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LEITMOTIFS IN THE EASTER SEQUENCES
OF ADAM OF ST VICTOR

The subject of this study is the leitmotifs in the Easter sequences of Adam of St Victor.[1] His sequences represent the pinnacle of the development of this type of liturgical poetry. They present a high theological value and represent the best-known poetic style that emerged from the various experiments of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries in the writing of rhythmic poetry.[2] This new style is a steady rhythmic flow, in still differently structured stanza pairs, with verses having a rhyme of one and a half syllables. The publishers of *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*[3] call them *sequentiae rhythmicae et rigmatae*.[4] In the 55 volumes of this series, where Guido Maria Dreves wanted to make pre-Tridentine poetry available in a complete way, allowing for a literary-historical overview

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[1] Very recently, a translation of all the Adam sequences from Saint Victor was published in Poland, along with a scientific study. ADAM ZE ŚWIĘTEGO WIKTORA, *Sekwencje*, transl. Tadeusz Gacia, Łukasz Libowski, Marta Helena Nowak, Agnieszka Strycharczuk, Adam Wilczyński, and Piotr Wilk, eds. Łukasz Libowski, and Agnieszka Strycharczuk (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Academicon, 2023).

[2] Cf. Agnieszka STRYCHARCZUK, "Adam ze Świętego Wiktora i jego dorobek poetycki," in *Adam ze Świętego Wiktora. Sekwencje*, transl. Tadeusz Gacia, Łukasz Libowski, Marta Helena Nowak, Agnieszka Strycharczuk, Adam Wilczyński, and Piotr Wilk, eds. Łukasz Libowski, and Agnieszka Strycharczuk (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Academicon, 2023), 30.

[3] Guido M. DREVES, Clemens BLUME, and Henry M. BANNISTER, eds., *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* (hereafter AH), vols. 1-55 (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[4] Cf. Frederick James Edward RABY, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 217; Tadeusz GACIA, *Sequentiae, pia dictamina, cantiones. Przybliżenia z poezji średniowiecznej* (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Jedność, 2024) 9.

(although he was aware of the impracticality of this work),[5] one can count al-most 80 sequences for the Easter period. In turn, seven Easter sequences came from the pen of Adam of St Victor. In the first paragraph, we will first look at them in a rather general way in order to present the chosen theme – their leit-motifs – in the main part of the study. In the final section, after a literary analy-sis of the works discussed, we will refer to other pre-Tridentine sequences for the same liturgical period to see how the Adamic sequences compare, in terms of their main motifs, against the broader background of this poetry, obviously very briefly.

The text of Adam's sequence from Saint Victor, commented on here, is taken from Jean Grosfillier's edition.[6] The sequence numbers in that edition are given in a footnote[7]; we quote other sequences based on *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*.[8]

1. THE THEMES OF ADAM'S EASTER SEQUENCES

Ecce dies celebris (Octava Paschae, feria II)[9]

According to the publishers of the 54th volume of *Analecta hymnica*, this sequence has hardly ever penetrated beyond France, although it is profound and beautiful. According to various sources, it had a liturgical use on Monday, Wed-nesday or Thursday of Easter week.[10] In it we find most of the motifs discussed in the next paragraph. The motif of light overcoming darkness appears briefly at the beginning, followed a little further on by the motif of victory over the ene-my – both typical of Easter metaphors. However, the vast majority of the motifs are made up of reminiscences of characters and events from the Old Testament,

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[5] Cf. GACIA, *Sequentiae, pia dictamina, cantiones,* 5.

[6] Jean GROSFILLIER, *Les séquences d'Adam de Saint-Victor. Étude littéraire (poétique et rhéto-rique), textes et traductions, commentaires* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 243-481.

[7] The Easter sequences bear the numbers: 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19.

[8] AH vol. 7, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75; AH vol. 8, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34; AH vol. 9, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38; AH vol. 10, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32; AH vol. 37, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29; AH vol. 42, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24; AH vol. 54, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. After the AH volu-me number, the sequence numbers are given here. When quoting portions of a sequence in the text of an article, we give in a footnote the incipit of the sequence, the numbers of the verses quoted, the AH volume and the page in the volume.

[9] GROSFILLIER, *Les sequences*, 3-303-306; AH vol*.* 54, 218-219.

[10] Cf. AH vol. 54, 220.

one after the other, related to Christ by way of allegory. There is the evocation of the figure of Samson (as many as three times), David, the image of the grape – carried on a staff and pressed in the winepress, and the stone rejected by the builders. These images are introduced with the statement: *Umbram fugat veritas*, certainly alluding to thoughts from Colossians 2:17: *Quae sunt umbra futurorum, corpus autem Christi* (v. 7) – "These are only shadows of future things, and the reality belongs to Christ," and from the Letter to the Hebrews 10:11: *Umbram enim habens* (…) *non ipsam imaginem rerum* – "having only a shadow of future goods."[11]

Lux illuxit dominica (Octava Paschae, feria III)[12]

The sequence presents similar themes. The motif of light also appears at the beginning, intertwined with the motif of joy. However, the main message of the piece is summarised in two statements placed in the following verses: *figuram res exterminat/ et umbram lux illuminat* (vv. 23-24). These are exemplified by the lamb without blemish and the goat as Old Testament allegories of Christ. Theologically significant is the image introduced in this context of the temple veil being torn in two, signifying that at Christ's death, all that the Old Law spoke of is revealed (vv. 21-22).

Salve, dies, dierum gloria (Octava Paschae, feria IV)[13]

The beginning of the sequence is an apostrophe to the day, which is called *dierum gloria* and *dies prima* (vv. 1-4). The day is linked to light, the motif of which appears in the second stanza. The main theme of the sequence is Christ's triumph over death, vividly depicted, its defeat envisaged in God's plans and the joy that unites earth and heaven on this day. It is worth mentioning that this piece, in a slightly abridged version, is found in the present breviary, the *Liturgia horarum*, as a hymn in *the Officium lectionis* (i.e. the *Hour of Readings*) for the Sundays of the 2nd and 4th weeks of the Ordinary Period.

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[11] The Latin text is given after: *Nova Vulgata. Bibliorum Sacrorum Editio Sacrosancti Oecumenici Concilii Vaticani II ratione habita, iussu Pauli Pp. VI recognita, auctoritate Ioannis Pauli Pp. II promulgata, editio typica altera* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1986).

[12] GROSFILLIER, *Les sequences*, 307-309; AH vol. 54, 220-221.

[13] GROSFILLIER, *Les sequences*, 310-313; AH vol. 54, 222-223.

Sexta passus feria (Octava Paschae, feria VI)[14]

The dominant motif in the sequence is Christ's victory over Satan and death, achieved at the price of self-sacrifice. Attention is drawn to the image of the brave lion, whose power is manifested in the resurrection.

Mundi renovatio (Octava Paschae, sabbatum)[15]

The sequence shows the resurrection of Christ as the cause of the renewal of the whole world. It is such a powerful intervention of God that with the risen Christ the whole world is resurrected. Subsequent stanzas of the piece depict this transformation of everything as a transition into a new reality contrasting with the old. It is illustrated with images of spring, which is the season of Easter, and harmonises perfectly with the idea of new, resurrected life.

Zima vetus expurgetur (Octava Paschae)[16]

This is perhaps the theologically richest sequence, indeed longer than the others, of those listed here. What was called *mundi renovatio* in the previous one is referred to as *nova resurrectio* in this one. The incipit is a reference to the motif found in the First Letter to the Corinthians of removing the old acid. St Paul gives the custom prescribed by the Law a new meaning, linking it to the Christian Easter (1Cor 5:6b-8). The content of the piece is a dozen successive images from the Old Testament, which can be called Christ-figures and whose meaning is revealed in his resurrection. The last two stanzas, especially the final one, are a prayer – the lyrical subject (*nos* – congregation of believers) addresses Christ, called the true bread, the living water and the true vine, asking Him to preserve it from the second death, that is, eternal death.

Postquam hostem et inferna (Octava Ascensionis Domini)[17]

The sequence consists of 16 tertinas, the content of which portrays Christ's ascension as the manifestation of his victory and exaltation in glory. Stanzas 10 to 16 are a reference to the last instructions given to the disciples before the ascension, as described by the evangelist Mark (Mk 16:15-18). It should be added

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[14] Grosfillier, *Les sequences*, 314-317; AH vol. 54, 223-224.
[15] Grosfillier, *Les sequences*, 318-319; AH vol. 54, 224-227.
[16] Grosfillier, *Les sequences*, 320-325; AH vol. 54, 223-224.
[17] Grosfillier, *Les sequences*, 326-328; AH vol. 54, 231-232.

here that it was the gospel of Mark 16:15-20, before the post-conciliar reform, that was read each year at Mass on the feast of the Ascension. The sequence thus introduces the content of the gospel.

2. KEY MOTIFS IN ADAM'S EASTER SEQUENCES

A review of the Easter sequences makes it possible to identify the most recurring motifs, which can be grouped into four groups. The first is light, a motif which often opens the sequence, possibly accompanied by daytime and morning motifs. The second, less marked in its presence but very characteristic, is the spring motif. The third, much more elaborate, is the battle and the victory won in that battle; and the fourth motif is made up of figures and events recalled from the Old Testament, whose allegorical sense can be seen in the light of Christ's resurrection, according to the principle formulated by St Augustine: "Et in Vetere Novum latet et in Novo Vetus patet."[18]

2.1. THE THEME OF LIGHT, DAY AND MORNING

Easter is full of light. *Lux succedit tenebris,/ Morti resurrectio* – this is the image that appears at the very beginning of the first of the commented sequences (*Ecce dies celebris*, vv. 2-3). The light of the Paschal day, light in the physical, natural sense, is a metaphor for Easter as an event. Death is darkness, resurrection is light, and just as the light of day naturally comes after the darkness of night, so it is with the resurrection. The motif of light also begins the next Easter sequence. The term *lux* appears five times already in the first stanza and is accompanied by six epithets – three adjectival: *dominica*, *insignis*, *unica* and three nouns: *lux lucis*, *lux laetitiae* and *lux immortalis gloriae* (vv. 1-6). The first expression from the second group of epithets is probably an allusion to the well-known hymn of St Ambrose *Splendor paternae gloriae*, used probably always in the Office, whose first stanzas are an invocation to Christ, the true sun, and where we find similar terminology and metaphorics: *Splendor paternae gloriae,/de luce lucem proferens,/ lux lucis et fons luminis,/diem dies illuminans*.[19] Both the sequence and Ambrose's hymn emphasise very strongly that Christ alone is the source of true light.

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[18] AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, "Quaestiones in Heptateuchum, 2, 73."

[19] AMBROSIUS MEDIOLANENSIS, "Splendor paternae gloriae, v. 34-38." On the symbolism of light in this hymn, see Tadeusz Gacia, "«Przyodziej ciała trofeum…». Soteriologia hymnów św. Ambrożego." *Verbum Vitae* 1 (2002):229-231.

The motif of light that illuminates the liturgical feast of the Resurrection is linked in meaning to the motif of the day – a special day, this very day, different from the others, with the theological symbolism inherent in it, which the sequence emphasises by speaking of its dignity – *primae diei* dignitas (v. 15). The day of Christ's resurrection signifies the new creation and recalls the first day of creation, which took place on the first day of the week, and the creation of light: *Diem mundi conditio/ commendat ab initio,/ Quam Christi resurrectio/ sublimat privilegio* (vv. 5-8).[20] The link between the theology of light and day is clearly seen in the sequence *Salve, dies, dierum gloria*. The piece, as already stated, begins with an apostrophe to the day, which is *dierum gloria* and *dies prima* (vv. 1-4). This dies prima, which becomes the addressee of the greeting, is the day of resurrection, the happy day of Christ's victory over death (vv. 2-4). Shortly after this greeting of the day, in the second stanza of the sequence, the motif of light immediately appears: *Lux divina caecis irradiat/ in qua Christus infernum spoliat* (v. 5). It seems that the divine light that shines upon the blind is in the first instance a reference to the article of faith concerning the *descensus Christi ad inferos*, and further, in a somewhat broader interpretation, as indicated by the later part of the sequence, the light that illuminates the world is a metaphorical account of the whole work of liberating sinful humanity from death through Christ's resurrection.

The motif of the morning can also be included in the group depicted. It appears in the sequence *Zima vetus expurgetur* and is, incidentally, one of its most beautiful parts: *Mane novum, mane laetum,/ vespertinum tergat fletum,/ quia vita vicit letum,/ tempus est laetitiae* (vv. 73-76). The morning (and this is, of course, the Paschal morning) is described as new and as joyful, and it is the antithesis of the evening. The joy of this morning is contrasted with the weeping of the evening, which is primarily, we should think, the weeping of Good Friday, of the death of Christ, but more profoundly, this weeping of the evening is perhaps a metaphorical image of a perishing world that is reborn by the resurrection of Christ. The juxtaposition of morning with evening, of joy with sorrow, is an obvious allusion to the text of Psalm 30(29): *Ad vesperum demoratur fletus, ad matutinum laetitia*; the content of the psalm is thanksgiving for deliverance from death. The following of morning after evening, here in the Paschal event, may also be a kind of allusion to the sixfold repetition of the phrase: *Factumque est vespere et mane* in the description of the successive days of creation in Genesis (Gen 1:1.5.8.13.19.23.31). In turn, the combination of the verb *tergere* with

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[20] Cf. John Paul II, "Apostolic Letter «Dies Domini» on keeping the Lord's Day," Apostolic Letter, accessed June 7, 2024, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_letters/1998/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_05071998_dies-domini.html.

the noun *fletus* makes it possible to recall several places in Scripture where, in the context of eschatological themes, the wiping away of tears and the pushing back of death are mentioned, which harmonises perfectly with the commented text of the sequence: *Praecipitabit mortem in sempiternum et absterget Dominus Deus lacrimam ab omni facie* (Is 25:8); *et absterget Deus omnem lacrimam ex oculis eorum* (Rev 7:17); *et absterget omnem lacrimam ab oculis eorum, et mors ultra non erit (*Rev 21:4). Let us not forget, and it is worth adding this at the end of this reflection, that the sequence is performed during Mass just before the singing of the gospel, while the gospel on most days of the octave of Easter depicted the event of the Paschal morning and the word *mane* in these texts appeared for obvious reasons: *Et valde mane, prima sabbatorum, veniunt ad monumentum, orto iam sole* (Mark 16:2); *Maria Magdalene venit mane, cum adhuc tenebrae essent* (John 20:1).

2.2. Spring motif

The motif of spring occurs in only one sequence of Adam, namely *Mundi renovatio.* We single it out specifically, however, because the topos of spring is present in poetry, and such motifs have great power in conveying content. This also applies to liturgical poetry. If even the image of spring itself does not appear directly, there are expressions meaningfully alluding to it, to mention, for example, *beata tempora* from the hymn *Iam surgit hora tertia*,[21] or *novata saecla* from the hymn *Ter hora trina volvitur*,[22] and fragments of both are still present today in the breviary Easter liturgy. It is known that perhaps the best example of the motif of spring as a metaphor for Easter is the hymn *Tempora florigero rutilo distincta sereno* by Venantius Fortunatus (which, incidentally, entered the liturgy as a processional hymn during the Easter season), where the ekphrasis of spring nature only serves as a background, because the central theme of the work is the proclamation of Christ's resurrection, and the raison d'être of nature, with all its springtime beauty, is not to be found in nature itself, but in the event whose celebration is celebrated at this time of year.[23] This is the kind of imagery we find in the sequence, where we read: *Resurgenti Domino/ conresurgunt omnia./ Elementa serviunt/ et auctoris sentiunt/ quanta sit potentia* (vv. 3-7). The elements of the world serve the Risen One, who is its Creator, and proclaim the immensity of His power; they rise with Him. The resurrection of Christ is the *renovatio*

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[21] Ambrosius Mediolanensis, "Iam surgit hora tertia (Hymnus III)."

[22] Auctor Incertus, "Ter hora trina volvitur (Hymnus ad Nonam)."

[23] Cf. Tadeusz Gacia, *Vernalia tempora mundo… Wenancjusz Fortunat i jego poezje liryczne* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Jedność, 2014), 90-196.

mundi – the renewal of the world. The next verses are an ekphrasis of nature – eight verses and eight evocative images. Let us read into them: *Caelum fit serenius/ et mare tranquillius,/ spirat aura mitius,/ vallis nostra floruit* (vv. 8-11). So we have a more serene sky, a calmer sea, a gentler breeze and a valley in bloom. The valley full of spring flowers may be an allusion to an image from the Song of Songs: *Iam enim hiems transiit,* (…) *flores apparuerunt in terra nostra* (Song 2:11-12), but whatever the source of the literary image, the valley is a metaphor for human life, the valley of this world which, thanks to Christ, flourishes.[24] Let us follow the same imagery further: *Revirescunt arida,/ recalescunt frigida/ postquam ver intepuit./ Gelu mortis solvitur* (…) (vv. 12-15). Spring comes after winter, so its warmth makes green again what has withered, warms again what was frozen – in other words, life is possible again. The last verse quoted shows the melting of the ice in spring, which here pictures death. This motif, lexically alluding, it seems, to the words of Horace's song: *Solvitur acris hiems*, shifts in the next verse to imagery indicating what effects the resurrection of Christ – his victory over death[25] – has on the world and people.

2.3. The theme of struggle and victory

A third, distinct group of motifs that can be identified in Adam's Easter sequences from St Victor is that of struggle. The motif of struggle appears in five pieces. The resurrection is portrayed as a victory won by Christ in his battle against Satan, who held the power of death, taking his prey from him, since Christ's death is only an apparent victory of death. The *Salve dies* sequence shows this very vividly: *Praedo vorax, monstrum tartareum,/ carnem videns, non cavens laqueum,/ in latentem ruens aculeum,/ aduncatur* (vv. 25-28). Satan is called here *praedo vorax*, or voracious plunderer, and a little higher *verus hostis* and *auctor malitiae* (vv. 17-18). The latter two terms are a reference to the biblical story of the origins of sin, of which Satan is the perpetrator. The term *monstrum tartareum* (according to my findings absent in this form earlier in patristic literature) is an allusion to the mystery of Christ's descent into the Abyss (Sheol or Hades). In the various apocrypha, the God of the underworld argues with Satan, accusing him of letting himself be deceived and agreeing to the deception of God (*laqueus*), which was the crucifixion of Christ. Christ's death is like a kind of bait for which Satan let himself be caught, like a fish on a hook (*aduncatur*). The term *aculeus*, in turn,

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[24] Cf. Łukasz Libowski, "Wiktoryńskie florarium: motywy kwietne w sekwencjach Adama ze Świętego Wiktora," *Roczniki Kulturoznawcze* 14, no. 2 (2023):167-168.

[25] Q. Horatius Flaccus, "Carmina, I, 4, v. 1."

is a reference to the words of St Paul: *Absorpta est mors in victoriam. Ubi, mors, tuus aculeus? Ubi tua, inferne, victoria?* (1Cor 15:54-55).

The motif of the victorious Christ taking his prey from Satan appears in the next two pieces. In the sequence *Ecce dies celebris* we read: *Hosti qui nos circuit/ praedam Christus eruit* (vv. 16-17), while in the *Lux illuxit* sequence the phrase with this motif is longer and the word *praedo* also appears in it. Let us quote this passage: *Praedam captans illicitam/ praedo privatur licita* (vv. 31-32). The plunderer, by acquiring loot to which he had no right, i.e. loot not belonging to him, is deprived of the loot to which he was entitled (*praeda licita*). This is, of course, about the death of Christ, but the question can be raised as to who (or rather what) this robber (*praedo*) is: is it Satan or Death?[26] Theologically, it could be Satan himself, but it could also be Death (we intentionally capitalize the word in this context, like the Dragon, the Pit, the Beast, the Abyss and Death in the translation of Revelation, seeing in it a personification). This close connection between the devil and death is indicated in Scripture when it says that death entered the world through the envy of the devil and is experienced by those who belong to him (cf. Wis 2:24), or in another place: "That through death he might overcome him who held the power of death, that is, the devil" (Heb 2:15). In the poets (for example, Venantius Fortunatus and Peter Damiani), the enemy to whom Christ takes his prey is Tartarus, so named, using the language of mythology, the personified underworld, as the space of Satan and Death.[27]

In two sequences, the victorious Christ is *the leo fortis*. This motif is of biblical provenance, for according to the Book of Revelation, the victorious Christ is the Lion of the tribe of Judah (Rev 5:5). This kind of imagery, hardly surprisingly, is confirmed by many examples, both in the patristic era – for example in St Augustine – and in medieval literature, and of these we cite in a footnote only three.[28] In the *Sexta passus* sequence, the mighty lion gives a sign of his power

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[26] Cf. ADAM ZE ŚWIĘTEGO WIKTORA, *Sekwencje*, 105. Jean Grosfillier, author of the critical edition of the sequence Adam of St Victor, commenting here, points out that by robber is meant here the devil and refers to several passages of Scripture. Łukasz Libowski, on the other hand, in his explanations of the translation of the sequence, argues that by robber it is better to understand death here, since its unrighteous booty is the death of Christ, and through it death loses what it had by right, that is, the right to put people to death, since Christ's resurrection opens the way to immortality for mortals.

[27] VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS, "Carmina II, 6, v. 24"; PETRUS DAMIANUS. "Carmina sacra et preces XL": *Solus ululet tartarus/ Rapta praeda vacuus,/ Fractos vectes, et ferrea/ Strata plorent moenia,/ Quae subruit Rex gloriae/ Cum laude victoriae.*

[28] AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, "Enarrationes in Psalmos. In psalmum CIII enarratio. Sermo III, 20: «Vicit leo de tribu Juda»; adora et leonem, quia Christum significat." Beda Venerabilis, "Commentarii in Pentateuchum,": *Bene ergo Christus ut leo requievit, qui non solum mortis acerbitatem*

by rising and vanquishing the prince of iniquity with the weapon of justice: *Leo fortis hodie/ dat signum potentiae/ resurgendo,/ Principem nequitiae/ per arma iustitiae/ devincendo* (vv. 34-36). The expression *arma iustitiae* comes from St Paul (2 Cor 6:7) and refers in his case to the battle waged by the Christian, and here finds use in depicting the victory of the risen Christ. In the *Zima vetus* sequence, the *leo fortis* motif is poetically expanded: the lion breaks the gates of terrible death and rises on the third day to the roar of the Father – thus metaphorically depicting the most extraordinary intervention of God, who raises His Son from the grave and the latter carries the spoils taken to heaven: *Sic de Iuda leo fortis,/ fractis portis dirae mortis,/ die surgens tertia,/ Rugiente voce Patris/ ad supernae sinum matris/ tot revexit spolia* (vv. 55-60).

The motif of Christ the victor taking the spoil appears in two more sequences. In the *Salve dies* the spoil, or rather the reclaimed property, is a sheep carried by the risen Christ on his shoulders to heaven: *Ressurexit liber ab inferis/ restaurator humani generis,/ ovem suam reportans humeris/ ad superna* (vv. 33-36). In the *Mundi renovatio*, the recovered spoils are the freed captives, because of sin held under the power of death: *Christus caelos reserat/ et captivos liberat quos culpa ligaverat,/ sub mortis interitu* (vv. 29-32). This aspect of the motif, especially the release of captives, is encountered frequently. It has its biblical basis (Eph 4:8; Ps 68(67):19) and is therefore exposed during the Easter season by the liturgy and the folk song that *and is therefore exposed during the Easter season by the liturgy and the folk song that stem from it, such as the Polish song Joyful Day Has Come*.[29]

2.4. OLD TESTAMENT REMINISCENCES AND THEIR ALLEGORICAL FUNCTION

The last group of motifs, very abundantly represented in Easter sequences, are reminiscences of characters and events from the Old Testament, interpreted symbolically and allegorically. We know that medieval authors were particularly fond of drawing on the wealth of spiritual content contained in the legacy of allegorical interpretation of Scripture. Authors of liturgical poetry, too, using

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non timuit, sed etiam in ipsa morte mortis imperium vincit. Rupertus Tuitiensis, "Commentaria in duodecim prophetas minores V": *Dominus noster Iesus Christus quasi leo rugiit, quando infernum contrivit et mortem vicit.*

[29] "Infernal powers he conquered,/ Enemies he trampled,/ Over the wretched he had mercy, Alleluia, Alleluia./ Till the third day he dwelt there,/ The holy fathers there he comforted,/ Then he preached to them behind him. Alleluia, Alleluia." ("Piekielne mocy zwojował,/ Nieprzyjaciele podeptał,/ Nad nędznemi się zmiłował, Allekuja, Alleluja./ Do trzeciego dnia tam mieszkał,/ Ojce święte tam pocieszał,/ Potem im za sobą kazał. Alleluja, Alleluja").

allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament, wish to extract as much content as possible from the biblical images and convey it in a condensed, poetic form. In Adam of Saint Victor, the Old Testament content used in an allegorical way could be divided into two groups: persons and events. Such a division would, however, be formal and artificial, so we present the presentation of the allegorically interpreted motifs, and there are more than a dozen of them, following essentially the chronology of the sacred story.

There are, as we have said, particularly many references to the Old Testament in the *Zima vetus* sequence, where they are preceded by a kind of introduction: *Lex est umbra futurorum,/ Christus finis promissorum/ qui consummat omnia* (vv. 19-21). They can be applied to all the allegorical images whose occurrence we now want to trace.

Let us first recall the clear allusion to the story of the garden of Eden: *Christi sanguis igneam/ hebetavit rumpheam,/ amota custodia* (*Zima vetus*, vv. 22-24). Christ's death and resurrection is the end of the exile of man, whose access to the garden and the tree of life was defended by cherubs with the gleaming blade of a sword (Gen 3:24). The image from the beginning of history is followed by Isaac foreshadowing Christ and the joy associated with his coming. Instead of Isaac, who was to be sacrificed, a lamb entangled in the bushes on Mount Moriah was slain (Gen 22:11-13): *pro quo vervex est occisus,/ vitae signat gaudium* (*Zima vetus*, vv. 26-27). Another figure, also from Genesis, is Joseph, who emerges from the well into which his brothers threw him (Gen 37:21-30), allegorically representing the resurrection, or rather ascension, of Christ: *Ioseph exit de cisterna,/ Iesus redit ad superna/ post mortis supplicium* (*Zima vetus*, vv. 28-30).

With the author of the Easter sequences, let us turn to the pages of the Book of Exodus and the motifs taken from there. Two sequences feature a lamb – *agnus sine macula* – once in the *Ecce dies* sequence as a figure of the tormented Christ*: qui pro nobis passus est* (vv. 14-15) and another time in the *Lux illuxit* sequence (v. 25). In this context, let us note that – just as the lamb allegorically foreshadows Christ – so the whole story of the Exodus from Egypt prefigures his resurrection. The liturgical expression *haec dies*, closely associated with Easter, in the *Zima vetus* sequence refers first to the event of that Exodus, in the sense that the taking of the spoils from the Egyptians and the liberation of the Hebrews are interpreted as foreshadowing this *haec dies*, which is Christ's Easter – *haec dies* – His resurrection: *Haec Aegyptum spoliavit,/ et Hebraeos liberavit/ de fornace ferrea* (*Zima vetus*, vv. 7-9). Another allegory (the author himself uses the expression *typus* here) is the goat: *quid hedus typi gesserit* (*Lux illuxit*, v. 26). This is an obvious allusion to the rite of purification from sins on the Day of Atonement and the associated sacrifice of one goat and the expulsion of the other into

the wilderness (Lev 16:7-10), which is an allegory of the true purification that Christ accomplishes through his death: *per mortem nos indebitam/ solvit a morte debita* (vv. 29-30).

From the biblical accounts of the trek to the promised land, we will encounter two motifs in the sequences: the copper serpent and the grape vine carried by the interviewees on a staff. The first motif is very familiar, since this typology is already reflected in the New Testament, where the exaltation of the serpent in the wilderness (Num 21:8-9) is shown as a figure of Christ's exaltation on the cross (John 3:14-16). Thus, in the *Zima vetus* sequence we read: *Quos ignitus vulnerat,/ hos serpentis liberat/ aenei praesentia*, vv. 34-36. It is not necessary to cite the very numerous examples of this allegory in the Church Fathers, from which authors of liturgical poetry draw their thoughts. It suffices to cite one place, with how evocative, however, the statement of St Ambrose, who writes that the image of the cross is the copper serpent that healed the wounds of those bitten.[30]

In contrast, the motif of the vine is rather less well known. In the sequence *Ecce dies celebris* we find the following stanza: *Iam de sacro crucis vecte/ botrus fluit in dilectae/ penetral Ecclesiae./ Iam calcato torculari,/ musto gaudent debriari/ gentium primitiae* (vv. 30-35). The author recalls the story of the scouts who, returning from Canaan, carried the wine grapes on a staff. This pole or rod symbolically foreshadows the cross – *de sacro crucis vecte*. It is a motif that was present earlier, for example in Maximus of Turin, for whom the grape carried on a staff is a figure of Christ, and the two scouts carrying it point to two peoples – Christian and Jewish. The motif of the grape cluster is linked, as we can see, to the image of the press (*torcular*) in which these fruits are pressed, and the mystical press is a motif that functions in patristic literature and in the liturgical poetry of the Middle Ages.[31] However, another kind of reference to the motif of the vine must be noted. In the *Zima vetus* sequence, the grapevine (*botrus Cypri* in the Vulgate translation) allegorically represents Christ: *Botrus Cypri reflorescit,/ dilatatur et excrescit,/ Synagogae flos marcescit/ et floret Ecclesia* (vv. 65-68). This is a phrase from the Song of Songs, where the bride calls her bridegroom thus: *Botrus Cypri dilectus meus in vineis Engaddi* (Song 1:13). The vine blossoms a second time, grows and expands – the resurrection of Christ

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[30] AMBROSIUS MEDIOLANENSIS. "De Spiritu Sancto, III, 8,50": *Et bene Dominus, aeneo serpente suspenso, iussit curari vulnera sauciorum; imago enim crucis aeneus serpens est.*

[31] MAXIMUS TAURINENSIS. "Homiliae, LXXIX": *Nam botrus in phalanga suspensus in cruce Christus appensus ostenditur; duo autem in phalanga portantes uvam, duo populi demonstrantur: Christianus utique, et Iudaeus.* For more on this see Tadeusz GACIA, "Motyw torcular Christi i jego reminiscencje w średniowiecznej poezji liturgicznej," *Vox Patrum* 91 (2024):49-66.

is thus compared to flowering again. With the flowering of the vine, i.e. the risen Christ, the Church begins to blossom.[32]

Let us turn to the texts in which figures from the Old Testament allegorically foreshadow Christ. These are Samson, David and Jonah. Samson is mentioned four times, the other figures once. Samson heralds Christ allegorically already by his very name: *Samson dictus sol eorum*, we read in the sequence *Ecce dies celebris* (v. 26), which is a reference to the widespread interpretation of this name given, for example, by Isidore of Seville,[33] but – as the author of the sequence immediately adds – *Christus lux est electorum,/ quos illustrat gratia* (vv. 27-29). Samson, however, imagines Christ primarily by his immense strength – *quod Samson praecinuit/ dum leonem lacerat* (*Ecce dies celebris*, vv. 18-19), while he foreshadows him, speaks of him earlier (*praecinuit*) by his deed, above all that he tore the lion, though he had nothing in his hand (Judg 14:6). The author of the sequence a few verses further on makes the same point, though *in* slightly different words: *Quod in morte plures stravit,/ Samson Christum figuravit/ cuius mors victoria* (*Ecce dies celebris*, vv. 24-26). The most spectacular feat of the biblical strongman, however, is yet another. Behold, Samson grasps the gates of the city gate, tears them out together with its doubles and with the valve, and carries them to the top of the mountain opposite Hebron (Judg 16:30): *Samson Gazae seras pandit/ et asportans portas scandit/ montis supercilium* (*Zima vetus*, vv. 52-54). This is a highly evocative image and, such being the case, it easily became the motif for an allegorical interpretation focused entirely on Christ, who displays extraordinary power by defeating death and Satan. Another figure who becomes an allegory of Christ is David: *David, fortis viribus,/ a leonis unguibus/ et ab ursi faucibus/ gregem patris liberat* (*Ecce dies celebris*, vv. 20-23). The words of the quoted page allude to what David says before the battle with the Philistine, trusting in God's help to support him as when he rescued him from the paws of lions and bears (1Sam 17:37). The third figure from the Old Testament is Jonah and this allegory is even more explicit: *Cetus Ionam fugitivum,/ veri Ionae signativum,/ post tres dies reddit vivum/ de ventris angustia* (*Zima vetus*, vv. 61-64). This is, of course, because Christ himself takes up this interpretation in the Gospel: "For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the bowels of the great fish, so will the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the womb of the earth" (Matt 12:40). In a condensed poetic image, in just four verses, we have an evocative antithesis: *Ionas fugitivus – verus Ionas*, further the symbolism of three days and the expression *ventris angustia* being a metaphor for Christ's tomb.

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[32] Cf. Libowski, "Wiktoryńskie florarium," 166-167.

[33] Isidorus Hispalensis, "Etymologiae VII, 6,56": *Samson sol eorum, vel solis fortitudo. Fuit enim virtute clarus, et liberavit Israel de hostibus*.

To conclude this paragraph, we note one other place where an Old Testament text provides an allegory referring to Christ, though not an event or figure like the above examples. This is the stanza of the sequence *Zima vetus*. Primarily, though not exclusively, an allusion to the famous prophecy of the messianic times*:* "The infant shall play on the burrow of the cobra, the child shall put his hand into the hiding place of the viper" (Is 11:8). The sequence reads: *Anguem forat in maxilla/ Christus hamus et armilla;/ in cavernam reguli/ Manum mittit ablactatus,/ et sic fugit exturbatus/ vetus hospes saeculi* (vv. 37-42 – another lesson, admittedly easier is *vetus hostis*). The text from Isaiah is thus alluded to in the middle verses of the quotation – Isaiah's prophecy is fulfilled, the babe, or Christ, puts his hand into the hiding place of the viper, or rather the basilisk (for *regulus* is a basilisk), and the ancient enemy, terrified by this, frets. The two opening verses provide a separate image, though one that connects in meaning to the other. Christ, named *hamus et armilla*, holes the jaws of the serpent. This is a rather difficult place at first sight, firstly because the words *hamus* and *armilla* are rare in Latin and do not immediately refer us, by simple association, to the place in Scripture from which they are taken, and secondly because the translation of this place, following the language of the original, deviates somewhat from the Vulgate in which the words are present. For it is a reference to the following text from the Book of Job: "Shall you seize the crocodile with a fishing rod, or with a string pull out its tongue, or shall you draw a cord through its nostrils, and pierce its jaws with a hook?" (Job 40:25-26). The Vulgate translation, on the other hand, reads: *An extrahere poteris Leviathan hamo et fune ligabis linguam eius? Numquid pones iuncum in naribus eius aut spina perforabis maxillam eius?* So here we have the words *hamus* and *maxilla*, which means that Adam had this text in mind when he wrote the commented stanza. The word *iuncus*, which means cordage, was replaced by the author of the sequence with the rhyme-giving word *armilla*, which can mean not only an ornamental or iron epaulet, but a muzzle put into the horse's mouth. The Leviathan of the Book of Job, of course, represents the devil, whom Christ smites in the jaws, using a fishing rod, or rather a harpoon, and tames him by putting a bit in his mouth. It is noteworthy that only a little later than Adam, the eminent medieval author Alan of Lille, already comments on this place of the sequence, referring to him (he calls him *magister Adam*), and builds an even deeper allegory. Leviathan was caught with a harpoon – he writes and explains that Christ is the fisfing rod (harpoon) for Leviathan, i.e. the devil, by his humanity and the bit because of the power of his Deity.[34]

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[34] Alanus de Insulis, "Distinctiones dictionum theologicalium, M": *Dicitur pravum cor hominis quod inhabitat diabolus, unde in Isaia: Puer ablactatus, mittens manum in cavernam reguli; id est Christus, postquam ablactatus fuerit, extrahet hominem a daemonis potestate, etc.; vel Christus*

3. ADAM'S EASTER SEQUENCES IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER PRE-TRIDENTINE SEQUENCES – ANALOGY AND PROXIMITY OF MOTIFS

Having outlined the main motifs present in Adam of St Victor's Easter sequences, it is worth asking whether, and to what extent, they are representative if we consider other medieval sequences with this theme. This paragraph is by design purely contributory and can only serve as an outline for a more extensive work, a kind of inspiration for literary analyses in this field of poetry.

As we noted above, most medieval sequences have anonymous authors and undetermined dating. We do not know the exact time of composition of most of them, because their presence in some codex or missal, with a specific date, does not automatically indicate the time of composition, and determining the routes of transmission of the text is complicated. The time of composition can be based to some extent on an analysis of style, composition and versification, it is much more difficult to formulate opinions on the mutual influence, inspiration or impact of one work on another. Rather, the entirety of this kind of work, all possible influences and inspirations, must be seen against the broad background provided by the liturgy, especially the breviary Office, knowledge of patristic sources, works related to extra-liturgical piety and yet other factors certainly influencing liturgical poetry.

As for the most common motifs that can be discerned from a (let us emphasise again) cursory review of the other several dozen sequences of the Easter period, it can be said that they are analogous to those we encountered in Adam of St Victor. There is also the motif of light, the motif of struggle and victory, and allegorically interpreted motifs taken from the Old Testament.

Among the motifs of light, perhaps less numerous than in the Adam sequences, at least two are worth noting; in both we find mythological elements – the river Styx, one of the rivers of Hades, and the Avernus, a lake regarded as the entrance to Hades. These names, functioning by metonymy in the sequences, point to the underworld, the world of the dead, from which the risen, shining Christ – the true Sun – returns: *De Styge qua redit Sol verus*[35]; *Deus tenebris illuxit Averni.*[36]

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eiciens diabolum in caverna reguli, id est ab homine pravo quem inhabitat Lucifer qui dicitur regulus; unde magister Adamus: Anguem forat in maxilla, Christus hamus et armilla (…). Dicitur Leviathan (…) captum esse per hamum; vermiculus Christi humanitas, hamus divinitas; diabolus persecutus est humanitatem Christi usque ad mortis articulum, et captus est per divinitatis aculeum (…). Christus dicitur hamus et armilla; hamus propter assumptam humanitatem, armilla propter virtutem divinitatis.

[35] "Haec est dies (In Paschate), vv. 4-5," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 8, 32, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[36] "Lux de luce (Sabbato sancto), v. 1," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 37, 30, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

The motif of struggle and victory, even on a cursory reading of the sequences, can be found dozens of times in twenty-odd of them. It is thus a dominant motif, probably even more so than in Adam. For greater clarity, let us group the more important texts with the presence of this motif. First motif – Christ crushes with his right hand the power of Tartarus and takes away its spoils: *Tartarea/ superbia/ frangitur Christi dextera*[37]; *spoliat Christus tartara*[38]; *dira spoliavit tartara*[39]; *Resurgens/ zabulon vincto/ spoliat tartara*;[40] *victor vincens Tartara*[41]; *de hoste superbo/* (…)/ *triumphavit pulchre/ castra illius/ perimens taeterrima*;[42] *damnans tartara* (…)/ *claustra destruxit saeva*[43]; *Dum spolia/ vendicas/ tibi tartarea,/ Leviathan exhibita/ faucibus eruta*[44]; *Lugent maesta/ de subducta sibi praeda/ tartara*.[45] Another rendition of the same motif – Christ destroys the thresholds of the subterranean prison and the stronghold of Tartarus: *Confracta/ sunt limina/ carceris omnia/ regis ad imperia*[46]; *Regi clastra*

[37] "Psallat plens devota (Feria IV Paschae), vv. 6-8," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 42, 33, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[38] "Cuncta simul (Feria II Paschae), vv. 4-5," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 7, 60, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922); cf. "Fulgens praeclara (In festo Paschae), v. 18-19," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 7, 57, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[39] "Laudum laeta (In Resurrectione D.N.), v. 48," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 7, 80, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[40] "Ecce triumphat (Feria III Paschae), vv. 12-14," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 10, 31, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[41] "Adest enim festa (In Sabbato Paschae), vv. 4-5," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 7, 65, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[42] "Fulgens praeclara (In festo Paschae), vv. 6-9," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 7, 57, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[43] "Adest pia, vv. 5, 8," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 7, 81, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[44] "Pangite celsa voce (Feria III Paschatis), vv. 21-25," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 10, 31, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[45] "O, quam beata Regina (Per Octavam), vv. 24-26," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 42, 36, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[46] "Canat omni tuba (Dominica Paschae), vv. 42-45," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 7, 59, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

Deo tartarea rumpenti[47]; *Potens/ confregit taetra/ tartara/ manu bellica/ pro-toplasti/ resolvit vincla*[48]; *Tartara saeva, chaos destruxit, moenia dira,/ Clausit et obscuras valvas aulamque maligni*[49]; *Ut moriens/ sic superaret fortem/ cum callida versutia./ Domum eius/ ingressus est rex aeternus/ et Averni confregit vasa.*[50]

Within the group of victory motifs, one motif, perhaps the only one of its kind, stands out – here is the risen Christ defeating the tyranny of Babylon, in opposition to which the church is, the bride, rejoicing in the victor's triumph: *Hanc Babylonis/ nuper tyranno/ misere afflictam/ atque suis/ a sedibus trans-latam/ Tu, Christe, favens/ ploranti atque sternens Babylonem,/ revocasti/ Sion tuum ad montem.*[51] Unlike the examples cited earlier, this text has, as we can see, its biblical roots, both in the prophets in the Old Testament and also in the New (the announcement of the fall of historical Babylon and the fall of Babylon in apocalyptic times).

Also in this group, it is necessary to note the metaphors of the lion encounte-red several times referring to Christ's victory over Satan and to the resurrection: *leo fortissimus*[52]; *surrexit/ potenter sepulchro leo/ fortis* (…)[53]; *fortis leo daemone victo* (…).[54]

Finally, before we move on to the last examples of this group of motifs, it is ne-cessary to include here some of the most famous verses of the Easter sequence, as they are still known today, thanks to the fact that this only Easter sequence survived

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[47] "Prome, casta (Feria III Paschae), vv. 5-8," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 7, 61, eds. Gui-do M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[48] "Laetabunda (Feria V Paschae), vv. 6-9," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 7, 61, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[49] "Lux de luce (Sabbato Sancto), vv. 5-6," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 37, 30, eds. Gui-do M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[50] "Ecce vicit (Feria VI Paschae), vv. 10-15," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 7, 63, eds. Gui-do M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[51] "Ecce, vocibus (In Resurrectione Domine), vv. 34-43," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 54, 16, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reis-land, 1886-1922).

[52] "Ave, leo fortissime (Dominca V post Pascha), v. 1," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 10, 32, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[53] "Hodie sollemnitas (IN resurrectione D.N.), vv. 4-6," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 7, 78, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[54] "Laudantes triumphantem (In Resurrectione Domini), vv. 27-28," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 54, 15, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

in the Mass liturgy after the Council of Trent – verses depicting the battle between death and life ending with the victory of the Commander of life who reigns alive: *Mors et vita duello/ conflixere mirando;/ dux vitae mortuus/ regnat vivus*.[55]

Among the motifs of battle and victory, it is worth highlighting several in which there are references to the customs and institutions of the Roman world – banner, trophy, triumph, pomp. Their Latin terms in the sequences are metaphors for Christ's victory on the cross and in the resurrection: *vexilllum crucis/ iam sublimator*[56]; *resonant/ trophea/ Christi iam pretiosa*[57]; *Cum crucis tropaheo/ infernum penetrans/ abegit claustra saeva./ Quis es, daemones/ ululant,/ crucifer, qui nostra/ ut Deus/ solvit vincula cuncta?*[58] *Christi per tropaea/ quod zabulosa fraus/ est deiecta*.[59] At the end of this group, let us note two more fragments of sequences in which we observe rich imagery of this kind, especially in the second text cited: *Morte victa diem hunc/ ornavit gloriosi/ pompa triumphi*[60]; *Iam Victor Christus barathro/ populato, mortis/ principe vinculato,/ ab inferis pompa/ regreditur nobili*.[61]

We will now point briefly to the presence of reminiscences of Old Testament events and figures functioning as allegories of Christ's resurrection. In very many places these are the same as the motifs encountered in the Adam sequences, as the examples below indicate.

Thus, following the chronology of salvation history, we will first encounter – as in one Adam sequence – an allusion to the fiery sword that guarded access

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[55] "Victimae paschali laudes (In Resurrectione Domini), vv. 7-10," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 54, 12, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[56] "Haec est vera redemptio (In Resurrectione Domini), vv. 9-10," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 53, 77, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[57] "Alleluia hoc pium (In Vigilia Paschae), vv. 5-7," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 7, 57, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[58] "Clara gaudia (In Resurrectione D.N.), vv. 24- 31," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 7, 67, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[59] "Haec dies praeclara (In Resurrectione Domini. Per Octavam), vv. 36-38," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 42, 35, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[60] "Laudantes triumphantem Christum (In Resurrectione Domini), vv. 11-13," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 54, 15, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[61] "In ara crucis (In Resurrectione Domini), vv. 6-10," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 37, 31, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

to paradise. The day of Christ's resurrection removes this sword: *Et de ante paradisum/ Tulit ensem flammeum*.[62] In another sequence, Isaac, who is a type of Christ's sacrifice, is invoked: *Haec pridem/ signavit sub typo/ Isaac parentis/ nostri immolatio,/ mactabatur/ aries pro quo Domino*,[63] with, immediately after him in the same sequence, Joseph sold into Egypt as a foreshadowing of his future passion of Christ – like Jesus – he will feed his people: *Te, Christe,/ passurum pro mundo/ Ioseph praenotavit/ venditus in Aegypto/ nunc daturum/ typicos victos populo*.[64] The victory over Pharaoh and the exodus from Egypt illustrate Christ's victory and deliverance from hell: *Nunc gemit Pharao sibi raptos/ plaga mortis/ quos afflixit vernaculos,/ Nos autem referamus supremo/ regi grates,/ qui nos redemit de* barathro.[65] Christ's holy blood makes us fear not the sword of the punishing angel – an obvious allusion in turn to the blood of the lamb, which served to mark houses and now marks the house of our soul: *Huius cruore sacrosancto./ Insigniti mentis domo/ Non pavemus angeli ensem/ caedentis reos vindicem*.[66] In the Easter sequences, however, we most often encounter a reference to Samson. This hero is a Christ figure when he *strangles* the lion and breaks down the enemy gates – *Nam fueras praefiguratus/ infernum fracturus,/ cum Samson, vir inclitus,/ leonem suffocavit/ et portas hostiles disrupit*[67]; when he overcomes a thousand men and lifts the city gates – (…) *Samson vi maxillae/ Solus sternit viros mille/ Et victor revertitur./ Portas aufert civitatis* (…)[68]; when it devastates

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[62] "Haec est dies nobi laeta (In Resurrectione Domini. Feria III Paschae), vv. 27-28," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 42, 32, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[63] "Laudum quis carmine (In Resurreectione Domini), vv. 23-28," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 54, 18, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[64] "Laudum quis carmine (In Resurreectione Domini), vv. 29-34," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 54, 18, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[65] "Eia, harmoniis (In Resurrectione Domini), vv. 9-14," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 54, 17, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[66] "Eia, harmoniis (In Resurrectione Domini), vv. 21-24," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 54, 17, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[67] "Laudum quis carmine (In Resurreectione Domini), vv. 35-39," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 54, 18, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[68] "Haec est dies nobi laeta (In Resurrectione Domini. Feria III Paschae), vv. 42-45," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 42, 32, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

Gaza and victorious stands on a mountain and that on top of a cross – *Samson ille Gazam vastat et in monte crucis astat secum ferens spolia*.[69] There is also no lack of reference to the story of Jonah, who emerges from the bowels of the whale, becoming a figure of the resurrection: *Detumescunt fluctus freti,/ Ionas exit ventrem ceti,/ Ninivitae fiunt laeti* (…).[70]

The catalogue of motifs presented is purely illustrative, although we have tried to note the most important ones. They show a great many analogies with the leitmotifs of the Adamic sequence and *vice versa*, and are evidence of mutual influences and inspirations whose turn could be investigated in a completely different study. It should be added, however, that there are also motifs completely absent from Adam's sequence, yet so attractive as the image of Christ – Orpheus, who leads his beloved, i.e. the Church, out of the underworld: *Sponsam suam ab inferno/ Regno locans et superno/ noster traxit Orpheus*.[71] Their existence encourages all the more the further study of the liturgical poetry of the Middle Ages.

ABBREVIATION

Patrologia Latina – *Patrologiae cursus completus: seu bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium SS. Patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum… Series latina prior in qua prodeunt patres, doctores, scriptoresque ecclesiae latinae a Tertulliano ad Innocentium III*. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. Parisiis: Apud Garnier fratres editores et J.-P. Migne successores, 1844–1855.

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[69] "Morte Christi celebrata (for the feast of Easter), vv. 37-39," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 8, 33, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[70] "Haec est dies nobi laeta (In Resurrectione Domini. Feria III Paschae), vv. 21-23," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 42, 31, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

[71] "Morte Christi celebrata ((n festo Paschatis), vv. 46-48," in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 8, 33, eds. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

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LEITMOTIFS IN THE EASTER SEQUENCES OF ADAM OF ST VICTOR

S u m m a r y

The theme of the study is the main motifs found in the Easter sequences of Adam of Saint Victor (died 1150). A literary analysis of the seven sequences leads to the identification of four groups of the most common and typical motifs. These are the motif of light, day and morning, the motif of spring, the motif of struggle and victory, and reminiscences taken from the Old Testament, functioning as allegories of Christ's resurrection. In the final section of the study, the author asks whether the motifs indicated coincide with those of other Easter sequences of the Middle Ages and thus prepares the field for further literary analyses of liturgical poetry from the time before the Council of Trent.

Keywords: Adam of St Victor; Easter sequences; motifs; reminiscences; medieval

MOTYWY PRZEWODNIE W SEKWENCJACH WIELKANOCNYCH ADAMA ZE ŚWIĘTEGO WIKTORA

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Tematem opracowania są główne motywy występujące w sekwencjach wielkanocnych Adama ze Świętego Wiktora (†1150). Analiza literacka siedmiu sekwencji prowadzi do wyodrębnienia czterech grup najczęstszych i typowych dla tej tematyki motywów. Jest to motyw światła, dnia i poranka, motyw wiosny, motyw walki i zwycięstwa oraz reminiscencje zaczerpnięte ze Starego Testamentu, funkcjonujące jako alegorie zmartwychwstania Chrystusa. W końcowej części opracowania autor stawia pytanie o to, czy wskazane motywy są zbieżne z motywami innych sekwencji wielkanocnych wieków średnich i w ten sposób przygotowuje pole do dalszych analiz literackich poezji liturgicznej z czasów przed Soborem Trydenckim.

Słowa kluczowe: Adam ze Świętego Wiktora; sekwencje wielkanocne, motywy, reminiscencje, średniowiecze.