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REX SALOMON FECIT TEMPLUM SEQUENCE.
AN EXPRESSION OF VICTORINES MYSTAGOGY

INTRODUCTION

The Second Vatican Council portrayed the Church as a continuation of sacred history. This perspective is also fundamental to the understanding of the liturgy, in which the work of salvation is made present.¹ As stated in the Catechism of the Catholic Church, the purpose of liturgical catechesis is to move from the visible to the invisible, from the sign to what it signifies, from the “sacraments” to the “mysteries” (CCC 1075) – so as to lead to a deeper participation in the liturgy and the formation of a Christian life that becomes the glorification of God.² This catechesis, also called “mystagogy,” introduces the faithful to the mystery of Christ by referring to the typology of the Old Testament and

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¹ Cf. Waław HRYNIEWICZ, “Liturgia a misterium paschalne Chrystusa,” in *Wprowadzenie do liturgii*, eds. Franciszek Blachnicki, Waław Schenk, and Rudolf Zielasko (Poznań–Warszawa–Lublin: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, 1967), 75-76. Cf. HRYNIEWICZ, “Liturgia a misterium paschalne Chrystusa,” 78: “Considered in the light of the mystery of redemption, the Church’s liturgy is therefore not only the worship due to God, but at the same time the making present and continuing of the work of salvation.” Cf. also: Odo CASEL, *The Mystery of Christian Worship, and Other Writings*, ed. Burkhard Neuheuser (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1999), 38-49; Waldemar PAŁĘCKI, “Odo Casel. Nauka o misteriach chrześcijańskich,” in *Leksykon Wielkich Teologów XX/XXI w.*, vol. 3, eds. Józef Majewski, and Jarosław Makowski (Warszawa: Więż, 2006), 48-61; Alceste CATELLA, “Theology of the Liturgy,” in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, vol. 2: *Fundamental Liturgy*, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco (Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1998), 8-9.

² Krzysztof POROSŁO, “Mistagogia liturgiczna i nowa ewangelizacja,” *Roczniki Teologiczne* 68, no. 8 (2021):99.

salvation history.³ It is realised through liturgical catechesis, homily and celebration of the liturgy.⁴ The person who introduces the mystery, and therefore the “mystagogue,” is above all Jesus Christ – He is the “Speech-God” and the “Speech-Of-God”; so is every person, insofar as he leads the faithful to participate in the mystery of salvation.⁵ The liturgical texts, as well as the sacraments of initiation, which, through Baptism, Confirmation and the Eucharist, introduce the faithful to the economy of salvation, have a mystagogical character.⁶ In turn, the patristic ideal, in which the theologian is also a mystagogue, is also a model for contemporary theology.⁷

The meanings of the terms ‘mystery,’ ‘mystagogy’ and ‘mystagogue’ are gaining prominence in the space of the new evangelisation and pastoral care.⁸ Although they are mainly associated with the era of the Church Fathers and the discoveries of the twentieth-century liturgical movement – it is worth looking at how they were present in the reflection of medieval theologians associated with the Abbey of St Victor.⁹ The legacy of Victorian thought was encouraged

³ Cf. Jefferey BAERWALD, “Mystagogy,” in *The New Dictionary of Sacramental Worship*, ed. Peter E. Fink (Minnesota: Gill & Macmillan, 1990), 881-883. Cf. Czesław KRAKOWIAK, “Mistagogia,” in *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 12, 1260. Cf. also: Waldemar PAŁĘCKI, *Pytając o liturgię. Misterium w liturgii i życiu Kościoła* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2015), 19-24. Cf. also: Waldemar PAŁĘCKI, “Encyklika papieża Pius XII *Mediator Dei* a teologia misterium.” *Roczniki Teologiczne* 55, no. 8 (2008):187-188.

⁴ POROSŁO, “Mistagogia liturgiczna i nowa ewangelizacja,” 104-109, Cf. also: Michael KUNZLER, *Liturgy of the Church* (London–New York: Continuum, 2001), 112. Cf. also: Stanisław DYK, “Rola homilijnej mistagogii w dziele nowej ewangelizacji,” in *Quod itaque redemptoris nostri conspicuum fuit, in sacramenta transivi. Sakramenty w misterium Kościoła*, eds. Bogusław Migut, Zbigniew Głowacki, and Waldemar Pałęcki (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2014), 301-310. Elsewhere, S. Dyk states: “The fundamental purpose of the homily is to lead towards the mystery of Christ – which has found its goal in the Paschal event – so that it can affect the faithful with all its salvific power”; Stanisław DYK, *Homilia. Droga do żywego poznania misterium Chrystusa* (Kielce: Jedność, 2016), 15.

⁵ Cf. Waław ŚWIERZAWSKI, “Liturgia uobecnia i odsłania misterium Chrystusa i Kościoła,” in *Misterium Christi*, vol. 1: *Fundamental realities of the liturgy*, ed. Waław Świerzawski (Zawichost–Kraków–Sandomierz: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne i Drukarnia w Sandomierzu, 2012), 79-80.

⁶ Cf. KUNZLER, *Liturgy of the Church*, 158 and 257-259.

⁷ Cf. Bogusław MIGUT, *Liturgia jako teologia żywa* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2019), 30-33.

⁸ Cf. POROSŁO, “Mistagogia liturgiczna i nowa ewangelizacja,” 95-111.

⁹ The community of Canons Regular of the Abbey of St Victor, founded in 1113 in Paris, became an important intellectual and spiritual centre through the work of William of Champeaux. The abbey attracted many scholars, forming a congregation comprising 30 abbeyes and 40 priors, and under Master Hugo of St Victor represented a model of Christian higher education. The theology of the Victorians was wisdom-based, and their curriculum combined

by Benedict XVI. He recommended that contemporary liturgy should draw on the perspective of these theologians, by emphasising the importance of visible signs and symbols in the sacraments and the need for appropriate catechesis so that the faithful experience each celebration with devotion and spiritual joy.¹⁰ The aim of the following paper is to show, on the basis of the sequence *Rex Salomon fecit templum* by Adam of St Victor, how Victorian mystagogy found its practical application. This will be presented after first justifying that it is reasonable to speak of Victorian mystagogy¹¹ and after generally characterising the features of the sequences of the time.

1. VICTORIAN MYSTAGOGY

The determinants of the mysteriousness of the liturgy are: the accomplishment of the salvific mystery of God in it and the access of the faithful to participate in this mystery.¹² For this reason, the basis for mystagogy is a holistic vision of salvation history – such a broad concept is clearly present in Victorian theology. It is significant that the fundamental work of Hugo of St Victor for this school, *De sacramentis christianae fidei*, was called “the early summation of all theology from creation to eschatology.”¹³ It reveals the sacramental key to the interpretation of reality. According to Hugo, sacred history has its centre in the incarnation of Christ, which is a clear caesura dividing the history of the world into what comes before it and what comes after it. Incarnational theology in Hugo’s edition is seen in liturgical dynamics – the incarnation is ‘the sacrament of the sacraments.’ From Jesus Christ, who is the “one sacrament,” emanate a myriad of

hermeneutics with spiritual formation and ethics with spirituality; Cf. Dirk ANSORGE, *Kleine Geschichte der christlichen Theologie Epochen, Denker, Weichenstellungen* (Regensburg: Pustet, 2017), 145-148.

¹⁰ Cf. BENEDICT XVI, “Ugo e Riccardo di San Vittore,” Udiienza Generale, accessed November 25, 2009, https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/it/audiences/2009/documents/hf_ben-xvi_aud_20091125.html.

¹¹ There is no shortage of opinions that the excessive use of alegoresis in medieval biblical and liturgical treatises (*explicationes missae*) and their subsequent transfer to the texts of devotional books – degenerated the method of theological interpretation and weakened the importance of catechesis and mystagogical commentaries in the Church, thus leading to the disappearance of mystagogy in the medieval Roman Church. Cf. Dominik OSTROWSKI, “Mistagogia końca IV wieku jako teologia w ujęciu Enrico Mazzy,” *Roczniki Liturgiczno-Homiletyczne* 59, no. 3 (2013):124.

¹² Bogusław MIGUT, “Misteryjna natura liturgii,” *Roczniki Teologiczno-Homiletyczne* 1, no. 50 (2010):162.

¹³ Cf. Paul ROREM, *Hugh of Saint Victor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 11.

“secondary sacraments” which, before him, announce and herald him and, after him, imitate and make him present. “Sacramentality” in the theology of the Victorines has both a *soteriological* and a Christological character which provides it with both diversity and concreteness of expression.¹⁴

For Hugo of Saint Victor, the word *sacramentum* has a wide range of meaning, from the general ‘sign of a sacred reality’ to the contemporary understanding of a sacrament ‘as an efficacious sign of grace in the Church.’ In addition, the term includes: the meaning of events described in the Bible, God’s intervention in history and the reaffirmation of the Christian faith. These five different meanings form one coherent whole – one flows seamlessly into the next. In his works: *Didascalicon*, *Dialogus de creatione mundi*, *Sententiae de divinitate* and *De sacramentis christianae fidei* – Hugo sketches a broad vision of the Christian faith, which is framed by eight fundamental themes: The Trinity, creation, the fall of humanity, the sacraments of natural law, the sacraments of written law, the Incarnation, the New Testament and the final resurrection.¹⁵

In the *Didascalicon*, Hugo of St Victor gives a threefold motivation for the existence of the sacraments. Firstly, the sacraments are given to men to diminish their pride and lust – man has turned away from God, and although he is by nature superior to the world, needs to learn humility by using inferior goods to achieve salvation. Secondly, people need the sacraments for instruction – after sin, man is only able to know the visible; the sacraments allow us to see invisible grace through the visible elements. Thirdly, for exercise, because people have lost their inner constancy and harmony – they are condemned to constant change; the sacraments offer constancy yet variety in spiritual practices. Sacraments are adapted to human weakness resulting from sin and lead people back to God and salvation.¹⁶

Hugo’s theory of the sacraments combines different concepts: his theology refers to both the patristic doctrine of *sacramentum* (the Latin translation of the Greek μυστήριον) and the scholastic understanding of the sacrament as an effective sign of God’s grace. Particularly noteworthy is his understanding of the sacraments as an essential, integral and successive stage in the history of salvation and his broad and dynamic vision of sacramentality.¹⁷

¹⁴ Cf. Dominique POIREL, “Sacraments,” in *A Companion to the Abbey of Saint Victor in Paris*, eds. Hugh Feiss, and Juliet Mousseau (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 278-285.

¹⁵ Cf. POIREL, “Sacraments,” 284-285.

¹⁶ Cf. POIREL, “Sacraments,” 289-290.

¹⁷ Cf. POIREL, “Sacraments,” 286.

A second argument testifying to the existence of Victorian mystagogy is the practice of initiation as a principle of formation.¹⁸ The nature of initiation can already be seen at the stage of the novice's entry into the order – it is carefully organised and described in detail in *De institutione novitiorum* and *Liber ordinis*. The whole process illustrates what the mystagogical method can consist of in practice. It is characterised by the systematic introduction of a person into the divine space under the guidance of an experienced guide. In this introduction, novices move from simple to increasingly complex aspects of religious life, supported by a mystagogue master and companion.¹⁹

Hugo's pedagogical method is well thought out and structured, enabling new adepts to enter successfully into the cogs of religious life and thus to walk towards Christian maturity. The Victorian vision of the integral education of the whole person, however, finds its basis not in pedagogy but in theological and philosophical assumptions. Central to Hugo of St Victor's soteriology is the 're-formation' or 're-structuring' of the person, which allows humanity to participate in the form of Divine Wisdom.²⁰

The overriding aim of education at the abbey school was to foster the Christian life to reach its full potential. To realise this goal, Hugo of St Victor organised his textbook of systematic theology *De sacramentis christianae fidei* around four questions: 1) why man was created, 2) what nature he received at creation, 3) how he fell and 4) how he was redeemed. The answers to these questions then formed the basis of his pedagogical methods and aims. The fall of man caused the body to become mortal and the soul to lose its clarity of cognition and order, resulting in ignorance and a tendency to evil. Redemption requires the restoration of stability in the mind through education and contemplation, so that it perceives spiritual reality through the material world.²¹ In

¹⁸ Priorities of life at the Victorians include: forming new members according to the abbey's way of life, meeting the needs of the poor, providing care for sick and dying brethren, and offering hospitality to travellers and visitors, including lay people, monks, nobles and the royal family. Cf. Juliet MOUSSEAU, "Daily Life at the Abbey of Saint Victor," in *A Companion to the Abbey of Saint Victor in Paris*, eds. Hugh Feiss, and Juliet Mousseau (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 74.

¹⁹ Cf. MOUSSEAU, "Daily Life at the Abbey of Saint Victor," 75-76.

²⁰ Cf. Marshall CROSSNOE, "«Devout, Learned, and Virtuous»: The History and Histories of the Order of Saint Victor," in *A Companion to the Abbey of Saint Victor in Paris*, eds. Hugh Feiss, and Juliet Mousseau (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 4. Cf. also: Donna HAWK-REINHARD, "Hugh of Saint Victor's Pedagogy," in *A Companion to the Abbey of Saint Victor in Paris*, eds. Hugh Feiss, and Juliet Mousseau (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 114.

²¹ HAWK-REINHARD, "Hugh of Saint Victor's Pedagogy," 114-118, after Boyd COOLMAN, *The Theology of Hugh of St Victor: An Interpretation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3-4.

Hugo's view, the history of salvation is a perspective that touches every human being and thus requires an adequate response from everyone. The basis for man's understanding and shaping of himself is the history-salvation narrative. Such a broad vision allows man to 1) explicate the great dignity he derives from being rooted in God's Plan of love; 2) interpret the experiences he is currently living, including those related to the consequences of sin; and 3) perceive the purpose of his life and the means to achieve it. From this historiosalvific perspective came the Victorian demand for a life ordered by appropriate practices. A key element of pedagogy in Hugo's view was the threefold medicine consisting of faith, sacraments and good works. Faith was defined both as the content to be taught and the right attitude towards that content – it combined cognition with piety.²²

The liturgy was one of the pillars of the Victorians' activity: the canons were committed to community life, and liturgical prayer was central to it. A testament to their commitment is how much care they took in developing, commenting on and composing new works for the divine service.²³ The Victorian demand to engage all the senses for a mature life also applied to liturgical celebrations. Richard of Saint Victor, a disciple of Hugo, placed the liturgical service and the celebration of the sacraments at the pinnacle of contemplation of beauty. Aesthetic qualities came together in solemn celebrations: the smell of incense, the melody of chants, the flickering of gold and lights, the shapes and colours of the shrines and the liturgical vestments. The beauty of these ceremonies was a kind of *ars celebrandi*, a sign of invisible power, and thus had a mystagogical character.²⁴ According to the Victorian postulate, also the correctness of the movement of the body in the liturgy helps to bring man closer to God, "reforms" him according to the original design of the Creator and restores peace in the soul and harmony in the community.²⁵

The work of renewal of the Church took place through the sacramental action in the liturgy. Through it, the faithful became "the house of the Lord," both individually and collectively.²⁶ The formation taking place in the Church was understood in a strongly hierarchical way: the role of the priesthood was emphasised

²² Cf. HAWK-REINHARD, "Hugh of Saint Victor's Pedagogy," 114-118.

²³ Cf. HAWK-REINHARD, "Hugh of Saint Victor's Pedagogy," 140; cf. also: Margot FASSLER, "The Victorines and the Medieval Liturgy," in *A Companion to the Abbey of Saint Victor in Paris*, eds. Hugh Feiss, and Juliet Mousseau (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 390.

²⁴ Cf. Wanda BAJOR, "«Zbawcze piękno» w teorii estetycznej wiktorynów," *Roczniki Kulturoznawcze* 3 (2012):75-79.

²⁵ Cf. HAWK-REINHARD, "Hugh of Saint Victor's Pedagogy," 121-123.

²⁶ Cf. HAWK-REINHARD, "Hugh of Saint Victor's Pedagogy," 121.

in order to then show their influence in shaping the faith and life of the laity. The conviction of the special role of the clergy gave rise to the pastoral commitment of the canons – particularly evident in the ministry of the sacrament of penance and in preaching.²⁷

In the light of the above, it can be said that the Victorian school was mystical in that it not only presented a mysterious perspective of the history of salvation, but created a programme of life that incorporated that history.²⁸ It was mystagogy in the broad sense – a conscious process in which the whole Christian life is lived in a historiosaving perspective. It was expressed in the life of a community of brothers who harmonise in practice the achievements of the knowledge of their epoch, in the present case above all: theology, philosophy, pedagogy. The Victorian postulate of ‘integral life’ reached its particular fulfilment in the liturgy – where *theory* and *praxis* meet. From a pedagogical point of view, liturgy and community life, which resonated with the curriculum and educational goals, created the ideal conditions for living life fully as ‘Christian philosophers’ who reflected the beauty of inner and outer transformation in the likeness of God.²⁹

²⁷ Cf. Hugh FEISS, “Pastoral ministry: preaching and confession,” in *A Companion to the Abbey of Saint Victor in Paris*, eds. Hugh Feiss, and Juliet Mousseau (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 147 and 183. The Victorian description of customs from the 12th century describes in detail the liturgical tasks, especially of the armarius, the hebdomadars and the sacristan. The armarius managed the books, chant and liturgical calendar, while the hebdomadars intoned the chants and performed the liturgical service for the week. The sacristan was responsible for the treasury, the altar vessels, the liturgical vestments and the preparation of the host for communion. Cf. CROSSNOE, “Devout, Learned, and Virtuous,” 407-410.

²⁸ Theo Kobusch distinguishes three metaphysical projects: 1) Aristotelian ontology: it focuses on a universal ontology, combining the theory of science with the theology of first principles (Thomas Aquinas, Suarez); 2) Platonic henology: it transcends cosmology and ontology to become one with the One (Master Eckhart, German Idealism); 3) Christian mystagogy: it prioritises the transformation of desires through the beauty of the Good, combining theology with philosophy (Bernard of Clairvaux, Richard of St Victor, cf: David ALBERTSON, “Philosophy and Metaphysics in the School of Saint Victor: From Achard to Godfrey,” in *A Companion to the Abbey of Saint Victor in Paris*, eds. Hugh Feiss, and Juliet Mousseau (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 357-358.

²⁹ According to Hugo, wisdom includes both understanding and knowledge. Understanding has both a theoretical and a practical dimension. Full understanding requires the transformation of the affections, cognition and will in order to restore the image of God in body and soul and to ensure the coherence of the community in the history of redemption. Cf. HAWK-REINHARD, “Hugh of Saint Victor’s Pedagogy,” 124-125.

2. THE MYSTAGOGIC NATURE OF THE ADAM SEQUENCE FROM ST VICTOR

The first part of the work substantiated the existence of mystagogy in the mind of the Victorian. For this reason, it is worth exploring: whether and how it was realised in the Adamic sequences of St Victor. The sequence is a privileged place for mystagogy in the mysteries that happen in the liturgy. This is because of its close association with worship: a) genetically, the sequence is linked to the chanting of the alleluia; b) it is closely linked to the solemnity, liturgical period or memorial of the day, in order to help the faithful assimilate and experience more deeply the salvific liturgical events.³⁰

In the Middle Ages, the liturgy was an integral part of religious life – shaping the minds and hearts of the faithful from childhood to death. It was in its context that Scripture was learned, religious art was communed and the daily rhythm of life was organised, and communities found in the present what constituted their past. Both laity and clergy appreciated the role of the liturgy in maintaining social stability and unity. Despite the attachment to tradition, medieval worship was also subject to changes that had a fundamental impact on the community. Latin medieval liturgy itself took shape over centuries, with a turning point in the Carolingian era (eighth and ninth centuries) and a time of stabilisation of liturgical creativity in the Western Church (thirteenth century). Descriptions of liturgical ceremonies can be found both in liturgical books and in treatises that emerged from the ninth century onwards, which were not limited to descriptions of rites but also included a theological view of liturgical actions and their connection to salvation history.³¹

One important component of the development of the liturgy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is the number of sequences produced, especially in the Parisian milieu.³² Music fused with the text emphasised the importance of the content

³⁰ Cf. Mariusz KONIECZNY, “Sekwencja. 1. W liturgii,” in *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 17, 1378; cf. also: “Sequentiae,” in: *Encyklopedia kościelna*, vol. 25, 119.

³¹ Margot FASSLER, *Gothic song: Victorine sequences and Augustinian reform in twelfth-century Paris* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 3-14; FASSLER, “The Victorines and the Medieval Liturgy,” 415; cf. also: Marek ZAHAJKIEWICZ, “Trwałe wartości średniowiecznej liturgii,” *Studia Warmińskie* 37/1 (2000):61-68. From the 12th century, sequence commentaries gained significance, granting them a status equal to other liturgical texts and enabling increasingly extensive interpretation. Over time, however, the sequence lost its role as a living part of the liturgy, becoming an object of academic analysis detached from practice. Cf. Erika KIHLMAN, *Expositiones Sequentiarum Medieval Sequence Commentaries and Prologues Editions with Introductions* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2006), 24.

³² Cf. Zenon KOŁODZIEJCZAK, “Sekwencja. 2. W muzyce,” in *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 17, 1379.

and offered additional opportunities for the celebrated mystery to affect the faithful. The musical highlights, especially in the first part of the Mass, were the rich and elaborate melodies performed by the soloists. Liturgical music not only emphasised the solemn nature of the rites, but also conveyed theological content and integrated it into the experience of the faithful. Singing, symbolising angelic sounds – reflected a vision of paradise.³³ This perspective also applied to the singing of the sequence, which was particularly popular among the faithful. During its performance, the bell was rung and the faithful listened to the melodies, which were characterised by vitality and dramatic tension.³⁴

Among the most famous authors of the sequence is Adam of St Victor. The importance of this figure is demonstrated by the fact that some researches divide the history of this liturgical text into two periods: before and after this Victorian writer. The earlier time was characterised by the predominance of melody over text, the later brings the content of the sequence to the fore.³⁵ There is no shortage of opinions that a new spirit in liturgical poetry emerged with Adam: his fiery eloquence, the richness of his panegyric expressions and the melodic rhythm of his poems match the masters of medieval literature. He was not only a profound theologian shaped by the Victorian school, but also a true mystic who presented difficult theological issues with remarkable ease, painting them poetically.³⁶ One can also encounter bitter remarks against his musical abilities: “If the texts had

³³ FASSLER, *Gothic song*, 21-38.

³⁴ Cf. “Sequentiae,” 119. M. Nowak pointed out the negative and positive aspect of the theological content of the sequence. The positive value was the catechetical element, allowing the expression of theological truths and reinforcing involvement in the liturgy. The weakness, or challenge, was the growing number of texts of questionable quality and the spread of theological errors; cf. Monika NOWAK, *Sekwencje mszalne w języku polskim po Soborze Watykańskim II* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Polihymnia, 2008), 143.

³⁵ Cf. Paweł SZCZANIECKI, *Śłużba Boża w dawnej Polsce* (Kraków: Tyniec Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów, 2018), 93.

³⁶ Cf. “Sequentiae,” 116. Other opinions describe Adam as: an outstanding theologian and poet of the Middle Ages, known for his majestic and harmonious poetry; cf. Józef BIRKENMAJER, *Medieval Hymns* (Lviv: Nakładem Filomaty, 1934), 223; presents Adam of St Victor as the representative of the golden age of sequence development, who “brought the poetic form of the sequence to its peak and gave it its final shape” (cf. KOŁODZIEJCZAK, “Sekwencja. 2. W muzyce,” 1379); creator of poetic theology and liturgical commentaries on the works of Hugo and Richard of St Victor (cf. Michael HAGEMEISTER, “Sequenz,” in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 9, ed. Walter Kasper (Freiburg im Breisgau, Verlag Herder, 2000), 477); master of the new form of rhymed prose in the 12th century (cf. Heinrich HUSMANN, “Sequenz,” in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 9, ed. Walter Kasper (Freiburg im Breisgau, Verlag Herder, 2000), 680). M. Righetti, on the other hand, points out that in the twelfth century Adam raised the sequence to high artistic perfection, introducing regularity of rhythm, strophe structure and extensive use of rhyme. Cf. Mario RIGHETTI,

been matched by music, they would have been by all means true works of art; unfortunately, Adam, being a great poet, was only a mediocre musician.”³⁷ In any case, it is reasonable to assume that Adam had the competences of a mystagogue: an excellent theological background, a sensitivity to the mysteries taking place in the liturgy, and a talent for creating works that were intended to serve worship.³⁸

Through Adam of St Victor, the sequences more clearly took on a mystagogical character – acting as both commentary and liturgical text, thus constituting mystagogy *par excellence*. More explicitly than in the early medieval sequences, these texts interpreted and clarified the meaning of the liturgy; they were both a means of theological teaching and a tool for opening up to the mystery taking place in the liturgy. The theological ideals of Hugo of St Victor and his companions, especially sacramentality, incarnation and a historiosal perspective set on a biblical foundation, are reflected in the Adamic sequences. His liturgical poetry combined theology with aesthetics, liturgy with the life of the faithful. The Adamic sequences were therefore an expression of the same theological presuppositions that guided Victorian teaching. This will be shown in the sequence *Rex Salomon fecit templum*.³⁹

3. ANALYSIS OF THE SEQUENCE REX SALOMON FECIT TEMPLUM

The feast of the dedication of the church was celebrated at St Victor’s Abbey on 5 June.⁴⁰ Like many churches in the region in the 12th century, the Victorians sang the 11th-century *Clara chorus* sequence for the feast of the consecration of the church, and later added the 12th-century *Quam dilecta tabernacula*.⁴¹ Apparently not satisfied with just this – they made an effort to write their own sequence for the octave of the feast of the dedication: *Rex Salomon fecit templum*.⁴²

Storia liturgica, vol 1: *Introduzione generale* (Milano: Ancora, 1964), 673-674. See also: Marie PIERIK, *The song of the Church* (New York–Toronto: Longmans, 1947), 139-140.

³⁷ “Sequentiae,” 116.

³⁸ It is worth mentioning that the first edition of Adam de St-Victor’s works was inspired by the founder of the Liturgical Movement, Dom Guéranger, who included many of them in his ‘Church Year’ and was later to persuade L. Gautier for the first edition of *the Oeuvres poetiques d’Adam de St-Victor*. Cf. “Sequentiae,” 116.

³⁹ Cf. FASSLER, *Gothic song*, 62-65.

⁴⁰ Cf. FASSLER, “The Victorines and the Medieval Liturgy,” 412.

⁴¹ Cf. ADAM ZE ŚW. WIKTORA, *Sekwencje*, eds. Łukasz Libowski, and Agnieszka Strycharczuk (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Academicum, 2023), 145-149.

⁴² Cf. ADAM ZE ŚW. WIKTORA, *Sekwencje*, 151-154.

The author, Adam of St Victor, created the text to the previously known melody of the Marian sequence *O Maria stella maris*.⁴³

A characteristic feature of the sequence *Rex Salomon fecit templum* is its Christocentrism, which sets out the meaning of the entire salvation story. This is already evident in the first stanza of the piece:

*Rex Salomon fecit templum/ quorum instar et exemplum/ Christus et Ecclesia.
Huius hic est imperator/ fundamentum et fundator/ mediante gratia* (XXV, 1)

Solomon and the temple he built is a foreshadowing of Christ and the Church: “Christ is the Church’s ruler, foundation, donor, and gives grace to it” (XXV, 1). According to Victorian theology, Christ is the “sacrament of the sacraments” and thus the basis for every “sacramentality.” King Solomon’s work was of value because it foreshadowed and drew on the coming mystery of Christ; the work of the Church, in turn, has its value because it is built on the Saviour’s accomplished work.

*Nam ex gente iudeisque/ sicut templum ab utrisque/ conditur Ecclesia.
Christe qui hanc et hos/ unis lapis huic et hiis communis,/ tibi laus et gloria* (XXV, 9)

The Christocentrism so essential to Victorian theology is underlined by a compositional buckle – the sequence ends with a doxology in which the ecclesiological content has its Christological centre: “Christ, who unites one and another, the common stone of Gentiles and Jews, to Thee honour and glory” (XXV, 9). Christ is the key to understanding the whole of salvation history; He is the foundation for understanding the Church, which accommodates all peoples – ‘Gentiles and Jews.’ Thus, the sequence itself for the octave of the consecration of the Church does not refer only to the material object of the temple, but is understood as a visible sign expressing the invisible mystery of the Church community.

The broad salvific perspective and Christological centre are not meant to be an abstraction for the believer, but a framework within which he is to find his bearings. The description of the various architectural parts of the temple, together with an explanation of their meaning, serves this purpose. The text of the sequence contains numerous references to 1Kings 5:15-7:51, which depicts the architecture of Solomon’s temple. The individual elements of this temple provide an important basis, and at the same time a starting point, for making allusions to great theological themes such as moral virtues (cf. XXV, 2), theological virtues (cf. XXV, 3), the Trinity (cf. XXV, 4-5), and the union of believers – both dead

⁴³ Cf. FASSLER, “The Victorines and the Medieval Liturgy,” 416.

and living (XXV, 4). It was to be clear to the participant in the liturgy that, behold, he now takes part in the next stage of salvation history, in the mystery that flows from the perfect unity of the Trinity to embrace all people.

*Quadri templi fundamenta/ marmora sunt instrumental/ parietum paria.
Candens flos est castitatis,/ lapis quadrus in praelatis/ virtus et constantia (XXV, 2)*

When the text speaks of ‘the foundation of the fourfold temple’ it makes both a reference to 1Kings 7:10-11 and allusions to the four cardinal virtues. Thus, the material element of the temple itself combines a biblical and anthropological perspective. The strong foundation of the temple, understood here as the basis for the permanence of the Church community, is built on the work of creation. This, in turn, integrates the element of divine revelation – the primordial action of God combined with the concrete action of human beings striving to maintain a high moral standard.

*Longitudo,/ latitudo/ templique sublimitas,
Intellecta/ fide recta/ sunt fides, spes, caritas (XXV, 3).*

The cardinal virtues form the basis, but the proper depth (‘length, breadth and depth’) is provided by the divine virtues: faith, hope and charity. They are the proper ‘place’ in which the community gathered for the celebration of the liturgy is immersed. The combination of the two catalogues of virtues (cardinal and divine) give a picture of a ‘re-formed,’ ‘re-structured’ human being who has been restored to the image of God in the community of the Church. Adam presents an integrative perspective: he unites the natural and the supernatural, the corporeal and the spiritual in a common vision.

*Sed tres partes sunt in templo,/ Trinitatis sub exemplo,/ ima, summa, media.
Prima signat vivos cunctos/ et secunda iam defunctos,/ redivivos tertia (XXV, 4).
Sexagenos quaeque per se/ sed et partes universae/ habent lati cubitos.
Harum trium tres conventus/ Trinitati dant concentus/ unitati debitos (XXV, 5).*

While the perspective of the earlier stanzas may have given the impression of only individual human perfection, the following stanzas show the value of community. It is not merely a fellowship between people, but a communion of people with the Triune God – flowing from Him and thus open to Him. This inner life of God is the model for the life of the Church. The material sign of a harmoniously constructed temple becomes the image of the life of the Persons of the Trinity. The author then moves seamlessly to link this Trinitarian image with the inner

life of the Church, which gathers within itself: ‘the living, the dead and the restored to life’ (XXV, 4). However, the ecclesiological theme is quickly brought back to the image of the perfect unity of the Trinitarian design – the harmonious structure of Solomon’s temple (‘sixty cubits in length’) is a reflection of the harmony of the Persons of the Trinity and the experience of the harmony of the faithful gathered for the liturgy.

In the following stanzas, the author explains to the participants of the liturgy what they are participating in. Adam of St Victor selects elements of Old Testament temple worship that were used in the familiar liturgy celebrated in the monastery and relates them to Christian life.

*Templi cultus/ extat multus,/ cinnamomus,/ odor domus,/ myrrh, stactis, cassya.
Quae bonorum/ decus morum/ atque bonos/ precum sonos/ sunt significantia* (XXV, 6).

The riches of temple worship are illustrated by the scent of fragrances: “there is cinnamon, the fragrance of the tabernacle – myrrh, cassia and resin” (XXV, 6). When the Author speaks of the use of incense, he shows the unity of the signs present in Solomon’s temple and in the Church’s liturgy. By demonstrating to the participants in the liturgy the smell and sight of incense smoke that they experience – he points out their significance: “They signify the beauty of worthy customs and the noble sounds of prayers” (XXV, 6).

In the next stanza, Adam of St Victor’s, as in the previous stanza, exploits the ambiguity created by the use of elements of Church liturgy and Old Testament worship.

*In hac casa/ cuncta vasa/ sunt ex auro/ de thesauro/ praelecto penitus.
Nam magistros/ et ministros/ decet doctos/ et excoctos/ igne Sancti Spiritus* (XXV, 7).

The author mentions ‘all the vessels [which] are of gold – from a treasury placed deep’ (XXV, 7). In the visible layer, this refers to both the richly decorated vessels from Solomon’s temple and the Parisian monastery. The content of the sequence, however, indicates a deeper meaning: it is not just about the vessels, but about the people. “It is fitting that masters and ministers be instructed and tempered in the fire of the Holy Spirit” (XXV, 7). In other words, the sign of the liturgical vessels is meant to indicate the greatness of the mystery in which the faithful participate. However, the text does not stop only at the value of the objects used in the liturgy, but speaks of an even greater reality – not only are the clergy to use the vessels with a reverence appropriate to the greatness of the mystery taking place in the liturgy, but they themselves, tempered by the fire

of the Holy Spirit, are to become precious cups of God's grace from which others will draw.

Sic ex bonis/ Salomonis,/ quae rex David/ praeparavit,/ fiunt aedificia.

Nam in lignis/ rex insignis/ vivit Tyri/ cuius viri/ tractant artificia (XXV, 8).

Nam ex gente iudeisque/ sicut templum ab utrisque/ conditur Ecclesia.

Christe qui hanc et hos/ unis lapis huic et hiis communis,/ tibi laus et gloria (XXV, 9).

The penultimate and final stanza of *Rex Solomon fecit templum* is anthropological and ecclesiological in nature. The author indicates that the wood used to build Solomon's temple came from Hiram, the pagan king of Tyre (cf. 1 Kings 5:15-32), and his people worked on it.⁴⁴ The content of the sequence interprets this fact as foreshadowing the building of a single Church that unites Gentiles and Jews. Since Solomon's temple was already being built with material from a pagan ruler, it is not surprising that the Church is also being built not only by Jews: "For the Church is built like a temple from two peoples, Gentiles and Jews" (XXV, 9).

The sequence *Rex Solomon fecit templum* presents the Church as the continuation and perfect fulfilment of the Old Testament temple built by Solomon. It describes the Church as a visible sign of invisible reality, whose foundation is Christ, and whose structure and functioning have deep theological significance. The Church is portrayed as the union of the faithful, living and dead, and as the place where the natural and supernatural elements come together. In a liturgical context, the sequence emphasises that the materials used to build the temple and its functioning symbolise the spiritual values and virtues that fill the life of the Church community. Through this, founded on the foundation of Christ, the Church is a sacramental place in which the perfection of the Trinity and the union of all believers is reflected. Fassler notes that the actions of Solomon depicted in the sequence and their realisation in Christ reflect the Victorian understanding of the priesthood and its importance, linking it to the call to a regulated life. In particular, the clergy were to act as 'learned participants in salvation history.' The sequence *Rex Salomon fecit templum* thus expresses in liturgical practice what Hugon of St Victor theologically expressed in his work *De Sacramentis*.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Cf. ADAM ZE ŚW. WIKTORA, *Sekwencje*, 154, note 9.

⁴⁵ FASSLER, "The Victorines and the Medieval Liturgy," 413.

COMPLETION

The aim of this paper was to show the practical implementation of mystagogy in the Abbey of St Victor and to draw lessons from this for today. Victorian mystagogy stems from the holistic approach of Hugo of St Victor and his companions, who integrated theology, liturgy and pedagogy in a historiosalvific context, treating the sacraments as key stages in salvation history and the liturgy as part of integral formation. This is mystagogy in the broad sense – a conscious process in which the whole of the Christian life is lived in a historiosalvific perspective. An example of the practical application of Victorian mystagogy is the Adam sequences from St Victor, which show how human beings participate in salvation history through the liturgy. This is illustrated through an analysis of the sequence *Rex Solomon fecit templum*. It is an example of a liturgical text in which theological content is linked to the concrete celebration and life of the believer.

The analysis presented here is not intended to be mere historical archaeology or aesthetic fodder for spiritual enhancement. It is a call to discover and, when necessary, to create liturgical texts that respect a broad vision of sacred history. This is a prerequisite for talking about mystagogy in general. For, to a large extent, a mature experience of the liturgy depends on the theological depth and the historiosaving consciousness of the participant. In this perspective, it is worth emphasising once again Pope Benedict's encouragement to revitalise liturgical catechesis by referring to the Victorian school of theology. Adam's sequences from St Victor are precisely an example of such a mystagogy, which leads to an integral and mature encounter between theology, liturgy and Christian life. It is, moreover, an example that mystagogy is possible, though always challenging.

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.
- Encyklopedia Katolicka – *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, edited by Wincenty Granat, Feliks Gryglewicz, Romuald Łukaszyk, Zygmunt Sułowski, Ludomir Bienkowski, Jan Walkusz, Edward Gigilewicz, et al. Vol. 1-20. Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1973-2014.

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REX SALOMON FECIT TEMPLUM SEQUENCE. AN EXPRESSION OF VICTORINES MYSTAGOGY

Summary

The article explores Victorines mystagogy, understood as a gradual introduction into the mystery of salvation, with liturgy serving as a privileged space for accessing this mystery. The author demonstrates that the School of Saint Victor upheld an integral theological and formative vision. Based on the sequence *Rex Salomon fecit templum*, the study reveals how biblical and sacramental symbols interweave spiritual and communal life. The structure of the article includes: (1) the concept of mystagogy from a Victorine perspective, (2) the genesis and function of the sequence, and (3) a textual analysis of *Rex Salomon fecit templum* along with theological-liturgical conclusions. The significance of an integral liturgy, which unites knowledge, experience, and spiritual transformation, is emphasized.

Keywords: mystagogy; Victorines; liturgy; sequence

SEKWENCJA REX SALOMON FECIT TEMPLUM WYRAZEM MISTAGOGII WIKTORYŃSKIEJ

Streszczenie

Artykuł dotyczy mistagogii wiktoryńskiej, pojmowanej jako stopniowe wprowadzanie w misterium zbawienia, w którym liturgia stanowi szczególną przestrzeń dostępu do tego misterium. Autor ukazuje, że w szkole św. Wiktora istniała integralna wizja teologiczna i formacyjna. Na podstawie sekwencji *Rex Salomon fecit templum* ujawnia, w jaki sposób biblijne i sakramentalne symbole łączą życie duchowe i wspólnotowe. Struktura artykułu obejmuje: (1) pojęcie mistagogii w ujęciu wiktoryńskim, (2) genezę i funkcję sekwencji oraz (3) analizę tekstualną *Rex Salomon fecit templum* wraz z wnioskami teologiczno-liturgicznymi. Podkreślona zostaje doniosłość liturgii integralnej, łączącej poznanie, doświadczenie i duchową przemianę.

Słowa kluczowe: mistagogia; wiktoryni, liturgia; sekwencja