

Analecta Hymnica 2 no. 97 st. 4, 1: Caeduntur gladiis more bidentium

The Vespers Hymn of the Common of Many Martyrs (*Sanctorum meritis*)¹ had been the cause of one of the controversies between Hincmar and Gottschalk. There the passage at issue was the opening line of the hymn's final stanza: *te, trina deitas unaque, poscimus* (st. 6, 1). Since to Hincmar the phrase *trina deitas* smacked of tritheism, he had incurred Gottschalk's displeasure by substituting for it the words *summa deitas*². The present article on the other hand is concerned with the opening line of the antepenultimate stanza of the same hymn: *caeduntur gladiis more bidentium* (st. 4, 1). Whereas the theological dispute over the wording of the sixth stanza had belonged to the mid-ninth century, the aim of the present investigation is to trace the literary fortune of this exordium to stanza 4 throughout the twelfth century.

Hugh Primas composed Oxford Poem 16 at the start of the 1150's³. There the poet takes the opportunity to speak of the kindness shown him by two young men on the occasion of his visit to Sens: *nec erant pilosi more bidentium, / nec murmur resonans contradicentium* (ll. 93f.)⁴. No allusion here to the

1 Edd. G. M. Dreves and C. Blume, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* 2, Leipzig 1888, 75 (n. 97). The same hymn is also found *ibid.*, 50, Leipzig 1907, 204 (n. 153).

2 Cf. H. Schrörs, *Hinkmar, Erzbischof von Reims: Sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Freiburg/B. 1884, 152-3.

3 So C. J. McDonough, «Hugh Primas and the Bishop of Beauvais», *Mediaeval Studies* 45 (1983) 399-409.

4 Ed. C. J. McDonough, *The Oxford Poems of Hugh Primas and the Arundel Lyrics*, Toronto 1984 (*Tor. Med. Lat. Texts* 15) 57.

hymn *Sanctorum meritis* was registered in the commentaries to the editions by Meyer⁵ and Langosch⁶. Attention was however drawn to the echo in an article by Roos⁷. He pointed out that Primas's couplet is in fact indebted to the first two lines of the fourth stanza of this hymn: *caeduntur gladiis more bidentium, / non murmur resonat, non quaerimonia*.

Roos observes that the hymn was sung by the canons of the cathedral chapter; he accordingly expresses surprise that «dem Primas ein liturgisches Zitat so leicht in die Feder fließt». Roos refers in this connection to the report of the fourteenth-century chronicler Francesco Pippino that Primas himself had been a canon of Orléans⁸. Hauréau had associated this statement with the lines attributed to Primas in a Tours manuscript⁹: *canonici, cur canonicum, quem canonicastis / canonicè, non canonicè decanonicastis?*¹⁰. The same scholar had in turn linked this distich to Oxford Poem 23, in which Primas complains of his expulsion *capellani iussu fedi* (l. 158)¹¹. Meyer however pointed out that the lines of the Tours manuscript cannot be assumed to refer to Primas himself, while Oxford 23 nowhere describes the poet as a canon¹²; he also cast doubt on Pippino's account itself¹³. Primas's echo of the hymn *Sanctorum meritis* leads

5 W. Meyer, *Die Oxford's Gedichte des Primas (des Magister Hugo von Orléans)*, Berlin 1907 (*Nachr. v. d. kön. Ges. d. Wiss. z. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1907) 99 (= repr. Darmstadt 1970, 25).

6 K. Langosch, *Hymnen und Vagantenlieder*³, Basel-Stuttgart 1954, 300.

7 H. Roos, «Zu dem Oxford's Gedicht XVI des Primas», *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 3 (1966) 253f.

8 *Chron.* 1, 47; ed. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 9, Milan 1726, 628^p.

9 B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 6, Paris 1893, 132.

10 Ap. L. Delisle, «Notes sur quelques manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Tours», *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 29 (1868) 605.

11 Ed. McDonough, *op. cit.* (n. 4) 72.

12 Meyer, *op. cit.* (n. 5) 172f. (= 1970, 97f.).

13 Meyer, *op. cit.* (n. 5) 78f. (= 1970, 4f.). Pippino states: *Primas versificator egregius fuisse his temporibus traditur, scilicet... dum Lucius huius nominis III papa Romanus sederet... quod autem temporibus Lucii papae fuerit, apparet, quod dum ipse Primas canonicus esset Aurelianensis, et idem papa fuisset in Gallia, rogavit eum Primas super obtentu unius beneficii...* (*Chron.* 1, 47; ed. Muratori, *op. cit.* [n. 8] 628^{c-p}). Meyer observed that Pope Lucius III was never in France and that on his accession in 1181 Primas would have been nearly 90; the first of these objec-

Roos to believe that Pippino may after all be right in calling the poet a canon; hence the Tours distich may indeed be his.

Roos's inference would nonetheless seem to be unwarranted. He rightly remarks that the student of such liturgical hymns is «noch sehr schlecht unterrichtet» about their broader circulation. In the case of this particular passage evidence can however be adduced to show that in the period at issue it was widely quoted; Primas's citation cannot accordingly be used to support the hypothesis that he was a canon. Roos is in fact mistaken to suppose that he himself was the first to identify Primas's debt to this hymn. The borrowing had already been registered by Strecker in his commentary on Walter of Châtillon's St. Omer Poem 30¹⁴, which also imitates the opening line of the hymn's fourth stanza¹⁵. This time an almost verbatim quotation is involved: *cedentur gladiis more bidentium* (st. 5, 4)¹⁶. Strecker observes further that Walter's poem also

tions had already been raised by L. Delisle, «Le poète Primat», *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 31 (1870) 306. The suggestion was then made by B. M. Marti, «Hugh Primas and Arnulf of Orléans», *Speculum* 30 (1955) 234f. that Pope Lucius II was meant instead; however A. B. Rigg, «Golias and Other Pseudonyms», *Studi Medievali* 3rd ser. 18 (1977) 75 points out that Lucius III is again named in this connection by Giraldus Cambrensis (*Spec. eccl.* 4, 15; ed. J. S. Brewer, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* 4, London 1873 [*Rer. Brit. Med. Aev. Script.* 21, 4] 291).

14 K. Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Châtillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer*, Berlin 1925, 58. On this poem cf. most recently the present writer, «Walter of Châtillon: St. Omer 30», *Aevum* 66 (1993) 369-75.

15 Walter had already incorporated a brief echo of the line at *Alexandreis* 6, 412f.: *cur in perniciem palantes more bidentium / irruimus?* This allusion is absent from the *apparatus fontium* in M. L. Colker, *Galteri de Castellione Alexandreis*, Padua 1978 (*Thes. Mundi* 17) 164 (*ad loc.*). Book six of the *Alexandreis* was composed before St. Omer Poem 30; cf. the present writer, «The Date of Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*», *Bollettino di Studi Latini* 22 (1992) 282-8; Strecker, *op. cit.* (n. 14) 57 (for the date of the St. Omer poem).

16 Ed. Strecker, *op. cit.* (n. 14) 56. Strecker (*ibid.*, 57) appears to believe that Walter's *cedentur* is a reason for emending the *caeduntur* of the MS tradition at *Sanctorum meritis* 4, 1 to *caedentur*; however the evidence to be adduced below militates against such a supposition. On the other hand the same evidence shows that the punctuation of this line of the hymn at *Analecta Hymnica* 50, 204 requires modification: the comma should be placed after *bidentium*, not after *gladiis*. The suggestion is also made by Strecker, «Walter von Châtillon: Der Dichter der Lieder von St. Omer», *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 61 (1924) 217f. that the hymn may have been especially well-known in Reims, since both Walter and Primas were connected with this locality; again however the new data to which attention is drawn

contains a literal citation of the opening line of stanza 5 of the same hymn: *quae vox, quae poterit lingua retexere* ¹⁷. Here Strecker's commentary makes reference to the anonymous *Apocalypsis Goliae*, which also reproduces this line (st. 58, 4) ¹⁸. The next stanza of the *Apocalypse* (st. 59, 4) quotes another line of this hymn: *non murmur resonat, non querimonia* (st. 4, 2). The very same words are also echoed in the passage of Primas's Oxford Poem 16 to which Roos attaches such significance ¹⁹.

Attention can be drawn to two further twelfth-century citations of the opening line from stanza 4 of *Sanctorum meritis*. The first occurs in William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, which was written during the period from 1170 to 1184 ²⁰. William's reconstruction of the celebrated speech of Pope Urban II urging the Council of Clermont to the

below would seem to make such an assumption unnecessary. In his commentary on this line of Walter's poem Strecker refers to no other writer besides Primas, while McDonough's annotation (*loc. cit.* [n. 4]) to the text of Primas in question likewise adduces only the present passage of Walter: neither scholar cites any further author in connection with this line of the hymn. A final point may be made with regard to Strecker's treatment of the immediately preceding line of Walter's poem (st. 5, 3): *patres cum filiis, genus egregium*. Here Strecker comments: «Den Vers glaube ich auch sonst gelesen zu haben, finde ihn aber nicht» (*ibid.*, 58). Walter's phrasing would in fact appear to be a combination of Vergil, *Aen.* 7, 213 (*genus egregium*) and Ps. Philo, *Antiq. bibl.* 53, 10; ed. D. J. Harrington, *Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquités Bibliques*, Paris 1976 (*Sources Chrét.* 229) 344 (*ut matres cum filiabus moriantur, et patres cum filiis pereant*); on the wide dissemination of this treatise in the Middle Ages cf. G. Kisch, *Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, Notre Dame (Indiana) 1949, 19-22. It is proposed to deal more fully elsewhere with the question of Walter's sources in this line of the poem.

17 Strecker, *op. cit.* (n. 14) 58. Walter quotes the line at st. 2, 4.

18 Ed. K. Strecker, *Die Apokalypse des Golias*, Rome 1528 (*Texte z. Kulturgesch. d. Mitteltalt.* 5) 27. Strecker places the poem in the 12th cent. and thinks it likely to have been composed in England (*ibid.*, 8-13).

19 In his note on this line of the *Apocalypse* Strecker, *op. cit.* (n. 18) 28 in fact adduces texts of two other writers who likewise imitate these particular words of the hymn. The first is a poem by Walter Map, ed. T. Wright, *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, London 1841 (repr. Hildesheim 1968) 190 (l. 80); for his *floruit* in the 12th cent. cf. *ibid.*, v-vii. The second forms part of the anonymous «Geschichte vom ehebrecherischen Mönch», ed. P. Lehmann, *Parodistische Texte*, Munich 1923, 54 (l. 74) (= id., *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*², Stuttgart 1963, 228 [l. 66]); for the date «seit dem 13. Jahrhundert» cf. id., *Parodie* 121. Strecker fails to mention Primas in this connection.

20 For title and date of the work respectively cf. P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*, Cambridge 1988, 1 with n. 1; 26.

First Crusade contains the following depiction of the Christians of the Holy Land: *impia detestantes imperia ceduntur gladiis more bidentium, sanctis martyribus sociandi* (1, 15)²¹. This echo of the wording of *Sanctorum meritis* was not registered in either the edition of the work by A. Beugnot and A. Prévost²² or in the annotated translation of E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey²³. The allusion has however been identified recently in the extensive *apparatus fontium* to Huygens's edition²⁴. Two points may be made in connection with William's quotation of these words. In the first place it is noteworthy that here they occur in a work of prose. Secondly William has incorporated them into a speech which is remarkable for its lavish borrowings from scripture; the deployment of this line of the hymn in such a context would seem to suggest that it enjoyed a similar currency.

The final citation of these words from *Sanctorum meritis* that can be adduced from the twelfth century is found in the *Poem of Almería* unlike the foregoing instances it has hitherto escaped the notice of commentators. King Alfonso VII of Castile and León took Almería from the Moors in 1147; the poem, which forms a supplement to the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, describes the preparations for the capture of the town. Its date of composition has been placed between August 1147 and February 1149²⁵; most scholars identify the author with Bishop Arnaldus of Astorga²⁶. The poem is writ-

21 Ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Guillaume de Tyr: Chronique*, Turnhout 1986 (*Corp. Christ. Cont. Med.* 63) 133 (11. 65-7).

22 *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux* 1, 1, Paris 1844, 41.

23 *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* 1, New York 1943 (*Records of Civ.* 35) 90.

24 *Loc. cit.* (n. 21). No reference is made here to the citation of this line of the hymn in any other author.

25 Cf. A. Ubieto Arteta, «Sugerencias sobre la *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*», *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 25-6 (1957) 325.

26 For a conspectus of opinion cf. A. Maya Sánchez, in E. Falque, J. Gil and id., *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XII* 1, Turnhout 1990 (*Corp. Christ. Cont. Med.* 71) 112-5. The fullest defence of the majority view is found in H. Salvador Martínez, *El «Poema de Almería» y la épica románica*, Madrid 1975 (*Bibl. Rom. Hisp.* ser. 2, 219) 78-122. He thinks that Arnaldus was a Cluniac monk before becoming bishop of Astorga. Most recently P. Linehan, rev. of Falque *et al.*, *op. cit.*, *Journal of The-*

ten in rhythmic hexameters which are further characterized by leonine rhyme.

A brief digression near the beginning of the work identifies the idolatry of the Moors as the cause of their defeat. Here the poet declares: *mucro maiores divinus necne minores / consumpsit bellis non parcens porro puellis. / cetera gens gladiis ceduntur more bidentis* (11. 31-3)²⁷. In connection with the last of these lines no reference to *Sanctorum meritis* is to be found in any of the critical editions of the poem²⁸. Considerable attention was nonetheless devoted to this verse by Salvador Martínez. It is included in his discussion of the poem's use of simile, which is one of the figures of *amplificatio* recommended by the *Artes poetriae*; he notes in particular that this instance conforms to the poet's practice of drawing his similes from simple, everyday objects²⁹. The same scholar also proposes a source for this verse; in his opinion the line has been inspired by Vergil, *Aeneid* 5, 96: *caedit binas de more bidentis*³⁰.

It is true that the *Poem of Almería* has *bidentis* in common with Vergil against the *bidentium* of the hymn. However the poet's reason for preferring the singular was undoubtedly the need to generate a leonine rhyme: *bidentis* matches *gladiis*³¹.

ological Studies n.s. 43 (1992) 734-7 has raised the question whether the *Poem of Almería* is in fact by the author of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*.

27 Ed. Gil, *op. cit.* (n. 26) 256.

28 Viz. Gil, *loc. cit.* (n. 27); id., «*Carmen de expugnatione Almariae urbis*», *Habis* 5 (1974) 50; Salvador Martínez, *op. cit.* (n. 26) 24; L. Sánchez Belda, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, Madrid 1950, 167; C. Rodríguez Aniceto, «El poema latino *Prefacio de Almería*», *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo* 13 (1931) 150. In the last three editions the lineation is different; there the verse in question appears as l. 20 instead of l. 33.

29 Salvador Martínez, *op. cit.* (n. 26) 212, 214.

30 Salvador Martínez, *op. cit.* (n. 26) 219. The same view had already been expressed *en passant* by F. Rico, «Las letras latinas del siglo XII en Galicia, León y Castilla», *Ábaco* 2 (1969) 70, n. 124.

31 For the particular type of rhyme involved in this line cf. M. Martínez Pastor, «La rima en el *Poema de Almería*», *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica* 21 (1988) 83. It may also be observed that unlike *bidentium* the form *bidentis* meets the exigencies of hexameter verse. This purpose would however have been served equally well by the variant *bidentum*. For the use of this form in the same *sedes* at the end of a hexameter cf. (e.g.) Ovid, *Met.* 15, 575; Statius, *Theb.* 3, 457; *ibid.*, 4, 416.

At the same time the author of the poem may well have had the Vergilian phrase in mind; it is in fact found on three further occasions in the *Aeneid*³². On the other hand the language which Vergil employs is really quite distinct from that of the *Poem of Almería*: while the latter's *bidentis* is a genitive dependent on *more*, the same word in the *Aeneid* constitutes the accusative object of the verb. The meaning of the two passages accordingly differs completely³³. By contrast the line of *Sanctorum meritis* presents an exact parallelism in both sense and vocabulary: the hymn's *caeduntur gladiis more bidentium* is unmistakably the primary source of the poem's *gladiis ceduntur more bidentis*.

A final point may be made about this verse of the *Poem of Almería*. It alone among the texts examined in the present article inverts the order of the first two words of the hymn's formulation: *caeduntur gladiis* becomes *gladiis ceduntur*. The transposition is again due to the requirements of the hexameter form, which was not employed in any of the other passages considered above. At the same time the poet takes the opportunity to prefix his own phrase *cetera gens* to the words adap-

32 Viz. 4, 57 (*mactant lectas de more bidentis*); 6, 38f. (*mactare... lectas de more bidentis*); 8, 544 (*mactat lectas de more bidentis*). Vergil's wording is also imitated at *Ilias Latina* 550 (*caeduntque sacras ex more bidentes*). To a limited extent it was no doubt instrumental in shaping the formulation of *Sanctorum meritis* itself.

33 Salvador Martínez, *loc. cit.* (n. 30) also detects an «evidente transposición simplificada de la frase virgiliana» in the *Carmen de expeditione Pisana*, ed. F. de Reiffenberg, *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Bruxelles* 10, 1 (1843) 535 (ll. 289f.): *occiduntur et truncantur / omnes quasi pecudes*. Here too however the meaning is quite different from that of the *Aeneid*. Moreover in this case there is not even a superficial similarity of language; the two passages would accordingly appear to be unconnected. The *quasi pecudes* of the *Carmen de expeditione Pisana* can in fact be more aptly elucidated by reference to the article on *pecus* by M. Hillen in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 10, 1 (1982) 956, 40-3, which cites Livy 5, 44, 7 (*vinctos somno velut pecudes trucidandos tradidero*); with this passage he compares Seneca, *Ag.* 974, Curtius 5, 13, 19 and Velleius 2, 119, 2, which all contain the phrase *more pecudum* (Hillen has however misquoted the Velleian text as [*exercitus*] *more pecudum trucidatus*; it should read instead *quem* [sc. *hostem*] ... *more pecudum trucidaverat*). For more general exemplification one might also refer to the note on this passage of Velleius in A. J. Woodman, *Velleius Paterculus: The Tiberian Narrative* (2, 94-131), Cambridge 1977 (*Cambr. Class. Texts and Comm.* 19) 202 (read «Tac. *Ann.* 4, 25, 2»).

ted from *Sanctorum meritis*. The result is a very impressive locution indeed: *cetera gens gladiis ceduntur*. Here the poet has achieved twofold alliteration (*c.../g.../g.../c...*); the effect is further enhanced by the chiasitic arrangement. Moreover the enclosing element (*cetera... ceduntur*) in fact goes beyond alliteration to approach *adnominatio*³⁴. In the past it has been customary to dismiss the verbal artistry of the poem as second-rate³⁵. However in the last few years an attempt has been made to counter this low opinion³⁶. The present passage supplies corroborative evidence for the rightness of this endeavour to rehabilitate the *Poem of Almería*: the author's formulation of the first line of stanza 4 of the hymn *Sanctorum meritis* is by far the most artful of the frequent twelfth-century echoes of it that have been documented above.

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RESUMEN

El Himno de Vísperas del Común de varios mártires (*Sanctorum meritis*) ha sido la causa de una de las controversias entre Hincmar y Gottschalk. El pasaje en cuestión era la primera línea de la estrofa final del himno: *te, trina, deitas unaque poscimus* (6, 1). Este artículo se ocupa de la primera línea de la antepenúltima estrofa del mismo himno: *caeduntur gladiis more bidentium* (st. 4, 1). La segunda mitad del siglo XIX se ha ocupado de la disputa teológica sobre la redacción de esta sexta estrofa; el objetivo de esta investigación es trazar la fortuna literaria de este comienzo de la estrofa 4 a lo largo del siglo XX.

34 It may also be observed that the whole phrase is immediately preceded by a further threefold alliteration: *parcens porro puellis* (1. 32).

35 Cf. (e.g.) the judgment of the work's first editor, P. de Sandoval, *Crónica del ínclito emperador de España don Alfonso VII deste nombre, rey de Castilla y León, hijo de don Ramón de Borgoña y de doña Hurraca, reyna propietaria de Castilla*, Madrid 1600, 127: «versos bárbaros, y mal concertados». For a more recent statement of a similar viewpoint cf. Rico, *art. c.* (n. 30) 72: «modestos leoninos».

36 Cf. M. Martínez Pastor, «Virtuosismos verbales en el *Poema de Almería*», *Epos* 4 (1988) 379-87.

SUMMARY

The Vespers Hymn of the Common of Many Martyrs (*Sanctorum meritis*) had been the cause of one of the controversies between Hincmar and Gottschalk. There the passage at issue was the opening line of the hymn's final stanza: *te, trina, deitas unaque poscimus* (st. 6, 1). The present article is concerned with the opening line of the antepenultimate stanza of the same hymn: *caeduntur gladiis more bidentium* (st. 4, 1). Whereas the theological dispute over the wording of the sixth stanza had belonged to the mid-ninth century, the aim of the present investigation is to trace the literary fortune of this exordium to stanza 4 throughout the twelve century.