

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

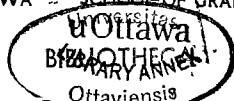
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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Sister M. Kathleen was born August 11, 1901, in Cumberland, Maryland. She received the Bachelor of Arts degree in Latin from Creighton University, Omaha, Nebraska, in 1926. She received the Master of Arts degree in Latin from the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., in 1933. The title of her thesis was The Late Vocabulary in the De Poenitentia of St Ambrose.

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

¹ Jacques Perret, "Situations et Problèmes de la Poésie Latine Médiévale", in L'Information Littéraire, Paris, J. B. Baillière et Fils, Mars-Avril, 1959, N° 2, p. 67.

² Jacques Perret, Op. Cit., p. 68.

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As F.J.E. Raby declares, the hymns "form the raw material which would help elucidate the state of religious and intellectual culture during the obscure centuries of the Middle Ages".³ Their principal contribution to the history both of ideology and of iconography in the early and late Middle Ages, has had a far-reaching influence in Christian literature. Right from the earlier period on to the late, a wide-spread use of allegory drawn from special sources is only one aspect of a general change in late pagan religious thought, and its survival in medieval and modern times affords an opportunity to show to some extent the relations and influences which are reflected in the group of Gregory hymns. They are, therefore, full of penetrating and invaluable insights, which may allow an over-all picture of medieval lore to emerge against the background of earlier ecclesiastical traditions.

The following lines from H. Waddell's The Wandering Scholars⁴ give an idea of what the world thought of Gregory the Great:

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

³ F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1927, p. 128.

⁴ Helen Waddell, The Wandering Scholars, New York, Doubleday & Co., 1955, p. 25.

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

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

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

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

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

⁵ Joseph Szöverffy, "The Legends of St. Peter in Medieval Latin Hymns", in Traditio, Vol. 10, p. 322.

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

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

My main sources are the Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi⁶, by the two Jesuits, Blume and Dreves; the three important Lives: one, by Paulus Diaconus⁷ in the eighth century; another, the Whitby Life⁸, discovered in a monastery of St. Gall, also of the eighth century; and the third, by Johannes Diaconus⁹, published in the ninth century. Besides

⁶ Cf. Blume and G. M. Dreves, Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, Leipzig, 1886-1922, 55 Vols. Vol. 40 was edited by H. M. Bannister, who also appears as co-editor of Vols. 47, 53 and 54.

⁷ Paulus Diaconus, Sancti Gregorii Magni Vita, in Migne, P. L., Vol. 75, p. 40-60.

⁸ Whitby Life, edited by F. A. Gasquet, Westminster, 1904.

⁹ Johannes Diaconus, Sancti Gregorii Magni Vita, in Migne, P. L., Vol. 75, p. 60-242.

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

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

CHAPTER I

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

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

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

¹ F. J. E. Raby, Op. Cit., p. 2.

² John Julian, Dictionary of Hymnology, Vol. 1, p.645.

³ Albert Blaise, Dictionnaire Latin-Français des Auteurs Chrétiens, Strasbourg, 1954, Librairie des Méridiens, p. 397.

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main literary influence was that of the Latin Classical poets.⁴ Likewise, a noted specialist in the field of hymnology, Christine Mohrmann, makes an emphatic statement regarding very ancient sources of hymns, when she states that the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan gives proof that the hymns sung by the early Christians were no doubt of biblical origin, and their structure and general character fundamentally different from those of classic poetry. The same author, speaking of the comparison between Eastern and Western hymns, says that in the orient the hymn was not only in use as a liturgical chant, but also, especially in several heretical sects, was a means of propaganda. She states further that this seems to have been the type of hymn that made the first impression on the West, and that while some of the earlier hymnologists of the West, among them St. Hilary of Poitiers, tried to introduce doctrinal propaganda by the same means, they had little success. It was not until St. Ambrose's time that the Christian hymn obtained immediately huge success.⁵

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

⁴ Raby, Op. Cit., p. 4.

⁵ Christine Mohrmann, Etude sur le latin des chrétiens, Vol. 2, p. 216-217. Roma, 1961, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura..

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

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

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

⁶ J. Julian, Dictionary of Hymnology, Vol. 1, p. 643.

⁷ One of Charlemagne's Missi Dominici. His poems are a mirror of the Carolingian era.

⁸ The most prominent figure of the Carolingian Renaissance.

⁹ F. J. E. Raby, Op. Cit., p. 177.

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The interaction of various elements which were so organic in medieval society - the religious, the military and the commercial - in the formation of these "groups" around the castles and the monasteries, must always be appreciated. The sources for this enormous change in political organization and in social texture abound in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But the beginnings of this fecund social process go back to the period of the Norse invasions and the violence of the ninth and tenth centuries. The deeper we penetrate into the details of the history of these two centuries, the more we discover that this epoch was fertile in social origins, in the adjustment of society to new conditions, to the evolution of new institutions.¹⁰

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

¹⁰ James Westfall Thompson, Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, Vol. 1, Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., N.Y., 1959, p. 263-264.

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1. Classification of the Hymns.

According to the classification mentioned on page viii, the first group included in this study is made up of Breviary Hymns, which occupied a permanent place when the Roman Office was introduced into the Carolingian Empire. The hymns of Ambrose formed the nucleus round which the hymnary of the Church of Milan was collected and formed an integral part of the divine service. They bear a Christian character in especially two respects: they are a true effort of original creation, in which the Christian spirit controls the artistic form; and they contain an emphatic sense pause which can only be explained by the fact that the hymns were composed to be sung by alternate choirs.¹¹ The idea of this pattern of composition was provided, it appears, by fragments of hymns which were already incorporated into the Offices as responses.¹² At first, the intrusion of poetical pieces took place on a modest scale, but later on, a larger number of hymns, and these of unequal merit, found their way into the hymnaries of various Churches in the West, especially in Italy, Gaul and Spain. It was inevitable

¹¹ Raby, Op. Cit., p. 36-39.

¹² Ibid., note 4, p. 453: Cf. Wagner, History of Plain-Chant, p. 242; on this semi-liturgical poetry, see Wilmart, Revue Bénédictine, li (1939), p. 61 seq.

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that these hymns should find a place side by side with the other hymns and be incorporated in the Offices.

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

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

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

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

¹³ Raby, Op. Cit., p. 210.

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Table I

Breviary Hymns Dedicated to Pope Gregory the Great

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

H- Breviary Hymn; AH- Cl. Blume, G.M. Dreves and
H.M. Bannister, Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, Leipzig,
1886-1892, 55 Volumes.

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

He got the impulse from the Antiphonary of the monk of Jumièges; both he and his master Iso were clearly familiar with this kind of composition, and Iso, at any rate, knew its rules and was able to put Notker on to the right lines. [...] What is certain is that by Notker's time the composition of Sequences on French soil had already reached an advanced stage, especially at such centres as Luxeuil, Fleury, and Moissac.¹⁴

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

At the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, the day of Latin poetry is over. In the monastic and the cathedral schools and in the Universities, the language of S. Thomas and of Duns Scotus was still read and spoken, and a long array of hymns and sequences, composed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, bears witness to the obstinate strength of the old tradition, which refused to accept the answer of death. [...] ¹⁵

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

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

¹⁵ Raby, p. 453.

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TABLE II

Sequences Dedicated to Pope Gregory the Great

Number	1st verse	Type	Century	Source
1	Adest dies recolenda	S	15	AH 10 N° 249
23	Nostro redemptori	S	11/12	AH 54 N° 45
30	Organum spirituali	S	15	AH 37 N° 200
39	Sancti papae Gregorii	S	15	AH 39 N° 177
41	Spiritualis filii	S	15	AH 10 N° 250

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Of these five Sequences, only one, S(23), belongs to the transitional period which took its form in the eleventh century from the Notkerian or earlier period, and the other four belong to the second or regular period, which began in the twelfth century.

A third class, very small, introduces the type known as the Rhythmical-Metrical Offices, a development of versified Offices which went on parallel to the Sequences. Beginning with a simple combination of portions in prose and poetry respectively, the whole Office soon came to be clothed in metrical forms. Speaking of these Rhythmical form in the rimed Office Norberg has drawn attention to the "variété déconcertante" of the older rimed Offices, often as he says, a mixture of prose, of quantitative and of rhythmical poetry. He mentions "un domaine que l'on a totalement négligé d'étudier du point de vue métrique et dont un examen des formes se révélerait très fructueux, à savoir les offices rimés."¹⁶

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

¹⁶ Dag Norberg, Introduction à l'Etude de la Versification Latine Médiévale, Stockholm, Almqvist & Wikselle, 1958, p. 85.

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Table III

Rhythmical-Metrical Offices Dedicated to Gregory

Number	1st verse	Type	Century	Source
17a	Gloriosa sanctissimi	R	11	AH 50 N° 236
17b	Gloriosa sanctissimi	R	12	AH 5 N° 64
22	Laude, felix mater et filia	R	16	AH 5 N° 65

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

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

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

¹⁷ Julian, *Op. Cit.*, p. 651.

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Table IV

Tropes Dedicated to Pope Gregory the Great

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁸ Raby, Op. Cit., p. 31-32.

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Table V

The 'Pia Dictamina' Dedicated
to Pope Gregory the Great

Number	1st verse	Type	Century	Source
4	Ave, doctor o Gregori	P	15	AH 29 N° 284
5(a)	Ave, gemma praesulum	P	15	AH 3 N° 30
5(b)	" " "	P	14	AH 41a N° 44
9	Ave, sancte tu Gregori	P	15	AH 29 N° 91
10	Ave, tu Gregori pie	P	15	AH 29 N° 98
15	Gaude te esse vocatum	P	16	AH 29 N° 201
26	Magne pater o Gregori	P	15	AH 33 N° 101
34	Salve, flos ecclesiae	P	15	AH 33 N° 102
35	Salve, Gregori maxime	P	14	AH 3 N° 45

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dates back to the thirteenth century, having as its first line: "Ave, qui tractans mores Iob beati." It consists of two stanzas, one devoted to Gregory the Great, and the other to St. Martin. Its main theme is a prayer for the Saints' intercession and assistance.

2. Origin and Authorship.

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

H(2) was composed by Petrus Damiani¹⁹ who was born at Ravenna in the year 1007. The date of the composition is the eleventh century.

H(33) was composed by Herimannus Contractus²⁰ also in the eleventh century. Herimannus was a contemporary of Peter Damiani, being born in 1013, of German birth.

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

¹⁹ There is a good account of Damiani in Lea, History of Sacerdotal Celibacy, 3d. edit., Oxford Press, 1907, Vol. 1, p. 206-243.

²⁰ J. May, Zu Herimannus Contractus, in Neues Archiv., XII, 1887, p. 226 seq.

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

There is a great diversity of opinion in regard to her revelations. The Church has never pronounced sentence on them. Only she,^{her} brother Ecbert and her friend Hildegard were convinced of their spirituality. A complete edition of her writings was made by F.W.E. Roth (Brünn, 1884);

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translations appeared in Italian (Venice, 1884), French (Tournai, 1864) and Icelandic (1226-1254). Her feast day is June 4.²¹ She was never formally canonized, but in 1584 her name entered the Roman martyrology and has remained there.

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

P(5) and P(6) have the same text except for st. 4, line 7, which in P(5) reads: Sed ut sim virtutifex, and in P(6): Sed sim verus sacrificex, and a difference of spelling (caeli and coeli) in the second stanza of P(5) and P(6). The earlier composition, P(6) is ascribed by the AH to Udalricus Wessofontanus, who was originally Ulrich Stöcklin, an abbot of Wessobrunn (Wesofontanum ad fontes Wessonis). Dreves, who edited this collection, styled him "one of the most prolific rhythmic poets of the later Middle Ages."²² The later

²¹ Consult the Catholic Encyclopedia for details of her life. The Acta Sanctorum in Volume 34 for June 4 has a long article about this saint on p. 499.

²² Ulysse Chevalier, Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen-Age, Bio-bibliographie, Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1905, Vol. 1, col. 34 states: "Adam de la Bassée (Nord), poète Latin, chanoine à St-Pierre de Lille; il est mort 1286 fév. 25." Also C. E. Ruelle, Revue des sociétés savantes des départements, Paris, sér. 2, Vol. 1, 1859, p. 532-536, contains an extensive reference to him.

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

P(35) is said to have been edited by Conradus Gemnicensis in the fourteenth century, but in Vol. 41a of the AH, Dreves edited Christans von Lilienfeld, Hymen, Officien, and Reimgebete, Leipzig, O. R. Reisland, 1903, 261 p., in which he states in the Einleitung, p. 5-24, that a number of the works attributed to Conrad in Vol. 3 of the AH, should according to newly discovered documentary evidence, be assigned to Christanus Campoliliensis, a prior of the Cistercian Abbey of Lilienfeld, who died about 1332. He names such works as (1) Ein Ruhe von Hymen, Sequenzen und Reimofficien; (2) "Salutationes" a sequel to Reimgebeten; (3) Zwei metrische Traktate; and (4) Ein longes episch-didahtisches Gedidit über den heiligen Jakobus den Älteren Zebedides betitelt. He says emphatically that these works should have as author Christan von Lilienfeld and not the imitator Konrads von Gaming who is younger than Christan.

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

Among the Liturgical hymns, many items are confined to one single source, or, at least, the Analecta Hymnica gives only one source. A few notable exceptions are:

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H(2), a hymn by Petrus Damiani, also found in Brev. Casinense, and in Cod. Neapolitanus; H(11), one of the several hymns in the Hymnarius Severianus in Naples; H(25) found among others in Vallis Umbrosa Breviaries and their counterparts; H(31) associated with the Dominican Office of 1514; H(33), a surprisingly popular hymn, judging by the large number of manuscripts in which it is found.²³ This last hymn is ascribed to Herimannus Contractus, appearing in manuscripts between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. This ascription to Contractus tallies with the fact that he "loved to introduce Greek words". Raby selects his prose De Sancta Cruce to illustrate this characteristic:

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1. grates, honos, | 2. sacrosancta |
| hierarchia | tu patris hostia |
| et euphonizans tibi | Jesu Christe, rex |
| hymnologia | monarchos, |
| | eulogoumene. |

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

Noster meleth sollemnium
 Harmoniis dulcedinum,
 Ultra solens almiphonae
 Purae modos hymnodiae.

.

23 AH, Vol. 52, No 213, p. 195-196.

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

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

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

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

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

The intercession for monks continues in st. 11:

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

This is one of the earlier hymns taken from a Farfense manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century. There are some Tropes, 19(a) and 19(b), which may be older but the point

can not be settled owing to the fact that no certain chronology can be given to the Tropes which were found according to the note in Vol. 49, Nos 1 and 2 in the various churches from the 9th till the middle of the 16th centuries.

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

H(37) was composed in the fourteenth century according to the AH²⁵ and belongs to the monastic church of St. Arnulf of Metz. This hymn is full of the leonine rime, which came into vogue as early as the ninth and tenth centuries²⁶.

In the history of the Sequences, there are two divisions, according to form. The German type began probably in the eighth century²⁷ with an independent strophe. To this belongs S(23). This Sequence or original type was followed by a parallel construction throughout, and is especially concerned with the Konstanz area as the location of the Petershausen manuscript would indicate. The Second or Regular Period, beginning with the eleventh century

²⁵ AH, Vol. 12, No. 225, p. 127-128.

²⁶ Raby, Op. Cit., p. 26-27.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 210-217.

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

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

Most of the texts come ~~with~~ from a comparatively early or from a late period. Hymns are from the tenth century or earlier; the eleventh century; or from the end of the Middle Ages, that is the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. Thus, one can draw the conclusion that, judging by this chronology, the liturgical popularity of Gregory was widespread in an earlier period, and at the end of

the Middle Ages. This apparent popularity was evidently caused by the crying need for reform, and the Church's mind was naturally directed to a true reform Pope, Gregory the Great.

3. Versification and Verse Structure.

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

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

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

²⁸ Dag Norberg, Introduction à l'Etude de la Versification Latine Médiévale, Stockholm, Almqvist & Wicksell, 1958, p. 7.

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based versification characterized basically by the numbering of syllables, and the final appearance of a new rhythmical versification, which did not, even though widespread and popular, entirely replace the classical meters of the past. Karl Strecker²⁹ says that rhythmical poetry made sharp inroads in the Merovingian kingdoms and in Italy on quantitative poetry. He calls this a type of poetry more characteristic of the Middle Ages. He further says that it was restricted in the Carolingian Renaissance when attempts were made to adapt it to quantitative poetry, but that it gained new life in the tenth and eleventh centuries from a development which brought it into close relationship with music. "Until the eleventh century", says Raby, "rime continued to appear in liturgical verse, but it rarely persisted through all the lines of a hymn."³⁰

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

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

²⁹ Karl Strecker, Introduction to Medieval Latin, English transl. by Robert Palmer, Berlin-Charlottenburg, Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957, p. 77.

³⁰ F. J. E. Raby, Op. Cit., p. 75.

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

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

Another specialist³², an authority on Church Song, offers a clearly defined explanation of the trend which the medieval meters followed after they abandoned the classical:

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

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

Raby comments on the use of rime as follows:

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

³¹ Ibid., p. 21.

³² John Julian, Dictionary of Hymnology, Vol. 1, p. 646.

... but it is not possible to trace with any clearness a direct influence on Greek or Latin religious verse. In any case, the use of rime was well known to the writers of antiquity. ...³³

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

³³ Raby, Op. Cit., p. 22.

³⁴ Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, I, 69, 85.

³⁵ Terence, Andria, l. 334.

³⁶ Plautus, Duo Captivi, l. 924-925.

soon to be dealt with, or simply no-rime, as Norberg says:

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

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

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

In this stanza the use of assontal -o is very marked. Again in the case of the homeoteleuton in Anglorum and angelorum, Marouzeau's remark to the effect that "le latin, en raison de la faiblesse d'articulation des finales ...

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

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

³⁹ Dearmer, Op. Cit., p. xxx.

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

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

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

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

In H(21), the poetic devices, alliteration⁴²,

⁴⁰ Marouzeau, Op. Cit., p. 47.

⁴¹ Raby, Op. Cit., p. 135.

⁴² Wood, Op. Cit., p. 198, says: "the value of alliteration is in proportion as it fits into the speech-idiom of language."

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assonance, and regular rime, abound. An outstanding example of alliteration is found in st. 4:

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

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

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

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

More highly embellished with assonantal types is st. 3:

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

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

H(43) is devoid of any regular rime scheme, but the rime here, too, is retained in the sibilant with which the first line is replete, and which is conspicuous all through the hymn:

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Súmmae sédis antístítis,
Déus alme, Gregórii
Féstum coléntes per órbem
Méritis eíus prótege

And in the 2nd:

Sacra cuius eloquia
Vitae ferentis pascua
Lac potum donant parvulis
Cibum ministrant validis.

In the third stanza:

Lapsi addiscant surgere,
Divo secantur cuspide.

More especially in the doxology:

Simulque eius genito
Sancto quoque Spiritu
Sit saeculorum saeculis.

In most lines which have many sibilants, the proportion of accented sibilant syllables is rather high. While the first line of st. 1 exemplifies alliteration by accent, the whole of st. 4 is a better pattern of vowel assonance and alliterative accent:

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

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

Súmmae sédis antístítis,
Déus alme, Gregórii
Féstum coléntes per órbem
Méritis eíus prótege.

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Sácrā cuius eloquia
 Vitae ferentis pascua
 Lac potum donant parvulis,
 Cibum ministrant validis.

Anglorum quoque populis
 Hic adfuit (incrédulis),
 Quos licito cultu daemónum
 Convertit ad altissimum.

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

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

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

Gregóri, dóctor, inclité
 Túo lustráta dógmáté
 Tóta máter ecclésia
 Plaúdat ad haec solénnia.

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

⁴³ F. J. E. Raby, Op. Cit., p. 26.

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rime scheme of aaaa with assontal -um:

Tu sídus mícans fúlgidum,
Jubar soláre férvidum,
Illústras córda hominú
Fers animae praesídium.

H(27) has a varying scheme, but it makes greater use of poetic devices, assonance, double rime and especially alliteration. All these make the uniform presence of rime unnecessary. The first stanza is worthy of note, filled as it is with the techniques of medieval verse⁴⁴, even though it is a tenth century production:

Mágnus miles mirábilis,
Múltis effúlgens méritis,
Gregórius cum Dómino
Gaudet perénni praémio.

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

Norberg says in speaking of this whole poem:

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

⁴⁴ Maurice Helin, Medieval Latin Literature, p. 57, says: "Rhyme itself developed one tendency to become richer (in the eleventh century it was frequently of two syllables) and another tendency toward repetition."

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honneur de Cuthbert, et il ne fait pas le moindre doute qu'elle a vraiment été composée en Angleterre. Les Anglo-Saxons avaient en effet emprunté à leurs maîtres, les Irlandais, un goût prononcé pour l'allitération.⁴⁵

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

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

Euphónicaē quo citharaē,
 Spirituālis musicaē,
 Suāvisónans os, aureó
 Gratae patri Gregórió,
 Efferat hunc spérmológon
 Laúdum sat hyperbóléon,
 Décens ut est, idónéis
 Donánte te praeconíis.

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

⁴⁵ Dag Norberg, Op. Cit., p. 50.

⁴⁶ Jules Marouzeau, Op. Cit., p. 46.

aux mots grecs leur son véritable, délatinisant, ...

Phryges et Pyrrhus" (p. 87).

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

Láudis ópus ut honóri
 Servat opificis
 Cóllaudári té, Gregóri,
 Decet módís músicis
 Pér quem sérvit cónditóri
 Múndus láúdum cánticis.

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

Prímo confért té pastóri
 Fidei constantia,
 Paúlo sénsus, praécursóri
 Víctus pársimónia
 Et Joánni senióri
 Méntis éminentia.

H(29) is difficult to reconcile to any metrical form, having twelve syllables in the first line, eleven in the second, and eleven in the third. The AH has a note⁴⁷ under the hymn saying that it is worthy of notice that this hymn resembles verse- and a strophe structure with similar unevenness in the syllable count and extended to double rime as

⁴⁷ AH, Vol. 52, No. 214, p. 196-197.

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that under N° 34, a hymn dedicated to the Conception of the Virgin Mary: both are unwieldy poems stemming from the Konstanz area.

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

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

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

The second stanza as quoted will bear out this statement:

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

And the third and final:

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

In the second line of the first stanza there was a possible pronunciation of "Doctor egregie" as "Doctor egregi" to make it rime with "Gregori"; but there is another surprise in the

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second line of st. 3 where the o in periculo does not rime with e in tuere.

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

Ce qui, avant tout, influençait la structure de l'hexamètre du Moyen Age, c'était l'emploi régulier de rimes. Avoir fixé le type d'hexamètre léonin entraînait par exemple l'usage obligatoire de la coupe penthémimère: ...⁴⁸

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

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

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

Rogemus ergo, populi,
Pontificem Gregorium,
Ut eius interventibus
Laetemur in coelestibus.

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

Deo patri sit gloria
Sit laus et unigenito,
Sancto simul paraclito
In saeculorum saecula.

⁴⁸ Dag Norberg, Op. Cit., p. 65. Also see his note below.

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The Hymns H(12), H(24), H(27), and H(42), all have the classical meter, the Sapphic⁴⁹, which was developed by the Greek poets and used also by the Latin poets, especially Horace. The Sapphic meter is composed of three lines of a trochee, a spondee, and a dactyl, followed by a trochee, and a spondee. The fourth line is modelled on the Adonic verse which is composed of a dactyl followed by a spondee or trochee. The caesura occurs always after the fifth syllable of the first three lines. One example of these stanzas of H(12), st. 1, will serve as a specimen of the entire hymn:

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

Elision in the Middle Ages was purposely avoided, but it was unusual in a classical example to have no elision. Norberg says: "Bien des questions intéressantes se rattachent à l'emploi de l'élision et de l'hiatus au Moyen Age. Dès la fin de l'Antiquité, plusieurs poètes avaient, avec plus ou moins de sévérité, tenté d'éviter l'élision."⁵⁰ And further on the same author says in speaking of avoiding the use of elision:

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

⁵⁰ Dag Norberg, Op. Cit., p. 32.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵¹ Dag Norberg, Op. Cit., p. 33.

⁵² Jules Marouzeau, Op. Cit., p. 33.

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the stroke and the number of syllables.⁵³ Following is the poem which in spite of its irregularities may be called Sapphic:

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

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

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

Du vers sapphique quantitatif ... l'auteur du vers rythmique n'a donc pris ni la quantité ni les ictus mais la répartition des mots et les accents de la prose ou ce que nous appelons ici la structure du vers. Dans le vers sapphique quantitatif, la coupe est, au Moyen Age, normalement fixée après la cinquième syllabe: il en est de même dans le vers rythmique.⁵⁴

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

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

⁵³ Dag Norberg, Op. Cit., p. 124.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 95.

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

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

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

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

Salve, Gregóri, máxime,
Antistes Romanórum
Secundum Nomen optime
Vigil cathólicorum.

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

Ut vóces Déo líbere;
Terréna contempsístere
Ut pósses víx subsístere
Sic córpus afflíxisti.

⁵⁵ F. J. E. Raby, Christian Latin Poetry, p. 329.

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

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

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

. . .

These lines are replete with poetical devices - assonance, alliteration, double rimes, and rhythmical verse. They are arranged in continuous lines to make the devices more evident. Though the 'Pia Dictamina' belong to a late period, the fifteenth century, in discussing the dissyllabic rime with which this hymn abounds, Norberg points out that

it belongs to a very early period, the merovingian, that dissyllabic assonance had been in use in several hymns composed in Gaul, and that dissyllabic assonance or dissyllabic rime had been earlier used in certain Irish regions.⁵⁶

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

Ave, g  mma pra  sulum,
Greg  ri beat  ,
Exemplar et sp  culum
Vit  e illibatae,
C  rdis mei vasculum
Reple castitate,
Ne per carnis vinculum
Liger voluptate.

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

⁵⁶ Norberg, Op. Cit., p. 42.

⁵⁷ J. Julian, Op. Cit., p. 650.

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

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

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

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

The remaining three are similar to this one in arrangement.

P(9) is another example of the four-lined stanza,

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built on exactly the same pattern as P(7). Thus, st. 1:

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

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

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

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

Gaude, té esse vocatum
Gregori, ad praesulatum
Urbis Romae caelice,
Per té esse liberatum
A poenis mirifice.

The pattern which Dearmer⁵⁸ analyzes in these words:

"Trochaic lines of an even number of syllables must end in a full trochee, and this involves double rhymes." ... seems here to apply to the trochaic lines with an odd number of syllables as well.

⁵⁸ Dearmer, Op. Cit., p. xxix.

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

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

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

Salve, flos ecclesiae,
 Honor monachorum,
 Doctor sapientiae,
 Speculum pastorum,
 Salus pestilentiae

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Urbis Romanorum,
Gregori sanctissime,
Decus clericorum.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁹ Raby, Op. Cit., p. 453-454.

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

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

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

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

Romae proles patrum illustrium
Praelustris aetibus,
Clarus erat doctrinis artium,
Pollens honoribus.

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

⁶⁰ Nerberg, p. 85.

⁶¹ The Antiphons and the Responsory in these Offices dealt with the history of the saint or his festival.

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the exception of the fourth line which is hexasyllabic. The rime scheme is aaabbb. The latter is the scheme followed whenever a six-lined stanza occurs. Thus, st. 1 in the 1st Responsory:

Cum aeternus pascor Gregorium
 Praevidisset ad curam ovium,
 Signo lucis in lucem gentium
 Latens est proditus;
 Lux effulgens per noctem coelitus
 Datum prodit patrem divinitus.

Office R(17b) does not fall under the charge of classical imitation⁶², since it comes from the eleventh century, being attributed to Pope Leo IX in 1054, while the process of classical imitation began under Leo X. The beginning of this Office contains an eight-lined stanza which broadly divides up into trochaic odd lines and iambic even lines. The rime scheme is aabbbbcc, but every versicle throughout the Office changes now to the trochaic, and then back again to the iambic with a varying rhythm.

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

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The first three lines of st. 2 after the first versicle are trochaic, and the last three are predominantly iambic:

Dum oráret in obscúro
 Servus Dei latíbulo,
 Lux immensa super eum
 Resplénduit post trídium,
 Hoc signo cunctis proditus
 Papa urbes effícitur.

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

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

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

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

poetry but were nothing more, actually, than highly rhetorical prose.⁶³

Norberg corroborates this statement of Strecker when he says:

La séquence est la création littéraire la plus indépendante et la plus originale du latin du Moyen Âge. Cette nouvelle forme poétique libéra les poètes de l'influence des modèles antiques et leur apporta des possibilités d'expression entièrement nouvelles. Les vers et les strophes pouvaient désormais être construits librement d'après une mélodie et avec une richesse de variantes contrastant fortement avec le petit nombre de formes que permettait la poésie antique. La finesse du jeu d'ensemble entre la strophe des tenors et celle des sopranos donnait en même temps de la fermeté à la forme et de nouvelles possibilités de nuances.⁶⁴

Wagner as quoted by Raby says: "The melodies exhibit a taste for imposing and sonorous strains, boldness in melodic development, the frequent occurrence of wide intervals, and an extended compass, such as was made possible by the use of boys"⁶⁵.

To usher in a day of joy, S(1) is written in the jubilant pace of trochaic dimeter, two lines alcatalectic alternating with one line catalectic in three-lined stanzas. Since the Sequences were sung in double-choir arrangement involving stanzas (a) and (b), the rime scheme aabccb, the

⁶³ Strecker, Op. Cit., trans. by Palmer, p. 82.

⁶⁴ Norberg, Op. Cit., p. 171.

⁶⁵ Wagner, History of Plain Chant, p. 231.

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

1(a) adest dies recolenda	1(b) Almi patris Gregorii
Dulci melo prosequenda	Pontificis eximii,
Revehens solemnitas	Intrantis in gaudia.

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

2(a) Quae promisit Jesus dare	2(b) Gregorius prae ceteris
His, qui vellent se amara	Aetatis suae pueris
Post mortis exsilia.	Literarum studia.

S(23) belongs to the transitional period and seems to be indecipherable as far as the riming scheme is concerned. The note⁶⁶ at the end of the hymn states that it is uncertain whether the melody follows a familiar scheme, and that the rime is unique (mostly only assonance following one syllable rime) which not only binds the broken words of a verse, but also words of entirely pleasing verse-positions, even when these positions do not correspond with one another.

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

⁶⁶ Blume and Dreves, Op. Cit., Vol. 54, No. 45, p. 65-67.

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

1. Laudes canamus

2. Nostro redemptori
Christo, qui venit
nos salvare

3. Et livore suo
sibi dedicare ecclesiam
candidatam.

4. Mundans eam
semper rivulis
inebreatis,

5. Rigans montes
de superioribus
nubibus.

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

14. Septeno
Instructas
flamina condidet
septens coenobia
Angelus
hunc petit ut naufragus.

15. Agapem
quaerit, tribus vicibus
Accipit
et reddit;
discum argenteum
deum laetus percipit.

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

⁶⁷ Strecker, Op. Cit., p. 75.

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Un de ces artifices les plus courants est l'habitude de former ce que l'on appelle un acrostiche avec les premières lettres de chaque vers ou de chaque strophe. Il est assez fréquent que, sur les épitaphes, on donne ainsi le nom du défunt. ...⁶⁸

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

1(a) Organum spirituale	1(b) Scriba regis angelorum
Tangat decus clericale	Floruit hic lux doctorum
Dum recolitur natale	Et apostolus Anglorum
Vigilis Gregorii	Qui prius inglorii.

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

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

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

4a. Sex struit in Sicilia	4b. Virginum tria milia
Vir pius monasteria	Pavit multaque alia,
Septimum in urbe Roma.	Hinc redolens ut aroma.

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

⁶⁸ Norberg, Op. Cit., p. 54.

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

S(41), another Sequence with a rhythm scheme showing two trochees and one dactyl, in all three strokes. Occasionally the strokes come next to each other, as in stanza 1a: Béáti Gregórii. The Sequence has a rime scheme aab, and there is rime between the third lines of (a) stanzas and (b) stanzas. The three-lined stanzas are nicely balanced by the intervention of a four-lined stanza with a rime scheme, abab, in both 3(a) and 3(b):

3a. Factus praesul feminae Nequam monstrat semini In similitudine Carnis corpus Domini;	3b. Post in panis pristinam Formam hanc restituit, Sicque fidem feminam Praedicando docuit.
--	--

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

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

with Tropes as they have changed their nature:

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

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

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

⁶⁹ Norberg, Op. Cit., p. 178.

⁷⁰ Strecker, Op. Cit., p. 74.

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

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

Another example is noted for its assonantal -o:

19. Hic claroo argentoo clare fabricatoo nitescit;

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

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

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

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

⁷¹ Dreves, Op. Cit., Vol. 49, N° 3, p. 24-25.

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and harmony are included in achieving this goal:

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷² Raby, in Preface to the First Edition of Christian Latin Poetry, p. vii.

⁷³ Norberg, *Op. Cit.*, p. 180.

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

His claro argento clare fabricato nitescit;

and line 11 has:

Ut celsum quatiat clamosa carmine culmen.

Line 30:

Et variis florum fragris saturare solebas

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

Para vires fragiles animae accendequae fibras

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

4. Stylistic Patterns and Motifs.

Close to the heart of the Middle Ages was its love for allegory and symbolism. This had early come into Christian thought from Platonism⁷⁴ and Stoicism, and from

⁷⁴ Plato taught that the world of the senses is but half real. Things and events are but symbols of the great realities that lie behind and beyond this world. - F. Artz, Op. Cit., p. 14.

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the beginning Christian writers and artists had always looked behind external reality to hunt the purposes of God's ways and will. The thought of the Middle Ages, therefore, was rooted in elaborate allegory and symbolism. Raby says:

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

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

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

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

⁷⁶ Raby, Op. Cit., p. 355.

⁷⁷ On the medieval conception of nature see Heinrich von Eicken, Geschichte und System der Mittelalterische Weltanschauung, Berlin, Cotta, 1923, p. 611.

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the doctrines and persons of the New, hidden darkly under temporal forms. The Medievalist seized upon his images not so much by logical as associative processes - a complicated association of ideas represented by a medley of metaphors - to communicate unique personal feelings.

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

Since Pope Gregory's achievements, both spiritual and material, practical and literary, diffused a light upon a world sunk in the darkness of paganism, it is not strange that the symbol of "light"⁷⁸ is so often used of him in the hymns. This seems to be the predominant symbol used to identify the gifts of the bountiful God to Gregory in whatever capacity he chose to use them. Hence, he is sometimes referred to as "star", "ray of light", or simple as "light". And in that title "light" he is not usurping the title of Christ, the Light of the world, but he is

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

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a lesser light reflecting the True Light.⁷⁹

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

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

Fulgent verbis et sensibus
Ejus dogmata omnia.
.

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

Fulget in coelis, celebris sacerdos,
Stella doctorum⁸⁰ rutilat in astris,
Fidei sacros radios per orbis
Climata spargens.

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

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

⁷⁹ Cf. John, Ch. I, Vs. 6-8.

⁸⁰ When Gregory is expounding hidden philosophical works, he assumes the rank of doctor, and by his success merits the title of star among teachers.

In H(14), st. 2, there is another reference to the "light" motif in the line: Refulsit in ecclesia. "He brightly shines in the Church." Similarly there is another "light" alluding to Gregory in H(18), where he is called a star. This metaphor is sustained throughout st. 2:

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

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

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

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

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

The expression "vas auri, pretiosis renitens lapidibus", is used to express extreme worth and extreme beauty, by the most expensive and most valuable of earth's treasures, gold and precious stones.

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H(27), st. 3 uses an unusual word to express the brilliance of his virtues; Largus libens, lucifluus. The latter word, lucifluus, is usually applied to a star⁸¹

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

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

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

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

⁸¹ From Lucifer, Eri, Etoile du Matin - Cf. Quicherat, Thesauris Poeticus Linguae Latinae, p. 674.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸² This title stella matutina appears as an epithet of Gregory's before the Litany of Loretto which was formed in 1578. The Litany of the B.V.M. is taken thence.

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Ave, fulgens saeculo
 Stella matutina,
 Omni datus populo
 Hora vespertina

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

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

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

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

⁸³ To him tradition assigns the glory of having brought to perfection this most characteristic achievement of medieval poetry. - Raby, Op. Cit., p. 348.

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the school of Victor, were the key to the Scriptures and indeed to the whole world of nature But in fairness to Adam it should be said that poetry so strictly and definitely liturgical must necessarily be objective and direct in its expression, rather than personal and lyrical.⁸⁴

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

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

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

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

"He who nobly elevated an esteemed and holy family in which he became illustrious". Here nituit means "became illustrious", and with this meaning it is used both by Quintilian⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Raby, Op. Cit., p. 354.

⁸⁵ Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, 9. 4, 5.

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and Tacitus⁸⁶. In the same stanza there is the use of illustrat, in the sense of enlightening the mind.

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

Scriba regis angelorum
Floruit hic lux doctorum
Et apostolus Anglorum
Qui prius inglorii.

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

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

Cuius doctrina aurea
Per mundi splendet climata
.

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

Fulsit mundo velut gemma
Auro superaddita,
Dum praeclarius praeclaris
Hic accessit atavis.

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

⁸⁶ Tacitus, Annales, 12. 58.

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predicate genus. The whole stanza refers to the opposition between the mundane nobility he was born into and the celestial nobility which he chose through voluntary poverty:

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

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

Signo lucis in lucem gentium
 Latens est proditus;
 Lux effulgens per noctem coelitus
 Datum prodit patrem divinitus

We may delay a moment here on the setting of the theme of light within a context both a rhythmic and verbal, that harmonizes with it. I shall have occasion to refer later to the legend of the shaft of light, mentioned here; but would like here to point out how the use of oxymoron "latens ... proditus" gains in effectiveness through being directly inspired by that concrete image drawn from the legend. Again, in st. 3, following the text he is the "lantern" of the nations and shines glowing through the gifts of the Holy Spirit, unto the glory of Christ:

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Super gentes et regna positus,
Ut lucerna pontifex inclitus
Ardens lucet per dona spiritus
Ad Christi gloriam.

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

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

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

In the liturgical hymns, the panegyric elements are intense. They are rich in quality, varying from the compact and economical to the highly connotative, imaginative or poetic type. In dealing with the "light" motif, we have by implication covered one aspect of panegyric. Wherever in the

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following an allusion seems repetitious, the reason is that it is no more than incidental to an illustration of a definitely panegyric motif.

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

O pontifex egregie,
Lux et decus ecclesiae,
.

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

O magnus decus ecclesiae,
O sacerdotum gloria,
.

Both these stanzas have reference to his leadership of the clergy and flock of Christ, but a third reference which probes more deeply into his good works, both literary and material, occurs in H(12), st. 5, wherein he is addressed as gregis Christi speculator:⁸⁷

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

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

⁸⁷ Albert Blaise, Dictionnaire Latin-Français, p. 769 says a Speculator is a spy, a scout, an investigator; or, one that goes before in the Church, as a Bishop, etc.

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In st. 5 of H(14), the complimentary epithets and metaphors reach superlative heights, for there is nothing more to be said when a person is addressed as "sweetest mouthpiece of the Holy Spirit", and "mirror of virtues":

O Gregori, dulcissimum
Sancti spiritus organum
Atque virtutum speculum,
.

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

Tu sidus micans fulgidum,
Jubar solare fervidum.

In the same hymn, st. 6 has:

O sacrae apostolice
Dux fidei catholicae.

In H(21) there is no direct address to Gregory throughout the five stanzas, but the last stanza addresses him indirectly, or alludes to him as sanctus sanctorum, the "saint of saints"⁸⁸ which is obviously reminiscent of "sanctum sanctorum", and extremely high praise:

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

Hisque Dei consul factus laetare triumphis,
Nam mercedem operum jam sine fine tenes.

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Sancto sanctorum gloria
 Tanti patris memoria
 Ab angelis et homine
 Dicatur omni tempore.

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

O vas auri, pretiosis
 Renitens lapidibus
 Quasi coelum radiosus
 Emicans sideribus.

.

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

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

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

.

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

Though st. 2 is a prayer of petition, it stands as a special

tribute to his great virtues, theological and cardinal:

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

In an article⁸⁹ in Traditio, Eleanor Greenhill has a reference to the theological and cardinal virtues, popular subjects of the twelfth century and earlier. She speaks of the Arbor virtutum as being identical with the cross which is representative of these virtues. She further explains that Humilitas is the origin of the theological and cardinal virtues which appear in the branches of Arbor virtutum. It seems clear that the quotation used has the meaning which is specified: De tribus theologicis, et quatuor cardinalibus ex humilitate nascentibus.

H(32) opens with a glowing tribute to Gregory's merits. It is an implied metaphor resembling a situation wherein the darkness concealing hidden beauty is suddenly dispelled by a glowing light thrown around it:

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

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

⁸⁹ Eleanor Simmons Greenhill, "The Child in the Tree", in Traditio, Vol. 10, New York, Fordham University Press, 1954, p. 364.

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

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

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

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

St. 2 varies the tributes as follows:

Coeli fistula
O doctor Anglorum
Caritatis facula
Decens norma morum
Sancti Spiritus organum jucundum.

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St. 4 continues in the same strain:

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

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

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

This devil, dux malorum, of a thousand tricks will be overcome by the Pope's virtues, without the aid of which there

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will be a slight chance of victory. Virtutifex is a new and strange word coined by the author.

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

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

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

P(7) calls upon Gregory as the tender benefactor of those in distress, the sick, the destitute, and the suffering. The Letters reveal why he was called: Pastor miserorum⁹⁰, and why he was thought of as mitis in flagellis⁹¹, a metaphorical expression.

⁹⁰ Gregory, Registrum, Bk. 1, Eps. 36, 37, 46; Bk. 13, Ep. 23.

⁹¹ Ibid., Bk. 9, Ep. 1; Bk. 5, Ep. 15.

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

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

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

P(34) is a long hymn of 12 eight-lined stanzas of

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which 3 contain an overflow of direct panegyrical tributes:

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

The remaining three stanzas continue the tributes to his achievements.

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

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

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

Another group of the hymns, the Sequences, represents the fully developed rhythmical Sequence which is the work of the French genius. As Raby remarks in quoting Dr. Frère, "all the great metrical Sequences of the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries are linked on to the French school, even if they do not actually spring from it."⁹² S(1) is full of the praises of Gregory in a rolling measure couched in poetical double rimes, alliteration, and other poetical devices. Each stanza introduces some phase of Gregory's life until st. 11a, in catchy alliterative verse alludes to his glory in heavy, and by a skillful punning arranged in climactical order, the author plays up the word vigilo which is the same as the Greek word: egrēgore (he is awake)⁹³

Vigilavit Gregorius,
Vigilavit attentius,
Vigilat in gloria.

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

Cogebatur apparere
Ut flos inter lilia.

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

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

⁹³ Attic reduplicated perfect (intransitive of the verb égeirō - awaken).

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lily among flowers. It may denote red-blooded activity amidst passive inactivity.

Another simile:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

O fons fundens fructu, quo frueris.

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With another panegyric motif:

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

.

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

Sicut servus ad fontem sitiens
Aestuabat dissolvi cupiens.

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

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

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

⁹⁴ E. K. Rand, Founders of the Middle Ages, 2nd. ed. Cambridge, Mass., 1929, p. 214-215.

CHAPTER II

BIOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS

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

The seventh century being so lacking in literary fruitfulness¹, passed away before there was any life of Gregory the Great written. Then Bede the Venerable, monk of Jarrow-on-Tyne, thought it necessary to dwell more at length on the life of Gregory² in his Ecclesiastical History of the English, which was finished about 731. He gave as his reason that Gregory was the apostle of his nation, and "whereas he bore the pontifical power over all the world³, he would speak of him at some length.

Then, another life⁴ of Gregory appeared about fifty years later from the pen of Paul the Deacon⁵, in the pages

¹ F. Artz, The Mind of the Middle Ages, p. 192-193.

² Bede, Ecclesiastical History, Bk. 2, Ch. 1, p. 62.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Paulus Diaconus, Historia Langobardum, Ch. 3, p. 110. Also, Migne, P. L., Vol. 95, Ch. 23, p. 525, seq.

⁵ Paul Warnefrid, a Lombard by birth and descent, well-fitted by his learning and accuracy to be the historian of his people.

of a work entitled Historia Langobardum. He testified that he had, years before, written another short life of the great Pope, which is found in Migne's appendix⁶.

In the reign of John VIII, (872-882), it was indicated to the Pope that biographies had been produced by Saxons and Lombards, but no Roman had ever yet produced the life of this great Saint. Then the Pope requested Johannes Diaconus to write a life of Gregory, and to search the Papal archives to find the necessary material. About 872, Johannes Diaconus published the life in four books, as can be seen, mostly drawn from the Pope's Letters. This life, too, is contained in Migne's Patrologia Latina⁷.

Another life, generally considered biased because its contents reveal that it was written more from love than from knowledge, is what is known as the Whitby Life. Discovered in a codex in the monastery of St. Gall, its author was apparently a monk of Whitby. According to scholars⁸, it appeared very early in the eighth century,

⁶ Migne, P. L., Vol. 75, p. 40-60.

⁷ Ibid., p. 60-242.

⁸ English Historical Review, Vol. 3, p. 301, seq.
A learned discussion of the chronology of this biography proving that it can be dated between 690-700 appears in the Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, Vol. 25, 1956, p. 183-210, by J. Szövényfi. Also cf. the same author's book, Irishes Erzählgut im Abendland - Studien zur Vergleichenden Volkskunde und Mittelalterforschung, Berlin, Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1957, 193 p.

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

The Acta Sanctorum⁹ is one of the most important modern sources for Gregory's life. Thus, there is no lack of material from which to gather biographical detail of a man who was conscious of the needs of his day. All biographical details in the hymns are echoes from the principal Lives current at time of composing; those, of course, drew upon earlier Lives which we possess.

Taking the events of his life in chronological order from his birth to his death, we find the hymns emphasizing material obtained from the Lives, with more or less stress on particular events. There are a few, HNL(8), H(12), H(18), H(25), H(29), H(31) and H(33) which have hardly any biographical elements.

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

⁹ According to the Acta, Gregory's feast day occurs on March 12. Cf. Vol. 8, p. 130-208.

introduction of announcing the feast day of the illustrious pontiff, in which there is an interesting expression, urbis quadruus¹⁰, then each stanza thereafter, contains one biographical element, that is, they draw a parallel to Gregory's biography. With seven stanzas for an introduction, the other twenty in rapid and concise expression, run the whole gamut of Gregory's life. It is worthy of remark, too, that it is the only hymn to use the word tyrranus with the original meaning of the Greeks, though there are other quotations showing the use of it in other works. At first it meant not only a wicked and dishonest king but also any king spoken of. "Tyrrani Graeci dicuntur, iidem Latine et Reges; nam apud veteres inter Regem et Tyrranum nulla discretio erat."¹¹ And Virgilius in the Aeneid says:

Pars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse
Tyrranni.¹²

Later Labinell in the History of Britain uses it thus:

"Regnantibus Karolo, Lothario, Hludovico et Nominae

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

¹¹ Isidorus, Origines, Cap. 3, sect. 19.

¹² Virgil, Aeneid, lib. 7.

possidente Brittaniam, Susanno episcopo, Urbilo Tiranno¹³."

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

2. Summary of Biographical Elements.

"Most of the Characteristics of the saints come from legends", says Delehaye. He says these legends are created by the people, by scientists, archeologists, etc., and that a liberal, not symbolical, meaning must be given to such things as the crow of St. Anthony, the lion of St. Jerome, and to the two eyes of St. Lucy being placed on a platter. But, more to our purpose ⁱⁿ his statement that genius has never been exceeded in its expression of the marvellous role of the legend and of the cult of the Saints in Christian piety. For the legend is an envelope hiding a treasure of very high veritas¹⁴. H. Günter¹⁵ has verified this statement.

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

¹⁴ H. Delehaye, Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique, Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes, 1934, p.132-146.

¹⁵ H. Günter, Psychologie de la légende, Transl. by J. Goffinet, Paris, Payot, 1954, 319 p.

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

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

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

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

In mentioning his paternal origin, two hymns refer to his father, Gordianus. H(24), st. 2, in a simple sentence states: Qui satus Romae patre Gordiano; and st. 2b of S(30), in just as short an expression says: Cuius pater Gordianus.

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Paulus Diaconus, in his Vita, mentions both parents in the sentence: "Gregorius hac urbe Romana, patre Gordiano, matre vero Silvia editus¹⁶." And Johannes Diaconus says likewise: "Gregorius genere Romanus, arte Philosophus Gordiani, viri clarrissimi, et beatae Silviae filius¹⁷." The Ecclesiastical History and the Chronicle also mention it¹⁸, stating that Gregory's father was called Gordian and his mother Sylvia.

Of Gregory's mother, Sylvia, Johannes Diaconus relates that she was a woman of great piety and entered a convent after the death of Gordianus¹⁹.

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

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

Vivens Silvia caelestis
Mater huius, digna gestis,
.

¹⁶ Paulus Diaconus, Migne, P. L., Vol. 75, Bk. I, Ch. 1, p. 42.

¹⁷ Johannes Diaconus, Ibid., p. 63.

¹⁸ Bede, Ecclesiastical History of England, ed. by J. A. Giles, Fifth ed., London, George Bell & Sons, Covent Garden, 1887, Bk. 2, Ch. 1, p. 62. Also the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p. 315.

¹⁹ Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 9, p. 66.

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

One author says: "We gather from the 'Lives' that Gordian was wealthy, the owner of large estates in Sicily, ... and that he was a personage of sufficient eminence to attract the attention of history²⁰." That Gregory was of noble origin is a fact widely attested; and that he was sprung from senatorial rank all authorities²¹ agree.

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

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

Traxit et famam genere ex avito²²
Nobilitatis.

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

²⁰ F. Homes Dudden, The Life of Pope Gregory the Great, New York, Longmans, Green and Co., (2 vols.), Vol. 1, p. 27.

²¹ Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 1, p. 3. Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 1, Ch. 1, p. 63. The Whitby Life, p. 5 has: "Nobilis secundum legem, sed nobilior coram Deo in religione,..." Gregorius Turonensis, Historia Francorum, Bk. 10, Ch. 1, says: "hic enim de senatoribus primis." Cf. Migne, P. L., Vol. 71, p. 527.

²² Pope Felix the Fourth is the "avito". This relationship is attested by Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. I, Ch. 1, p. 1. - Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. I, Ch. 1, p. 63. - Gregory, Dialogus IV, 17, p. 210, speaks of his "grandfather, Felix, Bishop of Rome". - Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, Bk. 2, Ch. 1, p. 62, calls Felix "his great-grandfather".

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Germine praecluis et sophia
Nobilior nituit studiis,
.

His double heritage is mentioned in S(1), st. 3b:

Vigebat in Gregorio
Duplex decus, religio,
Generis prosapia,
.

And again in S(30), st. 2b, is stressed the intellectual standing of both his father and great-grandfather:

Rhetor magnus et urbanus
Cuius pater Gordianus,
Felix, pontifex Romanus,
Atavus resplenduit.

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

Ortus stirpe senatorum
.

And again:

Gregorius ortus Romae
E senatoribus sanguine
.

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

... Gregorius namque ex Graeco eloquio in nostra lingua vigilator, seu vigilans sonat. Re etenim in vera vigilavit sibi, dum divinis inhaerendo praeceptis, laudabiliter vixit. Vigilavit et fidelibus populis, dum doctrinae

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affluentis ingenio eis quo tramite coelestia
scanderent patefecit.²³

And Johannes Diaconus says regarding this name:

"Adeo ut praesagio quodam Graece quod Latine vigilantius
resonat, vocaretur²⁴."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²³ Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 1, p. 41.

²⁴ Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 1, 2, p. 63.

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

And Johannes Diaconus, too, has an equally pointed statement²⁶ referring to the early education of Gregory, while Gregory of Tours has a quotation²⁷ similar to Paulus' which serves to support the point at issue.

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

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

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

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

²⁵ Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. I, Ch. 2, p. 42.

²⁶ Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. I, Ch. 3, p. 64.

²⁷ Gregorius Turonensis, Historia Francorum, Bk. 10, Ch. 1, p. 527. Cf. Migne, Vol. 71.

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Artibus puris teneris sub annis
 Impiger sensus aluit tenellos
 Atque gustavit studio frequenti
 Dogmata Christi.

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

Germine praecluis et sophia
 Nobilior nituit studiis,
 Sedis apostolicae regimen
 Dogmate mellifluo moderans.

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

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

.

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

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

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

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

All these hymns mentioned stress the religious
 tendencies of the boy, Gregory, his inclinations in his

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

Gregorius prae ceteris
Aetatis suae pueris
Literarum studia.

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

Olim scholis eruditus,
. . . .

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

In doctrina christiana
Vigilanter studuit.

Also in the same Sequence, st. 5a:

Eruditus in virtute
A primaeva iuventute.

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

Hic genere spectabilis
In omni fuit docilis
Literarum peritia;

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

Ornatus moralibus
Prius liberalibus
Studiis reffloruit,
. . . .

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

Studiis liberalibus
Nulli secundus habitus

.

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

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

Clarus erat doctrinis artium,
Pollens honoribus.

As a young rich man distributing his wealth to the poor and needy, it is not difficult to understand that there were two special recommendations of our Lord which Gregory obeyed to the highest degree. One was: "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast, and give it to the poor, and thou shalt have treasures in heaven; and come, follow me."²⁹ The other was: "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily and follow Me."³⁰ These injunctions were faithfully performed³¹

²⁹ Matt., Ch. 19, Vs. 21.

³⁰ Luke, Ch. 9, Vs. 23.

³¹ Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Chs. 3, 4, p. 43.
Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 2, Chs. 22, 23, p. 95-96.

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and the hymns give a wide variety of examples of his generosity, which testify to his reputation for renunciation of this world's goods, a reputation which Gregory kept through the ages.

But, before proceeding any further, it is necessary to keep in mind the power and position Gregory held as a young man. He was the chief local official, the Praetor Urbanus. This office was intended to assist the exarch who, in the sixth century, was appointed by Justinian. Living at Ravenna, the exarch exercised supreme military command and to him the civil administration was subordinate. Gregory was appointed to his great office of Praetor in 573³². He carried heavy responsibilities and managed all the important affairs of the city. A consequential office at first, it lost much of its magnificence during the years following. Nevertheless, at the time when Gregory held office, the Urban Prefect was still of some note³³. The civil administration rested within his hands, and he exercised almost entire jurisdiction over the citizens. The Prefect acted

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

³³ Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 4, p. 43. Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 1, Ch. 4, p. 64.

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with the Pope in buying and distributing grain, and he cooperated with the Magister Militum in taking measures for the defense of the city. All in all it was a dignified and influential office, legitimate ground for pride in those who were capable of holding it. Cassiodorus³⁴ has given us an idea of how illustrious was the Prefect of the City of Rome.

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

Studiis liberalibus
Nulli secundus habitus
Praetor Urbanus exstitit
Adolescens spectabilis.

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

³⁴ Cassiodorus, Variae, Vol. 1, Bk. 6, Ch. 4, p. 684, in Migne, P. L., Vol. 69. Cassiodorus held the posts of quaestor and Master of the Offices under Theodoric. Cf. Ibid., p. 685-689.

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

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

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

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

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

³⁵ Introduction to Gregory's "Dialogues" in Migne, P. L., Vol. 77, p. 149-152. - Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 3, p. 43. - Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. I, Ch. 4, p. 64.

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Et infra urbem septimum
in quo se fecit monachum

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tu largas opum copias
Omnemque mundi gloriam
Spernis, ut inops inopem
Jesum sequaris principem.

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St. 2 of H(36), also brings out the transitoriness of this world's goods:

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

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

Amavit et postposuit,
Quibus noceri potuit
Mundi lenocinia.

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

Mundum contempsit
et abjecit;

And in st. 13:

Pompas et opes
Christo dedit.

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

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

St. 3 of R(17b) deals especially with the change of dress which accompanied his change of position:

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Qui solebat in sericis
Incedere in divinis,
Post in abjectis vestibus
Servit pauper pauperibus.

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

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

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

Further, there are many sources³⁶ to give evidence that two years after Gregory laid down his office of prefect, he founded six Benedictine Monasteries in Sicily and converted his ancestral palace on the Coelian Hill at Rome into a monastery dedicated to St. Andrew, in which he himself became a monk. Paulus Diaconus tends to be crisp and to the point when he writes:

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

³⁶ Johannes Diaconus, *Op. Cit.*, Bk. I, Ch. 5, 6, 7, p. 65. *The Whitby Life*, ed. by F. A. Gasquet, p. 8. - Gregorius Turonensis, *Op. Cit.*, Bk. 10, Ch. 1, in Migne, P. L., Vol. 71, p. 527.

quo et ipse postmodum regulari tramite, multis
sibi sociatis fratribus, sub abbatis imperio mili-
tavit. (...) ³⁷

In the hymns there are three general references to
the fact that he built monasteries, followed by six more
specific types. St. 3, after the third Nocturne of R(22),
simply alludes to this motif:

Mundum spernit, opes distribuit,
Fundat coenobia.

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

Monasteria construxit
.

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

Hic defunctis parentibus
Magnis ditatus opibus
Struxit monasteria,
.

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

Sex struit in Sicilia
Vir clarus monasteria
Et infra urbem septimum
In quo se fecit monachum.

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

Sex struis in Sicilia
Et septimum in urbe
Accepta monasteria
.

³⁷ Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk.I, Ch. 4, p. 43.
Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. I, Ch. 5, p. 65.

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

Sex struit in Sicilia
Vir plus monasteria
Septimum in urbe Roma.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The last line of this reference brings out the fact that his table was ever open to strangers and poor guests, and

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that at one time his guest was a heavenly messenger³⁸.

St. 3 of H(13) emphasizes Gregory's generosity to the poor:

Celebs monachus fit abbas largifluus,
Strenuus rector pauperumque dilector,
.

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

Contempsit cuncta caduca
caritatis officio.

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

Mente superna petens crucifer
Pauperibus sua cuncta dedit,
.

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

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

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

Aes in zonis non compegit
Sed pauperibus redegit
.

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

³⁸ F. A. Gasquet, Op. Cit., p. 7. - Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. I, Ch. 10, p. 66. - Ibid., Bk. 2, Ch. 23, p. 96. - William Caxton, Legenda Aurea, Vol. 3, p. 65.

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by showing how nothing stands in the way of satisfying their needs:

Angelo scyphum tradidit
Argenteum ...

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

Reliqua tandem vendidit
Et egenis distribuit.

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

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

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

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

In figura naufragi suscipit
Coelestem nuntium.

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

Bis senos nummos angelo
Hic dedit quasi naufrago,
Hinc scutellam argenteam,
Quam sibi vidit reliquam.

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St. 3 of H(2) carries it at some length:

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

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

Dat ut naufrago argenteam angelo
Scutellam marcis ceteris erogatis.

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

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

And st. 5 expresses the conclusion:

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

Many disasters³⁹, floods, famine, disease, overtook Rome in the very year when Pelagius II died, 590. Because of Gregory's deep and varied experience, his profound

³⁹ Gregorius Turonensis, Op. Cit., Bk. 10, Ch. 1, p. 527, in Migne, Vol. 71. - Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 10, p. 45, in Migne, Vol. 75. - Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 1, Ch. 39, p. 79, in Migne, Vol. 75.

spirituality, and above all, his capabilities in shouldering the responsibilities of others, he was the foremost candidate for the papacy in the minds of all. There are many angles of discussion concerning his election to the papacy, all of which stem from his dislike of giving up the contemplative life for the active. Justinian had established the right of sanctioning papal elections⁴⁰, so, after Gregory's election as successor to Pelagius, the usual procedure⁴¹ was followed, and he awaited Emperor Maurice's approbation. Rumor has it that Gregory tried to encourage the Emperor to disapprove of the election, and another rumor was that Gregory escaped, only to have his hiding place revealed, and consequent pressure for his

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

⁴¹ F. A. Gasquet, Op. Cit., Ch. 2, p. 3. - Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 10, p. 46. - Gregorius Turonensis, Op. Cit., Bk. 10, p. 527. - Gregory, Register, Bk. 1, Ep. 3, p. 446; Ep. 4, p. 447; Ep. 5, p. 448. - Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. I, Ch. 39, p. 79. - Bede, Chronicle, A. 592, p. 314.

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

Though the "Column of Light"⁴² which shone over the cave in which Gregory was hiding from the papal election, constitutes one of the details treated in the hymns, in some cases it is handled separately and is worthy of quotation. St. 1 after the First Responsory in R(22) states:

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

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

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

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

Dignus pontificio
Fugitivus radio
Coeli lucis patuit.

⁴² F. A. Gasquet, Op. Cit., Ch. 7, p. 8. - Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 13, p. 47. - Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 1, Ch. 44, p. 81.

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S(30), st. 6b, also reminds of the miracle:

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

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

Deo vacare inhians
Latere conabarís,
Columna lucis radians
Te prodit, revocarís.

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

Sic Petri gradum percipis,
Cuius et normam sequerís.

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

Post hæc assumitur
Christoque monstrante
Papa constituitur.

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

Unde invitus rapitur,
Praesul orbi praeficitur,
Applaudit ecclesia.

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

Gaude te esse vocatum
Gregori, ad praesulatum
Urbis Romae caelice,
.

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

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

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

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

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

Sed victus prece populi
suscepit jugum Domini.

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

His et multis virtutibus
Insignitus ab omnibus
In papam fuit electus

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

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

Qui plurimum reluctant
In sedem est sublimatus,
Hoc signo tandem inductus.

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

⁴³ Thucydides, The History of the Peloponnesian War, William Benton, Publisher, (Encyclopaediae Britannica, Inc.), London, 1955, p. 399, seq.

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

⁴⁵ Boccaccio, by Francis MacManus, New York, Sheed & Ward, 1947, p. 148, seq.

(...) Oportet, fratres dilectissimi, ut flagella Dei, quae metuere ventura debuimus, saltem praesentia et experta timeamus. Conversionis nobis aditum dolor aperiatur, et cordis nostri duritiam ipsa quam patimur poena dissolvat. (...) Ecce etenim cuncta plebs coelestis irae mucrone percutitur, et repentina singuli caede vastantur. Nec languor mortem praevenit, sed languoris moras, ut cernitis, mors ipsa praecurrit. Percussus quisque ante rapitur, quam ad lamenta poenitentias convertatur. Pensate ergo, qualis ad conspectum districti iudicis pervenit, cui non vacat flere quod fecit.⁴⁶

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

At length the plague ceased, and a letter came from

⁴⁶ Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 11, p. 46, in Migne, P. L., Vol. 75.

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

⁴⁸ Migne, P. L., Appendix ad Sancti Gregorii Epistolas, Vol. 77, Ch. 3, p. 1329.

Ibid., Bk. 11, Ep. 51, p. 1169, Gregory encourages all bishops of Sicily to recite the Litany for relief from suffering. Cf. Paul Deaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 11, p. 47.

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

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

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

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

Praesulis sacri precibus,
Monitus salutaribus
Peste inguinaria.

And in st. 17 of S(23):

Mox inguinariam
Pestem restrinxit
Plebemque suam sanavit.

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

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

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

Pestis inguinaria
Cessat per suffragia
Tam sancti pontificis.

Pestis Inguinaria is so often mentioned that I have made every effort to determine the exact symptoms and other facts concerning this disease. Gregory of Tours describes it as

a malignant disease which caused little blisters to break out in the groin and visited death upon the people. He also speaks of its intensity at one time in Narbonenses and said there was not a spot in the city where man had not been stricken.⁴⁹ The T.L.L. says that it pertained to a tumor in grain or herba; the word inguinarius, -a, -um, being derived from inguen, an herb; as such Pliny uses it in his Natural History very frequently.⁵⁰

The New English Dictionary calls it a spreading disease resembling syphilis. Also a contagious disease among cattle which came from the plant. Hence Inguen. Inguinalis, e, or inguinarius, -a, -um is also called Aster Atticus bubonium, an herb like a star⁵¹.

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

Cum litaniis instruis
Cleri processionem
.

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

. . . .
Litaniam statuisti
. . . .

⁴⁹ Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks, Liber 6, Ch. 14, p. 387.

⁵⁰ Thesaurus Latinae Linguae, Vol. 9, p. 365.

⁵¹ I.J.G. Schelleri, Lexicon Totius Latinitatis, p. 7k3

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If Gregory's poverty was great as a monk, his charity for the poor was even greater later as a pope. Sex, age or profession made no difference with Gregory in distributing his provisions for the welfare of the people. Johannes Diaconus tells us⁵² about the large paper volume which was compiled in Gregory's time, containing the family names, their ages, and the payments which were distributed to all. This list exists even today in the Lateran Palace, and on it can be found the record of assistance to the three thousand virgins for whose moral and material welfare he was as concerned as for monasteries of men.⁵³ His further solicitude for them is revealed in a letter to Theoctista⁵⁴, the Emperor's sister. He tells her that the nuns number three thousand, and receive, each year, eighty pounds of gold from the patrimony of St. Peter. Other sources⁵⁵ testify to this generous deed. Two Sequences and one Office hymn refer to the fact in a very definite manner. St. 24, of S(23), says:

Virginum
Romae sacrarum
pavit tria milia.

⁵² Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 2, Ch. 30, p. 98.

⁵³ Gregory, Register, Bk. 7, Ep. 12, p. 865.

⁵⁴ Ibid., B.1, Ep. 26, p. 881.

⁵⁵ Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 4, Ch. 27, p. 97.

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And st. 4b of S(39) states:

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

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

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

During his pontificate Rome was thronged to overflowing with refugees⁵⁶, and the task of providing for the famine stricken fell to him entirely. There were deaconaries⁵⁷ in all the districts in Rome. Gregory's Letters give a good idea of how they were conducted, and frequently mention the administrators⁵⁸. The poor, the destitute and the aged, received food and accommodation, and if they had need of shelter they were received into the xendochia⁵⁹, lodging houses for strangers. Johannes Diaconus again describes the high estimation commonly entertained of

⁵⁶ Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 16, p. 49.

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

⁵⁸ Ibid., Bk. 4, Ep. 27, p. 697. Many letters lend support to Gregory's reputation for love of the poor. Cf. Bk. 1, Ep. 39, p. 493; Ep. 73, p. 527; Bk. 12, Ep. 2, p. 1220, et al.

⁵⁹ Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 2, Chs. 51, 52, p. 109.

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Gregory's great character when he tells a story of a man who gave up all his possessions, and thought he lived in voluntary poverty, but still retained a cat which he stroked constantly and often caressed in his bosom. God revealed to him that Gregory's abandonment was greater than his own, even though Gregory apparently lived in riches, by virtue of his office.⁶⁰

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

Some fifty years after the Saxons controlled England, Gregory first took an interest in the Angles when he saw them in the Slave Market of the Forum with their blue eyes and golden hair. Since their conversion is one of the most famous occurrences under Gregory's reign as Supreme Pontiff, it is naturally treated as a part of his important biography and is found in many sources⁶¹. It

⁶⁰ Ibid., Ch. 60, p. 125.
Caxton, Legenda Aurea, ed. by F. S. Ellis, London, 1907, Vol. 3, p. 61.

⁶¹ F. A. Gasquet, Op. Cit., Ch. 6, p. 7. - Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 21, p. 51. - Johannes Diaconus,

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should not come as a surprise, therefore, that the hymns have so many references to this motif, there being in all twelve allusions to this event: six in the Breviary Hymns, two in the Sequences, two in the 'Pia Dictamina', one in the Offices, and, in addition, a more detailed account in one other Breviary Hymn and in the Office, R(17).

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

Anglorum jam apostolus

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

Anglos convertit ad fidem
 Addens plebem ecclesiae.

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

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

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

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

Op. Cit., Bk. 2, Ch. 33, p. 99. - Gregory, Register, Bk. 6, Eps. 58, 59, p. 841-842; Bk. 11, Ep. 28, p. 1138. - Bede, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A. 596, p. 314, says: "This year Pope Gregory sent Augustine to Britain, with a great many monks, who preached the word of God to the nation of the Angles." - Also, cf. Bede, Ecclesiastical History, Bk. 2, Chs. 1, 2, p. 62.

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

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

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

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

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

Anglorum
gentem convertit ad Christum
totumque
praedicans illustrat mundum.

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

Et apostolus Anglorum
Qui prius inglorii.

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

O doctor Anglorum,
.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dans gaudii per oleum
Selegeras theologiae
Hunc pius oeconomiae,
.

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

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And st. 5 of H(24):

Post cleri ritus statuit precesque,
Cuncta restaurans monumenta sedis,
.

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

Cogor modo Ecclesiarum, modo monasteriorum causas discutere, saepe singulorum vitas actusque pensare; modo quaedam civium negotia sustinere, modo de irruentibus barbarorum gladiis gemere, et commisso gregi insidiantes lupos timere; modo rerum curam sumere, ne desint subsidia eis ipsis quibus disciplinae perpeti, modo eis sub studio servatae charitatis obviare⁶³.

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

⁶³ Gregory, Homilias in Ezechielem, Bk. 1, Hom 11, Vers. 17, Ch. 6, p. 908, in Migne, P. L., Vol. 76. - Ibid., Register, Bk. 1, Ep. 3, p. 446.

reforms, interpretations of the Bible, and propagation of the Faith in these four lines:

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

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

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

Johannes Diaconus also tells us that as soon as Gregory became Pope, he effected a reform in the constitution of the household. This reform was extended to the officials of the Papal Patrimony, all places being given to ecclesiastics⁶⁴. Other reforms extended to secular business, military affairs⁶⁵ and to the relief of misery and suffering.

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

⁶⁴ Paulus Diaconus, *Op. Cit.*, Ch. 15, p. 48.
Johannes Diaconus, *Op. Cit.*, Bk. 2, Ch. 15, p. 93.

⁶⁵ Paulus Diaconus, *Op. Cit.*, Ch. 16, p. 49. This reference has a good account of the Lombard situation.

inner life of the Church, to the liturgical reform. His Sacramentary, the groundwork of the Roman Missal, was only a revised version of the issue of his predecessor⁶⁶. To Gregory the productions made a century before, were defective in arrangement, too long, and too scattered. Johannes Diaconus describes this in these words:

Sed, et Gelasianum Codicem de missarum solemnibus, multa subtrahens, pauca convertens, nonnulla vero superadjiciens, pro exponendis evangelicis lectionibus in unius libri volumine coarctavit.⁶⁷

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

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

⁶⁷ Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 2, Ch. 17, p. 94.

the churches of Europe, especially in England, and served as one of the best means of the conversion of pagan nations to Christianity. Johannes Diaconus says with assurance: "antiphonarium centonem cantorum studiossimus compilavit"⁶⁸. Even before Johannes' time, in the first half of the ninth century, the distinguished abbot of Reichenau, Walafrid Strabo, wrote⁶⁹ that it was the received opinion that the Blessed Gregory had practically thrown the music of the Church (cantilenae disciplina) into the convenient form it had preserved down to his day.

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

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

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

⁶⁹ Walafrid Strabo, De Rebus Eccles., Ch. 25, p. 952, in Migne, P.L., Vol. 114. - See also Egbert of York, Dial. de Instit. Cath., Interrogatio 16, in Migne, P.L., Vol. 89, p. 440-441.

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

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

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

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

There is a whole story connected with Tr(40) which contains only two stanzas. How Gregory prayed for inspiration to set the psalms of the Church to true melody is related in st. 1:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Euphonicae quo citharae,
 Spiritualis musicae,
 Suavisonans os, aureo
 Gratae patri Gregorio,
 Efferar hunc spermologon
 Laudum ut est, idoneis
 Donante te praeconiis.

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St. 1 of H(25), with less effort at adornment pays a tribute also to the Gregorian Chant:

Laudis opus ut honori
 Serviat opificis
 Collaudari te, Gregori,
 Decet modis musicis,
 Per quem servit conditori
 Mundus laudum canticis.

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

Psallentem
 choris modulamina
 composuit
 dulcisona hymnizans.

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

Northeast of the Forum, between the Capitoline and the Quirinal, there stretched, in Gregory's time, the splendid series of the Imperial Fora, ending on the north with the superb Forum of Trajan. In this Forum there existed a relief representing a woman supplicating the Emperor, and to this group a story⁷⁰ had become attached

⁷⁰ Gasquet, Op. Cit., Ch. 29, p. 38. - Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 27, p. 56. - John of Salisbury, Polycraticus, Bk. 5, Ch. 8, p. 558, in Migne, P. L., Vol. 199. - S. Thomas, Summa, Question 71, art. 15, p. 2849, Vol. 3, Translation by Fathers of English Dominican Province, New York, Benziger Bros. Inc., 1948. - Dante, La Divina Commedia di Alighieri, ed. and an. by Charles Hall Grandgent, Revised ed., New York, D.C. Heath, 1885, in Purgatorio, Bk. 10, ll's 73-76, p. 413.- Ibid. in Paradiso, Bk. 20, ll's 45, p. 840.

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

... Quodam tempore, Trajano ad imminentis belli procinctum festinanti vehementissime, vidua quaedam processit flebiter dicens: Filius meus innocens, te regnante, peremptus est; obscuro ut, quia eum mihi reddere non vales, sanguinem ejus legaliter vindicare digneris. Cumque Trajanus, si sanus revertetur a praelio hunc se vindicaturum per omnia responderet, vidua dixit: Si tu in praelio mortuus fueris, quis mihi praestabit? Trajanus dixit: ille qui post me imperabit. Vidua dixit: Et tibi quid proderit, si alter mihi justitiam fecerit? Trajanus respondit: Utque nihil. Et vidua: Nonne, inquit, melius tibi est ut tu mihi justitiam facias, et in pro hoc mercedem tuam recipias, quam alteri hanc transmittas? Tunc Trajanus ratione pariter pietateque commotus, equo descendit, nec ante discessit quam judicium viduae per semet imminens profligaret.⁷¹

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

⁷¹ Johannes Diaconus, *Op. Cit.* Bk. 2, Ch. 44, p.105. In William Tobin's *Struggle Our Destiny*, Bruce Publishing Co., New York, 1949, p. 16, there is an interesting note on the picture sculptured on Trajan's Forum. The author gives an entirely new interpretation of the story, making Paul the recipient of a favor from an appeal which he made to Caesar.

pupillo et defendite viduam et venite et arguite me dicit Dominus⁷². Pope procured the release of Trajan's soul from eternal torments, though at the same time he was divinely warned never again to presume to pray for any one who had died in paganism.⁷³

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

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

.
Gaude Traianum damnatum
Per te esse liberatum
A poenis mirifice.

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

A flendo Trajanum revocas
A poena gehennali,
.

⁷² Isa. Ch. 1, Vs. 17.

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

Cf. Joseph Szöverffy's discussion of this legend in the Zeitschrift der Celtische Philologie, Vol. 25, for 1956, p. 183-198. - Dio Cassius, 69, 6, relates the incident with the suppliant woman for Hadrian, with whom Trajan seems to have afterwards been confounded. - Gregorovius says that "the legend doubtless arose from some relief then existing in the Forum, a province being represented as a woman supplicating the Emperor."

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But, a more detailed account appears in two other 'Pia Dictamina'. In fact, the whole story is covered in P(4), ll's 15-25:

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

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

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

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

• • • • • •
 Salvat Traianum iustum, licet pagani,
 • • • • • •

One Office, R(22), st. 2 after the first Responsory has a smoother reference to this miracle as is befitting a chanted service:

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Jam sepultus frater absolvitur
Et Trajano poena remittitur.

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

Precibus salutiferis
Trajanum ab inferis
Solvit et miseria,
.

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

Ex ignibus
inferorum
Traianum tyrannum.⁷⁴

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

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

⁷⁴ Gregory is here referred to as "Tyrannum", undoubtedly with the first meaning of the word which the Greeks used to designate sovereign or ruler. Trajan was no tyrant in the modern sense of the word.

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And st. 3 emphasizes how the innocent is willing to endure the lash for the atonement of the guilty:

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

The Legend of the "Miracle of the Mass"⁷⁵ or the "Sacrament Miracle", is sufficiently celebrated to deserve notice. The Whitby Life calls the same Legend "The Miracle of the Unbelieving Matron of Rome". The story of it is as follows: A certain noble lady was accustomed to present bread of her own making for the consecration every Sunday at Mass. One day when Gregory was about to communicate her with the Host, repeating the usual formula, the woman smiled, refusing to believe that the Bread which she made could be the Body of the Lord. Gregory thereupon replaced the Host upon the altar, and prayed, together with all the people, that a miracle might be granted for her sake. When the prayer was finished and the Bread was uncovered, there was revealed upon the altar a fragment of Flesh stained with Blood. Again, after the Pope prayed, and the Flesh once more took on the appearance of Bread, all doubt was removed and the woman immediately received the Host.

⁷⁵ Gasquet, Op. Cit., Ch. 20, p. 24. - Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 23, p. 52. - Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 2, Ch. 41, p. 105.

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This motif is reverently expressed in both Offices.

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

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

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

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

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

Matronae fidem advocas
Carne sacramentali.

One Sequence, S(1), handles it in a double stanza. St. 9a in its three lines has:

Offa carnis dominicae
Gregorio pontifice
A Dei clementia

And 9b completes the story thus:

Caro vere ostenditur
Quae sanguine intinguitur
Miranda potentia.

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

Factus praesul seminae
Nequam monstrat semini
In similitudine
Carnis corpus Domini;

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And st. 3b answers with:

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

The "Miracle of the Magician", involving the "horse and the demon", is related in the Whitby Life⁷⁶. This story is also treated by Paulus Diaconus⁷⁷, but Johannes Diaconus⁷⁸ refers to it as a current tale of the English Church.

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

⁷⁶ Gasquet, Op. Cit., Ch. 22, p. 28.

⁷⁷ Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 25, p. 55.

⁷⁸ Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 2, Ch. 43, p. 104.

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

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

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

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

Equum vexans daemon expellitur,
Magus corripitur.

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

Magos caecavit,
equo
daemonem fugavit
et ecclesiam ornavit.

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

⁷⁹ Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 25, p. 56.

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Super quem insederat,
Equum statim liberat,
Artibus a magicis;
.

The last miracle motif handled in these Gregory hymns is one which pertains to his close association with the Holy Ghost. These hymns deal with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit which Gregory always enjoyed in a general way, with the Seven Gifts in a particular way, and with the final visible contact with the Dove to whom his secretary, Peter⁸⁰, was a witness and vouches for the story, which is as follows: When Gregory was interpreting the last vision of the Prophet Ezechiel, a veil was drawn between himself and his secretary. As Gregory kept silence for long intervals, his servant made a hole in the veil with his pen, and looking through it, he beheld a dove, whiter than snow, sitting upon Gregory's head, holding its beak for a long time to his lips. When the dove drew away from his lips, the holy Pontiff began to speak, and his secretary transcribed his words. But, when the organ of the Holy Thost was silent, his servant again applied his eye to

⁸⁰ Paulus Diaconus, *Op. Cit.*, Ch. 28, p. 57. Here Peter is referred to as *familiarissimo*. He is the same Peter, the Deacon, associated with Gregory in the *Dialogues*.

Gasquet, *Op. Cit.*, Ch. 26, p. 34, says: "ita super hunc virum Dei vidisse, quidam dicitur de suis satis ei familiaris, albam sedisse columbam in predictum Ezechielem fecit omelias."

Johannes Diaconus, *Op. Cit.*, Bk. 4, Ch. 69, p. 221-222.

the hole, and beheld him, with hands and eyes unpraised to heaven as if in prayer, receiving as before the dove's beak between his lips.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Quis fuerit pater eximius,
Spiritus ille docet Domini,
Corda patrum bene qui docuit,
Munera cuius et hunc decorant.

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St. 3 of P(5) has a simple salutation in this respect:

Ave, sancti spiritus
Organum jucundum,
.

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

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

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

Hic exposuit obscuras
Ezechielis scripturas
Dictante Dei gratia.

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

Olim scholis eruditus,
Nunc docet illum spiritus
Sapere coelestia.

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

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Cui pneuma
 ut columba
 in auriculum stillavit
 documenta mystica.

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

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

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

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

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

Da ut mente columbina

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

Sub exemplis et doctrinis,
 Quibus fulges (columbinis)

In art, Gregory is usually represented in the pontifical robes with the tiara, and staff, with the double cross. His peculiar symbol is the Dove - an allusion to the story of Peter. Sometimes, however, he is indicated

by a book or an angel playing a musical instrument. The legendary scenes of his life which painters have chosen commonly as the subject of their art are the supper at which the Thirteenth Guest appeared, the Miracle of the Mass, and the Miracle of the Brandeum. (...) ⁸¹

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

Asceticism is almost a synonym for the definition of Gregory the Great, so conscientiously did he practise it. Already, in 590, Gregory is known to have wretched health. Excessive fasting is said to have weakened his constitution, and made him a prey to a weak stomach, and in the last five or six years of his pontificate, to a violent disease known as the gout. He writes of his condition and even groans to his friends ⁸². In August 599, he says that the pain of the

⁸¹ F. Homes Dudden, Op. Cit., p. 272 seq.

⁸² Gregory, Register, Bk. 9, Ep. 123, p. 1056; Bk. 11, Ep. 32, p. 1144; Bk. 13, EP., 22, p. 1275; Bk. 14, Ep. 12, p. 1314.

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gout is so terrible that for eleven months he says: "valde rarum est si de lecto surgere aliquando potuere."⁸³

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

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

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

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

Gregorius vigiliis
Confectus et jejuniis,
Etsi marcebat corpore,
At spe vigeat animae.

Two Breviary Hymns have almost an identical reference.

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

Carnis terens incendia
Corde credidit Domino,
Contempsit cuncta caduca
Caritatis officio.

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

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

⁸³ Ibid., Bk. 9, Ep. 123, p. 1056. Cf. Bk. 11, Ep. 44, p. 1152.

⁸⁴ Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 15, p. 48-49. - Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 1, p. 65. - Also Cf. Gregory, Dialogue 3, transl. by Zimmerman, Ch. 33, p. 172.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lentis quidem sed jugibus
Hic aestuabat febribus,
Podagrae nec non syncopis
Pulsabatur incommodis.

St. 3 of the 2nd Nocturne in R(22) dwells on the love that was proved by his suffering:

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Magis languens morbis dum deficit,
 Mens amoris languore proficit,
 Crescunt morbi, crescit et afficit
 Amor impatiens.

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

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

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

Crebris correptus febribus,
 Miris pollens affectibus,
 Se praesumebat diligi,
 Quod merebatur argui.

St. 28 of S(23) states simply:

Aegra caro eius semper fuit,
 Mens tamen intenta caelo,

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

All through his life, Pope Gregory looked back with extreme yearning to the three years which he spent as a monk in the monastery of St. Andrew. These he regarded as the happiest years of his life⁸⁵. He writes to Paul the

⁸⁵ Gregory, Register, Bk. 1, Ep. 4, p. 447.

Scholastic⁸⁶:

Summus enim mihi profectus fuerat, si potuisset impleri quod volui; si voluntatem meam, quam dudum cognitam habetis, perficere optatae quietis per-ceptione valuisssem.⁸⁷

Besides other lettres⁸⁸ expressing his sorrow over being drawn back to the world through the papal position, he writes to Theoctista, the sister of the Emperor Maurice:

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

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

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

⁸⁷ Gregory, Op. Cit., Bk. 1, Ep. 3, p. 446.

⁸⁸ Ibid., Ep. 21, p. 466; Ep. 6, p. 450; Ep. 7, p. 452; Ep. 26, p. 479; Ep. 30, p. 483.

⁸⁹ Gregory, Register, Bk. 1, Ep. 5, p. 448.

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Hic ab adolescentia
 Divina fretus gratia
 Anhelare non desit
 Ad regnum vitae perpetis.

To encourage this contemplative life among the monks, this meditative picture is continued in st. 2 of R(22):

Sese mundi despecta gloria
 Semper humilians
 Sectabatur Christi
 Supernis inhians.

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

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

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

⁹⁰ Gasquet, The Whitby Life, Ch. 7, p. 9-10.

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

The article on papal title in the Cath. Encyc., New York, 1912, Vol. 13, p. 737, says: the title was imitated, though not invariably until the ninth century, but, since the twelfth century, it is used exclusively by the popes. Cf. also article on "Bulls", p. 55, col. 2.

of humility, preferring an inferior quality of pontifical vestments with which he always felt content. Moreover, in order to make his title clear, he says of himself in one of his letters: "Per episcopatus onera servus sum omnium factus"⁹². Johannes Diaconus also discusses the title Servus Servorum Dei, and gives his idea of its use⁹³.

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

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

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

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

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

⁹² Gregory, Register, Bk. 13, Ep. 1.

⁹³ Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 2, Ch. 1, p. 87.

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Servum servorum primus scribit se ipsum,
Humilis praesul, pius inopum consul.

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

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1a. <u>O</u> rganum spirituale | 1b. <u>S</u> criba regis angelorum |
| 2a. <u>E</u> x prosapia Romana | 2b. <u>R</u> hetor magnus et urbanus |
| 3a. <u>V</u> irgo saeculo pusilla | 3b. <u>V</u> ivens Silvia caelestis |
| 4a. <u>M</u> onasteria construxit | 4b. <u>S</u> ed cum cuperet sincere |
| 5a. <u>E</u> ruditus in virtute | 5b. <u>R</u> etextendo cantilenas |
| 6a. <u>V</u> idens pueros Anglorum, | 6b. <u>O</u> pontificem beatum, |
| 7a. <u>R</u> ecta scribens recte
dixit, | 7b. <u>V</u> igil iste sanctus fuit, |
| 8a. <u>M</u> onstra fecit in hac
vita | 8b. <u>D</u> eus fecit Levi pactum |
| 9a. <u>A</u> es in zonis non compe-
git | 9b. <u>I</u> stum deprecemur sanctum |
| | |

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

A quibus artus solutos
more bearis.

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

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· · · ·
 Jam sepultus frater absoluitur
 · · · ·

Every hymn has a general dominant motif of Gregory's sanctity, and is in the nature of a request as from one who is clearly in a position to render aid to fellow sufferers. Many of his letters⁹⁴ reveal that he could still be interested in others who were afflicted, even though he himself was undergoing torture from the gout of which he died.

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

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

⁹⁴ Gregory, Register, Bk. 13, Ep 5, p. 1258; Ep. 42, p. 1291; Bk. 11, Ep. 63, p. 1115.

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of H(27) sounds very much like the story of the cure of the blind man from the Holy Bible. The four lines are as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

After his death, Pope Sabinian succeeded him and a story is handed down that Sabinian withdrew the great doles which Gregory had issued to the poor from the monasteries, guest-houses, and hospitals, and continued as Pope. Now, there was a great famine⁹⁵ and the poor, rendered destitute,

⁹⁵ Paulus Diaconus, Historia Longobardum, Bk. 6, Ch. 5, p. 627, in Migne, Vol. 95.

raised an outcry: "Apostolic Lord, let not your Holiness suffer us to perish, since our father, your predecessor, the holy Gregory, has hitherto taken care to feed us." Sabinian refused. Then Gregory, after appearing to him rebuked him, and when the Pope still refused to pay attention, Gregory struck him a blow which eventually caused his death⁹⁶.

Johannes Diaconus makes no direct allusion to Sabinian. According to him the famine occurred in the year of Gregory's death, when a general uprising caused by the distress of hundreds turned upon Gregory to the effect that he had wasted the patrimony of the Holy See. The fury of the people was aroused, and they determined to burn Gregory's books. Peter the Deacon intervened, and tried to dissuade them from the outrage, affirming that he had seen the Holy Ghost in the form of a Dove, hovering over the Doctor's head and inspiring his compositions. He affirmed this statement with an oath. Taking the Gospels in his hand, he ascended the pulpit, and prayed God to take his life if what he said was true. He then repeated his declaration and breathed forth his spirit⁹⁷. Gregory's unpopularity was only temporary. Year after year his

⁹⁶ Paulus Diaconus, Sancti Gregorii Magni Vita, Ch. 29, p. 58.
Gasquet, Op. Cit., Ch. 28, p. 40.

⁹⁷ Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 4, Ch. 69, p.221.

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feast was kept⁹⁸ with solemnity. The hymns devoted to him in the Middle Ages testify to his popularity. This particular motif of attempting to burn his books is very definitely stated in st. 2 of R(22):

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

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

If the history of the latter part of the sixth century is to be studied intelligently, it must be studied in close connection with the life and labours of that illustrious Pontiff, who for many years was the foremost personage in Europe, and did more, perhaps, than any other single man to shape the course of European development⁹⁹.

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

⁹⁸ Ibid., Ch. 80, p. 228.

⁹⁹ F. Homes Dudden, Op. Cit., Vol. 1, p. vi.

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

CHAPTER III

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

1. Biblical Reminiscences

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

H(2), st. 1, is a petition for intercession based indirectly on the Book of Tobias:

Ut nunc, Gregori, gentibus
Succurre jam credentibus¹.

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

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

Israelita pius et fidelis²
.

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

H(31), st. 2, Tamquam Aaron electus, and Velut Moyses dilectus, are Biblical quotations³ used to emphasize

¹ Cf. Tob., Ch. 13, Vs. 8.

² Joan., Ch. 1, Vs. 47.

³ Cf. Heb., Ch. 5, Vs. 4, seq.; Exod., Ch. 10, seq.

the fact that just as Aaron and Moses were chosen by God for special leadership among God's flocks, so Gregory was singled out to preside over the "sheep" just at a critical period when such a man was needed to place the papacy securely on its feet. By using the Old Testament characters, the author tends to render a more symbolic reference:

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

In st. 3 of the same hymn, there is a Biblical motif⁴ in the line In se David et Josiae ... where the harmony wrought by David and Josiah is likened to Gregory's in the musical chant ascribed to him:

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

Likewise st. 4 is redolent of the tone of bravery and fortitude of Gregory in the face of afflictions, so that he is worthy to be compared with Job and Josue⁵ who endured

⁴ Cf. I Kings, Ch. 16, Vs. 16, seq.; Eccl., Ch. 50, Vs. 18, seq.

⁵ Cf. Job, Ch. 40, Vs. 10-13. The entire history of the conquest of the Promised Land is a prophecy of the spiritual conquest of the world through the Church under the leadership of Jesus the Messiah. Josue, the successor of Moses, is God's hero with whom Gregory is compared. Cf. Josue, passim.

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disease and afflictions, yet accomplished much for God. The lines of this stanza are as follows:

Simul morbis lacessitus
Et bellorum turbine
Perstat fortis, alte situs
In virtutis culmine,
Job et Josue munitus
Bina fortitudine.

The prevailing pattern of these three stanzas in H(31) where the Old Testament characters are paralleled with Gregory is found in H(25), sts. 2 and 3 in New Testament characters:

Christi vice tu praelatus,
Sed subsistens humilis,
Christo semper es conatus
Inveniri similis,
Ut praeesse Deo gratus,
Mundo venerabilis.

Christ was Gregory's ideal and he is therefore compared to Him as ruler over the flock because of his humility. In st. 3, he is compared to individual saints whose virtue he possessed:

Primo confert te pastori
Fidei constantia,
Paulo sensus, praecursori
Victus parsimonia
Et Joanni seniori
Mentis eminentia.

He is called Primo pastori with Peter who had faith; with Paul who had intelligence; with Joannes Baptist, of whom he says: praecursori victus parsomonia, referring to his self denial; and finally to Joannes Evangelista, of whom

he speaks of his lofty thought, mentis eminentia. Both hymns are taken from the Vallumbrosanum Ms. and both belong to the fifteenth century. Evidently the same author wrote both, but one wonders what could have urged one author to compose two hymns on the same pattern and subject.

Regarding the symbolic characters or Christian figure drawn from the Bible as types of character - representation, Raby has this to say:

... The symbolic character of this early art is best seen in the representation of more purely Christian figures, such as those borrowed from the Old Testament or from the life of Christ. ... Such symbolical figures drawn largely from the Old Testament, the only considerable storehouse from which a Christian 'mythology' could be collected, show that Christian art, like Christian poetry, was bound to go for much of its content to Jewish sources. ...⁶

The three stanzas quoted seem to center around the three grandest achievements of Gregory's life - his position as Shepherds, his Gregorian Chant, and his power to endure the turbulence of war and confusion in spite of his dread disease and suffering.

⁶ Raby, Op. Cit., p. 8. Also cf. Hugh T. Henry, who says in his article "The Cluniac and His Song", in the American Catholic Quarterly Review, Vol. 18, p. 801: ... Instead of direct and cumbrous quotations we find delicate hintings and intimations, which, forming the continuous texture of the poet's thought, suppose the readiest and fullest knowledge of the facts and the diction of both Testaments on the part of the reader, just as they manifest a similar knowledge on the part of the writer."

There is a Biblical echo of the Parable of the Five Wise and Five Foolish Virgins in st. 6, of H(38), where is stated how Gregory went to meet his Bridegroom. Necessarily, he is like one of the Five Wise Virgins who were in the state of grace, and were, therefore, ready to meet Christ:

Tanta repletus gratia
Obviam Christo abiit
Et nobis semper maxime
Ostendit mirabilia.⁷

St. 2, H(43), has a reference to the Bible when it speaks of "giving milk to the little ones" and "Food to the strong". The stanza states as follows:

Sacra cuius eloquia
Vitae ferentis pascua
Lac potum donant parvulis
Cibum ministrant validis.⁸

In this stanza his eloquence is the source of nourishment for young and old.

In S(30), st. 8b, there is an unusual word summing up in a Biblical term, Levi, the all - round method of his dealing with his people according to that of the priests of the tribe of Levi, as the Bible states:

The name of "Leviticus" was bestowed on the third book of the Pentateuch by the ancient Greek translators because a good part of this

⁷ Matt., Ch. 25, Vs. 1-13.

⁸ Cf. I Cor., Ch. 3, Vs. 2.

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book consists of sacrificial and other ritual laws prescribed for the priests of the tribe of Levi.⁹

Corresponding to this meaning is the hymn mentioned in st. 8b:

Deus fecit Levi pactum
Nec paenituit transactum
Pacis atque vitae factum
Cum honoris gloria.

In this matter the Bible further states: "...the laws contained in this book serve to teach the Israelites that they should always keep themselves in a state of legal purity, or external sanctity.¹⁰ What more fitting title could there be for Gregory who not only legislated to keep his people pure and undefiled, but also recommended external sanctity as a sign of their intimate union with the Lord.

A quotation in his Office which is in the arrangement of the indirect reference in R(17b) is found in the stanza after the Ad Benedictus:

Christi fidelis famulus,
Prudens quoque Gregorius,
Postquam suo in tempore.¹¹

So also does st. 2 after the first Responsory in R(22) illustrate the type of reference that has its counterpart in meaning in the Bible:

⁹ Holy Bible, Book of Leviticus, p. 125, Confraternity edition.

¹⁰ Holy Bible, Eo Loco.

¹¹ Cf. Matt., Ch. 24, Vs. 45.

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Crucifigens carnem cum vitiis
Christo configitur.¹²

And st. 1 after the third Nocturne of the same Office has a short reference to the Bible:

Bonus odor coelestis hominis.¹³

There is a figurative account of the cure of the lues inguinalis under the guise of a celestial avenger who cures the disease by the sword of prayer. St. 2, after the second Responsory of R(22) gives a vivid picture of the event:

Vastat orbem coelestis ultio,
Ruunt cives, obsistit gladio
Novus David, cessat quassatio
Et salus redditur.
Pius pater in precem sternitur,
Cedit ultor, mucro concluditur.

This group of lines recalls an Old Testament battle¹⁴ in which David killed Goliath. Gregory is here the "New David" who saved his people from a dreadful disease and death, by his powerful faith in prayer.

"When I am weak, then am I strong", says the Evangelist Paul, and this is aptly applied to Gregory in these words after st. 4 of Laudes:

¹² Cf. Gal., Ch. 5, Vs. 24.

¹³ Cf. Paul, 2 Corinth., Ch. 2, Vs. 15.

¹⁴ Cf. I Kings, Ch. 18, Vs. 48-52.

Cum infirmus, tunc fortior.¹⁵

Gregory was physically weak all his life, enduring physical torture to the end. This did not hinder his interested progressive achievements for the Church. His letters testify to this statement.

St. 3 of R(22), Ad Laudes has a Biblical turn to the following lines:

Christi vigil in intimis
Mariae vacat otio
Forisque jungi proximis
Deservit Marthae studio.¹⁶

This meditative picture conjures up the well-known story of Martha's and Mary's vocation, and here it represents Gregory as combining the two for the sake of the brethren of the Christian Church.

In the Sequences quotations from the Bible appear very often from both the Old and the New Testaments. There is again a Biblical reference to a familiar expression:

Servus prudens et fidelis
Dum sponsus redit e caelis
Mente spectat sobria.¹⁷

S(23) has three stanzas with Biblical references¹⁸

¹⁵ Cf. Paul, 2 Corinth, Ch. 12, Vs. 10.

¹⁶ Cf. Luke, Ch. 10, Vs. 38.

¹⁷ Cf. Matt., Ch. 24, Vs. 30-31.

¹⁸ Cf. Psalms, Ch. 146, Vs. 8.

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regarding fertility and abundance. St. 4 states:

Mundans eam
semper rivulis inebreatis
.

St. 5 continues on the same note:

Rigans montes
de superioribus nubibus
.

And finally in st. 6:

Ut valles abundant
frumento
et hoc sollemnio.

St. 8a of S(30) has a New Testament reference:

Monstra fecit in hac vita
Verus his Israelita.¹⁹

And an Old Testament reference in st. 8b:

Deus fecit Levi pactum
Nec paenituit transactum
Pacis atque vitae factum
Cum honoris gloria.²⁰

The final reference to the Sequences, st. 9b of S(30) is in the form of an intercession:

Istum deprecemur sanctum
Nos viventes, vita tantum
Ut cantemus agni cantum
Nunc et in perpetuum.²¹

The Biblical motifs continue in the 'Pia Dictamina' from which are recorded the direct or indirect findings.

¹⁹ Cf. John, Ch. 1, Vs. 47.

²⁰ Cf. Mala., Ch. 4, Vs. 4, 5.

²¹ Cf. Apoc., Ch. 15, Vs. 3.

St. 1 of P(7) has this quotation:

Cibis sacris angelorum
Et da vinum electorum.²²

There are several places in the Bible using the expression: "corn of the elect, and wine of the virgins"²³; "you furnish your people with the 'food of angels' and furnish them with 'bread from heaven'"²⁴ and "God give you dew from heaven and fruitfulness of the earth, and abundance of grain and wine"²⁵. All these expressions have reference to the Body and Blood of Christ, the Host, and can be taken as an indirect reference in the lines above. The same hymn in st. 3 had another Biblical motif and refers to the mystical vision which Gregory always possessed. This stanza calls on all who have put on Christ to rejoice:

Gaude, tu, qui suscepisti
Jesum Christum, quem vidisti.²⁶

This allusion is to the yoke of Jesus which Gregory assumed in the form of mortification, poverty and suffering for his neighbor just as his Master did.

The hymns as a whole keep in mind that Gregory is

²² Cf. Zach., Ch. 9, Vs. 17.

²³ Cf. Ibid.

²⁴ Cf. Wisdom, Ch. 16, Vs. 20.

²⁵ Cf. Gen., Ch. 3, Vs. 27.

²⁶ Cf. Gal., Ch. 3, Vs. 27.

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the "good and faithful servant" who guards the sheep from the wolf and leads the flock to the sheepfold. This view is again echoed specifically in lines 5-8 of P(26):

. . .
 Servus prudens et fidelis
 Oves praedo ne crudelis
 Saviendo laceraret,
 Sed ad caulas grex mearet.²⁷

P(34), st. 11 has a similar motif with a slightly varied mode of expression:

Oves tuae pascuae,
 Pastor, tu gubernas,
 Ne luporum rabie
 Mergantur ad inferna.²⁸

In Office R(22), st. 1, of the third Responsory celebrates the passage from earthly life to the eternal joys of Heaven of the Pope who had spent himself for the success of God's Church, not permitting his poor health to prevent achievements for the Master:

Ex servorum sorte fidelium
 Intrat is gaudium.²⁹

And the Antiphon beginning with the second Vespers says:

Vale, pastor, qui modo pascaris
 Collatus in loco pascuae.³⁰
 . . .

²⁷ Cf. Matt., Ch. 24, Vs. 45; Jer., Ch. 23.

²⁸ Cf. John, Ch. 10, Vs. 12.

²⁹ Cf. Matt., Ch. 25, Vs. 21.

³⁰ Cf. Psalms, Ch. 22, Vs. 2.

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The Offices are naturally more prone to quote the Bible, which reinforces the texts, and, as it were, epitomizes the whole psalm into a Biblical quotation. There are in one Office alone, R(17b), nine direct Biblical quotations. In the Versicle st. after the first Responsory the lines read:

Beatus vir, qui timet Dominum.
In mandatis eius cupit nimis.³¹

This quotation follows immediately after the preceding Responsory where his two-fold character is chanted, especially dwelling upon his voluntary poverty, which set him apart as a God - fearing man.

A little further on, the choir takes up the commemoration of one of the greatest acts of Gregory's reign, the conversion of the Angles, and the attending circumstances. The Versicle responds with an apt quotation from the Bible, which occurs in the Versicle st. after the second Responsory:

Quoniam Domini est regnum
et ipse dominabitur gentium.³²

The third reference to the Bible has to do with the mercy and truth which God seeks in His servants, and the

³¹ Ibid., Ch. 111, Vs. 1.

³² Psalms, Ch. 21, Vs. 29.

consequent grace and glory which follow. Gregory hid from his great elevation, but God sought him out with the shaft of light and showered upon him "gratiam et gloriam".

Again, the third Versicle in the first Responsory has these lines:

Quia misericordiam et veritatem
dilexit Deus, gratiam et gloriam
dabit Dominus.³³

His repugnance to mundane affairs is the burden of the next Responsory, and his final acceptance of papal duty for his neighbor's sake:

Propter intolerabiles
Rerum curas mundanarum
Recusabat praesulatum
Suscipere Romanorum,
Sed victus prece populi
Suscepit jugum Domini.

And the Versicular response is:

Nec fecit proximo suo malum
et opprobrium non accepit
Adversus proximos suos.³⁴

The Biblical quotation that follows explains concisely the response received through prayer resulting in the removal of a plague and the cure of the people. The Versicle after the fifth responsory states as follows:

³³ Ibid., Ch. 14, Vs. 3.

³⁴ Psalms, Ch. 14, Vs. 3.

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Multum enim valet deprecatio
Justi assidua.³⁵

Every quotation is applicable to a foregoing text. In five preceding lines the "Miracle of the Host" is recounted, and then follows the apt quotation to clinch the story. The Versicle after the sixth responsory is as follows:

A Domino factum est illud
et est mirabile in oculis nostris.³⁶

The text in the next Responsory is in the nature of a panegyric, or general tribute to Gregory's sanctity of life and his easy passing to eternal bliss. The Biblical quotation gives a general salute to any innocent man who has not received his soul in vain. The Versicle after the first stanza in the third Responsory states:

Innocens manibus et mundo
Corde, qui non accepit in vanum
animam suam.³⁷

Another quotation in this Office is one which is often applied to Gregory. It occurs in the 8th Versicle:

Ecce vere Israelita, in quo
dolus non est.³⁸

³⁵ James, Ch. 5, Vs. 6.

³⁶ Matt., Ch. 21, Vs. 42.

³⁷ Psalms, Ch. 23, Vs. 4.

³⁸ John, Ch. 1, Vs. 47.

Thus, the Bible with its apt quotations points up the principal virtues in the Saint's life, and renders him ideally the good shepherd worthy of imitation.

2. References to Contemporary Theological Issues.

The authority and fame of Gregory, not only as the propagator of Christianity, but also the unimpeachable organizer of the whole Church and its tradition, were incontestably established at his death. That his biographical interest ranged high in the hearts of those of the Middle Ages who were in contact with heresies, monastic weaknesses and evils similar to those that existed in the sixth century, there can be no doubt. To such exceptionally pious or sympathetic authors as the hymn-writers were bound to be, it was natural to seize upon some representative of ecclesiastical distinction, and sing of his achievements which were effective in bringing about a triple reform which was most desired in the Middle Ages. And that reform pertained to orthodoxy, to papal supremacy, to religious zeal and to social justice.

Gregory left a solid tradition behind him. The acts of his life were made available in the Biographies already alluded to. Besides these there were numerous works of

Gregory himself which were constant sources from which the medievalists felt free to draw, highly prized text-books for all, with their comprehensiveness, clarity, simplicity and careful orthodoxy. As Artz so aptly says:

...Gregory the Great was widely read for centuries and was an important medium through which all of early Christian thought was passed on to the later Middle Ages. ... He gave to the papacy a policy and a position which have never been lost, and he would be a man of great significance on history even if he had never written a line.³⁹

The sixth century possessed vast significance for the subsequent history of Christendom. The Eastern Emperor had withdrawn from Italy and this provided the papacy, in the hands of Gregory, with an unique opportunity for making the purest spirit of Christianity reign at the center of the Catholic Church. On the question of papal supremacy, Gregory I paved the way for Gregory VII. He set the pace for the principles which would inspire Innocent III to repress heresy. "No one has more clearly affirmed the right possessed by the Church to judge heretics, and the duty of the state to repress them as disturbers of the social order"⁴⁰ On the other hand, was the noxious

³⁹ Artz, Op. Cit., p. 193.

⁴⁰ Fernand Mourret, A History of the Catholic Church transl. by Newton Thompson, St. Louis, B. Herder & Co., 1946 p. 110, quoting Justinian Code, I, 5, de haereticis, in note 167, says: Quod in religionem divinam committitur, in omnium fertur injuriam.

influence of anti-papal practices on barbarian chiefs who came to treat at Justinian's court; on the other, the hierarchical system of the Eastern Church, which little by little had undermined the spiritual purposes of the Church, had put the whole episcopate under the domination of the patriarch of Constantinople, the latter being at the feet of the Emperor. The Persian wars and the internal disturbances of the Eastern provinces of the Empire, where the people were tearing each other in pieces in the doctrinal dispute of Monophysitism, had ruined the prestige of the patriarch of Alexandria. Antioch was worse, as one had to pass through the Emperor's creature, the Bishop of Byzantium, to become Bishop of Antioch. In fact, it should have been called the Emperor's episcopate, for it was a sort of council which constantly assembled within reach of the imperial palace, and enabled the Emperor to transport the episcopal body from place to place⁴¹.

It was this sort of life which, as papal nuncio at Constantinople, Gregory witnessed and participated in, with all its dazzling splendor, causing his subsequent withdrawal with his friends to confer on his favorite volume, The Book of Morals on Job, commonly called the Moralia. This was his first literary work and in it we find accounts of

⁴¹ Mourret, Op. Cit., p. 67-68.

various theological disputes with Eutyches who professed an erroneous doctrine on the impalpability of bodies after the resurrection. His account is of great dogmatic and exegetical interest. In this book too he tells us that Eutyches abjured his error. But later, as Pope, while barbarians were founding new kingdoms destined to grow, Gregory the Great stood forth as father and protector of the West, insisting upon the recognition of the Holy See in all parts of Christendom, confirming it by instituting a system of appeals to the Holy See⁴². When Justinian, in order to restore the Monophysites to favor, condemned the Three Chapters, thus slighting the Council of Chalcedon, Pope Gregory, some thirty years later, recommended that "Honor should be paid to the first four councils, Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, as to the four Gospels, thus by implication placing the Fifth Council (the Second Council of Constantinople) on a lower level⁴³. Thus, by gradually weakening this strong heresy, it finally died out. We have numerous letters of Pope Gregory regarding this question of the Three Chapters⁴⁴. Besides this strong heresy,

⁴² McSorley, Op. Cit., p. 152.

⁴³ Gregory, Register, Bk. 2, Ep. 51, p. 592 in Migne, P. L., Bk. 4, Ep. 2, p. 669; Bk. 4, Ep. 39, p. 713.

⁴⁴ Ibid., Bk. 5, Ep. 8, p. 729.

Gregory was trying to weaken Manichaeism in those who were enjoying the fruits of the patrimony of St. Peter, by advocating strictness towards them to bring them back to the faith of Christ. Also, regarding the Donatists who had defected from the Christian faith, he orders the Bishops of Africa to vigorously seek them out⁴⁵. All these plus Nestorianism call for stringent attention on the part of the great Pope. How it was to be treated we find in detail in his letters⁴⁶.

Of the references to the Moralia the earliest one is in st. 4 of H(12), written in the 12th century. Just as this work of Gregory's champions orthodoxy mentioned above, so again the great Holy Roman Emperors' struggle with the Church in the 12th century strongly entrenched under Gregory VII and later under Paschal II and Callistus II, ended in a papal victory. The hymns reference is as follows:

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

His zeal for correct doctrine is found in H(38). Written in the latter part of the tenth century or the

⁴⁵ Ibid., Bk. 6, Ep. 65, p. 848.

⁴⁶ Ibid., Bk. 11, Ep. 67, p. 1204.

earlier eleventh, it leaves us no doubt that reference is made to this chaotic age. Concerning orthodoxy, a dispute arose over the procession of the Holy Ghost from both the Father and the Son. A council at Trosle, near Soissons, in the year 909, proclaimed that "the Holy Ghost proceeds both from the Father and the Son", and classified the denial of this doctrine as a blasphemous error of the Greeks. The patriarch of Constantinople was so angry at Pope Sergius III that he later struck his name from the Diptychs⁴⁷.

We find the hymns voicing strong tributes of orthodoxy to Gregory who was a well-known defender of true doctrine. H(38), st. 3, states;

Instat doctrina orthodoxa
Digna sortitus praemia

.

To understand this remark it is necessary to say a few words about the learned argument on the Blessed Trinity in the eleventh century by Roscellinus, famous for dialectical arguments, and the pupil of the renowned Gerbert⁴⁸. Regarding this argument, Artz says:

The Church Fathers, and later Erigena, had taken the Neo-Platonic position that truth or reality consists of a series of forms in the mind of God, and what we see and know are only reflections of

⁴⁷ McSorley, Op. Cit., p. 278.

⁴⁸ Afterwards Pope Sylvester II.

these realities and are of secondary importance. ... The general theory that all parts are absorbed in a transcendent whole fitted the purposes of the Church, ... Some form or other of this philosophic Realism, summed up in the formula, universalis ante rem, has always been the basis of orthodox philosophy in the Roman Church.

Before the eleventh century these ideas, except in the writings of Erigena, usually appear only in purely theological arguments. ... In a famous argument on the Trinity, in the eleventh century, Roscellinus (d.1122) attacked the Realist attitude of the Church and made an extreme statement of the opposite position. ... The orthodox Realist point of view was powerfully restated by Anselm (d.1109), the Archbishop of Canterbury, and after Augustine, the next important thinker in orthodox Catholic thought.⁴⁹

The plea for the Orthodox Faith in the hymn mentioned is possibly bound up in this heresy of the eleventh century which was only one of the many with which the Church had to contend.

The non-liturgical hymn HNL(8), a composition of the 13th century, easily fits in with the temporal supremacy of the papacy effected by Innocent III in his struggle with Philip Augustus of France, and the Fourteenth Ecumenical Council where the ambassadors of the Greek Emperor presented a letter written in the name of fifty archbishops and five hundred bishops of the Eastern Church, accepting the Roman primacy and the "Filioque" in the Creed. A direct reference to the Moralia is found in st. of this hymn:

⁴⁹ Artz, Op. Cit., p. 255-256.

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

And then in st. 2, the simply expressed prayer that God be propitious to the desires of the Council.

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

In the hymns no more mention is made of Gregory's Moralia until the late Middle Ages, the 15th century, when the whole Church was torn asunder by the Great Schism and the whole period was characterized by disunion. In fact, the years between 1420-1471 are known as the fifty critical years when the papacy was faced by the menace of heresy and schism. Again the papal supremacy was challenged by the Conciliar Movement and the Pope faced the task of rebuilding Sion.⁵⁰ It is no wonder then that saintly thought turned to the Champion of papal supremacy and orthodoxy, Gregory the Great. S(39) relates all his good deeds, calling him the "watcher" in st. 2b:

Qui iuxta sui nominis
 Quem sollocotudinis
 Vigilavit instantia.

And in st. 3b, the hymn includes among his other literary

⁵⁰ Philip Hughes, A History of the Church, New York, Sheed & Ward, 1947, Vol. 3, p. 306.

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deeds the reference to the Moralia:

Fecit et Job Moralia.

That he wrote the Moralia is verified by one⁵¹ of his own letters in which he says:

Dulcissimae autem mihi fraternitati vestrae
Codices direxi, quorum notitiam subter inseru i.
Ea autem quae in beati Job expositione dicta
fuerant, et vobis dirigenda scribitis, quia haec
verbis...

And also Paulus Diaconus tells us the complete story of its origin:

Tunc ab eisdem fratribus obnoxie rogatus,
maximeque a Leandro, venerabili viro, Hispalensi
episcopo, qui pro causis Visigothorum legatus eo
tempore Constantinopolim advenerat, compulsus est
ut librum beati Job multis involutum mysteriis
enodaret. Nec ille negare potuit opus, quod sibi
charitate interveniente, amor fraternus multis
utile imponebat futurum⁵². Sed eundem librum
quomodo...

And so from Gregory's actual deeds in the sixth century to the great disaster in the sixteenth - the Protestant Revolt - there is a tremendous rebound of affection, appreciation and dependability in the hearts of all Christians who sincerely longed for the security of the Church and the salvation of mankind.

⁵¹ Migne, P. L., Vol. 77, Bk. I, Ep. 43, p. 498.

⁵² Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 8, p. 45.

3. References to Social and Religious Transformation.

St. Gregory the Great's correspondence shows how effective was the influence of the papacy especially upon the Frankish Church. As Mourret quotes: "St. Gregory exercised the powers that had strengthened the authority of the Apostolic See in the fifth century and had been made more precise at the beginning of the sixth century in southern Gaul⁵³". The apprehension and fears of the Pope appear on every page of his correspondence when he viewed the vast field which Providence gave him for exercising his zeal: the Lombards were threatening Rome and spreading terror⁵⁴ on all sides; in fact, on all frontiers barbarians were pouring in stirring up future trouble; on the south, weak and enervated races, on the north, defiant and destructive forces without an emperor who could control affairs. Only the Bishop of Rome was capable of growing stronger in the midst of these dreadful burdens. Month by month in the Registrum we can follow him in the varied social and religious concern that absorbed his attention.

⁵³ Mourret in Vol. 3, p. 180, quotes from Vaes articles in Revue d'histoire Ecclésiastique, Louvain, 1905, "La papauté et l'église franque", Vol. VI, p. 785.

⁵⁴ Gregory, Registrum Bk., I, Ep. 31, p. 483; Ep. 17, p. 462; Ep. 36, p. 760; Bk. 2, Ep. 46, p. 583.

We find him watching over every phase of social life from private deals to public contributions. Pressing social needs were additional reason for Gregory to watch over the patrimonies which were at the disposal of the poor. Found here and there in the Letters are references which help us to form an idea of the plan and forethought of this socially alert and charitable Pope. It was especially in watching over the management of these patrimonies that Gregory showed that he was a vigilant and sympathetic overseer, rewarding the good caretakers and chiding the dishonest. The holy Pope was solicitous especially for the welfare of the people, whether coloni or slaves, who labored in the sweat of their brow⁵⁵. On the first day of each month he distributed to the poor their set portion of corn, wine, cheese, oil, fish, fresh provisions, clothes, and money; and his bursars were continually called upon to supply in special cases of merit or poverty, the money that was needed. One letter⁵⁶ which especially warns the conductores against exacting any burdens of the rusticos who he learns are suffering from unjust prices and other grievances which Gregory enumerates, serves to explain just how greatly

⁵⁵ Gregory, Op. Cit., Bk. I, Ep. 2, p. 443; Ep. 36, p. 489; Ep. 39, p. 493; Ep. 44, p. 498; Ep. 46, p. 508; Bk. 9, Ep. 27, p. 965.

⁵⁶ Gregory, Ibid., Bk. I, Ep. 43, p. 497.

concerned was this great prelate with every detail under his control. In fact the management and organization of the patrimonies are the masterpiece of his vigilance for the poor.

The "Dialogues" make up a golden legend of the lives of the Saints in four volumes; or, more clearly stated, it is the life and miracles of the Italian Fathers and deals with the immortality of the soul. Written in 593 it deals with the religious life of man in Gregory's day, being bound up with the supernatural. In all probability, Gregory merely put into writing what he had often repeated orally the stories which the old monks had related to the young monks when Gregory was in the monastery. In it Gregory directs the thought of man to the future, to life everlasting, with unsurpassed freshness, making use of marvellous stories without investigating their sources. Though he seems to have exaggerated in the use of fiction, he found it necessary to draw men's minds away from the pagan superstition of the day.

To understand the hymns dedicated to Gregory one would have to be familiar with the Dialogues, for there are more than a few references to them. If the reader has knowledge of the second Dialogue he will note the cautious selectivity that made the authors of the hymns choose their miracle allusions to correspond with those of Gregory's

own type. There are seven accounts of the "ship-wrecked sailor": two in the Breviary Hymns, three in the Sequences, and two in the Offices. Again, there are nine allusions to the power over the demon, including Trajan's rescue from hell: one in the Breviary Hymns, two in the 'Pia Dictamina', four in the Sequences, and two in the Offices. One miracle that seems to be of authentic origin, is the cure of the pestilence which Gregory's biographers carefully note. All these types of miracles have their counterpart in Dialogue II. For example, "A generous supply of flour is discovered in front of the abbey during a famine"⁵⁷, or "After death two nuns are freed from excommunications through the saint's offertory gift"⁵⁸, etc.

Clearly the legend miracle of the vision of Tarsilla, Gregory's aunt, in S(30), is a story taken from the Dialogues⁵⁹. St. 3a of the hymn states as follows:

Virgo saeculo pusilla
Eius amita Tarsilla,
Deo vigilans ancilla,
Vidit Jesum dulciter.

The same story regarding his aunt is found in Dialogues IV "De transitu Tharsillae sacrae virginis". Both tell of the appearance of Jesus to Tharsilla when she was about to die.

⁵⁷ Gregory, Op. Cit., Dialogus II, Ch. 21, p. 88.

⁵⁸ Ibid., Ch. 23, p. 91.

⁵⁹ Ibid., Dialogus IV, Ch. 16, p. 210.

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Again, there are a number of references to the power of the Mass in the fourth Dialogues⁶⁰, which would inspire the authors of the hymns to center their attention on the "Miracle of the Host". There are six references to that miracle in the hymns: one in the 'Pia Dictamina' three in the Sequences, and two in the Offices.

In the "Dialogues" the ordinary faithful were not forgotten, but this work helps more than any other writing to promote the Benedictine form of monasticism. As one would expect from a man with such a practical turn of mind, Gregory had quite a lot to say about the sacraments. He was responsible for the present arrangement of the Mass, adding to the list of Saints in the Canon of the Mass which probably was first arranged by Pope Symmachus who was noted for his devotion to the martyrs, and then by Gregory's addition of seven feminine saints: Perpetua, Felicitas, Agnes, Agatha, Lucy, Cecilia and Anastasia⁶¹.

There are many stories in the Dialogues devoted to austerity motifs, showing that this asceticism was uppermost in Gregory's mind. And so in studying the Dialogues there is much room for any form of miracle that may be handled in the hymns, and may be necessary to show the

⁶⁰ Ibid., Dialogues IV, Chs. 59, 60, 61, p. 270-274.

⁶¹ McSorley, Op. Cit., p. 155. Also see note 19.

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sanctity and moral greatness of a great saint in the person of Gregory the Great.

Before leaving the Dialogues, there is one particular type of medieval literature, which was taken from the Dialogus and called exempla or sermons, which is spoken of in H(13), st. 5:

Scriptis insudat, homilias praedicat,
Narrat exempla, dilucidat obscura.

The importance of these exempla is shown by Helin⁶² who states as follows:

Collections of exempla began to multiply from the end of the twelfth century. The most important ones were translated by Jacques de Vitry, used to furnish preachers with anecdotes suited to strike the imagination of the faithful.

While Eastern monasticism declined during this time partly because of bitter controversies in which the monks were involved, in the West monasticism spread and flourished, and the monks became pioneers of Christian civilization. They preached the Gospel, served the poor and sick, instructed the young in religion in various arts and crafts⁶³. But McSorley also says⁶⁴ that the monks

⁶² Helin, Medieval Latin Literature, p. 119.

⁶³ McSorley, Op. Cit., p. 156.

⁶⁴ Ibid., cf. note 23, p. 156.

occasionally disturbed the peace of the Church by their quarrels with the secular clergy, their jealousy of one another, their ambition for power and wealth. Pope Gregory labored to preserve distinction between monks and secular clergy, not giving too much freedom to the monks or too much power to the clergy.

In his Liber Regulae Pastoralis, Gregory collected the rules which regulated the lives and doctrine of pastors, of shepherds toward their sheep, thus giving form and life to the body of the hierarchy - an important contribution to the thought of the Middle Ages. It had a great influence on the religious world. Like the "Dialogues" it is divided into four parts: the first dealing with vocations, qualiter veniat; the second, with the duties of a true bishop, qualiter vivat; the third, with the type of instructions he must give, qualiter doceat; and the fourth, with the reflections he should make on himself from time to time to locate his motivation in his actions, qualiter se cognoscat. The entire work is inspired by this thought, that the government of souls is the art of arts, ars artium regimen animarum.

Because Pope Gregory found it necessary to rebuke Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne, for his interest in profane studies, teaching grammar and rhetoric rather than the saving truths which were so necessary at this time to instill

into the minds of the Gallic people, he holds a much disputed place in his attitude towards the Liberal Studies. But, indeed, if anyone reads the Regula Pastoralis he will find that Gregory in explaining a text from the Book of Kings urges a knowledge of studies drawn from secular branches, saying that when we are dissuaded from acquiring secular learning, we are deprived of the swords and lances which are necessary to hold the enemy at bay.

While the letter to Desiderius surely had an underlying provocation, Gregory's attitude toward profane literature is sufficiently clear in his writings and especially in his Letters, one⁶⁵ of which, Johannes Diaconus emphasizes in his Vita with the words: "Nam Gregorius nihil in suis episcopus magis, quam sanctitatem, sapientiam et liberalitatem curiosissime quaeritabat"⁶⁶. Indeed, this was the reason for the writing of the Pastoralis Regula, to circumvent the teaching of pagan studies and to examine and emphasize the duties of the pastoral office. It became in the Middle Ages just as it was intended to be in the sixth century, the code of clerical life, as the Rule of St. Benedict became the code of monastic life⁶⁷. Soon it was

⁶⁵ Gregory, Register, Bk. 7, Ep. 11, p. 865.

⁶⁶ Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 3, Ch. 28, p.146.

⁶⁷ Mourret, Op. Cit., p. 81.

spread in Spain by Leander of Seville. In England Alfred the Great had it translated into the Saxon tongue. In 1869 Cerruti⁶⁸, curator of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, translated and published a 13th century edition of it.

The similarity of following centuries, especially of those when reform and dedication were needed, is recognized in the hymns which in so many instances are devoted to pleas for a change of conduct. Raby seems to be speaking of Gregory's time when he says of the tenth century:

The tenth century had seen the life of the Church at a low ebb. ... The sense of danger produced a strong movement towards reform within the Church. It was a movement whose driving force was the monastic ideal of the separation of the Church from the world as understood by the monks of Cluny⁶⁹,

This reform movement deeply affected the religious life of Europe. Groups of ascetics followed their leaders, among whom was Peter Damiani, and when he was made Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, like Gregory, he saw his soul daily in peril from contact with the world. But the spiritual reform of the clergy was uppermost in his mind. This similarity of character and this sameness of desire for the clerical reform, warranted this deep seated appeal to Gregory as the Norma monachorum uttered by Damiani in st. 5 of H(2):

⁶⁸ Ibid., cf. note 67.

⁶⁹ Raby, Op. Cit., p. 250.

O pontifex egregie,
Lux et decus ecclesiae,
Non sinas in periculis,
Quos tot mandatis instruis.

And to show Damiani's admiration for Gregory the Great, the AH says: "Gregor war der Patron eines von Damiani gegründeten"⁷⁰.

In H(11), st. 6, the mere sentence, Gessit et curam pastoris, includes a strong and tender reference to the composition of the Pastoralis Regula.

In H(12), st. 5, the two expressions, norma pastorum, and speculum cleri, have the same intention of praising Gregory.

Most of the other references in the hymns to the Regula pastoralis have the later reform of the fifteenth and sixteenth in mind as these hymns were all written in the later period.

Specific mention is often made in the hymns to another renowned work of Gregory's, the Homiliae super Evangelia and the Homiliae Ezechielis. These, the forty homilies on the Gospel and the twenty-two homilies on Ezechiel, gained an immense popularity at the time contemporary with Gregory and in later periods. They are eminently communicative, living, pastoral and well adapted to the dispositions of men at that time⁷¹. The siege of Rome under Agilulf kept the

⁷⁰ Cf. note in AH, (41), p. 45.

⁷¹ Mourret-Thompson, Op. Cit., Vol. 3, p. 93.

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Pope from completing his Homilies at that time, and the calamities that happened all around him led him to believe that the end of the world was at hand, and so this belief is the burden of his last Homilies on Ezechiel, and we find fear expressed in one⁷² of his letters. His last homilies are filled with this dread. Louis Veuillot, a great apologist of the Church tells us how Gregory saw the world going to a simultaneous moral and physical ruin by heresy on the one hand, disease and earthquakes on the other, and yet he kept it from falling, sparing neither body nor soul.⁷³

Specific mention is made of the two sets of Homiliae Ezechielis in S(39), 3a:

Hic exposuit obscuras
Ezechielis scripturas
Dictant Dei gratia.

And also in 3b of the same hymn:

Et super evangelia
Quadraginta eulogia.

It is related that twenty of the Gospel homilies were preached by Gregory but the other twenty were preached by a notary because Agilulf was approaching with the Lombards and Gregory had to save his people. Like another Leo the

⁷² Gregory, Register, Op. Cit., Bk. 5, Ep. 40, in Migne, P. L., p. 766.

⁷³ Louis Veuillot, Le Parfum de Rome, Vol. 1, p. 101.

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Great who went out to meet Attila, Gregory the Great went forth to meet Agilulf. He was temporarily successful in warding off attack as Agilulf turned north. All this goes to prove how trying were the times during which the Homiliae were written, and how they were used to keep up the morale of the people. The hymns make frequent allusions to his oratorical ability and his power of preaching. The first reference is found in H(2), st. 6, where his eloquence is as honey-dew dropping from his lips, through which he won over the hardest hearts:

Mella cor obdulcantia
Tua distillant labia,
Fragrantum vim aromatum
Tuum vincit eloquium.

H(43), st. 2, uses two comparisons: those of sweet flowing honey to life-giving milk of little ones and of the food for the strong:

Sacra cuius eloquia
Vitae ferentis pascua
Lac potum donant parvulis
Cibum ministrant validis.

The Sequences refer to his eloquence in short expressions. S(1), st. 6b, states:

Ore mellito loquitur
.

And S(30), st. 7a, also concisely says:

... recte dixit,
Quo malivolos adflixit,
.

The Whitby Life has a special tribute to Gregory's oratorical ability:

Quod tam plene tamque ab eo suspicit sapienter
qui est Dei sapientia in mysterio abscondita,
quem predestinavit Deus ante secula in gloriam
nostram, ut a gente Romana que ceteris mundo
intonat sublimius proprie de aurea oris eius
gratia, os aureum appellatur.⁷⁴

Since 24 of the hymns are products of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, they are possible reminders of the abuses that existed in the Church preceding and during the Protestant revolution and voice a strong hope and prayer for their correction. The popes of the sixteenth century were in the midst of the revival of art, literature and scholarship, to the neglect of spiritual development. H(13), st. 4, is a possible outcry against the pride of the papacy, or, at least, a reminder of the days when the Pope stood for heavenly humility, as opposed to the material interests and mundane affairs which occupied the Popes of this age who should have recognized earthly government as temporary expedients:

Papa fit urbis, caput totius orbis,
In forma Christi corpus monstrat digiti,
Servum Servorum primus scribit se ipsum,
Humilis praesul, pius inopum consul.

H(14), written in the 15th century, contains an

⁷⁴ Gasquet, Op. Cit., Ch. 24, p. 32.

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urgent prayer for spiritual light and virtue, and seems an echo of the agony in which the Church was then:

O Gregori, dulcissimum
Sancti spiritus organum
Atque virtutum speculum,
Posce nobis suffragium.

These lines clearly reflect the cry for reform of the clergy and have direct reference to the Regula Pastoralis. Likewise, H(21), st. 2, is a possible rebuke to the great number of clergy who were not zealous or who had forgotten their first Love:

Hic sacro fervens studio
Totum se vovit Domino,
.

Another rebuke to worldly clergy including the popes is in H(36), st. 2, and seems to echo the Mystical idea of the great reformers of the 14th century whose voice preceded the protestant uprising, in stating that the external world is an illusion and should be shut out:

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

The last line is the most important in bringing out the message of the whole: Nil in hac vita carnis prosit gloria. One of the greatest currents of reaction to the world was the mystical ideal of the 14th and 15th centuries, and earlier. We seem to hear an echo from the Moralia with the same message:

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Ex cuius videlicet carne in hujus exsilii
caecitate nati, audivimus quidem coelestem esse
patriam, audivimus eorundem angelorum socios
spiritus justorum et perfectorum. Sed carnales
quique, quia illa invisibilia scire non valent per
experimentum, dubitant utrumne sit quod coeorporali-
bus oculis non vident.⁷⁵

One of the most pointed references in the hymns to
the deeds of the Council of Trent which followed the
Protestant Revolt, is found in H(24), st. 5. Since Pope
Julius III (1550-1555) published a comprehensive scheme for
the reformation of the clergy which caused great excite-
ment⁷⁶, the author of this hymn composed in 1553, probably
had Gregory's similar reforms in mind when he wrote:

Post eleri ritus statuit precesque,
Cuncta restaurans monumenta sedis,
Ordines cleri revocansque sacros
Papa creatus.

St. 6 of the same hymn contains the substance of a prayer
of intercession, such as may have been used at the Council
of Trent:

Nunc tuis praesens sis, Gregori,
Corde sincero flagitamus omnes,
Quatenus sacris sociemur astris
Arce polorum.

The Council of Trent encountered stiff opposition
throughout its course and many a prayer of the type above

⁷⁵ Gregory, *Moralia*, Bk. 4, Ch. 1, p. 317, in Migne
P. L., Vol. 77.

⁷⁶ McSorley, *Op. Cit.*, p. 578.

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was needed for its success. The most natural saint to invoke was Gregory, the great reform Pope.

In the tragic events afflicting society, again a similar tragedy, the "Black Death", carries the hymnologist back to Gregory's lues inguinarum of the sixth century.

P(7), st. 3, states:

Gaude tu, qui suscepisti
Jesum Christum, quem vidisti,
Dum egenos collegisti,
Serva nos a fame tristi.

Since all the 'Pia Dictamina' are late productions, each has a particular bearing on the one great tragedy, the Protestant Revolt, and each has a special reference to the great literary works of Gregory the Great, pointing out the way to clerical reform, or pleading for some heavenly hand to guide them on the right path. H(11), st. 6, has a mere sentence Gessit et curam pastoris, which certainly has reference to the Regula Pastoralis, and the Sequences refer to this work when they state in S(1), st. 8b:

Omnis pastor informatur
Rex cum clero gloriatur,
ejus sapientia.

And in S(39), st. 8a:

Ordinatus pastorem
Librum fecit, in quo, qualem
Praesulum esse deceat.

The references to his place as a writer by the hymnologists of the Middle Ages are numerous in a general way,

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but in a specific way, special notice is taken of Gregory's particular contribution through his particular works. His importance as a writer may be judged by the numerous allusions to his compositions, and especially in the following general motifs in the hymns which pay tribute in every respect to Gregory's penetrative mind in seeking truth and urging reform. One such general reference is found in H(2), st. 7, where Gregory is eulogized for his supernatural ability to delve into the secrets of the Scriptures:

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

H(11), st. 4, likewise states:

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

All his works are referred to in H(12), st. 5:

Norma pastorum, monachorum gemma
Speculum cleri, pater orphanorum,
Sancte Gregori.

That Gregory actually composed these works attributed to him is asserted by Bede⁷⁷, Paulus Diaconus⁷⁸, Johannes Diaconus⁷⁹ and others.

⁷⁷ Bede, Ecclesiastical History, Bk. 2, Ch. 1, p. 63-66.

⁷⁸ Paulus Diaconus, Op. Cit., Ch. 8, p. 45; Ch. 14, p. 48; Ch. 28, p. 57.

⁷⁹ Johannes Diaconus, Op. Cit., Bk. 4, Ch. 75, p. 226.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

As was indicated in the introduction of this thesis, the numerous Gregory hymns of every kind and type: Sequences, Rhythmical Offices, Breviary Hymns, Tropes, and 'Pia Dictamina' were to be and have been investigated to reveal in every way possible the belief in the supremacy of the spiritual, in aspiration towards the divine, in an attempt to represent the infinite power and goodness of the divine as the vocation of man. To this end the numerous legends of St. Gregory, the details of which are given in their respective texts in the hymns dedicated to him, are deeply significant of the period in which they were composed.

On the basis of chronological analysis, a two-fold division of the history and development of the medieval St. Gregory hymns results:

In the first period of the composition of Breviary Hymns, the tenth and the eleventh centuries, characteristic of the times, emphasis is placed on the miraculous, although there is frequent reference also to historical recordings and influence of St. Gregory proceeding from the prose texts or Lives devoted to him. The resulting productivity of this early period shows a more definite theological outlook, than during the previous years of Charlemagne's attack on the "Wild Saxons" and others; so that any one who

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is interested in the progress of religion and society after Charlemagne, and the traditional thought of his time, is amply convinced that the existing conditions caused saintly men to look back three hundred years to a Saint, who was gifted especially for social and religious reform.

The student of history, especially of ecclesiastical history, will notice that the strength of Gregory was ever longingly summoned when there was a decline in society, and where there was need of moral reform, above all monastic reform. In these early centuries, the tenth and the eleventh, when the papacy was in a struggle with the Ottos and the Henrys, and the Clunia~~s~~ Reform was at its height, saintly men turned to the past, and ardently sighed for another Gregory to champion the cause of the Church, as was done in the sixth century. All these events are bound up with the history of the Age.

Not many of the miracles appear in the second division of Gregory hymns, which are in great part from the pen of ardent champions of later morals. In these hymns only the solid facts appear, facts that make Gregory the apostle of prowess, of vigor, and that make him an untiring zealot for recovering poor erring humanity. In this late period, there are nine Breviary Hymns, one Office, three Sequences, and eight 'Pia Dictamina' which present

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the biography of a man whose popularity for moral progress and reform was here to stay.

In an intensive study of this sort, the mind is centered on the spiritual, the intellectual, and the social grip which concerned the general movement of Medieval History. Other studies of a similar nature will serve to offset the general complaint, that, in the earlier Middle Ages, there is a lack of adequate sources; and for the later Middle Ages, there are an insufficient number of monographic studies on which to base an adequate general account. For, where else do we find a fuller answer to perplexing problems of this obscure period than in the hymns, which, handled by the internal method described in the introduction of this thesis, probe and interpret the minds and ideas of the masses of the Middle Ages?

Finally, to summarize, the hymns follow the history, the thought, the religion of the Post-Carolingian period to the so-called Protestant Reformation, and by calling up Gregory the Great's achievements, the authors carry us back to the sixth century, where his deeds, his social reforms, and his literary works bring us face to face with one of the main pillars on which the Middle Ages were built - Gregory the Great.

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ABSTRACT OF

An Analysis of the Medieval Latin Hymns
in Honor of Saint Gregory¹

A complete internal analysis of all types of the authentic hymns dedicated to Pope Saint Gregory the Great in the Middle Ages was the designed purpose of this thesis. Such an analysis has a definite place in the evaluation and penetration of the history and thought of the Middle Ages, through the hymns dedicated to Gregory the Great.

In the first Section of Chapter I the hymns were classified, and each defined and relegated to the group to which it belonged. Next, in the second Section, the origin and authorship of each hymn were carefully traced with the use of available and qualified references. The third Section ushered in the external analysis with the versification and verse peculiarities of these hymns, geared to the formation of a new and comprehensive insight into a literary content whose understanding reveals a deep and extremely rich mine of cultural and historical material of medieval literary history.

In Chapter II, the first and second Sections show a careful and penetrating internal analysis of the

¹ Sister M. Kathleen, doctoral thesis presented to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa, Ontario, December 1962, x-207 p.

biographical elements, historical and legendary, whose understanding is destined to lead to a closer sympathy for the period involved, and to reflect the current thought of a large section of the medieval masses. In succeeding Sections, the third presents Gregory in ever more important form drawn as it is from the Medieval Lives which dominated faithful accounts of this Saint from the Carolingian to the High Middle Ages. Since there are only three Lives of the great Saint, these are heavily drawn upon to confirm important statements. The fourth Section throws deep illumination on the question of saints' lives as viewed by the medievalist, especially emphasizing the power that saints could cure diseases and allay public calamities.

In Chapter III, Section one deals with the Biblical allusions traced to their sources in the Bible pointing out the fact medieval men had their minds on God, believing that He reveals Himself to them through the Bible. In the second Section of this chapter are references to the theological or doctrinal disputes many of which are contained in the Pope's Letters and other works around which he produced much of his written thought. This Section as does the third reveals Gregory as the type of reformer whom every medievalist remembered when his own age was troubled by the need of a like reform. Here is the feel of history which no other method can express! This part also led into

ABSTRACT

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the field of Gregory's own works recounting their great influence which penetrated into the very lives of the faithful. More than once there is confrontation with the corrupting influences and acts of a later age which called forth an hymnological appeal to Gregory who was a witness of the Faith and gave his life for its sake in the seventh century for similar breaches of good morals.

Since, up to now, a straightforward, unbroken description of legendary motifs such as are in the Gregory hymns is quite rare, it is hoped that a similar study of other groups of hymns will not only help toward the systematic classification and synthesis of an important field of literature, but also aid in scattering the errors and misconceptions of a literary historical period so little known because so little explored.

De sancto Gregorio.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Anglorum jam apostolus,
Nunc angelorum socius,
Ut tunc, Gregori, gentibus
Succurre jam credentibus. | 3. Videtur egens naufragus,
Dum stipem petit, angelus,
Tu nummulam post geminam
Praebes et vas argenteum. |
| 2. Tu largas opum copias
omnemque mundi gloriam
Spernis, ut inops inopem
Jesum sequaris principem. | 4. Ex hoc te Christus tempore
Suae praefert ecclesiae,
Sic Petri gradum percipis,
Cujus et normam sequeris. |
| 5. O pontifex egregie,
Lux et decus ecclesiae,
Non sinas in periculis,
Quos tot mandatis instruis. | 7. Scripturae sacrae mystica
Mire solvis aenigmata,
Theorica mysteria
Te docet ipsa veritas. |
| 6. Mellis cor obdulcantia
Tua distillant labia,
Fragrantum vim aromatum
Tuum vincit eloquium. | 8. Tu nactus apostolicam
Vicem simul et gloriam,
Nos solve culpa nexibus,
Redde polorum sedibus. |
| 9. Sit patri laus ingenito,
Sit decus unigenito,
Sit honor ineffabili
Majestas summa flamini. | |

Brev. ms. Casinense saec. 11. Cod. Vatican. Urbin. 585.A.-Brev. ms. S. Sophiae Beneventan. saec. 11. Cod. Neapolitan. VI. E 43 B.- 2, 3 Spernis fehlt A.-9, 5 Sit utriusque parili B.- Verfasser ist Petrus Damiani, in dessen Werken der Hymnus steht (Migne 145,957).

3

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Anglorum iam apostolus,
Nunc angelorum socius,
Ut tunc, Gregori, gentibus
Succurre iam credentibus.
2. Tu largas opum copias
Omnemque mundi gloriam
Spernis, ut inops inopem
Jesum sequaris principem.
3. Videtur egens naufragus,
Dum stipem petit, angelus,
Tu munus iam post geminum
Praebes et vas argenteum.
4. Ex hoc te Christus tempore
Suae praefert ecclesiae,
Sic Petri gradum percipis,
Cuius et normam sequeris.
5. O pontifex egregie,
Lux et decus ecclesiae,
Non sinas in periculis,
Quos tot mandatis construis.
6. Mella cor abdulcantia
Tua distillant labia,
Frangrantum vim aromatum
Tuum vincit eloquium.
7. Scripturae sacrae mystica
Mire solvis aenigmata,
Theorica mysteria
Te docet ipsa veritas.
8. Tu nactus apostolicam
Vitam simul et gloriam,
Nos solve culpa nexibus,
Redde polorum sedibus.
9. Sit patri laus ingenito,
Sit decus unigenito,
Sit utriusque parili
Majestas summa flamini.

Nymn ms. Casinense saec. 10. ex. Cod. Vatican. Ottobon.
145. add saec. 11. ex. A. - Orat ms. Compense anni 1560. Cod.
Darmstadien. 521. B. - Migne l. c. 957. C. - 3,3 Ac munus A. - 6,3.
Fragrantium aromatum B. - 6,4 vineunt A; Vincit et eloquium B. -
8.9 Vitam fehlt; Simul et angelicam B. - Am Rande von gleich-
zeitiger Hand; Petri Damiani B. - Gregor was der Patron eines
von Damiani gegründeten. Klosters zu Göncha. - Vgl. Anal XXII, 118
sq.

In sancti Gregorii.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Claret sacrata jam dies,
quo urbis Romae pontifex
Polum solutos ex carne
Gregorius petierat.</p> <p>2. Tunc magis altum moribus
Doctrinaque egregium
a pubertatis tempore
Almum gerebat spiritum.</p> <p>3. O magnum decus ecclesiae,
O sacerdotum gloria,
Dum gregi praestat pabulum
lecta pandit mysteria.</p> <p>4. Fulgent verbis et sensibus
Ejus dogmata omnia,
Sancti ut credant spiritus
Donum fuisse maximum.</p> <p>5. Praebent salutis copiam
Sale praecepta condita
Et munus magnum populis
Rigans corda mysteriis.</p> | <p>6. Gessit et curam pastoris,
Ut gentibus ferret opem,
Anglos convertit ad fidem
Addens plabem ecclesiae.</p> <p>7. Nam ejus inter caetera
Virtutum et documenta,
Quod gessit post obitum
Suum Romae ad spelaeum:</p> <p>8. Quidam caecus, a parvulo
Suo privatus lumine,
Antrum excubat avidius,
Lumen requirit perditum.</p> <p>9. Sed virtus alma protinus
Favet poscenti anxie,
Suis reddit obtutibus
Lucis munera ocus.</p> <p>10. Cujus sane ut precibus
Juvemur omnes poscamus,
Ut coeli aulam propere
Valeamus penetrare.</p> |
|---|---|

11. Deo patri sit gloria.

V. fol. 46b; P fol. 54b.- Ferner: Hymn. ms Neapolitanus saec. 13. Cod. Neapolitan. VI G 29. A.- Bei Morel No. 430 aus Cod. Renovien. 91. M.-1,2 pontifex Romae M.-1, 3 e carne AM.- 2, 1 Nunc M; almum moribus A.-2,2 Doctrinamque egregius VP.-3, 1 O magnum lesen sämtliche Handschriften, obschon das O überzahlig ist und aus 3,2 hereingekommen scheint.- 3, 3 gregis A.-4,1 Fulget A.- 4,3 Sanctum ut credant spiritum A; Sancti ut credat M.-5,5 magnum munus AM; populum M.- 6, 1 Pastoris cessit et curam M.- Str. 7. ff. fehlen A.-7, 1 Jam ejus M.- 8, 2 privato VP.-8, 4 requireret VP; requirunt M.- 9, 1 Securus alma P; alma proditus M.- 9, 2 Fave VP; fovet M.-10, 2 Jubemur VPM.

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Fulget in coelis celebris sacerdos,
Stella doctorum rutilat in astris,
Fidei sacros radios per orbis
Climata spargens.
2. (188) Israelita pius et fidelis
Hac die junctus angelis in alto
Regis superni meruit serenum
Cernere vultum.
3. Cive tam claro, Sion o superna,
Laeta die laudes Domino salutis,
Jubila, tellus, meritis protecta
Praesulis almi.
4. Hic fidem sacram vigilanter firmat,
Arma errorum subigit potenter,
Maculas morum lavat et repellit
Dogmate claro.
5. O gregis Christi speculator alme,
Norma pastorum, monachorum gemma,
Speculum cleri, pater orphanorum,
Sancte Gregori.
6. Tu Dei nobis faciem placito,
Donet ut nobis veniam reatus,
Dona virtutum ferat et perennis
Gaudia vitae.
7. Gloria patri genitaeque proli
et tibi, compar utriusque semper
Spiritus alme, Deus unus omni
Tempore saeculi.

Orat. ms. Schönaugense saec. 12; daraus bei Roth, die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth von Schoenau, Brunn 1884. S. 341 sq. Roth nennt als Verfasser Robert von Schönau, was vielleicht richtig, aber nicht über Zweifel erhaben ist.

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De Sancto Gregorio.

1. Caudeat sancta nunc mater ecclesia,
Fulta doctrinis et canticis divinis,
Magni pastoris, eximii doctoris
In festo sancti praesulis Gregorii.
2. Qui auro, gemmis, sericis induentis
Se nudans Christi fit pauper et monachi
Villa quaerit, monasteris condit,
Septem praediis large ditans propriis.
3. Celebs monachus fit abbas largifluus,
Strenuus rector pauperumque dilector,
Dat ut naufrago argenteam angelo
Scutellam maris ceteris erogatis.
4. Papa fit urbis, caput totius orbis,
In forma Christi corpus monstrat digiti,
Servum servorum primus scribit se ipsum,
Humilis praesul, pius inopum consul.
5. Scriptis insudat, homilias praedicat,
Narrat exempla, dilucidat obscura,
Salvat Trajanum justum, licet pagani,
Febribus aeger, sed facundia pulcher.
6. Sit Deo patri sempiterna gloria,
Sit coaeterno laus et honor filio,
Sit coaequali laus sancto spiritui,
In caput sancti qui sedit Gregorii.

Brev. Tornacense imp. Parisius 1509.- 3,4 ceteris sic
erogatis.- 6,2 coaeterna.- 6,3 coaequalis.

De Sancto Gregorio.

1. Gaude, coelestis curia,
Nostra resultet patria,
Cum recensentur annua
Gregorii sollemnia.
2. Qui totus apostolicus,
Miraculis, virtutibus
Praeventus Dei gratia,
Refulsit in ecclesia.
3. Crebris correptus febribus,
Miris pollens affectibus,
Se praesumebat diligi,
Quod merebatur argui.
4. Psallamus totis nisibus,
Jungamus preces precibus,
Laudes canentes singuli,
Dicamus tanto praesuli:
5. O Gregori, dulcissimum
Sancti spiritus organum
Atque virtutum speculum,
Posce nobis suffragium.
6. Ut hoc possimus consequi,
Quo te gaudemus perfrui
In summi regis gloria
Per infinita saecula.

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Gregori, doctor inclite,
Tuo lustrata dogmate
Tota mater ecclesia
Plaudent ad haec solennia.
2. Tu sidus micans fulgidum,
Jubar solare fervidum,
Illustras corda hominum,
Fers animae praesidium.
3. Celsas turre ecclesiae
Sedisque gubernacula
Tenes regens egregie,
Opponens propugnacula.
4. Terrenos vultus Anglicos
Romae videns ut angelos,
Motus misericordia
Fideles facis Anglia.
5. Hinc carceris ergastulo,
Carnis solutos vinculo,
Coeli locaris hodie
Comptus corona gloriae.
6. O sacrae apostolicae
Dux fidei catholicae,
Nostris adauge mentibus
Fervorem sancti spiritus.
7. Praesta, beata trinitas,
Concede, simplex unitas,
Ut fructuosa sint tuis
Jejuniorum munera.

Brev. ms. Civitatense saec. 15. Cod. Marcian. L I 85.

De sancto Gregorio.

Ad Vesperas.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Laetetur orbis quadruus
Piis concertans laudibus,
Adest festum Gregorii,
Pontificis eximii. | 3. Gentem convertit Anglicam
Colentem idolatriam,
Missis praedicatoribus
Adscribens Christi ovibus. |
| 2. Hic sacro fervens studio
Totum se vovit Domino,
Verbis, scriptis et opere
Propagator ecclesiae. | 4. Spiritu sancto didicit
Magistro, quidquid edidit,
Favos destillans mentibus
Nunc sermone nunc cantibus. |
5. Sancto sanctorum gloria
Tanti patris memoria
Ab angelis et homine
Dicatur omni tempore.

Propr. Boscoducense imp. Antwerpiae s.a.

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Laudibus dignis resonemus omnes
 Corde devoto veneranda sacra
 Tam refulgentis meritis beati
 Festa patroni.
2. Qui satus Romae patre Godriano,
 Silvia matre gentibus pudica,
 Traxit et famam genere ex avito
 Nobilitatis.
3. Artibus puris teneris sub annis
 Impiger sensus aluit tenellos
 Atque gustavit studio frequenti
 Dogmata Christi.
4. **Struxit ad Christi venerationem**
 Claustra sex fratrum Siculis in arvis,
 Septimum sumptu proprio latina
 Struxit in urbe.
5. Post cleri ritus statuit precesque,
 Cuncta restaurans monumenta sedis,
 Ordines cleri revocansque sacros
 Papa creatus.
6. Nunc tuis praesens age sis, Gregori,
 Corde sincero flagitamus omnes,
 Quatenus sacris sociemur astris
 Arce polorum.
7. Sit Deo nostro decus et potestas,
 Sit salus perpes, sit honor perennis,
 Qui poli summa residet in arce
 Trinus et unus.

Hymnar. ms. Hermetisvillan. anni 1553. Cod. Griesens.

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De sancto Gregorio.

Ad Nocturnum.

1. Laudis opus ut honori
 Serviat opificis
Collaudari te, Gregori,
 Decet modis musicis,
Per quem servit conditori
 Mundus laudum canticis.
2. Christi vice tu praelatus,
 Sed subsistens humilis,
Christo semper es conatus
 Inveniri similis,
Ut praeesse Deo gratus,
 Mundo venerabilis.
3. Primo confert te pastori
 Fidei constantia,
Paulo sensus, praecursori
 Victus parsimonia
Et Joanni seniori
 Mentis eminentia.
4. O vas auri, pretiosis
 Rehitens lapidibus,
Quasi coelum radiosus
 Emicans sideribus,
Affer opem gloriosis
 Meritis et precibus.
5. Tibi summa sit majestas.

Brev. ms Vallumbrosanum saec. 15. in. Cod. Londinen.
 Burn.333. A.- Brev. ms. S. Salvii Florentini saec. 15. Cod.
 Riccardian. 372.B.- Brev. ms. S. Trinitatis in Alpibus anni
 1455. Cod. Laurentian. Conv. sup.512.C.- Brev. Praedicatorum
 imp. Venetiis 1514. D,- 3, 3 sensus fehlt A.

In sancti Gregorii.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. magnus miles mirabilis,
Multis effulgens meritis,
Gregorius cum Domino
Gaudet perenni praemio. | 3. Legis praecepta Domini
Laetus implevit opere,
Largus libens, lucifluus
Laudabatur in meritis. |
| 2. Carnis terens incendia
Corde credidit Domino
Contempsit cuncta caduca
Caritatis officio. | 4. Qui ante consueverat
Rostra vestire ac gemmas,
Post vili tectus stragulo
Ministrabat pauperibus. |
| 5. Fecit namque convertere
Agellem, Anglorum principem,
Ejusque cunctum populum
Ad Christum regem omnium. | 7. Post mortem sui corporis
Caeco reddidit oculos,
Cujus a pueritia
Lumen amissum fuerat. |
| 6. Rexit namque ecclesiam
In pace apostolica
Cathedra sedens Romana
Gregorius terrigena. | 8. Ipsius nos auxilium
Deprecemur perpetuum,
Ut meramur dicere
Fine sine cum gaudio: |
| 9. Gloria patri ingenito,
Gloria unigenito
Una cum sancto spiritu
In sempiterna saecula. | |

V fol. 47a; P fol. 55a.-1,4 praemia VP.- 6,1 ecclesia
V.-6,3 Romanam VP.

1. O decus sacerdotum * flosque sanctorum,
Doctor egregius, * sancte Gregori,
Fautor assidue * sis ecclesiae,
2. Quo fides accrescat, * spes nos sustentet,
Caritas exuberet, * iustitia regnet,
Prudentia gubernet, * conservet.
3. Fortis Jesu Christi * paterque superne
Cum sancto periculo * nos tuere
Ab omni periculo * nunc et in aevo.

Collect ms Petershusanum saec 12. Cod. Heidelberg, IX, 42a. - Es ist bemerkenswert, dass dieser Hymnus gleichen Vers- und Strophenbau mit den gleichen Unebenheiten in der Silbenzahl und im Binnenreim ausweist, wie der unter N. 34 mitgeteilte Hymnus auf Maria Empfängnis: beide ungelenke Dichtungen stammen aus dem gleichen Konstanzer Reviere.

De sancto Gregorio.

Ad Vesperas.

1. Pange, lingua, confessoris
Incliti praeconium
Melodiam formet oris
Fervens ardor mentium,
Intus corda, lingua foris
Personent Gregorium.
2. Tanquam Aaron electus
Christi praeest ovibus,
Pastor vigil, zelo rectus,
Sed suavis moribus,
Velut Moyses dilectus
Deo et hominibus.
3. Modulantis harmoniae
Renovans dulcedinem
Et reformans hierarchiae
Subcoelestis ordinem
In se David et Josiae
Pertulit imaginem.
4. Simul morbis lacescit
Et bellorum turbine
Perstat fortis, alte situs
In virtutis culmine,
Job et Josue munitus
Bina fortitudine.
5. Tibi summa sit majestas
Gratiarum actio,
Honor, virtus et potestas,
Laus et benedictio,
Quae coelestis regni praestas
Gloriam Gregorio.

Brev. ms. Vallumbrosanum saec. 15. in. Cod. Londinen.
Burn. 353. A.-Brev. ms. S. Salvii Florent. saec. 15. Cod.
Riccardian. 372. B.-Brev. ms. S. Trinitatis in Alpibus anni
imp. Venetiis 1514. D.-4,1 morbo A.-4,2 turbidine D.-Ad
Nocturnum C.

In sancti Gregorii Magni.

1. Praesulis egregii merita
Gregorii rutilant titulis,
Caelicolas quibus irradiat
Terrigenas et ad astra levat.
2. Germinis praeculis et sophia
Nobilior nituit studiis,
Sedis apostolicae regimen
Dogmate mellifluo moderans.
3. Mente superna petens crucifer
Pauperibus sua cuncta dedit,
Vocibus angelicis meruit
Unda cliens Domini brevia.
4. Quis fuerit pater eximius,
Spiritus ille docet Domini,
Gorda patrum bene qui docuit,
Munera cuius et hunc decorant.
5. Semina dulcia praeco Dei
Spargitat in populis monitis,
De grege ne pereat aliquis,
Multiplici pietate studet.
6. Agmina dum peregrina fovet,
In medio pone Christi sedes
Inspicit et varia specie
Horama valde sui simile;
7. Serviat ut humilis domino
Urceus accipitus et aquae;
Tollere hanc faciem famulo;
Sicque repente Deus se levans.
8. Nocte sequenti videt Dominum;
Alloquio sui cum fruitur,
Percipit, hospite quo fuerit
Glorificatus, ut astra petat.
9. Gesta tua monachos relevent
Ecclesiaeque decus teneant,
Fortibus auxiliis, Gregori,
Nos solide Domino socians.
10. Brittanicos populos Domino
Ut precibus potuisti dare,
Sic tua gratia nos provehat
Ad solium patris altithroni.

11. Coenobii memorare nostri,
Hoc supplices petimus, domine,
Pastor adesto tuis monachis,
Pastor ut altius nos recreet.
12. Gloria cum patre sit genito
Spirituque perinde sacro;
Nunc Deus unus et omnipotens
Hunc memorum faciat memorem.

Hymn. ms. Farfense saec. 10/11. Cod. Turicen. Rhenov.
91.-1;3 irradiat.- 1, A ad fehlt -2, 1 praeclarus.-4,4 decorat.-6,
1 perigrina. -6,2 bone stepone -post.-6,4 Orama 7.3 Repente
tollere (repente sichtlich aus 7,4 heraufgenommen) -7, 4 Deus
celerans -Str. 7 ist dunkel in der Konstruktion; der Sira ist zu
erraten aus der bekannten Vision.-8, 1 Non te sequenti video.-8,2
cum fehlt.-11,4 altius eos.-Die Doxologie ist gleich-jener des
Agatha Hymnus Martyris Ecce dies Agathae (Nr. 134); warscheinlich
diente letzterer Hymnus als Vorlage.- Der text ist offenbar
vielfach enstellt; andere Hellungsversuche bei Werner (p. 99)

- 1 Herum salus intermina,
Rex Christe, totus gratia,
Da, te rogat quod intimus,
Quantum valet, supplicius
Noster meleth sollemnium
Harmonis dulcedinum,
Ultra solens almiphonae
Purae modos hymnodiae,
2. Euphonicae quo citharae,
Spiritualis musicae,
Suavisonans os, aureo
Gratae patri Gregorio,
Efferat hunc spermologon
Laudum sat hyperboleon,
Decens ut est, idoneis
Donante te praeconis.
3. Metate mox a primula
Tu iam petenti sidera
Primitias charismatum
Dans gaudii per oleum
Selegeras theologiae
Hunc plus oeconomiae,
Perficiens ornatius
Totis virum virtutibus,
4. Quem coetui catholico
Praeficeres pupillulo,
Ut pater esset patriae
Almaeque reipublicae,
Cuius statum consilio
Et spirituali gladio.
Hyr sapiens defenderit
Ab hoste, vim ne tulerit.
5. Nox fulsit ut topazius
Tota nox theoricus
Chrysolithum per aureas
Vibransque cathedrias,
Mellieuli quas dogmatis
Elucidavit radiis;
Agapis almae nisibus
Est factus omnis omnibus.

6. Sic margaritum nobile
Iubar inaestimabile
Aromatizans balzamu
Lyra, tropos et organum,
Quis sibi iucundius,
Toto boni pleromate
Vixit Deo dignissime.
7. Arcis Sion quem pugilem
Tempus suum pervigilem
Ornat iam poli curia
Faustum triumphus laurea
Senatus atque superum
Dulce perennans iubilum
Hoc cive tam spectabili
Congratulatur perfrui.
8. Hunc semper in subsidiis
Nostris, Jesu, miseris
Siste, tuis supplicibus
Assistat ut propitius,
Qui solus invictissimi
Rex sabaoth imperii
Summe bonus per omnia
Regnas potenter saecula.

Explan. ms. Hieronymi in Isaiam (olim Augien.) saec. 9. et 10. Cod. Carollsruhan. Augien. LXXII add saec. 12.A.-Brev. ms. 33 (Monialium) anni 1196-1220. Cod. Graecen. 1550. B.-Brev.ms. Becoviense (Monialium) saec. 14. in. Cod. Graecen. 789 C - Brev. ms. Klense saec. 14. Cod. Vindobonen 1893. D- Brev. ms. Benedictinum bohemicum saec. 14/15. Cod. Borgian. M II 17.E.-Brev. ms. Opatovicense saec. 15. Cod. Vindobonen. 1962 F.-Oration. ms. Tergurinum anni 1490. Clm. Monacen. 19824.G.- E u.F nicht Kol-lationert.

1,1 hex salus D.-1,3 quos intimus AG.-1, 4 supplicibus G.-1,5 meleht A, melech C, meloth D.-1,7 Ultro sonans BCD; maliphone G.-2,3 hos (statt os) G.-2,4 Grates BCD.-2,5 afferat G; spermologon BCD.-2,6, Laudum fac hyperleon D.-7 et idoneus G.-3,5 theodole G.-3,6 Hinc prius D, piis G; exonomie A, economie BDG, euconomie C. -4, 1 cattolico B.-4, Praefeceres AG; popellulo D.-4,6 gaudio A.-4,7 Hir B; defenderat C.-Nach Str. 4 Divisio und abschluss durch Str. 8 B C D.-5,5 meliculi A, meliflui G; quos C.-5,7 visibus C D.-5,8 factus est B C D.-6,1 Hic B G; margaritarum G. (margaritum ist offenbar kontrahierte Form des gen. plu.). -6,5 ducibus A, dulcius D.-6,7 Toti A; pleromate C.-7,3 poli fehlt D, curiam C.-7,4 Fati C, Faustum D.-8,1 Nunc B G.-8,4 Ut assistat A, Assistat et G.-8,7 Summe bonum B C D.

Aus einem aus Einsiedeln stammenden Hymnar des 12. Jahrh. hatte ich die erste Strophe dieses Hymnus abgeschrieben; der Text stimmt ziemlich mit A überein. Als ich jüngst eine vollständige Kollation aus dieser alten Quelle erbat, stellte sich heraus, dass ich irrig als Signatur Cod. 366 angemerkt hatte. Jedenfalls ist es von Bedeutung, dass in Einsiedeln im 12. Jahrh. der Text von A und G. war. - Als Verfasser muss wohl der gebräuchlich Sequenz "Grates honos ierarchia" (Anal. Hymn. L. 309) angesehen werden, nämlich der Monch Herrimann Contractus von Reichenau; in beiden Dichtungen ist der gleiche gesuchte, schwulstige Stil, der gleiche Aufputz mit griechischen Wörtern und Grecismen, und zwar in ganz frappierender Ähnlichkeit; nach Reichenau weist auch die Quelle A. - Man beachte für Str. 1 u. 2, ebenso für Str. 3 u. 4 das bei Herrimann beliebte Eujambement. Konstruktion von Str. 1 u. 2; Da, rex Christe, purae hymnodiae modos, quo os citharae efferat hunc spermologon praeconiis laudum.

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Sancte Gregori, magni pastor meriti,
Doctor praeclarus, vere Dei famulus,
Sacerdos Dei, pontifex et populi
Urbis Romanae, tanto dignus nomine.
2. Quibus hac vita demonstrasti pabula
Vitae aeternae permansura lumine,
Docens terena fore transitoria,
Nil in hac vita carnis prosit gloria.
3. Qui meruisti coeli portas ingredi
Et regi Christo adsistere Domino,
Tibi commissum supplican^{tem} populum
Commenda pio creatori Domino.
4. Ut Christianus mereatur populus
In hac mortali semper vita protegi
Et absoluto peccatorum vinculo
Vivat cum patre in aeterna requie.
5. Praestet hoc nobis pater, qui est in coelis,
Cum coaeterno semper sibi filio,
Hoc virtus sancti annuat paracliti,
Trinitas sancta per aeterna saecula.

Brev. ms. Wirceburgense saec. 15. Cod. Vatican. Palat.
518.-2,1 quibus in hac vita Hs. Lies Quis in hac?

In Ordinatione s. Gregorii.

1. Sancte, tu praebe miseris misertus
Lacrimas juges, gemitus profundos,
Et tuis certe meritis resurgunt,
Quos sua premunt.
2. Credimus Christum, pretium laborum,
Praemium justum studiis dedisse,
A quibus artus etiam solutos
More bearis.
3. Gloriam Christo supplices canamus,
Corde praestanti tibi servienti,
Tanta qui pollet, deitate simplex,
Trinus et unus.

Brev. ms. S. Arnulphi Metensis saec. 14. in. Cod.
Metensis 45.A.- Brev. ms. S. Arnulphi anni 1327. Cod. Metensis.
46. B.-Brev. ms. S. Arnulphi anni 1332. Cod. Meten. 333.C.-2,4
lies Morte?

In sancti Gregorii.

1. Sancti Gregorii praesulis
Hymnum Christo referimus,
Qui contempsit saeculum,
Mercatus Christi praemium.
2. Qui in adolescentia
Praecepta Dei tenuit
Stipemque largam jugiter
Erogavit pauperibus.
3. Instat doctrina orthodoxa
Digna sortitus praemia
Pastorque verus populo
Summus sacerdos rutilat.
4. Crebris quoque jejuniis
Carnis repulit vitia,
Saepe docendo populum
Destruxit mundi idola.
5. Magnus existens medicus
Infirma sanans corpora,
Devote salvans animas
Possessas a diabolo.
6. Tanta repletus gratia
Obviam Christo abiit
Et nobis semper maxima
Ostendit mirabilia.
7. Rogemus ergo, populi,
Pontificem Gregorium,
Ut eius interventibus
Laetemur in coelestibus.
8. Deo patri sit gloria,
Sit laus et unigenito,
Sancto simul paraclito
In saeculorum saecula.

P fol. 54a.- Der Hymnus fehlt in V.-1,1 Gregori Hs; die Schreibung zeigt an, wie zu lesen (vgl. Analecta III. p. 12.n.1). -1,3 fehlt eine Silbe am Versanfang. -Von der Doxologie nur der Anfang; das weitere ergänzt aus dem Hymnus Evangelista fulgidus, No. 18.

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Splendido sacra gratulans amore
Plebs tibi festa celebrat, Gregori
Sancte, qui summo rutilas honore
Regis in aula.
2. Tu plus pastor populique rector
Huius et nostrae patriae patronus,
Hic tuis praebe famulis favorem,
Signifer alme.
3. Pelle clementer cumulum piaculi,
Mortis et morbi stimulum recide,
Ne sibi Christi subigat clientes
Daemonis ira.
4. Praesul insignis, fragiles tuere,
Tu geras nostrae fidei tutelam,
Ut Deo dignam iugiter queamus
Pangere vitam.
5. Vota psallentum, petimus ovantes,
Incliti regis referas ad aures,
Praestet ut nobis placidus amoenae
Gaudia vitae.
6. Laus Deo patri parillique proli
Et tibi sancte studio perenni
Spiritus nostro resonet ab ore
Omne per aevum.

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Summae sedis antistitis,
Deus alme, Gregorii
Festum colentes per orbem
Meritibus eius protege.
2. Sacra cuius eloquia
Vitae ferentis pascua
Lac potum donant parvulis,
Cibum ministrant validis.
3. Ut erecti non ruere,
~~L~~apsi addiscant surgere,
Haereticorum haereses
Divo secantur cuspide.
4. Anglorum quoque populis
Hic adfuit (incredulis),
Quos lito cultu daemonum
Convertit ad altissimum.
5. De cuius sacro transitu
Chorus laetetur omnium
Angelorum et hominum
Summo Deo placentium.
6. Iam pontifex egregius,
Pro nobis Deum iugiter
Exora sacris precibus,
Ut nobis parcat omnibus.
7. Aeterno patri gloria
Simulque eius genito,
Sancto quoque spiritui
Sit saeculorum saeculis.

Hymn. ms. Bobbiense saec. 11. Cod Vatican. 5776.-2,2
ferentes.-3,2 Ut irate non ruere.- 4,3 Quos lito cultu.- Cfr. Mai
nova bibl. Pat. 1, 11, 202.

O sancte Gregori.

2. Ave, qui tractans mores Iob beati
Vivere doces languidos et pati,
Nunc in sanctorum coetu confessorum
Iure refulges.
3. O confessores Domini sacrati,
Candidis stolis vita decorati,
Deum orate, rei ut optatae
Donet assensum;

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Ave, doctor o Gregorio,
Dilexisti mundo mori,
Humilis, mitis fuisti,
quod a Christo didicisti,
Te servum servorum Dei
Scripsisti fideli gregi
Hoc docens esse pastorum,
quod non fecit quis priorum,
Sancte papa o Gregori,
Vidisti Romanos mori
In peste inguinaria;
Letaniam statuisti,
Populum sic eruisti,
A morte subitanea.
Sancti Petri te habere
Claves credimus et vere,
Nam tu pagenum Traianum,
Sat iustum, ~~non~~ fide sanum,
Deflevisti, commovisti
Deum ad parcendum isti,
Eius animam de poenis
Inferni sicque catenis
Liberasti, quamvis ibi
Mansit nulla poena sibi.
O quam mira et stupenda
Dei facta et timenda!
Sancte pater o Gregori,
Meo succurre dolori,
Ad orandum pro me vaca,
Iudicem districtum placa,
Ut spiritus sui dono
Hic me aptet omni bono
Et in corpore peccata
Flagis purget, ut beata
Anima et Deo grata,
Cum hinc fuerit vocata,
Iugret laeta ad beata
Beatorum gaudia.

1. Ave, gemma praesulum,
Gregori beate,
Exemplar et speculum
Vitae illibatae,
Cordis mei vasculum
Reple castitate,
Ne per carnis vinculum
Liger voluptate.
2. Ave, coeli fistula,
O doctor Anglorum,
Caritatis facula,
Decens norma morum,
Ne me nevet macula
Criminum meorum,
Placa per oracula
Principem polorum.
3. Ave, sancti spiritus
Organum jucundum,
Verbo tibi coelitus
Dato ditas mundum,
Rogo te medullitus,
Ut me infecundum
Deo reddas penitus
A peccatis mundum
4. Ave, summe pontifex,
Qui Dei servorum
Servus es et opifex
Operum piorum,
Non me mille-artifex
Fraudet, dux malorum,
Sed ut sim virtutifex
In coetu justorum.
5. Ave, fulgens saeculo
Stella matutina,
Omni datus populo
Hora vespertina,
Levans me de stabulo
Et culpa sentina,
Coeli habitaculo
Angelis combina.

Cod. Tegurin. (Clm. Monac 19824) fol. 325a. A.- Cod.
Tegurin. Clm. Monac. 20001) anni 1476 fol. 262a. B.
Udalricus Wessofontanus.

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Ave, gemma praesulum,
Gregori beate,
Exemplar et speculum
Vitae illibatae,
Cordis mei vasculum
Reple castitate,
Non per carnis vinculum
Liger voluptate.
2. Ave caeli fistula,
O doctor Anglorum,
Caritatis facula,
Decens norma morum,
Ne me necet macula
Criminum meorum,
Placa per oracula
Principem polorum.
3. Ave, sancti spiritus
Organum **fuundum,**
Verbo tibi caelitus
Dato ditas mundum,
Rogo te medullitus,
Ut me infecundum
Deo reddas penitus
A peccatis mundum.
4. Ave, summe pontifex,
Qui Dei servorum
Servus es et opifex
Operum piorum,
Non me mille-artifex
Fraudet, dux malorum,
Sed sim verus sacrificex
131 In coetu iustorum.
- 5.132 Ave, fulgens saeculo
Stella matutina,
Omni datus populo
Hora **vespertina,**
Levans me de stabulo
Et culpae sentina
Caeli habitaculo
Angelis combina.

Oratio secunda ad adeundum.

1. Ave, pastor miserorum,
Pasce gregem clericorum
Cibis sacris angelorum
Et da vinum electorum.
22. Salve, mitis in flagellis,
Ne mergamur in procellis,
Da virtutem in duellis,
Dum impugnat versipellis.
3. Gaude tu, qui suscepisti
Jesum Christum, quem vidisti,
Dum egenos collegisti,
Serva nos a fame tristi.
4. Vale, decor clericalis,
Esto nobis liberalis,
Ut corona triumphalis
Nobis detur et regalis.

Ad sanctum Gregorium.

1. Ave, sanete tu Gregori,
Summo places creatori,
Laudes posce nostro ori,
Quas psallamus redemptori.
2. Salve, princeps clericorum,
Ortus stirpe senatorum,
Duc in viam rectam morum
Claude portas inferorum.
3. Gaude, doctor veritatis,
Scire da humilitatis
Donum, confer caritatis
Et candorem puritatis.
4. Vale, stella matutina,
Aegrotorum medicina,
Da ut mente columbina
Evolemus ad divina.

Ad sanctum Gregorium.

1. Ave, tu Gregori pie,
Plebem tuam omni die
Vigilanter custodisti,
Viam dei ostendisti.
2. Tuó sancto nunc precatu
Munda mentes a reatu,
Vivere da virtuose,
Tecum esse gloriose.

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Gaude te esse vocatum,
Gregori, ad praesulatum
 Urbis Romae caelice,
Gaude Traianum damnatum
Per te esse liberatum
 A poenis mirifice.
2. Gaude, quia coram gente
Corpus Christi te petente
 Fit carneum protinus
Gaude, quia te studente
Organum devota mente
 Erant sancti spiritus.
3. Gaude, quod caelestis chori,
Magne doctor o Gregori,
 Consors es perenniter,
Tu nos, cum debemus mori,
Visita et redemptori
 Commenda benigniter.

Orat. ms Trudonense saec. 16 in. Cod. Leodien. 395.-
2, 4 sq. Christi fit carneum te petente; protinus fehlt.- 3,1
Gaude quia.

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Magne pater o Gregori,
 Magnum fructum salvatori
 Eleganter attulisti,
 Cuius gregi prae-fuisti
 Servus prudens et fidelis,
 Oves praedo ne crudelis
 Saeviendo lacereret,
 Sed ad caulas grex mearet.
 Sub exemplis et doctrinis,
 Quibus fulges (columbinis)
 Quasi stella matutina,
 Per te crevit disciplina
 Sanctitatis, vita morum.
 Tu post Deum lux **jastorum**;
 Quidquid patres araverunt
 Vel virtutis **seruerunt**,
 Illa digne messuisti,
 Intra membra spargens Christi,
 Ne succumbant ruitura.
 Te illustri ex natura
 Pulcher foris, fons **viroris**,
 Intus plenus, dos amoris;
 O **doctorum** sidus clarum,
 Mundo gratum, Deo carum,
 Quo pusilli confortantur.
 Et fideles roborantur.
 Cleri veri tu corona
 Caritates et intona,
 Vigil coeli citharista,
 Jesu Christi tu sacrista
 Ac thesaurus es scripturae
 Cuius mihi iam est curae.
 Super rosam vir praeclare,
 Ut hanc queam indagare,
 Tuo dulci fac rogatu,
Studiorum in hoc statu
 Ut **per** lumen intellectus
 Sensus meus sit directus
 Ad id, ubi summum bonum
 Regnat super coeli thronum.

Orat ms. Reichenbacen. anni 1476. Clm. Monacen. 2990.-10
 Die Taube ist ikonographisches Attribut Gregors.-35 Tuo dulci
 patronatu; bei dieser Lesart fehlt das Zeitwort zum folgenden.

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Salve, flos ecclesiae,
Honor monachorum,
Doctor sapientiae,
Speculum pastorum,
Salus pestilentiae
Urbis Romanorum,
Gregori sanctissime,
Decus clericorum.
2. Salve, cuius merita
Norma sunt justorum,
Vita nec non inclita
Exemplar sanctorum,
Semita iustitiae
Tu es, forma morum,
Auctor amicitiae,
Salus viatorum.
3. Salve, carens simili
In sacra doctrina,
Mente scrutans humili
Dogmata divina,
Instructus a spiritu
Forma columbina,
Ut nos in hoc transitu
Serves a ruina.
4. Salve, Summus pontifex,
Felix tu fuisti,
Terrenorum locuplex
Licet exstitisti,
Tu in usus pauperum
Hoc distribuisti,
Ut amorem integrum
Possideres Christi.
5. Non curans in saeculo
Hoc thesaurizare
Neque rerum cumulo
Nimis abundare,
Inopum miseriam
Velis sublevare
Ut ad Dei gloriam
Totum erogare.

6

Duodecim pauperes
Dietim pavisti,
Miseros ac inopes
Ad honorem Christi,
Sed tertiumdecimum
Semel perdidisti,
Dei sanctum angelum
Fore cognovisti.

7.

O quam vir piissime
Christus te probavit,
Angelus cum specie
Pauperis monstravit,
Ut dares subsidium,
Certe te rogavit,
Discum mox argenteum
A te reportavit.

8.

Salve, cuius lacrimas
piae, quas fudisti,
Cum Traianum intime
Ad cor reduxisti
Et iustum iudicium
Eius audivistâ,
Suum servans spiritum
A dolore triste.

9.

Et in tanto lacrimans
Poenam meruisti,
Pro damnato flagitans
Quod non debuisti,
Exinde febricitans
Aeger existitisti,
Tandem vitam terminans
Purgando transisti

10.

De valle miseriae
Ad aeternam vitam,
Damnando mortis robur
Et in tuto sitam
Sumens plenam gloriam,
Gaudio munitam
Et ex Dei munere
Proorsus infinitam.

11.

Oves tuae pascuae,
Pastor, tu gubernas,
Re luporum rabie
Mergantur ad inferna,
Sed sanctorum animae
Scandant ad superna,
Ut fruantur requie
Tecum sempiterna.

12 .

Nunc isto coenobio
Gregem conservato,
Digneris protegere
Hoste annullato,
Purgatum a faecibus
Fine bono dato
Exultare valeat
In regno beato.

Orat ms. Carthus. Erfordien. saec. 15. (Privatbesitz).-
1, 5 penitentiae.-2,3 nec non indicii.- 2.4 Exemplis.-2,6 es fehlt
-2,7 Auctrix.- 3,3 Mentis. -3,8 Servas.- 4,1 supremus.- 4,5 Tu ros
pauperum.-5,1 Moram curans.- 6,3, $\frac{1}{2}$ pauperes.- 7,3 cum spiritus.
8,2 que fudisti.-9,7 Eandem vitam.-10,4 Ejus in tuto.-10,7
Dei munimine.-12,1 Nunc isto te nobis.-12,5 Purgatorem.

De sancto Gregorio.

1. Salve, Gregori maxime,
Antistes hominum
Secundum nomen optime
Vigil catholicorum.
2. Sex struis in Sicilia
At septimum in urbe
Accepta monasteria,
Hinc subtrahis te turba.,
3. Ut voces Deo libere;
Terrena contempsisti,
Ut posses vix subsistere,
Sic corpus afflixisti.
4. Argenteam parapsidem
Egeno erogabas,
Ad mensam venit itidem
Post pauper et notabas,
5. Quod vultum mutat crebrius
Sed refert adjuratus,
Quod angelus sit proprius
A Deo tibi datus.
6. Cum papam inguinaria
Decedere coëgit,
Omnis Romana curia
In papam te elegit.
7. Sed cum haec pestilentia
Plebem adhuc vasteret,
Et plebs precum instantia
Ferventius oraret
8. Cum litanis instruis
Cleri processionem,
Sic precibus assiduis
Hanc sedas passionem.
9. Deo vacare inhians
Latere conabarís,
Columna lucis radians
Te prodit, revocaris.

10. Tu Anglicanis gentibus
Doctores transmisisti,
Quas meritis precibus
Ad fidem convertisti.
11. Flendo Trajanum revocas
A poena gehennali,
Matronae fidem advocas
Carne sacramentali.
12. Tu plenus es virtutibus,
Magnus humilitate,
Tu largus es pauperibus,
Perfectus sanctitate.
13. Columba doctus disseris
Secreta scripturarum,
Juges languoris pateris
Doloresque poenarum.
14. Sed versis jam moeroribus
Et fletibus in risum,
Jam pausas a doloribus
In Deum tendens visum.
15. Te quaeso, mihi veniam
Et fugam vitiorum
Exposce, Dei gratiam
Et copiam donorum.
16. Te flagito attentius,
Sanctissime Gregori,
Adsis mihi propitius,
Dum me contingit mori.
17. Et ab aeterna libera
Me poena reproborum,
Et tecum duc trans aethera
In gaudia sanctorum.

Cod. Andecens. fol. 64. b.A.-Cod Augiens. fol. 190 a.B.
 -Cod. Gemnicens. fol. 159a. C.-Cod. Sector. Vindob. fol. 61b.
 D.-Cod. Tegurin. I fol. 114 b. E.-Cod. Tegurin II fol. 301 b.F.-Cod.
 TegurinIII fol. 232a. G. 2, 1 Silicia A.-3, 1 Ut vives B.-7 cum
 pestilentia B.-8, 2u. 3 Fore processionem. Per quam sanctam
 devotius C. -11, 1 tyrannum B.-14, 3u. 4 Coelestem cum virtutibus.
 Intransi paradisum D.-15, 1 Me quaeso A. Conradus Gemnicensis-15 s.

De sancto Gregorio.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1a. Adest dies recolenda,
Dulci melo proseguenda.
Revehens sollemnia. | 1b. Almi patris Gregorii,
Pontificis eximii,
Intrantis in gaudia, |
| 2a. Quae promisit Jesus dare
His, qui vellent se amare
Post mortis exsilia | 2b. Gregorius prae ceteris
Aetatis suae pueris
Literarum studia. |
| 3a. Amavit et postposuit,
Quibus noceri potuit
Mundi lenocinia. | 3b. Vigebat in Gregorio
Duplex decus, religio,
Generis prosapia. |
| 4a. Dulcis amor paupertatis
Cum despectu vanitatis,
Virtutum insignia. | 4b. Hic defunctis parentibus
Magnis ditatus opibus
Struxit monasteria, |
| 5a. Quorum in uno clauditur,
Cui tandem praeficitur
Insignitus gratia. | 5b. Unde invitatus rapitur,
Praesul orbi praeficitur,
Applaudit ecclesia. |
| 188
189
6a. Olim scholis eruditus,
Nunc docet illum spiritus
sapere cœlestia. | 6b. Ore mellito loquitur,
Stilo morali graditur
Tangendo prae cordia, |
| 7a. qui sublevare nititur
Ad illa, quibus pascitur,
Coeli desideria. | 7b. Praesulis sacri precibus,
monitis salutaribus
Peste inguinaria |
| 8a. Plebs Romana liberatur,.
Virtus papae declaratur
Per mundi confinia. | 8b. Omnis pastor informatur
Rex cum clero gloriatur,
Ejus sapientia. |
| 9a. Offa carnis dominicae
Gregorio pontifice
A Dei clementia | 9b. Car ^o vere ostenditur
quae sanguine intingitur
Miranda potentia. |
| 10a. Precibus salutiferis
Trajanum ab inferis
Solvit et miseria, | 10b. Servus prudens et fidelis,
Dum sponsus redit e caelis,
Mente spectat sobria. |
| 11a. Vigilavit Gregorius,
Vigilavit attentius,
Vigilat in gloria | 11b. Glorioso praesul Christi,
Placens Deo qui fuisti
Incarnis praesentia, |
| 12 a. Ad fluentia purissima,
quae tua haurit anima
Duc nostra collegia, | 12b. Ut abluta lacte pio
laetetur nostra concio
In coelesti curia. |

De S. Gregorio Magno.

1. Laudes canamus

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>2. Nostro redemptori
Christo, qui venit
nos salvare</p> <p>4. Mundans eam
semper rivulis inebrestis,</p> <p>6. Ut valles abundant
frumento
et hoc sollempnio</p> <p>8. Eia, egregio
papa Romano,
doctori pangamus Gregorio,</p> <p>10. Qui genus
eximium
et sanctum, quo nituit,
magnifice extulit.</p> <p>12. Mundum contempsit
et abiecit;</p> | <p>3. et livore suo
sibi dedicare ecclesiam
candidatam,</p> <p>5. Rigans montes
de superioribus nubibus,</p> <p>7. Una proclament
canentes,
odas tripudiantes:</p> <p>9. Qui fulsit mundo
ut novum sidus
doctrinis, exemplis, virtutibus</p> <p>11. Qui pneuma
ut columba
in auriculum stillavit
documenta mystica.</p> <p>13. Pompas et opes
Christo dedit.</p> |
|---|--|

Blume-Bannister, Thesauri hymnologici

Prosarium II, 1.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>14. Septena * * *
Instructas * *
flamine condidet *
septena coenobia * *
angelus
hunc petit ut naufragus.</p> <p>16. Post haec assumitur
Christoque monstrante
papa constituitur.</p> <p>18. Psallentem
choris modulamina
composuit
dulcisona hymnizans</p> <p>20. E tenebris
fratres functos
prece solvit excommunicatos</p> | <p>15. Agapem
quaerit, tribus vicibus
Accipit
et reddit;
discum argenteum
deum laetus percipit.</p> <p>17. Mox inguinarium
pestem restrinxit
plumbemque suam sanavit.</p> <p>19. Anglorum
gentem convertit ad Christum
totumque
praedicans illustrat mundum.</p> <p>21. Ex ignibus
inferorum
Traianum tyrannum eruit.</p> |
|--|---|

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>22. quem gratia Dei
tam plene perfundit
clementia</p> <p>24. Virginum
romae sacrarum
pavit tria milia</p> <p>26. angelum Dei
pavit,
A quo post audivit,
quod se Christus elegit.</p> | <p>23. et, quidquid habere
posset, gratis Christo
distineret.</p> <p>25 Corporis
Christi panem carnis
mutat in effigiem.</p> <p>27 magos caecavit,
equo
daemonem fugavit
et ecclesias ornavit.</p> |
|---|--|
28. Agro caro eius semper fuit,
 Mens tamen intenta caelo, ubi
 nobis impetret beata
 praemia sanctorum.

Collect. ms. Petershusanum saec. 12. Cod. Heidelberg. IX
 42a. Mit melodie. -15,3 accepit. -Ob die Melodie einem bekannten
 Schema folgt. ließ sich nicht feststellen -Ganz eigenartig ist der
 Reim (meistens nur Assonanz resp. einsilbiger Reim. gehandhabt,
 in dem derselbe nicht die Schlutzworte eines Verses bindet,
 sondern Worte an ganz beliebiger Vers stelle auch wenn diese Stellen
 einander nicht korrespondieren. So reimt z.B. Q.2,4 "salvare" mit 3,2,
 "dedicare" 4.1 "Mundans" mit 5,1 "Rigans" (beide erstes Wort des
 Verses); 14, 6, "petit"s(2.Wort) mit 15, 2 "quaerit" (1.Wort); und
 ähnlich öfters.- Alle diese Reimworte einen Vers schließen zu lassen
 ist unmöglich da sonst das symmetrische Bild von Strophe und
 Gegenstrophe ganz verstört würde; ohnehin veranlaßte die Rücksicht
 auf den Reim, dass korrespondierende Verse mehrmals in der Silbenzahl
 differieren.

De sancto Gregorio.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1a. Organum spirituale
Tangat decus clericale,
Dum recolitur natale
Vigilis Gregorii | 1b. Scriba regis angelorum
Floruit hic lux doctorum
Et apostolus anglorum
Qui prius inglorii. |
| 2a. Ex prosapia Romana
spreta mundi pompa vana
In doctrina christiana
Vigilanter studuit. | 2b. Rhetor magnus et urbanus
Cuius pater Gordianus,
Felix, pontifex Romanus,
Atavus resplenduit. |
| 3a. Virgo saeculo pusilla
Eius amita Tarsilla,
Deo vigilans ancilla,
Vidit Jesum dulciter. | 3b. Vivens Silvia caelestis
Mater huius, digna gestis,
Fexit cor aeternis festis
Finiens feliciter. |
| 4a. Monasteria construxit
Ac prudentia ad adfluxit,
Monachalem vitam duxit
Derelinquens omnia. | 4b. Sed cum cuperet sincere
Mori cunctis et latere,
Cogebatur apparere
Ut flos inter lilia. |
| 5a. Eruditus in virtute
A primaeva iuventute
Iter vadens vitae tutae
Devitavit crimina. | 5b. Retexendo cantilenas
Sublevavit febris poenas,
Odas addidit amoenas
Per scripturae carmina. |
| 6a. Videns pueros Anglorum
Pulchros vultu angelorum
Mox misertus est eorum
Suspirando graviter. | 6b. O pontificem beatum,
Per columnam demonstratum
Et a naufrago probatum
Dignum mirabiliter! |
| 7a. Recta scribens recte dixit,
Quo malivolos adfluxit,
Sed correctis benedixit
Pastor bonus omnibus. | 7b. Vigil iste sanctus fuit,
Qui ut nubes magna pluit
Et ut ros de caelo ruit,
Utilis fidelibus. |
| 8a. Monstra fecit in hac vita
Verus his Israelita,
Quod cognovit eremita
Ex divina gratia. | 8b. Deus fecit Levi pactum
Nec paenituit transactum
Pacis atque vitae factum
Cum honoris gloria. |
| 9a. Aes in zonis non compegit
Sed pauperibus redegit,
Quem salvator praelegit
Organum mellifluum. | 9b. Istum deprecemur sanctum
Nos viventes, vite tantum
Ut cantemus ubi cantum
Nunc et in perpetuum. |

Miss. ms. Belisianum saec. 15. Cod. Bruxellens 9786-90-
Akrostichon: O servum servorum Dei.

In Ordinatione s. Gregorii.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1a. Sancti papae Gregorii
Pii, pudicii, sobrii,
Veneremur sollemnia; | 1b. Cuius doctrinis et vita
Instituta, erudita
Gloriatur ecclesia. |
| 2a. Hic genere spectabilis
In omni fuit docilis
Literarum peritia; | 2b. Qui iuxta sui nominis
Omen sollicitudinis
Vigilavit instantia. |
| 3a. Hic exposuit obscuras
Ezechielis scripturas
Dictante Dei gratia | 3b. Et super evangelia
Quadraginta eulogia
Fecit et Job Moralia. |
| 4a. Sex struit in Sicilia
Vir pius monasteria
Septimum in urbe Roma. | 4b. Virginum tria milia
Pavit multaque alia,
Hinc redolens ut aroma. |
| 5a. Hic ad preces invitavit
Populum, quem sic sanavit
A peste inguinaria. | 5b. Angelo scyphum tradidit
Argenteum, quem credidit
Esse passuum naufragia. |
| 6a. His et multis virtutibus
Insignitus ab omnibus
In papam fuit electus; | 6b. quem apicem recusavit
Et, ut ipse procuravit,
Extra urbem est devectus. |
| 7a. Sed per triduum quaesitus
Fulgore misso coelitus
Repertus est et reductus. | 7b. Qui plurimum reluctatus
In sedem est sublimatus,
Hoc signo tandem inductus |
| 8a. Ordinatus pastorem
Librum fecit, in quo, qualem
Praesulum esse deceat. | 8b. Apertis scriptis docuit
Innuens, ut sic latuit,
Et idem cunctis liceat. |
| 9a. Igitur, sancte Gregori,
Te mente devotiori
Suppliciter exoramus | 9b. Ut nos nostro redemptori
Commendes et salvatori,
Ut in aeternum vivamus. |

Miss. Redonense imp. Parisiis 1492 A. - Miss. Redonense imp.
Parisiis 1553 B. -2b, 2 ~~Omne~~ B.-6b., 1 Quam B. -7a. 3 deductus A.-7b,
3 inductus A. -7b, 3 indutus B.

De sancto Gregorio.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1a. Spiritalis filii
Beati Gregorii
Celebrent solemnia | 1b. Corde toto gaudeant
Et efferre studeant
Ipsius praeconia. |
| 2a. Ornatus moralibus
Prius liberalibus
Studii refluoruit, | 2b. Dignus pontificio
Fugitivus radio
Coeli lucis patuit. |
| 3a. Factus praesul feminae
Nequam monstrat semini
In similitudine
Carnis corpus Domini; | 3b. Post in banis pristinam
Formam hanc restituit,
Sicque fidem feminam
Praedicando docuit. |
| 4a. Super quem incederat,
Equum statim liberat
Artibus a magicis; | 4b. Pestis inguinaria
Cessat per suffragia
Tam sancti pontificis. |
| 5a. O doctor egregie,
Tuae nobis gratiae
Confer per auxilium. | 5b. Delictorum veniam,
Ut sursum ad patriam
Ducamur coelestium. |

Miss. ms. Cameracense saec. 14. Cod. Cameracens. 123. add.
saec. 15.

A. Gloriosa sanctissimā
 Sollemnia Gregorii
 Toto corde catholica
 Suscipiat ecclesia,
 Cuius doctrina aurea
 Per mundi splendet climata,
 Quam meritis et precibus
 Christo commendet, quaesumus.

dies Vgl. AH V, 184 sqq. ausser dem dort genannten findet sich
 ✓Officium u.a. in folgenden Quellen:

 Antiph. ms. Romanum saec. 11. Cod. Graecen. 258.- Brev.
 ms. Pratense saec. 12. Cod. Parisin. 12035.- antiph. ms. Nivernense
 saec. 12., Cod. Parisin. Nouv. acq. 1236.- Brev ms. **Crucilingense** sa
 12. Cod. Frauenfelden. Y 28- Brev. ms. Maguntinum saec. 12. Cod.
 Scaffnaburgen. 54.- Brev. ms. incert. orig. saec. 12. Cod. Brux-
 ellen 353.-Brev. ms. Aquilegiense saec 12/13. Cod.S. Danielis V.-
 Antiph. ms. Lambrechtense saec. 12/13. Cod. Graecen. 258.- Brev.
 ms. Wingartense saec 1a. Cod. Fulden. Aa 56.- Antiph. ms claus-
 troneoburgense saec 14. in. Cod. Claustroeburgen. 1015.-
 collect. ms. Aspacense saec. 13 et 14 in. Clm. Monacen. 3215.- B
 Brev.ms; S. Sepulchri anni 1340. Cod. Capit. Posonien. 88.-
 Brev. ms. Pragense saec. 14. Cod. Capit. Posenien. 32.- Antiph.
 ms. Sabariense saec. 14. Cod. Sabarien. s.n.-Brev. ms. S.
 Floriani saec. 14. Cod. Florian 401.- Brev. ms. Wratislaviense
 saec. 14. Cod. Capit posonien. 159.- Brev ms. Wormatiense
 (Reinaldi de Sickingen. saec. 15. Cod. Parisin. 1310.- Antiph.
 ms. Schaffnaburgense saec. 15. Cod. Schnaburgen. 4- Brev. ms. Hung
 iense saec. 15. Cod. Gyula. Febervarien. Ms. IV S.-Brev. ms.
 Walthausense saec. 15. Cod. Lincen. Lip. 24.- Viat. ms. Johannis
 Noviforen. saec. 15. Cod. Mus. Bohem. XIII A 12.- Brev. ms. S.
 Alexandri Embecen. saec 15. Cod. Gatingan 239.- Brev. ms. Nis-
 sense saec 15. Cod. Wratislaviens. I ,246- Brev. ms. Stephanie
 de Nagylak saec 15. Cod. Mus. Hungar. 343- Antiph. ms. Poson-
 iense saec 15. Cod. Capit. Posonien 2. -Brev. ms. Lamspringense
 anni 1446. Cod. ~~Guelfen~~**byteran**. 168 (Helm. 145) - Brev. ms.
 Ducumburgense anni 1451. Cod. Ducumburgen. 67- Breviarum
 Lubucense imp. s. l. et a.- Breviarum Sedunense imp 1497.

De sancto Gregorio M.

In 1. Vesperis
Ad Magnificat

Gloriosa sanctissimi
Sollemnia Gregorii
Toto corde catholica
Suscipiat ecclesia,
Cujus doctrina aurea
Per mundi splendet climata
Quam meritis et precibus
Christo commendet, quaesumus.

Ad Matutinum
Invitatorium

Ad Dominum vigiles
Cuncti convertite mentes,
Gregorium vigilem
Coeli qui vexit ad arcem.

In 1. Nocturno.
Antiphonae.

1. Gregorius ortus Romae
Ex senatorum sanguine
Fulsit mundo velut gemma
Auro superaddita,
Dum praeclarior praeclaris
Hic accessit atavis.
2. Lineam sui generis
Dietis et factis extulit
Bibens in peritiis,
Quod ructavit postea,
3. Adhaerebat moralibus
Seniorum relatibus,
Quos tenaci memoriae
Non cessabat committere.

Responsoria.

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

V,184-186
(64)

- V. Beatus vir, qui timet Dominum,
In mandatis ejus cupit nimis.
5. Videns Romae vir beatus
Anglorum forte pueros:
Bene, inquit, bene Angli,
Vultu nitent ut angeli,
Oportet illis monstrari
Iter salutis aeternae.
- V. Quoniam Domini est regnum
et ipse dominabitur gentium.
3. Dum oraret in obscuro
Servus Dei latibulo,
Lux immensa super eum
Resplenduit post triduum,
Hoc signo cunctis proditus
Papa urbes efficitur.
- V. Quia misericordiam et veritatem
dilexit Deus, gratiam et gloriam
dabit Dominus.

In 2 Nocturno.
 Antiphonae.

1. Gregorius, ut creditur,
Divinitus, sic dicitur,
Qui sibi et ecclesiae
Vigilavit catholicae.
2. Studiis liberalibus
Nulli secundus habitus
Praetor urbanus exstitit
Adolescens spectabilis.
3. Hic ab adolescentia
Divina fretus gratia
Anhelare non desit
Ad regnum vitae perpetis.

Responsoria

1. Propter intolerabiles
Rerum curas mundanarum
Recusabat praesulatum
Susplicere Romanorum,
Sed victus prece populi
Suscepit jugum Domini.

- V. Nec fecit proximo suo malum
et opprobrium non accepit
Adversus proximos suos
2. Orante beatissimo
Ad Dominum Gregorio
Sanata est plebs Romana
A peste inguinaris.
- V. Multum enim valet deprecatio
justi assidua.
3. Vere felicem praesulum,
Verae fidei doctorem,
Quo petente panis Christi
Formam accepit digiti,
Ad firmandam plebis fidem
Versus in cruentam carnem.
- V. A Domino factum est illud
et est mirabile in oculis nostris.

In 3. Nocturno
Antiphonae.

1. Sex struxit in Sicilia
Vir clarus monasteria
Et infra urbem septimum,
In quo se fecit monachum.
2. His sane monasteriis
Praediis large tributis,
Reliqua tandem vendidit
Et egenis distribuit.
3. Qui solebat in sericis
Incedere in divinis,
Post in abjectis vestibus
Servit pauper pauperibus.

Responsoria

1. Sanctus papa Gregorius,
Vir totus apostolicus,
Postquam praesedit cathedrae
Pervigil apostolicae,
Carne solutos hodie
Adivit regem gloriae.

- V. Innocens manibus et mundo
Corde, qui non accepit in vanum
animam suam.
- P. Hodie praeclarissimus
Deo dignus episcopus
Et Anglorum apostolus
A terrenis separatus
Conjunctus est coelestibus
Cum gloria Gregorius.
- V. Ecce vere Israelita, in quo
dolus non est.
3. O pastor apostolice,
Gregori beatissime,
Tuo posce precamine
Incrementum ecclesiae,
Tuo rigatae dogmate
Ac defensatae opere.
- V. Memor esto congregationis
catholicae et dextera Dei plantatae
vineae.

Ad Laudes
Antiphonae.

1. Gregorius vigiliis
Confectus et jejuniis,
Atsi marcebat corpore,
At spe vigeat animae.
2. Lentis quidem sed jugibus
Hic aestuabat febribus,
Podagrae nec non syncopis
Pulsabatur incommodis.
3. Coelesti cinctus verbera
Vir mirae innocentiae
Praesumebat, se diligi,
Quod merebatur argui.
4. Bis senos nummos angelo
Hic dedit quasi naufrago,
Hinc scutellam argenteam,
Quam sibi vidit reliquam.
5. Virginum tria milia
Romae pavit sub regula
exceptis Dei famulis
Longe vel prope positis.

Ad Benedictus

A. Christi fidelis famulus,
Prudens quoque Gregorius,
Postquam suo in tempore
Vixit ejus familiae,
Coelo reddidit animam,
Terrae carnis materiam.

In 2. Vesperis.
ad Magnificat.

O Gregori, dulcissimum
sancti spiritus organum
Atque virtutum speculum,
Pescce nobis suffragium,
Ut hoc possimus consequi,
Quo te gaudemus perfrui.

Brev. ms. Kremense saec. 12. Cod. Capit. Olomucens. 258.
A.- Brev. ms. S. Floriani XI 429 saec. 13.- Brev. ms. S. Georgii
Pragens. saec. 13. Cod. Pragens XII E 5. f. monast. C.- Brev. ms.
Palat. Vindob. 1890. saec. 12. f. monast. D.- Brev. ms. Voraviense
290. saec. 12. E.- Antiph. ms. Gracense 211 saec 11/12 F.- Brev. ms.
Georgii Pragens. saec. 14. Cod. Pragens. XIII E. 1. G.- Ebenso:
Brev. ms. S. Germani a Pratis saec. 12. Cod. Parisiens. 12035.- An-
tiph. ms. Nivernense saec. 12. Cod. Parisiens. Nouv. Acq. 1236.
In 1 Vesp super Ps. A. Gregorius ut creditur etc. B.- In
1 Noct. R2, 3 Anglici B.- In 3 Noct. A. 1,3 infra urbem B.- h 1
und 2 umgestellt A.- h 3, 3 Anglorum apostolus B.-h 3, 3 defens-
atae optime B.- In Lauda A.1, 4 Ex spe vigeat G.-a 3, 4 quo
marebatur B.- Wider Vermuten scheint die monastische Form des
Officiums nicht die ursprunglicher Teile anlaß wird (cfr. D).
Dies Officium ist eines wie der allerverbreitetsten, so der
Ältesten und sehr instruktiv für die Entwicklung von Rhythmus
sowohl als Reim, sowie für die Behandlung des jambischen Dimeter
in dem es geschrieben ist. Die Antiphonen ad Magnificat in 1. und
2. Vesp., sowie R 3 der 3. Noct. stehen als disjecta membra bei
None 959 und 960.

De sancto Gregorio.

In 1. Vesperis

Super Psalmos.

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

Ad Magnificat.

- A. Alme praesul, dux sapientiae,
Arcus coeli, splendor ecclesiae,
Gloriosa refulges specie
Inter altas nebulas gloriae.

Ad Matutinum
Invitatorium.

Pellat devotio
Coporis otia
Laudes Gregorio
Cantet ecclesiae.

In 1 Nocturno.
Antiphonae.

1. Gregorius alvo dum cluditur
Beatae Silviae,
Benedicti voce praedicatur
Lumen ecclesiae.
2. Romae proles patrum illustrium
Praeclustis actibus,
Clarus erat doctrinis artium,
Pollens honoribus.
3. Munde florens Christo reffloruit
Afflatus gratia,
Mundum spernit, opes distribuit,
Fundat coenobia.

Responsoria.

1. Cum aeternus pastor Gregorium
Praevидisset ad curam ovium,
Signo lucis in lucem gentium
Latens est proditus;
Lux effulgens per noctem coelitus
Datum prodit patrem divinitus,

2. Vastat orbem coelestis ultio,
Ruunt cives, obsistit gladio
Novus David, cessat quassatio
Et salus redditur.
- V. Pium pater in precem sternitur,
Cedit ultor, macro concluditur.
3. Super gentes et regna positus,
Ut lucerna pontifex inclitus
Ardens lucet per dona spiritus
Ad Christi gloriam.
- V. Purgat, ornat, auget ecclesiam,
Plangit, docet, convertit Angliam.

In 2 Nocturno.
Antiphonae.

1. Radiantes gemmarum ambitu
Prætextas abjicit,
Monachali pauper in habitu
Christo se subjicit.
2. Crucifigens carnes cum vitiis
Christo configitur
Et proventus virtutum studiis
Abbas præficitur.
3. Dum conformis esse jam incipit
Vitæ coelestium,
In figura naufragi suscipit
Coelestem nuntium.

Responsoria.

1. Replet terras profusa largitas,
Nec fit exsors superna civitas,
Ut secundi Loth hospitalitas
Sic hospis placuit.
- V. Felix mensa, dum multis patuit,
Coeli civem convivam habuit.
2. Sacer panis ut caro cernitur,
Manat cruor, dum panis pungitur,
Quum vexans daemon expellitur,
Magus corripitur.
Jam sepultus frater absolvitur
Et Trajano poena remittitur.

3. Magis languens morbis dum deficit,
Mens amoris languore proficit,
~~Crescunt morbi~~, crescit et afficit
Amor impatiens.
Sicut servus ad fontem sitiens
Aestuabat dissolvi cupiens.

In 3 Nocturno.
Antiphonae.

1. Bonus odor coelestis hominis
In mundum prodiit,
Tandem raptus Romani cardinis
Honorem subiit.
2. Sese mundi despecta gloria
Semper humilians
Sectabatur Christi vestigia
Supernis inhians.
3. Christi pugil spiritus gladio
Pro fide dimicat,
Fidem firmat et jugi studio
Mores aedificat.

Responsoria

1. Terrae praesul ad coeli solium
Sublimatus de valle flentium,
Ex servorum sorte fidelium
Intrat in gaudium,
V. Angelorum choris laudantium
Jungi decet psaltem egregium.
2. Patris almi libros incendere
Quaerit livor, nefas arguere
Audet Petrus, cessant a scelere
Ad pactum finitum;
V. Opus probans coelitus editum
Testis verax emisit spiritum.
3. O fons fundens fluenta gratiae,
Doctor veri, doctor justitiae,
In excelsis nunc sapientiae
Te fons inebriat;
V. Sitientes per te reficiat,
Qui post sitim te plene satiat.

Ad Laudes.
Antiphonae.

1. Commissum gregem regere
 Dum studet vigilantius,
 Fecundat nomen opere
 Vigil praesul Gregorius.
2. Libens praeessa renuit
 Statum amplectens humilem,
 Coactus tandem praefuit,
 Servum se praebens vigilem
3. Christi vigil in intimis
 Mariae vacat otio
 Forisque jungi proximis
 Deservit Marthae studio.
4. Pressus laborum pondere
 Viget mente robustior
 Nec morbis novit cedere,
 Cum infirmus, tunc fortior.
5. Jam suis caudet canticis,
 Jam vacat Dei laudibus,
 Jam jubilat hymnidicis
 Iunustus in coelo coetibus.

Ad Benedictus.

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

In 2. Vesperis
 Ad Magnificat.

- A. Vale, pastor, qui modo pascaris
 Collatus in loco pascuae,
 Gregem frui fructu, quo frueris,
 Alma prece, Gregori, tribue.

Brev. FF. Praedicatorum imp. Venetiis. 1514.- In I.
Noct. A 5, 2 Affatus gratia.- In 2. Noct. R 12 Nec sit.- A 1, 3 Sic
secundi.- R 3, 1 Magnus languens.- In 3 Noct. R 1, 3 sorde fidelium
Hymen hiezu: Pange lingua confessoris (Vesp); laudis opus et
honoris (Noct.); Exsultet jam angelicus (Laud).

Dominica I Adventus D'

1. Gregorius praesul meritis et nomine dignus,
Unde genus ducit, summum conscendit honorem;
utitur *utitur* *utitur*
Quem vitae splendore suae mentisque sagaci
Ingenio potius compsit, quam comptus ab illo est.
5. Ipse patrum monumenta sequens renovavit et auxit
Carmina in officiis, retinet quae circulus anni;
Quae clarus dulci Domino modulamine solvat,
Mystica dum vitae supplex libamina tractat.
Suaviter haec propria servat dulcedo nitelas,
10. Si, quod voce sonat, fido mens pectore gestet;
Nec clamor tantum Domini sublimis ad aures,
quantum vox humilis placido de corde propinquet.
Haec iuvenum sectetur amor, maturior aeo
Laudibus his instans aeternas tendat ad oras:
Ad te levavi animam meam, Deus Meus, etc.

Grad. ms. Sangallense saec. 11. Cod. Sangallens. 374-12
propinquit (cfr. gestet in V.10). -14 ad horas.- Gueranger
(Institutione Liturg. Bd 2^a ; I, p. 164) hat zu diesem Tropus die
irreführende Bemerkung, derselbe sei gedruckt bei pamelius, Dom
Denys de Sainte Marthe and Tommasi aus Bas. des 9, 1 und 11 Jahr-
hunderts mit einigen Varianten.- Der Tropus in vorstehender Fassung
ist vielmehr nachweislich nur St Gallen eigen, und Gueranger ver-
wechselt ihn mit dem Tropus unter Nr. 1 und den gleich zu besprech-
enden Gedichten, die alle gleichen Anfang haben und aus einer Quel-
lenreihe in sehr verschiedener Gestalt. Vgl. überdies Neues ar-
chiv. 1884; S. 355.

Dom Georgius teilt in seinem Werke De Liturgia Roman.
Pontificum (Hrsg. GLXXXV) nach Eyvehard, Her Francis. I. XXV, p. 718,
angeblich aus dem "Grad. Segeberti Mindendidi, Cod. Helmsat adieu",
eine Fassung des vorstehenden Tropus mit, die als besonderes Lied in
Umlauf gesetzt wurde, tatsächlich aber nichts ist als eine Exzerpt,
und zwar ein Torso, aus demselben; es besteht nämlich aus den Versen
1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 13, schließt also mit dem Subjekt "Maturior aevo", das
sein Prädikat im unterdruckten Verse 14 hat.

Appendix

Metrische Introduktionen zum Graduale und Antiphonale

Die hier folgenden Dichtungen sind keine Tropen, überhaupt keine lyrischen Dichtungen die direkt ins Gebiet der Hymnologie gehören, sondern Graduale und Antiphonale. An dieselben knüpft sich eine relativ reiche Literatur, wodurch sie ein hohes Interesse erlangt haben. Da sie in den gleichen Gedanken sich bewegen wie die uns beschäftigten Tropen, und besonders da die erstere Dichtung Vorlage und Ausgangspunkt für unsere Tropen ist, mögen sie hier einen Platz finden.

a. Introductio ex. Cod. Capit. Lucensis 490.

1. Gregorius praesul meritis et nomine dignus,
Unde genus ducit, summum conscendit honorem;
* * * *

Renovavit monumenta patrum iuniorque priorum
Caelesti munere fretus sapienter ornabat.

5. Composuit scholae cantorum hunc rite libellum,
Qui reciprocando moduletur carmine Christo,
Quando sacerque sacra (est) libans libamina, vatis
Dulcibus antiphonae pulsent concentibus aures
Classibus et geminis psalmorum concorrent odas.
10. Hymnistae crebro vox articulata resultet.
Ut celsum quatiat clamosa carmina culmen.
Dominum concordia laudamus voto tonantem,
Cantibus et crebris conclamet turba suorum.
Hymnos ac psalmos et responsoria festis.
15. Congrua promamus subter testudine templi.
Isalterii melos fantes modulamine crebro,
Atque decem fidibus nitamur tendere lyram
Ut psalmista monet his quinque psallere fibris.

* * * *

- Hic claro argento clare fabricato nitescit;
20. Talibus ornabat donis opuscula Christi
Gregorius felix, coelesti munere dives,
Quem numerosa Dei ditorat gratia summi.
Hic opibus fulsit magnis et honoribus auctus;
Hunc etiam duplicis decorata sapientiae legis;
25. Et populum Domini magno moderamine rexit.

* * * *

- En, felix Domini famulus, pro munere tanto
Qui noscitis rivo vernarum corda rigare,
Dum sacra comis late praecordia verbis
Luciferisque simul, madatorumque manipulis
30. Et variis florum fragris saturare solebas,
Para vires fragiles animae accendique fibras,
Ut homines pacem discant servare per orbem
Angelicam in terris passim cum foedere firmo,
Quam Christus castis, traxit sperantibus arcem
35. Perpetuam, ac iugiter praecepta sequentibus ultro
Sedibus in celsis pulchram promissit habendam.

* * * *

Solve, fortunate pater, semperque beatus

Atque memor nostri pollens per saecula magister.

Collect. ms. saec. (9. et) 8/9. Cod. Capit. Lucensis 490.

(Nech Grisar, in der Zeitschr. für Kath. Theologie, 1890, S. 553ff)

A. - De Levis, Anecdota sacra, Aug. Turin. 1789, p. 32; aus einer
Hs., die er in der Nähe des Klosters S. Michaelis von Lucedio (Liedmont)
gefunden hatte und als aus dem siebenten Jahrhundert stammend ansah.
die aber nach der Schriftprobe (De Levis, l.c. p. 29) der Grenze vom 9.
zum 10. Jahrhundert angehört. B. - 3 patrumque priorum B; "iuniorque"

ist nicht zu beanstanden: Gregor hat die Denkmäler der Vater erneuert und als der jüngere die Werke der älteren im Vertrauen auf Gott weise verschonert. - 4 Munere caelesti B. - 5 Tum composuit A; cantor B; huncque rite A. - 6 reciproca Deo moduletur carmina B. - 7 sacer casraque libans libamine; A. - 9 et gemmis (Lesefehler?) psalmarum A; concrepent orat A, concrepet orat B. - 10 Hymnis te crebro AB; articula A. - 11 et B; clamore A, clamosa crimina B. - 12 Dominus concordia A, Fratres concordia B; voto nantem A, voce tonantem B. - 13 Dantibus A. - 14 responsoria fertis A fessis B. - 15 promenus A. - 16 saneto (statt crebro) B. - 17 Fidibus atque decem B; tendere fehlt B; lira B. - 19. Hic (sc. liber; cfr. V.5); fabricata AB; ritescit A. - 20 ornata B; et opuscula B. - 22 quem mune rora A, quae numerosa B; ditant A, ditare gloria summi B. - 23 actus A. - 24 Nunc A, Hinc B; zum Partizio! "decorans" ist es "zu ergänzen, wie in der mittelalterlichen Poesie häufig (cfr. vers. 7). - 26 famulus felix Domini B. - 27 vivas venarum corda rigore B. 28 Cum sacro comes B. - 29 mandatorum A. - 30 et vasus A; fragilis A; fruges B. - 31 Prata virum et fragiles arimosa accendere biblis (!) A; ebenso B mit dem Unterschiede; fragiles animos accendere fibris. (Ich akzeptierte die Conjekture Grisar's trotz der starken abweichung von den Quellen) - 33 terra passi B. - 34 Quia Christus castis rapuit sperantibus artem (!) B. - 35 Perpetuis A; hac iugiter B; praecepta fehlt A; ultra B. - 36 in caeli B.

Die offers wenig glatt fließenden und in beiden Quellen vielfach entstehenden Verse hat bereits Grisar (a.a.o.) rekonstruiert; ich glaubte, mich stellenweise enger an das älteste Original A halten zu müssen. - A ist beschrieben von Mabillon, Mansi, Bethmann und Wald, und nach ihnen von Duchesne im Liber Pontificalis p. CLXIV; ein Facsimile desselben auf Tafel III. - Bist nebst anderen Redaktionen des "Gregorius praesul." mit erläuternden Bemerkungen abgedruckt von den Pethier in der Musica sacra, Milano, Mart. 1890, p. 38 sqq. - Als weitere Literatur zu vorstehender und dem verwandten Redaktionen sei noch notiert: Paleographie Music; II. p. 118 sqq; Revue Benedictine, Juliheft 1890; Civita Cattolica, Aprilheft 1890; Dublin Review, 1896, Rev. d. quest. histor XI p. 221.

Es kann kaum ein Zweifel sein, daß der unter Nr. 1 mitgeteilte Tropus aus den fünf ersten Hexametern des vorstehenden Liedes gebildet ist; die zwei ersten Hexametern sind wortlich entlehnt, der dritte mit Verstümmelung am schluss ("iuniorque" ist unterdrückt), schließlich unter Ubergang des vierten Hexameters der fünfte mit Verstellung der Worte und einem kleinen Zusatz. - Der Inhalt dieses längeren Liedes ist derart, daß es anscheinend von dem einem Zeitgenossen Gregors, mindestens aber, nach dem Alter der Quelle von Lucca zu schließen, im Anfange des neunten Jahrhunderts gedichtet sein muß, wie Grisar urteilt. Ebenso dürfte letzterer völlig richtig vermuten, daß es ursprünglich in ein reich gezeichnetes Antiphonar (bzw. Gradual) hineingeschrieben wurde, dem man nicht bloß seinen Inhalt, sondern auch seiner Ausstattung nach eine Herkunft von Gregor selbst, etwa als Geschenk, zuschrieb. (Grisar. a.a.o. s. 554).

Jüngeren, wennigleich sehr alten Datums, ist folgende aus Frankreich stammende Einleitung, wovon es mir aber zweifelhaft

scheint, ab sie zu einem Antiphonar oder vielmehr zu einer
Via des hl. Gregor gehört.

19(d)

b. Introductio ex Cod. Vaticano. Reg. 1709

1. Gregorius praesul meritis et nomine dignus,
Unde genus ducit, summum conscendit honorem.
* * * * *
Tradidit hic cantum populis normamque canendi,
Quod Domino laudes referant noctuque dieque.
Hic vitam scribens hominum moresque bonorum
Isdem gestorum mala non tacuit, manifesta
Omnia; sed post haec senior plenusque dierum
Transit ad Dominum felix feliciter ipse.
Et quid te per plura morer fastidia, lector?
10. quod docuit fieri, fecit et ipse prior.
* * * * *

Erfridus ovans Domino Petroque dicavit
Exiguum, quod cernis, opus, spectator amate.

Collect ms. Floriacense (?) saec. 7/8/9 (10.etc.) Cod.
Vatican. Regin. 1709. (cfr. Bannister, Katalog der Gregorian.
Exposition, p. 50, Nr. 135.) Tommasi hat in der Liturgia ant.
Hispanica Gothica. (Romae 1746) 484 dieses Lied aus der bezeichneten
Quellen ediert, und auf seinen Text, den nachher Dummmler (Poetae
latini aevi Carolini II, 686) nochmals abgedruckt hat, sind wir
einzig angewiesen. Denn Folium 33, worauf die Verse allen Anschein
nach standen und mit ihm die Verse, ist seit einigen Decennien in der
Vaticana nicht mehr zu finden.

Nach Tommasi war das Gedicht von einer Hand des neunten
Jahrhunderts eingetragen und hatte obigen Wortlaut, ausgenommen:
3 hic tantum. - 9 fastigia.

c. Introductio Antiphonarii.

19(e)

1. Hoc quoque Gregorius patres de more secutus
Instauravit opus dicit et in melius.
His vigili clerus mentem consimine subdat
Ordinibus, pascens hoc sua corda favo.
5. Quem pia sollisitis sollertia nisibus omni
Scripturae campo legit et explicuit.
Carmina diversas sunt haec celebranda per horas;
Sollicitam rectis mentem adhibete sonis;
Discite verborum legales pergere colles
10. Dulcisque egregius iungite dicta modis,
Verborum ne cura sonos, ne cura sonorum
Verborum normas nullificare queat.
Quidquid honore Dei studiis celebratur honestis,
Hoc summis iungit mitia corda cloris.

Antiphon. ms. Hartkeri Sangallensis anni 986-1017. Cod. Sangallen. 390. (fol. 12).- Thomasius (IV, 171) hat diese Verse aus gleicher Quelle publiziert; seine Publication druckten wieder ab Clement (Hist. gener de la Musique relig. Paris 1860, p. 31) und Gueranger (Institut. Liturg 2^e edit. I p. 164), Clement mit der irrigen Einleitung: "... on chantait au commencement de l'annee ecclesiastique c'est-a-dire avant l'en~~droit~~ de premier dimanche d l'Avent, les vers suivants: Hoc quoque etc." Vers 7 sagt deutlich, dafs es sich um des Stundengebet des Priesters, das Brevier, handelt; auch der Gesang dieser Dichtung ist wilkurliche Erfindung.

XLIX, 19-20
(1)

A. Introductiones ad Introitum

I De Tempore.

1. Dominica I Adventus D'

Gregorius praesul meritis et nomine dignus,
Unde genus ducit, summum conscendit honorem;
Renovavit monumenta patrum priorum,
tunc composuit hunc libellum musicae artis scholae cantorum
anni circulo.

Eia dic, domne, eia:

Ad te levavi animam meam, Deus meus, etc.

Trop ms. Martialense anni 933-936. Cod. Parisin. 1240 A.-
Trop ms. S. Martoni Lemovicensis saec. 11. in. Cod. Parisin.
1120. B.- Trop. ms. Nivernense saec. 11. Cod. Parisin. 9449
C.- Trop ms. Nivernense saec. 12. Cod. Parisin. Nouv. acq.
12352. E.- Grad. ms. Tolosanum saec. 11. Cod. Londinen. Harl.
4951 F.- Miss. Fontiselbraldense imp. Parisiis 1514. G.-
Miss. Fontisebraldense imp. Parisiis 1606 H.- Miss. Pictaviense
imp. Parisiis 1526 J.- Miss. Bictorrense imp. Lugduni 1535 K.
Trop. ms. Eporediense saec. 11. im. Cod. Capit. Eporedien.
60. L.-Trop. ms. Vercellense saec. 11. Cod. Capit. Vercellen
CLXI, M.-Trop ms. Vercellense saec. 11. Cod. Capit. Vercellen.
CXLVI, N.- Trop ms. S. Benedicti Mantuani saec. 11. Cod.
Capit. Veronen. CVII (100) O.- Trop ms. Novaliciense saec. 11.
Cod. Oxonien. Douce 222. P.-Trop ms. Modetinum saec 11. Cod.
Capit. Modetinum 76 2.- Trop ms. Pistoriense saec 11/12. Cod.
Capit. Pistorien, 70 R.- Trop ms. Bobbiense saec. 12. Cod. Taur-
inen. F IV 18. S.- Grad. ms. Italicum saec. 13. Cod. Ambrosian.
S. 74 sup. T.

Trop ms. Emmeramense anni 1024- 36. Clm. Monacen. 14322 U.
- Trop ms. Fredeslariense saec. 11. Cod. Casselan. Theol. IV 25
X.- Miss. ms. Pragense (Joannis de Drazic.) saec. 14. Cod.
Mus. Bohem. XIII B.9.Y.-Grad ms. S. Georgii Pragense saec. 16. Cod.
Mus. Bohemici XIII E. 8.a.- Grad. ms. Praganni 1551. Cod. Capit.
Pragen. XIII A 5c.c.- Grad. ms. Strigoniense saec. 15. Cod.
Capit. Strigonien. Mss II 3.d.

2 Unde et genus magnum conscendit K; genus dici L, ducis
O. dulce T, duxit, I; honore F.-3 Renovabit ^{CD}F, Renovavi D¹;
monimenta BCEGHM. munimenta U.- 4 dum composuit BEN-RTZ ac
(an sich ist die Lesart sehr annehmbar), qui composuit UXYD;
mosicae artis L; artis fehlt K, beigelegt am Rande.- 4 scholae
cantandum UYZ abcd; cantarum F.-5 anni circuli B.- FKLpX,
circulum RS.-6 fehlt EOKUXYD; domne eia fehlt GH; statt 6 in
F; ora paraphonista dicunt psalmista. -Titel in B; "Trophus
ad (in) troitum de ad televavi"; in Y die Rubrik: "In adventu
Domini Dominica I a ante Introitum super pulpitem un medio chori
a duobus cantatur haec antiphona; "Gregorius Praesul" etc. und

dann am schlufs des Tropus;" Immediate precentores incipiunt Introitum: "Ad te levavi" etc. - Bannister fand diesen Tropus auch im. Cod. Parisin. 17436. saec 8/10. mit der Variante in Zeile 5: "de anni circulo."

Demnach ware der Gebrauch dieses interessantem und beruhten Tropus in verschiedenen Kirchen Frankreichs Italiens und Deutschland für die Zeit vom Ende des 9. bis Mitte des 16 Jahrhunderts erwiesen. Über die grossere metrische Vorlage, aus der es sichtlich entnommen ist, sehe man den Exkurs zum folgenden Tropus.

Er wahnung verdient noch, dass (dafs) die einfuhrung dieses Tropus in die Liturgie durch Papst Hadrian II erfolgt sein soll; das ist eine durchaus haltlose erfinding. (cfr. Gautier I, p. 206, Anm.)

Dominica I. Adventus D.

1. Sanctissimus
Namque Gregorius cum preces
effunderet ad Dominum,
Ut musicum tonum ei
desuper in carminibus
dedisset,
2. Tunc descendit
spiritus sanctus super eum
in specie columbae
et illustravit cor eius,
canere its dicendo:
ad te levavi animam meam, etc.

Trop ms. Nonantulense saec. 11. in. Cod. Roman. Vitt.
Eman. 1343 (Sessor, 62) A.- Trop. ms. Nonantulense saec. 11. Cod.
Bononien. 2824 B.- Trop ms Nonantulense saec. 11. Cod. Roman.
Casinaten. 1741 (CLV 2) C.- Trop ms. S. Benedicti Mantuani saec.
11. Cod. Capit. Veronen. CVII (100) D.- Trop. ms. Novaliciense
saec. 11. Cod. Oxonien. Douce 222 E.- Trop ms. Casinense(?) saec. 1
ex Cod. Vatican. Urb. 602 F.- Trop. ms. Pistoriense saec. 11/12.
Cod. Capit. Pistorien. 70. G.- Trop. ms. Bobbiense saec. 12. Cod.
Tourinen. F. IV 18. H.- Grad. ms. Tolosanum saec. 11. Cod. Londinen
Harl. 4561. 1.- 1,2 papa (st namque) F, dum preces 1.-1,3 funderet
C E G.- 1; 4 musicae D; donum E F, tonus H.- 1,5 desuper fehlt F. 11
6 daret F. 2, 1 Huic I, -2,4 Corda D.E.G. - 2, 5 et tunc demum E G H
-2,6 dicens C E.- Die Melodie zeigt keinen, der Text sehr
schwachen, Parallellismus zwischen den beiden Strophen; dem
interessantem des Inhalts verdankt daher vor allem dieser Tropus,
der den nummern 1 und 2 so verwandt ist, seine Aufnahme.- A B E wir
der Introitus text noch weiter tropicert, aber in reiner prosa,
namlich; Creator coeli et terrae institutor et rector, adimple in
nobis fidem et dilectionem tuam, Deus meus, in te confido; non erub
cam, Ut possimus contrariae virtuti resistere ac tibi fideliter s
ervire, neque iradeant me inimici mei etc.