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Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7g3003tt

Journal
Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 25(1)

ISSN
0069-6412

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Publication Date
1994-10-01

Peer reviewed
REWRITING THE EARLY SEQUENCE: "AUREO FLORE" AND "AUREA VIRGA"

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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 repertories. 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 repertories, 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
that will focus on the elements of change in eleventh-century sequences.\(^3\)

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\(^4\) (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. lat. 1138/1338), a scribe used the expression “Facta sunt novas prosas” (“The new proses are finished”) to label a collection of forty-two sequences.\(^5\) 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 proses 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,\(^6\) 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.\(^7\) The “second epoch” repertories in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have also been well researched.\(^8\)

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\(^1\) A longer study on the eleventh-century sequence is in preparation.


\(^3\) 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).

\(^4\) 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 Leopardi and Enrico Menestò (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi sull’alto medioevò, 1990), 125-138.


Rewriting the Early Sequence

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.8 Because scholars have tended to focus on the early and late sequences, the style of transitional sequences has not been closely investigated.10 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.11

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.12 The concentration in scholarship on


8Fassler, Gothic Song, is the most recent study and contains an exhaustive bibliography.

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

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


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.\textsuperscript{13}

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.\textsuperscript{14} 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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{15} 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.\textsuperscript{16} 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-


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

\textsuperscript{13}See Grier, "Roger de Chabannes" and "Ecce sanctum."

\textsuperscript{14}Richard Crocker inventories and describes the \textit{Novas prosas} in "The Repertoire of Proses," II:133-7.

\textsuperscript{15}Both are edited in \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{16}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.}
bining 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,17 “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.18 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.”19 It is noteworthy that in the earlier sequence, Mary does not speak at all, but is described as growing afraid at the angel

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18Grier, “Ecce sanctum,” 73.
19Two 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 exclusa 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.20

Finally, the two sequences manifest change in the theology of the Assumption.21 "Aureo flore" focuses more on the Incarnation and the theme of virginity in partu (3b-6a) than on the meaning of the Assumption itself.22 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.23

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

21 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).
22 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).
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 enjambment between half-strophes (2a-b, 6b-7a). Repetition (strophe 1b, "astra" and "sidera"; 4a, "afatur" and "iniquid") 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. 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.

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." The importance of the Fourth Eclogue here is height-

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


ened by its allegorical interpretation in the Middle Ages as a prophecy of the birth of Christ.  

"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."  

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. 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 prograditur quasi aurora consurgens pulchra ut luna electa ut sol...") is echoed only indirectly ("processit sicut sol"). 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*

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28 Ridder, 312.

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

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

31 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," *Mitteleinisches 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). 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 templum virgo digna tanto foedere” (“ascend to the temples of heaven, maiden worthy of such a marriage”) 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. Furthermore, the refrain was musically notated in several medieval manuscripts, including an Aquitanian one from the eleventh century. It is thus tempting to

32 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 poetico: Enixa est puerpera, quem Gabrihle praedixerat, et intelligitur enixa ‘partu libera.’” Liber in partibus Donati, ed. B. Lofstedt, 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.


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 occurrents 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." Thomas of Chobham, a thirteenth-century sub-deacon 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." 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, 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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36 Pascasii Radberti Epistula Beati Hieronymi ad Paulum 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 sedem paternam" (strophe 2b of "Festiva per orbem," ed. Clemens Blume S.J., Analecta Hymnica 49, 87).

37a Quod autem hoc sit verum, patet per hoc quod legitur in quadem 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]).

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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 Jesse 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. Interpretation of Mary as the rod of Aaron or Jesse appears in ninth- and tenth-century liturgical poetry, including the Notkerian sequence “Concentu parili”; “Quis possit ampolo famine,” a hymn for the Assumption found in southern Italian sources; and “Virgo Israel decus,” found in several early Aquitanian sources (including Pa 1084, 1118, and 1138). “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. This description is derived from a number of passages in

39a Nam sicut illa virga sine radice, sine quolibet naturae vel artis adminiculō 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 requiescet 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”).


43 Hbr. 9:3-4: “post velamentum autem secundum tabernaculum quod dicitur sancta sanctorum aureum habens turibulum et arcam testamenti circumcinctam 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. 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." The association of the Assumption with spices and aromas probably derives from the first reading at Mass on the feast, 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."

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

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45. "Cinnamoni 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.


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.”48 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.”49 Jerome also associates the flowers with virtues.50

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.”51 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


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

50“Non mihi nunc per virtutum prataducendus es nec laborandum, ut ostendam tibi variorum pulchritudinem flororum, quid in se lilia habeant puritatis, quid rosarum verecundia possideat, quid violae purpura promittat in regno” (Jerome, *Lettres*, ed. J. Laboult, 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”).

51“Tu virgineos choros...per albentia lili rosasque vernantes ad fontes perennis vitae potandos invitas. Tu...felicique palma violas inmarcescibles carpis” (*Sermo de adsuetione sanctae mariae*, in *Ambrosii Autpertus 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." 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." 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

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

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 *ae/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 claustria/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 inquid*, a partial repetition in strophe 4a, is rendered as “speaks”). Plurals are generally translated as plurals, including those interpreted as poetic plurals by Lars Elfving, *Étude lexicographique sur les séquence limousines* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 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. Flauescunt campi eremi collocassia germinantque lilias
2b. Odore nouo acantu rosceda 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 alaeur urginis stetit radians
4a. Precelsa uirgo maria pauescit lumine gabriel afatur inquid
4b. Concipies alma regina orbis regem in secula regentem cuncta
5a. Intactaque mariae urginis tumuerunt uiscera comitata fide creditid digna namque tali federe sola
5b. Leta mater gloriosa casta ante partum integra et post partum non est similis permansiis genitrix inuiolata
6a. Enixa regem puerpera sacra hominem una deum quem genuit innuba suerat fore pudica
6b. Porta que clausa fuerat per eum paradisi reserata precelse meritis marie o quam benedicta
7a. Inter omnes mulieres fructus floris uentris tui exemplo sine placuisti 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: eterea
2b. acantu 1084/1118/1871: acanto
3b. celso 778: exelso castra 1120: castra corr. claustra
6a. una 1119: unum quem 1871: que fore 1118/1120: flore
6b. fuerat 887: fuerat corr. fuit 1120: fuerat corr. fuit euan 1871: eue culpam
7b. usam 1871: uisam 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 collocassia 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 templo scande 778: celi templum scande
   *alma* 1118/1119/1120: alta  *celicolas* 1118: celis coris  *regem regum*: 1138 regum
   regina 1084: regem regum 887/1118/1119/1120: regem sancta
   *receptet* 1084/1871/778: adisca 1118/1119/1120/1138: receptet 887: recepta
9b. *adiuti omnes* 1084/1871/778: fulbi 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 perpelra 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 iniquid 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 redempcio 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. quern 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 *santa* 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 clastra
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 festius 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 clastra_ 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
2a. Aurea uirga prime matris eue florens rosa processit maria
2b. Oritur ut lucifer inter astra \{h\}aeterea perpulcrba ut luna

3a. Patris summa filius arche connexo 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 inquid
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 seruatit 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 clastra

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