HYMNS IN HONOR OF SAINT CLARE OF ASSISI

AN EXHAUSTIVE ANALYSIS
OF THEIR CONTENTS AND STRUCTURE

by Sister Mary Immaculata Cashal, O. S. F.

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Arts of the University of Ottawa
through the Department of Latin and
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Margaret Cecilia Cashal, known in religion as Sister Mary Immaculata of the Missionary Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, was born in New York, New York, on April 26, 1906.

She received her B. A. degree from the University of Villanova, Villanova, Pennsylvania, in August, 1937, and her M. A. degree from the same University in August, 1941.

The title of her thesis for the M. A. degree was a translation of Monita Sancti Augustini, a series of Latin excerpts from the Works of St. Augustine as compiled and edited by Philip Pambianco, O. S. A.
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INTRODUCTION

The Latin hymns in honor of Saint Clare of Assisi admit of classification on the basis of their subject matter. Accordingly, the legendary-biographical elements, the biblical elements, and the panegyrical elements which are found to be common in the hymns are effective techniques for the grouping of the hymns.

Since the nineteenth century, with the revival of historical studies in connection with the original sources of medieval history, collections of hymns have appeared in edited form, but mainly for the service of the historian. Studies in the origins and the development of Catholic liturgy include references to the liturgical verse of the Church, as, for example, in the works of Dom Wilmart. There are studies of the hymns of individual writers, as those of the Henry Bradshaw Society for the hymns of St. Gregory the Great, and of Leon Gautier for the sequences of Adam of St. Victor. On a larger scale, sequences and hymns comprise Daniel's Thesaurus for the printed sources, and Mone's collection, for the manuscript sources; Chevalier compiled his vast Repertorium of hymns, Julian has contributed a Dictionary of Hymnology, and Britt, The Hymns of the Breviary and the Missal. For another phase, Wilhelm Meyer of Speyer has conducted research into the origin and principles of metrical verse. Raby's History of Christian Latin Poetry is an example of a work that follows the historical outline.
for hymnody. However, above all others, the largest and most systematic collection of Latin medieval hymns is that of Dreves and Blume, comprised in the fifty-five volumes of the *Analecta Hymnica*, with its last addition in 1922. Although this monumental work is divided into main sections, with remarks on certain hymns and on their possible associations with others, the general arrangement of the hymns according to chronological order does not provide a methodical and scientific approach to the hymns which is needed for any extensive analysis of the hymns.

The pioneer attempts towards the classification of medieval hymns by a study of their internal subject matter has been made only recently, within the last ten years, by the renowned writer and authority on medieval hymnody, Dr. Joseph Szövérffy. The results have been published in the form of a thesis concerning the hymns of St. Christopher,¹ and in a series of monographs for the hymns of St. Peter² and other saints.

No extensive study of the Latin hymns of St. Clare of Assisi has been made to date within the knowledge of the writer. In a publication of collected studies and


chronicles in commemoration of the seventh centenary of the Saint's death, in 1953, the Franciscan, Father Stephen Van Dijk, an authority on early Franciscan liturgy, draws a comparison between the breviary hymns of St. Clare and the breviary hymns of St. Francis as found in the early Offices of the two saints, respectively. In the same brochure, another Franciscan, Padre Fausta Casolini, includes quotations from the best known hymns of St. Clare in a discussion of the literature written in honor of the saint. However, these two worthy contributions in the study of the hymns of St. Clare do not present an analysis of the medieval hymn according to the method of examination which Dr. Szövéryffy proposes.

Herein the aim of the writer is to present an internal analysis of the hymns of St. Clare for the first time. Such a classification of these Clare hymns on their internal relationship because of similar characteristics might be considered as another individual contribution towards the writing of a general history of medieval Latin


hymnody on the basis of the internal subject analysis of the hymns. The works of Dr. Szővérfy already quoted are the first initial developments for the general history, and are proving to be a guide and inspiration for similar works on the hymns of the various saints as in this study of the hymns of St. Clare.

In this analysis the term "hymn" used in its broadest sense, refers to every kind of religious song, both liturgical and non-liturgical. Under the heading of liturgical hymns are included: a. the hymns that belong to the sacrificial liturgy of the Mass - the sequences; and, b. the hymns that belong to the liturgy of canonical prayer - the breviary hymns, and the rhythmic offices.

The non-liturgical hymns are those which are intended for private devotion - the pia dictamina.

A group of fifty-one hymns written from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century in honor of St. Clare were selected for analysis. In each of the hymns the various

---

1 Designated by the initial letter "S".
2 Designated by the initial letter "H".
3 Designated by the initial letter "R".
4 Designated by the initial letter "P".
5 Six hymns with later origins were inferior to the earlier hymns, and, not considered in the analysis, are listed with the Texts of the Hymns as "Inedita".

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legendary-biographical, the biblical, and the panegyric elements or "motifs" were determined. A comparison of the recurrence of the same motifs in the hymns was made with a note of any similitude in the content and in the expression of the motifs. In this method of procedure the hymns were studied by subject group. Then an attempt was made to trace each of these predominant motifs to its exact origin by a study of possible sources including: the earliest *Legendae* of St. Clare, the Writings of the Saint, the development of her cult, the *Legendae* of St. Francis, early historical accounts of the Franciscan Orders, Franciscan hymnology in general, and contemporary religious poetry especially the Latin sequences of Adam of St. Victor, and, in the vernacular, the *Divina Commedia* of Dante.

The first portion of the thesis, a resume of the literature on hymnology, Chapter I, gives a review of the documented collections of hymns and their editors for the last century, publications on research in the early liturgy of the Franciscans, and a brief discussion of the problems in hymnology, and the growing field of literature contributed to by hymnologists towards the solution of such problems. Chapter II presents a classification of the hymns of St. Clare that are to be analyzed, under three headings: an Alphabetic Order for titles of the hymns, century in which they were written, source of their texts, and symbols
for references to the hymns; then a listing of the hymns by Centuries, and again, according to the authorship of the hymns. Chapters III and IV form the body of the thesis by a detailed comprehensive analysis of the motifs in the hymns. Chapter III treats of the legendary-biographical motifs in a chronological order in keeping as nearly as possible to the *Vita* of the Saint. The motifs and the hymns in which they are found are summarized in a Table at the end of Chapter III. Chapter IV analyzes the other types of motifs in the hymns, the panegyric with its rhetorical or symbolic forms; the biblical, from the Old and the New Testaments accordingly; and, lastly, the eschatological motif characterized by its biblical or non-biblical origin. A Table for a summary of the motifs follows Chapter IV in an arrangement similar to the Table for Chapter III. Chapter V points out the Sources of the motifs, direct or indirect influence on the content of the hymns; evidence of an inter-relationship between some of the hymns because of identical lines or similarity in the development of like motifs. The sources of the hymns are identified in a classification of their manuscripts as of monastic or non-monastic origin, and in placement according to centuries. Here special note is accorded to hymns of Franciscan manuscripts, and to hymns that are found in the same manuscript. Chapter VI gives a further analysis of the hymns on the
basis of style, ideology, inspiration and mood that serves
to characterize them as community, or traditional, or indi­
vidual creations. Likewise this type of analysis is ef­
fective for comparisons of hymns written before and after
the sixteenth century in the light of the influence of the
Reformation and Renaissance on the later hymns. Finally
the results of the entire study is summarized in the
Conclusion, with a note of the importance of this type of
research for a prospective general history of Latin hymnody.
CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON HYMNS AND HYMNODY

1. Collections of Hymns

For only a little more than a hundred years has the Medieval Latin hymn become the subject of extensive research. Within this period the early studies provided fairly complete materials, as the Repertorium hymnologicum of Chevalier, an alphabetic index of the hymns. Then in the monumental work, comprising fifty-five volumes, the Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, Jesuit scholars, Dreves, Blume and Bannister, published the vast number of Latin hymns - nearly 17,000 in all - that had, for centuries, lain buried in the manuscripts of the libraries of Europe.

Standard publications previous or contemporary with this work - the most comprehensive presentation of the Latin hymnody of the Middle Ages - had treated of one or more phases of hymnology. First among them might be mentioned books of an encyclopedic character as the Thesaurus hymnologicus of Daniel, the Latenische Hymnen des

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Mittelalters of Mone, and the more recent Dictionary of Hymnology by Julian. From the many works dealing with the origin of hymnody, one example is Walpole's Early Latin Hymns, while the collection of the Henry Bradshaw Society, the Irish Liber Hymnorum, is a type of those studies that treat of liturgical hymns of particular countries. Other innumerable volumes and monographs are concerned with the liturgical use of hymns or provide popular explanations of hymnody - often with vernacular versions, as Chambers' Lauda Sion, McDougall's Pange Lingua, and Messenger's The Medieval Latin Hymn. Raby's History of Christian Latin Literature is an example of a work following an historical outline.

In addition, much research has been done on the contributions of the Monastic Orders to the field of hymnody. For the influence of Franciscanism there are

1 F. J. Mone, Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters, 3 vols., Freibourg, 1853-55.
3 A. S. Walpole, Early Latin Hymns, Cambridge, 1922.
5 J. D. Chambers, Lauda Sion, London, 1866.
hymnological findings from the historical studies of the Order; for instance, the Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens of Holzapfel; in the light of poetry, Les poétes franciscains en Italie of Ozanam; and in the scholarly series of studies by the Franciscan, Van Dijk, on the origins of Franciscan liturgy, and of modern Roman liturgy.

"By virtue of its prestige and world-wide circulation throughout the ages, the Roman Breviary" - in the words of Ruth Messenger - "has been the vehicle by which the Latin hymn has penetrated into modern vernacular languages in translation." But the full treasury of hymns, for these popular collections, has not been drawn on, since the hymns of the Roman Breviary monopolize the field; and, by the restriction on the introduction of others for Roman

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1 H. Holzapfel, Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens, Freiburg, 1909.
5 Messenger, op. cit., p. 80.
Catholic liturgical usage than those in the Breviary and the five sequences in the Mass, their number is relatively small.\(^1\) Certain exceptions are permitted in that some religious orders use their own cycle of breviary hymns, and there are Catholic hymns that contain translations of other Latin hymns besides those of the Roman Breviary and Missal. In the Protestant Churches the collections of Latin hymns in translation are in greater numbers, due to the fact that they are permitted to draw their selections from the entire medieval store of hymnology.\(^2\) An outstanding collection of medieval hymns for adherents of the Church of England are the translations of John Mason Neale\(^3\) in the last century. However, at the present time, there is an encouraging proposal at the Vatican II Council for the adoption, by the Catholic Church of a wider and more standard collection of hymns than now in use, including - possibly - an inter-denominational hymnal.

2. Problems of Hymnological Research

Notwithstanding the valuable collections and documentary studies of hymnology which until recently were

\(^1\)Ibid.

\(^2\)Messenger, op. cit., p. 81.

\(^3\)Among Neale's many translations of Greek and Latin hymns, cf. for example, his Medieval Hymns and Sequences, with 1st Edition in 1851.
non-existent, a general history of hymnody has not yet been written. With the needed data at hand, what has been lacking is a method of classifying the hymns - in such a manner that would give a true and realistic representation of the development of hymnology as a whole. Previous attempts have failed in attaining this objective, since therein the hymns were grouped on the basis of external peculiarities, rhythmical characteristics, style, or on chronological features. In the later stages of the Analecta Hymnica, the authors seemed to have realized that an arrangement of the hymns in chronological order was not a satisfactory means of effecting the true, distinct picture of hymnody, for from that point on, "the material is arranged in a number of main sections within the volumes, and there are added remarks on the characteristics of the individual hymns and on their possible connections with one another" - a noteworthy observation of Joseph Szöverffy\(^1\) who has successfully initiated another method for the investigation of hymns. The 'internal' subject analysis of the medieval hymns "provides a knowledge of the internal characteristics of the hymns and of the relationships

\(^1\)Szöverffy in his article, "The Legends of St. Peter in Medieval Latin Hymns", Traditio, 1954, p. 275, makes this reference to Vol. 54 and 55 of the AH series.
between the hymns."¹

The widespread adoption of this method of internal subject analysis for the classification of medieval Latin hymns would remove many of the difficulties which have confronted hymnologists in their efforts towards the completion of a comprehensive, general history of hymnody.²

3. Some Historical Observations on Early Hymns

St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, (340-397) is considered the originator of the medieval Latin hymn in the accepted form of a series of metrical stanzas adapted to congregational use. Although in point of time, St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, (c. 310-366) was the first known author of Latin hymns according to St. Isidore of Seville,³ and wrote, perhaps, a "Liber Hymnorum" mentioned by St. Jerome, the earlier attempts of this Latin Father of the Church were unsuccessful. When Hilary had been exiled to Phrygia

¹Ibid., p. 277. For a more detailed explanation of this method of analysis for the medieval hymn, cf. Szöverffy's more recent article: L'hymnologie médiévale: recherches et méthode, Cahier de civilisation médiévale. vol. 4, 1961, p. 389-422.


³"De ecclesiis officiis", 1, 6, Migne, Patrologia Latina, Vol. 83, col. 743.

⁴"Liber de viris illustribus", 100, Migne, ibid., Vol. 23, col. 701.
by his Arian opponents he learned there that Christian
lyric poetry could be written in Greek, and, on his return
to Gaul, he tried to write it in Latin. The hymns of
Hilary did not become popular since they were theological
treatises in verse and thus were ponderous in style and
expression. Many hymns of later writers had been ascribed
to Hilary, but it was only in 1884 that three fragments were
discovered, which may be said - with reasonable certainty -
to be his composition. There is no evidence that any of
Hilary's hymns had been adopted into the service of the
Church in medieval times.

All the more remarkable is the immediate popular
appeal of the Latin hymns of St. Ambrose, who - like St.
Hilary - had borrowed the use of metrical hymns from the
Eastern Church, and had introduced them in Latin for con­
gregational singing at the Basilica of Milan. In describ­
ing his impressions of one of these services St. Augustine
remarks: "From that day to this the custom has been kept;
many, indeed nearly all, thy flocks throughout the world
have copied it." As Ambrose had composed his hymns with
the practical aim of expounding the doctrine of the Holy

\[1\] For the text of the three hymns cf. AH, Vol. 50,
p. 5 seqq.

\[2\] Confessions, IX, 7.
Trinity and combating the heretical doctrine of the Arians, the hymns were sufficiently simple to be understood by even the unlearned, but possessed at the same time dignity of expression, directness and fervour. For his hymns Ambrose chose the simplest of the lyric meters, the Iambic dimeter, and used nothing but lines of four Iambi each. The Ambrosian hymns were admitted into the Milanese and other liturgies, and also served as permanent models for later breviary hymns.

The pattern for writing hymns which was set by St. Ambrose encouraged imitation, with the result that innumerable hymns written in the same meter gained the common title "hymni Ambrosiani". The question here arises as to which of these hymns are the original compositions of St. Ambrose. Bulst, one of the latest critics, accepts only thirteen hymns as the work of Ambrose.  

In the hymns of St. Ambrose there is a combination of the ancient classic meter with the accentual meter. The rules of quantity are observed, but in the choice of the iambic dimeter with its regular succession of accented and unaccented syllables - a natural and popular rhythm marking the human step and pulse, no conflict occurs between verse

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accent and word accent, and the quantitative hymns can be read rhythmically. However, prior to the hymns of St. Ambrose, the first extant Latin verses that were composed by a Christian poet, Commodian, in the third century, show a departure from the methods of classical Latin poetry, and the appearance of a new kind of poetical construction, rhythmical verse. Defined by Raby, "Its principle is the strophic grouping of lines which contain an equal number of syllables, and are divided by a fixed 'caesura', and frequently there is the constant or sporadic ornament of a more or less developed rime." While the poetry of Commodian has some of the principal characteristics of rhythmical verse - the rise and fall in verse due to natural accent of the word, not to the quantity of syllables; grouping of lines; a form of rime - the essential feature of equality in number of syllables is absent. The combination of this basic characteristic with the other qualities of the new verse-form in the hymn of St. Augustine, "Psalmus contra

2 Instrueiones and Carmen Apologeticum, quoted in Raby, op. cit., p. 11-14.
3 Ibid., p. 21.
5 Ibid.
partem Donati" - sung by a fourth century congregation for dogmatic instruction - shows more definitely the beginnings of rhythmic verse.¹

Due to the new medium of expression, a kind of literature developed which has poetic feeling, variety and depth, exemplified in the Christian Latin hymns.² From the fifth century onward, the hymns became more rhythmical in structure, but "it was not until the eleventh century that the principles of accentual verse were fully developed and fully mastered."³ When the words of the hymn could be read according to their grammatical accent, and rime or assonance was applied to the whole hymn a regular cadence was produced.

As a fitting climax to the long period of transition in hymnody from the ancient quantitative principles to the rhythmic principles, the Eucharistic hymns of St. Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century can be cited as noble verses although purely accentual in form.⁴

Just as there is difference of opinion concerning

¹Ibid., p. 20, 21, gives text of hymn and its significance.
²Dreves, op. cit., p. 599.
³Raby, op. cit., p. 22.
⁴Britt, op. cit., Introd., p. xxix.
the number of the "hymni Ambrosiani" that are the actual creations of Ambrose, so hymnologists have not yet determined the active role of Pope St. Gregory the Great in the authorship of the eight to eleven hymns that are attributed to him.\(^1\) Without question it is admitted that the period in which Gregory, a member of the Benedictine Order, occupied the Papal throne (590-604), was one of great significance for hymnology since he manifested a great interest in ecclesiastical music and poetry. Blume bases his claim for the authorship of the hymns in question by Gregory, on statements from the "Liber Hymnorum", that Gregory sent hymns to the Irish Church.\(^2\) Dreves is of the negative opinion since the earliest witness to Gregory's authorship of the hymns is the historian Clichtoveus, in the early sixteenth century.\(^3\) Raby likewise expresses disagreement with Blume in that the statement from the Irish hymnal - even if true - can be interpreted "to show that the collection on question owed its use in the Irish Church to Gregory, not that Gregory was its author."\(^4\) Blume concludes

\(^1\) Messenger, *op. cit.*, p. 12.


\(^3\) Dreves, discussion in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Tubingen, 1909, p. 436.

\(^4\) Raby, *op. cit.*, p. 124, footnote.
furthermore that, since the hymns said to be sent by Gregory in return for Columba's celebrated hymn, "Altus Prosator" are different from the cycle of hymns which Blume assumes to have been in Benedictine use at the time, in that event, "Gregory was more probably the author than the mere transmitter of the hymns." In reply, Raby again is not convinced of the reliability of this reasoning offered by Blume as proof of Gregory's authorship of the hymns in question, because he [Raby] has tried to show that Blume's attempt to reconstruct the early Benedictine hymnal - a remarkable venture from the scanty sources now available - does not satisfactorily solve the problem of what hymns were actually in use. Thus, to date, it is not possible definitely to connect with Gregory, or with anyone else, the authorship of any of a group of sixth century hymns, including some well known compositions, "which, if their quality is poor, have won the respect due to their venerable age and their place in the Catholic hymnary."

1Blume, op. cit., with main argument from the Irish "Liber Hymnorum" which states that Gregory sent 'the hymns of the week' or 'a hymn for every night of the week' to the Irish Church.

2Raby, op. cit., p. 38.

3Ibid., p. 124, mentions "Primo dierum omnium," "Audi benigne conditor," and "lucis creator optimae."

4Ibid.
A solution to the unsolved problem regarding the actual hymns that were contained in the Benedictine hymnary would also serve to clarify the relationship between the Benedictine hymnal and the Irish "Liber Hymnorum," it seems, - another unanswered question in the study of early medieval hymnology. While the Christianized Celtic inhabitants of the British Isles had maintained individual features of liturgy and organization, especially in their monastic groups, nevertheless Gregory the Great who had drawn the contemporary Saxon Church of the seventh century into the Roman sphere of influence was also in touch with Celtic leadership. The record of the interchange of hymns written respectively by the Benedictine, Columba of Iona, and by Gregory, as mentioned above, although "a report incapable of proof," is significant of a "reciprocal interest in the evolving hymnology of the sixth and seventh centuries in Celtic and continental regions."  

In the western hymnaries as a whole the Ambrosian hymns were an important element since Benedict of Nursia, in his Regula, gave them a prominent place in the Divine Office by ordaining that at each canonical hour a hymn, 'Sequatur Ambrosianum', should be sung.  

\[1\] Messenger, op. cit., p. 14.  
\[2\] Ibid., p. 14.  
\[3\] Cf. Raby, op. cit., p. 36-40 from which the outline above on the beginnings of the Benedictine hymnary is taken.
collection of Office hymns was thus known as the Benedictine hymnal. Just what were the hymns in the early Benedictine hymnal is not designated by Benedict. To answer this question, Father Blume, as mentioned above, has offered two listings of hymns, essentially different, one for the older, and the other for the later hymnal as they have been called, or A and B, thus:

A consists of a list of some thirty-three hymns; a substantial number of them have as a witness the Benedictine Caesarius, Bishop of Arles, who transplanted the Benedictine hymnary from Lerins for the use of the nuns at Arles as mentioned in their Rule, and confirmed by his successor, Aurelian, in whose rule for monks and nuns adds two more hymns. This group of hymns, when compared with the hymns contained in five manuscript hymnaries, which although written at a later date than the Rules of Caesarius and Aurelian are among the oldest hymnaries before the tenth century (excluding those of Irish provenance) forms, one can imagine, the more or less complete hymnary, such as was in use in Arles and elsewhere in the days of Benedict. Father Blume concludes that here in essence is the original Benedictine hymnary.

1 Raby, *ibid.*, footnote, p. 124.

2 Quoted by Raby, *ibid.*, p. 37, from Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*, p. XI. Walpole accepts Blume's views.
B is a list of hymns from the oldest hymnaries of Irish provenance, and from all the hymnaries written after the end of the ninth century, forming the group which grew into the Roman hymnal as it is known today. Except for the hymns of St. Ambrose and one or two others, the hymns of the A group are entirely different in composition from those of the B group. This group of northern origin, in time, Blume assumes superseded the early Benedictine hymnary (A listing), under the influence of the Carolingian liturgical movement associated with Alcuin, Amalar and Helisachar, and made its way with increasing success even at Rome itself, completely suppressing the older hymnal. 1

Before further explanation of the part that "the oldest hymnaries of Irish provenance" held in relation to the Benedictine hymnal, two of the most important sources might be mentioned, the so-called Bangor Antiphonary of the seventh century, which contains twelve miscellaneous hymns, including the supposed hymn of St. Hilary, 2 and the Irish Liber hymnorum already mentioned as containing Columba's hymn "altus prosator", and also the "Lorica" of St. Gildas (6th C.).

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1 Raby, op. cit., p. 38.
2 Bangor Antiphonary, op. cit.
The opinion of Blume concerning the B list, which includes the Irish hymnal selections, depends upon his theory that this later cycle of hymns had been in use in the British Isles since the period of Gregory the Great. An Anglo-Irish cycle therefore, was posited, which took possession of the continent, replacing the early Benedictine hymnal (List B, above). However, Blume's theory has been questioned by Don Wilmart, the Benedictine scholar, who asserts that Blume, in his A list had reconstructed the Gallican hymnary only, possibly the foundation of the Benedictine hymnary, and that with alterations and changes to meet new needs in keeping with the expansion of the Order this early form of the Benedictine hymnal - the A listing above - was not abandoned, but it persisted and triumphed in its revised form - the B listing. In the light of Wilmart's opinion, the relationship between the Benedictine hymnal and the Irish hymnal was evident from about the sixth century when the Irish hymnal selections - as among the B listings were added to the original form of the Benedictine hymnal.

3 Raby follows the opinion of Wilmart; cf. op. cit. p. 39, 40.
Furthermore, regarding Blume's theory of the Anglo-Irish hymn cycle - as sponsored by Gregory the Great and transferred to the continent - it seems more probable that Gregory, the Benedictine Pope approved, rather, the use in Anglo-Irish lands of the continental hymn cycle which the Order was responsible for carrying northward with it when it entered Britain. However, from the ninth century, there is no question as to the enrichment of the Benedictine hymnal by Celtic contributions.¹

4. Origins and Development of the Sequence and the Trope

Prior to the ninth century, Latin hymnody was characterized by hymns written in the Ambrosian style, especially the Breviary hymns. Now a new feature emerges which found its inspiration, not in the Ambrosian hymns but in the liturgy, the sequence. The "alleluia" of the Mass is the starting point of the sequence.² The extension of the final "a" constituted a musical phrase called a "jubilus", and for the sake of breathing, an extended "jubilus" was divided into musical phrases, each a "sequentia". When a text was finally supplied for every such melody, there resulted the "sequentia cum prosa", (i.e. a melody with a

¹Messenger, op. cit., p. 27.
²Ibid., p. 35.
In France the term "Prose" was employed, while in Germany the less correct and later designation of "Sequence" was used to describe the whole composition. The question of the origin of the sequence is beset with many difficulties. Because of the importance played by Notker Balbulus (ca. 840-912), a monk of St. Gall, in the development of the sequence, it was once supposed that he was its originator at St. Gall. However, Notker himself relates that the "Antiphonarium" of a monk of Jumiéges had given him the idea of placing the words of a text under the "melodiae longissimae" of the Alleluia-jubilus. He can be rightfully considered the first and most prominent exponent of the sequence in Germany. On French soil, by Notker's time, the composition of sequences had already reached an advanced stage as at the centre, St. Martial.

The development of the sequence might be considered in three periods: the first period, for the ninth and tenth century; the second, or transitional period, for

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1 Raby, op. cit., p. 210; with a reference to AH, 49, p. 515-30, for examples of earliest forms, apparently 8 C., all English or French, none in Germany.

2 "Liber hymnorum" in the "Proemium" as quoted by Raby, op. cit., footnote, p. 213.


4 Szővéryffy, Art., L'hymnologie medievale, op. cit., p. 397-404; an excellent summary of the development with examples of sequences.
the eleventh century; and the third period, from the end of
the eleventh to the fifteenth century. The original French
form underwent various transformations in these periods.

Within the first period, the oldest sequences had many peculiarities.\(^1\) The text was adopted - more or less - to a melody which had already existed; and, as the divisions of this melody - with the exception of the opening and closing portions - were usually repeated by alternative choirs, there arose double strophes which were of the same length and were sung to the same melody. These somewhat long pieces of melody were further divided into smaller musical phrases of different lengths with the text, the strophe was apportioned into verses of different lengths. Consequently, there was no regular rhythm, meter, nor rhyme, and in appearance this form was true to the original designation of "Prosa". In terms of the development of the sequence, this early form is called the "Irregular Sequence," with two different types: the French (from Jumiége), and the German (from St. Gall). By comparison, the older French sequence mostly begins and ends with the Alleluia, with all verses often ending in 'a';\(^2\) while the later German sequence

\(^1\)Blume, \textit{op. cit.}
has an independent strophe at the beginning and at the end, with no sign of a close relation, the first strophe merely follows the Alleluia, and it features assonance and rhythm.\(^1\)

Within the second period, the "Transitional Sequence" developed, with a resemblance, in some instances, to the Notkerian type of the preceding century, and in others, to the "Regular Sequence" of the following century. The Victimae Paschali,\(^2\) written probably by Wipo, the Burgundian (d. after 1048), is a good example of the transitional type of sequence in which occasional rhyme occurs. Apparent here is the growing tendency for the text and melody to be composed together, and thus the Prose began to assume a regular poetical form within a rhythmical structure as already popularized in the Breviary hymn.\(^3\)

In the development of the sequence the work of the third period was the creation of the "Regular Sequence." At the abbey of the Canons Regular of St. Victor in Paris, "the Sequence with rhythm and rhyme reached artistic perfection, combining splendour of form with depth and with


\(^2\) Cf. *AH*, 54, Introd., p. vi, for structure, and p. 12, 13, for text.

\(^3\) For other noteworthy examples of the Transitional Sequence cf. the antiphons of Hermannus Contractus: *Alma Redemptoris mater* (*AH*, 51, p. 140) and *Salve regina* (*AH* 50, p. 317); the Magdalene hymn of Gottschalk of Limburg (*AH* 50, p. 347).
seriousness of conception."¹ This description is signifi­
cant of the sequences of Adam of St. Victor, in whose
achievements, as Raby says, "medieval rhythmic verse
reached its greatest formal perfection."² The characteris­
tics of the "Regular Sequence" in its full development con­
sists of a group of rhymed trochaic lines of eight syllables
with a caesura after the fourth syllable at the end of a
word and closes with a seven syllable line.³ This scheme
with its many variants characterizes the work of Adam and
his imitators in countless Latin and later, vernacular,
lyrics. Adam's sequence for the Feast of St. Stephen, Heri­
mundus exultavit has been considered as illustrative of his
finest sequences.⁴

The historian has as yet found it impossible to
draw up a list of sequences which are beyond doubt to be
ascribed to Adam of St. Victor since the available docu­
mentary evidence is so fragmentary and uncertain.⁵ From
an examination of the earliest graduals of S. Victor more

¹Blume, op. cit., p. 345.
²Raby, op. cit., p. 354, in a reference to Gautier's Edition of the Sequences of Adam, Oeuvres poetiques d'Adam
³So summarized by Messenger, op. cit., p. 47.
⁵Cf. Raby, op. cit., p. 350-51, for more detailed
discussion of this problem.
than one hundred sequences have been attributed to Adam and were published first by Leon Gautier in 1858. From this source in the later nineteenth century the Abbé Misset had compiled a list of forty-five Sequences, and it can hardly be doubted that a number of Adam's Sequences are to be found within this list. Blume, who edited the Victorine sequences in the Analecta Hymnica attributed forty-eight to Adam's authorship. It is clear that the last word has not yet been said on this perplexing problem.

Another older form of composition from which the sequence has grown is the trope - defined as "the interpolation of a liturgical text," or, in more definite terms, as a verbal amplification of a passage in the authorized liturgy, set to the accompaniment of music in the manner of an introduction, an interpolation or a conclusion or a combination of the three. As a liturgical embellishment for all parts of the Mass, the trope was composed in a style that varied with the seasons of the Church Year or feasts of the saints. While the sequence is closely related

1Gautier, op. cit., p. 230-1.
2Misset, Essai sur les oeuvres poetiques d'Adam de S. Victor, p. 62, sqq.
3AH, 54, 55; cf. Preface to 54.
5Raby, op. cit., p. 219; cf. AH, 49, for various texts of tropes.
to the trope, the sequence is an independent unit complete
in itself but the trope forms a unit only in connection with
a liturgical text. Accordingly the tropes are named:
"Trope of the Kyrie", "Trope of the Agnus Dei," etc.

The definite origin of the trope is unknown but it
must almost coincide with the origin of the sequence -
somewhere in the eighth century. The first tropes in use
of German origin are ascribed to Tutilo of St. Gall, the
friend of Notker, but Tutilo is not generally regarded as
their originator, for the St. Gall Tropers are comparative-
ly poor in tropes. Like the sequence, the trope seems to
have its beginnings in France, since the oldest French
Troper which has survived - that of St. Martial of Limoges
from the middle of the tenth century-abounds in tropes.
Moreover, some believe that the trope was inspired by
Byzantine or Syrian hymnody.

From the tenth century onward, the trope enjoyed
great popularity, and spread from France, to England, to
all parts of Italy. While less known in Germany, Tutilo

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1 Blume, art., "Trope", Cath. Encyclop., Vol. 15,
2 Ibid., p. 67.
3 Raby, op. cit., p. 20; Blume, op. cit., p. 66.
4 Raby, Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse,
(mentioned above), in the ninth century, composed tropes. In the thirteenth century the use of the Trope as a liturgical hymn began to decline and survived almost exclusively in the Kyrie Tropes of France until all Tropes were finally removed from the Roman Rite in the sixteenth century.

The importance from a musical standpoint of both the Tropes and the Sequences has been characterized by Dr. Frere. He remarks that all new developments in musical composition from the ninth to the twelfth century are represented in the so-called 'Tropers'; which are none other than a collection of music that did not gain admission into the privileged circle of Gregorian service-books and thereby functioned as a supplement to the official books. Also, in the growth of the religious drama the Tropes and Sequences afforded an early stage. For example, from the dialog content in the Easter Trope, "quem quaeritis in sepulchro" and Easter Sequence, "Victimae Paschali," already mentioned above, the sources for the later Easter Plays are easily discernible.

As for the popularity of the Sequences, the great numbers that have survived are an indication. In the

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2 For text, cf. AH, 49, p. 9; from tenth C. in Mss. of S. Martial.
eleventh century the use of Sequences was widely spread in
the Churches of the west, and as the great metrical sequen­
ces of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries evolved there
were many noteworthy imitations of this fully developed
Regular Sequence. Throughout the Middle Ages the output of
Sequences continued, "but their quality inevitably declined
as they grew in number."\(^1\) By the sixteenth century "the
doom of the sequence was sealed,"\(^2\) and only four - the
"Veni, sancte spiritus", in all probability composed by
Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury,\(^3\) the "Victimae
Paschali" ascribed to Wipo, the "Lauda Sion Salvatorem" of
St. Thomas Aquinas,\(^4\) and the "Dies Irae" ascribed to
Thomas of Celano\(^5\) - were retained in the Roman Missal of
1570. The "Stabat Mater" - probably composed by Jacopone
da Todi\(^6\) was not added to the Missal until the eighteenth
century.\(^7\)

The medieval sequences and tropes are a testimony

\(^1\) Raby, op. cit., p. 229.
\(^2\) Ibid.
\(^3\) For disputed authorship, cf. AH 54, p. 237, sqq.,
text, ibid., p. 234 sqq.
\(^4\) AH, 50, p. 584, for text.
\(^5\) Ibid., 23, p. 54.
\(^6\) Ibid., 54, p. 312, sqq.
\(^7\) Cf. Frere, op. cit., p. xxiii.
to the Christian literary activity in the West during a
period of seven centuries. With the admission of these
two hymn forms in the liturgy, ecclesiastical music found
its opportunity for further development and growth.

6. The Influence of New Religious Orders on Medieval Hymnody

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, at the
zenith of culture for the Middle Ages, the Church was
entering an era of unity and spiritual renewal. The series
of heresies throughout western Europe that had not only
threatened Catholicism but all Christianity, were now off-
set by the founding of the Dominican, the Franciscan, and
other Religious Orders, whose members took a major part in
the triumph of the Faith over these destructive forces.

While the religious orders had significant effects
upon medieval society and culture in general,¹ the many
hymn writers among their numbers especially inspired a new
vitality into the hymnody of the Church. The subjective
qualities and attitudes which did not characterize most of
the early hymns devoted to biblical themes and theological
expressions, are much more obvious in the contemporary
poetry of this period. As a reflection of the ideals of
the religious orders, the forms of poetry were enriched,

¹Messenger, op. cit., p. 54.
the language more elegant, the rhythm more regular, and the rhyme purer.\(^1\) "Religion which had once again come to find expression in a personal experience, in an emotion of the heart, in a direct relation between the human soul and Christ\(^2\) made a deep impression on the development of Latin and vernacular poetry, and not less, of later medieval art. The friars, as itinerant preachers, in imparting the lessons of faith and morals, translated hymns into the vernacular, and thus brought them directly to their hearers,\(^3\) - one of the earliest attempts to bridge the gap between the ritual and popular use of hymns.\(^4\)

The poetry of the Name of Jesus is most often associated with Bernard of Clairvaux, the mightiest spiritual and political figure of the first half of the twelfth century.\(^4\) In the spiritual influence which he wielded Bernard may be compared with Francis of Assisi of the following century. Although the contrasts herein between Bernard, the Churchman, and Francis, the simple follower of Jesus, are deeper than the apparent similarities, both

\(^1\) Blume, art. "Hymnody", \textit{op. cit.}, p. 603.
\(^2\) Raby, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 328.
\(^4\) Messenger, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 54.
Bernard and Francis brought a new personal element into Catholicism, a mysticism which had rediscovered in the Saviour a human figure who was the centre of the Christian hope, and which took expression in a personal love of Jesus, devotion to His Passion. A series of verses, known familiarly as the "Iubilus rhythmicus de nomine Iesu" which seem to have drawn their inspiration from Bernard's beautiful treatise, "De diligendo Deo" and his series of sermons on the "Song of Songs" have caused them to be attributed to the pen of the same Saint. Bernard since had been deprived of the fame attaching to the authorship of the "Jubilus", but yet the inspiration of his mysticism shines through every line - "dulcis Jesu memoria, dans vera cordi gaudia...". Rarely did the poetry of the name of Jesus gather such an intensity of feeling. The spirit of a Francis of Assisi was needed to transform the mysticism of Bernard into a gospel.

From the Order which was newly founded by St. Dominic in the thirteenth century, St. Thomas Aquinas, the "profound singer of the Blessed Sacrament," wrote the

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1 Cf. Wilmart, Le 'Jubilus' dit S. Bernard, Rome, 1944; also for critical text.
2 Ibid.
3 Raby, op. cit., p. 331.
great Eucharistic hymns for the feast of Corpus Christi established by Pope Urban IV in 1265. Among them, the sequence, "Lauda Sion"¹ is, doubtlessly, the supreme dogmatic poem of the Middle Ages.² With clear, smooth and concise terminology it sets forth the definite teaching of the Church regarding the Holy Eucharist, in verses that are models of the Victorine technique, and that have an austerity and grandeur which no Latin poet of the Middle Ages ever equalled. Less purely doctrinal is the Vesper hymn, "Pange lingua"³ which is the most popular as well as the most beautiful of the Eucharistic hymns of the Angelic Doctor, and expressed with an excellence of meter and rhyme equal to that of Adam in the twelfth century. Of all the hymns which Thomas composed for the office of Corpus Christi the least familiar is the hymn for Matins, "Sacris sollemnis"⁴ except for the last two verses which are well known, - "panis angelicus fit panis hominum ...". This is a hymn of joy and the fourteen-syllabled meter chosen is admirably adapted to express such sentiments. Lastly there

¹Text, AH, 50, p. 584.
³Text, AH, 50, p. 586.
⁴Text, ibid., p. 357; for discussion, cf. Britt, op. cit., p. 167 sqq.
is the famous "Adoro te", a pious meditation of incomparable beauty and closely knit construction, of doubtful authorship, but seems most probably to be that of St. Thomas. In the wake of these sublime productions of St. Thomas, the later Middle Ages saw a great growth of eucharistic poetry in the form of sequences, or of hymns to be sung after the Preface, or at the prayers of consecration, or in the nature of private devotions for communion.

But it was the Franciscan Movement in the thirteenth century which had such a profound influence on the contemporary religious revival that also provided the greatest inspiration for the beautiful personal and lyrical character of the religious poetry of the time. St. Francis of Assisi, in founding the Order of Franciscans, summed up the ultimate objective of himself and his friars in a few simple terms at the beginning of his Rule - "to observe the teachings of the Holy Gospels of our Lord Jesus Christ," to relive the Gospels by following Christ in His "Way" of love for all creatures, lowliness, and simplicity. Unlike so many heretical sects of the time that likewise advocated poverty and the spirit of the gospel, the Franciscans were

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1 For critical text, Wilmart, La tradition littéraire et textuelle de l'Adoro te devote, I, p. 21 et seq., p. 149 et seq.
2 Raby, op. cit., p. 411.
wholly submissive to the authority of the Pope, Innocent III who recognized the spiritual potentialities of "Il Poverello" and his followers for the renewal of Christianity. 1 Imbued with the sentiments of the words of the Apostle: "Far be it from me to glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" 2 Francis had an ardent devotion for the Passion of Christ and the sufferings of His Blessed Mother. 3 This is the personal note "which makes itself heard in the whole of the religious poetry inspired by the Franciscan Movement, and the key to the whole emotional content of Franciscan literature." 4 The sentiments of grief and pathos that Francis experienced as he beheld his suffering Saviour bore fruit in the mystical verses of his followers. The Franciscan singers, from Bonaventure to Jacopone da Todi, "sang always with their faces set to the scene of the double passion." 5

The sources of this new emotionalism-Franciscan in religious poetry which treated of the Passion of Christ with

1 Bonaventure, Legenda S. Francisci; prologus relates of the dream of the Pope who saw 'a poor little man' supporting the Lateran Basilica about to fall into ruins.
3 I, Celano, I, 30.
4 Raby, op. cit., p. 418.
5 Ibid.
so terrible and sorrowful realism of detail in place of the old calm theological symbolism of earlier religious poetry, most likely are traceable to a biography of Christ, the "Meditationes Vitae Christi," long attributed to St. Bonaventure, the Seraphic Doctor. Planned as a handbook for contemplatives, it presents a living picture of the Man of Sorrows, which by its neglect of dogma, and emphasis on every ghastly detail which the human imagination could present in the phases of the Passion of Christ, must have moved its readers to a strong personal love of the Crucified, and served as an incentive for many of them to express similar impassioned thoughts in poetic form.

Inflamed with the ardent mysticism and love of the Crucified he manifested in his prose works, St. Bonaventure, composed Latin poems and hymns. The best known for its personal appeal and its poetical qualities is the "Laudismus de Sancte Cruce", a hymn whose opening verse, 'recordare sanctae crucis', reveals the true

1Bonaventure, Opera omnia, Paris, 1868, Vol. 12, p. 308 seq.
2Raby, op. cit., p. 419, "... and presumably, the work of a 13 C. Franciscan."
3Gilson remarks that St. Bernard is 'a capital source of Franciscan mysticism.' Cf. his S. Bonaventure et l'ICONOGRAPHIE DE LA PASSION, p. 422-24.
4Ibid., p. 407 seq.
5Text in AH, 50, p. 571.
Franciscan spirit. His "Office of the Holy Cross" contains eight hymns with the most successful of them in two-syllabled masculine rhyme, 'in passione domini.'

The Franciscan movement, moreover, exercised an immense influence upon the popular religious poetry "which throughout the whole of Italy began to absorb the Franciscan emotion and realism." In the stream of the nascent literature of the people, the religious 'laude', written in the Umbrian dialect, by the humble poets, reflected true Franciscan ideals in a most direct and uncompromising manner. In the 'laude' the religious 'jongleurs' imitated the rhythms and language of the wandering minstrels from Provence with improvisations in keeping with their themes drawn from the gospels. St. Francis can be considered in the number of these poets since he composed in the traditional form of the 'laude' his exquisite "Song of the Creatures" in praise of the Lord.

The foremost member of the 'Laudesi' or groups of lay brothers who went about all Italy singing and acting

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1 Text, ibid., p. 568.
2 Raby, op. cit., p. 429.
the 'laude' for special occasions, was Jacopone da Todi, whose compositions excelled all others and who may be regarded as the first inventor of the 'laude.' Later in life, when Jacopone entered the Order of the Friars Minor, he continued to voice his Franciscan sentiments in more ardent tones, and the 'lauda,' "Donna del Paradiso," in which he dramatizes the compassion he felt for the Blessed Mother when she is informed of the cruel details of the Crucifixion of her Son, seems to be an expression of the same inspiration that produced the statelier pathos of the Latin sequence, the "Stabat Mater." Thus, "the most noble monument of the spiritual poetry of the thirteenth century is generally ascribed to Jacopone, although the problem of its authorship has long been disputed. The "Stabat Mater," a model of the Regular Sequence in its poetic form, relates in the most tender and pathetic terms of any Medieval hymn the grief of the Mother of the Redeemer as she witnessed the suffering and death of Jesus on the Cross. The hymn has been deemed worthy of a place in both the Mass and the Divine Offices.

1D'Ancona, Jacopone da Todi, Todi, 1914, p. 12.
2Ozanam, op. cit., p. 233.
3D'Ancona, Origini del teatro italiano, Turin, 1891, 2d Ed., 1, p. 162.
5AH, 54, p. 269 seq.
Another Brother Minor, Thomas of Celano, the biographer of St. Francis and of St. Clare, is believed to be the author of the most majestic of sequences, the "Dies Irae." Its theme, the terrors of the "Last Day" when Christ will appear in all His glory to judge the living and the dead, had often been pictured above the portals of the Medieval cathedrals and profoundly impressed the imagination of generations of Christian people. For his treatment of the Judgment motif in the sequence, the author derived further inspiration from the use of the words of the prophet Sophonias as found in earlier Latin hymns - "Dies irae, dies illa" - and also from the text of the "Responsorium" in the prayer of Absolution after a Requiem Mass. The hymn is replete with Scriptural allusions and is a summation of the tenets of medieval eschatology. In a supreme expression of hope and fear the formal effect is achieved by a note of personal passion which is brought into the sequence in its final verses - "recordare, Jesu pie" - a characteristic appeal to the Franciscan Saviour for His infinite mercy. In form, the perfect mastery of the use of triple

2Helin, op. cit., p.117.
3Sophonias, I, 14-16.
4Raby, op. cit., p. 450.
rhyme scheme in trochaic verse indicates the simplicity of supreme art of the sequence. A special literature has grown up around the "Stabat Mater," and countless attempts have been made to render a true translation in other languages. The sequence has been retained by the Church in the Requiem Mass.

Again, a Minorite, Julian of Speyer in a convent at Paris, composed Rhythmic Offices in honor of St. Francis and St. Anthony, works which mark the perfection of this kind of composition which grew in popularity with the later Middle Ages. Modeled on the same style as Julian's "Offices" is the traditional "Office of St. Clare," "Iam sancta Clarae claritatis" by an anonymous Franciscan author who, with remarkable skill, transformed the prose motifs from the Legend of Clare into poetry.

Within the last decade of the thirteenth century, John Pecham, a Brother Minor, (who became the Archbishop of Canterbury), wrote the rhythmical office, "De S.

1 Examples: Goethe's "Faust," Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel."


4 Full discussion of the origin of this Office, infra, Chapter VI; Text, R(26) in Appendix.
Trinitate" a composition with its external structure an exact imitation of the "Office of St. Francis" by Julian. This Office replaced the older form in the Franciscan Breviary, and later, in the Roman Breviary. The notion that Mary would be a powerful mediator on behalf of men before the judgment seat of God on the Last Day was eagerly propagated by the Franciscan friars in their traditional devotion to Mary. While the verses of the "Stabat Mater" contain no reference to Mary as intercessor, there is a hymn by an anonymous author which is addressed to the "Mater Misericordiae" with an appeal for her mediation, in the phrase "O Maria" recurring in each verse.

7. The Influence of Humanism on Medieval Latin Hymnody

The status of the Latin hymn from the fourteenth century onward is implied in the remark of Raby to the effect that the Franciscan hymns, the "Stabat Mater" and the "Dies Irae" were the last authentic voices of Catholic hymnody.

2Raby, op. cit., p. 450.
3Ibid., p. 451 for Text and discussion.
4Raby, op. cit., p. 452.
Hymns continued to be written, but the genuine creative power was decreasing as can be noted in the spiritual and poetical quality of the great number of sequences, tropes, and new forms of hymnody of this period.

Since poetry was employed for the adornment of all types of subjects it is not surprising that the composition became inferior. Besides liturgical hymns, various types of religious verse of a non-liturgical character were written. Here might be mentioned the collections of spiritual songs or rimed "Psalters," the "Horæ" (Book of Hours) with lyrical poems on the Passion, the "Carols." Foremost in the class of non-liturgical hymns that were composed for private devotion and modelled on liturgical forms were the "Pia Dictamina," developments in the style

1Szövérfy, op. cit., p. 405: "Mais ce qui donne a cet age un caractere remarquable, c'est la preponderance des hymnes non-liturgiques."

2Consisted of 150 verses each of which originally contained a reference to a corresponding psalm. Cf. AH, 35, for examples of rimed psalters.

3An imitation of the ligurgical hymns for the "Little Hours"; cf. Szövérfy, op. cit., p. 405.

4May have had origin in the acclaiming at the 'Kyrie eleison' of the Mass by those worshippers who were unfamiliar with Latin. Cf. M. Sahlin, Etude sur la carole mediale, Upsala, 1940.

5Cf. discussion of the "Pia Dictamina", infra, Chapter VI; also Szövérfy, op. cit., p. 405.
of 'Reimgebete' (rhyming prayers) and 'Leselleider' (hymns to be read). Too, at the time, were the "Laude," the songs of the "flagellantes" against sinful living; "Macaronic Verses," those combinations of Latin quotations and the vernacular.

By the fourteenth century the Latin language could no longer compete with the national languages of Europe in which the modern literature in the vernacular, especially lyric poetry, made remarkable development. Nevertheless, the number of Latin poets seemed to grow rather than diminish, but in their poems there were apparent signs of the deterioration of medieval rhythmic verse by a departure from the sense of form, and by the tendency to revert to the system of merely numbering the syllables from which the rhythmical principle had slowly emerged.

External factors which contributed to the decline of Latin hymnody in these later Middle Ages were abuses in the Church - the exile of the Popes at Avignon; schisms; the freedom to compose one's own liturgy with the use of hymns of no value; political entanglements. Herein was the

1Cf. discussion of "Laude," supra in this Chapter.

2Messenger, op. cit., p. 58, 79; here is found a good description of the different forms of the vernacular-Latin lyric.

favorable moment for the movement of Humanism to oppose hymnody successfully. Humanists of the Renaissance went back to the classical models for writing Latin verse and advocated fruitless attempts to create life and beauty in the old measures.  

Because of this exaggerated enthusiasm for the ancient and classical forms and meters, both churchmen and laymen alike regarded the rhythmical liturgical verses with abhorrence. Fidelity to pure Latinity now tied poets down to a fixed literary language, with no variety or innovation allowed in the use of the ancient metrical forms either. As a result, by the sixteenth century, hymns were written in better Latin, but, because of their artificiality and lack of sentiment, they could scarcely equal the pathetic intensity that characterized the medieval rhythmic forms, - which forms were almost a necessity of Christian poetry "since Christian emotion quivers differently from any movement of the spirit in classic measures," and thus "the impossibility of setting the emotion of a medieval hymn in a classic meter" can be realized.

3Ibid., p. 247.
In the seventeenth century with the so-called "Reform of Pope Urban VIII" came the crushing blow which destroyed the beauty of all Breviary hymns. Pope Urban VIII was a Humanist. As he saw that the hymns did not conform to the rules of classical prosody he appointed a commission to reform them "so that they should no longer offend Renaissance ears."¹ The sequences were abolished with few exceptions, and the hymns which remained in the Breviary were tolerated only because of their venerable antiquity, and after they had suffered a process of ignorant mutilation.

Later, the new hymn writers continued to repudiate the mediaeval ruggedness and stylistic neglect of the pre-Renaissance verses in favor of the smooth and finished Latinity that was effected by contemporary poets, and to resort to their imitations of classical lyrics.²

Latin hymns were still written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries - correct enough according to the rules, and correct in sentiment too, - but "there was no trace left of the feeling, the spark of the fire, nor ray of the grace"³ which had characterized religious verse

²Messenger, op. cit., p. 80.
³Fortescue, op. cit., p. xxx.
prior to the effects of Humanism - effects which were notably disastrous from the liturgical reform of medieval hymnody.

Throughout this varied experience the stream of medieval Latin hymnody has continued its course. Modern investigation of the sources of these hymns, their origins, authorship and influence has created the study of documentary hymnology, and thus has invested the medieval hymn with new interest.
CHAPTER II

CLASSIFICATION OF THE HYMNS

In the analysis of the hymns in honor of Saint Clare, all hymns which were studied are listed here with appropriate data.

I. Edited Hymns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Alphabetic Order</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Breviary Hymns:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(5)</td>
<td>Clara clarens, labe carens</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 4,119(213)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(9)</td>
<td>Clara stella movet bella</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 16,102-103 (153)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(10)</td>
<td>Clara praecclara meritis</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>AH 16,102(152)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(11)</td>
<td>Clarum nomen effunditur</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 19,109(174)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(12)</td>
<td>Coeli concentum hodie</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 19,111(178)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(13)</td>
<td>Cincinnat olebs fidelium</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>AH 52,149(159)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(14)</td>
<td>Decus clarum feminarum</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 4,119(214)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(15)</td>
<td>De terra caliginosa</td>
<td>14/15</td>
<td>AH 19,110(177)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(16)</td>
<td>Duce caelesti numine</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>AH 5,157(54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(17)</td>
<td>Ecce, mundo tepescenti</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 23,156(264)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(19)</td>
<td>En, praecclara virgo Clara</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 4,120(215)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(20)</td>
<td>Exsultate, jubilate</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 22,77(122)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14/15</td>
<td>AH 19,109 (176)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(24)</td>
<td>Generat virgo filias</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>AH 52,150 (160)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(25)</td>
<td>In celesti triclinio</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Il culto di S. Chiara, 1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(30)</td>
<td>Laetabundus plaudat mundus</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 4,120-121 (216)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 177, gives the date as 'thirteenth' century; and rightly so, since this hymn forms strophes 2-6 of Generat virgo filias, H(24), composed by Alexander IV on testimony of Fra Salimbene's Chronicles, p. 194.

2 Besides the difference in Mss. and century, the second listing has the same text for the hymn as the first, except for three word changes, presumably, 'errata' in transcription.

3 Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 186, in the volume published for the Seventh Centenary of St. Clare, Santa Chiara d'Assisi.
### Classification of the Hymns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol (Alphabetic Order)</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H(34) Clara, clarum gracie</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Il culto, 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(35) Clara, clarens vespere</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>AH 5,160(54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(36) Clara, luce clarior</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>AH 52,151(161)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(38) Prolem quam, Clara generas</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Il Culo, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(42) Salve Sponsa Dei</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>AH 5,159(54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(47) Stella clara et praeclara</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 19,111(179)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(48) Sub paupertatis regula</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 19,109(175)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H(50) Virgo Clara claruit</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Il Culo, 173-174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Sequences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Hymn</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S(1)</td>
<td>Ave Mater humilis</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 33,68(77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(3)</td>
<td>Ave, virgo felix Clara</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 42,186(200)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(6)</td>
<td>Clara, Dei famula</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 37,147(163)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(8)</td>
<td>Clara lux apparuit</td>
<td>14/15</td>
<td>AH 57,145-146 (161)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(18)</td>
<td>In regno claritatis</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 10,153-154 (201)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(21)</td>
<td>Gaudeat ecclesia</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>AH 40,163-166 (182)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(22)</td>
<td>Gaude, caeli hierarchia</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 37,146(162)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(27)</td>
<td>Inclarescat melodia</td>
<td>14²</td>
<td>AH 10,154-155 (203)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(28)</td>
<td>In perenni gloria</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>AH 55,123-124 (106)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(29)</td>
<td>Laetabundus</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 44,99(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(31)</td>
<td>Lucis novae claritas</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 10,155-156 (204)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(32)</td>
<td>Novae lucis radius</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 10,154(202)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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¹Franciscan authorities trace this sequence to a Ms. of the 13C.; Cf. Pennacchi, op. cit., Append., p. 119-127, and Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 175.

²The second AH listing differs from the first in that the opening word is "Iam" instead of "En"; the strophes are arranged differently; and the Ms. dates from the late 15 C. while the first is from a 14 C. Ms.

³Van Dijk states that the sequence is written in a Franciscan Missal preserved from the 13 C., but that it was part of Roman liturgy in 14 C.

⁴Variance in listings: first, in 14 C. Ms. and second, 15 C. Ms.
## Classification of Hymns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Alphabetic Order</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S(33)</td>
<td>Novae signo claritatis</td>
<td>14/15</td>
<td>AH 9,133-134 (175)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(37)</td>
<td>O virgo clara genere</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Legenda (Appendix)127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(39)</td>
<td>Qui fecit ad imaginem</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>AH 37,147 (164)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(40)</td>
<td>Rex per portum caritatis</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 9,134-135 (176)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(44)</td>
<td>Sidum clarum</td>
<td>14/15</td>
<td>AH 44,98 (99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(45)</td>
<td>Signiferi discipula</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 44,96 (97)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(46)</td>
<td>Sonet vox ecclesiae</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 10,153 (200)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S(49)</td>
<td>Thronus novus fabricatur</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 44,97-98 (98)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rhythmic Offices:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R(7)</td>
<td>Clara, luce clarior</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 25,209-212 (74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R(26)</td>
<td>Iam sanctae Clarae claritas</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>AH 5,157-160 (54)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Pia Dictamina:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Hymn</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P(2)</td>
<td>Ave, prudens et divina</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AH 3,142-143 (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P(4)</td>
<td>Ave, virgo sancta Clara</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AH 29,58 (143)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P(23)</td>
<td>Gaude, sacra virgo clara</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>AH 29,101 (193)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P(43)</td>
<td>Sanctae Clarae filiae</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>AFH 23,180-182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Separate Classifications:**

- (Rhythmic Office) Fulgentem Claram eminus | 14 | Il Culto, 184-1863 |
- ('Vita' in verse) Gaude, Clara propheta-tata | 14 | AFH 12,110-131 |
- (Legenda of Celano in verse) Legenda Versificata | 13 | AFH 5,459-481 |

---

2. Listed as a "sequence" by Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
## II. Inedited Hymns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Century</th>
<th>First Line</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Breviary Hymns:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Cernite feminei decus</td>
<td>Chevalier, 3435, p. 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Clarum lucide clarescit</td>
<td>Miscell. Franc., 50, p. 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>O clara lampas Umbriae</td>
<td>Chevalier, 30308, p. 479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Plaudat pleas pauperum</td>
<td>Miscell. Franc., 36, p. 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Salva Christi Sponsa Clara</td>
<td>Miscell. Franc., 37, p. 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Haec in Umbria lustrata</td>
<td>Chevalier, 37795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sancta fuit Clara nata</td>
<td>Chevalier, 33295, p. 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Custode rerum virgine</td>
<td>Chevalier, 4161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Huc vos, quae superas</td>
<td>Chevalier, 27807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Magni parentis filiae</td>
<td>Chevalier, 10984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>O decus nostrum, bona Clara mater</td>
<td>Chevalier, 30346, p. 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>O pulchra caelo quae reedit*</td>
<td>Miscell. Franc., 36, p. 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>O Sponsa Christi amabilis*</td>
<td>Brev. Roman, Seraph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Salve Minorum gloria*</td>
<td>Brev. Roman, Seraph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Sponsabo tibi</td>
<td>Brev. Roman, Seraph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Victrix gementem deserit*</td>
<td>Miscell. Franc., 36, p. 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Ea die carmen, dea casta, Clara*</td>
<td>Franciscalia, p. 99-105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>O tuas, Virgo, libeat vel sacri</td>
<td>Chevalier, 13851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Clara Francisci, comes ac alumna</td>
<td>Chevalier, 3309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Deo pro munere</td>
<td>Chevalier, 4373</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Text for this hymn and for those marked * will be found in the Appendix. Full texts for other listed hymns could not be located.
### Classification of the Hymns

#### Century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequences:</th>
<th>First Line</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Gaudeat ecclesia</td>
<td>London, Ms. Harley, 2967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Sicut clarum</td>
<td>Chevalier, 40928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sospitati dedit ae-grus</td>
<td>Chevalier, 19238</td>
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</table>

#### III. The Distribution of the Hymns

##### A. According to Centuries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Century</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
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<th>15</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>(13)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(12), (14)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>(5), (9), (10), (41)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(24), (35)</td>
<td>(17), (19)</td>
<td>(11), (25)</td>
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<td>(36), (42)</td>
<td>(20), (34)</td>
<td>(30)</td>
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<td>(50)</td>
<td>(38), (47)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sequences</td>
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<td>(8)</td>
<td>(1), (3)</td>
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<td>(33)</td>
<td>(6), (22)</td>
<td>(39)</td>
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<td>(44)</td>
<td>(29), (40)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(45), (49)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhythmic Offices</td>
<td></td>
<td>(26)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(7)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pia Dictamina</td>
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<td>(2)</td>
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<td>(4), (43)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
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(Seperate Classification)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legenda Versificata</th>
<th>Fulgentem Claram eminus</th>
<th>Gaude, Clara prophetata</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### Observations

1. In the classification above, the Edited Hymns are the Clare hymns that were taken into consideration for general analysis - hymns written from the thirteenth to the
fifteenth century; the hymns classified as Inedited Hymns were not included in the general analysis since their origins date, for the most part, from the Renaissance and Post-Renaissance periods, and thus cannot be compared on the same level with the productions of the previous centuries as representative examples of the true spirit and form of medieval hymnody.

2. In the total number, the breviary hymns form the largest number; and, next in order, the sequences, with an almost equal number; then, with relatively small numbers are the pia dictamina, rhythmic offices, and separately classified hymns.

3. For the distribution of the hymns the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries have the greater number, and the fifteenth, the greatest, in the estimation of the production of the single centuries.

The number of hymns according to groups, and their distribution likewise, might be explained in the light of the history of general hymnology for the period in which the respective hymns were written. The prevalence noted for breviary hymns and sequences is in keeping with the characteristic trend of the later Middle Ages. The precedence given to Clare Breviary hymns - whereas

1 Messenger, op. cit., p. 49 sqq.
sequences were generally first in number—might be traceable to the many revisions that occurred in the Franciscan breviary and adopted into the Roman breviary. With the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Year from the ninth century onwards, and the Crusades and pilgrimages in vogue, and an increase in the cults of the saints, more hymns, consequently, were added, to the Breviary and to the Missal. Furthermore, from the thirteenth century onwards, the members of the newly founded Religious Orders were among the principal poets since they regarded religious verse as an effective means of winning souls. Finally, since the popular appeal for any particular saint gives ready expression of the devotion in forms of spiritual poetry, the number of hymns and their greater or less productivity in certain periods might be explained by a comparative study of the veneration afforded the particular saint. Here, accordingly, is a brief discussion of the development and growth of the cult of St. Clare.

The Cult of Saint Clare in the Middle Ages has been traced from its beginnings by the renowned historian of Franciscan liturgy, Stephen Van Dijk. From his writings

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1 Van Dijk, op. cit.
2 Stephen Van Dijk, "Il culto di santa Chiara nel medioevo", Santa Chiara D'Assisi, Studi e Cronaca del VII Centenario, 1253-1953, Assisi, 1953, p. 155-205. This documented study by Van Dijk is the first complete investigation of the cult of St. Clare.
the cult of the Saint was given formal sanction by the Church two years after her death when, in September of 1255, Pope Alexander IV proclaimed that Clare was "in the eternal light of the Saints," and "worthy of the veneration and cult of all."\(^1\) The occasion was the **Canonization**\(^2\) of Clare at the Cathedral of Anagni. Then by the Papal Bull, **Clara claris preclara** Alexander IV informed the faithful throughout the world of the Canonization and decreed that her feast "Nativitas sanctae Clarae" be observed throughout the Church on the twelfth of August, - the Pope himself, with his whole court having first celebrated it with the greatest solemnity. With the singing of the first liturgical text - composed by the same Pontiff, the 'Collect' prayer, "Famulos tuos..."\(^4\) the Latin Church began the "liturgical cult of St. Clare."\(^5\) Alexander is also accredited with the authorship of "some hymns" in honor of

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 155.  
\(^2\)Two years previous, by the Bull **Gloriosus Deus** in Oct. 1253, scarcely two months after Clare's death, Innocent IV, the predecessor of Alexander IV had directed the Bishop of Spoleto, to institute an official inquiry as to the life of Clare, with a view to the process of her canonization. Cf. P. Robinson, *Life of St. Clare*, Phila., 1910 note, p. 153.  
\(^3\)Text in *Legenda*, op. cit., p. 108 sqq.  
\(^4\)Complete Text in Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 156.  
\(^5\)Ibid.
The later Church legislation that formulated directives for the development of the cult of the Saint is found in the statutes of the General Chapters of the Franciscan Order, and cover a period of approximately one hundred years (1261-1357). During the last half of the thirteenth century, the Chapters, held at various centers, ordained:

1. that Clare's feast be of double rite, and that her name be placed in the litany of the Order (1261); 2. that her feast be raised to a double of the first class (1263); 3. that her name be added to the litany for Holy Saturday and to other litanies; that her legend be read (presumably, for morning reading, and not in reference to 'lessons' in the Office, for the rhythmic Office was first published without lessons (1272); 4. that the "historia" of St. Clare be examined, received and chanted throughout the Order (1292); ("Historia" was the technical name for "Office"). Wadding is of the opinion that the rhythmic office, "Iam sanctae Clarae claritas" was in existence before 1292, and based on that of Alexander IV which was

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3Ibid., p. 160.
lost; that the former had been sung, also before 1292). During the fourteenth century, the Chapter at Assisi called for the Commemoration of the Saint (1340), throughout the Order, and, at Barcelona, for a feast, "The Translation of the Body of St. Clare" on October second, (1357) when the Saint's body was to be transferred from the temporary crypt to a permanent one in St. George's Church in Assisi. The legislation concerning the cult ends here, with ordinances "which establish at a pure minimum... the bases for liturgical devotion." However the true cult is "not found documented in legislation, but in liturgical manuscripts and in the daily use of these."  

For the study of the spread of the cult of St. Clare, liturgical documents from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century give ample evidence. First, in the liturgical calendar, Clare's name is found in breviaries of Assisi, with prescribed ecclesiastical functions and no servile works in that city (1255); then in the liturgical books of Rome, with celebration in parish churches, and with the new Calendar for the Franciscans in 1259-60,  

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1Annales, ad 1292, n. 15  
2Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 156.  
3Ibid., p. 158.  
4Cf. full discussion, Ibid., p. 165-197.
printed in Franciscan Breviaries, the feast spread not only throughout the Three Orders, but in all dioceses that used these Breviaries. Clare's name was found in the Benedictine Calendar for the end of the thirteenth century, but not evident in calendars of other Religious Orders until the fifteenth century; and, about the same time in local calendars of France and England. Secondly, the litany, which is a reflection of the degree of popular devotion, has Clare's name listed intermittently in the second half of the thirteenth century, but missing in the fourteenth century of the graduales and breviaries, except in longer litanies, but is noted definitely in fifteenth century books. Failure however, to find the saint's name in a litany is not proof that she was not venerated in the church in question, since her name could be readily substituted for another saint's name, as noted in some breviaries. Thirdly, a prescribed form of the Mass in honor of the Saint appears in a Franciscan breviary in France, written during the pontificate of Alexander IV (1254-1261, with the proper Collect (that of Alexander), Secret and Post-communion. After the Franciscan General, Friar Aimone of Faversham worked on the reform of all liturgical books, his 'Ordo' for the Breviary, and 'Ordinary for the Missal, it was adopted for the Order by the General, St. Bonaventure, and revisions made in the Breviary and Missal (1257-1260). The Haimonian
missals at the end of the century conform to the proper of the older Mass. In a private missal (1270) is the oldest known sequence to the saint, - "Inclarescat melodia, preconia." \(^1\) In the adoption of the Aimonian books by Pope Nicholas III the city of Rome celebrated the Mass of St. Clare; and it was in use in some Religious Orders by the end of the thirteenth century. For a special Mass written for the Cathedral of Assisi at the turn of the century, two Alleluia verses are added to the proper parts, - "O virgo clarens vespere" and "Virgo clara claruit." \(^2\) The various sequences that were written from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century are a proof of widespread devotion to the Saint through the Mass. As to the Office of St. Clare, the three rhythmic offices of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are considered, although there may have been an Office to the Saint prior to 1292 when the first rhythmic office, "For the Nativity of St. Clare" \(^3\) was adopted. The fifth antiphon in this Office gives the valid impression that the Office was composed for the local cult of Assisi, and inspired by the Legend of Celano. The second Office,

\(^1\) Cf. in listing above, as S(27).
\(^2\) Cf. ibid., H(35) and H(50).
\(^3\) Cf. ibid., R(27).
"For the Feast of the Translation" contains little tradition, written in lyrical form, (14 C.), while the third Office, in fragmentary form, bears a relationship to the first Office. The latter, the "Office of the Nativity" had changes and additions in text until the second half of the fifteenth century. It is the Office that is preserved in the Roman-Seraphic Breviary. In further study of the Clare liturgical documents, just as an Office proper was an indication of her special liturgical cult, so a more definite indication is the presence of nine lessons read for the three nocturns at Matins. The thirteenth century Breviary contained no choral legend of St. Clare, in the strict meaning of the word, but 'lessons' which were extracts from the Legend of Celano. Six minor legends of this type were composed, and used in the Offices of St. Clare, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. Borrowings from one Legend in this manner, demonstrate the wide diffusion of the cult of St. Clare. For another

1Cf. ibid., R(7)
2Cf. ibid., "Separate Classification."
3Four new hymns added in the fifteenth century: H(13), H(24), H(36), H(19), mentioned by Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 188.
5Importance stressed by Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 194-195.
liturgical form, the *votive commemoration*, there are six examples found in use, with the earliest at the end of the fourteenth century, and the last, in the sixteenth century. Finally, a Franciscan *martyrology* of the late thirteenth, and another of the fourteenth century have a reading for Clare on August the twelfth. In listings outside of the Franciscan Order, as in fifteenth century examples, Clare is mentioned quite often but at the end of the other early saints, for August twelfth. The *Feast of the Translation*, October second, is less frequently mentioned, and often not found in the martyrologies.

Although but few of the hymns of St. Clare are direct manifestations of cult, they do give otherwise vigorous expression of the growth and spread of the homage given to the Saint in the Church of the West by the number of them which were in liturgical use.

B. Distribution of Hymns According to Authors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Sigla</th>
<th>Century</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alexander IV</td>
<td>H(13),(16),(24)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pope, 1254-1261)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R(26)?</td>
<td>H(11)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Cf. R(26) *Ad Laud.* for cult et Assisi; H(30/9) special patronage for Assisi; S(6), (22), (44), (45), miraculous cures; R(7), H(18),(30), for spread of the Order.
A total of only five hymns are traceable to their authorship.

Pope Alexander is accredited with the writing of hymns by Fra Salimbene of Parma who, in his account of the Canonization of St. Clare by Alexander in 1255, states that "the same Pope wrote hymns and a Collect" in her honor. Van Dijk is of the opinion that the hymns (13), (16), (24) are the hymns referred to since they are found with the 'Collect' of Alexander in a breviary of the chaplain of the papal court, (ca. 1280), for the earliest Office of St. Clare. The hymns (48) and (11) which appeared later as separate hymns are direct borrowings from the earlier hymns (as indicated above) in a comparison of the respective texts.

Regarding the assertion that Pope Alexander is also the author of the rhythmic office (26) scholars refute the

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1 As already quoted from the Legenda, op. cit., Append., p. 73.
2 Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 177, quotes text of this early Office.
ATTRIBUTION ON THE BASES OF THE SOURCES AND METRICAL SCHEME OF THE OFFICE. With the exception of the Alexander hymns (mentioned above) and one other antiphon, the office in question is traceable to the Rhythmic Office of St. Francis "composed by Julian of Spires (1231-34) and the Legenda Sanctae Clarae written by Celano soon after the Canonization (1255), and before the death of the Pontiff Alexander IV (1262). From these findings, R(26) is considered "anonymous."  

Albert of Prague is the author of one of the few non-liturgical hymns, P(2) in the 14 C.  

Peter de Candia, a Franciscan, wrote another non-liturgical hymn, P(43) entitled Prosae seu Poemata in Mss. of the early 15 C.  

In view of the very small number of hymns that have authorship mentioned for them, it might be noted that anonymity is a characteristic of hymns beginning with the ninth century onwards, which makes it necessary to survey the whole as objective achievements of a period, not as of a few individuals.  

1Ibid., with a further reference to Weis, Julian von Speir, Munich, 1900.  
2Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 179.  
3Messenger, op. cit., p. 31,32.  
4Ibid.
C. Territorial Distribution of the Hymns

1. The Alexander Hymns, (13), (16), (24), are widespread and well-known in almost every country.

2. Surprisingly well represented is Bohemia: Olmutz: (26), (40); Prague: (14), (19), (46); Cod. Vissegradien. (29)

3. A goodly number is from Germany and Austria: (1), (2), (3), (5), (6), (7), (17), (22), (27), (44), (45), (50).

4. Comparatively few are from France: (8), (11), (12), (20), (26), (31), (32), (33), (37), (39)

5. There are less from Italy: The Alexander Hymns (cf. above); and (20), (28), (43)

6. Belgium and The Netherlands contribute: (4), (21), (23), (25)

7. Also Spain: (9), (10)

8. Likewise England: (34), (48)

9. Poland: (27)

Here it is evident that the greater number of individual texts are from Central Europe. Clare, apparently, had inspired Central European hymnody more so than West European hymnody.

D. Length of the Hymns

1. Breviary Hymns
   Composed of: 12 stanzas: (30)
   10 stanzas: (13)
CLASSIFICATION OF THE HYMNS

9 stanzas: (12)
8 stanzas: (15),(20),(47)
7 stanzas: (5),(7),(9)
(10),(17),(24)
6 stanzas: (11),(14),(19)
(36),(38),(48)

2. Pia Dictamina
   Two classes: Long: (2),(43)
                Short: (4),(23)

3. Rhythmic Offices
   One classification: Long: (7),(26)

4. Sequences
   Seven categories:
   10 double stanzas: (40),(45)
   9 double stanzas: (3),(22)
   8 double stanzas: (21)
   7 double stanzas: (49)
   6 double stanzas: (27),(29)
   (32),(34)
   5 double stanzas: (31),(33)
   (46)

   Shorter:
   double stanzas: (6),(8),(39)
   single stanzas: (28),(37)

Observations

From the above grouping of hymns on the basis of length, it can be noted that, for the breviary hymns, six to seven stanzas is the average, while for the sequences, the average consists of five to six double stanzas. In the breviary hymns four-lined stanzas are regular, - with one exception, (15), having stanzas of six lines; in the sequences, the usual form is made up of three to four lines in each of the double stanzas. For the longest number of verses, breviary hymn (30) has the maximum of forty-eight;
sequence (1), sixty-two. For the group of pia dictamina, there is no set pattern by comparison, since these four hymns all differ in number of stanzas and lines. The rhythmic offices are, naturally, the longest, with one of the pia dictamina (2) next in order.

E. General Discussion of the Motifs in the Hymns

The study of the Medieval Latin hymns to St. Clare revealed that their contents contained three classes of elements or motifs. The greatest number of hymns have legendary-biographical elements, while some are panegyrical in character, and again there are others that show a definite prevalence of Biblical motifs.

Because the individual hymns show a predominance of some one of the three types of motifs, they can be classified into three groups; the first group comprises hymns with legendary-biographical elements, the second group, hymns with panegyrical elements, and the third group, hymns with Biblical motifs. Each of the categories gives evidence of its own development up to a certain stage and must be analyzed separately before a general combination of the three elements to show their relative preponderance.

In the hymns of the first class, the biographical
elements are based on legendary sources, and are so termed "legendary-biographical" motifs.

The St. Clare hymns have references to biographical events that are typical of most saints in medieval legends, as a saintly life, visions, holy death, miracles, and patronage. However, besides the recurrence of such traditional incidents, the hymns have references to the special characterization of St. Clare; for example, the miracle before her birth, her flight from home and reception into the Order of St. Francis, the foundress of the Poor Clares, her practice of the vow of absolute poverty, her devotion to the Passion, and to the Eucharist, her relations with the Papacy, her early canonization.

The preponderance of legendary elements over non-legendary elements in the hymns is noted from a division of the hymns based on the type of motif they contain:

1. Hymns with mainly legendary elements:
   P (23)
   H(13),(19),(30),(34),(49)
   S(3), (6),(18),(21),(22),(25),(29),(31),(32),
   (39),(40),(44),(45),(48),(51)
   R(26)

1Thomas of Celano, Legenda Sanctae Clarae Virginis, ed., Francesco Pennacchi, Assisi, Topografia Metastasio, 1910. This biography was written soon after the Canonization of St. Clare by a Franciscan who also wrote the biography of St. Francis.

2Cf. Szövérfy, "L'hymnologie medievale", op. cit., p. 410, for an explanation of the meaning of the term 'legendary-biographical' as used in the analysis of the hymns here.
2. Hymns with mixed elements:
P (1), (40)
H (5), (10), (12), (15), (20), (24)
S (8), (17), (24), (27), (28), (33), (38), (46), (50)
R (7)

3. Hymns with mainly non-legendary elements:
P (2)
H (2), (36)
S (50)

Since there are only five hymns that are primarily an expression of non-legendary elements it can be stated that the legendary-biographical motifs far outnumber the other motifs in the St. Clare hymns.

In the greater part of the Clare hymns the legendary-biographical elements are presented in a general, loosely-connected manner. Within the group of hymns that are especially narrative in content R (26) is significant for a full, organized legendary content, while the hymns S (3), (18), (25), (44) have scattered narrative elements; S (19) is a balanced narrative of the principal legendary events for Clare, and, in contrast, S (40) and S (45) relate particular phenomena in the life of the Saint. R (7) like R (26), has unified narrative elements, but differs from the latter in that the narrative is given in the form of biblical allusions.

Before presenting an analysis of the legendary-biographical elements, a listing of the individual motifs and of the hymns in which they appear proved to be an advantage. Table I, located at the end of Chapter III,
indicates this frequency, and also serves as a reference for the location of all the examples of any motif cited in the hymns. Moreover, the order in which the motifs are listed in the Table shows in outline form the chronological development of the legendary-biographical elements found in the Clare hymns - a plan which is followed in the subsequent full analysis of these same elements.

Here the procedure consists of a statement of a motif followed by a legendary quotation for a comparison of the motif in selected quotations from the hymns with the motif in the legend.
CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOPGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

1 The Legenda Sanctae Clarae opens with these lines that give the noble origin of Saint Clare:

Admirabilis femina, Clara, vocabulo et virtute, de civitate Assis, claro satis genere traxit originem.2

1. In the Clare hymns similar references to the birth of the Saint form a motif that might be designated as 'Clare's distinguished origin." The following verses from a sequence contain an example of this motif:

Clara quidem nomine
Sed mirtute clarior,
Illustris propagine,
Sed gestis illustrior. S(32/1b)

Another instance of the motif has mention of the city of Clare's birth, held in esteem because of Clare's personal character and family ties:

Ave, cuius dignitas
Et ortus nobilitas
Decorant Assisium. (S(3/b)

2. The Legend further relates of the divine assurance which had been given to Ortaona, the mother of Clare,

1 Celano, op. cit., The Legend and Writings of Saint Clare of Assisi, trans. and ed., Ignatius Brady, O.F.M., St. Bonaventure, 1953 an English version of the Legenda is an asset for a proper conception of the thought content of the Latin text.

2 Legenda, op. cit., p. 4, no. 1.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

before the birth of her child, and the reason for the choice of the name, "Clara":

Praegnans denique mulier ... audivit dicentem sibi, "Ne paevas mulier quis quoddam lumen salva parturies quod ipsum lumen clarius illustrabit." Quo edocta oraculo ... renascentem, Claram vocari iussit. 1

This 'Pre-natal Miracle' motif is expressed concisely in one verse of a hymn:

Dum mater navesceret,
Ne partu deficeret,
Audivit oraculum. S(32/2a)

3. In another selection the speaker in the oracle is identified as Jesus Himself Who predicts the 'future mission of Clare':

Jesum mater dum precantur,
Nascitura praemonstratur,
Lumen orbis filia. S(22/2b)

4. The significance of the divine ordinance for her baptismal name, - the name "Clara" is the most popular motif in the Legend and, likewise, in the hymns, with its application to every phase of the life of Clare. The play on the word itself, "Clara" in the way of synonymous forms, "clare", "claritas", "praeclarara", "lumen", "insignis", etc. noted in the Legend 2 is repeated in the hymns, and is

1 Legenda, ibid., p. 5, no. 2
2 Cf. Brady, op. cit., p. 1,2; here it mentioned that Celano, the author of the Legenda, was a poet besides a historian, and, as such, has a love for a play on words and rhythmical assonance; note this tendency in passages already cited from the Legenda, above.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

traceable to the significance given to the name of Clare in
the Bull of Canonization. This verse of a hymn is an
example of the use of "Clara" in paraphrase, and here
designates the fulfillment of the motif in the pre-natal
miracle:

Lumen clarum claruit
Claro claro genere,
Cui mundus sorduit. S(45/4a)

Further examples of the meaning of the name "Clara" will be
discussed later among the panegyrical motifs.

5. For the 'childhood' motif, the Legend enumerates
the virtues practiced by Clare, with special mention of
mortification:

Sub vestibus namque pretiosus ac millibus,
ciliciolum absconditum, ... Denique suis
eam nobiliter maritare volentibus, nullatenus acquievit ...

In counterpart, this passage of a hymn has the motif:

Sub fulgore vestium,
Celabat cilicum
Parvi pendens prospera. S(32/3b)

and Clare's motif for her refusal to marry, in another hymn:

In absconso Christo sponso
Cordis vacat amplexibus. S(40/3b)

1Bulla Canonizationis S. Clarae Virginis, Latin text in Pennacchi, op. cit., p. 108-118. Opening lines read:
"Clara claris praeclara meritis, magnae in caelo claritate
gloriae, ac in terra splendore, miraculorum sublimium clare
gaudet."

2Legenda, ibid., p. 5, no. 2.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Later, the same motif in the Legend mentions her practice of charity, an indication of her future love for the practice of poverty:

"Extendebat" libenter "ad pauperes manum suam"\(^1\) et de "abundantia" domus suae supplebat inopias\(^2\) plurimorum.\(^3\)

Note the similarity of the motif in this example from a hymn:

Claris orta natalibus,  
Necdum relictis omnibus,  
Vacat plenis affectibus,  
Pietatis operibus. H(13/4)

The Legend, includes, later, Clare's childhood education:

Docili corde primum ex matris ore fidei rudimenta suscepit.\(^4\)

Parallel to this legendary expression of the motif in terms of her instruction in the rudiments of the spiritual, rather than in the material life, is an example from a rhythmic office, - with a classical allusion:

Haec in paternis laribus  
Puella sacris moribus,  
Agebat coelibatum. R(26/3)

In view of the above examples, and others not quoted

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\(^2\)I Cor. 8,14.  
\(^3\)\textit{Legenda, ibid.}, p. 6, no. 3  
\(^4\)\textit{Ibid.}
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Here, the legendary-biographical motifs, concerned with the birth and childhood of Clare, are a true reflection of the content of similar motifs in the Legend. There are a few minor omissions, of incidents in the Legend, e.g., the exemplary life of the mother of Clare; but this lack of details was found to be a general characteristic for most of the motifs in the hymns.

Related motifs in the Legend tell of Clare's flight from the world, her following St. Francis, her entrance into religion:

\[
\text{Hortatur earn pater Franciscus ad mundum contemptum \ldots \ suadens virginalis pudicitiae margaritam beato illi sponso, quem amor humanavit fore servandum.}^1
\]

6. Her 'flight from the world' for the higher life is expressed thusly in a sequence:

\[
\text{Haec Franciscum imitat,} \\
\text{Opibus renuntiat} \\
\text{Voce clara. S(29/3a)}
\]

while in a hymn, the motif stresses Clare's rejection of worldly renown in more direct terms:

\[
\text{Honorum fastigia} \\
\text{Sprevit et insignis} \\
\text{Patriae familiae. S(21/3b)}
\]

The call for Francis, as mentioned in the Legend, has

\[\text{\textit{Legenda, ibid., p. 9, no. 5.}}\]
more details in this version from a hymn:

   Excelsi servus virginem
   Franciscus invitavit,
   Amare Deum hominem
   Quem amor humanavit. R(26, Ad. Mat.)

The events of Clare's call to a higher life continue
in the Legend with the motif of 'Clare's reception into
the Franciscan Order:

   ... ad sanctam Mariam de Portiuncula
   festinavit ... ibi manu fratrum crines
   deponens, ornatus varios dereliquit.\(^1\)

An instance of the dramatic element, the cutting of
the hair, is recounted in these lines of a sequence:

   Sumpto sacco cum cordula,
   Pedes nudat iuvencula,
   Clara, tonsa caesarie. S(45/lb)

but the details here given of Clare's investiture in the
Franciscan garb do not originate from the Legend.

   Legendary incidents which relate of the special
regard of the Bishop for Clare at the Palm Sunday Mass,
her secret flight from home the same evening, and the
efforts of relatives to have her return home, are not
mentioned in the hymns.

7. Side by side with the account of Clare's en-
trance into religion is the legendary motif of her founding

\(^1\text{Legenda, ibid., p. 13, no. 8.}\)
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

of the Second Order of St. Francis, as described in the
same passage of the Legend, summarized as 'The Foundress'
motif:

... Hic locus est ille, in quo nova
militia pauperum, duce Francisco,
felicia sumebat primordia, ut liquido
videtur utramque religionem Mater
misericordiae in suo diversorio
parturire.\(^\text{1}\)

The close association of the First and Second Orders
in their similar dedication to Mary at her Church of the
Porziuncula, here mentioned in the Legend has repetition
in one of the examples from the hymns:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mundus et caro vincitur,} \\
\text{Matri Christi connectit tur,} \\
\text{Christo prorsus imnittur,} \\
\text{Pauperem pauper sequitur. H(13/6)}
\end{align*}
\]

The Legend continues, with the description of Clare
as Foundress of a cloistered Order, which is entitled
"The Poor Ladies":

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'In huius caverna maceriae, columba' } \\
\text{deargentata 'nidificans,'}^2 \text{ virg inum} \\
\text{Christi collegium genuit, monasterium} \\
\text{sanctum instituit, 'pauperumque dominarum} \\
\text{Ordinem inchoavit.'}^3
\end{align*}
\]

The cloister is mentioned by name earlier in the

\(^{1}\text{Ibid.}\)
\(^{2}\text{Cant. 2, 14; Jer. 48,28.}\)
\(^{3}\text{Legenda, ibid., p. 15, 16, no. 10.}\)
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Legend, - San Damiano, where Francis brought Clare after her short stay in two Benedictine convents.

The motif in the following verses does not mention the specific name, "San Damiano" but definitely refers to this permanent dwelling place of Clare and her followers:

Francisci consilio
Jesu Dei filio
Nupsit in purissimae
Voto castimoniae.

Inde se tugurio
Clausit in exiguio
Qui sacrarum virginum
Genuit collegium. \(H(21/4)\)

In the continued detailed description of the 'foundress' motif, there are many references to 'Clare's virtues and ascetic practices';

In huius locelli ergastulo ... Clara conclusit.\(^1\) In hoc arcto reclusorio per XLII annos ... sui corporis alabastrum.\(^2\)

This motif occurs in a large number of hymns, as in these verses:

Clauditur velut tumulo
Nequam subducta saeculo
Patet in hoc ergastulo
Solum Dei spectaculo. \(H(13/8)\)

\(^1\)Legenda, \textit{ibid.}, p. 15, no. 10.
\(^2\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 16, no. 10.
and again:

Haec sprevit pure saeculum
In disciplinae loris
Dum fugit ad ergastulum
Spretis delicti thoris. S(39/2a)

The Legend recounts the marvelous effect of Clare's life of asceticism on the outside world:

Festinant virgines eius exemplo Christo servare... viri ad Ordines, uxores ad monasteria transeunt...¹

Such fame of the cloistered foundress as a model for the practice of chastity in the secular, as well as in the religious life is expressed in a hymn:

Haec in claustro paupertatis
Sese Christo dedicat,
Et exempla sanctitatis
In orde multiplicat. H(l8/3a)

8. The legendary motif, 'the spread of the Order' is noted in these lines of a hymn:

Haec magistra dominarum
Felix primiceria,
Greges ducit puellarum,
Ad Christi connubia. H(30/5)

The same verses refer to Clare as the teacher of her Sisters. The source of this characterization is found in the Legend:

¹Ibid., p. 16, 17, no. 10. In the legendary details the influence of daughter on mother, and sister, on sisters, aunt on nieces, could refer to the following of Clare by her mother, two sisters, and two nieces.
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Sane quia magistra erat rudium et quasi in magni Regis palatio praeposita puellarum, tanta eas disciplina informabant...¹

It is repeated in another hymn, by a general description of the Abbess Clare's concern for the spiritual welfare of her Sisters:

Custos sacrarum virginum
Omni virtute praevia
Ducis ad Sponsum Dominum
Puellarum collegia. H(36/3)

In the Legend there are detailed accounts of certain virtues that Clare practiced to a high degree of perfection, throughout her life, namely, humility, poverty, and chastity. Accordingly, Clare, - in the symbolic terms of the Legend, - is "the cornerstone and noble foundation of her Order":

... in fundamento sanctae humilitatis, virtutum omnium fabricam ab ipso principio studuit collocare.²

9. A like expression of her high regard for humility is supplied by an example from a hymn; in a contrast of her lowly state with her lofty spiritual position:

Praecellens humilitas
Redundans in gratiam,
Laudis et sublimitas
Tam praeclarae. S(31/1b)

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 49, no. 36.
²Ibid., p. 19, no. 12.
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Clare’s reluctance to accept the position of Abbess is a particular legendary reference to her humility:

Humiliter subesse voluit potius quam praese, et inter Christi ancillas servire libentius, quam serviri.¹

The same motif is mentioned in a hymn:

Ibi data
Sit praelata
Quamvis mater
Et magistra
Permansit humillima. H(21/5b)

In a different light, the legendary motif of Clare’s charity towards her Sisters² is a manifestation of her humility, in the narrative of a rhythmic office:

Humilitatis praebuit
Exemplum secuturis,
Dum ministrare studuit,
Infirmis magnis curis
Ac pedes servientium
Manibus lavat puris. R(7, Ad. Mat.)

The reference to the holy poverty of Clare is another manifestation of her true humility.³ The 'poverty' motif, "paupertas rerum omnium," of the Legend emphasizes these incidents:

Paternam hereditatem ... distrahi fecit.
... erogavit pauperibus ... hinc saeculo foris relictos, mente intus ditata, post Christum sine saeculo exonerata percurrit ...
... cum sancta paupertate foedus iniit.⁴

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 19, 20, no. 12.
²Ibid., p. 52, no. 38.
³Ibid., p. 21, no. 13.
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Volens enim religionem suam intitulari
titulo paupertatis, a bonae memoriae
Innocentio tertio paupertatis privilegium
postulavit.¹

This development of the motif is veritably 'copied' in a
selection of a rhythmic office:

Haec paupertatis titulo
Pollens intitulata,
Post Christum sine saeculo
Currit exonerata,
Relicto foris saeculo
Mens intus ditata.

Tu sacrum privilegium
Lex obedientiae
Flos conscientiae. R(26, In Vesp.)

The motif of the hymn recounts Clare's disposal of her
inheritance, in exchange for spiritual riches because of
her earthly poverty in the granting of the "Privilege of
Poverty" by Pope Innocent III.² Moreover, the version in
the hymn gives an impression of the spiritual vigor
experienced by Clare in the adoption of holy poverty.

Significance is given again to the "Privilege" in
the motif of poverty by an expression of Clare's desire to
obtain it, and to share the poverty of the Infant in the
Crib:

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 23, no. 14.
²Innocent III granted the Privilege of Poverty be­
tween the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, and his death, 1216.
Cf. Lazzeri, O.F.M., "Il Privilegium Paupertatis," Archivum
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Nudi Christi consocia
Vult illi conformari;

Pro paupertatis gloria
Paupertatis foedera
Petens intitulari. R(7, Ad. Mat.)

and by this note of her desire for total poverty:

Nihil habere voluit,
Sed paupertatem coluit
Ut esset tibi gratior,
Jesu, corona celsior. H(10/3)

Likewise, by another reference in which the term "novellis" to describe the convent cells shows a relation to the "Privilege," the "insolita petitio,"¹:

Ex novellis tuis cellis,
De paupertatis camera,
Dempta solo, data polo,
Lux, ecce, surgit aurea. H(20/2)

Many more examples of the legendary element of 'poverty' are found in the hymns than in the Legend. The content of the motif in the hymns conforms to that of the Legend, but its frequent occurrence and variety of expression give a more effective impression than the motif in the narrative prose style of the Legend.

10. The practice of 'purity' by Clare is found in the legendary account of the widespread revival of the state

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 22, no. 14. Here it is related that Innocent III declared that the Privilege which Clare requested was a "unique petition" never before asked of the Apostolic See.
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of virginity:

Multiplicatur castitatis cultus in saeculo,
Clara sanctissima praecedente, et redivivus
ordo virgineus in medium revocatur.\(^1\)

The hymns contain similar expressions to the universal cult of chastity according to the standards of Clare. Below is one example from the rhythmic office:

In orbe cum discipula
Clara, quam informavit
Castitatis per saecula
Cultum multiplicavit. \(R(26, \text{Ad. Mat.})\)

Later in the Legend, the motif refers to the special instruction on this virtue for her Sisters:

Hortatur, exactiones contemnere fragilis
corporis, ... monstrat insidiosum hostem \(^2\)
occultos puris animabus injicere laqueos.

The same form of the 'purity' motif is apparent in these two selections: in the first, Clare is an example for its observance in Convent life:

Vita vivens angelica
Inter sororum agmina
Monstrans virtutem lucem. \(R(7, \text{In Vesp.})\)

and in the second, Clare is a model of rigid, self-discipline in her own fidelity to this virtue:

Legem ligat sensualem
Per doctrinam spiritalem
Vitae sanctimoniae. \(S(27/3b)\)

\(^1\)Legenda, \textit{ibid.}, p. 19, no. 11.
\(^2\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 49, no. 36.
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The legendary 'purity' motif, more often is presented in the guise of symbolic, or, biblical motifs in the hymns. From such an aspect, this motif will be discussed later.

11. Since Clare's 'love of God,' naturally activated her practice of virtue in general, there is rarely a reference to it as a distinct legendary element, but in combination with some other virtue. Here, for instance, the motif of divine love is associated with her devotion to the Passion:

Deprehendit amanti vicem Crucifixus
amatus et ... circa Crucis mysterium
tanto amore succenditur...1

And, likewise, in some examples from the hymns, the same motif is the inspirational element; evident, from its position in these panegyrical verses:

Salve Dei tu amatrix
Castitatis adoptatrix
Paupertatisque zelatrix
Sanctae vitae regulatrix. P(4/2)

And, again, in a similar relationship:

Ave, cuius caritas
Et simplex humilitas
Christo dant hospitium. S(3/3a)

The motif, is more frequently expressed in panegyrical or biblical allusions, and discussion of this virtue will be

1Legenda, ibid., p. 45, no. 32.
12. In the continued development of her virtues, Clare's 'spirit of prayer' and contemplation, the legendary passage reads:

Quae vero sicut in carne praemortua, sic erat a mundo penitus aliena, continuo sacris orationibus et divinis laudibus animam occupabat ... insa in oratione pervigil et invicta manebat...1

A reflection of this legendary motif, with an added reference to the divine consolation received by Clare in prayer, is noted in the lines of a sixteenth century hymn:

Sursum orans elevatur,
Ubi mens deliciatur,
Contemplando caelestia,
Iusta bonorum praemia.

Ad quae iugitur aspirat,
Et anhelat, ut acquirit,
Contemnens mundi vilia,
Quae transeunt solacia. H(21/7)

while a sequence of the previous century the motif emphasizes the long hours that Clare spent in prayer, by these few lines:

Longas per vigilias
Orans fugit filias
Hominum et vitium. S(8/4b)

Some details in the legendary motif for the virtue of prayer that are not mentioned in the hymns relate to Clare's temptations from the devil during prayer.

1 Legenda, ibid., p. 27-28, no. 19.
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13. - 14. The Legend has special references to Clare's practice of mortification, here quoted in part:

Porro in ieiuniis tantus erat rigor
abstinentiae suae, ... in pane et
aqua iuiunans ... tribus diebus in
hebdomada ... nihil in illis quadra-
gesimis sumebat in cibus. Nuda humus
et interdum vinearum sarmenta, pro
lectulo.¹

A representative passage from one of the thirteenth century hymns contains the 'penance' motif, with an implication of its severity by use of "fasting" motif in a reference to Clare's prolonged periods of mortification, and to her meanness in dress:

Tegmina carnis vilia,
Urgens famis inedia,
Arta quoque ieiunia,
Protestant orandi spatia. H(13/9)

while the motif in another early hymn adds details for the exact time of fasting, (the number of days weekly in the two Lenten seasons),² and for the lowly garb of Clare:

Fune cincta, calceo
Carens cibus triduo
Non sumebat. S(44/2a)

and in a fourteenth century sequence is this instance of Clare's practice of mortification in rest as well as in food:

¹Ibid., p. 25-26, no. 17-18.
²Cf. Legenda, ibid., p. 26, no. 19.
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Humo nudo, virgo pura
Utitur pro lectulo
Panis artus cibus aqua
Saepe fit pro poculo. S(45/6a)

15. Since "Clare was the most perfect follower of Francis, in her response to follow his life of Gospel perfection, and in her imitation of his ideals," legendary elements refer to the spiritual 'relationship of Clare and Francis'. The mutual attraction of the two Saints on their first meeting is recorded in the Legend:

Puella ... ad virum Dei frequentabat
accessus, cuius sibi verba flammantia,
cuiusque ultra opera videbantur."

Nee minus ille ... inхиabat ad praedam,
regnum mundi depopulaturus advenerat,
nobilem istam praedam 'saeculo nequam
possit arripere', suque Domino
vendicare."

Their mutual love for God unites Francis, as a "man of God" with Clare, as a future "Spouse of Christ."


2 Legenda, ibid., p. 9, no. 5.

3 Gal. 1, 4

4 Legenda, ibid., p. 8, no. 5.
A fourteenth century hymn has a motif expressing the same theme:

Christo clarem rexit Claram,
Franciscus ultor invidi
Clara corda duce chorda
Ad coenam agni providi.

Clara, vana et mundana,
Doctrina hujus pereunt,
In quo viro modo miro,
Vexilla regis orodeunt. H(48/3,4)

Further it is related that Clare decided to follow her Divine Bridegroom, at the advice of Francis, acting as "bridesman":

Instante patre sanctissime, et more fidelissimi paranymphii soliter agente,
non trahit in longum virgo consensum.2

Likewise, the motif in a hymn also shows how Clare abided by the plans of Francis:

Francisci consilio
Jesu Dei filio
Nupsit in purissimae
Voto castimoniae. H(21/4a)

The legendary reason for such submission to Francis on the part of Clare:

1Cf. Isidore O'Brien, O.F.1., Francis of Assisi, Mirror of Christ, Paterson, N.J., St. Anthony Guild Press, 1944, p. 95. In speaking of Francis' relationship with Clare, the author refers to this passage of Celano's and defines 'bridesman' in its Oriental significance as "a friend of the bridegroom who acted as a go-between for the betrothed, since, in the time of Christ, the bride and bridegroom-to-be did not meet from the day of the betrothal until the evening of the wedding."

2Legenda, ibid., p. 9, no. 6.
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Et tunc Francisci consilio se totam committit, ipsum post Deum statuens suae directionis aurigam. ¹

In the verse of a hymn the motif is expressed in similar fashion with an indication of her spirit of submission:

Mundo spreto, corde laeto, Francisci magisterio, Carnem terit et quaerit, Jesu, nostra redemptio. ²

The close relationship of the First and Second Orders, because of their like origin at the Church of Porziuncula, has already been discussed in the 'foundress' motif. Moreover, in the legendary account of Porziuncula, there is a reference to the cooperation of Clare, as foundress, in the spiritual re-building of that Church by Francis:

Haec est in qua dum Franciscus oraret, 'vex', ad eum de ligno 'delapsa' ² insonuit, 'Francisce, vade repara domum meam quae, ut cernis, tota destructur'. ³ [Clara] ... monasterium sanctum instituit, pauperum-que dominarum Ordinem inchoavit. ⁴

In a sequence, this motif is expressed in biblical phraseology with the additional note of the filial relationship of Clare for Francis:

¹Ibid., p. 10, no. 6.
²Pet. II, 1, 17.
⁴Legenda, Ibid., p. 15, no. 10.
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Haec Francisci filia
Et lapsa primarius
Inclusarum praevia
Dux virtutis. S(31/3a)

The relation of Francis to Clare, the leader, is also found in the legendary reference to Porziuncula for the origin of the 'new Order'; as 'a new legion of the poor':

Hic locus est ille, in quo nova militia pauperum, duce Francisco, felicita sumebat primordia...¹

Here is a paraphrase of this motif, with similar military terminology applied to Clare in her three-fold conquest:

Francisco duce militans,
Evincis trina proelia,
Carnem namque suppeditans
Mundum atque daemonia. H(36/4)

The 'Clare and Francis' motif also refers to Clare's continued practice of obedience to Francis, stated in the Legend, as the reason for Clare's acceptance of the name and office of Abbess:

Beato namque Francisco obedientiam sanctam promisit, et a promisso nullatenus deviavit.²

and stated in a hymn in more general terms:

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 13, no. 8.
²Ibid., p. 19, no. 12.
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Sub pauperatatis regula
Patris Francisci ferula
Docta Christi discipula
Luce respersit saecula. H(13/5)

Here the reference to "Rule" of poverty, which Clare followed according to the teaching of her holy father, is a designation of the original "formula vitae" or "little rule" of Clare.\(^1\) It is definitely stated as such in another example from a sequence:

Sub Francisci formula
Relinquendo singula
Perfecta discipula
Tu vixisti. S(46/3a)

A second group of legendary elements for the relation of Clare to Francis bears witness to Clare as "the signular and most faithful interpreter of the holy Patriarch of the Poor."\(^2\)

The legendary motif implies that Clare was inspired by the ideals of Francis at the beginning of her conversion:

Audiens vero tunc celebre nomen Francisci, qui velut novus homo, obliterateam in mundo perfectionis viam novis virtutibus reno-vabat, mox eum audire desiderat et videre...\(^3\)

\(^1\)Cf. Paschal Robinson, The Writings of Saint Francis of Assisi, Philadelphia, 1906, p. 75-78; here the author states, that on the authority of Pope Gregory IX, in the Bull, "Angelis gaudium" of 1238, St. Francis wrote a "formulae vitae" or "little rule" for St. Clare and her Sisters at the beginning of their religious life, and later incorporated by St. Clare herself into the Sixth Chapter of her Rule.

\(^2\)Sepinski, op. cit., p. 345.

\(^3\)Legenda, ibid., p. 8, no. 5.
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These "new virtues" here mentioned were the "ideals" of Francis: "new", from the aspect that Francis' love for God was centered in the human person of Christ rather than in the majestic Christ the King Who had been the Center of Christian spirituality according to the older monastic ideals. The desire of Francis to imitate the poverty and suffering of the Incarnate Word found expression in the form of devotion to the Infant Saviour in the Crib, to Mary, the humble mother, to the Sacred Passion, and to the Blessed Sacrament.

The motif is apparent in this account of Clare’s instruction to her Sisters:

In paupertatis nidule Christo pauperi
conformari quem paupercula mater in
arcto 'praesepio' parvulum 'reclinavit' 1
eas hortatur.

It is found in like expression in the early rhythmic office:

In paupertatis nidulo
Nostri praesepe parvulo
Pauperi conformata. R(26, Ad Mat.)


3 Legenda, ibid., p. 21, no. 13.
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16. The motif of an especial 'devotion to Mary' is signified in these lines, with a reference to Mary's close union with Jesus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Toto mentis studio} \\
\text{Inhaerens vestigio} \\
\text{Virginis Christiferae. S(32/4a)}
\end{align*}
\]

And again, with the oft-repeated "vestigium," a title that indicates Clare's close following of Mary:\(^1\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Novum per prodigium} \\
\text{Mariae vestigium,} \\
\text{Ad eius sequens filium. P(1/6)}
\end{align*}
\]

a motif that has a legendary source:

\[
... \text{imitentur feminae Claram, Dei matris vestigium, novam capitaneam muliebium.}^2
\]

17. Another Franciscan ideal is exemplified in the account of Clare's 'devotion to the Passion':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Familiaris ei planctus Dominicae passionis, quae ex sacris vulneribus nunc myrrhatas affectiones exaurit, nunc dulciorsa gaudia fugit ...} \\
\text{Docet novitias Christum plangere Crucifixum...}^3
\end{align*}
\]

In these terms, the early rhythmic office again reflects the sentiments of the Legend:


\(^2\)Cf. Legenda, ibid., p. 1; this is a statement from Celano's Letter to Pope Alexander IV, a document found as a prologue to his Legend.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 42, no. 30.
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Amica crucis plangere
Crucifixum novitias
Docet, quem ipsa plangit,
Crux ei digno pondere,
Majores dat delicias,
Quo major dolor angit. R(26, Ad. Mat.)

A Pium Dictamen of the sixteenth century mentions Francis in the motif as a model for Clare's love of the Passion:

Gaude sub Francisco duce
Quod tormenta passi cruce
Deplanxisti gravia. P(23/2)

and, again, in a sequence of the same century, the two saints are mentioned by an unusual reference to the stigmata of St. Francis. An 'Adam and Eve' typology, which signifies how Christ made the seraphic Francis to His own image, and in turn, formed Clare from Francis into an image of angelic strength:

Qui fecit ad imaginem
Franciscum redemptoris,
Non solum liquit hominem
In paradisi choris.

Formavit Clarum virginem
Et lateris Hinoris,
Virtutibus imaginem
Angelici vigoris. S(39, 1a, 1b)

In the Legend, Francis is mentioned as "the lover of the Cross", and also as having composed an Office of the Passion

1The terms "imaginem angelici vigoris" might imply that Clare shared with Francis the seraphic love, joy and pain that he experienced when the vision of a six-winged crucified Seraph implanted the Sacred Stigmata in his hands and feet and side.
which Clare learned "with like affection." ¹

From the sixteenth century, another hymn has these verses with strains of the "Stabat Mater":

Lacrimatur, irroratur
In amara mediatatur
Passione Domini. H(21/6b)

while an earlier sequence, likewise has re-echoes of the "Sorrowful Mother" sequence, but refers to the inner rather than the physical sentiments of Clare in her love for the Crucified:

Castra membra cruce terit
Crucifixus corde gerit
Crucis amans glorias. H(18, 4a)

18. Since legendary elements in the hymns which describe the love of Clare for the Blessed Sacrament are of the supernatural type they will be discussed later with the 'miracle' and 'vision' motifs.

In resume, it seems evident that the motifs for the 'Clare and Francis' relationship are identical in both legend and hymns. However, in the hymns, the motif includes the name of Francis more often, in the role of a teacher and guide for Clare in the Franciscan way of life. The 'new' teaching of Francis is made significant by a frequent

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 43, no. 30.
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recurrence of this term. A selection from a rhythmic office
gives adequate expression to the legendary motif in summary:

Excelsi servus virginem
Franciscus invitavit
Amare Deum hominem
Quem amor humanavit. R(26, Ad. Mat.)

while the verses of a fifteenth century sequence comments
on the union of Clare and Francis in heaven:

Iamiam in regno luminum
Patri conregnans filia,
Da, te sequentem agminum,
Recte fore vestigia. H(36/5)

19. One more legendary element that might be asso-
ciated with Clare's practice of Franciscanism is her
'relation to the Papacy,' since it reflects Francis' own
attitude towards the hierarchy of the Church, and his
fidelity to the practice of poverty. 1

This legendary motif occurs in an account of a vi-
sion had by a Benedictine nun related that the sisters,
standing around the deathbed of Clare, were assured by a
beautiful woman who had appeared in the room that their
Mother would not die "until the Lord will come with His
disciples." 2 The promise was fulfilled by the visit of
Cardinal Rainaldo, and again, of Pope Innocent himself, who

---

1 Cf. Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., Writings of St.
Francis, "Admonitions", no. 26, p. 18, and "First Rule",
os. 1 and 9, ibid.

2 Legenda, ibid., p. 55-56, no. 40.
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had come from Perugia to Assisi:

Properat de Perusio dominus Ostiensis
invisere sponsam Christi ... Dominus
Papa cum Cardinalibus de Perusio
transivit Assisium.¹

An example of the motif occurs in a fifteenth century sequence, but differs from the legendary motif in that Clare, - not the beautiful woman mentioned in the vision, - made the prophecy:

Moriturum se praedixit
Recessuram benedixit
Papalis praesentia. S(40/7b)

Earlier in the Legend, when Pope Gregory IX had offered to release Clare from the "Privilege of Absolute Poverty," her reply shows not only due respect for the Pope, but also the resolve to obtain Papal approval for a general rule in keeping with the primitive Franciscan way of life.²

Sancte pater ... nequaquam a Christi sequela in perpetuum absolvi desidero.

This verse from a sequence has the motif stated quite vaguely:

Quam Franciscus docuit
Clare vitam tenuit
Dominarum pauperum. S(8/1b)

¹Ibid., p. 56-57, no. 40.
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in contrast to this example, with the definite details of the motif:

Oblata per Gregorium
Refutat possidere
Nihilque transitorium
Cum Christo vult habere. R(26, Ad. Mat.)

The subsequent legendary development of the motif is summarized here:

1. Cardinal Rainaldo visited Clare in her last illness, and submitted her repeated request to Innocent IV for Papal affirmation of her Rule containing the privilege of poverty.¹

2. Pope Innocent IV visited Clare on her deathbed, and sent a Bull of Affirmation for her Rule to Clare² (the day before her death), and opened her Cause for Canonization (in the following month).³

3. After the death of Pope Innocent IV, his successor, Pope Alexander IV, the former Gardina,¹ Rainaldo, canonized Saint Clare (within two years of her death).

There are details for these accounts in the legend that give evidence of the high regard of the Popes on their part, for Clare, e.g., the visits of Pope Gregory to Clare for advice;⁵ the blessing of Pope Innocent IV to Clare on

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 56-57, no. 40.
²Ibid., p. 58-59, no. 41-42.
³For text, cf. Lazzeri, op. cit.
⁴Legenda, ibid., p. 91-92, no. 62.
⁵Ibid., p. 37-38, no. 27.
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her deathbed; the desire of the same Pontiff to have the Office of "Virgins", and not the Office of the "Dead" recited at the burial rites for Clare.¹

In one of the earliest hymns a verse contains the motif by way of general reference to the visits of the Popes:

Digne tanti reputatur
Quod infirmans honoratur
Papali praesentia. H(18/6)

Apart from the short allusions already mentioned, in the hymns, this verse in a rhythmic office contains the motif in its most complete form:

Hanc et papa Gregorius
Fovit et Innocentius
Patrum more piorum
Quam Alexander inclitus
Adscripsit motus coelitus
Catalogo sanctorum. H(26, In Vesp.)

20. Legendary elements treat of Clare's visions of the Infant Saviour of the Blessed Mother, of Christ in the Eucharist, and also of an ecstacy that she experienced in her contemplation of the Sacred Passion.

For the first vision, of the Christ Child, the motif refers to the report of one of the Religious of Clare who witnessed the apparition:

¹Ibid., p. 57-59, no. 41.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

... ut praedicante aliquando fratre ... specisscissum quidem puer virgini Clarae assisteret et per magnam praedicationis partem suis eam gratulationibus oblectaret.

The Legend supplies the motif for these lines in a fourteenth century sequence, but has the allusion to a "voice" rather than to an actual appearance, and identifies the speaker as Christ:

Ave, Christus quam adfari
Atque pie consolari
Viva voce voluit. S(3/4b)

For the second apparition of the Christ Child to Clare, the 'Christmas Vision' motif relates that on Christmas Eve, Clare, being too ill to attend Matins in the Convent chapel with her Nuns, and speaking to the Infant Jesus of her grievance, suddenly was transported, as it were, to the distant Church of St. Francis where she heard the friars' chant resound to the music of the organ, and moreover, she saw the Infant, - in the words of the Legend: "... ipsa digna fuit Domini praesepe videcre." The legendary motif adds validity to the vision by Clare's report to her Sisters the next morning:

Audivi revera per gratiam Christi tota

1 Legenda, ibid., p. 50, no. 37.
2 Ibid., p. 41, no. 29.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

illa solemnia, quae in ecclesia sancti Francisci hac nocte celebrata sunt.¹

In the hymns, the only definite allusion to the Christmas vision is in reference to the crib:

Laudat Deum omnium
Dum praestat solatium
Ostendens oreae epium. R(7, Ad. Laud.)²

Herein, the heavenly vision is cited as a reward for Clare's prayers.

21. Another form of the 'vision' motif is found in the legendary account of the ecstasy had by Clare during Holy Thursday evening and Good Friday, when she became so absorbed in the contemplation of the suffering of Christ as she lay on her bed with her eyes intent on one subject, that she seemed to be crucified with Christ, and unmindful of time and surroundings:

... lecto resedit... sic a seipsa permanet aliena, ut irreverberatis circa unum semper intenta luminibus, confixa Christo, se ororsus insensibilis videretur.³

For a version of the 'lenten vision' motif, a sequence of the fourteenth century, clearly describes the ecstasy of Clare:

¹Ibid., p. 42, no. 29.
³Legenda, ibid., p. 44, no. 31.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIОGРАPHICAL МОТIFS IN THE HYМNS

Crucifixo
Clara compatitur,
Carni suae
Compati nesciens,
Cuius clavis
Mente transfigitur. S(45/5a)

even the assonance in the verse implies the intensity of Clare's suffering with Christ and with a strong implication to the effect that she experienced a kind of interior 'stigmata', somewhat akin to the stigmata of Francis, moreover, in an instance quoted from a rhythmic office, Clare actually "holds" the Crucified Christ:

O fervens desiderio,
Praeclaro clara studio,
Quem legis sponsum lectulo
Christum crucis in pendulo
Quaerens tenuisti. R(7, In Laud.)

A further development of the 'vision' motif occurs in the legendary account of the apparitions of Jesus and Mary to Clare on her deathbed. There, Clare, exhorting her soul to depart without fear, addressed one of her Sisters:

... vides tu, inquit, O filia, Regem gloriae quem ego video?¹

In the same account, a Sister reported:

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 65-67, no. 46.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

... et, ecce, in vestibus albis turba
ingreditur virginum; ... Graditur inter

eas una praeclarior ceteris ... procedit
ad lectulum ... amplexum dulcissimum
praestat ... profertur a virginibus mirae
pulchritudinis pallium, ... et Clarae
corpus tegitur ... spiritus feliciter
migravit ad astra. 1

The motif is one hym contains both apparitions:

Certa caeli gaudio
In mortis articulo
Christum cernit.

Ipsam hora transitur
Maria cum virginibus
Circumstetit. S(44/3a, 3b)

while the greater number of motifs in the hymns refer to
only the apparition of Mary, as in these verses:

Maria aggreditur,
Pie te amplectitur,
A te caelum scanditur,
Signis virtus panditur. S(6/2a)

A panegyrical allusion in a "Pium Dictamen" which likewise
refers both to Mary as the escort of Clare to heaven, and
to Jesus as her escort:

Gaude, Christo visitata
Cum eius matre beata
Scandis ad caelestia. P(23/4, 6)

Here it may be concluded that the 'vision' motif
in the hymns is in keeping with the legendary motif, with
pre-eminence given to the apparition of Mary.

1 Ibid.
22. Among the principal miracles of Clare before her death the Legend includes: 1. the increase of the oil; 2. the multiplication of the bread; 3. the enemy put to flight; 4. the conversion of Clare's sister, Agnes; 5. the casting out of devils; and, 6. the power in the use of the Sign of the Cross.

The legendary motifs contain lengthy descriptions for each of these above named miracles. However, here it must suffice to quote only those details that are reflected in like allusions to the miracle motifs of the hymns.

23.-24. The first two - the increase of oil, and the multiplication of the bread - have a semblance to the following accounts from the Legend; the motif in the hymns is characterized by the legendary references to the poverty of the Poor Ladies, the concern of the Abbess Clare for the welfare of others, and the divine intervention due to the merits of Clare:

Unicus erat in monasterio panis cum iam instartent et famæ et hora edendi ... iubet sancta panem dividere, partem-que fratribus mittere, partem intus pro sororibus retinere. De quo retento dimidio jubet quinquaginta fieri, ... incisuras et, properat mater ad Christum suum piis filialibus destinare suspiria, crescit divino munere ... et cuilibet ... portio copiosa.\(^1\)

\(^{\text{1}}\text{Legenda, ibid., p. 23-24, no. 15.}\)
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE KYMHS

... etenim solo influente Deo vas illud plenum oleo reberitur, praeviente sanctae clarae oratione fratris obsequim in solamen pauuerum filiarum.¹

One example of the motif, in a fifteenth century sequence, has the main incidents for these two miracles expressed thusly:

Ave, per cuius meritum
Pane augetur virginum
Defectum patientium.

Ave, pauuerum lucerna
Cui dedit vis superna
Oleum, cum defuit. S(3/4a, 8a)

while in a fourteenth century sequence the details expressed in the motif, are symbolic of those in the biblical miracle of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, namely, the small quantity of bread, in comparison to the large number to be fed, the orders given, and the divine invocation:

Quinquaginta prandio
Dominas dimidio
Pascit pane.

Hac orante subito
Adimpletur oleo
Vas inane. S(44/4a, 4b)

and, again, there is another example of the comparison of the medieval with the ancient miracle, and in more explicit terms:

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 24, no. 16.
²Mark 8, 1-9.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

De pane pascit unico
Turbem sororum pauperum
Claret signo mirifico
Virtus signorum veterum
Dum cibat ex tam modico
Magni conventus numerum
Parat magistra vasulum
Ut oleum quaeratur,
Mox vero per miraculum,
Vas plenum coelo datur.
R(26, Ad Mat.)

The legend has a lengthy account of two more miracles of Clare where, on two different occasions, Clare 'saved the city of Assisi' from the attacks of the mercenary troops of the Emperor Frederick II, here in summary form:

When the barbarians had climbed the walls of the cloister of San Damiano, after an attack on the city itself, Clare arose from her sick bed and asked to be led to the door of the cloister with the Blessed Sacrament in the monstrance carried before her. There Claire fearlessly met the enemy face to face. While she prayed for divine protection for her nuns and for the city, the enemy suddenly withdrew. A Voice was heard from the pyx: ... 'vox puerili ad aures insonuit,' assuring her of protection for her cloister and for the city. In the second onslaught, the enemy troops had besieged the city of Assisi, but suddenly disbanded after Clare had gathered her nuns in the chapel of the cloister, sprinkled her head and those of her sisters with ashes and prayed throughout the night for the deliverance of Assisi.

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1Legenda, ibid., p. 30, no. 21. Note that in the account here, and likewise mentioned in the Process, op. cit., (9,2, p. 471), Clare did not carry the monstrance herself, although she is usually pictured thus.

2Legenda, p. 31, no. 22.

3Ibid., p. 32-33, no. 23.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

In the hymns this motif does occur frequently. It is retold in a fourteenth sequence - in vivid narrative, with a military tone, and with mention of the weapon of attack:

Christi scandens in specula  
Hostis propellit facula  
Fortis manens in acie. S(45/2b)

The motif in this verse of a fifteenth century sequence, has a reference to the definite form Christ assumed, and too expressed His protection through the prayers of Clare:

Orat sponsum qui responsum  
Dat in eucharistia,  
Piebs salvatur, dum fugatur  
Hostilis molestia. S(40,5b)

In an earlier sequence verse, Christ speaks from the monstrance:

Christus illi filiae  
De capsia mirifice  
Respondebat S(44/2b)

A composite example is the narrative account from a rhythmic office for the two miracles:

A civibus obsidio  
Removetur ob lacrimas  
Et preces sanctae Clarae  
Dum cinere, cilicio.  
Jubet sorores optimas  
Ad deum exclamare. R(26, Ad. Mat.)

And, mindful of the counter-warfare of prayer, from the same rhythmic office:
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Orationum proelio
Meretur gentes pessimas
De claustro deturbare. R(26, Ad. Nat.)

while a third verse has the motif expressing the gratitude of the people of Assisi to Clare for their deliverance. Here the city is not mentioned as "Assisi," - (in fact, proper names do not appear in any of the hymns for this motif):

Laudans laudare studeat,
In laudem semper prodeat
Plebs ista salvatoris
Quam tanta ditat sanctitas
Non cesset ipsa civitas
A laude conditoris. R(26, Ad Laud.)

Furthermore, this last verse with a panegyrical trend, implies the existence of, and the reason for, the Cult of St. Clare in Assisi.\(^1\) The 'saving of the City' motif proves to be the most popular "miracle" motif found in the hymns.

25. The legend contains a motif that treats of the miraculous intervention of Clare, on another occasion, in behalf of her younger sister, Agnes, who had followed Clare to the Convent in Panso.\(^2\) As angry relatives pursued Agnes - the Legend relates - and tried to carry her by force from

\(^1\) Cf. Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 163. Here the author states that the Chapter held in Assisi in 1340 ordained that commemoration of St. Clare be made in the Franciscan Office, and thus bestowed honor on the Saint in her own city.

\(^2\) Legenda, ibid., p. 33-37, no. 24-26.
the convent, she called upon Clare for help. When the latter offered supplicant prayers, the body of Agnes became so heavy that it could not be lifted by her aggressors, who had to depart, leaving Agnes in the Convent with her sister, Clare.

The 'Clare and Agnes' motif in the hymns shows relation to a portion of thought content of the legendary motif: "... praedones adolescentulam renitentem per de vexum montis abstraherent;: and, " ... beatus Franciscus manu sua ipsam totondit, et una cum sorore sua in via Domini erudivit, especially in these lines:

Clara Francisci filia  
Agnem sororem praevia  
Vicit parentum taedia  
Hanc trahens ad caelestia  
Declinans mundi devia  
Petens aeterna praemia. R(7, Ad Mat.)

The phrase here used, "parentum taedia" implies a calmer frame of mind on the part of the relatives than that stated in the legendary motif - "consanguineorum furor."

In the closing scene of Clare's life her solicitude for her sister Agnes is evident again when she predicts - as did happen - that Agnes would soon follow her in death:

\[1\text{Ibid., p. 35, no. 25.}\]  
\[2\text{Ibid., p. 37, no. 26.}\]
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Paucis interiectis, Agnes ad nuptias evocata, sororem Claram ad aeternas delicias subsecuta est ubi ambae Sion filiae, natura gratia et regno germanae et Deo iubilant sine fine ... quam Clara promisit Agneti, antequam migraret accepti.1

This version of the 'Clare and Agens' motif is intensified when combined with a biblical motif in the earliest rhythmic office:

Agens ad agni nuptias
Ad aeternas delicias
Post Claram evocatur
Ubi per Sion filias
Post transitas miserias
Aeternae iubilatur. R(26, Ad Laud.)

This last mentioned 'miracle' motif is treated more briefly in the hymns than it is in the long legendary account of Clare and Agnes.

26. Another miracle motif, the 'expulsion of demons', is found in the legendary description of the woman who, formerly possessed by five devils, gave this reason for their departure:

... quod ipsa orationes sanctae Clarae incenderent et possesio vasculo disturbarent.2

One of the hymns contains an allusion to this miracle, among other miracles of Clare:

1Legenda, ibid., p. 60, no. 43.
2Ibid., p. 37, no. 27.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Orat, civis liberatur Mira panis augmentatur
Gens profana diffugatur Oleumque coelo datur
Pelluntur daemonia. Donantur languentia.
S(18/5)

27. - 28. In the continued legendary account of the miracles of Clare before her death there are references to a few of the many marvelous cures of mind and body attributed to the Saint. This 'healing' motif, is summarized here with selections of legendary quotations that are the sources for a similar development of the motif in the hymns. According to the Legend, the cures were:

1. the cure of a Brother: "... furia laborantium;"3
2. restoration of sight to a boy: "illico nuro oculus macula expurgatus..."4
3. the return of sound health to four of Clare's Sisters: the cure of dropsy and other ailments: "... hydrovisi, febri insuper et tussi et lateris dolore..."5
   A restoration of the voice: "vocem mox signata recuoerat"6
   Relief from deafness: "auditus virtutem illo recuoerat."7
   A cure of a fistula: "Perfectam recepit annosi ulceris sanitatem."8

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1Legenda, ibid., p. 45-48, no. 32-35.
2Cf. Process, ibid., accounts of such cures are found throughout this document.
3Ibid., p. 45, no. 32.
4Ibid., p. 45, no. 33.
5Ibid., p. 47, no. 35; Cf. Process, ibid., IV, 1, p. 459, for the words used by Clare in this healing.
6Legenda, op. cit., p. 47-48, no. 45.
7Ibid., p. 48, no. 45.
8Ibid., p. 47, no. 44.
29. The hymn motif for Clare's healing power omits the mention of the individuals who were cured, and includes a simple enumeration of cures - all attributed to Clare's use of the Sign of the Cross. For instance:

Febres, vocem, furiam,
Hydropisin, fistulam,
Auram, latus, maculam,
Cruce, curat. S(44/5a)

In an earlier sequence, the motif is so stated as to be the definite effect of the Sign of the Cross:

Signis multis illustratur
Vivens in hoc saeculo
Morbus omnis effugatur
In crucis signaculo. S(45/6b)

30. In the second part of the Legend, which treats of the miracles of Clare after her death, the author prefacing his account with this statement: "Strict truth, duly attested, compels us to set down many miracles, but their number constrains us to pass over many more." Therefore, the 'miracle' motif in the form of healing occurs less frequently in reference to the miracles of Clare after death than before death.

1Celano, in a note refers here to the testimony of the Process.
2Legenda, op. cit., p. 74, no. 39.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

31. The legendary motif for these later miracles is listed here in summary form:

Miracles at the tomb of Clare:

1. The liberation of a boy and two women from diabolical obsession: "De daemoniacis liberatis,"¹
   
2. A boy cured of frenzy; "De sanato a morbo furiae",²
   
3. A man by the name of Valentino, cured of epilepsy: "De liberatione a morbo caduco",³
   
4. A blind man received his sight: "De caeco illuminato",⁴
   
5. Power restored to the hand of a man: "De restitutione manus perditae",⁵
   
6. Four crippled persons cured: "De contractis",⁶
   
7. Two women cured of tumors of the throat: "De sanatatione a tumoribus gutteris",⁷
   
8. Two children freed from the attack of wolves: "De liberatis a lupo."⁸

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¹Legenda, ibid., p. 74-75, no. 50-51.
²Ibid., p. 76-77, no. 52.
³Ibid., p. 77-78, no. 52.
⁴Ibid., p. 78-79, no. 52.
⁵Ibid., p. 80-81, no. 53.
⁶Ibid., p. 82-85, no. 55-58.
⁷Ibid., p. 85-87, no. 58-59.
⁸Ibid., p. 87-90, no. 60.
In the hymns, the 'miracle motif' appears again, as in the earlier 'miracle' motif, with the recorded instances in an enumerative order, without any details involved.

These verses from a fifteenth century sequence have the motif expressed in this form:

Curat daemoniacos
Lupi raptos parvulos
Reddunt, claros oculos
Caeco donat. S(44/5b)

Plura his et alia
Facit mirabilia
Ista virgo
Beatissima. S(44/6a)

This verse from a sequence of the fourteenth century follows the same pattern, but includes more of the miracles:

Imperas daemoniis
Lupis raptos eripis
Caecis, claudis, languidis
Gravatis a glandulis
Sanitatem tribuis
Vitam praestas mortuis
Te petente subvenis. S(6/2b)

An exception to this general expression of the 'cure' motif is noted in this verse of a rhythmic office, where some details are mentioned for cures effected before, and, after, the death of Clare:

Voce puella caruit
Signo dato rehabuit,
Valentinus morbo cadit,
Ad sepulchrum Clarae vadit.
Nocte trina iacuit,
Die terna valuit. R(7, Ad Mat.)
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

From the study of the types of the 'miracle' motifs in the hymns, it may be concluded: 1. that, as far as content is concerned, these motifs are closely related to the legendary account, except for the omission of details connected with the miracles; 2. that the 'miracle' motifs which effected groups rather than individuals, or that were connected with some special virtue of Clare, occur most frequently in the hymns.

32. In the legend, the circumstances that figure largely in the account of the death of Clare are the visits of the Church dignitaries and to her death bed, her visions of the King and the Queen of Heaven, events already discussed as separate motifs. However, there is another phase of the motif as it occurs in this passage from the Legend:

32. In the legend, the circumstances that figure largely in the account of the death of Clare are the visits of the Church dignitaries and to her death bed, her visions of the King and the Queen of Heaven, events already discussed as separate motifs. However, there is another phase of the motif as it occurs in this passage from the Legend:

... cum decem et septem diebus nullam cibum sumere posset, tanta est a Domino fortitudine vigorata, omnes ad se venientes in Christo servitio confortaret.

The reference to the contrast of the physical and the spiritual strength of Clare in her last moments is likewise the theme of the motif in the lines of an early fourteenth century hymn:

1Cf. supra, p. 45-47 and p. 49-50.
2Legenda, ibid., p. 61, no. 44.
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Deficit virtus corporis
Morbo prolixi temporis
Sumit augmentum roboris
Virtus sacrati pectoris. H(24/4)

Moreover, in relating of the actual death of Clare, the legendary motif depicts her passing not as a scene of sadness for those she leaves behind, but as a prelude to heavenly joys for the saint:

Dolent amarissime ... egreditur anima
illa sanctissima praemio perpetuo
laureanda; temploque carnis soluto, 1
spiritus feliciter migravit ad astra.

The same motif in the hymns mentions stresses its spiritual significance for Clare as in this example:

Tandem languore premitur,
Laeta nimis egreditur,
Spiritus caelo redditur. H(24/5)

Furthermore, the 'death' motif is often linked with expressions of her exalted position in heaven, a factor which is a prediction of her canonization:

Hanc suscipit amplexibus Praesentent iusse pallium
Trinitatis sacrarium Mirande pulchritudinis
Maria cum virginitibus Tamquam insigne premium
Quarum intrat collegium. Stole beatitudinis.
H(25/2,3)

Since the hymns do not contain references to legendary incidents that are of ordinary or of usual occurrence, e.g., physical suffering, last words, 2 the 'death'

1Legenda, ibid., p. 64-66, nos. 45,46.
2Ibid., p. 62-65, nos. 45,46.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

motif therein echoes the extraordinary, the supernatural features in the death of Clare.

33. The account of the universal consensus that Clare was a saint, of the miracles wrought at her tomb,¹ and of the general desire for her beatification reads in a legendary passage:

Canonizationem tantae Virginis iose
iam mundus cum desiderio expectabat
... inventur post transitum veris
post transitum veris et probatis
miraculis admiranda.²

A fourteenth century hymn contains an allusion to the Process of Canonization³ and its results, in proven miracles before the canonization:

Scandit coelos laureata,
Cum beatis jam beata,
Probant mirabilia;

Luce clara vocitata,
Cujus claret decorata,
Floribus ecclesia. H(18/7)

Likewise, these same verses refer to the 'canonization' motif wherein the formal pronouncement of the Church,

²Legenda, op. cit., p. 93, 94, no. 62.
³The Process was begun by Don Bartholomew, Bishop of Spoletto, at the request of Pope Innocent IV, two months after the death of the Saint which occurred on Aug. 11, 1253. The successor of Innocent, Cardinal Pinaldo, as Pope Alexander IV, closed the Process in 1254. Cf. Leg., footnote, p. 91. The original Latin text of Process is lost; for Italian Hs. cf. Lazzeri, AFH, Vol. 13, 1920, p. 403-507.
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through the **Bull of Canonization**, solemnly proclaimed the sainthood of Clare:

... felix Alexander, cui haec a Domino fuerat gratia reservata, cum celebritate permaxima Sanctorum catalago Claram reverenter ascripsit, festumque eiusque solemniter, in tota Ecclesia celebrandum instituit, atque iose primus cum tota Curia solemnissime celebravit.2

The actual 'canonization' motif is found only in vague references, apart from the one clearly stated example of the motif in a rhythmic office:

Quam Alexander inclitus
Adscripsit motus coelitus
Catalogo sanctorum. R(26, Ad. Vesp.)

In keeping with the legendary details of the 'canonization' motif which declared Clare to be inscribed in the calendar of saintly virgins, and worthy of veneration by fixing the celebration of her feast, the 'canonization' motif in a hymn of the fifteenth century calls for the observance of the acclamation:

Gaude, coetus, novi foetus
Sacro Francisci germine,
Sacrae gestus dies festus,
A solis ortu cardine.

1The **Bull of Canonization**, opening with the words, 'Clara claris praeclara meritis' ..., Aug. 12, 1255. For text, cf. Leg., *ibid.*, v. 108-118.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Morte tacta, vitam nacta,
Optato vivit gaudio,
Iucundatur, gloriatur,
In coelesti collegio. \(H(30/2,7)\)

There are other instances in the hymns which give evidence of the enthusiastic support to the beginning of the liturgical cult of St. Clare after the Bull of Canonization.\(^1\) The pious demonstrations of the people of Assisi for their fellow-citizen and benefactress\(^2\) is one example, in an antiphon of a rhythmic office from the fourteenth century,\(^3\) and in a verse of the last quoted hymn above:

Huius funus, sacrum munus,
Donis ditat Assisium,
Vota dando, te laudando,
Christe, redemptor omnium. \(H(30/9)\)

while the universal veneration of the Saint is echoed in the 'canonization' motif of a sixteenth century sequence:

In perenni gloria Iam in caelo coronatur,
Clara nunc memoria Et in mundo declaratur
Claret Clarae virginis. Signis insignissime. \(S(28/1,6)\)

In resume, the hymns present an elaborated form of the legendary 'canonization' motif by the inclusion of

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\(^1\)Alexander IV celebrated the canonization of St. Clare in the Cathedral of Anagni, on Aug. 15, 1255. By the singing of the 'Collect' which he composed, the "Famulos tuos," the liturgical cult of the Saint began. Cf. Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 156.

\(^2\)In the Middle Ages, Christian heroes called Saints were the best friends of the people of a city for protection. Cf. De Cheranee, St. Clare of Assisi, London, 1910, p. 201.

\(^3\)Cf. p. 55, supra.
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incidents relative to the diffusion of the cult of St. Clare as well as those connected with the actual event of the canonization of the Saint.

An Analysis of the Motifs in Hymns of Separate Classification

There are three literary selections written in honor of St. Clare that can be analyzed more clearly by an individual discussion of each of them in turn; - the *Gaudia Sanctae Clarae Assisiensis*,¹ and the *Legenda Versificata*,² both of which are legends in verse form,³ and the rhythmic office, *Fulgentem Claram eminus*.

The first of these, the *Gaudia* - as it is usually termed - is a hymn of fifty-four strophes, each of which begins with the word "Gaudia". In the opinion of Oliger, the Franciscan who discovered the codex which contained this hymn in a Convent of the Poor Clares in Nuremberg, the

³Entitled as "legends in verse" by Ezio Franceschini in his "Biografie di Senta Chiara", Santa Chiara' s'Assisi (on. cit.), p. 264.
⁴For Text and Documenta, Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 179-186. For text cf. Appendix, supra.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

The original Latin version was written probably by a Franciscan friar, - "well-skilled in the language," and the codex, a copy of the same, written by a Poor Clare, - "little experienced in Latin composition" - in the early fifteenth century. The sub-title of the hymn, *Vita Eius Versificata*, explains its groundwork of legendary content, which can be readily traced to the Legenda of Celano. The interspersion of invocations, miracles, and events in the verses contains the same motifs as the *Legenda* and often in the same mode of expression.

A comparison of the legendary motifs in the prose and versified forms, with significant quotations from the latter, will verify their similarity.

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<tr>
<th>MOTIF DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>LEGENDA LOCATION</th>
<th>GAUDIA LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Pre-natal (No. 1,2)</td>
<td>(Strophes 1,2) Gaude, Clara, prophetata Celitus nuntiata Lumen esse seculi. (1/2,3)</td>
<td>(4) Clara statim baptizata Nominaris proprie. (4/2,3) (5,6,7) Domo, in paterno domo miseratrix miserorum. (5/1,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Her name, Clara (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Her childhood (3,4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Oliger, op. cit., p. 110, 116, 119.
2Ibid., p. 110.
3Cfr. also N. Fosssbinder, "Untersuchungen über die Quellen zum Leben der hl. Klara von Assisi", Franziskanische Studien, Vol. 23, 1936, p. 332,333. This discussion is in keeping with that of Oliger, op. cit.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTIF</th>
<th>Legenda</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d. Flight from world</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Chroum spernis coniugalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Florem servas virginalem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6/4,5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Clare, as Foundress</td>
<td>(10,36)</td>
<td>(8,10,11,12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ut sis multa paritura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Filiarum genera. (8/5,6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dominarum pauperum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Deo genuisti prolem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(10/3,4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Relationship to</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Francis</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dum Franciscum es affata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clara luce celitus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Humility</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pedes lavans serviendo,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Egris, sanis exercendo 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(13/4,5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Poverty</td>
<td>(13,14)</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tibi fiunt alienae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pauper mente et corpore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(14/2,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Miracles</td>
<td>(15,16)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oleo nunc vas (in) mane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Implegs pisces nunc cum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pane2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Morification</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gaude, duro quod amictu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cunctis prebes raro victu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Forma(m) abstinentiae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(17/1-3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1This is the only example found in the hymns for this motif so stated in the Legenda, p. 20, no. 12.

2The 'pisces' is not mentioned in the Legenda for the 'miracle' motif of the multiplication of the bread. Cf. narrative, ibid., p. 23, no. 15. The inclusion here might be an added biblical reminiscence of "the loaves and the fishes"; cf. Mark, 8, 1-9.
### ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTIF</th>
<th>LEGENDA</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k. Love of God</td>
<td>(19,20)</td>
<td>(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ardes igne tu divino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Karitatis in camino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(18/4,5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. Flight of the enemy</td>
<td>(21,27)</td>
<td>(19,21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hostis spernens odiosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maligni consilia (19/1,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Visions of Christ</td>
<td>(22,29)</td>
<td>(22,27,29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gaude, casto ventre Natus</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tecum est confabulatus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Voce amicabili (22/1-3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ostendebat se presentem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In presepe quiescentem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Exhibens hylarius. (27/4-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. Devotion to the Bl. Sacrament</td>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gaude, quod iam corpus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Christi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sepe digne accceptisti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(23/1,2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o. Episode of her sister Agnes</td>
<td>(26)</td>
<td>(24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Infirmatur, cum germana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Certat cum potentibus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(24/2,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. Devotion to the Passion</td>
<td>(30)</td>
<td>(28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gaude: panis nam affectus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In acetum est injectus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Passionibus Domini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(28/1,2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q. Use of the Sign of the Cross</td>
<td>(32,34)</td>
<td>(30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gaude, morbos signo crucis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rebellendo, quo reducis</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sanitatem omnibus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(30/1-3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOPGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTIF</th>
<th>Legenda</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r. Vision of Mary</td>
<td>(45,46)</td>
<td>(34) Gauda, Clara O Beata Matris Christi honorata Amplexu dulcissimo (34/1-3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. Relations with the Papacy</td>
<td>(40,41)</td>
<td>(37) Gauda; tibi honor talis Exhibetur quod papalis Affuit presentia. (37/1-3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t. Death</td>
<td>(46)</td>
<td>(33) Gauda, Deo te vocante Mortis hora iam instante (33/1,2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u. Miracles after her death</td>
<td>(49,61)</td>
<td>(38-43) Manifestat te signorum Multitudo probatorum Huic valle miserie (38/4-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. Canonization</td>
<td>(62)</td>
<td>(44) Gauda, Christus quam amavit Et in celo coronavit Singulari gloria (44/1-3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since only the last ten strophes are non-legendary in motif, but rather an illustration of the thought of the Bull of Canonization,\(^1\) the *Gaudia* is definitely legendary in character, and bears a strong resemblance to the *Legenda* for choice of motifs and their arrangement in sequence.

However, there are a few original incidents in this versified legend. One of special note is the "Clare-Francis" motif as stated in these verses:

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ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Gaude, Clara obumbrata
Dum Franciscum es affata
Clara luce celitus.
Fuit splendor hic celestis
Luminose mentis testis
Ac ferventis spiritus (strophe 9)

This allusion to a sacred conversation between the two Saints, in which heavenly fire or light radiated from them is not directly traceable to the Legenda. Oliger is inclined to believe\textsuperscript{1} that the motif was inspired by the legendary passage: "... coelesti igne fuisse succensam,"\textsuperscript{2} or by Chapter XV of Actus S. Francisci which is included in some Codices of the Legenda.\textsuperscript{3} Fassbinder interprets it as a possible meeting in the forest near Portiuncula.

Another variation of motif is the healing powers of Clare in which she restores life to the dead. This "miracle" motif reads:

Gaude, per quam plurimorum,
Vita rebit defunctorum,
Per Dei potentiam. (Strophe 43)

No authentic source for this motif is known.\textsuperscript{5} An

\textsuperscript{1}Oliger, op. cit., p. 117.
\textsuperscript{2}Legenda, p. 9, no. 6.
\textsuperscript{3}The edition of the Legenda by Pennacchi has this chapter in the Appendix: "De eo quod beatus Franciscus et beata Clara in simul vescentes rapti fuerunt." Codices containing same are listed in footnote, p. 98.
\textsuperscript{4}Fassbinder, op. cit., p. 333.
\textsuperscript{5}Olinger, op. cit., p. 117.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Italian Laude of the 14 C. attributes the same miraculous power to Clare, but the composition is pure poetical fiction. 1

In conclusion, from this general retrospect of the legendary motifs, the Gaudia S. Clarae Assisiensis is a "versified life of Saint Clare," in use as a non-liturgical Breviary hymn.

The Legenda Versificata - another narrative religious poem of St. Clare, proved of especial interest in further consideration of the legendary motifs of the Saint as found in the hymns (analyzed above). Since the writing was almost contemporary with that of the earliest prose legend of Celano, dedicated to Pope Alexander IV who died in 1261, and in poetical form with legendary content faithful to the prose form, the poem could have readily lent itself to adaptation in the later hymns. However, after a comparative study of the long series of seventeen hundred and twenty-five hexameter verses in Vergilian epic style with the hymns, for the mode of expression of legendary motifs, it is apparent that this versified legend is not reflected in the hymns. Worthy of note is a hitherto un-


2The date for Celano's Legenda is 1256; cf. Ibid., Prefazione, p. XVI.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

known incident of legendary value, mentioned in the poem but not in the prose legend nor in the hymns, the 'account of the investiture of Clare after her death in the splendor of ecclesiastical authority.'

The account of this unusual event is described in the following verses:

Accideret; nam tanta fuit devotio
cunctis
Ut prelatorum sacra pontificalia signa
Que splendent digitis, pretiosis
insererentur
Defuncte manibus, ut quid sibi querere possent
Virtutis; spreant quod mortua non sit
avara
Circa devotos, que grandis dona plebebat
Vivens, et mundo signorum fulgere vivat.

Why this motif in particular, and other known legendary motifs are not traceable to this thirteenth century legend might be explained from the status of the poem in the course of the centuries. Only in 1912 was the one copy, which was preserved in the codex 338 in the Communal Library of Assisi, edited by Father Bughetti, with the personal comment: "nihil novi hanc Legendam ad vitae actus S. Clarae, lectores ipsi primo ictu percipere possunt." An

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1 So stated by Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 155.
2 Bughetti, op. cit., verses 1405-1411 of Text.
3 Ibid., p. 621, 622.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Italian version for the Seventh Centenary of the death of Saint Clare refers to the obscurity of the motif above: "O ignota ricchezza!" 1 Perhaps, too, the theme of this legend, which dealt with the corruption of the Church, and interwoven with the life of Saint Clare, "hadn't proved of help to history." 2 Whatever be the decisive factor, the *Legenda Versificata* did not provide the legendary motifs for any of the hymns to Saint Clare in the present Collection.

A Third Rhythmic Office of St. Clare

In the foregoing analysis of the legendary-biographical motifs in the Clare hymns two rhythmic offices of the Saint were considered. 3 There is also a third office mentioned in Van Dijk's study of the medieval cult of St. Clare, designated as "Fulgentem Claram eminus," and dating from the fifteenth century. But since the text of this

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1 Quoted from the work of A. Fortini in the essay of Fausta Casolini, "Sprazzi della luce di Chiara nella letteratura," *Santa Chiara d'Assisi*, footnote, p. 259.


3 R(7) and R(26) in hymn listing.

4 Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 179: "Sino ad oggi si conoscono tre Offici ritmici..." All remarks here on the third office have their source in *ibid.*, p. 179-186.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

1 office is inedited and fragmentary, 2 it seems advisable to analyze its elements separately, apart from those of the two complete offices for the Saint.

For an interpretation of the extant portions of the text, of Vespers and Matins, Van Dijk has supplied words (in parentheses) to make it understandable. He observes that the office is characterized by the form of its antiphons, in which the opening verses narrate some event in the life of the Saint, and are followed by the verses of a psalm in harmony with the expressed legendary-biographical motif. Here is an example, relating of 'the saving of the city of Assisi' by Clare; third antiphon of Vespers:

Hec Dei stat in atriis,
Ut filliabus anxii(is)
Pax detur virtualis.
Fatur Ihesus ex pixide:
Defen(da)m a tirannide
Locum et vos a malis.

The Biblical allusion which directly follows are verses 2, 7, 9, of Psalm 121:

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1For text, cf. Appendix
2Van Dijk, op. cit.; in the opinion of the author, the inedited and fragmentary office is available in only one codex found in the University of Helsingfors, and quotes for an authority: Toivo Haapanan, Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Handschriften-Fragmenten in den Universitätsbibliothek zu Helsingfors III, Helsingfors 1932, n. 760.
ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Stantes erant pedes nostri, in atriis tuis, Iherusalem.
Fiat pax in virtute tua: et abundantia in turribus tuis.
Propter domum Domini Dei nostri, quae-sivi bona tibi.

The remainder of the antiphons in this office follow a similar pattern for mode of expression - a combination of a legendary motif with a biblical motif. Here a summary of the content of the respective antiphons will illustrate the emphasis given to the legendary motifs as fulfillment of biblical motifs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vesper Antiphon</th>
<th>Legendary Motif</th>
<th>Biblical Motif</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>canonization</td>
<td>Sitting at the right hand of the Lord (Ps. 109)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>flight from the world; foundress</td>
<td>The call of children to praise the Lord (Ps. 112)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>saving of the city</td>
<td>A house must be built by the Lord (Ps. 126)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>multiplication of the bread</td>
<td>The providence of God by the supply of grain (Ps. 147)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matins Antiphon</th>
<th>Legendary Motif</th>
<th>Biblical Motif</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>canonization; miracles through the cult</td>
<td>The name of God is held in universal veneration (Ps. 8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1For full text, cf. Appendix.
### ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matins Antiphon</th>
<th>Legendary Motif</th>
<th>Biblical Motif</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ascetic life</td>
<td>Highest praise rendered to the Lord (Ps. 18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>flight from the world</td>
<td>Eternal promises of the omnipotent Lord (Ps. 23)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Magnificat Antiphon**  
chastity; patronage  
Praises to God for His exaltation of the lowly (Luke, 1, 46-55)

The "Collect" of the office - in prose form - is composed of the ever-recurring motif for the name, "Clara" with both panegyrical and legendary significance implied in terms of intercession and patronage. However, the hymns are characterized in greater part by panegyrical motifs.

In retrospect, the third rhythmic office of St. Clare admits of classification as a "historical" type of office since it has a prevalence of legendary-biographical motifs.

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\(^1\)Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
### ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Table I. - A comparative list of legendary-biographical motifs in the hymns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motifs</th>
<th>Hymns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Clare's distinguished origin</td>
<td>H(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S(3),(4),(8),(18),(21), (32),(33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Prenatal miracle</td>
<td>S(8),(18),(22),(29),(31), (32),(40),(45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Her divine mission predicted</td>
<td>H(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S(40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R(26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Her name, &quot;Clara&quot;</td>
<td>H(5),(12),(13),(14),(15), (24),(30),(36),(48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Her childhood</td>
<td>S(32),(40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R(26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Flight from the world</td>
<td>H(13),(16),(19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S(21),(39),(46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Her reception into the Franciscan Order</td>
<td>H(13),(30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S(8),(18),(21),(33),(45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R(26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Clare, as Foundress of the Second Order of St. Francis</td>
<td>P(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H(13),(18),(19),(20),(30), (48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S(8),(18),(21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R(26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Her virtues and ascetic practices in general</td>
<td>H(9),(10),(12),(13),(30), (36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S(6),(8),(18),(21),(27), (29),(31),(32),(45),(46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R(26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. The spread of her Order</td>
<td>H(7),(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R(26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motifs</td>
<td>Hymns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Her humility</td>
<td>( P(1) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( S(3), (21), (31), (46) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( R(7), (26) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Her poverty</td>
<td>( H(10), (13), (17), (19), (20) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( S(6), (8), (21), (27), (28), )</td>
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<td></td>
<td>( 29 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( R(7), (26) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Her purity</td>
<td>( P(1), (2) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( H(15), (17), (19) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( S(3), (6), (18), (27), (39) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( H(7), (26) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Her love for God</td>
<td>( P(4) )</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( S(3) )</td>
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<td></td>
<td>( R(26) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Her spirit of prayer</td>
<td>( H(13), (21) )</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( S(8) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Her penance</td>
<td>( P(1), (2) )</td>
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¹ Cf. "The saving of the city of Assisi" motif.
² Cf. "Her death" motif.
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CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

1. Panegyrical Motifs

The hymn, in its function as "a song of praise" lends itself readily to the forms of expression which manifest special sentiment for God and His saints. In due veneration to Saint Clare, the panegyrical elements in the hymns here studied proved to be numerous and of a variety of types, with a prevalence of simple expressions scattered throughout the hymns. However, there is an ample number of panegyrics with detailed descriptions that vividly eulogize the saint. 

1. General Praises

First, the Universal Church resounds the praises of Clare in eternal glory; as in this example from a fifteenth century sequence:

Sonet vox ecclesiae
Digna laudes Hodie
Virginis eximiae,
Sanctae Clarae.

O digna memoriae,
Quae cum rege gloriae
Palmam fers victoriae,
Gratulare. S(46/1a, 1b)

1 Cf. Table II, p. 173.
and, again, in a hymn of the same century, with the added idea that the saint is "a gift from God":

Laetabundus plaudat mundus
Novis utens muneribus
Hilarescat et laus crescat,
Exsultet coelum laudibus. H(30/1)

In some instances the motif of praise assumes a more personal effect with a reference to a particular virtue of the saint, as in this example of Clare's heavenly merit for earthly poverty, - a panegyric in metaphorical form:

Mundi blanda et nefanda
Contempsit, sumens aspera,
Sic mercatur, sic lucratur
Aeterna Christi munera. H(30/6)

2. Praises with Patronage and Intercession

From another aspect, the praises of Clare's virtue are linked with Clare's special patronage. In the following selection, the panegyric motif for the purity and chastity of Clare, (again expressed by a metaphor), is a preface to the request that she obtain freedom from moral uncleanness for the suppliant:

Castitatis vas electum
Fac me Deo vas perfectum,
Mundans me a sordibus,
Ut det mihi castitatem,
Nec non mentis puritatem,
Tuis ora precibus. P(2/3)

and also liberation from the snares of the devil:
Likewise, the praise accorded to Clare in heaven with the Beatific Vision is followed by the petition for the client's participation in a like union with God:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nunc in caelis collocatur,} \\
\text{Deum trinum contemolatur,} \\
\text{Nunc amore amolexatur,} \\
\text{Clara sine taedio.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Clara, mater claritatis,} \\
\text{Tecum lumen Deitatis,} \\
\text{Corde puro vedeamus} \\
\text{Et in ipso gaudeamus,} \\
\text{Amoris incendio. S(50, 7a, 7b)}
\end{align*}
\]

3. The Name, "Clara"

Another panegyrical motif, which occurs very frequently in the hymns, emerges from the etymological significance of the Saint's name, "Clara." Both in its basic form, and in its derivatives, the term "clara" is found to characterize every phase of the life of the Saint as "good and beneficient", with a shade of meaning akin to the metaphorical inference. In many instances a single-verse

\[
\text{1Cf. Britt, Hymns of the Breviary. New York, Benziger Bros., p. 29, for symbolism of light in the Scriptures and in the Fathers' hymns.} \]
panegyrical serves as a prelude to a legendary motif. To quote a few examples:

Clara, praeclare claruit ...H(10/5,1);
Jam, sanctae claritas claritatis...F(26, In Vesp);
Claris claret actibus...H(18/2a,2);
Fusa clares in praeclara, Contemplatione ...S(33/5a,2,3);
Clara mente, clara gente...H(5/2,1);
Lucet Clara, lux praeclara...H(14/3,1)

In other hymns the "light" metaphor permeates the entire thought content of the motif. A rhythmic office supplies these examples:

O Clara luce clarior,
Ac sole serenior,
Virtutis sublimior. R(7, In Vesp.)

Praeclaro clara studio
Huius clari sideris
Clarescendi posteris
Clarum fit initium. R(7, Ad Laud.)

likewise, a sequence, with the lines:

Clara praecclara sanguine,
Vultu praeclarior,
Clara clarescit nomine,
Moribus clarior. S(33/3)

4. "Sidus" and "Stella"

Furthermore, the "light" metaphor shows another phase of development with the terms "sidus" and "stella;" alternates for "clara" and "lux;"

Novum sidus emicuit,
Candor lucis apparuit,
Lux claritatis adfuit,
Coeli splendor enituit,
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 134 HYMNS

Nam lux, quae lucem influxit,
Claram clarere voluit. R(26, Ad Laud.)

and from a hymn, with the same pattern:

Clara clarens, labe carens,
Luce lucet siderea,
Stella poli juncta soli,
Lux ecce surgit aurea. H(5/1)

In turn, these verses from a thirteenth century hymn indicate the fulfillment of the wish expressed above in the rhythmic office:

Clarum nomen effunditur,
Sanctum nomen extenditur,
Facto doctrina pooditur,
Virtus divina panditur. H(24/2)

With greater signification, Clare is compared to the moon and the sun:

Vere sidus tu praeclarum
Quod e sole differt parvum
Et luna lucidius. S(22/4)

5. Plant and Garden

Another realm of Nature, in "plant and garden" symbolism, characterizes the Saint. Her close following of Christ is described thus in a sequence:

1This observation on the comparison of the verses of R(26) and H(24) for sequence of thought is made by Fausta Casolini in a criticism of literature about St. Clare, entitled "Sorazzi della luce di Chiara nella letteratura," Sancta Chiara d'Assisi, op. cit., p. 216.
And, in praise of her mystical union with Christ, Clare is pictured as a rose:

\[
\text{Vita vivit gloria} \\
\text{Rosa, quae non moritur,} \\
\text{Atque vitis gratiosa} \\
\text{Viti vitae jungitur; H(15/7)}
\]

while the seed and its fruit represent Clare's founding of a new Order, planted on the virtue of poverty, and nurtured by the virtue of chastity:

\[
\text{Novum germin paupertatis} \\
\text{Virginum plantamina} \\
\text{Novum fructus castitatis} \\
\text{Novo victa lamina.} \\
\text{Sunt tuae fecunditatis} \\
\text{Nobis testimonia. H(15/3)}
\]

Occasionally, in the hymns, the symbolism of the lily is an expression of Clare's chastity; for instance in this selection from a hymn of the sixteenth century:

\[
\text{O praecella virgo Clara,} \\
\text{Nunc dilecto sociata} \\
\text{Puriora,} \\
\text{Clariors,} \\
\text{Inter caeli lilia. H(?1/8a)}
\]

6. Clare and Francis

However, the most meaningful panegyric for "Plant and Garden" symbolism is the title "plantula" which is given to Clare whenever her likeness to Francis is especially significant. In the diminutive form, there is an added
note of tenderness implied in the spiritual father-daughter relationship of Francis and Clare. In this light, Clare imbibes a spiritual sustenance from Francis for her own growth and that of her daughters in the Franciscan way of life. A rhythmic office has the following example of this symbolic concept for 'Clare and Francis':

\[
\text{Francisci prima plantula} \\
\text{Mira fructificavit,} \\
\text{In orbe cum discipula,} \\
\text{Clara, quam informavit,} \\
\text{Castitatis per saecula,} \\
\text{Cultum multiplicavit. R(26, In Vesp.)}
\]

The same motif in a sequence of the fifteenth century, by the form of a supplication to the "little plant of Francis," associates her with the "Son of Mary":

\[
\text{Ave, rosa venustatis,} \\
\text{Fune cincta castitatis,} \\
\text{Nova plantans lilia,} \\
\text{Francisci pia plantula,} \\
\text{Clara, Mariae filio,} \\
\text{Jesu Christo tam pio,} \\
\text{Nos commenda per saecula. S(1/7)}
\]

7. Clare and Mary

Another group of motifs contains direct, or, indirect allusions to Mary, the Mother of God, in combination with the praises of Clare. One example of this type of 'Clare and Mary' motif is a petition for a share in the heavenly joys of Clare, not only with Jesus but also with Mary:
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Hunc, Clara, me fac videre
Atque secum congaudere
Et Maria virgine,
Regnum suum possidere,
Sibi semper commanere
In coelesti culmine. P(2/10, 7-12)

As expressed here, the motif might be compared to the requests made for a share in the sorrows of Mary, in strophes, nos. 13-17 of the Stabat Mater sequence; e.g., strophe no. 13:

Fac me tecum pie flere,
Crucifixo condolere,
Donec ego vixero.

Again, Clare is deemed worthy of the praise of the faithful because of her close imitation of Mary, in the already-mentioned concept, "vestigium Mariae":

Concinat plebs fidelium,
Virginale praecnonium,
Matris Christi vestigium,
Et novitatis gaudium. H(13/1)

Finally, in the 'Clare and Mary' motif, Clare is eulogized in epithets that are a re-echo of those given to Mary. Some noted similarities are:

Virgo labe non attrita P(2/5,1);
Clara, virgo veneranda P(2/8,1);
Solvens mea vincula P(2/6,12);
Requiei es assumpta P(2/9,2);
Advocata peccatorum P(4/3,3);
Gloriosa virgo, stella,
Clara matutina S(1/3,1-2);
Dei plena gratia S(23/1,3).
8. 'Birth' Symbolism

The attributions to motherhood and to the state of virginity are not uncommon panegyrical motifs in the hymns of St. Clare. Therein, the virginal Clare, as foundress of a religious Order, begets an offspring of spiritual daughters. Her combined role of "mother and virgin" - in this sense, a paradox - is praised in the metaphorical language of these lines:

Clara, carne sterilis,
Spiritu fedunda,
Clara, quoddam flebilis,
Caelo iam iucunda. S(39/3a);

and with more vivid imagery in a second example:

Haec est felix virgo Clara,
Quae virtutum florens ara,
Nos ditavit prole clara,
Omni justo digne cara.

Hujus castae matris natae,
In coelorum rege natae,
Huic sunt orbe sparsae latae,
Per te, Christe, Dei nate. H(17/2,3);

while a third example, with an added note of contrast, reminds the Divine King of His Espousals with the saintly progeny of Clare:

Per te solam parit prolem
Sanctorum gregem pauperum,
Quas tu ditas et maritas
Conditor alme siderum. H(19/2)
9. 'Precious Stones' Symbolism

In the hymns there are examples of the symbolism, by which people of the Middle Ages, found mysterious properties and moral affinities in metals and precious stones and regarded them, as the emblems of different virtues. For instance, the 'precious stones' motif is the medium for the praises of Clare in these verses:

Virtutum praefulgens gemma. P(2/1,7)
Gemma claritatis. r(7, In 2. Vesp.)
Gemma poenitentiae. S(27, 2b,3)
Gemma virginea. S(1/3,4)

while the allusion to special gems symbolize Clare's virtue of chastity:

Coeli vernans margarita P(2/5,1)
Ebur candens cum sapphiro
Radians in mundi gyro,
Ora pro me Dominum. P(2/4, 1-3)

10. 'Military' Symbolism

Just as Francis was - in the language of chivalry and in the gallantry of his age - the knight of Christ, and His standard bearer in virtue of the Stigmata, so Clare

---

in her imitation of Mary, became "the new captain of women" - as in the words of her biographer:

... imitentur feminae Claram, Dei mater
vestigium, novam capitaneam mulierum.  

The 'military' motif of this panegyric subsequently characterizes a goodly number of the panegyrics in the hymns. Clare's strength of character in diversity has 'fortitude' for the keynote, in a series of metaphorical passages with the theme intensified by the use of military expressions.

For example, in the description of the stars that bedeck Clare's heavenly throne, 'fortitude' is symbolised as one of them:

Fortitudo signat Martem,
Qui sic Ciaram fecit fortem,
Quod necavit vitae mortem,
Per cordis constantiam. S(50/3b)

In another example, Clare fearlessly repels her spiritual enemies by a discipline attained in the practice of chastity:

Sic corpus absque macula
Sub dura premit ferula
Sumptis armis militiae.

Christi scandens in specula
Hostis propellit iacula
Fortis manens in acie. S(45; 2a,2b)

The motif has a similar development in these verses,
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wherein Clare's conquest of pride repels the enemy:

Hostem sternens, fastum spernens,
Vias vitat discrimun,
Iter pandit, post scandit,
Jesu, corona virginum. H(5/3)

and eventually, in leading others to Christ, she too becomes his standard bearer:

Dum conatur, ut sequatur,
Clara Christi signiferum,
Fit novella per te stella,
Conditor alme siderum. H(5/4)

In another hymn, Clare's spiritual army seek her heavenly aid as its members imitate their leader, Clare, in battle:

Turma gregis sponsa regis
Gerit ut dux in acie,
Quam commendet, ut defendet
Splendor paternae gloriae. H(14/5)

An unusual setting for the 'military' motif pictures Mary, the Mother of God in the military vestige of chastity, shattering the weapons of the enemy, and recruiting virgins for the army of her Son:

Castitatis clipeum suscipit Maris
Tela frangens hostium hostium sua politia,
Arma poenitententiae voce pandens pia,
Tuta mulieribus in hac fore via.

Post hanc turba virginum iura castitatis
Defensavit fortiter scuto probitatis;
... P(43/3,4)

To this call of Mary, Clare rallies and veritably 'puts on the armour of Christ' by the practice of chastity and asceticism:
Haec mente considerans virgo Dei Clara
Carnis linquit vitia mentibus amara,
Castitate cingitur mundo valde rara,
Sequens in hoc saeculo quae sunt Deo cara.

In turn, Clare, the 'footstep of Mary', assumes
the leadership of a militia of women in her own rite, and
firm in her adherence to the spirit of total renunciation and
poverty, she leads her followers in their imitation of Mary:

Puritate, paupertate
Mater et eius agmina
Te sectantur, imitantur,
O gloriosa Domina. H(19/4)

Finally, after her heroic struggle while in the
world, Clare achieves her conquest of heaven; and compensa-
tion for faithful service:

Quae post transitoria
Carnis cum victoria
Regnum subit luminis. S(28/2)

Pauper miles cito dives
Cui dantur stipendia,
Pro servata fide data
Aeterna Christi munera. H(20/6)

while her patronage is invoked not only as a 'leader of
women', but of 'all the brave' who are still engaged in
moral warfare:

In conflictu viri fortes
Esse per hujus meritum
Mereamur et consortes,
Deus, tuorum militum.

Ut post mundi stioendium
Insultus atque taedia,
Succedant in dispendium
Beata nobis gaudia. H(12/7,8)
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 143 HYMNS

In retrospect, the above consideration of the 'military' motif proves that it is one of the most frequent and unified forms of the panegyrics found in the hymns. The vivid imagery of the motif symbolizes not only an interior fortitude by which Clare "did violence to nature,"¹ but also an exterior manifestation of the virtue in her fearlessness for the Saracen invaders of Assisi, and in her life-long struggle and final victory for the "Privilegium Paupertatis" from the Sovereign Pontiffs.²

11. Classical Allusions

In keeping with the tradition of the Medievalists to use classical terms for the purpose of expressing concepts of Christian faith,³ the hymns contain examples of the 'classical' motif in panegyric form.

For three developments of the motif, mythology supplies the allusions to life in this world and in the next; first, in the verses of a fifteenth century hymn, a somewhat strange metaphor pictures Clare, as a star in heaven, at variance with the ancient three-headed dog who alone

¹The Imitation of Christ, Bk. 3, 34. "naturae vim facere."
²Huizanga, op. cit., p. 331.
permitted spirits to enter the underworld. Clare now is his rival, for she, by her intercession with Christ, the Builder of the Heavens, can open heaven to souls: - "Clare, versus Satan":

Clara stella movet bella
Veterem contra Cerberium,
Tu ducente et regente
Conditor alme siderum. H(9/l)

then, the same motif, in a Pium Dictamen, petitions Clare, as the star, for protection on the sea of life from the deadly ravages of the monster who was the bane of ancient sailors:  

Declaratum sidus mundi
Victrix freti tam profundi
Christo me concilia.

Vitam meam fac tranquillam,
Ut rapacem vitem Scyllam,
Voratorem hominum. P(2/3,4)

while a third instance, in another Pium Dictamen, refers to the division of the underworld destined for souls who are

---

1 Cf. Legenda, ibid., p. 37 and 74, for the power of Clare over the devil; also cf. discussion of same under "miracle" motif, supra, p. 50-51-52.

2 Cf. Szövérffy, op. cit., p. 161-162, for the many mythological characters of the pagan underworld which symbolize the devil in medieval hymnology. He quotes from the Clare hymn, H(9/1) (as above) and adds the comment that the struggle symbolizes a "holy war." Cf. J. J. Savage, "The Medieval Tradition of Cerberus," Traditio, 1949-50, vol. 7 p. 405-410, for the same idea.
unfaithful to the practice of chastity:

Non velitis perdere castitatis cultum,
Clarae natae nobiles, propter mundum
stultum,
Cuius delectatio fructum perdit multum,
Et acquirit denique tartari tumultum.

P(43/13)

In another fifteenth century sequence, the 'classical' motif predominates, by the description of the role of the great Olympian gods and goddesses in setting up Clare's heavenly throne, adorned with seven stars, symbols of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost:

Thronus novus fabricatur,
Clara Deo consecratur,
Gloriose decoratur,
Manu sapientiae.

Haec Saturno decoratur,
Per quam stellam declaratur,
Timor, per quem adoratur,
Christus, Dei filius.

Venus, donum pietatis,
Tantae fecit libertatis,
Claram, quod se paupertatis,
Totam fecit famulam.

Fortitudo signat Martem,
Qui sic Claram fecit fortem,
Quod necavit vitae mortem,
Per cordis constantiam.

Szövérfy, in his article, "Klassische Anspielungen", op. cit, p. 182-183, quotes this Clare hymn as an example of medieval religious symbolism interwoven with a symbolism of astrology; the representation of the "throne" (throne of Solomon) is biblical, and the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost (at the same time, the seven virtues) appear here as seven virgins representing the seven planets, although the listing of the latter is incomplete. Cf. later discussion of hymn (Chapter V).
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Mercurio resplenduit,
Consilium qui exprimit,
Quod prudenter tenuit,
Contra mundi fraudem.

Luna lucet intellectus,
Quod dirigitur affectus,
Clarae, quod sic est erectus,
Quod non sentit labem.

Sapientia vocatur,
Donum summum, quod signatur,
Sole, quo illuminatur,
Sanctae Clarae ratio,

Quod tam pure speculatur,
Clare Deum et sectatur,
Quod in ipso quietatur,
Clarae cogitatio. S(50/1a,2b-5b)

Besides the foregoing examples of the 'classical' motif in a composite development, other types of a less unified nature give evidence of classical influence in the terminology of the panegyrics. Note such a tendency in this antiphon for Vespers:

Duce coelesti numine,
Matre favente virgine,
Clara, re clara, nomine,
Spreto paterno limine.
Spreto nativo sanguine,
Est in sanctorum lumine,
Ac beatorum agmine;
Gloria tibi Domine. R(26, In 2. Vesp.)

and also the classical allusions in another antiphon of the same Office:

Haec in paternis laribus
Puella sacris moribus
Agebat coelibatum. R(26, in 1. Vesp.)

matched with these verses from a hymn:
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 147 HYMNS

Honorum fastigia
Sprevit et insignis
Patriae familiae. H(2l/3b)

while the motif in a sequence depicts the praises of heavenly and earthly musical bodies as if united, by the symbolism implied in the term for an ancient religious ritual:

Concors soli symphonia
Trina poli hierarchia
Depromat tripudia. S(27/lb)

This brief study of the hymns for traces of mythological and classical elements, i.e., of a 'classical' motif, shows that these elements proved to be a vivid form of imagery for the symbolism of spiritual trends of thought, with fewer applications to the physical features, in the life of the saint.

12. Rhetorical Embellishment

Besides the frequent use of the metaphor and other figurative expressions that enhance the panegyrical motifs already mentioned, there are further rhetorical devices that add to the effectiveness of various motifs:

The much-used etymological 'pun' on the name 'Clara' takes form in a simile:

Lucet Clara, lux praecella,
Velut sol in meridie. H(14/3,1-2)

1Cf. Table of panegyric motifs for further examples of the motif, p.
while the cloistered life of Clare and her followers is likewise expressed, in this example:

   Huic junguntur, concluduntur,
   Velut in coelo sidera. R(14/4,1-2)

and again, the simile describes the beauty of the virtues of Clare:

   Candensve velut lilium
   Formosa,
   Oculis omnium
   Rubens rosa. R(7, Ad Mat.)

Moreover, in the form of a paradox, the motif of poverty becomes especially vivid in these lines from a rhythmic office:

   In paupertatis copia,
   Quaerit gloriari,
   Huius mundi inopia,
   Desiderat ditari,
   Nudi Christi consocia
   Vult illi conformari. R(7, Ad Mat.)

and, by the use of metonomy, in the last two lines of the same example.

   Furthermore, the figure of antithesis adds emphasis to comparisons or contrasts, as in this example expressing Clare's attitude towards material and spiritual matters:

   Declinans mundi devia,
   Petens aeterna praemia. R(7, Ad Mat.)

and in a sequence:

   Adhuc virgo tenera,
   Mundi spernens prospera,
   Poenitentis aspera,
   Susceptisti. S(46/3a)
In the use of hyperbole, a fifteenth century sequence has a succession of superlatives:

Ave, cedrus altissima
Et arbor pulcherrima,
Poma ferens optima,
Omni odore suavissima. S(1/9)

Likewise, for the sake of emphasis, a motif is expressed in the form of litotes, as in these verses for a panegyric. The use of assonance, a characteristic mode of expression throughout the hymns, adds to the same effect:

Hanc collaudet puellarum
Chorus nec non feminarum
Paradisum nam sanctarum
Introivit animarum. H(17/5)

Tu forma humilium,
Castitatis lilium,
Paupertatis titulum,
Sanctitatis speculum,
Novus es prodigium,
Mariae vestigium,
Eius sequens filium. S(6/1b)

Worthy of note is the comparatively infrequent use in the Clare hymns of alliteration which is usually a favorite rhetorical device in medieval hymns. However, one of the best-known sequences of Clare, "becomes monotonous through the abuse of alliteration." The 'play'again on the word "clara" is responsible for the alliteration throughout

Casolini, 'Sprazzi della luce di Chiara nella letteratura,' Santa Chiara D'Assisi, op. cit., p. 216.
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the ten strophes, of the sequence, as, for example:

Novae signo claritatis
Sancta claret Claris,
Sanctae sidus novitatis
Nova lux praecipitata.

A camino caritatis
Francisci lux clara
Fulsit omnis sanctitatis,
Filia praecipitata.

Radiosa claritate
Lapsa de supernis
Solem immensitate
Christum clare cernis. S(33/1a,1b,4a)

Alliteration in another instance is combined with
the figures of anaphora and assonance, in this request to
the Saint for the spirit of heavenly joy:

Impetra nobis, 0 clemens,
Spiritum laetitiae,
Sponsa regnum Dei tenens,
Sponsa coeli gloriae,
Sponsa sponsa iam adhaerens,
Sororum primitiae. H(15/6)

Again, an apparently simple verse from a rhythmic
office, tritely symbolizes, by use of anaphora and assonance,
the spiritual benefits that Clare derived from a sermon of
a Friar:

Trahit de testa nucleum,
De littera saproem,
De petra sugens oleum,
De spina legens florem. R(26, Ad Mat.)

From the same rhythmic office, the 'living death'
of Clare is described in terms of paronomasia, colored with
alliteration:
PANEGRYICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 151 HYMNS

Vivo pani morte juncta,
Vita vivit vita functa. R(26, Ad Mat.)

As to types and the use of rhetorical devices in the hymns, it may be concluded that such features in the literary structure of the hymns prove to be of special advantage for the portrayal of Clare as the "shining light" against the exaggerated "darkness of the moral state of society at the end of the twelfth century, - a portrayal borrowed from the 'pious chroniclers of her day.'"¹

13. Commonplace Phraseology

Another feature in the style of the Clare hymns is the recurrent use of phraseology that is often found in medieval hymns, or that can be traced to Franciscan tradition.² Such expression include the following:

The use of the diminutive, in terms of endearment for Clare, - especially conspicuous in hymns of Franciscan origin:

'plantula', 'infantula', 'parvula',
'cordula', 'primula', 'primipila',
'cordula'

²The edited notes in Britt's and in Connolly's texts, op. cit., describe the significance of such terms as they occur in the general hymn collections.
³For any mentioned phases of Franciscan tradition, a more extensive explanation will follow later.
and, from the same source, compounded terms, as:

'primitia', 'primogenita', 'primiceria'.

Then, oft-quoted phrases symbolize Clare's spiritual ascent to heaven. Note again the forms of anaphora, and assonance, in these verses:

Scandit coelos, cantat melos, H(9/4,1)
Scandis ad caelestia, S(23/3,6)
Finit cursum, scandit sursum, H(19/5,1)
Iter pandit, post te scandit, H(5/3,3)

while another set group, - here expressed in the forms of antithesis and assonance - frequently describes Clare's contempt for the world and its distractions:

Polum cernit, solum spernit, H(9/2,1)
Mundi spernens prospera, S(46/3a,2)
Spreto paterno limine,
Spreto nativo snaguine. R(26, In Vesp.)
Quae pro tansitoria,
Spreta mundi gloria,
Laetatur in patria. H(21/2b)

Besides, single terms, assume meanings with spiritual implications as:

'munus,' a word used in many senses in hymns and liturgical prayers, is interpreted 'the grace or reward from God for a life of sacrifice,'\(^1\) in these selections:

---

\(^1\)Cf. Connolly, op. cit., p. 145 for explanation of term as found in Ambrose's *Aeterna Christi Munera*, also cf. p.75, *ibid.*
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 153 HYMNS

Placa datorem munerum R(7, In Laud.)
Dives superno munere H(13/7,4)
Claritatis munere S(37/1,3)
Largo datur munere summae Trinitatis P(43/14,4)
Huius funus, sacrum munus H(30/9,1)

'sordes,' 'scoria', a late medieval use in the moral sense of 'defilement':

Mundans me a sordibus P(2/3,3)
Dita, munda sorde plenum P(2/4,12)
Cui mundus sorduit S(45/4a,3)
Vas, sorde clarens scorie H(3/42)
Vivens in hac saeculi scoria. S(45/9a,6,7)

'praevia,' as a reference to one going before and leading on the 'right way', i.e. 'to God;' and 'devia,' on the 'wrong way,' - 'from God':

Viam caeli nobis para P(4/1,4)
Praevia te mihi, peto P(2/8,4)
Inclusarum praevia S(31/3a,3)
Sicut sorore praevia R(26, Ad Laud.)
Clara, multarum praevia,
De tenebris ad lucem
Per huius (mundi) devia. R(7, Ad Mat.)

1Cf. comment on terms in Britt, op. cit., p. 39,46, 57.

2These compound forms seem to be an echo here of the biblical term, "via" in John, 14, 6, where our Lord answered the inquiry of His Apostles for the means of following Him, with the words, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Light." One of many passages in hymns is that applied to Our Lady, in the eleventh century antiphon, Alma Redemptoris Mater, "Quae pervia caeli"; cf. Britt, ibid., p. 76; also later discussion for Franciscan use, p. 77.
'vestigium', as the 'footprint' of God or of His Blessed Mother, symbolic of a close following and imitation:

- Mariae vestigium
- Eius sequens filium S(6/1b, 6,7)
- Matris Christi vestigium R(13/1,3)
- Inhaerens vestigio
- Virginis Christiferae S(32/4a,2,3)
- Eius vestigia,
  Spe salutis S(31/3b,4,5)

'speculum', a very widespread term in use, by which the object so designated "is likened to a glass which reflects the kind of perfection required of the gazer":

- Claritatis speculum S(1/4,1)
- Sanctitatis speculum S(1/6,3)
- Speculum prudentibus R(7, In Vesp.)
- Pers speculum prudentibus R(26, In Vesp.)

'Paupertas', the keynote to Clare's Franciscan vocation, is likewise featured in many of the invocations to the saint:

---

1 The significance of this expression can be understood in the light of St. Bonaventure's definition as "a trace of God in every creature."

2 Britt, op. cit.

3 The 'mirror' has always been a favorite metaphor with medieval writers of Christian perfection. The symbolic interpretation is well stated in the opening lines of a twelfth century poem by Alan of Lille quoted by Raby, op. cit., p. 355: "omnis mundi creatura, quasi liber et picture, nobis est in speculum, nostrae vitae, nostrae mortis, nostri status, nostrae sortis, fidele signaculum." There was a thirteenth century general weakness for the word, 'speculum' too, as a 'collection of ideas,' a 'mirror' or 'compendium' of all human knowledge, e.g. "Speculum Regis" a collection of councils for the proper training of the king-to-be.

4 "Volens enim religionem suam intitulari titulo paupertatis...", Legenda, ibid., p. 22, no. 14.
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 155 HYMNS

Pia parens paupertatis S(28/5,2)
Domina pauperum S(8,1b,3)
Vernans norma paupertatis H(17/6,1)

and in expressions of her relationship to Francis:

Pauperum primogenita S(13/2,1)
Novum germen paupertatis H(15/3,1)

Too, the title, 'plantula,' with all that it symbolizes in the sense of the dependent affinity of a tender little flower for its parent plant:

Haec Francisci plantula S(32/5a,1)
Primula planta minorum R(26, In Vesp.)
Planta novitatis S(27/2a,1)
Christi novella plantula S(45/la,2)

while the spiritual daughters of Clare are often designated in these terms of Franciscan affiliation, throughout the hymns:

'pauperes,' 'dominae,' 'flores,' 'nova lilia', 'plantulae,'

and in the usual terms of address for members of religious orders:

'filiae,' 'virgines,' 'sorores,' 'collegium'.

1 'plantula' has recently been referred to, supra, for its symbolic significance; in the light of Franciscan terminology it will be treated of again in later pages.

2 Herein 'dominae' is most meaningful, since Francis so named Clare and her followers, in preference to 'sorores'. Cf. later explanation from Franciscan tradition.
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 156 HYMNS

14. Unusual Phraseology

In counterpart to the above examples which have like forms of terminology for the expression of similar ideas, there are instances of other phrases that add effectiveness to the themes of certain motifs. The following are most representative of this type:

From a fifteenth century sequence, these verses attest to Clare's conquest over the 'spiritual death' of her patrons through the merits of her own 'material death', in a form of a repeated term with dual implication:

\[ \text{Cuius morte mora nostra moritur. } \text{S(45/5b,5,6)} \]

In the rhythmic offices, 'aemula' is the dynamic term used to intimate how Clare vied with Francis in following his spiritual way of life:

\[ \text{Francisci felix aemula } \text{R(7, In Laud.)} \]
\[ \text{Pii patris aemula } \text{R(26, In Vesp.)} \]

\[ ^1 \text{Here is evident influence of the widespread symbolism strongly represented in medieval Holy Cross and Resurrection hymns; e.g. compare above quote with the following lines from the Vexilla Regis of Fortunatus: "Qua vita mortem pertulit, Et morte vitam reddidit," and from another hymn of the same period, Aurora caelum purpurat: "Mortem sepulchro funerat."} \]

\[ ^2 \text{In Franciscan tradition, Clare was truly the 'rival of Francis, in the good sense of the word, "one who comes near to, (in excellence); however, the original use of the word might be traceable to the antithetical meaning in the Biblical text: "...noli aemulari malignantibus...Ps. 36,2.} \]
An antiphon expresses a petition with a peculiar final verse:\(^1\)

Clara sancta, deprecare  
Pro nobis, nec dicas quare. R(7, Ad Mat.)

Another plea to Clare assumes the form of a business transaction as stated in technical phrases:\(^2\)

Pro reatu miserorum,  
Preces offer in caelorum,  
Summo secretrario. S(28/8)

From this same sequence of the sixteenth century, a metaphorical allusion to the original meaning of the term 'rosarium' denotes the union of Clare and her followers:

Clara, Dei famula  
Rosa fuit primula  
Virginum rosario. S(28/3)

Another singular feature in the hymns is the invocation to the Blessed Virgin, - not with the usual title of 'Maria' or 'Regina', - but of 'Domina', the patroness of the 'Dominae Pauperes' as in the verses of a fourteenth century Franciscan hymn:

Puritate, paupertate,  
Mater et eius agmina  
Te sectantur, imitantur  
O gloriosa Domina. H(19/4)

\(^1\)Strange form, but it is explicable from the quest of rime and evident influence of the latter on style and expression.

\(^2\)No offense was felt in comparing the Day of Judgment to a settling of accounts,' occasioned by the constant interchange of religious and profane terms by the medieval man in whose daily life religion played an integral part. Huizanga, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 158.
The devotion to the humanity of Christ and to the maternity of Mary is implied in a fifteenth century sequence in this petition:

Fac nos frui polo,
Clara [Iesu] Christo
Quem genuit
puerpera. S(29/6b)

while these verses designate the clergy as clients for Clare's protection from the 'enemy,' - here presumably the world and its temptations:

Ora pro populo,
Precare pro clero,
Ne quem seducat
gens misera. S(29/6a)

From the above brief study of characteristic terms and expressions in the hymns to St. Clare it might be concluded that: 1. While the hymns show marked evidence to a stereotyped form of phraseology in medieval hymnody, 2. There is variation and novelty in the adaptation of the common terminology to the motifs, and 3. That there are occasional deviations from these usual forms, especially prevalent in the Clare hymns of Franciscan origin.

1Note the similarity of these lines to the antiphon at Lauds in the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary: "Ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto femineo sexu", (12 C.).
II. BIBLICAL MOTIFS

The biblical allusions in the Clare hymns are relatively few in comparison with the frequency of legendary and panegyrical elements therein. As stated above, there are but two hymns that might be classified as Biblical in content; otherwise found only in scattered references.

For study here the biblical motifs are grouped according to the chronological order of the Biblical reference to the Old Testament, and then to the New Testament.

The Old Testament

1. The 'Chosen People'

The verses from a rhythmic office, which relate of God's providence for His chosen people, the Israelites, in their flight from Egypt to the Promised Land under the leadership of Josue, are symbolic of a like divine solicitude for Clare in the call to the cloistered life and later heavenly reward:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Per Aegyptum Nilus vadit,} \\
\text{Claram in desertum tradit,} \\
\text{Igne, nube tegitur,} \\
\text{Caeli manna fruitur,} \\
\text{Verus Iosue deducit,} \\
\text{In promissam terram ducit;} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\ldots\]

\footnote{\text{1Cf. p. 2; R(7) and S(49) are so designated.}}

\footnote{\text{2Cf. Table III, p. 172,173.}}

\footnote{\text{3Cf. Old Testament: Ex. 12,13; 13,21; 14; 22; 16, 35; 33,3; Deut. 11, 9; 34,9; 8,31; Nos. 9,15.}}
2. The 'Throne of Solomon'

Another Biblical motif characterizes a fourteenth century sequence in that it describes the heavenly throne of Clare, as the throne of Solomon, so set up and fortified by the Lord:

Haec est thronus Salomonis
Quem ornavit suis donis
Ac replevit multis bonis,
Christus, rex clementiae. S(49/1b)

In a sequence of the previous century, which seems to be the source of the above verses, the same motif occurs in the manner of an invocation to Clare who was endowed with the seven-fold gifts:

Ave thronus Salominis,
Quem ornavit suis donis,
Ac replevit multsi bonis,
Quibus clarem claruit,
Quod virtutum habuisti,
Sacrum septenarium. S(1/8)

Likewise, a later sequence refers to the 'gifts':

In hoc throno septem stellae
Septem dona sunt puellae,
Quae sic clarem cordis cellae,
Dedit Christi spiritus. S(49/2a)

Herein, the last verse bears close relationship to the

1III Kings, 1, 46; I Pa. 29, 23; Cant. of Cant. 3, 9, 13.
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prophecy of Isaias, and, as the sequence continues with an enumeration of the seven gifts, the latter are the same as those which are mentioned in the remainder of prophecy for the Messiah.

The sequence adds another note of comparison between the throne of Solomon and that of Clare, with due significance given to the virtue of wisdom:

Sapientia vocatur,
Donum summum, quod signatur,
Sole, quo illuminatur
Sanctae Clarae ratio. S(49, 5a)

while in the final description of the gifts ornamenting Clare's throne, the Biblical motif relates of the seven pillars which support the gift of wisdom, according to the designs of each Person of the Holy Trinity:

Per hoc donum patris candor,
Spiritus ac verbi splendor,
Per columnas ordinatam,
Donum sibi decoratam,
Clarae fecit spiritum.

Columnis septem roboratur,
Clarae domus et ornatur,
Per hoc clare claruit,
Quod virtutum habuit.
Sacrum septenarium. S(50,6a,6b)

1"Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini...",Is. 11, 2.
2Cf. p. 90, supra, for text of sequence, in full.
3"...spiritus sapientiae...intellectus...consilii...fortitudinis...scientiae...pietatis...timoris Domini,"Is.11, 2.
4Cf. II Pa. 1, 12.
5"Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem," Prov. 9, 1.
3. The 'Valiant Woman'

Akin to the legendary 'military' motif in the hymns, there are several instances of Biblical motifs which symbolize Clare's fortitude. Again, in a fifteenth century rhythmic office, which has strong Biblical allusions - our saint's spiritual conquests in gaining a peaceful abode in heaven, is typical of the Ark of Noe which, having withstood the turbulent flood, is assured of recession of the waters by the return of the dove bearing a living olive branch?

Ramus olivae medii
In arca cordis proelii
Aufert causam et taedii. R(7, In Vesp.)

In a sequence of the same century, a reference to the heroic asceticism of Clare as she slept upon the ground with a block of wood for a pillow, prayed, and struggled with an angel of darkness, is symbolized by the Biblical motif wherein Jacob, fleeing from the snamers of his brother, Esau, sought rest on a stone, and experienced heavenly revelations:

O quam clare illustratur,
Velut Jacob contemplatur,
Spiritus excubias.

---

1Cf. supra, p. 55-57; 85-88.
2Cf. Prov. 31,10.
3Gen. 8,11.
5Gen. 28, 11, 12.
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Petrae caput reelinatur,  
Humo nudo pernoctatur,  
Edom ob insidias. S(27, 4a,4b)

In another example, Clare is considered as heroic in combining the active with the contemplative life in the service of her Spouse, by means of a comparison with the contrasting lives of the two spouses of Jacob,\(^1\) here stated:  
'Liam operantem' - 'Rachelem ... Deum contemplantem':

\[\begin{align*}  
\text{Ave virgo praeferens} \\
\text{Liam operantem} \\
\text{Nec Rachelem deserens} \\
\text{Deum contemplantem. R(7, In Vesp.)}\end{align*}\]

Such a reference to the Biblical characters, in the dual form, "Lia"-"Rachel" is a stereotyped Biblical allusion to the "vita activa" vs. the "vita contemplativa":\(^2\)

Again there is heroism exemplified in these verses from the same rhythmic office in reference to Clare's final conquest over her spiritual enemy by an allusion to the long-suffering Israelites' victory in the defeat of their persecutor, the Egyptian Pharao:\(^3\)

\[\begin{align*}  
\text{Adest dies gaudii,} \\
\text{Pharao imperii} \\
\text{Victus cedit impii. R(7, In Vesp.)}\end{align*}\]

\(^1\)Gen. 29, 31-35; 30, 1,22.  
\(^2\)Cf. same illusion for "Martha-Mary" in hymns of Mary Magdalen.  
\(^3\)Legenda, ibid., p. 32, 33, no. 23.
In Matins of the same office, Clare is depicted as the 'brave woman', Judith. This analogy is based on their like preparation before conquest, - prayer and fasting; such spiritual 're-armament' enabled Clare to disband the troops beseiging her native Assisi, as it had strengthened Judith in rescuing her people from the scourages of the Assyrian general:

Holofernem Judith stravit  
Hostis caput asportavit  
Israelem iucundavit,  
Hymnum Deo decantavit; R(7, Ad Mat.)

Continuing with the same idea of comparative heroism, the remaining verses in the second nocturn for Matins relate the story of the dauntless, admirable character of Esther, who won the king's favor for her people and, in turn, the royal crown for herself:

Hesther pro Vasti regnavit,  
Quam Assuerus coronavit  
Ac praecunctis adamatit;  
Quidvis, ait, iube, datur,  
Genti suae mox precatur  
Pacem, fiat, rex effatur. R(7, Ad Mat.)

And, just as the Biblical, Mardocheus, had adopted his niece, Esther, and advised her how to seek a royal decree

---

1Jud. 13, 10-12; 8, 5, 6; 9, 1.  
2Esther 2, 8, 9, 17; 7, 2.  
3Ibid.
in favor of her people from a civil king, so Francis had adopted and instructed Clare, his "little plant" for her powerful intercession in behalf of her clients when she came into the presence of the divine King:

O adolescensula,
Mardochei plantula
Digna regis chartula.

Sua mitis speciosa
Regem fove operosa
Nobis esto gratiosa. R(7, Ad Mat.)

Closing the parallelism of Clare and Esther\(^2\) is a plea to the saint for spiritual intervention:

Sentis regem indignantem
Placa iram, fac donantem. R(7, Ad Mat.)

Finally, the theme that pervades all these mentioned Biblical motifs, and accounts for the victories of the 'valiant woman,' - a self-discipline for the assurance of the Lord's help,\(^3\) - is simply expressed in the verses of this fourteenth or fifteenth century sequence:

Accincta fortitudine
Mulier fortior,
Clausa stat artitudine,
Ut sit securior. S(33, 3b)

---

\(^1\)Esther 4, 12-15; 8, 9.

\(^2\)Ibid., 7, 10.

\(^3\)Prov. 31, 10, 17: "Mulierem fcreator quis inveniet? ... Accinxit fortitudine lumbos suos, et roboravit brachium suum."
4. The 'Mystical Marriage'

Another prominent motif in the hymns signifies the espousals of Clare with her Divine Bridegroom, Christ. Since this motif is definitely traceable to the Old Testament "Song of Songs", the allegorical interpretation of the Biblical verses which describe the love for each other of King Solomon and the Sulamite, is evident in the hymn verses quoted below. The series of reciprocal songs between the 'Spouse' and his 'Bride', "express the relation of Christ to His Church under the symbol of marriage..." and the soul that has been purified by grace is also in a more remote yet real sense a worthy bride of the Lord."\(^1\)

In the light of the foregoing spiritual interpretation of "The Song of Songs," the future bride hears the call of the spouse,\(^2\) and expresses a desire to rise up and meet him;\(^3\) so Clare is not unmindful of the divine invitation:

\[
\begin{align*}
Veni in hortum meum, \\
Dulcis filia, \\
Tuum agnoscens Deum \\
Carpe lilia.
\end{align*}
\]

\(^2\)Cant., 2, 13: 5,13.
\(^3\)Ibid., 1, 3.
Incidentally, in the hymns the above verses are the only example of direct converse between the beloved couple; the motif is otherwise expressed in the form of panegyrics expressed by the clients of Clare.

In the 'preparation' mentioned in the quoted verses above - before entrance into the king's garden, the spouse endures hardships in seclusion:

Clauditur velut tumulo Nequam subducta saeculo, Patet in hoc ergastulo Solum Dei spectaculo. H(13/8)

she prepares to meet him:

Aureolam aromatum, Sponsa caras et ortulum, Quo pasquis carismatum, Habundat omne seculum. H(38/4)

Clare is chosen to be the bride, as in the Canticle: 2

Tu electa, praeelecta, Quam sibi sponsus copulat. H(20/3,1,2)

the "hortus conclusus" for the King's choice: 3

Rex per portum caritatis Intrans hortum castitatis Novum florem colligit. S(40/1a)

\[1\text{Cant., 2, 14.}\]
\[2\text{Ibid., 3, 6.}\]
\[3\text{Ibid., 4, 12.}\]
Further Clare is singled out as the 'chaste' spouse of the Canticle:

Puriora,
Clariora,
Inter caeli lilia. H(21/8,3-6)

Subsequently, in the Biblical motif, the chosen spouse is united to her bridegroom whose words of endearment praise her as the most precious possession in his garden. In like terminology these strophes of a fifteenth century sequence exalt Clare with references symbolic of her fertility in the production of virtue:

Ave, cedrus altissima
Et arbor pulcherrima,
Poma ferens optima,
Omni odore suavissima.

Ave, cupressus ramosa,
Cuius umbra gratiosa
Confert aegris refrigerium.

Ave, nardus odorifera,
Frute aromatica,
Virgo clara, cassia
Vera non sophistica. S(1/9-12)

The use of superlatives, and the application of the branches 'offering shade to the sick' are features that are added to the original version of the Canticle; while the last stanza offers due praise to the virgin, Clare, whose fragrance of

1 Cant. 2, 2.
2 Ibid., 2, 3; 3, 6; 4, 14; 5, 1: in Eccl. 24, 17-21, 'wisdom' is spoken of in the symbolic terms of the same species of trees and scented bushes.
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 169 HYMNS

virtue categorizes her as a 'simple, true' spouse, not as the 'worldly-wise', or 'sophisticated' type of maiden.

Again, in the atmosphere of the King's garden, Clare is addressed in a hymn as the 'orchard' of every delight, watered by His grace; nourished by the fruit of the 'tree of life,' and, finally, meriting a heavenly crown:

Tu paradisus voluptatis
Quam rigat fons divinitatis.

Lignum vitae te cibavit,
Ac in bono confortavit,
Post hanc vitam coronavit. R(7, Ad Mat.)

Furthermore, the expressed determination of the Spouse, not to lose sight of her Beloved whom she now possesses, is voiced in a hymn of the fourteenth century:

Sponsa regnum Dei tenens,
Sponsa coeli gloriae,
Sponsa sponso jam adhaerens,
Sororum primitiae. H(15/6)

The repetition of 'sponsa', in these lines, also imitates the frequent use of the term in the nuptials of the Canticle.

Besides these examples of the 'mystical marriage' motif that have their source in the "Song of Songs," the

1 Cant. 3,13.
3 Ibid., 3, 8.
4 Ibid., 4,8-12; 5,1.
hymns contain other instances of the same motif which are traceable to the Psalms. Here in a composite of praise with supplication, a client of Clare paraphrases the verses of the Psalm that are quoted in the religious reception of novices:

Qui te fecit thronum suum,
Concupivit vultum tuum
Prae multis virginibus;
Gratiosum mihi Deum
Fac et dona, ut per eum
Concordem fidelibus. P(2/5)

and again, a paraphrase of the request in the psalm motif includes a personal note of supplication:

Sponsa Christi optima,
Ad me aurem et inclina,
Virgo, tuam nec declina,
A me tuo famulo
Sed de coelis jam dignare,
Mihi gratiam donare
Omni atque populo. P(2/2)

The New Testament

5. 'The Mystical Marriage of the Lamb'

One example of the motif in the setting of the New Testament, epitomizes the theme for the espousals in the hymns, that Clare, by her intercession with her Spouse, might prepare a place for her patrons at the heavenly nuptials:

Para locum nuptiarum,
Pro tuis pauperibus. H(15/7, 5,6)

1Ps. 44, 12, 13.
as she follows the Lamb, "whithsoever He goes": ¹

Scandit caelos, ubi melos
Canit cum virginibus,
Agnum sequens manet frequens
In laudem carminibus. S(40/8b)

with a grateful prayer:

Nunc in caelo collacata,
Sequens agnum orece grata
Nostra dele vitia. P(23/4)

The number of Biblical motifs from the New Testament that appear in the hymns is small in comparison to the number from the Old Testament. Except for the instances of the 'mystical marriage' motif based on the Apocalyptic, and of the 'eschatological motif,'² New Testament motifs occur generally in single verses of the hymns. However, the first two motifs of those discussed here have quite frequent occurrence in the hymns:

6. The 'Mystical Union'

'Corporis Christi' mysticism, the union of the devout soul with Christ and in Christ, as the "Vine" and Its branches in the words of St. John,³ is the biblical motif which is paraphrased in this thirteenth century antiphon:

¹Apoc. 19, 7, 8.
²This motif is discussed at the end of the New Testament Motifs, infra.
³John 15, 5; also Ep. 5, 30.
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 172 HYMNS

O virgo clarens vespere,
Praeclaris clara meritis,
Liga perfecto foedere,
Nos in amore Christi;
Da membra fore capitis,
Et sensibus et moribus,
Jesu, quem dilexisti. R(26, In Vesp.)

7. 'Asceticism'

In three hymns there are allusions to the type of penance that Christ declared was lacking for cities He had blessed:

... quia si in Tyro et Sidone ... olim in 1 cilicio et cinere poenitentiam egissent...

In a fourteenth century sequence, the motif refers more directly to Clare's mortification as a child:

Orta claro sanguine
Purpuris sub tegmine
Clara fert cilicium. S(8, 3a)

then, to her life in the cloister, in the motif from a fifteenth century Vesper hymn:

Ingrediens cubiculum,
Sacrum, sternis et cinerem,
Ibi, queris oraculum,
Mundum spernis ut pulverem. H(38/2)

and finally, to the penances that the saint and her sisters practiced for the safety of the city of Assisi, in the rhythmic office of the same century:

\[\text{\footnotesize{Matt. 11, 21.}}\]
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 173 HYMNS

A civibus obsidio
Removetur ob lacrimas
Et preces sanctae Clarae,
Dum cinere, cilicio,
Jubet sorores optimas
Ad Deum exclamare. R(26, Ad Mat.)

Again, the 'ascetic' motif in which the Apostle sounds a universal plea for conversion from a life of worldly pleasure to penance and sorrow for sin, and with the promised heavenly reward:

... risus vester in luctum convertatur, et gaudium in moerorem. Humiliamini in conspectu Domini, et exaltabit vos.¹

takes expression in the account of Clare's fulfillment of this exhortation to penance, and attainment of the divine promise; in this antiphon:

Risum convertit in luctum
Et gaudium in maerorem,
Humiliavit se in conspectu Domini,
Et exaltavit illam. H(41)

8. 'Poverty'

To "leave all things" and "follow" Christ, the counsel given to the rich young man of the gospel,² characterizes the laudatory motif of an early sixteenth century breviary hymn:

¹Jas. 4, 9.
²Luke 18, 22; also Mark 10, 21.
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 174 HYMNS

Clara praecclara meritis
Cunctis prudenter venditis
Te sequitur propitium,
JEsu, redemptor omnium. H(10/1)

9. The Woman of the Apocalypse

From the vision of St. John, 'the woman clothed in the sun' - who signified the Blessed Virgin,¹ - is considered symbolic of Clare in these verses of a fifteenth century sequence; the 'light' metaphor places her among the heavenly bodies:

Vere sidus tu praeclarum,
Quod e sole differt parum,
Et luna lucidius.

Tu quod sole amicta
Aarne probat hic relictata
Lucis tuae radius. S(22/4a, 4b)

10. The New Jerusalem

The Apocalypse² again inspires the motif for the lines of a fourteenth century breviary hymn wherein Clare is addressed in terms of "beautiful city of Jerusalem" because of the spiritual riches of the "new" Jerusalem - heaven, - that she now possesses and delves out to her poor earthly clients:

¹ Apoc. 12, 1.
² Ibid., 21, 2.
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 175 HYMNS

Laus, et honor tibi, soror,  
Quam jam ditasti pauperem,  
Cujus dotes, cujus sortes,  
Urbs beata Jerusalem. H(20/5)

In heavenly glory, Clare is symbolic of the "Church Triumphant," itself with the wealth of everlasting treasures, as bestowed on the "new Jerusalem" by Christ, its Redeemer King.

III. ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS

1. The Prudent Virgins

One feature of medieval religion that permeated all Christian thought of the time was an overwhelming concern for the 'Four last things,' - death, judgment, heaven, hell. The biblical motif of the 'prudent virgins' which signifies those faithful souls, prepared to meet death at any time, was a favorite teaching of the Church. This typical motif is noted in the hymns of St. Clare, in these two examples especially: in the first, a stanza from the fifteenth century rhythmic office, Clare is described as one of the virgins who kept her lamp burning from early childhood; the expression of the 'light' metaphor, "praefulsit virgo prudens" seems an intentional contrast to the

1 Raby, op. cit., discusses how this thought "fired the imagination of generations of people," p. 443-452.

2 Matt. 25, 1-12.
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 176 HYMNS

terminology of the biblical motif: "de fatuis lampades ex-
tinguuntur:"

Haec una de prudentibus
Praefulsit virgo prudens
In annis puerilibus
Christo placere studens. R(26, Ad. Mat.)

while in the second instance, from a Vesper hymn of the same century, Clare is addressed as the prudent virgin with all the characteristics and receiving the due reward of the gospel narrative:

... venit sponsus et quae paratae erant
intraverunt cum eo ad nuptias.2

Note the choice of words in the hymn paraphrase the motif, - "procedis" and "ingrederis" - in contrast to "non preteris," and "cum prudentibus" analogous to "paratis lampadis:"

Procedis cum prudentibus
Noctis horam non preteris,
Sed paratis lampadis
Ad nuptias ingrederis. H(38/5)

2. 'Exile'

An added note of hope characterizes the hymn motif, here expressive of the longing of souls in earthly 'exile' to imitate Clare in her earthly conquests and heavenly reward; from a fourteenth century sequence of Franciscan

1Ibid., 25, 8.
2Ibid., 25, 10.
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 177 HYMNS

origin:

Hic exemplo vigili
Nos in carne simili
Sub procella libili
Confortasti.

...

Ora Dei filium,
Spes sanctorum milium,
Ut post hoc exilium,
Coronemur. S(46, 4b, 5b)

A similar hopeful plea from a single client alludes to freedom from eternal damnation in this example of the motif from another sequence of the same century and origin:

In hoc mundi discrimine
Manum extende pauperi,
Ne cadat in certamine,
Ut sic tuo minimine
Liber a portis inferi
Fruat aeterno lumine. S(45, 10a, 10b)

3. Judgment

Besides the references to the phase of eschatology that teaches the necessity of preparedness for death, in the hymns there are allusions to other precepts bearing upon life beyond the grave. The end of the world and the terror of the last day when all men must appear before Christ in glory for final judgment, a belief, that in medieval tradition, was a combination of elements from pagan, Jewish and Christian literature, is the most prevalent theme of the eschatological motifs.¹ For example, this strophe from a

¹Raby, op. cit., 443-44.
fifteenth century sequence refers to the entrance of many followers of Clare in the cloistered life, contingent on a popular belief of the time that the wickedness of the world was an omen of its destruction and of the second Coming of Christ:

Quarum multa milia,  
Sequentur ardentius,  
Ejusdem vestigia  
Spe salutis. S(31/3b)

4. Intercessor

Again, the eschatological motif appears in the form of an invocation to Clare, with the plea, that like Esther\(^1\) of the Old Testament, she might intercede for her clients before the angry King:

Sua mitis speciosa  
Regem fove operosa  
Nobis esto gratiosa.  
Sentis regem indignantem  
Place iram, fac donantem. R(7, Ad Mat.)

In an eschatological motif, the appeal is not always made to the Judge, but through the intervention of "an all-powerful Mediator," Mary, His Mother.\(^2\) Clare, like Mary, intercedes with Christ, Redeemer and Judge:

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\(^1\)Cf. more detailed explanation in "Biblical Motifs," supra.

\(^2\)Apoc. 14, 3-5.
PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 179 HYMNS

Nos a nece tua prece  
Christus demptos et exemptos  
Cura perducat sedula, S(40, 10a)

And, because of Clare, souls are ransomed from the earth,  
and sing a new song, in heavenly glory, before the throne of  
the Lamb: ¹

Ubi uncti Deo juncti,  
Dum quo gaudes, canunt laudes  
Per infinita saecula. S(40, 10b)

This chapter concludes the portion of the analysis  
of the hymns of St. Clare with a view to the classification  
of their content on the basis of the various types of motifs  
that are found in the hymns. In the next chapter a detailed  
summary of the sources of the individual motifs will be an  
aid to a further analysis of the hymns in the light of their  
origins and affinities with other hymns.

¹Ibid.
Table II. - A comparative list of panegyrical motifs in the hymns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motifs</th>
<th>Hymns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. General praises</td>
<td>P(2),(4), H(9),(17),(20),(21),(30), S(22),(25),(27),(29),(46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R(26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Praises with patronage</td>
<td>P(2),(4), H(15),(34), S(1),(3),(27),(32),(40), (44),(45),(50)</td>
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<tr>
<td>and intercession</td>
<td>R(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The name, &quot;Clara&quot;</td>
<td>H(5),(18),(20),(30),(35), (36),(48), S(8),(22),(27),(28),(31), (33),(34),(37),(44),(45)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>R(7),(26)</td>
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<td>4. &quot;Sidus&quot;, &quot;stella&quot;</td>
<td>P(2),(4), H(5),(9),(13),(17),(48), S(1),(8),(22),(29)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>R(26)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Plant and garden</td>
<td>H(15),(17),(20),(34),(38), S(1),(22),(27),(32),(40), (45)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>R(7),(26)</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Clare and Francis</td>
<td>H(13),(20),(36), S(1),(39)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>R(7),(26)</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Clare and Mary</td>
<td>P(2),(40),(23), H(13),(14),(19), S(1),(6),(22),(25),(32)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>R(7),(26)</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Birth symbolism</td>
<td>P(23), H(10),(13),(15),(18),(19), (21),(23),(24),(34),(48), S(3),(23),(28),(31),(39)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>R(7),(26)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>9. Precious stones symbolism P(2)</td>
<td>S(1),(27)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>R(7)</td>
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<td>10. Military symbolism P(2)</td>
<td>H(5),(10),(12),(14),(15),</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(19),(20)</td>
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<td>S(28),(45),(50)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>R(7),(26)</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Classical allusions P(2),(43)</td>
<td>H(9),(16),(21),(28)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>S(27),(50)</td>
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<td>R(26)</td>
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<td>12. Rhetorical embellishment H(50),(9),(14),(15),(17),</td>
<td>R(7),(26)</td>
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<td>(19),(21)</td>
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<td>S(1),(6),(8),(13),(27),</td>
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<td>(28),(29),(32),(33),(46),</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(50)</td>
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<td>13. Commonplace phraseology P(2),(4)</td>
<td>H(5),(9),(13),(16),(18),</td>
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<td>(19),(20),(21),(49)</td>
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<td>S(6),(23),(31),(32),(33),(36),(40),(41)</td>
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<td>R(7),(26)</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Unusual phraseology P(2)</td>
<td>H(19),(15),(24),(41)</td>
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<td>R(7),(26)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Table III. A comparative list of biblical and eschatological motifs in the hymns.

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<th>Motifs</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Hymns</th>
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<tbody>
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<td><strong>The Old Testament</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. The chosen people</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ex. 12, 13; 13, 21; 14, 22;</td>
<td>S(49)</td>
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<td>16, 35; 33, 3</td>
<td>R(7)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nos. 9, 15</td>
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<td>Deut. 8, 31; 11, 9; 34, 9</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. The throne of Solomon</td>
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<tr>
<td>III Kings, 1, 46; 10, 18-20</td>
<td>S(1), (49)</td>
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<tr>
<td>I Pa., 29, 23</td>
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<td>II Pa., 1, 12</td>
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<td>Is. 2, 3; 11, 2</td>
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<td>Prov. 9, 1</td>
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<td>3. The valiant woman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen. 28, 11, 12; 29, 31</td>
<td>P(2), (43)</td>
<td>H(5)</td>
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<td>Ex. 14, 27, 28</td>
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<td>Jud. 8, 5, 6; 9, 1; 13, 10-12</td>
<td>R(7), (26)</td>
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<td>Esth. 2, 8, 17; 4, 12-15; 7, 2, 10</td>
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<td>4. The mystical marriage</td>
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<td>Cant. 1, 3; 2, 2, 3, 13, 14;</td>
<td>P(2)</td>
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<td>3, 6, 8, 13; 4, 8-12, 14; 12,</td>
<td>H(13), (15), (20), (21)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5, 1, 13; Ps. 44, 12, 13; 35, 9</td>
<td>S(1), (40)</td>
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<td>Joel 2, 16</td>
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<td><strong>The New Testament</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. The mystical marriage of</td>
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<tr>
<td>the lamb</td>
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<td>Apoc. 14, 4; 19, 7, 8</td>
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<td>John, 15, 5</td>
<td>H(9), (30)</td>
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<td>Gal. 2, 20</td>
<td>S(37), (40)</td>
<td>R(26)</td>
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<td>Ep. 5, 30</td>
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<td>6. The mystical union</td>
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<td>John, 15, 5</td>
<td>R(26)</td>
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<td>Gal. 2, 20</td>
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<td>Ep. 5, 30</td>
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</table>
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<tr>
<th>Motifs</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Hymns</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. Asceticism</td>
<td>Matt. 11,21</td>
<td>H(13), (34), (38), (41)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jas. 4,9</td>
<td>S(8), (32)</td>
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<td>8. Poverty</td>
<td>Matt. 2,16; 19,29</td>
<td>H(9), (10)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mark 10,21</td>
<td>S(28)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Luke 18,22</td>
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<td>9. The woman of the</td>
<td>Apoc. 12,1</td>
<td>H(14)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apocalypse</td>
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<td>S(22), (40)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. The 'new' Jerusalem</td>
<td>Apoc. 21,12</td>
<td>H(12), (20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Eschatology**

1. The prudent virgins<sup>a</sup> | Matt. 25,1-13       | H(38)         |
|                                |                    | R(26)         |
2. Earthly exile (Non-biblical) | (Non-biblical)      | P(20)         |
|                                |                    | S(31), (46)   |
3. Judgment (Non-biblical)      | (Non-biblical)      | S(40)         |
|                                |                    | R(7)          |
4. Intercessor (Non-biblical)   | (Non-biblical)      | P(4)          |
|                                |                    | H(34)         |
|                                |                    | S(40)         |
|                                |                    | R(7)          |

<sup>a</sup> Applies to biblical motifs, and to eschatological motifs of biblical origin.
CHAPTER V

1. Evaluation of the Legendary-Biographical Motifs
   a. Chief Legends and Their Influence

The legendary-biographical elements in the hymns of St. Clare seem to have been inspired by but one legend of the saint - that of Thomas of Celano. Other early accounts are few in number, for "Saint Clare, an interior soul, who spent the greater part of her life within the walls of the Convent of San Damiano, does not offer much material for narrative."¹ Thus, in the possibility of finding legendary sources for this type of motifs in the hymns from other contemporary Franciscan works, besides the legends, the writings of St. Clare, the biographies of St. Francis, and the chronicles of the Franciscan Order were consulted.

The documents from the Saint herself - the Rule of Clare,² the Testament of Clare,³ and the Letters of Clare⁴ appear to be the sources of only a few legendary allusions


²For Text: Seraphicae Legislationis Textus Originales, Quaracchi, 1897, p. 51-75.

³Ibid., p. 273-280.

in the hymns. The Vita of Saint Francis by Celano\(^1\) treats briefly of the Poor Clares at S. Damiano; likewise the 14 C. account of the age of Francis, the Chronicles of the Twenty-four Generals,\(^2\) which includes a short life of Clare in its history of the Order; so also the Legenda Trium Sociorum, recollections of St. Francis, writings attributed to Brothers Leo, Angelo, Rufino.\(^3\) Likewise, the life of St. Francis by St. Bonaventure, Legenda Major and Legenda Minor includes a legendary background for Clare, but the work does not directly influence the motifs of the hymns. In the compilations of the next century, the fourteenth, the Speculum Perfectionis,\(^5\) the Mirror of Perfection of the Friar Minor, which treats in one part of the admonitions of St. Francis to St. Clare, does not prove either to be a source for legendary content in the hymns. From a further study of the

\(^1\)Chronica XXIV Generalium, attributed to Arnold de Savano, written before 1369 and completed up to 1379. Text in AFH, Vol. 3, 1910, p. 1-578.

\(^2\)S. Francisci Vita et Miracula, ed. E. d'Alençon, Rome, 1906.


\(^6\)So called because the Collection compiled in 1318 was from the Schedules of Brother Leo. Cf. Lemmens, op. cit.
best known of Franciscan biographies, the Fioretti,¹ - the story of St. Francis and St. Clare that is related in the collection of episodes of early Franciscan life, - is not a source for the hymn motifs.²

Where, then is the primary source of these biographical motifs? In the foregoing analyses of the motifs, constant references were made to similar expressions of thought in the Legenda of Thomas of Celano as the "groundwork of our knowledge of St. Clare."³ In the Preface to his biography of the Saint, Celano states that he wrote it during the lifetime of Pope Alexander who canonized Clare two years after her death, in 1255, and who died in 1261. The work has been generally attributed to an "unknown author,"⁴ but thtt Thomas had been selected to write the authoritative life of Clare is learned from an amplified Italian version

²Cf. Chapter III, supra.
⁴Legenda, op. cit.
of the present life which exists in manuscript in the National Library in Florence.¹

The source of Celano's information was primarily the official "acta"² of Clare's life and miracles, besides access to other early documents which have since disappeared, among them a primitive legend of St. Clare and some notes on her life by certain Friars.³ The "acta" had also formed the basis of the Bull of Clare's canonization⁴ - a fact which may serve to explain the marked resemblance between the Bull and the Legenda. However, because of the unusual similarity in the expression of the hymn motifs to that of the Legend motifs, the Clare hymns seem to be traceable to the contemporary biography rather than to the Bull.

Later legends of St. Clare - the Tres Legendae Minores Clarae Assisiensis,⁵ are evidently, by comparison, abridged from the early life, as is the account of St. Clare in the Legenda Aurea.⁶ Thus, the Legenda appears to have

¹For details of this Magliabechian codex, as it is called, cf. Robinson, op. cit., Int. p. xxv.
²Legenda, op. cit., Prologue, p. 2.
³Robinson, op. cit.
⁵Bihl, ed. op. cit.
⁶Legenda Aurea, ed. Graesse, Leipzig, 1850 - Voragine's version of the original Legenda which he wrote about 1275.
been the primary source of the Latin hymns of St. Clare, as aptly expressed by Casolini:

The *Legenda* vies for robustness of coloring and fluidity of the *Cursus*, with its access to the rhythmic prose of the *Bull of Canonization*, from whence exultation developed into the glowing rivulet of Latin hymns. ¹

b. Direct Link Between the Prose Legend and the Hymns

In order to show the identity of the Clare hymns with the *Legenda* not only for similarity of thought but also of peculiarities of diction, a few examples of this parallelism can be cited here:²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>In Legend</th>
<th>In Hymn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For poverty:</td>
<td>*Hortatur eas in paupertatis nidulo Christo pau-peri conformari quem pau-percula mater in arcto praesepio terrulum reclinavit.*³ (Leg., p. 22, no. 14)</td>
<td><em>In paupertatis nidulo Nostris praese-peris carvulo Pauperi conformata.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hortatur haec, ut pauferes Pauperis matris natae, Nequaquam sint degeneres A matris pau-pertete.</em> ⁴</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


²Other examples of the resemblance of motifs in the hymns to those in the *Legenda* can be readily found in the analyses of motifs in Chapters III and IV *supra*.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>In Legend</th>
<th>In Hymn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For mortification:</td>
<td>Hic in via poenitentiae glebas mem-</td>
<td>In via poenitentiae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>brorum terit, hic</td>
<td>Glebas terit mem-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>semina perfectae iustitiae seminat...</td>
<td>brorum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Leg. p. 16, no. 10)</td>
<td>Semen serit iustitiae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R(26, Ad Mat.)</td>
<td>R(26, Ad Mat.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For foundress:</td>
<td>...obsequior prome-</td>
<td>Humilitatis praebuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tior culcultus des-</td>
<td>Exemplum secuturis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pector reperitur...</td>
<td>Dum ministrare studuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lavabit semel cuidam</td>
<td>Infirmis magnis curis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>servienti pedes...</td>
<td>Ad pedes servientium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>humiliter subesse</td>
<td>Manibus lavat prris;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voluit.</td>
<td>Obsequio se subdidit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Leg., p.19, no.12)</td>
<td>Ed cunctis se exercuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Laborum in pressuris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R(7, Ad Mat.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the 'valiant woman':</td>
<td>Hic locus est ille,</td>
<td>Francisco duce militans,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in quo nova militia</td>
<td>Evincis trina proelia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pauperum, duce Fran-</td>
<td>H(36/4,1,2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cisco, felicia sume-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bat primorida...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Leg., p. 13, no.8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The affinity in development of motif, in both legend and hymn, is significant also in biblical motifs:
Sources of Hymns, Their Affinities and Other Problems of Origin

Motif

For spiritual motherhood:

In Legend

'In huius caverna maceriae, columba deargentata nidificans' (Cant. 2, 14) virginum Christi collegium genuit...pau­
perumque dominarum Or­
dinem inchoavit.

(LEG. p. 16, no. 10)

His beatis floribus,
quos Clara parturiit,
feliciter hodie vernat
Ecclesia, quibus et
ipsa fulciri postulat
dicens: (LEG. p. 19,
no. 11) 'Fulcite me
floribus stipata me
malis, quia amore
languero.'

(CANT. 2, 5)

In Hymn

Haec Francisci plantula
Se celans in
cellula
Dominarum pau­
perum
Mansurum per
saecula
Inchoavit primu­
la
Ordinem flor­i­
gerum.

S(32/5)

Signiferi dis­
cipula
Christi novella
plantula
Horto floret
ecclesiae.

S(22/6,4)

Illic praeclesa
rutilat.

S(22/7,1)

(In the examples above note the similar elaboration
of the biblical motif by 'plant and garden' symbolism).

Besides, the relationship between legend and hymn
is evidenced in the use of like rhetorical features in the
same motifs, - here, by the figure of antithesis:

For heavenly joys:

Iam pro tenui
viatico mensa civium
supernorum; iam pro
vilitate cinerum
regno caelico aeternae
stola gloriae decora­
tur. (LEG. p. 67, no. 6)

Pro tenui viati­
cio
Mensa laetatur
superum
Regno beatur
coelico
Pro vilitate
cinerum.

R(26, Ad Mat.)
by 'light metaphors', as in this instance:

For the name, 'Clara':

Clara nomine, vita clarior, clarissima moribus.

(Leg. p. 80, no. 3)

And here, by alliteration and assonance:

Cum clare per Claram videt luminis claritatem...

(Leg. p. 106, no. 19)

For another motif, by metonomy:

For the 'virtue' motif:

... rota versatili, virtute stabili fulta,
et in vasa fictili thesaurum gloriae...

(Leg., p. 7, no. 4)

Finally, a similar repetition of favorite terms, in
the legend and in the hymns, is an indication of their
resemblance in content and in form for the motifs. The use
of "via" illustrates this point:
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Sorore praevia; ... Agnes post ipsam.
(Leg. p. 71, no. 48)

Agnem sororem praevia,
Declinans mundi devia.

Clara, multarum praevia,
De tenebris ad lucem
Per huius mundi devia. R(7, Ad. Mat.)

c. Distribution of the Motifs in the Hymns

The foregoing Table of the legendary-biographical motifs in the hymns implies that the life of St. Clare as presented in the usual narrative of the medieval Legenda or Vita can be portrayed in the verses of hymns dedicated to the Saint. From a study of the listed legendary elements of the hymns in respect to their frequency of recurrence the following observations can be noted:

1. The most mentioned motifs concern the same 'virtues and ascetical practices' of the Saint, related in a general statement that might characterize any saint; for example, in these verses:

Salve, Dei tu amatrix,
Castitatis adoptatrix,
Paupertatisque zelatrix,
Sanctae vitae regulatrix. P(4/2).

1Cf. Table I, Chapter III supra.
However, the virtues of poverty, chastity, and humility appear in the motifs with a more defined emphasis on their practice as peculiar to Clare:

Sub paupertatis regula
Patris Francisci ferula
Docta Christi discipula
Luce respersit saecula. H(13/5)

again, for poverty, with mention of the reigning Pope of the time:

Oblata per Gregorium
Refugat possidere
Nihilque transitorum,
Cum Christo vult habere. R(7, Ad Nat.)

Relative to the virtues of poverty and humility, the 'foundress motif' occurs frequently, followed in close order by the motifs which recall Clare's 'love for the Blessed Mother' and 'devotion to the Passion.' In the category of miracle motifs, the most as to number relate to Clare's 'birth', 'saving of the city of Assisi', 'multiplication of the bread' and 'miracle of the oil.'

2. Furthermore, from the Table of Motifs, it can be noted that the least-mentioned motifs in the hymns are those which refer to Clare's 'childhood,' 'Sister Agnes episode,' 'spread of the Order' and 'the Christmas vision.' There seems no plausible reason why allusions to such episodes in the life of Clare occur so infrequently, except that they may have been implicitly included in some of the motifs that refer to 'miracles' of the saint.
3. Lastly, a relatively few legendary motifs are not mentioned in the hymns, - the miraculous imprint of the Sign of the Cross on the bread which Clare blessed, and the repast of St. Clare and St. Francis at the Porziuncula. The omission of these dramatic motifs from the hymns can be explained in the light of their legendary origin. Neither are found in the oldest text of the Legenda of Celano, but are traceable to the two stories in the Dioretti, a legendary source that evidently did not directly affect the hymns.

In conclusion, a study of the classification of the legendary-biographical motifs seems to prove that whatever would exalt the Saint is given preeminence in the distribution of the motifs. Moreover, like the motifs in the Legenda the biographical references are fragmentary, but, nevertheless, give a clear outline of Clare's life in the Cloister of San Damiano.

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1 Father Robinson, fully explains the Franciscan viewpoint on these two incidents in his article "A Conjectural Chapter in the Life of Clare," APH, Vol. 5, p. 640-43; "authenticity...wholly devoid of historical foundation...not found in Life of Celano of oldest manuscript, Assisi MS 388."

2 Ibid., Quote: "Fioretti does not purport to be a biography...a collection of beautiful traditions about St. Francis and his companions..."
2. Sources of Panegyrics

Even a limited study of the medieval hymn attests to the truth of a statement of Raby, that "Medieval poetry cannot be understood without reference to the allegory and symbolism in which the thought of the Middle Ages was rooted." ¹ Whatever the objective of the Medieval writer might be - to relate a narrative, to induce praise, to stir up the emotions - he presented it, not only by individualizing concrete details, but more so by familiar typical associations.² Again, the medieval man was possessed of a sincere spirituality, which is hard to understand today, wherein the key to the visible world was to be found in symbolic interpretation, as a picture or sign of the invisible, of the spiritual and moral world.³

Thomas of Celano, the author of the Legenda of St. Clare, was influenced by the mode of thought current in his day. Therefore many of the motifs in the hymns that are based on the legendary account are found to be in the

¹Raby, op. cit., p. 355.
²Baldwin, op. cit., p. 203.
³Raby, op. cit., p. 355.
original symbolic form of the Legenda. Accordingly for the treatment of the sources of the various types of panegyrics, in the hymns, similar motifs appearing in the Legenda, will be considered prior to any other traceable origin.

a. Legendary Panegyrics

Since many of the symbolic motifs in the hymns are closely related to eulogies in the original legend of St. Clare, apparently they are the outgrowth of the legendary type of panegyric. Here a comparison of the hymn with the legendary motif can show the dependance of the hymn on the legend for the source of symbolic expression in praise of St. Clare.

As has been said above, the most popular motif in both the Legenda and in the hymns, is associated to the name of the Saint, "Clara." By symbolical inferances from the etymological form of the same word, the biographer of Clare could have his Saint "shine bright in every phase of her life against the somber background of her times," and thereby he rephrases panegyrics from the Bull of Canonization in which Alexander IV makes the Saint's name the

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1 Cf. Tables II and III.
2 Robinson, op. cit., Int. XXXI.
keynote or motif of theme. 1 "Light" metaphors, with all the possible forms of "clara," - "clarescere," "claritas," "praecacla," etc. resound in the opening phrase of the Legend, "...Clara, vocabulo, virtute..." 2 Note a like symbolism in these panegyrics from Clare sequences:

Clara praecelara sanguine
Vultu praecelarior,
Clara clarescit nomine,
Moribus clalior. S(33/3a)

Inclarescat melodia
Clara cordis harmonia
Clarae det praecania. S(27/1a)

Panegyrics again with the use of the "light" metaphor symbolize the prenatal vision of Clare's mother, in the "birth" motifs of both legend, 3 and hymn. A strophe from a sequence thus praises Clare:

Haec signata necdum nata
Icone praesagio,
Fulsit clarens, ut sit carnes
Peccati contagio. S(40/2a)

Nature panegyrics in the legend are also expressed by the "light" metaphor; first, in symbolizing Clare's chastity, she is referred to as a "shining heavenly light" which draws many kindred virginal souls to its center 4

1 Opening words: "Clara, claris, praecacla meritis."
3 Ibid., 2.
4 Legenda, op. cit., 10.
from the dross of the world, - and here retold in a piem
dictamen:

Gaude, sidus tu caelorum,
Dulce melos electorum,
Advocata peccatorum,
Dele labem vitiorum. P(4/3)

and in passing references which symbolize Clare as the
"footstep of Mary:"¹

Gloriosa virgo, stella,
Clara matutina (S(1/3,1-2)

In other panegyrics which identify Clare with Mary²
because of her spiritual motherhood combined with virginity,
there are traces of the legendary reference to Clare as the
virginal bride of Christ who begot many children.³

The spiritual children of Clare, in other instances,
are symbolized as "flowers," originating from the legend's
similar figurative phrase: "...with these blessed flowers
that Clare brought forth..."⁴

The title of endearment, "little plant," by which
Clare is often invoked in the hymns,⁵ symbolizing physical

¹Ibid., Prologue; for motif in hymns, cf. Tables I
and II.
²Cf. Table III.
³Legenda, op. cit., 10.
⁴Ibid., 11.
⁵Cf. Table II, "Plant and garden," and "Clare and
Francis" motifs.
birth from her mother, Ortolana, (with a play on the meaning of "Ortolana," i.e., "gardener") and her spiritual birth as the first daughter of Francis. The same symbolic term assumes a fuller significance in Clare's own writings, wherein Francis is the "Planta," the founder of her Order, and in its growth she is the "plantula" and her followers, the "plantulae." These samplings of the panegyric motifs from the hymns, traced to their sources, give evidence of the medieval feeling for symbolism by which all creation spoke to man of the meaning of life, of God, - i.e., considered "sub specie aeternitatis." With Clare pictured in the hymns under the guise of the many beautiful phases of God's creation, - especially that of 'light,' her clients could more readily pray that she would "enlighten them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death."

In view of the use of pagan mythology for allegory in the Christian light from the Carolingian Period on, there are only faint traces of this humanistic trend in the Clare hymns, except for one sequence S(49) which will be

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1Legenda, Prologue and 1.
2Testament, 14, op. cit.
3Luke 1, v. 79.
4Cf. Table II: "Classical Motifs," supra.
discussed at the end of this Chapter. The few classical motifs are traceable to traditional figures that appear in the Homeric and the Vergilian epics, but may have come from the Roman source, more likely.\(^1\) The reference to the "lares (R(26)) in the flight of Clare from her home to the cloister seems to signify detachment from dearest home ties, protection while the 'powers of the underworld' in the forms of "Scylla," "tartarus," "Cerberus" are the classical motifs explainable in the light of the implied eschatology.\(^2\)

b. Panegyrics of biblical origin

The sources of the Clare motifs from the Old and the New Testaments have already been observed,\(^3\) since references to the exact Biblical quotations from which the motifs were derived, afforded the imagery necessary in the analysis of this type of panegyric. However, the aforementioned relationship between biblical motif and origin admits of further explanation in the light of medieval symbolism, - of


\(^2\)Cf. Vergil, Aeneid, Bk. II, III, VI, (in this order) for quoted terms; also Szővérffy, op. cit., p. 161-163.

\(^3\)Cf. Chapter IV, "Biblical Motifs."
the inclination to explain all traditions of the Old Testament as prototypes of persons and doctrines of the New Testament. The most beautiful and poetical interpretations in the twelfth century, the sequences of Adam of St. Victor, reveal this medieval attraction to the hidden meanings which underlay Old Testament history, especially those parts of Sacred Scriptures which the poet believed were related to Christ and His Church, and to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In a comparison of the biblical motifs from the Victorine sequences with those from the Clare hymns there is a striking similarity for some, in biblical origin and in mode of poetical expression. But the comparison of the apparently borrowed form in the hymn with that of the earlier sequence reveals, likewise, one differential characteristic, the personage to whom the symbolism is applied. In the hymn, the biblical motif symbolizes Clare, while, the same motif, in the sequence, symbolizes now the Church, now Our Blessed Lady. Although it is true that the symbolic meaning of a biblical motif may vary from time to time with the fancy of the writer, Adam did not use this

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1Raby, op. cit., p. 359.
2References to Adam's sequences will be according to notation in Raby.
3Raby, ibid., p. 359-360.
4Raby, op. cit., p. 357.
category of motifs to signify the actual biblical event, in most cases, but to symbolize the Blessed Virgin, or again, the Church. Biblical allusions embellished with mystic symbolism that traditionally referred to the said divine personages, as in the Victorine sequences, so refer to Clare in some of the hymns of this study.

1. Symbolism of 'The Church' in the Clare hymns

It was in the "Song of Songs" that Adam of St. Victor and his contemporaries seemed to find the most fascinating prefigurations for their hymns. For example, one of Adam's sequences was written to commemorate the dedication of a church in which the building takes on living stones - symbolizing the Church as the Bride of the Canticle, united with her Bridegroom, Christ. There are reflections of this same wondrous allegory in the development of the 'mystical marriage' motif in the Clare hymns to symbolize the union of Clare as the Spouse, with her Divine Bridegroom Christ.

1 For the three types of traditional biblical motifs cf. Szővéryfy, "Cahiers," op. cit., p. 410.

2 Cf. ibid., for characteristics of Victorine sequences, p. 404; also Raby, op. cit., p. 358; Gautier, ed. op. cit.

3 Sequence xxv., 11.21-32; (quoted in Raby, op. cit. p. 361).
Again, in a Victorine sequence, the Church is 'fair as the moon, clear as the sun, terrible as an army with banners;'¹ so is Clare, in related strains of a sequence:

\[
\text{Vere sidus tu praeclarum,} \\
\text{Quod e sole differt parum,} \\
\text{Et luna lucidius.} \quad S(22/4a)
\]

Another resemblance, to the symbolism for the Church for an earlier hymn (8 C.), "Urbs beata Hierusalem," - Christ, the 'foundation stone' of His Church Militant:

\[
\text{angularis fundamentum} \\
\text{lapis Christus missus est,} \\
\text{qui compage parietis}\quad \text{2}
\]

is this description of Clare, the co-worker of Francis, in the foundation of her Order:

\[
\text{Haec Francisci filia} \\
\text{Et lapis primarius} \\
\text{Inclusarum praevia} \\
\text{Dux virtutis.} \quad S(31/3a)
\]

as stated in the prose form of the *Legenda*: "Clara, lapis primarius ac nobile fundamentum Ordinis."³

Again, the 'Chosen People' biblical motif in the hymns, applies the mystic imagery of the Church of Clare, since she is compared to the Israelites who symbolized

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¹Adam, Sequence xxvi, 30-2; from Cant. 6,9.
²AH, 51, 110; from Is., 28,16.
³*Legenda*, p. 20, no. 10.
⁴Cf. Table III, supra.
Christ's Church Militant, and Triumphant. To another type of the prefiguration of the Church, the Adam and Eve typology - wherein Adam is the type of Christ, Eve, of the Church \(^1\) - there seems an affinity in the verses of a Clare sequence which symbolizes Clare as formed from the side of Francis for the propagation of the Franciscan Order.\(^2\)

The biblical motifs in the hymns rightfully visualize Clare in the Old Testament imagery of the Church, since her saintly earthly life as 'filia Sion' bore testimony to the Church Militant, and her heavenly abode as 'filia Jerusalem,' to the Church Triumphant.\(^3\)

2. Symbolism of 'Mary' in the Clare hymns

In a study of another group of Biblical motifs from the hymns there were a group of symbolic characters of characterizations that were usually representative of the Blessed Virgin. The tendency for Marian symbolism for Clare can be best explained in the light of the devotion to Mary which assumed such importance in the full Middle Ages. Regard for Mary's position was established in the

\(^1\)Adam, Sequence xxvi, 21-4; from Gen. I, 27.
\(^2\)S(39/1b)
\(^3\)As in Ps.147, 1: "Lauda JErusalem Dominum; lauda Deum tuum Sion."
symbolic universe by manifold expressions of praise in religious poetry and hymns. Again Adam of S. Victor, "the poet of the Virgin," celebrates her preorgatives with all the ardent allegory of the "Song of Songs."  In symbolizing the mystery of the Virgin Birth, medieval imagination saw in the Shulamite, (Cant. of Cant. 7, 1;6,13) also interpreted as the Church, the Mother of Christ, and Christ Himself the lover. Here a few quotations chosen from the poetry of the time that illustrate the Biblical types of symbolism for Mary, in a comparison to verses from the hymns with Biblical types of symbolism for Clare will prove a parallelism in imagery for the Mother of God and St. Clare.

From the Victorine group of sequences, verses in praise of Mary visualize her as the 'garden enclosed' because of her virtinity:

haec est ille fons signatus
hortus clausus, fecundatus
virtutum seminibus.

so too the virgin Clare is praised in a Clare sequence:

---

1 Cf. Raby, op. cit., p. 363-375 for a detailed discussion of Adam of S. Victor and his Symbolism of the Virgin Mary; verses and comments on same, quoted here from the Victorine sequences, are from this source.

2 Cant. 4, 12.

3 Sequence lxxiv, 33-35. Cf. also Szoverffy, op. cit., p. 409.
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Rex per portam caritatis
Intrans hortum castitatis
Novam florem colligit. S(40/1)

Also the contemporary medieval symbolism in which Mary is depicted as the choicest trees in the forests of Lebanon, - from the account in Ecclesiasticus 1 - the 'cedar,' the 'cypress,' the 'palm,' because in her arose the 'tree of life' - is applied to Clare, as here in the verses of a fifteenth century sequence, 2 because of her 'virginal' birth to so many spiritual daughters.

Another medieval reference to the mystery of the Virgin Birth, in the words from the Canticle, 'paradisus malorum' and 'fons hortorum:'

paradisus voluptatis
est Maria, praestans gratis
signum immortalitatis 3
ad fontem iocunditatis.

has a re-echo symbolic of Clare's spiritual motherhood in a rhythmic office:

Tu paradisus voluptatis
Quam rigat fons divinitatis. R(7, In Vesp.)

1 Eccles. 27, 17-21: "Quasi cedrus...in Libano...cypressus...palma..."

2 So explained by Honorius' Augustodunensis' in his Speculum Ecclesiae, Higne, clxii, col. 902, according to Raby, op. cit., p. 368; this authority states that Honorius gives a useful summary of Biblical passages, signifying Virginal Birth.

3 Cf. S(1/9-11)

4 Cant. 4,13,15; the traditional motif is expressed in these terms.

5 None, II, 72, (AH, 54, p. 373)
As Mary is the throne of Solomon, that is, of the "true" Solomon:

\begin{quote}
tu thronus es Salomonis,
cui nullus par in thronis
arte vel materia;
\end{quote}

so Clare is identified, in three of her hymns:

\begin{quote}
Haec est thronus Salominis
Quem ornavit suis donis, S(49/1b);
Ave thronus Salominis,
Quem ornavit suis donis, S(1/8);
Qui te fecit thronum suum,
Concupivit vultum tuum. P(2/5).
\end{quote}

The concept of Clare, as the 'valiant woman,' the 'mulier fortis' of the Old Testament, in passages of the hymns already quoted\(^2\) - envisioning the Saint as the heroic characters, Esther and Judith - might have its origin in the similar concept for Mary as found in earlier hymns where she too was considered a 'second Esther' and a 'second Judith.'\(^3\) Another instance of the motif, which compares Clare, in her defense of Assisi against the enemy to Judith in the latter's victory for Israel,\(^4\) the

\begin{quote}
\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{1}Adam, Sequence lxxiii, 36-38.
\textsuperscript{2}Cf. Chapter IV \textit{supra}, discussed as a biblical motif.
\textsuperscript{3}Cf. \textit{AH}, 17, 25, for an example of such symbolism.
\textsuperscript{4}From R(?) already quoted in Chapter IV, \textit{supra}, as a biblical motif.
\end{quote}
symbolism of heroism implied might assume deeper meaning if compared to that applied to Mary, in the words of the Song of Songs: "Quae est ista quae progreditur, ... terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata?" Likewise, an interpretation of these verses, to signify Clare's conquest over the devil in the guise of an animal of myth:

Clara stella movet bella
Veterem contra Cerberum. 

is a faint, but resounding echo of the symbolism for Mary's conquest over Satan, the serpent in the Garden of Eden, when the Lord promised the Redeemer, and thereby caused a feud between Satan and the 'woman,' who would crush his head.

From the New Testament, the biblical motif that has previously been considered, the 'woman of the Apocalypse,' the terms of praise for Clare in forms of a 'light' metaphor, affords another instance of a biblical allusion to Mary which is applied to Clare in the hymns. These verses, in describing Clare's exalted position in heaven, seemingly

\footnote{Cant. 6,3,9. These verses are read in The Little Office of the B.V.M., "a devotion widespread in monasteries of the twelfth century." Raby, op. cit., p. 365.}

\footnote{Gen. 3, 15.}

\footnote{Cf. Szóvérfy, op. cit., p. 417; explains "bestiary" symbolism.}
were inspired by the account in the Apocalypse of the appearance in the heavens of a "woman that wore the sun for her mantle:"

Tu quod sole amicta  
Carne probat hic relictæ  
Lucis tuæ radius. $S(22/4b)$.

From this survey of the possible sources for the main biblical motifs in the Clare hymns, sources, the results show: 1. that the Old Testament provides most of the material for the motifs; 2. that the symbolism of the Canticle of Canticles, in the greatest number of examples, is featured as the main theme of the motifs, - the 'mystical marriage' of Clare, the Spouse, with Christ, her Bridegroom; 3. that the 'mystical marriage' biblical motif as expressed in the Clare hymns, often bears a striking resemblance to a like expression of the same mystical motifs in contemporary hymns, - as in the sequences of Adam of St. Victor, particularly in those which symbolize the Church, and again, the Blessed Virgin Mary, as the Spouse of the Canticle in the 'mystical marriage'; 4. that the second main motif, symbolic of the 'valiant woman' seems but another phase of the 'mystical marriage' in a portrayal of courage befitting a true Spouse, in prototypes for Mary, forms traceable to

$^1$Apocalypse, 12, 1.
medieval hymns and the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin; 5. that the motifs from the New Testament are based on scattered passages from the four gospels and the Apocalypse, and likewise those from the Old Testament show a predominance of further allusions to the 'mystical union' and 'marriage feast of the Lamb'; 6. finally, that the most outstanding motif of eschatology is the 'prudent virgin' motif from the gospel of St. Matthew, with its symbolism of Clare as 'prepared to meet the Bridegroom.' All in all the biblical motifs of the Clare hymns seem to be a reflection of a common source - the 'mystical marriage' motif of the Canticle of Canticles, with the medieval implication of the motif for the Church, or for Mary herein significant of Clare.

c. Reflections of the symbolism of "The Divine Comedy" in the hymns

In this study of the panegyrical motifs in the Clare hymns, a sequence of the fifteenth century which envisions the final abode of Clare in heaven, has an unusual setting of both classical and Christian elements. In its aim to express the reward that Clare has attained due to the

\[ S(49); \] cf. complete text in Appendix, and foregoing notation in Chapter III. Cf. Szövérffy's discussion of hymn, "Classische Anspielungen" p. 182-183.
magnitude of her virtues she is symbolized in biblical tones as a 'new throne' in heaven, the 'throne of Solomon,'¹ - "Haec est thronus Salomonis" (1b/1) which 'Christ the King' has, in His wisdom, 'ornamented and replenished with good things' (1a, 1b). The next verse designates the divine gifts, "In hoc throno sevetem stellae," awarded to 'Clare' expressed in terms of a 'light' metaphor - and given by the 'spirit of Christ' (2a); - in counterpart to the biblical description of Solomon's throne which had 'six steps' leading up to it.² The 'stars' are symbolic of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, the "sacrum septenarium" (6b).³ However, for each of the gifts that stud the throne of Clare, a donor is mentioned; all of whom - strangely enough - are pagan divinities - expressed in terms of the planetary bodies in the heavens, and in an ascending order of their importance: 'Fear' by Saturn; 'Piety', Venus, etc., up to the climatical event of the ceremony, the presentation of the 'donum summum,' 'Wisdom' by the Sun, (2b-5a). Each gift, too, is symbolical of the moral warfare by which it was

¹Cf. Table III, supra for biblical sources.
²III Kings, 10, 18-20.
³Prov. 9, 1.
⁴Szoverffy observes (op. cit.) that the gifts are not the usual ones associated with the donors - for Venus, "love, etc."
earned, and accounts for its star-like 'splendour.' The 'brightness' of 'Wisdom' enables Clare to become, at last, a fitting abode for the True Divinity, in terms of 'patris candor, Spiritus ac verbi splendor' (6a); and the former 'throne of Solomon' bedecked with 'seven stars,' (1b, 2a), is finally transformed into the 'house' of God, supported by 'seven columns' the 'sacrum septenarium' (6b). In the closing verses, Clare holds her station in heaven and shares all the joys of the 'mystical union,' while her clients invoke her, the 'mater claritatis' that they might one day have a share in the love of the 'lumen Deitatis:

Nunc in caelis collocatur,
Deum trinum contemplatur,
Nunc amore amplexatur,
Clara sine taedio.

Clara, mater claritatis,
Tecum lumen Deitatis,
Corde puro videamus
Et in ipso gaudeamus,
Amoris incendio. (7a, 7b)

The outline above might serve to show that the sequence here presents a fitting portrayal of the Enthronement of Clare, in a description of a celestial atmosphere characterized by ever pervading "light." The unusual blending of classical and biblical motifs enriches the symbolic imagery.

However, a study of the possible sources for this type of imagery made its application to Clare in the sequence more understandable. The pattern is suggestive of
The Divine Comedy, especially The Paradiso in which Dante encounters various happy souls of the elect in the revolving heavens of the Ptolemaic skies into the real heaven of God, the Angels and the Blest.\(^1\) The seven planetary heavens through which Dante travels correspond in name to those mentioned in the sequence, except for 'Jupiter' which is not mentioned in the latter. In both works, the Sun is the great luminary, but while the Paradiso connects 'prudence,' the leader of the moral or cardinal virtues, and the other cardinal virtues of justice, fortitude, temperance as the planets above, and the sundry virtues of a natural love of service, marred by ambition, of fidelity married by inconstancy as the planets below the Sun.\(^2\) The hymn expresses the relationship of the virtue of 'wisdom' as the holding the highest position in the heavens with the Sun. (5a). Another feature of the Paradiso that may have offered a source of inspiration for the analogies in the hymn is the account of the position of Clare, "higher up in heaven" as told to Dante by the spirit of a former Poor Clare nun in the early stages of his journey through the


\(^2\)In the Purgatorio, Dante sees seven lights that represent the seven gifts of the Spirit; Canto XXIX, 45-47.
1 heavenly bodies.

However these similarities, of hymn with poem, prove to be only preludes to the recognition of an identical main theme in both works. In Paradiso, Dante continues his upward flight through the seven heavens, through the eighth stellar heaven, through the ninth, the invisible vault beyond the stars, and then finally looks to the remotest circle, the essential heaven of light and love wherein God dwells, and where he sees, in the distance, "the Lady of Heaven on her glorious throne."² In the sequence in question Clare is on a glorious throne too — 'the throne (bejewelled) with seven stars (2a). Details that characterize imagery of Mary in the poem are reflected in the portrayal of Clare in the hymn, by way of example: 1. St. Bernard, who is the companion and guide of Dante, begs Mary that she permit the poet to behold the Beatific Vision,³ while Clare's clients,⁴ make a similar request of the Saint. The 'light' metaphor in poem and hymn symbolizes the 'virtuous, state' of those souls who behold the Beatific Vision. So

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¹ Paradiso, Canto III, 99-104.
² Ibid., Canto XXXII, 28, in the words of Bernard: "il glorioso scanno della donna del cielo."
³ Ibid.
⁴ Cf. Stanza 7b, quoted above from sequence.
the poem relates of 'brightness' of the countenance of Mary, by which she 'sees' her Divine Son and enables others to 'see' Him; and in turn, the hymn refers to 'brightness' of Clare, as 'The Mother of Clarity, by which she 'contemplates' the triune God and obtains the same grace for her suppliants; both works contain allusions to the vision of God Himself as the 'Eternal Light,' the 'True Light,' the 'Highest Light,' the 'Light of the God-Head,'

In another classification of the Clare hymns, as on the basis of theme, the sequence here discussed might be considered as an "apocalyptic sequence." Its symbolic atmosphere is not unlike that of the inspired account "of the appearance of the Woman," and "the great throne, and One sitting on it." However the estatic acclamations of the Paradiso may have contributed to the development of so exalted a theme.

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1Paradiso, Canto XXXII, 85, 86, in Bernard's description of Mary: "... che la sua chiaciessza sola ti puro disporre a veder Cristo."

2S(49/7a, 2); "Deum trinum contemplatur."

3Paradiso, XXXIII, as Dante relates of the Beatific Vision: "Indi all'eterno lume...(43); "dell'alba luce...(54); "O somma luce..."(67).

4S(49/7b, 2): "Tecum lumen Deitatis."

5Apoc., 12, 1; 20, 11.
Another late medieval sequence, that depicts Clare in heavenly glory has the same general tendency to use symbolism throughout its description. While the imagery is presented in a series of invocations throughout the sequence. The main theme seems more definitely stated in the verses of the eighth stanza, by a panegyric addressed to Clare, "Ave thronus Salomonis," "Quod virtutum habuisti, Sacrum septenarium," Here is a re-echo of the theme in the sequence, (s(49)), discussed above in verses one and six and expressed in almost similar terms, except that in the present sequence, the panegyric is addressed directly to Clare, in place of the narrative form about Clare in S(49). Another similarity with S(49) is the designation of 'stella' to symbolize the virtues of Clare, but there is a variance, in that the virtues implied by the titles for Clare in the first seven strophes, "mater humilis"(1), "claritatis lilium"(2), "Gloriosa virgo"(3), "Sanctitatis speculum"(6), "Ancilla crucifixi"(1), "Marie

1S(1); cf. full text in Appendix.
2Cf. these verses already mentioned supra, in "Symbolism of Mary."
3Compare; likewise: "Quod...habuisit" S(1); "Quod...habuit," S(49).
4"Clara clarens stella," (2); "Gloriosa virgo stella" (3).
vestigium"(6), "Francisci pia plantula"(7) and synonymous phrases, do not to correspond the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, S(49), but, perhaps, to virtues that had sprung from them. Moreover, the familiar 'light' symbolism connected with the name of 'Clara' applied very often to the saint here reveals another identical factor in the comparison of the two sequences.

Regarding the possible sources of this sequence, Casolini assumes that it had been inspired by the vision of Thomas of Foligno in the fourteenth century, wherein he saw Clare with a tabernacle in her hand, ornamented with gold and stones, in a procession throughout Paradise, as an abbess with her nuns, accompanied by the angels, bedecked with roses, and singing and playing musical instruments. This source of the sequence seems well-founded in that some of the imagery mentioned is so featured, e.g., "virtutum aacrarium"(2) "rosa rubens," "gemma virgines"(3), "pigmentorum cells" (2); "mater humilis" (1), "mater bella" (2), and the continuous stream of invocations that seem typical of a chanted litany in a procession. Be that as it may; but another source is more likely to be found in the Paradiso because of the similarity of motifs and their setting - the

1 Casolini, op. cit., p. 269.
'Clare-Mary' motif, substantiated by the symbolism: of the phrase, 'Forests of Lebanon' (Cant. of Cant.) which is applied to Clare in the later verses of the sequence; of repeated salutation of "Ave" from the opening verse and on to the last - an echo of the "Ave Maria," of the closing petition "Eia, mater, tua prece, Peccatorum cor a faece" - strains of the "Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis." Finally the panegyrics addressed to Clare by her spiritual children in terms realting to her motherhood, her virginity, her lowliness (mentioned above) seem to visualize Clare now exalted in heavenly glory - a facsimile of the heavenly court scene in the Paradiso wherein the Angels and the Blessed sing the "divine canticle" and where Bernard prays to his beloved: "Vergine madre...umile et alta." 

The imagery of this sequence further substantiates the possibility that the symbolism in the panegyrical motifs of Dante's Divine Comedy may have had an influence on the expression of similar types of motifs in the Clare hymns.

1Paradiso, XXXII, 94-98: "Ave Maria...Ripose alla divina catalina da tutti la beata corte."

2Ibid., XXXIII, 1.
3. Links Between the Hymns
   a. Common Sources

In a further consideration of the origin of the hymns in this analysis, on the basis of a definite interrelation among them, there are three hymns that can form one important group due to a common origin. The so-called "Alexander" hymns of St. Clare were allegedly written by the Sovereign Pontiff Alexander IV;¹ on the occasion of the Canonization of the Saint in 1255. These hymns are "Concinnat plebs fidelium," H(13); "Generat virgo filias," H(24); and "Duce coelesti numine," H(16).² A Breviary of the year 1280, which contains the earliest known Office for the Saint, a Vigil Office for her Nativity³ has the first two mentioned as hymns, and the "Duce coelesti" as an antiphon, with another antiphon, "Novum sidus emicuit" which was originally a stanza of "Concinnat plebs fidelium" with new additional verses.⁴ Again, in the first Rhythmic Office for the same Feast, R(26), which appeared in 1292,⁵

¹Salimbene, op. cit., p. 194: "Alexandrum quartum ...qui Alexander papa canonizavit sanctam Claram et fecit hymnos eius et collectas..."
²Cf. Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 177.
³Cf. Ibid., for text of this Office.
⁴Ibid., for comparison of original and changed text.
⁵Ibid., p. 178; Cf. text of Office in Appendix.
the same four selections here mentioned are found, and also
the hymn, "Salve Sponsa Dei," S(42) - which supposedly was
written the same year\(^1\) as the "Alexander" hymns - in the
form of an antiphon.\(^2\)

b. Borrowings

Besides the link between hymns because of similarity in authorship or chronological dating, there is another
type of relationship set up due to the "borrowings" from
one hymn to another. In the paragraph above, the develop-
ment of the Office Antiphon, "Novum sidus emicuit" from
"Concinnat plebs fidelium," H(13) serves as an early
example of this characteristic in the Clare hymns. Like-
wise, by a division of the same hymn (H(13)), in the way
of five borrowed stanzas, the hymn "Sub paupertatis regu-
la," H(48) is found in the fifteenth century Office, and
considered a hymn for Latins;\(^3\) in the same manner, five
stanzas of "Generat virgo filias," H(24), appear later as
"Clarum nomen effunditur," H(11). Moreover, the 'Alleluia'

\(^1\)CSR, Roma, 1929, p. 367: "Textus est saec. XIII, probabiliter a.1255".
\(^2\)Cf. in R(26), Appendix.
\(^3\)Ibid.
sequence in the earliest Mass Proper to St. Clare, "O Clara, clarens vespere," S(35), is "borrowed" for the Vesper antiphon "O virgo clarens vespere" of the Rhythmic Office R(26). (The similarities in S(1) and S(50) have already been discussed as biblical motifs).

This inter-relating characteristic is a common bond for nine hymns that have "borrowings" for their last lines, i.e., each strophe of the hymns terminates with the opening verse of some well-known hymn, as "Jesu Redemptor omnium," "Jesu, corona virginum," etc. H(10); "A solis ortis cardine," "Lux, ecce, surgit aurea," etc. H(20). The "borrowed" verses in the Clare hymns found most frequently are symbolic of virginity, or of light. Too the Clare hymns with this type of final verse are all Breviary hymns, and are preserved in manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Certain other hymns give evidence of reflections of earlier or contemporary hymns from which they have "borrowed" simple, yet significant phrases, or have paraphrased forms of the original verses. For instance,

1Verses found in a Missal of the Cathedral of Assisi, in last quarter of 13 C.; first verse is imitation of 'O patriarcha pauperum' sequence of Francis, based on the 'O console trix pauperum' for Mary, of Card. de Bartalomei (13 C.).

2H(5); H(9); H(10); H(12); H(14); H(19); H(20); H(30); H(47).
judging from the verse in H(30), "Laetabundus plaudat mun-
dus" and another, in H(14) "Plaudat mater, deus pater," these Clare hymns are evidently modelled on the Francis hymn, "Plaudat frater, regnat Pater." Among the number of hymns that feature the "Passion" motif, there are four of them that definitely re-echo the pitiful plaints of the "Stabat Mater": P(2/10, 7-12); S(21/6b); P(23/2); and S(22), which is quoted here:

Eia mater, nos agnosce, Ut consortes tuae sortis,
Libro vitae nos deposce, Et a poenis et a protis,
Cum electis inseri. Eruamur inferi.

Et nos, mater pietatis,
Cum Maria salvans gratis
Iunge Dei Filio. S(22/8a,8b,9a)

also two of the oldest Franciscan sequences in honor of the Saint follow the metrical pattern of the same hymn to Our Lady:

Inclarescat melodia, En in regno claritatis
Clara cordis harmonia Clara regnat cum beatis
Clarae det praecœnia. Virgo cum virginibus.

S(27/1a)1 S(18/1)2

while one of the hymns, inserted in the Office of St. Clare for Second Vespers is composed according to the complicated format of the favorite hymn to St. Francis for Second Vespers of his Office, the "Deus Morum," with the

1Casolini, op. cit., p. 216.
2Van Dijk dates this sequence for about 1270, and as found in a kind of "portable Missal for the travelling Franciscans; op. cit., p. 172.
3Ibid., p. 175: sequence sung about 1270 too; found in diff. mss. with opening word, "Iam," and "Est".
already-mentioned recurrent feature of ending each vesse
with the first strophe of some ancient hymn: 1

En praecelara virgo Clara,
Regnat in regno luminum,
Quam amasti despansaisti,
Jesu, corona virginum. H(19/l).

Concerning the background of a sixteenth century
sequence, "Gaudeat ecclesia," S(2l), there is proof that
the sequence was originally written for St. Anthony in the
late fifteenth century, 2 and later attributed to St. Clare
with a few minor but needed changes of name and phraseology.

In Pium Dictamen of the fourteenth century, "Ave
prudens et divina," P(2) the penitential lyrics in the
last three strophes are vivid re-echoes of the "Dies Irae"
from the preceding century:

Clara, virgo veneranda                     Praevia te mihi, peto,
Mihi adsis in horrenda                      Ut sis, virgo, vulto laeto,
Hora et saevissima                           Ante thronum Domini,
Meae mortis ad solamen                       Judicis districti, veri,
Animaque ad tutamen                         Irati atque severi
Prece suavissima.                             Misero tunc homini.
P(2/8)

The above discussion may give a general idea of

1Ibid., p. 188.
2Found in Office of St. Anthony, attributed to
Julian of Spiere. Cf. account by Sbaralea in Supplementum
et Castigatio ad Scriptores Trium Ordinum, Rome, 1921,
Vol. 2, p. 156.
the types of "borrowing" factors that form common links between two or more of the Clare hymns.

C. Typical Franciscan Phraseology

In a previous chapter certain terms and phrases that are often repeated in the course of the hymns were considered as modes of expression identified with medieval poetry. However among them, there are verbalisms that have a deeper significance according to Franciscan traditions used frequently in Franciscan hymns as here in the Clare hymns. They add a distinctive feature with a communal tone that creates a relationship between the hymns. For instance, note the meaning of the metaphorical terms, "vestigium" and "speculum" in the light of Franciscanism as used by the biographer of St. Francis: "He [Francis] was a "clear mirror" of perfection...his words and actions were redolent of something divine;" and "...God Whom he [Francis] recognized...in the beauty of his creatures." Likewise, St. Bonaventure says God's perfection is reflected in created things - "speculatio,"

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1Chapter IV, "Commonplace Phraseology."

2Celano, Vita I, 189, 14; 82, 17.

3Bonaventure, Mystical Opuscula, "Itinerarium Mentis in Deum" (trans.) Jose de Vinck, Paterson, N.J., St. Anthony Guild Press, 1960, p. 9-42.
with the first; that every created thing, insofar as it
simply is a reflection of God's being, is a "vestigium" of
God. In turn, each level of creation can be characterized
as a "speculum," for each reflects its particular share of
divine perfection. Thus, Francis, for his followers, was
a "Speculum Perfectionis," a "reflection" of the perfec­
tion of Christ, and Clare, a "reflection" of the various
virtues of Christ, as indicated in titles applied to her,
- "Claritatis Speculum," "Speculum Prudentibus," etc.3

The term "vestigium" characterized Clare as a reflection
of God's mother, by her imitation of Mary's virtues as
here, spiritual motherhood: "Inhaerens vestigio, Virginis
Christiferae," so expressed in a sequence, - one of the
variations of the legendary motif, "Dei matris vestigium."

Another term, that occurs often in the Clare hymns,
"via" and its compounds, "devia" and "praevia," are of
Franciscan heritage likewise. St. Bonaventure, in his

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1Ibid., second level, man with memory, intellect,
will, is an "imago;" third level, man with his share in
God's divine life is a "similitudo."

2Op. cit., title of collection of anecdotes con­
cerning St. Francis, written by Brother Leo, one of his
companions. Speculum Vitae, a 14 C. ed.

3Cf. other listings in "Commonplace Phraseology"
Chapter IV, supra.

4Leg. ibid., Prologue, p. 3. Also cf. Wadding,
Ann., 12, 137.
comment on the words of Christ: "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life" (John, 14, 6), explains how Francis pointed out this "Way" by his ardent love of Jesus Crucified; while St. Clare in her Testament states that St. Francis had shown the "Way" by word and example, - 'a guide to the "Way", or "praevia," by his "way of life." Since Clare followed the "way" of Francis, she is, consequently, invoked in her hymns as "praevia multarum" (R(7)), "inclusarum praevia," etc.

Furthermore, in the hymns, a number of phrases give evidence of a more definite association with Franciscanism, insofar as they are typical expressions for legendary motifs in the life of Clare. Noteworthy are: 1. "papalis presentia," to signify the actual visits of the Holy Fathers to Clare on three different occasions; 2. the related terms, "regula Paupertatis," "paupertatis foedera" and "sacrum privilegium" to emphasize the unusual privilege, the practice of absolute poverty, that was finally

1 Bonaventure, ibid., p. 56.
2 Testament, ibid., 2. the blessed Virgin, was invoked in terms of the same symbolism: "verae pacis prae­via," cf. Raby, op. cit., p. 367.
3 Cf. S(18/6a); R(26, Ad. Mat.); R(26, In Vesp.);
S(40/7b).
4 Cf. legendary motif "Relation to Popes, Chapter III for historical background.
5 Cf. R(7, Ad. Mat.); R(26, Ad. Mat.).
given Papal approval the day before Clare died; the word "domina" and plural form, "dominae," - coupled with a phrase characteristic of one or more virtues, especially poverty, - to designate the official and beloved title that St. Francis chose for Clare and her followers. In the same light, is the use of diminutives, e.g., "pauper-cula," "primula," ("plantula," already mentioned), as invocations to Clare, the beloved model of Franciscan poverty, and the first spiritual daughter of Francis; the title, "Minores" for the First Order applied to the Second Order, and "Pater Franciscus" for the founder of the Three Orders; "cordula," "fune cincta," "calceo" "Sacco", descriptive of the penitential Franciscan attire; and, lastly "Pax et bonum" in keeping with the traditional greeting in the Franciscan Order.

The Clare hymns in which such phrases occur have a common bond for in their recourse to Franciscanism for like expressions of symbolic motifs.

\[1\text{Leg. ibid., p. 56-57, no. 40.}\]
\[2\text{APH, Vol. 5, 1912, p. 418; According to testament of Thos. Pavia (13 C.) Francis requested of Cardinal Hugo-lino that the members of the Second Order be called "domiae," not "sorores." Cf. Leg. ibid., p. 10, no. 16.}\]
\[3\text{Cf. S(8/1b); S(11/8b); H(19/3); Rule of Clare, 6.}\]
\[4\text{Bonaventure, Leg. Nal., 3, 2.}\]
4. Manuscript Sources of the Hymns

From a study of their textual origins, some of the Clare hymns can be classified on the basis of their location in the same manuscripts.\(^1\) Manuscripts which are the sources for two or more hymns are listed below in this order: 1. Mss. with hymns of Franciscan origin; 2. Mss. with hymns of non-Franciscan origin; 3. Mss. made expressly for individual personages; 4. Mss. in printed form.

1. a. From Assisi:

Archiv. di S. Rufino, late 13th C., contains two hymns for the Alleluia verses of the earliest known Mass for St. Clare:\(^2\) H(35); H(50);

Mss. Misc. Bibl. Comm. saec. 14 cod. Assisi. 338, - most important, - with the two 'Alexander' hymns in their original form, the two rhythmic offices and two early sequences for the Saint:

H(13); H(24); R(26); R(7); S(18); S(37);


Thus Assisi, where the cult of St. Clare naturally had its beginnings, provides the sources of the earliest traditional hymns in her honor.

\(^1\)Cf. full Ms. sources for hymns with Texts of Hymns in the Appendix. Where there was any discrepancy in Ms. sources, those quoted by Van Dijk, op. cit., and in his Studies in Franciscan Liturgy, op. cit., were considered more reliable.

\(^2\)Van Dijk, Il Culto, p. 173.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 172.
b. From Paris:
   Pros. Minor. Bibl. Nat. saec. 14 cod. Parisin. 1339, for three sequences, including one found earlier in the Assisi Mss.:
   S(8); S(18); S(33);

   Bibl. Nat. saec. 14 cod. Parisin. 1047, a breviary hymn:
   H(19)

   Bibl. Nat. saec. 14 cod. Parisin. 10503, in an early Missal; drawn from the Assisi Mss. of the earlier part of the century:
   S(37)

   Brev. ms. Franciscan. saec. 14/15 cod. Parisin. 1290, a hymn for Vespers and a hymn for Lauds:
   H(15); H(20);

   Miss. ms. Roman. Franciscan. saec. 15 cod. Parisin 9445, for the sequence which has motifs describing the spread of the Order of Poor Clares:
   S(31).

Second, only to Assisi, Paris proves, by the Manuscript sources, to have been an early center for the cult of St. Clare.

c. From Carpens:
   Miss. ms. Roman. Franciscan. saec. 14 cod. Carpentoractens 107, with two sequences, the first of which is also in the Assisi and in the Paris Mss. (mentioned above):
   S(18); S(32);

d. From Munich:
   Miss. ms. Franciscan. saec. 15 Clm. Monacen. 23277:
   S(22);
   Antiph. ms. Franciscanum saec. 15 Clm Monacen. 23291; the second rhythmic office for the Saint, which (as noted above) is located in the Mss. of Assisi of the previous century:
   R(7);
   Grad. ms. Franciscan. saec. 14/15 Clm. Monacen. 8710:
   S(44).
SOURCES OF HYMNS, THEIR AFFINITIES AND OTHER PROBLEMS
OR ORIGIN

e. From Greece:
   Grad. ms. Franciscan, saec. 15 cod. Graecen 36:
   S(45);
   Grad. ms. Bernhard. Graec. s. sign. saec. 15
   ex.:
   S(27).
   Psalt. ms. FF Minorum anni 1283 Doc. Roman.
   Angel. 1462 (D VI 10), the 'Alexander hymn' as in
   Assisi Mss. (above):
   H(13).

f. From Rossiana:
   Rossianae s. sign., the first rhythmic office for St.
   Clare, as found in the Mss. of Assisi of the four­
   teenth century:
   R(26).

The location of manuscripts with hymns of Francis­
can origin is widespread as here outlined, and seems an
indication that the Franciscan Orders diffused the cult of
St. Clare by means of Clare hymns in the various geographic
centers.

2. a. From Carolsruhan:
   Sec. ms. S. Georgii. Villincensis saec. 15 cod.
   Carolsruhan, Geo. 3, with three selections of
   laudatory character:
   P(2); S(6); S(49);

b. From Vissegrad:
   Miss. ms. Wissegradense saec. 15 Cod. Capit.
   Wissegraden CC. n., with two selections of com­
munal character, and both opening with the word
   "laetabundus:"
   S(29); H(30);

c. From Olomuc:
   Miss. ms. Olomucense saec. 15 Cod. bibl. publ.
   I I 6, for a sequence, narrative in character:
   S(40);
   Ant. ms. Franciscan. saec. 15 Cod. sem. Olomu­
cens VII, for the first of the rhythmic offices,
   likewise narrative in character:
   R(26).
From the above listing of manuscripts that are the sources of two or more hymns of non-Franciscan origin, it is apparent that this type of source is not of frequent occurrence, as in comparison with the number of common sources for hymns of Franciscan origin.

3. a. From Paris:
   Missale (Franciscano) Romanum, impr. Parisiis. 1520, for the first known printing of a Clare sequence:
   S(28);
   Miss. Romanum impr. Parisiis, 1523, for another sequence:
   S(39);

   b. From Lyons:
   Missale (Franciscano) Romanum, impr. Lugduni 1535;
   Missale Ruthenense impr. Lugduni, ca. 1540, (as printed at Paris):
   S(28)
   Appendix, ms. saec. 16 Miss. Roman. impr.
   Lugduni 1522:
   S(21)

   c. From Salmantica:
   Brev. Auriense impr. Salmanticae 1501:
   H(10).

The printed sources of the hymns here are traceable to the first half of the sixteenth century; from France in greater part; with one sequence (28) in three successive printings over a short period of time (1520-1540).

4. a. From Marie de Pembroke:
   Brev. ms. Marie de Pembroke Comitissae Valentinae saec. 14 Cod. Cantabrigen Dd. V:
   H(48)

   b. From Johanna of York, Queen of France:
   Brev. ms. Johannae Eboricae, regina Franciae, 1371:
   H(12)
c. From a private source in Valentia:
Orat. ms. Franciscanum saec. 15. Privabesitz in Valencia: H(9)

It is evident, from these manuscripts made for certain distinguished individuals, that there must have been a personal connection between them and the Poor Clares.

Judging from the location of the manuscripts for the Clare hymns, the territorial distribution seems fairly uneven. Those for the best known hymns are first: in Italy and France; then appear copies of the same, - and other hymns, - in Greece, Netherlands and Belgium. Several of the hymns are available in more than one manuscript.

In retrospect, the study of the origin of the Clare hymns seems to indicate that each individual hymn bears some type of relationship with one or more hymns that provides for a classified grouping of all the hymns in categories according to the following prevailing characteristics: 1. legendary elements traceable to the thirteenth century Legenda; 2. panegyrical elements of legendary origin; of biblical origin, directly, or from the mystical symbolism of the verses of Adam of St. Victor or Dante; authorship, borrowings of portions of other hymns, or versions of other hymns; Franciscan symbolism and phraseology; manuscripts of the same locale containing one or more hymns.

Moreover, since the origins of some of the Clare
hymns reveal the influence of the literary, religious, or social Movements of the period in which the hymns were written, a further analysis of such hymns in the next chapter may determine to what extent they can be identified with the contemporary Movements, or reflect former Movements of earlier periods.
CHAPTER VI

TRADITIONAL, COMMUNITY, AND INDIVIDUAL CREATION OF THE HYMNS

1. General Character of the Hymns Before and After the Sixteenth Century

The Clare hymns under consideration in this study had their beginnings in the thirteenth century, a period in which the religious poetry, especially the sequence, received its inspiration from the model cretions of the twelfth century, the sequences of Adam of St. Victor. However, its main influence was the spiritual and emotional renewal of Western Christianity through the teachings of St. Francis, "whose gospel of spiritual joy, repentance, and poverty was joined to a delight in nature, an exuberant poetry of feeling, and an intense love for the poor and oppressed."¹ Religion now found its expression in "an emotion of the heart, in a direct relation between the human soul and Christ."² The expression of personal love of Christ Crucified is the key to the whole emotional content of the Latin poetry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,³ as the friars of the Franciscan Order characterized their lyrical poetry by an intense devotion to the

¹Raby, op. cit., p. 417.
²Ibid., cf. p. 415-421 for detailed discussion of "Franciscan Christianity."
³Ibid., p. 417.
Passion of Christ and his Sorrowful Mother, a poetry epitomized in the "tenderest and most pathetic hymn of the Middle Ages," the "Stabat Mater." But, gradually, within the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, there were signs of a marked decadence evident in the poetical quality of Latin hymns and in their spiritual vitality. This was noted in the sequences and most obvious, perhaps, in those which were devoted to the praise of saints. Finally, the Renaissance of the sixteenth century brought disaster to Christian Latin poetry in the universal conformity to the use of classical meters and classical language by the humanists in a fruitless attempt to bring back life and beauty into old measures. Since liturgical verses of the preceding centuries appeared barbarous to churchmen and layman alike, Pope Urban VIII, in the Trentine revision of the seventeenth century, standardized and improved the Latinity of breviary hymns, and thereby abolished the sequences with few exceptions. This transformation of Medieval original creations into products of the Renaissance was done with the highest of motives, but was deplored by later scholars.

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1Britt, op. cit., p. 278.
2Messenger, op. cit., p. 60.
3Raby, op. cit., p. 456.
4Messenger, op. cit., p. 60.
Prestige of Latin studies at the time fostered the perpetuation of writing Latin hymns, but the results were no longer outpourings of a poet's emotion, but a kind of technical exercise, a mere example of the skill and ingenuity of the poet in his imitation of the ancient lyric. The hymns of the next three centuries followed the standards of the Renaissance period in their adherence to pure Latinity, and likewise they lacked the sentiment of the pre-Renaissance hymns, since Latin was now an acquired language.  

These favorable and unfavorable influences changing phases on the development of Latin hymnody can be observed in the Clare hymns, since the greater number of them were written from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. A comparative study of four of the well-known sequences of this period on the basis of style, ideology and inspirational content might serve to prove how the Clare hymns, in these respects, reflect traditional standards.

a. Thirteenth Century, 'Inclarescet melodia,' opens with the stanza:

Inclarescet melodia
Clarae cordis harmonia
Clarae det praecogia.  
Concors soli symphonia
Trina poli hierarchia
Depromet tripudia.


2Cf. full text of sequence in Appendix; also footnote in "Classification of Hymns," Chapter II, supra, p. 70.
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Made up of six six-verse stanzas, this sequence is modelled quite closely after the most perfect form of the sequence in the twelfth century, - the so-called "regular sequence" of Adam of St. Victor. From the two stanzas quoted above these characteristics are noteworthy: the rhythm is regular and based on word accent; the stanzas are divided into two sections, with two trochaic lines of eight syllables and one trochaic line of seven syllables in each section; the caesura occurs at the end of the fourth syllable and at the end of the word, except in the seven syllabled line in which a change of stress occurs. The rhyme is regular and two or three-syllabled. The rhyme scheme for the first stanza is 'aaaaaa,' while for all others, 'aabaab.'

Lyrical in form, the sequence extols the heavenly rewards of Clare for the practice of the enumerated virtues of her earthly life. The opening stanza is a fitting introduction to the theme with a classical motif symbolical of the celestial choirs; the true Franciscan spirit of asceticism is exemplified in meaningful symbolic terms as 'planta,' 'sacco,' 'fune,' 'rosa,' 'gemma poenitentiae.' The theme is uniformly developed throughout the sequence, with the last three stanzas referring to Clare in her glory, by the use of a biblical motif to signify the Mystical Union.

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The meter and general tone seems mindful of the "Stabat Mater," especially in the affections and petitions of the sixth stanza addressed to 'mater pietatis.' A closing verse, 'cincta stola novitatis' is well chosen in contrast to the earlier verse in the sequence, 'fune cincta castitatis.' All in all, this sequence can be rightfully classified among the regular sequences of the twelfth century due to the perfection of its technical structure, but its personal and lyrical mode of expression reflects the Franciscan spirit typical of the religious poetry of the thirteenth century. \(^1\)

b. Fourteenth Century, 'En in regno claritatis,' \(^2\) a sequence that likewise resembles the Victorine sequence in its external form to a certain extent only, since it shows deviations from the regular sequence, consisting of eight stanzas, divided into two parts, five of them six verses, two stanzas have eight verses, and the final stanza four verses. Here is one stanza for example:

Clara stiroe generosa Haec magistra dominarum,
Claris claret actibus, Felix primiceris,
Nominata necdum nata Greges ducit puellarum
Et praeventa laudibus. Ad Christi connubia.

Note the regular rhythm with trochaic verses, alternately

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 354; Raby explains the use of the Sequence measure by the Franciscans.

\(^2\)Cf. Appendix for full text.
of eight syllables and of seven syllables. However, the ceasura does not always coincide with the end of a word (cf. 4b); the internal rhyme occurs more often with a tendency towards the use of frequent alliteration, (cf. 3a); the rhyme scheme is 'aabaab' for four of the eight stanzas, 'aaaaaa' for the closing as well as the opening stanza, with remaining two stanzas of 'ababcdcd.'

While the theme of this sequence also praises Clare in her heavenly glory, unorganized narrative motifs predominate in the account of her virtuous life, miracles and death. The biblical motif of the 'Mystical Union' characterizes two verses, (1b, 4b). The lyrical motifs in the description of Clare's ascetic virtues and her imitation of Christ Crucified add the Franciscan personal feeling, again like the "Stabat Mater," but with less emotional effect (2b, 4a), as is true for the closing petition (8a - quoted above) addressed simply to 'Virgo Clara.'

Although this fourteenth century sequence shows the influence of the Franciscan Movement and of the format of the regular sequence, it is inferior in beauty, form, comprehensiveness and sense piety, to the earlier form.

c. Fifteenth Century, "Rex per portum caritatis," a sequence that can be termed as relatively "irregular" in

\[1\] Cf. S(40) in Appendix for complete text.
that it has many variations from the ideal form of the "regular" sequence. The stanzas are ten in number, containing six, then eight, then four, verses in a triple repetition for nine stanzas, and closing with six verses for the tenth stanza; the first eight stanzas contain trochaic verses of eight and seven syllables but not in the usual, alternate succession of the regular sequence; the last two stanzas have a combination of trochaic and iambic verses; the rhyme scheme is in four different patterns, and the frequency of the internal rhyme is unusually significant. These stanzas give some idea of the mentioned peculiarities in the sequence:

Rex per portum caritatis
Intrans hortum castitatis
Novum florem colligit,
Domi patris cura matris
Divinis juncta nexibus.
Nos a nece tua prece
Christus demptos et exemptos
Cura perducat sedula,
Dum praeclaram rosam Claram,
Mundo raram, sibi caram,
Sponsam sibi eligit.
In absconso Christo sponso
Cordis vacat amplexibus.
Ubi uncti Deo juncti,
Dum quo gaudes, canunt
laudes
Per infinita saecula.

In the development of the theme descriptive of the life of Clare, the first verse (quoted above) serves as an introduction with a biblical motif of the 'Mystical Marriage' which is referred to again in the eighth verse. Narrative elements are the content for the rest of the sequence except for the lyrics in the two final verses, (quoted...
above), - related in an objective, factual fashion. Fifteenth century thought, "deeply absorbed in the fear of death," characterizes the petition, (cf. 10a, above) for deliverance from 'eternal death' in the use of the term 'nece;' the phrase 'Christus...perducat' still shows evidence of the earlier tradition of the Franciscan devotion to the Humanity of Christ, but it is not expressed with the original Franciscan fervour. Likewise, in the same eschatology motif, the appeal to Clare for her intercession is addressed to the Saint in phrases that have a tone of formality about them, - sentiment seems to be sacrificed for the sake of preserving the rhyme scheme, (cf. 10a, quoted above).

This hymn, by way of example of other Clare hymns of the fifteenth century reflects a decadence that is typical of the field of hymnology of the time.

d. After the Renaissance - Eighteenth Century, "O pulchra caelo quae redit," a Franciscan breviary hymn that shows the influence of the revival of Classical Latin in the writing of Latin hymns, by "a repudiation of the earlier medieval ruggedness and stylistic neglect in favor of smooth

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1 Julian, op. cit., p. 364.
2 Cf. full text in Appendix, "Inedited Hymns."
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and finished Latinity."\(^1\) Quoted passages from this hymn, and from an early Franciscan breviary hymn with a similarity in theme, can more readily illustrate the contrast in pre-Renaissance and post-Renaissance hymns:

1. Thirteenth C. - 2. Eighteenth C. -

Novum sidus emicuit,          O pulchra caelo quae redit a
Candor lucis appaeruit,        Lux emicanti sidere;  b
Nam lux, quae lucem inflit,    Nobis novellum pauperum  c
Claram clarere voluit.         Florem reducens virginum.  c

Mundus et caro vincitur,       Mundum virili despicit a
Matri Christi connectitur,      Gemmasque, et aurem
Christi prorsus innititur,      pectore,     b
Pauperem pauper sequitur.      Firmoque Patris ardua  c
H(13/3,6)                      Gressu premit vestigia.  c

H(Ined. 3/1,3)

From the study of the external form of the later hymn, the rhythm is based on quantity of the vowels, not on word accent as in the earlier hymn with four-versed stanzas; and is written in the Ambrosian iambic dimeter verse with no variations in the pattern, in contrast to the iambic dimeter of verse #1 of the earlier hymn where word accent often conflicts with verse accent. The earlier regular internal and external rhyme has disappeared and also the regular rhyme scheme is replaced by an abcc abcc form.

\(^1\)Messenger, op. cit., in reference to the revision of Pope Urban VIII of breviary hymns and supression of most of the sequences; p. 82. Since "breviary hymns monopolized hymnody" from that time on, post-Renaissance hymns in honor of Clare are all breviary hymns."
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The theme for the first quoted stanza of each hymn is laudatory, by the use of 'light' metaphors, but in hymn #2, the vividness in its figurative language is lacking because of the stress on grammatical correctness; the thought expressed is vague in that the actual name of 'Clara' which supplies the inspiration for the 'light' metaphor is only implied in hymn #2, giving only a faint impression of the 'light' imagery in hymn #1, signified by the term of "sidus," and a series of aptly chosen, synonyms that intensify the meaning of the "Claram" mentioned in the last verse of the stanza. Furthermore, by a comparison of the development of the 'ascetic' motif in the two hymns, the later hymn seems to impart the impression of Clare's detachment from the world as an unpleasant physical struggle, and thereby lacks the spiritual joy and rewards significant of the same motif in the earlier hymn.

Thus, from the thirteenth century onwards, the visible signs of a gradual decadence in the style, ideology, and inspiration of Latin hymns,\(^1\) climaxed by the disastrous effects of the Renaissance in the sixteenth century\(^2\) and


\(^2\)Fortescue, op. cit., Int., p. xxiv-xxx, xxxvi, xxxvii.
the Revision of breviary hymns in the seventeenth century, are reflected in the entire cycle of the writing of the Clare hymns.

2. Adherence of the Hymns to Types in Earlier Use

Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (340-397) remains the uncontested originator of the medieval Latin hymn as it has become familiar to us - a uniform series of metrical stanzas adapted to congregational use. 1 Ambrose made use of the simplest of lyric forms, the unrhymed, iambic dimeter, in a four-line strophe, which has been in vogue ever since, at first unrhymed after the original models, and later, rhymed. 2 The Ambrosian hymn, considered as a metrical model in comparison with all other existing models, dominated the field of hymnody equally with its prestige as an expression of Christian theology and devotion, and especially so, in regard to the hymns which were sung at the services of the canonical hours, the hour or office hymns, later associated with the breviary, due to the influence of Benedict.

In keeping with this principle, the breviary hymns in honor of St. Clare, for the greater number, are modelled on the rhythmic pattern of the Ambrosian hymn. Numerically,
from the twenty-five breviary hymns studied, sixteen of them conform exactly to the traditional type, with added rhyme, - (all but three are dated from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In five other hymns, the iambic dimeter again is the prevailing meter but is used in combination with the iambic dimeter catalectic, or, with the trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic, in alternating verses or as a final verse.

The trochaic dimeter verse form characterizes the remaining four breviary hymns, written in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. St. Hilary (c. 310-366), the first known author of Latin hymns, used this meter. It is illustrated in his "Adae carnis gloriosae" and also in hymns by Prudentius, e.g., "Corde natus ex parentis" for Advent; in both instances, acceptable as an alternative in use with classical meters. The growing preference by later

1 Cf. Listing of "Breviary Hymns," Chapter II, supra
2 H(5), (9), (10), (11), (12), (13), (16), (24), (25), (34), (35), (36), (38), (47), (48), (50).
3 H(14), (15), (41).
4 H(35), (42). Cf. hymn of 9 C., "Ave, maris stella" for earlier use of this meter.
5 H(17), (19), (20), (30).
7 Fortescue, op. cit., p. xxvi.
8 Ibid.
writers of lyrics for this trochaic meter is evident from its use in most of the hymns of Adam of St. Victor (12 C.) as in his masterpiece, "Heri mundus exsultavit;"\(^1\) in the immortal Eucharistic hymns of St. Thomas (13 C.) including the hymn at First Vespers, "Pange lingua gloriosi,"\(^2\) and in the "Stabat mater dolorosa" of da Todi (13 C.), the supreme achievement of Franciscan religious verse of the Middle Ages.\(^3\) While the trochaic meter is more closely associated with the sequence form of the hymn rather than with the office or breviary form, the extraordinary popularity and diffusion of the sequence may account for the adoption of this motif for the breviary hymn, as in the quoted selections for St. Clare.

The use of the Sapphic meter in breviary hymns which occasionally effective as in those of St. Gregory (6 C.), e.g., "Nocte surgentes vigilemus omnes,"\(^4\) and Paul the Deacon (9 C.), "Ut queant laxis resonare fibris,"\(^5\) apparently had no influence on those Clare breviary hymns which were

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\(^1\) Text, in Raby, op. cit., p. 408.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 540.
\(^3\) Text in Britt, op. cit., p. 13.
\(^4\) Text in Raby, op. cit., p. 166.
\(^5\) Cf. Chapter II, (supra) for "Inedite hymns", Chev. 27777, 25660, 13851.
written prior to the seventeenth century, for none of these earlier listings were composed on the pattern of the ancient lyrical form.

The metrical scheme of the Clare sequences, in comparison with the traditional form, the regular sequence of Adam of St. Victor, has already been described. However, there are only four of them that might be classified as strictly regular sequences.\(^1\) While the majority of the sequences, apart from these few exceptions, show the influence of the Victorine sequences in their general format, as in the use of regular rhyme, of trochaic lines of eight syllables followed by trochaic lines of seven syllables, still there are many variations: in the orderly standard arrangement of these lines,\(^2\) in the occurrence of the caesura at the end of a word,\(^3\) and in the number of verses to a strophe,\(^4\) and combinations of trochaic and iambic verses.\(^5\) Because of these licenses, it might be said that the greater number of the Clare sequences bear a closer resemblance to the transitional sequence of the eleventh

\(^1\)S(8),(27),(32),(33).
\(^2\)Cf. e.g., S(28).
\(^3\)Cf. S(37).
\(^4\)Cf. S(45).
\(^5\)Cf. S(29).
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1 century, but with added assonance and rhythm. Furthermore, for the structure of a sixteenth century sequence printed in Lyons, there seems to be an intentional reversion, on the part of the anonymous writer, to the early Sequence of the French type in which the verses often end in the letter "a", and to the tradition of the later Notkerian Sequence of St. Gall with an independent strophe at the beginning and the end of the sequence.

Under the influence of the poetry of the late thirteenth century, rhythmic Offices began to be written, a development which had its origin in the earlier use of fragments of hymns incorporated into the office as responses, later, in a simple combination of portions of prose and poetry respectively, and, finally, in the composition of the whole 'Historia,' (as it was called), on the same rhythmical pattern, with rhyme to unite the verses of a strophe. The Franciscan, Julian of Speyer, the poet and composer of the Offices of St. Francis and St. Anthony may be named as the perfector of this movement.

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2 Ibid., p. 217.
3 Ibid., p. 213.
5 Ibid., p. 453.
6 Raby, op. cit., p. 454.
Julian died about 1250 at Paris. Thus, the origin of the uniform and completely developed Office in rhyme can be placed at the end of the twelfth century or first half of the thirteenth century, - a period not far from that of Adam of St. Victor whose sequences must have influenced the Office form. Julian's type of Office met with extraordinary amount of favor, and thereby was often imitated with echoes of the original text, especially in books of Franciscan use. The oldest known rhythmic Office in honor of the Nativity of St. Clare, "Iam sancte Clare claritas" dating from 1292, and through the centuries, as sung on the twelfth of August by members of the Franciscan Orders, seems to have its source and from The Rhythmic Office of St. Francis composed by Julian (1231-34) and The Legend of St. Clare composed by Celano (before 1262). How closely the author of the Office, (anonymous), followed the chronology of the life of Clare as in the Legend has already been

1Van Dijk, "Il culto," op. cit., p. 178.
2Cf. Chapter II, p. 76, supra for the classification of the three rhythmic Offices of St. Clare, R(7) "not traditional," Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 178.
3R(26); For the third Office, cf. full discussion in Chapter III, supra.
4Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 178.
6Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 179.
7Often ascribed to Pope Alexander IV, but assertion contradicted by Van Dijk, ibid.
shown in the analysis of the legendary elements in the hymns.

Now that same author had recourse to the earlier Office of St. Francis for a traditional setting for his Office of St. Clare, Van Dijk proves by an interesting comparison of portions of both Offices that are alike; but he believes, nevertheless, that the Office of St. Clare "is a composition that is original and personal in its own way," and that the references and allusions therein that bear a semblance to those found in the Office of St. Francis are used intentionally, "to show the intimate relationship between the two Saints." Here is an outline of a few of the similarities mentioned that substantiate the dependence of the Office for Clare on that for St. Francis:

The metrical version for both Offices is iambic throughout; the antiphons and responses in both agree in the number of lines and in the disposition of rhyme;

The two hymns and the three antiphons at the 'Magnificat' and the 'Benedictus' are in the same metrical scheme for both Offices; the antiphon, 'Salve sponsa Dei' is an imitation of the antiphon, 'Salve sancte Pater.'

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1 Van Dijk, _op. cit._, p. 179-180.
2 _Ibid._, p. 179.
4 _Ibid._
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In the 'Invitatoria:'
1. Regi, quae fecit opera...  2. Regi qui carnem induit...
   Cuius in sancto vulnera...  Cuius in Clara claruit...

In the Antiphons and Responses:
1. Excelsi dextrae gratia...  2. Excelsi servus virginem...
   In dei fervens opere....  In via poenitentiae...
   Amicum quaerit pristinum... Amica crucis plangere...
   Laudans laudare monuit...  Laudans laudare studeat...

Julian did put some of the Legend of St. Francis in his Office but it was not the main source; the Office of St. Clare is founded definitely on her Legend.

The composition of this rhythmic Office of Clare, with its dependence on the Legend, and its relationship to the Office of St. Francis, shows that its author was no less a poet than an author of an Office, and that he possessed the "poetic genius, and the Franciscan spirit, like Friar Julius, that placed him among the principal poets of religious poetry of the Middle Ages."¹

The 'Pia Dictamina' which are hymn creations of the fifteenth century, may be associated with the secular art of epistolary compositions of the eleventh century, entitled 'Dictamen.'² Medieval rhetoricians concentrated on the proper form for official and ceremonious letters as a necessary ally to law and diplomacy. Alberic, a monk of

¹Ibid., p. 182.
²So explained by Haskins, Renaissance of the 12th Century, p. 103-108.
Monte Cassino, a grammarian and author of lives of saints and verses, wrote the first known manual of the new epistolary style, the *Breviarum de dictamine* which provided model types of correspondence for imitation. In the twelfth century 'Dictamen' flourished in law schools; and likewise was emphasized in the study of the classics, in the form of Latin compositions of prose or poetry featuring, for example, correspondence between the gods and goddesses for all possible occasions. In theory, the standard form of a 'Dictamen' was divided into five parts: 1. the salutation, a fixed type of address in keeping with the position in society; 2. the exordium, designed to put the reader in the right frame of mind; 3. the narrative or exposition; 4. the petition, a logical deduction from the exordium and narration; 5. the conclusion.

Although in not so quite a pronounced manner, these characteristics of the secular 'Dictamen' are still discernible in a later and extended form, the 'Pium Dictamen.' Blume defines it: "A type of hymnody that was intended for private silent devotion, and not for singing," was termed "rhythmus," - a "rhythmic prayer," or "reingebete" in German. Among the various kinds of "Pia Dictamina" were

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2 Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 143-144.
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the "gloss songs" which paraphrased, extended, or explained each separate word of a popular prayer or Church antiphon. The three 'Pia Dictamina' among the Clare hymns might be considered in this class, as the hymn P(2) is a paraphrase of Psalm 44; P(4) and P(23) paraphrases of the "Ave Maria;" the latter 'Pium Dictaminum' opens with the verse, "Gaude sacra virgo Clara," associating its content with that of the antiphon, "Gaude, Maria Virgo" for Matins of the Assumption of Our Lady.  2

To return to the comparison of the earlier form 'Dictamen' with the later 'Pium Dictamen' - note these characteristics in the hymn from that resemble those of the original form: 1. the greetings in this extra-liturgical type of Clare hymns mentioned above: "Ave" for P(2) and also for P(4), with "Gaude" for P(23); 2. the series of invocations that recall her most cherished prerogatives (like the exordium): "Sponsi summi sponsa cara," P(2), "Dei plena gratia" P(23), "Summo Deo valde cara," P(4); 3. the

1A. Fortescue, op. cit., Int. x-xii.

2Cf. Raby, op. cit. p. 25 and 459; this antiphon is found in the Liber responsalas of Gregory the Great (text in Migne, Vol. 73, col. 799); as that type of rhymed prose that was borrowed from the Church Fathers for liturgical use, it occurs in a 7 C. responsorium used at Rome in the Office of Our Lady, as mentioned above, with the text - here quoted in part - "Gaude Maria Virgo! cunctas haereses sola interemisti, qui Gabrielis archangei dictis credidisti..."
TECHNICAL, COMMUNITY AND INDIVIDUAL CREATION OF THE HYMNS

detailed narration of the power of the Saint over the devil because of her sinlessness, P(2), her zeal in the practice of holy poverty, P(4), her celestial rewards, "following the Lamb," because of disdain for earthly goods; P(23). Here the use of biblical elements re-echoes the practice of including scriptural quotations in the earlier 'dictamen.

4. the petition, for Clare's intercession from her clients: for a share in her heavenly glory P(2), for the remission of sins P(4), P(23); 5. the closing; with the name of 'Clara' P(2), 'Vale' P(4), 'Grude' P(23) addressed to Clare in heaven.

Of the three hymns to Clare that are modeled on the 13 C. 'poetria' form of epistolary composition, P(4) seems to bear the closest relation by the formality of its structure and content; the four four-lined strophes have the opening words, 'Ave,' 'Salve,' 'Gaude,' 'Vale' respectively, followed by a title for Clare; and the set exactitude of each strophe with a rhyme scheme of 'aaaa' and the trochaic dimeter acatalectic for the lines of each verse. Here there seems a resemblance to the pattern for 'Dictamen' in keeping with the Poetria of John of Garland, in which

1Apoc., 14, 4.
3Ibid., p. 191.
he treats of 'poetria' an exercise for the actual writing of verse, with its specific application to 'Dictamen,' of both forms as 'rhetorica,' and as in the department of elocution. The fundamental concepts which entered in the origin of the 'Dictamen' as the model form of communication in the secular field between client and patron, were worthy factors for its adoption into the religious field, thus, a 'Pium Dictamen.' While the 'Pium Dictamen' shows the influence of the sequence in form and content, the number which were written in honor of St. Clare are comparatively few, due to the fact that the sequence had a liturgical function and setting, in contrast to the 'Pium Dictamen' which was extra-liturgical like the "processional" hymn, either superfluous or purely ornamental from this point of view, and only for private devotion.

3. Communal and Individual Spirit in the Clare Hymns

Since the Clare hymns follow the traditions of medieval hymnody whereby "anonymity is the rule and known authorship the exception" for the hymns, and since they are gathered from liturgical manuscripts, and not from the work

1 Messenger, op. cit., 171.
2 Ibid., p. 15.
of individual authors except in a few cases, they give the general impression of communal creation. Furthermore, due to the fact that almost all of the Clare hymns are traceable to either breviary or to missal in their Mss. sources, and, consequently, as breviary hymn or sequence, they had been contributing factors to communal worship. However, within the composition of the hymns, there can be noted certain modes of expression, - in a phrase, a verse, or even in a whole strophe - which identify more explicitly a communal objective, and often characterize the affections, petitions or resolutions that arise from contemplation of the narrative portions of the hymns.

In this respect, a consideration, first of the Franciscan hymns, revealed that the inclusion of an ideal or motif that was traditional to the Order, thereby gave many of the hymns the impress of communal creations. For instance, in the doxologies of two of the hymns, the general Franciscan devotion to the brotherhood of Christ, and to Mary are communal sentiments:

Tibi, Christe, laudes istae, Deus pater, Jesu frater, Pater et frater hominis, Nostros gubernet exitus, Verbus patris, fructus matris, In hoc festo Clarae gesto Consors paterni luminis. Veni, creator spiritus.  

\[H(20/8)\] \[H(47/8)\]  

1 In the doxologies of four other hymns, there is a

\[H(11), (13), (24), (36).\]
reference to Clare; and three of them are identical in phrasing, thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Virginis huius merito} \\
\text{Laus patri sit ingenito,} \\
\text{Gloria unigenito,} \\
\text{Virtus summa paraclito.} \quad H(24/7)
\end{align*}
\]

Likewise, in expressions of kinship; first, as representative of the whole Franciscan Order, for example, in a petition:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tuis sanctis precibus} \\
\text{Junge coeli civibus} \\
\text{Fratres atque filias.} \quad S(32/6b)
\end{align*}
\]

and in another, with the same fraternal spirit:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Quod implorat, quod exorat,} \\
\text{Francisci haec familia} \\
\text{Cito dato corde grato,} \\
\text{Aeterna coeli gloria.} \quad H(9/7)
\end{align*}
\]

then, as designating the members of the Second Order, stated in terms like those noted in the following verses for a universal prayer of praise:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{In hoc hoc festo gaudens esto,} \\
\text{Soror senex, juvencula,} \\
\text{Cui congaudes, redde laudes,} \\
\text{Plaude, turba paupercula.} \quad H(5/6)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Exsultate, jubilate,} \\
\text{Pauperis matris filiae,} \\
\text{Convocatae, congregatae,} \\
\text{A solis ortus cardine.} \quad H(20/1)
\end{align*}
\]

also a petition:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ora Dei filium,} \\
\text{Spes sanctorum milium,} \\
\text{Ut post hoc exilium,} \quad S(22/8)
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{Cf. also H(11), (35), (36); S(46), Appendix.}\]
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Other hymns are characterized by a more widespread communal tone, which is significant in a phraseology that applies to all the clients of Clare. Here are a few instances of such verses from the hymns:

... Ob hoc munāatis cordibus Jesum ciamus vocibus. H(10/5)...

... Per virginem, quam colimus
Cui devote psallimus, H(10/7)

and often more definitely expressed in opening verses:

Gaudeat ecclesia, S(21);
Gaude, caeli Hierarchia
Palude, felix ecclesia, S(22)

Laetabundus plaudat mundus
...
Exsultet caelum laudibus. H(30)

Sonet vox ecclesiae
Digna laudes hodie S(46)

Laetabundus
Exsultet fidelis chorus
Die isto, S(29)

with a special reference to Clare's own people of Assisi for observance of a general thanksgiving because of the delivery of the city from invasion:

Laudans laudare studeat,
In laudem semper prodeat,
Plebs ista salvatoris
Quam tanta ditat sanctitas,
Non cesset ipsa civitas
A laude conditoris. R(26, Ad Laudes)

1 Cf. also H(30), (34), (42); S(6),(8),(28),(29), (49), Appendix.
Since the communal element is naturally an essential characteristic of breviary hymns and rhythmic offices in keeping with their liturgical function in the public prayer of the Church, more than half of the Clare hymns can be classified as communal creations, true to the traditional characteristic.

Likewise in the development of the sequence, there was the expressed tendency towards communal singing in the structure of the series of verses to be sung by alternate choirs, with the verses in pairs, alike in number of syllables and rhythm, and eventually, the communal spirit became more pronounced as shown by the division of each strophe into two different sections, and found its most perfect form, the regular sequence. Since all but six of the Clare sequences, imitate the regular sequence with this special feature, it might be concluded that most of them here studied fit in the category of communal hymns.

In contrast, the study of the few hymns that are non-communal revealed that only one of them - P(2), from the five hymns that are traceable to individual authorship -

---

1 Cf. listing of hymns in Chapter II for rhythmic offices, and prevalence of breviary hymns.
2 Cf. discussion of same at beginning of this chapter.
3 S(18), (21), (22), (27), (29), (31), (32), (33), (39), (40), (44), (45), (46), (49).
4 Cf. Chapter II (supra).
has any evident traits of creation for individual use. In this 'Pium Dictamen,' the Carthusian author of the four-teenth century, expresses each petition to Clare throughout the entire hymn by the use of the first person of the singular number; for example:

Memor esto, precor mei P(2/4); Fac me Deo vas perfectum,
Ad me aurem et inclina, Mundans me a sordibus,
Virgo, tuam nec declina, Ut det mihi castitatem.
A me tuo famulo. (2/7,8,9) (3/2,3,4)

Ora pro me Dominum
Vitam meam fac tranquillam.
(4/3,4)

but, - in the same hymn, - the individual petitioner in-cludes the needs of others besides his own requests to Clare:

Sed de coelis jam dignare, Ora Deum pro peccatis
Mihi gratiam donare Omnis Christianitatis,
Omni atque populo. Ut donentur singula;
(2/10,11,12)
Me commendO deo caeli, Me commendO Deo caeli,
Tua prece cum fidel, Tua prece cum fidel,
Solvens mea vincula. Solvens mea vincula.
(2/7-12)

In summary, the Clare hymns - viewed from the standpoint of their assimilation in form and content to the general hymnody of the period in which they were written, or to that of earlier periods - appear to be for the most part, products of their own times, affected by the pre-vailing Movements of the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, in these respects: 1. In metrical form, the Clare Breviary hymns adhere to the earlier Ambrosian model.
form, but with added assonance and rhyme - not unlike the standard traditional type of all Breviary hymns; 2. the earliest Clare sequences - few in number - bear the closest resemblance to the Regular Sequence of the twelfth century, while later forms have modifications, and in some instances, resemble more the undeveloped previous Transitional and Irregular sequences; 3. the rhythmic office of the thirteenth century for St. Clare is exemplary in that it was apparently inspired by an outstanding thirteenth century contribution to medieval religious poetry, the rhythmic office for St. Francis by Julian; 4. a definite communal spirit predominates in the hymns - a characteristic that was common to all hymnody by the fifteenth century, - and one that would be expected to be found in hymns written for a Franciscan saint at the period when the Franciscan family was united and in its full fervour; 5. only a few hymns are a reflection of the private devotional forms, the 'Pia Dictamina,' a fifteenth century creation with traces of the eleventh century 'Dictamen,' the secular rhetorical composition; 6. as for content, the motifs of religious poetry are not missing, but, due to the influence of Humanism, the Renaissance, and the liturgical hymn reform of Pope Urban VIII for a revival of classical Latin, the Clare hymns - like all other hymnology subject to the dictates of these Movements - the Christian emotional element is
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notably missing when expressed in the clear, definite, finite terms of the classic forms, - an emotional element that heretofore was to have neither clarity nor measure in its mode of expression for the love of God.\(^1\) 7. However, transcending the conformity to changing phases of hymnology, the Clare hymns of all periods "take up and carry on" - as it were - the traditional Franciscan spirit which characterizes all Franciscan hymnology.

\(^1\) Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
CONCLUSIONS

The results of the foregoing study of the hymns of Saint Clare of Assisi are summarized in the following statements:

1. The hymns that were written in honor of Saint Clare of Assisi from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century can be grouped according to characteristics that are common to their external, or to their internal structure.

2. The liturgical form of the hymn is predominant with an equal distribution in breviary hymns and sequences. The number of sequences is indicative of the status of this more recently developed type of hymn in the field of late medieval hymnody.

3. In the Clare hymns, for the most part, the rhythm is based on the correspondence of word-accent and verse-accent, and the rhyme is consistent and regular. There is a decided preference for the use of the Regular Sequence measure, even in breviary hymns.

4. From the detailed consideration of the content of Clare hymns, the greater portion of them might be classified as narrative hymns since motifs of legendary-biographical nature are the prevailing elements. This tendency for legendary themes is typical of all thirteenth and fourteenth century hymnody. The motifs in the hymns include the entire legendary account of Saint Clare, but present it in a disconnected manner with scattered references.
CONCLUSIONS

throughout the hymns. The most favored legendary-biographical motifs, in the order of their frequency of recurrence, concern the relationship of Saint Clare to Saint Francis, Saint Clare's practice of Franciscan poverty, Saint Clare, foundress of the Second Order of Saint Francis, and Saint Clare's virtues and ascetic practices.

5. Furthermore, a relatively smaller group of hymns contain both narrative and lyrical elements. By frequent recourse to symbolism, the distinctive mode of expression for medieval thought, these hymns enrich the imagery of the legendary-biographical motifs by restating their content in the forms of panegyrical, biblical, and eschatological motifs. Most of these lyrical allusions in the Clare hymns can be identified with the stereotyped phraseology for similar references in medieval hymnody. Among the panegyrical motifs, holding first place is the name of "Clare" motif, the "military" motif, and the "Clare and Mary" motif. For the biblical allusions, in the hymns, the Old Testament appears to be the main source, for Saint Clare most often is depicted by the "valiant woman" motif and the "mystical marriage" motif. Among the comparatively few eschatological motifs in the hymns, the "prudent virgins" motif is the most prominent. The classical allusions are rare, but in singular instances have reference to the spiritual strength of Clare against Satan in the "Cerberus" and
6. In retrospect, the analysis of the various elements within the hymns of Saint Clare provided a means of classifying the hymns according to their content. It is the opinion of the writer that the 'internal subject analysis' of the hymns likewise offers a method for the 'synthesis' of the hymns on the basis of internal content, for a general survey of the classified motifs in the Clare hymns revealed the possibility of a combination of the motifs that would formulate a centralized theme for the hymns - here considered, in terms of: "Saint Clare, the Franciscan Spouse of Christ Crucified."

7. For their primary sources, the Clare hymns seem to be directly traceable to the earliest known legend of Saint Clare most probably written by St. Thomas of Celano, The Legenda Sanctae Clarae Virginis, and indirectly, traceable to two earlier documents, the Cursus and the Bulla, for the canonization of Saint Clare, writings which were apparently a source of inspiration for Celano's Legenda. For manuscript sources of the individual texts, the countries of Central Europe are identified with most of them and their greatest number dates from the fifteenth century. Anonymity is a characteristic of the Clare hymns since only five of the hymns have authorship mentioned for them.
8. Besides the similarity in motifs, other features that form a common link between the hymns of considerable importance are: the widespread significance which is given to the etymological meaning of the name of the saint "clara," originally so treated in the primary sources of hymns and then becoming the standard keyword for creative expression in the hymns; the trait of "borrowing" from one hymn to another in the way of a phrase, a verse, a stanza or group of stanzas; the perfect Latin but lack of true fervor that distinguishes post-Renaissance from pre-Renaissance hymns. But above all, the characteristics of Franciscan tradition seem to form a natural bond, an inherent inter-relation between all the hymns dedicated to a Franciscan saint, Clare.

9. The Franciscan 'leitmotif' is apparent in the simplicity of thought and expression, with a freshness and new vitality added to the hymns, that reflects the 'new' way of life taught by St. Francis - a personal love of Christ and all creatures in Christ, a devotion to the humanity of Christ in His poverty, humility, in His Passion, in the Blessed Sacrament, in His love for His mother, Mary, - in a word, the Franciscan message to the world.

10. The developments here unfolded in the study of the hymns to Saint Clare show that even later Medieval Latin hymnody has vibrant factors, in the creation of new
forms, of new traditions, and not only an imitation of the religious hymnody of the earlier periods. The independence of spirit, especially of the Franciscan spirit, manifested in this analysis of the hymns of Saint Clare makes such a study worthwhile, as it may serve to illustrate unknown chapters in the development of later Franciscan hymnody.

The monumental and most reliable collection of medieval Latin hymns by Jesuit scholars. The hymns are arranged according to their types, with manuscript sources. The introductions to the various volumes provide studies pertinent to the hymns from both the literary and historical aspect. The primary source book for the complete texts of medieval Latin hymns.

The texts for the greater number of the hymns in honor of St. Clare were found in these volumes. Observations on the development of the sequence and the pia dictamina were especially useful.


A comprehensive study of the medieval poetical version of Celano's prose legend of St. Clare, here edited for the first time.

By a comparison of the motifs in this long poem with those in the earlier prose legend, the added emphasis on heroic and romantic elements for the life of Clare in verse prove to be the inspiration for the expression of similar motifs in the Clare hymns.


This publication of the International Society of Franciscan Studies at Assisi contains the Latin text of the earliest known legend of St. Clare attributed to Thomas of Celano, as found in a thirteenth century manuscript; also the Latin text for the Bull of Canonization and for five sequences of the Saint. In the Introduction is a documented discussion of the authorship and available manuscript sources for the legend with priority given to Celano and the single manuscript cited above in title of text.

Although the legend of St. Clare by Celano is relatively brief and sketchy in form, all of the legendary-biographical motifs in the Clare hymns are traceable to this early account as shown in the analysis of the hymns here studied.

Chevalier, Le Chanoline Ulysse, Repertorium Hymnologicum, Louvain-Brussels, 1892-1921, 5 vol.

A recognized index for the first lines of Latin hymns in use in the Church from their beginnings to the early 20 C.
In the listings for the hymns of St. Clare, a sizable collection of hymns in honor of the Saint afforded a starting point for research in the location of the full texts of such hymns.


Translations in German from a 14 C. manuscript which contained the legend of St. Clare by Celano, four letters of St. Clare to Agnes of Prague, the blessing of St. Clare, and the Process for her canonization, and was found in an early Claretian convent in Nuremberg, with documented notes for proof of the texts of the letters and the blessing as the earliest copies available of the original forms.

The study of the motifs in the Writings of St. Clare in the view of a personal account of memorable features in her life gave evidence for the noted emphasis on similar motifs in the legend, and subsequently, in the hymns.


A concise scholarly evaluation of the best known works on the life of St. Clare, from the thirteenth to the twentieth century.

It provided ample material for a working bibliography for the sources of motifs in the Clare hymns.


Compiled in the early 20 C. by a recognized authority for Franciscan history, this is standard reference for a compact history of the Three Orders of St. Francis for origins, development, influence; a manual to the learned periodical of Franciscan history, the Archivum Franciscanum Historicum (AFH).

Book II which treats of the Poor Clares, the Second Order of St. Francis was useful for the historical data in support of the communal type of motifs in the Clare hymns.


Original text of the Process is lost. This is a copy of an early Italian text of the Process with a study of the same.

Helpful in the detailed accounts of the miracles of
St. Clare information needed to explain vague phraseology of the miracle motifs found in the Clare hymns.


This work is the latest translation in English of major documents concerning St. Clare, including: Celano's legend; the Writings of St. Clare- Rule, Testament, Letters, Blessing; the Privilege of Seraphic Poverty, Bull of Canonization, and Letters to St. Clare from ecclesiastical dignitaries. The Appendix has several pages of explanatory notes for the translated texts with a group of Studies adapted from the German of Fr. Lothar Hardick, O.F.M.. The English version of the Legenda is based on the first English translation by Paschal Robinson, O. F. M. in 1906.

A reading of all the important source materials up to the year 1255-56 for the life of St. Clare as here presented in a clear English version truly acquainted the reader with the external framework of her life and an insight of her Franciscan spirituality as a foreknowledge to the analysis of the hymns. The information given in the Notes as well as in the Introduction to each portion of the work provided documented information that was useful throughout the study of the Clare hymns.


Contains the Latin text for a versified form of a legend of St. Clare with explanatory study for manuscript sources and its dependence on Celano's Legenda for content and form.

Valuable as the primary source for the text of the Gaudia, and for the comparative study of this versified legend and the original prose legend which served as an outline for a more detailed analysis of the motifs in verse form.


A presentation and explanation of all available historical data concerning the original and the later forms of the Rule of St. Clare.

The study of the Rule of St. Clare as patterned on the Rule of St. Francis showed the significance of the legendary motifs in the hymns that associate the ideals of the First Order with those of the Second Order.

A standard reference work for the early history of Franciscan literature, tracing its concepts and development by selections from the individual poets, beginning with the revered hymn of St. Francis, in the vernacular and concluding with the Latin models of Da Todi.

This true portrayal of the inherent characteristics of the early Franciscan poetry was particularly helpful for the identification of Franciscan traditions in the Clare hymns as noted, for example, in the motifs for the Passion, for poverty, for nature symbolism.


A scholarly treatment of the subsect from its beginnings to the close of the Middle Ages, arranged in periods based on chronology with due consideration for the works of individuals or movements that influenced the literary development of the century or subsequent centuries. A source with well-documented footnotes, exemplary choice of illustrative types of the poetry, pages of bibliography classified according to periods, and a detailed index.

Proved to be the most helpful reference for the general study of medieval hymnology pre-requisite to the concentration in any one phase of the field - as here, the hymns of St. Clare. The chapter on the Victorine sequences and that on Franciscan Christianity supplied background for elements in the hymns.


As implied in the title of his informative discussion, Father Robinson, a recognized authority in the field of Franciscan research, herein gives a listing of the original texts that concern the life and history of St. Clare, a description of their contents, manuscripts and sources.

Provided a bibliography of primary sources for factual data on St. Clare.


The renowned authority for research on medieval hymns and for publications pertinent to his findings, especially concerned with the internal analyses of groups of
hymns in honor of one saint, in this present work contributes a comprehensive picture of the field of hymnology - in his own terms, - le "Corpus Hymnologicum," and in Part II, an explanation of wealth of information that can be gleaned from a systematic analysis of the internal content of the medieval Latin hymn.

The second portion of the publication, in its description of the various types of motifs that can be found in the analysis of the hymns and examples of the same provided introductory steps and procedures that proved enlightening for the study of the motifs in the Clare hymns.


Herein the eminent Franciscan liturgist traces the devotion and veneration attributed to St. Clare throughout centuries to the present day, as manifested in edited and inedited manuscripts of Franciscan liturgy and Church legislation.

This first, documented account of liturgical procedures in the cult of St. Clare, by the importance it accords to the hymns of the saint in the development, offered a very helpful background for the earliest Clare sequences, the well-known rhythmic office, a fragmentary inedited office, besides historical sources for traces of the Clare cult in a few of the hymns. Copious footnotes supplied references that proved useful for a comparative study of motifs in the hymns of St. Clare with those in the hymns of St. Francis.


The history of the Three Orders of St. Francis, compiled from ancient manuscripts by a 17 C. Irish Franciscan scholar.

Latin texts for the Bull and the Process of Canonization, the legend of Celano, and the Writings of St. Clare with explanatory notes of the annalist served as valuable source material for the legendary motifs in the Clare hymns.
APPENDIX 1

ABSTRACT OF

HYMNS IN HONOR OF SAINT CLARE OF ASSISI

Within the past century an increased interest in the study of the development of the medieval Latin hymn has been responsible for the prestige which is now afforded to the hymn as a worthy contribution to the field of religious poetry and as one valuable phase in the growth of the Church throughout medieval times. However, a most recent method for the study of the medieval hymn in the light of its thought content reflects even a wider cultural background for the hymn of any age. Dr. Joseph Szövérffy, who has introduced this method of "internal analysis" by his studies of the medieval hymns for various saints has proven that the manner of interpretation accordingly determines a definite setting for the hymn and also discloses the trend of contemporary thought for the period in which it was written.

For the present study, Latin hymns of Saint Clare, the foundress of the Poor Clares, the Second Order of St. Francis, are analyzed by this method of approach with a thorough consideration given to the interior structure of fifty of the hymns that were written from the 13th to the 16th C. These hymns are studied line by line with the

1Ph.D. Thesis presented by Sister Mary Immaculata Casal, O.S.F., in 1963, to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa, 349 pages.
elements found therein designated as "motifs" and classified in keeping with their subject content of narrative or lyrical character as legendary, panegyrical or biblical motifs. Then each hymn is classified on the basis of its predominant motif. Furthermore a similarity in the type of motif established relations between the hymns and thus provided for a grouping of the hymns. Since all but five of the hymns here analyzed are characterized by legendary motifs, it is concluded that the hymns of Saint Clare are legendary hymns. The main source of the Clare hymns is shown to be the contemporary biography of the Saint, attributed to Thomas of Celano, *Legenda Sanctae Clarae*, by a comparison of the biographical elements in the hymns with the actual, earliest biography. From a study of the external form of the Clare hymns, they apparently conform to the prevailing style of the period, by the recurrence of the sequence form, and by the preference shown for the metrical features of the Victorine sequence.

Throughout the analysis of the Clare hymns, there is constant reference to the all-pervading Franciscan spirit inherent in the simplicity of expression, and in the portrayal of Franciscan ideals inspired by a personal love of the Creator—characteristics that distinguish Franciscan hymnody from other medieval hymnody— as shown here in the hymns in honor of Saint Clare, "the most perfect follower of Saint Francis."
Finally the hope is expressed that the study of the hymns of Saint Clare has provided a deeper knowledge of later Franciscan hymnody, and may serve as an incentive for similar types of research in the field of medieval Latin hymnody.
APPENDIX 2

Texts of Hymns

1. Edited Hymns

AH 33, 68, 69 (77)

1. Ave, mater humilis
   Ancilla crucifixi,
   Clara, virgo nobilis,
   Sponsa Jesu Christi,
   Ad caelestem patriam
   Fac nos proficiiscire.

2. Claritatis lilium,
   Clara clarens stella,
   Virtutum sacrarium,
   Transfer, mater bella,
   Nos ad Dei filium,
   Pigmentorum cella.

2. Gloriosa virgo, stella,
   Clara matutina,
   Rosa rubens, carens spina,
   Gemma virginea.

3. Clara Dei famula,
   Tenera infantula,
   Cilicii baiula,
   Vivens sine macula.

4. Claritatis speculum,
   Clara, per omne saeculum
   Clara, cum sponsor gloriae
   In claritate Christi,
   A vestitate scoriae,
   Nosemundes, memoriae
   Tuae quos stabilisti.

5. Tu forma humilium,
   Castitatis lilium,
   Sanctitatis speculum,
   Novum per prodigium
   Mariae vestigium
   Ac eius sequens filium.

7. Ave, rosa venustatis,
   Fune cincta castitatis,
   Nova plantans lilia
   Francisci pia plantula,
   Clara, Mariae filio
   Jesu Christi tam pio
   Nos commenda per saecula.

8. Ave thronus Salomonis,
   Quem ornavit suis donis
   Ac replevit multis bonis
   Quibus clare claruit,
   Quod virtutum habuisti
   Sacrum septenarium.///68

9. Ave, cedrus altissima 69
   Et arbor pulcherrima,
   Poma ferens optima,
   Omni odore suavissima.

10. Ave, cupressus ramosa,
    Cuius umbra gratiosa
    Confert aegris refrigerium.

11. Ave, nardus odorifera,
    Frute aromatica,
    Virgo clara, cassia
    Vera non sophistica.

12. Eia, mater, tua prece,
    Peccatorum cor a faece,
    Clara, nostrum emundatur
    Ac in bono solidetur,
    Tuum per subsidium.

MS: Orat. ms. libehardi
prioris Reichenbachen anni
1. Ave prudens et divina,
Mente tota columbina,
Clara venerabilis,
Agni Dei magni clara,
Sponsi summī sponsa cara,
Omnibus laudabilis.
Virtutum praefulgens gemma,
Decorata quippe stemma,
Emicasti plus sophia,
Magis fide, virgo pia,
Excelleris gratia.

2. Que cum rege regum gaudes,
Has devotes sume laudes,
Virgo beatissima,
Memor esto, precor, mei
In conspectu summī Dei,
Sponsa Christi optima.
Ađ me aurem et inclina,
Virgo, tuam nec decline,
A me tuo famulo.
Sed de coelis jam dignare,
Mihi gratiam donare
Omn atque populo.

3. Castitatis vas electum,
Fac me Deo vas perfectum,
Mundans me a sordibus,
Ut det mihi castitatem
Nec non mentis puritatem,
Tuis ora precibus.
In procella piscis more
Tu vixisti in labore
Pulchra Sion filia,
Declaraturn sidus mundi
Victrix freti tam profundi,
Christo me concilia.

4. Castitatis vas electum,
Fac me Deo vas perfectum,
Mundans me a sordibus,
Ut det mihi castitatem
Nec non mentis puritatem,
Tuis ora precibus.
In procella piscis more
Tu vixisti in labore
Pulchra Sion filia,
Declaraturn sidus mundi
Victrix freti tam profundi,
Christo me concilia.

5. Coeli vernans margarita
Virgo labe non attrita.
In hoc vili saeculo.
Virgo felix, praeelecta
Nato virginis dilecta,
Ora pro me sedulo;
Qui te fecit thronum suum,
Concupivit vultum tuum
Prae multis virginibus;
Gratiosum mihi Deum
Fac et dona, ut per eum
Concordem fidelibus.

6. Decus mundi, virgo pura,
Hostis rumpe lora dura,
O laudanda Domina;
Norma morum honestorum,
Spes et salus peccatorum,
Nobis da solamia.
Ora Deum pro peccatis
Omnis Christianitatis,
Ut donentur singula;
Me commendo Deo caeli,
Tua prece cum fidel,
Solvens mea vincula.

7. Corpore vere putresco,
Anima atque sordesco
Scaenis meam vitam totam
Purga a sceleribus.
Quae in me nimis creverunt,
Quae et certe privaverunt
Donis me coelestibus;
Ob hoc meam purga vitam,
Animam et fac politam
Multis cum virtutibus.

8. Clara, virgo veneranda
Mihi adsis in horrenda
Hora et saevissima
Meae mortis ad solamen
Animaeque ad tutamen///142
Prece suavissima. 143
Praevia te mihi, peto,
Ut sis, virgo, vulto laeto,
Ante thronum Domini,
Judicis districti, veri,
Irati atque severi
Misero tunc homini. P(2)
9. Claustral poena consumpta
Requiei es assumpta
Mox beatitudinis.
Aeternae, ubi nunc gaudes
Infinitas audis laudes
Omnis multitudinis
Sanctorum archangelorum,
Angelorum et thronorum
Ac sanctorum virginum,
Principumque confessorum,
Martyrum atque doctorum
Ac sanctorum omnium.

10. Ubi sponsum tuum vides
Cum quo semper vere
vides
Semper et intueris,
Eiusque cum Deo patre
Sua benedicta matre
Pace bona frueris.
Hunc, Clara, me fac
videre
Atque secum congaudere
Et Maria virgine,
Regnum suum possidere,
Sibi semper commanere
In coelesti culmine.

MS: Seq. Ms. S. Georgii,
Villingensis, saec.15.
Cod. Carolsruhan, Geo. 3.
1a. Ave, virgo felix Clara, 
Dominarum lux praecil[la], 
Quem Franciscus genuit.

1b. Ave, mater egenarum 
Prima Christo reclusarum, 
Quibus mundus viluit, //186

2a. Ave, summae paupertatis 187 
Praeclarum principium; 

2b. Ave, mirae claritatis 
Praeceedens exordium.

3a. Ave, cuius caritas 
Et simplex humilitas 
Christi dant hospitium; 

3b. Ave, cuius dignitas 
Et ortus nobilitas 
Decorant Assisium.

4a. Ave, pauperum lucerna, 
Cui dedit vis superna, 
Oleum, cum defuit; 

4b. Ave, Christus quam adfari 
Atque pie consolari 
Viva voce voluit.

5a. Ave, sanctarum praefulgens 
speculum; 

5b. Ave, splendor clarificans 
saeulum.

6a. O quam mirabile 
Et quam laudabile 
Est hoc collegium.

6b. In quo per spiritum 
Christo fit debitum, 
Frequens obsequium.

7a. O quam clemens, quam benigna, 
Quanta Clara laude digna 
Apud Christum creditur!

7b. Per quam hostis remove-
tur, 
Et libertas indulgetur, 
Dum Jesu colloquitur.

8a. Ave, per cuius meritum 
Panis augetur virginum 
Defectum patientium.

8b. O quam fulgens miraculum 
Conventus est humilium 
Per Clarae patrocinium!

9. Supplica, Maria, nato, 
Ut nos mundet a peccato 
Et post vitae huius 
cursum 
Nos post Claram ducat 
sursum 
Ad superna gaudia.

MS: Oration. ms. Franciscanum, 
saec. 15 cod. archivi Cololien
6. S(3)
1. Ave, virgo sancta Clara,  
Orta stirpe ex praeclera,  
Summo Deo valde cara,  
Viam caeli nobis para.

2. Salve, Dei tu amatrix,  
Castitatis adoptatrix,  
Paupertatisque zelatrix,  
Sanctae vitae regulatrix.

3. Gaude, sidus tu caelorum,  
Dulce melos electroum,  
Advocata peccatorum,  
Dele labem vitiorum.

4. Vale, virgo pietatis,  
Fruens vultu deitatis,  
Posce vitam sanctitatis,  
Et coronam cum beatis.

(Found in a Prayer Book, handwritten for a Brigittine Cloister of the diocese of Utrecht in the 15 C.)
(In 2. Vesperis)

1. Clara clarens, labe carens,  
   Luce lucet siderea,  
   Stella poli juncta soli,  
   Lux ecce surgit aurea.

2. Clara mente, clara gente  
   Causam traxit originis,  
   Incorrupta Christo nupta,  
   Consors paterni luminis.

3. Hostem sternens fastum spernens,  
   Vias vitat discriminum,  
   Iter pandit, post te scandit,  
   Jesu, corona virginum.

4. Dum conatur, ut sequatur,  
   Clara Christi signiferum,  
   Fit novella per te stella,  
   Conditor alme siderum.

5. Assuero juncta vero  
   Hesther in chris virginum,  
   Veneramur, invocamus  
   Te lucis ante terminum.

6. In hoc festo gaudens esto,  
   Soror senex, juvencula,  
   Cui congaudes, redde laudes,  
   Plaude, turba paupercula.

7. In hac die, pater pie,  
   Mitte nobis paraclitum,  
   Qui per natum fers reatum,  
   Deus, tuorum militia.

MS: Diurn. ms. Hermetissvillen  
saec. 15 Cod. Criesens 56A-Brev.  
ms. S. Odiliae Rapalvivellan saec.  
15 Clm. Monacen 10929 E.
la. Clara, Dei famula
Tenera infantula,
Cilicii baiula,
Vivens sine macula,
Sanctitate primula,
Multarum praeambula,
Prole replens saecula.

lb. Tu forma humilium,
Castitatis lilium,
Paupertatis titulum,
Sanctitatis speculum,
Novum es prodigium,
Mariae vestigium,
Eius sequens filium.

2a. Christus tecum loquitur,
Persaepe ostenditur,
Mens extasi rapitur,
Maria aggreditur,
Pie te amplectitur,
A te caelum saanditur,
Signis virtus panditur.

2b. Imperas daemoniis
Lupis raptoseripis,
Caecis, claudis, languidis,
Gravatis a glandulis
Sanitatem tribuis,
Vitam praestas mortuis,
Te petenti subvenis.

3a. Ergo nunc nequitiam
Pelle ac tristitiam,
Maestis da laetitiam,
Foedatis munditiam.

3b. Omnes, qui te invocant,
Precata accipiant,
Vitam bene finiant,
Ad Christum perveniant.

Geo. 3.
(In Translacione S. Clarae)

(In 1. Vesperis.)

(At Matutinum)

1. Clara, luce clarior
   Ac sole serenior,
   Virtute sublimior.

Iesum, Clarae virginis
Sponsum, voce carminis,
Venite, adoremus.

2. Laude nostra dignior,
   Favo mellis dulcior
   Et sponso intimior.

(In 1. Nocturno)

1. Tu paradisus voluptatis
   Quam rigat fons divinitatis.

(At Antiphonae)

2. Adest dies gaudii,
   Pharaoh imperii
   Victus cedit impii.

2. Lignum vitae te cibavit
   Ac in bono confortavit.
   Post hanc vitam coronavit.

3. Ramus olivae medii
   In arca cordis proelii
   Aufert causam et taedii.

3. Clara sancta, deprecare
   Pro nobis, nec dicas quare.

4. Ave, virgo praefere
   Liam operantem
   Nec Rachelem deserens
   Deum contemplantem.

(Ad Magnificat)

5. Ave, virgo praefere
   Liam operantem
   Nec Rachelem deserens
   Deum contemplantem.

(At Responsoria)

A. Iam vides Deum oculis,
   Iam ore fruens pociulis
   Dulcedinis divinae,
   Iam auribus angelica
   Melodie audis cantica,
   Laetatis sine fine,
   Dilictum tenens manibus
   Post illum curris pedibus
   Ab ipso amplexaris;
   Consortes redde asugii,
   Nos Christique convivii,
   Quo mater tu ditaris.

1. Mundo splendor oritur,
   Dum haec virgo nascitur,
   Christo chordis iungitur,
   Gratia illabitur,
   Ad bonum inflectitur,
   Vanum omne tollitur,
   Solum Iesum sequitur;
   ///209

V. Odor virtutum spargitur,
   Mundus sentis, adtrahitur.

2. Clara, Francisci filia,
   Agnem sororem praevia
   Vicit parentum taedia,
   Hanc trahens ad caelestia,
   Declinans mundi devia,
   Petens aeterna praemia.
V. Candensve velut lilium
Formosa,
Oculis omnium
Rubens rosa.

3. Virgo pia, Clara,
Mente consternata
Hostium formidine.
Iuncta sponso Iesu
Christo, lacrimata,
Precum fortitudine.

V. Digna Iesu vocis
consolamine
Robur sentit mira
cum dulcedine.

(In 2. Nocturno)
(Antiphona)

1. Tu, signifera,
Sanas vulnera
Signo vitae
Dato a te.

2. Voce puella caruit
Signo dato rehabuit.
Valentinus morbo cadit.
Ad sepulcrum Clarae vadit,
Noctetrina iacuit,
Die terna valuit.

(Responsoria)
Humilitatis praebuit
Exemplum secuturis,
Dum ministrare studuit
Infirmis magnis curis
Ac pedes servientium
Manibus lavat prris;

V. Obsequio se subdidit
Et cunctis se exercuit
Laborum in pressuris.

2. Holofernem Ludith stravit
Hostis caput asportavit
Israelem iucundavit
Hymnum Deo decantavit:
Hesther pro Vasti regnavit,
Quam Assuerus coronavit
Ac prae cunctis adamavit;

V. Quidvis, ait, iube,
datur,
Genti suae vox precatur
Pacem, fiat, rex effa-
tur.

3. In paupertatis copia
Quaerit gloriari,
Huius mundi inopia
Desiderat ditarri,
Nudi Christi consocia
Vult illi conformari;

V. Pro paupertatis gloria
Paupertatis foedera,
Petens intitulari.

(In 3. Nocturno)

1. O adulescentula,
Mardochaei plantula
Digna regis chartula.

2. Sua mitis speciosa
Regem fove operosa
Nobis esto gratiosa.

3. Sentis regem indignan-
tem
Placa iram, fac donan-
tem.

(Responsoria)

1. O paupertas liberalis
Quae pro Deo toleraris:
Fruis a famae malis,
Nomen laudis induaris,
Vere dives praedicaris,
Mox abundat; quid mira-
ris?

V. Dum oleum deess fatur,
Pia mater Clara orat,
Restauratur.
2. Per Aegyptum Nilus vadit,
Claram in desertum tradit,
Igne, nube tegitur,
Caeli manna fruitur,///210
Verus Iosue deducit, 211
Im promissam terram ducit;

V. Terram lac et mel manantem
Habes, audì te precantern.

3. Clara, multarum praevia,
De tenebris ad lucem
Per huius (mundi) devia

(Alia antiphona)

O virgo mirabilis
Insignis et prodigiis,
Languores daemoniacis
Plurimis mederis,
Das gressum fractis tibiis,
Curam epilepticis,
Precibus sinceris;
O vita laudabilis,
Quae fidei sic magnificas,
Sed et multos vivificas
Mortuos defuncta,
Praelatara nos caelestium
Fac consortes civium,
Quibus es coniuncta.

(In 2. Vesperis)

(A. 0 Clara,
Multarum mater gentium,
Exaudi preces flentium,
Adflictos consolare,
Allatris sis laetitiae,
Per viamque tristitiae
Nobiscum comitare
Et fac nos semper tecum
Gratulare. ///211

(Alia Antiphona)

O decus et gaudium, 212
O virginale lilium,
Tu iubat ecclesiae,
Gemma claritatis,
Floridum fers virginibus
Speculum prudentibus
Specialis sanctitatis,
Vitae signis radiis
In te piae dilationis
Requievit spiritus,
Dulcis, pia mater,
Clara nobilis,
Iunge nos beatis.
Trahens ad Christi cru-
cem,
Virginum collegia
Sequentur quarum ducem.

(Vita vivens angelica)
Inter sororum agmina
Nonstrans virtutum lucem.

(In Laudibus)

(Ad Magnificat)

1. Veni in hortum meum
Dulcis filia,
Tuum agnoscens Deum
Carpe lilia.

2. Ascendisti ac fecisti
Cor paratum tibi datum,
Te dilectum audio,
Sine mora venio.

3. Uno pane copia,
Pascit Christi filia
Multos bina pradia.

4. Paupertatis praedidis
Divis privilegis,
Laeta fit inedia.

5. Laudat Deum omnium
Dum praestat solatium,
Ostendens praesaepium.
(Ad Benedictus)

A. O fervens desiderio,
Praeclaro clara studio,
Quem legis sponsum lectulo
Christum crucis in pendulo
Quaerens tenuisti,
Francisci felix aerula
Salomon mirifica,
Manum mittens ad fortia
Procul de summis praemia
Quae promeruisti,
Nostrorum apud Dominum
Posce veniam criminum,
Quae surdis vices aurium,
Caecis acumen luminum
Mundo reddidisti.

(Alia Antiphona)

Ave virgo felix Clara,
Mater pia, mater cara
Dominarum pauperum,
Sinu pio tu nos fove,
Cuncta mala tu amove,
Placa datorem numerum,
Quod mater nostra sis, ostende,
Ab omni male nos defende,
Confer perenne gaudium.

MS: Antiph. ms. Franciscanum saec.
1a. Clara lux apparuit
Mundo, quando claruit
Clarae virtus operum;

1b. Quam Franciscus docuit,
Clare vitam tenuit,
Dominarum pauperum.

2a. Huius clari sideris
Clarescendi posteris
Clarum fit initium,

2b. Vox de caelo nuntia,
Praestat hoc pro filia
Matri natalitium.

3a. Orta claro sanguine
Purpuris sub tegmine
Clara fert cilicium;

3b. Longas per vililias
Orans fugit filias
Hominum et vitium.///145

5a. Tempus in miraculis 146
Non capescit operis
Et vitae profluvium.

5b. Clara, clara meritis
Clari dari miseris
Ora regni gaudium.

MS. Prosar. ms. Franciscanum saec.
14/15. Cod. Parisin. 1339.
1. Clara stella movet bella
Veterem contra Cerberum,
Te ducente et regente
Conditor alme siderum.

2. Polum cernit, solum spernit,
Castigat carnem vimine
Hujus vita volat ita
A solis ortus cardine.

3. Linquit castra, petit astra,
Supernae data gloriae,
Quid turbaris, irascaris,
Hostis Herodes impie?

4. Scandit coelos, cantat melos,
Chorus sanctorum virginum,
Gaudet alma sumpta palma,
Jesu, corona virginum.

5. Ordo chordae plantat corde,
Repletus corde coelitus,
Dans optata, dans captata,
Veni, creator spiritus.

6. Sancta Clara, mensam para
Antiqui memor ferculi,
Para dapes, quas dant apes,
Jesu, salvator saeculi.

7. Quod implorat, quod exorat,
Francisci haec familia,
Cito dato corde grato,
Aeterna coeli gloria.

MS: Orat. ms. Franciscanum saec. 15.
(From a private source in Valentia).
AH 16, 102 (152)

(Ad Laudes)

1. Clara praeclara meritis
   Cunctis prudenter venditis
   Te sequitur propitium,
   Jesu, redemptor omnium.

2. Te quaesivit et comperit
   Tibique virgo peperit
   Plura sanctorum germinum,
   Jesu, corona virginum.

3. Nihil habere voluit,
   Sed paupertatem coluit,
   Ut esset tibi grator,
   Jesu, corona celsior.

4. Invicta sic abstinuit,
   Et vivens tibi placuit
   Saepe fletu, silentio,
   Jesu, nostra redemptio.

5. Clara praeclare claruit,
   Signis vultis nam floruit
   Ob hoc mundatis cordibus
   Jesum ciamus vocibus.

6. Ad preces sanctae virginis
   Et laudem tui nominis
   Nos, summi patris unice,
   Jesu, labentes respice.

7. Per virginem, quam colimus
   Cui devote psallimus,
   Tui nos cernant oculi,
   Jesu, redemptor saeculi.

MS: Brev. Auriense imp. Salmanticae
1501.
AH 19, 109 (174)

(In Vesperis)

1. Clarum nomen effunditur,
   Sacrum nomen extenditut,
   Facta doctrina proditur,
   Virtus divina panditur.

2. Construuntur coenobia,
   Vasta per orbis spatia,
   Crescit sororum copia,
   Claret matris notitia.

3. Defectt virtus corporis
   Morte prolixi temporis,
   Sumit augmentum roboris
   Virtus sacrati pectoris.

4. Tandem languere premitur,
   Laeta nimis egressit ur,
   Dies extrema clauditur,
   Spiritus coelo redditur.

5. Te prosequentes laudibus
   Plis faveto precibus,
   Adesto postulantibus
   Tuis, virgo, suppliantibus.

6. Virginis hujus merito,
   Laus patri sit ingenito,
   Gloria unigenito,
   Virtus summa praelito.

MS: Brev. ms. Franciscan., saec. 15
Cod. Dolen 34.
1. Coeli concentum hodie
   Sed et astrorum numerum
   Auxisti multifarie,
   Conditor alme siderum.

2. Ecce Claram recolimus
   Sidus in orbe coelico
   Claram clarere dicimus
   Et more docti mystico.

3. Quanta sibi charismata
   Collata sunt ex ordine,
   Mundi perpendant climata
   A solis ortus cardine.

4. Dum mnas quondam multiplicat
   Vitam ducens spiritalem,
   Te sibi jure vendicat,
   Urbs beata Hierusalem.

5. Exemplar poenitentium
   Carnis calcato vitio,
   Te potitur in praemium,
   Jesu, nostra redemptio.

6. Hinc minores nostri plaudant,
   Solemnitati consonat,
   Dum sorores Claram laudant,
   Vox clara, ecce, intonat.

7. In conflictu viri fortes
   Esse per hujus meritum
   Mereamus et consortes,
   Deus, tuorum militum.

8. Ut post mundi dispendium
   Insultus atque taedis
   Succedant in stipendium
   Beata nobis gaudia.

9. Patri, nato, spiritui
   Decus, honor, imperium
   Nunc et semper, sicut fuit,
   Primo dierum omnium.

MS: Brev. ms. Johannae Eboricae,
regina Franciae, 1371.
Concinat plebs fidelium
Virginale praecominium,
Matris Christi vestigium
Et novitatis gaudium.

Pauperum primogenita,
Dono caelesti praedita
Obtinet supra merita
Praemia vitae reddita.

Novum sidus emicuit,
Candor lucis apparuit,
Nam lux, quae lucent influet,
Claram clarere voluit.

Claris orta natalibus
Necdum relictis omnibus
Vacat plenis affectibus
Pietatis operibus.

Sub paupertatis regula,
Patris Francisci ferula,
Docta Christi discipula,
Luce respersit saecula.

Mundus et caro vincitur,
Matris Christi conectitur,
Christo prorsus innititur,
Pauperem pauper sequitur

Spretis nativo genere,
Carnis et mundi foedere
Clauditur velut carcere
Dives superno munere.

Clauditur velut tumulo
Nequam subducta saeculo,
Patet in hoc ergastulo
Solum Dei spectaculo.

Tegmina carnis vilia,
Urgens famis inedia,
Arta quoque ieiunia
Praestant orandi spatia.

Virginis huius merito
Laus patri sit ingenito
Gloria unigenito,
Virtus summa paraclito.

MS: Psalt. ms. FF Minorum anni
1283 Doc. Roman Angel. 1462
(D VI 10).
1. Decus clarum feminarum
Cum Christo Clara jubilat,
Coelibatus surgit status,
Aurora lucis rutilat.

2. Plaudat mater, deus pater,
Quam tanto ditat munere,
Cedat metus, psallat coetus
Jam lucis orto sidere.

3. Lucet Clara, lux praecella,
Velut sol in meridie,
Quam perducis et inducis,
Magnae Deus potentiae.

4. Huic junguntur, concluduntur,
Velut in coelo sidera,
Continentes, requirentes
Aeterna Christi munera.

5. Curma gregis sponsa regis
Gerit ut dux in acie,
Quam commendet, ut defendet
Splendor paternae gloriae.

6. Matris prece ut a nece
Solvas ac nexu criminum,
Vera vitis, dulcis, mitis,
Jesu, corona virginum.

AH 19, 109,110 (177)  
(Ad Laudes)

1. De terra caliginosa  
   Lux novella nascitur,  
   Nobis stella luminosa  
   De tenebris oritur,  
   Quando de spineto rosa  
   Nostro jam colligitur.

2. Vita vivit glorirosa  
   Rosa, quae non moritur,  
   Atque vitis gratiosa  
   Viti vitae jungitur,  
   Virgo pauper, filiosa  
   Jam in coelis colitur.

3. Novum germen paupertatis  
   Virginum plantamina,  
   Novus fructus castitatis  
   Novo victu lamina  
   Sunt tuae fecunditatis  
   Nobis testimonia.

4. Christus, verbum veritatis,  
   Judex et justitiae,  
   Princeps omnis caritatis,  
   Summi patris gloria,  
   Dux tuae virginitatis  
   Permanet in saecula.

5. Virgo primipila gerens  
   Sororum militiae,  
   Pede basilicatum terens  
   Hostili sub acie,  
   Cum coelisti rege quaerens  
   Foedus amicitiae.

6. Impetra nobis, o clemens,  
   Spiritum laetitiae,  
   Sponsa regnum Dei tenens,  
   Sponsa coeli gloriae,  
   Sponsa sponso jam adhaerens,  
   Sororum primitiae.

7. Virgo, mater orphanarum,  
   Gratia, simplex et trina,  
   Fave nostris precibus,  
   Tibi, Christe Domine,  
   Cito turbam filiarum,  
   Usia mentis divinae,  
   Duc te terrae faecibus,  
   Lumenque de lumine,  
   Para locum nuptiarum,  
   Qui cum patre sine fine,  
   Pro tuis pauperibus,  
   Regnas et cum flamme.

MS: Brev. ms. Franciscan. saec.  
14/15 Cod. Parisin, 1290.
Duce coelesti numine,
Matre favente virgine,
Clara re, Clara nomine,
Spretō paterno limine,
Spretō nativo sanguine,
Est in sanctorum lumine,
Ac beatorum agmine:
Gloria tibi Domine.

MS: Brev. ms. Francisc. saec
15 Cod. Bibl. Rossinae s. sign.
(Ad Vesperas)

1. Ecce, mundo tepescenti
Cum aerumnis et degenti
Stella nitet, quae clementi
Confert adjuvamen menti.

2. Haec est felix virgo Clara,
Quae virtutum florens ara
Nos ditavit prole clara
Omni justo digne cara.

3. Hujus castae matris natae,
In coelorum rege natae,
Huic sunt orbe sparsae latae,
Per te, Christe, Dei nate.

4. Nec est mirum, quod insignis
Clara clarens est in signis,
Ipsam nam divinus ignis
Illustravit donis dignis.

5. Hanc collaudet puellarum
Chorus nec non feminarum
Paradisum nam sanctarum
Introivit animarum.

6. Vernans norma paupertatis
Intercede pro peccatis
Nostris, luce claritatis
Ut fruamur cum beatis.

7. Doxa patri increato,
Sit et honor ejus nato,
Laus spiritui beato,
Ut utamur fine grato.

MS: Offic. ms. S. Mariae in Augia
En in regno claritatis
Clara regnat cum beatis
Virgo cum virginibus,

Clara stirpe generosa
Claris claret actibus,
Nominata neodum nata
Et praeventa laudibus.

Haec in claustro paupertatis
Sese Christo dedicat
Et exempla sanctitatis
In orbe multiplicat.

Casta membra cruce terit, 154
Crucifixum corde gerit
Cruis amans glorias;

Orat, civis liberatur,
Gens profana diffugatur,
Pelluntur daemonia.

Digne tanti reputatur,
Quod infirmans honoratur,
Papali praesentia;

Scandit coelos laureata,
Cum beatis jam beata,
Probant mirabilia;

Virgo Clara
Tuis para
Devotis hospitia,

Juncta sponso castitatis
Gaudet nuptis optatis,
Aeternis amplexibus.

Haec Franciscum imitata
Mundi spretis opibus
Altis votis elevata
Praevolat virtutibus.

Haec magistra dominarum,
Felix primiceria,
Greges ducit puellarum
Ad Christi connubia...153

O quam dura vestitura
Macerare membra pura
Suas docet filias.

Mire panis augmentatur,
Oleumque coelo datur,
Sanantur languentia.

A regina visitatur,
Transitura palliatur,
Virginum solertia.

Luce clara vocitata,
Cujus claret decorata
Floribus ecclesia.

Per te data
Sint optata
Salus, quies, gloria.

Assisi. 338.
Miss. Ms. Romano-Franciscan. saec. 14
Cod. Carpentoractens, 107.
Parisin. 1339.
1. En praecclara virgo Clara,
Regnat in regno luminum,
Quam amasti desponsasti,
Jesu, corona virginum.

2. Mundo spreto, corde laeto,
Francisci magisterio
Carnem terit et te quaeert
Jesu nostra redemptio.

3. Per te solem perit prolem
Sanctorum gregem pauperum,
Quas tu aitas et maritas,
Conditor alme siderum.

4. Puritate, paupertate,
Mater et eius agmina
Tu sectantur, imitantur,
O gloriosa Domina.

5. Finit cursum, scandit sursum
Claret multo prodigio,
Annotatur, comprobatur
In coelesti collegio.

6. Virgo pura, nostri cura
Fac tibi sit in curia;
Sint optata per te data
Beata nobis gaudia. Amen.

MS: Brev. ms. Francisc. saec. 14
Cod. Pragens XIII, C. 14
1047
1. Exsultate, jubilate, 
Pauperis matris filiae, 
Convocatae, congregatae, 
A solis ortis cardine.

2. Ex novellis tuis cellis, 
De paupertatis comera, 
Dempta solo, data polo, 
Lux, ecce, surgit aurea.

3. Tu electa, praeelecta, 
Quam sibi sponsus copulat, 
Regnans Clara, ubi clara, 
Aurora, lucis rutilat.

4. Tu oliva primitiva, 
Gemma primarum pauperum, 
Quam honoras, quam decoras, 
Jesu, corona virginum.

5. Laus, et honor tibi, soror, 
Quam jam dixisti pauperem. 
Cujus dotes, cujus sortes, 
Urbs beata Jerusalem.

6. Pauper miles cito dives, 
Cui dantur stipendia, 
Pro servata fide data 
Aeterna Christi munera.

7. Introisti, sponsa Christi, 
In coelesti palatio, 
Ubi vivis, spes captivis, 
Jesu, nostra redemptio.

8. Tibi, Christe, laudes istae, 
Pater et frater hominis, 
Verbum patris, caro matris, 
Consors paterni luminis.

1. Gaudeat ecclesia
   Persolvendo munia
   Laudis in laetitia;

2a. Nam revexit orbita,
    Caeli, terra, (maria),
    Clarae natalitiae,
   2b. Quae pro transitoria
       Spreta mundi gloria,
       Laetatur in patria.

3a. Nam secundum saeculi
    Dignitatem nobili
    Quamvis nata sanguine,
   3b. Honorum fastigia
       Sprevit et insignis
       Patriae familiae.

4a. Francisci consilio
    Jesu Dei filio
    Nupsit in purissimae
    Voto castimoniae.
   4b. Inde se tugurio
       Clausit in exiguio,
       Quo sacrarum virgini
       Genuit collegium.

5a. Ibi vitam
    Exquisitam
    Paupertatis,
    Vititatis
    Duxit in penuria.
   5b. Ibi data
       Sit praelata
       Quamvis mater
       Et magistra,
       Permansit humillima.

6a. Carnem fregit delicatam,
    Quam coegit maceratam
    Subici spiritui.
   6b. Lacrimatur, irroratur,
       In amara meditatur,
       Passione Domini.///163

7a. Sursum orans elevatur,
    Ubi mens deliciatur,
    Contemplando caelesti,
    Iusta bonus praemia.
   7b. Ad quae iugitur aspi-
       rat,
       Et anhelat, ut acqui-
       rat,
       Contemnens mundi vilia
       Quae transseunt solacia

8a. O praecclara virgo Clara,
    Nunc dilecto sociata
    Puriora,
    Clariora,
    Inter caeli lilia,
   8b. In conflictu constitu-
       ti,
       Te tuente, simus tuli,
       Apud Christum
       Chorum istum
       Cleenter concilia.


MS: Appendix ms. saeculi 16 Missalis Romani
imp. Lugduni 1522. (London 471 b 1).
1a. Gaude, caeli hierarchia, Plaude, felix ecclesia, Novo fulta lumine.
1b. Cui decantet melodia, Chrri, cordis harmonia, Clarae claro germine.
2b. Jesum mater dum precantur Nascitura praemonstratur Lumen orbis filia.
3a. Gaudent astra matutina, Quod in hora vespertina, Ortu novi sideris.
3b. Caeli sidus illustratur In quo terrae designatur Ortus novi foederis.
4a. Vere sidus tu praeclarum, Quod e sole differt parum, Et luna lucidius.
4b. Tu quod sole amicta Carne probat hic relictca Lucis tuae radius.
5a. Crucis signo morbus cedit, Turba Clarae panem edit Christi sui munere.
5b. Effluens Clarae claritas Duellas sibi creditas Docet Christo vivere.
6a. In paupertatis horreo, Turba dum caret oleo, Vas plenum caelo datur.
6b. Orbem exornat flosculus Lucerna manens saeculis In caelo collocatur.
7a. Illic praecclare rutilat Sponsum complexa iubilat Cum virgine Maria.
7b. O quam clare pestes planat Languidorum clades sanat Tumuli fragrantia.
8a. Ergo laudes Clarae demus Clarum clare personemus Novo docti gaudio.
8b. Et nos, mater pietatis Cum Maria salvans gratis Iunge Dei Filio.
1. Gaude, Sacra virgo Clara
Nata mundo stirpe clara,
Dei plena gratia,
Gaude, sponsa Christi cara,
Quod erant tibi amara
Cuncta mundi gaudia.

2. Gaude sub Francisco duce
Quod tormenta passi cruce
Deplanxisti gravia,
Gaude, quod signorum luce
Fulsisti cordis in nuce
Servata munditia.

3. Gaude, quod vocem audisti
Sacramento Iesu Christi
Ad tua subsidia,
Gaude, Christo visitata
Cum eius matrebeata
Scandis ad caelestia.

4. Nunc in caelo collocata,
Sequens agnum prece grata
Nostra dele vitia.

MS: Orat. ms. Trudonense saec. 16 in. Cod.
Leoden. 395.
AH 52, 150 (160)  
(Ad Nocturnas)

1. Generat virgo filias  
   Mentis maternae conscias,  
   Christi sponsas et socias,  
   Corruptionis nescias.

2. Clarum nomen effunditur,  
   Sanctum nomen extenditur,  
   Facto doctrina proditur,  
   Virtus divina panditur.

3. Construuntur coenobia  
   Vasta per orbis spatia,  
   Crescit sororum copia,  
   Claret matris notitia.

4. Deficit virtus corporis  
   Morbo prolixi temporis,  
   Sumit augmentum roboris,  
   Virtus sacrati pectoris.

5. Tandem languore premitur,  
   Laeta nimis egreditur,  
   Dies extrema clauditur,  
   Spiritus caelo redditur.

6. Te prosequentes laudibus,  
   Piis faveto precibus,  
   Adesto postulantibus,  
   Tuis, virgo, supplicibus.

7. Virginis huius merito  
   Laus patri sit ingenito,  
   Gloria unigenito,  
   Virtus summa paraclito.

Assisi, 338.
Il Culto (186)
(Ad Mat.)

1. In celesti triclinio
   Quo Deus ut est cernitur,
   Itherarchico tripudio
   Virgo Clara coniungitur.

2. Hanc suscipit amplexibus
   Trinitatis sacrarium,
   Maria cum virginibus,
   Quarum intrat collegium.

3. Presentent iusse pallium
   Mirande pulchritudinis
   Tamquam insigne premium
   Stole beatitudinis.

4. Eterni patris filio
   Maria, virgo virginum,
   Cum spiritus con silio
   Iungas in regno luminum. Amen.

MS: Brev. ms. Bibl. Helsingfors III,
saec. 14, Cod. Helsingfors 160.
AH 5, 157-160 (54)

(In l. Vesp.) (Antiphons)

1. Iam sanctae Clarae claritas Splendore mundi cardines Mirificetur complevit Cujus perfecta sanctitas In devotas propagines Velocius exrecvit.

2. Mundì totius gloriam Ut Christum lucrifaceret Vile quid arbitata Fin bilem laetitiam, Ne infinitam pereret, Semper est aspernata.

3. Haec in paternis laribus Puella sacris moribus Agebat coelibatum, Quam praedoebat unctio Sine magistro medio, Cor Christo dare gratum.

4. Sacra spirat infantia Magni regis connubia Virtute promereri Moque Francisci studia Sectatur et in gratia Conatur exerceri.

5. Hanc et papa Gregorius Fovit et Innocentius Patrum more piorum, Quam Alexander incitus Ascriptis motus coelitus Catalogo sanctorum.

   (Ad Magnificat)

A. O decus, o gaudium, O virginali lilium, Te jubas ecclesiae, Gemma claritatis, Floridum virginitus Fers speculum prudentibus Specialis gloriae, Splendor sanctitatis, Vitae signis In te pie delicians

Requievit spiritus Dulcis pietatis, //157 Pia mater humilis 158 Clara paeclara, nobilis Post praesentes gemitus Junge nos beatìs.

(Ad Mat.) (Invitatorium)

Regi qui carmem induit Sit laus cordis et oris Cujus in Clara claruit Perfecti vis amoris.

(In l. Noct.)

1. Haec una de prudentibus Praefulsit virgo prudens In annis puerilibus Christo placere studens.

2. Excelsi servus virginem Franciscus invitavit, Amare Deum homonem, Quem amor humanavit.

3. Cuncta pro Christi nomine Contemnens crine tonsor, Coram altari, Domine, Nubet aeterno sponso.

(Responsoria)

1. Francisci prima plantula Mira fructificavit, In orbe cum discipula, Clara, quam informavit, Castitatis per saecula, Cultum multiplicavit.

V. Virgo sub sacra regula Gressus devote filiae, Sequuntur exemplorum
3. Haec paupertatis titulo
Pollens intitulata
Post Christum sine sacculo
Currit exonerata,
Relicto foris saeculo,
Mens intus est ditata,

V. In paupertatis nidulo
Nostri praesepis parvulo
Pauperi conformat.

(In 2 Nocturno) 159

1. Oblata per Gregorium
Rebutat possidere
Nihilque transitorium,
Cum Christo vult habere.

2. Parat magistra vasculum,
Ut oleum quaeratur,
Mos vero per miraculum,
Vas plenum coelo datur.

3. Hortatur haec, ut pauperes,
Pauperis matris natae,
Nequaquam sint degeneres,
A matris paupertate.

(Responsoria)

1. A civibus obsidio
Removetur ob lacrimas
Et preces sanctae Clarae,
Dum cinere, cilicio,
Jubet sorores optimas
Ad Deum exclamare.

V. Orationum proelio
Meretur gentes pessimas
De claustro deturbare.

2. Amica crucis plangere
Crucifixum novitias
Docet, quem ipsa plangit,
Crux ei digno pondere,
Majores dat delicias,
Quo major dolor angit.

V. Haec Christi sui munere
Morbos atque molestias,
Fugat, dum cruce tangit.

3. Vivens in mundo labili
Sponso conjuncta nobili,
Sursum deliciatur///158
Clausoque carne fragili
Tamquam in vase fictili
Thesauro gloriatur.

V. Sic in rota versatili
Fulta virtute stabili
Cum Christo delectatur.

(In 3. Nocturno)

(Antiphonae)

1. Cor verbis sapientiae
Medullitus apponit,
Cum praedicator gratiae
Verba vitae proponit.

2. Trahit de testa nucleum,
De litera saporem,
De petra sugens oleum,
De spina legens florem.

3. Format Clara discipulas
Coelesti disciplina,
Cujus est ad juvenulas,
Convictus pro doctrina.

(Responsoria)

1. Carnis templo soluto
spiritus,
Caelos scandit et patet
aditus,
Benedictus sit talis
exitus,
Multo magis talis in-
troitus.

V. Vivo pani morte juncta
Vita vivit vita functa.
2. De pane pascit unico
   Turbam sororum pauperum,
   Claret signo mirifico
   Virtus signorum veterum,
   Dum cibat ex tam modico
   Magni conventus numerum.

V. Pro, tenui viatico
   Mensa laetatur superum,
   Regno beatur coelico
   Pro vilitate cinerum.

(Ad Laudes)

(Antiphonae)

1. Post vitae clarae terminum,
   Clara cum turba virginum,
   Ad coelos evolavit,
   Suum complexa Dominum,
   Regnat in regno luminum,
   Quo Dominus regnavit.

2. Agnes ad agni nuptias,
   Ad aeternas delicias,
   Post Claram evocatur,
   Ubi per Sion filias,
   Post transitas miserias,
   Aeterne jubilatur.

3. Sicut sorore praevia
   Christi passi vestigia
   Sectatur gaudens cruce,
   Sic dum haec signis rutilat.
   Agnes post ipsam vigilat,
   Deus, ad te de luce.

4. Honorat Christi dextera
   Per sanitatum munera
   Virginis mausoleum,
   Sanat morbos et vulnera,
   Ut benedicat opera,
   Quae fecit Deus, Deum.

5. Laudans laudare student,
   In laudem semper prodeat,
   Plebs ista salvatoris
   Quam tanta dictat sanctitas,
   Non cesset ipsa civitas
   A laude conditoris.

(Ad Benedictus)

A. Novum sidus emicuit,
   Candor lucis apparuit,
   Lux claritatis adfuit,
   Coeli splendor enituit,
   Nam lux, quae lucem in-
   Claram clarere voluit.

(In 2. Vesperis)

(Ad Magnificat)

A. Salve, sponsa Dei,
   Virgo sacra planta
   minorum,
   Tu vas munditiae,
   Tu praevia forma soror-
   um:
   Clara, tuis precibus
   Duc nos ad regna polorum

(Alia)

A. Duce coelesti numine,
   Matre vavente virgine,
   Clara, re, clara, nomi-
   ne
   Spreto paterno limine.

Spreto nativo sanguine,

Est in sanctorum lumine
Ac beatorum agmine.
Gloria tibi Domine.

(Alia)

A. 0 virgo clarens vespere
   Praeclaris clara meri-
   tis
   Liga perfecto foedere,
   Nos in amore Christi:
   Da membra fore capitis
   Et sensibus et moribus
   Jesu, quem dilexisti.
(Alia)

Clara, Dei famula
Florens rosa, primula,
Puellarum Christi,
Sub Francisci cordula,
Pii patris aemula,
Mundum subegisti.

Rossianae s. sign.
A- Brev. ms. Francisc. anni 1464 Cod. Aamontens. 851
B- Brev. ms. Francisc. anni 1474 Cod. Hilari-
C- Antiph. ms. Francis. saec. 15. Cod. sem. CXII.
C- Antiph. ms. Francis. saec. 15. Cod. sem.
D- Antiph. ms. Francis. saec. 16. Cod. Olomucens VII.
        Strahoviens HI I.E.

Note: Variation for l. Vesperis, Ad Magnificat...D)

O Clara, lux gaudium,
O fides vera mentium,
Tu nostrae militiae,
Spes omnis gratiae,
Nobile collegium,
Tu sacrum privilegium,
Lex obedientiae,
Flos conscientiae.

Tu nostrum refugium,
Et beatum subsidium,
Regula paupertatis
Intercede (natis)
Pro nobis ad Dominum,
Beata Clara, terminum,
Obtine cum beatis
Luce claritatis.
1a. Inclarescat melodia, 
   Clara cordis harmonia, 
   Clarae det praecordia, 
   
2a. Haec est planta novitatis,  
   Spinis septa paupertatis 
   Rosa pudicitiae, 
   
3a. Ortum docet virginalem, 
   Concludendo sensualem 
   Haustum virulentiae, 
   
4a. O quam clare illustratur, 
   Velut Jacob contemplatur 
   Spiritus excubias, 
   
5a. Quam praeclara signis facta, 
   Claratissimae nomen facta 
   Dono parsimoniae, 
   
6a. Ergo, mater pietatis, 
   Nos illustra claritatis 
   Bysso navae gratiae, 

1b. Concors soli symphonia 
   Trina poli hierarchia 
   Depromat tripudia./154 
   
2b. Sacco tecta vilitatis, 
   Fune cincta castitatis, 
   Gemma poenitentiae. 
   
3b. Legem ligat sensualem 
   Fer doctrinam spiritalem 
   Vitae sanctimoniae. 
   
4b. Caro menti sic subacta 
   Vi virtutis dat contracta 
   Foenus patientiae. 
   
5b. Peclae caput reclinatur 
   Humo nuda pernoctatur, 
   Edom ob insidias. 
   
6b. Sacco, fune nuditatis 
   Cincta stola novitatis 
   Commutetur gloriae. 

Grad. ms. Bernahardinorum Graecoviensium 
   s. sign. saec. 15.
1. In perenni gloria
Clara nunc memoris
Claret Clarae virginis.

2. Quae post transitoria
Carnis cum victoria
Regnum subit luminis.

3. Clara, Dei famula
Rosa fuit primula
Virginum rosario.

4. Quam Franciscus momini
Consecrando Domini
Iunxit sanctuario.

5. Clara, custos castitatis,
Pia parens paupertatis,
Meritis clarissima.

6. Iam in caelo coronatur
Et in mundo declaratur
Signis insignissima./123

7. Ergo, virgo tam beata, 124
Sponso iuncta et dotata
Fructu centanario.

8. Pro reatu miserorum,
Preces offer in caelorum,
Summo secretario.

MS: Prosar ms. Ravennatense ann. 1585-87.
Cod. Ravennaten 360. (139.5. S.)
A- Missale (Franciscano) Romanum impr.
   Parisiis 1520.
B- Missale (Franciscano) Romanum impr.
   Lugduni 1535.
C- Missale Ruthenense impr. Lugduni ca. 1540.
1a. Laetabundus 1b. Nam in regno
Exsultet fidelis chorus Claritatis regnat Clara
Die isto, Iuncta Christo.

2a. Quae, priusquam genera, 2b. Mundo nata parvula
Caelitus est nominata, Claris claret actibus
Res miranda, Sicut stella.

3a. Haec Franciscum imitat, 3b. Sicut Christus docuit,
Opibus renuntiat, Paupertatem tenuit
Voce clara. Pari forma.

4a. Orat, Christus loquitur, 4b. S. . . . . . .
Gens, perfida pellitur,
Carné sumpta.

5a. Pane turbam satiat, 5b. A regina visitatur,
Oleum multiplicat,
Membra sanat languentia
Sive caeca.

MS: Miss. Cant. ms. Vissegradense saec.
(In 2. Vesperis)

1. Laetabundus plaudat mundus
Novis utens muneribus
Hilarescat et laus crescat,
Exsultet coelum laudibus.

2. Gaude, coetus, novi fretus
Sacro Francisci germine,
Sacrae gestus dies festus,
A solis ortus cardine.

3. Virgo Clara vita clara,
Cuius clarent spectacula,
Lux accessit, qua decissit,
Plauda turba paupercula.

4. Iuxta nomen eius omen
Nutu peregit coelico,
Vicit Clara mundo cara,
Ex more docta mystico.

5. Clausa aedes, nuda pedes,
Praecincta funem tenuit,
Sit cordata illibata
Proles de coelo prodiit.

6. Mundi blanda et nefanda
Contempsit, sumens aspera,
Sic mercatur, sic lucratur,
Aeterna Christi munera.

7. Moree tacta, vitam nacta,
Optato vivit gaudio,
Iucundatur, gloriatur,
In coelesti collegio.

8. Cuius actus vitam nactus,
Morborum tollit onera,
Admiratur, veneratur,
Quem terra, pontus, aethera.

9. Huius funus, sacrum munus
Donis ditat Assisium,
Vota dando te laudando,
Christe, redemptor omnium

10. 0 praeclara virgo Clara,
Obtenta per te venia,
Deprecare et lucrare,
Beata nobis gaudia.

11. Cuius prece nos a nece,
Conserva, pater, invidi;
Nec non ducas et inducas
Ad coenam agni providi.

12. Tibi decus, honor aequus,
O lux beata Trinitas,
Collauderis honoreris,
Tu trinitatis unitas.

MS: Miss. Cant. ms. Vissegrandense saec. 15,
Cod. Capit. Vissegraden CC.n.
1a. Lucis novae claritas
Illustrat ecclesiam,
Quam insignit sanctitas
Nova Clarae.

1b. Praecellens humilitas
Redundans in gratiam,
Laudis et sublimitas
Tam praeclerae.

2a. Haec in matris utero,
Quasi lumen radians,
Mundo fore misero
Praesignatur.

2b. Quae clara progenie
Sacris rebus inhians,
Sub virtutum serie,
Regulatur.

3a. Haec Francisci filia
Et lapis primarius
Inclusarum praevia
Dux virtutis.

3b. Quarum multa milia,
Sequuntur ardentius,
Ejusdem vestigia
Spe salutis.

4a. Crebescunt miracula
Ob vitae praeconium
Approbantur singula
Fide plena.

4b. Liguor crescit olei
Ac panis edulium,
Pars fugatur fidei
Aliena. ///155

5a. Mors Christi praesentia,156
Ac sacratae virginis
Et coelestis curia
Honoratur.

5b. O quam clarus exitus
Per quam sacri flaminis
Donum nobis coelitus
Largiatur.

MS: Miss. Ms. Franciscan. saec. 14 Cod.
Denomanens 249.
Miss. ms. Franciscano-Romanum saec. 15.
Cod. Parisiens 9445.
1a. Novae lucis radius
   In excelsis oritur,
   Sole fulget clarius,
   Clare Deo fruitur.

1b. Clara quidem nomine
    Sed virtute clarior,
    Illustris propagine
    Sed gestis illustrior.

2a. Dum mater pavesceret,
    Ne partu deficeret,
    Audivit oraculum,

2b. Quod lumen produceret,
    Clarum, quod claresceret,
    Universum saeculum.

3a. Carnis supercilium
    Domans per jejunium
    Ab aetate tenera,

3b. Sub fulgore vestium,
    Celabat cilicium
    Parvi pendens prospera.

4a. Toto mentis studio
    Inhaerens vestigio
    Virginis Christiferae,

4b. Francisci consilio
    Soli Dei filio
    Praelegit vivere.

5a. Haec Francisci plantula
    Se celans in cellula,
    Dominarum pauperum,

5b. Mansurum per saecula
    Inchoavit primula
    Ordinem florigerum.

6a. In supernis sedibus
    Virgo cum virginibus
    Clara clare radias.

6b. Tuis sanctis precibus
    Junge coeli civibus
    Fratres atque filias.

MS: Miss. me. Romano-Franciscan. saec. 14 Cod.
Carpentoractens 107.
1a. Novae signo claritatis
Sancta claret Clara,
Sanctae sidus novitatis
Nova lux praecelara.

1b. A camino caritatis
Francisci lux clara
Fulsi omnis sanctitatis
Filia praecelara.

2a. Documenta vitae clara 134
Doctor dedit clarae,
Quae complevit virgo clara
Clausura praecelare.

2b. Sponsa zelus in praecer-
ra
Novit declarare,
Quae thalamo, sponso
cara
Clausa debet stare.

3a. Clara praecelara sanguine,
Vultu praecelarior,
Clara clarescit nomine,
Moribus clario.

3b. Accincta fortitudine
Mulier fortior,
Clausa stat artitudine,
Ut sit securior.

4a. Radiosa claritate
Lapsa de supernis
Solem immensitate
Christum clare carnis.

4b. Clara, spena claritate
Clara mundi spernis,
Summa fruens bonitate
Imma non discernis.

5a. Post dolorem ex amara
Christi passione,
Fusa clares in praecelan
Contemplatione.

5b. Gaudens gaudes clari
cara
Christi visione,
Open nobis, dulcis
Clara,
Fer oratione.

MS: Prosar ms. Franciscan. saec. 14/15, Cod.
Parisiens, 1339.
O Clara, clarum gracie
Vas, sorde clarens scorie
Mundane claritatis
Contrita quondam macie,
Fuscata clara facie
Camino paupertatis,
Francisci florens plantula,
Religionis primula,
Fons horti voluptatis,
Ascendens fumi virgula,
Clarificans miracula
De languidis sanatis,
Eternum tabernaculum
Mendice receptaculum,
Quo gaudet cum beatis,
Egressum post ergastulum,
Ne premet nos periculum,
Da, potens, anxiatis.

O Clara, clarens vespere,
Praeclaris clara meritis,
Liga perfecto foedere
Nos in amore Christi;
Da membra fore capitis,
Et sensibus et motibus Jesu,
Quem dilexisti.

MS: Archivo S. Rufino, 8, saec. 13.
Assisi.
1. O Clara, luce clarior,  
   Lucis aeternae filia,  
   Dies ista sollemnior  
   Tua colit sollemnia.

2. Vitae labentis gaudia  
   Spernendo Christum sequeris  
   Pascentem inter lilia  
   Tuque cum Christo pasceris.

3. Custos sacrarum virginum  
   Omni virtute praevia,  
   Ducis ad sponsum Dominum  
   Puellarum collegia.

4. Francisco duce militans  
   Evincis trina proelia:  
   Carnem namque suppeditans  
   Mundum atque daemonia.

5. Iamiam in regno luminum  
   Patri conregnans filia,  
   Da, te sequentum agminum  
   Recta fore vestigia.

6. Sit patri, nato, flamini  
   Decus, honor et gloria,  
   Nosque commendent lumini  
   Sanctae Clarae suffragia.

MS: Franciscan and Capuchin Breviaries.  
Tauro 1474 Brev. Roman.
Legenda (ed., Pennacchi), Appendix

1. O virgo clara genere
   Re clara Clara nomine
   Et claritatis munere
   Sanctorum gaudes agmine.

2. Agno felici foedere
   Juncta sacro qui sanguine
   Dignatus est eripere
   Nos ab inferno limine.

3. Ora sponsum ut miserae
   Rupta carnis compagine
   Concedat nobis cernere
   Lumen vero in lumine.

   Alleluia!

Cod. Parisin. 1339.
IL CULTO (185)

(In Vesperis)

1. Prolem quam, Clara, generas
   Votis, voce, virtutibus,
   Christo Ihesu confederas,
   Luctu, fletu, gemitibus.

2. Ingrediens cubiculum
   Sacrum, sternis et cinerem,
   Ibi queris oraculum,
   Mundum spernis ut pulverem.

3. Sic patrem orans, ostio
   Clauso cum cetu virginum,
   Quarum pia devotio
   Celorum placat dominum.

4. Aureolam aromatum
   Sponsa paras et ortulum
   Quo pascuis carismatum
   Habundat omne seculum.

5. Procedis cum prudentibus,
   Noctis horam non preteris,
   Sed paratis lampadibus
   Ad nuptias ingrederis:

6. Sit patri, proli, flamini
   Laus, honor, virtus, gloria;
   Subiectos trino numini
   Ducas ad celi gaudia. Amen.

MS: Helsingfors 1932, n. 760.
   saec. 15.
1a. "Qui fecit ad imaginem Franciscum redemptoris, Non solum liquit hominem In paradisi echoris.

1b. "Formavit Claram virginem Et latere Minoris, Virtutibus imaginem Angelici vigoris.

2a. Haec sprecit pure saeculum In disciplinae loris, Dum fugit ad ergastulum Spretis delicti thoris.

2b. Assiauis corpusculum Officiis laboris Vexavit et pectusculum Suspiriiis amoris.

3a. Clara, carne sterilis, Spiritu fedunda, Clara, quondam flebilis, Caelo iam iucunda.'

3b. Quos hic care fragilis Turbat et immunda, Tuis datos iubilis Precibus enumda.

MS: Miss. Romanum imp. Parisiis 1517.
1a. Rex per portum caritatis
   Intrans hortum castitatis
   Novum florem colligit,

1b. Dum praecclaram rosam
   Claram,
   Mundo raram, sibi caram
   Sponsam sibi eligit.

2a. Haec signata necdum nata
   Icone praesagio,
   Fulsit clarens, ut sit carnes,
   Peccati contagio.

2b. Nam timenti matri flenta
   De partus periculo.
   Nuntiatur, quod lex datur
   Per hanc nova saeculo.

3a. Domi patris cura matris
   Divinis juncta nexibus.

3b. In absconso Christo
   sponso
   Cordis vacat amplexibus

4a. Hinc Francisci documentis
   Adipisci studet mentis
   Et carnis munditiam.

4b. Sacrum flamen hanc instigat
   Dans juvamen, dum castigat
   Se per abstinentiam.

5a. Multis signis fide dignis
   In hac vita claruit,
   Morbos pellens et evellens
   Hostes ut apparuit.

5b. Orat sponsum, qui responsum
   Dat in eucharistica,
   Plebs salvatur, dum fugatur
   Hostilis molestia.

6a. Augmentavit panem, pavit
   Turbam coetus virginie,

6b. Vas impletur, dum praebatur
   E coelo liquor olei.

7a. Post ad mortem approprinquant,
   Mundi sortem ut relinquuat,
   Tendens ad coelestia,

7b. Morituram se praedixit,
   Recessuram benedixit
   Papalis praesentia.

8a. Hanc Maria, mater pia,
   Visitavit languidam
   Et coelestem sibi vestem
   Praesentavit candidam.

8b. Scandit caelos, ubi melos
   Canit cum virginibus,
   Agnum sequens manet frequens
   In laudum carminibus.

9a. Ergo, Clara, nunc declara 135
   Virtutem tui nominis

9b. Ut protectos et directos
   Ducatu veri luminis.

10a. Nos a nece tua prece
    Christus demptos et exemptos
    Cura perducat sedula,

10b. Ubi uncti Deo juncti,
    Dum quo gaudes, canunt laudes
    Per infinita saecula.
In Vesperis

Risum convertit in luctum,
Et gaudium in maerorem;
Humiliavit se in conspectu Domini,
Et exaltavit illam.

MS: (none available)
AH 5, 159 (54)

(In 2. Vesperis)

Salve, Sponsa Dei,
Virgo Sacra, planta Minorum:
Tu vas munditiae,
Tu praevia forma Sororum;
Clara, tuis precibus,
Duc nos ad regna polorum.

1. Sanctae Clarae filiae, Christo desponsatae
   Haec salutis monita precor auscultate.

2. Fallax mundi species, carnis languor mollis,
   Daemonum astutia suis blandis dolis
   Nixa sunt extinguuere castae lumen prolis,
   Cuius exstat praemium in supernis polis.

3. Castitatis clipeum suscipit Maria
   Tela frangens hostium sua politia
   Arma poenitentiae voce pandens pia,
   Tuta mulieribus in hac fore via.

4. Post hanc turba virginum iura castitatis,
   Defensavit fortiter scuto probitatis.
   Catharinam cernite celsae dignitatis
   Contemnentem regiae thorum maiestatis

5. Dorothea nobilis virgio non expavit
   Verbera carnificium dira, quae portavit
   Propter continentiam quam semper amavit,
   Unde Christus aequiter ipsam desponsavit.

6. Agnes and Caecilia, lucens Margarita,
   Et Lucia nobilis, Agatha polita,
   Zelo castimoniae sunt florentes ita,
   Propter quem martyria sumunt in hac vita.

7. Ursula cum millibus undecim parata
   Proelium intrepide sumit inflammata,
   Iura pudicitiae servans illibata,
   Linquit vana praedia coepta Sic beata.

8. Languet vocis organum cunctas nominare
   Quas sponsavit virgines Christus Deus care,
   Quem cum ipsum cuperent caste conservare,
   Non paverunt penitus mortem acceptare.

9. Haec mente considerans virgo Dei Clara
   Carnis linquit vitia mentibus amara,
   Castitae cingitur mundo valde rara,
   Sequens in hoc saeculo quae sunt Deo cara.

10. Clarae tandem claritas mundo nuntiatur
   Quae sanctarum virginum leges imitatur,
   Christum sponsum Dominum solum amplexatur
   Et in ipso placide semper gloriatur.
11. Mater mox efficitur plebis virginalis, 
Clausus datur hortulus quasi carceralis, 
Ne mundana vilitas fiat socialis 
Et turbetur puritas sanctae monialis.

12. Matris ergo semitam, filiae, captate, 
Amplexantes dulciter in societate 
Christum, Dei Filium, cum iucunditate, 
Nos amantes alios nisi caritate.

13. Non velitis perdere castitatis cultum, 
Clarae natae nobiles, propter mundum stultum 
Cuius delactatio fructum perdit multum 
Et acquirit denique tartari tumultum.

14. Tandem cum prudentia semper studetis 
Conservare merita sanctae castitatis. 
Huius nam militia regnum cum beatis 
Largo datur munere summae Trinitatis.

15. Regnum quod laetitiae vogis gaudiose 
Firmet excellentia Patris vigorose, 
Praestet sapientia Verbi luminose, 
Donet et clementia Doni viscerose.

16. Amen dicant Angeli cives generosi 
Cum dulcoris flammula cantus gloriosi.

Amen.

MS: Florent. Laurent. (S. Crucis) saec. 
15, Cod. 9.

P(43) contd.
la. Sidus clarum
Fulget, decus inclusarum
Virgo Clara.

2a. Fune cincta, calceo
Clarens, cibus triduo
Non sumebat.

3a. Certa caeli gaudio
In mortis articulo
Christum cernit.

4a. Quinquaginta prandio
Dominas dimidio
Pascit pane.

5a. Febres, vocem, furiam,
Hydropisin, fistulam,
Aurem, latus, maculam
Crucem curat.

6a. Plura his et alia
Facit mirabilia
Ista virgo
beatissima.

1b. Praemonstratur
Nascitura orbi terras
Lux futura.

2b. Christus illi filiae
De capsae mirifice
Respondebat.

3b. Ipsam hora transitus
Maria cum virginibus
Circumstetit.

4b. Hac orante subito
Adimpletur oleo
Vas inane.

5b. Curat daemoniacos,
Lupi raptos parvulos
Redunt, claros oculos
Caeco donat.

6b. O Francisci plantula,
Tu pro nobis sedula,
Precare Christum
Per saecula.

MS: Grad. ms. Franciscanum Monacen. saec.
Sequent. ms. S. Georgii Villengensis saec.
15 cod. Carolshuan, Geo.
1a. Signiferi discipula
   Christi novella plantula
   Horto floret ecclesiae,

2a. Sic corpus absque macula
   Sub dura premit ferula
   Sumptis armis militiae.

3a. Nondum nata
   Matri promittur
   Clara proles
   mundum illuminans.

4a. Lumen clarum claruit
   Clara claro genere,
   Cui mundus sorduit;

5a. Crucifixo
   Clara competitur,
   Carni suae
   Competi nesciens,
   Cuius clavis
   Mente transfigitur.

6a. Humo nudo virgo pura
   Utitur pro lectulo,
   Panis artus cibus, aqua
   Saepe fit pro poculo.

7a. Barbarorum
   fugatur feritas,
   Dum ad Christum
   orans convertitur.

8a. Oleum de caelo datur,
   Clarae proles admiratur
   In tanto miraculo;

9a. Miro specular memori
   Christus probat
   crebris indicis;
   Vivens in hac
   saeculi scoria,

10a. In hocc mundi discrimine
    Manum extendte pauperi,
    Ne cadat in certamine,

1b. Sumpto sacco cum cordula,
   pedes nudat iuvencula
   Clara, tonsa caesarie.

2b. Christi scandens in spe­
   cula,
   Hostis propellit iacula,
   Fortis manens in acie.

3b. Crucifixus
   matrem adloquitur
   Metum mortis
   prorsus eliminans.

4b. Christum clarum do­cuit,
   Mente clara gerere,
   Per quem clare splenduit.

5b. In adversis
   nunquam concutitur,
   In amore
   semper proficiens,
   Cuius morte
   mors nostra moritur./96

6b. Signis multis illustra-­
   tur
   Vivens in hoc saeculo,
   Morbus omnis effugatur
   In crucis signaculo.

7b. A me, inquit
   aeterna veritas,
   Quidquid petis,
   pie conceditur.

8b. Christi virtus innovatur
   Dum panis multiplicatur,
   In famis articulo.

9b. Iuncta Christo
    potitur gloria,
    Caelestibus
    stipata lilis
    Hostis saevi
    facta victoria.

10b. Ut sic tuo munimine
    Liber a portis inferi
    Fruat aeterno lumine.

Graecen 36.
1a. Sonet vox ecclesiae
Digna laudes hodie
Virginis eximiae,
Sanctae Clarae.

1b. O digna memoriae,
Quae cum rege gloriae
Palmam fers victoriae,
Gratulare,

2a. Cui merces operis
Solvitur cum superis,
Quia sponso frueris,
Quem amasti.

2b. Quanto carne nobilis,
Tanto magis caeteris
Humilem puellulis
Te donasti.

3a. Adhuc virgo ternera,
Mundi spernens prospera,
Poenitentis aspera
Suscepisti.

3b. Sub Francisci formula
Relinquendo singula
Perfecta discipula
Tu vixisti.

4a. Iam congaudent angeli,
Quod in sexu fragili
Fluxum diri saeculi
Conculcasti.

4b. Hic exemplo vigili
Nos in carne simili
Sub procella libili
Confortasti.

5a. Clara, candens lilium,
Forma, flos humilium,
Tuum per auxilium
Consolemur.

5b. Ora Dei filium,
Spes sanctorum milium,
Ut post hoc exilium,
Coronemur.

MS: Grad. ms. Franciscan. saec. 14 Cod.
Cod. Pragens 1 E 12.
AH 19, 111,112 (179)
(In 2. Vesperis)

1. Stella clara et praeclara,
   Aeterni solis radio
   Te nunc duce gaudet luce,
   Jesu, nostra redemptio.

2. Intus, foris vi amoris,
   Illuxit Clarae claritas,
   In qua fulget et refulget,
   O lux beata trinitas,

3. Christo claram rexit Claram
   Franciscus ultor invidi,
   Clara corda duce chorda,
   Ad coenam agni providi.

4. Clara, vana et mundana,
   Doctrina hujus pereunt,
   In quo viro modo miro
   Vexilla regis prodeunt.

5. Nutu Christi genuisti
   Fulgentem prolem moribus,
   De quo dono vere bono
   Exsultet coelum laudibus.

6. Fugat mortem, pellit fortum
   Panemque habent filiae,
   Turba pascit, sed haec facit
   Simmae Deus clementiae.

7. Sibi agnus, leo magnus,
   Respondit vera hostia,
   Perquam dantur, quae sperantur
   Beata nobis gaudia.

8. Deus pater, Jesus frater
   Nostros gubernet exitus
   In hoc festo Clarae gesto
   Veni, creator spiritus.

Valenciae.
AH 19, 109 (175)
(Ad Matutinum)

1. Sub paupertatis regula
   Patris Francisci ferula,
   Docta Christi discipula,
   Luce respersit saecula.

2. Mundus et caro vincitur,
   Matri Christi connectitur,
   Christo prorsus innititur,
   Paupere pauper sequitur.

3. Spretis nativo genere,
   Carnis et mundi foedere
   Clauditur velut carcere
   Dives superno munera.

4. Clauditur velut tumulo
   Nequam subdita saeculo,
   Patet in hoc ergastulo
   Solum Dei spectaculo.

5. Tegmina carnis vilia
   Urgens famis inedia,
   Arta quoque jejunia
   Preastant orandi studia.

6. Virginis hujus merito
   Laus patri sit ingenito,
   Gloria unigenito,
   Virtus summa paraclito.

MS: Brev. ms. Marie de Pembroke
Comitissae Valentiae saec. 14 Cod.
Cantabrigen Dd. V.
5a- Brev. Francis. saec. 15, Cod.
   Turonem 143
B- Brev. ms. Francis. saec. 15
   Cod. Dolen 34 C.
1a. Thronus novus fabricatur, Clara Deo consecratur, Gloriose decoratur Manu sapientiae.

1b. Haec est thronus Saliomonis, Quem ornavit suis donis Ac replevit multis bonis Christus, rex clementiae

2a. In hoc throno septem stellae Septem dona sunt puellae, Quae sic clarae cordis cellae Dedit Christi spiritus.

2b. Haec Saturno decoratur, Per quam stellam declaratur, Timor, per quem adoratur Christus, Dei filius.

3a. Venus, domum pietatis, Tantae fecit libertatis, Claram, quod se paupertatis, Totam fecit famulam.

3b. Fortitudo signat Martem, Qui sic Claram fecit fortem, Quod necavit vitae tempem Per cordis constantiam.

4a. Mercurio resplenduit, Consilium qui exprimit, Quod prudenter tenuit, Contra mundi fraudem.

4b. Luna lucet intellectus, Quod dirigitur affectus Clarae, quod sic est erectus, Quod non sentit labem. ///97

5a. Sapientia vocatur 98 Donum summum, quod signatur, Sole, quo illuminatur, Sanctae Clarae ratio, 5b. Quod tam pure speculatur, Clare Deum et sectatur, Quod in ipso quietatur, Clarae cogitatio.

6a. Per hoc donum patris candor, Spiritus ac verbi splendor, Per columnas ordinatum, Domum sibi decoratem, Clarae fecit spiritum.

6b. Columnis septem roboratur, Clarae domus et ornatur, Per hoc clare claruit, Quod virtutum habuit. Sacrum septenarium.

7a. Nunc in caelis collocatur, Deum trinum contemplatur, Nunc amore amplexatur, Clara sine taedio.

7b. Clara, mater claritatis, Tecum lumen Dei laetatis, Corde puro videamus Et in ipso gaudeamus, Amoris incendio.

MS: Sequent. ms. S. Georgii Villingensis saec. 15. Cod. Carolsruhan Geo. 3.

S(49)
Virgo Clara. claruit
Virgo sanctis virginibus praefuit;
Cruce membra domuit
Per crucem summum regnum obtinuit.

MS: Arch. S. Rufini 8, saec.13, Assisi.
2. HYMNS OF SPECIAL CLASSIFICATION

Il Culo, 184-186

(Ad Vesperas)

Ant.

Fulgentem Claram eminus,
Virgam virtutis, dominus
Ad dexteram locavit;
(Qu) le mundum sacris moribus,
Voto, vita virt(ut)ibus
Decenter illustravit. ps. Dixit dominus.

Ant.

(Ce)pit puella dominum
Laudare, mater virginum
Clau(sarum) mox futura;
Delicias, divitias
Mundi, car(nis) spurciiiias
Sprevit ut peritura. ps. Laud(at)e (pueri.)

Ant.

Hec Dei stat in atriis,
Ut filiabus anxi(is)
Pax detur virtualis.
Fatur Ihesus ex pixide:
Defen(da)m a tirannide
Locum et vos a malis. ps. Le(tatus sum).

Ant.

Francisci patris filia
Divina per auxilia
(Cust)odit civitatem;
Nec frustra virgo vigilat,
(Dum) hostium adnichilat
Vires et pra(vi)tatem. ps. Nisi dominus

Ant.

Se(ris) confortat ostia
Mater pro(pud)icitia
Servanda filiarum.
Grano frumenti (sativa)
Mentes, ut liquefaciat,
Fluentis la(crim)arum. ps. Lauda Iherusale

1"Ho messo quelle congetture fra parentesi guadre"-
Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 184.
Ympnus.

1. Prolem quam, Clara, generas
Votis, voce, virtutibus,
Christo Ihesu confederas
(L)uctu, fletu, gemitibus.

2. Ingrediens (cub)iculum
Sacrum, sternis et cinerem,
(Ibi) queris oraculum,
Mundum spernis (ut) pulverem.

3. Sic patrem orans, os(tio)
Clauso, cum cetu virginum,
Quarum pia (dev)otio
Celorum placat dominum.

4. Aureolam (ar)omatum
Sponsa paras et ortulum,
(Qu)o pasceis crismatum
Habundat om(ne) seculum.

5. Procedis cum prudentibus
(No)octis horam non preteris,
Sed para(tis) lampadibus
Ad nuptias ingred(i)ens: (cod.:ingred(i)ens)

6. Sit patri, proli, flaminii
Laus, honor, (vi)rtus, gloria;
Subiectos trino numini
Du(ca)s ad celli gaudia. Amen.

Ad Magnificat
Ant.

O lumen ecclesie,
O vas electum gratie,
Tu sancte (m)unditie
Flos et scola morum.

Omnium fidelium
(so)latrix et su(ffragium)
Vir(tuali spe)cie
Non . . . . . . . .
.......
.......
... preclara.

Virgo, iuncta superis,
Nobis succurre miseris
Et a mortis pharetra
Liberes amara. ps. Magnificat.
Collecta. Deus, qui beatam Claram virginem tuam preclaris meritis ac miraculorum splendori in mundo clarescere fecisti, ut clarum esset cunctis exempli speculum castitatis, deduc nos eius precibus ac meritis ad patriam claritatis eternae. Per Dominum.

(Ad Matutinum)

Invitat. Regem, quem virgo genuit,
Nos decet adorare:
Cuius Clara promeruit
In aula iubilare. ps. Venite

Ympnus.

1. In celesti triclinio
Quo Deus ut est cernitur,
Iherarchico tripudio
Virgo Clara coniungitur.

2. Hanc suscipit amplexibus
Trinitatis sacrarium,
Maria cum virginibus,
Quarum intrat collegium.

3. Presentent iusse pallium
Mirande pulchritudinis
Tamquam insigne premium
Stole beatitudinis.

4. Quo mater regit domini,
Castum Clare corpusculum,
Nulli subiectum crimi,
Sponsi ducit ad osculum.

5. Eterni patris filio
Maria, virgo virginum,
Cum spiritus consilio
Iungas in regno luminum. Amen.

In primo nocturno
Ant.
Ihesu nomen mirificum
Ubique predicatur,
Quod per cultum specificum
Hec virgo veneratur. ps. Domine dominus noster.
(Fulgentem Claram eminus, cont.)

Ant.

Contempnit auri pondera
Et gemmas aspermatur;
Christi deplorans vulnera
Devota complexatur, ps. Celi ennarrant.

Ant.

Innocens corde, manibus,
In montem sublevatur;
Spretis curis inanibus,
Christum Ihesum sectatur. ps. Domini est terra.

Primum Resp.

Francisci fama virginis
Aures ut appellavit,
Ignis superni luminis
Cor eius inflammavit.
Cultum eterni numinis
(Ardem)ter dilatavit.
v. Deum . . . . cultui (?)
 . . . . . . . .

Gaudia Sanctae Clarae

1. Gaude, Clara, prophetata,
   Celitusque nuntiata
   Lumen esse seculi.
   Necdum te effudit mater,
   Te decorat Deus Pater
   Clari forma speculi.

2. Gaude digna quod fuisti
   Predicari voce Christi
   Ante ventris exitum.
   Summi manus conditoris
   Ex te fecit vas splendoris
   Sanctitati deditum.

3. Gaude laude quam in te scis
   Adhuc frui quando nescis
   Temporali lumine;
   Nam vas Deus ex te purum
   Fecit semper inpleturum
   Gratiarum flumine.

4. Gaude: cum fuisti nata
   Clara statim baptizata
   Nominaris proprie;
   Factis nomen preferebas
   Sanctorum dum clarea
   Vivens pie, sobrie.

5. Gaude, domo in paterno,
   Non terrena sed superna
   Corde querens sedulo.
   Miseratrix miserorum
   Dapes mittis hiis ciborum
   Subtrahens corpusculum.

6. Gaude, Clara, cum sis talis,
   Angelis quod es equalis
   Castitatis lilio.
   Chorum spemis coniugalem
   Florem servas virginalem
   Nubens Dei Filio.

7. Gaude, nam sub delicatis
   Vestimentis durum satis
   Baiulas ciliicum,
   Membra sacra quo domasti
   Inimicum superstis
   Mundum atque vitium.
8. Gaude, Clara, bonos fructus
Inter huius maris fluctus
Affers adhuc tenera.
De te Christo fuit cura
Ut sis multa paritura
Filiarum genera.

9. Gaude, Clara obumbrata
Dum Franciscum es affata
Clara luce celitus.
Fuit splendor hic celestis
Luminose mentis testis
Ac ferventis spiritus.

10. Gaude: mundum execrando
Ordinemque in (choando)
Dominarum pauperum,
Deo genuisti prolem:
Te secuntur stelle solem,
Matrem horum syderum.

11. Gaude, Clara, iam effecta
Mater nostra predilecta,
Nobis sis propitia.
Pia mater, non nos sperne,
Karitatis sed materne
Perfice officia.

12. Gaude, Clara, doctrix bona;
Filiabus ut corona
Preces sanctimonia.
Nobis sis tantum lucerna
Ut pergamus ad superna,
Obstent ne demonia.

13. Gaude, Clara, Salvatoris
Imitata ex amoris
Actus desiderio,
Pedes lavans serviendo
Egris, sanis exercendo,
Ista sine tedio.

14. Gaude, Clara, res terrene
Tibi fiunt aliene
Pauper mente et corpore,
Sancte paupertatis viam
Christum sequens et Mariam
Tenens omni tempore.

15. Gaude, quod non dereliquid
Christus tuus te, sed si quid
Dedid, postulaveras,
Oleo nunc vas (in) mane
Implens pisces nunc cum pane
Mittens ut optaveras.

16. Gaude, (Clara) virgo pia
Nobis dari hic in via
Cibum posce gratis:
Per te fames ut tollatur
Anima ne confundatur
Corum Deo macie.

17. Gaude, duro quod amictu
Cunctis prebes raro victu
Forma(m) abstinentie.
Carnis sic mortificasti
Granum, unde reportasti
Fructum patientie.

18. Gaude, more aquilaurum
Veri colis lumen clarum
Speculando iugiter.
Ardes igne tu divino
Karitatis in camino
Incalescens fortiter.

19. Gaude, victrix animosa
Hostis spernens odiosa
Maligni consilia.
Flentem dolo te affatur:
A te victus mox fugatur:
Manes pacis filia.

20. Gaude mater o fidelis
(fidelis)
Inimici nos a talis
Elusque insidiis
Per te semper protegamur
Tuis piis muniamur
Iugiter prae sidis.
Gaudia Sanctae Clarae (cont.)

21. Gaude, Clara, sponsa Dei; Exsescantur per te rei Saraceni pessimi; Sacra prece mali cedunt, Neque te nec tuas ledunt Sic devicti timidi.


23. Gaude, quod iam corpus Christi Sepe digne acceptisti Calidis cum lacrimis. Fac ut cibo hoc cibemur Mortis hora et mundemur A culpaum maculis.


25. Gaude, Clara: vera signa Monstrant quod sis laude digna Hoc est vultus claritas; Necon ale ut solaris Splendor quibus tegebaris; Sic refulget karitas.

26. Gaude, quo promeruisti Ihesum Christum quod vidisti Forma pueritie. Ipse nobis tua prece Se ostendet et a fece Purget nos nequitie.

27. Gaude, cui infirmanti Ad se Christus suspiranti, Adest infirmarius. Ostendebat se presentem In presepe quiessentem Exhíbens hylarius.

28. Gaude; panis nam affection In acetum est iniectus Passionis Domini, Sacre mortis Christi festa Percoliendo nimis mesta Conpassa Deo homini.

29. Gaude, Clara in cella latens: Vulnus Christi tibi patens Prebuilt hospitium. Cedit sensus corporalis Extasis hic fit mentalis Celeste per officium

30. Gaude, morbos signo crux Repellendo, que reducis Sanitatem omnibus. Sana mores ut veraces Tui simus hic sequaces Et in celo domibus.

31. Gaude, ut mors amor fortis Te sentire penam mortis Fecit desiderio. Hunc affectum non tortores Compleverunt, sed languores, Numinis imperio.

32. Gaude, lapis conquadatus Per languorem qui dolatus Poli muro iungitur. Prius merces sanitate Crescit, sed infirmitate Virtus tunc perficitur.
33. Gaude, Deo te vocante, 
Mortis hora iam instante, 
Ihesu videns faciem. 
Cuius mater celicarum 
Secum duxit puellarum 
Copiosam aciem.

34. Gaude, Clara o beata, 
Matris Christi honorata. 
Amplexu dulcisissimo, 
Cuius sacer conmitatus 
Miri contegit ornatus 
Corpus tuum pallio.

35. Gaude, Clara, candor lucis: 
Iter sequens boni ducis 
Celum mox ingredieris. 
Nunc, o dulcis, orbatarum 
Misere filiarum, 
Materni memor federis.

36. Gaude, Clara, pelle mala, 
Ascendendi nobis ecalis 
Sic ad tronum glorie. 
Recte sequi te possimus, 
Ne nos premat nostre limus 
Carnis transitorie.

37. Gaude, tibi honor talis 
Exhibetur quod papalis 
Affuit presentis, 
Quando digne tumularis, 
Et a turba veneraris 
Magna reverentia.

38. Gaude, Clara: post discessum 
Huius vite, post ingressum 
Celestis macerie. 
Manifestat te signorum 
Multitudo probatorum 
Huic valli miserie.

39. Gaude, Clara, nam cecorum 
Lumen reddis oculorum, 
Deitatis numine. 
Tu nos luce claritatis 
Posce frui cum beatis 
In celo cacumine.

40. Gaude, per quam furientes 
Sanas consecuntur mentas; 
Morbi cedunt omnium; 
Per quam claudi et con- 
tracti 
Surdique sunt salvi facti 
Fugit et demonium.

41. Gaude, cuius nomen bonum 
Invocatur: ad hunc sonum 
Lupi cedunt rapidi; 
Sine damnum delinquunt 
raptos 
Quos tenebant fauce cap- 
tos 
Effugati pavidi.

42. Gaude, que sanas TUMORES 
GUTTERIS atque dolores 
Celesti medicamine. 
Istus genus sanitatis 
Confer, virgo, tuis(natis) 
Salvans a gravamine.

43. Gaude, per quam plurimor- 
um 
Vita redit defunctorum 
Per Dei potentiam. 
Nostre mortis in agone 
Tuam velud matirs bone 
Exhipe presentiam.

44. Gaude, Christus quam 
amavit 
Et in celo coronavit 
Singulari gloria, 
Dei matri sociata, 
Cuius vitam es imitata 
Casta cum victoria.

45. Gaude, cuius puritati 
Locum inter se beati 
Prestiterunt angelii. 
Quorum soror tu fuisti 
Dum angelice vixisti 
Sexu victo fragili.
Gaude, patriarchis Christi
Que coniungi meruisti
In celorum atrio.
Quibus Deus est locutus:
Neque tibi fuit mutus
Sed more loquens patrio.

47. Gaude, sanctis a prophetis
Ulnis iam suscepta letis
Regni ad imperia.
Quos archana nulla latent:
Sed et tibi multa patent
Lucide misteria.

48. Gaude, quam apostolorum
Urbis celi senatorum
Senum (secum) sumpsit acies.
Quorum facta, quorum signa,
Representat laude digna
Vite tue facies.

49. Gaude, martirum sodalis
Cum quis tibi est equalis
Honor opulentiae.
Tua namque hic sacra
Membra sunt mortificata
Ense abstinentiae.

50. Gaude, Christi confess
orum
Exemplo docens et docto
rum,
Quod ditaris premio.
Nec non sacris cum
puellis,
Mundi superatis bellis,
Ihesu pausas gremio.

51. Gaude, Clara, cuius
vita
Omnium est redimita
Sanctorum virtutibus.
Hinc cum illis col-
taris,
Ac divinam contemplaris
Gloriam obtutibus.

52. Gaude, Clara, novum
sidus,
Pridies augusti ydus,
Tuum colit transitum.
Novas fac nos sanctita
te,
Deo semper simus grate:
Det salutis exitum.

53. Gaude, sydus matutinum:
Iam maternum pande sinum
Ad te fugientibus.
Consolatrix in pres-
suris
Presentibus et futuris
Sisnobis lugentibus.

54. Gaude: larga tu pincerna
Nobis dari fac falerna,
Quibus semper frueris;
Post hunc finem ut letemur,
Et in celis collocemur,
Cum electis pueris. Amen.

MS: Musaei Germanici Morimbergae, Cod. 7206.
3. INEDITED HYMNS

Miscellanea Franciscana, 36, 480

Custode rerum virgine
En casta respirat domus;
Praecepseque caeco diffugit
Captus pavore Barbarus.

Muros timendo obsederat
Miles tumultu; Noricus
Ut ungue formidantibus
Vultur columbis imminet.

Sed Clara caelesti dape
Tutela praeens adfuit;
Hoc ense victrix impios
Detrubat altis postibus.

Adsis beato desuper
Virgo, ex Olympi vertice,
Ut sempternis gaudiis
Victis fruamur hostibus.

Sit Trinitati gloria,
Ubique semper sit decus,
Ut cum frequenti cantico
Laudis corona in saeculum.

Amen.

- Antonius Azzoguidi, 1741.
Miscellanea Francescana, 36, 480

O pulchra caelo quae redit
Lux emicanti sidere;
Nobis vovellum pauperum
Florem reducens virginum.

O Clara terris editur,
Natamque caelum praecinit
Virtutis ut sit lumine
Solis nitore clarior.

Mundum virili despicit
Gemasque, et aurum pectore,
Firmoque Patris ardua
Gressu premit vestigia.

Hujus jacenti praeparat,
Cubile, potum fontibus,
Deductus humor; tegmina
Dat villus aegris artubus.

Deo Patri sit gloria
Unique Patris Filio,
Cum Spiritu Paraclito
In saeculorum saecula.
Amen.

- Antonius Azzoguidi, 1741
Breviarum-Romano Seraphicum

(Ad Laudes)

O Sponsa Christi amabilis,
Quae, voce Sponsi percita,
Lares paternos deseris
Et vana mundi gaudia.

Dum namque Pastor inclytus
Iter salutis indicat,
Libenter istud arripis,
Et curris inde fervida.

Ipso magistro parvulas
Ornata zonis aureis,
Prudentis instar virginis,
Ad sacra Matris limina.

Hic mutavisti sarcinam
Cultus molestam detrahis,
Et fune cingis hispidum
Amore Christi saeculum.

En filiarum dulcia,
Matrem sequuntur agmina,
Sponsoque plenas gestiunt
Afferre tecum lampades.

Aeterna Patri luminum
Sit luminique Filio
Laus, ac potenti Flamini
Nunc et per omne saeculum.

Amen.

MS: O Novis. Minor, 1794.
Salve, Minorum gloria,
Quae clara vita et nomine,
Splendore ducis virginum
Choros ad Agni nuptias.

Tu pane pascis unico
Turba Sororum pauperum;
Inane prorsus illico
Reple liquore vasculum.

Tactu crucis tu pristinam
Reddis salutem languidis,
Ejusque signo a corpore,
Fugas potenter daemones.

Matura tandem praemio
Conscendis sita siderum
Tibique eunti Caelites
Plaudunt orantes cantico.

Quae corde Sponsum deprecans
Claustro fugasti barbaros,
Beata, nos ab hostibus
Et a gehenna libera.

Aeterna Patri luminum
Sit luminique Filio
Laus, ac potenti Flamini,
Nunc et per omne saeculum.

Amen.

MS: O Novis. Minor. 1794.
Breviarum Romanum-Seraphicum

(In Vesperis)

Sponsabo te
Mihi in sempiternam, sit Dominus;
Et sponsabo te mihi in misericordia,
Et in miserationibus,
Et sponsabo te mihi in fide.

-- (In Inventione Corporis S. Clarae)
saec. 18.
Victrix gementem deserit
Dum Clara terram, desuper
Coetus coruscans virgini
Occurrit ingens caelitum.

O ut beatis addita
Choris triumphum concinit.
Ut ardet, ad connubia
Caelestis Agni pervolans.

Illi obsequentes praepete
Curvatur auro sub pede;
Illi praeit dum semitam
Aurora fundit lilia.

Hac auspicio praeterit
Mercede virtus sidera;
Fidesque falli nescia
Et vera Christi caritas.

Sit laus Patri, sit Filio.
Et par decus Paraclito;
Semperque Trino et Unico
Deo canamus gloriam.

Amen.

- Antonius Azzoguidi, 1741.
Franciscalia, Pistoia, 1883, (99-105) 349

Eia, dic carmen, dea casta, Clarae...

"Christe, sic fata es, column tuorum,
Ergo devotas animas furentes
In feras offers, animas cruenta
Morte redemptas?"

Impii cedunt fremitu ruentes,
Fulmine et tacti veluti probrosa
Terga convertunt, remeasque victrix
Abdita claustris.

Abdita, ast caelo superum corona
Te manet Christus comitatus, ultro
Atque Franciscus genitor merenti
Dat tibi palmas.

Nos quoque et palmas patriumque, Virgo,
Dicimus cives memores triumphum,
Concinent nostri memoresque factum,
Clara, nepotes.

Qui tibi pridem meritos honores
Reddidit primus, cineres secretis
Cum tuos tandem placuit levari
Ossaque terris.

- Geremia Brunelli, 1883.