Chapter 12

Hymnody of the Western Religious Orders

HEATHER JOSSELYN-CRANSON

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS of the Christian Church, some of the faithful felt particularly called to follow the Apostle Paul's advice to "pray without ceasing" (1 Thess 5:17). These Christians borrowed Jewish patterns of prayer at certain times of the day to develop a daily schedule of work and study, interrupted regularly by times of individual prayer or communal worship. This worship included the Eucharist as well as the hours of the Daily Office: Vespers (evening), Compline (bedtime), Matins (middle of the night), Lauds (daybreak), Prime (6 a.m.), Terce (9 a.m.), Sext (noon), and None (3 p.m.). The Daily Office, together with a daily Mass, became the foundation upon which the western religious orders of medieval Europe grounded their spirituality as well as their daily, weekly, and yearly time-keeping. While the Eucharistic Mass was a service of word and table, the hours of the Daily Office were largely composed of psalms, prayers, and brief readings from Scripture.

Much of the worship of these monastic communities was musical: psalms were chanted, Scripture readings were intoned, and several portions

of the Mass became filled with soaring melismas. Hymns, also, found a place in monastic worship. The Mass included strophic, hymn-like sequences following the Alleluia, although these differed from hymns in that the music for subsequent stanzas varied. True hymns, in which the music for each stanza remains the same, were included in the Daily Office.

The earliest office hymns pertained closely to particular hours at which they were sung. For example, *Te lucis ante terminum*, the hymn for Compline, mentions the end of daylight and the fear of nightmares, while *Iam lucis orto sidere*, the hymn for Prime, mentions light already dawning and prayers for the new day which appears before the singers.² Gradually, hymns that reflected the seasons and festivals of the church year supplemented those focused exclusively on the time of day during which they were sung. The proliferation of saints in the Middle Ages provided scope for poets to contribute their verse as new saints became canonized and required hymns for celebration of their feast days at the Daily Office.

Although detailed descriptions of medieval hymn performance are rare, scholars assume that monastic communities either sang hymns communally in unison or performed hymns antiphonally, dividing alternate stanzas between the two halves of the monastic choir.³

In between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries, a large number of new monastic orders developed, leading to great variety in the practices of monastic worship in general and hymnody in particular. The various religious orders tailored their hymns, and all of their liturgy, to fit the life and work of the community, resulting in a varied body of texts, melodies, and practices. The following will provide a brief glimpse into the historical background and theological underpinnings of the hymn singing of several of the orders found in Western Europe between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries.

Augustinians

Augustinian, or Austin, canons took their name and their rule from Saint Augustine of Hippo, the fifth-century bishop, theologian, and author. Augustine's letter of advice to his sister's religious community formed the heart of this brief Rule.⁴ Eleventh-century clerics who wished to combine their priestly vocations with communal living turned to Augustine's Rule for

- 1. Fassler, Gothic Song, 73.
- 2. Routley, Panorama of Christian Hymnody, 125-28.
- 3. Hughes, Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office, 37.
- 4. Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism, 165.

guidance in their quest. Receiving approval from Rome, these priests were as Canons Regular to signify the rule they followed. Augustinian canons particularly located their monastic identity in their role as teachers and converters, in their care for the altar, and in the sacramental celebration of the Eucharist.⁵ The canons also supported clerical reform, including a purification of the role of priest.

As an Order, the Augustinians showed remarkable affinity for the hymn-like sequence in the Mass. They likely favored this part of the mass for its perceived connections to Augustine himself, as Margot Fassler describes in *Gothic Song*:

First, the sequences were Alleluia commentaries, and Augustine wrote extensively about a chant which canons from the twelfth century would have assumed was the Alleluia of the Mass liturgy; he also wrote about the "jubilus," a word which would have been associated in the twelfth century with the melismatic endings of Alleluia phrases. Secondly, Augustinians turned their sequences into hymn-like songs, perhaps in order to follow the only command regarding music in the Rule of St. Augustine: "When you pray to God in psalms and hymns, turn over in your heart what your voice is uttering." . . . Thirdly . . . they contained powerful images of the church, and thus offered a precedent for discussing issues of ecclesiastical reform. Fourthly, texts of the late sequences . . . were dominated by exegetical techniques championed by Augustine and other church fathers. . . . Fifthly, of course, Augustine wrote a treatise on the art of poetry, and an example of poetry in the rhythmic style.⁶

Alone among religious reformers of the twelfth century, the Augustinians added many new sequences into their liturgical repertoire.⁷

Carthusians

Beginning with the Order's origins in the eleventh century, Carthusians have prized silence and interior meditation. Carthusian monastics shared only the offices of Vespers, Matins, and Lauds in community, while all others hours of the Daily Office were prayed individually by each monk in his own cell. Feast days, however, provided an exception to this rule.⁸ Origi-

- 5. Fassler, Gothic Song, 194.
- 6. Fassler, Gothic Song, 133-34.
- 7. Fassler, Gothic Song, 341.
- 8. King, Liturgies of the Religious Orders, 35.

nally, Carthusians eschewed all hymnody, finding that only biblical texts should be sung in worship. This austerity did not last, however, and the general chapter of 1143 admitted the hymn texts *Post venite cantetur, Aeterne rerum conditor, Splendor paternae gloriae, Deus creator,* and *Christe qui lux es* into the Daily Office. While Carthusians did eventually permit hymns, they did not allow sequences or proses, with their hymn-like structure, into the Mass.⁹

Cistercians

The Cistercian Order formed as a renewal within the Benedictine tradition during the late-eleventh century. Cistercians, taking their name from their first monastery at Cîteaux, sought to return to the rigor and asceticism of the original Benedictine rule. Since that Rule often referred to hymns as *ambrosianum*, Cistercian reformers sought a copy of the hymnal of Milan, for they believed that Ambrose himself had composed all of the hymn texts and melodies of that city's liturgical tradition. ¹⁰ Abruptly jettisoning their previous, familiar hymnody and adopting the limited and conservative hymnody of Milan manuscripts, Cistercians imposed upon themselves a radical liturgical change.

But their new hymnal was less than suitable: it lacked hymns for many particular liturgical occasions, it was restricted largely to modes 2 and 8, it "smacked of the literary aesthetic of a bygone age," and it put the Cistercians at liturgical odds with surrounding monastic and secular communities. Cistercian reformers rationalized their need to adapt this seemingly correct but unsuitable hymnody by positing that the original Ambrosian hymns must have been corrupted and therefore could be edited in order to restore them to their presumed original, and more liturgically useful, condition. The reformers also noted that while the Benedictine Rule used the term *ambrosianum* in the context of Vigils, Lauds, and Vespers, the broader term *hymnus* appeared in the context of other hours of the Divine Office. Therefore, Cistercian reformers felt justified in reintroducing non-Milanese hymns into their liturgical celebration at Prime, Terce, Sext, None, and Compline. For the second Cistercian hymnal, therefore, reformers restored

- 9. King, Liturgies of the Religious Orders,, 43.
- 10. Waddell, Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal, 21.
- 11. Waddell, Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal, 62.
- 12. Waddell, Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal, 73. Also Maître, Le Réform Cistercienne du Plain-chant, 53.
 - 13. Waddell, Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal, 87.

many seasonal hymns to the offices of Terce and Compline, divided several of the Ambrosian hymns into "divisions" spread between Matins and Lauds, and edited the melodies of the Milanese repertoire to bring hymn melodies into conformity with medieval rules of modal theory.¹⁴

Premonstratensians

Norbert of Xanten founded the Premonstratensians as an Order for canons in 1120. Influenced to a certain extent by his friend Bernard of Clairvaux, Norbert included many Cistercian ideals in his new community, balanced by the influence of Cluniacs, Carthusians, and Canons Regular.¹⁵

Premonstratensians adopted the requirement of praying the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary from their founding, thus including the hymns *Quem terra*, *O gloriosa*, *Ave maris stella*, *Virgo singularis*, *Salve Regina*, and *Ave Regina caelorum* in the daily repertoire of the Norbertine canons.

Unlike the Cistercians from whom they borrowed much, the Norbertines included sequences in their daily masses. One of the most "characteristic" of these sequences is *Laetabundus*, a Christmas text found only among the Norbertines and the Dominicans.¹⁶

Gilbertines

Gilbert of Sempringham founded the Order of Sempringham, the only religious order begun in England, in the early-twelfth century. Although the Order started with a handful of religious women, Gilbert gradually added lay sisters, lay brothers, and canons to maintain the viability of the communities that bore his name. Gilbert found Cistercian ideals compelling, and even attempted to give his houses to the Cistercians, but the General Chapter of 1147, where Gilbert pled his case, was unwilling to assume responsibility for these unusual religious communities.

Gilbert's attraction to Cistercian simplicity permeated his Rule for the Order of Sempringham. He forbade members of his order from singing musical ornamentation of all sorts, including florid antiphons.¹⁷ Another difficulty of the Gilbertine musical situation arose from the fact that a long

- 14. Waddell, Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal, 88.
- 15. King, Liturgies of the Religious Orders, 170-71.
- 16. Lentze, "Der Messritus des Praemonstratenserordens," 32.
- 17. Josselyn-Cranson, "Moderate psallendo," 183.

wall divided each Gilbertine sanctuary into two halves, separating women and men while at communal prayer. Gilbertine scholars have also pondered if the Benedictine nature of the women's rule and the Augustinian nature of the men's rule might have posed liturgical or musical conflicts.¹⁸

So few manuscript sources remain from the Gilbertines that we do not have an accurate understanding of the Daily Office of that community. The liturgical requirements for the lay members of the Order are described in the Gilbertine Rule, however. We do have three strophic texts created for the feast day of Saint Gilbert upon his canonization in 1202. Two of the texts are hymns, appearing within the office: *Quid est quod luges Anglia* and *In novi fetus federe. Risu cordis exaltemus*, the lengthy and curiously-structured sequence for the feast day of Saint Gilbert, makes up the third of these unique texts.¹⁹

Franciscans

Francis of Assisi, after attracting followers to his way of radical poverty, created a Rule for this new community. Approved by the pope in 1209, the Franciscan Rule sent the friars out into the world to preach and help the poor. Their preparation for this task included musical training, both practical and philosophical. The latter stressed that music "drives listeners toward penance and the delight of consolation," which was also the friars' goal in preaching.²⁰ Thus, the Franciscans understood singing to be another tool in their work among the people.

Francis also composed his "Canticle of Brother Sun," one of the first texts in the Umbrian dialect, to be sung in praise of God. While the "Canticle" did not find a place in the Latin Mass or Daily Office of Francis' day, it was sung to distract Francis himself from illness and shared by the Franciscan friars with the people to whom they preached.²¹

Carmelites

The Carmelite Order originated out of the crusades, which brought waves of Europeans to the Middle East. In the late-twelfth century, several of these pilgrims settled around Mount Carmel to live a life of religious withdrawal.

- 18. Josselyn-Cranson, "Moderate psallendo," 177-78.
- 19. Woolley, Gilbertine Rite, 1:115-26.
- 20. Loewen, Music in Early Franciscan Thought, 68.
- 21. Moloney, Francis of Assisi, 143.

At first, Carmelites were more eremitical than monastic, but the Order took on a mendicant identity as it spread beyond the Holy Land. The rite followed by Carmelites, the Rite of the Holy Sepulchre, reveals clear links with the Parisian Rite familiar to many of the French priests who accompanied the crusaders. ²² Early in the Order's existence, the hermits at Mount Carmel prayed the Daily Office privately, gathering as a community only for daily Mass. Shortly thereafter, communal celebration of the Daily Office became common.

The Order's origins in the Holy Land lead to a unique Carmelite calendar, featuring a solemn commemoration of the resurrection in the temporale and many feasts for Old Testament personages and Christians from Jerusalem in the sanctorale.²³ While the Order was urged to adopt uniformity of liturgical texts, frequently different Carmelite foundations chanted the same text to different tunes.²⁴

Dominicans

Dominic of Caleruega founded his Order of Preachers early in the thirteenth century. Dominican friars were to oppose heresy through a life of traveling and vernacular preaching. As canons rather than cloistered monks, the Dominicans followed the Rule of Saint Augustine, just as Premonstratensians and Augustinians did. Dominic required his canons to pray the entire Office each day in order to ground their preaching in the lived experience of the church's prayer and praise, though later generations of Dominicans found themselves so busy that there was no time for prayer.²⁵

When the Order of Preachers standardized its Daily Office, it followed the template of the Lateran Basilica. The Basilica, however, adopted the practice of singing hymns in the hours of the Daily Office quite late. As William R. Bonniwell noted, hymns "were excluded at Rome from the breviaries of the secular clergy until the second half of the twelfth century, and possibly even to the end of that century." This left the Dominicans free to make their own choices regarding the selection of hymns for particular feasts and hours. The Dominican hymnic practice, therefore, sets that Order apart from others throughout medieval Europe. As part of its distinctive use

- 22. Quinn, "History of the Carmelite Liturgy."
- 23. Boyce, "Medieval Carmelite Office Tradition," 124-26.
- 24. Boyce, "Medieval Carmelite Office Tradition," 121.
- 25. Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy*, 15–16. Also Tugwell, "Spirituality of the Dominicans, 24.
 - 26. Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy*, 179–80.

of hymns, the Order of Preachers employs the same Matins hymn for each day of the week during Ordinary Time, with the same being true for Lauds and Vespers. The tune of the hymn, however, sets Sunday's hymn singing apart from that of weekdays by employing a larger range and a more neumatic treatment of the text.²⁷ Additionally, Dominicans use only one hymn tune for all of the hymn texts for a particular feast, providing a musical continuity for the different hours of the Office for that saint or occasion.²⁸ Finally, Dominicans were known to use a different melody, not the one of Guidonian fame, for the hymn "Ut queant laxis."²⁹

One of the more famous Dominicans, Thomas Aquinas, was commissioned by Pope Urban IV to create both Mass and Office for the new feast of Corpus Christi in 1264. Thomas' work includes the hymns "Pange lingua," "Sacris Solemniis," and "Verbum supernum." He also wrote "Lauda Sion," the sequence for the mass of the new Eucharistic feast. With these texts, he demonstrates a tendency to employ first lines already in use in other well-known liturgical texts. While not created solely for the Dominican Order, these liturgical texts arose out of a Dominican spirituality in which "the intellectual life, undertaken with full seriousness, can itself be a genuine form of piety, provided it is motivated by charity, and especially if it is also motivated by a desire to communicate the truth to other people." 31

THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

The variety of monastic expressions in the Middle Ages created a large repertoire of diverse hymns, created for diverse communities with different charisms and aspirations. It is possible, however, to posit a few generalizations.

While hymns are assumed, by default, to be doxological, Erik Routley has suggested that early monastic hymns do not necessarily fulfill that role. Since the psalms played such a large part in both Daily Office and Mass, monastic communities already had an outlet for their desire to praise God. What the psalms did not provide, however, was any reference to the Trinity or to the quotidian experience of monastic life. These became the theological functions of monastic hymnody.³² We see this in the numerous Trinitarian

- 27. Smith, "Hymns of the Medieval Dominican Liturgy," 22–23.
- 28. Smith, "Hymns of the Medieval Dominican Liturgy," 13.
- 29. Smith, "Hymns of the Medieval Dominican Liturgy," 37.
- 30. Routley, Panorama of Christian Hymnody, 121.
- 31. Tugwell, "Spirituality of the Dominicans," 26-27.
- 32. Routley, Panorama of Christian Hymnody, 119.

stanzas found at the end of monastic hymns, as well as in hymns particularly about Christ and the Holy Spirit. We see this, also, in hymns that reflect upon the time of day or the season of the year in which they were to be sung. Given the large role of daily, weekly, and annual calendars in governing the life of monastic communities, it is not surprising that so many hymns would ground themselves in these specific times. Such a grounding proclaimed a radically incarnational theology: the celebration of the mysteries of faith can only take place within the earthly cycle of hours, days, and seasons. Rather than creating a liturgical "time out-of-time," the hymns proper to the various hours of the Daily Office affirm the experience of the sacred within human bounds, habits, and structures.

We see another facet of the monastic experience within the numerous saints' hymns created and sung by monastic communities. The sanctoral cycle held great import, since it determined not just the particular prayers, readings, and chants of each day, but also how long the community would be at prayer and even what community members would eat. Additionally, many nuns, monks, canons, and friars understood themselves to be witnesses, as the early sainted martyrs were, to Christ. The large number of medieval saints drawn from monastic communities strengthened this perceived connection between the saints and the nuns, monks, canons, and friars who faithfully celebrated their feasts, aspiring to the same end.

A number of the medieval monastic orders incorporated a didactic function in their rule and purpose. Monks, canons, and friars of the Augustinian Canons Regular, Premonstratensians, Francisans, and Dominicans taught church doctrine as well as presiding over the church's worship, and this educational and doctrinal bent penetrated the hymnody of these Orders. Their hymns and sequences illustrated interpretations of Scripture, saints' lives, and points of doctrine within their texts. In both topic and technique, these often-lengthy texts allowed the singer to explore subtle theological nuances and employ literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical lenses with which to understand the scriptural images incorporated into the sung stanzas.

Augustinians, as mentioned above, particularly valued the hymn-like sequence and created a number of new sequences in the twelfth century. Such texts point to themes of special interest for the Order. Sequence texts employed scriptural references to describe the Augustinians' vocation of teaching and sacramental duty. The late medieval sequences that the Augustinians created and employed frequently served as versified lessons themselves. The unfolding strophes of the sequence revealed new facets of meaning through typological relationships with Old Testament characters and incidents. For example, "Laudes crucis," a twelfth-century sequence

that reflects Augustinian exegetical practices, compared the cross to a ladder (hinting at Jacob's dream), to the ark of Noah, to wood that Moses used to sweeten water in the desert, and to the wood gathered by the widow of Zarephath before baking her meal and oil into a cake.³³ The intention of the singing then moves from enhancing understanding of the cross to asking Christ that the singers might receive the benefits of the cross. According to Margot Fassler, "The stockpiling of sacramental imagery in the sequences develops a strong sense, particularly at the closing of pieces, that the singing itself has become a sacrament of communal unity, creating a place in the liturgy for the worshipping clerics to emit the light of well-lived lives, the sound of tongues that harmonized with pure hearts."³⁴

Like the Augustinians, Dominican friars prized education and theological understanding. It was to the learned Dominican Thomas Aquinas that Pope Urban IV turned for hymns when he instituted the feast of Corpus Christi in the mid-thirteenth century. Thomas' hymn texts for this new feast demonstrate the didactic approach typical of twelfth-century monastic authors. They point to Old Testament types that, from a Medieval Christian perspective, prefigured the Eucharist, such as the offering of Isaac and the manna in the wilderness (see *Lauda Sion*). Yet these texts consistently express the newness and superiority of the Christian Eucharist, such that it leaves behind the "*Phase vetus*" (former Passover, in *Lauda Sion*), "*figurae*" (figures or types, in *Sacris solemniis*), and "*antiquum documentum*" (ancient lessons or examples, in *Pange lingua*). Thus, Thomas both employs and ultimately leaves behind as insufficient the typological interpretations favored by medieval scholars.

Franciscans employed their hymns didactically in an entirely different manner. Since Francis' followers often preached in towns to whatever lay people would gather, they needed rhetorical tools to draw listeners into an experience of repentance and the consolation of forgiveness. In such a context, the complex interpretive maneuvers of the Augustinian sequences would be of little benefit. Instead, Franciscans sought for a more direct, emotional vehicle for connecting with their ad hoc congregations. Francis' "Canticle of Brother Sun" provides a suitable text, one filled with heart-felt praise for God's creation. Yet his text also presents a subtle theological complexity. The "Canticle" offers a range of theological meanings, depending on its translation. One can understand the singer of this hymn to praise God for the sun, moon, wind, and so on, or to praise God through sun, moon, and wind. Alternately, it may be the sun, moon, wind, and other natural

^{33.} Fassler, Gothic Song, 70-72.

^{34.} Fassler, Gothic Song, 288.

features that praise God, and not the singer.³⁵ Such an interpretation, which is consistent with Francis' living and teaching, supports a theology of equality among all of God's creation, including humans. The canticle embraces the entire human life cycle as well, ultimately praising God through, for, or from "Sister bodily death." Such unflinching realism demonstrates a theology well-grounded in the lived experience of the world.

An opposite theological tendency can be found at times among the Carthusians, Cistercians, and Gilbertines, orders dedicated to simplicity, humility, and purity of intention. Members of these orders often disdained hymns, sequences, or other musical elements seen as unnecessary or frivolous. We find this stance among the Carthusians in their early refusal to sing hymns. Hymn texts, being written by human authors rather than taken directly from Holy Scripture, were understood to be less than trustworthy. While Carthusians eventually permitted hymns within the course of their Daily Office, they rejected the use of sequences. Guigo, fifth prior of the Cistercian Order, explained this liturgical simplicity in the preface to an antiphonary that he edited. He noted that the primary duty of the monk is to "mourn for himself and the world" rather than to spend time teaching and learning sophisticated music. The Mass and Daily Office, therefore, must be musically simple in order to not interfere with this duty of lamentation. Secondly, Guigo noted that liturgical items suspected of "levity, awkwardness, or falsity" must be removed.36

Cistercians, likewise, were known for their musical and aesthetic restraint. "Unnecessary ceremonial," dyed clothing, and stained glass were all dispensed with at Cistercian monasteries.³⁷ In addition to musical simplicity, which forbade organum and other novel musical techniques of the Middle Ages, the Cistercian reformers pursued a literal understanding of the Benedictine Rule that allowed only Ambrosian hymns, as described above. This dedication to liturgical purity cost the Cistercians great effort, as they set aside familiar hymnody and sought out the hymns of Milan.

The Gilbertine Order followed the Cistercians in valuing liturgical and musical simplicity.³⁸ While Gilbertines did not forbid hymns or sequences as the Carthusians did, or restrict their hymnody to those texts written by Ambrose of Milan, as the Cistercians attempted, they prohibited the techniques of *organum*, *decentum*, *fausetum*, and *pipeth* from being used at the

^{35.} Moloney, Francis of Assisi, 48-51.

^{36. &}quot;Carthusian Liturgy."

^{37.} King, Liturgies of the Religious Orders, 62-66.

^{38.} See Chadd, "Liturgy and Liturgical Music," 305.

Daily Office.³⁹ Although an exact translation of these terms may be difficult, they seem to imply both compositional innovations (such as the addition of an additional musical line, as found in medieval organum) and vocal techniques (such as the use of the male falsetto).

CONTRIBUTION TO LITURGY AND WORSHIP

The hymns of the medieval monastic orders continued in use among these communities through the twentieth century, when Latin was replaced by the vernacular as the language of worship. Even then, Catholic communities developed English translations of these hymns and sequences. Several factors prevented these hymns from finding use outside of the Catholic Church, however. In addition to the linguistic barrier in place through the 1960s, theological and thematic problems arose. Given that the hymns of the religious orders were so deeply rooted in the daily and yearly time-keeping of the Catholic faith, they presented difficulties to congregations that did not rise for Matins, or did not celebrate the feast days of particular—or any—saints. Hymns concerning the saints, Mary the Mother of God, the Eucharist, or the monastic life were largely found unacceptable by Protestant leaders until the nineteenth century.

At that time, John Mason Neale considered the evangelical hymnody of the Methodists and the Congregationalists, currently being sung as well as Anglicans. Finding this repertoire wanting for the purposes of the Church of England, he sought out the hymns of the early and Medieval Church, texts of which he heartily approved. Of this repertoire, he wrote poignantly:

Among the most pressing inconveniences consequent on the Adoption of the vernacular language in the office-books of the Reformation, must be reckoned the immediate disuse of all the hymns of the Western Church. That treasury, into which the saints of every age and country had poured their contributions, delighting, each in his generation, to express their hopes and fears, their joys and sorrows, in language which whould be the heritage of their Holy Mother until the end of time—those noble hymns, which had solaced anghorets on their mountains, monks in their cells, priests bearing up against the burden and heat of the day, missionaries in girding themselves for martyrdom—henceforth became as a sealed book and a dead letter.... The hymns, whether of the sevenfold daily office, of the weekly commemoration of creation and redemption, of the yearly

^{39.} Josselyn-Cranson, "Creative Remembering," 88.

revolution of the Church's seasons, or of the birthdays to glory of martyrs and confessors—those hymns by which day unto day had uttered speech, and night unto night had taught knowledge—could not, by the hands then employed in ecclesiastical matters, be rendered into another, and that a then comparatively barbarous tongue. . . . The Church of England had, then, to wait.⁴⁰

Indeed, the Church of England did wait until John Mason Neale ventured upon his translations, ultimately restoring dozens of Latin and Greek hymn texts to use by rendering them in English.

NOTABLE HYMNS

Among the Augustinian sequences, "Laudes crucis," sung at Mass on May 3 (Finding of the Cross) and September 14 (Exaltation of the Cross), demonstrates the exegetical qualities of the Victorine repertoire of the twelfth century.

"Illuminans Altissiums," believed to have been written by Ambrose of Milan, was among the unfamiliar Milanese hymns adopted by the Cistercians in their efforts to purify their sung worship.⁴¹ The text celebrates the Epiphany with imagery taken from Jesus' baptism, the visit of the Magi, and the first miracle at the wedding in Cana, and this hymn was retained through subsequent Cistercian revisions.

The two extant Gilbertine hymn texts, created by that Order to celebrate the feast of Gilbert of Sempringham, are "In novi fetus federe" and "Quid est quod luges Anglia." The two hymns share their last two stanzas in common, lines that contain a Trinitarian blessing but that also mention Gilbert himself.

As mentioned above, the best-known verse from the Franciscan Order is Francis' text "Altissimu, onnipotente, bon Signore," also called "Il Cantico di Frate Sole." An enduring translation into English, "All Creatures of our God and King," was made by William H. Draper at the turn of the twentieth century.

According to tradition, St. Simon Stock, Carmelite of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, composed the hymn "Flos Carmeli," as a praise of Mary and a petition on behalf of the members of the Carmelite Order. The hymn became a feature of the feast days of Simon himself and Our Lady of Mount Carmel.

- 40. Neale, "English Hymnody," 303.
- 41. Waddell, Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal, 62.

As mentioned above, the Dominican love of learning and "desire to communicate the truth to other people" finds voice in the Corpus Christi hymns of Thomas Aquinas: "Pange lingua," "Sacris Solemniis," and "Verbum supernum," and in the sequence for that feast, "Lauda Sion."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bonniwell, William R. A History of the Dominican Liturgy. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1944.
- Boyce, James John. "The Medieval Carmelite Office Tradition." *Acta Musicologica* 62 Fasc. 2/3 (May–December 1990) 119–51.
- "The Carthusian Liturgy." Originally printed in *Magnificat*, 1940–41; reprinted by Shawn Tribe for The New Liturgical Movement, www.newliturgicalmovement. org/2011/10/sources-and-shape-of-carthusian-liturgy.html#.WhOH37aZPsE.
- Chadd, D. F. L. "Liturgy and Liturgical Music: The Limits of Uniformity." In *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, edited by Christopher Norton and David Park, 299–314. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Fassler, Margot Elsbeth. Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris. 2nd ed. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011.
- Fraser, Alan. "Monastic Centers of Hymn Writing and Their Influence on Hymnody." MA Thesis, Boston University, 1932.
- Hiley, David. Western Plainchant: A Handbook. Paperback ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.
- Hughes, Andrew. Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Jacopone da Todi. *The Lauds*. Translated by Serge and Elizabeth Hughes. The Classics of Western Spirituality. Ramsey, NJ: Paulist, 1982.
- Josselyn-Cranson, Heather. "Creative Remembering: A Study of the Mass and Office for the Feast of Saint Gilbert of Sempringham." ThD diss., Boston University, 2004.
- ——... "Moderate psallendo: Musical participation in worship among Gilbertine nuns." In Plainsong and Medieval Music 16/2 (October 2007) 173–186.
- King, Archdale A. *Liturgies of the Religious Orders*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1955.
- Lallou, William J. "The Little Office of Our Lady." *The American Ecclesiastical Review* (August 1949) 100–110.
- Lawrence, Clifford Hugh. Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages. 2nd ed. New York: Longman, 1989.
- Lentze, H. J. "Der Messritus des Praemonstratenserordens." *Analecta Premonstratensia* 25 (1949) 129–70; 26 (1950) 7–40; 27 (1951) 5–27. Translated and condensed by Julian Clarence Resch, available at: www.canonsregular.org/opraem/files/Lentzerite_opraem.pdf.
- Loewen, Peter Victor. "The Conversion of Mary Magdalene and the Musical Legacy of Franciscan Piety in the Early German Passion Plays." In *Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*, edited by G. Donavin et al., 235–59. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.
 - 42. Tugwell, "Spirituality of the Dominicans," 27.

- . Music in Early Franciscan Thought. Boston: Brill, 2013.
- Maître, Claire. *Le Réform Cistercienne du Plain-Chant: Étude d'un Traité Théorique.* Cîteaux: Studia et Documenta. Brecht: DeWindroos s.a., Beernem, 1995.
- Marosszécki, S. R. "Les Origines du chant Cistercian. Recherches sur les réformes du plain-chant cistercian au XIIe siècle." *Analecta sacri ordinis cisterciensis*, 8 (1952) 41–46.
- Milfull, Inge B. *The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church: A Study and Edition of the 'Durham Hymnal.'* Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Moloney, Brian. Francis of Assisi and His "Canticle of Brother Sun" Reassessed. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013.
- Neale, John Mason. "English Hymnody: Its History and Prospects." *Christian Remembrancer* 18 (1850) 302–43.
- Quinn, Bartholomew. "The History of the Carmelite Liturgy." The Official Website of the Carmelite Order. http://ocarm.org/en/content/ocarm/history-carmelite-liturgy.
- Raby, F. J. E. A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages. Oxford: Clarendon; reprint 1966.
- Routley, Erik. A Panorama of Christian Hymnody. Edited and expanded by Paul A. Richardson. Chicago: GIA, 2005.
- Sorrentino, Janet Tierney. "Choice Words: The Liturgy of the Order of Sempringham." PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999.
- Smith, Philip Carl. "The Hymns of the Medieval Dominican Liturgy, 1250–1369." BA Thesis, University of Notre Dame, 2008.
- Thompson, Bard. Liturgies of the Western Church. New York: Collins, 1962.
- Tugwell, Simon. "The Spirituality of the Dominicans." In *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, edited by Jill Raitt, 15–30. New York: Crossroad, 1987.
- Waddell, Chrysogenus. *The Twelfth-Century Cistercian Hymnal*. Cistercian Liturgy Series 1. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984.
- Woolley, Reginald Maxwell, ed. The Gilbertine Rite. London: Harrison and Sons, 1922.