

HYMNS IN HONOR OF SAINT CLARE OF ASSISI

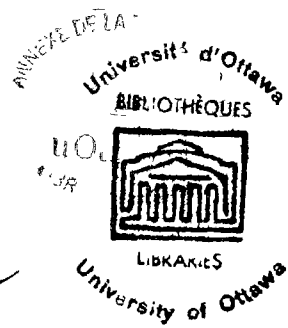
AN EXHAUSTIVE ANALYSIS
OF THEIR CONTENTS AND STRUCTURE

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

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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.

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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 panegyric 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

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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 Szövérfy. 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

¹Joseph Szövérfy, "Zur Analyse der Christophorus-Hymnen", in Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, Vol. 74, 1955, p. 1-35.

²-----, "The Legends of St. Peter in Medieval Latin Hymns", in Traditio, Vol. 10, 1954, p. 275-322.

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chronicles in commemoration of the seventh centenary of the Saint's death, in 1953,¹ 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.² 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. Szövérfy 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

¹Stephen Van Dijk, O.F.M., "Il culto di santa Chiara nel medioevo", in Santa Chiara D'Assisi. Studi e Cronaca del VII Centenario, 1253-1953, Perugia, G. Donnini, 1954, p. 155-212.

²Fausta Casolini, O.F.M., "Sprazzi della luce di Chiara nella letteratura", ibid., p. 213-261.

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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 sequences¹; and, b. the hymns that belong to the liturgy of canonical prayer - the breviary hymns², and the rhythmic offices.³ The non-liturgical hymns are those which are intended for private devotion - the pia dictamina.⁴

A group of fifty-one hymns written from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century in honor of St. Clare were selected for analysis.⁵ In each of the hymns the various

¹Designated by the initial letter "S".

²Designated by the initial letter "H".

³Designated by the initial letter "R".

⁴Designated by the initial letter "P".

⁵Six 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

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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

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basis of style, ideology, inspiration and mood that serves to characterize them as community, or traditional, or individual creations. Likewise this type of analysis is effective 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 hymnologicum¹ of Chevalier, an alphabetic index of the hymns. Then in the monumental work, comprising fifty-five volumes, the Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi,² 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 hymnologicus³ of Daniel, the Latenische Hymnen des

¹C. U. J. Chevalier, Repertorium hymnologicum, 6 vols., Louvain, Brussels, 1892-1920.

²G. M. Dreves, D. Blume, H. M. Bannister, Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, 55 vos., Leipzig, 1886-1922.

³H. A. Daniel, Thesaurus hymnologicus, 5 vols., Leipzig, 1855-56.

Mittelalters¹ of Mone, and the more recent Dictionary of Hymnology² by Julian. From the many works dealing with the origin of hymnody, one example is Walpole's Early Latin Hymns,³ while the collection of the Henry Bradshaw Society, the Irish Liber Hymnorum,⁴ 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,⁵ McDougall's Pange Lingua,⁶ and Messenger's The Medieval Latin Hymn.⁷ Raby's History of Christian Latin Literature⁸ 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

¹F. J. Mone, Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters, 3 vols., Freiburg, 1853-55.

²J. Julian, Dictionary of Hymnology, 2 vols., Reprint, New York, 1957.

³A. S. Walpole, Early Latin Hymns, Cambridge, 1922.

⁴J. H. Bernard, R. Atkinson; Irish Liber Hymnorum, 2 vols., London, 1897-98.

⁵J. D. Chambers, Lauda Sion, London, 1866.

⁶A. G. McDougall, Pange Lingua, London, 1916.

⁷R. H. Messenger, The Medieval Latin Hymn, Washington, D.C., 1953.

⁸F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry, 2d Ed., Oxford, 1953.

hymnological findings from the historical studies of the Order; for instance, the Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens¹ of Holzzapfel; in the light of poetry, Les poètes franciscains en Italie² of Ozanam; and in the scholarly series of studies by the Franciscan, Van Dijk, on the origins of Franciscan liturgy,³ and of modern Roman liturgy.⁴

"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."⁵ 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

¹H. Holzzapfel, Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens, Freiburg, 1909.

²A. F. Ozanam, Les poètes franciscains en Italie, Paris, 1872.

³S. J. P. Van Dijk, "Some Manuscripts of the Earliest Franciscan Liturgy", Franciscan Studies, Vol. 14, No. 3, Vol. 16, Nos. 1 and 3; et al.

⁴-----, J. H. Walker, Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy, London, 1961.

⁵Messenger, op. cit., p. 80.

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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 Neale³ 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

¹Ibid.

²Messenger, op. cit., p. 81.

³Among 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 Szövérfy¹ 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

¹Szövérfy 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,⁴ 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. Szoverffy's more recent article: L'hymnologie medievale: recherches et methode, Cahier de civilisation medievale, vol. 4, 1961, p. 389-422.

²Szövérfy's latest contribution now in the press: Die Annalen der mittelalterlichen Hymnendichtung, Berlin, Vol. 1 and 2.

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.¹ 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 congregational singing at the Basilica of Milan. In describing 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."² As Ambrose had composed his hymns with the practical aim of expounding the doctrine of the Holy

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

²Confessions, 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.¹

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

¹W. Bulst, Hymni Latini antiquissimi, Heidelberg, 1956, p. 9.

accent and word accent, and the quantitative hymns can be read rhythmically.¹ However, prior to the hymns of St. Ambrose, the first extant Latin verses that were composed by a Christian poet, Commodian,² 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."³ 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 rime⁴ - the essential feature of equality in number of syllables is absent.⁵ The combination of this basic characteristic with the other qualities of the new verse-form in the hymn of St. Augustine, "Psalmus contra

¹Dreves, "Hymnody", Cath. Encycl., Vol. 8, p. 597.

²Instructiones and Carmen Apologeticum, quoted in Raby, op. cit., p. 11-14.

³Ibid., p. 21.

⁴Ibid., p. 14, quoted from observations of Meyer, Rhythmik, Vol. 2, p. 6.

⁵Ibid.

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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

¹Messenger, op. cit., p. 12.

²Blume, AH, Vol. 51, Introd., and p. 364; and Gregor der Grosse als Hymnen dichter, Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, Vol. 74, 3, 1908, p. 269-279.

³Dreves, discussion in Theologische Quartalschrift, Tübingen, 1909, p. 436.

⁴Raby, 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."¹ 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,² 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,³ "which, if their quality is poor, have won the respect due to their venerable age and their place in the Catholic hymnary."⁴

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.

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

⁴*Ibid.*

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,¹ 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."²

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.³ This cycle or

¹Messenger, op. cit., p. 14.

²Ibid., p. 14.

³Cf. 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 above¹ - has offered two listings of hymns, essentially different, one for the older, and the other for the later hymnal as they have been called,² 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.

¹Raby, ibid., footnote, p. 124.

²Quoted 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.).

¹Raby, op. cit., p. 38.

²Bangor 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,¹ 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,² 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.³ 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.

¹Messenger, op. cit., p. 24.

²D. A. Wilmart, "Le Psautier de la Reine", Revue Benedictine, July-October, 1910, p. 341 sqq.

³Raby 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.

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text). 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.¹

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.² 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.³

The development of the sequence⁴ might be considered in three periods: the first period, for the ninth and tenth century; the second, or transitional period, for

¹Raby, 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.

³Blume, "Prose", art. in Cath. Encyclop., Vol. 12, p. 486.

⁴Szövérfy, 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

¹Blume, op. cit.

²Cf. Raby, op. cit., p. 213-14, for discussion; Text in AH, 53, p. 21.

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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

¹Raby, Ibid., p. 213-15.

²Cf. AH, 54, Introd., p. vi, for structure, and p. 12, 13, for text.

³For 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 significant of the sequences of Adam of St. Victor, in whose achievements, as Raby says, "medieval rhythmic verse reached its greatest formal perfection."² The characteristics of the "Regular Sequence" in its full development consists 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 documentary 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 de S. Victor, 3d edit., 1 vol., Paris, 1894.

³So summarized by Messenger, op. cit., p. 47.

⁴Text in AH, 55, p. 341 sq.; for comment cf. Trench, op. cit., p. 212.

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 1858.¹ From this source in the later nineteenth century the Abbé Misset had compiled a list of forty-five Sequences,² 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.³ 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,"⁴ 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.⁵ 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.

⁴Gautier, op. cit., "Les tropes," p. 1; Szoverffy, op. cit., p. 399.

⁵Baby, op. cit., p. 219; cf. AH, 49, for various texts of tropes.

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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.¹ 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.² 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 Troopers are comparatively 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.³ Moreover, some believe that the trope was inspired by Byzantine or Syrian hymnody.⁴

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

¹Blume, art., "Trope", Cath. Encyclop., Vol. 15, p. 65-67.

²Ibid., p. 67.

³Raby, op. cit., p. 20; Blume, op. cit., p. 66.

⁴Raby, Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse, Oxford, 1959, notes, p. 463.

(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.¹ 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"² 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

¹W. H. Frere, The Winchester Troper, London, 1894, Intro., p. vi.

²For 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 sequences 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 Celano⁵ - were retained in the Roman Missal of 1570. The "Stabat Mater" - probably composed by Jacopone da Todi⁶ was not added to the Missal until the eighteenth century.⁷

The medieval sequences and tropes are a testimony

¹Raby, op. cit., p. 229.

²Ibid.

³For disputed authorship, cf. AH 54, p. 237, sqq., text, ibid., p. 234 sqq.

⁴AH, 50, p. 584, for text.

⁵Ibid., 23, p. 54.

⁶Ibid., 54, p. 312, sqq.

⁷Cf. 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 offset 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

¹Blume, art. "Hymnody", op. cit., p. 603.

²Raby, op. cit., p. 328.

³Cf. Brown, Religious Lyrics of the 14 C., Oxford, 1924, p. xiii.

⁴Messenger, 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 "Jubilus 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",¹ but yet the inspiration of his mysticism shines through every line² - "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.³

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

¹Cf. Wilmart, Le 'Jubilus' dit S. Bernard, Rome, 1944; also for critical text.

²Ibid.

³Raby, 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 sollempnis"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.

²Raby, op. cit., p. 402, et seq. "Thomas Aquinas and poetry of Eucharist."

³Text, AH, 50, p. 586.

⁴Text, ibid., p. 357; for discussion, cf. Britt, op. cit., p. 167 sqq.

is the famous "Adoro te",¹ 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.²

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,"³ 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,⁴ the Franciscans were

¹For critical text, Wilmart, La tradition littéraire et textuelle de l'Adoro te devote, I, p. 21 et seq., p.149 et seq.

²Raby, op. cit., p. 411.

³I, Celano, I, 30, Acta Sanctorum, Oct. II, p. 683.

⁴On Catharism and other similar heresies, cf. Tucco, L'eresia nel medio evo, p. 108 seqq.

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

¹Bonaventure, 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.

²Bonaventure, "Regula Novitiorum" in his Selecta Scripta, op. cit., p. 200.

³I, Celano, I, 30.

⁴Raby, op. cit., p. 418.

⁵Ibid.

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,"¹ long attributed to St. Bonaventure, the Seraphic Doctor.² 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 mysticism³ and love of the Crucified⁴ 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",⁵ 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'conographie 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.'¹

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."² 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.³ 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"⁴ in praise of the Lord.

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

¹Text, ibid., p. 568.

²Raby, op. cit., p. 429.

³St. Francis of Assisi, The Legends and Lauds, ed., Otto Karrer, trans., N. Wydenbruck, London, 1947, p. 258.

⁴Sabatier, Spec. Perf., cxix.

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.'¹ Later in life, when Jacopone entered the Order of the Friras 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."² Thus, "the most noble monument of the spiritual poetry of the thirteenth century"³ is generally ascribed to Jacopone, although the problem of its authorship has long been disputed.⁴ 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.⁵ 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.

⁴Cf. Baby, op. cit., for evidence of Jacopone's authorship from Mss., p. 438-39.

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."¹ 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.² For his treatment of the Judgment motif in the sequence, the author derived further inspiration from the use of the words of the prophet Sophonias³ 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"⁴ for His infinite mercy. In form, the perfect mastery of the use of triple

¹Cf. Henry, "Dies Irae", art., Cath. Encycl., Vol. 4, p. 787-788.

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,"¹ 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.²

Again, a Minorite, Julian of Speyer in a convent at Paris, composed Rhythmic Offices in honor of St. Francis and St. Anthony,³ works which mark the perfection of this kind of composition which grew in popularity with the later Middle Ages. Modelled on the same style as Julian's "Offices" is the traditional "Office of St. Clare," "Iam sancta Clarae claritatis"⁴ 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.

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

²Cf. Henry, "The Two Stabats," American Cath. Quarterly Rev., 1903, p. 68 sqq.

³Cf. Felder, Die liturgischen Reimoffizien auf die hl. Franziskus und Antonius, Fribourg, 1901.

⁴Full discussion of the origin of this Office, infra, Chapter VI; Text, R(26) in Appendix.

Trinitate"¹ 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.² 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.³

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.⁴

¹Cf. W. Lampen's discussion in La France franciscaine Vol. 11, 1928, p. 211-229.

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.¹ Here might be mentioned the collections of spiritual songs or rimed "Psalms,"² the "Horae" (Book of Hours) with lyrical poems on the Passion,³ the "Carols."⁴ Foremost in the class of non-liturgical hymns that were composed for private devotion and modelled on liturgical forms were the "Pia Dictamina,"⁵ developments in the style

¹Szövérfy, op. cit., p. 405: "Mais ce qui donne à cet âge un caractère remarquable, c'est la prépondérance 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 psalms.

³An imitation of the liturgical 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,"¹ the songs of the "flagellantes" against sinful living; "Macaronic Verses,"² 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.³

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.

³Blume, "Hymnody," art. in Cath. Encyclop., Vol. 7, p. 604.

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.¹

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,"² and thus "the impossibility of setting the emotion of a medieval hymn in a classic meter"³ can be realized.

¹Janelle, Readings in Western Civilization, p. 360-364, Westminster, Md., 1957.

²Henry Osborn Taylor, The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages, New York, 1901, p. 246.

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

¹Adrian Fortescue, Int. in Pange Lingua of A. G. McDougall, London, 1916.

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

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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

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Alphabetic Order</u>	<u>Century</u>	<u>Source</u>
Breviary Hymns:			
H(5)	Clara clarens, labe carens	15	AH 4,119(213)
H(9)	Clara stella movet bella	15	AH 16,102-103 (153)
H(10)	Clara praeclara meritis	16 ¹	AH 16,102(152)
H(11)	Clarum nomen effunditur	15 ¹	AH 19,109(174)
H(12)	Coeli concentum hodie	14	AH 19,111(178)
H(13)	Concinnat plebs fidelium	13	AH 52,149(159)
H(14)	Decus clarum feminarum	14	AH 4,119(214)
H(15)	De terra caliginosa	14/15	AH 19,110(177)
H(16)	Duce caelesti numine	13	AH 5,157(54)
H(17)	Ecce, mundo tepescenti	14	AH 23,156(264)
H(19)	En, praeclara virgo Clara	14	AH 4,120(215)
H(20)	Exsultate, jubilate	14	AH 22,77(122)
		14/15	AH 19,109 (176) ²
H(24)	Generat virgo filias	13	AH 52, 150 (160)
H(25)	In celesti triclinio	14	Il culto di S. Chiara, 186 ³
H(30)	Laetabundus plaudat mundus	15	AH 4,120-121 (216)

¹Van 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.

²Besides 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.

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

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<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Alphabetic Order</u>	<u>Century</u>	<u>Source</u>
H(34)	O Clara, clarum graciae	14	Il culto, 187
H(35)	O Clara, clarens vespere	13	AH 5,160(54)
H(36)	O Clara, luce clarior	13	AH 52,151(161)
H(38)	Prolem quam, Clara generas	14	Il Culto, 185
H(41)	Risum convertit in luctum	16	Brev. Rom. Seraph.
H(42)	Salve Sponsa Dei	13	AH 5,159(54)
H(47)	Stella clara et praeclara	14	AH 19,111(179)
H(48)	Sub paupertatis regula	14	AH 19,109(175)
H(50)	Virgo Clara claruit	13	Il Culto, 173- 174

Sequences:

S(1)	Ave Mater humilis	15	AH 33,68(77)
S(3)	Ave, virgo felix Clara	15	AH 42,186(200)
S(6)	Clara, Dei famula	15	AH 37,147(163)
S(8)	Clara lux apparuit	14/15	AH 57,145-146 (161)
S(18)	En, in regno claritatis	14 ¹ 15	AH 10,153-154 (201) ²
S(21)	Gaudeat ecclesia	16	AH 40,163-166 (182)
S(22)	Gaude, caeli hierarchia	15 ³	AH 37,146(162)
S(27)	Inclarescat melodia	14 ³	AH 10,154-155 (203)
S(28)	In perenni gloria	16	AH 55,123-124 (106)
S(29)	Laetabundus	15	AH 44,99(100)
S(31)	Lucis novae claritas	14	AH 10,155-156 (204) ⁴
S(32)	Novae lucis radius	14	AH 9,135(177) AH 10,154(202)

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 Mss. dates from the late 15 C. while the first is from a 14 C. Mss.

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. Mss. and second, 15 C. Mss.

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<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Alphabetic Order</u>	<u>Century</u>	<u>Source</u>
S(33)	Novae signo claritatis	14/15	AH 9,133-134 (175)
S(37)	O virgo clara genere	14	Legenda (Appendix) ¹ 127
S(39)	Qui fecit ad imaginem	16	AH 37,147(164)
S(40)	Rex per portum caritatis	15	AH 9,134-135 (176)
S(44)	Sidum clarum	14/15	AH 44,98(99)
S(45)	Signiferi discipula	15	AH 44,96(97)
S(46)	Sonet vox ecclesiae	14	AH 10,153(200)
S(49)	Thronus novus fabricatur	15	AH 44,97-98(98)
Rhythmic Offices:			
R(7)	Clara, luce clarior	14	AH 25,209-212 (74)
R(26)	Iam sanctae Clarae claritas	13	AH 5,157-160 (54)
Pia Dictamina:			
P(2)	Ave, prudens et divina	14	AH 3,142-143 (17)
P(4)	Ave, virgo sancta Clara	15	AH 29,58(143)
P(23) ²	Gaude, sacra virgo clara	16	AH 29,101(193)
P(43)	Sanctae Clarae filiae	15	AFH 23,180-182
Separate Classifications:			
(Rhythmic Office)	Fulgentem Claram eminus	14	Il Culto, 184- 186 ³
('Vita' in verse)	Gaude, Clara prophe- tata	14	AFH 12,110-131
(Legenda of Celano in verse)	Legenda Versificata	13	AFH 5,459-481

¹Op. cit., (ed. Pennacchi).²Listed as a "sequence" by Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 176.³Op. cit.

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II. Inedited Hymns

<u>Century</u>	<u>First Line</u>	<u>Source</u>
Breviary Hymns:		
16	Cernite feminei decus	Chevalier, 3435 ¹
16	Clarum lucide clarescit	Miscell. Franc., 50, p. 184 ²
16	O clara lampas Umbriae	Chevalier, 30308
16	Plaudat plebs pauperum	Miscell. Franc., 36, p. 479
16	Salva Christi Sponsa Clara	Miscell. Franc., 37, p. 114
17	Haec in Umbria lustrata	Chevalier, 37795
17	Sancta fuit Clara nata	Chevalier, 33295
18	Custode rerum virgine	Chevalier, 4161
18	Huc vos, quae superas ³	Chevalier, 27807
18	Magni parentis filiae	Chevalier, 10984
18	O decus nostrum, bona Clara mater	Chevalier, 30346
18	O pulchra caelo quae redit*	Miscell. Franc. 36, p. 480 ⁴
18	O Sponsa Christi amabilis*	Brev. Roman, Seraph.
18	Salve Minorum gloria*	Brev. Roman. Seraph.
18	Sponsabo tibi	Brev. Roman. Seraph
18	Victrix gementem deserit*	Miscell. Franc. 36, p. 480
19	Ea die carmen, dea casta, Clara*	Franciscalia, p. 99- 105
19	O tuas, Virgo, libeat vel sacri	Chevalier, 13851
?	Clara Francisci, comes ac alumna	Chevalier, 3309
?	Deo pro munere	Chevalier, 4373

¹Chevalier, op. cit.

²P. G. Abate, "Inni e sequenze francescane",
Miscellanea francescana, Vol. 35-38, 1935-1938.

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

⁴Edition of the year 1882.

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<u>Century</u>	<u>First Line</u>	<u>Source</u>
Sequences:		
?	Gaudeat ecclesia	London, Ms. Harley, 2967
?	Sicut clarum	Chevalier, 40928
16	Sospitati dedit ae- grus	Chevalier, 19238

III. The Distribution of the Hymns

A. According to Centuries

<u>Group</u>	<u>Century</u>				
	13	14	14/15	15	16
Breviary Hymns	(13), (16) (24), (35) (36), (42) (50)	(12), (14) (17), (19) (20), (34) (38), (47) (48)	(15)	(5), (9) (11), (25) (30)	(10), (41)
Sequences		(18), (27) (31), (42) (37), (45)	(8) (33) (44)	(1), (3) (6), (22) (29), (40) (45), (49)	(21), (28) (39)
Rhythmic Offices	(26)	(7)			
Pia Dictamina		(2)		(4), (43)	(23)
(Separate Classification)	(Legenda Versifi- cata)	(Fulgentem Claram eminus) (Gaude, Clara prophetata)			

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

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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.¹ 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

¹Messenger, 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.¹ 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 writings²

¹Van Dijk, op. cit.

²Stephen 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 Canonization² of Clare at the Cathedral of Anagni. Then by the Papal Bull, Clara claris preclara³ 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

¹Ibid., p. 155.

²Two 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.

³Text in Legenda, op. cit., p. 108 sqq.

⁴Complete Text in Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 156.

⁵Ibid.

the Saint.¹

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).² 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 lessons³ (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

¹Pennacchi quotes Fra Salimbene's statement concerning Alexander's liturgical texts: "...et fecit collectas eius et hymnos" from Monum. German. Histor., T. XXXII, p. 453, 23, in Legenda, op. cit., Append. p. 73.

²For full discussion cf. Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 158-164.

³Ibid., p. 160.

lost; that the former had been sung, also before 1292).¹
 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."² However the true cult is "not found documented in legislation, but in liturgical manuscripts and in the daily use of these."³

For the study of the spread of the cult of St. Clare, liturgical documents from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century give ample evidence.⁴ 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,

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,

¹Cf. in listing above, as S(27).

²Cf. ibid., H(35) and H(50)

³Cf. ibid., R(27)

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"For the Feast of the Translation"¹ contains little tradition, written in lyrical form, (14 C.), while the third Office,² - in fragmentary form - bears a relationship to the first Office. The latter, the "Office of the Nativity" had changes and additions³ 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.⁴ Borrowings from one Legend in this manner, demonstrate the wide diffusion of the cult of St. Clare.⁵ 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.

⁴Cf. Bihl, "Tres Legendae minores sanctae Clarae Assisiensis", AFH, Vol. 7, 1914, p. 32-35.

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,¹ 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

<u>Author</u>	<u>Sigla</u>	<u>Century</u>
Alexander IV (Pope, 1254-1261)	H(13), (16), (24)	13
	·	·
	H(48)	14
	H(11)	15
	R(26)?	13

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.

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<u>Author</u>	<u>Sigla</u>	<u>Century</u>
Albert of Prague (Carthusian Monk)	P(2)	14
Pietro de Candia (Franciscan Friar, later, Pope Alex- ander V)	P(43)	15

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.¹

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.² 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

¹As already quoted from the *Legenda*, op. cit., *Append.*, p. 73.

²Van Dijk, op. cot., p. 177, quotes text of this early Office.

attribution on the bases of the sources and metrical scheme of the office.¹ 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."²

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.³

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.⁴

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.

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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 moreso than West European hymnody.

D. Length of the Hymns

1. Breviary Hymns
 Composed of: 12 stanzas: (30)
 10 stanzas: (13)

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- 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;

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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

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elements are based on legendary sources,¹ and are so termed "legendary-biographical"² 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.

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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 (9), (14), (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,

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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.

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The Legenda Sanctae Clarae¹ 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 Ortalona, the mother of Clare,

¹Celano, 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.

²Legenda, op. cit., v. 4, no. 1.

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

Praegnans denique mulier ... audivit
dicentem sibi, "Ne paveas mulier quis
quoddam lumen salva parturies quod
iosum 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 pavesceret,
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", "praeclara", "lumen", "insignis", etc. noted in the Legend² is repeated in the hymns, and is

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 5, no. 2

²Cf. 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.

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traceable to the significance given to the name of Clare in the Bull of Canonization.¹ 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 panegyric motifs.

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

Sub vestibus namque pretiosis ac millibus,
cilicium absconditum, ... Denique suis
eam nobiliter maritare volentibus, nullatenus acquievit ...²

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

Sub fulgore vestium,
Celabat cilicium
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.

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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

¹Prov. 31,20. Celano has many biblical illusions throughout his account. Cf. Brady, op. cit., p. 1.

²I Cor. 8,14.

³Legenda, ibid., p. 6, no. 3

⁴Ibid.

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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:

Hortatur eam pater Franciscus ad mundum
contemptum ... suadens virginalis pudicitiae
margaritam beato illi sponso, quem amor
humanavit fore servandam.¹

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

Haec Franciscum imitat,
Opibus renuntiat
Voce clara. S(29/3a)

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

Honorum fastigia
Sprevit et insignis
Patriae familiae. S(21/3b)

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

¹Legenda, *ibid.*, p. 9, no. 5.

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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(45/1b)

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 entrance into religion is the legendary motif of her founding

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 13, no. 8.

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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.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:

Mundus et caro vincitur,
Matri Christi connectitur,
Christo prorsus innititur,
Pauperem pauper sequitur. H(13/6)

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

'In huius caverna maceriae, columba'
deargentata 'nidificans,'² virginum
Christi collegium genuit, monasterium
sanctum instituit, pauperumque dominarum
Ordinem inchoavit.³

The cloister is mentioned by name earlier in the

¹Ibid.

²Cant. 2, 14; Jer. 48, 28.

³Legenda, ibid., p. 15, 16, no. 10.

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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 exiguo
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)

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 15, no. 10.

²Ibid., p. 16, no. 10.

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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(18/3a)

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 informa-
bat...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
praeese, 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 relicto, mente intus ditata, post
Christum sine sacco 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.

⁴Ibid., p. 22, no. 14.

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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 sacculo
 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 between the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, and his death, 1216. Cf. Lazzeri, O.F.M., "Il Privilegium Paupertatis," Archivum Franciscum Historicum, Vol. 11, 1918, p. 270-276.

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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 expres-
sion 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, 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 hostem²
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, 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 spiritualem
Vitae sanctimoniae. S(27/3b)

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 19, no. 11.

²Ibid., 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 panegyric 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 panegyric or biblical allusions, and discussion of this virtue will be

¹Legenda, *ibid.*, p. 45, no. 32.

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treated later under these categories.

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 ... in sa 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 acquirat,
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.

¹Legenda, 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,"¹ 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.²

Nec minus ille ... inhiabat ad praedam,
 regnum mundi depopulaturus advenerat,
 nobilem istam praedam 'saeculo nequam
 possit arripere',³ suoque Domino
 vindicare.⁴

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

¹Augustine Sepinski, O.F.M., "Encyclical Letter on St. Clare on the Occasion of the Seventh Centenary of the Devout Holy Mother," The Cord, Vol. 3, December 1953, p.348.

²Legenda, ibid., p. 9, no. 5.

³Gal. 1, 4

⁴Legenda, ibid., p. 8, no. 5.

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A fourteenth century hymn has a motif expressing the same theme:

Christo claram 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 prodeunt. H(48/3,4)

Further it is related that Clare decided to follow her Divine Bridegroom, at the advice of Francis, acting as "bridesman":¹

Instante patre sanctissime, et more
fidelissimi paranymphe sollerter 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.M., 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. H(19/2)

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 destruitur'.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.

³II, Celano, ed. A. G. Ferrers Howell, London, 1908, no. 10.

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, felicia 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 daemona. 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,² et a promisso nullatenus
 deviavit.

and stated in a hymn in more general terms:

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 13, n0. 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 singular 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, obliteratedam in mundo
 perfectionis viam novis virtutibus reno-
 vabat, mox eum audire desiderat et videre...³

¹Cf. 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.

²Sepinski, op. cit., p. 345.

³Legenda, ibid., p. 8, n0. 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.¹ 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 nidulo Christo pauperi
conformari quem pauperula mater in
arcto 'praesipio' parvolum 'reclinavit',²
eas hortatur.³

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

In paupertatis nidulo
Nostris praesepis parvulo
Pauperi conformata. R(26, Ad Mat.)

¹Lothair Hardwick, O.F.M., "Saint Francis and Christian Piety in the Middle Ages", The Cord, Vol. 9, No. 10, Oct. 1959, p. 289-296. The principles of Franciscan spirituality are well explained here.

²Luke, 2,7.

³Legenda, 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:

Toto mentis studio
Inhaerens vestigio
Virginis Christiferae. S(32/4a)

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

Novum per prodigium
Mariae vestigium,
Ad eius sequens filium. P(1/6)

a motif that has a legendary source:

... imitentur feminae Claram, Dei
matris vestigium, novam capitaneam
mulieum.²

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

Familiaris ei planctus Dominicae
passionis, quae ex sacris vulneribus
nunc myrrhatas affectiones exhaurit,
nunc dulciora gaudia fugit ... Docet
novitias Christum plangere Crucifixum...³

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

¹For a detailed explanation of this legendary motif, cf. Sister Mary Francis, "Footprint of the Mother of God", The Cord, Vol. 3, No. 8, Aug. 1953, p. 222-228.

²Cf. 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.

³Ibid., 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:¹

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

Formavit Claram virginem
 Et lateris Minoris,
 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.

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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 associated 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 vision 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

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

²Legenda, 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/lb)

¹Ibid., p. 56-57, no. 40.

²Cf. Clare's reply according to: Luke Wadding, Annales Minorum Seu Trium Ordinum S. Francisco Institutorum, Vol. 3, 1238-55, p. 109, no. 96.

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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 former⁴ Cardinal 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. R(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 ecstasy 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.

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... ut praedicante aliquando fratre ...
speciosissimus quidem puer virgini Clarae
assisteret et per magnam praedicationis
partem, suis eam gratulationibus oblectaret.¹

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: "... iosa digna fuit Domini praesepe videre."² The legendary motif adds validity to the vision by Clare's report to her Sisters the next morning:

Audivi revera per gratiam Christi tota

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 50, no. 37.

²Ibid., p. 41, no. 29.

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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 praeseptum. R(7, Ad. Laud.)

Herein, the heavenly vision² 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.

²On the basis of this Christmas Vision, St. Clare was declared patroness of Television by Pius XII in his Apostolic Letter, "Clarius explendescit", Feb. 14, 1958, Acta Apostolica Sedes, Vol. 50, p. 512.

³Legenda, ibid., p. 44, no. 31.

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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.

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... 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 in one hymn 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 panegyricall 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.

¹Ibid.

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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 instarent et fames 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

¹Legenda, ibid., p. 23-24, no. 15.

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... etenim solo influente Deo vas illud
 plenum oleo reperitur, praeviente sanctae
 clarae oratione fratris obsequim in
 solamen pauperum 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, pauperum 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,² 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.

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De pane pascit unico	Magni conventus numerum
Turbem sororum pauperum	Parat magistra vasculum
Claret signo mirifico	Ut oleum quaeratur,
Virtus signorum veterum	Mox vero per miraculum,
Dum cibatur ex tam modico	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 Sacrament¹ in the monstrance carried before her. There Clare 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,'² 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.³

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.

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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,
Plebs salvatur, dum fugatur
Hostilis molestia. S(40,5b)

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

Christus illi filiae
De capsula 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:

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

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 panegyric 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

¹Cf. 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.

²Legenda, ibid., p. 33-37, no. 24-26.

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the convent, she called upon Clare for help. When the latter offered suppliant 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 adulescentulam renitentem per devexum montis abstraherent;¹ and, " ... beatus Franciscus manu sua ipsam totondit, et una cum sorore sua in via Domini erudivit,² 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:

¹Ibid., p. 35, no. 25.

²Ibid., p. 37, no. 26.

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Paucis interiectis, Agnes ad nuptias
 evocata, sororem Claram ad aeternas
 delicias subsecuta est ubi ambae Si-
 on 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 Agnes' 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 possessio vasculo de-
 turbarent.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.

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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 death¹ there are references to a few of the many marvelous cures of mind and body attributed to the Saint.² 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 laborantem;"³
2. restoration of sight to a boy: "illico nuero oculus macula expurgatus..."⁴
3. the return of sound health to four of Clare's Sisters: the cure of dropsy and other ailments: "... hydropisi, feбри insuper et tussi et lateris dolore..."⁵
A restoration of the voice: "vocem mox signata recuperat"⁶
Relief from deafness: "auditus virtutem illo recuperat."⁷
A cure of a fistula: "Perfectam⁸ recepit annosi ulceris sanitatem."

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.

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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 prefaces his account with this statement: "Strict truth, duly attested,¹ compels us to set down many miracles, but their number constrains us to pass over many more."² 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.

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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 sanatione a tumoribus gutteris",⁷
8. Two children freed from the attack of wolves: "De liberatis a lupo."⁸

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.

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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 daemniacos
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.)

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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.¹ 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.²

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 virginibus	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.

²*Ibid.*, p. 62-65, nos. 45,46.

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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 ipse
iam mundus cum desiderio expectabat
... invenitur 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,

¹Cf. "Miracle" Motif, supra, p. 59.

²Legenda, op. cit., p. 93, 94, no. 62.

³The Process was begun by Don Bartholomew, Bishop of Spoleto, 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 Rinaldo, as Pope Alexander IV, closed the Process in 1254. Cf. Leg., footnote, p. 91. The original Latin text of Process is lost; for Italian IIs. cf. Lazzeri, AFH, Vol. 13, 1920, p. 403-507.

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through the Bull of Canonization,¹ solemnly proclaimed the sainthood of Clare:

... felix Alexander, cui haec a Domino fuerat gratia reservata, cum celebritate permaxima Sanctorum cathalogo Claram reverenter ascripsit, festumque eiusque solemniter, in tota Ecclesia celebrandum instituit, atque ipse 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 ortus cardine.

¹The Bull of Canonization, opening with the words, 'Clara claris praeclara meritis' ..., Aug. 12, 1255. For text, cf. Leg., ibid., p. 108-118.

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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 benefactress² 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

¹Alexander 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.

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

³Cf. 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.⁴

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 "Gaude". In the opinion of Oligier, the Franciscan who discovered the codex which contained this hymn in a Convent of the Poor Clares in Nuremberg, the

¹For Text and Documenta, cf. P. Livarius Oligier, "Gaudia S. Clarae Assisiensis", Archiv. Franc. Hist., Vol. 12, 1919, p. 110-131. Text is also in the Appendix, infra.

²For Text and Documenta, P. Benvenutus Bughetti, O.F.M., "Legenda Versificata S. Clarae Assisiensis", Archiv. Franc. Hist., Vol. 5, 1912, p. 241-260, 459-481.

³Entitled as "legends in verse" by Ezio Franceschini in his "Biografie di Santa Chiara", Santa Chiara s'Assisi (op. cit.), p. 264.

⁴For Text and Documenta, Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 179-186. For text cf. Appendix, supra.

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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.¹ The sub-title of the hymn, Vita Eius Versificata,² explains its groundwork of legendary content, which can be readily traced to the Legenda of Celano.³ 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.

<u>MOTIF</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
<u>Legenda</u>	<u>Gaudia</u>
a. Pre-natal (No. 1,2) Miracle	(Strophes 1,2) Gaude, Clara, prophetata Celitus nuntiata Lumen esse seculi. (1/2,3)
b. Her name, Clara (2)	(4) Clara statim baptizata Nominaris proprie. (4/2,3)
c. Her childhood (3,4)	(5,6,7) Domo, in paterno domo miseratrix miserorum. (5/1,3)

¹Oliger, op. cit., p. 110, 116, 119.

²Ibid., p. 110.

³Cf. also N. Fossbinder, "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.

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<u>MOTIF</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	
	<u>Legenda</u>	<u>Gaudia</u>
d. Flight from world	(4)	(6) Chroum spernis coniugalem Florem servas virginalem. (6/4,5)
e. Clare, as Foundress	(10,36)	(8,10,11,12) Ut sis multa paritura Filiarum genera. (8/5,6) Dominarum pauperum Deo genuisti prolem. (10/3,4)
f. Relationship to St. Francis	(8)	(9) Dum Franciscum es affata Clara luce celitus (9/3,4)
g. Humility	(12)	(12) Pedes lavans serviendo, Egris, sanis exercendo ¹ (13/4,5)
h. Poverty	(13,14)	(14) Tibi fiunt aliene Pauper mente et corpore (14/2,3)
i. Miracles	(15,16)	(15) Oleo nunc vas (in) mane Implens pisces nunc cum pane ² (15/4,5)
j. Moriification	(17)	(17) Gaude, duro quod amictu Cunctis prebes raro victu Forma(m) abstinentiae (17/1-3)

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.

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<u>MOTIF</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	
	<u>Legenda</u>	<u>Gaudia</u>
k. Love of God	(19,20)	(18) Ardes igne tu divino Karitatis in camino (18/4,5)
l. Flight of the enemy	(21,27)	(19,21) Hostis spernens odiosa Maligni consilia (19/1,3) Excrescantur per te rei Sarraceni pessimi (21/1,2) (22,27,29) Gaude, casto ventre Natus Tecum est confabulatus Voce amicabili (22/1-3) Ostendebat se presentem In presepe quiescentem Exhibens hylarius. (27/4-6)
m. Visions of Christ	(22,29)	
n. Devotion to the Bl. Sacrament	(28)	(23) Gaude, quod iam corpus Christi Sepe digne accepisti (23/1,2)
o. Episode of her sister Agnes	(26)	(24) Infirmatur, cum germana Certat cum potentibus (24/2,3)
p. Devotion to the Passion	(30)	(28) Gaude: panis nam affectus In acetum est iniectus Passionibus Domini (28/1,2)
q. Use of the Sign of the Cross	(32,34)	(30) Gaude, morbos signo crucis Rebellendo, quo reducis Sanitatem omnibus (30/1-3)

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

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:

¹For Text, cf. Legenda, op. cit., p. 108-118.

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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. Oligier is inclined to believe¹ that the motif was inspired by the legendary passage: "... coelesti igne fuisse succensam,"² or by Chapter XV of Actus S. Francisci which is included in some Codices of the Legenda.³ Fassbinder interprets it as a possible meeting in the forest near Portiuncula.⁴

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 redit defunctorum,
 Per Dei potentiam. (Strophe 43)

No authentic source for this motif is known.⁵ An

¹Oligier, op. cit., p. 117.

²Legenda, p. 9, no. 6.

³The edition of the Legenda by Pennacchi has this chapter in the Appendice: "De eo quod beatus Franciscus et beata Clara in simul vescentes rapti fuerunt." Codices containing same are listed in footnote, p. 98.

⁴Fassbinder, op. cit., p. 333.

⁵Oligier, op. cit., p. 117.

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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,² 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-

¹Cf. Anal. Fran. Hist., Vol. 8, 1915, p. 338-41, for this version.

²The date for Celano's Legenda is 1256; cf. Ibid., Prefazione, p. XVI.

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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.'¹

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 pluebat
Vivens, et mundo signorum fulgere vivat.²

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,³ with the personal comment: "nihil novi hanc Legendam ad vitae actus S. Clarae, lectores ipsi primo ictu percipere possunt." An

¹So stated by Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 155.

²Bughetti, op. cit., verses 1405-1411 of Text.

³Ibid., p. 621, 622.

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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.⁴ But since the text of this

¹Quoted 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.

²Bughetti, op. cit., p. 622.

³R(7) and R(26) in hymn listing.

⁴Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 179: "Sino ad oggi si conoscono tre Uffici 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 office¹ 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 filiabus anxi(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:

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.

<u>Vesper Antiphon</u> ¹	<u>Legendary Motif</u>	<u>Biblical Motif</u>
1	canonization	Sitting at the right hand of the Lord (Ps. 109)
2	flight from the world; foundress	The call of children to praise the Lord (Ps. 112)
4	saving of the city	A house must be built by the Lord (Ps. 126)
5	multiplication of the bread	The providence of God by the supply of grain (Ps. 147)
<u>Matins Antiphon</u>		
1	canonization; miracles through the cult	The name of God is held in universal veneration (Ps. 8)

¹For full text, cf. Appendix.

ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

<u>Matins Antiphon</u>	<u>Legendary Motif</u>	<u>Biblical Motif</u>
2	ascetic life	Highest praise rendered to the Lord (Ps. 18)
3	flight from the world	Eternal promises of the omnipotent Lord (Ps. 23)
<u>Magnificat Antiphon</u>	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 panegyric and legendary significance implied in terms of intercession and patronage. However, the hymns are characterized in greater part by panegyric motifs.

In retrospect, the third rhythmic office of St. Clare admits of classification as a "historical" type of office¹ since it has a prevalence of legendary-biographical motifs.

¹Van 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.

Motifs	Hymns
1. Clare's distinguished origin	H(13) S(3), (4), (8), (18), (21), (32), (33)
2. Prenatal miracle	S(8), (18), (22), (29), (31), (32), (40), (45) R(7)
3. Her divine mission predicted	H(17) S(40) R(26)
4. Her name, "Clara"	H(5), (12), (13), (14), (15), (24), (30), (36), (48)
5. Her childhood	S(32), (40) R(26)
6. Flight from the world	H(13), (16), (19) S(21), (39), (46) R(7)
7. Her reception into the Franciscan Order	H(13), (30) S(8), (18), (21), (33), (45) R(26)
8. Clare, as Foundress of the Second Order of St. Francis	P(4) H(13), (18), (19), (20), (30), (48) S(8), (18), (21) R(26)
9. Her virtues and ascetic practices in general	H(9), (10), (12), (13), (30), (36) S(6), (8), (18), (21), (27), (29), (31), (32), (45), (46) R(26)
10. The spread of her Order	H(7), (18) R(26)

ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Table I. - A comparative list of legendary-biographical motifs in the hymns. (cont'd.)

Motifs	Hymns
11. Her humility	P(1) S(3), (21), (31), (46) P(7), (26)
12. Her poverty	H(10), (13), (17), (19), (20) S(6), (8), (21), (27), (28), (29) P(7), (26)
13. Her purity	P(1), (2) H(15), (17), (19) S(3), (6), (18), (27), (39) H(7), (26)
14. Her love for God	P(4) S(3) P(26)
15. Her spirit of prayer	H(13), (21) S(8)
16. Her penance	P(1), (2) H(12), (19) S(8), (18), (40), (45)
17. Her fasting	H(5), (13) S(32), (44)
18. Her relationship to St. Francis	P(25) S(3), (18), (8), (21), (28), (29), (31), (32), (33), (40), (46) H(13), (19), (48) P(7), (26)
19. Her love for the Blessed Sacrament	P(1) H(13) S(6), (22), (32)

ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Table I. - A comparative list of legendary-biographical motifs in the hymns. (cont'd.)

Motifs	Hymns
20. Her devotion to the Passion	P(1), (23) H(18), (21) S(21), (33), (45), (51) R(26)
21. Her devotion to the Blessed Sacrament ¹	P(23) R(26)
22. Her relationship to the Popes ²	H(18) S(40) R(26)
23. Visions in general	P(23) S(3), (21)
24. The Christmas vision	P(23) S(6)
25. The Lenten vision	S(3), (45)
26. Miracles in general	S(6), (22), (31), (40), (44), (45)
27. The multiplication of bread	H(48) S(3), (18), (22), (31), (40), (44), (45) R(7)
28. The miracle of the oil	S(3), (18), (22), (31), (40), (44), (45) R(7), (26)
29. The saving of the city of Assisi	H(48) S(3), (29), (40), (44), (45) R(26)

¹Cf. "The saving of the city of Assisi" motif.²Cf. "Her death" motif.

ANALYSIS OF THE LEGENDARY-BIOGRAPHICAL MOTIFS IN THE HYMNS

Table I. - A comparative list of legendary-biographical motifs in the hymns. (cont'd.)

Motifs	Hymns
30. The episode of her Sister Agnes	S(38) R(7), R(26)
31. The expulsion of demons	H(5) S(6), (18), (31), (40), (44)
32. The use of the Sign of the Cross in miracles	S(22), (44), (45) R(7), (26)
33. Cures	H(30), (48) S(6), (18), (22), (40), (44), (45) R(7), (26)
34. Her death	H(19), (24), (30) S(6), (18), (22), (40) R(26)
35. Miracles at her death	P(4) H(30) S(31), (40), (44) R(26)
36. Miracles after her death	H(19) S(6), (22), (44) R(7)
37. Her canonization	R(26)

ANALYSSS OF PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS
IN THE HYMNS

1. Panegyric 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 panegyric 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

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
Palmas fers victoriae,
Gratulare. S(46/1a, 1b)

¹Cf. Table II, p. 173.

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HYMNS

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:

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Decus mundi, virgo pura,
Hostis rumpe lora dura,
O laudanda Domina;
Norma morum honestorum,
Spes et salus peccatorum,
Nobis da solamina. P(2/6)

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:

Nunc in caelis collocatur,
Deum trinum contemolatur,
Nunc amore amplexatur,
Clara sine taedio.

Clara, mater claritatis,
Tecum lumen Deitatis,
Corde puro vedeamus
Et in ipso gaudeamus,
Amoris incendio. S(50, 7a, 7b)

3. The Name, "Clara"

Another panegyric 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 beneficent", with a shade of meaning akin to the metaphorical inference.¹ In many instances a single-verse

¹Cf. Britt, Hymns of the Breviary, New York, Benziger Bros., n. 29, for symbolism of light in the Scriptures and in the Fathers' hymns.

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panegyric serves as a prelude to a legendary motif. To quote a few examples:

Clara, praeclare claruit ...H(10/5,1);
Jam, sanctae claritas claritatis...R(26,
In Vesp.);
Clarissimae actibus...H(18/2a,2);
Fusa clares in praeclara, Contempla-
tione ...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 praeclara 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,

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Nam lux, quae lucem influit,
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:¹

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.

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Signiferi discipula
Christi novella plantula
Horto floret ecclesiae. S(45/1a)

And, in praise of her mystical union with Christ, Clare is pictured as a rose:

Vita vivit gloriosa
Rosa, quae non moritur,
Atque vitis gratiosa
Viti vitae jungitur; H(15/2)

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:

Novum germen paupertatis
Virginum plantamina
Novum fructus castitatis
Novo victa lamina.
Sunt tuae fecunditatis
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:

O praeclara virgo Clara,
Nunc dilecto sociata
Puriora,
Clariora,
Inter caeli lilia. H(21/8a)

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

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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:'

Francisci prima plantula
Mira fructificavit,
In orbe cum discipula,
Clara, quam informavit,
Castitatis per saecula,
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":

Ave, rosa venustatis,
Fune cincta castitatis,
Nova plantans lilia,
Francisci pia plantula,
Clara, Mariae filio,
Jesu Christo tam pio,
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":

Concinnat plebs fidelium,
 Virginale praeconium,
 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).

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8. 'Birth' Symbolism

The attributions to motherhood and to the state of virginity are not uncommon panegyric 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
Sanctarum gregem pauperum,
Quas tu ditas et maritas
Conditor alme siderum. H(19/2)

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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.¹ For instance, the 'precious stones' motif is the medium for the praises of Clare in these verses:

Virtutum praeifulgens 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

¹Cf. Ozanam, The Franciscan Poets in Italy of the Thirteenth Century, Trans., London, David Nutt, 1914, p. 156. Raby, op. cit., 273 sqq., describes this symbolism with reference to the Liber Lapidum of Marbod, 12 C.

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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.¹

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 Claram 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,

¹Legenda, *ibid.*, Prologue, p. 1.

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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 be-
comes 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 poenitentiae 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:

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Haec mente considerans virgo Dei Clara
Carnis linquit vitia mentibus amara,
Castitate cingitur mundo valde rara,
Sequens in hoc saeculo quae sunt Deo cara.
P (43/9)

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 compensation 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 stipendium
Insultus atque taedia,
Succedant in dispendium
Beata nobis gaudia. H(12/7,8)

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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."

²

³Huizanga, op. cit., p. 331.

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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:"¹

Clara stella movet bella
Veterem contra Cerberium,
Tu ducente et regente
Conditor alme siderum. H(9/1)

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:² - again, "Clare, versus Satan":

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

¹Cf. 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.

²Cf. Szövérfy, 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.

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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:¹

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.

¹Szövérfy, 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).

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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 etsectatur,
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:

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Honorum fastigia
Sprevit et insignis
Patriae familiae. H(21/3b)

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(27/1b)

This brief study of the hymns for traces of mythological and classical elements,¹ 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 panegyric 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 praeclara,
Velut sol in meridie. H(14/3,1-2)

¹Cf. Table of panegyric motifs for further examples of the motif, p.

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while the cloistered life of Clare and her followers is likewise expressed, in this example:

Huic junguntur, concluduntur,
Velut in coelo sidera. H(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 metonymy, 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,
Suscepisti. S(46/3a)

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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."¹ The 'play' again on the word "clara" is responsible for the alliteration throughout

¹Casolini, '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 Clara,
Sanctae sidus novitatis
Nova lux praeclara.

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

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, O clemens,
Spiritus laetitiae,
Sponsa regnum Dei tenens,
Sponsa coeli gloriae,
Sponsa sponso 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 litera 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:

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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,² or that can be traced to Franciscan tradition.³ Such expressions 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'

¹Paschal Robinson, Trans. and Ed. The Life of St. Clare. Ascribed to Fr. Thomas of Celano. Philadelphia, The Dolphin Press, 1910, Int. p. xxxi.

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 phrases of Franciscan tradition, a more extensive explanation will follow later.

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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:

¹Cf. Connolly, *op. cit.*, p. 145 for explanation of term as found in Ambrose's Aeterna Christi Munera, also cf. p.75, *ibid.*

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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':¹

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':²

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.

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'vestigium', as the 'footprint' of God or of His
Blessed Mother, symbolic of a close following and imitation:¹

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

'speculum', a very wide spread term in use,² by
which the object so designated "is likened to a glass which
reflects the kind of perfection required of the gazer":³

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

'Paupertas', the keynote to Clare's Franciscan vo-
cation,⁴ is likewise featured in many of the invocations
to the saint:

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

²Britt, op. cit.

³The '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
pictura, 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.

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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:¹

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

while the spiritual daughters of Clare are often designated in these terms of Franciscan affiliation,² 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.

²Herein 'dominae' is most meaningful, since Francis so named Clare and her followers, in preference to 'sorores'. Cf. later explanation from Franciscan tradition.

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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;¹

Cuius morte
mora nostra moritur. 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:²

Francisci felix aemula R(7, In Laud.)
Pii patris aemula R(26, In Vesp.)

¹Here 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."

²In 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.

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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 secretario. 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 in-
vocation 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)

¹Strange form, but it is explicable from the quest
of rime and evident influence of the latter on style and ex-
pression.

²"No offense was felt in comparing the Day of Judg-
ment 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, op. cit., p. 158.

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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:¹

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.).

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II. BIBLICAL MOTIFS

The biblical allusions in the Clare hymns are relatively few in comparison with the frequency of legendary and panegyric elements therein. As stated above,¹ 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.²

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,³ are symbolic of a like divine solicitude for Clare in the call to the cloistered life and later heavenly reward:

Per Aegyptum Nilus vadit,
Claram in desertum tradit,
Igne, nube tegitur,
Caeli manna fruitur,
Verus Iosue deducit,
In promissam terram ducit;
...

¹Cf. p. 2; R(7) and S(49) are so designated.

²Cf. Table III, p. 172,173.

³Cf. Old Testament: Ex. 12,13; 13,21; 14; 22; 16, 35; 33,3; Deut. 11, 9; 34,9; 8,31; Nos. 9,15.

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Terram lac et mel manantem,
Habes, audi te precantem. R(7, Ad Mat.)

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:¹

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 multis bonis,
Quibus clare 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 clarae 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,¹ and, as the sequence continues with an enumeration of the seven gifts,² the latter are the same as those which are mentioned in the remainder of prophecy for the Messiah.³

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:⁴

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,⁵ 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.

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3. The 'Valiant Woman'

Akin to the legendary 'military' motif in the hymns,¹ there are several instances of Biblical motifs which symbolize Clare's fortitude.² 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?³

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,⁴ 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:⁵

O quam clare illustratur,
Velut Jacob contemplatur,
Spiritus excubias.

¹Cf. supra, p. 55-57; 85-88.

²Cf. Prov. 31,10.

³Gen. 8,11.

⁴Legenda, op. cit., p. 26, 28, nos. 17, 19.

⁵Gen. 28, 11, 12.

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Petrae caput reclinatur,
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':

Ave virgo praeferens
Liam operantem
Nec Rachelem deserens
Deum contemplantem. R(7, In Vesp.)

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 Pharaoh:³

Adest dies gaudii,
Pharao imperii
Victus cedit impii. R(7, In Vesp.)

¹Gen. 29, 31-35; 30, 1,22.

²Cf. same illusion for "Martha-Mary" in hymns of Mary Magdalen.

³Legenda, ibid., p. 32, 33, no. 23.

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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,¹ as it had strengthened Judith in rescuing her people from the scourages of the Assyrian general:²

Holofernem Iudith 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:³

Hesther pro Vasti regnavit,
Quam Assuerus coronavit
Ac prae cunctis adamavit;

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.

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in favor of her people from a civil king,¹ 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 adulescentula,
Mardochoaei plantula
Digna regis chartula.

Sua mitis speciosa
Regem fove operosa
Nobis esto gratiosa. R(7, Ad Mat.)

Closing the parallelism of Clare and Esther² 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,
Clausula stat artitudine,
Ut sit securior. S(33, 3b)

¹Esther 4, 12-15; 8, 9.

²Ibid., 7, 10.

³Prov. 31, 10, 17: "Mulierem fortem quis inveniet? ... Accinxit fortitudine lumbos suos, et roboravit brachium suum."

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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 Sulamitess, 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:

Veni in hortum meum,
Dulcis filia,
Tuum agnoscens Deum
Carpe lilia.

¹Cath. Encyl. Vol. 1, p. 304, "Canticle of Canticles."

²Cant., 2, 13: 5,13.

³Ibid., 1, 3.

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Ascendisti ac fecisti,
Cor paratum tibi datum,
Te dilectum audio,
Sine mora venio. E(7, Ad Mat.)

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;¹

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

she prepares to meet him:

Aureolam aromatum,
Sponsa paras et ortulum,
Quo pascuis carismatum,
Habundat omne seculum. H(38/4)

Clare is chosen to be the bride, as in the Canticle:²

Tu electa, praelecta,
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)

¹Cant., 2, 14.

²Ibid., 3, 6.

³Ibid., 4, 12.

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Further Clare is singled out as the 'chaste' spouse of the
Canticle:¹

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.² 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

¹Cant. 2, 2.

²Ibid., 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.

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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'¹ of every delight, watered by His grace; nourished by the fruit of the 'tree of life,'² 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,³ 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.⁴

Besides these examples of the 'mystical marriage' motif that have their source in the "Song of Songs," the

¹Cant. 3,13.

²The 'lignum vitae' of the 'new Jerusalem'; cf. Apoc. 22, 2. The phrase, symbolic of the True Cross, is widely used in hymns of the Passion. Cf. reference by Raby, op. cit., p. 424, to St. Bonaventure's Lignum Vitae.

³Ibid., 3, 8.

⁴Ibid., 4,8-12; 5,1.

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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 Psalm¹ that are quoted in the religious reception of novices:

Qui te fecit thronum suum,
Concupivit vultum tuum
Prae multis virginibus;
Gratosum 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.

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as she follows the Lamb, "withsoever 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 prece 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 Apocalypse, 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.

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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:

¹Matt. 11, 21.

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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.

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Clara praeclara 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 relicta
 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:

¹Apoc. 12, 1.

²Ibid., 21, 2.

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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.¹ The biblical motif of the 'prudent virgins'² 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

¹Raby, *op. cit.*, discusses how this thought "fired the imagination of generations of people," p. 443-452.

²Matt. 25, 1-12.

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terminology of the biblical motif: "de fatuis lampades extinguuntur:"¹

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.

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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 minime
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.

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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,
Sequuntur 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 Esther¹ 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:

¹Cf. more detailed explanation in "Biblical Motifs," supra.

²Apoc. 14, 3-5.

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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.

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HYMNS

Table II. - A comparative list of panegyric motifs
in the hymns.

Motifs	Hymns
1. General praises	P(2), (4) H(9), (17), (20), (21), (30) S(22), (25), (27), (29), (46) R(26)
2. Praises with patronage and intercession	P(2), (4) H(15), (34) S(1), (3), (27), (32), (40), (44), (45), (50) R(7)
3. The name, "Clara"	H(5), (18), (20), (30), (35), (36), (48) S(8), (22), (27), (28), (31), (33), (34), (37), (44), (45) R(7), (26)
4. "Sidus", "stella"	P(2), (4) H(5), (9), (13), (17), (48) S(1), (8), (22), (29) R(26)
5. Plant and garden	H(15), (17), (20), (34), (38) S(1), (22), (27), (32), (40), (45) R(7), (26)
6. Clare and Francis	H(13), (20), (36) S(1), (39) R(7), (26)
7. Clare and Mary	P(2), (40), (23) H(13), (14), (19) S(1), (6), (22), (25), (32) R(7), (26)
8. Birth symbolism	P(23) H(10), (13), (15), (18), (19), (21), (23), (24), (34), (48) S(3), (23), (28), (31), (39) R(7), (26)

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HYMNS

Table II. - A comparative list of panegyric motifs in the hymns. (cont'd).

Motifs	Hymns
9. Precious stones symbolism	P(2) S(1), (27) R(7)
10. Military symbolism	P(2) H(5), (10), (12), (14), (15), (19), (20) S(28), (45), (50) R(7), (26)
11. Classical allusions	P(2), (43) H(9), (16), (21), (28) S(27), (50) R(26)
12. Rhetorical embellishment	H(50), (9), (14), (15), (17), (19), (21) S(1), (6), (8), (13), (27), (28), (29), (32), (33), (46), (50) R(7), (26)
13. Commonplace phraseology	P(2), (4) H(5), (9), (13), (16), (18), (19), (20), (21), (49) S(6), (23), (31), (32), (33), (36), (40), (41) R(7), (26)
14. Unusual phraseology	P(2) H(19), (15), (24), (41) R(7), (26)

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HYMNS

Table III. - A comparative list of biblical and eschatological motifs in the hymns.

Motifs	Source ^a	Hymns
The Old Testament		
1. The chosen people	Ex. 12, 13; 13,21; 14,22; 16, 35; 33,3 Nos. 9, 15 Deut. 8,31; 11,9; 34,9	S(49) R(7)
2. The throne of Solomon	III Kings, 1,46; 10, 18-20 I Pa., 29,23 II Pa., 1,12 Is. 2,3; 11,2 Prov. 9, 1	S(1),(49) R(7)
3. The valiant woman	Gen. 28, 11,12; 29, 31 Ex. 14, 27,28 Jud. 8,5,6; 9,1; 13,10-12 Esth. 2,8,17; 4,12- 15; 7,2,10	P(2),(43) H(5) S(33) R(7),(26)
4. The mystical marriage	Cant. 1,3; 2,2,3,13, 14; 3,6,8,13; 4,8- 12,14; 5,1,13; Ps. 44,12,13; 35,9 Joel 2,16	P(2) H(13),(15), (20),(21) S(1),(40) R(7)
The New Testament		
5. The mystical marriage of the lamb	Apoc. 14,4; 19,7,8 John, 15,5 Gal. 2,20 Ep. 5,30	P(23) H(9),(30) S(37),(40) R(26)
6. The mystical union	John, 15,5 Gal. 2,20 Ep. 5,30	R(26)

PANEGYRICAL, BIBLICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL MOTIFS IN THE 183
HYMNS

Table III. - A comparative list of biblical, and
eschatological motifs in the hymns, (cont'd.)

Motifs	Source	Hymns
7. Asceticism	Matt. 11,21 Jas. 4,9	H(13), (34), (38), (41) S(8), (32) E(26)
8. Poverty	Matt. 2,16; 19,29 Mark 10,21 Luke 18,22	H(9), (10) S(28)
9. The woman of the Apocalypse	Apoc. 12,1	H(14) S(22), (40)
10. The 'new' Jerusalem	Apoc. 21,12	H(12), (20)
Eschatology		
1. The prudent virgins ^a	Matt. 25,1-13	H(38) E(26)
2. Earthly exile	(Non-biblical)	P(20) S(31), (46)
3. Judgment	(Non-biblical)	S(40) E(7)
4. Intercessor	(Non-biblical)	P(4) H(34) S(40) E(7)

^aApplies to biblical motifs, and to eschatological motifs of biblical origin.

SOURCES OF HYMNS THEIR AFFINITIES AND OTHER
PROBLEMS OF ORIGIN

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

¹Ezio Franceschini, "Biographie di Santa Chiara," Santa Chiara d'Assisi, op. cit., p. 263; for similar comment, cf. Robinson, op. cit., Int., p. xxi.

²For Text: Seraphicae Legislationis Textus Originales, Quaracchi, 1897, p. 51-75.

³Ibid., p. 273-280.

⁴Text: Acta Sanctorum, Mart. 1, Vol. 2, p. 505-507.

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OF ORIGIN

in the hymns. The Vita of Saint Francis by Celano¹ 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 Minor⁴ 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,⁶ 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

¹Chronica XXIV Generalium, attributed to Arnold de Savano, written before 1369 and completed up to 1379. Text in AFH, Vol. 3, 1910, p. 1-578.

²S. Francisci Vita et Miracula, ed. E. d'Alencon, Rome, 1906.

³"Legenda Trium Sociorum", MF, Vol. VIII, 1908, p. 81-107; Vol. XXIX, 1939, p. 325-432. Text in Bonaventure's Vita S. Francisci, Monaldi Ed., Rome, 1880.

⁴Cf. AF, Vol. X, p. 557-652.

⁵Speculum Perfectionis (Redactio I) Leonardus Lemmens, O.F.M., ed. Quaracchi, 1901; cf. also Le Speculum Perfectionis, ed. Paul Sabatier, Manchester, The University Press, 1928-31, 2 Vol.

⁶So called because the Collection compiled in 1318 was from the Schedules of Brother Leo. Cf. Lemmens, op. cit.

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OF ORIGIN

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,⁴ 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,"⁵ but that Thomas had been selected to write the authoritative life of Clare is learned from an amplified Italian version

¹Fioretti di S. Francesco, Benvenuto Bughetti, O.F.M., ed. Florence, Adriano Salani, 1925, 423 p.. Italian version based on earlier Actus; for Actus-Fioretti relation, cf. Bughetti, "Descriptio Novi Codicis Actus Beati Francisci Exhibentis," AFH, Vol. 32, 1939, p. 412-38.

²Cf. Chapter III, supra.

³Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., in The Life of St. Clare, English Translation of the Legenda of Thomas of Celano, Philadelphia, The Dolphin Press, 1910, Int. p. xxiii, in these terms classifies this legend.

⁴Legenda, op. cit.

⁵Cf. Introduction to Legenda in Acta Sanctorum, Vol. 2, Aug. ed. 1867; p. 754-767, ibid., for Text of Legenda based on 3 Mss. (cf. Robinson, op. cit., Int. xlii.)

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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.

⁴Legenda, op. cit., p. 93-94, no. 62.

⁵Bihl, ed. op. cit.

⁶Legenda Aurea, ed. Graesse, Leipzig, 1850 - Voragine's version of the original Legenda which he wrote about 1275.

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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

<u>Motif</u>	<u>In Legend</u>	<u>In Hymn</u>
For poverty:	Hortatur eas in paupertatis nidulo Christo pauperi conformari quem paupercula mater in arcto praesenio parvulum reclinavit. ³ (Leg., p. 22, no. 14)	In paupertatis nidulo Nostris praesentis parvulo Pauperi conformata. Hortatur haec, ut pauperes Pauperis matris natae, Nequaquam sint degeneres A matris paupertate. E(26, Ad Nat.)

¹Casolini, op. cit., p. 215.

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.

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<u>Motif</u>	<u>In Legend</u>	<u>In Hymn</u>
For mortification:	Hic in via poenitentiae glebas membrorum terit, hic semina perfectae iustitiae seminat... (<u>Leg.</u> p. 16, no. 10)	In via poenitentiae Glebas terit membrorum Semen serit iustitiae. R(26, Ad Mat.)
For foundress:	...obsequior promptior culcultus despectior reperitur... lavabit semel cuidam servienti pedes... humiliter subesse voluit. (<u>Leg.</u> , p.19, no.12)	Humilitatis praebuit Exemplum securituris Dum ministrare studuit Infirmis magnis curis Ad pedes servientium Manibus lavat orris; Obsequio se subdidit Ed cunctis se exercuit Laborum in pressuris. R(7, Ad Mat.)
For the 'valiant woman':	Hic locus est ille, in quo nova militia pauperum, duce Francisco, felicia sumebat primorida... (<u>Leg.</u> , p. 13, no.8)	Francisco duce militans, Evincis trina proelia. H(36/4,1,2)

The affinity in development of motif, in both legend and hymn, is significant also in biblical motifs:

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<u>Motif</u>	<u>In Legend</u>	<u>In Hymn</u>
For spiritual motherhood:	'In huius caverna ma- ceriae, columba deargen- tata nidificans' (Cant. 2, 14) virginum Christi collegium genuit...pau- perumque dominarum Or- dinem inchoavit. (<u>Leg.</u> p. 16, no. 10)	Haec Francisci plantula Se celans in cellula Dominarum pau- perum Mansurum per saecula Inchoavit primu- la Ordinem flori- gerum. S(32/5)
	His beatissimis floribus, quos Clara parturiit, feliciter hodie vernat Ecclesia, quibus et ipsa fulciri postulat dicens: (<u>Leg.</u> p. 19, no. 11) 'Fulcite me floribus stipata me malis, quia amore languo.' (Cant. 2,5)	Signiferi dis- cipula Christi novella plantula Horto floret ecclesiae. S(22/6,4) Illic praeclara 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. (<u>Leg.</u> p. 67, no. 6)	Pro tenui viati- co Mensa laetatur superum Regno beator coelico Pro vilitate cinerum. R(26, Ad Mat.)
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by 'light metaphors', as in this instance:

For the name,
'Clara':

Clara nomine, vita
clarior, clarissima
moribus.
(Leg. p. 80, no. 3)

Clara, quidem
nomine,
Sed virtute
clarior,
Illustris
propagine,
Sed gestis il-
lustrior.
S(32/1)

And here, by alliteration and assonance:

Cum clare per Claram
videt luminis clarita-
tem...Leg. p. 106,
no. 19)

Novae signo
claritatis
Sancta claret
Clara,
Sanctae sidus
novitatis
Nova lux prae-
clara.
S(33/1)

For another motif, by metonymy:

For the
'virtue' motif:

... rota versatili,
virtute stabili fulta,
et in vasa fictili
thesaurum gloriae...
(Leg., p. 7, no.4)

Clauso carne
fragili
Tamquam in vase
fictili
Thesauro gloria-
tur
R(26, Ad Mat.)

Tu vas mundi-
tiae.
R(26, In Vesp.)

Vas, sorde
clarens scorie.
H(34/1,2)

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 hymns¹ 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.

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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 transitorium,
Cum Christo vult habere. R(7, Ad Mat.)

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.

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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,¹ but are traceable to the two stories in the Pioretta,² 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.

¹Father Robinson, fully explains the Franciscan viewpoint on these two incidents in his article "A Conjectural Chapter in the Life of Clare," AFH, Vol. 5, p. 640-43;..."authenticity...wholly devoid of historical foundation...not found in Life of Celano of oldest manuscript, Assisi MS 388."

²Ibid., Quote: ..."Piretti does not purport to be a biography...a collection of beautiful traditions about St. Francis and his companions..."

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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.

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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,¹ the most popular motif in both the Legenda and in the hymns, is associated to the name of the Saint, "Clara." By symbolical inferences 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,"² and thereby he rephrases panegyrics from the Bull of Canonization in which Alexander IV makes the Saint's name the

¹Cf. Tables II and III.

²Robinson, op. cit., Int. XXXI.

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keynote or motif of theme.¹ "Light" metaphors, with all the possible forms of "clara," - "clarescere," "claritas," "praeclara," etc. resound in the opening phrase of the Legend, "...Clara, vocabulo, virtute..."² Note a like symbolism in these panegyrics from Clare sequences:

Clara praeclara sanguine
Vultu praeclarior,
Clara clarescitnomine,
Moribus clarior. S(33/3a)

Inclarescat melodia
Clara cordis harmonia
Clarae det praeconia. 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
Icône 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 center⁴

¹Opening words: "Clara, claris, praeclara meritis."

²Legenda, op. cit., Prologue, and 3, 10, 13, 18, 20, 49, 53, 56, 62.

³Ibid., 2.

⁴Legenda, op. cit., 10.

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from the dross of the world, - and here retold in a pium
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.

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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.¹ The same symbolic term assumes a fuller significance in Clare's own writings, where in Francis is the "Planta," the founder of her Order, and in its growth she is the "plantula" and her followers, the "plantulae."²

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."³

In view of the use of pagan mythology for allegory in the Christian light from the Carolingian Period on,⁴ there are only faint traces of this humanistic trend in the Clare hymns, except for one sequence S(49) which will be

¹Legenda, Prologue and 1.

²Testament, 14, op. cit.

³Luke I, v. 79.

⁴Cf. Table II: "Classical Motifs," supra.

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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

¹There were earlier traces - even in the poems of Hilary of Poitiers. Cf. Szövérfy, "Klassische Anspielungen," op. cit., p. 148-192, and "Cahiers," op. cit., p. 412.

²Cf. Vergil, Aeneid, Bk. II, III, VI, (in this order) for quoted terms; also Szövérfy, op. cit., p. 161-163.

³Cf. Chapter IV, "Biblical Motifs."

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the inclination to explain all traditions of the Old Testament as prototypes of persons and doctrines of the New Testament.¹ The most beautiful and poetical interpretations in the twelfth century, the sequences of Adam of St. Victor,² 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.³

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,⁴ Adam did not use this

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.

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category of motifs to signify the actual biblical event,¹ 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,² 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.³ 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.

¹For the three types of traditional biblical motifs cf. Szövérfy, "Cahiers," op. cit., p. 410.

²Cf. ibid., for characteristics of Victorine sequences, p. 404; also Raby, op. cit., p. 358; Gautier, ed. op. cit.

³Sequence xxv., ll.21-32; (quoted in Raby, op. cit. p. 361).

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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:

Vere sidus tu praeclarum,
Quod e sole differt parum,
Et luna lucidius. 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:

angularis fundamentum
lapis Christus missus est,
qui compage parietis²

is this description of Clare, the co-worker of Francis, in the foundation of her Order:

Haec Francisci filia
Et lapis primarius
Inclusarum praevia
Dux virtutis. 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, ⁴ applies the mystic imagery of the Church of Clare, since she is compared to the Israelites who symbolized

¹Adam, Sequence xxvi, 30-2; from Cant. 6,9.

²AH, 51, 110; from Is., 28,16.

³Legenda, p. 20, no. 10.

⁴Cf. Table III, suora.

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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 Church¹ - 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

¹Adam, Sequence xxvi, 21-4; from Gen. I, 27.

²S(39/1b)

³As in Ps.147, 1: "Lauda Jerusalem Dominum; lauda Deum tuum Sion."

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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."¹ 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'² because of her virtinity:

haec est ille fons signatus
hortus clausus, fecundatus
virtutum seminibus.³

so too the virgin Clare is praised in a Clare sequence:

¹Cf. 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.

²Cant. 4, 12.

³Sequence 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 Ecclesiasticus¹ - 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,³ 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':⁴

paradisus voluptatis
est Maria, praestans gratis
signum immortalitatis⁵
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.)

¹Eccles. 27, 17-21: "Quasi cedrus...in Libano... cypressus...palma..."

²So explained by Honorius' Augustodunensis' in his Speculum Ecclesiae, Migne, 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.

³Cf. S(1/9-11)

⁴Cant. 4,13,15; the traditional motif is expressed in these terms.

⁵Hone, II, 72, (AH, 54, p. 373)

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As Mary is the throne of Solomon, that is, of the
"true" Solomon:

tu thronus es Salomonis,
cui nullus par in thronis
arte vel materia;¹

so Clare is identified, in three of her hymns:

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).

The concept of Clare, as the 'valiant woman,' the 'mulier fortis' of the Old Testament, in passages of the hymns already quoted² - 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

¹Adam, Sequence lxxiii, 36-38.

²Cf. Chapter IV supra, discussed as a biblical motif.

³Cf. AH, 17, 25, for an example of such symbolism.

⁴From R(7) already quoted in Chapter IV, supra, as a biblical motif.

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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?"¹ Likewise, an interpretation of these verses, to signify Clare's conquest over the devil in the guise of an animal of myth:²

Clara stella movet bella
Veterem contra Cerberum. H(9/1,1,2)

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.³

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

¹Cant. 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." Paby, op. cit., p. 365.

²Gen. 3, 15.

³Cf. Szóvérfy, op. cit., p. 417; explains "bestiary" symbolism.

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were inspired by the account in the Apocalypse of the appearance in the heavens of a "woman that wore the sun for her mantle:"¹

Tu quod sole amicta
Carne probat hic relictā
Lucis tuae 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

¹Apocalypse, 12,1.

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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 panegyric motifs in the Clare hymns, a sequence of the fifteenth century which envisions the final abode of Clare in heaven,¹ has an unusual setting of both classical and Christian elements. In its aim to express the reward that Clare has attained due to the

¹S(49); cf. complete text in Appendix, and foregoing notation in Chapter III. Cf. Szövérfy's discussion of hymn, "Classische Anspielungen" p. 182-183.

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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 septem 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).⁴ 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.

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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

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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

¹Dante Alighieri, The Paradiso, London, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1954. Cf. Notes, p. 410-413 for explanation of Dante's Cosmography.

²In the Purgatorio, Dante sees seven lights that represent the seven gifts of the Spirit; Canto XXIX, 45-47.

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heavenly bodies.¹

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 Haaven 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

¹Paradiso, Canto III, 99-104.

²Ibid., Canto XXXII, 28, in the words of Bernard: "il glorioso scanno della donna del cielo."

³Ibid.

⁴Cf. Stanza 7b, quoted above from sequence.

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the poem relates of 'brightness' of the countenance of Mary, by which she 'sees' her Divine Son and enables others to 'see' Him;¹ 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;² both works contain allusions to the vision of God Himself as the 'Eternal Light,' the 'True Light,' the 'Highest Light,'³ the 'Light of the God-Head,'⁴

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."⁵ However the estatic acclamations of the *Paradiso* may have contributed to the development of so exalted a theme.

¹*Paradiso*, Canto XXXII, 85, 86, in Bernard's description of Mary: "... che la sua chiarezza sola ti puo disporre a veder Cristo."

²S(49/7a, 2); "Deum trinum contemplatur."

³*Paradiso*, XXXIII, as Dante relates of the Beatific Vision: "Indi all'eterno lume...(43); "dell'alta luce"... (54); "O somma luce..."(67).

⁴S(49/7b,2): "Tecum lumen Deitatis."

⁵Apoc., 12, 1; 20, 11.

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Another late medieval sequence, that depicts Clare in heavenly glory¹ 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,² - "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).³ Another similarity with S(49) is the designation of 'stella' to symbolize the virtues of Clare,⁴ 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).

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vestigium"(6), "Francisci pia plantula"(7) and synonymous phrases, do not 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, Casolini¹ 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 cella" (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

¹Casolini, op. cit., p. 269.

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'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."¹ Finally the panegyrics addressed to Clare by her spiritual children in terms relating 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."²

The imagery of this sequence further substantiates the possibility that the symbolism in the panegyric 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.

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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 inter-relation 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.

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the same four selections here mentioned are found, and also the hymn, "Salve Sponsa Dei," S(42) - which supposedly was written the same year¹ 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 development of the Office Antiphon, "Novum sidus emicuit" from "Concinat plebs fidelium," H(13) serves as an early example of this characteristic in the Clare hymns. Likewise, by a division of the same hymn (H(13)), in the way of five borrowed stanzas, the hymn "Sub paupertatis regula," H(48) is found in the fifteenth century Office, and considered a hymn for Matins;³ in the same manner, five stanzas of "Generat virgo filias," H(24), appear later as "Clarum nomen effunditur," H(11). Moreover, the 'Alleluia'

¹CSR, Roma, 1929, p. 367: "Textus est saec. XIII, probabiliter a.1255".

²Cf. in R(26), Appendix.

³Ibid.

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sequence¹ 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 Ehythmic 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 hymns² 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 consolatrix 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).

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judging from the verse in H(30), "Laetabundus plaudat mundus" and another, in H(14) "Plaudat mater, deus pater," these Clare hymns are evidently modelled on the Francis hymn, "Plaudat frater, regnat Pater."¹ 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 praeconia.	Virgo cum virginibus.
S(27/1a) ¹	S(18/1) ³

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.

³*Ibid.*, p. 175: sequence sung about 1270 too; found in diff. mss. with opening word, "Iam," and "Est".

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already-mentioned recurrent feature of ending each vesse
with the first strophe of some ancient hymn:¹

En praeclara virgo Clara,
Regnat in regno luminum,
Quam amasti desponsasti,
Jesu, corona virginum. H(19/1).

Concerning the background of a sixteenth century
sequence, "Gaudeat ecclesia," S(21), 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
Mihi adsis in horrenda
Hora et saevissima
Meae mortis ad solamen
Animaequae ad tutamen
Prece suavissima.

Praevia te mihi, peto,
Ut sis, virgo, vultu laeto,
Ante thronum Domini,
Judicis districti, veri,
Irati atque severi
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 Spire. Cf. account by Sbaralea in Supplementum
et Castigatio ad Scriptores Trium Ordinum, Rome, 1921,
Vol. 2, p. 156.

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the types of "borrowing" factors that form common links between two or more of the Clare hymns.

C. Typical Franciscan Phraseology

In a previous chapter¹ 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."² Likewise, St. Bonaventure says God's perfection is reflected in created things - "speculatio,"³ on a threefold level:

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.

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with the first; that every created thing, insofar as it simply is a reflection of God's being, is a "vestigium" of God.¹ 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,"² a "reflection" of the perfection 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."⁴

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

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 concerning 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.

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comment on the words of Christ: "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life" (John, 14,6),¹ explains how Francis pointed out this "Way" by his ardent love of Jesus Crucified; while St. Clare in her Testament² 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. "capalis presentia,"³ to signify the actual visits of the Holy Fathers to Clare on three different occasions;⁴ 2. the related terms, "regula paupertatis," "paupertatis foedera" and "sacrum privilegium"⁵ to emphasize the unusual privilege, the practice of absolute poverty, that was finally

¹Bonaventure, *ibid.*, p. 56.

²Testament, *ibid.*, 2. the blessed Virgin, was invoked in terms of the same symbolism: "verae pacis praevia," cf. Raby, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

³Cf. S(18/6a); R(26, Ad. Mat.); R(26, In Vesp.); S(40/7b).

⁴Cf. legendary motif "Relation to Popes, Chapter III for historical background.

⁵Cf. R(7, Ad. Mat.); R(26, Ad. Mat.).

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given Papal approval the day before Clare died;¹ 3. the word "domina" and plural form, "dominae," - coupled with a phrase characteristic of one or more virtues, especially poverty,² - to designate the official and beloved title that St. Francis chose for Clare and her followers.³ 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.⁴

The Clare hymns in which such phrases occur have a common bond for in their recourse to Franciscanism for like expressions of symbolic motifs.

¹Leg., ibid., p. 56-57, no. 40.

²AFH, Vol. 5, 1912, p. 418; According to testament of Thos. Pavia (13 C.) Francis requested of Cardinal Hugolino that the members of the Second Order be called "dominae," not "sorores." Cf. Leg. ibid., p. 10, no. 16.

³Cf. S(8/1b); S(11/8b); H(19/3); Rule of Clare, 6.

⁴Bonaventure, Leg. Maj., 3, 2.

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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);

Mss. Misc. Bibl. Comm. saec. 14 cod. Assisi. 607, for one of the earliest sequences in honor of St. Clare:³
S(27).

Thus Assisi, where the cult of St. Clare naturally had its beginnings, provides the sources of the earliest traditional hymns in her honor.

¹Cf. full Ms. sources for hymns with Texts of Hymns in the Appendix. Where there was any discrepancy in Mss. sources, those quoted by Van Dijk, op. cit., and in his Studies in Franciscan Liturgy, op. cit., were considered more reliable.

²Van Dijk, Il Culto, p. 173.

³Ibid., p. 172.

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- 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 Manu-
 script 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).

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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:

Brev. ms. Franciscan. saec. 15 Cod. Bibl.

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:

Seq. ms. S. Georgii, Villingensis 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).

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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 imp. 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. imp. Lugduni 1522:
 S(21)
- c. From Salmantica:
Brev. Auriense imp. 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 Valentiae saec. 14 Cod. Cantabrigen Dd. V:
 H(48)
- b. From Johanna of York, Queen of France:
Brev. ms. Johannaë Eboricæ, regina Franciæ, 1371:
 H(12)

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- 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. panegyric 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

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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 HYMNS1. 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 creations 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.

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Passion of Christ and his Sorrowful Mother, a poetry epitomized in the "tenderest and most pathetic hymn of the Middle Ages,"¹ 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.² 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.³ 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.⁴

¹Britt, op. cit., p. 278.

²Messenger, op. cit., p. 60.

³Raby, op. cit., p. 456.

⁴Messenger, op. cit., p. 60.

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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.¹

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, 'Inclarescat melodia,'² opens with the stanza:

Inclarescat melodia	Concors soli symphonia
Clara cordis harmonia	Trina poli hierarchia
Clarae det praeconia.	Depromet tripodia.
	S(27/1a, 1b)

¹Fortescue, "Concerning Hymns," p. 1221, in *Introd. to Pange Lingua*, McDougall, London, 1916.

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.¹ 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.

¹Cf. Raby, *op. cit.*, p. 345-48 for full discussion of the regular sequence, and the relation of Adam of St. Victor to its development.

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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 stirpe generosa	Hæc magistra dominarum,
Claris claret actibus,	Felix primiceria,
Nominata necdum nata	Greges ducit puellarum
Et praeventa laudibus.	Ad Christi connubia.
S(18/3a)	S(18/4b)

Note the regular rhythm with trochaic verses, alternately

¹Ibid., p. 354; Raby explains the use of the Sequence measure by the Franciscans.

²Cf. Appendix for full text.

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of eight syllables and of seven syllables. However, the caesura 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,"¹ a sequence that can be termed as relatively "irregular" in

¹Cf. S(40) in Appendix for complete text.

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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	Dum praeclaram rosam Claram,
Intrans hortum castitatis	Mundo raram, sibi caram,
Novum florem colligit,	Sponsam sibi eligit.
	S(40, 1a, 1b)
Domi patris cura matris	In absconso Christo sponso
Divinis juncta nexibus.	Cordis vacat amplexibus.
	(3a, 3b)
Nos a nece tua prece	Ubi uncti Deo juncti,
Christus demptos et exemptos	Dum quo gaudes, canunt
Cura perducatur sedula,	laudes
	Per infinita saecula.
	(10a, 10b)

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

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above), - related in an objective, factual fashion. Fifteenth century thought, "deeply absorbed in the fear of death,"¹ 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 hymn² 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

¹Julian, op. cit., p. 364.

²Cf. 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. -

Novum sidus emicuit,
Candor lucis apparuit,
Nam lux, quae lucem influit,
Claram clarere voluit.

Mundus et caro vincitur,
Matri Christi connectitur,
Christi prorsus innititur,
Pauperem pauper sequitur.

H(13/3,6)

2. Eighteenth C. -

O pulchra caelo quae redit a
Lux emicanti sidere; b
Nobis novellum pauperum c
Florem reducens virginum. c

Mundum virili despicit a
Gemmasque, et aurem b
pectore, c
Firmoque Patris ardua c
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.

¹Messenger, op. cit., in reference to the revision of Pope Urban VIII of breviary hymns and suppression 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 century² and

¹"Christian emotion quivers differently from any movement of the spirit in classic measure," H. Osborne Taylor, Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages, London, 1957 from his full discussion of the problem, p. 245-247.

²Fortescue, op. cit., Int., p. xxiv-xxx, xxxvi, xxxvii.

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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." 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,"² 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,

¹Messenger, op. cit., p. 2. Also cf. Chapter I (supra).

²Ibid., p. 6.

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from the twenty-five breviary hymns studied,¹ sixteen of them conform exactly to the traditional type,² 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,³ or, with the trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic,⁴ 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.⁵ St. Hilary (c. 310-366), the first known author of Latin hymns, used this meter. It is illustrated in his "Ade carnis gloriosae"⁶ and also in hymns by Prudentius, e.g., "Corde natus ex parentis"⁷ for Advent; in both instances, acceptable as an alternative in use with classical meters.⁸ The growing preference by later

¹Cf. Listing of "Breviary Hymns," Chapter II, supra.

²H(5), (9), (10), (11), (12), (13), (16), (24), (25), (34), (35), (36), (38), (47), (48), (50).

³H(14), (15), (41).

⁴H(35), (42). Cf. hymn of 9 C., "Ave, maris stella" for earlier use of this meter.

⁵H(17), (19), (20), (30).

⁶Quoted by Lessenger, op. cit., n. 6, from text in The Hymns of Saint Hilary, W. N. Meyers, Phila. Un. of Penn. 1928, p. 12.

⁷Fortescue, op. cit., n. xxvi.

⁸Ibid.

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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

¹Text, in Raby, op. cit., p. 408.

²Ibid., p. 540.

³Text in Britt, op. cit., p. 13.

⁴Text in Raby, op. cit., p. 166.

⁵Cf. Chapter II, (supra) for "Inedited hymns", Chev. 27777, 25860, 13851.

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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

¹S(8),(27),(32),(33).

²Cf. e.g., S(28).

³Cf. S(37).

⁴Cf. S(45).

⁵Cf. S(29).

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century,¹ but with added assonance and rhythm. Furthermore, for the structure of a sixteenth century sequence printed in Lyons,² there seems to be an intentional reversal, on the part of the anonymous writer, to the early Sequence of the French type³ in which the verses often end in the letter "a", and to the tradition of the later Notkerian Sequence of S. Gall with an independent strophe at the beginning and the end of the sequence.⁴

Under the influence of the poetry of the late thirteenth century, rhythmic Offices began to be written,⁵ 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 perfecter of this movement.⁶

¹For characteristics, cf. Raby, op. cit., p. 217.

²S(21)

³Ibid., p. 213.

⁴Ibid., p. 215.

⁵Ibid., p. 453.

⁶Raby, op. cit., p. 454.

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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.¹ 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 Office² in honor of the Nativity of St. Clare, "Iam sancte Clare claritas"³ dating from 1292, and through the centuries, as sung on the twelfth of August by members of the Franciscan Orders, seems to have its source⁴ and from The Rhythmic Office of St. Francis composed by Julian (1231-34)⁵ and The Legend of St. Clare composed by Celano (before 1262).⁶ How closely the author of the Office, (anonymous),⁷ 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.

⁵Anal. Franc., Vol. X, p. 42 et seqq.

⁶Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 179.

⁷Often ascribed to Pope Alexander IV, but assertion contradicted by Van Dijk, ibid.

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shown in the analysis of the legendary elements in the hymns.

How 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;¹ but he believes, nevertheless, that the Office of St. Clare "is a composition that is original and personal in its own way,"² 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."³ Here is an outline of a few of the similarities mentioned⁴ 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.'

¹Van Dijk, op. cit., p. 179-180.

²Ibid., p. 179.

³Ibid., p. 180.

⁴Ibid.

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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.

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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.¹ 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'² 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:³ "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 "Pie Dictamina" were

¹Baldwin, Rhetoric and Poetry, London, 1922, p.209.

²Haskins, op. cit., p. 143-144.

³Blume, "Hymn," art. Cath. Encycl. Vol. 7, p. 596.

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the "gloss songs" which paraphrased, extended, or explained each separate word of a popular prayer or Church antiphon.¹ 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 responsalis 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 archangelī dictis credidisti..."

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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,"¹ 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), 'Gaude' P(23) addressed to Clare in heaven.

Of the three hymns to Clare that are modeled on the 13 C. 'poetria'² 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 Poetria³ of John of Garland, in which

¹Apoc., 14, 4.

²Cf. Baldwin, op. cit., for the various forms of "ars poetica," p. 186-191.

³Ibid., p. 191.

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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,"¹ 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"² for the hymns, and since they are gathered from liturgical manuscripts, and not from the work

¹Messenger, *op. cit.*, 171.

²*Ibid.*, p. 15.

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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)

In the doxologies of four other hymns,¹ there is a

¹H(11), (13), (24), (36).

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reference to Clare; and three of them are identical in phrasing, thus:

Virginis huius merito
Laus patri sit ingenito,
Gloria unigenito,
Virtus summa paraclito. H(24/7)

Likewise, in expressions of kinship; first, as representative of the whole Franciscan Order, for example, in a petition:

Tuis sanctis precibus
Junge coeli civibus
Fratres atque filias. S(32/6b)

and in another, with the same fraternal spirit:

Quod implorat, quod exorat,
Francisci haec familia
Cito dato corde grato,
Aeterna coeli gloria. H(9/7)

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:¹

In hoc hoc festo gaudens esto,
Soror senex, juvencula,
Cui congaudes, redde laudes,
Plaude, turba paupercula. H(5/6)

Exsultate, jubilate,
Pauperis matris filiae,
Convocatae, congregatae,
A solis ortus cardine. H(20/1)

also a petition:

Ora Dei filium,
Spes sanctorum milium,
Ut post hoc exilium, S(22/8)

¹Cf. also H(11), (35), (36); S(46), Appendix.

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Other hymns are characterized by a more wide-spread 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:¹

...
Ob hoc mundatis 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)

¹Cf. also H(30), (34), (42); S(6), (8), (28), (29), (49), Appendix.

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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 hymns¹ 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.² Since all but six of the Clare sequences,³ 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 authorship⁴ -

¹Cf. listing of hymns in Chapter II for rhythmic offices, and prevalence of breviary hymns.

²Cf. discussion of same at beginning of this chapter.

³S(18), (21), (22), (27), (29), (31), (32), (33), (39), (40), (44), (45), (46), (49).

⁴Cf. Chapter II (supra).

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has any evident traits of creation for individual use. In this 'Pium Dictamen,' the Carthusian author of the fourteenth 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 includes 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,
	Tua prece cum fideli,
	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 prevailing 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

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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.

¹Taylor, 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

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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 panegyric, 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 panegyric 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

the "Scylla" motifs.

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

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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.

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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.

Robinson, Paschal, O. F. M., "Inventarium omnium documentorum quae in archivo Proto-monasterii S. Clarae Assisiensis nunc asservantur," Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, Vol. 1, 1908, p. 413-432.

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.

Szövérfy, Joseph, L'hymnologie medievale: recherches et methode, Cahier de civilisation medievale, Vol. 4, 1961, p. 389-422.

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.

Van Dijk, Fr. Stephen, O. F. M., "Il Culto di Santa Chiara nel Medioevo," Santa Chiara d'Assisi, 1953, p. 225-262.

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.

Wadding, Luke, Annales Minorum, Ed., Ad Claras Aquas, Quaracchi, 1931-1956, 31 Vol.

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 ASSISI¹

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 Szövérfy, 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 Cashal, 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, panegyric 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."

APPENDIX 1

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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)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. Ave, mater humilis
Ancilla crucifixi,
Clara, virgo nobilis,
Sponsa Jesu Christi,
Ad caelestem patriam
Fac nos proficisci.</p> | <p>2. Claritatis liliū,
Clara clarens stella,
Virtutum sacrarium,
Transfer, mater bella,
Nos ad Dei filium,
Pigmentorum cella.</p> |
| <p>2. Gloriosa virgo, stella,
Clara matutina,
Rosa rubens, carens spina,
Gemma virginea.</p> | <p>4. Claritatis speculum,
Clara, per omne saeculum
Clara, cum sponso gloriae
In claritate Christi,
A vestustate scoriae,
Nosemundes, memoriae
Tuae quos stabilisti.</p> |
| <p>5. Clara Dei famula,
Tenera infantula,
Cilicii baiula,
Vivens sine macula.</p> | <p>6. Tu forma humilium,
Castitatis liliū,
Sanctitatis speculum,
Novum per prodigium
Mariae vestigium
Ac eius sequens filium.</p> |
| <p>7. Ave, rosa venustatis,
Fune cincta castitatis,
Nova plantans lilia
Francisci pia plantula,
Clara, Mariae filio
Jesu Christi tam pio
Nos commenda per saecula.</p> | <p>8. Ave thronus Salomonis,
Quem ornavit suis donis
Ac replevit multis bonis
Quibus clare claruit,
Quod virtutum habuisti
Sacrum septenarium.///68</p> |
| <p>9. Ave, cedrus altissima 69
Et arbor pulcherrima,
Poma ferens optima,
Omni odore suavissima.</p> | <p>10. Ave, cupressus ramosa,
Cuius umbra gratiosa
Confert aegris refriger-
ium.</p> |
| <p>11. Ave, nardus odorifera,
Frute aromatica,
Virgo clara, cassia
Vera non sophistica.</p> | <p>12. Eia, mater, tua prece,
Peccatorum cor a faece,
Clara, nostrum emundatur
Ac in bono solidetur,
Tuum per subsidium.</p> |

MS: Orat. ms. libehardi
prioris Reichenbachen anni
1476. Clm. Monacem 2990.

S(1)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Ave prudens et divina,
Mente tota columbina,
Clara venerabilis,
Agni Dei magni clara,
Sponsi summi sponsa cara,
Omnibus laudabilis.
Virtutum praefulgens gemma,
Decorata quippe stemma,
Pulchra magis specie,
Emicasti plus sophia,
Magis fide, virgo pia,
Excelleris gratia.</p> | <p>2. Que cum rege regum gaudes,
Has devotas sume laudes,
Virgo beatissima,
Memor esto, precor, mei
In conspectu summi Dei,
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> |
| <p>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,
Declaratum sidus mundi
Victrix freti tam profundi,
Christo me concilia.</p> | <p>4. Ebur candens cum sapphiro
Radians in mundi gyro,
Ora pro me Dominum
Vitam meam fac tranquillam
Ut rapacem vitem Scyllam,
Voratorem hominum.
O columba speciosa,
Clara, virgo gratiosa,
Digna stirps et domina.
Caritate me egenum,
Dita, munda sorde plenum,
Tua per precamina.</p> |
| <p>5. Coeli vernans margarita
Virgo labe non attrita.
In hoc vili saeculo.
Virgo felix, praelecta
Nato virginis dilecta,
Ora pro me sedulo;
Qui te fecit thronum suum,
Concupivit vultum tuum
Prae multis virginibus;
Gratosum mihi Deum
Fac et dona, ut per eum
Concordem fidelibus.</p> | <p>6. Decus mundi, virgo pura,
Hostis rumpe lora dura,
O laudanda Domina;
Norma morum honestorum,
Spes et salus peccatorum,
Nobis da solamina.
Ora Deum pro peccatis
Omnis Christianitatis,
Ut donentur singula;
Me commendo Deo caeli,
Tua prece cum fidei,
Solvens mea vincula.</p> |
| <p>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.</p> | <p>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, vultu laeto,
Ante thronum Domini,
Judicis districti, veri,
Irati atque severi
Misero tunc homini. P(2)</p> |

9. Claustrali poena consumpta
 Requiei es assumpta
 Mox beatitudinis.
 Aeternae, ubi nunc gaudes
 Infinitas audis laudes
 Omnis multitudinis
 Sanctorum archangelorum,
 Angelorum et thronorum
 Ac sanctarum virginum,
 Principumque confessorum,
 Martyrum atque doctorum
 Ac sanctorum omnium.
10. Ubi sponsum tuum vides
 Cum quo semper vere
 rides
 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.

P(2) cont.

- 1a. Ave, virgo felix Clara,
Dominarum lux praeclara,
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
Praecellens 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
saeculum.
- 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 praeclara,
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, hand-
written for a Briggittine Clois-
ter 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 militum.

MS: Diurn. ms. Hermetisvillen
saec. 15 Cod. Criesens 56A-Brev.
ms. S. Odiliae Rapalvivellan saec.
15 Clm. Monacen 10929 B.

- 1a. Clara, Dei famula
Tenera infantula,
Cilicii baiula,
Vivens sine macula,
Sanctitate primula,
Multarum praeambula,
Prole replens saecula.
- 1b. 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.

MS: Sequent.ms. S. Georgii Villin-
gensis saec. 15. Cod. Carolsruhan.
Geo. 3.

(In Translatione S. Clarae)

(In 1. Vesperis.)
(Antiphonae)

1. Clara, luce clarior
Ac sole serenior,
Virtute sublimior.
2. Laude nostra dignior,
Favo mellis dulcior
Et sponso intimior.
3. Adest dies gaudii,
Pharao imperii
Victus cedit impii.
4. Ramus olivae medii
In arca cordis proelii
Aufert causam et taedii.
5. Ave, virgo praeferens
Liam operantem
Nec Rachelem deserens
Deum contemplantem.

(Ad Magnificat)

- A. Iam vides Deum oculis,
Iam ore fruens poculis
Dulcedinis divinae,
Iam auribus angelica
Melodis audis cantica,
Laetaris sine fine,
Dilectum tenens manibus
Post illum curris pedibus
Ab ipso amplexaris;
Consortes redde aaugii,
Nos Christique convivii,
Quo mater tu ditaris.

(At Matutinum)

Iesum, Clarae virginis
Sponsum, voce carminis,
Venite, adoremus.

(In 1. Nocturno)
(Antiphonae)

1. Tu paradisus voluptatis
Quam rigat fons divini-
tatis.
2. Lignum vitae te cibavit
Ac in bono confortavit.
Post hanc vitam corona-
vit.
3. Clara sancta, deprecare
Pro nobis, nec dicas
quare.

(Responsoria)

1. Mundo splendor oritur,
Dum haec virgo nascitur,
Christo chordis iungi-
tur,
Gratia illabatur,
Ad bonum inflectitur,
Vanum omne tollitur,
Solum Iesum sequitur;
///209
- V. Odor virtutum spargitur,
210
Mundus sentis, adtrahi-
tur.
2. Clara, Francisci filia,
Agnem sororem praevia
Vicit parentum taedia,
Hanc trahens ad caeles-
tia,
Declinans mundi devia,
Petens aeterna praemia.

R(7)

V. Candensve velut liliū
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 Iudith 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 ditari,
Nudi Christi consocia
Vult illi conformari;

V. Pro paupertatis gloria
Paupertatis foedera,
Petens intitulari.

(In 3. Nocturno)

1. O adolescentula,
Mardochoaei 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 deesse fatur,
Pia mater Clara orat,
Restauratur.

R(7) cont.

2. Per Aegyptum Nilus vadit,
Claram in desertum tradit,
Igne, nube tegitur
Caeli manna fruitur, ///210
Verus Iosue deducit, 211
In promissam terram ducit;

V. Terram lac et mel manantem
Habes, audi te precantem.

3. Clara, multarum praevia,
De tenebris ad lucem
Per huius (mundi) devia

(Alia antiphona)

O virgo mirabilis
Insignis et prodigiis,
Languores daemoniis
Plurimis mederis,
Das gressum fractis tibiis, V.
Curam epilepticis,
Precibus sinceris;
O vita laudabilis,
Quae fidem sic magnificas,
Sed et multos vivificas
Mortuos defuncta,
Praelara nos caelestium
Fac consortes civium,
Quibus es coniuncta.

(In 2. Vesperis)
(Ad Magnificat)

A. O 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 liliam,
Tu iubar ecclesiae,
Gemma claritatis,
Floridum fers virginibus
Speculum prudentibus
Specialis sanctitatis,
Vitae signis radians
In te piae dilectionis
Requievit spiritus,
Dulcis, pia mater,
Clara nobilis,
Iunge nos beatis.
Trahens ad Christi cruce-
cem,
Virginum collegia
Sequuntur quarum ducem.

V. Vita vivens angelica
Inter sororum agmina
Monstrans virtutum lucem.

(In Laudibus)
(Antiphona)

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 praediis
Dives privilegiis,
Laeta fit inediis.
5. Laudat Deum omnium
Dum praestat solatium,
Ostendens praesaepium.

R(7) cont.

(Ad Benedictus)

- A. O fervens desiderio,
 Praeclaro clara studio,
 Quem legis sponsum lectulo
 Christum crucis in pendulo
 Quaerens tenuisti,
 Francisci felix aemula
 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 malo nos defende,
 Confer perenne gaudium.

MS: Antiph. ms. Franciscanum saec.
 15. Clm. Monacen 23291.

R(7) cont.

- 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 sanctarum 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)

289

(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 gratior,
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 ciamusvocibus.
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.

H(10)

(In Vesperis)

1. Clarum nomen effunditur,
Sacrum nomen extenditur,
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 languore premitur,
Laeta nimis egreditur,
Dies extrema clauditur,
Spiritus coelo redditur.
5. Te prosequentes laudibus
Piis faveto precibus,
Adesto postulantibus
Tuis, virgo, supplicibus.
6. Virginis hujus merito,
Laus patri sit ingenito,
Gloria unigenito,
Virtus summa praclito.

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. Johannaë Eboricæ,
regina Franciæ, 1371.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. Concinat plebs fidelium
Virginale praeconium,
Matris Christi vestigium
Et novitatis gaudium.</p> <p>2. Pauperum primogenita,
Dono caelesti praedita
Obtinet supra merita
Praemia vitae reddita.</p> <p>3. Novum sidus emicuit,
Candor lucis apparuit,
Nam lux, quae lucem influit,
Claram clarere voluit.</p> <p>4. Claris orta natalibus
Necdum relictis omnibus
Vacat plenis affectibus
Pietatis operibus.</p> <p>5. Sub paupertatis regula,
Patris Francisci ferula,
Docta Christi discipula,
Luce respersit saecula.</p> | <p>6. Mundus et caro vincitur,
Matris Christi conecti-
tur,
Christo prorsus inniti-
tur,
Pauperem pauper sequitur</p> <p>7. Spretis nativo genere,
Carnis et mundi foedere
Clauditur velut carcere
Dives superno munere.</p> <p>8. Clauditur velut tumulo
Nequam subducta saeculo,
Patet in hoc ergastulo
Solum Dei spectaculo.</p> <p>9. Tegmina carnis vilia,
Urgens famis inedia,
Arta quoque ieiunia
Praestant orandi spatia.</p> <p>10. Virginis huius merito
Laus patri sit ingenito
Gloria unigenito,
Virtus summa paraclito.</p> |
|--|--|

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 praeclara,
Velut sol in meridie,
Quam perducis et inducis,
Magna 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
Solvat ac nexu criminum,
Vera vitis, dulcis, mitis,
Jesu, corona virginum.

MS: Cod. Pragense XIII, saec. 14.

AH 19, 109,110 (177)

294

(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 gloriosa
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 justitia,
Princeps omnis caritatis,
Summi patris gloria,
Dux tuae virginitatis
Permanet in saecula.
5. Virgo primipila gerens
Sororum militiae,
Pede basilicum terens
Hostili sub acie,
Cum coelisti rege quaerens
Foedus amicitiae.
6. Impetra nobis, o clemens,
Spiritus laetitiae,
Sponsa regnum Dei tenens,
Sponsa coeli gloriae,
Sponsa sponso jam adhaerens,
Sororum primitiae.
7. Virgo, mater orphanarum,
Fave nostris precibus,
Cito turbam filiarum,
Duc te terrae faecibus,
Para locum nuptiarum,
Pro tuis pauperibus.
8. Gratia, simplex et trina,
Tibi, Christe Domine,
Usia mentis divinae,
Lumenque de lumine,
Qui cum patre sine fine,
Regnas et cum flamine.

MS: Brev. ms. Franciscan. saec.
14/15 Cod. Parisin, 1290.

H(15)

AH 5, 159,160 (54)

295

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.

MS: Brev. ms. Francisc. saec
15 Cod. Bibl. Rossinae s. sign.

H(16)

(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
saec. 14. Cod. Lucernen. 13 (50).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1a. En in regno claritatis
Clara regnat cum beatis
Virgo cum virginibus, | 1b. Juncta sponso castitatis
Gaudet nuptiis optatis,
Aeternis amplexibus. |
| 2a. Clara stirpe generosa
Clarissimae actibus,
Nominata necdum nata
Et praeventa laudibus. | 2b. Haec Franciscum imitata
Mundi spectatis opibus
Altis votis elevata
Praevolat virtutibus. |
| 3a. Haec in claustro paupertatis
Sese Christo dedicat
Et exempla sanctitatis
In orbe multiplicat. | 3b. Haec magistra dominarum,
Felix primiceria,
Greges ducit puellarum
Ad Christi connubia..153 |
| 4a. Casta membra cruce terit, ¹⁵⁴
Crucifixum corde gerit
Crucis amans glorias; | 4b. O quam dura vestitura
Macerare membra pura
Suas docet filias. |
| 5a. Orat, civis liberatur,
Gens profana diffugatur,
Pelluntur daemonia. | 5b. Mire panis augmentatur,
Oleumque coelo datur,
Sanantur languentia. |
| 6a. Digne tanti reputatur,
Quod infirmans honoratur,
Papali praesentia; | 6b. A regina visitatur,
Transitura palliatur,
Virginum solertia. |
| 7a. Scandit coelos laureata,
Cum beatis jam beata,
Probant mirabilia; | 7b. Luce clara vocitata,
Cujus claret decorata
Floribus ecclesia. |
| 8a. Virgo Clara
Tuis para
Devotis hospitia, | 8b. Per te data
Sint optata
Salus, quies, gloria. |

MS: Misc. Bibl. Comm. saec. 14 Cod.
Assisi. 338.
Miss. Ms. Romano-Franciscan. saec. 14
Cod. Carpentoractens, 107.
Pros. Minor. Bibl. Nat. saec. 14 Cod.
Parisin. 1339.

(In 2. Vesperis)

1. En praeclara virgo Clara,
Regnat in regno luminum,
Quam amasti desponsasti,
Jesu, corona virginum.
2. Mundo spreto, corde laeto,
Francisci magisterio
Carnem terit et te quaerit
Jesu nostra redemptio.
3. Per te solem parit prolem
Sanctarum gregem pauperum,
Quas tu ditas 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. Pragense XIII, C. 14
Bibl. Nat. saec. 14 Cod. Parisin.
1047

(In 2. Vesperis)

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, praelecta,
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 ditasti 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.

MS: Brev. ms. Franciscanum saec. 14 Cod.
Ambrosian.

1. Gaudeat ecclesia
 Persolvendo munia
 Laudis in laetitia;

- | | |
|--|--|
| 2a. Nam revexit orbita,
Caeli, terra, (maria),
Clarae natalitia, | 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 exiguo,
Quo sacrarum virginum
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, 164
Ubi mens deliciatur,
Contemplando caelesti,
Iusta bonorum praemia. | 7b. Ad quae iugitur aspi-
rat,
Et anhelat, ut acqui-
rat,
Contemnens mundi vilia
Quae transeunt solacia |
| 8a. O praeclara virgo Clara,
Nunc dilecto sociata
Puriora,
Clariora,
Inter caeli lilia, | 8b. In conflictu constitu-
ti,
Te tuente, simus tuti,
Apud Christum
Chorum istum
Cleenter concilia. |

9. Amen dicant omnia.

MS: Appendix ms. saeculi 16 Missalis Romani
 imp. Lugduni 1522. (London 471 b 1).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1a. Gaude, caeli hierarchia,
Plaude, felix ecclesia,
Novo fulta lumine. | 5a. Crucis signo morbus
cedit,
Turba Clarae panem edit
Christi sui munere. |
| 1b. Cui decantet melodia,
Chrri, cordis harmonia,
Clarae claro germine. | 5b. Effluens Clarae clari-
tas
Duellas sibi creditas
Docet Christo vivere. |
| 2a. Haec est rosa venustatis,
Tunc cincta castitatis,
Nova plantans lilia. | 6a. In paupertatis horreo,
Turba dum caret oleo,
Vas plenum caelo datur. |
| 2b. Jesum mater dum precantur
Nascitura praemonstratur
Lumen orbis filia. | 6b. Orbem exornat flosculis
Lucerna manens saeculis
In caelo collocatur. |
| 3a. Gaudent astra matutina,
Quod in hora vespertina,
Ortu novi sideris. | 7a. Illic praeclare rutilat
Sponsum complexa iubi-
lat
Cum virgine Maria. |
| 3b. Caeli sidus illustratur
In quo terrae designatur
Ortus novi foederis. | 7b. O quam clare pestes
planat
Languidorum clades
sanat
Tumuli fragrantia. |
| 4a. Vere sidus tu praeclarum,
Quod e sole differt parum,
Et luna lucidius. | 8a. Ergo laudes Clarae de-
mus
Claram clare personemus
Novo docti gaudio. |
| 4b. Tu quod sole amicta
Carne probat hic relictas
Lucis tuae radius. | 8b. Et nos, mater pietatis
Cum Maria salvans
gratis
Iunge Dei Filio. |

MS: Sequent. ms. S. Georgii Villingensis saec.
15. Cod. Carolsruhan. Geo. 3. Miss. ms. Fran-
ciscan. saec. 15 Clm. Monacem 23277, Strophe 8a
reads:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 8a. Eia mater, nos agnosce,
Libro vitae nos deposce,
Cum electis inseri. | 8b. Ut consortes tuae sor-
tis
Et a poenis et a por-
tis
Eruamur inferi. |
|--|--|

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.
Leodien. 395.

AH 52, 150 (160)

303

(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 prolixo 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.

MS: Misc. Bibl. Comm. saec. 14 Cod.
Assisi, 338.

H(24)

Il Culto (186)

304

(Ad Mat.)

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. 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.

H(25)

(In 1. Vesp.) (Antiphons)

1. Iam sanctae Clarae claritas
Splendore mundi cardines
Mirifice complevit
Cujus perfecta sanctitas
In devotas propagines
Velocius exrecvit.
- Requievit spiritus
Dulcis pietatis, ///157
Pia mater humilis 158
Clara paaeclara, nobilis
Post praesentes gemitus
Junge nos beatis.

2. Mundi totius gloriam
Ut Christum lucrifaceret
Vile quid arbitata
Finibilem laetitiam,
Ne infinitam perderet,
Semper est aspernata.
- (Ad Mat.)(Invitatorium)
- Regi qui carnem induit
Sit laus cordis et oris
Cujus in Clara claruit
Perfecti vis amoris.

3. Haec in paternis laribus
Puella sacris moribus
Agebat coelibatum,
Quam praedocebat unctio
Sine magistro medio,
Cor Christo dare gratum.
- (In 1. Noct.)
1. Haec una de prudentibus
Praefulsit virgo prudens
In annis puerilibus
Christo placere studens.

4. Sacra spirat infantia
Magni regis connubia
Virtute promereri
Moxque Francisci studia
Sectatur et in gratia
Conatur exerceri.
2. Excelsi servus virginem
Franciscus invitavit,
Amare Deum hominem,
Quem amor humanavit.

5. Hanc et papa Gregorius
Fovit et Innocentius
Patrum more piorum,
Quam Alexander inclitus
Adscripsit motus coelitus
Catalogo sanctorum.
3. Cuncta pro Christi nomine
Contemnens crine tonso,
Coram altari, Domine,
Nubet aeterno sponso.

(Responsoria)

- (Ad Magnificat)
- A. O decus, o gaudium,
O virginale liliu,
Te jubas ecclesiae,
Gemma claritatis,
Floridum virginibus
Fers speculum prudentibus
Specialis gloriae,
Splendor sanctitatis,
Vitae signis
In te pie delicias
1. Francisci prima plantula
Mira fructificavit,
In orbe cum discipula,
Clara, quam informavit,
Castitatis per saecula,
Cultum multiplicavit.
- V. Virgo sub sacra regula
Gressus devotae filiae,
Sequuntur exemplorum

3. Haec paupertatis titulo
Pollens intititata
Post Christum sine sacculo
Currit exonerata,
Relicto foris saeculo,
Mens intus est ditata,
- V. In paupertatis nidulo
Nostri praeseptis parvulo
Pauperi conformata.///158
(In 2 Nocturno) 159
1. Oblata per Gregorium
Refutat 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.
(Responsoris)
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
Clausaque carne fragili
159
Tamquam in vase fictili
Thesaurum 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 juvenculas,
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.

R(26) cont.

2. De pane pascit unico
Turbam sororum pauperum,
Claret signo mirifico
Virtus signorum veterum,
Dum cibatur ex tam modico
Magni conventus numerum.
- (Ad Benedictus)
- A. Novum sidus emicuit,
Candor lucis apparuit,
Lux claritatis adfuit,
Coeli splendor enituit,
Nam lux, quae lucem in-
fluit,
Claram clarere voluit.
- V. Pro, tenui viatico
Mensa laetatur superum,
Regno beatorum coelico
Pro vilitate cinerum.
- (In 2. Vesperis)
- (Ad Laudes) (Ad Magnificat)
- (Antiphonae)
1. Post vitae clarae terminum,
Clara cum turba virginum,
Ad coelos evolavit,
Suum complexa Dominum,
Regnat in regno luminum,
Quo Dominus regnavit.
- A. Salve, sponsa Dei,
Virgo sacra planta
minorum,
Tu vas munditiae,
Tu praevia forma soror-
um:
Clara, tuis precibus
Duc nos ad regna polorum
2. Agnes ad agni nuptias,
Ad aeternas delicias,
Post Claram evocatur,
Ubi per Sion filias,
Post transitas miseras,
Aeterne jubilatur.
- (Alia)
- A. Duce coelesti numine,
Matre vavente virgine,
Clara, re, clara, nomi-
ne
Spreto paterno limine.
///159
Spreto nativo sanguine,
160
Est in sanctorum lumine
Ac beatorum agmine:
Gloria tibi Domine.
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.
- (Alia)
- A. O 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.
5. Laudans laudare studeat,
In laudem semper prodeat,
Plebs ista salvatoris
Quam tanta ditat sanctitas,
Non cesset ipsa civitas
A laude conditoris.

R(26) cont.

(Alia)

Clara, Dei famula
 Florens rosa, primula,
 Puellarum Christi,
 Sub Francisci cordula,
 Pii patris aemula,
 Mundum subegisti.

MS: Brev. ms. Francisc. saec. 15 Cod. Bibl.
 Rossianae s. sign.

A- Brev. ms. Francisc. anni 1464 Cod.
 Admontens. 851

B- Brev. ms. Francisc. anni 1474 Cod. Hilari-
 ens CXII.

C- Antiph. ms. Francis. saec. 15. Cod. sem.
 Olomucens VII.

D- Antiph. ms. Francis. saec. 16. Cod.
 Strahoviens HI 1.E.

Note: Variation for 1. Vesperis, Ad Magni-
 ficat...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.

R(26) cont.

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,
Meritibus clarissima.
6. Iam in caelo coronatur
Et in mundo declaratur
Signis insignissima.//123
7. Ergo, virgo tam beata, 124
Sponso iuncta et dotata
Fructu centenario.
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
Exsultet fidelis chorus
Die isto, | 1b. Nam in regno
Claritatis regnat Clara
Iuncta Christo. |
| 2a. Quae, priusquam generata,
Caelitus est nominata,
Res miranda, | 2b. Mundo nata parvula
Clarissimae actibus
Sicut stella. |
| 3a. Haec Franciscum imitat,
Opibus renuntiat
Voce clara. | 3b. Sicut Christus docuit,
Paupertatem tenuit
Pari forma. |
| 4a. Orat, Christus loquitur,
Gens, perfida pellitur,
Carne sumpta. | 4b.
.
. |
| 5a. Pane turbam satiat,
Oleum multiplicat,
Membra sanat languentia
Sive caeca. | 5b. A regina visitatur,
Transitura palliatur,
Virginibus sociata,
Fit praedicta. |

MS: Miss. Cant. ms. Vissegradense saec.
15. Cod. Capit. Vissegraden. CC.n.

(In 2. Vesperis)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Laetabundus plaudat mundus
Novis utens muneribus
Hilarescat et laus crescat,
Exsultet coelum laudibus.</p> <p>2. Gaude, coetus, novi fretus
Sacro Francisci germine,
Sacrae gestus dies festus,
A solis ortus cardine.</p> <p>3. Virgo Clara vita clara,
Cuius clarent spectacula,
Lux accessit, qua decissit,
Plaude turba paupercula.</p> <p>4. Iuxta nomen eius omen
Nutu peregit coelico,
Vicist Clara mundo cara,
Ex more docta mystico.</p> <p>5. Clausa aedes, nuda pedes,
Praecincta funem tenuit,
Sit cordata illibata
Proles de coelo prodiit.</p> <p>6. Mundi blanda et nefanda
Contempsit, sumens aspera,
Sic mercatur, sic lucratur,
Aeterna Christi munera.</p> | <p>7. Moree tacta, vitam nacta,
Optato vivit gaudio,
Iucundatur, gloriatur,
In coelesti collegio.</p> <p>8. Cuius actus vitam nactus,
Morborum tollit onera,
Admirantur, venerantur,
Quem terra, pontus, aeth-
era.</p> <p>9. Huius funus, sacrum munus
Donis ditat Assisium,
Vota dando te laudando,
Christe, redemptor omnium</p> <p>10. O praeclara virgo Clara,
Obtenta per te venia,
Deprecare et lucrare,
Beata nobis gaudia.//120</p> <p>11. Cuius prece nos a nece,
121
Conserva, pater, invidi;
Nec non ducas et inducas
Ad coenam agni providi.</p> <p>12. Tibi decus, honor aequus,
O lux beata Trinitas,
Collauderis honoreris,
Tu trinitatis unitas.</p> |
|---|---|

MS: Miss. Cant. ms. Vissegrandense saec. 15,
Cod. Capit. Vissegraden CC.n.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1a. Lucis novae claritas
Illustrat ecclesiam,
Quam insignit sanctitas
Nova Clarae.</p> <p>2a. Haec in matris utero,
Quasi lumen radians,
Mundo fore misero
Praesignatur.</p> <p>3a. Haec Francisci filia
Et lapis primarius
Inclusarum praevia
Dux virtutis.</p> <p>4a. Crebescunt miracula
Ob vitae praeconium
Approbantur singula
Fide plena.</p> <p>5a. Mors Christi praesentia,¹⁵⁶
Ac sacratae virginis
Et coelestis curia
Honoratur.</p> | <p>1b. Praecellens humilitas
Redundans in gratiam,
Laudis et sublimitas
Tam praeclarae.</p> <p>2b. Quae clara progenie
Sacris rebus inhians,
Sub virtutum serie,
Regulatur.</p> <p>3b. Quarum multa milia,
Sequuntur ardentius,
Ejusdem vestigia
Spe salutis.</p> <p>4b. Liguor crescit olei
Ac panis edulium,
Pars fugatur fidei
Aliena. ///155</p> <p>5b. O quam clarus exitus
Per quam sacri flaminis
Donum nobis coelitus
Largiatur.</p> |
|---|--|

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
Praeelegit 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.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1a. Novae signo claritatis
Sancta claret Clara,
Sanctae sidus novitatis
Nova lux praeclara.</p> <p>2a. Documenta vitae clara 134
Doctor dedit clarae,
Quae complevit virgo clara
Clausura praeclare.</p> <p>3a. Clara praeclara sanguine,
Vultu praeclarior,
Clara clarescit nomine,
Moribus clarior.</p> <p>4a. Radiosa claritate
Lapsa de supernis
Solem immensitate
Christum clare carnis.</p> <p>5a. Post dolorem ex amara
Christi passione,
Fusa clares in praeclara
Contemplatione.</p> | <p>1b. A camino caritatis
Francisci lux clara
Fulsit omnis sanctitatis
Filia praeclara///133</p> <p>2b. Sponsa zelus in praecla-
ra
Novit declarare,
Quae thalamo, sponso
cara
Clausura debet stare.</p> <p>3b. Accincta fortitudine
Mulier fortior,
Clausura stat artitudine,
Ut sit securior.</p> <p>4b. Clara, spena claritate
Clara mundi spennis,
Summa fruens bonitate
Imma non discernis.</p> <p>5b. Gaudens gaudes clari
clara
Christi visione,
Opem nobis, dulcis
Clara,
Fer oratione.</p> |
|--|---|

MS: Prosar ms. Franciscan. saec. 14/15, Cod.
Parisiens, 1339.

IL CULTO (187)

316

(In I Vesperis)

O Clara, clarum graciae
 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, anxiatibus.

MS: Oxford, Bodleian libr., Douce 245
 (S. C. 19398) fol. 416 v. For cod.
 cf. Latin Liturgical Manuscripts, saec.
 14.

H(34)

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.

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 miseræ
Rupta carnis compagine
Concedat nobis cernere
Lumen vero in lumine.

Alleluia!

MS: Pros. Minor. Bibl. Nat. saec. 14
Cod. Parisin. 1339.

IL CULTO (185)

320

(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
Cluso 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.

H(38)

- 1a.⁶ Qui fecit ad imaginem
Franciscum redemptoris,
Non solum liquit hominem
In paradisi choris.
- 1b.⁷ Formavit Claram virginem
Et latere Minoris,
Virtutibus imaginem
Angelici vigoris.
- 2a. Haec sprexit pure saeculum
In disciplinae loris,
Dum fugit ad ergastulum
Spretis delicti thoris.
- 2b. Assiduus corpusculum
Officis laboris
Vexavit et pectusculum
Suspiriis amoris.
- 3a. Clara, carne sterilis,
Spiritu fedunda,
Clara, quondam flebilis,
Caelo iam iucunda.¹
- 3b. Quos hic caro fragilis
Turbat et immunda,
Tuis datos iubilis
Precibus enunda.

MS: Miss. Romanum imp. Parisiis
1517.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1a. Rex per portum caritatis
Intrans hortum castitatis
Novum florem colligit, | 1b. Dum praeclaram 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 flenti
De partus periculo.
Nuntiatur, quod lex da-
tur
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 in-
stigmat
Dans juvamen, dum casti-
gat
Se per abstinentiam. |
| 5a. Multis signis fide dignis
In hac vita claruit,
Morbos pellens et evellens
Hostes ut apparuit. | 5b. Orat sponsum, qui res-
ponsum
Dat in eucharistia,
Plebs salvatur, dum fu-
gatur
Hostilis molestia. |
| 6a. Augmentavit panem, pavit
Turbam coetus virginei, | 6b. Vas impletur, dum prae-
batur
E coelo liquor olei. |
| 7a. Post ad mortem appropinquat,
Mundi sortem ut relinquat,
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 fre-
quens
In laudum carminibus. |
| 9a. Ergo, Clara, nunc declara 135
Virtutem tui nominis | 9b. Ut protectos et direc-
tos
Ducatu veri luminis. |
| 10a. Nos a nece tua prece
Christus demptos et exemptos
Cura perducatur sedula, | 10b. Ubi uncti Deo juncti,
Dum quo gaudes, canunt
laudes
Per infinita saecula. |

MS: Miss ms. Olomucense saec.

15. Cod. bibl. publ. I I 6.

///134

S(40)

Brev. Roman.Seraph. (1929)

323

(In Vesperis)

Risum convertit in luctum,
Et gaudium in maerorem;
Humiliavit se in conspectu Domini,
Et exaltavit illam.

MS: (none available)

H(41)

AH 5, 159 (54)

324

(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.

MS: Misc. Bibl. Comm. saec. 14 Cod.
Assisi. 338.

H(42)

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 exstinguere 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,
Linqvit 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 linqvit vitia mentibus amara,
Castitate 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 studeatis
Conservare merita sanctae castitatis.
Huius nam militia regnum cum beatis
Largo datur munere summae Trinitatis.
15. Regnum quod laetitiae vogis gaudiose
Firmet excellentia Patris vigoroze,
Praestet sapientia Verbi lumine,
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.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1a. Sidus clarum
Fulget, decus inclusarum
Virgo Clara. | 1b. Praemonstratur
Nascitura orbi terras
Lux futura. |
| 2a. Fune cincta, calceo
Clarens, cibus triduo
Non sumebat. | 2b. Christus illi filiae
De capsula mirifice
Respondebat. |
| 3a. Certa caeli gaudio
In mortis articulo
Christum cernit. | 3b. Ipsam hora transitus
Maria cum virginibus
Circumstetit. |
| 4a. Quinquaginta prandio
Dominas dimidio
Pascit pane. | 4b. Hac orante subito
Adimpletur oleo
Vas inane. |
| 5a. Febres, vocem, furiam,
Hydropisin, fistulam,
Aurem, latus, maculam
Cruce curat. | 5b. Curat daemniacos,
Lupi raptos parvulos
Reddunt, claros oculos
Caeco donat. |
| 6a. Plura his et alia
Facit mirabilia
Ista virgo
beatissima. | 6b. O Francisci plantula,
Tu pro nobis sedula,
Precare Christum
Per saecula. |

MS: Grad. ms. Franciscanum Monacen. saec.
14/15. Clm. Monacen. 7810.
Sequent. ms. S. Georgii Villengensis saec.
15 cod. Carolsruhan, Geo.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1a. Signiferi discipula
Christi novella plantula
Horto floret ecclesiae, | 1b. Sumpto sacco cum cordula,
Pedes nudat iuvencula
Clara, tonsa caesarie. |
| 2a. Sic corpus absque macula
Sub dura premit ferula
Sumptis armis militiae. | 2b. Christi scandens in spe-
cula,
Hostis propellit iacula,
Fortis manens in acie. |
| 3a. Nondum nata
Matri promittur
Clara proles
mundum illuminans. | 3b. Crucifixus
matrem adloquitur
Metum mortis
prorsus eliminans. |
| 4a. Lumen clarum claruit
Clara claro genere,
Cui mundus sorduit; | 4b. Christum clarum docuit,
Mente clara gerere,
Per quem clare splenduit. |
| 5a. Crucifixo
Clara compatitur,
Carni suae
Compati nesciens,
Cuius clavis
Mente transifigitur. | 5b. In adversis
nunquam concutitur,
In amore
semper proficiens,
Cuius morte
mors nostra moritur./96 |
| 6a. Humo nudo virgo pura 97
Utitur pro lectulo,
Panis artus cibus, aqua
Saepe fit pro poculo. | 6b. Signis multis illustra-
tur
Vivens in hoc saeculo,
Morbus omnis effugatur
In crucis signaculo. |
| 7a. Barbarorum
fugatur feritas,
Dum ad Christum
orans convertitur. | 7b. A me, inquit
aeterna veritas,
Quidquid petis,
pie conceditur. |
| 8a. Oleum de caelo datur,
Clarae proles admiratur
In tanto miraculo; | 8b. Christi virtus innovatur
Dum panis multiplicatur,
In famis articulo. |
| 9a. Miros actus
dignos memoria
Christus probat
crebris indiciis;
Vivens in hac
saeculi scoria, | 9b. Iuncta Christo
potitur gloria,
Caelestibus
stipata liliis
Hostis saevi
facta victoria. |
| 10a. In hoc mundi discrimine
Manum extende pauperi,
Ne cadat in certamine, | 10b. Ut sic tuo munimine
Liber a portis inferi
Fruat aeterno lumine. |

MS: Grad. ms. Franciscanum saec. 14. Cod.
Graecen 36.

S(45)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1a. Sonet vox ecclesiae
Digna laudes hodie
Virginis eximiae,
Sanctae Clarae. | 1b. O digna memoriae,
Quae cum rege gloriae
Palnam 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 tenera,
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 liliū,
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)

330

(In 2. Vesperis)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. Stella clara et praeclara,
Aeterni solis radio
Te nunc duce gaudet luce,
Jesu, nostra redemptio.</p> <p>2. Intus, foris vi amoris,
Illuxit Clarae claritas,
In qua fulget et refulget,
O lux beata trinitas,</p> <p>3. Christo claram rexit Claram
Franciscus ultor invidi,
Clara corda duce chorda,
Ad coenam agni providi.</p> <p>4. Clara, vana et mundana,
Doctrina hujus pereunt,
In quo viro modo miro
Vexilla regis prodeunt.</p> | <p>5. Nutu Christi genuisti
Fulgentem prolem mori-
bus,
De quo dono vere bono
Exsultet coelum laudi-
bus.</p> <p>6. Fugat mortem, pellit
fortem
Panemque habent filiae,
Turba pascit, sed haec
facit
Simmae Deus clementiae.
///111</p> <p>7. Sibi agnus, leo magnus,
112
Respondit vera hostia,
Perquam dantur, quae
sperantur
Beata nobis gaudia.</p> <p>8. Deus pater, Jesus fra-
ter
Nostros gubernet exitus
In hoc festo Clarae
gesto
Veni, creator spiritus.</p> |
|--|--|

MS: Brev. Franc. 14 saec. Cod.
Valenciae.

H(47)

AH 19, 109 (175)

331

(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
Prestant 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.

H(48)

- 1a. Thronus novus fabricatur,
Clara Deo consecratur,
Gloriose decoratur
Manu sapientiae.
- 1b. Haec est thronus Salo-
monis,
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 decla-
ratur,
Timor, per quem adoratur
Christus, Dei filius.
- 3a. Venus, donum pietatis,
Tantae fecit libertatis,
Claram, quod se paupertatis,
Totam fecit famulam.
- 3b. Fortitudo signat Martem,
Qui sic Claram fecit
fortem,
Quod necavit vitae mor-
tem
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 specula-
tur,
Clare Deum et sectatur,
Quod in ipso quietatur,
Clarae cogitatio.
- 6a. Per hoc donum patris candor,
Spiritus ac verbi splendor,
Per columnas ordinatam,
Domum sibi decoratam,
Clarae fecit spiritum.
- 6b. Columnis septem roborat-
ur,
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 Deitatis,
Corde puro videamus
Et in ipso gaudeamus,
Amoris incendio.

MS: Sequent. ms. S. Georgii Villingensis
saec. 15. Cod. Carolsruhan Geo. 3.

S(49)

Il Culto, 173-174

333

Virgo Clara claruit
Virgo sanctis virginibus praefuit;

Cruce membra domuit
Per crucem summum regnum obtinuit.

MS: Arch. S. Rufini 8, saec.13, Assisi.

H(50)

2. HYMNS OF SPECIAL CLASSIFICATION

334

Il Culto, 184-186

(Ad Vesperas)

Ant.

Fulgentem Claram eminus,
 Virgam virtutis, dominus
 Ad dexteram locavit;
 (Qu)le mundum sacris moribus,
 Voto, vita vir(tu)tibus
 Decenter illustravit. ps. Dixit dominus.

Ant.

(Ce)pit puella dominum
 Laudare, mater virginum
 Clau(sarum) mox futura;
 Delicias, divitias
 Mundi, car(nis) spurcitas
 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 tyrannide
 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 (satiat)
 Mentem, ut liquefaciat,
 Fluentis la(crim)arum. ps. Lauda Iherusalem
 dominum.

¹"Ho messo quelle congetture fra parentesi quadre"-
 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)
Cluso, cum cetu virginum,
Quarum pia (dev)otio
Celorum placat dominum.
4. Aureolam (ar)omatum
Sponsa paras et ortulum,
(Qu)o pascuis csrismatum
Habundat om(ne) seculum.
5. Procedis cum prudentibus
(No)octis horam non preteris,
Sed para(tis) lampadibus
Ad nuptias ingrederis: (cod.:ingred(i)ens)
6. Sit patri, proli, flamini
Laus, honor, (vi)rtus, gloria;
Subiectos trino numini
Du(ca)s ad celi 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 splendore in mundo clarescere fecisti, ut clarum esset cunctis exempli speculum castitatis, deduc nos eius precibus ac meritis ad patriam claritatis eterne. 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 crimini,
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.

Ant.

Contempnit auri pondera
 Et gemmas aspernatur;
 Christi deplorans vulnera
 Devota complexatur, ps. Celi emarrant.

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
 (Arden)ter dilatavit.
 v. Deum cultui (?)

MS: Brev. ms. Bibl. Helsingfors III, saec.
 14 Cod. Helsingfors 160.

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
Sanctitate dum clarebas
Vivens pie, sobrie.
5. Gaude, domo in paterno,
Non terrena sed superna
Corde querens sedulo.
Miseratrix miserorum
Dapes mittis hiis ciborum
Subtrahens corpusculo.
6. Gaude, Clara, cum sis talis,
Angelis quod es equalis
Castitatis lylio.
Chorum spernis coniugalem
Florem servas virginalem
Nubens Dei Filio.
7. Gaude, nam sub delicatis
Vestimentis durum satis
Baiulas cilicium,
Membra sacra quo domasti
Inimicum superasti
Mundum atque vitium.

Gaudia Sanctae Clarae (cont).

339

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 tanquam 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 dereli-
quid
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 gratie:
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 aquilarum
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
Eiusque insidiis
Per te semper protegatur
Tuis piis muniamur
Iugiter praesidiis.

Gaudia Sanctae Clarae (cont.)

340

21. Gaude, Clara, sponsa Dei;
Excescantur per te rei
Saraceni pessimi;
Sacra prece mali cedunt,
Neque te nec tuas ledunt
Sic devicti timidi.
22. Gaude, casto ventre Natus
Tecum est confabulatus
Voce amicabili.
Hic quod dixit promittendo
Nobis donet hoc complendo
Opere laudabili.
23. Gaude, quod iam corpus Chris-
ti
Sepe digne accepisti
Calidis cum lacrimis.
Fac ut cibo hoc cibemur
Mortis hora et mundemur
A culparum maculis.
24. Gaude, Clara: vis humana
Infirmatur, cum germana
Certat cum potentibus:
Pro qua Deo fundis vota:
Ut columna fit inmota,
Illis recedentibus.
25. Gaude, Clara: vera signa
Monstrant quod sis laude
digna
Hoc est vultus claritas;
Necnon ale ut solaris
Splendor quibus tegebaris;
Sic refulget karitas.
26. Gaude, quo promeruisti
Ihesum Christum quod vidisti
Forma pueritie.
Ipse nobis tua prece
Se ostendat et a fece
Purget nos nequitie.
27. Gaude, cui infirmanti
Ad se Christus suspiranti,
Adest infirmarius.
Ostendebat se presentem
In presepe quiescentem
Exhibens hylarius.
28. Gaude; panis nam affec-
tus
In acetum est iniectus
Passionis Domini,
Sacre mortis Christi
festa
Percollendo nimis mesta
Compassa Deo homini.
29. Gaude, Clara in cella
latens:
Vulnus Christi tibi pa-
tens
Prebuit hospitium.
Cedit sensus corporalis
Extasis hic fit mentalis
Celeste per officium
30. Gaude, morbos signo cru-
cis
Repellendo, que reducis
Sanitatem omnibus.
Sana mores ut veraces
Tui simus hic sequaces
Et in celi domibus.
31. Gaude, ut mors amor for-
tis
Te sentire penam mortis
Fecit desiderio.
Hunc affectum non tor-
tores
Compleverunt, sed lan-
guores,
Numinis imperio.
32. Gaude, lapis conquadra-
tus
Per languorem qui dola-
tus
Poli muro iungitur.
Prius merces sanitate
Crescit, sed infirmitate
Virtus tunc perfici-
tur.

Gaudia Sanctae Clarae (cont.)

341

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 dulcissimo,
Cuius sacer conmitatus
Miri contegit ornatus
Corpus tuum pallio.
35. Gaude, Clara, candor lucis:
Iter sequens boni ducis
Celum mox ingrederis.
Nunc, o dulcis, orbatarum
Misere filiarum,
Materni memor federis.
36. Gaude, Clara, pelle mala,
Ascendendi nobis ecala
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 celi 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 delinquent
raptos
Quos tenebant fauce cap-
tos
Effugati pavid.
42. Gaude, que sanas TUMORES
GUTTERIS atque dolores
Celesti medicamine.
Istud 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 matris bone
Exhibe 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 angeli.
Quorum soror tu fuisti
Dum angelice vixisti
Sexu victo fragili.

Gaudia Sanctae Clarae (cont.)

342

46. 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 opulentie.
Tua namque hic sacrata
Membra sunt mortificata
Ense abstinentie.
50. Gaude, Christi confessorum
Exemplo docens et doctorum,
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 collectaris,
Ac divinam contemplaris
Gloriam obtutibus.
52. Gaude, Clara, novum
sidus,
Pridies augusti ydus,
Tuum colit transitum.
Novas fac nos sanctitate,
Deo semper simus grate:
Det salutis exitum.
53. Gaude, sydus matutinum:
Iam maternum pande sinum
Ad te fugientibus.
Consolatrix in presuris
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 collocebur,
Cum electis pueris. Amen.

MS: Musaei Germanici Morimbergae, Cod. 7206.

3. INEDITED HYMNS

343

Miscellanea Franciscana, 36, 480

Custode rerum virgine
 En casta respirat domus;
 Praeceptisque caeco diffugit
 Captus pavore Barbarus.

Muros timendo obsederat
 Miles tumultu; Noricus
 Ut ungue formidantibus
 Vultur columbis imminet.

Sed Clara caelesti dape
 Tutela praesens adfuit;
 Hoc ense victrix impios
 Detrubat altis postibus.

Adsis beato desuper
 Virgo, ex olympi vertice,
 Ut sempiternis gaudiis
 Victis fruamur hostibus.

Sit Trinitati gloria,
 Ubique semper sit decus,
 Ut cum frequenti cantico
 Laudis corona in saeculum.
 Amen.

- Antonius Azzoguidi, 1741.

H(18 C.)

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
Gemmasque, 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

345

(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.

Ipsa 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.

H(18 C.)

Breviarum Romano-Seraphicum

346

(Ad Laudes)

Salve, Minorum gloria,
 Quae clara vita et nomine,
 Splendore ducis virginum
 Choros ad Agni nuptias.

Tu pane pascis unico
 Turbam Sororum pauperum;
 Inane prorsus illico
 Reples 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.

H(18 C.)

Breviarum Romanum-Seraphicum

347

(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 Inventionem Corporis S. Clarae)
saec. 18.

H(18 C.)

Victrix gementem deserit
Dum Clara terram, desuper
Coetus coruscans virgini
Occurrit ingens caelitem.

O ut beatis addita
Choris triumphum concinit.
Ut ardet, ad connubia
Caelestis Agni pervolans.

Illi obsequentes praepete
Curvantur aurae sub pede;
Illi praeit dum semitam
Aurora fundit lilia.

Hac auspicato 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.

H(18 C.)

Franciscalia, Pistoia, 1883, (99-105)

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Eia, dic carmen, dea casta, Clarae...

"Christe, sic fata es, columen 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 levare
Ossaue terris.

- Geremia Brunelli, 1883.

H(19 C.)