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## REWRITING THE EARLY SEQUENCE: "AUREO FLORE" AND "AUREA VIRGA"

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The Gregorian reform movement which took hold in the second half of the eleventh century gave rise to several changes in liturgy and music in the twelfth century. These changes included both renovations of entire musical traditions and increased attention to particular forms. The Carthusian and Cistercian orders, for instance, undertook general reforms of the chant.<sup>1</sup> A heightened cultivation of the sequence as a liturgico-musical genre became apparent in the repertoires of several French Augustinian houses.<sup>2</sup>

While these major changes have recently drawn attention from scholars, the ongoing developments of the eleventh century are usually ignored. The liturgical changes that were taking place alongside the Cluniac, Gregorian, and other reforms have not been explored. This is particularly true of the development of sequence repertoires. The character of some sequences written during the eleventh century points to a rethinking of sequence composition, but the reasons for the change of style are unknown. A better understanding of this period in music history will only be reached through detailed consideration of the various repertoires, their manuscript transmission, and the changes within them. The following case study of a work from the Aquitanian sequence tradition seeks to demonstrate an approach

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<sup>1</sup>On twelfth-century liturgical reforms in general, see Chrysogonus Waddell, "The Reform of the Liturgy from a Renaissance Perspective," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1982), 88-109.

<sup>2</sup>Margot Fassler, "The Disappearance of the Proper Tropes and the Rise of the Late Sequence: New Evidence From Chartres," in *Cantus Planus: the Conference Report of the Chant Study Group of the International Musicological Society Held in Pécs, Hungary, Sept., 1990*, ed. László Dobszay, Ágnes Papp, and Ferenc Sebó (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 1992), 319-335; idem, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), on Chartres, Nevers, Paris, and St. Evroult.

that will focus on the elements of change in eleventh-century sequences.<sup>3</sup>

The clearest evidence of the eleventh-century rethinking of the sequence is in those compositions explicitly designated as new. In a proser-troper copied at St. Martial de Limoges between 1040 and 1050<sup>4</sup> (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 1138/1338), a scribe used the expression "Facta sunt novas prosas" ("The new prosas are finished") to label a collection of forty-two sequences.<sup>5</sup> From this unusual piece of information, scholars have long realized that the sequences in the collection are indeed examples of reworked liturgical song: most of them set new texts to old sequence melodies. The manuscript also contains the earlier pieces on which the new prosas were modeled, providing a rare opportunity for studying liturgical change in poetry and music of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

While some recent studies have placed liturgical poetry within the context of spirituality and monastic reform,<sup>6</sup> scholarship on the medieval sequence has emphasized three subjects: its origins, its relationship to the Alleluia (which preceded the sequence at Mass), and the style and transmission of the early sequences in the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>7</sup> The "second epoch" repertoires in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have also been well researched.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup>A longer study on the eleventh-century sequence is in preparation.

<sup>4</sup>James Grier, "Roger de Chabannes (d. 1025), Cantor of St. Martial de Limoges," forthcoming in *Early Music History* 14 (1995).

<sup>5</sup>In "The Repertoire of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges (Tenth and Eleventh Centuries)" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1957), I:132-3, Richard Crocker showed that the rubric referred to the group of sequences preceding it. BN lat. 1138/1338 was assembled out of order, and Crocker reconstructs the order of its entire sequence collection (I:134-50).

<sup>6</sup>Eugenio Costa, *Tropes et séquences dans le cadre de la vie liturgique au moyen âge* (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 1979); Fassler, *Gothic Song*; David Hiley, "Cluny, Sequences and Tropes," in *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, ed. Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1990), 125-138.

<sup>7</sup>On the style of the early sequence, see Richard Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1977); idem, "Medieval Chant," in *The New Oxford History of Medieval Music*, vol. II: *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 256-64 and 288-93.

On the origin and early transmission of the sequence, see particularly Andreas Haug, "Ein neues Textdocument zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Sequenz," in *Festschrift Ulrich Siegele zum 60 Geburtstag*, ed. Rudolf Faber (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 9-19; idem, *Gesungene und schriftlich dargestellte Sequenz: Beobachtungen zum Schriftbild der ältesten ostfränkischen Sequenzenhandschriften*, Tübingen Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 12 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1987); Susan Rankin, "The Earliest

The most neglected period in the history of the sequence is the change in the eleventh century from the prose-like style of early sequences to more tightly structured forms. These so-called "transitional" sequences seem to anticipate the rhyming, stanzaic structure of the "classic" late sequences that would be codified in the twelfth century.<sup>9</sup> Because scholars have tended to focus on the early and late sequences, the style of transitional sequences has not been closely investigated.<sup>10</sup> Even those who first formulated the idea of a transitional style admitted the difficulties inherent in attaching transitional sequences to a precise historical period, and in differentiating them from early and late sequences.<sup>11</sup>

In order to understand the significance of transitional sequences, it is necessary to study the changes in specific repertories, then test hypotheses about change on a dated repertory showing clear evidence of active revision. Such a repertory can be found in sources from southern France. The distinctive regional traditions in these sources have provided the basis for studies of Gregorian chant, tropes, sequences, and early polyphony.<sup>12</sup> The concentration in scholarship on

Sources of Notker's Sequences: St Gallen, Vadiana 317, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10587," *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 201-33.

<sup>8</sup>Fassler, *Gothic Song*, is the most recent study and contains an exhaustive bibliography.

<sup>9</sup>On transitional sequences, see Nicholas De Goede, introduction to *The Utrecht Prosarium*, Monumenta Musica Neerlandica VI (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1965), xliii-xlvi.

<sup>10</sup>Nevertheless, some scholars have studied specific transitional sequences: e.g. Wulf Arlt, "Sequence and 'Neues Lied,'" in *La Sequenza Medievale*, ed. Agostino Ziino (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992), 3-18.

<sup>11</sup>Clemens Blume and Henry Bannister, ed., *Liturgische Prosen des Übergangsstiles und der zweiten Epoche*, Analecta Hymnica 54 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1915), v-vi.

<sup>12</sup>On Aquitanian chant, see the introduction to *Le Codex 903 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (XIe siècle): Graduel de Saint-Yrieix*, Paléographie Musicale XIII (Tournai: Desclée, 1925, repr. Bern and Frankfurt: Herbert Lang, 1971); and Charlotte Diane Roederer, "Can We Identify an Aquitanian Chant Style?" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27 (1974): 75-99.

Bibliography on tropes is found in Gunilla Björkvall, Gunilla Iversen, and Ritva Jonsson, ed., *Corpus Troporum III: Tropes du propre de la messe 2, Cycle de Pâques*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 25 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1982), 363-377, and updated in James Grier, "Ecce sanctum quem deus elegit Marciallem apostolum: Adémar de Chabannes and the Tropes for the Feast of Saint Martial," in *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), 28-74 and *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1993).

On Aquitanian *versus* and polyphonic repertories, a full bibliography appears in James Grier, "Scribal Practices in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Twelfth Century:

the dating and origin of the Aquitanian sources has included some consideration of their potential for revealing liturgical change.<sup>13</sup>

The "new proses" in Paris, BN lat. 1138/1338, constitute a particularly apt point of departure for studying the change that occurred in Aquitanian sequence repertories during the eleventh century, for they provide evidence of a substantial effort to rewrite the repertory by joining new texts to old melodies.<sup>14</sup> The differences between the new texts and their models will contribute to a better understanding of the transitional sequence.

This discussion will approach the subject through a single case: a sequence for the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in the *Novas prosas*, "Aurea virga," and its model, "Aureo flore." Comparison of the two texts reveals extensive verbal correspondence alongside striking differences in style, imagery, and theological emphasis.<sup>15</sup> The results of the comparison illustrate the changing perceptions of the feast of the Assumption that informed the rewriting of "Aureo flore." Since a recent study has placed these two sequences in the context of the Mass chants for the Assumption, those other chants will not be addressed here.<sup>16</sup> After briefly outlining their transmission, I will address the sequence texts' literary sources, structure, and theology, describing the most significant differences between them. The analysis will show the enrichment of meaning, expressed through recom-

Towards a Typology of Error and Variant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992): 420-27. Michel Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988) discusses many Aquitanian sources and includes a chart (p. 30) of the numbers of tropes and sequences at Saint-Martial de Limoges over several centuries.

On Aquitanian sequences, see also Jacques Chailley, *L'école musicale de Saint Martial de Limoges jusqu'à la fin du XIème siècle* (Paris: Les Livres Essentiels, 1960) and James Grier, "Roger de Chabannes."

<sup>13</sup>See Grier, "Roger de Chabannes" and "Ecce sanctum."

<sup>14</sup>Richard Crocker inventories and describes the *Novas prosas* in "The Repertoire of Proses," II:133-7.

<sup>15</sup>Both are edited in *Prosarium Lemovicense: Die Prosen der Abtei St. Martial zu Limoges*, ed. Guido Maria Dreves S.J., *Analecta Hymnica* 7 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1889), 120-123. Appendix 1 presents a new critical edition and translation of the two sequences as found in Aquitanian manuscripts; the base text is Paris, BN lat. 1138/1338. The accompanying transcription reproduces the melodies and texts as found in the base manuscript. Material from "Aureo flore" that is reused in "Aurea virga" is shown in Appendix 2.

<sup>16</sup>R. Todd Ridder, "Musical and Theological Patterns Involved in the Transmission of Mass Chants for the Five Oldest Marian Feasts: An Examination of Proper Chants and Tropes in a Select Group of Medieval Manuscripts" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic Univ. of America, 1993), 306-16.

binning individual elements in a new synthesis, that results from liturgical change.

The Aquitanian sources of the two sequences are listed in Appendix 3. While "Aureo flore" is found in English as well as French sources from the tenth century on,<sup>17</sup> "Aurea virga" seems to be Aquitanian in origin, for it first appears in the *novas prosas* section of Pa 1138, and then appears preceded by the rubric "Prosa nova in assumptione s. marie" (f. 237v) in Pa 1119, a St. Martial manuscript from the mid-eleventh century.<sup>18</sup> This study takes Pa 1138 as the base text for both sequences because it is the earliest manuscript of "Aurea virga" and because it represents "Aureo flore" as the author of "Aurea virga" could have known it.

During the later eleventh and the twelfth centuries, "Aurea virga" was copied in a number of manuscripts from St. Martial and other Aquitanian centers. "Aureo flore" seems to have been dropped from the repertory in Limoges by the late twelfth century, when it was erased in Pa 1137 in order to copy "Aurea virga." Both sequences are present in two late Languedocian sources, Pa 778 (from Narbonne) and Pa 1871 (perhaps from Moissac), which may indicate the different composition of these repertories from that of St. Martial, or simply the compilers' desire to create an exhaustive collection.

The chronological difference between "Aureo flore" and "Aurea virga" is immediately apparent from their contrasting theological emphases. "Aureo flore" concentrates on the patristic view of Mary as the antithesis of Eve (strophes 1 and 6). "Aurea virga" stresses Mary's role as mediatrix, the theme occupying strophes 6-10, while in "Aureo flore" it is only suggested in strophes 8b and 9b. The expression "post deum spes sola" qualifying the epithet "mediatrix" in strophe 9b of "Aurea virga" can be compared to texts of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries that employ the expression "unica spes mundi."<sup>19</sup> It is noteworthy that in the earlier sequence, Mary does not speak at all, but is described as growing afraid at the angel

<sup>17</sup>See *Liturgische Prosen erster Epoche aus den Sequenzenschulen des Abendlandes*, ed. Clemens Blume and Henry Bannister, *Analecta Hymnica* 53 (Leipzig: O.R. Reiland, 1911), 184-5, for list of manuscripts.

<sup>18</sup>Grier, "Ecce sanctum," 73.

<sup>19</sup>Two examples are: Hrotsvitha, *Maria*, ed. Karl Strecker (Leipzig: Teubner, 1930), vol. 1, 4: "Unica spes mundi dominatrix inclita celi"; and a sermon for Mary Magdalen attributed to Odo of Cluny: "Sicut per beatam Mariam semper virginem quae spes est unica mundi, paradisi portae nobis sunt apertae, et maledictio exclusae Evae" (*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne [Paris, 1844-64], 133:721B). The second example can also be compared to "Aureo flore," strophe 6b.

Gabriel's light (5a). In "Aurea virga," however, she answers the angel's salutation with an assurance of her permanent virginity (5a), participating actively in the definition of her image as she does in the apocryphal accounts of her life.

The sequences also differ in their expression of the Virgin's relationship to Christ. In "Aureo flore," she is a queen through having conceived the ruler of the universe (4b). In "Aurea virga," she is perceived as more nearly equal to God: she is the "domina" in heaven and earth (7b), ruling with God (9a). Furthermore, she has a distinct relationship with each member of the Trinity (7a). These differences accord with the historical development of the doctrine of Mary's intercessory role in salvation, and a corresponding emphasis on the epithet "mediatrix" in eleventh-century theology.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, the two sequences manifest change in the theology of the Assumption.<sup>21</sup> "Aureo flore" focuses more on the Incarnation and the theme of virginity *in partu* (3b-6a) than on the meaning of the Assumption itself.<sup>22</sup> While strophe 8 refers to the Virgin's ascent to heaven, and strophe 9a alludes to her annual feast, the word "assumpta" is not used. In contrast, "Aurea virga" contains two direct allusions to the Assumption (6b and 8a) and describes the Virgin's reception in heaven in concrete terms (8a-b). This change reflects the history of identification of the Virgin and the Church, and the resulting allegorical interpretation of the Assumption as the marriage of Christ to the Church.<sup>23</sup>

Despite the fact that "Aurea virga" reuses a significant proportion of the text of "Aureo flore" (as shown in Appendix 2), the two texts exhibit striking stylistic differences. Furthermore, since they were sung to the same melody, the texts share distinctive prosodic

<sup>20</sup>For an outline of the doctrine of Mary as mediatrix in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see J. Pelikan, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)*, vol. 3 of *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1978), 160-174.

<sup>21</sup>On the doctrine of the Assumption, see Martin Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge: Étude historico-doctrinale*, Studi e testi 114 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944).

<sup>22</sup>Ridder has pointed out that the Mass liturgy of the Assumption lacked "reference to the Incarnation, the foundation of Marian piety and theology," which was rectified during the Middle Ages by the addition of chants alluding to the Annunciation (265-66 and 372).

<sup>23</sup>See Hervé Coathalem, *Le parallélisme entre la Sainte Vierge et l'Église dans la tradition latine jusqu'à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Analecta Gregoriana 74 (Rome: Univ. Gregoriana, 1954).

features such as variable syllable count from strophe to strophe. The correspondences in text and versification heighten the importance of the differences between the two.

The stylistic elements presenting the greatest contrast are overall structure, assonance, and lexicon. "Aureo flore" lacks a clearly-defined structure. The interlocking word order produces some enjambement between half-strophes (2a-b, 6b-7a). Repetition (strophe 1b, "astra" and "sidera"; 4a, "afatur" and "inquit") and evocative language predominate over clear enunciation of themes. In contrast, the strophes of "Aurea virga" are delineated by syntax and rhetorical devices (strophes 6 and 7 are marked by anaphora). The structure of "Aurea virga" is organized in pairs or triplets of strophes. Strophes 1-2 focus on the various attributes of the Virgin; 3-5 recount the encounter of Gabriel and Mary. Two strophes addressing the Virgin (6-7) follow smoothly from Gabriel's speech. Strophes 8 and 9, continuing the apostrophe, describe the Assumption and center on the theme of Mary as mediatrix.

The two texts also differ in their degree of assonance. Four of the half-strophes in "Aureo flore" do not end in *a* (1a, 3b, 4a, 8b), as compared to only one in "Aurea virga" (3b). The greater assonance of "Aurea virga" and the fact that it ends with the word "alleluia" causes the later sequence to evoke the liturgical Alleluia, and thus the song of the angels, more effectively.<sup>24</sup> The allusion to the Alleluia of the Mass is heightened by the fact that in Pa 1138/1338 "Aurea virga" is preceded by the incipit "Alleluia," while "Aureo flore" is not.<sup>25</sup>

The lexicon of "Aureo flore" is somewhat arcane, giving the text an air of studied learnedness. The text includes several classicizing expressions, such as "summa arce," "convexo aevo," and "soboles." The word "collocassia" (the Egyptian bean, a lily-like plant), is found in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville as well as in Martial; in Vergil's Fourth Eclogue "collocassia" appears in close vicinity to "acantho."<sup>26</sup> The importance of the Fourth Eclogue here is height-

<sup>24</sup>On the alleluia as the song of the angels and the importance of the final -a in prosulae, see Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 30-37.

<sup>25</sup>See Richard Crocker's discussion of the Alleluia incipit's function in the new proses' melodic design in "The Repertoire of Proses," II:135-7.

<sup>26</sup>Vergil, *Eclogae*, in *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969) IV.20; Martial, *Epigrammata*, ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1990) VIII.33.13; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), XVII.ix.82.



ened by its allegorical interpretation in the Middle Ages as a prophecy of the birth of Christ.<sup>27</sup>

"Aurea virga" employs a more limited vocabulary, with few unusual words (with the exception of the adjectives "deica" and "celica"). The expression of ideas is more direct and the lexicon more familiar, referring more frequently to the Song of Songs and exegetical writing than to classical or late-antique models. The words tend to play a precise syntactical role rather than create an atmosphere, and symbolic words are given structural emphasis. As Todd Ridder has pointed out, the ambiguity in strophe 1a of "Aureo flore," where the "florens rosa" could be identified as either Christ or Mary, is resolved in the corresponding strophe of "Aurea virga" by supplying the appositive "maria."<sup>28</sup>

Differences in structure, assonance, and lexicon are matched by contrasts in the two sequences' use of literary sources, which include the Bible, poetry both classical and Christian, and exegetical literature.<sup>29</sup> In addition to the precise allusions already explored in the discussion of lexicon, more extensive quotation and adaptation of sources reveals significant differences between the two texts. "Aureo flore" cites the Lucan infancy narrative (6b-7a) in its description of the Annunciation, and it evokes the Song of Songs in a general way, but without concrete allegorical intention or exact verbal citations. In strophe 1a, Canticles 6:9 ("Quae est ista quae progreditur quasi aurora consurgens pulchra ut luna electa ut sol...")<sup>30</sup> is echoed only indirectly ("processit sicut sol").<sup>31</sup> In "Aurea virga," the quotation of the Song of Songs in strophe 1a is more direct ("perpulcra ut luna").

"Aureo flore" is distinctive in its borrowings from late-antique poetry. It quotes Sedulius's fifth-century Gospel epic, the *Paschale*

<sup>27</sup>See Stephen Benko, "Virgil's Fourth Eclogue in Christian Interpretation," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 646-705.

<sup>28</sup>Ridder, 312.

<sup>29</sup>It has not yet been determined to what extent the chants and poetry of the liturgy have influenced the sequences.

<sup>30</sup>All citations of the Vulgate are taken from *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. B. Fischer et al. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983).

<sup>31</sup>H. J. Turrin has argued that "Aureo flore" represents an early application of this imagery in a Marian context: see "Aureo flore' and the Question of Dating the Tradition of Marian Veneration in the Medieval West," *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 19 (1979): 76-88. Although Turrin refers to Paschasius Radbertus's ninth-century treatise on the Assumption, *Cogitis me*, he omits to mention that the liturgy of the Assumption is the direct source for some of Radbertus's citations of the Canticle.

*carmen*, in the phrases “enixa regem puerpera” (6a) and “exemplo sine placuisti sola; nec primam similis visam nec habebisque sequentem” (7a-b).<sup>32</sup> Less directly, the first strophe’s description of Mary as a flowering rose coming forth from the flower of Eve echoes *Paschale carmen* II.22 and 28 (“Et velut e spinis mollis rosa surgit acutis....Sic Evae de stirpe sacra veniente Maria”).

The late-antique sources of “Aureo flore” are not limited to Christian Latin poetry, but extend as well to Martianus Capella’s *De nuptiis philologiae et mercurii*. A refrain from Book I, “scande caeli templa virgo digna tanto foedere” (“ascend to the temples of heaven, maiden worthy of such a marriage”)<sup>33</sup> is echoed in strophes 5a (“digna namque tali federe”) and 8b (“celi templum scandens”). The author of the sequence may have known the refrain from various contexts: it was used during the Middle Ages for teaching metrics, as two ninth-century gloss sets on *De nuptiis* show.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, the refrain was musically notated in several medieval manuscripts, including an Aquitanian one from the eleventh century.<sup>35</sup> It is thus tempting to

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<sup>32</sup>The parallel passages in Sedulius, Book II, lines 63 and 68-9 are “enixa puerpera regem” and “Nec primam similem visa es, nec habere sequentem: / Sola sine exemplo placuisti femina Christo” (*Sedulii opera omnia*, ed. Johannes Huemer, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 10 [Vienna: C. Gerold, 1885]). This has also been noted by Ridder, 309. Even without reading the *Paschale carmen*, the author of the sequence could have learned the expression “enixa puerpera” through widely-diffused commentaries on Donatus such as Smaragdus’s *Liber in partibus Donati*, where the phrase demonstrates the verb *enitor*: “Unde est illud poeticum: Enixa est puerpera, quem Gabrihel praedixerat, et intelligitur enixa ‘partu libera.’” *Liber in partibus Donati*, ed. B. Löfstedt, L. Holtz, and A. Kibre, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 54 (lines 1239-1241). On Sedulius’s popularity with the Carolingians, see Carl P. E. Springer, *The Gospel as Epic in Late Antiquity: The “Paschale Carmen” of Sedulius* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), 131-5.

<sup>33</sup>The refrain is sung nine times in book II of *Martiani Minnei Felicis Capellae de Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig: Teubner, 1983), 34-9 (at par. 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, and 125).

<sup>34</sup>John Scotus Eriugena’s gloss on the refrain reads: “Metrum trochaicum tetrametrum, et hoc metrum cantabant omnes musae”; see *Iohannis Scotti Annotationes in Marcianum*, ed. Cora Lutz (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1939), 60. Remigius of Auxerre’s gloss adds to Eriugena’s a further explanation of the meter, and an identification of the *virgo* as Philologia and of “tanto foedere” as “talibus nuptiis”; *Remigii Autissiodorensis Commentum in Martianum Capellam*, 2 vols., ed. Cora Lutz (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), I:159.

<sup>35</sup>Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud. Lat. 118, f. 12, described in Solange Corbin, “The Neumes of the Martianus Capella Manuscripts,” in *Essays on Opera and English Music in Honor of Sir Jack Westrup*, ed. F. W. Sternfeld, Nigel Fortune, and Edward Olleson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975), 1-7.

speculate that the citation of the refrain in "Aureo flore" is related to traditions of singing passages from *De nuptiis* itself. Even without any proof of a musical relationship between "Aureo flore" and *De nuptiis*, the literary connection is clear. Martianus Capella's celebration of the allegorical wedding of the virgin Philology to Mercury can be compared to the allegorical wedding of Christ and the Church that was celebrated in the Assumption.

In contrast to "Aureo flore," the later "Aurea virga" uses primarily patristic and medieval sources. One example is a direct reference in strophe 8b ("Ihesus et ipse *festivus* tibi matri cum angelis *occurrrens* sede paterna secum locavit in secula") to Paschasius Radbertus's *Cogitis me*: "Creditur enim, quod salvator omnium ipse, quantum datur intellegi, per se totus *festivus* occurrit, et cum gaudio eam *secum* in throno collocavit."<sup>36</sup> Thomas of Chobham, a thirteenth-century subdeacon of Salisbury Cathedral, alludes to the same image as presented in the sequence: "The fact that this is true is clear through that which is found in a certain sequence: that Jesus Christ, joyful, advanced towards his mother as she left the world."<sup>37</sup> It is noteworthy that both Paschasius and Thomas regard the liturgy as a source of homiletic imagery about the Assumption. In "Cogitis me," his treatise on the Assumption, Paschasius draws on the Antiphoner of Compiègne for certain verses from the Song of Songs,<sup>38</sup> while Thomas refers directly to a sequence text.

The analysis of literary sources has illustrated some fundamental stylistic differences between "Aureo flore" and "Aurea virga." The author of "Aureo flore" assimilates quotations of diverse origins into a colorful pastiche, while in "Aurea virga" imagery from the exegetical tradition functions in a new way by juxtaposing symbols, combining their connotations and thereby reinterpreting them.

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<sup>36</sup>*Pascasii Radberti Epistula Beati Hieronymi ad Paulam et Eustochium de assumptione Sanctae Mariae virginis*, ed. Albert Ripberger, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 56c (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), 130, lines 410-12. The phrase "sede paterna secum locavit" in strophe 8b of "Aurea virga" might also derive from a tenth-century Aquitanian Introit trope, which contains the phrase "collocat secum sede paterna" (strophe 2b of "Festiva per orbem," ed. Clemens Blume S.J., *Analecta Hymnica* 49, 87).

<sup>37</sup>"Quod autem hoc sit verum, patet per hoc quod legitur in quadam prosa: quod Ihesus Christus obviam *festivus* processit matri sue exeunti a mundo" (*Summa de arte praedicandi*, ed. Franco Morenzoni, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 82 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1988], 50-1 [II.1027-9]).

<sup>38</sup>Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 152-55.

The background to the incipit of "Aurea virga" further illustrates the dual process of appropriation and reformulation. The two sequence incipits refer respectively to a golden flower and a golden rod: in fact, the change from "flos" to "virga" is the most noticeable difference between the first strophes of the two texts. The image of the rod from which a flower is born alludes to Isaiah 11:1 ("egredietur virga de radice Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet"). A common interpretation of this passage is exemplified by a sermon for the Nativity and a responsory to the Virgin, both attributed to Fulbert, early eleventh-century bishop of Chartres, that identify the rod as Mary and the flower as Christ.<sup>39</sup> Interpretation of Mary as the rod of Aaron or Jesse appears in ninth- and tenth-century liturgical poetry, including the Notkerian sequence "Concentu parili";<sup>40</sup> "Quis possit amplo fame," a hymn for the Assumption found in southern Italian sources;<sup>41</sup> and "Virgo Israel decus," found in several early Aquitanian sources (including Pa 1084, 1118, and 1138).<sup>42</sup> "Aurea virga," by contrast, interprets the rod as Eve and the flower as Mary.

The specific image of a golden rod, which may not be much earlier than "Aurea virga" itself, could be influenced by scriptural and patristic passages that juxtapose golden objects with the rod of Aaron. In the description of the Holy of Holies in the Epistle to the Hebrews, for example, the rod of Aaron follows several golden objects: the altar, the Ark of the Covenant, and the urn containing the manna.<sup>43</sup> This description is derived from a number of passages in

<sup>39</sup>"Nam sicut illa virga sine radice, sine quolibet naturae vel artis adminiculo fructificavit: ita Virgo Maria sine conjugali opere filium procreavit, filium sane flore designatum et fructu" (*Patrologia Latina* 141:321C: "For just as that rod without a root bore fruit without any assistance of nature or of art, so the Virgin Mary produced a son without conjugal action; truly the son is designated by the flower and the fruit"). "Stirps Jesse virgam produxit, virgaque florem / Et super hunc florem requiescit Spiritus almus: / Virgo Dei genitrix virga est, flos filius eius" (*Patrologia Latina* 141:345A: "The root of Jesse produced a rod, and the rod a flower, and on this flower rests the benevolent spirit; the virgin mother of God is the rod, the flower is her son").

<sup>40</sup>Strophe 5: "Te virga arida Aaron flore speciosa te figurat maria sine viri semine nato floridam" (ed. Clemens Blume S.J., *Analecta Hymnica* 55, 171).

<sup>41</sup>Strophe 2: "Haec virga Iesse, virgo puerpera" (ed. Guido Maria Dreves S.J., *Analecta Hymnica* 50, 123).

<sup>42</sup>Strophe 3a: "Flos campi fragrans atque lilia, florens virga quae fuerat arida" (ed. Guido Maria Dreves S.J., *Analecta Hymnica* 7, 116).

<sup>43</sup>Hbr. 9:3-4: "post velamentum autem secundum tabernaculum quod dicitur sancta sanctorum aureum habens turibulum et arcam testamenti circumtectam ex omni parte auro in qua *urna aurea habens manna et virga Aaron* quae fronduerat et tabulae testamenti."

Exodus, which Augustine discusses in the *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, also juxtaposing the rod of Aaron and the urn of manna.<sup>44</sup> The rod in "Aurea virga" is probably a conflation of the rods of Aaron and Jesse, producing a composite Old Testament image of the kind that is frequent both in Notkerian and late sequences.

Another aspect of "Aurea virga" presages the late sequence: its multi-leveled symbolism. A good example is the parallelism in strophe 2 between balsam, spices, and incense (2a) and violets, roses, and lilies (2b). While on the literal level these elements function as descriptive terms, the exegetical context suggests that in combination they represent the triple virtues of humility, charity, and chastity. The three spices are similar to those linked to the virtues in a homily for the Assumption from the homiliary of Paul the Deacon: "You breathe upon us the fragrance of cinnamon in humility, of balsam in charity, of myrrh in chastity."<sup>45</sup> The association of the Assumption with spices and aromas probably derives from the first reading at Mass on the feast,<sup>46</sup> Ecclesiasticus 24:11-20, which concludes with the verse "like cinnamon and camel's thorn [balsam] I have breathed forth the aroma of spices, and like choice myrrh I gave out the sweetness of odor."<sup>47</sup>

The second half of strophe 2 presents the Virgin as "purpurea ut viola, roscida ut rosa, candens ut lilia." In view of patristic traditions linking flowers to the virtues this half-strophe takes on an allegorical

<sup>44</sup>"Interius autem, id est in sancto sanctorum ultra velum quattuor columnarum, arca erat testimonii deaurata, in qua erant tabulae lapideae legis et virga aaron et urna aurea cum manna." In *Quaestionum in heptateuchum libri septem*, ed. I. Fraipont, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 33 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), 171 (II.clxxvii.20, lines 3568-71).

<sup>45</sup>"Cinamoni in humilitate, balsami in charitate, myrrhae in castitate nobis spiras odorem" (*Patrologia Latina* 95.1495B). This passage follows a citation of Ecclesiastes 24 (from a *vetus latina* translation), thus referring directly to the Old Testament reading at Mass.

<sup>46</sup>By the eleventh century, the readings at Mass were primarily two: an epistle and a Gospel reading. Old Testament readings were rare and for special days or occasions such as the Easter Vigil Mass. See Peter G. Cobb, "The Liturgy of the Word in the Early Church," in *The Study of Liturgy*, rev. ed. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, Edward Yarnold, and Paul Bradshaw (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 226; Joseph Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, trans. Francis Brunner, 2 vols. (repr. Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1986), I:396; Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. and trans. William Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1986), 304.

<sup>47</sup>"Sicut cinnamomum et asphaltum [*var.* balsamum] aromatizans odorem dedi: quasi murra electa dedi suavitatem odoris."

level heightened by its parallelism with the spices. The grouping of diverse virtues with violets, roses, and lilies originated in non-Marian contexts, such as Ambrose's commentary on the Gospel of Luke. Within a Christological exposition of Luke 12.27, Ambrose introduced the *hortus clausus* of the Song of Songs, "where integrity, chastity, devotion...is, there the violets of confessors, the lilies of virgins, the roses of martyrs are."<sup>48</sup> Gregory the Great, in one of his homilies on the prophet Ezechiel, expands the characterization of the three flowers and links them more immediately to the virtues. Gregory associates the lily with virginity and links the violet to the humble, who "preserve the purple of the celestial kingdom in their mind."<sup>49</sup> Jerome also associates the flowers with virtues.<sup>50</sup>

The entrance of the Virgin into this tradition by the eighth century can be seen in Ambrosius Autpertus's sermon on the Assumption, which links the Virgin's redemptive action with the three symbolic flowers: "Through white lilies and blooming roses...you invite the virginal choirs to drink at the fountains of eternal life...with a blessed palm you gather unfading violets."<sup>51</sup> A tenth-century Aquitanian Alleluia trope for the Assumption echoes this association of the flowers with the virginal chorus in heaven: "She rules eternally with the father and the son, where there is the chorus of virgins and

<sup>48</sup>"*Eo quod ubi integritas, ubi castitas, ubi religio, ubi fida silentia secretorum, ubi claritas angelorum est, illic confessorum violae, lilia virginum, rosae martyrum sunt.*" *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam*, ed. M. Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 14, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1957), 258, VII.1357-60.

<sup>49</sup>"...aliter flos rosae, quia mira est fragrantia quae rutilat et redolet ex cruore martyrum, aliter flos lillii, quia candida vita carnis est de incorruptione virginitatis, aliter flos violae, quia magna est virtus humilium, qui ex desiderio loca ultima tenentes, se per humilitatem a terra in altum non sublevant, et caelestis regni purpuram in mente servant..." (*Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*, ed. M. Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 142 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1971], 69, I.vi.4).

<sup>50</sup>"Non mihi nunc per virtutum prata ducendus es nec laborandum, ut ostendam tibi variorum pulchritudinem florum, quid in se lilia habeant puritatis, quid rosarum verecundia possideat, quid violae purpura promittat in regno" (Jerome, *Lettres*, ed. J. Labourt, vol. VII [Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1961], 115, no. 125, par. 2: "You are not to be led by me through the fields of virtue, nor is it necessary to labor so that I show you the beauty of the various flowers, what purity the lily has in itself, what the modesty of the roses possesses, what the purple of the violet promises in the kingdom").

<sup>51</sup>"Tu virgineos choros...per albentia lili rosasque vernantes ad fontes perennis vitae potandos invitas. Tu...felicique palma violas inmarcescibiles carpis" (*Sermo de adsumptione sanctae mariae*, in *Ambrosii Autperti Opera*, III, ed. Robert Weber, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 27b [Turnhout: Brepols, 1979], 1035, 11.27-32.]

lilies, as well as of lilies of the valleys and of saints."<sup>52</sup> The correspondence between flowers, sweet-smelling spices, and the Virgin in "Aurea virga" can also be compared to *Cogitis me*, where, again in the context of the Assumption, Paschasius Radbertus makes a direct connection between the flowers in the *hortus conclusus* of the Song of Songs and the virtues, calling Mary "truly a garden of delights, in which are planted all kinds of flowers, and the good scents of virtues."<sup>53</sup>

The parallelism of flowers and spices in the second strophe of "Aurea virga" creates a complex of imagery that is both descriptive and symbolic. This richness of signification is an example of the structural parallelism in the service of allegorical interpretation that was a fundamental characteristic of the late sequence.

Although they share a single melody, a significant proportion of text, and a liturgical occasion, "Aureo flore" and "Aurea virga" express rather different conceptions of the sequence. The older text's style is more prose-like than the clearer structure and enhanced assonance of the new text. Both employ richly evocative vocabulary, but differ in their use of scriptural and poetic imagery and in the complexity of their symbolism. The function of citations is another point of contrast: "Aureo flore" draws directly on classical and late-antique sources, while "Aurea virga" more subtly assimilates the theological content of earlier writings. Finally, the two sequences reveal differing views of the Virgin Mary, her relationship to Christ, and her Assumption into heaven, reflecting the development of theology during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

As we have seen, "Aurea virga" anticipates stylistic features that were further developed during the twelfth century. This observation returns us to the vexing problem of defining the transitional sequence: does it simply presage certain aspects of the late sequence? Such a question cannot be answered on the basis of a single comparative analysis. "Aurea virga" is only one example of the changes in

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<sup>52</sup>"Regnat cum patre simul filio in aeternum, / ubi est chorus virginum et liliorum / simul rosarum convallium et simul quoque sanctorum" (trope on "Hodie Maria virgo caelos ascendit," in Olof Marcusson, ed., *Corpus Troporum II: Prosules de la messe 1, Tropes de l'alleluia*, *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 22 [Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1976], 66-7).

<sup>53</sup>"Vere hortus deliciarum, in quo consita sunt universa florum genera, et odoramenta virtutum" (translation by Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved*, 154 and note 14, from the edition by Ripberger, 135-6).

liturgical theology and poetic style that shaped the *Novas prosas*. More close studies are needed to understand the forces at work behind this process and the resulting repertory.

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#### APPENDIX 1: CRITICAL EDITION

Paris, BN lat. 1138 was chosen as the base manuscript because of its high degree of accuracy and priority as the earliest manuscript containing "Aurea virga." Its readings, including orthography, have been preferred wherever possible, excluding outright errors (such as 8a, "hodiernam"). "H" has been bracketed {} to facilitate reading, and has been added in square brackets [] to clarify meaning. No punctuation has been added and every attempt has been made to respect the reading of the base manuscript.

The strophes are divided into pairs of half-strophes, following the divisions of *Analecta Hymnica* but not its format of delineating sub-strophes. The critical apparatus lists variants in Aquitanian sources of the two sequences, supplying the italicized text of the edition followed by source number, colon, and variant readings. Orthographic variants of the *oe/ae/e* kind have not been listed in the critical apparatus, while others of an orthographic nature are listed (such as *flagrescit/fragrescit/flaglescit*) because of their possible regional linguistic specificity.

The critical apparatus shows that grouping of textual variants could be a significant factor in determining the origin of sources as well as their filiation. In the case of "Aureo flore," the most significant variant readings of Pa 1084 group it with Pa 1871 and Pa 778, all from southwestern France, as distinguished from the Limousin origin of the other sources. The variants in 8b may indicate knowledge of the textual source (Martianus Capella). Also, a significant variant in "Aurea virga" groups Pa 1177 and Pa 1871 (6b, *ad caeli claustra/alta poli sidera*). The large number of errors in Pa 1119a show that 1119b, the second copy of "Aurea virga," was a correction of the first.

The translation attempts to preserve a balance between literal rendering of the original Latin and graceful English expression. Where it was impossible to distinguish between two Latin words in English, either the same English word was used ("stars" for *astra* and *sidera* in "Aureo flore," strophe 1b), the Latin word was used in the translation in order to preserve the variety of the original text (*collocassia* in strophe 2a, which is lily-like but not equivalent to *lilia*), or the repetition was simply suppressed (*afatur inquit*, a partial repetition in strophe 4a, is rendered as "speaks"). Plurals are generally translated as plurals, including those interpreted as poetic plurals by Lars Elfvig, *Étude lexicographique sur les séquence limousines* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962): 14 (*balsama* and *pigmenta*).



## Pa 1138/1338 f. 111r

- 1a. Aureo flore prime matris eue florens rosa processit sicut sol
- 1b. Oritur ut lucifer inter astra decorata polorum sidera
- 2a. Flaescunt campi eremi collocassia germinantque lilia
- 2b. Odore nouo acantu roscida nectarea rorantque arua
- 3a. Patris summa filius arche conuexo euo cara soboles uirtute  
paterna ab exordio patrans omnia
- 3b. Nuncius celso gabriel sumus angelus aeterni regis egressus est  
castra aulae uirginis stetit radians
- 4a. Precelsa uirgo maria pauescit lumine gabriel afatur inquit
- 4b. Concipies alma regina orbis regem in secula regentem cuncta
- 5a. Intactaque mariae uirginis tumuerunt uiscera comitata fide  
credidit digna namque tali federe sola
- 5b. Leta mater gloriosa casta ante partum integra et post partum non  
est similis permansit genitrix inuiolata
- 6a. Enixa regem puerpera sacra hominem una deum quem genuit  
innuba seruauit fore pudica
- 6b. Porta que clausa fuerat per eam paradisi reserata precelse meritis  
marie o quam benedicta
- 7a. Inter omnes mulieres fructus floris uentris tui exemplo sine  
placui sti sola
- 7b. Nec primam similis uisam nec habebisque sequentem felix que  
nimium es maria
- 8a. Uelut sol migrans cuncta conscendisti globorum luminaria  
lucerna nitens inter angelorum castra

## Apparatus

Paris, BN lat. 887 f. 130r; 1119 f. 204r; 1120 f. 132v; 1084 f. 263r; 1118 f. 214v; n.a.l.  
1871 f. 154r; 778 f. 141r

- 1a. *aureo* 778: [u erased] *area sicut sol* 1120/887: *maria*
- 1b. *decorata* 1084/1871: *decorauit* 778: *etherea*
- 2b. *acantu* 1084/1118/1871: *acanto*
- 3a. *patris* 778: *patri filius* 1871: *arche* 778: *ante euo* 778: *eue cara* 1871: *carnat patrans* 1871/778: *patrat*
- 3b. *celso* 778: *excelso castra* 1120: *castra corr. claustra*
- 6a. *una* 1119: *unum quem* 1871: *que fore* 1118/1120: *flore*
- 6b. *fuerat* 887: *fuit* 1120: *fuerat corr. fuit euam* 1871: *eue culpam*
- 7b. *uisam* 1871: *uisa habebisque sequentem* 887: *habebis te sequentem*
- 8a. *migrans* 778: *micans nitens* 1084/778: *nitet angelorum castra* 1084/1871/778: *coros angelorum*

**Translation of Pa 1138/1338 f. 111r**

- 1a. From the golden flower of the first mother, Eve, came forth the flowering rose like the sun.
- 1b. She rises like the morning star, beautiful among the stars, the stars of the heavens.
- 2a. Arid fields become golden with colocassia and sprout lilies,
- 2b. the dewy elecampane and the fields exude the new odor of acanthus.
- 3a. The son of the father on the highest citadel in vaulted eternity, dear offspring, bringing about all things from the beginning through paternal virtue.
- 3b. Gabriel, messenger from heaven, the highest angel of the eternal king, having left the host, stood radiant in the virgin's inner court.
- 4a. The lofty virgin Mary becomes afraid of the light, Gabriel speaks to her thus:
- 4b. You shall conceive, propitious queen, the king ruling the world at all times.
- 5a. And the untouched womb of the virgin Mary swelled, and she believed, attended by faith, for she alone was worthy of such a covenant.
- 5b. Glorious happy mother, chaste before childbirth and whole after childbirth, there is none similar, she remained an untouched mother.
- 6a. The consecrated childbearer bore a king; the one whom she bore singly was both man and God; the unmarried woman remained chaste.
- 6b. The gate of paradise, that had been closed because of Eve, has been reopened by the merits of Mary, O how blessed
- 7a. among all women is the fruit of the flower of your womb; you alone without equal were acceptable.
- 7b. Nor has a similar one been seen before nor will you have one following you; for you are very blessed, Mary.
- 8a. You descended like the sun passing over all the lights of the spheres, a lamp gleaming among the hosts of angels,

- 8b. {H}odie celi templum scandens beata dei genitrix alma cum  
celicolis exorare regem regum  
9a. Ruriculos cunctos tua annua recolenda receptet celifera patria  
9b. Precibusque tuis adiuti omnes gloriemur per aeterna secula  
10. Florigera castra una fruamur alma

- 8b. *celi templum scandens* 1084/1871: celum templa scande 778: celi templa scande  
*alma* 1118/1119/1120: alta *celicolis* 1118: celis coris *regem regum*: 1138 regum  
regna 1084: regem regum 887/1118/1119/1120: regem sancta  
9a. *ruriculos cunctos* 1119/1120: -as 1871: fusciculos *recolenda* 1871/778: recolentes  
*receptet* 1084/1871/778: adsisca 1118/1119/1120/1138: receptet 887: recepta  
9b. *adiuti omnes* 1084/1871/778: fulti obtentu  
10. *alma* 1871: eterna secula

### BN lat. 1138/1338, f. 32r

- 1a. Aurea uirga prime matris eue florens rosa processit maria  
1b. Oritur ut lucifer inter astra {h}aeterea perpulcra ut luna  
2a. Flagrescit ultra omnia balsama pigmenta et timiamata  
2b. Purpurea ut uiola roscida ut rosa candens ut lilia  
3a. Patris summi quem elegit proles deica ut asumeret carnem  
sacrosanctam ex uirginis carne incorrupta  
3b. Celsus nunciat angelus noua gaudia {h}aeterni regis exortum in  
terra matrem que eius ita salutat  
4a. Aue maria domini mei mater alma celica plena gracia  
4b. Tu benedicta regem in secula paries effecta orbis regina  
5a. Fecunda ego inquit quomodo esse queam cum uirum non  
agnoscam ex quo sum nata et semper permanens uirgo pudica  
5b. Ne timeas respondit angelus sanctum pneuma descendet in te  
sancta quo fecundata paries deum et hominem una  
6a. O uere sancta atque amanda ex qua est {h}orta redemptio nostra  
salus quoque mundi ueraque uita

### Apparatus

Paris, BN lat. 1119a f. 237v; 1119b f. 250v; 903 f. 193r; 1132 f. 140v; 1137 f. 92r (written over effaced "Aureo flore"); n.a.l. 1177 f. 70r; n.a.l. 1871 f. 153r; 778 f. 176v; 1139 f. 102v

- 1a. *aurea* 778: [u erased] area  
2a. *flagrescit* 1177: flauescit 1132: fragrescit 903/778: flaglescit  
3a. *quem* 1137/1871/778: quam *sacrosanctam* 1119a: sacrosancta *patris summi*  
1138/903: patri sumus 1137: patri summi  
5a. *ego* lacks in 1138/1139 903/1132/1137/1871/778: ergo *agnoscam* 778: cognoscam  
5b. *pneuma* 778: neuma *sancta* 1119a: casta *deum et hominem una* 1119a: effecta orbis  
regina  
6a. reversed with 6b in 1119a *uere* 778: uirgo *amanda* 1177: ueneranda *ex qua est*  
sola added in 1871

- 8b. today ascending to the temples of heaven, blessed propitious mother of God, to prevail upon the king of kings, with those dwelling in heaven.
- 9a. May the heavenly fatherland admit all the rustics renewing your annual feast.
- 9b. And sustained by your prayers, let us all rejoice together now and through the eternal ages.
10. Let us enjoy the flowery fields with the help of the single propitious one.

**Translation of BN lat. 1138/1338, f. 32r**

- 1a. From the golden rod of the first mother, Eve, came forth the flowering rose, Mary.
- 1b. She rises like the morning star among the heavenly stars, surpassingly beautiful as the moon.
- 2a. She emits a fragrance beyond all balsams, colorings, and incense,
- 2b. purple as the violet, dewy as the rose, gleaming as the lily.
- 3a. The one whom the divine offspring of the highest father chose so that he might take on sacrosanct flesh from the uncorrupted flesh of a virgin.
- 3b. The heavenly angel announces new joys of the eternal king, that he has come to earth, and he salutes his mother thus:
- 4a. Hail, Mary, propitious mother of my lord, full of heavenly grace.
- 4b. You, blessed, will give birth to a king, having been made the queen of the world.
- 5a. I, pregnant, she says, how could I be, because I shall not know a man, from the time I was born, and always remain a modest virgin?
- 5b. Do not fear, responds the angel, the Holy Spirit shall descend upon you, holy one, impregnated by which you singly will bear God and man.
- 6a. O truly sanctified and lovable, from whom our redemption was born, the salvation of the world and true life.

- 6b. O dei nostri genitrixque pia suscipe nostra [h]ac die precata in qua  
es assumpta ad caeli claustra
- 7a. Tu es enim patri cara tu es ihesu mater bona tu sancti spiritus es  
templum facta
- 7b. Tu es pulcra dei sponsa tu regem cristum enixa domina es in celo  
et in terra
- 8a. Hodie namque curiae caelestis tibi {h}obuiat agmina te  
adsumpserunt ad palacia stellata
- 8b. Ihesus et ipse festiuus tibi matri cum angelis occurrens sede  
paterna secum locauit in secula
- 9a. Iam cum deo regnas nostra excusa clemens mala poscens cuncta  
bona o benigna
- 9b. Mediatrix nostra que es post deum spes sola tuo filio nos  
representa
10. Ut in poli aula leti iubilemus. alleluia.

6b. *genitrixque* 903/778/1139: *genitrix ad caeli claustra* 1119a: *castra* 1177/1871: *alta poli sidera*

7a. *patri cara* 1119a: *patris clara*

8a. *Hodie namque* 1138: *hodiernam*, other mss. *hodie namque caelestis* 1119a: *caelestes curiae...obuiat* 1132/1139: *obuiant palacia* 1119a: *celestia*

8b. *secula* 778: *ethra*

9a. *regnas* 1119a: *regnans*

9b. *que* 1137: *qui*

10. *Ut* 1138/1119a: *et* other mss.: *ut leti* 1177: *iocunde*

- 6b. O holy mother of our God, accept our prayers on this day, on  
which you were assumed into the cloisters of heaven.
- 7a. For you are dear to the Father, you are the good mother of Jesus,  
you have been made the temple of the Holy Spirit.
- 7b. You are the lovely bride of Christ, you bore Christ the king, you  
are the mistress in heaven and on earth.
- 8a. For today the host of the heavenly court meets you, they have  
assumed you to the starry palaces.
- 8b. And Jesus himself, joyous, advancing with the angels to you, his  
mother, placed you with him on the paternal throne forever.
- 9a. Now that you reign with God, merciful, excuse our evils,  
requesting all good things [for us], O benign one.
- 9b. Our mediator, you who are the only hope after God, represent  
us to your son,
10. so that in the hall of heaven we may rejoice, happy. Alleluia.

## APPENDIX 2: VERBAL CORRESPONDENCES IN THE TWO TEXTS

- 1a. *Aureo flore prime matris eue florens rosa processit sicut sol*  
 1b. *Oritur ut lucifer inter astra decorata polorum sidera*  
 1a. *Aurea uirga prime matris eue florens rosa processit maria*  
 1b. *Oritur ut lucifer inter astra {h}aeterea perpulcra ut luna*
- 2a. *Flauescunt campi eremi collocassia germinantque lilia*  
 2b. *Odore nouo acantu roscida nectarea rorantque arua*  
 2a. *Flagrescit ultra omnia balsama pigmenta et timiamata*  
 2b. *Purpurea ut uiola roscida ut rosa candens ut lilia*
- 3a. *Patris summa filius arche conuexo euo cara soboles uirtute...*  
 3a. *Patris summi quem elegit proles deica ut asumeret carnem...*
- 3b. *Nuncius celso gabriel sumus angelus aeterni regis...*  
 3b. *Celsus nunciat angelus noua gaudia {h}aeterni regis...*
- 4a. *Precelsa uirgo maria pauescit lumine gabriel afatur inquit*  
 4b. *Concipies alma regina orbis regem in secula regentem cuncta*  
 4a. *Aue maria domini mei mater alma celica plena gracia*  
 4b. *Tu benedicta regem in secula paries effecta orbis regina*
- 6a. *Enixa regem puerpera sacra hominem una deum quem genuit*  
*innuba seruauit fore pudica*  
 5b. *Ne timeas respondit angelus sanctum pneuma descendet in te*  
*sancta quo fecundata paries deum et hominem una*
- 5b. *Leta mater gloriosa casta ante partum integra et post partum non*  
*est similis permansit genitrix inuiolata*
- 6b. *O dei nostri genitrixque pia suscipe nostra [h]ac die precata in qua*  
*es assumpta ad caeli claustra*
- 6a. *Enixa regem puerpera sacra hominem una deum quem genuit*  
*innuba seruauit fore pudica*  
 7b. *Tu es pulcra dei sponsa tu regem cristum enixa domina es in celo*  
*et in terra*
- 8b. *{H}odie celi templum scandens beata dei genitrix alma...*  
 8a. *Hodie namque curiae caelestis tibi {h}obuiat agmina...*

APPENDIX 3. AQUITANIAN SOURCES OF "AUREO FLORE" AND  
"AUREA VIRGA"

"Aureo flore":

- Paris, BN lat. 1084 Aurillac [?], ca. 1000.  
 Paris, BN lat. 1118 Auch, ca. 1000 (end of tenth century)  
 Paris, BN lat. 1120 St. Martial de Limoges, ca. 1000  
 Paris, BN lat. 1138/1338 St. Martial de Limoges, 1025-50  
 Paris, BN lat. 887 Aurillac[?], ca. 990-1030  
 Paris, BN lat. 1121 St. Martial, 1029-1031 (melody only)  
 Paris, BN lat. 1119 St. Martial, ca. 1050-1060  
 Paris, BN n.a.l. 1871 Moissac [?], second half of 11th century  
 Paris, BN lat. 778 Narbonne, twelfth century

"Aurea virga":

- Paris, BN lat. 1138/1338  
 Paris, BN lat. 1119, f. 237v (in main hand of sequentiary)  
 Paris, BN lat. 903 St. Yrieix, second half of eleventh century  
 Paris, BN n.a.l. 1871  
 Paris, BN n.a.l. 1177 Toulouse/Moissac, early twelfth century  
 Paris, BN lat. 1119, f. 250v (12th-century addition, St. Martial)  
 Paris, BN lat. 1137 St. Martial, twelfth-century addition  
 Paris, BN lat. 1139 St. Martial, twelfth century  
 Paris, BN lat. 778  
 Paris, BN lat. 1132 St. Martial, thirteenth-century addition