

When we turn to the foreword of the 2nd edition (1792) we read :

"The first four Numbers (at 5s each) will contain the whole of the Volume which hath been hitherto sold for a Guinea :— The Music published by Mr Madan, as the first Part of a Second Volume, will be included in the fifth Number, to which are added four tunes composed by Mr Lockhart. The sixth and last Number will consist entirely of new Music, which Mr Lockhart has kindly presented to this Charity."

Even without seeing a first issue of the 1769 edition I think we can be certain that it included the first 142 pages of the 2nd edition, that pages 143-178 were "Number 5," and pages 179 to the end were "Number 6" of the 2nd edition.

The actual contents of the pages involved confirms this, *i.e.* : pages 143-168 contain twelve pieces set by "M. M.," then we have on pages 169-178 four tunes set by Charles Lockhart, the last being "Invocation," which we know as "Carlisle." For "Number 6" we have (p. 179) "Kettering," composed by Charles Lockhart, and seven more anonymous tunes, the last being a tune called "Tamworth" set to the words "Guide me, O thou great Jehovah." The actual version of the words agrees with the first three stanzas of the second form of the hymn given by Julian on page 77, ii. It was the inclusion of these words in the alleged 1769 edition that first suggested that there was something wrong in the dating, and I have to thank the Rev. G. M. Roberts of Pontrhydyfen for setting me on the right track.

(NOTE BY EDITOR.—*Matthew Wilkins's book was the source of the beautiful and much-loved tune STROUDWATER. Martin Madan, whose personal history was strangely chequered, is not known to have written any hymns himself, but he had remarkable skill in adapting and piecing together the work of others. Many of the best-known hymns of the eighteenth century, such as "Hark, the herald angels sing," and "Lo, He comes with clouds descending," bear the marks of his skill in re-touching.*)

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THE POEM "DULCIS IESU MEMORIA"

By F. J. E. RABY, C.B., LITT.D., F.B.A.

THE celebrated rhythmical and rhymed poem "Dulcis Iesu Memoria," of which portions appear in so many modern English hymnals in Caswall's translation and with the uncritical ascription of the Latin original to St Bernard of Clairvaux († 1153), is the subject of an elaborate and masterly study on which Dom André Wilmart, O.S.B., was engaged for some years before his death in April 1941. I had often discussed the question with him and I knew that he had left the manuscript in a finished state; but I had no hope of its being published at an early date. Yet, in spite of the stress of war, it has appeared in Rome (1944) in the series "Storia e Letteratura," and in sumptuous form, with the title, *Le "Jubilus" dit de Saint Bernard, étude avec textes*, under the pious care of Mme Bignami and Mgr Auguste Pelzer.

As it is practically impossible to obtain copies in this country, I think that I shall be performing a service to scholars and to others who are interested in this beautiful poem if I set out the main results of Dom Wilmart's researches.

These researches are based on a personal examination of no less than sixty-five MSS., while others have also been taken account of. It can be accepted as certain that no MS. has been overlooked which is of importance for the establishment of the original text. The best MSS. contain forty-two strophes and this is the extent of the original poem. In the course of time, strophes varying in number from one to thirteen were added as well as "doublets," diverse "doxologies," and verbal

variations. The text given by Mabillon, which has held the field so long, contains six additional strophes and represents an intermediate stage in the process of accretion.

The oldest MSS. go back to the thirteenth century, some of them to the beginning of that century; one, perhaps, to the last years of the twelfth. The earliest and the best texts were copied in England, and the text is well maintained in its purity in English MSS. until the end of the Middle Ages. From England the poem seems to have passed to France and thence to Italy and Germany. It was known in England to John of Hoveden, one of our great religious poets († 1275), and to Richard Rolle, both of whom were devoted to the cult of the Sacred Name. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the poem is the work of an Englishman and was written about the end of the twelfth century.

Not until the close of the thirteenth century was the name of St Bernard attached to the poem, but the attribution won gradually a general acceptance. Hauréau, in the nineteenth century, was the first to show that Bernard was not the author of the "Jubilus,"¹ but he had not fully studied the MS. tradition and, with characteristic prejudice, he regarded it as a poor and even offensive composition. We have some genuine hymns of Bernard's which are so mediocre and so different in character that he could not possibly be the author of our poem.² Also, as Dom Wilmart points out, we have complete and practically contemporary collections of Bernard's authentic works in which it does not figure.

Bernard's poetry is to be found in his rich and glowing prose, and the "Dulcis Iesu Memoria" is steeped in the spirit of the Abbot of Clairvaux. More than this, there are a number of direct reminiscences of passages from Bernard's works, and especially from the Commentary on the Song of Songs.³ The author of the poem belonged doubtless to the Order of Cîteaux, where he breathed the very air of the Bernardine devotion. Cistercian copyists, who recognized in the verses the echo of the voice of Bernard, ended by attaching his name to the piece. As Wilmart says, "The eighteenth strophe alone was enough to afford a pretext for this innocent subterfuge."

Iesus, decus angelicum,
In aure dulcè canticum,
In ore mel mirificum,
Cordi pigmentum celicum.

¹ B. Hauréau, *Des poèmes latins attribués à S. Bernard*, Paris, 1890.

² F. J. E. Raby, *Christian-Latin Poetry*, pp. 329 ff. Oxford, 1927.

³ I do not propose to say anything about the suggestion which won some currency that the "Jubilus" was found in a MS. or MSS. of the eleventh century and so was earlier than Bernard's time. On the growth of this baseless legend, see R. Vaux, "Jesu Dulcis Memoria," *Church Quarterly Review*, Vol. cviii., 1929, pp. 120 ff.

I wish that I had room to give the complete text in its original form as the learned editor has presented it, but an excellent text is accessible in the late Sir Stephen Gaselee's *Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*, pp. 111 ff., based largely upon the Lesnes Missal (in the Victoria and Albert Museum), dating from the first half of the thirteenth century, where it appears, under the title "alia meditatio bona," among the prayers at the beginning of the Ordo Missæ.

It is not surprising that it came to be used in various ways and in various guises for liturgical and devotional purposes. It was clearly in its origin a "pious meditation,"¹ but in the early thirteenth century it was sung in England, as in the MS. Laud Misc. 668 it is provided with musical notation. It was also sung in Germany at the beginning of the following century.²

It may be noted in passing that Ludolf of Saxony, a Carthusian of Strasbourg and Coblenz († 1378), inserted a complete text of the poem in his *Vita Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*. It is, of course, ascribed to St Bernard. For him, as generally at that time, it was associated with the Sacred Name, and indeed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it became, as Dom Wilmart says, "the chief and characteristic element in an office for the celebration of the Name of Jesus."

Suso, the German Dominican and mystic († 1366), composed an *Office of the Eternal Wisdom* in which he inserted eight hymns made up out of the original text, with one of the added strophes and a doxology.³

It was only to be expected that the Franciscans should actively promote the devotion of the Sacred Name. Bernard was indeed, as Professor Gilson has said, "a capital source of Franciscan mysticism," and the "Jubilus," so full of his spirit, found a welcome among them. There is an *Officium Gloriosissimi Nominis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, printed at Milan in 1492, of Franciscan origin, the hymns of which, for the principal hours, are taken, with modifications, from the "Jubilus," including varying doxologies; and the Sequence as well is taken from the poem. But this office did not remain long in use. There is also an enlarged edition of Suso's office in a collection, first printed at Augsburg in 1487, for private devotion.

In England, the Sarum Breviary has, for the "Festum

¹ But the title "Jubilus," the musical meaning of which is a succession of notes repeated as an expression of joy, fits the poem well, because it is a song of joy repeating continually the Name of Jesus.

² *Acta SS.*, 22nd June, Vol. v., p. 373 E. Paris, 1867. This describes a capture of the Blessed Christina of Stommeln († 1312), while she heard the "Dulcis Iesu Memoria" sung.

³ There are reminiscences in the poem of *Ecclesiasticus*, chap. xxiv.

Dulcissimi Nominis Iesu," 7th August, two hymns, with variations, from the "Jubilus," and the Missal has a Sequence taken from it as well. In this country also it was used for private devotion. In an English primer, printed at St Omer in 1673,¹ it is given as:

Jesu, the only thought of Thee
Fills with delight my memory,

though it is not described as a Eucharistic devotion.

Three hymns from the "Jubilus" are contained in the existing Roman office (2nd January) of the Name of Jesus.

It remains now to mention a Latin poem of the end of the thirteenth century (MS. Bodley 57, probably from Leicester), of which Dom Wilmart gives the complete text. It presents each verse, with a new verse added in the form of a gloss, so that the poem is exactly doubled. A monk, probably of Italy, at the end of the fourteenth century used the "Jubilus" as material for four rhythmical prayers, and it was adapted as well in the fifteenth century to become a poem "De Corpore Christi."²

It is not surprising to find in the thirteenth century (Oxf. B. L., MS. Digby, 149) an Anglo-Norman version of the "Jubilus." It was for the use of laymen and especially of ladies who could not read Latin or did not know it well.³

It is now time to turn to the poem itself. It is composed in the simplest of all measures, a verse of eight syllables with four accents, which was derived from the Ambrosian iambic dimeter. The verses are grouped in mono-rhymed quatrains, and the feeling of monotony, if it exists, is that which is a familiar feature of popular poetry. The author was not an accomplished artist like many of the famous Latin poets of the Middle Ages. The rhythm often fails to conform strictly to the accent of the words, but this matters little when the reader is caught up into the magic incantation of the spirit, aided by the incessant beat of the rhyme.

O beatum incendium,
O ardens desiderium,
O dulce refrigerium:
Amare Dei Filium.

From what I have already said, it will be clear that the "Jubilus" takes its place in the great devotional movement of the Middle

¹ E. Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis*, p. 372 London, 1901.

² *Analecta Hymnica*, Vol. i., pp. 114 ff.

³ So John of Hoveden made an Anglo-Norman version of his *Philomena* for Eleanor, wife of Henry III.

Ages, which, if it began before Bernard, in John of Fécamp († 1079) and Anselm of Canterbury († 1109), nevertheless owed its continuance to the new impulse which came from the Abbot of Clairvaux and bore such fruit in Franciscan piety and mysticism as well as in the popular devotions of the later Middle Ages. The history of that movement has still to be written.¹ It centres round a personal devotion to Jesus in His Passion and in His Humanity, to His Presence in the Blessed Sacrament, to His Mother in her Joys and Sorrows, and to the Holy Name. Prayers and meditations in prose and verse are all in the first person singular. No check is imposed on emotion, compunction, or tears. "These works," says Dom Wilmart, "are the expression of a piety, still traditional no doubt, but, in addition, disposed rather towards tenderness and effusiveness, towards the love of Jesus as a man, under forms resembling the love which can be felt for creatures. . . . The Christian . . . does not address himself as formerly to the Lord Jesus Christ; he prefers to call Him 'Jesus' *tout court* and treats Him with a measure of familiarity."

Doubtless this devotion had its good side, but it was a departure from and largely a substitute for the main and ancient tradition of the Western Church, "the spirit of antiquity, represented by such names as St Augustine and St Gregory the Great. This is contemplative, that is to say, directed towards God, whose presence, veiled here below, it seeks in hope, in patient faith, and by the means of liturgical prayer. It is at the same time, to use the modern jargon, 'christocentric,' in the sense that Christ is, according to the apostolic saying, which Augustine was so fond of repeating and developing, the essential Mediator—'mediator Dei et hominum.' It joins itself to Christ on earth and follows Him to heaven, but, according to strict theology, it is the God-man that it adores and to whom it holds fast, humbly, in the mystery of the Incarnation and in the works of redemption. Faith is its dominating note; and it accepts the purifying conditions of that faith and, in the ordinary way, it rejects, as a matter of principle, the too lively emotions of the heart as well as the dangerous transports of the imagination. The liturgy is sufficient for its daily food, and, imposing its discipline upon it, continues to influence it, even when it gives itself over to a prayer of greater freedom."

Could this important question be better put or in words more clearly orthodox? I will not venture to discuss its relevance for us to-day. But I would point out that this "new" devotion accommodated itself very easily to human weakness, even if it did, in a sense and on a certain level, meet the needs

¹ Dom Wilmart has collected much material in *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin*, Paris, 1932. I have summarized some aspects of the movement in the Introduction to my edition of John of Hoveden's poems, *Surtees Society*, 1939.

of plain men and women who could not really follow the Mass or make use of the Breviary. It suited too an age of infrequent communion and of a much-weakened sense of that corporate meaning of prayer and of the Eucharist, which belonged after all to the main and primitive tradition of the Church. That there was room for this personal devotion who can doubt? But it can be plausibly argued that its overwhelming success was a symptom that all was not well with the inner life of the mediæval Church.

THE SINGING CHURCH

The Singing Church: An outline history of the music sung by choir and people. By C. Henry Phillips, B.A., D.Mus., etc. (Faber & Faber: 21s.)

IN 1937 the Rev. C. S. Phillips, D.D., then Chaplain of the College of St Nicolas, Chislehurst (The School of English Church Music), published in his *Hymnody Past and Present* an excellent survey of the field of Christian Hymnody, "with special reference to the hymns of all ages and countries that are in use among English (and more particularly Anglican) Christians to-day." Now a namesake and former colleague, Dr C. Henry Phillips, sometime Lecturer and Sub-Warden in the same College, embodies in a valuable book, *The Singing Church*, the substance of lectures delivered by him there. His design is to bring together in convenient form the materials, scattered through many books, that are necessary for enabling church musicians "to equip themselves with a full knowledge of their subject, in order ultimately to bridge the gap and allay the misunderstanding between the very unmusical parson and the very musical but unknowledgeable organist."

The subject is so vast that the author finds it necessary to limit his field, confining himself to English Church music, by which he means "music written for and still sung in English Churches." This accounts for two limitations in his treatment.

Churchmen resident north of the Border will be astonished to find the Church of Scotland—the National Church—curtly described as a nonconformist sect, and its name arbitrarily usurped for application to another body which includes but a small minority of the Scottish people and is commonly called "the English Church," and which, moreover, modestly and correctly, mindful of the fact that in Scotland it is itself nonconformist, describes itself as "the Episcopal Church in Scotland."

Again, although two types of music are considered, that of the people and that of the choir, it is the latter which engages

most of the author's attention and occupies most of the space in the book. The treatment of it is admirable, but it does not concern us here.

Discussion of "the people's music" makes it necessary to tell the story of the metrical psalm and the hymn and their performance. A lack of sympathy, due to a defect of understanding, is apparent in what the author says about metrical psalmody. It is easy, at this time of day, to speak slightly, even contemptuously, of the metrical psalm, if one fails to realize that it represented a proper assertion of the people's right to direct participation in the Church's praise—a right till then withheld from them—and that the crudeness of its literary form was in no way worse than, and indeed compared favourably with, the popular balladry which at that time, in secular song, allowed the people freely to use their voices. The tunes also must be judged, not by absolute musical standards, but by suitability for their purpose; and there can be no doubt—historical proof is abundant—that at the time when they were produced they did enable a people largely illiterate musically, to make a beginning suitable to their capacity in the singing of congregational praise.

The hymn is more respectfully treated. It is described as the religious folk-song of most church-going people to-day. "It is true that 'the man-in-the-street' knows and loves certain hymns better than any other music. They are indeed the only music in which he ever takes part." Justice is done to the classical hymns which are the heritage of all branches of the Church. "Watts's hymns are steeped in the grace, dignity, and zeal of the gospels. Even when at times he degenerates into eighteenth-century bombast, the New Testament imagery is there: at his best he has the charm and simplicity of Luke. Watts never wanders far from the Bible, and most of his hymns are paraphrases rather than direct inventions. He writes in the metres of the metrical psalms, but his verses are as a breath of fresh air driving out their stale doggerel." Of the Wesleys it is enough to quote this tribute: "In every modern hymn-book the Wesleys are drawn upon almost more than any other single source, and among 'the hundred best hymns,' if one were constrained to attempt such a compilation, a round score would be by one or other of the brothers."

With the author's comments on "the tiny art-form" of the hymn-tune, readers will in the main agree. He is perhaps too severe on the florid tunes of the eighteenth century: masses of rubbish were unquestionably produced then; but *Richmond* is by no means the only great tune of that period that has found a place among the permanent treasures surviving from that time: *Helmsley*, *Adeste fideles*, and *Easter Hymn* tower triumphant among others of the best. It is good to find justice done, among composers of last century, to the much maligned