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**THE CONTRIBUTION OF CERTAIN TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH  
CENTURY CHURCHMEN TO LATIN HYMNODY**

**A Thesis**

**Presented to**

**the Faculties of the Departments of Historical  
Theology and Hymnology  
Asbury Theological Seminary**

**In Partial Fulfillment**

**of the Requirements for the Degree  
Bachelor of Divinity**

**by**

**Donald E. Demaray**

**May 1949**

For

Calvin Dorr and Leola Grace Demaray

My Parents

who more than any others have encouraged and taught  
me in the art and appreciation of  
literature

I believed the poets; it is they  
Who utter wisdom from the central deep,  
And, listening to the inner flow of things,  
Speak to the age out of eternity.

---James Russell Lowell from Columbus

There can be no surer guide to the best piety of any era than the hymns which have been thought worthy of being preserved, and most collections of hymns testify to the wide extent of the common Christianity of every age and party in the Church in its broadest sense. --An Outline of Christianity--  
The Story of Our Civilization, pp. 416-417



## PREFACE

To professors Claude H. Thompson and John S. Tremaine, I wish to acknowledge my debt of gratitude for their helpful suggestions, and guidance. Also to Professor Lawrence Schoenhals, of Seattle Pacific College, goes thanks for advice during the summer months of 1948. There is one to whom I am especially grateful--Kathleen Elizabeth, my wife, who has been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement.

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## INTRODUCTION

"The Church of God has been and is a singing Church."<sup>1</sup> A careful study of this characteristic in the history of the Church will indicate that within the constitution of man, and peculiar to man alone, there is a strong impulse toward expression in song. Indeed, a leading scholar in the history of the hymn has pointed out that, "In the beginning, song was a spontaneous expression of feeling, being based on man's original constitution as fully as breathing or speaking."<sup>2</sup> The Old Testament portrays this characteristic. Laban had this inherent desire thwarted when Jacob took from him his daughters without allowing him to say goodbye to them "...with songs, with tabret, and with harp."<sup>3</sup> Moses, too, was a man of song, as evidenced by the record in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus. Certain of his words, colored with the sense of the poetic, form a fitting preface to later hymns: "The Lord is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation...."<sup>4</sup> These are but two of the examples given in the Old Testament which show the nature of man to

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<sup>1</sup>E. S. Lorenz, The Singing Church, the hymns it wrote and sang. (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1938), p. 17

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>3</sup>Genesis 31:27.

<sup>4</sup>Exodus 15:2a.

have the impulse to praise God through the medium of song. Perhaps the most stirring of the New Testament references to this spirit of song in man is in Mark 14:26, for it expresses with clarity the comforting fellowship and unity of the disciples resulting from singing together. "And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the Mount of Olives." Here, this essential element in the nature of man comes into active fruition at this historic occasion prefacing the founding of the Christian Church.

The employment of hymns in the development of the Christian Church has been and is significant.

The hymns of Huss and of Luther, the psalmody of Calvin and Knox, the preparatory effect of the hymns of Watts for the great Second Reformation in England and its intensification by the hymns of the Wesleys, the joyous singing of rudely fashioned psalms and the newly introduced hymns in the Great Awakening in New England, the great evangelistic movement in America and in England with its enthusiastic singing of unpretentious Gospel songs—all establish on unquestionably scientific basis the spiritual value of sacred song.<sup>5</sup>

More recently a thirst for hymnological knowledge portrays the intense influence of the hymn on the spiritual life of church people. Doctors Moffat and McCutchen, as well as other churchmen, have published manuals corresponding to the church hymnals of their faith, thereby offering clearer insight into the nature and purpose of the hymn. Dr. H. Augustine Smith, the eminent Boston professor of hymnology,

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<sup>5</sup>Lorenz, op. cit., p. 19.

stands at the head of a movement which is endeavoring to aid churchmen in obtaining a clearer comprehension of the Christian hymn. He is contributing this service by means of his writings, lectures, and teaching techniques. His edition, The New Hymnal for American Youth, is a significant contribution to the life of the Christian Church, making youth sensitive to the spiritual resources of the hymn. At no other time in the history of youth work has the Christian Church been characterized by such eagerness and enthusiasm for the study of the hymn as it is today. Youth societies over the nation are frequently substituting hymn study for the traditional "speaker." Youth, as well as the Christian Church in its entirety, is marching through the hostile barriers of this age in the spirit of the great hymns of the Church.

The hymn has not lost its significance for this age. The study of the hymn, once considered so limited a subject that hymnology was inevitably studied as one unit, is now enlarging its horizons and offers no small degree of interest in many areas. It is the purpose of this study to examine one of these smaller units of hymnological history.

The purpose of the investigation is five-fold.

(1) It is to explore and record the actual contributions of certain Twelfth and Thirteenth century churchmen to Latin hymnody. This may be stated as the primary purpose under

consideration. The following purposes are subordinate to this first statement. (2) It is to broaden the cultural horizons of the reader. Music and poetry are major facets in the study of the arts. (3) It is to give meaningful background to the act of poetic praise in the service of public worship. Careful inquiry into the antecedents of our hymnody is a most helpful exercise. The study of the poets' lives and the profound spiritual and intellectual experiences which stimulated them to write hymns, forces one to a deeper sense of appreciation. (4) It is to present a background of understanding to the current liturgical movement. This point of purpose is closely related to the latter point, for both deal in the area of appreciation of the service of worship. Let it be made clear that it is not the intent of this dissertation to discuss or analyze the area of liturgical worship. But many of the hymns in this era constitute a part of certain liturgical acts of worship. An example of the latter is St. Thomas' lengthy hymn employed in the vespers of Corpus Christi and during Eucharistic processions. The Catholic Church, with its return to the Gregorian Chant, and the Methodist Church, with its trend toward Anglican ritual, are witnessing a movement of liturgical revival. This thesis will afford clearer insight into the meaning of this movement.

The importance of the subject. More than three

thousand five hundred hymns have been written in the Latin Church, "of which an authority like Duffield pronounces several hundreds valuable for all time."<sup>6</sup> (This figure is dated prior to the beginning of the protestant movement.) Out of seven hundred and eighty recorded hymns in the historical edition of Hymns Ancient and Modern, one hundred and eighty of them find their origin in the Latin era.<sup>7</sup> The contrast of other hymnological statistics will serve to bring into view the importance of the Latin hymn in its own right. The Eastern Church, which has only been partially explored, has thousands of lyrics. No less than one hundred thousand hymns have been written by the Church in Germany. Ten thousand of these have attained considerable currency, and at least one thousand have been pronounced by Shaff to be "classical and immortal."<sup>8</sup> "In 1891, when Julian's monumental Dictionary of Hymnology appeared, it was calculated by the editor that the total number of Christian hymns in all languages was 'not less than 400,000.'<sup>9</sup> The Latin Church did not produce as many hymns as certain of the other

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<sup>6</sup>W. S. Pratt, Musical Ministries of the Church. (New York: G. Schirmer, 1914), p. 53.

<sup>7</sup>Percy Scholes, The Oxford Companion. (London: Oxford University Press, 1943), p. 448.

<sup>8</sup>Pratt, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

branches of the Church. However, in its own right the Latin Church has a marked place in the total corpus of the hymnody of the Christian Ecclesia.

It is the conviction of the writer, moreover, that the very nature of the Christian poets demands investigation. The Rt. Rev. Mr. Trench, in his work on Sacred Latin Poetry, points out that, "The Christian poets were in Holy Earnest."<sup>10</sup> Moreover, they were the very "...Gospel brought into men's hearts...."<sup>11</sup> Dr. Robert Guy McCutchan well suggests the focal point of the conviction at hand when he says,

As has ever been the case, these longings they strove to express in poetic form and in so expressing them brought into their poetry that mystical element which so pervades the whole of the hymn writing of the Middle Ages.<sup>12</sup>

It is well, then, to mark as a focal point of importance the nature of the Latin poets--the Gospel carriers by means of their hymnody.

Justification of the subject. Few studies have been made in this period of Latin hymnody. This area of investigation is destined to become increasingly more important by virtue of the growing insight into and appreciation of the

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<sup>10</sup>Robert Guy McCutchan, Hymns in the Lives of Men. (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943), pp. 104-105.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>12</sup>Loc. cit.



Middle Ages. As Dr. Lang points out,

We are fascinated because we are still bound with invisible ties to the times of St. Augustine, Boethius, Abelard, St. Thomas Aquinas, Wolfram, St. Francis, Dante, and the multitude of nameless authors and writers. 13

The important problem is to see the significance of this era in the light of the actual contributions. Many former studies have not adequately dealt with these men and their efforts. Often one brief paragraph is the only suggestion of recognition, such as occurs in H. B. Marks, The Rise and Growth of English Hymnody. Hymnologists tend to discuss the Latin field as a whole, rather than making any systematic and careful investigation into the more specific areas.

Definition of terms. (1) By the term "certain Twelfth and Thirteenth century churchmen" is meant the following specific men, chosen by virtue of their degree of importance in relation to the other theological poets of their time: Adam of St. Victor, Abelard, Bernard of Clairvaux, Bernard of Cluny, St. Francis of Assisi, Thomas of Celano, and St. Thomas Aquinas. Such men as Bonaventura are omitted because of the extreme degree of uncertainty among scholars as to their actual contributions.

(2) The term "Latin hymnody" is indeed a complicated one. It refers to a segment of that great body of hymns

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<sup>13</sup>Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1941), p. 37.

written in the Western Church, but it also has a much more profound implication. St. Augustine caught the deeper meaning of the hymn when he defined it:

Know ye what a hymn is? It is a song with praise of God. If thou praisest God and singest not, thou utterest no hymn. If thou singest and praisest not God, thou utterest no hymn. A hymn, then, containeth three things: song (canticum), and praise (laudem), and that of God. Praise, then, of God in song is called a hymn.<sup>14</sup>

Julian points out here that "The Septuagint (v. 14) has ὕμνος πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ."<sup>15</sup> ὕμνος and hymnus (Latin), both meaning a song of praise, are consistent with Augustine's definition. Augustine continues his defining thought--"What, then, meaneth this: 'An hymn to all His Saints?' 'Let His Saints receive a hymn. Let His Saints utter a hymn.'"<sup>16</sup> Julian then summarizes Augustine's observations on the hymn:

This definition, then, excludes prose anthems, meditative, didactic, historical, merely religious poetry, and private devotional pieces unsuited for public worship. According to this definition, to constitute a hymn three conditions are requisite: it must be praise of God or of His saints, be capable of being sung, and be metrical.<sup>17</sup>

Another observation on the Latin hymn is here in

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<sup>14</sup>John Julian, A Dictionary of Hymnology. (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1892), p. 640.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 640.

<sup>16</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>17</sup>Loc. cit.

order. The Latin writers had a characteristic meter, as portrayed in the following diagram: (-(-(-(-, as seen in "Veni creator spiritus." But let it be made clear that the Latin hymn was by no means confined to this typical pattern. Byrnes' conviction is that there are nine varieties of meters.<sup>18</sup> These he outlined as follows: (1) Iambic Dimeter. Such meter consists simply of a four-line stanza, each line containing four iambs. There are 118 Latin hymns in this meter. It may be illustrated like this: (-(-(-(-, or in an actual example like this: "Jam lucis orto sidere." This is identical with the typical example given above. The number of hymns patterned after this system indicates its typical nature. (2) Iambic Trimeter. This also is a four-line stanza but with six iambs in each. There are five hymns in this meter of which "Aurea luce et decore roseo" is an example. It may be diagrammed like this: (- (- (- (- (- (-. (3) Trochaic Dimeter. This pattern consists of a three-line stanza with four trochees in each. "Dies irae, dies illa," is an example of one of the five hymns which appear in this meter. It is diagrammed like this: -( -( -( -( -. (4) Trochaic dimeter catalectic. This consists of a six-line stanza, with three and one-half trochees. One hymn

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<sup>18</sup> Aquinas Byrnes, Editor, Hymns of the Dominican Breviary. (London: B. Herder Book Co., 1943), pp. 9-14.

appears in Latin hymnody of this nature, "Veni, sancte Spiritus," diagramed as -( -( -( -. (5) Trochaic Dimeter Brachycatalectic. This pattern is made up of a four-line stanza of three trochees. Only one example of this has been found in Latin hymnody; namely, "Ave maris stella." Its diagram is as follows: -( -( -( -. (6) Trochaic trimeter catalectic. This contains a four-line stanza of five and one-half trochees. Again, there is but one example in the history of the Latin hymn--"Adoro Te devote, latens Dieta." It is illustrated like this: -( -( -( -( -( -. (7) Trochaic Tetrameter Catalectic. Such a poem consists of a three-line stanza of seven and one-fourth trochees. Appearing in the breviary, this pattern usually has six lines; thereby, making lines one, three, and five to have four trochees and lines two, four, and six to have three and one-half trochees--for example, "Pange lingua gloriosi." This is illustrated by -( -( -( -( -. The remainder of the example is "Proelium certaminis," illustrated as -( -( -( -. (8) Asclepiadic Glyconic. This consists of a four-line stanza, with the first three lines having a spondee, two choriambi, and an iambus. The example given is "Sanctorum meritis incolyta gaudia," and illustrated as -- -((- -((- (-. The final line has a spondee, one choriambus, and an iambus; as for example, "Victorum genus optimum," and illustrated as -- -((- -((- (-. (9) Sapphic Adonic. This type is seen in

twenty-nine hymns and consists of a four-line stanza. The first three lines have a trochee, a spondee, a dactyl, and two trochees; as for example, "Ecce jam noctis tenatur umbra," and illustrated as, -( -- -( ( -( -( . The final line has a dactyl and a spondee. This is illustrated as -( ( --, and in the Latin may be "Cunctipotentem," for example.

Finally, by way of defining a Latin hymn, it is well to note the types of Latin poetry. First and foremost, it must be made clear that the hymn is only one of six general types of Latin poetry.<sup>19</sup> The six types are: (1) liturgical proses, (2) hymns, (3) sequences, (4) tropes, (5) psalteries, (6) "Rosaria" or rhymed prayers to the Rosary.<sup>20</sup> This thesis is primarily concerned with the actual hymns of the Latin Church; however, the types of the Latin poem are so closely related at times to the Latin hymn that mention of the former will often be made, especially in the area of the Latin Sequence. By way of contrast to the Latin hymn it is well to define three of these Latin poetic types. The following three definitions will follow closely Schaff.<sup>21</sup>

(1) Psalteries ("Psalteria rhythmica"). These poems were

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<sup>19</sup>Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, Vol. V, Pt. I, (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1891), p. 861.

<sup>20</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>21</sup>Loc. cit.

attempted imitations of the Psalms. They were divided into one hundred and fifty parts and addressed to the Trinity, Jesus, and usually to Mary. Dreves ascribes two psalteries to St. Anselm. (2) Sequence. This type is "a word first applied to a melody,"<sup>22</sup> and was used as a sacred poem later. Notker of St. Gall was the first to adapt such poems to sequences or melodies. (3) Tropes. Such poems are "... verses interpolated into the offices of the liturgy, and were joined on to the Gloria, the Hosanna, and other parts."<sup>23</sup> This poem originated in France and later became popular in England.

Scope of the subject under consideration. The study shall be limited to the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries, and confined to the men suggested under (1) of the section on definitions. Though this is an era in which the liturgical movement was in a critical stage of development, the writer feels that this is a subject in its own right, and it shall not be treated unless absolutely pertinent to the discussion. Moreover, it will be quite obvious to the well informed reader that the place of mysticism plays a considerable part in the lives of such men as Bernard of Clairvaux and St. Thomas Aquinas. However, it is the

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<sup>22</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>23</sup>Loc. cit.

writer's conviction that this area of knowledge is so extensive that time will not be allotted to it in this treatise. The problem will only be suggested when absolutely necessary to the thought movements of the discussion at hand.

Method of procedure. Chapter one is designed to give preparation for clearer insight into the hymnological implications of the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries through the medium of the presentation of historical background. An historical sketch shall be presented from the time of Ambrose to the Twelfth century. The method of procedure in this chapter shall be largely biographical. The following chapters shall be developed from a biographical point of view--primarily in the light of actual contributions. It is not, however, the object of the thesis to give a mere sketch of these men's lives, but rather to study their lives in basic relation to their hymnological contributions. The chapters shall proceed chronologically in terms of the men's lives.

"A noble hymn is an immortal  
man established in righteousness  
in whom the oracles of truth  
are engraved."--Clement of Alexandria

## CHAPTER I

"SED SUMMA SEQUAR FASTIGIA RERUM"--Vergil

The words of Vergil, often translated, "But I will trace the outlines of the chief events,"<sup>1</sup> suggest the importance of the historical approach. Coupled with Vergil's conviction is that of Cicero, who states in his De Oratore that, "History indeed is the witness of the times, the light of truth."<sup>2</sup> It is the purpose of this chapter, then, to give historical background to the ensuing investigation.

Someone has said that,

The Church has sung its way down through the centuries. How would our faith languish without its great sweet hymns? When we are cast down, these hymns lift us as on wings. When we are wayward, they recall us to memories of better days. They express our joy, they comfort our sorrow.<sup>3</sup>

As the above quotation indicates, the hymn has done much to stabilize the Christian faith. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers,

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<sup>1</sup>Burton Stevenson, The Home Book of Quotations. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1945), p. 901.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 900.

<sup>3</sup>Caroline Leonard Goodenough, High Lights on Hymnists and their Hymns. (Rochester, Massachusetts: Pub. by author, 1931), p. 20.



was probably the first of the Latin hymn writers, as well as the first champion of the faith by means of the hymn. He wrote a book of hymns for the express purpose of combating heresy. Being born of illustrious parents, early in the fourth century, he was thoroughly educated according to the standards of the day. About 350 he renounced paganism and began to follow the Christian Church with no small degree of enthusiasm. Like Ambrose after him, he was a layman and married when called to the bishopric of his town. Hilary was a man of strong conviction and had courage to say what he believed. He publicly accused Constantine and, as Breed says, rebuked him, "declaring him to be the antichrist."<sup>4</sup> For this act he was banished into exile for six years, as Winfred Douglas observes.<sup>5</sup> While in banishment at Phrygia in Asia Minor he was inspired to use Christian song to combat heresy. As suggested above, he wrote a book of hymns for the purpose of defending his faith. (This information finds its origin in the writings of St. Jerome.)<sup>6</sup> Only seven or eight of the hymns from Hilary's book yet exist. Brownlie's version of one of them is, "Gone are the shades

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<sup>4</sup>Lawrence R. Schoenhals, in a series of lectures, Seattle Pacific College, 1947.

<sup>5</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup>H. B. Marks, The Rise and Growth of English Hymnody. (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1938), p. 52

of night. . . ."

Later Hilary was released from prison by Julian, and traveled in Europe in defense of the faith. So great was his enthusiasm for the combating of heresy, through song and other means, that

Hilary was sometimes called the hammer of the Arians, and his treatise on the doctrine of the Trinity in contrast to Arianism is the first work in Latin on that topic, and he most ably defended Athanasius in his stand against Arianism. <sup>7</sup>

This saint and bishop, called by St. Augustine 'The Illustrious Doctor of all the Churches,' <sup>8</sup> died January 13, 368. It was in this period of Arian controversy when Latin song became popular. Moreover Latin song followed for one thousand years as the medium of praise in the Western Church. <sup>9</sup>

Before terminating the brief treatment of Hilary of Poitiers, it is well to make two observations. (1) As the Greek hymns were stimulated in defense of the faith, so the Latin hymns were established as a bulwark to undergird Christian belief. Hilary was probably the first Latin to use hymns in such polemic fashion. (2) Hilary's works became the chief source of Ambrose's poetical contributions.

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<sup>7</sup>Schoenhals, op. cit.

<sup>8</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>9</sup>Marks, loc. cit.

It is well that adequate time be given to St. Ambrose, for he is considered the father of Latin hymnody. Though he was not the first Latin poet, he carries a greater degree of importance than Hilary in relation to the Latin hymn, as seen in the ensuing observations.

Ambrose was born in the year 340 and died in Milan in 397. He prepared himself for law, but because of his intense desire to serve humanity he finally gave himself to the preaching of the Gospel and was drafted by the church to the bishopric. The story of his election as bishop is a moving one. He himself was presiding over the council when a child cried out, "Ambrose is bishop!" The crowd took up the cry and he was chosen. In this office he did much to quell Arianism and to make the Catholic faith triumphant.

Renowned for his piety and eloquence, he was also the founder of hymnody in the Western Church. His title, "The Father of Latin Hymnody," carries with it no small degree of significance, for he was the first to encourage the congregation to praise God through the medium of song. Not only did he introduce congregational singing but, also, he was the father of antiphonal singing in the Occident. Later his methods of singing spread rapidly, owing to the favorable geographic position of the city of Milan, to the various domains of the Latin Church. "The use of responsorial singing had already become general during the life of Ambrose

as can be ascertained from the writings of his friend and secretary, Paulinus."<sup>10</sup> Rome introduced antiphonal singing into the Roman liturgy by an act of the Roman Council in 382. A generation later Pope Celestine I incorporated the practice into the Roman Mass.<sup>11</sup> So firmly did Ambrose establish the custom of hymn singing in his Basilica at Milan that the entire Western Church looked to him for guidance in liturgical matters.<sup>12</sup> A major reason for the popular growth of his hymns was that he taught them in plain and simple tunes.

"Ambrose. . . was, like Hilary, a Frenchman, a great fighter, and a great singer."<sup>13</sup> The term "fighter" is well employed in this quotation, for he was one of the most bitter debaters against the Arians. During his critical persecution by the Arian Empress Justina, between the years 385-386, he wrote some of his greatest hymns. By way of comparison it is interesting to note how both Hilary and Ambrose were inspired to write under persecution. St. Augustine in his Confessions, book ix, chapter vii, says,

It was a year or not much more, since Justina, the mother of the boy-emperor Valentinian, persecuted Thy

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<sup>10</sup>Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1941), p. 46.

<sup>11</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>12</sup>Marks, op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>13</sup>Jermiah Bascom Reeves, The Hymn as Literature. (London: The Century Co., 1924), p. 77.

servant Ambrose in the interest of her heresy, to which she had been seduced by the Arians. <sup>14</sup>

According to Dickinson, this persecution was to induce St. Ambrose to surrender some of the churches of the city to the Arians. <sup>15</sup> But Ambrose's parishoners kept guard in their churches, preparing to die with the bishop. Indeed, this was the medium by which they portrayed their loyalty to their beloved leader. He resisted Emperor Valentinian II, who instigated the threat, and his parishoner-soldiers won over the Emperor's armed force. From this point on the Milan Church had, as part of its singing ritual, songs patterned after those of the Eastern Church; for they had celebrated their victory with such song. This new development in singing became the so-called Ambrosian Chant. As Dickinson has ably pointed out, this was a delightful change for the people for, as Augustine described, there was "more speaking than singing" on previous occasions. <sup>16</sup> St. Augustine, in his Confessions, book ix, chapter vii, speaks with beautiful expression in regard to this historic establishment in Latin praise:

At this time was it here first instituted after the manner of the Eastern Churches, that hymns and Psalms

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<sup>14</sup>Schoenhals, op. cit.

<sup>15</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>16</sup>Loc. cit.

should be sung, lest the people should wax faint through the tediousness of sorrow; which custom being retained from that day to this, is still imitated by divers, yea, almost by all Thy congregations throughout other parts of the world.<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, St. Augustine's impression of these songs was no less than profound, as recorded in his Confessions, book ix, chapter vi:

How abundantly did I weep to hear those hymns and canticles of Thine, being touched to the very quick by the voices of Thy sweet church songs! Those voices flowed into mine ears, and Thy truth pleasingly distilled into my heart, which caused the affections of my devotion to overflow, and my tears to run over, and happy did I find myself therein.<sup>18</sup>

The analytical nature of the Bishop's poetic works is significant.

The Ambrosian hymns are more finished works of art than Hilary's creations. They represent Christian ideas shaped into magnificent antique classical forms.<sup>19</sup>

All of his hymns were composed of eight strophes, each of four lines patterned in iambic dimeters. This form has been widely imitated and is known as the Ambrosian hymn. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola and Prudentius, with whom early Latin hymnody comes to a close, were two of the most famous proponents of Ambrosian poetry. It is not certain whether Ambrose composed melodies to accompany the hymns, but scholarship is quite

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<sup>17</sup>Lang, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>18</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>19</sup>Loc. cit.

certain that the music was written in his day.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, it is well to note something of Ambrose's actual hymns. There have been many hymns attributed to him, but few proved to be actually his.<sup>21</sup> Lang points out that Augustine affirms four: (1) "Aeterne Rerum Conditor," (2) "Deus Creator Omnium," (3) "Jam Surgit Hora Tertia," (4) "Veni Redemptor Gentium."<sup>22</sup> Luther employed "Veni Redemptor Gentium" for his song, "Now Come, the Heathens' Saviour." Chandler renders his morning hymn, "O Jesus, Lord of heavenly grace." The "Te Deum" is, of course, the most outstanding hymn associated with Ambrose. There is considerable doubt concerning his authorship, but scholarship is quite certain that Ambrose aided in giving the hymn its place in the stately ceremony.<sup>23</sup> A common English translation begins:

We praise thee, O God;  
 We acknowledge thee to be the Lord.  
 All the earth doth worship thee, the Father everlasting,  
 To thee all angels cry aloud;  
 The heavens, and all the powers therein;  
 To thee cherubin and seraphim continually do cry."<sup>24</sup>

The Latin is given as follows:

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<sup>20</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>21</sup> Marks, op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>22</sup> Lang, loc. cit.

<sup>23</sup> Benjamin Brawley, History of the English Hymn. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1932), p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> H. Augustine Smith, Lyric Religion. (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1931), p. 18.

Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur.  
 Te aeternum Patrem omnis terra veneratur.  
 Tibi omnes angelic, tibi caeli et universi potestates,  
 Tibi cherubim et Seraphim incessabili voce proclamant;  
 Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth.<sup>25</sup>

By way of summary, Paul Henry Lang has made certain valuable observations:

Ambrose's hymns were intended for public worship. They were composed to be sung by the entire congregation, and this is the reason for their simplicity. The hymns of Prudentius were much more brilliant, but they were intended for private edification, although the Church later adopted some of them. In general the hymns were considered superior to the Psalms. While the Psalms had many uses, the hymns were reserved for purely divine purposes. 'Hymns specialiter Deo dicitur,' says St. Ambrose, and St. John Chrysostom maintained that there is nothing human about them: they are essentially divine. This is the more surprising since, as we have seen, popular elements predominated in a number of these songs.<sup>26</sup>

With Prudentius, the history of Latin hymnody moves into a new geographical area. Prudentius was born near Saragossa, in Spain, in the year 348, and died in 413. Though born in Spain, he was patriotic to the Roman government. Like Ambrose he trained for the bar and later secured a significant position in the state. His conversion came late in life at the age of fifty-seven years. He presented his resolve in terms of poetry:

Now then, at last, close on to the very end of life  
 May yet my sinful soul put off her foolishness,

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<sup>25</sup>Brawley, loc. cit.

<sup>26</sup>Lang, op. cit., p. 49.



And if by deeds it cannot, yet at least, by words  
Give praise to God.<sup>27</sup>

He was a lyric poet of no small capacity. His hymns are too long for ordinary worship purposes; however, selections from his works are often included in certain parts of the church service. Raby has pointed out that his poetry "is coloured by doctrinal intention."<sup>28</sup>

In one long hymn he sets forth the Christ of theology as foreshown by the Prophets, as living His human life among men, working His miracles and deeds of kindness, and so right on through the story of the Passion to His coming again in judgment.<sup>29</sup>

The poem has been often translated as follows:

Thine, O Christ, is endless sweetness;  
Thou art our celestial Bread;  
Nevermore he knoweth hunger, who upon Thy grace hath fed,  
Grace whereby no mortal body but the soul is nourished.

Ah! how wondrous was the fountain flowing from His  
pierced side,  
Whence the blood and water mingled in a strange and  
sacred tide--  
Water, sign of mystic cleansing;  
Blood, the martyr's crown of pride.<sup>30</sup>

It is interesting to note how this hymn refers to the wounds of the Christ and how this is similar to our popular hymn, "Rock of Ages," as well as to Bernard's long poem on the

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<sup>27</sup>Marks, op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>28</sup>G. Currie Martin, The Church and the Hymn Writers. (New York: Doubleday, Doran Co., 1928), p. 69.

<sup>29</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>30</sup>Loc. cit.

wounds of the Christ.

Prudentius was skilled in the art of allegory--his most permanent contribution to the poetry of the Latin Church.

Prudentius is a master of the use of Symbolism, and in this sense also he may be regarded as a pioneer. In one of his hymns he gives at length the account of Moses as a type of Christ, his priesthood, his work as a law-giver, his deliverance of Israel from Egypt--even his outstretched arms as he prayed on the mountain are described as 'Foreshadowing the Cross of love.'<sup>31</sup>

Then, Prudentius was a man with the capacity of genuine optimism. He spoke of the grave, not as a place of terror, but as a point of hope.

But we will honour our dear dead  
With violets and garlands strown,  
And o'er the cold and graven stone  
Small fragrant odours still be shed.<sup>32</sup>

This unusual reverence for the dead is seen in his many hymns concerning the martyrs. G. C. Martin has observed that he ". . . intensified the cult of worship at the graves of martyrs. . . ." <sup>33</sup>

Both Dearmer<sup>34</sup> and Marks<sup>35</sup> list two hymns used today

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>33</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>34</sup>Percy Dearmer, Songs of Praise Discussed. (London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1933), p. 483.

<sup>35</sup>Marks, Loc. cit.

from the pen of Prudentius. (1) "Bethlehem, of noblest cities," and the Christmas hymn (2) "Of the Father's love (heart) begotten." Dearmer would add a third, "Ye clouds and darkness, hosts of night."<sup>36</sup> The first two are often translated by H. W. Baker and Edward Caswall.

Prudentius sums up poetically the purpose of his own work.

Let each day link itself with grateful hymns  
 And every night re-echo songs of God:  
 Yea, be it mine to fight all heresies,  
 Unfold the meanings of the Catholic faith,  
 Trample on Gentile rites, thy gods O Rome,  
 Dethrone, the martyrs laud, th' Apostles sing.<sup>37</sup>

Vanantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus was born in Italy, but resided in France for the most part of his life. As a young man he was gay, well-educated, and called "the fashionable poet of his day," and was one of the Latin "Troubadours." Subsequent to a miraculous cure of something close to blindness, and through the influence of Queen Rhadegonda, founder of a convent at Poitiers, he turned his "literary gift to the Service of religion."<sup>38</sup> Sometime later he was elected to the bishopric of Poitiers. Fortunatus turned, then, from nature and society poems to contri-

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<sup>36</sup>Dearmer, loc. cit.

<sup>37</sup>Martin, op. cit., p. 72.

<sup>38</sup>Winifred Douglas, Church Music in History and Practice. (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1940), p. 170.

bute his literary genius to the Church.

Fortunatus' poems were largely in the area of mysticism and the Cross. Winfred Douglas, in Church Music in History and Practice, points out that

His mystical imagination was profoundly stirred by the legends which had grown up about our Saviour's Cross since its reputed discovery by St. Helena; and still more by the gift of a relic of the holy wood, made to the Abbey by the Emperor Justin II. Fortunatus wrote many poems in honour of the Cross. One of them, *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, was composed, with its tune, for the reception of the holy relic from the hands of the Bishop of Tours, who had brought it in solemn procession to the little village of Migne on November 19, 569 A.D.<sup>39</sup>

"Vexilla Regis" is indeed one of the great processional hymns of all time and is commonly associated with the seven great hymns of the Latin Church. (The seven are: (1) "De Contemptu Mundi" by Bernard of Cluny; (2) "Veni Sancte Spiritus" written by Hermannus Contractus according to Duffield; however, it is more often attributed to King Robert II of France; (3) "Veni Creator Spiritus" by Rabanus Maurus, bishop of Mainz (his authorship is uncertain); (4) Thomas of Celano's "Dies Irae;" (5) "Stabat Mater" composed by Jacobus de Benedictis; (6) "Mater Speciosa" written also by Benedictis; and (7) "Vexilla Regis" by Fortunatus.)<sup>40</sup> Upon careful study of this hymn of procession, one may well agree with

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<sup>39</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>40</sup>David Riddle Breed, The History and Use of Hymns and Hymn-tunes. (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1903), p. 27.

Julian who names this one of the greatest hymns of Latin Christendom.<sup>41</sup> "In this hymn we find Latin rhyme fully developed for the first time, and in a form not often surpassed afterward."<sup>42</sup> Marks records one version of part of Fortunatus' "Vexilla Regis:"

Abroad the regal banners fly,  
Now shines the Cross's mystery;  
Upon its Life did death endure,  
And yet by death did life procure.<sup>43</sup>

Fortunatus wrote hymns for special days. "See the destined day arise" is an Holy Week hymn, while "Welcome, happy morning! Age to age shall say" is an Easter hymn. In regard to the latter hymn, one of the most gripping stories in the history of martyrdom is told. Jerome of Bohemia was led forth to be burned at the stake in the year 1416. His enemies had painted red devils on a paper cap and placed it on his head. The executioner attempted to start a fire behind his back so Jerome could not see it. But the martyr cried out, "Come here and light the fire in front of me." And later, "This soul in flames I offer, Lord to thee!" As the flames mounted he sang, "Salva, festa dies!"--"Welcome happy morning."<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Marks, loc. cit.

<sup>42</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>43</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>44</sup>Schoenhals, op. cit.

By way of final analysis, Fortunatus was the first master of the trochaic tetrameter pattern. He was the author of three-hundred poems, the two most famous being: (1) "Vexilla regis prodeunt," or "The Royal Banners Forward Go;" and (2) "Pange, lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis," or "Sing, My Tongue, the Glorious Battle."

Gregory the Great (540-604) made an unusual contribution to the music and poetry of the Latin Church. Fortunatus, his contemporary, was the greater poetic genius, but Gregory perhaps did more in the area of improving church music. These "improved" hymns and associated music later became termed the Gregorian Chants. Being one of the greatest personalities of his time, he established a song school known as the "Schola Cantorum," to insure perfect chanting. It is not certain whether he encouraged congregational singing, as Ambrose, or composed the chants to take the place of congregational praise. At any rate there is no doubt that Gregory marks a new era in hymnological thought. His influence spread far and wide.

We read that the Emperor Charlemagne, two hundred years after Pope Gregory's time, became so enthusiastic upon hearing the chant that he ordered it sung throughout his empire, and even took members of his own chapel choir to Rome so that they might be properly trained in the Schola Cantorum.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Sister Mary Antonine Goodchild, Gregorian Chant for Church and School. (New York: Ginn and Co., 1944), p. 4.

The Gregorian Chant flourished until diaphony (two sounds heard and sung together) was introduced. Diaphony held sway until the times of Palestrina and Bach and their polyphony. The chant having lost its hold, Pope Pius X wrote a letter ("Motu Proprio"--i.e., his own idea and record) to the Catholic Church requesting it to be restored into use.

Gregory followed Ambrose in metrical forms, prayer-like tone, and churchly spirit.<sup>46</sup> He wrote hymns primarily for practical use, as did Ambrose. Gregory's hymns were simple and direct; as for example, his lines on the doctrine of the Trinity:

Grant, O Thou Blessed Trinity,  
Grant, O Essential Unity,  
That this our fast of forty days  
May work our profit and Thy Praise!<sup>47</sup>

Many hymns have been attributed to him, but it is not certain whether he composed any at all. However, it is Schaff's conviction that he was the author of about a dozen hymns, several appearing in the Roman Breviary. The best known is his Sunday hymn: "Primo dierum omnium," or "On this first day when heaven on earth."<sup>48</sup>

The Venerable Bede (d.735) need only be mentioned in

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<sup>46</sup>Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, Vol. IV. (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1913), p. 423.

<sup>47</sup>Martin, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>48</sup>Schaff, loc. cit.

passing. Two hymns are outstanding from his pen: (1) The beautiful ascension hymn, "Hymnum canamus gloriæ," or "A hymn of glory let us sing;" and (2) his hymn written for the Holy innocents, "Hymnum canentes Martyrum," or "The hymn of conquering martyrs raise."<sup>49</sup>

St. Theodolph, bishop of Orleans, lived in the first half of the ninth century, and may have been born in Italy, for he was sometime abbot of a monastery in Florence. He was contemporary with the Greek hymnographer, St. Joseph, who some think to be the last of Greek hymnists in that era of hymnological decline.

In 821 Charlemagne brought Theodolph to France where he was soon assigned to the bishopric of Orleans. Here he came into disfavor with the Emperor, Louis the Pious, and was imprisoned. The narrative that follows is one of the most impressive in the world of hymnology. On Palm Sunday, the clergy of the city, along with the king, formed a procession. They chanced to pass the cell window of St. Theodolph. The saint was so inspired at the sight of this celebration in honor of the life of the Master, that he composed spontaneously and sang with a loud voice,

All Glory, laud, and honour,  
To Thee, Redeemer, King,

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<sup>49</sup>Martin, loc. cit.



To Whom the lips of children  
Made sweet hosannas ring.<sup>50</sup>

"All Glory, Laud and Honour" has been and is one of the great Palm Sunday hymns of Latin hymnary. The king was so impressed that he released the great saint from his dungeon cell.<sup>51</sup> "Neale reminds us that there was a quaint verse contained in the hymn which remained in ritual use till the Seventh century."<sup>52</sup>

Be Thou, O Lord, the Rider,  
And we the little ass;  
That to God's holy city  
Together we may pass.<sup>53</sup>

Rabanus Maurus (780-856) was the chief poet of the Carolingian age.<sup>54</sup> He was a native of Mainz (Mayence) on the Rhine. Alcuin was his teacher. He was a monk and later an abbot in the convent of Fulda. Between the years 847-856 he was Archbishop of Mainz.

Rabanus Marus is chiefly remembered as the first German to write Latin hymns. Some have found a place in the Breviary. He probably wrote "Veni, Creator Spiritus," which is one of the classical Latin hymns. The work outweighs all

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<sup>50</sup>Martin, loc. cit.

<sup>51</sup>Marks, op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>52</sup>Martin, loc. cit.

<sup>53</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>54</sup>Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, Vol. IV. (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1913), p. 424.

his other efforts. It is yet employed in the Catholic Church on most solemn occasions, such as the opening of synods, the installation of a new pope, etc. It is the only hymn which passed from the Roman Breviary to the Anglican liturgy as part of the office for ordaining priests and consecrating bishops. The poem is invested with superstitious charm.<sup>55</sup> The first verse is translated as follows:

Creator, Spirit, Lord of Grace,  
O make our hearts Thy dwelling-place,  
And with Thy might celestial aid  
The souls of those whom Thou hast made.<sup>56</sup>

Notker, surnamed the Older or Balbulus ("The little Stammerer," from a lisp in his speech) was the author of the Sequence or Proses (prosa)--"a class of hymns in rhythmical prose."<sup>57</sup> In justification of the observation just made in relation to Notker's authorship of the Sequence, it is well to quote from the distinguished Oxford scholar, F.J.E. Raby: "Tradition assigns the invention of Sequences or Proses to Notker Balbulus. . . , a monk of S. Gall. . . ."<sup>58</sup> Moreover, "Notker marks the transition from the unmeaning musical

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<sup>55</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>56</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 430

<sup>58</sup>F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 210.

sequence to the literary or poetic sequence."<sup>59</sup>

Schaff<sup>60</sup> says Notker wrote over thirty poems, while G. C. Martin<sup>61</sup> suggests fifty to seventy. His hymns ranged in their subjects considerably. Schaff feels he wrote one of the finest Latin hymns on death, "Antiphona de morte." It is recorded in the Book of Common Prayer in the enlarged edition.

In the midst of life we be in death;  
Of whom may we seek for succour, but of Thee,  
O Lord, which for our sins justly art moved?  
Yet, O Lord God most holy, O Lord most mighty,  
O holy and most merciful Saviour,  
Deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death.

Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts,  
Shut not up thy merciful eyes to our prayers;  
But spare us, Lord most holy,  
O God most mighty,  
O holy and merciful Saviour,  
Thou most worthy Judge eternal,  
Suffer us not, at our last hour,  
For any pains of death,  
To fall from Thee.<sup>62</sup>

He also wrote on the nature and office of the Holy Spirit.

Thou that purifiest all things, as none else beside Thee  
can,  
Purify the clouded eyesight, Spirit, of our inner man;  
That by us our Heavenly Father may at last be seen and  
known:

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<sup>59</sup>Schaff, op. cit., p. 430.

<sup>60</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>61</sup>Martin, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>62</sup>Schaff, op. cit., p. 427.

For the pure in heart shall see Him, and the pure in heart alone.<sup>63</sup>

Indeed, this is pre-Wesleyan in its doctrinal implications.

Finally, he is the author of an Easter hymn which covers the life of Jesus and presents as its major concept the doctrine of the Incarnation.

Yet oft beneath that humble guise  
The Godhead flashed on mortal eyes,  
By many a speech and many a sign:  
Sick healed, and water turned to wine,  
The leper cleansed, the dead restored,  
The blind eyes looking on their Lord.

He feeds the hungry crowd with bread,  
His feet upon the rough waves tread,  
He stills the winds, and at His word  
Deaf ears the voice of love have heard:  
And then, thus proved of boundless power,  
He passes to His passion-hour.

In wondrous ways to eyes and heart  
He doth His risen self impart:  
In that new life so full, so rare,  
All things that live may claim their share;  
Flowers round His glorious footprints spring,  
Birds chant the praises of the King.

The lights that rule the night and day,  
Shine now with brighter, purer ray;  
The earth, that trembled to her deep,  
Her blossoms on His bath doth heap;  
Stars, sea, and shore have found a voice,  
And cry aloud, Rejoice! Rejoice!<sup>64</sup>

King Robert of France (970-1031) wrote one of the great Pentecostal hymns of the Church--"Holy Spirit, God

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<sup>63</sup> Martin, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 79.

of Light!" He ruled with such a spirit of piety that Schaff suggests that he was more fitted for the cloister than the throne.<sup>65</sup> He was a profound lover of music and poetry and was the founder of convents and churches.

The nature of his hymn on the Holy Spirit is most interesting. It contains ten half-stanzas of three lines each. Every line has seven syllables and ends with a double or triple rhyme. The third line rhymes with the third line of the following half-stanza. "His hymn reveals in terse and musical language an experimental knowledge of the gifts and operations of the Holy Spirit upon the heart."<sup>66</sup> The first verse is recorded in Schaff's History of the Christian Church:

Holy Spirit, God of Light!  
Come, and on our inner sight  
Pour Thy bright and heavenly ray!<sup>67</sup>

The final man for discussion is Peter Damien of Revenna. This Eleventh Century poet (1007-1072) is the author of a hymn which formed a model for many ensuing writers on the subject of the Judgment and Paradise. It tells of the glory of Paradise and is usually named, "Ad Perennis Vitae Fontem." This hymn typified the contemporary

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<sup>65</sup>Schaff, op. cit., p. 427.

<sup>66</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>67</sup>Loc. cit.

monastic meditations which spoke of activity beyond the grave. Such hymns were very popular in this era of history. Two verses of an English translation are as follows:

There no stormy winter rages;  
 There no scorching summer glows;  
 But through one perennial springtide,  
 Blooms the lily with the rose;  
 Bloom the myrrh and balsam sweet,  
 With the fadeless violet.

There they eat the Bread of Heaven!  
 There they drink of life their fill!  
 There insatiate ever feasting,  
 Feel a thirst and hunger still;  
 Hunger, which itself is sweet;  
 Thirst, with endless joys replete!<sup>68</sup>

Raby quotes the Latin:

ad perennis vitae fontem mens sitivit arida,  
 claustra carnis praesto frangi clausa quaerit anima:  
 gliscit, ambit, eluctatur exsul frui patria,

...nam quis promat, summae pacis quanta sit laetitia,  
 ubi vivis margaritis surgunt aedificia,  
 auro celsa micant tecta, radiant triolinia?

solis gemmis pretiosis haec structura nectitur,  
 auro mundo tanquam vitro urbis via sternitur:  
 abest limus, deest fimus, lues nullus cernitur.

hiems horrens, aestas torrens illic nunquam saeviunt:  
 flos perpetuus rosarum ver agit perpetuum:  
 candent lilia, rubescit crocus, sudat balsamum.

...avidī et semper pleni, quod habent desiderant:  
 non satiētas fastidit, neque fames cruciat:<sup>69</sup>  
 inhiantes semper edunt, et edentes inhiant.

Such a man as Bernard of Cluny, whom we shall study later in

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<sup>68</sup>Martin, op. cit., p. 83.

<sup>69</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 254.

the paper, has written one of the best known works of all such literature, "Hora Novissima." A hymn of the Sixteenth century, "Hierusalem, my happie home," is a hymn patterned after this thought. Neale has translated an anonymous production with this same zeal for heaven; namely, "Blessed City, Heavenly Salem."<sup>70</sup>

Peter's contribution to Latin hymnody, then, is the model he gave in regard to Paradise. Raby terms his literature as "The poetry of asceticism,"<sup>71</sup> which may well be seen in the inference of ascetic discipline in the English translation rendered above.

By way of summary, the purpose of this chapter has been to set forth only the principal men in this era of Latin hymnody. It has not been the purpose of this segment of the dissertation to present every man in the era, nor to present a thorough investigation of each man. It has been, rather, to present a running survey, and thereby an historical foundation, of Latin hymnody from its beginnings to the Twelfth century.

In regard to more specific summary procedure, a descriptive chart will be presented to aid in giving perspective to the historical foundation given.

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<sup>70</sup>Martin, op. cit., p. 83.

<sup>71</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 250.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATES</u>	<u>POETIC LITERATURE</u>	<u>SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS</u>
Hilary of Poitiers	310-66	"Gone are the shades of night"	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Used Christian song to combat heresy.</li> <li>2. Chief source of Ambrose's poetry.</li> </ol>
St. Ambrose, "The Father of Latin hymnody"	340-97	"Te Deum"	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Introduced congregational and antiphonal singing.</li> <li>2. Used Christian song to combat Arianism.</li> <li>3. Ambrosian Chant.</li> </ol>
Prudentius	348-413	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "Bethlehem of noblest cities"</li> <li>2. "Of the Father's love begotten"</li> <li>3. "Ye clouds and darkness, hosts of night"</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Master of allegory and symbolism.</li> <li>2. Reverence for dead.</li> </ol>
Fortunatus	540-600	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "Vexilla regis prodeunt," or "The royal banners forward go"</li> <li>2. "Pange, lingua, gloriosum proelium certaminis," or "Sing, my tongue, the glorious battle"</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. First to fully develop Latin rhyme, as seen in his mastery of trochaic tetrameter.</li> <li>2. Wrote in the area of mysticism and the Cross.</li> </ol>
Gregory I	540-604	"Primo dierum omnium," or "On this first day when heaven on earth"	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Gregorian Chants, the result of church music improved</li> <li>2. Founder of the "Schola Cantorum."</li> </ol>



<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATES</u>	<u>POETIC LITERATURE</u>	<u>SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS</u>
The venerable Bede	673-735	1. "Hymnum canamus gloriae," or "A hymn of glory let us sing" 2. "Hymnum canentes Martyrum," or "The hymn of conquering martyrs raise"	Aided in the progress of the Latin hymn.
St. Theodolph of Orleans	780-821	"All glory, laud and honour"	Wrote a great Palm Sunday hymn.
Rabanus Maurus	780-856	"Veni, Creator Spiritus"	The first German to write Latin hymns.
Notker	840-912	1. "Antiphona de morte," or "In the midst of life we be in death" 2. "Thou that purifiest all things" 3. "Yet oft beneath that humble guise"	1. Author of the sequence or Proses (prosaes). 2. Marks transition from unmeaning musical sequence to poetic sequence. 3. Wrote on nature and workings of Holy Spirit.
King Robert of France	970-1031	"Holy Spirit, God of Light"	Wrote on the gifts and operations of the Holy Spirit.
Peter Damien of Revenna	1007-72	"Ad Perennis Vital Fontem"	Wrote model hymn on Paradise.

Only to winged beings given  
Is that fair home of upper heaven;  
And there the holy soul finds kindred place,  
To whom our God shall grant the wings of grace.

## CHAPTER II

### PETER ABELARD AND THE "HYMNUS PARACLITENSIS"

Peter Abelard was born at Palaid (Palet), near Nantes, in Brittany. He was a promising young man. Indeed he was destined to become one of the great scholars of the Medieval world. Being the son of a nobleman his education was designed for the military profession. In the face of this unusual opportunity, and a future which may have meant high honors in martial law, he abandoned his home and became a wandering student. "Being possessed of a restless mind which recognized no limits to intellectual inquiry, he determined to devote his whole life to the pursuit of knowledge."<sup>1</sup> So it was that at an early age he devoted himself to the diligent study of philosophy, which was ably taught him by the nominalist Roscelin and the realist William of Champeaux.

Abelard came into note when he refuted the extreme realist theory of his master William of Champeaux who was then an important figure in Parisian education. At the age of twenty-three he began a professor's career (probably

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<sup>1</sup>F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry. (London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 319.

about 1102), teaching at Melun, Corbeil, Paris, Mount St. Genevieve, and Laon. His lectures in the cathedral school at Notre-Dame in Paris, and Mont St. Genevieve, especially, drew the attention of many young men whose thirst for knowledge penetrated to the very heart of the universe. His total number of students was probably about five thousand, fifty of whom later became bishops, while nineteen became cardinals, and one, Celestine II, later sat on the throne of Saint Peter himself.<sup>2</sup> Raby has beautifully and poignantly characterized this period in Abelard's life:

This was his period of dazzling success when his name was on all men's lips; he became known in Paris for his beauty and charm of person as much as for his intellectual supremacy.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, at this era in his life, his influence was no less than enormous, as Dearmer infers in his Songs of Praise Discussed.<sup>4</sup> But his "intellectual supremacy" was to find condemnation in terms of heretical teaching at the Councils of Soissons in 1121 and Sens in 1140.

A crisis period in Abelard's life turned his fancy to the charming Heloise, niece of the wealthy canon Fulbert. Heloise was of Notre-Dame and is said to have been "The

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<sup>2</sup>Andre Lagarde, The Latin Church in the Middle Ages (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), p. 570.

<sup>3</sup>Raby, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup>Percy Dearmer, Songs of Praise Discussed (London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1933), p. 376.

most remarkable woman of her age, who had already a reputation for learning which had made her name known throughout the kingdom."<sup>5</sup> The story goes, according to some authorities, that Peter and Heloise went to Brittany where a son was born to them and where they were privately married. The Uncle Fulbert, however, was not willing that Abelard should be left unpunished for his shameful deed. He tortured the pair until Abelard was forced to retire as a monk in the Abbey of St. Denis. Heloise took the vows of the veil, and became a nun at Argenteuil. This event probably took place in about the year 1118. But Abelard had a restless nature and he escaped to Troyes where once again thousands thronged to sit at the feet of the master scholar. His exposition of the Trinity at this stage in his experience was no less than "incautious." So it was that the Council at Soissons in 1121 condemned him unheard, and immured him in the Abbey of S. Medard.

But nothing could quell the ambitious nature of the great Abelard. Moral sin and theological heresy did not terminate his activities. He established the school at Nogent as the famed Paraclete, where later, while in charge of the Abbey of St. Gildas, Abelard, hearing that Heloise and her fellow nuns had been drive from Argenteuil, went to

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<sup>5</sup>Raby, loc. cit.

her rescue and installed the company of nuns in his Paraclete, and endeavored to reform the monks. They tried to poison him and he fled from Gildas never to return again. This sequence of events, characterized by somewhat unchanneled enthusiasm, is well described by George Park Fisher:

Wherever he lectured and whatever he wrote, a ferment was sure to arise. His bold and restless intellect was ever broaching new problems or suggesting new solutions of old questions.<sup>6</sup>

Finally Saint Bernard, having been agitated to a state of extreme uneasiness, caused Abelard to be found guilty of heresy by the Pope at the council at Sens. He died while on his way to Rome where he had planned to defend himself. His death occurred in the sixty-third year of his life, 1142. His body resided for many years at the Paraclete by the remains of Heloise and her sisters. "On the morrow of the French Revolution (1800) they were transferred to the cemetery of Pere Lachaise at Paris, where they still lie."<sup>7</sup>

A discussion of Abelard cannot omit brief mention of this master's artistic maturity in handling logic. "As an expert dialectician, he surpassed all his contemporaries."<sup>8</sup> Even Bernard said he was 'ignorant of nothing in heaven or

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<sup>6</sup>George Park Fisher, History of Christian Doctrine (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896), p. 221.

<sup>7</sup>Andre Lagarde, op. cit., p. 572.

<sup>8</sup>Fisher, loc. cit.

on earth save only of himself.'<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the masterful reference work, the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, states that "In dialectics and theology he was the master without a rival. . . ."<sup>10</sup> Walker, in his History of the Christian Church points out that "The ablest use of the dialectic method in the Twelfth Century was made by Abelard (1079-1142), a man of irritating method, vanity, and critical spirit, but by no means of irreligion."<sup>11</sup> The key to Abelard's thought movements is concisely seen in these words, characteristic of his teaching: "Non credendum nisi prius intellectum" or "We must not believe what we have not first understood." This rationalistic approach to the religious problem has called forth a multitude of observations. Among them is that of Dearmer's: "Abelard founded an all-important movement in philosophy and is perhaps the only theologian of the Middle Ages who appeals to the modern spirit today."<sup>12</sup>

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While Heloise was in the Paraclete she wrote to Abelard and requested that he write hymns for liturgical use

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<sup>9</sup>R. C. Trench, Lectures on Medieval Church History (London: Macmillan and Co., 1877), p. 204.

<sup>10</sup>James Hastings, Editor, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908, Vol. I, p. 18.

<sup>11</sup>Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1942), p. 204.

<sup>12</sup>Dearmer, loc. cit.

so as to avoid a wearisome repetition and to dispense with some inappropriate ones. He sent ninety-three. . . ."13

Heloise had pleaded that there was such confusion among the hymns then in use that it was impossible to know the names of their authors, and that if, in some instances, the authorship was capable of being ascertained, as in the case of Hilary, Ambrose, and Prudentius among the earliest, yet the syllables are often so uneven that the verses cannot easily be fitted to melodies, without which they are not hymns at all, since by definition a hymn is 'laus Dei cum cantico.'14

Moreover, many festivals had no proper hymns, such as those of the Innocents and Evangelists. "For these and for other reasons Abelard says he was led to comply with the request of Heloise, and to compose these 'hymns for the whole cycle of the year.'15 In his dedicatory letter he says,

'At the instance of thy prayers, my sister Heloise, once dear to me in the world, now most dear in Christ, I have composed what in Greek are called hymns (hymnos), in Hebrew tehillim.'16

This collection is known as the "Hymnus Paraclitensis," and is the chief source of Abelard's poetic contributions to Latin hymnody. These hymns came to be sung daily in Heloise's convent and were designed to cover the entire cycle of the year as suggested above. It is the conviction

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13 Joseph McCabe, Peter Abelard (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), p. 285.

14 Raby, op. cit., p. 321

15 Loc. cit.

16 Loc. cit.

of Dr. Foote, However, that no man has adequate versatility to compose an entire hymnbook. In comparing Abelard's attempt with that of a Mr. Wither, he says:

Wither's attempt also proved, as had Abelard's Hymnarium in the Middle Ages, how impossible it is for one man, however gifted, to write a whole hymnbook.<sup>17</sup>

It is to be noted with some degree of interest that it was not until the last century that much specific information was discovered about Abelard's poetry. Dearmer has stated it thus:

As a hymn-writer he was little known until last century, when several of his poems were discovered in the Vatican, and a number of others in the Royal Library at Brussels.<sup>18</sup>

Even now his poetry is not as extensive in the actual preservation of manuscripts as we would like. Henry Osborn Taylor points out that so far as scholars know the love-songs which Abelard had sung to Heloise have perished.<sup>19</sup> Raby also points out the following:

In his youth he had celebrated his love for Heloise in songs which had been the delight of Paris, and were heard in every street; but only hymns and sequences and six remarkable Planctus or Complaints have survived to prove his skill as a maker of verses.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>H. W. Foote, Three Centuries of American Hymnody (Cambridge: The Harvard University Press, 1940), p. 62.

<sup>18</sup>Dearmer, loc. cit.

<sup>19</sup>Henry Osborn Taylor, The Mediaeval Mind (London: Macmillan Co., 1911), Vol. II, p. 207.

<sup>20</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 319.



Indeed what materials we do have in the way of original sources indicate Abelard to be skilful as a "maker of verses," for it was he who so marvelously produced varied and original verse forms. As one suggests, "The variety of Abelard's verse seems endless."<sup>21</sup> "In these hymns the genius of Abelard created new verse forms with the same boldness that he had shown in his methods in the schools."<sup>22</sup> Thus, in his first book he uses verses composed of rhymed couplets, two of eight syllables followed by two of ten syllables. The following exemplifies the method just described:

deus qui tuos erudis  
testamentorum pagnis,  
ex eorum intelligentiae  
cantus nostros condis dulcedine.<sup>23</sup>

The expression is simple and severe, and the lines move slowly and solemnly like a scholastic exposition."<sup>24</sup> Also, in this first book is evidence of his characteristic symbolism, which kind of hymns were often employed for the various hours of worship. For example, there is the hymn written for Vespers on the Sabbath. The first verse is as follows:

o quanta, qualia sunt illa sabbata,

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<sup>21</sup>Taylor, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 208.

<sup>22</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 321.

<sup>23</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 322.

quae semper celebrat superna curia!  
 quae fessis requies, quae merces fortibus,  
 cum erit omnia deus in omnibus!<sup>25</sup>

The second book of the "Hymnus Paraclitensis" contains a number of hymns for different festivals. They too exhibit a variety of meters. For example there is the hymn on the Resurrection. One verse runs in the following metrical fashion:

Christiani, plaudite,  
 (resurrexit dominus!)  
 victo mortis principe  
 Christus imperat,  
 victori occurite,  
 qui nos liberat.<sup>26</sup>

Then, there is the hymn on the Cross which begins:

lignum amaras  
 indulcat aquas  
 eis immissum.

omnes agones  
 sunt sanctis dulces  
 per crucifixum.<sup>27</sup>

Book three of Abelard's hymnal is devoted to hymns for Saints' Days. There are yet more varieties of meters from the pen of the ingenius medieval poet in this book. First, the example of the hymns for the feast of the Holy Innocents may be noted. They are written in a delicate four-syllabled rhymed meter, such as the following:

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<sup>25</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 323.

<sup>27</sup>Loc. cit.

est in Rama  
 vox audita  
 Rachel flentis  
 super natos  
 interfectos  
 eiulantis.

lacerata  
 iacent membra  
 parvulorum,  
 et tam lacte  
 quam curuore  
 rigant humum....

interfecti  
 sunt inviti,  
 sed pro vita;  
 meritorum  
 fuit nullum,  
 merces multa.

merces ipsa  
 fuit vita,  
 quam et ipsi  
 moriendo,  
 non loquendo,  
 sunt confessi.<sup>28</sup>

In the history of Latin poetry variety of meter within a given poem is the exception rather than the rule. Yet, Abelard with his versatile ability as a poet of the Latin language does exactly that. An example in striking fashion is presented in his Hymn for the Common of Martyrs:

scutum, deus, omnium,  
 et corona martyrum,  
 tam causa certaminum  
 quam palma certantium,  
 per inermes dimicas,  
 et armatos superas.  
 intus arma fabricas,  
 quibus pugnat charitas.

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 324.

his confisa bene virtus  
 nudum hosti praebet pectus,  
 quam a dextris  
 et sinistris  
     muniunt,  
 a laesuris  
 universis  
     protegunt.  
 in hanc pugnae  
 quantaecunque  
     saeviunt,  
 spes securam,  
 fides certam  
     faciunt....<sup>29</sup>

A beautiful hymn on the Annunciation is said to have been written by Abelard. It begins:

mittit ad virginem  
 non quemvis angelum,  
 sed fortitudinem  
 suam, archangelum  
 amator hominis.<sup>30</sup>

Abelard probably wrote, too, a series of Planctus or Complaints, as alluded to in the early part of the present discussion on Abelard's hymns. The content of these poems centered on subjects taken from the early books of the Old Testament. There is, for example, the first of three Complaints of the virgins of Israel for the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite. The first verse runs as follows:

ad festas choreas caelibes  
 ex more venite virgines!  
     ex more sint odas flebiles  
     et planctus ut cantus celebres!

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<sup>29</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 325.

incultae sint maestae facies  
 plangentium et flentum similes!  
 auratae sint longe cyclades  
 et cultus sint procul divites!<sup>31</sup>

Abelard stands in a special position as a hymn writer. As he broke away from tradition in philosophy and theology, so he did in poetry.

. . . Most of Abelard's verses by their form and spirit proclaim their genesis in the creative exigencies of song as loudly as they disavow any antique parentage.<sup>32</sup>

There has been "method in the madness" of the writer's frequent mention of Abelard's particular ability in the area of varied verse forms. In speaking of the richness of the same, one has said, "They. . . exist and display a richness of verse-forms scarcely equalled even by the Sequences of Adam."<sup>33</sup> The rhyme throughout is simple--often the key to greatness! The amazing factor in Abelard's verse is that it was quite undeveloped, showing no signs of the two-syllabled rhyme as employed later in the same century by Adam of St. Victor or the two-syllabled rhyme appearing in the works of Bernard of Clairvaux. In spite of this seeming handicap, Abelard's verse was exceedingly practical and remains as great literature. A careful student of Medieval Christian

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<sup>31</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>32</sup>Taylor, loc. cit.

<sup>33</sup>Loc. cit.

Latin poetry has observed this characteristic in terms of the following:

In general, one observes in these verses that Abelard does not use a pure two-syllable rhyme. The rhyme is always pure in the last syllable, and in the penult may either exist as a pure rhyme or simply as an assonance, or not at all.<sup>34</sup>

His method of verse forms leads to the observation of his originality, another of the major factors making Abelard stand in a special position as a hymn writer. "The hymns bear the mark of an original genius, and would have attracted attention apart from the immense fame of their author."<sup>35</sup>

It is thought that Abelard probably wrote his hymns in the year 1130. If so, this is the very year Adam as a young man entered the abbey of St. Victor, which lies across the Seine from Paris.<sup>36</sup>

These hymns which "possess more than any other a romantic interest, because they were sung daily by the nuns of the Paraclete, both during the lifetime of Abelard and after his burial at the Paraclete,"<sup>37</sup> are sometimes seen in contemporary hymn books. The Church Hymnary records

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., Vol. II, p. 209.

<sup>35</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 326.

<sup>36</sup>Taylor, loc. cit.

<sup>37</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 326.

"O quanta qualia sunt illa Sabbata" in the English:

O what their joy and their glory must be,  
Those endless Sabbaths the blessed ones see!  
Crown for the valiant; to weary ones rest;  
God shall be all, and in all ever blest.

What are the Monarch, His court, and His throne?  
What are the peace and the joy that they own?  
Tell us, ye blest ones, that in it have share,  
If what ye feel ye can fully declare.

Truly Jerusalem name we that shore,  
'Vision of peace,' that brings joy evermore!  
Wish and fulfilment can severed be ne'er,  
Nor the thing prayed for come short of the prayer.

We, where no trouble distraction can bring,  
Safely the anthems of Zion shall sing;  
While for Thy grace, Lord, their voices of praise  
Thy blessed people shall evermore raise.

Low before Him with our praises we fall,  
Of Whom, and in Whom, and through Whom are all;  
Of Whom, the FATHER; and in Whom, the SON;  
Through Whom, the SPIRIT, with them ever ONE.<sup>38,39,40</sup>

Philip Schaff, in his amazing volume entitled, Christ in Song, quotes one of the most heart moving and deeply experiential hymns from Abelard's hand:

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<sup>38</sup>The Church Hymnary (Revised edition) Authorized by the churches of Scotland, United Free of Scotland, Presbyterian of Ireland, Presbyterian of England, Presbyterian of Wales, Presbyterian of South Africa. (London: Oxford University Press, 1940, p. 288, no. 224.

<sup>39</sup>This hymn may also be found with slight variances in The Hymnal (Philadelphia: Published by authority of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, 1933), no. 430.

<sup>40</sup>This hymn may also be found in Hymns Ancient and Modern (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1940), no. 235.

On earth awhile, 'mid suffering tried,  
 Still hears the Church, the holy Bride,  
 Her Lord from heaven, calling with daily cry,  
 Bidding her heart ascend to Him on high.

"Draw me," she answers, "after Thee;  
 Stretch Thy right hand to succor me;  
 On winged winds Thou soarest to the skies;  
 Without Thy wings, how can I thither rise?"

Ask for the pinions of the dove,  
 To hasten to that nest of love;  
 Ask thou the eagle's plumes of tireless might,  
 That thou may'st climb to the eternal height.

Both wings and eyes will He bestow,  
 That thou the sun's unclouded glow  
 With thine undazzled glances may'st behold,  
 And drink the blessedness to man untold.

Only to winged beings given  
 Is that fair home of upper heaven;  
 And there the holy soul finds kindred place,  
 To whom our God shall grant the wings of grace.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Philip Schaff, Christ in Song (New York: Anson  
 D. F. Randolph and Co., 1869), pp. 308-309.



The world is very evil;  
The times are waxing late;  
Be sober and keep vigil;  
The Judge is at the gate.  
--Bernard of Cluny

### CHAPTER III

#### BERNARD OF CLUNY AND THE "DE CONTEMPTU MUNDI"

Greatness is often wholly determined by what a man does. Such is the case of Bernard of Cluny, a Twelfth Century monk, of whom almost nothing is known except that he wrote what Dr. Neale, eminent scholar of Christian Latin poetry, "regarded . . . as the most lovely of all medieval poems."<sup>1</sup> Actually it is not certain where Bernard was born. Nonetheless there are a few scholars who speak with authority at this point. The Sixteenth Century writer, John Pits, says he was of English birth.<sup>2</sup> Raby speaks with assurity: ". . . He appears to have been born at Morlas in the Pyrenees . . . not Morlaix in Brittany, as is often supposed."<sup>3</sup> Dr. Nott has no doubt inferred the truth of the matter when he said:

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<sup>1</sup>Program notes on "Hora Novissima," from the Annual Winter Concert program, Seattle Pacific Oratorio Society, December 12, 1947.

<sup>2</sup>The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: The Gilmary Society, 1907), Vol. II, pp. 501-502.

<sup>3</sup>F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry (London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 315.

He lived during the first half of the Twelfth Century; he was born, according to one authority, at Morlaix, in Bretagne; according to another, at Morlas, in the lower Pyrenees; whilst a third gives his birth-place to England, and classes him with her illustrious writers ('De illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus').<sup>4</sup>

Nott's inference is clear and concise--we cannot know where Bernard was born.

The amazing factor of his life is that we know little of him, yet we cannot forget him. "We know nothing of the incidents of his life; his poetry is his best memorial."<sup>5</sup> Again, "Nothing of his life is known, yet his memory is imperishable."<sup>6</sup>

We do know with some degree of evidence that Bernard was a monk in the first half of the Twelfth Century. Breed says his cloistered adventure covered the period from 1122-1156.<sup>7</sup> So it was that in the year 1122 Bernard entered the Abbey of Cluny which has been termed "the wealthiest and most influential monastery in France."<sup>8</sup> Peter the Venerable

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<sup>4</sup>Charles C. Nott, The Seven Great Hymns of the Mediaeval Church (New York: Edwin S. Gorham, Publisher, 1902, p. 1

<sup>5</sup>John M'Clintock, and James Strong, Editors, Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature (New York: Harper and Bros., pub., 1885), Vol. I, p. 451.

<sup>6</sup>Philip Schaff, Editor, A Religious Encyclopaedia (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1891), Vol. I, p. 250.

<sup>7</sup>David R. Breed, The History and Use of Hymns and Hymn-Tunes (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1903), p. 28.

<sup>8</sup>Harvey B. Marks, The Rise and Growth of English Hymnody (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1938), p. 59.

was the Abbot when Bernard entered to make seclusion his home. It is interesting to note that Peter filled this post within the exact period of Bernard's monastic life--1122-1156. Bernard died, though scholarship is not certain at this point, probably in the year 1156.

". . .The great abbey of Cluny" was "famous for the beauty of its buildings and the splendor of its services."<sup>9</sup>

The Abbey of Cluny was at that period at the zenith of its wealth and fame. Its buildings, especially its church (which was unequalled by any in France); the services therein, renowned for the elaborate order of their ritual; and its community, the most numerous of any like institution, gave it a position and an influence, such as no other monastery, perhaps, ever reached. Everything about it was splendid, almost luxurious. It was amid such surroundings that Bernard of Cluny spent his leisure hours in composing that wondrous satire against the vices and follies of his age, which has supplied--and it is the only satire that ever did so--some of the most widely known and admired hymns to the Church of today.<sup>10</sup>

So it was that in this atmosphere Bernard wrote his "De Contemptu Mundi." Neale, likewise, has pointed out a similar observation:

'In the Twelfth Century, the Abbey of Cluny, under its celebrated head, Peter the Venerable, was at the very height of monastic reputation. Its glorious church, the most magnificent in France, the fullness and exactness of its ritual, and the multitude of its brethren, raised it to a pitch of fame which, perhaps, no other

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<sup>9</sup>W. C. Covert, and C.W. Laufer, Handbook to the Hymnal (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1935), p. 449.

<sup>10</sup>John Julian, Editor, A Dictionary of Hymnology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892), p. 137.

house ever attained.<sup>11</sup>

But according to the thought of Bernard of Cluny, the many other monastic establishments scattered over Europe, in spite of Citeaux and Clairvaux, were usually infested with a profound evil. Bernard had observed the following:

'Who could say, to speak of nothing else, in how many ways eggs are cooked and worked up? with what care they are turned in and out, made hard or soft, or chopped fine; now fried, now roasted, now stuffed; now they are served mixed with other things, now by themselves. Even the external appearance of the dishes is such that the eye, as well as the taste, is charmed, and when the stomach complains that it is full, curiosity is still alive.'<sup>12</sup>

From this maze of worldliness Bernard was stimulated to write his "wondrous satire" on the evils of his day--"De Contemptu Mundi."

According to McCutchan, "De Contemptu Mundi" was written about 1145.<sup>13</sup> It was dedicated to Peter the Venerable--"To his lord and father, Peter, the most worthy abbot of the brethern of Cluny."<sup>14</sup> Trench names it "Laus Patriae Coelestis," and succeeded in presenting ninety-six lines in the English tongue. The entire poem, the original consisting of some three thousand lines, has never been

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<sup>11</sup>Robert Guy McCutchan, Our Hymnody (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1937), p. 510.

<sup>12</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>13</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>14</sup>Raby, loc. cit.

translated. There are probably two major reasons why this great poem from Medieval monasticism has never been translated in its entirety. (1) The meter, which shall be discussed shortly, is most complicated and nearly impossible to render into the English without disturbing the rhythm originally intended. (2) The realistic nature of the Bernardian language is most difficult to render into English. Neale is probably the most learned authority on this piece of literature, having translated parts of it, and having written the most thorough work on it; namely, The Rhythm of Bernard de Morlaix, Monk of Cluny, on the Celestial Country (1858). His first translation appears in Sacred Latin Poetry, published at about the middle of the last century. It appears again in Mediaeval Hymns, published in 1851, and then in his monumental work of 1858, as cited above. Neale himself took four hymns from his translations: (1) "The world is very evil," or in the Latin, "Hora novissima, tempora pessima sunt, vigilemus," (2) "Brief life is here our portion," rendered in Latin as "Hic breve vivitur, hic breve plangitur, hic breve fletur," (3) "For thee, O dear, dear country," or "O bona Patria, lumina sobria te speculantur," and (4) "Jerusalem the golden," originally rendered as "Urbs Syon aurea, Patria lactea, cive decora." Others have taken from Neale's stimulating suggestions several other hymns and renditions. For example, from "O bona Patria,

lumina sobria te speculantur," there are other renderings than "For thee, O dear, dear country." Two others are, "For thee, sweet, heavenly country," and "For thee, O heavenly country." Then there is "O sacra portio," or "O happy, holy portion." Two other hymns are "Urbs Syon inelyta, gloria debita glorificandis," entitled in the English as "Jerusalem the glorious," and "Urbs Syon unica, mansio mystica, condita coelo," rendered "Jerusalem exulting."

The four hymns, noted above, presented by Neale are often seen in contemporary hymn books. Nutter points out that each of the four famed hymns from "De Contemptu Mundi" close with the same stanza as rendered in Hymns Ancient and Modern (1861 edition).<sup>15</sup> In the 1943 edition of The Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church all four are included. The Hymnal of the Presbyterian Church, in the edition of 1926, recorded all but "The world is very evil." The Methodist hymnal of 1905 had "For thee, O dear, dear country" and "Jerusalem the golden;" while, today the Methodist hymnal includes only "Jerusalem the golden" (number 529).<sup>16,17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Charles S. Nutter, Hymn Studies (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1897), p. 407.

<sup>16</sup>Robert Guy McCutchan, Hymns in the Lives of Men (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943), pp. 109-110.

<sup>17</sup>These four major hymns from "De Contemptu Mundi" may all be found in Hymns Ancient and Modern (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1907), nos. 125, 126, 127, and 128.

Bernard's three thousand line poem has been the source of at least two other classic musical works which must not be overlooked. Alfred Gaul uses "For thee, O dear, dear country" in his The Holy City. Horatio Parker, one of the greatest American composers of the last generation, composed a cantata, Hora Novissima, using lines from the poem under consideration. It may well be noted that Mr. Parker held the chairmanship of the Music Department at Yale University from 1894 until his death in 1919. His Hora Novissima was written between the years 1891 and 1892 and is his opus 30. It is also interesting to note that Parker's talented mother, Isabella G. Parker, translated the section from "Hora Novissima" beginning "The times are waxing late."<sup>18</sup>

It is well that specific and careful time be given to the study of the content of the "De Contemptu Mundi." At the outset it should be made clear that the poem, per se, is not properly a hymn. Nott states the situation well:

The De Contemptu Mundi is not properly a hymn. It has come to be called as such in consequence of the admiration of Archbishop Trench and the beautiful paraphrase of Dr. Neale.<sup>19</sup>

The implications of this statement are made clear by virtue

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<sup>18</sup>Lawrence Schoenhals, Series of Lectures, Seattle Pacific College, 1947; and Program notes on "Hora Novissima," from the Annual Winter Concert program, Seattle Pacific Oratorio Society, December 12, 1947.

<sup>19</sup>Nott, op. cit., p. xi.

of the foregoing in the area of transmutation of language.

Moreover, the attitude in which Bernard presented this poem, as intimated earlier in the discussion, is one of the major facets in a clear understanding of his work. This piece of poetic literature represents one of the favorite monastic themes of a world in sin, coupled with a profound sense of the impending judgment.

The world is very evil;  
The times are waxing late;  
Be sober and keep vigil;  
The Judge is at the gate.

As Breed has so forcefully put it, "It is a lamentation over the wickedness of the world--a veritable jeremiad."<sup>20</sup> To phrase it in terse language, his poem is a satire on the evils of the world.

He spares no one; priests, nuns, bishops, monks, and even Rome itself are mercilessly scourged for their shortcomings. For this reason it was first printed by Matthias Flaccus as one of his 'testes veritatis,' or witnesses of the deep-seated corruption of the medieval Church. . . , and was often reprinted by Protestants in the course of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.<sup>21</sup>

In regard to the comment concerning Matthias Flaccus, Schaff in his History of the Christian Church, makes a similar observation. Because De Contemptu Mundi was a satire against the evils of his day, Flacius Illyricus printed the poem in its entirety in his collection of poems on the corruption of

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<sup>20</sup>Breed, loc. cit.

<sup>21</sup>The Catholic Encyclopedia, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 502.



the Church--"Varia doctorum piorumque virorum de corrupto ecclesie satir poemata," published in 1557.<sup>22</sup> Raby well points out that this poem is "the text of a long denunciation of the evils of a world which seemed to be moving towards the abyss of destruction."<sup>23</sup> He attacks the vices of the world "with a savage outspokenness which Juvenal never attempted, and with a minuteness of description which knows neither reticence nor restraint."<sup>24</sup> Raby continues:

But he does not spare the unnatural vices of men, the corruption of the clergy and of the civil magistrates, the prevalence of simony, and the venality of the Roman curia. He is of the opinion that Horace, Cato, Persius, and Juvenal would be astonished if they visited the world again in the flesh, and that Lucilius would call his own age golden in comparison with these latter days.<sup>25</sup>

Bernard wrote during the reign of King Stephen of England, and an Anglo-Saxon Chronicler of that day writes of the sinful state of the world:

'Never was there more misery and never acted heathens worse. . . . The earth bare no corn, you might as well have tilled the sea, for the land was all ruined by such deeds, and it was said openly that Christ and His Saints slept.'<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 864.

<sup>23</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 316.

<sup>24</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>25</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>26</sup>James Moffatt, Handbook to the Church Hymnary (London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1927), p. 208.

So it is that Bernard spoke with no small degree of force in regard to the evils of his day.

Bernard's potent language has been likened to that of Dante. In fact several scholars are prone to think that Dante was keenly aware of "De Contemptu Mundi" when he wrote his immortal Divina Commedia.

Bernard of Cluny is indeed a lyrical writer, swept from one theme to another by the intense force of ascetic meditation and by the majestic power of his own verse, in which there lingers yet a certain fierce intoxication of poetic wrath. His highly wrought pictures of heaven and hell were probably known to Dante; the roasting cold, the freezing fire, the devouring worm, the fiery floods, and again the glorious idyl of the Golden Age and the splendours of the Heavenly Kingdom are couched in a diction that rises at times to the height of Dante's genius. The enormity of sin, the charm of virtue, the torture of an evil conscience, the sweetness of a God-fearing life alternate with heaven and hell as the themes of his majestic dithyramb.<sup>27</sup>

Indeed, this is one of the more inspiring areas of speculation in the literature of the Middle Ages!

But there is yet another major facet basic to a clearer comprehension of Bernard's poetry. In contrast to the misery and pollution of the world, we get such a beautiful hymn as "Jerusalem the golden," which describes the heavenly anticipation of every true believer. It describes heaven as a place of peace and glory in "such rare beauty as not easily to be matched by any medieval composition on the same

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<sup>27</sup>The Catholic Encyclopedia, loc. cit.

subject."<sup>28</sup>

Of Bernard of Morlas it can be said that no one before him. . . had risen to such heights in describing the longing of the pilgrim for his home. 'Non habemus hic manentem civitatem!'--the true monk should have his eyes fixed on the world to come, and Bernard was a true monk in an age when, in spite of Citeaux and Clairvaux, monastic laxity was widespread.<sup>29</sup>

Schaff, in Christ in Song, has observed the following about this beautiful heavenly hymn:

This glowing description of the celestial country is the sweetest of all the New-Jerusalem hymns of heavenly home-sickness, which have taken their inspiration from the last two chapters of Revelation. . . .<sup>30</sup>

Moreover, Schaff states that "Jerusalem the golden" has been adopted as 'a priceless acquisition' to the hymns of the universal Church.<sup>31</sup>

The influence of this hymn has been profound and widespread. One event is reiterated by Prescott, showing how the section on the better country from "De Contemptu Mundi" calmed the pains of a sick little child.

There is a touching little story told with some just pride by Dr. Neale, of a child who was ill and in great suffering. The medical attendants could do little to ease its agonies of pain. But the child would lie without a murmur and almost without motion while the whole of those four hundred lines on the better country

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<sup>28</sup>Moffatt, loc. cit.

<sup>29</sup>Raby, op. cit., pp. 317-318.

<sup>30</sup>Philip Schaff, Christ in Song (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Co., 1869), p. 642.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 643.

were being read to it.<sup>32,33</sup>

It is well, at this point, to record the lines commonly translated as "Jerusalem the golden" which are taken from the heavenly section of "De Contemptu Mundi."

Jerusalem the golden,  
 With milk and honey blest!  
 Beneath thy contemplation  
 Sink heart and voice oppressed.

I know not, O I know not,  
 What holy joys are there!  
 What radiancy of glory,  
 What light beyond compare!

They stand, those halls of Sion,  
 Conjubilant with song,  
 And bright with many an angel,  
 And all the martyr throng.

The Prince is ever in them;  
 The daylight is serene;  
 The pastures of the blessed  
 Are decked in glorious sheen.

There is the throne of David,  
 And there, from care released,  
 The song of them that triumph,  
 The shout of them that feast.

And they, who, with their Leader,  
 Have conquered in the fight,  
 For ever and for ever  
 Are clad in robes of white!

And there the Sole-Begotten  
 Is Lord in regal state;

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<sup>32</sup>J. E. Prescott, Christian Hymns and Hymns Writers (London: George Bell and Sons, 1883), p. 37.

<sup>33</sup>The illustration of the child brings to mind the beautiful work of Opal Wheeler, Sing in Praise (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1946), pp. 28-31. She has illustrated, through the mediums of language, music, and art, the story of Bernard of Cluny and "Jerusalem the golden."

He, Judah's mystic Lion,  
He, Lamb immaculate.

O fields that know no sorrow!  
O state that fears no strife!  
O princely bowers! O land of flowers!  
O realm and home of life!

Krult, O dust and ashes!  
The Lord shall be thy part:  
His only, His for ever,  
Thou shalt be and thou art!

Jesus, in mercy bring us  
Soon to that land of rest;  
Who art, with God the Father,  
And Spirit, ever blest!<sup>34</sup>

We are in the presence, then, of a profound monastic poem of the Middle ages, and we have discovered a window through which to view the basic intent of this work of poetic art. Two major characteristics of the "De Contemptu Mundi" have been noted; namely, (1) that it is a satire on the evils of Bernard's contemporary world, and (2) that "Jerusalem the golden" is an example of how he contrasts his poetic observations on evil with the glorious City. Julian, in his Dictionary of Hymnology, summarizes it in the words of Bernard himself as follows:

Bernard states his argument: 'The subject of the author is the Advent of Christ to Judgment: the joys of the Saints, the pains of the reprobate. His intention, to persuade to the contempt of the world. The use, to despise the things of the world; to seek the things which be God's. He fortifies his exordium with the authority of the Apostle John, saying, Little children, it is the last time; where he endeavours to secure

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<sup>34</sup>Schaff, Christ in Song, op. cit., pp. 647-648.

aforehand the favour of his readers, by setting the words of the Apostle before his own. At the commencement he treats of the Advent of the Judge, to render them in earnest, and by the description of celestial joy, he makes them docile.<sup>35</sup>

With these basic statements as to the content of "De Contemptu Mundi," we move on in our thought to a brief discussion of the unusual meter seen throughout the poem. In his dedication of the poem, Bernard points out that he has read Ars Poetica. He explains that he is writing in verse because people will read it more eagerly than if done in prose. Moreover, the appeal of rhyme attaches itself more easily to the memory and therefore to the conscience of the reader. The rhyme and rhythm of which he speaks are among the most complicated of Medieval Latin hymnody. As Raby points out, his poem was written in a difficult and complicated meter—"the dactylic hexameter, with both internal rhyme and a tailed rhyme of two syllables."<sup>36</sup> McCutchan puts it this way, stating that it is composed in dactylic hexameters, with the leonine (sometimes a trisyllable or dactylic), and tailed rhyme, with each line in three parts. Then he proceeds to present the following example:

Hora novissima // tempora pessima // sunt: vigilemus!  
 Ecce minaciter // imminet arbiter // ille supremus!  
 Imminet, imminet // ut mala terminet // aqua cornet.

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<sup>35</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 533.

<sup>36</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 318.

Recta remuneret // anxia liberet // aethera donet.<sup>37</sup>

Nott refers to Duffield on form:

'Each line consists of a first part composed of two dactyls, a second containing two more dactyls, and a third made up of a dactyl and a trochee. The last dactyls of the first and second parts rhyme together, and the lines are in couplets--the final trochees also rhyming. This remark upon the dactylic nature of the rhymes in the first two parts is not made by Neale or Coles or the compiler of the Seven Great Hymns. They all italicise the last two syllables, whereas it should be the last three, that is, the foot itself.

Sobria munait // improba puniat // utraque juste, is in all respects a perfect line--each foot being a word, and the rhyme unimpeachable.<sup>38</sup>

With these observations on meter in mind, it is quite apparent that Bernard of Cluny was dealing in a most complicated realm. In fact, Bernard

. . . reminds us that the great Hildebert himself had managed to compose only a few verses in that metre, and he is of the opinion that 'unless the spirit of wisdom and understanding had been with him and had inspired him he could not have composed so long a work in so difficult a metre.'<sup>39</sup>

Bernard's actual words concerning his composition in this difficult meter are given by McCutchan in Our Hymnody:

'I say it in nowise arrogantly, but with all humility, and therefore boldly; that unless that Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding had been with me, and flowed in upon so difficult a metre, I could not have composed so long a work.'<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> McCutchan, Our Hymnody, op. cit., pp. 510-512.

<sup>38</sup> Nott, op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Baby, loc. cit.

<sup>40</sup> McCutchan, Our Hymnody, op. cit., p. 512.

But what of the practicality of such a complicated meter being employed throughout a lengthy poem? Some scholars infer that it is too difficult a meter for such a long poem because it becomes monotonous and shows little variation. Indeed, we are not aware of that in the English translations and adaptations so much. And reading it in the original Latin becomes nothing less than a monotonous chore at times. Yet, in the face of this impediment, one has said that "It is, indeed, a solemn and stately verse, rich and sonorous. . . ."41 Again, Duffield waxes poetic in describing the effects of this rhythmic scheme on his sensitive nature:

'So strange and subtle is the charm of this marvelous poem, with its abrupt and startling rhythm, that it affects me even yet, though I have but swept my fingers lightly over a single chord. I seem to myself to have again taken into my hand the old familiar harp, whose strings I have often struck in times of darkness of depression of soul, and to be tuning it once more to the heavenly harmony which the old monk tried to catch. Perhaps some day, when the clouds are removed, I shall see him, and understand even better than now the glory that lit his lonely cell, and made him feel that  
 Earth looks so little and so low  
 When faith shines full and bright.'42

Besides his "De Contemptu Mundi", Bernard is probably the author of the famed "Mariale," "which has been wrongly attributed both to Anselm and the saint of Clairvaux."<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>The Catholic Encyclopedia, loc. cit.

<sup>42</sup>McCutchan, Hymns in the Lives of Men, op. cit., p. 110.

<sup>43</sup>Raby, loc. cit.



This poem is devoted to the praises of the Virgin. It consists of fifteen long 'Rhythms' in a meter common to Peter of Cluny.<sup>44</sup> It begins with a paraphrase of Psalm xlii; 'Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum:

ut iucundas cervus undas  
aestunas desiderat,  
sic ad deum, fontem vivum  
mens fidelis properat.

sicut rivi fontis vivi  
praebent refrigerium,  
ita menti sitienti  
deus est remedium.<sup>45</sup>

Then the poem proceeds to speak at some length of the praises of Mary. The poem now becomes saturated with symbolism and allegory. "Already Mary has become the refuge of sinners, for whom she intercedes against the strict justice of her Son, the all but inflexible Judge:"<sup>46</sup>

si te sentis temptamentis,  
urgeri daemonicis,  
mox respiras, si requiras  
matrem summi iudicis . . . .

si te doles ferre moles  
culparum prementium,  
hanc praecare, ut placare  
possis eius filium.

nam placatum eius natum  
tunc habere poteris,  
si fideli menti caeli  
reginam rogaveris.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>45</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>46</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., pp. 318-319.

". . . Rarely did the poetry of the name of Jesus gather such an intensity of feeling; other medieval hymns devoted to the same theme are mostly pious salutations without any particular merit."--Raby

#### CHAPTER IV

##### BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX AND THE POETRY OF THE NAME AND SUFFERINGS OF JESUS

'The holiest monk that ever lived'<sup>1</sup> was born at Fontaines, two miles from Dijon, probably about the year 1090 (some scholars place the date of his birth at 1091). He was of a noble family, the father being a gentle and brave knight making militarism his profession, while the mother followed a saintly pattern of life. The strong personality of Bernard, exhibiting distinct powers of persuasion, found release in monastic adventure. At the age of twenty-two, in the year 1112, Bernard determined to become a monk. His personality acted like a magnet drawing to him thirty young noblemen including his own brothers, and all darkened the door of the "most austere monastery of Europe, the famous Citeaux."<sup>2</sup> The monastery was governed by Stephen

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<sup>1</sup>Lawrence Schoenhals, Series of Lectures, Seattle Pacific College, 1947. (He is referring to Luther's statement here).

<sup>2</sup>James Hastings, Editor, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), Vol. II, p. 530.

### Harding of Sherborne.

Bernard's presence made Citeaux famous, and soon the monastery became over-crowded. A new monastic home must now be built. The man for the task was he who outran his fellows in ascetic practices. So it was that the year 1115 saw Bernard elected by Stephen as Abbot of a third colony of twelve to be sent out from Citeaux to found a new home. Herein lies the roots of what was to become the mighty Cistercian order.

The little company of devotees followed Bernard to the general region of the Plateau of Laugres in Champagne. They arrived in a wide valley named Wormwood, June 25, 1115. Here they constructed a rude wooden building, including a chapel, dormitory, and refectory. (This building was preserved years afterwards by the Cistercians.) Soon the monastery came to be known as Clairvaux or Clear Valley. The asceticism here was of the strictest nature. So severe was this discipline that Bernard's health was impaired for a time.

The contemporary ecclesiastical world saw the man, who was later known as the "Doctor Melifluus," of Clear Valley rise to sudden and decided fame. The monastery which he had founded was developing readily into an outstanding institution. His writings and sermons now became widespread. Miracles were assigned to him, especially the gift of

prophecy. The death of Honorius II, February 14, 1130, marks the beginning of Bernard's European fame. In the schism which followed, Bernard's voice at the council of Etampes (1130) secured for Innocent II the support of the French clergy. Later he secured the support of Henry I of England, in spite of the contrary leanings of the English clergy. In consequence Innocent took Bernard with him to Italy in 1132, thereby spreading his fame in new regions. In 1137 the situation in Italy was yet in a condition of unrest, the schism still being rampant. Norman Roger, who Anacletus had crowned the first king of Sicily, could do nothing to bring this "condition of unrest" to a point of termination. Bernard journeyed to this region of conflict. It is important to note at this juncture that the death of Anacletus (January 25, 1138) and Innocent's recognition from Rome made Bernard a virtual pope of Christendom! With the election of Eugenius III as Pope, February 15, 1145, a Cistercian monk and pupil of Bernard, "the ideas of Clairvaux became supreme."<sup>3</sup>

At this point it is well to note certain observations in regard to Bernard's power as a Churchman. Raby points out that "From Clairvaux Bernard ruled the fortunes of Christendom until his death in 1153."<sup>4</sup> Raby continues by

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<sup>3</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup>F. J. R. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry (London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 327.

saying that "No ecclesiastic, before or after him, wielded an authority so unquestioned, an authority based on his personal charm, his powerful eloquence, and his angelic saintliness."<sup>5</sup> Fern observes that "From his solitude Bernard went forth to become the most powerful churchman of twelfth century Europe."<sup>6</sup> Trench says that "Probably no man during his life-time ever exercised a personal influence in Christendom equal to his; the stayer of popular commotions; the queller of heresies; the umpire between princes and kings; the counsellor of popes."<sup>7</sup>

The final years of Bernard's life were colored with disappointment and suffering. The misfortunes of the Second Crusade seemed to be "laid at his door." He was saddened by the death of his friends, Abbot Suger (January 13, 1152), and Eugenius III (August 20, 1153). Bernard died in the year 1153. On his death bed he said the following: 'I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, but the love of my children urgeth me to remain.'<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup>Vergilius Fern, Editor, An Encyclopedia of Religion (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 67.

<sup>7</sup>Schoenhals, op. cit.

<sup>8</sup>C. L. Goodenough, High Lights on Hymnists (Rochester, Massachusetts: Pub. by the author, 1931), p. 24.

From this rich background of experience came some of the greatest poetry of the Middle Ages. His writings, including epistles, devotional and hortatory works, analyses in the area of mysticism, as well as poetical literature, portray keen insight into the principles of literary thought. It is said that Abelard's pupil, Berengar, observed that Bernard of Clairvaux 'cultivated poetic composition from his youth.'<sup>9</sup> "He had a great taste for literature and devoted himself for some time to poetry."<sup>10</sup> A. E. C. suggests that he wrote his hymns in the period of retirement following his failure in leading the Second Crusade.<sup>11</sup> His poetry centers around the one great theme of Jesus. This is clearly seen in such a hymn as "Jesus, the very thought of thee," which shall be discussed later. The sufferings of Christ and the sweet memory of His name are uppermost. In this investigation we shall be primarily concerned with the study and analysis of two great poems from the Saint's pen. The first shall be "Jesu, dulcis memoria," which centers largely around the name of the Christ. The second shall <sup>be</sup> the

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<sup>9</sup> Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 863.

<sup>10</sup> The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: The Gilmary Society, 1907), Vol. II, p. 498.

<sup>11</sup> A. E. C., with a preface by Edgar C. S. Gibson, Hymns and Their Stories (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1904), p. 61.

immortal "Salve mundi salutare," describing the sufferings of the Savior.

"Jesu, dulcis memoria" is a lengthy poem, the original having 192 or 200 lines, as recorded in Mabillon's edition of Bernard's works. Mabillon, and Daniel record forty-eight quatrains, while Wackernagel records fifty. "Trench . . . gives a selection of fifteen quatrains, with the remarks, 'Where all was beautiful, the task of selection was a hard one.'"<sup>12</sup> This poem is often called "Jubilee Rhythm of the Name of Jesus" ("Jubilus rhythmicus de nomine Jesu"). (This has also been translated as "Rhythmic Song on the Name of Christ.") "It is perhaps the best specimen of what Neale describes as the 'subjective loveliness' of its author's compositions."<sup>13</sup>

From this great poem, which Schaff terms "the sweetest and most evangelical (as the Dies Irae is the grandest, and the Stabat Mater the most pathetic) hymn of the middle ages,"<sup>14</sup> we get three well known hymns. The first is "Jesus, the very thought of thee," which takes its title from the original Latin for the whole poem, "Jesu, dulcis memoria."

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<sup>12</sup>Philip Schaff, Christ in Song (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Co., 1869), p. 465.

<sup>13</sup>John Julian, Editor, A Dictionary of Hymnology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892), p. 137.

<sup>14</sup>Schaff, Christ in Song, loc. cit.

Edward Caswall, a pioneer in the art of translation, presented a translation of this poem in his Lyra Catholica, in 1849. His translation vies with Dr. Ray Palmer's for popular use. Prior to any English translation, Breed suggests that Count Zinzendorf translated it into the German. This hymn may be the favorite of Bernard's hymnological contributions. Breed continues with certain other important observations. It has been sung while knights kept guard over the holy sepulchre. "Duffield says of this, 'It is supremely fine in spirit and expression.'<sup>15</sup> ". . . Robinson says, 'One might call this poem the finest in the world and be within the limits of all extravagance.'<sup>16</sup> Butterworth introduces us to a nodding acquaintance of a very literal translation:

Jesus! a sweet memory  
 Giving true joys to the heart,  
 But sweet above honey and all things  
 His presence (is).<sup>17</sup>

Caswall's translation is well worth presentation at this point. Schaff observes that "Caswall has taken the liberty of making two fine stanzas out of the third, which reads in Latin:--

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<sup>15</sup>David R. Breed, The History and Use of Hymns and Hymn-Tunes (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1903), p. 33.

<sup>16</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>17</sup>Hezekiah Butterworth and Theron Brown, The Story of the Hymns and Tunes (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1906), pp. 100-101.



'Jesu, spes poenitentibus  
 Quam pius es petentibus!  
 Quam bonus Te quaerentibus!  
 Sed quid inventientibus?'<sup>18</sup>

Caswall's translation is as follows:

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

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

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

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

Jesu! our only joy be Thou,  
 As Thou our prize shalt be;  
 Jesu! be Thou our glory now  
 And through eternity.<sup>19</sup>

The second of the three outstanding hymns taken from the "Jubilee Rhythm of the Name of Jesus" is "O Jesus, King most wonderful." In the Roman Breviary the title is given in the Latin as "Jesu Rex admirabilis." Edward Caswall is again the outstanding translator of this hymn. It is to be observed that "The translator wrote verse four, lines one, two, and three:

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<sup>18</sup>Schaff, Christ in Song, op. cit., p. 406.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 405-406.

'May every heart confess thy name,  
And ever Thee adore;  
And seeking Thee itself inflame.'<sup>20</sup>

He has also supplied line one of verse five, 'Thee may our  
tongues forever bless.'<sup>21</sup> The hymn consists of but five  
verses:

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

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

O Jesus, Light of all below,  
Thou Fount of living fire,  
Surpassing all the joys we know,  
And all we can desire!

Jesus, may all confess thy name,  
Thy wondrous love adore,  
And, seeking thee, themselves inflame  
To seek thee more and more.

Thee, Jesus, may our voices bless;  
Thee may we love alone;  
And ever in our lives express  
The image of thine own.<sup>22</sup>

The third hymn from the "Jubilee Rhythm of the Name  
of Jesus" is "O Jesus, thou the beauty art." In the Roman

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<sup>20</sup> Charles S. Nutter, Hymn Studies (New York: Eaton  
and Mains, 1897), p. 273.

<sup>21</sup> Loc. cit. (NOTE: quotes 20 and 21 represent the  
original form of the poetry, while the translation as quoted  
below represents Caswall's adaptation.)

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp. 272-273.

Breviary it is known as "Jesu decus angelicum." Nutter has given descriptive titles to this and other of Bernard's poems. "The King in his beauty," is his title for "O Jesus, thou the beauty art," while he calls "Jesus, the very thought of thee," "The sweetest name," and "O Jesus, King most wonderful," "The Conqueror renowned."<sup>23</sup> Caswall has also translated this hymn and has varied slightly from the original. In verse one, line four, the original reads, 'Enchanting it with love.' Verses two, three, and four vary some:

O my sweet Jesus hear the sighs  
Which unto Thee I send;  
To Thee mine inmost spirit cries  
My being's hope and end.

Stay with us, Lord, and with thy light  
Illumine the souls abyss;  
Scatter the darkness of our night,  
And fill the world with bliss.

O Jesus! spotless Virgin flower!  
Our life and joy, to Thee  
Be praise, beatitude, and power  
Through all eternity.<sup>24</sup>

The present form, appearing in many hymn books, is as follows:

O Jesus, thou the beauty art  
Of angel-worlds above;  
Thy name is music to the heart,  
Inflaming it with love.

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<sup>23</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 273.

O Jesus, Saviour, hear the sighs  
Which unto thee we send;  
To thee our inmost spirit cries,  
To thee our prayers ascend.

Abide with us, and let thy light  
Shine, Lord, on every heart;  
Dispel the darkness of our night,  
And joy to all impart.

Jesus, our love and joy! to thee  
The Virgin's holy Son,  
All might, and praise, and glory be,  
While endless ages run!<sup>25</sup>

Though the three hymns just mentioned and quoted are the more important ones taken from this poem of Bernard on the name of Christ, there are others which stem from this work of poetic art. Dr. James W. Alexander (d. 1859) has a version from "Jesu, dulcis memoria" beginning,

Jesus, how sweet Thy memory is!  
Thinking of Thee is truest bliss;  
Beyond all honeyed sweets below  
Thy presence is it here to know.<sup>26</sup>

Others have taken from this poem "Jesu, the very thought is sweet," and "Jesu, Thy mercies are untold," both used as separate and distinct hymns. Anthony Wilhelm Boehm, in 1712, took "Of Him who did salvation bring" from this poem. In 1720 Boehm's work was altered by John Christian Jacobi. The most famous transfusion of stanzas selected from "Jesu dulcis memoria," is Ray Palmer's "Jesus, Thou joy of loving hearts!"

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<sup>25</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>26</sup>Schaff, Christ in Song, op. cit., p. 409.

It appeared in the Andover Sabbath Hymn-Book in 1858. Palmer's work begins:

Jesus, Thou Joy of loving hearts!  
 Thou Fount of Life! Thou Light of men!  
 From the best bliss that earth imparts,  
 We turn unfilled to Thee again.<sup>27</sup>

Indeed, these many translations and renditions present an interesting situation. McCutchan points out that the extensive use of "Jesu dulcis memoria" is unique to hymnody. There are fewer hymns which have been translated more often into English. ". . . No others have had made from them so many deservedly popular centos."<sup>28</sup> The great poem has been used in one form or another by the Methodists in America since the days of Bishop Asbury. Moreover, of these hymns R. S. Storrs says:

'I do not overestimate these hymns; but they show his profound evangelical spirit, how the meek and sovereign majesty of the Lord continually attuned and governed his thoughts, and how the same hand which wrote letters, treatises, notes of sermons, exhortations to pontiffs, reproofs of kings, could turn itself at pleasure to the praises of Him in whose grace was his hope, in whose love was his life. If these hymns had not remained after he was gone, we should have missed, I think, a lovely luster of his work and his fame.'<sup>29</sup>

The critical problem finding its source in "Jesu

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 603.

<sup>28</sup>Robert Guy McCutchan, Our Hymnody (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1937), p. 236.

<sup>29</sup>Loc. cit.

"dulcis memoria" is no less than severe. Many renditions have come from this great poem, as we have indicated above. As regards the translators' efforts, we are fairly certain. The vital critical problem is embodied in the original Latin from which these translations have been taken. "Jesu dulcis memoria" was accredited to Bernard until an Eleventh Century manuscript was found which seemed to indicate that a Spanish Benedictine abess, which person, according to some scholars, seems to fit the hymn idea better.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, tradition is most strong. Bernard's mystical faith in the Master and his literary knowledge and background would seem to give prestige to the idea that he was the true author. Martin points out that Bernard's faith is revealed in "Jesus, the very thought of thee." Martin admits that the authorship is not certain, but goes on to say that this hymn is representative of Bernard's thought patterns.<sup>31</sup> McCutchen observes that Percy Dearmer does not believe Bernard to be the true author of the "Joyful rhythm." But Trench comes back with strong language asking if Bernard did not write this poem on the name of Christ, who did?<sup>32</sup> S. W. Duffield

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<sup>30</sup>Edmund S. Lorenz, The Singing Church (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1938), p. 125.

<sup>31</sup>G. Currie Martin, The Church and the Hymn Writers (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1928) p. 87.

<sup>32</sup>Robert Guy McCutchen, Hymns in the Lives of Men (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1932), p. 108.

likewise believes Bernard to be the real author.<sup>33</sup>

The second of the major poems from the hand of Saint Bernard speaks in terms of utter reality about the wounds of the suffering Savior. "Rhythmica oratio ad unum quodlibet membrorum Christi patientis" is the Latin title frequently used. The title often employed in the English is taken from the latter Latin heading, and is translated, "The poem to the members of Christ's body on the cross." The scheme of this poem is one of the most interesting in Latin literature. The entire work is composed of three-hundred and fifty lines. There are seven passion divisions, fifty lines being devoted to each. These sections comprise a series of devotional poems to the crucified Savior's feet, knees, hands, side, breast, heart, and face. In these hymns Bernard has vividly portrayed the suffering Christ hanging on the cross. Tradition has it that he wrote it while gazing on a crucifix. While Bernard was intently looking, the figure of the Christ Himself appeared to come down from the cross and embrace him. Witnessing the suffering Savior in his very presence he wrote to the various parts of his suffering body, as observed above. The Latin titles are as follows:

"Salve mundi salutare" (to the Feet)

"Salve Jesu, Rex sanctorum" (to the Knees)

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<sup>33</sup>Lorenz, loc. cit.

"Salve Jesu, pastor bone" (to the Hands)

"Salve Jesu, summe bonus" (to the Side)

"Salve salus mea, Deus" (to the Breast)

"Summi Regis cor aveto" (to the Heart)

"Salve caput cruentatum" (to the Face)

Translations of each of these passion segments are not frequently seen. There are three, however, which demand attention. The first is the hymn to the Heart of the crucified Lord. "Summi regis cor aveto" has been faithfully translated (Schaff says probably for the first time)<sup>34</sup> by the Rev. Dr. E. A. Washburn, of New York. This was done in the year 1868 (June). His version begins as follows:

Heart of Christ my King! I greet Thee;  
 Gladly goes my heart to meet Thee;  
 To embrace Thee now it burneth,  
 And with eager thirst it yearneth,  
     Spirit blest, to talk with Thee.  
 Oh! what love divine compelling!  
 With what grief Thy breast was swelling!  
 All Thy soul for us o'erflowing,  
 All Thy life on us bestowing,  
     Sinful men from death to free!<sup>35</sup>

Secondly, there is the hymn to the Sacred Feet of the suffering Christ, from which we get the following stanza:

With the deepest adoration  
 Humbly at thy feet I lie,  
 And with fervent supplication  
 Unto thee for succor fly;  
 My petition kindly hear;

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<sup>34</sup>Schaff, Christ in Song, op. cit., p. 410.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 410-411.



Say in answer to my prayer,  
 'I will change thy grief and sadness  
 Into comfort, joy and gladness.'<sup>36</sup>

But the third is by far the most popular and for all practical purposes the most important. It is "Salve caput cruentatum," translated into the German by Paul Gerhardt in 1656, and later faithfully reproduced by Dr. James W. Alexander into English in the year 1849. In the Germany this moving hymn to the Face of the Christ is entitled "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," while the English renders it "O sacred head, now wounded." In the Latin there are five stanzas of ten lines each beginning "Ad faciem Christi in cruce pendentis."

Though many have endeavored to translate this poem, Paul Gerhardt's work stands as the finest ever done. He was the first to attempt this task of translation. Schaff brings into clear view the precision and beauty with which Gerhardt performed his work:

This classical hymn has shown an imperishable vitality in passing from the Latin into the German, and from the German into the English, and proclaiming in three tongues, and in the name of three confessions, --the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Reformed,--with equal effect, the dying love of our Saviour, and our boundless indebtedness to him.

It may also be observed that Schaff speaks well of the one

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<sup>36</sup>H. Augustine Smith, Lyric Religion (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1931), p. 310.

<sup>37</sup>Schaff, Christ in Song, op. cit., p. 178.

who translated the work from German into English. Indeed, Foote says that J. W. Alexander has made the "most beautiful and moving of all the English translations of Paul Gerhardt's hymn. . . ." <sup>38,39</sup>

Schaff aptly comments the following concerning the German translator and the mighty Saint:

Both the Latin of the Catholic monk and the German of the Lutheran pastor are conceived in the spirit of deep repentance, and glowing gratitude to Christ, who 'was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities.' <sup>40</sup>

Adolph Harnack comments with no small degree of force about the influence of Bernard's thought movements. He brings his statement to a dynamic point of climax by reference to "Salve caput cruentatum:"

Piety was quickened by the most vivid view of the suffering and dying Redeemer; He must be followed through all the stages of His path of sorrow! Negative asceticism thus obtained a positive form, and a new and more certain aim. The notes of the Christ-Mysticism, which Augustine had struck only singly and with uncertainty, became a ravishing melody. Beside the sacramental Christ the image of the historical took its place--majesty in humility, innocence in penal suffering, life in death. That dialectic of piety without dialectic, that combined

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<sup>38</sup>Henry Wilder Foote, Three Centuries of American Hymnody (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), p. 204.

<sup>39</sup>Nutter, op. cit., p. 91 characterizes Alexander as follows: "The Rev. James Waddell Alexander was a Presbyterian clergyman, born in 1804; was graduated at Princeton in 1820; a pastor for several years, then editor, and then professor at Princeton. He died in 1859."

<sup>40</sup>Schaff, Christ in Song, loc. cit.

spectacle of suffering and of glory, that living picture of the true communicatio idiomatum (communication of attributes) developed itself, before which mankind stood worshipping, adoring with equal reverence the sublimity and the absement. The sensuous and the spiritual, the earthly and the heavenly, shame and honour, renunciation and fulness of life were no longer tumultuously intermingled: they were united in serene majesty in the 'Ecce homo.' And so this piety broke forth into the solemn hymn: 'Salve caput cruentatum' ('O Lamb of God once wounded').<sup>41</sup>

Though Schaff records ten stanzas of "O sacred head, now wounded," it appears in more popular form in four stanzas as seen, for example, in Nutter's collection:

O sacred Head, now wounded,  
 With grief and Shame weighed down,  
 Now scornfully surrounded  
 With thorns, thine only crown;  
 O sacred Head, what glory,  
 What bliss, till now was thine!  
 Yet, though despised and gory,  
 I joy to call thee mine.

What thou, my Lord, has suffered  
 Was all for sinners' gain:  
 Mine, mine was the transgression,  
 But thine the deadly pain:  
 Lo, here I fall, my Saviour!  
 'Tis I deserve thy place;  
 Look on me with thy favor,  
 Vouchsafe to me thy grace.

What language shall I borrow  
 To thank thee, dearest Friend,  
 For this, thy dying sorrow,  
 Thy pity without end?  
 O make me thine forever;  
 And should I fainting be,  
 Lord, let me never, never  
 Outlive my love to thee.

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<sup>41</sup>Adolph Harnack, History of Dogma (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1901), Vol. VI, p. 9.

Be near me when I'm dying,  
 O show thy cross to me;  
 And, for my succor flying,  
 Come, Lord, and set me free:  
 These eyes, new faith receiving,  
 From Jesus shall not move;  
 For he who dies believing,  
 Dies safely, through thy love.<sup>42</sup>

Once again we are met with a critical problem. Did Bernard actually write "Salve caput eruentatum?" Such a scholar as Foote speaks with some little assuery, stating that "Salve caput eruentatum," is commonly, "though erroneously, attributed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux."<sup>43</sup> Anne W. Kuhn brings into view the nature of the problem when she comments:

There is a question now concerning Bernard's authorship of this hymn. There is evidence for and against the traditional belief at this point. Such an authority as H. Augustine Smith ascribes the original to Arnulf von Loewen, 1200-1250.<sup>44</sup>

Before leaving "Salve caput eruentatum" it is well to note that Mrs. Charles, in Christian Life in Song, has presented a hymn which finds its source in this Bernardian work. Her version begins as follows:

Hail, thou Head! so bruised and wounded,  
 With the crown of thorns surrounded;  
 Smitten with the mocking reed,

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<sup>42</sup>Nutter, op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>43</sup>Foote, loc. cit.

<sup>44</sup>Anna W. Kuhn, "The Influence of Paul Gerhardt Upon Evangelical Hymnody" The Asbury Seminary, Vol. III, No. 1, (Spring, 1948), p. 21.

Wounds which may not cease to bleed  
 Trickling faint and slow.  
 Hail! from whose most blessed brow  
 None can wipe the blood-drops now;  
 All the flower of life has fled,  
 Mortal paleness there instead;  
 Thou, before whose presence dread  
 Angels trembling bow.<sup>45</sup>

The two great poems just mentioned are the most important of Bernard's works. However, there are others which have been accredited to him. Julian<sup>46</sup> points out certain of these. "Laetabundus, exultet fidelis chorus: Alleluia" is a sequence which was in use in many parts of Europe and is thought, by Julian and others, to have been written by Bernard. Then there is "Ut jueundas cervus undas", a poem of sixty-eight lines which has been claimed for St. Bernard by Momney in his Supplementum Patrum, published in Paris, 1686. However, Archbishop Trench, "who quotes it at length . . . deems 'ground entirely insufficient.'"<sup>47</sup> Another hymn mentioned by Julian is "Eheu, Eheu, mundi vita," or "Heu, Heu, mala mundi vita." This one is often attributed to Bernard, but Trench states that there is not sufficient evidence for such belief. Finally, there is the poem "O miranda vanitas." This is included in Mabillon's edition of

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<sup>45</sup>Schaff, Christ in Song, op. cit., pp. 162-163.

<sup>46</sup>Julian, loc. cit.

<sup>47</sup>Loc. cit.

Bernard's work, and is also attributed to Bernard by Rambach. Trench states that he cannot be sure that "O miranda vanitas" is Bernard's, because scholars tend to credit many poems they are not sure of, in this era, to Bernard.<sup>48</sup>

So it is that the man whose hymns are called 'a river of Paradise,'<sup>49</sup> gave to the world some of its most expressive poetry of the name and sufferings of Jesus. Philip Schaff has left a fitting tribute to Bernard the hymn writer: "Much as Bernard influenced his own age in other ways, he continues to influence our own effectively and chiefly by his hymns."<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>49</sup>Goodenough, loc. cit.

<sup>50</sup>Schaff, History of the Christian Church, op. cit., Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 864.

Adam of St. Victor has been "described by Rambach as the 'Schiller of the Middle Ages;' by Dom Gueranger as 'le plus grande poete du moyen age;' and by Dr. Neale--with almost pardonable exaggeration--as 'to my mind the greatest Latin poet, not only of Mediaeval, but of all, ages.'"

--Digby S. Wrangham

## CHAPTER V

### ADAM--THE POET OF THE "GREAT VICTORINE TRIO"

Hugo, Adam, and Richard have been called by Henry Osborn Taylor, the "Great Victorine trio."<sup>1</sup> He has taken this collective three-fold name from the Abbey of St. Victor where they devoted their lives to scholarship within its cloistered walls. The Abbey was renowned as a school of theology during this Twelfth Century. Digby S. Wrangham, who has translated so beautifully the original Adamic works as collected by Gautier, makes the following remark about the "trio:"

Probably no other religious foundation could boast of such a brilliant triad of doctors of divinity, as the one that graced this Abbey during that century in the persons of Hugh of St. Victor, known to his generation as 'Lingua Augustini;' his pupil, Richard of St. Victor, named 'Alter Augustinus;' and Adam of St. Victor, the author of the Sequences and . . . who was deeply versed in the learning of the school to which he belonged.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Henry Osborn Taylor, The Mediaeval Mind (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1911), Vol. II, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup>Digby S. Wrangham, Translator, The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor from the Text of Gautier (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., 1881), Vol. I, p.xix.

A comment by Raby on Hugh and Richard is apropos here:

Before the middle of the century it (the Abbey of St. Victor) numbered among its inmates two of the foremost spiritual leaders of the time, Hugh and Richard, who expounded a mystical philosophy midway between the rationalism of Abelard and the pure mysticism of Bernard of Clairvaux.<sup>3</sup>

Together these monks covered the greater part of the Twelfth Century. Yet little is known of their lives and works. (Perhaps rightly so for it is to the credit of the monk to be kept in obscurity.) The facts are that the three lived in such silence that we may know more about their works today than the people of their own generation did.

Hugh was the oldest. He was a Saxon. There is no record of the date of his entrance into the monastery. The date of his death has been established at 1139.

Richard was the pupil of Hugh and was a native of Scotland. He may be said to be more contemporaneous with Adam.

Of Adam's biographical data, little is known. He may have been born a Breton even as Abelard was, although the English claim him as their own as well.

He is described generally in the MSS. of the period immediately succeeding his own as 'Brito,' and the question remains, and must remain, unsettled, as to which of the two countries for which he is claimed as a

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<sup>3</sup>F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry (London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 348.



native, that term refers.<sup>4</sup>

Wrangham observes that Trench thinks him to be a native of France.<sup>5</sup> Trench's observation is by no means a hasty one, for France was indeed the center of Latin poetry in the Twelfth Century and it is fairly well established that Adam was educated in Paris.

Adam entered the secluded halls of the Abbey of St. Victor (which was to be destroyed later in the French Revolution), often termed the Augustinian house of Saint Victor, probably in the year 1130, William of Champeaux having founded it in 1108. There he passed the remaining years of his life, dying somewhere in the eighth or ninth decades of the Twelfth Century. (Julian says "between the years 1172-1192 A. D.")<sup>6</sup> This man, who might have followed in the footsteps of Hugh and Richard, but chose rather to employ his talent in adorning the liturgy by his beautiful sequences, which were sung at many of the great festivals of his day, was buried in the cloister near the exit of the chapter house. The epitaph above his grave affirms the vanity of human life. He may have composed part of it. It reads in the Latin as follows:

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<sup>4</sup>Wrangham, op. cit., p. xx.

<sup>5</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup>John Julian, Editor, A Dictionary of Hymnology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892), p. 14

haeres peccati, natura filius irae,  
 exsiliique reus nascitur omnis homo.  
 unde superbit homo, cuius conceptio culpa,  
 nasci poena, labor vita, necesse mori?  
 vana salus hominis, vanus cecor, omnia vana;  
 inter vana, nihil vanius est homine.  
 dum magis alludunt praesentis gaudia vitae,  
 praeterit, imo fugit; non fugit, imo perit.  
 post hominem vermis, post vermem fit cinis, heu! heu!  
 sic redit ad cinerem gloria nostra suum.  
 hic ego qui laceo miser et miserabilis Adam,  
 unam pro summo munere posco precem:  
 peccavi, fateor, veniam peto, parce fatenti;  
 parce pater, fratres parcite, parce deus.<sup>7</sup>

At the outset it is to be observed with clarity that the regular Sequence is primarily associated with Adam of Saint Victor. As Raby says,

The history of the Sequence in the Twelfth Century centres round the name of Adam of Saint Victor, to whom tradition assigns the glory of having brought to perfection this most characteristic achievement of medieval poetry.<sup>8</sup>

With this basic statement in mind, then, we must of necessity establish the definition and historical progress of the Sequence for the time in which Adam lived. Raby defines the Sequence as "a symmetrical structure in which the rhythm is based on the correspondence of word-accent and verse-accent, and the rhyme is consistent and regular . . . ." <sup>9</sup> It was Hildebert and Marbod who perfected the two-syllabled rhyme and regular rhythm in the Eleventh Century. As these men made

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<sup>7</sup>Raby, op. cit., pp. 349-350.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 348.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 345.

strides toward perfection, so did the Sequence in the history of poetry in the Latin Church. For example, the Sequence grew from such a rudimentary structure as,

angelus consilii,  
natus est de virgine,  
sol de stella<sup>10</sup>

to the more stately Sequence done in honor of St. Nicholas, four verses of which follow:

1. congaudentes exsultemus  
vocali concordia
2. qui in cunis adhuc iacens  
servando ieiunia
3. ad beati Nicolai  
festiva sollempnia,
4. ad papillas coepit summa  
promereri gaudia.<sup>11</sup>

Such work may be notated as being of the "transitional" style. In that same century there were what is called by Raby "Sequence-verses," the best example of which is seen in the "Verbum bonum et suave." In such a poem the "rhythm and rhyme are faultless, and--a further mark of technical quality--the caesura is observed after the fourth syllable, and it is always at the end of a word."<sup>12</sup> It begins as follows:

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<sup>10</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>11</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 346-347.

verbum bonum et suave  
 personemus, illius Ave,  
 per quod Christi fit conclave  
 virgo, mater, filia;

per quod Ave salutata  
 mox concepit fecundata  
 virgo, David stirpe nata,<sup>13</sup>  
 inter spinas lilia.

Then the "Laudes crucis attollamus," once ascribed to Adam of St. Victor, but is doubtlessly the work of an earlier poet, represents the principle of equal strophes, which is another decided step of progress in the development of the Sequence. It moves in the following strophic fashion:

1. laudes crucis attollamus  
 nos, qui crucis exsultamus  
 speciali gloria.
2. dulce melos tangat caelos,  
 dulce lignum dulci dignum  
 credimus melodia.
3. voce vita non discordet;  
 cum vox vitam non remordet,  
 dulce est symphonia.<sup>14</sup>

With "Laudes crucis attollamus," we come to Adam, the perfecter of the regular Sequence. Raby lists four characteristics of the regular Sequence in its full development:

- (1) The rhythm is regular and is based wholly on the word-accent, with occasional transpositions of stress, especially in the short line which ends a strophe.
- (2) The caesura is regular, and should occur at the end of a word.
- (3) The rhyme is regular, and at least two-syllabled.

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 347.

<sup>14</sup>Loc. cit.

(4) The Sequence measure par excellence is the trochaic line of eight syllables, repeated one or more times, and followed by a trochaic line of seven syllables. The initial independent strophe is rare, and the recognized parallelism hardly distinguished the composition from a hymn.<sup>15</sup>

We are in the presence, then, of medieval hymns and Sequences. The Sequence has been defined and rules presented which will aid in giving a clearer understanding into the technical nature of Adamic verse. Having presented this concept--perhaps most basic in reviewing Adam's poetry--we move on in our thought to the chief poetic divisions of the works of ". . . The most fertile of the Latin hymnologists of the Middle Ages."<sup>16</sup>

The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor takes up three volumes. It has been translated into the English by Wraugham from the original text of Gautier, as observed in the early part of this chapter. (The historicity of the manuscripts, etc., will be dealt with later in the chapter when considering the critical problem of Adam's works.) To have a clear and concise picture of the whole and organization of the poetic divisions, it is well to list systematically the contents of Adam's work as presented in the three

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 348.

<sup>16</sup>John M'Clintock and James Strong, Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature (New York: Harper and Brothers, pub., 1885), Vol. I, p. 34.

volume compilation just mentioned:

- I. SEQUENCES FOR CHURCH SEASONS:
- A. Seven for Christmas (Nativitas Domini).
  - B. One on the Circumcision of Christ (Dies Circumcisionis).
  - C. Six on Easter (Pascha).
  - D. One on the Ascension (Ascensio).
  - E. Five for Whitsuntide (Pentecoste).
  - F. Two for Trinity (Trinitas).
  - G. Four on the Dedication of a Church (Dedicatio Ecclesiae).
- II. SEQUENCES FOR SAINTS' DAYS:
- A. One for St. Andrew (S. Andreas).
  - B. One for St. Nicholas (S. Nicolaus).
  - C. Two for St. Stephen (S. Stephanus).
  - D. Four for St. John the Evangelist (S. Joannes Evangelista).
  - E. Three for St. Thomas of Canterbury (S. Thomas Cantuarius).
  - F. One for St. Genevieve (S. Genovefa).
  - G. One for St. Agnes (S. Agnes).
  - H. Three for St. Vincent (S. Vincentius).
  - I. One for the Conversion of St. Paul (Conversio Sancti Pauli).
  - J. One for the Purification of St. Mary the Virgin (Purificatio S. Mariae Virginis).
  - K. Two for the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Annunciatio Beatae Mariae Virginis).
  - L. One for the Invention of the Cross (Inventio Crucis).
  - M. One for the Conversion of St. Augustine (In Conversione S. Augustini).
  - N. One for St. Nereus and St. Achilleus (SS. Nereus et Achilleus).
  - O. One for the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (Nativitas S. Joannis Baptistae).
  - P. Three for St. Peter and St. Paul (SS. Petrus et Paulus).
  - Q. One for the Commemoration of St. Paul (Commemoratio S. Pauli).
  - R. One for St. Margaret (S. Margareta).
  - S. Two for St. Victor (S. Victor).
  - T. One for St. Apollinaris (S. Apollinaris).
  - U. One for St. James the Greater (S. Jacobus Major).
  - V. One for St. Germain (S. Germanus).
  - W. Two for the Transfiguration of the Lord (Transfiguratio Domini).

- II. X. One for St. Lawrence (S. Laurentius).  
 Y. Two for the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Assumptio Beatae Mariae Virginis).  
 Z. One for St. Bartholomew (S. Bartholomaeus).  
 A. Two for St. Augustine (S. Augustinus).  
 B. One for the Beheading of St. John Baptist (Decollatio Divini Johannis Baptistae).  
 C. Two for St. Giles (S. Aegidius).  
 D. Three for the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Nativitas Beatae Mariae Virginis).  
 E. One for the Exaltation of the Cross (Exaltatio Crucis).  
 F. One for St. Michael and All Angels (S. Michael et Omnes Angeli).  
 G. One for St. Remigius (S. Remigius).  
 H. One for St. Leger (S. Leodegarius).  
 I. One for St. Denis (S. Dionysius).  
 J. One for St. Savinian and St. Potentian (SS. Savinianus et Potentianus).  
 K. One for St. Gratian (S. Gratianus).  
 L. Two for St. Magloire (S. Maglorius).  
 M. One for St. Quintin (S. Quintinus).  
 N. One for St. Marcellus (S. Marcellus).  
 O. One for St. Martin (S. Martinus).  
 P. One for St. Catharine (S. Catharina).  
 Q. Nine of the Blessed Virgin (De Beata Virgine).  
 R. Three Of the Holy Apostles (De SS. Apostolis).  
 S. Two of the Holy Evangelists (De SS. Evangelistis).  
 T. One for All Saints' Day (Dies Omnium Sanctorum).  
 U. Two for St. Victor (S. Victor).  
 V. One for St. Augustine (S. Augustinus).  
 W. The Epitaph of Adam of St. Victor (Epitaphium Adami S. Victoris).
- III. SEQUENCES ATTRIBUTED TO ADAM OF ST. VICTOR:  
 A. St. Thomas the Apostle (S. Thomas, Apostolus).  
 B. St. Monica (S. Monica).  
 C. St. Mary Magdalene (S. Maria Magdalena).  
 D. Two more on St. Augustine (S. Augustinus).  
 E. Of the Blessed Virgin (De Beata Virgine).  
 F. Hymn (Hymnus).  
 G. Of the Crown of Thorns (De Corona Spinea).

Each has been listed in the order in which it appears in Wrangham's production.

Immediately, upon viewing the tremendous scope and number of Adam's works, one asks whether he actually wrote

all of these. It must be admitted at the outset that there is a critical problem facing the historian in relation to Adam's contribution to the development of the Sequence.

The available documentary evidence is so fragmentary and uncertain that it is as yet impossible to draw up a list of proses which are beyond doubt to be ascribed to Adam.<sup>17</sup>

The first evidence is from a short statement by William of St. Lo (d. 1349) who mentions Adam's learning in the areas of conversation and poetry. Of this document Raby comments:

Unfortunately the Abbot does not proceed to give a list of the proses in question, and the list (in codex Paris 10508) which Gautier imagined to be the actual list compiled by William is now recognized merely as a compilation of the early sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

The latter statement may be a bit strong. Wrenham deals with this problem at some length. He begins by pointing out that the poetry of Adam was in the St. Victor library until the French Revolution when its manuscripts were removed to the National Library in the Louvre. While, however, the manuscripts of Adam's Sequences remained in the St. Victor library prior to the Revolution, thirty-seven of them, with his name on them, found their way into circulation. There were also a few other poems which found their way into the reading of the public, but these had no trace of the writer's name. These thirty-seven were collected and

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<sup>17</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 350.

<sup>18</sup>Loc. cit.



Published by Clichtoveus, 'a Roman Catholic theologian of the first half of the sixteenth century,' in his 'Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum,' which passed through several editions from 1515 to 1556 at Paris, Basle, and Geneva. This work, which was written originally for the instruction of the clergy in the meaning of the various offices of the Church, according to Archbishop Trench, became invaluable to those who made Medieval hymnology their study, and was in fact the only collection of it on a large scale.<sup>19</sup>

Wrangham goes on to say that the present collection of Gautier did not come into being until Gautier himself discovered the remaining Sequences (i.e., besides the thirty-seven mentioned above) in the Louvre. His discovery dates about the middle of the last century. Gautier has given to the world one-hundred and six Sequences

Satisfactorily proved to have come from Adam of St. Victor's pen, viz., thirty-seven published and attributed to the author by Clichtoveus, two published by him without attribution, seventeen published in other collections without attribution, forty-seven published for the first time by Gautier, and the three mentioned above of which we have as yet only the first line. Besides these, however, there is the Epitaph of Adam, of which only the first ten lines were written by him, and eight Sequences doubtfully or wrongly attributed to him, and included in M. Gautier's volumes.<sup>20</sup>

Raby's information is of course the results of more modern research, and in fairness to the situation, and in the presence of two convincing arguments, we must conclude that we cannot know for certain whether or not all of the Sequences listed in Gautier are actually Adam's.

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<sup>19</sup>Wrangham, op. cit., p. xxv.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. xxvi.

Raby, however, continues by presenting other evidence, pro and con, for the Adamic authorship. He points out that there is in existence a list of graduals which were attributed to St. Victor. The major problem here is that scholars believe this to be a Thirteenth Century manuscript. However, from this same source forty-five Sequences were compiled and "it can hardly be doubted that within this list a number of Adam's Sequences are to be found."<sup>21</sup> All of these Sequences are similar in their technical structure, style and content, and "are more or less easily distinguishable from the other compositions which have found a place beside them."

At the same time it is going too far to say that compliance with certain stylistic and structural criteria is sufficient to mark the whole of these forty-five Sequences as definitely the work of no other poet than Adam.<sup>22</sup>

Though there are certain rules that seem to follow in Adam's poetry, it is to be observed that others before him followed similar procedure in their poetic compositions.

Though the solution to this critical problem must remain in obscurity, for the time being there are at least a few Sequences which we may be sure come from the hand of Adam. The first is one in honor of St. Stephen. This is a poem of twenty-four stanzas. The first part runs in Latin

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<sup>21</sup>Raby, loc. cit.

<sup>22</sup>Loc. cit.

as follows:

1. heri mundus exsultavit  
et exsultans celebravit  
Christi natalitia;
2. heri chorus angelorum  
prosecutus est caelorum  
regem cum laetitia.<sup>23</sup>

"In this 'sublime composition,' as Archbishop Trench calls it, the Sequence-form reaches a perfection which was never surpassed."<sup>24</sup>

A second Sequence which is fairly well established as Adam's, is an Easter poem. It is commonly known by its Latin title, "Zyma vetus expurgetur." (This hymn will be discussed at length shortly when considering the problem of symbolism in relation to Adam's poetry.) "Zyma vetus expurgetur" is composed of twenty stanzas. It begins as follows:

1. zyma vetus expurgetur,  
ut sincere celebretur  
nova resurrectio.
2. haec est dies nostrae spei,  
huius mira vis diei  
legis testimonio.<sup>25</sup>

Raby feels quite certain that these two Sequences come from the hand of Adam. He is cautious about stating that Adam

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 351.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 352.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 353.

wrote others. He feels that the latter quoted hymn is probably Adam's by virtue of its good rhythm, adherence to Adamic rules of poetic structure, proper observance of the caesura, and changes of stress occurring only in lines of seven syllables.

Byrnes lists two hymns of Adam's appearing in the Dominican Breviary. He gives their English translations. The first begins:

Mighty Father, Saint Augustine,  
 Listen to thy children's cry;  
 Plead for us as now thou standest  
 Near thy Maker's throne on high;  
 Loving Shepherd, faithful Pontiff,  
 Lead thy flock as though still nigh.<sup>26</sup>

The second begins:

Hosts of the heavenly court, rejoice!  
 Brethren, sing out with joyful voice!  
 The sun's full course hath brought in train  
 Our Father's yearly feast again.<sup>27</sup>

Dearmer lists "Joy and Triumph Everlasting," which begins in the Latin as follows:

Supernae matris gaudia  
 repraesentat ecclesia,  
 dum festa colit annua,  
 suspirat ad perpetua.

Dearmer points out that the translation of this hymn was

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<sup>26</sup>Aquinas Byrnes, Editor, The Hymns of the Dominican Breviary (London: B. Herder Book Co., 1943), p. 666.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 369.

published in the Yattendon Hymnal of 1890.<sup>28</sup>

Goodenough mentions that Adam wrote "Now the sun is gleaming bright." An interesting story is narrated in relation to this hymn. This song was sung by full choir in the hearing of William the Conqueror at Rouen in 1087. Before the rendition was completed William passed away. A few days prior he helped burn the city of Mantes, killing many of its inhabitants. This action was a reprisal for a ribald jest made by King Phillippe I of France on the size of his enormous stomach. William's death grew directly out of this act of vengeance. His horse stepped on a hot coal from the burning ruins of Mantes. The horse stumbled and threw William against the pommel of the saddle with such force that the injury caused his death.<sup>29</sup>

We are yet in search of accepted hymns by Adam of St. Victor. Hymns Ancient and Modern records three. The first is for St. Stephen's Day. It is taken from the well known Biblical passage in Acts: "He, being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up steadfastly into Heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God."<sup>30</sup> The Latin

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<sup>28</sup>Percy Dearmer, Songs of Praise Discussed (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 166

<sup>29</sup>Caroline Leonard Goodenough, High Lights on Hymnists And Their Hymns (Rochester, Massachusetts: Pub. by the author, 1931), pp. 20-21.

<sup>30</sup>Acts 7:55.

has been recorded earlier in the present discussion. The first two verses of the English are as follows:

Yesterday, with exultation,  
 Join'd the world in celebration  
     Of her promised Saviour's birth;  
 Yesterday the Angel-nation  
 Pour'd the strains of jubilation  
     O'er the Monarch born on earth;

But to-day o'er death victorious,  
 By his faith and actions glorious,  
     By his miracles renown'd,  
 See the Deacon triumph gaining,  
 'Midst the faithless faith sustaining,  
     First of holy Martyrs found.<sup>31</sup>

The second hymn from the pen of Adam which is recorded in Hymns Ancient and Modern is "Come, pure hearts, in sweetest measures." This is a beautiful and heart-felt hymn of only three stanzas:

Come, pure hearts, in sweetest measures  
 Sing of those who spread the treasures  
     In the holy Gospels shrined;  
 Blessed tidings of salvation,  
 Peace on earth, their proclamation,  
     Love from God to lost mankind.

See the Rivers four that gladden  
 With their streams the better Eden  
     Planted by our Lord most dear;  
 Christ the Fountain, these the waters;  
 Drink, O Sion's sons and daughters,  
     Drink and find salvation here.

O that we Thy truth confessing,  
 And Thy holy Word possessing,  
     Jesus, may Thy love adore;  
 Unto Thee our voices raising,

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<sup>31</sup>Hymns Ancient and Modern (London: William Clowes and Son, Limited, 1940), p. 51.

Thou with all Thy ransom'd praising  
Ever and for evermore.<sup>32</sup>

Marks pronounces this the most popular of Adam's hymns.<sup>33</sup>

The final poem is of a more dramatic nature. Its title is "Come sing, ye choirs exultant." The first and final verses run as follows:

Come sing, ye choirs exultant,  
Those messengers of God,  
Through whom the living Gospels  
Came sounding all abroad!  
Whose voice proclaim'd salvation,  
That pour'd upon the night,  
And drove away the shadows,  
And flush'd the world with light.

Four-square on this foundation  
The Church of Christ remains,  
A House to stand unshaken  
By floods or winds or rains.  
Oh! glorious happy portion  
In this safe Rome to be,  
By God, true Man, united  
With God eternally!<sup>34</sup>

Then, Henry Osborn Taylor speaks of a Christmas hymn of Adam's. (This will be discussed more thoroughly shortly when considering the problem of symbolism in the poetic works of Adam of St. Victor.) The Latin is rendered by Taylor as follows:

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 365.

<sup>33</sup>Harvey B. Marks, The Rise and Growth of English Hymnody (New York: Fleming H. Revel Co., 1938), p. 47.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 534.

Frondem, florem, nucem sicca  
 Virga profert, et pudica  
     Virgo Dei Filium  
 Fert coelestem vellus rorem,  
 Creatura creatorem,  
     Creaturae pretium.

Frondis, floris, nucis, roris  
 Pietati Salvatoris  
     Congruunt mysteria.  
 Frons est Christus protegendo,  
 Flos dulcore, nex pascendo,  
     Ros coelesti gratia.<sup>35</sup>

John Keble may have taken his hymn for St. John's Day from one of Adam's on St. John. Keble's hymn appears on page thirty-one of The Christian Year and the first verse reads as follows:

"Lord, and what shall this man do?"  
     Ask'st thou, Christian, for thy friend?  
 If his love for Christ be true,  
     Christ hath told thee of his end:  
 This is he whom God approves,  
 This is he whom Jesus loves.<sup>36</sup>

We cannot treat Adam's hymns properly without referring to him as a hymn-writer of the Virgin Mary. Messenger, a leading research personage for the American Hymn Society, says the following:

Adam of St. Victor is, above all medieval writers, the poet of the Virgin. 'Thou hearest the matchless palm; thou has no peer on earth nor in the court of

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<sup>35</sup>Taylor, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 91.

<sup>36</sup>John Keble, The Christian Year (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1827), p. 31.



heaven. Lauded by all mankind, thou dost possess beyond others the distinction of the virtues."<sup>37</sup>

Moreover, Barrett Wendell, eminent Harvard scholar in Medieval literature of the last generation, quotes what he believes to be one of Adam's hymns on the Virgin:

Salve, Mater Salvatoris!  
Vas electum! Vas honoris!  
Vas caelestis Gratiae!

Ab eterno Vas provisum!  
Vas insigne! Vas exisum  
Manu sapientiae!

Wendell proceeds to present Adams' translation of these verses:

Mother of our Saviour, hail!  
Chosen Vessel, sacred Grail!  
Font of celestial Grace!

From eternity forethought!  
By the hand of Wisdom wrought!  
Precious, faultless Vase!<sup>38</sup>

He then speaks of these Twelfth Century stanzas as the "wondrous ecstatic spontaneity of the mediaeval faith in Mary testified again by the dedication to her of countless chapels, churches, and cathedrals."<sup>39</sup>

We have noted, then, that the chief source of Adam's works, as translated into English, is the three volume set on

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<sup>37</sup>Ruth Ellis Messenger, Ethical Teachings in the Latin Hymns of Medieval England (New York: Columbia University, 1930), pp. 148-149.

<sup>38</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>39</sup>Loc. cit.

The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor. The works appearing in these volumes have been listed in three divisions. The critical problem, asking whether Adam actually wrote all of this number, has been presented in argumentative fashion, showing Wrangham's position (believing the above work to be quite nearly exact) as opposed to Raby's extreme view that we are certain of only two or three actual Adamic hymns. Current evidence from medieval manuscripts was presented from varied sources. Our conclusion on the critical problem has been that we cannot know of assuerty just which and how many hymns or Sequences Adam actually composed. We then proceeded to make reference, recording all or parts of hymns when it seemed most profitable, to authorities who included Adam's works in their discussions or hymnological collections. Raby includes the hymn on St. Stephen, and the famed Sequence on Easter, "Zyma vetus expurgetur." Byrnes lists two hymns of Adam's appearing in the Dominican Breviary; namely, "Mighty Father, Saint Augustine," and "Hosts of the heavenly court, rejoice!" Dearmer lists "Joy and Triumph Everlasting," while Goodenough mentions "Now the sun is gleaming bright." We have noted, moreover, that Hymns Ancient and Modern records three, assuming Adam to be the author of them. They are "Yesterday, with exultation" (the hymn for St. Stephen's Day), "Come, pure hearts, in sweetest measures," and "Come sing,

ye choirs exultant." Then, we noted that Henry Osborn Taylor speaks of a Christmas hymn, "Frondem, florem, nucem sicca." John Keble may have taken the idea for his hymn for St. John's day from Adam's poetry on John. Finally, we referred to Wendell who points out that Adam is a poet of the Virgin. He believes "Mother of our Saviour, hail!" to be from his pen. Indeed, we have not covered nearly all the literature bearing on Adam's hymns in relation to his authorship. But it is our conviction that some of the more basic scholars have been investigated and their conclusions properly recorded. One further comment is in order. It would not be entirely fair to these scholars and collectors of hymns to say that in every case they believe Adam to be the author without question. Rather, it would be more nearly correct to say that they believe their recordings to bear the marks of possible Adamic authorship. It is doubtful that any well read student of Adam's poetry (even Raby) would be dogmatic at this point.

We move on in our thought, then, to the symbolic nature of Adamic verse. Closely related to this problem is that of Allegory or types (especially of the Christ). There is perhaps little question that the school of St. Victor in the Twelfth Century was barred from the influence of the early Alexandrian school of Scriptural interpretation. Indeed, Henry Osborn Taylor makes the following statement

after careful thought and consideration:

From the time of that old third-century hymn ascribed to Clement of Alexandria, hymns to Christ had been filled with symbolism, the symbolism of loving personification of His attributes, as well as with the more formal symbolism of His Old Testament prefigurations. Adam's symbolism is of both kinds. It has feeling even when dogmatic (Although the dogmas of Christianity were formulated by reason, they were cradled in love and hate.), and throbs with devotion as its theme approaches the Gospel Christ.<sup>40</sup>

A. E. C. points out that Adam had a "fondness for 'types'," and proceeds to list certain ones from the Old Testament.<sup>41</sup> Henry Osborn Taylor has made a similar observation, but in the light of more thorough research. Taylor has taken, first, Adam's Easter hymn, "Zyma vetus expurgetur," referred to earlier in the chapter. He says of it, it is an "epitome of the symbolic prefiguration of Christ in the Old Testament. Each familiar allegorical interpretation flashes in a phrase."<sup>42</sup> Taylor then proceeds to translate the hymn roughly and give the meaning and interpretation of Adam's symbolism;<sup>43</sup>

'Let the old leaven be purged away that a new resurrection may be celebrated purely. This is the day of our hope; wonderful is the power of this day by the testimony of the law.

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<sup>40</sup>Taylor, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 89.

<sup>41</sup>A. E. C., Hymns and Their Stories (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1904), p. 63.

<sup>42</sup>Taylor, loc. cit.

<sup>43</sup>NOTE: The following materials occur on Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 88-89.

'This day despoiled Egypt, and liberated the Hebrews from the fiery furnace; for them in wretched straits the work of servitude was mud and brick and straw.

In this last verse, the Hebrews in bondage to the Egyptians are the symbol of all men in the bonds of sin.

'Now as praise of divine virtue, of triumph, of salvation, let the voice break free! This is the day which the Lord made, the day ending our grief, the day bringing salvation.

'The Law is the shadow of things to come, Christ the goal of promises, who completes all. Christ's blood blunts the sword the guardians removed.

'The Boy, type of our laughter, in whose stead the ram was slain, seals life's joy. Joseph issues from the pit; Christ returns above after death's punishment.

Notice here that Isaac is referred to as a type of Christ, a common type of the allegorical schools. His name was interpreted as laughter (risus) from Genesis xxi:6: "And Sarah said, God hath made me to laugh, so that all that hear will laugh with me." Then notice that Joseph is also referred to as a type of Christ.

'This serpent devours the serpents of Pharaoh secure from the serpent's spite. Whom the fire wounded, them the brazen serpent's presence freed.

The serpent refers to Christ the rod of Aaron, "safe from the devil's spite, consumes the false idols." The Brazen Serpent is also a type of Christ (Cf. John iii:14).

'The hook and ring of Christ pierce the dragon's jaw; the suckling child puts his hand to the cockatrice's den, and the old tenant of the world flees affrighted.

Here we see the picture of the hook (hamus) which represents Christ's divinity, whereby He has power to pierce the devil's

jaw. Then, the guiltless child is also the Christ, and the cockatrice symbolizes the devil.

'The mockers of Elisha ascending the house of God, feel the bald-head's wrath; David, feigning madness, the goat cast forth, and the sparrow escape.

The children mocking Elisha symbolize the mocking Jews who made light of Christ as he ascended to Calvary. The bear is Vespasian and Titus who destroy Jerusalem. Other types of Christ seen in this verse are the Sparrow exercising the rite of cleansing from leprosy (Cp. Lev. xiv: 2-7), and the goat who is cast forth for the sins of the people.

'With a jaw-bone Samson slays a thousand and spurns the marriage of his tribe. Samson bursts the bars of Gaza, and carrying its gates, scales the mountain's crest.

Samson, here, is a type of Christ. He will not wed a woman of his own tribe even as Christ chose not his own heritage, but the Gentiles. Samson is pictured breaking open the gates of Gaza as Christ the gates of death and hell.

'So the strong Lion of Judah, shattering the gates of dreadful death, rises the third day; at His Father's roaring voice, He carries aloft His spoils to the bosom of the supernal mother.

"The allusion here is to the statement of mediaeval Bestiaries that the lion cub, when born, lies lifeless for three days, till awakened by his father's roar." The Church triumphant is symbolized by the supernal mother.

'After three days the whale gives back from his belly's narrow house Jonas the fugitive, type of the true Jonas. The grape of Cyprus blooms again, opens

and grows apace. The synagogue's flower withers, while flourishes the Church.

Here we have a topic represented everywhere in church windows and cathedral sculpture.

'Death and life fought together: truly Christ arose, and with Him many witnesses of glory. A new morn, a glad morn, shall wipe away the tears of evening: life overcame destruction; it is a time of joy.

'Jesu victor, Jesu life, Jesu life's beaten way, thou whose death quelled death, bid us to the paschal board in trust. O Bread of life, O living Wave, O true and fruitful Vine, do thou feed us, do thou cleanse us, that thy grace may save us from the second death. Amen.'

From this brief study of a portion of Adam's symbolism, one may well conclude that his poetry was saturated at times with allegorical coloring.

Taylor continues with his discussion of Adam's symbolism by pointing out the intricate nature of it. He uses the Christmas hymn of Adam which was referred to earlier in the chapter. It will be recalled that the Latin was then presented. Taylor now records the English translation:

'A dry rod puts forth leafage, flower, nut, and a chaste Virgin brings forth the Son of God. A fleece bears heavenly dew, a creature the Creator, the creature's price.

'The mysteries of leafage, flower, nut, dew are suited to the Saviour's tender love (pietas). The foliage by its protecting is Christ, the flower is Christ by its sweetness, the nut as it yields food, the dew by its celestial grace.'<sup>44</sup>

The rod putting forth leafage, flower, etc. is a reference

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., Vol. II, p. 91.

to Aaron's budding rod in Numbers xvii. Obvious reference is made to Gideon's fleece (Judges vi:37), which is considered a type of the Virgin Mary.

Taylor points out that Adam's hymns are symbolic throughout. Finally, he quotes three lines from a Sequence for the dedication of churches:

Quam decora fundamenta  
Per concinna sacramenta  
Ebra praecurrentia!<sup>45</sup>

He gives the following translation:

'How seemly the foundations through the  
appropriate sacraments, the forerunning  
shadow.'<sup>46</sup>

"The shadow is the Old Testament, and these three lines sum up the teaching of Hugo as to the sacramental nature of the Old Testament narratives."<sup>47</sup>

Thus far we have considered the Sequence in relation to Adam's poetry, the critical nature of his works, the literary works themselves, and the symbolic or allegorical problem of his hymns. We may now ask what is the evaluation of his work and contribution to the Latin hymnody of the Twelfth Century. One has evaluated as follows:

His poetical works were called Sequences, and are

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<sup>45</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., Vol. II, p. 92.

<sup>47</sup>Loc. cit.



remarkable for their melody, variety of meters, theological and biblical lore, sustained power of the imagination, sublimity of diction, and fervent piety.

His faults are fondness of paronomasia, alliteration, and typical application of the Old Testament.<sup>48</sup>

Philip Schaff in his History of the Christian Church says that "Gautier, Neale, Trench pronounce him the 'foremost among the sacred Latin poets of the Middle Ages.'"<sup>49</sup> In estimating the worth of the pieces of poetry to which Raby refers, he says they might be said to represent admirable poetic achievement as seen in the "wonderful facility of his versification, the smoothness of his rhythm, and the skilful handling of rhyme."<sup>50</sup> He goes on to say that "In these proses, indeed, medieval rhythmical verse reached its greatest formal perfection."<sup>51</sup>

A new style had been at last forged and perfected, capable of expressing, in Adam and the poets of his school, the precision of doctrinal truth with a fitting liturgical solemnity.<sup>52</sup>

Adam's works were primarily dogmatic. They are symbolical--

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<sup>48</sup>Philip Schaff, Editor, A Religious Encyclopaedia: or Dictionary of Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1891), Vol. I, p. 25.

<sup>49</sup>Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 865.

<sup>50</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 354.

<sup>51</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>52</sup>Loc. cit.

representing the key to the Scriptures, as stated by the school of St. Victor.

Hence Adam and the poets of his school rarely reach the highest flights of inspiration. Their poetry contains little or nothing of sheer lyrical beauty, because they are always trammelled by the nature of their subject, the feast of an apostle or martyr, the festivals of the Virgin, or the common imagery, in which, according to custom, the meanings of Christmas, of Easter, of Pentecost were to be given their symbolical expression.<sup>53</sup>

But is it not so that poetry so definitely of a liturgical sort must needs be objective in expression, rather than personal and lyrical?

The Franciscan poets of the next century, who used the Sequence-measure to convey all the fervour and exaltation of the gospel of Assisi, had no such regard to liturgical needs, and their poetry is personal and lyrical.<sup>54</sup>

Continuing with our evaluation of the poetry of ". . . The most prominent and prolific of the Latin hymnists . . .",<sup>55</sup> we may well ask how closely Adam adhered to the traditional definition of the hymn. Miss Messenger has commented well at this point:

St. Augustine once defined the hymn as 'the praise of God in song.' Rarely has it served this aim alone. Some additional purpose has moved the author to compose it . . . . Perhaps like Adam of St. Victor, he has praised God in his saints.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>54</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>55</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>56</sup>Messenger, op. cit., p. 163.

Julian has given a good summary of Adam's abilities which will serve well as a conclusion to the evaluation of Adam's hymnic works:

His principal merits may be described as comprising terseness and felicity of expression; deep and accurate knowledge of Scripture, especially its typology; smoothness of versification; richness of rhyme, accumulating gradually as he nears the conclusion of a Sequence; and a spirit of devotion breathing throughout his work, that assures the reader that his work is 'a labour of love.' An occasional excess of alliteration, which however at other times he uses with great effect, and a disposition to overmuch 'playing upon words,' amounting sometimes to 'punning,' together with a delight in heaping up types one upon another, till, at times, he succeeds in obscuring his meaning, are the chief defects to be set against the many merits of his style.<sup>57</sup>

By way of conclusion, we quote from Raby and Neale:

Adam and his school are the exponents of form, the classical masters of rhythmical verse. From them it was that Thomas Aquinas learned the severe music of the 'Lauda Syon' and the 'Pange lingua,' verses of a loftier aim but not a higher execution. On the whole we would say, borrowing the phrase which Matthew Arnold applied so happily to Pope, that Adam was a poet of 'prodigious talent,' and we can only marvel when Dr. Neale describes him as 'to my mind the greatest poet, not only of medieval, but of all ages.'<sup>58</sup>

Finally, Wrangham quotes Neale as saying:

'It is a magnificent thing to pass along the far-stretching vista of hymns,--from the sublime self-containedness of S. Ambrose to the more fervid inspiration of S. Gregory, the exquisite typology of Venantius Fortunatus, the lovely painting of S. Peter Damiani, the crystal-like simplicity of S. Notker, the scriptural calm of Godescalcus, the subjective loveliness of S.

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<sup>57</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>58</sup>Raby, op. cit., pp. 354-355.

Bernard, till all culminate in the full blaze of glory which surrounds Adam of S. Victor, the greatest of all. And though Thomas of Celano in one unapproachable sequence distanced him, and the author, whoever he were, of the Verbum Dei Deo natum once equalled him, what are we to think of the genius that could pour forth one hundred sequences, of which fifty at least are unequalled save by the Dies Irae? . . . Indeed, Adam is worth any pains and any study.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Wrangham, op. cit., p. xxviii.

In Francis mediaeval piety attained its clearest and most forcible expression. In him it uttered itself most simply, and therefore most powerfully and most impressively, because its chord--'humility, love and obedience'--was here struck with the greatest purity, while the quality of tone which Francis lent to it was the most melting. --Adolph Harnack

'What St. Francis was to Europe in the thirteenth century, the Wesleys were to the English of the eighteenth century.' --quoted by H. Augustine Smith

. . . Saint Francis wholeheartedly followed the path of Gentleness . . . .  
--Arnold J. Toynbee

## CHAPTER VI

### ST. FRANCIS AND THE POETRY OF THOUGHT, LIFE,

### AND INFLUENCE

With Saint Francis of Assisi, "the greatest man of his generation,"<sup>1</sup> opens a whole new vista in the course of human and divine events. The first half of the Thirteenth Century is marked by a striking panorama of newly developing civilization. This was the age of Innocent III, Frederick II, Saint Louis, Edward I, as well as Reims, Westminster, and Sainte Chapelle. It was the age of enthusiasm and destruction as mirrored in the European Crusades in Asia and Africa.

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<sup>1</sup>Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), Vol. IV, p. 558.

At the same time a prosperous communal vitality sprang up in the growing metropolitan areas among the middle classes in France, Germany and Italy. Frederick Barbarossa had been defeated at Legnano, which had confined the liberties of the Lombard cities, thereby intrusting to Italy the tremendous responsibility which had been France's in the Twelfth Century. Italy was now faced with the leadership of Europe in its ever widening experience in the development of civilization especially in the channels of art, religion, and letters. The new power was, moreover, faced with a religious tradition which had not yet been broken down--Catholicism still holding sway in its power over the common civilization. But soon the Ecclesiastical power of Rome began to crumble in the face of undermining criticism. The reasons for this disintegration were not alone to be found in the universal corruption of the clergy, the abuses of the Curia, and the very prominent evidence of simony. The vital danger came from an heretical source! The Church was now faced with a destructive dualism called Catharism. This new teaching in the Church advocated a belief similar to that of the ancient Persian dualism--recognizing a supreme duo-matured being which was actually comprised of two gods, one good and the other evil.

What took the imagination and sympathies of the common people was the fact that the leaders of the Cathar Church practiced that complete renunciation and inhuman asceti-

cism which had always won affection for saints and prophets in the past.<sup>2</sup>

This heresy became widespread, finding its way over the northern and central parts of Italy, moving to the South of France and extending its influence north as far as Liege and Cologne. But there was yet another doctrine being taught which was then heresy (indeed it is today to the Catholic faith). This heresy was termed the Poor Men of Lyons (Vau-dois). This group taught that every man could approach God, a priest not being necessary to contact deity. Moreover, they said that any good layman had every priestly qualification, even to that of consecrating the body of our Lord. (This of course may be questioned, even on the Protestant level.) (Luther was not the first to proclaim the doctrine of the Priesthood of All Believers!) Both heresies were "pushed back into their shell," forcing them to become more dogmatic and stubborn and thereby making them the objects of ecclesiastical persecution.

It was into this world situation that St. Francis came as the savior of his age. St. Francis may be said to have contributed much to saving his Church and tradition from contemporary destruction. Saint Francis, the founder of the Franciscan Order, was born at Assisi in Umbria about the year

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<sup>2</sup>f. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry (London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 416.

1181 (some scholars say 1182). At the time of his baptism he was named Giovanni, but his father afterwards altered his name to Francesco, supposedly by virtue of his fondness for France. During his youth Francis was a fun-loving fellow.

Thomas of Celano, his first biographer, speaks in very severe terms of Francis's youth. Certain it is that the saint's early life gave no presage of the golden years that were to come. No one loved pleasure more than Francis; he had a ready wit, sang merrily, delighted in fine clothes and showy display. Handsome, gay, gallant, and courteous, he soon became the prime favourite among the young nobles of Assisi, the foremost in every feat of arms, the leader of the civil revels, the very king of frolic.<sup>3</sup>

But even in this period of gay youthfulness, he showed an "instinctive sympathy for the poor . . . ."<sup>4</sup>

It was great sport in Francis' day for the Assisians to wage contests against the Perugians. Upon one occasion the Assisians lost to the Perugians and the latter took Francis captive for one year. During this season of imprisonment, Francis took a low fever. It is thought that this may have been one of the factors leading him to think more seriously about things eternal. However, with returning health and release he resolved to take up the career of a soldier. But in 1205, after beginning to launch out on his military duties, he took ill once again and returned home determined to follow an inner urge which found its source

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<sup>3</sup>The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: The Gilmary Society, 1909), Vol. VI, p. 222.

<sup>4</sup>Loc. cit.



in basic concepts of other-worldliness. He was now about to marry "Lady Poverty whom Dante and Giotto have wedded to his name . . . ." <sup>5</sup> Francis now said to his Father:

'Hitherto I have called you my father on earth; henceforth I desire to say only Our Father who art in Heaven.'

Then and there, as Dante sings, were solemnized Francis's nuptials with his beloved spouse, the Lady Poverty, under which name, in the mystical language afterwards so familiar to him, he comprehended the total surrender of all worldly goods, honours, and privileges. <sup>6</sup>

Now Francis wandered back into the hills of Assisi, improvising hymns of praise as he journeyed. (Henry Osborn Taylor notes that "Through all his life he never lost the habit of singing French songs which he composed himself." <sup>7</sup> Most unfortunately for the student of Francis' poetry, none of these songs survive!) He helped to repair destroyed churches and he gave sympathetic help to the lepers. With new convictions, he invited men to follow him in the ministry of poverty. His companions gave all they had to the poor, built themselves rough huts, and wore only crude habits. The Friars Minor went out two by two performing good works which were so highly recognized that many others followed St. Francis and they too became disciples of his. Surely one of

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<sup>5</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup>Henry Osborn Taylor, The Mediaeval Mind (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1911), Vol. I, p. 419.

the factors which made Francis' personality so magnetic was his noble attitude toward sin:

'Should there be a brother anywhere in the world who had sinned, no matter how great . . . his fault may be, let him not go away after he has once seen thy face without showing pity towards him; and if he seek not mercy, ask him if he does not desire it. And by this I will know if you love God and me.'<sup>8</sup>

Another factor which drew people to him was his constant employment of courtesy, which he considered the younger sister to charity. He was courteous to robbers as well as to the nobility. He was even kind to the birds and animals. Indeed, it is said that he preached to the birds, and upon first doing so he rebuked himself for having not done it before. He was not interested in material possessions, as has been pointed out above, and when offered money he said, 'Let it be given to those who cannot smile.'<sup>9</sup>

Francis' life was one of poetry! He was entranced with nature. "He delighted to commune with the wild flowers, the crystal spring, and the friendly fire, and to greet the sun as it rose upon the fair Umbrian vale."<sup>10</sup> It was his desire that others should also possess this poetic nature. He was the founder of singing societies to encourage the use

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<sup>8</sup>The Catholic Encyclopedia, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 227.

<sup>9</sup>Caroline Leonard Goodenough, High Lights on Hymnists and Their Hymns (Rochester, Massachusetts: Pub. by author, 1931), p. 29.

<sup>10</sup>The Catholic Encyclopedia, loc. cit.

of sacred folk music. These songs were usually possessed of a simple structure, with a refrain at the beginning and the end.<sup>11</sup>

We are in the presence, then, of St. Francis of Assisi, the savior of his age. It was this life, converted to the assistance of mankind and the servitude of God, that made him the tremendous binding force that he was. Bonaventura, in his Legenda S. Francisci, Prologus says that to his own generation and to the generations to follow, Francis appeared as the extraordinary apostle of God, the angel of the Apocalypse 'ascending from the sunrising and bearing the seal of the Living God.'<sup>12</sup> The spirit and practice of ascetic values "gave to the Western world what was almost a new religion"<sup>13</sup> in the personnel of Francis and the Brothers Minor. Though based on poverty like the Cathar (and Waldensian) movement, Francis and his followers saved their age from heresy by their very personal and evangelical content, lack of speculation, and simple obedience to the powers of the Church, not to speak of Francis' poetic nature which seemed to 'draw all men unto him.'

This spiritual and emotional renewal of Western and

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<sup>11</sup>Lawrence Schoenhals, Series of Lectures, Seattle Pacific College, 1947.

<sup>12</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 417.

<sup>13</sup>Loc. cit.

especially of Italian Christianity was the main influence which made itself felt in the whole development of later medieval art, and not less in art than in the vernacular and Latin poetry of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.<sup>14</sup>

It must be made clear that this quotation just stated from Raby must of necessity be the underlying thesis of this chapter on St. Francis of Assisi! As St. Francis came into a new historical situation, so his poetry marks a new era of literary thought. His was not so much a poetry of form, as was the poetry of the Eleventh Century, but of thought, life (i.e., experience), and influence! "Religion had once more come to find its expression in a personal experience, in an emotion of the heart, in a direct relation between the human soul and Christ."<sup>15</sup>

Francis himself is said to have declared that he had been sent directly by God 'to be a new covenant in this world.' For him the whole of religious experience was summed up in the motto of the Order: 'Mihi absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini.' This is the personal note which makes itself heard in the whole of the religious poetry inspired by the Franciscan movement, and it is the key to the whole emotional content of Franciscan literature.<sup>16</sup>

No one has expressed better the Franciscan concept of poetry than Fern: "The tender spirit of St. Francis in the thirteenth century, which brought a personal Christianity

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<sup>14</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>15</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 418.

back to the people, gave rise to a spontaneous religious song throughout Europe."<sup>17</sup> Here, then, we have the influential factor in the poetry of St. Francis.

With this basic Franciscan poetical concept in mind; namely, one of thought, religious experience, and influence, we proceed to discuss certain of the sources of Francis' poetry.

One of the chief sources of his poetry was his simultaneous experience of deep sorrow mingled with delight upon looking at the image of the suffering Christ. He said, 'I weep for the Passion of my Lord Jesus Christ, for whom I ought not to be ashamed to go mourning aloud throughout the whole world.'<sup>18</sup> So much did the cross become a part of his life that he is said to have experienced the Five Wounds of Christ himself. This experience has been termed the "Stigmata." After receiving the "Stigmata" his followers thought him to have the very likeness of the Christ.

Christ was now no longer that grave and noble Redeemer, who appears on the sculptured doorways of Amiens and Chartres; He is no longer the Logos, all knowing and almost impassive, He has become the Son of Mary, the Man of Sorrows; for art and for poetry, He is henceforth the 'vir dolorum et sciens infirmitatem.'<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Vergilius Fern, Editor, An Encyclopedia of Religion (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 352.

<sup>18</sup>Raby, loc. cit.

<sup>19</sup>Loc. cit.

It is well to reiterate again that the poetry of the Franciscans found its source primarily in (1) the poetry of their lives, and (2) the meditations on the emotional nature of religious experience--especially the dual suffering of Mary and Christ which shall be discussed below. These two factors did perhaps more than any other thing to solemnize the poetry of the later Middle Ages.

Such a source is well illustrated in the Franciscan poem, "Mediatationes Vitae Christi." This was long thought to be the work of Bonaventura. Now we know it to be "The work of a thirteenth century Franciscan, from a biography of Christ devised as a religious handbook for the followers of the life of contemplation."<sup>20</sup> This work shows the new trend to realism! "Franciscan Christianity" had "replaced the old calm theological symbolism by a terrible and sorrowful realism of detail."<sup>21</sup> It was the composer's aim, not to be dogmatic per se, but rather to appeal to the pathos of the individual so that "a living picture of the Man of Sorrows"<sup>22</sup> might be vividly presented. Perhaps the most emotionally intense portion of the poem is the description of the last days of the Savior, in which every detail of the Passion is

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 419.

<sup>21</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>22</sup>Loc. cit.

given. The old symbolism of the Cross had been saturated with a certain academic factor which made the theological and symbolical more outstanding than the realism therein described. Brehier, in his L'art chretien, points out that, in the words of Raby, "This tradition goes back to the earlier Christian Art, which even shrank from representing the crucifixion at all."<sup>23</sup> For example, Fortunatus had painted a poetic picture of ransom on a beautiful tree of salvation. But the Cross had now become "personal, poignant, and full of anguish."<sup>24</sup> The theme was now that of the Great Apostle: "Far be it from me to glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." This philosophy of the crucifixion involved every detail which the imagination might add--however ghastly it might be. This, then, is the spirit of the Mediations. Every stage of the double passion of Christ and Mary is followed with care. "The passion of Jesus grows by feeding on His Mother's sorrow, while her grief is nourished by the sufferings of her Son."<sup>25</sup> Every detail of the scene of the scourging is vividly pictured:

'He stands naked in the presence of all, that youth so gracious and modest; . . . that flesh so innocent, so tender, so pure and so beautiful, endure the rude and

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<sup>23</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 420.

<sup>25</sup>Loc. cit.

dolorous scourges of shameful men. The flower of all flesh and of all human nature is filled with bruises and broken. That royal blood flows on every side from every part of his body.<sup>26</sup>

With anguish, the Mother, at the sight of the agony of her Son, faints away into the arms of Mary Magdalene.

'Then verily the sword of that spear pierced the body of the Son and the heart of the Mother.'<sup>27</sup>

Then, when Joseph came to wrap the body of the Christ for burial, Mary's grief speaks out,

'O my friends, do not take away my Son so quickly, nay, bury me with Him.'<sup>28</sup>

And with the last parting she breaths:

'Now therefore, O my Son, our companionship is severed, and I must be parted from Thee, and I Thy mother most sorrowful must bury Thee; but thereafter whither shall I go? Where shall I abide, my Son? How can I live without Thee? I would more gladly be buried with Thee, that wherever thou wert, I might be with Thee. But as I may not be buried with Thee in body, I will be buried in the heart; I will bury my soul in the tomb with Thee, to Thee I give it up, to Thee I commend it. O my Son, how full of pain is this separation from Thee!'<sup>29</sup>

Raby then brings to full force the significance and meaning of Franciscan poetry and influence:

This is the emotional atmosphere in which the poetry of Franciscan Christianity had its beginnings. The subjects are ever the same--the passion of Jesus and the sorrows of Mary. The Franciscan singers, from Bonaven-

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<sup>26</sup>Loc. Cit.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 420-421.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 421.

<sup>29</sup>Loc. cit.



tura to Jacopone, sang always with their faces set to the scene of this double passion, where

Under the world-redeeming rood

The most afflicted mother stood,

Mingling her tears with her Sons's blood.

The whole of Franciscan poetry is invested with this pathos, and filled with this compassion. It is charged with tears for that suffering divine and human by which the world is redeemed.<sup>30</sup>

We are now prepared to enter into the spirit of Francis' most famous and lasting hymn, his "Canticle to the Sun," or as it is sometimes known, "Song of the Creatures." This is a splendid piece of literature and true to the nature of Francis, the rhyme being unexact and the meter irregular. But it does express the warmth of love which comes directly from the heart of the man who is "by far the most popular of the mediaeval saints."<sup>31</sup> In fact, the form of the poem is so rough that Lorenz has properly observed,

. . . Francis of Assisi's 'Canticle of the Sun,' is not a hymn, but a psalm of praise for all created things. For our day it has chiefly literary and antiquarian interest.<sup>32</sup>

Hulme prefers to term his work as "rhythmic prose" ("His rhythmic prose is the earliest specimen of religious literature in an Italian dialect."<sup>33</sup>) Both Harnack and Wendell

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<sup>30</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>31</sup>Barrett Wendell, The Traditions of European Literature (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), p. 568.

<sup>32</sup>Edmund S. Lorenz, The Singing Church (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1938), p. 126.

<sup>33</sup>Edward Maslin Hulme, The Middle Ages (New York: Henry Holt and Co., n.d.), p. 828.

enter into the spirit of Francis' great nature hymn:

In the sunny soul of the sacred singer of Assisi, the troubadour of God ('joculator domini') and of poverty, the world mirrored itself, not as merely the struggle for existence, or the realm of the devil, but as the paradise of God with our brothers and sisters, the sun, the moon, and the stars, the wind and the water, the flowers and the living creatures.<sup>34</sup>

The story of him is a matter of history. Very briefly, he was moved by love--divinest, if so may be, of all divine attributes--to abandon the comforts of this world, and to give himself, in irradiate joyousness of spirit and with no care for the morrow, to the succour of the poor and wretched. Followers flocked about him. Stories grew into legend around him and among them. The overflowing happiness of his heart appears wonderfully in his 'Canticle of the Sun'. . . .<sup>35</sup>

Then Wendell dramatically quotes the first verse of the Canticle in the Italian:

Laudato sie, misignore, con tucte le tue creature  
Spetialmente messor lo frate sole,  
Lo quale iorno et allumini noi per loi  
Et ellu e bellu e radiante cum grande splendore  
De te, altissimo, porta significatione.<sup>36</sup>

McCutchen has given a most interesting discussion on this great hymn of St. Francis'. The contemporary hymn "All creatures of our God and King" is a paraphrase of Francis' "Sun Song." William H. Draper has translated Francis' hymn from the Latin. (Draper is well known for his translations of hymns both from the Greek and the Latin.)

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<sup>34</sup>Adolph Harnack, History of Dogma (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1899), Vol. VI, p. 86.

<sup>35</sup>Wendell, loc. cit.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 569.

This Franciscan hymn was originally written in Italian. It first appeared in a small collection of Draper's own hymns in the year 1926, and later in School Worship. St. Francis wrote this song under great difficulties. J. Jorgensen, in his San Francesco de Asis says that Francis was

'plagued by a swarm of field-mice who probably had their home in the straw walls of the hut, and who eventually ran over his face so that he had no peace day or night. And yet it was precisely in this wretched sickness that he composed his wonderful masterpiece.'<sup>37</sup>

There has been much discussion as to the authenticity of his other hymns, but not about this one. We are quite certain that this hymn is actually from the pen of the great poet of life. 'Matthew Arnold has singled it out as the utterance of what is most exquisite in the spirit of his century.'<sup>38</sup> Moreover, "It is a charming expression of St. Francis' childlike delight in God's good works."<sup>39</sup>

Marks has attempted to render the "Song of the Creatures" in formed verse. It will be noticed that even this translation does not portray the form to be even and exact:

Great God of all, omnipotent and high,  
To Thee by glory, honour, laud and praise,  
And blessing, Lord, we raise.

We are not worthy e'en Thy Name to say,

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<sup>37</sup>Robert Guy McCutchen, Our Hymnody (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1937), p. 94.

<sup>38</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>39</sup>Loc. cit.

Praise be to God the Lord,  
 From creatures one and all,  
 From Brother Sun, our Lord,  
 Who lights us by his rays  
 And radiant makes the days,  
 All glory to the Lord be given.

Praise be to God my Lord,  
 From Sister Moon so fair and bright,  
 And from the stars that make the darkness  
 light.

Praise be to God our Lord,  
 From Brother Wind, from clouds and air,  
 From weather dull and fair.

Praise be to God the Lord,  
 From Sister Weather, chaste and pure,  
 So precious, useful and demure.

Praise be to God my Lord,  
 From Brother Fire, gay, robust and strong,  
 Who sparkles merrily the whole night long.

Praise be to God for our dear mother earth,  
 In whom all fruits and flowers have their  
 birth.<sup>40</sup>

Another student of St. Francis' verse has said: "One may think the Canticle as the closing stanza of a life which was an enacted poem."<sup>41</sup> He does not attempt to render the translation into verse, and therefore perhaps gives a more thorough translation:

Most High, omnipotent, good Lord, thine is the praise,  
 the glory, the honour and every benediction;

To thee alone, Most High, these do belong, and no man  
 is worthy to name thee.

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<sup>40</sup>Harvey B. Marks, The Rise and Growth of English Hymnody (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1938), pp. 59-60.

<sup>41</sup>Taylor, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 439.

Praised be thou, my Lord, with all thy creatures,  
especially milord Brother Sun that dawns and lightens  
us;

And he, beautiful and radiant with great splendour,  
signifies thee, Most High.

Be praised, my Lord, for Brother Wind, and for the air  
and cloud and the clear sky and for all weathers  
through which thou givest sustenance to thy creatures.

Be praised, my Lord, for Sister Water, that is very  
useful and humble and precious and chaste.

Be praised, my Lord, for Brother Fire, through whom thou  
dost illumine the night, and comely is he and glad and  
bold and strong.

Be praised, my Lord, for Sister, Our Mother Earth, that  
doth cherish and keep us, and produces various fruits  
with coloured flowers and the grass.

Be praised, my Lord, for those who forgive for love of  
thee, and endure sickness and tribulation; blessed are  
they who endure in peace; for by thee, Most High, shall  
they be crowned.

Be praised, my Lord, for our bodily death, from which no  
living man can escape; woe unto those who die in mortal  
sin.

Blessed are they that have found thy most holy will, for  
the second death shall do them no hurt.

Praise and bless my Lord, and render thanks, and serve  
Him with great humility.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 439-440.

dies irae, dies illa,  
solvet saeculum in favilla,  
teste David cum Sibylla.

--Thomas of Celano from "Dies Irae"

## CHAPTER VII

### THOMAS OF CELANO AND THE "DIES IRAE"

Thomas of Celano--"Friar Minor, poet, and hagiographical writer . . . "<sup>1</sup>--was probably born at Celano in the Province of Abruzzi, about 1200. It is thought that he died about 1255, though neither the date of his birth nor death is absolutely known to scholars of medieval history. A Franciscan friar, he was the devout biographer and disciple of St. Francis of Assisi. In regard to the latter he was one of the first group (comprising eleven) of disciples who followed St. Francis. Thomas joined this group in 1214, and travelled in Germany spreading the good news of a redeeming Christ. Upon one occasion it is thought that he went into Germany with Caesar of Speyer. The following year he was made custos of the convents at Mayence, Worms, Speyer, and Cologne. Later, Caesar of Speyer, on his return to Italy, made him vicar in the government of the German province. Then, Thomas was an early biographer of St. Francis. Some say he was the first biographer, while others say he was

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<sup>1</sup>The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: The Gilmary Society, 1912), Vol. XIV, p. 694.

only an early writer on the life of St. Francis. He was commissioned by Gregory IX to write Francis' life. In 1229 he completed the First Legend, while in 1247, at the command of the minister general, he wrote the Second Legend. There was yet a third volume entitled the Tract on the Miracles of St. Francis. The latter was published a few years after the Second Legend, at the encouragement of the Blessed John of Parma. Henry Osborn Taylor has characterized the Franciscan monk as follows:

One of the earliest biographers of St. Francis of Assisi was Thomas of Celano, a skilled Latinist, who was enraptured with the loveliness of Francis's life. His diction is limpid and rhythmical.<sup>2</sup>

This "limpid and rhythmical" diction is best seen in his "Dies Irae." "This great 'Sequence of the Western Church' was probably written about 1208 by the above named obscure Franciscan monk for his own private devotions."<sup>3</sup> Indeed he died not knowing he had written such a masterpiece which was to echo its way down through the centuries.<sup>4</sup>

Prior to the discussion of the "Dies Irae" itself, it is well to mention briefly two other Sequences which have

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<sup>2</sup>Henry Osborn Taylor, The Mediaeval Mind (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1911), Vol. II, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup>Caroline Leonard Goodenough, High Lights on Hymnists and Their Hymns (Rochester, Massachusetts: Pub. by Author, 1931), p. 34.

<sup>4</sup>Loc. cit.

been accredited to Thomas, and the critical problem in relation to the "Dies Irae." First, then, what are the other hymns which some think to be the work of Thomas of Celano? "Wadding, in Scriptores Ordinis Minorum, states that Celano composed two additional sequences, the 'Fregit Victor Virtualis,' in honor of St. Francis, and the 'Sanctitatis Nova Signa.'<sup>5</sup> The Catholic Encyclopedia speaks with assurity, stating that Celano was the author of the two beautiful sequences in honor of Francis.<sup>6</sup> Whether or not Celano actually composed these is not known, although it is very possible for he was a close friend, follower and admirer of the great St. Francis.

Secondly then, what is the critical problem associated with the "Dies Irae?" Did Celano actually write the "Dies Irae?" At the outset one must state that it is quite impossible to know for sure that Thomas really wrote the "Dies Irae," for scholars are very uncertain at this point. Two items must be noted, however--namely, there are two positions, one stating that he was surely the author and the other questioning his authorship, and tradition will not concede the authorship to anyone else. What do the scholars

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<sup>5</sup>John M'Clintock and James Strong, Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1889, Vol. X, p. 369.

<sup>6</sup>The Catholic Encyclopedia, Loc. Cit.



say about the problem? One says that Bartholomew Albizzi of Pisa was the first to credit "Dies Irae" to Celano. It appeared in Liber Conformitatum in the year 1385.

. . . And his statement warrants the conclusions that the hymn was already at that date incorporated with the Missal, and therefore well known, and that Celano was generally held to be its author.<sup>7</sup>

The same student of Thomas states the following in regard to the biography of St. Francis, comparing the problem of authorship to the "Dies Irae:"

There is no proof either for or against his claim to the authorship, which is nowhere asserted by himself. Nor is the honor of having composed the Dies Irae secured to him by any better evidence.<sup>8</sup>

It is quite obvious, then, that this scholar is not sure of his own position. Professor Schoenhals states that Thomas was the author of the "Dies Irae," a Latin hymn having demanded attention for over five centuries.<sup>9</sup> Philip Schaff gives consistent testimony of his belief in the Thomistic authorship. The "Dies Irae" was "written, in a lonely monastic cell, about 1250, by Thomas of Celano, the friend and biographer of St. Francis of Assisi."<sup>10</sup> Then, in his History of the

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<sup>7</sup>M'Clintock and Strong, loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>9</sup>Schoenhals, Series of Lectures, Seattle Pacific College, 1947.

<sup>10</sup>Philip Schaff, Christ in Song (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Co., 1869), p. 372.

Christian Church<sup>11</sup> and in his edition of the Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia<sup>12</sup> he restates his position. Again, Messenger, a keen student of Latin hymnody, states that "A Franciscan friar of the thirteenth century, Thomas of Celano, is credited with the writing of the great Judgment hymn, Dies irae, dies illa, 'Day of wrath! O day of mourning!'"<sup>13</sup> The author of the section on Celano, in An Outline of Christianity--the Story of Our Civilization, states very definitely that Celano was the author of "Day of wrath! O day of mourning!"<sup>14</sup> The Encyclopedia Britannica is indefinite, stating that ". . . He is one of those to whom the sequence Dies Irae is attributed."<sup>15</sup> Finally, Raby presents a whole new facet to the critical problem. He says that when "Dies Irae" came to be used liturgically (and it was already in such use in the lifetime of Bartholomew of Pisa--d. 1401), two strophes were added, which had the aim of adapting it, in a somewhat clumsy manner, for

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<sup>11</sup>Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church (Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1914), Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 866.

<sup>12</sup>Philip Schaff, Editor, A Religious Encyclopedia (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1891), Vol. IV, p. 2335.

<sup>13</sup>Ruth Ellis Messenger, "Latin Hymns in the Middle Ages" (The American Hymn Society--a paper edited by Carl F. Price), p. 12.

<sup>14</sup>An Outline of Christianity (New York: Bethlehem Pubs., Inc., 1926), Vol. II, p. 416.

<sup>15</sup>Encyclopedia Britannica (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 1944), Vol. XXII, p. 147.

its new purpose:

lacrimosa dies illa,  
qua resurget ex favilla  
iudicandus homo reus;  
huic ergo parce, deus.

pie Iesu domine,  
dona eis requiem.<sup>16</sup>

In a later addition, likewise, there are four introductory strophes of the so-called 'Mantuan' text, which the Burgermeister Charisius of Stralsund copied in 1676 from a marble tablet in the Franciscan church at Mantua. Chytraeus had found the tablet there earlier in 1531.

1. quæso, anima fidelis,  
ah, quid respondere velis  
Christo venturo de caelis,
2. cum a te poseet rationem  
ob boni omissionem  
et mali commissionem.
3. dies illa, dies iræ,  
quam conemur prævenire  
obviamque deo ire.
4. seria contritione,  
gratiæ apprehensione,  
vitæ emendatione.<sup>17</sup>

"The poor quality of these lines is enough to stamp them as additions to the original text, apart from the fact that they rudely disturb the personal meditation."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>J. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry (London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 449.

<sup>17</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>18</sup>Loc. cit.

We may conclude, then, that we cannot know for sure whether or not Thomas of Celano wrote the "Dies Irae," but we can assert that there is a strong possibility of his authorship both from a point of tradition and scholarly findings. Moreover, it is well to note Raby's observation that certain parts of the sequence, at various times in history and in the presence of various versions, are probably not from the hand of Thomas because of the inferior quality of the added verse.

With certain of these more basic factors in mind, we are now better prepared to study the "Dies Irae" itself. First, what is the Scriptural basis of this great Latin hymn? Schaff, in Christ in Song, lists three basic references: (1) Zephaniah 1:15-16, "That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness, a day of the trumpet and alarm, against the fortified cities, and against the high battlements. (2) II Peter 3:10-12:

But the day of the Lord will come as a thief; in which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall be dissolved with fervent heat, and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up. Seeing that these things are thus all to be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy living and godliness, looking for an earnestly desiring the coming of the day of God, by reason of which the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat?

(3) Finally, the judgment portion of Matthew 25 is cited as part of the Scriptural basis for the "Dies Irae."

The characteristics of the "Dies Irae" are clear and concise. This is first of all a Judgment hymn! It depicts the dissolution of the world and the trembling sinner as he looks to the last day and appeals for mercy. Philip Schaff characterizes it "as the acknowledged masterpiece of Latin Church poetry and the greatest judgment hymn of all ages."<sup>19</sup>

The poet is the single actor. He realizes the coming judgment of the world, he hears the trumpet of the arch-angel through the open sepulchre, he expresses this sense of guilt and dismay, and ends with a prayer for the same mercy which the Saviour showed to Mary Magdalene and to the thief on the Cross. The stanzas sound like the peals of an organ; now crashing like a clap of thunder, now stealing softly and tremulously like a whisper through the vacant cathedral spaces. The first words are taken from Zephaniah 1:15. Like the Fathers and Michael Angelo and the painters of the Renaissance, the author unites the prediction of the heathen Sibyl with the prophecies of the Old Testament.<sup>20</sup>

Ruth Ellis Messenger, in a paper on "Latin Hymns in the Middle Ages," states that the "Dies Irae" is characterized as follows:

Expressive of the need of divine mercy common to all humanity, this hymn reveals man claiming the promises of redemption and the forgiveness of his sins. It has preserved its original majesty in a myriad of modern translation into present day vernaculars.<sup>21</sup>

(The translations to which she refers will be discussed more thoroughly later in the chapter.)

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<sup>19</sup>Schaff, History of the Christian Church, op. cit., Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 867.

<sup>20</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>21</sup>Messenger, loc. cit.

There are yet other quotations which should be observed for their value in the area of characterization:

The secret of the irresistible power of the Dies Irae lies in the awful grandeur of the theme, the intense earnestness and pathos of the poet, the simple majesty and solemn music of its language, the stately metre, the triple rhyme, and the vowel assonances chosen in striking adaptation to the sense,--all combining to produce an overwhelming effect, as if we heard the final crash of the universe, the commotion of the opening graves, the trumpet of the arch-angel summoning the quick and the dead, and saw the 'King of tremendous majesty' seated on the throne of Justice and mercy, and ready to dispense everlasting life or everlasting woe.<sup>22</sup>

The opening line, which is literally borrowed from the Vulgate version of Zephaniah 1:15 . . . strikes the keynote to the whole with a startling sound, and brings up at once the judgment-scene as an awful, impending reality. The feeling of terror occasioned by the contemplation of that event culminates in the cry of repentance, verse 7: 'Quid sum, miser, tunc dicturus,' etc.; but from this the poet rises at once to the prayer of faith, and takes refuge from the wrath to come in the infinite mercy of Him who suffered nameless pain for a guilty world, who pardoned the sinful Magdalene, and saved the dying robber.<sup>23</sup>

Indeed, we are in the very presence of one of the most moving of Latin poems!

Dr. Robinson, in his 'Annotations,' says of this hymn, 'It stands pre-eminent not only because of the grandeur of the theme, but also from the perfection of its form and rhythm,' and quotes from an English critic, 'The metre so grandly devised, fitted to bring out the noblest powers of the Latin language, the solemn effect of the triple rhyme--like blow following blow of the hammer on the anvil--the majestic, unadorned plainness of the style--these merits, with many more, have given

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<sup>22</sup>Schaff, Christ in Song, op. cit., p. 373.

<sup>23</sup>Loc. cit.

the Dies Irae a foremost place among the masterpieces of sacred song.<sup>24</sup>

Dr. Nott has likewise made an apt description of the effect of this hymn:

This lyric, which is the greatest of hymns, nevertheless is cast in the simplest of forms. Beginning with an exclamation from the Scriptures, it continues through its few stanzas the address of a single actor upon a single subject. Its measure could not be more artless, nor its stanzas more simple. The august language in which it is clothed, it has bent into the form of rhyme, and this rhyme is of a kind which is said to be wanting in dignity, and better adapted to comic than elevated verse. Yet it commands the homage of the Englishman, the German, the Italian, and the modern Greek; and even possesses so strange a gift of fascination, a gift in which no other composition equals and but one other approaches it, that the very sound of its words will allure him who is ignorant of their meaning.<sup>25</sup>

In speaking of the "Dies Irae," Wendell says,

Nothing else anywhere has ever expressed at once the terror of humanity in the presence of divine justice and its humble hope for divine mercy with such tremendous power as you must feel in stanzas like these:

A day of wrath, that day!  
Time shall melt in flame,  
Witness David and Sibyl.

The trumpet spreading wondrous sound  
Throughout the sepulchres of every region  
Shall summon all before the throne.

What shall miserable I then say,  
Whom for patron shall I pray to,  
When the righteous man is hardly safe?

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<sup>24</sup>David R. Breed, The History and Use of Hymns and Hymn-Tunes (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1903), pp. 35-36.

<sup>25</sup>Charles C. Nott, The Seven Great Hymns of the Mediaeval Church (New York: Edwin S. Gorham, Publisher, 1902), pp. 45-46.

King of tremendous majesty,  
 Who savest fresly those who are to be saved,  
 Save me, Fount of loving care!<sup>26</sup>

It will be noticed in the third verse of Wendell's translation, the reference to patron saints as intercessors--"Heavenly barristers, if you like."<sup>27</sup> Wendell makes Dante say, "Human life is a transitory phase of existence, to end when the Day shall come so sternly foretold in the Dies Irae."<sup>28</sup>

Raby has perhaps best described the great hymn, and the spirit of the age into which it came. He calls the "Dies Irae" "the most majestic of medieval sequences."<sup>29</sup>

Perfect in form, and exhibiting complete mastery of the two-syllabled rhyme, it is the most sublime and poignant expression of the terror of the day, foretold by Jewish prophet or pagan Sibyl, when the heavens and earth were to pass away, and Christ would appear in His glory to judge the living and the dead.<sup>30</sup>

In the Middle Ages the Day of Judgment was thought of as a day of terror!

The day of doom was foretold not only by the prophets, but even, it was held by the Erythraean Sibyl, whom S. Augustine, in the 'City of God,' had quoted as a witness to the last Judgment. The verses began:

judicii signum: tellus sudore madescet,  
 e caelo rex adveniet per saecula futurus,

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<sup>26</sup>Barrett Wendell, The Traditions of European Literature (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1921), pp. 575-576.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 576.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 598.

<sup>29</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 443.

<sup>30</sup>Loc. cit.



scilicet ut carnem praesens ut iudicet orbem.  
 So in the Dies Irae, the supreme expression of hope and  
 fear in the face of the Judgment, the Sibyl and David  
 are the witnesses quoted in the opening verse:  
 dies irae, dies illa,  
 solvet saeculum in favilla,  
 teste David cum Sibylla.<sup>31</sup>

Raby says that the poem is not a sequence, per se, but a  
 'pia meditatio' on death and judgment. Moreover, it follows  
 the most rigid rules of rhythmical composition.

The Dies Irae has the simplicity of supreme art; the  
 formal effect is achieved by the admirable handling of  
 the triple rhyme and it is heightened by the note of  
 personal passion which comes into the sequence before the  
 end, making the characteristic appeal to the Franciscan  
 Saviour.

recordare, Iesu pie,  
 quod sum causa tuae viae;  
 ne me perdas illa die.

quaerens me sedisti lassus;  
 redemisti crucem passus;  
 tantus labor non sit cassus.<sup>32</sup>

It must be made clear at this point that appeal was usually  
 not made directly to the Judge in medieval art and poetry.  
 It was made rather to "Mater Misericordiae," the Mother of  
 Mercy, the Virgin Mary. She was considered the all-powerful  
 mediator. "On that Day, Jesus was to appear as the strict  
 executor of justice and vengeance, and only an all-powerful  
 mediator could incline him to mercy."<sup>33</sup> Mary's capacity as

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., pp. 446-447.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 450.

<sup>33</sup>Loc. cit.

mediator was validated by the belief in the many miraculous interventions in favor of many who had called to her in time of need.

It was firmly held that her power of intercession would be exercised on behalf of men before the Judgment seat of her Son, who could refuse no request when it was urged by his Mother. This notion was eagerly propagated by the Franciscans, who, like the rest of the religious orders, were ardent devotees of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>34</sup>

In the thirteenth century work, entitled "Liber Exemplorum," there is a collection of stories for Franciscan preachers to use as sermon illustrations. Some of these narratives speak of the intervention of the Blessed Virgin.

. . . It is related how some priests who were on a journey were overtaken by a sudden storm of thunder and lightning. In their terror they began to sing the 'Ave Maris Stella.' The Blessed Virgin heard them and spread a veil over them, and under its protection they rested in safety until the tempest had passed. 'Therefore,' the Franciscan homilist continues, 'it is not to be doubted that, when the tempest of death bursts over us, she will overshadow her servants with the robe of her mercy, that they be not stricken by her Son.'<sup>35</sup>

Actually, the "Mater Misericordiae" concept is not specifically referred to in the "Dies Irae." However, it is well to have clearly in mind that this is a major background idea of the Judgment poetry of this era. A poem from this same period illustrates specifically this point:

in tremendo dei iudicio,  
quando fiet stricta discussio,

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<sup>34</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 450-451.

tunc etiam supplica filio,  
ut cum sanctis sit nobis portio,  
o Maria.

dies illa, dies terribilis,  
dies malis intolerabilis,  
sed tu, mater, semper amabilis,  
fac sit nobis iudex placabilis,  
o Maria.

illa die tantus servabitur,  
rigor, quo vix iustus salvabitur,  
nemo reus iustificabitur,  
sed singulis ius suum dabitur,  
o Maria.

nos timemus diem iudicii,  
quia male et nobis consci, <sup>36</sup>  
sed tu, mater summi consilii,  
para nobis locum refugii,  
o Maria.

cum iratus iudex adveniat,  
singulorum causas discutiat  
personamque nullam respiciat,  
sed singulis iuste definiat,  
o Maria.

summi regis mater et filia,  
cui nullus par est in gloria,  
tua, virgo, dulcis clementia  
sit tunc et nunc nobis propitia,  
o Maria.<sup>36</sup>

Raby concludes his discussion on Mary as the Judgment  
Mediator with the following statement:

In the later Middle Ages, and even as early as Anselm,  
Mary takes her place above all the saints as the most  
powerful agent of human succour; no prayers would weary  
her, her mercy and her might were alike unbounded. She  
could rescue her servants from straits which appeared to  
be hopeless, as when she delivered Theophilus, who had  
bound himself to the devil, or when she saved an abess

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 451.

from the consequences of fleshly sin.<sup>37</sup>

Aquinas Byrnes, in The Hymns of the Dominican Breviary, has done splendid work in analyzing this great hymn. He begins by stating that the hymn is now used as a Requiem sequence, though it was originally intended as a hymn for the Advent season. Then he launches into a verse by verse analysis of the work. So that we may follow him better, here is the "Dies Irae" in an English translation:

Day of wrath and doom impending,  
David's word with Sibyl blending!  
Heaven and earth in ashes ending!

O, what fear man's bosom rendeth,  
When from heaven the Judge descendeth,  
On whose sentence all dependeth!

Wondrous sound the trumpet flingeth,  
Through earth's sepulchers it ringeth,  
All before the throne it bringeth.

Death is struck, and nature quaking,  
All creation is awaking,  
To its Judge an answer making.

Lo! the book exactly worded,  
Wherein all hath been recorded;  
Thence shall judgment be awarded.

When the Judge His seat attaineth,  
And each hidden deed arraigneth,  
Nothing unavenged remaineth.

What shall I, frail man, be pleading?  
Who for me be interceding,  
When the just are mercy needing?

King of majesty tremendous,

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

Who dost free salvation send us,  
Fount of pity, then befriend us!

Think, kind Jesu! my salvation  
Caused Thy wondrous Incarnation;  
Leave me not to reprobation.

Faint and weary Thou hast sought me,  
On the Cross of suffering bought me;  
Shall such grace be vainly brought me?

Righteous Judge! for sin's pollution  
Grant Thy gift of absolution,  
Ere that day of retribution.

Guilty, now I pour my moaning,  
All my shame with anguish owning;  
Spare, O God, Thy suppliant groaning!

Through the sinful woman shriven,  
Through the dying thief forgiven,  
Thou to me a hope hast given.

Worthless are my prayers and sighing,  
Yet, good Lord, in grace complying,  
Rescue me from fires undying.

With Thy favored sheep O place me,  
Nor among the goats abase me,  
But to Thy right hand upraise me.

While the wicked are confounded,  
Doomed to flames of woe unbounded,  
Call me with Thy Saints surrounded.

Low I kneel, with heart submission,  
Crushed to ashes in contrition;  
Help me in my last condition!

Ah! that day of tears and mourning!  
From the dust of earth returning,  
Man for judgment must prepare him;

Spare, O God, in mercy spare him!  
Lord all-pitying, Jesu Blest,  
Grant them Thine eternal rest.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Aquinas Byrnes, Editor, The Hymns of the Dominican Breviary (London: B. Herder Book Co., 1943), pp. 37-43.

The first six stanzas describe the Judgment. The other stanzas are lyric in character, expressing anguish

of one of the multitude there present in spirit--his pleading before the Judge who, while on earth, sought him unceasingly over the hard and thorny ways from Bethlehem to Calvary; and now, in anticipation of the Judgment, pleads before a Savior of infinite mercy, who, on Judgment Day, will be a Judge of infinite justice, before whom scarcely the just will be secure.<sup>39</sup>

Stanza seven connects the descriptive with the lyric parts, while eight represents Christ as "King of awful majesty" in the Last Judgment, and 'Font of loving piety' in the present life. Stanzas nine to fourteen develop the idea of God's mercy. The latter comprise two divisions of three stanzas each. Nine to eleven is an appeal of mercy made on the basis of labors and sufferings of the Christ. Twelve to fourteen deal with the repentance of the sinner. Stanza fifteen presents the just (the sheep) and the unjust (the goats), while the sixteenth stanza concludes with the final note of 'depart ye cursed,' and 'come ye blessed.'<sup>40</sup>

The use of the "Dies Irae" has been most extensive, ranging in its employment from services in the Roman ritual to the great English poets. It is used in the Burial Service of the Roman Church, and also appears as one of the hymns frequently used on All Souls Day, November second. Its

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>40</sup>Loc. cit.

earliest known use was in a Mass in 1480,<sup>41</sup> while Mozart introduced it more specifically into his Requiem Mass in the Eighteenth Century. In fact, Mozart made it the basis of his Requiem, and it is said that he became so excited over its theme, that it hastened his death.<sup>42</sup> Nott has aptly spoken of its use:

About the year 1250, as is supposed, he wrote a brief lyric, which, reaching above and beyond his creed and time, has entered in some form into the worship of every Christian people. In the Romish Burial Service it forms the Sequence for the Dead, and is sung with solemn majesty at the great Sistine Chapel, while portions of it enter into the praise or meditations of nearly 'all who profess and call themselves Christians.' So that, becoming more highly esteemed, and more generally known with each century of its long history, it is at the present time both sung at Rome and approved by all Protestant Christendom.<sup>43</sup>

In protestant groups the "Dies Irae" is employed as an Advent hymn.<sup>44</sup>

Then, the great hymn has found its way into the literary productions of several English men of letters. Sir Walter Scott, in 1805, used it in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," and termed it there the "Hymn for the dead." The Right Honorable W. E. Gladstone, in a speech at Hawarden on

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<sup>41</sup>Schoenhals, op. cit.

<sup>42</sup>Goodenough, loc. cit.

<sup>43</sup>Nott, op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>44</sup>Harvey B. Marks, The Rise and Growth of English Hymnody (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1938), p. 61.

February 3, 1866 said,

'I know nothing more sublime in the writings of Sir Walter Scott--certainly I know nothing so sublime in any portion of the sacred poetry of modern times, I mean of the present century--as the Hymn from the Dead, extending only to twelve lines, which he embodied in The Lay of the Last Minstrel.'<sup>45</sup>

Prescott observes,

With Sir Walter Scott, it was ever a special favourite; and we know that in his last days, when his great mind was failing fast, he was often heard to murmur some of the words of this sublime hymn--

Be Thou the trembling sinner's stay,  
Tho' heaven and earth shall pass away.<sup>46</sup>

It is said that neither Walter Scott nor Doctor Johnson could recite "Dies Irae" without being moved to tears. Indeed,

"Dr. Johnson loved to quote it in his most solemn moments."<sup>47</sup>

Schaff, in Christ in Song has given Sir Walter Scott's translation appearing in the sixth canto of his "Lay of the Last Minstrel:"

That Day of wrath! that dreadful Day,  
When heaven and earth shall pass away!  
What power shall be the sinner's stay?  
How shall he meet that dreadful Day?

When, shrivelling like a parched scroll,  
The flaming heavens together roll;  
And louder yet, and yet more dread,  
Swells the high trump that wakes the dead,--

Oh! on that Day, that wrathful Day,

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<sup>45</sup>Schoenhals, op. cit.

<sup>46</sup>J. E. Prescott, Christian Hymns and Hymn Writers (London: George Bell and Sons, 1883), p. 40.

<sup>47</sup>Loc. cit.



When man to judgment wakes from clay,  
 Be Thou, O Christ! the sinner's stay,  
 Though heaven and earth shall pass away!<sup>48</sup>

Then, Goethe introduced the hymn into the drama "Faust." It appears in the cathedral scene toward the end of the first part. ". . . Goethe made Gretchen tremble in dismay on hearing it in the cathedral."<sup>49</sup> "Goethe describes its effect upon the guilty conscience, in the cathedral-scene of Faust:--

'Horror seizes thee!  
 The trump sounds!  
 The grave trembles!  
 And thy heart  
 From the repose of its ashes,  
 For fiery torment  
 Brought to life again,  
 Trembles up!'<sup>50</sup>

Then, the "Dies Irae" theme is seen in many musical works. It is associated with Plainsong, and is seen as 'a sort of leit-motiv suggesting death in modern secular music, as well as sacred.'<sup>51</sup> The theme is suggested in Berlioz' "Fantastic Symphony" and in Saint-Saens' "Danse Macabre." Miss Kinncella says it was used in Ernest Schelling's "The Victory Ball." Then she quotes the original melody:

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<sup>48</sup>Schaff, Christ in Song, op. cit., pp. 379-380.

<sup>49</sup>Schaff, History of the Christian Church, op. cit.  
 Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 867.

<sup>50</sup>Schaff, Christ in Song, op. cit., p. 373.

<sup>51</sup>Schoenhals, op. cit.



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The theme is likewise seen in the music of Liszt.

Schaff makes a summary statement as to its use:

It is one of those rare productions which can never die, but increase in value as the ages advance. It has commanded the admiration of secular poets, and men of letters, like Goethe, Walter Scott, and Macaulay, and has inspired some of the greatest musicians, from Palestrina down to Mozart.<sup>53</sup>

The translation of this hymn is one of the most interesting stories in the history of the transmutation of language. Authorities differ as to the number of versions and translations through which the hymn has gone. At any rate, it is certain that there have been more translations of "Dies Irae" than any other Latin poem. Schaff says there are 133 versions,<sup>54</sup> while Breed estimates the number at 160.<sup>55</sup> Professor Schoenhals<sup>56</sup> and Brawley say the number is over 150.<sup>57</sup> Schoenhals compares the number of translations

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<sup>52</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>53</sup>Schaff, Christ in Song, op. cit., pp. 372-373.

<sup>54</sup>Schaff, History of the Christian Church, loc. cit.

<sup>55</sup>Breed, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>56</sup>Schoenhals, op. cit.

<sup>57</sup>Benjamin Brawley, History of the English Hymn (New York: Abingdon Press, 1932), p. 31.

of "Dies Irae" with other figures. Sixty-one of these translations have been attempted by Americans. There have been only sixty-three translations of "Ein feste Burg," and thirty-eight of "Adeste Fideles."<sup>58</sup> Moreover, "Dies Irae" has been translated into all the languages of civilized countries. Wendell makes perhaps the most extreme statement:

More than two hundred extant attempts to render these lines, with the rest of the Dies Irae, into lyric English only prove the futility of the task. The Thirteenth Century Latin is inimitable, yet so limpid that when you have once caught the grandeur of a very simple rhythm somehow kept from every pitfall of indignity, and when--helped by such literal prose as here tells what the words mean--you no longer find them perplexing, you can read for yourself what many hold the greatest hymn of the Mediaeval Church, and perhaps of all Christianity.<sup>59</sup>

A long line of descendants marks the history of the translation of this hymn. One of the earliest renderings was by Sylvester in 1621, who was a hymn-writer of the age of James I. Thirty years later, during the reign of Charles I, another translation was made by Crashaw. Then in the reign of Charles II, a translation was rendered by the Earl of Roscommon.<sup>60</sup> Nutter points out that an original translation had thirteen stanzas as it appeared in MacMillan's Magazine, in 1868.<sup>61</sup> Among the moderns who have attempted translation

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<sup>58</sup>Schoenhals, op. cit.

<sup>59</sup>Wendell, op. cit., p. 576.

<sup>60</sup>A. E. C., Hymns and Their Stories (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1904), p. 68f.

<sup>61</sup>Charles S. Nutter, Hymn Studies (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1897), p. 39.

are the following: Trench, Dean Alford, Mrs. Charles, W. J. Irons, Dr. Wm. R. Williams, General John A. Dix, and Abraham Coles, M. D. The latter prepared no less than thirteen versions, all of which are good and some are most excellent.<sup>62</sup>

Dean Stanley has a version beginning:

Day of wrath, oh, dreadful day,  
When this world shall pass away,  
And the heavens together roll,  
Shriv'ling like a parched scroll,  
Long foretold by saint and sage,  
David's harp, and Sibyl's page.<sup>63</sup>

A. E. C. believes Dr. Irons' translation to be the best. It is pointed out by the latter that Irons maintains the triple rhyme of the original. The story of Irons' translation is a gripping one. While endeavoring to have a cease fire order, Monseigneur Affre, Archbishop of Paris, was shot and killed on June 25, 1848. At his funeral the priests sang Dies Irae. It so impressed Dr. Irons that he went home and wrote out his translations.<sup>64</sup> Irons' translation is often seen in fourteen stanzas of three lines each, beginning:

Day of Wrath! O day of mourning!  
See fulfilled the prophets' warning,  
Heaven and earth in ashes burning!

Oh, what fear man's bosom rendeth,  
When from heaven the Judge descendeth,

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<sup>62</sup>loc. cit.

<sup>63</sup>Breed, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

<sup>64</sup>A. E. C., loc. cit.

On whose sentence all dependeth.<sup>65</sup>

"Dies Irae" is such a fearful hymn on the Judgment that it is often omitted from hymnological collections. McCutchen observes that "Having lost their fear of retribution, apparently modern compilers have not seen fit to include any translations of the 'Dies Irae' in their hymnals."<sup>66</sup> However, "Dies Irae" may be found in certain of the classic collections. It is seen in Hymns Ancient and Modern, number 398. Schaff, in Christ in Song, records it on pages 372 following. Nutter includes it in his exhaustive collection (number 1023).

We conclude this chapter on Thomas of Celano and the Dies Irae with the original text of this most sublime of all Latin medieval poems:

dies irae, dies illa,  
solvat saeculum in favilla,  
teste David cum Sibylla.

quantus tremor est futurus,  
quando iudex est venturus,  
cuncta stricte discussurus!

tuba mirum sparget sonum  
per sepulchra regionum,  
coget omnes ante thronum.

mors stupebit et natura,

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<sup>65</sup>Edmund S. Lorenz, The Singing Church (New York: G. Schirmer, 1914), pp. 126-127.

<sup>66</sup>Robert Gay McCutchan, Hymns in the Lives of Men (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943), p. 117.

cum resurget creatura  
iudicanti responsura.

liber scriptus proferetur,  
in quo totum continetur,  
unde mundus iudicetur.

iudex ergo cum censebit,  
quidquid latet, apparebit:  
nil inultum remanebit.

quid sum miser tunc dicturus,  
quem patronum rogaturus,  
dum bix iustus sit securus?

rex tremendae maiestatis,  
qui salvandos salvas gratis,  
salva me, fons pietatis!

recordare, Iesu pie,  
quod sum causa tuae viae;  
ne me perdas illa die.

quaerens me sedisti lassus;  
redemisti, crucem passus;  
tantus labor non sit cassus.

iuste iudex ultionis,  
donum fac remissionis  
ante diem rationis.

ingemisco tanquam reus,  
culpa rubet vultus meus:  
supplicanti parce, deus.

qui Mariam absolvisti  
et latronem exaudisti,  
mihi quoque spem dedisti;

preces meae non sunt dignae,  
sed tu, bonus, fac benigne,  
ne perenni cremer igne.

inter oves locum praesta  
et ab haedis me sequestra  
statuens in parte dextra;

confutatis maledictis,  
fianis scribis addictis,

voca me cum benedictis.

oro supplex et acclinis,  
cor contritum quasi cinis:  
gere causam mae finis.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 448.

Thomas Aquinas was probably the most successful organizer of knowledge since Aristotle whom the world has known.

--Adapted from Trench

Justly styled the poet of the blessed Sacrament. --Aquinas Byrnes.

Thomas was 'the most saintly of the learned, and the most learned of the saints.' --John Julian

## CHAPTER VIII

### "THE ANGELIC DOCTOR" AND THE HYMNS OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST

"The Angelical Doctor," as St. Thomas Aquinas is frequently termed, was born probably in the year 1225 (some scholars vary as to the date of his birth) at Aquino, in the kingdom of Naples. Noble blood flowed through his veins for he was the son of the Count of Aquino, and closely related to several reigning families of Europe. Moreover, his mother was a rich Neapolitan lady, named Theodora.

At the age of five he was sent to the Benedictine monastery at Monte Cassino to receive his first training, which in the hands of a large-hearted and God-fearing man, resulted in so filling his mind with knowledge and his soul with God, that it is said the monks themselves would often approach by stealth to hear the words of piety and wisdom that fell from the lips of the precocious child when conversing with his companions.<sup>1</sup>

Later his parents sent him to the University of Naples which

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<sup>1</sup>John Julian, Editor, A Dictionary of Hymnology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892), p. 1166.



was then at its height in prosperity. There the fathers urged him to make application to the Dominican Order. But his mother objected and had him put in the prison of her castle for two years. Only his two sisters were allowed to see him. His enthusiasm to enter into monastic life was not quelled! His sisters helped him to escape in a basket, after which he hurried to Cologne. There his fellow students called him the "Dumb ox" because of his extreme backwardness. But his teachers predicted that 'this ox would one day fill the world with his following.'<sup>2</sup> At Cologne he studied under the celebrated Albertus Magnus. In 1245 Magnus and Thomas went together to study in Paris. After three years of intensive study in the fair city of France, he became, at the age of twenty-three, the second professor under Albertus at the new Dominican school which was established that year (1248). Here he achieved greatly in the fine art of teaching, and even at this early age wrote amazingly thoughtful and reflective treatises. His sermons, too, attracted large congregations into the Dominican Church at this period in his life.

By 1248 his accomplishments in the scholastic world were so great that he was asked to take his degree. But for

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<sup>2</sup>Caroline Leonard Goodenough, High Lights on Hymnists and Their Hymns (Rochester, Massachusetts: Pub. by author, 1931), p. 21.

the sake of humility (He prayed daily, 'Give me, O Lord, a noble heart, which no earthly affection can drag down.'<sup>3</sup>) and intensive work in writing, preaching, and lecturing, he did not take his degree until 1257. Between these years he established an influence "over the men and ideas of his time which we at this time can scarcely realize. So much was this the case that Louis IX insisted upon St. Thomas becoming a member of his Council of State, and referred every question that came up for deliberation to him the night before, that he might reflect on it in solitude."<sup>4</sup> At this time he was only thirty-two years of age.

It was in the year 1261 that Urban IV, immediately after being elected to the Pontifical throne, sent for the humble saint to aid him in his project of unifying the Eastern and Western Churches. That same year he was offered the chair of theology in the Dominican college at Rome where he obtained a reputation for thorough scholarship and expert artistry as a professor. Moreover, in the year 1265 Pope Clement IV appointed him to the archbishopric of Naples, but he declined this position. The famed founder of the Thomistic school of thought died in the Benedictine Abbey of Fossa Nuova in the diocese of Terracina, March 7, 1274, being

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<sup>3</sup>A. E. C., Hymns and Their Stories (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1904), p. 70f.

<sup>4</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 1167.

Just forty-eight years of age.

Before we move on to the poetry of St. Thomas itself, there are several background observations about the learned Saint which we should note. Harnack observes:

Thomas, indeed, the greatest of the Schoolmen, still set himself to solve the vast problem of satisfying under the heading and within the framework of a Church dogmatic all the claims that were put forward by the ecclesiastical antiquity embodied in dogma, by the idea of the Church as the living, present Christ, by the legal order of the Roman Church, by Augustine's doctrine of grace, by the science of Aristotle, and by the piety of Bernard and Francis.<sup>5</sup>

Again, Marks says:

He has been called by Duncan Campbell the greatest of the mediaeval divines and ranking in the Roman Church next to the four Latin Fathers of earlier period--Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, it is well to observe the fact of the writing of his encyclopedic treatise, the "Summa Theologiae."

In Paris and Cologne in close contact with his master, Thomas laid the foundations of his study of the Aristotelian philosophy, which was to issue later in the "Summa Theologiae."<sup>7</sup>

We may conclude, then, that St. Thomas was the greatest of medieval theologians--indeed, some think him to be the greatest of all time--and that a summary of his life of

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<sup>5</sup>Adolph Harnack, History of Dogma (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1899), Vol. VII, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup>Harvey B. Marks, The Rise and Growth of English Hymnody (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1938), pp. 61-62.

<sup>7</sup>F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry (London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 402.

scholarship is basically summed up in his above mentioned work. But, Thomas was a poet--and a very fine one--as well as a systematizer of knowledge.

Though not a prolific writer of hymns, St. Thomas has contributed to the long list of Latin hymns some which have been in use in the services of the Church of Rome from his day to this. They are upon the subject of the Lord's Supper.<sup>8</sup>

At the outset, Aquinas' hymns are primarily dogmatic in nature--that is, they reflect a doctrinal method. We have seen that St. Thomas was an amazing logician and teacher. Now we see the man St. Thomas in his broader capacities. Indeed, it is most difficult to teach by means of poetry. Foote has aptly stated:

No Protestant has ever been able to write a doctrinal hymn approaching the standard which St. Thomas Aquinas attained, and most such Protestant hymns, though they may express a generally accepted belief at the time when they are written, carry within themselves the seeds of decay, because Protestant theology is not static, but a constantly moving and changing development of thought. Hence the disappearance from modern hymnbooks of a large proportion of the older doctrinal hymns. And new ones are seldom now produced, both because the field is already occupied and because the thoughts of men are turned as never before to the practical application of religion to life.<sup>9</sup>

It is difficult, then, to write a successful doctrinal hymn. Yet that is just what the great Saint did! The central

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<sup>8</sup>Julian, loc. cit.

<sup>9</sup>Henry Wilder Foote, Three Centuries of American Hymnody (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), pp. 360-361.

doctrinal subject was ever that of the Holy Eucharist, which is seen primarily in his hymns and one sequence for the feast of Corpus Christi.

The story behind the writing of the office for the feast of Corpus Christi is an interesting one. Miss Ruth Ellis Messenger, in a paper on "Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages," has observed the situation briefly:

Commissioned by Pope Urban IV in 1264 to write the office for the newly established feast of Corpus Christi, he produced a sequence for the mass and a series of hymns in celebration of the Eucharist which achieved world wide circulation, not only in terms of that day but also in the modern meaning of the expression as Christendom has extended its boundaries. 'Lauda, Sion, Salvatorem,' 'Sion, praise thy Saviour, singing' . . . is the sequence of the group. It is one of the five sequences of the Roman Missal . . . .<sup>10</sup>

The Corpus Christi service, referred to in Miss Messenger's statement, had been established throughout Western Europe as obligatory. This was enforced by Pope Urban IV, as implied above. The Pope then had the responsibility to locate a man who was well informed on the Catholic view of the Lord's Supper, as well as a man who was acquainted with poetic principles. The scholar for the task was St. Thomas Aquinas!

Prior to a discussion of the poetic works of the office of Corpus Christi, the background of the feast must

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<sup>10</sup>Ruth Ellis Messenger, "Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages" (A paper written for the American Hymn Society-- Carl F. Price, Editor. 1948).

first be clearly established in our thinking. Before Pope Urban IV asked Thomas to compose the Corpus Christi Mass, philosophers had hardly dared to approach the subject of the Real Presence.

The primitive Church, while regarding the Eucharist with the awe and reverence due to a great mystery of the faith, did not feel the need for any discussion of its theological implications. The main interest centered round the act of worship, and the religious feeling which was evoked by a growing complexity and grandeur of ceremonial.<sup>11</sup>

Through history the laity were privileged to participate in the ceremony of the Lord's Supper. Now the act was becoming less and less frequent. "Legends were widespread as to the miraculous power of the Host, and as to supernatural evidences of the presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus in the consecrated elements."<sup>12</sup>

From the second half of the twelfth century the communion of the laity in one kind began to be more general. The sublime and moving character of the ceremonial, with the silence of the secret prayer of consecration broken only by the sound of the sacring bell, the sight of the elevated Host, made the Mass the emotional centre of Catholic ritual, and its doctrine of the centre of the Catholic faith.<sup>13</sup>

Not, however, until the thirteenth century was a festival of special honor devoted to the Body of Christ. The story behind the institution of such a festival is well known in

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<sup>11</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 404.

<sup>12</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>13</sup>Loc. cit.

the history of Catholic doctrine. A nun of Mont Cornillon, Juliana by name, claimed to have had a vision in Belgium of a full moon whose purity was marred only by one spot of darkness. The moon was the symbol of the purity of the Church year except for the lack of a feast which would pay due honor to Christ's body. The man who was then Bishop of Liege, Robert, was informed of Juliana's vision. He was so impressed by it that he demanded a solemnization of the new festival. The year 1258 marks the death of Juliana. It was three years later that a former Archdeacon of Liege, who had too been informed of the vision, ascended the throne as pope in the name of Urban IV. A petition was given him stating the desire of certain people to institute regularly the celebration of "Corpus Christi" generally throughout the Catholic Church. So the bull "Transiturus" was issued in 1264, September eighth. This ordained the feast to be held annually on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday. To Thomas, as has already been pointed out, was given the task of composing this office, including the Mass for this day.

It is one of the most splendid in the Roman Breviary and Missal. The hymns and the sequence are admirable liturgical compositions; severity of form, economy of expression, scholastic exactness of doctrinal statement are joined to a metrical skill which owes as much to the genius of the poet as to a study of predecessors like Adam of S. Victor.<sup>14</sup>

The Sequence in the Mass is "Lauda Sion Salvatorem." This

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 405.

is a "severely doctrinal exposition" of the dogma of the Real Presence. The first strophe is as follows:

lauda, Sion, salvatorem,  
 lauda ducem et pastorem  
     in hymnis et cantielis;  
 quantum potes, tantum aude,  
 quia major omni laude,  
     nec laudare sufficis.<sup>15</sup>

Here the whole Church on earth is symbolized by Sion, which is beckoned to sing the praises of the 'living and life-giving bread.'<sup>16</sup>

For in this feast the old passover is done away, and the new is instituted; as the daylight chases away the darkness, so the truth puts to flight the shadow. So the ancient passover is the type of the new, the Paschal Lamb is a figure of Christ, as Thomas explains at length in his exposition of the doctrine of the Eucharist in the Third Part of his 'Summa Theologica.' 'In this sacrament,' he says, 'we can consider three things; to wit, what the sacrament is by itself, which is bread and wine; and what is both reality (res) and sacrament together, to wit, the true Body of Christ; and what is reality (res) alone, to wit, the effect (effectus) of this sacrament. As regards the sacrament alone, the offering of Melchisedek, who offered bread and wine, was the principal (potissima) figure of this sacrament. But as regards Christ himself in his passion, who is contained in this sacrament, all the sacrifices of the Old Testament were its figures, especially the sacrifices of atonement, which was the most solemn. As regards the effect, the manna was the especial figure thereof, which contained in itself every savour of sweetness, as is said . . . even as the grace of this sacrament refreshed the soul in all respects. But the Paschal Lamb prefigured this sacrament as regards all the three things aforesaid; the first, because it was eaten with unleavened, . . . the second, because it was slain by the

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 405-406.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 406.



whole multitude of the children of Israel on the tenth day of the month, which was a figure of the passion of Christ, who for his innocence is called a lamb; and as regards the effect, because by the blood of the lamb the children of Israel were protected from the destroying angel and brought out of the bondage of Egypt, and as regards this, the paschal lamb is held to be the especial figure of this sacrament, because in all respects it shows him forth.<sup>17</sup>

In this sequence the influence of his idea of the Paschal Lamb (note above statement) is seen again. The figures of the manna, and of Isaac as familiar types of the Christ are also employed. (Dare we suggest that Aquinas was also influenced by Alexandria?)

Now the question is asked, "Is the Body of Christ truly and actually in this sacrament?" The answer to this crucial question is significant to Catholic theology:

'That the true body and blood of Christ are in this sacrament cannot be apprehended by sense or intelligence, but by faith alone, which leans upon the divine authority.'<sup>18</sup>

So in the sequence was read:

dogma datur Christianis,  
quod in carnem transit panis  
    et vinum in sanguinem;  
quod non capis, quod non vides,  
animosa firmat fides  
    praeter rerum ordinem.

sub diversis speciebus,  
signis tantum et non rebus,  
    latent res eximiae:

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<sup>17</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 407.

caro cibus, sanguis potus,  
manet tamen Christus totus  
sub utraque specie.<sup>19</sup>

St. Thomas then distinguished between the species (i.e., the bread and wine) and the res, which together with the bread and the wine is the very Body of the Christ. In another place he says, 'the Body of Christ is present invisibiliter under the species of this sacrament.'<sup>20</sup>

Finally, the whole of the Christ is actually contained in every part of the whole of the bread and the wine--whether the wafer is broken or not:

fracto demum sacramento  
ne vacilles, sed memento,  
tantum esse sub fragmento,  
quantum toto tegitur:  
nulla rei fit scissura,  
signi tantum fit fractura,  
qua nec status nec statura  
signati minuitur.<sup>21</sup>

The final strophe is a prayer for the congregation of the faithful that they may be gathered "at the heavenly feast above."

bone pastor, panis vere,  
Iesu, nostri miserere,  
tu nos pasce, nos tuere,  
tu nos bona fac videre  
in terra viventium.

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<sup>19</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 408.

<sup>21</sup>Loc. cit.

tu qui cuncta scis et vales,  
 qui nos pascis hic mortales,  
 tu nos ibi commensales,  
 coheredes et sodales  
 fac sanctorum civium.<sup>22</sup>

This is doubtless the supreme dogmatic poem of the Middle Ages; it never wanders from the correct scholastic terminology, res and signa are used in the sense of the 'Summa;' the thought is hard and closely woven, but it is a poem as well as a dogmatic exposition. The verses have an austerity and grandeur which no Latin poet of the Middle Ages ever equalled.<sup>23</sup>

Written about 1260, the "Lauda Sion Salvatorem" is one of the four Sequences which was alone retained in the revised Roman Missal of 1570. As to form, the poem consists of nine stanzas of six lines each, followed by two of eight lines, and finally one of ten lines. It is frequently employed as the processional at the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, as well as at other occasions. Julian makes some observations which will add to the presentation of Maby. He points out that Dr. J. Kayser in his Beitrag zur Geschichte und Erklarung der alteslen Kirchenhymnen, Vol ii, says:

'As a historical document, and an example of harmonious and easy rhythmic flow of verse combined with the most definite doctrinal teaching, this sequence is of great interest. Considered however as a hymn for present day use (especially if for use in the Reformed Churches) the case is entirely different. . . . It is in fact a doctrinal treatise in rhymed verse, setting forth the theory of Transubstantiation at length and in precise detail. In stanza vii the refusal of the cup

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<sup>22</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>23</sup>Loc. cit.

to the laity is implied in the assertion that the whole Christ is given in either species:--

Canon Oakeley's translation of 1850 is given:

Beneath two differing species  
Lie mysteries deep and rare;  
His Flesh the meat, the drink his Blood,  
Yet Christ entire, our heavenly food,  
Beneath each kind is there.

Stanza x is also of interest:

Nor be thy faith confounded, though  
The Sacrament be broke; for know,  
The life which in the whole doth glow,  
In every part remains;  
The Spirit which those portions hide  
No force can cleave; we but divide  
The sign, the while the Signified  
Nor change nor loss sustains.<sup>24</sup>

Julian also observes the translation difficulty of

"Lauda Sion:"

In translating this Sequence no difficulty has been found where the translator has held the distinct doctrine of Transubstantiation in common with St. Thomas. The difficulty has arisen when his hard and clear cut sentences have had to be modified, and his dogmatism to be toned down to fit in with convictions of a less pronounced character. The result is that the translations for private devotion are usually very literal; whilst those for public worship are, either the former modified and arranged in centos, or else paraphrases which have little of the 'Lauda Sion' in them but the name.<sup>25</sup>

A number of translations of "Lauda Sion" begin as follows: (1) "Break forth, O Sion, thy sweet Saviour sing," (2) "Praise thy Saviour, Sion, praise Him," (3) "Praise high

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<sup>24</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 663.

<sup>25</sup>Loc. cit.

the Saviour, Sion, praise," (4) "Sion, lift thy voice, and sing," and (5) "Rise, royal Sion, rise and sing." There are many other translations which may be found in the article on "Lauda Sion" in John Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology.

One further point should be made in regard to this Sequence from the feast of the Corpus Christi. From it is often taken "Ecce, panis Angelorum" which is used as a separate hymn. The first line has been rendered in many and various ways. Some are "See for food to pilgrims given," "The Bread of angels, lo, is sent," "Lo, upon the Altar lies," "See the bread of angels lying," etc., etc. This hymn is quoted in Hymns Ancient and Modern, number 310:

Lo! the Angels' Food is given  
 To the pilgrim who hath striven;  
 See the children's Bread from Heaven,  
 Which on dogs may ne'er be spent:  
 Truth the ancient types fulfilling,  
 Isaac bound, a victim willing,  
 Paschal Lamb its life-blood spilling,  
 Manna to the fathers sent.

Very Bread, Good Shepherd, tend us;  
 Jesu, of Thy love befriend us;  
 Thou refresh us, Thou defend us,  
 Thine eternal goodness send us  
 In the land of life to see:  
 Thou Who all things canst and knowest,  
 Who on earth such Food bestowest,  
 Grant us with Thy Saints, though lowest,  
 Where the heav'nly Feast Thou showest,  
 Fellow heirs and guests to be.

We come now to the hymn sung at First Vespers. It was likewise written for the feast of Corpus Christi.

"Pange lingua gloriosi Corporis Mysterium" is one of the

finest of medieval Latin hymns. It represents "a wonderful union of sweetness of melody with clear-cut dogmatic teaching."<sup>26</sup> This poem is shorter than the first discussed. The English title is often "Sing, My tongue, the mystery telling," or simply "Sing, My tongue." Miss Messenger says of it:

The finest of the Corpus Christi series, often attributed to Aquinas, is 'Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium.' Here the writer has achieved a perfect blending of dogma and mystic fervor revealing faith in that ideal sense which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews had defined. 'Now faith is assurance of things hoped for, a conviction of things not seen' (Hebrews 11:10). 'The Word made flesh causes the real bread to become his flesh by word. The wine becomes the blood of Christ. Although the sense fails, faith alone suffices to confirm the devoted heart. Let us therefore adore so great a sacrament, and let the ancient law give place to a new rite. Let faith stand forth to supply the weakness of the senses.'<sup>27</sup>

This hymn is often used for Matins (Sarum) or at Vespers (Roman), and is to be found in the Breviaries of Roman (since 1478), Mozarabic (1502), Sarum, York, Aberdeen, Paris (1736). It may also be used as a processional on Corpus Christi. Also, "Stanza v, 'Tantum ergo sacramentum,' with the magnificent doxology, is sung as a separate hymn in the office of the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, or during Mass at the Elevation of the Host."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 878.

<sup>27</sup>Ruth Ellis Messenger, Ethical Teachings in the Latin Hymns of Medieval England (New York: Columbia University, 1930), pp. 108-109.

<sup>28</sup>Julian, loc. cit.

In the British Museum are several thirteenth and fourteenth century manuscripts of this hymn. There are many translations in use. "Speak, O tongue, the Body broken," "Sing we that blest Body Broken" are two of the renderings. "Sing, my tongue, the Saviour's glory, Of His flesh the mystery sing," is Edward Caswall's translation which appeared in his Lyra Catholica in 1849. It is interesting to note that this same translation is seen unaltered in several Roman Catholic hymn books. "Hail the Body bright and glorious," is the one by R. Campbell, in his Hymns and Anthems, of 1850. This was repeated in Hymns used in the Church of St. Thomas the Martyr, at Oxford, 1861 and also in St. Margaret's Hymnal of 1875. "Of the glorious Body telling" is J. M. Neal's rendering, which appeared in 1851 in Mediaeval Hymns. W. J. Blew published, in his Church Hymn and Tune Book of 1852-5, his rendering as "Sing the precious Blood." J. A. Johnston in his English Hymnal of 1852 rendered it as "Sing the glorious Body broken, Ransom of the world to be." W. J. Irons contributed his translation of "Hail, each tongue, with adoration" to the Rev. R. T. Lowe's Hymns for the Christian Seasons, in 1854. Hymns Ancient and Modern uses "Now my tongue, the mystery telling," which is perhaps the most popular rendition. "Wake, my tongue, the mystery telling" is R. C. Singleton's translation appearing in his Anglican

Hymn Book of 1868 and 1871.<sup>29</sup>

Neale says of this hymn that it 'contests the second place among those of the Western Church with the Vexilla Regis, the Stabat Mater, the Jesu dulcis Memoria, the Ad Regias Agni Dapes, the Ad Supernam, and one or two others, leaving the Dies Irae in its unapproachable glory.'<sup>30</sup>

Raby summarizes his observations on "Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium:"

Beyond all praise, for its severe and rigid beauty, its precision of thought and adequacy of content, this splendid hymn should be heard as the processional in a cathedral on Holy Thursday. Less purely doctrinal than the 'Lauda Sion,' the 'Pange Lingua' is one of the most sublime productions of sacred poetry. Here again the technical excellence of metre and rhyme, reached by Adam in the twelfth century, is more than maintained by Thomas. The beginning of the hymn is an imitation of the 'Pange lingua' of Fortunatus, and similarly, in the hymn for Lauds, Thomas borrows his first line from a well-known Ambrosian hymn on the Advent.<sup>31</sup>

Philip Schaff, in Christ in Song, presents Neale's translation:

Sing, my tongue, the mystery telling,  
Of the glorious Body sing,  
And the Blood, all price excelling,  
Which the world's eternal King,  
In a noble womb once dwelling,  
Shed for this world's ransoming.

Of a Virgin condescending

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<sup>29</sup>Julian, op. cit., pp. 878-879.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 879.

<sup>31</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 410.



To be born for us below,  
 He, with men in converse blending,  
 Dwelt the seed of truth to sow;  
 Then He closed, with wondrous ending,  
 His appointed course of woe.

At the last Great Supper lying,  
 Circled by His chosen band,  
 Jesus, with the law complying,  
 Meekly finished its command;  
 Then, immortal food supplying,  
 Gave Himself with His own hand.

God incarnate, bread He maketh  
 By His word His flesh to be;  
 Who by faith that cup partaketh,  
 Tastes the Blood of Calvary:  
 Though the carnal sense forsaketh,  
 Faith behold the mystery.

Therefore at the altar bending,  
 We this sacrament revere,  
 Ancient shadows have their ending,  
 Where the substance doth appear;  
 Faith, her aid to vision lending,  
 Tells that Christ unseen is here.

Glory let us give, and blessing  
 To the Father and the Son;  
 Honor, might, and praise addressing,  
 While eternal ages run;  
 Holy Ghost, from both progressing,<sup>32</sup>  
 Equal praise to Thee be done!

Thus far in the discussion we have covered the two major poems from the pen of St. Thomas Aquinas and his Mass for Corpus Christi. There are several other less significant hymns which should be mentioned if we are to give proper attention to the poetry of St. Thomas. The "Sacris sollemnis juncta sint gaudia" is the least familiar of all Thomas'

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<sup>32</sup>Philip Schaff, Christ in Song (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Co., 1869), pp. 584-586.

hymns for the office of the Corpus Christi feast. It is found in many Breviaries such as the Roman (1478), Sarum, York, Aberdeen, Paris (1736), and the Mozarabic (1502). It is generally appointed for Matins on Corpus Christi, but is listed in the Sarum for first Vespers. Thirteenth and fourteenth century manuscripts have been found and are now in the British Museum. There are two common translations in use: (1) Edward Caswall's, appearing in the Lyra Catholica of 1849, as "Let us with hearts renewed," and (2) "At this our solemn Feast" by R. F. Littledale, appearing in the Antiphoner and Grail of 1880 and in Hymner of 1882.

Raby says of this hymn, "Here the doctrinal expression is all but absent; the picture is more human, Christ appears almost like the Jesus of Leonardo, 'as one taking leave of his friends.'"<sup>33</sup>

The first stanza runs in a skillful fourteen-syllabled metre:

sacris sollempniis iuncta sint gaudia  
 et ex prae cordiis sonent praeconia;  
 recedant vetera, nova sint omnia  
 corda, voces et opera.<sup>34</sup>

It is also thought that Thomas wrote a brief hymn for private devotion which is not included in the Office of Corpus Christi. This hymn expresses Thomas' personal

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<sup>33</sup>Raby, loc. cit.

<sup>34</sup>Loc. cit.

adoration for the Body of the Christ and his affection of the God who is latent under the 'figures' of the wine and bread. Julian suggests, though not with certainty, that he may have written it in 1260 while in Paris when writing on the problem of the Eucharist. "Although never incorporated in the public services of the Church, it was added at an early date to various Missals for private devotion."<sup>35</sup> Neale says of it: "It is worthy of notice how the Angelic Doctor, as if afraid to employ any pomp of words on approaching so tremendous a Mystery, has used the very simplest expressions throughout."<sup>36</sup> There are three English titles for this hymn in common usage: (1) "O Godhead hid, devoutly I adore Thee," given by Edward Caswall in his Lyra Catholica of 1849, (2) "Humbly I adore Thee, hidden Deity," by J. M. Neale, published in Mediaeval Hymns in 1851, and (3) "Thee we adore, O hidden Saviour, Thee," by J. R. Woodford, in 1850.<sup>37</sup>

The Latin is given by Naby as follows:

adore te devote, latens deitas  
 quae sub his figuris vere latitas;  
 tibi se cor neum totum subicit,  
 quia te contemplan totum deficit . . . .

o memoriale mortis domini,  
 panis verus vitam praestans homini,

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<sup>35</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>36</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 22-23.

praesta meae menti de te vivere  
et te illi semper dulce sapere.

pie pellicane Iesu domine,  
me immundum munda tuo sanguine;  
cuius una stilla saluum facere  
totum mundum posses omni scelere.

Iesu quem velatum nunc aspicio,  
quando fiet illud, quod tam sitio?  
ut te revelata cernens facie  
visu sim beatus tuae gloriae.<sup>38</sup>

There is yet one other hymn credited to St. Thomas which should be mentioned. "Verbum supernum prodiens" is its title. From it comes "O Saviour Victim, Opening Wide," which is "Indispensable because of its classical musical settings."<sup>39</sup> Moreover, "this hymn of Aquinas . . . reflects the more sober theology of the thirteenth century rather than the later developments with which it is commonly associated."<sup>40</sup> It is thought that the poem was written about 1263 for the Corpus Christi Mass, on the model of the Advent hymn, "Verbum supernum prodiens, a Patre olim exiens." This is an early example of forming a new hymn out of an old one.<sup>41</sup> Later the hymn was associated with the service of Benediction. It is found in some of the Breviaries, men-

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<sup>38</sup>Raby, op. cit., pp. 410-411.

<sup>39</sup>Percy Dearmer, Songs of Praise Discussed (London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Wilford, 1933), p. 158.

<sup>40</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>41</sup>Loc. cit.

tioned in connection with other of Thomas' hymns above. It is often translated as "The Word, descending from above" or as "The Word of God proceeding forth." "Stanza iv is a fine instance of perfect form and condensed meaning:

Se nascens dedit socium,  
Convalescens in edulium,  
Se moriens in pretium,  
Se regnans dat in praemium.<sup>42</sup>

Various other hymnological compositions have been attributed to St. Thomas, but in error. Such examples are "O esca viatorum," and the "Ut jucundas cerus undas."

The later Middle Ages saw a great amount of religious poetry in honor of the holy Eucharist. This was true especially in regard to the doctrine of transubstantiation. The actual word "transubstantiatio" is employed in one such hymn:

sicut hoc mysterio  
tam sacro, tam divino  
transubstantiatio  
de pane fit et vino.<sup>43</sup>

Raby gives his summary statement on the matter:

The verses are an expression of the orthodox theory; the whole substantia or substance of the bread and wine is changed into the whole substance of the Body and Blood of Christ, only the accidentia, accidents or sensible qualities of the elements, remaining unchanged. 'The accidents which are discerned by the senses are truly there (secundum rei veritatem). But the intellect,

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<sup>42</sup>Julian, op. cit., p. 1218.

<sup>43</sup>Raby, op. cit., p. 411.

whose proper object is substance (as is said by Aristotle . . . ) is saved by faith from being deceived . . . . For faith is not contrary to the senses, but is concerned with things which the senses cannot reach.<sup>44</sup>

No matter how we Protestants may disagree with the doctrine here advocated by St. Thomas and his followers, we must admit that "The Angelic Doctor" still lives in his Eucharistic poetry!

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., pp. 411-412.

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