

THE BIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLICAL ELEMENTS
IN THE HYMNS IN HONOR OF ST. AUGUSTINE
UP TO THE 14TH CENTURY

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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INTRODUCTION

The literature of the Middle Ages has been the subject of much attention during our times.¹ For so many years it was considered a dark sterile age. But not now.

The study of such a culture with its problems, its failures and its achievements, involves a much deeper level of human experience than either the self centered and self-regarding political ideologies of the self-assured humanism of the Enlightenment.²

However, the more scholars searched for answers to the many problems of our age, the more they were driven back into the manuscripts and works of the Medieval writers. It was this thought that caused Mr. J. Perret to quote the words of Ernest Robert Curtius in his recent article

Aucune époque de l'histoire littéraire européenne n'est moins connue, moins explorée que la littérature latine du début et du milieu du Moyen Age. Cependant il ressort clairement de notre conception historique de l'Europe, que cette époque constitue justement le trait d'union entre le monde antique décadent et notre monde occidental qui prend forme si lentement. Elle occupe donc une position-clef. Mais elle n'est étudiée... que par un très petit nombre de spécialistes. En Europe, il en existe peut-être une douzaine. Pour le reste, le Moyen Age se répartit entre les représentants de l'histoire des dogmes dans les facultés de

¹ Cf. Bibliography for list of recent works on the Middle Ages.

² Christopher Dawson, Medieval Essays, New York, Image Books, 1959, p. 12.

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théologie catholique et les médiévistes de nos universités.³

Scholars have found that the Latin Literature of the Middle Ages has beauty and richness all its own. It is now the task of the student of literature to study the works of this period, not only the prose, but also the poetry.

Father Blume, Dreves and Bannister, realizing the importance of this research, gathered together in fifty-five volumes in 8^{vo} a vast group of hymns. This massive accumulation of literature presented a problem on how students of literature were to explore its very vastness. It thus remains for later scholars to take this mass of poetry and analyse it, organizing it so that at some future date there might be edited a history of Medieval Hymnody as part of a great work, a History of Medieval Literature.

The method of doing this has caused some concern. Recently Doctor Joseph Szoverffy outlined a new method for the study of medieval hymnody.⁴ He expressed the opinion that a thorough subject analysis of the vast body of Latin Medieval Hymns would permit scholars to establish

³ J. Perret, "Situation et Problèmes de la Poésie Latine Médiévale", published in L'Information Littéraire, Paris, Baillière, No. 2, Mars-avril, 1959, p. 67.

⁴ Joseph Szoverffy, "Folk Beliefs and Medieval Hymns", printed in Folk Lore, 1942-1943, p. 219.

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relationships between the hymns, and also to classify them much better than the unsure study of the manuscript-tradition would allow. Mr. Perret, in a letter on file with the Latin Department of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa, states his agreement with this:

... la méthode de M. Szoverffy me paraît pouvoir rendre de très grands services. Elle ne prête à la critique que si on lui demande des conclusions qu'elle ne peut donner (et qui ne pourront être acquises que par recours simultané à d'autres méthodes complémentaires); mais dans son ordre elle permet d'accumuler des observations précises et dont il y aura toujours à tenir compte, quelle que soit la manière dont on pense devoir les interpréter.⁵

In the preliminary work of the thesis, ninety-five hymns were discovered in manuscripts dating from the 11th to the 16th centuries. This was thought to be too great a mass for adequate treatment. Since, as Raby points out,⁶ the culmination of Christian Latin poetry is found in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries:

Which mark at once the height of the Catholic civilization of the Middle Ages and the starting point of the Renaissance.⁶

He continues:

⁵ J. Perret, lettre au Père Gareau, on file in the Latin Department, Faculty of Arts, Ottawa, Jan. 31, 1960.

⁶ F.J.E. Raby, A History of Christian Latin Poetry, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1953, p. 452.

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Hence, by the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, the day of Latin⁷ Literature and especially of Latin poetry is over.

It was decided, for the moment, to study the hymns from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, covering as it does the growth and the culmination of Latin Literature. In this division, there were forty hymns.

It will be the purpose of this thesis to follow the method of Dr. Szoverffy making an internal analysis of the hymns according to the subject matter. The subject matter will be limited to the biographical and biblical allusions. These two elements have been chosen for they are the predominant elements in the poems of this period.

Hymns honoring St. Augustine were selected because of his importance not only in our day, but also in the Middle Ages. It was Augustan thought and philosophy that laid the principles for the Middle Ages. He was the "lux et dux doctorum".⁸ Though not a popular Saint in the usual understanding of this term, he was the Saint best known in the Schools and by men of letters. "St. Augustine remained and still remains the acknowledged Father of Western theology."⁹ His writings, whole or in part, existed in many

⁷ Ibid., p. 453.

⁸ C. Blume, C. Dreves, H. Bannister, Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, vol. 55, p. 96, No. 78, verse 3.

⁹ Christopher Dawson, Medieval Essays, p. 91.

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monastery schools. Indeed,

The course of studies which St. Augustine had described in his treatise On Christian Doctrine became the programme of the monastic schools and bore fruit in men like Bede and Alcuin.¹⁰

Christopher Dawson also goes on to say:

St. Augustine has often been regarded as standing outside his own age — as the inaugurator of a new world and the first medieval man, while others, on the contrary, have seen in him rather the heir of the old Classical culture and one of the last representatives of antiquity... He is essentially a man of his own age — that strange age of the Christian Empire which has been so despised by the historians, but which nevertheless marks one of the vital moments in the history of the world... He was, to a far greater degree than any emperor or general or barbarian war-lord, a maker of history and a builder of the bridge which was to lead from the old world to the new.¹¹

He was a man of extraordinary energy.¹² His life, which had been long and full had been burnt up with a love of truth. During his lifetime as a Christian he was well known in the African Church, but his influence and soundness of judgement reached even to Rome, the heart of the Church and government.¹³ After his death, his fame seemed to

¹⁰ C. Dawson, Medieval Essays, p. 48.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 51.

¹² Herbert T. Wierskotten, editor, Sancti Augustini Vita Scripta a Possidio Episcopo, Princeton University, 1919, p. 140.

¹³ W. J. Sparrow Simpson, St. Augustine's Episcopate, New York, MacMillan, 1944, p. 91.

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spread even further, for in the 6th century, the day of his death was observed in Rome, Africa, Gaul.¹⁴ In the 8th century liturgical veneration was given to him on October 11th, the Feast of the Translation of his body. The 12th century notices a change in the liturgy, for St. Augustine's Feast Day is now given the place of honor, taking precedence over the Feast of Translation of his body and the Feast of his Conversion.¹⁵ In the 13th century this particular feast was raised to even higher rank and was made equal to the feasts of the Apostles — and later it was observed as a Holy Day of Obligation for the Universal Church.¹⁶ The 14th century demonstrated special veneration among the Canons and Hermits of St. Augustine as their patron. They celebrated three feasts with octaves: April 25th, the Feast of his Conversion; August 28th, His Feast Day, or anniversary of his death; and October 11th, the Feast of the Translation of the Body of St. Augustine.¹⁷

¹⁴ Von P. Nebridius Gruebel, "Augustinus in Der Liturgie", in St. Augustin, 430-1930, Wuryburg, St. Ritaverlag, 1930, p. 70 to 76.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 74.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 75.

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Thus is seen the importance of Augustine both as a scholar and philosopher and as a Saint and Doctor of the Church during the period of medieval development. It is without surprise, then, that one notes so many hymns addressed to him, or else describing him, or comparing him to other great men, or else praising him, or extolling his many virtues.

In this thesis, first, an attempt will be made to show the relationship existing between events of the Saint's life, as recorded in the Confessions of St. Augustine or in the Sancti Augustini Vita Scripta a Possidio. This will be done with an attempt to establish the relationship between the earlier prose texts and the later hymns. Secondly there will be a study of the Biblical elements of the hymns in relation to the works of St. Augustine and of his life. For this initial study the hymns have been taken from the Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi published in Leipzig from 1886 to 1922. The Confessions will be the Budé edition of S. Aureli Augustini Confessionum. The Confessions were first written by St. Augustine from 371 to 401. The Vita by Possidius is thought to have been written around 432. The selections from the Acta Sanctorum¹⁸ will be dated

¹⁸ Joannes Bollandus, Acta Sanctorum, Paris, Palmé, 1868, Vol. 40, Tomus VI Augusti.

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before the beginning of the eighth century. The Legenda Aurea¹⁹ compiled by Jacobus de Voragine dates from the middle of the 13th century but will seldom be used except in poems from manuscripts after that date. The other works of St. Augustine will ordinarily be taken from the well edited complete work of St. Augustine, Oeuvres Complètes de Saint Augustin²⁰ in thirty-two volumes.

The hymns being studied in this thesis are comprised of rhythmical offices, which are festive offices with their antiphons, versicles, and responsories done in verse; of tropes, which are made of poetic interpolations of a liturgical text; of breviary hymns, which are hymns taken from the Hours of the Office recited by monks and priests; of Sequences which are defined as a melody with text, following the alleluia verse in the gradual of the Mass; and finally other non-liturgical hymns which refers to hymns used at other times. For the sake of convenience they will all be termed "hymns". In order to facilitate the use of references given in the body of the thesis, the system of abbreviations explained on the following pages will be adopted.

¹⁹ Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend, Translated into English by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripberger, London, Longmans, 1941, 2 volumes.

²⁰ St. Augustin, Oeuvres Complètes, editors Perrone, Eralle, Vincent Charpentier, Barreau, Paris, Vivès, 1873, 32 vol. and general index.

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Table I - Abbreviations used in the text.

References to Rhythmical Offices

Ad Ben	=	Ad Benedictus
Ad Mag	=	Ad Magnificat
Ad Noct	=	Ad Nocturnum ¹
Ant	=	Antiphon
Resp	=	Responsorium

¹ A number after the words stipulates the number of the antiphon.

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Table II - Hymns Referred to in the Text

H = Hymns
R = Rhythmical Office
S = Sequence
T = Trope

Number	1st Verse	Type	Date (Century)	Source
1	Aulae rutilae micantem iubare	S	11 AH 40,140, No 152 ¹	
2	Ecclesiae Doctor, Domini quoque	T	11 AH 49, 99,	211
3	Sanctus Augustinum mundo quia	T	11 AH 49,100,	212
4	Supernorum civium	S	11 AH 10,136,	180
5	Augustini Dei cari	H	12 AH 16, 84,	114
6	Augustine, praesul magne	H	12 AH 16, 85,	116
7	Augustinus, praesul magnus	H	12 AH 16, 85,	115
8	Caeli cives, adplaudite	H	12 AH 52,111,	118
9	De profundis tenebrarum	S	12 AH 55, 91,	75
10	Ecce Patris et doctoris	S	12 AH 9,107,	137
11	Exsultemus Deo caeli	H	12 AH 4, 95,	165
12	Festa patris Augustini	H	12 AH 4, 94,	164
13	Huius diei gaudia	S	12 AH 53,215,	126
14	Illuminare	S	12 AH 54, 46,	32
15	Interni festi gaudia	S	12 AH 55, 89,	74
16	Laudent te confessores	S	12 AH 53,217,	127
17	Laude praeclara	S	12 AH 7,140,	127
18	Magne pater Augustine	H	12 AH 52,110,	117
19	Salve pater Augustine	H	12 AH 55, 96,	78
20	Splendescit hodierna	S	12 AH 37,119,	130
21	Alme pater Augustine	H	13 AH 52,112,	119
22	Augustinus, norma legis	H	13 AH 12, 90,	148
23	Coelestis panis Africus	H	13 AH 12, 91,	149
24	Exsultet aula Coelica	H	13 AH 11, 80,	131
25	O Decus ecclesiae	R	13 AH 13, 56,	18
26	Sancte Pater Augustine	R	13 AH 5,139,	47
27	Summo Deo providente	S	13 AH 40,142,	155
28	Turma plaudit caelica	S	13 AH 44, 59,	56

¹ C.G.M. Blume, Dreves, and H.M. Bannister, Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, Leipzig, [no publisher], 55 volumes, 1886 to 1922.

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Table II - Hymns Referred to in the Text (cont.)

Number	1st Verse	Type	Date (Century)	Source
29	Aliquanti post elapso	H	14 AH 16, 83, No	113
30	Augustine, pater cleri	H	14 AH 55, 94,	76
31	Ave Apostolice	H	14 AH 3, 188,	31
32	Caesaris namque praecepto	H	14 AH 16, 83,	112
33	Civitas nobis Tagastae	H	14 AH 16, 82,	111
34	Corda sursum eleventur	S	14 AH 9, 111,	142
35	Cum patribus et prophetis	S	14 AH 9, 109,	139
36	Laetabundus	S	14 AH 44, 61,	58
37	Melodiae canticis	S	14 AH 42, 164,	175
38	Mente pia iubilemus	S	14 AH 55, 95,	77
39	Sollemnizet cleri schola	S	14 AH 44, 60,	57
40	Tuba clanget nostri ducis	S	14 AH 42, 163,	174

CHAPTER I

BIRTH TO CONVERSION

The first Chapter will discuss the events of the early life of St. Augustine up to the time of his conversion as they are found mentioned in the Hymns. The place of his birth, the name and position of his parents and his early life as a youth and student will be analysed. The period of the Life of St. Augustine as a teacher of Rhetoric will follow. Finally the influence of his mother, of St. Ambrose and his own spiritual struggle ending in his Conversion will close the chapter.

In Medieval biographies, often there is no complete precision in geographical details or time elements. In discussing the place of birth the authors of the Hymns differ. St. Augustine has told us himself in his Confessions that he came from Tagaste. "Atque a Thagastensi oppido veni Carthaginem".¹ A Rhythmical Office states this in one of its Responsories:

Civitas nobis Tagaste
Regionis Africae
Augustinum turrim dedit
Fidei catholicae.²

¹ Confessions, 4, 7, 12.

² 25, (Ad Noct. 1, Respons. 1).

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But another Hymn tells us that he was born in Carthage. The Legenda Aurea³ also states this. Weiskotten also discovered that at least two of the manuscripts of the Vita by Possidius, dating from the 9th to the 11th century, give the birthplace as Carthage: "In Chapter 1 A and B both read Carthaginensi which is, of course, an error for Tagastensi"⁴. But two hymns of the 14th century manuscripts pass on this error:

Claret ex Carthagine
Nobilis prosapiae
Sol de stella.⁵

and another merely states the country of origin:

Coelestis panis Africus
Mundum pascens famelicum.⁶

Early hagiographers stress the noble parentage of their Saints. Like most hymns of this period, then, there will be found in the Hymns in honor of St. Augustine the tendency to refer to the "noble" birth of the Saint. Bishop Possidius writes: "De numero curialium parentibus honesti et christianis progenitus erat".⁷ And St. Augustine

³ Legenda Aurea, p. 486.

⁴ Possidius, p. 7.

⁵ 38, (2a).

⁶ 23, (1).

⁷ Possidius, p. 40.

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speaking of his father, says that he was a moderately well-to-do citizen of Tagaste, "Municipis Thagastensis admodum tenuis".⁸ A sequence taken from a 12th century manuscript obviously follows the trend of the hagiographers and speaks of St. Augustine as a descendant from a great family:

Stirpe egregia
Ortus de Tribu magna.⁹

Again, in a Responsoria of a Rhythmical Office of the 13th century manuscript there occurs a thought more in keeping with the expression of St. Augustine mentioned above:

Honeste et christiana
Editum progenie.¹⁰

While many hymns mention the name of his mother, St. Monica, as will be shown later, there is only one hymn, a 12th century sequence which speaks of the father of St. Augustine. The fact of his name is also taken from the Confessions.¹¹ St. Augustine mentions his father by name only once. The sequence sings:

Monica matre,
Patricius patre.¹²

⁸ Confessions, 2, 3, 5.

⁹ 17, 9a.

¹⁰ 25 (Ad Noct. 1, Resp. 1).

¹¹ Confessions, 9, 9, 19.

¹² 14, 6.

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The Confessions also speak a great deal about the early life of St. Augustine. After his youthful days at home, he was given over to the teachers in the schools. The Acta Sanctorum mentions: "Cum puer valeret ingenio et memoria, parentes cum magistro mature tradiderunt, ut artibus liberalibus imbueretur".¹³ Bishop Possidius continues this thought:

... alitusque ac nutritus eorum cura et diligentia impensisque, secularibus litteris eruditus apprime, omnibus videlicet disciplinis imbutus, quas liberales vocant.¹⁴

A Rhythmical Office tells that with the great care of his parents, Augustine is given the best in education:

Maxima parentum cura
Literarum studies
Brevi puer eruditus
Insignis enituit.¹⁵

In the Confessions, also, St. Augustine speaks of the brilliance of his mind and the precocious manner in which he obtained knowledge. "Et ob hoc bonae spei puer appellabar"¹⁶. He goes on to tell of his success:

Quid mihi recitanti adclamabatur prae multis coaetaneis et conlectoribus meis? Nonne ecce illa omnia fumus et ventus? Itane aliud non erat, ubi exerceretur ingenium et lingua mea?¹⁷

¹³ Acta Sanctorum, vol. 40, p. 219.

¹⁴ Possidius, p. 40.

¹⁵ 25, (Ad Noct.1, Resp. 4).

¹⁶ Confessions, 1, 16, 26.

¹⁷ Ibid., 1, 17, 27.

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or again:

Falli nolebam, memoria vigebam, locutione
instruebar, amicitia mulcebar, fugiebam dolorem,
abiectionem, ignorantiam. Quid in tali animante
non mirabile atque laudabile?¹⁸

A different attitude is seen in the hymn, this great talent
is seen as a gift from God and therefore the writer extols
what St. Augustine belittled:

Augustinus mirifice	Dona Dei magnifico
Puer pollens invenio	Major majorum senio ¹⁹
Prudentia vigebat,	Scientia crescebat:

In another part of the Confessions, St. Augustine speaks of
his studies and the progress he made in them — not only is
he a good student but he excels all other students:

Et maior iam eram in schola rhetoris et
gaudebam superbe et tumebam tyfo, quamquam
longe sedatior.²⁰

and again St. Augustine states that he was able to under-
stand the writings of Aristotle without help. This he was
able to do even better than students who were aided by
those more advanced in their studies.

Et quid mihi proderat, quod annos natus ferme
viginti, cum in manus meas venissent Aristotelica
quaedam... cum eas rhetor Carthaginiensis, magister
meus, buccis tyfo crepantibus commemoraret et alii
qui docti habebantur, tamquam in nescio quid
magnum et divinum suspensus inhiabam — legi eas

¹⁸ Confessions, 1, 20, 31.

¹⁹ 26, (Ad Noct. 1, Resp. 2).

²⁰ Confessions, 3, 3, 6.

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solus et intellexi? Quas cum contulissem cum eis,
qui se dicebant vix eas magistris eruditissimis
non loquentibus tantum, sed multa in pulvere depin-
gentibus intellexisse, nihil inde mihi dicere
potuerunt, quam ego solus apud me ipsum legens
cognoveram.²¹

The Hymn writer caught this theme and wrote:

Adolescens strenuus
Professor conspicuus
Septemplicis sophiae,
Ejus in gymnasiis
Fulsit nactus studiis
Fastigium archiae;²²

He then praises Augustine

Annorum aevo juvenis
Animo vir, instar senis
Sensu senes vincebat.²³

It was during these student days at Carthage that
he fell into error:

Itaque incidi in homines superbe delirantes,
carnales nimis et loquaces, in quorum ore laquei
diaboli et viscum confectum commistione syllabarum
nominis tui et domini Jesu Christi et paracleti
consolatoris nostri spiritus sancti... sed falsa
loquebantur non de te tantum... etiam de istis
elementis huius mundi.²⁴

The hymn writers bring out this fact also for it plays a
great part in the story of the conversion of the Man of God.
A Rhythmical Office of the 12th century gives a general

²¹ Confessions, 4, 16, 30.

²² 26 (Ad Noct. 1, Resp. 3).

²³ 26 (Ad Noct. 1, Resp. 2).

²⁴ Confessions, 3, 6, 10.

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picture:

Artium culmen
Facundiae fulmen
In Iuvene mirabile
Nituit.

Inter hae vitiis
Et errorum
Capitur diu fallaciis.²⁵

It continues with more detail:

At rudis adolescentia
Ingenium docile
Errore Manichaeorum
Capitur Carthagine
Ut post revelata magis veritas dulcesse-
Et tenacius comperta, [ret
Pectori insideret.²⁶

Another hymn of the 13th century states the same point:

Hic a pueritia
Gradiens per devia
Multa gessit levia.²⁷

A final hymn merely states that before his conversion he was a Manichean:

Hic, gentilis dum fuit,
Manichaeis.²⁸

After his student days and because of his great love of learning, he became a teacher of Rhetoric and in this capacity did not suffer from lack of students. His concern,

²⁵ 14 (7 & 8).

²⁶ 25 (Ad Noct. 1, Resp. 3).

²⁷ 28 (4a).

²⁸ 37 (4a).

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in the Confessions, was not over the number but rather over the behaviour of the students.²⁹ The hymn writers speak of this period.

Doctissimus Carthagine
Floruit.³⁰

The Rhythmical Office completes the picture:

Cumque plures docuisset
Primitus in Africa
Oratoriam docturus.³¹

Another Rhythmical Office states:

Gloriose docuit
Longe late claruit
Gemma philosophiae.³²

The story of his teaching profession takes St. Augustine from Tagaste, to Carthage, to Rome and finally to Milan.

Bishop Possidius states:

Nam et grammaticam prius in sua civitate, et rhetoricam in Africae capite Carthagine postes docuit. Consequenti etiam tempore trans mare in urbe Roma, et apud Mediolanum, ubi tunc imperatoris Valentiniani minoris comitatus fuerat constitutus.³³

The Rhythmical Office has this thought also:

²⁹ Confessions, 5, 10, 18.

³⁰ 14 (6).

³¹ 25 (Ad Noct. 1, Resp. 4).

³² 26 (Ad Noct. 1, Resp. 3).

³³ Possidius, p. 40.

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Romam quoque navigat
 Ut doctrinam tanti viri
 Probet et Italia.³⁴

Now will be discussed the main person and events leading to the conversion of St. Augustine from heresy to the Faith. According to St. Augustine, many people, good and bad, played an important part in his conversion.³⁵ However, there would be no doubt that his mother, St. Monica, and the great Archbishop of Milan, St. Ambrose, played major roles. The Legenda Aurea mentions that when Augustine was thirty years old due to his mother's merits and the preaching of St. Ambrose, Augustine was baptized.³⁶ St. Augustine records the good example of his mother but it is her prayers and tears that Augustine feels brought him to the faith:

Tibi autem, fons misericordiarum, preces et
 lacrimas densiores, ut accelerares adiutorium
 tuum et inluminares tenebras meas, et studiosius
 ad ecclesiam currere.³⁷

The Confessions in other places give rise to these thoughts, for St. Augustine had stated: "Propter quas me plangebatur mater"³⁸ and again, "qua me abluto siccarentur flumina

³⁴ 25 (Ad Noct. 1, Resp. 4).

³⁵ Confessions, 8, 4, 9.

³⁶ Legenda Aurea, p. 490.

³⁷ Confessions, 6, 1, 1.

³⁸ Confessions, 4, 4, 7.

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Maternorum oculorum quibus pro me cotidie tibi rigabat terram sub vultu suo".³⁹ Of the group of hymns now under study, the first manuscript to record this thought is one of the twelfth century.

Sed mater lacrimis
Ipsum Christo
Parturit iterum plurimis.⁴⁰

In the next century can be found the results of St. Monica's prayers:

Matris eius precibus
Tractus ab erroribus
Iungitur fidelibus.⁴¹

But the 14th century expresses the influence of St. Monica in three different hymns. In one hymn it is her prayers that brought him to the light:

Te conversum prece matris
Lux divina dat ex atris.⁴²

Another hymn of this period joins the idea of the mother's prayer with the thought of her bringing forth life. Just as she gave St. Augustine life, so now by her prayers, she brings him to a rebirth in the faith.⁴³

³⁹ Confessions, 5, 8, 15.

⁴⁰ 14 (9).

⁴¹ 28 (5a).

⁴² 30 (5).

⁴³ Confessions, 8, 12, 30.

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11

Sed precum instantia
 Mater illum, propria
 Quem carne pepererat
 Mundo, Christo generat.⁴⁴

This thought appears in another hymn of this same period.

Ipsam mater; mundo carne pariens
 Dedit virum: Christo reparturiens
 Fletu serente gaudia.⁴⁵

Finally a Rhythmical Office of the 13th century elaborates on this theme in one of the responsoria of the first nocturn.

Piae Matris pia vota
 Deus pius exaudivit
 Quae salutem nati tota
 Flagrans mente concupivit;
 Quem carne pepererat
 Mente parturivit,
 Cui Deus non dederat
 Dans, quod flens petivit.⁴⁶

St. Augustine was deeply impressed by the workings of the Providence of God that had brought him out of sin into the light, that had brought him from Africa to Milan and to the feet of St. Ambrose and to his eventual Baptism. In the Confessions, it is mentioned how Augustine got from Rome to Milan. Apparently a teacher of Rhetoric was needed and the Governor of Milan sent to Rome. A contest was held with the prize of the position in Milan going to the man

⁴⁴ 37 (4a).

⁴⁵ 39 (2a).

⁴⁶ 26 (Ad Noct. 1, Resp. 2).

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12

who won. Augustine, tired of Roman practices applied and won. He speaks of this in the Confessions:

Itaque posteaquam missum est a Mediolanio Roman ad praefectum urbis, ut illi civitati rhetoricae magister provideretur impertita etiam evectione publica, ego ipse ambivi per eos ipsos manichaeis vanitatibus ebrios — quibus ut carerem ibam, sed utrique nesciebamus — ut dictione proposita me probatum praefectus tunc Symmachus mitteret. ⁴⁷

Et veni Mediolanium ad Ambrosium episcopum.

Bishop Possidius is more terse in a text already quoted:

Consequenti etiam tempore trans mare in urbe Roma, et apud Mediolanum, ubi tunc imperatoris Valentiniani minoris comitatus fuerat constitutus. ⁴⁸

The Rhythmical Office from a 12th century manuscript gives the same thought. The Office explains that by the command of Caesar he was ordered to come to Milan, but this was by Divine guidance, and there he was to be a teacher of rhetoric:

Inde Caesaris praecepto,
Immo nutu divino
Transfertur Mediolanum,
Quasi rhetor docturus. ⁴⁹

Early prose writers speak about the purpose of this journey to Milan. Bishop Possidius states:

⁴⁷ Confessions, 5, 13, 23.

⁴⁸ Possidius, p. 40.

⁴⁹ 25 (Ad Noct. 2, Resp. 1).

BIRTH TO CONVERSION

13

In qua urbe tunc episcopatum administrabat... sacerdos Ambrosius. Huius interea verbi Dei praedicatoris frequentissimis in ecclesia disputationibus assistens in populo, intendebat suspensus atque affixus... Et factum est divina praestante opitulatione ut per illum tantum ac talem antistitem Ambrosium et doctrinam salutarem Ecclesiae Catholicae et divina perciperet sacramenta.⁵⁰

St. Augustine had written in his Confessions words that must have been the basis for most of these thoughts, "Et studiose audiebam disputantem in populo... et verbis eius suspendebar intentus"⁵¹ and again "Suscepit me paterne ille homo dei et peregrinationem meam satis episcopaliter dilexit".⁵²

A hymn of the 12th century says that by listening to the words of Ambrose, St. Augustine believes and is brought to the Font of Baptism.

Verbo Dei dum oboedit
Credit errans et accedit
Ad baptismi gratiam.⁵³

The next century discovers two more hymns dealing with the influence of St. Ambrose on the intellect of St. Augustine. One alludes to the sweet flowing sermons of Ambrose that dispel the gentile error and makes it possible for

⁵⁰ Possidius, p. 40.

⁵¹ Confessions, 5, 13, 23.

⁵² Ibid., 5, 13, 23.

⁵³ 9 (3).

BIRTH TO CONVERSION

14

Augustine to be washed clean in the Font of Baptism.

Nam eum mellito
Sermone sanctus
Devicit salubriter Ambrosius
Et gentilem falsitatem
Sacro abluit lavacro.⁵⁴

The other is more terse but expresses the same thought.

Verbis Ambrosii
Dum compunctus
Sacro remedii
Fonte functus.⁵⁵

In the 13th century the two Rhythmical Offices contain references to the meeting with Ambrose. The first Office merely recalls the meeting of the two men.

Ad urbem, cui praesidebat
Sacerdos Ambrosius

Igitur catechizatus
Per tantum Antistitem
Liberatur ab errore
Lavatur baptisate.⁵⁶

The other Rhythmical Office is more florid and descriptive in its account,

Audit ille praedicantem
Praesulem Ambrosium
Virum stupens elegantem
Verbis et egregium
Gemit deflens se peccantem
Hactenus et impium
Dei tactus gratia
Sacrum per eloquium

⁵⁴ 13 (5).

⁵⁵ 14 (11).

⁵⁶ 25 (Ad Noct. 2, Resp. 1 et 2).

BIRTH TO CONVERSION

15

Mundana solatia
Respuit et gaudium.⁵⁷

While St. Monica and the Archbishop of Milan played a large part in the conversion of St. Augustine, the battle was really within his own soul. The Confessions tell us of the turmoil, the doubt, the unbelief. The prose writers insist on the struggle and eventual victory of the man of God.

Cui rei ego suspirabam ligatus non ferro alieno, sed mea ferrea voluntate. Vel meum tenebat inimicus et inde mihi catenam fecerat et constrinxerat me... Quibus quasi ansulis sibimet innexis — unde catenam appellavi — tenebat me obstrictum dura servitus... Ita duae voluntates meae, una vetus, alia nova, illa carnalis, illa spiritalis, confligebant inter se atque discordando dissipabant animam meam.⁵⁸

The strife was within himself. Consequently often in the Confessions, Augustine speaks about the desire to know God on his own terms. He wanted eloquence, learning and then faith. In the Confessions he speaks of Cicero's Hortensius and how it seemed to change him. "I began to rise up so that I might return to you". Thus Augustine desired to fly to God because God is Wisdom and Wisdom was philosophy.⁵⁹ A 14th century manuscript speaks of this struggle in terse, poetic language:

⁵⁷ 26 (Ad Noct. 2, Resp. 2).

⁵⁸ Confessions, 8, 5, 10.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 3, 4, 7.

BIRTH TO CONVERSION

16

Et tumens scientia
Humilis fit gratia

Differebat primum quidem
Baptizari sperans fidem
Humana scientia

Posse capi.⁶⁰

It is finally answered by the grace of Baptism and the hymn writer expresses the thought of strife and the answer in the first antiphon of the Rhythmical Office written in the 13th century.

Exaudivit invocantem
Hunc Deus justitiae
Consolando exsultantem
In valle miseriae,
Vultus sui lumine
Signando exsultantem.⁶¹

Another hymn written before the end of the 12th century tells that while Augustine had been wounded by the evils of the world, he was cured by the study of the Written Word from all heresy.

Quam in primis tuebatur,
Verbis scriptis execratur
Erroris fallaciam.⁶²

The Legenda Aurea has another thought about his conversion which is also mentioned in a hymn. The Legenda mentions that St. Augustine after being attracted to the

⁶⁰ 37 (4b to 5b).

⁶¹ 26 (Ad Noct. 2, Ant. 1).

⁶² 9 (4).

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teachings of St. Ambrose asked the Holy Bishop to indicate which of the Sacred Books he should read in order to fit himself for the Christian faith. It was suggested to him to read the Book of Isaias.⁶³ The Confessions also mention that St. Augustine in this period read the Epistles of St. Paul.

Tulit, aperuit, invenit apostolum Paulum,
inopinate sane... Cui ego cum indicassem illis
me scripturis curam maximam impendere."⁶⁴

A 14th century sequence sings:

Sed secutus
Paulum Christum est indutus
Ipsam...⁶⁵

And another hymn mentions that Augustine read both Isaias and St. Paul, having left off the reading of the Books of Plato while he placed his trust in the advice of Ambrose.

Argumenta dum Platonis
Linquens cordi fidem ponis
Consulens Ambrosium.

A quo missus Isaiam
Legis, unde carpens viam
Pauli dicta perficis.⁶⁶

⁶³ Legenda Aurea, p. 490.

⁶⁴ Confessions, 8, 6, 14.

⁶⁵ 37 (5b).

⁶⁶ 40 (3b and 4a).

BIRTH TO CONVERSION

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This chapter has shown that the hymns record the main biographical events in the early life of St. Augustine. It must be noted, however, that many interesting events have not been recorded. The events of his youth, especially, as recorded in the first two or three Books of the Confessions have scarcely been mentioned in the Hymns. An examination of the verses dealing with his priestly life and his work as a famous preacher will show this to be generally true.

CHAPTER II

PRIEST AND PREACHER

In this chapter, there will be discussed the references to St. Augustine as a priest and bishop and also his work as a preacher of the Word of God. After his conversion he went into retirement and hoped to live a contemplative life, but contrary to his desires, his place in the Church would be rather in the arena of controversy. Soon he was brought from retirement to an active role. Early biographies give very little detail about this part of his life. They mention only details which will help to increase the honor or praise of the Saint, or else details which would help to edify the members of the Church. Consequently we find that the hymn writers passed over the great dignity of priestly ordination and episcopal consecration with little more than a mention. Indeed, according to Possidius, priestly ordination was not even sought by Augustine — but was thrust upon him by an anxious bishop and enthusiastic people.¹ Scarce mention is made of this in the hymns, but the praise element gives many lines to his priestly and episcopal powers. He is considered the "gemma sacerdotum"²,

¹ Possidius, p. 46.

² 26 (1st Vesp. Resp.).

PRIEST AND PREACHER

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while in seventeen other hymns he is honored with the title "praesul". Two tropes written before the end of the 11th century speak of Augustine "ut sit illi sacerdotii dignitas ... in aeternum"³. The first trope speaks of the "iura sacerdotis tribuens, quo sancta bearet"⁴ and then goes on to mention that Augustine, as priest, took the prayers of the faithful to the throne of Grace:

Qui populi pia vota tulit altaribus almis
In aeternum⁵

The other trope speaks also of the sacrificial duty of the priesthood:

Turificando preces cedens redolere perennes
Vota deum primo solvat et altithrono,
Ut sit illi sacerdotii dignitas:⁶

The prose vita goes on to tell us about his ordination.

Utile Domino ad omne opus bonum paratum...
Eodemque itaque tempore in ecclesia Hipponensi
Catholica Valerius sanctus episcopatum gerebat.
Qui cum flagitante ecclesiastica necessitate, de
providendo et ordinando presbytero civitati plebem
... exhortaretur... eum ergo tenerunt et... omnibus
id uno consensu et desiderio fieri perficique
petentibus magnoque studio et clamore flagitantibus,
ubertim eo flente.⁷

³ 2 (3) and 3 (3).

⁴ 2 (2).

⁵ 2 (4).

⁶ 3 (3).

⁷ Possidius, p. 46.

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The hymn writer takes up this theme in a hymn of the 12th century:

Hic Deo dilectus
Ab hominibus electus,
Cuius memoria est
In benedictione.⁸

Another hymn of the 13th century merely states the fact:

Mox in Africam regressus
Ordinatus presbyter
Cuncta morum et doctrinae
Circumlustrat lumine.⁹

A hymn of the 12th century speaks of the duty of a priest:

Familiae Domini praefuit ut minister
Commissam fovens ut Pater
Non iudicans dominum
Se fore subiectorum¹⁰
Sed servum Dei servorum.

St. Augustine remained a simple priest for five years and then he was raised to the plenitude of the priesthood. Bishop Possidius recalls the main facts. He tells us how worried the good Bishop Valerius was that he might lose his priest to another bishop, so he prevailed upon the Primate of Africa to allow Augustine to be consecrated with right of succession, contrary to the customs of the time:

⁸ 17 (13).

⁹ 25 (Ad Noct. 2, Resp. 4).

¹⁰ 17 (10).

PRIEST AND PREACHER

22

Ille vero beatus senex Valerius ceteris ex hoc amplius exsultans et Deo gratias agens de concesso sibi speciali beneficio, metuere coepit, ut est humanus animus, ne ab alia ecclesia sacerdote privata, ad episcopatum quaereretur, et sibi auferretur... Unde amplius formidans idem venerabilis senex, et sciens se corpore et aetate infirmissimum, egit secretis litteris apud primatem episcoporum Carthaginensem, allegans imbecillitatem corporis sui... et obsecrans ut Hipponensi ecclesiae ordinaretur episcopus... sed consacerdos accederet Augustinus. Et quae optavit et rogavit satagens rescripto impetravit.¹¹

The early hymns speak about the fact that St. Augustine was made a Bishop!

Processu quoque temporis
Factus antistes Hipponis.¹²

And another hymn from a 13th century manuscript mentions the town of Hippo as the episcopal see:

Hinc pontificalia
Suscepit officia
In urbe Hipponia.¹³

The 14th century manuscripts merely mention the fact of his being a Bishop:

Praesul eras Hipponensis.¹⁴

and:

Praesul factus.¹⁵

¹¹ Possidius, p. 56.

¹² 25 (Ad Noct. 3, Resp. 4).

¹³ 28 (8a).

¹⁴ 30 (8).

¹⁵ 40 (4b).

PRIEST AND PREACHER

23

Another hymn praises the Saint because of the dignity given to him:

Ave Hipponensium
Qui Antistes factus
Es pontificalium
Jura digne nactus.¹⁶

Nor was this Office looked for by St. Augustine and he tried in every way possible to avoid it.

This office I was greatly afraid to decline being persuaded, through the love of Valerius and the importunity of the people, that it was the Lord's wish and being prevented from excusing myself on other grounds by some precedents of similar appointments.¹⁷

Bishop Possidius records the event in this manner:

Episcopatum suscipere contra morem Ecclesiae suo vivente episcopo presbyter recusabat. Dumque illi fieri solere ab omnibus suaderetur, atque id agnaro transmarinis et Africanis Ecclesiae exemplis provocaretur, compulsus atque coactus succubuit et maioris loci ordinationem suscepit.¹⁸

A hymn written before the 13th century brings out these same facts. It speaks of his unwilling consecration as Bishop, his generous acceptance of the work involved. For it was not the honor wrongly sought but the work and pain of the Bishop's lot that he generously accepted:

¹⁶ 31 (3).

¹⁷ Sparrow Simpson, St. Augustine's Episcopate, p. 15, quoting St. Augustine's letter, Epistola XXI.

¹⁸ Possidius, p. 56.

PRIEST AND PREACHER

24

Sicque praesul consecratur,
Quod invitus annuit.

Mox ergo non propria
Sed Christi negotia
Tractat et exsequitur,

Nec honorem perperam
Sed opus et operam
Praesulis amplectitur.¹⁹

A Rhythmical Office of the next century takes up this theme:

Vitae vernans sanctitate
Verbi fulgens veritate
Ad cathedram attollitur,
Praesulatus dignitatem,
Decorans per sanctitatem,
Pastor bonus cognoscitur.²⁰

The success of the Bishop in his work is well demonstrated by the number of letters and sermons that may be found written and preached by him. The Legenda Aurea tells us that he was summoned by many churches and preached the word of the Lord to them and converted many from error.²¹ A hymn writer goes on to tell us how the whole country was pleased with his work as Bishop and how the City was given great renown because of him. The hymn was written before the 14th century:

¹⁹ 10 (3b, 4a, 4b).

²⁰ 26 (Ad Noct. 3, Resp. 2).

²¹ Legenda Aurea, p. 494.

PRIEST AND PREACHER

25

Gaudet Africa
 De tanto patrono praedita
 Atque civitas
 Hipponis illa
 Quae doctrina
 Claruit illius sedula.²²

Two later hymns speak of the work of the Bishop. One recalls that the Bishop must warn people to leave the things of the world.

Praesul factus monens clerum
 Contemptorum esse rerum,
 Nec habentes abicis.²³

Of his own private devotion in the Episcopal Monastery little is mentioned by the Medieval Hymns before the 14th century. One reference is found, however, in a rather long sequence from a 12th century manuscript. It tells about the contemplative prayer of Augustine. The source of this story seems to be the story found in the Legenda Aurea. The Legenda explains that a woman who had suffered injustice at the hands of certain wicked men, went to Saint Augustine to ask his counsel in the matter. She found him at his studies and greeted him reverently, but he neither raised his eyes to her, nor gave her any answer. She thinking that perhaps, because of his great holiness, he was unwilling to look upon a woman's face, came nearer,

²² 20 (5b).

²³ 40 (4b).

and carefully made known her business. But he neither turned to her, nor made the least reply; so that she withdrew in much sadness. On the morrow, as Augustine celebrated the Mass the woman, who was present, heard a voice saying to her: "When thou didst go to Augustine, he was so deep in thought concerning the glory of the Trinity that he did not so much as notice that thou were present."²⁴ A sequence found in a 12th century manuscript speaks of this event. It tells how piously he was absorbed in contemplation when a lady came and received no answer to her question. She leaves but is advised that while the Saint looks on God he cannot turn his face to things of the earth.

O quam fixe contemplatur,
Dum matrona non spectatur
Nec inde certificatur,
Unde gestit quaerere.

Maesta redit sed docetur,
Quod, dum Deum contempletur,
Visum sanctus non tenetur
Ad ipsam reflectere.²⁵

This story is unique in the biographical elements of the hymns in so far as no mention of this event is found in the Confessions or in the Vita by Possidius.

²⁴ Legenda Aurea, p. 499.

²⁵ 10 (9a and 9b).

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It may be noticed, then, that the medieval hymnodist follows very closely the prose writers' thoughts and ideals. What one accents, so does the other. The impression of priesthood and the state of plenitude of priestly life was primarily that of service to the Church rather than elaboration of Priestly Virtues. This service was demonstrated in his role as a preacher.

The Confessions recall that St. Augustine was proficient in pagan oratory and rhetoric.²⁶ With his entrance into the Church, this gift and skill was now put to the better use of the Lord.²⁷ Bishop Possidius mentions the popularity of the Holy Bishop. Wherever he went he was always ready to open his mouth and speak the truths of the Gospel:

Et episcopus multo instantius ac ferventius maiore auctoritate, non adhuc in una tantum regione, sed ubicumque rogatus venisset, verbum salutis aeternae alacriter ac graviter pullulante atque crescente Domini Ecclesia praedicabat, paratus semper poscentibus, reddere rationem de fide et spe, quae in Deum est.²⁸

A mention of this is made in two Hymns of the 14th century. A Sequence speaks of the wonderful brilliance of the

²⁶ Confessions, 3, 3, 6.

²⁷ Possidius, p. 48.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 58.

message:

Os repletum aperuit:
Doctrina sana claruit
Praesulis facundia.²⁹

While another Hymn continues with this same theme modelling its thought from the Vita by Possidius:

Unde accensa et ardens levata super candelabrum
lucerna, omnibus qui in domo erant lucebat.³⁰

The hymn states:

Lucis aeternae splendorem
Ac utriusque calorem
Mira fert facundia.³¹

Thus the popularity of St. Augustine allowed him to exercise a great influence over the minds of men. The Hymns copied this idea from the prose writers. Both writers wished to prove the Saint to be really another Christ and just as the teaching of Christ had been accepted by the multitude, who came to listen, so also was the influence of St. Augustine. Chapter VII of the Prose Vita of Possidius tells us, among other things, of this terrific influence:

— praedicabat ille... salutis verbum cum omni fiducia adversus Africanas haereses... repentinis sermonibus, ineffabiliter admirantibus Christianis et collaudantibus et hoc ipsum ubi poterant non tacentibus et diffamentibus.³²

²⁹ 37 (6b).

³⁰ Possidius, p. 53.

³¹ 38, 5.

³² Possidius, p. 53.

PRIEST AND PREACHER

29

A hymn written before the 13th century praises God that the tongue of this Doctor of the Church could spread his brilliant wisdom throughout the world:

Benedicta sit
Illa doctoris lingua

Cujus sophia
Toto orbe lucida³³

In the same hymn there is a reminder that Possidius had mentioned that the Church of the Lord flourished and grew rapidly and strongly because of his preaching: "Pullulante atque crescente Domini Ecclesiam praedicabat"³⁴ and again Possidius states:

Unde per multos et in multis salubris fidei
spei et caritatis ecclesiae innotascente doctrina,
non solum per omnes Africae partes, verum etiam in
transmarinis.³⁵

The hymnist chants:

Illius doctrina modo
Splendidissima cuncta
Illustrat orbis climata.³⁶

And another hymn from a 14th century manuscript sings about the heavenly doctrine of St. Augustine illuminating the world:

³³ 17 (4a and 4b).

³⁴ Possidius, p. 58.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 63.

³⁶ 17 (7a).

PRIEST AND PREACHER

30

Hujus praeclara dogmata
Splendent mundi per climata.³⁷

The ideal of St. Augustine, as seen from his life, was to practice what he preached. Bishop Possidius spends Chapters 6 to 18 talking about apostolic works of St. Augustine especially in preaching against heretics, and from Chapter 19 to Chapter 31 dealing with the private exemplary life of the Saint. Possidius seems to be proving the principle that St. Augustine practices what he preached. So the hymns following this example give the same ideal. A hymn written before the end of the 12th century claims:

Manu, lingua praedicat³⁸

and this thought was borrowed for a later hymn of the 14th century manuscript:

Verbum Dei manu, lingua
Cum magna constantia

Praedicavit atque scripsit
Fulsit Dei gratia.³⁹

And finally on this thought, Possidius wrote:

Et docebat ac praedicabat ille privatim et
publice in domo et in ecclesia salutis verbum cum
omni fiducia.⁴⁰

So the hymnist wishes to impress on the medieval minds that St. Augustine preached for those in the Church and those

³⁷ 24 (4).

³⁸ 10 (5a).

³⁹ 35 (2a and 2b).

⁴⁰ Possidius, p. 53.

PRIEST AND PREACHER

31

outside the Church, in public and private, for a Rhythmical Office states:

Publice atque privatim docet verbum salutis.⁴¹

The eloquence of Augustine is plainly visible to anyone who reads any of his sermons. In a work known to the Monasteries of the Middle Ages, St. Augustine speaks of the man who must preach. In De Doctrina Christiana, especially the fourth Book, he relates these qualities.⁴² This book was written towards the close of his episcopate.⁴³ The latter part of it deals especially with the expounding of Christian truths. In this book he notes the need of eloquence as well as wisdom and further tells the preacher to put his trust in God to guide him in what he ought to say.

Qui enim eloquenter dicunt, suaviter: qui sapienter, salubriter audiuntur. Propter quod non ait Scriptura, Multitudo eloquentium: sed, Multitudo sapientium, sanitas est orbis terrarum.⁴⁴

An early hymn repeats this advice and portrays it in the preaching of Augustine himself:

⁴¹ 26 (Ad Noct. 3, Resp. 1).

⁴² Oeuvres complètes de Saint Augustin, Editors Perrone, Ecalle, Vincent, Charpentier, Barreau, Paris, Vivès, 1873, vol. 20, p. 273.

⁴³ Henri Marrou, St. Augustine and his Influence through the Ages, New York, Harper Torchbooks, 1957, p. 184.

⁴⁴ Oeuvres complètes, Vol. 6, p. 551.

Et sophistarum eloquentissimo
Christiano veritatis
Simplicitas os conclusit⁴⁵

and another hymn found in another manuscript of this same period (12th century) praises his brilliant doctrine, which like the Heavens light, makes his sayings shine in the Church:

Illius doctrina modo splendidissima
[cuncta
Splendidissima cuncta
Illustrat orbis climata,

Ut coeli luminaria
Dicta et salubria
Ejus fulgent in ecclesia. 46

St. Augustine, in the well known work mentioned above, De Doctrina Christiana, gives the rules for eloquent speaking. He speaks not from theory but from long years of experience speaking in the various Churches of Africa, in debates with heretics and before the councils of the Church. It seems that he was always asked to speak; the very number of publications indicates the popularity of the Preacher and would therefore demonstrate his eloquent qualities. The hymns also remark on this eloquence. A hymn of the 12th century recalls:

$$45 \underline{13} (4).$$

46 17 (7a and 7b).

PRIEST AND PREACHER

33

Et argentum
Eius eloquentia,⁴⁷

And a hymn of the 13th century recalls that his eloquence was like rich perfume:

Cuius eloquia
Redolent ultra
Thymiamata⁴⁸

And in the next century a hymn recalls that the faith was preserved by his wonderful preaching:

Fidem nostram conservavit
Miro eloquentia.⁴⁹

The subject matter of St. Augustine's Sermons was also of interest to the Medieval writers. They noticed the large number of sermons dedicated to the explanation of the Bible, especially the psalms.

But to return to the subject-matter of his preaching. It was the Bible all the time. Its words and expressions flow almost unconsciously from his lips; his stories and illustrations are taken from it; there is not a book of the Bible that he has not commented on in his sermons in some form or another; it is the quarry for all his doctrine; it is 'the word of God' that feeds his soul and out of which he 'provides old things and new' for the spiritual needs of his flock.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ 13 (7).

⁴⁸ 20 (4a).

⁴⁹ 35 (3b).

⁵⁰ Hugh Pope, St. Augustine of Hippo, Maryland, Newman Press, 1949, p. 154.

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A hymn from a 12th century manuscript speaks about the use of Scripture in the works of St. Augustine. A Sequence speaks of the great Doctor opening up the hidden things and explaining the sermons of the Master and the psalms to men:

Explicat obscuras
Antea scripturas
Harum trituras
Pandit et figuras
Sensumque mysticum.

Salvatoris almos
Sermones et psalmos⁵¹
Disserit, declarat.

The same idea was mirrored in a later hymn, where the poet, after telling about the outstanding teaching of St. Augustine, then goes on to tell that this was nourished by his love of Scripture:

Hujus terunt vestigia⁵²
Sacrae scripturae studia

And finally in the 14th century manuscript there is found a reference to St. Augustine being in the realms of glory with the Fathers and the Prophets, whose words he had repeated:

Cum patribus et prophetis
In coelesti gloria

Quorum dicta recitavit⁵³
Docens in ecclesia,

⁵¹ 10 (7a and 7b).

⁵² 24 (4).

⁵³ 35 (1a).

Another of the important doctrines found in the preaching material of St. Augustine, was the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. There are numberless references to the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity in his works and the most famous of these are the two sermons on the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity.⁵⁴ The Legenda Aurea mentions the Blessed Trinity a number of times in the short number of pages dealing with the life of St. Augustine. Here they speak of a vision of a certain person who was shown a picture of Heaven. On asking where was St. Augustine, he was told that St. Augustine was seated in the very highest place because he has spoken of the glory of the most excellent Trinity.⁵⁵ The hymns under discussion also speak of this great Saint and his teaching on the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity. An early hymn from a 12th century manuscript speaks of the Saint contemplating the Trinity:

Triadis hic monadem,
 Monadis triadem,
 A qua non reflexit
 Cor, inspexit
 Fidei facie⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Oeuvres, cf. General Index, p. 6, also Vol. 20, p. 435.

⁵⁵ Legenda Aurea, p. 500.

⁵⁶ 14 (19).

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The next three references are from the next century. A hymn tells that St. Augustine had defended this Mystery:

Trinum Deum defenderat⁵⁷

While a Rhythmical Office speaks in poetic terms that we are drawn close to the Trinity because of the words of Augustine:

Ut ad hierarchiae Trinae
Arcem tuae per doctrinae
Tendamus vestigium.⁵⁸

And even this thought is elaborated in a sequence mentioning that the Saint Augustine with his clear mind is able to unravel and look deeply into the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity:

Vir divinus
Ipsos cernus
Coaeterni
Patris verbi
Verbo retexit
Et introspectit
Mentalis acuminis
Perpicacia.⁵⁹

Sparrow Simpson goes on to explain another function of St. Augustine's preaching. The Saint was the fighter, the exponent of truth against heresy.

⁵⁷ 23 (2).

⁵⁸ 26 (1st Vesp., 1st Ant.).

⁵⁹ 39 (6b).

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His own disposition, his personal experiences in early manhood, and the controversial conditions of his age, all combined to make him a preacher of doctrine, an exponent of the essential principles of the Christian Creed. His qualifications and his position required him to be in continual controversy against Manichaeism, Arian perversion, Donatist Separatists, Pelagian humanism. All these continually recur as themes in his popular instructions.⁶⁰

These thoughts were present in the minds of the Medieval scholars for the works of St. Augustine were present in every well known library.⁶¹ They were the basis of study for most Medieval schools and so the works of St. Augustine on the heresies and their refutation were the subject of much discussion. Because of the amount of sermons written there was no doubt in the mind of the Medieval scholar that Augustine must have preached in season and out of season; that his life must have been one long discussion. Bishop Possidius applies to him those words of St. Paul:

Praedicans verbum atque instans opportune
importune arguens hortans increpans in omni
longanimitate et doctrina⁶²

Bishop Possidius also tells us about the number of public debates St. Augustine had with the various heretics:

⁶⁰ Sparrow-Simpson, St. Augustine's Episcopate, p.70.

⁶¹ Catalogue Général des Manuscrits Latins, éd. P. Lauer, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1939, 3 vol., Vol. 2, p. 90-582.

⁶² Possidius, p. 88.

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Et docebat ac praedicabat ille privatim et publice, in domo et in ecclesia salutis verbum cum omni fiducia adversus Africanas haereses... et repentinis sermonibus.⁶³

and again:

Ex magna parte defecisse, et ecclesiae Dei societas esse congaudens⁶⁴

De die in diem augebatur et multiplicabatur pacis unitas⁶⁵

Dei.⁶⁶ congaudente quoque id comperta Ecclesia

The hymns contain many references to heresy in general.

A hymn from a 12th century manuscript tells that he was able to tread down and rid the world of the pest of heresy:

Mundus marcens et inania
Et doctrinis tritus vanis
Per pestem haereticam

Multum coepit fructum ferre,⁶⁷

The same century hears the chant that he, the leader and jewel of clerics, confounds the schismatics:

Dux et decus clericorum
Schismaticos confutavit⁶⁸

⁶³ Possidius, p. 52.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 84.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 68.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 54.

⁶⁷ 9 (7 and 8).

⁶⁸ 11 (3).

A Sequence of this same period adds to this. It explains that the heretical evil, like a disease, is now dried up, and then after some stanzas of praise continues again with the thought of the evil heresy, like a band of animals, this time, are clamoring like rabid dogs. Perhaps this is a reference to the lines in Bishop Possidius' Life wherein he speaks about the heretics who began to believe that they would be doing a good act, if they caught and killed the Holy Man of God.⁶⁹

Cujus doctrina
Deperit
Haeretica perfidia,
.....

Praepollet in ecclesia;
Hic haeretica
Perfida agmina,
Superabat cuncta
Rabido ore stridentia
.....

Stupe valde talia,
Quicunque Christicola,

Per hunc facta adversus
Tot haereses proelia⁷⁰

In the next century the fight against the heretics is made more colorful. Now the weapons of battle are mentioned, such as the "sword" and the "hammer". Bishop Possidius said that through the teaching of Augustine the heretics were

⁶⁹ Possidius, p. 59.

⁷⁰ 17 (3a and 5a), also (8a and 8b).

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diminishing:

Unde illi sui erroris minui congregationes
videntes atque augmentis Ecclesiae⁷¹

And a 14th century hymn reiterates the thought:

Trinum Deum defenderat
Hausto doctrinae spiculo,
Haereticorum foedere
Nunc ipsum pressum sublevat.

Deprimebat haereticos
Haereticorum malleus
Ferales nun haeretici⁷²
Ipsum ubique deprimunt.

The next century closes off this discussion with a repetition of the fear and worry of the heretics:

Eius nomen
Timet schismaticus,
Fugit pallens⁷³
Omnis haereticus.

There is another interesting note about the Medieval hymns in honor of St. Augustine. Not only do they consider Augustine as the Doctor, the "Persecuto pervigil errorum"⁷⁴ but they insist on showing his glory by enumerating the heretics with whom he debated. The first and perhaps the most notable was the man Fortunatus. Bishop

⁷¹ Possidius, p. 60.

⁷² 23 (2 and 3).

⁷³ 38 (6).

⁷⁴ 26 (2nd Vesp. ad Mag.).

Possidius tells about the great popularity of Fortunatus and the immense harm he was doing to souls because of heresy.

They meet and Augustine vanquishes him:

Sane in illa tunc Hipponensi urbe Manichaeorum pestilentia quam plurimos vel vives vel peregrinos et infecerat et penetraverat, seducente et decipiente eiusdem haeresis quodam presbytero nomine Fortunato, ibidem conversante atque manente. Interea Hippo-nenses cives vel peregrini Christiani tam Catholici quam etiam Donatistae adeunt presbyterum, ac deposcunt, ut illum hominem Manichaeorum presbyterum quem doctum credebant, videret, et cum eodem de lege tractaret... Unde condicto die et loco convenerunt in unum concurrentibus quam plurimis studiosis turbisque curiosis... In qua ille Manichaeus praeceptor... nec Catholicam assertionem potuit vacuare, nec Manichaeorum sectam subnixam veritate valuit comprobare; sed responsione deficiens ultima... Qua ille confusione affectus, et sequenti tempore de Hipponensi civitate profectus, ad eam amplius non remeavit:... error ille ablatus, Catholica est intimata ac retenta sincera religio.⁷⁵

The hymn writers recall this event. In a manuscript of the 12th century we read:

Obutescit Fortunatus⁷⁶

and another hymn, found in a 14th century manuscript, states the story a little more in detail:

Praedicavit...

Fortunatum condemnavit
Cum sua versutia

Fidem nostram conservavit
Mira eloquentia,⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Possidius, p. 50 and 52.

⁷⁶ 9 (6).

⁷⁷ 35 (2b, 3a and 3b).

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Another heretic is mentioned by names in the Medieval hymns found in the manuscripts before the 14th century. It is the name of the man Sabellius. This heretic taught that there was only one person in God. After a brief explanation of the persons in God, St. Augustine continues in one of his sermons:

Sabellianam haeresim sententia ista dissolvit.
Sabelliani enim dicere ausi sunt, ipsum esse Filium,
qui est et Pater; duo esse nomina, sed unam rem.⁷⁸

The hymn writer mentions him by name and tells us that St. Augustine has confounded his doctrine:

Sabellium
Confundit.⁷⁹

Donatus popularized another heresy in the days of St. Augustine which offered very serious opposition to the true Church of God. This was a nationalistic heresy. St. Augustine attempted to conciliate the Donatists and met them often in public debate. Protection against them was needed not only in intellectual matters but even the material welfare of the Church was attacked. Possidius gives the quarrel with the Donatists in his Vita and he ends with the phrase "non sunt ausi conferre"⁸⁰. The first mention of

⁷⁸ Oeuvres complètes, Vol. 9, p. 582.

⁷⁹ 10 (6b).

⁸⁰ Possidius, p. 60.

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Donatus appears in the 12th century manuscript mentioned above and the name Donatus is joined to that of Sabellius.

Donatum, Sabellium
Confundit⁸¹

His name appears also in a hymn of the same century:

Cedunt... et Donatus⁸²

and finally the whole heresy of the Donatists is referred to in the Rhythmical Office of the 13th century:

Docet verbum salutis
Contra haereses Africanas
Maxime Donatistas.⁸³

Manes, the founder of Manichaeism, with which Augustine had been associated before his conversion is also mentioned by name in the Medieval hymns. He is mentioned along with Donatus in the 12th century hymn:

Cedunt Manes et Donatus⁸⁴

The other heretic mentioned by name is the priest Arius, who caused great trouble for the African Church. St. Augustine wrote many books against his teachings and once again we find many references to him in the works of St. Augustine.⁸⁵

⁸¹ 10 (6b).

⁸² 2 (6).

⁸³ 25 (Ad Noct. 3, Resp. 1).

⁸⁴ 2 (6).

⁸⁵ Oeuvres complètes, Gen. Index, p.

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The writer of the hymns mentions him along with Donatus and Sabellius. The three heretics are referred to in a classical allusion of the threefold river of Hades:

Donatum, Sabellium
Confundit et Arrium,
Satanae ternarium
Rivulos perfidiae⁸⁶

St. Augustine, the Preacher, truly amazed the writers of the Middle Ages. His eloquence and his learning, his convictions and his numberless sermons made the men of this period stand back in wonder. Towards the close of this particular period the hymn writers in sublime poetry spoke of the great Augustine and his work. He is called the man teaching ~~truth~~ and confuting error — a man of justice and more figuratively, he is called the tongue of the Holy Spirit:

Hic vir docens veritatem
Et confutans falsitatem
Cujus vultus diligens
Vidit aequitatem.⁸⁷

O lingua Sancti Spiritus,
Fluens doctrinae imbribus,
Contra errorum machinas⁸⁸
Turris David fortissima.

⁸⁶ 10 (6a).

⁸⁷ 26 (Ad Noct. 3, Ant. 1).

⁸⁸ 25 (2nd Vesp. Ad Mag.).

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This chapter has shown that the hymns have utilized many of the events recorded in the works and life of St. Augustine. It is to be noted the importance given to the defender of the faith as a fighter against heresy and to the preacher of the truths of Scripture and the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. The lack of biographical data in the hymns in regards to the sacerdotal character of Augustine is also to be remarked.

CHAPTER III

THE AUTHOR

In this chapter there will be discussed a subject analysis of the hymns in reference to the writing activities of St. Augustine. First consideration will be the hymn writers' comments on the number of books written by St. Augustine, then will follow references in the hymns to the influence of his writings and finally the content of his writings. About this last point the hymn writers seem interested in three different types of writing — his dogmatic, his controversial and his ascetic principles. They were well aware of his many writings on the Scriptures and therefore commented on these, as well as his many works on the defense of the doctrines of the Church against heretics. However, the hymn writers gave very special reference to the Rule of Life as recommended by St. Augustine. It must be noted that this Rule does not exist as a separate work but has been gathered together by editors from various sources, especially the letters and sermons of St. Augustine. This discussion of the Rule of St. Augustine as subject matter for the hymns of this period is followed by a final consideration of St. Augustine as a monk and how this material has been used by the hymn writers.

There are two things that amazed the Medieval readers about St. Augustine's writings. One thing was the literary quality of the writing of the Saint and the other was the quantity of the works under Augustinian penmanship. Indeed, every age has been amazed at this. "Augustine's application of these principles [of eloquence] created some of the most beautiful works of Art that Christian Antiquity has handed down to us."¹ The Golden Legend also refers to the twofold amazement of the Medievalist.

Thus Augustine, a shining light of wisdom, a bulwark of the truth and a rampart of the faith, incomparably surpass all the doctors of the Church both by his native genius and by his knowledge, excelling not less in the example of his virtues than in the abundance of his doctrine. Whence Saint Remy, speaking of Jerome and certain other doctors, concludes: "Augustine exceeded all these in talent and in knowledge, for if Jerome avows that he had read six thousand volumes of Origen, Augustine wrote so many that no one else, working day and night, could write his books, nor as much as read them". Volusianus, to whom Augustine once wrote a letter, speaks of him as follows: "What Augustine did not know is not in the law of God." Jerome, in a certain letter which he addressed to Augustine, says: "I am unable to answer thy two little books, most learned as they are, and shining with the splendour of eloquence. Of a certain thou hast set forth whatever could be said, or learned by reason, or drawn from the fonts of the Scriptures. But, I implore thy reverence, suffer me a little to speak the praise of thy genius." So likewise do many other doctors extol him in their writings.²

¹ Christinne Mohrmann, Etude sur le Latin des Chrétiens, Rome, Edizioni di Storie e Letteratura, 1958, p. 370.

² Legenda Aurea, p. 496.

About the number of writings by St. Augustine, the Acta Sanctorum lists twenty pages in octavo of titles of books and articles bearing the Augustinian authorship.³ Possidius states that Augustine left his library and books to the Church, "Ecclesiae dimisit, una cum bibliotheca et libris tractatus"⁴ and in another place tells us that St. Augustine, in his old age re-edited his earlier works:

Ante proximum vero diem obitus sui a se dictatos et editos recensuit libros, sive eos quos primo tempore suae conversionis adhuc laicus, sive quos presbyter, sive quos episcopus dictaverat, et quaecumque in his recognovit aliter quam sese habet ecclesiastica regula a se fuisse dictata et scripta ... a semetipso et reprehensa et correctata sunt. Unde etiam duo conscripsit volumina, quorum est titulus, Recensione Librorum.⁵

And finally, Bishop Possidius, commenting on their very number, says:

Tanta autem ab eodem dictata et edita sunt, tantaque in ecclesia disputata, excepta atque emendata, vel adversus diversos haereticos, vel ex canonicis libris exposita ad aedificationem sanctorum Ecclesiae filiorum, ut ea omnia vix quisquam studiosorum perlegere et nosse sufficiat.⁶

Because of the number of manuscripts discovered around Europe,⁷ there can be no doubt of his popularity in the

³ Acta Sanctorum, Vol. 40, p. 268.

⁴ Possidius, p. 142.

⁵ Ibid., p. 110.

⁶ Ibid., p. 84.

⁷ Catalogue général des manuscrits latins, Vol. 2, p. 90-582.

Middle Ages. The hymn writers of this period call upon the very vastness of his writings to extol his praise. The hymn writer judges that he has written more than any other Saint, and thus chants in a 12th century hymn:

Floret Librorum
Copia prae omnibus.⁸

Another hymn written in a 12th century manuscript states:

Curius librorum copia.⁹

and another hymn from a 14th century manuscript repeats:

Caedens libris pluribus.¹⁰

Again, several hymns list the number of books that St.

Augustine has written as being a thousand. Bishop Possidius lists the writings of St. Augustine as 1,030.¹¹ These two hymns are of the same period:

Mille per volumina.¹²

and again:

Libros ille
Scripsit mille.¹³

⁸ 10 (8b).

⁹ 15 (19).

¹⁰ 39 (5a).

¹¹ Possidius, p. 160, note 6.

¹² 28 (7a).

¹³ 37 (7a).

While yet another believes that the books are without number.

This hymn was written before the end of the 12th century.

Libros scripsit infinitos.¹⁴

Finally a 12th century sequence tells that the number of books is equal to the stars of the heavens:

Ut coeli luminaria
Dicta et salubria
Ejus fulgent in ecclesia.¹⁵

After a consideration of the number of books written the Medieval writers seem to have been impressed with Augustine's greatness. Bishop Possidius states that it is in the books of St. Augustine that one may find out how great he really was:

In quibus dono Dei qualis quantusque in
Ecclesia fuerit noscitur, et his semper vivere a
fidelibus invenitur.¹⁶

A hymn from a 13th century manuscript also states this thought:

Hinc divinis legibus
Novis et veteribus
Claruit in plebibus.¹⁷

¹⁴ 11 (4).

¹⁵ 17 (7b).

¹⁶ Possidius, p. 143.

¹⁷ 28 (6a).

Primarily, the readers of his books will obviously be among the Christians, but many heretics and schismatics will also read his writings. For this reason, St. Augustine wrote much about the refutation of heresy not only that the Christians would not fall into heresy, but also that heretics may not be blinded any longer but may soon become Christians. Bishop Possidius states this:

Et multiplicatam fuisse Domini Ecclesiam
pervidens, illosque Manichaeos, Donatistas, Pela-
gianistas et paganos ex magna parte defecisse et
ecclesiae Dei sociatos esse congaudens.¹⁸

The hymn writers rejoice in this thought also. A hymn of the 13th century sings:

Hinc et mater ecclesia
Vitat errorum devia.¹⁹

Another hymn of this century becomes more explicit:

Caecis praebens lumina
Legis aufert tegmina
Per librorum fulmina.²⁰

Finally a 14th century sequence continues:

Vivis dixit,
Nobis scripsit,
Haereticorum varia
Quo vitatur perfidia.²¹

¹⁸ Possidius, p. 84.

¹⁹ 15 (20).

²⁰ 28 (7a).

²¹ 37 (7a).

The popularity of St. Augustine is portrayed by Possidius in many indirect statements. As an example of this, he mentions how the books and other works of Augustine were stolen or taken before the Saint had a chance to revise or correct them, thus demonstrating the interest and enthusiasm of all who saw his works.²² Father Pope continues this thought:

Hence they flocked to hear him preach, his letters were read and copied in remote districts, and even his polemical works were devoured. Hence the phenomenon of young men... so anxious to break a lance with the champion of orthodoxy.²³

This also was a pleasant thought for the hymn writer and they remarked often in their hymns about how far his popularity had gone. A 12th century manuscript extols him because his doctrine has gone to the ends of the earth:

Dum in fines orbis terrae
Fidem sparsit uncam.²⁴

Another points out that he had lit a torch that illuminates the whole world very brightly:

Tu per dogma, libros, actus
Mundi quasi fax est factus
Clara, nitens, celebris.²⁵

²² Possidius, p. 110.

²³ Hugh Pope, St. Augustine of Hippo, p. 23.

²⁴ 9 (8).

²⁵ 30 (6).

An early sequence, found in a 13th century manuscript rejoices in Augustine because of his doctrine that has gone to the end of the earth:

De cujus doctrina
Ecclesia
Fulget per mundi climata.²⁶

A hymn of the same century extols the gentle Augustine for feeding the world:

Mundum pascens famelicum
Augustinus almificus
Fructum doctrinae suscipit.²⁷

Like his preaching, the writings of St. Augustine seemed to impress the middle ages with a twofold purpose: a) he wrote on the Faith and Scripture and b) he continued a ceaseless war against heresy. The hymn writer considered St. Augustine's work on the Faith as divinely inspired, as a 14th century hymn proclaims:

Atque scripsit
Fultus Dei gratia.²⁸

The authors were also impressed with his books on the Faith and life. In a hymn of the 12th century he is called "Scriba vitae"²⁹ and the same century sings about the Faith

²⁶ 20 (3b).

²⁷ 23 (1).

²⁸ 35 (2b).

²⁹ 9 (13).

in his writings:

Cuius librorum copia
Fides firmatur unica.³⁰

Other writers speak of his writings on the Scriptures. A hymn found in a 12th century manuscript speaks about the writings of St. Augustine and explains how the Doctor of the Church interprets and discusses the hidden things of Scripture:

Explicat obscuras
Antea scripturas
Harum trituras
Pandit et figuras
Sensumque mysticum.³¹

The same author continues to tell us how St. Augustine explains the Scriptures especially the Book of Psalms and the words of the Saviour:

Salvatoris almos
Sermones et psalmos
Disserit, declarat.³²

Another hymn of the same period speaks of his teaching of the Scripture as very sweet when explained by him:

Frangis nobis favos mellis
De scripturis disserens.³³

³⁰ 15 (19).

³¹ 10 (7a).

³² 10 (7b).

³³ 18 (2).

Because of St. Augustine's early classical training, there is no wonder that the early Medieval writers found his writings full of eloquence. Phrases of poetic beauty flowed through the whole of his work. Among the early writers St. Augustine was known as a writer of prose and poetry. In point of fact, however, there is only one complete hymn that bears his signature. It is undoubtedly his, for he refers to it in the Retractationes.³⁴ However because of the popularity of his works the author of the 13th century sequence could recall:

Studens qui carmina
Scripsit multa
Valde carmina.³⁵

In regards to his debates and writings with the heretics, most of the texts from the hymns have been analysed in the preceding chapter.³⁶ Indeed there is great difficulty in separating the written from the spoken word, since most of the speeches of Augustine were copied by secretaries and after being spoken were read far and wide. The purpose of his literary work especially against the heretics was the same as the reason for attending the Councils of the Church. Bishop Possidius relates:

³⁴ F.J.E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry, p. 20.

³⁵ 20 (4b).

³⁶ Pages 38 ff.

Sanctorum concilia... frequentavit... ut vel
fides sanctae Ecclesiae Catholicae inviolata maneret,
vel nonnulli sacerdotes et clerici sive per fas sive
per nefas excommunicati, vel absolverentur vel
abicerentur.³⁷

This thought was caught in the lines of the poet of the 13th century:

Non tamen subiectis
Haereticis ac perversis
Impugnantes expugnans
Iuste damnans aut corrigens.³⁸

Thus the early hymn writers claimed that the writings of St. Augustine defended and expounded the teachings of God and rid the Church of heresy. A hymn verse already quoted states that Augustine defends God:

Trinum Deum defenderat.³⁹

and a trope found in an 11th century manuscript states that he gave this doctrine to the world:

cum dedit hunc orbi spermologum docili.⁴⁰

And another hymn chants that heretics have been silenced, so that peace could reign in the Church, especially in his diocese:

³⁷ Possidius, p. 37.

³⁸ 16 (12).

³⁹ 23 (2).

⁴⁰ 3 (2).

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Cuncta per dioecesis
 Exstirpavit haereses
 Radices falsitatis.⁴¹

The next consideration will be the analysing of the subject matter of the hymns in reference to the Rule of St. Augustine. Consideration will first be given to the general notion of community life as understood by St. Augustine and as expressed in the minds of the hymn writers. Then some thoughts on the Rule will follow. This will include the fact that St. Augustine wrote some counsels for religious life. Next, the names given by the writers and the rewards promised to those who would keep it. Attention will then be given to the virtues of the Rule: especially the virtues of poverty and chastity and the occupation of the monks with study. Finally there will be a consideration of St. Augustine as a monk himself and how he is remembered in this capacity by the early hymns.

In discussing the Rule of St. Augustine the most important thought is the ideal that St. Augustine had of monastic life. We know from his Confessions that even before he became a Catholic, he had withdrawn with some friends and relatives from the hustle and bustle of the city to a quiet spot to consider the eternal truths. This was a most happy time for him and he tells us how discussions

⁴¹ 26 (Ad Noct. 3, Resp. 1).

were carried on about the continuation of this life:

Et multi amici agitaveramus animo et conloquentes ac detestantes turbulentas humanae vitae molestias paene iam firmaveramus remoti a turbis otiose vivere, id otium sic moliti, ut, si quid habere possemus, conferremus in medium unamque rem familiarem conflarem ex omnibus, ut per amicitiae sinceritatem non esset aliud huius et aliud illius, sed quod ex cunctis fieret unum, et universum singulorum esset et omnia omnium, cum videremus nobis esse posse decem ferme homines in eadem societate... Et placuerat nobis, ut bini annui tamquam magistratus omnia necessaria curarent ceteris quietis.⁴²

The essence of this life seemed to be the "common life". Often it was called the "apostolic life", for it was based on the times of the Apostles when Christians, according to the Acts of the Apostles, lived together in common: "Omnes etiam qui credebant, erant pariter, et habebant omnia communia. Possessiones et substantias vendebant, et dividebant illa omnibus, prout cuique opus erat"⁴³ Bishop Possidius also mentions this fact:

Factusque presbyter monasterium intra ecclesiam mox instituit, et cum Dei servis vivere coepit secundum modum et regulam sub sanctis Apostolis constitutam.⁴⁴

The Medieval hymns also recall this point. A manuscript of the 11th century mentions that St. Augustine began a common life modelled on the life of Christ's Disciples:

⁴² Confessions, 6, 14, 24.

⁴³ Acts, 2, 44, 45.

⁴⁴ Possidius, p. 48.

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Dum vitam
 Communem instituit
 A Christo discipulis
 Per hos clero traditam.⁴⁵

A 12th century manuscript mentions that he gave his clerics
 a rule fashioned after the apostolic band:

Clericali vitae formam
 Conquadravit iuxta normam
 Coetus apostolici.⁴⁶

The next century sang about this common life thus:

Ut communia
 Essent omnia.⁴⁷
 Quaeque sua.

and the 14th century admires Augustine because he himself
 observed the common life:

Observavit
 Vitam Apostolicam.⁴⁸

Thus his monastic life was modelled on the early Christians
 and could be therefore called either an "Apostolic" or a
 "common life". In discussing the author of this rule,
 Bishop Possidius had used the word "instituit": "Factusque
 presbyter monasterium intra ecclesiam mox instituit."⁴⁹ The
 early hymn mentioned above, from the 11th century manuscript

⁴⁵ 4 (8b).

⁴⁶ 2 (9).

⁴⁷ 20 (5a).

⁴⁸ 39 (7a).

⁴⁹ Possidius, p. 48.

mentioned above,⁵⁰ uses the same word but later hymns used other words. Three hymns of the 13th and 14th centuries use the word "scribere". Obviously they are referring to the written accounts in the letters of St. Augustine where his counsels may be found.⁵¹

Sanctam scribis regulam.⁵²

Sacram scripsit regulam.⁵³

Scripsit vero
Suo clero
Vitae normam.⁵⁴

The antiphon of the Magnificat of the Rhythmical Office speaks of St. Augustine as the "clericorum institutor"⁵⁵ and another hymn of the same period speaks of St. Augustine's rules as the norm for clerics:

Clericos norma
Indidit vivere congrua.⁵⁶

While the Rule cannot be found, there is no doubt that St. Augustine lived a rule and spread it around the Churches in Africa:

⁵⁰ 4 (8b).

⁵¹ Oeuvres, Epist. 210, 211.

⁵² 18 (4).

⁵³ 28 (9a).

⁵⁴ 37 (7b).

⁵⁵ 26 (2 Vesp. ad Mag.).

⁵⁶ 20 (5a).

Ex monasterio quod per illum memorabilem virum
et esse et crescere coeperat, magno desiderio
poscere atque accipere episcopos et clericos pax
ecclesiae atque unitas et coepit primo, et postea
consecuta est.⁵⁷

The early hymns, too, looked at the reward that
could be obtained from living this life. In the Middle Ages
there was current a book dedicated to St. Augustine's sister
called De Vita Eremitica, though of doubtful authorship,⁵⁸
nevertheless it was popular in the Middle Ages and the
rewards promised in the hymns of St. Augustine seem to
revert back to the last chapters of this book. Here
Augustine, or the author, copying Augustine's other writing
talks "De Regni Dei felicitate":

Cujus regni status nec cogitari quidem potest
a nobis, multo minus dici vel scribi. Quid est
ultra quod quaeramus? Certe quod his omnibus
excellit, est, visio, cognitio, et dilectio Creatoris,..
Videbitur ille vultus amabilis et desiderabilis in
quem desiderant Angeli prospicere.⁵⁹

The hymns also state this reward: An early hymn, before the
12th century states that we will be formed in Christ and
prepared for the Kingdom:

⁵⁷ Possidius, p. 62.

⁵⁸ Cf. the note of introduction in the Oeuvres,
Vol. 4. This particular work is not mentioned in the
Retractationes.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 161 ff.

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Et ad Christi formulam
Configurat clericos.⁶⁰

The next century, the 12th, finds two references to the rewards of living a life of rule. One sequence states that the monk, like a soldier of Christ, seeks the Kingdom:

Christi miles tendens
Ad Coelica.⁶¹

and another tells whoever loves the rule and follows it tends towards their fatherland, Heaven:

Quamque amant et sequuntur
Viam tenent regiam
.....⁶²
Redeunt ad patriam.

The 13th century hymn mentions that those who, after loving the rule and leaving the world for it, will receive the greatest reward. This thought is mentioned in the concluding words of the rule:

Quid est hoc? Certe quod oculus non vidit,
nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis adscendit;
quae praeparavit Deus diligentibus se.⁶³

The hymn says:

Eam diligentium
.....⁶⁴
Maximum est praemium.

⁶⁰ 4 (8a).

⁶¹ 17 (9a).

⁶² 18 (4).

⁶³ Oeuvres, Vol. 4, p. 163.

⁶⁴ 28 (9b).

What then are the three main virtues or ideals of the rule as mentioned in the hymns? The hymns indeed record three main virtues: poverty, chastity and study. After reading the life of Augustine by Possidius, one understands that the desire for the virtue of poverty becomes a principle ideal of Augustine ascetism.

Maxime ut nemo quidquam proprium in illa societate haberet, sed eis essent omnia communia, et distribuerentur uniuersis sicut opus erat, quod iam ipse prior fecerat, dum de transmarinis ad sua remeasset.⁶⁵

And in another place Possidius states the law of giving to those in need:

Conpauperum vero semper memor erat, hisque inde erogabat unde et sibi suisque omnibus secum habitantibus.⁶⁶

In one of the sermons, Augustine preaches this to his people:

Ecce quomodo vivimus. Nulli licet in societati nostra habere aliquid proprium.⁶⁷

Sane etiam hoc noverit caritas vestra dixisse me, fratribus meis qui mecum manent, ut quicumque habet aliquid, aut vendat et eroget, aut donet et commune illud faciat.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Possidius, p. 48.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 94.

⁶⁷ Oeuvres, Vol. 20, Sermones 340.

⁶⁸ Ibid., Sermon 342.

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This thought was emphasized in the hymns. Nearly every century dwelt on the need for poverty to lead the Augustinian life. A hymn of the 11th century mentions this point in two different places: First speaking of the life of rule the hymn writer states that the monks possessed nothing and lived a common life:

Sui quippe nil habebant
Tamquam suum, sed vivebant
In commune clerici.⁶⁹

and again recalling the death of Augustine, the same author recalls his poverty:

Immo totum reputavit
Commune cum fratribus.⁷⁰

A 12th century hymn recalls the poverty of the monks by the condensed line:

Reliquit propria.⁷¹

A hymn of this same century also states this thought, almost in the words of Possidius:

Ut communia
Essent omnia
Quaeque sua
Nec haberent ultra propria.⁷²

⁶⁹ 2 (10).

⁷⁰ 2 (12).

⁷¹ 17 (9a).

⁷² 20 (5a).

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A 13th century hymn merely states the fact:

Et mundum linquentium.⁷³

After considering poverty, the next virtue to be discussed will be chastity. In the De Vita Eremitica, the author spends at least eight chapters speaking of the beauty of chastity and the temptations of the flesh that would rob the monk of this virtue. The Medieval hymns also recall that chastity is one of the beautiful virtues. The early manuscripts recall that the monk has given up his evil ways of the flesh: "Lascivam respuit"⁷⁴, while a later hymn recalls that they who follow the rule of St. Augustine must not sin, but must live chaste lives:

Non habentem maculam.⁷⁵

and

Ut castis sint communia.⁷⁶

The third quality mentioned was a love of study. St. Augustine, according to Possidius, loved reading and discussion better than food and drink: "Magis lectionem vel disputationem, quam epulationem potationemque diligebat."⁷⁷

⁷³ 28 (9b).

⁷⁴ 4 (8a).

⁷⁵ 28 (9a).

⁷⁶ 37 (7b).

⁷⁷ Possidius, p. 94.

But a hymn of the 13th century states that he gave his monks proper food for their spiritual growth:

Nutrients teneros lacte
Cibo solidos.⁷⁸

After the consideration of the rule of St. Augustine on the thought of the hymn writer, this study may be completed by a consideration of St. Augustine as a monk himself. If his letters and his sermons speak in a manner that impresses all with the fact that this is a man who has lived what he preaches, then his counsels of religious life are always for moderation.⁷⁹ Bishop Possidius also tells us that his clothes and shoes were never expensive, nor his table overladen, but in all things he was moderate.

Vestes eius et calceamenta vel lectualia ex moderato et competenti habitu erant, hec nitidissima nec abiecta plurimum... Mens usus est frugali et parca.⁸⁰

And yet the medieval hymn with stereotyped phrases praises his acts of penance:

Castigans corpus extendi
Certans in libertatem spiritus
Cum his conflictum habens
Semetipsum abnegando
Et crucem Christi
In membris suis
Viviter portando.⁸¹

⁷⁸ 16 (9).

⁷⁹ Oeuvres, Vol. 6, p. 134.

⁸⁰ Possidius, p. 92.

⁸¹ 16 (19).

And another hymn goes on to tell us that the clerics follow him to sanctity: "Tuo sancto ductu."⁸² The previous hymn, written in a 12th century manuscript, also praises Augustine because he is to his family an apostle, a father, and a minister as well as the servant of the servants. This, then sums up the feelings of the medieval hymnodists on the subject of St. Augustine and his rule.

Omnibus omnia factus,
Ut apostolus,

Nutrients teneros lacte
Cibo solidos

Familiae Domini
Praefuit ut minister
Commissam fovens ut pater

Non iudicans dominum
Se fore subiectorum
Sed servum Dei servorum.⁸³

This chapter has shown that the medieval writer of hymns had obtained much of his information, which he used in the hymns, from the writings of St. Augustine or else from the prose Vita of Possidius. It is to be noted that the hymn writer thought of St. Augustine as the defender of the Faith as well as the teacher and expounder of the truths of religion. The hymn writer was also impressed with the

⁸² 18 (4).

⁸³ 16 (8-11).

monastic life of St. Augustine. The Saint found the basic idea of religious life in the Acts of the Apostles and applied them to his monastic rule. While the hymn writers knew that monastic life was not an original idea with St. Augustine, they delighted to give him titles of originality, such as, Institutor, Teacher, and the Holy Writer. They seemed to know, also, that the rule had not been written by St. Augustine but that it had been copied from his various writings by later editors. The hymn writers copied the main thoughts of his rule and emphasized the things that Possidius had talked about in his Vita. They found St. Augustine to be a man who has lived what he preached, and sang about this in their hymns. One notices the little use by the hymn writers of specific events or details mentioned by Possidius. The hymn writer also, while extolling the Saint, keeps himself restrained and speaks only in general terms about the monastic life of their founder. There is a continuous discipline or terseness throughout these centuries of the details and it is difficult to notice variation or changes occurring with the passage of time.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEATH AND TRANSLATION

As with any life, the end crowns the work. The death of the saints, therefore, has always been of special interest to the hagiographers. The prose writers and hymn writers of the Middle Ages have paid special attention to this event in the lives of their saints. While they may pass over many details in the active life of the saint, they will ordinarily dwell with great care on the last moments of the saint on this earth. In this chapter, there will be considered the following outline of the history of the death of St. Augustine and the translation of his body. First, the historical situation at the time of the saint's death as told in the Vitae and in the hymns, along with the reaction of the man of God to this situation. Next, the time of his death will be discussed with the story of a miracle performed at this time. This will be followed by a simple description of the saintly death, his last will and testament and his final place in Heaven. Secondly there will be an analysis of the hymns in regards to the reports and history of the translation of the saint's body and its final resting place in Pavia. This will conclude the discussion of the biographical elements in the hymns in honor of St. Augustine.

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The first consideration, then will be the historical situation at the time of the death of St. Augustine. The unsettled and extremely dangerous times were mentioned in most of the early biographies. It is unquestionable that the invasion of the Vandals has upset the whole of Christendom and when the southern province of Africa was besieged in 428, the African Church faced a serious crisis. Countless Churches were destroyed. Priests and people alike were slaughtered or exiled or forced to wander the countryside penniless and homeless. Hippo was one of the surviving cities not yet destroyed. Refugees in the town found the aged Bishop, St. Augustine, seriously ill and near death. Bishop Possidius describes the invasion:

Provenit ut manus ingens diversis telis armata
et bellis exercitata, immansium hostium Vandalorum,
et Alanorum comixtum secum habens Gotherum gentem.¹

So the Rhythmical Office of the 13th century recalls this event:

Aliquantum post elapso
Temporis curriculo
Africam triplex pervasit
Barbarorum invasio.²

Really cruel and savage were these barbarians, they completely devastated everything by their pillage, murder and

¹ Possidius, p. 112.

² 25 (Ad Nost. 3, Resp. 1).

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tortures, their incendiary efforts left few homes or even cities. Possidius continues:

Cuncta quae potuit spoliatione, caedibus
diversisque tormentis, incendiis, aliisque innu-
merabilibus et infandis malis depopulata est.³

The Rhythmical Office mentions this cruelty in these words:

Ferro, flammis cuncta perdens
Fide favens Ario.⁴

Bishop Possidius relating the besieging of Hippo recalls the grief of Augustine at the long siege of his episcopal city:

Accrevitque maeroribus et lamentationibus eius,
ut etiam adhuc in suo statu consistentem ad eandem
Hipponensium-regionum civitatem ab hisdem hostibus
veniretur obsidendam... quam urbem ferme quatuordecim
mensibus conclusam obsederunt: nam et litus illi
marinum interclusione abstulerunt.⁵

Bishop Possidius also mentions that because Augustine was exceedingly wise he daily bewailed these events: "Haec ergo omnia ille, quotidie ubertim plangebat."⁶ The Responsoria mentions this thought also:

Videns ergo urbem suam
Hostibus circumdatam
Lacrimosa Deum prece,
Indefessus postulat.⁷

³ Possidius, p. 112.

⁴ 25 (Ad Noct. 3, Resp. 2).

⁵ Possidius, p. 114.

⁶ Ibid., p. 14.

⁷ 25 (Ad Noct. 3, Resp. 3).

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The writer then mentions the prayer of Augustine. To show the familiarity with the events being mentioned, the Bishop quotes the prayer in the words of St. Augustine:

Noveritis me hoc tempore nostrae calamitatis
id Deum rogare, ut haec hanc civitatem ab hostibus
circumdatam liberare dignetur, aut si aliud ei
videtur, suos servos ad perferendum suam voluntatem
fortes faciat, aut certe, ut sese de hoc seculo ad
se accipiat.⁸

The Responsoria condenses this thought by saying that the saint prayed that God would not let him see this slaughter but would take him to the realms of light:

Ne depopulationem
Illius conspiciat
Ut ab hac se mineratus
Luce jam recipiat.⁹

Possidius then goes on to tell the date or time of St. Augustine's demise.

Et ecce tertio illius obsidionis mense decubuit
febris et illa ultima exercebatur aegritudine.
Nec suum sane Dominus famulum fructu suae preces
fraudavit.¹⁰

The Rhythmical Office, which has so faithfully copied the thoughts of Possidius continues:

Tertio obsidionis
Mense febre decubat
Transitu beato functus
Laetus coelo superat.¹¹

⁸ Possidius, p. 116.

⁹ 25 (Ad Noct. 3, Resp. 3).

¹⁰ Possidius, p. 116.

¹¹ 25 (Ad Noct. 3, Resp. 4).

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After considering the historical events of the time and the date of the last illness of the saint, Bishop Possidius recounts one of the very few miracles ever mentioned in his biography. A man, who also sick with fever, had a dream. In the dream he was told to go to Augustine and there he would be cured. St. Augustine, even on his death bed humorously considers the situation, but is quick to do his part, when he knows that this would be the will of God. Bishop Possidius recounts the deed:

Itemque ad aegrotantem et lecto vacentem quendam cum suo aegroto venisse et rogavisse ut eidem manum imponeret, quo sanus esse posset, respondisse, si aliquid in his posset, sibi hoc utique primitus praestitisset: et illum dixisse visitatum se fuisse sibi per somnium dictum esse: 'Vade ad Augustinum episcopum, ut eidem manum imponat et salvus erit'. Quod dum comperrisset, facere non distulit, et illum infirmum continuo Dominus sanum ab eodem discedere fecit.¹²

A hymn written in a 12th century manuscript reports this cure. The words and events follow the order of Possidius:

In extremis dum laborat
Pro febricitantis orat
Sospitate:

Aeger aegro suffragatur
Firmum languor infirmatur
Caritate.¹³

¹² Possidius, p. 116 ff.

¹³ 10 (10a and 10b).

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Finally the saintly old man dies. The actual detailed account is not given in any biography. The event is spoken of very briefly by Possidius. But each thought expresses the sacredness of the event. St. Augustine, now seventy-six years of age, after being Bishop for forty years, with a life of immense activity for the sake of truth was now ready to return to God. Possidius writes:

Sane ille Sanctus in vita sua proluxa pro
utilitate ac felicitate sanctae Ecclesiae divi-
nitus condonata.¹⁴

And the early hymn writer expresses the same idea:

Sic multorum pro salute
Diu vivens in virtute
Bona tandem senectute.¹⁵

Possidius ends the account by telling us that the Scriptures have been fulfilled in the case of Augustine:

et, ut scriptum est, nobis astantibus et
videntibus et orantibus, dormivit cum patribus
suis, enutritus in bona senectute.¹⁶

The 12th century hymn ends its verse with the same words:

Dormivit cum Patribus.¹⁷

And another hymn from the 14th century adds the same thought

¹⁴ Possidius, p. 140.

¹⁵ 2 (11).

¹⁶ Possidius, p. 142.

¹⁷ 2 (11).

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Sicque complens vitæ cursum
 In coelesti sede sursum
 Dormivit.¹⁸

But many other hymns found in the 12th century manuscripts have tried to impress their hearers with the joys that await Augustine in Heaven because of his work here on earth:

Augustinus
 Ad coeli translatus est.¹⁹

another verse of the same hymn enlarges this thought:

Vir sacer Augustinus
 Migravit ab hoc seculo
 Vivit in Christo.²⁰

Yet another hymn also has two references to Augustine and glory. One states that he after his exile, now obtains his reward and the other reference is to the fact that now that he has laid aside the worries of the battle, he is born again in glory:

Quo mundo post exsilia
 Coronetur in patria.²¹

Cum post peracta proelia
 Digna redduntur praemia.²²

¹⁸ 35 (4).

¹⁹ 13 (2).

²⁰ 13 (11).

²¹ 15 (13).

²² 16 (15).

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And a hymn from a 14th century manuscript speaks of the good shepherd laying aside the burden of the flesh to be born again in glory:

Hac in die carnis onus
His deponens pastor bonus
Natus est in gloria.²⁴

The Legenda Aurea wants to convey the thought that Augustine after a long full life of fighting for truth, against the powers of darkness finally reached his reward and is now our Patron and helper.²⁵ A hymn writer of the 13th century recalls this sentiment to his audience:

Debellatis usquequaque
Veritatis hostibus
Miles Dei gloriosus
Triumphans eximitur
Apud quem nobis patronus
Perpes sit, deprecemur.²⁶

Bishop Possidius gives one last personal touch to the death of the saint. He describes what was left behind:

Testamentum nullum fecit, quia unde faceret
pauper Dei non habuit. Ecclesiae bibliothecam
omnesque codices diligenter posteris custodiendos
semper iubebat.²⁷

A verse of a 12th century hymn, which has already been partly described, expresses now the full meaning of Augustine's complete trust in God:

²⁴ 38 (3).

²⁵ Legenda Aurea, p. 63.

²⁶ 25 (Ad Noct. 3, Resp. 4). See also 29 (4).

²⁷ Possidius, p. 142.

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In extremis nil legavit
 Qui nil suum aestimavit
 Immo totum reputavit
 Commune cum fratribus.²⁸

This chapter has shown that the hymns taken from the manuscripts of the 11th to the 14th centuries, amply demonstrate that the subject matter of the death of St. Augustine, was taken for the great part from the biography of Possidius when dealing with the historical events of the times, the events of his death and his final glory.

Medieval hagiography was very interested in the sacred remains of the saints of God. Both prose writers and hymn writers dwelt upon the incidents surrounding the translation of the Body and the last resting place of the saint. The relationship between the prose writing of the translation of St. Augustine's Body and the events as depicted in the hymns will now be studied. Consideration will first be given to the history of the event in general and then a consideration of the facts that are known to the medieval writers. With this there will be shown the relationship of both prose and poetic writings.

The time after the death of St. Augustine was still troubled.²⁹ The Bishops fleeing for their very lives, with

²⁸ 2 (12).

²⁹ Hilarius Appelans, "Die Reliquien und das Grabmal des Hl. Augustinus", in St. Augustin 430-1930, Würzburg, 1930, p. 62.

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their flocks killed or dispersed were loathe to leave the body of the Holy Bishop behind. Secretly, they took It and the other articles of the Holy Doctor with them from Africa.

Allein 120 Bischöfe musten in die Verbannung nach Sardinien wandern. Sie nahmen heimlich die Gebeine des Heiligen mit, um sie vor der Schändung durch die Arianer zu schützen.³⁰

Then followed a long journey in which the Sacred Remains were taken from their burial place in Hippo to Sardinia and from there to the mainland of Italy. This last stage was one of great pomp and circumstance, in which miracle after miracle occurred until the Body was finally laid to rest in the city of Pavia (sometimes called Ticiensi) in Lombardy.

The translation of saints' bodies was treated with great reverence in medieval times, as the celebration of feasts of the translations show. St. Augustine, also had a feast of this nature. Father Delahaye spends some pages in his book, The Legends of Saints, justifying the feast in the medieval mind.³¹

The documentary history of the Translation of St. Augustine's Body from Sardinia to Lombardy had been gathered together from all the medieval sources by Benedict

³⁰ Ibid., p. 62.

³¹ H. Delahaye, The Legends of the Saints, translated by V.N. Crawford, New York, Tongmans, 1907, p. 165 ff.

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XIII and was published in a papal constitution published on the 16th of October, 1728.³² This Bull confirmed that the Body of St. Augustine rests in Pavia. Apparently, some doubt had been raised on this matter and an Episcopal Inquiry Board was set up to judge all the pertinent facts. The Bull goes on to relate that on October 1st, 1695, there was discovered in the old monastic Church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia, a white marble sarcophagus underneath a brick mausoleum. And within the sarcophagus was found a silver chest, in which lay what was claimed to be the Body of St. Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo. Apparently from Sardinia, where the Body of the Saint rested until the opening of the 8th century, the Body was brought to Pavia. In the beginning of the 8th century, the Saracens invaded Sardinia. Pillage of the Churches and monasteries followed. The pious king of Lombardy, hearing that this state existed sent an embassy to Sardinia to the Saracens with a large amount of money to ransom the Body of the Saint. With this this large sum of money the envoys were able to secure the Body of St. Augustine, which they immediately brought to Pavia. Many miracles were immediately performed at the Shrine. But with the passage of time, devotion to the

³² Bullarium Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum, Taurinensis, Vecco, 1871, Tomus XXII, p. 710.

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Sacred remains of St. Augustine waned and even fell into oblivion until the sarcophagus was discovered in 1695, some eight hundred years later. With the Papal Bull and other historical evidence³³ it is now generally accepted that the Body in Pavia is truly the Body of St. Augustine. It is interesting to note that a beautiful Rhythmical Office was composed almost three hundred years after the 13th century Translation, and this office was found in manuscripts of the Abbey of St. Martial in Lemovicensis.

Medieval writers seemed interested in the details. An article in the Acta Sanctorum speaking of these things, tells about the Sacred Body leaving Africa, where it had been interred in the Church of St. Stephen and taken to Sardinia to rest in the Church of St. Saturninus in Cagliari. Baronius in his Annals, written in 504, mentions that they took the Body secretly out of Africa.

tunc plane accidisse perhibetur ut Hipponensis episcopus, et alii ejus provinciae Numidiaē sacerdotes occulte (ut licuit) sacrum ferrent secum una thesaurum, nempe venerandum corpus magni illius totius Ecclesiae Catholicae magistri Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi, simulque ejusdem sacrum verticis ornamentum.³⁴

³³ Hilarius Appelans, Die Reliquien und das Grabmal des Hl. Augustinus, p. 63.

³⁴ Acta Sanctorum, Vol. 40, p. 363.

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and another writer also states this fact:

Sed inter alia cimelia, quae secum in Sardiniam
attulere episcopi Affricani, unum certe e pretiosissimis
fuit beati Augustini corpus.³⁵

A hymn written before the end of the 13th century stated
this fact in a stanza:

Subjugat in Hipponia
Foedantes, in Sardinia.³⁶

Yet another hymn found in a 12th century manuscript begins
the story of the history of the translation thus:

Augustinus, norma legis
Gaudet super aethera
Cujus corpus sublimatur
Super fuso numine
Dum locandus in Paviam
Fertur de Sardinia.³⁷

Peter Oldradus, the Archbishop of Milan confirms this in a
letter written to Charles the Great written around the year
Eight Hundred. Apparently Charlemagne wanted to know about
the Body of St. Augustine. This letter then tells how
Sardinia itself was ravaged by the barbarians and the holy
places were desecrated, among them was the resting place of
the Body of St. Augustine:

³⁵ Ibid., p. 364.

³⁶ 23 (4).

³⁷ 22 (1).

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Barbarorum igitur infinita multitudo Sardiniam expugnare est agressa: quam cum invasissent, et subjugatam destruerent, loca etiam sancta violenter aggressi polluebant, inter quae sepulchrum beati Augustini.³⁸

A hymn written into a 13th century manuscript that had been found at Pavia sings about the terrible desecration of the shrines of Sardinia by the Barbarians:

Occupabant infideles
Barbari Sardiniam
Feritate delibati
Trucidarunt accolae
Dissipantes sacra loca
Templaque deifica.³⁹

When Luitprandus, the pious King of the Lombards heard about this desecration, he immediately sent envoys to Sardinia to ransom and save the sacred ashes. Archbishop Peter, in the letter mentioned above, speaks about this to Charlemagne:

Haec cum justitiae cultor et amator religionis Luitprandus rex audisset... videlicet coinquinari et inhoneste tractari sanctissimi Augustini locum, legator suos proceres nobiles cum magno pondere auri et argenti transmisit in Sardiniam, ut corpus tanti Sancti redimerent precio et transferrent quamprimum ad civitatem Papiensem.⁴⁰

The hymn written about this historical event almost repeats this story with the exact words:

³⁸ Acta Sanctorum, Vol. 40, p. 366.

³⁹ 22 (1).

⁴⁰ Acta Sanctorum, Vol. 40, p. 366.

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Cum audisset Luitprandus
 Sacrum corpus obrui
 Volens templum redimere
 Procuravit cinerem
 Quos fideles aestimabant
 Delegavit nuntios.⁴¹

Abbot Philip, writing also about this time, informs us that Luitprandus took the best men and prayed them to bring the Body back to Pavia to adorn the Church, which he had just finished building. Abbot Philip wrote:

Dicebat enim princeps devotus, ecclesiam suam
 digno fulgore clarescere, si tanto mereretur
 thesauro ditescere.⁴²

The hymn writer continues with this thought:

Autumabat rex devotus
 Ticinense delubrium
 Hujus patris prae virtute
 Stantis in triclinio
 Orbi cuncto resonare
 Summae lucis radio.⁴³

The history of the Translation is then continued. The story mentions that the messengers of Luitprandus, having been sent with their gold, complete successful negotiations with the Barbarians and bring the Body back to Lombardy. After a miraculous crossing, they arrive at the sea coast port of Janua (Genoa). From here they send

⁴¹ 22 (3).

⁴² Acta Sanctorum, Vol. 40, p. 368.

⁴³ 22 (4).

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messengers to the King that they have arrived with the Sacred Body at the sea port. Archbishop Peter continues this narration in his letter to Charlemagne:

Qui jussioni et desiderio piissimi regis
satisfacere cupientes, navigio venerunt in Sardiniam,
et redimentes corpus sanctum a barbaris, Navique
illud impoentes, Dei misericordia et ingenti eorum
gaudio plenis velis per tranquillum mare in unicus
diei et noctis spatio perducti sunt ante portum et
stationem Januensem; et per legatos regi, quae facta
erant, denunciarunt, et ut honorifice occurrerent ad
reliquias tam gloriosi corporis suscipiendas.⁴⁴

The hymn from a Pavian manuscript continues this thought, though they leave out the miracle of the crossing:

Delegati sulcaverunt
Iter in Sardiniam
Et ementes sacrum corpus
In severis barbaris
Nuntiando Luitprando
Detulerunt Januam.⁴⁵

With this good news, Luitprandus declares a holiday and quickly gathers together the people from the Capital. With them he goes in solemn procession to the sea coast to bring the Body of the Saint back to his newly built Church. The Archbishop of Milan continues his narration:

Quo audito, rex immenso gaudio perfusus, gratias
ingentes Deo referebat, quod desiderium suum imple-
visset; omni negotio post posito, rogatis et
convocatis omnibus civitatum... ad suscipiendum tam
praeclarum Dei munus cum maxima humilitate processit;

⁴⁴ Acta Sanctorum, Vol. 40, p. 366.

⁴⁵ 22 (5).

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et more Davidico ad accepiendam Arcam Domini, et
reponendam in decentior loco, properabat cum
innumerabili procerum et populi utriusque secus
multitudine.⁴⁶

The same hymn condenses this thought and relates the event
in this way:

Et disserto Luitprando
Pervenisse Januam
Convocavit festinanter
Ticinensem populum
Agens odas in excelsis
Obviavit corpori.⁴⁷

The Procession from Janua to Pavia was one of great
rejoicing. People gathered from far and wide, loudly
praising the Saint and their pious King. But the events
along the way gave inspiration to many legends of the
miraculous power of the Saint. The medieval writers recall
these and the hymn writers used them for good effect to
demonstrate the intercessory power of their Saint and the
honor that must be given to his resting place.

Archbishop Peter continues.

Multi enim aliquo officio corporis privati
aderant, qui recuperata sanitate, alacres ad
laudem et honorem Dei vociferantes, laeti ad propria
remeabant. Unde corpus laeti confessoris cum laudi-
bus et hymnis deferentes pervenerunt ad fines agri
Dertonensis... cum autem aurora sequentis diei
illuisceret, ad peragendum iter ad urbem Ticinensem
sistentes, nullo modo sanctum corpus movere

⁴⁶ Acta Sanctorum, Vol. 40, p. 367.

⁴⁷ 22 (6).

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potuerunt... Quo miraculo omnes episcopi et
 proceres stupebant... rex... facto voto deliberavit,
 si Dominus Deus omnipotens corpus beati Augustini
 Ticinum deferre volebat. Perpetuo habendum
 tribueret. Factum est igitur ut cum votum persol-
 visset, accederet ad feretrum: qui cum corpus de
 terra levare tentaret, ita levissima invenit, ut
 nullo ulterius onere impediante, corpus beatissimum,
 quod prius nec moveri poterat a pluribus, modo non
 prohiberetur ferri a duobus.⁴⁸

The miracle is also mentioned by Abbot Philip.⁴⁹ Other
 miracles, too, are mentioned as the Sacred Body is carried
 along the way.⁵⁰ The medieval hymns in honor of St.
 Augustine have always been slow to speak of miraculous
 happenings but following the pattern of the Acta Sanctorum
 accounts and the Legenda Aurea, they now begin to speak of
 these miracles as a sure sign of the actual fact that this
 is the Body of St. Augustine. Thus, for the first time, a
 number of miracles are now mentioned in the hymns. A hymn
 written in a 12th century manuscript speaks about these
 miracles in a general way:

Ejus corpus venerandum
 Dum Papiæ collocandum
 Defertur ad Luitprandium
 In via subsistitur

Obsequentes non admittit
 Nec moveri se permittit
 Donec villam rex promittit
 Quae vicina cernitur.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Acta Sanctorum, Vol. 40, p. 367.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 368.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 368.

⁵¹ 10 (11a and 11b).

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A hymn of the 13th century speaks of the great rejoicing of the people bringing the Body to their capital:

Summens illud reverenter
Extollebat laudibus
Simul omnes applauserunt
Ferunt in Ticinium.⁵²

A hymn of this same century tries to condense all of the previous history into four lines:

Transfertur in Ticinium
Pressum corpus a barbaris
Ut renitescat pluribus
Signis, altis miraculis.⁵³

Finally, the procession arrives at the beautiful basilica built by King Luitprandus in honor of St. Peter. The full name of the Church was: Sancti Petri de Caelo aureo.⁵⁴ The citizens who were unable to attend the procession thus far, now came out to meet those who brought the Sacred Relics. Together they now formed a larger procession and joined together in placing the sacred remains in the Church. Archbishop Peter writes about the songs sung, the miracles worked and the common testimony that here are the remains of the Sacred Doctor:

⁵² 22 (7).

⁵³ 23 (5).

⁵⁴ Acta Sanctorum, Vol. 40, p. 365.

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Omnes qui residui fuerant, festinarunt occurrere, et cum summo honore, utpote tanto Patri debito detulerunt cum hymnis et canticis, et totius populi concursu, summo gaudio perfusi, et reposuerunt in ecclesia Beati Petri in Caelo Aureo. Ubi etiam ad sanctitatis ejus testimonium, ad argumentum fidei posterorum, multis signis et miraculis claruit.⁵⁵

The hymns chant of this, the last resting place of St.

Augustine:

Tumulat te Papiensis
Humi sacra cellula.⁵⁶

Another hymn of the same century, the 14th century, ends the story of the translation of the Body of St. Augustine by telling us that great signs have taken place in the Church of the Golden Heaven:

Redimitus altis signis
Instat caelo aureo.⁵⁷

and another speaks of the wonderful miracles and signs having been wrought:

Ut renitescat pluribus
Signis, altis miraculis.⁵⁸

And finally another hymn of the next century, the 14th, which can also be found in a manuscript at Pavia, speaks of the heavenly doctor, whose Body rests in the "Golden Heaven".

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 367.

⁵⁶ 30 (8).

⁵⁷ 22 (7).

⁵⁸ 23 (5).

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There is reference to the miracles that have been performed in the presence of his relics:

Cuius gleba corporis,
Postquam mortis vinculis
Fit corrupta,

Morbis fert auxilium,
Redolens ut lilium
Valle nostra

Gaudet stola simplici
Serica de duplici
Carne sumpta

[Verse lost]

Mox ut granum moritus,
Mundo lux exoritur
Heresis dignoscitur
Esse caecis.⁵⁹

The presence of his relics is recalled by the words "gleba corporis" and his earthly struggle by "postquam mortis vinculis Fit corrupta". The miracles or aid to those in need is referred to in the line "Morbis fert auxilium". St. Augustine can also be a help to all those in the world since he is as the beauty of the lily in our valley of tears. The poet recalls the words of Christ about the seed that must die before it could produce fruit, and then states that Augustine also had to die so that his light could shine throughout the world proving the blindness of heretics and while his work carries on, St. Augustine rejoices in the

⁵⁹ 36 (3a to 5a).

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happiness of Heaven covered with the "wedding garment" since he has conquered his flesh:

Gaudet stola impliciti
Serica de duplici
Carne sumpta.⁶⁰

In this chapter, there is a noticeable change in the sources presumably used by the hymnist. It was noticed in the previous chapters that the hymn writers seemed to rely upon the Confessions and the Vita by Possidius. But now references are more general and the hymn writers depend not upon any one source but upon many general sources. The use of miracles also changes greatly as we note that the Saint becomes known not only as a Doctor of the Church, but as a wonder worker. Events described become more picturesque in the details of his later life than those of earlier events.

⁶⁰ Ibid. (4b).

CHAPTER V

BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS

This chapter will discuss biblical allusions. Since the Bible was a well used book in the Middle Ages, its words and phrases were well known to the scholars. In their writings the authors, like the preachers, often made references to the Bible and enjoyed making Biblical allusions. Often events or persons would be compared to Old Testament heroes as well as to Christ and the Apostles. Thus many Biblical metaphors, parables and allegories are employed by the writers. The importance of the Bible as a source of material for examples and figures of speech, cannot be denied.

The Medieval world begins with Augustine and Jerome, with the *De Civitate Dei* and the *Vulgate* (the Bible). ... [It] provided the liturgical and to a large extent the ecclesiastical language of Latin Christianity.¹

An examination of these hymns will demonstrate how much has been taken from the Bible by them. In this section of the Thesis, we will analyse the Biblical allusions as found in these hymns. This chapter will be divided into two sections. The first will explain Biblical allusions

¹ F.J.E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1953, p. 74.

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taken from the Old Testament and the second part will deal with Biblical allusions taken from the New Testament. First, then, will be considered the allusions to the Saint himself and to his work, especially the overcoming of heresy and the establishment of a rule of life for his clerics.

A hymn in one of the earlier manuscripts speaks of a comparison between Augustine and the leader of the Jewish people, Moses. In the Confessions, St. Augustine mentions Moses very often and in one chapter of his work speaks of his desire to be like Moses:

Vellem quippe, si tunc ego essem Moyses —
eadem namque massa omnes venimus; et quid est homo,
nisi quia memor es eius? Vellem ergo, si tunc ego
essem quod ille et mihi.²

The story is told in the Book of Exodus of the power given to Moses to work miracles. The most prominent miracle was one of the first miracles that Moses did, that is, the changing of his staff into a serpent and the devouring of the staffs, turned into serpents, of the magicians of the Pharaoh's court.

Ingressi ita ut Moyses et Aaron ad Pharaonem,
fecerunt sicut praeceperat Dominus: tulitque Aaron
virgam coram Pharaone et servis eius, quae versa
est in columbrum. Vocavit autem Pharaon sapientes
et maleficos: et fecerunt etiam ipsi per incanta-
tiones aegyptiacas et arcana quaedam similiter.
Proieceruntque singuli virgas suas, quae versae
sunt in dracones: sed devoravit virga Aaron virgas
eorum.³

² Confessions, 10, 26, 36.

³ Biblia Sacra, Exodus, 7, 10 to 12.

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The same thought is expressed in an 11th century manuscript hymn:

Multimodis rege
Niliaco plagis attrecto.

Name virga ejus
Virgas absoruit
Magorum,
Dementantium regnatorem
Aegyptiacum.⁴

The allusion is explained in the following verse.

Augustine's prudence, like the rod turned into a serpent,
is able to swallow up and make disappear the sinful doc-
trines of the schismatics.

Cum serpentina
Ejus prudentia
Dogmata
Annullavit prava schismatum.⁵

The same reference is made in a later hymn, found in a manu-
script of the 12th century: It relates how Moses was able
to overthrow or throw into confusion the idols and trickeries
of perfidy:

Simulacra perfidorum
Spurea sacra reproborum
Ut Moyses annullavit.⁶

⁴ 4 (3a).

⁵ 4 (4b).

⁶ 12 (5).

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Another hymn refers to this by recalling how Moses was able to overcome Pharaoh's trickery. So Augustine, the leader, is similar to Moses, for he overcame the tricks of the heretics.

Luto Pharaonis
Dux eripitur fidei.⁷

Still another allusion to the power of Moses is given in the hymn of a 12th century manuscript. The reference is to the power of Moses to turn the rivers into blood. The hymn writer goes on to state that Augustine, like Moses, was able thus to demonstrate his power over the poison to be found in the worship of evil. The Biblical reference is to the events found in the Book of Exodus:

Haec igitur dicit Dominus: In hoc scies quod
sim Dominus: ecce percutiam virga, quae in manu
mea est, aquam fluminis, et vertetur in sanguinem.⁸

The hymn states:

Hic Aegyptiorum
Aguas in sanguinem
Convertisse cognoscitur,

Dum quasi divinam
Culturam daemonum
Comprobavit mortiferam.⁹

⁷ 14 (2).

⁸ Biblia Sacra, Exodus, 7, 17.

⁹ 4 (5a and 5b).

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The next allusion mentions the cruelty of the Pharaoh towards the children of Israel because of the word of Moses. But they are given hope in their despair by the promise of the new land. The metaphor is left incomplete, expecting the reader to see the comparison of Moses with Augustine — who, though he was insistant on penance and self denial, always kept before his followers the Kingdom of Christ:

Multas plagas
In Aegypti
Fecerat populum,
Israelis
Adversarium.

Israeli
Exhortando
Dedit fiduciam
Possidendi
Terram promissam.¹⁰

In the Book of Exodus, there is found a verse that is remembered in a special manner by the Medieval writers. One poem written in the 12th century and the other poem written in the 14th century speaks of this event. We are told that when the Israelites were getting ready to leave Egypt they took with them all the gold and silver they could carry:

Feceruntque filii Israel sicut praeceperat
Moyses: et petierunt ab Aegyptiis vasa argentea
et aurea.¹¹

¹⁰ 4 (6a and 6b).

¹¹ Biblia Sacra, Exodus, 12, 35.

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The Medieval hymn writer compares this gold and silver to the talents that St. Augustine had while still a pagan, which he brought over to the Church from the land of Egypt, (paganism) to the land of Promise (the Church). One hymn sings:

O quam dives
Exivit de Aegypto!
Multo onustus
Auro et argento
Transivit mare rubrum
Augustinus.¹²

The other repeats the theme with a different emphasis:

Et Aegyptum spolians
Vasa secum extulit
Cum auribus argentea.¹³

The age-old liturgy of the Church chants on Holy Saturday that the newly-born pass through the Red Sea into the promised Land. St. Augustine was conscious of this and so were the early Medieval writers. The event is graphically told in the Book of Exodus. God told Moses to stretch out his staff and the waters would recede and the Israelites could walk across on dry land:

Cumque extendisset Moyses manum super mare,
abstulit illud Dominus... et vertit in siccum...
et ingressi sunt filii Israel per medium sicci
maris.¹⁴

¹² 13 (6).

¹³ 39 (3a).

¹⁴ Biblia Sacra, Exodus, 14, 21.

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The allusion can be referred to Augustine, who, like Moses with his staff, has his pen in hand and writes a holy rule that will take the Israelites (the clerics) safely across to the Promised Land. So sings the hymn from an 11th century manuscript:

Per Mare rubrum
Iter siccum pandi
Virga praedicta
Manu ipsius,

Dum clericorum
Vitam strictam docet
Sancta regula
Per ipsum data.¹⁵

The other hymns speak of Augustine and of his baptism as crossing the Red Sea:

Transivit mare rubrum
Augustinus.¹⁶

and

Et post maris
Rubri transitum.¹⁷

Following the allusions to Moses, the references to Aaron are most significant. In the first group of these allusions there is a reference to two events in the Old Testament. One refers to the earth swallowing up Abiron, Dathan and

¹⁵ 4 (7a and 7b).

¹⁶ 13 (6).

¹⁷ 14 (8).

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Core, and the other refers to the blossoming of the wand of Aaron. These references are used in two different hymns.

The story of Abiron is referred to in the Book of Numbers:

Confestim igitur ut cessavit loqui, dirupta
est terra sub pedibus eorum: et aperiens os suum,
devoravit illos cum tabernaculis suis et universa
substantia eorum, descenderuntque vivi in infernum
operti humo, et perierunt de medio multitudinis.¹⁸

The hymn speaks of this event and then draws the conclusions that he who would hold in disdain the rule of Augustine, like some of the Jewish race who held in disdain the Rod of Aaron, that they will be swallowed up as was Abiron:

Hanc regulam
Tamquam virgam Aaron
Tamquam nullius honoris
Contemnit
Elatus globus Abiron.¹⁹

Another hymn tells that Augustine, like Aaron is full of zeal and rivals the fellow priests of Abiron who were cast into hell:

Hic ut Aaron zelotes
Abiron consacerdotas
Aemulatus est viventes
Ad infernum descendentes.²⁰

The wand of Aaron is again recalled in the 11th century manuscript. The event is recorded in the Book of Numbers.

¹⁸ Biblia Sacra, Numeri, 16, 31.

¹⁹ 4 (9a).

²⁰ 12 (4).

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Aaron's rod, placed with the rods of the other tribes of Israel in the Ark, blossomed forth showing God's favor on him as priest of the Most High:

Quas cum posuisset Moyses coram Domino in
tabernaculo testimonii: sequenti die regressus
invenit germinasse virgam Aaron in domo Levi: et
turgentibus gemmis eruperant flores, qui, foliis
dilatatis, in amygdalas deformati sunt.²¹

The hymn goes on to tell us that St. Augustine remoulds the beauty of the common life, which is likened to the staff of Aaron:

Se qui virgae
Flores dedit aridae,
Ad sui honorem
Reformat
Communis vitae decorem.²²

This becomes more understandable when the other verse is recalled:

Hanc regulam
Tamquam virgam Aaron.²³

But Aaron is also mentioned in another hymn. This hymn recalls the Levitical priesthood and alludes to the relationship between the priest of the Old Law, who was so pleasing to God, and the priest, Augustine, of the New Law who is also pleasing to God. St. Augustine is called

²¹ Biblia Sacra, Numeri, 17, 7..

²² 4 (9b).

²³ 4 (9a).

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another Aaron, because he rules a priestly race teaching his clerics not to be in debt to the flesh:

Tu, veri sequax Aaron,
Stirpens regis leviticam
Docens in clero terream
Sortem non esse debitam.²⁴

The hymn then goes on to explain the levitical dress of the priests of Aaron and to demonstrate the symbolic meaning of them. The vestments of Aaron are explained in the Old Testament. The hymn speaks of the overgarment of Aaron, which is described thus in the Bible:

Facies et tunicam superhumeralis totam
hyacinthinam, in cuius medio supra erit capitium,
et ora per gyrum eius textilis, sicut fieri solet
in extremis vestium partibus, ne facile rumpatur.²⁵

The hymn describes the vestment then alludes to a symbolic message. Augustine clothed in this priestly vestment will not be held down by the worries of the flesh but will be able to contemplate heavenly things:

Te byssus ornat retorta
Cum tunica iacintina,
Dum carnis prae munditia
Contemplaris caelestia.²⁶

This outer garment is further explained in the Old Testament. It will have the bottom bordered with pomegranates and bells

²⁴ 21 (3).

²⁵ Biblia Sacra, Exodus, 28, 31.

²⁶ 21 (4).

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Deorsum vero, ad pedes eiusdem tunicae, per circuitum, quasi mala punica facies, ex hyacintho, et purpura, et cocco bis tincto, mixtis in medio tintinnabulis, ita ut tintinnabulum sit aureum et malum punicum: rursumque tintinnabulum aliud aureum et malum punicum.²⁷

The hymn explaining this border of pomegranates and bells gives the significance. The last two stanzas tell that the red fruit represents the good fruitful example and the bells signify the sweet sound of his preaching:

Tu malis rubes punicis,
Personas tintinnabulis,
Dum, quod exemplo rutilas,²⁸
Verbo confessor praedicas.

The hymn goes on to talk about the rationale of the priestly dress. It was to be decorated with very precious stones representing the twelve tribes of Israel and these would be held in place by cords around the shoulders:

Rationale quoque iudicii facies opere polymito iuxta texturam superhumeralis, ex auro... Ponesque in eo quatuor ordines lapidum... Habebuntque nomina filiorum Israel: duodecim nominibus celabuntur, singuli lapides nominibus singulorum per duodecim tribus.²⁹

The symbolic interpretation set by the hymnist is that the rationale represents the gifts of a pure mind transformed into pious works:

²⁷ Biblia Sacra, Exodus, 28, 33.

²⁸ 21 (5).

²⁹ Biblia Sacra, Exodus, 28, 15 to 21.

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Bis senas gemmas pectoris
 Nexu stringis humeralis
 Mentis purae charismata
 Pia vertens in opera.³⁰

The final verse of the symbolic interpretations of the dress of the high priest of Aaron deals with another part of the priest's dress. It was to be a golden plate tied round with violet fillets:

Facies et laminam de auro purissimo: in qua
 sculpes opere caelatoris, Sanctum Domino.
 Ligabisque eam vitta hyacinthina.³¹

The hymn represents this as a sign of the possession of eternal glory after a most chaste life:

Cinctus zona plumaria
 Praefulges auri lamina,
 Qui vitam post castissimam
 Supernam tenes gloriam.³²

Besides Moses and Aaron, the medieval hymns speak of other holy men from the Old Testament. The priestly character of Augustine is a mirror of the example set by David also. It was David who had composed and set up the Ark of the Covenant in a permanent way so that his son Solomon could continue to build the Temple of the Lord. The hymns speak of David re-organizing the priestly cast:

³⁰ 21 (6).

³¹ Biblia Sacra, Exodus, 28, 36.

³² 21 (7).

Igitur David... congregavit omnes principes Israel, et sacerdotes atque levitas... Iuxta praecepta quoque David novissima supputabitur numerus filiorum Levi... erunt sub manus filiorum Aaron in cultum domus Domini... et in universis operibus ministerii templi Domini.³³

St. Augustine mentions the name of David often in his Confessions³⁴ and in his sermons and exegesis speaks of the great man. It was natural, therefore, for the medieval writer to refer to Augustine as having the talents of David. A hymn written in the 12th century manuscript speaks of Augustine just as David has ordained a priestly kingdom and a kingly priesthood:

Sacerdotium regale
Regnumque sacerdotale
His ut David ordinavit.³⁵

and again Augustine is referred to as the most strong tower of David:

Turris David fortissima.³⁶

And finally in a 14th century manuscript the story of David's youth is told. The sweet playing of the harp of David was able to silence the madness of Saul:

³³ Biblia Sacra, Paralipomenon, 23, 27 to 30.

³⁴ Confessions, especially 9, 4, 8.

³⁵ 12 (3).

³⁶ 25 (II Vesp. Ant. ad Mag.).

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Igitur quandocumque spiritus Domini malus
arripiebat Saul, David tollebat citharam, et per-
cutiebat manu sua, et refocillabatur Saul, et levius
habebat: recedebat enim ab eo spiritus malus.³⁷

The writer of the hymn sees a direct relationship in this allusion and so does not bother to explain that the just words of Augustine were able to temper the barbarious hearts of the heretics. Bishop Possidius tells us that Augustine and his followers were speaking words of peace with those who hate peace and whenever they spoke the heretics were willingly overcome by the teaching.

Servi autem tui, ut dictum est, cum his qui
oderant pacem, erant pacifici, et cum loquerentur,
debellabantur gratis ab eis.³⁸

So the hymn sings:

Mitigavit
Ista David
Dulci sonans citharara
Corde Saul barbara.³⁹

King Solomon and St. Augustine are also compared. Solomon was noted for the building of the temple of God. St. Augustine is compared to him because he also beautified the Temple of God by his monasteries, his religious men and women, his books and his preaching in the House of God. The comparison is apt between the two. Solomon building with

³⁷ Biblia Sacra, Liber primus Samuelis, 16, 23.

³⁸ Possidius, p. 64.

³⁹ 39 (4a).

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brick and precious things and Augustine building with the members of the Mystical Body. Two hymns make this same allusion. One found in a 12th century manuscript tells us that Augustine decorates as did Solomon:

Ut Salomon exornavit.⁴⁰

and a later hymn expands the idea from the life of Possidius:

ac magis magisque, iuvante Christo, de die in
diem augebatur et multiplicabatur pacis unitas,
Ecclesiae Dei fraternitas.⁴¹

So the hymn from the 14th century manuscript states:

In idipsum participat,
Quam rex Salem aedificat,
Hierusalem civitas.⁴²

In the 12th century hymn another reference is made to two more Old Testament heroes as well as to John the Baptist, who stands on the threshold of the New Testament. The allusions are to Phinees, Elias and John the Baptist. They are most apt for there can be seen a relationship between their figurative work and the work of St. Augustine. Phinees is blessed by God because he was moved with zeal against those that did evil against the law of God. He punished the sinners with death:

⁴⁰ 12 (3).

⁴¹ Possidius, p. 68.

⁴² 39 (9).

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Dixitque Dominus ad Moysen: Phinees filius
 Eleazari filii Aaron a sacerdotis avertis iram meam
 a filiis Israel: quia zelo meo commotus est contra
 eos, ut non ipse delerem filios Israel in zelo meo.⁴³

Augustine, like Phinees cleansed the people by his penance, his preaching and example. Elias, is also known as a man of God upsetting the powers of darkness. The story is told in the third Book of Kings, how Elias by the power of God demonstrated the power of the true God from the gods of evil and was able to overthrow the false prophets; after his miracle the narrator continues:

Quod dum vidisset omnis populus, cecidit in
 faciem suam et ait: Dominus ipse est Deus, Dominus
 ipse est Deus. Dixitque Elias ad eos: apprehendite
 prophetas Baal, et ne unus quidem effugiat ex eis.
 Quos cum apprehendissent, duxit eos Elias ad
 torrentem Cison, et interfecit eos ibi.⁴⁴

About John the Baptist, St. Matthew reports that he was strong in his language against the evil of the times: He called the Pharisees and Saducees a brood of vipers:

Dixit eis: Progenies viperarum, quis
 demonstravit vobis fugere a ventura ira?⁴⁵

These three men, then prefigure the man Augustine. Their zeal for the word of God is of the same intensity as that of St. Augustine's. The hymn speaks:

⁴³ Biblia Sacra, Numeri, 25, 10.

⁴⁴ Ibid., Liber Tertius Regum, 18, 39.

⁴⁵ Ibid., Evangelium secundum Matthaeum, 3, 7.

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Et Phinees castigavit.

Sacra principis muscarum,
Genimina viperarum,
Ut Elias profanavit,
Ut Johannes increpavit.⁴⁶

The final reference to an Old Testament reference is found in two different hymns. They are referring to the work of St. Augustine with heretics. They look upon St. Augustine as the instrument in the hands of God. His task is to break the power of evil and loose the people from the grasp of heresy. In the Psalms there is reference to the power of the teeth of wild animals to grasp and hold their victims and cause them harm — and so the psalmist prays for deliverance from this evil — asking God to break the teeth of sinners so that they may not harm or hold God's people. The psalmist thus prays:

Exsurge, Domine! Salvum me fac, Deus meus.
Quoniam tu percussisti omnes adversantes mihi
sine causa; Dentes peccatorum contrivisti.⁴⁷

A 12th century manuscript speaks of this breaking:

Nam quibus haeserat
Frangit haereses
Scriptura clausa reserat.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ 12 (5 and 6).

⁴⁷ Biblia Sacra, Liber Psalmorum, 3, 8.

⁴⁸ 15 (13).

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But the lesson is made even more definite in the next century in the Rhythmical Office when the hymnist sings:

Hic dum fidem tibi tulerent
Multi et hanc impugnaverunt
Errorum fallacia
Dentes contrivit eorum
Molas frangens peccatorum
Dei fultus gratia.⁴⁹

Thus, there can be seen the use of Biblical allusions in the hymns to praise St. Augustine and his work. Allusions that refer the Saint to Moses, to Aaron, David and Solomon and finally to the men of God who upset the powers of darkness that were holding the people of God under stress. The references are usually direct and the words of the Vulgate are often used, as well as the ideas of the Scripture writers. Consequently the expressions will be allusions to the power of God as manifested in Augustine, thereby making Augustine also a friend of God and an example of real sanctity.

Having considered allusions from the Old Testament, this chapter will now consider allusions found in the New Testament. These are more numerous. Indeed these New Testament allusions for the most part have been taken from the writings of St. Augustine or from the Vita by Possidius. Themes running through the Confessions are remembered in the

⁴⁹ 26 (Ad Noct. 1, Ant. 3).

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hymns of this era and special emphasis has been given to the following New Testament thoughts. The history of the widow of Naim, the doctrine of the Good Shepherd, the story of the talents, and the story of the faithful servant. A few other allusions, which will only be mentioned to show their peculiar appropriateness for St. Augustine will close the chapter.

The first consideration will be the story of the widow of Naim. The story is taken from the Gospel of St. Luke.⁵⁰ It tells the story of the widow, who, on the way to bury her only son, was stopped by Christ. His sympathetic heart brought the boy back to life and handed him back to his mother. St. Augustine rejoices in the telling of this story in the Confessions. The widow is his mother, St. Monica, who in thought placed Augustine at the feet of Christ, as if in a coffin, so that she may hear Christ say: "Young man I say to thee arise" and Christ would then give the son back to the mother. Augustine thinks of himself at this moment dead in falsehood. The Confessions describe his thoughts:

⁵⁰ Biblia Sacra, Evangelium secundum Lucam, 7, 11.

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... cum iam secura fieret ex ea parte miseriae
meae, in qua me tamquam mortuum, sed resuscitandum
tibi flebat et feretro cogitationis offerebat, ut
diceret filio viduae: iuvenis, tibi dico, surge,
et revivisceret et inciperet loqui et tradere illum
matri suae. Nulla ergo turbulenta exultatione
trepidavit cor eius, cum audisset ex tanta parte iam
factum.⁵¹

A sequence found in a 12th century Missal speaks at length
of this event. The sequence gives a number of biographical
elements and then referring to the forthcoming baptism of
Augustine mentions the story of the widow of Naim. The
coffin is touched, the man breathes again, he is given back
again to his mother, who had been weeping for him who had
been thought dead.

Loculus tangitur,
Suscitatur,
Loquens erigitur,
Matri datur,
De portis
Ut mortis
Vivum referat,
Quem mortuum fleverat.⁵²

So in concentrated poetry the allusion casts its beauty on
the Liturgy.

One of the most picturesque allusions in the New
Testament is that of the good shepherd. Our Blessed Lord
used the thought very often to drive home His solicitude

⁵¹ Confessions, 6, 1, 1.

⁵² 15 (10).

and care for the souls of men. It is especially in the words of Christ as given to us by St. John that this lesson is taught. "Ego sum Pastor bonus"⁵³. St. Peter follows this example and points out that priests and bishops are our shepherds:

Eratis enim sicut oves errantes, sed conversi
estis nunc ad pastorem, et episcopum animarum
vestrarum.⁵⁴

But the idea of a flock and a shepherd is found quite often mentioned in the Old and New Testament.⁵⁵ In the writings of St. Augustine the expression of the shepherd and his flock is given wide treatment. Two long tracts In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus, refer to these statements. Besides this full treatment there are numberless other quotations dealing with this subject.⁵⁶ The medieval writers, living rustic lives caught this idea also. But in the special case of St. Augustine he was thought of as the Good Shepherd par excellence because of one of the last letters written before his death to the Bishops of Africa. The Bishop of Hippo speaking to the African Bishops on the question of whether

⁵³ Biblia Sacra, Evangelium secundum Joannem, 10, 11 and 14.

⁵⁴ Ibid., Epistola Beati Petri Apostoli Prima, 2,25.

⁵⁵ Newton Thompson, Concordance to the Bible, St. Louis, Herder, 1942, p. 988,989.

⁵⁶ Oeuvres, Vol.

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or not Bishops should leave their Sees for the safety of exile, answered that they should not:

Cur enim sibi putant indifferenter obtemperandum esse praecepto, ubi legunt in civitatem de civitate esse fugiendum; et mercenarium non exhorrent, qui videt lupum venientem et fugit, quoniam non est ei cura de ovibus?... Cum autem plebs manet, et ministri fugiunt ministeriumque subtrahitur, quid erit nisi mercenariorum illa fuga damnabilis, quibus non est cura de ovibus? Veniet enim lupus, non homo, sed diabolus; qui plerumque fideles apostatas esse persuasit, quibus quotidianum ministerium Dominici corporis defuit.⁵⁷

To the hymns writers, the shepherd had a twofold task. Firstly, by his industry, the shepherd was to protect the flock from the wolves. This idea is developed in the early manuscripts. In a 12th century manuscript just this idea is mentioned:

Industria pastorali
Lupos arcet ab oviculis.⁵⁸

In the same century another hymn is found chanting this thought with a little more detail — for the enemy has poisoned arrows that must be broken by the shepherd:

Circa Christi ovilia
Sed per omnia
Fide confirmata
Ista venenata
Hostium confegit jacula.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Possidius, p. 126.

⁵⁸ 15 (16).

⁵⁹ 17 (5b).

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The next century goes on to mention that the Good Shepherd must by good word and deed feed the flock and expel the wolves from the flock:

Hic dum gregi praeficitur
Pastor bonus dignoscitur,
Verbo studens et opera
Lupos a grege pellere.⁶⁰

The second task of the Good Shepherd was alluded to in the last hymn, namely to feed the flock and care for it. The succeeding manuscripts think of St. Augustine as the Good Shepherd in this light, not so much as protector but as provider. The Rhythmical Office presents this thought in one of the antiphons. The Shepherd feeding the flock must be sure to lead them to Christ the King. When he does this, he will be known as the "Pastor Bonus".

Pascens gregem, ut per legem
Hunc ad regem
Christum perducatur, nititur
Pastor bonus cognoscitur.⁶¹

Another hymn from the 13th century also tells us that the Good Shepherd will feed the flock who believe in Christ:

Verbis et operibus
Pastum dedit ovibus
In Christo credentibus.⁶²

⁶⁰ 24 (3).

⁶¹ 26 (Ad Noct. 3, Resp. 2).

⁶² 28 (6b).

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The last hymn with this reference to the feeding and caring of the flock is from a 14th century manuscript. The idea of care is developed, so much so, that the poet begs in the imperative mood that the Good Shepherd will take care of the flock but even stir up the lazy and sluggard of the flock to new effort.

Mente tibi rex devota
 Promat, pastor, pia vota
 Canens cum laetitia.⁶³

and later in the same hymn:

Pastor, oves nos curato,
 Nos ad caulas stimula
 Pigros et serotinos.⁶⁴

Finally the last reference to the Shepherd is a call to the whole flock to sing Alleluia in honor of the Shepherd's Augustine's Feast:

Laetabundum
 Moduletur grex fidelis,
 Alleluia.⁶⁵

The story of the talents is a familiar one to Christians. In it we are warned by the Master to use the talents given us for the greater honor of God. For we are told in this story that those who do not, will be punished and those who do, will find that they will be given over and

⁶³ 30 (2).

⁶⁴ 30 (9).

⁶⁵ 36 (1).

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above what they already possess. Since our Saint has mentioned often in the Confessions the special talents that God had given him for eloquence and rhetoric, he was conscious in his writings and sermons to be always ready to use them at the beck and call of the Church of Christ. By the vast amount of work done by St. Augustine for the glory of the Church we know that his talents had been multiplied. The idea of the talents also goes through a transformation in the hymns in honor of St. Augustine. An early hymn refers to the fact that Augustine had multiplied these talents at the cost of much trouble (sweat):

Suique multiplicat
Domini talenta.

Illa nummulario
Tradit non sudario,⁶⁶

Another hymn found in a manuscript of the same century speaks of St. Augustine at the end of his life ready to go forth to meet his Judge and give a report of the use he has made of his talents:

Occurrere paratum,
Cum lucro reportantem
Sibi creditum talentum.⁶⁷

A manuscript of the 14th century speaks once again of the joy Augustine must have because of the hundredfold rewards

⁶⁶ 10 (5a and 5b).

⁶⁷ 17 (6).

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for the use of his talents. Whereas the first hymn mentioned only the multiplying, now the hymn writer speaks of the hundredfold:

O, quam felix in talenta
Et quam verus documentis
Fructum fert centesimum.⁶⁸

Another allusion, though common, is applied in a special manner to St. Augustine. The "Faithful servant" allusion reminds all that the Saint has been chosen by God to perform a certain task for the good of the Church. St. Matthew's Gospel asks the question:

Quis putas, est fidelis servus et prudens, quem
constituit dominus super familiam suam ut det illis
cibum in tempore?⁶⁹

A hymn from a 12th century manuscript speaks of Augustine as such a servant.

His servus est fidelis
Servando quae dedisti
Et prudens haec dispensando.⁷⁰

Next the Antiphon for the Benedictus continues and completes the thought:

Iste Dei famulus
Prudens et fidelis
Directis feliciter
Hujus vitae velis
Intravit in gaudium
Domini in caelis,⁷¹

⁶⁸ 38 (16).

⁶⁹ Biblia Sacra, Evangelium secundum Matthaeum, 24, 45.

⁷⁰ 16 (7).

⁷¹ 26 (Ant. ad Benedictus).

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Following this allusion of the faithful servant there are a number of references to the fact that Augustine provided the food for the soul by his preaching and by his writing. In the evolution of this thought, there is found a gradual change from the direct words of the New Testament to more general and sometimes more involved thoughts. In a hymn taken from a 12th century manuscript we are given the words that strongly recall those of St. Paul as found in the Epistle to the Hebrews:

Et facti esti quibus lacte opus sit, non solido cibo. Omnis enim, qui lactis est particeps, expers est sermonis justitiae; parvulus enim est. Perfectorum autem est solidus cibus; eorum, qui pro consuetudine exercitatos habent sensus ad discretionem boni ac mali.⁷²

The hymn chants that St. Augustine gave both food for the small and for the aged:

Lacte parvulos potavit
Majusculos pane pavit.⁷³

Another hymn of this period just mentions the fact that he feeds the family of Christ:

Cibos praebet Christi famulis⁷⁴

⁷² Biblia Sacra, Epistola Beati Pauli ad Hebraeos, 5, 12 and 13.

⁷³ 11 (4).

⁷⁴ 15 (17).

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While another hymn from the same century expands the former thought:

Nutriens teneros lacte
Cibo solidos⁷⁵

The thought of feeding his family is suggested in a breviary hymn of the same period:

Frangis nobis favos mellis⁷⁶
Dulcem panem conficis⁷⁷

With the change of century, there is a development in thought. In one hymn there is a continuation of the faithful servant motif by telling us that Augustine will give us food in due season. This was mentioned in a hymn from the 12th century:

Dedit in tempore tritici
Mensuram⁷⁸

and the Rhythmical Office repeats the same thought:

Dans cibum in tempore
Tritici mensuram⁷⁹

But the same Office speaks of St. Paul's word of justice and mentions that St. Augustine also fed us with the fruit of justice:

⁷⁵ 16 (9).

⁷⁶ 18 (2).

⁷⁷ 18 (3).

⁷⁸

⁷⁹ 26 (I Vesp. ad Mag.).

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Fructum dat justitiae⁸⁰Fructum doctrinae suscipit⁸¹

The next allusion refers to the words of Christ, in which Christ tells that one should always be on guard for the hour that one least expect: He will Come.

Vigilate ergo, nescitis enim quando dominus
domus veniat ... ne cum venerit repente, inveniat
vos dormientes. Quod autem vobis dico, omnibus
dico - vigilate.⁸²

In the life of St. Augustine, this thought is admirably represented. For many of his sermons and last days were expressions of his awaiting the Judge. His death was peaceful as one who has been waiting. The 12th century hymn mentions this thought to the Lord, when you came for him, O Lord, you found him not sleeping but waiting.

Merito quem veniens
Inveneris non dormientem
Sed expectantem⁸³

The same allusion of preparedness is found in another hymn referring to other words of Our Blessed Lord. We should be dressed and waiting with a light in our hand for the coming of the Master. St. Luke mentions this to us:

⁸⁰ 26 (Ad Noct. 1, Ant. 1).

⁸¹ 23 (1).

⁸² Biblia Sacra, Evangelium secundum Marcum, 13, 35.

⁸³ 16 (4).

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Sint lumbi vestri praecincti, et lucernae
ardentes in manibus vestris. Et vos similes homi-
nibus expectantibus dominum suum.⁸⁴

A 14th century hymn speaks of Augustine as such a man who
lives with such expectation:

Cinctis lumbis legem refert
In lucernis ignem defert
Luce fulgens intima⁸⁵

The light of the Gospel dispelling the darkness of heresy
was a common idea among medieval writers. The allusion of a
light on a candlestick, not under a bushel could be referred
easily to the Saint. St. Matthew speaks of the words of
Christ:

Neque accendunt lucernam, et ponunt eam sub
modio, sed super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus
qui in domo sunt.⁸⁶

Bishop Possidius also mentions this in the Vita:

Unde accensa et ardens levata super candelabrum
lucerna, omnibus qui in domo erant lucebat.⁸⁷

An early hymn recalls this fact that Augustine did not hide
his light:

⁸⁴ Biblia Sacra, Evangelium secundum Lucam, 12, 35.

⁸⁵ 38 (10).

⁸⁶ Biblia Sacra, Evangelium secundum Matthaeum, 5,15.

⁸⁷ Possidius, p. 50.

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Nec latet sub modio
Facula detenta⁸⁸

The precepts of the Master could be summed up in the great commandment. Medieval writers therefore sought to show in their works that the Saint followed the precept faithfully. The writers of the hymns in honor of St. Augustine also had this in mind for his charity is spoken of in the hymns. One of the earliest hymns speaks about the great commandment and in speaking about it and the life of Augustine, the early hymn writer used the identical words as found in the Vulgate:

Diliges Dominum Deum tuum... Secundum autem
simile est huic: Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum.⁸⁹

The hymn from the 11th century manuscript speaks thus:

Caritatis igne flagrans
Deum sicut debuit,
Proximum velut se ipsum
Aequa lance coluit,
Sic divinae legis jussa
Adimplere studuit.⁹⁰

And the 14th century manuscript continues this thought by telling us that with a brilliant shining charity the Saint was able to take away fear from the people:

⁸⁸ 10 (5b).

⁸⁹ Biblia Sacra, Evangelium secundum Matthaeum, 22, 37 and 39.

⁹⁰ 5 (4).

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Caritate dēlet metum
Currens per arundinetum
Scintilla clarissima.⁹¹

It has been shown that the New Testament allusions were common in the hymns and while there are not too many references to the miracles of the Lord and the miracles of St. Augustine, the hymn writers have used examples of comparison from the teachings and examples of the Master to demonstrate the similarity of St. Augustine to Christ.

⁹¹ 38 (11).

CONCLUSION

A study of the biographical elements in the hymns in honor of St. Augustine which appear in manuscripts earlier than the 15th century has shown the close parallel between the prose texts of the Confessions, the Vita by Possidius and the hymns. Since the prose texts can be dated earlier than any of the hymns, it is possible to definitely establish that the prose texts were the source for the biographical elements of the hymns. Indeed, in many instances, the exact words of the early prose writings have been copied by the hymn writers of later centuries.

The death and translation of the sacred Remains from Africa to their final resting place in the Church at Pavia in Lombardy serve as subject matter in a number of the hymns. The hymn writers have used the Vita by Possidius and letters addressed by the Archbishop of Milan to Charlemagne written around the beginning of the 9th century, as well as other sources quoted in the Acta Sanctorum from this same period, as the sources for this subject matter in the hymns.

When the biblical allusions were studied, it was found that most of these allusions were used to indicate the sanctity of Augustine. It was also found that many of them found their inspiration in the Saint's own letters, sermons and tracts.

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It is also noteworthy that only at the death of the Saint are miracles mentioned in the hymns, but on the other hand, after the death of the Saint, in the translation of his Body, especially the last part of the journey, miracles are mentioned both by the prose writers and in the hymns. It is the 13th century, especially, that seems to enjoy recounting these events. While, generally speaking, there is a reticence in discussing miracles, one cannot help but notice the lack of reticence in many references to St. Augustine as a preacher and writer. His Holy Rule is also the subject matter in many of the hymns. These references to his preaching and writings are prevalent in all of the centuries under study.

Also it was found that no great change or development of thought was discovered in the hymns from one century to the next. Seldom do we note a change in the presentation of the subject matter. It seems that the same terse style is evident in all of the hymns under study.

Finally the reader may notice the lack of detail in the hymns. Specific events or descriptions of particular scenes are scarcely mentioned. Even when, perhaps, the hymn writer could use such, he seems loathe to do so and passes over the event with general terms. The many interesting stories quoted by St. Augustine in his Confessions are not even mentioned in the hymns. As

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examples notice the lack of stories about the youth of St. Augustine and the mischief he did at that time or else the description of the scene in the garden, before his conversion when the Saint heard a voice telling him "tolle et lege". It seems that these and many more examples could have fitted into the subject matter of the hymns but were deliberately not used, though other meditative thoughts from the Confessions were copied into the hymns. On this same point, many magnificent lines from the writings of St. Augustine could have been used as part of the details in discussing the controversies that St. Augustine entered into with heretics. But while we are told in the hymns about his clash with Fortunatus, for example, no mention is made of the eloquent words used to confound the man. Inferences to biblical figures, also, are more alluded to than directly suggested. No lengthy description is drawn out to demonstrate the Saint's likeness to the biblical figures. For instance the Saint is compared to Solomon, but the hymn writer leaves it to the reader to see why this is so. Exceptions to this might be found in regards to the biblical figures of Moses and Aaron. In a number of hymns the comparison is explained in great detail.

There is still much to be done with these hymns. Even after this study of the biographical and biblical elements, there still remains many other departments of

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study. From the standpoint of subject analysis, another study could well undertake the analysis of the metaphorical and panegyric elements in these hymns. A discussion of the special title given to St. Augustine, including the often used yet peculiar title "Malleus haereticorum" would be of value. This could be followed by a discussion of the prayer elements in the hymns. The incipits, or the first verse of the hymns, as well as the doxologies would also be another interesting study. A brief study of the form of the hymns in the light of the general principles of medieval hymnody would also add to the analysis of the hymns. Finally, after the completion of these elements, perhaps further study could be done to discover the date of composition and perhaps, even, in some cases, the authors of the hymns could be determined. This might be followed by a discussion of the amount of material borrowed from earlier hymns to St. Augustine and some other medieval hymns.

This, then, would conclude the subject matter analysis of these early hymns. However, there are still some forty-five other hymns from manuscripts of the 15th and 16th centuries which have not been discussed, as well as ten or so hymns in honor of St. Augustine's mother, St. Monica, which would then complete the study of the subject matter of medieval hymns in relation to St. Augustine.

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anniversary of his death.

ABSTRACT OF

The Biographical and Biblical Elements in the Hymns
in Honor of St. Augustine up to the 14th Century

The thesis applies to the hymns in honor of St. Augustine found in manuscripts from the 11th to the 14th centuries a method of analysis originated by Dr. Joseph Szoverffy. The biographical elements and the biblical allusions will be examined and their sources traced.

Chapter 1 - The Birth to the Conversion

A comparison of the Confessions and the Vita by Possidius and the hymns shows that the latter are rich in material found in the former works. Among the material discussed are: the place of birth, his parentage, his life up to the time of his conversion.

Chapter 2 - Priesthood and Preacher

This is a continuation of the study of biographical elements. St. Augustine as a Priest, Bishop and Preacher is mentioned in the hymns. The sources for these statements are found to be principally in the Vita by Possidius and in the sources mentioned in the Acta Sanctorum.

Chapter 3 - Writer and his Rule

The biographical details dealing with the work of St. Augustine as a writer are now discussed. The sources for these elements in the hymns are found to be in the Vita by Possidius and in the works of St. Augustine, principally

ABSTRACT

in copies of his sermons and different early editions of his Rule, which were edited by some of his monks.

Chapter 4 - Death and Translation

The death and the translation of his body are often used as material in the hymns. The sources are examined and found to be once again the Vita by Possidius and material written in the beginning of the 9th century, especially a letter from the Archbishop of Milan to Charlemagne.

Chapter 5 - Biblical Allusions

The biblical allusions play a great part in these hymns. A large number of these allusions are taken from the Old Testament. The heroes of the Old Testament are likened to St. Augustine — especially Moses and Aaron, while David, Solomon, Phinees and Elias also are mentioned. From the New Testament, parables are used to demonstrate St. Augustine's virtue and refer to him as: the good shepherd, the good steward, and a faithful servant as well as a number of other examples.

Conclusion

It has been shown that the hymns have taken a great deal of the material found in the Confessions or other writings of St. Augustine as well as other sources quoted in the Acta Sanctorum and Legenda Aurea. There are a number of biblical allusions found in the hymns and these demonstrate that the Bible was used as a source for material used in medieval hymns.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLICAL ELEMENTS
IN THE HUMNS IN HONOR OF ST. AUGUSTINE UP TO THE 14TH CENTURY

by John C. Mollow

Reverend and dear Father,

According to Dale Carnegie it is important in social relations, and in business to produce a favorable initial impression, for the first impression one produces stays.

May I say, Father, that in this respect, your distinction and charity have impressed us at first and ever since very favorably.

Some believe, and I belong to this group, that in scholarly works also the initial impression is important. I have therefore approached the Introduction to your dissertation with great care.

I must confess that I do not understand the logical sequence of the argument of your first two pages.

You first recall that "for many years the literature of the Middle Ages was considered a dark sterile age." I do not pretend to be a master of the English language but the ambiguity of this sentence cannot fail to hurt my sense of logic, and may be yours too if you give it a second thought.

Do you not think you should have said:

- a) "The Middle Ages were considered as the dark sterile ages"?
or b) "The literature of the Middle Ages was considered of no value".

In the text of Christopher Dawson quoted in the same paragraph, the last of should be replaced by or. Instead of pointing out the complete disorder of these *two* pages, I shall try to reconstruct them using your material as I believe you should have done.

If I am not mistaken, your argument is the following:

For many years the culture of the Middle Ages has been overlooked but recently has been given much attention. And to assess that, you refer you reader to the list of recent works listed in your bibliography. Such a reference, Father, can

in no way replace the critical and complete survey of the previous literature required at the beginning of a scholarly report. And you may be criticised more severely for this omission, because such a survey has already been done by Mr. Szövérfy, and printed at the beginning of his article on "The Legends of St. Peter in Medieval Latin Hymns", which you have listed in your bibliography but never used explicitly in your thesis!

Then you explain this radical change of situation giving two reasons:

- (1) because in this literature lie the answers to many problems of our age:

"the more scholars searched for answers to the many problems of our age, the more they were driven back into the manuscripts and works of the Medieval writers." (Intr., p. VI)

- (2) because also of the intrinsic value and beauty of this literature (p. VI):

"For, as writes Christopher Dawson, 'The study of such a culture with its problems, its failures and its achievements, involves a much deeper level of human experience than either the self centered and self-regarding political ideologies or the self-assured humanism of the Enlightenment.'" (p. VI),

or with Ernest Robert Curtius:

"il ressort clairement de notre conception historique de l'Europe, que cette époque constitue justement le trait d'union entre le monde antique décadent et notre monde occidental qui prend forme si lentement. Elle occupe donc une position-clef." (p. VI).

Much attention has been given to this Literature but yet much is to be done, and you quote E. Robert Curtius:

"Aucune époque de l'histoire littéraire européenne n'est moins connue, moins explorée que la littérature latine du début et du milieu du Moyen Age ..." (p. VI).

much is yet to be done, you say, and for three reasons:

(1) because there has been a great delay due to the prejudice alluded to above; we have therefore to make up for time lost.

(2) because only a small number of specialists dedicate themselves to the study of this literature: and here you quote again E. Robert Curtius:

"Mais elle n'est étudiée... que par un très petit nombre de spécialistes, en Europe, il en existe peut-être une douzaine, pour le reste, le Moyen Age se répartit entre les représentants de l'histoire des dogmes dans les facultés de théologie catholique et les médiévistes de nos universités" (p. VI-VII)

(3) because of its vastness. Blumes, Dreves and Bannister have compiled fifty octavo volumes of hymns and the Monumenta Germaniae historica comprise five or six folios.

This vastness has also apparently discouraged the scholars, you say vaguely p. VII: "The method of exploring these hymns has caused some concern".

Therefore, this literature offers an excellent field of research, and the more so because a method has recently been devised to overcome this profusion.

But before tackling this new problem, I want to discuss an important point of methodology.

As you know, we expect to find in a scholar certain essential traits, namely: a cautiously critical attitude and ~~and~~ craving for accuracy and control, (Shevenell, p. 19). Accuracy namely is required in quotations. "The original source must be quoted every time" (Shenevell p. 79).

When I read on the first page of your introduction: "It was this thought that caused Mr. J. Perret to quote the words of Ernest Robert Curtius: "Aucune époque de l'histoire", I immediately asked myself: Is Mr. Perret quoting without quotation marks as you do? This, as you know, would indicate it is a free and not a literal quotation.

I checked, and discovered that Mr. Perret had used the quotation marks which you have omitted.

Then I asked myself: why did you not ^{use} the original source ~~use~~ or at least refer to it? I found again in Perret that this quotation was taken from the first chapter of ^a magnificent book entitled: La littérature européenne et le Moyen Age latin, which we have in our Library.

Why then, Father, did you not use this book?

If you had been careful enough to open it, you would have discovered that even though Mr. Perret is using the quotation marks, he is not quoting exactly and you could have corrected his text and enriched your thesis by giving a reference to this important Curtius study.

METHOD.

Then you speak, as required, of your method of research, but again with such vagueness and confusion that we cannot help thinking of the dark ages dreaded by the XVIII century men! ...

You ~~say~~ first:

"This massive accumulation of literature presented problem on how students of literature were to explore its very vastness. It thus remains for later scholars to take this mass of poetry and analyse it, organizing it so that at some future date there might be edited a history of Medieval Hymnody as part of a great work, a History of Medieval Literature." (p. VII)

How are we to explore this mass of literature? This question definitely bears upon the problem of method, a new important idea: there should therefore be a new paragraph to help us to notice the progress of your argument.

Then you go on to say:

"Recently Doctor J. Szoverffy outlined a new method for the study of medieval hymnody. He expressed the opinion that a thorough subject analysis of the vast body of Latin Medieval Hymns would permit scholars to establish relationships between the hymns, and also to classify them much better than the unsure study of the manuscript-tradition" (Intr., p. VII and VIII)

and you refer in foot-note no. 4 to Dr. Szoverffy's article entitled Folk Beliefs

and Medieval Hymns" published in Folk Lore, 1942-43, p. 219.

First this reference is neither exact, ~~more~~ complete. You have confused Dr. Szoverffy's reference to an article by D. H. Doble, "Hagiography and Folklore", in Folk-Lore, 1942-1943, with the very issue in which Dr. Szoverffy's own article was printed, namely Folk-Lore, Volume 66, March 1955.

Second Dr. Szoverffy's text is much clearer than what you say:

"The analysis of content and plot, says he, the investigation of motifs and stereotype features in hymns ... would be more fruitful than the traditional method" ... whose "main objective is still merely the investigation of newly discovered or already well-known hymns from a philological point of view, the supplying versions, the analysing of rhymes and rhythms." (p. 219)

One year before, Mr. Szoverffy in the above mentioned article "The Legends of St. Peter in medieval Latin Hymns": had also written:

"But, even after all this publication, the real problem remained: the problem of enquiring into the entire development of ^{mn}hymnody and into the hymns written by unknown authors, ... All attempts to write a general history of hymnody had to fail owing to insufficient knowledge of the internal characteristics of these hymns and the relationship between the hymns in regard to such characteristics."

"Blume and Dreves arranged their material in a number of main sections within the volumes of the Analecta hymnica and added remarks on the characteristics of the individual hymns and on their possible connection with other, ... Seeing in these indications a beginning, I should like to suggest here ~~this second~~ another method, ... I mean the method of internal subject analysis.

"The present article, then is intended as a modest contribution to this method of examination, and has as its purpose to show that internal subject analysis, as described, of medieval hymns is possible and can produce important results (p. 277-278).

Dr. Szoverffy is therefore applying to the study of hymns and old method, the method of internal subject analysis.

His main originality is not so much in the use of this method, as in indicating various ideas, themes or motifs commonly found in hymns, and in suggesting to group together the hymns in honour of a Saint, a grouping which makes the use of this internal subject analysis possible and more rewarding.

It is in this sense that Mr. Perret writes:

"La méthode de M. Szoverffy me paraît pouvoir rendre de très grands services ... elle permet d'accumuler des observation précises et dont il y aura toujours à tenir compte, quelle que soit la manière dont on pense devoir les interpréter." (p. VIII).

But nevertheless this method is a literary method and it would be false to pretend that such a method alone will enable the coveted history of hymnody to be written. To write history, one needs chronology, and paleography, etc. So Mr. Perret adds:

"La méthode de M. Szoverffy prête à la critique si on lui demande des conclusions qu'elle ne peut donner (et qui ne pourront être acquises que par recours simultané à d'autres méthodes complémentaires) (les méthodes historiques). (p. VIII)

Dr. Szoverffy is right therefore in saying that an "internal subject analysis of medieval hymns is possible and can produce important results" and that it will help in securing more "knowledge about the internal characteristics of these hymns, the lack of which has so far caused all attempts to write a general history of hymnody to fail.

← But you say, p. XII:

"In this thesis, first, an attempt will be made to show the relationship existing between events of the Saint's life, as recorded in the Confessions of St. Augustine or in the Possidius' Vita.

This will be done with an attempt to establish the relationship between the earlier prose texts and the later hymns."

What do you mean?

What we need, says Dr. Szoverffy, is more knowledge about the
 ← internal characteristics of the hymns, and the relationship between
 ← the hymns in regard to such characteristics, and not between events
 ← of the Saint's life?

Are you not really losing sight of the aims of your study as suggested by
 ← Dr. Szoverffy?

Your account of Dr. Szoverffy's method is taken from a previous dissertation to which however you make no reference. You have only changed the foot note given in that dissertation. You may have thought that in this way your use of that dissertation would escape our notice. But really, the trick is too old to deceive us!...

Finally taking advantage of Dr. Szoverffy's method, you have collected ninety-five hymns in honour of St. Augustine, not however ~~not~~ from the manuscripts as you say, p. VIII, but from Blume and Breves' Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi, as you say more truly on p. XII. Because of the limited time and space in an M.A. dissertation, you have confined yourself to those (fourty in number) ascribed by Blume and Dreves to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and for the same reason also have limited your study to the biographical and biblical elements.

What you say on p. IX, X and XI on the importance of St. Augustine in the Middle Ages is relevant and could be happily summarized by the famous words of Mgr Duchesne:

"De son Afrique lointaine, Augustin rayonna sur toute la chrétienté. Aux hommes de son temps, il dit toutes les paroles utiles. Il sut leur expliquer leurs âmes, les consoler des malheurs du monde, guider leurs pensées à travers les mystères. A tous il fut aimable. Par lui les fanatiques furent apaisés, les ignorants éclairés, les penseurs maintenus dans la tradition. Il a enseigné tout le moyen âge." (cité par Labriolle, dans Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne, tome II, p. 582-583).

It is also recommended that a brief résumé of the results of the research be given in the introduction to arouse the curiosity of your readers. So Dr. Szovérffy in the "Legends of St. Peter in Medieval Latin Hymns" points out that "the study of his material gradually made it clear that in some of the St. Peter hymns Biblical-biographical elements are more numerous than other motifs, that a number of other hymns have a panegyric character, and that there are yet others in which the legendary motifs seem to prevail, or at least to have a dominant influence.

The three groups show a separate development up to a point and the development of each group must be analysed separately before proceeding to a general synthesis of the three groups." (p. 278) And he limits himself in this article to the third group.

What about you? Did you achieve any conclusion of that kind?

Did you think of this way of limiting your subject?

You say in the latter part of your abstract that "the hymns have taken a great deal of the material found in the Confessions or other writing of St. Augustine, as well as other sources quoted in the Acta Sanctorum and Legenda Aurea.", and that "There are number of biblical allusions found in the hymns".

Do you not think that such conclusions go without saying and are of no scholarly interest. Do you not think therefore, that it would be much more interesting for scholars to know if from the collation of the hymns with their hypothetical sources, you have been able to understand or interpret more correctly some or your material, or trace the origin of certain peculiar expressions or words, or since we are fortunate enough to St. Augustine's autobiography to tell to what extent the hymnodists gave way to their imagination and fancy. If popular devotion has been able to create from scattered traits and imaginary saint Philomena, it would not be surprising to find some additions to St. Augustine picture!

But to do that, you should have kept our attention focussed on the hymns themselves and not primarily as you did (P. XII) on events of the Saint's life, as recorded in the Confessions of in the Possidius' Vita. This procedure seems to me erroneous. It leads you logically to omit or disregard any event, mentioned in the hymns but omitted (not) in the Conf. or in Possidius' Vita. On the contrary, your duty, according to the approved plan of your thesis, was to collect all biographical data given in the hymns and thence built a picture of the saint, and only after that to compare the data gathered with the picture given by St. Augustine himself or by Possidius.

This way your conclusions could have been of real interest to scholars.

You speak on p. XIII of the various kinds or types of hymns, but do you not think this should have been said on p. VIII when you describe step by step what you have done.

On p. XIII, you give precise definitions of the various types of hymns analysed: the rhythmical offices, the breviary hymns, the Sequences, and other non-liturgical hymns; Where did you find these definitions?

On p. XIV, you use a table to set the few abbreviations you ^{use} in the text. According to our Methodology, p. 93, this is not the correct use of a table which is solely for the purpose of presenting an illustration of the argument.

On p. XV, your explanation of the sign used in the table should follow and not precede the table.

I could point out many other minor mistakes, but I must let you hear first my colleagues who have been kind enough to read your thesis in such a short time and at this period of the year.

That will suffice, Rather,

Let me congratulate you finally, for the courage and simplicity you have shown in coming back to school after so many years of teaching and bright sacred oratory.

I hope that the knowledge you have acquired and the intellectual habits you may have developped or reinforced, will prove rewarding.

May you still have as a professor, as priest, and ... as a superior, a long, fruitful and happy career!

The official rule for the oral defence is that it cannot take place before all previous requirements have been met.

We have made for you an exception. But the secretary of the Graduate division of the Faculty, will not let you know the final result before having received your score on your last exam in Roman Epigraphy.

Please do not forget to leave him your address, so that he can reach you without undue delay.

April 1961.

E. Gareau, o.m.i., directeur.