundum,
Rogo te medullitus,
Ut me infecundum
Deo reddas penitus
A peccatis mundum.

P(7) is the same meter as P(4) with its accentual trochaic tetrameters acatalectic, yet with dissyllabic rimes repeated four times, right through every stanza, and with regular caesuras. The only difference is in the arrangement, P(4) having the continuous line formation of thirty-eight lines, and P(7) having four-lined stanzas. The double rime scheme in P(7) is unusually regular in its rather difficult pattern, aaaa. The hymn contains only four stanzas. Thus, st. 1:

Ave, pastor miserorum,
Pasce gregem clericorum
Cibis sacris angelorum
Et da vinum electorum.

The remaining three are similar to this one in arrangement.

P(9) is another example of the four-lined stanza,
built on exactly the same pattern as P(7). Thus, st. 1:

Ave, sancte tu Gregori,
Summo places creatori,
Laudes posce nostro ori,
Quas psallamus redemptori.

Assonantal i and o and a rime scheme of aabb mark
the hymn type of P(10), as st. 1 shows:

Ave, tu Gregori pie,
Plebem tuam omni die
Vigilanter custodisti,
Viam dei ostendisti.

There is much peculiarity in the stress-pattern
verses of every stanza in P(15). Thus we see that in the
4-8 syllabled verses in each stanza, there are 3 definite
strokes, while the 2nd one is rather slurred, and allows
greater prominence to the 3rd. This comes from another
peculiarity, the absence of a syllable between the 2nd and
3rd strokes. It is to be noticed that every 3rd verse has
7 syllables and 3 strokes. Thus in the 1st stanza:

Gaúde, té ēsse vocátum
Gregori, ad praesulátum
Urbis Rómae caélice,
Pér té ēsse liberátum
A poénis mirífice.

The pattern which Dearmer\textsuperscript{58} analyzes in these words:
"Trochaic lines of an even number of syllables must end in
a full trochee, and this involves double rhymes." ... seems
here to apply to the trochaic lines with an odd number of
syllables as well.

\textsuperscript{58} Dearmer, Op. Cit., p. xxix.
P(26) is a continuous reference making great use of metaphors and allegory, to Gregory's deeds from his entrance to the papacy till his enthronement in heaven. It is, in its forty lines, the most representative of the medieval panegyrics, with its symbolism, metaphors, double rimes, and perfect rhythm. Riming aabb, it seems to roll along breathlessly through the entire poem, keeping up the double rime till the end. The first eight lines quoted below are a pattern of all those following:

Magne pater o Gregori,
Magnum fructum salvatori
Eleganter attulisti,
Cuius gregi praefuisti
Servus prudens et fidelis,
Oves praedo ne crudelis,
Saeviendo laceraret,
Sed ad caulas grex mearet.

P(34) has twelve eight-lined stanzas full of laudatory references to Gregory's accomplishments and achievements. Written in the trochaic tetrameter, accentual catalectic, it contains all the poetic characteristics of a true medieval hymn. It is very regular in having double rimes in the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth lines of each stanza, the endings in each case being the same. An example of this hymn will verify what has been said:

Salve, flos ecclesiae,
Honor monachorum,
Doctor sapientiae,
Speculum pastorum,
Salus pestilentiae
Urbis Romanorum,
Gregori sanctissime,
Decus clericorum.

The rhyme scheme varies, though a predominant scheme, abababab, in stanzas 1, 2, 9 and 11, is found in the other stanzas in a slightly varied arrangement. We quote st. 3 to point out this variance in rhyme:

Salve, carens simili
In sacra doctrina,
Mente scrutans humili
Dogmate divina
Instructus a spiritu
Forma columbina,
Ut nos in hoc transitu
Serves a ruina.

Incidentally, this reference, both the 1st and 3rd stanzas, shows how there is a passage from introductory salutations to a celebration of his actual work.

Let us now turn to the Offices, of which there are two listed in entirety in the Gregory grouping. Raby describes the development of the Office as follows:

Beginning with a simple combination of portions in prose and poetry respectively, the whole office soon came to be clothed in metrical forms, which at first appear in great variety, while no value is set on uniformity of structure.59

Such is the nature of our Offices with their varying meters and melodies. Norberg seems to point out with assurance the result of the trend which this type of liturgical hymn was taking through the last centuries of the Middle Ages:

... Nous ne pouvons étudier les combinaisons plus ou moins fortuites que présentent les écrits du Moyen Age et nous terminerons en disant quelques mots sur un domaine que l'on a totalement négligé d'étudier du point de vue métrique et dont un examen des formes se révélerait très fructueux, à savoir les offices rimés. Les plus anciens offices rimés souvent un mélange de prose, de poésie quantitative et de poésie rhythmique, le tout d'une variété déconcertante.60

In Office R(22), the decasyllabic line opens with a variety in the strokes between the trochaic and the iambic and an occasional dactyl in the third measure; and the rime scheme abab predominates; but the Antiphon61 following is regular in the second and fourth lines, showing a variety of feet in the first and third stanzas, thus, the 1st:

Lauda, félix mater et filia,
Laída túm, Róma, Gregórium,
Laudet summum doctórem Ánglia,
Laudet mundus pátrem exímium.

And thus, the 3rd in the first Nocturne or the Antiphon:

Rómae próles pátrum illústrium
Praëldóstriæ mátibus,
Clárus érat doctrínis ártium,
Póllens honóribus.

In this last example quoted the decasyllabic verse alternates with the hexasyllabic. The six-lined Responsory also shows the arrangement of the introductory stanza with

60 Norberg, p. 85.

61 The Antiphons and the Responsory in these Offices dealt with the history of the saint or his festival.
the exception of the fourth line which is hexasyllabic.
The rime scheme is aaabbb. The latter is the scheme fol­
lowed whenever a six-lined stanza occurs. Thus, st. 1 in
the 1st Responsory:

Cum aetérnus păstor Gregórĭum
Praevidisset ad cūram óvium,
Śigno lúcis in lúcem gentium
Lătens ēst prodĭtus;
Lux effulgĕns per noctem coĕlitus
Datum prŏdit pătrem divĭnĭtus.

Office R(17b) does not fall under the charge of
classical imitation 62, since it comes from the eleventh
century, being attributed to Pope Leo IX in 1054, while the
process of classical imitation began under Leo X. The
beginning of this Office contains an eight-lined stanza
which broadly divides up into trochaic odd lines and iambic
even lines. The rime scheme is aabbbbcc, but every ver­
sicle throughout the Office changes now to the trochaic,
and then back again to the iambic with a varying rhythm.

62 The ancient hymns of the breviary, often
irregular in their prosody, were to don the classical
garb and be coerced within the laws of regular meter and
Latinity. The process was begun under Leo X, but the real
revision was undertaken under Urban VIII, himself a poet
and author of the breviary hymns for the feasts of
St. Martin and St. Elizabeth of Portugal. It was a risky
thing to do, at the expense of simplicity, vigor, and
nobility of thought, to attempt to revise ancient scholar­
ship when modern scholarship justly regards original
manuscripts with a feeling akin to reverence. This revi­
sion therefore is unanimously condemned by hymnologists.
The first three lines of st. 2 after the first versicle are trochaic, and the last three are predominantly iambic:

Dúm oráret in obscúro
Servus Déi latíbuló,
Lux immensá super éum
Resplénduit post trídum,
Hóc signo cunctis próditus
Papa urbes effícitur.

There are four strokes in each line, the last one generally slurred.

The development of versification in the Offices went on until the whole Office showed a great variety of metrical forms and no effort was made to secure uniformity of structure. At any rate, these Offices, whether of St. Francis or of St. Anthony, became exceedingly popular in the Middle Ages.

The new principle under which the poet creates his own verse form and melody must surely have come from the field of music, liturgical music in particular. Strecker in Introduction to Medieval Latin (translated by Palmer) has this to say regarding the Sequence:

During the Middle Ages liturgical music had received much attention, and countless new and beautiful melodies had been created. It was probably from France that the idea first came to add words to the wordless melodies which had been associated with the Hallelujahs of the gradual of Mass. These words had to be quite diversified to correspond to the numerous tonal changes of the melody. ... Thus countless verses appeared which had little or nothing to do with the rules of metrical (i.e., quantitative) or even rhythmical
poetry but were nothing more, actually, than highly rhetorical prose.  

Norberg corroborates this statement of Strecker when he says:

La séquence est la création littéraire la plus indépendante et la plus originale du latin du Moyen Age. Cette nouvelle forme poétique libéra les poètes de l'influence des modèles antiques et leur apporta des possibilités d'expression entièrement nouvelles. Les vers et les strophes pouvaient désormais être construits librement d'après une mélo-die et avec une richesse de variantes contrastant fortement avec le petit nombre de formes que permettait la poésie antique. La finesse du jeu d'ensemble entre la strophe des tenors et celle des sopranos donnait en même temps de la fermeté à la forme et de nouvelles possibilités de nuances.  

Wagner as quoted by Raby says: "The melodies exhibit a taste for imposing and sonorous strains, boldness in melodic development, the frequent occurrence of wide intervals, and an extended compass, such as was made possible by the use of boys."  

To usher in a day of joy, S(l) is written in the jubilant pace of trochaic dimeter, two lines alcatalectic alternating with one line catalectic in three-lined stanzas. Since the Sequences were sung in double-choir arrangement involving stanzas (s) and (b), the rime scheme aabccb, the

65 Wagner, History of Plain Chant, p. 231.
b rime always -ia, depends upon the completion of each three-lined set of stanzas for its realization. There are twelve double stanzas in the following arrangement as the two sets here will indicate:

1(a) adest dies recolenda  
   Dulci melo prosequenda 
   Revehens solemnia 

1(b) Almi patris Gregorii 
   Pontificis eximii, 
   Intrantis in gaudia.

And the second double stanza with the voices of men followed in a second stanza by the voices of boys is exemplified another time in the following stanzas:

2(a) Quae promisit Jesus dare  
   His, qui vellent se amara 
   Post mortis exsilia. 

2(b) Gregorius prae ceteris 
   Aetatis suae pueris 
   Literarum studia.

S(23) belongs to the transitional period and seems to be indecipherable as far as the rime scheme is concerned. The note at the end of the hymn states that it is uncertain whether the melody follows a familiar scheme, and that the rime is unique (mostly only assonance following one syllable rime) which not only binds the broken words of a verse, but also words of entirely pleasing verse-positions, even when these positions do not correspond with one another.

In the stanzas quoted below, the rime words hold unique positions in their respective verses, such as salvare

in the second stanza, third line, rimen with *dedicare* of
the third stanza, second line; *mundans* of the fourth stanza,
riming with *rigans* of the fifth stanza. Quotations will
show the use of such rimen devices:

1. *Laudes canamus*

2. *Nostro redemptori*    3. *Et livore suo*

   *Christo, qui venit*    *sibi dedicare ecclesiam*

   *nos salvare*           *candidatam.*

4. *Mundans eam*

   *semper rivulis*

   *inebreatis,*

5. *Rigans montes*

   *de superioribus*

   *nubibus.*

Both *Mundans* and *Rigans* are first words in the stanzas, but
there are others such as occupy strange positions as the
note remarks. In st. 14, line 6, we have "petit" rimen
with "querit" of st. 15, line 2. Thus:

14. *Septeno*       15. *Agapem*

   *Instructas*        *querit, tribus vicibus*

   *flamina condidet*  *Accipit*

   *septens coenobia*  *et reddit;*

   *Angelus*          *discum argenteum*

   *hunc petit ut naufragus.* *deum laetus percipit.*

S(30) is a pleasing combination of four-lined
stanzas of three accentual trochaic dimeters acatalectic,
followed by a fourth line of the same meter catalectic. The
rime scheme is aaab, and is regular throughout. In addition
to the regular rime scheme, this Sequence is an acrostic
which Strecker says was a popular type in the early Middle
Ages67, and Norberg explains as follows:

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In the examples quotes below, st. 1(a) and st. 1(b),
assonances and double rimes prevail throughout, and the last
word of the fourth line, Gregori, of stanza 1(a) rimes with
the last word of the fourth line, inglorii, of the stanza
1(b) as can be seen upon examination:

1(a) Organum spiritualis
    Tangat decus clericale
    Dum recolitur natale
    Vigilis Gregorii

1(b) Scriba regis angelorum
    Floruit hic lux doctorum
    Et apostolus Anglorum
    Qui prius inglorii.

Thus 1(a) and 1(b) are on this pattern aaabcccbb.

S(39) is a Sequence having a rime scheme aab and in
four cases the (a) stanzas rime with the (b) in the full
metrical scheme aabaab, that is, there is a corresponding
rime in each pair of stanzas; while a fifth one shows the
scheme aabaab but where one rime is -ia, and the other -a.

Thus, 4(a) and 4(b):

4a. Sex struit in Sicilia
    Vir pius monasteria
    Septimum in urbe Roma.

4b. Virginum tria milia
    Favit multaque alia,
    Hinc redolens ut aroma.

The trochee is mostly predominant: however the rhythm is
above all that of a three-stress line; it is noticeable
that most lines end in a three-syllable group, the first

of which is stressed. Otherwise it is a four-stroke line:
e.g. instítüta, érudíta. While the same rime scheme does
occur in 1(a) and 1(b); 3(a) and 3(b); 6(a) and 6(b); 8(a)
and 8(b); the assonance within the lines is so strong as
to eliminate any necessity for word rime, and the number
of syllables is the same. Especially noticeable is the
2nd verse in st. 1a: Pii, pudícií, sobríi.

S(4l), another Sequence with a rhythm scheme
showing two trochees and one dactyl, in all three strokes.
Occasionally the strokes come next to each other, as in
stanza 1a: Béátí Gregóríi. The Sequence has a rime scheme
aab, and there is rime between the third lines of (a)
stanzas and (b) stanzas. The three-lined stanzas are nicely
balanced by the intervention of a four-lined stanza with a
rime scheme, abab, in both 3(a) and 3(b):

3a. Factus praesul femínae 3b. Post in panis prístinam
Nequàm monstrat sémíni Formam hanc restituit,
In similitudíne Sicque fídem feminam
Carnis corpus Domíni; Praedicando docuit.

Alliteration is very pronounced in these four-lined
stanzas: f in the first line, and s in the following three
lines of 3a; p in the first line, with f following in 3b.

We shall now deal with the meter involved in the
arrangement of the Tropes. Our experts confess that this
type of liturgical text is hidden in obscurity. Norberg
tells us with conviction that it is difficult to deal
with Tropes as they have changed their nature:

Si la naissance de la séquence reste dans une grande mesure enveloppée d'obscurité, c'est encore bien plus le cas pour les tropes. Le mot tropos signifie à l'origine "mélodie", mais, comme sequentia, le terme est passé du domaine musical à celui de la littérature. La mélodie était souvent aussi fondamentale.69

Because of the fact that they adhered strictly to the dactylic hexameter so prevalent in Late Latin, particularly in Sedulius, without the leonine hexameter-pentameter, this literary type, according to Strecker, must be strongly under Classical influence as the Carolingian poets were.70

In spite of the notorious obscurity mentioned above, a few deductions can be made, especially concerning the earlier Tropes, to which group belong those of this study, these being from the tenth or eleventh century. Tr(19), together with the three Introductions mentioned above, follows the classical meter, in (a) and (b), that is, the dactylic hexameter, but Introductio Antiphonarii (c) is composed of the leonine elegiac, or, as Strecker calls it, the leonine hexameter-pentameter. A few lines from the Introductio Antiphonarii(c) will make clear the point at issue:

5. Composuit scholae cantorum hunc rite libellum, 
Qui reciprocando moduletur carmine Christo. 

We have here also the classical elision of -um before h.

Another example is noted for its assonantal -o:

19. Hic claro argento clare fabricato nitescit;

A quotation from the Introductio Antiphonarium (e) will reveal its characteristics:

1. Hoc quoque Gregorius patres de more secutus
   Instauravit opus dicit et in melius,
   His vigili clarus mentem conamine subdat
   Ordinibus, pascens hoc sua corda favo.

The opening lines are rime on an elaborate scale, the same rime -us occurring four times in the couplet. None of the four hymns is presented in its entirety, but this is a fair specimen of the rime portion of each.

Tr(40) contains only two stanzas, and there is no special rhythm. As the note below the hymn in AH71 says the hymn shows no parallelism in melody, and a very weak one in text between the two strophes. Yet, as the same note points out, the content is so related to that of Tropes 1 and 2 of Vol. 49, here Tr.(19a) and (19b), that it may be inspired by them. In the first stanza there is heaped up assonance, the -s and -u sounds occurring nine times in the six lines. Since it is dedicated to musical tones, tone

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and harmony are included in achieving this goal:

Sanctissimus
Namque Gregorius cum preces
effunderet ad Dominum,
ut musicum tonum ei
desuper in carminibus
dedisset.

In the second stanza, alliteration is the most
noticeable device as may be seen in such lines as these:

Spiritus sanctus super eum
In specie columbae
et sic demum exorsus est
canere ita dicendo.

With the conclusion of the Tropes, the wide variety
of rhythms covered in the medieval hymns, has been
especially in evidence. All the elements of the new verse
are far removed from the classical, except for a few
quantitative selections. As Raby says in his Preface to
Christian Latin Poetry:

In quality the Latin verse of the Middle Ages
exhibits an immense variety; for medieval lite-
rature, unlike the literature of antiquity, has
come down to us in a vast bulk, in which good
and bad are mingled, the tentative along with the
complete achievement. 72

Norberg states further in this direction: "On n'a guère
étudié les problèmes que posent la forme musicale et
métrique du trope." 73

72 Raby, in Preface to the First Edition of

The Introductio (c) quoted by AH below Tr(19a) as a piece of Tropic character has two lines which are fine examples of the strength given to verse to an accumulated -c sound. Line 19 has this line:

His claro argento clare fabricato nitescit;

and line 11 has:

Ut celsum quatit clamosa carmine culmen.

Line 30:

Et variis florum fragris saturare solebas

is a fine line, delicate in its allusion to the fragrance of flowers. Assonance and alliteration mark the whole line. In line 31 there is a good example of oxymoron, in addition to the usual alliteration and assonance:

Para vires fragiles animae accendeque fibras

Here the alliteration is in the initial syllable animae accende as well as in the ultima of the words: vires, fragiles, and fibras.

4. Stylistic Patterns and Motifs.

Close to the heart of the Middle Ages was its love for allegory and symbolism. This had early come into Christian thought from Platonism\(^7^4\) and Stoicism, and from

\(^7^4\) Plato taught that the world of the senses is but half real. Things and events are but symbols of the great realities that lie behind and beyond this world. - F. Artz, Op. Cit., p. 14.
the beginning Christian writers and artists had always looked
behind external reality to hunt the purposes of God’s ways
and will. The thought of the Middle Ages, therefore, was
rooted in elaborate allegory and symbolism. Raby says:

... The key to the universe of concrete things
and the key to history was to be found in a symboli-
cal interpretation, by which the things which
were visible existed as a picture or sign of things
invisible, that is, of the spiritual and moral
universe. In the words of Alan of Lille:75

omnis mundi creatura
quasi liber et pictura
nobis est in speculum,
nostrae vitae, nostrae sortis,
nostrae status, nostrae mortis
fidele signaculum.76

The spiritual and moral universe, like the world of Plato’s
ideas, was the real and intelligible universe, of which the
world of phenomena was merely a sign or shadow. To the
Medievalist, the whole universe in its smallest detail
appeared as fraught with hidden meaning.77 The world of
nature in its manifold change bore witness to spiritual
and dogmatic truths. Allegorical meanings were most fruit-
ful to the Medieval mind which saw in the Old Testament

75 A famous French teacher of the twelfth century
who occupies an important place in the history of medieval
philosophy.


77 On the medieval conception of nature see Heinrich
von Eicken, Geschichte und System der Mittelalterische
Weltanschauung, Berlin, Cotta, 1923, p. 611.
the doctrines and persons of the New, hidden darkly under temporal forms. The Medievalist seized upon his images not so much by logical as associative processes - a complicated association of ideas represented by a medley of metaphors - to communicate unique personal feelings.

In the hymns dedicated to Pope Gregory the Great, are found numerous references to nature. They are concerned with nature only in so far as she could serve as illustrations to bring out the truths of religion as emphasized by Gregory, or to picture the Saint himself, symbolic of some divine or God-given beauty of nature.

Since Pope Gregory's achievements, both spiritual and material, practical and literary, diffused a light upon a world sunk in the darkness of paganism, it is not strange that the symbol of "light" is so often used of him in the hymns. This seems to be the predominant symbol used to identify the gifts of the bountiful God to Gregory in whatever capacity he chose to use them. Hence, he is sometimes referred to as "star", "ray of light", or simply as "light". And in that title "light he is not usurping the title of Christ, the Light of the world, but he is

78 This is a favorite word in the Holy Scripture, being used, according to my own observation and reckoning, no less than 180 times in the Old Testament, and some 30 in the New.
a lesser light reflecting the True Light. 79

In the following stanzas of the hymns, these "light" references will be presented as they appear.

In H(2), st. 5, he is the lux et decus ecclesiae; in H(11), st. 4, the word fulgent is used in endeavoring to express the success which Gregory had in propounding philosophical doctrine:

Fulgent verbis et sensibus
Ejus dogmata omnia.

H(12), st. 1 is filled with the "light" imagery in each line:

Fulget in coelis, celebris sacerdos,
Stella doctorum rutilat in astris,
Fidei sacros radios per orbis
Climata spargens.

In this stanza Gregory is a celebrated priest, who, as the star among teachers, shines among the constellations, scattering the sacred rays of the faith over the climes of the earth.

There is a skillful use of oxymoron in H(13), st. 5, where Gregory's refulgent powers are enhanced by the juxtaposition of dilucidat with obscura - he "illumines the mysterious".

79 Cf. John, Ch. I, Vs. 6-8.

80 When Gregory is expounding hidden philosophical works, he assumes the rank of doctor, and by his success merits the title of star among teachers.
In H(14), st. 2, there is another reference to the "light" motif in the line: Refulsit in ecclesia. "He brightly shines in the Church." Similarly there is another "light" alluding to Gregory in H(18), where he is called a star. This metaphor is sustained throughout st. 2:

Tu sidus micans fulgidum,
Tubar solare fervidum
Illustras corda hominum
Fers animae prae sidium.

There are seven "light" symbols in this single stanza: micans, fulgidum, illiustras, and the unusual arrangement of three together: jubar, solare, and fervidum.

H(24), st. 1 uses the expression: Tam refulgens meritis, "sparkling with merits". It emphasizes the idea that nothing was darkly hidden, much less were the virtues of Gregory hidden under a veil.

The following "light" symbol in H(25), st. 4, is the strongest of all those quoted:

O vas auri, pretiosis
Renitens lapidibus
Quasi coelum radiosis
Emicans sideribus,
Affer opem gloriosis
Meritis et precibus.

The expression "vas auri, pretiosis renitens lapidibus", is used to express extreme worth and extreme beauty, by the most expensive and most valuable of earth's treasures, gold and precious stones.
H(27), st. 3 uses an unusual word to express the brilliance of his virtues; Largus libens, lucifluus. The latter word, lucifluus, is usually applied to a star.

H(32), st. 1 has rutilant, irradiat, and st. 2 has nituit, all with the "light" symbol in a general reference to his far-reaching influence which radiated the light of his good works. This symbol is one of the most picturesque: the suggestion of a reddish glow of light by the word rutilant, and the radiation of that light by irradiat is an apt subject for an artist.

"Light symbols" and shining objects are copious in H(33), st. 5. The whole stanza deals with his philosophical penetration issuing from a speculative mind which is compared to a topaz, or yellow sapphire, darting forth rays and elucidating the Scripture and other heavenly things:

Mox fulsit ut topazius
Tota noy theoreticus
Chrysolithum per aureas
Vibransque categorias,
Melliculi quas dogmatis
Elucidavit radiis;
Agapis almae nisibus
Est factus omnis omnibus.

The linking of the radiance of light with the clarity of metaphysical exposition, through a pairing-off of words that seem to be worlds apart, especially in Vibransque categorias,

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Melliculi quas dogmatis, Elucidavit radiis, reveals an artistic conception of learning that seems quite foreign to modern literary composition.

The "light" motif is used in H(36), st. 2, where Gregory's demonstration of the beauty of eternal life in contrast to the transitoriness of earthly life is mentioned:

Quibus hac vita demonstrasti pabula
Vitae aeternae permansura lumine,
Docens terena fore transitoria,
Nil in hac vita carnis prosit gloria.

H(42) sustains the "light" idea with the use of rutilas in st. 1. The word rutilas is usually used with Aurora or dawn, and is therefore suggestive of a preceding red glow culminating into a burst of glory. (cf. above H(32))

In the non-liturgical hymn HNL(8), two words refer to "light": In the Adonic line of the first stanza, lurenrefulges, and in the second line of the next stanza, reference is made to the "shining stoles" of the confessores: Candidis stolis.

In the 'Pia Dictamina' there are only seven motifs derived from the image of light. P(5), st. 5, has the favorite complimentary epithet, stella matutina82 in the beautiful symbolis words:

82 This title stella matubina appears as an epithet of Gregory's before the Litany of Loretto which was formed in 1578. The Litany of the B.V.M. is taken thence.
Ave, fulgens saeculo
Stella matutina,
Omni datus populo
Hora vespertina

The *hora vespertina* here refers to the low ebb to which civilization had fallen, and to Gregory's being their salvation as a beacon light among the inhabitants of the half-pagan world. He is *speculum vitae* in this hymn, too as often.

In P(9) he is again *stella matutina*, but this time he is the initiator of a new way of life, just as the morning star forecasts a new day. Further on in the same hymn he is the "brilliant star of learned men" - *sidus clarum*; the *lux justorum* - "the light of the just"; *per lumen intellectus* - "through the light of his intellect". And finally in this group he is called *speculum pastorum* - the "mirror of shepherds".

The scarcity of "light" motifs in the Sequences is readily understood when we consider the purpose of this liturgical text. The main interest was dogmatic. Thus will Raby say in speaking of Adam of St. Victor, a writer of Sequences:83

Adam remains a child of the twelfth century. His main interest is dogmatic, and he is ever expounding those symbolical conceptions which, for

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83 To him tradition assigns the glory of having brought to perfection this most characteristic achievement of medieval poetry. - Raby, *Op. Cit.*, p. 348.
the school of Victor, were the key to the Scriptures and indeed to the whole world of nature. ... But in fairness to Adam it should be said that poetry so strictly and definitely liturgical must necessarily be objective and direct in its expression, rather than personal and lyrical.84

S(23), which is the earliest of the Sequences in the group, has a greater number of light-derived symbols than any of the others. In fact, two, S(1) and S(41), contain none at all. From S(23), st. 9 the reference to "light" fills the entire stanza:

Qui fulsit mundo
ut novum sidus
doctrinis, exemplis, virtutibus.

It is sharp and crisp but still it is comprehensive in one general sweep touching upon the effects of his doctrine, sermons and virtues. The displacement of novum draws attention to the advent of Gregory in a world of darkness. There is another "light" motif in st. 10 dealing with his origin in the use of nituit:

Qui genus
eximium
et sanctum, quo nituit,
magnifice extulit.

"He who nobly elevated an esteemed and holy family in which he became illustrious". Here nituit means "became illustrious", and with this meaning it is used both by Quintilian

85 Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, 9. 4, 5.
and Tacitus\textsuperscript{86}. In the same stanza there is the use of
illustrat, in the sense of enlightening the mind.

Out of nine double stanzas in S(30), there is but
one "light" motive, and that is in st. 1b, where Gregory's
theological and apostolic achievements are recorded:

\begin{verbatim}
Scriba regis angelorum
Floruit hic lux doctorum
Et apostolus Anglorum
Qui prius inglorii.
\end{verbatim}

While the Tropes have no "light" motif, the Offices,
of which there are only two, have an abundance of "light"
symbols which characterize various achievements of Gregory.

\textsuperscript{R(17b)} in the introductory lines, has significant
lines which describe his golden doctrine as shining through
the climes of the earth:

\begin{verbatim}
Cuius doctrina aurea
Per mundi splendet climata
\end{verbatim}

Immediately following in the first Nocturne he is referred
to as a gem encased in gold, and his reputation is described
as greater than his illustrious grandfather's:

\begin{verbatim}
Fulsit mundo velut gemma
Auro superaddita,
Dum praecieior praeciearis
Hic accessit atavis.
\end{verbatim}

In st. 1 of the same Office in the Responsory, fulgebata, in
the sense of "shone" or "was illustrious" is used to

\textsuperscript{86} Tacitus, \textit{Annales}, 12. 58.
predicate genus. The whole stanza refers to the opposition between the mundane nobility he was born into and the celestial nobility which he chose through voluntary poverty:

Fulgebat in venerando
Duplex genus Gregorio:
Senatoria dignitas
Secundum genus saeculi,
Voluntaria paupertas
Juxta praeceptum Domini.

R(22) is well laden with "light" symbols, more so than others in this group. In the Responsory, st. 1, a very significant group of these metaphors exists. In the following lines he is the "light of the nations", the "shining heavenly light":

. . .
Sīgnō lucis in lūcem sēntium
Latens ėst prōditus;
Lux effulgēns per noctēm coelītus
Datum prōdit patreōm divinitus

We may delay a moment here on the setting of the theme of light within a context both a rhythmic and verbal, that harmonizes with it. I shall have occasion to refer later to the legend of the shaft of light, mentioned here; but would like here to point out how the use of oxymoron "latens ... prōditus" gains in effectiveness through being directly inspired by that concrete image drawn from the legend. Again, in st. 3, following the text he is the "lantern" of the nations and shines glowing through the gifts of the Holy Spirit, unto the glory of Christ:
Super gentes et regna positus,
Ut lucerna pontifex inclitus
Ardens lucet per dona spiritus
Ad Christi gloriam.

The stanza at the Benedictus contains a very strong "light" metaphor leaving no doubt of the authority for truth Gregory possesses among those who remember him:

O sol mundo diffundens radios,
Nostrae mentis tenebras abige,
Verae pacis in viam filios,
Dux et pater Gregori, dirige.

The panegyrical element or the eulogistic motif in the hymns is very copious, since they were all written to sing the praises of Gregory. Though such is the case, there is a variety of complimentary epithets, unusual in their connotation, which, by drawing attention to the wondrous achievements of the Pope, tended to perpetuate the memory of the endeared Saint whose works had their roots sunk deeply into the liturgical and religious feeling of the Middle Ages. No trace of gloom exists in the lines of the hymns. They are full of rational faith, strong confidence, and fervent devotion to a great precursor of the religious reform of the early and late Middle Ages.

In the liturgical hymns, the panegyrical elements are intense. They are rich in quality, varying from the compact and economical to the highly connotative, imaginative or poetic type. In dealing with the "light" motif, we have by implication covered one aspect of panegyric. Wherever in the
following an allusion seems repetitious, the reason is that it is no more than incidental to an illustration of a definitely panegyrical motif.

In H(2), st. 5, there is a deep feeling of admiration for Gregory's personal direction of the clergy:

O pontifex egregie,
Lux et decus ecclesiae,

And again in st. 3 of H(11):

O magnus decus ecclesiae,
O sacerdotum gloria,

Both these stanzas have reference to his leadership of the clergy and flock of Christ, but a third reference which probes more deeply into his good works, both literary and material, occurs in H(12), st. 5, wherein he is addressed as gregis Christi speculator:

O gregis Christi speculator alme,
Norma pastorum, monachorum gemma,
Speculum cleri, pater orphanorum,
Sancte Gregori.

In these few lines he is "inspector" of the flock, "model" of all shepherds, "gem" among all monks, "mirror" of the clergy, and "father" of orphans. These epithets are seen as an overwhelming tribute to the solicitude he had for the flock of Christ.

87 Albert Blaise, Dictionnaire Latin-Français, p. 769 says a Speculator is a spy, a scout, an investigator; or, one that goes before in the Church, as a Bishop, etc.
In st. 5 of H(14), the complimentary epithets and metaphors reach superlative heights, for there is nothing more to be said when a person is addressed as "sweetest mouthpiece of the Holy Spirit", and "mirror of virtues":

O Gregori, dulcissimum
Sancti spiritus organum
Atque virtutum speculum,

He is called doctor inclite in st. 1 of H(18), and ranking high in panegyrical epithets is st. 2, where Gregory is addressed as a "twinkling star", a "burning heavenly sun":

Tu sidus micans fulgidum,
Jubar solare fervidum.

In the same hymn, st. 6 has:

O sacrae apostolice
Dux fidel catholicae.

In H(21) there is no direct address to Gregory throughout the five stanzas, but the last stanza addresses him indirectly, or alludes to him as sanctus sanctorum, the "saint of saints" which is obviously reminiscent of "sanctum sanctorum", and extremely high praise:

88 Since there was no official canonization till the 11th century, Gregory was a saint by popular acclamation. Soon after his death, his epitaph which was found in a collection of inscriptions drawn up in the seventh century, shows how immediate was their response to his reputation for virtue among the people. The last two lines are worth quoting:

Hisque Dei consul factus laetare triumphis,
Nam mercedem operum jam sine fine tenes.
Sancto sanctorum gloria
Tanti patris memoria
Ab angelis et homine
Dicatur omni tempore.

H(25) has some very fine lines of direct address, especially in st. 4, when it styles him thus (in a text already referred to):

O vas auri, pretiosis
Renitens lapidibus
Quasi coelum radiosis
Emicancs sideribus.

Because this hymn deals with the contemplative appeal, the thoughts are naturally drawn to the "starry heavens". In this hymn, too, there is a climaxing simile introduced by quasi in the third line.

H(29) contains three stanzas of unusual panegyrical metaphors, though the third one is addressed to Christ. The first one refers to Gregory's general attributes, while the second and third stanzas mention his theological and cardinal virtues upon which his whole soul was anchored. The quotation of st. 1 will show the general nature of the tributes to Gregory:

O decus sacerdotum, flosque sanctorum,
Doctor egregie, sancte Gregori,
Fautor assidue, sis ecclesiae.

What more beautiful tribute than: "O Honor of the priesthood, Flower of Sanctity, O excellent Doctor, Saint Gregory"?

Though st. 2 is a prayer of petition, it stands as a special
tribute to his great virtues, theological and cardinal:

Quo fides accrescat, spes nos sustentet,
Caritas exuberet, justitia regnet,
Prudentia gubernet, modus conservet.

In an article\cite{Greenhill1954} in *Traditio*, Eleanor Greenhill has a reference to the theological and cardinal virtues, popular subjects of the twelfth century and earlier. She speaks of the *Arbor virtutum* as being identical with the cross which is representative of these virtues. She further explains that *Humilitas* is the origin of the theological and cardinal virtues which appear in the branches of *Arbor virtutum*. It seems clear that the quotation used has the meaning which is specified: *De tribus theologiciis, et quatuor cardinalibus ex humilitate nascentibus.*

*H*\(^{(32)}\) opens with a glowing tribute to Gregory’s merita. It is an implied metaphor resembling a situation wherein the darkness concealing hidden beauty is suddenly dispelled by a glowing light thrown around it:

Praesulis egregii merita
Gregorii rutilant titulis,
Caelicolas quibus irradiat
Terrigenas et ad astra levat.

The "ad sidera levat" seems reminiscent of Vergilian language, (Cf. *Fluctus ad sidera tollit*, Aen. Bk. 1, 103); the

difference is that while Vergil's language is consciously hyperbolic, the hymn-writer's is not: he simply views with exaltation the assumption of the earth-born creature through grace. Then, in regular order in the remaining eleven stanzas the Pope's good deeds are individually enumerated.

Of the 'Pia Dictamina' six begin on the panegyrical note of Ave, two with Salve and one with Gaude. They are definitely songs of praise advocating, in language at times picturesque at others matter-of-fact, every activity with which Gregory's life was concerned. The first on our list, P(4), ushers in a whole series of marvellous deeds on the wings of Ave, doctor, o Gregori, and continues in succeeding lines with such eulogistic expressions as: Sancte papa o Gregori, until the whole hymn ends with the great tribute and self-imposed title, Servus Servorum Dei.

Petition and panegyric are almost exhaustive in P(5), as each stanza reveals. St. 1 has:

Ave, gemma praesulum,
Gregori beate,
Exemplar et speculum
Vitae illibatae,
Cordis mei vasculum
Reple castitate,
Ne per carnis vinculum
Liger voluptate.

St. 2 varies the tributes as follows:

Coeli fistula
0 doctor Anglorum
Caritatis facula
Decens norma morum
Sancti Spiritus organum jucundum.
St. 4 continues in the same strain:

Ave summe pontifex,
Qui Dei servorum
Servus es et opifex
Operum piorum.

Interspersed among these metaphors are numerous petitions of a spiritual nature, all of which enhance the meaning and harmonize with the figurative expressions under which the hymn brings out the character of the Saint. For example, following the metaphor: exemplar et speculum Vitae illibatae, is the petition: Cordis mei vasculum, Reple castitate; while the all-embracing metaphors such as: caritatis facula and Decens norma morum, call for a more general petition, in: Ne me decet macula criminum meorum, Placa per oracula principem polorum; and from the single metaphor: Sancti Spiritus organum jucundum, proceeds naturally the petition: Rogo te medullitus ut me infecundum Deo reddas penitus a peccatis mundum. In the last part of st. 4, the author points out the virtues which are ascribed to Gregory, aiding the petitioner to reach the assembly of the just:

Non me mille-artifex
Fraudet, dux malorum
Sed ut sim virtutifex
In coetu justorum.

This devil, dux malorum, of a thousand tricks will be overcome by the Pope's virtues, without the aid of which there
will be a slight chance of victory. **Virtutifex** is a new and strange word coined by the author.

The last group of metaphorical terms in the fifth stanza is richly concrete in ascribing to Gregory the attribute of a "morning star" shining forever and shown to all the people at the vespers hour, which is the time when the lights of heaven begin to shine, lifting the thoughts to dwell on high with the angels:

Ave, fulgens saeculo
Stella matutina,
Omni datus populo
Hora vespertina,
Levans me de stabulo
Et culpae sentina
Caeli habitaculo
Angelis combina.

With this ethereal metaphor, symbolic of unearthly beauty, goes the lowly request seeking restoration from the "stable", the bodily abode of the soul. A sharp contrast is drawn by juxtaposing *culpae sentina* with *caeli habitaculo*.

P(7) calls upon Gregory as the tender benefactor of those in distress, the sick, the destitute, and the suffering. The Letters reveal why he was called: *Pastor miserorum*\(^90\), and why he was thought of as *mitis in flagellis*\(^91\), a metaphorical expression.

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\(^{90}\) Gregory, *Registrum*, Bk. 1, Eps. 36, 37, 46; Bk. 13, Ep. 23.

\(^{91}\) Ibid., Bk. 9, Ep. 1; Bk. 5, Ep. 15.
There are the same modes of greeting in P(9), each stanza beginning, respectively, with Ave, Salve, Gaude, Vale. The last stanza, however, introduces a new conception of stella matutina as the forerunner of happiness which is surrounded with an aura of light to the weary sick person who longs for the dawn after a long night of suffering. And, in this hymn composed in the 15th century, the title of stella matutina chronologically precedes the title in Our Lady's Litany which, as has been previously stated, gave her the title in 1578. Gregory cured sick bodies, aegrotorum medicina, as well as sick souls, and thus the petitioner is asking for guidance in the path of life, so that he may practice humility, charity and preservation from a life of sin.

The author of P(15) makes this hymn as means of rehearsing the miracles attributed to Gregory. It is panegyrical throughout with the word gaude prefacing every new thought introduced.

Beautiful and significant metaphors abound in P(26). The panegyrical motif intersperses the entire forty lines with such expressions as: Magne pater o Gregori; servus prudens et fidelis; lux justorum; fons virorum; o doctorum sidus clarum; cleri veri tu corona; vigil coeli citharista; thesaurus es scripturae.

P(34) is a long hymn of 12 eight-lined stanzas of
which 3 contain an overflow of direct panegyrical tributes:

Salve, flos ecclesiae,
Honor monachorum,
Doctor sapientiae,
Speculum pastorum,
Salus pestilentiae,
Gregorius sanctissimus,
Decus clericorum,
Salve, cuius merita
Norma morum
Auctor amicitiae,
Salus viatorum,
Salve, summus pontifex.

The remaining three stanzas continue the tributes to his achievements.

The last of the 'Pia Dictamina', P(35), takes leave of the panegyrical elements in this section. The first stanza addresses Gregory directly:

Salve, Gregori maxime,
Antistes Romanorum
Secundum nomen optime
Vigil catholicorum.

The remaining stanzas enumerate his good deeds one by one, though utterly devoid of any figurative or metaphorical language. The last three stanzas turn to intercessory prayer, seeking intercession against vice in the fifteenth stanza, a happy death in the sixteenth, and eternal joys in the seventeenth.

Another group of the hymns, the Sequences, represents the fully developed rhythmical Sequence which is the work of the French genius. As Raby remarks in quoting Dr. Frère, "all the great metrical Sequences of the twelfth and
thirteenth centuries are linked on to the French school, even if they do not actually spring from it." S(l) is full of the praises of Gregory in a rolling measure couched in poetical double rimes, alliteration, and other poetical devices. Each stanza introduces some phase of Gregory's life until st. 11a, in catchy alliterative verse alludes to his glory in heavy, and by a skillful punning arranged in climactical order, the author plays up the word *vigilo* which is the same as the Greek word: *égregore* (he is awake):

\begin{verbatim}
Vigilavit Gregorius,
Vigilavit attentius,
Vigilat in gloria.
\end{verbatim}

S(30) has a panegyrical element in the expression: *o pontificem beatum* in sts. 6b, 4b and 7b have some strong similes, beautiful in their content, and showing Gregory to be a provident father of his flock. The simile in 4b is soft, fragrant and connotative:

\begin{verbatim}
Cogebatur apparere
Ut flos inter lilia.
\end{verbatim}

This simile refers to Gregory's forced papal duties in which he was outstanding as a "flower among lilies". This is an unusual expression for these times as we usually speak of a

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92 The Sequence had its beginning and its finest efflorescence in France, but in Germany Notkerian tradition stifled it.

93 Attic reduplicated perfect (intransitive of the verb *égeiró* - awaken).
lily among flowers. It may denote red-blooded activity amidst passive inactivity.

Another simile:

Vigil iste sanctus fuit,
Qui ut nubes magna pluit
Et ut ros de caelo ruit,
Utilis fidelibus.

Both these similes introduced by ut compare Gregory's breaking through the crust of sin, with the rain and dew which fertilize and soften the soil, bringing forth hardy fruits.

A restrictive example of panegyric simile may also be found in S(23), sts. 9 and 11:

Qui fulsit mundo Cui pneuma
Ut novum sidus Ut columba
doctrinis, exemplis, virtutibus. In auriculum stillavit
documenta mystica.

R(22) opens with a resounding call on all to praise Gregory. It is a fitting opening to the panegyrical character of the hymn serving to summon all to celebrate the Saint's feast day:

Lauda, felix, mater et filia,
Lauda tuum, Roma Gregorium,
Laudet suum doctorem Anglia,
Laudet mundus patrem eximium.

There is here a striking use of alliterative l beside the easily recognized assonances. But the most striking example of alliteration is in the following lines in which the panegyrical motif appears again in st. 3 of the Responsory:

O fons fundens fructu, quo frueris.
With another panegyrical motif:

Vale, pastor, quo modo pasceris
Collatus in loco pascuae.

The simile from the third stanza of the second Responsory is meditative in that it portrays a great longing love for Christ such as Gregory had:

Sicut servus ad fontem sittiens
Aestuabat dissolvi cupiens.

The whole stanza is a metaphor in which Gregory is compared to a fountain overflowing with gifts of grace upon those who pray for his intercession. It, too, is a picture of one who, though sitting near a very refreshing fountain, is still burning with thirst, because he refuses to drink.

Finally, in seeking to get a well-rounded picture of the hymns, to whatever class they belong, Rand, a well-known author of medieval studies, has this to say:

To appreciate a Latin hymn, with all its flavor, we must take it not merely for itself, but as something larger. First of all, it is wedded to music, which makes its own appeal. Then it is caught up into the large atmosphere of some religious office. Finally, the service is celebrated in a church, which, however humble, put the altar in the place of reverence. As we listen to the Latin words, we hear the deep voice of the organ, and glance upward in imagination at the vaulting. This is the whole body of the hymn, which loses flesh and blood if you tear it away, if we merely read the hymns.94

CHAPTER II

BIOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS

1. Biographies of Gregory on which the Hymns Draw Various Traits

The seventh century being so lacking in literary fruitfulness\(^1\), passed away before there was any life of Gregory the Great written. Then Bede the Venerable, monk of Jarrow-on-Tyne, thought it necessary to dwell more at length on the life of Gregory\(^2\) in his *Ecclesiastical History* of the English, which was finished about 731. He gave as his reason that Gregory was the apostle of his nation, and "whereas he bore the pontifical power over all the world\(^3\), he would speak of him at some length.

Then, another life\(^4\) of Gregory appeared about fifty years later from the pen of Paul the Deacon\(^5\), in the pages

\(^1\) F. Artz, *The Mind of the Middle Ages*, p. 192-193.
\(^2\) Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. 2, Ch. 1, p. 62.
\(^3\) Ibid.
\(^5\) Paul Warnefrid, a Lombard by birth and descent, well-fitted by his learning and accuracy to be the historian of his people.
of a work entitled *Historia Langobardum*. He testified that he had, years before, written another short life of the great Pope, which is found in Migne's appendix.6

In the reign of John VIII, (872-882), it was indicated to the Pope that biographies had been produced by Saxons and Lombards, but no Roman had ever yet produced the life of this great Saint. Then the Pope requested Johannes Diaconus to write a life of Gregory, and to search the Papal archives to find the necessary material. About 872, Johannes Diaconus published the life in four books, as can be seen, mostly drawn from the Pope's Letters. This life, too, is contained in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*.7

Another life, generally considered biased because its contents reveal that it was written more from love than from knowledge, is what is known as the Whitby Life. Discovered in a codex in the monastery of St. Gall, its author was apparently a monk of Whitby. According to scholars, it appeared very early in the eighth century,

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7 Ibid., p. 60-242.
if not in the late seventh, and was, therefore, written before the Ecclesiastical History, containing Bede's life of Gregory. This Whitby Life was edited for the first time by Cardinal Francis Gasquet in 1904.

The Acta Sanctorum is one of the most important modern sources for Gregory's life. Thus, there is no lack of material from which to gather biographical detail of a man who was conscious of the needs of his day. All biographical details in the hymns are echoes from the principal Lives current at time of composing; those, of course, drew upon earlier Lives which we possess.

Taking the events of his life in chronological order from his birth to his death, we find the hymns emphasizing material obtained from the Lives, with more or less stress on particular events. There are a few, HNL(p), H(12), H(18), H(25), H(29), H(31) and H(33) which have hardly any biographical elements.

One hymn, however, should be mentioned because it presents such a well-balanced picture with perfect symmetry in allowing just enough lines to make a complete recital of Gregory's important deeds: that is H(21). It is, perhaps, the best balanced picture of all. It has the traditional

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introduction of announcing the feast day of the illustrious pontiff, in which there is an interesting expression, *urbis quadrus*\textsuperscript{10}, then each stanza thereafter, contains one biographical element, that is, they draw a parallel to Gregory's biography. With seven stanzas for an introduction, the other twenty in rapid and concise expression, run the whole gamut of Gregory's life. It is worthy of remark, too, that it is the only hymn to use the word *tyrannus* with the original meaning of the Greeks, though there are other quotations showing the use of it in other works. At first it meant not only a wicked and dishonest king but also any king spoken of. "Tyrrani Graeci dicuntur, idem Latine et Reges; nam apud veteres inter Regem et Tyrannum nulla discretio erat."\textsuperscript{11} And Virgilius in the Aeneid says:

\begin{quote}
Fars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse
Tyrranni.\textsuperscript{12}
\end{quote}

Later Labinell in the *History of Britain* uses it thus:

"Regnantibus Karolo, Lothario, Hludovico et Nominae

\textsuperscript{10} Boak, *A History of Rome to 565 A. D.*, New York, MacMillan, 1938, p. 35, says: "It is the Rome of the Four Regions, Roma Quadrata - the Palatina, Esquilina, Collina, and Suscusana, (later Suburana) - which included the Quirinal, Viminal, Esquiline, Caelian and Palatine hills, as well as the intervening low ground.

\textsuperscript{11} Isidorus, *Origines*, Cap. 3, sect. 19.

\textsuperscript{12} Virgil, *Aeneid*, lib. 7.
possidente Brittaniam, Susanno episcopo, Urbilo Tiranno."

The foregoing is but a glimpse of the great riches revealed in the rewarding contents of the hymns. Gratitude is primarily due to those Biographers who opened up, first one door, and then another, to the treasure-house of the momentous events of one of the greatest Founders of the Middle Ages.

2. Summary of Biographical Elements.

"Most of the Characteristics of the saints come from legends", says Delehaye. He says these legends are created by the people, by scientists, archeologists, etc., and that a liberal, not symbolical, meaning must be given to such things as the crow of St. Anthony, the lion of St. Jerome, and to the two eyes of St. Lucy being placed on a platter. But, more to our purpose in his statement that genius has never been exceeded in its expression of the marvellous role of the legend and of the cult of the Saints in Christian piety. For the legend is an envelope hiding a treasure of very high veritatis. H. Günther has verified this statement.

13 Labinellus, Hist. of Britain, Tom. 2, Col. 23.


Since there is an evident kinship between the legendary biography and the contemporary biography, these biographical elements are always described as biographical-legendary principles because medieval saints' lives are usually referred to as legends. This expression, then, is not to be regarded as a judgment on their historical value.

At the very start of any internal character analysis, the great variety of references to a person carries the research worker back to the very beginning of biographical detail, namely the conception and birth. There is only one mention of a prenatal miracle which is the spiritual keynote to Gregory's ecclesiastical destination. This occurs in st. 1 of the first Nocturne of R(22):

Gregorius alvo dum cluditur
Beatae Silvae,
Benedicti voce praedicitur
Lumen ecclesiae.

It is related that Sylvia distinctly heard a voice while Gregory was yet unborn, proclaiming him blessed, and declaring him to be a future "light" of the Church. The Lives have no reference to this event, however.

In mentioning his paternal origin, two hymns refer to his father, Gordianus. H(24), st. 2, in a simple sentence states: Qui satus Romae patre Gordiano; and st. 2b of S(30), in just as short an expression says: Cuius pater Gordianus.
Paulus Diaconus, in his *Vita*, mentions both parents in the sentence: "Gregorius hac urbe Romana, patre Gordiano, matre vero Silvia editus." And Johannes Diaconus says likewise: "Gregorius genere Romanus, arte Philosophus Gordiani, viri clarrissimi, et beatæ Silviae filius." The *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Chronicle* also mention it, stating that Gregory's father was called Gordian and his mother Sylvia.

Of Gregory's mother, Sylvia, Johannes Diaconus relates that she was a woman of great piety and entered a convent after the death of Gordianus.

Three of the hymns make mention of Sylvia. H(24), st. 2, stresses her modesty: *Silvia matre gentibus pudica...*

St. 2b of S(30) dwells on her spirituality which was worthy of Gregory's accomplishments:

Vivens Silvia caelestis  
Mater huius, digna gestis,

---

And then the revelation of the prenatal miracle in st. 1 of the first Nocturne in R(22), as already quoted.

One author says: "We gather from the 'Lives' that Gordian was wealthy, the owner of large estates in Sicily, ... and that he was a personage of sufficient eminence to attract the attention of history. That Gregory was of noble origin is a fact widely attested; and that he was sprung from senatorial rank all authorities agree.

The reference in st. 2 of R(22) states the nobility of all his ancestors: Romae proles patrum illustrium.

St. 2 of H(24) stresses his descent from a noble great-grandfather:

Traxit et famam genere ex avito Nobilitatis.

The same stanza of H(32) speaks of the luster of wisdom which he inherited from his ancestors:


Germine praeceluis et sophia
Nobilior nixuit studii,

His double heritage is mentioned in S(1), st. 3b:
Vigebat in Gregorio
Duplex decus, religio,
Generis prosapia,

And again in S(30), st. 2b, is stressed the intellectual standing of both his father and great-grandfather:
Rhetor magnus et urbanus
Cuius pater Gordianus,
Felix, pontifex Romanus,
Atavus resplenduit.

P(9), st. 2 and R(17b), st. 1 of the first Nocturne, both stress his springing from senators:
Ortus stirpe senatorum

And again:
Gregorius ortus Rome
E senatoribus sanguine

The etymology of the name "Gregory" which was given to him at the baptismal font, has a significant meaning which Paulus Diaconus has treated in his "Life" with special emphasis. He states:

... Gregorius namque ex Graeco eloquio in nostra lingua vigilator, seu vigilans sonat. Re etenim in vera vigilavit sibi, dum divinis inhaerendo praecipit, laudabiliter vixit. Vigilavit et fidelibus populis, dum doctrinae
And Johannes Diaconus says regarding this name:
"Adeo ut praesagio quodam Graece quod Latine vigilantius resonat, vocaretur."

There are only two allusions to the name in the hymns, but both are significant.

St. 1 of R(22) joins the significance of the name with the work of ruling vigilantly in this manner:

Commissum gregem regere
Dum studet vigilantius,
Fecundat nomen opere
Vigil praesul Gregorius.

And with equal fervor st. 1 of P(35) states:

Salve, Gregori maxime,
Antistes Romanorum
Secundum nomen optime
Vigil catholicorum.

Of Gregory's early education there is no lack of evidence as to the interest he took in the liberal studies even at a tender age. Paulus Diaconus states:

[...] Disciplinis vero liberalibus, hoc est grammatica, rhetorica, dilecta, ita e pueru est institutus, ut quamvis eo tempore florerent adhuc Romae studia litterarum, tamen nulli in urbe ipsa secundus esse putaretur. Inerat ei in parva adhuc aetate maturum jam studium; adhaerere scilicet majorum dictis; et si quid dignum potuisset auditu


percipere, non segniter oblivioni tradere, sed
tenaci potius memoriae commendare. 25

And Johannes Diaconus, too, has an equally pointed
statement 26 referring to the early education of Gregory,
while Gregory of Tours has a quotation 27 similar to Paulus'
which serves to support the point at issue.

Johannes' statement has a more direct bearing on
the choice of Gregory's learning:

[... ] Denique docilis adolescens, cum, trans-
misso communiter stylo surgentis infantiae, ad
bivium Pythagoricae litterae pervenisset, incanc-
tanter sinistrum ramum cum saeculi voluptate
relinquere, et ad dextrum coepit cum coelesti
desiderio totis viribus anhelare. [...]

But the hymns, while alluding to his secular learning
as a biographical detail, are careful to point out his
tenderness, his sympathy, his innate bent toward asceticism,
his self-sacrificing, self-effacing disposition, virtues
uppermost in the minds of the Christian hymnologists.

Five Breviary Hymns have reference to the combination
in him of religious fervor and studious application. Note
the mellifluous expressions in st. 3 of H(24):

27 Gregorius Turonensis, Historia Francorum, Bk. 10,
Artibus puris teneris sub annis
Impiger sensus aluit tenellos
Atque gustavit studio frequenti
Dogmata Christi.

And in st. 2 of H(32), though less tender in expression, there is the same idea expressed:

Germine praeculis et sophia
Nobilior nituit studiis,
Sedes apostolicae regimen
Dogmate mellifluo moderans.

In st. 3 of H(33), there is a fuller description of this biographical detail and a more specific reference:

Aetate mox a primula
Tu iam petenti sidera
Primitias charismatum
Dans gaudii per oleum
Selegeras theologiae
Hunc pius oeconomiae,
Perficiens ornatius
Totis virum virtutibus.

In addition to this there is another reference in st. 2, of H(38), which is less effusive:

Qui in adolescentia
Praecepta Dei tenuit
Stipenque largam jugiter
Erogavit pauperibus.

And there is a final motif of this type in st. 2 of H(11):

Tunc magis altum moribus
Doctrinaque egregium
A pubertatis tempore
Almum gerebat spiritum.

All these hymns mentioned stress the religious tendencies of the boy, Gregory, his inclinations in his
early life toward education, but there are four Sequences from which lines are drawn to show how special stress was laid on his secular learning also. The first of these, st. 2b, of S(1), states:

Gregorius prae ceteris Aetatis suae pueris Literarum studia.

There is an additional allusion to his learning in st. 6a of the same Sequence:

Olim scholis eruditus,

And in stanza 2a of S(30), his study of Christian doctrine is stressed:

In doctrina christiana Vigilanter studuit.

Also in the same Sequence, st. 5a:

Eruditus in virtute A primaeva iuventute.

Further these motifs are emphasized in S(39), st. 2a:

Hic genere spectabilis In omni fuit docilis Literarum peritia;

And in S(41), st. 2, in addition to the stress he placed on the study of morals, there is a special recognition of his eagerness to excel in the liberal arts:

Ornatus moralibus Prius liberalibus Studiis refloruit,
Besides the references stated, there are two more in the Offices. St. 2 of R(17) has this great respect for his higher education:

\[ \text{Studis liberalibus} \\
\text{Nulli secundus habitus} \]

The last line "second to none" is a very strong expression of the regard in which he was held in the educational world.

In a similarly strong expression, st. 2 of R(22), after the second Nocturne, states:

\[ \text{Clarus erat doctrinis artium,} \\
\text{Pollens honoribus.} \]

As a young rich man distributing his wealth to the poor and needy, it is not difficult to understand that there were two special recommendations of our Lord which Gregory obeyed to the highest degree. One was: "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast, and give it to the poor, and thou shalt have treasures in heaven; and come, follow me." The other was: "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily and follow Me." These injunctions were faithfully performed.

29 Matt., Ch. 19, Vs. 21.
30 Luke, Ch. 9, Vs. 23.
and the hymns give a wide variety of examples of his generosity, which testify to his reputation for renunciation of this world's goods, a reputation which Gregory kept through the ages.

But, before proceeding any further, it is necessary to keep in mind the power and position Gregory held as a young man. He was the chief local official, the Praetor Urbanus. This office was intended to assist the exarch who, in the sixth century, was appointed by Justinian. Living at Ravenna, the exarch exercised supreme military command and to him the civil administration was subordinate. Gregory was appointed to his great office of Praetor in 573. He carried heavy responsibilities and managed all the important affairs of the city. A consequential office at first, it lost much of its magnificence during the years following. Nevertheless, at the time when Gregory held office, the Urban Prefect was still of some note. The civil administration rested within his hands, and he exercised almost entire jurisdiction over the citizens. The Prefect acted

32 That Gregory was Urbanus Praetor in 573 is shown in Migne, Vol. 77, Bk. 4, Ep. 2, p. 669, where he states that in his term of Office he signed a decree, the "cautio", given by Laurentius when he became Bishop of Milan (573). The "cautio" was a statement condemning the heresy of the Three Chapters.

with the Pope in buying and distributing grain, and he cooperated with the Magister Militum in taking measures for the defense of the city. All in all it was a dignified and influential office, legitimate ground for pride in those who were capable of holding it. Cassiodorus\textsuperscript{34} has given us an idea of how illustrious was the Prefect of the City of Rome.

In the hymns there is only one reference to his holding this office, and there is a reason for this, since his mighty and magnificent deeds as Pope overshadowed this less important office. However, this quotation is st. 2, after the second Nocturne of R(17), is worth quoting:

\begin{verbatim}
Studiis liberalibus
Nulli secundus habitus
Praetor Urbanus exstitit
Adolescens spectabilis.
\end{verbatim}

During the years of Gregory's prefecture, swarms of Lombards beset the city, creating a panic which was all the more increased by the death of Pope John III in the midst of their plundering Monte Cassino. And when the barbarians proceeded to blockade Rome, a kind of paralysis seemed to have seized the Roman clergy and people of Rome. The blockade continued year after year, and the dominant feeling

in Rome was the fear of the Lombards. Perhaps it was this strain that gave Gregory a distaste for a public office or for any political career. He found it too distracting and therefore determined to abandon everything and become a monk. This was not an emotional decision, for, Gregory, by nature, had a thoughtful disposition. He had for some time been experiencing a strong impulse to follow a stricter life.\(^\text{35}\) He believed that the knowledge of eternity, and the means of growing in the grace of God by abstinence and prayer could be realized only in the contemplative life. Though he delayed to carry out this inspiration, he finally felt that the sublime call could be deferred no longer.

In the hymns there are many references to Gregory's becoming a monk and the great love for poverty which seized him. Following are the quotations of this biographical detail with special emphasis on the poverty motif:

St. 4a of S(30) gives an over-all picture of Gregory's choice:

Monasteria construxit
Ac prudentia adfluxit,
Monachalem vitam duxit
Derelinquens omnia.

St. 1, after the first Nocturne in R(17), simply states:

There is a general reference to his spirit of poverty as a monk and his spirit of renunciation of this world's goods.

In st. 3 of R(22), after the first Nocturne, this motif is emphasized in these words:

Mundo florens Christo refloruit
Afflatus gratia,
Mundum spernit, opes distribuit,
Fundat coenobia.

There are also two allusions to the same motif in R(17b), st. 2, after the second Nocturne:

His sane monasteriis
Praediis large tributis,
Reliqua tandem vendidit
Et egenis distribuit.

Three of the Liturgical Hymns have further reference to the same motif. St. 2 of H(13), expresses his desire for the poverty of Christ in a very strong and ardent statement:

Qui auro, gemmis, sericis indumentis
Se nudans Christi fit pauper et monachi
Vilia quaerit, monasteria condit,

And, in a general way, st. 2 of H(2), says the same of Gregory:

Tu largas opum copias
Omnemque mundi gloriam
Spernis, ut inops inopem
Jesum sequaris principem.
St. 2 of H(36), also brings out the transitoriness of this world's goods:

Quibus hac vita demonstrasti pabula
Vitae aeternae permansura lumine,
Docens terena fore transtoria,
Nil in hac vita carnis prosit gloria.

Two Sequences also handle this motif. St. 3a of S(1) has:

Amavit et postposuit,
Quibus noceri potuit
Mundi lenocinia.

St. 12 of S(23), has about the same very simply expressed in these words:

Mundum contempsit
et abjicit;

And in st. 13:

Pompas et opes
Christo dedit.

Besides these references to his love for poverty, there is a picturesque reference to what Gregory gave up of this world's attire for the substitution of the monk's garb. St. 1 of R(22), after the first Nocturne, states it this way:

Radiantes gemmarum ambitu
Praetextas abjicit,
Monachali pauper in habitu
Christo se subjicit.

St. 3 of R(17b) deals especially with the change of dress which accompanied his change of position:
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Qui solembat in sericis
Incedere in divinis,
Post in abjectis vestibus
Servit pauper pauperibus.

Another reference to his abandoning the purple for
the monk's habit is related in H(27), st. 4:

Qui ante consueverat
Rostra vestire ac gemmas,
Post vili tectus stragulo
Ministrabat pauperibus.

In these hymns there is equal stress placed upon his
becoming poor for Christ's sake and his donning the garb of
a monk. However, the two Offices have more of a detailed
account, the probable reason for which one can readily under-
stand, since Gregory became a monk, and monks sing the
Office.

Further, there are many sources to give evidence
that two years after Gregory laid down his office of prefect,
he founded six Benedictine Monasteries in Sicily and con-
verted his ancestral palace on the Coelian Hill at Rome into
a monastery dedicated to St. Andrew, in which he himself
became a monk. Paulus Diaconus tends to be crisp and to
the point when he writes:

Sex denique in Sicilia monasteria construens,
fratres illic Christo servituros aggregavit:
septimum vero infra urbis hujus muros instituit, in

36 Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. I, Ch. 5, 6, 7, p. 65. The Whitby Life, ed. by F. A. Gasquet, p. 8. -
In the hymns there are three general references to the fact that he built monasteries, followed by six more specific types. St. 3, after the third Nocturne of R(22), simply alludes to this motif:

\[
\text{Mundum spernit, opes distribuit, Fundat coenobia.}
\]

An equally crisp statement is found in st. 4a of S(30):

\[
\text{Monasteria construxit}
\]

And also in st. 4b of S(1):

\[
\text{Hic defunctis parentibus Magnis ditatus opibus Struxit monasteria,}
\]

The more specific and detailed references are found, first of all, in st. 1, after the first Nocturne of R(17):

\[
\text{Sex struit in Sicilia Vir clarus monasteria Et infra urbe septimum In quo se fecit monachum.}
\]

And in one 'Pia Dictamina' P(35), st. 2:

\[
\text{Sex struui in Sicilia Et septimum in urbe Accepta monasteria}
\]

---

Two Sequences deal with this motif. St. 4 of S(39) states:

Sex struuit in Sicilia
Vir pius monasteria
Septimum in urbe Roma.

And the other in st. 14 of S(23):

Septeno
Instructas
flamine condidet
septena coenobia
Angelus
hunc petit ut naufragus.

There is also a longer reference to this in st. 4 of H(24):

Struxit ad Christi venerationem
Claustra sex fratrum Siculis in arvis,
Septimum sumptu proprio latina
Struxit in urbe.

Finally, st. 2 of H(13) has this motif as follows:

Vilia quaerit, monasteria condit,
Septem praediis large ditans propriis.

The hymns have many references to Gregory's character as a monk, an abbot, and throughout they refer to a special kind of charity to the neighbor for the love of Christ.

St. 1 after the Responsory in R(22) compares him to a second Lot for his hospitality:

Replet terras profusa largitas,
Nec fit exsors superna civitas,
Ut secundi Loth hospitalitas
Sic hospis placuit.
Felix mensa, dum multis patuit,
Coeli civem convivam habuit.

The last line of this reference brings out the fact that his table was ever open to strangers and poor guests, and
that at one time his guest was a heavenly messenger.\textsuperscript{38} St. 3 of H(13) emphasizes Gregory's generosity to the poor:

\begin{quote}
Celebs monachus fit abbas largifluus,  
Strenuus rector pauperumque dilector;  
\end{quote}

St. 2 of H(27) states the fact simply:

\begin{quote}
Contempsit cuncta caduca  
caritatis officio.  
\end{quote}

In a similar way, st. 3 of H(32) proclaims his love for the poor:

\begin{quote}
Mente superna petens crucifer  
Pauperibus sua cuncta dedit,  
\end{quote}

There is also an extended reference to this same motif in st. 2 of H(38):

\begin{quote}
Qui in adolescentia  
Præcepta Dei tenuit  
Stipemque largam jugiter  
Erogavit pauperibus.  
\end{quote}

Two Sequences have figurative expressions of his charitable-ness. St. 9a of S(30) by using negation tends to emphasize his generosity more:

\begin{quote}
Aes in zonis non compegit  
Sed pauperibus redegit  
\end{quote}

Also in st. 5b of S(39), after revealing Gregory's poverty, the author goes even deeper into his affection for the poor.

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}
by showing how nothing stands in the way of satisfying their needs:

Angelo scyphum tradidit
Argenteum ... 

R(17), st. 2, dwells on his services to the needy:

Reliqua tandem vendidit
Et egenis distribuit. 

The last motif of this type, more elaborate in expression, is found in st. 4 of P(4):

Tu in usus pauperum
Hoc distribuisti,
Ut amorem integrum
Possideres Christi.

The "Legend of the Ship-wrecked Sailor" must certainly have been on everybody's lips, judging by the popularity it enjoyed in the Middle Ages. In the hymns this motif is more fully expressed than most of the others, and is found in all types - Offices, Sequences, Breviary, Hymns, and 'Pia Dictamina'.

In st. 3 after the second Nocturne of R(22), there is a short allusion to it:

In figura naufragi suscipit
Coelestem nuntium.

And again in st. 4 of R(17) ad Laudes:

Bis senos nummos angelo
Hic dedit quasi naufrago,
Hinc scutellam argenteam,
Quam sibi vidit reliquam.
St. 3 of H(2) carries it at some length:

Videtur egens naufragus,
Dum stipem petit, angelus,
Tu nummulam post geminam
Praebes et vas argenteum.

As also does st. 3 of H(13):

Dat ut naufrago argenteam angelo
Scutellam marcis ceteris erogatis.

The 'Pia Dictamina' by their very nature are more effusive, and therefore the references to this motif are more detailed. Especially in P(25), sts. 4 and 5, where the two relate this story, st. 4 handling the circumstances of the legend:

Argenteam parapsidem
Egeno erogabas,
Ad mensam venit itidem
Post pauper et notabas.

And st. 5 expresses the conclusion:

Quod vultum mutat crebrius
Sed refert adjuratus,
Quod angelus sit proprius
A Deo tibi datus.

Many disasters, floods, famine, disease, overtook Rome in the very year when Pelagius II died, 590. Because of Gregory's deep and varied experience, his profound
spirituality, and above all, his capabilities in shouldering the responsibilities of others, he was the foremost candidate for the papacy in the minds of all. There are many angles of discussion concerning his election to the papacy, all of which stem from his dislike of giving up the contemplative life for the active. Justinian had established the right of sanctioning papal elections, so, after Gregory's election as successor to Pelagius, the usual procedure was followed, and he awaited Emperor Maurice's approbation. Rumor has it that Gregory tried to encourage the Emperor to disapprove of the election, and another rumor was that Gregory escaped, only to have his hiding place revealed, and consequent pressure for his

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40 Since Justinian's time, the Emperors claimed the right of ratifying elections to all the most important sees in their dominions, and the claim was conceded by the Church. Constantine IV, in 685, transferred his right of ratifying the papal elections to the exarchs. The Third Lateran Council (1179) decreed that the election of a pope should be made by a two-thirds'vote of the cardinals, and by them alone, and Gregory X at the Second Ecumenical Council of Lyons (1274), regulated the proceedings in papal elections, but the Emperors continued their interference and interpreted the Justinian Law as one of papal subservience. Cf. Jerome Bignon, Traité de l’Election du Pape, Nogent-Le-Retrou, Paris, 1874, (Réimpression faite d’après l’édition de 1865), p. 84-87.

return. He finally accepted the Office, and though he
lamented over his new dignity, still, he did greater work
than ten contemporary ecclesiastics were able to do
together.

Though the "Column of Light" which shone over the
cave in which Gregory was hiding from the papal election,
constitutes one of the details treated in the hymns, in
some cases it is handled separately and is worthy of quo­
tation. St. 1 after the First Responsory in R(22) states:

Cum aeternus pastor Gregorium
Praevidisset ad curam ovium
Signo lucis in lucem gentium
Latens est proditus;

And in the other Office, R(17), st. 3, after the third
Versicle, there is an even more vivid description of the
"Column of Light":

Dum oraret in obscurity
Servus Dei latibulo,
Lux immensa super eum
Resplenduit post triduum,
Hoc signo cunctis proditus
Papa urbi efficitur.

Then there is a short three-lined stanza, in S(41), st. 2b:

Dignus pontificio
Fugitius radio
Coeli lucis patuit.

Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 13, p. 47. - Johannes
S(30), st. 6b, also reminds of the miracle:

O Pontificem beatum,
Per columnam demonstratum
Et a naufrago probatum
Dignum mirabiliter!

St. 9 of P(35) continues on the same note:

Deo vacare inhians
Latere conabaris,
Columna lucis radians
Te prodit, revocaris.

The papal elections motif is rather evenly distributed throughout the hymns, all types being represented in this respect. St. 4 of H(2) makes a mere mention of the occurrence:

Sic Petri gradum percipis,
Cuius et normam sequeris.

So also does S(23), st. 16:

Post haec assumitur
Christoque monstrante
Papa constituitur.

S(1), st. 5b states the happiness of the Church on receiving him as pope:

Unde invitus rapitur,
Praesul orbi praeficitur,
Applaudit ecclesia.

And st. 1 of P(15) also calls for rejoicing on the election of Gregory to this high office:

Gaude te esse vocatum
Gregori, ad praesulatum
Urbis Romae caelice,
The two Offices play up Gregory's name with its meaning "vigilo" and by this means make a significant reference to his achievements as pope. St. 1 of R(22) (Ad Laudes), states:

Commissum gregem regere
Dum studet vigilantius,
Facundat nomen opere
Vigil praesul Gregorius.

And st. 1 of the first Nocturne in R(17) in a similar manner states:

Gregorius, ut creditur,
Divinitus sic dicitur,
Qui sibi et ecclesiae
Vigilavit catholicae.

And in st. 1, after the Responsoria, states in a few words:

Sed victus prece populi
suscepit jugum Domini.

The whole story of his election is included in sts. 6a, 6b, 7a, and 7b, of S(39):

His et multis virtutibus
Insignitus ab omnibus
In papam fuit electus

Quem apicem recusavit
Et, ut ipse procuravit,
Extra urbor est devectus.

Sed per triduum quaesitus
Fulgore misso coelitus
Repertus est et reductus.

Qui plurimum reluctant
In sedem est sublimatus,
Hoc signo tandem inductus.
While Gregory was awaiting the Emperor Maurice's approval of his election to the papacy, the great pestilence called *lues inguinaria*, which had off and on been devastating Europe for fifty years, now broke out in all its fury in Italy. It appears to have originated in Egypt, passed through the East and so entered Europe. It was remarkable for the rapidity of its working, the great mortality which it produced, and the inability of the doctors to subdue it. Its main characteristics had already been known from the classical descriptions of the Greek Historian, Thucydides⁴³, the Greek-born Procopius⁴⁴; and were to be described by the Latin Boccaccio⁴⁵, from the works of whom we learn that it appears to have combined features of several modern diseases in one, having symptoms in common with typhoid fever and the more malignant forms of measles and small-pox. Gregory made use of the occasion to remind the people to keep the judgments of God before their minds. Paulus Diaconus tells us that Gregory spoke words which tended to raise their hearts to God:

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⁴⁴ Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 8 Bks. 8th devoted to an account of domestic troubles, especially the plague.

He therefore invited them to form a procession to St. Mary Major's. On the appointed day, while the people in their seven great companies walked in the basilica chanting the Kyrie Eleison, so fiercely did the plague rage, that even during the procession, no less than eighty men fell dead.⁴⁷ This penitential devotion of the Sevenfold Litany, Litaniae Majores, became annual, as one⁴⁸ of Gregory's Letters tells that it was still being repeated in 603 shortly before his death.

At length the plague ceased, and a letter came from


⁴⁷ Gregorius Turonensis, Op. Cit., Bk. 10, Ch. 1, p. 527, in Migne, P. L., Vol. 71, says he gathered all the particulars from one of the deacons of his church who was at Rome at the time. He says: "Noster diaconus ab urbe Roma cum sanctorum pignoribus veniens, sic detulit, (...).


the Emperor in which he expressed his pleasure that his friend had been raised to the honor of the Papacy, and giving the required consent for his consecration.

There are numerous references to the plague motif in the Gregory hymns. St. 2 of R(17), after the second Responsory has a simple recital of the event:

Orante beatissimo
Ad Dominum Gregorio
Sanata est plebs Romana
A peste inguinaria.

There are four similar references to this motif in the Sequences. St. 7b of S(1) states:

Praesulis sacri precibus,
Monitus salutaribus
Peste inguinaria.

And in st. 17 of S(23):

Mox inguinaria
Pestem restringit
Plebemque suam sanavit.

Also in st. 5a of S(39):

Hic ad preces invitavit
Populum, quem sic sanavit
A peste inguinaria.

And finally, in st. 4b of S(41):

Pestis inguinaria
Cessat per suffragia
Tam sancti pontificis.

_Pestis Inguinaria_ is so often mentioned that I have made every effort to determine the exact symptoms and other facts concerning this disease. Gregory of Tours describes it as
a malignant disease which caused little blisters to break out in the groin and visited death upon the people. He also speaks of its intensity at one time in Narbonenses and said there was not a spot in the city where man had not been stricken. The T.L.L. says that it pertained to a tumor in grain or herba; the word inguinarius, -a,-um, being derived from inguen, an herb; as such Pliny uses it in his Natural History very frequently.

The New English Dictionary calls it a spreading disease resembling syphilis. Also a contagious disease among cattle which came from the plant. Hence Inguen. Inguinalis, e, or inguinarius, -a,-um is also called Aster Atticus bubonium, an herb like a star.

There are two references to the Litanies. These are short, direct, and to the point. St. 8 in P(35) states:

Cum litanis instruis
Cleri processionem

And in another 'Pia Dictamina', P(4), line 12, there is a very short reference:

Litaniam statuisti

49 Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks, Liber 6, Ch. 14, p. 387.
50 Thesaurus Latinae Linguae, Vol. 9, p. 365.
51 I.J.G. Schelleri, Lexicon Totius Latinitatis, p. 7k3
If Gregory's poverty was great as a monk, his charity for the poor was even greater later as a pope. Sex, age or profession made no difference with Gregory in distributing his provisions for the welfare of the people. Johannes Diaconus tells us about the large paper volume which was compiled in Gregory's time, containing the family names, their ages, and the payments which were distributed to all. This list exists even today in the Lateran Palace, and on it can be found the record of assistance to the three thousand virgins for whose moral and material welfare he was as concerned as for monasteries of men. His further solicitude for them is revealed in a letter to Theoctista, the Emperor's sister. He tells her that the nuns number three thousand, and receive, each year, eighty pounds of gold from the patrimony of St. Peter. Other sources testify to this generous deed. Two Sequences and one Office hymn refer to the fact in a very definite manner. St. 24, of S(23), says:

Virginit
Romae sacrarum
pavit tria milia.

53 Gregory, Register, Bk. 7, Ep. 12, p. 865.
54 Ibid., B.1, Ep. 26, p. 881.
And st. 4b of S(39) states:

Virginum tria milia
Pavit multaque alia,
Hinc redolens ut aroma.

St. 5 of R(17b) in the hymn (ad Laudes) also mentions this motif:

Virginum tria milia
Romae pavit sub regula
Exceptis Dei famulis
Longe vel prope positis.

During his pontificate Rome was thronged to overflowing with refugees\textsuperscript{56}, and the task of providing for the famine stricken fell to him entirely. There were deaconaries\textsuperscript{57} in all the districts in Rome. Gregory's Letters give a good idea of how they were conducted, and frequently mention the administrators\textsuperscript{58}. The poor, the destitute and the aged, received food and accommodation, and if they had need of shelter they were received into the xendochia\textsuperscript{59}, lodging houses for strangers. Johannes Diaconus again describes the high estimation commonly entertained of

\textsuperscript{56} Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 16, p. 49.

\textsuperscript{57} Gregory's Register, Bk. 5, Ep. 28, p. 754; Bk.10, Ep. 8, p. 1071.


Gregory's great character when he tells a story of a man who gave up all his possessions, and thought he lived in voluntary poverty, but still retained a cat which he stroked constantly and often caressed in his bosom. God revealed to him that Gregory's abandonment was greater than his own, even though Gregory apparently lived in riches, by virtue of his office.  

Even though Gregory looked upon the papacy as a burden which would take him farther afield from the spiritual goal which he had planned to reach by the path of quiet and seclusion, he, nevertheless, was not content to sit down and groan under the burden, but he carried it so well that he will always be remembered as a born missionary, organizer and reformer.

Some fifty years after the Saxons controlled England, Gregory first took an interest in the Angles when he saw them in the Slave Market of the Forum with their blue eyes and golden hair. Since their conversion is one of the most famous occurrences under Gregory's reign as Supreme Pontiff, it is naturally treated as a part of his important biography and is found in many sources.  

60 Ibid., Ch. 60, p. 125.
61 F. A. Gasquet, Op. Cit., Ch. 6, p. 7. - Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 21, p. 51. - Johannes Diaconus,
should not come as a surprise, therefore, that the hymns have so many references to this motif, there being in all twelve allusions to this event: six in the Breviary Hymns, two in the Sequences, two in the 'Pia Dictamina', one in the Offices, and, in addition, a more detailed account in one other Breviary Hymn and in the Office, R(17).

In st. 1 of H(2), there is a simple reference:

Anglorum jam apostolus

In H(11), st. 6, a similar short allusion, states:

Anglos convertit ad fidel
ddens plebem ecclesiae.

St. 4, of H(18), enlarges a little upon the incident with some of the background scene included:

Terrenos vultus Anglicos
Romae videns ut angelos,
Motus misericordia
Fideles facis Anglia.

Again in st. 3 of H(21), there is a four-lined reference:

Gentem convertit Anglicam
Colentem idolatriam,
Missis praedicatoribus
adscribens Christi ovibus.

St. 10 of H(32) is a tribute to the grace which Gregory
drew down upon the Angles:

Brittanicos populos Domino
Ut precibus potuisti dare,
Sic tua gratia nos provehat
Ad solium patris altithroni.

And also in st. 4 of H(43):

Anglorum quoque populis
Hic adfuit (incredulis)
Quos licto cultu daemonum
Convertit ad altissimum.

St. 19 of S(23) rejoices in the fact that Gregory
brought another nation to Christ:

Anglorum
gentem convertit ad Christum
totumque
praedicans illustrat mundum.

And a similar reference in st. 1b, S(30):

Et apostolus Anglorum
Qui prius inglorii.

Of the two 'Pia Dictamina' carrying references to
this motif, one is of the fifteenth century, and the other
is of the sixteenth century. This historical fact was alive
in the early as well as in the late periods of the Middle
Ages. P(5), st. 2, simply gives him the title which was
his greatest claim to missionary achievement:

O doctor Anglorum,
St. 10 of P(35) is a more extended tribute to the great missionary:

Tu Anglicanis gentibus  
Doctores transmisisti,  
Quas meritis precibus  
Ad fidem convertisti.

A more detailed account appears in st. 2 of R(17):

Videns Romae vir beatus  
Anglorum forte pueros:  
Bene, inquit, bene Angli,  
Vultu nitent ut angeli  
Oportet illis monstrari  
Iter salutis aeternae.

And the final reference to this very popular motif appears in st. 5 of H(27):

Fecit namque convertere  
Agellem62, Anglorum principem,  
Ejusque cunctum populum  
Ad Christum regem omnium.

There are two general references to the reforms effected by Gregory as pope. St. 1 of H(33) states:

Dans gaudii per oleum  
Selegeras theologiae  
Hunc pius oeconomae,

62 Since principem has as its meaning, the first founder of the Angles, this name, Agellem, has reference, in all probability, to King Aelle, who was the first to hold sovereignty over the South-Saxons. The spelling was, at times, Agelle, or even Ayelle. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p. 310, says: "This year (A.D.477) Aelle, and his three sons, Cymen, and Wiencing, and Cissa, came to the land of Britain with three ships", (...). At the time Gregory was asking for the identification of the Briton slaves, he was told they were from the land of Aelle, a third king of this name who began his rule in 560. A.D. That name, therefore, was prominent among the Saxons as coming down from their first king Aelle. Ethelbert began his reign in 565 A.D. This explanation cannot be laid down as certain for it may be the hymnologist's mistake in the
And st. 5 of H(24):

Post cleri ritus statuit precesque,
Cuncta restaurans monumenta sedis,

But, to understand the immense extent of Gregory's reforms in the Church, to avoid misunderstanding the multitudinous and varied labours in connection with the government of the Church at large, the conduct of the Lombard War, the regulation of Western Monasticism, the management of the Papal estates, the prosecution of papal claims, the sending of missionaries, the negotiations with the Emperor and with other princes, the suppression of heresies, schisms, and paganism, - the thousand interests to which as chief Bishop of the West, he was obliged to devote his attention, it is necessary to study what Gregory has to say of himself:

Cogor modo Ecclesiarum, modo monasteriorum causas discutere, saepe singulorum vitas actusque pensare; modo quaedam civium negotia sustinere, modo de irruentibus barbarorum gladiis gemere, et commisso gragi insidiantes lupos timere; modo rerum curam sumere, ne desint subsidia eis ipsis quibus disciplinae perpeti, modo eis sub studio servatae charitatis obviare.63

Of all the types of reform enumerated, two Breviary Hymns take a sweeping survey, each in a short reference of one stanza. St. 2 of H(21) gives a picture of the mental

63 Gregory, Homilies in Ezechielem, Bk. 1, Hom 11, Vers. 17, Ch. 6, p. 908, in Migne, P. L., Vol. 76. - Ibid., Register, Bk. 1, Ep. 3, p. 446.
reforms, interpretations of the Bible, and propagation of the Faith in these four lines:

Hic sacro fervens studio
Totum se votit Domino,
Verbis, scriptis et opere
Propagator ecclesiae.

And st. 4 of H(33) refers to the all-embracing reforms whether performed with the material or spiritual sword:

Quem coetui catholico
Praeficeres pupillilo,
Ut pater esset patriae
Almaeque reipublicae,
Cuius statum consilio
Et spirituali gladio.

Johannes Diaconus also tells us that as soon as Gregory became Pope, he effected a reform in the constitution of the household. This reform was extended to the officials of the Papal Patrimony, all places being given to ecclesiastics. Other reforms extended to secular business, military affairs and to the relief of misery and suffering.

Occupied as he was with all spiritual and temporal needs of the Church, with all the external duties involving the Catholic Church, Gregory found time to attend to the


65 Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 16, p. 49. This reference has a good account of the Lombard situation.
inner life of the Church, to the liturgical reform. His Sacramentary, the groundwork of the Roman Missal, was only a revised version of the issue of his predecessor. To Gregory the productions made a century before, were defective in arrangement, too long, and too scattered. Johannes Diaconus describes this in these words:

Sed, et Gelasianum Codicem de missarum solemniis, multa subtrahens, pauc a convertens, nonnulla vero superadjiciens, pro exponendis evangelicis lectionibus in unius libri volumine coartavit.

With his attention fixed on the liturgy of the Church, it was impossible that the question of music would escape the "Argus-eyed" Gregory. Tradition has always connected his name with extensive and beneficial improvements in the matter of musical notation. Gregorian Chant, the only kind of music in the official Liturgical Book is the supreme model of all Church music. It is the development of the initiative of St. Gregory which spread through all

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66 Pope Gelasius I (492-496) was the reputed author of the Gelasian Sacramentary. It was put into manuscript form most probably in the seventh century or in the early years of the eighth, evidently for use in some church in the Frankish dominions, possibly for the Abbey of St. Denis. It is now in the Library of the Vatican, where it is known as the Ms. Reginae, 316, being formed by Queen Christina of Sweden. - Cf. Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae, ed. H. A. Wilson, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1894, p. xvii.

the churches of Europe, especially in England, and served as one of the best means of the conversion of pagan nations to Christianity. Johannes Diaconus says with assurance: "antiphonarium centonem cantorum studiosumus compilavit." Even before Johannes' time, in the first half of the ninth century, the distinguished abbot of Reichenau, Walafrid Strabo, wrote that it was the received opinion that the Blessed Gregory had practically thrown the music of the Church (cantilenae disciplina) into the convenient form it had preserved down to his day.

The hymns pay tribute to the great Pope of the Gregorian Chant in many stanzas, especially of the Tropes, since these are interpolations of liturgical texts with the accompaniment of music. Tr(19a) is entirely devoted to the Gregorian Chant. Beginning with Line 5 and extending to line 14 there is a very analytic tribute to his musical arrangement:

Ipse patrum monumenta sequens renovavit et auxit
Carmina in officiis, retinet quae circulus anni;
Quae clarus dulci Domino modulamine solvat,
Mystica dum vitae propria servat dulcedo nitelas,
Si, quod voce sonat, fide mens pectore gestet;
Nec clamor tantum Domini sublimis ad aures,
Quantum vox humilis placido de corde propinquet.
Haec iuvenem sectetur amor, maturior aevi
Laudibus his instans asternas tendat ad oras:

68 Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 2, Ch. 6, p. 90.

This whole hymn is directed to the praise of Gregory for his achievements in Church music. In the first line, "Ipse patrum monumenta sequens renovavit et auxit," etc., there is definite credit given to Gregory for renewing and increasing the psalms and the fervor which is the result of sweetly modulated music. The last part of the hymn especially stresses the effect of subdued music on the heart. Later in the hymn are the rules he laid down for sacred song which are brought out very effectively by poetic devices, such as euphony, alliteration, etc. Another example of this is seen in the lines below, 5-10, of the introduction:

Composuit scholae cantorum hunc rite libellum
Qui reciprocando moduletur carmine Christo,
Quando sacerque sacra (est) libans libamina, vatis
Dulcibus antiphonae pulsant concentibus aures
Classibus et geminis psalmorum concrepent odas.
Hymnistae crebro vox articulata resultet,
Ut celsum quatiat clamosa carmine culmen.

Tr (19b), st. 1, has this as its theme also:

Renovavit monumenta patrum priorum,
tunc composuit hunc libellum musicae artis scholae cantorum anni circulo.

There is a whole story connected with Tr(40) which contains only two stanzas. How Gregory prayed for inspiration to set the psalms of the Church to true melody is related in st. 1:
Sanctissimus
Namque Gregorius cum preces
effunderet ad Dominum,
ut musicum tonum ei
desuper in carminibus
dedisset,

Then, in st. 2, the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove
settled upon him:

Tunc descendit
spiritus sanctus super eum
in specie columbae
et illustravit cor eius,
et sic demum exorsus est
canere ita dicendo:

There are other parallels in this group. St. 4,
H(21), sings of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit:

Spiritu sancto didicit
Magistro, quidquid edidit,
Favos destillans mentibus
Nunc sermone nunc cantibus.

St. 3, of H(31), makes a comparison of Gregorian Chant
with the harpist harmony of David and Josue:

Modulantis harmoniae
Renovans dulcedinem
Et reformans hierarchiae
Subcoelestis ordinem
In se David et Josiae
Pertulit imaginem.

St. 2 of H(33), with its Greek terminology lauds the
Gregorian Chant in a special way:

Euphonicae quo citharae,
Spiritualis musicae,
Suavisonans os, aureo
Gratae patri Gregorio,
Efferar hunc spermologon
Laudum ut est, idoneis
Donante te praeconis.
St. 1 of H(25), with less effort at adornment pays a tribute also to the Gregorian Chant:

\begin{verbatim}
Laudis opus ut honor1
Serviat opificis
Collaudari te, Gregori,
Decet modis musicis,
Per quem servit conditori
Mundus laudum canticis.
\end{verbatim}

A final motif of the Gregorian Chant appears in the Sequence S(23), st. 18:

\begin{verbatim}
Psallentem
choris modulamina
composuit
dulcisona hymnizans.
\end{verbatim}

The longer and more popular miracle-legends are verified by the Lives and are scattered throughout the hymns.

Northeast of the Forum, between the Capitoline and the Quirinal, there stretched, in Gregory's time, the splendid series of the Imperial Fora, ending on the north with the superb Forum of Trajan. In this Forum there existed a relief representing a woman supplicating the Emperor, and to this group a story had become attached.

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that, on one occasion, the Emperor Trajan, when setting out to battle, delayed, so as to listen to a woman who asked justice for her son. Johannes Diaconus tells the story as follows:

... Quodam tempore, Trajano ad imminentis belli procinctum festinanti vehementissime, vidua quaedam processit flebiter dicens: Filius meus innocens, te regnante, peremptus est; obscuro ut, quia eum mihi reddere non vales, sanguinem ejus legaliter vindicare digneris. Cumque Trajanus, si sanus reverteretur a praelio hunc se vindicaturum per omnia responderet, vidua dixit: Si tu in praelio mortuus fueris, quis mihi praestabit? Trajanus dixit: ille qui post me imperabit. Vidua dixit: Et tibi quid proderit, si alter mihi justitiam fecerit? Trajanus respondit: Utque nihil. Et vidua: Nonne, inquit, melius tibi est ut tu mihi justitiam facias, et in pro hoc mercedem tuam recipient, quam alteri hanc transmittas? Tunc Trajanus ratione pariter pietaque commotus, equo descendit, nee ante discessit quam judicium vieae per semet imminens profugaret. 

Nearly five hundred years later, Pope Gregory went to the Forum of Trajan, and he remembered the justice and other good deeds of Trajan, and how he had been merciful to the weak and poor. Gregory was very sad that Trajan had been a pagan, and he prayed and asked forgiveness for the sins of Trajan, especially, as Gasquet's account says, using this argument in speaking to the Lord: Iudicate

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pupillo et defendite viduam et venite et arguite me dicit
Dominus. Pope procured the release of Trajan's soul from
eternal torments, though at the same time he was divinely
warned never again to presume to pray for any one who had
died in paganism.  

The popularity of this legend in the Middle Ages
may be judged by its incorporation in such a great number
of Gregory hymns. It seems to be the main representative
in the legendary motifs connected with St. Gregory.

A stanza of P(15) deals with the Trajan motif.
St. 1 is as follows:

Gaude Traianum damnatum
Per te esse liberatum
A poenis mirifice.

St. 11 of P(35) is similar to this:

A flendo Trajanum revocas
A poena gehennali,

72 Isa. Ch. 1, Vs. 17.

73 This legend is accepted by Paulus Diaconus, but
is rejected by Johannes Diaconus and Catholic theologians.
It first occurs in the Whitby Life, but it refers to Roman
sources. It is a much debated legend.

Cf. Joseph Szöverffy's discussion of this legend
in the Zeitschrift del Celtische Philologie, Vol. 25, for
1956, p. 183-198. - Dio Cassius, 69, 5, relates the incident
with the suppliant woman for Hadrian, with whom Trajan seems
to have afterwards been confounded. - Gregorovius says that
"the legend doubtless arose from some relief then existing
in the Forum, a province being represented as a woman suppli­
cating the Emperor."
But, a more detailed account appears in two other 'Pia Dictamina'. In fact, the whole story is covered in P(4), ll's 15-25:

Sancti Petri te habere
Claves credimus et vere,
Nam tu paganum Traianum,
Sat iustum, non fide sanum,
Deflevisti, commovisti
Deum ad parcendum isti,
Eius animam de poenis
Infernii sicque catenis
Liberasti, quamvis ibi
Mansit nulla poena sibi.

And st. 8 of P(34) of the same century has practically the same tone:

Salve, cuius lacrimae
Piae, quas fudisti,
Cum Traianum intime
Ad cor reduxisti
Et iustum iudicium
Eius audivisti,
Suum servans spiritum
A dolore tristi.

One Breviary Hymn, H(13), st. 5, contains a mere mention of this motif. This hymn is of late composition, being of the sixteenth century, when it was necessary, on account of the hostile activities of the protestants, to show the power of prayer:

Salvat Trajanum justum, licet paganum,

One Office, R(22), st. 2 after the first Responsory has a smoother reference to this miracle as is befitting a chanted service:
Jam sepultus frater absolvitur
Et Trajano poena remittitur.

Precibus seems to be the keynote of the initial reference in $S(1)$, st. 10a:

Precibus salutiferis
Trajanum ab inferis
Solvit et miseria,

And in one other Sequence, $S(23)$, the tone is likewise more of the strength of prayer. St. 21 reads as follows:

Ex ignibus
inferorum
Traianum tyrannum.74

Sometimes an additional motif is associated with this legend, interpreted as a result of assuming penance for another's sins. It is said that Gregory added sacrifice and fasting to his constant prayer to obtain the conversion of many sinners. There is every reason to believe that such suffering was called for in the case of rescuing Trajan from hell. St. 2 of the Office $R(17)$ (Ad Laudes), emphasizes the degree of suffering accompanying Gregory's prayer:

Lentiis quidem sed jugibus
Hic aestuabat febribus,
Podagree nec non syncopis
Pulsabatur incommodis.

74 Gregory is here referred to as "Tyrannum", undoubtedly with the first meaning of the word which the Greeks used to designate sovereign or ruler. Trajan was no tyrant in the modern sense of the word.
And st. 3 emphasizes how the innocent is willing to endure the lash for the atonement of the guilty:

Coelestis cinctus verbere
Vir mirae innocentiae
Praesumebat, se diligi,
Quod merebatur argui.

The Legend of the "Miracle of the Mass" or the "Sacrament Miracle", is sufficiently celebrated to deserve notice. The Whitby Life calls the same Legend "The Miracle of the Unbelieving Matron of Rome". The story of it is as follows: A certain noble lady was accustomed to present bread of her own making for the consecration every Sunday at Mass. One day when Gregory was about to communicate her with the Host, repeating the usual formula, the woman smiled, refusing to believe that the Bread which she made could be the Body of the Lord. Gregory thereupon replaced the Host upon the altar, and prayed, together with all the people, that a miracle might be granted for her sake. When the prayer was finished and the Bread was uncovered, there was revealed upon the altar a fragment of Flesh stained with Blood. Again, after the Pope prayed, and the Flesh once more took on the appearance of Bread, all doubt was removed and the woman immediately received the Host.

This motif is reverently expressed in both Offices.

St. 2 of R(22), after the second Responsory, states:

Sacer panis ut caro cernitur,
Manat cruce, dum panis pungitur,

St. 3, R(17b), stresses it more at length, dwelling on the
purpose of the miracle:

Vere felicem praesulum,
Verae fidei doctorem,
Quo petente panis Christi
Formam accipit digiti,
Ad firmandam plebis fidem
Versus in cruentam carnem.

A bare mention is made of this motif in the 'Pia
Dictamina'. St. 11 of P(35) has:

Matronae fidem advocas
Carne sacramentali.

One Sequence, S(1), handles it in a double stanza.

St. 9a in its three lines has:

Offa carnis dominicae
Gregorio pontifice
A Dei clementia

And 9b completes the story thus:

Caro vere ostenditur
Quae sanguine intingitur
Miranda potentia.

A more detailed account of this miracle occurs in one other
Sequence, S(41), St. 3a begins it with these lines:

Factus praesul seminae
Nequam monstrat semini
In similitudine
Carnis corpus Domini;
And st. 3b answers with:

Post in panis pristinam
Formam hanc restituit,
Sicque fidem feminam
Praedicando docuit.

The "Miracle of the Magician", involving the "horse and the demon", is related in the *Whitby Life* 76. This story is also treated by *Paulus Diaconus* 77, but *Johannes Diaconus* 78 refers to it as a current tale of the English Church.

The story goes that a very wealthy man who had not much strength of religious conviction, obtained a divorce from his wife, contrary to the law of Christ. After many persuasions and admonitions were ineffective, Gregory excommunicated him so as to bring him to his senses. Instead he tried to torment Gregory through the exertion of two magicians. When the Pope was riding in procession one day, he was intercepted, and pretending good will, the magicians asked him some questions, in the course of which they had his horse excited by evil demons. Gregory made the sign of the Cross, invoking the name of our Lord, Jesus Christ, then the demons were thrown from the horse, and the

magicians were struck blind, at the same time being penetrated by the demons. When Gregory found out that these were the guilty ones, he spoke to them, and they asked his pardon, or at least confessed their wickedness, to whom Gregory said:

Perpetuo cæci esse debetis, ne videntes, ad consuetam perversitatem redire tentetis. In nomine autem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, operante beato Petro, liberi a vexatione daemonum sitis. 79

The demons immediately left the two, and believing, they were both baptized.

There are three unmistakable references to this demon motif in the hymns. St. 2, after the second Responsory of R(22), merely states the fact as a reminder of Gregory's power over the demon:

Equum vexans daemon expellitur, Magus corripitur.

Two Sequences are a little more concerned with the miracle, especially in S(23), st. 27:

Magos caecavit, equo daemonem fugavit et ecclesiam ornavit.

The other Sequence, S(41), st. 4a, states the story in a concise way:

The last miracle motif handled in these Gregory hymns is one which pertains to his close association with the Holy Ghost. These hymns deal with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit which Gregory always enjoyed in a general way, with the Seven Gifts in a particular way, and with the final visible contact with the Dove to whom his secretary, Peter\textsuperscript{80}, was a witness and vouches for the story, which is as follows: When Gregory was interpreting the last vision of the Prophet Ezechiel, a veil was drawn between himself and his secretary. As Gregory kept silence for long intervals, his servant made a hole in the veil with his pen, and looking through it, he beheld a dove, whiter than snow, sitting upon Gregory's head, holding its beak for a long time to his lips. When the dove drew away from his lips, the holy Pontiff began to speak, and his secretary transcribed his words. But, when the organ of the Holy Thost was silent, his servant again applied his eye to

\textsuperscript{80} Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 28, p. 57. Here Peter is referred to as familiarissimo. He is the same Peter, the Deacon, associated with Gregory in the Dialogues. Gasquet, Op. Cit., Ch. 26, p. 34, says: "ita super hunc virum Dei vidisse, quidam dicitur de suis satis ei familiaris, albam sedisse columbam in predictum Ezechielom fecit omellas."

Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 4, Ch. 69, p. 221-222.
the hole, and beheld him, with hands and eyes unpraised to
heaven as if in prayer, receiving as before the dove's beak
between his lips.

Four of the Breviary Hymns play up the general
popularity of Gregory's renowned spiritual gifts of the
Holy Ghost; one Office, two Sequences and two 'Pia Dicta-
mina'.

St. 7 of H(2) dwells on how he penetrated the Holy
Scripture:

Scripturae sacrae mystica
Mire solvis aenigmata,
Theorica mysteria
Te docet ipsa veritas.

The same idea is contained in st. 4 of H(11):

Fulgent verbis et sensibus
Ejus dogmata omnia,
Sancti ut credant spiritus
Donum fuisse maximum.

There is no difficulty in determining the general spirit
of st. 4 of H(21), when it says "Now in sermon, now in song".

Spiritus sancto didicit
Magistro, quidquid edidit,
Favos destillans mentibus
Nunc sermone nunc cantibus.

Another general reference to the gifts of the Holy Spirit
is found in st. 4 of H(32):

Quis fuerit pater eximius,
Spiritus ille docet Domini,
Corda patrum bene qui docuit,
Munera cuius et hunc decorant.
St. 3 of P(5) has a simple salutation in this respect:

Ave, sancti spiritus  
Organum jucundum,

And P(15), st. 2, has a similar if more complimentary epithet:

Gaude, quia te studente  
Organum devota mente  
Eras sancti spiritus.

Two Sequences, S(39) and S(1), allot one stanza each to this motif. St. 3a of S(39) emphasizes the "grace of God" in its reference to the Holy Spirit:

Hic exposuit obscuras  
Ezechielis scripturas  
Dictante Dei gratia.

And in st. 6a of S(1) there is also the "heavenly spirit" motif:

Olim scholis eruditus,  
Nunc docet illum spiritus  
Sapere coelestia.

In addition to the general gifts of the Holy Ghost there are special references to the Dove story related above. These are confined to the 'Pia Dictamina' with the exception of one which we find in the Transitional Sequence, S(23), st. 11:
Cui pneumonia
ut columba
in auriculum stillavit
documenta mystica.

P(34) and P(35) each has a stanza referring to the Dove story. St. 3 of P(34) is rather detailed, telling Peter's story in a few lines:

Salve, carens simil
In sacra doctrina,
Mente scrutans humili
Dogmate divina,
Instructus a spiritu
Forma columbina,

A strong reference to the same story is in P(35), st. 13:

Columba doctus disseris
Secreta scripturarum,
Juges languoris pateris
Doloresque poenarunt.

A short reference to the same motif occurs in st. 4, P(9):

Da ut mente columbina

And the final one in P(26), ll's 9-10:

Sub exemplis et doctrinis,
Quibus fulges (columbinis)

In art, Gregory is usually represented in the pontifical robes with the tiara, and staff, with the double cross. His peculiar symbol is the Dove - an allusion to the story of Peter. Sometimes, however, he is indicated
by a book or an angel playing a musical instrument. The legendary scenes of his life which painters have chosen commonly as the subject of their art are the supper at which the Thirteenth Guest appeared, the Miracle of the Mass, and the Miracle of the Brandeum. (...)

Besides his reforms, his writings, and his oratory, the last detail of the biographical-legendary motif contained in the hymns has to do with the eminent virtues practiced by Gregory. And indeed, there is hardly one that he did not practice. Undoubtedly, deep humility, unbounded charity, and religious zeal, were the most conspicuous features of Gregory's character. But a large number of the hymns aid us to draw the conclusion that he had a reputation for many more moral virtues in an eminent degree.

Asceticism is almost a synonym for the definition of Gregory the Great, so conscientiously did he practise it. Already, in 590, Gregory is known to have wretched health. Excessive fasting is said to have weakened his constitution, and made him a prey to a weak stomach, and in the last five or six years of his pontificate, to a violent disease known as the gout. He writes of his condition and even groans to his friends. In August 599, he says that the pain of the


82 Gregory, Register, Bk. 9, Ep. 123, p. 1056; Bk. 11, Ep. 32, p. 1144; Bk. 13, Ep., 22, p. 1275; Bk. 14, Ep. 12, p. 1314.
gout is so terrible that for eleven months he says: "valde rarum est si de lecto surgere aliquando potuere."83

Paulus Diaconus, at some length discusses his poor health and his consequent suffering84.

This fasting motif is dealt with in st. 2 of the Second Nocturne in R(22):

Crucifigens carnem cum vitiis
Christo configitur
Et proiectus virtutum studiis
Abbas praeficitur.

St. 1 after Laudes in R(17b) has a similar reference:

Gregorius vigiliis
Confecus et jejuniiis,
Etsi marcebat corpore,
At spe vigebat animae.

Two Breviary Hymns have almost an identical reference.

St. 2 of H(27) describes the results of fasting:

Carnis terens incendia
Corde creditit Domino,
Contempsit cuncta cadua
Caritatis officio.

And st. 4, of H(38) says:

Crebris quoque jejuniiis
Carnis repulit vitia,
Saepe docendo populum
Destruxit mundi idola.


One Sequence, S(1), st. 7a, refers to the fasting motif with meditative art:

Qui sublevare nititur
Ad illa, quibus pascitur,
Coeli desideria.

St. 3 of P(35) notes a reference to Gregory's self-imposed sufferings:

Ut voces Deo libere,
Terrena contempsisti,
Ut posses vix subsistere,
Sic corpus afflixisti.

H(2), st. 2, has a general reference to his asceticism, H(5), st. 1, likewise has a general reference to this motif, and H(7) has a general reference throughout the whole hymn.

The second group here presented has reference to the gout, a disease from which he constantly suffered. But even that did not distract him from his duties, for he persevered until death. This perseverance motif is combined with the sickness motif in the quotations below. St. 2 at Laudes in R(22) sums up Gregory's sufferings and generosity:

Lentis quidem sed jugibus
Hic aestuabat febris,
Podagrae nec non syncoapis
Pulsabatur incommodis.

St. 3 of the 2nd Nocturne in R(22) dwells on the love that was proved by his suffering:
Magis languens morbis dum deficit,
Mens amoris languore proficit,
Crescunt morbi, crescit et afflict
Amor impatiens.

R(22), again in st. 4, at Laudes, emphasizes his voluntary acceptance of suffering and his zeal:

Pressus laborum pondere
Viget mente robustior
Nec morbis novit cedere,
Cum infirmus, tunc fortior.

In st. 3 of H(14) there is a ring suggestive of struggle, and the thought therein is significant of great love:

Crebris correptus febribus,
Miris pollens affectibus,
Se praemuebat diligii,
Quod merebatur argui.

St. 28 of S(23) states simply:

Aegra caro eius semper fuit,
Mens tamen intenta caelo,

Who, after reading these allusions to the voluntary austerity and sufferings of Gregory, would dare to dwell on his slight faults and imperfections? Compared with other great men of his time, Gregory was indeed perfection itself.

All through his life, Pope Gregory looked back with extreme yearning to the three years which he spent as a monk in the monastery of St. Andrew. These he regarded as the happiest years of his life.\(^{85}\) He writes to Paul the

\(^{85}\) Gregory, Register, Bk. 1, Ep. 4, p. 447.
Scholastics 86:

Summus enim mihi profectus fuerat, si potuisset implieri quod volui; si voluntatem meam, quam dudum cognitam habebis, perficere optatae quietis perceptione valuissem. 87

Besides other lettres 88 expressing his sorrow over being drawn back to the world through the papal position, he writes to Theoctista, the sister of the Emperor Maurice:

Undique causarum fluctibus quatior, ac tempestatibus deprimor, ita ut recte dicam: Veni in altitudinem maris, et tempestas demersit me, (Psal.LXVIII, 3) Redire post causas ad cor desidero, sed, vanis ab eo cogitationum tumultibus exclusus, redire non possum. ... Contemplativae vitae pulchritudinem velut Rachel dilexi sterilis, sed videntem ac pulchram (Genes. XXIX); Quae etsi per quietem suam minus generat, lucem tamen subtilius videt... 89

To appreciate the references to his love for contemplation in the hymns, one would need to understand Gregory's own soul, which, at times, overflowed in his letters to his friends. This love for contemplation was part of his nature in his youth as the following quotation states, in st. 3 of R(17b):

86 Scholastics as lawyers were attached to the council of the exarch.


88 Ibid., Ep. 21, p. 466; Ep. 6, p. 450; Ep. 7, p. 452; Ep. 28, p. 479; Ep. 30, p. 483.

89 Gregory, Register, Bk. 1, Ep. 5, p. 448.
To encourage this contemplative life among the monks, this meditative picture is continued in st. 2 of R(22):

Sese mundi despecta gloria
Semper humilians
Sectabatur Christi
Supernis inhians.

Gregory was also great in his humility. This virtue is much dwelt upon by the author of the Whitby Life who says:

Huius igitur exemplum, qui est principium rerum omnium, primum ponimus de hoc viro signum sanctitatis ad hanc, ubi illum imitando quante humilitatis horum, immo omnes eius preceptorum fuerit doctor, noster statim agnoscit, per quam maior esse in regno celorum ipse Christus apostolis suis interrogantibus qui sibi sit maior, respondit humilem.\(^90\)

Not only did Gregory refer to himself in his Letters as the "Servant of the Servants of God"\(^91\), but he assumed the garb

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\(^90\) Gasquet, The Whitby Life, Ch. 7, p. 9-10.

\(^91\) This title is said to have originated with Gregory the Great, but H. Grisar, in Analecta Romana, Rome, 1899, Vol. 4, p. 149, pl. In. 4, says: "Ce sont des papes qui en font usage et S. Damase paraît être le premier lorsqu'il se déclare."

The article on papal title in the Cath. Encyc., New York, 1912, Vol. 13, p. 737, says: the title was imitated, though not invariably until the ninth century, but, since the twelfth century, it is used exclusively by the popes. Cf. also article on "Bulls", p. 55, col. 2.
of humility, preferring an inferior quality of pontifical vestments with which he always felt content. Moreover, in order to make his title clear, he says of himself in one of his letters: "Per episcopatus onera servus sum omnium factus" 92. Johannes Diaconus also discusses the title Servus Servorum Dei, and gives his idea of its use 93.

Though the hymns have very few humility motifs thus expressed in the group, these are vigorously emphasized as is shown from the examples. In lines 5-10, of P(4), we find the use of the humble title:

Te servum servorum Dei
Scripsisti fideli gregi
Hoc docens esse pastorum,
Quod non fecit quis priorum,
Sancte papa, o Gregori,

In the same straightforward way, P(5), st. 4, says:

Avem summe pontifex,
Qui Dei servorum
Servus es et opifex
Operum piorum,

H(13), st. 4, has one long unmistakable motif in the use of this title, in which the lines say explicitly that Gregory was the first to use that title:

92 Gregory, Register, Bk. 13, Ep. 1.
Servum servorum primus scribit se ipsum, Humilis praesul, pius inopum consul.

But, outstanding in the representation of this motif is the acrostic, S(30), which is arranged to spell O Servus Servorum Dei, as follows:

1a. Organum spirituale
2a. Ex prosapia Romana
3a. Virgo saeculo pusilla
4a. Monasteria construxit
5a. Eruditus in virtute
6a. Videns pueros Anglorum,
7a. Recta scribens recte dixit,
8a. Monstra fecit in hac vita
9a. Aes in zonis non compe-

1b. Scriba regis angelorum
2b. Rhetor magnus et urbanus
3b. Vives Silvia caelestis
4b. Sed cum superet sincere
5b. Retextendo cantilenas
6b. O pontificem beatum,
7b. Vigil iste sanctus fuit,
8b. Deus fecit Levi pactum
9b. Iustum deprecemur sanctum

There is frequent allusion to the power of Gregory's prayer which is able to restore the dead in hell to salvation. St. 2 of H(37) has this short and meaningful statement:

A quibus artus solutos
more bearis.

And the Office R(22), st. 2, after the second Responsory also dwells on his power of prayer when it says:
 Jam sepultus frater absolvitur

Every hymn has a general dominant motif of Gregory's sanctity, and is in the nature of a request as from one who is clearly in a position to render aid to fellow sufferers. Many of his letters\textsuperscript{94} reveal that he could still be interested in others who were afflicted, even though he himself was undergoing torture from the gout of which he died.

There is little trouble in any capacity in identifying Gregory's popularity, or his renown, in this group of hymns. That he was pope, yes, a pope dear to the hearts of all people over whom he rules, may be judged by the titles applied to him in that position: R(22) calls him "sanctus papa"; and "praeclarissimus episcopus"; and "0 pontifex egregie". In H(12) he is called "0 gregis Christi spectulator alme". In H(21), "Pontificis eximii". In H(31), "Aaron electus". In H(32), "Pater eximius". In H(42), "rector populi". In H(43), "summae sedis antistis". In P(4), "sancte papa". In P(34), "summus pontifex", and in S(23), "agregio papae".

After Gregory's death, miracles are reported of him. One of these is known as the "Cure of the Blind Man". St. 7

\textsuperscript{94} Gregory, Register, Bk. 13, Ep 5, p. 1258; Ep. 42, p. 1291; Bk. 11, Ep. 63, p. 1115.
of H(27) sounds very much like the story of the cure of the blind man from the Holy Bible. The four lines are as follows:

Post mortem sui corporis
Casco redditit oculos,
Cuius a pueritia
Lumen amissum fuerat.

St. 8 of H(11) voices the same "Cure of the Blind Man". It states as follows:

Quidam caecus, a parvulo
Suo privatus lumine,
Antrum excubat avidius,
Lumen requirit perditum.

And it is continued with a favorable outcome in st. 9:

Sed virtus alma protinus
Favet poscenti anxie,
Suis reddit obtutibus
Lucis munera oclus.

The legend concerning the alleged threat to burn, after the death of Gregory, the books which he had written, has the following story connected with it, gathered partly from Paulus Diaconus and partly from Johannes Diaconus.

After his death, Pope Sabinian succeeded him and a story is handed down that Sabinian withdrew the great doles which Gregory had issued to the poor from the monasteries, guest-houses, and hospitals, and continued as Pope. Now, there was a great famine\(^95\) and the poor, rendered destitute,

\(^95\) Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Longobardum*, Bk. 6, Ch. 5, p. 627, in Migne, Vol. 95.
raised an outcry: "Apostolic Lord, let not your Holiness suffer us to perish, since our father, your predecessor, the holy Gregory, has hitherto taken care to feed us." Sabinian refused. Then Gregory, after appearing to him rebuked him, and when the Pope still refused to pay attention, Gregory struck him a blow which eventually caused his death.

Johannes Diaconus makes no direct allusion to Sabinian. According to him the famine occurred in the year of Gregory's death, when a general uprising caused by the distress of hundreds turned upon Gregory to the effect that he had wasted the patrimony of the Holy See. The fury of the people was aroused, and they determined to burn Gregory's books. Peter the Deacon intervened, and tried to dissuade them from the outrage, affirming that he had seen the Holy Ghost in the form of a Dove, hovering over the Doctor's head and inspiring his compositions. He affirmed this statement with an oath. Taking the Gospels in his hand, he ascended the pulpit, and prayed God to take his life if what he said was true. He then repeated his declaration and breathed forth his spirit. Gregory's unpopularity was only temporary. Year after year his

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96 Paulus Diaconus, Sancti Gregorii Magni Vita, Ch. 29, p. 58.
97 Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 4, Ch. 69, p. 221.
feast was kept with solemnity. The hymns devoted to him in the Middle Ages testify to his popularity. This particular motif of attempting to burn his books is very definitely stated in st. 2 of R(22):

Patris almi libros incendere
Quaerit livor, nefas arguere
Audet Petrus, cessant a scelere
Ad pactum initum;
Opus probans coelitus editum
Testis verax amisit spiritum.

This is the last biographical-legendary motif registered in a group of hymns dedicated to Gregory the Great, by far the most important personage of his time. As Dudden says:

If the history of the latter part of the sixth century is to be studied intelligently, it must be studied in close connection with the life and labours of that illustrious Pontiff, who for many years was the foremost personage in Europe, and did more, perhaps, than any other single man to shape the course of European development.

Pope Gregory the Great's elements of a biographical and/or legendary nature, therefore, as traceable in these Medieval hymns, coincide with the prose sources in the three principal Lives mentioned before. Every hymn, supplements one another neatly and all carefully agree on the

98 Ibid., Ch. 80, p. 228.

biographical detail which fits into the general scheme. The authors of these hymns built around an authentic store of information, derived, first of all from the biographies, and from records in monastic archives. They also draw on the no less important documentary evidence for the biographical and historical details contained in the Letters which furnish trustworthy data for many of the allusions made to Gregory in the hymns. They form a rich mine for the investigator of the history of that period.
CHAPTER III

BIBLICAL, DOCTRINAL, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS ALLUSIONS
(INCLUDING ECHOES FROM GREGORY'S WORKS)

1. Biblical Reminiscences

Christian poetry, like Christian art, owes much of its content and inspiration to the Bible. Contrasted in thought with the drabness of the old decaying pagan literature, the vigorous shoot of Christian culture, by using the inspiration of the Vulgate, fed on the sonorous sentences of the Latin Bible, giving a freshness and charm to the literature of the West because it was built on the new Christian thought. New rhythms appeared, and the new fervor set forth the figures of Moses, of Jonah, and, finally, of the God-Man Jesus, Who appears as the Ideal Shepherd. And so, in the Middle Ages, the voice of the Holy Scripture is frequently heard, eliciting the tenderest and purest expressions of devotion to a particular saint. Thus it is with Gregory the Great. Out of nineteen Breviary Hymns, there are eleven direct references which use the identical language of the Bible, and twenty-one indirect, or of those using only the content of the reference to the Bible.
H(2), st. 1, is a petition for intercession based indirectly on the Book of Tobias:

Ut nunc, Gregori, gentibus
Succurre jam credentibus.

This reference would have Gregory intercede for aid for the believing nations, just as he granted favor to the Angles. It is an old Testament reference taken from the Canticle of the Elder Tobias, and has the import of the whole.

H(12), st. 2 is a new Testament reference with the famous and well-known Biblical quotation: "Behold an Israelite in whom there is no guile." The Latin quotation from the hymn is as follows:

Israelita pius et fidelis

The Gregory hymns, like all hymns, contain many doxological forms; but the forms and words used in praising the Trinity, can all be resolved into the common doxology: Glory be to God the Father, who, by His angels, guards those whom the Son has redeemed and the Holy Spirit has appointed.

H(31), st. 2, Tamquam Aaron electus, and Velut Moyses dilectus, are Biblical quotations used to emphasize

1 Cf. Tob., Ch. 13, Vs. 8.
2 Joan., Ch. 1, Vs. 47.
3 Cf. Heb., Ch. 5, Vs. 4, seq.; Exod., Ch. 10, seq.
the fact that just as Aaron and Moses were chosen by God for special leadership among God’s flocks, so Gregory was singled out to preside over the "sheep" just at a critical period when such a man was needed to place the papacy securely on its feet. By using the Old Testament characters, the author tends to render a more symbolic reference:

Tamquam Aaron electus  
Christi praeest ovibus,  
Pastor vigil, zelo rectus,  
Sed suavis moribus  
Velut Moyses dilectus  
Deo et hominibus.

In st. 3 of the same hymn, there is a Biblical motif\(^4\) in the line In se David et Josiae ... where the harmony wrought by David and Josiah is likened to Gregory's in the musical chant ascribed to him:

Modulantis harmoniae  
Renovans dulcedinem  
Et reformans hierarchiae  
Subcoelestis ordinem  
In se David et Josiae  
Pertulit imaginem.

Likewise st. 4 is redolent of the tone of bravery and fortitude of Gregory in the face of afflictions, so that he is worthy to be compared with Job and Josue\(^5\) who endured

\(^4\) Cf. I Kings, Ch. 16, Vs. 16, seq.; Eccl., Ch. 50, Vs. 18, seq.

\(^5\) Cf. Job, Ch. 40, Vs. 10-13. The entire history of the conquest of the Promised Land is a prophecy of the spiritual conquest of the world through the Church under the leadership of Jesus the Messias. Josue, the successor of Moses, is God’s hero with whom Gregory is compared. Cf. Josue, passim.
disease and afflictions, yet accomplished much for God. The
lines of this stanza are as follows:

Simul mortis lacessitus
Et bellorum turbine
Perstat fortis, alta situs
In virtutis culmine,
Job et Josue munitus
Bina fortitudine.

The prevailing pattern of these three stanzas in H(31)
where the Old Testament characters are paralleled with
Gregory is found in H(25), sts. 2 and 3 in New Testament
characters:

Christi vice tu praelatus,
Sed subsistens humilis,
Christo semper es conatus
Inveniri similis,
Ut praeesse Deo gratus,
Mundo venerabilis.

Christ was Gregory's ideal and he is therefore compared to
Him as ruler over the flock because of his humility. In
st. 3, he is compared to individual saints whose virtue he
possessed:

Primo confert te pastori
Fidei constantia,
Paulo sensus, praecursori
Victus parsimonia
Et Joanni seniori
Mentis eminentia.

He is called Primo pastori with Peter who had faith; with
Paul who had intelligence; with Joannes Baptist, of whom
he says: praecursori victus parsimonia, referring to his
self denial; and finally to Joannes Evangelista, of whom
he speaks of his lofty thought, mentis eminentia. Both hymns are taken from the Vallumbrosanum Ms. and both belong to the fifteenth century. Evidently the same author wrote both, but one wonders what could have urged one author to compose two hymns on the same pattern and subject.

Regarding the symbolic characters or Christian figure drawn from the Bible as types of character - representation, Raby has this to say:

... The symbolic character of this early art is best seen in the representation of more purely Christian figures, such as those borrowed from the Old Testament or from the life of Christ. ... Such symbolical figures drawn largely from the Old Testament, the only considerable store-house from which a Christian 'mythology' could be collected, show that Christian art, like Christian poetry, was bound to go for much of its content to Jewish sources. ...\(^6\)

The three stanzas quoted seem to center around the three grandest achievements of Gregory's life - his position as Shepherds, his Gregorian Chant, and his power to endure the turbulence of war and confusion in spite of his dread disease and suffering.

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\(^6\) Raby, Op. Cit., p. 8. Also cf. Hugh T. Henry, who says in his article "The Cluniac and His Song", in the American Catholic Quarterly Review, Vol. 18, p. 801: ... Instead of direct and cumbersome quotations we find delicate hintings and intimations, which, forming the continuous texture of the poet's thought, suppose the readiest and fullest knowledge of the facts and the diction of both Testaments on the part of the reader, just as they manifest a similar knowledge on the part of the writer."
There is a Biblical echo of the Parable of the Five Wise and Five Foolish Virgins in st. 6, of H(38), where it is stated how Gregory went to meet his Bridegroom. Necessarily, he is like one of the Five Wise Virgins who were in the state of grace, and were, therefore, ready to meet Christ:

\[
\text{Tanta repletus gratia} \\
\text{Obviam Christo abit} \\
\text{Et nobis semper maxime} \\
\text{Ostendit mirabilia.}^7
\]

St. 2, H(43), has a reference to the Bible when it speaks of "giving milk to the little ones" and "Food to the strong". The stanza states as follows:

\[
\text{Sacra cuius eloquia} \\
\text{Vitae ferentis pascua} \\
\text{Lac potum donant parvulis} \\
\text{Cibum ministrant validis.}^8
\]

In this stanza his eloquence is the source of nourishment for young and old.

In S(30), st. 8b, there is an unusual word summing up in a Biblical term, Levi, the all-round method of his dealing with his people according to that of the priests of the tribe of Levi, as the Bible states:

The name of "Leviticus" was bestowed on the third book of the Pentateuch by the ancient Greek translators because a good part of this

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7 Matt., Ch. 25, Vs. 1-13.  
8 Cf. I Cor., Ch. 3, Vs. 2.
book consists of sacrificial and other ritual laws prescribed for the priests of the tribe of Levi.  

Corresponding to this meaning is the hymn mentioned in st. 8b:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Deus fecit Levi pactum} \\
\text{Nec paenituit transactum} \\
\text{Pacis atque vitae factum} \\
\text{Cum honoris gloria.}
\end{align*}
\]

In this matter the Bible further states: "...the laws contained in this book serve to teach the Israelites that they should always keep themselves in a state of legal purity, or external sanctity." What more fitting title could there be for Gregory who not only legislated to keep his people pure and undefiled, but also recommended external sanctity as a sign of their intimate union with the Lord.

A quotation in his Office which is in the arrangement of the indirect reference in R(17b) is found in the stanza after the Ad Benedictus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Christi fidelis famulus,} \\
\text{Prudens quoque Gregorius,} \\
\text{Postquam suo in tempore.}
\end{align*}
\]

So also does st. 2 after the first Responsory in R(22) illustrate the type of reference that has its counterpart in meaning in the Bible:

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10 Holy Bible, Eo Loco.

11 Cf. Matt., Ch. 24, Vs. 45.
And st. 1 after the third Nocturne of the same Office has a short reference to the Bible:

Bonum odor coelestis hominis.\textsuperscript{13}

There is a figurative account of the cure of the lues inguinaria under the guise of a celestial avenger who cures the disease by the sword of prayer. St. 2, after the second Responsory of R(22) gives a vivid picture of the event:

\begin{verbatim}
Vastat orbem coelestis ultio,
Ruunt cives, obsistit gladio
Novus David, cessat quassatio
Et salus redditur.
Pius pater in precem sternitur,
Cedit ultor, mucro concluditur.
\end{verbatim}

This group of lines recalls an Old Testament battle\textsuperscript{14} in which David killed Goliath. Gregory is here the "New David" who saved his people from a dreadful disease and death, by his powerful faith in prayer.

"When I am weak, then am I strong", says the Evangelist Paul, and this is aptly applied to Gregory in these words after st. 4 of Laudes:

\begin{verbatim}
12 Cf. Gal., Ch. 5, Vs. 24.
13 Cf. Paul, 2 Corinth., Ch. 2, Vs. 15.
14 Cf. I Kings, Ch. 18, Vs. 48-52.
\end{verbatim}
Cum infirmus, tunc fortior.\textsuperscript{15}

Gregory was physically weak all his life, enduring physical torture to the end. This did not hinder his interested progressive achievements for the Church. His letters testify to this statement.

St. 3 of R(22), \textit{Ad Laudes} has a Biblical turn to the following lines:

\begin{quote}
Christi vigil in intimis
Mariae vacat otio
Porisque jungi proximis
Deservit Marthae studio.\textsuperscript{16}
\end{quote}

This meditative picture conjures up the well-known story of Martha's and Mary's vocation, and here it represents Gregory as combining the two for the sake of the brethren of the Christian Church.

In the Sequences quotations from the Bible appear very often from both the Old and the New Testaments. There is again a Biblical reference to a familiar expression:

\begin{quote}
Servus prudens et fidelis
Dum sponsus redit e caelis
Mente spectat sobria.\textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

S(23) has three stanzas with Biblical references\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{15} Cf. Paul, 2 Corinth, Ch. 12, Vs. 10.
\textsuperscript{16} Cf. Luke, Ch. 10, Vs. 38.
\textsuperscript{17} Cf. Matt., Ch. 24, Vs. 30-31.
\textsuperscript{18} Cf. Psalms, Ch. 146, Vs. 8.
\end{quote}
regarding fertility and abundance. St. 4 states:

Mundans eam
semper rivulis inebreatis

St. 5 continues on the same note:

Rigans montes
de superioribus nubibus

And finally in st. 6:

Ut valles abundant
frumento
et hoc sollemnio.

St. 8a of S(30) has a New Testament reference:

Monstra fecit in hac vita
Verus his Israelita.19

And an Old Testament reference in st. 8b:

Deus fecit Levi pactum
Nec paenituit transactum
Pacis atque vitae factum
Cum honoris gloria.20

The final reference to the Sequences, st. 9b of S(30) is
in the form of an intercession:

Istum deprecemur sanctum
Nos viventes, vita tantum
Ut cantemus agni cantum
Nunc et in perpetuum.21

The Biblical motifs continue in the 'Pia Dictamina'
from which are recorded the direct or indirect findings.

19 Cf. John, Ch. 1, Vs. 47.
20 Cf. Mala., Ch. 4, Vs. 4, 5.
21 Cf. Apoc., Ch. 15, Vs. 3.
St. 1 of P(7) has this quotation:

Cibis sacris angelorum
Et da vinum electorum. 22

There are several places in the Bible using the expression: "corn of the elect, and wine of the virgins" 23; "you furnish your people with the 'food of angels' and furnish them with 'bread from heaven'" 24 and "God give you dew from heaven and fruitfulness of the earth, and abundance of grain and wine" 25. All these expressions have reference to the Body and Blood of Christ, the Host, and can be taken as an indirect reference in the lines above. The same hymn in st. 3 had another Biblical motif and refers to the mystical vision which Gregory always possessed. This stanza calls on all who have put on Christ to rejoice:

Gaude, tu, qui suscepisti
Jesum Christum, quem vidisti. 26

This allusion is to the yoke of Jesus which Gregory assumed in the form of mortification, poverty and suffering for his neighbor just as his Master did.

The hymns as a whole keep in mind that Gregory is

22 Cf. Zach., Ch. 9, Vs. 17.
23 Cf. Ibid.
24 Cf. Wisdom, Ch. 16, Vs. 20.
25 Cf. Gen., Ch. 3, Vs. 27.
26 Cf. Gal., Ch. 3, Vs. 27.
the "good and faithful servant" who guards the sheep from
the wolf and leads the flock to the sheepfold. This view is
again echoed specifically in lines 5-8 of P(26):

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Servus prudens et fidelis
Oves praedo ne crudelis
Saviendo laceraret,
Sed ad caulas grex mearet.27
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P(34), st. 11 has a similar motif with a slightly varied
mode of expression:

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Oves tuae pascuae,
Pastor, tu guberna,
Ne luporum rabie
Mergantur ad inferna.28
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In Office R(22), st. 1, of the third Responsory
celebrates the passage from earthly life to the eternal
joys of Heaven of the Pope who had spent himself for the
success of God's Church, not permitting his poor health to
prevent achievements for the Master:

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Ex servorum sorte fidelium
Intrat is gaudium.29
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And the Antiphon beginning with the second Vespers says:

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Vale, pastor, qui modo pasceris
Collatus in loco pascuae.30
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27 Cf. Matt., Ch. 24, Vs. 45; Jer., Ch. 23.
28 Cf. John, Ch. 10, Vs. 12.
29 Cf. Matt., Ch. 25, Vs. 21.
30 Cf. Psalms, Ch. 22, Vs. 2.
The Offices are naturally more prone to quote the Bible, which reinforces the texts, and, as it were, epitomizes the whole psalm into a Biblical quotation. There are in one Office alone, R(17b), nine direct Biblical quotations. In the Versicle st. after the first Responsory the lines read:

Beatus vir, qui timet Dominum,
In mandatis eius cupidit nimir.

This quotation follows immediately after the preceding Responsory where his two-fold character is chanted, especially dwelling upon his voluntary poverty, which set him apart as a God-fearing man.

A little further on, the choir takes up the commemoration of one of the greatest acts of Gregory's reign, the conversion of the Angles, and the attending circumstances. The Versicle responds with an apt quotation from the Bible, which occurs in the Versicle st. after the second Responsory:

Quoniam Domini est regnum
et ipse dominabitur gentium.

The third reference to the Bible has to do with the mercy and truth which God seeks in His servants, and the

31 Ibid., Ch. Ill, Vs. 1.
32 Psalms, Ch. 21, Vs. 29.
consequent grace and glory which follow. Gregory hid from his great elevation, but God sought him out with the shaft of light and showered upon him "gratiam et gloriam". 

Again, the third Versicle in the first Responsory has these lines:

Quia misericordiam et veritatem dilexit Deus, gratiam et gloriam dabit Dominus.33

His repugnance to mundane affairs is the burden of the next Responsory, and his final acceptance of papal duty for his neighbor's sake:

Propter intolerabiles
Rerum curas mundanarum
Recusabat praeosulatum
Suscipere Romanorum,
Sed victus prece populi
Suscepit jugum Domini.

And the Versicular response is:

Nec fecit proxomo suo malum
et opprobrium non accepit
Adversus proximos suos.34

The Biblical quotation that follows explains concisely the response received through prayer resulting in the removal of a plague and the cure of the people. The Versicle after the fifth responsory states as follows:

33 Ibid., Ch. 14, Vs. 3.
34 Psalms, Ch. 14, Vs. 3.
Every quotation is applicable to a foregoing text. In five preceding lines the "Miracle of the Host" is recounted, and then follows the apt quotation to clinch the story. The Versicle after the sixth responsory is as follows:

A Domino factum est illud et est mirabile inculis nostris.36

The text in the next Responsory is in the nature of a panegyric, or general tribute to Gregory's sanctity of life and his easy passing to eternal bliss. The Biblical quotation gives a general salute to any innocent man who has not received his soul in vain. The Versicle after the first stanza in the third Responsory states:

Innocens manibus et mundo Corde, qui non accepit in vanum animam suam.37

Another quotation in this Office is one which is often applied to Gregory. It occurs in the 8th Versicle:

Ecce vere Israelita, in quo dolus non est.38

35 James, Ch. 5, Vs. 6.
36 Matt., Ch. 21, Vs. 42.
37 Psalms, Ch. 23, Vs. 4.
38 John, Ch. 1, Vs. 47.
Thus, the Bible with its apt quotations points up the principal virtues in the Saint's life, and renders him ideally the good shepherd worthy of imitation.

2. References to Contemporary Theological Issues.

The authority and fame of Gregory, not only as the propagator of Christianity, but also the unimpeachable organizer of the whole Church and its tradition, were incontestably established at his death. That his biographical interest ranged high in the hearts of those of the Middle Ages who were in contact with heresies, monastic weaknesses and evils similar to those that existed in the sixth century, there can be no doubt. To such exceptionally pious or sympathetic authors as the hymn-writers were bound to be, it was natural to seize upon some representative of ecclesiastical distinction, and sing of his achievements which were effective in bringing about a triple reform which was most desired in the Middle Ages. And that reform pertained to orthodoxy, to papal supremacy, to religious zeal and to social justice.

Gregory left a solid tradition behind him. The acts of his life were made available in the Biographies already alluded to. Besides these there were numerous works of
Gregory himself which were constant sources from which the medievalists felt free to draw, highly prized text-books for all, with their comprehensiveness, clarity, simplicity and careful orthodoxy. As Artz so aptly says:

...Gregory the Great was widely read for centuries and was an important medium through which all of early Christian thought was passed on to the later Middle Ages. ... He gave to the papacy a policy and a position which have never been lost, and he would be a man of great significance on history even if he had never written a line. 39

The sixth century possessed vast significance for the subsequent history of Christendom. The Eastern Emperor had withdrawn from Italy and this provided the papacy, in the hands of Gregory, with an unique opportunity for making the purest spirit of Christianity reign at the center of the Catholic Church. On the question of papal supremacy, Gregory I paved the way for Gregory VII. He set the pace for the principles which would inspire Innocent III to repress heresy. "No one has more clearly affirmed the right possessed by the Church to judge heretics, and the duty of the state to repress them as disturbers of the social order" 40


influence of anti-papal practices on barbarian chiefs who came to treat at Justinian's court; on the other, the hierarchical system of the Eastern Church, which little by little had undermined the spiritual purposes of the Church, had put the whole episcopate under the domination of the patriarch of Constantinople, the latter being at the feet of the Emperor. The Persian wars and the internal disturbances of the Eastern provinces of the Empire, where the people were tearing each other in pieces in the doctrinal dispute of Monophysitism, had ruined the prestige of the patriarch of Alexandria. Antioch was worse, as one had to pass through the Emperor's creature, the Bishop of Byzantium, to become Bishop of Antioch. In fact, it should have been called the Emperor's episcopate, for it was a sort of council which constantly assembled within reach of the imperial palace, and enabled the Emperor to transport the episcopal body from place to place\(^41\).

It was this sort of life which, as papal nuncio at Constantinople, Gregory witnessed and participated in, with all its dazzling splendor, causing his subsequent withdrawal with his friends to confer on his favorite volume, *The Book of Morals on Job*, commonly called the *Moralia*. This was his first literary work and in it we find accounts of

various theological disputes with Eutyches who professed an erroneous doctrine on the impalpability of bodies after the resurrection. His account is of great dogmatic and exegetical interest. In this book too he tells us that Eutyches abjured his error. But later, as Pope, while barbarians were founding new kingdoms destined to grow, Gregory the Great stood forth as father and protector of the West, insisting upon the recognition of the Holy See in all parts of Christendom, confirming it by instituting a system of appeals to the Holy See. When Justinian, in order to restore the Monophysites to favor, condemned the Three Chapters, thus slighting the Council of Chalcedon, Pope Gregory, some thirty years later, recommended that "Honor should be paid to the first four councils, Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, as to the four Gospels, thus by implication placing the Fifth Council (the Second Council of Constantinople) on a lower level. Thus, by gradually weakening this strong heresy, it finally died out. We have numerous letters of Pope Gregory regarding this question of the Three Chapters. Besides this strong heresy,

44 Ibid., Bk. 5, Ep. 8, p. 729.
Gregory was trying to weaken Manichaeanism in those who were enjoying the fruits of the patrimony of St. Peter, by advocating strictness towards them to bring them back to the faith of Christ. Also, regarding the Donatists who had defected from the Christian faith, he orders the Bishops of Africa to vigorously seek them out. All these plus Nestorianism call for stringent attention on the part of the great Pope. How it was to be treated we find in detail in his letters.

Of the references to the Moralia the earliest one is in st. 4 of H(12), written in the 12th century. Just as this work of Gregory's champions orthodoxy mentioned above, so again the great Holy Roman Emperors' struggle with the Church in the 12th century strongly entrenched under Gregory VII and later under Paschal II and Callistus II, ended in a papal victory. The hymns reference is as follows:

Hic fidem sacram vigilanter firmat,
Arma errorum subiglt potenter,
Maculas morum lavat et repellit
Dogmate claro.

His zeal for correct doctrine is found in H(38). Written in the latter part of the tenth century or the

45 Ibid., Bk. 6, Ep. 65, p. 848.
46 Ibid., Bk. 11, Ep. 67, p. 1204.
earlier eleventh, it leaves us no doubt that reference is made to this chaotic age. Concerning orthodoxy, a dispute arose over the procession of the Holy Ghost from both the Father and the Son. A council at Trosle, near Soissons, in the year 909, proclaimed that "the Holy Ghost proceeds both from the Father and the Son", and classified the denial of this doctrine as a blasphemous error of the Greeks. The patriarch of Constantinople was so angry at Pope Sergius III that he later struck his name from the Diptychs.

We find the hymns voicing strong tributes of orthodoxy to Gregory who was a well-known defender of true doctrine. H(38), st. 3, states;

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Instat doctrina orthodoxa} \\
\text{Digna sortitus praemia}
\end{align*}
\]

To understand this remark it is necessary to say a few words about the learned argument on the Blessed Trinity in the eleventh century by Roscellinus, famous for dialectical arguments, and the pupil of the renowned Gerbert. Regarding this argument, Artz says:

The Church Fathers, and later Erigena, had taken the Neo-Platonic position that truth or reality consists of a series of forms in the mind of God, and what we see and know are only reflections of

48 Afterwards Pope Sylvester II.
these realities and are of secondary importance. ... The general theory that all parts are absorbed in a transcendent whole fitted the purposes of the Church, ... Some form or other of this philosophic Realism, summed up in the formula, *universalis ante rem*, has always been the basis of orthodox philosophy in the Roman Church.

Before the eleventh century these ideas, except in the writings of Erigena, usually appear only in purely theological arguments. ... In a famous argument on the Trinity, in the eleventh century, Roscellinus (d.1122) attacked the Realist attitude of the Church and made an extreme statement of the opposite position. ... The orthodox Realist point of view was powerfully restated by Anselm (d.1109), the Archbishop of Canterbury, and after Augustine, the next important thinker in orthodox Catholic thought. 49

The plea for the Orthodox Faith in the hymn mentioned is possibly bound up in this heresy of the eleventh century which was only one of the many with which the Church had to contend.

The non-liturgical hymn HNL(8), a composition of the 13th century, easily fits in with the temporal supremacy of the papacy effected by Innocent III in his struggle with Philip Augustus of France, and the Fourteenth Ecumenical Council where the ambassadors of the Greek Emperor presented a letter written in the name of fifty archbishops and five hundred bishops of the Eastern Church, accepting the Roman primacy and the "Filioque" in the Creed. A direct reference to the *Moralia* is found in st. of this hymn:

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Ave, qui tractans mores Iob beati
Vivere doces languidos et pati,
Nunc in sanctorum coetu confessorum
Iure refulgis.

And then in st. 2, the simply expressed prayer that God be propitious to the desires of the Council.

O confessores Domini sacra,
Candidis stolis vita decorati,
Deum orate, rei ut optatae
Donet assensum.

In the hymns no more mention is made of Gregory's Moralia until the late Middle Ages, the 15th century, when the whole Church was torn asunder by the Great Schism and the whole period was characterized by disunion. In fact, the years between 1420-1471 are known as the fifty critical years when the papacy was faced by the menace of heresy and schism. Again the papal supremacy was challenged by the Conciliar Movement and the Pope faced the task of rebuilding Sion. 50 It is no wonder then that saintly thought turned to the Champion of papal supremacy and orthodoxy, Gregory the Great. S(39) relates all his good deeds, calling him the "watcher" in st. 2b:

Qui iuxta sui nominis
Quem sollocotudinis
Vigilavit instantia.

And in st. 3b, the hymn includes among his other literary

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deeds the reference to the Moralia:

Fecit et Job Moralia.

That he wrote the Moralia is verified by one of his own letters in which he says:

Dulcissimae autem mihi fratemitati vestrae
Codices direxi, quorum notitiam subter inseru i.
Et autem quae in beati Job expositione dicta
fuerant, et vobis dirigenda scribitis, quia haec
verbis...

And also Paulus Diaconus tells us the complete story of its origin:

Tunc ab eisdem fratibus obnoxie rogatus,
maximeque a Leandro, venerabili viro,
Hispalensi episcope, qui pro causis Visigothorum legatus eo
tempore Constantinopolim advenerat, compulsus est
ut librum beati Job multis involutum mysteriis
enodaret. Nec ille negare potuit opus, quod sibi
charitate Interveniente, amor fraternus multis
utile imponebat futurum. Sed eundem librum
quomodo...

And so from Gregory's actual deeds in the sixth century to the great disaster in the sixteenth - the Protestant Revolt - there is a tremendous rebound of affection, appreciation and dependability in the hearts of all Christians who sincerely longed for the security of the Church and the salvation of mankind.

52 Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 8, p. 45.

St. Gregory the Great's correspondence shows how effective was the influence of the papacy especially upon the Frankish Church. As Mourret quotes: "St. Gregory exercised the powers that had strengthened the authority of the Apostolic See in the fifth century and had been made more precise at the beginning of the sixth century in southern Gaul\textsuperscript{53}. The apprehension and fears of the Pope appear on every page of his correspondence when he viewed the vast field which Providence gave him for exercising his zeal: the Lombards were threatening Rome and spreading terror\textsuperscript{54} on all sides; in fact, on all frontiers barbarians were pouring in stirring up future trouble; on the south, weak and enervated races, on the north, defiant and destructive forces without an emperor who could control affairs. Only the Bishop of Rome was capable of growing stronger in the midst of these dreadful burdens. Month by month in the Registrum we can follow him in the varied social and religious concern that absorbed his attention.


\textsuperscript{54} Gregory, Registrum Bk., I, Ep. 31, p. 483; Ep. 17, p. 462; Ep. 36, p. 760; Bk. 2, Ep. 46, p. 583.
We find him watching over every phase of social life from private deals to public contributions. Pressing social needs were additional reason for Gregory to watch over the patrimonies which were at the disposal of the poor. Found here and there in the Letters are references which help us to form an idea of the plan and forethought of this socially alert and charitable Pope. It was especially in watching over the management of these patrimonies that Gregory showed that he was a vigilant and sympathetic overseer, rewarding the good caretakers and chiding the dishonest.

The holy Pope was solicitous especially for the welfare of the people, whether coloni or slaves, who labored in the sweat of their brow. On the first day of each month he distributed to the poor their set portion of corn, wine, cheese, oil, fish, fresh provisions, clothes, and money; and his bursars were continually called upon to supply in special cases of merit or poverty, the money that was needed. One letter which especially warns the conductores against exacting any burdens of the rusticos who he learns are suffering from unjust prices and other grievances which Gregory enumerates, serves to explain just how greatly

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concerned was this great prelate with every detail under his control. In fact the management and organization of the patrimonies are the masterpiece of his vigilance for the poor.

The "Dialogues" make up a golden legend of the lives of the Saints in four volumes; or, more clearly stated, it is the life and miracles of the Italian Fathers and deals with the immortality of the soul. Written in 593 it deals with the religious life of man in Gregory's day, being bound up with the supernatural. In all probability, Gregory merely put into writing what he had often repeated orally the stories which the old monks had related to the young monks when Gregory was in the monastery. In it Gregory directs the thought of man to the future, to life everlasting, with unsurpassed freshness, making use of marvellous stories without investigating their sources. Though he seems to have exaggerated in the use of fiction, he found it necessary to draw men's minds away from the pagan superstition of the day.

To understand the hymns dedicated to Gregory one would have to be familiar with the Dialogues, for there are more than a few references to them. If the reader has knowledge of the second Dialogue he will note the cautious selectivity that made the authors of the hymns choose their miracle allusions to correspond with those of Gregory's
own type. There are seven accounts of the "ship-wrecked sailor": two in the Breviary Hymns, three in the Sequences, and two in the Offices. Again, there are nine allusions to the power over the demon, including Trajan's rescue from hell: one in the Breviary Hymns, two in the 'Pia Dictamina', four in the Sequences, and two in the Offices.

One miracle that seems to be of authentic origin, is the cure of the pestilence which Gregory's biographers carefully note. All these types of miracles have their counterpart in Dialogue II. For example, "A generous supply of flour is discovered in front of the abbey during a famine"57, or "After death two nuns are freed from excommunications through the saint's offertory gift"58, etc.

Clearly the legend miracle of the vision of Tarsilla, Gregory's aunt, in S(30), is a story taken from the Dialogues59. St. 3a of the hymn states as follows:

Virgo saeculo pusilla  
Eius amita Tarsilla,  
Deo vigilans ancilla,  
Vidit Jesum dulciter.

The same story regarding his aunt is found in Dialogues IV "De transitu Tharsillae sacrae virginis". Both tell of the appearance of Jesus to Tharsilla when she was about to die.

56 Ibid., Ch. 23, p. 91.
Again, there are a number of references to the power of the Mass in the fourth Dialogues, which would inspire the authors of the hymns to center their attention on the "Miracle of the Host". There are six references to that miracle in the hymns: one in the 'Pia Dictamina' three in the Sequences, and two in the Offices.

In the "Dialogues" the ordinary faithful were not forgotten, but this work helps more than any other writing to promote the Benedictine form of monasticism. As one would expect from a man with such a practical turn of mind, Gregory had quite a lot to say about the sacraments. He was responsible for the present arrangement of the Mass, adding to the list of Saints in the Canon of the Mass which probably was first arranged by Pope Symmachus who was noted for his devotion to the martyrs, and then by Gregory's addition of seven feminine saints: Perpetua, Felicitas, Agnes, Agatha, Lucy, Cecilia and Anastasia.

There are many stories in the Dialogues devoted to austerity motifs, showing that this asceticism was uppermost in Gregory's mind. And so in studying the Dialogues there is much room for any form of miracle that may be handled in the hymns, and may be necessary to show the

60 Ibid., Dialogues IV, Chs. 59, 60, 61, p. 270-274.
sanctity and moral greatness of a great saint in the person of Gregory the Great.

Before leaving the Dialogues, there is one particular type of medieval literature, which was taken from the Dialogus and called exempla or sermons, which is spoken of in H(13), st. 5:

Scriptis insudat, homilias praedicat,Narrat exempla, dilucidat obscura.

The importance of these exempla is shown by Helin who states as follows:

Collections of exempla began to multiply from the end of the twelfth century. The most important ones were translated by Jacques de Vitry, used to furnish preachers with anecdotes suited to strike the imagination of the faithful.

While Eastern monasticism declined during this time partly because of bitter controversies in which the monks were involved, in the West monasticism spread and flourished, and the monks became pioneers of Christian civilization. They preached the Gospel, served the poor and sick, instructed the young in religion in various arts and crafts. But McSorley also says that the monks

62 Helin, Medieval Latin Literature, p. 119.
64 Ibid., cf. note 23, p. 156.
occasionally disturbed the peace of the Church by their quarrels with the secular clergy, their jealousy of one another, their ambition for power and wealth. Pope Gregory labored to preserve distinction between monks and secular clergy, not giving too much freedom to the monks or too much power to the clergy.

In his Liber Regulae Pastoralis, Gregory collected the rules which regulated the lives and doctrine of pastors, of shepherds toward their sheep, thus giving form and life to the body of the hierarchy - an important contribution to the thought of the Middle Ages. It had a great influence on the religious world. Like the "Dialogues" it is divided into four parts: the first dealing with vocations, qualiter veniat; the second, with the duties of a true bishop, qualiter vivat; the third, with the type of instructions he must give, qualiter doceat; and the fourth, with the reflections he should make on himself from time to time to locate his motivation in his actions, qualiter se cognoscat. The entire work is inspired by this thought, that the government of souls is the art of arts, ars artium regimen animarum.

Because Pope Gregory found it necessary to rebuke Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne, for his interest in profane studies, teaching grammar and rhetoric rather than the saving truths which were so necessary at this time to instill
into the minds of the Gallic people, he holds a much disputed place in his attitude towards the Liberal Studies. But, indeed, if anyone reads the Regula Pastoralis he will find that Gregory in explaining a text from the Book of Kings urges a knowledge of studies drawn from secular branches, saying that when we are dissuaded from acquiring secular learning, we are deprived of the swords and lances which are necessary to hold the enemy at bay.

While the letter to Desiderius surely had an underlying provocation, Gregory's attitude toward profane literature is sufficiently clear in his writings and especially in his Letters, one of which, Johannes Diaconus emphasizes in his Vita with the words: "Nam Gregorius nihil in suis episcopus magis, quam sanctitatem, sapientiam et liberalitatem curiosissime quaeritabat". Indeed, this was the reason for the writing of the Pastoralis Regula, to circumvent the teaching of pagan studies and to examine and emphasize the duties of the pastoral office. It became in the Middle Ages just as it was intended to be in the sixth century, the code of clerical life, as the Rule of St. Benedict became the code of monastic life.

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65 Gregory, Register, Bk. 7, Ep. 11, p. 865.
spread in Spain by Leander of Seville. In England Alfred the Great had it translated into the Saxon tongue. In 1869 Cerruti\textsuperscript{68}, curator of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, translated and published a 13th century edition of it.

The similarity of following centuries, especially of those when reform and dedication were needed, is recognized in the hymns which in so many instances are devoted to pleas for a change of conduct. Raby seems to be speaking of Gregory’s time when he says of the tenth century:

The tenth century had seen the life of the Church at a low ebb. ... The sense of danger produced a strong movement towards reform within the Church. It was a movement whose driving force was the monastic ideal of the separation of the Church from the world as understood by the monks of Cluny\textsuperscript{69},

This reform movement deeply affected the religious life of Europe. Groups of ascetics followed their leaders, among whom was Peter Damiani, and when he was made Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, like Gregory, he saw his soul daily in peril from contact with the world. But the spiritual reform of the clergy was uppermost in his mind. This similarity of character and this sameness of desire for the clerical reform, warranted this deep seated appeal to Gregory as the Norma monachorum uttered by Damiani in st. 5 of H(2):

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid., cf. note 67.

\textsuperscript{69} Raby, Op. Cit., p. 250.
And to show Damiani's admiration for Gregory the Great, the AH says: "Gregor war der Patron eines von Damiani gegründeten" 70.

In H(11), st. 6, the mere sentence, Gessit et curam pastoris, includes a strong and tender reference to the composition of the Pastoralis Regula.

In H(12), st. 5, the two expressions, norma pastorum, and speculum cleri, have the same intention of praising Gregory.

Most of the other references in the hymns to the Regula pastoralis have the later reform of the fifteenth and sixteenth in mind as these hymns were all written in the later period.

Specific mention is often made in the hymns to another renowned work of Gregory's, the Homiliae super Evangelia and the Homiliae Ezechielis. These, the forty homilies on the Gospel and the twenty-two homilies on Ezechiel, gained an immense popularity at the time contemporary with Gregory and in later periods. They are eminently communicative, living, pastoral and well adapted to the dispositions of men at that time 71. The siege of Rome under Agilulf kept the

70 Cf. note in AH, (41), p. 45.
Pope from completing his Homilies at that time, and the calamities that happened all around him led him to believe that the end of the world was at hand, and so this belief is the burden of his last Homilies on Ezechiel, and we find fear expressed in one\textsuperscript{72} of his letters. His last homilies are filled with this dread. Louis Veuillot, a great apologist of the Church tells us how Gregory saw the world going to a simultaneous moral and physical ruin by heresy on the one hand, disease and earthquakes on the other, and yet he kept it from falling, sparing neither body nor soul.\textsuperscript{73}

Specific mention is made of the two sets of Homiliae Ezechielis in S(39), 3a:

\begin{quote}
Hic exposuit obscuras \\
Ezechielis scripturas \\
Dictant Dei gratia.
\end{quote}

And also in 3b of the same hymn:

\begin{quote}
Et super evangelia \\
Quadraginta eulogia.
\end{quote}

It is related that twenty of the Gospel homilies were preached by Gregory but the other twenty were preached by a notary because Agilulf was approaching with the Lombards and Gregory had to save his people. Like another Leo the


\textsuperscript{73} Louis Veuillot, Le Parfum de Rome, Vol. 1, p. 110.
Great who went out to meet Attila, Gregory the Great went forth to meet Agilulf. He was temporarily successful in warding off attack as Agilulf turned north. All this goes to prove how trying were the times during which the Homiliae were written, and how they were used to keep up the morale of the people. The hymns make frequent allusions to his oratorical ability and his power of preaching. The first reference is found in H(2), st. 6, where his eloquence is as honey-dew dropping from his lips, through which he won over the hardest hearts:

Mella cor obdulcantia  
Tua distillant labia,  
Fragrantum vim aromatum  
Tuum vincit eloquium.

H(43), st. 2, uses two comparisons: those of sweet flowing honey to life-giving milk of little ones and of the food for the strong:

Sacra culus eloquia  
Vitae ferentis pascua  
Lac potum donant parvulis  
Cibum ministrant validis.

The Sequences refer to his eloquence in short expressions. S(1), st. 6b, states:

Ore mellito loquitur  
...

And S(30), st. 7a, also concisely says:

... recte dixit,  
Quo malivolos adflixit,  
...

The Whitby Life has a special tribute to Gregory's oratorical ability:

Quod tam plene tamque ab eo suspicit sapienter
qui est Dei sapientia in mysterio abscondita,
quem predestinavit Deus ante secula in gloriam
nostram, ut a gente Romana que ceteris mundo
intonat sublimius propriè de aurea oris eius
gratia, os aureum appellatur.\textsuperscript{74}

Since 24 of the hymns are products of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, they are possible reminders of the abuses that existed in the Church preceding and during the Protestant revolution and voice a strong hope and prayer for their correction. The popes of the sixteenth century were in the midst of the revival of art, literature and scholarship, to the neglect of spiritual development.

\textit{H}(13), st. 4, is a possible outcry against the pride of the papacy, or, at least, a reminder of the days when the Pope stood for heavenly humility, as opposed to the material interests and mundane affairs which occupied the Popes of this age who should have recognized earthly government as temporary expedients:

\begin{quote}
Papa fit urbis, caput totius orbis,
In forma Christi corpus monstrat digiti,
Servum Servorum primus scribit se ipsum,
Humilis praesul, pius inopum consul.
\end{quote}

\textit{H}(14), written in the 15th century, contains an

\textsuperscript{74} Gasquet, \textit{Op. Cit.}, Ch. 24, p. 32.
urgent prayer for spiritual light and virtue, and seems an echo of the agony in which the Church was then:

O Gregori, dulcisimum
Sancti spiritus organum
Atque virtutum speculum,
Posce nobis suffragium.

These lines clearly reflect the cry for reform of the clergy and have direct reference to the Regula Pastoralis. Likewise, H(21), st. 2, is a possible rebuke to the great number of clergy who were not zealous or who had forgotten their first Love:

Hic sacro fervens studio
Totum se vovit Domino,

Another rebuke to worldly clergy including the popes is in H(36), st. 2, and seems to echo the Mystical idea of the great reformers of the 14th century whose voice preceded the protestant uprising, in stating that the external world is an illusion and should be shut out:

Quibus hac vita demonstrasti pabula
Vitae aeternae permansura lumine,
Docens terens fore transitoria
Nil in hac vita carnis prosit gloria,

The last line is the most important in bringing out the message of the whole: Nil in hac vita carnis prosit gloria.

One of the greatest currents of reaction to the world was the mystical ideal of the 14th and 15th centuries, and earlier. We seem to hear an echo from the Moralia with the same message:
Ex cuius videlicet carne in hujus exsilii caecitate nati, audivimus quidem coelestem esse patriam, audivimus eorumdem angelorum socios spiritus justorum et perfectorum. Sed carnales quique, quia illa invisibilia scire non valent per experimentum, dubitant utrumne sit quod coeporalibus oculis non vident.\(^75\)

One of the most pointed references in the hymns to the deeds of the Council of Trent which followed the Protestant Revolt, is found in H(24), st. 5. Since Pope Julius III (1550-1555) published a comprehensive scheme for the reformation of the clergy which caused great excitement\(^76\), the author of this hymn composed in 1553, probably had Gregory's similar reforms in mind when he wrote:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Post eleri ritus statuit precesque,} \\
\text{Cuncta restaurans monumenta sedis,} \\
\text{Ordines cleri revocansque sacros} \\
\text{Papa creatus.}
\end{align*}
\]

St. 6 of the same hymn contains the substance of a prayer of intercession, such as may have been used at the Council of Trent:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nunc tuis praesens sis, Gregori,} \\
\text{Corde sincere flagitamus omnes,} \\
\text{Quatenus sacris sociemur astris} \\
\text{Arce polorum.}
\end{align*}
\]

The Council of Trent encountered stiff opposition throughout its course and many a prayer of the type above

\(^75\) Gregory, Moralia, Bk. 4, Ch. 1, p. 317, in Migne P. L., Vol. 77.

was needed for its success. The most natural saint to invoke was Gregory, the great reform Pope.

In the tragic events afflicting society, again a similar tragedy, the "Black Death", carries the hymnologist back to Gregory's *lues inguinaria* of the sixth century. P(7), st. 3, states:

\[
\text{Gaude tu, qui suscepisti} \\
\text{Jesum Christum, quem vidisti,} \\
\text{Dum egenos collegisti,} \\
\text{Serva nos a fame tristi.}
\]

Since all the 'Pia Dictamina' are late productions, each has a particular bearing on the one great tragedy, the Protestant Revolt, and each has a special reference to the great literary works of Gregory the Great, pointing out the way to clerical reform, or pleading for some heavenly hand to guide them on the right path. H(ll), st. 6, has a mere sentence *Gessit et curam pastoris*, which certainly has reference to the *Regula Pastoralis*, and the Sequences refer to this work when they state in S(1), st. 8b:

\[
\text{Omnis pastor informatur} \\
\text{Rex cum clero gloriatur,} \\
\text{ejus sapientia.}
\]

And in S(39), st. 8a:

\[
\text{Ordinatus pastoralem} \\
\text{Librum fecit, in quo, qualem} \\
\text{Praesulum esse deceat.}
\]

The references to his place as a writer by the hymnologists of the Middle Ages are numerous in a general way,
but in a specific way, special notice is taken of Gregory's particular contribution through his particular works. His importance as a writer may be judged by the numerous allusions to his compositions, and especially in the following general motifs in the hymns which pay tribute in every respect to Gregory's penetrative mind in seeking truth and urging reform. One such general reference is found in H(2), st. 7, where Gregory is eulogized for his supernatural ability to delve into the secrets of the Scriptures:

Scripturae sacrae mystica
Mire solvis aenigmata,
Theorica mysteria
Te docet ipsa veritas.

H(11), st. 4, likewise states:

Fulgent verbis et sensibus
Ejus dogmata omnia,
Sancti ut credant spiritus
Donum fuisse maximum.

All his works are referred to in H(12), st. 5:

Norma pastorum, monachorum gemma
Speculum cleri, pater orphansorum,
Sancte Gregori.
That Gregory actually composed these works attributed to him is asserted by Bede\textsuperscript{77}, Paulus Diaconus\textsuperscript{78}, Johannes Diaconus\textsuperscript{79} and others.

\textsuperscript{77} Bede, \textit{Ecclesiastical History}, Bk. 2, Ch. 1, p. 63-66.

\textsuperscript{78} Paulus Diaconus, \textit{Op. Cit.}, Ch. 8, p. 45; Ch. 14, p. 48; Ch. 28, p. 57.

\textsuperscript{79} Johannes Diaconus, \textit{Op. Cit.}, Bk. 4, Ch. 75, p. 226.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

As was indicated in the introduction of this thesis, the numerous Gregory hymns of every kind and type: Sequences, Rhythmical Offices, Breviary Hymns, Tropes, and 'Pia Dictamina' were to be and have been investigated to reveal in every way possible the belief in the supremacy of the spiritual, in aspiration towards the divine, in an attempt to represent the infinite power and goodness of the divine as the vocation of man. To this end the numerous legends of St. Gregory, the details of which are given in their respective texts in the hymns dedicated to him, are deeply significant of the period in which they were composed.

On the basis of chronological analysis, a two-fold division of the history and development of the medieval St. Gregory hymns results:

In the first period of the composition of Breviary Hymns, the tenth and the eleventh centuries, characteristic of the times, emphasis is placed on the miraculous, although there is frequent reference also to historical recordings and influence of St. Gregory proceeding from the prose texts or Lives devoted to him. The resulting productivity of this early period shows a more definite theological outlook, than during the previous years of Charlemagne's attack on the "Wild Saxons" and others; so that any one who
is interested in the progress of religion and society after 
Charlemagne, and the traditional thought of his time, is 
amply convinced that the existing conditions caused saintly 
men to look back three hundred years to a Saint, who was 
gifted especially for social and religious reform.

The student of history, especially of ecclesiastical 
history, will notice that the strength of Gregory 
was ever longingly summoned when there was a decline in 
society, and where there was need of moral reform, above 
all monastic reform. In these early centuries, the tenth 
and the eleventh, when the papacy was in a struggle with the 
Ottos and the Henrys, and the Clunia Reform was at its 
height, saintly men turned to the past, and ardently sighed 
for another Gregory to champion the cause of the Church, as 
was done in the sixth century. All these events are bound 
up with the history of the Age.

Not many of the miracles appear in the second 
division of Gregory hymns, which are in great part from 
the pen of ardent champions of later morals. In these 
hymns only the solid facts appear, facts that make Gregory 
the apostle of prowess, of vigor, and that make him an 
untiring zealot for recovering poor erring humanity. In 
this late period, there are nine Breviary Hymns, one Office, 
three Sequences, and eight 'Pia Dictamina' which present
the biography of a man whose popularity for moral progress and reform was here to stay.

In an intensive study of this sort, the mind is centered on the spiritual, the intellectual, and the social grip which concerned the general movement of Medieval History. Other studies of a similar nature will serve to offset the general complaint, that, in the earlier Middle Ages, there is a lack of adequate sources; and for the later Middle Ages, there are an insufficient number of monographic studies on which to base an adequate general account. For, where else do we find a fuller answer to perplexing problems of this obscure period than in the hymns, which, handled by the internal method described in the introduction of this thesis, probe and interpret the minds and ideas of the masses of the Middle Ages?

Finally, to summarize, the hymns follow the history, the thought, the religion of the Post-Carolingian period to the so-called Protestant Reformation, and by calling up Gregory the Great's achievements, the authors carry us back to the sixth century, where his deeds, his social reforms, and his literary works bring us face to face with one of the main pillars on which the Middle Ages were built - Gregory the Great.
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This work is conducive to reflection and research on material dealing with the High Middle Ages.
A factual account of the principal events in Pope Gregory's life.

The author laments the lack of continuity and scholarly works regarding the literature of the Middle Ages, and fills in by his own scholarly article another chronological resumé of the literary types, which have a definite background for the knowledge of history.

A complete outline of the development of Christian-Latin Poetry, from its beginning to the fourteenth century. Much information is included within these pages on the Medieval Literary types in each century, and on the analysis of the literary genre in its general contribution to a knowledge of the social and cultural.

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This work in two volumes draws a vivid picture of the medieval spiritual world of Notker's time and gives him a definite place in the world of poetry.
ABSTRACT OF

An Analysis of the Medieval Latin Hymns in Honor of Saint Gregory

A complete internal analysis of all types of the authentic hymns dedicated to Pope Saint Gregory the Great in the Middle Ages was the designed purpose of this thesis. Such an analysis has a definite place in the evaluation and penetration of the history and thought of the Middle Ages, through the hymns dedicated to Gregory the Great.

In the first Section of Chapter I the hymns were classified, and each defined and relegated to the group to which it belonged. Next, in the second Section, the origin and authorship of each hymn were carefully traced with the use of available and qualified references. The third Section ushered in the external analysis with the versification and verse peculiarities of these hymns, geared to the formation of a new and comprehensive insight into a literary content whose understanding reveals a deep and extremely rich mine of cultural and historical material of medieval literary history.

In Chapter II, the first and second Sections show a careful and penetrating internal analysis of the

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1 Sister M. Kathleen, doctoral thesis presented to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa, Ontario, December 1962, x-207 p.
biographical elements, historical and legendary, whose understanding is destined to lead to a closer sympathy for the period involved, and to reflect the current thought of a large section of the medieval masses. In succeeding Sections, the third presents Gregory in ever more important form drawn as it is from the Medieval Lives which dominated faithful accounts of this Saint from the Carolingian to the High Middle Ages. Since there are only three Lives of the great Saint, these are heavily drawn upon to confirm important statements. The fourth Section throws deep illumination on the question of saints' lives as viewed by the medievalist, especially emphasizing the power that saints could cure diseases and allay public calamities.

In Chapter III, Section one deals with the Biblical allusions traced to their sources in the Bible pointing out the fact medieval men had their minds on God, believing that He reveals Himself to them through the Bible. In the second Section of this chapter are references to the theological or doctrinal disputes many of which are contained in the Pope's Letters and other works around which he produced much of his written thought. This Section as does the third reveals Gregory as the type of reformer whom every medievalist remembered when his own age was troubled by the need of a like reform. Here is the feel of history which no other method can express! This part also led into
the field of Gregory's own works recounting their great influence which penetrated into the very lives of the faithful. More than once there is confrontation with the corrupting influences and acts of a later age which called forth an hymnological appeal to Gregory who was a witness of the Faith and gave his life for its sake in the seventh century for similar breaches of good morals.

Since, up to now, a straightforward, unbroken description of legendary motifs such as are in the Gregory hymns is quite rare, it is hoped that a similar study of other groups of hymns will not only help toward the systematic classification and synthesis of an important field of literature, but also aid in scattering the errors and misconceptions of a literary historical period so little known because so little explored.
De sancto Gregorio.

1. Anglorum jam apostolus,
   Nunc angelorum socius,
   Ut tunc, Gregori, gentibus
   Succurre jam credentibus.

2. Tu largas opum copias
   Ommemque mundi gloriam
   Sperrnis, ut inops inopem
   Jesum sequaris principem.

3. Videtur egens naufragus,
   Dum stipem petit, angelus,
   Tu nummulum post geminam
   Praebes et vas argenteum.

4. Ex hoc te Christus tempore
   Suae praeferit ecclesiae,
   Sic Petri gradum percipis,
   Cujus et normam sequeris.

5. O pontifex egregie,
   Lux et decus ecclesiae,
   Non sinas in periculis,
   Quos tot mandatis instruis.

6. Mella cor obdulcantia
   Tua distillant labia,
   Fragrantum vim aromatum
   Tuum vincit eloqulum.

7. Scripturae sacrae mystica
   Mire solvis aemigmata,
   Theorica mysteria
   Te docet ipsa veritas.

8. Tu nactus apostolicam
   Vicem simul et gloriam,
   Nos solve culpae nexibus,
   Redde polorum semibus.

9. Sit patri laus ingenito,
   Sit decus unigenito,
   Sit honor ineffabili
   Majestas summa flamini.

ms. S. Sophiae Beneventan. saec. 11. Cod. Neapolitan. VI. E 43 B.-
2, 5 Sperrnis fehlt A.-9, 5 Sit utriusque parili B.- Verfasser ist
Petrus Damiani, in dessen Werken der Hymnus steht (Migne 145,957).
XLVIII, 45

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Anglorum iam apostolus,
Numa angelorum socius,
Ut tunc, Gregori, gentibus
Sucessure iam credentibus.

2. Tu largas opum opias
Omnemque mundi gloriam
Spernis, ut inops inopem
Jesum sequaris princem.

3. Videtur egens naufragus,
Dum stipem petit, angelus,
Tu munus iam post geminum
Praebes et vas argenteum.

4. Ex hoc te Christus tempore
Suae praefert ecclesiae,
Sia Petri gradum percipis,
Cuius et normam sequeris.

5. O pontifex egregie,
Lux et decus ecclesiae,
Non sina in pericula,
Quos tot mandatis construis.

6. Mella cor abdulsantia
Tua distillant labia,
Frangrantim vim aromatum
Tuum vincit eloquium.

7. Scripturae sacras mystica
Mire solvis enigmata,
Theorica mysteria
Te docet ipsa veritas.

8. Tu nactus apostolicam
Vitam simul et gloriam,
Nos solve culpae nexibus,
Redde polorum sedibus.

9. Sit patri laus ingenito,
Sit decus unigenito,
Sit utriusque parili
Majestas summa flamini.

In sancti Gregorii.

1. Claret sacrata jam dies,\nquo urbis Romae pontifex\nPolum solutos ex carne\nGregorius petierat.

2. Tunc magis altum moribus\nDoctrinae egregium\npubertatis tempore\nAlnum gerebat spiritum.

3. O magnum decus ecclesiae,\n0 sacerdotum gloria,\nDum gregi praestat pabulum\nvers laudet mysteria.

4. Fulgent verbis et sensibus\nEt munus maximi populi\nFavet spiritus sancti ut credant.

5. Praebent salutis copiam\nSale præcepta condita\nRigas corda mysterii.

6. Gessit et curam pastoris,\nUt gentibus ferret opem,\nAnglos convertit ad fidem\nAddens plabem ecclesiae.

7. Nam ejus inter caetera\nVirtutum et documenta,\nQuod gessit post obitum\Suum Romae ad spelaeum:

8. Quidam caecus, a parvulo\Suo privato lumine,\Antrum excubat avidius,\Lumen requirit perditum.

9. Sed virtus alma protinus\Favet poscenti anxie,\Suis reddet obtutibus\Lucis munera oculis.

10. Quidus sane ut precibus\Juvemur omnes poscimus,\Ut coeli aulam operem\Valeamus penetrare.

11. Deo patri sit gloria.
De sancto Gregorio.

1. Fulget in coelis celebris sacerdos,
   Stella doctorum rutilat in astris,
   Fidei sacros radios per orbis
   Climae spargens.

2. (188) Israelita pius et fidelis
   Hac die junctus angelis in alto
   Regis superni meruit serenum
   Cernere vultum.

3. Give tam claro, Sion o superna,
   Laeta die laudes Domino salutis,
   Jubila, tellus, meritis protecta
   Praesulis almi.

4. Sic fidem sacram vigilanter firmat,
   Arma errorum subigit potenter,
   Saculas morum lavat et repellit
   Dogmate claro.

5. O gregis Christi speculator alme,
   Norma pastorum, monachorum gemma,
   Speculum cleri, pater orphansorum,
   Sancte Gregori.

6. Tu Dei nobis faciem placato,
   Donet ut nobis veniam reatus,
   Dona virtutum ferat et perennis
   Gaudia vitae.

7. Gloria patri genitaeque proli
   et tibi, cernat utriusque semper
   Spiritus alme, Deus unus omni
   Tempore saecli.

Orat. ms. Schönauense sec. 12; daraus bei Roth, die Visions der hl. Elisabeth von Schönau, Brünn 1931. S. 341 sq. Roth nennt als Verfasser Robert von Schönau, was vielleicht richtig, aber nicht über Zweifel erhaben ist.
De Sancto Gregorio.

1. Caudeat sancta nunc mater ecclesiae,
   Fulsa doctrinis et canticis divinis,
   Sagni pastoris, eximii doctoris
   In festo sancti praesulitis Gregorii.

2. Qui aure, gemulis, sericis inductatis
   De modum Christi fit pauper et monachi
   Villa quaerit, monasteris condit,
   Septem praedia larga dita propria.

3. Celebrem monachum fit Abbas largifluus,
   Strenuus rector pauperumque dilector,
   Dat ut naufrago argenteam angelus
   Scutellam marcis ceteris ergatibus.

4. Papa fit urbis, caput totius orbis,
   In forma Christi corpus monstrat digiti,
   Servum servorum primus scribit se ipsum,
   Humilis praesul, pius inopum consul.

5. Scriptis insudat, homilias praedicat,
   Narrat exempla, dilucidat obscura,
   Salvat Trajanum justum, licet pagenum,
   Fobribus aeger, sed facundia pulcher.

6. Sit Deo patri sempiterna gloria,
   Sit coaeerna laus et honor filio,
   Sit coaequali laus sancto spiritui,
   In caput sancti qui sedit Gregorii.

Brev. Tornacense imp. Parisius 1509.- 3, 4 ceteris sic
erogatis.- 6, 2 coaeerna.- 6, 3 coaequalis.
De Sancto Gregorio.

1. Gaude, coelestis curia,  
    Nostra resultet patria,  
    Cum recensentur annua  
    Gregorii solemnia.

2. Qui totus apostolicus,  
    Miraculis, virtutibus  
    Praeventus Dei gratia,  
    Refulsit in ecclesia.

3. Crebris correptus febribus,  
    Miris pollens affectibus,  
    Se praesumebat diligi,  
    Quod merebatur argui.

4. Psallamus totis nisibus,  
    Jungamus precem precibus,  
    Laudes canentes singuli,  
    Dicamus tanto praesuli:

5. O Gregori, dulcissimum  
    Sanotis spiritus organum  
    Atque virtutum speculum,  
    Posce nobis suffragium.

6. Ut hoc possimus consequi,  
    Quo te gaudemus perfrui  
    In summis regis gloria  
    Per infinita saecula.

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Gregori, doctor inclite,
   Tuo lustra dogmate
   Tota mater ecclesia
   Pleudat et haec solemnia.

2. Tu sidus micans fulgidum,
   Jubar solare fervidum,
   Illustres corda hominum,
   Fers animae praesidium.

3. Celsas turres ecclesiae
   Sedisque gubernacula
   Tenes regens egregie,
   Opponens propugnacula.

4. Terrenos vultus Anglicos
   Romae videns ut angelos,
   Motus misericordia
   Fideles facis Anglia.

5. Hinc carceris ergastulo,
   Carnis solutos vinculo,
   Coeli locaris hodie
   Comptus corona gloriae.

6. O sacrae apostolorum
   Dux fidei catholicae,
   Nostris adauge mentibus
   Pervorem sancti spiritus.

7. Praesta, beata trinitas,
   Concede, simplex unitas,
   Ut fructuosa sint tuis
   Jejuniorum munera.

De sancto Gregorio.

Ad Vesperas.

1. Laetetur orbis quadruus
   Piis concertans laudibus,
   Adest festum Gregorii,
   Pontificis eximii.

2. Hic sacro fervens studio
   Totum se vovit Domino,
   Verbis, scriptis et opere
   Propagator ecclesiae.

3. Gentem convertit anglicam
   Colentem idolatriam,
   Missis praedicatoribus
   Adscribens Christi ovibus.

4. Spiritu sancto didicit
   Magistro, quidquid edidit,
   Favos destillans mentibus
   Nunc sermone nunc cantibus.

5. Sancto sanctorum gloria
   Tanti patris memoria
   Ab angelis et homine
   Dicatur omni tempore.

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Laudibus dignis resonemus omnes
corde devoto veneranda sacra
tam refulgentis meritis beati
festa patroni.

2. Qui satus Romae patre Godriano,
silvia matre gentibus pudica,
Traxit et famam genere ex avito
nobilitatis.

3. Artibus puris teneris sub annis
Impiger sensus aluit tenellos
Atque gustavit studio frequenti
dogmata Christi.

4. Struxit ad Christi venerationem
Claustra sex fratrum Siculis in arvis,
Septimum sumptu proprio latina
Struxit in urbe.

5. Post cleri ritus statuit precesque,
cuncta restaurans monumenta sedis,
Ordines cleri revocansque sacros
Papa creatus.

6. Nunc tuis praesens age sis, Gregori,
corde sincere flagitamus omnes,
quatemus sacris sociemur astris
Arce polorum.

7. Sit Deo nostro decus et potestas,
sit salus perpes, sit honor perennis,
qui poli summam resedit in arce
Trinus et unus.

De sancto Gregorio.

Ad Nocturnum.

1. Laudis opus ut honori
   Serviat opificis
   Collaudari te, Gregori,
   Decet modis musicis,
   Per quem servit conditori
   Mundus laudum canticis.

2. Christi vice tu praelatus,
   Sed subsistens humilis,
   Christo server es conatus
   Inveniri similis,
   Ut praeesse Deo gratus,
   Mundo venerabilis.

3. Primo confert te pastori
   Fidei constantia,
   Paulo sensus, praecursori
   Victus parsimonia
   Et Joanni seniori
   Mentis eminentia.

4. O vas auri, pretiosiss
   Renitens lapidibus,
   Quasi coelum radiosius
   Emelans sideribus,
   Affer opem gloriosiss
   Meritis et precibus.

5. Tibi summa sit majestas.

Brev. ms Vallumbrosanum saec. 15. in. Cod. Londinen.
riccardian. 372.B. - Brev. ms. S. Trinitatis in Alpibus anni
imp. Venetis 1514. D, - 3, 3 sensus fehlt A.
In sancti Gregorii.

1. Magnus miles mirabilis, Multis effulgens meritis, Gregorius cum Domino Gaudet perenni praemio.

2. Carnis terens incendia Corde credidit Domino Contempsit cuncta caduca Caritatis officio.

3. Leges praeccepta Domini Laetus implevit opere, Largus libens, lucifluus Laudabatur in meritis.

4. Qui ante consuevevit Rostra vestire ac gemmas, Post vili tectus strangulo Ministribat pauperibus.

5. Fecit namque convertere Agellem, Anglorum principem, Ejusque cunctum populum Ad Christum regem omnium.

6. Rexit namque ecclesiam In pace apostolica Cathedra sedens Romana Gregorius terrigena.

7. Post mortem sui corporis Caeco reddidit oculos, Cujus a puertitia Lumen amissum fuerat.

8. Ipsius nos auxilium Deprecemur perpetuum, Ut meramur dicere Fine sine cum gaudio:

9. Gloria patri ingenito, Gloria unigenito Una cum sancto spiritu In sempiterna saecula.
1. O decus sacerdotum * flosque sanctorum,
   Doctor egregir, * sancte Gregori,
   Fautor assidue * sis ecclesias,

2. Quo fides accrescat, * spes nos sustentet,
   Caritas exuberet, * iustitia regnet,
   Prudentia gubernet, * conservet.

3. Fortis Jesu Christi * paterque superne
   Cum sancto periculo * nos tuere
   Ab omni periculo * nunc et in aevo.

De sancto Gregorio.

Ad Vesperas.

1. Pange, lingua, confessoris
   Incliti praecoonium
   Melodiam formet oris
   Pervens ardor mentium,
   Intus corda, lingua foris
   Personent Gregorium.

2. Tamquam Aaron electus
   Christi praest ovisbus,
   Pastor vigil, zelo rectus,
   Sed suavis moribus,
   Velut Moyses diletctus
   Deo et hominibus.

3. Modulantis harmoniae
   Renovans dulcedinem
   Et reformans hierarchiae
   Subcoelestis ordinem
   In se David et Josiae
   Pertulit imaginem.

4. Simul morbis lacessitus
   Et bellorum turbine
   Perstat fortis, alte situs
   In virtutis culmine,
   Job et Josue munitus
   Bina fortitudine.

5. Tibi summa sit majestas
   Gratiarum actio,
   Honor, virtus et potestas,
   Laus et benedictio,
  uae coelestis regni praestas
   Gloriam Gregorio.

In sancti Gregorii Magni.

1. Praesulis egregii merita
   Gregorii rutilant titulis,
   Caenicolas quibus irradiat
   Terrigenas et ad astra levat.

2. Germinae praeceluis et sophia
   Nobilior nituit studiis,
   Sedis apostolicae regimen
   Dogmate mellifluo moderans.

3. Mente suprema petens crucifer
   Pauperibus sua cuneta dedit,
   Vocibus angelicis meruit
   Unda oiliens Domini brevia.

4. Quis fuerit pater eximius,
   Spiritus ille docet Domini,
   Corda patrum bene qui docuit,
   Munera cuius et hunc decorant.

5. Semina dulcia praecoe Del
   Spargitat in populis monitis,
   De grege ne pereat aliquis,
   Multiplici pietate studet.

6. Agmina dum peregrina fovet,
   In medio pone Christi sedes
   Insipicet et varia specie
   Horama valde sui simile;

7. Serviat ut humilis domino
   Urceus accipitus et aquae;
   Tollere hanc faciem famulo;
   Sicque repente Deus se levans.

8. Nocte sequenti videt Dominum;
   Alloquio sui cunm fruitur,
   Percipit, hospite quo fuerit
   Glorificatus, ut astra petat.

9. Gesta tua monachos relevent
   Ecclesiæque decus teneant,
   Fortibus auxiliis, Gregori,
   Nos solide Domino socians.

10. Brittanicos populos Domino
    Ut precibus potuisti dare,
    Sic tua gratia nos provehat
    Ad solium patris altithroni.
11. Coenobii memorare nostri,
Hoc supplices petimus, domine,
Pastor adesto tuis monachis,
Pastor ut altius nos recreet.

12. Gloria cum patre sit genito
Spirituique perinde sacro;
Nunc Deus unus et omnipotens
Nunc memorum faciat memorem.

91.-1:3 irradia.- I A ad fehlt -2, 1 praeclarus.-4,4 decorat.-6,
1 perigrina. -6,2 bone stepone -post.-6,4 Orama 7.3 Depente
tollere (repente sichtlich aus 7,4 herausgenommen) -7, 4 Deus
celerans -Str. 7 ist dunkel in der Konstruktion; der Siria ist zu
erraten aus der bekannten Vision.-8, 1 Non te sequenti video.-8,2
cum fehlt.-11,4 altius eos.Die 'Doxologie ist gleich-jener des
Agatha Hymnus Martyris Eos dies Agathae (Nr. 134); wahrscheinlich
diente letzterer Hymnus als Vorlage.- Der text ist offenbar
vielfach erstellt; andere Heilungsversuche bei Werner (p. 99)
1. Herum salus intermaina, 
Rex Christe, totus gratia, 
Da, te rogat quod intimus, 
quatum valet, supplicius 
Noster meleth sollemnium 
Harmoniis dulcedinum, 
Ultra solens almiphonae 
Purae modos hymnodiae,

2. Suphonicas quo citharae, 
Spiritualis musicae, 
Suavissonans os, aureo 
Gratae patri Gregorio, 
Afferat hunc spermologon 
Laudum set hyperboleon, 
Decens ut est, idoneis 
Donante te praecocis.

3. Sate mox a primula 
Tu iam petenti sidera 
Primitias charismatum 
Duna gaudii per oleum 
Selegeras theologiae 
Hunc plus economiae, 
Perficiens ornatus 
Totis virum virtutibus,

4. Quem costui catholico 
Praeficeres pupillulo, 
Ut pater esset patriae 
Almaeque reipublicae, 
Cuius statum consilio 
Et spirituali gladio. 
Nyr sapiens defenderit 
Ab hoste, vim ne tulerit.

5. Nix fulsit ut topazius 
Tota noy theoricos 
Chrysolithum per aureas 
Vibransque ethagogias, 
Melliculi quas dogmatis 
Elucidavit radiis; 
Agapis almae nisibus 
Est factus omnis omnibus.
6. Sic margaritum nobile
Iubar inaeestimabile
Aromatisans balzamum
Lyra, tropos et organum,
Quis sibi iucundius,
Toto boni pliromate
Vixit Deo dignissime.

7. Arcis Sion quem pugilem
Tempus suum pervigilem
Ornat iam poli curia
Faustum triumphi laurea
Senatus atque superum
Dulce perennens iubilum
Hoc cive tam spectabili
Congratulatur perfuivi.

8. Hunc semper in subsidia
Nostris, Jesu, miseriis
Siste, tuis supplicibus
Assistat ut propitius,
Qui solus invictissimi
Rex sabaoth imperii
Summe bonus per omnia
Regnas potenter saecula.

Explan. ms. Hieronymi in Isaiam (olim u. ierone.) saec.

1,1 Rex salus D.-1,3 quos intimus AG.-1,4 supplicibus
G.-1,5 meleth A, melech C, meloth D.-1,7 Ultro sonans BCD; mali- phone6.-2,3 hos (statt os) G.-2,4 Grates BCD.-2,5 afferat G; scormologon BCD.-2,6, Laudum fac hyperleon D.-7 et idoneus G.-
3,5 theodole G.-5,6 Hync prius D, piis G; exonomie A, economie
BDG, economie C.-4, 1 cattolico E.-4, Praefeceres AG; pop-
cellulo D.-4,6 gaudio A.-4,7 Hir B; defenderat C.-Nach Str. 3
Divisio und abschluss durch Str. 8 B C D.-5,5 meliciuli A, mel-
mutflui G; quos C.-5,7 visibus C D.-5,8 factus est B C D.-6,1
Hic B G; margaritarum G. (margaritum ist offenbar kontrahierte Form des gen. plu.). -6,5 ducibus A, dulcius D.-6,7 Toti A; ply-
romate G.-7,3 poli fehlt D, ariam C.-7,4 Fati C, Faten C.-
3,1 Nunc B G.-8,4 Ut assistat A, Assistat et G.-8,7 Summe bonus
BC D.
De sancto Gregorio.

1. Sancte Gregori, magni pastor meriti, Doctor praeclarus, vere Dei famulus, Sacerdos Dei, pontifex et populi Urbis Romanae, tanto dignus nomine.

2. Quibus hac vita demonstrasti pabula Vitae aeternae permansura lumine, Docens terena fore transitoria, Nil in hac vita carnis prosit gloria.

3. Qui meruisti coeli portas ingredi Et regi Christo adsistere Domino, Tibi commissum supplicantem populum Commenda pio creatori Domino.

4. Ut Christianus meretur populus In hac mortali semper vita protegi At absoluto peccatorum vinculo Vivat cum patre in aeterna requie.

5. Praestet hoc nobis pater, qui est in coelis, Cum coaetero semper sibi filio, Hoc virtus sancti annuat paracliti, Trinitas sancta per aeterna saecula.

Brev. ms. Wirceburgense saec. 15. Cod. Vatican. Palat. 518.-2,1 quibus in hac vita Hs. Liges Quis in hac?
In Ordinatione s. Gregorii.

1. Sancte, tu praebes misericordiam
   Lacrimas juge, gemitus profundos,
   Et tuis certe meritis resurgunt,
   Quos sua premunt.

2. Credimus Christum, pretium laborum,
   Praemium justum studiis dedisse,
   A quibus artus etiam solutos
   More bearis.

3. Gloriam Christo supplices canamus,
   Corde praestanti tibi servienti,
   Tanta qui pollet, deitate simplex,
   Trinus et unus.

In sancti Gregorii.

1. Sancti Gregorii praesulis
   Hymnum Christo referimus,
   Qui contempsit saeculum,
   Mercatus Christi praemium.

2. Qui in adolescentia
   Praecepta Dei tenuit
   Stipemque largam jugiter
   Brogavit pauperibus.

3. Instat doctrina orthodoxa
   Digna sortitus praemia
   Pastorque verus populo
   Summus sacerdos rutilat.

4. Crebris quoque jejuniiis
   Carnis repulit vitia,
   Saepe docendo populum
   Destruxit mundi idola.

5. Magnus existens medicus
   Infirma sanans corpora,
   Devote salvans animas
   Possessas a diabolo.

6. Tanta repletus gratia
   Obviam Christo abiit
   Et nobis semper maxima
   Ostendit mirabilia.

7. Rogemus ergo, populi,
   Pontificem Gregorium,
   Ut eius interventibus
   Lastemur in coelestibus.

8. Deo patri sit gloria,
   Sit laus et unigenito,
   Saneto simul paraclito
   In saeculorum aetate.

P fol. 54a.- Der Hymnus fehlt in V. 1,1 Gregori HS; die Schreibung zeigt an, wie zu lesen (vgl. Analecta III. p. 12.n.1). 1,3 fehlt eine Silbe am Veramasse. Von der Doxologie nur der Anfang; das weitere ergänzt aus dem Hymnus Evangelista fulgidus, No. 18.
De sancto Gregorio.

1. Splendido sacra gratulans amore
   Plebs tibi festa celebrat, Gregori
   Sancte, qui summo rutilas honore
   Regis in aula.

2. Tu pius pastor populique rector
   Hulua et nostrae patriae patronus,
   Ric tuis praebes famulis favorem,
   Signifer alme.

3. Pelle clementer cunulum piaci,
   Mortis et morbi stimulum recide,
   Ne sibi Christi subigat clientes
   Daemonis ira.

4. Praesul insignis, fragiles tuere,
   Tu geras nostrae fidei tutelam,
   Ut Deo dignam iugiter queamus
   Pange vitam.

5. Vota psallentum, petimus ovantes,
   Incliti regis referas ad aures,
   Praestet ut nobis placidus amoenae
   Gaudia vitae.

6. Laus Deo patri parilique proli
   Et tibi sancte studio perenni
   Spiritus nostro resonet ab ore
   Omne per aeolum.

194 (86).
De sancto Gregorio.

1. Summae sedis antistitis, Deus alme, Gregorii Festum colentes per orbem Meritis eius protege.

2. Sacra cuius eloquia Vitae ferentis pasqua Lac potum donant parvulis, Cibum ministrant validis.

3. Ut erecti non ruere, Lapsi addiscant surgere, Haereticorum haereses Divo secantur cuspid.

4. Anglorum quoque populis Hic adfuit (incredulis), Quos licto cultu daemonum Convertit ad altissimum.

5. De cuius sacro transitu Chorus laetetur omnium Angelorum et hominum Summo Deo placentium.

6. Iam pontifex egregius, Pro nobis Deum iugiter Exora sacris precibus, Ut nobis parcat omnibus.

7. Aeterno patri gloria Simulque eius genito, Sancto quoque spiritui Sit saeculorum saeculis.

O sancte Gregori.

2. 

Ave, qui tractans mores Iob benti  
Vivere doces languidos et pati,  
Nunc in sanctorum coetu confessorum  
Iure refuges.

3. 

O confessores Domini sacrati,  
Candidis stolis vita decorati,  
Deum orate, rei ut optatae  
Donet assensum;
De sancto Gregorio.

1. Ave, doctor o Gregorio,
Dilexisti mundo mori,
Humilis, mitis fuisti,
quod a Christo didicisti,
Te servum servorum Dei
Scrisisti fidelis grae
hoc docens esse pastorum,
quod non fecit quis priorum,
Sancte papa o Gregori,
Vidisti Romanos mori
in peste inguinaria;
Letaniam statuisti,
squipulum sic eruisti,
morte subitanea.
Sancti Petri te habere
Claves credimus et vere,
Nam tu pagenum Traianum,
Sat iustum, non fide sannum,
Deflevisi, commovisti
Deum ad parcendum isti,
is animam de poenis
Inferni sicque catenis
Liberasti, quamvis ibi
Transit nulla poena sibi.
O quam mira et stupenda
Dei facta et timenda!
Sancte pater o Gregori,
Meo succurre dolori,
ad orandum pro me vaca,
Judicem districtum placia,
Ut spiritus sui dono
me aptet omni bono
Ut in corpore peccata
flagis purget, ut beat-
Anima et Deo grata,
Cum hinc fuerit vocate,
Becret laeta ad besta
Beatorum gaudia.

29 ad ex adorandum Hs.
1. Ave, germa praesulum, Gregori beate, Exemplar et speculum Vitae illibatae, Cordis mei vasculum Reple castitate, Ne per carnis vinculum Liger voluptate.

2. Ave, coeli fistula, O doctor Anglorum, Caritatis facula, Decens norma morum, Ne me nevet macula Criminum meorum, Placa per oracula Principem polorum.

3. Ave, sancti spiritus Organum jucundum, Verbo tibi coelitus Dato ditas mundum, Rogo te medullitus, Ut me infecundum Deo reddas penitum A peccatis mundum

4. Ave, summe pontifex, Qui Dei servorum Servus es et opifex Operum piorum, Non me mille-artifex Fraudet, dux malorum, Sed ut sim virtutifex In coetu justorum.

5. Ave, fulgens saeculo Stella matutina, Omni datus populo Hora vespertina, Levans me de stabulo Et culpae sentina, Coeli habitaculo Angelis combina.

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Ave, gemma praesulum, Gregori beate, Exemplar et speculum Vitae illibatae, Cordis mei vasculum Reple castitate, Non per carnis vinculum Liger voluptate.

2. Ave caeli fistula, O doctor Anglorum, Caritatis facula, Decens norma morum, Ne me necet macula Griaminem meum, Placa per oracula Principem polorum.

3. Ave, sancti spiritus Organum iucundum, Verbo tibi caelitus Dato ditas mundum, Rogo te medullitus, Ut me infecundum Deo reddas penitus A peccatis mundum.

4. Ave, summe pontifex, Qui Dei servorum Servus es et opifex Operum piorum, Non me mille-artifex Fraudet, dux malorum, Sed sim verus sacrificex In coetu iustorum.

5. Ave, fulgens saeculo Stella matutina, Omni datus populo Hora vesperitina, Levans me de stabulo Et culpas sentina Caeli habitaculo Angelis combina.

Oratio secunda ad adeumdam.

1. Ave, pastor miserorum,
   Pasce gregem clericorum
   Cibis sacris angelorum
   Et da vinum electorum.

22. Salve, mitis in flagellis,
    Ne mergamur in procellis,
    Da virtutem in duellis,
    Dum impugnat versipellis.

3. Gaude tu, qui susceptisti
   Jesum Christum, quem vidisti,
   Dum egenos collegisti,
   Serva nos a fame tristi.

4. Vale, decor clericalis,
   Esto nobis liberalis,
   Ut corona triumphalis
   Nobis detur et regalis.
Ad sanctum Gregorium.

1. Ave, sancte tu Gregori,
Summo places creatori,
Laudes posce nostro ori,
Quas psallamus redemptori.

2. Salve, princeps clericorum,
Ortus stirpe senatorum,
Duc in viam rectam morum
Claude portas inferorum.

3. Gaude, doctor veritatis,
Scire da humilitatis
Donum, confer caritatis
Et candorem puritatis.

4. Vale, stella matutina,
Aegrotorum medicina,
Da ut mente columbina
Swolemus ad divina.
Ad sanctum Gregorium.

1. Ave, tu Gregori pie,
   Plebeam tuam omni die
   Vigilanter custodisti,
   Viam dei ostendisti.

2. Tuæ sancto nunc precatu
   Munda mentes a reuatu,
   Vivere da virtuose,
   Tecum esse gloriose.
De sancto Gregorio.

1.
Gaude te esse vocatum, Gregori, ad praesulatum
Urbis Romae caeleste,
Gaude Traianum damnatum
Per te esse liberatum
A poenis mirifice.

2.
Gaude, quia coram gente
Corpus Christi te petente
Fit carneum protinus
Gaude, quia te studente
Organum devota mente
arant sancti spiritus.

3.
Gaude, quod caelestis chori,
Magne doctor o Gregori,
Consors es perennialiter,
Tu nos, cum debemus mori,
Visita et redeponente
Commenda benigniter.

2, 4 sq. Christi fit carneum te petente; protinus Rohl. 
3, 1 Gaude quia.
De sancto Gregorio.

1. Magne pater o Gregori,
   Magnum fructum salvatori
   Eleganter attulisti,
   Cuius gregi praefuisti
   Servus prudens et fidelis,
   Oves praedo ne crudelis
   Saeviendo laceret,
   Sed ad caulas grex mearet.
   Sub exemplis et doctrinis,
   Quibus fulges (columbinis)
   Quasi stella matutina,
   Per te crevit disciplina
   Sanctitatis, vita morum.
   Tu post Deum lux justorum;
   Quidquid patres araverunt
   Vel virtutis servuerunt,
   Illa digne messuisti,
   Intra membra spargens Christi,
   Ne succumbant ruitura.
   Te illustri ex natura
   Pulcher foris, fons viroris,
   Intus plenus, dos amoris;
   O doctorum sidus clarum,
   Mundo gratum, Deo carum,
   Quo pusilli confortantur.
   Et fideles roborantur.
   Cleri veri tu corona
   Caritates et intona,
   Vigil coeli citharista,
   Jesu Christi tu sacrista
   Ac thesaurus es scripturae
   Cuius mihi iam est curae.
   Super rosam vir praecclare,
   Ut hanc queam indagare,
   Tuo dulci fac rogatu,
   Studiorum in hoc statu
   Ut per lumen intellectus
   Sensus meus sit directus
   Ad id, ubi summum bonum
   Regnat super coeli thronum.

Orat ms. Reichenbacen. anni 1476. Clm. Monacem. 2990.-10
Die Taube ist ikonographisches Attribut Gregors.-35 Tuo dulci
patronatu; bei dieser Lesart fehlt das Zeitwort zum folgenden.
De sancto Gregorio.

1. Salve, flos ecclesiae, 
Honor monachorum, 
Doctor sapientiae, 
Speculum pastorum, 
Salus pestilentiae 
Urbis Romanorum, 
Gregori sanctissimi, 
Decus clericorum.

2. Salve, cuius merita 
Norma sunt justorum, 
Vita nec non inclita 
Exemplar sanctorum, 
Semita justitiae 
Tu es, forma morum, 
Auctor amicitiae, 
Salus viatorum.

3. Salve, carens simili 
In sacra doctrina, 
Mente scrutans humili 
Dogmata divina, 
Instructus a spiritu 
Formula columbina, 
Ut nos in hoc transitu 
Serves a ruina.

4. Salve, Summus pontifex, 
Felix tu fuisti, 
Terrenorum locuplex 
Licet exstitisti, 
Tu in usus pauperum 
Hoc distribuisti, 
Ut amorem integrum 
Possideres Christi.

5. Non curans in saeculo 
Hoc thesaurizare 
Neque rerum cumulo 
Minis abundare, 
Inopum miseriam 
Velis sublevare 
Ut ad Dei gloriam 
Totum erogare.
Duodecim pauperes
Dietim pavisti,
Miseros ac inopes
Ad honorem Christi,
Sed tertiumdecimum
Semel perdististi,
Dei sanctum angelum
Fere cognovisti.

O quam vir píissime
Christus te probavit,
Angelus cum speciem
Pauperis monstravit,
Ut daces subsidium,
Certe te rogavit,
Discur max argentum
A te reportavit.

Salve, cuius lacrimas
Pía, quas pudisti,
Cum Traianum intíme
Ad eum reduísti
Et iustum judicium
Siue audísti,
Summ servans spiritum
A dolore triste.

Et in tanto lacrimáns
Róenam servísti,
Pro damnato flagitáns
Quod non debuísti,
Exinde febrícitáns
Aeger exstíísti,
Tandem vitam termináns
Purgando transití.

De valle miseriae
Ad æternam vitam,
Damaando mortis robur
Et in tuto sitam
Sumens planam glóriam,
Gaudio semitátem
Et ex Dei munere
Versus infinitum.

Oves tuæ paschas,
Pastor, tu gubernas,
Et luporum rabié
Mergantur ad inferna,
Sed sanctorum animae
Scándant ad superna,
Ut fruantur requies
Tecum sempiternas.
Nunc isto coenobio
Gregem conservato,
Digneris protegere
Hoste annullato,
Purgatum a faecibus
Fine bono dato
Exultare valeat
In regno beato.

Orat ms. Carthus. Erfordien. saec. 15. (Privatbesitz).-1, 5 penitentiae.-2,3 nec non indicii.-2,4 Exemplis.-2,5 es fehlt
-2,7 Auctrix.-3,3 Mentes. -3,8 Servas.-4,1 supremus.-4,5 Tu ros pauperum.-5,1 Moram curans.-6,3, ½ superes.-7,3 cum spiritus.
8,2 que fudisti.-9,7 Eandem vitam.-10,4 Ejus in tuto.-10,7
Dei munimâne.-12,1 Nunc isto te nobis.-12,5 Purgatorem.
De sancto Gregorio.

1. Salve, Gregori maxime,
Antistes beatorum
Secundum nomen optime
Vigil catholiconum.

2. Sex struis in Sicilia
Et septimum in urbe
Accepta monasteria,
Hinc subtrahis te turba,

3. Ut voces Deo libere;
Terrena contemplasti,
Ut posses vix subsistere,
Sic corpus afflicisti.

4. Argenteam carapaidem
Egeno ergoges,
Ad mensam venit itidem
Post pauper et notebas,

5. Quod vultum mutat orabrius
Sed referat adjurat us,
Quod angelus sit proprius
A Deo tibi datus.

6. Cum papam inginaria
Decedere cogit,
Omnis Romana curia
In papam te elegit.

7. Sed cum haec pestilentia
Plebas adhuc vasteret,
Et plebs precum instantia
Ferventius oraret

8. Cum litanias instruis
Cleri processionem,
Sic precatus assiduis
Hanc sodas passionem.

9. Deo vacare inhians
Latere conabaris,
Columna lucis radians
Te prodit, revocaris.
Tu anglicanis gentibus
Doctorae transmisisti,
Quas meritis preces bibis
Ad fidem convertisti.

Flendo Trajanum revocas
A poena gelertam,
Matronae fidei advocas
Carne sacramenti.

Tu plane ut virtutibus,
Magnus humilitate,
Tu largus ut pauperibus,
Perfectus sanctitate.

Columba doctus dissersis
Secreta scripturarum,
Jugea langoribus pateris
Doloresque poenarunt.

Sed versis jam moeroris
Et fletibus in risum,
Jam pausas ad doloribus
In Deum tendens visum.

Te quaeas, mihi veniam
Et fugam vitiorum
Exposce, Dei gratiam
Et copiam donorum.

Te flagito attentius,
Sanctissime Gregori,
Ad his mihi propitius,
Dum me contingat mori.

Et ab aeterna libera
Me poena reproborum,
Et tecum duos trans aethere
In gaudia sanctorum.
De sancto Gregorio.

1a. Adest dies recolenda, Dulci melo prosequenda. Revehens solemnia.

1b. Almi patris Gregorii, Pontificis eximii, Intrantis in laudia,

2a. Quae promisit Jesus dare His, qui vellent se amare Post mortis exsilia

2b. Gregorius prae ceteris metatis suae pueris Literarum studia,

3a. Amavit et postposuit, quibus noceri potuit Mundi lenocinia.

3b. Vigebat in Gregorio Duplex decus, religio, Generis prosapia.

4a. Dulcis amor paupertatis Cum despectu vanitatis, Virtutum insignia.

4b. Hic defunctis parentibus Magnis ditatus opibus Struxit monasteria,

5a. Quorum in uno clauditur, Cui tandem praeficitur Insignitus gratia.

5b. Unde invitus rapitur, Praesul orbi praeficitur, Applaudit ecclesia.

6a. Olim scholis eruditus, Nunc docet illum spiritus saeure cœlestia.

6b. Ore mellito loquitur, Stilo morali graditurn Tangendo pœcordia,

7a. Qui sublevare nititur Ad illa, quibus pascitur, Coeli desideria.

7b. Praesulis sacri precibus, monitis salutaribus Peste inguinaria

8a. Plebs Romana liberatur, Virtus papae declaratur Per mundi confinia.

8b. Omnis pastor informatur Rex cum clero gloriaturn, Eius sapientia.

9a. Offa eernis dominicae Gregorio pontifice A Dei clementia

9b. Caro vere ostenditur quae sanguine intingitur Miranda potentia.

10a. Precibus salutiferis Trajanum ab inferis Solvit et miseria,

10b. Servus prudens et fidelis, Dux sponsus redit e caelis, mente spectat sobria.

11a. Vigilavit Gregorius, Vigilavit attentius, Vigilat in gloria

11b. Glorioso praesul Christi, Placens Deo qui fuisti Incarnis praesentia,

12a. Ad fluenta purissima, quae tua haerit anima Duc nostras collegias,

12b. Ut abluta lacte pio Restetur nostra concio In coelesti curia.
De S. Gregorio Magn.  

1. Laudes canamus  

2. Nostro redemptori Christo, qui venit nos salvere  
3. et livore suo sibi dedicare ecclesiam candidam,  
4. mundans eam semper rivulis inebrestis,  
5. Rigans montes de superioribus nubibus,  
6. Ut valles abundant frumento et hoc sollemnio  
7. Una proclamant canentes, odas tripudiantes:  
8. Elia, egregio papa Romano, doctori pangoamus Gregorio,  
9. Qui fulsit mundo ut novum sidus doctrinis, exemplis, virtutibus  
10. Qui genus eximium et sanctum, quo nituit, magnificae extulit.  
11. Qui pneumonia ut columba in auriculum stillavit documenta mystica.  
12. Mundum contempsit et abiecit;  
13. Pompas et opes Christo dedit.  

Blume-Bannister, Thesauri hymnologicii  

Prosarium II, 1.  

14. Septem Instructas * * *  
flamine condidet *  
septena coenobia * *  
angelus hunc petit ut naufragus.  
15. Agapem quaeerit, tribus vicibus Aetecipt et reddit;  
 discum argentem deum laetus percipit.  
16. Post haec assumitur Christoque monstrante papa constituitur.  
17. Nix inguinariam postem restrinxit plebemque suam sanavit.  
18. Psallentem choris modulamina composuit dulcisona hymnizans  
19. Anglorum gentem convertit ad Christum totumque praeidens illustrat mundum.  
20. E tenebris fratres functos prece solvit excommunicatos  
21. Ex ignibus inferorum Traianum tyrannum eruit.
22. quem gratia Dei
tan diene perfundit
clementia

23. ut, quidquid habere
possit, gratis Christo
distrenseret.

24. Virginum
homaæ sacrarum
pavit tria milia

25. Corporis
Christi panem carnis
mutat in effigiem.

26. Angelum Dei
pavit;
A quo post audivit,
quod se Christus elegit.

27. aegos caecavit,
equo
daemonem fugavit
et ecclesias ornavit.

28. Aegro caro eius semper fuit,
dens tumen intenta caelo, ubi
nobis impetris beat
praemia sanctorum.

Collect. ms. Petershusanum saec. 12. Cod. Heidelbergen. IX
42a. Mit melodie. -15,3 acceptit. -Ob die Melodie einem bekannten
Schena folgt, ließ sich nicht festellen. -Ganz eigenartig ist der
Reim (meistens nur Assonanz resp. einsilbiger Reim) gehandhabt,
in dem derselbe nicht die Schlußworte eines Verses bindet,
sondern Worte an ganz beliebigen Vers stelle auch wenn diese Stellen
einander nicht korrespondieren. So reiht z.B. 2,4 "salvare" mit 3,2,
"dedicare" 4,1 "Mundans" mit 5,1 "Rigans" (beide erstes "ort des
Verses); 14, 6, "petit" i(2,4ort) mit 15, 2 "querit" (1,4ort); und
ähnlich öfters. - Alle diese Reimworte einen Vers schließen zu lassen
ist unmöglich da sonst das symmetrische Bild von Strophe und
Gegenstrophe ganz verstört würde; ohnehin veranlabte die Rücksicht
auf den Reim, dass korrespondierender Verse mehrrms in der Silbenzahl
differieren.
De sancto Gregorio.

1a. Organum spirituale
Tangat deus clericale,
Dum recolitur natale
Vigilis Gregorii

1b. Scriba regis angelorum
Floruit hic lux doctorum
Et apostolus angelorum
Qui prius inglorii.

2a. Ex prosapia Romana
Spreta mundi pompa vana
In doctrina christianæ
Vigilanter studuit.

2b. Rhetor magus et urbanus
Cuius pater Gordianus,
Felix, pontifex Romanus,
Ut avus resplenduit.

3a. Virgo saeculo pusilla
Et amor amata Tarsilla,
Deo vigilans ancilla,
Vidit Jesum duiciter.

3b. Vivens Silvia caelestis
Haud huic, digna gestis,
Ut cantemus sanitatem
Piniens fecit initiatum.

4a. Monasteriora construxit
Ad prudentiam ad affluxit,
Monachalem vitam duxit
Deerelinquens omnis.

4b. Sed cum superet sincere
Mori suntis et latere,
Cogebatur apparere
Ut flos inter lilia.

5a. Eruditus in virtute
A præsea inuventute
Iter vadanæ vitae tutæ
Devitavit crimina.

5b. Retexendo cantilenas
Sublevavit fæbris poenas,
Odas addidit amoenas
Per scripturæ carmina.

6a. Videns pueros Anglorum
Pulchros vultu angelorum
Mox misertus est eorum
Suspirando graviter.

6b. O pontificem beatum,
Per columnam demonstratum
Et a naufrago probatum
Dignum mirabile.

7a. Recta scribens recte dicit,
Quo malivos adfluxit
Sed correstis benedixit
Pastor bonus omnibus.

7b. Vigil late sanctus fuit,
Qui ut nubes magna pluit
Ut ut ros de caelo ruit,
Utilis fidelibus.

8a. Monstra fecit in hac vita
Verus his Israelita,
Quod cognovit eremita
Ex divina gratia.

8b. Deus fecit Levi pastum
Nec paenituit transactum
Facies atque vitae factum
Cum honoris gloria.

9a. Aes in zonis non compaggit
Sed pauperibus reddidit
Quem salvator præselegit
Organum mellifluum.

9b. Istum deprecemur sanctum
Nos viventes, vita tantum
Ut cantemus ibi cantum
Nunc et in perpetuum.

In Ordinatione s. Gregorii.

1a. Sancti papae Gregorii
Pii, pudicii, sobrii,
Veneremur sollemnia;

1b. Cuius doctrinis et vita
Instituta, erudita
Gloriatur ecclesia.

2a. Hic genere spectabilis
In omni fuit docilis
Literarum peritia;

2b. Qui iuxta sui notabiliis
Omen sollicitudinis
Vigilavit instantia.

3a. Hic exposuit obscuras
Azechielis scripturas
Dictante Dei gratia

3b. Et super evangelia
Quadraginta eulogia
Fecit et Iob moralia.

4a. Sex struit in Sicilia
Vir plus monasteria
Septimum in urbe Roma.

4b. Virginum tria milia
Pavuit multaque alia,
Hinc redolens ut aroma.

5a. Hic ad preces invitat
Populum, quem sic sanavit
A peste inguinaria.

5b. Angelo scyphum tradidit
Ingentem, quem credidit
asse passuum maufragia.

6a. Hic et multis virtutibus
Insinitus ab omni
In papam fuit electus;

6b. quem apicem recusavit
St, ut ipse procuravit,
Extra urbem est dejectus.

7a. Sed per triduum quaesitus
Fulgore misso coelitus
Repertus est et reductus.

7b. Qui plurimum reluctatus
In sedem est sublimatus,
Hoc signo tandem induitus

8a. Ordinatus pastoralem
Librum fecit, in quo, qualem
Præsulum esse deceat.

8b. Apertis scriptis docuit
Innuens, ut sic latuit,
Et idem cunctis liceat.

9a. Igitur, sancte Gregori,
Te mente devotiori
Suppliciter eorumus

9b. Ut nos nostro redemptori
Commendes et salvatori,
Ut in aeternum vivaus.
De sancto Gregorio.

1a. Spíritus filii
Beati Gregorii
Celebrant solennia

2a. Ornatus moralibus
Prius liberalibus
Studiid refloruit,

3a. Factus praesul feminae
Nequam monstrat semini
In similitudine
Carnis corpus Domini;

4a. Super quem inaderat,
Equum statim liberat
Artibus a magicis;

5a. O doctor egregie,
Tuae nobis gratiae
Confer per auxilium.

1b. Corde toto laudeant
Et efferre studeant
Ipsiis præeconia.

2b. Dignus pontificio
Fugitivus radio
Coeli lucis patuit.

3b. Post in pennis pristinam
Formam hanc restituit,
Sicque fide feminam
Praedicando docuit.

4b. Pestis Inguinaria
Cessat per suffragia
Tam sancto pontificis.

5b. Delictorum veniam,
Ut sursum ad patriam
Ducamur coelestium.

A. Gloriosa sanctissim\ae
Sollemnia Gregorii
Toto corde catholica
Suscipiat ecclesia,
Cuius doctrina aurea
Per mundi splendet climata,
Quam meritis et precibus
Christo commendet, quaesumus.

Vgl. AH, V, 184 sqq. ausser dem dort genannten findet sich Officium u.a. in folgenden Quellen:

De sancto Gregorio M.

In 1. Vesperis

Ad Magnificat

Gloriosa sanctissimi
Solemnia Gregorii
Toto corde catholica
Suscepiat ecclesia,
Cujus doctrina aurea
Per mundi splendet aeterna
Quam meritis et precibus
Christo commendet, quae successus.

Ad Matutinum
Invitatorium

Ad Dominum vigiles
Cuncti convertite mentes,
Gregorium vigilem
Cosli qui vexit ad aem.

In 1. Nocturno.

Antiphonae.

1. Gregorius ortus Romae
   Et senatorum sanguine
   Fulsit mundo velut gemma
   Auro superaddita,
   Dum praecollar praeclaris
   Hic accessit atrevis.

2. Lineam sui generis
   Dictis et factis extulit
   Bibens in peritia,
   Quod rustavit postea,

3. Adhaeresat moralibus
   Seniorum relatibus,
   Quos tenaci memorie
   Non cessabat committere.

Responsoria.

1. Fulgebant in venerando
   Duplex genus Gregorio:
   Senatoria dignitas
   Secundum genus saeculi,
   Voluntaria paupertas
   Juxta praecipient Domini.
V. Beatus vir, qui timet Dominum, in mandatis ejus superit nimis.

5. Videns Romae vir beatus Anglorum forte pueros; Bene, inquit, bene Angli, Vultu nitent ut angelii, Oportet illis monstrari Iter salutis aeternae.

V. Quoniam Domini est regnum et ipse dominabitur gentium.


V. Quia misericordiam et veritatem dilexit Deus, gratiam et gloriam dabuit Dominus.

In 2 Nocturno.
Antiphonae.

1. Gregorius, ut creditur, Divinitus, sic dicitur, Qui sibi et ecclesiae Vigilavit catholicae.

2. Studiis liberalibus Nulli secundus habitus Praetor urbanus extitit Adolescens spectabilis.

3. Hic ab adolescentia Divina fretus gratia Anhelare non desit Ad regnum vitae perpetis.

Responsoria

1. Propter intolerabiles Rerum curas mundanarum Recusabat praesulatum Suspicere Romanorum, Sed victus prece populi Suscepit jugum Domini.
V.  Nec fecit proximo suo malum 
et opprobrium non acceptit 
Adversus proximos suos

2.  Orante beatissimo 
Ad Dominum Gregorio 
Sanata est pleba Romana 
A peste inguinaria.

V.  Multum enim valet deprecatione 
justi assidua.

3.  Vere felicem praesulum, 
Veræ fidei doctorem, 
Quo petente panis Christi 
Formam acceptit digitii, 
Ad firmamam plebis fidem 
Versus in cruentam carnem.

V.  A Domino factum est illud 
et est mirabile in oculis nostris.

In 3.  Nocturno 
Antiphonae.

1.  Sex struxit in Sicilia 
Vir clarus monasteria 
Et infra urbem septimum, 
In quo se fecit monachum.

2.  His sane monasteriis 
Praeditis large tribuitis, 
Reliqua tandem vendidit 
Et egenis distribuit.

3.  Qui solebat in sericis 
Incedere in divinis, 
Post in abjectis vestibus 
Servit pauper pauperibus.

Responsoria

1.  Sanctus papa Gregorius, 
Vir totus apostolicus, 
Postquam praesedit cathedralae 
Pervigil apostolicae, 
Carne solutos Hodie 
Adivit regem gloriae.
V. Innocens manibus et mundo
Corde, qui non acceptit in vanum
animam suam.

3. Hodie praesclarissimus
Deco dignus episcopus
et Anglorum apostolus
a terrenis separatus
Conjunctus est coelestibus
Cum gloria Gregorius.

V. Ecce vera Israelita, in quo
dolus non est.

3. O pastor apostolice,
Gregori beatissime,
Tuo posse precarnae
Incrementum ecclesiae,
Tuo rigatae dogmata
As defensatas opere.

V. Memor esto congregationis
catholicae et dexterae Dei plantatae
vinace.

Ad Laudes
Antiphonae.

1. Gregorius vigillis
Confestus et jejunis,
eti marcebat corpore,
At spe vigebat animae.

2. Lentis quidem sed jugibus
Hic aestuabat febribus,
Podagrae nec non syncopis
Pulsabatur incommodi.

3. Coelesti cinctus verbere
Vir mirae innocentiae
Praesumebat, se diligi,
Quod merebatur argui.

4. Bis senos nummos angelo
Hic dedit quasi naufrago,
Hinc scutellam argenteam,
Quam sibi vidit reliquam.

5. Virginum tria milia
Nomae pavit sub regul
exceptis Dei famulis
Longe vel prope positis.
Ad Benedictus

A. Christi fidelis farnulus,
Frudens quoque Gregorius,
Pastquam suo in tempore
Vixit ejus famillae,
Coelo reddidit animam,
Terrae carnis materia.

In 2. Vesperis.

Ad Magnificat.

O Gregori dulcissimum
Sancti spiritus organum
Atque virtutum spectulum,
Posse nobis suffragium,
Ut hoc possimus consequi,
Quo te gaudemus perfraui.

A. Brev. ms. 3. Floriani XI 289 saec. 15. Brev. ms. 8. Georgii

In 1 Vesp. super Ps. A. Gregorius ut creditur etc. 5. In
1 Noct. R2, 3 Anglici B. In 3 Noct. A. 1, 3 infra urbem B. R 1
und 2 umgestellt A. R 3, 3 Anglorum apostolus B. R 5, 6 defens-
atas optime B. In Lauda A. 1. 4 Ex spe vigebat G. R 3, 4. R 5
materbat B. Wider Vermuten scheint die monastische Form des
officiaria nicht die ursprünglich Teile anufas wird (cfr. D).
Dazu officium ist eines wie der allerverbreitsten, so der
ältesten und sehr instrukter für die Entwicklung von Rhythmus
sowohl als Leim, sowie für die Behandlung des jambischen Meter
in dem es geschrieben ist. Die antiphonen ad Magnificat in 1. und
2. Vesp., sowie R 5 der 3. Noct, stehen als disjecta membra bei
No. 959 und 960.
De sancto Gregorio.

In l. Vesperis

Super Psalmos.

A. Lauda, felix mater et filia,
Lauda tuum, Roma, Gregorium,
Laudet suum doctorem Anglia,
Laudet mundus patrem eximium.

Ad Magnificat.

A. Alme praesul, dux sapientiae,
Arcus coeli, splendor ecclesiae,
Gloriosa refugies specie
Inter altas nebulas gloriae.

Ad Matutinum

Invitatorium.

Pellat devotio
Copiosa otia
Laudes Gregorio
Cantet ecclesiae.

In 1 Nocturno.

Antiphonae.

1. Gregorius alvo dum cluditur
Beatae Silviae,
Benedicti voce praediciturs
Lumen ecclesiae.

2. Romae proles patrum illustrium
Praemelastries subjectus,
Clarus erat doctrinis artium,
Pollens honoribus.

3. Mundus florens Christo refloruit
Afflatus gratia,
Mundum spernit, opes distribuit,
Fundat coenobia.

Respensoria.

1. Cum aeternus pastor Gregorium
Praevidisset ad euram ovium,
Signo lucis in lumen gentium
Latens est proditus;
Lux effulgens per noctem coalitus
Datum prodit patrem divinitus,
V, 1:3-1:8
(85)

2. Vastat orbem coelstis ultio,
Ruunt cives, obstistit gladio
Novus David, cas: et quassatio
Ut salus redditur.

V. Pius patet in precem sternitur,
Cedit ultor, macro concluditur.

3. Super gentes et regna positas,
Ut lucerna contifex incolitus
Ardens lucet per dona spiritus
Ad Christi gloriam.

V. Purgat, ornat, auget ecclesiam,
Sangit, docet, convertit Anglicam.

In 2 Nocturno.
Antiphonae.

1. Radiantes germarum ambitu
Pretorias subjicit,
Monachii pauper in habitu
Christo se subjicit.

2. Crucifigens carnem cum vitiis
Christo configitur
Et proiectus virtutum studiis
Abbas praeficitur.

3. Dum conformis esse jam incipit
Vitae coelestium,
In figura naufragi suscipit
Coelestem munium.

Responsoria.

1. Supiet terras profusa largitus,
Nec fit exorsa superna civitas,
Ut secundi Loth hospitalitas
Sic hospis piauit.

V. Felix mensa, dum multis patuit,
Coeli civem convivam habuit.

2. Sacer panis ut caro cernitur,
Panat cruror, dum panis pungitur,
Suum vexans daemon expellitur,
Magus corrigitur.
Jam sepultus frater abolvitur
At Trajano poena remittitur.
3. Magnis languens morbis dum deficit,
Mens amoris languore proficit,
Crescunt morbi, crescit et afficit
Amor impatiens.
Sicut servus ad fontem sitiens
Aestuabat dissolvit cupiens.

In 3 nocturno.
Antiphonae.

1. Bonus odor coelestis hominis
In mundum prodiit,
Tandem raptus Romani cardinis
Honorem subiit.

2. Sese mundi despecta gloria
Semper humilium
Sectabatur Christi vestigia
Supernis inhiens.

3. Christi pugil spiritus gladio
Pro fide dimicat,
Fidem firmat et jugi studio
Mores aedificat.

Responsoria

1. Terrae praesul ad coeli solium
Sublimatus de valle flentium,
Ex servorum sorte fidelium
Intrat in gaudium,

V. Angelorum chorus laudantium
Jungi decet psalmem egregium.

2. Patris almi libros incendere
Quaeerit livor, nefas arguere
Audet Petrus, cessant a scelere
Ad pactum initum;

V. Opus probans coelitus editum
Testis verax emisit spiritum.

3. O fons fundens fluenta gratiae;
Doctor veri, doctor justitiae,
In excelsis nunc sapientiae
Te fons inebriat;

V. Sitientes per te reficiat,
Qui post sitim te plene satiat.
Ad Laudes.

Antiphonae.

1. Commissum gregem ingerens
   Dum studet vigilantius,
   Facundat nomen opere
   Vigil praesul Gregorius.

2. Libens praesessa renuit
   Statum ampliorem humilem,
   Coactus tandem praefuit,
   Servum se praebens viilem

3. Christi viril in intimis
   Mariae vacat utio
   Forisque jungi proximis
   Deservit Marthae studio.

4. Pressus laborum pondere
   Viget mente robustior
   Nec morbis novit cedere,
   Cum infirmus, tunc fortior.

5. Jam suis audet canticis,
   Jam vacat Dei laudibus,
   Jam jubilat hymnidicis
   Junstus in coelo coetibus.

Ad benedictus.

A.

O sol mundi diffundens radios,
Nostrae mentis in tenebris abige,
Verae pacis in viam filios,
Dux et pater Gregori, dirige.

In 2. Vesperis

Ad magnificat.

A.

Vale, pastor, qui modo pasceris
Collatus in loco pastuae,
Oregem frui fructu, quo frueris,
Alma prece, Gregori, tribue.

Brev. FF. Praedicatorum imp. Venetiis. 1514.- In I.
Noct. a 5, Affatus gratia.- In 2. Noct. R 12 hic sit. - a 1, 8 sic secundi.- R 3, Magnus languens.- In 3 Noct. R 1, 3 sorde fideliur
Hymen hiezu: Pengo lingua confessoris (Vesp); Laudis opus et
honoris (Noct.); Exsultet jam angelicus (Laud).
Dominica I Adventus D' 

1. Gregorius praepul meritis et nomine dignus, 
   Unde genus ducit, summum conscendit honorem;
   Quem vitae splendore suae tantisque sagaci
   Ingenio potius complis, quam comptus ab illo est.

5. Saee patrum monumenta sequens renovavit et auxit
   Carmina in officiis, retinet quae circulus anni;
   Quae clarus dulci Domino modulamine solvat,
   Mystica dum vitae supplix libamina tractat.
   Suaviter haec propria servat dulcedo nitelas,

10. Si, quod voce sonat, fido mens vectore gestet;
   Nec clamor tantum Domini sublimis ad auras,
   Quantum vox humillis placido de corde propinquet.
   Haec iuvanum sectetur amor, maturior aevo
   Laudibus his instant aeternas tendat ad oras:
   Ad te levavi animam meam, Deus Meus, etc.

propinquat (cfr. gestet in V.10). -14 ad horas = Guéranger
(Institutiones Liturg. ad 2°; I, p. 164) hat zu diesem Tropus die
irreführende Bemerkung, derselbe sei gedruckt bei pamelius, Dom
Denys de Sainte Marthe und Tommasi aus Rss. des 9, 1 und 11 Jahr-
hunderts mit einigen Varianten. - Der Tropus in vorstehender Fassung
ist vielmehr nachweislich nur St Gallen eigen, und Guéranger ver-
wechselt ihn mit dem Tropus unter Nr. 1 und den gleich zu besprech-
enden Gedichten, die alle gleichen Anfang haben und aus einer -uel-
log fleischen in sehr verschiedener Gestalt. Vgl. überdies neues ar-
chiv. 1884; S. 356.

Dom Georgius teilt in seinem Werke De Liturgia roman.
Contifciun (IIp. CLXXV) nach Svevehard, her Francia. I.XXV, p. 718,
angeblich aus dem "Grad. Segeberti Mindendi, Cod. Helms adieus",
sei Fassung des vorstehenden Tropus mit, die als besonderer Wied in
Umlauf gesetzt wurde, tatsächlich aber nichts ist als eine Exzerpt,
und zwar ein Vorsp, aus denselben; es besteht nämlich aus den Versen
1,2,3,6,7,13, schließt also mit dem Subjekt "Maturior aevo", das
sein Predikat im unterdrückten Verse 14 hat.

Appendix
Metrische Introduktionen zum Graduale und antiphonale

Die hier folgenden Dichtungen sind keine Tropen, überhaupt
keine lyrischen Dichtungen die direkt ins Gebiet der Hymnologie
gehören, sondern Graduale und antiphonale. An dieselten knüpft sich
eine relativ reiche Literatur, wodurch sich ein hohes Interesse erlangt
haben. Da sie in den gleichen Gedanken sich bewegen wie die uns be-
schäftigten Tropen, und besonders da die erste Dichtung Vorlage und
Ausgangspunkt für unsere Tropen ist, mögen sie hier einen latz finden.

1. Gregorius praesul meritis et nomine dignus,
Unde genus duxit, summum conscendit honorem;

Renovavit monumenta patrum iuniorque piorum
Celeslfi munere fretus sapienter ornabat.

8. Componuit scholae cantorum hunc rite libellum
Qui reciprocando modulatur carmine Christo,
Quando sacerque sacra (est) libans libamine, vatis
Dulcibus antiphonae pulsant copcentibus aurea
Classibus et geminis psalmorum concerreat odas.

10. Hymnastae crebro vox articulata resultat.
Ut celsum quatiat clamosa sarmina culmen,
Dominum concordi laudamus voto tonantem,
Cantibus et crebris conelamet turba suorum.
Hymnos ac psallmos et responsoria festis.

15. Congrua promenam subter testudine templo.
Isalterli melos fantes modulamin crebro,
Atque decem fidibus nitamur tendire lyram
Ut psalma, monem his quinis psallere fibris.

20. Talibus ornabat donis opuscula Christi
Gregorius felix, celeslfi munere dives,
Quam numerosa Dei ditorat gratia summii.
His opibus fulsit magnis et honoribus auctus;
Hunc etiam duplicis decora saelentius legis;

25. Et populum Dominii magni modernine raxit.

30. In felix Domini famulus, pro munere tanto
Qui nosseis rivo vernarum corda rigare,
Dum sacra comis late praesordia verbis
Luciferiaque simu, madatorumque maniplis

35. Et variae florium fragris saturare solaeas,
Para vires fragiles animas ascendantus fiere,
Hominum pascem discam servare per orbem
Angelium in terris passim cum foedere firma,
Quam Christus castis, trastim sperantibus arcem

39. Perpetuum, ac inviter praescpta consequentibus ultras
Sadibus in celatis pulchram promisit habendum.

Solve, fortunate pater, semperque beatus

Atque memor nostri polles per aedimla magister.


(Dieh Griesser, in der Zeitschr. für Kath. Theologie, 1909, S. 503ff)

- De Levis, Aneodota sacra, Aug. Turin. 1739, p. 32; aus einer
  hs., die er in der Nähe des Klosters G. Michaelis von Lucedio (Liebmont)
  gefunden hatte und als aus dem siebenten Jahrhundert stammend anseh.
  die aber nach der Schriftprobe (De Levis, 1.C, p.29) der Urenge vom 9.
  zum 10. Jahrhundert angehört. B. -s patrumque priorum B; "iuniorque"
ist nicht zu beanstanden: Gregor hat die Denkmäler der Vater erneuert und als der jüngere die Werke der älteren im Vertrauen auf Gott weise verschönert. - 4 Minuere caelesti 5 Tim compositum a; cantor B; huncque rite d octo modulatetur carmina B. - 7 sacris caraque libans libamine; A - 9 et germiss (Lesefehler?) psalmarum A; concrepet odat A, concrepet orat B - 10 hymnis te crebro AB; articula A - 11 st B; clamoro A, clamosa crimina B. - 12 Dominus concordis A, Fratres concordi B; voto nantem A, voces tonamentem B, - 13 Damibus A, - 14 responsoria fertis A fessis B. - 15 præmum A, - 16 sanato (statt crebro) B, - 17 Fidibus atque docem B; tendere fehlt B; lira B - 19. Hic (sc. liber; cfr. V.5); fabricata AB; ritecit A - 20 ornata B; et opuscula B - 22 quem mune rora A, quae numerosa B; ditant a, ditarе gloria suam B, - 23 actus A - 24 Nunt a, Hinc B; sum Partizicii "decorans" ist es "zu arganzen, wie in der mittel alterlichen poesie haufen (cfr. vers. 7). - 26 famulos felix Domini B. - 27 vivas venarum cora rigere B. - 28 Cum sacro comes B, - 29 mandatorum A - 30 t vaste a; frugis A; frugis B - 31 Prata virum et fragiles arimosæ ascendant biblis (l) a; ebenso B mit dem Unterschiede: fragiles animas ascendere fibris. (ich akzeptierte die Conkliktur Grisars's trotz der starke abweichung von den Quellen) - 33 terris passi B - 34 Quia Christus castis rapuit sperantibus artes (l) B. - 35 Perpetuis A; hac lugiter B; praesepi fehlt A; ultra B - 36 in caeli B.


Es kann kaum ein zweifel sein, dass der unter br. 1 mitgeteilte Typus aus den fünf ersten Hexametern des vorstehenden Liedes gebildet ist; die zwei ersten Hexametern sind wortlich entlehnt, der dritte mit Verstellung am schluss ("juniorque" ist unterdrückt), schließlich unter Übergang des vierten Hexameters der fünfte mit Verstellung der Worte und einem kleinen Zusatzterm. Inhalt dieses längeren Liedes ist derart, dass es ausschließlich von dem einen Zeitgenossen Gregors, mindestens aber, nach dem alter der quelle von Luca zu schließen, im Anfange des neunten Jahrhunderts gedichtet sein mufs, wie Grisar urteilt. Abusso dürfte letzterer völlig richtig vermuten, dass es ursprünglich in ein reich geziertes antiphonar (bezw. Gradual) hineinbeschrieben und wo dann nicht blofs seinen Inhalt, sondern auch seiner ausstattung nach eine Herkunft von Gregor selbst, etwa als Geschenk eben zuschrieb. (Grisar, a.a.o.s.554).

Jungeren, wenigreich sehr alten Datums, ist folgende aus frankreich stammende Einleitung, wovon es mir aber zweifelhaft
scheint, ab sie zu einem Antiphonar oder vielmehr zu einer 
Via des hl. Gregor gehören.

b. Introductio ex Cod. Vaticano. Reg. 1709

Gregorius praesul meritis et nomine dignus,
Unde genus ducit, summum conscendit honorem.
Tradidit hic cantum populis normamque canendi,
Quod Domino laudes referant noctuque dieque.
Hic vitam scribens hominum moresque bonorum
Isdem gestorum mala non tacuit, manifesta
Omnia; sed post hae senior plenusque dierum
Transit ad Dominum felix feliciter ipse.
Et quid te per plura morer fastidia, lector?
Quod docuit fieri, fecit et ipse prior.

Erfridus ovans Domino Petroque dicavit
Exiguum, quod cernis, opus, spectator amate.

Collect ms. Floriacense (?) saec. 7/8/9 (10, etc.) Cod.
Exposition, p. 50, Nr. 135.) Tommasi hat in der Liturgia ant.
Hispanica Gothica. (Romae 1746) 484 dieses Lied aus der bezeichneten
Quellen ediert, und auf seinen Text, den nachher Dumpler (Poetae
latini aevi Carolini II, 686) nochmals abgedruckt hat, sind wir
einzig angewiesen. Denn Folium 38, worauf die Verse allen Aussehen
nach standen und mit ihm die Verse, ist seit einigen Decennien in der
Vaticana nicht mehr zu finden.
Nach Tommasi war das Gedicht von einer Hand des neunten
Jahrhunderts eingetragen und hatte obigen Wortlaut, ausgenommen:
3 hic tantum. - 9 fastigia.

c. Introductio Antiphonarii.

Hoc quoque Gregorius patres de more secutus
Instauravit opus dicit et in melius.
His vigili clerus mentem consone subdat
Ordinibus, pascens hoc sua corda favo.
Quam pia solisitis solertia nisibus omni
Scripturae campo legit et explicuit.
Carmina diversas sunt haec celebranda per horas;
Sollicitam rectis mentem adhibete sonis;
Discite verborum legales pergere colles
Dulcisque egregius iungite dicta modis,
Verborum ne cura sonos, ne cura sonorum
Verborum normas nullificare quaeat.
Quidquid honore Dei studiis celebratur honestia,
Hoc summis iungit mitia corda cloris.
Tr
XLIX, 19-20
(1)

A. Introductiones ad Introitum

I. De Tempore.

1. Dominica I Adventus D'

Gregorius praesul meritis et nomine dignus,
Unde genus ducit, summum conscendit honorem;
Renovavit monimenta patrum priorum,
tunc compositur hunc libellum musixae artis scholae cantorum
anni circulo.
Eia dic, domne, eia;

Ad te levavi animam meam, Deus meus, etc.

Trop ms. Martiane anni 933-936. Cod. Parisin. 1240 A.-
Trop ms. S. Martonii Lemovicensis saec. 11. in. Cod. Parisin.
4951 F.- Miss. Fontiselbraldense imp. Parisis 1514. G.-
Miss. Fontiselbraldense imp. Parisis 1526 H.- Miss. Picaviensi
imp. Parisis 1526 J.- Miss. Bicterrense imp. Lugduni 1535 X.
CXLVI/, N.- Trop ms. S. Benedicti Mantuani saec. 11. Cod.
Capit. Veron. CVII (100) 9.- Trop ms. Novaliciensi saec. 11.
S. 74 sup. T.

Trop ms. Emmeramense anni 1024-36. Clm. Monac. 14322 U.-
-Trop ms Fredegariani saec. 11. Cod. Casselan. Theol. IV 25
Pragens. XIII A 5c.c.- Grad. ms. Strigonienae saec. 15. Cod.
Capit. Strigonien. MSS II 3.d.

2 Unde et genus magnum conscendit K; genus dici L, ducis
O. dulce T, duxit, I; honore F.-3 Renovavit CEB F, Renovavi D';
monimenta BCÆGHM. munimenta U.- 4 dum compositur BÆRTE ac
(an sich ist die Lesart sehr annehmbar), qui compositur UXVY;
mosicae artis L; artis fehlt K, beigefugt am Rande.- 4 scholae
contamum UXZ abcd; cantarum F.-5 anni circuli B.- FKLPX,
circulum RS.-6 fehlt BOKUXY; domne eia fehlt GH; statt e in
F; ora paraphonista dignit psalmista. -Titel in B; "Trophaus
ad (in) troitum de ad telewavi"; in Y die Rubrik: "In adventu
Domini Dominica I a ante Introitum super pulpitum un medio chori
a duobus cantatur haece antiphona; "Gregorius Praesul" etc. und
dann am schlufs des Tropus;" Immediate precentores incipiant
Introitum: "Ad te levavi" etc. - Bannister fand diesen Tropus
auch im Cod. Parisin. 17436. saec Q/10. mit der Variante in
Zeile 5: "de anni circulo."

Demnach ware der Gebrauch dieses interessanten und berühm­
ten Tropus in verschiedenen Kirchen Frankreichs Italiens und
Deutschland für die Zeit vom Ende des 9. bis Mitte des 16 Jahr­
hunderts erwiesen. Über die grossere metrische Vorlage, aus der es
sichtlich entnommen ist, sehe man den Exskurs zum folgenden
Tropus.

Er wahnung verdient noch, dass (dafs) die Einführung dieses
Tropus in die Liturgie durch Papst Hadrian II erfolgt sein soll;
das ist eine durchaus haltlose Erfindung. (cfr. Gautier I, p. 206,
Anm.)
XLIX, 24-25

(3)

Dominica I. Adventus D.

1. Sanctissimus
Namque Gregorius cum preces
effunderet ad Dominum,
Ut musicum tonum ei
desuper in carminibus
dedisset,

2. Tunc descendit
spiritus sanctus super eum
in specie columbae
et illustravit cor eius,
canere its dicendo:
ad te levavi animam meam, etc.

3343 (Sessor, 62) A.- Trop. ms. Nonantulense saec. 11. Cod.
Casamonien. 1741 (CLV 2) C.- Trop ms. S. Benedicti sanctuani saec.
saec. 11. Cod. Oxonien. Douce 222 E.- Trop ms. Casinense(?) saec. 1
Tourinen. F. IV 18. H.- Grad. ms. Tolosanum saec. 11. Cod. Londinen
Earl. 4661. 1.- 1,2 papa (et namque) F, dum preces 1.-1,3 funderet
C E G.- 1; 4 musicæ D; dorum E F, tonus H.- 1,5 desuper fehlt F. 11
6 daret F E, 1 Huic I, -2,4 Corda D. E. G.- 2, 5 et tunc demum E G H
-2,6 dicens C E.- Die Melodie zeigt keinen, der Text sehr
schwacken, Parallellismus zwischen den beiden Strophen; dem
interessantem des Inhalts verdankt daher vor allem dieser Tropus,
der den nummer 1 und 2 so verwandt ist, seine Aufnahme.— B E wir
Der Introitus text noch weiter tropicert, aber in rein monos,
namlich: Creator coeli et terrae institutor et rector, adimple in
nobis fidem et ditionem tuam, Deus meus, in te confido; non erub
cam, Ut possimus contrariae virtutì resistere ac tibi fideliter s
servire, neque irratém me inimici mai etc.