

*JOCULATORES DOMINI: MUSIC AND FRANCISCAN SPIRITUALITY IN
HAGIOGRAPHIC AND LITURGICAL SOURCES*

by

Ilaria Culshaw, FoH

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
June 2020

© Copyright by Ilaria Culshaw, FoH, 2020

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....iii

LIST OF FIGURES.....v

ABSTRACT.....vi

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED.....vii

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....viii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....1

CHAPTER TWO: TEXTUAL REFERENCES TO MUSIC AND FRANCISCAN
SPIRITUALITY IN THE STORY OF GRECCIO DOCUMENTED BY THE *VITA
PRIMA* AND *LEGENDA MAIOR*..... 19

CHAPTER THREE: MUSIC, FRANCISCAN SPIRITUALITY, AND FRANCIS’
IMAGE IN THE FRANCIS OFFICE BY JULIAN OF SPEYER.....71

CHAPTER FOUR: MUSIC, CLARE’S IMAGE AND CONCEPTIONS OF
FEMALE FRANCISCAN LIFE IN CLARIAN HAGIOGRAPHIC SOURCES
AND A CLARISSAN MANUSCRIPT SOURCE.....115

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION.....163

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....168

APPENDIX A: THE FRANCIS OFFICE BY JULIAN OF SPEYER, AS FOUND
IN CH-FCO 2.....176

APPENDIX B: COMPARISON OF MELODIES OF THE FRANCIS AND
VISITATION OFFICES.....178

APPENDIX C: PLIMPTON MS 034, AS INDEXED IN THE
CANTUS DATABASE.....204

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Comparison of the Greccio Accounts documented by the <i>Vita Prima</i> (Thomas of Celano, 1228) and <i>Legenda Maior</i> (Bonaventure, c. 1261). Translations from: Thomas of Celano, <i>The Life of Saint Francis</i> , 255-257; Bonaventure, <i>The Major Legend</i> , 610-611.....	24
Table 2.2	Descriptions of the voice by Thomas of Celano (1C 86.2, and English translation: <i>The Life of Saint Francis</i> , 256); Isadore of Seville (<i>Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX</i> , III, lines 11–14, and English translation: Joseph Dyer, “The voice in the Middle Ages,” in <i>The Cambridge Companion to Singing</i> , 167); and Roman de Horn (as quoted in Latin and English by Christopher Page, <i>Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages</i> , 92).....	31
Table 2.3	Thomas of Celano’s description of the senses and analogy with transubstantiation.....	38
Table 2.4	Macro-Structure of the <i>Legenda Maior</i>	47
Table 2.5	Francis before the bishop and description of his change of clothing, <i>Vita Prima</i> (1C 14.4-15) and <i>Legenda Maior</i> (LMj 4-5.1). Translations: Thomas of Celano, <i>The Life of Saint Francis</i> , 193-194; Bonaventure, <i>The Major Legend</i> , 538-539.....	50
Table 2.6	Body-soul tension in chapter X, <i>Legenda Maior</i> , Translation: <i>The Major Legend</i> , 605-611.....	63
Table 3.1	Related musical narratives in the <i>Vita Prima</i> (1C 16.1.4, 85.8-9, 126.1-5). Translations: Thomas of Celano, <i>The Life of Saint Francis</i> , 194, 255, 295-296.....	75
Table 3.2	First Vespers Antiphon Texts and Translations. Latin Text from Andrew Mitchell, inventory of “Fribourg, Bibliothèque des Cordeliers, 2,” edited by Andrew Mitchell, in <i>Cantus</i> . Translations mine.....	79
Table 3.3	Comparison of the first lines from <i>Franciscus vir catholicus</i> and <i>Hic vir in vanitatibus</i>	86
Table 3.4	Melodic matches with <i>Quam formidante</i>	96
Table 3.5	Summary of manuscripts with melodic matches for <i>Quam formidante</i> ..	101
Table 3.6	Melodic matches with <i>Hunc sanctus praelegerat</i> , thirteen pitches.....	104

Table 3.7	Melodic matches with <i>Mansuescit sed non penitus</i> , twelve pitches.....	105
Table 4.1	Third Witness Testimony (Sister Filippa): References to the senses in Clare’s vision, “The Marvelous Hearing,” and Clare’s reception of the Privilege of Poverty (<i>Processo di Canonizzazione di s. Chiara</i> 29.93-32.111). Translation: “The Acts of the Process of Canonization (1253),” in <i>Clare of Assisi</i> , p.161-162.....	125
Table 4.2	The <i>Versified Legend’s</i> (XXIV – XXVI) and the Latin <i>Legend’s</i> (28-30) accounts of the miracle of Clare’s hearing. Translations: <i>The Versified Legend of the Virgin Clare (1254-1255)</i> p. 230-231; <i>Legend of Saint Clare (1255)</i> , p. 306 in <i>Clare of Assisi</i>	133
Table 4.3	Inventory of the Francis and Clare chants in Plimpton MS 034, ff. 18r-20r.....	146
Table 4.4	Latin texts and English translations of Francis and Clare Antiphons and Responsories (Translations drawn from Susan Boynton, “Texts and Translation,” https://chantmanuscripts.omeka.net/exhibits/show/franciscan-and-clarissan-chant/text-and-translation).....	149
Table 4.5	Comparison of textual similarities, <i>O Stupor/O Decus</i>	155

List of Figures

Figure 2.1	Detail of the Bardi Dossal (C. S. Diller, www.assisi.de , 1982).....	41
Figure 3.1	The Opening Melodic Phrases of <i>Coepit sub Innocentio, Regi quae fecit, Hic vir in vanitatibus, Franciscus ut in publicum</i> , and <i>In dei fervens</i> . Transcriptions from Mitchell, inventory of “Fribourg.”.....	84
Figure 3.2	Comparison of opening melodic phrases of the first vespers antiphon, first antiphon and first responsory from the first nocturn. Transcriptions from Mitchell, inventory of “Fribourg.”.....	85
Figure 3.3	Comparison of Opening and Closing Melodic Phrases of <i>In dei fervens</i> and <i>Stirps Jesse</i> . Transcriptions from Mitchell, inventory of “Fribourg”; Denise Gallo and Keith Glaeske, inventory of “Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France - Département des Manuscrits, latin 12044,” edited by Alessandra Ignesti and Sheila Meadley Dunphy, in <i>Cantus</i>	92
Figure 3.4	Melody of <i>Quam formidante</i> . Transcription from Mitchell, inventory of “Fribourg”.....	94
Figure 3.5	Comparison of openings for <i>Hunc sanctus praelegerat, Beatus vir qui in lege, Mansuescit non penitus</i> , and <i>Qui de terra est</i> . Transcriptions from Mitchell, inventory of “Fribourg”; Gallo and Glaeske, inventory of “Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France”.....	103
Figure 4.1	<i>Laudans laudare/Laudans laudare</i> , antiphon 2, folio 020r, 1351, Plimpton MS 034 Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York.....	157
Figure 4.2.	“Audit in evangelio/Vivens in mundo labili,” folio 019v, 1351, Plimpton MS 034, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York.....	159
Figure 4.3	“Memorie commissis/thesauro gloriatur,” folio 019v, 1351, Plimpton MS 034, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York.....	160

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores music for Francis and Clare of Assisi in hagiographic and liturgical sources, examining how it interacts with aspects of Franciscan spirituality focused on the incarnation. It begins by investigating music and Franciscan spirituality in the Greccio story documented by Thomas of Celano in the *Vita Prima* (1228) and by Bonaventure Bagnoregno in the *Legenda Maior* (c.1261). It then explores how music and text in the Francis office (c. 1232) intertwine Francis' evangelical religious expression and his relationship to the church through their depiction of the saint. Lastly, it explores music and sound in Clarian hagiographic literature in relation to various understandings of female Franciscan life emerging from the texts, extending this analysis to chants from the Francis and Clare offices copied in a Clarissan processional, Plimpton MS 034. Exploration of music and sound in these sources reveals their interaction with Christocentric dimensions of medieval Franciscan spirituality.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

1C *Vita Prima* by Thomas of Celano

LJS *Vita Sancti Francisci* by Julian of Speyer

LMj *Legenda Maior* by Bonaventure

VL *Legenda Sancti Francisci Versificata* by Henri d'Avranches

1LtF *Later Admonition and Exhortation to the Brothers and Sisters of Penance (Second Version of the Letter to the Faithful)*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are a number of people to whom I am indebted because of their support and aid in making this project possible.

First, I would like to thank Regis Armstrong, OFM Cap., who kindly sent me all the Latin texts of the Franciscan and Clarian sources needed for this study. I would like to thank Dr Christopher Grundke for helping me with my translations of texts from the Francis office, as well as Dr. Debra Lacoste for providing me with the microfilm images for the office in various manuscripts. I would also like to thank Dr Luke Togni, who so generously reviewed my second chapter, pointed me in the right direction toward secondary literature about Bonaventure, and answered my many questions, thus clarifying my understanding of Bonaventure's ideas.

I would next like to thank my parents and my two sisters, Elena and Rebecca, for their love and support in this journey. In a particular way, I owe my musical journey to my parents who originally made this journey a possibility when I begged them to buy me a violin one Christmas many years ago.

I would like to thank the community of the Franciscans of Halifax who supported my return to musical studies and pursuit in graduate work. In a particular way, I am indebted to Fr Roberto Donato, whose idea it was that I return to finish my undergraduate degree in music and very strongly encouraged my pursuit of graduate work.

I feel indebted and grateful toward the musicology faculty at the Fountain School of Performing Arts, for giving me the opportunity to pursue this degree and for their hand in my intellectual and academic formation. I am especially grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Jennifer Bain, for her continued guidance and support throughout this project, for her encouragement and assistance toward my exploring further academic work in this field, and for providing me with many opportunities to develop my skills and knowledge in the field.

Funding for this project has been provided by SSHRC through the Joseph Armand Bombardier (CGS M) Scholarship; the Nova Scotia Graduate Scholarship; and the Fountain Graduate Scholarship.

Chapter One: Introduction

The story of Greccio captured the imaginations of medieval hagiographers and artists alike. The tale recounts when Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) and the townspeople of Greccio created a live nativity scene during the Christmas eve mass of 1223. Rife with references to music, a similar story appears in the hagiographic sources documenting the life of Clare of Assisi (1193/94-1253), Francis' first female follower. That account describes Clare, toward the end of her life, miraculously hearing the Christmas eve liturgy occurring in the Basilica of Saint Francis in 1252. From a musicological standpoint, both accounts are notable for their richness of musical sound. This is not surprising in the Greccio story because, as Peter Loewen demonstrates, association of music and sound with *le poverello* ["the poor one"] of Assisi is not uncommon in Franciscan sources and artistic representations of the saint.¹ With Clare, these references to music stand out amidst the relative paucity of musical sound in Clarian hagiographic texts, suggesting the significance of the event itself.

Nevertheless, the presence of music and sound in both stories invites a musicological approach toward study of Franciscan and Clarian sources and, by extension, the medieval Franciscan men and women. The Order which Francis founded was heavily based in the cult of its founder who was often associated with music and music-making. Within the Franciscan First Order itself, music and musical thought had a significant presence in the apostolic and communal life of the friars, in both the liturgical hours and the incorporation of the singing of vernacular song in their preaching ministry.

¹ For an extensive investigation into this topic, see Peter Loewen, "Chapter One: Music and Preaching in the Life of St. Francis," in *Music in Early Franciscan Thought*, vol. 9, *The Medieval Franciscans*, ed. Stephen McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 17-60.

In the intellectual sphere, Peter Loewen has demonstrated the role that music played in early Franciscan thought and, consequently, the Franciscan apostolic mission. His work affirms the value and need for further critical musicological inquiry into this Order which, within sixty years of its foundation, was one of the largest Orders in medieval Europe.²

While there are fewer musical occurrences in Clarian hagiographic texts than in Franciscan sources, they are relevant considering a recent proliferation in Clarian scholarship, none of which has yet taken a musicological approach. Much of this scholarship is concerned with the history of Franciscan women, and challenges the historical narrative attributing the foundation of the Order of Saint Clare (the Franciscan Second Order) to Clare and Francis. Similar to Francis' cult and the Franciscan First Order, the images of Francis and Clare were inextricably bound up with the growth and development of Franciscan female communities during the late Middle Ages. Moreover, music had an important place in the Order of Saint Clare, as extant liturgical manuscripts attest. Nevertheless, there remains a substantial scholarly lacuna in the study of music and the Franciscan women, not to mention Franciscan music overall.

The following chapters seek to address these gaps through an investigation of music in Franciscan and Clarian hagiographical vitae; musical and textual analysis of the rhymed office of Francis of Assisi; and through textual, musical and material analysis of a Clarissan manuscript source (originating in the Order of Saint Clare), the Plimpton Processional (Plimpton MS 34). This study was originally inspired by the realization that Franciscan representations of music reflect the Franciscan charism and ideals centering

² Loewen states similarly, "The question of music in Franciscan life is rendered all the more significant in light of their rapid ascendancy in medieval society as an Order of clerics." *Ibid.*, 2.

around the humanity of Christ, aptly summarized by the words “*vestigia sequi Christi*” or to “follow in the footsteps of Christ.” For example, Francis exhorted the brothers that they were to be the “*joculatores domini*” or “jongleurs of the Lord,” which in medieval society was a lowly profession. This directive reflects the Order’s aspiration to *minoritas* or “humility in all things.”³ Building on this observation about the “*joculatores domini*,” this study argues that music and sound in Franciscan, Clarian and Clarissan sources, hagiographic and liturgical, reflects and/or functions in relation to the incarnationally-based spirituality of the Franciscans. While the project’s overall thesis relates to that of Peter Loewen, which investigates music in medieval Franciscan thought, it differs in several ways. This study has a more direct focus on the incarnational dimensions of Franciscan spirituality (the incarnation denoting the belief that the son of God became human, thereby having two natures, human and divine); it includes consideration of liturgical sources such as the Francis office; and considers Clare and female Franciscan communities alongside Francis and his male followers. This investigation of music and Franciscan spirituality, which brings together the study of Franciscan men and women, offers an innovative and insightful lens into the medieval Franciscan Order and the Order of Saint Clare, both significant presences in late medieval Europe.

This chapter begins this inquiry with a brief biographical review of Francis and Clare of Assisi and the communities which they founded. I proceed to a literature review, describing first the literary and liturgical sources precipitated by the canonizations of Francis and Clare as well as secondary literature relevant to the study. I conclude with an

³ Lezlie Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi: Female Franciscan Identities in Later Medieval Italy*, vol. 5, *The Medieval Franciscans*, ed. Stephen McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 23.

overview of the main chapters, discussing the central argument of each chapter, the sources used and an outline of the methodology.

Francis and Clare of Assisi and the First and Second Franciscan Orders

The Franciscan movement began with a man who is probably one of the most popular saints in the history of the church and the world. Francis of Assisi was born in 1182 to Pietro di Bernardone, a wealthy cloth merchant, and his wife Lady Pica de Bourlemont from what is today considered France. The hagiographic vitae indicate that Francis grew up living a comfortable and worldly life, dreaming of the glories of knighthood, leaving the impression that Francis was a bit of a playboy. Unsuccessful in fulfilling his ambitions, Francis experienced a dramatic conversion which led to him renouncing his life in the world, begging for a living and serving the lepers. The vitae indicate that Francis was a charismatic personality before and after his conversion, and consequently drew followers attracted to his newfound way of life and love for Christ. The small fraternity aspired to adhere radically to the way of life detailed by the gospels and grew into what became known as the Franciscan Order.

The official date of the Franciscan Order's foundation is 1209/10, approximately three years after Francis' conversion. Their way of life, especially that of the early fraternity, was characterized by gospel itinerancy (traveling from place to place preaching the gospel word), and evangelical poverty, comprising personal and corporate renunciation of ownership of possessions and monetary income. Their mode of religious life would experience variation and modification in the ensuing years with the increasing clericalization of the Order as well as tensions between members regarding their interpretation of Francis' vision. Despite the difficulties the Order experienced, especially

in the years following the death of its founder in 1226, it grew into one of the largest Orders in western Europe within sixty years of its foundation. In addition to their preaching ministry among the lay faithful, the Franciscans had significant footholds in major universities such as Paris and Oxford. They also had members among the curia, including Bonaventure who was cardinal-bishop of Albano, so that they exercised ecclesiastical influence as well.

Paralleling the birth and growth of the fraternity, a community of women arose in Assisi called San Damiano. Under the direction of Francis, his first female follower Clare of Assisi initiated this community, which aspired to live his vision of the gospel life, especially with regard to evangelical poverty. Clare was born either eleven or twelve years after Francis in 1193 or 1194 to the noble Offreduccio family and is described by hagiographic texts as extraordinarily pious and devout from childhood. The vitae report that Clare was inspired by Francis' preaching, and that she even met with him in person to discuss the spiritual life and her devotion to God. Clare eventually left her family home in secret during the night of Palm Sunday in either 1211 or 1212 to live the life professed by Francis in a way possible for women at the time.⁴ Other women, including members from her household, joined Clare, who spent her life in zealous insistence on and dedication to evangelical poverty, even in the face of pressures from ecclesiastical authorities to accept corporate endowments. Clare's community would form part of the trajectory of women's communities constituting what would eventually be called the Order of Saint Clare.

⁴ Catherine M. Mooney, *Clare of Assisi and the Thirteenth-Century Church: Religious Women, Rules and Resistance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 17.

Hagiographical Sources

Admired for their devotion to God during their lifetimes, both Clare and Francis were canonized quickly after their deaths. Francis was enrolled in the official calendar of saints on July 28 of 1228, merely two years after he died and Clare was canonized two years after her death on September 26, 1255. The canonization of both saints precipitated the composition of hagiographic vitae and liturgical texts. Leading up to the canonization of Francis, Thomas of Celano was commissioned to compose an official biography, which resulted in the *Vita Prima* or the “First Life,” aptly named for its position as the first biographical text about the saint. A few years later, Julian of Speyer, a member of the Order, composed the music and texts for the Francis office which was utilized by most factions of the First Order for the next five hundred years.⁵ The following years would see the proliferation of artistic representations of *le poverello* and of biographical texts, with Bonaventure composing the “official” biography, the *Legenda Maior*, between 1257 and 1266.

The first hagiographic text for Clare was the *Processo di Canonizzazione di Santa Chiara d’Assisi* (the *Acts of the Process of Canonization*), which was conducted by members of the curia a few months after her death.⁶ The *Acts* documents a series of interviews with members of Clare’s community as well as people outside of the community who knew her. Soon after, various accounts of her life, or legends as they are

⁵ The Franciscan First Order over time divided into three factions: The Friars Minor, the Capuchins and the Conventuals. The Capuchins ceased using the office in 1741 and the Conventuals in 1743. The office was still in use by the Friars Minor at the turn of the twentieth century. Tiziana Scandeletti, “Una ricognizione sull’ufficio ritmico per s. Francesco,” *Musica e storia* vol. 4 (1996), 67.

⁶ The original Latin text of the process is no longer extant. The earliest version is a fifteenth-century Italian translation which survives in a single codex. Mooney, *Clare of Assisi and the Thirteenth-Century Church*, 15.

called, were composed which drew upon the events documented by the *Acts*. Five 13th-century legends about Clare exist, of which three are minor hagiographical texts. The other two and the most famous are the *Legenda versificata S. Clariae Assisiensis* or the *Versified Legend* and the prose *Legenda* (hereafter referred to as the *Legend*).⁷ Recent scholarship suggests that these later texts emphasize certain events described by the *Acts* to the exclusion of others, which results in a different depiction of Clare.⁸ The liturgical office composed for Clare during the second half of the thirteenth century mirrors the depiction by the prose *Legend*, which served as its textual basis, rather than the earlier *Acts*. In total, there are four medieval offices for Clare, the best known being the one beginning with the antiphon *Jam Sanctae Clarae Claritas* and contrafact of the Francis office.⁹ There is an office for the feast of her translation, as well as two other offices which do not seem to be as well-known.¹⁰

⁷ Lezlie Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi*, 49.

⁸ For an extensive discussion on how the legends refashion Clare's image, see Knox, "Chapter One: Clare and the Poor Sisters of San Damiano," in *Creating Clare of Assisi*, 49-54.

⁹ Giacomo Baroffio and Eun Ju Kim base their study of the office on a version copied in a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century Franciscan antiphoner conserved at Oristano at the Biblioteca Arborensis. One of the matins responsories, *Francisci pia plantula*, is missing from this version and so they relied upon that copied in another fifteenth-century Franciscan antiphoner held in Assisi, Chiesa Nuova. *Jam Sanctae Clarae Claritas: l'ufficio ritmico di santa Chiara nella tradizione arborensis* (Milano: Coro dell'Università Cattolica, 2004), 8. P. Giovanni Boccali provides a critical edition of this office where he relies upon hundreds of manuscripts containing it. *Cum hymnis et canticis : gaudeat Mater Ecclesia in festo sancte Clare virginis Assisiensis, cioè Antichi testi liturgici latini e altre composizioni [sic] poetiche italiane per la festa e onore di Santa Chiara di Assisi (sec. XIII - XVI inizio)* (Assisi(Perugia): Edizioni Porziuncula, 2010), 71-94.

¹⁰ Andrew Hughes identifies two of these offices in the LMLO, one which begins with the antiphon *O lumen atque decus*, and the office for the translation of Clare. *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices. Resources for Electronic Research. I: Texts* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994): sigla CL 12 and 13. Baroffio and Ju Kim briefly address the office beginning with the antiphon *Fulgentem Claram eminus*, which appears in the Helsingfors manuscript (MS 160) and provide a critical edition of the text, *Jam Sanctae Clarae Claritas*, 17-19.

Franciscan, Clarian and Clarissan Scholarship

In this thesis, I focus on these Franciscan and Clarian hagiographic and liturgical sources, taking a musicological approach. While there is a gap in the critical musicological approach to Franciscan men and women, scholarship in the area of Franciscan studies is overwhelmingly prolific. Chief among English language Franciscan scholarship is the authoritative English translations of the Franciscan and Clarian sources, which I rely upon in the analysis of textual sources.¹¹ Additionally, I have drawn upon the scholarship of Zachary Hayes, Christopher Cullen and Jay M. Hammond in the analysis of the *Legenda Maior* as well as J.A. Wayne Hellman's insight regarding thematic connection between stories in the *Vita Prima*.¹² Much of the historical and thematic information regarding the Franciscan hagiographic texts is taken from the introductions to their English translations.

Scholarship concerning Clarian texts is not nearly as abundant as it is about Franciscan sources but recent years have seen the proliferation of ground-breaking studies about Clare and the early Franciscan women. Included among these is Joan

¹¹ Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellman and William J. Short, eds., *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, 3 vols., (New York: New City Press, 1999).
Regis J. Armstrong, ed., *Clare of Assisi - The Lady: Early Documents* (New York: New City Press, 2006).

¹² Zachary Hayes, *The Hidden Center: Spirituality and Speculative Christology in St. Bonaventure* (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1981); Christopher M. Cullen, *Bonaventure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Jay M. Hammond, "Bonaventure's *Legenda Major*" in *Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. Jared Goff (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 453-507.

In a footnote to his article on prayer and the *Vita Prima*, Hellman notes a thematic connection between three stories in the text signaled by a common reference to musical sound. These stories include when Francis sings in the forest after officially renouncing his birthright before the bishop of Assisi; the Greccio story; and the canonization of Francis. Hellman discusses the thematic connections in terms of prayer. "Prayer in the Life of St Francis by Thomas of Celano," in *Franciscans at Prayer*, ed. Timothy Johnson, vol. 4, *The Medieval Franciscans*, ed. Stephen McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 67-68.

Mueller's *The Privilege of Poverty*, where Mueller investigates the history of the Privilege of Poverty, the papally-approved document allowing Clare and her community to renounce corporate ownership of material possessions and monetary support.¹³ Mueller's methodology was innovative at the time because it considered Franciscan and Clarian sources alongside each other. More recently, Catherine Mooney investigates the trajectory of women's religious communities in central Italy toward what became the "Order of Saint Clare."¹⁴ Mooney focuses on Clare's community of San Damiano in Assisi and utilizes both hagiographical and historical sources. Bert de Roest also looks at the history of the Order, but takes a wider perspective and provides an in-depth historical study of the Order of Saint Clare from the time of their foundation until the sixteenth century.¹⁵ In *Creating Clare of Assisi*, Lezlie Knox discusses the reception and appropriation of Clare's image by the late medieval Franciscan Order, friars and sisters, and the influence of the reception of this image on the women's Franciscan identity.¹⁶ Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby also examines Clare's image, but considers a larger time period, from the thirteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, and investigates homiletic and artistic sources and how they influenced each other.¹⁷ Despite the recent proliferation in scholarship about Clare and her image, none have approached the topic from a musicological perspective. In chapter four, I take such an approach, investigating Clare's

¹³ Joan Mueller, *The Privilege of Poverty: Clare of Assisi, Agnes of Prague, and the struggle for a Franciscan rule for women* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).

¹⁴ Catherine M. Mooney, *Clare of Assisi and the Thirteenth-Century Church*.

¹⁵ Bert Roest, *Order and Disorder: The Poor Clares Between Foundation and Reform*, vol. 8, *The Medieval Franciscans*, ed. Stephen McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

¹⁶ Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

¹⁷ Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, *The Cult of St Clare of Assisi in Early Modern Italy*, (Routledge, 2014).

image depicted by the *Acts*, two of the hagiographical legends and a Clarissan manuscript source.

With regard to the critical musicological approach toward Franciscan music, the work of Peter Loewen is the chief contemporary scholarship in the area. Loewen advances his overall argument positing the role of music in Franciscan thought, investigating a variety of sources: Franciscan hagiographic sources, art, and preaching as well as theological and philosophical sources.¹⁸ Additional scholarship on Franciscan music includes a dissertation by Andrew Mitchell, which builds upon the work of Stephen J. P. Van Dijk, the dominant scholarly force on medieval Franciscan liturgy.¹⁹ Both works are concerned with the relationship of Franciscan liturgy to the liturgy of the Roman church, a subject which my thesis does not address. I do, however, consider a Franciscan liturgical source, the Francis rhymed office by Julian of Speyer, about which scholarship abounded during the first half of the twentieth century. This scholarship included studies concerning the manuscript tradition of the office, producing various critical editions of the office texts and music.²⁰ More recently, Tiziana Scandaletti “revisited” this scholarship alongside more recent work on the office and Franciscan

¹⁸ Peter Loewen, *Music in Early Franciscan Thought*.

¹⁹ Andrew Mitchell, “The Chant of the Earliest Franciscan Office,” (PhD. diss., University of Western Ontario: 2003), ProQuest order no. NQ96856; S.J.P. Van Dijk and Jean Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman liturgy: the Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press: 1960); *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy: the Ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and Related Documents (1243-1307)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963).

²⁰ Although not an exhaustive list, sources cited by Scandaletti include: Eliseus Bruning, *Officium ac Missa de festo S.P.N. Francisci* (Parisiis [etc.]: Typis Societatis S. Ioannis Evangelistae, Desclée, 1926); Hilarin.Felder, *Die liturgischen Reimofficien auf die Heiligen Franciscus und Antonius (+ c. 1250)* (Freiburg: Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1901); J.E. Weis, *Die Choräle Julian's von Speier zu den Reimoffizien des Franziscus- und Antoniusfestes. Mit einer Einleitung nach Hss herausgegeben von J.E. Weis. Mit einer Tafel* (München: J.J. Lentner'schen Buchhandlung, 1901); M. Bihl, “Fr. Juliani de Spira, Officium rythmicum s. Francisci,” in *Analecta Franciscana* X (1941).

liturgical tradition, and, while primarily discussing the office's manuscript tradition, wrote briefly about the office from a socio-political point of view.²¹ Scandaletti considers the office in light of the infamous "Franciscan question," which asks the degree to which Francis' image was shaped by the Roman church and political tensions within the Franciscan Order. My methodological approach to the office is not concerned with the manuscript tradition of the office, nor with its relationship to the "Franciscan question." I am interested, rather, with how the office textually and musically relates its representation of Francis to the life of Christ and the life of the church.

In addition to the Francis office, this project considers chants from the rhymed office for Clare in a Clarissan manuscript source in conjunction with analysis of sound and a musical event in three Clarian hagiographic vitae. Scholarship about Franciscan women and music overall is quite scarce, but some addresses the Clarissan manuscript tradition. Two publications by Klára Mészárosóvá and Jerzy Morawski have investigated musical manuscripts of the Order of Saint Clare in Poland and Eastern Europe.²² A dissertation by Catherine Fontaine discusses the musical life of certain Clarissan monastic houses during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.²³ An insightful article by Mary Natvig, "Rich Clares, Poor Clares: Celebrating the Divine Office," undertakes a

²¹ Scandaletti, "Una ricognizione sull'ufficio ritmico per s. Francesco."

²² Klára Mészárosóvá, "Klarissen und Musik: Nach historischen Quellen aus dem Pressburger und Tyrnauer Kloster [The Poor Clare Sisters and music: According to the historical sources from monasteries in Bratislava and Trnava]," *Plaude turba paupercula: Franziskanischer Geist in Musik, Literatur und Kunst*, ed. Ladislav Kačič (Bratislava, Slovakia: Slovenská Akadémia, Vied (Slavistický Ústav Jána Stanislava), 2004), 163-175; Jerzy Morawski, "The Te Deum laudamus in Polish manuscripts from the late Middle Ages: Liturgical-musical traditions," *Dies est leticie: Essays on chant in honour of Janka Szendrei*, eds. David Hiley and Gábor Kiss (Ottawa, ON, Canada: Institute of Mediæval Music, 2008), 393-412.

²³ Catherine Fontaine, "La vie musicale et liturgique post-tridentine dans une communauté religieuse des Pays-Bas méridionaux: Le cas des clarisses urbanistes d'Ypres aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," (PhD. diss., Université Catholique de Louvain, 2013).

critical musicological approach to Franciscan women and music, surveying the liturgical-musical life of the primitive Poor Clares, the Order of Saint Clare, and the Colettine Reform.²⁴ Very little, however, has been done with respect to the music of the Clare office itself. Some scholarship has focused on its texts, the most recent being critical editions published by Leonard Lehmann and P. Giovanni Boccali.²⁵ The latter is most impressive for its comprehensive survey of manuscripts containing the office, hymns and liturgical texts in honor of Clare, having examined over one hundred manuscript sources of varying types and provenance. One publication, *Jam Sanctae Clarae Claritas*, by Giacomo Baroffio and Eun Ju Kim, discusses the medieval manuscript tradition of Clare's office from a musicological point of view, providing a useful background for chapter four's consideration of the Clare chants copied in Plimpton.²⁶

In addition to scholarship by Baroffio, Kim and Natvig, a website devoted to two chant manuscripts housed at Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Library including Plimpton 034 was foundational to the analysis documented in chapter four.²⁷ The website was an initiative of Prof. Susan Boynton and her graduate seminar at Columbia University and provides digitized images of Plimpton, as well as digital

²⁴ Mary Natvig, "Rich Clares, Poor Clares: Celebrating the Divine Office," *Women & Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture*, 4 (2000), 59-70.

²⁵ Leonard Lehman, *Die heilige Klara in Kult und Liturgie: Vena vivida - Lebendige Quelle. Texte zu Klara von Assisi und ihrer Bewegung*, 2 (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2010).
P. Giovanni Boccali, *Cum hymnis et canticis : gaudeat Mater Ecclesia in festo sancte Clare virginis Assisiensis, cioè Antichi testi liturgici latini e altre composizioni [sic] poetiche italiane per la festa e onore di Santa Chiara di Assisi (sec. XIII - XVI inizio)* (Assisi(Perugia): Edizioni Porziuncula, 2010).

²⁶ Giacomo Baroffio and Eun Ju Kim, *Jam Sanctae Clarae Claritas: l'ufficio ritmico di santa Chiara nella tradizione arborese* (Milano: Coro dell'Università Cattolica, 2004).

²⁷ "Franciscan and Clarissan Chants in Plimpton MS 034", *Chant Manuscripts*, <https://chantmanuscripts.omeka.net/exhibits/show/franciscan-and-clarissan-chant>.

exhibits, including an exhibit dedicated to the chants of Francis and Clare in Plimpton. Much of the information detailed on the website about Plimpton was based on an unpublished paper by Karen Hiles, who identified the manuscript as Clarissan in 2003.²⁸ This website, and hence Hiles' findings, was the starting point for the manuscript study recorded in chapter four, where I refer to the translations of the chant texts on the website, as well as pertinent information about the manuscript. Overall, chapter four adds to the body of Clarian and Clarissan liturgical scholarship by undertaking a critical musicological approach based on recent Clarian scholarship to the chants of Francis and Clare in the Plimpton Processional. More specifically, I analyze how these chants convey images of Francis and Clare and offer commentaries on female Franciscan life.

Chapter Overview

The main body of the thesis comprises three chapters. Chapter two focuses on two Franciscan hagiographical sources, the *Vita Prima* and *Legenda Maior*, and how their portrayals of music reflect the spirituality of the medieval Franciscans, especially their focus on Christ's humanity. I investigate the passages in the vitae dedicated to retelling the story about Greccio, which is rich with references to musical sound. The most notable of these references in both vitae is Francis singing the gospel in the liturgical role of a deacon, as well as a line describing the forest resounding with songs at the event. I take a different approach when analyzing each version because the vitae emphasize certain ideas differently from each other: While Bonaventure refers to Francis chanting the gospel, Thomas of Celano dedicates a lengthy sensory description to this moment.

²⁸ "Life and Death for Clares in Fourteenth Century Brussels," Chant Manuscripts, <https://chantmanuscripts.omeka.net/exhibits/show/burial-procession/convent>.

Bonaventure also organizes the entire *Legenda Maior* within his system of theological thought, which consequently affects the story of Greccio and its thematic resonance.

For the analysis of the *Vita Prima* Greccio narrative, I focus on its description of Francis singing and preaching the gospel and argue that it reveals a sacramental depiction of Francis. This depiction regards divine grace as operative in his preaching ministry and aligns the spiritual effects of his preaching with those of the eucharist. As supporting evidence, I consider the story's description of Francis' voice, which characterizes it as the "ideal" male singing voice. I propose that this description depicts Francis as a "fit" vessel or preacher of the gospel word, thereby facilitating the overall sacramental portrayal. The rest of the analysis examines references to the senses in the passage in light of medieval conceptions of the senses. I first discuss Thomas' emphasis on sweetness, which he uses to describe Francis' voice and preaching. Considering medieval connotations of sweetness, I argue that this emphasis ascribes the grace of healing to Francis' preaching thereby demonstrating a sacramental point of view. In the last part of the analysis, I propose that Thomas affirms this perspective by his organization of the passage with respect to the senses. I demonstrate that this organization metaphorically aligns Francis' singing and preaching with the rites of consecration, again drawing a parallel between his ministry and the eucharist.

In the analysis of the *Legenda Maior* Greccio narrative, I proceed differently, considering the textual references to music in the context of Bonaventure's explication of the theology of hierarchy. A significant contingent of scholars argue that this theology, which describes the individual's spiritual journey as growth in the powers of purification,

illumination and perfective union, undergirds the entire text.²⁹ The theology of hierarchy is ultimately rooted in the incarnation and Bonaventure represents Francis' journey as a kind of archetype for the journey of the individual in the spiritual life. My overall argument concerning Bonaventure's Greccio account posits that one of its main references to music - that which describes the forest resounding with the songs at Greccio - interacts with the theology behind the *Legenda Maior*. I argue first that this reference functions as an interpretative key unlocking the thematic content of the Greccio narrative and an earlier narrative, Francis singing in the forest, which contains a similar reference to sound. Although this thematic content is present in the *Vita Prima*, I argue that it becomes more pronounced because of Bonaventure's theology. I demonstrate how the references to music signify the themes present in the stories by interpretation of the Greccio account, Francis singing in the forest, and the passage recalling his renunciation of his birthright before the bishop of Assisi. I conclude by considering the presence of the forest in these passages as the acoustical space of sound and how this illuminates ideas about creation present in Bonaventure's theology.

Chapter three investigates the liturgical office composed in honour of Francis by Julian of Speyer and its depiction of Francis. In this chapter, I argue that the office by its musical language situates Francis' religious expression within the life of the church. I connect this chapter to the overall thesis by highlighting how the office relates Francis'

²⁹ Damien Vorreux was the first to make a case for the *Legenda Maior*'s organization according to Dionysian hierarchy, and Regis Armstrong undertook the first in-depth reading of the *Legenda Maior* in this way. See Damien Vorreux, *François d'assise: documents, écrits et premières biographies* (Paris: Éditions Franciscaines, 1968), 585, n. 13; Regis Armstrong, "The Spiritual Theology of the *Legenda Major* of Saint Bonaventure (PhD dissertation, Fordham university: 1978). For an excellent and yet succinct overview of the scholarship taking this position, see Luke Togni, "A Sweet Influence: St. Bonaventure's Franciscan Reception of Dionysian Hierarchy," (PhD. diss., Marquette University, 2019), 22-30.

religious expression to the life of Christ and by proposing that reception of the office would have been informed by the understanding of the church as a spiritual entity with its basis in the incarnation. As evidence for the latter, I return to the *Vita Prima* and demonstrate the presence of this theology in the text arguing that its contemporaneity to Francis' liturgical office reveals the currency of this thought at the time of the office's reception. In the analysis of the office, I investigate its texts, internal and external melodic relationships and how these underline Francis' evangelical life, its connection to the life of Christ, and situation within the life of the church. I conclude the chapter by discussing the office of the Visitation by Cardinal Adam Easton, contrafact of the Francis office, and what this relationship reveals about later reception of Francis' liturgical image in relation to what are particularly Christocentric aspects of Franciscan spirituality.

Chapter four concerns Franciscan women and music through investigation of Clarian hagiographical sources and a Clarissan manuscript, the Plimpton Processional (Plimpton MS 034). The first half of the chapter comprises a close reading of a musical event documented by *The Acts of the Process of Canonization*, the *Versified Legend*, and the Latin *Legend*. The story recounts when Clare miraculously heard the Christmas liturgies taking place in Saint Francis basilica during the year 1252. In the analysis of this story and its documentation by these three sources, I argue that the *Acts* represent Clare's embodiment or incarnation of Francis' spiritual ideals. I demonstrate this primarily by analyzing sensory references in the account and in the passages surrounding it, including Clare's vision of Francis where she suckles at his breast and her reception of the Privilege of Poverty. The sensory focus in the *Acts* contrasts with the versions in the legends, which, as I argue, portray Clare's miraculous hearing as an interior experience rather than

connecting it to her embodiment of gospel ideals. Overall, the differences between the versions resonate with Lezlie Knox's description of how the legends "refashion" Clare of Assisi, diminishing her connection to the Franciscan Order and Francis and her devotion to the gospel life inherited from him. Knox explains that, instead, the legends, promoting Clare as the female figurehead of what was later called the Order of Saint Clare, depict her as an ideal monastic woman – silent, enclosed, and penitential. This depiction reflects the church's effort through its promulgation of Clare to encourage a more cloistered version of religious life among female religious communities arising in thirteenth-century central Italy, including San Damiano.

The second half of the chapter applies the conclusions from the literary analysis and Knox's summary to analysis of chants from the Francis and Clare offices copied in the Plimpton Processional. This part of the chapter argues that the aural elements of contrafact and textual parallelism (the Clare chants are contrafact of the Francis chants) as well as the chants' unique representation in the manuscript connect and juxtapose the contrasting images of the saints emerging from the chant texts. I argue that the Francis texts align him more closely with ideals associated with the historical Francis more so than the Clare chant texts, whose depiction of the saint are reminiscent of the portrayal by the legends. The conclusions from the analysis proposes that the aural and visual elements of the chants would have caused those using the manuscript to hold the ideas communicated by the texts in tension with each other. These ideas in their reception, consequently, would have interacted with and "refashioned" each other. This may have affected the communal and individual identities of the nuns as Franciscan women, so that the chants in Plimpton may be testimony to the breadth of variation to which the

Franciscan Order was subject. The chapter proceeds by analysis of the chant texts themselves, revealing their similarities and differences, and analysis of the visual and aural aspects of contrafact and textual parallelism. The analysis concludes with identification of what I term “cross-textual thematic linking,” where a word or phrase from one chant visually and aurally connects with a word or phrase from the chant text directly below or above it. The result is that it creates a new phrase or emphasizes a particular theme, connecting the two saints thematically while revealing the sharp distinction between the two. The prominence of the distinction is such that it suggests the effect of “cross-textual thematic linking” was opposite to that of the aural and visual elements described. Nevertheless, the occurrence of this phenomenon still evidences the effort to connect and juxtapose the two saints and thus negotiate conflictual ideas.

Chapter Two: Textual References to Music and Franciscan Spirituality in the Story of Greccio Documented by the *Vita Prima* and the *Legenda Maior*

The Franciscan hagiographic sources abound with references to musical sound. These musical occurrences illustrate the association of music with the persona of Francis of Assisi in hagiographic literature and visual culture.¹ Any serious study of Franciscan spirituality and thought considers the hagiographic vitae, since the Franciscan Order, more than any other medieval Order, was based heavily in the cult of its founder. Moreover, references to musical sound in Franciscan vitae, while demonstrating the association of music with Francis of Assisi, interact with ideas reflective of the incarnation's significance to medieval Franciscan spirituality.

Standing out for its richness of musical description is the story of Greccio, which describes the Christmas eve liturgy celebrated by Francis and the townspeople of Greccio in 1223. In addition to referring to the music at the event, the story is the only instance documenting Francis singing the gospel in a liturgical role. The Greccio account appears in four sources: the *Vita Prima* by Thomas of Celano (1228-1229);² the *Vita Sancti Francisci* by Julian of Speyer (1232-1235);³ the *Legenda Sancti Francisci Versificata* by

¹ Peter Loewen, *Music in Early Franciscan Thought*, vol. 9, *The Medieval Franciscans*, ed. Stephen McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 18-19.

² 1C 84-87; English translation: Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, in *The Saint*, vol. 1, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellman and William J. Short (New York: New City Press, 1999), 254-257.

³ LJS 53-55; English translation: Julian of Speyer, *The Life of Saint Francis by Julian of Speyer*, in *The Saint*, vol. 1, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellman and William J. Short (New York: New City Press, 1999), 405-407.

Henri d'Avranches (1232-1239);⁴ and the *Legenda Maior* by Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (c.1261).⁵ I focus on the versions recorded by the *Vita Prima* and the *Legenda Maior* first because of their significance in the body of Franciscan hagiographic literature but also for the sake of the scope of the chapter.

Analysis of musical sound in the Greccio accounts of these two vitae reveals the interaction of musical sound with aspects of Franciscan spirituality focused on the incarnation, especially Christ's humanity. While this is evident in both versions, it occurs in different ways. In the study of the *Vita Prima*'s version, I focus on its substantial description of Francis singing and preaching the gospel, which is given only a passing mention in the *Legenda Maior* version. I believe that the *Vita Prima* devotes more attention to this moment than the *Legenda Maior* because it is more intent upon the theme of Francis preaching and living the gospel as a whole. In contrast, the *Legenda Maior* is organized around communicating Bonaventure's explication of the theology of hierarchy, which forms the context of Francis' preaching ministry. In comparison to the *Legenda Maior* version, although eucharistic elements are present within its account, Thomas of Celano's Greccio story in the *Vita Prima* has a more immediately explicit eucharistic dimension, to which I believe the description of Francis' preaching is integral. I focus, therefore, upon Thomas of Celano's description of Francis preaching, arguing that it demonstrates a sacramental perspective of the saint and his ministry. The

⁴ VL 90-115; English translation: Henri d'Avranches, *The Versified Life of Saint Francis by Henri d'Avranches*, in *The Saint*, vol. 1, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellman and William J. Short (New York: New City Press, 1999), 506-507.

⁵ LMj X.7; English translation: Bonaventure, *The Major Legend of Saint Francis* in *The Founder*, vol. 2 of *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellman and William J. Short (New York: New City Press, 1999), 610-611.

sacramental perspective, rooted in the mystery of the incarnation, recognized the presence of the divine in the created world and historical events.⁶ Thomas' description, organized around sensory references, posits the operation of divine grace in Francis' preaching, metaphorically aligning its spiritual effects with those of the eucharist. Thomas accomplishes this in three ways: 1) by the description of Francis' voice which portrays it as the ideal, male singing voice and thus a suitable means by which to proclaim the gospel word, "setting up" the overall sacramental depiction; 2) by emphasis on the sweetness of Francis' voice and preaching which, in light of the miracles of healing associated with the event and medieval understandings of sweetness, denotes the grace of healing operative in Francis' preaching ministry. Thomas also ascribes the grace of healing to the eucharist in the story's closing passages, which further confirms his intent to communicate a sacramental representation; and 3) by references to the senses which metaphorically align Francis' preaching with the rites of consecration and its consequent transubstantiation.⁷

While the *Legenda Maior* does not devote the same attention to Francis' singing and preaching the gospel within the Greccio story itself, it does include a similar reference immediately prior. Even though the sacramental narrative articulated by the *Vita Prima* is present in the *Legenda Maior*, and the Greccio story forms part of this narrative, it is part of a larger theological explication informing the text as a whole. Consequently, I do not devote the same attention to the principle of sacramentality within

⁶ Although not exclusive to the Franciscans, the sacramental perspective was (and is) particularly characteristic of their spirituality, probably accounting for the popular association of Francis with animals and nature.

⁷ Transubstantiation is when the bread and wine at the words of consecration are transformed into the body and blood of Christ while retaining their outward visible form.

the Greccio story itself but to music in the Greccio story and this broader theological narrative. While scholars like Paul Sabatier and, more recently, Jacques Delarun have critiqued the *Legenda Maior* for molding Francis into an inimitable figure, a contingent of scholarship argues that Bonaventure's presentation of Francis is an exposition of his spiritual journey according to Dionysian hierarchy.⁸ Modern scholarship arguing for this position states that Bonaventure portrays Francis as the "hierarchical man" and organizes the *Legenda Maior* according to the Triple Way, that is, the principle of spiritual growth or "hierarchization" in the three powers of purgation, illumination and perfective union.

In light of Bonaventure's theology, analysis of the *Legenda Maior* Greccio story and one of its central references to music reveals this reference taking on new significance since its initial inclusion in Thomas' work. This reference describes the forest resonating with the songs at the event and I argue first that it is an interpretative key unlocking themes central to Bonaventure's spiritual theology. I propose that it alerts the reader to a thematic connection between Greccio and an earlier narrative, namely, Francis singing in the forest which contains a similar reference to musical sound. The main thematic connection between these two stories is the centrality of the imitation of Christ to the spiritual journey, especially imitation of his humility, and its consequent Christoforming effects (conforming one to Christ). This is evident upon Bonaventure's understanding of the nativity of Christ (commemorated at Greccio) and its symbolism as well as interpretation of Francis singing in the forest and the story immediately before it,

⁸ This idea was first identified by Damien Vorreux in *François d'assise: documents, écrits et premières biographies* (Paris: 1968), 585, n. 13; the first in-depth reading of the *Legenda Maior* in this way was by Regis Armstrong later in his dissertation: "The Spiritual Theology of the *Legenda Major* of Saint Bonaventure (PhD dissertation, Fordham university: 1978); subsequent studies by Armstrong also examine the text from this perspective: "Towards an Unfolding of the Structure of St. Bonaventure's *Legenda Major*," *Laurentianum* 29 (1988): 330–46; Jay M. Hammond addresses this idea as well: "Bonaventure's *Legenda Major*" in *Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. Jared Goff (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 483–487.

when Francis officially renounces his birthright before the bishop of Assisi. Moreover, the thematic continuity pointed out by these references becomes clearer considering the broad structuring of the *Legenda Maior* following the triple way proposed by modern scholarship. I also extend both references' interpretative symbolism to the theme of the spiritual journey's Christoforming effects, supremely manifest in Francis' life by his stigmata and common to all three stories. I argue that this theme is discerned by how the stories handle the relationship between Francis' soul and body, which, I propose, Bonaventure understands that spiritual growth affects and that the image of the stigmata epitomizes. I discuss the image of Francis singing in the forest and how his singing is itself a spiritual-physical act; and the occurrence of Greccio at the end of chapter X, which focuses on the tension between Francis' soul and body. I conclude the section of Bonaventure arguing that the reference in the *Legenda Maior*, occurring in the forest as in the *Vita Prima*, resonates with aspects unique to Bonaventure's explication of the theology of hierarchy addressing creation.

Outline of the Greccio Story in the *Vita Prima* and *Legenda Maior*

Both versions of the Greccio story recorded by the *Vita Prima* and *Legenda Maior*, and provided in a comparative Table 2.1, detail the Christmas liturgy celebrated by Francis and the townspeople of Greccio during the year 1223. The event is significant in the life of Francis because he and the townspeople created a "new Bethlehem" or a live nativity in order to commemorate and make visible the "birth of the Child Jesus." As detailed in Table 2.1 (1C 86.1 and LMj X.7.5), both vitae report that Francis sings the gospel in the role of a deacon during mass. After Francis preaches, both texts report the miraculous apparition of the Christ child, which Thomas states is witnessed by a

“virtuous man” named by the *Legenda Maior* as Sir John of Greccio (86.6-7/X.7.7: Vision of the Infant in Table 2.1). The infant lies asleep in the manger and is approached by Francis who wakes it from sleep. Both Thomas and Bonaventure cite the awakening of the child to have interpretative significance, which in turn relates the vision to Francis and his preaching: Thomas explains that it represents divine grace awakening Christ in the hearts of humankind through Francis, where he (Christ) had been “given over to oblivion” (86.8-9: Interpretation of the vision);⁹ Bonaventure similarly states that the example of Francis aroused “the hearts of those who are sluggish in the faith of Christ” (X.7.8-9: Interpretation of the vision).¹⁰ Both authors report miracles of healing occurring after the apparition, which are reported by Thomas in greater detail (87.1-3/X.7.10: Miracles of Healing).

Table 2.1 Comparison of the Greccio Accounts documented by the *Vita Prima* (Thomas of Celano, 1228) and *Legenda Maior* (Bonaventure, c. 1261). Translations from: Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 255-257; Bonaventure, *The Major Legend*, 610-611.

1C (<i>Vita Prima</i>)	LMj (<i>Legenda Maior</i>)
84.1	
His highest aim, foremost desire, and greatest intention was to pay heed to the holy gospel in all things and through all things, to follow the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ and to retrace His footsteps completely with all vigilance and zeal, all the desire of his soul and all the fervor of his heart.	
84.2-3	
Francis used to recall with regular meditation the words of Christ and recollect His deeds with the most attentive	

⁹ Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 256.

¹⁰ Bonaventure, *The Major Legend*, 610.

1C (<i>Vita Prima</i>)	LMj (<i>Legenda Maior</i>)
84.2- 3 cont'd	
<p>perception. Indeed, so thoroughly did the humility of the Incarnation and the charity of the Passion occupy his memory that he scarcely wanted to think of anything else.</p>	
84.4	X.7.1
<p>We should note then, as matter worthy of memory and something to be recalled with reverence, what he did, three years prior to his death, at the town of Greccio, on the birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ.</p>	<p>It happened, three years prior to his death, that he decided to celebrate at the town of Greccio the memory of the birth of the Child Jesus with the greatest possible solemnity, in order to arouse devotion.</p>
84.5-9	
<p>There was a certain man in that area named John who had a good reputation but an even better manner of life. Blessed Francis loved him with special affection, since, despite being a noble in the land and very honored in human society, he had trampled the nobility of the flesh under his feet and pursued instead the nobility of the spirit. As usual, blessed Francis had John summoned to him fifteen days prior to the birthday of the Lord. “If you desire to celebrate the coming feast of the Lord together at Greccio,” he said to him, “hurry before me and carefully make ready the things I tell you. For I wish to enact the memory of that babe who was born in Bethlehem: to see as much as is possible with my own bodily eyes the discomfort of his infant needs, how he lay in a manger, and how, with an ox, and an ass standing by, he rested on hay.” Once the good and faithful man had heard Francis’s words, he ran quickly and prepared in that place all the things the holy man requested.</p>	
	X.7.2
	<p>So that this would not be considered a type of novelty, he petitioned for and obtained permission from the Supreme Pontiff.</p>
85.1-3	
<p>Finally, the day of joy has drawn near, and the time of exultation has come. From</p>	

1C (<i>Vita Prima</i>)	LMj (<i>Legenda Maior</i>)
85.1-3 cont'd	
many different places the brethren have been called. As they could, the men and women of that land with exultant hearts prepare candles and torches to light up that night whose shining star has enlightened every day and year. Finally, the holy man of God comes and, finding all things prepared, he saw them and was glad.	
85.4	X.7.2
Indeed, the manger is prepared, the hay is carried in, and the ox and the ass are led to the spot.	He had a manger prepared, hay carried in and an ox and an ass led to the spot.
85.5	
There simplicity is given a place of honour, poverty is exulted, humility is commended, and out of Greccio is made a new Bethlehem.	
85.6-9 1 st reference to musical sound	X.7.3 1 st reference to musical sound
The night is lit up like the day, delighting both man and beast. The people arrive, ecstatic at this new mystery of new joy. <i>The forest amplifies the cries and the boulders echo back the joyful crowd. The brothers sing, giving God due praise, and the whole night abounds with jubilation.</i>	The brethren are summoned, the people arrive, <i>the forest amplifies with their cries, and that venerable night is rendered brilliant and solemn by a multitude of lights and by resonant and harmonious hymns of praise.</i>
85.10	X.7.4
The holy man of God stands before the manger, filled with heartfelt sighs, contrite in his piety, and overcome with wondrous joy.	The man of God stands before the manger, filled with piety, bathed in tears, and overcome with joy.
85.11	X.7.5a
Over the manger the solemnities of the Mass are celebrated and the priest enjoys a new consolation.	A solemn Mass is celebrated over the manger,
86.1 Francis sings the gospel	X.7.5b Francis sings the gospel
The holy man of God is dressed in the vestments of the Levites, since he was a Levite, and <i>with full voice sings the holy gospel.</i>	with Francis, a Levite of Christ, <i>chanting the holy Gospel.</i>
86.2 Description of Francis' voice	
<i>Here is his voice: a powerful voice, a pleasant voice, a clear voice, a musical voice,</i> inviting all to the highest of gifts.	

1C (<i>Vita Prima</i>)	LMj (<i>Legenda Maior</i>)
<p>86.3-5 Description of Francis' preaching</p> <p>Then he preaches to the people standing around him and <i>pours forth sweet honey</i> about the birth of the poor King and the poor city of Bethlehem. Moreover, burning with excessive love, he often calls Christ the "babe from Bethlehem" whenever he means to call him Jesus. <i>Saying the word "Bethlehem" in the manner of a bleating sheep, he fills his whole mouth with sound but even more sweet affection. He seems to lick his lips</i> whenever he uses the expressions "Jesus" or "babe from Bethlehem," <i>tasting the word on his happy palate and savoring the sweetness of the word.</i></p>	<p>X.7.6 Description of Francis' preaching</p> <p><i>Then he preaches to the people standing around him about the birth of the poor King, whom, whenever he means to call him,</i> he called in his tender love, the Babe from Bethlehem.</p>
<p>86.6-7 Vision of the Infant</p> <p>The gifts of the Almighty are multiplied there and a virtuous man sees a wondrous vision. For the man saw a little child lying lifeless in the manger and he saw the holy man of God approach the little child and waken him from a deep sleep.</p>	<p>X.7.7 Vision of the Infant</p> <p>A certain virtuous and truthful knight, Sir John of Greccio, who had abandoned worldly military activity out of love of Christ and had become an intimate friend of the man of God, Claimed that he saw a beautiful little child asleep in that manger whom the blessed father Francis embraced in both of his arms and seemed to wake it from sleep.</p>
<p>86.8-9 Interpretation of the Vision</p> <p>Nor is this vision unfitting, since in the hearts of many the child Jesus has been given over to oblivion. Now he is awakened and impressed on their loving memory by His own grace through His holy servant Francis. At length, the night's solemnities draw to a close and everyone went home with joy.</p>	<p>X.7.8-9 Interpretation of the Vision</p> <p>Not only does the holiness of the witness make credible the vision of the devout knight, but also the truth it expresses proves its validity and the subsequent miracles confirm it. For Francis's example, when considered by the world, is capable of arousing the hearts of those who are sluggish in the faith of Christ.</p>
<p>87.1-3 Miracles of Healing</p> <p>The hay placed in the manger there was preserved afterwards so that, through it, the Lord might restore to health the pack animals and the other animals there, as He multiplied his holy mercy. It came to pass in the surrounding area that many of the animals, suffering from various diseases,</p>	<p>X.7.10 Miracles of Healing</p> <p>The hay from the crib was kept by the people and miraculously cured sick animals and drove away different kinds of pestilence. Thus God glorified his servant in every way and demonstrated the efficacy of his holy prayer by the evident signs of wonderful miracles.</p>

1C (<i>Vita Prima</i>)	LMj (<i>Legenda Maior</i>)
87.1-3 Miracles of Healing cont'd were freed from their illnesses when they ate some of this hay. What is more, women who had been suffering with long and hard labor had an easy delivery after they placed some of this hay upon themselves. Finally, an entire group of people of both sexes obtained much-desired relief from an assortment of afflictions.	X.7.10 Miracles of Healing cont'd
87.4-7 At last, the site of the manger was consecrated as a temple to the Lord. In honor of the most blessed father Francis, an altar was constructed over the manger, and a church was dedicated. This was done so that where animals once ate the fodder of the hay, there humans henceforth for healing of body and soul would eat the flesh of the immaculate and spotless lamb, our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave Himself for us with supreme and indescribable love, who lives and rules with the Father and the Holy Spirit as God, eternally glorious forever and ever. Amen. Alleluia, alleluia. Here ends the first book of the life and deeds of blessed Francis.	

Greccio and Sacramentality in the *Vita Prima* by Thomas of Celano

Francis of Assisi was canonized on July 16 of 1228 by Pope Gregory IX, just two years after the death of the *poverello* in 1226. In the months leading up to the canonization, the pope commissioned Thomas of Celano to write the first biographical work of the saint, which would lay the foundation for subsequent vitae including the *Legenda Maior*. The *Vita Prima* was intended as the literary monument preserving “the life and example of the Poverello,”¹¹ complementing the burial church also

¹¹ Introduction to *The Life of Saint Francis*, 172.

commissioned by the Pope to honour Francis in April 1228. In contrast to the *Legenda Maior*, the *Vita Prima* targeted the readership of the whole church, to whom Pope Gregory intended that the text propose Francis as an example offering “an alternative way of Christian living” in order to promote spiritual renewal.¹² Consequently, Thomas of Celano presents Francis as one whose conversion frees him from the cares of his former life to embrace a newfound freedom of heart, while rooted in the ecclesiastical tradition.¹³

As one of the first hagiographic texts about Francis and written soon after his death, the *Vita Prima* illustrates his cult in its beginnings. This contrasts with the *Legenda Maior* written nearly thirty years later, after which time the Order had gone through many significant changes and experiences, and Francis’ image had time to develop. Thomas organized the *Vita Prima* so that it was divided into three books: the first book, which the Greccio narrative concludes, emphasizes Francis’ devotion to the gospel word, of which he is “no deaf hearer” and proclaims boldly in deed and word. The primacy of his preaching and devotion to the gospel arguably contrasts with *Legenda Maior* as well. Although Francis’ ministry forms an important part of the *Legenda Maior* narrative, the overall theme regarding Francis’ spiritual journey is primary.

The image of Francis preaching and living the gospel runs like a leitmotif throughout the first book of the *Vita Prima*. Considering the Greccio story’s position at the end of Book One, I believe that Francis’ singing and preaching of the gospel at Greccio is a “summative” moment. Moreover, Thomas of Celano contextualizes this

¹² Ibid., 175.

¹³ Ibid.

moment by the eucharistic dimensions of the Greccio story. In the following section I propose that Thomas of Celano describes Francis' singing and preaching of the gospel in a way that reveals a sacramental understanding of the saint and his ministry. In particular, Thomas aligns the spiritual effects of Francis' preaching with those of the eucharist.

The text's initial depiction of Francis' voice facilitates the overall sacramental portrayal of him and his preaching. Unlike the *Legenda Maior*, the narrative describes Francis' voice in detail, ascribing to it characteristics often attributed by medieval writers to the "ideal" male singing voice. By depicting his voice in this way, Thomas of Celano portrays Francis as a "fit" or "suitable" minister of the gospel word, and therefore medium of divine grace. Beginning with the declaration that Francis "dressed in the vestments of the Levites [and] with full voice sings the holy gospel [Induitur sanctus Dei leviticis ornamentis, quia levita erat, et voce sonora sanctum Evangelium cantat],"¹⁴ the following lines describe his voice. Thomas writes, "Here is his voice: a powerful voice, a pleasant voice, a clear voice, a musical voice, inviting all to the highest of gifts [Et quidem vox eius, vox vehemens, vox dulcis, vox clara, voxque sonora, cunctos invitans ad praemia summa.]"¹⁵ As Table 2.2 depicts, these characteristics, namely "powerful" (vehemens), "sweet" (dulcis), "clear" (clara), and "musical" (sonora), echo those which Isadore of Seville attributes to the "perfect voice" (perfecta vox), especially "sweet" (suavis) and "clear" (clara).

¹⁴ Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 256; 1C 86.1.

¹⁵ Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 256; 1C 86.2.

Table 2.2 Descriptions of the voice by Thomas of Celano (1C 86.2, and English translation: *The Life of Saint Francis*, 256); Isadore of Seville (*Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, III, lines 11–14, and English translation: Joseph Dyer, “The voice in the Middle Ages,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, 167); and Roman de Horn (as quoted in Latin and English by Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages*, 92).

Thomas of Celano	Isadore of Seville	Roman de Horn
<p>Induitur sanctus Dei leviticis ornamentis, quia levita erat, et voce sonora sanctum Evangelium cantat. Et quidem vox eius, vox vehemens, vox dulcis, vox clara, voxque sonora, cunctos invitans ad praemia summa.</p> <p>[The holy man of God was dressed in the vestments of the Levites, because he was a Levite, and with full voice sings the holy gospel. And here is his voice: a powerful voice, a pleasant voice, a clear voice, a musical voice, inviting all to the highest of gifts.]</p>	<p>Perfecta autem vox est alta, suavis (dulcis) et clara: alta, ut in sublime sufficiat; clara, ut aures adimpleat; suavis (dulcis), ut animos audientium blandiat. Si ex his aliquid defuerit, vox perfecta non est.</p> <p>[A perfect voice is thus high, sweet and clear: high, so that it might soar up to the highest pitches; clear, so that it might fill the ears; sweet, so that the spirits of the listeners might be charmed. If any of these qualities is missing, the voice is not perfect.]</p>	<p>Si commence a noter de Baltof, haut e cler, d’itiel fait costumier.</p> <p>[He begins to play the aforesaid lai of Baltof, in a loud and clear voice, just as the Bretons were versed in such performances.]</p>

Similar attributions are found in the writings of Roman de Horn (c. 1170) describing the voice of the hero as “loud and clear” (*haut et cler*), akin to “vehemens” and “clara” in the Greccio narrative, also shown in Table 2.2. In addition to these qualities, Thomas of Celano’s description echoes what Joseph Dyer explains was considered a suitable voice for cantoring in church.¹⁶ Citing monastic and canonical

¹⁶ Joseph Dyer, “The voice in the Middle Ages,” 167.

literature, Dyer states that power, like Francis' *vehemens*, was an important quality but must not compromise the voice's sweetness.¹⁷ The Greccio passage is clear that Francis' voice was both, able to carry itself while rousing the hearts of those listening to more ardent devotion. Thomas' depiction of the voice of Francis denotes its suitability (and capability) to proclaim the divine word, facilitating the passage's overall sacramental portrayal.

Out of the characteristics Thomas of Celano attributes to Francis' voice, he emphasizes sweetness the most. References to sweetness in medieval literature was common and had many connotations, including its association with physical and spiritual healing. A closer investigation of the emphasis Thomas places on sweetness, notably more than Bonaventure in the *Legenda Maior* version, suggests that it indicates a deeper meaning. Thomas' interpretation of the Christ child's apparition and his enumeration of miracles of physical healing which Bonaventure does not describe in great detail elucidates the overall sacramental portrayal. Indeed, Thomas articulates that the grace of healing, physical and spiritual, is operative in Francis and his ministry. Moreover, Thomas understands that the spiritual effects of Francis' preaching are akin to those of the eucharist, evident by the narrative's concluding lines not found in the *Legenda Maior* version. These lines, quoted in Table 2.1 (1C 87.4-7), associate physical and spiritual healing with the reception of the eucharist at the church later built at Greccio.

After the description of Francis' voice, Thomas describes his preaching, characterizing it in terms of sweetness:

Praedicat deinde populo circumstanti et de nativitate pauperis Regis et Bethlehem parvula civitate **melliflua ructat**. Saepe quoque cum vellet Christum "Iesum" nominare, amore flagrans nimio, eum "puerum de Bethlehem" nuncupabat, et more

¹⁷ Ibid.

balantis ovis “Bethlehem” dicens, **os suum voce sed magis dulci affectione totum implebat. Labia sua** etiam cum “puerum de Bethlehem” vel “Iesum” nominaret, quasi **lambebat lingua, felici palato degustans et deglutiens dulcedinem verbi huius.**

[Then he preaches to the people standing around him and **pours forth sweet honey** about the birth of the poor King and the poor city of Bethlehem. Moreover, burning with excessive love, he often calls Christ the “babe from Bethlehem” whenever he means to call him Jesus. Saying the word “Bethlehem” in the manner of a bleating sheep, **he fills his whole mouth with sound but even more sweet affection.** He seems to **lick his lips** whenever he uses the expressions “Jesus” or “babe from Bethlehem,” **tasting the word on his happy palate and savoring the sweetness of the word.**]¹⁸

The emphasis on sweetness signals Thomas’ perception that the grace of healing is operative in Francis’ ministry. Among its many connotations in the medieval world, sweetness was associated with physical (and spiritual) healing. Sweet remedies, for example, were used in medicinal practices for balancing the humours of the body, the imbalance of which was thought to be the source of physical maladies. Thomas enumerates physical healings which occurred at the event and intimates their association with the apparition of the divine infant. He mentions, for example, that animals “suffering from various diseases” were healed when they ate the hay upon which the divine infant lay (Table 2.1, 1C 87.1-3 Miracles of Healing). Similarly, after touching the hay, women suffering from long and difficult labour delivered easily (Table 2.1, 1C 87.1-3 Miracles of Healing). The text concludes the list of miracles stating that various people “obtained much-desired relief from an assortment of afflictions,” implying the connection between the divine apparition and their physical healing (Table 2.1, 87.1-3).¹⁹ The story’s

¹⁸ 1C86.3-5. Translation: Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 256.

¹⁹ “[...]atque a diversis cladibus utriusque sexus concursus desideratam ibidem obtinent sanitatem,” 1C.87.3 Ibid., 257.

connection between the miracles of healing and the vision relates the miracles by extension to Francis' ministry because of the implicit relationship both vitae make between his preaching and the vision. Thomas of Celano, placing greater emphasis on the miracles of healing, consequently implies that it is operative in Francis' ministry, a point which he signals initially by underscoring sweetness.

I propose additionally that the grace of healing portrayed as active in Francis is not limited to healing of a physical kind but entails spiritual healing as well. This point is discerned by considering connotations of sweetness with spiritual healing. Mary Carruthers discusses the association of sweetness and spiritual healing, citing Sermon 15 by Bernard of Clairvaux. Implying the presence of this association in Sermon 15, Carruthers states that Bernard depicts Christ as "the great leech of souls."²⁰ Carruthers continues, proposing that Bernard may have been evoking the ancient trope of the orator as the physician of the body politic, to which Aristotle and Cicero considered the art of oratory as medicine.²¹ I believe that a similar dynamic is present in the Greccio story, especially in the *Vita Prima* version because of its emphasis on Francis' preaching, where he the orator ministers to the collective body of the faithful by singing and preaching the gospel. Thomas' interpretation of the apparition confirms this idea, when he states that it signifies the divine work accomplished in the hearts of the faithful through Francis.

Describing the vision, Thomas writes:

Videbat enim in praesaepio puerulum unum iacentem exanimem, ad quem videbat accedere sanctum Dei et eundem puerum quasi a somni sopore suscitare. Nec inconueniens visio ista cum puer Iesus in multorum cordibus *oblivioni fuerit datus* in quibus, ipsius gratia faciente, per servum suum sanctum Franciscum

²⁰ Mary Carruthers, "Sweetness," *Speculum* 81, no. 4 (October 2006), 1000.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1001.

resuscitatus est et impressus memoriae diligenti. Finiuntur denique solemnes excubiae et unusquisque cum gaudio ad propria remeavit.

[For the man saw a little child lying lifeless in the manger and he saw the holy man of God approach the child and waken him from a deep sleep. Nor is this vision unfitting, since in the hearts of many the child Jesus has been *given over to oblivion*. Now he is awakened and impressed on their loving memory by His own grace through His holy servant Francis.]²²

When referring to the oblivion of people's hearts, Thomas directly quotes psalm 30:13, which reads in full:²³ "*Oblivioni datus sum, tamquam mortuus a corde; factus sum tamquam vas perditum [I am forgotten as one dead from the heart. I am become as a vessel that is destroyed.]*"²⁴ It is interesting that Bonaventure does not retain this quotation in the story, a point further indicating the degree to which Thomas is intent upon underlining the grace of healing and thus sacramental perspective within the account. Thomas' quotation of psalm 30 suggests that the preaching of Francis effects spiritual healing which awakens the hearts of people from the spiritual death described by the psalm. Francis' singing and preaching of the gospel is the means through which divine grace spiritually heals the collective body of humankind.

The lines with which Thomas ends the Greccio story affirm the sacramental depiction associating the grace of healing with Francis' preaching. In contrast to Bonaventure, Thomas ends the story by stating the healing effects of the eucharist later received at the site at Greccio.

Consecratus est denique locus praesaepii templum Domino, et in honorem beatissimi patris Francisci supra praesaepe altare construitur et ecclesia dedicatur, ut ubi animalia quandoque foeni pabulum comederunt, ibi de caetero ad sanitatem animae ac corporis manducant homines carnes agni immaculati et incontaminati

²² 1C 86.6-9; Translation: Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 256.

²³ Indicated by note to Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 256.

²⁴ Psalm 30:13. (Vulgate); Douay Rheims English Translation.

Iesu Christi Domini nostri, qui summa et ineffabili charitate dedit seipsum nobis, cum Patre ac Spiritu sancto vivens et regnans Deus aeternaliter gloriosus per cuncta saecula saeculorum.

[At last, the site of the manger was consecrated as a temple to the Lord. In honor of the most blessed father Francis, an altar was constructed over the manger, and a church was dedicated. This was done so that where animals once ate the fodder of the hay, there humans henceforth for healing of body and soul would eat the flesh of the immaculate and spotless lamb, our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave Himself for us with supreme and indescribable love, who lives and rules with the Father and the Holy Spirit as God, eternally glorious forever and ever].²⁵

By underlining the healing effects of the eucharist, Thomas includes the preaching of Francis and its spiritual significance within the mystery of the eucharist. He implicitly aligns the spiritual effects of Francis' ministry with those of the eucharist, and thus extends the sacramental depiction of Francis initiated by the image of him singing and preaching the gospel.

This sacramental perspective is elucidated further by sensory references in the description of Francis singing and preaching, which are not included within Bonaventure's version, although one finds similar references immediately prior to it. When mapped out as in Table 2.3, these references reveal that Thomas depicts Francis' preaching as analogous to transubstantiation. Thomas facilitates the metaphor first by situating the description within the context of the mass, where the priest at Greccio is given only a passing mention. Meanwhile, Francis' singing and preaching occupies a central moment within the story, almost replacing the rites of consecration which inevitably occurred. With this analogy in mind, the first part of the description describing Francis singing and his voice focuses on the auditory sense. This moment equates to the voice of the priest praying the prayer of consecration, shown in the first row of Table 2.3.

²⁵ 1C 87.4-6; Translation: Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 257.

The text then moves to the gustative sense, and by extension, the sense of touch, which in fact overlaps with the auditory sense in a moment of sensory synesthesia, shown in the second row. The text initially flags the gustative sense and its overlap with the auditory sense when Thomas describes Francis “pouring forth sweet honey” as he preaches. Thomas more vividly overlaps the two senses saying that Francis “fills his mouth with sound” and “licks his lips” when enunciating the name of Jesus. This description attributes materiality to the sound of Francis’ words, likening their effect to the movement of the incarnation where the divine word “became flesh” at the word of God the Father. In the context of the mass, this moment mirrors the rites of consecration when, at the words of the priest, the bread and wine are transformed into the body and blood of Christ. Likewise, Francis’ words are “transubstantiated” and “become flesh.”

Table 2.3 Thomas of Celano’s description of the senses and analogy with transubstantiation

Sense	Part of Text	Text	Rite of Consecration
Auditory	Francis sings the Gospel	The holy man of God is dressed in the vestments of the Levites, since he was a Levite, and with full voice sings the holy gospel. Here is his voice: a powerful voice, a pleasant voice, a clear voice, a musical voice, inviting all to the highest of gifts.	Words of Consecration
Auditory/ Gustative/ Tactile	Francis’ preaching	Then he preaches to the people standing around him and pours forth sweet honey about the birth of the poor King and the poor city of Bethlehem. Moreover, burning with excessive love, he often calls Christ the “babe from Bethlehem” whenever he means to call him Jesus. Saying the word “Bethlehem” in the manner of a bleating sheep, he fills his whole mouth with sound but even more sweet affection. He seems to lick his lips whenever he uses the expressions “Jesus” or “babe from Bethlehem,” tasting the word on his happy palate and savoring the sweetness of the word.	Transformation of bread and wine into body and blood of Christ.
Visual	Apparition	The gifts of the Almighty are multiplied there and a virtuous man sees a wondrous vision. For the man saw a little child lying lifeless in the manger and he saw the holy man of God approach the little child and waken him from a deep sleep.	Elevation of host

Shown in the third row of Table 2.3, the metaphor concludes when the passage moves from the auditory and gustative senses to one of the highest senses in the medieval sensorium, the sense of vision. The apparition of the infant Christ signals the visual sense

and, I propose, mirrors the elevation of the host during the rites of consecration. Thought of in this way, the analogy parallels Francis' preaching, which "awakens" Christ in the hearts of the faithful, with the spiritual communion of the faithful with Christ during the elevation of the host.

After initially stating that the Christ child appears, Thomas explains that a "virtuous" man, witnessing the apparition, sees the infant embraced by Francis and woken from a deep slumber. Similar to Bonaventure, Thomas interprets the vision to signify Francis awakening the people of God from spiritual slumber. Given the overall eucharistic dimensions of the text, I believe that the vision of the infant, while signifying the people of God, may allude to the eucharist as well. A contingent of art scholars argue that medieval depictions of the divine infant had eucharistic connotations, a position suggesting that the apparition of the infant Christ in the Greccio story may have had similar associations.²⁶ The apparition having eucharistic connotations is more plausible considering the purpose of the elevation of the host, introduced into the western liturgy to ensure the host's visibility.²⁷ For the laity who were limited to receiving the eucharist only once or twice a year, seeing the elevated host substituted reception of the eucharist as a spiritual communion.²⁸ The apparition's equivalence to the elevation of the host becomes more plausible when considering the concluding passages of the Greccio story, where Thomas implies a connection between the hay of the manger and the reception of the eucharist. Extending this analogy even further, the vision's equivalence to the

²⁶ Beth Williamson, "Altarpieces, Liturgy and Devotion," *Speculum* 79, no. 2 (October 2004), 351.

²⁷ Beatrice Caseau, "The Senses in Religion: Liturgy, Devotion, and Deprivation," in *Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2016), 97-98.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

elevation of the host signifies the laity's spiritual communion with Christ. Moreover, the preaching of Francis facilitates this communion, which Thomas confirms by his interpretation of the vision. The vision of the infant concludes and completes the analogy with the eucharist and transubstantiation, communicating that the effects of Francis' preaching are analogous to those of the eucharist.

A representation of the event included in the Bardi dossal and shown in Figure 2.1 demonstrates a similar interpretation of this preaching moment. The Bardi dossal, located in the church of San Croce in Florence, Italy, has been dated variously by different art scholars. The content of the dossal scenes are based on the *Vita Prima*, and influenced by stories from local oral tradition (although the sequence of its scenes disregard the chronology of the *Vita Prima*).²⁹ Its Greccio scene, reminiscent of the description of Francis singing and preaching in *Vita Prima*, depicts the mass at Greccio with the priest celebrating the liturgy of the Eucharist at the center of the image. The altar is directly below him, with the infant Christ in front of the altar and wrapped in what resembles bandages of a mummified body rather than swaddling clothes. The participants at the event stand on both sides of the altar and their eyes are focused on the miraculous appearance of the infant. Standing to the right of the altar, slightly apart from the crowd and dressed in the garbs of a deacon is Francis holding the book of the Gospels, from which he is clearly intoning. The arrangement of certain features centralizes the figure of the infant Christ. The most significant of these features are two principal lines of focus, one which runs from the priest to the infant, and the other from the mouth of Francis to

²⁹ Beth A. Mulvaney, " 'The Beholder as Witness,' The *Crib at Greccio* from the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi and Franciscan Influence on Late Medieval Art in Italy," in *The Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*, ed. William R. Cook, vol. 1 of *The Medieval Franciscans*, ed. Stephen McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 175.

the infant as well. The first line, beginning from the mouth of the priest behind the altar, runs through the altar to the infant, thus linking the infant with the liturgy of the Eucharist. The other line runs from the mouth of Francis to the book of the Gospels to the holy child, linking the proclamation of the Gospel sung by Francis to the Christ child. Similar to Thomas of Celano's depiction, the image equates Francis' singing of the Gospel with transubstantiation by paralleling visually his intonation of the gospel with the prayers of the priest at the mass.

Figure 2.1 Detail of the Bardi Dossal (C. S. Diller, www.assisi.de, 1982)



The Bardi detail's depiction similarly demonstrates a sacramental perspective of the saint like the one emerging from Thomas of Celano's sensory description of Francis singing and preaching. While this perspective is not as immediately prominent in Bonaventure's retelling of the story, musical sound in Bonaventure's account also

interacts with incarnationally-focused ideas, namely ideas emerging from Bonaventure's spiritual theology.

Bonaventure and the *Legenda Maior*

Like the *Vita Prima*, the *Legenda Maior* includes the Greccio narrative. While the story itself is not as explicitly focused on sacramentality, one of the main references to sound in Bonaventure's version functions in relation to the theology undergirding the text, the theology of hierarchy. At the General Chapter in Rome of 1257 where he was elected minister general of the Order, Bonaventure was commissioned to compile a new vita "based on those already in existence."³⁰ He consequently drew on many aspects of the *Vita Prima*, including the reference to music which describes the forest resonating with the songs at Greccio:

Advocantur fratres, adveniunt populi, ***personat silva voces***, et venerabilis illa nox luminibus copiosis et claris laudibusque sonoris et consonis et splendens efficitur et sollemnis.

[The brethren are summoned, the people arrive, ***the forest amplifies with their cries***, and that venerable night is rendered brilliant and solemn by a multitude of lights and by resonant and harmonious hymns of praise.]³¹

In this section, I propose that this reference takes on new significance because of the theology behind the *Legenda Maior*. I examine its interaction with Bonaventure's theology, arguing that it and another similar reference points to thematic connections between the stories in which they appear. The similar reference occurs at the beginning of Francis' conversion, after he has officially renounced his birthright before his father and the bishop of Assisi, and describes Francis resounding the forest with his song because of

³⁰ Introduction to *The Major Legend*, 495.

³¹ LMj X.7.3; *The Major Legend*, 610.

his newfound freedom of heart. The thematic connections between the two stories – the Greccio account and Francis singing in the forest – are central to Bonaventure’s representation of the spiritual journey. These themes include the imitation of Christ’s humility as well as the spiritual journey’s Christoforming effects, which in the *Legenda Maior* is ultimately manifest when Francis receives the stigmata. I conclude the section by discussing the role of the forest as the acoustical site of these musical occurrences and its significance to Bonaventure’s theology.

Bonaventure’s Theology of Hierarchy

Differing from the *Vita Prima*, Bonaventure’s explication of the theology of hierarchy undergirds the entire *Legenda Maior* and is articulated by his presentation of Francis’ spiritual journey. In the prologue, Bonaventure intimates the importance of the *Legenda Maior*’s thematic content when he states that he sacrifices chronology in favor of thematic emphasis at times.³² Francis’ progress in the spiritual life represents the soul’s hierarchization and consists of growth in the “triple way” or the powers of purgation, illumination and perfective union, an idea developed by spiritual writers Pseudo-Dionysius and Thomas Gallus (+ 1246). In due course, growth in these graces effects the soul to resemble the life of the Trinity, a similitude which can also be explained as Christoformity.

Bonaventure’s theology has its roots in the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius, whose work on the topic is detailed in *De coelesti hierarchia* and *Corpus Dionysiacum*.

³² “Nec semper historiam secundum ordinem temporis texui, propter confusionem vitandam, sed potius ordinem servare studui magis aptae iuncturae, secundum quod eodem peracta tempore diversis materiis, vel diversis patrata temporibus eidem materiae congruere videbantur.” LMj 4.4 Translation: “To avoid confusion I did not always weave the story together in chronological order. Rather, I strove to maintain a more thematic order, relating to the same theme events that happened at different times, and to different themes events that happened at the same time, as seemed appropriate”. Bonaventure, *The Major Legend*, 528-529.

Hierarchical theology for Bonaventure (and Pseudo-Dionysius) is a way of explicating the workings and activity of divine grace. In very simplistic terms, the word hierarchy is what both Pseudo-Dionysius and Bonaventure use to refer to an order of persons essentially geared toward the divine life. Pseudo-Dionysius identifies two “hierarchies” – the ecclesiastical and angelic hierarchies – whose ultimate goal is “assimilation and, as far as attainable, union with God.”³³ Bonaventure adds a third grouping to those identified by Pseudo-Dionysius and recognizes the holy Trinity as the divine or “uncreated” hierarchy (Pseudo-Dionysius does of course account for the Trinity within his framework as the center of the angelic and ecclesiastical hierarchies but, unlike Bonaventure, does not identify it as a separate hierarchy).

J.A. Wayne Hellman describes Bonaventure’s concept of hierarchy in terms of order or “ordo,” a concept which underlies much of Bonaventure’s work.³⁴ Hellman explains that for Bonaventure, the divine hierarchy is the “primum ordo” and that all created beings reflect in varying degrees this primum ordo in the sense that they contain within themselves an inherent order. The order of creation was disturbed by sin, however, and is consequently in need of restoration, which occurs by the action and grace of Christ. For the human individual, this restoration occurs by means of hierarchization, which restores the soul’s ordo and similitude to the life of the Trinity. Hierarchization within the soul of the individual is also in some way representative of creation’s restoration.

³³ Pseudo-Dionysius, quoted in Luke Togni, “A Sweet Influence: St. Bonaventure’s Franciscan Reception of Dionysian Hierarchy,” (PhD diss., Marquette University, 2019), 46.

³⁴ J.A. Wayne Hellman, *Divine and Created Order in Bonaventure’s Theology* (New York: The Franciscan Institute, 2001), 53.

The individual's hierarchization requires one to respond to divine grace mediated through Christ. One's practical response incorporates imitation of Christ with the gospels providing instruction by their documentation of the life of Jesus of Nazareth. Imitation of Christ for Bonaventure does not mean imitation of Christ's deeds in a literal sense, but of the dispositions implicit in the gospel narratives. Chief among these are humility, poverty, obedience and love, of which humility and poverty are foundational.

In the *Legenda Maior*, Bonaventure presents Francis as the "hierarchic" man, who leaves his life in the world to follow Christ, especially imitating his poverty and humility. Francis grows in the graces of purgation, illumination and perfection and is conformed to Christ. "Christiformity" in Francis' life is completely apparent by his stigmata which occurs two years before his death, shortly after the mass at Greccio. The stigmata was of singular importance to Bonaventure, probably because at Mount La Verna, the site where Francis received the stigmata, Bonaventure was struck with new insight regarding this phenomenon and its meaning for the Christian life. (It is suggested that he may himself have had a mystical experience at the site).³⁵ In a nutshell, Bonaventure understood that the stigmatized Francis represented the road and goal of the Christian soul. This road was none other than "an ardent love of the Crucified" which "so absorbed the soul of Francis that his spirit shone through his flesh the last two years before his death when he carried in his body the sacred marks of the passion."³⁶ For Bonaventure, the stigmatized Francis, whom love had "transformed into the Beloved," exemplified Christiformity, especially as a process with the Crucified Christ at its center. Although an important moment in the

³⁵ Introduction to *The Major Legend*, 498-499.

³⁶ Bonaventure, quoted in Introduction to *The Major Legend*, 499.

Vita Prima, I believe that the image of the stigmata is ever present in the background of the *Legenda Maior* text, with Francis' entire journey leading toward this summative moment.

The importance of the stigmata is one indicator demonstrating the significance of the incarnation in Bonaventure's spiritual theology. By the analysis of references to musical sound in the *Legenda Maior*, one can see how they interact with some of these "incarnationally-based" ideas represented by Francis and his journey in the spiritual life.

Broad Structuring of the *Legenda Maior*

Modern scholarship arguing that hierarchical theology informs the *Legenda Maior* commonly discuss the text and its structure in relation to the triple way or the powers of purgation, illumination, and perfection. The first to regard the text in this way was Damien Vorreux who broke the text down into sections according to their historical or thematic character.³⁷ Vorreux viewed chapters I to IV and XIV to XV, which document Francis' conversion and death respectively, as the "historical" chapters and the middle chapters, chapters V to XIII, as those documenting Francis' "interior progress," laying out a "schema of the spiritual journey" by ascending through the triple way.³⁸ Numerous scholars have since expanded upon the ideas of Vorreux, with the work of Regis Armstrong and Jay M. Hammond identifying "intermediate" and "micro" structures embedded within the *Legenda Maior*.³⁹

³⁷ Damien Vorreux in *François d'assise: documents, écrits et premières biographies* (Paris: 1968), 585, n. 13.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Armstrong, "Towards an Unfolding," 334–338.
Jay M Hammond, "Bonaventure's *Legenda Major*" in *Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. Jared Goff (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 483–487.

In a recent reading of the *Legenda Maior* and its thematic structure, Hammond sets out, in addition to the intermediate- and micro- structures, the text’s macro structure shown in Table 2.4 and originally identified by Damien Vorreux. Hammond designates each section of the text according to the three hierarchical powers, with the first four chapters, the “beginning historical narrative of Francis’ life,” corresponding to the power of purgation; the more “thematic” chapters V to XIII, which describe the progress of Francis’ “life according to the virtues,” to illumination; and the final two chapters, to the power of perfection.⁴⁰ The first two stories which I examine, Francis before the bishop and Francis singing in the forest, are both in chapter two and thus fall into the part of the text representing purgation and Francis’ beginning in the spiritual life. The Greccio story and the stigmata, as part of chapters X and XIII respectively, fall into the middle chapters corresponding to illumination and Francis’ spiritual growth. Contextualizing these stories and their thematic significance within this macro-structure elucidates the thematic continuity throughout the text in which its references to music play a part.

Table 2.4 Macro-Structure of the *Legenda Maior*⁴¹

	Beginning	Progress	End
Chapters	I-IV	V-XIII	XIV-XV
	Purgation	Illumination	Perfection

⁴⁰ Ibid. 484.

⁴¹ Table from Hammond, “Bonaventure’s *Legenda Major*,” 484.

References to Musical Sound in the *Legenda Maior* and the Theme of Imitation of Christ

One of the important ideas forming this thematic continuity includes the significance of the imitation of Christ, especially his humility, which effects Christiformity or likeness to him. Although these ideas are present in the *Vita Prima*, I believe that Bonaventure articulates and develops them more clearly by contextualizing them within his system of theological thought. Similarly, references to music in the text, which he retains from the *Vita Prima*, take on added significance and meaning because of his theology. I propose that both references, the songs at Greccio and Francis singing in the forest, signal themes common to both stories. These themes include the imitation of Christ and his humility, which Bonaventure expresses as foundational to Francis' spiritual journey, an idea which is even more apparent in light of the text's macro-structure. I will also discuss as another one of the themes the effect of this spiritual practice, which, according to Bonaventure, is "Christiformity." One discerns these themes, imitation of Christ and its resultant similitude to Christ, by interpretation of both stories and the surrounding passages, demonstrating that these textual references to musical sound help communicate Bonaventure's theology.

In both the *Legenda Maior* and *Vita Prima*, the story of Francis singing in the woods marks the beginning of his spiritual journey. In terms of the *Legenda Maior*'s macro-structure and the triple way, it forms part of the text Hammond designates corresponding to the purgative power. The story's meaning and full thematic effect are only fully unpacked in light of the event immediately preceding it: Francis before the bishop, which similarly occurs before the same story in the *Vita Prima*. The interpretation

of Francis before the bishop in the *Legenda Maior* first discerns the theme of imitation of Christ, by considering the symbolism inherent in the story's imagery, namely Francis stripping himself naked and various references to him changing his clothing. While Bonaventure borrows much of the imagery from the *Vita Prima*, he adds to it and consequently stresses the imagery's symbolic impact.

In both vitae, Francis' father, a cloth merchant, is angry at his son for selling his merchandise, which Francis sold in order to rebuild the dilapidated church building of San Damiano. Shown in Table 2.5 (1C 14.4, and LMj II.4.1), both versions explain that Francis' father drags him before the bishop and townspeople of Assisi. The encounter constitutes an official juridical trial and Francis' father demands that his son "renounce his family possessions and return everything he had."⁴² In both versions (14.5/ II.4.2), Francis, who Bonaventure calls the "true lover of poverty," eagerly complies and, in a dramatic symbolic gesture of leaving his worldly life behind, strips himself naked and hands his clothes back to his father.

Bonaventure includes a number of details, mainly with regard to Francis' clothing, which add to the symbolic import of the narrative, especially that denoting his imitation of Christ. While both accounts describe Francis stripping himself, removing his trousers, and the bishop covering Francis with his mantle, in 15.3 and II.4.5a, Bonaventure adds further details, including: a) Francis' hair shirt (II.4.3); b) after Francis takes off his trousers, the bishop signaling to his servants to give something to Francis to cover himself (II.4.4); and c) the servants bringing the cloak of a farmer, which Francis

⁴² Bonaventure, *The Major Legend*, 538. "Tentabat deinde pater carnis filium gratiae pecunia iam nudatum ducere coram episcopo civitatis, ut in ipsius manibus facultatibus renuntiaret paternis et omnia redderet quae habebat." LMj 4.1.

marks with a cross, “designating it the covering of a crucified and half-naked poor man” (II.4.5b).⁴³ Bonaventure also documents Francis’ official renunciation of his earthly life, (II.4.4, and II. 7-8), summarizing the event and quoting Saint Jerome directly, as Francis following “his naked crucified Lord.” Thomas includes a similar allusion in the equivalent passage, stating that Francis “wrestles naked with the naked” (15.6).

Table 2.5 Francis before the bishop and description of his change of clothing, *Vita Prima* (1C 14.4-15) and *Legenda Maior* (LMj 4-5.1). Translations: Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 193-194; Bonaventure, *The Major Legend*, 538-539.

1C (<i>Vita Prima</i>)	LMj (<i>Legenda Maior</i>)
14.4	II.4.1
Then he led the son to the bishop of the city to make him renounce into the bishop’s hands all rights of inheritance and return everything he had	Thereupon the father of the flesh worked on leading the child of grace, now stripped of his money, before the bishop of the city that he might renounce his family possessions into his hands and return everything he had.
[Ducit eum deinde coram episcopo civitatis, ut in ipsius manibus omnibus eius renuntians facultatibus, omnia redderet quae habebat.]	[Tentabat deinde pater carnis filium gratiae pecunia iam nudatum ducere coram episcopo civitatis, ut in ipsius manibus facultatibus renuntiaret paternis et omnia redderet quae habebat.]
14.5	II.4.2a
Not only did he not refuse this, but he hastened joyfully and eagerly to do what was demanded.	The true love of poverty showed himself eager to comply and went before the bishop without delaying or hesitating.
[Quod non solum ipse non renuit, sed et multum gaudens prompto animo acceleravit facere postulata.]	[Ad quod faciendum se promptum exhibuit verus paupertatis amator, perveniensque coram episcopo, nec moras patitur nec cunctatur de aliquo,]

⁴³ Ibid. “Oblatus est autem ei mantellus pauper et vilis cuiusdam agricolae servientis episcopi, quem ipse gratanter suscipiens, cum caemento quod sibi occurrit, ad modum crucis manu propria consignavit, operimentum formans ex eo crucifixi hominis et pauperis seminudi.” LMj 4.6.

1C (<i>Vita Prima</i>)	LMj (<i>Legenda Maior</i>)
15.1 Francis strips himself naked	II.4.2b Francis strips himself naked
When he was in front of the bishop, he neither delayed nor hesitated, but immediately took off and threw down all his clothes and returned them to his father.	He did not wait for any words nor did he speak any, but he took off his clothes and gave them back to his father.
[Cumque perductus esset coram episcopo, nec moras patitur nec cunctatur de aliquo, immo nec verba exspectat nec facit, sed continuo, depositis et proiectis omnibus vestimentis, restituit ea patri.]	[Nec verba exspectat nec facit; sed continuo depositis omnibus vestimentis, restituit ea patri.]
	II.4.3 Hair shirt
	Then it was discovered that the man of God had a hair shirt next to his skin under his fine clothes.
	[Inventus est autem tunc vir Dei cilicium habere ad carnem sub vestibus delicatis.]
15.2 Francis stripped naked	II.4.4a Francis stripped naked
He did not even keep his trousers on, and he was completely stripped bare before everyone.	Moreover, drunk with remarkable fervor, he even took off his trousers, and was completely stripped naked before everyone.
[Insuper et nec femoralia retinens, totus coram omnibus denudatur.]	[Insuper ex admirando fervore spiritu ebrius, reiectis etiam femoralibus, totus coram omnibus denudatur,]
	II.4.4b Francis renounces his birthright
	He said to his father: “Until now I have called you father here on earth, but now I can say without reservation, ‘Our Father who art in heaven,’ since I have placed all my treasure and all my hope in him.”
	[Dicens ad patrem: “Usque nunc vocavi te patrem in terris, amodo autem secure dicere possum: Pater noster, qui es in caelis, apud quem omnem thesaurum reposui et omnem spei fiduciam collocavi.”]

1C (<i>Vita Prima</i>)	LMj (<i>Legenda Maior</i>)
<p>15.3 Covered with bishop's mantle</p> <p>The bishop, observing his frame of mind and admiring his fervor and determination, got up and, gathering him in his own arms, covered him with the mantle he was wearing.</p> <p>[Episcopus vero animum ipsius attendens, fervoremque ac constantiam nimis admirans, protinus exsurrexit et inter brachia sua ipsum recolligens, pallio quo indutus erat contextit eum.]</p>	<p>II.4.5a Covered with bishop's mantle</p> <p>The bishop, recognizing and admiring such intense fervor in the man of God, immediately stood up and in tears drew him into his arms, covering him with the mantle that he was wearing.</p> <p>[Hoc cernens episcopus et admirans tam excedentem in viro Dei fervorem, protinus exsurrexit et inter brachia sua illum cum fletu recolligens,]</p>
	<p>11.4.5b Bishop orders servants to cover Francis</p> <p>Like the pious and good man that he was, he bade his servants give him something to cover his body.</p> <p>[uti erat vir pius et bonus, pallio, quo erat amictus, operuit, praecipiens suis, ut aliquid sibi darent ad membra corporis contegenda.]</p>
	<p>II.4.6 Servants cover Francis</p> <p>They brought him a poor, cheap cloak of a farmer who worked for the bishop, which he accepted gratefully and, with his own hand, marked a cross on it with a piece of chalk, thus designating it as the covering of a crucified and half-naked poor man.</p> <p>[Oblatus est autem ei mantellus pauper et vilis cuiusdam agricolae servientis episcopi, quem ipse gratanter suscipiens, cum caemento quod sibi occurrit, ad modum crucis manu propria consignavit, operimentum formans ex eo crucifixi hominis et pauperis seminudi.]</p>
<p>15.4-5</p> <p>He clearly understood that this was prompted by God and he knew that the action of the man of God, which he had personally observed, contained a mystery. After this he</p>	

1C (<i>Vita Prima</i>)	LMj (<i>Legenda Maior</i>)
15.4-5 cont'd	
<p>became his helper. Cherishing and comforting him, he embraced him in the depths of charity.</p> <p>[Intellexit aperte divinum esse consilium, et facta viri Dei quae praesentialiter viderat, cognovit mysterium continere. Factus est propterea deinceps adiutor eius, et fovens ipsum atque confortans, amplexatus est eum in visceribus charitatis.]</p>	
15.6 Summary of event	II.7-8 Summary of event
<p>Look! Now he wrestles naked with the naked. After putting aside all that is of the world, he is mindful only of divine justice. Now he is eager to despise his own life, by setting aside all concern for it. Thus there might be peace for him, a poor man on a hemmed-in path, and only a wall of the flesh would separate him from the vision of God.</p> <p>[Ecce iam nudus cum nudo luctatur, et depositis omnibus quae sunt mundi, solius divinae iustitiae memoratur. Studet iam sic propriam contemnere vitam, omnem pro illa sollicitudinem deponendo, ut sibi pauperi pax esset in obsessa via, et solus carnis paries ipsum a divina visione interim separaret.]</p>	<p>Thus the servant of the Most High King was left naked that he might follow his naked crucified Lord, whom he loved. Thus the cross strengthened him to entrust his soul to the wood of salvation that would save him from the shipwreck of the world.</p> <p>[sic igitur servus Regis altissimi nudus relictus est, ut nudum sequeretur crucifixum Dominum, quem amabat; sic utique cruce munitus, ut animam suam ligno salutis committeret, per quod de mundi naufragio salvus exiret.]</p>
	II.5.1
	<p>Released now from the chains of all earthly desires, this scorner of the world left the town and in a carefree mood sought the secret of solitude that alone and in silence he would hear the mystery of the divine eloquence.</p> <p>[Solutus exinde mundi contemptor a vinculis mundanarum cupidinum, civitate relicta, securus et liber secretum solitudinis petiit , ut solus et silens supernae audiret allocutionis arcanum.]</p>

The actions of Francis in both versions contain volumes of symbolic meaning expressing his commitment to follow and imitate Christ, particularly Christ's poverty and humility. Lawrence S. Cunningham comments on this explaining that a change of clothing in the medieval culture of Francis' time was highly meaningful. Cunningham states that Thomas of Celano organizes the *Vita Prima* chapters in terms of changes in Francis' dress, proposing that this may have to do with the role of clothing in the designation of social class as well as an "implied critique" of Francis' father, part of the merchant class.⁴⁴ Cunningham comments, however, that Francis' nakedness in the story about him before the bishop was an act of imitation of Christ, and cites an "ancient trope" going back to St Jerome, namely to "nakedly follow the naked Christ" ("nudus nudum Christum prosequi").⁴⁵ Cunningham explains that for the early vitae, the nakedness of Francis in this instance was tied to his "sheer wonder of the Incarnation."⁴⁶ Cunningham also mentions the Greccio scene and how this too ties into the theme of the "naked Christ," since Christ, who would end his life naked on the cross, was born naked in a manger, an image emphasizing his humanity.⁴⁷ In both versions, this image of Francis naked, much like the musical occurrences, points ahead to Greccio, indicating the thematic relationships between the two stories. I believe that these themes can be adequately summarized as the theme of humility and Francis' imitation of it, which becomes more apparent considering how Bonaventure interprets the Nativity and its

⁴⁴ Lawrence S. Cunningham, "Francis of Assisi as a Catholic Saint," *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 9, no.1 (Winter 2006), 60.

⁴⁵ St Jerome quoted in Lawrence S. Cunningham, "Francis of Assisi as a Catholic Saint," 60.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

symbolism. Nevertheless, I believe that by including extra detail about Francis' clothing, Bonaventure underlines the commitment of Francis to follow the poor, naked Christ even more, thus demonstrating the centrality of this idea to his theology.

The beginning of Francis' journey, epitomized in both vitae by the imagery of him naked before the bishop and townspeople, is marked by an act of poverty and humility after the manner of Christ. Interestingly, one of the text's most singular musical instances happens at this moment, which, along with a similar musical instance at Greccio, helps convey the stories' themes. Both vitae, continuing the theme of poverty and humility, describe Francis walking and singing in the forest following his dramatic display in Assisi. Francis resounds the forest loudly with his song, an expression of his newfound freedom of heart when, in both texts, he is then subject to more humiliation, attacked and beaten by robbers who leave him lying in a ditch. Both versions report that Francis emerges and "exhilarated with great joy," sings even more loudly making "the woods resound with praises to the Creator of all."⁴⁸ Soon after, both texts, stressing the theme of humility, refer to Francis as "the lover of profound humility [totius humilitatis amator]," stating that he goes to serve and live with the lepers, identifying with the most outcasted of society.⁴⁹ Both Thomas and Bonaventure depict Francis' spiritual journey beginning in poverty and humility in imitation of Christ, a theme which resonates even more strongly with Bonaventure's theology. This moment in both texts is marked distinctly by musical sound which, by the similarity of these musical occurrences, ties the

⁴⁸ Ibid., 539. "Ipse vero illis recedentibus exsilvit de fovea, magnoque exhilaratus gaudio, altiore coepit voce per nemora laudes Creatori omnium personare." LMj 5.5

⁴⁹ "From there the lover of profound humility moved to the lepers and lived with them". Ibid. "Exinde totius humilitatis amator se transtulit ad leprosos eratque cum, eis, diligentissime serviens omnibus propter Deum." LMj. 6.3

two stories to each other, signaling the theme common to both of Christ's poverty and humility and Francis' imitation of these dispositions.

Similarly, in both the *Vita Prima* and *Legenda Maior*, Francis' song is "echoed back" at Greccio when the forest resonates with the songs at the Christmas liturgy. This moment flags Greccio's connection to the earlier story of Francis singing in the forest and reveals the significance of these musical events. The nativity of Christ for Bonaventure represents the spirit of humility and poverty necessary for one's own "spiritual birth in Christ."⁵⁰ The songs at Greccio harken back to Francis' own spiritual birth, when he officially renounced his birthright and committed to following the naked, crucified Christ and after which he resounded the forest with his song. In this way, the musical moment at Greccio is much more than a mere description of a sonic event. Rather, it is an instance carrying great symbolism, communicating the foundation of poverty and humility necessary for one's spiritual journey.

Moreover, considering the macro-structure of the *Legenda Maior*, it is even more apparent that the thematic connection pointed out by these musical occurrences indicates how significant humility and poverty are to the spiritual journey. The story of Francis singing in the forest occurs in the historical, "beginning" part of the text corresponding to the purgative power whereas Greccio occurs in thematic chapters, describing Francis' interior progress and which Hammond designates as corresponding to illumination. It follows, therefore, that humility and poverty, signaled by the stories' musical occurrences and present in both historical and thematic parts of the text corresponding to two of the three hierarchical powers, are essential aspects of Francis' spiritual life. Furthermore, a

⁵⁰ Zachary Hayes, *The Hidden Center: Spirituality and Speculative Christology in St. Bonaventure* (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1981), 29.

third “musical” occurrence, although not an exact replica of the two described, appears at the moment of Francis’ death, which occurs in the ending section Hammond designates as corresponding to perfection. The account depicts vividly Francis’ conformity to the poverty and humility of Christ, and, by affirming the role of these dispositions at a pivotal moment occurring in the end section of the narrative, completes the thematic thread expressed by Francis singing in the forest and Greccio.

At Francis’ death, Bonaventure departs from the *Vita Prima* version and describes that Francis bade his brothers “that when they saw he was dead, they should allow him to lie naked on the ground for as long as it takes to walk a leisurely mile [ut, cum viderent eum iam esse defunctum, per tam longum spatium nudum super humum iacere permetterent, quod unius milliarii tractum suaviter quis perficere posset].”⁵¹ Bonaventure ties this moment back to Francis standing naked before the bishop, and says that Francis “wished without hesitation to be conformed to Christ crucified, who hung on the cross poor, suffering, and naked. [Voluit certe per omnia Christo crucifixo esse conformis, qui pauper et dolens et nudus in cruce pependit].”⁵² With this description, Bonaventure comes full circle to Francis’ initial gesture of poverty and humility in imitation of Christ, naked and crucified, intimating that the spiritual journey is a constant exercise and growth in these dispositions. Furthermore, just as music marked the beginning and progress of Francis’ spiritual journey, it also marks this final moment. Bonaventure, continuing to depart from the *Vita Prima* version, describes that the larks “at the hour of the holy man’s passing...gathered in a great flock over the roof of the

⁵¹ Bonaventure, *The Major Legend*, 643. LMJ XIV.4.7.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 642. LMj XIV.4.5.

house and, circling around for a long time with unusual joy, they offered testimony, giving delight as well as confirmation, of the glory of the saint who so often had invited them to praise [hora transitus sancti viri, cum iam esset noctis secuturae crpusculum, venerunt in multitudine magna supra tectum domus et diu cum insolita quadam iubilatione rotantes, gloriae Sancti, qui eas ad divinam laudem invitare solitus erat, tam iucundum quam evidens testimonium perhibebant].”⁵³ Musical sound is thus present at three moments explicating Francis’ poverty and humility and occurring in parts of the text corresponding to the beginning of Francis’ journey (purgation), progress (illumination), and end (perfection). These musical occurrences consequently function as part of a narrative progression positing the vital role of poverty and humility in Francis’ spiritual journey.

Musical Occurrences and Conformity to Christ in the *Legenda Maior*

In addition to the theme of humility and imitation of Christ, Bonaventure, through the three stories, expresses the consequence of this imitation, which is conformity to the incarnate word. One of the ways he does this in the stories, and what I will focus on, is by addressing the relationship between Francis’ soul and body. Throughout Francis’ spiritual journey, his body and soul are brought into increasing harmony as a result of his growing similitude to Christ. This harmony is epitomized especially by the stigmata, the height of his closeness to Christ. I will show in the paragraphs that follow how the musical occurrences at Greccio and Francis singing in the forest relate to the discussion of the body-soul relationship in these stories, thereby helping to communicate the theme of Christoformity.

⁵³ Ibid., 643. LMj XIV.9-10.

The idea of spiritual growth effecting likeness to Christ is present in both vitae but is arguably more pronounced in the *Legenda Maior*. This is first because of the theology guiding the text and Bonaventure's objective to portray a model of Christian holiness for the brothers. I additionally propose that it is more distinct because of the importance of the stigmatized Francis to Bonaventure. What the stigmatized image of Francis also reveals is the prominence of the body-soul relationship in the *Legenda Maior* and the understanding that spiritual growth affects the *whole* person, body and soul. It thus validates this mode of inquiry which looks at how Bonaventure handles the body-soul relationship in the *Legenda Maior* as a means to understand the larger narrative explicating the spiritual journey and its ultimate goal.

In the three stories, therefore, one discerns the theme of hierarchization's Christoforming effect and, by extension, the interaction of textual references to music with this theme, by further interpretation of how these three stories address the body-soul relationship. Bonaventure arguably handles this theme through the added attention he gives to Francis' clothing in the story about him before the bishop. In addition to emphasizing Francis' commitment to Christ, this extra detail introduces an added physicality to the story originally told by Thomas. This increased physicality is probably to reference the Crucified Christ, which Bonaventure mentions directly, summarizing the dramatic occurrence as Francis following the naked crucified Christ. At the same time, these physical dimensions also express that the spiritual journey affects both the body and the soul.

Bonaventure also articulates this understanding by distinguishing the life of the body and the life of the soul, thus alluding to the "harmonization" which will develop

between the two throughout Francis' spiritual journey. For example, Bonaventure begins the account emphasizing the life of the body in contrast to the life of grace in a way that Thomas does not. In the opening passages of the story describing Francis before the bishop, Bonaventure describes Francis' father as "the father of the flesh," who leads his son, "the child of grace, now stripped of his money" (Table 2.5, II.4.1). Also differing from Thomas, Bonaventure quotes Francis officially renouncing his birthright, in II.4.4: "dicens ad patrem, 'Usque nunc vocavi te patrem in terris, amodo autem secure dicere possum: 'Pater noster, qui es in caelis,' apud quem omnem thesaurum reposui et omnem spei fiduciam collocavi. [He said to his father: 'Until now I have called you father here on earth, but now I can say without reservation, "Our Father who art in heaven," since I have placed all my treasure and all my hope in him.']."⁵⁴ Like the opening lines, this grand statement similarly creates a distinction or tension between the life of the body and the life of the soul, reconciled by growth in likeness to Christ and exemplified by the image of the stigmata. Combined with an added attention to his clothing and thus physical exterior, Bonaventure is clear that Francis' spiritual journey affects not only his soul but his body as well. In the passages following the story, musical sound will also express this harmonization.

The next lines in both vitae record Francis' natural exclamation after having renounced his earthly life, "Solutus exinde mundi contemptor a vinculis mundanarum cupidinum [Released now from the chains of all earthly desires]."⁵⁵ Both Thomas and Bonaventure document Francis' natural exclamation to sing, resounding the forest with

⁵⁴ LMj II.4.4; Bonaventure, *The Major Legend*, 538

⁵⁵ LMj II.4.5; *Ibid.*, 539.

his song. While the image of Francis singing in the forest points ahead to Greccio, it expresses this idea that the effects of the spiritual journey do not exclude the body but sanctify it as well. Singing in this moment brings together the physical and the spiritual in the sense that Francis expresses the spiritual joy from having renounced his life in the world through a physical, sensory means. Further on in the story, both vitae reiterate this image, which can be translated in terms of hierarchy's effect: After Francis initially sings in the forest, he is attacked and beaten by robbers, a humiliation which he accepts willingly in the manner of Christ. His natural reaction is to sing even more loudly, expressing through a sensory means the spiritual joy he experiences from willingly accepting humiliation. Francis' humility in this instance, just like his renunciation of the world, precipitates the physical-spiritual reaction of singing. This harmonization between the soul and body of Francis when he sings in the *Legenda Maior* version foreshadows, in a sense, the stigmata, when he is so absorbed with love for the crucified Christ that it manifests itself in his body by physical signs.

This moment at the beginning of Francis' journey, of course, signals forward to the Greccio story, which similarly references Christofornity by addressing the body-soul relationship. Greccio, and thus its music, resonates with the theme of Christofornity and its effects on the whole person considering the story's position at the end of chapter X. Through a series of events throughout chapter X, Bonaventure increases the tension between Francis' soul and body, while alluding to their harmonization at times. The Greccio story, taking the position at the end of this string of events, proposes the "answer" to this tension by pointing to the source of grace for the spiritual journey: the

incarnate Christ. Greccio, and its music by extension, thus form the climax to this build up of tension.

Chapter X stresses the theme of the soul and the body by depicting a series of events illustrating their relationship in the life of Francis. Table 2.6 provides the passages that explicitly reference the body and soul, in the order they appear in chapter X. The tension between Francis' body and soul is immediately present in the first lines of the chapter quoted in Table 2.6 (X.1.1-2), and which are not drawn from previous vitae. Bonaventure relates that Francis "aware that while in the *body*, he was away from the Lord... strove to keep his *spirit* present to God by praying without ceasing [Sentiens Christi servus Franciscus *corpore* se peregrinum a Domino ... sine intermissione orans, *spiritum* Deo contendebat exhibere praesentem]." Bonaventure immediately distinguishes the body and the soul, almost positioning them at odds with each other, similar to the tension between them in the story about Francis before the bishop. Soon after, quoting lines from the *Vita Prima*, Bonaventure distinguishes Francis' inner and outer lives, describing him intent in prayer and unaffected by his outward circumstances (X.1.5). Bonaventure again distinguishes Francis' inner and outer lives but also alludes to their resolution by citing Francis' ability to enter prayer no matter where he is. The distinction and tension between Francis' inner and outer lives reappears throughout the chapter as subsequent passages describe Francis in prayer becoming oblivious to the body and his senses (X.2.4, X.2.5-6, X.2.8, X.4.6-8). In one part of the chapter text not found in the *Vita Prima* but taken from another text by Thomas of Celano, *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*, Bonaventure illustrates the degree of Francis' rapture. Bonaventure states that Francis "was not aware of the differences of place, time, and the people he

passed” and that “he was carried away above himself and, experiencing what was beyond human understanding, he was unaware of what went on around him [Suspendebatur multoties tanto contemplationis excessu, ut supra semetipsum raptus et ultra humanum sensum aliquid sentiens, quid ageretur circa se exterius, ignoraret].” (X.2.4). Drawing from the *Vita Prima*, Bonaventure describes Francis physically assaulted by demons while he is at prayer (X.3.1-2) and in later passages taken from *Remembrance*, he illustrates the discipline of his body while in prayer (X.4.6-8 and X. 6.1-2).

Table 2.6 Body-soul tension in chapter X, *Legenda Maior*, Translation: *The Major Legend*, 605-611

X.1.1-2 Tension between soul and body
Francis, the servant of Christ, aware that while in the body he was away from the Lord, became totally unaware of earthly desires through love of Christ, and strove to keep his spirit present to God by praying without ceasing lest he be without the consolation of the Beloved. Prayer was a comfort for the contemplative, even now a citizen with the angels in the heavenly mansions, as he sought with burning desire the Beloved from whom only the wall of flesh separated him
X.1.5 Tension and resolution
For whether walking or sitting, inside or outside, working or resting, he was so focused on prayer that he seemed to have dedicated to it not only whatever was in his heart and body, but also his effort and time.
X.2.4 Tension
Many times he was suspended in such excess of contemplation, that he was carried away above himself and, experiencing what is beyond human understanding, he was unaware of what went on around him.
X.2.5-6 Tension
For instance, one time when he was traveling through Borgo San Sepulcro, a heavily populated town, and was riding on a donkey because of his physical weakness, crowds rushed to meet him out of devotion. He was touched by them, pulled and shoved by them, yet he seemed not to feel any of this, and as if he were a lifeless corpse, did not notice what was going on around him.
X.2.8 Tension
His mind was so fixed on heavenly splendors that he was not aware of the differences of place, time, and people that he passed.
X.3.1-2 Tension
Therefore seeking out solitary places, he used to go to deserted and abandoned churches to pray at night. There he often endured horrible struggles with devils who would assault him physically, trying to distract him from his commitment to prayer.

Table 2.6 cont'd

X. 4.3 Resolution

There he was praying at night, with his hands outstretched in the form of a cross, his whole body lifted up from the ground and surrounded by a sort of shining cloud, so that extraordinary illumination around his body was a witness to the wonderful light that shone within his soul.

X.4.6-8 Tension

When he returned from his private prayers, in which he was changed almost into a different man, he tried his best to resemble the others, lest what he might show outwardly, the breeze of favor deprive him of a reward inwardly. When he was suddenly overcome in public by a visitation of the Lord, he would always place something between himself and bystanders, so that he would not cheapen the sight of the Bridegroom's intimate touch. When he prayed with the brothers, he completely avoided coughs, groans, hard breathing, or external movement, either because he loved to keep secrecy or because he had withdrawn into his interior and was totally carried into God.

X. 6.1-2 Tension

The holy man was accustomed to fulfill the canonical hours with no less reverence than devotion. Although he was suffering from diseases of the eyes, stomach, spleen, and liver, he nevertheless did not want to lean against a wall or partition while he was chanting the psalms. He always fulfilled the hours standing up straight and without a hood, without letting his eyes wander about and without dropping syllables.

X.6.3-4 Tension

If he were on a journey, he would stop at the right time and never omitted this reverent and holy practice because it was raining. For he would say: "If the body calmly eats its food, which along with itself will be food for worms, should not the soul receive the food of life in great peace and tranquillity?"

X.6.10-13 Resolution

He used to say the psalms with such attention of mind and spirit, as if he had God present. When the Lord's name occurred in the psalms, he seemed to lick his lips because of its sweetness.

He wanted to honor with special reverence the Lord's name not only when thought but also when spoken and written. He once persuaded the brothers to gather all pieces of paper wherever they were found and to place them in a clean place so that if the sacred name happened to be written there, it would not be trodden underfoot. When he pronounced or heard the name Jesus, he was filled with an inner joy and seemed completely changed exteriorly as if some honey-sweet flavor had transformed his taste or some harmonious sound had transformed his hearing.

One of the most striking passages, which is unique to the *Legenda Maior*, narrates Francis traveling through a town called Borgo *San Sepulcro*. In this passage, Bonaventure continues the theme expressing the tension between the body and soul of Francis, but in a

way which identifies him with the passion of Christ and therefore likely alluding to the stigmata. Bonaventure begins by saying that Francis “was riding on a donkey because of physical weakness [Transiens namque semel per Burgum S. Sepulchri, castrum utique populosum, pro debilitate corporis subvectus asello, obvias habuit turbas in eum prae devotione ruentes]” (X.2.5), when he, met by crowds of people, is “touched by them, pulled and shoved by them. [Tractus autem et detentus ab eis, compressus quoque ac multipliciter atrectatus]” (6). Francis, however, “seemed not to feel any of this, and as if he were a lifeless corpse, did not notice what was going on around him [insensibilis videbatur ad omnia et velut exanime corpus de his quae fiebant circa ipsum, nihil penitus advertibat]” (6). His body, which is sick and ailing, pulled and shoved by the crowds around him, is positioned in contrast to his interior life, the life of the soul which renders him oblivious to his physical surroundings. This imagery evokes the identification of Francis with Christ by alluding to the Palm Sunday story where Christ enters Jerusalem riding on a donkey. The story is associated with the passion of Christ, since it marks his entry into Jerusalem, where he will be condemned and crucified. By referencing the Passion narrative and thus Francis’ conformity to Christ, the story of San Sepulcro also references the stigmata. The image of Francis at San Sepulcro consequently signals the resolution of the tension between body and soul experienced by Francis during his entry into the village.

In certain passages, Bonaventure hints at the “resolution” or “harmony” between the body and soul, which is later manifest in the stigmata and the result of conformity to Christ. One passage, not found in the *Vita Prima*, describes Francis in prayer with his body illuminated by the light of his soul (X. 4.3). Another passage, based on the

description by Thomas of Francis singing and preaching the gospel, describes Francis “licking his lips” whenever pronouncing the Lord’s name, as well as the “inner joy” he would experience upon hearing that name. Using his own words, Bonaventure states that Francis, when hearing or saying the name of Jesus, “seemed completely *changed exteriorly* as if some honey-sweet flavor had *transformed* his taste or some harmonious sound had *transformed* his hearing [Nomen autem Iesu cum exprimeret vel audiret, iubilatio quodam repletus interius, totus videbatur *exteriorius alterari* ac si mellifluus sapor gustum, vel harmonicus sonus ipsius *immutasset* auditum] [emphasis mine]”(X.6.10-13).

Although this passage is similar to Thomas’ description of Francis at Greccio, I believe that Bonaventure rewords it in order to emphasize the transforming effects of the spiritual life and conformity to Christ upon the body.

The inclusion of the Greccio narrative at the end of chapter X forms its climax, citing the source of grace for this transformation by its commemoration of the nativity of Christ. The music at Greccio and its symbolic import “resounds” even more loudly in this respect because it commemorates the word made flesh whose grace enacts likeness to Christ which transforms the whole person. The symbolic significance of the songs rings even more loudly when thinking that the stigmata, where Francis’ body perfectly reflects his inner conformity to Christ, occurs not long after Greccio in chapter XIII. One could interpret, therefore, that Chapter X and Greccio “set up” the stigmata narrative: Chapter X presents the dichotomy between Francis’ soul and body; Greccio proposes the source of grace for the spiritual journey which sanctifies the whole person, thus unifying the body and soul; and the stigmata is the culmination of the spiritual journey, representing Francis’ total conformity to Christ, body and soul, evidencing a certain resolution

between his soul and body. In other words, chapter X, Greccio, and Greccio's songs, form part of the narrative-trajectory toward Francis' total conformity to Christ.

Overall, Francis singing in the forest and the Greccio story demonstrate Bonaventure strategically situating musical occurrences at important junctures in Francis' story. These junctures, and thus their musical instances, communicate points integral to the theology of hierarchy. In addition to signifying the themes of humility and Christoformity, both references to music – Francis singing in the forest and the songs at Greccio – reveal the significance of creation in Bonaventure's theology. It is significant that in both musical instances, the forest functions as an acoustical space of musical sound. Although both *Vita Prima* and *Legenda Maior* versions set these musical instances within the forest, it, and thus creation, assumes additional meaning given the significance of creation in Bonaventure's theology.

Bonaventure, like other medieval theologians, understood that Christ was found "hidden in creation" and that creation, therefore, was a medium of divine revelation.⁵⁶ Bonaventure adds a unique "twist" to the contemporaneous understanding of the spiritual journey and the three ways to God (purgation, illumination, and perfective union) by factoring creation into the equation: Bonaventure terms creation as the "Book of Creation," a medium of divine revelation, which, prior to the fall of humankind to sin, was a sufficient means by which humankind could come to know its creator. Part of the hierarchic journey entails grace forming the individual to perceive and thus relate with creation "rightly," so that one is able to "read" the Book of Creation. The *Legenda Maior* demonstrates this phenomenon in the life of Francis, particularly in the second half of

⁵⁶ Christopher M. Cullen, *Bonaventure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 29.

chapter VIII which narrates his harmonious dealings with the created world. Sound and the auditory sense are prominent in these narratives, often with Francis hearing the sounds of the created world and responding by chanting the liturgical hours. What is interesting is that, although Bonaventure takes these stories from pre-existing vitae, in at least one instance he embellishes them by including these references to sound, indicating its importance. To put it more in terms of Bonaventure's theology, Francis "reads" the Book of Creation through sound and the auditory sense.

In the Greccio narrative and Francis singing in the forest, the forest as the acoustical site of his (and the townspeople's) song becomes even more significant considering Bonaventure's understanding of creation. Although I believe that this idea was likely present in Thomas' thinking, I propose that the presence of the forest in both passages adds to the overall articulation by the *Legenda Maior* that Francis' journey is one of increasing communion not just with the divine but with creation as well. The forest's presence becomes even more meaningful considering the archetypal nature of Francis' spiritual journey with respect to creation in the theology of hierarchy. For Bonaventure, although only humans and angels participate in hierarchization, restoration, the effect of hierarchization, takes place on all levels of creation, with humanity representatively containing "all levels of created being."⁵⁷ Zachary Hayes states that, consequently, "the destiny of the world is worked out in the ascent of humanity into the beatifying mystery of God."⁵⁸ The response of the individual signified by Francis in the *Legenda Maior* to divine grace "works out...the destiny of the world," which is "the

⁵⁷ Zachary Hayes, *The Hidden Center: Spirituality and Speculative Christology in St. Bonaventure*, (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1981), 25-26.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

ascent of creation to its fulfilling end,”⁵⁹ achieved by the “restoration” of the universe. It is significant, then, that in both narratives, creation, in the form of the forest, resounds with the song of Francis and the townspeople, in whom the “destiny of the world” is “worked out” symbolically. The image of Francis singing in the forest is thus symbolic of the restoration of all creation, and thereby interacts with the theology behind the text.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated and argued for the interaction of textual references to music in Franciscan hagiographic sources with medieval Franciscan spirituality and theology. More specifically, the chapter focused on the Greccio narrative recounted by the *Vita Prima* by Thomas of Celano and the *Legenda Maior* by Bonaventure of Bagnoregio and how musical occurrences in the story displayed or connected to ideas centered around the incarnation.

In the analysis of the *Vita Prima* story, I argued that Thomas communicates the activity of divine grace in Francis and his preaching ministry by his description of Francis singing and preaching the gospel and its references to the senses. I showed that Thomas aligns the operation of grace in Francis with the spiritual effects of the eucharist, enhancing the narrative’s overall sacramental depiction of the saint.

Although I acknowledge that Bonaventure shares the sacramental perspective vividly portrayed by Thomas, I examined how references to music in the *Legenda Maior* assume new symbolic import with regard to Bonaventure’s spiritual theology. I focused on the line in the Greccio narrative which describes the forest resonating with the songs at the celebration and its relationship to a similar textual reference at the beginning of

⁵⁹ Ibid., 25.

Francis' spiritual journey. Although occurring in the *Vita Prima* as well, I argued that these references in the *Legenda Maior* symbolize thematic content shared by the passages in which they occur and which relates to Bonaventure's spiritual theology. This content primarily includes the centrality of imitation of Christ in the spiritual journey but also the spiritual journey's effect of conforming one to Christ, ultimately manifest in the stigmata of Francis. With regard to the latter, I showed how the stories' musical occurrences relate to how the stories address the body-soul relationship in the life of Francis, arguing that the focus on this relationship relates to the theme of conformity to Christ. Lastly, I explored the presence of the forest in both musical occurrences and how its presence becomes even more significant in the *Legenda Maior* because of creation's importance in Bonaventure's version of the theology.

Many of these ideas conveyed by the hagiographic texts would make their way into liturgical texts about the saint. This is especially true about the *Vita Prima*, which would form the basis for the first liturgical office composed for Francis. Although not discussed in this chapter, Thomas' situation of Francis' religious expression within the life of the church would figure prominently in this liturgical office. As textual references to music in the vitae aided important thematic ideas, musical sound itself would facilitate the communication of themes central to the office.

Chapter Three: Music, Franciscan Spirituality, and Francis' Image in the Francis Office by Julian of Speyer

When Francis sings and preaches the gospel at Greccio, he brings new life to the body of the faithful. In the *Vita Prima*, Thomas of Celano frequently iterates this message, situating Francis and his alternative mode of Christian living within the life of the church, of which he portrays the faithful as an integral part. Thomas, documenting Francis' canonization, colourfully illustrates this idea: After the pope officially declaims Francis' sanctity, the congregation responds in applauding acclamation, soaking the ground with their tears while the earth "echoes the booming sound."¹ This description, hearkening back to Greccio and Francis singing in the forest, affirms Thomas' view that Francis and his religious expression are a gift to the church.

A similar representation emerges in the Francis office, most of which is composed by Julian of Speyer.² The parts of the office not attributed to Julian include four hymns, which are not included in my central source, CH-Fco 2; the first and second responsories of the third nocturn, attributed to Thomas of Capua and Pope Gregory IX respectively; and two of the additional gospel canticle antiphons, *Salve Sancte Pater*, attributed to Thomas of Capua, and *Caelorum candor splenduit* to Cardinal Capocci di Viterbo. Julian composed the Francis office in response to the need for liturgical texts precipitated by his canonization and used the *Vita Prima* as the main textual basis. This office is an important source for consideration since it shows the early development of Francis' liturgical image and its theological interpretation in the years immediately following his

¹ Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, in *The Saint*, vol. 1, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellman and William J. Short (New York: New City Press, 1999), 296.

² For a full inventory of the office as well as a list of those chants not composed by Julian, see appendix A.

death.³ It highlights two main aspects of Francis' image: 1) his orthodoxy and relationship with representatives of the institutional church; and 2) his unique religious expression based in the gospel with special attention to evangelical poverty. In this chapter, I argue primarily that Julian situates Francis' religious expression within the life of the church through the office texts and musical language. I relate my argument to the overall thesis by showing that Julian connects Francis' religious expression to the life of Christ. I also propose that by emphasizing both ecclesiastical and evangelical aspects of Francis' life, Julian's depiction (and Thomas of Celano's), while motivated by the need to affirm Francis' orthodoxy, also echo medieval theological conceptions regarding the church as a spiritual entity. At the root of this understanding was a view of the church proposing its spiritual foundation in Christ.

In order to contextualize the overall chapter within this perspective, I begin by returning to the *Vita Prima* where I discuss the presence of an ecclesiastical theology. I propose that a spiritual understanding of the church emerges in the *Vita Prima*, demonstrating its currency among the Franciscan Order and consequent influence on the office's composition and reception. I continue by discussing Francis' representation within the office first by reviewing the first vespers chant texts and how they initiate the connection between his evangelical life and the life of the church, as stated in the "Introduction" to the English translation of the office.⁴ I then investigate melodic relationships within the office as well as melodic relationships between the office's chants and chants outside of the office, and how these relationships, in conjunction with

³ Introduction to *The Liturgical Texts*, in *The Saint*, vol. 1, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellman and William J. Short (New York: New City Press, 1999), 311.

⁴ Introduction to *The Liturgical Texts*, 313.

the chant texts, function in the conflation of Francis' orthodoxy and religious expression. I conclude the chapter with a brief addendum discussing later reception of Francis' liturgical image. I discuss the office and its relationship to a contrafact office, the office of the Visitation, and how their relationship evidences the association of Francis with his embodiment of the Christian life.

Contextualization of the Francis Office: The *Vita Prima* and a Theology of the Church

Two of the main themes standing out from the office texts and which the analysis of the findings affirmed are Francis' religious expression and ecclesiastical life. As I will demonstrate, the office's musical and textual language conflate these two themes, iterating that they are intertwined. Partly motivating this representation, of course, was the need to present Francis' way of life as orthodox and thereby authenticate it. I propose, though, that it was also influenced by medieval conceptions of the church which regarded the church from a perspective of faith. Part of the reason why I do this is to acknowledge that, aside from the politicization to which Francis' image was subject, people of the medieval world actually believed the ideas which a modern lens sometimes interprets as stemming from a particular agenda.

At the basis of what I refer to as a spiritual understanding of the church was the premise that its spiritual basis was Christ. Augustine, for example, interpreted some of the Old Testament texts to mean that the church was born from the side of Christ.⁵

Theologians like Gregory the Great and Bernard of Clairvaux frequently spoke of the

⁵ Rik van Nieuwenhove, *An Introduction to Medieval Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 15-16.

church as the spiritual body of Christ on earth,⁶ a belief originating from the Pauline epistles in the New Testament.⁷ A similar understanding of the church and the place of Francis' vocation within it emerges from the *Vita Prima*.

As supporting evidence, I return to the *Vita Prima* and three related stories – Francis singing in the forest, the Greccio text and the canonization of Francis – suggesting that through these stories, Thomas communicates a spiritual theology of the church. Moreover, Thomas expresses that Francis' unique religious expression based in the gospel is a gift to the church, bringing it new life. To put this in more Christological terms, Francis and his way of life, which is an embodiment of the life of Christ, are part of the larger mystical body of Christ. In other words, both his vocation and the life of the church have in common their basis in Christ. I propose that the contemporaneity of the *Vita Prima* to the office as well as its role as a textual source for the office together suggests that this understanding of the church would have informed both the office's composition and reception. Conversely, Julian's depiction of Francis would have fed into this understanding by its implication that the church is a living body receiving new life from divinely inspired individuals such as Francis.

⁶ Bernard McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism*, vol. 2 of *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism* (New York: Crossroad, 1994), 43-44; 177.

⁷ “And he hath subjected all things under his feet and hath made him head over all the church, which is his body and the fulness of him who is filled all in all.” Ephesians 1.22-23; “For as the body is one and hath many members; and all the members of the body, whereas they are many, yet are one body: So also is Christ. For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or free: and in one Spirit we have all been made to drink.” 1 Corinthians 12.12-13; “For as in one body we have many members, but all the members have not the same office: So we, being many, are one body in Christ; and every one members one of another:” Romans 12.4-5; “Who now rejoice in my sufferings for you and fill up those things that are wanting of the sufferings of Christ, in my flesh, for his body, which is the church.” Colossians 1.24, Douay-Rheims Bible.

In the *Vita Prima* overall, Thomas strives to portray Francis within the life of the church. He does this in subtle ways like portraying Francis’ reverence for clergy and his rebuilding of the three churches at the beginning of his conversion; and in more overt ways, like documenting Francis’ dramatic display before the bishop of Assisi and the approval of the Franciscan rule by Pope Innocent. While behind these stories is the motivation to validate Francis’ religious expression, I believe that the three stories listed above – Francis in the forest, Greccio, and his canonization – evidence a spiritual understanding also behind this portrayal.

All three passages include a similar passage, identified by J.A. Wayne Hellman as thematically relating them: Francis’ singing in the woods after his encounter with his father before the bishop; the song of the people at Greccio which is echoed by the boulders; and the prayer at Francis’ canonization. While Hellman interprets the three passages as an articulation of the theme of prayer, I believe that the similar musical occurrences portray instead the spiritual communion existing among Francis, the laity, and representatives of the institutional church. The passages’ shared reference to music, which alert the reader to their thematic connections, are highlighted in Table 3.1.

**Table 3.1 Related musical narratives in the *Vita Prima* (1C 16.1.4, 85.8-9, 126.1-5).
Translations: Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 194, 255, 295-296.**

**Francis singing
in the woods**

Once while he was singing praises to the Lord in French in a certain forest, thieves suddenly attacked him... Exhilarated with great joy, *he began in a loud voice to make the woods resound with praises to the creator of all.*

Et per quamdam silvam laudes Domino lingua francigena decantaret, latrones super eum subito irruerunt et magno exhilaratus gaudio, coepit alta voce per nemora laudes Creatori omnium personare.

Table 3.1 cont'd

<p>Greccio</p>	<p><i>The forest amplifies the cries and the boulders echo back the joyful crowd.</i> The brothers sing, giving God due praise, and the whole night abounds with jubilation.</p> <p><i>Personat silva voces et iubilantibus rupes respondent.</i> Cantant fratres, Domino laudes debitas persolventes, et tota nox iubilatione resultat.</p>
<p>Canonization of Francis</p>	<p><i>At that moment the blessed Pope cries out in a ringing voice,</i> and raising his hands to heavens proclaims: “To the praise and glory of God almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the glorious Virgin Mary, the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, to the honor of the glorious Roman church! On the advice of our brothers and other prelates, we decree that the most blessed father Francis, whom the Lord has glorified in heaven and we venerate on earth, shall be enrolled in the catalogue of saints, and his feast is to be celebrated on the day of his death”. At this announcement, the reverend cardinals join the pope in singing the <i>Te Deum laudamus</i> in a loud voice. <i>And there rises the cry of many peoples praising God; the earth echoes the booming sound,</i> the air is filled with jubilation, and the ground soaked with tears. <i>They sing new songs and the servants of God rejoice in the melody of the Spirit. Sweet sounding instruments are playing as hymns are sung with musical voices. A very sweet fragrance is flowing there and an even more pleasant melody is echoing there, moving everyone deeply.</i></p> <p><i>Clamat proinde voce altisona papa beatus,</i> et protensis ad caelum manibus, inquit: “Ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, et gloriosae Virginis Mariae, et beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et ad honorem gloriosae Ecclesiae Romanae, beatissimum patrem Franciscum, quem Dominus glorificavit in caelis, venerantes in terris, de corisilio fratrum nostrorum et aliorum praelatorum, in catalogo sanctorum decernimus adnotandum, et festum eius die obitus sui celebrari”.</p> <p>Ad hanc quoque vocem coeperunt reverendi cardinales cum domino papa <i>Te Deum laudamus</i> alta voce cantare. <i>Attollitur proinde clamor populorum multorum, laudantium Deum, et immensas resonat terra voces,</i> repletur iubilationibus aer, et tellus lacrimis madidatur. <i>Cantantur cantica nova, et in melodia spiritus iubilant servi Dei. Audiuntur ibi organa melliflua, et carmina spiritualia modulatis vocibus decantantur.</i></p>

After his encounter with his father, Francis “makes the woods resound with praises to the creator of all,” and at Greccio, the woods are once again an acoustical

space, this time “echo[ing] back the joyful crowd.” Finally, at Francis’ canonization, when the pope declaims Francis’ official enrollment into the calendar of saints, the faithful respond in joyful acclamation with “the earth echo[ing] the booming sound.” The first of the three stories, Francis singing in the woods, presents him at the beginning of his gospel life. In terms of an ecclesiastical theology, Thomas portrays the church in this passage at the level of the individual, signified by Francis and his religious expression. At Greccio, Thomas introduces the body of the faithful, who he identifies with the body of Christ in the vision. Just as the references to music connect both stories to each other, they metaphorically unite Francis and the collective body of the faithful, expressing their spiritual connection: Francis resounds the forest at the beginning of his journey and, at Greccio, it is echoed back by the laity who, as Thomas explains in the interpretation of the vision, Francis wakes from spiritual slumber. At the canonization, this sonic moment, just as it metaphorically united Francis and the laity, now includes the church clergy in this dynamic. Through these stories, Thomas portrays all levels of the church – the individual, the collective body of the faithful, and its institutional representatives – animated by a spirit of communion – “the melody of the spirit [melodia spiritus],” which is represented by musical sound. His depiction expresses an understanding of the church which goes beyond recognizing its institutional aspects but, informed by a spirit of faith, recognizes it as a spiritual entity. He even alludes to the metaphorical imagery of the body of Christ when he identifies the laity with the Christ child in the apparition at Greccio.

In addition to depicting the spirit of communion uniting the members of the church, Thomas articulates the position of Francis’ vocation in the mystical body of

Christ. In the three stories documented in the *Vita Prima*, Francis is the point of communion, ultimately uniting the laity and the church's institutional representatives: when he is singing in the forest, the beginning of his evangelical journey forms the central focus of the account; at Greccio, his role ministering to the faithful is center stage; and at his canonization, the official recognition of Francis' holiness is what unites the curia and laity. Thomas is clear that Francis' vocation and the way of life it introduces to the church is a source of new life.

The presence of this theology in the *Vita Prima* presents the likelihood of it informing the office's portrayal of Francis, and how it was received. The proximity of the *Vita Prima*'s dissemination and its use as a textual reference for the office means that Julian composed it in a spiritual climate where this theology of the church was current. The presence of both ecclesiastical and evangelical dimensions of Francis' life in the office shows that Julian similarly views the importance of Francis and his divinely inspired religious expression to the church. While also affirming his orthodoxy, by intertwining his evangelical life and the life of the church, Julian emphasizes that Francis is a gift to the spiritual body of Christ.

Texts of First Vespers

Julian initiates the connection between Francis' orthodoxy and evangelical life with the texts of the first five vespers antiphons.⁸ The texts of the antiphons indicated in Table 3.2, identical in rhyme scheme (aabccb) and syllable count (887887), together form a single poem. This group of texts detail Francis' orthodoxy, his dedication to the gospel,

⁸ Introduction to *The Liturgical Texts*, 313.

and his relationship with creation. Moreover, the first three antiphons, describing Francis' relationship with the church, frame the office's overall portrayal of Francis.⁹ By virtue of their position as opening antiphons for the entire office, they clearly situate his unique religious expression based on gospel principles within the life of the church.

Table 3.2 First Vespers Antiphon Texts and Translations. Latin Text from Andrew Mitchell, inventory of “Fribourg, Bibliothèque des Cordeliers, 2,” edited by Andrew Mitchell, in *Cantus*. Translations mine.

No.	Latin Text	English Translation
1	Franciscus vir catholicus et totus apostolicus ecclesiae teneri fidem Romanae docuit presbyterosque monuit praecunctis revereri	Francis, the wholly catholic and apostolic man, taught that the faith of the Roman church be held and admonished that its priests be revered before all.
2	Coepit sub Innocentio Cursumque sub Honorio Perfecit gloriosum Succedens his Gregorius Magnificavit amplius miraculis famosum	He began under Innocent and completed the glorious course under Honorius, Gregory succeeding more amply extolled this famed man than these (his) miracles.
3	Hunc sanctus praelegerat in patrem quando praeerat ecclesiae minori hunc spiritu prophético provisum apostolico praedixerat honori	This holy man had selected as father, while he was leading a lesser church, by the prophetic spirit he had predicted this man foreseen/provided for apostolic honor
4	Franciscus evangelicum nec apicem vel unicum transgreditur nec jota nil jugo Christi suavius huic oneri nil levius in hujus vitae rota	Francis transgressed neither a single point or letter of the gospel; no burden was sweeter for this man than the yoke of Christ; nothing was lighter than the wheel of his life.
5	Hic creaturis imperat qui nutui subjecerat se totum creatoris quidquid in re-bus reperit delectamenti regerit in gloriam factoris	This man who had submitted himself wholly to the command of the creator rules over creatures. Anything delightful he discovers in things he carries back into the glory of the Maker.

⁹ Ibid.

The first three antiphons describe Francis' catholicity and relationship with certain clerical figures. The first antiphon, *Francis vir catholicus*, lauds his orthodoxy, describing him as the "wholly catholic and apostolic man," making clear that the way of life Francis lived and proposed is in accord with the teachings of the church. This antiphon is based upon the *Vita Prima*, which states that "Francis put the faith of the Holy Roman church above and beyond all things, preserving, honouring and following it, since the salvation of all who would be saved was found in it alone."¹⁰ It also echoes some of Francis' letters where he refers to a certain individual as "catholic" and exhorts reverence toward the ordained clergy, especially because they minister the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist.¹¹ The second antiphon enumerates representatives of the church significant in the foundation of the Franciscan fraternity (Popes Innocent III, Honorius III and Gregory IX), while the third antiphon details Francis' prophecy that Cardinal Hugolino, later Pope Gregory IX, would rise to the papacy.

By opening with three chant texts focused on ecclesiastical aspects of Francis' life, the office positions his orthodoxy as the parameters for his evangelical religious expression.¹² The last two antiphons shift away from the topic of Francis' orthodoxy,

¹⁰ Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 238.

¹¹ "We must also frequently visit churches and venerate and revere the clergy, not so much for themselves, if they are sinners, but because of their office and administration of the most holy Body and Blood of Christ which they sacrifice upon the altar, receive and administer to others." Francis of Assisi, *Later Admonition and Exhortation to the Brothers and Sisters of Penance (Second Version of the Letter to the Faithful)*, in *The Saint*, 47. "Debemus etiam ecclesias visitare frequenter et venerari clericos et revereri, non tantum propter eos, si sint peccatores, sed propter officium et administrationem sanctissimi corporis et sanguinis Christi, quod sacrificant in altari et recipiunt et aliis administrant." ILtF 33

¹² Introduction to *The Liturgical Texts*, 313.

focusing on his gospel life and his relationship with the created world. The first reference to Francis' way of life occurs in the fourth antiphon, *Franciscus evangelicum*, which cites his zealous adherence to the words of the gospel, while the fifth antiphon narrates his relationship to the created world, connecting his harmonious dealings with creation to his Christian journey.

Internal Musical Relationships

The office's internal musical language affirms the connection between Francis' orthodoxy and his commitment to the gospel made by the first vespers antiphon texts. I suggest the occurrence of a series of musical relationships between the openings of the following chants: the first vespers antiphon, *Franciscus vir catholicus*; the second vespers antiphon, *Coepit sub Innocentio*; the invitatory antiphon, *Regi quae fecit*; the first antiphon for the first nocturn, *Hic vir in vanitatibus*; and the first two responsories from the first nocturn, *Franciscus ut in publicum*, and *In dei fervens*. In this section I investigate how these musical relationships affirm the close connection between the ecclesiastical and evangelical aspects of Francis' life, which reflects a spiritual understanding of the church like the one in the *Vita Prima*. More specifically, I argue that these relationships situate Francis' evangelical life within the life of the church. First, I propose that the relationships overall reinforce the connection between the theme of Francis' orthodoxy, initially declared by the text of *Franciscus vir catholicus* and *Coepit sub Innocentio*, and his religious expression narrated by the matins texts. I then discuss how the texts and musical language of the antiphon, *Regi quae fecit*, and several chants from the first nocturn emphasize the Christocentric and evangelical dimensions of Francis' journey, especially by expressing his journey as culminating in the stigmata. I

conclude stating that Julian situates Francis' evangelical life within the life of the church, by the network of internal musical relationships uniting the two vespers antiphons and the matins chants discussed.


Textually, these melodically related chants express Francis' orthodoxy and evangelical life. As already discussed, *Franciscus vir catholicus* and *Coepit sub Innocentio* document the catholicity of Francis and his relationship with certain representatives of the institutional church. The matins narrative overall does not focus on this aspect of his life but emphasizes instead his conversion and the evangelical dimensions of his religious expression. It begins by recounting Francis' conversion, with the first antiphon from the first nocturn, *Hic vir in vanitatibus*, vividly describing Francis pre-conversion. The antiphon text declares that Francis was "indecently raised in vanities" ("in vanitatibus nutritus indecenter"), outdoing those who raised him in such vanities, presumably also conditioned by the ways of the world ("Plus suis nutritoribus/Se gessit insolenter"). This antiphon text was later revised at the Chapter of Narbonne in 1260, with the later version sanitizing the text's dramatic effect. No longer does Francis outdo those who raised him in vanities, rather, he is mercifully delivered from worldly conceits by divine gifts ("divinis charismatibus/praeventus est clementer").

After depicting Francis before his conversion, the chant texts describe the beginnings of his gospel life with emphasis on its expression through evangelical poverty. The first responsory *Franciscus ut in publicum*, metaphorically describes Francis' withdrawal from the world, ceasing to do business in the world ("ut in publicum cessat negotiari"), so that he may meditate on the gospel treasure, which would now be his chief business concern ("mox dominicum secedit meditari inventum evangelicum

thesaurum vult mercari”). The second responsory *In dei fervens* describes Francis as “fervent in the work of God” (*In dei fervens opera*”), selling his possessions and intent on giving the money to the poor (“pauperibus impendere pecuniam intendit”). The responsory text explains that he does this so that the money may not hinder his newfound freedom of heart (“quae gravi suo pondere cor liberum offendit”).

Comparison of the melodies of these chants reveals that they are related, which in turn, emphasizes the connection between the themes articulated by their texts. As seen in Figure 3.1, the opening melodic relationship between most of these chants is characterized by a stepwise gesture between the first two pitches of the chants, c-d, followed by stepwise motion up to the f, except in *Coepit sub innocentio* which leaps up to the f from d.

Figure 3.1 The Opening Melodic Phrases of *Coepit sub Innocentio*, *Regi quae fecit*, *Hic vir in vanitatibus*, *Franciscus ut in publicum*, and *In dei fervens*. Transcriptions from Mitchell, inventory of “Fribourg.”

V A 1.2 
Ce-pit sub in- no- cen-ci- o

M I 
Re - gi que fec - it

M A 1.1 
Hic vir

M R 1.1
Fran-cis

M R 1.2
In de- i

Franciscus vir catholicus also begins with the same stepwise gesture from c-d but it is followed by a leap of a fifth from d to a, which is found in two matins chants, *Hic vir in vanitatibus* and *Franciscus ut in publicam*, a little later in the phrase. Shown in Figure 3.2, comparison of the opening phrases of *Hic vir in vanitatibus* and *Franciscus ut in publicam* with that of *Franciscus vir catholicus* demonstrates that they are extended versions of the vespers antiphon’s opening. All three melodies begin with the same stepwise motion from c-d but the two matins melodies continue with additional melodic

material before the occurrence of the fifth leap from d to a. *Franciscus vir catholicus* and *Franciscus ut in publicam* also share a similar melodic phrase further on, at the words “totus apostolicus” in *Franciscus vir catholicus* and “negociari in” in *Franciscus ut in publicam*. This phrase begins on the c, moves by step up to the f and then back down to the d, and concludes with the distinctive leap of a fifth from d to a. The melodic relationships between the three melodies conflate the themes of Francis’ orthodoxy and gospel life narrated by the chant texts articulating that they are inherently connected.

Figure 3.2 Comparison of opening melodic phrases of the first vespers antiphon, first antiphon and first responsory from the first nocturn. Transcriptions from Mitchell, inventory of “Fribourg.”

V A 1.1


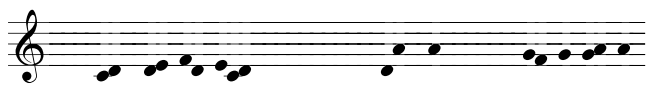



Figure 3.2 shows three musical transcriptions. The first, V A 1.1, is a single melodic line on a five-line staff in treble clef. It begins with a half rest, followed by a half note C4, then a quarter note D4, and a series of eighth notes: E4, F4, G4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. There is a significant leap from D4 to A4. The lyrics are: Fran – cis - cus vir ca-tho-li-cus et to-tus a-pos-to-li-cus.

M A 1.1



The second transcription, M A 1.1, is a single melodic line on a five-line staff in treble clef. It begins with a half note C4, followed by a quarter note D4, and a series of eighth notes: E4, F4, G4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. There is a significant leap from D4 to A4. The lyrics are: Hic vir in va - ni - ta - ti - bus.

M R 1.1



The third transcription, M R 1.1, is a single melodic line on a five-line staff in treble clef. It begins with a half note C4, followed by a quarter note D4, and a series of eighth notes: E4, F4, G4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. There is a significant leap from D4 to A4. The lyrics are: Fran - cis - cus ut in pu - bli-cum ces-sat ne - go - ci - a - ri in.

Textual relationships between *Franciscus vir catholicus* and *Hic vir in vanitatibus* heighten the thematic effect created by their melodic relationship. Table 3.3 shows the comparison of these textual relationships which include both texts employing the word

“vir”; the use of eight syllables in the first line of both texts (the syllable scheme differs afterwards); the final words of both chants’ first lines rhyming with each other: “catholicus” and “vanitatibus.” In addition to these textual similarities, both chants are the first antiphons for their respective hours. One could interpret the textual and musical relationships between the two antiphons as follows: Francis’ conversion to the life of the gospel narrated by *Hic vir in vanitatibus* is also a conversion to his life as a “wholly catholic apostolic man.” The original textual version of the first vespers antiphon which illustrates the worldliness of his former life would have accomplished this thematic effect more strongly because it conveys the dramatic nature of his conversion more sharply. Nevertheless, this interpretation of the additional relationships between the two antiphons suggests the degree to which Julian wished to connect Francis evangelical life to his devotion to the church.

Table 3.3 Comparison of the first lines from *Franciscus vir catholicus* and *Hic vir in vanitatibus*

No.	Chant text	Syllable count
V A 1	Fran-cis-cus vir ca-tho-li-cus	8
M A 1.1	Hic vir in va-ni-ta-ti-bus	8

Stepping aside from the ecclesiastical narrative for a moment, melodic and textual relationships between several matins chant melodies, namely *Regi quae fecit*, *Hic vir in vanitatibus*, *Franciscus ut in publicum*, and *In dei fervens*, the final four in Figure 3.1, emphasize the evangelical and Christocentric aspects of Francis’ image. In particular, I propose that these relationships express Francis’ *embodiment* of the Christian life,

especially by the image of the stigmata first referenced by the text of *Regi quae fecit*. Within the context of the overall office, these evangelical and Christocentric themes are then situated within Francis' ecclesiastical life because of their melodic relationship to *Franciscus vir catholicus* and *Coepit sub Innocentio* which frame the entire office narrative by virtue of their opening positions. These musical relationships highlight the closeness of Francis' life with Christ, which their texts express by indicating the basis of his life in the gospel. They accomplish this by emphasizing musically the imagery of the stigmata, which occurs for the first time in the text of *Quae regi fecit*. Its text calls on believers to "give praise to Christ the King whose wounds[...] are renewed in holy Francis."

Regi quae fecit opera
Christo confiteantur
cujus in sancto vulnera
Francisco renovantur

[May all things give praise to Christ the King, whose wounds, which made/completed the work, are renewed in holy Francis.]¹³

Like *Franciscus vir catholicus*, *Regi quae fecit* on a smaller scale musically and textually informs the narratives of the first nocturns. One may interpret that the positioning of a textual reference to the stigmata in the invitatory antiphon text declares that Francis' singular sign of holiness is the culmination of his evangelical life described by the matins narrative. Along a similar line of interpretation, Francis is textually and musically represented as an embodiment of Christian living. This image, by the relationship of the matins melodies to *Francis vir catholicus* and *Coepit sub Innocentio*,

¹³ Text taken from Mitchell, inventory of "Fribourg." Translation mine.

is then situated within Francis' orthodoxy so that, again, Julian articulates musically and textually the connectedness between Francis' religious expression and the church.

Overall, these internal musical relationships between the first two vespers antiphons and several of the office's first nocturn chants emphasize this connection. While motivated by the need to present Francis as an orthodox figure, this representation also stems from a spiritual understanding resonant with medieval theological conceptions of the church.

External Relationships

Analysis of melodic and thematic relationships between the chants of the Francis office and chants external to the office suggest broader relationships with pre-existing melodic material. I propose that these relationships stem from the effort to emphasize both the ecclesiastical and evangelical aspects of Francis' life.

Methodology

I based melodic analysis of the office and its broader musical relationships upon melody search findings for its chant incipits copied in a late 13th-century Franciscan antiphoner (CH-Fc02). I conducted the melody searches during the months of June to November 2019 inputting the incipits of every chant from the Francis office into the melody search tool of the CANTUS Database. The search's findings included chant incipits from manuscripts indexed in the CANTUS Database which either matched the Francis office incipits exactly or as a transposition. I performed this search beginning with each grouping of pitches from the first pitch of each chant up to the first fourteen pitches, recording the findings when the number of findings for a given chant was under

twenty matches. (Sometimes I made an exception to this rule when the findings seemed significant, even if exceeding 20 matches).

In addition to the melody search, I compared the chant incipits from the antiphoner up until the second nocturn inclusive with chant incipits of the Francis office copied in five earlier manuscripts. I did this in order to consider how closely the chants from the Francis office in my central source matched those in manuscripts dating more closely to the time of the office's composition. If the chants from the later antiphoner matched those from earlier manuscripts, this meant that analysis of the melody search findings could more accurately reflect speculation about the office's composition. More specifically speaking, I could think about whether Julian based the melodies from the Francis office upon pre-existing melodic material in order to emphasize certain themes.

The five manuscripts I used for comparison included four Franciscan breviaries and another Franciscan antiphoner, all from central Italy. The breviaries date from after 1235 (D-Ma 12o Cmm 1); after 1232 (I-Rvat lat. 8737); the first half of the thirteenth century (US-Cn 24) and, the second half of the thirteenth century (I-Nn vi.E.20); while the antiphoner in the group (I-Ad 5) dates after 1235. Most if not all the chant incipits up to fourteen pitches from my central source either matched exactly or very closely the incipits of the chants from the earlier manuscripts. Even if the chant incipits from my main source varied slightly from those in the earlier manuscripts, the melodic relationships identified from the melody search findings are still relevant.

After completing the searches for the office's chant incipits, I analysed each chant and its melodic matches in order to decide whether it should be analyzed further. I was particularly interested in findings containing chants from manuscripts dating before my

main manuscript source, which might suggest the basis of the Francis office melodies upon pre-existing melodic material. I deemed that a chant and its findings were significant if: a) the length of the incipit was substantial, usually at least seven or eight pitches in length; b) the chant incipit was melodically distinct. I considered an incipit distinctive if it had shape – i.e. it contained a significant interval like a perfect fifth, or several intervals beyond that of a second which would render the incipit aurally memorable; c) if the findings contained chants attached to feasts or texts with thematic content relevant to the Francis office; d) if the findings contained the same chant recurring across several manuscripts; and e) for transposed matches, whether the quality of the interval between each set of pitches was the same between corresponding intervals of the Francis office chant.

Analysis of External Melodic Relationships

Analysis of some of the findings for the Francis office suggests instances of borrowed melodic material to highlight the basis of his religious expression in the incarnation. Many of the findings for chants with texts narrating his evangelical life contain chants either attached to feasts commemorating the life of Christ or whose texts reference Christ's humanity. For example, the findings for *Franciscus ut in publicam* for the first seven pitches include *Surge illuminare*, which occurs three times in an eleventh-century French manuscript (F-Pnm lat. 12044) for the feast of Epiphany; *O crux gloriosa* for the exultation of the cross in the same manuscript; and *Stirps Jesse*, appearing in an eleventh-century antiphoner from Utrecht (NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)) for the conception of Mary. Among the findings for the fifth vespers antiphon is *Tecum principium* copied in a 12th-century Roman manuscript (I-Rvat SP B.79) for the feast of the nativity. The text of

Tecum principium is from Psalm 110:3 and states: “With thee is the principality in the day of thy strength: in the brightness of the saints: from the womb before the day star I begot thee.”¹⁴ Applied to the nativity, the text of *Tecum principium* intimates the cosmic dimensions of the incarnation. The application of its melody to *Hic creaturis imperat*, which narrates Francis’ relationship with creation, again frames important aspects of Francis’ life within the incarnation.

One of the most interesting cases demonstrating this kind of thematic emphasis is the responsory *In dei fervens* and its corresponding verse *Quam formidante. In dei fervens* narrates Francis’ intent to give the money he acquired from selling his possessions to the poor. Although it does not emerge as one of the matches for *In dei fervens*, the chant *Stirps Jesse*, is remarkably similar to it. *Stirps Jesse* is often affiliated with Marian feasts in the manuscripts indexed in the CANTUS Database. Its text refers to the tree of Jesse, an image associated with the messianic seed line, and also invokes the image of the Holy Spirit overshadowing Mary to conceive Christ in her womb. The latter image complements the former by representing the fulfillment of that represented by the Tree of Jesse. Shown in Figure 3.3, the opening and closing musical phrases of *In dei fervens* and *Stirps Jesse*, are both distinctive and remarkably similar. The opening phrases, for example, share the same triadic gesture descending from e to c to a as well as similar stepwise motion. The closing phrases both contain a similar melodic fragment beginning on an f (which then leaps down to d in *Stirps Jesse*), followed by a leap of a third from e to c, and then a leap of a fourth from d down to a. These resemblances in the opening and closing phrases of both melodies suggest the strong possibility that *Stirps*

¹⁴ Douay-Rheims Bible.

Jesse was the melodic basis for *In dei fervens*. If this was the case, then Francis' poverty, which was understood as his imitation of Christ in the gospels, was related musically to an image strongly evocative of the incarnation.

Figure 3.3 Comparison of Opening and Closing Melodic Phrases of *In dei fervens* and *Stirps Jesse*. Transcriptions from Mitchell, inventory of "Fribourg"; Denise Gallo and Keith Glaeske, inventory of "Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France - Département des Manuscrits, latin 12044," edited by Alessandra Ignesti and Sheila Meadley Dunphy, in *Cantus*.


Opening phrases

In dei fervens



In de-i fer-vens o-pe-re

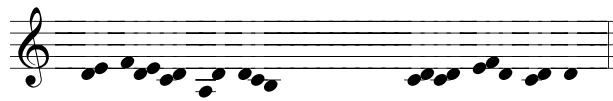
Stirps Jesse



Stirps ies-se

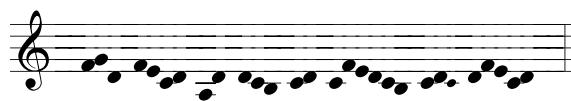
Closing phrases

In dei fervens



Of-fen-dit.

Stirps Jesse



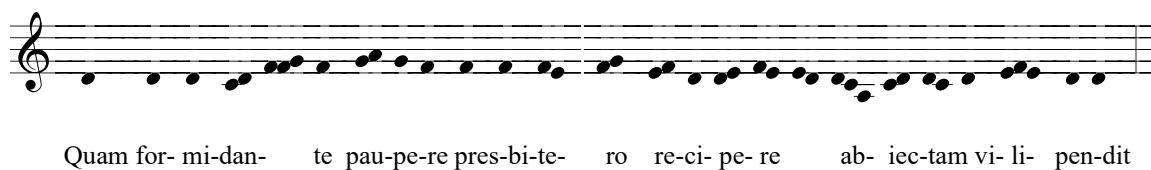
-mus.

The melodic relationship between *In dei fervens* and *Stirps Jesse* extends to the other chants related to *In dei fervens*, specifically *Coepit sub Innocentio*, *Regi quae fecit*, *Hic vir in vanitatibus* and *Franciscus ut in publicum*. The implied relationship of *Stirps Jesse* with the first nocturn and invitatory antiphon chant incipits supports the connection between Francis' religious expression and Christ's humanity; and its relationship to *Coepit sub innocentio* emphasizes the theological connection between the incarnation and the church, supporting the theological basis of the incarnation for the themes of Francis' orthodoxy and devotion to the gospel.

The verse for the responsory *In dei fervens*, *Quam formidante* and its findings suggest similar thematic emphasis through borrowed melodic material. *Quam formidante* continues the narrative of *In dei fervens*, stating the refusal of a poor priest to whom Francis tried to give the money from selling his possessions. The findings of *Quam formidante*, whose melody is indicated by Figure 3.4, contain 168 exact matches at fourteen pitches with the matching chant melodies appearing several times in manuscripts of various provenances, including my central source, CH-Fco2. Considering the findings more precisely, they comprise sixty-two chant incipits (other than *Quam formidante*) detailed in Table 3.4 from fifteen manuscripts, which are all antiphoners dating from the eleventh to sixteenth centuries, as shown in Table 3.5. This astonishing result suggests that the melody was well-known and therefore a likely candidate for the melodic basis of *Quam formidante*. One explanation for this result is the formulaic nature of responsory verse melodies. In one of the pioneering works on responsories, Walter Hesbert Frere was the first to understand "that many responsories are 'composed' by a process of ordering different standard phrases into stable patterns, creating recognizable

‘formulas.’”¹⁵ Frere focuses mainly on the respond portion of the responsory, but begins his study by providing transcriptions of standard verse tones in all eight modes as found in the antiphoner. Frere claims that these verse tones demonstrate what one will see in the responds, that is, the adaptation of liturgical text to music, although the process is evidently “more subtle, free and artistic” when applied to the respond.¹⁶ In another study, Hans-Jorgen Holman discovered that many of the responsorial-verses in Worcester F 160 were set to standard verse tones.¹⁷ From the perspective of both studies and their findings which reveal the formulaic nature of responsorial-verse melodies, the findings for *Quam formidante* seem less surprising. Nevertheless, this was the only responsorial verse whose findings had these types of results, and, in light of the analysis of its respond, *In dei fervens*, and its relationship to *Stirps Jesse*, the thematic impact resulting from the basis of *Quam formidante* on pre-existing melodic material and its text is still relevant.

Figure 3.4 Melody of *Quam formidante*. Transcription from Mitchell, inventory of “Fribourg”



Many of the feasts to which the melody incipit is attached are from feasts celebrating various moments in the life of Christ. The most notable of the chants

¹⁵ Katherine Eve Helsen, “The Great Responsories of the Divine Office: Aspects of Structure and Transmission” (PhD. diss. Regensburg, 2008), 37, urn:nbn:de:bvb:355-opus-10311.

¹⁶ Walter Hesbert Frere. “Introduction and Indices,” in *Antiphonale Sarisburiense, with a Dissertation and Analytical Index* (London: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1901-1924. Reprint Westmead: Greg Press, 1966), 5.

¹⁷ Katherine Eve Helsen, “The Great Responsories of the Divine Office,” 41.

contained by the findings and also occurring in the antiphoner, CH-Fco2: include *Pulchriores sunt oculi* (Table 3.4, chant no. 1), occurring in eight manuscripts for the fourth Sunday of Advent except for one manuscript; *Eripe me domine* (chant no.3), copied in eight manuscripts, sometimes multiple times in the same manuscript, and associated with Passion Sunday or Passion week; and *Observa igitur et audi vocem* (chant no. 16), appearing in nine different manuscripts most often for the fourth Sunday during Lent. The chants occurring in my central source in addition to the ones just mentioned and that are attached to feasts closely related to the life of Christ are *Orietur in diebus* (chant no.14), during the advent season; *Venite ascendamus ad montem domini* (chant no.15) for the third Sunday of Advent; *Locuti sunt adversum* (chant no. 17), although not the case in CH-Fco2, often affiliated with Passion Sunday; *Accedentes principes sacerdotes ad Pilatum* (chant no. 18) for Holy Saturday; *Illuxerunt coruscationes tuae orbi terrae* (chant no. 19) for the fourth Sunday of Easter; *Confitebor tibi in populis domine* (chant no. 20) and *Afferte domino gloriam et honorem* (chant no. 21) also for the fourth Sunday of Easter; *A summo caelo egressio ejus* (chant no. 22) for Ascension Sunday; *Loquebantur variis linguis apostoli magnalia* (chant no. 23) for Pentecost Sunday; and *Repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto* (chant no. 24) for Wednesday during the week after Pentecost. The frequent occurrence of this incipit attached to feasts commemorating Christ's life, especially in the same manuscript in which *Quam formidante* occurs, presents the possibility that it would reinforce the basis of Francis' gospel life within the incarnation and humanity of Christ. Its pairing with the responsory *In dei fervens*, melodically evocative of *Stirps Jesse*, posits the association even more strongly.

Table 3.4 Melodic matches with *Quam formidante*

No.	Chant incipit	Feast	Manuscript
1	Pulchriores sunt oculi ejus vino (Pulchriores sunt {} et dentes ejus)	Dom. 4 Adventus Annuntio Mariae	CH-E 611 CH-Fco 2 D-KA Aug. LX DK-Kk 3449 8o [01] I D-Mbs Clm 4303 F-Pnm lat. 12044 F-Pnm lat. 15181 PL-WRu I F 401 F-Pnm lat. 15181
2	In illo die suscipiam te	Joannis Evang. Comm. Evangelistarum	CH-E 611 DK-Kk 3449 8o XVI
3	Eripe me domine ab homine	Dom. De Passione Fer. 2 de Passione Fer. 4 de Passione	A-Wn 1799** CH-E 611 CH-Fco 2 DK-Kk 3449 8o [05] V D-KA Aug. LX D-KNd 1161 NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) PL-WRu I F 401 CH-E 611 DK-Kk 3449 8o [05] V DK-Kk 3449 8o [05] V NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) CH-E 611
4	Tu autem domine susceptor meus	Dom. In Palmis	CH-E 611 D-KA Aug. LX DK-Kk 3449 8o [05] V
5	Qui facis angelos tuos spiritus (Qui facit angelos suos spiritus) (Qui facit angelos suos spiritus) (Qui facis angelos tuos)	Ascensio Domini Sabb. P. Ascensionem	CH-E 611 D-KA Aug. LX F-Pnm lat. 12044 A-Wn 1799** F-Pnm lat. 15181 DK-Kk 3449 8o [06] VI NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)
6	Quae est enim fortitudo mea	De Job	CH-E 611 D-KA Aug. LX F-Pnm lat. 12044 NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)

No.	Chant incipit	Feast	Manuscript
7	Exspectemus humiles consolationem ejus qui	De Esther De Judith	CH-E 611 D-KA Aug. LX
8	Da nobis domine locum paenitentiae	De Esther De Judith	A-KN 1018 D-KA Aug. LX F-Pnm lat. 12044 NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) CH-E 611
9	Congregatae sunt gentes in multitudine	De Machabaeis	A-KN 1018 CH-E 611 D-KA Aug. LX
10	Ingressa Agnes turpitudinis locum angelum	Agnetis	CH-E 611
11	Erectis in caelum manibus stetit	Benedicti	CH-E 611
12	Carnifices vero urgentes ministrabant carbones	Laurentii	CH-E 611
13	Cum evigilasset Jacob a somno	In Dedicatione Eccl. .	A-KN 1018 CH-E 611
14	Orietur in diebus ejus Justitia	Dom. 1 Adventus Fer. 2 Hebd. 1 Adv.	D-Mbs Clm 4303 NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) CH-Fco 2
15	Venite ascendamus ad montem domini	Dom. 2 Adventus Dom. 3 Adventus	F-Pnm lat. 15181 CH-Fco 2 CDN-Hsmu M2149.L4 D-KNd 1161 F-Pnm lat. 12044 PL-WRu I F 401
16	Observa igitur et audi vocem	Sabb. Hebd. 3 Quad. Dom. 4 Quadragesimae	F-Pnm lat. 15181 A-Wn 1799** CH-Fco 2 CDN-Hsmu M2149.L4 D-KNd 1161 D-Mbs Clm 4303 F-Pnm lat. 12044 NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) PL-WRu I F 401
17	Locuti sunt adversum me lingua	Dom. In Palmis Fer. 2 Maj. Hebd.	A-Wn 1799** CDN-Hsmu M2149.L4 D-KNd 1161 NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) CH-Fco 2

No.	Chant incipit	Feast	Manuscript
18	Accedentes principes sacerdotes ad Pilatum	Sabbato Sancto	CH-Fco 2
19	Illuxerunt coruscationes tuae orbi terrae	Dom. 4 Quadragesimae Dom. 4 p Pascha	F-Pnm lat. 12044 A-KN 1018 A-Wn 1799** CH-Fco 2 F-Pnm lat. 12044 F-Pnm lat. 15181
20	Confitebor tibi in populis domine	Dom. 4 p Pascha	CH-Fco 2
21	Afferte domino gloriam et honorem	Dom. 4 p Pascha	CH-Fco 2
22	A summo caelo egressio ejus	Ascensio Domini	CH-Fco 2 D-Mbs Clm 4306 F-Pnm lat. 12044
23	Loquebantur variis linguis apostoli magnolia	Dom. Pentecostes	A-KN 1012 CH-Fco 2
24	Repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto	Dom. Pentecostes Fer. 3 Pent. Fer. 4 Pent.	D-Mbs Clm 4306 CH-Fco 2 F-Pnm lat. 12044 NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)
25	Dilectio illius custodia legum est	De Sapientia	A-Wn 1799** CH-Fco 2 F-Pnm lat. 12044 PL-WRu I F 401
26	Confitemini ei coram omnibus viventibus (Confitemini ei quoniam bonus quoniam) (Confitemini illi quoniam bonus quoniam)	De Tobia De Judith	A-Wn 1799** CH-Fco 2 NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) F-Pnm lat. 12044 F-Pnm lat. 12044
27	Indulgentiam ipsius fuis lacrimis postulemus (Indulgentiam illius fuis lacrimis postulemus)	De Judith	CH-Fco 2 F-Pnm lat. 12044
28	O bona crux quae decorum	Andreae	CH-Fco 2
29	Judicabit dominus populum suum et	De Sanctis TP	CH-Fco 2
30	Candidiores nive nitidiores lacte rubicundiores	De Sanctis TP	CH-Fco 2 US-CHNbcbl 097
31	Quam formidante paupere presbytero recipere	Francisci	CH-Fco 2

No.	Chant incipit	Feast	Manuscript
32	Diffusa est gratia in labiis	Comm. virginum	CH-Fco 2 D-Mbs Clm 4304 US-CHNbcbl 097 US-CHNbcbl 097
33	Erravi sicut ovis quae perierat	Dom. 3 Quadragesimae	CDN-Hsmu M2149.L4 D-KNd 1161 NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)
34	Transtulisti illos per mare Rubrum	Dom. 4 Quadragesimae	A-Wn 1799** CDN-Hsmu M2149.L4 D-KNd 1161 F-Pnm lat. 15181 NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)
35	Qui timetis dominum laudate eum	Dom 4 p Pascha	A-KN 1018 A-Wn 1799** F-Pnm lat. 12044 PL-WRu I F 401
36	Laudate dominum deum nostrum qui	De Judith	A-KN 1018 D-KA Aug. LX F-Pnm lat. 12044 NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)
37	Exaudi domine orationem nostram et	De Esther	A-KN 1018
38	Converte nos deus salutaris noster	De Prophetis	A-KN 1018 D-KA Aug. LX
39	Ascendit deus in jubilation	Ascensio Domini	DK-Kk 3449 8o [06] VI
40	Mementote mirabilium ejus	De Machabaeis	D-KA Aug. LX DK-Kk 3449 8o [08] VIII NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)
41	Praecipitque ei dominus	Dom. Septuagesimae	D-Mbs Clm 4303
42	Intende animae meae et libera	Dom. de Passione	D-Mbs Clm 4303
43	Os suum aperuit sapientiae	Visitatio Mariae	D-Mbs Clm 4305
44	De ore leonis libera me	Dom. De Passione	F-Pnm lat. 12044 F-Pnm lat. 15181
45	Insurrexerunt in me viri iniqui	Dom. In Palmis	F-Pnm lat. 12044
46	Cantate ei canticum novum (Cantate ei canticum*)	Marci Comm. Plur. Mart. TP	F-Pnm lat. 12044 F-Pnm lat. 12044
47	Replebitur majestate ejus omnis terra	De Trinitate	A-Wn 1799** F-Pnm lat. 12044
48	Erat enim exercitus magnus valde	De Machabaeis	A-Wn 1799** F-Pnm lat. 12044 NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)

No.	Chant incipit	Feast	Manuscript
49	Qui liberat Israel de omni	De Machabaeis	F-Pnm lat. 12044
50	Abstergat domina noxis famulos precibusque	Mariae Magdalenae	F-Pnm lat. 12044
51	In craticula positus deum non	Laurentii	A-Wn 1799** F-Pnm lat. 12044
52	Quae cum exisset dixit matri	Decoll. Jo. Bapt.	F-Pnm lat. 12044
53	Pretiosa sunt Thebaeorum martyrum vulnera	Mauritii	F-Pnm lat. 12044
54	Emitte agnum domine dominatorem terrae	Q.T. Adventus	F-Pnm lat. 15181
55	Et benedicentur in te omnes	Dom. Quinquagesimae	D-KA Aug. LX F-Pnm lat. 15181
56	Athleta domini Dionysius psallebat dicens	Inventio Dionysii	F-Pnm lat. 15181
57	Da mihi inquit puella hic	Decoll. Jo. Bapt.	NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)
58	Benedicite dominum deum caeli et	De Tobia	NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)
59	Det vobis cor omnibus ut	De Machabaeis	NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)
60	Venit ex te sanctissimus vocatus	Visitatio Mariae	NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)
61	Ne forte satiatus evomam illud	De Sapientia	A-Wn 1799**
62	Apertum est ilico os Zachariae	Joannis Baptistae	A-Wn 1799**
63	Laudate dominum omnes gentes et	De Judith	A-KN 1018 D-KA Aug. LX

Table 3.5 Summary of manuscripts with melodic matches for *Quam formidante*

Manuscript	Type of book	Date	Provenance
A-KN 1018	Antiphoner	Fourteenth century	Klosterneuberg
A-Wn 1799**	Antiphoner	Thirteenth century	Rein, Cistercian
CDN-Hsmu M2149.L4	Antiphoner	1550-1575	Salzannes, Cistercian
CH-E 611	Antiphoner	Fourteenth century	Einsiedeln
CH-Fco 2	Antiphoner	Late thirteenth/Early fourteenth	Franciscan
D-KA Aug. LX	Antiphoner	Late twelfth century	Zwiefalten
D-Mbs Clm 4303, 4304, 4305, 4306	Antiphoners	Sixteenth century	Augsburg, Benedictine
DK-Kk 3449 8o	Antiphoner	Sixteenth century	Augsburg
F-Pnm lat. 12044	Antiphoner	Eleventh century	St-Maur-des-Fossés
F-Pnm lat. 15181	Antiphoner	Early fourteenth century	Paris
NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)	Antiphoner	Eleventh century, fourteenth century additions	Utrecht
PL-WRu I F 401	Antiphoner	1275-1300	Lubiąż
US-CHNbcbl 097	Antiphoner	Fourteenth century	Franciscan

In addition to highlighting the connection between Francis' religious expression and the life of Christ, melodic relationships revealed by the findings suggest emphasis on his orthodoxy. The findings for *Franciscus vir catholicus* is one such example, containing at ten and eleven pitches two alleluias attached to feasts of the apostles from an eleventh-century manuscript (F-Pnm lat. 12044). One alleluia is for the feast of the apostle Mark, and *Alleluia, ego sum vitis vera* is copied for the feast of Philip and James. Considering the length of the incipit and its distinctive character, the chances of *Franciscus vir catholicus* evoking the alleluias from the apostles' feasts seems plausible. The evocation of the alleluia and its connection with the apostles would support the theme of Francis' orthodoxy narrated by *Franciscus vir catholicus*. Considering the relationship of

Franciscus vir catholicus to the invitatory antiphon and several matins chants from the Francis office, this thematic resonance would extend throughout the office, and reinforce the situation of Francis and his evangelical life within the life of the church.

The antiphon *Hunc sanctus praelegerat* from the Francis office similarly reinforces the theme of his orthodoxy by its relationship to *Beatus vir qui in lege*, sharing the same first thirteen pitches. Within the findings for *Hunc sanctus praelegerat* shown in Table 3.6, *Beatus vir qui in lege* occurs thirteen times in twelve manuscripts, of which one is the antiphoner CH-Fco2, and three manuscripts older than it. *Beatus vir qui in lege* is indexed 110 times in the CANTUS Database. In the findings, the feasts to which *Beatus Vir* is attached are mostly from the commons, such as the common of one confessor, the common of one martyr, the common of a confessor pontiff, of a confessor bishop, and the common of many confessor pontiffs. A similar pattern appears across the CANTUS Database for all records of the chant, which include inventories of the chant which do not have an accompanying transcribed melody. Many of these chants are also affiliated with confessor commons, i.e. common for one confessor, or the common for a confessor pontiff. Its affiliation with feasts commemorating ecclesiastical figures and those devoted to the catholic faith (i.e. a confessor), as well as its text celebrating the holy man dedicated to God's law would have resonated with the theme of Francis' orthodoxy narrated by *Hunc sanctus praelegerat*. The melodic relationship between the two chants would enhance this thematic relationship, reinforcing Francis' devotion to the church in the mind of the one singing the antiphon. The findings of *Hunc Sanctus praelegerat* as well as the distinctive melodic openings of both antiphons, the first two chants transcribed in Figure 3.5, imply the familiarity of the melody to those who were using the

manuscripts. The possibility of the melody’s familiarity consequently renders the likelihood of it as a melodic basis for the antiphon from the Francis office. Furthermore, *Hunc Sanctus praelegerat* in CH-Fco2 frames the psalm “Beatus vir” which increases the probability of its relation to *Beatus vir qui in lege*. The relationship of *Hunc Sanctus praelegerat* to *Beatus vir qui in lege* like the relationship between *Franciscus vir catholicus* and the alleluias would continue the pattern manifest in the office of situating Francis and his evangelical life within the church.

Figure 3.5 Comparison of openings for *Hunc sanctus praelegerat*, *Beatus vir qui in lege*, *Mansuescit non penitus*, and *Qui de terra est*. Transcriptions from Mitchell, inventory of “Fribourg”; Gallo and Glaeske, inventory of “Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France”

Hunc san- ctus pre-e-le-ge-rat in pa-

Be- at-tus vir qui in le- ge do-mi-ni

Man- su- es-cit sed non pe- ni-tus

Qui de ter-ra est de ter-ra lo- qui-

Table 3.6 Melodic matches with *Hunc sanctus praelegerat*, thirteen pitches

Chant	Source	Feast	Office	Genre
Hunc sanctus praelegerat	CH-Fco2	Francisci	Vespers	Antiphon
Beatus vir qui lege	CH-Fco2	Comm. Pl. Conf.		
	US-CHNbcbl 097	Pont.		
	NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)	Comm. Unius Conf.		
	F-Pnm lat. 15181	Comm. Un. Conf. Epi.		
	D-Mbs Clm 4304	Comm. Un. Conf. Pont.		
	CDN-Hsmu M2149.L4	Comm. Unius Mart.		
	A-KN 1012			
	A-KN 1018			
	F-Pnm lat. 12044			
	A-Wn 1799**			
	D-KA Aug. LX			
	D-Knd 1161	(No feast indicated)		
Accendit ardor spiritus	NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)	Visitatio Mariae	Vespers	Antiphon

Although the findings for *Mansuescit sed non penitus* do not include *Beatus vir qui in lege*, the incipit of *Mansuescit*, the third chant in Figure 3.5 and part of the narrative of Francis' conversion, is similar to *Hunc sanctus* and by extension *Beatus vir qui in lege*. The most distinctive similarity is among the first four pitches of all three melodies: after the initial descending stepwise motion from e to d, it leaps up by a perfect fourth and then, after an ascent by a major second from g to a, moves by another leap of a third from a to c. While not including *Beatus vir qui in lege*, the findings at twelve pitches for *Mansuescit* shown in Table 3.7 include the same antiphon *Gloria laudis resonet in ore* for the feast of the Trinity across nine different manuscripts, two of which predate the antiphoner CH-Fco2. The findings for *Hunc Sanctus* and *Mansuescit* reveal a

melodic relationship between *Beatus vir qui in lege* and *Gloria laus resonet*, implying the intersection of various themes, that of the life of the trinity and the life of the church, which resonate across the Francis office through the melodic relationships described. Francis’ evangelical life is thus contextualized within the church and the life of the trinity, which indicates a spiritual understanding informing the communication of these themes.

Table 3.7 Melodic matches with *Mansuescit sed non penitus*, twelve pitches

Chant	Source	Feast	Office	Genre
Mansuescit sed non penitus inprimis	CH-Fco2	Francisci	Matins	Antiphon
Gloria laudis resonet in ore	A-KN 1012	De Trinitate	Lauds	Antiphon
	A-KN 1018			
	DK-Kk 3449 8o [07] VII			
	D-Mbs Clm 4306		Vespers	
	F-Pnm lat. 12044			
	NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)			
	A-Wn 1799**			
	PL-WRu I F 401			
	D-KA Aug. LX			
Adhaerebat moralibus seniorum	NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)	Gregorii	Matins	Antiphon
Tungris pastore vidua longo luctu	NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)	Servatii	Matins	Antiphon
Praecipita domine omnes operarios iniquitatis	D-KA Aug. LX	De Prophetiis	H ¹⁸	Responsory
Cuncta pro Christi nomine	US-CHNbcbl 097	Clarae	Matins	Antiphon

¹⁸ In CANTUS, under the “office” category, “H” denotes those antiphon texts based on the historia.

So far this discussion has argued for the conflation of Francis' unique religious expression modeled after the life of Christ and his devotion to the church, which I initially proposed is motivated by a spiritual understanding of the church. The findings for *Hunc Sanctus* support my initial proposition, revealing the connection through melodic relationships between the theme of orthodoxy and the incarnation outside of the Francis office. The findings, however, also contain the chant *Qui de terra est* as an exact match at ten pitches, with this version of the antiphon from an eleventh-century French manuscript (F-Pnm lat. 12044), where it is included for the Octave of the Nativity. The text of *Qui de terra est* is from John 3:31-33 and concerns the incarnation and its mission:

Qui de terra est de terra loquitur, qui de caelo venit super omnes est; et quod vidit et audivit, hoc testatur, et testimonium eius nemo accepit; qui autem acceperit eius testimonium, signavit quia Deus verax est.

[He that is of the earth, of the earth he is, and of the earth he speaketh. He that cometh from heaven is above all. And what he hath seen and heard, that he testifieth: and no man receiveth his testimony. He that hath received his testimony hath set to his seal that God is true.]¹⁹

This constellation of chants with a shared opening suggests the intersection of the themes of the incarnation and orthodoxy. This thematic relationship reflects the understanding of the church as closely linked to Christ, which then extends to the Francis office through the relationship of these two chants to *Hunc sanctus* (and by extension *Masuescit non penitus*). The relationship between *Beatus vir*, *Hunc Sanctus* and *Qui de terra est* support my proposition that a spiritual understanding of the church informed Julian's close positioning of the evangelical and ecclesiastical aspects of Francis' life.

¹⁹ Douay-Rheims Bible.

Overall, the thematic resonances of chants both within the Francis office and with other chants from the liturgy would reinforce the basis of Francis' evangelical life in the incarnation and its situation within the life of the church. Some melodic relationships even reveal the intersection of various themes which express the basis of Francis' religious life and of the church in Christ.

Visitation Office

The melody search results for the Francis office also brought to light a full contrafact office: that of the Visitation by Cardinal Adam Easton (d. 1397).²⁰ A transcription of the Visitation office as it appears in Ottobone Lat. 676 confirms the musical relationship between the offices, both of which are provided in Appendix B. The transcription includes an inscription appearing at the beginning of the Visitation office which reads: "Incipit officium visitationis beate Marie Virginis ad Helysabet. Approbatus per dominum Bonifacium nonum, et cantatus iuxta cantum beati Franciscisci" ("The office of the visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary to Elizabeth begins, and is sung joined to the song of Blessed Francis").²¹ It appears that Andrew Hughes may have similarly observed the relationship between the Francis and Visitation offices. Under one of the manuscript sources listed under the subentry for Easton's office, Hughes included an

²⁰ Since performing the melody searches, I have corresponded personally with Rhianydd Hallas, who is working toward a critical edition of the Visitation offices by Adam Easton and Jan of Jenstejn. I believe that she is also aware of the contrafact relationship. More information on Hallas' project can be found here: "Two Rhymed Offices Composed for the Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary: Comparative Study and Critical Edition," ResearchGate, <https://www.researchgate.net/project/Two-rhymed-offices-composed-for-the-feast-of-the-Visitation-of-the-Blessed-Virgin-Mary-comparative-study-and-critical-edition>.

²¹ Andrew Lee, "Appendix III: Transcriptions from source documents, I. The Office of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin", in *The Most Ungrateful Englishman: The Life and Times of Adam Easton* (Corpus Publishing Limited, 2006), 298-306. Translation mine.

inscription, similar to that in Ottobone Lat. 676, indicating the contrafact relationship with the Francis office.²² (Additionally, in another subentry of the Visitation office, Hughes notes “chant borrowings from Thomas of Canterbury, TH21, and Francis, FR21.”²³ It appears, however, that this version of the office is not the same as Easton’s.)²⁴

After completing the initial melody searches, I confirmed the contrafact relationship between the Francis and Visitation offices, by comparison of transcriptions in CANTUS of the offices’ melodies. Having observed this melodic relationship, consideration of thematic resonance resulting from this relationship between the offices is pertinent toward understanding later reception of Francis’ liturgical image. This consideration, in fact, discloses the association of incarnationally-based themes present in Julian’s office with later reception of Francis’ liturgical image. The relationship of the Visitation office to the Francis office may allude to two themes which resonate with Christocentric dimensions of the Francis office: the themes of carrying Christ in one’s body and gospel itinerancy. The first theme echoes Julian’s emphasis on the stigmata, an image which I argued he uses to frame musically the matins narrative. The second theme, gospel itinerancy, resonates with Julian’s emphasis on the evangelical aspects of Francis’ life.

²² Andrew Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices. Resources for Electronic Research. II: Catalogue of Offices* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994): [YV42] Visitacio BVM [n2].

²³ Ibid.: [YV50] Visitacio BVM [n10].

²⁴ Full text of this version of the office is found in Clemens Brume and Guido M. Dreves, eds., *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (Leipzig: G.R. Reiland, 1896), 24: 117-119, <https://archive.org/details/analectahymnicam24drev/mode/2up?q=visitatio>.

In addition to the thematic and musical relationships between the offices, the feast of the Visitation has Franciscan roots, as it was initially adopted by the Franciscans in 1260, nearly thirty years after Julian's composition. The Roman church followed suit nearly a century later, adding the feast to its liturgical calendar in 1389. Cardinal Adam Easton, however, commissioned to "write an order of service he deemed a fit celebration,"²⁵ was not a Franciscan as one might expect but a Benedictine. His reason for using the Francis office as a melodic source is not altogether clear as he did not appear to have a great relationship with the Franciscan friars. It is known that Cardinal Easton was involved in the quarrel between the friars and the monks of the Cathedral priory in Norwich some time between 1357 and 1363, which, according to Margaret Harvey, implies he was involved "in the latest twist of the secular-mendicant quarrel with Richard FitzRalph at Avignon," a well-known polemicist of the mendicant Orders.²⁶ In light of these facts as well as the thematic commonalities between the offices, Easton's choice of the Francis office for the Visitation office's melodic basis is even more intriguing.

Comparison of the Melodies of the Francis and Visitation Offices

The two manuscript sources whose Visitation melodies appeared among the findings include a twelfth-century antiphoner (NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)), in which the Visitation office is a fourteenth-century addition, and a volume of a Danish antiphoner (DK-Kk 3449 8o [09] IX) dating from 1589. As seen in Appendix B, nearly every

²⁵Andrew Lee, *The Most Ungrateful Englishman*, 174-175.

²⁶Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome, 1362-1420: Portrait of an Expatriate Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 189.

melody of the Francis office from first vespers, matins and lauds is significantly related to those of the Visitation office copied in Utrecht and the incipits in a Danish antiphoner. Likewise, the order of chants for the Visitation in the two manuscripts correspond to the order of chants in the Franciscan antiphoner. The first five antiphons for first vespers transcribed from the Franciscan and Utrecht antiphoners, for example, are remarkably similar with some minor variation. More significant differences appear, however, beginning with the first vespers Magnificat melodies, which are still very similar but the Visitation melody is truncated. The melodies are more or less the same up until the midpoint of the Francis melody, around the word “transfiguratum,” at which point, one sees more significant variation until the closing phrases beginning at the words “asta posteris” in the Francis chant, and the words “in virgine” in the Visitation melody.

Generally speaking, more significant differences appear between the matins melodies of the offices, although the contrafact relationship is evident throughout. An exception to the contrafact relationship is the verse for the second responsories of the third nocturn (Responsory 3.2), where one can see the relationship between the responsory-verse melodies are quite different. The third responsories from the third nocturn and their verses (Responsory 3.3) are all together quite different between the offices. Additionally, the following chants of the Francis office do not have corresponding Visitation chants: Responsories 10 and 12 (Responsory 10 and 12) and their verses. Furthermore, the Benedictus melody for the Francis office is related to the melody for one of the optional vespers Magnificat antiphons of the Visitation office. Despite these differences, however, the contrafact relationship between the offices is apparent overall.

Thematic Relationships Between the Francis and Visitation Offices

The relationship of the Visitation office to the Francis office alludes to two themes with pronounced Christocentric dimensions: the themes of carrying Christ in one's body and gospel itinerancy. The first theme resonates with the image of Francis as *Alter Christus* and the understanding of the bodily manifestation of his conformity to Christ. This theme is already present in Julian's office with the image of the stigmata first referenced in the invitatory antiphon text and which I have shown is musically present throughout the matins narrative. As well, in medieval devotion while Francis was positioned as the other Christ, Mary was similarly paralleled to her son, with both cults stressing the saints' connection to Christ's humanity. This is directly expressed by the Visitation which commemorates Mary, pregnant with Christ, going to visit her cousin Elizabeth who is expecting John the Baptist. Mary is literally carrying the incarnate word in her body, paralleled by Francis who carried the incarnate word in his flesh via the stigmata. The choice to base the Visitation office melodically upon the Francis office may have been to allude to the theme of embodying the incarnate word, evidencing the association of Francis' image in liturgical sources with "incarnated" spirituality.

The other possible thematic connection between the two offices relates to gospel itinerancy which characterized the Franciscan Order, especially the early fraternity. The possibility of this connection is signaled by the chant texts of the Visitation office, which Christina E. A. Marshall notes emphasize the "extremities of Mary's journey" despoiling "Latin[...] of its words for travel."²⁷ The Franciscans and the gospel itinerant movements

²⁷ Christina E. A. Marshall, "Late Medieval Liturgical Offices in Acrostic Form: A Catalogue and Study," (PhD. diss., University of Toronto: 2006), 376 – 377, ProQuest, order no. NR16027.

were characterized by movement as they traveled from place to place preaching the gospel word, with an emphasis on *living* the gospel word, so that, they would be “no deaf hearers” of that word. The theme of gospel itinerancy is congruent with Julian’s emphasis on the evangelical dimensions of Francis’ life, which he highlights in the matins narrative. It also resonates with Julian’s depiction of Francis’ embodiment of the gospel word via the stigmata and Thomas of Celano’s portrayal where Francis was the gospel itinerant par excellence, embodying that word to the point that, “edifying his listeners by his example as much as by his words, he made of his whole body a tongue.”²⁸ In a sense, the gospel itinerants also *embodied* the words of the gospel by living that word through works of charity and penance while carrying that word from place to place much like Mary, pregnant with the incarnate word, going to visit Elizabeth. By evoking the themes of bearing Christ in one’s body and gospel itinerancy, the Visitation office’s melodic relationship to the Francis office demonstrates the association of Francis’ image with a particularly “Franciscan” Christocentric spirituality.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that the Francis office situates Francis and his evangelical life within the life of the church. I began by first summarizing the texts of the first vespers antiphons, showing how they initiate the connection between the ecclesiastical and evangelical aspects of Francis’ life. I demonstrated a series of melodic relationships within the office which aid in highlighting its main themes to ultimately situate Francis’ unique religious expression within the life of the church. I showed too

²⁸ Thomas of Celano, *The Life of Saint Francis*, 266. “[...]et non minus exemplo quani verbo aedificans audientes, de toto corpore fecerat linguam”, 1C 97.4.

how these relationships reinforce the incarnational dimensions of Francis' gospel life, especially by musically and textually portraying the stigmata as the culmination of his Christian journey. I then proposed a series of broader melodic relationships between the Francis office chants and chants outside of the office. I discussed the potential thematic resonance resulting from these relationships and showed how they highlight the connection between Francis' life and the life of Christ as well as reinforcing the ecclesiastical parameters of his life. I believe that Julian's portrayal of Francis, which underlines both the evangelical and ecclesiastical aspects of Francis' image, stems not only from the need to present his orthodoxy, but from the belief in the spiritual dimensions of the church. In other words, Julian strives to convey that Francis' alternative mode of living the gospel is a gift to the church, the body of Christ, bringing it new life.

I ended the chapter by discussing a contrafact office, the office of the Visitation and its thematic relationships to the Francis office. The themes common to the office – carrying Christ in one's body and gospel itinerancy – testify to the degree to which Francis' image was associated with especially Christocentric dimensions of Franciscan spirituality.

The notion of an incarnated spirituality, or a spirituality which makes the gospel values visible in one's everyday circumstances, was not exclusive to the Franciscan men. Indeed, as the next chapter will discuss, Clare of Assisi, inspired by the preaching of Francis left a comfortable life to live the vision which Francis communicated in his preaching. Although Clare would struggle against outside pressures to mitigate the radical expression of this vision by the women of San Damiano, the *Acts of the Process*

of Canonization testify to her embodiment of his ideals. Like the Franciscan vitae, analysis of musical sound sheds light in this regard, as well as the degree to which sources like the legends would move Clare's image away from this presentation.

Chapter Four: Music, Clare's Image and Conceptions of Female Franciscan Life in Clarian Hagiographic Sources and a Clarissan Manuscript Source

Like the canonization of Francis, the canonization of his first female follower Clare of Assisi precipitated the composition of hagiographic vitae and liturgical texts. Under the direction of Francis, Clare initiated the community of women residing at San Damiano in Assisi. The women lived a religious expression alternative to the traditional monastic form as they sought to adhere to Francis' ideals as closely as they possibly could for women at the time. This chapter concerns the Franciscan women investigating sound and auditory experience in Clarian hagiographic and liturgical sources and how they convey varying thirteenth- and fourteenth-century conceptions of female "Franciscan" life.¹ This is especially relevant, even beyond the musicological field, because of the proliferation of scholarship on medieval female Franciscan life and Clare's representation which has not yet seen an extensive musicological approach.

In comparison to the Franciscan vitae, there is a considerable paucity of references to musical sound in Clarian hagiographic sources. This may reflect the "silence" of musical sound in the sisters of San Damiano's lives at least partly owing to Clare's proscription of singing the liturgical hours.² The references which do appear, however, stand out in contrast to the relative silence of the texts' sonic landscape, which I believe alerts the reader to the significance of these musical occurrences. Likewise, the

¹ Catherine Mooney explains that the term "Franciscan" was coined in the sixteenth century, and "aptly describes the religious commitments, actions, and movements aligned with Francis of Assisi." Hereafter, I use this term in accord with Mooney's definition. Catherine M. Mooney, *Clare of Assisi and the Thirteenth-Century Church: Religious Women, Rules and Resistance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 237.

² For more on this, please see Mary Natvig, "Rich Clares, Poor Clares: Celebrating the Divine Office," *Women & Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture*, 4 (2000), 59-70.

first of the hagiographic vitae, the *Processo di Canonizzazione di s. Chiara* (the *Acts of the Process of Canonization*, hereafter referred to as the *Acts*), immediately stresses the importance of the auditory sense to Clare's vocation, citing it as the basis of her vocation, much like Thomas of Celano's assertion that Francis was "no deaf hearer" of the gospel word. Furthermore, after the account recalling Clare's miraculous hearing of the Christmas liturgies in 1252, the *Acts* report that in addition to this miracle, "many miracles of speech and hearing" occurred in the life of the saint. Clearly these references have something to say about the texts' representation of Clare, revealing an understanding of female Franciscan life. In terms of the office, the saint's narrative within a musical context takes on added impact with musical sound conducting considerable agency in the office's conveyance of the image of the saint.

In this chapter, I aim to unpack the meaning of these references with respect to Clare's image in Clarian sources and the attached commentary on female Franciscan life. In terms of the Clare office, I will discuss music's agency in communicating these commentaries, which, broadly speaking, are divided into two camps and were prominent during Clare's life and at the time of her death. The first includes the understanding like the one held by the sisters of San Damiano and for which Clare advocated throughout her life. Their conception valued the observance of the life imparted to them by Francis, with an emphasis on evangelical poverty and connection to the Franciscan fraternity. The other understanding promoted by the church proposed a religious expression closer to a regular monastic observance as well as a more traditional approach to the vow of poverty. Broadly speaking, the more "Franciscan" understanding is reflected in the first of the Clarian hagiographic vitae, the *Acts*, where the monastic approach emerges in the two

major Clarian legends, the *Legenda Versificata* and the Latin *Legenda* (hereafter referred to as the *Versified Legend* and the Latin *Legend* respectively) as well as Clare's office.

In the first half of this chapter, I examine these contrasting conceptions in the Clarian vitae, undertaking comparative analysis of Clare's marvelous hearing of the Christmas liturgy documented by the *Acts* and the two legends. In the analysis of the version in the *Acts*, I argue that through references to the senses, the testimony depicts Clare's embodiment or incarnation of the gospel life inherited from Francis. The miracle of her hearing represents the foundation of her vocation, prayerful listening to the gospel, so that Clare lives out what she hears. This portrayal aligns Clare closely with Francis, who was "no deaf hearer of the gospel word" and lived what he preached and reflects the sisters' advocacy of the form of life imparted to them by Francis and Clare. When comparing the account in *Acts* to that in the legends, it becomes clear that the legends "monasticize" Clare by presenting her auditory miracle as an interior experience, contrasting with her embodiment of Franciscan life in the *Acts*. This representation aligns Clare more closely with the institutional church's initiative to present her as an ideal monastic woman, which entailed removing her from more "Franciscan" representations like those in the *Acts*.³

In the second half of the chapter, I apply the conclusions from the first to analysis of chants from an office for Clare in a manuscript source. The office itself is contrafact of the Francis office and is the predominant Clare office (there is another office for the feast of the Translation of Clare as well as two lesser-known rhymed offices). While the author of this office is unknown, it was copied in a several manuscripts of varying provenance

³ Lezlie Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi: Female Franciscan Identities in Later Medieval Italy*, vol. 5, *The Medieval Franciscans*, ed. Stephen McMichael (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 49-54.

and type. I examine one of these manuscripts, a Clarissan processional dating 1351 from Brussels, which includes a unique representation of two antiphons and two responsories from the Clare office. The Clare chants and their texts are copied in parallel to the corresponding antiphons and responsories from the Francis office, with the two lines of text running parallel directly underneath the single line of notated melody. In my analysis of the chants, I argue that these visual and aural elements connect and juxtapose two contrasting images of the saints and attached religious expressions emerging from the chant texts. The texts of the Clare chants resonate more closely with the portrayal in the legends whereas the Francis chants align Francis more closely with “Franciscan” ideals. The “connection” and “juxtaposition” of the saints’ images and affiliated religious expressions suggests that these contrasting ideas were held in tension with one another by those using the manuscript. This proposes that these ideas, in their reception, would have interacted with each other possibly to create a variation of the community’s and/or individual members’ conception of female Franciscan life. This proposition is all the more interesting considering the date of the manuscript relative to these ideas’ initial promulgation nearly a century earlier.

In my analysis of the chants, I consider their visual and aural agency with respect to their representation of the saints and the “Franciscan” religious expression. I contrast and compare the saints’ representations by the texts; I analyze the use of textual parallelism between the texts; their contrafact melodies; as well as the appearance of these elements on the page. I finally consider a phenomenon which I call “cross-textual thematic linking” where a word or phrase from one text visually connects with a word or phrase from the other. The two create an entirely new phrase or refer to some theme

significant to Franciscan life, and which highlights differences between the saints' images. This phenomenon thus invites more speculation about how these meanings were received by those using the manuscript.

Clarian vitae and “The Marvelous Hearing of Saint Clare”

The three main Clarian hagiographic texts include the *Acts of the Process of Canonization* (1253); the *Versified Legend* (1254-55) and the Latin *Legend* (composed during Alexander IV's papacy, sometime between May 1254 and December 1261).⁴ The *Acts of the Process of Canonization* comprise a series of witness accounts documented by members of the Roman curia merely a few months after Clare's death. The accounts include testimonies of 15 sisters who lived with Clare as well as five interviews with people from the wider community who knew the saint. While the short span of time between the death of Clare and the process reflects the church's eagerness for a model of female religious life, the sisters' motivation to have their expression of religious life inherited from Francis preserved and validated is evident. This expression, of course, differed from that promoted by the church and for which it saw Clare as an ideal model, an image apparent in the legends. The promulgation of a more “monastic” religious life in sources like the legends was tied to the Roman curia's foundation of the Order of Saint Damian, later called the Order of Saint Clare, the first papally-founded all-female religious Order. The Order, founded by Cardinal Hugolino in 1218, comprised female religious communities arising in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century central Italy and eventually incorporated Clare's community of San Damiano into its foundation. After her death, the papal curia sought to promote Clare as the Order's female figurehead, and

⁴ Catherine M. Mooney, *Clare of Assisi and the Thirteenth-Century*, 16.

through its representation of her, to present the form of life it wanted the religious women to emulate.

Comparison of a musical event documented by the three texts reveals the sisters of San Damiano's vision of Franciscan life in the *Acts* and the promotion of a more monastic form of life by the church in the legends. More specifically speaking, analysis of sound and the auditory sense in "The Marvelous Hearing of Saint Clare" documented by the *Acts* shows the witnesses' portrayal of Clare's living out, or better yet, *incarnation* of the gospel life in the spirit of Francis. This representation, echoing Francis' and Clare's vision of religious life, contrasts with the legends, which portray the miracle as a more interior experience and thus facilitate the portrayal of Clare as a model monastic woman.

All accounts of the story by the *vitae* document Clare toward the end of her life, sick and unable to attend Christmas eve matins with the sisters at her monastery. Clare remains alone in the infirmary when she is suddenly favoured with a miraculous hearing of the Christmas eve liturgies occurring at Saint Francis Basilica in Assisi. In the legends and in one of the witness accounts in the *Acts*, Clare is privileged with an apparition of the Christ child, much like Francis at Greccio nearly thirty years earlier. The versions in the legends and one of the three witness accounts are notable for their richness of musical sound.

The story in the *Acts* is told by three witnesses: Sister Filippa (the third witness), Sister Amata (the fourth), and Sister Balvina (the seventh). Sister Filippa gives the most detailed account of the event with the other sisters reaffirming her testimony (Sister Amata includes that Clare saw the Christ child the same night). Because Sister Filippa's

account is the most detailed, I focus on her version in this chapter, while briefly referencing the others.

In addition to the richness of musical sound, what is interesting about Sister Filippa's testimony is where she situates her account of the vision. The way this part of her testimony is organized, somewhat echoed by Sisters Amata and Balvina but contrasting with the legends, provides the first clue indicating the miracle's connection to an overarching theme. This theme expresses Clare's commitment to Francis' ideals and Sister Filippa connects "The Marvelous Hearing" to this theme by situating it between a vision and an event expressing Clare's dedication to the Franciscan life, especially evangelical poverty. Immediately preceding the account of Clare's hearing, the *Acts* document that Sister Filippa recounts a vision Clare had where she saw Francis in a dream and was invited to "imbibe" at his breast. After the vision, the *Acts* record that Sister Filippa describes the miracle of Clare's hearing, which she concludes saying that it is one of the many miracles of speech and hearing experienced by the saint. It is noted that she expounds upon Clare's fidelity to the Order and adds that her greatest desire was to have the Privilege of Poverty and the *forma vitae* she composed approved. The *Acts* document Sister Filippa's colourful description that Clare desired to "place her lips" upon the Papal Bull approving the documents and, on the following day, to die. Sister Balvina, similar to Sister Filippa, mentions the Privilege of Poverty close to her account of the miracle, prefacing her statement about the miracle with a short sentence mentioning the Privilege of Poverty. Sister Amata, while also following her account of the miracle praising Clare's fidelity to the Order, does not recount the Privilege of Poverty.

The meaning of Clare's reception of the Privilege of Poverty in terms of the Franciscan life is self-evident: it represents the fulfilment of that for which Clare dedicated her life. The dream can also be interpreted along these lines since it clearly communicates Clare's closeness to Francis. Joan Mueller, discussing the contention between the church and the Franciscan women regarding female Franciscan life, argues that the desire to advocate the way of life Francis imparted to the sisters at San Damiano was behind their telling of the vision.⁵ Mueller argues that the sisters were reacting to church officials who stated that Francis' proposed way of life for the sisters was "infant's milk" or food for those not mature in faith or in religious life. The sisters, by telling the vision, were expressing that indeed, their way of life was a legitimately nourishing and fitting religious expression capable for facilitating a lifelong journey in holiness.⁶ The occurrence of Clare's reception of the Privilege of Poverty so close to the vision supports Mueller's argument, especially when one considers that Clare kisses the papal bull with her lips, with which she suckled from the breast of Francis, indicating some kind of connection. Likewise, the inclusion of "The Marvelous Hearing" between two stories so evocative of the "Franciscan" way of life suggests that it, and thus its references to music, connects with the overall theme articulating Clare's dedication to Francis' ideals.

A closer look at the three passages, specifically their sensory references, also suggests that they are thematically related along these lines. Sister Filippa's account, which differs already by its organization, contrasts with the legends' version by references to the more corporeal senses of taste and touch alongside the spiritual senses

⁵ Joan Mueller, "Chapter Three: The Politics of Infant's Milk," in *A companion to Clare of Assisi: life, writings, and spirituality*, ed. Joan Mueller (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 67.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 88.

of sight and sound. Her testimony, and thus her story about Clare's marvelous hearing, consequently takes on a more embodied dimension in comparison to the legends, which mainly evoke the higher, more spiritual senses of sight and sound. I argue that references to the senses in the account of Sister Filippa, including Clare's marvelous hearing, declares Clare's embodiment/living out or, in more Franciscan terms, *incarnation* of Francis' ideals. Music and thus the auditory sense represented in "The Marvelous Hearing" stand for that which was central to Clare's vocation – interior listening which is requisite to living the way of the gospel expressed by Francis.

Table 4.1 maps out the two visions and Clare's reception of the Privilege of Poverty in terms of their sensory references. The first reference to the senses (29.93a in Table 4.1), is in the opening line of Clare's vision of Francis where the testimony cites the visual sense, describing Clare's account to Sister Filippa as a vision. In the vision, Clare brought a bowl of hot water to Francis, after which she climbed a "very high staircase" where at the top "she reached Saint Francis." At this point (29.94-96), the testimony focuses on the sense of taste, and by extension touch, when Sister Filippa describes that Francis invited Clare to drink from his breast. Clare is invited to "imbibe again" with the description still focusing on the sense of taste by emphasizing the sweetness of what Clare had tasted. The attention remains on the sense of taste (and touch) when Sister Filippa recounts that Francis' nipple "remained between the lips of blessed Clare" (29.97). The sensory emphasis then shifts back to vision when Clare takes the nipple in her hands, which "seemed to her so clear and bright that everything was seen in it as in a mirror" (29. 98).

The account of “The Marvelous Hearing of Saint Clare” immediately follows Clare’s dream of Francis, shifting to the auditory sense. Sister Filippa recalls that Clare was unable to join the sisters at prayer on Christmas eve (30. 99-100). The sisters go to Matins, leaving Clare alone, who laments about her state to the Lord, and then “immediately began to hear the organ, responsories, and the entire Office of the brothers in the Church of Saint Francis, as if she were present there” (30.101), repeated similarly by Sister Balvina. The *Acts* record that Sister Filippa “narrated this and many other miracles of speech and hearing of Lady Clare” (31.102), implying that this sort of occurrence happened regularly.

Sister Filippa’s account continues with sensory description. After expounding upon Clare’s devotion to the Order, and how she “sold her entire inheritance and distributed it to the poor” (31.103-105), she describes Clare’s desire to have the Privilege of Poverty and her Form of Life approved. She, with reference to the gustative sense, reports that Clare’s desire was “to be able to one day *place her lips upon the papal seal*, and, then, on the following day, to die” (32.107). The image hearkens back to Clare imbibing at Francis’ breast and cues the thematic relationship between the vision of Francis’ breast and Clare’s reception of the Privilege of Poverty. The document relays that Sister Filippa states that it happened as Clare desired: Clare receives the papal bull, “reverently took it even though she was very close to death and pressed that seal to her mouth in order to kiss it”(32.108). She testifies that Clare did indeed die on the following day, and again cites the visual sense, stating that “Lady Clare passed from this life to the Lord—truly clear without stain, with no darkness of sin, to the clarity of eternal light” (32.109-111).

Table 4.1 Third Witness Testimony (Sister Filippa): References to the senses in Clare’s vision, “The Marvelous Hearing,” and Clare’s reception of the Privilege of Poverty (*Processo di Canonizzazione di s. Chiara* 29.93-32.111). Translation: “The Acts of the Process of Canonization (1253),” in *Clare of Assisi*, p. 161-162.

Event	Text
29.93a: Sight	
Vision of Saint Francis	Lady Clare related how once, in a vision, it seemed to her she brought a bowl of hot water to Saint Francis along with a towel for drying his hands.
29.93b	
	She was climbing a very high staircase, but was going very quickly, almost as if she were going on level ground.
29.94-96: Taste/Touch	
	When she reached Saint Francis, the saint bared his breast and said to Lady Clare: ‘Come, take, and drink.’ After she had sucked from it, the saint admonished her to imbibe once again. After she did so what she had tasted was so sweet and delightful she in no way could describe it.
29.97: Taste/Touch	
	After she had imbibed, that nipple or opening of the breast from which milk comes remained between the lips of blessed Clare.
29. 98: Taste/Touch→Vision	
	After she took what remained in her mouth in her hands, it seemed to her it was gold so clear and bright that everything was seen in it as in a mirror.
30. 99-100	
“The Marvelous Hearing of Saint Clare”/ “Del mirabile audito de sancta Chiara”	The Lady Clare also narrated how on the most recent night of the Lord’s Nativity, because of her serious illness, she could not get up from her bed to go to chapel. All the sisters went as usual to Matins and left her alone. The Lady then said with a sigh, “Lord God, look, I have been left here alone with you.”
30.101: Auditory	
	She immediately began to hear the organ, responsories, and the entire Office of the brothers in the Church of Saint Francis, as if she were present there.
31.102: Auditory/Speech	
	This witness narrated this and many other miracles of speech and hearing of Lady Clare, the first Mother and Abbess of the monastery of San Damiano and the first member of the Order.

Event	Text
31.103-105	
Praise of Clare's love of poverty and observance of Order	Noble by her birth and upbringing and rich in worldly goods, she so loved poverty that she sold her entire inheritance and distributed it to the poor. She so loved the Order she never wanted to neglect the slightest detail of the Order's observance, even when she was ill.
32.106	
Entrusts Privilege of Poverty to sisters	At the end of her life, after calling together all her sisters, she entrusted the Privilege of Poverty to them.
32.107: Taste/touch	
Desire to have <i>Form of Life</i> of Order approved	Her great desire was to have the <i>Form of Life</i> of the Order confirmed with a papal bull, to be able to one day place her lips upon the papal seal, and, then, on the following day, to die.
32.108: Taste/Touch	
Kisses papal bull	It occurred just as she desired...She reverently took it [papal bull] even though she was very close to death and pressed that seal to her mouth in order to kiss it.
32.109-111: Vision	
Clare dies	On the following day, Lady Clare passed from this life to the Lord—truly clear without stain, with no darkness of sin, to the clarity of eternal light. This witness, all the sisters, and all who knew her holiness maintain this without a doubt.

Interpretation of these sensory references in the testimony reveals the witness articulating Clare's connection to Francis and her "embodiment" of Franciscan life, of which listening is a central part. The first sensory reference - when Clare imbibes at the breast of Francis - represents her internalization of his spiritual ideals which she will later embody. In the medieval world, the sense of taste was one of the more corporeal, "lower" senses, especially in comparison to the senses of sight and sound.⁷ Although more corporeal than these senses, the sense of taste was not foreign to spiritual contexts, as is evident in Sister Filippa's witness account. For example, one of the scriptural psalms

⁷ Richard G. Newhauser, "Introduction: The Sensual Middle Ages" in *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser, vol. 2 of *A Cultural History of the Senses* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2016), 5.

exhorts the believer to “taste and see that the Lord is good” and the image of Francis licking his lips while pronouncing the name of Christ are such examples. In these religious texts, taste conveys a sense of spiritual delight, which is also apparent in the account of the vision, especially when it refers to the sweetness of what Clare tasted and how it delighted her. I suggest that taste also conveys a sense of spiritual depth and experience which is enhanced by the imagery of ingestion, denoting the internalization of what one has received. In the case of Clare, her vision communicates how profoundly she interiorized Francis’ religious vision so that it became part of the fabric of her being.

While indicating a sense of spiritual depth, the sense of taste because of its corporeal dimensions adds an embodied component to the image to which it is applied. In the vision of Francis’ breast, the corporeality of taste, enhanced vividly by the vision’s imagery, helps with the overall theme expressing Clare’s embodiment of the gospel life. This seems even more true when considering the vision’s resemblance to the “Madonna Lactans,” a common image in medieval and Renaissance iconography representing Christ nursing at the breast of Mary. This image reflects the focus in medieval devotion on Mary’s connection to the humanity of Christ and captures her role in facilitating the incarnation. It also had strongly eucharistic overtones, and was associated with acts of mercy and charity, an embodiment of Christian ideals.⁸ I suggest that the similarity of the Madonna Lactans with Clare’s vision would cross over to express her embodiment of Francis’ gospel vision. Just as the Madonna Lactans depicts Mary’s role in enabling the

⁸ Ibid., 66.

incarnation, Clare's vision of Francis represents his role in imparting to Clare a way of life enabling her to incarnate the spirit of the gospel in her own life.

Requisite to living out or embodying this way of life, of course, is prayerful listening to the voice of the divine spoken through the gospel word. I propose that the miracle of Clare's hearing signifies the centrality of prayerful listening, and therefore the auditory sense, to Clare's vocation and therefore functions in the overall depiction of her realizing Francis' ideals. "The Marvelous Hearing" stands alone among the three parts of Sister Filippa's testimony by citing the auditory sense which signals its significance. The *Acts* then document that Sister Filippa cited this and many more miracles of speech and hearing performed and experienced by Clare, compounding the significance of the auditory sense. The importance of listening and the auditory sense overall is evident from the very beginning of the *Acts*, which posit listening as the foundation of Clare's vocation, summarizing her vocation in terms of listening:

Heeding the saying of the prophet—O daughter, listen, see, and incline your ear; forget your people and your father's house; because the king has desired your beauty—she turned her back on passing and fading things. Turning to things ahead and forgetting everything behind, she gave herself willingly and readily to listening to holy discourse. She did not lose time nor did she delay in fulfilling immediately what she delighted to hear, but instantly denied herself, her relatives, and all her belongings.⁹

This passage iterates a kind of "logic" to Clare's way of life: it is founded on listening, which precipitates action and the living out of her vocation guided by the principle of evangelical poverty. It begins by quoting psalm 45 and presents Clare's vocation as a response to a call, which she answers by "turn[ing] her back on passing and fading

⁹ "Prologue," *The Acts*, 142.

things,” i.e. material goods and wealth. It re-emphasizes the importance of listening stating that Clare “turns to things ahead” and “gives herself willingly and readily to listening to holy discourse,” referring to Francis whose preaching inspired Clare to choose her way of life. It stresses the promptness of Clare’s response to his preaching: “she did not lose time” but “fulfilling immediately what she delighted to hear” left her family behind and sold her belongings. The passage further expresses the foundation of prayerful listening to Clare’s vocation, particularly prayerful internalization of the gospel expressed by Francis, which then precipitates actions guided by evangelical poverty.

When the *Acts* cite “The Marvelous Hearing” it re-emphasizes the centrality of the auditory sense to Clare’s vocation, which incarnates the gospel values. This is first evident when considering that “The Marvelous Hearing” is the sole auditory event among the three parts of the testimony – Clare’s vision of Francis, the miracle of her hearing, and the reception of the Privilege of Poverty – which express Clare’s incarnation of the Franciscan life. Second, the miracle occurs toward the end of Clare’s life and the *Acts* report that Sister Filippa testified that it was one of many such miracles in Clare’s life, indicating the auditory sense’s importance to her vocation: Clare’s religious life began by listening; it was sustained and lived out by listening; and now it ends by listening. Clare’s dedication to the Franciscan charism which defined her religious life is just as much a dedication to prayer and contemplation of the gospel. In a sense, because Clare is so attuned to interior listening, her hearing the Christmas liturgies at the basilica is almost inevitable. In addition to positing the role of the auditory sense in Clare’s life, the miracle, like the passage at the beginning of the *Acts*, indicates that her listening to the

gospel occurs through a Franciscan lens: Clare does not just hear any liturgy, but rather she hears the liturgy celebrated by the friars at *Saint Francis basilica*.

Moreover, Clare's prayerful listening precipitates concrete actions expressing the gospel values - actions enumerated in the opening passage of the *Acts* and epitomized by her reception of the Papal Bull. This is reflected by a general movement in this section of the testimony beginning with interior experiences, i.e. the vision and "The Marvelous Hearing," to outward actions, i.e. Clare's fidelity to the Order and her kissing the Papal Bull. The movement from inward experience to outward actions reflects a fundamental logic to the spiritual life. This logic, exemplified here specifically in Clare's life but also evident in various lives of the saints, including the life of Francis is this: one moves inward to listen to the divine, and eventually moves outward to live out and bring to the wider community what one has internalized. The movement is essentially a movement of incarnation, of taking one's spiritual values and making them concrete and visible in everyday life.

In Clare's life, this spiritual dynamic is realized by her listening to the gospel precipitating dedication to and insistence on evangelical poverty. In Sister Filippa's testimony, the dynamic from interiority, beginning with the vision, to outward action is fulfilled when she receives the Papal bull and kisses it. This moment depicting Clare receiving the Papal Bull with a physical act captures, therefore, her embodiment of the gospel values interpreted and imparted by Francis and which she initially receives by prayerful listening. Adding to the symbolic import of the moment, the testimony records that on the following day, Clare dies, as if to emphasize the degree to which she lived this commitment. After declaring Clare's death, the testimony states that "she passes from

this life to the Lord...to the Clarity of eternal life.” While this passage resembles language favoured by ecclesiastical sources in their portrayals of Clare, it articulates another dynamic in the spiritual life which validates her religious expression. Growth in the spiritual life culminates in spiritual vision, similarly expressed when Clare takes Francis’ nipple into her hands and can see in it as clearly as in a mirror. This logic may also be behind the inclusion of the Christ child’s apparition in Sister Amata’s testimony and in both legends which Sister Filippa surprisingly does not mention. Clare’s lifelong dedication to poverty, furthermore, beginning with listening to the gospel and then living it out by means of evangelical poverty, leads one to beatific vision in eternity, the goal of the spiritual journey.

“The Marvelous Hearing” in this testimony thus highlights the importance of listening and the auditory sense to Clare’s vocation, which is ultimately validated by her entrance into eternity. The picture of Clare painted by Sister Filippa’s testimony and “The Marvelous Hearing” maps out the dynamics in Clare’s religious life, showing that she lives out the spiritual vision she received from Francis in a way that unites her interior and exterior lives. This image contrasts with a more “monastic” Clare who emerges in the version of “The Marvelous Hearing” by the legends. Rather than portray Clare’s incarnation of the gospel expressed by Francis, the legends, presenting the miracle primarily as an interior experience, place a decided emphasis on Clare’s interior life, consequently aligning her with a more “monastic” depiction.

Table 4.2 shows the unfolding of events in the versions by the legends documenting the miracle. Unlike Sister Filippa’s account, the two legends do not include the story of Clare’s hearing after the vision of Francis (in fact, they do not include the

vision of Francis at all). Instead both place the story after a section titled, “Her Marvelous Devotion Toward the Sacrament of the Altar,” which describes Clare spinning linens for the use of the mass. The story of Clare’s hearing follows and, unlike the *Acts*, is titled in terms of a consolation as seen in Table 4.2 (XXV/29). The *Versified Legend* calls it “The Miraculous Consolation Christ Gave Her in Her Sickness,” and the Latin *Legend* refers to it under a similar heading, “A Certain Wonderful Consolation the Lord Jesus Gave Her in Her Sickness.” In XXV.1-2, the *Versified Legend* starts the account differently than the Latin *Legend*, describing the “heavenly measurer” fulfilling and rewarding “the virgin’s eagerness and promise.” Shown in XXV.3-4/29.1, both legends proceed similarly, with the *Versified Legend* stating that Clare is “always mindful of Christ” and burns ardently with love for Christ despite her physical frailty. The Latin *Legend* similarly states that Clare keeps the “memory of Christ...present to her in her sickness” and adds that “Christ visits her in her sickness” (29.1). The *Versified Legend* expounds upon Christ’s visitation to Clare, describing that “he sweetens her and delights her spirit with His Sacred consolation” (XXV.5-6). The following passages, stating that it was “the night of Christ’s birthday,” emphasize that this night dispels the darkness (XXV.7-8), and describe the “hills flowing sweetness and honey” (XXV.9-14), similarly alluding to the sense of taste like the *Acts*.

The two legends have similar descriptions leading up to the miracle. The *Versified Legend* states that Clare hears the “marvelous harmony of Blessed Francis” and “the brothers chanting” (XXV.24-26a), while the Latin *Legend* does not mention Francis’ voice specifically. Instead, it reports that she hears the liturgies occurring in the Basilica of Saint Francis, and provides greater musical detail, stating that “she heard the jubilant

psalmody of the brothers, listened to the harmonies of their songs, and even perceived the sounds of their very instruments” (29.4-5). Both legends refer to the supernatural nature of the event, emphasizing Clare’s distance from the basilica so that she could not by any natural means have overheard the liturgy (XXV.26b-30/29.6), and record further that she is privileged to see Christ’s manger. The legends conclude with Clare exclaiming to her sisters that Christ did not leave her alone but that his grace enabled her “ear to hear all the solemnities which the choir sang in the church of St. Francis” (XXV.34-37/29.8). Unlike the *Acts* where Sister Filippa follows the story by recounting Clare’s dedication to the Order, the legends follow the story with a passage describing Clare’s compassionate piety which laments Christ crucified.

Table 4.2 The *Versified Legend’s* (XXIV – XXVI) and the *Latin Legend’s* (28-30) accounts of the miracle of Clare’s hearing. Translations: *The Versified Legend of the Virgin Clare (1254-1255)* p. 230-231; *Legend of Saint Clare (1255)*, p. 306 in *Clare of Assisi*

<i>Versified Legend</i>	<i>Legend</i>
XXIV	28
“Her Marvelous Devotion Toward the Sacrament of the Altar”/ “De mira devotione erga Sacramentum altaris”	“Her Wonderful Devotion to the Sacrament of the Altar”/ “De miranda devotione eius eruà sacramentum altaris”
XXV: Title	29: Title
“The Miraculous Consolation Christ Gave Her in Her Sickness”/ “De quadam miraculosa consolatione quam ei Christus in infirmitate fecit”	“A Certain Wonderful Consolation That the Lord Jesus Gave Her in Her Sickness”/ “De quadant consolatione vere mirabili quam ei Dominus in infirmitate largitus est”
XXV.1-2	
As the heavenly measurer repays us what is thoroughly due, He fulfills and rewards the virgin’s eagerness and promise.	
XXV.3-4 (Memory)	29.1 (Memory)
As she is always mindful of Christ, weakness does not burden, but she burns with Christ’s love as she languishes.	Just as the memory of Christ was most present to her in her sickness, so too Christ visited her in her sufferings.

<i>Versified Legend</i>	<i>Legend</i>
XXV.5-6 (Consolation)	
Thus Christ sweetens her, visits and soothes her when she is weak, and delights her spirit with His sacred consolation.	
XXV.7-8	
It happens that it was the night of the Christ Child's birthday, which proscribes the gloom of the world's darkness.	
XXV.9-14	
There is no darkness, the night shines with that new Light of the eternal sun dawning on the world. This night, rather this day on which, as the prophet testifies, the hills flow with honey and the hills trickle with sweetness, the Child is born and the heavens shower new gifts upon the earth, and heaven's fortunes are wedded to the world.	
XXV.15-18	29.2
The heavenly citizens rejoice on this blessed night, the angelic host proclaims new joy to the world. On this night the Sisters rise for Matins that they might rejoice with Christ, leaving their sick mother alone.	At that hour of the Nativity when the world rejoices with the angels at the newly born child, all the ladies went to the oratory for Matins and left their mother alone weighed down by her illnesses.
XXV.19-23 (Sadness)	29.3 (Sadness)
While she recalls the Boy's birth and is unusually sad, so weak that she cannot be at His praises, she complains to Christ, and with her heart's humble voice the bride addresses her Spouse, she sighs and says: 'As you see, Lord, I am here alone for you.'	When she began to think about the Infant Jesus and was greatly sorrowing that she could not participate in His praises, she sighed and said: "Lord God, look at how I have been left alone in this place for You!"
XXV.24-26a (Sound)	29.4-5 (Sound)
Not a moment's delay. That marvelous harmony of Blessed Francis resounded in the virgin's ears; she hears the brothers chanting.	Behold, that wonderful concert that was taking place in the church of Saint Francis suddenly began to resound in her ears. She heard the jubilant psalmody of the brothers, listened to the harmonies of their songs, and even perceived the very sound of the instruments.

<i>Versified Legend</i>	<i>Legend</i>
XXV.26b-30 (Supernatural)	29.6 (Supernatural)
That place was not nearby because, unless the organ had been brought by a heavenly command, or her body's hearing had been increased by the gift of the highest power, it could never have touched the virgin's ears in a human way.	The nearness of the place was in no way such that a human being could have heard this unless either that solemnity had been divinely amplified for her or her hearing had been strengthened beyond human means.
XXV.31-33 (Vision)	29.7 (Vision)
No less do I reflect upon this astonishing event; in fact, I believe it to be even kinder, because the lonely woman deserves to see Christ's manger for her sweet consolation.	But what totally surpasses this event: she was worthy to see the very crib of the Lord!
XXV.34-37	29.8
Afterwards, on the following morning, she presents this to her companions: 'Blessed be God! He did not leave me alone. His grace enabled my ear to hear all the solemnities which the choir sang in the church of St. Francis.'	In the morning when her daughters came to her, blessed Clare said: "Blessed be the Lord Jesus Christ, Who did not leave me after you did. In fact, I heard, by the grace of Christ, all those solemnities that were celebrated this night in the church of Saint Francis."
XXVI	30
"Her Most Fervent Love of the Cross"/ "De ferventissimo crucis amore"	"The Very Fervent Love of the Crucified"/ "De ferventissimo crucifixi amore"

Even when considering the differences between the account by Sister Filippa and the legends' version, it should be noted that the legends do not completely disconnect Clare from Francis and therefore the Franciscan life. Clare, for example, hears the liturgy occurring in *Saint Francis Basilica*; and the *Versified Legend* states that she heard Francis singing; while both legends report that she saw an apparition of the Christ child, much like Francis and the Greccio scene. Among the many differences that do exist, however, the legends display a more "monasticized" version of Clare instead of focusing on her dedication to Francis' spiritual ideals. For an example, there is no inclusion of the vision of the breast of Francis in the legends; the legends do not enumerate Clare's

fidelity to the Order after recounting the miracle like Sister Filippa does in the *Acts*; and they do not mention the Privilege of Poverty here. Instead of portraying the miracle in reference to Clare's fidelity to the Order, the legends place a decided focus on her interiority.

The legends emphasize the inward nature of the miracle right away through their titles. Instead of referring to the event as "Del mirabile audito de sancta Chiara" or "The Marvelous Hearing of Saint Clare" like the *Acts*, both legends title the story in terms of a consolation: "De quadam miraculosa *consolatione* quam ei Christus in infirmitate fecit," as called by the *Versified Legend*; and "De quadant *consolatione* vere mirabili quam ei Dominus in infirmitate largitus est" by the Latin *Legend*. One soon realizes, when reading the opening passages, that this "consolation" is an interior phenomenon. Also unlike the title in the *Acts*, the legends emphasize Clare's illness, which then sets up an opposition between Clare's inner and outer lives. This opposition, sustained throughout both versions, validates Clare's inward life and gives it primacy: Clare experiences the joy of this consolation while her body is sick and ailing. This contrasts with the representation in the *Acts* where Clare brings together her inward experience and her outward life by living out her spiritual ideals.

The emphasis on Clare's inner life and the interior nature of the experience is evident in the opening lines of both accounts, which contextualize the miracle or consolation in terms of memory: the *Versified Legend* refers to Clare's "mindfulness" (Table 4.2, XXV.3-4), with the *Legend* explicitly referring to "memory"(29.1). The medieval understanding of memory defines it as the means by which "impressions are

distilled by the outside in,” denoting its interiority.¹⁰ Saint Augustine similarly defines memory as an internal entity identifying it as “the stomach of the mind” where “joy and sadness” are like “sweet and bitter food.”¹¹ Both legends adopt similar language in the following lines, and continue the emphasis on Clare’s interior life: the *Versified Legend* refers to Christ who “sweetens” Clare (XXV.5-6); both legends describe Clare’s sadness (XXV.19-23) and sorrow (29.3). The opening lines consequently set up the interior dimension of Clare’s experience, which is the antidote to Clare’s sorrow, a “consolation” to the “stomach of her mind.” Although there is an interior dimension in the *Acts* there is no mention of memory. The testimony in the *Acts* also does not explicitly mention Clare’s sadness, which the legends emphasize in order to enhance the miracle’s consolatory nature. While Sister Filippa’s testimony depicts the miracle as part of her “living out” the gospel, the legends contextualize it in terms of an interior experience, evidencing a certain “refashioning” of Clare.

The legends’ version of the miracle also creates a sharp distinction between Clare’s inner and outer bodies, contrasting with Sister Filippa’s contextualization of the miracle within a sensory framework. The distinction by the legends serves to emphasize Clare’s interior life, again contrasting with Sister Filippa’s account uniting Clare’s interior and outward lives by sensory references. At times though, the distinction between Clare’s inner and outer lives in the legends is not clear. For example, both legends refer specifically not just to Clare’s hearing (interior) but to her ears (exterior): the *Versified*

¹⁰ Patricia Dailey, “The Body and its Senses” in *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism*, ed. by Amy Hollywood and Patricia Z. Beckman, (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 264, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CCO9781139020886.020>.

¹¹ Augustine, *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, transl. by John K. Ryan (New York: Doubleday, 1960), bk. 10.14; 243.

Legend quotes that “the marvelous harmony of Blessed Francis resounded *in the virgin’s ears* [Concentus mirabilis ille beati Francisci sonuit *in virginis auribus*],”¹² and the Latin *Legend* similarly states that the “wonderful concert that was taking place in the church of Saint Francis suddenly began to *resound in her ears*. She heard the jubilant psalmody of the brothers, listened to the harmonies of their songs, and even perceived the very sounds of the instruments [Ecce repente mirabilis ille concentus, qui in ecclesia sancti Francisci fiebat, *suis coepit auribus intonare*. Audiebat iubilum fratrum psallentium, harmonias cantantium attendebat, ipsum etiam percipiebat sonitum organorum.]”¹³ The confusion apparent in the legends resonates with Patricia Dailey’s explanation of the inner and outer bodies in the medieval understanding. Dailey explains that when medieval texts refer to the body, one cannot presume to know whether they mean the inner or outer body.¹⁴ In this vein, the distinction in the *Acts* accounts is also not clear at times – for example, we do not know for certain whether the miracle was apprehended by Clare’s physical or inner ears or both. The *Acts* sensory narrative, however, has a decided physical dimension wrought by citing the “lower,” more corporeal senses of taste and touch in addition to the “higher,” more spiritual senses of sight and sound. Moreover, the testimony in the *Acts* concludes with a physical, historical act of Clare kissing the papal bull, creating a balance in the passage between Clare’s inner and outer lives.

¹² 845; Translation: “XXV. The Miraculous Consolation Christ Gave Her In Her Sickness,” *The Versified Legend of the Virgin Clare*, edited by Regis J. Armstrong (New York: New City Press, 2006), 230.

¹³ 29.4-5; Translation: “A Certain Wonderful Consolation That the Lord Jesus Gave Her in Her Sickness”, *The Legend of Saint Clare*, edited by Regis J. Armstrong (New York: New City Press, 2006), 306.

¹⁴ Patricia Dailey, “The Body and its Senses” in *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism*, ed. Amy Hollywood and Patricia Z. Beckman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 264.

In the legends, however, despite their occasional obscurity with regard to Clare's inner life and outward reality, the opening lines initiate this distinction with emphasis on her internal experience, i.e. memory and consolation, while clarifying that her body is sick and ailing. The distinction is compounded when the texts highlight the supernatural nature of the event, which Sister Filippa's testimony does not emphasize, implying that the miracle could not have been apprehended in a human way, i.e. by Clare's physical ears. The *Versified Legend* states, for example, that the site of the event "was not nearby" and that "unless the organ had been brought by a heavenly command, or her body's hearing had been increased by the gift of the highest power, it could never have touched the virgin's ears in a human way."¹⁵ The Latin *Legend* similarly states the distance between Clare and the site of the event, underlining the supernatural nature of the consolation:

The nearness of the place was in no way such that a human being could have heard this unless either that solemnity had been divinely amplified for her or her hearing had been strengthened beyond human means.¹⁶

This description contrasts with the *Acts*, which do not include any such passage but portray Clare's hearing of the liturgy as an embodied act, stating that she heard "the organ, responsories, and the entire Office of the brothers in the Church of Saint Francis, *as if she were present there.*"¹⁷ The legends' decided emphasis on the supernatural nature of the miracle, along with the opening lines of both narratives citing memory, implies that the miracle was apprehended by Clare's inner body. The event happens, furthermore,

¹⁵ "XXV. The Miraculous Consolation", *The Versified Legend*, 231.

¹⁶ "A Certain Wonderful Consolation", *The Legend*, 306.

¹⁷ "The Third Witness" in *The Acts*, 161.

while Clare's physical strength is diminishing, distinguishing her outer body from and giving added primacy to her inner life which is flourishing. In contrast, the testimony in the *Acts* portrays Clare's inner experience, her vision of Francis and listening, resulting in embodied actions. The Clare emerging from the *Acts* is one who embodies and lives out the gospel ideals expressed by Francis and interiorized by prayer, bringing together her inward and outward experience. The Clare of the legends experiences a disconnect between her outward and inward lives, implying her transcendence of the physical and material and depicting a "monastic" and cloistered Clare.

Antiphons and Responsories from the Offices of Francis and Clare in the Plimpton Processional (Plimpton MS 034)

The varying images of Clare emerging from the accounts described correspond to Lezlie Knox's position on the refashioning of Clare apparent in the legends. In chapter one of *Creating Clare of Assisi*, Knox summarizes contrasting portrayals of Clare by hagiographical texts, explaining that the legends "neutralize" her image, moving the attention away from her advocacy of evangelical poverty and connection to Francis and the Franciscan fraternity. Knox explains that instead, the legends portray Clare "according to the paradigm of a consecrated virgin," emphasizing her silence, enclosure and penitence.¹⁸ Knox explains that, behind this refashioning, was the need to present Clare in a way that the friars could accept, for among various members had arisen resistance to her ideals.¹⁹ These ideals included advocacy of a strict interpretation of Francis' ideals and of maintaining the connection between the Franciscan men and

¹⁸ Ibid., 50.

¹⁹ Ibid. 49.

women. Knox states that, instead, the legends mold Clare into a model monastic woman for enclosed women, part of the its effort to promote her as the female figurehead of the Order which it founded.²⁰

The image of Clare emerging from the office chants copied in Plimpton seems to have been subject to a similar refashioning as that by the legends. It is not surprising that the Clare in the office would resemble that in the legends given that the Latin *Legend* was the textual source for the office. Looking at the four chants preserved in Plimpton specifically, what is immediately striking about the Clare texts is their focus on her interior life, much like the legends' account of Clare's hearing. The texts describe her compassionate piety as well as her inward contemplation and do not portray any outward actions, giving further primacy to her interior qualities. The Clare texts also demonstrate a de-emphasis of the "Franciscan" elements characterizing Clare's life, similar to that of the legends, such as not making any overt mention of poverty. This positioning of Clare contrasts with the Francis texts in the manuscript which allude to several Franciscan values such as minority, identifying with the least in society, and Francis' dedication to the gospel. The Francis texts also depict him performing outward actions so that there is a balance struck between his inward and outward lives, much like the Clare in the *Acts*, who lives out the Franciscan ideals, and Francis in the *Vita Prima* where he first lives the gospel word he preaches. Nevertheless, certain musical and visual elements of these chants in Plimpton connect the chants and thus juxtapose the images which they portray.

The most obvious of these elements is contrafact, further aided by textual parallelism. While the Latin *Legend* and the bible provide the foundation for the office's

²⁰ Ibid., 48.; 57.

narrative, the Francis office provides its musical basis, with most of the Clare melodies contrafact of those in the Francis office. While the composer of the Clare office is unknown, it is clear that he or she wanted to parallel the two saints, evident by the offices' musical and textual commonalities. The chants' visual presentation in Plimpton also evidences the efforts of the scribe, Johannes de Havere, to parallel the two saints, as the aural elements of contrafact and textual parallelism are visually apparent. The scribe copied the antiphons and responsories in a unique way: the Clarian texts are inscribed directly below Francis', with both lines of texts running underneath the single line of notated melody. The result is that the chants' visual presentation enhances the aural elements of contrafact and textual parallelism, further enhancing the connections made between the two saints.

Considering the similarities between the chants in Plimpton with regard to their seemingly disparate presentation of Franciscan life leads one to speculate how those using the manuscript received the ideas presented by them. In this section, I discuss the aural and visual agency of the chants with regard to their images of the saints and affiliated representations of Franciscan life. I argue that these visual and aural elements of the chants connect and juxtapose two contrasting conceptions of Franciscan life represented by the images of Francis and Clare emerging from the chant texts. This suggests that those using the manuscript, the nuns of Brussels, were forced to navigate these contrasting ideas with respect to each other, possibly shaping the nuns' communal and individual identities.

The Urbanist Community in Brussels

The manuscript in which the Francis and Clare chants were copied belonged to a monastery of the Order of St. Clare in Brussels founded in 1343. Most houses in the Order of St. Clare observed the Urbanist rule, introduced in 1263 in order to bring greater uniformity among the houses incorporated into the Order. It allowed for corporate endowments (which led to those adopting the rule being referred to as the “Rich Clares”), thereby differing from Francis’ and Clare’s approach to the vow of poverty which greatly distinguished the expression of life at San Damiano. The community in Brussels was established with the help of William van Duvenvoorde who was a great supporter of the mendicant Orders.²¹ He had a special devotion to Clare, which is proposed as the possible motivation for his founding a house of “Rich Clares,”²² and probably accounts for the Francis and Clare chants in Plimpton which give special primacy to Clare.

Most of what we know about the community in Brussels originates from a study in 1967 by Marie-Jean Juvyns. We know that the community was large and important, enjoying the patronage and benefaction of significant members of society. The monastery probably even had its own scriptorium although Plimpton was not copied by a member of the community.²³ Juvyns’ study includes an assessment of the religious observance and spiritual life of the nuns. She concludes that they observed the rule “sans rigueur,” citing

²¹ Marie-Jeanne Juvyns, *Le Couvent des Riches Claires a Bruxelles (1343-1585)* (Sint-Franciskusdrukkerij, 1967), 6.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ “Opbrussel (Brussel-St. Giles)/Rijke Klaren; Brussels (Brussel/Bruxelles, Belgium); 1343-1783/1796,” *Franciscan Women: History and Culture; A Geographical and Bio-Bibliographic Guide*, http://franwomen.sbu.edu/convent_display.aspx?CID=1353&CyID=14&PID=0&Sort=All.

many examples of their lax observance of the cloister²⁴ and a great attachment to “biens matériels.”²⁵ Judging from Juvyns’ conclusions, even though she uses the Urbanist rule as the measure of the nuns’ religious fervor, it does not sound like they observed a very “Franciscan” life, at least in terms of evangelical poverty. Even though the Urbanists did not approach the vow of poverty in the same way as Francis and Clare, Juvyns implies that the Urbanists of Brussels were lax even in light of the parameters set out by the Urbanist rule. In addition to not appearing very “Franciscan” according to Juvyns’ findings, the nuns also seemed negligent in terms of monastic stipulations differentiating the Urbanists from the more Franciscan style of life originally observed by San Damiano.

Accordingly, it seems that any inference about the nuns’ collective identity is going to be nuanced since what we know about their lives does not fit neatly into either a “Franciscan” mold or that of the more monastic style. An in-depth reading and revisiting of Juvyn’s study from the perspective of the latest scholarship on Franciscan women would be insightful in this regard. While I do not propose to come up with any substantial answer to these questions, I do propose that the simultaneous presence of “Franciscan” and “monastic” ideas of religious life in the Francis and Clare chants is useful toward understanding the nuns’ communal and individual identities and conception of religious life.

²⁴ Juvyns, *Le Couvent des Riches Claires*, 109-122.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 122.

The Plimpton Processional

The Plimpton Processional offers one such a window into the nuns' lives. The inscribed date of the manuscript is 1351, and its scribe is identified as Johannes de Havere, the same scribe of another Clarissan manuscript, Brussels 1870, dating 1348.²⁶ Plimpton is a processional book, containing processional chants and hymns notated with square notation, including the chants and hymns listed in appendix C: for the Purification of Mary, Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, the feasts of Francis and Clare (October 3 and August 12), chants from the office of the dead, and for Corpus Christi. What is interesting about this inventory of chants is that the antiphons and responsories for Clare and Francis shown in Table 4.3 are the only chants in honour of a specific saint. This testifies to the importance of their veneration at the monastery which is even more apparent considering they are included among processional chants and hymns attached to major feasts. The Francis and Clare chants themselves are not specifically processional chants, which is not altogether unusual since office chants like the Magnificat antiphons were often used for feast day processions.²⁷ The presence of the Francis and Clare antiphons and responsories in Plimpton, however, is potentially unusual since common practice when borrowing office chants for a feast day procession was to simply refer to the antiphoner, rather than recopy them into the processional book.²⁸ In addition to their presence as the only chants

²⁶ "Life and Death for Clares in Fourteenth Century Brussels," Chant Manuscripts, <https://chantmanuscripts.omeka.net/exhibits/show/burial-procession/convent>.

²⁷ David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 318.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

in Plimpton attached to specific saints, their presence itself signals the importance of the saints' veneration at the monastery.

Table 4.3 Inventory of the Francis and Clare chants in Plimpton MS 034, ff. 18r-20r²⁹

Francisci	Antiphon	O stupor et gaudium o
Clarae	Antiphon	O decus virgineum o iubar
Francisci	Responsory	Amicum quaerit pristinum qui spretum v. <i>Sub typo trium ordinum tres</i>
Clarae	Responsory	Amica crucis plangere crucifixum novitias v. <i>Haec Christi sui munere morbos</i>
Francisci	Responsory	Audit in evangelio quae suis v. <i>Non utens virga calceo nec</i>
Clarae	Responsory	Vivens in mundo labili sponso v. <i>Sit in rota versatuli fulta</i>
Francisci	Antiphon	Laudans laudare monuit laus illi
Clarae	Antiphon	Laudans laudare studeat in laudem

The significance of their veneration is even more apparent when considering that the pairing of the two saints contrasts with trends in their cults in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century central Italy.³⁰ Nirit Ben-Ariyeh Debby has shown that Clare's significance diminished significantly overall in central Italy, with some exceptional cases like the city of Naples. Debby also observed that she was almost never represented alongside Francis, at least in public settings and in the Franciscan friaries. In contrast, it seems that devotion to Clare representing her alongside Francis persisted in Clarissan contexts. As an example of this, Debby mentions a painting of *The Tree of Life* (1310)

²⁹ Susan Boynton and Sister Ilaria Cushaw, inventory of "New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Plimpton MS 034," edited by Alessandra Ignesti, in: *Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant -- Inventories of Chant Sources*. Directed by Debra Lacoste (2011-), Terence Bailey (1997-2010), and Ruth Steiner (1987-1996). Web developer, Jan Koláček (2011-). Available from <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/>>.

³⁰ Nirit Ben-Ariyeh Debby, *The Cult of St Clare of Assisi in Early Modern Italy* (Routledge, 2014), 48-49.

which was originally from a Clarissan convent in Monticelli. The painting, based on Bonaventure's literary work *Lignum vitae*, depicts Christ on the cross forming a tree in between whose branches are images from Christ's life. This particular representation depicts both Clare and Francis with Clare opposite from Francis at the foot of the cross/tree of life.³¹ This depiction and Clare's prominence in Plimpton are testimony to the level of health in her veneration among certain groups of female Franciscans, even while devotion to her waned among the faithful and the Franciscan friars in Italy.

Clare's pairing with Francis in Plimpton, however, contrasts with two other manuscripts, one which is thought to originate from a Clarissan monastery and the other from a female community of the Third Order Regular.³² These manuscripts contain a similar inventory of chants including chants in honour of Francis thus demonstrating liturgical similarities among female Franciscan houses. Yet, chants in honour of Clare are conspicuously absent. This suggests a greater the level of importance ascribed to her veneration at the Brussels monastery, potentially originating from the devotion of the monastery's founder to the saint.

The presence of both Francis and Clare chants in the manuscript, while testifying to the importance of the saints at the Brussels monastery, also points to the coexistence of different conceptions regarding female Franciscan life. The chants' unusual presentation in Plimpton propose that the nuns of Brussels, faced with these seemingly incongruous

³¹ Ibid.

³² Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 10581 ((F-Pnm Lat. 10581): Manuscrit Rituel à l'usage d'une abbaye de femmes (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9076629n/fl8.image>); Washington, Library of Congress, M2147 XV M2 ((US-Weg M2147 XV M2): Notated Office book of Franciscan Sisters with Processional chant (<https://www.loc.gov/item/2008562778/>).

ideas presented by the chants, were challenged to navigate their way through these ideas and reconcile them with each other.

Analysis of the Francis and Clare chants in Plimpton

The texts of the Francis and Clare chants considered by themselves present contrasting images of the saints which I propose affiliate Francis more closely with “Franciscan” ideals and Clare with the model religious woman presented by the legends. This is evident in the Francis chants where the presence of especially Franciscan ideas such as minority – associating with the lowliest in society – and gospel itinerancy are present. The Clare chant texts, meanwhile, make no mention of any of these ideas or of Clare’s connection to Francis, but focus instead on her interior qualities much like those in the legends. The Francis chants also present a more “embodied” Francis who lives out his religious aspirations, akin to the Franciscan ideal to live out and manifest what one internalizes through prayer. Meanwhile, Clare is disincarnated from her historical life, with no mention of her performing any outward deeds while one is privy to her interior life instead. Despite these differences, however, the subject matter between the two texts is related enough so as to establish a connection between the saints. This is musically expounded upon by the contrafact melody and textual parallelism and which the scribe of Plimpton enhances visually. Consequently, the juxtaposition of these contrasting representations of Franciscan life is initiated by the chant texts themselves.

The similarities between the texts is evident in the first pair of antiphons, *O Stupor* and *O Decus*, whose entire texts and accompanying translations are included in Table 4.4, antiphon 1. Both center upon the theme of radiance and light with *O Stupor* recounting Francis’ apparition to the friars in a fiery chariot and *O Decus* narrating

Clare’s “brilliance” and “radiance.” Also included in Table 4.4 under responsory 1, the responsories *Amicum quaerit/Amica crucis* connect to each other by both developing the theme of suffering: *Amicum quaerit* speaks about Francis’ rejection in a monastery and *Amica crucis* describes Clare’s compassionate devotion to the Crucified. The second pair of responsories, recorded under responsory 2 in the Table, relate to the theme of the gospel and its importance in both saints’ lives. *Audit in evangelio* describes Francis “hearing” the gospel word and *Vivens in mundo labili* describes Clare as “she glories in the treasure.” The treasure, of course, is a reference to the gospel story about the treasure in the field, a metaphor for the kingdom of God. The second pair of antiphons, *Laudans laudare monuit/Laudans laudare studeat* (antiphon 2), both speak about the theme of creation. These similarities function to maintain some sense of connection and relatedness between Francis and Clare.

Table 4.4 Latin texts and English translations of Francis and Clare Antiphons and Responsories (Translations drawn from Susan Boynton, “Texts and Translation,” <https://chantmanuscripts.omeka.net/exhibits/show/franciscan-and-clarissan-chant/text-and-translation>)

Francis Chant Latin Text and Translation	Clare Chant Latin Text And Translation
Antiphon 1	
O stupor et gaudium, O iudex homo mentium: Tu nostrae militiae Currus et auriga; Ignea praesentibus Transfiguratum fratribus In solarii specie Vexit te quadriga; In te signis radians, In te ventura nuntians, Requievit spiritus Duplexj prophetarum. Tuis adsta posteris, Pater Francisce, miseris,	O decus virgineum o jubar vitae flammeum tu sacrae munditiae doctrix et doctrina ignea fervoribus quos candidatis mentibus de fornace gratiae virtus dat divina in te signis radiat per quae salvator nuntiat quanta sis in gloria secum constituta Clara sponso supplices tuos ut salvet supplices

Francis Chant Latin Text and Translation	Clare Chant Latin Text And Translation
Antiphon 1 cont'd	
<p>Nam increscunt gemitus Ovium tuarum.</p> <p>[O wonderment and joy combined! Human arbiter of the mind: You it is who to our trainband Are chariot and its reinsman; A fiery team once carried you, Transfigured into presence new, While gathered brothers stood amazed, As though upon the sun they gazed. On you, wonders radiating, Future things annunciating, Came to rest the spirit's unction, Prophecy in double portion. Succor now your poor descendants, Father Francis, and defend us, For grief increases sign and groan Among the sheep that are your own]</p>	<p>nam incumbunt agmina hostium tuarum.</p> <p>[O virginal beauty, O flaming splendor of life, You, instructress and teacher of holy purity, fiery with fervors of which to purified minds he gives strength from the furnace of grace. In you he radiates with signs through which the savior, in what great glory, you, radiant, are established with him as your bridegroom. May you come to the assistance of your [followers] for the salvation of the one supplicating you for the phalanges of Your enemies approach.]</p>
Responsory 1	
<p>Amicum querit pristinum qui spretum in cenobio tunicula contextit contemptu gaudet hominum Leprosis fit obsequio quos antea despexit <i>v. Sub typo trium ordinum tres nutu dei previo ecclesias erexit</i></p> <p>[He seeks the former friend, he who was spurned in the monastery; he weaves shirts and rejoices in the contempt of men; he ministers to lepers, whom earlier he had despised. <i>v. In the image of the three Orders, he built three churches at God's command.]</i></p>	<p>Amica crucis plangere crucifixum novitias docet quam ipsa plangit. Crux ei digno pondere Maiores dat delicias. Quo maior dolor angit <i>v. Hec Christi sui munere morbos atque molestias fugat dum cruce tangit.</i></p> <p>[The friend of the Cross teaches the novices to lament the crucified one whom she herself laments. The Cross gives greater delights to one who is worthy of its weight. To the one whom greater grief troubles, <i>v. This one with her gift of Christ avoids affliction and troubles while she touches the Cross.]</i></p>
Responsory 2	
<p>Audit in evangelio que suis Christus loquitur ad predicandum missis hoc inquit est quod cupio</p>	<p>Vivens in mundo labili sponso coniuncta nobili sursum deliciatur clausoque carne fragili tanquam in vase fictili</p>

Francis Chant Latin Text and Translation	Clare Chant Latin Text And Translation
Responsory 2 cont'd	
<p>letanter his innititur memorie commissis <i>v. Non utens virga calcio nec pera Fune cingitur duplicibus dimissis.</i></p> <p>[He hears in the Gospel those things which Christ says preaching to his followers; this, he says, is what I desire. He supports himself happily with these things, having committed them to memory.</p> <p><i>v. Using neither stick nor shoe nor wallet, he girds himself with rope, having abandoned stronger materials]</i></p>	<p>thesauro gloriatur <i>v. Sit in rota versatuli fulta virtute stabili cum Christo delectatur.</i></p> <p>[Living in a fleeting world, having been married to a noble husband, she delights from on high and with her fragile flesh closed in an earthen vessel, she glories in the treasure.</p> <p><i>v. Let her be placed on a moveable wheel; supported by stable virtue she delights with Christ.]</i></p>
Antiphon 2	
<p>Laudans laudare monuit laus illi semper adfuit laus inquam salvatoris invitat aves bestias et creaturas alias ad laudem conditoris.</p> <p>[Praising, he taught [us] to praise; he was always praising; Praise, I say, of the savior; He invites birds, beasts, and other creatures to praise the Creator.]</p>	<p>Laudans laudare studeat in laude semper prodeat plebs ista salvatoris quam tanta ditat sanctitas non cessat ipsa civitas a laude conditoris</p> <p>[One praising must always strive in praise to praise; Let that people of the savior proceed, whom such holiness enriches; that city must not desist from praise of the creator.]</p>

Despite these overall thematic similarities, on closer reading the textual content differs radically from one saint to the other, especially with regard to their representations of Franciscan life. This is most evident in the two pairs of responsories. The Francis chants align him more with typical “Franciscan” practices whereas the Clare chants echo the legends’ version of the ideal monastic woman. For example, *Amicum quaerit* speaks about Francis’ rejection in a Benedictine monastery as well as his service to the lepers. Francis himself spoke about the latter as formative in the beginning of his conversion and both events reflect his and the early fraternity’s aspiration to “minority.” Minority, from

which the Order's name is derived, comprised associating with the lowliest in society in imitation of Christ's humility. The textual content, therefore, exhibits the "Franciscan" spirit. The Clare chants, however, make no reference to minority, but focus on Clare's compassionate piety. They depict her lamentation over Christ Crucified, so that she displays the qualities compatible with the silence and penitence promoted by the legends' representation, but there are no references to specific events in her life. The second pair of responsories, *Audit in evangelio/Vivens in mundo labili*, demonstrate a similar pattern of differences with *Audit in evangelio* describing Francis' renunciation of material goods and gospel itinerant way of life. Clare's responsory, *Vivens in mundo labili*, does not refer to these markedly Franciscan practices, but instead celebrates Clare's espousal to Christ. It alludes to more monastic qualities, "her fragile flesh enclosed" and to her interiority saying that "she glories in the treasure."

In addition to referencing Franciscan ideals, the Francis chant texts present a more "incarnated" or embodied picture of the saint, resonating with depictions like that of Thomas of Celano, where Francis preached the gospel, first in word and then in deed. Francis performs specific actions, some which are very physical in nature: he weaves shirts, serves lepers and eventually builds three churches. The Clare chants, however, do not provide specific examples of Clare's deeds but disengage her from her historical, physical life. Instead, like the legends, they lend primacy to her interior life as in *Amicum Quaerit*, where she laments Christ crucified or in *Vivens in mundo* where she "glories in the treasure." In the latter responsory, the text lends extra value to Clare's inner life by distinguishing her inner and outer life, much like the story of her hearing recounted by the legends. The text, for example, refers to her "frail flesh," possibly alluding to the

chronic illness she experienced for most of her religious life. Meanwhile, despite this frail flesh, Clare thrives inwardly by prayer and meditation, much like in the legends when she is consoled inwardly while she is sick by hearing the Christmas liturgies. As in the story of her hearing, the distinction created between Clare's inner and outer lives by the chant text lends further primacy to her interior qualities, whereas the Francis chants show how he harmonizes the inward and the outward by his living out his spiritual ideals. In this respect, the Clare chants overall resound more closely with the legends' portrayal in the story of her hearing, as well as echoing the legends by the absence of any mention describing her connection to Francis and his ideals. Nevertheless, the Clare chant texts are loosely related enough to the Francis texts to establish some sort of connection between the saints.

This connection is amplified by the aural aspects of contrafact and textual parallelism. Most of the chants from Clare's office are contrafact of the Francis office, with both entire offices copied in a 14th-century antiphoner originating in southern Germany, Austria or Switzerland (US-CHNbcbl 097). The effect of contrafact aurally connects the images of the two saints in the mind of the one singing the office and is reinforced by textual parallelism as well. The texts of Clare's office use the same metrical and strophic patterns as those for Francis and frequently use the same or similar sounding words, which are often of the same length. A comparison of *O Stupor* and *O Decus* in Table 4.5 demonstrates the textual parallelism between the two texts. Line by line, the texts utilize the same syllable count as well as the same rhyme scheme, often using the same rhyming syllable, as in the first eight lines. Words that rhyme also appear in places other than the end of a line, such as the words "nostrae" and "sacrae," both the second

word in line 3; or the second word in lines 10 “te” and “que.” When words do not rhyme, they often share the same or similar consonantal and or vowel sounds such as “*jubar*” and “*judex*” in line 2 or “*transfiguratum*” and “*candidatis*” in line 6; “*solari*” and “*fornace*” in line 7; and “*vexit*” and “*virtus*” which both begin line 8. Oftentimes, the chants use the same words, as in the opening invocation “O”; the word “tu” beginning line 3 and the conjunction “et” in line 4. A more apparent example is the word “*igne*” in line 5 and “*in te signis*” in line 9. Sometimes, the texts use words that are almost the same, such as “*radians*” and “*radiat*” in line 9 and “*nuntians*” and “*nuntiat*” in line 10. Textual parallelism along with contrafact would connect the two images in the mind of the singer, causing one to hold simultaneously the seemingly incongruous ideas represented by the chant texts.

Table 4.5 Comparison of textual similarities, *O Stupor/O Decus*

Line	Saint	Line	Syllable Count
1	Francis	<i>O stupor et gaudium</i>	7
	Clare	<i>O decus virgineum</i>	7
2	F	<i>O iudex homo mentium</i>	8
	C	<i>O iubar vite flammeum</i>	8
3	F	<i>Tu nostrae militiae</i>	7
	C	<i>Tu sacrae mundiciae</i>	7
4	F	<i>Currus et auriga</i>	6
	C	<i>Doctrix et doctrina</i>	6
5	F	<i>Ignea praesentibus</i>	7
	C	<i>Ignea feruoribus</i>	8
6	F	<i>Transfiguratum fratribus</i>	8
	C	<i>Quos candidatis mentibus</i>	8
7	F	<i>In solari facie</i>	7
	C	<i>De fornace gratie</i>	7
8	F	<i>Vexit te quadriga</i>	6
	C	<i>Virtus dat diuina</i>	6
9	F	<i>In te signis radians</i>	7
	C	<i>In te signis radiat</i>	7
10	F	<i>In te ventura nuntians</i>	8
	C	<i>Per que saluator nunciat</i>	8
11	F	<i>Requievit spiritus</i>	7
	C	<i>Quanta sis in Gloria</i>	7
12	F	<i>Duplex prophetarum</i>	6
	C	<i>Secum constituta</i>	6
13	F	<i>Tuis adsta posteris</i>	7
	C	<i>Clara sponso supplices</i>	7
14	F	<i>Pater Francisce, miseris</i>	8
	C	<i>Tuos ut salute supplices</i>	9
15	F	<i>Nam increscunt gemitus</i>	7
	C	<i>Nam incumbunt agmina</i>	7
16	F	<i>Ovium tuarum.</i>	6
	C	<i>Hostium tuarum.</i>	6

The chants' presentation in Plimpton visually reinforces the effect of contrafact and textual parallelism, compounding the impact of their juxtaposition. The unifying effect of contrafact is visually apparent in the manuscript with the single line of melody like a thread weaving the two texts immediately below it. The scribe of Plimpton

capitalizes on the parallelism between the texts, so that their similarity is visually apparent. The best example is antiphon 2, *Laudans Laudare*, in Figure 4.1, where the occurrence of the same words in both texts is especially conspicuous. For example, the opening words “Laudans laudare” are especially noticeable, where the scribe emphasizes the first word by using the same letter to begin “Laudans.” Meanwhile, the remainder of the word is copied separately but in parallel. The texts also share the words “semper,” “salvatoris,” and “conditoris,” which do not jump out as immediately as the opening words but are still noticeable. Interestingly, he abbreviates “semper” in the Clare text, maybe because the Clare script is smaller. The word preceding “semper,” “laude,” also seems to take more space horizontally than the corresponding word in the Francis text, “illi” which may account for the abbreviation. The scribe likewise spaces out “salvatoris” and “conditoris” differently than in the Francis text, maybe again because of the smaller script of the Clare text. The scribe took care to align similar vowels and consonants, for example with the words “bestias/sanctitas,” “creaturas/cessat ipsa,” and “alias/civitas.” The visual aspects of the chants would enhance the aural agency of contrafact and textual parallelism, further juxtaposing the texts’ contrasting representations of Franciscan life.

Figure 4.1 *Laudans laudare/Laudans laudare*, antiphon 2, folio 020r, 1351, Plimpton MS 034 Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York



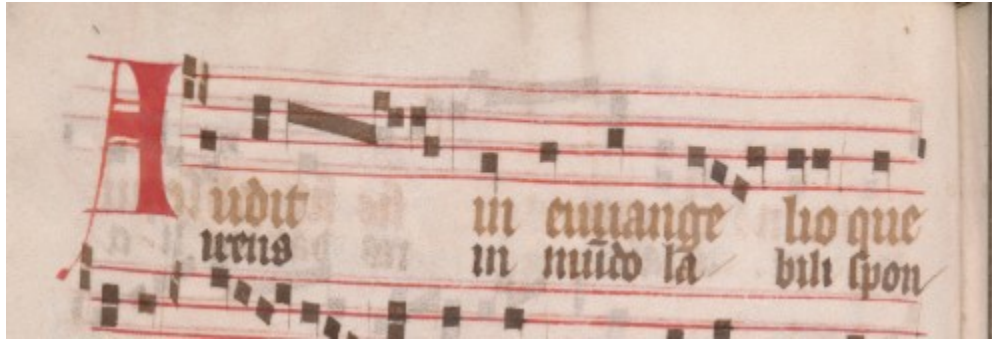
The chants' unusual presentation in Plimpton also causes what I call "cross-textual thematic linking," where a word or phrase from a Francis chant is related thematically to the word or phrase from the Clare chant copied directly below it. The two words and/or phrases combined allude either to another theme or create a new phrase which simultaneously connects and differentiates the two images of the saints. The differentiation caused by this phenomenon highlights Francis' and Clare's distinction with respect to their correspondence to Franciscan life and the church's representation of

religious life respectively. In particular, it highlights this distinction in terms of Francis' incarnational/physical life and the interior nature of Clare's life resonant with the legends' portrayal. The effects of this occurrence potentially contradict that of the chants' visual and aural elements previously described since it underlines a sharp differentiation between Francis and Clare and the ways of life ascribed to them. Despite the strong differentiation, nevertheless, the ideas continue to coexist and possibly influence and shape each other's reception in the mind of the one singing the chant.

The clearest example of cross-textual thematic linking is the opening phrase of the responsory, *Audit in evangelio*, directly above the Clare phrase, "Vivens in mundo labile," shown in Figure 4.2. The two phrases combined, i.e. "Audit in evangelio/ Vivens in mundo labili" ("Listening to the gospel/Living in a fleeting world"), allude to one of the central tenets of Franciscan life and of the mendicant movement, that of listening to and interiorizing the gospel world and then bringing it into the world by preaching. The new phrase created from the combination of the two could be applied to either saint, given that the Latin conjugation of verbs does not specify gender, yet takes on different emphases depending on the saint to which it is applied. As applied to Francis, the phrase evokes mendicancy and hence a much more embodied spirituality whereas in light of the Clare chant's content, which describes Clare delighting inwardly in the "treasure" or gospel word with "her fragile flesh enclosed in an earthen vessel," the phrase's emphasis shifts from the mendicant's existence in the world to the "labili" or "fleeting" nature of this world. The emphasis on the world's temporality combined with the focus on Clare's interiority more strongly defines her "fragile" body from her interior life creating a tension between the two. While the two phrases' position to each other evokes an ideal

common at least in principle to Clare and Francis and the Franciscan men and women, it elucidates the differences among them.

Figure 4.2. “Audit in evangelio/Vivens in mundo labili,” folio 019v, 1351, Plimpton MS 034, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York



Another example of cross-textual thematic linking is found in the same responsory with the words “memorie commissis”/“thesauro gloriatur.” This part of the chant is conspicuous aurally and visually by means of the long melisma (Figure 4.3). Both phrases evoke the imagery of interiorizing the gospel word, reminiscent of the ancient practice of *lectio divina*, which metaphorically equated ruminating over the scripture words interiorly with the image of cattle chewing cud. The melodic phrase “ruminates” over the words of the text by means of the melisma, which is visually striking as well. The thematic content of the two phrases, represented visually and aurally, assumes different shades of meaning when applied to Francis and Clare, revealing the discrepancies of the two images. Francis commits the gospel word to memory which he preaches travelling from place to place, in a sense embodying the word which he interiorizes. Clare, however, glories in the treasure with her frail flesh enclosed while living in a fleeting world, the image creating a tension between her physical and

her interior lives and forcing the emphasis to shift to her interior life, by giving it added value. The cross-textual thematic linking apparent in the manuscript, while connecting two disparate images of the saints, differentiates the two images by presenting Francis closer to the ideals of evangelical poverty and Clare closer to the ideals represented by the legends' portrayal of Clare. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of these varying ideas in Plimpton suggest that although contrasting with each other, they were held and valued simultaneously, thus shaping the reception of the other in the minds of the nuns of Brussels, affecting their collective and individual identities as female Franciscans.

Figure 4.3 “Memorie commissis/thesauro gloriatur,” folio 019v, 1351, Plimpton MS 034, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York.



Conclusion

This chapter examined music in Clarian and Clarissan sources investigating these sources' representations of Clare of Assisi and female Franciscan life through the lens of music and sound. The chapter comprised two halves: the first half analyzed different accounts in the *Acts of the Process of Canonization*, the *Versified Legend*, and the most

famous Latin *Legend* documenting when Clare miraculously heard the Christmas liturgy in 1252. The second half analyzed aural and visual aspects of chants from the offices of Francis and Clare copied in a Clarissan manuscript source, the Plimpton Processional.

The first half of the chapter showed how the *Acts* document a more “Franciscan” Clare, thereby reflecting the aspiration of the sisters, whose testimonies the *Acts* record, to have the way of life imparted to them by Francis preserved. I demonstrated through analysis of textual references to the senses that the witness testimony of Sister Filippa presents Clare embodying Francis’ ideals in the story of her hearing. Comparing the version of this story to that in the legends, one realizes that the legends present a more “monastic” Clare, evident by an emphasis on her interior life manifest in their version of the miracle. The conclusions from this analysis resonate with Lezlie Knox’s summary detailing how the legends “refashion” Clare: by de-emphasizing her connection to Francis and the Franciscan fraternity as well as her devotion to his ideals; and also by presenting her as a model monastic woman.

I applied the conclusions wrought from the literary analysis to discussion about chants from the offices of Francis and Clare in the Plimpton Processional. I showed how the chants’ aural and visual elements succeed in both connecting and juxtaposing the saints’ images which express contrasting representations of Franciscan life. This conclusion opens the question asking how this simultaneous connection and juxtaposition of ideas would affect ideas about female Franciscan life held by those using the manuscript, and thus their communal and individual identities as women Franciscans. While I do not provide an in-depth answer to that question, I believe it validates and

opens the door to more inquiry in this regard, especially from the perspective of their liturgical-musical lives.

Chapter Five – Conclusion

This thesis demonstrated how music and representations of music in Franciscan and Clarian sources interact with medieval Franciscan spirituality and thought. More specifically, this thesis argued that music in Franciscan and Clarian hagiographic and liturgical sources interacts with incarnationally-focused aspects of Franciscan spirituality.

To consider music and Franciscan spirituality, the second chapter undertook analyses of textual references to music in the Greccio narrative documented by the *Vita Prima* and *Legenda Maior*. In the analysis of the *Vita Prima* version, I argued that Thomas of Celano's description of Francis singing and preaching the gospel reveals a sacramental depiction, with sacramentality having its basis in the mystery of the incarnation. Thomas posits grace as operative in the preaching ministry of Francis (and in Francis himself), and aligns the spiritual effects of his preaching with those of the eucharist. In the analysis of the *Legenda Maior* Greccio narrative I argued that references to music in the Greccio account and stories related to it aid in communicating Bonaventure's theology of hierarchy, which has Christ at its heart. In particular, these references help express the themes of imitation of Christ, "Christoformity" or conformity to Christ, the effect of imitation of Christ, as well as amplify the significance of creation in Bonaventure's theology of the spiritual journey. This chapter applied a musicological approach to Franciscan sources as well as Francis' image, both areas which have been studied extensively by Franciscan and art scholars, but not as much from a musicological point of view.

While chapter two focused on musical sound in Franciscan hagiographic sources, chapter three analyzed the Francis office composed by Julian of Speyer and its

representation of Francis in order to investigate how musical sound itself conveyed certain aspects of Franciscan spirituality. I argued that Julian highlights Francis' orthodoxy and relationship to the church as well as his unique religious expression by the musical language of the office. I demonstrated how Julian, through musical means, relates Francis' religious expression to the life of Christ. By presenting both aspects of Francis' image, ecclesiastical and evangelical, Julian echoes a conception of the church as a spiritual entity, which ultimately has its roots in the incarnation. At times, this belief is present in some of the broader musical relationships between the office itself and other offices. I concluded the chapter by discussing a contrafact of the Francis office, the office of the Visitation by Cardinal Adam Easton, and what this has to say about the development of Francis' liturgical image. I concluded that it witnesses, by themes common to both Francis' image and the story of the Visitation, the association of Francis with embodied or "incarnated" spirituality. Overall, chapter three undertook a unique approach to the Francis office by considering how Julian utilizes musical material both from within the office and from outside of the office in order to iterate certain themes. I used the CANTUS Database melody search tool in order to locate the office's broader musical relationships and discovered that nearly every single chant incipit in the Francis office is significantly related to chant melodies from other offices, both from pre-existing and later offices. This included, of course, a full contrafact office, the office of the Visitation by Cardinal Adam Easton.

To consider music and Franciscan spirituality and its implications to communities of Franciscan women, chapter four extended the overall inquiry to the Franciscan women examining the image of Clare of Assisi in hagiographic sources and a manuscript source,

the Plimpton Processional. I assessed the degree to which hagiographic literature represented Clare's incarnation of Francis' values, and thereby aligning her with his vision and conception of Franciscan life. I compared the accounts documenting Clare's miraculous hearing of the Christmas liturgy by the *Acts of the Process of Canonization*, the *Versified Legend*, and the *Latin Legend*. I argued that through references to the senses the version in the *Acts* portrays Clare's embodiment of Francis' spiritual vision with the musical instance symbolizing prayerful listening, the foundation of Clare's (and Francis') vocation. This depiction echoes the Franciscan style of life Clare and her sisters received from Francis and as such, echoes the witness testimonies of the women in Clare's community in the *Acts* and their effort to defend their mode of religious life. Contrasting this version with the same account in both legends, it became apparent that the legends do not present Clare as embodying the Franciscan life. Rather, they focus on Clare's interior life, presenting the experience as an inward experience, and thus depict a "monasticized" Clare, the model female religious that church authorities wished religious women to emulate.

The conclusions from the literary analysis supported what scholarship says about differences between the *Acts* and the legends. These differences are most comprehensively explained and summarized by Lezlie Knox, who states that the legends "refashion" and "neutralize" Clare, presenting her as an ideal monastic woman while deemphasizing her connection to Francis, the Franciscan fraternity and his spiritual ideals. I applied the conclusions from the literary analysis to analysis of chants from the Francis and Clare offices in the Plimpton Processional. I argued that through aural elements like contrafact and textual parallelism as well as their visual representation which highlight

these aspects, the chants juxtapose and connect the two conflictual images of the saints emerging from the texts of the chants. The images are potentially incongruous with each other because the Francis texts align Francis more with his spiritual ideals while the Clare texts mirror the portrayal by the legends. The chants, consequently, invite further speculation about how the sisters received these ideas and how their reception of these ideas influenced their understanding of female Franciscan life. This musicological approach was new to the study of Clare, which has seen increased scholarly attention over the last couple of decades.

Future Areas of Research

This thesis raised numerous questions and areas of research deserving further scholarly investigation. Some of these areas relate directly to sound in Franciscan and Clarian sources and some relate to other topics. Over the course of this study, what became apparent to me was the deep presence of sensory references in both Franciscan and Clarian textual sources. As both analyses in chapters two and four revealed, consideration of these references discerns layers of meaning present in the texts. Further investigation and analyses of Franciscan and Clarian medieval literature through the lens of the senses would contribute immensely to both Franciscan and Clarian scholarship as well as scholarship on the senses. Furthermore, a musicological approach focused on sound and the auditory sense would contribute immensely to these fields as well as critical musicological scholarship on Franciscan (and Clarian) sources.

In particular, consideration of Bonaventure's works through the lens of sound would be particularly valuable. Investigation into sound's representation in the *Legenda Maior* revealed that representations of sound interact with Bonaventure's theology,

demonstrated by analysis of the Greccio text. This was also evident in other parts of the *Legenda Maior*, which I could not address here, such as chapter VIII of the text which documents Francis' encounters with the created world and explicates Bonaventure's theology of the "Book of Creation" or the created world as a medium of divine revelation. What was interesting about these narratives was the prominence of sound and the auditory sense in the text, where Francis often hears the sounds of creation and responds by chanting the liturgical hours. In other words, the auditory sense is the means by which Francis "reads" the Book of Creation. Earlier versions of at least one narrative does not include musical sound, meaning that Bonaventure's embellishments reveal a certain understanding of music and sound and its significance. Further investigation of musical sound in Bonaventure's works would contribute to the study of Franciscan and musical thought, medieval musical thought in general and scholarship on the senses.

Similarly, further work on Clare and the Franciscan women from a musicological perspective would be especially valuable because of the proliferation of Clarian scholarship in recent years, which has concerned itself with the "Clarian" question as well as the history and identities of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Franciscan women. Musicology has not yet explored these topics extensively, with little study on the manuscript tradition of the Order of Saint Clare and on Clare's office. Extensive inquiry of the Clare office centered around the "Clarian" question as well as study of the Clarian liturgical and manuscript tradition would contribute immensely to Clarian and Clarissan scholarship as well as the field of chant studies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Manuscript Sources

- Assisi, Cattedrale San Rufino - Archivio e Biblioteca, 5 (I-Ad 5): Antiphoner.
- Boston, John J. Burns Library, Boston College, 097 (US-CHNbcbl 097): Antiphoner – The Burns Antiphoner (<https://burnsantiphoner.bc.edu/view/1r>).
- Chicago, Newberry Library, 24 (US-Cn 24): Breviary.
- Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, latin 8737 (I-Rvat lat. 8737): Breviary.
- Fribourg, Bibliothèque des Cordeliers, 2 (CH-Fco 2): Antiphoner (<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fcc/0002>).
- København (Copenhagen), Det kongelige Bibliotek Slotsholmen, 3449 8o [09] IX (DK-Kk 3449 8o [09] IX): Antiphoner – Breviarium per totum annum (https://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/microfilm/copenhagen/vol9/).
- Washington, Library of Congress, M2147 XV M2 (US-Wcg M2147 XV M2): Processional [Notated Office book of Franciscan Sisters with Processional chant]. (<https://www.loc.gov/item/2008562778/>).
- München, Franziskanerkloster St. Anna – Bibliothek, 12o Cmm 1 (D-Ma 12o Cmm 1): Antiphoner.
- Napoli, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, vi.E.20 (I-Nn vi.E.20): Breviary.
- New York, Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Plimpton MS 034 (US-NYcub Plimpton 34): Processional. (<https://dlc.library.columbia.edu/catalog/cul:vx0k6djk9>).
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 10581 (F-Pnm Lat. 10581): Processional (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9076629n/f18.image>).
- Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 3 J 7 (NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)): Antiphoner (<http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-327915>).

Textual Sources

- Armstrong, Regis J. Ed. and trans. *Legend of Saint Clare (1255)*. In *Clare of Assisi - The Lady: Early Documents*. New York: New City Press, 2006.
- Armstrong, Regis J. Ed. and trans. *The Acts of the Process of Canonization (1253)*. In *Clare of Assisi - The Lady: Early Documents*. New York: New City Press, 2006.

- Armstrong, Regis J. Ed. and trans. *The Versified Legend of the Virgin Clare (1254-1255)*. In *Clare of Assisi - The Lady: Early Documents*. New York: New City Press, 2006.
- Augustine. *The Confessions of St. Augustine*. Translated by John K. Ryan. New York: Doubleday, 1960.
- Bonaventure. *The Major Legend of Saint Francis*. In *The Founder*, edited by Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellman and William J. Short, 525-683. Vol. 2 of *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*. New York: New City Press, 1999.
- Bonaventure. *Legenda Maior*. In *Fontes Franciscani*, edited by Enrico Menestò et al. Assisi, Italy: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1995.
- Brume, Clemens and Guido M. Dreves, eds. *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*. Vol. 24. Leipzig: G.R. Reisland, 1896.
<https://archive.org/details/analectahymnicam24drev/mode/2up?q=visitatio>.
- Francis of Assisi. *Later Admonition and Exhortation to the Brothers and Sisters of Penance (Second Version of the Letter to the Faithful)*. In *The Saint*, edited by Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellman and William J. Short, 45-51. Vol. 1 of *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*. New York: New City Press, 1999.
- Francis of Assisi. “Epistola ad fideles (Rescensio posterior).” In *Fontes Franciscani*, edited by Enrico Menestò et al. Assisi, Italy: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1995.
- Henri d’Avranches. *The Versified Life of Saint Francis by Henri d’Avranches*. In *The Saint*, edited by Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellman and William J. Short, 428-520. Vol. 1 of *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*. New York: New City Press, 1999.
- Il Processo di Canonizzazione di Santa Chiara d’Assisi*. In *Fontes Franciscani*, edited by Enrico Menestò et al. Assisi, Italy: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1995.
- Isadore of Seville. *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, III. xx, edited by W. M. Lindsay. Oxford, 1911.
- Julian of Speyer. *The Life of Saint Francis by Julian of Speyer*. In *The Saint*, edited by Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellman and William J. Short, 368-420. Vol. 1 of *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*. New York: New City Press, 1999.

Legenda Sanctae Clarae Assisiensis. In *Fontes Franciscani*, edited by Enrico Menestò et al. Assisi, Italy: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1995.

Legenda Versificata Sanctae Clarae. In *Fontes Franciscani*, edited by Enrico Menestò et al. Assisi, Italy: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1995.

Thomas of Celano. *The Life of Saint Francis*. In *The Saint*. Edited by Regis J. Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellman and William J. Short, 180-308. Vol. 1 of *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*. New York: New City Press, 1999.

Thomas of Celano. *Vita Prima*. In *Fontes Franciscani*, edited by Enrico Menestò et al. Assisi, Italy: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1995.

Images

Detail of the Bardi Dossal. C. S. Diller. (www.assisi.de). 1982.

Secondary Sources

Armstrong, Regis J. "Towards an Unfolding of the Structure of St. Bonaventure's *Legenda Major*." *Laurentianum* 29 (1988): 330–46.

Armstrong, Regis J. "The Spiritual Theology of the *Legenda Major* of Saint Bonaventure". PhD Diss., Fordham university: 1978.

Armstrong, Regis J., J.A. Wayne Hellman and William J. Short, eds. *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*. 3 vols. New York: New City Press, 1999.

Baroffio, Giacomo and Eun Ju Kim. *Jam Sanctae Clarae Claritas: l'ufficio ritmico di santa Chiara nella tradizione arborensis*. Milano: Coro dell'Università Cattolica, 2004.

Bihl, M. "Fr. Juliani de Spira, Officium rhythmicum s. Francisci." In *Analecta Franciscana* X. (1941).

Boccali, P. Giovanni. *Cum hymnis et canticis: gaudeat Mater Ecclesia in festo sancte Clare virginis Assisiensis, cioè Antichi testi liturgici latini e altre composizioni [sic] poetiche italiane per la festa e onore di Santa Chiara di Assisi (sec. XIII - XVI inizio)*. Assisi (Perugia): Edizioni Porziuncola, 2010.

Boynton, Susan and Sister Ilaria Culshaw. Inventory of "New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Plimpton MS 034." Edited by Alessandra Ignesti. In: *Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant -- Inventories of Chant Sources*. Directed by Debra Lacoste (2011-), Terence Bailey (1997-2010), and Ruth Steiner (1987-1996). Web developer, Jan Koláček (2011-). Available from <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/>>. [July 14, 2020].

- Bruning, Eliseus. *Officium et Missa de festo S.P.N. Francisci*. Parisiis [etc.]: Typis Societatis S. Ioannis Evangelistae, Desclée, 1926.
- Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant -- Inventories of Chant Sources*. Directed by Debra Lacoste (2011-), Terence Bailey (1997-2010), and Ruth Steiner (1987-1996). Web developer, Jan Koláček (2011-). Available from <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/>>.
- Carruthers, Mary. "Sweetness." *Speculum* 81, no. 4 (October 2006), 999-1013.
- Caseau, Beatrice. "The Senses in Religion: Liturgy, Devotion, and Deprivation." In *Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, edited by Richard Newhauser, 89-109. Vol. 2 of *A Cultural History of the Senses*. London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2016).
- Cullen, Christopher M. *Bonaventure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Cunningham, Lawrence S. "Francis of Assisi as a Catholic Saint." *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 9, no.1 (Winter 2006), 56-71.
- Dailey, Patricia. "The Body and its Senses". In *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism*, edited by Amy Hollywood and Patricia Z. Beckman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CCO9781139020886.020>.
- Debby, Nirit Ben-Aryeh. *The Cult of St Clare of Assisi in Early Modern Italy*. Routledge, 2014.
- Downey, Charles. Inventory of "Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 406 (shelfmark 3 J 7)". Edited by Shawn Henry, Neven Prostran and Alessandra Ignesti. In: *Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant -- Inventories of Chant Sources*. Directed by Debra Lacoste (2011-), Terence Bailey (1997-2010), and Ruth Steiner (1987-1996). Web developer, Jan Koláček (2011-). Available from <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/>>. [July 14, 2020].
- Dyer, Joseph "The voice in the Middle Ages." In *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, edited by John Potter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Felder, Hilarin. *Die liturgischen Reimofficien auf die Heiligen Franciscus und Antonius (+ c. 1250)*. Freiburg: Universitats-Buchhandlung, 1901.
- Fontaine, Catherine. "La vie musicale et liturgique post-tridentine dans une communauté religieuse des Pays-Bas méridionaux: Le cas des clarisses urbanistes d'Ypres aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles." PhD. Diss., Université Catholique de Louvain, 2013.

- Frere, Walter Hesbert. "Introduction and Indices." In *Antiphonale Sarisburiense, with a Dissertation and Analytical Index*. London: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1901-1924. Reprint Westmead: Greg Press, 1966.
- "Franciscan and Clarissan Chants in Plimpton MS 034." *Chant Manuscripts*.
<https://chantmanuscripts.omeka.net/exhibits/show/franciscan-and-clarissan-chant>.
- Gallo, Denise and Keith Glaeske. Inventory of "Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France - Département des Manuscrits, latin 12044." Edited by Alessandra Ignesti and Sheila Meadley Dunphy. In: *Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant -- Inventories of Chant Sources*. Directed by Debra Lacoste (2011-), Terence Bailey (1997-2010), and Ruth Steiner (1987-1996). Web developer, Jan Koláček (2011-). Available from <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/>>.
- Hallas, Rhianydd. "Two Rhymed Offices Composed for the Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary: Comparative Study and Critical Edition." ResearchGate.
<https://www.researchgate.net/project/Two-rhymed-offices-composed-for-the-feast-of-the-Visitation-of-the-Blessed-Virgin-Mary-comparative-study-and-critical-edition>.
- Hammond, Jay M. "Bonaventures *Legenda Major*." In *Companion to Bonaventure*, edited by Jared Goff (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 453-507.
- Harvey, Margaret. *The English in Rome, 1362–1420: Portrait of an Expatriate Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Hayes, Zachary. *The Hidden Center: Spirituality and Speculative Christology in St. Bonaventure*. New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1981.
- Hellman, Wayne J.A. *Divine and Created Order in Bonaventure's Theology*. New York: The Franciscan Institute, 2001.
- Hellman, J.A. Wayne. "Prayer in the Life of St Francis by Thomas of Celano." In *Franciscans at Prayer*, edited by Timothy Johnson, 63-91. Vol. 4 of *The Medieval Franciscans*, edited by Stephen McMichael. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Helsen, Katherine Eve. "The Great Responsories of the Divine Office: Aspects of Structure and Transmission." PhD. Diss., Regensburg, 2008. urn:nbn:de:bvb:355-opus-10311.
- Hiley, David. *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Hughes, Andrew. *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices. Resources for Electronic Research. I: Texts*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994.

- Hughes, Andrew. *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices. Resources for Electronic Research. II: Catalogue of Offices*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994.
- Juvyns, Marie-Jeanne. *Le Couvent des Riches Claires a Bruxelles (1343-1585)*. Sint-Franciskusdrukkerij, 1967.
- Klugseder, Robert. Inventory of “København (Copenhagen), Det kongelige Bibliotek Slotsholmen, Gl. Kgl. S. 3449, 8o [09] IX.” Edited by Andrew Mitchell. In: *Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant -- Inventories of Chant Sources*. Directed by Debra Lacoste (2011-), Terence Bailey (1997-2010), and Ruth Steiner (1987-1996). Web developer, Jan Koláček (2011-). Available from <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/>>. [July 14, 2020].
- Knox, Lezlie. *Creating Clare of Assisi: Female Franciscan Identities in Later Medieval Italy*. Vol. 5 of *The Medieval Franciscans*, edited by Stephen McMichael. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Lee, Andrew. *The Most Ungrateful Englishman: The Life and Times of Adam Easton*. Corpus Publishing Limited, 2006.
- Lehman, Leonard. *Die heilige Klara in Kult und Liturgie: Vena vivida - Lebendige Quelle. Texte zu Klara von Assisi und ihrer Bewegung, 2*. Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2010.
- “Life and Death for Clares in Fourteenth Century Brussels.” Chant Manuscripts. <https://chantmanuscripts.omeka.net/exhibits/show/burial-procession/convent>.
- Loewen, Peter. *Music in Early Franciscan Thought*. Vol. 9 of *The Medieval Franciscans*, edited by Stephen McMichael. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Marshall, Christina, E.A. “Late Medieval Liturgical Offices in Acrostic Form: A Catalogue and Study.” PhD. diss., University of Toronto: 2006. ProQuest (Order No. NR16027).
- McGinn, Bernard. *The Growth of Mysticism*. Vol. 2 of *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*. New York: Crossroad, 1994.
- Mészárosová, Klára. “Klarissen und Musik: Nach historischen Quellen aus dem Pressburger und Tyrnauer Kloster [The Poor Clare Sisters and music: According to the historical sources from monasteries in Bratislava and Trnava],” In *Plaude turba paupercula: Franziskanischer Geist in Musik, Literatur und Kunst*. edited by Kačič Ladislav. Bratislava, Slovakia: Slovenská Akadémia, Vied (Slavistický Ústav Jána Stanislava), 2004.
- Mitchell, Andrew. Inventory of “Fribourg, Bibliothèque des Cordeliers, 2.” Edited by Andrew Mitchell. In: *Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant --*

Inventories of Chant Sources. Directed by Debra Lacoste (2011-), Terence Bailey (1997-2010), and Ruth Steiner (1987-1996). Web developer, Jan Koláček (2011-). Available from <<http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/>>. [July 14, 2020].

Mitchell, Andrew. "The Chant of the Earliest Franciscan Office." PhD. Diss., University of Western Ontario: 2003. ProQuest. (Order No. NQ96856).

Mooney, Catherine M. *Clare of Assisi and the Thirteenth-Century Church: Religious Women, Rules and Resistance*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

Morawski, Jerzy. "The Te Deum laudamus in Polish manuscripts from the late Middle Ages: Liturgical-musical traditions." In *Dies est leticie: Essays on chant in honour of Janka Szendrei*, edited by David Hiley and Gábor Kiss. Ottawa, ON, Canada: Institute of Mediæval Music, 2008.

Mueller, Joan. "Chapter Three: The Politics of Infant's Milk." In *A companion to Clare of Assisi: life, writings, and spirituality*, edited by Joan Mueller. Leiden; Boston: Brill 2010.

Mueller, Joan. *The Privilege of Poverty: Clare of Assisi, Agnes of Prague, and the Struggle for a Franciscan Rule for Women*. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.

Mulvaney, Beth A. "The Beholder as Witness: The *Crib at Greccio* from the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi and Franciscan Influence on Late Medieval Art in Italy." In *The Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*, edited by William R. Cook, 169-188. Vol. 1 of *The Medieval Franciscans*, edited by Stephen McMichael. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Natvig, Mary. "Rich Clares, Poor Clares: Celebrating the Divine Office." *Women & Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 4 (2000), 59-70.

Newhauser, Richard G. "Introduction: The Sensual Middle Ages." In *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, edited by Richard Newhauser, 1-22. Vol. 2 of *A Cultural History of the Senses*. London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2016.

"Opbrussel (Brussel-St. Giles)/Rijke Klaren; Brussels (Brussel/Bruxelles, Belgium); 1343-1783/1796". *Franciscan Women: History and Culture; A Geographical and Bio-Bibliographic Guide*.
http://franwomen.sbu.edu/convent_display.aspx?CID=1353&CyID=14&PID=0&Sort=All.

Roest, Bert. *Order and Disorder: The Poor Clares Between Foundation and Reform*. Vol. 8, *The Medieval Franciscans*, edited by Stephen McMichael. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

- Scandelezzi, Tiziana. "Una ricognizione sull'ufficio ritmico per s. Francesco." *Musica e storia* 4 (1996), 67-101.
- Togni, Luke. "A Sweet Influence: St. Bonaventure's Franciscan Reception of Dionysian Hierarchy." PhD. Diss., Marquette University, 2019.
- Van Dijk, S.J.P. and Jean Hazelden Walker. *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: the Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century*. Westminster, Md.: Newman Press: 1960.
- Van Dijk, S.J.P. *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy: the Ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and Related Documents (1243-1307)*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963.
- Van Nieuwenhove, Rik. *An Introduction to Medieval Theology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Vorreau, Damien. *François d'assise: documents, écrits et premières biographies*. Paris: 1968.
- Weis, J.E. *Die Choräle Julian's von Speier zu den Reimoffizien des Franziscus- und Antoniusfestes. Mit einer Einleitung nach Hss herausgegeben von J.E. Weis. Mit einer Tafel*. München: J.J. Lentner, 1901.
- Williamson, Beth. "Altarpieces, Liturgy and Devotion." *Speculum* 79, no. 2 (October 2004), 341-406.

Appendix A: The Francis Office by Julian of Speyer, as found in CH-Fco 2

Andrew Mitchell. Inventory of “Fribourg, Bibliothèque des Cordeliers, 2.” Edited by Andrew Mitchell. In *Cantus*.

* *Carnis spicam contemptus*, *Salve sancte pater* (Responsory 3.1 and Gospel canticle antiphon 3) attributed to Thomas of Capua; *De paupertatis horreo* (Responsory 3.2) to Gregory IX; *Caelorum candor splenduit* (Gospel canticle antiphon 5) to Cardinal Capocci di Viterbo

Office	Genre	Position	Chant
Vespers	Antiphon	1	Franciscus vir catholicus
	Antiphon	2	Coepit sub Innocentio
	Antiphon	3	Hunc sanctus praelegerat
	Antiphon	4	Franciscus evangelicum
	Antiphon	5	Hic creaturis imperat
	Antiphon	Magnificat	O stupor et Gaudium
M	Invitatory		Regi quae fecit
	Antiphon	1.1	Hic vir in vanitatibus
	Antiphon	1.2	Excelsi dexteræ gratia
	Antiphon	1.3	Mansuescit sed non penitus
	Versicle		Amavit eum dominus
	Responsory	1.1	Franciscus ut in publicum cessat v. <i>Deum quid agat</i>
	Responsory	1.2	In dei fervens opere statim v. <i>Quam formidante paupere</i>
	Responsory	1.3	Dum pater hunc persequitur laetens v. <i>Luto saxis impetitur sed patiens</i>
	Antiphon	2.1	Pertractum domi verberat
	Antiphon	2.2	Jam liber patris furiae
	Antiphon	2.3	Ductus ad loci praesulem
	Versicle		Os justi meditabitur
	Responsory	2.1	Dum seminudo corpore v. <i>Audit in nivis frigore projectus</i>
	Responsory	2.2	Amicum quaerit pristinum v. <i>Sub typo trium ordinum tres</i>
	Responsory	2.3	Audit in evangelio v. <i>Non utens virga calceo</i>
	Antiphon	3.1	Cor verbis novae gratiae
	Antiphon	3.2	Pacem salutem nuntiat
	Antiphon	3.3	Ut novis sancti merita remunerantur
	Versicle		Lex dei ejus
	Responsory	3.1	Carnis spicam contemptus v. <i>Vivo pani morte junctus vita</i>
	Responsory	3.2	De paupertatis horreo sanctus Franciscus v. <i>Pro paupertatis copia regnat dives</i>

Office	Genre	Position	Chant
M cont'd	Responsory	3.3	Sex fratrum pater septimus absorptus v. <i>Quadrans quoque novissimus culparum sibi</i>
	Responsory	10	Arcana suis reserans octavum tandem v. <i>Grex procidit obtemperans pastor erectos</i>
	Responsory	11	Euntes inquit in eum qui v. <i>Sic curis cor extraneum non</i>
	Responsory	12	Regressis quos emiserat completur his v. <i>In mea Franciscus foenerat quem</i>
Lauds	Antiphon	1	Sanctus Franciscus praevis orationum studiis
	Antiphon	2	Hic praedicando circuit et quem
	Antiphon	3	Tres ordines hic ordinat primumque
	Antiphon	4	Doctus doctrinae gratia doctus experiential
	Antiphon	5	Laudans laudare monuit laus illi
	Antiphon	Benedictus	O martyr desiderio Francisce quanto
Vespers 2	Antiphon	Magnificat	O virum mirabilem in signis
E (for Magnificat or Benedictus)	Antiphon	1	Sancte Francisce propere veni pater
	Antiphon	2	Plange turba paupercula ad patrem
	Antiphon	3	Salve sancte pater patriae lux
	Antiphon	4	Caelorum candor splenduit novum sidus








Appendix B: Comparison of Melodies of the Francis and Visitation Offices

Andrew Mitchell. Inventory of “Fribourg, Bibliothèque des Cordeliers, 2.” Edited by Andrew Mitchell. In *Cantus*.

Charles Downey. Inventory of “Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 406 (shelfmark 3 J 7).” Edited by Shawn Henry, Neven Prostran and Alessandra Ignesti. In *Cantus*.

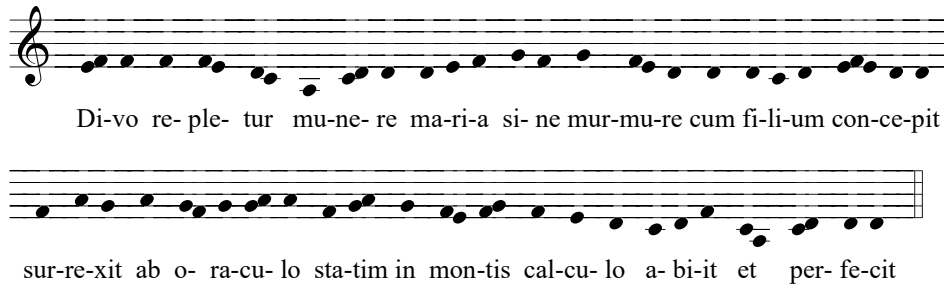
Robert Klugseder. Inventory of “København (Copenhagen), Det kongelige Bibliotek Slotsholmen, Gl. Kgl. S. 3449, 8o [09] IX.” Edited by Andrew Mitchell. In *Cantus*.

*The following table provides transcriptions for chants from first vespers, matins, and lauds. Some chants have not been transcribed (hymns and extra canticles from both offices.) The table’s transcriptions are based on those in the CANTUS Database. Doxologies, psalm incipits, and differentiae not included.

Vespers I	Antiphon 1
Francis (CH-Fco 2)	 <p style="text-align: center;">Fran- cis- cus vir ca tho-li-cus et to-tus a- pos- to-li- cus ec-cle-si- e te- ne-</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">ri fi-dem ro- ma- ne do- cu- it pres-by- te- ros-que mo-nu-it pre-cun-ctis re-ve-re-ri.</p>
Visitation 1 (NL-Uu 406)	 <p style="text-align: center;">Ac- ce- dunt lau-des vir- gi-nis ad- mi-ran-de in- da-gi-nis no-vi-ter pro-mul-</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">ga- te en-vi-si- tat e- ly- za-beth ma- ri-a ma-ter ip- sa- met ce-li-ca pro- bi- ta- ta</p>
Visitation 2 (DK-Kk 3449 8o [09] IX)	 <p style="text-align: center;">Ac- ce- dunt lau-des vir-gi-nes</p>
Antiphon 2	
Francis	 <p style="text-align: center;">Ce- pit sub in- no- cen-ci- o cur-sumque sub ho-no-ri per- fi-cit glo- ri- o-sum</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">suc-ce dens hi gre- go-ri- us mag-ni-fi- ca- vit am-pli-us mi- ra- cu- lis fa- mo- sum.</p>

Antiphon 2 cont'd

Visitation 1



Di-vo re-ple-tur mu-ne-re ma-ri-a si-ne mur-mu-re cum fi-li-um con-ce-pit
sur-re-xit ab o-ra-cu-lo sta-tim in mon-tis cal-cu-lo a-bi-it et per-fe-cit

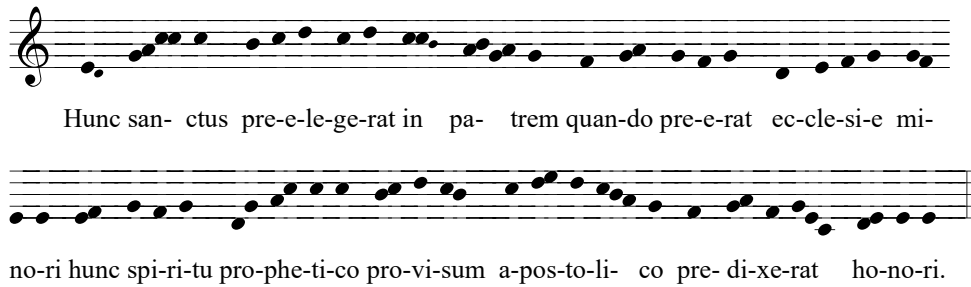
Visitation 2



Di-vo re-ple-tur mu-ne-re

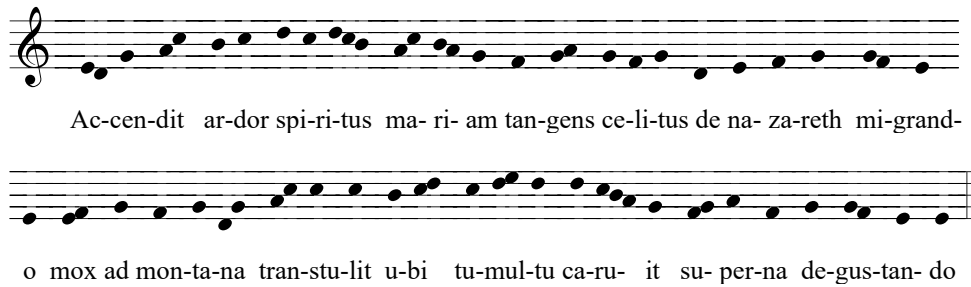
Antiphon 3

Francis



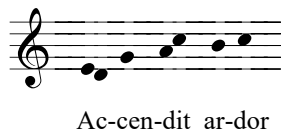
Hunc san-ctus pre-e-le-ge-rat in pa-trem quan-do pre-e-rat ec-cle-si-e mi-
no-ri hunc spi-ri-tu pro-phe-ti-co pro-vi-sum a-pos-to-li-co pre-di-xe-rat ho-no-ri.

Visitation 1


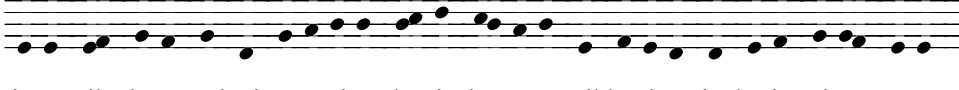






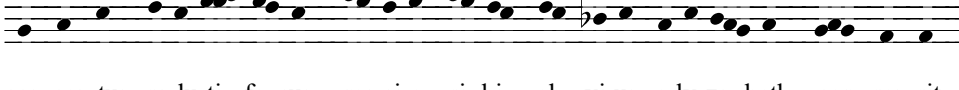

Ac-cen-dit ar-dor spi-ri-tus ma-ri-am tan-gens ce-li-tus de-na-za-reth mi-grand-
o mox ad mon-ta-na tran-stu-lit u-bi tu-mul-tu ca-ru-it su-per-na de-gus-tan-do

Visitation 2



Ac-cen-dit ar-dor

Antiphon 4	
Francis	 <p style="text-align: center;">Fran- cis- cus e-van-ge- li- cum nec a-pi- cem vel u-ni- cum tran- sgre- di- tur nec</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">io- ta nil iu- go xpi- sti su- a- vi- us hu- ic ho- ne- re nil le- vi- us in hu- ius vi- te ro- ta.</p>
Visitation 1	 <p style="text-align: center;">Mon- strans cul- men dul- ce- di- nis ma- ri- a su- i san- gui- ne e- ly- za- beth sa-</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">lu- tat stan- tem in do- mo pro- xi- mi pro- pin- qua tem- plo do- mi- ni de- vo- te sub- mi- nis- trat.</p>
Visitation 2	 <p style="text-align: center;">Mon- strans cul- men</p>

Antiphon 5	
Francis	 <p style="text-align: center;">Hic cre- a- tu- ris im- pe- rat qui nu- tu- i sub ie- ce- rat se to- tum cre- a- to- ris</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">quid- quid in re- bus re- pe- rit de- lec- ta- men- ti re- ge- rit in glo- ri- am fac- to- ris</p>
Visitation 1	 <p style="text-align: center;">Ca- ris- ma sanc- ti spi- ri- tus dif- fu- dit se di- vi- ni- tus in pu- e- rum cum sen- sit</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">con- cep- tum sa- lu- ti- fe- rum ma- ri- e si- bi ob- vi- um e- ly- za- beth con- sen- sit</p>
Visitation 2	 <p style="text-align: center;">Cha- ris- ma sanc- ti</p>

Magnificat Antiphon

Francis

O stu-por et gau-di-um o iu-dex homo men-ti-um tu nos-tre mi-li- ci- e
cur-rus et au- ri- ga ig-ne-a pre-sen-ti-bus trans-fi- gu-ra-tum fra-tri- bus in so-la-ri
spe- ci-e ve- xit te qua-dri-ga in te sig- nis ra-di-ans in te ven-tu-ra
nun-ci-ans re-qui-e- vit spi-ri-tus du- plex pro-phe-ta-rum tu- is as-ta po-ste- ris pat-
ter fran-cis-ce mi- se-ris nam in-cres-cunt ge-mi- tus o- vi-um tu-ar-um.

Visitation 1

Ac-ce-le-ra-tur ra- ti-o in pu-e-ro non dum na- to in-stin-ctu sa-cri
pneu-ma-tis di- vi- ni-bus si-bi da-to no-vit pre- sen-tem do-mi-num in vir-gi- ne
clam la-ten-tem a- do-ra- vit cum iu- bi- lo ad ser-vu-lum ve-ni- en-tem

Visitation 2

Ac-ce-le- ra-tur ra-

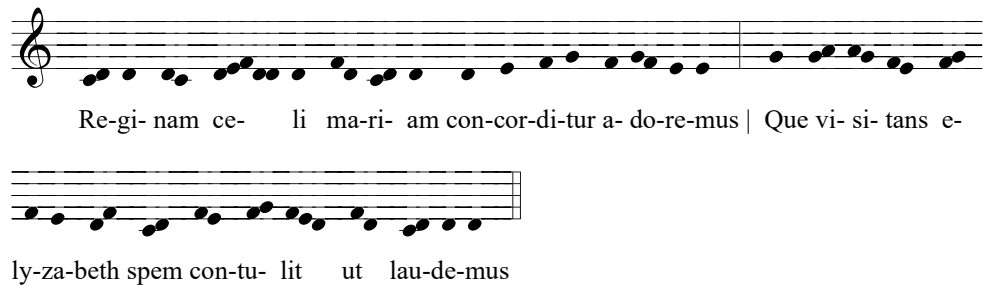
Invitatory Antiphon

Francis



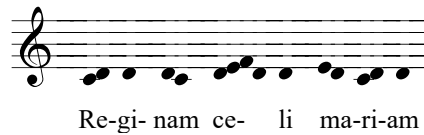
Re-gi que fe- cit o- pe- ra chri- sto con- fi- te- an- tur cu- ius in sanc- to vul-
ne- ra fran- cis- co re- no- van- tur

Visitation 1



Re- gi- nam ce- li ma- ri- am con- cor- di- tur a- do- re- mus | Que vi- si- tans e-
ly- za- beth spem con- tu- lit ut lau- de- mus

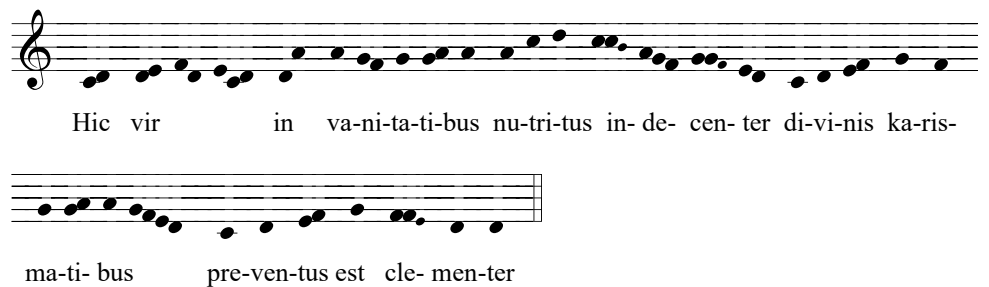
Visitation 2



Re- gi- nam ce- li ma- ri- am

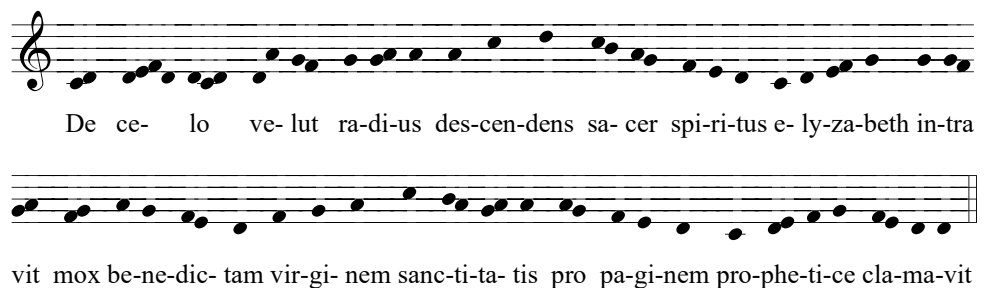
First Nocturn: Antiphon 1.1

Francis



Hic vir in va- ni- ta- ti- bus nu- tri- tus in- de- cen- ter di- vi- nis ka- ris-
ma- ti- bus pre- ven- tus est cle- men- ter

Visitation 1



De ce- lo ve- lut ra- di- us des- cen- dens sa- cer spi- ri- tus e- ly- za- beth in- tra
vit mox be- ne- dic- tam vir- gi- nem sanc- ti- ta- tis pro pa- gi- nem pro- phe- ti- ce cla- ma- vit

Antiphon 1.1 cont'd

Visitation 2

De ce- lo ve- nit

Antiphon 1.2

Francis

Ex- cel-si dex-tre gra-ci-a mi-ri-fi-ce mu-ta-tus dat lap-sis spem de ve-ni-a
cum xpi- sto iam be- a- tus

Visitation 1

In-ter tur-mas fe- mi- ne- as et sanc- ta- rum ex- cu- bi- as ma- ri- a col- lau- da- tur
prop- ter fructum qui que- ri- tur quo iu- re mun- dus e- mi- tur et ple- ne vi- si- ta- tur

Visitation 2

In- ter tur- mas fe- mi- ne- as

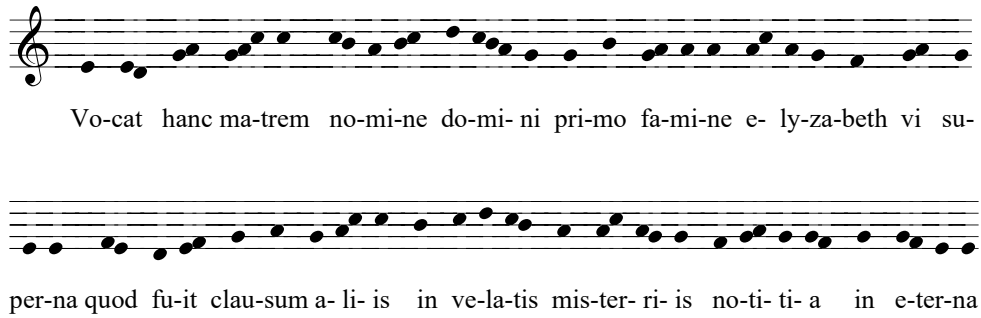
Antiphon 1.3

Francis

Man- su- es- cit sed non pe- ni- tus in- pri- mis per- lan- guo- res qui cap- tis ar- mis
ce- li- tus ad ple- num mu- tat mo- res

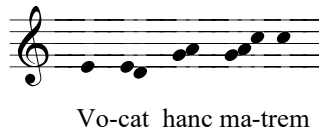
Antiphon 1.3 cont'd

Visitation 1



Vo-cat hanc ma-trem no-mi-ne do-mi-ni pri-mo fa-mi-ne e-ly-za-beth vi su-
per-na quod fu-it clau-sum a-li-is in ve-la-tis mis-ter-ri-is no-ti-ti-a in e-ter-na

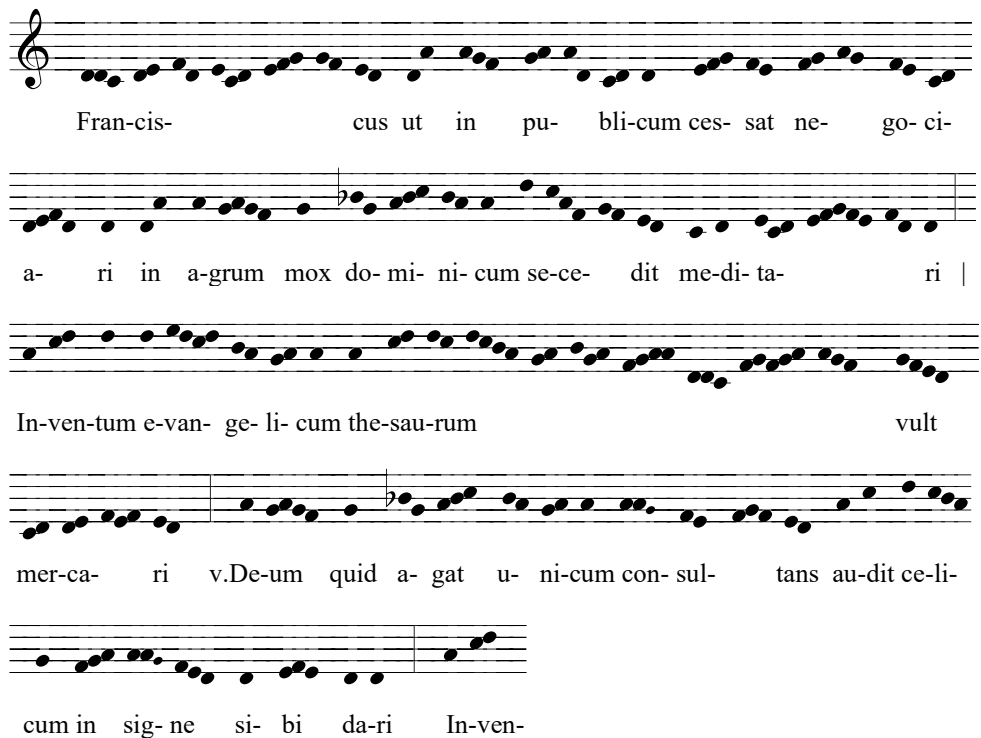
Visitation 2



Vo-cat hanc ma-trem

Responsory 1.1

Francis



Fran-cis- cus ut in pu- bli-cum ces- sat ne- go- ci-
a- ri in a-grum mox do- mi- ni- cum se-ce- dit me-di- ta- ri |
In-ven-tum e-van- ge- li- cum the-sau-rum vult
mer-ca- ri v.De-um quid a- gat u- ni-cum con- sul- tans au-dit ce-li-
cum in sig- ne si- bi da-ri In-ven-

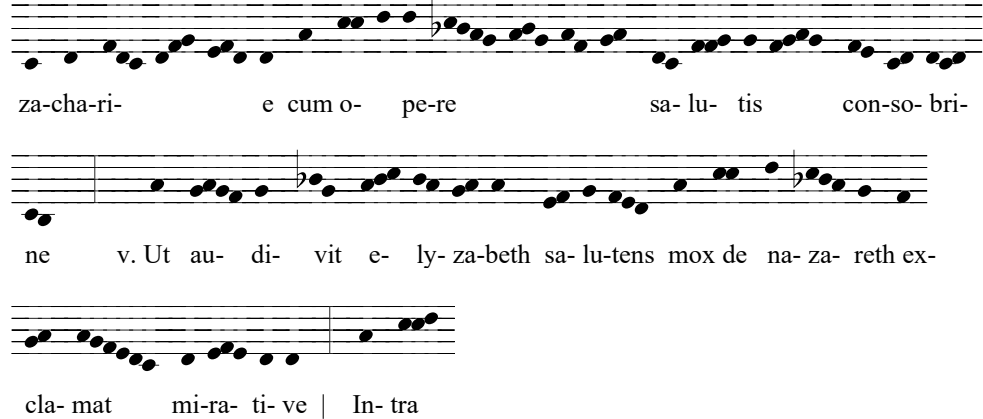
Visitation 1



Sur-gens ma-ri- a gra- vi- ta mi-gra-vit per ca- cu-
mi- na in ci-vi- ta- tem iu- de- e In-tra- vit do- mum pro-pe-re

Responsory 1.1 cont'd

Visitation 1
cont'd



za-cha-ri- e cum o- pe-re sa- lu- tis con-so- bri-
ne v. Ut au- di- vit e- ly- za-beth sa- lu-tens mox de na- za- reth ex-
cla- mat mi-ra- ti- ve | In- tra

Visitation 2



R. Sur-gens ma-ri- a gra-vi- ta v. Ut au- di- vit e- ly-

Responsory 1.2

Francis



In de- i fer-vens o- pe- re sta-tim ut su- a ven-dit pau-pe-
ri- bus im-pen-de- re pe-cu-ni-am in- ten-dit. | Que gra-vi su- o pon- de-re cor-
li-be-rum of- fen-dit. | v. Quam for-mi-dan- te pau-pe-re
pres-bi-te- ro re-ci- pe- re ab- iec- tam vi- li- pendit | Que gra- vi

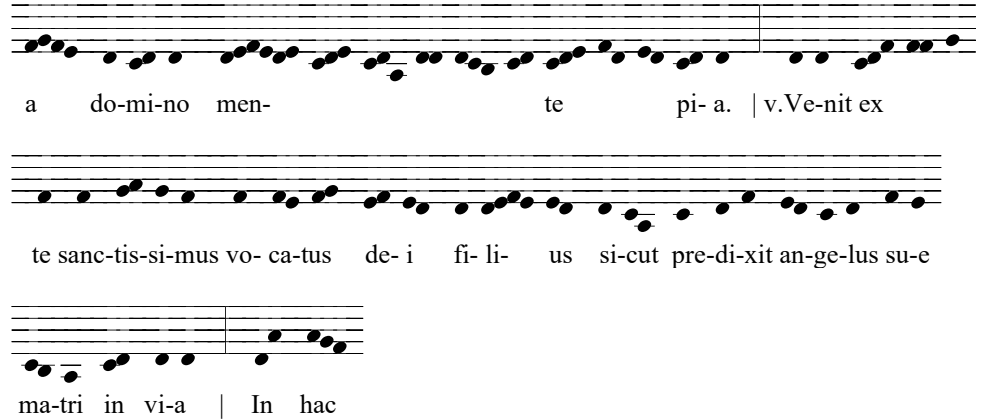
Visitation 1



Di- xit ver- ba pro- phe- ti- ca e- ly- za- beth ce- li- co- la de vir- gi-
ne ma- ri- a be- a- ta est que cre- di- dit | In hac fi- ent que di- di- cit

Responsory 1.2 cont'd

Visitation 1
cont'd



a do-mi-no men- te pi- a. | v.Ve-nit ex
te sanc-tis-si-mus vo- ca-tus de- i fi- li- us si-cut pre-di-xit an-ge-lus su-e
ma-tri in vi-a | In hac

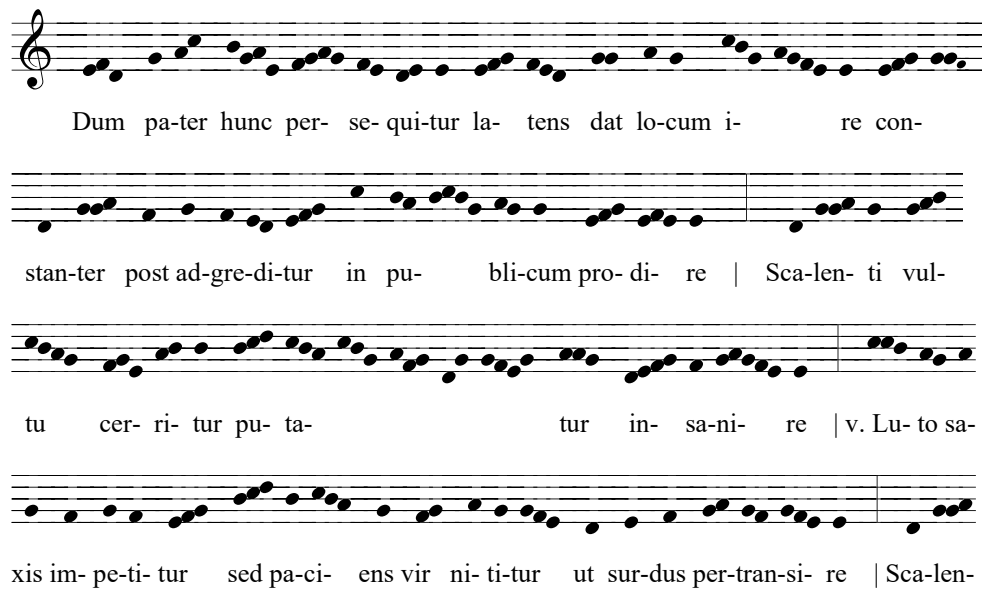
Visitation 2



Di- xit ver-ba pro-phe- ti-ca | v.Ve-nit ex te sanc-tis-si-mus

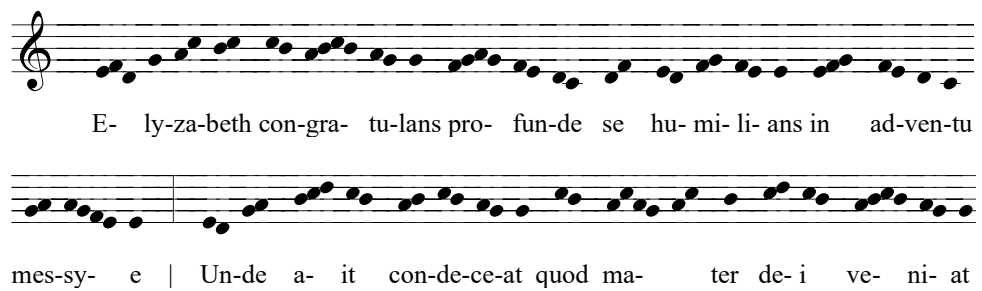
Responsory 1.3

Francis



Dum pa-ter hunc per- se- qui-tur la- tens dat lo-cum i- re con-
stan-ter post ad-gre-di-tur in pu- bli-cum pro- di- re | Sca-len- ti vul-
tu cer- ri- tur pu- ta- tur in- sa-ni- re | v. Lu- to sa-
xis im- pe-ti- tur sed pa-ci- ens vir ni- ti- tur ut sur- dus per- tran- si- re | Sca-len-

Visitation 1



E- ly-za-beth con-gra- tu-lans pro- fun-de se hu- mi- li- ans in ad-ven-tu
mes-sy- e | Un-de a- it con-de-ce-at quod ma- ter de- i ve- ni- at

Responsory 1.3 cont'd

Visitation 1
cont'd



ad me cum plau- su vi- e | v. En fe-lix sa-lu-ta-ti- o du-



pla- ta e-xul-ta- ti- o da-ban-tur vi so- phi-e | Un-de

Visitation 2



E- ly-za-beth con-gra- tu-lans | v. En fe-lix sa- lu-ta-ti- o du-pla-ta

Second Nocturn: Antiphon 2.1

Francis



Per-trac-tum do-mi ver-be-rat plus cunc-tis fu- rens pa-ter ob-iur-gans vin- cit



car-ce- rat quem fur- tim sol- vit ma-ter

Visitation 1



Non fu- it xpi-stus o-ne-ri nec gra-vis mo-les pu- e-ri vis-ce-ri- bus



ma- tris dig-ne sed ig- na- ra de pon-de-re cum cor-po- ra-li ro- bo- re tran-



si-li- it be- nig-ne

Visitation 2



Non fu- it xpi-stus o-ne-ri nec

Antiphon 2.2

Francis



Iam li-ber pa- tris fu-ri- e non ce-dit ef-fre- na-ti cla-mans se vo-lun-ta- ri-



e pro xpi-sto ma-la pa-ti.

Visitation 1



Tran-si- vit in i- ti- ne-re ma-ri-a mul-tum pros- pe-re mon-ti- cu- los



scan-den-do e- vi- ta-vit las- sci- vi- am prop-ter mo-rum con- stan- ci- am col- lo- qui-



a sper-nen-do.

Visitation 2



Trans-vit in i- ti- ne-re ma-ri-a

Antiphon 2.3

Francis



Duc-tus ad lo- ci pre- su-lem su-a pa-tri re- sig-nat nu-dus-que ma-nens ex-



su-lem in mun-do se de- sig-nat.

Visitation 1




Lon-gam vi-am per tran-si- it ma- ri- a mon-tes cir-cu-it hi-la- ris la-bo-ran-



do ho-no-res mun-di res-pu-it de-vo-ti-o-nem te-nu- it ce- li- ca me-di- tan-do.

Antiphon 2.3 cont'd

Visitation 2



Lon-gam vi-am per tran-si-it ma-ri-a

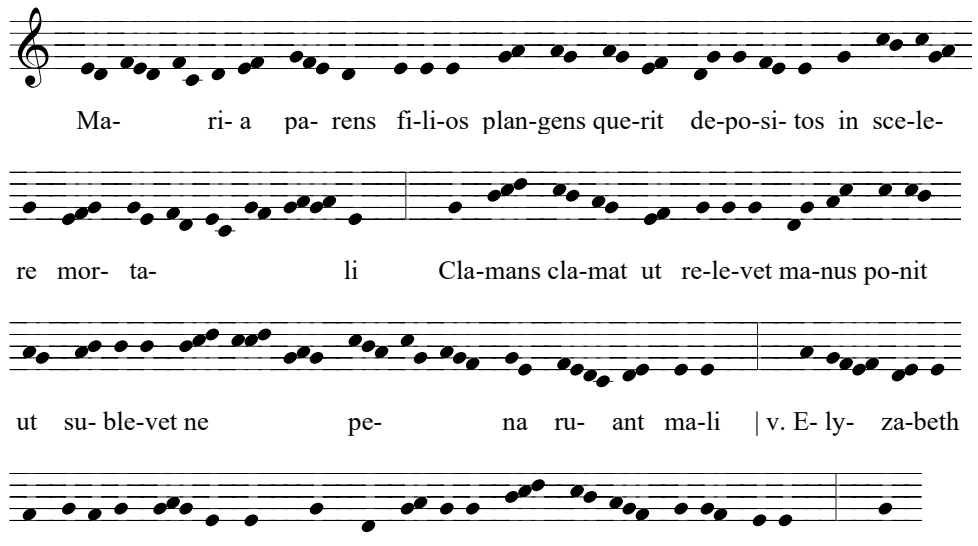
Responsory 2.1

Francis




Dum se-mi-nu-do cor-po-re lau-des de-can-tat ga-li-ce ze-la-tor
no-ve le-gis la-tro-ri-bus in ne-mo-re Res-pon-det sic pro-phe-
ti-ce pre-co sum mag-ni re-gis | v. Au-dit in ni-vis
fri-go-re pro-iec-tus ia-ce rus-ti-ce fu-tu-rus pas-tor gre-gis | Res-pon-

Visitation 1



Ma-ri-a pa-rens fi-li-os plan-gens que-rit de-po-si-tos in sce-le-
re mor-ta-li Cla-mans cla-mat ut re-le-vet ma-nus po-nit
ut su-ble-vet ne-pe-na ru-ant ma-li | v. E-ly-za-beth
que-si-e-rat io-han-nem doc-tum no-ve-rat de-vi-ta su-per-na-li | Cla-

Visitation 2



Ma-ri-a pa-rens fi-li-os plan-gens | v. E-ly-za-beth que-si-e-rat pro-

Responsory 2.2

Francis

A- mi cum que-rit pris- ti- num qui spre-tum in ce- no- bi- o
 tu-ni- cu- la con-te -xit con-tem-ptu gau- dens ho- mi- num | Le- pro-
 sis fit ob- se- qui-o quos an- te- a
 des-pe- xit v. Sub ty-po tri-um or- di- num tres nu-tu
 de-i pre-vi-o ec-cle-si-as e- rex-it | Le- pro- sis

Visitation 1

Ro-sa de spi-nis pro- di- it vir- ga de yes-se flo-ru-it
 ma-ri- a vi- si- ta- vit | Vis o- do- ris dif- fun-di-tur to- ta
 do- mus per-fi- ci- tur gra- ci- a cum in- tra- vit | v. Mi-ran-da
 sa- lu- ta- ti- o fit ple- bi gra- tu- la- ti- o que fruc- tum ex-pec-
 ta vit | Vis

Responsory 2.2 cont'd

Visitation 2

Ro-sa de spi-nis pro-di-it | v. Mi-ran-da sa-lu-ta-

Responsory 2.3

Francis


Au-dit in e-van-ge-li-o que su-is xpis-tus lo-qui-tur ad pre-
di-can-dum mis-sis hoc in-quit est quod cu-pi-o | Le-tant-ter hi-
is in-ni-ti-tur me-mo-ri-e com-mis-sis |
v. Non u-tens vir-ga cal-ci-o nec pe-ra fu-ne cin-gi-tur dup-pli-ci-bus di-mis-sis |
Le-tant-ter

Visitation 1

Stel-la sub nu-be te-gi-tur ma-ri-a mun-do pre-mi-tur ru-ti-
lans in splen-do-re | E-ly-za-beth per-du-ci-tur ad so-la-men lux spar-
gi-tur ro-ba-rans in vi-go-re | v. Lu-na
so-li con-iu-gi-tur e-ly-za-beth de-vol-vi-tur es-tu-ans in a-mo-ris | E-

Responsory 2.3 cont'd


Visitation 2



Stel- la sub nu-be te-gi- tur ma-ri- a | v. Lu-na so- li con- iu-

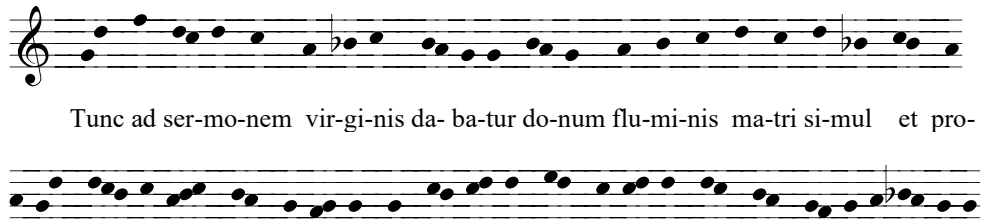
Third Nocturn: Antiphon 3.1

Francis




Cor ver- bis no-ve gra-ci- e sol-li- ci- tus ap-po- nit ver- bum- que pe- ni- ten- ci- e sim- pli- ci- ter pro- po- nit.

Visitation 1



Tunc ad ser- mo- nem vir- gi- nis da- ba- tur do- num flu- mi- nis ma- tri si- mul et pro- li hic gau- de- bat in u- te- ro hec pro- vi- dit de pu- e- ro et de re- gi- na po- li

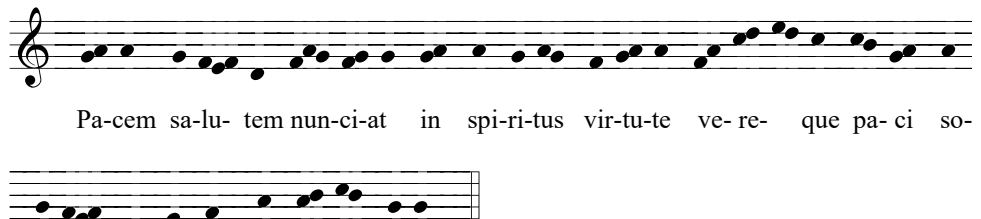
Visitation 2



Tunc ad ser- mo- nem vir- gi- nis

Antiphon 3.2

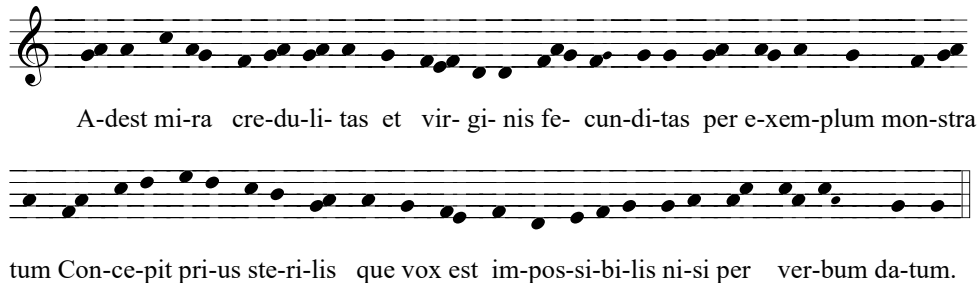
Francis



Pa- cem sa- lu- tem nun- ci- at in spi- ri- tus vir- tu- te ve- re- que pa- ci so- ci- at lon- gin- quos a sa- lu- te.

Antiphon 3.2 cont'd

Visitation 1



A-dest mi-ra cre-du-li-tas et vir-gi-nis fe-cun-di-tas per e-xem-plum mon-stra-
tum Con-ce-pit pri-us ste-ri-lis que vox est im-pos-si-bi-lis ni-si per ver-bum da-tum.

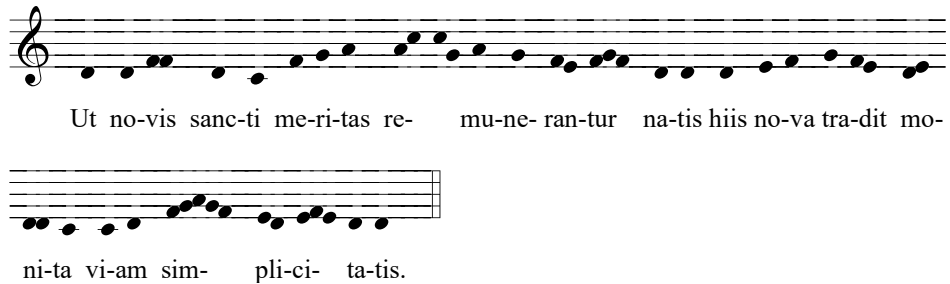
Visitation 2



A-dest mi-ra cre-du-li-tas et

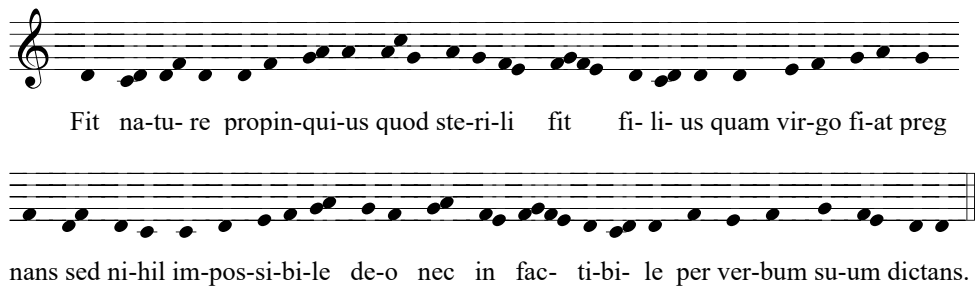
Antiphon 3.3

Francis



Ut no-vis sanc-ti me-ri-tas re-mu-ne-ran-tur na-tis hiis no-va tra-dit mo-
ni-ta vi-am sim- pli-ci-ta-tis.

Visitation 1



Fit na-tu-re propin-qui-us quod ste-ri-li fit fi-li-us quam vir-go fi-at preg-
nans sed ni-hil im-pos-si-bi-le de-o nec in fac-ti-bi-le per ver-bum su-um dictans.

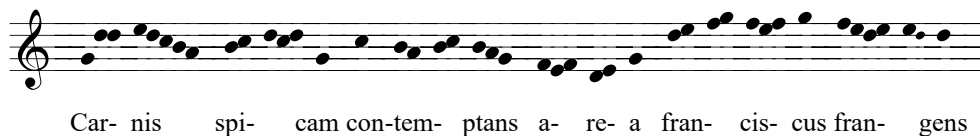
Visitation 2



Fit na-tu-re pro-pin-qu-ius quod

Responsory 3.1

Francis



Car-nis spi-cam con-tem-ptans a-re-a fran-cis-cus fran-gens

Responsory 3.1 cont'd

Francis
cont'd

ter-rens ter- re- a | Gra-num pu- rum ex- cu- sa pa- le- a sum-mi
re- gis in-tret in hor- re- a | v. Vi- vo pa- ni
mor-te iun-ctus vi-ta vi- vit vi- ta iun- ctus | Gra-num

Visitation 1

Oc-ca-sum vir-go nes- ci- it ve- lut lux mun- di pro- fu- it de
sum- mo fun-dens lu-men | E- ly-za-beth ap-pli- cu- it de-vo-tas si-bi at-
tra-hit de ce-lo pan-dens nu- men | v. Spi- ri- tus ra- pit
sym-bo-la ce-les-ti- bus con-for- mi-a tam-quam a- qua-rum flu-men | E- ly

Visitation 2

Oc-ca-sum vir-go nes- ci- it | v. Spi- ri- tus ra- pit

Responsory 3.2

Francis

De pau-per-ta- tis ho-re- o sanc-tus fran- cis- cus sa-
ci- a- tur- bam xpi-sti fa- me-li-cam in vi- a ne de- fi- ci-at

Responsory 3.2 cont'd

Francis
cont'd

| I- ter pan-dit ad glo-ri-am et vi- e vi- tam am-
pli-at v.Pro pau-per-ta-tis co-pi-a reg-nat di-ves
in pa-tri-a re-ges si-bi sub sti- tu-ens quos hic di-tat i- no- pi-a | I- ter

Visitation 1

Thro-num lu- cis pro-spe-xe-rat qui ut au-ro-ra ful-
se- rat so- le ma- ne splen-de- te | E-ly- za-beth u- bi vi- dit ver-baque
pa- lam pro-tu-lit spe- cu-lo su- a- den- te | v. In ma-ri-
e pre- sen-ti-a plu- ra pa- tent la- ten-ti- a e- ly- za- beth
di- cen- te | E-ly

Visitation 2

Thro-num lu- cis pro-spe-xe-rat | v. In ma-ri- e pre-

Responsory 3.3

Francis

Sex fra- trum pa- ter sep- ti- mus ab- sor-tus lu-ce ce- li-tus

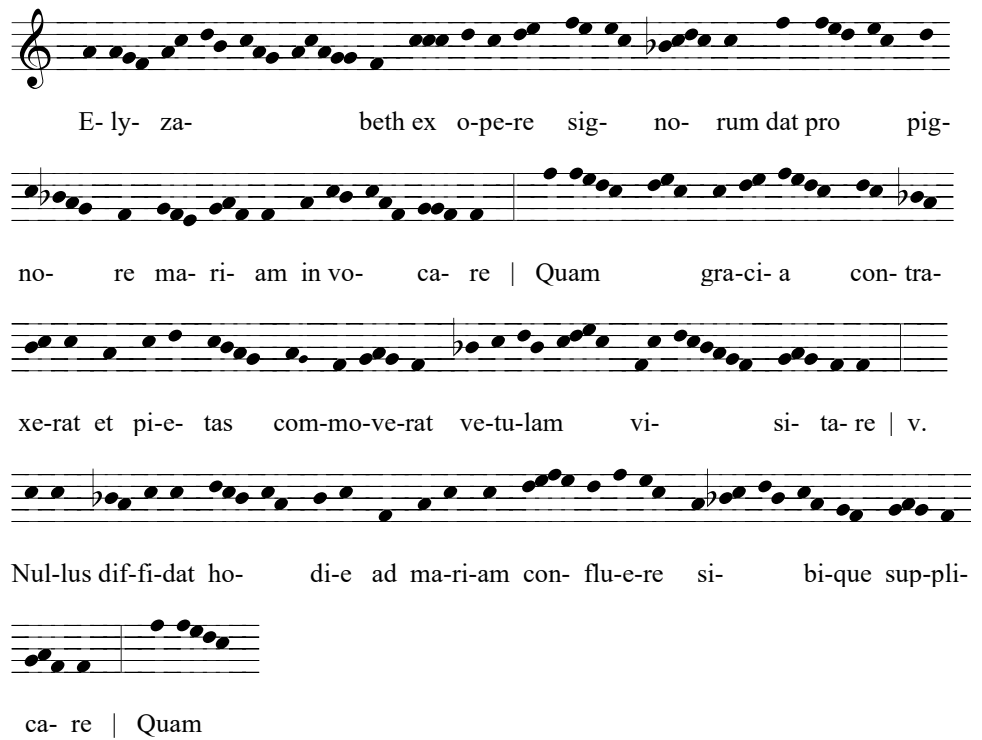
Responsory 3.3 cont'd

Francis
cont'd



fu- tu- ra con-tem-pla-tur in-ter mi- no- res mi- ni- mus | Quis par-vi
gre- gis e- xi- tus pre- cla-re spe-cu-
la- tur | Qua-drans quo- que no-vis si-mus cul-pa-rum si- bi pe-ni-tus
di- mit- ti re-ve- la-tur | Quis par-

Visitation 1



E-ly- za- beth ex o-pe-re sig- no- rum dat pro pig-
no- re ma- ri- am in vo- ca- re | Quam gra-ci- a con- tra-
xe-rat et pi-e- tas com-mo-ve-rat ve-tu-lam vi- si- ta- re | v.
Nul-lus dif-fi-dat ho- di-e ad ma-ri-am con- flu-e-re si- bi-que sup-pli-
ca- re | Quam

Visitation 2



E-ly- za- beth ex o-pe-re | v. Nul-lus dif-fi-dat ho- di-e

Responsory 10

Francis

Ar-cha- na su- is re- se-rans oc- ta-vum tan-dem re-ce-pit
et ad di-ver-sas gen- tes bi- nos mit- ten-dos fe-de-rans
| Hu- mi-li-a- ri pre- ce-pit et es- se pa-ci- en-
tes v. Grex pro-ci- dit op-tem-pe- rans pas- tor e-rec-tos sus-
ci-pit ad os-cu-la gaud-en-tes | Hu- mi-li-

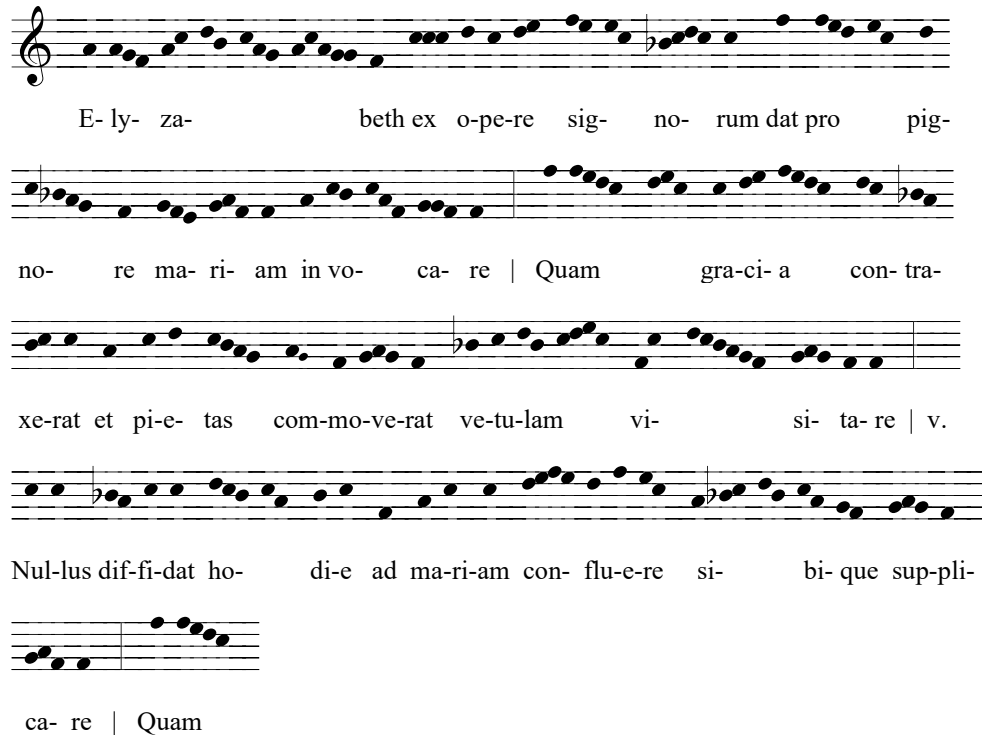
Responsory 11

Francis

E- un- tes in- quit in e- um qui nu-tri- et vos
do- mi-num iac- ta- te co-gi- ta-tum sic fra-tri-bus et ro- ne-um
| Pre- clu- dit et in-ter- mi-num ca- lem cu-pi-di-ta-
tum | v. Sic cu-ris cor ex- tra-ne-um non pro-vi-det
in cras-ti-num in zo- nis es li- ga- tum | Pre-

Responsory 11 cont'd

Visitation 1



E-ly- za- beth ex o-pe-re sig- no- rum dat pro pig-
no- re ma- ri- am in vo- ca- re | Quam gra-ci- a con- tra-
xe-rat et pi-e- tas com-mo-ve-rat ve-tu-lam vi- si- ta- re | v.
Nul-lus dif-fi-dat ho- di-e ad ma-ri-am con- flu-e-re si- bi- que sup-pli-
ca- re | Quam

Visitation 2



E-ly- za- beth ex o-pe-re | v. Nul-lus dif-fi-dat ho- di-e

Responsory 12

Francis

Re-gres-sis quos e-mi-se-rat com-ple-tur bis se-na-ri-us fra-trum dum con-fir-man-do nor-nam sanc-to quam scrip-se-rat | Ius-sa dat In-no-cen-ti-us pa-pa de pre-di-can-do | In mea fran-cis-cus fe-ne-rat quem da-ri mo-net ra-ti-o de lu-cro re-por-tan-do | Ius-sa

Lauds: Antiphon 1

Francis

Sanc-tus fran-cis-cus pre-vi-is o-ra-ti-o-num stu-di-is quid fa-ci-at in-struc-tus non si-bi so-li vi-ve-re sed a-li-is pro-fi-ce-re vult de-i ze-lo duc-tus

Visitation 1

Sa-cra de-dit e-lo-qui-a ma-ri-a res-pon-so-ri-a e-ly-za-beth lau-dan-ti cla-ma-vit de-o can-ti-cum mag-ni-fi-can-do do-mi-num de sur-sum bo-na dan-ti

Visitation 2

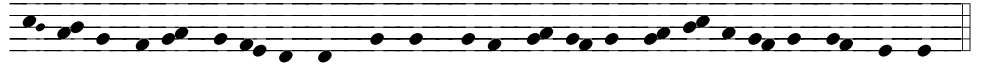
Sa-cra de-dit e-lo-qui-a

Lauds Antiphon 2

Francis



Hic pre-di-can-do cir-cu-it et quem non ho-mo do-cu-it fit doc-tis in stu-porem

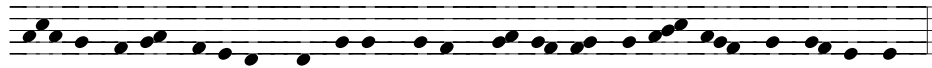


vir-tu-tem ver-ba lo-qui-tur no-vum-que no-va se-qui-tur mi-li-ci-a duc-to-rem

Visitation 1



Tunc ex-ul-ta-vit a-ni-mus cum ip-si-us sit fi-li-us an-ge-lo nun-ci-an-te an-



cil-la de-i cre-di-dit con-fes-ti ver-bum ge-nu-it ma-ri-a sup-pli-can-te

Visitation 2



Tunc ex-ul-ta-vit a-ni-mus cum

Lauds Antiphon 3

Francis



Tres or-di-nes hic or-di-nat pri-mus-que fra-trum no-mi-nat mi-no-rum pauperum



que fit do-mi-na-rum me-di-us sed pe-ni-ten-tum ter-ci-us se-xum ca-pit u-trum-que

Visitation 1



Ve-ra hu-mi-li-ta-ti-o fu-it xpi-sti con-cep-ti-o de-o res-pi-ci-en-te ex



hoc lau-da-bunt sin-gu-li ma-ri-am ma-trem se-cu-li ip-sa-met sic di-cen-te

Visitation 2



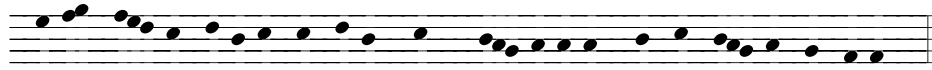
Ve-ra hu-mi-li-ta-ti-o

Lauds Antiphon 4

Francis



Doc-tus doc-tri-ne gra-ci-a doc-tus ex-pe-ri-en- ci- a que sunt per-fec- ti-o-nis hec



fra-tres do- cet om-ni-a tam fac-tis quam fre-quen-ci-a mel-li- flu- i ser-mo-nis

Visitation 1



Mag-na per-fi-cit do-mi-nus in ma-ri-e vir- tu-ti- bus de-um con-ci- pi-en-do fit



ma-ter ple-na gra-ci-e et im-pe-ta-trix ve-ni- e om-ni- bus mi-se-ren-do

Visitation 2



Mag-na per-fi-cit do-mi-nus

Lauds Antiphon 5

Francis



Lau-dans lau-da-re mo-nu-it laus il-li sem-per af-fu-it laus in-quam sal-va- to-ris



in-vi-tat a-ves bes- ti-as et cre-a- tu- ras a- li-as ad lau-dem con- di-to-ris

Visitation 1



Ma-ri-a tri-bus men-si-bus qua-si ste-tit la-bo-ri-bus e-ly-za-beth sub-den-do con-



fe-re-bat de an-ge-lo et ver-bo-rum mi-ste-ri-o que pro-tu-lit sa-lu-tan-do mu-tum au-



di-vit e-lo-qui et pro-phe-ci-as do-mi-ni de xpi-sto de-cla-ran-do plu-ra vi-dit de pu-e-

Lauds Antiphon 5 cont'd

Visitation 1
cont'd



ro mi-ra-bi-li ab u-te-ro pre-cur-so-rem vo-can-do fac-ta post re-ve-ren-ci-a



re-ver-sa est ad pro-pri-a ma-ri-a con-tem-plan-do

Visitation 2



Ma-ri-a tri-bus men-si-bus qua-si

Antiphon Benedictus

Francis



O mar-tyr de-si-de-ri-o fran-cis-ce quan-to stu-di-o com-pa-ci-ens hunc



se-que-ris quem pas-sum li-bro re-pe-ris quem a-pe-ru is-ti tu con-tu-ens in



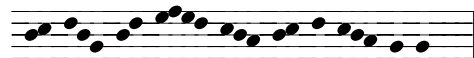
ae-re se-raph in cru-ce po-si-tum ex tunc in pal-mis la-te-re et pe-di-



bus ef-fi-gi-em fers pla-ga-rum xpis-ti tu gre-gi tu-o pro-vi-de qui post fe-li-



cem tran-si-tum di-re pri-us et li-vi-de glo-ri-fi-ca-te spe-ci-em car-nis



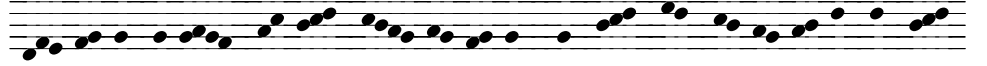
pre-den-dis-ti

Antiphon Benedictus cont'd

Visitation 1
Magnificat



De qui- bus tes-tes pro-tu-lit pro se-cre-to quod la- tu- it de ver-bo in



car- na-to ip-sum pri- mo mon- stra-ve-rat xpis-tum quem ex- pec-ta- vit in u-



te- ro ma- tris gra-to

Appendix C: Plimpton MS 034, as indexed in the CANTUS Database

Susan Boynton and Sister Ilaria Cushaw. Inventory of “New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Plimpton MS 034.” Edited by Alessandra Ignesti. In *Cantus*.

Feast	Folio	Genre	Incipit
Purificatio Mariae	001r-003v	Antiphon	Lumen ad revelationem gentium et
		Canticle	Nunc dimittis servum tuum domine v. <i>Gloria*</i>
		Antiphon	Exsurge domine adjuva nos et v. <i>Deus auribus nostris audivimus patres v. Gloria patri et filio et</i>
		Antiphon	Ave gratia plena dei genitrix
		Antiphon	Adorna thalamum tuum Sion et
		Antiphon	Responsum accepit Simeon a spiritu
		Responsory	Obtulerunt pro eo domino par v. <i>Postquam impleti sunt dies purgationis v. Gloria patri*</i>
		Introit	Suscepimus*
Dom. in Palmis	003v-009r	Antiphon	Pueri hebraeorum portantes ramos olivarum
		Antiphon	Pueri hebraeorum vestimenta prosternebant in
		Antiphon	Cum appropinquaret dominus Jerusalem misit
		Antiphon	Cum audisset populus quia Jesus
		Antiphon	Ante sex dies sollemnis paschae
		Antiphon	Occurrunt turbae cum floribus et
		Antiphon	Cum angelis et pueris fideles
		Antiphon	Turba multa quae convenerat ad
		Hymn	Gloria laus et honor tibi
Responsory	Ingrediente domino in sanctam civitatem v. <i>Cumque audissent quod Jesus venire</i>		
Fer. 5 in Cena Dom	009v-017v	Antiphon	Mandatum novum do vobis ut v. <i>Beati immaculati in via qui</i>
		Antiphon	Postquam surrexit dominus a cena v. <i>Magnus dominus et laudabilis nimis</i>
		Antiphon	Dominus Jesus postquam cenavit cum
		Antiphon	In diebus illis mulier quae v. <i>Benedixisti domine terram tuam avertisti</i>
		Antiphon	Maria ergo unxit pedes Jesu v. <i>Domine ne in furore tuo</i>
		Antiphon	Vos vocatis me magister et v. <i>Exemplum enim dedi vobis ut</i>

Feast	Folio	Genre	Incipit
Fer. 5 in Cena Dom cont'd	009v- 017v cont'd	Antiphon	Diligamus nos invicem quia caritas v. <i>Quam dilecta tabernacula tua domine</i>
		Antiphon	Ubi est caritas et dilectio v. <i>Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat</i>
		Antiphon	Congregavit nos Christus ad glorificandum v. <i>A solis ortu et occasu</i>
		Antiphon	Mulier quae erat in civitate v. <i>Dum esset rex in accubitu</i>
		Antiphon	Domine tu mihi lavas pedes v. <i>Venit ergo ad Simonem Petrum v. Quod ego facio tu nescis v. Domine non tantum pedes meos</i>
		Antiphon	Si ego dominus et magister v. <i>Audite haec omnes gentes auribus</i>
		Antiphon	In hoc cognoscent omnes quia
		Antiphon	Maneant in vobis fides spes v. <i>Nunc autem manent fides spes</i>
		Antiphon	Benedicta sit sancta trinitas atque v. <i>Benedicamus patrem et filium cum</i>
		Antiphon	Ubi caritas et amor Deus v. <i>Congregavit nos in unum Christi v. Exsultemus et in ipso jucundemur v. Timeamus et amemus Deum vivum v. Et ex corde diligamus non v. Qui non habet caritatem nihil v. Et in tenebris et umbra v. Nos alterutrum amemus et in v. Sicut decet ambulemus lucis proles v. Clamat dominus et dicit clara v. Ubi fuerint in unum congregati v. Meum propter nomen simul tres v. Et in medio eorum ego v. Simul ergo cum in unum v. Ne nos mente dividamus caveamus v. Cessent jurgia maligna cessent lites v. Et in medio sit nostri v. Caritas est summum bonum amplum v. In qua pendet totus ordo v. Per quam vetus atque nova v. Quae ad caeli celsa mittit v. Nam ut caritas conjungit et v. Sic discordia disjungit et praesentes v. Quia caritas praeceptis in duobus v. Constat quibus deus atque omnis v. Et per coccum prisca legem v. Qui colore tingit rubro bis v. Vere memor dat fraternus amor v. Et perpetuam malignis dabit poenam v. Unanimiter excelsum imploremus v. Ut det pacem clemens nostris</i>

Feast	Folio	Genre	Incipit
Fer. 5 in Cena Dom cont'd	009v- 017v cont'd	Antiphon cont'd	<i>v. Jungat fidei speique opus bonum v. Et consortium captemus supernorum v. Similes quo cum beatis videamus v. Glorianter vultum tuum Christe deus v. Gaudium quod est immensum atque v. Saecula per infinita saeculorum amen</i>
Francisci	018r- 020r	Antiphon	O stupor et gaudium o
Clarae		Antiphon	O decus virgineum o jubar
Francisci		Responsory	Amicum quaerit pristinum qui spretum v. <i>Sub typo trium ordinum tres</i>
Clarae		Responsory	Amica crucis plangere crucifixum novitias v. <i>Haec Christi sui munere morbos</i>
Francisci		Responsory	Audit in evangelio quae suis v. <i>Non utens virga calceo nec</i>
Clarae		Responsory	Vivens in mundo labili sponso v. <i>Sit in rota versatuli fulta</i>
Francisci		Antiphon	Laudans laudare monuit laus illi
Clarae		Antiphon	Laudans laudare studeat in laudem
De uno defuncto	020v- 032r	Responsory	Subvenite sancti dei occurrere angeli v. <i>Suscipiat te Christus qui vocavit</i>
		Litany	Kyrie eleison Christe eleison kyrie
			Pater Noster*
		Versicle	Et ne nos*
		Versicle	Dominus vobiscum*
		Responsory	Ne recorderis peccata mea domine v. <i>Dirige domine deus meus in</i>
		Litany	Kyrie eleison*
			Pater noster*
		Versicle	Et ne nos*
		Versicle	Dominus vobiscum*
		Responsory	Libera me domine de morte v. <i>Tremens factus sum ego et v. Dies illa dies irae calamitatis v. Requiem aeternam dona eis domine</i>
		Litany	Kyrie eleison Christe eleison kyrie
			Pater noster*
		Versicle	Et ne nos* R. <i>Sed</i>
		Versicle	Requiem aeternam R. <i>Et lux</i>
		Versicle	A porta inferi R. <i>Erue</i>
		Versicle	Requiescat in pace R. <i>Amen</i>
		Versicle	Domine exaudi* R. <i>Et clamor*</i>
	Versicle	Dominus vobiscum R. <i>Et cum</i>	
	Antiphon	In paradisum deducant te angeli	

Feast	Folio	Genre	Incipit
De uno defuncto cont'd	020v- 032r cont'd	Antiphon	Chorus angelorum te suscipiat et
		Antiphon	Aperite mihi*
		Psalm	Confitemini domino quoniam bonus
		Versicle	Requiem*
		Antiphon	Aperite mihi portas justitiae ingressus
		Antiphon	Ingrediar*
		Psalm	Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes
		Versicle	Requiem*
		Antiphon	Ingrediar in locum tabernaculi admirabilis
		Antiphon	Haec requies*
		Psalm	Memento domine David et omnis
		Versicle	Requiem*
		Antiphon	Haec requies mea in saeculum
		Antiphon	De terra*
		Psalm	Domine probasti me et cognovisti
		Versicle	Requiem*
		Antiphon	De terra formasti me carne
		Antiphon	Non intres*
		Psalm	Domine exaudi orationem meam auribus
		Versicle	Requiem aeternam*
		Antiphon	Non intres in iudicium cum
		Antiphon	Omnis spiritus*
		Psalm	Laudate dominum de caelis Laudate
		Psalm	Cantate domino canticum novum Laetetur
		Psalm	Laudate dominum in sanctis ejus
		Versicle	Requiem*
		Antiphon	Omnis spiritus laudet dominum
		Versicle	Audivi vocem de caelo dicentem
		Antiphon	Ego sum*
		Canticle	Benedictus dominus deus Israel Et
		Versicle	Requiem*
		Antiphon	Ego sum resurrectio et vita
		Antiphon	Clementissime domine qui pro nostra
			Pater noster*
		Versicle	Et ne nos* <i>R. Sed</i>
		Versicle	Non intres in iudicium cum
		Versicle	A porta inferi <i>R. Erue</i>
		Versicle	Requiescat in pace <i>R. Amen</i>
		Versicle	Domine exaudi* <i>R. Et clamor*</i>
		Versicle	Dominus vobiscum <i>R. Et cum</i>
Versicle	Requiem aeternam* <i>R. Et lux</i>		

Feast	Folio	Genre	Incipit
De uno defuncto cont'd	020v- 032r cont'd	Versicle	Anima ejus et animae omnium
		Responsory	Memento mei deus quia ventus <i>v. De profundis clamavi ad te v. Requiem aeternam dona ei domine</i>
			Pater Noster*
		Versicle	Et ne nos* <i>R. Sed</i>
		Versicle	Requiem aeternam dona eis domine
		Versicle	A porta inferi <i>R. Erue</i>
		Versicle	Requiescant in pace <i>R. Amen</i>
		Versicle	Domine exaudi* <i>R. Et clamor*</i>
		Versicle	Dominus vobiscum <i>R. Et cum</i>
Corporis Christi	033r- 036r	Hymn	Tantum ergo sacramentum veneremur cernui
		Antiphon	O quam suavis est domine
		Responsory	Immolabit haedum multitudo filiorum Israel <i>v. Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus</i>
		Responsory	Comeditis carnes et saturabimini panibus <i>v. Non Moyses dedit vobis panem</i>
		Responsory	Respexit Elias ad caput suum <i>v. Si quis manducaverit ex hoc v. Gloria patri et filio et</i>
		Antiphon	O sacrum convivium in quo