

Gottschalk of Aachen, the Investiture Controversy, and Music for the Feast of the *Divisio apostolorum*

By MICHAEL McGRADE

24 November: Gottschalk the provost died, our brother and priest, who introduced [in our church] the feast of the Division of the Apostles, providing for us on this day [an annual sum of] 1 mark for its preservation.

8 kl. Dec. Obiit Godeschalcus praepositus, frater noster et presbyter, qui Divisionem apostolorum celebrem fecit constituens nobis ipsa die marcam 1 de custodia.¹

THIS MODEST ENTRY, recorded in the oldest extant necrology from the royal *Marienkirche* in Aachen, commemorates the life of a cleric, notary, polemicist, and composer whose writings championed the sacerdotal rights of Germanic kings in the late eleventh century. Gottschalk of Aachen served in the chancellery of King Henry IV from 1071 to 1084, where he rose to the rank of *capellarius* or chief notary of the court.² His administrative career later led him to the

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¹Aachen, Stadtarchiv, Kirchen und Klöster, St. Marien, 204. An edition of the necrology is Eduard Teichmann, "Das älteste Aachener Totenbuch," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 38 (1916): 140–41.

²A brief account of Gottschalk's career appears in Erich Meuthen, "Die Aachener Pröpste bis zum Ende der Stauferzeit," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 78 (1966/67): 23–25. More extensive studies are G. M. Dreves, *Gottschalk, Mönch von Limburg-an-der-Hardt und Propst von Aachen: Ein Prosator des XI. Jahrhunderts*, Hymnologische Beiträge 1 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1897); P. von Winterfeld, "Zur Gottschalkfrage," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 27 (1902): 509–14; Carl Erdmann and Dietrich von Gladiß, "Gottschalk von Aachen im Dienste Heinrichs IV.," *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters* 3 (1939):

highest ecclesiastical posts at St. Servais in Maastricht (by 1087) and the royal *Marienkirche* (by 1098).³ As a church dignitary, Gottschalk stood in a position to influence the liturgies in his charge by introducing new feasts, sermons, and chants. Normally, such ceremonial additions celebrated the particulars of an individual house by promoting saints of local significance, arguing for the primacy of a foundation, or propagating a cherished theology.⁴ In his elegant sequence and sermon for the feast of the Division of the Apostles (15 July), however, Gottschalk's musical and literary skills combine to present nothing less than a forceful, and distinctly royalist, view of the entire medieval Church and its historical ancestry.

I

Friction between church and state at this time took several forms, and Gottschalk's tenure with King Henry IV (r. 1056–1106) came at a moment when the *regnum Teutonicum* and the Roman Church were in open conflict. Ironically, the dispute grew out of well-intentioned royal initiatives to encourage clerical reforms. Acting as protector of the Church, Henry's father, Emperor Henry III (r. 1039–56), appointed a series of reform-minded popes in the 1040s to protect

115–74; and Bernhard Schmeidler, *Kaiser Heinrich IV. und seine Helfer im Investiturstreit* (Leipzig: Verlag der Dykschen Buchhandlung, 1927), 57–83. Also see the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Gottschalk von Limburg"; and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–), s.v. "Godescalcus Lintpurgensis."

³ A royal decree of 1087 refers to *Godescalco Traiectensi preposito*; see *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV.*, vol. 6 of *Die Urkunden der Deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (hereafter MGH) (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1952), 522 (no. 394). In 1098 Henry IV made a donation to the *Marienkirche* for the care of his soul, and "also on account of the service of our *cappellarius* Gottschalk, the provost of the church of Aachen" ("ob servicium quoque cappellarii nostri Godesscalci Aquensis aeccliesiae prepositi"); see *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV.*, 618 (no. 458).

⁴ Recent work on the interaction of medieval music, liturgy, and politics includes Anne Walters [Robertson], "The Reconstruction of the Abbey Church at St-Denis (1231–81): The Interplay of Music and Ceremony with Architecture and Politics," *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 187–238; Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); James Grier, "Adémar de Chabannes and the Tropes for the Feast of St. Martial," in *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1990): 28–74; Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

ecclesiastical land and personnel.⁵ A stable church was vital to the empire, since the German king or emperor often appointed bishops and abbots to his political advantage, and such royal prelates provided the king with allies who could frustrate the plots of ambitious and aggressive German princes. The king also dispensed important church offices to mollify his rivals and balance the influence of competing noble families.⁶ Henry III's first papal appointees, Clement II (1047–48) and Damasus II (1048), each briefly occupied the See of Rome; Henry's third choice, Leo IX (1049–54), remained in power for five years and began a reform program that revolutionized the relationship between the empire and the church.

At councils in Reims and Mainz in 1049, for instance, Leo IX reiterated the Church's condemnation of simony and clerical marriage.⁷ Strictly speaking, simony involved the exchange of an ecclesiastical office or a sacrament for money, favors, or services, but in the

⁵ Germanic rulers were crowned king in Aachen, then traveled to Rome to be crowned emperor by the pope in imitation of Charlemagne. Henry IV held the first title from 1056, but did not become emperor until 1085; nevertheless, I will use "royal" and "imperial" interchangeably when I refer to the Germanic realm. The title "Holy Roman Emperor" was not used officially until the reign of Frederick I (Barbarossa) (1152–90). Reviews of Henry III's reign include Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, trans. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 157–84, esp. 175–84; and idem, "Gregorianische Reform: Kritische Besinnungen," in *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit: Vorträge beim wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium aus Anlass des 80. Geburtstags von G. Tellenbach*, ed. K. Schmid (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1985), 99–113; Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050–1300* (1964; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 24–32; Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050–1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 79–89; P. G. Schmidt, "Heinrich III: Das Bild des Herrschers in der Literatur seiner Zeit," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 39 (1983): 582–90.

⁶ An admirable reexamination of the "Reichskirche" is Timothy Reuter, "The 'Imperial Church System' of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982): 347–74. Josef Fleckenstein responds to Reuter's revisionary view in "Problematik und Gestalt der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche," in *Ordnungen und formende Kräfte des Mittelalters* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1989), 222–42. Still useful is U. Stutz, "The Proprietary Church as an Element of Medieval Germanic Ecclesiastical Law," in *Mediaeval Germany, 911–1250*, ed. Geoffrey Barraclough, vol. 2 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961), 35–70 (this article was first published in 1895).

⁷ Tellenbach, *Church in Western Europe*, 172; J. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 19 (1766; reprint, Graz: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt, 1960), cols. 727–46 (Reims) and 749–50 (Mainz). The second canon of the Council of Reims warned that "no one should buy or sell holy orders, or ecclesiastical offices, or churches" ("Ne quis sacros ordines, aut ministeria ecclesiastica, vel altaria, emeret, aut venderet"). There is no condemnation of clerical marriage in the canons of the Reims Council; indeed, the twelfth canon notes that "no one should desert his legitimate wife and marry another" ("Ne quis legitima uxore derelicta aliam duceret").

complex politics of the mid-eleventh century, one's enemies were always simoniacs. Because many spiritual customs entailed a material transaction of some kind, the new efforts to curb simony called many long-standing traditions into question.

Like the prohibition of simony, Leo IX's campaign against clerical marriage also aspired to free the clergy from temporal entanglements. From a practical standpoint, clerical marriage threatened the patrimony of the church because married clerics could consign their land to their heirs.⁸ And while Leo reluctantly tolerated the practice, later reformers looked upon the custom with increasing disapproval. Finally, in an effort to enforce celibacy among the secular clergy, the Lateran Council of 1059 encouraged priests and canons to live together in religious communities, a social arrangement based on the notion of an "apostolic" Church.⁹

Leo IX's attempts to reform the lower clergy complemented his efforts to raise the status of his own office. He viewed the papacy as a vocation of singular dignity, and he fostered the esteem and repute such distinction compelled. Although his initiatives took hold slowly, the results were far-reaching. His extensive travels increased his visibility and prestige, and consequently encouraged other reformers to enforce his decrees.¹⁰ As a skilled canonist, Leo further promoted his policies by invoking the authority of biblical and patristic writings. His

At Mainz, however, clerical marriage did draw condemnation. See Tierney, *Crisis of Church and State*, 31–32.

⁸ Ute-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*, trans. Ute-Renate Blumenthal (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 71.

⁹ "And we firmly decree that those of the above-mentioned orders who, in obedience to our predecessors, have remained chaste shall sleep and eat together near the church to which they have been ordained as is fitting for pious clergy and that they shall hold in common whatever revenues come to them from the church, and we urge them especially that they strive to attain the apostolic way of life, which is a life in common" (Tierney, *Crisis of Church and State*, 43); "Et precipientes statuimus, ut ii predictorum ordinum, qui et eidem predecessori nostro obediens castitatem servaverunt, iuxta aecclesias, quibus ordinati sunt, sicut oportet religiosos clericos, simul manducant et dormiant et quicquid eis ab aecclesiis venit communiter habeant. Et rogantes monemus, ut ad apostolicam, communem scilicet vitam summopere pervenire studeant" (*Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, vol. 1, MGH [Hannover: Hahn, 1963], 547 [no. 384]).

¹⁰ Johannes Laudage, *Gregorianische Reform und Investiturstreit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993), 83–86; Tellenbach, *Church in Western Europe*, 188–96. Among Pope Leo IX's achievements was his improvement of the Papal Curia. Under Leo's reign, scribes began to copy documents onto parchment rather than papyrus, revolutionizing ideas about administration and record keeping. See R. Elze, "Das 'sacrum palatium Lateranense' im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert," *Studi Gregoriani* 4 (1952): 27–54.

closest advisors, among them Peter Damian (1007–1072), Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida (ca. 1000–1061), and the Roman archdeacon Hildebrand (ca. 1020–1085), likewise collected passages from Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory I, and the Bible to support the reform efforts. Their close scrutiny of these texts, combined with Leo's vision of papal preeminence, eventually led to comprehensive restrictions on lay participation in Church affairs.¹¹

While Leo's successors fortified the power of the Apostolic See, the authority of the Roman Emperor began a long decline. When Henry III died in 1056, he left the crown to his only son, five-year-old Henry IV. The unfolding Church reforms thus continued for more than a decade while civil unrest divided the Germanic lands. Henry IV's greatest challenge, once he became king, was to reconsolidate the Salian realm, and he pursued this goal partly through the judicious appointment of bishops, and partly through the influential writings of skilled royal apologists like Gottschalk of Aachen.

II

As the followers of Leo IX studied the textual foundations of the Church, they mounted a challenge to the king's postulated right to invest—that is, to nominate and commission—bishops or other clerics. They doubted true reform of the Church would be possible as long as lay rulers controlled prominent ecclesiastical offices. The very first denunciations of lay investiture appeared at about the time of Henry III's death. Humbert of Silva Candida, a brilliant canonist and outspoken critic, lashed out against the practice in his *Adversus Simoniacos*:

For how does it pertain to lay persons to distribute ecclesiastical sacraments and episcopal or pastoral grace, that is to say, crozier staffs and rings, with which all episcopal consecration is principally effected and by which it functions and is sustained?¹²

Quid enim ad laicas pertinet personas sacramenta ecclesiastica et pontifi-

¹¹ J. T. Gilchrist, "Humbert of Silva-Candida and the Political Concept of *Ecclesia* in the Eleventh-Century Reform Movement," *Journal of Religious History* 2 (1962): 13–28; H. Mordek, "Kanonistik und gregorianische Reform: Marginalien zu einem nicht-marginalen Thema," in *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit*, ed. Schmid, 65–82; John Joseph Ryan, *Saint Peter Damiani and His Canonical Sources: A Preliminary Study in the Antecedents of the Gregorian Reform* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1956); Walter Ullman, "Cardinal Humbert and the *Ecclesia Romana*," *Studi Gregoriani* 4 (1952): 111–27.

¹² Tierney, *Crisis of Church and State*, 40.

calem seu pastorem gratiam distribuere, camyros scilicet baculos et annulos, quibus praecipue perficitur, militat et innititur tota episcopalis consecratio?¹³

For the mid 1050s, Humbert's position was extreme, but other reformers understood the danger lay investiture posed to Church autonomy. Their fears were first addressed at the Lateran Council of 14 April 1059, when Pope Nicholas II (r. 1058–61) issued a decree to protect the papacy from royal and imperial caprice. Nicholas II ordered that only cardinal bishops and cardinal priests had the right to elect a pontiff; the Roman Emperor would retain nothing more than a ceremonial role in the selection process.¹⁴

Despite these initiatives, royal investiture of bishops continued through the 1160s, but the practice grew ever more controversial as calls for reform multiplied. When Henry IV came of age in the early 1070s, he inherited a kingdom weakened by years of civil conflict and power-hungry rivals. Henry's future—indeed, the future of the Germanic realm—depended on the royal right to nominate and install high-ranking clerics. A grand public spectacle, the episcopal investiture ceremony could draw princes and suffragan bishops, legates from Rome and neighboring kingdoms, and crowds of local onlookers. The ritual clearly affirmed the sacred aspect of the king, who gave his nominee a ring and staff, saying: "Accept this church." The nominee then paid homage to his royal patron and took an oath of fealty. Following this exchange, the archbishop of the province consecrated the new prelate. Few rites offered such a frank demonstration of the bishop's subservience to his king.¹⁵

While young King Henry IV struggled for control of the Germanic realm, the people and clergy of Rome elected Archdeacon

¹³ *Adversus simoniacos*, III.4, in *Libelli de Lite imperatorum et pontificum*, vol. 1, MGH (Hannover: Hahn, 1891), 205.

¹⁴ The crucial line is the sixth canon of the council proceedings: "That in no way should a cleric or priest obtain a church from a lay person, whether for free or for payment" ("Ut per laicos nullo modo quilibet clericus aut presbyter obtineat ecclesiam nec gratis nec precio"). MGH *Constitutiones et acta* 1:547 (no. 384). This canon is often cited as the first important edict to forbid lay investiture, but it had little effect on quotidian practices in the Roman Empire. See Rudolf Schieffer, *Die Entstehung des päpstlichen Investitungsverbots für den deutschen König*, vol. 28, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1981), 48–84; and H. G. Krause, "Das Papstwahldekret von 1059 und seine Rolle im Investiturstreit," *Studi Gregoriani* 7 (1960): 9–287.

¹⁵ I. S. Robinson, "'Periculosus homo': Pope Gregory VII and Episcopal Authority," *Viator* 9 (1978): 103–33; Z. N. Brooke, "Lay Investiture and Its Relation to the Conflict of Empire and Papacy," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 25 (1939): 217–47.

Hildebrand, former advisor to Pope Leo IX, to the Apostolic See.¹⁶ Taking the name Gregory VII (1073–85), the new pope quickly redoubled the campaign to purify the Church. At the Lenten Synod of 1074 he advocated a new approach to fight the persistent evils of simony and clerical marriage rampant in the German lands.¹⁷ Having found little success working through the German bishops, he enlisted the cooperation of the lower clergy and laity, encouraging them to boycott, disobey, and publicly renounce unreformed clerics.¹⁸ Gregory denied any royal right to confer churches and sacraments, and he saw in the investiture ritual a flagrant challenge to the ideals of ecclesiastical self-determination and removal from worldly affairs. In 1075 he went even further, claiming for the papacy the exclusive use

¹⁶ Gregory was acclaimed pope in April 1073 at a turbulent scene in the Lateran. In a letter to Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, he wrote: “But then, suddenly, while our lord the pope [Alexander II] was being carried to his burial in the Church of Our Savior, a great tumult and shouting of the people arose, and they rushed upon me like madmen, so that I might say with the prophet: ‘I am come into deep waters where the floods overflow me. I am weary with my crying; my throat is dried’ ” (see Ephraim Emerton, *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1932], 2). “Sed subito, cum predictus dominus noster papa in ecclesia Salvatoris sepulturae traderetur, ortus est magnus tumultus populi et fremitus et in me quasi vesani insurrexerunt, ita ut cum propheta possim dicere: ‘Veni in altitudine maris et tempestas demersit me, laboravi clamans, raucae factae sunt fauces meae’ ” (*Das Register Gregors VII.*, vol. 2 of *Epistolae selectae*, MGH [Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1920], 3 [I, 1]).

¹⁷ For Pope Gregory VII’s role in the reform of secular clergy see Gustav Bardy, “Sainte Grégoire VII et la réforme canoniale au XI^e siècle,” *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947): 47–64; Ch. Dereine, “Vie commune, règle de Saint Augustin, et chanoines réguliers au XI^e siècle,” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 41 (1946): 365–406; G. Morin, “Règlements inédits du pape saint Grégoire VII pour les chanoines réguliers,” *Revue bénédictine* 18 (1901): 177–83; Jean Leclercq, “Un Témoignage sur l’influence de Grégoire VII dans la réforme canoniale,” *Studi Gregoriani* 6 (1959–61): 171–227. For an excellent brief survey see Karl Morrison, “The Gregorian Reform,” in *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century*, ed. Bernard McGinn and John Meyendorff (New York: Crossroads, 1985), 180–83.

¹⁸ As this letter to Otto, bishop of Constance, written in February or March of 1075, shows: “We have further decreed that, if they disobey our statutes, or rather those of the holy fathers, the people shall in no way accept their ministrations, so that those who are not corrected by the love of God or the honor of their office may be brought to their senses by the shame of the world and the rebuke of the people” (translated in Tierney, *Crisis of Church and State*, 52); “Statuimus etiam ut, si ipsi contemptores fuerint nostrarum immo sanctorum patrum constitutionum, populus nullomodo eorum officia recipiat, ut qui pro amore Dei et officii dignitate non corrigitur, verecundia seculi et obiurgatione populi respiciant.” The date of this letter is the subject of some debate among historians. See H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 18 (Latin text) and 160–61 (discussion of date).

of imperial insignia and the right to depose an emperor.¹⁹ Thus, at the very moment when Henry IV most needed to control the German Church, he faced an intractable opponent whose policies threatened to undermine his administration.

The rival claims of Pope Gregory and King Henry clashed over the choice of an archbishop for Milan. During Henry's minority, the city had suffered nearly a decade of civil unrest stemming, in part, from disputed archiepiscopal appointments, some of which ended in excommunication. Whoever chose the archbishop of this strategic church, the patrimony of St. Ambrose and crossroads of the empire, would fortify his authority over all imperial prelates.²⁰

Shortly after his election in 1073, and with Milan in mind, Pope Gregory VII warned Henry categorically to refrain from appointing churchmen.²¹ At the Lenten Synod of February 1075, the pope

¹⁹ In his *Dictatus Papae* Pope Gregory declared that "he alone could use the imperial insignia" ("Quod solus possit uti imperialibus insigniis") and that "he may depose emperors" ("Quod illi liceat imperatores deponere"). MGH *Das Register Gregors VII.*, 204 (II, 55a). An English version of this important document appears in Tierney, *Crisis of Church and State*, 49–50. See also Laudage, *Gregorianische Reform*, 98–101. Pope Gregory acted on these beliefs in February 1076, when he excommunicated King Henry and released all royal vassals from their oaths: "for the honor and defense of thy church, in the name of Almighty God, . . . I deprive King Henry, . . . of the government over the whole kingdom of Germany and Italy, and I release all Christian men from the allegiance which they have sworn or may swear to him, and I forbid anyone to serve him as king" (Emerton, *Correspondence of Pope Gregory*, 91); "Hac itaque fiducia fretus pro ecclesiae tuae honore et defensione ex parte omnipotentis Dei . . . Heinrich regi . . . totius regni Teutonicorum et Italiae gubernacula contradico et omnes christianos a vinculo iuramenti, quod sibi fecerunt vel facient, absolvo et, ut nullus ei sicut regi serviat, interdico" (MGH *Register Gregors VII.*, 270 [III, 10a]).

²⁰ H. E. J. Cowdrey, "The Papacy, the Patarenes and the Church of Milan," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 18 (1968): 24–48.

²¹ We can infer these warnings from three letters preserved in Pope Gregory's registry of epistles. In missives to Duke Godfrey of Lorraine, dated 6 May 1073, and Beatrice and Mathilda of Tuscany, dated 24 June 1073, the pope writes of advising King Henry on the limits of secular power. The letter to the Tuscan duchesses, for example, reads, "And as to the king: As you have learned from our former letters, it is our intention to send pious men to him, by whose admonitions and the help of God we may be able to bring him back to loyalty to his mother, the Holy Church of Rome, and give him detailed instructions as to the proper form of assuming the empire" ("De rege autem, ut antea in litteris nostris accepistis, haec est voluntas nostra, ut ad eum religiosos viros mittamus, quorum ammonitionibus inspirante Deo ad amorem sanctae Romanae et suae matris ecclesiae eum revocare ad ad condignam formam suscipiendi imperii instruere et expolire valeamus"). At that time, Henry's energy and resources were focused on subduing a rebellion in Saxony, so the king sought to appease the pope with these contrite words, composed in August or September 1073: "Not only have I encroached upon the property of the Church, but I have sold

banned the practice altogether.²² Nevertheless, when the See of Milan fell vacant in the summer of 1075, Henry quickly nominated and invested (by proxy) a new archbishop. Gregory condemned the act at once and subsequently excommunicated the imperial emissaries who carried out the ceremony.²³ In response, Henry convened a synod of royalist bishops in the city of Worms on 24 January 1076. The bishops complained of Pope Gregory's appeals to the laity, charging that he had set out to destroy the traditional hierarchy of the Church. With Henry's support, they demanded the pontiff's resignation.

Deposing a powerful pope was no easy task, and King Henry, like his adversary in Rome, realized that his success hinged on public support. He thus began a propaganda campaign designed to win the allegiance of his subjects and reassert the sacred attributes of his office.

churches themselves to unworthy persons, men poisoned with the gall of Simony. . . . But now, since I cannot regulate the churches alone, without authority from you, I most earnestly beg your advice and help in this and in all my affairs. Your directions shall be scrupulously followed in all respects" ("Non solum enim nos res ecclesiasticas invasimus, verum quoque indignis quibuslibet et symoniaco felle amaricatis . . . sed . . . ecclesias ipsas vendidimus. . . . At nunc, quia soli absque vestra auctoritate ecclesias corrigere non possumus, super his, ut etiam de nostris omnibus, vestrum una et consilium et auxilium obnixe quaerimus; vestrum studiosissime preceptum servatur in omnibus"). See Emerton, *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory*, 8, 9, and 19; and MGH *Register Gregors VII.*, 14, 19, and 49 (I, 9; I, 11; I, 29a).

²² In his *Gesta episcoporum Mediolanensium*, the chronicler Arnulf of Milan reports that Gregory prohibited lay investiture in February 1075 (though no written *exemplar* of that act exists). *Scriptores* (in folio), vol. 8, MGH (Hannover: Hahn, 1848), 27: "the aforementioned pope, while attending the synod in Rome, then publicly denied the king any right to give episcopacies, and removed all lay persons from the investment of churches" ("praefatus papa habita Romae synodo palam interdicat regi, ius deinde habere aliquod in dandis episcopatibus, omnesque laicas ab investituris ecclesiarum summovet personas"). Subsequent decrees reiterated the pope's position; Stefan Beulertz, *Das Verbot der Laieninvestitur in Investiturstreit*, vol. 2, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Studien und Texte (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1991), traces the descent of these decrees into the early twelfth century. See also Hans-Eberhard Hilpert, "Zum ersten Investiturverbot nach Arnulf von Mailand," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 43 (1987): 185–93; and Schieffer, *Entstehung des päpstlichen Investiturverbots*, 104.

²³ Gregory wrote in a letter dated December 1075 or January 1076: "This edict [against lay investiture], which some who place the honor of men above that of God call an intolerable burden, we, using the right word, call rather a truth and a light necessary for salvation, and we have given judgment that it is to be heartily accepted and obeyed, not only by you and your subjects but by all princes and peoples who confess and worship Christ" (Emerton, *Correspondence of Pope Gregory*, 88); "Huius autem decreti, quod quidam dicunt humanos divinis honoribus preponentes importabile pondus et inmensam gravitudinem, nos autem magis proprio vocabulo recuperandae salutis necessariam veritatem vocamus et lucem, non solum a te vel ab his, qui in regno tuo sunt, sed ab omnibus terrarum principibus et populis, qui Christum confitentur et colunt, devote suscipiendam et observandam adiudicavimus" (MGH *Register Gregors VII.*, 266 [III, 10]).

The polemical letters Henry addressed to Pope Gregory circulated in pamphlets throughout central Europe.²⁴ It is difficult to know how the content of these epistles reached the public; perhaps literate ecclesiastics translated and explained them in sermons to their unlettered colleagues and the laity.²⁵ In any event, Henry knew that his arguments must be persuasive: they had to rest on biblical and patristic authority. The king turned to Gottschalk, the most talented rhetorician in the chancellery, to announce the grievances of the besieged realm.

III

Early in 1076, Gottschalk delivered this epistle for Henry's signature:

Henry, King not by usurpation, but by the pious ordination of God [Rom 13.2], to Hildebrand, now not Pope, but false monk:

You have deserved such a salutation as this because of the confusion you have wrought; for you left untouched no order of the Church which you could make a sharer of confusion instead of honor, of malediction instead of benediction.

For to discuss a few outstanding points among many: Not only have you dared to touch the rectors of the holy Church [Ps 105.15, 2 Sm 1.14]—the archbishops, the bishops, and the priests, anointed of the Lord as they are—but you have trodden them under foot like slaves who know not what their lord may do [Jn 15.15]. . . .

. . . You dared to threaten to take the kingship away from us—as though we had received the kingship from you, as though kingship and

²⁴ See I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), for a good overview of the polemics of the period. Robinson has also investigated the copying and circulation of Pope Gregory VII's letters in eleventh- and twelfth-century Germany, in "The Dissemination of the Letters of Pope Gregory VII During the Investiture Contest," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34 (1983): 175–93.

²⁵ Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992), 36; Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, 68. In a letter written 1 July 1073 to "all the devotees of the prince of apostles, St. Peter" ("omnibus fidelibus sancti Petri apostolorum principis"), Pope Gregory VII encouraged his followers to use the pulpit to speak out against those resisting reform: "and again the prophet says, 'let the man be cursed who keeps his sword from blood' [Jer 48.10], that is, keeps the word of the pulpit from repudiating the corrupt man" ("Maledictus, inquit, homo, qui prohibet gladium suum a sanguine, id est verbum predicationis a carnalium increpatione"). Franz-Josef Schmale, *Ausgewählte Briefe Papst Gregors VII.*, pt. 1 of *Quellen zum Investiturstreit*, trans. F.-J. Schmale (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978), 42. For the delivery of Latin sermons in the vernacular see Giles Constable, "The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century," *Viator* 25 (1994): 131–52.

empire were in your hand and not in the hand of God.

Our Lord Jesus Christ has called us to kingship, but has not called you to the priesthood. For you have risen by these steps: namely, by cunning, which the monastic profession abhors, to money; by money to favor, by favor to the sword. By the sword you have come to the throne of peace, and from the throne of peace you have destroyed the peace. You have armed subjects against their prelates; you who have not been called by God have taught that our bishops who have been called by God are to be spurned. . . .

Wherefore, when Saint Paul gave no quarter to an angel from heaven if the angel should preach heterodoxy, he did not except you who are now teaching heterodoxy throughout the earth. . . .

Descend, therefore, condemned by this anathema and by the common judgment of all our bishops and of ourself. Relinquish the Apostolic See which you have arrogated. Let another mount the throne of Saint Peter, another who will not cloak violence with religion but who will teach the pure doctrine of Saint Peter.

I, Henry, King by the grace of God, together with all our bishops, say to you: Descend! Descend!²⁶

H[enricus] non usurpative, sed pia dei ordinatione rex Hildebrando iam non apostolico, sed falso monacho.

Hanc talem pro confusione tua salutationem promeruisti, qui nullum in ecclesia ordinem preteristi, quem confusionis, non honoris, maledictionis, non benedictionis, participem non feceris.

Ut enim de multis pauca et egregia loquamur: rectores sanctae ecclesiae, videlicet archiepiscopos episcopos presbiteros, non modo non tangere, sicut christos domini, timuisti, quin sicut servos, nescientes quid faciat dominus eorum, sub pedibus tuis calcasti. . . .

. . . quam te nobis auferre ausus es minari: quasi nos a te regnum acceperimus, quasi in tua et non in dei manu sit regnum vel imperium.

Qui dominus noster Iesus Christus nos ad regnum, te autem non vocavit ad sacerdotium. Tu enim his gradibus ascendisti: scilicet astutia—quod monachica professio abhominatur—pecuniam, pecunia favorem, favore ferrum, ferro sedem pacis adisti et de sede pacis pacem turbasti, dum subditos in prelatos armasti, dum episcopos nostros a deo vocatos tu non vocatus spernendos docuisti. . . .

Unde beatus Paulus, ubi angelo de caelo, alia si predicaverit, non pepercit, te quoque in terris alia docentem non excepit. . . . Tu ergo hoc anathemate et omnium episcoporum nostrorum iudicio et nostro dampnatus descende, vindictam sedem apostolicam relinque. Alius in solium beati Petri ascendat, qui nulla violentiam religione palliet, sed beati Petri sanam doctrinam doceat.

²⁶ Translation from Theodor E. Mommsen and Karl F. Morrison, trans. and eds., *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1962), 150–51.

Ego H[enricus] dei gratia rex cum omnibus episcopis nostris tibi dicimus: descende, descende!²⁷

With the ringing imperatives that close this letter, Gottschalk fully armed the king with a divine commission to protect the Church.²⁸ The cumulative scandal of Pope Gregory's offenses, emphasized by pointed biblical quotations, seems inevitably to compel Henry to the final dramatic pronouncement. King Henry's confidence lay in his royal authority, which, as we read in these lines, he received from "the hand of God." According to the royalists, the "primitive" or "apostolic" Church incorporated individuals of many vocations, each of whom made a unique contribution to its welfare. The interrelationship of deeds and talents was the work of God, and any mortal interference would implicitly upset the carefully measured, divine plan.²⁹ The Church had both temporal and sacred needs, and the

²⁷ Carl Erdmann, ed., *Die Briefe Heinrichs IV.*, vol. 1, Deutsches Mittelalter: Kritische Studentexte des Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde (MGH) (Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hierseemann, 1937), 15–16 (no. 12).

²⁸ Two versions of this letter exist. The one quoted here circulated among the imperial bishops and was designed to win their support against the pope. Gregory VII received a shorter version that lacked some of the accusations and the final words: "descende, descende." For a careful analysis of this letter, its variants, and their intended audiences see Carl Erdmann, "Die Anfänge der staatlichen Propaganda im Investiturstreit," *Historische Zeitschrift* 154 (1936): 492–503. Erdmann has also examined the work of King Henry IV's notaries in "Untersuchungen zu den Briefen Heinrichs IV.," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 16 (1939): 246–53. Gottschalk was first identified as the notary "Adalbero C" by Wilhelm Gundlach in his study *Ein Diktator aus der Kanzlei Heinrichs IV. Ein Beitrag zur Diplomatie des salischen Herrscherhauses mit Exkursen über den Verfasser der Vita Heinrichs IV. Imperatoris und des Carmen de bello saxónico* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1884). A more recent study of two letters by Gottschalk is Jörgen Vogel, "Gottschalk von Aachen (Adalbero C) und Heinrich IV's Briefe an die Römer," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 90/91 (1983/84): 55–68.

²⁹ Imperialists formulated their ideas about the structure of the Church based on their readings of St. Paul. The bishops who met at the Synod of Worms in 1076 refer to Rom 12.5 and I Cor 12.2 in their complaints to Pope Gregory: "For you have taken from the bishops, so far as you could, all that power which is known to have been divinely conferred upon them through the grace of the Holy Spirit, which works mightily in ordinations. Through you all administration of ecclesiastical affairs has been assigned to popular madness. Since some now consider no one a bishop or priest save the man who begs that office of Your Arrogance with a most unworthy servility, you have shaken into pitiable disorder the whole strength of the apostolic institution and that most comely distribution of the limbs of Christ, which the Doctor of the Gentiles so often commends and teaches" (Mommson and Morrison, *Imperial Lives and Letters*, 148); "Sublata enim, quantum in te fuit, omni potestate ab episcopis, quae eis divinitus per gratiam sancti spiritus, qui maxime in ordinationibus operatur, collata esse dinoscitur, omnique rerum ecclesiasticarum administratione plebeio furori per te attributa, dum iam nemo alicui episcopus aut presbyter est, nisi qui hoc indignissima assentatione a fastu tuo emendicaverit, omnem apostolicae institutionis vigorem

Deity chose appropriate figures to satisfy them: Henry's call to kingship entailed duties that were exclusive to his office. Thus Pope Gregory VII's efforts to strengthen the papacy, from his claims of earthly supremacy to his calls for lay disobedience, constituted an expropriation of royal power that threatened to end the harmonious manifestation of "apostolic" order.

Later in 1076, in a letter to Henry's bishops, Gottschalk placed royalist assertions about kingly and pontifical offices on a solid theological foundation in his exegesis of a passage from the Gospel of St. Luke. Following the Last Supper, Christ had cautioned his disciples to prepare themselves for the hostility they would encounter in their missionary efforts. He tells them, metaphorically, to arm themselves, but the apostles take him at his word and point out, "Lord, behold there are two swords here," to which Christ responded, "It is enough" (Lk 22.38). For Gottschalk, the two swords represented two distinct but interdependent domains of authority: temporal and sacred.³⁰

[Christ] was teaching that every man is constrained by the priestly sword to obey the king as the representative of God but by the kingly sword both to repel enemies of Christ outside and to obey the priesthood within.³¹

videlicet sacerdotali ad obedientiam regis pro deo, regali vero gladio ad expellendos Christi inimicos exterius et ad obedientiam sacerdotii interius omnem hominem docens fore constringendum.³²

Gottschalk's interpretation justified the sacred and secular aspects of royal power, and emphasized the necessity of the king's role in ecclesiastical affairs. In essence, Gottschalk applied the Chalcedonian dogma of Christ's divided yet unified divine/human nature to the Pauline idea of the Church as an expression of Christ's Body. To preserve its likeness to Christ, the Church had to integrate the distinct

illamque pulcherrimam membrorum Christi distributionem, quam doctor gentium totiens commendat et inculcat, miserabili confusione misculisti" (Erdmann, *Briefe Heinrichs IV.*, 66). A review of the royalist polemic appears in Robinson, *Authority and Resistance*, 60–88; but see also his "‘Periculosus homo,’" for an examination of Pope Gregory VII's attitude toward the episcopacy.

³⁰ Gottschalk's argument became the keystone of subsequent antipapal diatribes. See Hartmut Hoffman, "Die beiden Schwerter im hohen Mittelalter," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 20 (1964): 78–114; and Wilhelm Levison, "Die mittelalterliche Lehre von den beiden Schwertern," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 9 (1952): 14–42.

³¹ Mommsen and Morrison, *Imperial Lives and Letters*, 153.

³² Erdmann, *Briefe Heinrichs IV.*, 19.

realms of secular and sacred authority; it had to “keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace” (Eph 4.3).³³ By “[daring] to touch the rectors of the holy Church” and “[arming] subjects against their prelates,” Pope Gregory had stepped beyond the limits of his authority, seizing for himself the prerogatives of the kingly sword.

In Gregory’s eyes, however, it was the king and his predecessors who had disrupted the equilibrium of the Church. While conceding the need for temporal authorities, the pope insisted on the essential superiority of the spiritual realm over the temporal; the papacy subordinated all earthly offices.³⁴ Like the royalists, Gregory also recognized the role of divine vocation in the structure of the Church, but maintained that royal investiture had no place in the spiritual relationship between God and his elect. As heir of St. Peter, the pope was the rightful protector of the Church, whether that protection meant reclaiming sovereignty over episcopal appointments, or enjoining clerics to live in disciplined religious communities.

In simplest terms, the Gregorian reforms of the late eleventh century, summarized above, asserted the primacy of the pope over all temporal rulers, and aimed to reorganize the life of the clergy according to ideas about the early, apostolic Church. The royalists, while sympathetic to the ideals of a reformed Church (no one would have defended simony), opposed any initiative that would weaken the position of the king.

³³ Robinson, *Authority and Resistance*, 92; Edward R. Hardy, ed., *Christology of the Later Fathers* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954), 349–58.

³⁴ As evidenced in this letter to King Henry IV, dated 8 December 1075: “It would have been becoming to you, since you confess yourself to be a son of the Church, to give more respectful attention to the master of the Church, that is, to Peter, prince of the Apostles. To him, if you are of the Lord’s flock, you have been committed for your pasture, since Christ said to him: ‘Peter, feed my sheep,’ and again: ‘To thee are given the keys of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven.’ Now while we, unworthy sinner that we are, stand in his place of power, still whatever you send to us, whether in writing or by word of mouth, he himself receives” (translation from Emerton, *Correspondence of Pope Gregory*, 87); “Decuerat regiam dignitatem tuam, cum te filium ecclesiae confiteris, honorabilius magistrum ecclesiae, hoc est beatum Petrum apostolorum principem, intueri. Cui, si de dominicis ovibus es, dominica voce et potestate ad pascendum traditus es dicente sibi Christo: ‘Petre, pasce oves meas,’ et iterum: ‘Tibi tradite sunt claves regni caelorum; et quodcunque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelis; et quodcunque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in caelis.’ In cuius sede et apostolica amministrazione dum nos qualescunque peccatores et indigni divina dispositione vicem suae potestatis gerimus, profecto, quicquid ad nos vel per scripta aut nudis verbis miseris, ipse recipit” (MGH *Register Gregors VII.*, 264–65 [III, 10]).

IV

Who, then, was Gottschalk of Aachen, a cleric who could draft the royal opinion with such force and, as we shall see, could incorporate those sentiments in his liturgical compositions? The sources are limited, but we can almost certainly assume that Gottschalk's loyal service to Henry IV earned him his prestigious offices in Maastricht and in Aachen. As leader of the *Marienkirche* in Aachen, Gottschalk headed a church that epitomized royal and imperial tradition. Not only did it hold the mortal remains of Emperor Otto III (r. 983–1002), it also guarded the tomb of its illustrious founder, Charlemagne (r. 768–814). For generations, its religious community dedicated itself to prayers and supplications on behalf of the Frankish royal family.³⁵ Above all, the chapel was the site of royal coronations. For nearly six hundred years almost every Germanic king from Otto I (crowned 936) to Ferdinand I (1531) journeyed to Aachen to receive the royal regalia—sword, cloak, scepter, and diadem—at a ceremonial consecration by the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier.³⁶ At least from the time of Otto I (r. 936–73), a marble throne stood on the second floor of the church overlooking the principal altars below (Fig. 1).³⁷ After his enthronement, the newly anointed king became a member of Aachen's chapter of canons and appointed two royal vicars to satisfy his daily religious duties.³⁸ The lasting symbolic power of Aachen's royal *Marienkirche* is perhaps best expressed in the opening words of the mid-twelfth-century sequence *Urbs aquensis*, composed in honor of Saint Charlemagne (canonized in the basilica on 29 December 1165):³⁹

³⁵ Rudolf Schieffer, "Hofkapelle und Aachener Marienstift bis in staufische Zeit," *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 51 (1987): 3; Meuthen, "Die Aachener Pröpste," 7–10.

³⁶ See Erich Stephany, "Über den Empfang des römischen Königs vor seiner Krönung in der Kirche der hl. Maria zu Aachen nach der Handschrift *Add. 6335* im Britischen Museum, London," in *Miscellanea pro arte: Hermann Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres am 13. Januar 1965* (Düsseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann, 1965): 272–78; Egon Boshof, "Aachen und die Thronerhebung des deutschen Königs in salisch-staufischer Zeit," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 97 (1991): 5–32.

³⁷ H. Beumann, "Grab und Thron Karls des Großen zu Aachen," in *Das Nachleben*, vol. 4 of *Karl der Große, Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. W. Braunsfels and P. E. Schramm (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1967): 9–38.

³⁸ Josef Fleckenstein, "Rex Canonicus: Über Entstehung und Bedeutung des mittelalterlichen Königskanonikates," in *Ordnungen und formende Kräfte des Mittelalters* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1989), 193–210.

³⁹ This sequence is a contrafact of the widely disseminated Victorine sequence *Laudes crucis*. See Brigit J. Lerman, "«Urbs aquensis, urbs regalis . . .» —Versuch einer Deutung der Karlssequenz," in *Karl der Große und sein Schreibe in Aachen*, ed.

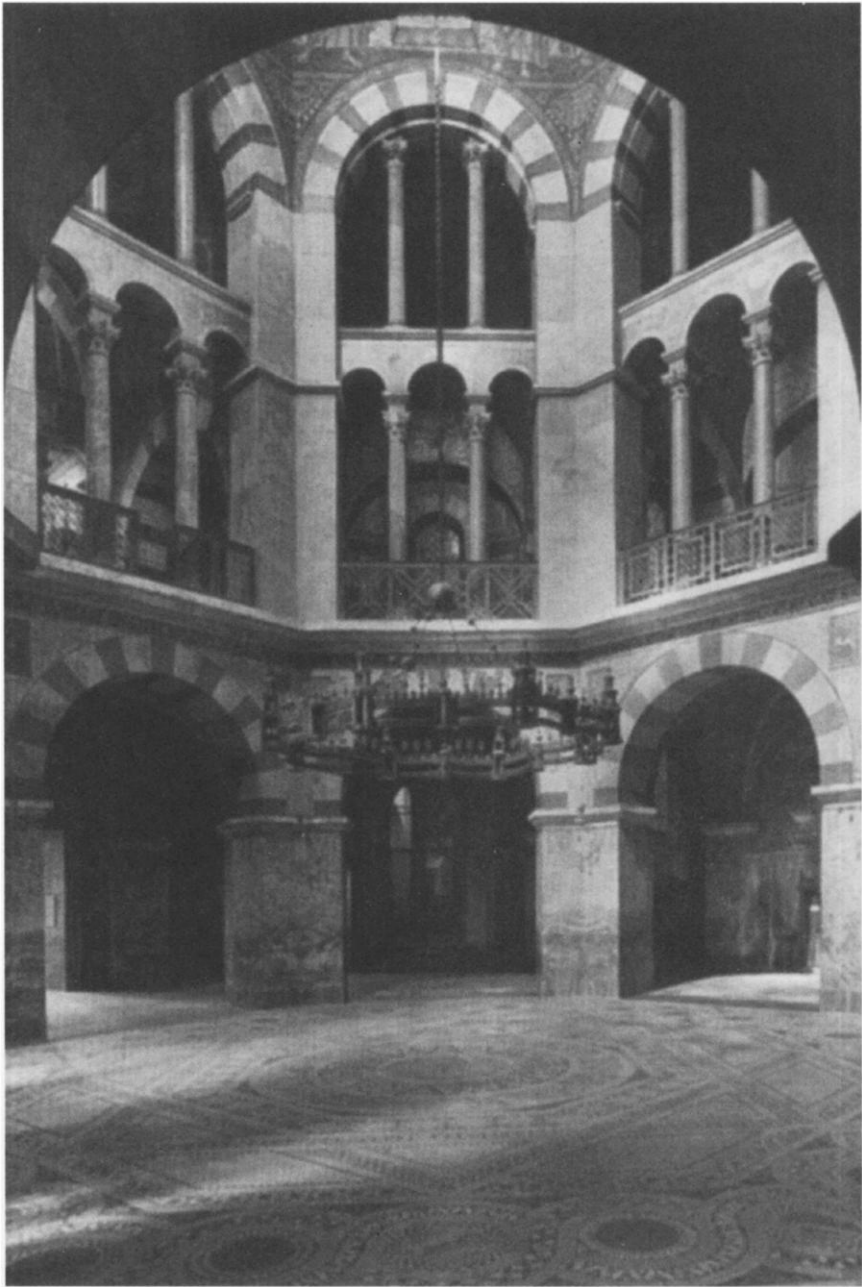


Figure 1. Interior of the *Marienkirche*. The royal throne is located on the second floor at the left, behind the lattice gate. The marble and mosaic interior is modern (1910). This picture has been taken from the book *A World History of Art*, 4th ed., by Hugh Honour and John Fleming (London: Calman and King, 1995). Used with permission.

Urbs aquensis, urbs regalis
Regni sedes principalis
Prima regum curia

City of Aachen,⁴⁰ royal city,
Principal seat of the kingdom,
First court of kings

Gottschalk's rise to provost of the *Marienkirche* accords with a practice ordained in 972 by Emperor Otto I. In order to recognize and preserve the chapel's extraordinary status as part of the "chief royal seat north of the Alps" ("palatium Aquisgrani precipuam cis Alpes regiam sedem"), Otto I reserved for himself and his successors the right to choose the Aquensian provost from the imperial court.⁴¹ Along with the vicars-regent, the king's provost afforded the *Marienkirche* a continuing royal presence. The high honor of such a post would have been a fitting reward for Gottschalk's years in Henry IV's chancellery.

While it is clear that Gottschalk's long career reached its culmination in the *Marienkirche* appointment, many details of his life remain a mystery, as I have noted. Based on his numerous *diplomata*—decrees written on behalf of King Henry IV that established rights for cities and churches, witnessed material transactions, and reconfirmed the royal acts of previous rulers—we can follow his travels and assignments from his first appearance in the chancellery in 1071 to his last

Hans Müllejan (Aachen: Einhard/B. Kühlen Verlag, 1988), 168–70; Erika Eisenlohr, "Die älteste Niederschrift der Sequenz Urbs Aquensis Urbs Regalis im letzten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts und ihre mögliche Verbindung zum Karlskult Barbarossas," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 96 (1989): 35–68; and my forthcoming "Affirmations of Royalty: Liturgical Music in the Collegiate Church of St. Mary in Aachen, 1050–1350" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago).

⁴⁰ The hot springs in Aachen, named for the Celtic god of waters and healing, Granus, give the city its most common Latin name, Aquisgranum, though there were many variations—Graesse lists more than two dozen. See J. Graesse, F. Benedict, and H. Plechl, eds., *Orbis latinus* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1972), s.v. "Aquisgranum." See also Walter Kaemmerer, *Aachener Quellentexte*, Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Aachen 1 (Aachen: Verlag der Mayer'schen Buchhandlung, 1980), 1–2.

⁴¹ "We declare this principle and affirm that henceforth the praiseworthy *abbas* for this same place [the *Marienkirche*] should be appointed from the chapel of the kings or emperors" ("decernimus decretumque firmamus ut deinceps de regum vel imperatorum capella abbas eidem loco preficiendus eligatur"); see Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS. lat. quart. 324, fols. 12r–14r. Edited versions appear in *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I., und Otto I.*, vol. 1 of *Die Urkunden der Deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, MGH (Hannover: Hahn, 1879–84), 569–70 (no. 417); and Erich Wisplinghoff, ed., *Rheinisches Urkundenbuch: Ältere Urkunden bis 1100*, Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde (Bonn: Peter Hanstein-Verlag, 1972), 38–40 (no. 25). See also Schieffer, "Hofkapelle," 9; Meuthen, "Die Aachener Pröpste," 9–11 and 18–41.

as *capellarius*, or chief notary, in 1098.⁴² In the early 1080s, and again in the 1090s, he traveled to Italy, visiting Pavia (1082), Rome (1083), and Bassano (1091), where he sojourned with the royal court.⁴³ A decree of May 1091, written for the monastery of St. Felix in Vicenza, closes with reference to Gottschalk as someone “gifted with praiseworthy knowledge” (*laudabili scientia prediti*).⁴⁴ Since it also names “Bernard” as the provost of Aachen (*Bernardi Aquisgranensis prepositi*), the decree of 1091 sets a *terminus ante quem non* for Gottschalk’s promotion to that office.

Along with his decrees, Gottschalk’s liturgical writings offer us additional glimpses of his life, and here we find, to a lesser degree, the Gottschalk of the polemical letters. Six liturgical *opuscula*, or short essays, survive, including three sermons (for Sts. Irenaeus and Abundius, Mary, and the Division of the Apostles) and three defenses of his works.⁴⁵ These latter include justifications of his sermon on Sts. Irenaeus and Abundius, of his sequence *Fecunda verbo* for the feast of the Holy Cross, and of his sequence *Exsulta exaltata* for the Assumption of Mary. Gottschalk had his share of detractors, not surprisingly, perhaps, for someone with such strong convictions and so much to say. His sermon on Sts. Irenaeus and Abundius jolted listeners who were unprepared for an allegorical meditation on sewers (the martyrs were drowned in sewage).⁴⁶ Complaints about his vivid language provoked a lengthy and spirited, if not petulant, reply.⁴⁷ In it, Gottschalk points out that words like “sewer” (*cloaca*) and “dung” (*stercus*) appear in scriptural verses, chanted daily by thousands of

⁴² Gottschalk seems to have left the royal chancellery in 1084 as a permanent member, though he continued to compose occasional documents for the king. See Erdmann and Gladiß, “Gottschalk von Aachen,” 122–26. A register of the documents produced by King Henry’s secretaries appears in Schmeidler, *Heinrich IV. und seine Helfer*, 403–22. See also Alfred Gawlik, *MGH Urkunden Heinrichs IV.*, lxi–lxviii.

⁴³ For Pavia, see *MGH Urkunden Heinrichs IV.*, 456–57 (no. 345); for Rome, 461–62 (no. 350); for Bassano, 556–58 (no. 418).

⁴⁴ *MGH Urkunden Heinrichs IV.*, 567 (no. 423).

⁴⁵ Four sermons appear in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS 917 (one each on the Assumption and the Cross; two on Abundius and Irenaeus). A fifth is preserved in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS 2235. Dreves edited and published these in his book *Gottschalk, Mönch von Limburg*. Jean Leclercq discovered a sermon on the Division of the Apostles in an eleventh-century codex (a Bible and lectionary) from the Abbey of Echternach, a house that flourished under Henry IV (Luxembourg, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 264, fols. 383v–384r). The date of the sermon is not known. The manuscript was copied before 1081, and the sermon was written into the margin of the completed codex. See Jean Leclercq, “Sermon sur la *Divisio apostolorum* attribuable à Gottschalk de Limbourg,” *Sacris erudiri* 7 (1955): 219–28.

⁴⁶ Dreves, *Gottschalk, Mönch von Limburg*, 110–31.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 132–58.

monks and canons. Warning his critics, he notes that their impulsive censorship could lead them to heresy.⁴⁸

Gottschalk's sequences also drew protests from listeners puzzled by his wording and ideas. His unconventional notions on the Holy Trinity, presented in a versicle of *Fecunda verbo*, elicited reproach from an unnamed assailant (*percussor meus*). The accusations motivated Gottschalk to write a complex gloss on his text and an exegesis of the Holy Cross, the inspiration for the sequence.⁴⁹ In his defense of *Fecunda verbo*, we learn that he once studied with "magister Heinricus, who composed the responsory '*Omnis lapis pretiosus*.'" ⁵⁰ Similar objections to *Exsulta exaltata* seem to derive from the relationship of Mary's Assumption to Christ's crucifixion, and her role in the judgment of sinners.⁵¹ As in his defenses of *Fecunda verbo*, *Exsulta exaltata*, and his sermon on Sts. Irenaeus and Abundius, Gottschalk draws on legends and biblical quotations to win support for his argument. After demonstrating the orthodoxy of his Assumption sequence, he offers us a rare glimpse of his compositional technique, showing how he keeps his chants faithful to Church doctrine:

I will adhere, therefore, to this fabric, woven by Jerome and Gregory [I] in the spirit of the Lord. From the one, i.e., Jerome, I threaded the words,

⁴⁸ "On this matter I respond to you briefly, that if it is a sin . . . to have mentioned these dunghills, then all those who sing 'Raising up the needy from the earth, and lifting up the poor out of the dunghill,' in the choir sin. If thousands of canons or monks sing this verse in the choir, thousands mention 'dunghill,' because as many as there are mouths of song in that place, that is how often 'dunghill' will be mentioned there. Now, I ask you, if in light of these things someone should say, 'It is not allowed, because it is indecent [that] so many thousands of singing lips mentioned 'dunghill' in the choir in the presence of God,' tell me, what would you say of that? Rather than putting it negatively, if you are orthodox, you should say such things in the affirmative: 'You are a heretic' " ("Ad quod breviter respondeo tibi, quia, si peccatum est . . . haec stercora nominari, tunc omnes illi peccant, qui in choro cantant: 'Suscitans de pulvere egenum et de stercore erigens pauperem.' Si mille canonici vel monachi in choro hunc versum cantant, millies stercus nominant, quia, quot ibi sunt ora canentium, totiens stercus ibi fuit nominatum. Nunc te interrogo: Si diceretur ab aliquo: non licet, quia indecens est tot labiis canentium stercus millies coram Deo in choro nominari, dic mihi, quid diceres de eo? Procul dubio, si tu es catholicus, diceres talia affirmanti: Tu es haereticus"). Dreves, *Gottschalk, Mönch von Limburg*, 141.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 63–90. The objection may have hinged on Gottschalk's acceptance of the bodily assumption of Mary into Heaven. The line that drew criticism was, "Three works of one trinity were made in the flesh taken from you: that the angel might not fall, that fallen man returns hence, that the tempter does not rise again" ("Unius tria sunt facta trinitatis opera in carne de te assumpta: angelus ne cadat, homo lapsus hinc ut redeat, temptator nec resurgat" [ibid., 73]).

⁵⁰ "... qui magistrum meum Heinricum bonae memoriae in hoc responsorio, quod fecit, videlicet '*Omnis lapis pretiosus*' " (ibid., 69).

⁵¹ Ibid., 91–109.

and from the other, i.e., Gregory, the neumes, which I have brought together . . . in this little sequence.

Adhaerebo igitur Hieronymo et Gregorio hanc telam textentibus in spiritu Domini, de quorum altero i.e., Hieronymo verba, de altero i.e., Gregorio neumas filavi, quae in hanc sequentiam, . . . aliquantulum comportavi.⁵²

The *apologia* for *Exsulta exaltata* also tells us that Gottschalk was a monk at some time in his life (“ego peccator, tamen monachus et catholicus”).⁵³ Based on the sermon and lost office Gottschalk composed in honor of Sts. Irenaeus and Abundius, G. M. Dreves believed the imperial notary was a monk at the monastery of Limburg-an-der-Hardt, but Carl Erdmann and Dietrich von Gladiß have argued convincingly that his mother house was probably the royal abbey in Klingenmünster.⁵⁴ Their conclusion is supported by the testimony of Anonymous of Melk (Anonymus Mellicensis), who in ca. 1130 reported that

Gottschalk, a monk of Klingenmünster, wrote, among other things, a small book of four sermons, of which the first is about the conception of John the Baptist, the second on Saint Mary, the third on the Division of the Apostles, the fourth on the beginning of the gospel according to Matthew.

Gotschalchus monachus Dechingae scripsit inter alia libellum quatuor sermonum, quorum primus est de conceptione sancti Joannis Baptistae, secundus de sancta Maria, tertius de dispersione apostolorum, quartus de initio Evangelii secundum Matthaeum.⁵⁵

The sermons on John the Baptist and Matthew’s gospel are lost, and the dates of Gottschalk’s tenure at Klingenmünster are unknown, though some scholars believe he retired there. In 1499, humanist Jacob Wimpheling corroborated Anonymous of Melk when he reported finding an old manuscript, now lost, of Gottschalk’s sequences, dedicated to King Henry IV, in the royal abbey. The *antiquum exemplar* Wimpheling saw contained “several [sequences] that we use, for example: *Celi enarrant gloriam dei; Dixit dominus ex basan; Laus, tibi,*

⁵² Ibid., 107.

⁵³ Ibid., 105.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 19–20; Erdmann and Gladiß, “Gottschalk von Aachen,” 118.

⁵⁵ Anonymous Mellicensis, *De Scriptoris ecclesiasticis*, in *Patrologia latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1845), vol. 213, cols. 983–84 (cap. 114).

Christe, for Mary Magdalene; *Psallite regi* for the Decollation of St. John the Baptist; and *Exsultent filiae Sion*, for virgins. . . .”⁵⁶ Gottschalk’s authorship of *Dixit dominus*, *Psallite regi*, and *Exsultent filiae* rests on these remarks. *Caeli enarrant* and *Laus, tibi, Christe* were claimed by the Aquensian provost himself.

V

Gottschalk discusses these two important pieces in his defense of *Exsulta exaltata*. Carrying the medieval custom of self-deprecation almost to the point of dissemblance, he places himself in the company of two renowned sequence composers, Hermannus Contractus and Notker of St. Gall:

If the Lord should give me an orthodox weft, why should I not weave it into the catholic warp of this fabric? If the reverend Hermannus Contractus—to whose name some people attribute certain sequences that the Lord gave through me, such as *Caeli enarrant* for the apostles and that one for St. Mary Magdalene, *Laus, tibi, Christe*—labored on this fabric by preaching, by teaching, and by singing; again, if the reverend monk Notker introduced his sequences into the embellishment of this fabric, indeed why should I not also, a sinner but nevertheless a monk and a catholic, introduce into this weave what the Lord has given? The chosen vessel of God, the reverend Hermannus, is said to have composed the sequence *Grates, honos, hierarchia* for the Holy Cross; I, a common vessel (would that I were chosen), but taught by the Lord, composed the sequence *A solis ortu et occasu* according to that *Alleluia, Dulce lignum* on the Holy Cross. Reverend Notker composed *Clare sanctorum senatus apostolorum* for the apostles; I, an ignorant man, composed *Caeli enarrant* for the same. For the Assumption of Blessed Mary he composed *Congaudent angelorum*; for the same feast I, a puny one, composed this sequence, *Exsulta exaltata*, which we have at hand, in the grace of the Holy Spirit. . . . I do not compare myself to these masters, rather humbly place myself beneath them, like an infant suckling from men full of the milk [of] such great wisdom, bringing much ornament to this weave.

⁵⁶ Jacob Wimpheling, *De himnorum et sequentiarum auctoribus . . . erudiciuncula* (1499). “Godescalcus quoque capellanus Henrici tercii [= IV] imperatoris et prepositus Aquensis scripsit sequentias. Inter quas sunt nonnullae, quibus non utimur, puta ‘Celi enarrant gloriam dei,’ ‘Dixit Dominus ex Basan,’ ‘Laus, tibi, Christe,’ de Maria Magdalena et ‘Psallite regi’ de decollatione sancti Iohannis baptiste, ‘Exsultent filiae Sion’ de virginibus, cum multis aliis, quas conqueritur Hermannus Contracto esse ascriptas, et per maximas obtestationes asseverat supradictas et plerasque alias a se esse compositas. Scripsitque et dedicavit Henrico tercio. Cuius antiquum exemplar habetur in Clyngen monasterio diocesis Spirensis.” See Erdmann and Gladiß, “Gottschalk von Aachen,” 117 n. 3.

Si Dominus daret mihi subtemen catholicum, cur non inducerem hoc in huius telae stamen catholicum? Si domnus Herimannus Contractus, cuius nomini quasdam sequentias, quas per me dedit Dominus, sicut *Caeli enarrant* de apostolis et illam de sancta Maria Magdalena *Laus tibi Christe* quidam additulant, in hac tela dictando et docendo et modulando fuerat operatus, si domnus Notgerus monachus suas sequentias induxit in huius telae ornatum, cur et ego peccator, tamen monachus et catholicus non inducerem in hanc telam, quod dedit Dominus? Electum Christi vas, domnus Herimannus de sancta cruce sequentiam *Grates, honos, hierarchia* dicitur composuisse, ego vas abiectum, utinam eligendum, de sancta cruce ad illud *Alleluia Dulce lignum* sequentiam *A solis ortu et occasu* docente Domino composui. Domnus Notgerus de apostolis *Clare sanctorum senatus apostolorum* composuit, ego de apostolis *Caeli enarrant* idiota composui. Ille de assumptione sanctae Mariae *Congaudent angelorum* fecit, ego pusillus de eadem festivitate hanc sequentiam, quam nunc inter manus habemus *Exsulta exaltata* composui in gratia sancti spiritus. . . . Quibus dominis me non compono sed humiliter subpono sicut infans lactendus a lactantibus viris tam sapientibus, multum ornatum huic telae conferentibus.⁵⁷

These remarks, together with the defense of *Fecunda verbo* and Wimpheling's observations, bring to eight the number of sequences securely attributed to Gottschalk. All eight sequence texts possess distinct stylistic traits that also appear in Gottschalk's letters and *opuscula*, including numerous biblical and patristic references and the prominent use of rhetorical figures.⁵⁸ And yet, these general similarities are not the only link between Gottschalk's sequences and his anti-Gregorian polemics. In *Caeli enarrant*, Gottschalk uses the very same biblical citations that fortify his political arguments. And to underscore the importance of these words, he coordinates with them striking musical events.

Of Gottschalk's eight sequences, six survive with music; two share the same melody. Unlike some more florid late eleventh- and early twelfth-century sequences—*Letabundus exsultet* and *Hodierna lux diei*

⁵⁷ Dreves, *Gottschalk, Mönch von Limburg*, 105. Caroline Walker Bynum has studied the twelfth-century use of maternal imagery to describe one's male superiors; see her book *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982): 113–25.

⁵⁸ On Gottschalk's literary style see Dreves, *Gottschalk, Mönch von Limburg*, 32–43; Schmeidler, *Heinrich IV. und seine Helfer*, 36–52; Erdmann and Gladiß, "Gottschalk von Aachen," 135–61; and Josef Szövérfy, *Die lateinischen Hymnen bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 of *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1964), 409–13. Twelfth-century teachers and students of the *Ars dictaminis* collected Gottschalk's letters as stylistic models of Latin composition. See I. S. Robinson, "The 'Colores Rhetorici' in the Investiture Contest," *Traditio* 32 (1976): 209–38; and Erdmann, "Anfänge der staatlichen Propaganda."

are good examples—Gottschalk's settings are almost exclusively syllabic. More typical of the eleventh-century style is the variation in versicle length, often manifest within the paired lines themselves.⁵⁹ These differences are most evident when the caesurae of matched lines do not coincide, forcing a singer to phrase the repeated melody in two different ways. One example of this discrepancy appears in the eighth versicle of *Caeli enarrant*. The sense of 8b in Appendix B below seems to demand a break after *ita dicentium* to mark the reported speech; in 8a, a break after *evangelizantium bonum*, while not as necessary, would best reflect the syntax.⁶⁰

Even without the enhancement of music, Gottschalk's words make a forceful impression on the listener. They draw their strength, in part, from their reliance on the Bible: five of his sequences open with direct biblical quotations, and all include clear or implicit scriptural references. *Caeli enarrant* is perhaps the most extreme of all his compositions in this respect, quoting or paraphrasing a sacred text in almost every line (see Table 1). Gottschalk's treatment of "Jerome's words" is revisionary and reconstructive. Like his educated contemporaries, the notary had prodigious mnemonic skills, and his command of biblical and patristic authorities allowed him to recollect and revise a variety of quotations for his own purposes.

The revisions that constitute the text of *Caeli enarrant* seem to exemplify the kind of literary composition discussed in Carruthers's work on memory and mnemonic practices, which demonstrates that the ability to recall, juxtapose, interpret, and reformulate ideas learned by heart was greatly valued in the Middle Ages.⁶¹ The opening line of *Caeli enarrant*, for example, is a revision of Psalm 19.1:

⁵⁹ Surveys reviewing the spectrum of sequence styles are numerous and multifaceted. General overviews include Richard Crocker, "The Sequence," in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Bern: Francke, 1973), 269–322; John E. Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 80–109; Richard Crocker, "Medieval Chant," in *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley, vol. 2 of *The New Oxford History of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 225–309; David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 172–95.

⁶⁰ Two illuminating articles that address the interaction of musical and verbal syntax in sacred and secular traditions are Ritva Jonsson and Leo Treitler, "Medieval Music and Language: A Reconsideration of the Relationship," in *Music and Language, Studies in the History of Music 1* (New York: Broude, 1983): 1–23; and Leo Treitler, "The Troubadours Singing Their Poems," in *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable, and James I. Wimsatt (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991): 15–45.

⁶¹ See Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 176. One of the character-

Gottschalk

The heavens proclaim the glory of the
Son of God, of the incarnated Word,
of the heaven made out of earth

Celi enarrant gloriam Dei filii verbi
incarnati, facti de terra celi.

Vulgate

The heavens proclaim the glory of
God, and the firmament announces
the work of His hands

Caeli enarrant gloriam Dei, et opera
manuum eius annunciat firmamen-
tum.

Gottschalk's revision specifically Christianizes the Old Testament phrase through a direct reference to Christ as the Incarnate Word. The same passage takes on greater significance later, in versicle 10a of the sequence, when the composer describes the disciples metaphorically as "the heavens" in which Christ's words "thunder." Here, then, we see that the opening line is not only a Christianization of the psalm verse, but also an announcement of the apostles' mission.

When paraphrasing scriptural lines, Gottschalk frequently applies his rhetorical skills to heighten their intensity. The repetition of a single word, or more commonly, the presentation of words in series, is a favorite device. In *A solis ortu*, composed to celebrate the Holy Cross and based on *Alleluia, Dulce lignum*, Gottschalk offers a text (the music is lost) that is saturated with the number four, symbolic of the four points of the cross.⁶² One particularly impressive expression of this numerical symbolism appears in the sixth versicle, which reads:

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|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 6a. His malis captivam Sunanitem animam, ecclesia revocat ad te, quater dicens ei: | From these evils the Church is call- ing the captured Shulamite spirit back to you, saying four times to her: |
| 6b. Revertere, revertere, revertere, revertere, despecta, crucis no- tans quadrangulum. | Return, return, return, return, look down, noting the four corners of the cross. |

istics Dreves identified in Gottschalk's works was the consistent appearance of "misquotations," or quotations from the *Vetus latina*, a version of the Bible predating the Vulgate. Dreves notes, for instance, that in the second and third *opuscula* (II, 5 and III, 17) Gottschalk quoted Genesis 3.19, "Pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris," as "Terra es et in terram reverteris" or "ibis"; see *Gottschalk, Mönch von Limburg*, 16–17. Recent discussions of mnemonic processes in the performance of music of various periods in the Middle Ages include Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 290–320, esp. 311–20 and 161–84, for a discussion of the revisionary exercise of contrafacting; Leo Treitler, "The 'Unwritten' and 'Written Transmission' of Medieval Chant and the Start-up of Musical Notation," *The Journal of Musicology* 10 (1992): 131–91, esp. 135–67; Anne Walters Robertson, "Benedicamus Domino: The Unwritten Tradition," this *JOURNAL* 41 (1988): 1–62, esp. 51–57.

⁶² Szövérfy, *Die lateinischen Hymnen*, 412–13.

TABLE I
Biblical References in *Caeli enarrant*

| <i>Sequence Versicles</i> | <i>Biblical/Patristic Text</i> | <i>Citation</i> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| I. Celi enarrant gloriam Dei filii, verbi incarnati, facti de terra celi. | Caeli enarrant gloriam dei, et opera manuum eius annunciat firmamentum. | Ps 19.1 |
| 2a. Haec enim gloria soli Domino est congrua, | Regi autem saeculorum immortalis, invisibili, soli Deo honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen. | 1 Tim 1.17 |
| 2b. Nomen est cuius magni consilii angelus. | Parvulus enim natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis, et factus est principatus super humerum eius; et vocabitur nomen eius: Admirabilis, Consiliarius, Deus, Fortis, Pater futuri saeculi, Princeps pacis. | Is 9.6 |
| 3a. Istud consilium, lapso homini auxilium, est antiquum et profundum et verum factum, solis tantum sanctis cognitum, | None found | |
| 3b. Cum angelus iste, homo factus ex muliere, immortalem ex mortali, de terra celum fecit, ex homine angelum. | Homo, natus de muliere, brevi vivens tempore, repletur multis miseriis. | Jb 14.1 |
| | At ubi venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub lege. . . . | Gal 4.4 |
| 4a. Hic est dominus exercituum Deus, cuius sunt angeli missi in terram apostoli. | . . . ut magnificetur nomen tuum usque in sempiternum, atque dicatur: Dominus exercituum, Deus super Israel. Et domus servi tui David erit stabilita coram Domino. | 2 Sm 7.26 |
| 4b. Quibus seipsum vivum prebuit resurgens multis argumentis, pacem victor mortis nuntians. | . . . quibus et praebuit seipsum vivum post passionem suam in multis argumentis, per dies quadraginta apparens eis, et loquens de regno Dei. | Acts 1.3 |

TABLE I (continued)

| | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5a. Pax vobis, ego sum, inquit, nolite iam timere, predicate verbum Dei creature omni coram regibus et principibus. | ... stetit Jesus in medio eorum, et dicit eis: Pax vobis: ego sum, nolite timere. | Lk 24.36 |
| | Et dixit eis: euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae. | Mk 16.15 |
| | Dixit autem ad eum Dominus: Vade, quoniam vas electionis est mihi iste, ut portet nomen meum coram gentibus, et regibus, et filiis Israel. | Acts 9.15 |
| | Cum ergo sero esset die illo, una sabbatorum, et fores essent clausae, ubi erant discipuli congregati propter metum Iudaeorum, venit Jesus, et stetit in medio, et dixit eis: Pax vobis. | Jn 20.19 |
| 5b. Sicut misit me pater, et ego mitto vos in mundum, estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, estote ut columbe simplices. | Dixit ergo eis iterum: Pax vobis. Sicut misit me pater, et ego mitto vos. | Jn 20.21 |
| | Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum. Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae. | Mt 10.16 |
| 6a. Hinc Petrus Romam, apostolorum princeps, adiit, Paulus Greciam, ubique docens gratiam, ter quattuor incliti proceres in plagis terre quattuor evangelizantes trinum et unum. | ... cum quatuor ter ducuntur, duodenarius numerus apostolicus consecratus est; tanquam universi orbis salutem ex quatuor mundi partibus, in Trinitatis gratiam praefigurans ... | Augustine Sermon 203 |
| 6b. Andreas, Iacobus uterque, Philippus, Bartholomeus, Simon, Thaddeus, Iohannes, Thomas et Mattheus, duodecim iudices non ab uno sed in unum divisi per orbem divisos in unum colligunt. | Et fecit ut essent duodecim cum illo: et ut mitteret eos praedicare. Et dedit illis potestatem curandi infirmitates et ejiciendi daemonia. Et imposuit Simoni nomen Petrus: Et Iacobum Zebedaei, et Joannem fratrem Jacobi, et imposuit eis nomina Boanerges, quod est, Filii tonitru: Et Andream, et Philippum, et Bartholomaeum, et Matthaeum, et Thomam, et Iacobum Alphaei, et Thaddaeum, et Simonem Cananaeum. ... | Mk 3.14-18 (See also Mt 10.1-4 and Lk 6.12-16.) |

TABLE I (*continued*)

| | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Jesus autem dixit illis: Amen dico vobis, quod vos, qui secuti estis me, in regeneratione cum sederit Filius hominis in sede majestatis suae, sedebitis et vos super sedes duodecim, judicantes duodecim tribus Israel. | Mt 19.28 |
| 7a. In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, | In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, | Ps 19.4 (Rom 10.18) |
| 7b. Et in fines orbis terre verba eorum. | Et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum. | Ps 19.4 (Rom 10.18) |
| 8a. Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium bonum, predicantium pacem, | Quomodo vero praedicabunt nisi mittantur? sicut scriptum est: Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem, evangelizantium bona! | Rom 10.15 |
| 8b. Sanguine Christi redemptis ita dicentium: Sion, regnabit Deus tuus. | Quam pulchri super montes pedes annunciantis et praedicantis pacem: annunciantis bonum, praedicantis salutem, dicentis Sion: Regnabit Deus tuus! | Is 52.7 |
| | Regnabit Dominus in saecula; Deus tuus, Sion, in generationem et generationem. | Ps 146.10 |
| 9a. Qui verbo secula fecit, quod pro nobis verbum caro factum est in fine seculorum. | Et verbum caro factum est . . . | Jn 1.14 |
| 9b. Hoc verbum, quod predicamus Christum crucifixum qui vivit et regnat Deus in celis. | Nos autem praedicamus Christum crucifixum | 1 Cor 1.23 |
| | Sed quid dicit Scriptura? Prope est verbum in ore tuo, et in corde tuo: hoc est verbum fidei, quod praedicamus. | Rom 10:8 |
| 10a. Hi sunt celi, in quibus Christe, habitas, in quorum verbis tonas, fulguras signis, roras gratia. | Caeli enim etiam postea narraturi erant gloriam eius caeli apostoli sunt, fulgurantes miraculis tonantes praeceptis . . . | Augustine Sermon 204A |

TABLE I (*continued*)

| | | |
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| 10b. His dixisti: Rorate, celi, desuper, et nubes pluant iustum, aperiatur terra germinans. | Rorate, caeli, desuper et nubes pluant iustum; aperiatur terra et germinet salvatorem . . . | Is 45.8 |
| 11a. Germen iustum, suscita terram nostram, quam apostolicis verbis serens germinare facias. | Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus, et suscitabo David germen iustum; et regnabit rex, et sapiens erit, et faciet iudicium et iustitiam in terra. | Jer 23.5 |
| | In diebus illis et in tempore illo germinare faciam David germen iustitiae et faciet iudicium et iustitiam in terra. | Jer 33.15 |
| 11b. Quorum verbis verbum patris tenentes in patientia fructum ferre fac nos tibi, Domine. | Patientes igitur estote, fratres, usque ad adventum Domini. Ecce agricola expectat pretiosum fructum terrae, patienter ferens donec accipiat temporaneum et serotinum. | Jas 5.7 |
| | Quod autem in bonam terram; hi sunt, qui in corde bono et optimo audientes verbum retinent, et fructum afferunt in patientia. | Lk 8.15 |
| 12a. Hi celi, quos magni consilii angelus inhabitas, quos non servos sed amicos appellas, quibus omnia, que audisti a patre, notificas. | Iam non dicam vos servos: quia servus nescit quid faciat dominus eius. Vos autem dixi amicos: quia omnia quaecumque audivi a Patre meo, nota feci vobis. | Jn 15.15 |
| 12b. In quorum divisione collectum gregem custodias indivisum et in vinculo pacis, ut in te unum simus, sicut in patre tu es unus. | . . . solliciti servare unitatem Spiritus in vinculo pacis. Unum corpus, et unus Spiritus, sicut vocati estis in una spe vocationis vestrae. Unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma. Unus Deus et Pater omnium, qui est super omnes, et per omnia, et in omnibus nobis. | Eph 4.3-6 |
| | Ego in eis, et tu in me: ut sint consummati in unum: et cognoscat mundus quia tu me misisti, et dilexisti eos, sicut et me dilexisti. | Jn 17.23 |
| 13. Miserere nobis tu, qui habitas rex in celis. | Ad te levavi oculos meos, qui habitas in caelis. | Ps 123.1 |
| | Miserere nostri, Domine, miserere nostri, quia multum repleti sumus despectione . . . | Ps 123.3 |

The fourfold repetition of *revertere* in versicle 6b, calling the wayward back to the Church, paraphrases Song of Songs 6.12: "Return, return, O Shulamite, return, return that we may look upon thee." Just as the opening line of *Caeli enarrant* Christianizes the opening of Psalm 19, these subsequent lines rework the verse from the Song of Songs, making it an entreaty from *Ecclesia*.⁶³ Two more examples of Gottschalk's penchant for presenting words and ideas *seriatim* appear in *Caeli enarrant*: first, in versicle 6, when the composer recites the names of the apostles, and again in versicle 10, when he describes them as the "heavens" in whom Christ "dwells," in whose words he "thunders," and so on.

Another preferred device is his use of words in more than one grammatical form, or words with common or similar roots (*adnominationio*), as in these examples from *A solis ortu* and *Caeli enarrant*:

A solis ortu

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|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 10b. Ne corrumpi sinas in nobis; in finem tu finis sine fine Dei patris nate. | Do not be destroyed in us toward the end; you, born of God the Father, end without end. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Caeli enarrant

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3b. Dum angelus iste, homo factus ex muliere, immortalem ex mortali, de terra celum fecit, ex homine angelum. | Until that angel, made man from a woman, made the mortal one immortal, earth heaven, man an angel. |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

The use of *finem/finis/fine*, and *sinas* and *sine* in *A solis ortu*, and *angelus/angelum*, *homo/homine*, *immortalem/mortali* in *Caeli enarrant* show Gottschalk's delight in this figure, one which Quintilian said excites the ears and the mind.⁶⁴ Indeed, such verbal manipulation stands out in his letter, quoted above, deposing Pope Gregory VII, who rose through the ranks

⁶³ The Shulamite symbolized *Synagoga* in some medieval explanations of this text, and appears in a late eleventh-century work by papal supporter Bruno of Segni, *Expositio in Cantica canticorum*, in *Patrologia latina* 164, col. 1276. See also Anne W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), 15 and 42–60.

⁶⁴ Quintilian, *Institutiones Oratoriae*, 9.3.66–70. "... the kind of figures that either by some similarity or equality or opposition of utterances engages the ear and excites the mind" ("genus figurarum quod aut similitudine aliqua vocum aut paribus aut contrariis convertit in se aures et animos excitat").

by cunning . . . to money; by money to favor, by favor to the sword. By the sword you have come to the throne of peace, and from the throne of peace you have destroyed the peace.

astutia . . . pecuniam; pecunia favorem, favore ferrum, ferro sedem pacis adisti et de sede pacis pacem turbasti.

These rhetorical devices appear in such characteristic and distinctive arrangements throughout Gottschalk's writings that Dreves used them to attribute an additional fourteen sequences to the provost's pen.⁶⁵ No matter how many sequences Gottschalk actually composed, *Caeli enarrant* had particular renown. Not only did the composer claim the work as his own (in an uncommon display of medieval self-promotion), he also guaranteed its annual performance in Aachen's *Marienkirche*. Furthermore, the rare, later witnesses to Gottschalk's life—Anonymous of Melk and Jacob Wimpheling—both single out either the chant itself or the feast it honored.

The feast of the *Divisio apostolorum* provided an especially favorable occasion to promote the imperial view of the Church. Commemorating Christ's charge to the apostles to go forth and preach, the celebration was not new. A ninth-century sacramentary from Amiens, for example, records the feast in its calendar, and by the time Gottschalk composed his sequence and sermon, many northern European churches, particularly in the Germanic lands, included it in the *cursus* of their observances.⁶⁶

The biblical origins of the *Divisio apostolorum* feast are twofold. Twice in the gospel of St. Matthew, Christ calls together all of his disciples and commissions them to preach what they have learned. The first charge, also recounted in the other synoptic gospels, takes place shortly before Christ provided bread and fish to feed the multitude.⁶⁷ The second occurs before Christ's ascension, when he challenged the eleven remaining apostles to proclaim his resurrection.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Dreves, *Gottschalk, Mönch von Limburg*, 44–59.

⁶⁶ See Leopold Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'Amiens sacramentaires* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1886), 336; and V. Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1924), 38–43. For studies on the origins and dissemination of the feast, see P. Willibrord Hug, "Geschichte des Festes Divisio apostolorum," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 113 (1932): 53–72; idem, "Zum Feste der Divisio apostolorum," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 10 (1930): 162–68; John Henig, "Zum Anfang und Ende der liturgischen Tradition der Divisio apostolorum," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 12 (1970): 302–11; and Leclercq, "Sermon."

⁶⁷ Mt 10.5–15; Mk 6.7–13; Lk 9.1–6.

⁶⁸ Mk 16.14–18.

Art historian Adolf Katzenellenbogen has argued that the feast commemorated the second charge, but the text of Gottschalk's sequence draws upon both scriptural episodes.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the proper gospel reading in Aachen's rite, preserved in an early thirteenth-century missal from the *Marienkirche*, uses the passage in Matthew that precedes the feeding of the five thousand (Mt 9.36–10.13).⁷⁰ Gottschalk's sequence and sermon integrate the pre- and post-resurrection *divisiones*. They emphasize the spiritual unity of the apostles despite their physical dispersal, and stress the importance of preaching as well (see Appendixes A and B for a transcription and translation of the sequence; Appendix C for the sermon).

Gottschalk's liturgical additions complement the formulary of propers assigned to the feast in Aquensian sources.⁷¹ Except for the *Alleluia, Non vos me* (Ex. 1), these chants belong to the core repertory of Gregorian melodies and appear in some of the oldest unnotated manuscripts (Table 2). None was specific to the *Divisio* feast, but together, they emphasize two general themes: the apostles' elect status and their missionary work. By establishing unusually strong textual and musical connections between these older chants and his own creations, Gottschalk forged a powerful statement supporting the imperial view of the Church.

VI

The very first words of Gottschalk's sermon on the Division of the Apostles teach that the Church owes its existence to the missionary work of Christ's disciples:

⁶⁹ Adolf Katzenellenbogen, "The Separation of the Apostles," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 35 (1949): 87. Katzenellenbogen writes of Gottschalk's sequence: "Significantly enough, no verse in this hymn emphasizes the tragic character of the Separation nor the idea that those who had once been united with their master have now to start their dangerous journey. On the contrary, despite their actual separation, the unity of their common missionary aims and achievements is definitely stressed" (p. 89). He sees later fifteenth-century representations of the *Divisio* as more "human" and "emotional" than the "dogmatic soberness" of Gottschalk's sequence (p. 92), but he did not know the text of Gottschalk's sermon, first published by Leclercq in 1955.

⁷⁰ Florence, Biblioteca Laurentiana, Palat. 4, fol. 242r–242v.

⁷¹ The early thirteenth-century manuscript Florence, Palat. 4 contains the earliest formulary for the feast, but the oldest source of the sequence is a gradual of the 1170s/80s from the *Marienkirche*, Aachen, Domarchiv, HS G13. Formularies for the Mass also appear in a summer gradual from ca. 1330, Aachen, Domarchiv, HS G15, fol. 66r, and in an early fourteenth-century ordinal, Aachen, Domarchiv, HS G1, fol. 76r.

Example 1
Alleluia, Non vos me

Aachen, Domarchiv, HS G13, fol. 105r

Al- le- ia. lu- ia.

Non vos me e- tis, glis- tis,

sed e- po- su- i vos

ut ea- tis

et fru- ctum af- fe- ra- tis,

et fru- ctus ves- ter ma- ne- al.

TABLE 2

Mass Propers for the Feast of the *Divisio apostolorum*

| | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Introit | Mihi autem nimis honorati sunt amici tui deus: nimis confortatus est principatus eorum | But to me thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honorable: their principality is exceedingly strengthened | Ps 139.17 |
| | Ps/Domine probasti me et cognovisti me: tu cognovisti sessionem meam | Ps/O Lord, you have searched me and know me: you know my failings | Ps 139.1-2 |
| Gradual | Constitues eos principes super omnem terram memores erunt nominis tui domine | You will make them princes over the earth that your name, Lord, might be remembered | Ps 45.17 |
| | ✠Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii, propterea populi confitebuntur tibi | ✠Instead of thy fathers, sons are born to thee; therefore the people will acknowledge you | |
| Alleluia | Alleluia ✠Non vos me elegistis, sed ego vos elegi, et posui vos ut eatis et fructum afferatis, et fructus vester maneat. | Alleluia ✠You did not choose me; rather, I chose you, and ordained you that you should go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain. | Jn 15.16 |
| Offertory | In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terre verba eorum. | Their sound has gone out through all the world, and their words to the end of the earth. | Ps 19.4 |
| Communion | Vos qui secuti estis me sedebitis super sedes iudicantes duodecim tribus israhel dicit dominus. | The Lord says: you who have followed me will sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. | Lk 22.30 |

On this feast day, dearly beloved brethren, we ought to rejoice, since we are celebrating the division of the apostles, by whose division we are gathered. They were separated throughout the whole world so that the faithful might be joined together into one faith.

Hodierna festivitate, fratres carissimi, gaudere debemus, qui divisionem apostolorum celebramus, quorum divisio nostra facta est collectio. Divisi sunt in universum orbem, ut in unam universi fideles colligerentur fidem.⁷²

⁷² Leclercq, "Sermon," 226.

These lines stressing the apostles' separation present a scenario that undermined an important tenet of the Gregorian reformers' campaign. At a time when Pope Gregory's supporters were advocating the common life to members of the secular clergy, a life purportedly led by clerics of the apostolic Church, a celebration of the division of the apostles in the *Marienkirche* in Aachen, the imperial church in northern Europe, would have carried an unmistakable political message.⁷³

The musical plan of Gottschalk's *Caeli enarrant* focuses the listeners' attention on Christ's commission to the apostles. The sequence divides into three sections according to the disposition of cadences: versicles 1–5 and 10–13 close on the final, d; 6–9 cadence on the cofinal, a. This neat musical partitioning accords with an outline of the text: a review of Christ's life and its place in the plan of salvation (1–5), praise and commemoration of the apostles (4–9), and a closing appeal for inspiration and mercy (10–13).

The sequence borrows two prominent melodic phrases from the late ninth- or early tenth-century chant *Alleluia, Non vos me*.⁷⁴ The opening versicle follows closely the incipit of the *Alleluia*, but rejects the cadential design of its model. Rather than close on a, the first line of *Caeli enarrant* borrows the first notes of the *jubilus* and concludes on d (see Ex. 2). The plagal inflection on the words *sed ego vos elegi et posui vos* and *et fructus vester* in the *Alleluia* receive both musical and textual acknowledgment in versicles 3–5 and 11. In the sixth and twelfth versicles, Gottschalk's sequence quotes the verse melisma that begins on the words *ut eatis*. Like the distribution of final and cofinal

⁷³ No one knows whether Gottschalk ever lived in Aachen, and it was common for high-ranking clerics to hold multiple offices. While he could have brought the feast to the *Marienkirche* before he became its provost, we can be sure that he had the authority to make such a change after his appointment. The political struggles between the Germanic kings and popes lasted until and beyond the nominal resolution delineated in the Concordat of Worms (1122), so even if Gottschalk had brought the *Divisio apostolorum* to Aachen ca. 1100, it would not have lost any political relevance.

⁷⁴ This *Alleluia* does not appear in the six liturgical books catalogued by R. J. Hesbert in his *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels: Vromant, 1935). It does, however, appear in St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 359, p. 18 (copied before 920). It is also common in early eleventh-century sources, among them Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds lat. 909, fol. 180v (St. Martial, ca. 1030); Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek 1946, fol. 189 (Echternach, ca. 1030); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775, fol. 84 (Winchester, ca. 1000); Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 123, fol. 121 (Bologna, first half of the eleventh century). See Karlheinz Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-römische, und alt-spanische Repertoire*, Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Munich: Walter Rique, 1965), 107.

Example 2
Comparison of Alleluia and versicle 1

Al- le- [jubilus] ia. lu-

Ce- li e- nar- rant glo- ri- am de- i fi- li i ver- bi in- car- na- ti fac- ti de ter- ra ce- li.

cadences, these arresting melisma quotations emphasize key moments in the text.

Gottschalk's use of the *Alleluia, Non vos me* in *Caeli enarrant* conforms with borrowing practices evident in Notker's compositions. Richard Crocker's detailed study of the early sequence shows that Notker's alleluia-based pieces most commonly quote the Alleluia incipit in their opening versicle; more extensive borrowings are rare and difficult to establish.⁷⁵ In this respect, Gottschalk's *Caeli enarrant* stands apart. The melisma quotations in versicles 6 and 12 are indisputable, and their textual associations are foreign to the earlier style.

Nevertheless, Notker's own sequence for the apostles, *Clare sanctorum senatus apostolorum*, may have provided Gottschalk with additional inspiration for *Caeli enarrant*.⁷⁶ Like the Aquensian provost's work, *Clare sanctorum* also lists the disciples of Christ. The third versicle pays tribute to Peter and Paul, the climactic fourth line honors Matthew, and the fifth and sixth list the remaining "famous warriors of God" (*dei bellatores incliti*). The preparation and execution of these apostolic *enumerationes* also suggest a common rhetorical sensibility. Both composers introduce the disciples by referring to their efforts to establish the Church. Notker tells us that "the faithful are everywhere because of the apostles' teaching" ("per doctrinam tuam fideles sunt ubique"), while Gottschalk, quoting Christ, reports that they went to preach the Word of God to kings and princes (5a). Moreover, both sequences give Peter and Paul special emphasis by their isolation from the others, whose names appear subsequently and in rapid succession. If nothing more, these parallels hint at Gottschalk's esteem for the Monk of St. Gall.

Just as *Caeli enarrant* shares stylistic features with the earliest east-Frankish sequences, it also has affinities with later, Parisian works. As Margot Fassler notes in her study of the Victorine repertory, the twelfth-century sequence, compared with its precursors, "operate[s] in a different exegetical mode," epitomized perhaps by the trend toward Old Testament typology.⁷⁷ Like the Parisian composers, Gottschalk

⁷⁵ Richard Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1977), 240.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 315–21, esp. 318–20. The close relationships between *Caeli enarrant* and *Alleluia, Non vos me* are not unlike the connections between the antiphon *Tui sunt caeli* and its tropes, as discussed in John G. Johnstone, "Beyond a Chant: 'Tui sunt caeli' and Its Tropes," in *Music and Language, Studies in the History of Music 1* (New York: Broude, 1983), 24–37.

⁷⁷ Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 79; see pp. 58–82 for an in-depth study of this new trend in the Victorine sequence *Laudes crucis attolamus*.

calls on scriptural prefiguration to support and explain his historical account of the apostles' separation. From the apostles as the "Heavens" of Psalm 19.1 (versicles 1, 10a, 12a, 13), to Christ as the "Righteous branch" of Jeremiah 23.5 (versicle 11a), *Caeli enarrant* indulges in typological explanation to an extent uncommon in the eleventh-century sequence.⁷⁸

Three versicles in Gottschalk's sequence for the *Divisio apostolorum*—the sixth, seventh, and twelfth—best illustrate his use of borrowed material, his exploitation of biblical quotations, and the possible connections with his other writings.

Versicle 6 recounts the outcome of Christ's charge to the disciples:

6a. From this place, Peter, the prince of the apostles,⁷⁹ went to Rome, [and] Paul [went] to Greece, teaching grace everywhere; the thrice four renowned leaders proclaiming the Three and the One in the four corners of the earth.

6b. Andrew, both Jameses, Philip, Bartholomew, Simon, Thadeus, John, Thomas, and Matthias, twelve judges, divided not from one but into one, gathered together into one the people divided throughout the world.

6a. Hinc Petrus Romam, apostolorum princeps, adiit, Paulus Greciam, ubique docens gratiam, ter quattuor incliti proceres in plagis terre quattuor evangelizantes trinum et unum.

6b. Andreas, Iacobus uterque, Philippus, Bartholomeus, Simon, Thadeus, Iohannes, Thomas et Mattheus, duodecim iudices non ab uno sed in unum divisi per orbem divisos in unum colligunt.

These words begin a new section in the sequence, one in which the narrative shifts from praising Christ to describing and praising the acts of his apostles. A series of musical events draws our attention to this important textual change. First, following three versicles in the plagal range, the music returns to the authentic mode on d. Second, versicle

⁷⁸ Noted also by Szövérfy, *Die lateinischen Hymnen*, 410, 412.

⁷⁹ As far as the royalists were concerned, St. Peter's status as "princeps apostolorum" did not transfer to the pope. In the Laudes of Ivrea, sung in 1090 in praise of Henry IV's antipope Clement, the primate of the imperial church was called "bishop of the first see," perhaps in accordance with an edict promulgated by the Council of Carthage in 398. The edict noted that "the bishop of the first see may not be called 'prince of priests' or 'supreme priest' or anything of this sort, but only 'bishop of the first see.'" It probably came down to the royalist writers through the Decretals of Burchard of Worms (fl. 1025; see Burchard of Worms, *Decretorum libri XX*, I,3, in *Patrologia latina* 140, col. 550 ["Ut primae sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquid huiusmodi, sed tantum primae sedis episcopus"]). See also Mommsen and Morrison, *Imperial Lives and Letters*, 25–26.

6 is the first to cadence on the cofinal. And third, the *ut eatis* melisma appears clearly for the first time. The new passage follows the only direct quotation of Christ in the whole piece: "As the Father sent me, so I send you into the world" (cf. Jn 20.21 and Mt 10.16). This citation concludes the exordium of the sequence, which reviewed Christ's works, asserted his identity as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy (as in versicle 3, with its references to Isaiah and Job), and laid the foundation for his earthly presence in the Church.

As Gottschalk's text reports the dissemination of the apostles in versicle 6, the melody calls to mind the words of the Alleluia verse: "I have chosen you and ordained you *that you should go [ut eatis]* and bring forth fruit." The melisma fragment begins the sixth versicle and then repeats, setting the names and destinations of Sts. Peter and Paul. When the melody repeats in 6b, the remaining ten apostles are evenly divided between the reiterating melodic figure (see Ex. 3, top). Perhaps by setting all twelve names to the same melodic fragment, Gottschalk sought to emphasize the spiritual unity of the apostles despite their physical separation. Indeed, by recalling the Alleluia verse, Gottschalk may be hinting at its biblical context: in John 15.5 Christ tells his disciples, "I am the vine, you are the branches," and this claim accords nicely with the idea of a "balanced" imperial Church hierarchy.

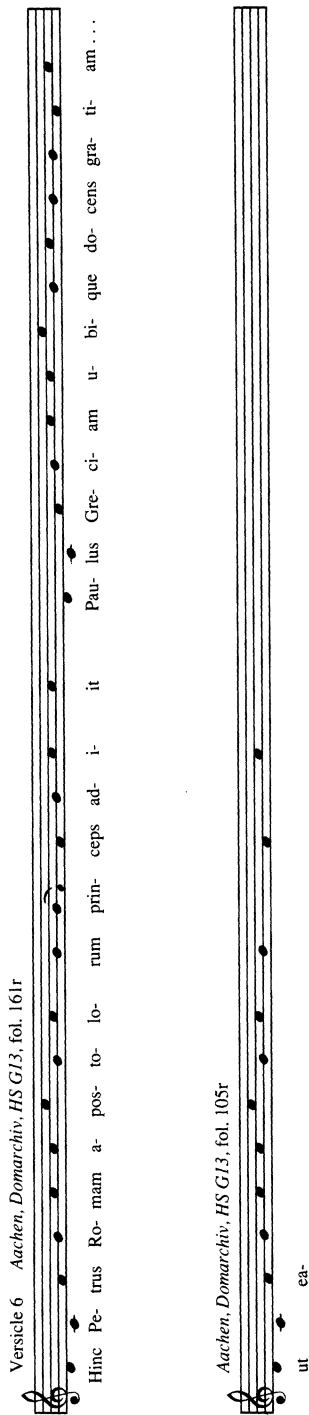
Gottschalk's position that the spiritual unity of the Church grew out of the apostles' dispersal, that they were "divided not from one but into one" ("non ab uno sed in unum divisi"), contrasts sharply with the reformers' efforts to justify and encourage communal living among the secular clergy. Consider this excerpt from an *opusculum* on the common life by the aforementioned Peter Damian (1017–1072), a prominent reformer and close advisor to Pope Leo IX whose work on the manifestations of simony helped to crystallize Church doctrine:

Therefore, dearest [brothers], if you wish [to be] among the people of God, for whom you stand as an example, among whom you shine like lamps in the world, holding the word of life; if you wish, I say, to search among them for the riches of souls, to call the wayward to the rightness of religion, [do so] first in yourselves. If they are on some crooked way, straighten them, and gathering together for the teaching of Christ, abide peacefully together, sharing in the communion of life and united in spirit.

Example 3
“Ut eatis” melisma as source melody

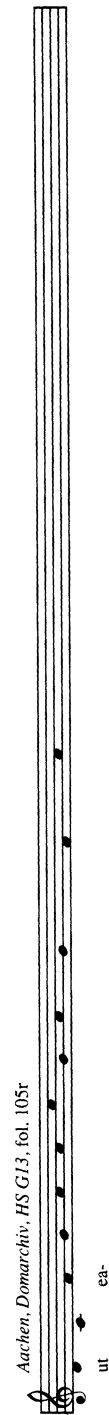
(a) comparison with versicle 6a

Versicle 6 *Aachen, Domarchiv, HS G13, fol. 161r*



Hinc Pe- trus Ro- mam a- pos- to- lo- rum prin- cepts ad- i- it Pau- lus Gre- ci- am u- bi- que do- cens gra- ti- am...

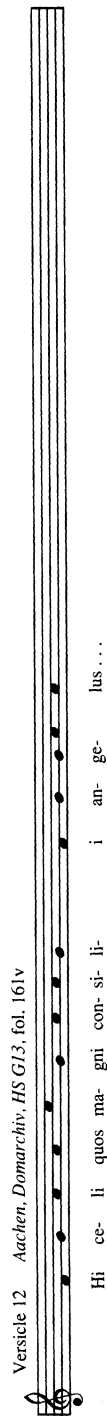
Aachen, Domarchiv, HS G13, fol. 105r



ut ea-

(b) comparison with versicle 12a

Versicle 12 *Aachen, Domarchiv, HS G13, fol. 161v*



Hi ce- li quos ma- gni con- si- li- i an- ge- lus...

Make no division of homes among you, nor schism of minds, nor diversity of practice.

Quapropter, charissimi, si vultis in populo Dei, quibus ad exemplum praepositi estis, inter quos lucetis quasi luminaria in mundo, verbum vitae continentes; si vultis, inquam, inter eos animarum lucra conquirere, si errantes ad religionis libet rectitudinem provocare, in vobismetipsis prius, si qua sunt obliqua, dirigite, et ad scholam Christi simul convenientes, in communione vitae et unione spiritus concorditer permanete. Non inter vos divisio sit domorum, non scissura mentium, non diversitas facultatum.⁸⁰

Damian's counsel that "there be no division of homes" among the clergy seems hardly justified by Gottschalk's celebration of the apostles' travels and teaching, a celebration underlined by music associated with an Alleluia that quotes Christ's words: "I have chosen you to go forth."

The second melodic correspondence with the verse from *Alleluia, Non vos me* appears in the twelfth versicle. The text of 12a reminds us that, as St. John wrote, the apostles were "not servants, but friends" of Christ, because "servants do not know what their Lord does" (Jn 15.15). The quoted melisma here indicates a close textual connection between *Caeli enarrant* and *Alleluia, Non vos me*: the Alleluia quotes the gospel verse subsequent to the one in Gottschalk's sequence (i.e., Jn 15.16), so when Gottschalk's text refers to the biblical *locus* of the Alleluia verse, the music of the Alleluia returns, forging a powerful connection between the two chants (Ex. 3, bottom). The text of this versicle also resonates with the Introit, which proclaims "thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honorable: their principality is exceedingly strengthened" (Ps 139.17), and the Gradual, which predicts "you will make them princes over the earth" (Ps 45.17). These biblical verses contain the two major themes of the *Divisio* feast: that the apostles were equals, and that their principal duty was preaching, a duty they could not have fulfilled to any satisfactory degree had they lived together in a community. It also emphasizes their divine election and thus challenges the pope's power "to bind and to loose."⁸¹

This same versicle contains the most explicit connections between *Caeli enarrant* and Gottschalk's polemical letters. Recall that Gottschalk assailed Pope Gregory VII in his 1076 letter of deposition for "[trodding the bishops] under foot like slaves who know not what

⁸⁰ Peter Damian, *Opusculum* 27, §5, in *Patrologia latina* 145, col. 511.

⁸¹ See n. 34 above.

their Lord may do.” His accusations continued, invoking a line from the Psalms in defense of King Henry, “Do not touch my anointed, and do no evil to my prophets” (Ps 105.15).

Gottschalk alludes to the theme of divine kingship in the text of versicle 12b; the words *in vinculo pacis* had particular significance for the royalists. In a letter of 1073, predating the investiture controversy and Gottschalk’s polemics, a royal notary wrote on Henry IV’s behalf of the ideal relationship between pope and king:

Since, in order to continue rightly administered in Christ, the kingship and the priesthood are always in need of the strength which He delegates, it is surely fitting for [pope and king], my lord and most loving father, not to disagree with one another, but rather to cleave to each other, inseparably joined with the bond of Christ. Thus, and in no other way, the concord of Christian unity and the condition of the Church’s religious life are preserved in the bond of perfect charity and peace.⁸²

Cum enim regnum et sacerdotium, ut in Christo rite administrata subsistant, vicaria sui ope semper indigeant, oportet nimirum, domne mi et pater amantissime, quatinus ab invicem minime dissentiant, verum potius Christi glutino coniunctissima indissolubiliter sibi cohereant. Nanque sic et non aliter conservatur in vinculo perfecte caritatis et pacis et christianae concordia unitatis et ecclesiasticae simul status religionis.⁸³

The argument that the pope and the king should “cleave to each other” later found theological support in Gottschalk’s doctrine of the two swords, but the lines that close this passage echo St. Paul’s letter to the Ephesians (Eph 4.1–4):

I, therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that you walk worthy of the vocation in which you are called, with all humility and mildness, with patience, supporting one another in charity. Careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace [*in vinculo pacis*]. One body and one spirit, even as you are called in one hope of your calling.

According to 12b, the “bond of peace” united the physically separate disciples; King Henry IV included himself in that bond as bearer of the kingly sword, holding his office by divine indulgence.

The role of those carrying the priestly sword, the sacerdotal duty to preach, became an important issue in imperial propaganda during the 1080s. In his *Defensio Heinrichi IV* of 1080, for example, Peter

⁸² Mommsen and Morrison, *Imperial Lives and Letters*, 141.

⁸³ Erdmann, *Briefe Heinrichs IV.*, 8.

Crassus argued that Pope Gregory had seized the metaphorical sword rightly held by the king while neglecting the sacerdotal sword of preaching. “Why do you sit in the seat of the prince of the apostles,” wrote Crassus, “and instead of preaching hold in your hand a sword unsheathed for striking?”⁸⁴ Gottschalk’s sermon likewise underscored this point, entreating his listeners to associate the division of the apostles with the birth of the Church:

Wherefore this day ought to be celebrated in all churches, this day on which the founders and directors of the churches, in accord with the purpose for which they were sent, began publicly to declare the word of salvation to all churches.

Unde dies in omnibus ecclesiis debet esse celebris, in qua ecclesiarum institutores et rectores ad quod missi sunt, verbum salutis portare inceperunt omnibus ecclesiis.

According to Gottschalk, preaching was the chief accomplishment of the apostles, and he urged those who would live in accord with the principles of the early Church to follow the apostolic example.

Gottschalk dramatically proclaims the value and success of apostolic preaching in the seventh versicle, the midpoint and climax of *Caeli enarrant*. The range of this versicle is markedly higher than the preceding and following music. As a result, the text, a quotation from the same psalm that opened the sequence (Ps 19.4), stands out in sharp relief. The melody reaches its highest notes on these words:

- 7a. Their sound went out through all the world,
- 7b. And their words to the ends of the earth.

- 7a. In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum,
- 7b. Et in fines orbis terre verba eorum.

This versicle does more than divide the sequence in half, however; it also sets a *single* line of scriptural text to the repeated melody. This is the only time Gottschalk quotes the Bible verbatim, and the only time a biblical reference spans the entire double versicle. As in the sixth versicle, here the composer may be using the conventional repeated melody to reflect the point of the feast: that the apostles were united

⁸⁴ MGH *Libelli de Lite* 1:442 (*Defensio Heinrici IV Regis*, §5) (“Quid tu ergo in apostolorum principis sedes sede, qui pro praedicatione gladium ad percutiendum evaginatum manu tenes?”).

spiritually (by using a single line of text) even though they were separated physically (the text is divided by the repeated melody). In addition, these words return later in the mass as the text of the offertory. The climax of the sequence, then, refers to the consecration of the eucharist, the ritual fraction of Christ's body.

The seventh versicle seems to initiate an enactment of the psalm verse and a reenactment of the disciples' deeds. The singers tell the story of the apostles' works, and in doing so they imitate them; St. Paul, in his letter to the Romans, quotes exactly this psalm verse to argue that "faith comes by hearing" (Rom 10.17–18). The disciples' words sound forth in the eighth and ninth versicles. In versicle 8, "the ones proclaiming peace" say, "Zion, your God shall reign," and their praises continue into versicle 9. The higher range and cadences on the cofinal seem to mark the preaching of the apostles, represented grammatically by indirect speech.

A schematic outline of the entire sequence, highlighting the interaction of musical and verbal rhetoric, appears in Figure 2. Numbered line segments represent the double versicles of the chant. Important textual quotations and correspondences appear beneath the versicles; for example, the lower half of the figure shows that the first and seventh versicles quote Psalm 19. It also shows that versicles 1, 6, and 12 borrow music from the chant *Alleluia, Non vos me*. Versicles 6 and 12 are further related in their use of the *ut eatis* melisma; and while versicle 4 also seems to refer to this melody, the relationship is weaker than in the sixth and twelfth, so the words of the melisma appear in square brackets. Likewise, square brackets mark the loose paraphrase of Psalm 123 in versicle 13.

The diagonal lines representing versicles 6 and 10 in Figure 2 indicate cadential changes; in the tenth, the return to cadences on the final coincides nicely with the text from Isaiah: "O Heavens, drop down the dew from above" (*Rorate, caeli, desuper*). The lines representing versicles 7, 8, and 9 lie above the others to show they end on the cofinal.

Significant moments in the text of the sequence appear above the schematic plan. For example, the metaphor of the apostles as "heavens" connects versicles 1 and 12—a textual connection Gottschalk reinforced by using music from the *Alleluia* in both instances. The figure shows the extent to which Gottschalk used musical events to emphasize key moments in the text, and this organization suggests that Gottschalk's skills as a rhetorician applied to melodies as well as to words—he has, indeed, artfully threaded together the words of Jerome and the neumes of Gregory.

As an exegetical dramatic reading that bridged the *Alleluia* and the

gospel reading, *Caeli enarrant* introduced and emphasized the important themes reiterated in the sermon. The sequence generalizes the reading from Matthew's gospel, stressing the ideals symbolized by the apostolic life and preaching. The survival of both chant and sermon offers a rare opportunity to consider the way they worked in conjunction.

In his sermon, Gottschalk tells us about the hardships faced by the separated apostles. He sees them as ascetics who were "divided [and sent out] into the bitterness of worldly persecution."⁸⁵ Rather than enjoy the security and pleasure of companionship and community life, the disciples left their friends and familiar surroundings to carry their message to the ends of the earth. From this perspective, Gregory VII's efforts to bring the secular clergy together, to encourage communal living, seem to disregard Church traditions and clerical duties.

The seventh *caput* of Gottschalk's sermon challenges even more explicitly the reformers' attempts to found clerical communities. After Christ's death, we learn, the apostles "isolated themselves together in a single locked house, because they feared the sword of persecution, [and] ceased from their work of preaching."⁸⁶ They resumed their preaching after the descent of the Paraclete, another image of the apostles' election and anointment. Again and again, Gottschalk links the primary duty of the clergy—preaching—to their ability to move about without supervision or ties to a religious community. In the final *caput* of his sermon, Gottschalk seems to equate this freedom with the role of clerics in the Church. In the middle of the eighth *caput* he asks his listeners to "retain the sweetness of [the apostles'] memory in our heart . . . so that having been freed from the power of Satan, which is divided against itself, we might deserve to be counted among His limbs."⁸⁷ Here, the Pauline image of the Christian Church as a body with many members headed by Christ, an image politicized by Gottschalk in his doctrine of the two swords, reappears in the final lines of the provost's sermon, illuminating the passage from Matthew with a royal purple light.

Gottschalk's sequence for the feast of the *Divisio apostolorum* offers a striking example of the way musical syntax contributed to the forceful presentation of a politically charged text. Through the manipulation of tonal ranges and finals, the use of melodic references to

⁸⁵ "... et in amaritudinem mundanae persecutionis pro nostra dilectione divisi."

⁸⁶ "... ut omnes Apostoli propter metum uni clausae domui inclusi, timentes gladium persecutionis, cessabant ab officio praedicationis."

⁸⁷ "... ipsorum memoriae dulcedinem in corde retineamus, . . . ut a potestate in se divisi Sathanae liberati, inter eius membra mereamur computari."

other chants, and the imaginative management of formal conventions, the composer draws us into an elegant and complicated exegesis of the “apostolic” Church. As noted, Gottschalk even endowed some versicles (the sixth, seventh, and twelfth) with particular musical emphasis, as if to alert the listener to their political significance.

Even more importantly, perhaps, the constellation of readings, chants, and commentary for the *Divisio apostolorum* complemented and supported the imperial position delineated in the polemical literature. Gottschalk’s sequence and sermon artfully glossed Matthew’s gospel, in much the same way that Medieval commentaries framed biblical and patristic texts. And yet, as we have seen, *Caeli enarrant* both granted and gained a new, political dimension from the formulary of Mass Propers it embellished and the polemical letters it invoked. No less significant was the geographical context of Gottschalk’s compositions, as few churches in Europe had a more celebrated royal past than the *Marienkirche* in Aachen. In *Caeli enarrant* Gottschalk himself took up the priestly sword, and with it faithfully discharged the duties incumbent on a cleric who obeyed the king as Christ’s vicar. With flourishes of verbal and musical rhetoric, he defended the imperial view of the Church during the most divisive controversy of the eleventh century, gave biblical authority to the royal opinion, and promoted a model of apostolic living directly opposed to the reform strategies of the Roman Church.

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APPENDIX A

Transcription of *Caeli enarrant*

Aachen, Domarchiv, HSG 13, fol. 161r-161v

1. Cē- li ē- nar- rant glo- ri- am de- i fi- li- i ver- bi in- car- na- ti fa- cti de- ter- ra ce- li.

2a. Hec e- nim glo- ri- a so- li do- mi- no est con- gru- a.

2b. No- men est cu- ius ma- gni con- si- li- i an- ge- lus.

3a. Is- tud con- si- li- um lap- so ho- mi- ni au- xi- li- um est an- ti- qu- um

et pro- fur- dum et ve- rum fa- ctum so- lis tan- tum sanc- tis co- gni- tum.

3b. Dum an- ge- lus is- te ho- mo fa- ctus ex mu- li- e- re im- mor- ta- lem ex

3c. mor- ta- li de- ter- ra ce- lum fe- cit ex ho- mi- ne an- ge- lum.

4a. Hic est do- mi- nus ex- er- ci- tu- um de- us cu- ius sunt an- ge- li mis- si in ter- ram a- pos- to- li.

4b. Qui- bus se- ip- sum vi- vum pre- bu- it re- sur- gens mul- tis ar- gu- men- tis pa- cem vic- tor mor- tis nun- ti- ans.

5a. Pax vo- bis e- go sum in- quid no- li- te iam ti- me- re

Pre- di- ca- te ver- bum de- i cre- a- tu- re om- ni co- ram re- gi- bus et prin- ci- pi- bus.

5b. Si- cut mi- sit pa- ter et e- go mit- to vos in mun- dum

Es- to- te er- go pru- den- tes si- cut ser- pen- tes es- to- te ut co- lum- be sim- pli- ces.

6a.

Hinc Pe-trus Ro-ma-m a-pos-to-lo-rum prin-ceps ad-i-t
Pau-lus Gre-ci-a-m u-bi-que do-mi-num ter-rae pla-gis in-ces-san-tes tri-um-phanti-bar-theso-pus
Ma-thae-us Du-o-de-ci-m iu-di-ces non ab-u-deris in u-num col-li-gunt.
per-or-bem di-di-ci-m o-m-ni-bus Phi-li-p-pi Thoma-s et Ma-thae-us.

6b.

An-dre-as la-co-bus u-ter-que Phi-li-p-pi Thoma-s et Ma-thae-us.

7a. In om- nem ter- ram ex- i- vit so- nus e- o- rum.

7b. Et in fi- nes or- bis ter- re ver- ba e- o- rum.

8a. Quam spe- ci- o- si pe- des e- van- ge- li- zan- ti- um bo- num pre- di- can- ti- um pa- cem.

8b. San- gui- ne Chris- ti re- demp- tis i- ta di- cen- ti- um Sy- on re- gna- bit de- us tu- us.

9a. Qui ver- bo se- cu- la fe- cit quod pro no- bis ver- bum ca- ro fa- ctum est in fi- ne se- cu- lo- rum.

9b. Hoc ver- bum quod pre- di- ca- mus Chris- tum cru- ci- fi- xum qui vi- vit et re- gnat de- us in ce- lis.

10a. Hi sunt ce- li in qui- bus Chris- te ha- tas
 in quo rum ver- bis to- nas ful- ras gra- ti- a.
 10b. His di- xis- ti ro- ra te ce- li de- su- per
 et nu- bes plu- ant ius- tum a- pe- ri- a- tur ter- ra ger- mi- nans.
 11a. Ger- men ius- tum sus- ci- ta ter- tra nos- tra
 quam a- pos- to- li ci ver- bis se- rens ger- mi- na- re fa- ci- as.
 11b. Quo- rum ver- bum pa- tris te- nen- tes
 in pa- ci- en- ti- a fru- ctum fer- re fac- ti- bi do- mi- ne.

12a. Hi ce- li quos ma- gni con- si- li- i an- ge- lus in- ha- bi- tas

quos non ser- vos a- mi- cos ap- pel- las

qui- bus om- ni- a que au- di- sti a pa- tre no- ti- fi- cas.

12b. In quo- rum di- vi- si- o- ne col- lec- tum gre- gem cu- to- di- as

in- di- vi- sum et in- vin- cu- lo pa- cis u- num

ut in te u- num si- cut in pa- tre tu es u- nus.

13. Mi- se- re- re no- bis qui ha- bi- tas rex in ce- lis.

APPENDIX B

Translation of *Caeli enarrant*

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Celi enarrant gloriam Dei filii, verbi incarnati, facti de terra celi. | The heavens proclaim the glory of the Son of God, of the Incarnated Word, of the heaven made from earth |
| 2a. | Hec enim gloria soli Domino est congrua, | Truly this glory is fit for the Lord alone, |
| 2b. | Nomen est cuius magni consilii angelus. | Whose name is the "Angel of Great Counsel." |
| 3a. | Istud consilium, lapso homini auxilium, est antiquum et profundum et verum factum, solis tantum sanctis cognitum, | That Counsel, the aid to fallen mankind, was made ancient and profound and true, [and was] known to the holy ones alone, |
| 3b. | Dum angelus iste, homo factus ex muliere, immortalem ex mortali, de terra celum fecit, ex homine angelum. | Until that angel, made man from a woman, made the mortal one immortal, earth heaven, man an angel. |
| 4a. | Hic est dominus exercituum Deus, cuius sunt angeli missi in terram apostoli. | This is the Lord of Hosts, God, whose angels were sent as apostles to the earth. |
| 4b. | Quibus seipsum vivum prebuit resurgens multis argumentis, pacem victor mortis nuntians. | To whom he appeared alive, rising again with many proofs, the victor over death, declaring peace. |
| 5a. | Pax vobis, ego sum, inquit, nolite iam timere, predicate verbum Dei creature omni coram regibus et principibus. | "Peace be with you, it is I," he said, "Be no more afraid, preach the word of God to every creature [and] in the presence of kings and princes." |
| 5b. | Sicut misit me pater, et ego mitto vos in mundum, estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, estote ut columbe simplices. | "As the Father sent me, so I send you into the world; therefore be as wise as serpents, be as simple as doves." |
| 6a. | Hinc Petrus Romam, apostolorum princeps, adiit, Paulus Greciam, ubique docens gratiam, ter quattuor incliti proceres in plagis terre quattuor evangelizantes trinum et unum. | From this place Peter, the prince of the apostles, went to Rome, [and] Paul [went] to Greece, teaching grace everywhere, the thrice four renowned leaders [went] proclaiming the Three and the One in the four corners of the earth. |
| 6b. | Andreas, Iacobus uterque, Philippus, Bartholomeus, Symon, Thaddeus, Iohannes, Thomas et Mattheus, duodecim iudices non ab uno sed in unum divisi per orbem divisos in unum colligunt. | Andrew, both Jameses, Philip, Bartholomew, Simon, Thadeus, John, Thomas and Mattheus, twelve judges divided not from one but into one, gathered together into one the people divided throughout the world. |
| 7a. | In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, | Their sound went out through all the world |
| 7b. | Et in fines orbis terre verba eorum. | And their words to the ends of the earth. |

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 8a. | Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium bonum, predicantium pacem, | How beautiful are the feet of them that bring good tidings, preach peace, |
| 8b. | Sanguine Christi redemptis ita dicentium: Syon, regnabit Deus tuus. | And say to those redeemed by the blood of Christ: "Zion, your God shall reign." |
| 9a. | Qui verbo secula fecit, quod pro nobis verbum caro factum est in fine seculorum. | "Your God, who made the world with a word, because the Word was made flesh for our sake at the end of the world." |
| 9b. | Hoc verbum, quod predicamus Christum crucifixum qui vivit et regnat Deus in celis. | "This Word which we preach is Christ crucified who lives and reigns as God in heaven." |
| 10a. | Hi sunt celi, in quibus Christe, habitas, in quorum verbis tonas, fulguras signis, roras gratia. | These men are the heavens in which you dwell, O Christ, in whose words you thunder, in whose signs you lighten, in whose grace you drop dew. |
| 10b. | His dixisti: Rorate, celi, desuper, et nubes pluant iustum, aperiatur terra germinans. | You said to these men: "O heavens, drop down the dew from above, and let the clouds rain down what is just, and let the budding earth be opened up." |
| 11a. | Germen iustum, suscita terram nostram, quam apostolicis verbis serens germinare facias. | O Righteous Branch, awaken our soil, so that planting it with apostolic words you might make it bud forth. |
| 11b. | Quorum verbis verbum patris tenentes in patientia fructum ferre fac nos tibi, Domine. | Make us bear fruit for you, O Lord, we who keep the words of the Father in patience by means of the words of the apostles. |
| 12a. | Hi celi, quos magni consilii angelus inhabitas, quos non servos sed amicos appellas, quibus omnia, que audisti a patre, notificas. | These men are the heavens in whom you, the Angel of Great Counsel, dwell, whom you do not call servants but friends, to whom you tell all things which you have heard from the Father. |
| 12b. | In quorum divisione collectum gregem custodias indivisum et in vinculo pacis, ut in te unum simus, sicut in patre tu es unus. | By the division of whom you kept the gathered flocks undivided and in the bond of peace so that we may be one in you, as you are one in the Father. |
| 13. | Miserere nobis tu, qui habitas rex in celis. | Have mercy on us, you who dwell as king in the heavens. |

APPENDIX C

Text and Translation of

Gottschalk's Sermon on the Division of the Apostles⁸⁸

I. Hodierna festivitate, fratres carissimi, gaudere debemus, qui divisionem apostolorum celebramus, quorum divisio nostra facta est collectio. Divisi sunt in universum orbem, ut in unam universi fideles colligerentur fidem. Unde dies hodierna in omnibus ecclesiis debet esse celebris, in qua ecclesiarum institutores et rectores, ad quod missi sunt, verbum salutis portare inceperunt omnibus ecclesiis.

On this feast day, dearly beloved brethren, we ought to rejoice since we are celebrating the division of the apostles, by whose division we are gathered. They were separated throughout the whole world in order that the faithful might be gathered together into one faith. Wherefore this day ought to be celebrated in all churches, this day on which the founders and directors of the churches, in accord with the purpose for which they were sent, began to declare publicly the word of salvation to all churches.

II. Dum enim Christus in caelum ascenderet, praedicare perfecti sunt. Quorum amorem inter se mutuum qui considerat, si amator esse apostolorum desiderat, plane potest videre quantum festivitati hodiernae debeat, in qua dulcedo mutuae cohabitationis et collucutionis istorum virorum eis ablata, et in amaritudinem mundanae persecutionis pro nostra dilectione divisi.

For when Christ ascended into heaven, they were commissioned to preach. He who considers the mutual love among them, if he wishes to be a lover of the apostles, is able to see clearly how much he owes to this feast day, the day on which the sweetness of those men's mutual dwelling together and speaking together was taken away from them and they were separated [and sent out] into the bitterness of worldly persecution for the love of us.

III. Ablatam autem vel divisam eorum dulcem cohabitationem cum dicimus, non ideo dicimus cum corda eorum in uno Deo indivisa sciamus in diversis mundi partibus; sed humanam consuetudinem intendimus, quia laetitia et familiaritas se diligendum et cohabitatio quanto est dulcior, tanto ab invicem recedentium corporalis absentia est amarior.

Now, when we say that their sweet dwelling together was taken away and divided, we do not mean it in one sense, since we know that their hearts [were] undivided in a single intimacy, but we have in mind the normal human sense, since the sweeter is the happiness and friendship of people who love one another and dwell with one another, the

⁸⁸ The Latin text is Leclercq's transcription, with minor changes, in "Sermon," 226–28.

more bitter is their bodily absence when they are parting from one another.

IV. Quamvis enim caeli vocentur et sint, tamen homines humano affectu congaudere et condolere sibi invicem poterant, qui invicem se diligebant, aut ex humano iure habuerant esurire, sitire, dormire, mori posse. Formemus igitur et describamus in corde nostro qualis habitus istorum patrum fuerit in eorum corporali discessu hodierno, qui amplexus, quae lacrimae, quae oscula, quae verba de bono Iesu Domino nostro inter eos seminata.

For although they are called, and are in fact, heavens, nevertheless, as men they could rejoice and suffer together with human emotion, [they who] loved each other, or had received, in keeping with human nature, the capacity to hunger, to thirst, to sleep, to die. Let us imagine then, and picture in our heart, what was the state of mind of those fathers during their bodily separation on this day, what embraces, what kisses, what words about the good Lord Jesus were sown among them.

V. Licet itaque, fratres carissimi, nobis haec in Spiritu Sancto imaginari, ut anima nostra illos mereatur amplecti, per quos amplecti nos dignatus est Filius Dei, illorum lacrimas imitari, per quos datur [. . .] tari, illorum vestigia osculari per quos conformamur imagini Filii Dei, illorum verba scrutari per quos verbum Patris aeterni pro nobis incarnatum ad nos venire et in nobis voluit habitare. Tacita nempe cordis imaginatione, sicut in mundum peccati instigatio, ita [. . . ex] imitatione sanctorum, aestu [. . .] suavissime compunctionis, deleri solet delectatio.

And thus, dearest brothers, it is possible for us to imagine these things in the Holy Spirit, in order that our soul may be found worthy to embrace those men through whom the Son of God deigned to embrace us, to imitate the tears of those men through whom . . . is given, to kiss the relics of those men through whom we are conformed to the image of the Son of God, to examine the words of those men through whom the Word of the eternal Father, incarnated for our sake, was willing to come to us and dwell among us. Indeed, in the silent imagination of the heart, just as . . . , so . . . from the imitation of holy men . . . pleasure is accustomed to be destroyed.

VI. Fiat ergo nobis suavissima compunctio apostolici agminis hodierna divisio, ex Spiritus dono qui super eos veniendo, repentino sonitu, ex timidis fortes, ex servis amicos, ex terra fecit eos caelos, qui sic non descendisset nisi prius homo factus in caelum ascendisset, ipso teste qui ait:

Therefore, let this day of the division of the apostolic band become a source of sweetest remorse to us from the gift of the Holy Spirit, who, coming upon them with a sudden clap of thunder made them brave men from timid ones, friends from servants, heavens from earth, [and]

Nisi ego abiero, paraclitus non veniet, sed dum assumptus, fuero, mitam eum ad vos. Et in alio loco: Spiritus, inquit, nondum erat datus quia nondum fuerat Iesus glorificatus.

who would not have descended had he not first, after having been made a man, ascended into heaven, he himself being the witness who says, "Unless I depart, the Paraclete will not come, but when I have been taken up I will send him to you" [Jn 16.7]. And in another place he said, "The Spirit had not yet been given because Jesus had not yet been glorified" [Jn 7.39].

VII. Ante adventum quippe Domini in caelum et Spiritus Sancti in terras, timidi erant, ut omnes Apostoli propter metum uni clausae domui inclusi, timentes gladium persecutionis, cessabant ab officio praedicationis. Postquam autem ascendit in caelum Verbum Patris Filius Virginis, ille homo vitae, homo novus, homo nobilis, homo mundus, homo Spiritus Sancti, et misit a Patre procedentem Spiritum Sanctum super Apostolos, inde iam fecit illos ex mortuis homines vivos, ex veteribus novos, ex ignobilibus nobiles, ex sordidis sanctos, ex hominibus seminis immundi homines Spiritus Sancti.

Before the coming of the Lord into heaven and of the Holy Spirit upon earth, they were fearful, to the extent that all the apostles on account of fear, having shut themselves together in a single locked house because they feared the sword of persecution, ceased from their work of preaching. However, after the Word of the Father, Son of the Virgin, the man of life, the new man, the noble man, the pure man, the man of the Holy Spirit, ascended to heaven and sent upon the apostles the Holy Spirit proceeding forth from the Father, from that time forward he made them living men from dead ones, new men from old, noble men from base, saintly from profane, men of the Holy Spirit from men of foul seed.

VIII. Divisionem itaque Apostolorum hodierna die pro nostra dilectione factam dum celebramus, ipsorum memoriae dulcedinem in corde retineamus, accubantes eorum speciosis et annuntiantibus pacem pedibus, rigantes eos lacrimis et gemitibus ut a potestate in se divisi Sathanae liberati, inter eius membra mereamur computari qui summi Patris Filius in Spiritu Sancto de beata et plus quam Virgine Maria pro nobis dignatus est incarnari, crucifigi, mori. Qui resurgens ex mortuis iam non moritur, mors illi ultra non dominabitur, sed cum Deo Patre in

And so while we celebrate on this day the separation of the apostles which was made for love of us, let us retain the sweetness of their memory in our heart, resting at their feet which are beautiful and which announce peace, moistening them with tears and sighs in order that having been freed from the power of Satan which is divided against itself, we might deserve to be counted among his limbs, who, being the Son of the highest Father in the Holy Spirit, deigned for our sake to be made flesh from the blessed and more than Virgin Mary, to be crucified, to die. Who, rising from the

unitate Spiritus Sancti vivit et gloriat, Iesus Christus Dominus noster, quem manducantes et bibentes in carne et sanguine suo, dum ille non corrumpitur, nos corrupti in eius incorruptionem redintegrari, consummari, uniri mereamur, quod ipse praestare dignetur, cui est honor, laus et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

dead now does not die; death will no longer be the master over him, rather he lives and is glorified together with God the Father in the unity of the Holy Spirit, Jesus Christ our Lord. As we eat and drink him in his flesh and blood, while he is not corrupted, let us who are corrupt be found worthy to be reintegrated, made whole, unified into his purity, which may he deign to vouchsafe us, to Whom is honor, praise, and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

ABSTRACT

A figure unfamiliar to most musicologists, Gottschalk of Aachen was a late eleventh-century notary, cleric, polemicist, and composer who served in the chancellery of King Henry IV from 1071 to 1084. A twelfth-century necrology from the royal *Marienkirche* in Aachen records a donation by Gottschalk for the annual celebration of the feast of the Division of the Apostles, for which he composed a sequence and a sermon. This study reviews the issues that led to a war of words between King Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII, and focuses on Gottschalk's important role in the controversies that divided church and state. It presents a biographical sketch of the royal apologist and a summary of his official and liturgical writings, and argues that the text and music of his sequence for the Division of the Apostles, understood in light of his sermon on the same theme, promote a highly controversial, royalist view of the medieval church.