O praesul illustris: images of the bishop patron in poems of late medieval Latin offices

Catherine Anne Bilow

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A Dissertation

entitled

O Praesul Illustris: Images of the Bishop Patron

in Poems of Late Medieval Latin Offices

by

Catherine Anne Bilow

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty as partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in History

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During the Middle Ages the Church worked to make official liturgical services unified and universal. Close textual and historical analysis of Latin liturgical documents offers insight into the writers’ method and the sentiments expressed in prayer. The repertory for this study is a set of poems drawn from selected hours of the Divine Office: first vespers, matins, lauds, second vespers. All of the Offices date from the late Middle Ages (A.D. 1100-1500) and were written to honor saints who served as bishops. Although the texts are late medieval, there is a great range in the bishops’ lifetime. A discussion of liturgy and the cycle of celebrations is followed by a consideration of the special Divine Office category: services dedicated to bishop saints. Thirty-five Latin Offices honoring thirteen bishops are considered. This study restricts itself to the lyrics, not the musical notation. The identification of rhyme scheme, metrical pattern, and overall structure is followed by delineation of peculiar features of each poem. They are examined for such elements as figures of speech, scriptural allusion, place names, and
hagiographical convention. Especially notable are references to the bishop’s interaction with secular authorities. Special attention is given to two saints especially popular during the period under consideration: Bishop Nicolaus of Bari (fourth century) and Bishop Guillelmus of Bourges (early thirteenth century). The former represents early saints whose cult spread throughout Europe during the late Middle Ages and who were revered, not through the official canonization process, but rather by force of popular devotion.

The aim of this study is threefold. It establishes the late medieval identity of the bishop saint. It also traces, in Nicolaus of Bari and Guillelmus of Bourges, the outline of the bishop saint as a patron who also stood up to secular authority when the Church’s position was challenged. Third, the examination of texts of Nicolaus as an early saint and of Guillelmus as a contemporary saint contrasts the sources of their devotion. These findings provide a springboard for broader examination to include additional bishop saints’ Offices. They also invite further inspection of the texts of these two bishops.
To Margaret

soror senior et amica optima
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Chapter 1

Structure and Content
of the Divine Office

Liturgy is, by its very nature, public prayer. The term *liturgy* (λειτουργία) embraces both the Eucharistic sacrifice of the Mass and the Divine Office. Both forms of liturgy are celebrated according to the Church calendar. The canonical week begins on Sunday. Among Christians, Sunday is nothing else but a weekly celebration of the paschal mystery, that central event of salvation history that marked off for good the first day of the week.¹

The annual liturgical cycle begins with the first Sunday of Advent and progresses through the major seasons of Christmastide, Epiphany, Lent, Paschaltide, and Pentecost. This procession of seasons is called the Temporale.² Because the cycle is governed by the lunar year, their dates vary from year to year, according to the phases of the moon. Such significant days as Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, and Easter are movable feasts within the Temporale.

¹John H. Miller, “Liturgy,” *New Catholic encyclopedia* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2002), vol. 8, 928. See also Theodor Klauser, *A short history of the Western liturgy: An account and some reflections*. 2d ed. Translated from the German by John Halliburton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 87, who refers to “the Easter festival and its weekly repetition, i.e., Sunday.” This long-standing special honor given to Sunday was officially reiterated by the Church as recently as the Second Vatican Council.

²The term “Temporale” also applies to the bound volume where such services are assembled.
Alongside the Temporale is the Sanctorale, the cycle of fixed celebrations that include such observances as Christmas (December 25) and Candlemas, the Feast of the Purification of Mary (February 2). Just as feasts in the Temporale are set according to the lunar year and consequently are movable, so feasts in the Sanctorale have been established according to the solar year; they are immovable. The Temporale takes precedence over the Sanctorale whenever feasts from the two cycles concur.3

In any liturgical week, celebrations are further distinguished as feria and festum. The former came to refer to any weekday as opposed to Sunday, which is called Dominica, “the Lord’s day.” The term in ecclesiastical usage is applied to days other than Saturdays—considered liturgically part of the Sunday feast as its vigil—and Sundays on which no feast falls. A day of special observance, whether honoring Christ, the Virgin, or some saint, is a festum; the importance of a particular festum determines its degree of solemnity. On days commemorating the saints, the primary festum is the anniversary of death, popularly held to be the birthday in heaven of the holy person(s).4 Secondary feasts are associated with other events that occurred during or after the saint’s life, such as the anniversary of canonization, some miracle, or the discovery of his or her remains. Four events received particular commemoration: ordinatio of a bishop; depositio (death) of a confessor;5 inventio, the discovery of relics, including the cross of

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3The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, entitled Sacrosanctum Concilium, addresses the matter of Temporale and Sanctorale feasts occurring on the same date. “The minds of the faithful must be directed primarily toward the feasts of the Lord whereby the mysteries of salvation are celebrated in the course of the year. Therefore, the Proper of the time shall be given the preference which is its due over the feasts of the saints, so that the entire cycle of the mysteries of salvation may be suitably recalled” (art. 108). The conciliar and post-conciliar documents, Vatican Council II. General editor, Austin Flannery (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1975), 17.


5
Christ; and translatio, the transfer of the saint’s remains. The ordinatio honors a figure during his term of ecclesiastical service and then, only bishop saints.

Liturgical celebrations grew in number and complexity during the course of the Middle Ages. As services were developed, set texts were invoked whenever celebrations of particular classes or categories of saints occurred. Such general texts as a whole are called “The Common of the Saints.” Static in form, the texts were used for feasts of various categories of saints: apostles, evangelists, popes, martyrs, bishop confessors, confessors who were not bishops, doctors of the Church, abbots, virgins, holy women who were not virgins. Each class of saint has its own Commons. Additional Commons in the Sanctorale include those for the dedication of a church, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the faithful departed.

In addition to these Commons, specific texts were composed to honor individual saints. These texts, called “Propers,” were used in conjunction with Commons in Offices. Whereas Commons refer in a general manner to saints of a particular class or category, Propers are specific to the liturgical feast. The Office for an individual saint is comprised of both Propers and Commons. Those which apply to all bishop saints are

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5 Hugo of Lincoln, bishop confessor, is the only saint in this repertory whose depositio is recorded. The feast is celebrated on November 17.


7 “One has the impression that the Roman liturgical calendar was already lavishly filled with feasts around the year 800; and this moreover even before the onslaught of the innovations of the Middle Ages had begun.” Klauser, 91.

8 There was a Common for the vigil of apostles as well as a Common for the feast day itself.

9 There was a Common for one martyr and a separate Common for feasts celebrating more than one martyr.

10 Andrew Hughes, Medieval manuscripts for Mass and Office: A guide to their organization and terminology (Toronto, ONT: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 155.
“common” to that group, while texts written to celebrate a particular bishop are “proper” to him. All of the poems examined here are culled from Propers, specific to an individual bishop and used on a particular feast in his honor.

The daily round of hours of the Divine Office, arranged chronologically, includes first vespers, compline, matins, lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, and second vespers. This dissertation focuses on poems written for the principal hours: first vespers, matins, lauds, and second vespers,\textsuperscript{11} since the other hours rarely have proper texts and chants. The “little hours” of prime, terce, sext, and none often repeat the lauds antiphon.\textsuperscript{12} The liturgical day is comprised of a complete round of services for a particular feast, from first vespers on the vigil through second vespers on the day of the feast itself. Three poetic genres appear in this study.\textsuperscript{13} Each day’s Office begins with matins, which opens with the invitatory, a short proper poem introducing Psalm 95. The invitatory varies; Psalm 95 is a fixed text. Lauds has an antiphon of its own \textit{ad Evangelium}. It precedes the chanting of the canticle called the \textit{Benedictus}, the song of Zacharias (Lk 1: 68-79). The antiphon \textit{ad Evangelium} at both first and second vespers is the proper text sung immediately before the chanting of the canticle, Mary’s \textit{Magnificat} (Lk. 1: 39-55).\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{11}Andrew Hughes, \textit{Late medieval liturgical Offices: Resources for electronic research} (Toronto, ONT: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1994), 19. In subsequent footnotes, this source will be listed as \textit{LMLO}.

\textsuperscript{12}These hours are named for the canonical time of their recitation: the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours of the liturgical day.

\textsuperscript{13}For identification purposes, the matins invitatory will be coded MI. The Gospel antiphon at lauds \textit{ad Evangelium} will be identified as LE. Similarly the Gospel antiphons at vespers \textit{ad Evangelium} will be distinguished at first vespers as VE1; at second vespers, VE2.

\textsuperscript{14}The \textit{Benedictus} and \textit{Magnificat} are both named from their opening word. The text of these two canticles is appended to this dissertation. See Appendix B, “\textit{Cantica ad Evangelium},” p. 153.
Offices were of two structural types, monastic and cathedral, according to their use. In the West, the recitation of the Office in common dates to the fourth century. The daily practice became established in monastic houses as a communal observance. Allowable variations in the monastic structure are outlined by Benedict for members of his order. He took care to retain the weekly recitation of the entire Psalter. The cathedral Office developed earlier in the East than in the West. Cathedral services were held in Milan during the bishopric of Ambrose (374-397). They are attested in Gaul as early as the mid-sixth century. Caesarius, Metropolitan of Arles (503-543), actively promoted the recitation of the liturgical hours by the laity. He exhorts, “One who is faithful to the prayer and psalmody in church is like one who seeks to offer God an odor of sweetness from the holy thurible of the heart.”

Monastic hours bore no relation to the time of day, but were instead an expression of the continuous prayer which was of the essence of monastic life. Cathedral hours, on the other hand, were directly related to the time of day. The celebration of morning praise at sunrise and evening praise at sunset fortified the image of Christ as light of the world. Cathedral vespers was sometimes called Lucenarium, a reference to the lighting

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15 Cathedral Offices are sometimes referred to as “Secular Offices.”


18 In the Western Christian churches, a metropolitan was a bishop with provincial powers, having some authority over suffragan bishops, whose districts did not have a cathedral. In the Eastern Orthodox church, a metropolitan was a bishop who headed an ecclesiastical province and who ranks next below the patriarch. Caesarius of Arles served in the Western church.

of lamps which occurred at the start of the service.\textsuperscript{20} Benedict arrayed the Psalter sequentially for his monks, ensuring that the complete round of 150 psalms would be recited weekly. Psalms in the cathedral Office, on the other hand, are arranged to suit the time of day. The monastic Office is the more complex of the two types. Distinctions between the two types of Offices bear on the poems in this repertory, which includes both monastic and cathedral Offices. The structural differences are few but significant.

First vespers in the monastic Office contains between one and four psalms. These are followed by a responsory, then the Gospel antiphon (VE1) for the \textit{Magnificat}. Matins is the most complex of the nine monastic hours. It begins with the invitatory antiphon (MI). Three nocturns follow. The first is comprised of six antiphons followed by four responsories with corresponding verses. The second nocturn has the same structure as the first. The third nocturn has but one antiphon (important for the monastic canticle), followed by four responsories with verses. Lauds has between one and five antiphons. Then comes the Gospel antiphon (LE) for the \textit{Benedictus}. In the monastic tradition, the structure of second vespers is the same as that for first vespers, a distinct Gospel antiphon (VE2) being supplied for the \textit{Magnificat}.

The structure of the cathedral Office is comparatively simple. First vespers always contains five antiphons followed by a responsory, then the Gospel antiphon (VE1) for the \textit{Magnificat}. Cathedral matins begins, as does its monastic counterpart, with the invitatory antiphon (MI) to introduce Psalm 95. This is followed by three identical nocturns in this pattern: antiphon, then three responsories with verses. Lauds is the same as for the monastic Office. Second vespers is the same as cathedral first vespers, with a

\textsuperscript{20}Taft, 212.
different Gospel antiphon (VE2), however, introducing the *Magnificat*.\(^{21}\) Other differences between the two types of Offices exist, but typically monastic Offices have some thirty-two antiphons and over a dozen responsories, while cathedral Offices customarily have twenty-eight antiphons and about ten responsories.\(^{22}\)

In the Sanctorale there are more bishops than any other classification of saint.\(^{23}\) This predominance in the roster of saints figured into the choice of bishops for this dissertation. In addition, since bishops served as key figures in the regions of their appointment, political and social influence is more clearly evident for bishops than for saints in another category, such as confessors or doctors of the Church. Bishops, moreover, are close to the people, since they established a local presence while in office. The faithful of a particular diocese laid claim on the bishop as both practical and spiritual guide in life\(^{24}\) and patronal intercessor after his death. Tribute paid a celebrated martyr is more likely to focus on the single act of shedding his/her blood for the Faith. For the bishop saint, there is a broader range of events covered by the texts, such as Bonaventura’s preaching (*Ut flos eius eloquium fragrant flat odore*),\(^{25}\) Blasius’ healing both men and beasts (*Sanabat homines, sanabat bestias, depellens ab ipsis omnes*)

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\(^{21}\) For a *schema* developed from this verbal description, see Appendix C, p. 155.

\(^{22}\) Hughes, *LMLO*, 25.

\(^{23}\) André Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious beliefs and devotional practices*. Edited by Daniel E. Bornstein. Translated by Margery J. Schneider. Reprinted in 2002 (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996), 53: “When the Roman Church became open to the idea of the modernization of the saintly ranks, the figures who took precedence were those of bishops like St. Thomas Becket, canonized in 1173, or of monks.”

\(^{24}\) Ibid., 17: “The disintegration of the Roman empire was followed by an increase in the regional, if not local, character of sanctity, the principal beneficiaries of which were the bishops. This development reflects a specific historical and social reality which made the bishops, in most regions of the West, the supreme *defensores civitatis* between the fifth and the eighth centuries.”

\(^{25}\) “As a flower, his eloquence blows forth in a fragrant scent.” Matins antiphon 6.
and Thomas of Canterbury’s reviving a stillborn for the sake of the grieving parent (Ecce Deus sanctum mirificat qui defunctum fetum vivificat). The bishop was, after all, a shepherd, a teacher, an example of virtue to his people. Office texts even review events surrounding the bishop’s death. The act of Thomas of Canterbury’s martyrdom, for example, is described: Elevatis manibus, mortuum levit miles Northamptuniae, quem perstrangulavit (TC 8).28

Between 1198 and 1431, bishops form the largest population of saints officially acknowledged by the Roman Church. Among the saints whose memory was cherished by the faithful during the Middle Ages, bishops were especially revered. Their reputation survives in popular legends of the time and in local customs which grew out of their cults. Texts of the Officium Divinum, the Divine Office,29 have not yet been examined for the light they shed on the episcopate. This dissertation, in its examination of texts from thirty-five Offices of bishop saints of the late Middle Ages, uses the Latin of the texts to trace the image of the bishop patron. Whenever possible, original documents have been consulted. Clearly these texts celebrate the bishop saint not only for his holiness but more importantly for his political and social influence.

The selected material conforms to specific preliminary guidelines. For several reasons, the search restricts itself almost exclusively to cathedral Offices rather than

26“He healed human beings, he healed beasts, driving all troubles from them.” Matins responsory 5.


28“With hands uplifted, a soldier raises up this dead man of Northumbria whom he has choked .” Matins antiphon 5.

29Other names for the Divine Office include Benedict’s Opus Dei, the Canonical Hours and, since 1971, the Liturgy of the Hours. In this dissertation, the term “Office” will be used. Capitalization will prevent confusion of this liturgical form with the episcopate.
monastic Offices. Among the literature under consideration, more cathedral Offices were complete and available than were monastic Offices. Some exceptional poems are included in this study for their reference to events in the life of the bishop. Included are at least these portions of the Office: the matins invitatory, the Benedictus antiphon at lauds, and the two Magnificat antiphons (at first and second vespers). In one or two instances, the manuscript does not contain these four genres, but the content is included for the light it sheds on the bishop’s activity among his people.

This study limits itself almost exclusively to poetic Offices whose components, for the most part, rhymed. Extending the repertory to encompass unrhymed or accentual texts would enlarge the corpus beyond the scope of this study and would introduce too many variables. The texts are set in regular meter, either classical or accentual, with rhyme. A set rhythm is characteristic of many of the texts. The focus is on the poems apart from their musical settings. Treatment of the plainsong lies beyond the range of this study, but analysis of the poetry provides the basis for later examination of the plainsong associated with the texts.\(^{30}\) “Rhythmic Office” in this study, then, shall refer to the text rather than to music.”\(^{31}\)

All texts under consideration in this dissertation are extracted from the Divine Office for bishop saints. The study limits itself to thirty-five late medieval Offices (A.D. 1100-1500) honoring thirteen bishops, arranged here alphabetically:

\(^{30}\)“Plainsong” and “plainchant” are appropriate terms to describe the musical settings in these Offices. The term “Gregorian chant” is inaccurate, but the distinction need not be pursued in this context.

Birinus, bishop and apostle of the West Saxons of Dorchester, d. ca. 650

Blasius, bishop martyr of Sebastea, Armenia, d. ca. 283

Bonaventura, bishop doctor of Albano, d. 1274

David, bishop of St. David’s (Menevia, Wales), d. ca. 589

Eligius, bishop of Noyons (and perhaps also of Tournai), d. ca. 660

Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, d. ca. 430

Guillelmus, archbishop of Bourges, d. 1209

Hugo, bishop confessor of Lincoln, d. 1200

Leodegarius, bishop martyr of Autun, d. 670

Nicolaus Bariensis, bishop of Myra, d. ca. 350

Patricius, “apostle of Ireland,” bishop confessor, d. ca. 461

Thomas Becket, archbishop martyr of Canterbury, d. 1170

Thomas Cantilupe, bishop doctor of Hereford, d. 1282

The texts under review all date from between A.D. 1100 and 1500. Not all of the honored bishops lived during this period, though. Blasius, perhaps the earliest saint in this study, is believed to have died around 283. Nicolaus of Bari died around 350.

32In keeping with the use of the bishop’s name in the liturgical text, Latin proper names are retained. Classical Latin spelling has been adopted in this dissertation for consistency’s sake. This conforms to the Latin spelling adopted by Analecta Hymnica, from which many of the texts have been drawn. See Clemens Blume and Guido Maria Drexes, eds., Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi (Leipzig: O.R. Reising, 1886-1922).

33It is from Bede that we learn of the conversion of the West Saxons through the efforts of Bishop Birinus. See Bede Historia Ecclesiastica, III, 7.

34Literally, “the Barian Nicolaus.” Henceforth this saint will be referred to as Nicolaus of Bari.

35Jacobi à Voragine, Legenda aurea: Vulgo historia Lombardia dicta. Reprinted from the 1890 text (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1969), 169. This source will henceforth be referenced as LA.

36Hughes, LMLO, 119.
Germanus of Auxerre in 430,\textsuperscript{37} Patricius in 461,\textsuperscript{38} David of Wales around 589,\textsuperscript{39} Birinus died around 650,\textsuperscript{40} Eligius in 660,\textsuperscript{41} and Leodegarius in 670.\textsuperscript{42} For these early episcopal figures, the focus is not on the years during which they ministered but rather on the later development and cultivation of their image as patron of a particular group of people, most often the faithful within his own diocese.

The development of late medieval popular devotion towards saints who lived and died much earlier is occasioned by a variety of factors. The establishment of a shrine is certainly the most obvious.\textsuperscript{43} Devotion was often stimulated when human remains, discovered in some remote or significant area, were identified as belonging to an early saint.\textsuperscript{44} Crediting a deceased holy person for some wonder or cure gave rise to new or renewed devotion.\textsuperscript{45} The promotion of the saint by a particular religious house also

\textsuperscript{37}LA, 451.

\textsuperscript{38}Hughes, LMLO, 451.

\textsuperscript{39}Ibid., 128.

\textsuperscript{40}E.A. Livingstone, Oxford concise dictionary of the Christian Church. 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 71.

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid., 132.

\textsuperscript{42}LA, 662.

\textsuperscript{43}See Victritius of Rouen, De laude sanctorum, PL 20, cc. 443-58. At the time of his writing of the treatise, Victritius had only recently received some relics from Saint Ambrose for his new basilica. Ambrose had served as bishop of Rouen ca. 330-407.

\textsuperscript{44}Devotion to James the Greater, one of the twelve apostles, was fostered in 1125 when Matilda brought the hand of the martyred apostle to Reading Abbey from Venice. Hughes, LMLO, 148.

\textsuperscript{45}Waverly Fitzgerald, School of the Seasons, 2005. During a famine in 1582, Saint Lucy caused a flotilla of grain-bearing ships to appear in a Sicilian harbor. The people were so hungry they boiled and ate the grain without grinding it into flour. Sicilians abstain from wheat flour on December 13, feast of Saint Lucy. www.waverlyfitzgerald.com
stimulated interest in his or her cause.\textsuperscript{46} Such promotion is reflected in the liturgical texts themselves. The curious adoption of a patron by people geographically remote from his field of labor may have been prompted by some signal favor on the chance occurrence of the saint’s feast day.\textsuperscript{47}

The liturgical texts under consideration all honor bishops who were acknowledged as saints. Although it is customary to consider 993 as the start of pontifical canonization, the process was definitively reserved to the papacy in 1234.\textsuperscript{48} Until then, the proclamation of sanctity was largely an episcopal matter.\textsuperscript{49} In numerous instances, even after the right of canonization was reserved to the papacy, the local populace expressed devotion to a deceased member of their community and a strong but unofficial acclamation of sanctity often grew out of this local fervor.\textsuperscript{50}

The thirty-five Offices in this study were written also before the Church’s adoption of standard texts. The Council of Trent (1545-63), during its third and final phase, handed over to Pope Pius IV various tasks, including the regularization of the

\textsuperscript{46}Perhaps the most obvious example is that of the spread of devotion to Saint Francis of Assisi immediately following his death in 1226. He was canonized two years later. Hughes, \textit{LMLO}, 138; Vauchez, 116.

\textsuperscript{47}Fourteenth-century Treviso celebrated the feast of Saint Francis as a public holiday. On October 3 of 1257, exiled citizens returned home after the flight of the tyrant Alberico da Romano. André Vauchez, \textit{The laity in the Middle Ages: Religious beliefs and devotional practices} (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 155.

\textsuperscript{48}Gregory IX, \textit{Decretals} L.III, vol. XLV, c. 1, \textit{de reliquiis et veneratione sanctorum}. In 993, Pope John XV elevated Uric of Augsburg formally and universally to the level of saint. It was not until the reign of Pope Alexander III, that the prerogative of canonization was restricted to the Holy See. http://www.carr.org/~meripper/saints/

\textsuperscript{49}Vauchez, 14.

\textsuperscript{50}Vauchez, 32: “During the last centuries of the Middle Ages, the majority of new cults which emerged in western Christendom were neither approved or disapproved of by the supreme authority, and developed locally with complete freedom.”
Breviary (texts for the Divine Office) and of the Missal (texts for the Mass). Until that time, wide variations, according to regional custom, developed in the material included in the texts for both Mass and the Office. Religious orders keen to spread devotion to saintly members who died produced Offices honoring the deceased member. Many of the Offices of Saint Francis of Assisi are Franciscan compositions. The same can be said for Offices honoring Saint Dominic, founder of the Order of Preachers. Dominicans authored at least some of his services.

Offices in the repertory are referred to by a letter-number combination. An abbreviation scheme is used for convenient reference. The two letters signify the first two letters of the bishop’s name. There are two exceptions. Thomas Becket of Canterbury is coded TC to distinguish him from Thomas Cantilupe of Hereford. The latter is coded TH. Identifying these bishops by diocese will provide the necessary distinction. Whenever a number follows the two-letter designation, that number will identify which of several Offices to that saint is under consideration. There is only one Birinus Office; its code, then, is BI. Germanus of Auxerre is represented by two Offices; these are GE 1 and GE 2. The complete listing of Offices in this study is coded as follows:

Birinus (BI), Blasius (BL 1-5); Bonaventura (BO 1-2), David (DA), Eligius (EL 1-2), Germanus of Auxerre (GE 1-2), Guillelmus of Bourges (GU 1-2), Hugo

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51 It was not until the reign of Pius V that the Breviarum Romanum (1568) was issued. The Missale Romanum was published in 1570. Klauser, 118.

52 At least one of these was written by Julian of Speyer, Franciscan choirmaster for Louis IX. Hughes, LMLO, 138.

53 Hughes, for example, lists four Offices in honor of Dominic. One is a fourteenth-century Office, believed to have been commissioned by the Dominican order and written by Julian of Speyer, a German Franciscan composer. A second is known to be of Dominican composition. Hughes, LMLO, 129.
Authorship of most of the thirty-five Offices in this dissertation is uncertain. The Birinus Office (BI) dates from the eleventh century, but its author is not known. Numerous sources are identified for Offices to Blasius dating between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries in Spain and in France, but authorship has not been established. Of the two Bonaventura Offices, BO 1 is of Roman origin, drawn from numerous sources dating from 1492 to the sixteenth century. The second Office, BO 2, is of fifteenth-century Franciscan origin. Although no author’s name is associated with EL 1, the text is known to date from 1479 in Geneva. Of the two Germanus of Auxerre Offices, GE 1 is identified as one of comparatively few Cistercian compositions. The second, GE 2, dates from 1595 in Arras. Three manuscripts, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, contain the first of two Offices honoring Guillelmus of Bourges; they come from Paris or Meaux. Phillipus de Moutier is credited with writing the Office in 1274. The other Guillelmus Office (GU 2) is derived from two manuscripts written between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. Five manuscripts for the Office of Leodegarius (LE 1) derive from France between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Of the three Nicolaus of Bari Offices, NI 1 is a sixteenth-century Cistercian composition, while NI 3 is a fifteenth-century Dominican composition. Various manuscripts are identified for PA 1, one of two Offices honoring Patricius; the second is a fifteenth-century manuscript from Ireland. The first of eight Offices of Thomas Becket in this study—TC 1—was composed by Benedict of Peterborough, who died in 1193. Peter Abelard wrote TC 7.
Perhaps Robert of Gloucester wrote TH 1, one of the two offices of Thomas Cantilupe.\textsuperscript{54}

The date of the manuscript, of course, is not the date of the composition itself.

These Offices form part of the Church’s official prayer. Since the texts are canonical, they find their place within the Sanctorale, the cycle of immovable feasts within the church year. The thirty-five Offices examined here form only a small portion of the repertory of liturgical texts of the late Middle Ages. Even so, this selection is extensive enough to allow for an examination of features peculiar to bishops as a special category of saint. It furthermore invites comparison of this category with Offices honoring other saints. The thirteen bishop saints whose Offices are examined in this dissertation were honored in the Church calendar on a variety of feast days. For most bishops, the feast day is the anniversary of his death. For others, like Thomas Becket, additional observances were developed. Feast days for him include commemoration of his return to England from exile, the anniversary of his canonization, and the translation of his relics.\textsuperscript{55}

These texts have been drawn from a variety of sources. The initial search was within the extensive electronic catalogue compiled by Andrew Hughes, a compilation of over 1500 Offices. Preliminary work among the data showed that using the electronic catalogue alone would result in either inaccurate readings or unreliable conclusions. Mechanical sorting and calculations cannot, in a study of this type, replace personal analysis. Wherever possible, cross-references have been made with \textit{Analecta Hymnica}, a catalogue that carries its own set of inaccuracies. Original manuscripts, microfilm, or

\begin{footnotes}
\item[54]Hughes, \textit{LMLO}, 119-185.
\item[55]Ibid., 184.
\end{footnotes}
photocopies were consulted for fifteen of the Offices. As the findings are presented, the provenance of the texts will be identified, insofar as it can be determined. No standard source has been published for later medieval liturgical Offices. Only a few have, in recent years, been edited. For this reason, the texts presented in this dissertation, apart from the fifteen which have been examined in manuscript form, are necessarily drawn from *LMLO* and *Analecta Hymnica.*

A number of bishops in this study served without any added title or identification; included in this group are David of Wales, Eligius of Noyons, and Nicolaus of Bari. A few were members of religious orders, or had a close connection with one. Before his episcopal consecration, Guillelmus of Bourges served as abbot of the Cistercian house at Pontigny. Similarly, Hugo of Lincoln was prior of the Carthusian house at Witham in Somerset. Both Germanus and Leodegarius were early Benedictines. Bonaventura was second in reputation to the founder of the Franciscans and became Cardinal bishop of Albano in 1273. Although Thomas Becket was not himself a Cistercian he resided at Cistercian abbeys during his six-year exile in France, first at Pontigny and later at Sens. A few other bishops developed an association with other forms of religious life. Eligius, for example, was not a monk, but is credited with founding early monasteries and

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56BL 1, BL 2, DA, EL 2, GU 1, HU 3, PA 1 (four sources), TC 6, TC 7, TC 8 (two sources), TH 1. The present location of these sources will be presented in Chapter One as each Office is discussed.

57BI (Hartzell, 1975); DA (B. Owain Edwards, 1990, facs.), TC 1 (Boyce, 1984, with chant) within this repertory.

58A list of the provenance of the Office texts is appended to this dissertation. See Appendix D, p. 156.

59Germanus is credited with the founding of monasticism in Gaul.

nunneries. Popular medieval hagiographer Iacobus de Voragine reports that Blasius tried to live as a hermit, even after becoming bishop, to avoid persecution under the reign of Diocletian.

Distinct from these are those bishops honored as doctors (literally “teachers”), including Bonaventura and Thomas Cantilupe; the latter is associated with the universities of Oxford (where he served as chancellor during two separate terms), Paris, and Orléans. Hugo of Lincoln is the only one who served as confessor, although that title is sometimes given a bishop as an honorific. Among the apostolic missionaries are Birinus, who labored among the West Saxons, and Patricius, who converted the people of Ireland. Blasius, Leodegarius, and Thomas Becket are the martyrs. Thomas Becket, like Guillelmus, was an archbishop. The former was assigned to Canterbury in England; the latter, to Bourges in France. Considering the poems according to these categories (doctor, martyr, confessor, apostle, archbishop) will highlight specialized vocabulary and allusions.

Some of these men took part in formative Church affairs. Bonaventura, for example, was a prominent figure at the Council of Lyons. Besides holding positions of

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http://www.catholic-forum.com/saints/sto09001.htm

62 *LA*, 167: *Qui, episcopatu suscepto, ob Diocletiani persecutionem speluncam petit et ibi eremitam vitam duxit.*

63 From 1261-63 and again from 1273-74. *LMLO*, 185.

64 Ibid., 184, 144.

65 Ibid., 119. Bonaventura had been charged by Pope Gregory X to prepare the questions to be discussed at the Council, which opened at Lyons on May 7, 1274. Gregory himself presided at the Council, but confided the direction of its deliberations to Bonaventura, especially charging him to confer with the Greeks. http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02648c.htm
authority within the Church, some bishops held influential secular positions prior to their episcopal consecration. Thomas Becket was chancellor of England in 1155, a position later held by Thomas Cantilupe in 1265. Bishops were also claimed as patron by special groups. Guillelmus of Bourges was declared protector of the French nation at the University of Paris. Nicolaus was honored as patron of Bari after his remains were translated there. From the twelfth century on, David has been considered patron of Wales. He is listed in the Kalendar of the Bangor Missal as both bishop and confessor.

Although the date is uncertain, he is supposed to have been born around A.D. 589. His identity as patron of Wales was an outgrowth of two translationes: one in 1131, the other in 1275. With Columba and Brígida, Patricius is hailed as patron of Ireland.

Although one might present the material from the poems in any of several arrangements—alphabetically, according to diocesan region, chronologically according to the saints’ lives—certainly the most direct approach is to consider these bishops within the context of each of the four genres. Doing so allows one to appreciate similarities in tone, grammatical construction, and rhetorical device. It enables at least a cursory comparison within the same genre in Offices to saints of other groupings (e.g., martyrs, apostles, virgins). Chapter Two, then, presents the liturgical poems in this sequence: matins invitatory, the opening prayer of each liturgical day; the Benedictus antiphon at lauds; the Magnificat antiphon at first vespers (VE1), the Magnificat antiphon at second vespers (VE2). Chapter One will begin to trace the outlines of these thirteen bishops. As

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66 Bangor Missal (NLW MS 492F). This book is an illuminated and notated missal of the mid-fifteenth century housed at the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth. The Kalendar lists this entry for the national patron: 01 Mar S. David, epi e confess.

67 The National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth conserves the manuscript of a secular service honoring this saint. The manuscript is not accessible, but a facsimile is available for examination. B. Owain Edwards, ed. and facs., 1990.
the image takes shape, one detects signs of local devotion, a firm reliance on the bishop’s intercessory power, a recognition of the leader’s political influence during his years of service, a conviction that the bishop is among the blessed in heaven, allusion to scriptural characters (drawn especially from the Old Testament) and, chief of all, numerous expressions of adoration of God, the object of each bishop’s lifelong dedication.

The focus of Chapter Three is Nicolaus of Bari. He is representative of the early saints whose popularity was geographically extensive during the late Middle Ages and whose cult spread through popular devotion rather than according to the formal canonical approval process. Two Offices are analyzed, one monastic, the other secular. Treating the complete Office will establish the earlier selected poems in the larger context of their particular feast day liturgy. The monastic Office (NI 1) is of sixteenth-century Cistercian origin, while the cathedral Office (NI 3) is a translatio Office of fifteenth-century Dominican origin. Nicolaus served as bishop of Myra in Asia Minor and died around 350. His remains were translated from Myra to Bari by ship, a protective measure against desecration by infidels. When Nicolaus’ relics were enshrined in 1087 at Bari on the southwest coast of Italy, he was established as patron of that city. Mention of place names makes the monastic Office especially notable.

Chapter Four presents two Offices honoring Guillelmus, who served as archbishop of Bourges from 1200 until his death in 1209. The choice of this saint is prompted by several considerations. Since Guillelmus’ canonization was conducted according to official ecclesiastical procedure, records exist of testimony of behalf of his cause. Anecdotes attesting his miraculous power and declarations of personal holiness from the deposition are reflected in the Office texts. The official vita, part of the
canonization proceedings, offers additional literary material. As with the two Offices to Nicolaus in Chapter Three, so here one monastic Office (GU 2) and one cathedral Office (GU 1) are analyzed. This allows for comparisons between Nicolaus, an early bishop with a popular late medieval cult, and Guillelmus, one of the new saints of the late Middle Ages. Both of the Guillelmus Offices mention place names.

In undertaking an analysis of this repertory of liturgical texts, the first task must be to examine the poems—MI LE, VE1, and VE2—in each of the Offices. Even in incomplete Offices these four poems are likely to be present. They allow for comparison and can yield information about the role of *praesul* during their composition as well as about the reputation of the particular bishop from whose Office these are drawn. The inspection will involve an assessment of the metrical pattern, including rhyme scheme, and will also look at the language of the poems.

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Chapter 2

Liturgical Evidence

The image of the bishop during the late Middle Ages\textsuperscript{69} is forged, in part, by the texts of the Divine Office. Within the Office, poems from matins, lauds, and vespers\textsuperscript{70} express the praying community’s esteem for the bishop and reliance on his effectiveness as spiritual intercessor. The provenance of these services is seldom known and the quality of the Latin is sometimes defective. Even so, a careful examination of Divine Offices reveals specialized vocabulary, including place names. Comparison of metrical patterns can suggest borrowing\textsuperscript{71} or at least popular style for a certain genre (i.e., the antiphon introducing the \textit{Benedictus} during the hour of lauds), and literary figures highlight the composer’s deft handling of words.\textsuperscript{72}

In addition to highlighting stylistic and linguistic features, an examination of Latin liturgical poetry points to the identity of the honored saint. In all of Christian prayer, the central figure is God, and so expressions of adoration are always directed to

\textsuperscript{69}This dissertation focuses on texts written between A. D. 1100 and 1500.

\textsuperscript{70}There are two vespers services in the Office. Of the two, first vespers is the more important. It is celebrated on the vigil of the feast.

\textsuperscript{71}The complex task of identifying the source of borrowings, the provenance of particular texts, the chronology of texts, and their historical significance was formally undertaken in 1972 by the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA). Revisions to the initial work were published in 1975 and 1981. For a discussion of the federation’s accomplishments and updated goals, see \textit{Working group on headings for liturgical works}, 2d ed. (London: IFLA), 1981.

\textsuperscript{72}For a glossary of Latin metrical terms, see Appendix A, p. 151.
Him. He is further honored whenever the praying community acknowledges the virtues and intercession of the saints. Latin liturgical poetry paints details of the Church’s saints through various expressions. In the present repertory, direct address of the bishop expresses the community’s assurance that its prayer is being heard and that, furthermore, its patron will effectively plead its cause before God. Other poems are biographical and, even while the faithful are praying and praising, they recall events of the bishop’s life. Still other poems identify the bishop as shepherd, father-figure, and even defender against secular threat.

Matins Invitatory

Twenty-five matins invitatories are included in this study. Four are prose (DA, LE 1, NI 3, and TH 1); of these, DA and TH 1 rhyme. The most common rhyme scheme is abab, occurring in seven instances. In ten of the invitatories, the rhyme is disyllabic. Five contain caudati, literally “tail rhyme,” rhyming only at the end of the line. Only one poem, GU 1, is chiastic—abba:

\[
\text{Adoretur et laudetur} \quad \text{verbum Patris factum caro}
\]
\[
\text{Militique suo caro} \quad \text{triumphanti laus debetur.}
\]

The disyllabic laudetur and debetur are balanced by the repetition of caro in the other two phrases. Particularly noteworthy in this poem is the use of caro both as a noun, “flesh,” and as an adjective, “dear.” The abba rhyme scheme and the rhymes at both

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73BL 1, BO 1-2, EL 1, GE 1, GU 2, and NI 2.
74BL 2, BO 1-2, DA, EL 1, GE 1, GU 1-2, NI 2, TH 1.
75BL 2, DA, TC 1.
76“May the Word of the Father, made flesh, be both adored and praised. Praise is due to his own dear triumphing soldier.”
the caesura and at the end of the lines set up a chiastic pattern, a cross-shaped rhyme configuration. This is the only instance of chiasma in this genre. Perhaps the most elaborate construction occurs in TC8, one of the Offices for Thomas Becket. With a scansion line pattern of four syllables (penultimate stress) followed by seven syllables (antepenultimate stress), the poem has a rhyme scheme of aa in trisyllabic caudati pattern:

\[
Ubi Thomas victor est in gloria \\
Nos translati transferat memoria. \textsuperscript{77}
\]

With few variations, the first line is a call to the community, while the second contains a relative clause describing God in his action on behalf of the saint.\textsuperscript{78} An Office honoring Patricius provides an example:

\[
Benedictus sit Dominus universorum \\
Qui suam visitavit plebem per beatum Patricium.
\]

The invitatory is the praying Church’s first utterance of the liturgical day and introduces Psalm 95, an invariable text. The psalm opens with the plural imperative venite, then the hortatory subjunctive call to worship:

\[
Venite, exsultemus Domino, \\
Acclamemus Petrae salutis nostrae. \textsuperscript{79}
\]

\textsuperscript{77}“Where Thomas is victor in glory may we be taken, through this commemoration of his translation.”

\textsuperscript{78}This “ascription of praise to the Almighty, arranged in the form of a relative clause,” is termed relativische Prädikation by Edward Norden, who has studied the history of the forms of religious language. Klauser, 38.

\textsuperscript{79}“Come, let us sing to the Lord. Let us acclaim the Rock of our salvation” (Psalm 95: 1).
It is not surprising that the invitatory, as introductory poem, most often employs the hortatory subjunctive and adopts a tone similar to Psalm 95.

The plural imperative *venite*, reminiscent of the first word of Psalm 95, occurs in BL 3, where the people are commanded: *Ad regem vitae digna cum laude venite.* The command *venite* is also found in NI 3. Line one reads as follows: *Venite magnifice iubilemus.* Only one other invitatory, LE 1, contains an imperative verb, *celebrate*; the poem commands: *Concentus Domino, famuli celebrate sonoros.* The most common form of the principal verb is in the first person, plural, present, subjunctive mood, active voice, a verb form whose suffix is –*mus*: *adoremus* (BL 2, NI 1, PA 2, and TC 6), *exultemus* (TC 3), *exurgamus* (GU 2), *iubilemus* (EL 2, NI 3, and TC 2), *laudemus* (PA 1), *psallamus* (BL 4), *personemus* (EL 1), *reddamus* (GU 2). Two such forms are contained in TH 1: *adoremus et laudemus.* The praying community is urged in BO 1, *contifeamur ore.* All other main verbs in the matins invitatories are in the third person. In BL 1, it is the throng of the faithful which is asked to adore God: *adoret plebs fidelis.* The Church is urged to rejoice in the invitatory honoring David: *iubilet ecclesia.* This expression is amplified in TC 1. Here the Church is identified as virgin mother: *Virgo mater iubilet ecclesia.*

An impersonal effect results from passive-voice, third-person verbs, as evinced in BO 2. Here the hortatory subjunctive urges that praises be rendered: *laudes reddantur.* Similarly GU 1 asks that the Word of the Father be adored and praised: *Adoretur et laudetur verbum Patris.* The use of third-person, passive-voice verbs here creates a more

80 “Come with fitting praise to the King of life.”

81 “O attendants [of God], send forth harmonious sounds to the Lord.”

82 “Let us confess with our lips.”
distant effect than the more frequent first-person hortatories described earlier. Seldom does the verb participate in the rhyme scheme. When it does, the verb rhymes with another verb of the same form (i.e., first person plural of the hortatory subjunctive). This twofold expression intensifies the encouragement to the praying community to honor, adore, or praise the Godhead.

With one exception—in the office for Germanus of Auxerre described below—the poem is focused on the action of God, never on the bishop. Titles for God vary, but most often reference God as Christ. Christ, furthermore, is most frequently identified as King, often as Son. The Trinity is invoked in several invitatories. While the bishop is never directly addressed in the matins invitatory, he is frequently mentioned. The curious invitatory for Germanus of Auxerre (GE 1) expresses the hope that the saint be venerated by the people, not in sluggish prayer, but rather in endless praise: Germanus laude perenni . . . a populis veneretur non prece segni. Almost all of the invitatories identify the honored bishop by name, but almost exclusively in acknowledgement of God’s action in his behalf; twenty-one of the twenty-five invitatories name the honored bishop. The four exceptions are these:

1) BL 4. Here the reference is to Blasius, on “the feast of the unconquered martyr”: Martyris invicti festum.

2) GU 1. In this invitatory, verbum Patris, the Word of the Father, is the subject of the two passive-voice verbs adoretur and laudetur. In line two, laus, praise, is the subject of the passive debetur. Guillelmus is not named.
3) NI 3. On this feast of Saint Nicolaus, the bishop is not identified by name. Instead, the invitatory calls on the praying community to rejoice in God pro tanto pontifice.83

4) PA 2. This invitatory is for the translatio of the relics of all three of Ireland’s patrons: Patricius, Columba, and Brigida. They are not identified by name but the second line refers to the feast day in this way: Patronum Hiberniae reliquiae sunt translatae.84 The liturgical day itself is sometimes mentioned in the invitatory. Heaven is referred to in terms of eternal joy or as the bishop’s reward. The image is often of Christ establishing the saint in heaven (BL 1, suum servum Blasium locavit iam in caelis; PA 1, Patricium patrem coeli qui vexit ad arcem), adorning the bishop with some kind of heavenly symbol such as the robe of glory (NI 1, Nicolaum hodie stola dotavit gloriae) or the palm of victory and a crown (TC 2, sancto Thoma palmam dedit et coronam).

Titles for Christ are rich and varied in these invitatories. The poems call upon the praying members to adore, praise, celebrate, sing to, confess, and exult in Christ. He is hailed as Christ--BL 4, Christo; supreme Lord--TC 2, summo . . . Domino; or simply as Lord--LE 1 and NI 3, Domino. He is most often described in royal terms. Reference is made to him as Christ the King--BO 2, Regi . . . Christo and PA 2, Christum regem; King of the holy martyrs--BL 1, sanctorum regem martyrum; King of life--BL 3, regem vitae; King who rules through all ages--PA 1, regem per saecula cuncta regentem; and King of glory--TH 1, regem gloriae. He is also identified as Son of the supreme King--TC 2 and TC 3, summi Regis filio; and as eternal Son--BL 4 aeterno filio. The Trinity is the object of adoration, too, as seen in BL 2: Adoremus unum Deum atque trinum pariter.85 God is

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83 fore the sake of so great a bishop.”

84 The remains of patrons of Ireland have been translated.”

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described as both one and simple (in the sense of having no parts) in NI 2: *Uni Deo et simplici gloria sit atque laus.*

Despite the varied forms of addressing God, the matins invitatories are consistent in tone; all are laudatory. Consistently limited to two lines of poetry, the matins invitatory stands as the day’s first utterance of the praying community. It issues a call to adore God on the feast of his bishop. The feast is usually the annual commemoration of the saint’s death, but some bishop saints have additional feast days to commemorate their *translatio*, the transfer of their relics from one sacred place to another; *translatio* poems may include a pun in reference to crossing or passing, alluding to his soul’s final transfer. Frequently God is described as intervening on the bishop’s behalf on the day of his death. Images of victory, honor, and unending joy describe the bishop’s establishment among the blessed in heaven.

**Lauds ad Evangelium**

*Laudes*, the liturgical hour at daybreak, most likely derives its name from the opening words of Psalms 148 and 150, prominent in the service. The former begins, “Praise the Lord from the heavens, praise Him in the heights.” The latter opens, “Praise the Lord in His sanctuary, praise Him in His lofty firmament.”

The twenty-three lauds antiphons are more varied than the matins invitatories. Perhaps the most notable difference is the variation in length. While all matins invitatories are two-line poems,

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85 “Let us adore God, equally one and three.”

86 “Glory and praise be to the one and simple God.”


88 *Laudate Dominum de caelis, laudate eum in excelsis* (Ps. 148:1). *Laudate Dominum in sanctuario eius, laudate eum in augusto firmamento eius* (Ps. 150: 1).
lauds antiphons range from two lines (TC 2) to nine (BO 1 and BO 2). The antiphon for PA 1 is prose. Although they differ from the matin invitatories in length, the lauds antiphons retain the usual scansion features. Poetic scansion characteristics are best demonstrated within each individual Office. Twelve of the twenty-three lauds antiphons have disyllabic rhyme;\(^9^9\) of these, three are caudati.\(^9^0\)

The *Benedictus* is the canticle which, in Luke’s gospel, recognizes Jesus as *propheta Altissimi*, “Prophet of the Most High.” The evangelist records the words of the aged Simeon who, in acknowledging Jesus’ mission, identifies Him as *Oriens ex alto*, “the Dawn from on high.” The antiphon at lauds, LE, introduces the *Benedictus* (Lk. 1: 68-71),\(^9^1\) the opening line of which contains these words:

*Benedictus Dominus, Deus Israël, quia visitavit et redemit populum suum.*

These phrases from the gospel canticle are echoed in the twenty-three lauds antiphons. Five poems begin with *Benedictus*, appropriately mirroring the canticle.\(^9^2\) In BL 2, the community acknowledges the eternal King as creator of all things: *Benedictus rex aeternus qui creavit omnia.* In LE for both of the Offices honoring Guillelmus (GU 1 and GU 2), God is named the unconquered King. The opening phrase of GU 1 mirrors the canticle quite closely:

*Benedictus rex invictus Deus Israëlis*

GU 2 has this variant:

*Benedictus rex invictus dux patris ad bravium.*

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\(^9^9\)BL 1-3, BO 2, DA, EL 1, GU 1-2, NI 1-3, TH 1.

\(^9^0\)BL 2, NI 3, TH 1.

\(^9^1\)For the complete text of the *Benedictus*, see Appendix B, p. 153.

\(^9^2\)BL 2, GU 1-2, PA 1-2,
Both LE antiphons for Patricius (PA 1 and PA 2) reflect Simeon’s canticle. In PA 1, one of few prose antiphons, God is identified as Lord of the universe. The antiphon echoes the Gospel canticle by considering Patricius’ presence among the Irish people a fulfillment of God’s own visitation of His people:

*Benedictus sit Dominus universorum qui suam visitavit plebem per beatum Patricium.*

PA 2, by contrast, does not embellish the opening phrase but simply echoes *Benedictus Dominus.*

The hour of lauds is celebrated as the sun is rising. These cathedral Offices make pointed reference to sunrise at lauds, even using the dawn as a symbol of Christ, light of the world.\(^93\) Monastic Offices, since they form a cycle of continuous prayer, do not take into account the time of day at which the particular hours are celebrated. The gospel canticle itself contains light imagery. Luke describes God’s visitation of His people as an illumination. God is called the Dawn from on high, *Oriens ex alto,* whose illumination rescues the praying community from Death’s darkness and shadows, *tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent.*\(^94\) The LE antiphons capitalize on this imagery. The poem in the Office of Birinus (BI) is comprised of five phrases with monosyllabic rhyme: *aaaaa.* It begins and ends with phrases drawn from the *Benedictus.* Here God is the Light rising in the darkness, *Lux oriens in tenebris,* asked to illuminate us through the merits of Birinus, *illina nos placitis . . . Birini meritis.* The praying community begs God to draw us to himself along the pathway of peace, *tibi . . . pacis duc in semitis,*\(^95\) unmistakably

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\(^{93}\)Taft, 211-212.

\(^{94}\)“. . . they are sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death.”

\(^{95}\)“Lead us to You in the paths of peace.”
patterned on the closing phrase of the canticle, a subjunctive-mood result clause which
asks *ut dirigat pedes nostros in viam pacis.* 96

Both BL 3 and BL 4, Offices for Blasius, capitalize on lauds as a sunrise service
by using light as an image. The former addresses Blasius directly:

*O iubar aeternum, Blasi, iubarque supernum,* 97

while the latter applies the light imagery to Christ:

*O splendor solis, qui terrena nubila tollis,* 98

The invitatory which is richest in imagery and remarkable in its metrical pulse is BO 1.
The poem is comprised of seventeen phrases, each having a hexameter followed by an
iamb. The opening line has two such phrases and appropriately speaks of the world
bathed in light:

*Aurea mundo luce respersa,* 99

An unusual allusion to Greek mythology calls heaven “Olympus” and depicts
Bonaventure, not named until midway through the nine-line poem, as dispersing the
clouds and warding off darkness:

*nubila pellens, tenebris obstans, Bonaventura,* 100

Old Testament allusions are few in this set of poems. David succeeded Saul as
Israel’s second king. The *Benedictus* refers to God’s election of David’s lineage as the

96.“... that he direct our feet in the way of peace.”
97.“O Blaise, radiance of eternity and radiance of the heights,”
98.“O Splendor of the sun, You Who divert the earthly clouds,”
99.“The golden light, splashed upon the world, a blissful regal bath,”
100.“Bonaventure, driving the clouds away, resisting the darkness,”
chosen people: *erexit cornu salutis nobis in domo David servi sui.*\(^{101}\) The lauds antiphon for one of the Offices of Blasius (BL 1) does not refer directly to David’s house. It instead calls Blasius *David alter,* “another David.” As such, the bishop saint is conqueror of evil, willing to face formidable foes in the same manner that David, having taken up arms (i.e., the slingshot, *armis*), challenged the Philistine Goliath. *Legenda Aurea*’s account of the life of Blasius illustrates the bishop’s victory in a contest of unequal power.\(^{102}\) This poem is one of only six in the repertory directly addressed to bishop saints:

\[ O\ \text{Blasi, tu diceris David alter inclitus} \]
\[ Cum\ Goliam\ viceris\ armis\ sumptis\ coelitus.\]  

The antiphon for the Office dedicated to David of Wales makes fitting allusion to David by echoing, again, the lyrics of the canticle. Through the bishop’s agency, Christ as rising Sun of justice is depicted as visiting those who have fallen. A play on the Latin words for East and West creates the image of Christ as rising Sun of justice—*orients iusticiae*—who has visited the West—*occidentem.* *Occidentem* can also be construed as “those falling.” Christ does this through David’s holy wandering, *sanctum errorem.*

Two poems contain New Testament imagery. The antiphon for one of the two Eligius Offices (EL 1) likens the Church to the boat of the fisherman Peter. The barque steadies the faithful, tossed about by abominable influence.

\(^{101}\) *LA,* 167-69. “He has raised up the horn of salvation for us in the house of David, His servant.”

\(^{102}\) In keeping with the scriptural allusion, the saint is presented as apparently powerless over the commands of the pagan prince who had him arrested. The ruler ordered Blasius drowned. Because the bishop first blessed the pond, however, the water instantly dried up: *sicut terra arida fixa premansit.* *LA,* 169. The saint is armed, not with a slingshot but is rather invested with the power that comes from invoking the name of God. Only after several failed attempts to put the bishop to death was Blasius eventually beheaded.

\(^{103}\) “O Blaise, you are called another renowned David, since, heavenly one, having taken up arms, you have conquered Goliath.”
The first of the two Guillelmus Offices contains unusual imagery for the *Benedictus* antiphon. Gabriel’s annunciation to Mary, the event celebrated in the evening canticle, the *Magnificat*, is mentioned in GU 1. Because the feast of Guillelmus falls on January 10, within the season of Christmas, this annunciation scene is appropriate. The birth of Jesus is the fulfillment of God’s annunciation promise to send His Word:

*Verbum misit quod promisit descendens de caelis*  
*Incarnatum nuntiatum per os Gabrielis.*

Since antiphons precede the chanting of psalms, it is uncommon for the antiphons themselves to contain verses from the Psalter. An exception occurs in one of the Nicolaus antiphons (NI 2) which contains the words *seniores et parvuli*, taken from Psalm 148: 10, “old men and boys.” The line refers to the universal praise of God’s name. Specific mention of *seniores et parvuli* may allude to two groups who claimed Bishop Nicolas as special patron. Numerous episodes recount the saint’s deliverance of seamen from natural disaster and of young boys from either the devil’s clutches or an evil ruler’s thrall.

One of the two Bonaventura antiphons (BO 1) is an apostrophe. Mount Olympus is evidently a reference to heaven:  
*O quam nascitur magnus ex te, Olymo.*

The antiphon for LE 1 is the strongest expression of the patron-client relationship between the honored bishop, Leodegarius of Autun, and the faithful he served. The poem

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104. "Peter’s ship sustains those who are thrown to and fro by threats."

105. "He has sent the promised Word from above, whose Incarnation was announced through Gabriel’s proclamation."

106. These tales will be discussed in Chapter Two.

107. "O how great a one is born from you, Olympus."
highlights his skill as a metalworker and shows the saint not supervising a royal structure—his temporal role—but rather directing workmanship on heaven’s gates. By extension, the saint shows himself effective at his tomb as well, a common hagiographical theme:

*Igitur praesulis iussu [magno locata ambitu]*
*Coelitis aulae fabrica arte fulget mirifica;*
*Praebet sanctum mausoleum populis patrocinium.*

The poem then expresses the community’s hope for unending help from Leodegarius:

*Cuius nobis iuvamina subveniant in saecula.*

Several of the antiphons speak of the intercessory power of the bishop. In the Office of Birinus (BI), divine action is sought through the merits of the saint, *Birini meritis.* In BL 2, it is through Blasius’ entreaties, *per eius suffragia,* that God grants the heavenly kingdom. The same saint in BL 3 is dubbed a mild intercessor—*clemens advocate*—who directs the faithful by virtue of his own prayer, *tuorum et prece.* In BL 4, the prepositional phrase *per eum* explains that the faithful prays specifically “through [Blasius]”. The same phrase, *per eum,* in TC 6 shows reliance on Thomas Becket for the faithful to be taken from “this fragile life” to “the eternal mansion”:

*Ut per eum transferamur ab hac vita fragili ad aeternam mansionem.*

The prose antiphon for PA 1 seeks absolution from sin and eternal rest specifically through Patricius’ prayers:

*per beatum Patricium, cuius prece absolvamur a vinculis criminum et requie perfruamur.*

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108. “Therefore, by decree of the bishop, the wondrous workmanship of the heavenly chamber glistens through the skill placed [at its expansive border]. The hallowed burial-chamber provides patronal services to the people.”

109. “May Leodegarius’ assistance come to us without end.”
Occasionally the bishop is addressed, either by name or by some pious ascription. Eight of the lauds antiphons contain direct address, although the bishop is sometimes not named. In BL 1, the community calls on Blasius, *O Blasi*. He is repeatedly invoked in BL 3, the appellations identifying him as mediator between earth and heaven:

*O iubar aeternum, Blasi, iubarque supernum,*
*Regis coelistis, O fortis et inclite testis,*
*Respice servorum, clemens advocate,*

Bonaventura was noted for the depth of his writings and teachings, a quality attributed to the hours he spent as a Franciscan in pious prayer. BO 2 alludes to this quality in the bishop:

*O mira contemplatio, O sancta meditatio,*
*Bonaventura levaris in Iesum, quem meditaris*

Eligius is not named in EL 1. The community addresses him: *O dilecte praesul,* “O esteemed bishop.” This antiphon likens the universal Church to a ship capable of holding everyone. Mention of Peter is appropriate for two reasons. Seen as the first pope, Peter was also acknowledged as head of the Church in the West. Before he joined Jesus, he made his living as a fisherman. Eligius, incidentally, was a bishop of the

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110 *“...through blessed Patricius, by whose prayers may we be absolved from the bonds of misdeeds and enjoy [eternal] rest.”*

111 *“O renowned Blaise;”*

112 *“O Blaise, radiance of eternity and radiance of the heights,*
*O brave and renowned witness of the heavenly King,*
*Look upon your devotees, O mild intercessor,”*

113 *“O wondrous contemplation, O holy meditation,*
*Bonaventure, you are lifted up in Jesus, upon whom you meditated.”*

114 *“Churches of the West gradually and increasingly came to regard the bishop of Rome as their natural leader. The rise of the papacy in the West as a central and unifying force is contrasted by the presence of four apostolic sees in the East. Political, economic, and religious differences each worked to effect the separation between the West and East. Brian Tierney, Western Europe in the Middle Ages: 300-1475, 6th ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1999), 56.”*
Western Church, laboring among the Franks. The reference to the barque of Peter may be an application of the *piscatores hominum* theme in the Gospels.\(^{115}\)

Thomas of Canterbury is invoked in TC 1, a four-line poem that asks the bishop to raise up the faithful who have been brought low:

\[
\text{Opem nobis, O Thoma, porrige,} \\
\text{Rege stantes, iacentes, erige,} \\
\text{Mores, actus et vitam corrig}e \\
\text{Et in pacis nos viam dirige.}\(^{116}\)
\]

Thomas of Canterbury is not named, but hailed as “God’s wondrous administration” in TC2, one of very few poems which contains a doxology:\(^{117}\)

\[
\text{Benedictus hinc Dominus: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus.}
\]

Thomas of Hereford is addressed as “holy Thomas” in TH 2: *Sancte Thoma.*

The hortatory subjunctive is characteristic not of lauds antiphons but rather of matins invitatories. It occurs but once in these lauds antiphons. In TC 6, one of the Offices for the translation of Thomas of Canterbury, the faithful pray,

\[
\text{Celebremus venerandi praesulis ac martyris} \\
\text{Inclitam translationem.}\(^{118}\)
\]

Characteristics of the antiphon preceding the *Benedictus* at lauds are not numerous but stand in contrast to the matins invitatory. These twenty-three Gospel antiphons at lauds differ from their matins invitatories in several ways. The lauds

\(^{115}\)Literally, “fishers of men.” Mt 4: 19; Mk 1:17; Lk.5:10.

\(^{116}\)“O Thomas, hold out wealth to us. Rule those standing, raise up the fallen. Rectify our manners, deeds, and life and lead us along the path of peace.”

\(^{117}\)A doxology is a formula which praises God as Triune. TC 2 words it in this way: “Blessed thus be the Lord: Father, Word, and Spirit.” In the present repertory, the only other poems with a doxology are these: BL 2 (MI) and GU 2 (VE\(^7\)). References to the Trinity may be so few because a doxology already followed each psalm in the Office. This custom is of Jewish origin. Klauser, 6.

\(^{118}\)“Let us, the venerating ones, celebrate the glorious translation of the bishop and martyr.”
antiphons are longer than the two-line matins invitatories and range from two lines (TC2, LE.a) to nine lines (BO 1 and BO 2). Images of light are numerous at lauds, appropriate for this daybreak service. In some instances (BI, BO 1) light is used as an image of Christ. Some lauds antiphons address the bishop (BL 1 and 3, BO 2, EL 1, TH 1, TC 1 and 3); matins invitatories are never addressed to the bishop. Words from the *Benedictus*, the Gospel canticle, are mirrored in several of the antiphons: BL 2, DA, GU 1 and 2, PA 1 and 2. Among the VE\textsuperscript{2} repertory, only the antiphon for TC 2 contains a doxology.

Appropriate to the liturgical hour, the lauds antiphon is an expression of praise as day breaks. These characteristics begin to show, as the day of prayer progresses, the community’s gradual shift of focus to the bishop without, of course, compromising the praises always due God.

**First Vespers ad Evangelium**

The chanting of the *Magnificat* has been customary from an early date at vespers, the Church’s evening prayer.\textsuperscript{119} Bede refers to it in a homily on Mary:

\begin{quote}
Nam et optimus ac saluberrimus in Sancta Ecclesia mos inolevit ut hymnus ipsius cotidie cum psalmodia verpertinae laudis ab omnibus canatur.\textsuperscript{120}
\end{quote}

The liturgical day is reckoned from one evening to the next, or from first vespers to second vespers, a custom deriving from Jewish sources.\textsuperscript{121} Of the two evening services, first vespers, *prima vespera*, is the more important.\textsuperscript{122} The motif of light as an image of

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{119} *Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 355.

\textsuperscript{120}“It has become an excellent and salutary custom in the church for everyone to sing this hymn [the *Magnificat*] daily in the Office of evening prayer.” “Homilia in Adventu,” in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera, Pars* 3, vol. I, homily 4 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1965).

\textsuperscript{121}Klauser, 6.
\end{footnotesize}
Christ, already seen at lauds, is clearer in vespers services, especially in the ceremonial lighting of the evening lamp.\textsuperscript{123} The hour also has an eschatological sense, the end of the liturgical day mirroring the end of time when Christ will return.

There are twenty-two antiphons for first vespers in this repertory. Fifteen have disyllabic rhyme.\textsuperscript{124} Of these, two—NI 2 and TC 8—have caudati, or end rhyme. Only the antiphons for LE I, TC 2 and TC 3 are prose; TC 3 is rhymed prose having a monosyllabic rhyme scheme. The poem for BO 1 is unrhymed but has a metrical pattern. This set of antiphons for first vespers of bishops provides examples of the leitmotif, identifying Christ as the fulfillment of the ages. The set also shows the bishop taking an active role in fostering the kingdom of heaven for the sake of those who honor his memory on earth. The poems show the saint as outstanding in his role as bishop, acting on behalf of those entrusted to his care, or happily installed in heaven, where he continues to intercede for his people.

Far more frequently than at either matins or lauds, the bishop is directly addressed in the \textit{Magnificat} antiphon at first vespers. In BL 1, Blasius is named, then invoked in a series of appositives:

\begin{quote}
\textit{O Blasi, gemma praesulum, ecclesiaeque speculum,}
\textit{Tu . . . spes tribulatorum}\textsuperscript{125}
\end{quote}

In similar fashion, Blasius is greeted:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Ave, praesul honestatis, magne pater sanctitatis,}
\textit{sancta, Blasi, vir laudande, orbe toto praedicande}\textsuperscript{126}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{122}The extra solemnity of the earlier hour is reflected in Offices containing proper items which are not proper in the corresponding items of second vespers. Hughes, \textit{Medieval Manuscripts}, 69.

\textsuperscript{123}Taft, 28.

\textsuperscript{124}BL 1-4, BO 2, DA, GU 1-2, NI 1-3, PA 1-2, TC 6, TC 8.

\textsuperscript{125}`O Blasius, the gem of bishops, and mirror of the Church, you are the hope of the troubled."
This poem is distinctive for showing the saint as a man universally worthy of praise, not just a local figure. BL 3 calls on the saint again, this time as martyr. \[127\]

\[Salve, martyr, vera salvatio, Blasi, nostra spes et protectio.\] \[128\]

The antiphons for the Offices of Bonaventura (BO 1 and 2) address the saint in ornate terms. Bonaventura’s acclaimed scholarship and lofty writings earned him the title “The Seraphic Doctor.” \[129\] At first vespers in BO 1, the Gospel antiphon does not name Bonaventura, but addresses him thus:

\[O lumen siderum, cardines poli, fervidaeque Seraph!\] \[130\]

He is similarly invoked in BO 2: \[O doctor Seraphicae, O pontifex mirifice.\] \[131\]

Nicolaus is invoked in NI 3 not by name but by a descriptive series:

\[O praesul egregiae limes aequitatis, \\
Doctor sapientiae, candor puritatis, \\
Auctor innocentiae . . . .\] \[132\]

126. “Hail, O Blasius, bishop of honor, O great father of holiness, Man deserving of holy praise, commended throughout the whole world”

127. Blasius gave his life in defense of the Faith, and so earned the title “martyr,” a transliteration of the Greek word, μάρτυς, meaning “witness.” J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 657. See also *Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 364. In Acts 1:8, Jerome expresses it as follows: *Eritis mihi testes in Ierusalem*, but the original understanding of testes as “witnesses” is akin to the Greek word.

128. “Hail, martyr Blasius, true salvation, our hope and our protection.”


130. “O light of the constellations, O hinges of the poles, and Seraph of ardor!”

131. “O Seraphic teacher, O marvelous bishop.”

132. “O bishop, path of distinguished impartiality, teacher of wisdom, whiteness of purity, author of innocence.”
Thomas Becket is addressed in three of the six antiphons honoring him at first vespers. In TC 2, the Church prays,

*Martyr Thoma, martyr Dei pretiose.*\(^{133}\)

while in TC3, the bishop is associated with Thomas, one of the twelve apostles of Jesus:

*O Thoma, digne Apostolico nomine.*\(^{134}\)

The antiphon for TC 6 resembles that for NI 3 with its series of appositives:

*Ave, Thoma, vir insignis, forma patientiae, virtutum praefulgens signis, defensor ecclesiae.*\(^{135}\)

This triple invocation in TC 7 does not name Thomas Becket, but instead identifies him in terms familiar to the Church of the late Middle Ages:

*O praesul illustris, O martyr insignis, O victor nobilis.*\(^{136}\)

Thomas Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford, is unnamed in either of the first vespers antiphons dedicated to him (TH 1-2). In TH 1, the praying community calls upon the bishop with these words:

*O pater pietatis, O gemma praesulum, Lucerna claritatis, illustrans saeculum.*\(^{137}\)

Birinus is also hailed as *gemma praesulum* (BI). Just as Birinus is called a “gem,” so Thomas Cantilupe is termed “lamp of clarity.” Calling Thomas *lucerna claritatis* is especially appropriate for this liturgical hour. The lamp lighting ceremony that opened

\(^{133}\) “O martyr Thomas, martyr of great value to God,”

\(^{134}\) “O Thomas, deserving of the apostolic name.”

\(^{135}\) “Hail, Thomas, distinguished man, model of patience, gleaming symbol of goodness, defender of the Church.”

\(^{136}\) “O distinguished bishop, O notable martyr, O noble conqueror.”

\(^{137}\) “O father of holiness, O jewel of bishops, shining lamp of clarity, illuminating the ages.”
first vespers, *lucenaria*, came to refer not just to that ritual but to the hour of vespers itself.\(^{138}\)

One of the Offices for Patricius (PA 2) honors not just the bishop, but also Columba and Brigida. The three are revered as Ireland’s saints. The antiphon for first vespers of this translation feast hails the trio in these words:

\[
O\ trinae\ lampades\ mirae\ claritatis\ . . .
\]

*Pastores\ Hiberniae*\(^{139}\)

God is spoken of, but not to, in these poems. The single exception is the antiphon for the feast of David of Wales (DA). The words echo the choice of Mary, Martha’s sister. The episode occurs only in Luke’s gospel. Mary is seen, not attending to matters of hospitality when Jesus comes to their home, but rather sitting at Jesus’ feet to hear Him speak. Jesus commends, not corrects, her for choosing *optimam\ partem*, “the best part.”\(^{140}\) In the antiphon for the feast of David, it is Jesus Himself who is identified as “the best part.”

\[
Iesu\ bone, . . .\ probavit\ quod\ tu\ sis\ pars\ optima.\(^{141}\)
\]

The antiphon for EL 1 recounts an episode from Ouen’s *Vita Sancti Eligii*. As his mother was laboring to deliver Eligius, a portent appeared in the form of an eagle wheeling overhead. A holy man, summoned to interpret the sign, declared the child destined for God’s service as a holy priest. The poem summarizes the event succinctly:

\[
Qui\ per\ avem\ designatur,\ sicut\ matri\ relevatur,
Volantem\ sublimius.\(^{142}\)
\]


\(^{139}\)“O threefold torches of remarkable brightness, . . . guides of Ireland.”

\(^{140}\)Lk. 10:42.

\(^{141}\)“O good Jesus, he has proven the fact that You are the best part.”

40
The image of the bishop among the heavenly throng frequently appears in these antiphons. The virtuous deeds which earned the saint a place in heaven are sometimes mentioned. Leodegarius gained heaven through martyrdom, appropriately symbolized by his bearing the palm of victory. The symbol is derived from the Book of Revelation, a scene depicting victorious souls ranged around the throne of the Lamb, holding palm branches in their hands.\footnote{et palmae in manibus eorum (Rev 7:9).} The antiphon for LE 1 adopts that image by placing Leodegarius among the blessed. The poem fittingly makes mention of the feast day itself.

\begin{quote}
Martyris ascripto celebremus tempore festum,
Quo Leodegarius victricem sanguine palam
Promeruit cunctis glomeratus in ordine sanctis.\footnote{Let us commemorate the feast of this martyr at this prescribed time, during which Leodegarius, gleaming in the procession of all the saints, has earned the victorious palm through the shedding of his blood.}
\end{quote}

Antiphons are not limited to an expression of admiration at the saint’s place among the blessed in heaven. The poem can continue to seek the bishop’s support in heaven, a continuation of the favors his community relied on while he served them on earth. The antiphon for NI 3, for example, shows Nicolaus of Bari as an intercessor, continuing in heaven the ministrations for which he was noted on earth:

\begin{quote}
Veniam peccatis apud thronum gloriae posce cum beatis.\footnote{At the throne of grace among the blessed, seek forgiveness of sins.}
\end{quote}

Patricius, while a young captive in Ireland, pastured the king’s swine. The antiphon for PA 1 capitalizes on this episode. The poem identifies the boy as belonging

\footnote{[He] is pointed out by a bird, soaring higher, just as he is revealed to the mother.”}
to Christ (*Christi puer*); his captivity occurred even before his conversion and his later return to Ireland as apostle. The poem also emphasizes Christ’s choice of Patricius to tend, not the pigs of the ruling monarch, but rather a community of the faithful, a flock of his own:

*Christi puer capitur et in servum venditur.*
*Pascit porcos regis*
*Quem Christus elegerat et pastorem noverat*
*Fore sui gregis.*

Given the significance of light for the hour of vespers, the antiphon for PA 2 is especially strong in imagery. The antiphon honors all three of Ireland’s patrons—Patricius, Columba, and Brigida. The Office commemorates the *translatio* of their relics, using a metaphor to describe the spiritual brightness of the trio:

*O trinae lampades, mirae claritatis,*
*Ut sol in meridie diebus aestatis,*
*Pastores Hiberniae, globi claritatis.*

The antiphon for TC 1 uses antithesis, a series of contradictions. The poem refers to the assassination of Thomas Becket by agents of Henry II. Thomas returns to England after seven years’ exile in France. Shortly after his return, he is killed. The poem acknowledges the ultimate victory of martyrdom while proclaiming the peace which results from the slaying of the archbishop. The Church is personified as a grieving mother, suggesting the *Mater Dolorosa* who mourned her son Jesus.

*Pastor caesus in gregis medio*
*Pacem emit cruore proprio;*
*Laetus dolor in tristi gaudio,*
*Grex respirit pastore mortuo;*

---

146.“Christ’s boy is seized and is sold into slavery. He whom Christ had chosen pastures the king’s pigs, and has renewed abroad [the role of] pastor of his own flock.”

147.“O threefold torches of remarkable brightness, as the sun at noon during the days of summer, guides of Ireland, orbs of brightness”
Plangens plaudit mater in filio,
Quia vicit victor sub gladio.\textsuperscript{148}

The alliterative \textit{pl}- in line five and the play on words in the last line—the verb \textit{vicit} and the nominative \textit{victor}—contribute distinctive literary effects to a particularly strong meter. Each line ends with a three-syllable word having antepenultimate stress. The first half of each line is metrically heavy, containing four syllables comprised of two spondees. The second half of each line is comparatively light, aided by the dactyl which ends the line.

The imagery in TC 2 is drawn from the Book of Revelation, a scene which depicts the band of souls who have survived the Great Tribulation. Thomas Becket is numbered among them in this poem:

\textit{Martyr Thomas, martyr Dei pretiose,
Qui lavisti stolam tuam in agni Dei cruore},\textsuperscript{149}

The poem echoes the wording of the Book of Revelation which describes the victorious army in these terms: \textit{qui . . . laverunt stolas suas, et dealbaverunt eas in sanguine Agni}.\textsuperscript{150}

The antiphon for TC 3 is remarkable for its placenames. Thomas Becket is described as \textit{honorabilis Angliae, acceptabilis Galliae, desiderabilis ubiquie}.\textsuperscript{151} In line four, he is associated with an earlier Thomas, one of the Twelve. The saint is addressed,

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{148}“The shepherd, cut down in the midst of his flock, buys peace with his own slaughter. The rejoicing flock, sorrowful in a sad joy, takes breath from the slain shepherd. The mother, striking her breast, approves of her son, since he, as victor, has prevailed under the sword.”
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{149}“Thomas, martyr, God’s martyr of great value,
you who have washed your robe in the blood of the Lamb of God, . . .”
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{150}“. . . they who have washed their robes and have whitened them in the blood of the Lamb” (Rev. 7:15).
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{151}“Honorable to England, acceptable to Gaul, desirable everywhere”
\end{flushright}
O Thoma, digne apostolico nomine. His intrepid dealing with secular powers made the archbishop a source of wonder, described in the poem as one qui reges et nationes incredulas. The same saint is hailed in TC 6, then described in a series of appositives of increasing force:

Ave, Thoma, vir insignis, forma patientiae, Virtutum praefulgens signis, defensor ecclesiae,

The antiphon for TC 7 addresses the saint as Thoma Cantuariensis, Thomas of Canterbury, another of the few instances in which place names occur in these poems. This antiphon is peculiar for its triple vocative. Having called upon Thomas as bishop, martyr, and conqueror, the faithful invoke his intercession:

O praesul illustris, O martyr insignis, O victor nobilis, Ora pro nobis Dominum Iesum Christum.

These vocatives, like the appositives in TC 6, are arranged in increasing force to illustrate the heightened dignity of his identity first as bishop, later as martyr, and now as victor in eternity.

TC 8 is a translatio Office. The poet uses anaphoric emphasis in a series of dense phrases to outline the career of the archbishop. The episodes occur in succession but are linked by the repetition of the adverb hinc:

Hinc principum adversa sessio

152 “O Thomas, deserving of the apostolic name”
153 “you who astound kings and nations”
154 “Hail, Thomas, distinguished man, model of patience, gleaming symbol of goodness, defender of the Church.”
155 “O distinguished bishop, O notable martyr, O noble conqueror, beseech our Lord Jesus Christ for us.”
Both antiphons for Thomas of Hereford address the bishop. In TH 1, the image of light occurs, this time describing Thomas and his enduring effect:

*O pater pietatis, O gemma praesulum,
Lucerna claritatis, illustrans saeculum*

Thomas of Hereford’s remarkable lineage is mentioned in TH 2. He is addressed as *stirps praeclara*, a renowned stock. In the late Middle Ages, part of the agenda in promoting a saint included mention of his noble background. This topos was eventually replaced by an emphasis on a person’s humility, his ordinary background, his unspectacular heritage. The change of focus puts sanctity within reach of all the faithful regardless of one’s political sphere, gender, or noble lineage. Even so, however, mention of Thomas’ family background served to identify him as eligible for sanctity.

One finds in the Gospel antiphons for these bishops several remarkable features. Because these are cathedral Offices, a round of services written with attention to the time of day, vespers antiphons capitalize on the symbol of light. The ritual lighting of the lamp, derived from Jewish custom, offers an image which is found in a number of the Gospel antiphons for these Offices of bishops. The poems, in the main, have a disyllabic rhyme scheme. Frequently the poem addresses the saint, either by name or in a series of attributes. Place names are present but not with remarkable frequency; the same is true of

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156. “Henceforth a hostile seating of leaders, exile, and a vision of God; henceforth, having returned, from thence his holy passion”

157. “O father of holiness, O jewel of bishops, lamp of clarity, illuminating the ages”

the doxology. Scriptural allusions echo specific psalms or New Testament passages. Occasionally reference is made to a character (King David or Peter the Apostle, for example), but such are not common. The Gospel antiphon for first vespers does not borrow the words of the Magnificat, as the Gospel antiphon for lauds frequently does. The antiphon at first vespers, in some instances, contains biographical elements, making mention of the bishop’s reputation or some signal action he performed during life. Much more common is the presentation of the bishop as a figure already enrolled in heaven, a place of unending bliss where he continues the pastoral care which endeared him to the faithful during his lifetime among them.

Second Vespers ad Evangelium

The twenty-two Gospel antiphons for this genre are, not surprisingly, similar to those for first vespers. The poems for this hour are distinguished by an additional—perhaps alternate—antiphon in two of the Offices of Blasius (BL 2 and 4). The disyllabic rhyme is predominant, occurring in thirteen of the entries; four also have caudati. Two (BI and PA 1) are prose. A monosyllabic pattern is seen in several poems. A number of the poems maintain a consistent abababab pattern with a

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159 All such texts, additional or alternate poems associated with some of the Offices, will be discussed in a separate section. Their chief contribution to this study is their hagiographical reference. For this reason, they are not included in the metrical and poetic analysis.

160 BL 1, 2 (both antiphons), and 4; DA, EL 1, GU 1-2, NI 2-3, TC 1, 5, and 8.

161 BL 2, TC 1, TC 5 and 8.

162 One of the BL 4 antiphons as well as in BO 2, PA 2, and TC 2. The BL 4 antiphon is also tail-rhymed, caudati.

163 BL 1, DA, GU 2, NI 3.
midline rhyme at the caesura and a separate rhyme at endline. Others stay with a single aaaa scheme, although of varying length.\textsuperscript{164}

The antiphons in LE 1 and PA 2 are accentual with monosyllabic rhyme participation. Scansion patterns vary from one Office to the next. For the most part, scansion patterns are carried through several lines. This is remarkable in four of the Offices dedicated to Thomas Becket. All three having a disyllabic caudati rhyme scheme exhibit this scansion pattern: (4p+6pp); TC 1 and TC 8 contain five lines of the pattern, while TC 5 has six such lines. The fourth Office of Thomas Becket in this set of antiphons, TC 2, has a monosyllabic rhyme participation. The antiphon has two lines conforming to this scansion pattern: (8pp+8pp) (8p+8p) (8pp+8pp).\textsuperscript{165}

Like the poems for First Vespers, so these introduce the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55). As with the First Vespers set, these, too, make frequent mention of light. In BL 3, Christ “shines forth in the celestial palace,” \textit{coelesti palatio fulgeat humanitus}. A different treatment of light is seen in BL 4. Instead of Christ shining forth in the celestial palace, the feast day commemorating Blasius’ martyrdom itself shines forth in this world: \textit{dies ista mundo refulget celebris}. The poem continues the theme of light, showing the martyr moving to the light of heaven from worldly shadows.\textsuperscript{166}

\textsuperscript{164}BL 2 (both poems), BL (first of two), TC 1, TC 8.

\textsuperscript{165}(8pp+8pp) (8p+8p) (8pp+8pp) identifies the poetic statement as having three lines. The first contains two measures, both of which have eight syllables with the final two syllables—pp—participating in the rhyme scheme. The middle line contains two measures; each has eight syllables, but only the final syllable—p—participates in the rhyme scheme. The pattern of the third line is identical to the first. All subsequent reference to poetic scansion participate in this system. The final-syllable rhyme is termed \textit{ultimate}, while the two-syllable end rhyme is termed \textit{penultimate}. Only rarely does a poetic line include all three final syllables in its end rhyme; in such instances—ppp—the rhyme is termed \textit{antepenultimate}.

\textsuperscript{166}Et ad lucem sic migrasti de mundanis tenebris.
In BO 2, one of the Offices dedicated to the Franciscan Bonaventura, God is called *Patrem luminum*, the Father of lights. A different use of the image of light is used in the antiphon of EL 1, honoring Eligius: the saint is seen ascending to heaven, termed “the home of true light,” *domum verae lucis*. A more elaborate treatment of the theme of light is found in GU 2, one of the two Offices of Guillelmus of Bourges. The poet presents the soul as a bride, Christ as Bridegroom. The “dowry’s glory of the Trinity is shining forth,” *Trinae dotis iam fulgens gloria*. Much simpler terms are used in one of the Offices of Patricius. The patron of Ireland is asked in PA 1 to “kindle a light in our hearts” by his prayers: *cordibus in nostris accende tua prece lumen*.

Among this set of twenty-two antiphons, only two contain place names. In PA 2, a *translatio* Office honoring all three of Ireland’s patrons, Patricius is addressed as *Hiberniae apostole*, apostle of Ireland. Thomas Becket, martyred archbishop of Canterbury, spent six years exiled in France. In the antiphon for TC 2, he is hailed as “the praise of the Franks, the praise of the Angles,” *laus Francorum, laus Anglorum*, acknowledging his popularity within his diocese as well as in his place of exile.

Bishops are sometimes addressed by name. The patron of Wales is called “heavenly David,” *caelitus David* in the antiphon for DA. Greeted as “glorious martyr” and “most holy bishop,” Leodegarius of Arles is addressed also by name:

*Inclite martyr, ave, praesulque sacerrime, salve, O Leodegari.*

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167 The soul takes on the identity of the scriptural bride, espoused to the Bridegroom, Christ. This union of bride and Groom is expressed in Solomon’s *Canticum Canticorum*, part of the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament. Paul also uses this image when he encourages the Corinthians to live uprightly, since he has “espoused them as he would a chaste virgin to Christ,” *vos uni viro virginem castam exhibere Christo* (II Cor. 11:2).
Thomas of Canturbury is addressed directly in TC 1—Salve, Thoma—and is addressed also, Thoma, in the antiphon for TC 2, a poem which asks that he rule the Church by virtue of his martyrdom.\textsuperscript{168}

Among this group of bishops, Blasius, Leodegarius, and Thomas Becket suffered martyrdom. Reference is made to their supreme sacrifice in several of the twenty-two antiphons under consideration. In BL 1, for example, \textit{O palma victoriae}—O palm of victory—alludes to Blasius’ martyrdom, the symbolic palm being a dominant martyr’s image. The saint is seen in BL 2 being raised on high by Christ specifically through his martyrdom, \textit{per martyrium}. In BL 2, the saint is greeted: Salve, martyri Blasi, “Hail, martyr Blaise.” He is invoked as “the battle-tested martyr Blasius” in BL 4: \textit{Agonista martyr Blasi} and is addressed as both bishop and combatant, \textit{O praesul et agonista Blasi}.\textsuperscript{169} The poem goes on to describe the saint’s death; he was hanged from a tree—\textit{suspensus eras ligno}—and later beheaded—\textit{obtruncaris capite}.

After the poet greets Leodegarius in LE 1 as “glorious martyr” and “most holy bishop,” he calls him “blessed with twofold grace: \textit{bino charismate felix}. Thomas Becket is addressed in superlative terms in TC 2, called “most steadfast martyr,” \textit{O martyr constantissime}, and in TC 5 is termed “extraordinary martyr,” \textit{martyr egregie}.

As has already been stated, the image of light is appropriate to the hour of Vespers, the traditional lamp-lighting service at evening. Of all the bishops under consideration, it is Blasius with whom light is most frequently associated. He is depicted in heaven, shining forth in his human nature—\textit{fulgeat humanitas}—in BL 3, and shining

\textsuperscript{168} \textit{Rege, pater, ecclesiam pro qua fudisti sanguinem}. “Rule the Church, O father, for which you poured out [your] blood.”

\textsuperscript{169} \textit{Agonista} in the former antiphon is used as an adjective; in the latter, as a substantive noun.
forth in this world in BL 4—mundo (re)fulget. By contrast, Bonaventura is seen, not as luminiscent himself, but rather as leading us to the Father of lights. The antiphon honoring Eligius, EL 1, does not depict the bishop in heaven but rather describes the bishop’s death.

In the VE² poems addressed to Blasius and to Nicolaus, the bishop is pictured in heaven, interceding for his flock on earth. This privileged vantage point, the poems emphasize, was hard won through a lifetime of earthly labors including, in Blasius’ case, martyrdom. The bishop’s heavenly post makes him an especially attractive intercessor. Poems of this type either describe the episcopal saint’s work to bring his congregation to heaven or else plead with him to act on their behalf. Thus it is through the prayer of Blasius, cuius prece, that Christ shows the praying community the joy of Paradise: Paradisi gaudium. In similar fashion, Blasius is asked to “raise us on high,”—sursum trahe—by his intercession.

The intercession of Bishop Nicolaus is invoked in NI 1; the image is of the congregation “passing over to the good things of the heavenly life,” transeamus . . . ad caelestis vitae bona. Nicolaus is asked to actually convey his people to heaven’s throne in NI 3, a translation Office: Transfer ad regni solium.

One more antiphon expresses hope of a heavenly reunion. Patricius, Columba, and Brigida, Ireland’s three patrons, in PA2, are asked to “demand eternal joys” in order that the faithful may join them in enjoying the delights of life in heaven.

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170 Patrem luminum.

171 BL2.

172 Poscite vestris gaudentibus sollemnibus, perfrui vobiscum sempiternis gaudiis.
Far more frequent than prayers to attain heaven are those asking the bishop to forgive the sins of those who invoke their aid. These prayers point to the congregation’s recognition of the saint’s priestly power, as alter Christus, to absolve sinners.\textsuperscript{173} Life on earth is depicted as dark, difficult, grievous, or cumbersome. The focus of several VE\textsuperscript{2} poems is on cleansing, forgiveness of sins, or liberation from oppressive earthly snares. Blasius is asked to “save us from the ruin of this universe” in BL 2: \textit{Nos a mundi salva naufragio}; the faithful pray this, having been “cleansed from all sin,” \textit{mundatos ab omni vitio}. In BL 4, Blasius is beseeched, “Kindly hear our entreaties and wash away our sins.”\textsuperscript{174} The bishop is reminded that, unless he acts on behalf of those who invoke his aid, they will be “dragged down by carnal allurements,” \textit{ne trahamur carnis ab illecebris}.\textsuperscript{175} The poem from the Office of Leodegarius (LE 1, VE\textsuperscript{2}) asks the bishop’s help specifically “because of the enormity of our heavy sins,” \textit{peccati mole gravatis}. A final example comes from TH 1, an Office honoring Thomas Cantilupe, who “forgives the sins of the contrite,” and who “apportions heavenly rewards,” pastoral activities expressed with alliterative charm in the Latin: \textit{Culpas curat contritorum, poli traestat praemia}.

Earthly life is seen as a struggle in NI 1, as a course in NI 3. Nicolaus is asked to intercede that the faithful may attain heaven after “having prevailed over our fleshly abode,” \textit{devicta carnis trabe} (NI 1). Taking up the theme of Nicolaus’ \textit{translatio} in NI 3,

\textsuperscript{173}As successors of the Twelve Apostles, the bishops acted on Jesus’ commission: “Whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven them, and whose sins you retain, they are retained” (Mt 18:18).

\textsuperscript{174}\textit{Audi clemens preces nostras et peccata dilue}.

\textsuperscript{175}BL 4, WE.a.
the praying community asks their patron to convey them to heaven’s throne “after the
course of this life”:

Translationis gaudium colentes cum letitia
Transfer ad regni solium post huius vitae stadia.

TH 1 declares that Bishop Thomas Cantilupe “forgives the sins of those who are
contrite,” *Culpas curat contritorum.*

Among the VE² poems in this study, there are numerous allusions to the bishop’s
sanctity. In EL 1, for example, a phenomenon is reported at the moment of Eligius’
death, confirming his reputation for holiness. Just as the holy man breathes for his last,
described as “emitting the holy spirit from his body,” a fiery sphere is seen, reaching the
sky. The sign of the cross is traced by the fire in the sky attesting “that this man was
ascending to the home of true light.”¹⁷⁶

Similar wondrous signs are reported at the tombs of several bishop saints. A few
of them find their way into the VE² poems. The oozing of oil, redolent with fragrance,
became a stock shrine image in medieval hagiography. The author of *Legenda Aurea*
reports this wondrous sign in numerous accounts, not only of bishop saints but of holy
men and women of various canonical stations.¹⁷⁷ The oil, enthusiastically collected by
faithful pilgrims, was piously applied to the bodies of those suffering a variety of
disabilities. Instantaneous cures, whether right at the shrine site, or far away in the
homeland of the pilgrim, served to promote devotion to the saint. Fragrant oil, then,
served two purposes. It indicated holiness, as is expressed in NI 2, one of the Offices

¹⁷⁶ Sancto sanctum emittente spiritum de corpore
Sphaera ignis es repente visa caelum tangere,
Quae praetendens signum crucis hunc ad domum verae lucis
Signavit conscendere.

¹⁷⁷ Iacobi à Voragine, *Legenda Aurea: Vulgo Historia Lombardia Dicta.* Reprinted from the 1890 text
honoring Saint Nicolaus: “Piety has been revealed by a rivulet of fluid,” _Liquoris rivulo patuit pietas_. The curative property of the oil also promoted a particular aspect of the saint’s character. Nicolaus, for example, was considered exceptionally kind and mild-mannered. The VE² poem celebrates this characteristic in stating that the bishop’s mildness, _suavitas_, is emitted from his tomb. The miraculous oozing of oil is both remarkable and effective: it restores sight. “Blindness is driven from the eyes of the blind,” _caeci ex oculo pellitur caecitas_.

Like Nicolaus, Thomas Cantilupe became well known for his exemplary manner of life. TH 1 describes a pleasant fragrance. The odor is not associated with the bishop’s tomb, but is rather detected within the Church, _in ecclesia_. The scent is likened to that of a flower garden, _sicut fragrant horto florum_, and is specifically associated with Thomas Cantilupe’s manner of living: _per exempla morum_.

The anniversary of a bishop’s _translatio_ was frequently commemorated with a special Office. On the very day of the transfer of his remains, and sometimes on an anniversary, there were reports of particular favors granted by the bishop. In one of the translation Offices of Thomas Becket, for example, three wondrous deeds are recorded. TC 8 tells of restored health (_salus datus_), the rescue of a submerged battleship (_liberantur mersi naufragio_), and the raising of a parishioner from the dead (_defunctorum fit resurrectio_).

Signs of special favor stimulated devotion among the faithful because they served to remind them that the bishop who had faithfully guarded and guided them while he was among them on earth continued his pastoral care from his heavenly station. The set of VE² poems in this repertory describes a full range of episcopal ministrations. The bishop
saint forgives the contrite sinner, pleads on behalf of his flock, and continues his lifelong
tention of a heavenly reunion with those whom he was appointed to serve on earth.

Conclusion

Poems composed for the various canonical hours of the Divine Office bear
similarities within their respective genres and exhibit common elements as well as
distinctive traits to honor the individual bishop. The four genres represented in this study
are these: the invitatory at Matins, first liturgical utterance of the day; the antiphons that
introduce the Magnificat (i.e., the Gospel canticle at first and second Vespers); and the
antiphon that introduced the Benedictus, the Gospel canticle at the hour of Lauds.

The twenty-five Matins invitatories are expressed in the hortatory subjunctive,
calling the community to worship in the first of the lines, and praising God in the second.
The Matins invitatory immediately precedes the chanting of Psalm 95, itself opening with
a hortatory subjunctive call to worship; the frequency of this pattern in the MI poems
obviously echoes this psalm. None of the invitatories directly addresses the bishop, but
twenty-one of the set of twenty-five name him. Heaven is depicted as the abode of
eternal joy and as the bishop’s reward. Central to the poems are images of victory,
honor, and unending joy.

The twenty-three Lauds antiphons, occurring immediately before the chanting of
the Canticle of Zacharias (the Benedictus), are more vivid than the Matins invitatories.
Their length ranges from two to nine lines. Five of the poems echo the words of the
Benedictus. Six directly address the bishop saint. Scriptural allusions are few; the
emphasis is rather on the intercessory power of the bishop. Monastic Offices are part of the Benedictine ideal of praying always. Cathedral Offices, on the other hand, capitalize on the time of day during which the respective hours were prayed. For that reason, the Lauds antiphons frequently mention Christ as the Light of the world. This is a daybreak service. Unlike the Matins invitatories, none of which directly addresses the bishop, eight of the twenty-three Lauds antiphons call on the bishop, either by name or by some appellation. Only one of the Lauds antiphons is in the hortatory subjunctive mood while most of the Matins invitatories are in that form.

At the hour of Vespers, an antiphon precedes the chanting of the Magnificat, Mary’s canticle of praise. Twenty-two antiphons are included in this study for first Vespers, and another twenty-two for second Vespers. Although antiphons are sometimes repeated in Offices or borrowed from one Office to another, none of these poems are duplicated. Just as the antiphon at Lauds, a daybreak service, sometimes makes reference to light, so at the hour of Vespers, an evening service, light imagery is common. Vespers was originally a lamp lighting ceremony. Appropriately, then, Christ is seen as the Light of the world, and the end of the day is likened to the end of time. The antiphons for Vespers, more than the poems at either Matins or Lauds, depicts the bishop in heaven, continuing his pastoral care of his flock. God is spoken of, not to, in these poems. It is in the Vespers antiphons, moreover, that one is most likely to find place names, biographical information, and the praying community’s direct appeal to the saint for aid. Whereas the Matins invitatory occasionally borrows from Psalm 95 and the Lauds antiphon sometimes echoes the Benedictus, there is no such borrowing from the Magnificat in the poetry of Vespers.
In the entire corpus of poems, it may be surprising that the doxology, an expression of praise that names the Trinity, appears only three times. The doxology, however, was already incorporated into each hour of the Divine Office; it was recited after the call to worship as well as after each psalm and canticle.

This chapter has examined the characteristics of specific poems within the hours of Matins, Lauds, and Vespers. The inspection has established predominant themes, has determined poetic names used in reference to bishops, and has highlighted poems that show the bishop, as patron, challenging secular authority. Chapter Three will consider selected poems within the context of two Offices, compositions honoring Saint Nicolaus. When viewed within this larger context, the poems help to distinguish this bishop saint from others within the Church’s roster of saints. Nicolaus is among those figures of early Christianity whose cult grew in popularity during the late Middle Ages. Because Nicolaus lived and died before official canonization proceedings were established, the holy man’s popularity rested on local devotion and widespread anecdotes. What emerges here is a fairly well defined image of a saint about whom very little factual evidence was extant, even at the time his cult was developing.
Chapter 3

Nicolaus of Bari

Nicolaus is representative of bishops of the late Antique or early Medieval era whose cult did not develop until much later. In company with Nicolaus are seven other early bishops\(^\text{178}\) among the thirteen in this study. The considerable following of these men was fostered through the dissemination of tales describing the heroic virtue they practiced while on earth and their dedication in heaven to those once entrusted to their care. The deeds of many saints undoubtedly began with oral accounts, reported first by contemporaries, and later perpetuated as local tradition. Other stories, such as the *Vita S. Eligii* by Rouen of Ouen,\(^\text{179}\) are of known composition. The mission of Birinus among the West Saxons is reported by Bede in *Historia Ecclesiastica* (III, 7).

The widespread fame of many saints is owing to the extraordinary success of *Legenda Aurea*, or The Golden Legend, a collection of tales compiled by Iacobus de Voragine and completed in 1265.\(^\text{180}\) The popularity of the collection fostered widespread devotion to the saints, as the stories were circulated throughout Europe. Most of the entries are for early saints and are arranged according to the Church’s liturgical calendar.

\(^{178}\) Birinus, Blasius, David of Wales, Eligius, Germanus of Auxerre, Leodegarius, and Patricius.

\(^{179}\) The author is also known as Dado.

\(^{180}\) *Legenda Aurea* was originally intended as a preaching aid. Its author entered the Dominican Order in 1244. He reluctantly became archbishop of Genoa in 1292. *Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 299.
Nicolaus of Bari, whose feast day is December 6, is among the best known and most widely revered of all these saints. His story is a succession of astonishing episodes, extensive and varied enough to serve as a model for comparing the vitae of the other early bishops in this study.

David Townsend presents this basic sketch of the hagiographer’s approach:

Texts typically but not invariably include a sequence of infancy episodes, a description of the saint’s person and qualities, an account of his or her career with a heavy emphasis on miracle stories, a death narrative, and a series of posthumous miracles.  

The entry for Nicolaus of Bari follows these conventions closely.

*Legenda Aurea* abounds with entries for holy men and women whose sanctity seems inextricably tied to their lineage. Nicolaus’ young parents are not only wealthy and pious—*ex divitibus et sanctis parentibus*—but, after the birth of Nicolaus, they agree to forego further sexual union: *caelibem vitam duxerunt*. Their decision *ipso facto* makes Nicolaus an only child and the eventual heir of their riches, important for his later largesse towards those in dire need. His parents realize from the start that, although they have determined to have but one child, the boy God sent them is clearly out of the ordinary. He stands upright in the bath, for example, on the day of his birth—*Hic prima die dum balnearetur, erectus stetit in pelvi*. Nicolaus gives early indication of his ascetic bent, limiting his nourishment on Wednesdays and Fridays, traditional fast days, to only

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183 For a discussion of aristocratic prestige and sainthood, see Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 173-183. So common was the *topos* of noble birth that it came to be regarded, until the rise of the Mendicant Orders, almost as a *sine qua non*.
one nursing: *Quarta et sexta feria semel sugebat ubera.* As a young boy, rather than join his peers in idle, wordly diversions (*Factus, autem, juvenis aliorum devitans lascivias*), he prefers to spend his time in churches: *ecclesiarum potius terebat limina.*

*Legenda Aurea* does not record Nicolaus’ age at the time of his parents’ death, but makes clear the son’s intention to dispense their considerable wealth not for human praise but rather for God’s glory—*tantam divitiarum copiam non ad laudem humanam, sed ad Dei gloriam dispensaret.* The best known story of the saint’s liberality is, of course, the account of his rescuing three young girls from a life of prostitution for their father’s inability to provide them with a dowry. The iconography of this episode depicts an aged bishop, mitred and supported by his crosier, surreptitiously lobbing small coin bags through an open window. According to *Legenda Aurea,* however, Nicolaus makes the triple gift as a layman, relieving a neighbor, evidently a petty nobleman (*contermineus suus satis nobilis*) of the decision to consign his daughters to a shameful future. The gold coins are not delivered in a single donation, moreover. With each nocturnal offering, the father is able to marry one daughter, beginning quite logically with the eldest.

This sort of installment plan sets up a triadic motif recurrent in the Nicolaus legend. In this particular tale, the father’s desire to thank his benefactor prompts him to watch for the return of the unknown donor (*de caetero vigilare proposuit*). On the night of the final donation the father pursues the fleeing figure, lays hold of him, then recognizes Nicolaus as his own neighbor. The kindly saint, in response to the man’s overwhelming expression of gratitude, insists that the story not be reported, as long as the man should live: *ne eum quamdiu viveret, publicaret.*
The *vita* shifts without transition from this touching scene to the divine election of Nicolaus as bishop. This abrupt change is not unusual. “Episodic construction,” observes David Townsend, “often emphasizes discrete anecdotes at the expense of any substantial narrative developments.”\(^{184}\) The scene that tells of God’s choice of Nicolaus as bishop is significant in several respects. There is no report of the saint’s having been a deacon or priest before becoming bishop. Seemingly his spiritual formation came by way of those customary boyhood visits to the church, during which he tried to understand the Scriptures and memorized the texts: *Quidquid ibi, de sacra scriptura intelligere poterat, memoriter retinebat.* He evidently continued the custom into adulthood. *Legenda Aurea* reports a gathering of bishops to fill a vacancy in the See of Myra,\(^{185}\) occasioned by the death of the incumbent: *Mireae civitatis defuncto episcoopo, convenerunt episcopi, illi ecclesiae de episcopo provisuri.* None of the bishops is identified by name, but evidently one among them holds greater authority than the rest—*quidam magnae auctoritatis episcopus.* The choice of the next bishop of Myra will depend on this one’s opinion: *ad cuius electionem omnium sententia dependebat.*

What emerges in this scene are two distinctive hagiographical features: divine bidding revealed through an unidentified voice, and the power of the saint’s name. The senior bishop is instructed to keep watch at the entrance to the church at daybreak: *ut hora matutine fores ecclesiae observaret.* The first to enter would be named Nicolaus and was to become the new bishop—*ipsum in episcopum consecraret.* And so it happened. Key here is the direct question, “What is your name?”—*Quod tibi nomen est?*

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\(^{184}\)Townsend, 618.

\(^{185}\)Myra is in Asia Minor, modern-day Turkey.
Later episodes show the power of the saint’s name as well as his mysterious hold over unbelievers, confirmed when he identifies himself. *Legenda Aurea* explains that Nicolaus, as bishop, continues to exhibit his customary humility—*eandem, quam prius, humilitatem*—adding to that quality a full complement of other virtues.\(^{186}\)

A single sentence is interpolated before the introduction of a dramatic rescue at sea: “It is thus read, in a particular Chronicle, that Nicolaus had been at the Council of Nicea.”\(^{187}\) No details are supplied. In fact, the *Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church* considers his participation in the Council unlikely: “According to tradition he was imprisoned in the Diocletianic persecution and was present at the first Council of Nicaea; the latter supposition is improbable.”\(^{188}\)

Nicolaus is invoked as patron of sailors, a confidence stimulated by the account of a group of seafarers, weeping as they face certain death in a tempest. Their plea is actually a test of the bishop’s reputation: “If those things be true which we have heard about you”—*si vera sunt, quae de te audimus*. The response is immediate; the sailors are joined by an unfamiliar figure in the likeness of Nicolaus—*in eius similitudinem*. After greeting the sailors, “Behold, here I am, for you have called me”\(^{189}\)—“*Ecce adsum!* vocasti enim me”—the newcomer helps the sailors to secure the ship. The storm is immediately quelled, *statimque cessavit tempestas*, and the extra hand departs as

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\(^{186}\) Morum gravitatem in omnibus sectabatur, in oratione pervigilabat, corpus macerabat, mulierum consortia fugiebat, humilis erat in omnes suspiciendo, efficax in loquendo, alacer in exhortando, severus in corripiendo.

\(^{187}\) Sicut legitur in Cronica quadam, Nicolaum Nicaeno interfuisse concilio.

\(^{188}\) *Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 401.

\(^{189}\) The bishop’s greeting is the same as that found in the First Book of Samuel. When summoned by the Lord on three successive nights, young Samuel was instructed to reply: “Here I am, for you called me.” *Ecce ego: vocasti enim me* (I Sm 3: 1-10).
suddenly as he had appeared. Once on land, the sailors seek the bishop’s church and enter. Catching sight of Nicolaus, they recognize him as the stranger who rescued them from the storm, although they had never seen him before: *Cum autem ad eius ecclesiam venissent, quem numquam ante viderant, sine indice cognoverunt.* Not surprisingly, Nicolaus instructs the sailors to attribute their rescue to God’s action and their own faith, not to his own efforts: *quod ille divinae misericordiae et eorum fidei, non suis meritis attribuere docuit.* Nicolaus’ calming of the tempest suggests the action of Jesus Christ in settling the storm at sea while His disciples feared certain death.190

In another episode, Nicolaus’ ability to provide for his people during an extended famine is reminiscent of Jesus’ miraculous feeding of the multitudes.191 A fleet of ships bearing wheat is bound for Alexandria at the time, in fulfillment of the emperor’s command. To alleviate the hunger of his own people, Bishop Nicolaus asks for a hundred measures of wheat from each ship—*in centum modiis per quamlibet navem.* The request seems unreasonable. The sailors protest that the supply ordered by the emperor will be measured at the Alexandrian port and found wanting—*mensuratum est Alexandriae, oportet in horrea imperatoris nos reddere*—but Nicolas assures them that, in spite of the donation, the full measure will be delivered. And so it happened. News of the marvel spread throughout the region of Alexandria, extending the reputation of the holy bishop. The wheat discharged at Myra, incidentally, proved enough to satisfy the immediate hunger of the people, and even lasted two more years, miraculously supplying enough to sell, *ad victum,* and even more for sowing, *ad usum seminis abundaret.*

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190Mt. 8: 23-24; Mk. 4:30-35-39; Lk. 8: 22-24.

191Mt. 15: 29-38; Mk. 6: 30-44; Lk. 9: 10-17.
Nicolaus prevailed over more than just seastorms and famines. He opposed the cult of Diana. When he learns that rites are being performed under a tree sacred to the goddess, Nicolaus commands that the tree be cut down—*ipsamque arborem praecidi mandavit*. The devil, dubbed “the ancient enemy”—*hostis antiquus*—takes umbrage at this action. Assuming the guise of a holy woman, *in formam religiose feminae transfigurans*, he stations himself in a little boat—*in quadam saginula*—along a pilgrim route. To a group of devotees heading towards the church of the holy bishop, the devil entrusts a container of oil asking that, in his/her stead, they apply the liquid to the church walls: *ut hoc oleum ad eius ecclesiam offeratis et ob mei memoriam exinde aulae eius parietes liniatis*. The oil in reality is a potion which flames up, contrary to nature, in water and stone: *quod in naturam in aqua et lapidibus ardet*. After the pilgrims accept the cask, the disguised devil disappears, and they sail on. Eventually they meet another ship. Among the passengers is a character who looks very much like the holy man Nicolaus: *inter quos erat similli mus sancto Nicolao*. This mild figure asks the identity of the woman in the little boat and asks what she wanted. When the pilgrims explain their commission, they learn that the woman is, in fact, the shameless Diana: *haec est impudica Diana*. To prove the charge, the figure instructs the pilgrims to pour out the oil on the sea; the waves immediately burst into flames. As happened in the rescue of the sailors, so with the pilgrims: once they reach the church, they recognize Nicolaus: “Truly you are the one who appeared to us at sea and who has freed us from the devil’s snares.”

The bishop was intrepid in confronting, not only demonic, but also secular powers. In another episode, the emperor dispatches three of his princes against some

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192 *Vere tu es ille, qui nobis in mari apparuisti et a diaboli insidiis liberasti.*
rebellious men. On the voyage, the princes are forced to pull to shore until fierce winds should die down. Here they are invited to dine with Nicolaus: *Beatus Nicolaus ut secum comedenter, invitavit.* During the repast, news is brought to the bishop that three innocent knights are about to be beheaded by order of the consul, who has been bribed with money—*Consul corruptus pecunia tres innocentes milites iussit decollari.* Asking his dinner guests to join him, Nicolaus hastens to the site of the condemnation, boldly wrests the sword from the grip of the executioner and rescues the innocent men. He then makes his way to the consul, whom he berates for yielding to corruption, addressing him as “enemy of God, corrupter of the law”—*inimice Dei, legis praevaticor.* The consul accepts the correction and repents of his misdeed. The princes, moreover, are able to quell the rebellion, their original quest, without loss of blood—*impios sine sanguine hostes subdunt*—and so are well received when they return to Constantine, their emperor. This tale seems destined for a happy ending, were it not for certain other members of the imperial household envious of the princes’ good fortune. Their envy plays itself out in an accusation of high treason among the princes: *de laesae maiestatis crimine accusaret.* Constantine, depicted in this story as an impressionable type, orders the trio imprisoned and, without further investigating the matter, orders them slain that very night: *illa eos nocte occidi mandavit.*

Nepotianus, one of the doomed princes, recalls Nicolaus’ daring rescue of the hapless knights, and so reminds his comrades of that episode and encourages them to call upon the bishop. The bishop appears in response to their entreaty. He takes it upon himself to pay a visit to Constantine also, declaring that, unless a stay of execution be issued, Nicolaus would ask God to set a battle on the emperor in which he would lose not
just the contest, but his very life, his body left to the beasts: *Oro Deum, ut tibi suscitet bellum, in quo tu corruas et bestiis cibus fias.* In response, the emperor demands to know the identity of such a one who would dare to enter the palace by night and lay such a dire threat. Here the holy bishop once again reveals his identity and shows the power of his name. “I am Nicolaus, bishop of Myra.” *Ego sum Nicolaus, Mireae civitatis episcopus.*

In like fashion, the bishop visits the prefect, ordering him to work for the release of the princes. Failing to do so, he threatens, will result in death, the prefect’s body consigned to worms: *Corpus tuum vermibus scaturiet.* The prefect not surprisingly asks who dares threaten him so. He hears the same declaration: *Ego sum Nicolaus, Mireae civitatis episcopus.* It is important to keep in mind that these exchanges are apparitions; they take place in dreams. Once awake, the emperor and prefect compare stories and, going to the princes, inquire about their powers of sorcery—*quas magicas artes nostis*—supposing the dream figure enchanted. The princes deny any magical powers, taking advantage of the occasion to protest their innocence. Emperor Constantine asks, “Do you know a man named Nicolaus?”—*Nostis, inquit, hominem, cui nomen est Nicolaus?* On hearing mention of the holy bishop, the princes realize that their entreaty has been favorably answered. Not only are they released but they are directed by the emperor to present jewels to their deliverer, to honor him, and to ask that he [Nicolaus] leave off harrying the ruler but instead pray to the Lord for the emperor and his reign: *ut ulterius mihi minas non inferat, sed pro me et regno meo ad Dominum preces fundat.*

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193 Nicolaus’ threat to invoke Divine wrath is repeated in his dealing with the prefect and, in a later episode, against robbers. Liturgical cursing first appeared during the late tenth century and grew in popularity and development of formulae. For a full treatment of this topic, see *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France*, Lester K. Little (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996).
Legenda Aurea follows this episode with the death narrative, a dramatic event presaged, at Nicolaus’ request, by the Lord’s dispatch of angels: rogavit Dominum ut angelos suos sibi mitteret. At their approach, the holy bishop begins reciting from Psalm 31, surrendering his spirit in the year 343, tunefully accompanied by the celestial choir—tradidit spiritum anno Domini CCCXLIII, ubi coelestium melodia audita est.

A remarkable indication of the saint’s holiness appears at his burial, a phenomenon with healing properties: a fountain of oil issuing from Nicolaus’ head and a fountain of water from his feet: a capite fons olei et a pedibus fons aquae profluxit. The salutary effects of the oil immediately attract pilgrims to the burial site, revealing the holy bishop’s unbroken assistance to those devoted to him, as Benedicta Ward points out: “The power of Christ through the living saints was complemented by the power located in the relics of the dead.”194 The miraculous flow of oil is soon interrupted, however. Nicolaus’ successor, a good man is, out of envy, driven from his post for a short time. Successit autem ei quidam vir bonus, qui tamen de sede sua ab invidiis est depulsis. With his reinstatement, though, the sacred oil resumes its flow: oleum . . . eo revocato protinus emanavit.

The next several episodes of the vita rise from the spirit of the Crusades and, while not directly anti-Semitic, are conversion stories. The first explains the curious connection between Myra, the See of Nicolaus, and Bari, his shrine site. Myra having been destroyed by the Turks—Turci Miream urbem destruxerunt, forty-seven knights of Bari are shown, by four monks, Nicolaus’ place of burial: XLVII vero milites Barienses illuc profecti quattuor monachis sibi astantibus tumbam sancti Nicolai aperuerunt. The

The phenomenon of sacred oil is clearly evident. In fact, the saint’s bones are discovered swimming in oil: *ossaque eius in oleo natantia*. The knights, in the year 1087, carry the bones to their city of Bari. It is important to note that this moving of the saint’s remains is not a piracy, as transfers sometimes were, but rather an honorable *translatio* owing, perhaps, to the recent ruin of the city of Myra.

The next two episodes are not openly anti-Semitic, as were some legends, but find their resolution in the Jews’ conversion. The first tale involves the deceitful retaining of money borrowed from a Jew. The crux of the transaction is the debtor’s swearing on the altar of Saint Nicolaus—*iurans super altare sancti Nicolai*—that the man would repay the sum as soon as he is able—*quod quam citius posset, sibi redderet*. Such a long time transpires without the man’s repaying the loan that the Jew takes the matter to court. In a neat stroke of trickery, the debtor brings to the hearing a hollow staff into which he has secretly deposited the amount in gold: *Ille baculum cavatum, quem auro minuto impleverat*. The defendant tricks the Jew into holding the staff while he himself swears an oath, declaring that he has delivered the full amount to the Jew. Retrieving his staff, the man departs, thinking he has successfully duped the moneylender.

On his way home, however, the deceiver is curiously overcome with sleep and reclines at a crossroads: *in quodam bivio oppressus corruit somno*. Here he is killed by the force of a passing cart, *currusque cum impetu veniens eum necavit*. His staff is shattered on impact, exposing its cache of gold coins: *plenum baculum suum auro fregit et aurum effudit*. The fraud is thus revealed and the Jew is encouraged to retrieve his

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195 The most deleterious are tales of child martyrdom, like the killing of the young boy, Little Hugh of Lincoln. He is not to be confused with the bishop of the same name whose Offices are included in this study. In the Rhineland another youth, Werner, was venerated as a martyr. His identity as “martyr” at the hands of the Jews evolved. He became, in the sixteenth century, an inoffensive patron of wine-makers. These child martyrs were never officially canonized by the Church; their followings were regional. See Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Late Middle Ages*, 92, 94, 147, 538.
money. He sets a condition, however, and once again Nicolaus’ intercession is tested. The Jew explains that he will accept the money only if the debtor is restored to life through the merits of Saint Nicolaus—*ad vitam beati Nicolai meritis redderetur*. He goes further, adding that he himself will become a Christian, accepting baptism if the man is revived—*si hoc fieret, baptismum suscepturum et Christianum futurum*. And so it happened.

The second story is another which tests Nicolaus’ power. A Jew who has heard of the saint’s miracles constructs an image of the bishop—*imaginem eius sibi fieri praepcit*. The Jew assigns the figure the task of guarding his goods during his absence, threatening to deliver blows and stripes—*verberibus et flagellis*—if things are not kept in proper order. Thieves who invade the vacant house make off with all the man’s goods except the image: *cuncta rapiunt, solam imaginem derelinquunt*. The Jew, returning to find his home ransacked and robbed, carries out his threat. He takes up the figure of the saint, harshly striking and beating it—*Accipiens ergo Iudaeus imaginem dire eam verberat direque flagellat*. Nicolaus himself appears to the retreating thieves, challenging their misdeed and escape, while leaving the statue to endure the Jew’s beating. Evidently the punishment inflicted on the image has affected the saint himself, since he shows the thieves his hacked body and points out flowing blood: *Ecce quomodo corpus meum livet! Ecce qualiter effusione sanguinis rubet!* Nicolaus directs the robbers to restore the purloined goods, threatening them with divine wrath should they resist—*alioquin Dei omnipotentis in vos ira desaeviet*. Once again comes the question, “Who are you who speak such things to us?” *Quis es tu qui nobis talia loqueris?* As in previous episodes, the patron here shows the power of his name, declaring himself not only Nicolaus but
also the servant of Jesus Christ: *Ego sum Nicolaus, servus Iesu Christi.* The declaration is enough to send the thieves back to the Jew with the goods. *Legenda Aurea* remarks that the thieves thereby return to the path of rectitude—*latrones ad viam redeunt rectitudinis*—and the Jew embraces the faith of salvation—*Iudaeus fidem amplectitur salvatoris.*

Nicolaus came to be regarded as the special protector of children. Four episodes from the *vita* tell of his action on behalf of young beloved sons. The first takes place on the feast of Saint Nicolaus, an annual event which was solemnly observed by a particular man—*festum sancti Nicolai annuatim solemniter celebrabat.* While the head of the household is attending to a group of clerks whom he has invited to dinner—*convivium praeparavit et multos clericos invitavit,*—he directs his son to give alms to a pilgrim who comes begging at the door: *Iubet quantocius pater filio ut det eleemosynam peregrino.* The pilgrim is actually the devil in disguise, *diabolus ad ianuam in habitu peregrini.* Instead of accepting the donation and departing, the devil grabs the boy and strangles him: *apprehendens diabolus puerum, eum strangulavit.* The distraught father asks his patron saint whether this is his reward for serving him so long—*Sancte Nicolae, haec est merces honoris, quem vobis tamdiu exhibui?* Immediately the boy, as if waking from sleep, opens his eyes and stands up: *Statim puer quasi de somno evigilans oculos aperuit et surrexit.*

The focus of the second tale is an unfulfilled vow. A certain nobleman, *vir quidam nobilis*—prays to Nicolaus that he may have a son. He promises that, if his request is granted, he will instruct the boy to make a gold cup which will be presented to the saint at the church. A son is born to the man and, when the boy comes of age, his
father commissions the cup—\textit{Filius igitur nascitur et ad aetatem perducitur et scyphus fieri iubetur}. The father is so pleased with the workmanship that he keeps the cup for himself, directing his son make a second cup for the offering.\textsuperscript{196} As the pair is sailing towards the church of Saint Nicolaus to fulfill the father’s vow, the son falls overboard while trying to fill the first cup with water for a drink: \textit{Puer, autem, qui vellet haurire cum scypho, in mare cecidit et statim disparuit}. The father, despite his grieving, continues on the journey, intending to fulfill his vow. When he presents the inferior cup at the altar of Saint Nicolaus, it falls off the altar as if it had been thrown, \textit{Veniens igitur ad altare sancti Nicolai cum obtulisset secundum scyphum tamquam proiectus cecidit de altari}. The father attempts to restore the cup a second and a third time (recurrence of the motif of three), but each time the cup is cast further away from the altar. While onlookers marvel at the strange occurrence, the child arrives, sound and unharmed \textit{sanus et incolmis}—bearing the original cup of finer workmanship. He explains that, when he fell into the sea, the holy Nicolaus came to him and saved him: \textit{Nicolaus affuit et eum illaesum servavit}. The father in his joy and relief offers Saint Nicolaus both cups: \textit{utrumque scyphum beato Nicolao obtulit}.

The third tale, like the second, involves a son requested by a wealthy man through the merits of Saint Nicolaus, \textit{meritis beati Nicolai filium habuit}. Fittingly the boy is named Adeodatus, “God-given.” The grateful father establishes a chapel honoring Nicolaus on his land. In addition he observes the saint’s annual feast day. The man’s property lies near the land of the Agareni, \textit{locus ille situs iuxta terram Agarenorum}. The young boy is kidnapped and assigned to serve the king there. During the following year

\textsuperscript{196}This suggests the offering of Cain in the Book of Genesis, who kept the best yield of his crops for himself, giving God what was inferior. Gen. 4: 3-7.
when the feast of the patron Nicolaus arrives, the boy, thinking of the celebration at his home, sighs pitiably while serving the king as cupbearer: *puer scyphum pretiosum tenens regi assisteret*. When the king inquires about the boy’s sadness and learns of the celebration at home honoring the holy bishop, he declares that, despite what Nicolaus may do, the boy will remain at the palace: *Quidquid tuus Nicolaus agat, tu hic nobiscum manebis*. The child, however, is suddenly carried away, royal cup in hand, and finds himself at the church entrance—*puer cum scypho rapitur et ante fores ecclesiae*—where the annual celebration is in progress and where he is received with much joy.

Benedicta Ward remarks that Nicolaus of Bari is “a saint of special interest in Normandy.”\(^{197}\) This is doubtless due to a curious single sentence inserted at this point in the story, explaining that somewhere it is recorded that this child was from Normandy: *Alibi legitur tamen, quod praedictus iuvenis fuit de Normandia*. The story continues with yet another capture. This time the child is carried off and taken overseas, where he is beaten and imprisoned on the patronal feast of Nicolaus. The child prays with mixed intention, both for release from captivity and out of joy for the feast day—*pro sua liberatione et pro laetitia*. He suddenly falls asleep and wakes to find himself in his father’s chapel: *subito obdormivit et evigilans in capella patris sui se invenit*.

The *vita* of Saint Nicolaus of Bari in *Legenda Aurea* depicts a thoughtful character, keen to direct glory to God rather than to himself, a figure who retains the virtue of humility from his early years into adulthood, and a ready respondent to those who call on him in faith. His early anonymous donation to the father of three daughters of marriageable age reflects his selfless charity, while his pursuit of corrupt leaders confirms him as a dispenser of God’s justice. To those who call upon him in faith, he

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\(^{197}\)Benedicta Ward, *Signs and Wonders*, 16.
replies, often in astonishing circumstances. The withholding of his identity serves to foster devotion and his reputation grows for timely intervention in distressing circumstances. Nicolaus uses his own influence with God to challenge those guilty of injustice. Emperor, prefect, robber—the bishop assures them he will invoke divine wrath against property, health, and even their lives, unless they correct their misdeeds.

This popular saint is part of the crusaders’ lore and is credited with the conversion of at least some Jews to faith in Jesus Christ. The mystique associated with his apparitions and Nicolaus’ intrepid declaration of his name make him singularly attractive to those seeking a heavenly intercessor. The salutary effects of the sacred oil issuing from his marble tomb promote pilgrimages to his shrine at Bari while reports of favors granted on the annual observance of his feast day foster devotion to his memory. The episodes recounted in *Legenda Aurea* present Nicolaus as a powerful and responsive patron. The lyrics of two Offices in his honor, one monastic and the other cathedral, reflect the confidence of the faithful in this popular figure.

The Cathedral Office

In this study, the cathedral Office dedicated to Saint Nicolaus is a service commemorating the *translatio*. The poems make reference to severe weather conditions during the transfer of the saint’s remains. The actual crossing from Myra in Asia Minor to Bari on the coast of Italy is not recorded in *Legenda Aurea*. References in the Office show that the Nicolaus legend is fuller than the episodes contained in the popular
collection, *Legenda Aurea*. The stories alluded to in the Office reveal that the saint’s reputation was both geographically extensive and time honored.

The manuscript sources for this Office are several. The texts are transcribed in *Analecta Hymnica*. The manuscript for the Office dates from the fifteenth century (*Brev. ms. Redonense*) and is contained in a codex housed in the Vatican Library (*Cod. Vatican. Ottobon. 543*). In addition to the complete cathedral Office, a set of five *antiphonae* for first vespers can be found in *Brev. ms. Cracoviense*, again dating to the fifteenth century. The text is in the *Cod. Capit. Cracovien. 20*. A second set of five *antiphonae* for first vespers follows the cathedral Office in *Analecta Hymnica*, volume 29. This source is a breviary of Roman usage printed in Venice in 1522.

The Office opens at first vespers with five *antiphonae* which, taken together, invokes the patron, employs an image of light (a common vespers reference), mentions the actual day of translation, and specifies Bari in the province of Apulia as the site of Nicolaus’ shrine. Nicolaus, addressed as a “celebrated, lofty priest”—*summe sacerdos inclite*—is said to favor the people of Bari very much in his desire to be transported there by ships (perhaps a fleet, since the word *navibus* is plural), despite a menacing whirlpool. A militant term is used in the second antiphon, significant since the *translatio* is conducted by knights coming from Myra, the bishop’s shrine site, a town recently destroyed by the Turks. God is said to “transfer the garrison of Nicolaus into Apulia,”—*transfert in Apuliam Nicolai praesidium*. The *translatio* occurred on May 9 of 1087; appropriately, then, antiphon three refers to “this honored day in May”—*dies hic celebris*

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198 Volumes 28, #29, 29a, and 29b.
199 Page 85.
Madius. The scene in antiphon four is the pilgrim route, well worn as the entire assembly is led in processio: *Qua Barum via pergitur coetu toto ducente.* The short poem opens with the words “From the rising of the sun, and not from its setting”—*A solis ortu teritur nec non ab occidente*—a variant of Psalm 113:3, “From the rising of the sun unto its setting”—*a solis ortu usque ad occasum eius.* The special claim of Apulians on Nicolaus as patron is reflected in the fifth antiphon which explains that, although all people praise God’s mercy, “they send back to God fuller thanks at Apulia.” *Ampliorem Apuli Deo referent gratiam.*

In the Middle Ages, the presence of a saint’s remains rendered the site itself sacred. That idea is contained in the *antiphona* for the *Magnificat* at first vespers. The region of Apulia is deemed fortunate, as is the town of Bari, since they “contain a dear treasure” in Nicolaus’ bones:

*Felix Apulia, felix et Barum,*  
*Felix quae contines thesaurum carum.*

The patron is depicted in the matins invitatory as pleading with God in heaven, a pleasant scene given that Nicolaus was so often petitioned for divine favors:

*Uni Deo et simplici gloria sit atque laus*  
*Quem orat voce supplici stans in caelo Nicolaus.*²⁰¹

The first of the three *antiphonae* for the matins nocturn suggests the oozing of oil from the bishop’s bones by an analogy of an incised balsam limb, pouring liquid:

*Velut incisus balsamus profuderat liquorem,* . . .

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²⁰¹“*To God, the one and upright, be both glory and praise, whom Nicolaus, standing in heaven, addresses in suppliant voice.*” The poet was likely acquainted with the legend that, on the day of his birth, Nicolaus stood upright.
The second antiphona is a call to kings to respond to those in need. Secular though their realm may be, such rulers are acknowledged as “ruling in the churches”—praesidentes ecclesiis. The poem sets forth Nicolaus’ acts of charitable relief as a pattern for rulers; they are ordered to understand (intelligite), then act on (agite) the bishop’s example. The final antiphona lists some of Nicolaus’ virtues, reasons for his being taken to heaven. He is described as “clement, modest, humble, harming no one deep within, and acting kindly towards all”—

Clemens, pudicus, humilis, nulli nocuit penitus,  
Cunctis factus amabilis. . . .

All three responsoria following the nocturn antiphonae draw on the hagiographical tradition for Nicolaus. The first tells of the fragrance emitted from the saint’s tomb when it was opened: Tumba confracta marmoris mira prodit fragrantia. The well-known phenomenon of liquid oozing from Nicolaus’ bones is then mentioned; it is an abundant flow that never ceases—liquoris fluit copia, quae nullo cursu temporis interrumpitur gratia. The fragrant odor and the marvelous flow of oil signify the bishop’s virtues. The aroma bespeaks his honor, qui praefulges honore, while the flowing liquid signifies his holiness:

pietatis profluvio manas fluens liquore.

The author of this Office may have been familiar with John of Schalby’s Martyologium of 1324, which describes the phenomenon in words similar to those used in this Office:

Inter que tumba marmorea eiusdem viri Deo oleum purrissimum repetitis vicibus pluribus in ecclesia emanavit.202

202“Within the marble tomb of that very man of God, a very pure oil emanated, very many vicissitudes having been reviewed in the Church.” Cited in Vauchez, Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages, 429, ft. 9.
During the period under review in this dissertation, detection of “the odor of sanctity” became almost a requisite for public veneration.\textsuperscript{203}

The second \textit{responsorium} refers to the actual transfer of the bishop’s remains from Myra in the Holy Land to Bari, Italy. The poem speaks of the sea journey in far greater detail than the episode recounted in \textit{Legenda Aurea}. The author of \textit{Legenda Aurea} explains that forty-seven pious knights are entrusted with the relics. They are given the bishop’s remains by four monks who have maintained the shrine at Myra. The destruction of Myra by the Turks prompts the transfer. The voyage, according to this poem, was not without incident. The episode is unclear, but evidently Nicolaus’ relics are used to ward off the threat of shipwreck while the vessel lies at more than two hundred thousand units:\textsuperscript{204}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Dum distat navis plus quam ducentis milibus . . . .}
\end{quote}

The bones of the saint’s limbs are secretly (\textit{furtim}) held out from his body (\textit{retentis de corpore}), since the seafarers realize that only the delivery of the body intact will guarantee a safe conclusion to their journey: \textit{Nec valent iter habere tutum, si feratur corpus diminutum}.\textsuperscript{205}

While the author of \textit{Legenda Aurea} describes the pious removal of Nicolaus’ remains from the ruined site at Bari by forty-seven knights, another version of the legend explains the transfer from Bari to Myra in terms of piracy.\textsuperscript{206} The alternate tale describes

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{203}Vauchez, \textit{Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages}, 427.
\item \textsuperscript{204}The unit of measure is not expressed.
\item \textsuperscript{205}“And they are not strong enough to hold a safe course, if the body is borne diminished.”
\item \textsuperscript{206}This may, in fact, refer to the pilfering of the saint’s remains by five of the sailors aboard the ship. The episode is attested by Nicephorus, who wrote the earliest account of the transfer of the remains. \textit{Vat. MS. lat. 5074}, fols. 5\textsuperscript{v} - 10\textsuperscript{v}
\end{itemize}
the agents as merchants who purloin the saint’s remains. Either version supports the	ontion of turbulence at sea and the need to preserve the relics intact for safe passage.\textsuperscript{207}

Whether the remains were openly escorted by a band of crusader knights or
secretly brought ashore by merchants, perhaps even transported by a bevy of both, the
third and final \textit{responsorium} describes phenomena occurring at the new shrine site at
Bari. The poem makes it clear that it is specifically because the relics were preserved
intact that Nicolaus’ reputation spreads. What is not expressed is the identity of those
who maintain the Bari shrine. \textit{Legenda Aurea} reveals, by contrast, that four monks were
assigned care of the earlier site at Myra. In any case, the Bari conservators assign
meaning to Nicolaus’ relics.\textsuperscript{208}

The concern to preserve the remains intact, evinced in the first line--\textit{Non desit ulla
particula}\textsuperscript{209}--prompts the closing of the saint’s mouth. The caretakers “point out wonders
in the holy limbs,” \textit{sacris membris monstrant miracula}. The poem makes clear that it is
the caretakers’ indication that matters. The pilgrims are not left to their own deductions,
but receive “true oracles of visions,” \textit{visionum certa oracula}. Among the sacred signs is
the flow of liquid from one of Nicolaus’ teeth, \textit{dens prodit cum liquore}.\textsuperscript{210} Closing his
mouth is a preventative measure, “lest a lessening [of the flow] should happen,” \textit{ne fiat
diminutio}.

\textsuperscript{207} “The Translation of Saint Nicolas: An anonymous Greek account of the transfer of the Body of
Saint Nicolas from Myra to Lycia to Bari in Italy”, translated by J. McGinley and H. Mursurillo, \textit{Bolletino

\textsuperscript{208} Ibid., ch. 17.

\textsuperscript{209} “Not any particle is lacking.”

\textsuperscript{210} “His tooth gushes forth with liquid.”
The five *antiphonae* at lauds are narrative. Taken together, they describe the voyage from Myra to Bari, the joyous reception at the shore, and wonders performed at the tomb. Evidently the author of the Office was acquainted with hagiographical material not contained in *Legenda Aurea*. The first *antiphona* reveals that the *translatio* was not without incident. The waves are so high that the navigators are terrified: *Maris elatione nautae facti territi*. An enigmatic second line hints that Nicolaus’ remains were not openly entrusted by the four monks at Myra, as the author of *Legenda Aurea* reports it. Instead, this poem describes the transfer as a theft, *de furto*, signaled by an outpouring of liquid, *liquoris fusione*. This suggests the version of the transfer mentioned earlier, in which merchants abscond with the sacred remains.

In any case, *antiphona* two describes the joyous welcome at the shore. The scene is one of exultation—*exultatione*—and of wondrous devotion—*mire devotione*—as young and old “run to meet the porters of the saint”—*sancti occurrunt baiulis*. In chronological terms, the fifth *antiphona* comes next. The poem details the container of the relics. During the sea voyage from Myra, the bishop’s remains were held in a wooden casket, *in capsella lignea Myra transportatus*. Once at Bari, the corpse is entombed in a marble shrine: *Bari tumba marmorea tandem est collacatus*. This poem is notable for its reference to the two shrine sites.

*Antiphonae* three and four describe occurrences at the new shrine. The prodigy of oil ceaselessly streaming from the bones is celebrated in the third *antiphona*, while the fourth, expressed in hortatory terms, calls on the praying community to praise Bishop Nicolaus “who performs miraculous deeds” (*quo facis mirabilia*). The second line refers
to the marvelous scent—*mira fragrantia*—at the tomb. As noted earlier, evidence of “the odor of sanctity” was a stimulant to continuing devotion.

The several actions described in the set of lauds *antiphonae* are amplified in the *antiphona ad Benedictus*. Here the poet mentions again the wondrous fragrance, repeating the words of the fourth *antiphona* almost verbatim. The plentiful fluid is also recalled, *liquoris abundantia*, as well as the crowd of young and old, running to the scene:

*Seniores et parvuli currunt iugi frequentia.*

The final poem of this Office, the *antiphona ad Magnificat*, associates the wonders at the tomb with the saint’s holiness. It is not simply that “blindness is routed from the eyes of the blind,” *caeci ex oculo pellitur caecitas*. The extraordinary signs of oil and odor reveal the bishop’s virtues, and so “piety has been revealed,” *patuit pietas*, and “mildness appears,” *prodit suavitatis*. The poem concludes with the simple declaration that it is Nicolaus’ kindness that aids the people: *Subvenit populo ipsius caritas*.

This Cathedral Office is, by its very nature as liturgy, a praise of God who honored Nicolaus with the reward of heaven. It is, in addition, a reminder to the faithful of the particulars of the bishop’s life. The poems tell of his personal virtues. They recount the saga of conveying his relics from war-ravaged Myra to the new shrine at Bari. The author of the Office promotes the saint’s reputation through recalling the phenomena associated with Nicolaus’ remains. Besides the celebrated oil-dripping bones and pleasing fragrance, the sanctified body offers cures to those suffering physical or spiritual ailments.
The Monastic Office

The monastic Office in this study dates from the sixteenth century. It is contained in *Analecta Hymnica*. The Cistercian manuscript originates from the Visitation Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The composer is not identified. This Office, like its cathedral Office counterpart, ranges over the events of Nicolaus’ life and celebrates the marvels associated with his shrine. The poems in this Office are finer in terms of both metrics and rhyme. Although both Offices, cathedral and monastic, recount episodes from the bishop’s *vita*, there is a marked emphasis here on the virtues of this man’s life. The biographical events form a backdrop, tracing the path Nicolaus followed in pursuit of holiness. The miracles, then, are consequent on the sanctified life of the bishop.

The four *antiphonae* at first vespers exhibit a unity not found in the cathedral Office. All, for example, are two-line poems; octosyllabic lines with penultimate stress predominate. The lines, moreover, contain internal rhyme. The rhyme scheme is absolutely consistent. Each line is expressed in a pair of *abab* rhymes. The overall effect of such crafting is unity of expression, developed through a succession of hagiographical episodes that culminate in the saint’s burial. The first *antiphona*, by describing Nicolaus’ parents as pious, shows that he grew up with “the image of holiness from boyhood,” *sanctitatis imaginem servans a puerilibus*. The second *antiphona* presents the two peculiarities surrounding the bishop’s infancy: that he stood upright on the day of his

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211 *AH*, vol. 18, #43, pp. 115-19.

212 *Off. ms. Faustae de Beccarinis in Monast. Visitat. BVM (Ord. Cist.), saec. 16; Codex Senen F VI 22.*
birth (*ortus sui prima die rectus stetit in pedibus*), and that he limited himself to a single breast feeding on the fourth and sixth days of the week (*quarta et sexta semel piae matris fotus uberibus*). The third *antiphona* recounts the classic rescue of the three maidens through the anonymous dowry gift, but in this poem, the emphasis is on the saint’s self-effacement. He conceals his identity, “not wanting the praises of men,” *nolens laudes hominum*. The final *antiphona* calls Nicolaus “beneficent” (*almificus*) and a “wonder-working bishop” (*episcopus mirificus*) who is laid to rest in the Church “by Divine providence” (*Divina providentia*). The hour of first vespers contains also the *antiphona ad Magnificat*. Once again the emphasis is on the saint’s virtues. The faithful are called on to revere his “renowned merits,” *inclita merita*, and are reminded that, from his boyhood, he was filled with wisdom: *a pueritia plenus sapientia*. Nicolaus is named “standard of holiness” and “model of charity” (*sanctitatis norma... caritatis forma*), giving rise to confidence that, through him, “the Son of God may be favorable to us,”

\[Ut sit nobis propitius per eum Dei filius.\]

Fittingly, then, the saint is seen in the matins invitatory “adorned in a robe of glory,”

*stola dotavit gloriae.*

The invitatory is followed by the six *antiphonae* of the first nocturn. As at first vespers, so here at matins: all the *antiphonae* are two-line poems unified by an *abab* rhyme scheme. The lines have both midpoint and end rhyme in a disyllabic pattern. The matins collection is chronological, as at first vespers, but in this hour there is an emphasis on increasing holiness as the saint grew up. Not surprisingly, the first *antiphona* makes mention of his distinguished lineage—*ortus ex venerabili Nicolaus progenie*, but rather than stating, as do some *vitae* of popular medieval saints, that his parents placed before
him exemplary holiness, this poem describes Nicolaus’ “leisure for kindly wisdom” 
(*amabili vacare sapientiae*). In similar fashion, his standing upright on his natal day is 
explained as “a presentiment of holiness” and “a later token for the future” (*sanctitatis 
praesagium futurae mox indicium*). The poet lays emphasis on the saint’s virtues. His 
abstaining from multiple breast feedings on days of abstinence is mentioned in *antiphona* four. The poem goes on to observe, “He was always becoming holier, filled with Divine 

The young man avoided the wantonness of the young. 
Preferably, the wakeful one visited the churches.\(^\text{213}\)

The sixth and final *antiphona* tells of Nicolaus’ committing to memory what he heard of 
the Scriptures, and of his desire to preserve those lessons vigorously:

\[
\text{Scriptuarum memoriter audita retinebat,}
\text{Quae postmodum viriliter servare cupiebat.}
\]

The six *antiphonae* of this first nocturn are followed by a *responsorium*. In keeping with 
the spirit of the Office, hagiographical material is supplemented by mention of the 
bishop’s virtue. In this case, the focus is on his decision, as a young man, to distribute 
the wealth he inherited upon his parents’ death “in behalf of the want of poor people,” *in 
pauperum inopiam*. He was motivated, not by desire for empty praises, *vanis laudibus*. 
Instead, he strove to “lay up treasure in the temples of heaven,” *thesaurizare studuit in 
caelorum aedibus*. The expression is taken almost verbatim from Jesus’ New Testament 
directive contained in the collected teachings of The Sermon on the Mount: “Lay up for 
yourselves treasure in heaven,” *Thesaurizate . . . vobis thesauros in caelo* (Mt 6: 20).

\(^{213}\) *Juvenum lascivias iuvenis vitabat. Potius ecclesias vigil visitabat.*
The second antiphona focuses on perhaps the best-known episode from the saint’s vita: his dispensing of dowry money on three separate occasions to preserve the honor of the three young girls, daughters of an impoverished nobleman. Nicolaus is not named in the poem, but is instead called “the faithful servant of the Lord,” servus fidelis Domini, whose sharing out of his inheritance preserves virtue among the innocent, since otherwise their father would “be compelled to place the maidens in the disgraceful trade,” ne commercio turpi cogatur ponere. It is the third installment—tertio—that prevents the shameful deed.

The oft-repeated triadic motif provides a link from this second antiphona to the third. The story continues, telling of the father’s desire to know the identity of his benefactor. While keeping vigil, custodiens vigilias, he recognizes his neighbor on the third night—noctis tertiae. Nicolaus was not yet a bishop, according to Legenda Aurea, when this episode occurred. The poem calls him “a man of such clemency,” virum tantae clementiae, highlighting one of the virtues characteristic of the saint.

The fourth antiphona features Divine election in the choice of Nicolaus. He is described in the poem, not as being chosen as bishop but “chosen as pastor by those gathered together,” pro pastore congregatis monstrat eligendum. Unlikely candidate though he was, since Nicolaus was evidently not yet ordained to the priesthood, he is identified by “a heavenly voice sent forth,” vox emissa caelitus. The medium suggests two episodes in the life of Jesus during which God the Father speaks from on high. As John baptized Jesus in the Jordan River, there came “a voice from heaven,” vox de caelis (Mt 3:17). In similar fashion during the Transfiguration, as Jesus was shone standing with the patriarch Moses and the prophet Elias, there was heard “a voice from the cloud,”
vox de nube (Mt 17:5). In both scriptural cases, the voice identifies Jesus as Son of God, an identity not apparent until the Divine voice revealed it. The poem’s specific mention of the voice as coming from heaven associates Nicolaus’ divine election with Jesus’ identification both in the Jordan and on Mount Tabor. *Legenda Aurea* does not speak of the voice in such terms, but instead remarks that the most important member of the episcopal election committee “heard a voice on that night,” *nocte illa vocem audivit*.

This fourth *antiphona* provides a link to the second nocturn. All six *antiphona* describe the life and reputation of Nicolaus as bishop. The first of these tells of the fulfillment of the vision that predicted the young man’s being at prayer in the church. According to *Legenda Aurea*, Nicolaus would identify himself by name and so confirm God’s own choice of him as the next bishop of Myra. The first *antiphona* make succinct reference to the episode “just as the vision has taught, *ut visio docuit*.” In both the dowry episode and in this episcopal election, there is reference to silent watching for Nicolaus to appear. According to the third *antiphona* of the first nocturn, the father whose daughters’ honor was preserved “began to watch the hour, wanting to know, cautiously, the man of such clemency”:

*Horam coepit custodire, gratus volens caute scire
Virum tantae clementiae.*

In similar fashion, the senior member of the bishops convened to elect the new leader of the church at Myra, according to *Legenda Aurea*, kept watch at the entrance to the church at the hour of Matins”--*hora matutine fores ecclesiae observaret*. It is significant that, in both cases, Nicolaus is secretly watched, indications of his holiness having been already noted.
The lyrics of the second antiphona during the second nocturn, if interpreted only in terms of personal holiness, describe Nicolaus’ self-effacement during his years of service as Bishop of Myra. Those acquainted with his vita would recognize the saint’s personal restraint—privatae modestiae statum meditatus—not as a new ascetic activity, but rather as his continuing to cultivate a virtuous manner of living. There is another layer of meaning suggested in this poem, however. The first line declares that “the elevated one flees the chair of the proud,” cathedram superbiae fugit sublimatus. The manuscript for this Office dates from the sixteenth century. It is clearly obvious that the composer was well acquainted with the episodes of Nicolaus’ life contained in Legenda Aurea. The specific use of a form of cathedra, chair, suggests that he was also familiar with the controversy associated with the shrine church at Bari.

The cathedra, or episcopal chair, was the singular token of a bishop’s authority within his place of appointment. The demands of scansion may have influenced the choice of the word, granted, but other configurations may have been entertained. Rather than use potestas or auctoritas, the composer states that the saint “flees the chair of the proud.” Reference to the cathedra recalls the dispute over Nicolaus’ remains. The source of information is an Italian document edited by one Primo Casolini. According to this source, the remains of Saint Nicolaus were conveyed to Bari in 1087, not by the forty-seven knights mentioned in Legenda Auri, but rather by “some merchants of Bari,” alcuni mercanti di Bari.

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214 See http://www.arengario.net/momenti/momenti47.html. In addition to a description of the controversy surrounding the relics, the church’s dedication and the actual seat of authority, the website contains a number of photographs of the cathedra. The posting is dated November 15, 2004.
At the time of this *translatio*, Ursone held episcopal authority over Bari. Since he was in Trani at the time the relics were brought ashore, they were entrusted instead to Elias, head of the Benedictine monastery (*Elia, l’abate del monastero benedettino*). Ursone demanded the relics upon his return, but the Abbot Elias refused to relinquish them. A litigation of the friars with the bishop ensued (*Nasce un contenzioso dei frati con il vescovo*), resolved by Duke Ruggero. Included in the resolution was the decision to construct a new edifice to house the saint’s remains. The site was to be the courtyard of the palace of Catapano, former governor of the region. The premises had been abandoned to the Byzantines during the struggle to gain approbation of the Commune. In September of 1089, the sacred remains of Nicolaus were laid to rest in the crypt of the new church. The ceremony was attended by Pope Urban II as well as by Norman Dukes Ruggero and Boemondo.

The early years of the church’s construction proceeded with intensity, owing to Elias’ succession to the episcopate of Bari upon the death of Ursone (*Nei primi anni i lavori procedettero con intensità, perché Elia alla morte di Ursone diviene vescovo di Bari*). It was not until 1197, however, that the shrine church was dedicated. The intervening years were characterized by political disputes and attacks from outsiders. Bishop Elias died in 1105, and was succeeded by another Benedictine abbot, Eustacius. Eustacius personally directed the construction during his years as bishop, 1105-1123 (*che dirige attivamente i lavori fra il 1105 ed il 1123*). During these years, the transverse nave and main altar were completed (*si completano la navata trasversale e l’altare maggiore*).

Following the productive building period of Eustacius, progress was interrupted, and indeed the structure was endangered. The causes were twofold. The more
immediate threat arose from infighting in Bari among factions, both political and religious (*causate specialmente dalle lotte delle fazioni politiche e religiose nella città di Bari*). In 1156, Bari was attacked; the basilica was saved from ruin during an attack by Guilelmo the Bad. Not until June 22 of 1197, then, was the Basilica of Saint Nicolaus of Bari consecrated. The solemn dedication was attended by Bishop Corrado of Hildesheim (*alla presenza di Corrado, vescovo di Hildesheim*).

Details of the architecture are not significant in this study. The episcopal chair, the *cathedra*, deserves mention, though. The basilica, established in an age during which the lines between secular and ecclesiastical power were not clearly delineated, became a popular pilgrim site. Indeed, the great variety of art forms represented in the structure points to itinerant pilgrim craftsmen (*Gli artisti erano pure loro pellegrini itineranti*). In the overall context of the basilica, it is the episcopal chair that is most notable in terms of ecclesiastical power. The influence of Elias and his immediate successor Eustacius are memorialized in the inscription on the third step leading to the main altar: *Ut pater Helias hoc templum qui primus egit, quod pater Eustasius sic decorando regit.*

It is to be noted that both were Benedictine abbots. Elias’ early refusal to surrender Nicolaus’ relics to Bishop Ursone, who was not a member of one of the Orders, demonstrates the power struggle that sometimes arose between clerics within the monastic realm and those outside it.

A declaration of Elias’ appointment as bishop and patron, not only of Bari but of Canosi as well, is chiseled in one of the panels surrounding the *cathedra*:

*Inclitus atque bonus sedet hac in sede Patronus,*

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*215*“Just as Father Elias first governed this temple, so Father Eustacius directed the design.”
The fusing of ecclesiastical and secular authority is expressed in Elias’ identification as both patron and bishop. The choice, then, of *cathedra* in the second *antiphona* of the second nocturn is significant in light of the contest of powers over Nicolaus’ remains in 1087. The honored saint, remarkable for his humility and self-effacement, provides a sharp contrast to Bishop Elias in his eagerness to rule. Upon Nicolaus’ consecration as Bishop of Myra, the poet declares,

*Cathedram superbiae fugit sublimatus.*

The four remaining *antiphonae* of the second nocturn all express Nicolaus’ virtues. The lyrics contain a variety of poetic expressions. In the third *antiphona*, for example, two balanced phrases contrast the bishop’s manner of administering holy discipline with the customary style. Nicolaus is described as “humble with respect to teaching,” an inspiring approach, especially since the dispensing of holy discipline, according to the poem, “used to coincide with imperfection” (*competebat vitio*). The fourth *antiphona* shows that Nicolaus, even as bishop, remained “father of the poor”—*pater pauperum*. His anonymous triple dowry gift, given as a layman, was but the first installment of a lifetime of charitable giving. The fifth *antiphona* also points to virtues developed in the saint’s youth and perduring throughout this life. The poem highlights Nicolaus’ purity of speech through his avoidance of vanity (*vanitatis*). The sixth and final *antiphona* of the second nocturn reveals the motive of all this virtuous living: the bishop’s thirst for “the tabernacles of heaven” (*caeli tabernacula*).
Four responsoria, each with a separate versicle, follow the six antiphonae of the second nocturn. Each of the four recounts a separate episode in the timely appearances of Nicolaus to his devotees. Taken together, the poems illustrate the breadth of appeal of the saint. Considered individually, each of the poems explains the saint’s continuing pastoral care of specific groups. The first of these poems recounts Nicolaus’ response to perishing sailors (nautis pereuntibus), and their later recognizing the man of God (Dei virum). According to Legenda Aurea, as related earlier, the rescued sailors stop at Nicolaus’ shrine church and, upon catching sight of the bishop, realize that it was he who had appeared to them and led them to safety.

The second responsorium does not name Myra, but instead calls it “the province of the man of God” (viri Dei provinciam). The poem tells of the saint’s efficacy not only in averting the harsh famine (dura fames), but in extending his kindness by granting a two-year’s supply of food in the form of seed: annis duobus . . . cibut semini. Besides stories of rescue and supply, the Nicolaus tales explain his power over the forces of evil, as evinced in the third responsorium. The episode, alluded to earlier, shows the bishop’s intervention at a time during which well-meaning pilgrims are mistakenly duped. The poem omits some of the details. The devil, for example, is disguised as an old woman, sailing alone as a pilgrim to the shrine. The figure persuades those in another boat, here described as “those sailing, ignorant men” — navigantes . . viros ignorantes — to accept a flask of oil to be applied as an offering to the walls of the shrine church. Nicolaus’ appearance is opportune; the versicle states, “Nicolaus was present, just as the devil vanished.”

Daemon ut disparuit Nicolaus adfuit.
Again, the poem does not explain that the saint uncovers the ruse by instructing the pilgrims to pour some of the oil into the sea. The immediate conflagration exposes the deception and, states the poem, “so he warned them,” *illos sic admonuit.*

The fourth *responsorium* again features a group of three, a common configuration in tales involving Nicolaus. This time they are scholars, *scholares tres,* who seek lodging at an inn. It is while they are asleep that the innkeeper, spying the men’s books and money, is overcome with avarice: *hospes per avaritiam libros putans pecuniam.* The host strikes his guests with a sword—*gladio*—but, as the *versicle* explains, Nicolaus appears, “fittingly rebuking the man” (*increpans virum digne*) after “kindly arousing the men,” (*suscitans hos benigne*). This set of *responsoria* illustrates the poet’s familiarity with the popular tales surrounding Nicolaus. They also attest the bishop’s wide appeal to disparate groups of followers. In addition, they evince his ongoing care of Myra, his episcopal see. Expressed here are well-known attributes of the saint: his contention with demonic forces, his timely rescue of those in danger of death, and his power over nature. Nicolaus’ followers are almost universally depicted as unaware of impending danger. The sailors trapped in a tempest, the scholars at the mercy of their sword-wielding host, and the pilgrims unwittingly entrusted with a deadly potion all develop a deeper regard for the efficacy of Nicolaus’ intervention. In the case of the citizens of the province of Myra, Nicolaus not only meets, but exceeds, the demands of the moment. He averts famine not only by granting an immediate supply of wheat, but he also provides enough seed to last two more years, thus highlighting the saint’s characteristic generosity.

The third nocturn presents additional indications of the bishop’s response to those devoted to his memory. This section is comprised, as is the earlier two nocturns, with a
set of four responsoria, each having its own versicle. These are preceded by an antiphona. The poem explains that, not just Nicolaus’ devotees, but rather “the whole Church,” omnis Ecclesia, recounts the saint’s dedication to a treasure of wisdom rather than to a treasure of money: sapientiae thesauri, non pecuniae. The expression refers to the saint’s decision, as a young man, to apportion his considerable inheritance to the needy, a resolution described in many episodes over the course of his life, both as a layman and as a bishop.

The first three responsoria chronicle a different type of largesse: Nicolaus’ intervention in the lives of innocent victims. Again, all episodes are drawn from the popular vita contained in Legenda Aurea. The first responsorium tells of his last-minute rescue of three innocent men. According to the poem they have been “given over to an undeserving sentence” (datos sententiae indebitae). In the second poem, the bishop restores a kidnapped son to the grieving father. The boy had been snatched and killed by the devil, his identity disguised by a pilgrim’s badge (peregrini fastigium). Again, the poet only alludes to the well-known story, evidently confident that the congregation is familiar with the full episode that is part of the lore associated with the saint. Responsorium three refers to men218 confined to prison because of a “falsely offended majesty” (falso laesae maiestatis carceratos infamia). The poem does not name either the judge (iudicem) nor the ruler, but Legenda Aurea identifies the emperor as none other than Constantine. In this abbreviated version, the judge is warned through dreams—per somnia—to release the prisoners unscathed. What is missing here is the further nocturnal visitation. According to Legenda Aurea, Nicolaus appears to Constantine, threatening

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218 Legenda Aurea explains that there are three prisoners. This poem identifies them only as “those imprisoned,” carceratos.
dire retribution should the men not be set free. The utterance is tantamount to a liturgical curse, first approved by the Church during the latter part of the tenth century. The force of this confrontation illustrates not only the characteristic “clemency of the saint’s own piety,” *suæ sanctus pietatis . . . clementia*, but also Nicolaus’ potential for stern treatment in his warning of the judge “with harsh threats,” *minis duris*.

The fourth and final responsorium of this third nocturn recounts the holy man’s death. In response to his prayer, Nicolaus is visited by angels at the moment of death. He is led into heaven by them, *angelos . . . a quibus introducitur*. The poem uses scriptural language to honor this movement from earthly to heavenly life. He is “worthy of being crowned to an affable glory,” *coronandus ad gloriam*, reminiscent of the scene in Revelation in which the faithful are granted the crown of eternal life (Rev. 2:10). The saint, called here “the faithful one,” *fidelis*, is said to have joy as he receives the reward prepared for you,” *tibi paratum praemium*, words taken directly from Matthew’s gospel account (25:34). The poem’s third reference to Scripture come from *Legenda Aurea*, which records Nicolaus’ last earthly utterance: “In you, O Lord, my heart has hoped,” *In te, Domine, speravit meum cor* (Psalm 31).

This poem concludes Matins. The first utterance of lauds, the hour that immediately follows, is an *antiphona* introducing the chanting of the day’s psalms. The scene fittingly shows Nicolaus installed in heaven. Here “the holy man gleams with glory,” *refulget sanctus gloria*. Moreover, the poet says that the famous Nicolaus “twinkles with miracles in the Church,” *gloriosus miraculis coruscat in Ecclesia*. The *antiphona* introducing the *Benedictus* elaborates on those miracles by calling the phenomenon of flowing oil—*olei manatio*—“a famous attestation of countless signs of
the holy father of the poor,” (signorum innumerum . . . est nota declaratio). The universality of the bishop’s generosity is attested: the profuse sweating from the bones, desudans ex ossibus, “heals all those with weaknesses” (cunctos curat languoribus).

The poems for the hours of prime, terce, sext, and nones rely once again on popular episodes of episcopal intervention. They are thematically linked; all are about restoration in some fashion. At prime, for example, the poet depicts the death—and miraculous restoration—of the perjurer who swore in Nicolaus’ name that he had repaid a loan issued by a Jew. According to Legenda Aurea, the man died at a crossroad “on account of his perjury,” perditum periurio. Missing from this poem but evidently known to the worshippers is the portion of the tale that explains the Jew’s willingness to convert to the Christian faith on condition that the perjurer is revived.

At terce, the poet recalls a father’s annual celebration of Saint Nicolaus’ day, annuum colentem festum, adding that the son captured on that day was restored to his father. Terse wording only suggests details spelled out in fuller detail in Legenda Aurea. The phrase “captured son” filium . . . captivatum does not identify the abductor as the devil. The depth of the father’s grief is suggested by the poet’s mentioning that the son, an only child, was “given by God,” a Deo datum; the author of Legenda Aurea mentions the boy’s name: Adeodatus. Nicolaus, in returning the boy, “comforts the grieving father,” consolatur patrum maestum. The poem at sext involves the restoration of purloined goods. The lyrics are curious in that, according to Legenda Aurea, the items had been stolen from the house of a Jew. According to the vita, this is a conversion story, and the retrieval of the goods is enough to persuade the Jew to embrace the Christian faith. In this poem, however, Nicolaus forces the thieves to return the items, not to the
Jew but rather to the statue: *imagini*. In either case, the poem is in keeping with the general theme of restoration. Finally, the poem at nones recounts a man’s attempt to renege on a vow. In exchange for an unspecified wish, a “man of distinguished lineage,” *vir . . . clara progenie*, promised the church a gilt vessel—*vas aureum ecclesiae vovit*. Missing from the poem are the details of the wish. The author of *Legenda Aurea* supplies specific information about both the wish and about the crafting of the vessel. The man longed for a son. If a son were granted him, he pledged, the son would make the golden vessel himself for the father to present as a thank-offering to Saint Nicolaus. This episode has been recounted earlier. Important to recall here is the sense of restoration missing from the poem. Until the father made good on his vow, the boy was lost to him. Through the agency of Bishop Nicolaus, both boy and gold cup were returned to the father who, having learned his lesson, gladly leaves the promised vessel at the saint’s shrine.

The final poem of this monastic Office is the *antiphona* at the Magnificat during the hour of second vespers. It is this poem that concludes the Propers of the feast’s liturgical prayer. Fitting, then, is its emphasis on the two continuing sources of favors of the patronal saint: temporal gifts and intercessory prayer leading to reunion in heaven. The bishop is addressed in this poem as “Nicolaus, blissful father of manifold graces,” *Felix pater, gratiarum, Nicolae, variarum*. The temporal gifts are enumerated: “sight to the blind, life to the deceased, a smile to the grieving”—*caecis visum, functis vitam, maesti risum*. Wondrous though these blessings are, the poem goes on to petition for the bishop’s prayer that his followers, may, like their holy patron, eventually “cross over without blemish to the good things of heavenly life”:  

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transeamus sine labe ad caelis vitae bona.

It is to be noted that the prayer does not ask the saint for eternal life; such is not his to grant. Rather the faithful pray that the favor be granted them specifically “by your prayer,” tua prece.

Conclusion

The two Offices examined here trace the life and pious reputation of Nicolas of Myra, later honored as Nicolaus of Bari. Although the Offices are of unknown composition, the monastic Office dates to the fifteenth century; the cathedral Office, a Cistercian work, dates to the sixteenth century. Given the popularity of Legenda Aurea, the widespread cult of this bishop, and the nature of poetry, it is not surprising that many of the episodes are told in summary fashion without details.

Because Nicolaus was honored as a saint before the Church’s official canonization process was promulgated, he is described as offering remarkable assistance, but to people who, with few exceptions, are unnamed. And so one reads of “a group of sailors” and “a band of pilgrims” and “a man of distinguished lineage.” The Church later began collecting the testimony of witnesses in support of a holy person’s canonization. At that point, the identity of the testators became a matter of record. At this point, however, the anonymity of Nicolaus’ followers serves to promote the sense that he is accessible to all who call on him in faith.

Cures, famine relief, and intercessory blessings are within reach of all who invoke the bishop’s favor. Such confidence, however, requires a steadfast spirit; those who withhold allegiance in some form, be it the return of stolen property, the offering of a
precious object, or unwavering devotion, stand to be visited by the spirit of Nicolaus. In such visitations, the saint reveals the power of his name, boldly declaring, when challenged, “I am Nicolaus.”

A distinction ought to be made in the use of the word *ecclesia*. In liturgical terms, it is the Church (catholic in the universal sense) that honors this holy man. On the other hand, when sailors visit the site of the relics, or when pilgrims pay homage at the shrine, the reference is assuredly to the church (i.e., the local place of worship in Bari). The most significant sense of local church occurs in the monastic Office’s hour of matins. In the second *antiphona* of the second nocturn, the use of *cathedra* to refer to the episcopal power that Nicolaus shunned suggests the struggle for ecclesiastical power during the years immediately following the *translatio*. The refusal of Elias, Benedictine abbot of the monastery at Bari, to surrender Nicolaus’ relics to Bishop Ursone in 1087 points to the potential for financial gain. Pilgrim sites were immensely popular in the late Middle Ages, and the monastery’s control of Nicolaus’ remains would have afforded them a lucrative business in hosting services and special festivals.

Of the two Offices examined in this chapter, the monastic Office is written in finer Latin style. Both Offices celebrate the life and holiness of the bishop-patron of Bari; the cathedral Office tends to focus on the events of his life, the monastic Office, on his virtues. The poems of these services exhibit the universal appeal of this saint, his popularity among people of all social classes, and his championing of the cause of the weak and oppressed.

In Chapter Four, two Offices—one cathedral, the other monastic—honoring Guillelmus of Bourges will be examined. As a bishop who ruled during the late Middle
Ages, Guillelmus is representative of those saints whose cause for canonization was firmly monitored by the Church. The unofficial but enthusiastic acclamation of Nicolaus’ sanctity, then, provides a contrast to that of Guillelmus of Bourges. The reputation of both bishops spread extensively during the late Middle Ages. Popular devotion promoted Nicolaus’ cause. The Church carefully controlled the process of canonization of pious people—including Guillelmus—who lived during the late Middle Ages. Their vitae and Offices provide clues to the rise of their respective cults and their dealings with ecclesiastical and secular authority during their term of episcopal administration.
Chapter 4

Guillelmus of Bourges

Guillelmus is representative of saints of the late Middle Ages whose cause for canonization was conducted according to a specific set of procedures established by the Church. In the early centuries of the Church, patriarchs and primates exercised the right to declare confessors and martyrs among the beati. Later, bishops themselves acknowledged as saints those holy men and women within their jurisdiction known to have lived a virtuous life. Frequently the bishop’s approval was consequent upon the popular acclaim of the diocesan faithful.219

The unofficial but nonetheless enthusiastic acclamation of Nicolaus of Bari’s sanctity, then, provides a contrast to that of Guillelmus of Bourges. The reputation of both bishops spread extensively during the late Middle Ages. Popular devotion promoted Nicolaus’ cause. The Church carefully controlled the process of canonization of pious people who lived during the late Middle Ages, including Guillelmus. Their vitae and Offices provide clues to the rise of their respective cults and their dealings with ecclesiastical and secular authority during their term of episcopal administration.

The account of the life of Guillelmus by Laurentius Surius (1522-1578) is detailed and digressive, devoid of the episodic charm that characterizes the vita of Nicolaus of Bari. Surius’ text, penned in the sixteenth century, is part of a larger body of literature that includes reports from the curial phase of the canonization process, 1202-1390. Because Guillelmus of Bourges died in 1209 and was canonized in 1218, official testimony and hagiographical information sit squarely within the term of this curial phase.

This fact alone sets Guillelmus apart from Nicolaus. Canonical proceedings were careful and detailed. Official documents report the names and titles of witnesses and note particular biases either in favor or in opposition to the candidate’s cause. In an earlier age, the time during which Nicolaus of Bari gained widespread and enthusiastic popularity, one’s reputation rested on oft-repeated and sometimes outlandish reports of favors, cures, and mysterious apparitions. The personal identity of those favored seems immaterial. Faith in the saint’s response to the petitions of devotees and their determination to promote his or her reputation once the favor was granted went far to shape the popular appeal of many early saints. Nicolaus of Bari is among the best known of these intercessors. His early reputation for sanctity, well attested by time-honored tales and reports of continuing miracles, earned him an uncontested place among the ranks of the Church’s roster of saints.

By the 12th century, however, the Church reserved the right to inspect the life and deeds of men and women considered extraordinarily holy. In order to prevent the irresponsible development of questionable, and even sometimes scandalous, devotion, the

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220Laurentius Surius, “Vita S. Guillelmi Archiepiscopi Bituricensis,” in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 2 (1884), 271-361. This account is discussed in detail later in this chapter (pp. 135-45).
Church established the comparatively complicated canonization process.\textsuperscript{221} It is this official inspection, under which the holiness of Guillelmus of Bourges was questioned, that sets his reputation in contrast to that of Nicolaus. It is the distinction between fervent, popular devotion and disinterested, ecclesiastical investigation.

On the other hand, there are a number of striking similarities in the accounts of these two bishops’ lives. Both came from distinguished lineage, a stock characteristic in the hagiographical tradition of saints who became ecclesiastical leaders. Both were known, since boyhood, to prefer holy solitude to the company of others. The solitary life had greater attraction for Guillelmus than for Nicolaus. Lest “his contemplation be troubled,”\textsuperscript{222} he withdrew to the abbey of Citeaux. Eventually Guillelmus was named prior of that abbey, and later was transferred to the abbey of Karolescence, where he was chosen abbot. Hagiographer Surius describes his abbatial conduct as kindly towards his subjects, ever demonstrating good virtues and good manners.

Whereas \textit{Legenda Aurea} details the episcopal election of Nicolaus of Bari in great detail, it states quite simply that Guillelmus, following his rule as abbot of Karolescence, “was chosen to be archbishop of Bourges.” The author remarks that, as bishop, Guillelmus continued to wear the habit of his religious order and to maintain the Cistercian observance. He discharged his episcopal duties in much the same manner as he had conducted himself earlier as abbot; \textit{Legenda Aurea} depicts a somber figure, humble, meditative, and devout in his prayers. In ministering to souls, Guillelmus heard confessions, nourished souls, and preached diligently. Of special note is the divine

\textsuperscript{221}Pope Alexander III was the first to reserve approbation to the Holy See. http://www.carr.org/~meripper/saints/
reward granted for “his devout prayers and merits;” many miracles are attributed to the saint during his lifetime.

*Legenda Aurea* details two of these miracles. The first involves a priest named Gerald who, because of an impaired hand, was kept from “singing the Mass.” Gerald consulted Guillelmus who counseled the priest to confess his sins, assuring the priest that this act would certainly result in the restoration of his hand. Taking the holy bishop’s advice, Gerald “sang Mass whole and sound” three days later.\(^{223}\)

The second miracle contained in the *Legenda Aurea* account involves a young child with a brain disorder. The condition caused the boy to appear cross-eyed. The story tells that friends, not the boy’s parents, brought the child to Bishop Guillelmus. The cleric responded with “great pity.” When he imposed his hand on the boy’s head, the pain immediately ceased and the boy’s health was instantly restored.

The *vita* goes on to contrast the joyous manner of the saint with the “harsh and crude living” of some others. Among all sins, Guillelmus found detraction particularly displeasing. He was wont to admonish detractors and, if they persisted in their sin, he “withdrew from their company.”

Guillelmus ended his life in unexpected fashion. He was preparing to carry the cross to “heretics and heathens” across the sea but died while making preparations for the voyage. *Legenda Aurea* reports the date: January 10. The Church commemorates the saint’s feast day annually on that date. The account further explains that the bishop’s remains were interred in the church at Bourges. Soon after the burial, Guillelmus “began to perform miracles.” It should be noted that the hagiographical tradition recounts miracles both during the saints’ lifetime and also after his burial in the church at Bourges.
The reputation of this saint reached Pope Honorius III, who himself initiated the process of canonical inquiry. Once the sanctity of Guillelmus was established through testimony, Pope Honorius canonized him “to the honor and praising of God.”

Far more significant than the details supplied in the popular *Legenda Aurea* are the facts that emerge from official canonical inquiry. Whereas the Nicolaus legend speaks in general terms of a band of sailors or a group of pilgrims, testimony in support of Guillelmus’ cause is specific. Details of the inquiry, explained in this chapter after an examination of the two Offices in his honor, reflect the Church’s concern that the reputation of those known for their piety not rest on popular fervor but rather be subject to disinterested scrutiny.

The lyrics of two Offices in his honor, one monastic and the other cathedral, reflect the confidence of the faithful, especially at Bourges, in this well known local bishop. The Latin of these two Offices is finer than that of either of the two Nicolaus Offices in this study. The balancing of phrases, the rhetorical figures, the scriptural allusions, and the images of heaven all indicate a superior quality of liturgical poetic style. Despite a couple of defective poems and some inscrutable grammatical forms, the Latin of both Guillelmus Offices is evidently the work of poets whose skill outpaces the work of those who penned the two Nicolaus Offices discussed in Chapter Two. These Offices honoring Guillelmus contain scriptural allusions, echoes of the common elements of the liturgical Office (e.g., the *Benedictus* and the *Magnificat*), and a balance of direct address and invocations to Christ.

More significant than the quality of the Latin is the tone of these services. The tone reflects confidence in the bishop’s intercession, a confidence borne of the conviction
that Guillelmus has already been translated to the ranks of the beati in heaven. In fact, the tone of these poems is that of effective prayer. The confidence in the praying community is unmistakable. The prayers are not simply wishes that God act according to the merits of their patron. Rather, the community is certain that God will indeed act, so sure are they of the virtues of their bishop and the continuation of his aid even beyond the grave.

**The Cathedral Office**

In this study, the cathedral Office dedicated to Saint Guillelmus is dated 1278. The manuscript is housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale at Troyes. Both the lyrics and the notes are attributed to Philippus of Moutier-la-Celles: *Philippus scripsit et cantum notavit*. The Office is also contained in *Analecta Hymnica*.

The Office opens at first vespers with three *antiphonae*, all of which directly address the patron. All of them, furthermore, are intercessory in nature. The first is a three-line poem in which Guillelmus is called “good shepherd,” and “pious father and patron.” The opening line relies on the alliteration of *p* in these appellations: *pastor bone, pie pater et patrone*. Reflective of the virtues outlined in *Legenda*, this first antiphon describes the bishop as “true in speech”—*verax in sermone*, then goes on to declare that the praying community seeks salvation specifically through the saint’s “holy intercession” (*sancta intercessione*). The second *antiphona* hints at the saint’s seeking out erring souls. The prayer declares: “We humbly demand”—*humiliter deposcimus*—

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224 The date is written in the margin of f. 289. Andrew Hughes does not remark this.

225 Ms: Bibliothèque Nationale, Troyes, 1148, fols. 282-89.

226 *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 5, #99, pp. 269-72.
that Guillelmus intercede for all those “going astray” (*errantium*). The third of these *antiphonae* expresses the faithful’s belief: “We think that you are the protector of the Lord’s flock.”

*Protectorem sentiamus te gregis Dominici*

The poem capitalizes on parallel structure in expressing confidence in the bishop’s atoning prayer for their sinful action; the community asks that his “prayer excuse that which [their] action accuses.”

*Excuset oratio quod accusat actio.*

Strong alliteration of *s* completes the poem as the faithful specifically request the grace of remaining steadfast in faith through Bishop Guillelmus’ intercession:

*Servos serva supplicantes ut in fide sint constantes sancta intercessione.*

The tone of these three *antiphonae* is one of confidence, arising from the praying community’s realization of their patron’s spiritual integrity.

The final poem at first vespers, the *antiphona* introducing the *Magnificat*, incorporates pairs of contrasting adjectives to show the degree of Christ’s humility in appearing in human form. He is first described as “great and wondrous,” *magnum et mirabilem*, then “small” and “inexpressible,” *parvum ineffabilem*. The poem is a declaration that echoes the words of the *Magnificat*, the Gospel antiphon: “it is fitting to magnify Christ”—*magnificare decuit Christum.*

The Invitatory at matins is a call to the praying community. All three verbs in the two-line summons are in the hortatory subjunctive. The poem asks first that the Word of the Father, made flesh, be adored (*adoretur*) and praised (*laudetur*), then goes on to declare that Guillelmus, too, is deserving of praise. He is not named, but rather is called
the Father’s “own dear triumphing soldier” (*militique suo caro triumphanti*). There are three nocturns in the hour of matins. The first two are classically structured: the set of three *antiphonae* is followed by a set of three *responsoria*. Each *responsorium*, moreover, has a *versicle*. The third nocturn is defective. The Latin style of the poems of this hour is fairly uniform, combining praise of God and references to Guillelmus. The tone is triumphant, the imagery, militant. Once again, the praying community reflects a sense of surety, confident that their bishop is praiseworthy. Word choice echoes the Scriptures, most notably Psalms. Because this feast occurs on January 10, close to the feast of the Epiphany (January 6), an allusion to the Magi appears in the third nocturn.

The first of the three *antiphonae* during the first nocturn does not name Guillelmus but rather calls him “the blessed man.” He is described as washed in the waters, not of baptism but of wisdom. Referring to his integrity in episcopal governance, the poet declares that the bishop “has not wished to sit on the seat of pestilence.” The second *antiphona* depicts Guillelmus as “sower of God’s Word.” The poem suggests the account in Matthew 3:13-23 wherein the scriptural sower, broadcasting the Word of God, distributes the seed liberally. The effectiveness of the action depends, not on his sowing but rather on the condition of the soil where the seed lands. The poem declares Guillelmus a “prophet of the Lord’s precepts” and goes on to speak of his personal dedication to Christ’s name as “complete and devout.” By employing the image of the diligent sower, borrowed from Matthew’s parable, the poet lays the focus on the bishop as dutiful servant.

The remaining poems of the hour of Matins are militant in theme. The third *antiphona* of the first nocturn contains the only direct address of the hour. Here Christ is
hailed for taking up “the soldier, rejoicing in glory.” Rather than declaring Guillelmus fit to join the heavenly throng, a common allusion to Revelation, the poems identifies him only as “that holy man,” then states his worthiness to be a member “of the exalting head.” Clearly the poet’s focus is on the saint’s episcopal identity. He is sower, soldier, and here, identified not with the rejoicing faithful but rather with Christ as Head of the Church.

The three responsoria of the first nocturn acknowledge distinct attributes of Guillelmus. The first of the three makes mention of the feast day itself, calling it “the birthday of the holy priest” (sancti natalitiae sacerdotis). The poet begins the poem with chiasmus, a verb-participle combination balanced by a participle-verb combination, drawn from the same two words: “Let us exult, celebrating. Let us celebrate, exulting.”

Exultemus celebrantes, celebremus exultantes.

The poem contrasts the saint’s holiness with the praying community’s “heavy mound of crimes” (gravi moli criminum); the versicle, moreover, asks that the faithful be “purified of shadow and from every vice” (purgemus tenebris et ob omni vitio). God is addressed as “Father of lights” in an alliterative phrase: prece praevia praestet Pater luminum.

Place names are fairly uncommon in the two Guillelmus offices, but the second responsorium at first nocturn refers to “happy Gaul,” felix . . . Gallia. This poem is among those relying on hagiographical information and the testimony of the bishop’s followers. The poem alludes to the saint’s “glory in time of famine,” fame gloria as well as to the politically charged phrase, “far off struggles with famous titles,” longe titulis enituit. The responsorium tells of Guillelmus’ followers acknowledging him “through signs and miracles”—ipsum declarantibus sequentibus signis et miraculis—standard
features from the canonization testimony. As in the first responsorium, so here the praying community acknowledges its sins, relying on the bishop’s “prayers and merits” (precibus et meritis) for forgiveness. Guillelmus is identified as a “glorious soldier.”

The Latin of the third responsorium of the first nocturn is irregular. The poem continues the militant image in describing the saint’s boyhood. Using the subjunctive mood, the poet writes that “the young boy hitherto would be a soldier of Christ,” adhuc puerulus esset Christi miles, then contrasts the saint’s youthfulness with the maturity of his heart. Drawing from the vita, the poet declares that the boy was “steeped in holy writings” (sacris litteris imbutus) and so “despised the world” (mundum despexit).

The set of poems in the second nocturn at Matins contains the same structure as those in the first nocturn: three antiphonae followed by three responsoria, each containing a versicle. All three antiphonae depict the saint in the presence of Christ. In none of the poems is Guillelmus named. In the first, he is called “the blameless man”—innocens vir iste. He is seen kneeling, beseeching Christ (orat flexis genibus); Christ “favors his prayers” (suis favens precibus). This image of humble, effective entreaty on the part of the saint, balanced by a favorable response on Christ’s part, fortifies the praying community’s confidence that their bishop will continue to intercede for their needs. The second antiphona continues the scene, identifying Guillelmus simply as sanctum, “the holy man.” Christ understands not only Guillelmus’ words, but also the clamorem, the acclamation of the faithful. Using an alliterative r, the poet presents the King of kings as having received the bishop into His realm:

quem Rex regum diligens regno suo recipit.
In similar vein, the third antiphona proclaims that Christ has taken Guillelmus to “the heavenly fatherland” (*in caelesti patria*).

The three responsoria that complete the second nocturn contain some obscure Latin words, but the sense of each of the poems is clear. These texts move away from the tone of praise of Christ and acknowledgement of Guillelmus’ presence in heaven. Instead, the responsoria focus on events of the saint’s life, revealing him as an outstanding example of virtue and, consequently, worthy of admiration and prayerful confidence. The first of the three poems contains stock images. The bishop is identified as distinguished, not so much by his noble birth (*praeclarus genere*) as for his manner of life (*clarior moribus*). The choice of words is in keeping with the prevailing hagiographical tradition. Popular saints are well born but do not rely on their lineage; it is their virtuous living that sets them apart.227 The poem presents two more features of Guillelmus’ life. These are remarkable, but hardly unusual. In fact, hagiographical tradition had developed such a set of criteria that their mention was expected. So it is here: Guillelmus, like Nicolaus of Bari, was “unwilling to prosper with paternal riches”—*nolens succedere paternis opibus*. Instead he is called “a pauper for Christ’s sake” (*pro Christo paupere*). The rise of the mendicant Orders during the late Middle Ages brought with it identification with the gospel poverty of Jesus, freely chosen in service of others.228 In addition to his detachment from worldly riches, the bishop is described as “unwilling to yield to worldly dignitaries,” (*nolens . . . dignitatibus*)

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227Townsend, 619.

228For a discussion of the effect of the new mendicant Orders on the prestige of the bishop, see Vauchez, *Sainthood in the later middle ages*, 290-91.
mundanis cedere). Guillelmus, more than Nicolaus, is depicted as steadfast in confronting secular authority.

The second responsorium associates Guillelmus with John the Baptist, called “Christ’s holy precursor,” sanctum Christi praecursorem. The bishop’s vita makes much of the fact that Guillelmus, prior to his election, was a monk of the Benedictine tradition. Legenda Aurea, in fact, reports that even as bishop he retained both the religious garb and the observances of the Order.\(^{229}\) In keeping with Benedictine tradition, he prized solitude. In fact, even after becoming bishop, he secluded himself, returning to his episcopal post only when officially summoned from solitude.\(^{230}\) The poem explains that, during his period of seclusion, the bishop was “serving in a monastic region, hidden under the Order”—monachali districto sub ordine lateret. His preference for solitude shows Guillelmus’ detachment from worldly power while his willingness to abandon his solitude in order to govern his diocese reflects his compliance with Church directives. Hence the poem describes him as producing “not so much a hearing but a doing of God’s word”:

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\text{Se non tantum auditorem verbi Dei sed factorem}
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The third responsorium contains yet another stock image of holiness popular in the late Middle Ages: gratia lacrimarum, the gift of tears.\(^{231}\) The poem presents the saint “praying in his cell for the people’s sake,” orans in cubiculo pro populo. It is significant that this Office makes explicit mention of Guillelmus’ monastic background. The composer, Philippus of Moutier-les-Celles, may have been commissioned by the

\[^{231}\text{Vauchez, Sainthood in the later middle ages, 438.}\]
Benedictines. A number of monks gave testimony during the canonization hearings, as will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

The final responsorium is defective in its Latin construction, but the sense is clear. The poem alludes to the Magi, a fitting association since Guillelmus’ feast day, January 10, falls during the season of the Epiphany. According to the text, Guillelmus is buried on “the Lord’s day,” die Domino. Although neither Legenda Aurea nor Laurentius Surius’ account makes mention of the appearance of an unusual star on the day of the bishop’s burial, the poem suggests just that. A group of commoners, plebs, is assembled at the tomb. Just as the Bethlehem star had, in an earlier age, pointed to the birth of Jesus Christ, so here “another glittering star had revealed something new” (novum quid ostendisset stella fulgens altera). The poem contrasts the lofty identity of the Magi with the identity of those who gathered to honor Guillelmus: “To the East, the first star directed the great ones, and to the West, another star has shown forth for us.”

Ad orientem prima stella magnos perduxit, at ad occasum alta stella nobis illuxit. The responsorium then tells of those who visit the shrine and the various favors granted through the intercession of the holy bishop. The list of miracles is extensive and varied, but familiar; they are the very signs Jesus gave his followers as proof of authenticity of his disciples.\(^{232}\) Their inclusion in the third nocturn fortifies Guillelmus’ reputation as a true follower of Christ. The poem describes the faithful coming in a throng to the tomb, but leaving one by one, each pilgrim having received an answer to his/her petition. The catalogue of blessings includes physical healing, the driving out of demons, restoration to wholeness, and the curing of those who were insane. The result of such dramatic

\(^{232}\text{Luke 7:22.}\)
transformation is to be expected; the bishop’s “works illuminate the farthest reaches of the world”—*ad extreman partes mundi lucent ejus opera*. Using imagery in keeping with the Epiphany season, the poet calls this stream of cures “another star gleaming” (*stella fulgens altera*).

At the hour of lauds, the three *antiphonae* speaks of Guillelmus, but do not name him. The first of these three poems is unusual in that the tense of the main verb is the future, declaring that the holy man “will dwell” (*habitabit*) in God’s holy tent. It is more common that the prayers depict the saint already in heaven. The poem considers the human condition one of bondage, typical of the medieval dichotomy between earthly life and eternal life. Death is considered liberation. Hence the poem refers to the bishop as “a man having passed out from the prison of the flesh”—*vir egressus carnis ergastulo*.

The second *antiphona* is addressed to Christ. After first acknowledging that Christ has not deceived “the one you have made”—*non fraudasti quem creasti*—the poet goes on to explain that Guillelmus, here called Christ’s soldier, *tuum militem*, has not exceeded the limits of Christ’s decrees: *quo tuorum mandatorum non excessit limitem*. A different focus is contained in the third *antiphona*. Here Guillelmus is referred to as God’s son, *filium*, and is depicted as an athlete “running in the stadium,” *currens in stadio*. Instead of revealing the bishop as an individual, at odds with the confines of the flesh or staying within the limits of Christ’s decrees, the poet enlarges the scope. The poem places him in the company of “the brave ones”—*bravium*—then concludes with a line taken from the Psalter: “This is the generation seeking God” (*nam Deum quaerentium haec est generatio*).\(^{233}\)

\(^{233}\)Psalm 24:6.
Two responsoria follow the set of three antiphonae. The first is a poetic summation of the virtues which distinguished Guillelmus, not only as bishop, but throughout his pious life, as recorded in *Legenda Aurea*. In terse phrases, the poet tells of the saint’s fasting, vigils, self-imposed afflictions, but maintains that he remains “waving to no extent,” *nullo vacillans ambitu*. An unusual image follows, suggestive of the demonic temptations that followed Jesus’ forty-day retreat into the wilderness.\(^{234}\)

The allusion is brief but cogent; the poet first explains that Guillelmus’ program of self-denial has made him “already fortified in spirit,” *iam roborato spiritu*. There is reference to the saint’s reluctance to assume the role of bishop: *vocantus invitus*. Guillelmus is here identified not by name but by title. The poet explains that “the bishop is seized and handed over to the summit”—*rapitur et trahitur ad culmen praesulatus*.\(^ {235}\) The association with Jesus here demonstrates Guillelmus’ spiritual fortitude and his willingness to be exposed to spiritual danger. The responsorium concludes with the versicle, a couplet whose imagery is drawn again from Matthew’s gospel account. In Matthew’s account, the light is a metaphor for the influence of Jesus’ disciples. The Master cautions the Twelve not to hide their influence, but rather to allow the light to shine out to the entire world. He invokes the image of a lamp; it is not “hidden under a measure but rather set upon a lamp stand.”\(^ {236}\)

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\(^ {234}\)Matthew 4:6. In this episode Jesus, having sustained a forty-day period of fasting and vigils, is tempted three times by Satan. The second of these is the suggestion that Jesus cast himself down from the pinnacle, depending on God’s dispatching angels to bear him up and protect him from harm.

\(^ {235}\)Luke 4:29. Similar words are used in describing a hostile crowd’s response to Jesus. The scriptural account contains active-voice verbs describing the throng, but the poet here uses the passive voice in referring to Guillelmus.

\(^ {236}\)Matthew 5:15. In this parable, Jesus speaks of the disciples as “the light of the world” and explains that, as such, their influence is not meant to be hidden but rather set upon a lamp stand so as to illuminate the world.
not one. The first of these, an oil-lamp, “lies obscured by the snow”—*neve lucerna latat*. In words derived from Matthew’s account, the lamp is therefore described as “hidden under a measure” (*absconsa sub modio*). A different lamp is mentioned in the second line of the *versicle*. This one, established “in the center of the house”—*in domus medio*—stands revealed. The imagery underscores the confident tone of the praying community. Their patron’s influence, despite his personal humility (a classic hagiographical *topos*) is evident and accessible.

The second *responsorium* is not followed by a *versicle*. It does, however, extend the allusion established in the first *responsorium*. In Jesus’ parable, he calls the disciples both “the light of the world” and “a city set on a mountain.” It is the second of these metaphors at play in this poem. Once again Guillelmus remains unnamed. He is described here in pastoral terms. The poet celebrates the bishop’s virtue, declaring him uncorrupted by episcopal power. The *topos* of humility is a key feature of this poem. Guillelmus’ mind remains unaffected by his ecclesiastical office, here called “the dignity of the shepherd” (*pastoralis dignitas*). The bishop’s preservation of humility—*servatur humilitas*—is credited, since that virtue rules his beatific heart (*quia regens cor beatum*). Reminiscent of Matthew’s imagery, Guillelmus’ “holy state established upon a mountain”—*illa sancta civitas supra montem posita*—remains unconquered by evil forces: *hostibus indomita*. The poem is irregular; it lacks the versicle.

In the Divine Office, the hour of lauds always includes the *Benedictus*, a canticle that contains Zacharias’ praise of God on hearing news of the conception of John the Baptist (Lk. 1: 68-79).\footnote{The Latin text of the *Benedictus* is contained in Appendix B, p. 153.} The wording of the *antiphona* of this service borrows from the
Benedictus itself. Whereas Luke’s canticle prays, “Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel,” in this Office, the antiphon declares, “Blessed be the unconquered King, the God of Israel,” Benedictus rex invictus Deus Israeliis. The poem is descriptive rather than intercessory. It recounts the appearance of Jesus Christ, called “the promised Word,”—Verbum misit quod promisit—through the declaration of the archangel Gabriel. The poem concludes with mention of the feast day, the anniversary of Guillelmus’ death, on which “the faithful priest is raised on high and, on this day, is crowned”

sursum sublimatur et hac die coronatur sacerdoe fidelis.

The last poem of this Office is the antiphona preceding the Magnificat at second vespers. Like the Benedictus antiphona at lauds, this poem appropriately focuses on Christ rather than on Bishop Guillelmus. Christ is described as appearing in servile form, servilem formam induit. The poet alludes to Moses in declaring that Christ “snatched His own slaves from the hand of Pharaoh, servos suos eripuit de manu Pharaonis. The antiphona concludes by associating Guillelmus, a fellow exile with the faithful—nobiscum exsulem—among the Church fathers and patrons, according to the will of Christ: sanctis adiungi voluit patribus et patronis. The poem establishes an important link: Guillelmus is associated, even in heaven, with those whom he served while on earth. Furthermore, he appears in heaven among a particularly influential group, and this in accordance with Christ’s bidding.

The Monastic Office
The monastic Office in this study is contained in *Analecta Hymnica*.238 The composer is not identified. This Office, like its cathedral Office counterpart, reflects a finer Latin poetic expression than either of the Nicolaus Offices in terms of both metrics and rhyme. On the other hand, there are several poems that seem either defective or else so terse in expression that they defy grammatical analysis. Of the two Guillelmus Offices, this one makes more numerous references to the virtues elucidated in *Legenda Aurea*. The Office makes scriptural allusions drawn from the Old Testament as well as from the New.

Typical of monastic Offices, first vespers contains four *antiphonae* followed by a *responsorium*. These are followed by the *antiphona* introducing the *Magnificat*, a poem contained in both cathedral and monastic Offices. The cathedral first vespers *antiphonae* are all intercessory; these are not. The first of the set addresses the Church as “mother,” *mater*. With the poet’s use of alliteration, she is depicted as trampling the serpent’s head—*caput conteris*—an obvious reference to Genesis 3:15.239 The poet uses alliteration again; he credits Mother Church with opening heaven to her nurslings: *alumnis aperis*. The poem is joyful in tone, a hymn celebrating the triumph of Mother Church’s offspring over evil, personified in the serpent.

The second *antiphona* is hortatory. Guillelmus is referenced as bishop, but is not named. The grammatical construction is defective, but the sense is clear: the praying community is urged to offer thanks to God. The hymn declares that, through their

238 *AH*, vol. 28, #99, pp. 271-76.

239 While modern scholars interpret the agent in this passage as “the seed of the woman,” the Vulgate suggests the pronoun “she.” The latter impression gave rise to the long-revered tradition of depicting Mary, Mother of Grace, standing on the orb of the world with the serpent beneath her feet. The ambiguity is attributed to an early copyist’s error. Bernard Orchard, ed. *A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1953), 186.
bishop, the calamities of the ages have been lifted. Expressions of gratitude to God are typical at the hour of lauds.

The third *antiphona* does name Guillelmus. The poem outlines his program of virtue as a boy. The hymn is narrative rather than laudatory, reviewing Guillelmus’ deliberate choice of self-discipline. The poet declares that he “chose harshness,” *elegit aspera*. The hymn ends with an obvious New Testament reference. In Romans 7:23, Paul describes warring between two laws, that of the flesh and that of the mind. The bishop’s observance of the law, from youth and throughout his episcopal administration, is remarkable. Later poems in this office celebrate that fidelity. This *antiphona* tells of Guillelmus’ own conquest, through virtuous living, of the “law of the flesh,” *legem carnis*. The fourth *antiphona* extends the narrative. This poem captures the medieval sense of the world as a hostile environment. The saint is called here simply “the youth,” *adulescens*. The world is termed his stepfather, *vitricum*, compelling him to “sidestep the slippery path,” *evadit lubricum* by fleeing ostentation, *pompam fugit*. These two *antiphonae* convey the image of the bishop as other-worldly from his youth, cognizant of the evils of his age and determined to yield to enticements. While the boy’s convictions are laudable, they are typical of the *vitae* of the late Middle Ages.

The *responsorium* following the four *antiphonae* depicts Guillelmus, again unnamed, searching the Scriptures frequently—*crebro legit in scripturis*—for inspiration. The poem contains three words for light, appropriate for the daybreak hour of lauds. The intercession itself is called “the prayer of true light,” *preci verae lucis*. Divine enlightenment is referred to as “light beams,” *radios*. In keeping with the bishop’s reputation for self-scrutiny, he is depicted as examining “the peculiar movements of [his]
mind”—scrutatur motus mentis proprios—in the light from on high: de supernis . . . in lucernis. The versicle that follows celebrates the esteemed lineage of the saint.

Guillelmus, although depicted here as a newborn, fetus, maintains in his bearing “the planting-rod of the fathers,” virgas patrum. Although this might be construed as a reference to his parentage, the context points to an association, rather, with the Church fathers.

The final hymn of the hour of lauds is the antiphona preceding the chanting of the Magnificat. As is found in many instances, this poem echoes the wording of the canticle itself. This poem, however, changes the form from the verb magnificat to an adverb; the rejoicing soul is called on to “grandly” (magnifice) render vows with divine praisings.

The imagery of this antiphona is a blend of images drawn from both the Old and the New Testament. The soul has been espoused by Christ—quam sponsavit. The second line of the poem tells of the restoration of the soul with ten drachmas, cum drachma decim, a clear reference to a parable of Jesus.\(^{240}\) The soul’s identity as spouse of Christ is further enhanced in the words ornans monilibus. The bride is then escorted by Christ, according to the poem, “from the few to the many,” a paucis vexit ad plurima. The soul, as bride, is thus taken to the wedding feast of heaven, stock image of the eternal banquet. The antiphona tells of the soul’s joining the “heavenly citizens of truth”—supernis civibus veritatis. A Eucharistic expression completes this image: they are “already feasting on unleavened bread,” iam cibans azyma.\(^{241}\)

\(^{240}\) Luke 15: 8-10.

\(^{241}\) Unleavened bread is used at Communion, a tradition drawn from the Jewish Passover feast. The custom is associated with the Exile, during which Yahweh fed the Israelites unleavened bread during their forty years in the wilderness. Exodus 12: 15.
Praise of God’s name is not unusual in the Divine Office. The matins invitatory of this Office is unusual in its praise of the name of Guillelmus rather than the name of God. This is one of only three in this Office containing the bishop’s name.\(^{242}\) The poem is hortatory; the praying community identifies itself as “the people and the sheep of the Lord,” *populos et oves Domini.* The designation of the faithful as sheep pays tribute to Guillelmus’ episcopal role. Bishops extend Jesus’ care as Good Shepherd.

Whereas the first nocturn during hour of matins in a cathedral Office contains three *antiphonae,* the monastic Office has six *antiphonae* in the first nocturn. The six poems for this Office, taken together, fill in the outline of the saint; they depict Guillelmus in terms that go beyond the stock characterization of the bishop saint. The first *antiphona,* for example, takes up again the theme of his observance of the divine law. He not only keeps Christ’s laws in mind (*intus memoria*), but also carries them out externally (*actu foris*). His characteristic clemency is remarked in the poet’s declaration that Guillelmus maintains the law of life “in his customs and on his tongue” (*in moribus et in lingua*). The bishop was known to be gentle and forgiving to those who, with no malice, erred; the hymn ends by stating, “On his tongue, the law is mercy” (*in lingua lex est clementia*). The first five of these six *antiphonae* are unusual in their use of present tense verbs; the effect is the sense that the saint, now acknowledged as having entered heaven, continues to govern mercifully.

\(^{242}\)Guillelmus is named also in the third *antiphona* at first vespers and in the first *antiphona* of the first nocturn at matins. The latter immediately follows the matins invitatory under discussion above.
The Latin construction of the second antiphona is irregular, but the sense is clear: Guillelmus dissociates himself from evildoers. The poem alludes to Helesia,\textsuperscript{243} opening with the statement, “Maintaining the partnership of Helesia, he declines to bear the yoke with the impious ones,” (Helisaei tenens consortium iugum spernit ferre cum impiis). The remaining two lines refer to the bishop’s celibacy, recalling that he “has deprived himself of marriage”—se privat nuptiis—for the sake of an unspecified union, presumably the union of his soul with Christ, a familiar medieval image of spiritual dedication.

The third antiphona contains personification. Charity here “enlarges the heart,” cor dilatat . . . caritas. The poem continues with mention of the fruitfulness resulting from the afflictions of the just man; the merits “rise up among the Hebrews,” Hebraeis surgit fecunditas. Guillelmus was not, during his episcopal term, associated with the Jewish community in Bourges, so the reference must be construed as an abstraction rather than a description of his dealings.

The fourth antiphona at this first nocturn alludes to Jesus’ warning to “enter by the narrow gate.” In tribute to Guillelmus’ reputation for ascetic living, the poem acknowledges that he “chooses the right way,” Viam rectam . . . eligit, “restraining himself through the narrow path: se per artam restringens semitam. The poet uses Jesus’ own words of admonition to describe the bishop’s self-restraint.\textsuperscript{244}

\textsuperscript{243}The sense is unclear, but the passage may refer to lineage de femore Helisaei descendentes . . . “ in the writings of Mathias de Miechow (1457-1523), “Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis, Asiana et Europiana, et de contentis in eis. For the complete Latin text, see http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost16/Miechow/mie_tr12.html.

\textsuperscript{244}Contendite intrare per anguistiam portam. “Strive to enter by the narrow gate” (Lk.13: 24).
Antiphona five is reminiscent of Guillelmus’ practice, fostered from boyhood, of contemplating, especially the truths of the Scriptures. Here the praying community refers to him as “our eagle,” not only claiming a special association with their patron but also according him lofty perspective.\textsuperscript{245}

The sixth and final antiphona of this hour of matins contains an unmistakable, unusual image drawn from the Old Testament’s Canticum Canticorum, Solomon’s Song of Songs.\textsuperscript{246} The entire book is an elaborate allegorical poem celebrating the soul’s union with God: the soul is a bride, sponsa, while the divine figure is the groom, sponsus. In this antiphona, the soul’s search with her beloved for solitude away from the crowd recalls Guillelmus’s withdrawal to the monastic way of life. The allusion to Canticum Canticorum is obvious: the couple flee to a mountain retreat in order that the bride might sleep undisturbed with her Beloved—ut quiete cum sponso dormiat.

The six antiphonae of this hour of matins are followed by a set of four responsoria, each including a brief versicle. The responses are attractive in their imagery. Of particular significance is the versicle. Each responsorium contains a scriptural allusion, a reference to the time of the prayer (early morning), or review of a virtue the saint practiced during his life, each terse versicle focuses on some facet of Guillelmus’ character, albeit without naming him.

The set of responsoria is suggestive rather than detailed. The first of the poems, for example, includes mention of the saint’s noble lineage (another stock hagiographical

\textsuperscript{245} Among the four Evangelists, John is associated with the eagle. This attribute is accorded him because his scriptural writings—both his Gospel account and Revelations—are on such a lofty plane.

\textsuperscript{246} This Old Testament book is among the few not acknowledged as canonical by non-Catholic denominations.
characteristic), but only to emphasize the greater importance of living well than of being well born. Thus, Guillelmus is distinguished by his life, rather than worth of a title, *vita quam digna titulis*. Having established this fact, the poet does not hesitate to point out the saint’s lineage, *ex illustri Gallia*.

Scriptural allusions are not laborious, but would certainly be recognized by the praying community. The poet recalls Guillelmus’ childhood practice of assiduously avoiding worldly influence by associating the boy with Moses, who was preserved, “enclosed in the small basket of bulrushes,”--*scirpi clausus in fiscella*--for his later leadership role.

In only a few lines, *responsorium* three manages to capture several important facts surrounding the saint’s early life: his determination not to be swayed by temporal influences, his mature judgment, and his rejection of wealth.\textsuperscript{247} The Latin construction of the fourth *responsorium* is faulty, but the image is clear. The saint, like Jesus in His forty days’ fast in the desert, is “led by the Spirit”--*ductus est a spiritu*. Again like Jesus’ triple temptation by the devil, Guillelmus “does not dread difficult matters,”--*non formidat dura*. The four *responsoria*, taken together, are a reminder of the patron’s growth, since childhood, into a steadfast follower of Christ, tempered by reverses, but never broken.

The structure of the second nocturn at matins is identical to the first: six *antiphonae* followed by a set of four *responsoria*, each with a brief *versicle*. These poems are episodic, each one a snapshot of the bishop working his influence, either in life or in death. The tone of these poems is joyful, expressive of the praying community’s

\textsuperscript{247}Ne seducant mundi vana cor illustri pueri, Sensus regit aetas cana fiunt opes oneri.
delight in the virtue of their patron and, as a consequence, fully assured of his ongoing aid.

The first antiphona celebrates the bishop’s characteristic forethought in all his deliberations. Well regarded for his tradition of solitary contemplation, Guillelmus is depicted here as making a solemn declaration—*oraculum*—but only after having purified “his mind’s face from stains”—*mentis vultum lavat a maculis*. Of key importance here is the tense of the verb: the poet shifts into present tense in this antiphona to highlight the ongoing tradition of the patron’s thoughtful, effective decisions for the sake of his congregation. They do not regard him as their former patron, but rather as their bishop, *praesul*, continuing to intercede for them in heaven.

The second antiphona takes up the spousal theme first expressed in the sixth antiphona of the first nocturn. Here, the bishop’s soul “seeks the life that the Beloved grants,”—*vitam petit quam dat Dilectio*. As if the allusion to *Canticum Canticorum* is not strong enough, the poet incorporates knocking, *pulsans*. In the Old Testament poem, the Beloved knocks while the bride sleeps.\(^\text{248}\) The antiphona goes on to declare that the Beloved “rejoices in a friend’s three breads,”—*tribus gaudet amici panibus*, an unusual image derived, perhaps, from Laurentius Surius’ *vita* of the saint. Of chief importance in the antiphona is its crediting the bishop’s virtues of faith and hope—*fides et spes*—for the gift of eternal life that the Beloved grants.

*Antiphona* three finds Guillelmus working in partnership with Noah in building “an ark of the heart,”—*arcam cordis*. The poet is careful to note that the structure is made

\(^{248}\) *Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat. Vox dilecti mei pulsantis* “I sleep, but my heart lies awake. I hear my Beloved knocking” (*Canticum Canticorum* 5:2).
according to precise measure, recalling the Lord’s specifications to Noah in the Book of Genesis. The bishop’s vessel, however, includes an additional component: contempt of the world—mundi contemptum. The poet identifies this as “the final extent of action”—actionis finalem exitum, to show that Guillelmus maintained the virtue throughout his life.

The fourth antiphona echoes the Book of Proverbs, whose thirty-first chapter celebrates the virtues of the valiant woman. The saintly bishop’s efforts honor the Church, just as a dutiful wife is a source of pride to her husband. Both are shown to be diligent and, as a consequence, prosperous. The antiphona is quick to note that, despite the prosperity won by his resourcefulness, Guillelmus does not turn aside from doing what is right. The poem ends by declaring that “prosperity praises him at the city gates,” an obvious allusion to the closing verse of chapter thirty-one of Proverbs: “Let her good works praise her at the city gates.”

Antiphona five, apropos of the feast day itself, encourages the praying community, here called “the gathered group”—praesens collegium—to do precisely what the hour of matins does: praise Christ for elevating their bishop to the ranks of the blessed in heaven. This poem accords special dignity to the act, though, stressing that this is not just an annual observance. Instead, those gathered are reminded that these are “public proclamations as befit Christ Himself”--Christum decent ipsum praeconia. Moreover, Guillelmus is not viewed here as taking his place among the heavenly throng, but rather as being personally escorted by Christ “to the royal seat in the kingdom”—in regni solium. Such wording within this Monastic Office sets Guillelmus apart as

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249 Genesis 6: 15-16.

250 Et laudent eam in portis opera eius (Proverbs 31:31).
especially honored in heaven and therefore especially honorable among those the Church recognizes as bishop-saints.

The sixth antiphona of the second nocturn contains balanced imagery, reference to the bishop’s aura of sanctity, and alludes to his efficacy even after his death for the sake of those who honor him. Guillelmus was known in life and in death for exuding a pleasing fragrance. Here the odor is described “as that of the cedars of Lebanon,”—ut cedrus Libani, a reference to the celebrated trees mentioned in the Old Testament.\(^{251}\) Antithesis is incorporated into the antiphona to emphasize the saint’s cultivation of enduring goods rather than ephemeral ones that will eventually die.\(^{252}\) Reference is made to the actual festal service as the poet declares that the congregants “revel at the sound of organum,” a technique of singing developed during the Middle Ages.\(^{253}\) The poem ends with a difficult Latin construction. Although the grammatical elements are irregular, the line suggests a small opening, in puncto, through which the good things merited by the bishop pour out among those below, ad inferos.

The four responsoria that follow the six antiphonae are written in regular Latin meter, often with internal rhyme. As with previous hymns, scriptural allusions and assorted figures of speech provide attractive elements to the poetic expression. The first responsorium introduces the theme of seven years. Even from scriptural times, the number seven has represented completeness, ripeness. In this hymn, the bishop is depicted building a structure in fulfillment of a vow: per voti expendium. Admittedly

\(^{251}\) Psalms 92:12 and Numbers 24:6.

\(^{252}\) Vitae bonis, mortis ad exterōs.

\(^{253}\) The author is grateful to Vincent Corrigan of Bowling Green State University for this information. Although the word organum could be interpreted as the musical instrument, the singing technique, the earliest form of polyphony, would have been popular when this Office was composed.
Guillelmus’ first step began in fear—*in timore*—but over the term of seven years, he succeeds. The *versicle* pays tribute to the divine will in royal terms in describing the saint’s identity, since he is made “leader of the Carolingian flock, shepherd and bishop”—*dux Karoliloci gregis, pastor et praesidium*—by the mighty nod of the king.

Although the meter of *responsorium* two is regular and the vocabulary rich, there is difficulty with the mix of images. The hymn recalls the bishop’s preference for solitude as well as his willingness to engage in activity if it be for the sake of his flock. The image is that of an ox, laboring in the field, taken from Jesus’ New Testament counsel: “Take my yoke upon your shoulders.”

The third *responsorium*, like all the others in this second nocturn, never mentions Guillelmus by name. This one instead celebrates the saint’s willingness to continue laboring according to God’s will, even though the assigned task does not appeal to him personally. His role model here is young Jacob, another Old Testament figure invoked in this Office to highlight the saint’s virtues. In the Book of Genesis, Jacob is duped by Laban into seven years’ labor to win the hand of Laban’s daughter. Supposing that he is earning the right to marry Rachel, the young man works assiduously, only to be given Leah, “the bleary-eyed,”—*lippa*. It requires an additional seven years of labor for Jacob to marry Rachel. The *responsorium* misses none of the irony of the tale in the retelling: Jacob works “for Rachel’s sake”—*pro Rachele*. In drawing to Leah’s embrace, he “yields to the false duty,” according to the poem, but *gemens*, groaning! The well known

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254Matthew 11:29.

255The story is found in Genesis, chapter 29.
dedication and perseverance of Jacob is assigned to Guillelmus, even without mention of the bishop in the poem.

The fourth and final responsorium contains imagery from two of Jesus’ teachings in the New Testament. The first of these refers to Jesus’ counsel to let one’s light shine rather than hide it under a bushel basket. In this responsorium, however, the light image is coupled with the motif of the Good Shepherd, a classic icon of Jesus Christ. The poem depicts the light emerging from the desert, an obvious reference to the saint’s years of solitude. The balance of the hymn is a conflation of Guillelmus’ identity with that of Jesus as Good Shepherd, using phrases drawn from both the Old and the New Testament. While the responsorium echoes the scriptural texts associated with Jesus, the versicle is unmistakable in according the bishop the reputation of a vigilant shepherd. The wording deserves attention, since the Church is called the eye, *oculus*, as watchman, *vigil*, and is depicted as announcing—*clamat*—that Bishop Guillelmus is watchful over his own sheepfold. The text accomplishes two purposes here, in addition to associating Guillelmus with Jesus as Good Shepherd. The versicle establishes a link to a third scriptural text: Jesus contrasts the hireling with the true shepherd. The former lacks loyalty since the flock is not his own, while the latter is dedicated to his own sheepfold. The poet, in choosing to have the Church announce Guillelmus’ watchfulness over his own sheepfold, lends authority to the bishop’s reputation for vigilance.

256 Matthew 5:14-16. This episode is the focus also of one of the first responsorium at lauds in the Cathedral Office.


The third nocturn differs from the earlier two in structure. While all three contain a set of four responoria, each with a versicle, there is but one antiphona before that set at the third nocturn. The others each have six.

The antiphona ad cantica for the third nocturn contains some obtuse Latin vocabulary, but the allusion and tone are unmistakable. This is a hymn celebrating the shift from sorrow to joy. This part of the Office, especially in consideration of the responoria that follow, expresses the praying community’s rejoicing, after grieving the death of their beloved bishop. The nocturn, regarded as a whole, expresses faith in Guillelmus’ place in heaven. The juxtaposition of sorrow and rejoicing is made especially dramatic through the image of the weeping Rachel, mourning her dead children.\textsuperscript{259} The tone of the antiphona departs radically from the scriptural image, though. The latter includes the piteous remark: “She did not wish to be consoled”—noluit consolari—whereas the Office poem observes that “the grieving voice in Rama indeed is changed to rejoicing,” vox in Rama iam mutatur maeroris in gaudium. The scriptural text would have been familiar to those praying this Office, and so the transition from extreme sorrow to rejoicing would be unexpected and dramatic. The figure of Rachel is especially apt in this third nocturn, since the third responsorium of the second nocturn describes the sacrifices young Jacob was willing to make for love of Rachel.

The first of the responoria at the third nocturn mentions Biturica, the traditional place name of the region incorporating the diocese of Bourges. Since place names are not frequent in this Office, those that are mentioned carry special import. In this hymn, the poet does not simply name Biturica. He uses it to emphasize the locus of Guillelmus’

\textsuperscript{259}The scene, recounted in the prophetic books of the Old Testament (Jeremiah 32: 15) is quoted by Matthew in his New Testament account of the slaughter of the Innocents (Matthew 2:18).
administration. The poem celebrates the bishop’s moderated virtue—*in virtute modica*—in the face of struggle; the versicle speaks of the saint’s escape from a net, *rete*, laid for him. It is precisely “here in this place, in the seat of Biturica” that Guillelmus “discharges the bishopric.”

The word seat, *sede*, implies authority; it is *ex cathedra* that bishops rule. Guillelmus’ influence in both the ecclesiastical and secular spheres is well attested in his *vita* and in the official canonical proceedings.

The second *responsorium* is an olio of scriptural images. Although the references at first seem unrelated, the poet deftly forges them into a sketch of the saint painstakingly carrying out the word of God for the sake of his flock. The bishop nourishes his flock with milk, *lac*, and honey, *mel*, the classic riches of the Promised Land. Phrases honor the patron’s integrity. For example, he does not “falsify the word,”—*verbum non adulterat*. The versicle renews a Gospel image used earlier of the disciple bearing the yoke. In this hymn, the poet specifies that Guillelmus shares this particular burden with his fellow prelates. It is the yoke “that the Teacher of truth has placed upon the others.”

By contrast, Guillelmus himself takes the yoke upon his shoulders: *iugum tollit umeris*.

The third *responsorium*, referring to Bishop Guillelmus, invokes another New Testament image, that of the laborer in the vineyard. According to Jesus’ parable, all workers hired during the course of the day are paid a full wage, whether they begin their

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260 *hic primatu fungitur in sede Biturica.*

261 Exodus 33:3.

262 Second nocturn, second *responsorium*. The reference is drawn from Matthew 11:29.

263 *quod imponit ceteris Doctor veritatis.*

264 Matthew 20.
labor in the morning or during the final (i.e., eleventh) hour. This hymn depicts the jubilant saint, having worked long and hard

“under the weight of the hours—eleven each—sweating from infancy”

$sub\ und\ ena\ pondus\ horae\ sudans\ ab\ infantia$

now, at life’s end, willing to accept the equally apportioned denarius. The saint is not named, but is referred to in celestial terms: “the flashing star”—$stella\ fulgens$.

Guillelmus, surprised and surprisingly, is “about to take a double reward”—$sumpturus\ duplicia$. This reward, a departure from the parable, would undoubtedly delight the praying community for its indication that their patron had earned an unanticipated double portion for his lifelong efforts.

The fourth $responsorium$ of the third nocturn, a disyllabic poem exhibiting regular meter and rhyme, associates the late-night hour with death. The congregation, addressing God as Father, prays that its devotion may be pleasing, $nostra\ tibi\ sit\ decora$. The hymn expresses the hope that God will be the portion—$tu\ sis\ nostra\ portio$. This union with God is sought for those who pray immediately after death: $post\ mortem\ sine\ mora$. There is no mention of Guillelmus until the versicle. The image here is of a tender shepherd whose intercession itself guides the flock. The poem cleverly associates God as Father, $Pater$, in the responsorium with Guillelmus as a holy father in the versicle: $pater\ sancte$.

The hour of Lauds immediately follows that of Matins. Suitably the two-line antiphon that precedes the chanting of the Lauds psalms continues the shepherd imagery. Here the praying community refers to itself as God’s flock—$grex$—and sets a joyful tone for the start of this liturgical hour. The tone is light as the lyrics invite those at prayer to
render cheerful praise “influenced by rejoicing,” *affectus iubilo.* It is unclear whether the figure in the second line is David or Guillelmus, but the image is charming.

Accompanied with the lyra, *cum cithara,* he offers a pleasing psalm “with a whistling of the voice,” *cum vocis sibilo.* Still in the hour of Lauds, the *antiphona* introducing the Benedictus takes on quite a different tone. The three introductory words, *Benedictus rex invictus,* form the beginning of many such antiphons. The initial word, of course, echoes the opening word of the canticle itself. *Rex invictus,* the unconquered King, certainly refers to Christ. The tone is determined, replete with military imagery. The strife is the classic struggle between good and evil. Goodness prevails when the force of death, *vi mortis,* is broken. The poem concludes with an expression of hope that the conflict will result in the community’s being granted the joy of heaven, *supernae gaudium.*

The so-called “little hours” follow: prime, terce, sext, and nones. These minor hours of the Divine Hours are distributed throughout the monastic day at regular intervals. The poems of this particular Office honoring Guillelmus of Bourges must be considered together in order to appreciate the poet’s structure. Each of the four poems begins with a form of the name of the liturgical hour. At prime, the hymn opens with *primo mane,* a reference to dawn. It is at first light that Guillelmus, described as “joined to the farmers,” *iunctus agricolis,* sets out from his mortal life to the Father’s works. The poem at terce tells of Guillelmus’ personal asceticism, a well-known and highly respected personal discipline dating to his days of monastic living. The hymn opens with *ter,* “three times,” and speaks of the saint’s self-mastery. Flogging, hunger, mortification of the flesh, and scourges are enumerated as the saint is seen “directing the beast of burden to the way back,” *reducens itineri . . . iumentum.* The poem for the hour of sext, while it
contains regular rhythm and rhyme, is confusing in meaning. The word *sexta* opens the poem and is used substantively. The poem speaks of a mystical plane “to which the mind is elevated,” *quo mens elevatur*. There is no reference to the saint and the poem does not address God.

The Latin of the poem at nones is more regular, but the meaning is still unclear. The episode describes Guillelmus, named “bishop”—*praesul*—among the assembly of the angels in the presence of God. Especially puzzling is the opening of the poem. The word *novem* that begins the two-line poem maintains the play on the liturgical hour but means “new,” not “nine.” The lyrics describe the “little bed”—*lectulus*—of an unnamed king. The size of the bed is remarkable in that it is described according to the king’s measure, *regis cubitorum*. The description suggests the relative unimportance of temporal rule. The word *novem* recurs in the second line, this time in reference to Guillelmus; his being in God’s presence is something new, after the summer of his earthly toils, *post laborum aestus*.”

The five *antiphonae* of second vespers complete this monastic Office. The first four of these are disyllabic poems with *abab* rhyme scheme. Little else unifies the set. The first *antiphona* beseeches God’s abiding presence with the praying community during the eventide. The request is made “by means of the father’s reward,” *precum patris munere*. Guillelmus’ effective intercession is alluded to, “the director of works having gone forth,” *rector progressus operum*, in reference to the occasion of this Office, the feast day honoring his death.
The second antiphona of this hour is reminiscent of the mystical Bride’s night time watchfulness in the Old Testament Cantica Canticorum. Here, as in the Cantica, the heart keeps vigil, agat cor vigil. The third antiphona attests the bishop’s continuing influence, proclaiming that, since Guillelmus’ shining glory is poured forth everywhere, ubique, the praying community keeps alive the “living memory of this just man,” vivens iusti memoria. The fourth of these antiphonae reiterates the image of Guillelmus as faithful shepherd, a motif drawn from Jesus’ New Testament teachings.

The final poem of this monastic Office returns to the theme celebrated in Cantica Canticorum. The Bride, equally applicable to the praying Church and to the soul of Guillelmus, is described as honoring the might of her Bridegroom. Just as each of the poems of the minor hours begins with a play on the name of the respective hour, so this poem, the antiphona at the Magnificat canticle, begins with the verb magnificat. The bridal image is extended by the poet’s reference to a triple dowry, trinae dotis, identified as the threefold power of the Trinity. The poem ends in expressing the hope that the triune God, here called sponsus, will grant the praying community the rewards of eternal life.

Vita of Saint Guillelmus

Guillelmus, who died in 1209, was canonized in 1218, one of the first whose sainthood was subject to official ecclesiastical process. Texts from the curial phase of the

\[265\] Cantica Canticorum 5:2.

\[266\] See especially Luke 15.
canonization were published by the Bollandists in 1883. This compilation is the sixteenth-century work of Jesuit Laurentius Surius, who modified the original writings of *indigator* Peter Chifflet. As is explained in the headnote of this *Vita*, Surius eliminated what seemed unnecessarily verbose—*qui tamen quod verbosior esse videatur*. The introduction makes clear, however, that this modification does not compromise the veracity of the report. Other than making the work less verbose, the only innovation of Surius is his assigning of chapter numbers to the distinct sections of the text, *capitum distinctio*.

The thirteenth-century texts, written at the time of the curial process (*scripta ab ejus quodam contemporaneo*), contain more scriptural allusions than usual in such a document. The introductory matter makes clear that the document reports the testimony of eyewitnesses and that the material attests not only the bishop’s virtuous manner of living and his characteristic wise dealings with both ecclesiastical and secular figures, but also his continuing influence by responding to intercessory prayer after his death. This Bollandist publication is drawn from canonization proceedings. Appended to the official testimony is material from two additional sources. Corroboration comes from the sixteenth-century tome of John of Ghent and from a seventeenth-century codex, an *apograph* chronicling the miracles. The headnotes make clear that these sources merely fortify the official testimony; they do not alter the information, nor do they provide episodes not contained in the original document.

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268 The narrative of the saint’s life covers chapters 1-50, the miracles reported after immediately after his death, chapters 51-67, the canonization proceedings, chapters 68-73, and the post-canonization miracles, chapters 74 and 75.

269 *Tomus I R. P. Joannis Ghentii canonici hujus domus, complementos mensium Januarii et Februarii.*
Part I sheds light on the bishop’s personal life and reputation for sanctity. The tone of the *Vita* is established right from the outset. Since the report is issued for the feast day of Guillelmus, those who honor the saint’s memory are invited to join in the solemn rejoicing. The bishop is repeatedly associated with distinguished figures from both the Old and New Testament, and for various reasons. The author makes clear that Guillelmus brings honor to Biturica, but that he also belongs to the universal Church and so in eternity rests with his clerical colleagues as well as with the people he served as pastor.

His life is consistently configured as a response to divine bidding (*voluntas Dei fuit*). Guillelmus’ role as Cistercian abbot prior to his elevation to the episcopate underscores his reputation for holiness; he is called *religiosissimus abbas Willermus*. Despite his preference for monastic life, the saint follows “the more excellent way”—*excellentiorem viam gradiens*—pointed out by the apostle Paul (I Cor. 12:31), that of service to the Church as pastor. In this capacity, Guillelmus is noted for the solemn devotion with which he celebrated the Mass, an intensity that brought him, albeit secretly, to tears.270

In keeping with the Church’s insistence that canonization be reserved to holy men and women of God’s choosing rather than by popular acclaim, Guillelmus’ election to the episcopate is reported as an act *divina revelatione*. Even so, he seems an obvious candidate, given his reputation for holiness while an abbot. The listing of his virtues is in keeping with hagiographical tradition. In fact, the chronicling of the holy qualities is to be expected of a bishop-saint. Chapter 4 describes Guillelmus as pious and honest, just

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270 *missarum solemnia cum tanta devotione celebravit . . . secreta praedulci nectare lacrimarum condiret* (ch. 3).
and of holy custom, imbued with the knowledge of sacred writings. It seems only right, then, that the vote for his candidacy to the office of bishop be unanimous, *una voca*. An auspicious start to his service is reflected immediately after his consecration as bishop. After a protracted prostration at the altar of the proto-martyr Stephan, Guillelmus invites his brother Cistercians to join him in acknowledging the work of the Holy Trinity in his election.

After establishing the worthiness of this man of God, the *Vita*, beginning in chapter 6, emphasizes Guillelmus’ effective dealings with secular authority—*secularia negotia*—for the sake of the Church. His firmness is evinced right from the start of his episcopal career, and recurs throughout his years of service. It is this stance, confident and yet without arrogance, that is celebrated in the two Offices. Again alluding to scripture, he is seen as obedient to God rather than to man, and is likened to Jesus Christ in remaining obedient to death, *obediens usque ad mortem*. An especially significant episode is recounted in chapter 8. Here Guillelmus is shown, after his election as bishop, hastening to his post at Biturica while clerics and laity alike applaud him along the way. On entering the church, he assumes the episcopal seat—*cathedram episcopalem ascendit*. Here the holy oils are poured over him and he is officially consecrated. While the act of consecration might be taken for granted, the focus on the rite of anointing is significant, given the authority associated with the episcopal chair, the seat Guillelmus occupies during the rite of blessing. The author of the *Vita*, in describing the anointing, recalls several Old Testament counterparts whose leadership roles were confirmed through anointing with oil: Aaron, David, and Jacob.
The indefatigable nature of Guillelmus’ service is described in almost poetic terms as his biographer tells of his labors despite the rigors of the fierce frosts of the winter months and the burning rays of the summer season. The bishop retains his equanimity in season and out of season (chapter 9). Once again referring to his firmness in dealing with worldly powers, the author tells of Guillelmus’ peace of soul, *tranquillo animo*, while dealing with those who stir up controversy: *inter causarum litigia*. To offset any charge of heavy-handed administration, Guillelmus is described as continually reflecting on his own spiritual weaknesses; he works to overcome his inner faults, *maculas interiores*. These characteristic traits are reflected in the poems of both the monastic and the cathedral Offices.

At this time in Christian spirituality during which Christ’s humility was a popular theme, Guillelmus is shown as adopting his Savior as his model in service. Chapter 11, in fact, is dedicated to a delineation of the bishop’s likeness to Christ. The saint is shown as “humbling himself in all things,”—*humiliat se in omnibus*—and always walking in the footsteps of Christ, identified as his teacher and Lord—*magistri et domini*. This posture of humility does not render Guillelmus weak, however; like his Master, he is able to separate the wheat from the tares, cultivating the former while uprooting and destroying the latter.

The bishop’s perseverance is highlighted in chapter 22, wherein several scriptural citations fortify the image of firmness of purpose and reliance on Christ during times of trial. This is followed by a chapter recounting Guillelmus’ ascendency over evil, personified as a most venomous serpent, a roaring lion, and even disguised as an angel of light. In all instances, the saint is depicted as resolute in rebuffing the devil’s advances.
His firmness of purpose extended to the entire Gallic church, *secundum totius Gallicanae ecclesiae*, effected through the saint’s own prayer and the believers’ request for absolution.

Chapter 23 seems at first digressive, outlining the bishop’s recognition of the tendency of human nature toward evil. In fact, however, the saint’s ability to recognize spiritual restlessness in individuals and his ability to prevail upon those people to repent and convert leads to an insistence that he acted, not for material recompense, but rather for eternal riches. The Church was, at the time, working to eliminate the widespread practice of simony, and so Guillelmus’ focus on heavenly reward shows him to be free of this widespread error.

In chapter 24, the bishop is shown prevailing over a band of barons and soldiers—*baronum et militum*—who take over property in his region by force. Guillelmus undertakes a spiritual combat in order to have the lands restored. The chapter ends by depicting the bishop as a good shepherd, effectively rescuing his wandering flock from the jaws of the wolf—*faucibus lupi*. His ability to move even hard-hearted, obdurate enemies is the theme of chapter 24, wherein the bishop is likened to Moses. Just as the patriarch struck the rock in the desert in order to release a mighty flood of water, so Guillelmus elicited spiritual honey and oil from the hardened hearts of those who challenged him. His biographer is quick to characterize Guillelmus’ reputation: he is called, by all who know him, not “such an archbishop” but rather “such a holy archbishop”—*ipsum non tantum archiepiscopum sed sanctum archiepiscopum nominarent*. 
Chapter 26 is specific about both the suffering the bishop endured at the hands of secular authority and his reaction to external pressure. In fact, his suffering of many persecutions—*multas persecutiones*—and his bearing of many adversities—*multa toleravit*—are here described as among the reasons he deserves the palm of eternal victory. Guillelmus endured the rancor and indignation particularly of the King of the Franks, *regis Francorum*, realizing that adherents to the king, pretending to be his friends had become enemies: *ei videbantur amici, facti sunt inimici*. His reaction was to “stand firm, an immovable pillar of the Church,” *stat immobilis columna Ecclesiae*. In chapter 27, Guillelmus is depicted as a healer of discord between king and priest, *inter regem et sacerdotem*, restoring peace and true concord, and drawing good even from evil. His biographer echoes John’s New Testament assertion: he reports what he has seen and heard, and his testimony is true.

Despite his aversion for combat, the bishop is shown in chapter 28 as willing to engage in combat against those who boldly tried to tamper with the Church’s rulings, *iura ecclesiae confidentius mutilare attentet*. Chapter 29 continues the discussion of the bishop’s response to attacks on the Church, specifically identifying the region of the Aquitaine as a place where heresy and persecution were rampant. The author calls the Church “the ship of Peter, exposed to the dangers of temptations, submerged in the waves and sinking.” The threat comes from agents of Satan, *satellites satanae*, who openly spread error over the face of the earth. Chapter 30 describes the extent of the profanation of the Church at the hands of these blasphemers and liars. The next several chapters continue in this vein, interspersed with reiteration of the bishop’s program of personal mortification and firm adherence to Divine law. Chapter 34 recalls his fourfold identity:
Cistercian abbot, teacher, master, and soldier of Christ. All of these images are configured in the poems of both Offices, showing either that the composers had access to the *Vita* or that the bishop’s reputation was commonly known. The depravity in Biturica is likened to that of Babylon during the time of captivity, a comparison detailed in chapter 35.

The tone of the biography changes suddenly in chapter 36; the story tells of Guillelmus’ retreat from the world for a space of three months. While his colleagues await his return to active administration, they realize that his absence is not abandonment and that even after his death, they will not be separated from him: *ita et in morte non sint separate*. Guillelmus’ longing for death, mentioned in chapter 37, is likened to Saint Paul’s. Both, however, acknowledge that, should God will their continued labors on earth, they are willing to comply. Guillelmus’ concern that his flock would be exposed to further threats from the wolf raises uncertainty in his mind, a matter settled only by his decision to prefer in all things the will of his heavenly King, *in omnibus praeferens voluntatem superni regis*.

Chapter 38, comparatively lengthy, tells of the bishop’s final illness and death. He fell ill during the liturgical season of Christmas. The feast of the Circumcision of Jesus, celebrated the day prior to the Eve of the Epiphany, found the bishop aware that his end was near. While he was preaching, his body was affected by fever. The infirmity of body was not enough to overcome his steadfast spirit, *ex vi morbis viribus corporis destitutus, solo spiritu roborabatur*. The theme of his preaching is, appropriately, that of vigilance, since no one can be certain of his final hour. To this he adds an exhortation to pious intercession through meritorious living. Chapter 39 recounts how Guillelmus,
having finished his sermon, blessed the congregation, then withdrew. Still burning with fever, he went to his house, not calling on anyone for assistance. There he surrendered his spirit at sundown, his course of life having been faithfully completed, *cursu suo fideliter consummato*.

Chapter 40 tells of the gathering, on the fourth day after Epiphany, of his religious brothers, who mourn his passing. Chapter 41 provides a kind of transition; it declares the appropriateness of recounting deeds of Guillelmus’ life and service through recording memories reported by those who knew him. Subsequent chapters tell of the sorrow the brothers experienced while preparing the body for burial and in keeping night vigil. The grief of clerics and monks is recounted over the course of several chapters, culminating in chapter 47 with a comparison of Guillelmus’ passing to that of Martin, bishop of Tours. In both instances, the mourners weep for the loss of their beloved bishop while at the same time rejoicing, assured themselves that their bishop’s soul has certainly gone to heaven.

Chapter 48 describes the long procession of the faithful, men and women, elderly and young, hale and infirm, who come to pay their respects. All approach with a fervent love of their spiritual father, *in amore patris ferventes*. The biographer explains that, from that day until the day of Guillelmus’ funeral, an endless throng of believers came to see their deceased bishop. He tells of their looking upon his face “as that of an angel,” *intueantur vultum ejus tanquam vultum angeli,* of their kissing his hands and feet, of kneeling to honor Guillelmus, actions all inspired out of the fervor of their love. Their homage is likened to that of the Magi visiting the Word Incarnate, *Verbum incarnatum*. In chapter 50, we read that the procession of the faithful continued all through the night.
On the following morning, preparations were quickly made for the burial, since the Lord’s Day was dawning. After the celebration of Holy Mass, Guillelmus’ Carolingian brothers laid the body to rest with suitable honor, *cum honore debito sepelierunt beatissimi viri corpus*.

Part II of the *Vita* recounts the numerous miracles attributed to Guillelmus between the time of his death and of his canonization. With a renewed expression of the humility *topos*, the saint’s biographer offers several reasons for recounting the wondrous deeds. Chief, of course, is that familiarity with the incidents will redound to the glory of God, in whose name the bishop always acted. In addition, knowledge of the deeds will kindle fervor in the hearts of believers, working against a spirit of tepidity. The hagiographer makes an expression of humility on his own part, *stilo humili*, giving God the glory in reporting the episodes.

These stories stand in sharp contrast to the miracles stories associated with Saint Nicolas of Bari, whose followers are seldom clearly identified. Those who rely on Guillelmus’ intercession are oftentimes named. Their infirmity, age, and term of suffering are specified. Obviously this is to fortify the strength of the testimony. The character’s spiritual condition is sometimes mentioned; he or she may be depicted as devout, acquainted with the reputation of Bishop Guillelmus, charitable, honest, faithful. In a few instances, the afflicted person is depicted as distracted by worldly cares, tepid in fervor, or unmindful of his/her spiritual obligations. The hagiographer stresses the circumstance that draws the individual to the tomb of the bishop. It may be that one’s parish priest has recommended it. Perhaps the invalid asks to be taken there. On occasion someone previously cured recommends the site. In every situation, there is
mention of the length of time it takes for the healing to be effected; this varies from instantaneous cure to a series of steps (e.g., in cases of restored sight), to a period of eight or nine days. The episodes always incorporate a sense of wonder—even doubt—followed by a sincere expression of praise. It is significant that praise is rendered to God; never is Guillelmus praised for such healings.

Part III of this *Vita* is the shortest but, in terms of significance, contains vital information about Pope Honorius’ interest in Guillelmus’ cause for canonization. The many miracles attributed to the bishop’s intercession established for him a reputation that spread to Rome and beyond. The testimony, according to the *Vita*, was thoroughly examined, reviewed in writings, and only then confirmed with the power of the papal seal: *sigillorum eorundem fuerent numinime roborata*. 

Pope Honorius ordered that the bishop’s miracles, his personal conduct, and his conversations be examined. At this time, the Vatican was being diligent in probing the testimony surrounding holy men and women, determined to canonize only those whose sanctity had been subject to official scrutiny. In this case, testimony was subject to the judgment of a panel of three: Bishop Guillelmus of Autissiodorens and two Cistercian abbots: one Guillelmus Boni Radii, literally, “of good lineage,” and Peter Calloniensis. Bearing the documents relative to the bishop’s life and holiness, the three petitioned Pope Honorius for immediate canonization of the candidate. They requested the authority of Apostolic College—*collegio apostolica*—to name Guillelmus, servant, among the saints of God.

For this august saint, the official account of Guillelmus’ canonization proceedings provides empirical and inspirational evidence of his holiness. The liturgical texts
examined here, both cathedral and monastic Offices, celebrate in poetic form the earthly life, death, and eternal bliss of this saintly figure. Guillelmus of Bourges, well known during his episcopal term, gained even greater stature after his death and this in such a manner that the cause of his canonization was initiated by Pope Honorius III himself. The Offices, then, only underscore the popular devotion already fostered in memory of Guillelmus, devotion carried on within the cathedral where he ruled, at the gravesite where his remains lay, and most importantly, in the minds and hearts of those who knew him.
Chapter 5

Conclusion

This dissertation delineates the character of the bishop patron as envisioned and celebrated during the late Middle Ages. The approach is documentary and the texts have been examined in their original language, Latin. Basic to an understanding of the popular regard for these men during the period under consideration—A.D. 1100-1500—is the way the Church officially addresses the bishops in official prayer, its cycle of liturgical Offices. These services, used in prayer for feast day celebrations, reveal the Church’s high esteem for this category of saint and its confidence in the intercessory prayer of bishops.

The texts under consideration have been extensive enough to highlight characteristic features of bishops’ Offices in general. One finds, for example, an argot reserved to these men. The Latin name for “bishop,” praesul, appears in nearly all of the Offices in this repertory. A select but honorable number of adjectives describe their attributes. Among those used most frequently are words describing the bishop saint as esteemed (dilectus), distinguished (illustris), or noble (nobilis). Since these liturgical texts are all Latin poems, metrical requirements may, at times, have dictated the placement of words.
In these Offices, as in all liturgical Offices honoring saints, some poems address the bishop directly. Other poems are directed to God, usually in thanksgiving for divine favors obtained through the bishop’s intercession. In other instances, God is praised for admitting the bishop to the ranks of the blessed in heaven; those poems usually end with the community’s request to join, in the afterlife, their patron in heaven.

In these Offices to bishop saints, scriptural allusions are common. References point to such Old or New Testament characters as David or Moses or Peter whom the bishop emulated. The bishop is characterized as shepherd (*pastor*) or fisherman (*piscator*). Some prayers associate the bishop with Jesus’ twelve apostles. Offices in celebration of bishops who were martyred invariably highlight the magnanimous spirit of their self-immolation for the sake of Christ and of their assigned flock. Some bishops were members of a religious order before episcopal consecration; sometimes mention is made of their monastic identity. Besides these identifying characteristics, the bishop’s gentleness, piety, or wisdom is sometimes likened to Jesus’ virtuous example in the gospels.

Place-name references and puns, especially on the bishop’s name, are found in these poems. The naming of the saint’s birthplace or diocese or burial shrine hallows his memory in those locales, but the fact that Offices were prayed in monasteries, cathedrals, and parishes throughout Europe elevates the expression beyond the provincial level; these are sentiments of the universal Church at prayer.

Not all Offices were written for the annual observance of the bishop’s day of death. Some rather commemorate the transfer, *translatio*, of his mortal remains from one sacred place to another. Such services are in addition to the yearly feast day Office.
addition to expressions of confidence, devotion, and gratitude for the bishop’s years of
service to those in his diocese (and, by extension, to the Church at large), Offices
frequently recount episodes from the saint’s life. The events can often be traced to one or
more hagiographical accounts popular at the time. The most important of these, of
course, is the *Legenda Aurea* of Iacobus de Voragine.

The liturgical poems speak of the bishop patron’s firmness in directing, not just
the affairs within his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but also in the secular sphere, when
matters threatened the peace of his diocese. Words acknowledging such steadfastness
include “defender of the Church,” *defensor ecclesiae* and “battle-tested,” *agonista.*

During the late Middle Ages, saints were expected to evince certain
characteristics. The *topos* of humility, for example, is common throughout the repertory.
Without diminishing the stature of the bishop as challenger of secular power, the virtues
of meekness, patience, and kindness are also attributed to the saint. Such virtues reflect
the manner of Christ, the bishop’s pristine *exemplum* in dealing with others.

The image of the bishop saint presented in Latin liturgical texts has been
examined in the four principal poems of the Divine Office: the *Magnificat* antiphon at
First Vespers, the Invitatory at Matins, the *Benedictus* antiphon at Lauds, and the
*Magnificat* antiphon at Second Vespers. In addition to the scriptural allusions, literary
devices, place names, and specialized vocabulary found in these poems, an examination
of these texts within their proper context (i.e., the entire service) yields even more
information. For Nicolaus of Bari and for Guillelmus of Bourges, an example of each
type of Office—monastic and cathedral—reveals additional features. For example, in the
so-called “Little Hours” of prime, terce, sext, and nones of the monastic Office for
Guillelmus, there is a play on the name of each of these hours; each of the poems begins by using the name in numerical application.

The sheer length of the monastic Office allows for thematic development. In some portions of the monastic Office, up to six *antiphonae* follow a single nocturn. Four *responsoria* then follow the set of *antiphonae*. This comparatively complex structure allows the poet to develop a theme or to emphasize a particular virtue or action in the saint’s life. The inclusion of both a cathedral and a monastic Office for each of these two saints allows for comparison of the Latin style and content of each service.

The contrast between Nicolaus and Guillelmus widens with additional material drawn from their *vitae*. The extraordinary popularity of Nicolaus, whose cult spread rapidly and extensively throughout Europe, the devotion of the faithful and adoption of his patronage were sufficient to guarantee the longevity of his reputation. While Guillelmus was popular in his own sphere, the manner and scope of his cult were constrained by the Church’s official canonization process. What emerges from a comparison of the available texts, then, is the delineation of Nicolaus in more general terms than for Guillelmus. Devotees of the former are seldom named, while very special identification of testators is a matter of record in the deposition for Guillelmus.

This examination of the identity of the bishop patron in the late Middle Ages shows that the episcopal role was held in great esteem. The bishop was trusted not only as *bonus pastor*, a good shepherd after the pattern of Christ, but also as an intrepid defender against forces that threatened the security of the Church. In Nicolaus’ case, threats rose from various sectors; the literature contains anti-Semitic undertones as well as the sense that the bishop is fighting personified evil in addition to secular vicissitudes.
In the case of Guillelmus, his wielding of authority is more subtly expressed. Careful attention ought to be directed, for example, to Chapter 8 of his vita, the official biography used in support of his cause for canonization. This chapter recounts the occasion of his consecration to the position of bishop. Rather than simply remark that he was formally consecrated, his biographer takes pains to describe Guillelmus’ hastening to his new appointment, Biturica. He is seen entering the church and, having assumed his place in the cathedra, his official seat of authority, is anointed with oil. Such emphasis on his being granted ecclesiastical authority fortifies his reputation as a stalwart defender of the Faith and one whose authority is not just a matter of personal zeal but of canonical confirmation.

The bishop saint depicted in late medieval liturgical Offices is a man of singular devotion, humble but perspicacious, and remarkable for his unflagging dedication. Within the standard structure of the Divine Office, the quality of these Latin poems admits of variation. What is consistent, though, is the portrait of praesul as a man dedicated to God and to the flock he is appointed to guide.
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Appendix A

Introduction to Latin Meter

**accentual:** a structure based on the number of stresses in a poetic line instead of the number of syllables

**alliteration:** the recurrence of initial consonant sounds

**allusion:** a short, informal reference to a famous person or event

**antepenultima:** the third syllable of a word, counting backward from the end

**antithesis:** words or phrases that contrast with each other to create a balanced effect

**apostrophe:** an interruption of discourse in order to address directly a person or personified thing, either present or absent

**asynedeton:** omission of conjunctions between words, phrases, or clauses to render a sense of extemporaneity

**caesura:** a complete pause in a line of poetry or in a musical composition.

**caudati:** tail rhyme

**chiasmus:** a verbal pattern in which the second half of an expression is balanced against the first but with the parts reversed

**dactyl:** a metrical foot consisting of one accented syllable followed by two unaccented or of one long syllable followed by two short

**elision:** the omission of one or more sounds (such as a vowel, a consonant, or a
whole syllable) in a word or phrase

**epithet:** an adjective or adjective phrase appropriately qualifying a subject (noun) by naming a key or important characteristic of the subject

**eponym:** a device that substitutes for a particular attribute the name of a famous person recognized for that attribute

**exemplum:** the citing of an example; using an illustrative story, either true or fictitious

**hexameter:** a line of verse consisting of six metrical feet

**iamb:** a metrical foot consisting of an unstressed syllable followed by a stressed syllable

**leitmotif:** a theme in music or literature that recurs in the course of a work to evoke a particular character or situation

**metaphor:** a direct comparison of two different things by speaking of one in terms of the other

**parallelism:** recurrent syntactical similarity

**parenthesis:** a word, phrase, or whole sentence inserted as an aside in the middle of another sentence

**penultima:** the next to the last syllable in a word

**personification:** metaphorical representation of an animal or inanimate object as having human attributes—of form, character, feelings, behavior, etc.

**polysyndeton:** the use of a conjunction between each word, phrase, or clause to create a sense of multiplicity or increasing energy

**scansion:** the metrical analysis of verse

**spondee:** a metrical foot consisting of two long or stressed syllables

**ultima:** the final syllable of a word
Appendix B

Cantica ad Evangelium

Benedictus

Benedictus Deus Israel quia visitavit et fecit redemptionem plebi suae et erexit cornu salutis nobis in domo David pueri sui sic et locutus est per os sanctorum qui a saeculo sunt prophetarum eius salutem ex inimicis nostris/ et de manu omnium qui oderunt nos ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris et memorari testamenti sui sancti ius iurandum quod iuravit ad Abraham patrem nostrum
datum se nobis ut sine timore de manu inimicorum nostrorum liberatiserviamus illi in sanctitate et iustitia coram ipso omnibus diebus nostris
et tu puer prophetæ Altissimi vocaberis præebis enim ante aciem Domini parare vias eius ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi eius in remissionem peccatorem eorum per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri in quibus visitavit nos oriens ex alto inluminare his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent
ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis.

(Luke 1: 68-79)

Canticum ad Evangelium, Lauds
Magnificat

Magnificat anima mea Dominum.
Et exsultavit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo.
Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae:
       ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes.
Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est: et sanctum nomen ejus.
Et misericordia ejus a progenie in progenies timentibus eum.
Fecit potentiam in brachio suo dispersit superbos mente cordis sui.
Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles.
Esurientes implevit bonis: et divites dimisit inanes.
Suscepit Israel puerum suum, recordatus misericordiae suae.
Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros Abraham at semini eius in saecula.

(Luke 1:46-55)

Canticum ad Evangelium, Vesperum I et II
Appendix C

*Schema of the Daily Hours of the Divine Office*

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<th>Cathedral Office</th>
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<td>First Vespers</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Responsorium</td>
<td>Antiphonae (5)</td>
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<td>Antiphona <em>ad Magnificat</em></td>
<td>Responsorium</td>
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<td>Antiphonae <em>ad Magnificat</em></td>
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<td><strong>Matins</strong></td>
<td>Invitatory</td>
<td>Invitatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Nocturn</td>
<td>First Nocturn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Antiphonae (6)</td>
<td>Antiphona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Responsoria and Versicles (4)</td>
<td>Responsoria and Versicles (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Second Nocturn</td>
<td>Second Nocturn</td>
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<td>Antiphonae (6)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Antiphona</td>
<td>Responsoria and Versicles (4)</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Lauds</td>
<td>Antiphona <em>super Psalmos</em> (1-5)</td>
<td>Lauds</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Antiphona <em>ad Benedictus</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Terce</td>
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<td>Sext</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Second Vespers</td>
<td>Antiphonae (1-4)</td>
<td>Second Vespers</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Antiphona <em>ad Magnificat</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

271Since the Antiphonae and Responsorium are merely repeated from First Vespers, manuscripts contain only the text of the *Magnificat* antiphon for this service.
### Appendix D

#### Provenance of Texts in Repertory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bishop-Saint</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Authorship or Provenance</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birinus</td>
<td>BI</td>
<td>11(^{\text{th}}) c.</td>
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<td>Blasius</td>
<td>BL-1</td>
<td>very numerous</td>
<td>14-16(^{\text{th}}) c.</td>
<td>Spain</td>
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<tr>
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<td>BL-2</td>
<td>very numerous</td>
<td>14-16(^{\text{th}}) c.</td>
<td>Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BL-3</td>
<td>very numerous</td>
<td>14-16(^{\text{th}}) c.</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>BL-4</td>
<td></td>
<td>15-16(^{\text{th}}) c.</td>
<td>Clermont-Ferrand</td>
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<td>BL-5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bonaventura</td>
<td>BO-1</td>
<td>5 mss.</td>
<td>1492-16(^{\text{th}}) c.</td>
<td>Roman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BO-2</td>
<td>2 mss.</td>
<td>15(^{\text{th}}) c.</td>
<td>Franciscan</td>
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<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>DA</td>
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<td>Eligius</td>
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<td>1 ms.</td>
<td>1479</td>
<td>Geneva</td>
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<td>EL-2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Germanus of Auxerre</td>
<td>GE-1</td>
<td>1 ms.</td>
<td>1595</td>
<td>Cistercian</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GE-2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arras</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guillelmus of Bourges</td>
<td>GU-1</td>
<td>3 mss.</td>
<td>14-15(^{\text{th}}) c.</td>
<td>Paris or Meaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GU-2</td>
<td>2 mss.</td>
<td>13-16(^{\text{th}}) c.</td>
<td>Philippus de Moutier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugo of Lincoln</td>
<td>HU-1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HU-2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Leodegarius</td>
<td>LE-1</td>
<td>5 mss.</td>
<td>13-16(^{\text{th}}) c.</td>
<td>France</td>
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<td></td>
<td>LE-2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nicolaus of Bari</td>
<td>NI-1</td>
<td>1 ms.</td>
<td>16(^{\text{th}}) c.</td>
<td>Cistercian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NI-2</td>
<td>3 mss.</td>
<td>15-16(^{\text{th}}) c.</td>
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<td>NI-3</td>
<td>1 ms.</td>
<td>15(^{\text{th}}) c.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>PA-2</td>
<td>1 ms.</td>
<td>15(^{\text{th}}) c.</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas of Canterbury</td>
<td>TC-1</td>
<td>numerous</td>
<td>12-16&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; c.</td>
<td>Benedict of Peterborough</td>
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<tr>
<td>TC-2</td>
<td>2 mss.</td>
<td>14&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; c.</td>
<td>France</td>
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<td>TC-3</td>
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<td>1543 and 1547</td>
<td>Spain</td>
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<td>TC-4</td>
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<td>TC-5</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>TC-6</td>
<td>1 ms.</td>
<td>14-15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; c.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TC-7</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Peter Abelard</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC-8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas of Hereford</td>
<td>TH-1</td>
<td>1 ms.</td>
<td>1505</td>
<td>Robert of Gloucester</td>
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<td>TH-2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix E

Monastic Office of Nicolaus of Bari

NICOLAUS of Bari  (bishop; Bari patron)

Monastic Office

First Vespers

Antiphonae  abab, abab, abab, abab; disyllabic

1. Sacris duxit originem Nicolaus parentibus,
   Sanctitatis imaginem servans a puerilibus.
Nicolaus derived his origin from pious parents,
Preserving from boyhood the image of holiness.

2. Ortus sui prima die rectus stetit in pedibus,
   Quarta et sexta semel piae matris fotus uberibus.
On the first day of his birth he stood upright on his feet,
On the fourth and sixth [day], once for all, he was nourished at the breast of his pious mother.

3. Sanctus redemit virginum trium turpem infamiam
   Clam nolens laudes hominum, auri donando copiam.
The holy man has ransomed the shameful dishonor of the three maidens
Secretly, not wanting the praises of men, by giving a supply of gold.

4. Divina providentia Nicolaus almificus
   Ponitur in Ecclesia episcopus mirificus.

\[^{272}\text{Quarta is elided with et. }\] Elisions occur infrequently in liturgical poetry for the Divine Office.
By Divine providence, the almsgiving Nicolaus, the wonder-working bishop, is laid to rest in the Church.

Antiphona *ad Magnificat*  
*aabbcdd*: disyllabic  
Veneremur inclita Nicolai merita,  

(7pp+7pp)x2  
Qui a pueritia plenus sapientia;  
Sanctitatis fuit norma caritatis vere forma,  

(8p+8p)  
Ut sit nobis propitious per eum Dei filius.

Let us rever the renowned merits of Nicolaus  
Who, from boyhood, was filled with wisdom.  
He was the standard of holiness, rightly the model of charity,  
So that, through him, the Son of God may be favorable to us.

**Matins**

Invitatory:  
*aabb*: disyllabic  
Summum Regem adoremus hymnis, votis honoremus,  

(8p+8p)  
Qui Nicolaum hodie stola dotavit gloriae.  

(8pp+8pp)  
Let us adore the heavenly King with hymns; let us honor Him with vows,  
Who has today adorned Nicolaus in a robe of glory.

First Nocturn

Antiphonae  
*abab*, throughout; disyllabic  

1. Ortus ex venerabili Nicolaus progenie  

[(8pp+8pp)x2]x2  
Proposuit amabili vacare sapientiae.  

Born from a venerable family, Nicolaus has proposed to have leisure for kindly wisdom.

2. Primo die, quo nascitur, in pedibus erigitur,  
Sanctitatis praesagium future mox indicium.  

On that day on which he is born, he is set upright on his feet,  
A presentiment of holiness, a later token for the future.

3. Vitam continentiae inde genitores  

(7pp+6p)x2  
Eligunt, modestiae vere sectatores.  

Thence the forefathers, truly followers of modesty, choose a life of moderation.

4. Semel lac sanctus sugebat qua rta cum sexta faria  

(8p+8pp)x2
Sanctior simper fiebat Divina plenus gratia.
Once for all the holy [baby] used to suck milk on the fourth weekday along with the sixth. He was always becoming holier, filled with Divine grace.

5. Iurenum lascivias iuvenis vitabat.
(7pp+6p)x2
Potius ecclesias vigil visitabat.
The young man avoided the wantonness of the young.
Preferably, the wakeful one visited the churches.

6. Scripturarum memoriter audita retinebat,
(8pp+7p)x2
Quae postmodum viriliter servare cupiebat.
He retained in his memory the things heard of the Scriptures,
Which afterward he desired to preserve vigorously.

Responsoria  abecbadda; aabecbddd; aabbeddce; disyllabic

1. Defunctis parentibus coepit cogitare
(7pp+6p)
Divitiarum copiam
(8pp)x2
In pauperum inopiam
Velle erogare spretis vanis laudibus.
(6p+7pp)
V. Thesaurizare studuit, ut Dominus consuluit,
(8pp+8pp)
In caelorum aedibus.
(7pp)
His parents being dead, he began to think that he wishes

to pay out the supply of riches in behalf of the want

of poor people, with empty praises being spurned.

V. He was zealous to lay up treasure, as the Lord advised, in the temples of Heaven.

2. Servus fidelis Domini vicino sibi homini
(8pp+8pp+8pp)x3
Aurum coepit porrigere
Tres putanti filias ad humanas infamias
Pro paupertate traders.
V. Aurum proiecit tertio, ne virgins commercio Turpi cogatur ponere.
The faithful servant of the Lord
began to hold out gold to a man near to himself, on account of poverty,
thinking about handing over his three daughters to worldly sins.
He [Nicolaus] cast the gold for a third time, lest [the father] be compelled to place the maidens in the disgraceful trade.

3. Ignarus tanti muneris quis esst auctor operis,
   (8pp+8pp)x2
   Horam coepit custodire, gratus volens caute scire
   Virum tantae clementias.

8pp
   V. Custodiens viglias homo paterfamilias
   (8p+8p+6p)x3
   Invenit noctis tertiae virum tantae clementiae.
Ignorant of who was the author of the work, such a great gift,
The grateful man began to watch the hour, wanting to know, cautiously, the man of such clemency.
   V. Keeping vigils, the head of the household discovered, of [on] the third night the man of such clemency.

4. Clero totius civitatis pro pastore congregates
   (8p+8p+6p)x3
   Monstrat eligendum
   Divina providentia, quem morum pudicitia
   Facit reverendum.
   V. Vox emissa caelitus Nicolaum penitus,
   Docet promovendum.
To the clergy of the entire state, Divine providence shows that a man whom virtue of manners makes worthy of being revered must be chosen as pastor by those gathered together.
   V. The heavenly voice, having been sent forth, instructs that Nicolaus must be advanced.

Second Nocturn.
Antiphonae  abab throughout; disyllabic

1. Ut visio docuit, nocte venientem
   [(7pp+6p)x2]x2
   Praesulem constituit clericus renitentem.
Just as the vision has taught, the cleric settles on the bishop, holding back, coming by night.

2. Cathedram superbiae fugit sublimatus,
   (7pp+6p)x2
   Privatae modestiae statum meditatus.
The elevated one flees the chair of the proud,

273To preserve the metrical pattern, this word must be pronounced as two, not three syllables, by blending –tius into a single syllable.
having considered the position of private restraint.

3. Humilis erat doctrinae, quam inspirabat unctio,
   (8p+8pp)x2
   Sanctae dator disciplinae, quae competebat vitio.
   The giver of holy discipline—which used to coincide with imperfection—was humble of teaching, which unction used to inspire.

4. Caritatis operum sectator studiosus,
   (7pp+7p)x2
   Pater erat pauperum ut praesul gloriosus.
   A zealous follower of the works of charity, he was father of the poor while [he was] a famous bishop.

5. Vitabat colloquia cuiuscumque vanitatis.
   (7pp+8p)x2
   Risum, Sapientia, laesiva puritatis.
   Wisdom shunned conversations of whatever form of vanity, laughter, [and] offenses of purity.

6. Vitam sine macula pontifex ducebat,
   (7pp+6p)x2
   Caeli tabernacula quia sitiebat.
   The bishop lived a life without stain because he thirsted for the tabernacles of heaven.

Responsoria abcabcddc, ababcddd, abcabcddd, aabbcddc; disyllabic

1. Nautis pereuntibus iam prope naufragium
   (7pp+7pp+6p)x2
   Certum moriendi
   Adest invocantibus, tribuens auxilium
   Firmum evandenci.
   V. Apparentem Dei virum cognoverunt, spem nimirum²⁷⁴
   (8p+8p+7pp)
   Donantem se petendi.
   He is present to those calling out, the perishing sailors, already near the certain ruin of dying, granting steadfast help of escaping.
   V. The sailors recognized the apparition, the man of God, doubtless giving [them] hope of seeking him.

2. Dura fames perculit viri Dei provinciam,
   [(7pp+8pp)x2]+8pp
   Nicolaus repulit taeae pestis miseriam,
   Multiplicando triticum.

²⁷⁴AH records this word as niminum, but both the sense and the scansion require a reading of nimirum.
A harsh famine struck the province of the man of God.
Nicolaus warded off the misery of so great a disaster, by multiplying wheat.
For two years the food in seed form failed no one; it was gathered for every man.

Lest the devil’s deception be able to strike,
this demon teaches those sailing, ignorant men,
to pour forth oil for the duration of the vigil.
V. Nicolaus was present, just as the devil vanished; so he warned them.

During the sleep of night, the host,
through avarice, thinking about books and money, strikes with a sword the three scholars taken into his inn.
V. Arousing them kindly, fittingly rebuking the man, conscious of such a great crime.

The whole Church tells by what providence
the father has devoted himself to a treasure of wisdom, not of money.

---

\[^{275}\text{Myra.}\]

\[^{276}\text{AH encloses } \text{hic} \text{ in square brackets. The pronoun is required for sense and scansion.}\]
He snatched three uneasy men, aware of no crime,
standing with head covered, bound at his bended knee;
    V. Nicolaus, in [his] zeal for justice, frees those given over to an undeserved sentence.

By taking on the emblem of a pilgrim, the devil killed the son of the father
celebrating a banquet on the solemnities of Nicolaus.
Later he [Nicolaus] restored to the father, the son of that father, alive,
let he be worn out by the sighings of sorrow.

The holy man, by the clemency of his own piety, freed those imprisoned
because of the disgrace of a falsely offended majesty.
    V. He warns the judge through dreams,
    with harsh threats, that he should dismiss them, exempt and unpunished.

Worthy of being crowned to an affable glory, he cherishes the angels
by whom he is led in; within, the faithful one has joy, the reward prepared for you.
V. Praying, the holy man chanted out: “In you, O Lord, my heart has hoped.”
Then he expired.

\textbf{Lauds}
\textit{Antiphona super Psalmos} \textit{abab}; disyllabic
\begin{verbatim}
In caeli tabernaculis refulget sanctus gloria.
\end{verbatim}
\textbf{(8pp+8pp)x2}
\begin{verbatim}
Gloriosus miraculis coruscet in ecclesia.
\end{verbatim}
In the dwelling places of heaven, the holy man gleams with glory.
The famous one twinkles with miracles in the Church.
\textit{Antiphona ad Benedictus} \textit{aabbcc}; disyllabic
\begin{verbatim}
Sancti patris pauperum signorum in ecclesia.
\end{verbatim}
\textbf{(8pp+7pp)}
\begin{verbatim}
Olei manatio est nota declaratio.
\end{verbatim}
\textbf{(7pp+8p)}
\begin{verbatim}
Desudans ex ossibus cunctos curat languoribus.
\end{verbatim}
\textbf{(8pp+8pp)}
The flowing of oil is a famous attestation of countless signs of the holy father of the poor.
Profuse sweating from the bones heals all those with weaknesses.

\textbf{Per Horas}
\textbf{Prime} \textit{abab}, disyllabic
\begin{verbatim}
Reddit vitae vita functum iacentem in bivio,
\end{verbatim}
\textbf{(8p+7pp)x2}
\begin{verbatim}
Curru tritum corpus cunctum, perditum periurio.
\end{verbatim}
He restores to life the one deprived of life, lying in the crossroad, the whole body, trodden upon by a cart, lost on account of his perjury.
\textbf{Terce} \textit{aabb}, disyllabic
\begin{verbatim}
Consolatur patrem maestum, annuum colentem festum,
\end{verbatim}
\textbf{(8p+8p)x2}
\begin{verbatim}
Filium a Deo datum sibi reddens captivatum.
\end{verbatim}
He comforts the grieving father observing the annual feast day, Restoring the captured son given him by God.
\textbf{Sext} \textit{abab}, disyllabic
\begin{verbatim}
Fures cogit reddere imagini, quae tulerant,
\end{verbatim}
\textbf{(7pp+7pp)x2}
\begin{verbatim}
Quorum dato verbere afflicta membra fuerant.
\end{verbatim}
He forces the thieves to restore to the statue those things which they had stolen, whose limbs, with a scourge having been given, had been shattered.
\textbf{Nones} \textit{aabb}, disyllabic
\begin{verbatim}
\end{verbatim}
\footnotesize{$^{277}$AH places square brackets around \textit{in}. The word is required both metrically and grammatically.
Vir de clara progenie       vas aureum ecclesiae
(7pp+7pp)
Vovit, sibi votum gratum       si donaverit optatum.
A man of distinguished lineage, pledged a gilded vessel to the church
if he were granted his wish, a vow pleasing to himself.

Second Vespers
Antiphona ad Magnificat       aabcdceffe, disyllabic
    Felix pater, gratiarum,       Nicolae, variarum
(8p+8p)x2
    Dona praestans,       caecis visum,
(4p+4p)x2
    Functis vitam,       maestic risum,
    Tua prece nobis dona,       ut devicta carnis trabe
(8p+8p)x2
    Transeamus sine labe       ad caelestis vitae bona.
O Nicolaus, blissful father of manifold graces,
discharging gifts—sight to the blind,
life to the deceased, a smile to the grieving.--
By your prayer, grant to us that, the robe of flesh having been set aside,
we may cross over without blemish to the good things of heavenly life.
Appendix F

Cathedral Office of Nicolaus of Bari

NICOLAUS of Bari  (bishop; Bari patron)

B AH 28 #29
Cathedral Office; in Translatione

First Vespers
Antiphonae  abab, disyllabic throughout

1. Summe sacerdos inclite,  nimiris favens Barentibus,
   Cum vis medio gurgite  Barum transferri navibus.
O celebrated, lofty priest, favoring the people of Bari very much,
since you wish to be transferred to Bari by ships, in the midst of a whirlpool.

2. Fecit Deus memoriam  suorum mirabilum
   Cum transfert in Apuliam  Nicolai praeidium.
God made a reminder of his wondrous deeds
when he transfers the protection of Nicolaus into Apulia.

3. Exortus est in tenebris  Baro divinus radius,
   Vere dies hic celebris  fulget in ea Madius.
The divine staff has risen up in the shadows at Bari;
indeed this honored day shines forth in May.

4. A solis ortu teritur  nec non ab occidente,
   Qua Barum via pergitur  coetu toto ducente.
From the rising of the sun, and not from its setting, the path is worn away,
along which road with the entire assembly leading, [the bishop’s body] is proceeded to Bari.
5. Laudate, cuncti populi, Dei misericordiam,

\((8pp+8pp)x2\)
Sed ampliorem Apuli Deo referant gratiam.
Praise, all peoples, God's mercy,
but let the Apulians send back to God fuller thanks.

**Antiphona ad Magnificat** \(aaa\), disyllabic caudati

Felix Apulia, felix et Barum,

\((6pp+5p)x3\)
Felix quae contines thesaurum carum,
Qui nullis creditur terrigenarum.
Fortunate Apulia, fortunate also Bari,
fortunate you who contain a dear treasure:
the man who is entrusted to none of the earth-born.

**Matins**
**Invitatory** \(abab\), disyllabic

Uni Deo et simplici gloria sit atque laus,

\((8p+7pp)x2\)
Quem orat voce supplici stans in caelo Nicolaus.
To God, the one and upright, be both glory and praise,
Whom Nicolaus, standing in heaven, addresses in suppliant voice.

**Nocturn**
**Antiphonae** \(abab\), disyllabic throughout

1. Velut incisus balsamus profuderat liquorem,

\((8pp+7p)x2\)
Quo veniente thalamus fugaverat pudorem.
Just as the balsam tree, cut, had poured out liquid,
with which [the liquor] coming, the marriage had put shame to flight.

2. Nunc, reges, intelligite, praesidentes ecclesiis,

\([(8pp+8pp)x2]x2\)
Exemplo huius agite relevatis inopiis.
Now, kings, ruling in the churches, understand:
by the example of this man, act, with want having been relieved.

3. Clemens, pudicus, humilis nulli nocuit penitus,
Cunctis factus amabilis praesul factus est caelitus.
Clement, modest, humble, deep within he harmed no one,
having been made lovable to all, the bishop is made heavenly.
Responsoria

1.  \( abab: ccdc, \) disyllabic
   Tumba confracta marmoris mira prodict fragrantia,
   De reliquis corporis loquoris fluit copia,
   Quae nullo cursu temporis interrumpitur gratia.
   \( V. \) Fragrans odore nimio quo praefulges honore,

   \( (8pp+8pp)x3 \)

   The marble tomb, cracked, delivers a marvelous fragrance.
   From the relics of the body an abundance of liquid flows,
   which, through grace, by no course of time, is broken up.
   \( V. \) Exceedingly fragrant in order, you shine with honor;
   flowing with liquid, you spring forth in a gush of piety.

2.  \( aaaa: bb, \) disyllabic caudati
   Dum distat navis plus quam ducentis
   Milibus, mare fluctuat ventis
   Artubus sacris furtim retentis
   De corpore redemptis;

   \( (5p+5p)x3 \)

   While the ship stands at a distance, more than two hundred thousand,
   The sea fluctuates by the winds;
   with his holy limbs secretly held out from his body,
   for those saved.
   And they are not strong enough to hold a safe course
   if the body is borne diminished.

3.  \( aaaa: bb, \) disyllabic caudati
   Quod non desit ulla particula,
   Sacris membris monstrant miracula,
   Visionum certa oracula

   \( (4p+6pp)x3 \)

   Since not any particle is lacking,
   they point out wonders in the holy limbs,
   true oracles of visions, common things of truth.
Sure utterances of visions are spread out.
In order that enough might be done for the uneasy, his tooth gushes forth with liquid; so that a lessening might not happen, it is enclosed by the mouth of the saint.

**Lauds**

Antiphonae *abab, disyllabic throughout*

1. Maris elatione mautae facti territi,  
   *(7p+7pp)x2*  
   Liquoris fusione de furto sunt proditi.  
   By the lifting up of the sea, the sailors became terrified.  
   By the outpouring of liquid, they are betrayed by a theft.

2. Currunt senes cum parvulis in exultatione,  
   *[(8pp+7p)x2]x2*  
   Sancti occurrunt baiulis mire devotione.  
   Old men run with young boys in exultation.  
   They run to meet the porters of the saint with wondrous devotion.

3. Adipe et pinguedine redundant eius ossa,  
   Olei multitudine semper est plena fossa.  
   His bones stream over with richness and fat.  
   The channel is always filled with a multitude of oil.

4. Benedicant te populi, qui facis mirabilia,  
   *(8pp+8pp)x2*  
   De loco sacro tumuli mira prodit fragrantia.  
   Let the people praise you who perform miraculous deeds.  
   A marvelous scent issues from the holy place of the tomb.

5. In capsella lignea Myrea transportatus,  
   *(7p+7p)*  
   Bari tumba marmorea tandem est collocatus.  
   *(8pp+8pp)x3*  
   Transported from Myra in a wooden casket, at length he is established at Bari in a marble tomb-shrine.

**Antiphona ad Benedictus ababab, disyllabic**

Dum loco sacri tumuli mira prodit fragrantia,  
*(8pp+8pp)x3*  
De membris Dei famuli liquoris abundantia,  
Seniores et parvuli currunt iugi frequentia.
While a wondrous fragrance issues from the site of the holy tomb, and an abundance of fluid runs from the limbs of this servant of God, the crowd—men both old and young—hasten iugi.  

**Second Vespers**

Antiphona ad Magnificat  
*aababab*, disyllabic

Liguoris rivulo patuit pietas,

*(6pp+6pp)x4*

Ex cuius tumulo prodit suavitas,  
Caeci ex oculo pellitur caecitas,  
Subvenit populo ipsius caritas.

Piety has been revealed by a rivulet of fluid.  
Mildness appears from this holy one’s tomb.  
Blindness is routed from the eyes of the blind.  
The kindness of this man himself succors the people.

**First Vespers**  
*AH* 28, #29a

Antiphonae

1.  
*abba*, disyllabic

Sancti per festa Nicolai state iucundi,  
*(5p+9p)*

Huius qui mundi solvebat plurima maesta.  
*(5p+8p)*  
Through the feast of the rejoicing Saint Nicolaus, stand, he who relieved very many sad matters of this world.

2.  
*abba*, disyllabic

Virginibus victum donaverat hic et amictum,  
*(6p+9p)*

Ne per defectum stuprum facerent male rectum.  
*(5p+9p)*  
This man had given to the maidens support and a cloak,279 lest, through feeble disgrace, they should do the right thing badly.

3.  
*aabbcc*, disyllabic

Praesul famose, consolator pretiose,  
*(5p+8p)x2*

Es veluti dignus, sic nobis esto benignus,  
Quo bonus ut custos salvasti tres nece iustor.  
*(6p+8p)*

---

278 to be joined?  
279 dowry?
O celebrated bishop, O precious consolar,
just as you are worthy, so be kind to us,
you who have saved three just men from slaughter.

4.  **abab, mixed**

De vitae flore florens morumque nitore

\[(7p+6p)x2\]

Fulgebat actu pollens vernansque decor.

Prospering from the flower of life and from the brilliance of customs,
he shone forth, mighty in action and flourishing in comeliness/grace.

5.  **abaab, disyllabic**

Inclite, nobilis ac venerabilis,

\[(6pp+6pp+5p)x2\]

Nuro praecellis,

Tutor amabilis ac venerabilis,

Esto misellis.

O celebrated one, noble and venerable,
you are superior to gold. Be a lovable and venerable guardian
to the wretched ones.

**First Vespers**  \(AH\ 28, \#29b\)

**Antiphonae**

1.  **abcc, unrhymed; monosyllabic**

Christe, tuis famiulis nobis festa Nicolai

**accentual**

Te petimus praesta venerari laude iucunda.

O Christ, be surety for us, your servants.
We petition that You hallow the festivals of Nicolaus
with joyful praise.

2.  **aabb, monosyllabic**

Qui terris positus mitis fuit ac moderatus,

**accentual** Consolans miseros confortans atque pusillos.

He who was placed on earth was mild and moderate,
consoling the wretched and comforting the weak.

3.  **aabb, monosyllabic**

Ad caelum migrans, caelorum culmina ditans,

**accentual** Hic relevat multos morborum mole gravatos.

\(^{280}AH\ encloses the second syllable in square brackets. Hughes notes this, but adds "ignores the rhyme." He bases this on his incorrect division of line one: \(De\ vitae\ florens\ morumque\ nitore.\) In fact, the word does not participate in the rhyme scheme at all. \[^{280}\]
Moving to heaven, enriching the heights of the skies,
this man relieves many people, burdened by the weight of diseases.

4.  \textit{aabb, unrhymed; monosyllabic}
    \begin{quote}
    \textit{Digne Deo miles, quo palmam nomine prebes}
    \end{quote}
\textit{accentual}
    \begin{quote}
    \textit{Pro nobis Christi pugna virtute potenti.}
    \end{quote}
\begin{quote}
O soldier worthy of God, you who offer a palm in His name,
fight for us by means of the powerful courage of Christ.
\end{quote}

5.  \textit{aabc, unrhymed}
    \begin{quote}
    \textit{Credimus in thalami consistere sede superni,}
    \textit{Posse salvos fieri per te sic fonte renatos.}
    \end{quote}
\begin{quote}
We believe that those thus reborn in the fountain can,
through you, become saved, [and] take their place on a seat
of the dwelling place above.
\end{quote}

\textit{Hymnus \ abacdef; monosyllabic}
\begin{quote}
\textit{Copiose caritatis, Nicole pontifex,}
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
\textit{(8p+7pp)x4}
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
\textit{Qui cum Deo gloriaris in caeli palatio,}
\textit{Condescende, supplicamus ad te suspirantibus,}
\textit{Ut exutos gravi carne pertrahas ad superor.}
\end{quote}

Bishop Nicolaus, abundant of charity,
you who glory with God in the palace of heaven,
bend down, we pray to you, to those sighing,
so that you may conduct them,
delivered from burdensome flesh, to the heights.
Appendix G

Monastic Office of Guillelmus of Bourges

GUillelmus of BouRges

AH 28 #29, pp. 271-76
Monastic Office

First Vespers

Antiphonae
1. aaaa, disyllabic caudati
   Gaude, mater    fecunda liberis,
   (4p+6pp)x4
   Quae serpentis    dum caput conteris,
   Tuis caelos    alumnis aperis,
   Quos victores    coniungis superis.
Rejoice, O Mother [Church], rich in offspring,
who, while you trample the serpent’s head,
open heaven to your nurslings,
whom, as victors, you unite in the heavens.

2. aaaa, disyllabic caudati
   Grates Deo    reddamus seduli,
   (4p+6pp)x4
   Qui sublatis    aerumnis saeculi,
   Quod non novit    cor, auris, oculi,
   Nostro gratis    concessit praesuli.
Let us, diligent ones, render thanks to God,
Who, the calamities of the ages having been lifted,
because the heart novit, of the ear, of the eye,
by our thanks, he has yielded of the bishop.  ?

3. aaaa, disyllabic caudati
Up to his youthful age, Guillelmus chose harshness, sparing of enticements; while thus he is given the tasks for manliness, another law tames the law of the flesh.

The youth, already unwilling to exult to moderation, draws out the public revenues, recognizing the world [to be] a stepfather for himself, he flees ostentation, he sidesteps the slippery path.

In the place of the leader’s operation, closely following for the prayer (?) of true light, he beseeched the lightbeams, he frequently reads in the scriptures, with which he is instructed about the future, he guards against harmful downfalls; thus having anticipated, he fully examines the peculiar movements of the mind in the light from on high.

In order that the newborn might carry about manifold precedents of manliness, his posture has, in appearance, the planting-rod of the fathers.

A quo sumpsit esse cum viribus, reparari cum drachma decimal,
Quam sponsavit ornans monilibus et a paucis vesit ad plurima,
Cum hanc iunxit supernis civibus veritatis iam cibans azyma.\textsuperscript{281}

May the rejoicing soul grandly render vows with divine praisings,
by whom it [the soul] has chosen to be with strength, to be restored with ten drachmas,
[the soul] whom He has espoused, adorning it with necklaces and whom
He has conveyed from the few to the many,
Since he has joined her to the heavenly citizens of truth already feasting on unleavened bread.

**Matins**

**Invitatory:**

\textbf{MI} \textit{abab, disyllabic caudati}

\begin{align*}
\text{Exurgamus} & \quad \text{mente iam sobria}, \\
\text{(10pp+10pp)x2} & \\
\text{Nos populous} & \quad \text{et oves Domini}, \\
\text{Pro collate} & \quad \text{Guillelmo Gloria} \\
\text{Laudes eius} & \quad \text{reddamus nomini}.
\end{align*}

Let us, the people and the sheep of the Lord,
push forth with a sober mind indeed,
for the sake of established glory,
let us render praises to his name: Guillelmus.

**First Nocturn**

**Antiphonae**

1. \textit{abab, disyllabic caudati}

\begin{align*}
\text{Christi paret} & \quad \text{Guillelmus legibus} \\
\text{(4p+6pp)x4} & \\
\text{Actu foris} & \quad \text{intus memoria}, \\
\text{Legem vitae} & \quad \text{tenet in moribus}, \\
\text{Et in lingua} & \quad \text{lex est clementia}.
\end{align*}

Guillelmus is obedient to the laws of Christ,
by deed, without; by memory, within,
He maintains the law of life in his customs
and on his tongue, the law is mercy.

2. \textit{abab, disyllabic caudati}

\begin{align*}
\text{Helisaei} & \quad \text{tenens consortium} \\
\text{(4p+6pp)x4} & \\
\text{Iugum spernit} & \quad \text{ferre com impiis}, \\
\text{Ne cum illo} & \quad \text{portet repudium},
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{281}\textit{azyma}: unleavened bread. See Exodus 12:15.
Qui pro iugis se privat nuptiis.
Maintaining the partnership of Helesia (?),
he declines to bear the yoke with the impious ones,
lest he should bear with that one a separation,
he, who for the sake of that union, has deprived himself of marriage.

3. \textit{abab, disyllabic caudati}
\begin{align*}
\text{Cor dilatat} & \quad \text{diffusa caritas}, \\
(4p+6pp)x4 & \\
\text{Quo plus iustum} & \quad \text{artat afflictio}, \\
\text{Sic Hebraeis} & \quad \text{surgit fecunditas}, \\
\text{Quanto maior} & \quad \text{urget suppressio}.
\end{align*}
Charity, poured forth in different directions, enlarges the heart,
by which affliction reduces the just man more;
thus fruitfulness rises up among the Hebrews,
by which a greater restraint presses.

4. \textit{abab, disyllabic caudati}
In conspectu divino dirigit
\begin{align*}
\text{Gressus mundam} & \quad \text{percurrents orbitam}, \\
\text{Viam rectam} & \quad \text{consultus eligi} \\
\text{Se per artam} & \quad \text{restringens semitam}.
\end{align*}
In divine sight, he directs his steps
hastening through the elegant wheel (cycle?),
the experienced one chooses the right way,
restraining himself through the narrow path.

5. \textit{abab, disyllabic caudati}
Elevatur ad nutum gratiae
\begin{align*}
\text{Nostra spirans} & \quad \text{ad auram Aquila}, \\
\text{Escam mentis} & \quad \text{contemplans acie} \\
\text{In superna} & \quad \text{vitali simila}.
\end{align*}
Our eagle is raised to the nod of grace,
breathing towards the wind,
considering the tidbits of the mind with insight,
[for vital?] in eternal likeness.

6. \textit{abab, disyllabic caudati}
Ut quiete cum sponso dormiat,
\begin{align*}
\text{Nidum sibi} & \quad \text{point in arduo}, \\
\text{Montem petit,} & \quad \text{ut turbam fugiat}
\end{align*}
Christo iunctus amplexo mutuo.
In order that he might sleep undisturbed with the beloved,
he places a nest for himself on high,
he seeks a mountain that he might flee the crowd;
joined to Christ in a mutual embrace.

Responsoria

1. ababab; ccb disyllabic caudati
   
   Primum sonnet in laude praesulis
   
   (4p+6pp)x6
   
   Conditoris honor et gloria,
   Qui diffuses donorum rivulis
   Patrem nobis dedit in patria,
   Cuius vita quam digna titulis,
   Certa [nobis] probant indicia.
   
   V. Signis fulget fide plenus
   
   (4p+4p)x2
   
   Clarum gerent ortum, genus
   Ex illustri Gallia.
   
   (7pp)
   
   The dawn resounds in praise of the bishop,
honor and glory of the founder,
who, the rivulets of gifts having been poured forth,
he gives the Father to us in the fatherland,
Whose life rather than worth of a title,
the sure disclosures pronounce good to us.
V. Full of faith, he glitters with signs,
bearing the famous origin, the lineage from distinguished Gaul.

2. ababaab; ccb, disyllabic
   
   Flos erumpens in novella planta puri corporis,
   
   (8p+7pp)x2
   
   Ne laedatur a procella circumventi pectoris,
   Munda transit carnis cella scirpi clauses in fiscella
   
   (8p+8p+7pp)x2
   
   Foedi fluxus temporis;
   
   V. Non irrumpit cordis templum, quod fit casus in exemplum
   Sub elapse temporis.
   
   A flower, bursting forth in a new little plant of pure body,
that it not be damaged by the gale of the opporessed heart,
enclosed in the small basket of bulrushes, passes through the elegant room of the flesh,
tossed about of/by abominable time;
V. He has not broken through the temple of the heart which becomes an opportunity in example under the lapse of time.

3. *ababaah*, **disyllabic**
   
   Ne seducant mundi vana cor illustris pueri,
   
   *(8p+7pp)x2*
   
   Sensus regit aetas cana, fiunt opes oneri,
   
   Iam concept mente sana mox exsurgens in montana
   
   *(8p+8p+7pp)x2*
   
   Subit raptu celery;
   
   *V.* Christum sequens pacis via nudus fugit cum Helia
   
   *(8p+8pp+7pp)*
   
   Sub umbra iuniperi.

That the worthless things of the world not lead astray the illustrious heart of the boy, mature age rules the emotions, riches become burdensome, indeed with a sound image in the mind soon rising in the mountainous placed, he passes under by means of a swift plunder;

*V.* Following Christ on the path of peace, the unclothed one flees with Helia under the shade of a juniper tree.

4. *abababab: ccb*, **disyllabic**

   Igitur cum ambitu spreta mundi cura
   
   *(7p+6p)x2*
   
   Ductus est a spiritu sub claustri censure
   
   Commutans cum habitu pro summis casura,
   
   Per quod in introitu non formidat dura;
   
   *V.* Spe suspense muneris relevatur oneris
   
   *(7p+7p+6p)*
   
   Amore pressura.

Therefore with a revolution (?), care of the world having been scorned, he was led by the Spirit up to judgment282 of an enclosure bartering with his bearing (or manner of dress) for the downfall from the heights (?), through which, in the entrance, he does not dread difficult matters;

*V.* With hope suspended, he is freed with burdensome duties, with love about to press.

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282 There is a problem with the word *censura*, here translated “judgment.” It is nominative, singular, feminine.
The bishop, about to initiate a solemn utterance,
cleanses his mind’s face from stains;
the fountain flows through the eye of the yoke,
his lip completes the deed from the mirrors/images.

He seeks the life which the Beloved grants,
for the sake of these virtues—faith and hope—
knocking, he seeks under this threefold (?),
he rejoices in the friend’s three breads.

Above the waters, he builds, with Noah,
the ark of the heart, completeing [it] in cubits/measure.
Simultaneously he attached even contempt of the world,
the final extent of action.

Praises rightly contribute to the brisk one,
whom prosperity does not turn aside from the right.
He justly draws joy from the fruit of his hands,
he whom prosperity protects in the city gates.
5. *abab, disyllabic caudati*
   Hymnus dicat praesens collegium,
   \((10pp+10pp)x2\)
   Christum decent ipsum praeconia,
   Qui assumpsit in regni solium
   Patrem replens bonis in gloria.
Here, may the gathered group declare a hymn.
The public proclamations befit Christ Himself,
Who has taken up unto the royal seat of the kingdom
this father [Guillelmus], full of good things in glory.

6. *abab, disyllabic caudati*
   Huius odor ut cedrus Libani
   \((10p+10pp)x2\)
   Vitae bonis, mortis ad exterors,
   Qui nunc gaudent ad somnum organi,
   Sed in puncto runt ad inferors.
The fragrance of this man is as that of the cedars of Lebanon,
of the life of good things, of death to external ones,
those who now revel at the sound of organum.
but who such to the lower ones [the deceased?] in a small puncture.

**Responsoria**

1. *ababab: ccb, disyllabic*
   Summo tendens in amore
   \((8p+7pp)x3\)
   Per voti expendium
   Gradus coepit a timore,
   Sic per septenarium
   Scandens gustus in sapore
   Firmat aedificium,
   \(V.\) Factus summi nutu regis Dux Karoliloci gregis
   \((8p+8p+7pp)\)
   Pastor et praesidium.

Reaching toward the highest love, through the payment of a vow,
the step has begun in fear; thus through seven years,
scaling the flavors in taste, he builds a structure,
\(V.\) The leader of the Carolingian flock, the shepherd and bishop,
has been made, by the mighty nod of the king.

2. *ababaab: ab, disyllabic*
Pater sanctus, dum consultum

(8p+7pp)x2

Tenet solitudinis,
Pascens sibi conseulptum
Summi gregem numinis,
Ut det palmes fructum multum,
Purgam mentem, corpus cultum
Iugo reddit ordinis;

V. Ne clamoris det tumultum

(8p+7pp)

Terra deflens hominis.
The holy father, while he maintains the counsel of solitude,
pasturing for himself the flock [buried together?] of the mighty divine will,
in order that He might grant palms, much fruit,
a purified mind, a refined body, he returns to the yoke of the furrow;

V. May the man’s land, flowing down, not
give the uproar of loud shouting.

3. ababaab; ccb, disyllabic
Servit Iacob pro Rachele

(8p+7pp)x2

Per vitae septennium,
Urit aestus, sed querelae
Sopit amor taedium,
Ad amplexus traxit Liae,

(8p+8p+7pp)

Gemens cedit fraudi piae
Morem videns patrium.

V. Delicati sonnum thori
Turbat lippa, cum labori
Sanctum datur otium.

Jacob served for Rachel’s sake through seven years of his life.
The summer burned, but love settled the disgust of the argument.
He drew to the embrace of Leah,
groaning, he yielded to the false duty,
seeing the fatherly wish.

V. The bleary-eyed Leah disturbs his dream of a dainty [thori?] when holy leisure is given to hard work.

4. ababaab; ccb, disyllabic
Adhuc latens in deserto lucerna sub modio

(8p+7pp)x2

Dare lucem in aperto procedit in medio,
Minat oves gressu certo, vagam point in lacerto

(8p+8p+7pp)
Reportans ab invio;
Clamat vigil oculus, quod sit praesul sedulus
In ovili proprio.

Thus far, lying hidden in the desert, the lamp under a measure
to give light in the opening, he advances in the midst,
he guides the sheep with a sure step, he hoists the stray on his shoulder,
carrying it back from the trackless path;

The eye, as watchman, cries out that the bishop is watchful
over his own sheepfold.

Third Nocturn
Antiphona ad Cantica.
aabecb, disyllabic

Vox una laetantium,
Rachel plorans consulatur,       vox in Rama iam mutatur
Maeroris in gaudium.

In the canticles of [labiorium?], may he loosen for himself the reins of praise,
with one voice rejoicing,
the sobbing Rachel is comforted, the grieving voice in Rama indeed
is changed to rejoicing.

Responsoria

1. abbaab: aab, disyllabic
Hic primatu fungitur

(7pp)x6

in sede Biturica,
nec virtutum fabrica
Flatu laudis quatitur,
Supra petram figitur
in virtute modica;

V. Frustra rete iacitur, dum pennatis tenditur

(7pp)x3

in aspect pedica.

In this place, in the seat of Biturica, he discharges the bishopric,
not by means of the deceit of virtues is he agitated by the blast of praise,
above the rock he is made fast in moderate virtue;

V. In vain is he hurled by the net, while a snare is stretched out in sight
for the winged ones. (?)

2. aabaabcc; bddb, disyllabic
Forma gregis populo gestis monstrat oculo

(7pp+7pp+6p)x3

leges aequitatis,
Mel perfectis pabulo, lac ad potum parvulo
sub linqua primatis,
Verbum non adulterat, dum dictis aequiperat
facta probitatis.

V. Iugum tollit umeris,

(7pp+7pp+6p)

quod imponit ceteris
doctor veritatis.
The shape of the flock points out to the people [gestis?] [oculo] the laws of equality, honey for those things/ones completed for nourishment, milk to the little one for drinking, under the tongue of/for bishops, he does not falsify the word when he has compared deeds to the words of uprightness.

V. He has taken the yoke upon his shoulders, which the Teacher of truth has placed upon the others.

3. ababcc: ddb disyllabic

Sub undenae—[?] pondus horae sudans ab infantia

(8p+7pp)x2

Sero facto de labore vocatur ad praemia;
Denario gaudet pari stella fulgens singulari

(8p+8p+7pp)

Sumpturus duplicia.

V. Nova iusto lux est orta,

(8p+8p+7pp)

transit luctus, cum absorpta
mos est in victoria.
Under the weight of the hours—eleven each—sweating from infancy, he is summoned at the late deed from labor to rewards; the flashing star rejoices in the denarius given equally to each, he, about to take a double reward.

4. ababaah: ccb, disyllabic

Pater, precum in hac hora sub noctis silentio

(8p+7pp)x2

Nostra tibi sit decora laus, placens devotion;
Sic concordant mens et ora, quod post mortem sine mora

(8p+8p+7pp)

Tu sis nostra portio.

V. Pater sancte, gregem fulci Ducis prece tuo dulci
 Nos fovens in gremio.

O Father, at this hour, under the silence of the night,
may our praise of prayers to You be fitting, our devotion pleasing; thus mind and prayer agree, so that after death, without delay, You may be our portion.

V. O holy father, you lead the flock by your intercession, fondling us in your lap.

**Lauds**

Antiphona _super Psalmos, abcabc_, internal; disyllabic

| Vocem laudis | affectus iubilo | Deo solvens te, grex, exhilara, |
| Melos cordis | cum vocis sibilo | dat iucundum psalmum cum cithara. |

Make cheerful, O flock, unbinding you for God the voice of praise, influenced by rejoicing.

_Melos (?)_ of heart, with a whistling of the voice, he renders a pleasing psalm with the lyre.

Antiphona _ad Benedictus, aabaabcbbcb_, internal; disyllabic

| Benedictus | rex invictus | dux patris ad bravium |

(8p+7pp)x4

| Qui conflictus | vicit ictus | graves ferens hostium |
| Ut vi mortis | arma fortis | frangens vires sontium |
| Nos in portis | ditet sortis | dans supernae gaudium. |

Blessed be the unconquered king, the leader of the father to/for the sake of (bravium?) by which the harried force has conquered the enemies’ burdens in order that, by the force of death, by the arms of the brave one, breaking the strength of the guilty ones, may he/en it enrich us in the gates of prophecy/change, giving the joy of heaven.

Per Horas.

**Prime** _abab_, disyllabic caudati

| Primo mane | iunctus agricolis |

(4p+6pp)x4

| Exit vitis | patris ad opera, |
| Nil commune | gerens cum subdolis |
| Diem portat | et aestus pondera. |

At first light the one joined to the farmers goes out from this life to the works of the father, bearing nothing in common with guile, the summer bears the day and heavy burdens.

**Terce** _aabaab_, disyllabic

| Ter exponit verberi | reducens itineri |

|(7pp+7pp)+6p)x2 |

| Cum mago iumentum, |
| Fami, flagris, opera, | carnis quaerens conteri |
| Lascivae fermentum. |
Three times he casts out/exhibits a flogging, leading the beast of burden to the way back, by means of a magician, the grain of the flesh seeking to be ground for the sake of hunger, with scourges, for the sake of the work.

**Sext**  
*ababab*, disyllabic  
Sexta fiunt tenebrae, dum cor inflammatur,

*(7pp+6p)x3*  
In qua sancto célèbre nomen occultatur,
Ne quid cernant palpebrae quo mens extollatur.
While the heart is inflamed, the sixth one (?) of shades comes into existence, in which, by a holy famous (thing?) the thing is hidden, lest the eyelids should detect anything by which the mind is elevated.

**Nones**  
*ababab*, disyllabic  
Novem regis cubitorum lectulus ostenditur,

*(8p+7pp)x3*  
Cum coetibus angelorum novem praesul iungitur
Quo quiete post laborum aestus Deo fruitur.
A little bed is shown, of the king’s measure, 283
When the bishop is joined to the assembly of angels
By which quietude, after the new thing (?), the summer of his toils enjoys God.

**Second Vespers**

**Antiphonae**

1.  
*abab*, disyllabic  
Mane nobiscum vespere, ne nox subrepat scelerum,

*(8pp+8pp)x2*  
Dans precum patris munere rector progressus operum.
Stay with us at eventime, lest the night of misdeeds creep up from below, granting the request by means of the father’s reward, the director of works having gone forth.

2.  
*abab*, disyllabic  
Agat cor vigil spiritu vices, dum pausant corpora

*(8pp+8pp)x2*  
Litis sopito strepitu pacis sucedant tempora.
The heart keeps vigil by means of the spirit by turns, while bodies (cease?)

283 Novem, ACC s.
in the clattering quiet of the (?), may the time(s) of peace come afterwards.

3. _abab, disyllabic_
   Nullo iam fine clauditur   vivens iusti memoria,
   (8pp+8pp)x2
   Cuius ubique spargitur   lucens signorum gloria.

4. _abab, disyllabic_
   Mors in piscine corruit   languens sub eius pedibus,
   (8pp+8pp)x2
   Opem, qua cunctis affluuit,   pastor non neget ovibus.
Death, languishing under his feet in the fishpond,
has fallen to the ground; let the shepherd not deny his sheep.

_Antiphona ad Magnificat, aababab, disyllabic_
Magnificat sponsum in numine   sponsa cuius trina potentia
(10pp+10pp)x3
Trinitatis splendet imagine,   trinae dotis iam fulgens gloria,
Pio cuius sponsus praecamine   nos ascribat at vitae praemia.
May the bride magnify her Bridegroom in His might,
Whose threefold power of the Trinity glitters in appearance,
the glory already gleaming of the triple dowry,
Whose Spouse, in a holy _praecamine_ (?) may include us yet [for] the rewards of life.
Appendix H

Cathedral Office of Guillelmus of Bourges

GUILLELMUS of Bourges

AH 28 #29, pp. 271-76
Cathedral Office

Ms: Bibliothèque Nationale, Troyes, 1148, f. 282-9 [In margin, f. 289: 1278]
Author: Philippus of Moutier-le-Celles: Philippus scripsit et cantum notavit.
bishop; patron of the French nation, declared at The University of Paris

First Vespers

Antiphonae
1. aaaba, disyllabic
   O Guillelme, pastor bone, pie pater et patrone,
   (8p+8p)x2
   Constans verax in sermone sub tuae protectione
   Confugimus per te salvari petimus sancta intercessione.
   9p+10p
   O Guillelmus, good shepherd, pious father and patron,
   Constant, true in speech, under your protection
   We flee; through you, we seek to be saved by your holy intercession.

2. abach, disyllabic
   Nos ergo qui confidimus in tua virtute,
   (8pp+6p)
   Humiliter deposcimus intercedes pro omnium
   (8pp+8pp)
   Errantium salute.

We, therefore, who trust in our virtue,
Humbly demand that you intercede for the safety of all who are wandering astray.
3. **ababccddeef**, disyllabic
   Protectorem sentiamus te gregis Dominici
   (8p+7pp)
   Nos qui tuam imploramus opem corde simplici
   (8p+7p)
   Fac ut apud Dominum qui vult vitam hominum
   (7pp+7pp)x2
   Excuset oratio quod accusat actio
   Servos serva supplicantes ut in fide sint constantes
   (8p+8p+8p)
   Sancta intercessione.
   We sense you, protector of the Lord’s flock,
   We, who implore your aid with a simple heart:
   Grant that, with the Lord who wishes the life of men,
   Let prayer excuse that which action accuses,
   Save the supplicating servants that they be steadfast in faith
   Through holy intercession.

**Antiphona ad Magnificat**

VE **aabba**, disyllabic
   Magnum et mirabilem parvum ineffabilem
   (7pp+7pp)
   Excelsum et humilem magnificare decuit
   (7pp+8pp)
   Christum qui formam induit factus homo servilem.
   (8pp+7pp)
   It is fitting to magnify the great and wondrous, small, inexpressible,
exalted and humble Christ Who, having become man, took on servile form.

**Matins**

**Invitatory:**

**MI** **aaba**, disyllabic
   Adoretur et laudetur verbum patris factum caro
   (8p+8p)x2
   Militique suo caro triumphani laus debetur.
   May the Word of the Father made flesh be adored and praised,
   And praise is due to his own dear triumphant soldier.

First Nocturn.

**Antiphonae**

1. **abcecb**, disyllabic
   Vir beatus irrigatus aquis sapientiae
   (8p+7pp)
   Ab impiis consiliis abstinuit nec sedere voluit
   (8p+8p+7pp)
In sede pestilentiae.
The blessed man, washed in the waters of wisdom,
Abstained from impious plans and has not wished to sit
On the seat of pestilence.

2. *abacb*, disyllabic
   Constitutus predicator praeeptorum Domini
   (8p+7pp)
   Verbi Dei seminator offert totum se devotum
   (8p+8p+7pp)
Established as prophet of the Lord’s precepts,
The sower of the Word of God offers himself, complete, devout,
To Christ’s sacred name.

3. *abccab*, disyllabic
   Tu, susceptor exultantis gloria, tu, militis
   (7p+7pp)
   Iesu Christe sanctus iste
   (4p+4p)
   Meretur se exaltantis membrum esse capitis.
   (8p+7pp)
You, O Jesus Christ, undertaker of the soldier rejoicing in glory;
That holy man deserves to be a member of the exalting head.

Responsoria
1. *aacddbeeab*, disyllabic
   Exultemus celebrantes celebremus exultantes
   (8p+8p+7pp)
   Sancti natalitiae
   (4p+4p+4p)
   Ut quiete temporum et salute corporum
   (7pp+7pp+3p)
   Concessis
   Eius prece praevia
   (7pp)
   Praestet Pater luminum gravi moli crimium
   (7pp+7pp+3pp)
   Oppressis.
   *V.* Dies ista celebris dies digna gudio
   (7pp+7pp)x2
   Qua purgemus tenebris et ab omni vitio.

Let us exult, celebrating. Let us celebrate, exulting in
the birthday of the holy priest. Let us, supplicating, demand
that to those withdrawn from the repose of the times and the health of bodies, and to those oppressed by the heavy mound of crimes by his preceding prayer, the Father of lights stands forth.

\[V.\] That celebrated day, day worthy of rejoicing
On which let us be purified of shadow and from every vice.

2. \textit{abcaaccdddb, aabb, disyllabic}
\begin{align*}
\text{Felix ortu Gallia} & \quad \text{gaude tanti praesulis} \\
\text{accentual} & \\
\text{Qui exortus claruit} & \quad \text{illustri prosapia} \quad \text{cuius fame gloria} \\
\text{Claris longe titulis enituit} & \quad \text{quod satis innotuit} \\
\text{Ipsum declarantibus sequentibus signis et miraculis.} & \\
\text{V.} & \quad \text{Gloriosi militis} \quad \text{precibus et meritis} \\
\text{Praecamur non adiuvari} & \quad \text{culpas graves relaxari.}
\end{align*}

Happy Gaul in the rising of heavenly bodies, by such joy of the bishop, who, having risen, has shone, from a stock for the famous, whose glory in a time of famine from far off struggles with famous titles, because he became well known enough, with followers declaring him through signs and miracles.

\[V.\] Let us pray that we be aided by the intercessions and merits of this glorious soldier, that our serious faults be eased.

3. \textit{ababccdeed, aaa, disyllabic}
\begin{align*}
\text{Dum adhuc puerulus} & \quad \text{esset Christi miles} \\
\text{accentual} & \\
\text{Non egit ut parvulus} & \quad \text{actus pueriles} \\
\text{Corde senex sed puer corpore} & \quad \text{sacra sacro condebat pectore} \\
\text{Forminica praecpta} & \quad \text{mente sedula} \\
\text{Aure bibula} & \quad \text{attentius percepta.} \\
\text{V.} & \quad \text{Sacris litteris imbutus} \\
\text{Novum hominem indutus} & \quad \text{Mundum despexit impollutus.}
\end{align*}

While the young boy hitherto would be a soldier of Christ, he did not set in motion that the young boy, boyish deeds, an old man in heart, but a boy in body, was establishing holy things in his holy soul: precepts, with a diligent mind, a thirsty ear, the precepts more attentively.

\[V.\] Steeped in the holy writings, the new man having donned spotless clothing, he despised the world.

Second Nocturn
\textbf{Antiphonae}

1. \textit{abab, disyllabic}
\begin{align*}
\text{Innocens vir iste Christum} & \quad \text{orat flexis genibus} \\
\text{\textit{(8p+7pp)x2}} & \\
\text{Exaudivit Christus iteum} & \quad \text{suis favens precibus.}
\end{align*}
On bended knees, that blameless man beseeches Christ; Christ, favoring his prayers, listened repeatedly [iterum?]

2. *abba*, disyllabic
   Verba sancti percipit clamorem intelligens
   \[(8p+7p)\]
   Quem rex regum diligens regno suo recipit.
Understanding the words of the holy man, he understands the shouting, he whom the attentive King of kings has received into His realm.

3. *abab*, disyllabic
   Sanctum Christus coronavit honore cum gloria
   \[(8pp+7pp)x2\]
   Et eundem collocavit in caelesti patria.
Christ has crowned the holy man with honor, and glory has gathered up this same one in the heavenly fatherland.

**Responsoria**

1. *abbaabbaccb; dede*, disyllabic
   Praeclarus genere clarior moribus
   \[(6pp+6pp)\]
   Moribus relictis omnibus pro Christo paupere
   \[(9pp+6pp)\]
   Nolens succedere paternis opibus
   \[(6pp+6pp)x3\]
   Et dignitatibus mundanis cedere
   Non fuit veritus quamvis non territus Honorum onere.
V. Caducis non figitur rebus mentis oculus
   \[(7pp+7pp)x2\]
   Nudus nudum sequitur magistrum discipulus.
Distinguished by birth, more notable in his manners, a pauper for the sake of Christ, every custom having been abandoner, unwilling to prosper with paternal riches, and unwilling to yield to worldly dignities, he was not //veritus// however much undaunted by the burden of honors.
V. The eye is not fixed on the affairs of the transitory mind, the unclothed disciple follows the unclothed teacher.

2. *aabbabba; cdef*, disyllabic
   Se non tantum auditorem verbi Dei sed factorem
   **accentual**
   Guillelmus exhibuit transgredi qui potuit
   Se numquam constituit sancte legis transgressorem
Guillelmus produced not so much a hearing but a doing of God’s word, who was able to pass over, he never established himself a transgressor of the holy law, while he cultivated solitude, he strove to imitate Christ’s holy precursor.

V. Fleeing, he distanced himself in order that he might remain in solitude, serving in a monastic region, hidden under the Order.

3. **ababcdedef: gghh, disyllabic**
   - Abiecto fastu saeculi insudat eius operi
   - Quem mundi solum oculi merentur intueri
   - Deum placat atque vacat
   - Eius oratio
   - Preces fundens se recondit se recondens fletus fundit
   - Sic orationem condit fletibus devotio.

V. Rigat ora lacrimis uberrimis
   - Orans in cubiculo pro populo.

He sweated at the despicable arrogance for his work; whom alone the eyes of the world deserved to gaze,

his prayer pleases and even frees God,

pouring forth prayers, he restores himself, hidden weeping floods him,

thus devotion fortifies his prayer with tears.

V. Plead with tears, he moistens <ACC?>
   - praying in his cell for the people’s sake.

Third Nocturn

**Antiphonae**

*abab, disyllabic*

- Docens legem pastor gregem pascit vitae pabulo

*(8p+7pp)x2*

- Contemplatur regum regem mundo cordis oculo.

The shepherd pastures his flock, teaching them the law of life.

With the eyes of the heart, he regards the King of kings by means of ordinary nourishment.

**MR9** *ababcdcbdd, disyllabic*

- Sepulto venerabili patre die Dominica

*(8pp+8p)x2*

- Tempore quo cum humili devotione mystica
- Reges Tharsis obtulerunt regi nato munera
On the Lord’s day, the venerable Father having been buried, a time during which, with humble mystical devotion, the kings of Tharsis presented gifts to the King, born.
The common people assembled at the tomb of the holy man, just as countless new ones had advanced and another glittering star had revealed something new.

In masses, the people thronged to the tomb and, with safety having been received, they withdrew, one by one. He healed the ailing and those languishing; he drove out demons; he restored wholeness, he overthrew the minds of those who were insane to the farthest regions of the world. They make known his works. This is, therefore, that which God has sent to us and He does not allow the rays of light to remain hidden, another star gleaming.

Lauds
Antiphonae
1. aaa, disyllabic
   Habitabit in tabernaculo

Sancto Dei migrans a saeculo
Vir egressus carnis ergastulo.
He who dwells in the holy tent of God
moving forth from the time,
a man having passed out from the prison of the flesh.

2. *abbcaac*, disyllabic
   
   Voluntate labiorum
   
   (8p+8p+7pp)
   
   Non fraudasti quem creasti
   
   Tuum Christe militem
   
   Qui tuorum mandatorum
   
   (8p+7pp)
   
   Non excessit limitem.

   By willingness of <?
   
   You have not deceived the one whom You have made.
   
   Your soldier, O Christ,
   
   who has not exceeded the limit of Your decrees.

3. *ababab*, disyllabic
   
   Replet pacis filium Dei benedictio
   
   (7pp+7pp)
   
   Assecutum bravium currens in stadio
   
   (7pp+6p)
   
   Nam Deum quaerentium haec est generatio.

   The blessing of God fills the son with peace,
   running in the stadium, on the following brave ones,
   for this is the generation seeking God.

**Responsoria**

1. *abaaccada; effe*, monosyllabic

   Vir invictus et afflictus ieiuniis vigiliis

   accentual
   
   Aliisque variis et iugibus carnis cruciatibus
   
   Iam roborato spiritu nullo vacillans ambitu
   
   Deo dante vocatus invitus rapitur et trahitur
   
   Ad culmen praesulatus.

   V. Neve lucerna lateat absconsa sub modio
   
   Sed in domus medio lumen intranti pateat.

   A man unconquered and damaged by hungers, vigils,
   and by various other afflictions, with his flesh tormented,
   with spirit already fortified, wavering to no extent,
   called as bishop, unwilling, with God granting,
   is seized and handed over to the summit.
V. The oil-lamp, obscured by the snow lies hidden under a measure
but in the center of the house, the light lies reveals <to the one entering?>

2. \textit{ababccbc}, disyllabic
   \begin{align*}
   &\text{Non immutat mentis statum } \quad \text{pastoratis dignitas} \\
   &\text{(8p+7pp)x2} \\
   &\text{Quia regens cor beatum } \quad \text{servatur humilitas} \\
   &\text{Haec est enim inclita } \quad \text{hostibus indomita} \\
   &\text{(7pp+7pp)x2} \\
   &\text{Illa sancta civitas } \quad \text{supra montem posita.}
   \end{align*}

The dignity of the shepherd does not alter the condition of the mind
because humility, ruling a beatific heart, is saved.
For this is indeed the unconquered <inclita?> against/for the enemy,
that holy state established upon the mountain.

\textit{V.}

\textbf{Antiphona ad Benedictus}

\textbf{LE} \textit{abcbdbee}, disyllabic
\begin{align*}
&\text{Benedictus rex invictus } \quad \text{Deus Israelis} \\
&\text{(8p+6p)x3} \\
&\text{Verbum misit quod promisit } \quad \text{descendens de caelis} \\
&\text{Incarnatum nuntiatum } \quad \text{per os Gabrielis} \\
&\text{Per quem sursum } \quad \text{sublimatur } \quad \text{et hac die coronatur} \\
&\text{(8p+8p)} \\
&\text{Sacerdos fidelis.}
\end{align*}

\textit{(6p)}
Blessed be the unconquered king, the God of Israel.
He sent the word which He promised, descending from heaven.
His incarnation was announced through the mouth of Gabriel,
through whom the faithful priest is raised on high and, on this day, is crowned.

\textbf{Second Vespers}

\textbf{Antiphona ad Magnificat}

\textbf{WE} \textit{aabccbddecb}, disyllabic
\begin{align*}
&\text{Magnificetur Dominus } \quad \text{qui quando venit terminus} \\
&\text{(8pp+8pp)}
\end{align*}
Nostrae redemptionis servilem formam induit (7p+8pp)

Exsolvit quae non rapuit servos suos eripuit (8pp+8pp)

De manu Pharaonis qui tantum praesulem (7p+6p)

Nobiscum exsulem sanctis adiungi voluit (6p+8pp)

Patribus et patronis.

(7p)
May the Lord be glorified who once came to earth.
He put on the servile form of our redemption.
He loosened those things which He did not seize [and]
He snatched his own slaves from the hand of Pharaoh
He who wished that so great a bishop, an exile with us,
Be joined to the holy Church fathers and the patrons.

\[284\] Hughes, *exolvit.*